



BIBLIA AMERICANA

Cotton Mather

Volume 5: PROVERBS – JEREMIAH

Edited, with an Introduction and Annotations, by Jan Stievermann

Cotton Mather, Sr.

BIBLIA AMERICANA

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Volume 5



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Cotton Mather

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America's First Bible Commentary

A Synoptic Commentary on the
Old and New Testaments

Volume 5 PROVERBS – JEREMIAH

Edited, with an Introduction and Annotations,

by

Jan Stievermann

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Printed in Germany.

To my family

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List of Abbreviations

ACCS	<i>Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture</i>
ACW	<i>Ancient Christian Writers</i>
ADB	<i>Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie</i>
ANB	<i>American National Biography</i>
ANF	<i>Ante-Nicene Fathers</i>
BA	<i>Biblia Americana</i>
BBK	<i>Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon</i>
BDB	<i>Brown, Driver, and Briggs Hebrew Lexicon</i>
BHS	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> (Fourth edition)
CCCM	<i>Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis</i>
CCSG	<i>Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca</i>
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina</i>
CE	<i>Catholic Encyclopedia</i>
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>
ESV	<i>English Standard Version</i>
FC	<i>The Fathers of the Church</i>
GCS	<i>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte</i>
GNO	<i>Gregorii Nysseni Opera</i>
HCBD	<i>HarperCollins Bible Dictionary</i>
JE	<i>Jewish Encyclopedia</i>
KJV	<i>King James Version of the English Bible</i> (1769)
KJV 1611	<i>King James Version of the English Bible</i> (1611)
LCL	<i>Loeb Classical Library</i>
LS	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> (Liddell & Scott, Ninth edition)
LUT	<i>Die Bibel nach der Übersetzung Martin Luthers</i> (1984)
LXX	<i>Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graece</i> (1935)
MHS	Massachusetts Historical Society
NAU	<i>The New American Standard Bible Updated Edition</i>
NETS	<i>A New English Translation of the Septuagint</i>
NP	<i>Der Neue Pauly</i>
NPNF _i	<i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers</i> , First Series
NPNF _{ii}	<i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers</i> , Second Series
NT	New Testament
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>

OT	Old Testament
PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca</i>
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina</i>
SC	<i>Sources Chrétiennes</i>
RGG	<i>Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> (Fourth edition)
TRE	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i>
VUL	<i>Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem</i>
WA	<i>Weimarer Ausgabe/Weimar Edition of Martin Luther's Works.</i> <i>Schriften/Werke</i>
WA DB	<i>Weimarer Ausgabe/Weimar Edition of Martin Luther's Works. Deutsche Bibel</i>

PART 1

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Preface

This book contains annotations on the books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles (also known as the Song of Songs or Song of Solomon), Jeremiah, and Isaiah, written by the eminent New England theologian and scholar Cotton Mather (1663–1728).¹ The annotations on these five books are part of Mather's Bible commentary, which he entitled "Biblia Americana: The Sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testament Illustrated." Mather intermittently worked on this commentary from 1693 to his death, never succeeding in securing the necessary support to publish the extensive manuscript that, in its final form, amounted to more than 4,500 folio pages. Had it been published at the time, the "Biblia" would have been the first comprehensive Bible commentary to be produced in British North America. After the American Revolution, Mather's heirs bequeathed the manuscript to the Massachusetts Historical Society where it has slumbered in the archives almost untouched for over two centuries. Since 2010, the "Biblia" is now being published as a scholarly edition. Three volumes have been published so far: volume one, *Genesis* (2010, ed. Reiner Smolinski), volume three, *Joshua-Chronicles* (2013, ed. Kenneth P. Minkema), and volume four, *Ezra-Psalms* (2014, ed. Harry Clark Maddux). Although fourth in the sequence of publication, this book thus constitutes volume five of the edition.

The following introductory remarks will be kept relatively brief. While aiming to provide the reader with the information necessary to explore Mather's commentaries, I also attempt not to overlap too much with what can be found elsewhere. These remarks should be read in dialogue with Reiner Smolinski's extensive and magisterial "Editor's Introduction" to volume one of the edition,² as well as with the shorter but also very insightful introductions to volume three and four from Minkema and Maddux, respectively. At the same time, this introduction is in conversation with, and will make frequent reference to, my interpretative monograph *Prophecy, Piety, and the Problem of Historicity: Interpreting the Hebrew Scriptures in Cotton Mather's Biblia Americana* (2015), which serves as a companion piece to this volume of the edition.

¹ The two standard scholarly treatments of Mather's life and work are Kenneth Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (1984) and David Levin, *Cotton Mather: The Young Life of the Lord's Remembrancer 1663–1703* (1978).

² Reiner Smolinski, "Editor's Introduction" (*BA* 1:1–210).

The introduction to volume one gives a detailed account of the “Biblia Americana” project in the context of Mather’s life. It also presents the manuscript’s development through its several phases of composition and explains the reasons for Mather’s ultimate failure to have it published. Besides examining a number of topics specific to the Genesis commentary, Smolinski also offers an excellent discussion of the main characteristics and sources of the “Biblia” against the backdrop of the history of biblical interpretation during the early Enlightenment and the contemporary market for scriptural commentaries. To this broader picture painted by Smolinski, Minkema and Maddux have added many details and new facets specific to their sections of the manuscript, which have additionally enriched our understanding of the “Biblia” as a whole.³ So has the collection of essays on Cotton Mather and the “Biblia Americana” (2010), in which I also offer an overview of the “Biblia” project and its significance.⁴ Readers looking for general background information and a first orientation on the history and nature of the “Biblia” are referred to these publications. That which is presented in the second part of this introduction about the composition process and the sources employed by Mather is, for the most part, only concerned with the part of the manuscript covered by this volume.

My interpretative conclusions are laid out in detail in the monograph *Prophecy, Piety, and the Problem of Historicity*, which grew from my editorial work on the materials contained in volume five. Especially in its first part it seeks to address some of the larger questions that have arisen from Mather’s commentaries on the Hebrew Bible. The other parts of the book are primarily focused on Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, but also make a consistent effort to move from the specific to the more general. Based on close readings of examples from volume five, the book discusses some of the overarching themes and underlying issues in the “Biblia” commentaries on the Old Testament, the methods and approaches that Mather employs, as well his responses to and interventions in the larger theological and scholarly debates of his time. In many respects, the monograph therefore speaks directly to volume five of the edition. It examines in detail Mather’s annotations on the biblical books covered in volume five and discusses specific subjects or hermeneutical problems that figure prominently here. At the same time, it attempts a first synthesis and overall appraisal of Mather’s engagement with the Hebrew Bible in the history of the Christian interpretation of the Old Testament. Moreover, some reflections are offered in this context on the ways in which the findings from the “Biblia” so far challenge the established views of Mather and American Puritanism more generally. For anyone interested in probing the deeper signifi-

³ Kenneth P. Minkema, “Editor’s Introduction” (BA 3:1–80); Harry Clark Maddux, “Editor’s Introduction” (BA 4:1–80).

⁴ Reiner Smolinski and Jan Stievermann, eds., *Cotton Mather and Biblia Americana – America’s First Bible Commentary: Essays in Reappraisal* (2010).

cance of Mather's annotations on the wisdom books, Canticles, and Jeremiah and Isaiah, it is recommended that they read the book alongside volume five. However, to ensure that this volume can also be used independently, a distillation of those findings will be presented in section one of this introduction.

Before we go there, it seems helpful to say a few words about how the commentaries covered in this volume relate to each other and to Mather's other commentaries on the Hebrew Bible. Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Jeremiah, and Isaiah do not constitute a natural whole in either the Jewish or Christian traditions of ordering the canon. Mather's commentaries on these books came to be subsumed in one volume for organizational and editorial rather than historical reasons. In the Tanakh, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles belong to the third and final section of the *Ketuvim* ("Writings"). Proverbs (with Psalms and Job) belongs to the subsection of the Writings which is called *Sifrei Emet* ("Books of Truth"). Ecclesiastes or Koheleth and the Song of Solomon (with Ruth, Lamentations, and Esther) are grouped under the *Hamesh Megillot* ("The Five Scrolls"). In the Old Testament, Proverbs and Ecclesiastes are commonly grouped together with Psalms and Job as belonging to the "wisdom books," while Canticles has always been regarded as *sui generis* in the Christian tradition. Within these larger groupings of the canon, both Jewish and Christian exegetes in Mather's day generally understood Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles as being tied together not just by their overarching theme of moral and spiritual instruction but also by their common Solomonic authorship. For these reasons, Mather's contemporaries often approached them together and published commentaries that contained annotations on more than one of them. Mather himself clearly worked on the three "Solomonic books" during the same periods of time and did the bulk of entries in the same rounds of annotations.

The books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles thus would have formed an interpretative unit but had no special connection to the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah. According to both Jewish and Christian traditions, Isaiah and Jeremiah not only belong to a different section of Scripture: the *Nevi'im Aharonim* ("Latter Prophets") of the Tanakh and the "Major Prophets" of the Old Testament. They are also, at least *prima facie*, concerned with quite different subjects, centered on God's particular relationship and dealings with Israel during specific parts of its history and, from a Christian point of view, the new covenant with the church and the promises of Christ (Isaiah often being called the "Fifth Gospel"). Within the larger groupings of prophetic writings, Jewish and Christian exegesis traditionally saw close affinities between Isaiah and Jeremiah, not only because of their special eminence but also because of their assumed succession as God's foremost prophets before the Babylonian exile. Just as many scholars before Mather had written commentaries on both Isaiah and Jeremiah, he too seems to have viewed the two prophets as being in close conversation with each other, even though he clearly gave priority to Isaiah. He appears to have gone

back and forth between the respective sections of the “Biblia” when making his annotations.

This volume thus comprises five biblical books that can be grouped into two interpretative units of sorts, but which in many ways are very different from each other in terms of genre, subject matter, and historical context. For Mather, both units and each book came with particular questions, interpretative challenges, and debates attached to them, which will be briefly surveyed in section one. As I will also argue, however, the two units are very much connected in Mather’s interpretative practice by certain overarching themes and underlying issues. They, in the final analysis, all revolve around the struggle over how to maintain or modify the Christian view of the Hebrew Bible as the Old Testament in the face of a growing awareness of the historicity of the Scriptures. All of these overarching themes and underlying issues are thus broadly relevant as well for Mather’s annotations on the other books of the Old Testament. Because the three Solomonic books and the two major prophets provide such a wide cross-section from the Hebrew Scriptures in terms of genre, subject matter, and historical context, many of these issues are also addressed in other volumes of the “Biblia.”

Mather’s commentaries on Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, for instance, have much in common with those on Jobs and Psalms (*BA* 4) in how they conceptualize the spiritual wisdom of the Hebrew Scriptures in relation to the Christian gospel. But Mather’s Christian understanding of Solomonic wisdom also owes much to his interpretation of the figure of Solomon in the commentaries on the books of Chronicles and Kings (*BA* 3). In contrast to the prophetic writings, the authorship of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes (traditionally ascribed to Solomon) was already hotly debated at the time, which links these commentaries to those on Job, Psalms, and especially the Pentateuch, whose provenance was similarly discussed by Mather and his contemporaries (*BA* 1). Furthermore, Mather’s annotations on Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and in particular on Canticles considerably intersect with those on Job and Psalms in how they struggle to reconcile traditional forms of prefigurative exegesis, specifically allegory, and pious christocentric applications with the new attention to the historicity of the Hebrew Scriptures. Mather’s commentaries on Canticles also showcase his use of a historico-prophetic approach to parts of the Hebrew Bible that were not prophetic writings in the narrower sense of the term. This, too, is something that we see repeatedly in the sections on Job and Psalms.

In turn, Mather’s commentaries on Isaiah and Jeremiah have much in common with his commentaries on the other Old Testament prophets. They contain the essence of his theology of substitution and his conceptualization of the relationships between law and gospel, the old and new covenant, and between the natural, ethnic Israel and the new spiritual Israel of the church. They illustrate Mather’s understanding of Christ’s pre-incarnate presence in ancient Jewish

history, as well as his heavy involvement in the debate over prophetic evidence and his prioritization of prophecy as the essential historical tie between Old and New Testament. They show how Mather, in response to historical critics, worked out a hermeneutics of multiple fulfillments. Moreover, the annotations on Isaiah and Jeremiah reveal his strong investment in a specific form of premillennialist eschatology informed by a radical literalism. All of these are consistent themes in the sections on Daniel, Ezekiel, and also the minor prophets, which will be covered in volume six of the “Biblia.” Mather’s frequent discussion of the latter-day events in quasi-scientific terms is also connected to his similarly oriented discussion of the beginning of the world in the Genesis commentary.

This present volume should therefore open up many potential avenues for further comparative, cross-canonical studies of Mather as an Old Testament exegete. Pursuing these avenues will hopefully pave the way for even more comprehensive appraisals of his work as a biblical interpreter as the edited volumes of the New Testament commentaries are published. Even on its own, however, volume five stands as a monument to a scholarly theologian who was more widely read in the period’s most astute biblical scholarship than most of his ministerial colleagues in British North America at the time and for a long time afterwards.⁵ He was also more courageous in engaging with the arguments put forth by skeptical voices. Long before such concerns became more widespread among New England theologians, he was dealing with questions of authorship, historical transmission, and the integrity of the biblical texts. As one of the very first theologians of the British colonies, he pondered the quintessentially modern questions surrounding the Christian Bible and its relation to the Hebrew Scriptures – questions which continue to preoccupy those who seek to harmonize academic inquiry with a traditionalist faith. Mather himself was fully convinced that his “Biblia” offered just such a harmonization and effectively defended the authority and integrity of the canon as well as the basic legacy of seventeenth-century Reformed theology.

5 Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758) is the only other colonial minister whose biblical exegesis was of comparable breadth and depth. On Edwards’s exegetical work, see Robert E. Brown, *Jonathan Edwards and the Bible* (2002); and Douglas A. Sweeney, *Edwards the Exegete: Biblical Interpretation and Anglo-Protestant Culture on the Edge of the Enlightenment* (2015).

Section 1

Main Issues and Topics

On the most fundamental level, the commentaries contained in this volume show Cotton Mather's struggle to read the Hebrew Bible as Christian Scripture in ways that he thought were intellectually justifiable as a highly educated scholar and which also felt satisfying and nurturing as a devout believer.¹ In Mather's period, the traditional Christian understandings of the Hebrew Bible, including its prophetic and, more broadly prefigurative character, had come under growing pressure from new forms of biblical criticism.² These forms were simultaneously informed by and contributing to a rising awareness of what we today would call the historicity of the Scriptures. The term, on the one hand, implies intensified scrutiny of the history of the scriptural texts as texts, that is, of their original composition, provenance, transmission, and canonization. On the other hand, and more importantly, the term implies heightened attention to the ways in which the contents of the Bible are inextricably tied into their particular moments in history, shaped or even determined by their original cultural and communicative contexts, and thus to the human dimension of Scripture. Many different intellectual developments contributed to this awareness. Among them was the rise of the natural sciences that were giving birth to a new understanding of the universe. This new understanding at many

¹ I borrow this phrase from the title of Brevard S. Childs's book *The Struggle to Understand Isaiah as Christian Scripture* (2004).

² The best recent history of biblical interpretation in the early modern period can be found in the two volumes of Henning Graf Reventlow, *Epochen der Bibelauslegung, Band III: Renaissance, Reformation, Humanismus* (1997) and *Band IV: Von der Aufklärung bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (2001). For good general discussions of the important developments in the history of biblical interpretation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Richard A. Muller, "Biblical Interpretation in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" (1998); Gerald T. Sheppard, "Biblical Interpretation in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries" (1998); and Jonathan Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation, Scholarship, Culture* (2005). For the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament in particular, a wealth of knowledge is provided by the essays in Magne Sæbø, ed., *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (2008). Hans-Joachim Kraus's *Geschichte der historisch-kritischen Erforschung des Alten Testaments* (1969), pp. 7–103, is still very helpful, if somewhat dated in its theological assessments. This is even truer for Ludwig Diestel's *Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der christlichen Kirche* (1869), pp. 317–554, which nevertheless contains many useful insights.

points proved hard to reconcile with cosmological notions to be found in the Scriptures, and thereby worked to distance the biblical worldview from a self-consciously modern outlook. The sheer growth of knowledge about ancient history and civilizations, triggered by the recovery of textual corpora since the Renaissance, was also a significant factor.³

Most directly, however, this rising awareness of historicity appears as an outgrowth of the ways in which post-Reformation Protestant exegesis, especially Reformed and Arminian exegesis, had increasingly combined its prioritization of the literal sense with a humanistic hermeneutics. Besides philological analysis, this made inquiries into authorial intention and the original historical-communicative contexts the key to determining the meaning of scriptural texts. By the mid-seventeenth century some Reformed scholars, notably the Dutch Arminian Hugo Grotius (see section two), had already found such inquiries leading them to debate freely the soundness of many of the standard ways of finding Christ in the Hebrew Scriptures, because they appeared to disregard the religious and cultural particularity, that is the “Jewishness,” of texts and what these would have intended to communicate to their original audience in their specific historical situations.⁴ Grotius’s *Annotationes ad Vetus Testamentum* (1644) is of crucial importance to the “Biblia” project and influences the entries of this volume at every turn.⁵ Although Mather had a grudging respect for Grotius’s scholarship, he regarded many of its results and implications as eminently dangerous and worked to defuse their explosive potential. In more than one way, the “Biblia” does in fact appear as an attempt to formulate a convincing answer to Grotius and those contemporary intellectuals, such as Benedict de Spinoza (Baruch Spinoza, 1632–1677),⁶ who were pushing the historical-contextual approach to ever more radical conclusions. As he started his project in the 1690s, in Mather’s mind this alarming trend was probably most prominently embodied by Jean LeClerc (Johannes Clericus, 1657–1736), whose writings not only challenged the predominant understanding of the inspiration and authorship of the biblical texts but also the role of some of the Hebrew Scriptures in the Christian canon.⁷

3 On the notion of the historical revolution of the seventeenth century, see Amos Funkenstein, *Theology and the Scientific Imagination from the Middle Ages to the Seventeenth Century* (1986); and Klaus Scholder, *The Birth of Modern Critical Theology* (1990).

4 Grotius and his followers were thus frequently attacked by their critics (including Mather) for what was perceived as his “Judaizing” tendencies. The term “Judaizer” was applied “to Christians who consciously or unconsciously interpret an Old Testament passage after the fashion of the Jews. Usually this entails seeking an immediate historical reference to a prophecy deemed messianic by Christian tradition.” Childs, *The Christian Struggle*, p. 233.

5 The *Annotationes* were subsequently incorporated into the *Opera omnia theologica* (1679), from which I also cite. The best recent general treatments of Grotius as an exegete are by Henning Graf Reventlow in his *Epochen der Bibelauslegung, Band III*, pp. 211–25.

6 On Mather’s engagement with Spinoza, see Reiner Smolinski, “Authority and Interpretation: Cotton Mather’s Response to the European Spinozists” (2006).

7 LeClerc’s most influential work was *Sentimens de quelques theologiens de Hollande sur*

Thus, in Mather's day the standards of biblical criticism, at least in some intellectual circles, were changing. There was a new, emerging ideal of independent judgment informed by autonomous reason and textual and historical evidence, regardless of whether such judgments put the critic at odds with tradition, even with the most fundamental teachings about the Bible and Christian faith. This move was then vigorously and self-consciously made by early eighteenth-century freethinkers and Deists such as John Toland (1670–1722) and Anthony Collins (1676–1729). Their writings, especially Collins's famous *Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion* (1724), loom large in the background of many of the later entries that Mather continued to add to the "Biblia." In Mather's responses, the dawn of a biblical criticism is reflected, as he opposes the emerging criticism that is programmatically "neutral" or even, in the stricter sense of the word, genuinely critical of the Bible and the predominant understanding of its supernatural authority as one continuous, coherent, and infallible revelation from God. One crucially decisive issue around which this "critical criticism" took shape was the status of the Hebrew Bible as Christian Scripture. On the most radical end of the spectrum, the Deists sought a thoroughly reformed religion that would center on what they considered the pure ethics of Christianity and rest on a foundation of reason. In building this religion they generally had little use for the Hebrew Scriptures, and did not think they could serve as an evidential basis of the true faith.

The "Biblia Americana" must be seen as an exemplar of an innovative kind of apologetically oriented criticism that evolved in close dialogue, or antilogue, with this more "critical criticism." It was closely related to "critical criticism" in terms of the subjects, methods, and standards to which it aspired. Ultimately, however, it aimed at defending what was held to be an orthodox understanding of the Scriptures as the inspired and infallible Word of God.⁸ In the final analysis, the "Biblia," like other works of apologetically oriented criticism, was

l'histoire critique du Vieux Testament composée par le P. Richard Simon, which he published in response to the *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (1678) by the French Oratorian scholar Richard Simon (1638–1712). Simon had, among other things, called into question conventional assumptions about Mosaic authorship and the composition of other Old Testament books. In his engagement with Simon's work and its perceived shortcomings LeClerc advanced even more critical views on the authorship and composition of the Pentateuch but also the wisdom books, as well as on the topic of scriptural inspiration more generally. Selections from LeClerc's writings were published in English under the title *Five Letters concerning the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures* (1690).

⁸ Johann Anselm Steiger offers very insightful discussions of this kind of orthodox criticism in his "The Development of the Reformation Legacy: Hermeneutics and Interpretation of the Sacred Scripture in the Age of Orthodoxy" (2008); and *Philologia Sacra. Zur Exegese der Heiligen Schrift im Protestantismus des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts* (2011). For the debates in England specifically, see Gerard Reedy, *The Bible and Reason: Anglicans and Scripture in Late Seventeenth-Century England* (1985); and Justin A. I. Champion, *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken: the Church of England and its Enemies, 1660–1730* (1992); and B. W. Young, *Religion and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century England: Theological Debate from Locke to Burke* (1998).

still very much theologically determined both in its presuppositions and in its conclusions. Nevertheless, it clearly reflects the exegetical challenges and theological struggles which followed the rise of the new humanistic methods. Mather's engagement with these trends demonstrates a particular theological position that emerged in this context of the early Enlightenment. One can describe this position as having a sense of deep obligation, indeed, commitment, to the authority of the Bible and the central doctrinal teachings of the Protestant traditions. At the same time, Mather clearly feels compelled to integrate as much historical material and historical methods as possible into his interpretations of the Scriptures.

Those who embraced this paradigm of biblical criticism proceeded from the assumption that no real conflict could exist between biblical faith and human reason. It was thought that, properly considered, all textual and historical-contextual evidence would be found to assert the authority and unity of the Old and New Testament. The new apologists, including Mather, devoted all their energies to demonstrating the validity of this assumption. Also, they saw once again, if for very different reasons than in earlier centuries, the necessity of defining and defending what rightful uses could be made of the Hebrew Scriptures for Christian faith and piety. Especially heated was the debate over the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecies in Christ, the history of the church, and the eschaton. This again reflects the fundamental changes Christian apologetics had been undergoing since the mid-seventeenth century. In response to the intellectual trends of the early Enlightenment, the primary emphasis shifted from inter-confessional quarrels or a polemical engagement with Judaism (and to a lesser extent Islam) to a defense against the increasingly skeptical voices emerging from diverse discourses within the larger Christian world.⁹

When Mather died in 1728, the rise of German "Higher Criticism" was still half a century in the future. Still, Mather belonged to a generation of scholarly theologians who were already confronted with deep-reaching historical challenges to the authority of the Bible, and the Old Testament especially. Some of the uneasy questions about authorship, genre, provenance, or the factual realism of the scriptural narratives that would later be rigorously brought to bear on the Bible as a whole, were already being formulated with regard to the Hebrew Scriptures. Mather did not shy away from these questions but tried to engage them as fully as his orthodox commitments allowed. Moreover, the basic legitimacy of time-honored modes of interpreting the Old Testament as prophetically, typologically or mystically prefiguring Christ and the gospel could no longer be taken for granted. Although Mather himself had not the slightest doubt about this status, he, like many other theologian-scholars of

⁹ On this see Hans-Martin Brecht, *Atheismus und Orthodoxie: Analysen und Modelle christlicher Apologetik im 17. Jahrhundert* (1971).

his generation, felt the need to make new apologetical arguments in support of the traditional view, and to practice the traditional modes of prefigurative interpretation with a new self-conscious attention to the historical dimension of the original texts.

Textual Issues and Questions of Translation

As this volume illustrates, Mather gave considerable thought to the Hebrew Scriptures as texts, that is, to the provenance of the received canonical texts and their variants. At the turn of the eighteenth century, a theological exegete of the Old Testament such as Mather would have faced the rapidly proliferating, highly specialized philological scholarship of Hebraists and Orientalists. In their discussion of the received Masoretic text, alongside the Septuagint (LXX) and other ancient and modern translations, these specialists raised a number of difficult issues concerning the “givenness” of the Hebrew Bible or Christian Old Testament. Building on the work of pioneering Christian Hebraists, such as Sebastian Münster (see section two), Johannes Buxtorf the Elder (1564–1629), or Louis Cappel (Ludovicus Cappellus, 1585–1658), the new textual research suggested the instability of the text and the uncertainty of its meaning in many places.¹⁰ Although learned in the biblical languages, Mather was not an expert philologist himself. But he was surprisingly well-read in the relevant literature. Textual issues occasionally come up in the annotations of this volume. Where they do, however, it becomes clear that the discoveries that were being made in these areas were of lesser concern to Mather. Overall, he seems to have rested assured that, through the accidents of textual history, God had supervised the essentially faithful transmission of His truths into the canonical books of the Old Testament – even if there were some scribal errors, textual corruptions, later interpolations and even if, as Mather conceded, the vowel points were of a later date.

Good examples for Mather’s approach to such issues can be found in his commentary on Jeremiah. Mather was well aware of the significant discrepancies between the Masoretic text and the Septuagint version of Jeremiah. For one thing, the latter represents a Hebrew text that must have been shorter by one eighth. Moreover, the Septuagint has a different order. It places the prophecies against the foreign nations after 25:13, which the Masoretic text has at the end of the book in chapters 46 through 51. As his gloss on Jer. 25:13 attests, Mather (like most of his peers) was not very troubled by this divergence but simply

¹⁰ On the development of Christian Hebraism in the early modern period, see Stephen G. Burnett, *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era (1500–1660): Authors, Books, and the Transmission of Jewish Learning* (2012), and his “Later Christian Hebraists” (2008), pp. 785–92; see also the essays in Allison P. Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulson, eds., *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe* (2004).

judged that the order of the Septuagint seemed more reasonable to him than the order chosen by the scribes of the exilic period. These and similar problems of textual tradition, later insertions or redactions of the priority of one version over the other apparently did not raise larger concerns about the overall coherency and authenticity of the text.

Consider, for instance, the brief switch to Aramaic (or “Chaldean”) in Jer. 10:11, which Mather, drawing on Hebraists’ knowledge, did recognize. However, even Grotius (whose gloss Mather here cites along with that of Münster) was still so much guided by an inherited, pre-critical hermeneutics of trust that he did not consider a later insertion by redactors from the Babylonian period. Instead Grotius, Münster, and Mather after them, explain the change in language as the result of immediate divine intervention, in which the Holy Spirit made Jeremiah prophesy in the tongue of the future masters of the Jewish people: “Tho’ all the rest of the Book be in *Hebrew*, this Verse is in *Chaldee*; and it furnishes the People of God, with what they were to declare unto their *Chaldee* Masters on all just Occasions” during the Captivity (*BA* 5:886).¹¹

Such was the limited extent of textual problems in the early eighteenth century. Generally, for Mather and the vast majority of his colleagues the belief that the Holy Spirit had not only inspired the original prophecies but also safeguarded them all the way through the process of textual transmission and canon formation for the entire Bible kept such issues from assuming larger proportions. Presumably, for similar reasons, Mather also almost never finds it necessary to discuss *variae lectiones* in the Masoretic text or to debate potential problems of textual corruptions. Although he was aware of such matters, in volume five there is not a single instance of him engaging this matter with all of the potential repercussions.

The same kind of presuppositions also guided Mather in how he confronted the potentially threatening proliferation of meanings through different translations. For Mather’s generation of exegetes the Bible not only existed in the Hebrew and Greek originals as well as the many vernacular translations that had come out of the Reformation. The cumulative labors of European humanist scholarship had also made various ancient manuscript versions of the Bible (or parts of it) available in printed editions, which offered sometimes significantly divergent alternatives to the Masoretic texts of the Hebrew Bible or to the Greek texts of the New Testament. For the Old Testament there were, besides the Septuagint, the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Aramaic Targumim, the Syriac Peshitta, the Arabic, and the Ethiopian versions. All of these versions together with the Masoretic Hebrew text (including an apparatus that listed variants) were readily accessible for Mather in the *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1654–1657)

¹¹ Compare Münster in John Pearson, *Critici Sacri* ([1660] 1698), vol. 4, p. 5523 and Grotius, *Opera* (1:355).

published in London. Besides the London Polyglot Mather also looked at the older Polyglot Bibles, notably the Antwerp Polyglot Bible (also called the *Biblia Polyglotta Regia*), first published in eight volumes between 1569 and 1573 under the general editorship of the Spanish orientalist Benedictus Arias Montanus (Benito Arias Montano, 1527–1598). Using these sources, Mather frequently referred to the different ancient versions of the Hebrew Bible, especially to the Septuagint and the Targumim or “Chaldee Paraphrasts,” as he calls them. He also regularly employed the new Latin translation of the Old Testament from the original Hebrew (first publ. in 1579) by the two Heidelberg scholars Franciscus Junius (1545–1602) and Immanuel Tremellius (Giovanni Emmanuele Tremellio, 1510–1580), whose marginal glosses reflected a distinctively Reformed viewpoint. Occasionally, Mather also consulted modern translations in different European vernacular languages. For instance, both the old French Protestant Geneva Bible by Pierre Robert Olivétan (c. 1506–1538) (*Bible de Genève*, orig. 1535) and the more recent translation with commentary by the Swiss-born Calvinist theologian Giovanni Diodati (1576–1649), *La Sainte Bible* (1644) make an appearance. So does the *Statenvertaling* (“translation of the States”) or *Sta(a)tenbijbel*, the Dutch Bible translation, which was ordered by the States General at the Synod of Dort (1618–1619) and printed in 1637.

Mather never seems to have been genuinely troubled by the existence of these often widely diverging translations. On the contrary, he appears to have regarded them mostly as a resource for a fuller understanding of the biblical texts and for improving the common English translation of the KJV. Among so many other things, Mather’s “Biblia” thus marks the very first involvement of America’s theological elite in discussions over revising the KJV.¹² To offer improvements where a word or entire verse in the KJV was deemed wrong, obscure, or just a little awkward, Mather would compare the different ancient language versions and modern translations, but also consider the rabbinic glosses contained in the *Mikraot Gedolot*, or “Rabbinic Bible,” first published in 1524–1525 by Daniel Bomberg in Venice. It is doubtful that Mather ever worked directly with an edition of the *Mikraot Gedolot*, but he constantly cites the classical rabbinic commentators secondhand and usually in Latin translations from his Hebraist sources (see section two).¹³ Thus the “Biblia” demonstrates how Christian Hebraism was “going mainstream” in the late seventeenth cen-

12 For a cultural history of the King James Bible, its multiple revisions, and the various attempts to replace it with new translations, see Gordon Campbell, *Bible: The Story of the King James Version 1611–2011* (2010), esp. pp. 193–211 on America. For America specifically, see Paul C. Gutjahr, *An American Bible: A History of the Good Book in the United States, 1777–1880* (1999), pp. 89–111; and Peter Thuesen, *In Discordance with the Scriptures: American Protestant Battles over Translating the Bible* (1999).

13 This was a common approach among biblical commentators of the time. Grotius, for instance, likewise accessed his rabbinic sources secondhand and through Latin translations. See Edwin Rabbie, “Hugo Grotius and Judaism” (1994), p. 114.

tury, with the work of several generations of specialists being freely adopted by exegetes across the Atlantic world.

Mather also seems to have sieved through diverse works that specifically sought to improve the vernacular Bible translations, such as *An Essay toward the Amendment of the last English-Translation of the Bible* (1659) by the rector of St. Mary Aldermary (London) and chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury Robert Gell (1595–1665); or *Shibboleth: or, the Reformation of severall Places in the Translations of the French and of the English Bible* (1655) by Jean D’Espagne (1591–1659),¹⁴ and *An Essay for a new Translation of the Bible* (1701) by Charles Le Cène (c. 1647–1703), two Huguenot theologians living in English exile. Two brief examples must suffice here to illustrate the spectrum of Mather’s interventions with the KJV translation.

Most frequently, the revisions Mather offers are semantic corrections of single terms. Again and again, Mather, for instance, amends the translations of place names and animal names mentioned in the Hebrew Bible with the help of Samuel Bochart’s *Geographia Sacra* (1646) and *Hierozaicon sive bipertitum opus de animalibus Sacrae Scripturae* (1663), a massive compendium on biblical animals, which remained widely influential sources for biblical scholars throughout the eighteenth century. In this way he suggested, for example, that “the Creature meant by / קפוד /¹⁵ *Kippod*” in Isa. 14:23, which the KJV renders “*The Bittern*” was actually “no other than the *Hedghog*” (BA 5:653). His revisions also touch on central theological issues, however. The christological centerpiece of Isaiah’s prophecy as it was understood in Christian theology, the *vir dolorum*, was rendered by the KJV in Isa. 53:4 as the “Man of Sorrows,” who was “*Smitten of God*.” Mather, drawing on a Catholic source, claims that here the Hebrew is better interpreted as “a *smitten God*” for “the whole Chapter was to bee understood, not of a *Man* but of *God* Himself made *Man*, that Hee might bear our Sins.”¹⁶ In general, one might say that Mather’s engagement with the 1611 version was one marked by a sense that many linguistic details could and indeed needed to be improved, while the overall text was sound. If his comparative philological work caused Mather any worries about the instability of meaning through the interpretative process of translation, it does not show. In the end, he simply seems to have chosen the translation that appeared more plausible, philologically or historically, or, more often, the one that was theologically most appealing.

¹⁴ Originally published as *Shibboleth: ou réformation de quelques passages dans les versions françoise et angloise de la Bible* ([1653] 1671).

¹⁵ קפוד also קפוד [kippod] “porcupine; hedghog,” LXX: ἐχῖνοι; VUL: *ericius*. See Bochart, *Hierozaicon*, pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 36, pp. 1035–39.

¹⁶ Mather here refers to the work that the Portuguese theologian Diego de Paiva de Andrade (Payva Andradius, 1528–1575) wrote in defense of the Council of Trent, *Defensio Tridentinae fidei catholicae* (1578), lib. 4, pp. 250–51.

Issues of Authorship, Provenance, and Genre

Issues regarding the authorship, composition process, historical provenance, and genre of the different Hebrew Scriptures were potentially much more troubling to Mather. As this volume illustrates, he wrestled with them quite intensely. Presumably this was because these questions were immediately relevant to determining the original intention and context – the keys of a humanistic hermeneutics. Moreover, the defense of a text's inspiration was intimately connected to its attributability to one identifiable author. In Mather's day, such questions were being asked with unprecedented freedom not only about the Pentateuch but also the three books traditionally ascribed to King Solomon: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles. The prophetic books of the Old Testament, by contrast, were still largely exempt from these debates. That unknown scribes, either at the time or later, had written down the sayings of Isaiah as they had those of Jeremiah (in whose case we have several scriptural references to such a process) was widely accepted. But few interpreters of the early modern period harbored any doubts that these sayings all had their origins in the supernaturally inspired prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah and that the collections made of these prophecies had been by and large faithfully preserved over the centuries.

With regard to Isaiah specifically, Mather, like virtually all early modern scholars, still took the traditional Jewish and Christian view for granted, according to which the entire sixty-six chapters constituted a single book, composed of the oracles produced by a single prophet by that name. To be sure, already in the twelfth century Abraham Ibn Ezra (1089–1164) had suggested that at least parts of chapters 40–66 must have been added by a later author or compiler who lived during or after the exilic period.¹⁷ However, this opinion, which anticipated a fundamental insight of modern scholarship on Isaiah, remained truly exceptional. It was not until about half a century after Mather's death that first Johann Christoph Döderlein (1746–1792) and then Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (1752–1827), in the third part of his famous *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* in 1783, put forth the full-fledged argument that chapters 1–39 and chapters 40–66 needed to be distinguished as two separate books, which evolved from distinct textual corpora relating to two different periods.¹⁸ Mather and his contemporar-

¹⁷ See Ibn Ezra's gloss on Isa. 40:1. Ibn Ezra, *The Commentary of Ibn Ezra on Isaiah*, transl., ed. Michael Friedländer, vol. 2 ([1873] 1964), p. 170.

¹⁸ Döderlein first formulated the thesis of dual authorship in a 1781 article included in the journal *Auserlesene Theologische Bibliothek* (vol. 1, part II, p. 832) that he himself edited. Later, he expanded it in the third edition of his Latin commentary on the prophet, *Isaia ex recensione textus hebraei ad fidem codd. quorundam mss et versionum antiquarum latine vertit notasque varii argumenti subiecit* ([1775] 3rd ed. 1789). In the meantime Eichhorn had taken up the thesis (without acknowledging Döderlein) in his 1783 *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (vol. 3, p. 77). Compare Eberhard Sehmsdorf, *Die Prophetenauslegung bei J. G. Eichhorn* (1971).

ies would not even have dreamed (or would have had nightmares) about multiple authorship and centuries-long process of textual evolution. For all its investment in philological explanation and contextualization Campegius Vitringa's (1659–1722) massive *Commentarius in librum prophetiarum Jesaiae* (1714–1720), which is usually regarded as the apex of the early eighteenth-century critical work on the prophet, is just as innocent of the notion of multiple authorship.

Among the leading experts of Mather's period the prevalent view was that the prophet Isaiah, called by God to that office, was the originator of all the predictions canonized under his name. Mather too fully trusted the information provided by Isa. 1:1 that Isaiah discharged his office "in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah," who, according to the widely accepted chronology of bishop James Ussher (1581–1656), *Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (1650–1654), reigned between 811 and 699 before Christ, a period in the history of Judah which Mather knew to have been riddled by many internal and external crises, including the Assyrian threat.¹⁹

Similarly, Mather and his peers did not question the unity of the book of Jeremiah. In placing this prophet in history he fully trusted the information found in Jer. 1:1–4, where it said that Jeremiah was first called by God to the office of prophet "in the days of Josiah the son of Amon king of Judah in the thirteenth year of his reign," carrying out his duties through the reign of Josiah's son Jehoiakim until the fall of Jerusalem at "the end of the eleventh year of Zedekiah," the last king of Judah. The thirteenth year of Josiah Mather would have placed with Ussher in the year 629 before Christ; the eleventh year of Zedekiah in the year 588/7.²⁰ After the fall of Jerusalem brought to an end his long and futile ministry in Judah, Jeremiah was carried with the remnant of Jews into Egypt, Mather believed, where the prophet continued his remonstrations and warnings until his death in exile. During this time of deep despair, Jeremiah, as Mather believed, also wrote the whole book of Lamentations.²¹

With a view to the book of Jeremiah, there was just one case in which Mather considered a later interpolation to have occurred during the long history of textual transmission. Mather found himself convinced by Grotius that chapter 52 must have been an insertion from the early exilic period. As Mather puts it in his introductory annotation on that chapter: "Tis very certain, That it was not of his own Addition; For in his *Thirty fifth* and *Fortieth* Chapters, hee had given us the History of this Matter once before: And the History here

¹⁹ Ussher, *Annales*, pp. 77–106.

²⁰ Ussher, *Annales*, pp. 114–31.

²¹ Mather even thought it was "extremely probable, That the six last (misplaced) Chapters in the Book of *Zechariah*, might be written by Jeremiah, and belong really to this Book: For they contain Things which might well be Foretold in *Jeremiahs* Days, but were Fulfill'd before *Zechariahs*." Compare the biblical chronology that Mather inserted before his commentary on Genesis: (*BA* 1:238).

proceeds unto the Reign of *Evilmerodach*, & the End of *Jechonias*, which was after the Times of this Prophet.”²² Leaders of the Jewish community might have inserted “these Things, as a Sort of *Introduction*, containing the *Argument & Occasion* of the *Lamentations*, which were annexed hereunto” (*BA* 5:949). This was not nearly enough, however, to shake Mather’s confidence in the authenticity and inspired authorship of this prophetic book as a whole. This example also shows how Mather might have responded to the theory of dual authorship of Isaiah, that is, by harmonizing the textual redaction with a positive analysis of the book’s overall theological content.

The wisdom books were a very different matter in this respect. As they did for the Psalms of David, Grotius, LeClerc and other critics rejected the conventional assumption that the entire canonical book of Proverbs could be traced back to wisdom sayings that were originally uttered by an inspired Solomon and, for the most part, also collected under his supervision. In one terse sentence Grotius declared that the book was obviously “a selection of the best wisdom sayings from a great number of writers who lived before the time of Solomon.” Solomon was thus a collector of existing maxims. Such collections had been common in antiquity, Grotius observed. Many Byzantine emperors “made such selections for their own benefit.”²³ For Prov. 25 to 29 and 31, Grotius, with a view to the superscription at Prov. 25:1 argued that these parts had been put together under King Hezekiah and ascribed to Solomon. The “king Lemuel” to which Prov. 31:1 attributed the last chapter was probably not another name for Solomon, but for Hezekiah. Grotius took the name of “Agur the son of Jakeh,” mentioned at Prov. 30:1, as an indication that this interpolated chapter was collected from the scriptures of an otherwise unknown prophet by that name.²⁴

Generally, Grotius thus put the Proverbs of Solomon on the same level as the compilations of wisdom sayings produced under other ancient rulers. For Ecclesiastes, the whole notion of Solomonic authorship was called into doubt. Grotius had argued that the sayings in the book had probably been collected from unknown sources by scribes who put them together “sub persona Salomonis in unum opus,” at the order of Zerubbabel after the Babylonian exile. It says much that Grotius and his followers based his revolutionary argument primarily on linguistic evidence: Ecclesiastes contained many words in “Chaldean,” he noted, which were otherwise only to be found in the books of Daniel and Esdra as well as in the Targumim.²⁵

²² See Grotius’s commentary in *Opera* (1:400).

²³ “Videtur autem hic liber esse ... selectio optimarum sententiarum ex plurimis qui ante Solomone fuere scriptoribus, quales ... selectiones multi Imperatorum Constantinopolitanorum conscribi in suos usus fecere” *Opera* (1:247).

²⁴ Grotius, *Opera* (1: 257).

²⁵ “Argumentum ejus rei habeo multa vocabula quæ non alibi quàm in Daniele, Esdra & Chaldæis interpretibus reperias” Grotius, *Opera* (1:258).

At the same time, Grotius and other scholars of Mather's generation pushed forward with a tendency already begun during the previous century to interpret Proverbs and Ecclesiastes in more immanentist terms as advice literature for moral living in this world rather than salvific revelations that foreshadowed the gospel of Christ. In terms of textual genre, these scholars did not regard Proverbs and Ecclesiastes as categorically different from the ethical and moral writings of the great philosophers of Greco-Roman antiquity. The ancient Christian tradition of reading Proverbs and Ecclesiastes in spiritual and christological terms was increasingly frowned upon as forced and unwarranted. Grotius himself nevertheless showed great appreciation for the practical value of the wisdom books. However, others, notably LeClerc, asked specifically with a view to Ecclesiastes whether its content, if understood in a literalist-historical fashion, could in fact be fully reconciled with Christian teachings and ethics. Was this book (especially in its famous *vanitas vanitatum* and *carpe diem*-passages) not filled with "Saduccean" and "Epicurist" opinions?²⁶ And what about the so-called Song of Songs? No one at the time, LeClerc included, denied Solomon's authorship of Canticles. But if one took off the blinders of tradition and dogma, LeClerc inquired, was this not simply a human, rather sensual, love song similar to Greco-Roman pastorals?²⁷ What constituted its special relevance to Christianity? Were these really inspired and holy writings that were in harmony with the gospels? When viewed from the perspective of Mather and his orthodox contemporaries, the radical nature of these questions can hardly be overemphasized.

Pushing these questions ultimately called into doubt the book's place in the canon. To be sure, this had not been the original aim of Grotius when he opened the debate. He suggested, however, that the Song of Songs was composed by the illustrious king as a nuptial or wedding song, whose allegory of bridegroom and bride had not been intended to speak of Christ or His church. Such higher meanings were only retrospectively found in the amorous exchanges by pious exegetes through a secondary christological allegorization. Although the text lent itself to such allegorizations (perhaps by divine providential arrangement), the spiritual readings were, as Grotius thought, valid only as expressions of faith but not as historical interpretations.²⁸ As Grotius's critics had feared all along, and the impieties of LeClerc and English Deists subsequently proved, such an argument was a slippery slope to disparaging and ultimately abandoning what had traditionally been one of the most highly prized books in the Old Testament.

Mather's intervention in these debates was largely in favor of conservative positions. He was ready to compromise, however, where the scholarly arguments

²⁶ LeClerc, *Five Letters*, third letter, pp. 94–97.

²⁷ LeClerc, *Five Letters*, third letter, pp. 98–99.

²⁸ Compare Grotius, *Opera* (1:267).

appeared compelling to him. He wrote lengthy prefatory notes on all three Solomonic books, in which he relied heavily on the learned commentaries of Simon Patrick (see section two). By historical and philological reasoning, he generally defends the traditional understanding of the Solomonic authorship and unity of both Proverbs and Ecclesiastes as inspired and holy books.

Like virtually all of his peers, Mather regarded as reliable the account of both the glories and the degeneration of King Solomon that was given about this great king in the historical books of the Old Testament. This is evidenced by his many commentaries on the history of Solomon's personal fate and reign in Kings and Chronicles, which are contained in volume three of the edition. With James Ussher, Mather would have placed Solomon's birth in the year 1033 before Christ; he would have dated Solomon's death in the fortieth year of his reign around 975.²⁹ In accordance with tradition Mather also believed that Solomon in his last days came to repent of the sins he had committed with his idolatrous wives and that the book of Ecclesiastes was an expression of his remorse as well as his reorientation toward true faith. Neither this book nor his other works, incidentally, were thought to be tainted by his sinful lapses. In Mather's mind this was partly due to the fact that they had been written either before or after his period of degeneration, but more importantly because divine inspiration kept those writings determined for the canon free from all corruptions. All three books, Mather emphatically affirmed contra LeClerc, were of an eminently holy nature and imbued with the spirit of the pre-incarnate Christ.

Although probably not penned by Solomon himself, both Proverbs (the fruits of Solomon's time as king and judge) and Ecclesiastes (his mature reflections on life), Mather insisted, were for the most part based on his wisdom sayings that were then recorded, selected, and compiled by scribes under the supervision of the wise king. Ecclesiastes was wholly Solomon's. Mather rejected Grotius's arguments about "Chaldean" vocabulary pointing to a post-exilic authorship by suggesting that these words might reflect the influence of Solomon's foreign wives (*BA* 5:358). However, Mather was ready to concede, among other things, that chapter 25 to 29 of Proverbs must have been collected much later under Hezekiah and that chapters 30 to 31 were subsequent additions based on the maxims of an otherwise unknown "king Lemuel" (*BA* 5:350).

As far as the genre of the books and the nature of Solomonic wisdom are concerned, Mather readily acknowledged that the maxims and reflections of the wise king also had an eminently practical value and reflected a positive attitude toward life in this world. They offered divine guidance for all aspects of human existence, from the governance of kingdoms and a well-ordered household to the individual's obligations toward God. Ultimately, however, Solomon taught man to look beyond this world towards man's need for and way to salvation.

²⁹ Ussher, *Annales*, pp. 54 and 58.

For Mather, this salvific dimension of Solomonic wisdom was in more than a general harmony with the gospel. In their deeper, often hidden, spiritual levels of meaning the inspired sayings of the wise king anticipated Christ and his redemptive work in very concrete ways. Mather's understanding of this dual nature of Solomonic wisdom is encapsulated in a citation from the work of the Halle Pietist theologian Joachim Lange (Joannes Joachimus Langius, 1670–1744), *Medicina mentis* (1704), which appears on the very first leaf of Mather's commentary on Proverbs:

*Sapientiam veram non esse sterilem, ac merè speculativam, sed pro Natura sua luminosam et simul practicam, virtutumque ac Divini Cultus fecundam, nec non omnium Cogitatorum, Dictorum et Factorum, quæ Deus pro humana exigit Conditione, Moderatricem, eiusque Initium fieri à Timore Dei!*³⁰ (BA 5:139).

The key terms here are “*luminosam et simul practicam*.” Rightly understood, Solomon revealed that true spiritual wisdom that makes wise unto salvation is only obtained by the grace of Christ through the illumination of the Holy Spirit. At the same time it is of an eminently practical nature and leads the regenerate to a life of active devotion, works of charity and mission, even though these do not have any merit in themselves. True wisdom, rooted in the fear of God and nourished by faith in His mercy, teaches one to live a good and godly life on earth that is not bound by its pleasures or troubles but oriented toward the promised blessings of eternal life.

In the case of Canticles, Mather maintained against Grotius and those who followed his lead that this book was not at all a human epithalamium composed for Solomon's own wedding. It is obvious from the manuscript that Mather worked through Grotius's *Annotationes* on the Song. He even derived some entries with historical observations from them. Overall, though, Mather's judgment of Grotius's work was decidedly negative. At one point he even resorts to calling the Dutch scholar “the smutty *Grotius*” (BA 5:523) on account of Grotius's suggestion that the Song's nuptial imagery, in its *sensus primarius*, made reference to erotic love. To Grotius there was no question that the Song had been composed as “a *ᾠδὴ ἀγαπᾶν* [discourse of lovers/dialogic love song] between Solomon and the daughter of the king of Egypt The secrets of the nuptials are here [i. e., in this song] hidden from view with decent coverings of words; this is the reason why the ancient Hebrews did not want for this book to be read, except by those who are about to get married.” Grotius conceded, however,

that Solomon, in order for this work to last longer through the ages, composed it with such artifice that without much twisting [of words] *ἀλληγοῦναι* [allegories]

³⁰ “[That] true wisdom is not unfruitful and merely speculative, but, after her nature, illuminating, and at the same time, practical, and rich in virtue and divine worship; she is the governess of all thought, word and deed, which God requires for the human condition, and her beginning comes from fear of the Lord.” Lange, *Medicina mentis* ([1704] 1708), p. 76.

could be found in it, which expressed God's love to the people of Israel. This was understood as well as explicated by the Chaldean Paraphrast; Maimonides took it in no other way. But because this love was a type of the love of Christ for the Church, the Christians did well to use their intelligence to apply the words of this song to this subject. For the Apostles too compared the relation of Christ with the Church to matrimony. Eph. 5.32. 2 Cor. 11.2. Acts. 19.7,9."³¹

In this interpretation, the higher spiritual meaning was thus retrospectively read into the Song by means of allegorization. Solomon never thought of the church or Christ.

From the beginning, Mather was convinced this was not the case. As the New Testament explicitly referred to Solomon as a type of one "greater than Solomon" yet to come (Matt. 12:42; Luke 11:31), there was no question for Mather that the Song composed by this wise king must also have intended to speak under the veil of its sensual imagery of the redemptive love of Christ for the church. Canticles, as Mather insisted in an early introductory note, is called the Song of Songs or a "Transcendent *Song*, because exhibiting the most Invisible Beauties, and Concerns, of the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the true *Solomon*" (BA 5:461).³²

In one of the earliest entries in this entire section of the "Biblia," Mather felt compelled to speak to the issue of literary genre that critics such as Grotius and LeClerc had foregrounded. Of course, Canticles had many features of "a *Pastoral*, and a *Nuptial Song*," but "*I pray thee*," he challenged his reader, "*of whom speaks the Prophet this?*"³³ *Of himself, or of some other?*" Mather's answer was unequivocal: It is evident, he writes, "That *A Greater than Solomon is here*;³⁴ our Lord and His Church, are the *Lovers*, whose Interviewes, are here described unto us. The Wise Man, some think, in his old Age bitterly Repenting, of the *Impure Loves* which his younger Years had been Defiled withal, do's now write of a more Divine & Sacred Love" (BA 5:461).

³¹ "Carmen hoc vocatur Hebræis *Excellentissimum carmen*, ob multas elegantias, quæ in alium sermonem translata non idem sapiunt. Est autem ὁ ἀριστὺς inter Solomonem & filiam Regis Ægypti, interloquentibus etiam choris duobus, tum Juvenum, tum Virginum, qui in proximis thalamo locis excubabant. Nuptiarum arcana sub honestis verborum involucris hic latent; quæ etiam causa est cur Hebræi veteres hunc librum legi noluerint nisi a jam conjungio proximis. Creditur autem Solomon, quo magis perennaret hoc scriptum, ea arte id composuisse ut sine multa distortionem ἀλλήγοριαι in eo inveniri possent quæ Dei amorem adversus populum Infræliticum [sic] exprimerent: quod & sensit & ostendit Chaldæus hic Paraphrastes: nec aliter accepit Maimonides. Ille autem amor typus cum fuerit amoris Christi erga Ecclesiam, Christiani ingenia sua ad applicanda ad eam rem hujus Carminis verba exercuerunt, laudabili studio. Nam & Apostoli Christi cum Ecclesia conjunctionem Matrimonio comparaverant Ephes. 5.32. 2 Cor. 11.2. Apoc. 19.7,9." In *Critici Sacri* (4:4543.)

³² Derived from the work of the English minister at Ramsgate, Kent, Samuel Pack (fl. 1670–1690), *An Exposition upon the first Chapter of the Song of Songs handled by way of Question and Answer for the Information of the weakest Understanding* (1691), p. 2.

³³ See Acts 8:34.

³⁴ See Matt. 12:42; Luke 11:31.

With the help of Patrick, Mather subsequently added an extensive survey of the Song's earliest interpretative traditions to bolster his case. Even the most ancient Jewish commentaries, such as the Targum, had recognized the allegorical-spiritual nature of Canticles, while the New Testament authors and early Church Fathers first understood the exchanges between bridegroom and bride primarily and exclusively to refer to Christ and His church. Patrick also provided Mather with a fairly sophisticated solution to the problem of explaining the original historical-communicative context of Canticles. Solomon wrote the Song of Songs in the tradition of, or even as an extension of, the messianic psalms composed by his father, which had also employed bridal imagery to speak of Christ and his faithful (*BA* 5:462).

If Mather's mind was set on this question from the start, he found himself hard pressed to arrive at a coherent and convincing allegorical interpretation of the whole book of Canticles that would stop the mouths of profane critics. Mather's hesitation reflects the pressure that a historical-contextual hermeneutics was putting on traditional forms of Old Testament exegesis, especially allegory. Apologetically oriented critics such as Mather were very aware that the arguments of a Grotius or LeClerc not only pertained to the status of specific books such as Canticles but fundamentally challenged the legitimacy of the prefigurative approach by which New Testament writers and subsequent Christian interpreters had claimed the Hebrew Bible as their Scripture.

The Prefigurative Approach to the Hebrew Scriptures

Going back to the New Testament itself, the fundamental category for Christian interpretations of what consequently came to be called Old Testament had traditionally been that of prefiguration and fulfillment. Since the days of the early church there had been a broad consensus that the Old Testament, as Mather puts it in a gloss on Gen. 10, "is not merely a *Fellow*, but a *Father* to the *New*." Few questioned that the Hebrew Scriptures predicted and foreshadowed in different ways Christ and the gospel promise, and that "Our Lord, and His Apostles, brought all their Arguments for the *Christian Faith* out of it" (*BA* 1: 702–03). The New Testament writers had employed different, if not sharply delineated, modes of reading the law and the prophets in prefigurative fashion, finding their fullest meaning above all in the life and death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ but also in His Church and the gospel dispensation more generally. First, and most obviously, the New Testament authors understood Christ and His church to be the true object and fulfillment of what had been predicted by the Hebrew prophets, especially where they were understood as speaking of the messiah and His redemptive promises. Secondly, some figures or events in the Hebrew Bible were seen as types, which had their fuller meaning in antitypes of the gospel times, usually Christ himself. Third, looking to certain New Tes-

tament *loci* (esp. Gal. 4:22–26) and Jewish exegetical tradition as precedents, Christians had from early on engaged in allegorizing the Hebrew Bible in ways that detected within or behind the literal sense hidden spiritual meanings speaking of the *futurus Christus*.

Already the Church Fathers argued over precise definitions and hierarchizations between these three modes of prefigurative reading and their relation to the literal sense. While these quarrels would always continue, prophecy, typology, and allegory were nevertheless constitutive for Christian theology. They provided, as it were, the exegetical foundation for the belief in Jesus Christ as the messiah promised to ancient Israel, for Christian supersessionism more generally, and the claim of Christians to the Hebrew Bible as “their” Scripture. Doing exegesis in these ways tied the Scriptures together intertextually as the Old and New Testament revealed by the one triune God as an account of divine works of redemption through the people of Israel and in the church, from creation to the last things.³⁵ In the patristic and medieval periods, canonical exegesis was then greatly elaborated into complex hierarchical models of the different senses to be identified in Scripture, including the famous *quadriga*.

Contrary to the cliché, the Reformers of the sixteenth century did not reject non-literal forms of exegesis, or attempt to shed the “doctrinal, moral, and eschatological dimensions of the quadriga.” Least of all did they principally object to prefigurative readings of the Old Testament. They and their theological successors in the age of Orthodoxy rather attempted to lodge the spiritual and (pre-)figurative sense more precisely in the *sensus literalis*. For all the undeniable changes, there was a great degree of continuity in Christian exegesis from the patristic period to the turn of the eighteenth century. “There were several basic assumptions concerning the text of Scripture,” as Richard A. Muller notes, “held in common by the Fathers, the medieval doctors, the Reformers and their seventeenth-century successors that unite all ages of pre-critical exegesis in their distinction from modern, so-called critical exegesis.” Among these was the assumption “that the historical import of the text was found in and not under its literal, grammatical meaning”; the belief that the literal sense of all particular pericopes was the carrier (however understood) of higher spiritual senses, and that these were to be determined by means of canonical interpretation, that is, “by the scope and goal of the biblical book in the context of the scope and goal of the canonical revelation of God.”³⁶ Further, the most important and

³⁵ For an expertly as well as lively discussion of this, see the first six chapters of Jaroslav Pelikan, *Whose Bible Is It? A Short History of the Scriptures* (2005). A more in-depth survey of the Christian uses of the Hebrew Bible to the Reformation age is provided by J. Samuel Preus, *From Shadow to Promise: Old Testament Interpretation from Augustine to the Young Luther* (1969). For the larger cultural background, see Frank E. Manuel, *The Broken Staff: Judaism through Christian Eyes* (1992).

³⁶ Muller, “Biblical Interpretation in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” p. 127.

common ways of cross-canonical christological exegesis were the three modes of prefigurative reading.

As suggested above, during the second half of the seventeenth century, this broad and age-old consensus came under critical interrogation in unprecedented ways. And the Old Testament books covered in this volume were right at the center of the debate. At this time, the question emerged, whether and how one could reconcile these traditional interpretative methods with the trend in Protestant exegesis toward prioritizing a *sensus literalis*, which was increasingly identified with a historical sense to be found behind or before the text. Could one legitimately maintain that these Old Testament texts prophetically, typologically, or allegorically prefigured Christ and the gospel, even though these prefigurative meanings did not necessarily express the intentions of their human authors and transcended the significance that their original audience would have found in them?

Grotius answer to these questions had been ambivalent. On the one hand, he consistently demonstrated in his *Annotationes* that the wisdom books and the prophetic books, like the historical writings of the Hebrew Bible, could not be said to have spoken literally of Christ or the gospel, if the meaning of these texts was to be determined by the *mens auctoris* and their historical-communicative contexts. On the other hand, Grotius in many cases still pointed to what he variably and more or less interchangeably called a *sensus sublimior*, *sensus mysticus*, or *sensus typicus*. However, these higher spiritual meanings, in which the truths of Christianity were foreshadowed, were, in Grotius's readings, quite detached from the literal-historical sense. They constituted a secondary level of signification, in the sense that the texts had originally neither been intended nor understood that way. Grotius readily allowed that many things in the Hebrew Scriptures seemed so pregnant with Christian meanings that they suggested a divine guidance of events and formulations. Even so, however, these potential meanings were realized only retrospectively from a perspective of faith.³⁷

The defenders of orthodoxy found much to disapprove in Grotius, as he seemed not only to divorce the literal from the spiritual senses and thereby loosen the ties between the two Testaments, but also to separate biblical scholarship and faith. At the turn of the eighteenth century, however, the apologists faced a generation of much more radical critics who resolved the ambiguity in the Grotian position in a way that was unequivocally skeptical of the traditional Christian use of the Hebrew Scriptures. Taking their cues from Grotius and other biblical scholars, the Deists criticized traditional prefigurative readings of the Hebrew Bible as *ex post facto* impositions of an alien and dogmatically predetermined meaning, which amounted to little more than arbitrary allegorizations. For someone like Anthony Collins, such ahistorical readings had no

³⁷ On this, see Reventlow, "Humanistic Exegesis: The Famous Hugo Grotius" (1988).

evidential value and ultimately no validity at all. In its final reach this criticism threatened the very foundations of the Christian conceptualization of Scripture as the integrated unity of Old and New Testament.

Apologists responded to this challenge in different ways.³⁸ Especially in England, some were themselves pushed toward absolutizing the literal-historical sense to such a degree that they disparaged most accustomed forms of (pre-) figurative interpretation and denied the assumption that texts could legitimately be said to have more than the one sense intended by its author. This was true, for instance, for William Whiston (1667–1752), who came to regard direct predictive prophecy as the only way that Old Testament authors could actually be taken to have spoken of Christ in the literal sense and thus as the only solid evidence that the Hebrew Bible provided for the truth-claims of Christianity. Although Mather too came to put a premium on prophetic evidence, he also emphatically defended the value of typological and allegorical readings, if handled with circumspection.

It was Mather's aim to harmonize consideration for the human and historical dimension of the Hebrew Scriptures with proper regard to what he, in accordance with Christian tradition, regarded as their overriding divine intention that could express itself in the different forms of prefiguration acknowledged by the New Testament authors. Throughout, Mather's annotations are deeply invested in reconstructing historical backgrounds, contexts, and authorial intentions. At the same time, however, his annotations on the Hebrew Scriptures are intensely christocentric, more so even than those of many of his apologetically oriented peers. Mather, as he put it in a programmatic annotation on Isa. 48:13, always and vehemently insisted "That our *Bible* is, *The Book of the Messiah*. If Men would come to the Reading of the *Bible*, præpared with a Resolution, to seek the *Messiah*, in every Part of it, they would then come to the Sense of this miraculous Book, and Behold and Confess its Glory" (BA 5:787). Based on his firm belief that the entire Bible was the inspired Word of God, Mather thus regarded Christ to have been revealed in all parts of the Hebrew Scriptures. Sometimes the authors of the Hebrew Scriptures, in particular the prophets, foresaw and predicted Him directly and this was the literal and only meaning of their words. In many other places they anticipated Him only indirectly, by images or allusions, and their words carried more meaning than their literal sense suggested, than they or their intended audience knew. The Christian meaning of these parts of the Hebrew Scriptures was nevertheless as real and valid as their historical sense because God, through the agency of the Holy Spirit, was

³⁸ These controversies and their main protagonists are expertly covered in Reventlow, *The Authority of the Bible and the Rise of the Modern World* (1985); and "English Rationalism, Deism and Early Biblical Criticism" (2008).

the ultimate author. It was even more precious because the Son of God and redeemer of mankind was the subject.

In the commentaries contained in this volume Mather thus constantly moves back and forth between detailed scholarly attention to the *sensus literalis*, typological readings, and elaborate allegorizations leading to mystical and specifically christological senses. Overall, his typological readings are fairly conventional and very much in line with the rules established in his uncle's famous handbook *The Figures or Types of the Old Testament* (1683). Samuel Mather's (1626–1671) understanding of typology followed a line of seventeenth-century Reformed exegetes, in that it conceived of a two-fold literal sense. For Mather, the higher spiritual significance actualized in the New Testament antitypes was a direct extension of the literal sense of the typical events, places, and persons in the Old Testament. A characteristic example is provided by a note on Isa. 6:1, derived from a short tract by the Huguenot theologians Jean Petit and Jacques Cappel. Mather, following his interlocutors, sees the qualities of Uzziah and the kings of Old Testament more generally as typologically foreshadowing Christ. Mather writes:

the Kings of the *Jews*, were sometimes notable Types of our SAVIOUR, who was pleased on His *Cross* to allow *that* for His Title. *Uzziah* was very particularly so: A pious Prince; A great Warriour; A Builder of Towers; A Digger of Wells; A wealthy Shepherd; A great Maintainer of Husbandry; one who laid up great Stores of War, in his Magazines; & one who obtained no little Fame among the Nations And now, *sublata Umbra, Viva Imago Veritatis sese ostendit*.³⁹ *Uzziah* must vanish. Our SAVIOUR appears; in the *Temple*, as a *Priest*; on a *Throne high and lifted up* as a *King*. (BA 5:591).

The entry shows that, like his Reformed colleagues, Mather thought that both the Old Testament type and New Testament antitype were to be treated as fully real. Here and elsewhere Mather often gives much consideration to the historical dimension of the typical events or persons in the history of ancient Israel. In this case the nature of Uzziah's rule and his ambitions are taken into view. This attention to the type in turn reinforces the understanding that its fulfillment in Christ (or, in other cases, the gospel dispensation or church) had an equally factual reality.

In the same way, Mather also treated many of the animals and plants that are frequently mentioned in the wisdom books as having typological meanings. He spent a great deal of philological effort in determining the precise nature of these animals and plants and reconstructing their qualities in order to establish their typological significance. At least in theory, both senses were thus to be recuperated by means of literal interpretation.

³⁹ "Once the shadow has been removed, a living image of truth appears."

Mather seems to have experienced little tension between his historical pursuits and his typological interpretations. Some such tensions are visible in his practice of allegory, though. Mather appears quite self-conscious and occasionally also defensive about engaging in this form of prefigurative interpretation, especially if compared to his older sources. That he exhibits a special nervousness about the legitimacy of allegory reflects a general Protestant legacy but also the historicist turn in hermeneutics. Almost always when he employs allegoresis to identify prefigurations of the Trinity, for instance, he adds some qualifications, indicating that he favors such a reading but does not insist on it. Hence, too, the argument about Solomon's intentions in composing Canticles.

Reflecting the growing concern for the *mens auctoris* and historical context, it was as crucial for Mather to maintain that Solomon had in fact intended to speak of the messiah and predicted the coming of Christ and the gospel dispensation, even though he had not been able to discern them clearly but only through the mysterious images recorded in the Song. By virtue of this argument, Mather could insist that in this case it would be wrong to attend to a presumed literal-historical sense because the Song was supposed to be understood in exclusively non-literal, prefigurative terms. Despite his firm conviction that the Song of Songs spoke essentially of Christ, Mather struggled to integrate the book's complex web of images into a larger whole that satisfied both his scholarly and his pious demands.

Mather left two independent commentaries on Canticles in the "Biblia" manuscript. One strongly leans on Patrick (and through him many older sources) and seeks in light of new scholarship to update a patristic-medieval tradition, which primarily viewed the Song as an intimate colloquy between Christ and the individual soul to be contemplated for devotional purposes. The other commentary follows the *Cogitationes de Cantico Canticorum Salomonis* (1665) by the famed Reformed exegete Johannes Cocceius. It attempts to decode Canticles as predictive prophecy, which in allegorical form described in great detail the entire history of the church under the old and new covenant (see section two).⁴⁰ After reading both interpretations one nevertheless does not feel that Mather ever resolved the mystery of Canticles to his full satisfaction.

With Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, as suggested above, allegory was also an essential means of foregrounding their transcendent, salvific orientation and Christian character. Drawing especially on the mid-seventeenth-century commentaries of Michael Jermin (see section two), but also a wealth of patristic and medieval sources, Mather's annotations on Proverbs and Ecclesiastes thus consistently engage in allegoresis, finding in these books adumbrations of Christ

⁴⁰ For the exegetical debates surrounding Canticles in the seventeenth-century English-speaking world, see Elizabeth Clarke, *Politics, Religion and the Song of Songs in Seventeenth-Century England* (2011); and Guy M. Richard, "Clavis Cantici: A 'Key' to the Reformation in Early Modern Scotland?" (2014).

and the gospel promise before their full revelation a thousand years later. In so doing, Mather parted ways with Patrick and other contemporary Protestant exegetes, who refrained more and more from such prefigurative readings of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. Mather, it seems, was pushing back against the perceived secularization of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes as ethical guidebooks. There is a consistent effort, however – sometimes only on the level of declaration, but also in practice – to anchor these allegorical explications in the literal-historical sense with a great deal of antiquarian effort. Still, Mather, in the final analysis, tends to subordinate the literal-historical sense to the prefigurative, spiritual dimensions of meaning in which the *futurus Christus* becomes visible. This is not only true for the commentaries on Canticles but also for those on the other two Solomon books, where the spiritual sense is ultimately posited as the higher one.

Occasionally, Mather even reads parts of the Hebrew Scriptures in the tradition of Christian Kabbalah as elaborate allegories of the different divine hypostases and their interaction. A fascinating example is Mather's trinitarian interpretation of the female wisdom figure in Prov. 8 (BA 5:190–99). Whenever he offers such readings, though, he is very self-conscious about the possibility of overstraining his allegorical approach and about employing methods that are beyond the pale of what is scholarly admissible. When venturing out on an interpretative limb, he typically qualifies his glosses with formulas such as “Whether you accept this Gloss or no, yett you'l excuse my Offering of it, when you consider my Disposition, to find the *Messiah* in this Book of His, as often as I can” (BA 5:163), with which he brackets an entry at Prov. 4:3.

At the end of the day, Mather always seems to have felt it was a greater danger to make too little of the Bible's meaning than too much. For him, every word, every iota was loaded with divine meaning. For Mather Scripture no doubt was deeply embedded in history. At the same time, he held firm to the traditionalist belief that its realism was much deeper and more absolute. In his view, the Bible still encompassed the whole universe, macro- and microcosm, visible and invisible, from beginning to end; all the mysteries of nature and history were folded into its texts, encoded by the agency of the Holy Spirit with multiple higher and often secret senses that required quite different hermeneutical tools than historical contextualization to unlock them.

The Quest for Historical Realism and Scientific Evidentialism

These findings are especially striking, because they seem to rub against a tendency in Mather's annotations to focus on the facts of history and nature that are presumed to inform the literal-historical sense. The “Biblia” project more generally reflects the emergence of a new paradigm of biblical realism. The new paradigm stands in continuity with the realism of older Protestant exegesis but re-accentuates it considerably. This happened in the context of the early Enlight-

enment debates over the authority of the Scriptures that increasingly centered on questions of factual veracity. Both skeptics and apologists showed a tendency to assess the truthfulness of the Scriptures from the outside, asking how accurately the texts represented a preceding historical and natural reality that lay behind or before the Scriptures, at least in those parts where the biblical discourse was not obviously figurative in nature. Even where theologians remained absolutely convinced of the infallible truth of the Bible, they felt increasingly compelled to prove it by establishing the correspondence of the Bible with the rapidly growing body of knowledge about the historical and natural world. This tendency was at once an effect of and an important factor contributing to the historicization of Scripture.⁴¹

The tendency was especially pronounced in the English-speaking world of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, where historians have identified the rise of a “Baconian” approach to the Bible, obsessed with demonstrating the factuality of the Scriptures.⁴² Mather is, to some extent, caught up in this movement. For Mather, however, this new paradigm of realism could still be reconciled with a hermeneutics aimed at unlocking further spiritual levels of signification.

The edition of the “Biblia” is beginning to make it clear that Mather was an important pioneer in establishing a Baconian tradition of evidentialism in American theology. This tradition centers on the factual verity of the Scriptures, defined in (quasi-)scientific terms. Arguably more so than any of his contemporaries or immediate successors in British North America, including Jonathan Edwards, Mather represented this new approach in Christian apologetics. He sought to make empirical evidence a master weapon in the defense of the Bible’s supernatural authority. This is as much part of Mather’s involvement with a Christian Enlightenment as the reports he sent to his fellows at the Royal So-

⁴¹ The classical study of this paradigm shift is Hans Frei, *The Eclipse of the Biblical Narrative* (1974).

⁴² For America, E. Brooks Holifield has written on the emergence of this tradition: “Deeply informed by parallel patterns of thought in England and on the European continent, this evidentialist position consisted of the claim that factual as well as rational evidence confirmed the uniqueness and truth of the biblical revelation. Such a claim stood behind the rise of ‘evidential Christianity,’ a form of theology different in important ways from either the scholastic thought of the medieval church or the theologies of revelation that came out of the Protestant reform.” *Theology in America: Christian Thought from the Age of the Puritans to the Civil War* (2003), p. 5. The classical study of this tradition as it evolved in the nineteenth century is Theodore Dwight Bozeman, *Protestants in an Age of Science: The Baconian Ideal and Antebellum American Religious Thought* (1977). On the preeminence of evidentialism and a factual understanding of the Scriptures in nineteenth-century American theology, see Mark A. Noll, *America’s God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (2002), esp. pp. 227–53 and his *American Evangelical Christianity: An Introduction* (2001), pp. 156–58; on the long-term consequences of this approach in defending the authority of the scriptures, see Jack B. Rogers, and Donald K. McKim, *The Authority and Interpretation of the Bible* (1979).

ciety or his well-known interest in natural theology.⁴³ One of the driving forces behind the "Biblia Americana" was to gather all sorts of proof from extra-biblical sources. The entries of this volume are steeped in references to works from the various disciplines of para-theology, especially sacred history and geography. Scholarship of the period also saw a virtual explosion in studies exploring all facets of Hebrew and other ancient cultures, their worldviews, customs, and traditions, including literary traditions. Mather took a very lively interest in such studies and attempted to consult as many of them as possible for his "Biblia." Everything from warfare, trade and agricultural techniques to clothing and hair styles was important to him. This all-inclusive interest in the biblical lifeworlds was also fuelled by his desire to verify the realism of Scripture.

Mather's investment in the new paradigm of representational realism and his preoccupation with the historical referentiality of the Scriptures is very prominent in those parts of his commentaries on Isaiah and Jeremiah where he writes about the accurate fulfillment of their predictions decades and centuries after they presumably were pronounced. Mather consistently seeks to offer proof that the biblical prophecies can be read as factual history in reverse. Examples are legion here, but particularly striking in this regard are his annotations on Jeremiah's oracles about the fall of Babylon in chapters 49–51. In his efforts to demonstrate just how realistically and down to the last detail Jeremiah predicted the circumstances of Babylon's fall more than half a century after his death, Mather draws on a variety of historical as well as geographical sources. Interestingly, though, on this matter he found it safe to make Grotius his main interlocutor. Through Grotius Mather accesses an array of classical authors who talk independently of the Bible about the collapse of the Babylonian empire and the fall of the city. These include the Greek fragments of a Babylonian history by Berosus, Herodotus's *The Persian Wars*, Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, Aristotle's *Politics*, Pliny's *Natural History*, Curtius's *History of Alexander*, Strabo's *Geography*, and Diodorus Siculus's *Library of History*. With the help of these sources Grotius and Mather seek to show that in some of his visions Jeremiah clearly foresaw the dynamics of regional politics that would lead to the demise of the Babylonian Empire and the rise of the Persian Empire. Mather also wanted to illustrate to his readers how the layout and physical features of Babylon had stood before

43 For Mather as an Enlightenment thinker, see Philipp Reisner, *Cotton Mather als Aufklärer: Glaube und Gesellschaft im Neuengland der Frühen Neuzeit* (2012); Smolinski, "Editor's Introduction" (BA 1:77–174), Winton U. Solberg's "Introduction" to the edition of *The Christian Philosopher* (1994) and his "Cotton Mather, the 'Biblia Americana,' and the Enlightenment" (2010). Earlier assessments of Mather's response to Enlightenment science can be found in Jeffrey Jeske, "Cotton Mather: Physico-Theologian" (1986); Pershing Vartarian, "Cotton Mather and the Puritan Transition into the Enlightenment" (1973); Raymond Phineas Stearns, *Science in the British Colonies of America* (1970), and Otho T. Beall, Jr. and Richard H. Shyrock, *Cotton Mather: The First Significant Figure in American Medicine* (1954).

Jeremiah's mental eye with astonishing clarity, as well as the manner of the city's conquest by the Median-Persian army.

In the same manner, Mather also consults works of natural philosophy, to demonstrate the factuality of Scripture in accordance with the most up-to-date scientific knowledge.⁴⁴ Indeed, Mather repeatedly suggests that the authors of the Hebrew Scriptures by divine inspiration foreshadowed, without being fully aware of the import of their words, knowledge of natural phenomena that were only now being explained by scientific discoveries or were even still awaiting such explanations. A fascinating entry of this kind is the mini-essay that Mather wrote on Jer. 8:7 (*BA* 5:878–83), which Michael Dopffel has examined in detail.⁴⁵ This entry formed the basis for one of the very first “*Curiosa Americana*” that Mather sent to the Royal Society, later published in its *Transactions*. In his annotation on Jeremiah's pronouncement how “the stork in the heaven knoweth her appointed times; and the turtle and the crane and the swallow observe the time of their coming” and the letter to London derived from it, Mather constructs the hypothesis that the migratory birds, whose whereabouts when they were absent from their normal habitats were still a mystery to science at the beginning of the eighteenth century, were flying to planetoids circling between the earth and the moon. What makes this rather amusing conjecture – based in large parts on the argument in a tract by Charles Morton (1627–1698), the famous teacher of astronomy at Harvard – so interesting is how it showcases the intimate yet fraught relationship between Mather's scripturalism and his scientific approach to the natural world.⁴⁶

Natural philosophy and scriptural exposition also join hands in the entry on Jer. 1:11–13 that deals with the popular subject of comets. Although in Mather's period cometology was developing into an increasingly secularized and professionalized sub-discipline of astronomy, the long popular legacy of viewing these heavenly bodies as divine portents was far from past. Theologians continued to inquire into the meaning of comets, and religious concern as well as biblical exegesis still played a major part even in the works of leading astrono-

⁴⁴ On the dynamic interrelations between the evolution of the natural sciences and the development of Protestant theology and biblical exegesis during this period, especially in the English-speaking world, see Steven Shapin, *The Scientific Revolution* (1996); Peter Harrison, *The Bible, Protestantism, and the Rise of Natural Science* (1998); the essays in Kevin Killeen and Peter J. Forshaw, eds., *The Word and the World: Biblical Exegesis and Early Modern Science* (2007). For New England specifically, see Rose Lockwood, “The Scientific Revolution in Seventeenth-Century New England” (1980).

⁴⁵ Michael Dopffel, “Between Biblical Literalism and Scientific Inquiry: Cotton Mather's Commentary on Jeremiah 8:7” (2010).

⁴⁶ Mather draws on *An Essay toward the probable Solution of this Question: Whence come the Stork and the Turtledove, the Crane, and the Swallow, when they know and observe the appointed Time of their Coming* (1703), which was written by Morton and anonymously published after his death.

mers.⁴⁷ The connection between this particular scriptural passage and the subject of comets is far from obvious. After his initial calling as a prophet, Jeremiah receives two visions: the “rod of an almond tree” (v. 11) and “a seething pot ... the face thereof is toward the north.” Since the patristic period the dominant reading of these two visions had been allegorical. The visions were threats of divine judgment on Judah. The “almond tree” symbolically stood for imminent and harsh punishment, while the “seething pot” with its opening to the north was often understood as foreshadowing the Babylonian invasion that would come from that geographical direction. In an early gloss Mather initially affirmed this exegetical tradition without qualification. Reflecting on the “*Hieroglyphical Reason* [that] may bee given, why the *Rod of an Almond tree*, must, in the Visions of the Prophet, represent the Judgments of God,” he cited the commentary of the great patristic exegete and bible translator Jerome (c. 347–419/20) to the effect that “the *Almond* hath an harsh, and an hard, *Shell*, but a sweet *Fruit*, when wee are gott past that *Shell*; so, the Castigations that God employes upon us, are for the Prophet *bitter* enough, but if wee bear them well, wee shall at last find a wonderful *Sweetness* in the Effects of them” (BA 5:862–63).⁴⁸

However, in the following years he read the work of the Lutheran theologian and scholar Johannes Heinrich Ursinus (1608–1667), *S. Jeremiae, virga vigilans et olla succensa occasione terribilis nuper visi cometae* (1665), which offered him an interpretation much more in tune with the rising representational paradigm of biblical realism. Ursinus suggested that the two verses must be seen as forming one prophecy that was not inspired by some dream vision or ecstasy but by Jeremiah’s observation of “nothing more nor less, than, *A Blazing Star*,” which he rightly understood to be a harbinger of God’s anger and judgment:

God call’d him forth, & bidding him, *look*, to the Northward early in the Morning, hee saw a *Comet*; only the *Blaze*, or *Stream* of it, here was the *Rod*; above the Horizon. A little after, at the Call of God, coming forth to *look*, hee saw more; even the *Star* itself, or the *Nucleus* & *Body* of the Star, as well as the *Coma* of it, risen above the Horizon; here was the *seething Pot*, sending up the Blaze of the Star towards the *North*. The Prophet compared this Object, unto an *Almond Rod*, because it had not only a Resemblance to a thing of that Figure, but also because the Rulers and Judges of the Jewish Nation, carried such *Rods* with them, both as Intimations of the *Blowes*, with which their Justice was to smite all Delinquents, and of the *Watchfulness* which they were to use in Executing of those Blowes. (BA 5:861)⁴⁹

⁴⁷ In Mather’s most immediate environment, to be sure, the providential framework of interpretation remained virtually unchallenged. His own father had published works on the great comet of 1680 and Halley’s comet in 1682 – *Heavens Alarm to the World* (1681) and *Kometographia, or, A Discourse concerning Comets* (1683) – which, although informed by the most recent scientific discoveries and theories, left no doubt that the world was viewing harbingers of divine judgment.

⁴⁸ A reference to a passage in Jerome’s *Commentarii in Jeremiam*, lib. 1, at Jer. 1:11–12 [PL 24. 685; CCSL 74].

⁴⁹ *S. Jeremiae, virga vigilans et olla succensa occasione terribilis nuper visi cometae* (1665), p. 12.

Following Ursinus, and the broader trend in Protestantism towards a positive view of the natural sciences and astronomy, Mather now argued that the pot and the rod were not just figures of speech but together represented the literal-factual reality of the comet with its tail, which the prophet was merely describing with some rhetorical circumlocution. At the same time, Ursinus and Mather affirmed that the comet was an extraordinary providence through which God had always communicated with men; the prophet immediately grasped the message and compared the tail to the rod as an instrument of punishment.

Mather did not let matters rest at that, however. From the writings of “the Ingenious Mr. *Hook*” he adduced further reasons “why the Body of a *Comet*, should bee compared unto an opened *seething Pott*”; reasons, as Mather slyly added, “which perhaps, this Author himself never thought of.” The reference is to Robert Hooke’s work *Cometa*, published in *Lectures and Collections* (1678).⁵⁰ The British natural philosopher, polymath, inventor, and leading member of the Royal Society (he was curator of experiments and member of council), Robert Hooke (1635–1703) was a major player in the English scientific revolution. He did important theoretical and empirical work in the fields of mechanics, microscopy, biology, gravitation, and astronomy. Hooke’s *Cometa* was based on his own telescopic observations of comets first in 1664–1665 and then in 1677. The tract made a pioneering intervention in the astronomical debates of the last third of the seventeenth century over the origins, nature, and orbits of comets. It concluded that comets did not move within the earth’s atmosphere, but were small celestial bodies whose movements, like that of planets or stars, were dictated by the law of gravity. Their fiery nuclei consisted of solid matter that underwent progressive dissolution or combustion, a process in which the blaze or trail was exuded. Comets were visible to us partly by reflecting sunlight, partly from their own light generated through combustion.⁵¹ Mather alludes to Hooke’s observations on the solid surface and fiery nucleus of the comet that, to his mind, “very much illustrate the Agreeableness of such a Similitude; A *Comet*, being but an opaque Body, like a *Pott* or an *Oven*, full of Fire, now opened, & so steaming out” (*BA* 5:862).

Interestingly enough, Hooke, while certainly not inimical to natural theology in general, disapproved of the very kind of religious interpretations of comets in support of which Mather cites his work. Hooke not only maintained that comets in fact were subject to the same universal laws as the rest of the heavenly bodies, he also argued for the epistemological self-restriction of science: it was to keep to the realm of secondary causes and effects, which was accessible through observation and experiments. With their empirical methods, scientists

⁵⁰ *Lectures and Collections*, pp. 1–55.

⁵¹ On this, see Alan Chapman, *England’s Leonardo: Robert Hooke and the Seventeenth-Century Scientific Revolution* (2005), pp. 35–37.

could establish nothing about the primary causes and the *causa causarum*. At best they could offer physico-theological inferences by way of analogy.

Mather likely knew about Hooke's views but chose to silently ignore them. Such a radical epistemological self-restriction to the material realm of secondary causes, in his mind, was unwarranted and unscriptural. The higher authority of biblical revelation, ever superior to the book of nature, completely vindicated belief in the reality of special providences generally, and the providential significance of comets specifically. Further, Mather was convinced that Hooke's telescopic observations confirmed this by illustrating the realism of Jer. 1: 11–13. He thus used Hooke's scientific research as he employed the historical criticism of a Grotius: he selected and appropriated from them whatever suited his apologetical purposes. Ultimately, then, Cotton Mather's biblical commentary on comets shows the same basic ambiguity that also characterized his father's writings on the subject.⁵² On the one hand, he genuinely embraced natural philosophy with its celebration of empirical investigation and reason, and welcomed new discoveries like those offered by Hooke. Natural philosophy also certainly played an important role in his increasingly factualist understanding of the Bible's historical realism. On the other hand, he remained wary of a worldview that increasingly privileged explanations from secondary causes alone and that insisted on the uniformity of the natural order and the universality of its laws. Such a view, Mather felt, compromised God's sovereign power in sustaining and directing the world, and it contradicted the testimony of the Bible.⁵³

Mather's urge to factualize the contents of the Bible in quasi-scientific terms also extended to all things supernatural and eschatological. The doings of angels and demons, for instance, are a very frequent topic in the annotations of this volume, as are divine interventions in history. In some cases, such as the story of the sundial of Ahaz (see 2 Kings 20:8–11; Isa. 38:7–8), Mather struggled very hard to come up with an explanation that reconciled the belief in God's sovereign power to interfere in the natural order with the assumption that this order was constituted by a linear continuum of time and uniform physical laws. In dealing with the supernatural, Mather is very concerned to explain how it interacted with the material world. Many such explanations were informed by his evolving theory of spiritual vitalism that he eventually organized around the key concept of the *Nishmath-Chajim* (or "breath of life"). A number of entries in this volume reveal how Mather, without using that specific term yet, developed his mature theory of the *Nishmath-Chajim* (presumed to be a

⁵² On this see Robert Middlekauff, *The Mathers: Three Generations of Puritan Intellectuals* ([1971] 1999), pp. 140–43, and Michael P. Winship, *Seers of God Puritan Providentialism in the Restoration and Early Enlightenment* (1996), pp. 18, 22, 63, 98.

⁵³ On Mather's engagement with the natural sciences in the "Biblia," see Smolinski, "How to Go to Heaven, or How Heaven Goes? Natural Science and Interpretation in Cotton Mather's 'Biblia Americana' (1693–1728)" (2008).

mediating instance joining the body and spirit) over a long process of time from the exegesis of many different scriptural passages, where he engaged with a wide variety of hermetic-Paracelsian, alchemical, and kabbalistic sources,⁵⁴ including the Cambridge Platonists Ralph Cudworth (1617–1688) and Henry More (1614–1687) but also Johann Arndt's (1555–1621) *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum* (1606–1610).⁵⁵ Mather suspected that the mysterious vital force permeating the universe was also the medium that transmitted the material effects of supernatural agents to the natural world, including the workings of the Holy Spirit in the spiritual regeneration of man but also in the bodily resurrection.

Mather was not only convinced that the Christian doctrine of the bodily resurrection was already taught, although often obliquely, in the Hebrew Bible. He also believed that certain passages of Hebrew Scriptures, if rightly interpreted, contained priceless clues as to how the disembodied spirits would be united with their new bodies in the eschaton. For the exegesis of such passages as Isa. 26:19 and 66:14, he turned to the foundational text of the Kabbalah,⁵⁶ the *Sefer ha-Zohar* ("Book of Splendor") by way of a text by the English scholar John Gregory (see section two). On Isa. 26:19 ("Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in dust: for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead"), he writes: "Our Lord Jesus Christ, reckons the Dead Race of them, that are by Faith united unto Him, to be His *Dead Body*. Hee is the *Root*; and Hee now lives forever. What tho' the *Branches* are lopt off by Death?" And the reason why Isaiah mentioned the dew here, as the "Jewes in the Book *Zohar*, tell us," was, "That at the last Day, a Kind of *Plastical Dew* shall fall down upon the *Dead*, and ingender with *Luz*, the præserv'd *Bone*, out of which the whole Man shall again spring forth."⁵⁷ Thus, following Gregory's lead, Mather found

54 Goodrick-Clarke, *The Western Esoteric Traditions: A Historical Introduction* (2008), p. 161. On the preoccupation of contemporary radical Dissenters and Pietists with esoteric traditions, see Arthur Versluis, *Wisdom's Children: A Christian Esoteric Tradition* (1999).

55 On Mather's concept of the *Nishmath-Chajim* and its various sources, see Gordon W. Jones, "Introduction" to *The Angel of Bethesda* (1972) and Margaret Humphreys Warner "Vindicating the Minister's Role: Cotton Mather's Concept of the *Nishmath-Chajim* and the Spiritualization of Medicine" (1981). On Arndt in particular, compare Grainger, "Vital Nature and Vital Piety: Johann Arndt and the Evangelical Vitalism of Cotton Mather" (2012).

56 For the larger context, see Joseph Dan, ed., *The Christian Kabbalah: Jewish Mystical Books and their Christian Interpreters* (1997); and Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, *Geschichte der christlichen Kabbala*, vol. 1, 15. und 16. Jahrhundert (2012).

57 Derived from John Gregory, *A Sermon upon the Resurrection*, in *Works*, pp. 62–69. Gregory references the *Sefer ha-Zohar* through the partial Latin edition of Christian Knorr von Rosenroth, *Kabbala denudata, sive doctrina Hebræorum transcendentalis et metaphysica atque theologica* (1677–1684), vol. 2, *Idra Rabba*, sect. 4, col. 45–47, p. 393. In the 1887 English translation of the *Kabbala denudata* by Samuel Liddell MacGregor Mathers, the passages cited by Cotton Mather appear in cap. 4 ("Concerning the Dew, Or Moisture of the Brain, of the Ancient One, or Macroprosopus"). See esp. verse 45: "And from that dew which floweth down from his head, that (namely) which is external, the dead are raised up in the world to come"; and verse 47:

the vitalistic notion of a *vis formatrix* or *vis plastic* in the kabbalistic teachings.⁵⁸ On the day of the resurrection God would pour out this force over the earth in an unprecedented manner, infusing the mortal remains of men with new life, forming them into new beings. "Jewish Fancies I indulge not," Mather reassured his potential audience, "but I am sure, wee shall bee at last quickened by the Influences of Him, *whose Head is filled with the Dew, & whose Locks with the Drops of the Night*" (BA 5:704).⁵⁹

This example goes to show that Mather's conceptualization of science, or, more accurately, natural philosophy, was quite different from modern conceptualizations and, besides disciplines such as astronomy and anatomy, included many theories and practices that today are considered esoteric or magical, including Christian versions of Kabbalah and alchemy.⁶⁰ All these mixed easily in Mather's annotations on the Hebrew Scriptures. Mather's annotations, moreover, show how, for many intellectuals of the early Enlightenment, the acceptance and further development of new scientific theories and methods was deeply connected with an increasingly literalist-factualist approach to the Bible. As suggested above, one of the potentially surprising conclusions arising from a study of the annotations in this volume is that this new biblical realism does not go along with a collapse of the allegorical interpretation of texts and indeed of the world as such. While some intellectual historians conclude from studying Protestant Bible commentaries of Mather's period that a literalist factualization of the scriptural texts inevitably went hand-in-hand with denuding them of symbolic significance, this is not borne out by the "Biblia" at all.⁶¹

The Debate over Prophetic Evidence

Although never to the exclusion of typological or allegorical exegesis, the pull of the new paradigm of representational realism can be felt very strongly in Mather's commentaries on the prophets. At the turn of the eighteenth century, the scholarly discourse on these books was increasingly dominated by a view of prophecy as factual prediction. Whether the Old Testament prophets could be understood as actually having foretold Christ, the gospel dispensation and the eschaton, and whether their representation in the New Testament could be taken as literal-historical fulfillments of what had been intended in these

"And it is written Isa. Xxvi.19: 'The dew of the lights is Thy dew.' Of the lights – that is, from the brightness of the Ancient One."

58 For the background, see William B. Hunter, Jr., "The Seventeenth Century Doctrine of Plastic Nature" (1950).

59 Reference is made to Cant. 5:2.

60 On this see, Francis Yates, *The Rosencrucian Enlightenment* (1972); and Allison Coudert, *Religion, Magic, and Science in Early Modern Europe and America* (2011); and Walter W. Woodward, *Prospero's America: John Winthrop, Jr., Alchemy, and the Creation of New England Culture* (2010).

61 Harrison, *The Bible, Protestantism, and the Rise of Natural Science*, p. 4.

prophecies became much contested questions of momentous importance. For no other book were these questions asked with more urgency than for Isaiah. The prophetic book had long been considered the gospelist among the prophets, for the visions that were thought to prefigure the birth, life, suffering, and death of Christ in amazing detail. Isaiah's oracles on the "New Heavens and the New Earth" had also been central to how the last things had been imagined in the Christian tradition, especially among millennialists of all stripes.

On the one side of the debate stood Grotius and his followers, including the English scholar Samuel White, whose commentary on Isaiah Mather studied very closely (see section two).⁶² These scholars did not deny that Isaiah and the other prophets had been inspired to foresee the future, but they thought it necessary to circumscribe narrowly the reach of the actual predictions and carefully contextualize their meaning. For the Grotians the primary sense of the Old Testament prophecies was always to be sought in historical matters that more or less immediately concerned the people of ancient Israel. These prophecies were fulfilled in events that usually reached no further than the restoration from the Babylonian exile or, at most, the dispersion after the destruction of the Second Temple. While some possible exceptions were debated among the Grotians, they – true to an intentionalist-contextualist hermeneutics – generally maintained that Christ and the gospel had not been predicted literally at all by the Hebrew prophets, let alone the eschaton. For some of the Hebrew prophecies expressly cited in the New Testament Grotius and his followers would concede a *sensus mysticus* or *sublimior* in which Christ was foreshadowed, but only on a secondary level of signification. In these cases, the events or figures mentioned were, by God's providence, arranged in such a way that they would lend themselves to retrospective allegorizations in the citations made by the New Testament writers. These citations had little to do with the original meaning of the Hebrew prophets but expressed the faith of Christ's early followers and Christians ever since.

In the early eighteenth century, some radical English Deists, notably Collins in his *Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons*, took the Grotian argument one step further. Since the Hebrew prophets such as Isaiah and Jeremiah had not intended Christ as the referent of their predictions, the New Testament citations of these prophecies ultimately did not hold any evidential power. The New Testament writers, Collins argued, had basically used first-century rabbinic techniques of exegesis to christianize the Hebrew Scriptures and in particular the prophets. Christianity, he irreverently suggested, was originally built upon free-wheeling allegorizations of the Tanakh. What was at stake here, was the tie between the Old and the New Testament as one continuous revelation, the

⁶² Smolinski, "Introduction" to *Triparadisus* (pp. 14–16) provides a helpful survey of the English debate over Grotius.

Christian claim to having superseded ancient Israel as God's *peculium*, and, most of all, Christ's claim to messiahship.

On the other side of the debate stood the apologetically oriented critics who were convinced that to relegate, as the Grotians did, the Christian meaning of the Hebrew prophets to the level of a vague mystical sense more or less disconnected from the *sensus literalis* totally emasculated the evidential power of the Old Testament prophecies. Also, Grotius's limitation of prophetic foresight contradicted the traditionalist view, according to which the prophets, by supernatural inspiration, were able to survey the entire history of the world, from the coming destruction of Jerusalem, the rise and eventual collapse of the Babylonian empire, the birth, life and death of the Messiah, to His return and the recreation of heaven and earth. The apologists were determined to defend the traditional view but did so with new historical and factualist arguments. This debate over prophetic evidence from the Old Testament profoundly concerned Mather. He followed it and continued to make excerpts from recent apologetical works written against Collins and his ilk until death took the pen from his hand.

More specifically, Mather's commentaries on Isaiah and Jeremiah must be seen in the context of the contemporary genre of *theologia prophetica*. In this new genre, apologists sought to refute such criticism and solidify prophetic evidence into quasi-empirical proof for the teachings of Christianity.⁶³ If the third part of his unpublished *Triparadisus* (written 1726/27) was supposed to represent Mather's systematic contribution to the genre of *theologia prophetica* and his final word on eschatology, the annotations on Isaiah and Jeremiah furnished most of the material. Of supreme importance was the defense of Isaiah as Christian Scripture.⁶⁴

Like so many Christian interpreters before and after him, Mather regarded Isaiah as the greatest of all the Hebrew prophets. The Isaianic predictions to him were superior to all others in terms of their sublime rhetoric and majestic style but most importantly in terms of the importance of their content. Like his peers, Mather did not deny that Isaiah (like Jeremiah) frequently spoke to the situation of his time and to the concerns of his original audience. But amid the threats against Babylon and other foreign nations, the warnings against backsliding Judah and the promises of eventual comfort, Mather, in keeping with Christian tradition, found predictions of a much farther reach. Quoting from Robert Jenkin (bapt. 1656, d. 1727), Mather thus wrote in his introductory notes: "He declares things, which were not to be fulfilled until many Ages afterwards, as plainly as if he had seen them before his Eyes, and would make all others to see

⁶³ On this, see Ernestine van der Wall, "Between Grotius and Cocceius: The 'Theologia Prophetica' of Campegius Vitringa (1659–1722)" (1994).

⁶⁴ The annotations on Jeremiah and especially Isaiah served as one of the main sources for section III of *Triparadisus* ("The Third Paradise"). Parallels are pointed out in the footnotes.

them" (BA 5:565).⁶⁵ Most importantly, of course, he also considered Isaiah *the* prophet of the messiah.

Since the early church, Isaiah, in the words of John Sawyer, had been known "as 'more evangelist than prophet,' and the Book of Isaiah as the 'Fifth Gospel.' For the prophet, more than any other, seemed to have recognized the Messiah and wrote about him like a historian, even using the past tense in key passages such as 9:6 and chapter 53."⁶⁶ Mather found himself in wholehearted agreement with this tradition. With reference to this chapter with its famous suffering servant passages, Mather would thus quote the oft-cited dictum by Jerome "concerning *Isaiah*; *Quòd non tam Propheta dicendus sit, quàm Evangelista. Ità enim Universa Christi Ecclesiæque Mysteria ad liquidum prosecutus est, ut non putes eum de futuro vaticinari, sed de præterito Historiam texere.*"⁶⁷

In the Isaianic prophecies Mather found predicted the entire gospel history, including the advent and character, ministry and preaching of Jesus Christ as well as his suffering, death and resurrection:

He speaks of Christ as clearly, as if with *Simeon*, he had his Saviour in his Arms; or with the *Wise Men* had been kneeling down before Him, & presenting Him with more precious Gifts, than any they had to offer; and describes His *Passion* as fully, as if he had follow'd Him thro' every Part of it, & having been *crucified* with Him, had been just entring with Him into *Paradise*. (BA 5:565)⁶⁸

Isaiah also anticipated all the promises of the new covenant with surrogate Israel of the gentile church, the future reign of the messiah, and the eternal glories of heaven. More specifically, the Isaianic prophecies were key reference texts for Mather's premillennialist scheme of the latter-day events and his vision of the final age of history.⁶⁹

Mather goes to great lengths to demonstrate through elaborate philological and historical-contextual explications that in all the essential cases the great Hebrew prophets did indeed literally foretell what Christian tradition said they did. Mather contends that their predictions concerning the coming of the messiah, the new promise of salvation, and the supersession of old natural Israel by the new spiritual Israel of the gentile church can be read as factual history in

⁶⁵ Derived from the work of the Anglican scholar and apologist Robert Jenkin, *The Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion* ([1696–1697] 1715), "Of the Style of the Holy Scriptures," vol. 2, p. 78.

⁶⁶ John F.A. Sawyer, *The Fifth Gospel: Isaiah in the History of Christianity* (1996), pp. 1–2.

⁶⁷ "That he should not be called prophet, but evangelist, for he presented the universal mystery of Christ and the Church in such a clear manner that one could think that he did not prophesy about the future but rather composed the narrative of past things." From the preface (*Præfatio*) of Jerome's translation of Isaiah, *Liber Isaiaë* [PL 28. 771].

⁶⁸ Jenkin, "Of the Style of the Holy Scriptures," in *The Reasonableness*, vol. 2, p. 78.

⁶⁹ For studies of Mather's eschatology, see Smolinski, "Introduction" to *Trip paradisus* (pp. 21–78); and John Erwin, *The Millennialism of Cotton Mather: An Historical and Theological Analysis* (1990).

reverse. For the key prophecies, in particular, Isa. 7:14, Isa. 53, and Jer. 31:28, which Christians traditionally understood as speaking of the virgin birth and redemptive suffering of Christ, Mather came to insist that these exclusively looked forward to the future Christ. They totally transcended their more immediate temporal horizon. That the "Song of the Servant" literally and exclusively spoke of Christ's crucifixion never seems to have been a question for Mather. The entries on Isa. 53 heap illustration upon illustration for why these famous verses could be read in no other way, including lengthy citations from rabbinic literature to demonstrate that the most authoritative Jewish interpreters had found the messiah here. On Isa. 7:14 ("Behold, a virgin shall conceive ..." KJV), Mather was much more conflicted, as evidenced by his continuous addition of new annotations on this famous verse. For a long time, he attempted to work out a double reading, which granted a first accomplishment of the prophecy as a sign to king Ahaz in the birth of Isaiah's own son, while insisting that its ultimate and true meaning is fulfilled in the virgin birth of Christ. In the end, though, Mather came to the conviction that the latter interpretation of Isa. 7:14 was indeed the only one that could be legitimately maintained.

However, for many other prophecies Mather was ready to concede they had in fact an accomplishment in the history of ancient Israel, even if this accomplishment was often later followed by a second and higher fulfillment in Christian history, which, however, was also literally intended and factual. Like other apologetically oriented exegetes of the period, including Campegius Vitringa in his famous commentary on Isaiah, Mather therefore developed an exegetical model of multiple or successive fulfillments. The most direct influence on him in this regard was William Lowth (see section two), whose work played a decisive role in shaping Mather's engagement with the historicity of the Isaianic prophecies. With Lowth Mather acknowledged the need to reconstruct carefully the background in order to find out what the prophecies might have intended to convey to their original audience, and then search for possible primary historical accomplishments. In their attempt to anchor a Christian interpretation of the Hebrew prophecies in the factual grounding of ancient history, the commentary on Isaiah (like that on Jeremiah) is inextricably intertwined with the massive antiquarian reconstructions that Mather undertakes in the "Biblia" sections on the historical books of the Hebrew Bible. For these reconstructions, Mather actually made frequent use of Grotius's and White's contextual explanations. At the same time, Lowth reassured Mather that one need not lose sight of Christ and His church as the most important subjects of the prophecies, just as one could believe that some prophecies still awaited their ultimate accomplishment in the latter days. The result is a kind of hermeneutical *via media* that Mather follows in his commentaries on Isaiah and Jeremiah.

Throughout his commentaries on Isaiah and Jeremiah, Mather also explains how many of the threats of judgment as well as promises of comfort

that the great Hebrew seers uttered would have their ultimate fulfillment in the eschaton. Especially in his annotations on Isa. 64 to 66 Mather goes into great detail laying out his premillennialist vision of Christ's physical return to purge the world of sin, and erect the messianic kingdom on earth, during which He would reign over the resurrected and changed saints, who would delight in His presence and the blessings of a pure, deathless life unto God. Nowhere perhaps is the convergence of hyperliteralism and a heightened supernaturalism more clearly on display in Mather's Old Testament exegesis than in the entries on these chapters, where he ruminates on the global reach of the conflagration at the return of Christ, the rescue of the then-living saints by the rapture, the precise nature of their bodily transfiguration, the miraculous abilities of the resurrected saints, and the physical layout of the New Heavens and New Earth, including a heavenly and earthly New Jerusalem.

One significant departure from Mather's literalist approach to the latter-day prophecies should be mentioned. Isaiah contains a number of oracles speaking of the restoration of God's "remnant" that many Christian millennialists had interpreted as signifying a conversion of the Jewish nation and its return from the diaspora to Palestine before the return of Christ. Like his father and many of his colleagues, Mather for the longest period of his life espoused such a view of the eschatological conversion of the Jews and the literalist-futurite interpretations of the relevant prophecies on which this view was based. Toward the end of his life, however, he changed his mind. After years of struggle, Mather finally openly declared his altered opinion in the *Trip Paradise*: The *primum implementum* of these and other related prophecies had happened in the conversion of Jewish Christians during the apostolic age. The future accomplishment was to be understood not of old natural Israel but the new Israel of the gentile church, which would undergo a spiritual regeneration at the return of Christ and then, during the millennium, receive the blessings of the true promised land. Mather's commentary on Isaiah, and his engagement with sources such as Lowth and Cocceius that embrace a futurite interpretation of the national conversion, is very revealing of when and how Mather's position on this important topic shifted (see below).⁷⁰ As Mather expected the parousia to be imminent, these attempts in the "Biblia" to solve the remaining mysteries of the latter days were of greatest importance to him. The *Trip Paradise*, through which Mather hoped to publish the quintessence of his findings, was intended as a final warning call

⁷⁰ On Mather's change of mind on Jewish conversion, see Smolinski's "Introduction" to the *Trip Paradise* (pp. 21–37), and Mather's section on "Whether a National Conversion is still to be looked for" (pp. 295–318). For further insights, see also the observations by Minkema (*BA* 3: 48–52) and Maddux (*BA* 4:51–56), as well as the essay by David Komline, "The Controversy of the Present Time: Arianism, William Whiston, and the Development of Mather's Late Eschatology" (2010). For a fuller discussion of my understanding of the matter, see ch. 5.3 of my *Prophecy, Piety, and the Problem of Historicity*.

to the world to wake from its deadly slumber of sin, repent, and embrace new and everlasting life in Christ.

Even in their most speculative parts, as in their most antiquarian parts, Mather's annotations on the Hebrew Scriptures thus always retain an orientation toward Christian experience and practice. Whatever else Mather hoped the "Biblia" would be, he wished it to serve as an instrument that would bring people to conversion, deepen their faith, and guide them in their efforts at sanctification. This orientation is especially clear in those "Biblia" entries which Mather himself sometimes referred to as "experimental" readings. In these, Mather gave increasing weight to experiential insights granted by the illumination of the Holy Spirit and to what was taught by a practical life of faith in Christ, both for understanding the meaning of particular Old Testament passages and for an affirmation of the authority of Scripture as a whole.

A striking example can be found in Mather's annotations on Isa. 66, most of which are concerned either with historical explanations or alchemical and scientific speculations on what would happen at the bodily resurrection. Amidst all this, however, Mather offers an "Illustration" on v. 13, "As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you; and ye shall be comforted in Jerusalem." The entry he noted, was written "on the Morning, that my own pious *Mother* expired." Apparently composed on April 4, 1714, the day Maria Cotton Mather (b. 1642) died, this entry speaks about how the love of a good mother is generally acknowledged to be among the strongest and tenderest of human affections. Yet it only gives us a hint of the nature of God's love. The Isaianic promise of divine comfort to the faithful thus suggests to Mather that "our God has a Kindness for His People, which exceeds that of such a *Mother*." Both of these truths, Mather assures his readers, he found verified by his own life experience (*BA* 5:853).⁷¹ In such experimental readings we can see the influence of the Enlightenment concern for first-hand evidence. There are also parallels with the experiential hermeneutics of early evangelicals such as Edwards as well with as German Pietist thought, notably that of August Hermann Francke (1663–1727), whose introduction to biblical interpretation Mather read with enthusiasm.⁷² Like Francke, Mather apparently saw no principal conflict between scholarly exegesis and its growing attention to the historicity of Scripture, and this experimental approach. However, in entries such as the one on Isa. 66:13 one

71 Both her husband Increase and her first son Cotton preached sermons on the occasion of her death, in which she was represented as a model of piety. Increase's sermon was published under the title *A Sermon concerning Obedience & Resignation* (1714), Cotton's as *Maternal Consolations: An Essay on the Consolation of God, whereof a Man whom his Mother comforteth, receives a Shadow* (1714). The entry in the "Biblia" seems to have served as the germ for Cotton's sermon.

72 Mather was familiar with Francke's most important programmatic writings on the interpretation of the Bible such as *Manuductio ad lectionem Scripturae Sacrae* (1693). On this, see Johannes Wallmann, "Scriptural Understanding and Interpretation in Pietism" (2008).

senses that Mather begins to compartmentalize and hierarchize his hermeneutic instruments in ways that begin to loosen the absolute unity between *erudititas* and *pietas* that earlier Protestants imagined. At least in some “Biblia” entries Christian experience already seems to take priority.

Beyond the Puritan-Origins Paradigm

Both the eschatological and experimental focus constitute vital links between Mather’s Old Testament interpretations and those of subsequent American evangelical exegetes. It should be emphasized, though, that the findings drawn from this volume confirm Smolinski and other revisionist scholars who have contested the still widespread belief that Mather propagated some early form of apocalyptically inflected American exceptionalism. Due in no small part to the formidable influence of Perry Miller and Sacvan Bercovitch,⁷³ there has been a long-standing consensus amongst Americanists that the Puritans and their evangelical heirs transformed biblical typology into the central mode of their cultural imagination by extending the limits of traditional typological readings to include events and persons of New England history. Likewise, the assumption that Puritans imagined New England or America more generally to be a place of special importance in the latter days, or even the center of the millennial kingdom, continues to be uncritically accepted by many Americanists. In this Americanized form, typology and eschatology are widely believed to have laid the foundations for a later U.S. culture and art invested in the notion of a national mission.⁷⁴

In no entry of this volume or elsewhere in the “Biblia Americana” has Mather been found to claim some kind of special place for New England or America more generally – unlike, for instance, his colleague Samuel Sewall (1652–1730). Also, his commentaries do not confirm the time-honored assumption that Mather somehow partook in an extension of the bounds of traditional typology to the realm of secular history that allowed him to identify New England as the latter-day surrogate of Old Israel. On the contrary, Mather’s use of typology is quite conventional Protestant fare. Even in his reading of Canticles as a predictive history of the church culminating in the millennium,

⁷³ The paradigmatic works that have interpreted Mather in this way are Perry Miller’s *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (1953), and Sacvan Bercovitch’s *The Puritan Origins of the American Self* (1975) and *The American Jeremiad* (1978). On typology more specifically, see for instance Mason I. Lowance, Jr., *The Language of Canaan: Metaphor and Symbol in New England from the Puritans to the Transcendentalists* (1980).

⁷⁴ For insightful criticism of Bercovitch’s master-thesis of a Puritan-derived civil theology, see also Russell Reising, *The Unusable Past* (1986), esp. pp. 74–92, Andrew Delbanco, *The Puritan Ordeal* (1989), esp. pp. 41–148, and David Harlan, “A People Blinded from Birth: American History According to Sacvan Bercovitch” (1992). For a critique of this interpretative paradigm with regard to Mather specifically, see Smolinski, “‘Israel Redivivus’: The Eschatological Limits of Puritan Typology in New England” (1990).

New England is not inserted once. The fact that this reading is derived from the German-Dutch Reformed Pietist Cocceius is emblematic of Mather's very transatlantic and transdenominational orientation. The "Biblia" thoroughly defies the stereotypes of parochialism and the tribalist mentality that are too often still associated with Puritan theology. It also undercuts conventional readings of Mather and his work that primarily view them in terms of their Americanness.

One of the guiding assumptions of much of the older scholarship was that the meaning of Mather could be primarily found in his relation to the future nation and its ideological formations. It was even sometimes supposed that he primarily cared about the meaning of America. This has all too often obscured the strong international or, more accurately, supra-regional dimensions of his thinking and writing. The "Biblia" commentaries make it unmistakably clear Mather has to be studied as a figure whose thinking was not so much inward-looking as intensely transatlantic in orientation. Beyond a vast array of sources from across the British Empire, Mather drew upon work from his contemporaries, and the generation preceding them, from Dutch, German, French, and the broader European academic theological contexts. This is significant because it demonstrates that Mather and the British colonies in North America, although they were geographically distant, were nevertheless very much involved in the European debates.

The Atlantic world of the early eighteenth century was not only constituted by political, economic, material, and cultural connections, but also by the intellectual and theological discourses of the early Enlightenment. As the "Biblia" demonstrates, New England was very much a part of this world in terms of government or trade as well as in terms of the scholarly endeavors of its clerical elite. Indeed, Mather's work is a striking example of what Anthony Grafton recently called "The Republic of Letters in the American Colonies."⁷⁵ Situated on the margins of this world, Mather was at the same time very self-conscious of his status as a provincial American. He was ambitious in a unique way. From his remote corner of the earth, Mather hoped to make a contribution to biblical studies by integrating the various branches of contemporary knowledge in a manner that would bolster biblical authority, illuminate the riches of the Word, and provide practical lessons for holy living and evangelical renewal. These hopes were certainly informed by Mather's temporal sense of standing on the brink of the end-times and his version of millennialism that also included pansophic ideas. They were also connected, however, to his sense of geographical distance from the theological in-fighting that plagued European Protestantism. The

⁷⁵ Anthony Grafton, "The Republic of Letters in the American Colonies: Francis Daniel Pastorius Makes a Notebook" (2012).

distance might have allowed him to achieve such an unprecedented ecumenical synthesis of biblical learning from sources across the Christian spectrum.⁷⁶

If Mather is still to be viewed as the archetypical Puritan forerunner of later trends in American cultural life, then he should be seen as an early example not of intellectual nationalism but of a religiously inspired, utopian cosmopolitanism. For besides the many other things that Mather was – Reformed theologian, early evangelical pastor and reformer, Enlightenment philosopher, and naturalist experimenter with medical vaccinations – despite his location in a remote outpost of the British Empire, he always aspired to be a Christian citizen of the international republic of letters.

⁷⁶ On this, see my “Writing ‘To Conquer All Things’: Cotton Mather’s *Magnalia Christi Americana* and the Quandary of *Copia*” (2004) and Mitchell Breitwieser, “All on an American Table: Cotton Mather’s *Biblia Americana*” (2013).

Section 2

Composition and Main Sources

Before going into more depth with the specifics of the composition process and the main sources for volume five, readers should be reminded of the conglomerate character of the “Biblia” as a whole. The “Biblia” grew over a long time by virtue of Mather’s accumulative labor. It came to be a florilegium or “best-of collection” of all that Mather found useful in the different fields of contemporary learning for the purpose of elucidating the Scriptures and defending their authority. For the most part, therefore, the annotations in this and all other sections of the “Biblia” are compiled from different commentaries and a multiplicity of other sources, to which Mather here and there added a few original glosses. The historical background and intellectual contexts for this accumulative type of biblical exegesis, which was still very common among exegetes of Mather’s period, is discussed in more detail by Smolinski and in my monograph.¹ There, the “Biblia” is also compared to some of the standard works on the market for Bible commentaries at the time, especially the two widespread anthologies of biblical scholarship, John Pearson’s *Critici Sacri* (1660–1669) and *Synopsis criticorum* (1669–1676) by the English Nonconformist theologian Matthew Poole (1624–1679), as well as some of the more popular, English-language annotations, including Poole’s *Annotations upon the Holy Bible* (1683–1685), *An Exposition of all the Books of the Old and New Testaments* (1708–1710) by the Welsh Presbyterian minister Matthew Henry (1662–1714), or the works of Simon Patrick (see below).

In my book-length study I further discuss how Mather’s aim for his project shifted over time. Initially, Mather seems to have aimed at commenting on only a limited number of verses across the biblical canon. This was a common format among theologians of the early modern period, who frequently published such explications on select passages of Scripture in which they summarized existing opinion and added their own reflections. Over the years of continuous work, however, the design behind Mather’s “Biblia” grew more ambitious. Around the turn of the century, the aim had become to produce a comprehensive commen-

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

tary that would at once be in conversation with the specialist debates of biblical scholars and theologians throughout the Atlantic world and speak to the needs of a broader audience looking for elucidation of difficult passages as well as for general religious edification.² While even in its ultimate incarnation the “Biblia” does not comment on every single chapter and verse, the majority of Scripture eventually was covered.

While the details of this analysis need not concern us here, a few general points are worth pointing out that should be kept in mind to better understand what can be found in this volume. Broadly speaking, Mather’s theological opinions, exegetical positions, and religious sensibilities only become visible indirectly as they are reflected in his selective choices and in the way he treats and represents his materials. Like his contemporaries, Mather does not cite texts in the manner of modern scholarship. His purpose is not to reproduce as accurately as possible what a referenced author intended to say and how he said it, even if that author was a venerated authority. There is little concern for the original context and larger argument in which a citation was embedded. Many quotes come from intermediary sources, including anthologies and compendia, and there is hardly ever any effort to double-check quoted material. In keeping with what was still widespread practice at the time, Mather selectively appropriates rather than accurately quoting and footnoting his sources, whether they are Church Fathers, the great Reformers, famous commentators of the period, or obscure contemporary tract writers. Almost as a matter of course, he freely paraphrases, rephrases, shortens, or elaborates. In many cases, through omissions, additions, or rewritings, Mather is effectively offering a quite different interpretation of a given verse or passage than the referenced author. Also, Mather was in the habit of combining multiple sources in his annotations, which often grew into veritable intertextual collages. If one compares the original texts, the referenced authors are not always in agreement with each other. But in the way Mather repurposed them, they come to offer complementary rather than contradictory perspectives on a given issue.

The opinions and positions represented in the “Biblia” thus took shape in a complex multilateral process of intertextual composition between Mather and his very diverse sources. Indeed, the breadth of Mather’s reading from which

2 Stievermann, *Prophecy, Piety, and the Problem of Historicity*, ch. 1.1. In 1706 Mather first sent to England “AN AMERICAN OFFER to serve the Great Interests of Learning and Religion in Europe” to promote his commentary in Dissenting circles. See his *Diary* (1:570). Mather then advertised the work in the “General Introduction” of his 1702 *Magnalia Christi Americana* (pp. 33–34) and in an appendix to his 1710 *Bonifacius: An Essay upon the Good*. See *Bonifacius*, ed. David Levin (1966), pp. 159–63. In 1714 he published a separate advertisement in a pamphlet entitled *A New Offer to the Lovers of Religion and Learning*. See also the reprint of this text in *BA* 1:30–37. Mather also made numerous attempts through letters to solicit subscribers. See, for instance, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, ed. Kenneth Silverman (1971), pp. 111–12, 148–49, 155; 170; 181, 188–90, 204, 272–73.

he draws his annotations is astounding, in this volume and the “Biblia” more generally. His references are international, interdenominational, multilingual, historically encompassing, and, as we would say today, transdisciplinary. He not only cites the Church Fathers and medieval commentaries, rabbinic literature, ancient history, classical and modern philosophy, philology, and the natural sciences of his day, but also Reformation and post-Reformation theologians of all denominations, including Roman Catholics and Jesuits. Indeed, an ecumenical impulse to transcend old party lines is one of the most conspicuous features of the “Biblia.”

Volume five offers us more fascinating insights into Mather’s theological leanings and intellectual interests, the complex genesis of “Biblia Americana,” as well as the shifting intentions behind the project. To appreciate these findings specific to volume five, readers should be aware that overall the “Biblia” manuscript reveals four recognizable stages or phases of Mather’s composition and revision process, which Smolinski reconstructed through close scrutiny of all available textual evidence.³ It should be emphasized, though, that these four hypothetical stages cannot always be clearly separated:

Stage I: Aug. 1693 to May 1706

Stage II: May 1706 to the end of 1711

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

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

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

Stage II: After May 1706 Mather seems to have added entries only very intermittently for about five years. Then, beginning in early 1711, he began to add great numbers of illustrations on a daily or near daily basis for several months. He discontinued numbering entries, crossing out in many instances the existing numerals where they could still be seen after stitching. He also excised portions of old entries and even removed entire pages at points to allow for new thoughts and more expansive entries on particular passages. Moreover, he interleaved ad-

³ Smolinski, “Editor’s Introduction” (BA 1:50–62).

ditional sheets or half-sheets as needed to accommodate longer supplementary entries for which no room was left on the original leaf.

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

Stage IV: This final phase comprehends the last dozen or so years of Mather's life. During this time, he added significant new content regarding chronologies of both the Old and New Testaments, as well as philological and textual issues. The most intense 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* (publ. 1721), and mined several sections of the “Biblia” manuscript, especially the commentaries on the major prophets, for his final work on eschatology, the *Trip paradisu*. Of course, throughout the entire process, he would have regularly used the notes in the “Biblia” for his sermon preparations.

Although with considerable variations (to be discussed in detail below), all four stages of composition identified by Smolinski are represented in the annotations on Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Isaiah, and Jeremiah. During all four stages there was a constant influx of information from extremely variegated sources. Mather sometimes extracted from new sources material for just a few particular entries (or made additions to existing ones) across the Bible. Sometimes he would take a source that he deemed central and excerpt it at great length, thereby creating a whole layer of annotations from a particular author on a given book or section. Consequently, we find many entries in this volume on one particular Scripture verse that grew over years or decades, and that frequently shift considerably in their interpretative perspectives from one paragraph composed at an early stage to the next one, which was penned much later.

Generally, it was not Mather's habit to go back and attempt to integrate the different perspectives. Rather he left them standing next to each other, usually without clearly indicating which one he wished to privilege. The intellectual debates Mather engaged in and his own opinion also underwent considerable transformations. As entries were added, layers of annotations accrued, and Mather's thinking on certain issues evolved, he would sometimes undertake some revisions on parts of the manuscript written earlier that contradicted his more mature insights. As noted above, the most dramatic example for such a

change of view had to do with his millennialist eschatology, causing multiple strike-throughs and rewritings in many parts of the manuscript.

But this editorial policy was by no means consistent. Sometimes older entries were left standing that did not fully harmonize with subsequent additions, or even contradicted Mather's later views. Very likely Mather planned for a complete and thorough revision of the manuscript once he found the proper support for publication. He would clean up these issues while doing all the other necessary editorial corrections. But this never happened. The "Biblia," as a result, has retained a certain polyphonous character, in some places more than others.

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

It should be pointed out that in this volume there are actually very few substantial revisions. Of course there are plenty of small corrections, for example, of false starts or copying mistakes. In a few cases Mather also crossed out an older annotation when working through the manuscript again. As far as I can see, however, this was mostly done not because the content had become problematic but because it appeared redundant in the context of what had been added. It might seem strange that we do not find the kind of major revisions that appear in other parts of the manuscript and frequently have to do with Mather's shifting eschatology. After all, the prophecies of Isaiah are central to many discussions respecting the end times, including those about the restoration of the Jewish nation on which Mather experienced the most dramatic change of opinion. My tentative explanation is that the issues were not directly addressed in the works that Mather mined on Isaiah prior to the mid-1710s. When he came back to Isaiah with fresh works that did address these issues, he seems to have already

changed his mind. If necessary, he thus immediately modified the content of the entries accordingly as he entered them.

The following discussion of the composition process and the main sources will be subdivided into two sections: one section on Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles, and one on Isaiah and Jeremiah. This division is somewhat arbitrary, also because Mather employed some sources for all five books, or even across the "Biblia." Ultimately, however, the division seems helpful given that there are a number of major interlocutors that are specific to his annotations on either the Solomonic books or the two major prophets. Readers interested in Mather's sources for this and other sections of the "Biblia" should be apprised of the fact that these have to be reconstructed from the text itself, and the sparse references that it contains. If anything is mentioned at all, it is usually the bare names of authors. Citations of titles, let alone of chapters and page numbers are rare. Unfortunately, Mather did not leave us a bibliography or catalogue of the works he employed for his annotations either. This means that, for all the effort put into reconstructing the process of composition, there remain a few gaps in the documentation, where the source of a citation could not be identified.

In order to close as many gaps as possible I also consulted the relevant sections in Mather's manuscript "Note Book of Authors and Texts Throughout the Bible," held by the American Antiquarian Society. Unfortunately, we neither know when Mather made the lists of titles contained in this notebook.⁴ Nor is it clear what they signify exactly. As many of the works listed for Proverbs through Jeremiah definitely do not show up with direct references in the respective "Biblia" annotations, it seems to be a list of titles Mather was either still planning to look at, or which he consulted for general background information but did not excerpt.

For all five biblical books comprised in this volume the notebook lists as "General Consultants": "Biblia Polyglotta," "Poli Synopsis Criticorum," "Athanasii Synopsis," "Lyranus cum glossa ordinaria," "Vatablus," "English Annotations," and "Index Biblicus." As will be discussed below, Mather certainly made regular use of Brian Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*, just as he occasionally employed the Franciscan exegete Nicholas of Lyra's (1270–1349) *Postilla litteralis super totam Bibliam* (manuscr. 1322–1331; first print ed. Strasbourg, 1492) together with the medieval *Glossa ordinaria*, and the *Adnotationes* or *Scholia in Vetus Testamentum* by Franciscus Vatablus (François Vatable, c. 1495–1547). But I found no textual proof that he ever consulted in any of the actual annotations (Pseudo-)Athanasius's *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae* (probably written by a sixth-century Greek theologian), or the *Index biblicus* (1668) by Harvard's Leonard Hoar (1630–1675).

⁴ Smolinski assumes that it was written around 1720. See his "Editor's Introduction" (BA 1:316–17).

Likewise, there are no instances in which Mather actually cites Matthew Poole's *Synopsis criticorum*, although he undoubtedly consulted this important anthology quite frequently for his own information. Mather seems to have generally avoided references to Poole as he was his direct competitor in the English market. As far as the "English Annotations" are concerned, which are the *Westminster Annotations* commissioned by the Long Parliament,⁵ I was able to identify some references. These are all found in the section on Isaiah and Jeremiah, which for this part of the Bible was written by the great Puritan divine Thomas Gataker (1574–1654), but there are none in the other sections covered by this volume. The findings are equally mixed and confusing for the additional sources that Mather lists in his notebook specifically for the section on Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles,⁶ as well as the section on Isaiah and Jeremiah.⁷ While a few of the titles do indeed show up in the annotations, Mather does not seem to have worked with the others, at least not as sources of direct citation. Inversely, the vast majority of titles that Mather actually did cite in his commentaries are not listed in the notebook. So, overall the "Note Book of Authors and Texts Throughout the Bible" remains a rather enigmatic and

5 The official title is *Annotations upon all the Books of the Old and New Testament; wherein the Text is explained, Doubts resolved, Scriptures paralleled, and various Readings observed* (1645). The commentary went through further editions (1651, 1657) that grew in size, bringing the final edition, which Mather seems to have used, to two volumes with two supplemental volumes. See Richard A. Muller and Rowland S. Ward, *Scripture and Worship: Biblical Interpretation and the Directory for Public Worship. The Westminster Assembly and the Reformed Faith* (2007), pp. 3–82; and Dean George Lampros, "A New Set of Spectacles: The Assembly's Annotations, 1645–1657" (1995).

6 The notebook lists specifically for Proverbs: "Wilcox"; "Solomons Ethics & Economics in Dr. Hall"; "Math. Henry's annot."; "Taylor." From these sources, I could only identify one reference to Thomas Wilcox's *An Exposition upon the Proverbs* (1624).

Specifically for Ecclesiastes are listed: "Nazianzeni Metaphrasis in Ecclesiasten"; "Lutherus Tom. 4"; "Broughton"; "Halls Solomons Ethics & Economics"; "Cartwrights Homilies"; "J. Cotton"; "Beza on Ecc."; "Dr. Jermy"; "Lavaterus," as well as two illegible titles. From these sources, I could identify single references to Hugh Broughton, *A Commentary upon Cobelet or Ecclesiastes, framed for the Instruction of Prince Henry our Hope* (1605) and to John Cotton's *A briefe Exposition with practicall Observations upon the whole Book of Ecclesiastes* (1654), while Michael Jermin's *A Commentary upon the whole Book of Ecclesiastes or the Preacher* (1639) is, in fact, a main source throughout.

Specifically for Canticles are listed: "Sanctius"; "Lutherus Tom. 4"; "Wilcox"; "Hall"; "Aynsworth"; "Cotton"; "Robotham"; "Guild"; "T. Ager"; "Hildershan"; "Eusebii Pamphilii"; "Bezae Homiliae"; "Martin. Delius." From these sources, I could identify one possible reference to Gaspar Sanctius's *In Canticum Canticorum commentarii* (1616) and one indirect reference to John Cotton's, *A brief Exposition of the whole Book of Canticles, or Song of Solomon* (1642).

7 The notebook lists for both Isaiah and Jeremiah: "Sanctius"; "A Lapide"; and "Calvinus." Just for Isaiah it also gives "Lutherus in ex. Tom. 4"; "Marloratus"; "Chrysostomus in Esiae"; and "Gualtherius in Esaia." From these, I could identify a number of references to Gaspar Sanctius (Gaspar Sánchez) *In Isaia prophetam commentarii: cum paraphrasi & indicibus utilissimis* (1616) and to Cornelius à Lapide's *Commentaria in quatuor prophetas maiores* (1625).

unhelpful source. One may speculate that Mather initially intended to follow a plan contained therein but later adopted another mode of operation.

2.1. Composition and Sources of Mather's Commentaries on Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles⁸

Reconstructing the process of composition for these books is particularly difficult and perplexing because there are so few of the index numbers that mark entries that Mather composed during Stage I. In Proverbs, there are 26 index numbers, in Ecclesiastes 12, and in Canticles a mere seven, making for a total of 45. Of course, a few index numbers might have disappeared in the gutter of the manuscript. Still, the entries written during Stage I, most of which are fairly short, would have fit on maybe ten folio-size pages. The still legible index numbers indicate that these commentaries were written throughout the first stage of composition from 1693 to 1706. The numbers range from 139 (Eccles.), 275 (Prov.), and 288 (Cant.) to 1655 (Eccles.), 4847 (Cant.), and 8749 (Prov.). There are a few continuous numbers, suggesting that Mather added these early entries intermittently, as he chanced upon an interesting source, reflected on a specific bible verse, or thought about a new textual problem.⁹ This shows that Mather did not start out in the mid-1690s with the aim of producing anything close to a comprehensive commentary on this section of the Bible but rather intended to offer observations on very select verses. But in the two decades after 1706, Mather added so much material that his annotations on Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles did eventually approach complete commentaries. In its final form the manuscript of this section of the "Biblia" comprises some 127 pages – more than a tenfold increase. Even if we take into account the few blank pages and the fact that many of these pages are not folio size but quarto size or smaller, this certainly is a dramatic expansion that reflects the protracted history of composition and the expansion of Mather's ambition for the "Biblia" project as he continued to hope for its publication.

⁸ A note on bibliographic references: Unless otherwise noted, basic biographical information for figures from the English-speaking world is derived from the online versions of the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ODNB), or *American National Biography Online* (ANB); for Continental figures the source is the online version of the *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* (BBK). Entries and authors from these sources are only cited in full in cases of more detailed discussion.

⁹ Interestingly, the index numbers are not even continuous for identical sources. For instance, the entries that Mather derived from Joachim Zehner (see below) for his annotations on Proverbs have the numbers 1746, 2751, and 1747.

Main Sources during Stage I

During Stage I, Mather did not mine a “master source” for either Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, or Canticles. It seems that he did not even look systematically at the commentaries in Pearson’s *Critici Sacri* (see below), which he employed throughout the “Biblia” and often in an early stage of composition, as in Isaiah and Jeremiah. The entries derived from two of his favored commentators in *Critici Sacri*, Sebastian Münster and Hugo Grotius, have no index numbers, and were clearly added later. Close scrutiny of those entries with still legible index numbers suggests that a good number of these early annotations were, if not original reflections, then at least not directly extracted from other works. A typical example for such an entry is the pious reading of Prov. 27:4: “Wrath is cruel, and anger is outrageous; but who is able to stand before envy?” (BA 5:321). Here Mather offers an explanation from experience that those who engage in a “*zealous* Performance of Duties” are a particular object of envy and as a result frequently encounter hate and all kinds of difficulties. With those entries that do have an identifiable source, authors are as varied as the issues on which Mather comments, and I will only cite a few examples to give an impression of this diversity.

As was his wont, Mather for entries focusing on issues of translation frequently consulted the great London Polyglot Bible. The *spiritus rector* behind the *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*, printed in six volumes between 1654 and 1657, was the Cambridge-trained scholar and Church of England minister Brian Walton (1600–1661). On account of his fervent anti-Puritan stance and royalism, Walton suffered considerably during the English Civil War and Commonwealth period. He was not able to enjoy his compensatory appointment as Bishop of Chester for long after the Restoration. However, he had used the years of his forced retirement at Oxford to put together an outstanding team of English Orientalists (including among others James Ussher, John Lightfoot, Edward Pococke, Edmund Castell, Abraham Wheelocke, Patrick Young, Thomas Hyde, and Thomas Greaves) to produce a polyglot Bible that would surpass its Catholic predecessors both in terms of comprehensiveness, critical apparatus, and the philological quality of the work. To this monumental project, one of the first in England to be financed by subscription, even the hostile Cromwell government had lent its support. In addition to the Masoretic Hebrew text, the Greek Septuagint, Jerome’s Vulgate, and the Aramaic Targumim, for the first time the London Polyglot offered students of the Old Testament the Syriac (Peshitta), Arabic, and, where available the Persian and Ethiopic versions, all in one place and conveniently fitted with their own Latin translations.¹⁰

¹⁰ On Walton, compare D. S. Margoliouth, “Walton, Brian (1600–1661)” (2004). On the larger context, see Adrian Schenker, “The Polyglot Bibles of Antwerp, Paris and London: 1568–1658” (2008), pp. 781–84.

When Mather felt the need to explicate obscure animals and plants mentioned by the biblical texts, he consistently relied on the compendia of Samuel Bochart (1599–1667) and Sir Thomas Browne (1605–1682). The Huguenot theologian and famous orientalist Samuel Bochart is one of the most frequently cited authors across the “Biblia Americana.” Bochart studied at the Huguenot academies in Sedan and Saumur, as well as in London, Oxford, and Leiden, before entering the ministry with a position in Caen. He soon acquired a reputation as a Protestant controversialist, who engaged in public debates with Jesuit theologians, and especially as a gifted scholar of Oriental languages. Bochart put his talents to use mostly in the then-highly esteemed disciplines of para-theology such as the study of biblical geography, fauna and flora, as well as in mythography and natural philosophy. As the gracious beneficiary of Queen Kristina Augusta of Sweden’s invitation, he spent a year in her library working on Arabic handwritten texts. These studies and Bochart’s astounding knowledge of the entire ancient world came to fruition in his two major works, the *Geographia sacra* and *Hierozaicon*, a massive compendium on biblical animals, both of which remained widely influential sources for biblical scholars throughout the eighteenth century.¹¹

Not surprisingly, Mather’s use of Sir Thomas Browne is strictly limited to his *Observations upon several Plants mention’d in Scripture*, contained in the miscellaneous works published in 1683. The medical doctor, philosopher, and literary author Browne was politically a staunch royalist and firm supporter of the Anglican establishment. Intellectually he was a skeptic (as evinced by his *Religio medici* of 1643), who openly embraced an anti-Calvinist Arminianism and was widely suspected to be an Arian and even a crypto-Catholic by English Protestants. With his *Pseudodoxia epidemica*, or *Treatise on vulgar Errors* (1646) he attempted to counter widely-held prejudices, including presumed religious truths. But for new insights into difficult passages of the Scripture Mather was ready to cross such lines as well.

Then there are the seventeenth-century English authors, most of them Puritans or post-Restoration Dissenters. To some of them Mather refers just once, to others several times. For Proverbs, for instance, Mather gleaned a few early annotations from the *Commentarii succincti et dilucidi in Proverbia Salomonis* (1632) of the famous Thomas Cartwright (c. 1535–1603), and from *An Exposition upon the Proverbs* (1624) by the early Puritan reformer Thomas Wilcox (c. 1549–1608). For his notes on Ecclesiastes, he referred to a sermon by the prominent English Presbyterian clergyman and controversialist Vincent Alsop

11 On the field of *geographia sacra*, see Zur Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds: Geography, Religion, and Scholarship, 1550–1700* (2012); Bochart and his significance are discussed on pp. 141–204. On Browne, see Robin H. Robbins, “Browne, Sir Thomas (1605–1682)” (2004).

(bap. 1630–1703),¹² and to a passage describing the terrors of “legal humbling” from the autobiography of Vavasour Powell (1617–1670), a Welsh Nonconformist Puritan preacher, Independent church leader and writer.¹³ The today forgotten Samuel Pack, to give another example, makes an appearance in Canticles with his *An Exposition upon the first Chapter of the Song of Songs*. Considering his use of Puritan authors, it is certainly remarkable that Mather did not choose to draw more heavily on the commentaries that his maternal grandfather John Cotton (1585–1652) had written on Ecclesiastes and Canticles.¹⁴ Both works are cited once but only obliquely, and in an almost reluctantly dutiful manner, as in the entry on Eccles. 1:2. Here Mather briefly summarizes his grandfather’s view that this verse encapsulated the main themes and rhetorical strategies of the whole book. But then Mather quickly changes subject with the remark: “But passing from these things, as perhaps too obvious, for a room in these Papers, I rather hasten to invite your Observation [of another Thing]” (BA 5:361). The stereotypical Puritan filiofetism, which is often only associated with Mather, clearly does not carry very far here.

With the Song of Songs, Mather refers to an unknown “late author” who praised Cotton’s explication of one particular verse (Cant. 4:1), but otherwise ignores both versions of his grandfather’s commentary. Based on a series of sermons held in the 1620s, the first version of this commentary had appeared at the eve of the English Civil War in 1642. It read Canticles in conjunction with Revelation as “an Historical prophetic or prophetically history.” Following the lead of Thomas Brightman (1562–1607),¹⁵ Cotton more specifically took the Song as a “divine Abridgment of the Acts and Monuments of the Church” since the days of Solomon that was progressing toward the millennial age as the dark ages of oppression through the Antichrist were finally drawing to a close.¹⁶ In 1655 a second, thoroughly revised and expanded version was pub-

12 *A Sermon upon the wonderful Deliverance by His Majesty from Assassination, the Nation from Invasion* (1696).

13 Mather refers to *The Life and Death of Mr Vavasour Powell* (1671), p. 14, a biography attributed to the English Nonconformist minister Edward Bagshaw the Younger (1629–1671).

14 John Cotton, *A brief Exposition of the whole Book of Canticles, or Song of Solomon; A brief Exposition with practically Observations upon the whole Book of Ecclesiastes*. On Cotton, see Everett H. Emerson, *John Cotton* (1990). The two versions and their differences are discussed in Jeffrey A. Hammond, “The Bride in Redemptive Time: John Cotton and the Canticles Controversy” (1983). On the ecclesiological and political conflicts in the background of Cotton’s commentary, see Jesper Rosenmeier, “Eaters and Non-Eaters: John Cotton’s A Brief Exposition of ... Canticles (1642) in Light of Boston’s (Linc.) Religious and Civil Conflicts, 1619–22” (2001).

15 Brightman, *Commentary on Canticles* (posthumously published in 1644).

16 *A brief Exposition of the whole Book of Canticles, or, Song of Solomon*, p. 10. On the tradition of the historico-prophetic interpretation of Canticles and its development in the seventeenth century, see Philip S. Alexander, “The Song of Songs as Historical Allegory: Notes on the Development of an Exegetical Tradition” (1996).

lished posthumously,¹⁷ in which Cotton had sought to correct not so much any perceived errors in his scheme of redemptive church history but to balance it out by the inclusion of more practical-devotional observations.¹⁸ Although he would explore both interpretative approaches in the “Biblia,” Mather seems not to have been convinced by either John Cotton’s more devotional readings or his historico-prophetic interpretation.¹⁹ For the first kind of approach, he would come to rely mostly on Simon Patrick, while for the second kind of approach, he drew on Cocceius (see below).

Besides these sources, the early entries on Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles are derived from authors across the ages and across the religious spectrum, a fact that bespeaks Mather’s willingness to consider all opinions when it came to the best interpretation of Scripture. Although most patristic and medieval references were added later from the commentary of Michael Jermin (see below), there are a few early annotations in which Mather cites the Church Fathers or also Bernard of Clairvaux’s (1090–1153) *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum* from other sources, most likely some anthology. That Mather would have recourse to the *auctoritas patrum* in his work on the “Biblia” from beginning to end is probably something that many earlier scholars of American Puritanism would not have predicted but which confirms the views of more recent interpreters.²⁰

His rather frequent employment of Lutheran sources even during Stage I is also somewhat surprising. At the same time, “classical” Reformed works of exegesis on these biblical books, notably by the French Reformer John Calvin (1509–1564), are entirely missing. For his early entries on Proverbs, Mather repeatedly referenced the *Adagia sacra sive Proverbia Scripturae* (1601) by the German Lutheran theologian and superintendent in Schleusingen (Thuringia) Joachim Zehner (Joachim Decimator, 1566–1612). Through Zehner the annotations of Martin Luther (1483–1546), Philipp Melancthon (1497–1560), Johannes Brenz (1499–1570), and Matthias Flacius (1520–1575) also influenced Mather’s considerations.²¹ Also, for a pre-1706 note on Ecclesiastes, Mather cites the work of the prominent representative of post-Reformation

17 *A brief Exposition with practical Observations upon the whole Book of Canticles, or, Song of Solomon* (1655).

18 Hammond, “The Bride in Redemptive Time,” p. 98.

19 For the possible reasons why Mather rejected his grandfather’s interpretation of Canticles, see my *Prophecy, Piety, and the Problem of Historicity*, chs. 4.4 and 5.5.

20 Ann-Stephane Schäfer, *Auctoritas Patrum? The Reception of the Church Fathers in Puritanism* (2012), esp. pp. 147–199.

21 Luther’s commentary on Ecclesiastes appeared in a German translation by Justus Jonas in 1538 as *Ecclesiastes odder Prediger Salomo, ausgelegt durch D. Mart. Luth. Aus dem Latin verdeutschet durch Justum Jonam* (1538). Johannes Brenz’s commentary first appeared in 1528 as *Ecclesiastes Solomonis cum commentariis, iuxta piis atque eruditiis*, and in German as *Der Prediger Salomo mit hoch gegrünter auß heiliger götlicher Geschrifft, Außlegung*. Philipp Melancthon’s Latin commentary first appeared in 1550 as *Enarratio brevis concionum libri Salomonis, cuius*

Lutheran Orthodoxy and professor of Hebrew, Martinus Geierus (Martin Geier, 1614–1680), *In Proverbia et Ecclesiasten Salomonis commentarius* (1647). More predictable are his references to the exegetical work of Dutch Reformed theologians, such as the *Anti-Barbarus Biblicus libro quarto auctus* (1628) of the Franeker professor Sixtinus Amama (1593–1639), which also frequently shows up in other parts of the “Biblia.”

Always eager to find hidden references to Christ in the Old Testament, Mather moreover penned two annotations on Proverbs (10:25 and 30:19) before 1706, in which he discusses messianic readings of these texts in the Talmud. These he gleaned in Latin translation from two interesting sources, which are also employed elsewhere in the “Biblia”: One is the *Pugio Fidei* of the Catalan Dominican friar, orientalist, missionary, and Christian controversialist Ramón Martí or Raymond Martini (c. 1220–1285). The *Pugio Fidei* or “*Dagger of Faith*” (composed around 1280) is a massive work of anti-Jewish apologetics that seeks to prove the truths of Christian doctrine from readings of the Talmud, mid-rashic literature, and other rabbinic writings. In the early modern period it was rediscovered by Justus Scaliger, and published in a new and annotated edition by the Hebraist Joseph de Voisin of the Sorbonne (d. 1685) under the title *Pugio Fidei Raymundi Martini Ordinis Prædicatorum adversus Mauros et Judæos* (1651). The other is the *Opus de arcanis catholice veritatis* (1518) by Petrus Galatinus, or Pietro Colonna Galatino (1460–1540) an Italian Friar Minor, philosopher, theologian and orientalist. Popular among both Catholic and Protestant theologians of the early modern period, *De arcanis* was another anti-Jewish work of Christian apologetics that drew on numerous Rabbinic sources to prove the divinity and messiahship of Christ from Scripture.²²

Main Sources of the Post-1706 Expansions

Smolinski has pointed out that it is not always possible to tell with certainty whether the entries after 1706 were made during the second (May 1706 to the end of 1711), third (1711 to Feb. 1713/14, 1716) or fourth (Feb. 1713/14, 1716 to the end of 1728) stage of composition. And so it is with the majority of annotations on Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles that Mather added after he abandoned the practice of indexing. As suggested above, the number of these annotations far exceeds the number of early entries. Altogether, there may be close to a thousand later annotations, many of which Mather inserted into free spaces

titulus est Ecclesiastes. The work that Mather (through Zehner) cites from Flacius is *Clavis Scripturæ sacre* (1567).

²² On the *Pugio Fidei* in the larger context of medieval anti-Jewish polemics, see Ora Limor, “Polemical Varieties: Religious Disputations in 13th Century Spain” (2010); Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti Judaism* (1982), esp. pp. 126–69; Robert Chazan, *Daggers of Faith: Thirteenth-Century Christian Missionizing and Jewish Response* (1989), pp. 115–36.

on the existing folio leaves or on empty back pages. There are also notes that Mather squeezed into the margins, some of them written sideways. Moreover, he wrote on scrap pieces of paper of various sizes which he then sealed onto the margin of the folio leaves and occasionally even on top of each other, thereby creating inserts within inserts.

One major source for hundreds of new illustrations on Proverbs and Ecclesiastes were the commentaries by the Anglican minister and scholar Michael Jermin (Jermyn, German, bap. 1590, d. 1659): *Paraphrasticall Meditations by Way of Commentarie upon the whole Booke of the Proverbs of Solomon* (1638) and *Commentary upon the whole Booke of Ecclesiastes* (1639). Strangely enough, there are two short entries with index numbers on Proverbs (10:6 and 13:10), which come from the *Paraphrasticall Meditations*. However, the other Jermin-derived entries are later additions. There are many instances in which they were written below an existing indexed entry at what was clearly a later stage of composition (see, for instance, Prov. 10:7). Indeed, Mather first “officially” introduces his source in an insert on Prov. 1:20 that is written on a small piece of paper attached to an already overcrowded folio leaf, proclaiming: “Lett me note it here, once for all that I shall often be beholden, to Dr. *Jermyns Paraphrasticall Meditations* on the *Proverbs*, in my Illustrations on this Book” (BA 5:147). A likely explanation is that Mather was already familiar with Jermin’s commentaries when he started his work on the “Biblia,” and consulted them for the two early entries, thereby gaining an appreciation of their qualities. When he then later decided to expand the “Biblia” into a more comprehensive commentary he went back to Jermin for the section on Proverbs and Ecclesiastes to mine his valued commentaries more fully.

At first glance, Jermin’s works might not seem like obvious choices for Mather, not only because he could have found more recent English commentaries on both books of the Bible. Also, Jermin had been a prominent royalist. After receiving his academic training at Oxford, Jermin had gone to Heidelberg early in his career. There he served as chaplain to Elizabeth Stuart when she married Frederic V, Elector Palatine, in 1613. After Frederick’s disastrous decision to have himself crowned King of Bohemia, the subsequent defeat of his forces at the battle of the White Mountain (1620), and the invasion of the Palatinate, Jermin fled with Elizabeth and her husband to the Dutch Republic in 1622. There Jermin moved to Leiden University and received a doctorate in divinity in 1624. Back in England, he was made a D.D. at Oxford that same year and subsequently became chaplain to Charles I, to whom he dedicated his 1638 *Paraphrasticall Meditations*. The commentary on Ecclesiastes, published a year later, was dedicated to Elizabeth, now exiled Queen of Bohemia. In 1626 Jermin was appointed rector of St Martin Ludgate, London, and Edburton, Sussex; in 1640 he became president of Sion College. In the wake of the “Puritan revolution” he was expelled from his vestry in 1643, and then sequestered and

forced to live on the charity of other royalists. In 1655 he was ejected from the parish of Edburton as part of a crackdown on royalists.²³

Why then did Mather select Jermin as one of his principal interlocutors when he systematically worked through Proverbs and Ecclesiastes again after 1706? Most likely, he appreciated Jermin for two reasons. First, Jermin offered a close textual analysis of every verse that took into consideration a range of different translations and paraphrases, including the Septuagint, the Syriac version (Pesshita), the Vulgate, and the Targumim. In addition, Jermin conveniently brought together for Mather's consideration the annotations of some of the most renowned Hebraists of the late sixteenth century, including those of Junius and Tremellius in their Latin translation of the Old Testament. It is worth noting, though, that much of the early modern scholarship cited by Jermin is Catholic, such as the *Sacra Biblia variorum translationum* (1527) by the Italian Dominican, philologist and Bible translator Santes Pagninus (1470–1541), or the commentary of the Italian Dominican exegete Tommaso de Vio Cajetan (Caietanus, 1468–1534), *Parabola Salomonis ad veritatem hebraicam castigatæ & enarratæ* (1542). Although many other Protestant scholars at the time would have avoided such Catholic sources, Mather did not seem to have had any qualms about using them.

The second reason for which Mather would have liked Jermin's hefty works (the volume on Proverbs has more than 700 pages, while the one on Ecclesiastes has about 460) is that they provided something akin to a *katena* or *florilegium* of rabbinic, patristic, and medieval commentaries, both in Latin and in English translation.²⁴ For every verse, Jermin brought together the opinions of sometimes up to a dozen select interpreters from antiquity to the early modern period. His own interpretation of a given verse takes the form of a commentary on these received opinions. In his approach to Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, Jermin, as a general rule, first seeks to establish a coherent literal sense. From the *sensus literalis* he then derives the moral and theological lessons of the texts. But in contrast to other Protestant exegetes, Jermin was not averse to the long tradition of reading these two books in allegorical fashion. On the contrary, one can tell that Jermin did have a penchant for mystical interpretations, as offered by some of the Christian Fathers and medieval theologians. Mather shared these sensibilities and – like Jermin – saw no problems in freely moving back and forth between the literal sense and elaborate allegorizations leading to a mystical, specifically christological sense. He extensively mined the material collected by Jermin, and indeed most of the hundreds of citations from ancient and medieval works that now crowd this section of the “Biblia” come from Jermin. In his selections

²³ See Jason McElligot, “Michael Jermin (bap. 1590–d. 1659)” (2004).

²⁴ Jermin himself, of course, would have used similar works, such as the *Catena graecorum patrum in Proverbia Salomonis* (1614) by Theodorus Peltanus, or the commentary by Cornelius à Lapide.

from Jermin, Mather picked literalist and allegorical readings in almost equal proportion. If Jermin always provides an English translation for his Latin and Greek citations, Mather sometimes paraphrases these translations in lieu of the original but usually omits them when he quotes the Latin or Greek. Apparently he assumed that his target audience would have been capable of reading at least shorter citations in these languages.

While Talmudic-midrashic literature gets relatively little attention in Jermin's works, considerable room is given to later rabbinical exegesis in the method of *peshat* for explications of the literal sense. Through Jermin, Mather had easy access to Latin translations of the "canonical" rabbinic glosses. In chronological order these are Rabbi Solomon Jarchi (Shlomo Yitzchaki, 1040–1105), popularly known by the acronym Rashi; Rabbi Abraham Ibn (Aben) Ezra (1089–1164); the great Jewish philosopher as well as biblical and Talmudic scholar Rabbi Moses ben Maimon (Maimonides, acronym: Rambam, 1135–1204); Rabbi Levi Ben Gershon (also Gershon, Gerson, Gersonides, 1288–1344), often referred to by the abbreviations of first letters as Ralbag. Moreover, Jermin seemed to have had a particular penchant for the exegetical works of Philo of Alexandria (20/10 BCE–45? CE), a leading Jewish philosopher of classical antiquity who attempted to synthesize Jewish tradition and Greek philosophy in his allegorical readings of Scripture. Again, Mather happily took over many of Jermin's citations from Philo.

Most of all, however, Mather used Jermin's work as an anthology of Christian authors from the patristic and medieval periods. The list of names that Mather quotes from Jermin is very long and includes both well-known and lesser names.²⁵ A small sampling of those authors that Mather chose to bring in more regularly and who made a substantial contribution to his interpretations will have to suffice here. Among the early Latin patristic writers, Mather occasionally references the first major Christian apologists Irenaeus of Lyon (c. 135–c. 200) and Tertullian (c. 160–170–after 220), as well as diverse controversialist, homiletical or exegetical writings by Ambrose of Milan (333/34–397), Gregory of Nazianzus (c. 330–390), and Gregory of Nyssa (c. 335–394). From the early Greek Fathers, we have repeated citations from the allegorical commentaries by Origen of Alexandria (c. 185/86–c. 253/54), as well as from the homilies of John Chrysostom (c. 349–407), the great preacher of the Eastern Church. Appearing even more often is the Latin Church Father Augustine of Hippo (354–430), sometimes with his larger systematic works such as *De doctrina christiana* and *De civitate Dei*, or his *Confessiones*, but usually with one of his sermons or exegetical writings such as the *Enarrationes in Psalmos*. With about the same level of frequency Mather borrowed from Jermin some scriptural explications or pious

²⁵ For the actual titles of these patristic and medieval works and the bibliographic information, compare the bibliography at the end of this volume.

applications from Gregory the Great (c. 540–604), especially from his *Moralia in Iob*. At the top of the list stands Jerome, though, from whose commentaries on diverse biblical books Mather cites center, left, and right. Indeed, in the section on Ecclesiastes Jerome's spiritualizing *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten* appears on virtually every page.

Via Jermin, Mather also taps into the rich medieval traditions. A great variety of authors ranging from the early to the high Middle Ages make an occasional showing, including Bede the Venerable (c. 672–735) with his commentary *In Proverbia Salomonis* and the “angelic doctor” Thomas Aquinas (1224/25–1274) with his great *Summa theologiae*. Most striking perhaps is the fact that in his selections from Jermin Mather displays a clear tendency toward the great mystical theologians of this period, who engaged in intricate allegorizations of the biblical texts in the tradition of Origen and the Alexandrian school. By far the most cited medieval author in this entire section of the “Biblia” is Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), especially with his famous *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum*, but also with other exegetical sermons. Just for Ecclesiastes, Mather frequently offers the reader an allegorical or tropological interpretation from the *Homiliae in Ecclesiasten* by Hugh of Saint Victor (d. 1141). Through Jermin, Mather also references on many occasions two medieval standard commentaries: First, the *Glossa ordinaria*, a Latin Bible with interlinear glosses synthesizing the received interpretative tradition. The *Glossa ordinaria* was first produced in the cathedral school of Laon in the early twelfth century and widely used and later printed (first ed. 1480/81) for theological training into the Reformation period. Second, the *Postilla litteralis super totam Bibliam* of Nicholas of Lyra, whose insistence on the *sensus literalis* in many ways prepared the ground for (and directly influenced) the hermeneutics of the sixteenth-century Reformers. It is certainly remarkable that Jermin himself, despite his extensive training on the Continent, did not at all engage with the more recent commentaries of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes by Protestant exegetes. For such readings Mather had to go elsewhere.

Mather's choice fell on the commentaries of the Anglican churchman and scholar, Simon (Symon) Patrick (1625–1707) whose exegetical lead he also followed in all other Old Testament sections of the “Biblia Americana” on which the Bishop of Ely had published annotations. Besides the two volumes by Jermin, Patrick's *The Proverbs of Solomon paraphrased with the Arguments of each Chapter which supply the Place of a Commentary* (first ed. 1683) and *A Paraphrase upon the Books of Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon* (first ed. 1685) are the second “master source” which Mather systematically worked into his existing annotations. In the case of Canticles, Patrick was in fact the one main “master source” for expanding the verse-by-verse explications (for the historico-prophetic commentary that Mather added see below), since Jermin did not cover the Song of Songs.

Although from a Puritan family background, Patrick had gravitated toward a rationalist-Arminian theology during his student years. After the Restoration

he came to be known as one of the main defenders of Anglicanism and the divine legitimacy of the episcopacy, who engaged in polemical controversies with Dissenters. In his later years, Patrick grew more tolerant of Nonconformist views and embraced a Latitudinarianism, which, however, ultimately aimed to reintegrate Dissenters into the Church of England. A favorite of the royal family, he was appointed Bishop of Chichester in 1689, and two years later Bishop of Ely. It says much about Mather's own increasing tolerance for different dogmatic and ecclesial positions that he did not let Patrick's views as a churchman get in the way of appreciating his scholarship. Trained at Cambridge and Oxford, where he received his D.D. in 1666, Patrick was well versed in ancient languages, classical and patristic writers and in contemporary religious and philosophical literature. He published on a broad range of theological and ecclesial topics but mostly distinguished himself as one of England's leading exegetes of the period. Between 1679 and 1706, he produced learned and at the same time popular English-language commentaries on all the books of the Old Testament from Genesis through Canticles.²⁶ Many of the single volumes appeared in second and third print-runs, and after 1710 multi-volume editions were prepared comprising several commentaries. Patrick's exegetical works continued to be widely read across the Anglophone world. This was also because they were incorporated into the collection *A critical Commentary and Paraphrase of the Old and New Testament* (1727–1760), comprising the annotations of Patrick, William Lowth, Daniel Whitby, and Richard Arnald, a work which remained a household title into the nineteenth century.²⁷

It is often difficult to determine when precisely Mather incorporated Patrick's annotations into the various sections of the "Biblia." This obviously depended on when the different commentaries were originally published but also on when Mather got a hold of them. In the section on Genesis (*BA* 1), for instance, Mather mined Patrick for his original annotations during Stage I. For the section on Joshua from Chronicles (*BA* 3) he seems to have used him for the massive expansions and revisions after 1706. The latter is certainly the case for Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles, even though the commentaries were first published in 1683 and 1685 respectively. From the layering of annotations we can also say that the ones from Patrick clearly antedate those derived from Jermin. By how much is uncertain, though. The majority of annotations from Patrick take the form of inserts. In one case, however, an annotation from Patrick is squeezed underneath an existing entry that comes from a work published in 1709 – the second edition of Isaac Watts's *Horæ lyricæ: Poems chiefly of the lyric*

²⁶ The commentaries first appeared in the following order: Job (1679), Psalms (1680), Proverbs (1683), Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon (1685), Genesis (1695), Exodus (1697), Leviticus (1698), Numbers (1699), Deuteronomy (1700), Joshua, Judges, and Ruth (1702), Samuel (1703), Kings (1705), and Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah (1706).

²⁷ See Jon Parkin, "Simon Patrick (1626–1707)" (2004).

Kind. Assuming that he did all the notes in one go-through (and it looks that way in the manuscript), we might tentatively conclude from this that Mather mined Patrick's two commentaries sometime after 1709. Possibly, then, Mather used the two-volume edition of Patrick's *The Books of Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon, paraphras'd*, first published in 1710. This would also agree with how the annotations from Patrick appear in the sections of the "Biblia" that cover Job and Psalms (BA 4).

What might be some of the reasons Mather chose to harvest from Patrick's works, while making no use of other contemporary English-language commentaries such as Matthew Poole's or Matthew Henry's? It is not clear why making such extensive use of Patrick did not cause the same concerns about direct competition that Mather voiced about Poole or Henry. That which attracted him to Patrick's work, however, seems to be relatively clear: Patrick's commentary was, according to the standards of the day, more scholarly and, like Jermin's a much richer source of diverse interpretative traditions, which Mather could appropriate for his own purposes. As mentioned in section one, Mather also found Patrick particularly helpful for addressing issues of authorship, composition, and provenance that were hotly debated at the time in connection with the three Solomonic books.

In many ways Patrick's commentaries are quite different from those of Jermin. Jermin, as noted above, was not averse to elaborate allegorical readings and frequently went for a *sensus mysticus*, even where a plainer literal sense offered itself. In line with his philosophical position of a moderate, enlightened rationalism, Patrick generally avoided allegory, unless absolutely necessary, as with Canticles. In the preface to his 1695 commentary on Genesis, Patrick had stated that his intention was to demonstrate the truth of the biblical texts "without forsaking literal sense, and betaking to I know not what allegorical interpretations."²⁸ On the basis of the historical sense, reliably established with the help of sound philology and proper contextualizations, Patrick then aimed to guide the reader to what seemed most important to him: "the proper focus of individual religious experience upon God as the source of all redemption," and a religious and ethical life that gives adequate practical expression to this experience of grace.²⁹ To achieve this goal, as Patrick said in his devotional work *The devout Christian instructed how to pray* (1673), he sought to avoid in his biblical interpretations as much as in his other writings all "affected expressions, fantastical allusions, insignificant allegories, pretended wit, elegant conversions of sentences and rash applications of holy scripture."³⁰

28 *A Commentary upon the First Book of Moses, called Genesis* (1695), pref., p. 3.

29 Parkin, "Simon Patrick (1626–1707)."

30 *The devout Christian instructed how to pray and give Thanks to God* (1673), pref., A 4r.

Accordingly, Patrick's commentaries on Proverbs and Ecclesiastes stay almost entirely clear of spiritualizing allegorizations. Christ is rarely, if ever, to be found in them. With this, he pushed further into the direction set by the Protestant, especially Lutheran, exegetes of the sixteenth century, who had opened new avenues for interpreting these two books in a much more immanentist fashion. Patrick's commentaries are deeply influenced by, and frequently cite, Luther and Melancthon, who had recovered Proverbs and Ecclesiastes as wisdom literature that offered practical advice on politics, the family, practical religious life, and on human existence more generally. Through Patrick, the distinctly Lutheran dimension in Mather's annotations thus grew further. Patrick also inspired Mather to take into account the readings of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes that the great English Renaissance scholar and politician Francis Bacon (Baron Verulam and Viscount St. Alban, 1561–1626) offered in his *De augmentis scientiarum* (1623).³¹ Here Bacon suggested that the aphorisms of the Wise Man, besides their theological meaning, were also profoundly relevant for the civic and political sphere. On the one hand, Mather espoused Bacon's and Patrick's view of the excellence of Proverbs as a storehouse of ethical maxims intended to serve the "universal instruction and direction for all men, and for the whole life,"³² just as he embraced the interpretation of Ecclesiastes as a philosophical-didactic treatise on how to achieve true peace and happiness in private as well as public life. On the other hand, Mather was clearly uneasy with the loss of the christological dimension. He thus attempted to balance out the more this-worldly interpretation of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes by drawing on Jermin and older allegorical readings.

Patrick also brought into play a host of sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries scholars, both Catholic and Protestant, in addressing philological and historical issues. Some of these, such as Samuel Bochart, had already been popular sources for Mather. Thus Mather's excerpts from Patrick further added to their presence in this section of the "Biblia." Among the significant new voices that entered Mather's commentaries via Patrick are Cornelius Jansenius (the Elder, 1510–1576), Bishop of Ghent and influential Catholic exegete, with his *Paraphrasis in Psalmos omnes Davidicos ... In Proverbia Salomonis et Ecclesiasticum* (1578), the Spanish-born Anglican divine Antonius Corranus (de Corro, 1527–1591) with his *Ecclesiastes Regis Salomonis. Sive, de summo hominis bono concio vere regia* (1579), and the Dutch Reformed theologian and orientalist Ludovicus de Dieu (Lodewijk de Dieu, 1590–1642), with his *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamenti* (1648).

³¹ On Bacon and his thought world, see B. H. G. Wormald, *Francis Bacon: History, Politics, and Science, 1561–1626* (1993).

³² Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, pref., sec. I

As noted in section one, Patrick's commentary on Canticles differs markedly from his other works. Here the Bishop of Ely apparently felt that allegorization could not be eschewed if the Song of Songs were to be understood as something more than a secular love poem, however beautiful. Unwilling to embrace such an interpretative option that would have opened a Pandora's Box of troubling issues concerning the canonical status and inspiration of this biblical book, Patrick took the opposite position: The *sensus primarius* to be found in the Song of Song was spiritual because it had been intended by Solomon as poetic dialogue. Through the extended metaphor of the bride and the bridegroom Canticles dramatized the desire of both the individual soul and the entire people of the covenant for the coming messiah. To read the Song of Songs in a plain and rational manner, therefore, was to read it allegorically.

Whereas in Patrick's commentaries on Proverbs and Ecclesiastes patristic or medieval writers are rarely mentioned, his annotations on Canticles frequently reference them in support of a spiritual reading. Thus, Patrick invokes the authority of Origen of Alexandria and Jerome, whose commentaries and homilies on the *Canticum Canticorum* are the fountainhead of the Christian tradition of allegorizing Canticles. Likewise, the exegetical orations of Gregory of Nazianzus on Canticles, Gregory of Nyssa's *Commentarius in Canticum Canticorum*; and the *Expositio super Canticum Canticorum* of Gregory the Great are brought to bear on the text, as are Bernard of Clairvaux's, *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum*, which all follow this allegorical tradition. Most frequently, however, Patrick cites the *Explanatio in Canticum Canticorum* of Theodoret of Cyrus (c. 393–466). This patristic exegete was no simple partisan of the Alexandrian school and often favored historical readings while nevertheless arguing that Canticles had to be read in a higher, spiritual sense, applying an array of exegetical methods to the Old Testament texts, including historical readings, prophecy, and typology.

Mather received this rich interpretative lore gratefully from "our Dr. Patrick," as he frequently refers to him in an almost affectionate manner. Thus, Mather obviously found Patrick's literalist approach to Proverbs and Ecclesiastes as useful as his self-conscious use of allegory, prophecy, and typology in Canticles. In the case of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes he might have regarded Patrick's work as a good counterweight to that of Jermin; in the case of Canticles it served as a good substitute quarry not only of ancient and medieval but also of more recent scholarly interpretations. It offered Mather the best tools of historical learning to come to terms with and ultimately transcend the historicity of this troublesome book. Patrick's paraphrase and running commentary, from which Mather derived a whole new layer of annotations, also seems to have been so attractive because it struck a balance between the two basic models of allegorical interpretation that had been so controversially debated in seventeenth-century English exegesis. Patrick's commentary can be characterized as a compromise between an individualistic-meditative and an ecclesiological interpretation.

While the first perspective clearly dominates, Patrick does not deny that the Song can also be read as a historical allegory. However, he consciously avoids the level of specificity and chronological systematization – as well as any correlations with the Book of Revelation – that were typical of the seventeenth-century historico-prophetic model.

Furthermore, sometime after 1706, and probably even before Patrick, Mather went through Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles with Pearson's *Critici Sacri* on his desk. Like Brian Walton, the Church of England clergyman John Pearson (1613–1686) had his career paths blocked and his property sequestered during the Interregnum period because of his defense of Episcopalianism and his loyalty to the Stuarts. After the Restoration he was rewarded with the bishopric of Chester (1671). Like Walton, he had used his years in involuntary seclusion to produce a great work of scholarship, the *Critici Sacri*, which would secure him lasting fame for its popularity with scholars well into the eighteenth century. As suggested above, *Critici Sacri* was a synoptic commentary that presented in parallel columns the glosses of Sebastian Münster, Hugo Grotius, and Franciscus Vatablus, alongside those of the Benedictine scholar and bible translator Isidorus Clarius (Isidoro Chiari, 1495–1555), and of the Flemish exegete and orientalist Joannes Drusius (Jan van den Driessche, 1550–1616). From this rich anthology Mather extracted numerous annotations. Some he took from Vatablus, Clarius, and Drusius, but mainly he looked at Münster and Grotius, who are also among his regular interlocutors in other parts of the “Biblia.”

The great Dutch humanist scholar and jurist Hugo Grotius (Hugo/Huig de Groot, 1583–1645) had also contributed significantly to the advancement of the historical-critical method in his controversial annotations on all books of the Bible, which were first printed between 1641 and 1650 and subsequently included in Pearson's anthology of biblical criticism.³³ Mather's engagement with Grotius is treated more fully in my book. Here it suffices to say that Mather's attitude toward and usage of Grotius's work as a biblical scholar was deeply ambivalent. He clearly admired Grotius as a true Renaissance polymath and one of the greatest scholars of the age (already in his youth Grotius had been known as “le miracle de hollandé”). Grotius's study on international law *De iure belli ac pacis* (1625) and his rationalist apology and handbook of Christian mission *De veritate religionis Christianae* (1627) were recognized as landmark works in his time. Likewise, his Latin annotations on the Bible, especially on the Old Testament caused considerable stir among specialists throughout the seventeenth and into the eighteenth centuries.

33 Henk J. M. Nellen, “Growing Tensions between Church Doctrines and Critical Exegesis of the Old Testament” (2008), pp. 808–17. In addition to the literature cited in section one on Grotius's exegesis, see also Johannes Van den Berg, “Grotius and Apocalyptic Thought in England” (1994); and Michael Becker, “Apokalyphtik und Irenik in Hugo Grotius' späten theologischen Schriften” (2014).

When Mather began his “Biblia,” Grotius’ fame or notoriety had grown to the extent that it was impossible for any serious scholar to ignore his voice, especially when working on the Old Testament. Taking the development of a humanistic hermeneutics to its logical conclusion, Grotius focused on reconstructing as precisely as possible the original meaning of biblical words and phrases.³⁴ He insisted on approaching the Hebrew Scriptures like a good humanist scholar would other ancient works: as texts whose meaning and inner coherency can best be found by inquiring into the historical and communicative situation behind them. His overarching goal in the *Annotationes* was to establish the primary historical sense from within the Hebrew Bible by paying attention to what would later be called the *Sitz im Leben* of specific texts. He did so with little regard for dogmatic concerns. Against the traditional interpretation of the Bible as a consistent, homogenous message regarding man’s salvation,” as Nellen explains, Grotius “stressed the peculiar character of the Old Testament in comparison with the New Testament,” thereby loosening the ties between the two parts of the canon.³⁵ In annotating the Hebrew Bible, his main goal was to explain the texts from history, and, inversely, to assess the historical reality of what was represented on the level of the literal sense. His foremost means for achieving this goal was contextualization, and for this he heavily relied on extra-biblical, mostly Greco-Roman but also Jewish and Christian sources. As will be discussed in more detail in subsequent chapters, Grotius regarded the literal-historical sense as primary. With regard to the Old Testament texts, he would occasionally allow for a secondary *sensus mysticus* or *sensus sublimior* alluding to Christ but regarded it as something that was accessible from the perspective of faith rather than through scholarly analysis. No evidential weight was to be hung on these prefigurations. It was by no means Grotius’s aim to deny the truth of the gospel message which he had resolutely defended in his influential *De veritate religionis Christianae*. Anticipating eighteenth-century forms of liberal Protestantism, Grotius regarded the New Testament miracles as the quintessential proof of the divine truth of the Christian religion, and embraced “the rationalistic idea of a basically moral religion regarding Jesus as a model to follow; on this foundation he also hoped to ground the reunification of the churches.”³⁶ Moreover, Grotius was known as a prominent representative of theological Arminianism.

³⁴ “Toward this end, he appealed directly to the Hebrew text, which he compared with various Greek translations along with the Jewish Targums. Frequently, he was highly critical of the Vulgate’s rendering of the Hebrew text. In addition, Grotius was also committed to recovering the historical background of each biblical text, and he employed his extensive knowledge of Greek and Latin sources in the task.” Childs, *The Christian Struggle*, p. 231.

³⁵ Nellen, “Growing Tensions,” p. 813.

³⁶ Reventlow, “The Famous Hugo Grotius,” p. 185.

Consequently, Mather treats Grotius's annotations differently from most other sources. On the one hand, he valued Grotius's careful and profoundly knowledgeable philological explanations and historical contextualizations. These explanations are often cited approvingly, where they do not disturb Mather's orthodox understanding of the authority and organic unity of the Bible. On the other hand, Grotius is invoked on a regular basis as a formidable intellectual opponent, whose "heretical" opinions on Solomonic authorship or the genre of Canticles Mather seeks to refute.

Unequivocally positive, by contrast, is Mather's stance toward the second exegete whose annotations he frequently copied from *Critici Sacri*: the famous German Renaissance scholar and Hebraist Sebastian Münster (1488–1552).³⁷ As he does in other sections of the "Biblia," Mather relies on Münster as a constant interlocutor and provider of rabbinical tradition in his commentaries on Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles. Mather owned a copy of Münster's *Hebraica Biblia* (1546), a Latin translation of the Old Testament with annotations that often included the opinions of Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and Ralbag. It seems, however, that in most cases Mather gleaned Münster's annotations from *Critici Sacri*. Mather highly valued Münster's usually very short glosses for their combination of philological learning, usage of rabbinical lore in the service of establishing the literal sense, and broadly Protestant theological interpretation. We always read "Munster" "gives this Good Answer," "shall give you the Summ of the Matter"; or even "very prettily glosses it."

A native of Nieder-Ingelheim on the Rhine, Münster probably began studying Hebrew as a student in Freiburg im Breisgau. He later joined the Franciscan cloister of St. Catherine's in Alsace in 1509, but then moved to Pforzheim where he studied Aramaic and Ethiopian languages. Münster deepened his knowledge through personal studies with rabbis, a correspondence with the learned Jewish scholar Elia Levita (1469–1549), and his interaction with the father of modern Hebrew studies Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522). From 1514 to 1518 he lectured in philosophy and theology, first in Tübingen, where he met Melancthon, and then in Basel (1518–1520), before he was called to Heidelberg as professor of Hebrew (1524).³⁸ In 1529, Münster joined the Reformation, left the Franciscan order, and took up a Hebraist position at the newly Protestant University of Basel. His reputation in Basel drew many under his tutelage, and even John Calvin is said to have studied with him. The *Hebraica Biblia* was widely influential

³⁷ See Sophie Kessler-Mesguich, "Early Christian Hebraists" (2008), pp. 268–72, and the literature cited there.

³⁸ In 1520, Münster had published his first work *Epitome hebraicae grammaticae*, one of the first treatments of the Hebrew language in Germany. This was followed by a long line of lexical and grammatical works concerned with the Hebrew language (e.g. *Dictionarium hebraicum*, 1523). His noteworthy *Chaldaica grammatica; Dictionarium chaldaicum* (1527) was the first publication concerned with the Aramaic (Chaldee) language in Germany.

in and outside Protestant circles. Sometimes called the German Ezra and Strabo, he also occupied himself with geographical, cosmographic, mathematical and astrological projects, such as *Mappa Europae* (1536) and *Geographia universalis* (1540). The massive *Cosmographia* (1544) was one of the most popular works of the early modern period.³⁹ For Ecclesiastes, Mather, in addition to the annotations contained in *Critici Sacri*, also seems to have consulted Münster's earlier *Qoheler. Ecclesiastes, iuxta Hebraicam veritatem* (1525), which included more of Rashi's glosses.

The respective manuscript section shows that Mather continued to insert single entries from very heterogeneous sources into his existing annotations on Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles at least into the late 1710s. Generally, it is impossible to determine whether these additions were made during Stage II, III, or IV. In contrast to his commentaries on Isaiah and Jeremiah, Mather made very few insertions from works published after 1710 into the section on Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles. This might be an indication that he no longer gave sustained attention to this part of the Bible. Possibly, he felt that the most significant scholarly debates, like the controversies over the messianic prophecies in the Old Testament, were currently happening elsewhere. Or maybe he just did not happen to get his hands on any new material after 1710 that he found exciting enough to include.

The Second Commentary on Canticles

If no clear-cut patterns or interpretative trends can be derived from the later insertions, they appear especially desultory in the case of Mather's first commentary on Canticles. The post-1706 entries on Canticles that are not taken from Patrick variously go either in the direction of a more devotional application or in the direction of ecclesiological readings. Why exactly Mather picked these particular citations from these particular works is not always apparent. Possibly, Mather had a similar impression of randomness and incompleteness when reviewing his commentary on Canticles as a whole. We cannot be certain.

What we do know is that Mather wrote a second, completely independent commentary, going through the entire Song of Songs once more. It is written on nine, double-column, densely-written folio pages, which in the edited version amounts to almost the same length as all the other annotations on Canticles together. It is introduced by the following remarks:

How shall we come to a Key that will unlock the Book of the *Canticles*? The Glosses of Interpreters upon that Book, have been so Various, and (often) so Jejune, and (at best) so Forced, and (ever) so very Arbitrary, that it hath been a Discouragement unto me, for Meddling with it; and especially, from Attempting to accommodate the Passages of the Book, unto the *prophetical Interpretations*, that some have con-

39 Werner Raupp, "Sebastian Münster (1488–1552)" (1993).

ceived therein. But yett, it were worth our While to try, whether this Portion of our *Scripture* may not be made *profitable*, as well as the rest? (*BA* 5:523).

Mather's frustration is evident in these remarks. Interestingly enough, Mather seems to mention the model of Brightman and Cotton specifically in his criticism, saying he felt discouraged from "Attempting to accommodate the Passages of the Book, unto the *prophetical Interpretations*, that some have conceived therein." Mather's frustration here seems to imply that it would be highly desirable after all to have an interpretation that would manage to expose fully the text's historico-prophetic dimension, without being forced or arbitrary.

Depending on when exactly these remarks were written, they might also indicate that Mather was not entirely happy – or at a later stage even became positively unhappy – with Patrick's hermeneutic compromise. One important grievance that someone of Mather's mentality might have had with Patrick's approach is that, where it allowed for reading the Song as a predictive history of the church, it was too equivocal, providing hardly any eschatological perspective and no coherent order or temporal sequence whatsoever. Mather was convinced that Solomon, like his father David, had not just been a Hebrew sage but also a prophet of the Lord. But if Solomon had prophetically looked into the future like Isaiah, Jeremiah, or John, should there not be a way to tie the predictions of the Song as concretely to historical developments and events as he deemed it possible with the revelations of these other books?

In any case, Mather came to undertake an independent interpretative attempt that explicated Canticles as a predictive allegorical history of the church. As noted above, this second commentary exclusively draws on the *Cogitationes de Cantico Canticorum Salomonis* by Johannes Cocceius (Koch, Coch, 1603–1669). Born into a Reformed family in Bremen, Johannes Cocceius had studied theology and biblical philology under Matthias Martini (1572–1630) in Bremen and Sixtinus Amama at the University of Franeker, to where he later returned as a professor of *philologia sacra* (1636) and then of theology (1643), before answering a call to Leiden (1650). Cocceius's fame rests on two pillars: his works as a Christian Hebraist, which include Latin translations of Mishna treatises and the widely used *Lexicon et commentarius sermonis hebraici et chaldaici V.T.* (1669),⁴⁰ and his major works of systematic theology, the *Summa doctrinae de foedere et testamento Dei* (1648) and the *Summa theologiae ex Scripturis repetita* (1662), in which he presented a new understanding of redemption history based on the concept of the *foedus Dei*. While Cocceius's federal theology stood in a long Reformed tradition – reaching from Zwingli, Calvin, Heinrich Bullinger, and Willam Ames to Caspar Olevian – he developed it in new ways and always in very close conversation with the biblical

⁴⁰ Besides, the popular work of the Buxtorfs, *Lexicon chaldaicum, talmudicum et rabbinicum* (1621), Cocceius's *Lexicon* was the Hebrew dictionary to which Mather turned most often.

texts. Cocceius was also an accomplished exegete and wrote commentaries on almost all books of Scripture, which in many ways form the foundation for his systematic approach to redemption history. His interpretation of Canticles must be seen in this context.⁴¹

While Cocceius's basic approach was the same as that which Brightman and Cotton had tried, Mather apparently found Cocceius's execution much more compelling, both in terms of its philological sophistication and its precise historical correlations. And thus he decided, as he puts it in a prefatory remark, "to make a trial" whether with the help of "the famous *Cocceius*" and by "sett[ing] aside all Interpreters ... this Portion of our *Scripture* may not be made *profitable*, as well as the rest."

Cogitationes was originally printed as a stand-alone work in 1665, then subsequently included in the three different *Opera omnia* editions of Cocceius's work that appeared in Mather's life time (1673–1675; 1689; 1701). This publication history does not give us any definite clues as to the precise date of Mather's reading and his return to the commentary on Canticles.⁴² A concluding statement at the very end of the second commentary provides at least a hint:

In thus glossing upon this mysterious Book of, The CANTICLES, tho' I have not given you a Formal Translation of *Cocceius's* Commentary, yett the Hints have been mostly collected from that Commentary. I could heartily wish, that the Book were Illustrated with more of Demonstration; however these Illustrations have in them such Thoughts as are both *curious* and *singular*, and perhaps, as near the Mark as any that have been yett offered; or at least, not unworthy of Consideration. And having chosen to write these things, at the Time of my own Entrance into the *Married State*, I hope, that my Contemplations on the *Marriage-Song* inspired by the Holy Spirit of the *Messiah*, have not been unseasonable, nor unserviceable unto *myself*. If the *Reader* be no *Gainer*, yett I am sure, the *Writer* ha's not been a *Loser*. (BA 5:564).

The allusion to Mather's immanent "Entrance into the *Married State*" surely does not refer to his first marriage to Abigail Philips, which took place in 1686, years before he even started the "Biblia." It must refer, then, either to Mather's second marriage to Elizabeth Clark Hubbard in 1703, or his third mar-

⁴¹ Among the more general works treating Cocceius's theology, Ludwig Diestel's *Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der christlichen Kirche* is still valuable; so are Gottlob Schrenk, *Gottesreich und Bund im Alteren Protestantismus, vornehmlich bei Johannes Cocceius* ([1923] 1967), and Heiner Faulenbach, *Weg und Ziel der Erkenntnis Christ: Eine Untersuchung zur Theologie des Johannes Cocceius* (1973); the most recent comprehensive study is Willem J. van Asselt, *The Federal Theology of Johannes Cocceius (1603–1669)*. All of these works focus on Cocceius's major works of systematic theology, the *Summa doctrinae* and *Summa theologiae*, and pay little attention to Cocceius's work as a biblical commentator. Only Schrenk offers a brief analysis of the Canticles commentary in the context of a more comprehensive discussion of Cocceius's sevenfold scheme of the progressive realization of Christ's kingdom (pp. 219–43).

⁴² In the *Opera omnia theologica, exegetica, didactica, polemica, philologica* (10 vols., 1701) that I consulted the commentary appears in vol. 2 as part of the *Commentarius in librum Ijobi, Psalmos, Proverbia, Ecclesiasten et Canticum Canticorum*.

riage to Lydia (Lee) George in 1715. The fact that the second commentary has no index numbers is a piece of circumstantial evidence that points to 1715 as the more likely date. But this is far from conclusive. Another, more weighty piece of evidence is that Mather carries over none of Cocceius's many references to a national conversion of the Jews at the dawn of the millennial age. This strongly suggests 1715 as the date of composition.

In the final analysis it is impossible to determine with certainty when exactly Mather wrote the addendum, how he understood its relation to the first commentary, and what its status would have been in the final version of the "Biblia Americana" had it been published. If the second commentary was written in 1703, and thus before Mather added the numerous annotations from Patrick, it could have been that he originally intended the one coherent interpretation derived from Cocceius as a replacement for the very diverse entries on single verses that he had done at this point. Maybe the idea was to complement his other attempts to make sense of "this mysterious Book" with a historico-prophetic reading. After incorporating Patrick, Mather might have wished to keep the Cocceius addendum in the "Biblia," if the opportunity for publication had arisen. Or he might have wished to take it out of the published version, because he now viewed the more cautious reading based on Patrick as the better way.

If, however, the addendum was indeed written in 1715, as seems most likely, then it could be that Mather understood the second commentary as a kind of final attempt on the matter to be ranked above the first commentary. Possibly he intended it as a replacement for his earlier annotations. In that case, Mather's final exegetical decision on Canticles might have been in favor of interpreting it along the lines suggested by Cocceius. Yet, Mather also indicates that he was not fully convinced by Cocceius's work, wishing that it was less conjectural and "Illustrated with more of Demonstration." While Mather certainly thought that the "Illustrations" proposed by *Cogitationes* were fascinating and worthy of consideration "and perhaps, as near the Mark as any that have been yett offered," he did not regard them as authoritative. Considering all of this, it seems plausible to me that Mather never reached a final conclusion on how to deal with Canticles. Had he been able to publish the "Biblia," he probably would have included both commentaries as alternative possibilities for his audience to consider. At the same time, the second commentary indicates his own desire for an interpretation of Canticles as prophetic church history.

In any case, one should take seriously Mather's *caveat* that he was not providing "a Formal Translation of *Cocceius's* Commentary," but had merely selected "such Passages as give me most of Satisfaction." The original consisted of more than two hundred pages of Latin annotations, which Mather very selectively summarized in English. Indeed, Mather was not just being highly selective in collecting his "Hints" from Cocceius. By means of silent omis-

sions and modifications of the original text in the English translation, Mather substantially altered Cocceius's proposed hermeneutical scheme, so as to make it less determinate and rigid, not least by editing out Cocceius's division of Canticles into seven prophetic periods based on a correlation with the vision cycles of Revelation.

Mather also altered Cocceius's interpretation to make it more compatible with his own changing eschatology. Cocceius's vision of the church's final age of triumph was of a more spiritualistic-progressivist kind and did not include a belief in the personal return of Christ or a bodily resurrection before Judgment Day. Thus, Mather had to suppress or modify some of Cocceius's language to avoid conflicts with his own version of premillennialism that included a belief in the literal reality of these latter-day events. Most notably, Mather left out all references to a national restoration of Jews.⁴³

Sources of Further Additions after 1706

What generalizations can be made at all about the various kinds of works from which Mather derived the individual post-1706 entries that he inserted into his existing annotations on the Solomonic books? As is true for other sections of the "Biblia," these additions reflect his sustained interest in Judaica that could be employed either for shedding light on obscure passages or for apologetical purposes. One such text that comes up in the annotations on Proverbs, but also in those on Isaiah and Jeremiah, is the medieval apologetical work *Rabbi Samuelis Marochiani de adventu Messiae praeterito liber*. This epistolary text stands in a long literary tradition of anti-Jewish works of Christian apologetics in dialogic form. It was composed around 1339 by the Spanish Dominican friar Alphonsus Bonihominis (d. before 1353), who became bishop of Morocco in 1344. Bonihominis claimed (falsely, as modern scholars think) that the text was the translation of a letter in defense of the truth of Christianity originally written in the eleventh century in Arabic to a Rabbi Isaac by a Rabbi Samuel who had converted to Christianity. Bonihominis's work was copied and recopied hundreds of times, translated into many languages, and after the advent of print appeared in numerous editions under different titles.⁴⁴ Apparently, at some point Mather somehow lit upon a Latin edition first published in 1536 and loved the book for the reassurance it gave him about the messianic hope of the ancient Jews and how they were fulfilled in Jesus Christ. Subsequently,

⁴³ For a more detailed analysis, compare my *Prophecy, Piety, and the Problem of Historicity*, ch. 5.5.

⁴⁴ The authenticity of the original epistle and even the existence of Rabbi Samuel are contested by modern scholars. See Monika Marsmann, *Die Epistel des Rabbi Samuel an Rabbi Isaak* (1971), esp. pp. 15–22, and Ora Limor, "The Epistle of Rabi Samuel of Morocco: A Best-Seller in the World of Polemics" (1996).

he extracted numerous entries that are to be found everywhere in the "Biblia" manuscript but also in the *Trip paradisu*.⁴⁵

Another example for Mather's fascination with Jewish sources would be the medieval travel narrative by the Spanish Jew Benjaminus Tudelensis (Benjamin of Tudela, fl. 1150–1200), *Sefer ha Massa'ot* (1543). Mather accessed this work in the annotated Latin edition prepared by the prominent Dutch Hebraist Constantine L'Empereur (1591–1648).⁴⁶ Throughout the "Biblia," Mather used the *Itinerarium* either for geographic and ethnographic information, or, as in an entry on Canticles, also for apologetical purposes. For Proverbs specifically, a further source of rabbinical interpretation was the anthology of the Milan Orientalist Antonius Giggeius (fl. 1632), *In Proverbia Salomonis commentarii trium rabbinorum* (1620), which had the complete commentary from Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and Ralbag in Latin, alongside Latin translations the Targum and the Syriac.

Mather was also very fond of modern travel literature. To explain some geographic or ethnographic reference he repeatedly looked for clues in the anonymous *A Journey to Jerusalem: or, a Relation of the Travels of fourteen Englishmen, in the Year, 1669* (1672), or *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem* (1703) by the Oxford scholar and an Anglican divine Henry Maundrell (1665–1701). Likewise, he drew on descriptions of "Oriental" religious customs and the Jewish diaspora in the Mogul Empire that he found in the travel book written by Church of England chaplain Edward Terry (1589/90–1660), entitled *A Voyage to East-India* (1655). Annotations drawn from such texts betray Mather's more general desire to offer empirical proof for the factuality of the Bible, whether from observation of the contemporary situation in the Holy Land, or from recent discoveries in the natural sciences that shed light on some detail of the scriptural text.

Together this kind of empirically oriented "evidentialist literature" forms a fairly substantial second group of texts from which he continued to add entries. Predictably, we find far fewer scientific speculations in this volume of the "Biblia" than in the one on Genesis. However, they are nevertheless quite representative of Mather's wide-ranging interests in these areas. One rather curious example of Mather's use of a work of natural philosophy is his explanation of the mechanics of the "false balance" in Prov. 11:11, which is undertaken with the help of *Mathematical Magick. Or, the Wonders that may be performed by mechanickall Geometry* (1648) by John Wilkins (1614–1672). Wilkins was a scientific virtuoso and influential popularizer of the empirical method in England.⁴⁷ More typical

⁴⁵ Mather seems to have used the edition first published in Cologne in 1536 under the title *Petri Alphunsi ex Iudaeo Christiani dialogi lectu dignissimi*.

⁴⁶ *Itinerarium D. Beniaminis. Cum versione et notis Constantini L'Empereur ab Oppyck* (1633).

⁴⁷ On these three authors, see Robin A. Butlin, "Maundrell, Henry (bap. 1665, d. 1701)" (2004); Michael Strachan, "Terry, Edward (1589/90–1660)" (2004); and John Henry, "Wilkins, John (1614–1672)" (2004).

is an entry on Eccles. 11:5, “As thou knowest not what is the way of the spirit, nor how the bones do grow in the womb of her that is with child.” The annotation on this verse is derived from the work of the Dutch Cartesian philosopher, physician, and theologian Bernard Nieuwentyt (Nieuwentijt, 1654–1718), *The religious Philosopher: Or, the right Use of Contemplating the Works of the Creator* (transl. 1718).⁴⁸ A work of natural theology in many ways similar to his own *The Christian Philosopher*, Nieuwentyt’s book is here cited to demonstrate how wonderfully Scripture agreed with current studies of anatomists on the prenatal development of human life. Possibly, the note extracted from *The religious Philosopher* is the latest addition that Mather made to his commentaries on Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles.

Poetic paraphrases or lyrical adaptations of the biblical texts form a less substantial but nevertheless very interesting group of additional sources. Both with a view to private devotional consumption and, in some cases, also for use in public worship, Mather had considerable interest in this genre and also tried his own hands at it. Most noteworthy in this regard is, of course, his *Psalterium Americanum* (1718), a new translation of the Psalms and some other portions of Scripture in blank verse fitted to common church melodies. For this undertaking the section on Psalms in the “Biblia” served as a kind of laboratory, in which he, among many other things, tested different literary translations. However, Mather sampled specimen of such works throughout the “Biblia” and offered them to his intended audience in pursuit of the classical double strategy of *prodesse et delectare*. Again, the breadth of his selections is astonishing. For Cant. 1:5, Mather cites an early modern edition of the medieval *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum* by Williram, Abbot of the Bavarian monastery of Ebersberg from 1048 to 1085. To the left of the translation of the Vulgate, Williram presented a summarizing and rhyming Latin prose hexameter; on the right-hand side a prose explanation in a mixture of Early Middle High German and Latin hexameter. Mather obviously liked the very poetic Latin paraphrase of this particular verse, in which the church (the bride) addresses both its defects and its beauty. Mather decided to treat his readers to the same aesthetic pleasure. Similarly, for Cant. 4, which Christian interpreters had traditionally viewed as an allegorical description of Christ’s glory in the images of the Bridegroom’s physical beauty, Mather found a poetical paraphrase in, as he puts it, “some strains of Latin poetry ... which may afford us, if not some *Illustration*, yett some *Entertainment*” (BA 5:489). The work that he quotes at some length is entitled *Faces sacrae, sive hymnus Salomonis quo, sub typo nuptiarum Salomonis & filiae Pharaonis, nuptiae Christi & ecclesiae adumbrantur* (1645) and was composed

⁴⁸ The Dutch original appeared in 1715 under the title: *Het regt gebruik der werelt beschouwingen, ter overtuiginge van ongodisten en ongelovigen*. On Nieuwentijt, his contexts, and significance, see Klaas van Berkel, “Science in the Service of the Enlightenment, 1700–1795” (1999).

by the Dutch humanist scholar, theologian, and poet Caspar Barlaeus (Caspar van Baarle, 1584–1648).⁴⁹

Closer to home and his own proto-evangelical sensibilities than Barlaeus's stilted Latin verses in dactylic hexameters is Mather's noteworthy choice to include a scriptural poem entitled "Remember Your Creator" as an illustration of Eccles. 12:1–7. Its author was none other than the English Dissenting minister and father of evangelical hymnody Isaac Watts (1674–1748).⁵⁰ A great admirer of Watt's poetical talents, Mather corresponded and exchanged literature with him, and promoted his lyrical poems and hymns in America.⁵¹ Mather included pieces from both the *Horæ lyricæ* and the more famous *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (first ed. 1707) in a number of his printed sermons for the purposes of private devotion, and also incorporated some of Watts's renditions of the Psalms into his extensive commentary on that portion of Scripture (see BA 4).

If his fondness for Watts shows us one facet of Mather's emerging transatlantic evangelicalism, another aspect is revealed by what seems like a growing predilection during his mature years for German Lutherans, especially, but not exclusively, those of a Pietist orientation.⁵² Scattered across the sections on Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles, we find later entries extracted from the *Meditationes sacrae* (first ed. 1606) by the patriarch of Lutheran Orthodoxy Johann Gerhard (1582–1637), and from the *Philologia sacra* (1623–1636) of Salomon Glassius (Glass, 1593–1656), a favored student and later successor of Gerhard at the University of Jena. Usually introduced by emphatic phrases such as "My Arndt ha's a Good Thought," or "The Words of the Blessed Arnd ... are of a very deep & vast Importance" (BA 5:456), the sections on Ecclesiastes and Canticles also contain later entries from the *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum* (*Four Books of True Christianity*) by Johann Arndt, the important forerunner of German Lutheran Pietism. From their studies of his diaries and printed works, Richard Lovelace and Brett Grainger have already noted Mather's special affection for Arndt's work with its heavy emphasis on the inner life of the spirit and strains of medieval mysticism and the *devotio moderna*. The "Biblia" shows just how deep that affection ran. Mather used the Latin translation of Arndt's work, which had been executed and published under the title *De vero Christianismo*

⁴⁹ This work was published as part of Barlaeus's *Faces Augustae, sive, Poematia, quibus illustriores nuptiae* (1643).

⁵⁰ The piece from the second edition of his *Horæ lyricæ. Poems chiefly of the lyric Kind* ([1706] 1709), p. 43. See *Works* (4:432).

⁵¹ In the so-called regular singing controversy of the 1720s, Mather advocated hymn singing (complementary to the mere "lining out" of Psalms) as part of regular worship as well. See Christopher N. Phillips, "Cotton Mather Brings Isaac Watt's Hymns to America." (2012).

⁵² Mather's important role in the rise of early evangelicalism has been claimed by Richard F. Lovelace, *The American Pietism of Cotton Mather: Origins of American Evangelicalism* (1979); and William R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (1991), esp. pp. 272–75; *Early Evangelicalism: A Global Intellectual History, 1670–1789* (2006), esp. pp. 93–94.

(1708) by Anton Wilhelm Boehm (Böhme, 1673–1722), a Halle Pietist who had been called to London as a court preacher and chaplain to Prince George. In this function Boehm became an important mediator between the worlds of German Lutheran Pietism and that of early Anglophone evangelicalism.⁵³ Boehm was also a correspondent of Mather, who served as a go-between in the relationship with Halle and forwarded him numerous publications from the presses of the Francke Foundation. From Boehm's own works, Mather cites his "Handbook of Prayer," *Enchiridion precum* (1707), at Cant. 2:14.

As is well known, Mather was in conversation with the director of the Foundation, the great Lutheran theologian and one of the founding fathers of "churchly" Pietism, August Hermann Francke.⁵⁴ Mather felt an "elective affinity" with Halle Pietism. He was so impressed by both its theology and its reforming activities that he famously spoke in a 1716 letter to Boehm about his "*American Puritanism*" as being "so much of a Peece with the *Frederician Pietism*."⁵⁵ Between 1709 and the end of their lives, Mather and Francke exchanged letters and literature. Traces of such Pietist works can be found in the annotations on Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles. Worth singling out here is Francke's *Programmata diversis temporibus in Academia Hallensi publice proposita* (1714), a collection of programmatic discourses on different religious subjects. Sometime during Stage II or III, Mather inserted a lengthy entry derived from the seventh discourse in this collection at the beginning of his annotations on Prov. 7. Following Francke, this entry basically reads Prov. 7–9 as an abbreviation of the whole of redemptive history, which also prophetically looks forward to Christ (BA 5:179–81). Among the late additions (inserted after the notes from Patrick) are also two citations Mather took from the work of the close associate of Francke Joachim Langius, *Medicina mentis*. In these, the Hallensian professor of theology offers his understanding of the spiritual essence of the books of Proverbs and Canticles, respectively.

The prominent place given to Johannes Cocceius in the commentary on Canticles already suggests that authors from the various Continental Reformed traditions are another important strand in the expanding web of Mather's intel-

⁵³ See Grainger, "Vital Nature and Vital Piety." Boehm also produced an English transl. of Arndt under the title *Of true Christianity four books* (1714).

⁵⁴ On the connections between Halle and Cotton Mather, see the two studies by Kuno Francke, "Cotton Mather and August Hermann Francke" (1896) and "The Beginning of Cotton Mather's Correspondence with August Hermann Francke" (1926), and the essays by Ernst Benz: "Pietist and Puritan Sources of Early Protestant World Missions (Cotton Mather and A. H. Francke)" (1951), and "Ecumenical Relations between Boston Puritanism and German Pietism (Cotton Mather and August Hermann Francke)" (1961); the most recent assessment is Oliver Scheiding, "The World as Parish: Cotton Mather, August Hermann Francke, and Transatlantic Religious Networks" (2010). For an up-to-date English introduction to Halle Pietism, see Douglas H. Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism: Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe* (2013), esp. pp. 117–43.

⁵⁵ *Diary* (2:411).

lectual influences. He turned to the works of many leading Christian Hebraists and theologians belonging to these churches. Besides those already mentioned in section one, Mather's philological interlocutors included Franciscus Vatablus and Jean Mercier (Joannes Mercerus, d. c. 1570) from France, and Ludovicus de Dieu, Constantine L'Empereur van Oppyck (1591–1648), and Jacob Alting (1618–1679) from the Netherlands.⁵⁶ Furthermore, Mather seems to have had a special predilection for authors of the Huguenot diaspora. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, many Huguenots had gone into exile to, among other places, Prussia and the Netherlands, as well England and the British colonies. Frequently their books were also translated into English. In his post-1706 annotations on Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles, several times Mather picks up on suggestions for revised translations from *An Essay for a new Translation of the Bible* by the controversial Huguenot theologian Charles Le Cène. For a time, Le Cène lived in the same refugee community in London as Pierre Allix (1641–1717), whose apologists and millennialist writings Mather cites all over the “Biblia.”⁵⁷ Likewise Mather references the Huguenot Hebraist at the University of Groningen Jacques Gousset (1635–1704). Gousset, in turn, was an outspoken critic of Le Cène, both because he accused him of Socinianism and because he saw his demand for a new Bible translation as reflecting skepticism in the divine inspiration of Scripture. As in other sections of the “Biblia,” Mather also employed *A critical History of the Doctrines and Worship (both good and evil) of the Church from Adam to our Saviour Jesus Christ* (1705) by the Huguenot scholar and pastor of the Walloon church of Rotterdam, Pierre Jurieu (1637–1713). Mather's admiration for the works of Jean D'Espagne (1591–1659) and Jacques Basnage (1653–1723) should also be mentioned in this context (see below).

Mather's growing internationalism notwithstanding, the largest group of texts from which he extracted individual entries during Stage II to IV is still British commentary and sermon literature. One segment of this diverse group is constituted by the works of leading English Hebraists and Orientalists. Some of these were already a little dated by the early eighteenth century. Among these older works are *A Comment upon Coheleth or Ecclesiastes, framed for the Instruction of Prince Henry our Hope* by Hugh Broughton (1549–1612), who had been a top Hebraist during the Elizabethan and early Stuart period. Almost a century old was *De diis Syris syntagmata II* (1617), a classical comparative study of pagan mythology by the English polymath John Selden (1584–1654), which Mather regularly consults for his notes on the deities mentioned in the Old

⁵⁶ On these figures, see Peter T. van Rooden, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies in the Seventeenth Century* (1989).

⁵⁷ For the special connection between British Dissent and the Huguenot exiles, see Robin Gwynn, “Strains of Worship: The Huguenots and Non-conformity.” (2011).

Testament.⁵⁸ Almost as old but still controversial were the works of the great Hebraist and biblical exegete Joseph Mede (1586–1639), which had a major influence on Puritan millennialism. Mede's works belonged to Mather's regular sources.⁵⁹ More recent and more contested, if for entirely different reasons, was John Spencer's *De legibus Hebraeorum ritualibus* (1685), which Mather, albeit very selectively, cites in his commentary on Canticles and Isaiah. The work of the Cambridge Hebraist Spencer (1630–1693) was much debated in Mather's day for it suggested that many religious laws and customs of the Israelites did not have their origins in immediate divine revelation but had developed historically from Egyptian origins.⁶⁰ In the field of Arabic studies, the editions and writings of Anglican clergymen and Oxford scholar Edward Pococke (bapt. 1604, d. 1691), which Mather occasionally references, were still cutting edge but largely uncontroversial.

The other group of texts on which Mather draws consists of miscellaneous sermons and treatises by British clergymen. One gets the impression that this type of literature is more present here than in certain parts of the "Biblia," such as the sections on Genesis or the Historical Books. A ready explanation for this would be that Proverbs and Ecclesiastes in particular were by nature more praxis-oriented. Thus, they more naturally invited the kind of commentary to be found in sermons and treatises. It seems that Mather was not usually reading such publications specifically for his work on the "Biblia." However, when he happened to find a passage in a sermon or tract which contained a convincing explication or, more frequently, a pious application of a biblical verse it was turned into an annotation at the respective place of the manuscript. One can tell that in his reading of English sermon and tract literature at least, where the focus was on lived and practical religion, Mather had a special liking for Puritan and Dissenting authors, both Presbyterian and Congregationalist. However, as suggested by the prominent role he was willing to give to Michael Jermin and Simon Patrick throughout, he was never excluding Anglicans by principle. Chronologically, Mather's selections stretch from the great Elizabethan and early Stuart reformers, such as Thomas Cartwright (see above), to the Civil War generation and his own post-Restoration generation. In the second group we find, for example, the venerated names of several Westminster divines, includ-

58 In addition to Burnett's *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era*, compare Gareth Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language* (1983); Jason P. Rosenblatt, *Renaissance England's Chief Rabbi: John Selden* (2006).

59 Mather used the five-volume edition, *The Works of the pious and profoundly-learned Joseph Mede of 1677*. On Mede, see Jeffrey K. Jue, *Heaven upon Earth: Joseph Mede (1586–1638) and the Legacy of Millenarianism* (2006).

60 On Spencer, see Daniel Stolzenberg, "John Spencer and the Perils of Sacred Philology" (2012); on Mather's engagement with Spencer, compare Reiner Smolinski, "'Eager Imitators of the Egyptian Inventions': Cotton Mather's Engagement with John Spencer and the Debate about the Pagan Origins of the Mosaic Laws, Rites, and Customs" (2010).

ing Stephen Marshall (c. 1594–1655), Anthony Tuckney (1599–1670), William Strong (d. 1654), Jeremiah Burroughs (c. 1600–1646), and Thomas Manton (1620–1677). All of these men are represented in the notes on Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, or Canticles with some sermon or devotional treatise that was usually held by the Mather family library.

From the generation of his father, Cotton Mather in this volume references the works of diverse English Dissenting clergymen and devotional writers, including Matthew Mead (Meade, 1628/29–1699) with his *Spiritual Wisdom improved against Temptation* (1660), and Samuel Shaw (1635–1696) with *The true Christians Test* (1682). The most prominent presence from this generational cohort here and in other sections of the “Biblia” is the Church of England clergyman and Calvinist apologist John Edwards (1637–1716), with whom Mather was also in correspondence. In several shorter notes and one essay-length entry on Eccles. 12 (BA 5:448–52), Mather made use of Edwards’s *A Discourse concerning the Authority, Stile, and Perfection of the Books of the Old and New Testament* (1693–1695) and *Exercitations critical, philosophical, historical, theological on several important Places in the Writings of the Old and New Testament* (1702). If it suited his purposes, however, Mather was also ready to reference High Church Anglicans such as the Bishop of Derry, Ezekiel Hopkins (1634–1690), whose *The Vanity of the World with other Sermons* (1685) is cited in an annotation on Eccles. 9:5 (BA 5:426).

Most telling are probably the selections that Mather made among British authors of his own generation. They provide evidence of the transatlantic network of Dissenting ministers and religious reformers on the eve of the great evangelical awakenings. Although Mather studiously avoided copying notes from Presbyterian minister Matthew Henry’s rivaling *Exposition of the Old and New Testaments* into his “Biblia Americana,” he still chose to pay tribute to the influential Henry in two annotations on Ecclesiastes. One is drawn from the biography of Matthew’s father Philip Henry (1631–1696) published in 1699, the other from a 1712 sermon (BA 5:372, 444). Further post-1706 entries were extracted from shorter works by the English Dissenting ministers Robert Fern (1652–1727) and Thomas Reynolds (Reinolds, c. 1667–1727). Reynolds was another correspondent of Mather. It is no coincidence that Mather references Reynold’s *A Sermon preach’d to the Societies for Reformation of Manners* (1700), as Mather was very interested in the activities of this London-based organization (founded in 1691), and tried to adopt some its strategies for his Boston environment (BA 5:202).⁶¹ This is also reflected in his employment of the reformist tract *Fair Warnings to a careless World, or, the serious Practice of Religion recommended by the Admonitions of dying Men, and the Sentiments of all People in their most*

⁶¹ On the Society and its larger political, social, and cultural contexts, see Shelley Burtt, *Virtue Transformed: Political Argument in England, 1688–1740* (2006), esp. pp. 39–63.

serious Hours (1707) by Josiah Woodward (1660–1712) for a note on Ecclesiastes (BA 5:457). Woodward was a Church of England clergyman and activist for that Society as well as for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (est. 1698), which Mather also supported.⁶² A final example from this group of authors that deserves mention is the Scottish Presbyterian minister Robert Fleming the Younger (c. 1660–1716). Mather excerpts parts of Fleming's *Christology. A Discourse concerning Christ* (1705–1708) for an extensive illustration on Prov. 8:36, in which he experiments with concepts of Christian Kabbalah (BA 5:190–99).

Before going into the specific sources for Isaiah and Jeremiah, one more dimension of the intertextual universe of the “Biblia” has to be mentioned. This feature is common to all the sections of the “Biblia.” Throughout the process of composition, Mather enriched his annotations with references to writers from classical antiquity. These he usually gleaned from intermediary sources which, in turn, had often taken them from somewhere else, creating the chains of references so typical for early modern writing.⁶³ Indeed, the accumulation of such references in many of Mather's entries resembles the proverbial snowball: With every turn in the annotation process another layer of intertextual allusions to Greco-Roman sources was added. The sheer multitude and enormous diversity of these sources forbids anything but the most cursory treatment here. Most unusual from a modern perspective is probably how, in the context of biblical criticism, Mather and his peers constantly find occasions to invoke the canonical poets such as Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Theocritus, Catullus, Horace, and Ovid. Likewise, they cite popular playwrights such as Plautus and Terence, together with a host of lesser literary authors. Also, the great philosophers such as Democritus, Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, or Seneca are given their due. More predictable is probably the heavy reliance on ancient historians, ethnographers, and naturalists, both major and minor. Herodotus, Strabo, and especially Flavius Josephus and Pliny the Elder are among the most frequently cited sources throughout.

Characteristically, for the “Biblia” and similar works of the period, these references serve a variety of purposes. Classical texts of all genres are often simply cited for embellishment, to entertain the knowledgeable reader with witty allusions or puns, and to demonstrate the author's learning. Next, classical texts are used as extra-biblical sources of knowledge about all aspects of the ancient world and worldviews of the people that inhabited it. This can be a matter of supplying additional information or evidence from particular sources about specific names, places, buildings, everyday items, events, customs, or gods

⁶² W. K. Lowther Clarke, *A History of the S. P. C. K.* (1959). For Mather's attempts to establish in Boston similar societies based on the English models, see Lovelace, *The American Pietism*, pp. 221–22.

⁶³ For the host of classical authors and titles referenced by Mather, see the complete bibliography at the end of this volume.

mentioned in Scripture. Or it can be a matter of illustrations by more general analogies, after the pattern of “the heroes of old also behaved in this way,” or “such and such is also described by many Roman poets and historians.” The things that are corroborated or explained in this way range from the trivial to the absolutely essential.

Moreover, philosophical specific ideas or concepts of Greco-Roman philosophy are compared to the teachings of the Bible. Sometimes this is done to point out significant differences, which in turn are supposed to highlight the superiority of the Christian religion. Sometimes this is done to show similarities, either in order to shed additional light on some Christian doctrine or to demonstrate that the Christian religion contains but also transcends all the wisdom of the pagans. A simple version of this can be found in the entries on Eccles. 1:9, where Mather (along with many other exegetes) points out that the scriptural assertion “nothing new under the sun” has its parallel in the writings of the Stoics. This kind of argument hinges on the notion of a *prisca theologia*, which was already anticipated in the writings of some of the Fathers but developed fully in the early modern period. It basically assumes that traditions of pagan mythology like the teachings of Greek and Roman philosophy historically developed from and were corruptions of the presumably much older scriptural revelations.⁶⁴

If they were more than just decoration, the countless references to classical texts thus ultimately all had an apologetical function of some kind, in that they either helped to establish the factuality of the Bible or its superior wisdom. What might seem to us a problematic method of (mis-)appropriation was absolutely common fare in Mather's day. This was true not just among theologians but even among early eighteenth-century classicists such as André Dacier (1655–1722) or the esteemed English scholar Anthony Blackwall (1674–1730), whose works Mather found a treasure trove for exactly this kind of apologetic readings.

2.2 Composition and Sources of Mather's Commentaries on Isaiah and Jeremiah

Together, there are 173 indexed entries for Isaiah (116) and Jeremiah (57). This is more than three times the amount of the 45 indexed entries on Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles. This suggests that already during Stage I Mather gave more thought to and put more weight on this section of the Bible, especially Isaiah. It also suggests that even during this early phase he had the ambition to

⁶⁴ On this, see Frank E. Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods* (1959); Daniel P. Walker, *The Ancient Theology: Studies in Christian Platonism from the Fifteenth Century to the Eighteenth Century* (1972); David A. Pailin, *Attitudes to Other Religions. Comparative Religion in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Britain* (1984); and Peter Harrison, *“Religion” and the Religions in the English Enlightenment* (1990).

offer a more substantial commentary on these two major prophets, although he did not aim at comprehensiveness. Mather's notes on Jeremiah continued to grow only by a small proportion after Stage I, however. This part of his commentary therefore still reflects the relatively modest scope of Mather's plan for the "Biblia" project when he first declared it done in 1706. His commentary on Jeremiah is focused on individual verses, sometimes just two or three per chapter, while leaving whole chapters without annotations. Even though Isaiah is the shorter of the two biblical books, by 1706 Mather had already written double the amount of annotations he had on Jeremiah. Presumably, this mostly had to do with the critical importance of the messianic prophecies in Isaiah. By a rough estimate, taken together these annotations would have fit on a little less than 30 folio pages. However, for reasons to be discussed below, the annotations on Isaiah more than doubled in quantity during the two decades after 1706, as Mather was going back and forth between new initiatives to find patronage for the "Biblia" and despairing over its eventual publication. Including all the smaller leaves and some blank pages, it amounted to 90 pages in the end.

Main Sources during Stage I

Mather apparently worked on Isaiah throughout the first stage of composition. Among the still legible index numbers in Isaiah there are quite a few two-digit numbers. Some are as low as 59 and 60. However, some of the numbers go up all the way to the 4200s. There is a certain clustering of entries in the 1340s to 1460s range and the 4000s to 4050s range. By contrast, there is only one legible index number in Jeremiah that is below 1000 (935). The majority of numbers are in the 1420s to 1460s and the 4000 to 4080s range. This conspicuous clustering of numbers is explained by the fact that the entries from these number ranges are all derived from the Latin commentaries of two authors: Münster and Grotius. The entries with numbers from the 1340s to the 1460s all come from Grotius. The entries with numbers from the 4020s to the 4080s all come from Münster. Thus, one gets the impression that fairly early on Mather went through Isaiah and Jeremiah from beginning to end with the *Critici Sacri* on his desk, taking notes on verses that seemed of particular interest or concern to him. While Münster was his trusted source of rabbinic learning and pious applications, Grotius would again have served as a guide in matters of historical contextualization and authorial intention. In the commentaries on Isaiah and Jeremiah there is sometimes a series of entries derived from either Grotius or Münster that has continuing index numbers. In other cases, the numbers indicate that Mather switched back and forth in his work on the two major prophets. For instance, while entries from Münster with the index numbers 4034–35 can be found in the section on Isaiah, number 4036 can be found in the section on Jeremiah.

Also via *Critici Sacri*, Mather occasionally – when discussing issues of translation – brings to bear the philological expertise of Vatablus and also of Franciscus Forerius (Francisco Forerio, 1523–1581). Forerius's new literalist translation of Isaiah with elaborate commentaries was originally published in 1563 and subsequently included by Pearson in the respective section of his anthology. Except for *Critici Sacri*, however, Mather did not have a “master source” that he systematically mined for either Isaiah or Jeremiah during Stage I. As a matter of fact, in the section on Jeremiah, Münster and Grotius combined provide the basis for the majority of entries, even after the post-1706 additions. Mather's mysterious notebook lists Cornelius à Lapide (Cornelis van den Steen, 1657–1637) among the general “Consultants” for Isaiah and Jeremiah, and there are quite a few traces of the Flemish Jesuit exegete in Mather's early annotations. However, there are not enough to suggest that he methodically worked through this commentary during the first stage of composition.⁶⁵

What other sources then did Mather employ for individual entries composed before 1706? Of course, Mather, from the beginning consulted some of his standard reference works, including Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* or Bochart's *Geographia sacra* and *Hieroicoicon*. There are also a number of early annotations with patristic sources. However, it is not always possible to determine whether he went *ad fontes* for these or whether he cites them at second or third remove. In the majority of cases, Mather appears to have gleaned the patristic citations from other works. Cornelius à Lapide in particular would have been a source for patristic references. It seems, though, that during Stage I he did read through Jerome's commentaries on Isaiah and Jeremiah,⁶⁶ from which he took a number of notes, for which there are no traceable intermediary sources. His notebook also specifically mentions Chrysostom's explications of Isaiah, which Mather might have gone through in the Latin translation. It is only cited once, however, in an early entry on chapter six.

In his discussion of the messianic prophecies Mather again extensively quotes Judaica, usually secondhand. Münster is the major source for Latin translations of glosses by Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Ralbag, and even the medieval rabbinic *Seder Olam Zutta*.⁶⁷ At the same time, the *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* provided access to Latin translations of the Targumim. Some early entries also make reference to different tractates of the Babylonian Talmud and midrashic commentary such as Midrash Genesis, which are consistently cited in Latin

⁶⁵ Cornelius à Lapide was a professor of Hebrew at Louvain and at Rome, who wrote extensive and learned annotations on almost all of the books of the Bible, which remained among the most popular Catholic commentaries well into the nineteenth century. On à Lapide's commentaries, see Pierre Gibert, “The Catholic Counterpart and Response to the Protestant Orthodoxy” (2008), pp. 764–67.

⁶⁶ Both of these commentaries would have been available to him through the 1616 edition of Jerome's *Opera omnia* that was in both his personal library and the Harvard College library.

⁶⁷ *Seder Olam Rabbah ue Seder Olam Zuta, sive Chronicon Hebraeorum majus et minus* (1580).

translations. These citations mostly come from Christian apologetical works, some of which Mather uses throughout the “Biblia,” especially Martini’s *Pugio Fidei*. For the annotations on the prophecy of the suffering servant in Isa. 53, he additionally mined the *Theologia iudaica* (1653) by the German-Dutch Hebraist Antonius Hulsius (Anton Hüls, 1615–1685), as well as the *Observationes sacrae* (1689) by the famous disciple of Hulsius, Campegius Vitringa.⁶⁸ Mather also drew on the works of leading English Hebraists and Orientalist for further citations from Talmudic-midrashic literature as well as for expertise on various questions about the religious traditions of the ancient Jews and their neighboring cultures. Besides those scholars already mentioned in the previous section (esp. John Spencer and John Selden), two deserve brief mention here. One is John Lightfoot (1602–1675). A member of the Westminster Assembly and later vice-chancellor of the University of Cambridge, Lightfoot was one of the greatest English Hebraists and biblical scholars of the period, from whose collected work (2 vols., 1684) Mather cites diverse studies.⁶⁹ The other is John Gregory (1607–1646), whose work Mather seems to have appreciated very much despite Gregory’s known Arminian leanings and association with Laudianism. A chaplain to the Bishop of Chichester, Gregory was a genuine humanist polymath with interests in philology, astronomy, geometry, and arithmetic and one of the leading English Orientalists of the day, famed for his command of Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Samaritan. Citations come from many places in Gregory’s collected works (1665), but most often from his *The Assyrian Monarchy, being a short Description of its Rise and Fall* (1663), and the *Notes and Observations upon some Passages of Scripture* (1646). Moreover, Mather draws on Gregory’s sermons for kabbalistic ideas.⁷⁰

In addition to these more regular sources, during stage I Mather unsystematically extracted entries on diverse *loci* in Isaiah and Jeremiah from a wide range of exegetical works, most of them from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These “occasional sources” sometimes show up two or three times, but often only once. As in other sections of the “Biblia,” Mather shows a preference for Reformed theologians, predominantly those of the age of post-Reformation Orthodoxy. However, the commentaries on the prophets by John Calvin or

⁶⁸ Mostly remembered for his orthodox opposition to radical Pietism but also the school of Cocceius, Hulsius was a professor of Hebrew (since 1668) and later of theology at Leiden university, where Vitringa studied and worked for a time. A professor at Franeker since 1680, Vitringa was widely acknowledged in his day as a leading Reformed theologian and exegete. Besides a theological compendium (1688), he published mostly exegetical works on the Old Testament (most importantly the massive commentary on Isaiah, publ. 1714/20) and ancient Judaism, as well as a commentary on Revelation.

⁶⁹ Most frequently Mather used Lightfoot’s *Horae hebraicae et talmudicae* (orig. publ. in 3 vols., 1658), the first systematic attempt to use Talmudic sources to explicate the gospels. On Lightfoot, see Richard A. Muller, “Lightfoot, John” (1998), pp. 208–12.

⁷⁰ See Alastair Hamilton, “Gregory, John (1607–1646)” (2004).

Zacharias Ursinus (1534–1583),⁷¹ which one might have expected to serve as starting points, do not figure at all in the entries from Stage I. They were only brought into the mix at a later stage of composition on a few occasions in Isaiah, but then secondhand. Curiously, Mather in his notebook even lists Calvin as a main source for Isaiah together with the commentaries of Zürich Reformer Rudolf Gwalther (Gualtherius, 1519–1586) and French Reformed theologian Augustin Marlorat (Marloratus, 1506–1562).⁷² We can only speculate about the reasons why he chose not to discuss them explicitly. Probably, Mather came to feel that it was better to avoid presenting to his intended audience those views with which they would have most likely been familiar already.

For similar reasons, Mather seems to have mostly stayed away from popular commentaries by seventeenth-century English theologians, whether of Anglican or Puritan leanings. Poole's *Annotations*, Mather's main competitor in the market when he began his project, does not appear in the section on the major prophets. Likewise, the popular annotations by the Puritan-leaning Church of England exegete John Trapp (1601–1669) are ignored on all but one occasion.⁷³ When anglophone Reformed theologians are cited, it is usually from works that were not obviously relevant to the exegesis of Isaiah and Jeremiah. Thus, Mather hoped to surprise his readers with insights gleaned from works of systematic theology, Christian apologetics, or from occasional English sermons, in which one or the other verse from the two prophets happened to be explained in a new and exciting fashion. In this manner, writings by Puritan or Presbyterian theologians such as John Arrowsmith (1602–1659), Stephen Charnock (1628–1680), or Thomas Goodwin (1600–1680) find their way into Mather's early annotations, as do contemporary apologetical works of a more Anglican orientation. These include *Christian Religion's Appeal from the groundless Prejudices of the Sceptick, to the Bar of common Reason* (1675) by the Rector of St. Mary's, Colchester, John Smith (fl. 1675–1711); *A Conference with a Theist* (1696) by the Rector of Selsey, Sussex, William Nicholls (1664–1712); *A Demonstration of the Messiah* by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Richard Kidder (1633–1703); or *The Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion* by Robert Jenkin, a prominent Anglican divine and nonjuror after the Glorious Revolution, who later became a Master of St. John's College, Cambridge. In this manner, too, some tracts by New England ministers were incorporated, for instance, an occasional sermon by William Hooke (1601–1678), who had

⁷¹ John Calvin, *Commentarii in Iesaiam prophetam* (1551); Zacharias Ursinus, *Opera theologica* (1612), vol. 3, *Qui complectitur eruditissimum commentarium in prophetiam Iesaiæ*.

⁷² Augustin Marlorat, *Esaiae prophetia, cum catholica expositione ecclesiastica*, (publ. posthumously in 1564); Rudolf Gwalther, *In Iesaiam prophetam homiliae* (1583).

⁷³ Although largely forgotten today, Trapp's *A Commentary or Exposition upon these following Books of holy Scripture: Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel & Daniel* (1660) was a widely-read work in Mather's period.

resided in New England from 1640 to 1656 before returning to Cromwellian England (*BA* 5:896).⁷⁴

More frequently, however, Mather went for Continental Reformed theologians from the great academic centers of Calvinist theology in the Holy Roman Empire, France, Switzerland, and the Netherlands, in order to delight his audience with unexpected gems of “foreign learning.” Among the early entries of this kind are extracts from the exegetical works of Jacob Alting, professor of Oriental languages and theology at the University of Groningen, and of Hermann Witsius (1636–1708). Witsius was a disciple of Cocceius and one of the most renowned Reformed intellectuals and Pietist theologians of the period, who successively held positions at Franeker, Utrecht, and Leyden. An essay-length entry on the messianic prophecies of Isa. 6 (*BA* 5:596–600) is derived from Witsius’s *Miscellanea sacra* (1692–1700, 2 vols). On Isa. 42, Mather derived another lengthy entry from Witsius’s *Meletemata Leidensia* (1703).⁷⁵ At Jer. 35:2 Mather offers a short essay on the identity and history of the Rechabites (*BA* 5:926–29), which is a summary translation of Witsius’s *De Rechabites*, published as an introductory piece to the Latin translation of the popular work on biblical antiquities *Moses and Aaron: Civil and ecclesiastical Rites, used by the ancient Hebrews* (1625). This work was originally written in English by the scholar and schoolmaster Thomas Goodwin or Godwin (1586/7–1642). The Latin edition with extensive learned annotations, which Mather uses in other parts of the “Biblia” as well, was first published in 1679 by the German Reformed theologian and Pietist Johann Heinrich Reitz (1665–1720) under the title *Moses et Aaron, seu civiles & ecclesiastici ritus antiquorum Hebraeorum*.⁷⁶ Another example of the Reformed presence in the commentaries on Isaiah and Jeremiah is the Huguenot divine Jean D’Espagne, who served as pastor in Orange and Hague before he moved to London in 1657. Here he became minister to a French congregation in London. Mather repeatedly cites from both D’Espagne’s French works and their English translations in his annotations on Isaiah and Jeremiah, such as *Shibboleth* or the *Essay on the Wonders of God* (1662).

As in other parts of the “Biblia,” Mather did not hesitate to cross confessional divides, if he chanced upon the “illumination” of a verse that appealed to him for some reason. While his notebook lists Luther’s exegetical works as a general source for annotating Isaiah, the Wittenberg Reformer only shows up once as the source for an entry on chapter nine. However, Lutheran theologians

⁷⁴ Mather cites Hooke’s *The Privilege of the Saints on Earth* (1673).

⁷⁵ On Witsius, see Jan van Genderen, *Herman Witsius* (1953); and Gert A. van den Brink, *Herman Witsius en het antinomianisme: Met tekst en vertaling van de Animadversiones Irenicae* (2008).

⁷⁶ On Reitz, see Hans-Jürgen Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt des radikalen Pietismus. Johann Henrich Reitz’ „Historie der Wiedergeborenen“ und ihr geschichtlicher Kontext* (1989).

do make quite a frequent appearance in this first layer of annotations. For instance, Mather again found occasion to cite the *Philologia sacra* of Salomo Glassius. Mather also took a liking to the works of some minor representatives of the age of Lutheran Orthodoxy, such as Johannes Heinrich Ursinus or Esdras Edzard (Edzardus, 1629–1708), who are largely forgotten today. We already saw that Mather was not averse to enlisting the help of Catholic interpreters such as à Lapide if it suited his purposes. There are also a number of Catholics among the “occasional appearances” from Stage I, as for instance, the *Commentarii in visiones Veteris Testamenti* by the Jesuit theologian and missionary Antonius Fernandus (Antonio Fernández, 1569–1642), whose elaborate allegorical readings of prophecies Mather cites at least three times in early annotations. When Mather does enter into dialogue with Catholic interlocutors, it is almost always because he is not satisfied with more literal interpretations of a particular verse. Apparently, he felt that in this specific case an allegorical reading should be allowed or preferred, or he turned to Catholic apologetical works, such as the *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1679) by the famous French churchman and scholar Pierre Daniel Huet (1630–1721), where they provided helpful tools in the common fight against “infidelity.”⁷⁷

As suggested above, the commentary on Jeremiah grew only very modestly after 1706. The additions that were made do not suggest that Mather went through the whole of Jeremiah again with new sources. Rather, he seems to have inserted a gloss here and there as he happened to find something of interest. The virtual explosion of the section on Isaiah had two interrelated reasons. First, at some point Mather decided to draw extensive notes from Gataker’s commentary on the major prophets in the *Westminster Annotations*, extracting a good number of glosses on Isaiah. Secondly, and more importantly, Mather got a hold of two major commentaries on Isaiah recently published in England, which he found important enough to harvest systematically for his own annotations. Thirdly, these new commentaries were tied into a larger debate among European and especially British intellectuals over prophetic evidence and scriptural hermeneutics. This debate had been simmering since the late seventeenth century but boiled over in the early years of the eighteenth (see section one). The messianic prophecies in Isaiah took center stage in the arguments on both sides. Mather was keenly interested in this debate and felt a need to take a stand through his post 1706-annotations on Isaiah. So he made an effort to stay on top of the burgeoning literature, working in new publications as late as 1727.

⁷⁷ See April G. Shelford, *Transforming the Republic of Letters: Pierre-Daniel Huet and European Intellectual Life, 1650–1720* (2007).

Main Sources of the Post-1706 Expansions

As is true for other parts of the “Biblia,” any dating of entries after 1706 is speculative, unless a publication date of a work cited or a personal aside provides a clue. Sometime during stage II or III, Mather added a whole new layer of glosses on Isaiah, as he methodically worked through Samuel White’s *A Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah, wherein the literal Sense of his Prophecy is briefly explain’d*, first published in 1709. Mather’s off-hand remark in the new introductory note appended to the section on Isaiah that he would “now & then accept an Illustration” (BA 5:566) out of White’s *Commentary* is an understatement. Mather added citations or summary paraphrases from White’s annotations on virtually every chapter, often on several verses per chapter, significantly increasing the bulk of the text. Virtually forgotten among modern scholars of the period, Samuel White (1678–1716) was (according to the information provided in the preface of his commentary) a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. He served as chaplain to the Dutch and English nobleman Hans Willem Bentinck, 1st Earl of Portland (1649–1709), Viscount of Woodstock and Baron of Cirencester, a close advisor of William III and one of the most important politicians in Williamite Britain. White had also dedicated his commentary to his powerful Lord (who, however, died in the year of its publication), writing an elaborate homage, in which the wars of the Assyrian and Persian Periods to which Isaiah refers are compared to the campaigns against the Stuart Loyalists and France, in which Bentinck fought alongside William III.⁷⁸

In his approach to Isaiah, as he himself put it in his dedication to Bentinck, White was “following in the Footsteps of the Learned Grotius, who of all the Commentators I have met with is the most Rational: he keeps to the proper and genuine Signification of the Words, and carefully observes the Connexion; which the rest not regarding, have swell’d up their Notes to large Volumes, and given their own Fancies, instead of the Sense of the Prophet.”⁷⁹ Expanding upon Grotius’s notes, White thus attempted to read the prophecies as much as possible in a literal-historical fashion within the context of the period in which they were originally produced. Like Grotius, White found this coherence of the book of Isaiah in two essential points. First, all the prophecies were directed at Isaiah’s contemporary Jewish audience living in the kingdom of Judah between the days of Uzziah and that of Hezekiah. Second, the temporary reach of the prophet’s

⁷⁸ Except for his substantial commentary on the prophet, White did not seem to have published much else of note. The only other publication bearing his name that I could track down is an indictment of the great classicist Richard Bentley (1662–1742), *The true State of Trinity College, in a Letter to a residing Fellow of that Society: Wherein the trifling Impertinencies, malicious Aspersions, and bold Falshoods of Dr. Bentley, are answer’d in such a Manner as they deserve* (1710), that he authored together with John Paris in the ongoing feud between Bentley, then master of Trinity, and the fellows of the College.

⁷⁹ White, *Commentary*, pref., p. ii.

historical predictions (whose supernatural inspiration White, like Grotius, never doubted) generally ended with the destruction of Babylon and the restoration from captivity. White, too, allowed for what he called a “double interpretation” of those passages cited in the New Testament but insisted “that those *Prophecies of Isaiah*, which are produc’d by the Writers of the New Testament, are to be understood in a different Sense in the New, than in the Old.”⁸⁰ That difference was that between a primary literal sense referring to the historical events that Isaiah actually predicted and a secondary christological sense, retrospectively found in some words and phrases from the viewpoint of Christian faith. Like Grotius, White thought that the possibility of finding this higher fulfillment in the ancient prophecies had been made possible by the providential arrangement of events and words.⁸¹ Still, the higher meaning had not been intended by the prophet himself. Unlike Grotius, White allowed for one significant exception. He thought that Isa. 52 and 53 with their vision of the suffering servant literally and exclusively referred to Christ. In no case did White allow for an application of the Isaianic prophecies to the latter days.

White not only discarded much of the traditional interpretations of Isaiah’s oracles as arbitrary mystifications. He also criticized the rigidly literalist attempts of some contemporary scholars to prove that the sole meaning of the quintessential messianic prophecies of Isaiah, such as Isa. 7:14, was to be seen in a prediction of Christ. In particular he aimed at William Whiston’s *The Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies. Being eight Sermons preach’d at the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, in the Year MDCCVII* (1708), a work which Mather also read and cited during this period.⁸² As suggested in section one, the White-Whiston jostle was only the beginning of a much more general and radical debate over prophetic evidence between Deists, such as Anthony Collins, and the English clerical establishment. For Mather, White’s interpretation was a half-way stop to the open attacks on scriptural authority à la Collins. Mather therefore treated White’s voluminous commentary in essentially the same manner as he had the sparse notes of Grotius: selectively and very cautiously.

Sometime after 1714, Mather found a perfect interlocutor to respond in a nuanced manner to the more radical implications of historicization that troubled him in White. That year William Lowth (1660–1732) published his *A Commentary upon the Prophet Isaiah* (1714) as a direct rejoinder to White’s Grotian interpretation. We don’t know when exactly Mather read Lowth’s work, but he almost wholeheartedly embraced it when he did. Maybe during Stage III,

⁸⁰ White, *Commentary*, pref., p. xvi.

⁸¹ “Then, I say, these Words were fulfill’d; for tho’ they admit another Sense suitable to the design of the Prophet in that place, yet they were never fully accomplish’d in the utmost latitude of their Signification design’d by the Holy Ghost till the time of the Gospel.” White, *Commentary*, pref., p. viii.

⁸² On Whiston, see James. E. Force, *William Whiston, Honest Newtonian* (1985).

but more likely during Stage IV, Mather seems to have gone through Lowth from cover to cover, extracting copious entries, which he added in a different ink to existing annotations, squeezed into still empty spaces and the margins of overcrowded folio pages, or penned on smaller pieces of paper that were then attached to the margins of the manuscript. In the first entry of this kind, an insertion (from 2r) on Isa. 1:11, he writes: "Such Remarks we have, in Mr. *William Lowth's* Commentary on *Isaiah*: from whence I propose many Delibations," to then praise the work as "An excellent Commentary; and the Reverse of what the miserable *White* has offered us" (BA 5:568). Mather extracted numerous annotations from Lowth's work on every chapter of Isaiah, amounting to several hundred in total.

Like Simon Patrick, William Lowth was not at all part of the world of English Dissent in which Mather was most at home. A student and later fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, he received his B.A. in 1679, the M.A. in 1683, and a B.D. in 1688. As an Anglican priest, Lowth successively became vicar of St Nicholas, Rochester, rector of Overton, Hampshire, and prebendary of Winchester. Mather certainly did not subscribe to Lowth's ecclesial views, as expressed, for instance, in his 1722 sermon *The Characters of an apostolic Church fulfilled in the Church of England: and our Obligations to continue in the Communion of it*. However, Lowth was an exegete after Mather's own heart, who tried to constructively meet the challenge that the latest Enlightenment biblical criticism posed to the authority of Scripture and the traditional modes of interpretation. While trying to incorporate philological, historical, and empirical methods as much as possible, Lowth always operated within an apologetical framework and never lost sight of the importance of practical piety. In 1692 he had published *A Vindication of the divine Authority and Inspiration of the Writings of the Old and New Testament*, in which he attacked Hobbes, Spinoza, LeClerc and other critics, who questioned the integrity and inspiration of Scripture. This was followed in 1708 by his *Directions for the profitable Reading of the Holy Scriptures, together with some Observations*, a work that was reprinted several times throughout the eighteenth century. Moreover, Lowth was also a fellow millennialist, which would have made his approach to the Scriptures even more attractive to Mather.

In addition to these general works, Lowth produced a series of commentaries on the prophetic books of the Old Testament, starting with Isaiah in 1714 and ending with Daniel and the minor prophets in 1726. As Scott Mandelbrote has written, the success of this series confirmed Lowth's "skill as an expositor, whose work appealed to lay people as well as divines." Lowth effectively summarized and thereby helped to popularize "the most advanced orthodox ideas of post-Restoration churchmen in his commentaries, which treated Israelite prophecy as foreshadowing the teaching of Christ and the history of the church." After 1727, these commentaries were republished together as a continuation of Simon

Patrick on the historical books and the wisdom books of the Old Testament.⁸³ For some reason Mather did not take advantage of Lowth's 1718 *A Commentary upon the Prophecy and Lamentations of Jeremiah*, which follows the basic hermeneutical pattern that Mather so appreciated in the commentary on Isaiah. Most likely, Mather never learned about this work or did not get a hold of it. Otherwise, he surely would have made good use of it, and his notes on Jeremiah would probably have grown even more substantially.

As discussed in section one, Lowth suggested to Mather a hermeneutic model of multiple fulfillments for the Isaianic prophecies, which expanded upon earlier interpretations of Isaiah in the Reformed tradition.⁸⁴ Lowth, like Vitringa, thought that "many of the Prophecies are not limited to one single event, but may have different Views, and be capable of being fulfilled by several Steps and Degrees" But, in sharp contrast to White's understanding of a "double interpretation," Lowth insisted that the so-called secondary sense, although it was fulfilled later in time, should not be understood as "less principally *intended* by the Prophets." On the contrary, he understood the secondary sense as the principal one.⁸⁵ It was the fulfillment of an actual prediction, not just a retrospective application. "This Christian Interpretation of the Prophecies is called the Mystical Sense," Lowth wrote, "because it helps to unfold the Mysteries of the Gospel, not as if it were always opposed to a literal Sense. For in many Cases what we call the Mystical Sense, more exactly answers the natural and genuine Import of the Words, than any other Interpretation that can be given of them."⁸⁶ Mather adopted this model of gradual and multiple fulfillment for many, if not all, of his readings of the Isaianic prophecies. By virtue of this model, Mather also felt able to reconcile heightened scholarly attention to the

⁸³ See Scott Mandelbrote, "William Lowth" (1661–1732)" (2004). Well into the nineteenth century this package of Patrick's *Commentary on the early Books of the Old Testament* and Lowth's *A Commentary upon the Larger and Lesser Prophets*, often in combination with Daniel Whitby's, Richard Arnald's and Moses Lowman's commentaries on the New Testament, remained a steady seller in the Anglo-American world and went through many editions. William Lowth's legacy as a commentator on Isaiah of course also lived on through his more famous son Robert Lowth (1710–1787), who helped to revolutionize the view of Old Testament writings through his *Praelectiones de sacra poesi Hebraeorum* (1753), which had an enormous influence on the Romantic generation. In 1778 Robert Lowth also published an influential new translation of the prophet with learned notes.

⁸⁴ In his commentary on Isaiah, Calvin himself had operated under the assumption that the fulfillment of prophecies ought not to be limited to one person or event. Instead, in the formulation of Brevard Childs, Calvin "employed a dynamic understanding of historical events that unfolded in a process that anticipated in stages the full realization of the initial promise." If Isaiah, for instance, predicted the freeing of Israel from its Babylonian captivity, Calvin simultaneously viewed this as "a foretaste of the divine deliverance in the reign of Christ." Childs, *The Christian Struggle*, p. 223. On this, see also Richard A. Muller, "The Hermeneutics of Promise and Fulfillment in Calvin's Exegesis of the Old Testament Prophecies" (1990).

⁸⁵ William Lowth, *A Commentary upon the Prophet Isaiah*, pref., pp. x–xi.

⁸⁶ Lowth, *Commentary*, pref., p. x.

historicity of the Old Testament prophets with his personal commitment to a millennialist eschatology.

Throughout Stages II to IV, Mather also continued to compose glosses on single verses of both Isaiah and Jeremiah, which he derived from very heterogeneous sources. There are a number of these entries that we can place with certainty in the fourth stage of composition, since the publication of their sources date after 1716. Although generalizations are difficult, three tendencies are discernible. First, his later insertions reveal that, into the very last year of his life, Mather was closely following and very much concerned with current theological discussions in England, especially the Arian controversy and the debates between orthodox churchmen and the Deists over the claims of revealed religion. Where they spoke to interpretative issues in the prophecies of Isaiah or Jeremiah, he took notes from new apologetical works published by Church of England theologians in this context. Among these works are *Truth defended, and Boldness in Error rebuk'd ... a Confutation of Part of Mr. Whiston's Book, entituled, The Accomplishment of Scripture-Prophecies* (1710) by Nicholas Clagett (1654–1727), D.D. from Cambridge, and preacher of St. Mary's Church, Bury St. Edmunds; *A Defence of Christianity from the Prophecies of the Old Testament* (1725) by Bishop Edward Chandler (1668–1750); and the *Letters to the Author of the Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion: shewing, that Christianity is supported by Facts well attested* (1726) by the curate of Thurnscoe John Green (d. 1774). It is remarkable that although Anthony Collins's anonymously published *Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons* was a keytext in this debate and the explicit target of Chandler and Green, Mather never actually cites it. This was the same policy of silent omission he applied to Spinoza or Thomas Hobbes. Their works are also never honored with a direct reference. He apparently saw it as inappropriate and unwise to give the perceived enemies of the Christian faith a voice in his biblical commentary.

A noteworthy "American voice" among the apologetical works that Mather employed in his later annotations is the Jewish convert to Christianity Judah Monis (1683–1764). Monis taught Hebrew at Harvard from 1722–1760 and was a personal acquaintance of Mather. Following his baptism in 1722, three tracts by Monis were jointly published. In these Monis asserted that the messianic prophecies of the Old Testament prophets were fulfilled in Christ.⁸⁷ As a pre-

⁸⁷ Mather cites Monis on Isa. 9:6, Isa. 53:1, Jer. 7:4, and possibly on Jer. 14:8. Monis was a Sephardic Jew who had been trained at Jewish academies in Livorno and Italy before his emigration to New York around 1715. Eventually, Monis moved to Cambridge to become the first Hebrew instructor at Harvard from 1722–1760. He was publicly baptized on March 27, 1722 in the College Hall at Cambridge, at which time the Reverend Benjamin Colman (1673–1747) delivered a sermon. This text, for which Increase Mather penned a preface, was then published together with three of Monis's texts as *A Discourse ... Before the Baptism of R. Judah Monis, to which were added three Discourses, written by Mr. Monis himself: The Truth, The whole Truth, Nothing but the Truth. One of which was deliver'd by him at his Baptism* (1722). On Mather's

sumably authentic “expert witness” on the true meaning of the Hebrew oracles, Mather chose to refer repeatedly to Monis’s explications of Isaiah and Jeremiah.

The second discernible tendency is Mather’s deepening investment in literature that offered extra-biblical evidence for the factuality of Scripture. As in the annotations on Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles, one such type of evidentialist literature, which receives considerable room in Mather’s later annotations, are travel narratives. Again, we find lengthy citations from the anonymous *A Journey to Jerusalem*, or from Maundrell’s *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, as well as from *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine* (1650), a geographical and historical description of Palestine written by the Anglican prebendary of Salisbury and D.D. Thomas Fuller (1607–1661). Just as he brought in travel literature to illuminate the Old Testament prophecies and to give historical evidence for their fulfillment, Mather continued to look for possible correspondences between hitherto obscure or inexplicable verses and new discoveries in contemporary scientific and philosophical writings. A fascinating example are Mather’s ruminations on Isaiah’s vision of the afterlife in Isa. 66:24. In his annotations, Mather brings together alchemical and kabbalistic lore (relayed through John Gregory) and an early essay on monadology by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) – cited secondhand from Pierre Bayle’s (1647–1706) *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (first ed. 1697) – to arrive at a better “scientific” understanding of the resurrection (*BA* 5:858–59).

New studies of the history of ancient Israel in the context of the surrounding empires and cultures were another type of evidentialist literature that Mather consulted for corroborations of factual references in Isaiah and Jeremiah. One prominent historiographic work from which Mather made long excerpts after 1706 is *The History of the Jews, from Jesus Christ to the present Time* (1708) by Jacques Basnage,⁸⁸ a book which also contained a lot of information on pre-Christian times. The other is *The Old and New Testament connected in the History of the Jews and neighbouring Nations* (1716–1718) by the Anglican Hebraist Humphrey Prideaux (1648–1724), who covered the history of the Jews from 747 BCE to 33 CE. Moreover, there are several pages worth of insertions in the comments on Isaiah from the work of another correspondent of Mather: the Glasgow historian and Presbyterian controversialist William Jameson (fl. 1689–1720). His *Spicilegia antiquitatum Aegypti atque ei vicinarum gentium* (1720) attempted to harmonize biblical representations of ancient Near Eastern history and culture with sources of classical antiquity. A further lengthy adden-

encounters with Monis, see the *Diary* (2:741, 743); and Lee M. Friedman, “Cotton Mather and the Jews” (1918) and “Early Jewish Residents in Massachusetts” (1915). On Monis, see Hoberman, *New Israel/New England*, pp. 86–120, and Goldman, *God’s Sacred Tongue* (2004), pp. 31–51.

⁸⁸ Originally published as *Histoire des Juifs, depuis Jesus-Christ jusqu’à présent. Pour servir de continuation à l’histoire de Joseph* (1706).

dum to the Isaiah commentary comes from Paul-Yves Pezron's (1639–1706) *The Antiquities of Nations; more particularly of the Celts or Gauls* (1706).⁸⁹ This work abounded in the kind of etymological and euhemeristic speculations on the origins of ancient deities and mythological figures that Mather found so irresistible.

It is worth mentioning that Pezron was a Cistercian brother from Brittany. That Mather freely used his works illustrates the third tendency in his later additions. If anything, Mather's penchant for unusual sources increased even further in his later years and with it the diversity of theological voices. More Lutherans enter the picture, including Heinrich Möller (1530–1589), whose *Iesaias: In Iesaiam prophetam commentarius pius et eruditus* (1588) Mather repeatedly cites, either via White, or by direct reference. Furthermore, Mather drew from the works of the orthodox Lutheran schoolmen Salomo Deyling (1677–1755) and Samuel Bohl (1611–1639), as well as from writings of the Pietist Joachim Lange, who is also cited in a note on Isaiah (BA 5:576). Through White, the commentary of the Spanish Jesuit scholar Gaspar Sanctius (Gaspar Sánchez, 1553–1620), *In Iesaiam prophetam commentarii: cum paraphrasi & indicibus utilissimis* (1616), also becomes a frequent interlocutor. Mather even finds the occasion (with Isa. 4:2) of quoting *The first Booke of the Christian Exercise, appertayning to Resolution* (1582), the famous devotional work by the Jesuit priest Robert Persons (or Parsons, 1546–1610). Parsons was instrumental in establishing the “English Mission” of the Societas Jesu. Nonetheless, Mather goes so far as to call this book a “Work of Grace, and of real *Regeneration*,” which “by the Providence of God, [has] been the Instrument of making many a serious *Protestant*” (BA 5:584). This is very much in the spirit of the kind of individualized ecumenical piety that Mather also advertised in tracts like *Malachi: Or, the everlasting Gospel, preached unto the Nations* (1717).

Besides his personal interest and concerns, market competition might be an important explanation for these three tendencies. When Mather began his work on the “Biblia,” he already had competition from one relatively recent English-language commentary: Matthew Poole's *Annotations*. With Stage II of the composition process, Mather would have been aware of the fact that another formidable competitor had entered the market, Matthew Henry's *An Exposition of all the Books of the Old and New Testament*. Since Henry's exhaustive verse-by-verse, but largely paraphractical, explanations put a premium on practical and devotional purposes, Mather would have diversified in other directions (current theological debates; evidentialist literature of all kinds; sources outside the mainstream of English Protestant literature) to pique the interest of his potential audience.

⁸⁹ A transl. of *Antiquité de la nation, et de la langue des Celtes, autrement appelez Gaulois* (1703).

Overall, then, the multiplicity and diversity of sources that he used in volume five show Mather as a learned exegete of the Hebrew Bible, who immersed himself deeply in ancient interpretative traditions as much as the latest scholarship, even where it challenged traditional assumptions and the authority of the Scriptures. He always did this in the service of Christian apologetics, however, and for the ultimate purpose of helping his intended readers grow in faith and holiness.

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1. John, Brown (1811-1812), p. 1.
A. John, Brown (1811-1812), p. 1.
A. John, Brown (1811-1812), p. 1.
A. John, Brown (1811-1812), p. 1.

2. Who is meant by the Righteous man, p. 2.
A. Who is meant by the Righteous man, p. 2.
A. Who is meant by the Righteous man, p. 2.
A. Who is meant by the Righteous man, p. 2.

3. The terror upon 18/10/18, p. 5, 6.
A. The terror upon 18/10/18, p. 5, 6.
A. The terror upon 18/10/18, p. 5, 6.
A. The terror upon 18/10/18, p. 5, 6.

4. On this, Abraham My Friend, p. 8.
A. On this, Abraham My Friend, p. 8.
A. On this, Abraham My Friend, p. 8.
A. On this, Abraham My Friend, p. 8.

5. Compare 2. Chron. XX. 7. and Jam. II. 23.
A. Compare 2. Chron. XX. 7. and Jam. II. 23.
A. Compare 2. Chron. XX. 7. and Jam. II. 23.
A. Compare 2. Chron. XX. 7. and Jam. II. 23.

6. Many allusions that matter, is
A. Many allusions that matter, is
A. Many allusions that matter, is
A. Many allusions that matter, is

7. Read the story of Hagar, and observe
A. Read the story of Hagar, and observe
A. Read the story of Hagar, and observe
A. Read the story of Hagar, and observe

8. He rendered Friend & Favorite of Augustus
A. He rendered Friend & Favorite of Augustus
A. He rendered Friend & Favorite of Augustus
A. He rendered Friend & Favorite of Augustus

9. 2. The journey of the Lord, p. 13.
A. 2. The journey of the Lord, p. 13.
A. 2. The journey of the Lord, p. 13.
A. 2. The journey of the Lord, p. 13.

10. 2. What special emphasis, and elegance,
A. 2. What special emphasis, and elegance,
A. 2. What special emphasis, and elegance,
A. 2. What special emphasis, and elegance,

11. 2. A New Sharp, p. 10.
A. 2. A New Sharp, p. 10.
A. 2. A New Sharp, p. 10.
A. 2. A New Sharp, p. 10.

12. 2. A New Sharp, p. 10.
A. 2. A New Sharp, p. 10.
A. 2. A New Sharp, p. 10.
A. 2. A New Sharp, p. 10.

13. 2. A New Sharp, p. 10.
A. 2. A New Sharp, p. 10.
A. 2. A New Sharp, p. 10.
A. 2. A New Sharp, p. 10.

14. 2. A New Sharp, p. 10.
A. 2. A New Sharp, p. 10.
A. 2. A New Sharp, p. 10.
A. 2. A New Sharp, p. 10.

15. 2. A New Sharp, p. 10.
A. 2. A New Sharp, p. 10.
A. 2. A New Sharp, p. 10.
A. 2. A New Sharp, p. 10.

Section 3

Notes on the Manuscript

This section is designed to provide information specific to this volume only and the part of the manuscript on which it is based. A detailed description of the “Biblia Americana” manuscript as a whole and the condition of the text is provided by the “Editor’s Introduction” to volume one. There the interested reader can also find an in-depth history of the manuscript and a discussion of how it likely came into the possession of the MHS in the early nineteenth century.¹ Volume one, moreover, outlines the editorial principles used in transcribing and annotating Mather’s handwritten commentaries, which will not be reproduced here.²

Probably sometime after its acquisition by the MHS, the fascicles of the “Biblia” manuscript were divided into six sections and bound up in book-like volumes with cardboard backs and covers. Volume three contains Mather’s annotations on Job through Canticles, volume four those on Isaiah through Malachi, plus a narrative history (which Mather called a “Parenthesis”) bridging the temporal gap between the Old and the New Testament. The entries contained in this book are thus found at the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth of these bound volumes. Overall, this section of the manuscript is in good condition and seems to be complete, with the exception of two torn-out pages or half-pages in the annotations on Isa. 26 and Jer. 14. There are only a few cases in which single words or parts of sentences were lost entirely due to damage. Occasionally, a sheet is wider or longer than the bound volume’s dimensions, and where this occurred Mather or a later owner folded over the edges one or two inches, resulting in some torn-off edges.

Mather’s commentaries on Proverbs to Jeremiah together comprise 262 leaves of differing sizes. There are basically three types of leaves: those that roughly have a folio format, those that are about quarto-size, and then variously sized, smaller pieces of paper. In this section nearly all of the folio leaves are single rather than conjugate or infolded. In most cases, Mather wrote on both

¹ Smolinski, “Editor’s Introduction” (*BA* 1:191–96).

² Smolinski, “Editor’s Introduction” (*BA* 1:203–10). These principles can be found online as well: www.matherproject.org.

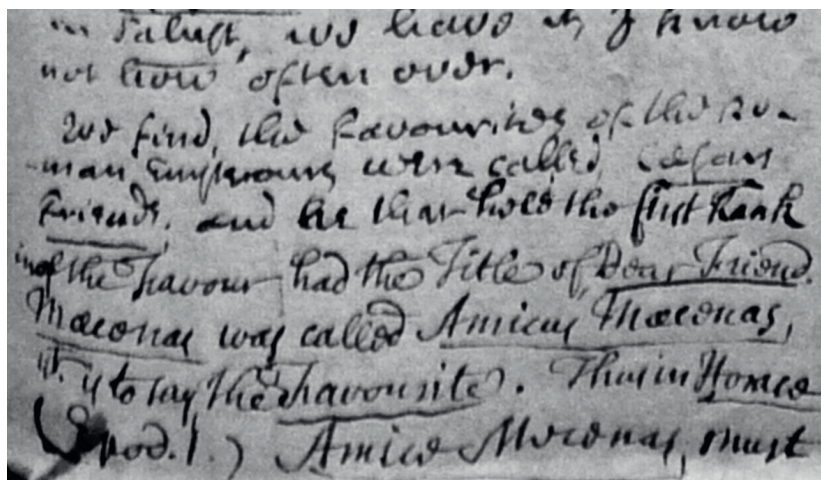
sides. In keeping with our editorial principles, each leaf, no matter its size, is counted as a separate item with a recto and verso page. For Proverbs there are 61 leaves, for Ecclesiastes 35, for Canticles 30, for Isaiah 90, and for Jeremiah 46. These diverging quantities reflect, in part, the differing lengths of the biblical books but also Mather's sources, interpretative interests, and priorities. As discussed in the previous section, this was especially true for Isaiah, which was at the center of debates that preoccupied Mather so much that he kept adding to his commentary into the last year of his life.

As suggested above, Mather started the project writing on leaves cut approximately to folio size and folded in the middle to create a double-column. These sheets were organized by head notes indicating scripture books and chapters. Mather's handwriting on the original folio sheets shows considerable variation, which in part would also have been the result of using different quills. Diverse kinds of ink also appear. This reflects Mather's work routine of jumping back and forth between different sections, adding single entries from a great variety of sources. In a few cases, however, one can detect some patterns of regularity in the writing on these original folio sheets. For instance, together with the surviving index numbers the similarity in handwriting and ink suggests that Mather, sometimes during Stage I, may have systematically gone through *Critici Sacri* for the commentary on Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Isaiah, and Jeremiah (and probably other biblical books as well), taking plentiful notes from Münster and Grotius in particular.

One striking case of irregularity should also be mentioned, which can be found on some of the original folio sheets. At Prov. 3:16 and 11:30 as well as at Isa. 2:10 and 41:8 we find entries or additions to existing entries that appear in a very different, much more ornamental handwriting (see illustration below). The same handwriting occasionally shows up in other sections of the "Biblia" manuscript as well. Mather, or someone else, crossed out most of these additions. Wherever this occurs, it is noted in the critical apparatus. Theologically, these insertions do not stand out in any way. However, in some cases (as in the entry on Eccles. 10:19) the insertions are composed in verse.

It is, of course, possible that Mather himself penned these additions, choosing for some reason to write in a very different style. However, it seems more likely that someone else did. We should at least regard the authorship of these entries as uncertain. It is conceivable that a member of his family or a later owner of the manuscript made these additions, or someone of Mather's acquaintance, to whom he lent the manuscript for perusal. We know of one instance in which Mather gave parts of the "Biblia" to Joseph Dudley who praised it but ultimately failed to extend his help in getting the manuscript published.³ Likely, this was

³ Silverman, *The Life and Times*, p. 210.



Example of entry in different handwriting (Isa. 41:8)

not the only such case of manuscript circulation from which the “Biblia” might have come back with a few new notes.⁴

At the end of the first stage of composition, the folio leaves were stitched together into fascicles for the prospective publication. As was the case throughout the manuscript, this process obscured some of the index numbers Mather had originally added to his entries, a practice which he abandoned afterwards. The later binding obscured even more of these numbers. Especially in the manuscript of volume three, the pages are bound so that the first words left and right of the gutter are often just barely legible. While some numbers disappeared that way, we were able to reconstruct virtually all of the actual text.

During the subsequent stages of composition, Mather interleaved additional folio and, more often, quarto leaves to make room for new entries where the original sheets were already overcrowded. He frequently found it necessary as well to attach further smaller inserts to the margins with sealing wax. Sometimes there are even inserts glued onto already existing inserts, creating a kind of fold-out of additional notes. In a few cases such smaller leaves that once were attached to others have become loose. Thanks to Mather’s habit of always making reference to chapter and verse, however, the designated places for these insertions could still be identified. In the edited text the annotations

⁴ In the annotations on the Historical Books, where similar insertions can be found, two of these mysterious entries in verse are signed with “R.H” (BA 4:826–27). Possibly, this might point to Robert Hunter (1664–1734) as the author. Hunter was colonial governor of New York from 1710 to 1720 and a versatile intellectual, who also composed poetry and plays. Mather corresponded with Hunter and might have approached him for help with the publication.

from such inserts always appear in their designated places, which Mather often also indicated through explicit instructions for the printer.

The vast majority of these quarto leaves and smaller inserts are filled with notes from the above-mentioned “master sources” – Michael Jermin, Simon Patrick, Samuel White, and William Lowth – which Mather chose to mine as his ambitions grew toward creating a truly comprehensive Bible commentary. The entries derived from each of these “master sources” are in every case written with the same ink, and the handwriting is very homogenous. This suggests that Mather made each of these major new rounds of annotation during a relatively short period of time or even in one go-through. At the same time, however, Mather continued to insert single entries from miscellaneous sources that often look different due to the quill and ink that Mather used. Thus, the physical layering of the manuscript and the appearance of the writing on the paper provide insights into the development of the “Biblia” project.

Measurements, Watermarks, and Countersigns: Paper Use in the “Biblia” on Proverbs through Jeremiah

The table below records the measurements of the different leaves Mather used for this section of the manuscript. It also records watermarks and countersigns, where visible. The watermark and countersign references follow the system established by Reiner Smolinski in the first volume of the edition. Countermarks (consisting of initials or symbols) are given in *italics*. For comparative purposes, readers should consult the corresponding tables and descriptions in previous and subsequent volumes.⁵

Proverbs

[1r–1v]	[2r–2v]	[3r–3v]	[4r–4v]	[5r–5v]	[6r–6v]
H 306	H 196	H 197	H 308	H 303	H 197
W 193	W 148	W 143	W 190	W 191	W 147
G 7,0	G 4,3	G 3,4	G 6,12	G 5,1	G 3,4
WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: #	CM: <i>HD</i>	CM: —

⁵ See *BA* (1:196–202). Many of Smolinski’s identifications are based on William A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, and France, etc. in the XVII and XVIII centuries and their interconnection* ([1935] 1990), and Edward Heawood, *Watermarks, mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries* ([1950] Hilversum: Paper Publ. Society 1981). Additional sources are Thomas L. Gravell and George Miller, *A Catalogue of American Watermarks, 1690–1835* (New York: Garland, 1979), and by the same authors, *A Catalogue of Foreign Watermarks Found on Paper used in America, 1700–1835* (New York: Garland, 1983).

[7r–7v]	[8r–8v]	[9r–9v]	[10r–10v]	[11r–11v]	[12r–12v]
H 197	H 303	H 303	H 300	H 200	H 307
W 155	W 195	W 193	W 183	W 142	W 195
G 3,65	G 3,3	G 8,3	G 15,0	G 2,0	G 2,2
WM: —	WM: —	WM: (Q)	WM: (BB)	WM: —	WM: (L)
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[13r–13v]	[14r–14v]	[15r–15v]	[16r–16v]	[17r–17v]	[18r–18v]
H 306	H 307	H 172	H 211	H 303	H 200
W 193	W 188	W 95	W 150	W 187	W 147
G 4,4	G 5,0	G 4,0	G 3,5	G 5,5	G 3,5
WM: (I)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (L)	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[19r–19v]	[20r–20v]	[21r–21v]	[22r–22v]	[23r–23v]	[24r–24v]
H 199	H 197	H 171	H 200	H 305	H 190
W 151	W 147	W 95	W 147	W 184	W 145
G 2,3	G 2,4	G 3,12	G 5,6	G 7,1	G 5,4
WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>HD</i>	CM: —
[25r–25v]	[26r–26v]	[27r–27v]	[28r–28v]	[29r–29v]	[30r–30v]
H 195	H 195	H 301	H 169	H 191	H 170
W 75	W 220	W 186	W 93	W 150	W 95
G 2,2	G 5,5/6,0	G 8,5	G 5,5	G 3,2	G 4,8
WM: —	WM: (A)	WM: (K)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[31r–31v]	[32r–32v]	[33r–33v]	[34r–34v]	[35r–35v]	[36r–36v]
H 154	H 304	H 188	H 172	H 305	H 210
W 91	W 186	W 134	W 111	W 191	W 152
G 4,5	G 6,1	G 5,5	G 6,9	G 10,1	G 7,0
WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (Q)	WM: —
CM: —	CM: <i>CC</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[37r–37v]	[38r–38v]	[39r–39v]	[40r–40v]	[41r–41v]	[42r–42v]
H 158	H 303	H 173	H 195	H 189	H 301
W 151	W 195	W 93	W 152	W 143	W 185
G 6,1	G 6,12	G 7,0	G 3,3	G 6,6	G 6,5
WM: —	WM: (I)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (L)
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[43r–43v]	[44r–44v]	[45r–45v]	[46r–46v]	[47r–47v]	[48r–48v]
H 194	H 177	H 192	H 172	H 305	H 308
W 149	W 98	W 140	W 100	W 198	W 189
G 5,1	G 5,0	G 3,4	G 5,0	G 5,6	G 14,3
WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —

[49r–49v]	[50r–50v]	[51r–51v]	[52r–52v]	[53r–53v]	[54r–54v]
H 303	H 157	H 309	H 172	H 200	H 194
W 190	W 90	W 190	W 95	W 152	W 149
G 5,7	G 7,8	G 13,8	G 6,0	G 5,5	G 6,2
WM: (L)	WM: (C)	WM: (X)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[55r–55v]	[56r–56v]	[57r–57v]	[58r–58v]	[59r–59v]	[60r–60v]
H 307	H 187	H 171	H 202	H 197	H 169
W 195	W 139	W 100	W 147	W 149	W 94
G 7,9	G 8,68	G 5,5	G 7,5	G 69,4	G 7,0
WM: (X)	WM: (C)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[61r–61v]					
H 304					
W 186					
G 3,3					
WM: (Q)					
CM: —					

Ecclesiastes

[1r–1v]	[2r–2v]	[3r–3v]	[4r–4v]	[5r–5v]	[6r–6v]
H 169	H 301	H 191	H 195	H 170	H 194
W 94	W 185	W 139	W 141	W 91	W 142
G 6,8	G 12,1	G 5,4	G 4,4	G 6,9	G 5,3
WM: (C)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[7r–7v]	[8r–8v]	[9r–9v]	[10r–10v]	[11r–11v]	[12r–12v]
H 199	H 191	H 172	H 305	H 309	H 168
W 137	W 142	W 95	W 187	W 185	W 97
G 4,9	G 5,5	G 8,1	G 7,5	G 6,7	G 5,5
WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (Q)	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>HD</i>	CM: —
[13r–13v]	[14r–14v]	[15r–15v]	[16r–16v]	[17r–17v]	[18r–18v]
H 171	H 145	H 198	H 305	H 191	H 173
W 89	W 92	W 140	W 185	W 75	W 71
G 5,7	G 7,1	G 5,2	G 15,9	G 6,8	G 4,5
WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (Q)	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[19r–19v]	[20r–20v]	[21r–21v]	[22r–22v]	[23r–23v]	[24r–24v]
H 191	H 193	H 170	H 192	H 172	H 193
W 140	W 143	W 93	W 135	W 97	W 140
G 4,4	G 4,4	G 5,5	G 3,5	G 10,0	G 3,4
WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —

[25r–25v]	[26r–26v]	[27r–27v]	[28r–28v]	[29r–29v]	[30r–30v]
H 190	H 309	H 188	H 136	H 188	H 156
W 150	W 190	W 146	W 80	W 149	W 94
G 3,2	G 6,5	G 4,5	G 10,1	G 3,7	G 15,15
WM: —	WM: (B)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[31r–31v]	[32r–32v]	[33r–33v]	[34r–34v]	[35r–35v]	
H 200	H 301	H 305	H 215	H 190	
W 137	W 192	W 187	W 161	W 140	
G 5,5	G 15,0	G 7,5	G 5,0	G 5,0	
WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	
CM: —	CM: <i>GG</i>	CM: <i>TM</i>	CM: —	CM: —	

Canticles

[1r–1v]	[2r–2v]	[3r–3v]	[4r–4v]	[5r–5v]	[6r–6v]
H 304	H 305	H 172	H 195	H 194	H 306
W 188	W 192	W 91	W 149	W 139	W 189
G 12,8	G 6,5	G 5,6	G 8,5	G 7,6	G 10,5
WM: (F)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[7r–7v]	[8r–8v]	[9r–9v]	[10r–10v]	[11r–11v]	[12r–12v]
H 304	H 197	H 171	H 152	H 188	H 198
W 190	W 141	W 98	W 85	W 153	W 139
G 6,12	G 5,5	G 6,5	G 16,12	G 7,6	G 6,3
WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —
CM: <i>TM</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[13r–13v]	[14r–14v]	[15r–15v]	[16r–16v]	[17r–17v]	[18r–18v]
H 172	H 196	H 154	H 304	H 190	H 192
W 105	W 140	W 92	W 186	W 146	W 143
G 5,9	G 8,6	G 5,8	G 11,6	G 10,4	G 6,0
WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>TM</i>	CM: —	CM: —
[19r–19v]	[20r–20v]	[21r–21v]	[22r–22v]	[23r–23v]	[24r–24v]
H 192	H 189	H 301	H 300	H 301	H 300
W 146	W 149	W 190	W 191	W 192	W 193
G 10,5	G 4,7	G 7,5	G 12,6	G 12,5	G 11,5
WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (A)	WM: —	WM: (A)
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>DS</i>	CM: —
[25r–25v]	[26r–26v]	[27r–27v]	[28r–28v]	[29r–29v]	[30r–30v]
H 306	H 307	H 305	H 303	H 305	H 306
W 190	W 187	W 189	W 190	W 189	W 190
G 10,4	G 10,4	G 11,5	G 11,6	G 10,5	G 10,0
WM: (A)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (A)	WM: (A)	WM: —
CM: —	CM: <i>D / H</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>D / H</i>

Isaiah

[1r–1v]	[2r–2v]	[3r–3v]	[4r–4v]	[5r–5v]	[6r–6v]
H 301	H 194	H 300	H 153	H 300	H 210
W 196	W 151	W 190	W 97	W 187	W 146
G 12,5	G 13,5	G 8,5	G 8,2	G 3,2	G 3,5
WM: (A)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (A)	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>DS</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[7r–7v]	[8r–8v]	[9r–9v]	[10r–10v]	[11r–11v]	[12r–12v]
H 307	H 159	H 302	H 304	H 299	H 199
W 192	W 97	W 191	W 182	W 199	W 148
G 10,1	G 12,1	G 20,12	G 12,13	G 5,4	G 7,8
WM: (B)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (A)	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>M</i>	CM: —	CM: <i>D / W</i>	CM: —
[13r–13v]	[14r–14v]	[15r–15v]	[16r–16v]	[17r–17v]	[18r–18v]
H 148	H 210	H 211	H 153	H 304	H 303
W 91	W 143	W 157	W 98	W 193	W 194
G 8,5	G 15,15	G 15,0	G 10,13	G 20,8	G 15,4
WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (Q)	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>TM</i>
[19r–19v]	[20r–20v]	[21r–21v]	[22r–22v]	[23r–23v]	[24r–24v]
H 192	H 208	H 305	H 304	H 195	H 195
W 142	W 163	W 194	W 188	W 150	W 149
G 15,14	G 10,5	G 10,14	G 91,86	G 73,0	G 12,8
WM: (?)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>GG</i>	CM: —	CM: —
[25r–25v]	[26r–26v]	[27r–27v]	[28r–28v]	[29r–29v]	[30r–30v]
H 288	H 295	H 293	H 305	H 196	H 303
W 175	W 178	W 180	W 180	W 147	W 195
G 13,1	G 15,1	G 10,6	G 15,5	G 9,5	G 21,2
WM: —	WM: —	WM: (C)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: <i>V*</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>CC</i>
[31r–31v]	[32r–32v]	[33r–33v]	[34r–34v]	[35r–35v]	[36r–36v]
H 293	H 187	H 196	H 190	H 302	H 190
W 167	W 149	W 154	W 157	W 189	W 75
G 19,12	G 13,14	G 8,0	G 14,15	G 10,1	G 15,15
WM: (??)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (K)	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[37r–37v]	[38r–38v]	[39r–39v]	[40r–40v]	[41r–41v]	[42r–42v]
H 189	H 298	H 303	H 303	H 192	H 311
W 146	W 185	W 190	W 187	W 152	W 201
G 7,1	G 10,5	G 13,1	G 15,7	G 13,5	G 20,5
WM: —	WM: —	WM: (?);	WM: (Q)	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: <i>HD</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>HD</i>

[43r–43v]	[44r–44v]	[45r–45v]	[46r–46v]	[47r–47v]	[48r–48v]
H 300	H 193	H 311	H 220	H 312	H 308
W 188	W 149	W 191	W 156	W 197	W 197
G 6,5	G 10,7	G 10,8	G 15,0	G 10,1	G 5,5
WM: —	WM: (?)	WM: (X)	WM: —	WM: (I)	WM: (I)
CM: <i>HD</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[49r–49v]	[50r–50v]	[51r–51v]	[52r–52v]	[53r–53v]	[54r–54v]
H 184	H 194	H 191	H 190	H 309	H 152
W 144	W 149	W 155	W 142	W 202	W 84
G 7,68	G 11,13	G 12,9	G 15,8	G 18,8	G 20,8
WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: **	CM: —
[55r–55v]	[56r–56v]	[57r–57v]	[58r–58v]	[59r–59v]	[60r–60v]
H 307	H 312	H 306	H 151	H 298	H 209
W 196	W 201	W 195	W 100	W 185	W 143
G 17,3	G 8,5	G 5,8	G 12,1	G 10,8	G 12,3
WM: (Q)	WM: (F)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>TM</i>	CM: —	CM: <i>HD</i>	CM: —
[61r–61v]	[62r–62v]	[63r–63v]	[64r–64v]	[65r–65v]	[66r–66v]
H 313	H 308	H 308	H 310	H 298	H 197
W 204	W 187	W 187	W 198	W 187	W 150
G 12,7	G 7,5	G 88,8	G 12,5	G 6,5	G 12,2
WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: <i>HD</i>	CM: <i>HD</i>	CM: #	CM: <i>HD</i>	CM: —
[67r–67v]	[68r–68v]	[69r–69v]	[70r–70v]	[71r–71v]	[72r–72v]
H 198	H 309	H 196	H 157	H 200	H 310
W 146	W 194	W 147	W 112	W 146	W 193
G 8,73	G 8,1	G 12,4	G 8,3	G 10,4	G 8,9
WM: —	WM: (X)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: †
[73r–73v]	[74r–74v]	[75r–75v]	[76r–76v]	[77r–77v]	[78r–78v]
H 208	H 307	H 305	H 217	H 309	H 153
W 153	W 198	W 194	W 148	W 195	W 81
G 13,7	G 13,4	G 14,12	G 10,6	G 14,8	G 15,14
WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (L)	WM: —
CM: —	CM: <i>G</i>	CM: <i>PC</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[79r–79v]	[80r–80v]	[81r–81v]	[82r–82v]	[83r–83v]	[84r–84v]
H 302	H 304	H 196	H 194	H 192	H 195
W 188	W 192	W 145	W 145	W 151	W 147
G 14,11	G 10,8	G 70,3	G 10,7	G 75,8	G 8,0
WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —
CM: <i>GG</i>	CM: <i>TM</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>HD</i>

[85r–85v]	[86r–86v]	[87r–87v]	[88r–88v]	[89r–89v]	[90r–90v]
H 307	H 189	H 308	H 208	H 306	H 155
W 185	W 78	W 191	W 147	W 192	W 95
G 10,8	G 10,5	G 13,3	G 70,2	G 10,3	G 4,0
WM: —	WM: —	WM: (L)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>CC</i>	CM: —

Jeremiah

[1r–1v]	[2r–2v]	[3r–3v]	[4r–4v]	[5r–5v]	[6r–6v]
H 306	H 307	H 305	H 307	H 172	H 191
W 196	W 195	W 190	W 188	W 120	W 142
G 13,0	G 5,5	G 8,9	G 8,5	G 0,52	G 73,15
WM: —	WM: —	WM: (Q)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —
CM: <i>TM</i>	CM: <i>TM</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[7r–7v]	[8r–8v]	[9r–9v]	[10r–10v]	[11r–11v]	[12r–12v]
H 299	H 305	H 198	H 306	H 302	H 305
W 180	W 196	W 148	W 182	W 177	W 179
G 3,2	G 7,3	G 70,5	G 0,5	G 8,11	G 82,5
WM: (C)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (L)	WM: —
CM: —	CM: <i>M</i>	CM: —	CM: †	CM: —	CM: <i>HD</i>
[13r–13v]	[14r–14v]	[15r–15v]	[16r–16v]	[17r–17v]	[18r–18v]
H 200	H 307	H 64	H 190	H 78	H 305
W 145	W 192	W 155	W 152	W 180	W 172
G 70,15	G 15,9	G 75,0	G 8,75	G 0,82	G 8,9
WM: —	WM: (X)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (L)
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[19r–19v]	[20r–20v]	[21r–21v]	[22r–22v]	[23r–23v]	[24r–24v]
H 174	H 300	H 298	H 306	H 310	H 189
W 145	W 185	W 177	W 184	W 194	W 149
G 75,0	G 5,1	G 10,85	G 12,3	G 84,4	G 5,7
WM: —	WM: (C)	WM: (C)	WM: (L)	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[25r–25v]	[26r–26v]	[27r–27v]	[28r–28v]	[29r–29v]	[30r–30v]
H 307	H 304	H 196	H 203	H 307	H 304
W 191	W 177	W 146	W 145	W 194	W 182
G 90,5	G 0,3	G 70,0	G 5,67	G 15,5	G 84,83
WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —
CM: <i>M</i>	CM: <i>HD</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>PC</i>	CM: <i>HD</i>
[31r–31v]	[32r–32v]	[33r–33v]	[34r–34v]	[35r–35v]	[36r–36v]
H 188	H 310	H 304	H 193	H 212	H 210
W 151	W 200	W 185	W 151	W 150	W 147
G 72,15	G 95,0	G 17,93	G 13,15	G 0,67	G 70,0
WM: —	WM: (L)	WM: (A)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	with “V” below	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —

[37r–37v]	[38r–38v]	[39r–39v]	[40r–40v]	[41r–41v]	[42r–42v]
H 194	H 297	H 185	H 305	H 304	H 306
W 155	W 185	W 143	W 192	W 181	W 187
G 78,12	G 0,5	G 10,4	G 90,85	G 85,15	G 88,5
WM: —	WM: (C)	WM: —	WM: (Q)	WM: (L)	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>TM</i>
[43r–43v]	[44r–44v]	[45r–45v]	[46r–46v]		
H 308	H 287	H 299	H 151		
W 190	W 177	W 185	W 95		
G 87,5	G 11,1	G 5,5	G 10,0		
WM: —	WM: (A)	WM: (C)	WM: —		
CM: <i>HD</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —		

Watermark Notes:

(A): *London Coat-of-Arms*. Similar to Churchill 243;⁶ for a discussion of the variants of this watermark and its possible dating, see *BA* 1:200.

(B): *Arms of England*. Similar to Churchill 212;⁷ for a description, see *BA* 1:200. On the leaves used for Ecclesiastes and Isaiah this watermark is missing the countersign.

(BB): This is a variant of the Arms of England watermark, with an “H” below the design. Its design is closest to Churchill’s watermark 214.⁸

(C), (F): *Lilies*. Comprising many variants, this group of watermarks is described in *BA* 1:200–01. Two variants are depicted in Churchill 389 and 395.⁹

(CC): Another lily watermark of unidentified origin. The mark is very faint and large.

(I): *Three Globes*. For a description, see *BA* 1:201. The design is closest to item 153 in Gravell’s *Foreign Watermarks*.

(K): *London Coat-of-Arms Variant*. This major variant of the London Coat-of-Arms with a large cross of bladelike appearance is similar to figure 240 in Churchill;¹⁰ for a description, see *BA* 1:201.

(L), (X): *Horn*. The two variants of this watermark are closest to figure 315 in Churchill;¹¹ for a description, see *BA* 1:201–02. A similar design is 338 in Gravell.¹²

(Q): *Lily Variant*. This fleur-de-lis design is closest to figure 390 in Churchill;¹³ for a description, see *BA* 1:202.

⁶ See Churchill, *Watermarks*, p. CCIV; see also Heawood, *Watermarks*, p. 455.

⁷ See Churchill, *Watermarks*, p. CLXXXVII.

⁸ See Churchill, *Watermarks*, p. CLXXXIX.

⁹ See Churchill, *Watermarks*, pp. CCLXXXIX and CCXCI.

¹⁰ See Churchill, *Watermarks*, p. CCXIII.

¹¹ See Churchill, *Watermarks*, p. CCXLIX.

¹² See Gravell, *Foreign Watermarks*, p. 106.

¹³ See Churchill, *Watermarks*, p. CCLXXXIX.

(?) This unidentified watermark has the shape of a large 8.

(??) This unidentified watermark looks vaguely like a globe or circle.

Countersign Notes:

†. This symbol indicates a countersign reading “COMPANY,” which is described in *BA* 1:202.

PART 2

THE TEXT

Q. The Summ of the Book of *Proverbs*?

A. *Joachimus Langius* has given it in these Terms.

*Sapientiam veram non esse sterilem, ac merè speculativam, sed pro Natura sua luminum et simul practicam, virtutumque ac Divini Cultus fecundam, nec non omnium Cogitatorum, Dictorum et Factorum, quæ Deus pro humana exigit Conditione, Moderatricem, eiusque Initium fieri à Timore Dei!*¹

Q. A Conjecture, about the Original of this Book of *Proverbs*?

A. It is conjectured, That the Proverbs were but so many Sentences uttered usually or perhaps casually, by King *Solomon*, when he sate in Judicature; & this according to the various Cases which were heard before him. On such Occasions, there were *Divine Sentences in the Lips of the King*; and God in His Good Providence, & for the Good of His Church, ordered the Præserving & Recording of them.

I first mett with this Hint, in a Sermon of the famous Mr. *Stephen Marshall*'s.²

I will quote a Passage in Dr. *Patrick*'s Præface in his *Paraphrase* on this Book, which may suggest a further Thought unto us.

"It is recorded by *Suetonius*, of *Cæsar Augustus*, that in his Reading all sort of Greek as well as Latin Authors, he chiefly observed, and transcribed, such wholesome Præcepts or Examples, as might serve him either for public or private Use; which upon Occasion he produced, for the Instruction of his own Domesticks, or of the Commanders of his Armies, or the Governours of Provinces, or the Magistrates in his several Cities; according as he thought every one had

¹ "[That] true wisdom is not unfruitful and merely speculative, but, after her nature, illuminating and, at the same time, practical, and rich in virtue and divine worship; she is the governess of all thought, word and deed, which God requires for the human condition, and her beginning comes from fear of the Lord." Mather cites Joachim Lange, *Medicina mentis, qua, præmissæ medica sapientiae historia* (1708), p. 76. Lange (Joannes Joachimus Langius; 1670–1744) was a German Lutheran Pietist theologian, close associate of August Hermann Francke, and professor of theology at Halle University. *Medicina mentis* (orig., 1704) was written in response to the challenge of Cartesian philosophy as well as the theological criticism of Lutheran Orthodoxy. Lange argues against the new dualistic philosophy as much as against the Aristotelian philosophical approaches still common in Lutheran Orthodoxy. Instead he proposes an alternative understanding of wisdom inspired by divine revelation (BBK).

² The reference is to Stephen Marshall's sermon on Prov. 4:23, *The Saints Duty to Keep their Hearts in a good Frame* (1654), in *The Works of Mr. Stephen Marshall* (1661), p. 128. Marshall (c. 1594–1655) was one of the more moderate leaders of the Puritan cause in mid-seventeenth-century England and an important leader amongst the Westminster divines (ODNB). The Mather family library contains multiple sermons by Marshall as well as the *Works*.

need of Admonition. Whom if any Man have the Heart to imitate, *Solomon* hath saved him the Labour, which that great Person underwent.”³

Q. Perhaps you may give mee some Hint, that may serve as a *Key* to many Passages in the *Book of Proverbs*?

A. That Incomparable Restorer of Learning, the Lord *Verulam*, in his excellent Book, *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, does propose a Point, as among the *Desiderata* of the learned World, which is called by him, *Doctrina de Negotiis*.⁴ And under this Head, one peculiarly proposed by him, is, *Doctrina de Occasionibus Sparsis*.⁵ For the Illustration of this Doctrine, he saies, very truly, The World ha’s never yett seen any thing that might be compared, with the *Aphorisms* in the *Proverbs* of *Solomon*. He saies, That besides the *Theological Sense* of the *Proverbs*, we are often to consider a *Political Sense* in them, which is full of profound Wisdome, & would be of great Consequence & Influence for our Prosperity. My Lord *Bacon* gives many Instances. I will here single out a few.

*A soft Answer turns away Wrath.*⁶

If a Superiour have express’d his *Wrath* against us, it is convenient, first, That we should give an *Answer*. A sullen Silence, will intimate either that thro’ Guilt we have nothing to say, or, that we count our Superior not Righteous enough to hear what we say. But our *Answer* must be immediate. If we ask Time, for our Defence, this leaves Time for the *Wrath* to operate, & invites the Superior to expect from us an *Artificial Defence*, which does not so much Good as what is *Natural*. Finally, lett it be an *Answer*; something that shall carry real *Defence*

3 From Simon Patrick, *The Proverbs of Solomon paraphrased* (1683), “Preface” (unpaginated), sec. 9; hereafter: Patrick, *Proverbs*. The commentary by the Bishop of Ely and Latitudinarian biblical exegete Simon Patrick (1625–1707) is one of the main sources for Mather’s annotations on Proverbs. Through Patrick, Mather references *The Life of Augustus* (2.89) in *De vita Caesarum* by the Roman historian and biographer Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus (c. 70–after 122 CE); see *Lives of the Caesars* (LCL 31, p. 259).

4 “The doctrine concerning negotiation.” Mather is referring here to the work of the great English Renaissance scholar and politician Francis Bacon (Baron Verulam and Viscount St. Alban; 1561–1626), *De dignitate et augmentis scientiarum* ([1623] 1652), lib. 8, cap. 2, p. 536; transl.: *The Works of Francis Bacon* (9:236). *De augmentis scientiarum* is the expanded Latin edition of Bacon’s famous philosophical program for an empirical reform of the sciences, *The twoo Bookes of Francis Bacon: Of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning, divine and human* (popularly known as *The Advancement of Learning*), first published in 1605. Mather may have been inspired by Patrick to draw on Bacon’s readings of Proverbs. The Bishop of Ely makes occasional use of the *Advancement of Learning* in his own commentary on Proverbs, just as he does in his *A Paraphrase upon the Bookes of Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon* ([1685] 1700); hereafter Patrick, *Ecclesiastes* and Patrick, *Song*. However, whereas Patrick’s quotations are all in English, Mather chose to reference the Latin translation and he also paraphrases passages not found in Patrick.

5 “The doctrine concerning scattered occasions.” Bacon, *De augmentis scientiarum*, lib. 8, cap. 2, p. 536; transl.: *The Works of Francis Bacon* (9:236).

6 Prov. 15:1.

in it; meer *Confession*, or meer *Submission*, without something excusatory intermixed, is rarely safe, but when we have to deal with *Ingenia valdè generosa et magnanima*.⁷ But then, it must be a *soft Answer*, and have nothing of *Roughness* or *Sourness* in it.

*Take no Heed, [or, listen not,] unto all things that are spoken, lest thou hear thy
Servant curse thee.*⁸

Tis incredible how much we may disturb ourselves, by *unprofitable Curiosity*, about ourselves, or *Inquisitiveness* after what others may Say or Think of us. Men are generally Perfidious and Ingrateful; and if we were Owners of a *Magical Glass*, by which we could see every thing that is *Thought* against us, t'would be for our Advantage, to break such a *Glass* to Peeces. The Stirrings in the *Minds* of our Neighbours against us, are but like the Stirrings of the *Leaves*, which do soon {leave?} of themselves. | Only if we come to *Know* those Evils, & lett it be *Known* [lv] that we *Know* them, we do but *Fix* them. While Men think their Guilt is concealed, they are easily brought unto a better Temper; but if they find themselves discovered, they are confirmed in their Malignity & arm themselves as well as they can to prosecute it, as far as they can, and *Malum Malo pellunt*.⁹

*Better is the End of a thing [a Speech,] than the Beginning.*¹⁰

It is a frequent Error in Speakers, to be more sollicitous about the *Exordium*, than about the *Epilogue* of their Speeches. Whereas it is of no little Consequence, for us, to adapt our *Conclusion* as much as may be, that it may be subservient unto the Design before us. Moreover, In our Discourses with our Friends, but especially with considerable Persons, it is a Point of Policy, alwayes to break off, with some charming Peece of *Urbanity* and *Ingenuity*.¹¹

*A Righteous Man regardeth the Life of his Beast; but the Tender Mercies of the
Wicked are cruel.*¹²

Mercy is a Noble Affection, in the Nature of Man; and the more any Mind is ennobled above others, the more is it Affected with *Mercy* towards others. Even the *Brute Creatures* themselves, come in among the Objects of our *Mercy*. But that we may not think all sort of *Mercy*, right or wrong, to be such an Excellency, the Wise Man assures us, there is a *Mercy* which is a *Cruelty*; which is, the *Mercy*

⁷ "Very generous and noble characters." Bacon, *De augmentis scientiarum*, lib. 8, cap. 2, p. 540; transl.: *The Works of Francis Bacon* (9:240); see also Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 217.

⁸ Eccles. 7:21

⁹ "They repel mischief with mischief." Bacon, *De augmentis scientiarum*, lib. 8, cap. 2, p. 543; transl.: *The Works of Francis Bacon* (9:242); see also Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, pp. 115–16.

¹⁰ Eccles. 7:8.

¹¹ Bacon, *De augmentis scientiarum*, lib. 8, cap. 2, pp. 546–47; see also Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 106.

¹² Prov. 12:10.

shown to wicked Men, in sparing of them, and not inflicting upon them, the Punishments that are due unto them. What are the *Tender Mercies of the Wicked*? My Lord answers *Eæ sunt, quando Hominibus sceleratis et facinorosis parcitur, Justitiæ Gladio feriendis: crudelior hujusmodi Misericordia, quàm Crudelitas ipsa.*¹³

*A Fool uttereth all his Mind, but a wise Man keepeth it in, till afterward.*¹⁴

It is a Fault & a Folly, not only to speak Things that should be kept secret, or with injudicious Garrulity to say any thing that comes uppermost, but also, when wee have a Business to manage, in our Discourse to *say at once together*, all that is to be said unto it. An *Oratio Intercisa*,¹⁵ or a Discourse that shall *Infuse by Parts* into our Friends, what we would have to take Impression upon them, is, much more penetrating, than a Discourse more continued. For by the *Continuation* of the *Discourse*, the Weight of many Reasons comes to be not perceived. And there is no Eloquence ordinarily so powerful as utterly to silence those that we have a Design upon. If they Reply, we must Answer, but in Answering Repeat something that we have {*already} said{;?} Which {by this Repetition?} comes to lose much of the Grace & Force that was in {it.?

These few Examples may serve as a Taste of *political Expositions* upon such of the Divine Oracles, that stand fair for them. If some very Judicious and Observing Men, would apply their Thought to this Way of Illustrating many of the Divine Oracles, it would make a Rich Addition to the Treasures of *Illustration*.

¹³ “They are, when wicked and guilty men are spared who are to be punished with the sword of justice; which kind of mercy is more cruel than cruelty itself.” Bacon, *De augmentis scientiarum*, lib. 8, cap. 2, p. 552; transl. modified from: *The Works of Francis Bacon* (9:250); see also Patrick, *Proverbs*, pp. 171–73.

¹⁴ Prov. 29:11.

¹⁵ “Speech that is broken.” Bacon, *De augmentis scientiarum*, lib. 8, cap. 2, p. 553; transl.: *The Works of Francis Bacon* (9:251); a less literal translation would be: “A speech in several parts”; see also Patrick, *Proverbs*, pp. 511–13.

Q. *Solomon* in the Title of the *Proverbs* & of *Ecclesiastes*, calls himself, a *King*? v. 1.

A. Here he Rebukes all Evil, he Presses all Good, he Speaks to all, he Spares none. Therefore he will use Assurance & claim the Authority of a *King*. So they long ago glossed upon it. But in the Title of the Book of *Canticles*, he is only styled *Solomon*. In the Heavenly Love between Christ and His Church, described in that Song, All are æqual. As *Alcuinus* expresses it. *Proprium Nomen sufficit, et æqualis Magister est, nescisse esse Regem*.¹⁶

Q. The *Simple* is in the plural Number, *the young Man* is in the singular? v. 4.

A. They have observed upon it that it is hard to give *Knowledge* and *Discretion* unto *one young Man* conceived of his own Wisdome, as to give it unto many *simple ones*, who only want it, & are willing to have it.

Observe also, The Hebrew Word here, which we render *Discretion*, may well be rendred, *Thoughtfulness*.¹⁷

1870:

Q. The Wise Man promises, That a *Man of Understanding*, studying these his *Proverbs*, will attain unto *wise Counsels*. What may bee meant by, *wise Counsels*? v. 5.

¹⁶ "His proper name suffices, and the master being equal, he forgets himself to be a king." From Alcuin, *Commentaria super Ecclesiasten*, at Eccles. 1:1 [PL 100. 668]. Alcuin (Alcuinus, Alhwin, Albinus; b. 735/40 in Northumbria, d. 804 in Tours), also called Flaccus, was one of the leading scholars and theologians working with King Charlemagne and a main representative of the Carolingian Renaissance. Alcuin, together with the preceding explanation, is cited from Michael Jermin, *Paraphrasticall Meditations by Way of Commentarie upon the whole Booke of the Proverbs of Solomon* (1638), p. 2; transl. modified from Jermin. Packed with citations from classical, patristic, and rabbinical writers, as well as medieval Christian commentators, Jermin's work is one of Mather's main sources throughout. In fact, the majority of citations from the Church Fathers come via Jermin. Jermin always provides English translations for these Latin and Greek citations. Mather sometimes paraphrases the translations but frequently omits them, apparently assuming that his audience would have been capable of understanding the original. Since these translations are generally accurate, even if the English is somewhat archaic, they are frequently used for the following annotations. Only in some cases have Jermin's English translations been slightly modernized in terms of spelling for the convenience of the reader. Michael Jermin (Jermyn, German; bapt. 1590, d. 1659) was a prominent Church of England scholar, chaplain to Charles I, and rector of St. Martin Ludgate, London, and Edburton, Sussex. As a royalist, Jermin was subsequently sequestered and expelled from these vestries by the Puritans. His *Paraphrasticall Meditations* (hereafter Jermin, *Proverbs*) and his *Commentary upon the whole Booke of Ecclesiastes* (1639) are his main works of biblical scholarship (ODNB).

¹⁷ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 2.

A. The LXX translate it, κυβέρνησιν, *The Art of Government*.¹⁸

Behold, a notable Hint, that the *Proverbs* are very much, *Maxims of State*. The *young Man*, who had these *Politicks* written for him, was *Rehoboam*. Wee have a Key for them, when wee are bidden to Remember, that a *political Interpretation* is to bee assigned them.¹⁹

And if we go on to consider, a Man as guiding himself thro' the *Sea of Life*; the Clause being rendered, *A Man of Understanding will guide the Stern*. What should a Man do, but lift up his Eyes to Heaven; look upon the *Sun of Righteousness*, and upon the *Stars* of the Divine Commandments.

[▽3r] [▽Insert from 3r]²⁰

Q. The *Words of the Wise*? v. 6.

A. Here some observe, That the *Sayings* of wise Men, often are but *Words*. Two or Three *Words*. Their *Shortness* may occasion some *Darkness* in them. Cleared by *Interpretation*, they become very profitable.²¹

Q. How do they *Despise Wisdome & Instruction*? v. 7.

A. Some Translate the Word, *They Disarm it*, that is to say, of all Strength and Power to prevail with them. *Exarmant*, so *Leo* the Emperour said, *Exarmat Jura Impietas*.²²

Q. On that, *Forsake not the Law of thy Mother*? v. 8.

¹⁸ Accusative of κυβέρνησις [kubernesis] “Administration; government.” See the LXX in the London Polyglott edited by the Church of England biblical scholar Brian Walton (1600–1661), *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1654–1657), vol. 3, p. 321. In the following this work will be cited as *Biblia Polyglotta*. Compare also Francis Taylor’s annotations on Prov. 1:5 in the third, enlarged edition of the *Westminster Annotations or Annotations upon all the Books of the Old and New Testament* ([1645] 1657), which is unpaginated. A Church of England minister of Puritan leaning and a formidable Hebrew scholar, Francis Taylor (1590–c. 1656) was elected to the Westminster Assembly. Besides a number of philological and theological works, he did the sections on Proverbs for the famous “English Annotations” produced by the Assembly.

¹⁹ Rehoboam was Solomon’s son with the Ammonite princess Naamah (1 Kings 14:31).

²⁰ See Appendix B.

²¹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 5.

²² “Impiety disarms the laws.” Jermin (*Proverbs* 6) attributes this Latin citation to Emperor Leo, i. e., the Byzantine Emperor Leo VI (866–912 CE), who was called “the Wise” in allusion to King Solomon. Leo wrote multiple sermons, orations, liturgical hymns, and theological works (see PG 107), and oversaw the production of a massive codex of Byzantine law, the *Basilika*. I was unable to locate the precise source of the Greek original. The same Latin citation with the attribution to Leo can also be found in Cornelius à Lapide, *Commentaria in Salomonis Proverbia* ([1635] 1670), p. 24, which might have been Jermin’s source in this case. Cornelius à Lapide, or Cornelis van den Steen (1567–1637), was a Flemish Jesuit and professor of Hebrew at Louvain and at Rome. He wrote extensive and learned annotations on almost all the books of the Bible, which remained among the most popular Catholic commentaries well into the nineteenth century.

A. How much *Divine* Laws differ from *Humans*! The latter provides generally for the Honour due to *Fathers*; take little Notice of *Mothers*. This may be seen in the *Persian* Laws mentioned by *Aristotle*; and in the *Roman* described in the *Digests & Constitutions*; & several Passages of the Greek Philosophers, as *Epic-tetus & Simplicius*; (mentioned by *Grotius* on the V. Commandment.) But God præ-serves the Honour of the *Father & Mother* æqually.²³ Ralbag here, by *Father* understands GOD: And by *Mother* he understands, the Mind, or Faculty in us called, The *Intellectus agens*.²⁴

Q. How, *Ornaments to the Head*, & *Chains* to the Neck? v. 9.

A. *Ornaments to thine Head*, that is to thine Understanding, wherein thou shalt excell others. And, *Chains to thy Neck*; that is, to thy Speech, whereby thy Words shall be wisely linked, and couched together, and whereby thou shalt even *chain* the Ears of thy Hearers unto thee.²⁵

[△Insert ends]

[△]

|

[2v]

²³ From Patrick (*Proverbs* 3), Mather refers to Hugo Grotius (Huig de Groot; 1583–1645), *Annotaciones ad Vetus Testamentum* (1644), at Exod. 20; in *Opera* (1:47–48). The great Dutch theologian, humanist scholar, historian, and jurist, is now mostly known for his profoundly influential *De iure belli ac pacis* (1625) and *De veritate religionis christianae* (1627). But he also contributed significantly to the advancement of the historical-critical method in his controversial annotations on all books of the Bible, first printed between 1641 and 1650. His annotations were also included in John Pearson's *Critici Sacri* ([1660] 1698), which is likely the source from which Mather cites them. Hereafter Grotius will be cited from *Critici Sacri*. For more on Mather's engagement with Grotius, see the Introduction.

²⁴ The commentary of Rabbi Levi ben Gershon (often referred to by the acronym Ralbag) on Proverbs is excerpted and translated into Latin in Antonius Giggeius's collection *In Proverbia Salomonis commentarii trium rabbinorum* (1620), here p. 9. Giggeius's collection has Latin translations of commentaries from Ralbag, Solomon ben Isaac (Rashi), Ibn Ezra (Aben Ezra), the Targum of Proverbs, and the Syriac. In this case and some others, where Mather cites rabbinical interpretations on Proverbs these are not to be found in Patrick, Jermin or the *Critici Sacri* sources. Since the Latin translation given by Mather also matches that of Giggeius, it seems likely that Mather drew upon this collection. Giggeius (fl. 1632) was a professor of Oriental languages at Milan, who published among other works, a *Thesaurus linguae arabicae* (1632). Levi ben Gershon (also Gershon, Gerson, Gersonides; 1288–1344), was one of the principal Jewish philosophers, exegetes, and Talmud scholars of the Middle Ages, and lived in southern France. Combining historical-philological explanations with moral applications, he wrote highly influential commentaries on most books of the Tanakh. The quotation in *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 9, on Prov. 1:8, is probably from Levi ben Gershon's (Ralbag) largely unknown commentary on Proverbs [= *Perush al Mishlei*], written in 1338 but first printed in Hebrew in 1494. The *intellectus agens* is a central thought in ben Gershon's philosophy which makes an important distinction between "material intellect" and "active intellect" (*JE*).

²⁵ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 8.

1746:

Q. How may we take that Proverb, *surely in vain is the Nett spread in the Sight of any Bird?* v. 17.

A. Almost every Body, with *Zehner*, after *Luther*, takes this Proverb in that Sense; That it is in vain to attempt the Perswading of others unto this or that, when they plainly see, that we have a *Design* upon them in our Attempt.²⁶

But then some do propose a further Sense in the Proverb. The Wise Man had just before said, concerning lewd Companions in Sin, *Their Feet run to Evil, & they make Hast*. He now seems to add *In vain is the Net spread before them*; tis unto no Purpose to show them their Danger; they are so taken with the Bait, that they'l throw themselves into any Danger whatsoever to come at it.

Illyricus thinks, this Verse to be a *Mimesis*, expressing the Words and Ways wherewith young Men engaged in Plotts of Robbery, seduce one another; q. d. Never Fear, wee'l keep out of Sight unto the Magistrate that would punish our Crimes, wee'l be so aware of the *Snares* he may lay for us, that he shall never catch us in them.²⁷

We may add, That the Hebrew Word / חנם /²⁸ which we render, *In vain*, may be rendered, *unjustly*. And so, the notorious *Injustice* of Robbers, may here be cried out upon: they make a Prey of those, who never did any more Injury to them, than the *Bird* has done unto the *Fowler*. This is *Munsters Gloss*: *Innocenter, et sine earum Culpâ capiuntur*.²⁹ It may confirm what they said a few Verses before; *Lett us lurk privily for the Innocent without Cause*. Thus the Poet;

²⁶ The reference is to *Adagia sacra sive Proverbia Scripturae* (1601), adagium 12, pp. 33–37, written by the German Lutheran theologian Joachim Zehner (Joachim Decimator, 1566–1612), who, after studying in Wittenberg, served as superintendent in Schleusingen (Thuringia), where he also helped to build a substantial library. His work was in the Harvard College Library at Mather's time. Zehner refers to Luther's commentary on Psalm 124 in a marginal gloss (see the WA 40.3:137–142).

²⁷ From Zehner (*Adagia* 33–34), Mather refers to the section on the rhetorical device of "mimesis" (i.e., the imitation of different speech patterns, including "verba latrinum") in Matthias Flacius, *Clavis Scripturae sacrae* ([1567] 1719), vol. 2, pp. 312–15. Matthias Flacius (1520–1575) was a first-generation Lutheran theologian and controversialist, who was often called "Illyricus" in reference to his birthplace Istria in modern-day Croatia, a region known as "Illyria" in classical antiquity.

²⁸ חָנָם [chinnam] "without compensation; for nothing; in vain; without cause, undeservedly." See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 14.

²⁹ "Thus they are seized innocent and without offence." Sebastian Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4009). As he does in Mather's commentaries on other books of the OT, the famous German Renaissance scholar and Hebraist Sebastian Münster (1488–1552) serves as a constant interlocutor in the annotations on Proverbs. Mather owned a copy of Münster's famous *Hebraica Biblia* ([1534–1535] 1546), a Latin translation of the OT with annotations. Münster's annotations were also published in Pearson's *Critici Sacri*, which Mather used throughout the "Biblia Americana." Here and elsewhere, Mather may have drawn directly from the *Hebraica Biblia* or from *Critici Sacri*.

*Non rete accipitri tennitur, neque milvio,
Qui Male faciunt nobis; illis, qui nihil faciunt, tenditur:
Quia enim in illis fructus est, in illis Opera luditur.*³⁰ Terenc.³¹

[▽Insert from 3r]

[▽3r]

Q. In what *Streets*? v. 20.

A. To them that walk in the *Broad Wayes* leading to *Destruction*, that they may be brought into the *Narrow Wayes* of *Life*.

Lett me note it here, once for all that I shall often be beholden, to Dr. *Jermyns Paraphrasical Meditations* on the *Proverbs*, in my Illustrations on this Book.

And from him I now have this Hint:

We may take the Meaning of the Wise Man to be This: That in every thing that is *Without* and *Abroad* in the World, in every thing that is to be found *in the Streets*, the *Wisdom* of God speaks unto us, and invites us to Knowledge and Goodness.³²

Q. The chief *Place of Concourse*, and, the *Opening of the Gates*, and the *City*? v. 21.

A. The chief *Place of Concourse* may be the *Temple*. *The Openings of the Gates*, may be the *Courts* of Justice. | The *City*, may be the Commerce of the People. *Wisdom* cries in the *Temple*, for Holiness and Reverence; in the *Gates*, for Equity and Righteousness; in the *City*, for Honesty & Charity.

[3v]

Jerom speaking of these Words, ha's this Passage:

*Portas Civitatis, hoc est, Animæ Credentis in Christum, puto esse Virtutes, per quas ad Credentes Christus ingreditur.*³³

Dr. *Jermyn* adds, surely, Those are the *Gates*, against which the *Gates of Hell* shall not prevail; these are the *Gates*, whereby we are delivered from the *Gates of Death*. These are the *Gates* in which *Wisdom* cries, *open to me the Gates of Righteousness, I will go into them, & I will praise the Lord*.

³⁰ "Because nobody sets nets for harmful birds like hawks or kites. They set them for harmless birds, because there's profit in them, whereas with the others you're wasting your time." From Zehner (*Adagia* 34), Mather refers to the comedy of the Roman playwright Terence (Publius Terentius Afer, c. 185/95–159 BCE), *Phormio*, 2.2.15–19 (*LCL* 23, p. 49).

³¹ See Appendix B.

³² Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 15–16.

³³ "I do think the gates of the city, that is, of a soul believing in Christ, to be spiritual virtues by which Christ enters into believers." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 16), Mather cites Jerome (c. 347–419/20), *Commentarii in Amos*, lib. 2 [PL 25. 1045; CCSL 76]; transl.: Jermin. Jerome was born in Stridon of Dalmatia, today Slovenia, and educated in grammar and rhetoric. Later, while in Trier, the oldest bishopric north of the Alps, he abandoned the ways of the world and chose to follow ascetic virtues and become a monk. After translating various Greek works into Latin, promoting Nicene orthodoxy, compiling a new Latin transl. (the Vulgate) for Western Christendom (which was in the OT, *iuxta Hebraeos*, "according to the Hebrews"), he died in Bethlehem (RGG).

Q. *Calling*, and *stretching out the Hand*? v. 24.

A. Dr. *Jermy*n thus distinguishes. It is not seldome, that God *calleth* in *Love*. And His Love is refused with a deaf Ear; that God *stretcheth out His Hand* in *Anger*, and His Anger is sleighted with a careless Eye.³⁴

Q. Who may be peculiarly intended in these Comminations? v. 24.

A. What if we should suppose, that the *Spirit of Prophecy*, here foretels the Crime & Fate of the Jewish Nation? Think further on it.

[△] [△Insert ends]

Q. Tis said of the Wicked, *God will laugh at their Calamity, & mock when their Fear cometh*. Can Wisdome, or Goodness do this? v. 26.

A. The Meaning is, That the Wicked, who have made God their Enemy shall bee so Tormented, as if God *laughed & mocked* at their Torments. *Gregory*, in *Moral Lib.* 9.15. saies well, *Ridere Dei est nolle Humanæ Afflictionis Misereri*. The Meaning of this Passage is, q. d. *Afflictioni vestræ nulla Pietate compatiar*.³⁵ And the Author of the *Catena Græca* tells us, *Hæc Verba non continere Dei Irrisionem, qui non lætatur in destructione Hominum, sed gravem Comminationem erga eos qui Dei monita spernunt*.³⁶

Yea, tis truly said by *Tertullian*, *multa sunt digna sic revinci, ne gravitate adorentur*.³⁷ Many things are worthy to be Reproved and Rejected with *Laughter*,

³⁴ Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 18–19.

³⁵ “The laughing of God is, that He will not have pity on human affliction”; “I will not be moved with any compassion towards your calamity.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 20), citations from Gregory the Great (Gregory I, Gregorius Magnus, c. 540–604), *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 9. cap. 27 [PL 75. 881; CCSL 143]; transl.: Jermin. Born into Roman aristocracy, Gregory embraced the life of Christian monasticism and later became the first monk on the papal throne (590–604). During his papacy he steered the city of Rome and the Western church through a time of dramatic changes and multiple crises, accomplishments for which he was widely venerated in the medieval period and beyond as one of four Latin Church Fathers. Gregory also authored many exegetical, homiletical, and hagiographic works (*RGG*).

Used by Mather throughout the “Biblia,” the abbreviation “q. d.” either signifies *quasi diceret* (“as if he would have said”) or *quasi dicat* (“as if to say,” “as if he would say”), usually “as if to say.”

³⁶ “That these words do not contain any mocking of God, who does not rejoice in the destruction of men, but a severe threatening against those who despise His admonitions.” Cited from Jermin (*Proverbs* 20). The source could not be identified; transl.: Jermin. A *katena* (literally a “chain”) is a compilation of excerpts from older commentaries and other authoritative literature on specific books of the Bible, sometimes with independent additions. Since the sixth century, a massive body of katenic collections was produced in the early Greek and Oriental churches. Procopius of Gaza (Procopius Gazæus, c. 465–c. 528 CE) was one of the pioneers of the genre, who among others also produced a *katena* on Proverbs (*RGG*). However, the above citation does not come from this work.

³⁷ “Many things are so to be refuted, so to be reprovved, lest gravity may seem to give too much respect to them.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 20), a citation from Tertullian (c. 160/170–after 220), *Adversus Valentinianos*, cap. 6 [PL 2. 550; CSEL 47; CCSL 1]; transl.: Jermin. Born and

lest there should seem too much *Respect* given unto them. Those that *Laugh* at Advice, if they fall into that, against which they are advised, they are usually *Laughed at* by Way of Recompence in their Misery. And Gods exposing Sinners to the Derision of others, is His own *Deriding* them.

Q. How is it said, *They shall seek me early?* v. 28.

A. *Early* as they think! *Early* as they count it! At the Time to which they formerly putt it off, and said *Then* would be *early* enough. It may be Ironically spoken.³⁸

[▽Insert from 3v]

[▽3v]

Q. The *Prosperity of Fools?* v. 32.

A. *Munster* encouraged by *Aben Ezra* reads it, *The Repose of the Slothful!* Adding, *Otium est Causa quod multi cadunt in Impietatem.*³⁹

Q. He *shall Dwell safely.* Where? v. 33.

A. Hear Dr. *Jermyn.* There is no *Dwelling* but in Heaven. *Hell* is a Prison; *Earth* is a Pilgrimage. In *Heaven* there are many *Mansions*, where every *Room* is the Lodging of Quietness; all *Fear of Evil* is there shutt out forever.⁴⁰

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[the entries from 3r–3v were inserted into their designated places]⁴¹

educated in Carthage, Quintus Septimus Florens Tertullian converted to Christianity sometime before 195, subsequently turning toward the prophetic movement of Montanism, and eventually breaking with the mainstream church around 210. Besides numerous catechetical and homiletical works, he is the author of some of the earliest apologies of Christianity, most of which were written during the period of Christian persecution in the late second century. These works defend and advocate Christianity often in polemical terms vis-à-vis Greco-Roman culture but also Judaism. *Adversus Valentinianos* (c. 207–211) is a relatively late work paraphrasing Irenaeus of Lyon's arguments against the gnostic movement of Valentianism (*RGG*).

³⁸ See Appendix B.

³⁹ "Idleness is the cause of many to fall into impiety." See Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4009); compare *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 20.

⁴⁰ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 24–25.

⁴¹ See Appendix B.

Q. How are we to *Hide the Commandments*? v. 1.

A. *Hide* them we must, *with ourselves*; As things most precious with us; or, shunning to make Ostentation of our Obedience to them. And, as Corn is *hid* in the Earth, to bring forth Fruits of Godliness. But we must not *Hide* them *from others*. By our Instruction we must make them the Sons of God, as well as ourselves.⁴²

Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase is; “Keep these Præcepts in Remembrance, for the same End, that Corn is sow’d and covered in the Ground.”⁴³

Q. What is an *Inclined Ear*? v. 2.

A. *Humility* bowing and bending of it, is implied in it. The *lofty Ear* keeps aloof from Instruction.

In Hab. 3.2. the Original is, *O Lord, I have heard thy Hearing. Jeroms* Gloss upon it is, *Dante te mihi auriculam, ita audiui ut tu vis audiri Sermonem.*⁴⁴

Q. How are we to *cry after Knowledge*? v. 3.

A. R. *Levi Gershom* shall explain it; It imports *Inflammatum Studium*, to such a Degree, *Ità ut exclamer, Vocemque extollas ad illam accersendam, velut quam quis amicum, cujus desiderio agatur, advocare solet.*⁴⁵

(Quære, Is here no Allusion to the Cries of *Travail*?)

The *Chaldee* reads the latter Part of the Verse; *Atque Matrem Intelligentiam vocaveris*;⁴⁶ This would note the *Cry* in the former Part of the Verse, to be such a vehement *Cry*, as that of Children after their *Mother*.

Q. It follows, in the Original: *Give thy Voice to Understanding*? v. 3.

⁴² Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 25.

⁴³ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 22.

⁴⁴ “Though giving me an ear O Lord, I have so heard your word, as you would have it to be heard.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 26), a citation from Jerome, *Commentarii in Abacuc*, lib. 2 [PL 25. 1309; CCSL 76A]; transl.: Jermin.

⁴⁵ “Inflamed study”; “so that thou cry after her, and lift up thy voice to bring her unto thee, as when one calleth his friend unto him, with the want of whom he is much troubled.” Mather cites Ralbag’s gloss, in this case from Jermin (*Proverbs* 26); transl.: Jermin. See also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 23.

⁴⁶ “And shall call understanding your mother.” Mather probably cites the Targum of Proverbs from Jermin (*Proverbs* 26); Jermin’s transl. See also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 22; and Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:322). For modern transl., see Healey, ed., *The Targum of Proverbs* (1991), at Prov. 2:3; *Mikraoth Gedoloth, Proverbs*, p. 208, at Prov. 2:3.

A. My Dr. *Tuckney*, from our Mr. *Cartwright*, observes, That we are called upon here, to Dedicate & Consecrate our *Voices* to the Service of CHRIST, even by speaking much of Him & for Him.⁴⁷

Q. How is *Wisdom*e to be sought like *Silver*? v. 4.

A. *Beda's* Gloss upon it is; *Quicquid sibi Terrenum inesse deprehenderit expurgat, fossamque in se humilitatis faciat, nec quiescat ab agendo prius quam se Venam Veritatis invenisse cognoverit.*⁴⁸

Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase is; "Shew thy Esteem of *Wisdom*e, by a studious Seeking for it, as covetous Men do for Money; laying hold on all Occasions of Profiting in Knowledge & Pursuing thy Advantages (as they do), when thou meetest with them."⁴⁹

Q. *The Lord giveth Wisdom*e? v. 6.

A. *Theodoret* observes, That tho' the Three Captive Children, were brought up in all the Learning of the *Chaldeans*, yet it is said of them, *The Lord* gave them *Wisdom*e. *Non enim Chaldaeorum Institutio intelligentes eos fecit, sed Divina Gratia.*⁵⁰

Q. What is the *sound Wisdom*e, that the Lord laies up for the *Righteous*? v. 7.

47 See the work of the Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge and Westminster Divine Anthony Tuckney (1599–1670), *Forty Sermons upon several Occasions* (1676), sermo 40 (on Phil. 1:21), p. 664. Tuckney references the commentary of the great Elizabethan Puritan theologian, progenitor of English Presbyterianism, and biblical scholar Thomas Cartwright (c. 1535–1603), *Commentarii succincti et dilucidi in Proverbia Salomonis* ([1632] 1663), pp. 23–25, on Prov. 2:1–4. This is a work that Mather occasionally uses throughout his annotations on Proverbs. Tuckney was a friend of Mather's maternal grandfather John Cotton (1585–1652), who also oversaw the posthumous edition of Cotton's commentary on Ecclesiastes (1654) and the second edition of his commentary on Canticles (1655).

48 "He must cast away whatsoever he finds earthly in himself, he must make in himself a pit of humility, neither must he rest from working until he know himself to have found the right vein of truth." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 27), a citation from the Anglo-Saxon theologian and historian Bede the Venerable (Beda Venerabilis, 672/673–735), *Super parabolas Salomonis allegorica expositio*, lib. 1, cap. 2. [PL 91. 946; CCSL 119B]. A monk in the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, Northumbria, Bede was one of the most important English scholars in the early medieval period, whose works cover a wide range of disciplines, including natural philosophy, historical chronology, but also biblical exegesis. Best known is probably his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (c. 731).

49 Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 23.

50 "For it was not the instruction of the Chaldeans, but the grace of God that made them to be wise." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 29), a citation from Theodoret of Cyrus (c. 393–c. 466), *Commentarius in visiones Danielis prophetae*, lib. 1, cap. 1, at Dan. 1:17 [PG 81. 1279]; transl.: Jermin. Bishop of Cyrus (Syria) since 423, Theodoret was a main representative of the Antiochian party in the christological controversies started by Cyril of Alexandria and a participant in the Council of Chalcedon. Among his writings are the *Eranistes*, a systematic development of his understanding of the two natures of Christ, smaller controversial pieces, an ecclesial history in continuation of Eusebius of Caesarea, as well as numerous exegetical works (*RGG*).

A. The Hebrew Word signifies, *Essence*, or *Being*. *Aben-Ezra* gives a Reason, why *Wisdom* is called so; *Quòd sit, atque ad omnem aeternitatem duret*.⁵¹

But consider it, as, it signifies, *Being*. So God laies up, & reserves a *Being* for the Righteous. A *safe Being*, as the Chaldee reads it.⁵² It is a *Being* Indeed, and κατ' ἐξοχήν A *superlative Being*; A *Being* of Glory; where to be a *Door-Keeper*, is better than to be the Monarch of the World.⁵³

Q. What is implied in the Lords being a *Buckler* to them that *walk uprightly*? v. 7.

A. God watches over them, to Defend them, even from unseen Enemies.

And as a *Buckler* takes on itself, the Blowes that are directed unto the Person, so the Lord takes the Wrongs done unto the Righteous, as done unto Himself, and so receives them, as to take away the Hurt from His upright Servants.⁵⁴

But then, the *Buckler* shewes, That they who will walk uprightly, must be engaged in a *Warfare*. Sais Bernard; *Repugnet fortiter impugnanti: quoniam et Repugnanti propugnator aderit indefessus, et Triumphanti non de erit largissimus Remunerator*.⁵⁵

51 "Because that truly is, and continues to be unto all eternity." Ibn Ezra's gloss is cited from Jermin (*Proverbs* 29); transl. Jermin. See also *In Proverbia Salominis*, p. 24; *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, p. 11, at Prov. 2:7. Born in Tudela, Navarre (now in Spain), Rabbi Abraham Ibn (Aben) Ezra (1089–1164), was one of the leading Jewish intellectuals of the Middle Ages, who distinguished himself in many disciplines, including philosophy, poetry, astronomy/astrology, mathematics, medicine, and biblical exegesis. He had to flee Spain in 1140 to escape the persecution of the Jews under the Almohads and afterwards led a wandering life that brought him to many parts of Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East. He wrote annotations on most books of the Tanakh. The annotations on *Proverbs* and *Ezra-Nehemiah* which were traditionally attributed to Ibn Ezra are by Moses Kimhi (*JE*).

Ibn Ezra's glosses, together with those of Rashi, Ralbag, and others, were also incorporated into the first print editions of the *Mikraot Gedolot* ("Great Scriptures") or "Rabbinic Bible." First published in 1524–1525 by the Christian publisher Daniel Bomberg in Venice, the *Mikraot Gedolot* was edited by the masoretic scholar Yaakov ben Hayyim. It contained the text of the Tanakh according to the masorah, masoretic notes on the text, Targumim, and canonized rabbinic commentaries (*JE*). The Hebrew text of the Old Testament in the *Biblia Rabbinica* served as the basis (*textus receptus*) for the translation of the Old Testament of the King James Version (KJV 1611).

52 "Absondent rectis incolumitatem." Mather cites this translation of the Targum from Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 29; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 24; Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:322); *The Targum of Proverbs*, at Prov. 2:7.

53 See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 29; κατ' ἐξοχήν [kat' exochēn]. Mather provides a transl.

54 Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 29.

55 "Let everyone resist the enemy valiantly, for he that resists shall have an unwearied helper, and triumphing shall not want a bountiful rewarder." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 30), a citation from Bernard of Clairvaux (Bernardus Claraevallensis; 1090–1153), *Sermones de tempore*, *Sermones XVII in Psalmum XC, Qui habitat*, sermo 7 [PL 183. 201; *Opera* 4]; transl.: Jermin. Born into a Burgundian noble family, Bernard entered the newly-founded reform monastery of Cîteaux in 1113. Shortly thereafter he was sent out to found Clairvaux, which would be his home for the rest of his life. From there he acted as the principal organizer of the institutional establishment and expansion of the fledgling Cistercian order that aimed to recover the original

Write the latter Part of the Verse with the former, and you may take it thus. God *Laies up* Heavenly *Wisdom* for His People, as having it in Readiness for them, when they ask & seek it, and God will, as with a *Buckler*, defend them from Errors in Seeking after *Wisdom*, so that it shall be *sound Wisdom* which they attain unto.

Q. What the Jewish Interpreters, in their mystick Interpretations, understand by the *Strange Woman*? v. 16.

A. R. *Solomon* will have it *Idolatri*. But, R. *Levi* will have it, The *sensitive Appetite*.⁵⁶ And so Her *Forsaking the Guide of her Youth*, is as abandoning the Conduct of *Reason*, which is appointed to be the *Guide* of it. And she *forgets the Covenant of God*, because it careth not for that Eternal Life which the *Covenant* of God is to give unto those that *fear* Him.

Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase on, *The Strange Woman*, is; “A Naughty Woman, whose Company is so pernicious, that God would have thee perfectly estranged from her, as if she were not of the Commonwealth of *Israel*.”⁵⁷

| **Q.** What particular Intimation may there be, in her *House Inclining unto Death*? v. 18.

A. There is *Inclination*, or Bowing, in the Case, in regard of her Base and Submissive Carriage, her Insinuating Flattery, her Yeelding unto any thing.

The Chaldee adds, *Infoveà Mortis est Domus ejus*.⁵⁸

When *Judah* took *Tamar* for an Harlot, he promised her for a Reward, *A Kid of the Goats*.⁵⁹ It is the Note of an Ancient Author. *Hædum ei promisit; id est,*

ideals of the Benedictines. Bernard also became an influential mystical theologian and was widely admired as a preacher of great rhetorical power, acquiring the epithet of “doctor mellifluus.” His exegetical works, such as this sermon interpretation on Psalms, are characterized by intricate allegorizations in the tradition of Origen and the Alexandrian school (*RGG*).

⁵⁶ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 36), references to the glosses of Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac (Rashi) and Ralbag on Prov. 2:16; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, pp. 29–30. In *Mikraoth Gedoloth, Proverbs*, p. 14, at Prov. 2:16, Rashi’s gloss is translated: “From the assembly of idolatry ..., which is sectarianism. ... Rather, this is the casting off of the yoke of all the commandments.” Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac (Shlomo Yitzchaki, or “Jarchi” in older Christian literature; 1040–1105), popularly known by the acronym Rashi, was a leading medieval Jewish scholar and exegete from France who wrote a comprehensive commentary on the Tanakh and the Talmud, which became canonical (*JE*). Already in the twelfth century some Christian exegetes began to incorporate his work. Nicholas of Lyra (Nicolaus Lyranus, c. 1270–1349) and later the German reformer Martin Luther (1483–1546) drew from Rashi, especially for his *peshat* (literal or plain) interpretations of the text.

⁵⁷ Patrick, *Proverbs*, pp. 27–28.

⁵⁸ “Because her house is in the pit of death.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 37), a citation from the Latin translation of the Targum on Proverbs; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 29; Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:324); see *The Targum of Proverbs* at this verse; transl.: Jermin.

⁵⁹ See Gen. 38:17.

[4v]

*Quid sit Peccati Merces ostendit.*⁶⁰ It show'd, the Reward of that Sin; to be placed among the *Goats*, in the Judgment of the Lord.

Q. In what Sense may it bee said of the *Strange Woman*, that her *Pathes incline unto the Dead*? v. 18.

A. By the *Strange Woman*, of whom the Wise Man exhorts his Friends to beware, may bee firstly Intended a *Woman* that was not an *Hebrew*. An Entanglement with *Strange Women*, (as the Experiment was once made by the Daughters of *Midian*) usually proved fatal to the Religion, and so to the Prosperity of the *Israelites*.⁶¹ They were, *ferè omnes, à verà Pietate alienæ, et facile Juvenum Animos, poterant corrumpere.*⁶²

When tis here so, *Her Pathes incline unto the Dead*; by, *the Dead*, may bee meant, *Idols*; thus *Grotius* glosseth it, *currit ad Idola, in quibus nihil est Vitæ*. q. d. Shee is an Idolatress and thy Conversation with her, will quickly lead thee unto Idolatry.⁶³

Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase is; "In danger, to be sent to keep Company with those old *Giants*, who corrupted Mankind with such Filthiness & Violence, that they brought a Deluge on the Earth. [Gen. VI.4, 5, 11.]"⁶⁴

The Wise Man leads us back as far as the Old World, which was destroy'd by Brutish Lusts.

Mr. Mede expounds the *Rephaim*.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ "He promised her a kid of the goats, that is, he showed what the rewards of that sin is." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 37), Mather references the early Christian Bishop Zeno of Verona (Zenon Veronensis, c. 300–380), *Tractatus*, tract. 14, *De Juda* [PL 11. 438; CCSL 22]. Zeno here glosses on Matt. 21:31.

⁶¹ See Exod. 2:16–22.

⁶² "all the barbarous people, who were able to corrupt the others' true piety and easily the young souls." From *Grotius* in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4037).

⁶³ "She hastens to the idols, in which there is no life." From *Grotius* in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4037).

⁶⁴ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 29. The reference is to the Nephilim, the pre-flood giants who were the offspring of "the daughters of men" and "sons of God" (Gen. 6:2).

⁶⁵ From Patrick (*Proverbs* 21), a reference to Joseph Mede, *The Works of Joseph Mede* ([1644] 1677), vol. 1, discourse 7, p. 32. The noun רִפְּאִיִּם [repha'im] appears in three contexts in the Bible: In Prov. 9:18 and Ps. 88:10 it is usually rendered as "the dead" or "shades (of the dead)" inhabiting Sheol; in Gen. 14:5 and Deut. 2:10–11 it is taken to refer to the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Jordan; and in 1 Chr. 20:4, 6, 8 and in 2 Sam. 21:16, 18, 20 it signifies "giants" from Philista (*HCB*D). Mede argues that in the case of Prov. 2:18, reference is made to "giants," which he, however, interprets to be the same as the Nephilim from Gen. 6:2, who corrupted mankind and provoked God's anger that brought the deluge upon the world. On the giants of the old world, see also Mather's commentary on Genesis (*BA* 1:583–5, 593–5); and David Levin's essay "Giants in the Earth: Science and the Occult in Cotton Mather's Letters to the Royal Society" (1988). The English Hebraist and biblical exegete Joseph Mede (Mead, Meade, 1586–1639) had a major influence on Puritan millennialism, especially through his *Clavis Apocalyptica* (1627) which calculated that the end times would begin in 1716 (*ODNB*). This

Q. The Wicked first *Cutt off*, and then to proceed more effectually with them, *Rooted out?* v. 22.

A. So then, They are *Weeds*.⁶⁶

date also played a central role in Mather's apocalyptic thinking. The last three paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁶⁶ Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 39–40. Compare the parable of the tares or weeds in Matt. 13:24–30.

{1701?}

Q. Unto what may allude that Passage of, *The Heart keeping the Commandments?* v. 1.

A. Why not unto the *Ark*, in which the *Commandments* were laid up?⁶⁷

Q. How does Wisdome *add Length of Dayes & long Life?* v. 2.

A. Dr. *Jermyns* Paraphrase is; It shall make the Dayes of thy Life to be more, than the Judgment of Man could think to be likely; yea, it shall make the Length of thy Dayes to be greater, than the Strength of thy Nature could have possibly made them. *Levi Gershom* saies well; *Providentia Divina peculiariter eos fovet, qui Divine Legis Sapientiam sectantur.*⁶⁸

But *Peace* is well added; for the shortest Day is best, when *Peace* does not shine; the shortest Life best, where *Peace* does not live.

The Original is, *Length of Dayes, and Years of Lives.* They are *Lives*, which Religion promises; One upon Earth, Another in Heaven. There *Dayes* will be *Years*; one Day lengthened into Eternity.

These are *Added*; They are but *Additaments*. Unto what? Unto, *my Son*; unto the vast Benefit of our *Adoption* by God.⁶⁹

Q. *Lett not Mercy & Truth forsake thee.* The Meaning of it? v. 3.

A. Some apply them to God. q. d. so order thy Life, that the *Mercy* of God in pardoning thy Sins, & the *Truth* of God in performing His Promises, may not forsake thee.

But it should rather be applied unto the *Mercy* & *Truth* in Man. For them to *Forsake* us, because our Hard Hearts will not entertain them, is more than for us to *Forsake* them, thro' frailty and the Power of Temptation.

In *Mercy*, there must be *Truth*; for many make a Shew of *Mercy*, who shew it not in *Truth*. In *Truth* there must be *Mercy*; for it is not well alwayes to speak all the Evil that we can of others; lett *Mercy* spare sometimes, what might be laid forth by *Truth*.

Mercy comprises the Duties of the *Second* Table. *Truth*, the Duties of the First.

⁶⁷ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 41. Compare Deut. 10:2, 5.

⁶⁸ "The divine providence does in a special manner cherish those, who follow carefully the wisdom of the divine law." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 41), Mather references the gloss of Ralbag; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 34; *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, p. 15, at Prov. 3:2; transl.: Jermin.

⁶⁹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 41.

These must be *written on the Table of the Heart*.

Man is the *Temple* of the Holy Spirit. His *Heart* is a *Table* hanging there. That something may be sett on it, beseeeming the House of God, lett *Mercy* be written on the one Side, *Truth* on the other.⁷⁰

Q. Why does it follow, *Trust in the Lord?* v. 5.

A. The Wise Man having excited Man to gett *Wisdom*, shoves him how to use it, when tis gotten. And, first, That we *Trust* not unto *That*, but upon GOD.

Theodoret conceives, that God caused *Moses*, to putt his *Hand* into his bosome, & to take it out *leprous*, before he did his Miracles; That so he might not have any Confidence in his own Arm.⁷¹

Q. How, *Health to the Navel, & Marrow to the Bones?* v. 8.

A. Piety will both maintain thee, & preserve thee. The Infant is nourished by the *Navel*; The *Bones* are strengthened by the *Marrow*.⁷²

Q. It shall be *Health?* v. 8.

A. The Hebrew Word signifies that *Health*, which is recovered from *Sickness*. For indeed, as *Prosper* saith, *Adam bibit omnium Virorum Venenum, et totam Naturam Hominis Intemperantiæ suæ ebrietate malefecit*.⁷³

Q. *Honour the Lord with thy Substance?* v. 9.

A. The World calls *Wealth* by that Name, *The Substance of Men*, which indeed is of all things the most Accidental to them. Nothing will render it a *Substance* but this; To *Honour the Lord with it*. Now the Language of Heaven will own it so to be. This is the *substantial* Use of it.⁷⁴

Q. The Cohærence of this; *my Son, Despise not the Chastning of the Lord?* v. 11.

A. Suppose that God should not bless thy Estate, and *fill thy Barns with Plenty*, when thou dost *Honour Him with thy Substance*; And suppose that He *chasten* thee with much Adversity, notwithstanding thy *Liberality*; yett be comforted. There's the Love of God in it. If God did *Despise thee*, He would not *Chasten*

⁷⁰ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 42.

⁷¹ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 44), a reference to Theodoret of Cyrus, *Questiones in Exodum*, interrogatio 10 [PG 80. 231–33], who comments on Exod. 4:6.

⁷² Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 46.

⁷³ “Adam drank the poison of all mankind, and by the drunkenness of his intemperance has brought an ill disposition upon the whole human nature.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 46), a citation from the early Christian writer and disciple of Augustine, Prosper of Aquitaine (Prosper Tiro, c. 390–after 455), *De gratia Dei et libero arbitrio liber contra collatorem*, cap. 19 [PL 51. 238]. The PL has “vitiorum venenum” (“the poison of all vices”); transl.: Jermin. רִפְאוּת [riph’uth] “healing.”

⁷⁴ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 47. See Appendix B.

thee; so not therefore *Despise His Chastening*; were God *weary* of thee, He would not *correct* thee; *Be not weary then of His Correction*.⁷⁵

Q. The Cohærence of this; *Happy is the Man that findeth Wisdome?* v. 12.

A. Thou mayst suffer the *Chastning of the Lord*, and seem unhappy in it; But if by that *Chastning* thou improve in Holy *Wisdome*, thou hast no Cause to complain; thy Happiness is wonderful.⁷⁶

Q. The Wise Man gives us that *Vision of Wisdome. Length of Dayes is in her Right Hand; & in her Left Hand Riches & Honour*. In Remembrance of what? v. 16.⁷⁷

A. In Remembrance of the *Vision*, which the Lord once gave unto the Wise Man himself. Wee read, in 1. King. 3.12. The Lord in a *Vision*, to *Solomon*, making his Choice of *Wisdome*, engages first *Wisdome* itself; and then the Attendants of *Wisdome*; In one Article, Hee saies, *I give thee, both Riches & Honour*; In another Article Hee saies, *I will lengthen thy Dayes*.

Take another Curiosity. The ancient Manner of the World was, to Number Things that were under an Hundred, on the *Left Hand*; but if they exceeded an Hundred, then they reckon'd them on the *Right Hand*. It may be, *Solomon* reckoning, *Length of Dayes*, on the Right Hand, had some reference to this Ancient Custome. See Mr. *Weems* upon it.⁷⁸

I will add, other Authors (particularly *Cebes* in his Tables) have represented Religion & Vertue, in the Shape of a Beautiful Woman; or rather, a Queen, with her Arms extended, not only directing but also Rewarding her Lovers & Followers.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 47–49.

⁷⁶ See Appendix B.

⁷⁷ This paragraph is written in a different, more ornamental hand. For a discussion of this and similar cases in the manuscript, see section three of the Introduction.

⁷⁸ Mather here refers to the work of the Scottish Presbyterian minister and Hebraist John Weemes (Weemse, Wemyss; c. 1579–1636), *An Explication of the iudiciall Lawes of Moses*, bk. 1, ch. 29 (“Of their numbring, and manner of counting”), pp. 108–12, in *An Exposition of the Lawes of Moses* (1632). Jermin (*Proverbs* 52) mentions the same custom as an “ancient manner of the world” but does not refer to Weemes.

⁷⁹ From Patrick (*Proverbs* 32), Mather refers to the ancient Greek philosopher Cebes of Thebes (c. 430–350 BCE), who was a disciple of Socrates and Philolaus. Several works were traditionally attributed to Cebes, including the *Pinax* or *Tabula Cebetis*, which, according to modern scholars, is by an anonymous author of the first or second century CE. The title of the work refers to a votive tablet that allegedly was located in a temple of Cronus. The tablet represents human life as an allegory that is interpreted by the text in dialogic form. Combining ideas on the “good life” from various philosophical schools of late antiquity (including Stoicism), the text was rediscovered during the Renaissance, went through multiple editions and translations, and remained popular into the eighteenth century (*NP*). One of the central allegorical figures of the text is a female representation of “True Education” who shows those travelers of life whom she receives the way to Happiness and her daughters, the Virtues (19–21).

Q. *Wisdome, a Tree of Life?* v. 18.

A. Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase is good. “*Wisdome* leads into a Paradise, and supplies the Place of that *Tree of Life*, from whence our First Parents were banished, that is, gives not only a present, but an immortal Satisfaction to all those that strongly apprehend & retain her Precepts.”⁸⁰

Q. *The Clouds drop down Dew. What Clouds?* v. 20.

A. I will offer you an Allegorical Interpretation, which may be improved with much of Elegancy. I take the Hint from a Saying of *Austin*. *Revera Fratres, Nubes sunt Prædicatores. Quando minatur per Prædicatores Deus coruscat per Nubes.*⁸¹

Origen justifies the Similitude, from Deut. XXXII.1.⁸² But it may be added, That we are here directed unto that *Wisdome*, which will carry us to an Imita-

Happiness also bestows on the successful travelers of life a power that subdues all vices (22–23). There were numerous early modern English editions (often combining the *Table of Cebes* with the works of other Stoic philosophers such as Epictetus’s *Handbook*) that Patrick and Mather might have used. For a modern English transl., see *Epictetus’ Handbook and the Tablet of Cebes* (2005). The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁸⁰ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 40.

⁸¹ “And truly, brethren, the clouds are the preachers of the Word of Truth. When God threatens through His preachers, He thunders through the clouds.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 56), a citation from the work of the great Latin Church Father Augustine of Hippo, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Ps. 35 [PL 36. 347; CCSL 38]; transl.: *NPNFi* 8:88, here: 36.8. Aurelius Augustinus (354–430) was born in Thagaste (Roman North Africa) the son of the pagan Decurio Patricius and the Christian Monica. After finishing his studies, the young Augustine lived a hedonistic life as a teacher of grammar first in Thagaste and then in Milan. His way to the Christian faith is narrated in his famous autobiography, the *Confessiones*, where he relates how he looked for existential answers first in Roman philosophy and then in Manichaean religion, before experiencing conversion (386) under the influence of the preaching of Ambrose of Milan and monasticism. After his baptism in 387 he returned to Africa and became Bishop of Hippo Regius in 395. He died during the assault of the Vandals on the city. In a number of larger works, such as *De trinitate*, *De doctrina Christiana* and *De civitate Dei* he developed a full-fledged and enormously influential system of Christian theological orthodoxy as well as a concept of redemption history, which he also defended against diverse “heretical” movements of the time such as the Pelagians. Very much a biblical theologian, Augustine also produced numerous exegetical writings, including the annotations on Psalms, from which Mather quotes here.

⁸² “Every one of the holy ones is a cloud. Moses was a cloud, and as a cloud he spake.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 56), Mather cites the exegetical work of Origen (Origenes Adamantius, c. 185/86–c. 253/54), *Homiliae in Jeremiam*, hom. 5, on Jer. 10:12 [PL 25. 628; SC 232], see *FC* 97:80. Born into a Christian family in Tyre, Origen became headmaster of the Christian Catechetical School at Alexandria. A conflict with the local bishop led to his move to Caesarea in Palestine (230/31). He died a few years after the persecutions of Christians under Decius, during which he had to suffer heavy torture. Well-versed in the Greek philosophical traditions, especially (Neo-)Platonism, Origen produced highly influential and homiletical exegetical works that engaged in sophisticated allegorical readings of Scripture aimed to uncover the higher spiritual meaning. He also produced a critical edition of the OT (the *Hexapla*), an early attempt at systematizing Christian doctrine (*De principiis*), and an important apologetic work, *Contra Celsum*. With his teachings on the *Apokatastasis* (“the restitution of all”), the

tion of God, in Works of Mercy and Goodness, by which we communicate with Him, in that Knowledge, by which the Lord made Fountains of Water gush out of the Earth for the Use of all living Creatures, & the Clouds drop down plentifully their Refreshing Dews.⁸³

Q. The Wise Man Recommending the Oracles of Wisdome, urges it in these Terms, *lett them not Depart from thine Eyes*: What emphatical Thing do your *Eyes* discover there? v. 21.

A. The Emphasis of the Original is, If you neglect the *Lawes* of God, they will *Depart* or Pass by you, like the passing Water, disdaining of you. A Neglected Gospel, will soon bee, a *Departed* Gospel, a *Removed* Gospel. And it is Remarkable, that the Apostle uses this very Text, in Heb. 2.1. *Give earnest Heed unto the things, which wee have heard, lest wee lett them slip*. Wee *slip*, and loose the Gospel; by the Righteous Providence of God, it will Turn away from us, if wee grow Disregardful of it.

Accept a further Illustration.

With the Charge of *keeping Wisdome*, the *Wise Man* shows how tis to be *Kept*. First, By *Reading*. There are Books of Wisdome, which we are to have our Eyes often upon. Secondly, By *Meditation*. It followes, keep *sound Wisdome & Discretion*. The Term, *Discretion* signifies, *Thinking*.⁸⁴

Q. *Grace to thy Neck*. What may be in that Clause referr'd unto? v. 22.

A. Wisdome is the *Life of the Soul*. The *Soul* is our Life. But Wisdome is the *Life* of our Life. The Life of the Soul, is to be Alive unto God.

But then, the Life of the *Body*, is but the Breath passing thro' the *Neck*. And the *Grace* of this Life, is to have our Breath sanctified and sweetened with the Breathings of the Holy Spirit of God.⁸⁵

More than this. It was an Ancient Custome, to hang *Amulets* as Pendants about the Necks of Women & Children; to præserve them from Evil, as well as to be a *Grace* unto them. *Pliny* reports. *Paderota Puerorum ex Collo contrá fascinum, et Veneficia appendi solitum*.⁸⁶ It was also to procure *Grace* and Love unto them; as the Greek word, *Paderos*, intimates. *Chrysostom* saies, *Non vides ut*

pre-existence of souls, and the subordinate role of Christ in the Trinity, Origen left a highly controversial legacy to the church.

⁸³ The paragraph following “but” is an insertion from the right-hand column and was written in a different ink.

⁸⁴ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 47. The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁸⁵ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 57.

⁸⁶ “That a Paderos, a kind of jewel made of Sapphire, was used to be hangd about the necks of children, against witchcraft and infections.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 57) a summary drawn from the Roman historian and orator Pliny the Elder (Plinius, 23/24–79 CE), *Natural History*, 37.22.83–84; transl.: Jermin. See LCL 419, p. 257.

*Mulieres et parvi Pueri pro magnà Custodià Collo Evangelia suspendunt, et ubique circumferunt, quocunque abierint?*⁸⁷ The Wise Man would not *Approve* of such *Amulets*; but he may *Allude* to them, with an incomparable Elegancy.

Q. *Say not to thy Neighbour, go and come again?* v. 28.

A. We may read it, *Friend*. And yett, as Dr. *Jermyn* saies, understand it of the *Poor*. For there is no such *Friend* unto thee, as the *Poor* that receives *Alms* from thee. See Luk. XVI.9.⁸⁸

Q. *The House of the Wicked, and the Habitation of the Just?* v. 33.

A. *Levi Gershom* notes, The *Wicked* here is in the singular Number, the *Just* in the plural; Because the Sovereign God permitts many Wicked Men, to enjoy Plenty in this World, & inflicts a visible *Curse* but upon some of them, for an Example unto others; But His *Blessing* is upon all the Righteous.⁸⁹

It is observable here, The Wicked may have / בית / an *House* to dwell in; The Just may have but / נוה / a *Sheeps-Cote* for their dwelling,⁹⁰ And yett, – *Seneca* could say, *Tugurium recipit Virtutes*.⁹¹

The Sense of the Verse is, God curses *All* that a Wicked Man ha's, and Blesses *All* that Just Men have; Because for the most Part, *All* that a Man ha's, is in his *House*.

Q. *The Scorners?* v. 34.

⁸⁷ “Do you not see how women and little children, for a great safeguard do hang the Gospels around their neck, and do carry them with them whosoever they go?” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 57), a citation from John Chrysostom (Joannes Chrysostomus, c. 349–407), *De statuis ad populum Antiochenum habitae*, hom. 19 [PG 49. 196]; transl. modified from Jermin. See also *NPNFi* 9:464–71. John Chrysostom is widely regarded as the greatest preacher (hence his byname “golden mouth”) of the early Eastern Church, where he is venerated as one of the Three Hierarchs. Baptized in 368 in Antiochia, he divided his early years between service in various ecclesial offices and periods of withdrawal as an ascetic hermit. Later he was appointed Bishop of Constantinople and during his time in office, he helped to establish the jurisdiction of the capitol city over the Eastern Church. His zeal in reforming institutions and his outspoken criticism of the worldliness of church and court eventually led to his banishment and death in exile. He was officially rehabilitated in 438. Mather here cites one of his numerous homilies addressing issues of religious reform.

⁸⁸ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 62.

⁸⁹ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 66), Mather cites the gloss of Ralbag on Prov. 3:33; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 52; see the eighteenth-century rabbinical commentary *Mezudath David* which is based on older commentaries, in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, p. 21, at Prov. 3:33.

⁹⁰ בית [bayit] “house, household, home.” נוה [naveh] “an abode of shepherd, or flocks,” used poetically as “habitation,” see: Isa. 27:10.

⁹¹ “This lowly hovel ... gives entrance to the virtues.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 66), a citation from the Roman Stoic philosopher Lucius Annaeus Seneca the Younger (c. 4 BCE–65 CE), *De consolatione ad Helviam matrem*, 9.3; transl.: *LCL* 254, p. 445.

A. The original Word, seems to have some reference unto speaking by an *Interpreter*. It intimates the haughty Carriage of the Proud, who *scorn* to speak by themselves unto others, but they do it by an *Interpreter*, by some other Person.

When the *Israelites* were become *Scorners* of *Moses*, how were they treated by God? But what *Grace* did He give to *Moses*, that *lowly* one?⁹²

⁹² Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 66–67. See Exod. 32:32–35.

Q. *Good Doctrine?* v. 2.

A. Saies Jerom, (or *Paulinus* rather.) *Quid unquam tam absurdum quàm illius Præcepta despiciere, qui ideo aliquid præcipit, ut Causas remunerandi habeat, neque enim Obsequio nostro indiget Deus, sed nos illius indigemus Imperio.*⁹³

Q. Those Words, *I was my Fathers Son, Tender & Only before my Mother?* v. 3.

A. Old *Raymund*, in his *Pugio Fidei*, expounds it, of the *Messiah*. His Words are, *sequitur Circumstantijs Universis pensatis, Deum Sanctum et Benedictum, qui per Moysem Legem dedit Hebræis, fuisse Dei Patris Unicum Filium, sine Matre ab æterno, et sic Ante Matrem suam, quam erat scilicet Secundum Carnem sumendam habiturus postmodum; qui Tenerum etiam sedicit, propter immensam quam habet, et semper habuit Pietatem.*⁹⁴

Whether you accept this Gloss or no, yett you'l excuse my Offering of it, when you consider my Disposition, to find the *Messiah* in this Book of His, as often as I can.

There is an Ancient Jewish Tradition, that this Text belongs to the *Messiah*.⁹⁵

Q. *Solomon* does not here mention his *Fathers Love* to him? v. 3.

⁹³ "What is there so absurd, as to despise his commandments, who therefore commands, that he may have matter of rewarding: for God does not want our obedience, but we do want his commanding?" From Jermin (*Proverbs* 69) a citation from Pseudo-Jerome, *Epistola CXLVIII, Ad Celantiam matronam* [PL 22. 1206; CSEL 56]; transl.: Jermin.

⁹⁴ "The universal circumstances having been examined, it thus follows that the holy and blessed God, who through Moses gave the law to the Hebrews, has been the only-begotten Son of God the Father, without mother from eternity, and so before his mother, whom he would have [as a mother] shortly thereafter by taking on flesh; [the only-begotten son of God] who, still young, spoke, on account of the immeasurable piety which he has and always has had." Mather cites the Catalan Dominican friar, orientalist, missionary, and Christian controversialist Ramón Martí or Raymond Martini (c. 1220–1285), *Pugio Fidei*, pars 3, dist. 1, cap. 8, p. 420. Martini refers to Luke 2:46–49; see also Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 70. Composed around 1280, the *Pugio Fidei* ("Dagger of Faith") is a massive work of anti-Jewish apologetics that seeks to prove the truths of Christian doctrine from readings of the Talmud, the Midrash, and other rabbinic writings. In the early modern period it was rediscovered by Justus Scaliger, and published in a new and annotated edition by the Hebraist Joseph de Voisin of the Sorbonne (d. 1685) under the title *Pugio Fidei Raymundi Martini Ordinis Prædicatorum adversus Mauros et Judæos* (Paris, 1651). In 1687 the Lutheran churchman Johann Benedict Carpzov (1639–1699) published another edition in Leipzig and Frankfurt with an anti-Jewish preface (*JE*).

⁹⁵ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 70.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* observes, He conceals his *Fathers Love*, to teach *Fathers Wisdome*, in concealing their Affection, which often does much Hurt, if it be too much declared.⁹⁶

Q. *Forsake her not.* The Emphasis of the Word? v. 6.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* observes, The Manner of Speech here intimates, an Union of *Marriage*, which the Wise Man would not have broken in any sort. And indeed, *Wisdome* is a fitt *Spouse* for a noble Soul! She should not be *Forsaken*, for the *Whoredomes* of Sin & Folly.⁹⁷

Q. *Wisdome the principal thing?* v. 7.

A. The Original is brief. Either, *Wisdome is the Beginning*, or, *The Beginning of Wisdome*.

Read it the first way, and the Meaning is, That *Wisdome* is the first Thing that is to be gotten; & this is the *Beginning* for the Doing of any thing well.

Read it the second way, and the Meaning is, That the *Beginning* of *Wisdome* is, to give our Minds to *gett* it, & prefer the Getting of it, before the Getting of any other thing.⁹⁸

[6v] |

Q. How are we to *exalt Wisdome?* v. 8.

A. The Hebrew Word used here, signifies to *exalt* so as when an *Heap* is made up unto a great *Heighth*. It means, gather much *Wisdome* together; make a great *Heap* of its Maxims and its Treasures.⁹⁹

Q. How does *Wisdome* give an *Ornament of Grace?* v. 9.

A. The original Word, for *Ornament*, signifies, *Augmentum*, as well as *Ornamentum*; an Increase of Grace. Truly, such is the Disposition of *Wisdome*; it is alwayes adding to what it ha's gotten, until at last it shall deliver us a Crown of Glory in Heaven.¹⁰⁰

Q. An Illustration upon that; *I have taught thee in the Way of Wisdome?* v. 11.

A. He may boldly call to be heard, (as Dr. *Jermyn* observes,) who himself *Doth* what he *Teacheth*.

⁹⁶ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 70.

⁹⁷ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 70.

⁹⁸ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 73. ראשית חכמה [reshith chokmah] "The beginning of wisdom (NAU)."

⁹⁹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 74. סלסלה [salseleha] "Exalt her [wisdom]." See Jer. 50:26, where the same verb is used: "pile up [sheaves]."

¹⁰⁰ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 74. לִיְיִת־חֵן [livyath-chen] "Garland of grace" (NAU); "ornament of grace" (KJV 1611); *augmenta gratiarum* (VUL), lit. "increases of graces." See Ezek. 16:12.

Here the Father tells the Son, That being *in the Way of Wisdome* himself, he had from thence *Taught* him. The Placing of the Words in the Original more plainly gives this Hint unto us. *In the Way of Wisdome I have taught thee.* Surely, he can best show a Way, that ha's himself gone in it; he is fittest to call another after him, who leads the Way before him. We read, *whosoever shall Do and Teach, shall be called great.* Chrysostom calls on us, to note, that the *Doing* is placed first, then the *Teaching*.¹⁰¹

Q. *They sleep not, except they have done Mischief?* v. 16.

A. From this their Eagerness in doing Mischief, *Origen* styles them, *Equos hinnientes, qui habent Diabolum Ascensorem, cujus torti Verberis plagis coacti, adeo feroces sunt.*¹⁰²

Q. How is it said, *They eat the Bread of Wickedness*, and, *They drink the Wine of Violence?* v. 17.

A. *Munster* invites us to the View of this Elegancy in it; Wickedness is as it were *Incorporated* into them; & they are so *Intoxicated* with a Disposition to do violent & unrighteous things, that they can *do nothing else*.¹⁰³

Q. Why is the *Path of the Just* compared unto the *shining Light*? v. 18.

A. By the *shining Light* is meant, the *Morning Light*. Called so, because then it only *shineth*, and gives little *Warmth*.¹⁰⁴

We may note this; The Lights of Heaven, do not seem to stir & yett have a very swift Motion. So the Righteous make no Boast, or Show of their proceeding in Vertue & Wisdome; & yett they go on diligently & speedily.

Q. The *Way of the Wicked*, how is it as *Darkness*? v. 19.

A. They never see, how to come at the Contentment, & Happiness they propose.¹⁰⁵

Q. The Maxims of Wisdome, How are they *Health to all the Flesh*? v. 22.

¹⁰¹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 76. Some of John Chrysostom's commentary on Prov. 4 can be found in his *Fragmenta in Salomonis Proverbia*, at Prov. 4 [PG 64. 666]; transl.: *Commentaries on the Sages*, vol. 2.

¹⁰² "Furious neighing horses, which have the devil as their rider, with the stripes of whose wreathed whip, being driven on, that makes them to be so violent." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 80), a citation from Origen, *Homiliae in Exodum*, hom. 6 [PG 12. 332; SC 321]; transl.: Jermin.

¹⁰³ A paraphrase of Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4009).

¹⁰⁴ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 81.

¹⁰⁵ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 82.

A. *All the Flesh* of Man, is not his Body. There is a *Fleshly* Part of the Soul; and a very *Sickly* Part it is. To this especially, there is *Health* derived by the Sayings of *Wisdom*.¹⁰⁶

Q. Upon *keeping the Heart*? v. 23.

A. It is a Saying of *Gregory*, *Quotiescumque graviter delinquimus, Corda nostra nos non habemus*.¹⁰⁷ On Sin, the Devil gets Possession of our Hearts. Of the Wicked it is said, Jer. V.21. *Cui non est Cor*.¹⁰⁸ So *David* laments, Psal. XL.12. *Dereliquit me Cor meum*.¹⁰⁹ And he prays, That God would *create a New Heart* in him.

[▽7r] [▽Insert from 7r]

Q. Why is it said, *out of it are the Issues of Life*? v. 23.

A. Take Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase. "Thy living Well or Ill, depends on this; and such as thy Caution & Watchfulness is in this, such will the Actions of thy Life be, which flow from thence."

I have known, when this Paraphrase ha's been thought sufficient. "All the *Actions* of our *Life*, are but *Issues* flowing from our *Heart*. Our sinful *Actions*, *Issue* from the Sin lodging in our *Heart*."¹¹⁰

[△] [△Insert ends]

Q. When do the *Eyelids* look straight before a Man? v. 25.

A. *Gregory* in his *Pastoral*, saies. *Palpebræ gressus præcedunt, quum Operationem nostram Consilia recta præcedunt*.¹¹¹

[7r] |

Q. The *Path of thy Feet*? v. 26.

A. The original Word signifies *Orbitam*, a Round Path. An Intimation, that we should join the *Beginning* and *End* of our *Path* together; and so Judge of our Way.

Aben Ezra carries it so; *pondera Divini Præcepti Violationem cum Mercede*.¹¹²

¹⁰⁶ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 84.

¹⁰⁷ "As often as we fall into any foul sin, we cannot say that we have our hearts." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 85), a citation from *Gregory the Great*, *In librum primum Regum*, lib. 2, cap. 1 [PL 79. 77; CCSL 144]; transl.: Jermin.

¹⁰⁸ "Who are without a heart." Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 85; transl.: Jermin; see Jer. 5:21.

¹⁰⁹ "My heart is gone from me." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 85); see Ps. 37:11 (VUL)/38:10 (KJV); transl.: Jermin.

¹¹⁰ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 56.

¹¹¹ "The eyelids do forego our going when right counsels do foresee our doing." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 86), a citation from *Gregory the Great*, *Regula pastoralis*, pars 3, cap. 15 [PL 77. 75; SC 382]; transl.: Jermin.

¹¹² "Weigh the breaking of God's commandments with the reward of it." From Jermin

Q. What is it to, *ponder the Path of the Feet?* v. 26.

A. The Sense of it among the Hebrews, is; *Mensuram et Modum tenere in omnibus, et non plus sapere quam oporteat sapere.*¹¹³

Q. What is meant, by *not Turning to the Right Hand, nor to the Left?* v. 27.

A. Jerom observes; Tis not the *Right Hand* that is forbidden; but a Declining to it. *Ne plus sapiamus, quàm sapere nos necesse est.*¹¹⁴

Nazianzen in a particular Exposition thus applies the Words. “Alike unprofitable are a careless & slothful Negligence, and an unskilful Fervency. The one does not reach unto Goodness; the other goes beyond it, & pretends to do Rightly beyond what Right itself requires.”¹¹⁵

The Exposition which Austin gives is this. [In Præf. in Ps. 31.] *Præsumptio de Justitiâ, quasi Dextera est. Cogitatio Impunitatis Peccatorum, quasi Sinistra est. Ne præsumas ad Regnum de Justitia tua; ne præsumas ad Peccandum, de Misericordiâ Dei. Ab Utroque te revocat præceptum Divinum.*¹¹⁶

Munster gives us a Gloss as good as any of them. Look not on the *Right Hand*, so as to be scandalized by the *Prosperity* of the Wicked; nor on the *Left Hand*, so as to be discouraged by the *Adversity* of the Righteous.¹¹⁷

(Proverbs 87), Mather cites the gloss of Ibn Ezra on Prov. 4:26; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 62; see Rashi in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, Proverbs, p. 26, at Prov. 4:26; transl.: Jermin.

113 “To hold measure and manner in everything, and not thinking higher as would be proper.” Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4049); see Prov. 26:12; Eccl. 7:16; Rom. 12:3.

114 “That we should not be wiser than it is needful for us to be wise.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 88), a citation from Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 10 [PL 23. 1091; CCSL 72]; transl.: Jermin.

115 From Jermin (*Proverbs* 88), a citation from Gregory of Nazianzus (Gregory the Theologian, 329/330–389/390), *Oratio* 32 [PG 36. 179–82; SC 284]. Born in Cappadocia and educated in Caesaria, Palestine, and Athens, Gregory converted to Christianity and took up a monastic life together with Basil the Great. Under Theodosius I he was appointed Bishop of Constantinople. He organized and directed the ecumenical council of 381. Unable to reconcile the conflicting parties, he withdrew from his office. He is remembered as one of the chief theologians of early Eastern Christianity, who wrote multiple orations and letters especially on matters of the Trinity and christology, which gained him the epitheton “the theologian” (*RGG*).

116 “A presumption of righteousness is, as it were, the right hand, a persuasion of impunity in sin, as it were, the left hand. Presume not to reign in heaven upon thine own righteousness, presume not to sin and offend God upon God’s mercy. The divine commandment does call thee back from both.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 88), a citation from Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Ps. 31, sermo 2 [PL 36. 258; CSEL 93.1; CCSL 38]; transl.: Jermin.

117 See Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4049).

Q. *Bow thine Ear?* v. 1.

A. Our Language, when we speak to others, is, *Arrigite aures*, lift up your Ears. But when *Wisdom* comes to speak, tis, *Bow down your Ears*. God requires *Humility* in them, to whom He offers the Dictates and Maxims of Heaven. Indeed, Men are apt to think, the Lessons of Piety, to be *Below* them. However, *Wisdom* saies, *Bow down your Ears*; Be willing to Hear, and condescent to take notice of these things, since you are pleased to count it a Condescension.

Q. How is the *Harlot, sharp as a two-edged Sword?* v. 4.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase. "Like a Sword that cutts on both Sides, she wounds both *Soul* and *Body*."¹¹⁸

Q. How is it said, *Her Steps take hold on Hell?* v. 5.

A. The original Word may be translated, *Sustentant infernum*. They *sustain Hell*, or, as *Levi Gershom* renders it, They *strengthen Hell*.¹¹⁹ They putt Strength into the Hands of *Death*, & make *Death* more Able to attack thy Life. The same is true of *Hell*; wicked Harlots are a chief Support of Satans Kingdome.

Her Steps take hold on Hell. Possession of *Hell*, is taken by the Wicked, before they come into it. The Divil gives them that, when he by Wickedness possesses their Hearts: There is no more to be done, than to take up the Abode there. Unto this, the *Feet of the Harlot* hasten apace.

Her Steps.] Quære; How far the *Dance*, the *Ball*, to be considered here.

Q. *Remove thy Way far from her.* A Remark upon that Advice? v. 8.

A. The Original is, / *מַעְלֶיהָ* / *Remove thy Way far above from her*.¹²⁰ Whoredome is *Baseness*. Unchastity laies Men *low*. Do but keep *Above*, in the Pitch of *Reason*, this will be enough to *Remove* thee from it.

Q. When do Men *give their Honour unto others, & their Years unto the Cruel?* v. 9.

¹¹⁸ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 63.

¹¹⁹ שְׂאוֹל צְעָדֶיהָ יִתְמַכּוּ "her steps follow the path to Sheol" (*ESV*); KJV 1611: "her steps take hold on hell." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 92), Mather refers to the gloss of Ralbag at Prov. 5:5; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 65; compare the rabbinical discussion in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, p. 27, at Prov. 5:5.

¹²⁰ מַעְלֶיהָ [me'aleiha] "(Remove thy way) far from her" (KJV); see Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 94. Attention is drawn here to the Hebrew preposition על [al] "on, upon, over, against."

A. R. *Solomon*, thinks that K. *Solomon* speaks this, with some reference to his own Offence; The former Clause, he thus glosses; lest thou be turned by them unto *strange Gods*, & bestow thy Praise on them. The latter, he expounds, of giving the Years unto the *Divel*, or arming that cruel one, to cutt off the Residue of his Years.¹²¹

Gregory carries it more generally; By *others*, he understands, wicked Spirits, who are Aliens & Strangers unto us, & separated from the Inheritance of our Heavenly Country. By our *Honour*, he understands, the *Image* of God. By the *cruel one* he also understands, the *Divel*. *Honorem itaque suum Alienis dat, qui ad Dei Imaginem conditus, Vitæ suæ Tempora malignorum voluntantibus administrat. Annos suos crudeli tradit, qui voluntatem malo Dominantis Adversarii accepta vivendi spatia expendit.*¹²²

[8v]

Q. How, *Almost in all Evil, in the Midst of the Congregation?* v. 14.

A. There was *almost no Evil* which he did not practise; and so shamelessly, that he cared not, tho' the whole *Congregation* were acquainted with it.

Or, His Miseries were very many & heavy, and that which helped yett more to make them so, was, that all the World saw them.¹²³

Indeed, the *All of Evil*, is in the *Hell* of Evil. The Gloss of R. *Solomon* on the Words, is; *passus tantum inter me, et Gehennam interfuit*. I was *Almost* fallen down into *Hell*, into the horrible *Congregation* there.¹²⁴

Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase runs thus. "My Lusts engaged me in almost all kind of Wickedness, from which the Reverence of no Persons could restrain me; but openly in the Face of the most public and solemn Assemblies of Gods People; even before the Magistrates & Judges, I boldly committed them. [Num. XXV.7. & XXXV.12.]"¹²⁵

Q. The *Fountains dispersed abroad*, & the *Rivers of Waters in the Streets?* v. 16.

¹²¹ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 95), a citation from Rashi on Prov. 5:9; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 66; *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, p. 28, at Prov. 5:9.

¹²² "He therefore gives his honor unto others, who being created according to God's image, live according to the will of the wicked Spirits. He gives his years to the cruel, who spends his life at the devil's pleasure, and for his contentment." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 95), a citation from Gregory the Great, *Regula pastoralis*, pars 3, cap. 12 [PL 77. 67; SC 382]; transl. Jermin.

¹²³ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 98.

¹²⁴ "There was but a step between me and hell." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 98), a citation from Rashi on Prov. 5:14; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 68; *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, p. 29 and p. 210, at Prov. 5:14; transl.: Jermin.

¹²⁵ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 67. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

A. *Aben Ezra saies, hoc metaphoricè de Filiorum Copiâ usurpatur.*¹²⁶

But the Fathers understand in this Book, a mystical Sense, as well as a literal. Bernard applies this Verse unto our glorious CHRIST, the Fountain of Life. Saies he; *Derivatus est Fons usque ad nos; in Plateis derivanae sunt Aquæ: descendit per Aquæductum vena illa Cælestis, non tamen Fontis exhibens Copiam, sed Stillicidici Gratia arentibus Cordibus infundens, aliis quidem plus, aliquis minus.*¹²⁷

Our Saviour said, Joh. VII.38. *He that believeth in me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his Belly shall flow Rivers of living Water.* The Fathers were troubled, where to find this, in the Old Testament. Jerom saies, 'Tis in the Proverbs; but he saies not where.

Aquinas and Rupertus will have it be in the Verse now before us.¹²⁸

Q. How shall we reconcile those two; *lett thy Fountains be dispersed abroad,* and, *lett them be only thine own?* v. 17.

A. Gregory does it thus; *Quam prædicamus Populis, nimirum in Plateis, Aquas dividimus; quia in Auditorum Multitudinem Scientiæ Verba dilatamus. Quum autem nos adjuvante divina Gratia, intrinsecus custodimus, soli habemus Aquas, quas in Plateis dividimus.*¹²⁹ This is in his Homilies on Ezekiel. But in his Pastoral, he thus discourses on this Context. *Rectum est ut ipse prius bibat, et tunc prædicando aliis influat Aquam quippe Prædicator de Cisternâ sua bibit, quum ad Cor suum rediens, prius audit ipse, quod dicit. Fontes foras derivat, qui exterius aliis Vim Prædicationis infundit; et in Plateis aquas dividit, qui in magna auditorum*

¹²⁶ "This metaphorically is used of the plenty of children." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 100), a citation from Ibn Ezra on Prov. 5:16; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 70; *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, pp. 210–11, at Prov. 5:16; transl.: Jermin.

¹²⁷ "The fountain is derived even unto us, the waters are dispersed abroad in the streets, the heavenly spring descended in a pipe, not yielding the plenty of the fountain, but infusing the drops of grace into thirsty souls, to some more, to some less." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 100), a citation from Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones de sanctis, Sermo in nativitate B. V. Mariæ* [PL 183. 440; *Opera* 5]; transl.: Jermin.

¹²⁸ From Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 100; compare Jerome, *Praefatio in Pentateuchum* [PL 28. 149]; Thomas Aquinas (Thomas of Aquin, 1224/1225–1275), *Super Evangelium S. Ioannis lectura*, at John 7:38; Rupert of Deutz (Rupertus Tuitiensis, 1075–1129), *Commentaria in Evangelium Sancti Johannis*, at John 7:38 [CCCM 9]. A native of Roccasecca near Aquino, the Dominican friar and academic teacher in Paris and Naples, among other places, Thomas Aquinas is widely regarded as the most influential theologian of the Middle Ages. He defined a new role for philosophical inquiry (especially in the Aristotelean tradition) in theology. His main works are the *Summa Theologiae* and *Summa contra Gentiles*. Probably born near Lüttich, Rupert of Deutz was a controversial monastic theologian of the Benedictine order, who was engaged in numerous debates on subjects such as the sacraments, the nature of evil, and the Trinity. His final home was the monastery of Deutz near Cologne (*RGG*).

¹²⁹ "When we preach to the people, then we disperse the waters into the streets, because we spread the words of knowledge among the multitude of hearers: when we ourselves, the divine grace assisting us, keep them within ourselves, then we alone have the waters which we disperse in the streets." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 100–01), a citation from Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*, lib. 1, hom. 12 [PL 76. 923; *CCSL* 142]; transl.: Jermin.

amplitudine, juxtà uniuscujusque qualitatem divina eloquia dispensat. But then, upon, *lett them be only thine own*, he adds; *Et quia plerumque inanis Gloriæ appetitus subrepat, dum Sermo Dei ad multorum notitiam currit, postquam dictum est, In Plateis aquas divide, rectè subjungitur, Habeto eas solus, nec sint Alieni participes tui.*

*Alienos quippe malignos Spiritus vocat; De quibus per Prophetam Tentati hominis Voce dicitur, Alieni insurrexerunt in me, et quæsierunt animam meam.*¹³⁰

He concludes; we disperse our *Waters in the Streets*, and yett *possess them ourselves*, when we poure abroad our Preaching & yett seek not the Praise of Men by it, because that maketh *Strangers*, even *Divels*, to be partaken with us.

Q. The *loving Hind*, & the *pleasant Roe*? v. 19.

A. The Comparison is, to a young *Hind*, & a young *Wild-Goat*; which are observed by Authors that write of Animals (particulary *Oppian*) to be loving Creatures. Dr. *Patrick* notes, That in ancient times these were Play-fellowes (as one may call them) for the greatest Persons, who kept them in their Palaces, and diverted themselves with them, as Creatures, whom they delighted to adorn with Chains and Garlands & the like.¹³¹ *Bochart* ha's demonstrated, That the *Jaalah*, which we translate a *Roe*, is a Creature that lived in mountainous Places, & could climb up the steepest Rocks.¹³²

The Wise Man very agreeably thus describes the Satisfaction of Love between a Man & his Wife; which is to be Natural, without Constraint, Sincere,

¹³⁰ "It is rightly set down, that first a preacher should drink himself, and then by preaching, should instill into others. For a preacher drinks water of his own cistern, and when he returns to his own heart, he himself first hears, what he says. He disperses his fountains, who infuses from the outside the force of his preaching upon others, and then he spreads his waters in the streets, when in a great assembly of hearers, he dispenses the divine words according to the several quality of every one. And because often the itching of vain glory arises, when the word of God is preached in a great audience, after, therefore, that it is said, spread your waters in the streets, it is well added, let them only be your own, and not strangers with you. For he calls the wicked spirits, strangers, of whom it is said by the prophet, in the words of a tempted man, strangers are risen up against me, and oppressors seek after my soul." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 101), a citation from Gregory the Great, *Regula pastoralis*, pars 3, cap. 24 [PL 77. 95; SC 382]; transl.: Jermin.

¹³¹ Patrick, *Proverbs*, pp. 59–60. Patrick refers to the *Cynegetica*, a poem on hunting written by Oppian of Apamea (or Pella) that was dedicated to the emperor Caracalla and therefore must have been written after 211 CE. See *Cynegetica*, 2.445–85 (*LCL* 219, pp. 87–89).

¹³² יָבִיבָה [ya'alah] "female ibex; female mountain goat." From Patrick (*Proverbs* 60), Mather summarizes Samuel Bochart, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 23 ("Jaalim/Ibices"), pp. 915–20. As in all other parts of the "Biblia Americana," the French Huguenot scholar Samuel Bochart (1599–1667) makes frequent appearances in Mather's annotations on Proverbs through Jeremiah with his two main works: the widely influential *Geographia sacra* (first ed. 1646) and *Hieroicoicon* (first ed. 1663), a massive compendium on biblical animals. Unless otherwise noted, all citations from the *Hieroicoicon* are from the 1663 London edition and citations from the *Geographia* are from the 1707 edition.

Simple, Gentle, Humble, without Suspicion, without Moroseness; which good Qualities are not to be found in Harlots.¹³³

Aben Ezra thinks here is an Admonition, *ut Uxoris Amor sit restringendus, ne erres in Præceptis Dei*.¹³⁴ And *R. Levi* carries it so; *si errare poteris in Uxore, quantus erit Error, si alienæ sis affixus*.¹³⁵

¹³³ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 60.

¹³⁴ "An admonition that the love for your wife should be restrained, lest you disregard the precepts of God." Ibn Ezra in Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4059); see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 70; *Mikraoth Gedoloth, Proverbs*, p. 30 and p. 211, at Prov. 5:18–20. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

¹³⁵ "If you can go astray with your wife, how great will your fault be, once you have attached yourself to a strange woman?" Ralbag in Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4059); compare *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 71; *Mikraoth Gedoloth, Proverbs* (see note above). The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

Q. The Caution against *Suretiship*? v. 1.

A. *Clemens Alexandrinus* quotes it, as a Saying of the wise Men among the *Græcians*. *Sponde, noxa præstó est.*¹³⁶

It has been truly observed; *Adi Forum, et inter Litigantium frequentias, nihil frequentius auditur, quam Sponsionum Pericula, et Sponsoris suspiria.*¹³⁷

Aben-Ezra tells us truly, the *Suretiship* here, is; *quæ propriè ad Nummorum Divitiarumque Negotium spectat.*¹³⁸ But *Gregory* carries it unto a more spiritual Sense; *Spondere pro Amico est Alienam Anima in Periculo suæ Conversationes accipere;*¹³⁹ the becoming Responsible for the good Carriage of another Man in his Conversation; & to take the Charge of the Soul of another Man.

The Clause in the Next Verse, of the *Surenes* being *taken with the Words of his Mouth*; he carries thus; *Quia dum commissis sibi cogitur bona dicere, ipsum prius necesse est, quæ dixerit custodire.*¹⁴⁰

Q. That Clause, *make sure thy Friend*? v. 3.

A. In the Original tis the plural Number; It may be taken to signify, *strengthen thyself with Friends*, which may Intercede for thee, and add their Help unto thy own Humility.¹⁴¹

¹³⁶ “Be surety for another, and be sure that harm is near to you.” Via Jermin (*Proverbs* 107), a citation from the Christian teacher and Hellenistic philosopher at the Catechetical School of Alexandria Titus Flavius Clemens or Clement of Alexandria (Clemens Alexandrinus, c. 150–d. before 215/221), *Stromata*, 2.15 [PG 8. 1010; *GCS* 52]; transl. modified from Jermin. Clement cites a famous sentence by Thales of Milet (c. 624–c. 547 BCE) that is often quoted by ancient authors.

¹³⁷ “Go to the courts of law, and in the frequency of those that follow causes there is nothing heard more frequently than the dangers of suretiship, and the sighs of him that is a surety.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 107), a citation from the work of the Jesuit scholar Diego de Baeza (1582–1647), *Commentarii morales in universam historiam Evangelicam*, vol. 1 (1630), lib. 11, cap. 6, § 13, p. 615; transl. modified from Jermin.

¹³⁸ “This is a suretiship which properly belongs to the business of money and of riches.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 107); see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 73; Rashi is referring to the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Baba Mezi’a 115a (Soncino, p. 654); compare *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, p. 31, at Prov. 6:1; transl. modified from Jermin.

¹³⁹ “To be surety for a friend, is to adopt another’s soul in the danger of his conversation.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 108), a citation from Gregory the Great, *Regula pastoralis*, pars 3, cap. 4 [PL 77. 54; *SC* 382]; transl.: Jermin.

¹⁴⁰ “Because, while he is constrained to speak good things to those, who are committed to him, it is necessary, that he himself should first observe the things he has spoken.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 108), a citation from Gregory the Great, *Regula pastoralis*, pars 3, cap. 4 [PL 77. 54; *SC* 382]; transl.: Jermin.

¹⁴¹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 109.

Q. The difference between *Sleeping* and *Slumbering*? v. 4.

A. Carry it unto the *Suretiship*, that *Gregory* does insist upon; that in the *Charge of Souls*; Then he will thus define them. *Plenè dormire est commissorum acta, nec scire, nec corrigere. Non autem Dormire, sed Dormitare, est, quæ quidem reprehendenda sunt cognoscere, sed tamen propter Mentis tedium dignis ea Increpationibus non emendare.*¹⁴²

Q. The Hieroglyphic of the *Ant* applied spiritually? v. 8.

A. *Austin* makes two Applications. One [*Cont. Manich.*] thus. *Illud de Formicâ ità positum est, et illa æstate colligit, undè hyeme pascatur; ità unusquisque Christianus in rerum Tranquillitate, quam significat ætas, colligat Verbum Dei ut in Adversitate et Tribulationibus, quæ Hyemis nomine significantur; habeat undè spiritualiter vivat.*¹⁴³

Christian, In the *Surrender* of Prosperity, furnish thyself with Stores from the Word of God, on which thou mayst live in the *Winter* of Adversity.

Another [*ad Fratres in Eremito*] thus. *Laborare exemplo Formicæ debemus, ut Fructum bonorum Operum acquiramus in æstate præsentis Vitæ, tam sollicitè et sedulo ut Tempore Hyemis et Judicii non pereamus.*

Christian, labour in the *Surrender* of thy Life, to lay up such things that thou mayst not famish and perish in the *Winter* of the future Judgment.¹⁴⁴

Q. On that, *A little Folding of the Hands*? v. 10.

A. Waving the Gloss of some quoted by *Munster*, on, *Temperatè Manus sunt conserende*;¹⁴⁵ I will mention *Aben-Ezra's* Gloss, (tho' not as acquiescing in it).

¹⁴² "To give sleep to the eyes, is to lose the concentration and to neglect the care of those that are under us. The eye-lids slumber, when our consideration knows those things which are to be reproved in those that are under us, but dullness oppressing us, we pass them by. For, to sleep fully, is neither to know, nor to correct the faults of those who are committed. But it is to slumber, not to sleep, to observe those things which are to be blamed, and yet due to the tedium of the mind not to redress them by due reproof." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 110), a citation from Gregory the Great, *Regula pastoralis*, pars 3, cap. 4 [PL 77. 55; SC 382]; transl.: Jermin.

¹⁴³ "That of the ant is thus set down, that she gathers in the summer, whereupon she lives in winter; so every Christian in a time of quietness, which the summer signifies, should gather God's word, that in trouble and adversity, which by winter is noted he may have something to live spiritually with." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 112), a citation from Augustine, *Contra Adimantum*, cap. 24 [PL 42. 168; CSEL 25]; transl.: Jermin.

¹⁴⁴ "We ought to labour by the example of the ant, that we get the fruit of good works, in the harvest of this life present, so sedulously and diligently, that in the time of winter and judgement, we don't perish due to hunger." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 112–13), a citation from Pseudo-Augustine, *Ad fratres in eremo commorantes*, sermo 17 [PL 40. 1264]; transl. modified from Jermin.

¹⁴⁵ "Your hands shall be folded calmly." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4068).

If you indulge but, *A little Sleep*, then, if Want come with never such Violence upon thee, yett it shall not stay with thee; *sed veluti Viator pertransibit*.¹⁴⁶

Q. Poverty coming as a *Traveller*, & *Want as an Armed Man*? v. 11.

A. It comes as a *Traveller*, because it comes Unexpectedly. As an *Armed Man*, because it comes Irresistibly.

The *Armed Man* is in the Hebrew, *Vir Clypei*, a *Buckler Man*. R. Solomon expounds it, *Tanquam Vir qui celerrimus advenit, ut Dominum suum tueatur*.¹⁴⁷

Q. The *wicked Man* is one who walks *with a froward Mouth*? v. 12.

A. He *walks* from one Place to another, from Person to Person, dispensing his Frowardness. He *walks*; tis afar off that his Mischief reaches.

The *wicked Man*, is by *Tremelius* rendred, *Vir nihili*, a worthless Man.¹⁴⁸ And by the Vulgar Latin, *Vir Inutilis*, a Man good for nothing.¹⁴⁹

| [9v]
Q. The *Heart* comes at last; after the *Mouth*, and *Eyes*, and *Feet*, and *Fingers* of the wicked Man? v. 14.

A. The Spirit of God would thus teach us, not to Judge of the *Heart*, any further than we have clear Signs to lead us unto it.¹⁵⁰

Take Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase. "His very *Eyes* are Instruments of Deceit; for he makes Signs with them to his Companions, when they are to play their Pranks, or if that be too broad, he secretly treads on their Toes; or signifies his Mind, by the Motion of his Fingers; For every Part of him is employ'd to make his wicked Meaning understood."¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁶ "But it [sc. want] will pass you by like a traveler." From Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4068), a citation from Ibn Ezra's gloss on Prov. 6:10; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 78. See the rabbinical discussion in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, p. 33, at Prov. 6:11, and p. 152, on Prov. 24:33–34.

¹⁴⁷ "As a man that comes very quickly to defend his master." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 114), a citation from Rashi's gloss on Prov. 6:11; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 78; see Rashi in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, p. 33, at Prov. 6:11, and p. 152, on Prov. 24:33–34; transl. modified from Jermin.

¹⁴⁸ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 115), a citation from the Latin translation of Prov. 6–12 by the two Reformed scholars Franciscus Junius (François du Jon, 1545–1602) and Immanuel Tremellius (Giovanni Emmanuele Tremellio, 1510–1580) in their *Testamenti Veteris Biblia sacra, sive libri canonici priscae Judaeorum ecclesiae a Deo traditi, latini recens ex hebraeo facti, brevibusque scholiis illustrati ab Immanuele Tremellio, & Francisco Junio* ([1579] 1630), p. 158. Reflecting a distinctively Reformed viewpoint, the Tremellius-Junius OT translation was frequently reprinted and exerted great influence on Calvinist dogmatics. In subsequent editions it was often paired with Theodore Beza's translation of the NT.

¹⁴⁹ "An unprofitable man" (transl. of VUL: *Douay-Rheims Bible*); from Jermin (*Proverbs* 115); see VUL at Prov. 6:12; KJV (1611): "a wicked man."

¹⁵⁰ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 117.

¹⁵¹ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 80.

Q. The *Calamity coming suddenly?* v. 15.

A. When it is said in the *Psalms*, *Yee shall Dy like Men, & fall like one of the Princes*; the *Dying*, is by *Justin Martyr* applied unto our first Parents; the *Falling*, unto the Divels who fell from Heaven.¹⁵² Tho' the Sentence of Death were passed on our first Parents, they had found time to Repent before the Execution; but of Satan tis said, *He falls like Lightning from Heaven*, very suddenly, & so as to Rise no more. Such will be the *sudden Death* of the Wicked, in which there is *no Remedy*; no Space of *Repentance*, the only *Remedy*.

Q. The *Commandment of the Father, & Law of the Mother?* v. 20.

A. Take them for the Precepts of God, and then the *Commandment of the Father*, is the *Ten Commandments*. The *Law of the Mother*, is the Exposition thereof in the *Church* of God. But referring it unto the *Præcepts of Godly Parents*; Behold! God makes them His; God adds His Authority unto them.

Philo places the Fifth Commandment in the First Table, as tho' we had not performed our Duty to God, if we had not honoured our *Parents*.¹⁵³

In the Twenty Second Verse, the Wise Man refers to Deut. XI.19.

Q. Who may be the *Harlot*, whereof we have a Description in this, and the following Chapter? v. 24.

A. I have nothing to putt by, the most obvious and common Sense. Only I would observe, That some take the Matter Allegorically, & think that under the Allegory of an *Harlott*, the Deceitful and the Destructive Nature of *Sin*, is represented. Nor would I have observed this, if it had not been to introduce another Observation, which I find made by a Nameless Author, in a little Book entitled, *The First Last*; which is; "If so, then this Sin, is *Exceeding Sinful*, which, tho' but one *Species*, yett contains in it, the whole Nature and Properties of its *Genus*; and is, as it were, an *Epitome* of all Sin."¹⁵⁴

Q. Whence that Caution about the Harlot, *Neither lett her take thee with her Eylids?* v. 26.¹⁵⁵

A. *Painting* was usually, & still is practised by Harlots; *Adulterated Complexions* well agreeing with *Adulterous Conditions*. But they did especially paint

¹⁵² From Jermin (*Proverbs* 117), a reference to the Greek philosopher, apologist and Christian martyr, Justin Martyr (Iustinus Martys, c. 100.–165), *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judæo*, cap. 124 [PG 6. 764–65; *Patristische Texte und Studien* 47]; transl.: ANF 1:262.

¹⁵³ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 121; compare Philo of Alexandria, *De decalogo*, 22.106–10. See the annotation on Prov. 8:36.

¹⁵⁴ Mather refers to the collection of sermons *The first, last. Or, the formal Hypocrite further from Salvation (as to the Way of God's ordinary Working) than the prophane Sinner* (1666), p. 5, which was published anonymously but can be attributed to the Dissenting minister John Oldfield (c. 1627–1682).

¹⁵⁵ The original reference was to "v. 25," but Mather changed it to "v. 26."

their *Eyes*; thus wee read, in Ezek. 23.40. *Thou paintedst thine Eyes*: that is, they painted their *Ey-browes*, or *Ey-lids*, with Antimony, to make ‘em look black; such a stibiated Colour, there, they thought an extraordinary Comeliness.

Philostratus in his *Epistles*, often speaks of the, τα των ομμάτων δικτυα, *Netts of the Eyes*.¹⁵⁶ And in elegant Words, he declares the Power of Love which resides in the *Eylids*. Μονοις Βλεφαροις τειχνισας κλ.¹⁵⁷

Q. What may be the *precious Life*? v. 26.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* takes it for the Life of *Chastity*; a precious Jewel. *Bernard* applies to this, that of the Apostle; *A Treasure in earthen Vessels*.

Q. A *Theef* stealing, to satisfy an hungry Soul? v. 30.

A. There is a Saying of *Austins*, [in *Psal.* 72.] that will a little Illustrate it. *Sunt aliqui Mali, sed macrè Mali; ideò Mali quia Mali*, [Ill People, because things go Ill with them:] *tamen et dampnandi. Ferenda enim est magis omnis Necessitas, quàm perpetranda aliqua Iniquitas*.¹⁵⁸

Q. Why is it said of the Detected *Theef*, *He shall Restore Sevenfold*; when a Fourfold, or, at most a *Fivefold Restitution*, was all that the Law of God, by *Moses*, required? v. 31.¹⁵⁹

A. *Amama* on the Occasion of this Enquiry falls into a Sharp, yett Just, Invec-tive against the States, that *Hang Theeves*, and only *Fine Adulterers*, adding, *In Cætum istorum Judicium ne adunator Gloria mea*.¹⁶⁰

Some would gather from these Words of *Solomon*, that in his Time, the Punishing of *Theft*, was advanced beyond what it was in *Moses*’s. However, not made *capital*!

But after all, *Solomon* only means, The *Theef*, punished once, will *steal* again, even *seven Times* over, till he have no less than *seven Times* over made the

¹⁵⁶ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 74; compare the Greek sophist and versatile author Flavius Philo-stratus the Athenian (c. 170–c. 245 CE), *Epistolai erotikai* (*Love letters*), epist. 11 [48], in *LCL* 383, p. 437.

¹⁵⁷ “He fortifies with eyelids alone etc.” From Patrick (*Proverbs* 74), a line from Philostratus, *Epistolai erotikai*, epist. 12 [51], in *LCL* 383, p. 439. Patrick and Mather have τειχνισας, where the *LCL* edition has τειχισας.

Used by Mather throughout the “Biblia,” the Greek abbreviation κλ stands for και τα λοιπα (“and the rest/remainder”). The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

¹⁵⁸ “There be some evil, but lean in evil, therefore evil, [Ill People, because things go Ill with them:], and yet to be condemned, because all necessity is rather to be endured, then any iniquity is to be practiced.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 129), a citation from Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Ps. 72 [PL 36. 920; CSEL 94; CCSL 39]; transl.: Jermin.

¹⁵⁹ See Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 87.

¹⁶⁰ “Unto the assembly of these judges my glory shall not be a joined!” A quote from the work of the Dutch Reformed theologian and Orientalist Sixtinus Amama (1593–1629), *Anti-Barbarus Biblicus* ([1628] 1656), lib. 3, p. 567, at Prov. 6:31. Compare Gen. 49:6.

Restitution which the Law required; & so until he shall (as it followes) *have given all the Substance of his House*.¹⁶¹

Q. The *Adulterer* getts a *Wound*, a *Dishonour*, and a *Reproach*? v. 33.

A. Some thus distinguish. The *Divel* gives him a *Wound*. *God* sends a *Dishonour* upon him. His own *Sin* proves a *Reproach* unto him.

Jerom observes, That *Solomon* himself had been an Example, of what he here takes notice of. He saies of him; *Sol hominum Solomon Thesaurus delictiarum Dei, Sapientiæ singulare Domicilium, crasso tenebrarum fuscatus atramento, lucem Animæ suæ, Gloriam Domus suæ, Odorem Famæ suæ, amisit, Amore Mulieris*.¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 129–30.

¹⁶² “Solomon the sun of men, the treasure of God’s delights, the only house of wisdom, blurred with the thick ink of dishonor, lost the light of his soul, the glory of his house, the sweet perfume of his name, by the love of a woman.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 131), a line from Pseudo-Jerome, *Epistola XXXVI, Valerius Rufino ne ducat uxorem*, col. 7 [PL 30. 255]; transl.: Jermin.

Q. The profound Sense of the Holy Spirit, in the VII. VIII. and IX. Chapters of the *Proverbs*? v. 1.

A. If we consider a powerful Disswasive in the first Chapters of the *Proverbs*, from the Crimes of *Adultery*, we shall make a good Improvement of them. Even a Pagan, in the *Cato of Tully*, confesses concerning *Unchastity*; *Nullam capitaliorem Pestem, quam Corporis Voluptatem, (cujus illecebris Stupra et Adulteria excitentur) datam esse.*¹⁶³ But we are sure, That an *Adulterous Woman* being exhibited, there is a Remark on, Rev. XVII.7. *The Mystery of the Woman*. There is a surprising *Mystery* in all the first Nine Chapters of the *Proverbs*. And the excellent *Franckius* has in one of his *Programmata*,¹⁶⁴ undertaken a brief Illustration of it; especially singling out these *Three Chapters*, of which he affirms, *Salomonem in tribus hisce Capitibus, tanquam Compendio aliquo omnia complecti, quæ de Lapsu et Restituione Generis Humani, et de omnibus eis quæ Serpens Antiquus, et Draco qui est Diabolus et Satanas, contrà Christum unquam tentavit, et ad finem Sæculi tentaturus est, in tota Scriptura, distincte et ordine exposita habentur, quæque de Victoria Verbi Draconem debellantis omnis omnium temporum Prophetia prædixit.*¹⁶⁵

In the VII Chapter, the *Wisdom of God*, looks down from Heaven, on *Man* drawn into a dreadful, a deadly Fall, by the Sollicitations of the *Divel*. A Thing indeed after some sort repeted, in the *Actual Sins* of every Man, drawn by

¹⁶³ “No more deadly curse than carnal pleasure (through whose allurements fornications and adulteries are enticed) has been given.” Mather cites the Roman statesman, philosopher, and writer Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BCE), *On Old Age* (*Cato Maior de senectute*), 12.39. Modern editions render this passage slightly different; see *LCL* 154, p. 50.

¹⁶⁴ The following entry, which offers a historico-prophetic reading of chapters 7–9 as a compendium of the whole of redemption history, is derived from August Hermann Francke, *Programmata diversis temporibus in Academia Hallensi publice proposita* (1714). The Lutheran theologian Francke (1663–1727) was one of the founding fathers of a “churchly” German Pietism and the director of the famous Francke Foundation in Halle. Mather felt an elective affinity with Halle Pietism and was deeply impressed by the reforming activities of the Foundation. Between 1709 and the end of their lives, Mather and Francke also exchanged several letters and publications, including this collection of discourses on biblical hermeneutics. On Mather’s relation with Halle Pietism see the essays by Ernst Benz (1951, 1961) and Oliver Scheiding (2010) as well as Richard Lovelace’s *The American Pietism of Cotton Mather* (1979).

¹⁶⁵ “[He affirms that] Solomon covers everything in these three chapters as in a compendium, everything that is laid out in the entirety of the Holy Scriptures, step by step and in an orderly manner; on the fall and restitution of mankind and on everything that the serpent of old, and the dragon, that is the devil and Satan, has ever undertaken against Christ and will ever undertake up to the end of time; and that he (sc. Solomon) covers everything that any prophecy of anytime has predicted on the victory of the Word defeating the dragon.” Francke, *Programmata diversis temporibus*, Programma VII, p. 136.

Temptations into Miscarriages. *Lust*, like the *Adulterous Woman* here, deludes and persuades Man, until he forsakes God, & falls into that *Abominable Adultery of Sin*, whereof *Death* is the Issue. It is a thing that comes to pass, when a glorious CHRIST is not embraced, but Man resigns himself unto the Conduct of Sense, & inconsiderately wanders about the World for sensual Gratifications.

The Wisdome of God, beholding the Fall of Man, (and this, *Innumeris Viribus iteratum, et contingentem quotidie*,¹⁶⁶) Him like a Tender Mother, which loves her Children, even the Rebellious, proceeds in the sweetest Language to Exhort & Invite, the Return of Man from his Rebellions.

In the VIII Chapter, this Divine *Wisdome*, calls after Man, flying from the Face of God. We have here, the *Physician*, who is, *Verbum υποστατικον*. And the *Medicine*, which is *Verbum προφορικον*.¹⁶⁷

As in the former Chapter, the Fall of our first Parents, is considered, not as *exclusive* of the Transgressions wherein the Children of Men daily conform unto it; so in this, the Call given to our First Parents, is not *exclusive* of the like unto their Posterity.

In the IX Chapter, *The Wisdome of God*, which here is the second Person of the Trinity in the Godhead, becoming Incarnate in our Saviour, goes on to erect a *Tabernacle* among us, that so we may be effectually reclaimed from the Mischiefs, whereinto our Sin ha's betray'd us. The *Tabernacle* is exhibited in the *Incarnation* of our Lord-Redeemer. The *seven Pillars* thereof, are answered in the *seven Spirits of God*, assigned, Isa. XI.2. to the *Messiah*. The *Sacrifice* here slaughtered, is that of our Saviour. Upon an Illustrious Table, our Souls are then *feasted* with all the Blessings of Goodness. Compare the Gospel of *Solomon*, with the Gospel of *Isaiah*. Ch. LV.1, 2, 3.

But the Apostle having mentioned *The great Mystery of Godliness*, then brings in, 1. Tim. IV.1. *The Apostasy of Antichrist*. *Solomon* accordingly now brings in, *The foolish Woman, who is clamorous*.¹⁶⁸

I conclude with my *Franckius's* Admonition. *Agite itaque, non legite tantum Exhortationem Sapientie prioribus novem Proverbiorum Capitibus comprehensam,*

¹⁶⁶ "Has renewed itself with infinite strength, and is coming to pass every day." From Francke, *Programmata diversis temporibus*, Programma VII, pp. 136–39.

¹⁶⁷ *Verbum υποστατικον*, "hypostatic Word"; *Verbum προφορικον*, "uttered Word." See Francke, *Programmata diversis temporibus*, Programma VII, p. 140. Compare the letter to Autolycus by the Christian apologist and Bishop of Antioch, Theophilus of Antioch (Theophilus Antiochenus, d. c. 180/185 CE), *Ad Autolycum*, lib. 2, cap. 22 [PG 6. 1023–168; SC 20]; transl.: ANF 2:103: "For before anything came into being He had Him as a counsellor, being His own mind and thought. But when God wished to make all that He determined on, He begot this Word, uttered (προφορικον), the first-born of all creation, not Himself being emptied of the Word [Reason], but having begotten Reason, and always conversing with His Reason." Cf. Jn. 1.

¹⁶⁸ See Francke, *Programmata diversis temporibus*, Programma VII, pp. 144–50.

*sed ut cum fructu legatis DEUM Precibus exorate; et quæ hoc pacto legitis, ponderate; ponderata apud Animum custodite.*¹⁶⁹

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[10v]

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Q. The *Law* to be kept as the *Apple of the Eye*; How? v. 2.

A. The Ey-lid is always Trembling as it were, for fear lest hurt should come unto the *Apple of the Eye*; and often shuts itself, to prevent the Danger; and many Wayes does the Eye turn, to espy Hurt before it come unto it.

Knowledge is the *Eye* of the Soul. The *Law* of God is the *Apple of the Eye*. We must have a Tender Care of this Tender Part; (as Dr. *Jermyn* expresses it,) There must be a continual *Trembling* of the Conscience, in the Watching of it; and a wary *Turning* of our Thoughts, that it may be kept in Safety.¹⁷⁰

Q. How are we to *Bind on our Fingers*, the Maxims of Piety? v. 3.

A. Compare Exod. XIII.9.

To Remember those things whereof we are careful, we use to *bind something about our Fingers*.¹⁷¹

Q. Of this Lady of Pleasure, why is it said, *she is Loud*? v. 11.

A. R. *Solomon* applies her *Loudness* to her Lovers; *ut Vocem illius audiant, per nocturnas tenebras illam querentes*.¹⁷²

Dr. *Jermyn* conceives, Her *Loudness* is rather to be applied unto her Husband; whom she by her scolding Tongue drives away from her, that so she may have the Company of those whom she desireth.¹⁷³

Q. Madams *Peace-Offerings*? v. 14.

A. There were three Sorts of them. Lev. VII.11, 12, 16.¹⁷⁴

The last of them were purely Offerings of *Thanksgiving*, for Blessings already obtained; not of *Prayer* for Blessings (as *Grotius* & others understand it) not yett received.¹⁷⁵ Such Sacrifices were of the very best; & the greatest Part of

¹⁶⁹ “Hence be active, do not merely read the encouragement of wisdom contained in the previous nine chapters of Proverbs, but send your urgent prayers to God that you might read with reward, and examine what you read in this manner; and keep firmly in your mind what you have examined.” Francke, *Programmata diversis temporibus*, Programma VII, p. 155.

¹⁷⁰ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 134.

¹⁷¹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 134.

¹⁷² “That they might hear her voice, who sought her in the darkness of the night.” Citation and modified transl. here from Jermin (*Proverbs* 139). Mather’s cites Rashi’s gloss on Prov. 7:11; compare also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 77; see Ibn Ezra in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, p. 40, at Prov. 7:11: “She makes much noise so that her paramours should hear her voice in the dark.”

¹⁷³ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 139.

¹⁷⁴ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 91.

¹⁷⁵ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 91; compare Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4090).

them fell to the Share of the Persons who offered them; that they might Feast with God. The *Eucharistical Offerings*, were, as *Philo* notes, to be eaten the *very same Day* they were offered, *That they who had readily received Favours from God, might | as Readily, & without Delay, communicate unto others.*¹⁷⁶ This is the Account *Abarbinel* also gives of it. And it is observable, all sorts of *Bread* were to be joined with the Sacrifice, that every thing might be ready for the Feast.¹⁷⁷

Our *Patrick* will have those Offerings especially intended here; because the Lady must have Company at her Feast on the Sacrifice, *that very Day.*¹⁷⁸

Q. What may be meant by, *The Day appointed?* v. 20.

A. Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase is. "His Business will detain him so long, that I am sure, it will be *Full Moon* before he can be at home again. And now the *New* doth scarce yett appear. v. 9."¹⁷⁹

The *Full Moon* giving Light all the Night, made it a fitt Time for a Journey; either in Winter (as by the Darkness of the Evening, it seems now to be.) when the Days are short; or in Summer, when the Heat made them unfit for Travel.¹⁸⁰

Q. The Wanton ha's his Condition represented, by a *Beef*; and by a *Bird*? v. 23.

A. *Levi Gershom* notes, 'Tis because the Action of Lust, *Non hominis est propria ut homo, sed ut homo convenit cum jumentis.*¹⁸¹

Q. What & whence the *Dart* that shall *strike thro' the Liver* of the Adulterer? v. 23.

A. In the Hand of the Abused Husband. It is *Munsters* Gloss; *Donec maritus scorti spiculo confodiat Jecur ejus.*¹⁸²

Q. The *Many wounded* by her? v. 26.

A. *Rabbim* signifies, *great Men* as well as *many*.

¹⁷⁶ From Patrick (*Proverbs* 91–92); see Philo of Alexandria, *De specialibus legibus*, 1.43.240.

¹⁷⁷ From Patrick (*Proverbs* 92), Mather refers to the commentary on Leviticus by the famous Portuguese Jewish philosopher, exegete, and statesman Isaac ben Judah Abravanel (Abrabanel, Abarbanel; 1437–1508), where the peace offerings are explained in this manner. A Latin version of this text was available to Patrick and Mather in: *R. Mosis Majemonidae de sacrificiis liber. Accesserunt Abarbanelis Exordium, seu prooemium commentariorum in Leviticum: et Majemonidae tractatus de consecratione calendarum, et de ratione intercalandi* (1683), here pp. 331–37.

¹⁷⁸ Patrick, *Proverbs*, pp. 91–92.

¹⁷⁹ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 99.

¹⁸⁰ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 92.

¹⁸¹ "is not proper to a man, as he is a man, but as a man agrees with beasts." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 149), Mather cites Ralbag's gloss on Prov. 7:23; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 97; see similar rabbinical comments in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, p. 42, at Prov. 7:23; transl. modified from Jermin.

¹⁸² "Until the husband of the harlot pierces his liver with an arrow." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4081).

Solomon himself, as well as *Sampson*, became an Example of the *mighty Men*, undone by lewd Women.¹⁸³

Q. Why *Hell* mentioned before the *Chambers of Death*? v. 27.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* answers, Because when *Death* ha's opened the Way, the Soul with horror forthwith goes unto *Hell*; tho' there be some Time taken, perhaps with Honour, to lodge a while the Body, in the *Tomb*, which is the *Chamber of Death*.¹⁸⁴

But what if the *Chambers of Death*, should be in eternal Death! One saies, *Non sistunt Voluptuosi in Mortis Limine non in Dolorum primordijs, sed ad Interiora penetrant, nimirum ad Arctiora et Obscuriora; ubi Dolores immensi*.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 93. Compare the story of Samson and Delilah (Judg. 16:19).

¹⁸⁴ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 151.

¹⁸⁵ "The lustful sinners do not stay in the door of death, in the beginnings of pain, but are carried into the inner parts, into the chambers of it, into the straiter and darker places, where the torments are immense." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 151), Mather refers to Diego de Baeza, *Comentarîi allegorici et morales de Christo figurato in Veteri Testamento* (1633), vol. 1, cap. 4, p. 427; transl.: Jermin. Interestingly, Jermin does not identify his source by name.

Q. *Understanding* exerts her *Voice*? v. 1.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* would have this applied unto the *Baptist*, that was the Fore-runner of our Saviour, and, *Vox Clamantis*.¹⁸⁶ As *Abraham* saw the *Day* of Christ afar off, so *Solomon* heard his *Voice*. All the musical Instruments invented by *David*, for the Service of God, were a Type of him.¹⁸⁷

Q. When was there a Remarkable Instance of, *Wisdom*e uttering its *Voice* in the *High Places*? v. 2.

A. Consider, Matth. 4.23.

It is the Observation of *Reizius*; That the *Synagogues* of the *Jewes*, were generally built on *High Places*, on elevated Ground. When our Saviour preached in the *Synagogues*, then there was a Remarkable Instance, of *Wisdom*e uttering its *Voice* in the *High Places*.

He adds; *Imò in Montibus sæpè erudiit Populum, et Discipulos suos de Tectis suis declamare Sermonem suum jussit*.¹⁸⁸

Jermyn observes; Here is the *Plainness* of his Teaching, and the *Authority* of it. His *Plainness*, was as of the *Way*, the *Places* of the *Pathes*; His *Authority* was as great as theirs that stand in the *Top* of *High Places*.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ "The voice of one crying out." From John 1:23 (VUL); a reference to John the Baptist.

¹⁸⁷ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 152.

¹⁸⁸ "Indeed, in the mountains he often instructed the people, and he commanded that his disciples deliver his message from the roof." Mather refers to a note in the Latin translation of the popular work on biblical antiquities *Moses and Aaron: Civil and ecclesiastical Rites, used by the ancient Hebrews* (1625), p. 162. The original English work was written by the Oxford-trained scholar and schoolmaster Thomas Goodwin or Godwin (1586/7–1642), whose most popular book was the *Romanae historiae anthologia: an English Exposition of the Roman Antiquities* (1614). The Latin edition of *Moses and Aaron* with extensive learned annotations was published in 1679 by the German Reformed theologian and Pietist Johann Heinrich Reitz (1665–1720) under the title *Moses et Aaron, seu civiles & ecclesiastici ritus, usitati antiquis Hebraeis*. Mather probably cites Reitz's note from the third edition of the Latin version published with a preface and two theological tracts by the Dutch theologian and biblical scholar Hermann Witsius in 1690. Professor of divinity at Franeker, Utrecht and Leiden, Witsius (Herman Wits, 1636–1708) was renowned in the world of Reformed theology for his important work on covenant theology, *De oeconomia foederum Dei cum hominibus* (1677), but also for his exegetical writings. Mather greatly admired "the incomparable Witsius" (as he liked to call him), and started a correspondence with him. See his *Diary* (1:225, 249).

¹⁸⁹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 152. Compare Matt. 7:29.

Wisdom, is by the Hebrews interpreted, *pro Viris sapientibus, qui homines vocant ad Sapientiam legis*; the *wise Men*, who are the public Teachers of *Wisdom*.¹⁹⁰

Q. The *Gates*, the *Entry*, the *Doors*; what? v. 3.

A. The *Ears*, & *Eyes*, & *Senses* of Man.¹⁹¹

Q. In the Compellation, *To you, O Men, I call, & my Voice is to the Sons of Men*; what may be the Distinction, between, *Men*, and, *The Sons of Men*? v. 4.

A. I know no necessity of being very critical in the Matter.

But the *Scholia Hebraica*, do thus Distinguish; *Viri*, that is to say, *Divites*; *Filii hominum*, that is to say; *Pauperes*. Thus *Aben Ezra* particularly.¹⁹²

Or, we may with Dr. *Jermyn* thus distinguish; *Men*, are those that are elder, & should be *Men* in Understanding. *Sons of Men* are those that are *younger*, and *Children* in Understanding.¹⁹³

We may note, It is unto *Men* that the *Voice* is directed. For the eternal *Wisdom*, was made *Man*, made the *Son of Man*. We read, Heb. II.16. *He took the Nature of Man*. *Chrysostom* observes, It is not said, Ἀνέλαβεν; He *took* it unto Him, or upon Him; But, ἐπιλαμβάνεται;¹⁹⁴ *He took it flying from Him*. He by Pursuit, strove as it were, to overtake Man, whose Desire was to keep away from Him.¹⁹⁵

Or, O *Men*,— that is to say, *Reasonable* Creatures, and such as one might hope would act Reasonably.

Q. *Excellent Things*? v. 6.

A. The Syriac reads it: *principal things*.¹⁹⁶

Aben-Ezra thus glosses it, *Ac si essem Princeps ac Dux*.¹⁹⁷ So may He well speak, who is, The *Prince of the Covenant*; and the *Captain of the Army of the Lord of Hosts*.

¹⁹⁰ More literally: “as the wise men, who call the people to the wisdom of the law.” Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4090). The last two paragraphs of this entry were each written in different inks and probably added at different periods of time.

¹⁹¹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 152.

¹⁹² Here a distinction is suggested between *viri* (“men”) signifying [*viri*] *divites* (“rich men”) and *filii hominum* (“the sons of men”) signifying [*viri*] *pauperes* (“poor men”). From Jermin (*Proverbs* 153), Mather cites Ibn Ezra’s gloss on Prov. 8:4; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 101; see the explanation in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, pp. 43–44, at Prov. 8:4.

¹⁹³ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 153.

¹⁹⁴ With the diacritical marks the Greek is ἀνέλαβεν [anelaben] “[he] took” and ἐπιλαμβάνεται [epilambanetai] “take hold.” See Heb. 2:16.

¹⁹⁵ Compare John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in Epistolam ad Hebraeos*, hom. 4 [PG 63. 37–46].

¹⁹⁶ Mather here relies on Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 155; see Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:337).

¹⁹⁷ “As if I were a prince and captain.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 155), a citation from Ibn Ezra on Prov. 8:6; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 101; transl.: Jermin.

Q. *Wisdome still speaking Truth?* v. 7.

A. The Speech of God, & of *Wisdome*, is forever the Language of *Truth*.

God saies, *Exod. XX.22. You have seen that I have talked with you from Heaven*. Hereupon *Philo* notes; *Humana Vox Auditu, Divina Visu, percipitur. Quare? Quia quacumque Deus dicit, non Verba sunt, sed Opera*.¹⁹⁸ God speaks, not so much in *Words*, as in *Deeds*. *Lying* is here called, *Wickedness*. And is here branded, not only as *an Abomination to His Lips*; (thus tis in the Hebrew:) that is, what His *Lips* pronounced *Abominable* in them that use it; and will one day pronounce the wrathful Sentence of His Abomination against it.

The *Lips* here, some apply to the *Two Testaments* of the Sacred Scripture. The *Mouth* is, The *Spirit* of God speaking in them.¹⁹⁹

Q. What are the *witty Inventions* found out by *Wisdome*? v. 12.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* glosses it; The Knowledge of Doing well in the best Manner, wherein the *Witt* of Religion appeareth.²⁰⁰

Q. The *Judges of the Earth*? v. 16.

A. The Hebrew Word, / נְדִיבִים / is as much as to say, *The munificent Judges*.²⁰¹ *Justice* is a munificent Gift; It is a Noble Munificance, to give *Justice*. To *sell* the Right of any Cause, is a base *Wickedness*, & turns a *Judge* into a *Malefactor*. Yett it is too often so, that as one saies, *Vendicat Pecunia, quod Sapientia dicere solebat*.²⁰² *Money* now saies, *By me Princes rule, & all the Judges of the Earth*. *Irenaeus* could say; *Indumentum Justitiae Leges*; Lawes are the Robes of Justice; But many make them the *Cloak* of their Malice & their Avarice.²⁰³ Justice will one day be done on them, for their not doing of Justice.²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁸ “Man’s speaking is discerned with the ear, but God’s is perceived with the eye. Why? Because those things which God speaks, are not so much words as deeds.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 155), Mather cites Philo of Alexandria, *De decalogo*, 11.47; transl. modified from Jermin.

¹⁹⁹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 156.

²⁰⁰ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 159.

²⁰¹ נְדִיבִים [nedivim] “nobles” (KJV); lit.: “the generous, the noble.” See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 162.

²⁰² “Money challenges that which wisdom tends to say.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 162), a citation from *Meditatio in passionem et resurrectionem Domini*, cap. 5 [PL 184. 746]; authorship uncertain, perhaps Oglerius of Trino (1136–1214), but also attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux.

²⁰³ Citation with context: “magistrates themselves, having laws as a clothing of righteousness whenever they act in a just and legitimate manner.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 162), a citation from Irenaeus of Lyon (c. 130/140–c. 200/203), *Adversus haereses*, lib. 5, cap. 24 [PG 7. 1187; SC 153]; transl.: ANF 1:552. Born in Asia Minor, Irenaeus moved to Gaul after his conversion, where he became Bishop of Lyon in 177. He wrote some of the earliest works of systematic theology as well as polemics (e.g. *Adversus haereses*) against a variety of early Christian movements which he regarded as heresies, including Valentianism (a form of Gnosticism), and the Docetism, as propagated by, among others, the followers of Marcion.

²⁰⁴ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 162.

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Q. *To Inherit Substance.*] What may be meant by *Substance*? v. 21.

A. The original Word imports, *Essence*.

The Jewes, as Mr. *Polhil* notes, affirm this to be no other than *Life eternal*, in the World to come.²⁰⁵

Compare, Heb. 10.34.

We may add; *To Inherit that which is*; what can this be, but to *Inherit God Himself*?²⁰⁶ Thus *Gregory Nyssene* glossing on this Verse; *Ipse autem est Substantia*. God will also *fill our Treasures*; He Himself will be the *Filling* of them.²⁰⁷

Aben-Ezra notes, That the Word / שׁוֹׁ /²⁰⁸ here, will signify, Two Things; First, *Acquisitionem rei ad omnem æternitatem duraturæ*; Secondly, All kind of Riches that are.²⁰⁹

Q. *Wisdom, How brought forth before the Mountains were settled, & before the Hills?* v. 25.

A. Dr. *Jermin* is willing to *unbark* (as his Word is) this Passage; By applying the *Mountains*, unto the glorious *Angels*, of whom old *Bernard* understands that Passage; *His Foundations are in the Holy Mountains*. By the *Hills*, he understands the wicked *Spirits*; of whom the same Father saies: *A Virtutum Celsitudine defluxerunt, per Superbiam, neque tamen usque ad Humilia Vallium per Pœnitentiam detumescunt*.²¹⁰

²⁰⁵ Mather cites the work of the Church of England minister Edward Polhill (1622–c. 1694), *Speculum theologiae in Christo* (1678), p. 188. For the rabbinical sources see *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs* and the Babylonian Talmud (see footnote below).

²⁰⁶ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 165.

²⁰⁷ “He himself is the substance.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 165), Mather refers to Gregory of Nyssa, *In Cantica Canticorum*, hom. 1 [PG 44. 783; GNO 6]; transl.: Jermin. Born and educated in Caesarea Cappadocia, Gregory (c. 335– after 394) was appointed Bishop of Nyssa in 372, where he became enmeshed in conflicts with Anomoean factions, which embraced a radical form of Arianism. Gregory’s main theological work is a defense of “orthodox” Trinitarianism, but he also authored many exegetical works characterized by bold allegorizations (RGG).

²⁰⁸ שׁוֹ [yesh] “substance” (KJV); “wealth” (NAU); also possible: “property,” and “it exists, there is.” Compare Gen. 24:23.

²⁰⁹ “The getting of something which shall endure forevermore.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 165), a citation from Ibn Ezra on Prov. 8:21; transl.: Jermin. See also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 106; see the rabbinical commentary in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, pp. 46–47, at Prov. 8:21, referring to the Mishnah in the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Ukzin 3:12 (Soncino, pp. 588–89). Here, in the final lines of the Babylonian Talmud, “yesh” in Prov. 8:21 is interpreted as equivalent to 310, the number of treasures which are the reward for the righteous in the world to come.

²¹⁰ “Who by pride are debased from the height of their excellence, but yet by repentance are not descended to the humility of the valleys.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 168), a citation from Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum*, sermo 64 [PL 183. 1039; *Opera* 2]; see *On the Song of Songs III*; transl.: Jermin.

Q. *The Highest Part of the Dust of the Earth*; what? v. 26.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* proposes, That you understand *Paradise*.²¹¹

But R. *Solomon* expounds it, *primum humani Generis Parentem*.²¹²

Q. *Daily His Delight?*] v. 30.

A. Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase on the Verse is this.

“Then was I with Him, nay, very near unto Him; contriving all these things: nor had He any higher Pleasure than me, who Day by Day, during the Creation of the World, produced some Lovely Work or other; in which He rejoiced, to see how Good & Agreeable they were.

Gen. I.4, 10, 12, 18, 21, 25, 31.”²¹³

Q. How does the *Messiah* say, *Then was I by Him, as one Brought up?* v. 30.

A. The Hebrew Word, / אֲמִנִי /,²¹⁴ I choose to render, *An Artificer*. In *Bereschith Rabba*, tis thus explained, *Instrumentum Artificij Dei Benedicti*;²¹⁵ The Creation of the World by the Hand of the *Messiah*, is here design'd. [Joh. 1.3. Col. 1.16.]

Wee have a notable Explication of this Matter, in the *Targum Hierosolymitanum*, or, that Place, in Exod. 12.42. It enumerates *Four Nights*, that were very observable above the rest. Of these, it saies; *Nox prima quandò Revelatum est Verbum Domini* [ὁ Λόγος] *in Mundo, ad Creandum illum erat Mundus Vacuus et Inanis, et Tenebræ expansæ super facies Abyssi. Et verbum Dei erat Lucidum et Illuminans et vocavit illam Noctem primam*.²¹⁶

Behold, how notably this Agrees, with the same *Targum*, on Gen. 3.22. *Et dixit Verbum Jehovah, ecce Adam quem creasti, est Unigenitus in Mundo, sicut ego Unigenitus sum, in Cælis Excelsis*.²¹⁷

²¹¹ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 168.

²¹² “The first Father of mankind.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 168), a citation from Rashi on Prov. 8:26; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 109. Rashi in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, p. 47, at Prov. 8:26: “The first man.” Transl.: Jermin.

²¹³ Patrick *Proverbs*, p. 118.

²¹⁴ אֲמִנִי [amon] “artisan”; see Jer. 52:15.

²¹⁵ “The working tool of the blessed God.” A citation from the *Midrash Rabbah*, *Genesis*, at Gen. 1; Mather seems to cite from Martini, *Pugio Fidei*, pars 3, dist. 1, cap. 6, p. 408.

²¹⁶ “The first night, when the Word of the Lord [ὁ Λόγος] was revealed in the world: the world, awaiting its creation, was empty and void, and there was darkness spread out upon the face of the abyss. And the Word of the Lord was bright and illuminating and He called that night the first one.” Mather would have had access to a Latin edition of the Jerusalem Targum through the edition prepared by Francis Taylor, *Targum Yerusalem* (1649), where the passage appears on p. 37. However, the Latin translation cited by Mather slightly differs from Taylor's edition. For a modern edition, see Etheridge, ed., *The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan Ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch, with the fragments of the Jerusalem Targum* (1968), vol. 1, at Exod. 12:42.

²¹⁷ “And the Word of Jehovah said, behold Adam, whom You created, He is only begotten in the world, as I am only begotten in the heavens above.” Mather here seems to cite the Targum

We will Apply the Illustration, As Mr. *Strong* ha's devoutly done it.

"It is in the Original, *I was by Him as an Artificer*; so, Cant. 7.1. *A cunning Workman*. You cannot tell how to bring Good out of such & such things; leave it now to Christ; the Art is in Him; He is a curious and skilful *Artist*, and knowes how to bring all about, tho' you cannot."²¹⁸

Q. On that of *Wisdomes Rejoicing in the Habitable Part of the Earth?* v. 31.

A. The *World to come*, and the *New Earth wherein shall dwell Righteousness*, is in the Epistle to the *Hebrews* called *οικουμένη* /²¹⁹ or, *The Habitable World*. This, This is that *Habitable Earth*, which *Wisdom* will *Rejoice* in. Tis, *GOD's Earth* in a peculiar Manner. The *Earth* which now is, too much belongs to *Satan*, who is called *The God of This World*. And for this Cause, tis not an *Habitable Earth* to the Children of *GOD*; They can have no Quiet *Habitation* in it; no *Resting-place*.

Christian, Dwell on these Hints with a penetrating Meditation.

Q. What may it be, to *watch at the Gates*, & *wait at the Posts of the Doors of Wisdom?* v. 34.

A. Take it of the House for public Worship, & *R. Solomon* will gloss it; *Qui primus ingreditur, exeatque postremus*.²²⁰

Dr. Jermyn, proposes, That *Wisdomes House* be in the Holy Scriptures. That the *Gates* be the Expositions thereof. That the *Posts* of the Doors, be the Firm Truths, that strongly support the Expositions. To *watch at the Gates*, is to receive readily what is opened. To *wait at the Posts*, is to lose nothing that comes.²²¹

Q. How is it said, *He shall obtain Favour of the Lord?* v. 35.

from Salomon Glassius (Glass), *Philologia sacra* ([1623–1636] 1713), *Philologia*, lib. 1, tract. 1, col. 24; at Gen. 3:22. Glassius (1593–1656), a native of what is today Thuringia in Germany, was a Lutheran theologian and the favorite student and later successor of Johann Gerhard at the University of Jena. His exegetical work drew significantly upon rabbinic and patristic sources; he was an expert in Hebrew (*BBK*). Taylor's Latin translation (*Targum Yerusalem* 2) is slightly different. For modern editions, see Etheridge, vol. 1; Grossfeld, ed., *The Targum Onkelos to Genesis* (1988).

²¹⁸ Taken from the work of the English Puritan minister and Westminster Divine William Strong (d. 1654), *A Treatise shewing the Subordination of the Will of Man unto the Will of God* (1657), pp. 153–54.

²¹⁹ *Οικουμένη* [oukoumene] "The inhabited world." See Heb. 2:5.

²²⁰ "Who comes in first, and goes out last." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 175), a citation from Rashi on Prov. 8:34; transl.: Jermin. See also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 115; *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, p. 49 and p. 214, at Prov. 8:34. Here Rashi is translated (p. 49): "[to be the] first to enter into the study hall and the synagogue and [the] last to leave."

²²¹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 175.

A. *Vatablus* renders it, *Hauriet Voluntatem à Domino*; He shall draw out his Will from the Lord.²²² He explains it; *Assequetur quicquid voluerit*.²²³ So *Pagnine* translates it; *Educat quod voluerit à Domino*.²²⁴ So *Cajetane*.²²⁵

[13r]

Q. Upon what we read about, *The Wisdome of God*, we have a good Occasion to introduce Remarkable Passages, from the Writings of the Ancient Jewes, Harmonizing herewithal, & acknowledging the Glorious CHRIST of God, & the adorable Trinity in the Godhead? v. 36.

A. Besides what we have elsewhere done in many other Illustrations, we will here then do something further of it.

Rittangelius, in his Book, *De Veritate Religionis Christianæ*, attempts to demonstrate, from the Book *Tikunim*, and other Talmudical Treatises, that the ancient Jewes, have avowed concerning the Messiah, such things as these.

“That He is the supreme WISDOM, proceeding from His *Father*, (whom they call, *The supreme Crown*, or, *Majesty*,) by Eternal and Ineffable Generation.

²²² Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 176. Transl. provided by Mather.

²²³ “He shall obtain whatsoever he will.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 176), a citation from the annotations of the French Catholic humanist scholar, Hellenist and Hebraist François Vatable (Franciscus Vatablus, c. 1495–1547). Vatablus did not produce a biblical commentary during his lifetime, but after his death, annotations on the OT were published from notes taken during his widely-admired exegetical lectures in Paris under the title *Adnotationes* or *Scholia in Vetus Testamentum*. These were condemned by professors of the Sorbonne for their alleged Protestant tendencies but then later taken up into the Latin Bible edition from Robert Estienne (1545) with notes from the great French Reformer John Calvin (1509–1564), among others. In revised form Vatablus’s annotations then also became part of a new Latin translation of the Bible published by the Catholic church in Salamanca in 1584. Vatablus’s annotations also found their way into some later editions of polyglot Bibles derived from *Biblia Polyglotta Regia*. See, for instance, the two-volume Heidelberg ed. of 1599, published under the title *Sacra Biblia, hebraice, graece, et latine*, vol. 2, p. 320, on Prov. 8:35; transl.: Jermin. Vatablus’s work was also integrated later on into the *Critici Sacri*, where his annotations are presented after those of Münster. For this and the following references Jermin seems to draw on the Trinitarian friar and scholar Balthasar Pérez (Lusitanus, d. 1638), *Commentarii in canticum magnum Moysis* (1620), annot. 2, p. 221. See also the Spanish-Tyrolean theologian and polygraphist Juan Eusebio Nieremberg y Otín (1595–1658), *Ex variis selectisque concinnatus opusculis; Ad pietatem Christianam instituendam eximie accomodatis* (1659), p. 4.

²²⁴ “He shall fetch out from God whatsoever he will.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 176), a citation from the Italian Dominican philologist and Bible translator Santes Pagninus (Pagnino, 1470–1541), *Sacra Biblia variorum translationum: juxta exemplar Antverpiae impressum anno 1616* . . . , vol. 3 ([1527] 1747), p. 100, on Prov. 8:35; transl.: Jermin.

²²⁵ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 176), who in turn relies on Pérez, Mather refers to the work of the Italian Dominican theologian Tommaso de Vio or Thomas Cajetan (1468/1469–1534), *Parabole Salomonis ad veritatem hebraicam castigatæ & enarratæ* (1542), on this verse. Jermin summarizes Cajetan’s interpretation: “*eduxit voluntatem a Jehovah, id est, eduxit pro educt a Deo quisquid voluerit*, he hath gotten his will from *Jehovah*, that is, he hath gotten, for he shall get, whatsoever he will from God.”

That He is the true *Saviour* of Mankind; and that in order to this, He must Descend into the World.

That by the Power of the *Holy Spirit*, He must Assume an *Humane Body*, and be united unto the *Humane Nature*.

That He must *Dy* for the *Redemption* of Men, & then go down into *Scheol*, or, *The Grave*.

That He must free the Souls of Men from the Slavery of the *Dive*; and that He must *Rise* again from the Dead and ascend into *Heaven*; and that He must *Judge the World* at the Last.²²⁶

²²⁶ Mather cites from the work of Robert Fleming the Younger (c. 1660–1716), *Christology. A Discourse concerning Christ* (1705–1708), vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 6, p. 235. Here Fleming summarizes and translates passages from the treatise of Johann Stephan Rittangel (Rittangelius, 1606–1652), *Veritas religionis Christianae* (1699), p. 45. Born at Cambuslang and educated in Leiden and Utrecht, Fleming was a Scottish Presbyterian minister and theologian, who served in various ministerial positions in Scotland but also Holland. While largely unknown today, in his own day he was an influential ecclesial politician, and noted both for his apocalyptic eschatology, as expressed in his *Apocalyptical Key* (1701), and his liberal view on conformity. While in his *Christology* Fleming defended an orthodox understanding of the Trinity (with the one exception that he also argues for the pre-existence of Christ's human soul), he nevertheless favored a policy of toleration and non-subscription to the Westminster Confession (*ODNB*). By his own admittance (p. 236), Fleming's use of kabbalistic ideas for his *Christology* was second-hand and not based on an intimate knowledge of the original rabbinical sources. By contrast, the German Hebraist and controversialist Rittangel had a much better knowledge of these sources, even though he viewed them from a Christian perspective as well. He was born a Jew in Forchheim near Bamberg and first converted to Roman Catholicism and subsequently to Lutheranism. In his later years a professor of Oriental languages at Königsberg, Rittangel published several translations of Hebrew texts, including kabbalistic works, from which he attempted to prove the truth of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity in his controversialist treatises (*JE*). The reference to the "Book *Tikunim*," which Fleming and Mather take from Rittangel, points to the *Tikunei ha-Zohar* (lit. "Emendations of the Zohar"), also known as the *Tikunim*, a later appendix of seventy treatises to the *Zohar* that were likely written in the fourteenth century but are considered to be an integral and original part of the *Zohar* by orthodox believers. It consists of commentaries on the opening word of Scripture (*bereshit*) and also contains messianic prophecies. A first Hebrew edition of the *Tikunei ha-Zohar* was printed in Mantua in 1558.

The *Sefer ha-Zohar* ("Book of Splendor") is the most important text of the medieval Kabbalah, an esoteric movement that first emerged within twelfth-century Judaism and subsequently developed into numerous, very different schools and strands, including Christian appropriations. Following the groundbreaking studies of Gershon Scholem, modern critical scholarship has largely agreed that the main body of the *Zohar* was written in what is an eccentric form of Aramaic sometime during the late thirteenth century by Rabbi Moses de León (Moses ben Shem-Tov, c. 1250–1305), leader of an early kabbalistic circle in northern Spain. However, orthodox believers still affirm the attribution of authorship that the text itself makes, which presents itself as the narrative of the early second-century sage Rabbi Simeon ben Yohai (Shimon bar Yochai), who is said to have hidden in a cave for thirteen years before being inspired by the prophet Elijah to produce the *Zohar*. Over time the *Zohar* became something of a library of different texts, as tracts were added and insertions made. From different manuscripts in circulation, the body of the *Zohar* was first printed in Cremona in 1559 (as a one-volume edition), and in Mantua in 1558–1560 (as a three-volume edition). Volume and page numbers of the Mantua edition still serve as reference points for citations today. In essence, the *Zohar*,

We will Recite only two or three Places, mentioned by *Rittangelius*, and Translated by him; which Mr. *Fleming* also, in his *Christology* produces that the curious Reader may compare them, if he please with the Original.²²⁷

One Passage is this, [From *Tikunim*.]

“There is a *Man*, – who is not simply called, a *Man*, but the *First Man*, and the *Highest* of all Men, and the *supreme Crown*; the Hidden and Occult; the Cause of Causes; the Beginning of Beginnings. Of this *Man*, it is said Prov. 8.30. Then *was I by Him, as one brought up with Him*. And to this *Man* it was said [namely, by God the Father,] *lett us make Man*. So that this Man is the *Wisdome*.”²²⁸ –

Another Passage is this.

“There is a *Man*, who is also called, *The Angel*.”²²⁹

And afterwards.

in the words of Joseph Dan, “is a narrative of the experiences and spiritual adventures of a group of sages whose leaders are Rabbi Shimeon bar Yohai and his son Rabbi Eleazar The narrative includes descriptions of the group’s wanderings from place to place in the Holy Land, the sages’ meetings with wondrous celestial persons who reveal great secrets, and their visions of occurrences in the divine realm Yet, the message of the *Zohar* is delivered in the classical, midrashic homiletical fashion” See Joseph Dan, *Kabbalah* (2007), pp. 31–35.

²²⁷ In the following Mather summarizes several passages from Fleming, *Christology*, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 6, pp. 235–82 and vol. 2, lib. 2, cap. 2, pp. 148–55. In these passages Fleming (and thus Mather) exhibits the typical traits of early modern Christian Kabbalism, that is, a highly selective and free-wheeling appropriation of the *Zohar*, whose teachings are integrated with Christian theology, philosophy, science, and magic. The beginnings of the Christian Kabbalah lie in the Florentine academy of the Renaissance scholar Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) and his disciple Count Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), who used the *Zohar*, alongside the *Corpus hermeticum* (“Hermetic writings”) and Neoplatonic works, to demonstrate what they regarded as the eternal truths of Christianity. Another main conduit of kabbalistic ideas was the German humanist and Hebraist Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522), whose *De arte cabalistica* (1517) became a textbook of Christian Kabbalists for two centuries. See Dan, *Kabbalah*, pp. 63–71.

In addition to Reuchlin and Rittangel, Fleming mentions as his main source the Latin *Kabbala denudata, sive doctrina Hebræorum transcendentalis et metaphysica atque theologica* (1677–1684) by the Silesian-born Protestant mystic, Hebraist, and Christian Kabbalist Christian Knorr von Rosenroth (1636–1689). This work consists of partial Latin translations of several core tracts of the *Zohar*, including the *Idra Rabba*, *Idra Zuta*, and *Sifra diTzni’uta* (see below), as well as Christian “explanations” of key concepts. The *Kabbala denudata* became highly influential for the Christian reception of the Jewish Kabbalah and was widely used among Christian mystics and radical Pietists. In 1887 the British occultist Samuel Liddell MacGregor Mathers (1854–1918) published a partial English translation of the *Kabbala denudata* under the title *The Kabbalah Unveiled* that remains in print today. Like so many Christian recipients of the *Kabbala denudata*, Fleming and Mather believed that the works of Reuchlin, Knorr von Rosenroth and Rittangel were faithful translations of the original, and they show no concern for the historical integrity of the cited texts or their original contexts. Neither Fleming nor Mather were able or willing to check their citations against the original.

²²⁸ From Fleming, *Christology*, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 6, p. 235, Mather cites Rittangel, *Veritas religionis Christianae*, col. 81, p. 54. Rittangel mentions as his source “Lib. 1. Tykunim fol. 119. Pl. corr. 55.” “Supreme crown” is the Hebrew *keter*, the first *sefirah* (divine hypostasis) at the top of the tree of life in the Kabbalah, the “hidden of the hidden” and pure divine being.

²²⁹ From Fleming, *Christology*, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 6, pp. 235–36, Mather cites Rittangel,

“And the Lord God took His Word, [or, Logos,] and by this He created the World: According as it is said, Isa. 51.16. *I have putt my Words in thy Mouth, and have covered thee with the Shadow of my Hand, that I may plant the Heavens, & lay the Foundations of the Earth, and say unto Zion, Thou art my People.*”²³⁰

This *Rittangelius* had been a Jew, and was once a *Rabbi* among the Jewes; tho’ when he wrote this Book, he was become a *Christian*.²³¹

Mr. *Fleming* ha’s taken Pains, from the Book *Zohar*, (a Book of great Antiquity and Authority, among the Jewes, and entitled *Zohar*, from Dan. 12.3. *The Zohar of the Firmament*,) to make some large Quotations; of which we will content ourselves at this Time, with only here and there a Passage, that may have a Tendency to Illustrate the sacred Oracles. The Jewes attribute the Book unto R. *Simeon*, and his Disciples who shone, as they tell us, like the *Brightness of the Firmament* for Wisdome and Goodness. And they have a Tradition, that all the Time R. *Simeon* was dictating, what composes the *Zohar*, he and all that were with him, were surrounded with the *Shechinah*.²³² This Account, with many odd Things in the Book itself, would induce one to think that the Book was written with a very Ill Design; and that R. *Simeon* was unto the Jewes, the same that *Apollonius Tyanaeus* was unto the Gentiles; as he was indeed contemporary with him.²³³ And indeed, if we suppose R. *Simeon* to have been a satanical Imposter, the Quotations from his Book, will therefore have the more of Cogency in them.

The First Part of the *Zohar*, called, *The Book of the Mystery*, is too mysterious to yeeld us anything to the Purpose.²³⁴ The Second Book, entitled, *The Greater Synod*, is a Comment on the former. The Third Book, entitled, *The Lesser Synod*,

Veritas religionis Christianae, col. 100, p. 68. Rittangel mentions as his source “Lib. 2. & 1. Tykunik fol. 112. p. 1.”

²³⁰ From Fleming, *Christology*, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 6, p. 236. Mather cites Rittangel, *Veritas religionis Christianae*, col. 113, p. 73. Rittangel mentions as his source “Lib. 1. Tyk. fol. 117. p. 1. corr. 69. & lib. 2. fol. 44. p. 2. & lib. 1. fol. 35. p. 2. corr. 18.”

²³¹ Mather cites Fleming, *Christology*, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 6, p. 236.

²³² From Fleming, *Christology*, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 6, p. 237, who translates Knorr von Rosenroth, *Kabbala denudata*, vol. 2, *Praefatio ad Lectorem*, col. 1–2, pp. 1–2. Following his sources, Mather applies the reference to Dan. 12:3 to Rabbi Simeon ben Yohai and his students: “And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament.”

²³³ From Fleming, *Christology*, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 6, p. 239. Apollonius of Tyana (Apollonius Tyanaeus, first century CE) was an ascetic Greek philosopher in the Pythagorean tradition from Cappadocia, who travelled as far as Persia and India and after his death was widely venerated in the eastern part of the Roman Empire as a divine being for his prophetic gifts, his ability to perform miracles, and his presumed ascension to heaven. The most important source on his life and the religious movement he created is *Vita Apollonii* (*The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*) penned by the sophist Philostratus in the 220s or 230s CE. Fleming here refers to Hierocles, a provincial governor under Emperor Diocletian, who wrote a text in which he claimed that Apollonius was as great a teacher and thaumaturge as Jesus of Nazareth (RGG).

²³⁴ The part of the *Zohar* that Fleming and Mather here refer to is the *Sifra di Tzni’uta* (“Book of the Hidden”), a small book of only three pages. See the ed. (2003) by Michael Berg, *The Zohar* 11, *Trumah, Safra De’tzniuta*, 176b–179a.

is yett a plainer Composure, and the Noblest of all.²³⁵ Both of these Books, are designed, for a mystical Repræsentation of God the *Father*, and the *Logos*.

The first is called *The Ancient*, and *The Ancient of Dayes*; and, *Adam Kadman*, or *The most Ancient Adam*, as likewise, *The most Holy one*, or, *The Holiest of all*.²³⁶ But the most usual Name of this glorious Person in the *Zohar*, is, *Arich Anpin*, which is, as the *Zohar* explains it, one whose *Face* is infinitely extended. The Latin Translator calls Him therefore, *Macroprosopus*.

The second is, *The Logos*; who in the *Zohar* is constantly called, *Seir Anpin*, one whose *Face* is lesser, & shorter, or *confined*; as it were one Way, in His

²³⁵ Here Fleming and Mather refer to the sections entitled *Idra Rabba* ("The Great Assembly") and *Idra Zuta* ("The Small Assembly"), to be found in Berg, ed., *The Zohar* 17, *Bemidbar, Naso* (including the *Idra Raba*), *Beha'aloſ'cha*, 127b–145a, and *The Zohar* 22, *Vaetchanan, Ekev, Shoftim, Ki Teſze, Vayelech, Ha'azinu*, 287b–296b. In both parts the origins of the cosmos and secrets of the *merkavah* or divine realm are discussed; in the former by an assembly of famous Rabbis, and in the latter by a round of lesser sages.

²³⁶ In kabbalistic teaching the Divine is imagined as a supreme entity and all-transcending unity (*ein sof*, "no end") which is beyond time and space and thus beyond human thinking and language. However, in time and space the *ein sof* manifests itself in ten attributes or powers (the *sefirot*) that together constitute the divine realm. According to Dan's helpful explanation, the origin of the cosmos and the continuous process of creation are thus imagined through a levelled system of divine emanations that starts with "the divine will to create something beside itself (*keter*). This will was transformed into a plan, a program for the future – this is divine wisdom (*hokhmah*). The third sefirah, *binah*, is portrayed in this system as the supreme fountain from which the divine existence emerges; the will and the wisdom, which are just potentialities, are transformed here into actual emanated entities. The first two powers to emerge from *binah* are the modes by which existence is regulated: the right side, *hesed*, expressing love and mercy, and the left, *din* or *gevurah*, representing divine strict law and justice. They are united in the sixth sefirah, *tiferet*, creating a mixture that sustains an existence that cannot suffer just pure love or just pure justice. *Nezah* and *hod* represent lower forms of *hesed* and *din*, and the ninth, *yesod*, is the vehicle by which divine power is poured into the lower realms. The tenth, the feminine power, is the intermediary that transfers the divine flow to creation, and is the power of divine revelation to creatures. The system of the *sefirot* is thus conceived as a demiurgic entity, a kind of detailed logos, which bridges the abstract, infinite Godhead and the functions needed to emanate the divine powers, endows them with their specific functions, and enables them to sustain and provide for all existence." Dan, *Kabbalah*, pp. 45–46.

While the lowest of the emanations that connects with the material plane (*malkuth* or *shekinah*) is understood to be female, the nine upper ones are conceptualized as male and together they form a giant anthropomorphic figure, the *Adam Kadmon* ("original man"), which reaches all the way from the *keter* to the lower realms of the created world, where it manifests itself in the creation of the earthly Adam (*Adam HaRishon*). The *Adam Kadmon* was often rendered by both Jewish and Christian interpreters in (Neo)platonian terms as the *Logos*, the perfect image of the Divine Unity, and the earthly Adam as having been created in the image of the *Adam Kadmon*. In this view of a *harmonia mundi*, the earthly Adam constitutes a *microcosm* corresponding with the *macrocosm* of the entire universe. In the tradition of the Christian Kabbalah, Fleming and Mather creatively misread the kabbalistic system of emanations in terms of a trinitarian theology, in which God the Father is equated with the *ein sof* and Christ with the *Adam Kadmon* or *the Logos*. See Joseph Dan, ed., *The Christian Kabbalah* (1997).

looking towards Men; which the Latin Translation renders by the Greek Word, *Microprosopus*.²³⁷

In *Idra Rabba*, or, *The Greater Synod*; we read, R. *Simeon* called R. *Eleasar*, his Son, and made him sitt down by him, & R. *Abba*, his Scholar, on the other Side of him, and then he said, *we are now the Type of all that is*. What could he insinuate by this, but the Notion of the *Trinity*?²³⁸

But he speaks of it yett more emphatically, in the *Idra Suta*, or, *The Lesser Synod*. *All the Lights are united in one; the Second Light is in the First Light; and the Other Light, in the same. They light thro' one another, | and are undivided one from another. The King Himself, is the most Inward Light. There are Two Lamps, that shine from the Kings Throne within. These are the Beginning & Consummation of all things.*²³⁹ [13v]

But in other Places, we have the *Logos* more fully spoken of.

“The most ancient & the most Hidden one, is said to have the Resemblance of the Members of a *Man*. His Habit is all white, & His Aspect like that of the Face of some certain *Man*. He sitts upon a Throne of Beams of Light.”²⁴⁰ This is *Arich Anpin*. When *Seir Anpin* looks Face to Face upon *Arich Anpin*, all the inferior things are immediately brought into Order. And at that time, the Face of *Seir Anpin* is extended like that of *Arich Anpin*;²⁴¹ whose Eye, if it be shutt but one Minute, nothing can subsist.²⁴²

It ha’s been delivered to us, That the Name of the *most Ancient* one, is *Hidden* from all; & that it is no where discovered, but in one Place, [Gen. 22.16.] *I have sworn by myself, saies the Lord.*²⁴³

Seir Anpin is the exact Representation of *Arich Anpin*; and *Seir Anpin* is to be contemplated under the Notion of a *Man*; for under this Figure He is to be, that the Spirit of the *Hidden* one may be without Measure given unto Him;

237 Μακροπρόσωπος [makroprosopos] “large face”; μικροπρόσωπος [mikroprosopos] “small face.” These Greek philosophical terms are used by Knorr von Rosenroth in the *Kabbala denudata* as subheadings for the different chapters and refer to the Divine and its manifestations. *Arich Anpin* (“large face”) and *Zeir Anpin* (“small face”) are transliterations of the Aramaic terms.

238 Mather cites Fleming, *Christology*, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 6, p. 239, who cites Knorr von Rosenroth, *Kabbala denudata*, vol. 2, *Idra Rabba, seu Synodus magna*, sect. 1, col. 13, p. 389.

239 From Fleming, *Christology*, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 6, pp. 239–40, Mather cites a translation of Knorr von Rosenroth, *Kabbala denudata*, vol. 2, *Idra Suta*, sect. 9, col. 349–61, pp. 555–54.

240 From Fleming, *Christology*, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 6, p. 240, Mather cites a translation of Knorr von Rosenroth, *Kabbala denudata*, vol. 2, *Idra Rabba*, sect. 3, col. 36–40, pp. 392–93.

241 From Fleming, *Christology*, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 6, p. 240, Mather cites a translation of Knorr von Rosenroth, *Kabbala denudata*, vol. 2, *Idra Rabba*, sect. 5, col. 54–55, pp. 394–95.

242 From Fleming, *Christology*, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 6, p. 240, Mather cites a translation of Knorr von Rosenroth, *Kabbala denudata*, vol. 2, *Idra Rabba*, sect. 9, col. 136, p. 404.

243 From Fleming, *Christology*, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 6, pp. 240–41, Mather cites a translation of Knorr von Rosenroth, *Kabbala denudata*, vol. 2, *Idra Rabba*, sect. 9, col. 159–60, p. 407.

that so He may be placed above, upon the Throne. For it is written, [Ezek. 1.26.] *upon the Throne satt one like unto a Man.*²⁴⁴

The Summ of all is this. The most *Ancient* one is included in *Seir Anpin*. For, He is *All*. He *was* All, He *is* All, and He *shall be* All. He shall never be changed. Only He manifests Himself in a Form, which comprehends all Forms & Designations. And this Form wherein He appears, is that of a *Man*. This Form of Man, is that of Things, both Above & Below, all Forms being included therein.

If you ask, what is the Difference between these *Two*? I answer, They are truly *One*. Only with respect unto us they are Represented as Different. But these are Secrets, not discovered, except unto the true *Reapers* of the Harvest. For it is written, [Psal. 25.14.] *The Secret of the Lord, is with them that fear Him.*²⁴⁵

It is said, [Prov. 8.12.] *I Wisdom dwell with Prudence*. We ought to read it, *My Shechinah*. And unless this Man, who is called, *The Shechinah*, did exist, the World could not subsist, or have a Being. For it is written, [Prov. 3.19.] *The Lord by Wisdom* (that is, the *Shechinah*) founded the World. It is true, *Wisdom* in an ordinary Sense is a common Name. But this *Hidden Wisdom* Sustains and Forms *Man*, and acts in the Form of *Man*. And it is written, [Dan. 7.13.] *I beheld, and lo, one like unto the Son of Man, came with the Bright Clouds of Heaven.*²⁴⁶

In the last Part of the *Zohar*, there are such Passages as these.

“The most Ancient and Holy one, Reveals Himself, as one that ha’s *Three Heads*; which are yett all *within one Head*. He Himself is the *Supreme Head* properly, that includes the *Three Heads*. He is denoted by a *Trinity*; and all the *Lamps* that shine, are included in this *Trinity*.²⁴⁷

When the *most Ancient Holy one*, who is altogether *Hidden* from us, was desirous to render himself conspicuous, he found out a Way to represent Himself in the Form of *Man*. For this End, the *Wisdom*, which comprehends all things, and which is *Begotten* by and shines from the *most Ancient Holy one*, chose to be represented by *Man*, Male and Female. As *Wisdom*, He is the *Father*; and as *Intelligence, Information, and Prudence*, He is the *Mother*. And so it is said, [Prov. 8.12.] *I Wisdom dwell with Prudence*. *Wisdom* and *Prudence* are in the same Scale, united as *Man* and *Woman*.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁴ From Fleming, *Christology*, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 6, p. 241, Mather cites a translation of Knorr von Rosenroth, *Kabbala denudata*, vol. 2, *Idra Rabba*, sect. 25, col. 510–11, p. 447.

²⁴⁵ From Fleming, *Christology*, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 6, pp. 241–42, Mather cites a translation of Knorr von Rosenroth, *Kabbala denudata*, vol. 2, *Idra Rabba*, sect. 39, col. 920–28, p. 494.

²⁴⁶ From Fleming, *Christology*, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 6, p. 242, Mather cites a translation of Knorr von Rosenroth, *Kabbala denudata*, vol. 2, *Idra Rabba*, sect. 44, col. 1122–30.

²⁴⁷ From Fleming, *Christology*, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 6, pp. 242–43, Mather summarizes the translation of Knorr von Rosenroth, *Kabbala denudata*, vol. 2, *Idra Suta*, sect. 2, col. 78–80, p. 530.

²⁴⁸ From Fleming, *Christology*, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 6, p. 244, Mather summarizes the transla-

The *Face of Seir Anpin*” [that is, the *Logos*] “is a *Face* whereby Sinners are made Alive. And when that *Face* is Revealed, then *Judgment* goes forth against those that are not Ashamed of their wicked Works. This *Face* ha’s a *Redness* in it, like that of the *Rose*. But when the *Face* of the most Ancient one shines upon it, it appears *White* like the *Snow*. And the Time when this is, is the Time of Mercy and good Will to Man.²⁴⁹

The *Eyes of Microprosopus*” [i. e. *Seir Anpin*, or the *Logos*] “are such as no Sinner can hide himself from. They are *Eyes* that *seem* to *sleep*, but do not sleep. Therefore it is written, [Psal. 94.7.] *Doth not Jehova see?*²⁵⁰

Seir Anpin has *Two Ears*, to hear *Good* and *Evil*; but these *Two* are *One*, For it is written, [2. Kings 19.16.] *Incline thine Ear, O God, and hear*. From these *Ears* depend the winged Messengers, that carry the Voice out of this World. Of whom it is written, [Eccl. 10.20.] *That the Bird of Air shall carry the Voice, and that which hath Wings shall tell the Matter*. The Voice of Words cutts the Air, in such or such a Form, and goes forth & ascends upwards; and the Lords of the Wings, or winged Messengers, take the Voice, and bring it unto their King, that it may enter into His Ears. This is what is written; [Deut. 5.18.] *And God heard the Voice of your Words*. This Way, all Prayers and Petitions, which Men pour forth, before the | *most Holy God, who is Blessed forever*, do ascend unto Him.²⁵¹

[14r]

It is written, [Psal. 132.13.] *God hath chosen Zion, & made it His Dwelling-place*. When this *Matron* is married unto the *King*,” [that is, when *Zion*, or the Church, is married unto the *Logos*,] “these *Two* become *One*. Then does the Holy and Blessed God sitt upon His Throne, whose Holy and Perfect Name includes all things. Blessed therefore be His Name forever & ever. These Things I have not, before this Day, discovered unto any; but now I Reveal them. Oh! how happy therefore is my Portion!

This *Matron* being married unto the *King*, the whole World receives a Blessing by it, & the Universe rejoiceth. Now as the *King* [i. e. God essentially considered] consisteth of a *Trinity*, so all things bear the *Resemblance* of this. And His Wife does not Receive the *Blessing* otherwise than from the whole *Trinity*; which *Three Degrees* are called, The *Supereminency*, the *Glory*, and the *Foundation*.

The Blessing, which the *Spouse* receives, she receives in the Place called, *The Holy of Holies*. For it is written, [Psal. 137.3.] *There did Jehova command the*

tion of parts of Knorr von Rosenroth, *Kabbala denudata*, vol. 2, *Idra Suta*, sect. 8, col. 218–24, pp. 543–44.

249 From Fleming, *Christology*, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 6, p. 244, Mather cites verbatim the translation of Knorr von Rosenroth, *Kabbala denudata*, vol. 2, *Idra Suta*, sect. 13, col. 496–99, p. 569.

250 From Fleming, *Christology*, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 6, p. 244, Mather takes the translation of parts of Knorr von Rosenroth, *Kabbala denudata*, vol. 2, *Idra Suta*, sect. 14, col. 510–12, p. 570.

251 From Fleming, *Christology*, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 6, pp. 244–45, Mather cites verbatim the translation of Knorr von Rosenroth, *Kabbala denudata*, vol. 2, *Idra Suta*, sect. 16, col. 582–95, pp. 577–78.

Blessing, even Life forevermore. Now, none has License to go in thither, but the *High-priest*, who proceeds from the same supreme Benignity. Now all the Desire of the *King*, is towards His Spouse. And hence it is, that the whole World comes to receive a Blessing from Him.”²⁵²

These are wonderful Passages, to come from a *Jew*, an Infidel *Jew*. And they will help to Illustrate many of the scriptural Oracles. A contemplative Mind, may make a good and a great Use of them.²⁵³

I will only add, That *Philo*, the most ancient and genuine Author that the Jewish Nation has had, since the Days of our Saviour, has notable Passages, concerning the *Logos* of God; a great Part of which, will be found scattered here and there in the other Illustrations; and therefore we will not here introduce them.²⁵⁴

Some are at a great deal of Pains to putt such a Gloss on the *Logos* in *Philo*, that many think, he had no Notions at all, conformable to those of Christianity. But certainly, they never did read *Philo* himself Impartially.

Mr. *Fleming* thinks, those learned Men are mistaken, who go to prove that *Philo* was a *Platonist*.²⁵⁵ He was a Rigid Jew, of the *Alexandrian Synagogue*, who

252 From Fleming, *Christology*, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 6, pp. 245–46, Mather takes parts of his translation from Knorr von Rosenroth, *Kabbala denudata*, vol. 2, *Idra Suta*, sect. 22, col. 745–63, pp. 593–95. Knorr von Rosenroth and Fleming refer to Ps. 133:3. In kabbalistic teaching the female figure mentioned here is the tenth *sefirot* (*malkuth* or *shekinah*), the feminine power in the divine world that connects with the material, created world and human beings. “As the lowest *sefirah* she is closest to the sufferings of the people of Israel, and is most exposed to the machinations of the evil powers, who constantly try to establish dominion over her. Being feminine, she is the weakest among the divine powers, and the satanic forces can achieve a hold and draw her away from her husband (the male divine figure, often the totality of the other nine *sefirot*, or, sometimes, specifically the sixth *sefirah*, *tiferet*), thus disrupting the harmony of the divine world The redemption of the *shekinah* from her exile and suffering and reuniting her with her husband is the main purpose of many kabbalistic rituals.” Dan, *Kabbalah*, pp. 47–48. In the tradition of the Christian Kabbalah, Fleming and Mather interpret the female figure as representing the church, whose union with her bridegroom Christ is the hoped-for eschaton of history. See also Mather’s introductory paragraphs on Canticles where these ideas are taken up again.

253 Mather paraphrases Fleming, *Christology*, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 6, pp. 246–47.

254 Here and in the following paragraphs, Mather paraphrases Fleming, *Christology*, lib. 2, cap. 6, pp. 248–54, who cites diverse writings of Philo in support of his argument. Philo of Alexandria (c. 15 BCE–c. 50 CE) was a leading Jewish philosopher of classical antiquity who attempted a synthesis between Jewish tradition and Greek philosophy in numerous apologetic, exegetical, and systematic works. Philo assumed that the Tanakh already encapsulated all the wisdom of Greek philosophy (often in allegorical form) and that therefore the latter could be used to explicate the former. Postulating the radical transcendence of God, Philo appropriated the Platonic concept of an intermediary divine being, the *Logos*, through whom the material world was created and in whose image man was made. The Church Fathers greatly appreciated not only Philo’s *Logos*-theology but also his hermeneutics of allegorization through which scriptural texts could be read as speaking of philosophical ideas on a higher level of signification (*RGG*).

255 Fleming refers to the famous Dutch Arminian scholar and controversialist Jean LeClerc (Johannes Clericus, 1657–1736), *Epistolae criticae et ecclesiasticae* (1700).

tenaciously adhered unto the *Mosaic Philosophy*, condemning *Plato*, and all the Græcian Sages, when compared with his Incomparable *Moses*. Indeed, he Read others; and he mentions his having Read certain Peeces of *Aristotle*, & of *Ocellus Lucanus*. But as for *Plato*, he seems to have meddled with him the least of any; For in one Place, he speaks of *Plato's Timæus*,²⁵⁶ as what he had only heard of; and in another, he relates *Plato's* Opinion, upon the Credit of *Aristotle*, who, he saies, *would not injure his Friend with a False Representation*.

It is plain, *Plato* had his *Logos*, from the Pulpit of the *Alexandrian Synagogue*, and the Chair of the Jewish Schools.²⁵⁷
 | [blank]

[14v]

²⁵⁶ Fleming refers to “De Incorrumpibilitate Mundi,” a work that was traditionally ascribed to Philo but is today considered spurious.

²⁵⁷ This argument hinges on the notion of a *prisca theologia*, which was already anticipated in the writings of Philo and some of the Church Fathers but fully developed in the early modern period. It basically assumes that traditions of pagan mythology, like the teachings of Greek and Roman philosophy, developed from and were corruptions of the presumably much older scriptural revelations of the Hebrew Bible. On this, see Frank Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods* (1959) and David Pailin, *Attitudes to Other Religions: Comparative Religion in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Britain* (1984).

Q. The *House of Wisdome*, with the *seven Pillars* of it? v. 1.

A. If we take her *House* for the *World*, the *seven Pillars*, may well be thought the *seven Planets*.

But our *Patrick* ha's a Conjecture, That the *House* where *Wisdome* ha's her Habitation, may be the *Schools of the Prophets*, whose Business it was, to instruct the People (as the Scribes afterwards did) in the Law of God. Indeed, we are not sure, that there were just *seven Schools*, of the more principal Sort, which might be look'd upon, as the main Supporters of Religion and Vertue. But it is evident, there were more than one. [See 1. Sam. XIX.13, 14, 20. and 1. Sam. X.5, 10. and 2. King. II.3, 5. and, IV.38.]

These Schools were seated in *High Places*. This might be one Reason of their sacrificing in *High Places*. But it agrees very well, with what is here said, of *Wisdomes crying upon the Highest Places of the City*; to call all those who had any Appetite for them, to partake of her Instructions; which it might be hoped, the meerly Inconsiderate ones, who were deluded by others, might come to do; tho' *Scorners*, (who perhaps putt on the Prophets, the Title of *Madmen*,) are pass'd by, & left unto their Beastly Folly, & to listen unto Filthy Strumpetts.²⁵⁸

[15v] | [blank]

[16r] |

Q. *Wisdome hath builded her House, shee hath hewn out her seven Pillars*. What House, and what Pillars? v. 1.

A. The *Humane Nature* of our Lord Jesus Christ, is that *House*; The *Five Senses*, with the *Two Faculties* of Memory and Utterance, may be the *Seven Pillars* of the House.

It was the Son of *David*, who built an House for God; (so Dr. *Jermyn*;) & God building an House for Himself, makes Himself the Son of *David*.²⁵⁹

On the Number *Seven* here, Dr. *Jermyn* observes; The *Seventh* Man in Descent from *Adam*, was *Enoch*, who so *walked with God*, that *God took him*. The *Seventh* in Succession from *Abraham* was *Moses*, who received from God His *perfect Law*. In the *Seventy Seventh* Generation from *Adam*, which made a *Fulness of Time*, did the eternal Wisdome sett up the *Seven Pillars of his House*, and come into the World.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁸ See Patrick, *Proverbs*, pp. 122–24.

²⁵⁹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 178.

²⁶⁰ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 178.

One thing more is to be observed. The original Word here used for *Wisdom*, is *plural*. But it is joined unto a Verb of the *singular* Number. From hence we may note the *Two Natures* in the *One Person* of our Saviour.²⁶¹

Q. The *Maidens of Wisdom*? v. 3.

A. *Aquinas* applies it unto *Humane Arts and Sciences*; which do indeed *Ancillari*, serve as *Maidens* for the Advancement of Heavenly Wisdom.²⁶² The Ancient Fathers made so much Use of them, that *Jerom* saies, *Doctores antiqui in tantum Philosophorum doctrinis et sententijs suos refererunt Libros, ut nescias quid in illis prius admirari debeas, Eruditionem Sæculi, an Scientiam Scripturarum.*²⁶³

But *Gregory* will have the *Maidens of Wisdom*, to be the *Ministers* of the Christian Faith. *Ancillas suas misit, quia Prædicationes infirmos abjectosque habere studuit, qui fideles Populos ad spiritualis Patriæ ædificia superna colligerent.*²⁶⁴

Q. He that *Reproveth a Scorn*? v. 7.

A. *Aben Ezra* notes, The Hebrew may be read, *He that Reproveth, being a Scorn*, (that is, with *Scorning*,) doth no Good by it, but *getts to himself the Shame* of his scornful Carriage. *He that Rebuketh* another, being himself *wicked*, getts to himself the *Blott* of Rebuking another for that whereof he is guilty himself.²⁶⁵

4723:

Q. Here seems to be given a Caution against *Reproving a Scorn*, & *Rebuking a wicked Man*; because we shall only expose ourselves to a *Blott*, and an *Hate*, by doing of it. (And a *Greater than Solomon* discourses to this Purpose; Matth. 7.6. –) What, then; shall nothing be done for the Suppression of *Wickedness*? v. 7, 8.

²⁶¹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 178.

²⁶² From Jermin (*Proverbs* 179), a reference to Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae, Prima Pars*, qu. 1, art. 5.

²⁶³ “The ancient doctors so far filled their books with the learning and sentences of philosophers, that you cannot tell which you should admire first in them, whether the learning of the world, or the knowledge of the Scriptures.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 179), Mather quotes Jerome, *Epistulae*, epist. 70, *Ad magnum oratorem urbis Romae* [PL 22. 667–68; CSEL 54]; transl.: Jermin.

²⁶⁴ “He sent his maidens, because he sent weak and simple ministers and preachers, who gather his faithful people into the heavenly houses of their spiritual country.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 179), a citation from Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 33, cap. 16 [PL 76. 693; CCSL 143B]; transl. modified from Jermin.

²⁶⁵ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 184), a citation from Ibn Ezra on Prov. 9:7; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 120.

A. My worthy Friend, Mr. *Thomas Reynolds*; in a Sermon to the *Societies for Reformation of Manners*, handles this very Text.²⁶⁶

He observes, That from this Text is formed, the great Objection of slothful Men, against such noble Undertakings, as that of Chastising and Restraining the *Vices* of Men, by the Execution of wholesome *Lawes* upon them. Tis to no Purpose to *Reprove* such *wicked Scorners*. But he observes also, that this Text affords a great Argument for the Punishment of such Offenders.

[16v] There is the *Reproof* of the *Mouth*, and there is the *Reproof* of the *Scourge*. The *wicked Scorners* are gott beyond a verbal Reproof {; t'wil be of} | little Use upon them. What? Then shall they be lett alone, to go on, and reign in all their Wickedness? Indeed sometimes, tho' we see a verbal Reproof will do no good, yett our Profession and Character may be such, that the By-standers may expect something from us; and that we may avoid the Blame of Connivence or Cowardise, we may be bound to speak something unto the *wicked Scorners*. But this is not all. We must not lett them go on in their Hellish Courses without Controul. The *Honour* of God, & the *Welfare* of Man, requires, that the *wicked Scorners* be animadverted on. If the Deriders of all Goodness be lett alone, the infection will spread like a Running Pestilence, and carry all before it; *Wickedness* will *devour like Fire*, and turn all into a Ruinous Heap.

What shall then be done? *Reprove* them no further. Do not *Rebuke* them any more; No; But *punish* them; they are now grown Ripe for *Punishment*; Bring them to the *Magistrate*, and lett that *Minister of God* execute *Wrath upon them*. See Prov. 19.25, 29. *Smite a Scorer, and the Simple will Beware*; And, *Judgments are prepared for Scorners, & Stripes for the Back of Fools*.

²⁶⁶ Mather summarizes the first part of a small book by Thomas Reynolds, *A Sermon preach'd to the Societies for Reformation of Manners* (1700). A Presbyterian minister in Little Eastcheap, England, Reynolds (or Reinolds; c. 1667–1727) had studied in Geneva and under Hermann Witsius in Utrecht. During the 1719 Salters's Hall debate over Arianism, Reynolds was one of the leading voices calling for a subscription to a statement in favor of the Trinity. Together with others he published *Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity stated & defended* (1719). Like Mather, Reynolds also engaged in various reforming and missionary activities, including the Society for the Reformation of Manners (founded in 1691 and organized in four "tiers" or sub-societies, corresponding with the social rank of members), which sought to purge English society, especially London, of all kinds of immorality and profanity by moral persuasion and the passing of more restrictive legislation. Among Reynolds's many occasional writings, the Mather family especially appreciated his funeral sermon for Thomas Clissold (1713), which was reprinted in Boston with a preface by Increase Mather. In 1713 Mather helped Reynolds publish a Boston edition of his *Practical Religion exemplify'd*. As a like-minded Dissenting minister and as someone affiliated with the bookseller Thomas Bradbury, Cotton Mather approached Reynolds in 1714 with a letter that also contained his *A New Offer to the Lovers of Religion and Learning*, asking him in return for help in finding patronage and a suitable publisher/distributor for the "Biblia Americana." In June 1715 Reynolds replied that the project was "great and worthy of yourself" but that Bradbury had died and that he had been unable to raise sufficient subscriptions. See Mather, *Selected Letters*, pp. 141, 147, 163–64.

Q. *Dayes multiplied, & the Years of Life increased, by Wisdome?* v. 11.

A. If *Wisdome* do multiply the *Dayes* and then add unto them *Years of Life*, as the Original runs, then, when will there be an End? What can be signified, short of *eternal Life*? *Lyra* understands, the Continuance of *this Life*, by the former Clause & that which is *to come*, in the latter. But our Dr. *Jermyn* refers both, to the Life of Glory. For the *Multiplication of Dayes* which we have in this Life is not a *Multiplication*, but a *Subtraction*. Every Day we live, is a Subtracting from us, a Day of Life. *Jerom* near his Death could say; *Vita Mundi, non est Vita; quæ quantò magis crescit, tantò magis decrescit; quum plus procedit, plus ad Mortem procedit*. Our Years here, are the *Years of Death*.²⁶⁷

Q. The *Seat* of Wickedness, what and where is it? v. 14

A. 'Tis *Custom*. And being once placed there, it is alwayes at the Door, and ready upon all Occasions to go forth unto the Practice of it. This is indeed / כִּסֵּא /²⁶⁸ as the original Word here is, *A Throne*, unto it. Here it Reigns, as in the *High Places of the City*, with Delight and Boasting. *Bernard* notes it; *si as-suescas, judicabis non ità grave; paulò post et leve senties; paulò post nec senties; paulò post etiam delectabit*.²⁶⁹

Q. Who may be meant by, *Foolish Woman*?

A. I leave the common Gloss in its undisturbed Possession. And only add, a Gloss mentioned by *Munster*; *Corpus Hominis insipientis*.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁷ “The life of this world, is not a life but a death rather, which by how much it increases, by so much it decreases, the farther it goes on, the further it proceeds toward death.” Mather takes this entire passage, including the references to *Lyra* and to (Pseudo-)Eusebius of Cremona (d. c. 423), *Epistola de morte Hieronymi ad Damasum*, cap. 36 [PL 22. 263] from Jermin (*Proverbs* 186–87); transl. modified from Jermin. Modern scholarship assumes that this letter was actually composed by a medieval author. A similar comment can be found in Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla litteralis super totam Bibliam* (1322–1331; first printed in Strasbourg, 1492), at Prov. 9:11. A convert from Judaism, Nicholas of Lyra (c. 1270–1349) joined the Franciscan order in 1291 to become one the most influential biblical interpreters of the Middle Ages, whose insistence on the *sensus literalis* in many ways prepared the way for (and directly influenced) the hermeneutics of the Reformers. *Lyra* drew much from Rashi, Martini’s *Pugio Fidei*, Augustine, Jerome, and Thomas Aquinas (*RGG*).

²⁶⁸ כִּסֵּא [kisse] “chair; seat of honor; throne.”

²⁶⁹ “If you use yourself to wickedness, you will not think it any great matter, a little after you will think it a little matter, a little after you will not think of it at all, and a little after you will delight in it.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 189), a citation from Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione*, lib. 1, cap. 2 [PL 182. 730; *Opera* 3]; transl.: Jermin.

²⁷⁰ “The body of a foolish man.” Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4195).

Q. In the first of the Inspired Proverbs,²⁷¹ The *Gladness* of a *Father* over a *Wise Son*, and the *Sadness* of a *Mother* over a *Foolish* one, is declared. Nevertheless, the *Gladness* of the *Mother* as well as the *Father*, over the *Wise Son*, and the *Sadness* of the *Father* as well as the *Mother*, over the *Foolish* one, is herein implied. But I pray, why is it *thus* expressed? v. 1.²⁷²

A. *Solomon* had but *one Son*, that wee read of; and Hee none of the best. Now, t'was very much for the Caution of that *one Son*, that hee wrote these *excellent Proverbs*, wherein wee *All* Enjoy him, and Admire him, as the true, *Master of Sentences*. Do but carry in your Mind, how solicitous hee was, lest *Rehoboam* should, by his Male-administrations confound the Kingdome, & lest the Kingdome should by some Rooted Præjudice & some Hasty Action, shake off *Rehoboam*; you will therein have a *Golden Key*, to unlock these *Proverbs of Israel*.

I make no doubt, that *Solomon* had his own only, silly Son, in his Eye when hee wrote it; the first Part of the Proverb, his *Father* had fulfill'd in *Himself*; the last Part of the Proverb, *Himself* had fulfill'd in *Rehoboam*.

Now, if you enquire why tis rather the *Gladness* of the *Father* than of the *Mother* that is here mentioned upon the *wise Child*? I answer, Tis because the *Father* ordinarily hath most *Share* in procuring, and most *Sense* in perceiving, the *Wisdom* of his Children. When Children are come to such Maturitie, that their *Wisdom* do's become observable, ordinarily the *Mother* ha's more dismissed them from *her* Conversation, than the *Father* ha's from *his*: and the *Father* is many wayes more capable of the Joyful Resentments arising from the *Wisdom* of *His*,²⁷³ I say, *His*, well-educated Children, appearing now abroad in the World. The Child is now more emphatically become an *Abner*, that is to say, *The Fathers Light*; or an, *Abigail*, that is to say, *The Fathers Joy*.

But if you go on to enquire, why tis rather, the *Sadness* of the *Mother*, than of the *Father*, that is mentioned upon the *Foolish* Child? I answer: Tis

²⁷¹ With Patrick and a long exegetical tradition, Mather assumes that following a lengthy prologue (consisting of the first nine chapters in the modern canonical order) with instructions of Solomon to his son Rehoboam, ch. 10 marks the beginning of the first part in the collection of actual wisdom sayings by the wise king, running to v. 17 of ch. 22. See Patrick's unpaginated "Preface."

²⁷² The following entry, which belongs to a very early layer of annotations, was either reused in a sermon or was derived from a sermon that Mather gave in February 1694/95 on Prov. 10:1. This sermon was later printed under the title *Help for distressed Parents, or, Counsels & Comforts for godly Parents afflicted with ungodly Children; and Warnings unto Children to beware of all those evil Courses, which would be afflictive unto their Parents* (1695), see esp. pp. 6–9.

²⁷³ Mather here uses the word "resentment" in the archaic sense of an emotion of any kind (OD).

because where Children miscarry, the Mother is ordinarily most Blamed for It: People will bee most ready to say, and very *often* say it very *Justly*, too, *T'was her making Fools of them, that betray'd them into the sinful Folly which is now so Bred in the Bone, that it will never out of their Flesh.* Tis also because when Children miscarry, the *Mother* is ordinarily most sleighted by *Them*: Tis said, *A Foolish Man Despiseth his Mother*; the sinful Folly of the young Wretches, makes them to trample more upon *Her* that bare them, than upon *Him* that begat them. It may likewise bee, Because, when Children turn Impious, the *Mother* is many times more Impatient of it, than the *Father* is. Twas *Rebeckah* rather than *Isaac*, that was *weary of her Life*; when a Child married against her Consent. If the Child *sin* at home, *shee* sees the *most* of it; if abroad, *shee* hears the *worst* of it; and so *shee* becomes most uneasie at it.

Q. *Treasures of Wickedness profiteth nothing?* v. 2.

A. Namely, as it followes, to *Deliver from Death*. I will allow only Two Sayings of the Ancients, which will a little Illustrate this.

Austin saies, *considerate Sepulchra Divitum, quid eis Divitiæ profuerunt.*²⁷⁴

Ambrose saies, *Quid prosunt, si à Morte non liberant, si mecum post Mortem esse non possunt?*²⁷⁵

But the Rabbi's here, by *Righteousness* understand *Alms-giving*, which is opposed unto Treasures of Wickedness, and Riches hoarded up so as to do no good, and *profit* nothing. Works of Charity deliver the Needy from the Circumstances of perishing by Death; and they deliver the Givers also from deadly Dangers.²⁷⁶

If this Verse be thus considered, then the next brings an Encouragement unto Works of Charity. Tho' a *Religious* Man give largely to the Poor, yett he shall never want; *The Lord will not suffer the Soul of the Righteous to famish.* No,

²⁷⁴ "Consider the sepulchers of the rich, what have their riches profited them?" From Jermin (*Proverbs* 194), a passage in Caesarius of Arles (Arelatensis, Caesarius of Chalon, c. 470–542), *Sermones*, sermo 31 [CCSL 103], published in the PL as *Sermo CCCVI* [PL 47. 1239] within a collection of pseudo-Augustinian writings. The PL reads: "Item rogo vos, fratres, aspiciate ad sepulchra divitum, et quoties juxta illa transitis, considerate, et diligenter respiciate, ubi sunt illorum divitiæ?" Until the end of nineteenth cent. Caesarius's sermons were often published under the names of other patristic authors, especially Augustine's (see *TRE*).

²⁷⁵ "What profit have I by them, if they neither deliver me from death, nor can be with me when I am dead?" From Jermin (*Proverbs* 194), a citation from the work of Ambrose of Milan (Ambrosius Mediolanensis, 339/340–397), *De Nabuthe Iezraelita*, cap. 6 [PL 14. 738; CSEL 32.2]; transl. modified from Jermin. The son of a Roman aristocratic family, Ambrose was appointed Bishop of Milan in 374 and during his years in office became one of the main advocates and defenders of Nicean Trinitarianism against Homoean theology. Among Ambrose's many homiletical and exegetical works, his commentary on the Song of Songs stands out as an important example of Alexandrian-style allegorical interpretation (*RGG*).

²⁷⁶ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 194–95.

[17v] saith | *Aben-Ezra* upon it, *In summâ Annonæ Caritate non permittet Justum fame vexari.*²⁷⁷

Q. The *slack Hand*? v. 4.

A. The Original is, *The Hand of Deceit maketh poor*. This it does many wayes; but especially, because being a lazy hand, it betakes itself rather to *Cousenage*, than *Honesty & Industry*. The Hebrew Word, in the former Part of the Verse, is / כֶּה /²⁷⁸ which signifies, the *Hollow* of the Hand, because Deceit is *Hollow*; and it is with the *Hollow* of the Hand, that the Sleights of Deceit are practised. In the latter Part of the Verse, the Word is, / יָד /²⁷⁹ the whole Hand, the Strength of the Hand; this is used by the *Diligent*; and it *makes Rich*, because the Hand of God is joined with it.

Saies *Philo*, *opta tibi bonum quodlibet, invenies ejus Possessionem Labore comparari Labore confirmari!*²⁸⁰

2821:

Q. Why is it said, *Blessings are upon the Head of the Just*? v. 6.

A. *The Head* here is putt synecdochically for the *whole Man*. Yett one reason, why there may be more particular Mention of, *The Head*, in this Matter, as learned *Cartwright* observes, *ut indicetur, istas Benedictiones esse è Cælo*,²⁸¹ to intimate, That *Blessings* come down directly from *Heaven* upon them.

Dr. *Jermyn* ha's a good Thought about *Blessings on the Head of the Righteous*. God helps them to *consider* and meditate, what they do, & what they are to do.²⁸²

2863:

Q. How is it said, *Violence covereth the Mouth of the Wicked*? v. 6. See v. 11!

A. It may mean two Things; First, That there is nothing to be seen in their *Mouth*, but *Violence*; as when a thing is *covered*, we see nothing but that which

²⁷⁷ "In the greatest charity of provision he will not allow the righteous to be troubled with hunger." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 195), a citation from Ibn Ezra's gloss on Prov. 10:3; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 127; see the rabbinical opinions in *Mikraoth Gedoloth, Proverbs*, p. 54, at Prov. 10:2–3.

²⁷⁸ כֶּה [kaph] "hollow, or flat of the hand, palm."

²⁷⁹ יָד [yad] "hand." See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 196.

²⁸⁰ "Wish to thyself what good thou wilt, thou shalt find the possession of it by labour to be gotten, by labour to be continued and confirmed." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 196), a citation from Philo of Alexandria, *De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini*, 7.37; transl.: Jermin.

²⁸¹ "So that it is shown that these blessings are from heaven." Thomas Cartwright, *Commentarii*, p. 184.

²⁸² See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 197.

covers it. Secondly; That the Curses and Judgments of God upon them, for their *Violence*, shall be such, that they shall have nothing to say for themselves.²⁸³

1732:

Q. In what Regard may it bee said, *The Memory of the Just is Blessed?* v. 7.

A. You know, That in the Original tis, *For a Blessing*; and you know, the common Glosses upon it.²⁸⁴

But besides this, I will here give you Dr. *Jermins* Exposition; which to mee, that have at several Times written the *Lives* of several Scores of worthy Persons, afforded something of a particular Consolation.

“The very *Remembring* of them (*saith hee*) shall bring a *Blessing*, to such as do *Remember* them. God will *Bless* those that Honour the *Memory* of His Servants; And besides, the *Memory* of them, will make them *Imitated*, which is a *Blessing* that will bee Rewarded with *Blessedness*.”²⁸⁵

The *Name of the Wicked* shall be like a *Rottenness*; which, tho’ it remain in the Earth, yett it is accounted good for nothing.²⁸⁶ *Eusebius* observes, That *Plato* translated this Observation of *Solomon*, into the VII Book of his *Laws*.²⁸⁷ My Lord *Bacon* has this Note upon it: “*The Name of good Men* after Envy is extinguished, (which cropt the Blessings of their Fame while they were alive) presently shoots up & flourishes, & their Praises daily increase in Strength & Vigour. But for wicked Men (tho’ their Fame, thro’ the partial Favour of Friends, & of Men of their own Faction, may last for a little Time,) a Detestation of their Name springs up not long after; and at last, those vanishing Praises end in Infamy, & like Bodies that putrify, expire in a filthy and noisome Odour.”²⁸⁸

Q. Who is meant by the *prating Fool?* v. 8.

A. It is opposed unto him that will *Receive Commandments*. It means therefore, one that Quarrels with, and Cavils at, Holy Counsils. He that *winketh with*

²⁸³ Compare Thomas Cartwright, *Commentarii*, p. 185.

²⁸⁴ זָכַר צְדִיק לְבִרְכָּה “The memory of the righteous is a blessing” (ESV); KJV 1611: “The memory of the just is blessed.”

²⁸⁵ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 198. Mather here seems to refer to his biographies of Puritan ministers and leaders – such as his *The Triumphs of the Reformed Religion in America: The Life of the Renowned John Eliot* (1691) and the *Pietas in Patriam: the Life of his Excellency Sir William Phips* (1697) – that were also incorporated into bks. 2 and 3 of the *Magnalia Christi Americana*, which contains numerous exemplary biographies. Mather began to work on the *Magnalia* in 1693, the same year that he also started the “Biblia” project. He finished the manuscript in 1697 and sent the manuscript to London in 1699, where it was published in 1702. The citation from Jermin also appears in the *Magnalia* in the introduction of part 2 of lib. 3, p. 70.

²⁸⁶ Mather paraphrases Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 198.

²⁸⁷ See Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 140.

²⁸⁸ From Patrick (*Proverbs* 140–41), a citation from Patrick’s transl. of Bacon, *De augmentis scientiarum*, lib. 8, cap. 2, p. 545.

the Eye is one who pretends Kindness to his neighbour, but gives [*torn] unto other [*torn]

Q. The *Mouth* of the *Righteous* and of the *Wicked*? v. 11.

A. There issue as *good Words* from the *Mouth*, so *good Thoughts* from the *Heart*, of the *Righteous*, for the *Good* of others. But the *Original* may be rendred, *The Mouth of the Wicked covereth Violence*. He stops at the *Mouth*, the *Mischief* which is flowing in his *Heart*. The *Waters* do seem sweet *there*.²⁸⁹

Dr. *Jermyn* thus flourishes upon it. When the *Hand* of *God* first digged the *Well* of *Mans Mouth*, cleer & fresh was the *Water* that issued from it; but it was quickly corrupted by the *Poison* of the *Serpent*. The *Waters* of this *Well*, or the *Doctrine* of *Truth* & *Vertue* proceeding from it, is well *seasoned with the Salt of Grace* in the *Righteous*; & then there is no more *Death*, but *Life* to the *Righteous* in it. But in the *Wicked*, the *Violence* of *Sin*, covereth & stoppeth the *Waters*; none of that *Salt* can come into them. The *Rivers* that watered *Paradise* may here be thought upon.²⁹⁰

Q. To what may allude that Passage, *Love covereth all Sins*? v. 12.

A. To the *Action* of *Shem* and *Japheth*, who [Gen. 9.23.] *Took a Garment and went Backward, & covered the Nakedness of their Father*.²⁹¹

Hatred makes that seem a great *Wrong* which is none at all. But *Love* will cover *Offences*; and render *Injuries* as if they had never been offered.²⁹²

In the *Original*, *Hatred brings up Strifes*. One still follows another, & there is no *End*, until the *Life* be ended in them & perhaps by them.

Sin is a *shameful* Thing. It needs a *Covering*.

Love makes us cover & pardon the *Wrongs* that others do to us. And a *loving* Behaviour makes others pardon the *Wrongs* we do to them. And, lastly, when we *love* as we ought to do, *God* pardons our *Offences* against Himself.²⁹³

Q. *Wisdom* in the *Lips* of him that hath *Understanding*, but a *Rod* for the *Back* of him that hath it not? v. 13.

A. It sits at the *Lips*, like an *Ancient Israelite*, at the *Gates* of the *City*, to mark what goes forth, & to stop the going forth of anything that may hurt the *City*.

²⁸⁹ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 201.

²⁹⁰ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 201.

²⁹¹ Compare Thomas Cartwright, *Commentarii*, p. 194.

²⁹² Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 202.

²⁹³ Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 202–03. See Appendix A.

But then for the next Clause, the *Syriac* thus carries it. *He that produceth Wisdome from his Lips, striketh with a Rod, him that is void of Understanding*: The wise Man gives a smart Reproof to the Fool.²⁹⁴

Again, A wise Man, does with his *Lips* wisely confess his Faults as soon as he is told them; nothing but a *Rod on the Back* of the Fool, will bring him to Confession.

Add, *Wisdome* is to be found in the *Lips* of a wise Man, & from his Instruction. This will not serve a Fool; a *Rod* must be employ'd upon him.

Bede has a Note: *Virga in Dorso, est Vindicta in sequenti Vitâ*. He adds, *Qui ergo non vult Virgam in Dorso portare, portet in Labijs Sapientiam, et Præcepta Domini et Laudes loquatur*.²⁹⁵

[18r]

Q. The *Rich Man's Wealth, his strong City?* v. 15.

A. As Dr. *Jermyn* elegantly expresses it, "The Rich Man often goes about his *Sion*, or rather, his *Jericho*, & views the Walls thereof; he marks the bulwarks, & tells the towers of it. He looks on his Wealth, he marks his bags, he tells his Money, & therein is his Confidence."²⁹⁶

But *Ambrose* understands it, of Rich Men, that use their Riches well. *Possessio Divitum Civitas firma. Quæ est illa, nisi Hierusalem, quæ est in Cælo, in quâ Regnum Dei? Bona hæc Possessio, quæ non hic relinquitur, sed illic possidetur*.²⁹⁷

Q. On that, *The Labour of the Righteous for Life?* v. 16.

A. The End of a vertuous Mans Labour after Riches, is only that he may provide himself the Necessaries of *Life*; & thus he may do good with them.²⁹⁸

Q. *He that refuseth Reproof, erreth?* v. 17.

A. He *erreth* in Refusing; He *erreth* more by Refusing.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁴ Commentary from Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 203. Walton's *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:341) renders the *Syriac* into Latin as: "Qui e labiis suis proferet sapientiam, virga percutit virum expertem judicio."

²⁹⁵ "The rod upon the back is punishment hereafter, that is, in the next life"; "He therefore that will not bear the rod upon his back, let him carry wisdom on his lips, let him talk of the commandments, and set forth the praises of the Lord." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 203), a citation from the commentary by Bede the Venerable, *Super parabolæ Salomonis allegorica expositio*, lib. 2, cap. 10 [PL 91. 969; CCSL 119B]; transl.: Jermin.

²⁹⁶ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 204.

²⁹⁷ "The possession of the rich is a firm city. What is this city, but that Jerusalem which is in heaven, in which is the kingdom of God? This is a good possession, which is not left here, but is there possessed." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 204), a citation from Ambrose, *Epistolæ*, epist. 63, *Ad Vercellensem ecclesiam* [PL 16. 1214; CSEL 82.3]; transl.: Jermin.

²⁹⁸ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 148.

²⁹⁹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 205.

But *Aben-Ezra* præfers this Reading: *He is in the Way of Life, that keepeth Instruction; and rejecteth the Reproof of him that causeth to err.* We are to Despise the Reproof of them, who seek to make us err.³⁰⁰

Dr. *Patrick*, by him that *Refuseth Reproof*, understands, him that leaves off to give *Reproof*, & so encourages Men in their *Errors*.³⁰¹

Q. How is it said, *In the Multitude of Words, there wanteth not Sin?* v. 19.

A. The babbling of the Tongue, is like the Turning the Cock of a Cistern, and as the Words like Water, do not cease to run, so Sin running as fast as the Words, (as the Original has it,) it *ceaseth not*. Thus, Dr. *Jermyn*.³⁰²

Q. How do the *Lips of the Righteous feed many?* v. 21.

A. R. *Solomon* understands it, concerning the *Feeding* of the Body. For their Sakes, by their Means, on their Prayers, many are nourished.³⁰³

Jermyn makes this the Force of the Verse. Tho' there be a Plenty of Spiritual Food, & Instruction, yett Fools gett none, dy without it.³⁰⁴

[▽18v] [▽Insert from 18v]

Q. On that, *The Blessing of the Lord maketh Rich?* v. 22.

A. The Jewish Rabbi's understand it of the *Holy* and *Blessed Sabbath*, which was, we know, *Blessed* of God. [Gen. II.3.] The Observation of this brings a *Blessing* with it; and it *enriches* the Children of Men, both Temporally and Spiritually *enriches* them.

[△] [△Insert ends]

Q. How is it, *A Sport to a Fool, to do Mischief?* v. 23.

A. The Hebrew Word, we render, *Mischief*, is, *The Thought of the Mind*. A Fool will wantonly do any thing he *Thinks* to do.³⁰⁵

Tremelius finds a Comparison here. *As to a Fool, tis a Sport to do Mischief, so is Wisdome to a Man of Understanding*; it is a Content, a Delight unto him.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁰ Mather paraphrases Jermin's translation of Ibn Ezra (*Proverbs* 205–06) on Prov. 10:17; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 135.

³⁰¹ Patrick, *Proverbs*, pp. 148–49. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

³⁰² Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 207.

³⁰³ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 208), Mather cites the gloss of Rashi on Prov. 10:21; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 137. Rashi in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, p. 58, at Prov. 10:21: "Many eat in his merit and because of his prayer."

³⁰⁴ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 208.

³⁰⁵ זִמְמָה [zimmah] "plan (intention); evil plan, plot; infamy;" KJV 1611: "mischief;" with context: "Doing wickedness is like sport to a fool" (NAU); see Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 209.

³⁰⁶ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 209), a citation from Jermin's transl. of the marginal comment on Prov. 10:23 by Tremellius in the *Biblia Sacra*, p. 160.

Sidonius Apollinaris has a very good Gloss upon it: *Qui Verbis inverecundis aurium publicarum reverentiam incestant, granditer sibi videntur facetiari.*³⁰⁷ Obscene Fools count themselves very witty.

1733.

Q. How may that Passage bee understood, *The Righteous is an everlasting Foundation?* v. 25.

A. Lett the *Jewes* teach us *Christians* to glorify our glorious *Messiah*, more than wee do!

They have Taught us, That it is the *Messiah*, who is, *The Just One*; and that the *Messiah*, is the very *Foundation* of the World, and Hee, for whom the World was created.

In *Midrasch Cobelet*, R. *Juda ben Simon*, brings in the Almighty, charging *Adam*, to take heed of *Sin*, because if hee sinned, hee would cause the Death of, *The Just One*. This is a wonderful Passage!³⁰⁸

That by, *The Just One*, they understand, *The Messiah*, is evident, from that in Zech. 9.9. *Behold, thy King comes, The Just One*. On which the Gloss of R. *Solomon Jarchi*, is, *Nullatenus potest illud exponi, nisi de Rege Messiâ.*³⁰⁹

And accordingly, R. *Eliezer* said, *etiam propter Unum Justum creatus est Mundus.*³¹⁰ And R. *Jochanan* said, *Non est creatus Mundus, nisi propter Mesiam.*³¹¹

³⁰⁷ "Who because they do incestuously defile the reverence of public ears, do seem unto themselves to be very pleasant in a witty mirth." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 209), Mather quotes the Gallo-Roman aristocrat, politician, bishop, and poet Sidonius Apollinaris (430/431–480s), *Epistolae*, lib. 3, epist. 13 [PL 58. 505]; transl.: Jermin.

³⁰⁸ From Martini, *Pugio Fidei*, pars 3, dist. 2, cap. 4, p. 450, Mather refers to *Midrash Rabbah* at Eccles. 7:13. See the transl. in *Midrash Rabbah, Ecclesiastes*, pp. 195–96: "... Pay heed that you do not corrupt and destroy My universe; for if you corrupt it there is no one to repair it after you. Not only that, but you will cause death to befall that righteous man [Moses]." *Juda ben Simon* is *Judah ha-Nasi* (Rabbi Judah I., late 2nd/early 3rd century), the redactor and editor of the Mishnah and most important representative of the dynasty of Jewish patriarchs, also known as "Rabbenu ha'kadosh" ("our holy Master") in Jewish tradition (*JE*).

³⁰⁹ "In no way can that be explained except of King Messiah." A Rashi citation in Martini, *Pugio Fidei*, pars 3, dist. 2, cap. 4, p. 450. Compare the *Mikraoth Gedoloth, The Twelve Prophets*, p. 362, on Zech. 9:9, which translates Rashi's gloss: "It is impossible to interpret this except as referring to the King Messiah, as it is stated: 'and his rule shall be from sea to sea.' We do not find that Israel had such a ruler during the days of the Second Temple."

³¹⁰ "Also for the sake of one righteous [man] the world was created." See the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Yoma 38b; Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanus (80–118 CE) is the most frequently cited Rabbi in the Mishnah and Talmudim. The citation comes from Martini, *Pugio Fidei*, pars 3, dist. 2, cap. 4, p. 450. The Soncino transl. of the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Yoma 38b (p. 180) gives a slightly different meaning: "R. Eleazar further said: Even for the sake of a single righteous man would this world have been created"

³¹¹ "The world was created only because of the Messiah." The citation comes from Martini, *Pugio Fidei*, pars 3, dist. 2, cap. 4, p. 450. See the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Sanhedrin 98b;

But then, apply this Proverb to the *Righteous* who are the People of our Saviour, and then compare, 2. Tim. II.19.

Dr. *Jermyn* thus paraphrases it; The blustering Bravery of the Wicked, is quickly gone; but the Comfort of the Righteous abideth forever.³¹²

[18v] |

Q. The *Sluggard*? v. 26.

A. I have a Mind here only to mention an Hint of *Munsters*.
*Taxat Locus iste potissimum Magistratus Negligentes.*³¹³

Q. What is there observable in that Proverb, *The Fear of the Lord prolongeth Days, but the Years of the Wicked shall be shortened*? v. 27.

A. *Sin* makes the *Years* of the Wicked, as *short* as the *Days* of the Godly.³¹⁴

Q. The *Way of the Lord*, how is it *Strength to the Upright*? v. 29.

A. Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase, is; "A faithful Observance of the Rules of Vertue, which the Lord hath præscribed us, inspires the upright Man with great Courage & undaunted Resolution, when any Evil threatens him."³¹⁵

Take some further Glosses.³¹⁶

The Strength, is opposed unto *Destruction*, in the next Clause. It *strengthens* them, that is to say, *preserves* them, from *Destruction*.

Or, *The Way of the Lord is Strength to the Upright*; that is, the more they go in it, the more able they are to go on in it.

It also engages the good Providence of God for them that walk in it; and that is the *Strength* of them that have it concerned for them.

The Angel might well say to *Gideon*, Thou *mighty Man*, when he could first say, The Lord is with thee. For, as *Lyra* saies upon it; *Fieri non potest, quin maxima Fortitudine præstet ille, cui Deus præstò est.*³¹⁷

Jermyn thus paraphrases it; The Lord is always coming to the Upright in His Favours, always giving more unto them.³¹⁸

a summary of remarks from Rabbi Johanan bar Nappaha (3rd cent. CE). The Soncino transl. (p. 667) reads: "R. Johanan said: For the sake of the Messiah."

³¹² See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 211.

³¹³ "This passage most likely reproaches negligent magistrates." From Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4113).

³¹⁴ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 212.

³¹⁵ See Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 152.

³¹⁶ See Appendix A.

³¹⁷ "It cannot be but that he should perform things with great courage and strength, to whom God performeth the promise of his present help." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 213) a reference to Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla*, on Judg. 6:12–16. Transl.: Jermin.

³¹⁸ All the "further Glosses" are from Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 213–14.

Q. How is it said, *The Righteous shall never be Removed?* v. 30.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* observes, The Desire of the *Righteous* is not to stay upon the Earth; neither is that the Reward which God hath appointed for them. They know, a better Place to go to, & where better things than the Earth can afford are provided for them. When the *Righteous* are taken away from hence, tis not with an Unwilling & Reluctant Mind. He ha's not sett his Affection on the World, and so, is not *Removed* from it. When he goes hence, he goes cheerfully; and so, tis not a *Remove*, but a *Passage* unto him.³¹⁹

Q. *The Mouth of the Wicked, speaking Frowardness?* v. 32.

A. *Origen*, considering those Words, *Their Throat an open Sepulchre*; notes, That the Mouthes of some, are a *Sepulchre shutt*; *Quos aliquantulum Pudor cohibet palam proferre*; Shame restrains them. The Mouthes of others, an *open Sepulchre*; *Quibus verecundia sublata impuritates suas in propatulo habent*. They shamelessly utter their Impurities. These are here intended.³²⁰

³¹⁹ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 214.

³²⁰ "Whom shame somewhat restrains from bringing forth openly the stench of their corruption"; "who having lost shame do utter their impurities." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 216), Mather paraphrases Origen, *Commentaria in Epistolam ad Romanos*, lib. 3, cap. 2 [PG 14. 934; SC 539]; transl. modified from Jermin.

Q. What was the Nature of the *False Ballance*, which we find so often condemned in the Oracles of God? v. 1.

A. Dr. *Wilkins* in his *Mathematical Magick*, observes, *That the Heaviness of any Weight doth increase proportionably to its Distance from the Center*. Hence in our *Stiliards*, by the Help of one Weight only, we measure sundry *different Gravities*.³²¹

“Hence [proceeds Dr. *Wilkins*,] it is easy to apprehend, how that *False Ballance* may be composed, so often condemned by the Wise Man, as being, *An Abomination to the Lord*. If the *Sides* of the *Beam*, be not æqually divided, as, suppose one to have 10 Parts, and the other 11, then any Two Weights, which differ according to this Proportion, (the *Heavier* being placed on the *Shorter* Side, and the *Lighter* on the *Longer*,) will equiponderate. And yett, both the Scales being empty, shall hang in *æquilibrio*, as if they were exactly just and true.

The Frequency of such Couzenages in these Dayes, may be evident from common Experience; And that they were used also in former Ages, may appear from *Aristotles* Testimony concerning the Merchants in his Time. For the Remedying of such Abuses, the Ancients did appoint diverse Officers, styled, *ζυγοστάται*,³²² who were to overlook the common Measures. Whence the Proverb, *Zygostatica Fides*.³²³

So great was the Care of the Jewes, for the Præservation of *Commutative Justice*, from all Abuse, and Falsification in this kind; that the public Standards and

³²¹ This entry is derived from the work of John Wilkins, *Mathematical Magick. Or, the Wonders that may be performed by mechanicall Geometry* (1648), lib. 1, cap. 3, pp. 15–19. Wilkins (1614–1672) was a Church of England minister of Puritan leaning and a natural philosopher, who in several works of popular science propagated the empirical method and defended the new cosmology of Copernicus, Galileo, and Kepler. Early in his career he published tracts on the possibility of extraterrestrial life and on his plan for a universal language system. In London and Oxford Wilkins participated in groups devoted to the study of natural philosophy and the sciences that are considered to be forerunners of the Royal Society, which he helped to organize after the Restoration. His *Mathematical Magick* was a sort of compendium of existing machines (e.g., levers, pulleys, screws, balances) and possible future technologies making use of mechanical motions, such as flying machines, a submarine, and automata. After being appointed Bishop of Chester in 1668, Wilkins went on in his later years to work out his ideas of a universal language in his *Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language* (1668), and penned an influential work of natural theology, *Of the Principles and Duties of Natural Religion* (1675), which Mather also used for his 1721 *Christian Philosopher* (ODNB).

³²² From Wilkins a reference to the *ζυγοστάτης* [zygostates] “a public officer, who looked to the weights” (LS).

³²³ As related to the *ζυγοστάτης* (see above), an expression for full and examined justice (“plena et examinata aequitas”), see Johann Scapula, *Lexicon graeco-latinum* ([1604] 1820), p. 24.

Originals, by which all other Measures were to be Tried and Allowed, were with much Religion præserv'd in the Sanctuary; the Care of them being committed to the Priests and Levites, whose Office it was to look unto *all Manner of Measures and Size*. [1. Chron. 23.29.] Hence is that frequent Expression, *According to the Shekel of the Sanctuary*. And that Law, *All thy æstimations shall be according to the Shekel of the Sanctuary*. Which doth not refer to any Weight or Coin, distinct from, or more than, the Vulgar, (as some fondly conceive,) but doth only oblige Men in their Dealing & Traffick, to make use of such just Measures, as were agreeable unto the *public Standards*, that were kept in the *Sanctuary*.

The Manner how such *Deceitful Ballances* may be discovered, is by changing the *Weights* into each other Scale, & then the Inæquality will be manifest."

Q. How is a *Just Ballance* the *Delight of God*? v. 1.

A. Hear Dr. *Jermyns* Gloss upon it. God makes People *Delight* to come & buy in the Shop.³²⁴

Q. A Further Instance of a *False Ballance*? v. 1.

A. When *Man* weighs heavier than God, *Earth* heavier than Heaven, the Pleasures of Sin heavier than the Crown of Glory, a momentary Contentment heavier than eternal Blessedness.³²⁵

| [19v]

Q. How may that be taken, *when Pride cometh, then cometh Shame*? v. 2.

A. As it is commonly taken. Some carry it especially to a *proud Man*, raised unto an *Office*; *Shame* will attend such an one; *cum nihil gerere possit cum Populi Commodo*.³²⁶ But the *Syriac* refers it unto the *Shame* and shameful Reproach, that *Pride* casteth upon others. The *Lowly*, will pitty and conceal the Infirmities of other People, and not putt them to *Shame*.³²⁷

Ambrose ha's a Speech, that well Illustrates the *Wisdom* of the *Lowly*. *Nihil appetendo, totum quod contemnit adipiscitur*.³²⁸

Munster ha's a good Gloss; *Ubi est homo superbus, illic ceteri homines ab eo despiciuntur, ut ipse solus aliquid esse videatur*.³²⁹

³²⁴ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 216.

³²⁵ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 216.

³²⁶ "Because he cannot administer anything to the benefit of the people." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4127).

³²⁷ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 217. Compare Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:343).

³²⁸ "By desiring nothing, [it] obtains all which is despised by it." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 217), a citation from Ambrose, *Expositio in Psalmum CXVIII*, sermo 14 [PL 15. 1398; CSEL 62]; transl.: Jermin.

³²⁹ "Where the proud man is, there he makes others despicable in order that he alone appears to be something." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4127). The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

Q. What is the *Day of Wrath*, in which *Riches profit not*? v. 4.

A. Why may it not mean, a Day of general Mortality? Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase is; "Heaps of Wealth amass'd by Extortion or Covetousness, shall as little avail, as Subtilty & Cunning, when God in His Righteous Displeasure shall punish the World by a common Calamity."³³⁰

Q. What Instance can you give of that Observation; *The Righteous is delivered out of Trouble, and the Wicked cometh in his Stead*? v. 8.

A. Remember, That *Solomon* writing his Proverbs, often had in his Eye, the Experience of his Father: And by Remembering This one Thing, you will have a notable *Key*, to open many Treasures in the Proverbs, hitherto unobserved.

Thus in the *Proverb* now before us; *David* was in *Trouble*; but that hee may bee delivered, *Saul* must come into *Trouble*, by the *Philistines* Invading of the Land.

Q. How does the *Hypocrite, with his Mouth destroy his Neighbour*? v. 9.

A. The Hebrew runs thus, *In Ore impurus corrumpit*.³³¹ As if *Solomons* Meaning were the same with the Apostles; *evil Communications corrupt good Manners*.³³²

But the *Just, knowing* the Danger of such Company, & the *Hurt* of their *Mouthes*, by keeping, from them, is delivered from them.³³³

Q. How is it, that *when it goes well with the Righteous, the City rejoices*? v. 10.

A. Dr. *Jermyns* Paraphrase, is, The particular Good of Righteous Men, is a general Good, because they Do Good unto many with it.³³⁴

Q. How does the *Blessing of the Upright, exalt a City*? v. 11.

A. They *pray* for the *City*. And as *Prayer* does *exalt the Upright*, bringing them to be like unto the *Angels*, & lift them up to converse with God; so it *exalts a City* to have such Persons in it. So *Jerusalem* was *exalted by Hezekiah*.³³⁵

Or else, (as Dr. *Jermyn* observes,) *The Blessing of the Upright*, is the Blessed Instruction, which proceeds from them, and *exalts the City* in Goodness & Happiness.³³⁶

³³⁰ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 158. See Appendix B.

³³¹ "With his mouth the godless man destroys [his neighbor]." Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 221; the Heb.: בִּפִּי הַגִּיף יִשְׁחַת רֵעֵהוּ "With his mouth the godless man destroys his neighbor" (NAU).

³³² 1 Cor. 15:33.

³³³ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 221.

³³⁴ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 222.

³³⁵ Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 222–23.

³³⁶ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 223.

The *Mouth of the Wicked*, which dishonours God, by *Swearing & Lying*, & *Lewdness*, & corrupts the Neighbourhood with evil Counsils, is as a Mine carried under the Walls of the City.³³⁷

[20r]

Q. In what way do some express their *Despising of their Neighbour*? v. 12.

A. Bernard ha's a Touch upon some such; *Multi sunt Filiorum Adam, qui erraverunt in Solitudine, qui in Solitudinem Superbiae recedentes, socialem Vitam habere non volunt, quorum, Singularitas associari non potest.*³³⁸

But a *wise Man*, whatever may be the Unworthiness of his Neighbour holds his Peace, and speaks as little of that, as he does of his own Worthiness.³³⁹

Q. In what Sense may that be taken; *A Man of Understanding holdeth his Peace*? v. 12.

A. Such a Man, when he is *Despised*, even then *holds his Peace*; and will take no notice of it; will forgive the Want of Understanding, & of good Manners, in them who are guilty of it.³⁴⁰

Q. A *Talebearer*? v. 13.

A. The Original is, *A Walking Pedler*. He ha's a Pack of *Secrets* at his Back; which having received at one Place, he openeth & disposeth at another.³⁴¹

Q. *Safety*, how in the *Multitude of Counsellours*? v. 14.

A. In the Original tis not so; but, In the *Largeness*, the *Muchness*, the *Greatness* of a *Counsellour*; That is, in a *Counsellour* who is a very Able one, and Furnished with great Accomplishments to render him one.³⁴²

When tis said, *where no Counsel is, the People fall*; our *Jermyn* takes it, where a People are oppressed with any Calamity, and there is no Consideration what may be the Cause of it, nor no Consultation how to Repent and Reform the Sins which may be the Cause of it, the People are there destroy'd by such a Calamity.³⁴³

³³⁷ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 223.

³³⁸ "Many there are of the sons of Adam who have wandered in solitude, and who going astray in to the desert of pride will not lead a sociable life, whose singularity cannot admit of fellowship." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 223) a citation from Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones de sanctis, Sermones in festo sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli*, sermo 1 [PL 183. 407; *Opera* 5]; transl. modified from Jermin.

³³⁹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 223.

³⁴⁰ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 224.

³⁴¹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 224.

³⁴² Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 225.

³⁴³ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 225.

Q. The Surety shall *smart*? v. 15.

A. The Hebrew is, *In breaking he shall be broken*; In the breaking of the Principal, he shall be broken himself.³⁴⁴

Q. How may we take that, *A merciful Man does good to his own Soul*, but the *Cruel troubles his own Flesh*? v. 17.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* ha's this Gloss upon it; The Care of a *merciful Man* is for his own *Soul*, and that he may *do good* unto that, he spares from his own Body, that he may give to the Poor.³⁴⁵ *Leo* has a great Saying, *efficacissima pro Peccatis deprecatio est in Eleemosynis atque Jejunijs, et Velociter ad divinas Aures conscendit talibus Oratio elevata Suffragijs*.³⁴⁶ But then, all the Care of the Wicked, is for his own *Flesh*. He is lavish upon that, and feeds it so gluttonously, that he troubles it with Fulness; & yett so *cruel* is hee, that he will not give a Crust of Bread unto a poor body.³⁴⁷

[20v]

Q. How is the Work of the Wicked, a *Deceitful Work*? v. 18.

A. R. *Solomon* expounds it so; Tis, *Mendax Opus*;³⁴⁸ and adds, *Opus impij eidem mentitur; in eo enim felicitatem suam sitam opinatur, verum omnia deficiunt, et evanescent*.³⁴⁹

The *sure Reward* of him that *soweth Righteousness*, is in the Original, *A Reward of Truth*. *Truth* shall be his *Reward*.³⁵⁰

Q. When does *Hand join in Hand*? v. 21.

³⁴⁴ Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 225–26. Here verse 15 reads: רַעֲיוֹרֵעַ כִּי־עָרַב זֶר וְשָׁנָא תִקְעִים בּוֹטֵחַ translated by the *ESV* as: “Whoever puts up security for a stranger will surely suffer harm, but he who hates striking hands in pledge is secure.” KJV 1611: “He that is suretie for a stranger, shall smart for it: and he that hateth suretiship, is sure.” Mather refers to the expression “striking hands in pledge” (or the handshake), drawn from the verb תָּקַע [taqa] “drive, thrust, blow, strike.” See Gen. 43:9; 44:32–33.

³⁴⁵ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 227.

³⁴⁶ “The most effectual deprecation for sins is in fasting and alms, and speedily does that prayer ascend into the divine ears, which is lifted up with the suffrage of these voices.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 227), a citation from Pope Leo the Great (Leo I, Leo Magnus, d. 461), *Sermoes in praecipuis totius anni festivitibus ad Romanam plebem habiti*, sermo 16, cap. 2 [PL 54. 177; CCSL 138]; transl. modified from Jermin.

³⁴⁷ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 227.

³⁴⁸ “A lying work.” Mather cites Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 228; transl.: Jermin.

³⁴⁹ “The work of a wicked man lies unto him, for he thinks his happiness to be placed in it, but all things fail and vanish.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 228), Mather quotes Rashi on Prov. 11:18; Transl.: Jermin; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 155; Rashi in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, p. 64, at Prov. 11:18: “The wage of a wicked man lies to him. He thinks that his prosperity will remain, but all is lost.”

³⁵⁰ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 228.

A. *Gregories Exposition is; Manus in Manu jungi solet, quando quiescit in Otio, et nullus eam Usus Laboris exercet.*³⁵¹ It means, *Idleness*. Yett the *Heart*, and the *Tongue*, may make Men guilty of punishable Wickedness, when their *Hands* are Idle.

One proposes this Meaning, Tho' the *Hand* of the Father deliver over his Estate into the *Hand* of his Posterity; yett, – a Curse goes with it.³⁵²

Because the Original is no more than, *Hand in Hand*, or, *Hand to Hand*, another gives this Exposition; As it is an easy thing to join Hands together, so Easily, so Speedily, so Readily shall Punishment follow the Wicked; so Close it shall stick unto him.³⁵³

R. *Solomon* expounds it so; *Transibit a Manu Dei ad illius Manum, Actionis Premium. Aben Ezra* so; *Adstat Deus Manui Impij, atque ideò non erit innoxius.*³⁵⁴

Most Interpreters, by, *Hand in Hand*, understand, the *Hands* of diverse Persons. **Dr. Patricks** Paraphrase, is, “Tho' the Wicked endeavour to strengthen himself & his Family by powerful Leagues & Confæderacies, & his Successors also have mighty Associates to maintain his Acquisitions, they shall not be able to defend themselves from the Punishment their Iniquity deserves.”³⁵⁵

But some take it, for the *Hands* of one & the same Person, who puts one hand into the other. Tho' a Sinner endeavour to hide his Sin (as a Man does a thing, which he holds in one Hand, & covers with the other,) yett he shall be found out, & suffer for it.³⁵⁶

[▽Insert from 21r]

[▽21r]

Q. The *golden Ring* in a *Swines Snout*? v. 22.

A. Take **Dr. Patricks** Paraphrase.

“As a *golden Ring* is ill placed in the Snout of a *Swine*, which is always routing in the Mire; so is Beauty ill bestowed on the Body of a Woman, whose Mind having lost all Savour and Relish of Vertue, carries her from her Husband, to wallow in filthy Lusts & adulterous Pleasures.”³⁵⁷

³⁵¹ “A hand is used to be joint in hand, when it ceases from work, and is not exercised by any use of labour.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 230), a citation from Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 25, cap. 5 [PL 76. 323; CCSL 143B]; transl. modified from Jermin.

³⁵² Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 230.

³⁵³ Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 230–31.

³⁵⁴ “From God's hand shall pass to his hand the reward of his doings”; “God stands by the hand of the wicked when he does any wickedness, and therefore he shall not be innocent, therefore not unpunished.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 231), Mather cites the glosses of Rashi and Ibn Ezra on Prov. 11:21; transl. modified from Jermin; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 156. Rashi and Ibn Ezra in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, pp. 64–65, at Prov. 11:21: “From the hand of the Holy One, blessed be He, to his hand shall come to him his wage” “The hand of God is opposite the hand of the wicked; therefore, he will not be cleansed.”

³⁵⁵ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 165.

³⁵⁶ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 155. See Appendix B.

³⁵⁷ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 166.

That Phrase / סַרְתָּ טַעַם /³⁵⁸ is by *Bochart* rendred, *Her Mind departeth*; to wit, from the Love of her Husband.³⁵⁹

[△] [△Insert ends]

Q. The *Scattering*, and yett, *Increasing*? v. 24.

A. Upon a Royal Text, you shall have a Royal Expositor. King *Theodoric* in *Cassiodore*, [L. 3. Ver. 29.] said; *Quis nescit illud bonis Principibus crescere, quod benignâ possunt largitate præstare?*³⁶⁰ The same King again said; *Semina sparsa in Segetem coalescunt, in unum coacta depereunt.*³⁶¹ His Conclusion was; *optamus Munera multis collata dividere ut possint ubique nostra Beneficiâ pullulare.*³⁶²

Q. The *liberal Soul*, how *made fat*? v. 25.

A. *Gregory* applies it unto Ministers; *Qui prædicando exterius benedicit, interioris augmenti Pinguedinem recipit.*³⁶³

That Clause, *He that watereth shall be watered also himself*; the Chaldee reads, *Qui docet, ipse etiam discet.*³⁶⁴

There was a Saying among the Jews, *ex Discipulis meis magis profeci, quàm ex Universis.*³⁶⁵ To Instruct others, is the Way to improve in Wisdome.³⁶⁶

[▽21r] [▽Insert from 21r]

Q. On that Proverb, *He who diligently seeketh Good, obtaineth Favour*? v. 27.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase.

358 סַרְתָּ טַעַם [sarat ta'am] with context "[Like a gold ring in a pig's snout is a beautiful woman] without discretion." Lit. "a beautiful woman who turns aside / goes away from judgment."

359 From Patrick (*Proverbs* 155), a reference to Bochart, *Hieroicozon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 57, p. 704.

360 "Who knows not, that to increase unto good princes, which by a gracious bounty they are able to bestow?" From Jermin (*Proverbs* 232), a citation from the Ostrogothic King Theoderic the Great (c. 453–526), committed to writing by the author and politician under Theoderic, Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus (c. 485/490–c. 580), *Variae*, lib. 3, epist. 29 [PL 69. 592; CCSL 96]; transl.: Jermin.

361 "Seeds being scattered grow to a harvest, but being heaped together they perish." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 233), a citation from Theoderic the Great, in Cassiodorus, *Variae*, lib. 3, epist. 29 [PL 69. 592; CCSL 96]; transl.: Jermin.

362 "We wish therefore that our gifts may be scattered among many, that every where our bounty may grow and spring up." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 233), a citation from Theoderic the Great, in Cassiodorus, *Variae*, lib. 3, epist. 29 [PL 69. 592; CCSL 96]; transl.: Jermin.

363 "A man who goes out and dispenses blessings by his teaching, receives the fullness of interior increase." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 233), a citation from Gregory the Great, *Regula pastoralis*, pars 3, cap. 25 [PL 77. 97; SC 382]; transl.: ACW 11.

364 "He that teaches shall himself also learn." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 233), a citation from the Targum on Prov. 11:25; see also Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:344); *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 158; see *The Targum of Proverbs* at this verse; transl.: Jermin.

365 "I have profited more by my pupils than by all things." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 233), a citation from the gloss of Ralbag on Prov. 11:25; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 160.

366 See Appendix B.

“He that from the Time he rises, studies nothing but how to do good unto others, shall obtain Favour both with God & Man.”³⁶⁷

[△Insert ends]

[△]

Q. Who is he which *Troubles his own House*? v. 29.

A. *Lyra* thus expounds it; He who *Troubles* his own Family, by bringing a Shame and a Dishonour upon it, shall be driven from thence, as it were by a *Wind*, and shall not be accounted one of the House.³⁶⁸ Apply it unto a Degenerate Offspring.

Q. How is a *Fool, a Servant unto the Wise*? v. 29.

A. *Gregory* carries it so; *Stultus Sapienti etiam Dominando servit, quem ad Meliorem Statum premendo provehit*. A Fool, even when he has gott a wise Man under him, yett serves him, while he advanceth him to more of Goodness.³⁶⁹

Q. How is the *Fruit of the Righteous a Tree of Life*? v. 30.

A. It abides forever.

Yea, the Righteous not only brings forth *Fruits* of Life, but even *Trees* of Life; others who bring forth *Fruit* unto God.

R. *Levi* so expounds it; It sufficeth not a Righteous Man, that he have *Life* in himself; except he obtain it for others also.³⁷⁰

|

[21r]

Q. A Paraphrase, on the Verse about, *The Fruit of the Righteous*, and, *The Tree of Life*? v. 30.

A. *Dr. Patrick* thus paraphrases the Verse.

“The Benefit the World receives from a Just & Charitable Man, is so great, that it may be compared unto the Fruit of the *Tree of Life*, which keeps Mankind from being miserable. But he is the greatest Benefactor of all; who communicates Wisdome so charitably & seasonably, that he drawes Souls to the Love of Vertue.”³⁷¹

|

v. 30. *Tree of Life*. The Hebrews calld all wholesome Plants *Trees of Life*, as all noxious ones *Trees of Death*. When therefore it is said *the Fruit of the Right-*

[21v]

³⁶⁷ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 168.

³⁶⁸ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 236), a reference to Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla* at Prov. 11:29.

³⁶⁹ “A fool therefore serves the wise in heart, even in ruling over him, and while he oppresses him, advances him to a better condion.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 236), Mather refers to Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 20, cap. 24 [PL 76. 169; CCSL 143A].

³⁷⁰ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 236), a citation from Ralbag on Prov. 11:30; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 164.

³⁷¹ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 169.

eous, is a Tree of Life, it means that his {Lists?} are salutary, refreshing & healing. – *Fruit* is to be {replaced?} from *Winning* in last Clause.³⁷²

³⁷² This annotation on v. 30 is in a different, much more ornamental handwriting, which is only partly legible. The phrase “in the last Clause” appears to refer to the end of Prov. 11:30: “he that winneth souls is wise.”

Q. What may be meant by, *The Root of the Righteous?* v. 3.

A. *Aben Ezra* tells us, *Radix est Symbolum Posteritatis, quam illi quum vitâ defunguntur post se relinquunt.*³⁷³ The Posterity, that good Men leave behind them on the Earth; God will have these to subsist still in the Happiness of their Father.

Q. The *Thoughts of the Righteous*, how are they *Right?* v. 5.

A. One gives this Meaning of it; The Study of the Righteous, and that about which their Minds are busied, is, How they may *do Right* unto every one. When the Study of the Wicked is, How to *Deceive* all the World.³⁷⁴

Q. The *Righteous Man regarding the Life of his Beast*, opposed unto the *Cruel Man?* v. 10.

A. *Lyra* tells us, The Jews were *cruel*; and this was one Reason why the Law commanded them to rest their *Beasts* on the Sabbath-day; that from a *Mercy* towards *Beasts*, they might learn a *Mercy* towards *Men*.³⁷⁵

Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase is this.

“A good Man takes care, that his Beast be well used, & have Food & Rest convenient for it; which is more than Men bent upon Wickedness, will do for their Neighbours. For their very Kindnesses, being Treacherous, are a cruel Cheat; nay, the Highest Expressions which they make of Tenderness & Compassion (whereby they induce others to repose a Trust in them) are intended meerly as a Cover, for the Mischief they mean more surely to do them.”³⁷⁶

Q. How does the *Root of the Righteous yeeld Fruit?* v. 12.

A. Wicked Men live by catching all they can catch. With the *Nett of evil Men* they hold as good Purchase, whatever is gott into it. But the Heart of the *Righteous* is like a *Fruitful Root*, which having suck'd the Fatness of the Earth, does yeeld it again in plentiful *Fruit*, & is for the good of others as well as for his own Benefit.³⁷⁷

Q. How does a *prudent Man*, cover *Shame?* v. 16.

³⁷³ “The root is a symbol of posterity, which they who are gone hence do leave behind them.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 240), a citation from Ibn Ezra on Prov. 12:3; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 166; see *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, p. 216, on that verse; transl.: Jermin.

³⁷⁴ Mather paraphrases Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 241.

³⁷⁵ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 245); see Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla* at this verse.

³⁷⁶ Patrick, *Proverbs*, pp. 177–78.

³⁷⁷ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 246.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase.

“A prudent Man is not unseemly transported by his Passions; but stifles his Resentments, even of the most Reproachful Injuries that are done him.”³⁷⁸

[22v] |

Q. How does *he that speaks the Truth, show forth Righteousness?* v. 17.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase.

“He that freely and boldly speaks the Truth, & nothing but the Truth, demonstrates himself an honest Man, & does Justice unto others.”³⁷⁹

Q. Who are they that *speak like the Piercings of a Sword?* v. 18.

A. R. *Solomon* understands that Speech to be *like the Piercings of a Sword*, which, *Mortales inter se miscet, illisque Patrandæ necis ansam præbet*,³⁸⁰ settts Men together by the Ears, & putts them upon stabbing one another.

Q. How is, *A lying Tongue but for a Moment?* v. 19.

A. Its Falshood is presently discovered. *Aben Ezra* notes, The Word which we translate, *A Moment*, signifies, *Rest*.³⁸¹ Therefore, A. *Montanus* renders it, *The Lip of Truth – makes the lying Tongue forever ly still*.³⁸²

Q. How is, *Deceit in the Heart of them that Imagine Evil?* v. 20.

A. They shall be *Deceived* in their Expectations; & shall themselves fall into that *Evil*, which they design to bring upon others.

Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase is; “They do but deceive themselves, who look for any Satisfaction from Dissensions & Disturbances.”³⁸³

Q. What is the *Good Word*, that makes *Glad*, the *Heavy* and *Stouping Heart?* v. 25.

³⁷⁸ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 180.

³⁷⁹ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 180.

³⁸⁰ “Stirs up men, and gives them occasion of committing murder.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 250), Mather cites Rashi’s gloss on Prov. 12:18; transl. modified from Jermin. See also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 175; and Rashi in *Mikraoth Gedoloth, Proverbs*, p. 71, at Prov. 12:18: “For he stirs up the people and causes them to kill.”

³⁸¹ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 251), a citation from Ibn Ezra on Prov. 12:19; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 175.

³⁸² From Jermin (*Proverbs* 251), Mather cites the marginal annotation on Prov. 12:19 in the famous Antwerp Polyglot Bible (*Biblia Polyglotta Regia*) edited by the Spanish Hebraist and Orientalist Benedictus Arias Montanus (Benito Arias Montano, 1527–1598). The first edition was published in eight volumes between 1569–1573. In the later edition with the annotations of Vatablus, published under the title *Sacra Biblia, hebraice, graece, et latine* (1599), this gloss can be found in vol. 2, p. 236, and reads: “in perpetuum cessare faciam linguam mendacij vel succida linguam mendace.”

³⁸³ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 181.

A. Hear Dr. *Jermyn*. “An *Heavy burden* will bow the Knees of the Heart in Prayer to God; will bow the Neck of the Heart unto the Yoke of Gods Law; will bow the Back of the Heart in Patience under Gods Will; will humble & cast down the Eyes of the Heart from Vanity & Pride. But what is that *Good Word* that makes it *Glad*? Surely, as none is good but God, so there is no *Good Word*, but the eternal Word of God. CHRIST alone is the True Joy of the Heart.”³⁸⁴

Thus *Bede* on this Place: *Necesse est ut prius Peccatorem Mæror Penitentia salubriter humiliet, et ità postmodum per Judicium Sacerdotis, Sermo datæ Reconciliationis letificet.*³⁸⁵

³⁸⁴ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 254.

³⁸⁵ “It is necessary that first the sorrow of repentance humbles a sinner, and so afterwards the word of reconciliation makes him glad by the insight of the minister.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 255), a citation from Bede the Venerable, *Super parabolas Salomonis allegorica expositio*, lib. 2, cap. 12 [PL 91. 977; CCSL 119B].; transl. modified from Jermin.

Q. A very particular Sense of the Clause, which we render, *A wise Son heareth his Fathers Instruction?* v. 1.

A. The Word, *Heareth*, is not in the Original. R. *Solomon* supplies it, *Amat, Rogatque*.³⁸⁶ But the Original is Word for Word, as the Vulgar Latin reads it; *Filius sapiens Doctrina Patris*. A wise Son is the Learning of his Father.³⁸⁷ And the Exposition that old *Bede* gives of it, is; *Aliquandò profectu Eruditionis, ad eum, qui se docuerat, docendum perveniat*.³⁸⁸ By Increase in Learning he becomes Able to teach his Teacher.

Q. How is a Man *fed by the Fruit of his Mouth?* v. 2.

A. We are all apprised of the obvious and common Sense. But if, with Dr. *Jermyn* we look for a further Meaning; we may say this. The Mouth of Man does Blossom, when he speaks fair, and promises well; but then it bears *Fruit*, when that is performed, which was promised. *Good* comes of this Fidelity; the Man enjoys the *Good* and Comfort of it.³⁸⁹

It is *Good*, that the *Tongue* of every one should be as that of the Psalmist was; *like the Pen of a Ready Writer*. For, as *Austin* remarks; *Quod Lingua dicitur, sonat et transit, quod scribitur, manet*; so, that which a Man promises, must be as good as *written*; and he must continue in the Performance of it; it must not vanish in Words.³⁹⁰

Q. In what Sense take you those Words, *The Sluggard Desireth and hath Nothing?* v. 4.

A. One Author asserting, that the *Will* of Man is not free from the Guidance of his *Understanding*, in answer to that Objection of Experience, *Video Meliora*

³⁸⁶ “Loves and entreats.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 257), Mather refers to Rashi on Prov. 13:1; transl.: Jermin. See also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 182; and Rashi in *Mikraoth Gedoloth, Proverbs*, p. 73, on that verse: “This is an elliptical verse: a wise son asks for and loves his father’s discipline . . .”

³⁸⁷ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 258. Here the Hebrew is: בֶּן חָכִים מוֹסֵר אָב “A wise son [hears his] father’s instruction,” the *ESV* supplies “hears his”; *VUL*: *filius sapiens doctrina patris* “a wise son [follows his] father’s instruction.”

³⁸⁸ “By increase in learning he sometimes becomes able to teach his teacher.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 258), a citation from Bede the Venerable, *Super parabolas Salomonis allegorica expositio*, lib. 2, cap. 13 [PL 91. 978; *CCSL* 119B]; transl. modified from Jermin.

³⁸⁹ Mather quotes Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 258.

³⁹⁰ “That which is spoken with the tongue sounds and passes away, but that which is written abides.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 258), a citation from Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Ps. 44 [PL 36. 498; *CCSL* 38]; transl.: Jermin.

proboque Deteriora sequor,³⁹¹ wherein the Inclinations of the *Will* seem to fight against the Dictates of the *Understanding*, hee ha's these Words.

"Solomon observes the Nature of this Experience more narrowly than any *Medæa*; and hee thus expresses it: Prov. 13.4. *The Soul of the Sluggard Desireth & hath nothing: Hath*, is added by the Translators; if wee lett the Text supply itself, it is thus. *The Soul of the Sluggard Desireth, and Not*; to wit, *Desireth*. The Opposition is in the same Facultyes, a *Desire*, and *Not a Desire*; a *Will* and *not a Will*. There is the Vacillation of the Judgment, as well as a *Velleitie* of the Will."³⁹²

1596:

Q. That Proverb, *The Ransom of a Mans Life is his Riches*; how far may the Sense of it bee extended? v. 8.

A. *The Redemption of the Soul of a Man is his Riches*: The True Riches, lye in the Salvation of the Soul. A wholesome Admonition, unto us, in our eager Pursuit of Riches!³⁹³

Ambrose takes it in another Sense; *Redemptio Animæ hominis, Divitiæ ejus, quibus utique fit Misericordiâ, quæ Sumptu Pauperes levat*.³⁹⁴

But then Jerom comes with his, *melior est Intelligentia, ut Divitiâs proprias cognoscamus Thesaurus absconditos, quos nec fur possit suffodere, nec Latro violentius eripere*.³⁹⁵

[23v]

³⁹¹ "I see the better and approve it, but I follow the worse." This is a quote from the Roman poet Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso, 43 BCE–17 CE), *Metamorphoses* 7.20–21 (transl.: LCL 42, p. 342). The seventh book contains the stories of Jason and Medea and the words are spoken by the latter.

³⁹² For this entry Mather may be drawing upon a work of the English Puritan divine William Fenner (1600–1640). The above-cited quote from Ovid, including the attribution to Medea, appears in Fenner's *A Treatise of the Affections*, in *The Works of the the Learned and Faithful Minister of God's Word William Fenner* (1657, no continuous pagination), p. 6. A reading of Prov. 13:4 similar to that given by Mather appears in *Willfull Impenitency: The grossest Self-Murder*, in *The Works*, p. 19. This book was in the Mather family library. Fenner's works in many ways anticipate Jonathan Edwards's affection-centred anthropology and theology, as put forth in his *Treatise on Religious Affections* (1746) as well as the anti-Arminian arguments of his *Freedom of the Will* (1754).

³⁹³ For an extended reading of this verse along the same lines, see Mather's tract, *The true Riches: A Present of glorious and immense Riches ... In a brief Essay on the unsearcheable Riches of Christ* (1724), pp. 11–14.

³⁹⁴ "Riches are the ransom of the soul of man, for by them mercy is exercised, which is at cost to ease the poor." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 262), a citation from Ambrose, *Epistolæ*, epist. 7 [PL 16. 905; CSEL 82.1]; transl.: Jermin. Mather has "levat" (ease), where Jermin and the PL have "juvat" (help).

³⁹⁵ "The better understanding of the place is, to take the riches here for those hidden riches of godliness, which neither the thief can steal away secretly, nor the robber take away violently." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 262), a citation from Jerome, *Epistolæ*, epist. 71 [PL 22. 671; CSEL 55]; transl.: Jermin.

1720:

Q. *Only by Pride comes Contention?* v. 10.

A. Tho' there bee nothing else but *Pride*, no Occasion of *Contention* at all, yett *Pride*, as tis in the Originial, / יְתֵן מְצָה / will *give Contention*. If there bee no Cause *given*, it will make it.³⁹⁶

Q. Who is he that *gathereth by Labour?* v. 11.

A. The Originial is, *congregans usque ad Manum*;³⁹⁷ He that *gathereth into his Hand*. It may admit this Exposition; He that *gathereth, usque ad Manum, non usque ad Marsupium*;³⁹⁸ unto his hand, & hath it in his *Hand* still to give to the Poor; not he that *gathereth into his Purse*; there to Imprison it. Thus the *Chaldee* reads it; *Qui congregat et dat Pauperi*.³⁹⁹

Or, it may be taken so; He that *gathereth usque ad Manum*,⁴⁰⁰ so that he hath but *from hand to Mouth*, and is contented with it; he shall enjoy all the Comforts of *Increase*.⁴⁰¹

Q. In this Proverb, *when the Desire comes*, it is a *Tree of Life*. May not the Holy Spirit have some reference to the *Coming* of our Saviour, who is, *The Desire of All Nations?* [Hag. II.7.] And will be the *Tree of Life* unto them? v. 12.

A. Why not?

Q. On a *good Understanding giving Favour*, but the *Way of Transgressors hard?* v. 15.

A. Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase is this. "A Prudent, Pious, & Regular Behaviour, is most amiable & acceptable to all Men: but the Conversation of such as live by no Law but their own Lusts, like *Rough Way*, is grievously uneasy."⁴⁰²

He gives another Paraphrase. "If a Man have Understanding enough to be thoroughly good, he will find things favourable to his honest Desires: but they who take evil Courses meet with great Difficulties, & are forced to go backward

³⁹⁶ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 264. Attention is drawn here to the literal meaning of the verb "to give" (יָתַן). The KJV has: "Only by pride cometh [lit. gives] contention."

³⁹⁷ "Gathers to his hand." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 264), a citation Jermin attributes to the Bishop of Lyon, Eucherius Lugdunensis (d. c. 449). However, the text could not be located in Eucherius's works in the PL. See also Matthew Poole, *Synopsis criticorum aliorumque Sacre Scripture*, vol. 2 (1678), p. 1475.

³⁹⁸ "To his hand, not to his purse." (See above.)

³⁹⁹ "He that gathers and gives to the poor, he shall increase." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 265), a citation from the Targum on Prov. 13:11; see *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 188; *The Targum of Proverbs* at this verse; transl.: Jermin.

⁴⁰⁰ "To his hand." (See above.)

⁴⁰¹ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 264–65.

⁴⁰² Patrick, *Proverbs*, pp. 192–93.

& forward, & wind & turn every Way, to bring about their Ends, or to save themselves perhaps from Ruine.”⁴⁰³

[▽Insert from 24r–25v]⁴⁰⁴

[▽24r–24v]

Q. Instances wherein, *The Way of Transgressors is hard?* v. 15.

A. It is horribly instanced in the cruel Severities, which the Votaries of a False Religion often impose upon themselves. Our Dear Saviour has told us, *my Yoke is easy, & my burden is light*.⁴⁰⁵ And, a most gracious & merciful Redeemer; Thy Disciples find it so! But then, they who are Enemies to the Religion of the Redeemer, are by the *Destroyer* led blindfold on, to the Exercise of such Cruelties upon themselves, that it is almost an Inhumanity to mention them.

What *Austerities* are found among the Roman-Catholicks? How foolishly does the Superstition of those Idolaters, oblige them to *Deny* themselves of those Comforts, which *God* allows & which *Nature* calls for? To what Miseries do their several *Orders* tie up themselves, by the *Rules* of their *Orders*? What *Penances* do they undergo for the *Pardon* of their Sins, rather than putt their Trust in the Blood of *Jesus* for their *Pardon*?

But lett us travel further afield. Honest Mr. *Terry*, in his Voyage to *East-India*, gives an Account of what he observed in the mighty Empire of *Indoustan*.⁴⁰⁶

Among other Things, he takes notice, of the *Dervishes* among the *Mahometans*, who relinquish the World and spend all their Dayes in Solitude; expecting a Recompense in another Life.

There are some, who live *Alone*, on the Tops of Hills, covered with Trees & there spend their whole Time in Contemplation, without ever stirring from the Place they first fix on; except, – *Ad requista Naturæ*.⁴⁰⁷ Here they cry out continually; *God Almighty, look upon me. I love thee; I love not the World; I do all this for thy Sake. Look upon me, God Almighty!* After they thus retire, they never suffer the *Razor*, or *Scissors*, to come upon their Heads, but grow like *Nebuchadnezzar*. Yea, they will rather famish than stir; and therefore they wholly subsist on the Releefs that Charity sends in unto them; This also must be of a coarser Food,

⁴⁰³ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 186.

⁴⁰⁴ See Appendix B.

⁴⁰⁵ Matt. 11:30.

⁴⁰⁶ Paraphrases from Edward Terry, *A Voyage to East-India* (1655), sect. 16, pp. 281–83. The Anglican Divine Terry (1589/90–1660) spent more than two years in India as chaplain of the East India Company and then as chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe (1581–1644), the British ambassador at the court of Mughal Emperor Jahangir. There he collected a historically valuable account of the entire Mughal dominions and their varied inhabitants, which he subsequently published, first in a short version as part of the 1625 edition of Samuel Purchas’s famous *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, and then independently in the much longer version cited by Mather (*ODNB*).

⁴⁰⁷ “At the call of nature.” From Terry, *A Voyage to East-India*, sect. 16, p. 281.

else they will refuse it; nor must it be more at one Time, than will suffice for the present Support of Nature.

Some will impose a *long Fast* on themselves, and will take no Food, until the Strength of Nature be almost exhausted & expired.

Others will go stark Naked, except a little Covering on their *Shame*; they beg all they eat; they live like the *Energumens* which our Saviour found among the Tombs; they make little Fires in the day; and in the night they wallow in the warm Ashes, which do sufficiently besmear their Bodies.

[24v] There are those, which like the old Priests of *Baal*, often *cutt their Flesh with Knives*. And there are others, who putt such massie Fetters of Iron on their Legs, that they can hardly stir with them; and then covered with *Blue Mantles*, (the Colour of *Mourners* there) as fast as they are able, they go many | Miles in Pilgrimages Barefoot, on the hott parching Ground, to visit the Sepulchres of their Saints.

Dr. *Fryer* tells us, what Austerities he found among the *Faquirs*. He saw, some whose Nails grew as long as their Fingers, and pierced thro' the Flesh.⁴⁰⁸

Others with their Arms dislocated so, that the διαρθρωσις of the Joints is inverted;⁴⁰⁹ and the Head of the Bone lies in the Pitt of the Arm. Their Arms now hang as useless Appendices to the Body; & unless releevd by Charity, they are helpless in all Offices to themselves.

Others fixing their Eyes upon Heaven, their Heads hanging over their Shoulders, are incapable of Removing it from the Posture they are in. They have contracted and stiffened the Tendons of the Muscles in the Neck; those belonging to the Gullet, or the Motions of the Head, are become unserviceable. No Aliment, but Liquid, can pass down, & that with much of Difficulty.

Others by continual Abstinence, bring themselves into a such strangely emaciated Habit of Body, that they seem only walking Skeletons.

All of them go Naked, except just on the Shame of Nature; and they be-daub themselves over with Ashes; & with their plaited Hair about their Heads, look like so many *Magera's*.

They ly on the Ground, or a Matt. Some of them in all Seasons abide the open Air.

The Penance of the *Five Fires* among them; The Wretch standing on his Head, for three Hours together, & sweating like a Basted Goose, between Four Fires, & the Sun (the fifth) basking on him; Tis a prodigious Thing. Some De-

⁴⁰⁸ Paraphrases from John Fryer, *A new Account of East-India and Persia* (1698), letter 3, ch. 2, pp. 102–03. Educated at Trinity College, Oxford, Fryer (Fryar, Friar, c. 1650–1733) was a physician and naturalist, who traveled to India and Persia on behalf of the East Indian Company between 1672 and 1682. His account of the journey is remarkable for its attention to natural history as well as religious customs and local medical lore. In 1697 Fryer was elected a fellow of the Royal Society (*ODNB*).

⁴⁰⁹ Διαρθρωσις [diarthrosis] “articulation that permits free movement.”

voute had made a Vow, but keep on their Feet, for sixteen Years together. They lean'd on Pillowes, hung on a String from a Tree; with a pompous Attendance of Admirers.⁴¹⁰

What Hardships do the strict Sect of the *Banians* comply with? They which eat of nothing that hath had, or may have *Life*.

[▽Insert from 25r–25v]⁴¹¹

[▽25r–25v]

I can't forbear producing one Instance more, from the *Sieur Luillier's* Voyage to the *East Indies*.⁴¹²

“Among the *Bengalians*, those who resolve to perform the *Virvir*, present themselves before such as are appointed to see it executed. They immediately run several Packing-Needles into diverse Parts of their Flesh, like a Fowl that is larded. Then Two Men thread two of them, which they draw thro' the Flesh on both Sides, and each holds the two Ends of the Thread, the Pænitent going backwards & forwards, so that the Thread cutts the Flesh. It is easy to guess, what the Man endures under these Tortures; yett this is not all. For they next, run a Spitt three foot long into his Tongue; so that he is all over stuck with great Needles; and his Tongue ha's an Iron through it, sticking out a foot & a half above, and as much below. In this Condition they draw him up, by two Hooks made fast to a Cross Staff or Pole, fix'd to a Stake; at the foot whereof stands a Man, holding a Rope ty'd to the other End of the Cross Bar. This Rope serves to twirl the said Cross Bar about; and assoon as the two Hooks have taken hold on the Pænitents Back, he who stands at the Foot of the Stake, begins to drive it about; which being done extraordinary swiftly, there might be danger, that the two Hooks should fail with the Weight of the Body, and the Flesh bee torn off: To prevent the which the Man is bound by the Middle to the Cross Bar, with a long Peece of Linnen; For should the Hooks fail, by tearing off the Flesh, the Man would drop; and being raised high, & turning fast, he might be kill'd with the Fall. The Excess of Pain, and the Rapidity of turning, causing the Pænitent often to faint away, they putt into his Hands, which are bound together, an Iron Rod, | whereon they cast Frankincense, & other Perfumes, to prevent his Swooning; and assoon as those Swats are spent, they throw on more; continuing so to do till the End. When the Perfumes cannot keep him from fainting, they cast cold Water over him to rouse his Spirits: However, the Pains are so violent, that they often dy under them. The time appointed for twirling round, being expired, the Man is taken down; and all Persons come to honour him, being

[25v]

⁴¹⁰ See Appendix A.

⁴¹¹ This insert is a small additional leaf attached to 29r.

⁴¹² Mather references Luillier-Lagaudiers, a French traveler to India, China and other countries in 1702–1703, whose popular *Nouveau voyage du Sieur Luillier aux Grandes Indes* (1705) was excerpted in Capt. William Symson's *A new Voyage to the East Indies ... with many excellent Remarks by the Sieur Luillier* (1715), pp. 282–84.

look'd on as a Friend unto the Gods; mighty Alms are gathered for him, and he is attended by all the Company to a *Brachmans* House. There he is immediately anointed with a sovereign Balm, which works such a Cure in Two Days, that nothing soon remains, but the bare Idæa of what he endured. Those who perform this Sort of Penance, are Persons of the lowest Race; And they do it for two Reasons. The first is, To gett Money, which they are very covetous of. And the second is, To merit before their Gods, that when they die, their Souls may be sent into Bodies of the First Race; for it is very miserable to be of the Last."

[△] [△Insert ends; resumed on 24v]

Our Saviour ha's præscribed unto the sorrowful *Widowes*, a Conduct, that shall moderate their Sorrow.⁴¹³ But, what a Tragical Spectacle is commonly seen among the *Pagans*; in the *Widowes* burning themselves alive with their Dead Husbands. It shocks Humanity, to read the Relations which Travellers give us, of these Diabolical Funerals!

These are some of the *Hard Wayes* which the *Transgressors* are left unto!

[△] [△Insert ends]

[23v]

Q. A *Wicked Messenger*, and a *Faithful Ambassador*; who? v. 17.

A. The *Vulgar Latin*, agrees well enough with the Original, *The Messenger of a wicked Man*. Understand the other Clause accordingly. It shewes, That the Instruments of wicked Men, & of godly Men, fare according to what they are employ'd in.⁴¹⁴

Q. How may we understand that Passage, *The Desire accomplished is sweet to the Soul*? v. 19.

A. Some join this Verse, to that which is next before it; and they take the Meaning to be: That the *Desire* of him, whose *Reproof* is regarded, being *accomplished*, it is *sweet unto him*; but the *Abomination* that *Fools* have to *depart from Evil*, makes them deny this Contentment unto him.⁴¹⁵ On this Passage; *An Abomination to Fools, to depart from Evil*, Dr. *Jermyn* ha's this Remark. *Moses* tells *Pharoah*, *we shall sacrifice the Abomination of the Egyptians unto the Lord our*

⁴¹³ In many stories of the Gospels, Jesus shows special sensitivity to the plight of widows and famously rebukes the Pharisees' treatment of widows in Matt. 23:14. In the early Christian communities particular care was taken of widows (see, for instance, Acts 6:1–7; Jas. 1:27).

⁴¹⁴ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 268; the VUL has: "nuntius impii cadet in malum legatus fidelis sanitas."

⁴¹⁵ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 269.

God. Austin applies it thus; *Sacrificia Israelitarum sunt Abominationes Ægyptijs; sic Iniquis Vita Justorum*; – so the Lives of the Godly are to the Wicked.⁴¹⁶

In that Clause of, *The Desire accomplished*, the Hebrew Word for, *Accomplished*, may be rendred, *Broken*, or, *Weakened*. R. *Levi Gershom* ha's this Gloss upon it; The *lustful Desire* of the Heart, being Subdued, Conquered, *Broken*, there arises a *Sweetness* to the Soul, and very much of Satisfaction.⁴¹⁷

Q. The Maxim about, *walking with the Wise*, and being a *Companion of Fools*? v. 20.

A. It is not enough to *sitt* with the *Wise*; we must *walk* with them; *walk*, in the Ways of their *Wisdom*.

A *Companion of Fools*, here according to the Hebrew, is, one that *eats with Fools*. It implies a Familiarity with them.

Tertullian ha's a Notable Verse.

*Verè Mente cares, sequeris qui Mente carentes.*⁴¹⁸

Q. The Meaning of that Verse; *There is much Food in the Tillage of the Poor; but there is that is destroy'd for Want of Judgment*? v. 23.

A. The common Interpretations are well known.⁴¹⁹

But, I can't forbear inserting one of Dr. *Jermins*. They are the *Poor*, which *Till* and Dress the Ground, and it is from their Labour, that the *Abundance of Food* cometh. And yett sometimes *there is* that little Regard to the Poor, & that Wrong done them, that for *Want of Judgment*, their Wages are not paid them, & they can't come at their Right, & in their Distress no Releef is afforded them: so they are even *Destroy'd* by their Miseries.⁴²⁰

Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase is; "There is a Sort of Men, whose larger Estates are wasted; either for Want of Skill to improve their Ground, or because they do not pay the Hireling his Wages."⁴²¹

⁴¹⁶ "The sacrifices of the Israelites are an abomination to the Egyptians, as the lives of the godly are to the wicked." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 269), a citation from Augustine, *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, lib. 2, quaestio 28 [PL 34. 605; CSEL 28.2; CCSL 33]; transl.: Jermin.

⁴¹⁷ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 269–70), a citation from Ralbag on Prov. 13:19; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 194; at this verse see the rabbinical discussion in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, p. 78.

⁴¹⁸ "You are indeed void of understanding, you who follow those that are void of understanding." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 270), a citation from *Carmen ad senatorem*, cap. 2 [PL 2. 1106; CSEL 23], from an unknown author, which the CSEL attributes to Pseudo-Cyprian (Cyprianus Gallus); transl.: Jermin.

⁴¹⁹ See, for instance, Taylor's gloss in the *Westminster Annotations* on this verse: "That a poor Man may thrive and do well, through his labour and industry (and God's blessing upon it; as must be supplied from other places) when rich men are consumes . . ."

⁴²⁰ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 273.

⁴²¹ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 195.

Q. *He that is perverted in his Wayes despiseth him.* Whom? v. 2.

A. The Vulgar Latin takes it not as referring to *God*, but to him that *walketh in his Uprightness*. He is a Despiser of the *upright Man*. The Original well enough allows this Reference. And the Rabbi's do some of them expound it so.⁴²²

Q. The *Rod of Pride*? v. 3.

A. *Aben Ezra* expounds, it, His *Tongue*.⁴²³

Q. That Proverb, *where no Oxen are, the Crib is clean*? v. 4.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* proposes, that we call in, the Consideration of the Divine Tillage, which is carried on by the Ministers of the Gospel; who are, as *Jerom* saies, *Boves Domini sustentantes jugum, in quorum Vestigia qui severit Beatus erit*.⁴²⁴ If these be wanting, a Scarcity of all Good will follow.

Munster has a good Hint; *Accommodari potest hoc Proverbium, ad Studiosos Literarum*.⁴²⁵

Q. How is it that a *Faithful Witness will not ly*? v. 5.

A. He won't by any Perswasions or Threatenings, be drawn back from the Truth which he has witnessed. He will stand to his Testimony. *Lots* Wife, as *Austin* speaks, *Illi quoddam præstitit Condimentum quo sapiat*.⁴²⁶

[▽28r] [▽Insert from 28r]⁴²⁷

Q. On that, *A Scornor seeking Wisdome, & not finding it*? v. 6.

⁴²² Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 276; the VUL has: "ambulans recto itinere et timens Deum despicitur ab eo qui infami graditur via." See also the rabbinic glosses in *In Proverbia Salomonis*, pp. 198–99.

⁴²³ Ibn Ezra on Prov. 14:3; see *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 199; compare Ibn Ezra at this verse in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, p. 80.

⁴²⁴ "Oxen that bear the yoke of the Lord, in whose steps he who will sow will be blessed." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 277), a citation from Jerome, *Commentarii in Abacuc*, lib. 2 [PL 25. 1335; CCSL 76A]; transl. modified from Jermin.

⁴²⁵ "This proverb can be applied to the students of letters." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4173).

⁴²⁶ "Has given him a condiment therewith to make him wise." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 278), a citation from Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, lib. 16, cap. 30 [PL 41. 509; CSEL 40; CCSL 48]; transl.: Jermin.

⁴²⁷ See Appendix B.

A. Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase is; "He that Scoffs and Jeers, at every thing he reads or hears, would be thought wise; but loses all the Pains, which perhaps, he takes, to be so."⁴²⁸

Jansenius thinks, The Wise Man here means, one who hath accustomed himself to laugh at all wholesome Council, and in some Strait begins to think what is best to be done, but commonly finds himself at such a Loss, that he cannot see his Way out of it.⁴²⁹

It may (as Dr. *Patrick* observes) be applied also to those, who having mock'd at Religion all their Days, at last desire to understand it, but cannot, thro' their own Inveterate Indisposition to it.⁴³⁰

[△Insert ends]

[△]

Q. The sinful *Folly* of the Wicked, how is it *Deceit*? v. 8.

A. They are drawn into it, by being *Deceived*; the Divil *Deceives* them.⁴³¹

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Q. That Proverb, *Fools make a Mock of Sin, but among the Righteous there is Favour*; Is there no other Translation to be allowed for it? v. 9.

A. There is another Translation, which I perceive honest Mr. *Wilcox*, in his Commentary on the *Proverbs*, very much approves. He thus (with others) carries it; *Sin makes Fools to agree; but among the Righteous that which is Acceptable* maketh Agreement. q. d. wicked Men know one Another by their Sin; & it is in Wickedness that they agree with one another. But godly Men concur in that which is Acceptable to God, & good Men; This unites them.⁴³²

We may add, The Wicked *make a Mock* at the threatened Punishment of Sin. But the *Righteous* will do them the *Favour* to Reprove them; yea, perhaps in Love to them, to punish them.⁴³³

Dr. *Jermyn* propounds this further Thought. *Fools make a Mock at Sin*, and seek not to appease the Wrath of God against themselves for it; but the *Righteous* when they have offended, seek the Reconciled *Favour* of God, with all possible

⁴²⁸ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 206.

⁴²⁹ From Patrick (*Proverbs* 198), Mather refers to the work of Cornelius Jansen (the Elder, Jansenius, 1510–1576), Bishop of Ghent and influential Catholic exegete, *Paraphrasis in Psalmos omnes Davidicos ... In Proverbia Salomonis et Ecclesiasticum* (1578), cap. 14, p. 49.

⁴³⁰ Patrick, *Proverbs*, pp. 198–99.

⁴³¹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 280.

⁴³² From the commentary on Proverbs by the early Puritan reformer Thomas Wilcox (c. 1549–1608) in *The Works of that late Reverend and Learned Divine, Mr. Thomas Wilcocks* (1624), p. 65.

⁴³³ Mather paraphrases Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 281.

Sollicitude and Assiduity.⁴³⁴ *Munsters* Gloss is, *Stulti omnia interpretantur in deterius*.⁴³⁵

Arias Montanus gives another Translation; *every Fool will hide his Fault*; But then the *Righteous* will do him the *Favour* to make him see what he ha's done.⁴³⁶

The former Clause may be well enough inverted; Sin will expose those to *Scorn*, who are so *foolish* as to commit it.⁴³⁷

Q. On that of, *The Heart knowing its own Bitterness?* v. 10.

A. Take a Gloss of *Aben Ezra's*; *Durum est negare Animæ corporalem Delectationem, sed Gaudium futuri sæculi animo conceptum est immensum: ideo qui timet Deum nihil extranei mæroris immiscet huic Gaudio*.⁴³⁸

Munster observes, That some of ours find such a Sense as this in the Words; *Immensam habent Consolationem, quibus mortua est caro*.⁴³⁹

Q. The *Tabernacle of the Righteous flourishing?* v. 11.

A. Tis observable, The Wicked pretends to *an House*; the Upright only sett's up a *Tabernacle*; he is not for continuing here; he seeks another Countrey.⁴⁴⁰ In the Revelation, when we read, *Wo to the Inhabitants of the Earth*,⁴⁴¹ it is by *Jerom* understood only of the Wicked; *Sanctus enim non est Habitator Terræ, | sed Advena et Peregrinus*.⁴⁴²

We may add, His *Tabernacle* so *flourishes*, as to reach unto Heaven. *In Cælo enim sua habet habitacula, cui totus Mundus Hospitium est*.⁴⁴³ It is *Chrysostomes* Expression.

⁴³⁴ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 281.

⁴³⁵ "The foolish interpret everything for the worse." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4173).

⁴³⁶ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 281), Mather refers to the marginal gloss on Prov. 14:9 in the *Sacra Biblia, hebraice, graece, et latine*, vol. 2, p. 238, which suggests "palliabit delictum" ("hides his wrongdoing").

⁴³⁷ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 201.

⁴³⁸ "It is difficult to deny the spirit the pleasure of the body, but the promised joy of the coming age is immense; thus, he that fears the Lord mixes nothing of foreign sorrow with this joy." From Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4173), a citation from Ibn Ezra; at this verse see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 204; and *Mikraoth Gedoloth, Proverbs*, p. 81.

⁴³⁹ "They have an immense consolation, whose flesh is dead." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4173).

⁴⁴⁰ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 282.

⁴⁴¹ Rev. 12:12.

⁴⁴² "For a godly man is not an inhabiter of the earth, but a stranger and sojourner." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 283), a citation from Jerome, *Commentarii in Ezechielem*, lib. 2, cap. 7 [PL 25. 65; CCSL 75]; transl.: Jermin.

⁴⁴³ "For he has his dwelling in heaven, to whom the whole world is an inn." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 283), a citation attributed to John Chrysostom; see Chrysostom, *Homiliae in Epistolam primam ad Corinthios*, on 1 Cor. 8:2 [PG 61. 9–382]. The citation is found in the work of the Spanish Dominican and Bishop of Cotrone and Monopoli Juan López de Caparros

Q. How may that be understood; *The Backslider in heart shall be filled with his own Wayes; and a good Man shall be satisfied from himself?* v. 14.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* reads the Words thus; *He that turneth away in his Heart, shall be filled with his own Wayes; and a good Man turneth away from him.* God will turn away from him, and incline good Men to do so too; so he is punished in his own Wayes.⁴⁴⁴

Q. *The Simple beleeveth every Word.* What Word? v. 15.

A. Every Word of Enticement. He is easily drawn out of the Way. But a prudent Man looks well to his Goings; considers well, what he does.⁴⁴⁵

Q. *A wise Man Fearing & Departing from Evil?* v. 16.

A. He *Departs* from it, before he comes to it. His *Fear* discovers it, and that makes him do so. But a *Fool rages* (as it followes,) that is, against any one that seeks to stop him.⁴⁴⁶

Q. How may that be taken, *He that is soon Angry, dealeth foolishly?* v. 17.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* propounds, that according to the Hebrew, it may be taken so. He that is *soon disquieted* & ha's not the Patience to consider what he does; for the most Part manages his Business very foolishly.⁴⁴⁷

Q. How is *Mercy and Truth, to them who devise Good?* v. 22.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* thus glosses upon it. Unto them who *study to do good*, both *Mercy* shall be granted; wherein they fail, & wherein the Performance doth not answer unto their studious Desire; And likewise *Truth* shall be granted; as well to correct and prevent their Errors, as also to make good the promised Reward unto them.

Or thus, *Truth* shall be unto them, in their obtaining what they labour for; and *Mercy* because they shall obtain more Good than they hoped for.⁴⁴⁸

Q. How is the *Crown of the Wise their Riches?* v. 24.

A. His *Riches* do sitt upon his Head, because his *wise Head* (what he is there, & what the Use he makes of them there) makes them to be *Riches*.⁴⁴⁹

Or, as Dr. *Jermyn* glosses it; The *Wise*, being *crowned* by them, are *Kings* over their *Riches*; they command them at their Pleasure, and employ them for

(Ioannes Lopez, c. 1524/1542–1631), *Epitome sanctorum patrum ad sacras conciones* ([1600] 1622), vol. 2, lib. 9, cap. 14, p. 59.

⁴⁴⁴ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 285.

⁴⁴⁵ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 286.

⁴⁴⁶ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 287.

⁴⁴⁷ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 288.

⁴⁴⁸ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 292.

⁴⁴⁹ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 293.

their Honour.⁴⁵⁰ *Chrysostom* saies to them, who have *Riches*, and are not proud of them, but give them to the Poor; *Dominus es et Rex Divitiarum, non Servus quia non te tenent Divitiae tuae, sed tu Divitias*. [In Matth. Homil. 16.]⁴⁵¹

He adds; The *Crown* of Glory in Heaven, is their *Riches*. And on Earth, their Riches in Knowledge & Goodness are their Crown.⁴⁵²

[▽28r] [▽Insert from 28r]

Q. On what account is it said, *The Foolishness of Fools is Folly?* v. 24.

A. Take Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase on the Verse: "Riches are a singular Advantage and Ornament, to a wise & vertuous Man, who knowes how to use them; but such is the Folly of wicked Men, that their Wealth makes them the more vile, & only gives them the greater Means to show what senseless Fools they are."⁴⁵³

[△] [△Insert ends]

[27r] |

Q. Is it not possible, that the Holy Spirit of Prophecy, may have a Reference to some considerable Matter under the New Testament, in that Passage; *A Deceitful Witness speaketh Lies?* v. 25.

A. I will not be too positive. Yett the Curiosity of the Matter will invite me to lay before you, the Summ of Three Sermons, published by one Mr. *Ramsay*, in the Year, 1680, relating to it.⁴⁵⁴

This Gentleman supposes, That the Spirit of Prophecy intended our Saviour, in that Clause, *A True Witness delivereth Souls*. This is the Style, in which the Prophets and Apostles describe our Saviour. [Isa. 55.4. Rev. 1.5. & Rev. 3.14. Compare, Dan. 6.27.] But then, in that Clause, which is a Prophecy, as well as a Proverb, *A Deceitful Witness speaketh Lies*, who should be understood, but *Antichrist*?

The Gentleman goes on, and *Refines*, and it may be, you'll say, *Superfines*, upon the Word, *MIRMAH*, which we render, *A Deceitful Witness*. He makes a little more bold with the *Vowels*, than the *Buxtorf*, whom he quotes ever now

⁴⁵⁰ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 293.

⁴⁵¹ "Then you are lord and king of your riches, and not a servant to them, because you possess your riches, and not your riches you." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 293), Mather refers to John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in Matthaeum*, hom. 16 [PG 57. 237–54]; transl. modified from Jermin.

⁴⁵² Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 293.

⁴⁵³ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 213.

⁴⁵⁴ The following entry is a digest of three sermons by William Ramsay (fl. 1680), lecturer in Istheworth and chaplain to the Earl of Ossory, published together as *Mirmah, Maroumah, Maroum: a Discourse consisting of three Sermons* (1680). Although Mather is careful not to affirm all of Ramsay's specific speculations, he nevertheless approves of Ramsay's general approach to the text. Ramsay writes: "This is a Prophecy, as well as a Proverb; and Solomon was a Prophet as well as a Proverbialist; as appears in many other places" (*Mirmah* 1). As a fervent millennialist, Mather was always inclined to consider an interpretation that promised to shed more light on the events of the latter days.

& then, would ever have given him Leave to do; and in the Word, he finds, *Maromah*, which is as much as to say, (especially in the *Babylonian* Dialect, wherein *Mar* signifies, *A Lord*;) *The Lord of Rome*. Without granting his Opinion about the late Invention of the Hebrew Punctuation, we may allow him his Assertion, that the Word, however Dilated or Contracted, has in it, the force and Signification of Three Radical Words. *Marah*, and, *Roum*, and *Ramah*; From the second of which, the Name of *ROME* is originally derived. The first signifies, *To Rebel*; the second signifies, *To be lofty in Pride*; the third signifies, *To Supplant*, or *Deceive*.⁴⁵⁵

He finds, a *secondary* Prophecy in the Text; concerning the subordinate *Witnesses* of our Saviour, which are now called, *Protestants*; And the *Romish Witnesses*, which are opposed unto them. Indeed, both of the Characters here assigned to them, are admirably answered in them.

The *primary* Prophecy is that, which he does most insist upon. Had *Solomon* writt in vulgar, and obvious Terms, *The Lord of Rome speaketh Lies*, his Books would have been all burnt by the *Lord of Rome*, without some extraordinary Miracles for their Preservation. But it must be written in such Terms also, as would be found most evidently True, at the Time when the Discovery should be made, of what is intended in them.

He observes, and it is very observable indeed, if the Observation will hold; That the Word, *Mirmah*, tho' it signifies in its common Use, *Deceit*, in general, yett the Scriptures use it not, but where *Antichrist* is foretold or spok'n of. He ha's noted six Places in this Book of the *Proverbs*, where *Solomon* uses this Word, and they all have a peculiar Application, to the *Deceitful Witness*, *ANTICHRIST*. And of *ANTICHRIST*, is to be understood, *Psal. 5.6. The Lord shall destroy the Bloody & Deceitful Man*. And *Psal. 10.7. His Mouth is full of Cursing & Deceit*.

⁴⁵⁵ Mather here alludes to the famous seventeenth-century debate over the accentuation and vocalization of the Hebrew Bible (on the details, see *BA* 1:700–01). On the one side, the Basel Hebraists Johannes Buxtorf, the Elder (1564–1629), and the Younger (1599–1664) were the most prominent representatives of those scholars asserting that all of the Hebrew Bible was divinely inspired and that the accentuations and vowel points were just as old as the letters. On the other side stood those convinced by the French Hebraist and professor of theology at Saumur, Louis Capellus (1585–1658), who held that the text of the Hebrew Bible as we know it was the product of a long history full of transformations, which made it generally impossible to assume a verbally inspired text handed down unchanged from the days of Ezra. More specifically, Capellus argued that the vowel points were later additions to the Masoretic text. Mather initially was a firm supporter of the Buxtorfs and wrote his 1681 Harvard M. A. thesis “Puncta Hebraica sunt originis divinae” (*Diary* 1:26) in defense of the traditionalist position. Later in his life Mather changed his view and essentially accepted Capellus's findings (Samuel Mather, *Life* 5–6). This entry therefore must have been written before Mather's change of opinion but was left unrevised. Ramsay's specific reference is to the *Lexicon chaldaicum, talmudicum et rabbinicum* (1639 ed.), begun by Buxtorf the Elder, and revised and expanded by his son. On the Buxtorfs and Christian Hebraism, see, Stephen G. Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies* (1996).

Where the Place is not so applicable to the Deceit of *Antichrist*, there, *Deceit*, is not expressed by the Word, *Mirmah*, but by, *Remijah*, *Toke*, or some other Word.

In the 24th, 25th, 26th, Chapters of *Isaiah*, we have this prophetic Use of the Word, most Remarkably exemplified. The *Romans* are called, Isa. 24.4. *The Haughty People, of the Earth*. Or, *The Romish People*, or, the People of *Matomah*, the *Lord of Rome*; or, the *Roman Lord of the People of the Earth*. We read, Isa. 24.21. *The Lord shall punish the Host of the High One that is on High*, or, He will punish the *High Lord of Rome*, in the *High City of Rome*. *And the Kings of the Earth upon the Earth*; that is all the Kings of the Earth that join with him. We read, Isa. 26.5. *He bringeth down them that dwell on High, the lofty City, He layeth it low*. The Hebrew is, *Joshebe Maraoum*; or, The Inhabitants of the proud City of *Rome*.⁴⁵⁶

Our Saviour might have a special Eye to His own *Exaltation*, & to the Destruction of *Antichrist*, in those Words; Luk. 14.11. *whosoever Exalteth himself shall be Abased, and he that Humbleth himself shall be Exalted*. Paul keeps to the Style, and as good as calls *Antichrist*, by the Name of *Maroum*; 2. Thess. 2.4. *who exalteth himself above all*.

Our Author, very notably demonstrates, That the *twenty fourth* Chapter of *Isaiah*, is to be expounded of *Rome*, the mystical *Babylon*. The literal *Babylon* could not be charged, with *breaking the everlasting Covenant*; which never was received by it. Nor, is it to be expounded of *Jerusalem*. It is called, *A City of* [27v] *Confusion*; a Name that more properly belongs unto a *Babylon*. | And for the Destruction thereof, God was to be *glorified in the Isles of the Sea*; & there were to be *Songs* on it, *from the uttermost Parts of the Earth*. Which agrees not so well, to the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. In v. 16. it is said, *my Leanness, my Leanness*. In the Hebrew tis, *my Secret to myself, my Secret to myself*. The Destruction to come upon *Jerusalem*, was not so much a *Secret*, with the Prophets as the Destruction which is to come upon *Rome*. And, *There* are the *Treacherous Dealers, who deal very treacherously*.

He takes notice of a surprizing Parallel, between the Book of *Isaiah*, and the Book of, *The Revelation*.

Particularly; *Isaiah*, in the first Part of his Book, employs Twelve Chapters, to describe the then present State of the Jewish Church, & excite them to Repentance. Even so, *John*, in the First Part of his Book, employs Five Chapters to describe the then present State of the Christian Church, & excite them to Repentance & Piety.

Isaiah, in the second Part of his Book, employs eleven Chapters, to foretel the Destruction of the Churches Enemies. *John* in the second Part of his Book, employs seven Chapters, to foretel the Punishment of the Churches Enemies.

⁴⁵⁶ It is interesting to note that Mather did not carry these interpretations over to his annotations on chapters 24–26 of *Isaiah*, where different readings are offered.

Isaiah in the Third Part of his Book, and, the 24th, 25th, 26th Chapters, does prædict the Ruine of *Rome*, & of the Lord of that High City. *John* does the same, in the 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th Chapters of his Book.

Lastly, *Isaiah* confirms the foregoing things, and then declares the Excellencies and Satisfaction of the *New Jerusalem*; & the State of the Church, after the Destruction of *Antichrist*. In the last Chapters of his Book, *John* does the very same.

And the Agreement of the Terms in the Two Books, is wonderful.

I will add but one thing more, from our Author. But the Weight of it, shall be entirely left unto the Judgment of the Reader.

He observes, That the Name of MaRoVM, or, *The Lord of Rome*, does remarkably in the Hebrew contain the Number of 666. *Mem*, is, 40. *Resh*, is, 20. *Vav* is, 6. *Mem* Final, is, 600. Which amounts to, 666.⁴⁵⁷

The Reader will doubtless object; why does *Resh* in this Computation, signify no more than 20, as being the Twentieth Letter of the Alphabet when, *Mem*, is taken for 40, and yett it is but the Thirteenth Letter?

He ha's gott Ready an Answer. There are Two Wayes of Numbring by *Letters*; both in the Hebrew, and in other Tongues; the one *Natural*, the other *Artificial*. The *Natural* Way is to Number by the Letters consequently, from the First, to the Last, without any Variation of Art; and the Numeration stops, when there are no more Letters. Thus *David* numbers the Parts of the Hundred & nineteenth *Psalms*. Thus *Homer* numbers the Books of his *Iliad*. But then, because there are Infinite Numbers, beyond, 24, the ordinary Limit of Letters, therefore an *Artificial* Way of Numeration by them, ha's been thought upon; & after the Tenth Letter, they raise the Value of Letters, by Tens, by Hundreds, & by Thousands. Accordingly, this Name of *MaRoUM*, is numbred, first the *Natural* Way, as far as that Way would reach. But then the greater Numbers of *Forty*, and *Sixhundred*, these were necessarily expressed the *Artificial* Way. It is proper, to keep to the former, as far as it could be done; & go over to the latter, only when there was a Necessity for it.

Perhaps many of these Notions may appear too fanciful. Yett there may be found in them something worth considering.

Q. What may be meant by, *The Snare of Death*? v. 27.

A. *Aben Ezra*, by the *Snare of Death*, does well understand, *Viros Impios*.⁴⁵⁸ And indeed, the *Fear of the Lord* is a *Fountain of Life*, in that it makes the Right-

⁴⁵⁷ Here Ramsay engages in *gematria*, the system of numerology widely used in rabbinic and kabbalistic literature that assigns numerical value to letters and words of the Hebrew alphabet in the belief that these reveal deeper correspondences and hidden meanings.

⁴⁵⁸ "Wicked men." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 295), a citation from Ibn Ezra on Prov. 14:27; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 214; at this verse see the modern transl. in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*,

eous to shun the Company and Conversation of wicked Men; as fearing to be ensnared by them in Wickedness and in Death.

Q. Is there not an Emphasis in that Expression; *He that is slow to Wrath?* v. 29.

A. The Original is in the plural Number, *He that is slow to Angers*; that is, one who is provoked unto Wrath by many Injuries, and yett suppresses it. For as *Tertullian* saies, *ubi minor Injuria, ibi nulla Necessitas Patientiæ, at ubi major Injuria, ibi necessarior Injuria Medela Patientia*.⁴⁵⁹

Q. How is a wicked Man *driven away* in his Wickedness? v. 32.

A. *Driven away* from all his Confidences.⁴⁶⁰

Q. How is it said, *That which is in the Midst of Fools is made known?* v. 33.

A. *Wisdom resteth in the Heart of him that hath Understanding*. As Dr. *Jermyn* paraphrases it; such an Heart is the Bed of Wisdome. Here it *Resteth* with Delight & Sleeps in Quietness, till just Occasion awaken it, & good Reason calls it up. Then it breaks off all Sluggishness, & is most watchful of doing any good. The Clause which now followes, may be thus translated; *In the Midst of Fools he will be known*. He will be easily known to be a wise Man. Upon a Comparision there will be found such a Distinction between him, and the *Fools* he is among, that he will be easily discerned.⁴⁶¹

[▽28v] [▽Insert from 28v]

Q. How does *Wisdome rest in the Heart of him that hath Understanding?* v. 33.

A. Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase is this.

“A prudent Person makes no unseasonable Demonstration of his Wisdome, but letts it ly quiet in his own Mind, until there be a fitting Opportunity to Do Good with it. Whereas Fools cannot contain themselves, but presently vent whatsoever they know, tho’ never so small, in every Company whereinto they come.”⁴⁶²

Q. On, *Rightneousness exalting a Nation, but Sin a Reproach to any People?* v. 34.

Proverbs, p. 85: “The fear of the Lord is like a spring from which life flows, because it keeps a person from sins and transgression, which are snares of death.”

⁴⁵⁹ “Where the injury is little, there is no need of patience; but where the injury is great, there is the help of patience more needful against it.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 297), a citation from Tertullian, *De patientia*, cap. 11 [PL 1. 1266; CCSL 1; CSEL 47]; transl. Jermin. אַפַּיִם [ap-payim] plural, lit. “angers” but all translations have “anger” here.

⁴⁶⁰ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 216.

⁴⁶¹ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 300–01.

⁴⁶² Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 216.

A. Dr. *Patrick* thus endeavours the Full Sense of it. “Justice and Piety, raises a Nation to the Highest Degree of Prosperity & Glory; especially when Mercy, Humanity, & Kindness, even unto Strangers and Enemies, is joined with them; which pacifies the Divine Anger, and turns away many Calamities; which the contrary Sins bring down upon a People, till they make them vile & miserable.”

He observes, That they translate the Hebrew Word, *Chesed*, most exactly, who take it in the ordinary Sense of it, for, *Mercy*, or, *Clemency*; not, *Reproach*; which it never signifies, unless perhaps once, Lev. XX.17. which yett also may be doubted.⁴⁶³

The Word, *Chattaah*, no body doubts, but it signifies a *Sin-offering*.⁴⁶⁴

[△Insert ends]

[△]

463 חֶסֶד [chesed] in almost all cases “kindness, lovingkindness, mercy,” but at Lev. 20:17 and Prov. 14:34 the same word (of a different origin) is usually translated “disgrace, shameful thing.”

464 חַטָּאָה [chatta’ah] “sin, sinful thing.” Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 204.

Q. *A soft Answer turning away Wrath?* v. 1.

A. *Chrysostom* has an Observation upon a famous Instance of this. Great was the Anger of *Saul* against *David*; He did not think him worthy of his own Name; he would call him nothing but the Son of *Jesse*: But the Meekness of *David*, and the *soft Answer* he received from him, made him call him *his Son*, as if he now anew adopted him; saying, *Is this the Voice of My Son David?*⁴⁶⁵

Q. *A wholesome Tongue?* v. 4.

A. The Original is, *The Healing of the Tongue*. The Chaldee therefore ha's it, *Medicina Linguae*;⁴⁶⁶ It means, the Healing Vertue of a Pacifying Tongue; the Cure it works. In the Vulgar Latin tis very well; *placabilis Lingua*.⁴⁶⁷ This is a *Tree of Life* to a Soul sick of Anger; whereof *Bernard* saies, *paranda est adversus Phrenesim animæ, non Vindicta sed Medicina*.⁴⁶⁸

Q. *The much Treasure in the House of the Righteous?* v. 6.

A. The most obvious and common Sense, is by no Means to be disturbed. But then *Dr. Jermin* proposes, The *Righteous* Man himself is the *House* of GOD.⁴⁶⁹ *Ambrose* truly saies; *omnis Homo Domus est, aut Dei aut Diaboli*.⁴⁷⁰ The *great Treasure* in this *House*, is in the Spiritual Gifts, & Heavenly Graces, bestow'd upon him. These a *great Treasure*; and the Pledges of a greater, laid up in the House above.⁴⁷¹

The *Revenues of the Wicked*, in the Original have this Emphasis; *The Revenues that are to come*. In these, even in the Fruits of their Wickedness, there will be *Trouble* indeed; easeless & endless *Trouble*.⁴⁷²

Gregory will have the *House* to be the *Conscience*. *Go to thy House*, when spoken to the Recovered Man, he so glosses; *Ad Conscientiam revertere, et qualem*

⁴⁶⁵ From *Jermin* (*Proverbs* 302), a reference to John Chrysostom, *Homiliae de Davide et Saule*, hom. 3 [PG 54. 705; CCSG 70].

⁴⁶⁶ See Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:352).

⁴⁶⁷ "A peaceable tongue." From *Jermin* (*Proverbs* 305); see the VUL, *Douay-Rheims Bible*.

⁴⁶⁸ "Not revenge but a medicine is to be used and provided against the frenzy of the soul." From *Jermin* (*Proverbs* 205), a citation from Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones in Cantica Cantico-rum*, sermo 25 [PL 183. 899; *Opera* 1]; see *On the Song of Songs II*; transl. modified from *Jermin*.

⁴⁶⁹ *Jermin*, *Proverbs*, p. 306.

⁴⁷⁰ "Every man is the house, either of God or of the devil." From *Jermin* (*Proverbs* 306), a citation from Ambrose, *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam*, lib. 7 [PL 15. 1735; CCSL 14; CSEL 32.4]; transl.: *Jermin*.

⁴⁷¹ See *Jermin*, *Proverbs*, p. 306.

⁴⁷² See *Jermin*, *Proverbs*, pp. 306–07.

*te intrinsecus Deo debeas exhibere, perpende.*⁴⁷³ It may be very agreeable to take that Sense into Consideration here.

Q. On that, *The Prayer of the Upright His Delight?* v. 8.

A. Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase leads to an Emphasis in it. "The very Prayers of the Upright, tho' they are not able to bring Him many Offerings, are exceeding Acceptable, & prevail for great Blessings from Him."⁴⁷⁴

Q. How is *Correction grievous to him that forsaketh the Way?* v. 10.

A. It may be taken for sharp & grievous Corrections to be inflicted on Apostates from good Beginnings.

Q. Why is it said, *Hell and Destruction are before the Lord?* v. 11.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* observes; Tis the gross Perswasion of some, that *Hell* and *Destruction* are things which God only setteth *before us*; as if they were things wherewith God only terrifies us, and were no Realities. But they are *before the Lord*. If we know not where they are, He does. His *Eye* also directs the Sword of *Destruction*, where it shall fall; His *Eye* Vieweth and Judgeth the Deserts of those, whom He sends to *Hell*. Therefore tho' the *Heart* of Men be as deep as *Hell*, for Hellish Devices, & be made by Mischievous Plotts, as Pitt of *Destruction*, yett it is manifest unto God, yea, like the Heart of Children, easily discovered.⁴⁷⁵

Q. How does the *Mouth of Fools feed on Foolishness?* v. 14.

A. Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase is; "Fivolous & Unprofitable Things; they relish nothing else; These are Meat & Drink unto them."⁴⁷⁶

| **Q.** *Great Treasure and Trouble?* v. 16.

A. The Hebrew Word, signifies, the *Trouble*, which is with a Tumultuous Noise. R. *Solomon* therefore understands it, of a Treasure so gotten, *Quòd omnium Voces conclament Thesaurum illum furto Violentaque Rapina coacervatum esse.*⁴⁷⁷

[29v]

⁴⁷³ "Return to your conscience, and consider how you must be within affected towards God." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 307), a citation from Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 4, cap. 31 [PL 75. 670; CCSL 143]; transl.: Jermin.

⁴⁷⁴ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 228.

⁴⁷⁵ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 310–11.

⁴⁷⁶ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 230.

⁴⁷⁷ "That the voices of all cry out, that it is a treasure heaped together by theft, rapine and violence." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 315), a citation from Rashi on Prov. 15:16; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 229; transl.: Jermin. Compare the modern transl. in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, p. 89, at this verse: "The voice of people shouting that the treasury was made from robbery and violence, as in (Amos 3:9): 'And see great confusions within it and people being

[▽30r] [▽Insert from 30r]

Q. A stalled Ox? v. 17.

A. It is observed by *Bochart*, That *Herbs*, or as some translate it, *Green Pottage*, was the poorest, and an Ox putt up to a Stall and there fatted (or, as the *Talmudists* understand the Phrase, *A crammed Ox*) was the noblest Entertainment in those Countreies. It is reckoned among the Provision made for the Tables of *Solomon* and *Nehemiah*. And in the New Testament, the Marriage-provision which the King made for his Sons Wedding, were *Oxen* and *Fatlings*. And the *Fatted Calf* was brought forth, to entertain the Returning Prodigal. And thus it was in other Countries, as he observes out of *Dioscorides*; who notes, That *Homer* never sett any other Cheer before his *Hero's* but this; no, not at Marriages, or any other Meetings; Tho' he introduce *Agamemnon* often treating the *Græcian* Princes.⁴⁷⁸

[△] [△Insert ends]

[29v]

|
Q. The *Wise Son* making a *Glad Father*, but the *Foolish Man* despising his *Mother*? v. 20.

A. In the Words of *Jacob* concerning *Reuben*, that Clause, *Thou art the Beginning of my Strength*, the Vulgar Latin reads, [not, *Principium Roboris*, but, *Principium Doloris*,] *Thou art the Beginning of my Grief*. And indeed, the *Jerusalem Targum* reads it; *Thou art the Beginning of my Care*. *Aben Ezra* ha's this Note upon it; *Principium Doloris Primogenitus, quia ille incipit Parentibus Dolorem et Curam afferre*. But now a *wise Son*, changes the *Grief*, Rewards the *Care*, brings *Gladness* with him.⁴⁷⁹

The *Wisdom* of the Son, is the Honouring of the Father, and Harkening to the Instructions that will make him wise.⁴⁸⁰

But the *Despiser* of parental Admonitions; it is here intimated, He is not a *Son*. The Spirit of God won't call him a *Son*; but only, a *foolish Man*.⁴⁸¹

oppressed in its midst.” מְהוּמָה [mehumah] “confusion, panic; destruction, discomfiture, trouble, tumult.”

⁴⁷⁸ From Patrick (*Proverbs* 224–25), a summary of commentary from Bochart, *Hierozyicon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 32 (“De Boum usu in aratione, tritura, plaustis ...”), pp. 308–17. Bochart refers to the work of the Greek grammarian and writer Athenaeus of Naucratis (Athenaeus Naucratis, 2nd–3rd century CE), *Deipnosophistai* (1.15), who probably references the Greek poet Dioscorides (second half of the 3rd century BCE). The allusions are to the Homer's *Odyssey* (4.54, 65).

⁴⁷⁹ “The firstborn is the beginning of grief, because he begins to bring grief and care to parents.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 318), a citation from Ibn Ezra on Prov. 15:20; compare also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 211; transl.: Jermin.

⁴⁸⁰ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 318.

⁴⁸¹ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 318.

Q. *Without Counsel Purposes are disappointed?* v. 22.

A. The Hebrew Word, which we translate, *Counsel*, is to be translated, *Secrecy*. The Chaldee reads it so, *ubi non est Secretum dissipantur Cogitationes*.⁴⁸²
Yett there must be room for advising with faithful *Counsellers*.

Q. How, the *Way of Life, Above?* v. 24.

A. He that is wise, will seek for Happiness *Above*, & not upon the Earth.
Or, He looks up to God for Preservation.⁴⁸³

Q. What may be the Import of that Sentence; *The Way of Life is above to the Wise, that hee depart from Hell beneath?* v. 24.

A. *From Hell beneath*, should rather be rendred, *From the lowest Hell*. So the Hebrew seems rather to import, & so the Chaldee and the Syriac read it.⁴⁸⁴ Here are two things then suggested, about Religion: one is, That it is *Above, to the Wise*, as tending to the Elevation and Spirituality of their Spirits. The other is, That by it, they are saved from the *lowest Scheol*, the infernal Pitt.

The *Wise* also look upon the *Way of Life*, as *Above* their Capacity. Wherefore their *Eyes* are likewise *Above*, and they *look up* to God, that He would shew them His *Way*.

And the *Way of Life is Above to the Wise*, because he never thinks to be at the Top of it; he always labours to gett Higher in it. So the Syriac reads it, *est Ascensus Intelligenti*.⁴⁸⁵

Moreover, He raises his Thoughts and Hopes Above this Earth; He has Respect unto God in all his Actions. This makes him great & noble.⁴⁸⁶

Q. *The Words of the Pure are pleasant Words?* v. 26.

A. *The Words*, is not in the Original. Tis supplied by our Translators. But the Supply might also be from the former Part of the Verse; *The Thoughts of the Pure are Words of Pleasantness*. Why, In their Hearts, they make a *Melody unto the Lord*. Their Thoughts afford, a Pleasure unto themselves, a Delight unto the Lord.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸² "Where a thing is not kept secret purposes are disappointed." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 319), a citation from the Targum on Prov. 15:22; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 233; see *The Targum of Proverbs* at this verse; transl.: Jermin.

⁴⁸³ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 320–21.

⁴⁸⁴ See Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:354). Here the Targum is rendered into Latin as "ab inferno inferiori"; the Syriac as: "ab inferno imo."

⁴⁸⁵ "Is an ascending to the wise." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 321), a citation from the Syriac of Prov. 15:24; transl.: Jermin. See also Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:354). Here the Syriac is translated into Latin as "ascensus est prudenti."

⁴⁸⁶ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 321.

⁴⁸⁷ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 322. וְטָהוֹרִים אִמְרֵי-נָעִם *ESV*: "but gracious words are pure," *NAU*: "but pleasant words are pure."

[▽30r] [▽Insert from 30r]

Q. How does he that is *greedy of Gain*, *Trouble his own House*? v. 27.

A. He don't gett all the *Gain*, he would; he meets with Disappointments. On this Occasion, he is Fretful, Froward, Furious. All his *House* feels his *Fury*; There is no quiet Living in the *House* with him.

[△] [△Insert ends]

Q. How does the *Heart of the Righteous study to answer*? v. 28.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* expounds it, for the *Answer* of Obedience, to the Commandments of God; the *Answer* of Thankfulness of His Mercies & Favours. As *Gregory* speaks, *Deo respondere, est donis ejus præcedentibus nostra Obsequia reddere*.⁴⁸⁸

Q. How does a *good Report* make the *Bones fatt*? v. 30.

A. *Jerom* says by the *Bones* understand our *Virtues*. A *good Report* makes them to *Increase*.⁴⁸⁹

[30r] |

Q. What may be meant by, *A good Report*? v. 30.

A. Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase runs thus, "Nothing gives such intimate Satisfaction, and makes a Man so cheerful in Well-doing, as to hear a fair Report of his own honest Actions; or to receive the good Newes of the Well-doing of other vertuous Men."⁴⁹⁰

This is *Munsters* Gloss: *Sicut Pulchra ab Oculis apprehensa letificant Cor, ità Fama bona quæ spargitur de his quos diligimus, exhilarat interiora Cordis*.⁴⁹¹

[30v] |⁴⁹²

[31r] |

Q. What is the *Reproof of Life*? v. 31.

A. There is a *Reproof*, not of *Life*, but of *Death*. A *Reproof* which comes from Hatred, and aims at the Disgrace and Ruine of the Reproved. A *Reproof* used, as *Bernard* speaks, *Non ad Instruendum in Spiritu Lenitatis, sed ad Destruendum in*

⁴⁸⁸ "To answer God, is to render to his precedent gifts the duties of our service". From Jermin (*Proverbs* 325), a citation from Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 9, cap. 41 [PL 75. 895; CCSL 143]; transl.: Jermin.

⁴⁸⁹ See Jermin (*Proverbs* 327), who refers to Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, lib. 16 [PL 24. 571; CCSL 73A].

⁴⁹⁰ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 235.

⁴⁹¹ "As the beauty perceived by the eyes delights the heart, so the good news about the ones we love, which is being announced, makes us glad in the depths of our heart." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4192). The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁴⁹² See Appendix A.

Spiritu Furoris.⁴⁹³ A *Reproach*, & not a *Reproof*; That which tends not to Amend, but Harden the Offender. But the *Reproof of Life*, is that which directs to a virtuous Life; that which teaches true Wisdome, wherein is the *Life* of the Soul.⁴⁹⁴

Q. He that *hears Reproof*, how does he *gett Understanding*? v. 32.

A. The Original is, *He getts his Heart*. The *Heart* and *Soul*, as Dr. *Jermyn* observes, are easily lost in the Desart of Iniquity; & by Carelessness are too often stray'd away. *Reproof* brings us Newes where they are, & shewes us where to find them.⁴⁹⁵

Gregory saies well; *Dum invenire Peccata, et inventa pensare negligimus, quasi perdito Corde securi summus*.⁴⁹⁶ But by *Hearing Reproof*, we do as it were get our *lost Heart* and *Soul* into our Possession, & recover it from Sin, which had carried it away from God. Thus | *David* said, as the Vulgar Latin, and *Gregorie*, according to the Original, read it; *Invenit Servus tuus Cor sum, ut oraret*; Thy Servant ha's found his Heart, to pray unto thee.⁴⁹⁷

[31v]

Q. How is *Humility before Honour*? v. 33.

A. It advances to *Honour*; it præpares for it; as in the Case of *Joseph*, of *David*, of *Daniel*. But this is not all. *Humility* does not only *go before Honour* in the course of things, but is also *before Honour*, in the Dignity & Excellency of it. As Dr. *Jermyn* expresses it; when *Humility* hath brought a Man to *Honour*, even then his greatest *Honour* is *Humility*. *Balduinus* well saies, *Humilitas in Honore Honor est ipsius Honoris, et Dignitas Dignitatis. Omnis Dignitas eo ipse Dignitatis Nomine indigna est si humilia dedignetur. Humilitas autem sine Honore ipsa sufficit ad Honorem*.⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹³ “Not to instruction in the spirit of meekness, but to destruction in the spirit of fury.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 327), a citation from Bernard of Clairvaux, *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae*, cap. 4 [PL 182. 948; *Opera* 3]; transl.: Jermin.

⁴⁹⁴ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 327.

⁴⁹⁵ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 328. Mather refers to לֵב [leb] which means both “heart, seat of vitality” and “understanding.”

⁴⁹⁶ “While we neglect to find out our sins, or being found out for us, neglect to consider them, our heart being as it was lost we become secure.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 328), a citation from Gregory the Great, *In librum primum Regum*, lib. 5, cap. 4 [PL 79. 390; CCSL 144]; transl.: Jermin.

⁴⁹⁷ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 328), a citation from Gregory the Great, *In librum primum Regum*, lib. 5, cap. 4 [PL 79. 390; CCSL 144]; Mather provides Jermin's transl.

⁴⁹⁸ “Humility in honor is the honor of honor itself, and the dignity of dignity. All dignity even in that respect is unworthy the name of dignity, if it disdains humility. Humility without honor is sufficient to give honor.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 329), a citation from the Cistercian monk, Archbishop of Canterbury and religious writer Baldwin of Forde (*Balduinus Cantuariensis*, c. 1125–1190), *Sermones*, sermo 5 (tract. 12), *Ad Prelatos* [PL 204. 533; CCCM 99]; transl. modified from Jermin.

Q. The *Preparations of the Heart from the Lord?* v. 1.

A. Because the Hebrew seems to run thus; *Man hath the Disposing of the Heart*, this disposes Dr. *Patrick* to this Paraphrase: “Men may deliberate, and contrive, and order in their Mind, what, and in what Manner & Method they will speak: but whether they shall perswade & prevail or no, for such an Answer as they expect, nay, deliver themselves with such Elocution as they imagine, depends on the Pleasure of the Lord.”⁴⁹⁹

Q. On that Word, *The Lord hath made all things for Himself?* v. 4.

A. There is a Parable in *Midras Tillim*, that will a little Illustrate it.

*Cui similis est Mundus, et Gloria Dei S.B.? Regi, qui habet Thesaurus omnibus Bonis refertos, et dicit, Quorsum sunt ista? Ego sumam Servos, et eis Cibus ac potum præbebo, atque illi me laudibus prosequemur. Sic Mundus erat Inanis et Informis. Stetit Deus, et creavit Mundum; creavit etiam Hominem, et in omnia Bona Dominium ei dedit, ut ipsum laudibus prosequeretur.*⁵⁰⁰

Q. How the *Wicked for the Day of Wrath?* v. 4.

A. God loses not the Service of the Wicked. But when He brings a public Calamity on a Countrey He employs them to be the Executioners of His Wrath. Dr. *Patrick* apprehends himself the First Author of this Exposition.⁵⁰¹ God directs the Ambition, Fury, Malice, & Revenge which He sees in wicked Mens Hearts, to vent themselves, where it will do Service to Him. He exemplifies it, as Remarkably fulfilled in the Destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*, whom our Saviour used for the Punishment of His Crucifiers. They undertook the War

⁴⁹⁹ Patrick, *Proverbs*, pp. 244–45.

⁵⁰⁰ “To what can the world and the glory of God be compared? A king who has treasures filled with all the riches and who says, To what end are these? I will take servants and offer them food and drink, and they will follow me with praise. In the same way the world was void and without form. There God stood and He created the world and He created man, too, and He gave him dominion over all that is good, so that he would follow Him with praise.” A verbatim citation from the work of the English theologian, Hebraist, and apologist Christopher Cartwright (1602–1658), *Mellificium hebraicum* (“Hebrew honey-making”), published in vol. 9 of the 1660 ed. of Pearson, *Critici Sacri*, and in vol. 8 of the 1698 Amsterdam ed., pp. 1271–1426, here lib. 1, cap. 4, p. 1286. Cartwright cites the *Midrash Tehillim* on Ps. 89. Braude’s translation of the original Hebrew reads (*The Midrash on Psalms*, vol. 2, p. 83): “What parable fits the creation of the world? The parable of a king who had treasures filled with good things, and who asked: ‘To what end are these things laid up? I shall get me servants, give them to eat and to drink, so that they will praise me.’ Just so the world was waste and empty, and the Holy One, blessed be He, rose up and created the earth, and let man rule every thing. Therefore, what ought we to do? To bless and praise our Creator.”

⁵⁰¹ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 239.

upon the Design of enslaving the World. Yett as *Theodore*t speaks, *God made Use of them, for another Design*, ως δημιοις δι' αυτων τους ησεβηκοτας κολαζων. *As public Executioners, by whom He punished the Ungodly.*⁵⁰²

Q. The *Proud in Heart* an Abomination, & tho' *Hand join in Hand*, yett not unpunished? v. 5.

A. Tho' the *Right Hand* of much Worth, or the *Right Hand* of Spiritual and Heavenly Graces, be joined with the *Left Hand of Pride*, yett God will not leave the *Pride unpunished.*⁵⁰³

The *Pride* which Man condemns, is what showes itself. Man is many times deceived with Appearances of Humility, which are (as Dr. *Jermyn* expresses it) but Clouds that cover the Blazing Star of Inward Arrogancy. But as the Sight, so the Sentence of God reaches further; and every one that is *Proud in Heart* is an *Abomination* to Him.⁵⁰⁴

Tis a great Sign of one *Proud in Heart*, when a Man is addicted unto his own Will, and to gett his Will be must have *Hand join in Hand*, and all Hands that can be found must be sett on Work. But tho' *Hand join in Hand*, and all the united Strength which can be procured sett forward his Desire, it shall not prosper.⁵⁰⁵

Q. By *Mercy & Truth*, *Iniquity purged*? v. 6.

A. That Sin may be pardoned, there must be a Meeting of *Mercy & Truth*; *Mercy* in God, *Truth* in Man. And then, there must follow such a *Fear of God*, as to *Depart from Iniquity.*⁵⁰⁶

Or, as Dr. *Jermyn* observes, The *Truth* to be joined with *Mercy*, signifies *Justice*; *Justice* is nothing but a Giving of Judgment according to *Truth*. If they be joined, the *Mercy* of Man procureth the *Mercy* of God; the *Justice* of Man stoppeth the *Judgment* of God: so *Iniquity is pardoned.*⁵⁰⁷

Why may we not add, that *Mercy & Truth* are the Names of CHRIST; In whom it is, that *Mercy & Truth meets*; and by him is *Iniquity purged*. Mat. 1.21.⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰² From Patrick (*Proverbs* 240), a citation from Theodoret of Cyrus, *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, on Ps. 73:3 [PG 80. 1456]; Mather provides Jermin's transl.

⁵⁰³ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 335. Mather provides the transl. from Jermin.

⁵⁰⁴ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 335.

⁵⁰⁵ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 335.

⁵⁰⁶ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 336.

⁵⁰⁷ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 336.

⁵⁰⁸ This last paragraph is written in a different, ornate handwriting, similar to the one appearing in other parts of the manuscript. On this, see the third section of the Introduction.

623:

Q. What special Instance had the *Wise Man* probably in his Eye, when hee uttered this *Proverb of Israel*, *when a Mans Wayes please the Lord, Hee maketh even his Enemies to bee at Peace with him?* v. 7.

A. The Instance of *Israel*. You know the Story of *Jacob*; when hee was pursued by *Laban*, but much more when hee was afraid of *Esau*, his great Plea with the God of Heaven was, That hee was in his *Way*, even in the *Way* whereto God Himself directed him; the Issue was, His *Enemies* treated him very *peaceably*. I conceive, that *Solomon*, had his Father *Jacob*, in his Eye, when hee made this Observation.⁵⁰⁹

I will add a Gloss of *Munster's* on that. Some, saies he, expound this, *De Carnis Desiderijs*,⁵¹⁰ about the Lusts of the Flesh; *Quæ in homine Deo grato premuntur etiam si non omnino in hac Mortali Vita exstinguantur*.⁵¹¹

Q. A *Divine Sentence in the Lips of the King?* v. 10.

A. Or, A Divining Sentence. *Lyra* refers this *Divining Sentence* of the King, unto the Kings diligent Reading, and careful Observing of the *Divine Law*; and makes the Meaning to be, as *Jansenius* understands him, That a King following the Commandments of God hath a sure Præsaige and Divination of Prosperity to attend his Government. But *Jansenius* laughs at him, as mistaking the Sense of the Place. However he is not to be laughed at, as guilty of a Mistake in the Truth of the Matter.⁵¹²

Q. A *Just Weight & Ballance the Lords; the Weights of the Bag, His Work?* v. 11.

A. The Original runs, *The Weight & Ballance of Judgment is the Lords*.

The original Word, for, *Ballance*, here comes from, / זון / *An Ear*.⁵¹³ Dr. *Jermyn* observes upon it: The *Eares* are, as it were, *Balances*, which receive the things that are to be weigh'd. The *Heart*, is as it were, the *Tongue* of the *Balances*, the *Head* is the *Bag* where the *Weights* are kept. The *Weights* are, *Momenta et Ponderarum*, the Considerations of Reason. Tis the Lord, who ha's wrought all these. We must *weigh Justly*, else we do what we can, that God may be thought to use *unjust Weights & Balances*. The *Judgment* is not Mans, but Gods, & must be pronounced as for Him. How careful should Man be, that God may have Honour by his Judgment!⁵¹⁴

⁵⁰⁹ Compare Thomas Cartwright, *Commentarii*, p. 608.

⁵¹⁰ Mather provides a transl.; citation from Münster (see below).

⁵¹¹ "Which are restrained in man by a graceful God, even if not entirely extinguished in this mortal life." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4203).

⁵¹² From Jermin (*Proverbs* 339), a reference to Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla* at this verse; and a paraphrase from Cornelius Jansen, *Paraphrasis*, cap. 16, p. 60.

⁵¹³ זון [ozen] "ear."

⁵¹⁴ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 340.

But then, take the Words in the most common Sense of them. The Standard of *Weights*, is made and kept by God. The Good have the *Seal* of God upon them. None may sell by any other than such. All come from the Exchequer of His Justice.⁵¹⁵ |

[32v]

The Vulgar Latin and the LXX read the Words to such a Sense as this; *That the Judgments of God are weigh'd in the Balance, and poised by the Stones of the Bag*. Dr. *Jermyn* allows the Original to be so construed.⁵¹⁶ Thus *Job* would be weigh'd in an even Balance; that is, have his Punishment proportioned unto his Fault.⁵¹⁷ This is what *Chrysostom* saies, [on Psal. 95.] *Quum punit Deus trutinat Ultionem, ut congruens sit Commissis*.⁵¹⁸

Q. *The Throne established by Righteousness?* v. 12.

A. *Plato* brings it as an Oracle. *Tunc interituram esse civitatem, quum ipsam æs aut ferrum custodierint*.⁵¹⁹ On the other Side; Here is another Oracle, that *Righteousness* is the grand Præserver and Establisher.⁵²⁰

Q. *The Righteous Lips, that are the Delight of Kings?* v. 13.

A. *Levi Gershom* applies these Words particularly to them, *Qui priorum Temporum Historias veraci Sermone depromunt*.⁵²¹ True Historians are worthy to be the *Delight of Kings*.

Q. *Wrath* ha's *Messengers* assigned unto it? v. 14.

A. Not Executioners. There should be time to recall the Message. Dr. *Jermyn* ha's a Note upon it. To putt *Wrath* unto a good Journey, is the Way to moderate it; if by nothing else, by wearying the Hasty Fierceness of it.

Apply the Text, unto the *Messengers* of the Wrath of God, unto ungodly Sinners.

⁵¹⁵ Mather summarizes Jermin's entry on verse 11 (*Proverbs* 340–41).

⁵¹⁶ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 341. See Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:356). VUL: "Pondus et statera iudicia Domini sunt; et opera ejus omnes lapides sacculi"; the LXX: ῥοπή ζυγοῦ δικαιοσύνη παρὰ κυρίῳ τὰ δὲ ἔργα αὐτοῦ στάθμια δίκαια.

⁵¹⁷ Job 31:6.

⁵¹⁸ "When God punishes, he weighs his punishment, that it may be answerable to the offences committed." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 341), a citation from John Chrysostom, *In Psalmos*, Ps. 95 [PG 55. 772–75]; transl.: Jermin.

⁵¹⁹ "[A] city is ready to perish, when the safety of it consists in brass and iron." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 342), Mather refers to a Latin transl. of Plato (428/7–348/7 BCE), *Politeia* (*The Republic*), 3.415; transl.: Jermin. Compare the modern English transl. of the passage in the Greek original: "[T]he state shall then be overthrown when the man of iron or brass is its guardian." (transl. *LCL* 237, p. 307).

⁵²⁰ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 342.

⁵²¹ "Who record truly the histories of former times." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 343), a citation from Ralbag on Prov. 16:13; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 247.

And the next; unto the *Light of the Countenance* of Our Glorious Christ, the King of Heaven. A good Writer compares that unto the *Cloud of the latter Rain*; because it works Tears of Repentance in us, after we have sinned.⁵²²

Q. Who is he, that *handles a Matter wisely*? v. 20.

A. The Original is, *Intelligens super verbum*.⁵²³ Dr. *Jermyn* takes it so; He that Reads or Hears the Word of Wisdome is come to the Sight or Sound of it. But there must be a Working of the Mind, to dig and pierce into the Sense of it. This is to *Find Good*.⁵²⁴

Q. How does the *Sweetness of the Lips, increase Learning*? v. 21.

A. *Acceptable Words* (as they are called, Eccl. 12.10.) contribute much to the Ready Entertainment of what is delivered in them, & so the Advancement of *Learning and Knowledge* in the Hearers.⁵²⁵

Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase is, "He whose Mind is well-furnished with Wisdome cannot but win a great Reputation, for his prudent Counsils and Resolutions; but if he have the powerful Charms of Eloquence also to convey his Mind delightfully unto others, it will add a greater Value to his Wisdome & make it more Diffusive and Instructive to the World."⁵²⁶

Q. How is *Folly* the *Instruction of Fools*? v. 22.

A. They have been scourged by their own *Folly*, and they gett some Instruction by their Experience.⁵²⁷

Or, lett us look back to the Beginning of the Verse. *Understanding is a Well-Spring of Life, to him that hath it*; The Word, which we translate, *Him that hath it*, signifies, A Master, or an Husband. He that is *married* unto *Understanding*, begett an Issue by it, which lives when he is Dead, in the Life of others instructed by him. The Instruction of such an one, is also as a *Well-Spring*, to all, Rich and Poor, Great and Small, that will come unto it.⁵²⁸ As *Jerom* observes, Our Saviour preached both in Cities, & in Villages; and he notes upon it; *Æqualiter et Mageria et Parvis Evangelium prædicavit, ut non consideraret Nobilium Potentiam, sed Salutem Credentium*.⁵²⁹

⁵²² This entire entry is derived from Jermin (*Proverbs* 343).

⁵²³ "Understanding upon the Word." Jermin's Latin and English translation (*Proverbs* 350).

⁵²⁴ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 350.

⁵²⁵ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 351.

⁵²⁶ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 252.

⁵²⁷ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 352.

⁵²⁸ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 352.

⁵²⁹ "He preached the Gospel equally to cities and villages, to great and small ones, not considering the greatness of the noble ones, but the salvation of believers." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 352), a citation from Jerome, *Commentarii in Evangelium Matthæi*, lib. 1 [PL 26. 60; CCSL 77]; transl.: Jermin.

But if a *Fool* be the Instructor, what can be expected but *Folly* from him? If he undertake to instruct others, (as Dr. *Patrick* paraphrases it) he only makes them like himself. The *Instruction* also bestow'd on *Fools* is rejected by them, as *Folly* is by wise Men.⁵³⁰

Q. How does the *Heart of the Wise*, teach his Mouth, & add Learning to his Lips? v. 23.

A. By speaking wisely, he does more Good, than his Heart thought of.

But the *Wisdom of his Heart* adds this *Learning to his Lips*; his *Lips* learn to be silent.⁵³¹ *Gregorie* saies well, *Ille discit, ille scit recte dicere, qui et novit tacere.*⁵³²

The *Baptist* was *Vox Clamantis*;⁵³³ he was indeed a most proper *Voice*, & most perfect *Voice*. But before he was born, his *Father* was Dumb, and his *Mother* hid herself; As *Chrysologus* expresses it: *Pater tacet ex pœnâ, ex Verecundiâ Mater cœlat; O quanto silentio vox nascitur.*⁵³⁴

Q. *Health to the Bones?* v. 24.

A. *Munster* brings an Hebrew Gloss; *Tollunt Morbos pessimorum Vitiorum.*⁵³⁵

Q. The *Way that seems right unto a Man*, but ends in Death? v. 25.

A. *Gregorie* ha's Two Sayings, which afford an Awful Gloss to this Passage. The one is this; *Sæpè Damnationis est Causa, quod et profectus putantur virtutis: Sæpà undè placari Iudex creditur, indè ad irascendum placidus instigatur.*⁵³⁶ The other is this: *Sancti viri sua etiam benè gesta formidant, de actionis Imagine fallantur.*⁵³⁷

⁵³⁰ See Jermin (*Proverbs* 352–53) and Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 252; at this verse see also Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla*.

⁵³¹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 353.

⁵³² “He learns, he knows to speak rightly, who has learned, who knows to hold his peace rightly.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 353), a citation from Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 30, cap. 8 [PL 76. 538; CCSL 143B]; transl.: Jermin.

⁵³³ “The voice of one crying out.” See John 1:23 (VUL); “voice of one crying in the wilderness” (KJV); a reference to John the Baptist.

⁵³⁴ “The father holds his peace by punishment, the mother hides herself in modesty, O with how great silence was the voice born!” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 353–54), a citation from the Archbishop of Ravenna Peter Chrysologus (c. 380–c. 449/458), *Sermones*, sermo 92 [PL 52. 460; CCSL 24A]; transl.: Jermin.

⁵³⁵ “They take away the ailments of the worst transgressions.” Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4204); at this verse see *In Proverbia Salomonis*, pp. 253–54. Ambrose thinks of the Bible itself here; see *Epistolæ*, epist. 2 [PL 16. 879–88; CSEL 82.1].

⁵³⁶ “Often it is the cause of damnation, which is thought to be a proceeding in virtue: and sometimes, from whence it is believed, even from thence his mild disposition is stirred up to anger.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 355), a citation from Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 5, cap. 7 [PL 75. 685; CCSL 143]; transl.: Jermin.

⁵³⁷ “Religious men fear those things, which are done well by them, lest they be deceived with the show of their doing.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 355), a citation from Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 5, cap. 7 [PL 75. 685; CCSL 143]; transl.: Jermin.

Q. How may this be applied, *He that laboureth, laboureth for himself, for his Mouth craveth it of him?* v. 26.

A. *Gregory*, whom they call, *The Saint*, applies this Verse unto *Ministers*. He tells us, while we *labour* in preaching to *others*, we *labour for ourselves*; because we teach ourselves, to labour that we may do these things, which we Teach unto others. And as he speaks, *Os nostrum nos compellit ad Laborem, quando per hoc quod dicimus, à vitiis refrænamur; quia turpe est nimis, ibi nos negligendo cadere, unde prædicando conati sumus alios Levare.*⁵³⁸

Q. How does he *Dig up Evil?* v. 27.

A. He labours, as if he were *Digging* for Treasure; – to *Brand* his Neighbour.⁵³⁹

Q. Who may be meant by a *chief Friend?* v. 28.

A. *Munster* observes, that some understand it of, *The Husband*, who is here called, *A Leader*.⁵⁴⁰

Q. The *Hoary Head*, a *Crown of Glory?* v. 31.

A. *Philo* ha's an elegant Expression; That the *Hoary Head*, is the *Populeum Sertum*,⁵⁴¹ the Poplar Garland, which the Romans were wont to give, *Emeritis Militibus*.⁵⁴² God gives it unto them, who have served Him against the spiritual Enemies.

Chrysostom understands it, of the Wisdome and Knowledge in old Men, *Quæ in eis regnant et resident, imo et quæ eos regià Corona cingunt.*⁵⁴³

Nazianzen understands by it, *The Prærogativa Sapientiæ*,⁵⁴⁴ which gives to old Men the Honour of Advising others, & setts them out, as *crowned Kings*, whom all ought to submitt unto. *Elias Cretensis* (on him) saies, That it signifies, *The Security and Confirmation* of old Men in the *Way of Righteousness*. As in

⁵³⁸ “Our mouth compels us to labor, when as by that which we speak we are restrained from vices: because it is too shameful, that we should fall there by negligence, where by our preaching we have endeavored to relieve others.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 356), a citation from Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*, lib. 2, hom. 6 [PL 76. 1000; CCSL 142]; transl.: Jermin.

⁵³⁹ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 254.

⁵⁴⁰ See Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4203).

⁵⁴¹ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 360), a reference to Philo of Alexandria, *De legatione ad Gaïum*, 1.545–46; Mather provides Jermin's transl.

⁵⁴² “Veteran soldiers.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 360); see Philo of Alexandria, *De legatione ad Gaïum*, 1.545–46; Mather provides Jermin's transl.

⁵⁴³ “Which reside and reign in them, yea and with which as with a royal crown, they are compassed and crowned.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 360), a citation Jermin attributes to John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in Joannem*, hom. 87 [PG 59. 23–82]; transl.: Jermin.

⁵⁴⁴ “The prerogative of wisdom.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 360), a citation from Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 16, *De plaga grandinis* [PG 35. 937–38]; transl. *NPNFii* 7:248: “Time is the best touchstone of this wisdom, and ‘the hoary head is a crown of glory.’”

Combates, he that ha's received the *Crown*, is now in Safety; *sic etiam senex tuto gloriatus, ut qui mutationem iam non pertimescat.*⁵⁴⁵

But *Righteousness* is the Jewel of the *Crown*.

Dr. *Gell* observes, The Supplement, [*If*] is not in the Original. The Words are *categorically* True. Honourable Age is not that which standeth in Length of Time; nor is it measured by Number of Years. But *Wisdom* is as *grey Hair* unto Men, & *unspotted Life* old Age.⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴⁵ “So an old man safely glories [in his righteousness], as one that fears no change.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 360), a citation from Elia del Medigo (Helias Hebraeus Cretensis, c. 1460–c. 1497), *Commentarius Eliae Cretensis in orationem decimamnonam*, in Gregory of Nazianzus, *Opera* (1630), vol. 2, p. 695; Jermin’s transl. modified.

⁵⁴⁶ From Robert Gell, *An Essay toward the Amendment of the last English-Translation of the Bible* (1659). Mather here cites from the unpaginated preface. Gell discusses the same passage again in sermon 9, pp. 448–49. Robert Gell (1595–1665) was an Anglican divine, rector of St. Mary Aldermary (London) and chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Q. On the *Dry Morsel*, and the *House full of Sacrifices*? v. 1.

A. It is pretty to see R. *Samuel Marochianus* the Jew, making the *Buccella Panis* here, to be the Sacrifice of the *Christian Church*, and the *Vitulus Pinguis* to be the Sacrifice of the *Jewish*.⁵⁴⁷

Q. *Excellent Speech not becoming a Fool*? v. 7.

A. The Hebrew is, *The Lips of Excellency*; Princely, Stately, Imperious Speech; In a *Fool*, it looks mighty Foolish.

And *Lying*, which is the Speech of a *Fool*, does as little become a Man of Quality.⁵⁴⁸

Q. About *covering a Transgression*? v. 9.

A. *Jerom* gives this Rule; *si quem rigidum, et trucem ad omnia fratrum Peccata conspexeris, hunc scito plus Justum esse, quàm justum est*.⁵⁴⁹ *Jermyn* proceeds. "Alas, How many things are there to be suffered; how many things to be for-

⁵⁴⁷ "Morsel of bread"; "Fat calf." Mather here cites the medieval apologetic work *Rabbi Samuelis Marochiani de adventu Messiae praeterito liber*, cap. 23 [PL 149. 361]. This epistolary text, which stands in a long literary tradition of anti-Jewish works of Christian apologetics in dialogic form, was written around 1339 by the Spanish Dominican monk Alphonsus Bonihominis (d. before 1353), who became Bishop of Morocco in 1344. Bonihominis claimed that the text was the translation of a letter in defense of the truth of Christianity originally written in Arabic to a Rabbi Isaac by a Rabbi Samuel who had converted to Christianity. The authenticity of the original epistle (which was purportedly written three centuries before Bonihominis's translation) and even the existence of Rabbi Samuel are contested by modern scholars. In any case, Bonihominis's work was frequently copied, translated into many languages, and after the advent of print appeared in numerous editions under different titles. See Monika Marssmann, *Die Epistel des Rabbi Samuel an Rabbi Isaak* (1971), esp. pp. 15–22, and Ora Limor, "The Epistle of Rabi Samuel of Morocco: A Best-Seller in the World of Polemics" (1996).

In his annotations on Lamentations (4:20) Mather has a note: "After I had written this, I litt upon the, *Veri Messiae Parastasis*, written many hundreds of Years ago, by *Samuel Marochianus*, a Converted Jew of Morocco. In this Treatise of his, he declares his Fears, That our JESUS, is that CHRIST of the Lord, whom the Spirit of Prophecy is this Passage of the *Lamentations* had his Eyes upon." Compare also Mather, *Trip paradisus*, p. 170. Judging by this reference, Mather seems to have used a 1536 Latin edition that was published in Cologne under the title *Petri Aphunis ex Iudaeo Christiani dialogi lectu dignissimi. In quibus impiae Iudaeorum opiniones euide(n)tissimis cum naturalis, tum coelestis philosophiae argumentis confutatur nunc primum typis excusi. Accessit libellus sanè doctus Rabbi Samuelis, veri Messiae parastasim continens*. In 1648 the English minister Thomas Calvert put out an English edition under the title: *The Blessed Jew of Marocco, or, a Blackmoor made white*, where the citation appears on p. 127.

⁵⁴⁸ A summary of Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 368.

⁵⁴⁹ "If you see anyone rigid and fierce against all the faults of his brethren, know such a one to be more just than it is just he should be." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 370), a citation from Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 7 [PL 23. 1066; CCSL 72]; transl.: Jermin.

gotten; how many things, tho' seen, to be as it were unseen, that *Love* may be preferred!"⁵⁵⁰

This is the Way to make Peace, when Injuries have made Division; not to stand upon the Discovery of the several Injuries, but by the Covert of Silence to pass them over, that Love may have the Readier Passage into the Hearts of People. This is the Way, for him that would Recover an Affection he ha's lost; not to take Notice of the Affronts he ha's received, but with the Covert of a mild Patience, to shutt them up so from his own Eyes, that the other may see the Greatness of his Love uncovered in it.⁵⁵¹

Q. The *cruel Messenger* sent against him, who *seeketh only Rebellion?* v. 11.

A. A wicked Man pretends to seek Pleasure, & Riches, & Honours. But in reality, he finds, yett, he seeks nothing but a *Rebellion* against God.⁵⁵²

The *cruel Messenger* is, in the Vulgar Latin, *crudelis Angelus*.⁵⁵³ But *Jermyn* proposes, That it be the *Conscience* of the Sinner. This *Messenger* meets him at every Turn, & never meets him without scourging him.⁵⁵⁴ And, as *Bernard* in his Book of *Conscience*, expresses it; *Ipsa Carcer, ipsa Tortor; ipsa accusat, ipsa judicat; ipsa Damnat, ipsa Punit*.⁵⁵⁵

[▽Insert from 34r]

[▽34r]

Q. A *Fool in his Folly*, how like a *Bear that is robbed of her Whelps?* v. 12.

A. *Bochart* observes out of good Authors.⁵⁵⁶ First, That a *Bear* is an exceeding Fierce Creature. Secondly; That the *Female* is more Fierce than the *Male*. Thirdly; That she is more Fierce than ordinary when she hath *Whelps*. And, Lastly, when she is Robbed of them, she is fiercest of all, *Immanem in Modum*.⁵⁵⁷ See 2. Sam. XVII.8. and, Hos. XIII.8. *Jerom* there observes, That the Writers of Natural History say, Among all Beasts, none so cruel, as the *Bear*, when she wants *Food*, and when she is Robbed of her *Whelps*.⁵⁵⁸ The Reason of the latter,

⁵⁵⁰ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 370.

⁵⁵¹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 370.

⁵⁵² See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 371.

⁵⁵³ "A cruel angel." Mather cites Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 371; see VUL, *Douay-Rheims Bible*.

⁵⁵⁴ Mather paraphrases Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 371–72.

⁵⁵⁵ "She herself is the prison, herself is the tormentor, herself accuses, herself judges, herself condemns, herself punishes." Mather cites Jermin (*Proverbs* 372), who mentions Bernard of Clairvaux, *Liber de Conscientia*, as his source; compare Pseudo-Bernardus, *Tractatus de conscientia*, cap. 9, and cap. 18 [PL 184. 515, 524].

⁵⁵⁶ From Patrick (*Proverbs* 260); a summary of Bochart, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 9 ("De Ursis"), pp. 806–20.

⁵⁵⁷ "Even unto rage and madness". From Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 260, a citation of Bochart, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 9, p. 813.

⁵⁵⁸ From Patrick (*Proverbs* 260–61), who cites Bochart, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 9, p. 813, a reference to the Benedictine preacher and exegete Haymo of Auxerre (Haimo Altissiodorensis, d. c. 866), *Enarratio in duodecim prophetas minores*, In *Osee prophetam*, cap. 13 [PL 117. 91].

is given by *Kimchi*, and it agrees well enough, with the Comparison which the Wise Man here makes. *A Bear cannot be more in Love with her Whelps, than a Fool is, with his Absurd Opinions and Resolutions.* And as a *Bear* falls on the next Person she meets withal; taking him for the Robber; so does a *Fool*, upon every one that stands in his Way, tho' he be never so much obliged unto them. He spares none in the Heat of his Passions.⁵⁵⁹

[△] [△Insert ends]

Q. *Justifying the Wicked, & condemning the Just?* v. 15.

A. The Word of God saies, *Wo to them that call Evil Good & Good Evil.*

Jerom saies, *Aquila signantius interpretatus est, Aquila* did interpret more significantly; *Wo* to them, who say to the *Evil*, Thou art *Good*, and to the *Good*, thou art *Evil*.⁵⁶⁰

[33v] |

Q. *The Price in the Hand of a Fool.* A Remarkable Instance of it? v. 16.

A. Both the *Glosses*, apply this to the Jews, who had the Scriptures in their Hands. Yett had not the Understanding in their Hearts, to behold a *Christ* in them.⁵⁶¹

[▽34r–34v] [▽Insert from 34r–34v]

Q. *A Friend loving at all times, & a Brother born for Adversity?* v. 17.

A. Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase is, "Time makes Proof of a Friend; who, if he be sincere, loves not meerly for a Fitt, nor alters with the Change of ones Condition; but continues stedfast in Adversity as well as in Prosperity: nay, In Straits & Distresses, shewes himself more like a Brother than a Friend."⁵⁶²

[34v] He looks on this as the plainest Trans]lation of the Hebrew Words. *A true Friend* (spoken of before) *is born* (that is, becomes) *a Brother in Adversity*. He was a *Friend* before. This makes him a *Brother*. And so he is to be esteemed.⁵⁶³

[△] [△Insert ends]

⁵⁵⁹ See Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 261, who draws upon Bochart, *Hierozaicon*, pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 9, p. 813, referring to the medieval Rabbi, Hebrew scholar, biblical commentator, and philosopher David Kimchi (acronym: Radak, 1160–1235), possibly his famous Hebrew dictionary *Sefer ha-Shorashim* ("Book of the Roots"), edited by Sebastian Münster (1546). I was unable to locate the citation in this work. Like his contemporary Rashi, Kimchi was also a proponent of the *peshat* interpretations (simple sense).

⁵⁶⁰ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 375), a reference to Jerome, *In Isaiam prophetam*, lib. 2, on Isa. 5:20 [PL 24. 87; CCSL 73].

⁵⁶¹ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 375. A reference to Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla* and the medieval compilation of commentaries on the Bible, the *Glossa ordinaria*, which was widely used and printed for theological training into the Reformation period.

⁵⁶² Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 269.

⁵⁶³ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 261.

Q. *A Brother born for Adversity?* v. 17.

A. Dr. Jermin has this Gloss upon it. The same God, who sends Affliction to any, sends also his *Brother* to succour him. – How unworthy was that *Brother* to be born, who refuses to do that for which he was *born*! Or, *A Brother born in Adversity*. He is to be accounted a *Brother*, who shows himself a Faithful Friend in Adversity.⁵⁶⁴

But I will now surprize you with a marvellous Passage. The Ancient *Rabbi's* tell us, That in Scripture, the great God is said to be our *Brother*; and it is thereby signified, That the *Messiah* should be God, but in the Nature of Man be born of a Woman. They bring this Verse to be a Testimony of it. *Behold, a Brother born for our Adversity*.⁵⁶⁵

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Q. How may we understand that Proverb, *He that exalteth his Gate seeketh Destruction?* v. 19.

A. There is an old Epigram, that may seem to explain it,

Σωματα πολλὰ τρεφειν; καὶ δωματα πολλὰ ἀνεγειρεῖν

Ἀτραπος εἰς πενίαν ἐστὶν ἐτοιμοτατή·

Edificare domos multas, et Corpora multa

*pascere, ad interitum trita frequensque Via est.*⁵⁶⁶

To *exalt his Gate*, is for a Man to lift up himself above his Estate in Raising sumptuous Buildings. To *exalt the Gate*, is, to raise the House too high.

⁵⁶⁴ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 376.

⁵⁶⁵ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 376). There are no messianic readings in the rabbinic glosses (Ralbag, Rashi, Ibn Ezra) on this verse in *In Proverbia Salomonis*, pp. 269–70. Compare, however, Jermin's source, Petrus Galatinus, *De arcanis catholicae veritatis* ([1518] 1561), lib. 3, cap. 28, pp. 123–26, who cites several ancient rabbinic sources to this effect. Galatinus, or Pietro Colonna/Columna Galatino (1460–1540), was an Italian Friar Minor, philosopher, theologian, and Christian Kabbalist, whose *De arcanis*, an anti-Jewish work of Christian apologetics, drew on numerous rabbinic and pseudo-rabbinic sources to prove the divinity and messiahship of Christ. On Prov. 17:17, Galatinus cites “R. Halcusi,” in *Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael, Tractate Beshallah*, cap. 4, on Exod. 14:15 (vol. 1, p. 221). This rabbi's Hebrew name is spelled differently in the text variants and cannot be clearly identified. The *Mek(h)ilta* (first ed. Constantinople 1515) is a halakhic midrash on the book of Exodus. The redactor is unknown, but was traditionally identified as Rabbi Ishmael ben Elisha (90–135), one of the “tannaim” or sages, whose teachings were recorded in the Mishnah, from the third tannaitic generation (*JE*). Lauterbach translates: “R. Hananiah the son of Halmisi says: ‘Have I not long ago caused to be written: ‘And a brother is born for adversity’ (Prov. 17:17)? I am like a brother to Israel when they are in trouble.’”

⁵⁶⁶ “To build many houses and feed many bodies is a common and much frequented road to perdition.” Mather cites this Greek epigram and the Latin translation from Zehner, *Adagia*, adagium 40, pp. 103–04. Zehner's source seems to be the anthology of the Leipzig school-master and librarian Heinrich Kitsch (fl. 1600), *Symbologia heroica hexaglottos* (1608), p. 335. Kitsch does not attribute the saying to an author and none could be identified.

But then, some who consider the Context, suppose rather that the Wise Man does here check, the bold, and high *Speeches* of unadvised Men against their Superiors, and those that *Pliny* calls, *Redituras per jugulum Voces*.⁵⁶⁷

This we know, *The Mouth*, is very agreeably call'd, *A Gate*.

But if we carry the Proverb, unto all Affection of great Things, there is a Saying in *Plautus*, that symbolizeth with it;

Qui quærit alta, malum is videtur quærere.⁵⁶⁸

Dr. *Jermyn*, considering the *Mouth*, as properly the *Gate* of Man, observes, That big and swelling Words there, and High & Lofty Terms, are usually the Sparkles of Contention. And hereby, a Man lifts up his *Gate*, that so Destruction may see him the better, and find him out the sooner.

Men also *lift up their Gate* in fierce & insolent Reproofs, of other Peoples Miscarriages. Their *Destruction* will be sought by the Reproved.⁵⁶⁹

Q. *A Broken Spirit?* v. 22.

A. That which is by *Cassian* called, *Edax Tristitia*.⁵⁷⁰

This will *dry up* the very Marrow of Religion, and make the Soul barren in Goodness.

Chrysostom saies, Tis not the *Divel*, that causeth *Sadness*, but *Sadness* that giveth Strength to the *Divel*.⁵⁷¹

Tis noted, That when *Paul* had given up the *Corinthian* to the *Divel*, he feared not the *Divels* Power over him; but he feared lest he should be swallowed up with too much *Sorrow*.⁵⁷²

Q. *Wisdom before him that hath Understanding?* v. 24.

A. The Original is, *In his Face*. One may see *Wisdom* in his Countenance.⁵⁷³

⁵⁶⁷ "Words that will come back through a slit in the throat." From Zehner (*Adagia* 104), Mather cites Pliny, *Natural History*, 14.28.141; transl.: LCL 370.

⁵⁶⁸ "He who seeks for high things appears to seek for evil." From Zehner (*Adagia* 104), Mather refers to a line from a prologue to the comedy *Pseudolus* of the Roman playwright Titus Maccius Plautus (c. 254–184 BCE). This prologue is now considered to be inauthentic and is usually not contained in modern text editions. However, it was part of most early modern editions. See for instance, *M. Accius Plautus ex fide, atque auctoritate complurium librorum manuscriptorum opera Dionys* (1576), p. 778.

⁵⁶⁹ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 377.

⁵⁷⁰ "Devouring sadness." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 379), a reference to the pioneer of Christian monasticism and mystic theologian, who was active in Palestine, Egypt, Rome, and southern Gaul, John Cassian (Iohannes Cassianus, Massiliensis, 360–430/435), *De coenobiorum institutis*, lib. 9, cap. 1 [PL 49. 351; CSEL 17]; transl.: Jermin.

⁵⁷¹ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 378; a reference to John Chrysostom, *Adhortationes ad Stagirium a daemone vexatum*, lib. 2 [PG 47. 449].

⁵⁷² See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 379; see 2 Cor. 2:7.

⁵⁷³ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 380–81. אֶת־פְּנֵי מִבִּין חִכְמָה lit. "[To] the face of the discerning [is] wisdom." NAU: "Wisdom is in the presence of the one who has understanding." ESV: "The discerning sets his face toward wisdom." Elberfelder Bibel: "Der Verständige hat die Weisheit

Q. A Fools Eyes in the Ends of the Earth? v. 24.

A. Gregory saies, *Quia hoc solum tota Cogitatione Intentiones conspiciunt, per quod ad finem terreni Desiderii perveniant.*⁵⁷⁴

*Jermy*n allows it thus to be understood; In Trouble he looks up & down the *Earth* for Succour.⁵⁷⁵

Some apply it unto the Spirit of *Travelling*.

Q. He that *hath Knowledge*? v. 27.

A. The Original is, *He that knoweth Knowledge*. There are many who know much, but it is not *Knowledge* that they know. They know only useless *Trifles*.⁵⁷⁶

[the entries from 34r–34v were inserted into their designated places]

vor dem Angesicht" (The man of understanding has wisdom before his countenance). LXX: *πρόσωπον συνετόν ἀνδρός σοφοῦ* ("The countenance of an intelligent man [is] wise"). VUL: "in facie prudentis lucet sapientia" ("in the face of the prudent shines wisdom").

⁵⁷⁴ "because it is his only care which he looks after, with the whole intention of his heart, by what means he may attain to the end of his earthly desire." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 381), a citation from Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 17, cap. 7 [PL 76. 14; CCSL 143A]. The PL reads "cordis" instead of "cogitatione" and "perducantur" instead of "perveniant." Transl.: Jermin.

⁵⁷⁵ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 381.

⁵⁷⁶ Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 383–84.

Q. On, *The Man who separateth himself?* v. 1.

A. Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase is this. "He that affects Singularity, inquires into all Manner of things; according as his vain-glorious Humour leads him; which makes him also bend himself, with all the Witt he hath to overthrow the solid Reasons of wiser Men."⁵⁷⁷

But the Chaldee Paraphrase gives another Sense; *De Dieu* does so too. He observes, that *Niphrad*, which we render, *separates himself*, is to be understood, *A Man Divided*, & uncertain in his own Mind, who can stick to nothing. The last Word, which we render, *Intermeddleth*, he translates, *Is left Desolate*. In the next Verse, he takes, *Behith galloth* for, *wandring up & down*, & not for, *discovering*. So that this Paraphrase is proposed by *Patrick*. "An unconstant Man desires many things, and seeks Satisfaction; but whatsoever he seeks, he never meets with it, but is defeated & disappointed in all his Designs."⁵⁷⁸

And this is a certain Character of a Fool, that he never fixes on anything; but chuses rather to gad up & down, & rove from one Enquiry to another than give his Mind to true Wisdome & Prudence, in which he has no Pleasure."⁵⁷⁹

Q. How is it said, *when the Wicked cometh, then also cometh Contempt?* v. 3.

A. Tis to be supplied, *when he cometh* to the Height of his Wickedness, *then cometh a Contempt* of Counsils, of Reproofs, of Judgments; of Man & of God.⁵⁸⁰ The Fathers read it therefore, as the LXX, & the *Vulgar*; *Impius quam in profundum venerit Peccatorum, contemnit*.⁵⁸¹

But the *Chaldee* chuses to supply the Words thus; *Quandò venit Impius in Stultitia, venit super eum Contemptus*.⁵⁸² A Contempt from the Good comes upon him; & from those who punish him. Add this, wherever *the Wicked cometh*, he brings with him a *Contempt* of others who are not like himself.⁵⁸³

⁵⁷⁷ Patrick, *Proverbs*, pp. 282–83.

⁵⁷⁸ From Patrick (*Proverbs* 273–74), a reference to the work of the Dutch Reformed theologian and orientalist Ludovicus de Dieu (Lodewijk de Dieu; 1590–1642), *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamenti* (1648), pp. 174–75; see also Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:358); *In Proverbia Salomonis* on Prov. 18:1, pp. 276–77; see *The Targum of Proverbs* at this verse.

⁵⁷⁹ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 274.

⁵⁸⁰ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 387.

⁵⁸¹ "When the wicked is come to the depth of his sins, then he despises." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 387); see Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:358).

⁵⁸² "When a wicked man comes in his folly, then there comes upon him contempt." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 387), a citation from the Targum; see *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 278; at this verse, compare Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta*; see *The Targum of Proverbs* at this verse; transl.: Jermin.

⁵⁸³ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 387–88.

Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase is, "Into whatsoever Company or Society (suppose the Schools of Wisdom) a profane Person comes, he brings along with him, Contempt of God and Religion, & good Men."⁵⁸⁴

Munsters Gloss is, *Quando impius nascitur, venit publicum Malum in Mundum.*⁵⁸⁵

Q. *Justice in Judgment?* v. 5.

A. It must be so Impartial, that it must not consider so much as the Cause of the *Poor*, tho' *Mercy* itself pleads for him.⁵⁸⁶ *Austin* saies well; *Bona est Misericordia, sed non quum est contrà Judicium.*⁵⁸⁷ And *Isidore of Pelusium*; *Pauperis misericordiâ affici convenit; ut non quum litigat, sed quum mendicat.*⁵⁸⁸

Our Saviour saies, Joh. V.30. *I can of myself do nothing; as I hear I Judge.* As *Ambrose* notes, Here He speaks like a Judge. *Nihil ex me profero; sed ex te forma Judicii, in te procedit. Secundum quod Audio Judico, non secundum quod volo. Justitiâ in Judicando, non Potentia.*⁵⁸⁹ Men bring their own Case. Tis their Case that must make their Judgment. But, as the same Father notes, Tho' the Judge of all the Earth saies, *I can do nothing*; yett a *Pilate* said; *I have Power.*⁵⁹⁰

Q. How do you understand that Passage, *The Words of a Tale-bearer are as Wounds?* v. 8.

A. Why should it not be rendred, *His Words are like as when Men are wounded.* That is, The *Talebearer* utters his Words in a Lamenting, Sorrowful, Doleful Manner; hee pretends much Love towards them, of whom hee speaks; hee seems much griev'd that so much ill should bee spoken of them; & this is that so hee may make the Infamy stick more close unto them.⁵⁹¹ By this Deceit it is, that the *Backbiter* wounds *Three* at once; namely, himself, the Person spoken of, & the Person spoken to. Tis for that Cause, that some suppose the *False-Witness* compared unto *Three* Destroying Instruments. Prov. 25.18. *A Maul, & a Sword,*

⁵⁸⁴ See Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 283.

⁵⁸⁵ "When someone wicked is born, a public evil enters the world." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4228).

⁵⁸⁶ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 389.

⁵⁸⁷ "Mercy is good, but not when it is contrary to judgement." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 389), a citation from Augustine, *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, lib. 2, quaestio 88 [PL 34. 628; CSEL 28.2; CCSL 33]; transl.: Jermin.

⁵⁸⁸ "It behooves to be moved with compassion towards the poor, but when he sues by begging, not when he sues at law." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 389), a citation from the Egyptian Desert Father Isidore of Pelusium (Isidorus Pelusiota, c. 360–after 433), *Epistolae*, lib. 3, epist. 250 [PG 78. 930]; transl. Jermin.

⁵⁸⁹ "I bring nothing from myself, but from yourself the course of justice proceeds against yourself. I judge as I hear, not as I will. It is justice, not power, that is in judging." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 389), a citation from Ambrose, *Epistolae*, epist. 77 [PL 16. 1266; CSEL 82.1]; transl.: Jermin.

⁵⁹⁰ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 389. Compare John 19:10.

⁵⁹¹ Compare Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 391.

✠ a sharp Arrow. And for that Cause also, some suppose that the Tongue of a Backbiter, is called in the Chaldee, *A Third Tongue*; because it hurts *Three* at once.⁵⁹²

Q. *Before Honour Humility?* v. 12.

A. Other Wayes to Honour, are full of Turnings, and Windings, and Troubles. But it lies in a straight even Line before *Humility*.⁵⁹³

Our Saviour saies of the Centurion; That He had *not found so great Faith in Israel*.⁵⁹⁴ Austin saies, *Unde magnam? De minimo, de Humilitate grandem*.⁵⁹⁵ The same Father saies, *Quantò Humilior, tantò Capacior, tantò Plenior. Colles Aquam repellunt, Valles implentur*.⁵⁹⁶

Q. Why *Folly* and *Shame*, to him that *answereth a Matter before he heareth it?* v. 13.

A. *Folly*, because the Answer is made unto Nothing; *Shame*, because the Answer is Nothing. *Tertullian* saies, *Justa et Digna est Præscriptio, in omni Quæstione, ad Propositum Interrogationis pertinere debere Sensum Responsionis*. He adds; *Aliud Consulenti aliud Respondere dementis est*.⁵⁹⁷

Q. Why is it said; *The Heart of the Prudent getteth Knowledge, and the Ear of the Wise seeketh Knowledge?* v. 15.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* observes, The common Course is that *Seeking* goes before *Getting*; But here, *Getting* is first, and *Seeking* followes after. For surely, they are the best *Seekers* of Knowledge, & the most earnest after it, who have already *gotten* it. They who have not *gotten* it, know not the Worth of it, & so have no Mind to look after it.⁵⁹⁸

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⁵⁹² Compare Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:362).

⁵⁹³ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 394.

⁵⁹⁴ See Matt. 18:10.

⁵⁹⁵ "From whence so great? Even from the least thing; that is, from humility such a great [praise was given him]." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 395), a citation from Augustine, *Sermones de Scripturis*, sermo 77, cap. 8 [PL 38. 488; CCSL 41]; transl.: Jermin.

⁵⁹⁶ "The more humble anyone is, the more capacious, the more full: for the hill cast the water from them, but the valleys are replenished." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 395), a citation from Augustine, *Sermones de Scripturis*, sermo 77, cap. 8 [PL 38. 488; CCSL 41]; transl.: Jermin.

⁵⁹⁷ "It is a just and due ordinance, that in every question the sense of the answer appertains to the purpose of the question But, when one thing is asked, to answer another thing, is the part of a mad person." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 395), a citation from Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, lib. 4 [PL 2. 453; CSEL 1; CSEL 47]; transl.: Jermin.

⁵⁹⁸ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 397.

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Q. That Passage, *Hee that is first in his own Cause, seemeth Just?* v. 17.

A. The Vulgar Latin so translates it, as to give us a further, & an useful Admonition, and the Original will well enough bear the Translation. *Justus primus est Accusator sui*.⁵⁹⁹ A just Man, before hee meddles with the Reproof of others, will first *Accuse* himself, and search the State of his own Soul, & Life, & Faithfully Reform it.

Tho' the most obvious Meaning of the Verse be, That the *Plaintiff* is ever in the Right, until the *Defendant* be heard. Yett the Fathers generally took it, in the Meaning of the Vulgar Latin. And the LXX reads it so; *The Just is the Accuser of himself, in the Beginning of his Speech*.⁶⁰⁰ Origen saies, *Mirum continet sensum*; for he adds; *Peccatores accusant omnia potius quàm seipsos*.⁶⁰¹ But a Just Man, as Ambrose expresses it, *Nescit sibi favere*.⁶⁰²

Q. The *Lott* that *causes Contentions to cease?* v. 18.

A. Dr. *Jermy*n has a good Thought upon it. If a *Lott* have erred, it is, when Mens Understanding might have putt things to Rights without it. For, God having given Power to Men, he looks that Men should use it.

Austin setts down Two Cases, wherein he approves a *Lott*. The first is; If in a Time of Calamity, there be a Controversy among Ministers, who shall *Stay*, & who shall *Fly*. *Quantum mihi videtur, qui maneant et qui fugiant, Sorte elegendi sunt*.⁶⁰³ [Epist. 180. ad *Honorat*.] The second is; If you have something, you would give to the Poor, and it can't be given to all that seek it; & you know not which may be most worthy of it. *Nihil Justius faceres; quàm ut sorte eligeres, cui dandum esset*.⁶⁰⁴ [De Doct. Christ. l. 1. c. 28.]

Aquinas's Conclusion is; *Si Necessitas immineat, licitum est debita Reverentia, sortibus Divinum Auxilium implorare*.⁶⁰⁵

599 "The just is first accuser of himself." VUL: "iustus prior est accusator sui;" transl.: *Douay-Rheims Bible*.

600 LXX: δίκαιος ἑαυτοῦ κατήγορος ἐν πρωτολογίᾳ. See Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:362).

601 "Sinners accuse all things, rather than themselves." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 399), a citation from Origen, *Homiliae in librum Regum*, hom. 1 [PG 12. 1010]; transl.: Jermin.

602 "Knows not how to favor himself." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 399), a citation from Ambrose, *Apologia prophetæ David ad Theodosium Augustum*, cap. 9 [PL 14. 868; CSEL 32.2]; transl.: Jermin. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

603 "It seems to me, who shall fly and who shall stay are to be chosen by lot." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 400), a citation from Augustine, *Epistola CCXXVIII* [PL 33. 1018; CSEL 57; CCSL 31B]; transl. Jermin.

604 "There is nothing more just than that chosen by lot to whom it shall be given." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 400), a citation from Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, lib. 1, cap. 28 [PL 34. 30; CSEL 80; CCSL 32]; see *NPNFi* 2:530. Transl.: Jermin.

605 "In urgent necessity it is lawful, provided due reverence be observed, to call upon God for aid by casting lots." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 400), a citation from Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae, Secunda Secundae Partis*, qu. 95, art. 8. Transl.: *Summa Theologiae*, vol. 40, p. 67.

Q. How, *a Man to be filled with the Increase of his Lips?* v. 20.

Q. Dr. *Jermyns* Gloss upon it, is; That a Good Reward is due to the Pains and Profit of Teaching.

Chrysostom in his Time, complained of the Strait-handedness in the People, towards the Ministers of the Gospel. He saies, There were Two Evils committed in it. *Nam et vos quasi nihil dare debeatis, nihil confertis; et Dei Sacerdotes à Sacerdotio aliena pertractant.*⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰⁶ “And for you [it is] as if nothing was due, giving nothing and the priests of God meddle with those things which belong not to the priesthood.” From *Jermin* (*Proverbs* 402), a citation from John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in Matthaëum*, hom. 86, on Matt. 26 [PG 58. 762]; transl. modified from Jermin.

Q. A Remark upon that, *He that speaketh Lyes shall not escape?* v. 5.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* has a Note, That the Wise Man doth not account *Lying* to be *Speaking*; *Speech* not being for that Use at all granted unto him. And therefore, tho' in the *Proverbs* he often makes mention of it, yett he never expresses the Uttering of *Lyes*, by any proper Word for *Speaking*; but still, as it is here by / פוּחַ ⁶⁰⁷ *Qui Efflat Mendacia*; He that *bloweth out Lyes*: As if *Lyes* were nothing else but a stinking Breath, blown out, not from the Rotten Lungs, but the Rotten Heart, of Man. ⁶⁰⁸

There is no Wickedness, to which *Lying* does not carry Men. If they should not be punished for *Lying*, yett they shall for the Wickedness it leads them so. Saies *Leo*, *Totam Vim suam in Mendacio Diabolus Collocavit*. ⁶⁰⁹

Tertullian makes *Lust* the Root of all Evil; but so, that he adds, *Tamen Mendacium cupiditatis Ministrum*. ⁶¹⁰

But *Ambrose* has a sad Complaint; *Multi sunt his Temporibus, qui sinè aliquâ Reverentiâ Dei Omnipotentis, penè assiduè mentiuntur; sunt qui aliquid vix loqui possunt sinè Mendacii admixtione*. ⁶¹¹

Q. *The Brethren of the Poor, hating him?* v. 7.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* observes upon it, That in our Mercy, we should begin with our own Kindred. ⁶¹²

In the Genealogie of Our Saviour, several very sinful Persons are mentioned. *Ambrose* tells us, Tis done in this Respect, *Ut omnes homines Redempturus, Beneficium à suis majoribus inchoaret*; ⁶¹³ That He who was about to Redeem

⁶⁰⁷ פוּחַ [puach] "to breathe; to blow."

⁶⁰⁸ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 408.

⁶⁰⁹ "The devil has placed his whole strength in the lie." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 409), a citation from Leo the Great, *Sermones in praecipuis totius anni festivitatis ad Romanam plebem habiti*, sermo 9, cap. 2 [PL 54. 160–61; CSEL 138].

⁶¹⁰ "Yet, lying is the ministry of lust." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 409), a citation from Tertullian, *De idololatria* [PL 1. 675; CSEL 2; CSEL 20]; transl.: Jermin.

⁶¹¹ "Many there are in these times who without any reverence of the Almighty God, do even almost always lie; there are those who almost cannot speak anything without the mixture of a lie in it." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 412), a citation from the Carolingian Benedictine theologian Berengaudus Ferrariensis (Berengaudus of Ferrières, Barenguedos, 9th cent.), *Expositio super septem visiones libri Apocalypsis, De visione sexta*, cap. 21 [PL 17. 944], accredited by Jermin to Ambrose; transl. modified from Jermin.

⁶¹² Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 410.

⁶¹³ "That he who was about to redeem all men, might begin his mercy from his own ancestors." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 410), a citation from Ambrose, *Apologia altera prophetae David*, cap. 6 [PL 14. 900; CSEL 32.2]; transl.: Jermin.

all Men, might begin His Mercy with His Ancestors, and such as were akin unto Him.

Q. *A Servant ruling over Princes?* v. 10.

A. Some of the Hebrew Commentators, apprehend an Intimation here; *Ordinem in Viribus et Affectibus non invertendum; ut non Superiores Animæ Vires subjiciantur affectibus Carnis, sed spiritui caro subjiciatur.*⁶¹⁴

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Q. *The Discretion of a Man, deferring his Anger, and, passing over a Transgression?* v. 11.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* elegantly expresses himself on this Occasion. “*Discretion* is a *Buckler*, made of a Cold, Hard, Smooth Metal; and that which gives the true Temper to the Metal is *Delay*. In all the Wayes of *Discretion*, *Delay* holds it by the Hand; It Judgeth not without *Delay*; It Speaketh not without *Delay*; It Worketh not without *Delay*; It is not angry without *Delay*. The *Fiery Darts* that are thrown against it, kindle not the Metal hastily; the Strokes of Wrong do not bruise this Metal easily: the Apprehensions of a moved Spirit do not presently fasten upon it.”⁶¹⁵

It is the *Glory* of a worthy Mind, to *pass over a Transgression*, as Despising the Baseness of it.⁶¹⁶

Justin Martyr being asked; which was the greatest Miracle wrought by Our Saviour? Answered, *Patientia ejus tanta in Laboribus tantis.*⁶¹⁷ From him, *Tertullian* exhorting to Patience, ha's this Passage; *Dominus ipse maledictus in Lege est, et tamen ipse est solus benedictus. Igitur Dominum Servi consequamur, et maledicamur patienter, ut Benedicti esse possimus.*⁶¹⁸

Gregory reads the Beginning of this Verse, as the Vulgar Latin doth. *Doctrina Viri per patientiam noscitur.* He notes upon it; *Tantò ergò quisque minus Doctus offenditur, quantò vincitur minus Patiens.*⁶¹⁹

⁶¹⁴ “[They say that] the order among strengths and affections is not to be inverted; so that the superior strengths of the spirit are not subjected to the affections of the flesh, but that the flesh is subjected to the spirit.” Mather here cites the note of the Benedictine scholar and Bible translator Isidorus Clarius (Isidoro Chiari, 1495–1555) on this verse from Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4241). Clarius produced a new Latin translation of the Bible with notes, published as *Vulgata editio Novi et Veteris Testamenti* (1542).

⁶¹⁵ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 413.

⁶¹⁶ Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 413–14.

⁶¹⁷ “His so great patience in so great troubles.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 414), a citation Jermin attributes to Justin Martyr. The source could not be found.

⁶¹⁸ “The Lord himself is cursed in the law, and yet he it is who is alone blessed. Let the servants therefore follow the Master, and let us be reviled patiently, that we may be rewarded abundantly”. From Jermin (*Proverbs* 414), a citation from Tertullian, *De patientia*, cap. 8 [PL 1. 1262; CCSL 1; CSEL 47]; transl.: Jermin.

⁶¹⁹ “The learning of a man is known by his patience By so much therefore is everyone

Q. *A Foolish Son the Calamity of his Father?* v. 13.

A. The Original runs in the plural Number; *The Calamities*. In this Calamity there is included the Sorrow of many Calamities.⁶²⁰

Q. *A prudent Wife, proposed as from the Lord?* v. 14.

A. A virtuous Wife is not so easily gotten as an Estate. An House and Land may descend unto us, without our Thought, from our Progenitors; but great Care & Prudence is requisite in the Choice of a Wife to manage a Family. Nor is she neither found, without peculiar Direction & Blessing of the Lord.⁶²¹ Unto this Purpose is Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase.

Q. A Thought on that: *He that keepeth the Commandment, keepeth his own Soul; but he that despiseth his Wayes shall dy?* v. 16.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* flourishes a little upon it; The *Commandment* and the *Soul*, must both be putt into one Cabinet of *Love*; and they must both be kept under one Lock of *Care*.⁶²²

The *Commandment*, which includes all the rest, is that one of Obedience. But he who despises *Vias Ejus*,⁶²³ may be taken for him, who despises the *Wayes* of the *Commandments*, which are also to be look'd upon as the *Wayes* of the *Commander*. But it is also to be taken of him, who hath little Regard unto his own *Wayes*.⁶²⁴

|

[37r]

Q. That Remarkable Passage; *He that hath Pitty on the Poor, lendeth to the Lord?* v. 17.

A. *Irenæus* hath a memorable Passage: *Qui nullius est indigens, in se assumit bonas Operationes nostras, ad hoc, ut præstet nobis Retributionem bonorum suorum*.⁶²⁵

Dr. *Jermyn* ha's an agreeable Note; That which David sued for, *Lord, Be Surety for thy Servant for Good*; God here offers for all the *Poor*.⁶²⁶

shown to be less learned, by how much he is proved to be less patient." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 414), a citation from Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, lib. 2, hom. 35 [PL 76. 1262; CCSL 141]; transl.: Jermin. Compare the VUL: "doctrina viri per patientiam noscitur et gloria eius est iniqua praetergredi."

⁶²⁰ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 415.

⁶²¹ Patrick, *Proverbs*, pp. 303–04.

⁶²² Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 418.

⁶²³ "His ways." Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 418.

⁶²⁴ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 418.

⁶²⁵ "He that wants nothing, takes upon himself our good works, that so he may bestow upon us the retribution of his own good things." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 419), a citation from Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*, lib. 4, cap. 18 [PG 7. 1029; SC 294]; transl.: Jermin.

⁶²⁶ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 419.

In our Bounty to the *Poor*, & *Lending* to the Lord, we do in some sort Repay. For in the very Action, God lends us of His own Glory; namely, To be the Helpers of the Miserable.⁶²⁷

Saies *Chrysostom*, *Quem tibi eum esse velis; Debitorem an Judicem?*⁶²⁸

3289:

Q. How should we read that Proverb; *chasten thy son, while there is Hope, and lett not thy Soul spare for his Crying?* v. 18.

A. Parents who are so severe and cruel unto their Children, as to observe no Bounds in punishing of them, do sometimes plead this Text for their Severity. But a little Skill in the Hebrew, would help one thus to render the latter Part of the Verse: *But suffer not thyself to be transported, to cause him to dye.*⁶²⁹

[37v]

Q. That Passage; *The Desire of a Man is his Kindness?* v. 22.

A. How if it should be taken so? *The only Desireable thing in a Man, is his Goodness.*

An English Person of Quality, in a Book of his, *De Animâ*, invited me to this Illustration.⁶³⁰

I add, The *Desire* of a Man, is to be able to show *Kindness*. Thus Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase. "There is nothing more Desireable to a Man than to have wherewithal to be kind unto others, & oblige his Friends and Neighbours: for nothing makes him more Beloved. But tis better to want this Power than to have it, & have no Will to do Good; no, not to those, to whom we have made great Profession & Promises of Love & Kindness."⁶³¹

Q. How may it be said, *The Fear of the Lord tendeth to Life?* v. 23.

A. The learned *Hofman* ha's written several curious Dissertations. One of them is, *Des Moyens de Vivre Longtems*. Or, *The Wayes to Live Long*. He shoves, There is nothing so considerable in this regard, as *Temperance*. Unto which he

⁶²⁷ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 419.

⁶²⁸ "How do you want to have him, as a judge or debtor?" From Jermin (*Proverbs* 419), a citation from John Chrysostom, *Homiliae de poenitentia*, hom. 7 [PG 49. 333]; transl.: FC 96:105.

⁶²⁹ Compare Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4251). See also Mather's sermon *A Family well-ordered. Or an Essay to render Parents and Children happy in one another* (1699), p. 29. In ch. 3 of his *Bonifacius. An Essay upon the Good* (1710). Mather explicitly advises against the frequent and excessive use of physical punishment in the education of children; compare *Bonifacius*, ed. Levin, pp. 47–48.

⁶³⁰ The source for this entry could not be identified. Mather recycled this paragraph for the chapter on the duties of "Rich Men" (ch. 9) of his *Bonifacius*, ed. Levin, p. 107.

⁶³¹ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 307.

adds, *Tranquillity* of Mind. This, he notes, is the Lott of good Men. And for this Cause, he saies, it is, that God promises *long Life* to those who serve Him.⁶³²

2747.

Q. What may be the import of that Proverb; *A slothful Man hideth his Hand in his Bosom, and will not so much as bring it unto his Mouth again?* v. 24.

Compare, Prov. 26.15.

A. Zehner observes, That the Hebrew Word, which we translate *Bosome* signifies, a *frying-pan*, wherein *Meat* is præpared.⁶³³ Or a *Platter* in which tis brought unto the Table.

A *Sluggard*, tho' he hath delicious Entertainments on the Table before him, and his very *Hand* reach'd forth unto the Vessel wherein they lye, yett he will not be at the Pains, to bring any thing unto his Mouth.

Assique turdi benè conditi et fervidi,

*In Os volantes, se vorari supplicent.*⁶³⁴

Luther complains of a such a Sloth exemplified in many Teachers and Rulers, who have many *Occasions* before them to *Do Good*, but will not *lay Hold* on the Occasions. And the Proverb is applicable to *Scholars*, who have rich Opportunities, to furnish themselves with Learning, but are too *slothful* to take, what there is in learned Books, got ready for them.⁶³⁵

⁶³² A reference to one of the many medical dissertations of Friedrich Hoffmann, probably a French translation of *De studiis per regulas diaeteticas facilitandis & prolonganda litteratorum vita*; repr. in *Opuscula theologica-physica-medica* (1740); see also the quotation in the German edition: *Gründlicher Unterricht* (1735), cap. 1, § 28, pp. 65–69; see also similar thoughts about *temperantia* and *tranquillitas* in Hoffmann's *Medicina rationalis systematica* (1718–1740). A professor of medicine and natural philosophy at the University of Halle, Hoffmann (1660–1742) was recognized across Europe as one of the leading figures in his field, who did groundbreaking work on the nervous system. He also served as personal physician and counsellor to Friedrich I in Berlin (1709–1712). A friend of Robert Boyle, Hoffmann, like Mather, was a fellow of the Royal Society (*ADB*). Mather makes the same reference in his chapter on the duties of “Physicians” (ch. 8) in his *Bonifacius*, ed. Levin, p. 103.

⁶³³ Zehner, *Adagia*, adagium 46, pp. 115–18. צַלַּחַת [tsallachath] “(shallow) bowl.” KJV 1611: “A slouthfull man hideth his hand in his bosome.” ESV: “The sluggard buries his hand in the dish.”

⁶³⁴ Transl. with context: “For roast thrushes, dressed for a *réchauffé*, flew round our mouths entreating us to swallow them [as we lay stretched among the myrtles and anemones].” From Zehner (*Adagia* 116), Mather refers to Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai*, 6.96 (transl.: *LCL* 224, p. 210); in the context of a commentary on the same verse, the citation is also found in the work of the prominent Lutheran theologian and professor of Hebrew, Martin Geier (Martinus Geierus, 1614–1680), *Proverbia Salomonis cum cura enucleata* (1669), p. 1005. A proponent of Lutheran Orthodoxy, Geier held positions at various universities, including Leipzig and Dresden, and high-ranking ecclesiastical offices. Geier was supportive, but skeptical of the potential success of Philipp J. Spener's (1635–1705) pietist ideas for reform.

⁶³⁵ From Zehner (*Adagia* 118), Mather refers to Luther's marginal notes in his Bible transl. at this verse: “He is so slothful, that he will not eat because of his slothfulness” (“Er ist so faul, daß er fur faulheit nicht essen mag.”). See the *WA DB* (10.2:65). This German citation from Luther is also found at this verse in Geier, *Proverbia Salomonis cum cura enucleata*, p. 1005.

Gregory, and Beda from him, applies it thus; *Desidiosus quisque Prædicator, nec hoc vult operari, quod dicet; Manum quippè ad Os porrigere, est Voci suæ Opera concordare.*⁶³⁶

Q. A Remark on that Clause; *cease my Son, to hear the Instruction, that causeth to err?* v. 27.

A. The Original may be read so, *my Son to hear Instruction, cease to err.*

Tis so proper, so natural, for a *Son to hear Instruction*, that the hearing of *Instruction*, makes one to be a *Son*. The Wise Man joins, *A Son*, and, *Instruction* together.⁶³⁷

Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase is; “My Son, Beware of their Discourse, who, under the Shew of greater Learning, seduce thee from the plain Doctrines of Vertue; or, if thou hast been unhappily engaged in such Company, quitt it presently, and stick to those that honestly instruct thee; For Remember this; To leave off hearing the Instruction of good Men, is the First Step towards a Departure from all Religion.”⁶³⁸

⁶³⁶ “A slothful preacher will not do that which he preaches. For to put the hand to the mouth, is to make our works agree with our words.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 426), a citation from Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 22, cap. 9 [PL 76. 225; CCSL 143A] and Bede the Venerable, *Super parabolæ Salomonis allegorica expositio*, lib. 2, cap. 19 [PL 91. 995; CCSL 119B]; transl.: Jermin.

⁶³⁷ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 428.

⁶³⁸ Patrick, *Proverbs*, pp. 308–09.

Q. *Wine*, how is it a *Mocker*? *Strong Drink*, how is it, *Raging*? v. 1.

A. Dr. *Jermyns* Gloss upon it, is; *Wine mocks Inwardly*, by filling the Brain with Idle Fancies, which mock the Understanding. It *mocks Outwardly*, by making others to *mock* and scoff at them, who are Deceived by it. *Strong Drink Rages Inwardly*, by stirring up Combustions in the Head. It *Rages Outwardly*, by breaking out into Uproars, & making them who are influenced therewith, to Rage against others in outrageous Fury.⁶³⁹ The Poet in *Clemens Alexandrius* tells us: *velut ignis Corda furore pellit*.⁶⁴⁰ And whereas the Wise Man speaks of being *Deceived* by it, it is what the *Poet* acknowledges, when *Wine* is called ονοϋ ψυχαπατης,⁶⁴¹ *Mind-deceiving Wine*.

Q. The *Honour* of *ceasing from Strife*? v. 3.

A. The World counts it an *Honour*, to have the *upper Hand* in *Strife*. Wisdome here propounds another *Honour*. Other *Honour* may be a *Burden*; but a Man will certainly find this to be an *Ease* to him.⁶⁴²

Isaac and *Abimelek* had been at Variance; yea, *Abimelek* hated *Isaac*, & sent him away from him. Afterwards there was a *Ceasing of the Strife*; there was a Peace established at *Beersheba*.⁶⁴³ Here it was that God appeared unto *Jacob*, and promised, that He would go down into *Egypt* with him. Now, it ha's been enquired; why God appeared unto *Jacob*, in that Place, rather than in any other? The Interlineal Gloss ha's given a notable Answer unto it; *meritò in Loco Pacis et Concordia videtur Deus*.⁶⁴⁴ Justly is God seen in a Place of Peace and Concord.

⁶³⁹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 432.

⁶⁴⁰ "With strength like fire, it tosses him on waves." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 432), a citation from the Greek mathematician, geographer, astronomer, and poet Eratosthenes of Cyrene (3rd cent. BCE), *Fragment 34*; as found in Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, 2.2. [PG 8. 422; *GCS* 12; *Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae* 61]; transl.: *FC* 23:118.

⁶⁴¹ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 432), a citation in Clement of Alexandria (*Paedagogus*, 2.2, see above; *FC* 23:118), here referred to as an "unknown poet."

⁶⁴² Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 433–34.

⁶⁴³ Beersheba is first mentioned in Genesis in connection with Abraham and his pact with Abimelech. Isaac built an altar in Beersheba (Gen. 26:23–33). Jacob had his dream about a stairway to heaven after leaving Beersheba (Gen. 28:10–15 and 46:1–7).

⁶⁴⁴ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 434), Mather cites the *Glossa ordinaria*, at Gen. 46:1. Mather provides Jermin's transl. See the facsimile of the first print edition *Biblia latina cum glossa ordinaria* (1480/1481; repr. 1992), vol. 1, p. 102. The fifteenth-century ed. provides an accurate representation of the late medieval format but without chapter or verse numeration or textual breaks, and written using an ancient script, many antiquated ligatures, abbreviations, and textual idiosyncrasies. The PL edition (vols. 113, 114) does not include some of the marginal notations of the fifteenth-century edition, but it has organized the commentary numerically and modernized all of the medieval particularities.

Such a Respect He shewes to a *Ceasing from Strife*, that He Honours the very Place, where it is done. How much then will He *Honour* the Doers of it?

Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase, is; "Tis below a wise Man, or one that is truly great, to Scold and Brawl; or, if a Quarrel be begun, it is no disparagement unto him, (but the noblest thing he can do,) to withdraw himself from it, and lett it rest. But all Fools and lewd Persons love to thrust themselves into Contention; and fancy, when they are engaged in Strife, they are bound in Honour to maintain it."⁶⁴⁵

Q. How is it said, *most Men will proclame, every Man his own Goodness?* v. 6.

A. Some take it thus, *most Men proclame the Man that is bountiful unto them.* And yett there is more *Flattery* than *Faithfulness*, in the Reports they give on this Occasion. But R. *Solomon* gives the Words this Meaning. Most Men in their Need call him to their Help who hath been Friendly and Courteous in his Promises to them. But *who can find* him that then performeth *faithfully* the Promises made by him?⁶⁴⁶ *Levi Gershom* gives the Words this Meaning. Most Men in their Need, will call to their Comfort, him to whom they themselves have been comfortable, as expecting the like from him. But *who can find* one that will *faithfully* make a Requital of the Love they have receiv'd?⁶⁴⁷

But if we take the Meaning embraced by our Translators, tis thus to be Illustrated. Many love to *blow the Trumpet*, & *proclame* their *own Goodness* & Charity. Their Tongues are more free to publish it, than their Hands were to bestow it. But among these, *who can find* one that proclaims the *Truth*?⁶⁴⁸

Q. How is it said of *Just Man, His Children are Blessed after him?* v. 7.

A. Every one knowes, how this Proverb is to be understood.

But unto all the rest, I will add *Munsters* Gloss upon it; *Laudabuntur propter Parentum Pietatem.*⁶⁴⁹

Q. *Diverse Weights, and Diverse Measures?* v. 10.

⁶⁴⁵ Patrick, *Proverbs*, pp. 320–21.

⁶⁴⁶ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 436), a citation from Rashi on Prov. 20:6; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 314; Rashi at this verse in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, p. 120: "There are many people who rely on their friends who promise them kindness, and they call them at the time of their straights."

⁶⁴⁷ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 436), a citation from Ralbag on Prov. 20:6; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 315.

⁶⁴⁸ Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 435–36.

⁶⁴⁹ "They will be praised because of the piety of their parents." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4252).

A. The first Reference doubtless is to the affairs of *Commerce*. But then *Jerom* very justly tells us, To avoid this Evil, *Non solum in Commerciis nobis observandum, sed in omnibus Custodienda est Justitia*.⁶⁵⁰

But then *Gregory* goes on; There is a *Weight & a Weight*, when, *Hoc quod nos agimus, grave esse non existimamus, sed si agatur à Proximo, nimis nobis detestabile esse videtur*.⁶⁵¹ And *Beda* further; There is a *Weight & a Weight*, when any one *In suis actibus semper quæ laudari, in alio rem quæ vituperari possint, rimatur*.⁶⁵² And yett further, *Theonas* in *Cassian*; There is a *Weight and a Weight*, *Quando eos quibus Verbum Domini prædicamus, districtioribus Præceptis, et gravioribus quàm ipsi perferre possumus ponderibus obruamus*.⁶⁵³ In general, *Gregory's* Assertion will hold; *omnis homo, qui aliter pensat ea quæ sunt Proximi, et aliter ea quæ sua sunt, Pondus et Pondus habet*.⁶⁵⁴ Now to Justify this Application, *Ambrose* will tell you; *si in foro rerum venalium, si in Usu Commerciorum fraus plectitur, potest Irreprehensibilis videri inter Officia Virtutum*!⁶⁵⁵

Q. Upon what Importance, comes in that Passage here, *The Hearing Ear, & the Seeing Eye, the Lord hath made, even both of them?* v. 12.

A. The Wise Man had just before said, That a *Child is known by his Doings, whether his Work bee* (like to bee) *Pure, & whether it bee* (like to bee) *Right*. Now, hee insinuates here upon an Advice, that wee suffer our Children to *Hear* nothing but what is *Pure*, and *See* nothing but what is *Right*, from their first Infancy. God hath given them, an *Hearing Ear*, and a *Seeing Eye*, which therefore wee must accommodate with vertuous Entertainments.⁶⁵⁶

650 "The shunning of this evil is not only to be observed by us in matters of trading, but in all things justice is to be kept." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 439), a citation from Jerome, *Commentarii in Ezechielem*, lib. 14 [PL 25. 450; CCSL 75]; transl.: Jermin.

651 "that which is done by ourselves, we think to be no great matter, but if it be done by our neighbour, it seems to be very detestable unto us." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 439), a citation from Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*, lib. 1, hom. 4 [PL 76. 819; CCSL 142]; transl.: Jermin.

652 "searches out in his own actions always those things which may be praised, in the actions of others those things which may be dispraised." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 439), a citation from Bede the Venerable, *Super parabolas Salomonis allegorica expositio*, lib. 2, cap. 20 [PL 91. 996; CCSL 119B]; transl.: Jermin.

653 "When we overwhelm those to whom we preach, with stricter precepts and heavier burdens, than we ourselves can bear." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 439), a citation from John Cassian, *Collationes XXIV*, collatio 21, cap. 22 [PL 49. 1197; CSEL 13]; transl.: Jermin.

654 "Every man who weighs otherwise the things that are his own, and otherwise the things of another man, the things which are his neighbors: he has a weight and a weight." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 440), a citation from Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*, lib. 1, hom. 4 [PL 76. 820; CCSL 142]; transl. modified from Jermin.

655 "If in the market of saleable things and in the dealing of trades deceit be punished, can it seem not to be blameable in the duties of virtue?" From Jermin (*Proverbs* 440), a citation from Ambrose, *De officiis ministrorum*, lib. 3, cap. 9 [PL 16. 164; CCSL 15]; transl.: Jermin.

656 Compare Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4267).

[38v]

Q. The Buyer? v. 14.

A. Luther and Melancthon, by, *Koneh*, do not understand a Buyer, but an Owner.⁶⁵⁷ They take the Meaning of the Proverb, to be; That Men do not *use to like what they enjoy; but after God ha's taken it away from them, then they commend the Happiness they have lost*. There are many References of the Ancients to this Purpose: particularly, that of *Thucydides*, Αἰ το παρον βαρυ. *The Present is always grievous*.⁶⁵⁸

Q. A mystical Application of, *Take his Garment that is Surety for a Stranger?* v. 16.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* has this; All, both Men and Women, by Sin are become Strangers to God. The Son of God was pleased to become a *Surety* unto His Father for us. His Father took His *Garment*, that is, His Humane Nature, which was the *Garment* of His Godhead. This was the *Pledge*, He laid down for us.⁶⁵⁹

Q. *Bread of Deceit found Gravel in the Mouth?* v. 17.

A. False Dealing, pleasant in the Benefit of it, is grievous in the Punishment of it. This is *Jermyns* Gloss upon it.⁶⁶⁰

Petrus Galatinus, by the *Gravel* here, understands, The *Torments of Hell*; Because as Gravel cannot be Eaten, Swallowed, Digested, nor can it be Cast out; so the Punishment of *Hell*, is, *et Durissima, et Durabilis*; neither to be Softned nor Ended.⁶⁶¹

Q. Upon that, *with good Advice make War?* v. 18.

A. Dr. *Gell* proposes, That we read it, *with Subtilties* and Industries.⁶⁶²

Q. *An Inheritance gotten happily in the Beginning?* v. 21.

657 הַקֹּנֶה [haqqoneh] “the buyer” (NAU); word verb form with particle article, from קָנָה [qanah] “to buy.” See Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 314; who draws upon the commentary of the great German Protestant Reformer Philipp Melancthon (1497–1560), *Explicatio Proverbiorum* ([1525] 1556), cap. 20, pp. 45–48. See also Zehner, *Adagia*, adagium 49, pp. 124–26, where both Luther and Melancthon are cited.

658 Transl. with context: “For the present yoke is always heavy to subjects.” From Patrick (*Proverbs* 314), a citation from the work of the Greek historian and Athenian general Thucydides (c. 460–after 400 BCE), *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 1.77 (transl.: LCL 108, p. 133); the commentary on this verse is from Melancthon, *Explicatio Proverbiorum*, cap. 20, p. 46; Mather provides Patrick’s transl.

659 Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 445.

660 Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 446.

661 “and very hard, and of lasting continuance.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 446), Mather cites Petrus Galatinus, *De arcanis*, lib. 7, cap. 15, p. 303; transl.: Jermin.

662 See Robert Gell, *An Essay toward the Amendment of the last English-Translation of the Bible*, sermon 10, p. 489.

A. Besides the more plain Sense of this, *Munster* observes, that some understand it, of those, who undertake an *Office*, or *Service*, without a Call unto it. — Exemplified in *Absalom*.⁶⁶³

Q. A Remark on, *say not thou, I will Recompense Evil?* v. 22.

A. *Tertullian* in his Book, *De Patientia*, thus diswades from Revenge. *Quid differt inter Provocantem, et Provocatam, nisi quòd ille prior in Maleficioprehenditur, ille posterior?*⁶⁶⁴

He ha's another Passage worth Remembring. *Adeò satis idoneus Patientiæ Sequester Deus est, ut si Injuriam deposueris penes eum, Ultor est; si Damnum; Restritutor est; si Dolorem, Medicus est; si Mortem, Resuscitator est.*⁶⁶⁵

Q. The *Diverse Weights*, & the *False Balance?* v. 23.

A. The Two Scales of the Balance, as *Jermyn* observes, wherein the unjust Dealer may find himself weigh'd, are the X and the XXIII Verses of this Chapter.⁶⁶⁶

Without weighing the same thing Twice, we will now add, That *Ambrose* finds this Injustice in the Scribes of the Jews, who laid *heavy Burdens* on others, but not having the *Beam of their Souls* hanging right, fled away from their own Præcepts.⁶⁶⁷

And such are they, who putt the *Moat* of anothers Faults into the *Scales*, when the *Beam* cannot hold their own Iniquities.

Levi Gershom ha's putt other Weights into the Scales, and thus expounds it; God abhors those who are Inconstant & Uncertain in their Course; Dealing with one after this Manner, after that Manner with another.⁶⁶⁸

The Gloss weighs the Words another Way; and refers them to the Verse preceding. He hath *diverse Weights*, who having offended, desireth Pardon of God for himself, but will not pardon him, who has offended him, & begs his

⁶⁶³ See Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4253). Compare the story of Absalom's rebellion in 2 Sam. 13–20.

⁶⁶⁴ "What difference is there between the provoker and the provoked, but that he is first found in wickedness, the other afterwards?" From Jermin (*Proverbs* 450), a citation from Tertullian, *De patientia*, cap. 10 [PL 1. 1264; CCL 1; CSEL 47]; transl.: Jermin.

⁶⁶⁵ "So fit a solicitor for patience is God, that if you commend your wrong unto him, he is the revenger of it; if you lose, he is the restorer of it; if your grief, he is a physician for it; if your death, he is a raiser of thee unto life again." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 450), a citation from Tertullian, *De patientia*, cap. 15 [PL 1. 1271; CCL 1; CSEL 47]; transl.: Jermin.

⁶⁶⁶ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 450.

⁶⁶⁷ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 450–51), a citation from Ambrose, *Ennerationes in XII Psalmos Davidicos*, on Ps. 61 [PL 14. 1179; CSEL 64].

⁶⁶⁸ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 451), a citation from Ralbag on Prov. 20:23; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 324.

Pardon. Who looks to obtain Mercy from God by his Prayers, & is not himself moved by the Prayers of others.⁶⁶⁹

Q. On, *Devouring that which is Holy?* v. 25.

A. Protestant Writers, universally look on the Words as directed against *Sacrilege*.⁶⁷⁰

De Dieu adds a New Conjecture, That the first Word in the Verse, which we render, *A Snare*, may mean, *fraudulently & craftily*. Then the Sense is, *a sacrilegious Man finds Devices to rob God; of Things that are consecrated unto Him; & thus makes Vowes, in hopes to expiate the Sacrilege*.⁶⁷¹

Q. Further Thoughts to that; *It is a Snare to a Man, who devoureth that which is Holy, & after vowes to make Enquiry?* v. 25.

A. *Jermyn* so paraphrases it; *He insnareth himself in Sin, who at first is so eager in Holiness, as if he would devour all; and afterwards growes cold, like a Man that considereth what to do*.⁶⁷²

The Original is, *The Snare of a Man devoureth that which is Holy*. A wicked Man laies a *Snare* to catch all he can. Even *consecrated Things* are good Booties, if they fall into his *Snare*. Yea, *after they are vowed*, he will be *Inquisitive* how he may sieze upon them.⁶⁷³

Jerom, agreeing with LXX, carries it thus. It is a *Snare* unto a Man suddenly to *sanctify* any thing he has; for when he ha's *Vowed*, he *Repents* of it.⁶⁷⁴

The *Syriac* reads it; It is a *Snare* to a Man, who *Voweth Holiness*, & afterwards *Repenteth* of his *Vow*.⁶⁷⁵

Some of the Rabbins, understand, *The Snare of a Man*, to be the *Sin* of a Man, in which he is *ensnared*. Sin destroyes *Holiness*; particularly the *Holiness* of any *Vow*; a Man must after his *Vow*, still seek Favour & Pardon.⁶⁷⁶

Q. *A wise King, bringing the Wheel over the Wicked?* v. 26.

⁶⁶⁹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 451.

⁶⁷⁰ A good example for such an anti-Catholic reading of this verse is Thomas Cartwright, *Commentarii*, pp. 816–18.

⁶⁷¹ From Patrick (*Proverbs* 316), a citation from de Dieu, *Animadversiones*, p. 175; Mather provides Patrick's transl.

⁶⁷² Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 453.

⁶⁷³ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 452.

⁶⁷⁴ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 453), a citation from Jerome, *Commentarii in Ezechielem*, lib. 13 [PL 25. 439; CCSL 75].

⁶⁷⁵ Compare Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:367), where the Syriac is rendered into Latin as: "Laqueus est homini vovere sanctuario, et postquam voverit retractare sese." The LXX reads: παγίς ἀνδρὶ ταχύ τι τῶν ἰδίων ἀγιάσαι μετὰ γὰρ τὸ εὐξασθαι μετανοεῖν γίνεται.

⁶⁷⁶ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 453), a citation from the Targum and other rabbinic writings on Prov. 20:25; see *In Proverbia Salomonis*, pp. 325–26.

A. The Psalmist saies, Ps. 12.8. *The Wicked walk in a Circle*. The Diuel hath enchanted them, and shutt them up in a *Circle*, so that they never make an End of Sinning. But a *wise King brings the Wheel of His Justice* over them. It was the Manner of *Judea* and other Countreys, to thresh the Corn, & break the Chaff from the Grain, by a *Wheel*. A *wise King* is the Husbandman of the Commonwealth. His wise Justice goes round with much æquality. He finds out, who are wicked and vitious; He distinguishes them from the Vertuous; He drives them from his Favour, & if he can, from his Kingdome.⁶⁷⁷

Q. What the *Mercy* & *Truth* which *preserve the King*? v. 28.

A. It is usual in Scripture, by *Truth* to understand *Justice*. There must be an Union of these. But *Mercy* must be doubled; as being the most requisite of the Two.⁶⁷⁸

Our Saviour is called, both a *Lion* & a *Lamb*. If a *Lion*, how a *Lamb*? If a *Lamb*, how a *Lion*? *Tertullian* answers; *pro suis Leo rugiens, non in suos, Dignus autem est Agnus accipere fortitudinem, sed non amittere mansuetudinem*.⁶⁷⁹ The Jewes held that as a Maxim, that there are certain general Characters of the *Messias* which wheresoever they are found, they denote that that Place should be understood of him. And why should not that be so?⁶⁸⁰

⁶⁷⁷ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 453.

⁶⁷⁸ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 456.

⁶⁷⁹ "A lion that is roaring for his own, not against his own: the lamb is worthy to receive the lion's strength, but not to lose his own mildness." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 456); Jermin attributes this citation to *Tertullian* but it may be derived from *Bernard of Clairvaux*, *Sermones de tempore*, *Sermo in die sancto Pashae* [PL 183. 279; *Opera* 5]; the PL reads: "Denique dignus est, aiunt seniores, *Agnus qui occisus est, accipere fortitudinem*. Non mansuetudinem amittere, sed accipere fortitudinem, ut et agnus maneat, et leo sit." Transl.: Jermin. Christ as the Lamb of God is addressed by *Tertullian* in his *Adversus Marcionem*, lib. 4, cap. 40 [PL 2. 460–62; CCSL 1; CSEL 47]; transl.: ANF 3:418. See also Rev. 5:12.

⁶⁸⁰ The final sentence of this entry is in a different, more ornate hand, similar to the one that appears in other parts of the manuscript. On this, see the third section of the Introduction.

Q. A Remark on that Passage; *The Kings Heart is in the Hand of the Lord?* v. 1.

A. This is a Sentence, which *Themistius*, a pagan Philosopher and Orator, seems to take notice of, and mention as very memorable in the *Assyrian*, (which is the Name, tis thought, he putts upon the *Hebrew*) Writings; and he commends it unto the Emperour *Valens*, in a Speech he made unto him. [*Orat.* IX.] However, he did not fully comprehend the Sense of *Solomon*. For he only carries it so. Ο νους του βασιλεως εν τη θεου παλαμε δορυφορεται. *The Mind of the King is kept in safe Custody in the Hand of God.*⁶⁸¹ Indeed, he draws an excellent Inference from it; That a King should be very sensible of the Danger he is in, if he go about any thing that is contrary to the Mind of God; because he is then in Peril to fall out of the Hand that præserves him. “Nay”, *saies he*, “O King, Thou oughtest, not only thyself to design only that which is Holy; but they that are about thee, ought to speak unto thee nothing that is not so. For every Word that comes to thine Ears, is written in His uncorrupted Hand.” But *Solomons* intention is more than this: He intends, That the Greatest of Men cannot manage things by their own Power, as they think good, but they depend on a higher Cause, who directs all their Motions.

[39v] | [blank]

[40r] |

Q. *The Kings Heart in the Hand of the Lord?* v. 1.

A. I will mention Two very good Ancient Sayings upon this. The one, of a *Christian*. The other, of a *Jew*.

Tertullian ha's an Exclamation; *Quando non regnat Deus, in cujus Manu Cor omnium Regum est.*⁶⁸²

⁶⁸¹ From Patrick (*Proverbs* 333), Mather refers to the Greek rhetorician and Aristotelean philosopher Themistius (c. 317–c. 385 CE), who, although himself a pagan, served in various political functions under the first Christian emperors from Constantine to Theodosius I. The citation is from one of the official speeches of Themistius to Emperor Valens, *Oratio* 7 (89D), dealing with his response to the insurrection of Procopius. Here an allusion is made to Prov. 21:1. See *Orationes quae supersunt*, ed. Downey and Schenkl, p. 135. For a modern German transl. see *Themistios Staatsreden*, ed. Leppin and Portmann, p. 136. Here and elsewhere in his orations (e.g. oratio 11.147C and 19.229A) Themistius refers to the Hebrews as “Assyrians.” While Mather has νους, παλαμε and δορυφορεται, modern critical editions have καρδιαν, παλάμη and δορυφορεῖσθαι.

⁶⁸² “When God does not reign, in whose hand is the heart even of all kings?” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 459), a citation from Tertullian, *De oratione* (“On prayer”), cap. 5 [PL 1. 1158; CCSL 1; CSEL 20]; transl.: Jermin.

And, it is well noted by *Levi Gershom*; *Non permittit Deus Regibus totum Regendi Negotium, quum Sublimem Sublimior cohibeat et moderetur.*⁶⁸³

But then *Ambrose* will not have the *Heart of Solomon* in the *Hand of the Lord*, when he worshipped Idols. Nor the *Heart of Antiochus*, and *Herod*, & other Kings, who have persecuted the Saints of God! *Sed in Manu Diaboli erant; quia ad quaecumque volebat facinora ea inclinabat.*⁶⁸⁴

Jerom goes the same Way. He will not have the *Heart of Pilate*, & of *Menasseh*, & of other Impious Kings, in the *Hand of the Lord*. *Secundum Literam stare non potest.*⁶⁸⁵ Which Way then will these Fathers turn the Sense of this Passage? One of them shall answer for both. *De illis dicit, qui regnant super Peccata.*⁶⁸⁶ They understand it of *Spiritual Kings*, which all *Saints* are; or at least of *Religious Kings*, who are *Saints*.

But with the Leave of the Ancients; The *Hearts* of wicked *Kings*, are in the *Hand of the Lord*, in regard of His *powerful Providence*, when they will not be so in regard of His *gracious Direction*.

Q. *Justice and Judgment more acceptable than Sacrifice?* Any Remarkable about these Words? v. 3.

A. The Writer of them. *Solomon* in one Sacrifice offered up Twenty two thousand Oxen, and an hundred & twenty thousand Sheep. And now, this very *Solomon* tells us, *Justice and Judgment*, is more Acceptable than such a *Sacrifice*.⁶⁸⁷

Even the poor Jew, *Levi Gershom* could say; *Sacrificijs licet insint incitamenta, quibus ad Virtutes excitemur, id tamen non nisi per Signa quaedam, et nutus prestare videntur, non autem seipsis.*⁶⁸⁸

Q. The *High Look*, and the *Proud Heart*, and the *Ploughing of the Wicked?* v. 4.

⁶⁸³ "God does not permit unto kings the whole businesses of reigning, but himself being higher does restrain and rule him, that is on high." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 459), a citation from Ralbag on Prov. 21:1; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 330; transl.: Jermin.

⁶⁸⁴ "But in the devil's hand they were, and he did incline them to whatsoever wickedness he pleased." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 459), a citation from Berengaudus Ferrariensis, *Expositio super septem visiones libri Apocalypsis. De visione tertia*, cap. 8 [PL 17. 848], accredited by Jermin to Ambrose; Ambrose did hold that the passions of the body and of the flesh could fall to Satan in destruction, see Ambrose, *De poenitentia*, lib. 1, cap. 14 [PL 16. 487–89; CSEL 73]; see *NPNFii* 10:342; transl.: Jermin.

⁶⁸⁵ "It cannot stand according to the letter." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 459), a citation from Pseudo-Jerome, *Breviarium in Psalmos*, Ps. 75 [PL 26. 1038]; transl.: Jermin.

⁶⁸⁶ "But he speaks of those who reign over sin." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 459), a citation from Pseudo-Jerome, *Breviarium in Psalmos*, Ps. 137 [PL 26. 1232]; transl.: Jermin.

⁶⁸⁷ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 461.

⁶⁸⁸ "As for sacrifices, although there be in them some incitements, by which we may be stirred up to virtues; yet they seem to do it only by signs and marks, not by themselves." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 461), a citation from Levi ben Gershon (Ralbag) on Prov. 21:3. See also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 332. Mather omits the word "verò" in: "Sacrificijs verò licet . . ." Jermin's translation is cited.

A. The *Ploughing of the Wicked* may note their *Labouring*. Their *High Look* is their Ambition of Greatness and Honour; their / רחב לב /⁶⁸⁹ *Amplitude Cordis*, Largeness of Heart, which we translate, *Proud Heart*, may mean, their greedy Covetousness, which nothing will satisfy.⁶⁹⁰

Dr. *Jermyn* observes, what we render, *Ploughing*, may be rendred, *Light*. Their *Light*, is their *Fruitless Knowledge*. Their *Lifting up their Eyes*, (as tis in the Original,) may be their Formal Devotion; The *Largeness of their Heart* may be their vainglorious Charity.⁶⁹¹

Ploughing being rendred, *Light*, or, *Splendor*, some invert it so; *Sin is the Pride* (or Ambition) *of the Wicked*: or take *Ploughing* for *Labour*, all their *Labour* is to *Sin*.⁶⁹²

[40v]

Q. *The Thoughts of the Diligent*, which *tend unto Plenty*? v. 5.

A. It is well applied by some, unto the *Exercise of Godliness*. Methoughts I found a delicate Relish, in a Passage of Dr. *Jermyn* here. “When we are as the *Lightnings* are described to be; of which it is said, *That they go, and say, Here we are*; that is, they are no sooner gone, than they are come again, as ready for a New Employment; so, we have no sooner done one good Work, than we are ready for another; This *Diligence* will bring us to a *Plenty of Grace* here, & of *Glory* in Heaven.”⁶⁹³

Q. That Passage; *when the Scornor is punished, the Simple is made wise; and when the Wise is instructed, he receiveth Knowledge*? v. 11.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* observes, That the Words may be read after this Manner; *smite the Scornor, and the Simple will be wise, and in attending to the Wise will receive Knowledge*.⁶⁹⁴

Q. That Passage; *The Righteous wisely considereth the House of the Wicked; but God overthroweth the Wicked for their Wickedness*? v. 12.

A. The Original is capable of being thus translated; *The Righteous getteth Understanding by the House of the Wicked, but it perverteth the Wicked to Evil*; or as the *Syriac* has it; It thrusteth on the Wicked unto Evil. The *House of the Wicked*,

⁶⁸⁹ The passage reads: רחב לב “and a proud heart” (KJV, ESV) Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 462; lit. “wide, broad.”

⁶⁹⁰ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 462.

⁶⁹¹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 462. נר [nir] “light, lamp.” KJV 1611: “An high look, and a proud heart, and the plowing of the wicked, is sin.” ESV: “Haughty eyes and a proud heart, the lamp of the wicked, are sin.”

⁶⁹² Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 462.

⁶⁹³ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 463.

⁶⁹⁴ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 468.

flourishing in Prosperity, the Sight ha's a different Operation, on the *Righteous*, and on the *Wicked*.⁶⁹⁵

Gregory speaks very sweetly, what the *Righteous* does *consider* on this Occasion.

*Tantò altius Temporalia despicit, quantò hæc abundare etiam Malis cernit. Quàm enim sint despicienda considerat, quæ Deus etiam Perversis præstat. Si enim principaliter magna essent, nequaquam hæc conditor adversarijs suis tribueret. Undè indignum sibi esse perpendit, ut illa bona appetat, quæ abundare conspicit et Malis: sed ad percipienda cœlestia Mentem suam dirigit, quæ sibi cum Impijs Communia esse non possunt.*⁶⁹⁶

On the other Side, the Spectacle *perverteth the Wicked*. As Dr. Jermy n expresses it; Their Plenty makes them to be plentiful in Sinning; Their Worldly Contentment, makes them to take Contentment in nothing so much as in Wickedness; Their Earthly Bravery makes them to neglect the Glory of Heaven; Their Fruitful Posterity makes them to be the more Fruitful in Iniquity; until their House bring them into the Pitt of Destruction.⁶⁹⁷

There is the Hand of *GOD* in this. Religion may aid this, tho' the Verse do not.

[41r]

Q. The *Cry of the Poor*; the Consequence of *Hearing* it? v. 13.

A. The Wise have assigned, a twofold Limitation.

First, *omnis qui petit Recta, et rectè*.⁶⁹⁸

Secondly, *omnis in quo non est legitimum Impedimentum, quo si indignum facit*.⁶⁹⁹

But then for the Consequence of hearing the *Cry of the Poor*, under this Limitation; there is a Passage of *Cyprian*, [De Eleemosyn.] which may be a good Paraphrase on this Proverb of *Israel*. *Non promereri Domini Misericordiam*

⁶⁹⁵ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 468.

⁶⁹⁶ "By so much the more does he despise temporal things by how much the more he sees the wicked to abound in them. For how despicable does he consider those things to be, which Almighty God bestows even unto the wicked? For if they were the chief great things, the Maker of all things would never have given them to his enemies. From whence he judges it unworthy of himself, that he should desire those good things, wherein he beholds the wicked to abound: but applies his mind to perceive heavenly things, which cannot be common to him with the reprobate." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 469), a citation from Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 13, cap. 38 [PL 76. 1036; CCSL 143A]; transl.: Jermin.

⁶⁹⁷ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 469.

⁶⁹⁸ "Everyone that asks right things and rightly." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 470), a citation from Cornelius Jansen, *Commentarius in suam concordiam Evangelicam* (1593), cap. 43, p. 271; transl.: Jermin.

⁶⁹⁹ "Every one in whom there is not a lawful impediment by which he makes himself unworthy [of receiving]." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 470), a citation from Jansen, *Commentarius*, cap. 43, p. 271; transl. modified from Jermin.

*poterit, qui misericors ipse non fuerit; nec impetrabit aliquid de Divina Pietate in precibus, qui ad Precem Pauperis non fuerit Humanus.*⁷⁰⁰

Q. A *Gift in secret?* v. 14.

A. Some have carried the Consideration of this Matter so far, as to apply it unto *secret Alms* unto the Poor, and the Influence that such things have to turn away the Wrath of God from the Person who does them.⁷⁰¹

Austin, enquiring why the Strength of *Sampson* lay in his *Hair*, more than in his *Hand*, saies, *Hair was given for a Covering*; And Christ under the *Covering* of the Types in the Law, arrives with a mighty Strength and Power unto us. But this ha's been applied by some unto *Gifts* of Charity; As the *Strength* of *Sampson* lay in his *Hair*, so the Strength of these lies in the *Covering* & Secrecy of them.⁷⁰²

Dico vobis Charissimi, utile est abscondere magis quàm ostentare, si quid habemus Boni; saies *Bernard*.⁷⁰³

Q. Why are *the Dead*, called, *Rephaim*? v. 16.

A. *Munster* assigns Two Reasons. Either, *Quòd minimè curari possunt*. Or, *Quòd destituti sint omnibus Viribus*. For he observes, / רפא / signifies, *Dissolutum esse*.⁷⁰⁴ We may read it, *The Dissolved*.

Q. What is there in the *Wilderness*, better than the *contentious Woman*? v. 19.

A. The *Wilderness* is full of *Serpents*. Better dwell among them, than have such a *Serpent* in ones bosom.

Q. Why, *Life*, added? v. 21.

A. Because an *everlasting Life* in the Heavenly World, will be added unto the other Blessings; and in that *Life* they shall be consummated.⁷⁰⁵

⁷⁰⁰ "For neither will he be able to merit the mercy of God, who has not himself been merciful, nor will he obtain anything from God's love through prayers, who has not been humane to the prayer of the poor." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 470), a citation from Cyprian of Carthage (Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus, after 200–258), *De opere et eleemosynis* [PL 4. 606; CCSL 3A]; transl.: *Patristic Studies* 94, p. 63.

⁷⁰¹ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 471), a citation from Ibn Ezra on Prov. 21:14; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 339–40; at this verse see the rabbinical opinions in *Mikraoth Gedoloth, Proverbs*, p. 129.

⁷⁰² Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 471.

⁷⁰³ "I say unto you beloved, if we have any goodness, it is better to conceal it, then to make any open show of it." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 471), a citation from Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones de tempore, Sermones in adventu Domini*, sermo 4 [PL 183. 48; *Opera* 4]; transl.: Jermin.

⁷⁰⁴ Translation in context: "Either, *Because they cannot at all be saved*. Or, *Because they are destitute of all their strengths*. For he observes, / רפא / signifies, *to be dissolved*." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4268). רִפְאִים [repha'im] "dead spirits; ghosts (of the dead)." The reference here is probably to רָפָה [raphah] "become slack, relax, desist, fade away, sink down (in flame)." The verb רָפָא [raphah] means "to heal, mend," etc.

⁷⁰⁵ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 477.

Q. *A wise Man scaling the Wall of the Mighty?* v. 22.

A. Jerom applies it thus, *Hoc præcipuè contra Hæreticos facit, qui Argumentis et Sophismatis, et Arte Dialecticâ Dogmatum Falsitatem roborare conantur; sed destruit eam sapiens Vir, et Dei adjutus auxilio, omnem Munitionem ostendit esse vanissimam.*⁷⁰⁶

Q. *Keeping the Mouth and the Tongue?* v. 23.

A. *Aben-Ezra* and *Lyra*, distinguish, the *Mouth* and the *Tongue*. The *Mouth* is to be kept from Intemperate *Feeding*; the *Tongue* from Intemperate *Talking*.⁷⁰⁷

| **Q.** How may that Passage be understood; *He coveteth greedily all the Day long?* v. 26.

A. The original Word for Word is, *Covetousness coveteth all the Day*.⁷⁰⁸

Covetousness, is as much as to say, *A covetous Man. Ut Scelus, pro Scelesto.*⁷⁰⁹ A Figure well known among the Grammarians. A *covetous Man* is one who *coveteth all the Day long*; and will never give any thing to pious Uses. The *Righteous* are not so.

Tis like; *semper Avarus eget.*⁷¹⁰ This Interpretation so pleases *Drusius*, that he cries out with a Rapture; *Tantum velim Studijs meis Divinitas faveat, quantum alia Interpretationes omnes, præterquam hæc nostra, sordere mihi videntur.*⁷¹¹

I dare not say so of all the *Illustrations* in our Collection.

⁷⁰⁶ "This makes especially against heretics, who by arguments & sophisms, and logical art, endeavour to strengthen the falsehood of their tenets: but a wise man destroys it, and being helped by God, shows all their fortification to be most vain." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 478), a citation from Jerome, *Commentarii in Amos*, lib. 2 [PL 25. 1044; CCSL 76]; transl. modified from Jermin.

⁷⁰⁷ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 478), a reference to the gloss of Ibn Ezra on Prov. 21:23; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 345; and at this verse Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla*.

⁷⁰⁸ תַּאֲוָה תַּאֲוָה הַתָּאֲוָה כָּל־הַיּוֹם *NAU*: "All day long he is craving." LUT: "Den ganzen Tag begehrt die Gier" ("All day long, greed is desiring").

⁷⁰⁹ "Wickedness for the wicked." This grammatical example is found in numerous places, for example *Glossa super 'Graecismum' Eberhardi Bethuniensis*, 1 c. 12 [CCCM 225, p. 125]: "utimur nomine substantiuo pro nomine adiectiuo significante eius accidens, ut 'scelus' pro 'scelerato'..."

⁷¹⁰ "The covetous is ever in want." From the Flemish exegete and orientalist Johannes Drusius (Jan van den Driessche, 1550–1616), *Quaestionum ac responsionum liber* (1583), quaestio 39, p. 31, a citation from a commonplace expression in antiquity; see for example, the Roman poet Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus, c. 65–8 BCE), *Epistles*, 1.2.56. Drusius, was a professor in Leiden from 1577–1585. He was commissioned to write annotations on the most difficult passages in the OT. As a friend of Jacobus Arminius and Johannes Uytenbogaert, he did not escape the Arminian controversies (1604–1619), although he was not actively involved in it. His associations likely prevented him from participating in the new national translation, the *Staatensbijbel* (1637) (BBK).

⁷¹¹ "How I wish that divine wisdom would favour my endeavours as much as all the other interpretations, except mine seem unworthy to me." From Drusius, *Quaestionum ac responsionum liber*, quaestio 39, p. 32.

Q. *Wisdom*, and *Understanding*, and *Counsel*? v. 30.

A. *Wisdom* is that which is gotten by Experience. *Understanding*, that which is gotten by Study. *Counsel*, that which is gotten by Advice.⁷¹²

The *Syriac* reads it, *There is none like the Lords*.⁷¹³

⁷¹² Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 483.

⁷¹³ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 484. See Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:371); here the *Syriac* is rendered into Latin as: “neque consilium simile Domini.”

Q. It is said, *By Humility and the Fear of the Lord, are Riches and Honour and Life?* v. 4.

A. The Word, / עֶקֶב /⁷¹⁴ used here, may signify, *A Reward*. So Dr. *Jermyn* proposes this Reading to Consideration. *The Reward of Humility is the Fear of the Lord, Riches, Honour, and Life*. This also is the Reading of the Chaldee. The main *Reward of Humility*, is the *Fear of the Lord*. The rest, *Riches*, and *Honour and Life*, are but Additaments. Indeed, Herein God Himself becomes the *exceeding great Reward*.⁷¹⁵ *Levi Gershom* saies well; *sui Demissionem amplectenti ea Merces rependitur, ut ad Divinum Timorem imbibendum animo promoveatur*.⁷¹⁶ And *Gregory* did well, to make Humility, *Locum Bonorum*, the Place where the Graces of the good Spirit of God are gathered together, & wither good People come that they may find & gett them.⁷¹⁷

Q. *Thorns and Snares in the Way of the Froward?* v. 5.

A. Tis to express the Danger of evil Company. Accept of old *Cassians* Words upon it.

Qui Viam Regiam Apostolicis et Prophetis Silicibus communitam, Sanctorumque omnium, atque ipsius Domini Vestigijs complanatum, amentissimè deserentes, per Devia quæque et Dumosa, laceratis Cruribus, et dirrupta illa nuptiali Veste reptant, non modò acutissimis Veprium Aculeis configendi, sed etiam Virulentorum Serpentum vel Scorpionum illic latentium ictibus vulnerandi.⁷¹⁸

Q. That Passage, *Train up a Child, in the Way he should go; and when he is old, he will not depart from it*. A few Criticisms, if you please, upon it? v. 6.

⁷¹⁴ עֶקֶב [eqev] “consequence; reward; end.”

⁷¹⁵ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 489. See Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:371); here the Targum is rendered into Latin as: “Merces mansuetudinis est timor Dei, divitiæ, gloria, vita.”

⁷¹⁶ “To him that embraces an humble conceit of himselfe, this reward is given, that he is advanced to conceive the fear of God in his mind.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 489), a citation Ralbag on Prov. 22:4; see *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 353; transl.: Jermin.

⁷¹⁷ “The place of the good (plural).” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 489), a citation from Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 3, cap. 22 [PL 76. 621; CCSL 143A]; Mather provides Jermin’s explanation.

⁷¹⁸ “They who leaving the kings way strongly paved with apostolical and prophetic flints, made plain by the goings and footsteps of all the saints, and of the Lord himself, creep through wandering and bushy paths, with scratched legs, and their wedding garment torn, are sure not only to be pierced with the sharp prickles of the briars, but to be wounded with the stinging of poisonous serpents and scorpions, which lie hid in them.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 490), a citation from John Cassian, *Collationes XXIV*, collatio 24, cap. 24 [PL 49. 1318; CSEL 13]; transl.: Jermin.

A. You know, how our Divines urge this Text, when they press the Duty of *Catechising*. And that it may the better serve their good Purpose, they do very subtly render, *catechise a Child*.⁷¹⁹

But then, *The Way he should go*; in the Original, tis emphatical, *secundum os Viæ suæ*.⁷²⁰ Upon this, the Criticks observe, That such a Teaching is required as the Child is capable of, even as Nurses, do with small *Drops*, or *Bitts*, fitt the little Mouths of their Children. Sais Mr. *Ford*, This is true, but perhaps too nice here.⁷²¹ The Word elsewhere signifies *Commandment*. (Num. 3.16.) It is, *catechise a Child according to the Commandment of his Way*. As a Child must walk in the Way, which God ha's *commanded*, so God ha's *commanded*, that the Child should be *catechised* in that Way. And that we may do it early enough, some read the Words, *catechise a Child in the Entrance of his Way*.

The Effect will be, *He will not depart from it*; which some choose to read as containing more directly, a comfortable Promise in it. *He shall not depart from it*.

When *Zophar* saies of a wicked Man, *His Bones are filled with the Sins of his Youth, which ly down with him in the Dust*;⁷²² *Gregory* expounds it; *Vitia Impij cum eo dormire in Pulvere, est usque ad Pulverem eum non deserere, id est, usque ad Mortem ab Iniquitate non cessare*.⁷²³ Custome in Sin is an horrible thing, *Austin* speaking of evil Custome, saies, *Væ tibi flumen moris humani; Quis resistit tibi?*⁷²⁴

Q. The *Vanity* reaped by them, who *sow Iniquity*, and the *Rod of their Anger failing?* v. 8.

A. The Meaning of the Verse depends much, on the Word, *Anger*; which comes from the Root, / עבר ⁷²⁵ *To exceed*. An *Anger* which *Transgresses the Bounds* of Moderation. When such *Anger* ploughs, it ploughs too deep; it chuses not the Best Seed; and it throwes away what it ha's chosen. The Harvest can't be good. A Man can expect nothing from the Pains of his Fury, but the Shame of

⁷¹⁹ Compare Mather's sermon *A Family well-ordered*, p. 21; and his *Bonifacius*, ch. 3, ed. Levin, p. 45.

⁷²⁰ "According as his way shall call for it, and require it." A Latin citation from Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 491; Jermin does not offer a source and none could be identified; transl.: Jermin.

⁷²¹ Likely a reference to a work by the Puritan minister at Exeter and Westminster divine Thomas Ford (1598–1674). The citation could not be found in the two books by Ford in the Mather family library: *Singing the Psalmes the Duty of Christians under the New Testament* (1659) and *Aytokatakritos or, the Sinner condemned of himself* (1668).

⁷²² Job 20:11.

⁷²³ "The vices of the wicked to lie down in the dust with him, is that he does not forsake them, until he comes to the dust, that is, that he does not cease from his iniquity until he dies." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 491), a citation from Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 15, cap. 10 [PL 76. 1086; CCSL 143A]; transl.: Jermin; see Job 20:11.

⁷²⁴ "Woe to you, torrent of human custom! Who can stand against you?" From Jermin (*Proverbs* 491), a citation from Augustine, *Confessiones*, lib. 1, cap. 16 [PL 32. 672; CSEL 33; CCSL 27]; transl.: *Confessions* (*Oxford World's Classics*), p. 18.

⁷²⁵ The Hebrew verb עבר can, in some cases, mean "show anger," or "become angry" (cf. Ps. 78:21); in the verse here, the word is: עֲבָרָה [evrah] "overflow, arrogance, fury."

his Folly, and some Return of Mischief. He supposed the *Rod of his Anger* would blossom in Triumph; & bring forth the Fruit of Success; but it proves only a Rod, wherewith he is himself scourged.⁷²⁶

Not only the *Ears* will be empty of Corn, but the *Rod*, the Stalk also of them, shall be spoiled.⁷²⁷

The *Rod of his Anger*, is by Dr. Patrick paraphrased; *The Authority which he employs vexatiously and spitefully.*⁷²⁸

Q. The *Bountiful Eye, Blessed?* v. 9.

A. An *Eye* looking about every where, and finding where Misery lies hid; and alwayes counting what it bestowes, to be less than it is; and never staying to be asked for Help, where it sees Occasion for the Dispensing of it.⁷²⁹

The *Blessedness* of such *Bountifulness* is well expressed by Ambrose; *Beata Eleemosyna est, quæ et accipientem reficit, et lætificat erogantem.*⁷³⁰ Hee adds; *Ditior fit, postquam, minus habere incipit, Pauperibus largiendo.*⁷³¹

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[42v]

Q. How do the *Eyes of the Lord* præserve Knowledge? v. 12.

A. The *Eyes* of the great God our Saviour, watch over the Condition of His Church, & præserve the *Light of Knowledge* in it, though the Powers of Darkness labour by all Means possible to extinguish it.⁷³²

Or, we may understand it, concerning the watchful and gracious Providence of God, guiding the Men who have true *Knowledge* in them.

However, Here, as in Ten thousand other Places, I would not exclude the common Interpretations, by penetrating into the further Intentions of the Holy Spirit.

Q. How is *Folly Bound up in the Heart of a Child?* v. 15.

A. *Original Sin* is a *Folly* of every Sort, lodged there. But it is *Bound up*. The *Child* is not yett of Age to feel the force of *Temptations*, that would *bring forth* the Folly. As he grows up, it will *break forth* in great Enormities.⁷³³

⁷²⁶ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 492.

⁷²⁷ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 493.

⁷²⁸ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 367.

⁷²⁹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 493.

⁷³⁰ "Blessed is almsgiving, which refreshes the receiver and rejoices the giver." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 494), a citation from Pseudo-Ambrose, *Sermones de diversis*, sermo 40, *De jejuniis et eleemosynis* [PL 17. 683]; transl. modified from Jermin.

⁷³¹ "After that he begins to have less by giving to the poor, he is made richer." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 494), a citation from Pseudo-Ambrose, *Sermones de diversis*, sermo 40, *De jejuniis et eleemosynis* [PL 17. 683]; transl. modified from Jermin.

⁷³² Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 496.

⁷³³ Compare Thomas Cartwright, *Commentarii*, p. 985.

Q. The Evil of *oppressing the Poor*? v. 16.

A. Our Saviour sending *Peter* to the Sea, for Money wherewith to pay Tribute unto *Cæsar*,⁷³⁴ it may be asked, why he did not rather send him unto *Judas*, who carried the Purse. The Answer that *Jerom* gives is this. *Res Pauperum in Usus suos convertere nefas putavit, nobisque idem tribuit Exemplum.*⁷³⁵ He would not employ the Goods of the Poor for His own Use.⁷³⁶

But how ill then are their doings, who not only *give nothing* to the Poor, but also *leave nothing* to them!⁷³⁷

The Two Evils condemned in this Verse, are, *covetous Oppression*, and, *corrupting Bribery*; which is called, a *Giving to the Rich*.

Q. On that, *Bow down thine Ear*? v. 17.

A. The second Part of the Book of PROVERBS, begins at this Verse.⁷³⁸

Q. *Solomon* saies, *Have not I written to Thee, excellent Things*? What were those *excellent Things*? v. 20.

A. Even, *All* the Things that Hee *writt*. Accordingly, some learned Men, so translate these Words, *Have not I Three Times written for Thee*? Hee ha's indeed so. Wee have *Three Books* written by that Royal and Renowned Pen; The *Ecclesiastes*, the *Canticles*, and the *Proverbs*.

Q. Why was the Place of Judicature among the Jews, anciently *in the Gate*? v. 22.

A. It was to shew, that Justice ought to be *open* unto all. It was also to shew what Justice is; An Admitting of some unto Right; and Excluding of others from what belongs not unto them.⁷³⁹

Q. An *Angry Man*; who? v. 24.

⁷³⁴ Matt. 17:27.

⁷³⁵ "He thought it a crime to convert for private use what was meant for the poor, and likewise he set an example for us." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 499), a citation from Jerome, *Commentarii in Evangelium Matthæi*, lib. 3 [PL 26. 128; CCSL 77]; transl.: FC 117:206.

⁷³⁶ See Jermin (*Proverbs* 499) for this entire entry.

⁷³⁷ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 499.

⁷³⁸ Following the superscription in the biblical text at this verse ("Words of the Wise"), Mather assumes that v. 17 of ch. 22 marks the end of the first and the beginning of the second collection of Proverbs. Following Patrick's lead, Mather assumes that the second collection continues to the superscription at Prov. 25:1 and is characterized by a different kind of discourse, consisting of exhortations "in the Imperative Mode of speech, and those comprehended in two or three verses, before he [Solomon] finish what he intends." See Patrick, *Proverbs*, pp. 357–58. See also Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 499–500.

⁷³⁹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 503.

A. The Hebrew Phrase is, *A Lord of Anger*.⁷⁴⁰ That is, A Lordly & an Angry Man; one who is *Domineering* in his Anger; is Angry if he can't have his Will; by Anger seeks to bring about his Will.

Or, one whose *Anger* is his *Lord* & Master.⁷⁴¹

⁷⁴⁰ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 505; בַּעַל אַף [ba'al aph] "man given to anger" (ESV). *Baal* literally means "lord."

⁷⁴¹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 505.

Q. When thou sittest to eat with a *Ruler*? What *Ruler*? v. 1.

A. Every Feast among the Ancients had a *Ruler*. The *Master of the Feast*.

We may understand *him*: *Austin* applies this to the *Lords Table*.⁷⁴² *Origen* goes further, *omnis Scriptura Mensa est Sapientiæ; et puto dignis esse Mensam de qua dicit Solomon*.⁷⁴³

But did these Gentlemen read on to the Third Verse?

Q. The Caution about the *Dainties* exhibited unto us, by a *Ruler*? v. 3.

A. The Ancients wittily made that *Ruler* to be *Satan*; the *Ruler of the Darkness of this World*. The Caution admirably suits those who are treated by *Satan*, with his *Temptations*.

Q. And about, the *Knife to the Throat*?

A. *Melancthon* understands it, a Command over the *Tongue*.⁷⁴⁴ Dr. *Patrick* therefore paraphrases it, as a Caution against Intemperance of *Language*, as well as of *Eating*. But no doubt, both may be intended.

Some carry it so, If thou do not curb thy Appetite, it will expose thee to as great & certain Danger, as if a Knife were at thy Throat. Or, Now *suppose a Knife at thy Throat*.⁷⁴⁵

Q. Tis said, *labour not to be Rich; cease from thine own Wisdome*. Why are these two putt thus together? v. 4.

A. While a Man ha's no other than his own carnal and corrupt *Wisdome* to guide him, and ha's no other Sense of Things than what is in a *Natural* Man, hee knows no greater Good, than to be *Rich* and Great in this World; all that hee *labours* for is to be *Rich*. But when a Man comes to have a Renewed and a Spiritual Understanding, and a Divine *Wisdome*, infused from above into him, instead of, his own, hee will not then *labour to be Rich*, with such fervency as he uses to do; an Indifferency to the *Riches* of this World then inspires him; hee ha's a Prospect of more *Durable Riches*.⁷⁴⁶

⁷⁴² From Jermin (*Proverbs* 510), Mather refers to Augustine, *In Joannis Evangelium tractatus*, tract. 47, cap. 10 [PL 35. 1733; CCSL 36].

⁷⁴³ "All Scripture is a table of wisdom, and this I think to be the table of which Solomon speaks." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 510), a citation from Origen, *Commentaria in Epistolam ad Romanos*, lib. 8, cap. 8 [PG 14. 1182; SC 543]; transl.: FC 104:164.

⁷⁴⁴ From Patrick (*Proverbs* 377), Mather refers to Melancthon, *Explicatio Proverbiorum*, cap. 23, p. 53.

⁷⁴⁵ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 377.

⁷⁴⁶ Compare Prov. 8:18.

Q. How is it said of *Riches*, They are not, and they make themselves Wings, & flie away towards Heaven? v. 5.

A. They are not, because they don't continue. It is said of *Absalom*, [2. Sam. 14.27.] unto him were born three Sons & one Daughter. Yett in another Place, tis said; [2. Sam. 18.18.] That he reared up a Pillar for himself, because he had no Sons. It seems, they were Dead. But *Theodore* saies, Tis thus to be understood; *Absalom* had no Son, because they could not continue, as the Pillar would.⁷⁴⁷ So here.

And then, tho' we cutt the Wings of *Riches*, and use all possible Methods, to make them stay with us, yett they will certainly make themselves Wings.

And flie towards Heaven, to receive Direction from God, whither they shall go.⁷⁴⁸

Indeed, the Wings of *Riches*, do carry up the Rich, & puff them up with a vain Conceit of their own Greatness, & lift them up in the high Esteem & Credit of the World. But one saies well; *sicut Divitiæ alas habent, ut efférant; ità easdem habent ut deserant hominem; quibus fugientibus Præceps agitur, et in extremam Miseriam incidit, qui tam elatus erat.*⁷⁴⁹

Elegant is the Comparison to *Eagles*; whose Flight is very swift, & up into the Clouds out of Sight.⁷⁵⁰ Compare, 2. Sam. I.23. Compare also the Enemies who pursued *Zedekiah*. Lam. IV.19.; Hab. I.8. with, 2. King. XXV.4, 5.⁷⁵¹ *Bochart* observes this out of *Cicero*; a Racer dreamt he was turn'd into an *Eagle*. They interpreted it, for his Victory: *vicisti, istà enim Ave volat nulla Velocius.*⁷⁵²

Q. God the mighty Redeemer of the Fatherless? v. 11.

A. *Tertullian* justly expresses it, *Nemo tam Pater, Nemo tam Pius.*⁷⁵³

When Man was made, God said not, *sit homo*. Lett Man be. But, as Children are made in the Likeness of their Parents, thus he saith, lett us make Man in our Image, & after our Likeness. *Ut Amor Parentis, non Imperium denotaretur.*⁷⁵⁴

⁷⁴⁷ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 513.

⁷⁴⁸ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 513.

⁷⁴⁹ "As riches have wings by which they carry man up on high, so they have the same by which they abandon him: and when they fly away, he tumbles down headlong, and falls into extreme misery, who was thus lifted up high." The citation is from Jermin (*Proverbs* 513), who refers to "one" author, who could not be identified. Transl. modified from Jermin.

⁷⁵⁰ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 379.

⁷⁵¹ See Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 379.

⁷⁵² "You are the victor, for no bird flies faster than the eagle." From Patrick (*Proverbs* 379–80), Mather cites Cicero, *De divinatione*, 2.70.144; transl.: LCL 154, pp. 531–33; see Bochart, *Hieroicon*, pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 3, p. 15.

⁷⁵³ "No one such a father, no one so pious." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 517), a citation from Tertullian, *De poenitentia*, cap. 8 [PL 1. 1243; CCSL 1]; transl. modified from Jermin.

⁷⁵⁴ "That the love of a father, not the command [of a lord] might be noted unto us." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 517), a reference to Balthasar Pérez, *Commentarii in canticum magnum Moysis*, annotat. 5 ("Quomodo Deus dicatur Pater hominum"), p. 145; transl.: Jermin.

Such a Love the Heavenly Father, has for the Fatherless, that He becomes a *mighty Redeemer* for them.⁷⁵⁵

[43v] |

Q. In that, *lett not thine Heart envy Sinners, but be thou in the Fear of the Lord, all the Day long*: what may be meant by, *All the Day long*? v. 17.

A. What every one understands; *continually*.

But then there may be a Special & Instructive Restriction of it; *All the Day* of the Sinners flourishing Prosperity; which indeed is but *ἡμεροβιον* of *one short Dayes Continuance*.⁷⁵⁶

Q. Upon paying all due Respect unto *Parents*? v. 22.

A. They are to be joined in our Honouring of them.

Their Joined Displeasure, is a very Heavy Curse. *Theodoret* observes this upon the Words of the Prophet *Zachariah*, when it is said, *His Father & his Mother shall condemn the lying Prophet*.⁷⁵⁷ And so their Joined Favour is a great Blessing. Thus *Ambrose* reads it in the Blessing of *Joseph*. *My God did help thee, because of the Blessings of thy Father & thy Mother*.⁷⁵⁸

Q. *Buy the Truth*? v. 23.

A. *Aben Ezra* takes it literally & supposes a Word Absent, which he so supplies; *Buy the Books of Truth*. *R. Solomon* takes it thus;⁷⁵⁹ If thou canst not come at the Truth otherwise, be content to buy it, & be at any Cost for it.

Q. On that, *my Son give me thy Heart*? v. 26.

A. That is to say, give me *Thyself*. This, as *Austin* observes, was wanting in the Sacrifice of *Cain*; *Dans Deo aliquid suum; sibi autem seipsum*.⁷⁶⁰ Thus, there are many who offer unto God Outward Formalities; but nothing of their *Inward Man*.⁷⁶¹

⁷⁵⁵ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 517.

⁷⁵⁶ An ἡμεροβιον [hemerobion] is an insect that lives only a day; see Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 522.

⁷⁵⁷ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 525–26), a citation from Theodoret of Cyrus, *Interpretatio Zachariae prophetae*, cap. 13 [PG 81. 1947–48], on Zech. 13:3.

⁷⁵⁸ Quoting Jermin's transl. (*Proverbs* 526), a citation from Ambrose, *De officiis ministrorum*, lib. 2, cap. 16 [PL 16. 126; CCSL 15]. Jermin's Latin text: "Adjuvit te Deus meus propter benedictiones patris tui, & matris tuae." Jermin omits a passage, which the PL reads.

⁷⁵⁹ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 526), Mather cites the glosses of Ibn Ezra and Rashi on Prov. 23:23; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 377; at this verse see *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, p. 143. Rashi refers to the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Bekoroth 29a (Soncino, p. 185).

⁷⁶⁰ "He gave to God something of his own but kept himself to himself." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 529), a citation from Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, lib. 15, cap. 7 [PL 41. 444; CSEL 40; CCSL 48]; transl.: *NPNFi* 2:288.

⁷⁶¹ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 529.

Austin elsewhere saies well; *Regnum Cœlorum non aliud quærit pretium quàm Teipsum: tantum valet, quantum Tu es; Tè da et habebis illud.*⁷⁶²

Q. *A Deep Ditch?* v. 27.

A. Hardly any Sin more *sinks* a Man into Wickedness, or Sottishness. The *Unchast* is an Abject Sort of Creature. *Unchastity* is a *Deep* Dungeon. Yea, but *Narrow* too; Tis hard getting up again.⁷⁶³

[▽Insert from 44r]

[▽44r]

Q. The *Sting* of an *Adder*? v. 32.

A. *Bochart* proves, That the Word, *Tziphom*, ought to be translated, *A Basilisk*.⁷⁶⁴

The Wound given by the *Basilisk*, is by *Avicenna* reported Incurable. The Writers of his Nation say, That its very *Look* and *Hiss* is venomous & dangerous.⁷⁶⁵

Accordingly *Solomon* represents the Vice of Drunkenness, as rendring a Man stupid, & senseless, & consequently incorrigible, tho' he suffer never so sadly by it. As if this Poison made a Mortification in the whole Man, for which there is no Remedy.

Tatianus, and others of old, called, Wine, *The Gall of the Dragon*, & the *Venom of the old Serpent*. But the hurt is not in the Thing itself; it is in our Excess.⁷⁶⁶

It breeds many & woful Diseases; and it stirs up absurd Affections, that change Men for a time into Beasts. Some into *Lions* (thus *Bochart* glosses,) as *Alexander*, who killed his dearest Friend in his Cups;⁷⁶⁷ & *Herod* who ordered

⁷⁶² "The Kingdom of Heaven seeks for no other price but yourself: it is worth so much as you are, give yourself, and you shall have that." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 529), a citation from Pseudo-Augustine, *Manuale*, cap. 16 [PL 40. 958]; transl.: Jermin; see also Pseudo-Augustine, *Sermones de sanctis*, sermo 209 [PL 39. 2136].

⁷⁶³ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 529.

⁷⁶⁴ From Patrick (*Proverbs* 382), Mather summarizes Bochart, *Hierozaicon*, pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 9, p. 68.

⁷⁶⁵ From Bochart, a reference to the famous Persian physician and polymath Abu Ali al-Husain Ibn Abdullah Ibn Sina (Ibn Sina, latinized: Avicenna, 980–1037 CE), whose influential medical compendium *Al-Qanun fi'l-tibb* (transl. into Latin in the 12th century) contains a description of the legendary Basilisk and the power of its venom; see lib. 4, fen. 6, tract. 3, cap. 22; see the transl. *The Canon of Medicine*, vol. 2.

⁷⁶⁶ From Bochart, a reference to the early Syrian Christian apologist Tatian the Assyrian (c. 120–c. 180/190), who embraced a rigid asceticism and in his *Address to the Greeks* (176 CE) formulated an all-out attack on Greek culture and religion. Among many other things, he condemned the consumption of meat and wine.

⁷⁶⁷ A reference to the Macedonian King Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE), who killed his friend Cleitus "the Black" (c. 375–328 BCE) in a drunken quarrel. The story is reported by several ancient sources, including the work of the Hellenic Roman historian, biographer, and philosopher Plutarch (c. 45–after 120 CE), *Life of Alexander* (50.693–51.694) in *Vitae parallelæ*.

the great Servant of God to be murdered.⁷⁶⁸ Others into *Dogs*; as *Nabal*,⁷⁶⁹ who in his Liquor, bark'd at the Person to whom he lay under Obligations. Others into *Hogs*; as *Lot*, who defiled himself with Incest, when he was not himself.⁷⁷⁰

[△] [△Insert ends]

Q. We read of them that give themselves unto *Wine*, *Thine Eyes shall behold strange Women*. Besides the obvious and well-known Sense of it, have you mett with no Gloss, that ha's in it something of a further Curiosity? v. 33.

A. Yes; And of a frequent Accomplishment.

Lavater in his Book, *De Spectris*, thus explains it;

*Si dedas te Vino, Oculi tui videbunt extraneas; Nempe, Visiones, et mirabilis Apparitiones.*⁷⁷¹

The *perverse Things* uttered by the Inebriated Fool, are by some taken to be, the *Filthy & Obscene* Talk of *Uncleanness*; Inasmuch as the former Part of the Verse makes mention of, strange Women.⁷⁷²

Q. The *Drunkard* in a *Tempest*? v. 34.

A. *Ambrose* thus expresses it; *magnum faciunt Tempestatem Multitudines Cupiditatum, quæ velut quodam in Fretis Corporis navigantem, hinc in dè perturbant, ut Gubernator sui Animus esse non possit.*⁷⁷³

Munster makes the Sense to be this; A *Drunkard* so deprives himself of all Sense, that when he lies in his Bed, he fancies himself tossing in the *Midst of the Sea* or climbing to the *Top of the Mast.*⁷⁷⁴

[the entries from 44r were inserted into their designated places]

[44v] | [blank]

⁷⁶⁸ A reference to the beheading of John the Baptist (Matt. 14:1–11).

⁷⁶⁹ See the story of Nabal in 1 Sam. 25:1–37.

⁷⁷⁰ See Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 383. Compare Gen. 19:30–38.

⁷⁷¹ “If you indulge in wine your eyes will certainly see strange visions and marvellous apparitions.” A citation from the work on demonology by the Swiss Reformed theologian Ludwig Lavater (1527–1586), *De Spectris, lemuribus et magnis atque insolitis fragoribus* (1569), pars 1, cap. 4, p. 19; transl. modified from: *Of Ghostes and Spirites walking by Nyght* (1572), p. 17.

⁷⁷² Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 534.

⁷⁷³ “The multitude of lusts in him do raise a great tempest, which toss his mind to and fro, sailing as it were in the narrow sea of his body, so that it cannot be pilot to itself.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 534), a citation from Ambrose, *Apologia altera prophetæ David*, cap. 3 [PL 14. 893; CSEL 32.2]; transl.: Jermin.

⁷⁷⁴ Compare Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4295); the last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

Q. A Remark upon That; *By wise Counsel thou shalt make Thy War?* v. 6.

A. It is to be Remark'd, That it is here said, *Thy War*. Tis Dr. *Jermyns* Note upon it; That we should not be forward in meddling with the *War* of others. But if thou be forced, *Thyself*, to *make War*, then do it, by the *wise Counsel* of a *Multitude of Counsellors*.⁷⁷⁵

Q. How is it said, *The Thought of Foolishness, is Sin?* v. 9.

A. Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase is; "To contrive any thing that is hurtful to others, tho' out of Rashness and Folly, is a Sin. But, he that makes a Jest on it, when it is done, & laughs at those who tell him it is a Sin; is such a pestilent Wretch, that he is, or ought to be, extremely abhorred of all Mankind."⁷⁷⁶

Q. On that, *If thou faint?* v. 10.

A. *Munster* offers this Gloss of some upon it; *si negligens es ad acquirendam Sapientiam, cum venerit Dies Tribulationis infirma erit Virtus tua ad resistendum Tentationi*.⁷⁷⁷

Q. The *Delivering* of those that are *Drawn unto Death*, and those that are *Ready to be slain?* v. 11.

A. The original Word is, *Bending to Destruction*.

Dr. *Jermyn* is willing we should here Bend our Thoughts, to understand the spiritual Death of Sin; & observe a Difference of Sinners. For some are Drawn to it, by the Force of Temptation; others are Bending & Inclining unto it, of themselves.⁷⁷⁸

The *ordinary Gloss* here speaks well; *si quos in Certamine Persecutione lapsos vel lapsuros inspexeris, ad Vitam Exhortando restaura; si quos Fame vel Algore perituros, Victu, Veste recrea*.⁷⁷⁹

Q. A Remark on the Direction, to *eat Honey, because it is good, and the Honey-Comb, which is sweet?* v. 13.

⁷⁷⁵ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 541.

⁷⁷⁶ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 407.

⁷⁷⁷ "If you neglect to acquire wisdom, your strength will be weak to resist temptation when the day of tribulation comes." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4309).

⁷⁷⁸ Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 545–46.

⁷⁷⁹ "If thou seest any in the conflict of persecution, either fallen, or ready to fall, by good counsel restore them unto life: if any ready to perish through hunger or cold, refresh them with food and apparel." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 546), a citation from the *Biblia latina cum glossa ordinaria* at this verse; transl.: Jermin.

A. It is to be noted, That the Wise Man putteth *good* in the first Place; as teaching us, rather to take that which is *good*, tho' it should not be *pleasant*; than that which is *pleasant* but not *good*.⁷⁸⁰

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2653:

Q. That Passage, *A Just Man falleth seven times, & riseth up again*: tis often brought, as a Text, against *sinless Perfection* in this Life. Will it serve to that Purpose? v. 16.

A. Hear what *Amama* saies, *ego moneo Tyronem, ut isti usui firmiora Scriptura Testimonia conquirat*.⁷⁸¹ [Such as 1. Joh. 1.8. and 2.1. and Jam. 3.2.]

It is rather to be understood, about *Falling* into *Calamities*, than about *Falling* into *Iniquities*. Compare the Verse immediately præceding.⁷⁸²

Coppenius compares Psal. 34.20.⁷⁸³

Austin understood it so. *Pro omni genere Tributationis, quo in Conspectu Hominis dejicitur, positum est, septies Cadit, et pro eo, quòd ex omnibus proficit, positum est, Resurgit*.⁷⁸⁴

Abundance of learned Men, have observed; That the Word *Fall*, does always refer to *Trouble*, to *Distress*, to *Calamity*; particularly, *Tarnovius*, and *Amama*, and *Grotius*.⁷⁸⁵

Q. On that, *Rejoice not, when thine Enemy falleth?* v. 17.

A. *Solomon* gives this Advice in the Words of his Father *David*; Psal. XXX-VII.1. whose Authority was justly held very great in that Church; & who had

⁷⁸⁰ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 547.

⁷⁸¹ "I admonish the tyro so that he searches for better testimonies of the Holy Scriptures for this purpose." See Sixtinus Amama, *Anti-Barbarus Biblicus*, lib. 4, p. 654. Derived from the Latin word *tyro* ("recruit" or "young soldier"), "tyro" signifies a novice or beginner in learning. In the seventeenth century, perfectionism was associated with enthusiasm and radical sectarian groups.

⁷⁸² See Patrick, *Proverbs*, pp. 401–02.

⁷⁸³ Amama, in *Anti-Barbarus Biblicus*, lib. 3, p. 590, references "Coppenius," probably Bartholomaeus Coppenius (1565–1617).

⁷⁸⁴ "For all kind of affliction, whereby he [the righteous man] is cast down in the sight of men, it is set down, that he falls seven times, and because out of all his afflictions he gains profit, therefore it is set down, that he rises again." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 549), a citation from Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Ps. 118, sermo 31 [PL 37. 1592; CCSL 40]; transl.: Jermin.

⁷⁸⁵ From Patrick (*Proverbs* 401–02), references to the German Lutheran theologian Paul Tarnow (Paulus Tarnovius, 1562–1633), Sixtinus Amama (see above) and Hugo Grotius; see his gloss in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4316). Patrick concludes: "And therefore we must use other places, for the confuting the fancy of perfection in this life; and for the comfort of those, who are cast down by their lapses into sin: And take heed of reading the holy Scriptures so carelessly, as to turn our Medicine into poison: which is the fault of those, who from such mistakes give way to their evil affections; and let them carry them into sin."

many Observations on the Shortness of wicked Mens fælicity, & the sudden Changes with which they are often astonished.

Q. Upon that; *Their Calamity shall arise?* v. 22.

A. The original Word here used for, *Calamity*, signifies also, *A Vapour*. This Clause then seems to have some Reference unto the *Rising* of a *Vapour*. As the *Vapour* which falls on the *Water*, does *rise* from the *Water*; so, tis intimated, the Calamity which falleth on them, riseth from themselves.⁷⁸⁶

Q. On that, *prepare thy Work in the Field?* v. 27.

A. Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase is; "Do every thing in Order; and first mind those things that are most necessary; contenting thyself with a little hutt in the field, till thou hast gotten an estate, by a careful improvement of thy pasturage & thy tillage; and then it will be truly enough to build thee an house, & bring a wife unto it."⁷⁸⁷

Q. On the *Field of the Sluggard*, & the *Vineyard of the Foul?* v. 30.

A. *Ubi Vitis Virtutis? Ubi Botrus Boni Operis? Ubi Vinum Lætitiæ? Cuncta apud eum neglecta invenies, cuncta inculta et jacentia.*⁷⁸⁸ This the Language of the Ancients upon it.

Levi Gershom notes, That the *Field* of Mans Soul, the *Vineyard* of his Life, was given to him by God, *ut suavissimos Fructus ferret, quibus Mortalibus Superis-que voluptas afferretur.*⁷⁸⁹ But in the Sinner, it brings forth, only the Nettles of sinful Desires, & wicked Actions.

Bernard ha's a good Hint. *Bona Vineâ Justus, cui Virtus Vitis, cui Actio Palmes, cui Vinum Testimonium Conscientiæ. Vides apud Sapientem nihil vacare; Sermo, Cogitatio, Conversatio, et si quid est aliud* – all is employ'd unto a Proficiency in Goodness.⁷⁹⁰

⁷⁸⁶ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 554. 𐤒𐤓𐤕 [ed] "distress, calamity." A similar word of a different etymology is translated "mist" or "vapour," see Gen. 2:6; Job 36:27.

⁷⁸⁷ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 414.

⁷⁸⁸ "Where is the wine of virtue? Where is the cluster of good works? Where is the wine of spiritual joy? You find all things there neglected, all things undressed and lying waste." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 562), a citation from Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum*, sermo 63 [PL 183. 1081; *Opera* 2]; transl.: Jermin.

⁷⁸⁹ "That it should bring forth most pleasant fruits, through which pleasure may be brought to mortals and higher ones." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 562), a citation from Ralbag on Prov. 24:30; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 400; transl. modified from Jermin.

⁷⁹⁰ "The righteous man is a good vineyard, his virtue is the vine, his actions are the branches, the wine the testimony of his conscience. You see in a wise man, nothing to be idle, his speech, his thoughts, his conversation, and if there is anything else." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 563), a citation from Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum*, sermo 63 [PL 183. 1081; *Opera* 2]; transl. modified from Jermin.

I would by no means disturb the common Interpretation of *yett a little Sleep*. — Yett I will tell you; *Rabbi Levi* understands it, not as being spoken to the *Sluggard*, but as the Instruction the Wise Man had gotten from the *Field* of the Sluggard. But a *little Sleep*, a *little Slumber*, a *little Folding of the Hands*, is to be used; & Sloth is to be shunned. Then, if *Poverty* comes, it shall be but a *Traveller*, & as an *Armed Man*, which do not use to Tarry, where they come.⁷⁹¹

⁷⁹¹ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 565), a reference to the gloss of Ralbag on Prov. 24:30; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 400. See the rabbinical discussion in *Mikraoth Gedoloth, Proverbs*, p. 33, at Prov. 6:11, and p. 152, on Prov. 24:33–34.

Q. Who were the *Men of Hezekiah*, that *copied out* these *Proverbs of Solomon*; and on what Occasion? v. 1.

A. Here begins the *Third Book* of the *Proverbs*.⁷⁹²

Dr. *Patrick* thus paraphrases the Verse before us.

“Besides the foregoing Lessons, sententious delivered by *Solomon*, these also were collected out of his Works, by some of the Servants of that good King *Hezekiah*; who setting himself with all his Heart, to Reform the People of *Judah*; among other things wherein God blessed his Endeavours, [2. Chron. XXXI.21.] caused these Proverbs to be transcribed, out of the ancient Records, for their fuller Instruction.”⁷⁹³

The Successors of *Solomon* doubtless præserv'd his Proverbs in a Book, if he did not write them himself. Out of this Volume, some good Men, had selected such as were thought most useful for the People. Those which now follow, were added unto that Collection in the Dayes of *Hezekiah*. He not only Restored the Service of God in His Temple, but also, for the better Instruction of the People in Piety, revived the *Schools of the Prophets*, and pressed them to do their Duty faithfully; in teaching the Lawes of God, & informing the People in all things that might be profitable for them. Out of these *Schools*, it is probable, some were chosen to attend the King himself; who were called, His *Men*, or *Servants*. These, out of their Zeal for the public Welfare, culled out more *Proverbs*, from that amassment of *Three Thousand*; and such especially, as they saw would be very useful to the *Princes*, as well as the People, & such as belong to the right Administration of public Affaires.⁷⁹⁴

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Q. *A Word fitly spoken, is like Apples of Gold, in Pictures of Silver.* I pray, give an Illustration upon it, which may be a *Word fitly spoken*? v. 11.

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⁷⁹² Following the superscription in the biblical text at this verse (“These are also proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah King of Judah copied out”) Mather assumes that here begins what he (with Patrick and others) considers the third part of Proverbs, in “which follow such Sentences as were collected afterwards out of his [Solomon’s] Writings, or the Writings of those who had recorded them; by some persons whom Hezekiah employed to search the ancient Records.” See Patrick’s unpaginated “Preface.” On Mather’s view of the authorship and textual tradition of the Book of Proverbs, see the Introduction.

⁷⁹³ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 429. Hezekiah was the thirteenth king of Judah and reigned from 725/4–697/6 BCE. Under his reign far-reaching religious reforms were enacted.

⁷⁹⁴ Patrick, *Proverbs*, pp. 418–19.

A. I'll only transcribe the Words of *Danhawer*.⁷⁹⁵ "King Solomon (saies he,) crowns his Proverbs with an Orange, to which he compares, *A Word fitly spoken*. But the Glosses of Interpreters, – have so obscured it and abused it, that this wise King should have wished, what Tully did, that neither the Learned nor the Ignorant ha's read his Writings; because the one did not understand them so much as was necessary, & the other, more than he would have desired. For, what have not Translators ventured to make of the single Hebrew Word, *Makjoth*?⁷⁹⁶ The LXX render it a *Necklace*, of *Sardonix*: The Chaldee Paraphrase, *Engravers of Silver*: *Symmachus* and *Theodotion*, *Flowred Silver*: The Royal Bible, *Cases of Transparent Silver*: The Vulgar Latin, *Beds of Silver*; and its Revision, *The Engravings of Silver*; *Junius*, *Figures of Silver*.⁷⁹⁷ And those that have meddled with explaining this Text, how have they drawn & forc'd it? Most Interpreters have turn'd the Fruit here mention'd, to *Artificial* or *Painted Apples*, sett in Rings of Perfume, which were carried about the Neck. Others have fix'd them to *Solomons* Bed, or to the Walls of his Palace, which *Josephus* tells us, were enrich'd with emboss'd Embroidery-Work, representing Trees, cover'd over with Leaves & Fruit. Here you have *Apples of Gold*, but very unhandsomely presented. For, what Pleasure is it, to see an *Apple* tho' of *Gold*, if it is only a *Painted* one? Had *Solomon* a Mind to entertain his Friends, after the Manner of *Heliogabulus*, who presented his Guests with Fruit of Ivory and Marble? And what Resemblance is there, between a *Painted Apple*, and a *Discourse*? Or between a *Bed*, and a *Fitt Occasion*? –"⁷⁹⁸

⁷⁹⁵ The entire entry is taken from the Huguenot theologian Charles Le Cène (c. 1647–1703), *An Essay for a new Translation of the Bible* (1701), pt. 1, ch. 8, pp. 167–69. Following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, Le Cène lived in exile in Netherlands and England, where he joined the Church of England clergyman and religious writer Pierre (Peter) Allix (1641–1717) and other compatriots in forming a Huguenot congregation in London. Here Le Cène became a controversial figure who was suspected of Arminian and Socinian views (ODNB). In the passage cited by Mather, Le Cène draws upon the unpaginated Preface of the work of the German Lutheran theologian Johann Konrad Dannhauer (1603–1666), *Religio Moscovitarum* (1660).

⁷⁹⁶ מַשְׁכִּית [maskith] "image, sculpture [of silver]; pl. images, imagination (metaph.)." Here the Hebrew word is in the plural form with a preposition: בְּמַשְׁכִּיּוֹת כֶּסֶף [bemaskiyyoth kaseph] "in settings of silver."

⁷⁹⁷ From Le Cène and Dannhauer, Mather cites the translations of the VUL ("lectis argenteis"); LXX (ὀρυμίσκω σαρδίου); the Targum (in the Latin transl.: "laturis argenteis"), as well as two Greek translators of the Old Testament, Symmachus (2nd cent. CE) and the Hellenistic Jewish scholar Theodotion (fl. 2nd cent. CE), whose works partly survive in the remaining fragments of Origen's *Hexapla* (c. 240 CE; [PG 15, PG 16.1–16.3.3009]). Symmachus's Greek transl. of the Old Testament (translated around 170 CE) survived only in fragments. See *Origenis Hexaplorum*, ed. Field, vol. 2, pp. 361–62. Here it reads περιβλέπτος αργυρίου (in Latin transl.: "Figuris argenteis ornata. Aliter: In calathis argenteis"). Moreover, reference is made to the Antwerp Polyglot Bible (*Biblia Polyglotta Regia*) of Arias Montanus; see *Sacra Biblia, hebraice, graece, et latine* at Prov. 25:11 ("Thecis transparentibus argenti"); and the Latin translation of Junius and Tremellius; see their *Biblia Sacra* at this verse ("figuris argenteis").

⁷⁹⁸ From Le Cène and Dannhauer reference is made to the description of Solomon's palace in the work of the Jewish-Hellenistic historian Flavius Josephus (37/38–after 100), *Jewish*

Wherefore, the late *Essay for a New Translation*, proposes unto us, that after several of the most learned Men, we render the Words; *A Word fitly spoken* [or, A Discourse well-timed] *is like Oranges in a flower'd silver Basket*; For, we must observe, That the Hebrew *Tappuach* never signifies, *Artificial Apples*, but always, *Natural* ones.⁷⁹⁹

Q. But, supposing our own Translation to stand, what may bee the Meaning of that Proverb, *A Word fitly spoken, is, as Apples of Gold in Pictures of Silver*. A Proverb, whereof so many do serve themselves, with very Jejune Reflections, in the Poems of their Discourses? v. 11.

A. What think you, of the Gloss, which that great Rabbi, *Moses Maimonides* ha's upon it?⁸⁰⁰ What wee render, *A Word fitly spoken*, hee renders, *Dictum secundu, Ambas facies suas*, or, *A Word of a double Aspect*. The / מַשְׁכִּיּוֹת / *Maschijoth*,⁸⁰¹ which wee render, *Pictures of Silver*, hee saies, are *Coverings of Network*, thro' which good Eyes may penetrate, and yett, thro' the Smallness of the Network, penetrate with difficulty. There are Words, hee saies, which have an *Exterior Sense*, and an *Interior Sense*. The *Exterior Sense* of them, is of good account; *Silver* is a good Metal: Hee that penetrates no further than the Surface of the Scripture, is yett entertained, with what is well worth his Contemplation; But the *Exterior Sense* is no more than a Reticulated Covering, to an *Interior Sense*: when wee do, by Meditation arrive to the *Interior Sense* of the Scripture, and of the *Solomitic Proverbs* particularly, wee come at *Apples of Gold*; wee have a *Rich Entertainment* in the *Interior Sense* of what the Prophets have written; but wee cannot apprehend it, at a distance; tis by a near Approach that wee discover it.⁸⁰²

Unto this Purpose, my *Maimonides*. But now, whether *Ben Maimon*, will or no, I will add, That my CHRIST found every where in the *Scripture of Truth*, is the *Apple of Gold, in the Covering of Silver*.

Antiquities (8.5), as well as to the infamous extravagancies of the Roman emperor Heliogabalus (Elagabalus, c. 203–222 CE), as described in the *Life of Elagabalus* in the *Augustan History* (possibly 4th century), the Greek historian Cassius Dio's (c. 163/4–after 229 CE) *Roman History* (bk. 80), and the Greek historian Herodian's (late 2nd/first half 3rd century CE) *Roman History* (bk. 5). The artificial food is mentioned in the *Life of Elagabalus* (2.25.4).

⁷⁹⁹ תַּפּוּחַ [tappuach] “apple (fruit); apple-tree.”

⁸⁰⁰ Both Jermin (*Proverbs* 574) and Patrick (*Proverbs* 425) follow the interpretation offered by the great Jewish philosopher and biblical and talmudic scholar Rabbi Moses ben Maimon (Maimonides, acronym: Rambam, 1135–1204) in the Preface (the section “On Similes”) of his *More Nebuchim*. See *Guide for the Perplexed*, ed. Friedländer, p. 6. However, neither Jermin nor Patrick give the Latin phrase cited by Mather. Mather seems to be quoting from Petrus Galatinus, *De arcanis*, lib. 1, cap. 6, pp. 14–15, where the exact same language is used, whereas the phrasing in Buxtorf's Latin edition of the *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629) is slightly different.

⁸⁰¹ מַשְׁכִּיּוֹת [maskith] “image, sculpture [of silver]; pl. images, imagination (metaph.).” Here the Hebrew word is in the plural form with a preposition: בְּמַשְׁכִּיּוֹת קֶסֶף [bemaskiyyoth kaseph] “in settings of silver.”

⁸⁰² See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 574.

Hear Munster. *Significatur Verbum Dei in Cortice non considerandum, sed in Medulla.*⁸⁰³

Q. A wise Reprover, as an *Ear-ring of Gold*? v. 12.

A. A wise *Reproof*, is as an *Ear-ring of Gold* unto an *obedient Ear*. First, It pierces it, & yett is received willingly into it. Secondly, It is fastened upon it, so that it staies with it. Thirdly, It is an Ornament unto all the Life, which is thereby Reformed.⁸⁰⁴

But a *Reproof* may be so given, as to be only an *Ear-ring of Brass*, which cankers the Ear, & makes the Man the worse in wilful Wickedness.⁸⁰⁵

But with some, lett the *Ear-ring* of a *Reproof* be never so fine; yett it is despised; and as *Pliny* speaking of the Pride of Women, saies, *Neque enim gestare iam Margaritas, nisi calcent, et per Uniones ambulant, satis est.*⁸⁰⁶

[▽48r] [▽Insert from 48r]⁸⁰⁷

Q. How & why is, *The Cold of Snow, in the Time of Harvest*, made the Similitude of a *Faithful Messenger, who Refresheth the Soul of his Master*? v. 13.

A. The *Danish* Gloss in the Margent, very truly explains this, *Cold of the Snow*, concerning the *Reserved Snow*, with which t'was as usual of old for them to Temper their Wine in the Time, when the Æstival Heats of *Harvest* exercised them. Sure, If the Fall of *Rain* in *Harvest*, bee an undesirable Thing, (Prov. 26.1.) the Fall of *Snow* then is much more undesirable. It is rather to my *Reserved Snow*, that this Text alludes; which, *facit animam Requiescere*, that is, as *Valesius* interprets that Phrase, *Respirationem reddit facilem; quod fit Igneum Calorem extinguendo, atque Hominem attemperando.*⁸⁰⁸

⁸⁰³ "It means: God's word must be considered not on the skin, but in the marrow." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4321). The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁸⁰⁴ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 574.

⁸⁰⁵ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 574.

⁸⁰⁶ "It is not enough to wear jewels now, unless that they tread upon them, and walk among pearls." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 575), a citation from Pliny, *Natural History*, 9.56.114; transl.: Jermin.

⁸⁰⁷ See Appendix B.

⁸⁰⁸ "Which makes the soul rest"; "she breathes easily; which is achieved through quenching the fiery heat and by adjusting the man to the climate." From Thomas Bartholin, *De nivis usu medico observationes variae* (1661), cap. 14, p. 90; a reference to the Spanish physician Franciscus Valesius (1514/25–1592), *De Sacra Philosophia* (1595), cap. 61. The famous Danish physician, mathematician, and theologian Thomas Bartholin (1616–1680) was a professor of anatomy at the University of Copenhagen. In 1652 Bartholin published the first full description of the lymphatic system. Among his many works, the four-volume *Historiarum anatomicarum rariorum centuria* (1654–1661) was especially influential and is also mentioned in Mather's *The Christian Philosopher*, along with other works by Bartholin. The work on the medical uses of ice and snow that Mather cites here contains the first account of refrigeration anesthesia (cap. 22). See *Handbuch Gelehrtenkultur der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Jaumann, vol. 1, pp. 70–71.

Now, for this Custom, of cooling their *Drink* with *Snow*, in the Summer-Heat of Harvest, wee have multiplied Monuments of the Antients, to give us an Account: *Athenæus* in l. 3. *Deipnos*. c. 35. ha's the Verse,

*Bibendam Nivem nos præparamus.*⁸⁰⁹

And in the same Author, tis the Speech of *Dexicrates*; – *Ebrius sum et Nivem bibo.*⁸¹⁰ *Xenophon*, in his Commentaries, do's commemorate this Custom:⁸¹¹ and *Strattis* in *Psychastis* ha's these Words;

– *Vinum bibere,*

*In Puteo refrigeratum, aut Dilutum Nive.*⁸¹²

Thus *Callistratus* also, speaks of those who at feasts, had the Office of adjusting the *Snow*, for the *Cups* of the Guests. *Polyphemus*, in, *Theocritus*, calls his *Snow-drink*, ποτὸν ἀμβρόσιον.⁸¹³

Among the Romans, *Pliny* complains of it, l. 19. c. 4. *Hi Nives, illi Glaciem potant, pœnasque Montium, in voluptatem Gula vertunt; servaturque Algor æstibus.*⁸¹⁴ And *Martial* reflects on it. – l. 9. ep. 23.

Nec Labris nisi magna meis Chrystalla terantur,

*Et faciant Nigras nostra Falerna Nives.*⁸¹⁵

And again. l. 14. ep. 117.

Non potare Nivem, sed Aquam potare rigentem

*De Nive, commenta est Ingeniosa satis.*⁸¹⁶

⁸⁰⁹ "Let us get ready to drink the snow." From Bartholin, *De nivis usu*, cap. 14, p. 90, Mather cites Athenæus, *Deipnosophistai* (3.35).

⁸¹⁰ "I'm drunk and I drink the snow." From Bartholin, *De nivis usu*, cap. 14, p. 90, Mather cites the comedian Dexicrates's (3rd cent. BCE) lost work, *A seipsis errantes* / Ἰϛϛ' ἐαυτῶν πλανώμενοι, as quoted in Athenæus, *Deipnosophistai* (3.124).

⁸¹¹ From Bartholin, *De nivis usu*, cap. 14, p. 91, a reference to the *Memorabilia* (2.1.30) of Socrates's pupil and Greek historiographer Xenophon of Athens (c. 430–354 BCE).

⁸¹² "To drink the wine which was cooled down in the well or cleansed by the snow." From Bartholin, *De nivis usu*, cap. 14, p. 91, a reference to the Greek poet Strattis (Comicus, fl. at the turn of the 4th century BCE), whose work only survives in fragments; the citation appears in fragment 60 (57K) of his play *Psychastæ* (Ψυχασταί), as preserved in Athenæus, *Deipnosophistai* (3.124).

⁸¹³ "The ambrosial drink." From Bartholin, *De nivis usu*, cap. 14, p. 92, Mather cites the Greek poet Theocritus of Syracuse (3rd century BCE), *Idyllia*, 11.48 (transl.: LCL 28). In Athenæus's *Deipnosophistai* (3.125) the Alexandrian grammarian (fl. in the early 2nd century CE) Callistratus is cited to that effect.

⁸¹⁴ "These drink the snows, those the ices, and the pains of the mountains, they turn into the delight of the throat; and the cold is preserved for the heat." From Bartholin, *De nivis usu*, cap. 14, p. 92, a citation from Pliny, *Natural History*, 19.14.57; transl.: LCL 371.

⁸¹⁵ "That only large crystal cups be rubbed by my lips and my Falernian blacken snow." From Bartholin, *De nivis usu*, cap. 14, p. 92, a citation from the Roman poet Marcus Valerius Martialis (Martial, c. 38/41–c. 103/4 CE), *Epigrammata*, 9.22.7–8; transl.: LCL 95, p. 245.

⁸¹⁶ "Ingenious thirst has invented a way of not drinking snow but drinking water fresh from snow." From Bartholin, *De nivis usu*, cap. 14, pp. 92–93, Mather cites Martial, *Epigrammata*, 14.117; transl.: LCL 480, p. 279.

Hence, in the ordinary *Apparatus* for a Table, there was *Alica cum Mulso et Nive*.⁸¹⁷ And the following Ages, have Imitated that Ancient Custom; how tis now used among both the *Eastern & Western Parts of Europe*, as well as in *Asia*, were too long a business to be now related. You may Read something of it, in *Bartholin. de Nivis Usu*. Chap. 14.⁸¹⁸

[△] [△Insert ends]

[47r]

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Q. Who is he that *boasteth himself of a false Gift*? v. 14.

A. He who *talks* of giving, but never *does* it.⁸¹⁹

1236.

Q. How does a *soft Tongue break the Bone*? v. 15.

A. The Original may be rendred, *A Man of Bone*; that is, (*Virum durissimum et rigidissimum*) a very Stiff, & Hard Sort of Man;⁸²⁰ a Man as inflexible as a *Bone*.

May not here be an Allusion to some *Oyls*, which are *soft* Things, but famous, for piercing the *Bone*?

Solomon might now have in his Eye, the Impression which the *soft Tongue* of his Father *David*, once made upon *Saul*.

Q. About the *Eating of Honey* immediately? v. 16.

A. Old *Bernard* saw this in it. *Potest hoc in Loco non incongruè Mellis nomine Favor humane laudis intelligi*.⁸²¹ We eat moderately of *Praise*, when we see the good Will of our Friend in it, & give God the Glory of it. Immediately when we have our Heart sett upon it, & in our Wayes aim at that alone.⁸²²

[47v]

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Q. *Withdraw they Foot from thy Neighbours House*? v. 17.

A. The common & obvious Interpretation, is to remain undisturbed.

⁸¹⁷ "Barley-water, some sweet wine and snow." From Bartholin, *De nivis usu*, cap. 14, p. 93, Mather cites the Roman politician and prose writer Pliny the Younger (Plinius, 61/62–c. 113/115 CE), *Epistulae*, 1.15.3; transl.: LCL 55.

⁸¹⁸ See Thomas Bartholin, *De nivis usu*, cap. 14. pp. 88–97.

⁸¹⁹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 576.

⁸²⁰ "A most hardened and rigid man." The source for this translation could not be found.

⁸²¹ "In this place by honey may be understood, not unfitly, the favour of humane praise." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 582), a citation from Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones de diversis*, sermo 83 [PL 183. 700: *Opera* 6a]; transl.: Jermin.

⁸²² Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 582.

The perpetual Experiment of the World, mentioned by R. *Levi Gershom*, will Illustrate it. The Delightfullest Things, *grata non sunt, nec optata, nisi distinctis Intervallis obtineantur*.⁸²³

But then, I'll mention a mystical Curiosity of *Nilus*, in his *Asceticum*; who thus applies this Passage. *Nec duos quidem hominem sapientem habere vult Pedes, sed unum tantum, eumque rarò ad res corporeas movere*.⁸²⁴ Bodily Things here are our *Neighbours* upon Earth. A Christian must have but *one Foot*, and move little and seldome towards them.

Q. A *False Witness* compared unto a *Maul*, and a *Sword*, and a *sharp Arrow*? v. 18.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* conceives, that these Three Words refer to Three Hands. First, The Calumny, is a *Maul*, in the Hand of the *False Witness* himself; beating on the Neighbour, as a Block, who ha's no Remedy but to bear what is laid upon him. Secondly, Tis a *Sword*, in the Hand of *Justice*, inflicting a Punishment on the Sufferer which must go according to Evidence; Thirdly, Tis a *sharp Arrow*; An Affliction sent and shott from the Hand of God; His Providence & Permission, which pierces the Heart of the Sufferer with Sorrow.⁸²⁵

2506.

Q. That Passage, *The North Wind driveth away Rain, so doth an angry Countenance a Backbiting Tongue*: Is there not another Sense, that may be putt upon it? v. 23.

A. Perhaps this Proverb intimates unto us, how so much *Anger* comes to be produced, and why Men look upon one another with such an *Angry Countenance*.

Read it thus therefore. *The North Wind bringeth Rain, so doth a Backbiting Tongue bring an Angry Countenance*.

Q. The Evil of dwelling with a *Brawling Woman*? v. 24.

A. That Passage in the Blessing of *Joseph*, *The Archers have sorely grieved him, and vexed him, & hated him*; the Note of *Cajetane* upon it, is; *Res gesta adversus*

⁸²³ "[For it is in the nature of the human condition that those things which are] most delightful, are not acceptable and wished for, for unless they be enjoyed by some intercourse of time." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 582–83), a citation from Ralbag on Prov. 25:17; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 413; at this verse see *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, p. 157; transl. modified from Jermin.

⁸²⁴ "[Solomon] would not have a wise man to have two feet but one only, and to move that seldome unto bodily things." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 583), a citation from the treatise on monastic asceticism (*Logos asketikos*) by the Greek Church Father and follower of John Chrysostom, Nilus of Ancyra (the Elder, Nilus of Sinai, b. end of 4th cent., d. first half of 5th cent.), *Liber de monastica exercitatione* [PG 79. 735–38]; transl. modified from Jermin.

⁸²⁵ Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 583–84.

*Joseph ab Hero et Hera ipsus summarie tangitur.*⁸²⁶ *Josephs* Mistress was the Chief of the *Archers*. The *Shotts* made by such a Tongue are *grievous* Things.

Dr. *Jermyn* is willing, that what we read of a *Brawling Woman*, should be applied unto a Galling and a Troubled *Conscience*. And surely, tis better to dwell in a mean Condition, with Quietness of Mind, than with an uneasy Conscience.⁸²⁷

[▽48v] [▽Insert from 48v]⁸²⁸

Q. Is there no patheticall at least Improvement, or Allusion, to bee made of that Proverb; *A Righteous Man falling before the Wicked, is as a Troubled Fountain, & a Corrupt Spring?* v. 26.

A. I have seen it carried, unto the Examples of Scandals, in eminent & notable Professors of Religion. Some have made such a Profession of *Righteousness*, that much Observation ha's been taken of them; others have been ready to think, *surely Christianity is just such a thing as the Lives of these Men do represent it*. Now the *Falls* of these Men before the *Wicked*, when the *Wicked* see these *fall* into Sin, are just, as if one should throw *Poison* into the *Well*, that all the Town is to fetch *Water* at. So were the Heathen of old *poisoned*, when they said, *Christiani sancte vixissent, si Christus sancta docuisset.*⁸²⁹ *Solomon* had seen a prodigious instance, in the *Falls* of *David*, his *Righteous* Father.

Dr. *Jermyn* apprehends this to be the Meaning of this Passage. The *Judge* is as it were a *Troubled Fountain*, and a *Corrupt Spring*, when the Cause of the *Righteous falls* before him, & the *Righteous* can't have Justice done him.⁸³⁰

Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase takes in almost all the Glosses.

"A truly Religious, Just, & Charitable Man, is such a Blessing unto all about him, that they suffer no less, when he is oppressed (and thrown out of Authority) by wicked Men, or when he disgraces himself by any foul Sin, or loses his Courage & dares not oppose Impiety; than they do, when Dirt & Filth

⁸²⁶ "That which was done against *Joseph* by his Master & Mistresse is briefly touched." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 590), a citation from Thomas Cajetan, *Parabola Salomonis* at this verse; transl.: Jermin. See Gen. 49:23.

⁸²⁷ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 590.

⁸²⁸ See Appendix B.

⁸²⁹ "The Christians would have lived a holy life if Christ had taught (them) holy things." See the theologian Salvian of Marseille (the Presbyter, Salvianus Massiliensis, after 400–after 465), *De gubernatione Dei*, lib. 4, cap. 17 [PL 53. 90; SC 220]; a work wrestling with the theological problem of how to explain the collapse of the Roman Empire shortly after its rulers embraced Christianity. This entry is either re-used in or taken from the *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), lib. 7, cap. 1, p. 6. Here the quote appears in the context of Mather's account of how "Sometimes in this Country, there have been Prodigious and Astonishing *Scandals* given, by the Extraordinary *Miscarriages* of some that have made a more than ordinary *Profession of Religion*; and incredible *Temptation* has hereby been laid before the minds of Multitudes."

⁸³⁰ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 592.

is cast into a public Fountain, or a Spring is stopped up, or corrupted & made useless.”⁸³¹

Mr. *Burroughs* in a Sermon brings this Proverb, to illustrate that Principle of Grace, & Life, in godly Men, which works out the Sin that is in them. If a *Fountain* be *troubled* with Dirt and Filth cast into it, it looks as dirty & filthy as any Puddle. For the Present, you can see no Difference between that, and the worst of Puddles. But stay a while; & you shall see, a Fountain having a living Spring in it, will work out all the Dirt & Filth in a little time.⁸³²

[△Insert ends]

[△]

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[47v]

Q. Wee so read the Proverb, *It is not good to eat much Honey so for Men to search their own Glory, is not Glory*: How do *you* read it? v. 27.

A. The Danger of a godly Man insinuating himself into the Friendship of a wicked Man, I take to bee the Design of these Words. Observe the Context; *A Righteous Man falling down before the Wicked* (in a Way of Honour to him) *is as a Troubled Fountain, & a Corrupt Spring* (hee will bee as much Defiled & Disgraced by it as the limpid Water is; by one that with his Dirty Feet shall muddy it.) Altho’ I confess I have elsewhere chosen another Sense for those Words; yett in *this* lett them stand here to bring in what followes.⁸³³ *It is not good for a Man to eat much Honey*; however *Honey* please our Palate yett excessively taken, it causes Torments and Vomites. Thus, *For Men to seek after the Glory of those*; that is, of the Wicked before mentioned; this is *not Glory*; which, *Not*, is to bee fetched out of the former Member of the Proverb, & intimates, that the thing here spoken is Uncomely, Unhandsome, Disreputable. Here then is a Paraphrase for you. Altho’ the State of a *Wicked* Man seem *glorious* & like *Honey* flatter your Appetite with a grateful Relish, yett if a *Righteous* Man, will go to Acquaint himself with it, hee shall thereby get no *Glory*, but the Impious with whom hee would have been acquainted will Reject him, as they who have taken

⁸³¹ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 439.

⁸³² A reference to the work of Jeremiah Burroughs, *The Difference between the Spots of the Godly and the Wicked* (1668), p. 40. Trained at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, under Thomas Hooker, the Puritan minister Burroughs (c. 1600–1646) was suspended and deprived of his ministry in 1637, and went to Rotterdam to serve an English Independent Congregation there. In 1640 he returned to England and became a prominent and politically active pastor of two of the largest congregations in England: Stepney and St. Giles, Cripplegate. As a member of the Westminster Assembly, Burroughs was a leading representative of Congregationalism (*ODNB*). Of his many published sermons, biblical commentaries, and devotional works several are known to have been owned by the Mathers. The sermon cited here was in the Harvard library. The paragraphs taken from Jermin, Patrick, and Burrough each appear in different inks and were probably written at different periods of time.

⁸³³ Probably a reference to Mather’s reading of Prov. 25:26 in the *Magnalia*; see the footnote on that verse above.

in too much *Honey*, soon turn it out again. Whether this bee the true Sense of the Proverb or no, I am sure, t'wil hurt no good Man to take the *Admonition*.

[48r]

Q. A Further Gloss on this obscure Passage, of *eating much Honey, & searching of Glory?* v. 27.

A. The Original goes directly thus. *To eat much honey is not good; but the Searching of the Glory of them is Glory.* To whom shall we refer the Particle, *Them?* Dr. *Jermyn* conceives, tis to be understood of Them, who are *glorious* for their worthy Doings. Tho' *Honey* which is very sweet, may be too much eaten of, & then tis *not good*; yett the *Glory* of worthy Persons can't easily be sett forth too much. The *Searching* it out, where their Modesty does conceal it, is a *Glory* to them that do it; and it also makes them yet more *glorious* in striving to deserve it, who are so honoured by it.⁸³⁴

He proceeds, That in Chap. XXIV.13. we read, *my Son, eat thou Honey, because it is good.* It followes, *so shall the Knowledge of Wisdome be unto thy Soul.* In like Manner here; we may take the Word, *Them*, which followes after, *Honey*, to mean the Words of *Wisdom*. The *Glory* of them in the Hidden Mysteries which ly in them, and the Glorious Excellencies, treasured in them. The *Searching into them*, is *Glory*. A Painful Seeking after them, cannot be Hurtful. Tho' the following of sensual Delights may quickly be too much; and be no more *good* for us, than the Eating of too much *Honey*. The *Jewish Rabbins* go this Way in expounding the Verse.⁸³⁵

De Dieu connects this Verse with the former; and by rendring, BUT, the Particle which we render, SO, as it is often taken in the Scripture, it runs incomparably well.⁸³⁶ His Translation is this. *To eat much honey is not good, but to search out their Glory* [namely, that of Just Men,] *is Glory.* The Sense is, "Tho' the Just may be trampled under foot, for a while, by the Wicked, yett their Glory shall not perish; but remain so fresh and sweet, that it shall be a glorious thing to enquire into their glorious Actions."⁸³⁷

If we take this Verse by itself, the Belgick Interpreters have given us a good Explication of it.

⁸³⁴ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 593.

⁸³⁵ Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 593–94; see the rabbinic glosses on this verse *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 420–21; and Rashi in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, p. 160, at Prov. 25:27: "To eat honey to excess. The topic symbolizes one who expounds on the account of the Merkavah and the account of the Creation to the public; the ignoramuses will ridicule the words and ask what is above and what is below." Rashi refers to the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Hagigah 14b (Soncino, p. 91).

⁸³⁶ From Patrick (*Proverbs* 427), a citation from de Dieu, *Animadversiones*, pp. 177–78.

⁸³⁷ From Patrick (*Proverbs* 428); see de Dieu, *Animadversiones*, pp. 177–78.

*To eat much honey is not good; but to search into excellent things is a great Commendation; & we cannot therein easily offend by Excess.*⁸³⁸

[the entries from 48v were inserted into their designated places]⁸³⁹

⁸³⁸ From Patrick (*Proverbs* 428), see de Dieu, *Animadversiones*, pp. 177–78. De Dieu refers to the marginal note on this verse in the Dutch Bible translation called the *Statenvertaling* (“translation of the States”), which was ordered by the States General at the Synod of Dort (1618–1619) and printed in 1637.

⁸³⁹ See Appendix A.

Q. On what account is a *Causeless Curse* compared unto a *Wandering Bird*, and a *Flying Swallow*? v. 2.

A. Should any one appoint the *Flying Bird*, where to go, or where to rest, what would *his* Appointment signify? As insignificant an Attempt for any one to assign, where a *Causeless Curse* shall fall.⁸⁴⁰

The Two Words here, *Bochart* proves, that they signify, A *Sparrow*, and, a *Wild-Pigeon*.⁸⁴¹

Melanchthon, by *Curses* here understands *Calumnies*, which will not rest long on a good Man before they are confuted.⁸⁴²

Q. Why is it said, *A Bridle for the Ass*, when it is said, *A Whip for the Horse*, and a *Rod for the Fools Back*? v. 3.

A. Truly; A *Bridle* seems to have little Analogy, with a *Whip*, and a *Rod*, considering the Uses of them. The Poet also tells us, how little proper, a *Bridle* is for an *Ass*;

*Infelix Operam perdas, ut si quis Asellum
In Campo doceat perantem currere Frænis.*⁸⁴³

Indeed *Lucians Ass* had a *golden Bridle*; (and out of him, *Apuleius*;) but that was only for *Pomp*, when they understood him to be a *Rational Ass*.⁸⁴⁴

Bochart saies (and proves it,) That what wee render, *A Bridle*, here, is to be rendred, *A Goad*; an Instrument of Stimulation. Hence *Justin Martyr*, in his Epistle to *Zena*, κατὰ τον προφήτην κεντριστέον μὲν τον ὄνον, μαστικτέον δε τον ἵππον. *Juxtà Prophetam Stimulandus quidam Asinus, et Flagellandus Equus*.⁸⁴⁵ And *Kimchi* saies, Tis a *Stimulus ferrens extremo Ligno infixus, quo Asinum pungunt ad accelerandum eum*.⁸⁴⁶

⁸⁴⁰ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 596.

⁸⁴¹ From Patrick (*Proverbs* 441), a citation from *Bochart*, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 1, *Praefatio ad lectorem*, unpaginated.

⁸⁴² From Patrick (*Proverbs* 442), a reference to *Melanchthon*, *Explicatio Proverbiorum*, cap. 26, pp. 63–64.

⁸⁴³ “Would it be as fruitless a waste of effort, as if one were to train an ass to race upon the campus obedient to the rein?” From *Bochart*, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 18, p. 224, a citation from Horace, *Satires*, 1.1.90–91; transl.: *LCL* 194, p. 11.

⁸⁴⁴ References to the two most famous novels of antiquity: *Lucius or the Ass* (ch. 48), a work of disputed authorship but traditionally attributed to Lucian of Samosata (c. 125–after. 180 CE), and the *Metamorphoses* or *The Golden Ass* (ch. 19) by Apuleius (c. 124–c. 170 CE).

⁸⁴⁵ “According to the prophet, the donkey must be goaded and the horse must be whipped.” From *Bochart*, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 18, p. 224, a citation from Pseudo-Justin, *Epistula ad Zenam et Serenum* [PG 6. 1199].

⁸⁴⁶ “A spur fastened upon the end of a wood beam, with which they goad the donkey to make

[▽Insert from 50r–50v]⁸⁴⁷

[▽50r–50v]

Q. How must we *Answer not a Fool according to his Folly*, and yett *Answer a Fool according to his Folly*? v. 5.

A. For *not Answering* take old *Cyprians* Account of the Matter. *Certè Labor irritus est, & nullius Effectus, offerre Lumen Cæco, Sermonem Surdo, Sapientiam Bruto, quum nec sentire Brutus possit, nec Cæcus Lumen admittere, nec Surdus audire.*⁸⁴⁸ Try to offer Light to the Blind, Speech to the Deaf, Wisdom to a Brute.

His Direction therefore elsewhere is; *Tales non per Orationem, sed per Correctionem potius revincendi sunt.*⁸⁴⁹ Which makes a Connexion between this Verse & the former.

Or, The Meaning may be, that the Foolish Words of a Fool, are not to be regarded; but look'd on, as unworthy of an Answer. Thus *Athanasius* understood the Verse, writing to *Serapion*, & citing this Verse, and saying, *Responsio quæ maximè vobis convenit, Silentium est, ut vestram ipsorum Insaniam agnoscatis.*⁸⁵⁰

But then to Reconcile the Two Directions. *Jerom* saies, *utrumque pro Temporum et Personarum diversitate concordant.*⁸⁵¹

Many, not being answered, have a strong Perswasion, that they cannot be answered. This is a Property sometimes of a *Fool*. Now *Answer such a Fool*, that he may not fancy that he keeps the Field, and is victorious. But if thou answer him, lett it be *According to his Folly*; that is to say, in such a Manner as to declare his *Folly* and Error unto him. *According to HIS Folly*; But then, as the *Chaldee* reads it, *loquere cum Stulto in Sapientiâ Tuâ*; –⁸⁵²

Cyprian thus reads these two Verses. *Noli respondere insipienti ad insipientiam ipsius, sed responde insipienti contrà insipientiam ipsius.*⁸⁵³

him go faster." From Bochart, *Hierozycon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 18, p. 224, a citation attributed to Kimchi (Radak); at this verse see *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, p. 161, at Prov. 26:3.

⁸⁴⁷ See Appendix B.

⁸⁴⁸ "Doubtless it is labour lost and fruitless pains, to offer light to the blind, speech to the deaf, wisdom to a beast; whereas neither can the blind see, nor the deaf hear, nor the beast understand." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 597), a citation from Cyprian of Carthage, *Ad Demetrianum* [PL 4. 545; CCL 3A]; transl.: Jermin.

⁸⁴⁹ "Such are to be confuted not by elocution but by correction rather." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 598), a citation from Pseudo-Cyprian, *De singularitate clericorum* [PL 4. 852; CSEL 3.3]; transl.: Jermin.

⁸⁵⁰ "The answer which best fits you is silence, that so you may acknowledge your own madness." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 598), a citation from the Bishop of Alexandria and one of the main theologians at the Council of Nicaea (325 CE) Athanasius (c. 295–373), *Epistolae ad Serapionem*, epist. 4, *De Sancto Spiritu* [PG 26. 639–40; SC 15]; transl.: Jermin.

⁸⁵¹ "Both do agree according to the difference of times and persons." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 598), a citation from Jerome, *Commentarii in Ezechielem*, lib. 1 [PL 25. 26; CCL 75]; transl.: Jermin.

⁸⁵² "But speak with a fool in your wisdom." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 598), a citation from the Targum on Prov. 26:5; see also Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:380); *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 423; see *The Targum of Proverbs* at this verse; transl.: Jermin.

⁸⁵³ "Answer not a fool according to his folly, but answer a fool contrary to his folly." From

[50v]

Q. He that *sends a Message by the hand of a Fool*, how does he *cutt off the Feet*, and how *Drink Damage*? v. 6.

A. King *Theodoricus* had a true Saying; *omnis Legatio Virum sapientem requirit*.⁸⁵⁴ But he that employes a *Fool*, first, he *cutts off the Feet*; that is, he had as good have sent no body; he whose feet are cutt off, cannot go. And, he *Drinks Damage*, or, *Violence*; that is, he shall receive an Answer as Disagreeable to him, as when he drinks what agrees not with him, or forces himself to drink something that is contrary to his Stomach.⁸⁵⁵ *Munsters Gloss* is, *Irritat illum ad quem destinat stultum Nuncium*.⁸⁵⁶

Dr. *Jermyn* makes a more spiritual Application of this Passage. The *Messages* we send unto the great God, are our *Prayers*. If we send them, by the hand of a *Fool*, either of Carelessness, or of Unbeleef in our Devotion, we *cutt off the Feet* of our Prayers; they don't reach Heaven; yea, and we *drink Damage*, procure a Curse to ourselves instead of a Blessing.⁸⁵⁷

Q. On what account it is said, *The Legs of the Lamé are not equal, so is a Parable in the Mouth of Fools*? v. 7.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* observes, that our Translation, wherein we follow *Pagnine*,⁸⁵⁸ & some of the Rabbins, he does not see how it stands up right. The Original is, *Take away the Legs from the Lamé*; That is, lett not the *Lamé* shew himself in going; lett him not *walk* to shew how *lamé* he is; Thus lett not a *Fool* take a *Proverb* into his Mouth, & shamefully shew his *lamé* Using of it.⁸⁵⁹

Dr. *Patrick* so paraphrases. "A wise Saying as ill becomes a Fool, as Dancing does a Cripple; for as his Lameness never so much appears, as when he would seem Nimble, so the others Folly is never so ridiculous as when he would seem wise."⁸⁶⁰

[△] [△Insert ends]

[49r]

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Jermin (*Proverbs* 598), a citation from Pseudo-Cyprian, *De singularitate clericorum* [PL 4. 852; CSEL 3.3]; transl.: Jermin.

⁸⁵⁴ "Every embassy requires a wise man." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 599), a reference from King Theoderic the Great in Cassiodorus, *Variae*, lib. 2, epist. 6 [PL 69. 547; CCSL 96]; transl.: Jermin.

⁸⁵⁵ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 599.

⁸⁵⁶ "He provokes that person to whom he sends the foolish messenger." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4335).

⁸⁵⁷ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 599.

⁸⁵⁸ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 600), a reference to Santes Pagninus, *Sacra Biblia variorum translationum* at this verse.

⁸⁵⁹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 600.

⁸⁶⁰ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 450.

Q. *As hee that Bindeth a Stone in a Sling, so is hee that giveth Honour to a Fool?*
v. 8.⁸⁶¹

A. *Mars* is no other than *Mechares*, hee that *maketh or useth Weapons of War*, in the first Original of the Name. The *Sabine* Word *Quiris*, was from the same Root, *Charash*, & signified a *Spear*, as *Ovid* saies,

– *Hasta Quiris priscis est dicta Sabinis*.⁸⁶²

Thus, *Quirites*, is as much as to say, *Hastati*, who were a particular Order of Souldiers, as *Livy* tells us, in the *Roman* Camps. Indeed, the *Roman* affairs, were generally of an oriental Original. And here, by retaining the Guttural, as in *Quiris*, is the Latin *Mercurius*; with an Addition of *Mar*, signifying, a *Prince*, or, *Lord*: as much as to say, *Mar Chores*, the *Chief Engineer*, or, *Chief Deviser*; as *Mercury* was accounted, the God of Subtilty, Stratagem, and Invention. Hee is called in Greek, ἐρμῆς, that is, *Haarami*, the *Assyrian* God, whom they worshipped by casting of *Stones*: to which this Place in the Proverbs, is thought by the most learned & skilful of the Jewish Interpreters, to refer. Here, the Word, *Margemah*, which wee translate, *A Sling*, is to bee Interpreted, *Acervus Lapidum*,⁸⁶³ and thus the Vulgar Latin renders it, *sicut qui mittit Lapidem in Acervum Mercurii*.⁸⁶⁴ q. d. To give *Honour unto a Fool*, hath some Resemblance & Agreement with *Idolatry*; tis the Placing Honour on a False Object. These Heaps of Stones, were by the Greeks, called, ἑρμακες, and, ἑρμαῖοι λόφοι. The Statues of *Mercury* himself, were by the Greeks called, ἑρμαί, and by *Cornelius Nepos*, *Hermiæ*.⁸⁶⁵ See *Turners*, *Boaz* & *Ruth*.

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Q. But Notion about the *Heap of Stones*; we may carry it at little further?

A. By, *A Stone*, here may be meant a *precious Stone*, a *Jewel*. And, *Zehner* notes, That when a Man was executed among the *Jewes* of old, for capital Crimes, a

⁸⁶¹ The following entry is derived from the work of the Church of England scholar John Turner (b. 1649/50), Hospitaller of St. Thomas in Southwark, and fellow of Christ College in Cambridge, *Boaz and Ruth: a Disquisition upon Deut. 25, 5* (1685), pp. 347–49. Turner wrote his book as a response to John Selden. Some of the citations can also be found in John Selden, *De diis Syris syntagmata II* (1617), pars 2, cap. 14, pp. 260–63. The English polymath John Selden (1584–1654) was best known as a legal and constitutional scholar, but he also wrote important comparative studies on pagan mythology (ODNB).

⁸⁶² “Because the ancient Sabines called a spear *curis* [quiris].” From Turner, *Boaz and Ruth*, p. 348, a citation from Ovid, *Fasti*, 2.477; transl.: LCL 253, p. 91.

⁸⁶³ “A heap of stones.” Turner, *Boaz and Ruth*, p. 349.

⁸⁶⁴ “As if one throws a stone into a heap of mercury.” Compare the VUL, *Douay-Rheims Bible*; citation in Turner, *Boaz and Ruth*, p. 349; also in Selden, *De diis Syris syntagmata II*, pars 2, cap. 14, pp. 260–63, here: p. 260.

⁸⁶⁵ From Turner, *Boaz and Ruth*, p. 349, Mather refers to the work of the Roman historian and biographer Cornelius Nepos (c. 100–c. 25 BCE), *De viris illustribus*, *Alcibiades*, 3.2 (LCL 467).

great *Heap of Stones*, did use to be raised on their *Bodies*, or their *Ashes*.⁸⁶⁶ [Josh. 7.25, 26. Josh. 8.29. Josh. 10.27.] All People shunn'd such Places, as unworthy, & indeed ominous, to have the least Respect shown unto them. To cast a *Jewel* on such an *Heap of Stones*, would be an unseemly thing indeed! But as *unseemly* to give *Honour unto a Fool*. *Kimchi's* Gloss is, *Perindè facit si Lapidem de acerva sumptum includat Auro*.⁸⁶⁷ But if we keep only to the plain Metaphor, of a *Stone in a Sling*; such a *Stone* is to be thrown away; And the *Honour given to a Fool* is also thrown away. A *Stone putt into a Sling*, is thrown up on High, which is against the Nature of it: It is unnatural to give Honour unto a Fool, and sett him on High. A *Stone putt into a Sling* does Hurt; And much Hurt is done by a *Fool* advanced unto *Honour*.⁸⁶⁸

Or, if we go to *Mercury*; This *Mercury* was but a Statue. He that supports a *Fool* with Honour, supports but a *Stone*, a meer Statue of a Man.⁸⁶⁹

Aquinas by the Direction of *Mercury*, goes another Way; The Gentiles ascribed the Skill of *Accountantship* to *Mercury*. The *Heap of Mercury* therefore is, *Cumulus Ratiocinii*,⁸⁷⁰ the *Heap of Counters*, which lies by the Merchant in casting up his Account. Here, one *Stone* perhaps lies for an Hundred Marks. Thus tis when a *Fool* is honoured & putt into Office.⁸⁷¹

Q. What is the *Meaning*, and what the *Reason* of that Expression, *As a Thorn goeth up into the Hand of a Drunkard, so is a Parable in the Mouth of Fools*? v. 9.

A. It was the Custome of the Jewes, to sew their *Garments* with *Thorns*; but if a Man were Drunk, hee would only wound and gore himself, when hee should sew his Clothes. Thus, there is that *Ignorance* or *Disturbance* of Spirit in a *Fool*, which will make him to misapply a Matter, unto quite other Purposes, than what are proper to it.⁸⁷²

Q. How that Passage to be taken, *The great God, who formed all things, both Rewards the Fool, & Rewards Transgressors*? v. 10.

A. The Translation which *Tremelius* gives us, is; *He much grieveth all, who rewards the Fool, and rewards Passengers*.⁸⁷³ It is a public Damage, that they who

⁸⁶⁶ Taken from Zehner, *Adagia*, adagium 73, pp. 185–87.

⁸⁶⁷ “He acts as if he covered in gold a stone taken from the heap.” From Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4335), a citation from Kimchi (Radak).

⁸⁶⁸ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 601.

⁸⁶⁹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 601.

⁸⁷⁰ “The heap of the counter.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 601), a citation from Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae, Secunda Secundae Partis*, qu. 63, art. 3.

⁸⁷¹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 601.

⁸⁷² Mather derives this entry from the work of the prominent English Presbyterian minister and Westminster divine Thomas Manton (1620–1677), *A Treatise of Self-Denial*, lib. 1, p. 28, in *A third Volume of Sermons* (1689), a collection of diverse works that are separately paginated.

⁸⁷³ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 603), a transl. of the marginal comment on Prov. 26:10 by Tremelius in the *Biblia Sacra*, p. 165.

Deserve Ill, as *Fools*, or they who Deserve Nothing, as *Passengers*, should be rewarded, & sett in Honour; which is due to the Wise and Laborious.⁸⁷⁴

Indeed, the Word, GOD, is not in the Original. The Word, *Rab*, signifies, a *Master* in any Art. The *Lutherans*, with *Melanchthon*, carry it thus; *A Master in his Art formes all things excellently well. But he that hires a Fool* [or Bungler] *gives his Money to have his Work spoiled.*⁸⁷⁵

Q. How a Sinner *like a Dog returning to his Vomit*? v. 11.

A. A Fool follows his Folly with a canine Appetite. The *Dog* eating again, what he had *vomited*, shewes, that it was not the Meat which his Stomach rejected, but that he felt a *Pain* by it, which made him throw it up. Thus, the *Fool returning to his Folly*, shewes, that he Disliked not the *Folly*, but only some Trouble he suffered from it.⁸⁷⁶

|
Q. *As Coals to burning Coals, & Wood to Fire*? v. 21.

A. Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase is this:

“Avoid an angry Man, who is hard to please, and apt to find Fault with every thing; for provoking Language, as quickly passes into Quarrels, as Dead Coals do into Burning, or Wood into Fire, when they are laid upon them.”⁸⁷⁷

Q. *Tale-bearing*? v. 22.

A. Even good and great Men have been too ready to receive Impressions from it. *Bernard* ha's a Saying, *Hujus callidissima Vulpecula magnorum nominem comperi satis cavisse Versutias.*⁸⁷⁸

Words of Talebearer are Wounds,

h. e.⁸⁷⁹ they are intended to *wound* the Reputation of the Person spoken of; And if the *Talebearer* can find no Occasion for reproaching him in his Conduct; His *Words will go down into the innermost Part of the Body*, h. e. will enfuse the Disposition of that Mind, & condemn their Designs.⁸⁸⁰

Q. *Burning Lips & a Wicked Heart*? v. 23.

⁸⁷⁴ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 603.

⁸⁷⁵ From Patrick (*Proverbs* 445), a citation from Melanchthon, *Explicatio Proverbiorum*, cap. 26, p. 65. See also Zehner, *Adagia*, adagium 69, pp. 177–79.

⁸⁷⁶ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 603.

⁸⁷⁷ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 455.

⁸⁷⁸ “I have not found any great man to have taken heed sufficiently of the subtlety of this most crafty fox.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 611), a citation from Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione*, lib. 2, cap. 14 [PL 152. 758; *Opera* 3]; transl. modified from Jermin

⁸⁷⁹ H. e., “hoc est,” “that is,” “that is to say,” “namely.”

⁸⁸⁰ This paragraph is in a different, more ornate handwriting, similar to that appearing in other parts of the manuscript. On this, see the third section of the Introduction.

A. One Instance Dr. *Jermyn* gives of it, is this; A *wicked Heart*, that yett ha's *Lips Burning* in Words of Devotion to God; *Burning* in Words of Affection to Godliness; *Burning* in Words of Charity to the Poor.⁸⁸¹

Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase is this.

“Ill and angry Language, sutes as well with Ill Will as Silver Dross with a Piece of a Broken Pott; and he that studies to hide his Hatred under most affectionate Words, will as certainly be Detected & Vilified, as a Potsherd that makes a fair Shew at a Distance, when it is covered meerly with the Scum of Silver.”⁸⁸²

[the entries from 50r–50v were inserted into their designated places]

⁸⁸¹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 612. See Appendix A.

⁸⁸² Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 456. The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

Q. *Let a Stranger praise thee, & not thy own Lips.* Is there any other Translation of that Advice, which you can recommend, as a good Advice to your Friends? v. 2.

A. A *Stranger*: sometimes the Hebrew Word, here used, signifies, *An Enemy*. It is our Duty so to carry ourselves, that even our *Enemies* may be forced to speak well of us.⁸⁸³

Be sure, *Gregorie* saies well; *Qui se vanè extollunt, verè deficiunt.*⁸⁸⁴

And, as Dr. *Jermyn* expresses it; "Praise is a Rich Treasure; but it never makes thee Rich, unless another tell the Summ."⁸⁸⁵

Q. A *Fools Wrath*, how *heavier* than a *Stone*, *weightier* than the *Sand*? v. 3.

A. Tho' a *Stone* be heavy, yett it may be removed; Tho' the *Sand* be weighty, yett it may be diminished.⁸⁸⁶

But a *Fools Wrath*, – tis truly said by *Seneca*; *Irascitur vel ipsi Veritati, si contrà Voluntatem apparuerit.*⁸⁸⁷

¶14.

Q. How understand you, the *Envy*, before which, the *Wise Man* intimates, that none *can stand*? v. 4.

A. As tis commonly understood. But, I have seen, a *zelous* Performance of Duties, & Encounter with the Difficulties, pressed after this Manner; *I will take leave, so to translate the Words of the Wise Man in Prov. 27.4.*⁸⁸⁸

Q. The true Reading of that Proverb; *Faithful are the Wounds of a Friend, but the Kisses of an Enemy are deceitful*? v. 6.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* objects, The Word which we render, *Deceitful*, does not signify so. But our Translators were overperswaded so to render it, that they might carry on an Opposition to the Word, *Faithful*, in the former Part of the Verse. He

⁸⁸³ נִכְרִי [nokri] "foreign, strange; foreigner, stranger." See Prov. 16:2; 21:2.

⁸⁸⁴ "They that praise themselves vainly, are truly wanting in worth." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 618), a citation from Gregory the Great, *In librum primum Regum*, lib. 5, cap. 4 [PL 79. 381; CCSL 144]; transl.: Jermin.

⁸⁸⁵ Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 617–18. The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁸⁸⁶ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 618.

⁸⁸⁷ "It is enraged against the truth itself if this is shown to be contrary to its desire." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 618), a citation from Seneca, *De ira*, 1.19.1; transl.: LCL 214.

⁸⁸⁸ Compare the reflections on envy in the Preface to Mather's *Bonifacius*, ed. Levin, pp. 10–11. See Appendix A.

chuses therefore to render the Verse thus; *The Wounds of a Friend are to be nourished, the Kisses of an Enemy are to be pray'd against.* The Original, translated, *Faithful, / נֶאֱמָנִים* /⁸⁸⁹ it may well be rendered, from the prime Signification of it; *Nutrienda.*⁸⁹⁰ *The Wounds of a Friend, are to be Cherished, and Thankfully Received.* The other Word, is by Tremelius rendred, *Deprecanda.*⁸⁹¹ Indeed Prayer is our best Defence against such Hellish Falsehood.⁸⁹²

Ambrose reads the Verse thus; *Amici Vulnera magis utilia sunt, quàm Voluntaria inimici Osculla.*⁸⁹³

Q. The Intent of that Passage; *Ointment & Perfume rejoice the Heart; so does the Sweetness of a Man's Friend by hearty Counsel?* v. 9.

A. Cassiodore saies well; *optima Medicina est Homo Homini.*⁸⁹⁴

The *Counsel of a Friend*, like *Ointment & Perfume*, will find an Entrance into the Soul. It will work upon the Heart, as that upon the Brain.⁸⁹⁵

The *Rabbins* read the latter Clause, *et Dulcedo amici sui præ consilio animæ.*⁸⁹⁶ The sweet Counsel which a Man ha's from his Faithful Friend, will be sweeter than what he ha's from his own Soul.

Dr. *Jermyn* ha's a Devout Thought on this Occasion. As among the Jewes, there was no *Oyl*, which did so *Rejoice the Heart* as that wherewith the *Kings* were anointed; no *Perfume* which did so *Rejoice the Heart*, as that which the *Priests* offered; Thus, there is no Friend so sweet as God; and no Counsel that so glads the Soul, as that which He gives in His Word; whereby we are made *Kings & Priests* unto Him.⁸⁹⁷

⁸⁸⁹ נֶאֱמָנִים [ne'emanim] "faithful are [the wounds of a friend]" (*ESV*); from נָמַץ, "support, nourish;" see Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 620

⁸⁹⁰ "To be nourished." See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 620; transl.: Jermin.

⁸⁹¹ "To be prayed against." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 620) cites Tremellius's Latin transl. of this verse in the *Biblia Sacra*, p. 165.

⁸⁹² See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 620.

⁸⁹³ "Goodwill makes wounds inflicted by a friend more beneficial than kisses given freely by an enemy." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 620), a citation from Ambrose, *De officiis ministrorum*, lib. 1, cap. 34 [PL 16. 74; *CCSL* 15]; transl.: Davidson, p. 219.

⁸⁹⁴ "The best medicine for man is man." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 623), a citation from the Breton diplomat, theologian and poet Peter of Blois (Petrus Blesensis, c. 1135– c. 1204), *De amicitia Christiana et de charitate Dei et proximi*, tract. 1, *De amicitia Christiana*, cap. 3 [PL 207. 875] which was published under Cassiodorus's name in his *Opera* (1650) as *Libri de amicitia*, p. 583; transl.: Jermin.

⁸⁹⁵ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 623.

⁸⁹⁶ "And the sweetness of his friend before the council of the soul." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 623), a citation from Rashi on Prov. 27:9; transl.: Jermin. See also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 445; Rashi at this verse in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, p. 169: "He whose friend draws him near with words is better than what his [own] soul advises him. Another explanation: *and the sweetness of his friend* – who improves his deeds, that they should be sweet to the Holy One, blessed be He, is better for him than gratifying the desires of his heart."

⁸⁹⁷ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 623.

Q. *Blessing the Friend with a loud Voice*, what? And how counted a *Curse*? v. 14.
 A. Dr. *Jermyn* so paraphrases upon it. To be the Means of lifting up another in Pride, or indeed of cherishing any Evil in another, is to bring a *Curse* upon ones self. Or, the *Curse* may also belong unto the Flattered Person too. Too great Praises given to a Man, bring many Inconveniences upon him.⁸⁹⁸ As *Munster* notes, from the irritated Envy of his Enemies.⁸⁹⁹

Damianus hath a Saying; *sæpè malignus Spiritus, velut Avis in ramo Arboris, sic in Linguâ ponitur adulantis.*⁹⁰⁰

Some apply this, to making too much Haste in praising Men; when it is, as we say, *but early days* with them, & they have made no Progress in those things for which they were commended. It is dangerous, to cry up Men too soon, before a sufficient Trial be made of them.⁹⁰¹

Q. How a *continual Dropping in a very Rainy Day*? v. 15.

A. The *Rain* abroad, will not lett People go abroad; this *Rain* at home discourages and indisposes a poor Man for coming home.⁹⁰² *Ambrose* cries out upon it, *Indigna est Conjugio, quæ digna est Jurgio.*⁹⁰³

Or, else, the *continual Dropping* may be understood of a Dropping thro' the House. In a *very Rainy Day*, a Man goes to his House for Safety: But if there the Rain also drop upon him, this is very grievous. Thus, a Man weary with affairs of the World, comes home to rest. If here a contentious Woman vex him, tis a very hard Case. That is *Levi Gershoms* Exposition.⁹⁰⁴

{2751:}

Q. What is the Meaning of that Passage, *Hee hideth the Oyntment of his Right Hand*? v. 16.

A. Read it, if you please, as my *Zehner* does: *He hides Wind, and Oyl, in his Right Hand*. It is impossible to *Hold* those things in your *Hand*. And the more you go to *Hold* & Squeeze them; the more do they break thro' your Fingers. The

⁸⁹⁸ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 627.

⁸⁹⁹ Compare Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4348).

⁹⁰⁰ "Ofentimes a wicked spirit, as it were a bird on a bough of a tree, sits on the tongue of a flatterer." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 627), a citation from the Italian Benedictine theologian and cardinal Peter Damian (Pier Damiani, 1006/7–1072), *Opuscula*, opusculum 50, *Institutio monialis*, cap. 8 [PL 145. 742]; transl.: Jermin.

⁹⁰¹ Patrick, *Proverbs*, pp. 464–65.

⁹⁰² See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 627.

⁹⁰³ "She is not worthy of wedlock who is worthy of chiding." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 628), a citation from Ambrose, *Epistolae*, epist. 63, *Ad Vercellensem ecclesiam* [PL 16. 1218; CSEL 82.3]; transl.: FC 26:361.

⁹⁰⁴ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 628), a citation from Ralbag on Prov. 27:15; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 450.

Attempts of any poor Man, to Restrain the Follies and Clamours of a *contentious Wife*, are as unsuccessful.⁹⁰⁵

Q. How does a *Man sharpen the Countenance of his Friend, as Iron sharpens Iron?* v. 17.

A. Dr. *Jermyn*, by *Countenance* here, would have *Anger* understood.⁹⁰⁶

Now tis true, a True Friend is hardly made Angry. *Cassiodore* saies truly, *Inhonestum est, Bellum cum eo gerere, quem tu Familiaritatis habuisti Secretarium.*⁹⁰⁷ Yett Hard Usage may move him, who is hardly moved. As *Iron* rubbed hard and often upon *Iron*, gives an Edge to it, so if a *Friend* be often Rubbed and Galled by unkind Dealing, this will also *sharpen his Countenance* to discontent and Anger.⁹⁰⁸

It is not said, *A Friend sharpens the Countenance of his Friend*; But, *A Man* does it. For, *Qui lædatur lædenti esse Amicus non desinit*, as *Cassiodore* has it.⁹⁰⁹ It is not he who is wronged but he who does the Wrong, that ceases to be a Friend.⁹¹⁰

Q. The Meaning of that, *As in Water Face answereth to Face, so the Heart of Man to Man?* v. 19.

A. Here are Three Things that answer to one another. First; The *Face* of Man is like to *Water*. As *Water* is Various, and Changeable; and is also soon Troubled; so is the Countenance of Man. Secondly. As the *Water* is a Looking-Glass, wherein to see the *Face*; thus the *Face* is a Looking-Glass, wherein to see the *Heart*. Thirdly; As the *Face answereth to the Face*, thus the *Heart* also, of Man to Man. The *Face* that Laugheth is answered with a Laughing Face; the *Face* that Weepeth, with a Weeping Face. In like manner, the Friendly *Heart* of Man, is answered with a Friendly *Heart*; the Froward *Heart* with a Froward *Heart*. As a Man deals with others, he must look that others will so deal with him.⁹¹¹

Dr. *Patrick* takes it so. The Inclinations & Designs of other Men, appear as plainly to the Mind of those that are wise, as their Faces appear to themselves in the Water.⁹¹²

⁹⁰⁵ See Zehner, *Adagia*, adagium 80, pp. 203–04.

⁹⁰⁶ Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 628–29.

⁹⁰⁷ “It is an unworthy thing to be at war with him, whom you have had as a secretary of familiarity.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 629), a citation from Peter of Blois, *De amicitia Christiana et de charitate Dei et proximi*, tract. 1, *De amicitia Christiana*, cap. 23 [PL 207. 893]; *Libri de amicitia* (1650), p. 559; transl.: Jermin.

⁹⁰⁸ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 628.

⁹⁰⁹ “He that is wronged ceases not to be a friend to him that does the wrong.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 629), a citation from Peter of Blois, *De amicitia Christiana et de charitate Dei et proximi*, tract. 1, *De amicitia Christiana*, cap. 24 [PL 207. 894]; *Libri de amicitia* (1650), p. 600; transl.: Jermin.

⁹¹⁰ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 629.

⁹¹¹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 630.

⁹¹² Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 478.

Q. How is *Praise* to a Man, like the *Fining Pott*, and the *Furnace*? v. 21.

A. The Heart of a Man is *melted* with the Joy of it. And the less of Worth, and Solidity, the sooner melted. A light Heart is blown up into a Vapour, & carried away with it. But one who is good Metal, is but made the more Pure and Fine, by being justly praised. The more he is praised, the more he will endeavour to deserve it, the more he will find out what is Dross in himself, & get it purged away.⁹¹³

When the *Praise* of another tries us, we should therefore make a severe Trial of ourselves. This was *Gregories* Advice; *Quum humanae Linguae attestazione laudamur, occultâ Pulsatione requirimur, quid de nobis ipsis sentiamus.*⁹¹⁴ His Advice being so good, we will ask him to expand this Proverb. Saies he, *sicut Aurum, si reprobum, Igne consumitur, si probum verò, Igne declaratur.*⁹¹⁵ So, he that is puffed up, when he hears his own Praise, he is but Bad Gold. *Quem Fornax Linguae consumpsit.*⁹¹⁶ But he that, hearing his own Praise, is careful that God may count him worthy of it, *et trepidus ad Conscientiam recurrens, quicquid illic Reprehensibile est, corrigit;*⁹¹⁷ what is he but Good Gold; *ex Purgationis Igne ad Magnitudinem Claritatis excrescens.*⁹¹⁸

Q. On that; *Be thou Diligent to know the State of thy Flocks*? v. 23.

A. *Beda* applies this to the Pastors of the Church; who should, *Animos Actusque singulorum agnoscere, et si quid in eis vitii invenerint, castigare.*⁹¹⁹

Q. *Milk enough, for thy Food, & for the Food of thy Household, & for the Maintenance of thy Maidens*? v. 27.

⁹¹³ Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 631–32.

⁹¹⁴ “For when we are commended by the witnessing of the human tongue, we are asked by a secret smiting what we think concerning our own selves.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 632), a citation from Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 22, cap. 8 [PL 76. 224; CCSL 143A]; transl.: *Morals on the Book of Job* (2:562).

⁹¹⁵ “As gold, if bad is by the fire consumed, if good is by the fire manifested.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 632), a citation from Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 22, cap. 8 [PL 76. 224; CCSL 143A]; transl.: Jermin.

⁹¹⁶ “Whom the furnace of the tongue consumed.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 632), a citation from Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 22, cap. 8 [PL 76. 225; CCSL 143A]; transl.: *Morals on the Book of Job* (2:564).

⁹¹⁷ “And with trembling running to his conscience, corrects whatsoever is there to be blamed.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 632), a citation from Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 22, cap. 8 [PL 76. 224; CCSL 143A]; transl.: Jermin.

⁹¹⁸ “By the fire of purgation increasing to a greater measure of brightness.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 632), a citation from Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 22, cap. 8 [PL 76. 225; CCSL 143A]; transl.: Jermin.

⁹¹⁹ “To know the dispositions and actions of everyone in particular, and if finding anything amiss in them, to correct it.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 634), a citation from Bede the Venerable, *Super parabolas Salomonis allegorica expositio*, lib. 3, cap. 27 [PL 91. 1019; CCSL 119B]; transl. modified from Jermin.

A. Tis the Style that *Homer* long since putt upon good Men: He calls them Γαλακταφάγους *Milk-Eaters*.⁹²⁰

Dr. *Jermyn* takes Notice of one thing here. *Solomon* speaks, of the same Diet for both *Master* and *Servants*. He plainly teaches, that *Servants* are to be well used; particularly in their *Diet*.⁹²¹

[52r] |

Q. *Goats-Milk?* v. 27.

A. They had abundance of them, and their Milk was in daily Use; both for Meat & for Medicine. The Ancients præferred it before all other, as most moderate & temperate. Thus *Galen* did; and so did *Paulus Aegineta*; who supposes it next unto *Breast-Milk*. *Bochart* conjectures, it was from hence, that *Jupiter*, a King in *Crete* about *Abrahams* Time, and afterwards made a mighty God of, has this reported of him; that he was nourished by a *Goat*; that is to say, by the best of Nourishments.⁹²²

[52v] | [blank]

⁹²⁰ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 636), a reference to Homer, *Iliad*, 13.6; transl. in context (*LCL* 171, p. 3): "... and of the Mysians that fight in close combat, and of the lordly Hippemolgi that drink the milk of mares, and of the Abii, the most righteous of men [γλακτοφάγων Ἀβίων τε δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων]"; see also Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, 1.6 [PG 8. 293–94; *GCS* 12; *Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae* 61]; transl. *ANF* 2:218: "Homer oracularly declares against his will, when he calls righteous men milk-fed [γαλακτοφαγοί]."

⁹²¹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 636.

⁹²² From Patrick (*Proverbs* 470), commentary from Bochart, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 51, p. 620. Reference is made to the work of famous Roman philosopher and physician Galen of Pergamon (Claudius Galenus, 129–c. 200/216 CE), *De alimentorum facultatibus* (*On the Properties of Foodstuffs*), 3.14.681–89 [*Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* V.4.2], and *De re medica libri septem* (*Medical Compendium in Seven Books*) by the seventh-century Byzantine Greek physician Paul of Aegina (Paulus Aegineta), lib. 1, cap. 86–88 [*Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* IX.1].

Q. *A poor Man oppressing the Poor?* v. 3.

A. *Lyra* expresses the Force of this Proverb in another. *Morsus Macri pediculi pessimus.*⁹²³

Q. The Wicked *praising of the Wicked?* v. 4.

A. Men are most ready to praise that in another, wherein they praise themselves.

Dr. *Jermyn* illustrates this Passage, with a Remark of *Ambrose* on those Words of our Saviour, *The Prince of this World cometh, and findeth nothing in me.*⁹²⁴ How could *Nothing* be found in Him, in whom dwelt the Fulness of the *Godhead* bodily, & from whom *Vertue* went forth and healed all? How could *Nothing* be found, *In Soliditate Virtutis, Ubertate Sapientiae, Integritate Justitiae?*⁹²⁵ He answers, *Non ergo Tu vacuus, sed ille cæcus, qui nescit nisi sua cernere, nescit nisi sua invenire.*⁹²⁶ He was *Blind*, who could see nothing, find nothing, but *his own*. As it is with the *Divel*, so it is with the *Wicked*. They can see nothing, find nothing in the *Godly*, for which to praise them; they can see nothing, find nothing to be praised any where, but wicked Courses take their own.⁹²⁷

Q. *A Companion of Riotous Men shaming his Father?* v. 7.

A. The former Clause in the Verse, tells us, This is one who does not *keep the Law*. It intimates, That Parents ought to enact this as a *Law* for their Children, and exert all their Authority for the Execution of it; *That they be always in good Company.*⁹²⁸

But what is rendred, *A Companion of Riotous Persons*, may also be rendred, *A Feeder of the Riotous*. This is one who will soon leave himself nothing to feed upon.⁹²⁹

⁹²³ "The biting of a lean louse is worst of all." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 639), a citation from Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla* on Prov. 28:3; transl.: Jermin.

⁹²⁴ See John 14:30.

⁹²⁵ "In completeness of power and richness of wisdom, understanding, and justice?" From Jermin (*Proverbs* 639), a citation from Ambrose, *De fuga saeculi*, cap. 4 [PL 14. 581; CSEL 32.2]; transl.: FC 65:299.

⁹²⁶ "It was not you therefore who were empty, but he was blind, who knows not how to see anything but his own, who knows not how to find anything but his own." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 639), a citation from Ambrose, *De fuga saeculi*, cap. 4 [PL 14. 581; CSEL 32.2]; transl.: FC 65:300.

⁹²⁷ Jermin, *Proverbs*, pp. 639–40.

⁹²⁸ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 641.

⁹²⁹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 642.

Such a *Son* will *shame his Father*, as if he had left him nothing to live upon. Or it will be a *Shame* unto him, that he should provide Means for such a Son, to spend at so Ill a rate. It also reflects a *Shame*, as if he had bred him up too daintily.⁹³⁰

[53v]

Q. Besides the common, a further Interpretation of that Proverb: *when Righteous Men do Rejoice, there is great Glory; but when the Wicked rise, a Man is hidden?* v. 12.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* offers this. When *Righteous Men* are exalted, the *Glory* of Man shewes itself in the true *Greatness* of it, by the Lustre and Splendor of their vertuous Courses. But, *when the Wicked rise, a Man is hidden*; they hardly shew themselves to be *Men*; there appears nothing but Pride and Wickedness in them.⁹³¹

Q. About *giving to the Poor?* v. 27.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* observes; It was the Folly of the rich Glutton, that he wanted Barns to lay his Corn in, when there were so many empty Bellies of the Poor, into which he might have putt it, and where it would have been laid up forever for him. No doubt, he was careful to dress his Ground; *sed quantò melior Agricola, qui terram Animatum colit?*⁹³² No doubt, he was wise in laying out his Moneyes on Buildings. *Sed quantò Prudentius in Homines quam in Lapides impendere?*⁹³³ To this Purpose *Clemens Alexandrinus*; who also complains, of them who would not feed *Orphans*, and yett, *Psittacos et Charadrios enutriunt*;⁹³⁴ they nourish *Parrots* & *Woodcocks*.

These are afraid of their Coming to Want. But *Cyprian* speaks mighty well; *sed esto hac in Parte intrepidus, esto securus; Finiri non potest undè in Usus Christi impenditur.*⁹³⁵

⁹³⁰ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 642.

⁹³¹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 646.

⁹³² "But is he a far superior farmer who sows in a living soil?" From Jermin (*Proverbs* 656), a citation from Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, 2.10 [PG 8. 498; GCS 12; *Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae* 61]; transl. modified from FC 23:164.

⁹³³ "But how much more reasonable it is to spend money on men than on stones?" From Jermin (*Proverbs* 656), a citation from Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, 2.12 [PG 8. 543; GCS 12; *Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae* 61]; transl. modified from FC 23:193.

⁹³⁴ "They feed their parrots and bustards." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 656), a citation from Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, 3.4 [PG 8. 598; GCS 12; *Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae* 61]; transl.: FC 23:224.

⁹³⁵ "However, be in this respect undaunted, be at ease. That cannot be used up from which expenditures are made for the benefit of Christ." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 656), a citation from Cyprian of Carthage, *De opere et eleemosynis* [PL 4. 608; CCSL 3A]; transl.: *Patristic Studies* 94, p. 69.

Q. On that Word, *whoso loveth Wisdome, rejoiceth his Father?* v. 3.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* observes, That it is a proper Style of this Book, to instruct Youth as a *Son*, in a loving Rhetoric. But yett, that herein is also further intimated the *Joy*, which the Goodness and Wisdome of any one brings unto our Heavenly *Father*; That so the *Joy* which the great God finds in us, may make us take the more *Joy* in Piety, & expect eternal *Joy* from Him, with the more Assurance.⁹³⁶

Q. *He that receiveth Gifts?* v. 4.

A. *Levi Gershom* observes, That whereas the first Part of the Verse saies, *The King by Judgment establisheth the Land*, in the latter Part of the Verse, a *King* is not named, but it is only said, *Vir Oblationum; A Man of Gifts overthroweth it*; as if *King Solomon* did not think such an one worthy the Name of a *King*.⁹³⁷

Tho', *he that receiveth Gifts*, be most literally, one that will be *bribed* by *Gifts*, to wink at the most Enormous Crimes: or, one that will unjustly find Fault with the most Innocent Persons, on Purpose that they may appease him with a Part of their Estates, to save all the rest: yett, we may also observe, whether, *Isb Terumoth*, or, *A Man of Oblations*, [*Terumoth* ever signifies the *Heave-Offerings*, which were offered unto God,] may not mean, *A sacrilegious Prince*.⁹³⁸

Q. *A Flatterer spreading a Nett for the Feet of his Neighbour?* v. 5.

A. So Base is the *Flatterer*, that he will cast himself at the *Feet* of a Man; but it is to *spread a Nett for his Feet*, & gett something for him.⁹³⁹

Diogenes would call the Speech of a Flatterer, *Mellitum Laqueum*.⁹⁴⁰

There is a Saying in *Plutarch* very like to this of our *Solomon*; *Qui præbent aures adulatoribus, nihil differunt ab his, qui pedes exhibent supplantatoribus; nisi quod turpius subvertunt, et cadunt*.⁹⁴¹

⁹³⁶ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 660.

⁹³⁷ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 660), Mather refers to Ralbag on Prov. 29:4; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 478.

⁹³⁸ Patrick, *Proverbs*, pp. 505–06.

⁹³⁹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 661.

⁹⁴⁰ "A snare besmeared with honey." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 661), Mather refers to the work of the historian of Greek philosophy, *Diogenes Laertius* (3rd century CE), *Vitæ philosophorum* (6.51).

⁹⁴¹ "They that yield their cares unto flatterers differ nothing from they that yield their feet unto supplanters, but only in this, that they are thrown down and fall more shamefully." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 661), a citation from *Plutarch's* essay *De vitioso pudore* (*On Compliancy*), 18.535, in the *Moralia* (LCL 405, p. 85); transl.: Jermin.

Q. *The Snare in the Transgression of an evil Man?* v. 6.

A. Part of the Meaning may be, not only that he makes himself a *Prey* to Satan, but because he seeks to *draw others* into his *Transgression*. It is therefore a Saying among the Jews, *Vae Scelesto, et Vae Scelesti Vicino*.⁹⁴²

Q. *Scornful Men bringing a City unto a Snare, but wise Men turning away Wrath?* v. 8.

A. *Scornful* Men breed Contentions & Divisions in a *City*, whereby tis *ensnared* in very much Evil. But *wise* Men *turn away Wrath*, produce Peace and Quietness to a *City*, & so bring much Good unto it.⁹⁴³

[54v] *Ambrose* has a Saying worthy of Remembrance; *Quam beata | Civitas, quae plurimos Justos habet? O quàm gaudeo, quum aliquos Mites ac Sapientes diù vivere video? Non ipsis gaudeo, quum vivendo multa subeant tædià Sæculi hujus, sed quia prosunt plurimus*.⁹⁴⁴

Dr. *Patrick* observes, *Men of Scorn*, signify, such as mock at Religion, & all that things that are serious.⁹⁴⁵

Q. *The Bloodthirsty hating the Upright?* v. 10.

A. Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase is: "Men enormously wicked, who stick out to kill those that oppose their Desires, above all others, hate & would destroy an upright Magistrate; whose Integrity makes him courageously endeavour to bring them unto condign Punishment; but such a Person all vertuous Men love the more heartily, and labour to defend & preserve from their Violence, or to Revenge his death, if he should perish by them."⁹⁴⁶

Q. *A Ruler Harkening to Lies?* v. 12.

A. It seems, *Lying* is too much the Fashion at Court.

When *Elisha* promised a Child unto the *Shunamitess*, tho' she knew him & own'd him as Man of God, yett she used that strange Expression, *Do not lye unto thine Handmaid*.⁹⁴⁷ But, as one observes, he had just before spoken to her of the *Court*, & insinuated something of his own Greatness *there*, and asked her,

⁹⁴² "Woe to him that is a wicked man, and woe to him that is the neighbour of a wicked man." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 662), a citation from Ralbag on Prov. 29:6; see also *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 479; transl.: Jermin.

⁹⁴³ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 663.

⁹⁴⁴ "How blessed is that city which has many righerous men? How do I rejoice when I see some meek and wise men to live long? I do not rejoice for themselves, because they undergo many troubles of this world, but because they are profitable to many." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 663–64), a citation from Ambrose, *De Cain et Abel*, lib. 2, cap. 3 [PL 14. 346; CSEL 32.1]; transl.: Jermin

⁹⁴⁵ Patrick, *Proverbs*, pp. 508, 521.

⁹⁴⁶ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 522.

⁹⁴⁷ 2 Kings 4:16.

what she would have him do for her *there*. This might make her suspect, that he spoke to her as a *Courtier*. Or else, as *Carthusianus* notes upon it; *curialiter respondit hac Mulier; non quod putabat Elisæum esse mentitum*.⁹⁴⁸ The Woman answered him after the Manner of the *Court*; showing that this was the Fashion *there*; tho' she could not suspect *Elisha* guilty of it.⁹⁴⁹

Q. The *Poor & the Deceitful Man meeting?* v. 13.

A. Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase is this. "The World is made up of several Sorts of Men; of *Poor*, for instance, who are fain to borrow, & of *Rich*, who lend them Money, & perhaps oppress them; but these would all agree well enough, when they meet together, if they would but consider, that there is one Lord, who makes the Sun to shine æqually on all, and intends all, should live happily, tho' in an unæqual Condition."⁹⁵⁰

Q. The *corrected Son, giving Delight unto the Soul* of the Parent? v. 17.

A. Agreeable to this Advice of King *Solomon*, was the Maxim of another King. It was a Saying of King *Athalaricus*; *Educantium felicior Laus est, de Filiorum probitate laudari*.⁹⁵¹

But then the Meaning of the Sentence here before us, & of many others like it, in this Book, may be this: *correct* thine own Proceedings, while they are but *young* in the Errors of them; and then they shall give thee Rest from the Trouble of a more painful Correcting of them, when they are settled in their naughtiness. Thus Dr. *Jermyn* expresses it.⁹⁵²

Q. The Meaning of that; *where there is no Vision, the People perish?* v. 18.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* gives this Gloss upon it; "If there be no one that studies to see the Will of God, and by Teaching labours to make the People see it; If there be no one that is watchful to see the Faults of the People, & is careful by Reproving, to make the People see them; how can it be otherwise, but that they should *Perish*; or be *Drawn away* (as the original Word is,) from the Law of the Lord?"⁹⁵³

⁹⁴⁸ "That this woman answered him in the manner of the court; not that she thought Elisha to have lied." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 666), a citation from the Flemish scholastic theologian Dionysius the Carthusian (Denys van Leeuwen, 1402/3–1471), *Enarrationes piae ac eruditae* (1577), art. 5, p. 453, on 2 Kings 4:16; transl.: Jermin.

⁹⁴⁹ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 666.

⁹⁵⁰ Patrick, *Proverbs*, pp. 523–24.

⁹⁵¹ "The happiest praise of them that bring up children is to be praised for their good courses." From Jermin, (*Proverbs* 670), a reference to the Ostrogothic King Athalaric (516–534), as cited in Cassiodorus, *Variae*, lib. 8, epist. 21 [PL 69. 755; CCSL 96]; transl.: Jermin.

⁹⁵² Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 670.

⁹⁵³ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 671.

The Lord said unto *Ezekiel*, *Thou shalt be Dumb, and shalt not be to them a Reprover*. Ezek. III.26. Gregory ha's a Saying, *Quod Pastoris Taciturnitas aliquandò sibi, semper Subjectis noceat, certissimè scitur*.⁹⁵⁴

Q. The Mischief of, *Bringing up a Servant delicately?* v. 21.

A. Some have made a spiritual & very profitable Application of it. By the *Servant*, they understand the *Body* of Man, which by the Appointment of God, is to be the *Servant* of the Soul. This being *brought up Delicately* from our *Childhood*, it will afterwards usurp upon us, more than Religion, or our Occasions would allow of.⁹⁵⁵

Q. *A Partner with a Thief?* v. 24.

A. *Lyra* reckons up Nine Wayes wherein one may be so.
This Distich will comprehend them.

*Jussio, Consilium, Consensus, Palpo, Recursus,
Participans, Mutus, non Obstans, non Manifestans*.⁹⁵⁶

⁹⁵⁴ "That the silence of a pastor does sometimes hurt himself, but always the people that are under him is a thing most certainly known." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 671), a citation from Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, lib. 1, hom. 17 [PL 76. 1140; CCSL 141]; transl.: Jermin.

⁹⁵⁵ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 674.

⁹⁵⁶ "Command, counsel, agreement, coaxing, retreat, participating, silence, not opposing, not revealing." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 677), a citation from Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla* at this verse; transl.: Jermin

Q. The *Words of Agur?* v. 1.

A. Here begins the *Fourth Book of PROVERBS*.

This Chapter is a Fragment of some wise Sentences, delivered by one, whose Name was *Agur*, & whose Fathers Name was *Jakeh*. Or perhaps, this Son of *Jakeh* (which Name signifies, A *Collector*,) is called so, because, tho' he were a wise Man, yett he composed nothing himself, but only *collected* out of other Mens Works, the Instructions, which he thought most profitable; & comprised a great deal of Sense, in a few Words.⁹⁵⁷

Q. Upon that Clause, *I am more Brutish than a Man*; For so it runs in the Original? v. 2.

A. *Man* is not what now he is. He is deprav'd and *un-man'd* by Sin. It is *Man* as God created him, that is truly *Man*; *Man* made by God, like to God; not *Man* made by *himself* like to the *Beasts*.⁹⁵⁸

The Wicked are more *Brutish* than the *Beasts* themselves; and have not so much Understanding, as the *Beasts that have no Understanding*. But, even the Godly, in their Imperfect State, are more Brutish than a Perfect *Man*, and have not the Understanding wherewith *Man* was endued in his Integrity.⁹⁵⁹

Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase is this. "To the Scholars, who admired his Wisdome, and desired to be resolved in many Difficulties, *Agur* modestly & humbly said, 'Do not call me wise, for I am so far from that Acuteness, which is natural to him, who excells in Wisdome, that I am stupid, in Comparison with such a Person; nay, I cannot arrogate unto myself, the Understanding of a common Man.'"⁹⁶⁰

Q. On that, *what is his Name, & what is his Sons Name, if thou canst tell?* v. 4.

⁹⁵⁷ Mather follows Patrick (*Proverbs* 531) in this explanation of the superscription in the biblical text ("The Words of Agur the son of Jakeh"). He thus abandons the belief in Solomonic authorship for this portion of the book, whereas other interpreters assumed that Jakeh was a pseudonym for Solomon or referred to Hezekiah. On the debates surrounding the composition of Proverbs and Solomonic authorship, see the Introduction and my *Prophecy, Piety, and the Problem of Historicity*, ch. 2.2.

⁹⁵⁸ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 681.

⁹⁵⁹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 681.

⁹⁶⁰ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 549, compare also p. 532. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

A. Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase is this. "By what Name is he called, that can explain these things? Or, if thou knowest not, tell me the Name of his Son, or of his Family, that if he be Dead, we may enquire of them."⁹⁶¹

Q. On that Wish, *Remove from me Vanity & Lies?* v. 8.

A. *Vanity* is commonly annexed unto *Riches*; and *Lies* unto *Poverty*.⁹⁶²

Q. What is meant by *Agur*, in his *Food convenient?* v. 8.

A. Sometimes *Etymologies* will afford no small *Illustrations*, to the Oracles of Heaven. The Root of the Word used here, properly signifies, *To Tear*, as wild *Beasts* do their *Prey* which they take in *Hunting*. [תָּרַף *Discerpsit* (*proprium Ferarum*) whence the Greek, τρέφω, and the English, *Tear*.] This Word is used for *Food*; is it because of old they *Hunted* for their *Meat*? Or, shall wee not rather say, that the Metaphor considers, the usual Quantity of, *Prey*; namely, so much as should suffice for *one Day*, and no more?⁹⁶³

Q. The Occasion of bringing in the Admonition about *Servants?* v. 10.

A. The Hebrew Nation were very hardhearted unto *Servants* & *Slaves*: & thereby unmeet for that Favour, which they begg'd of God in their *Prayers*.⁹⁶⁴

Q. On that, *Accuse not a Servant unto his Master?* v. 10.

A. The Proverb forbids our Meddling with other Peoples affaires, and our taking Authority upon us, where we have none.

But then, as Dr. *Jermyn* observes; we may in a spiritual Application, by *the Servant*, understand the Creatures of the World; by, *the Master*, God their Creator. We must not Abuse the Creatures in a Way of Sinning; and then Accuse them, as if they were guilty of our Sins. The Creatures will in such a Case prove a *Curse* unto us.⁹⁶⁵

Q. The Generation whose *Teeth* are, *Swords*, & whose *Jawteeth* are *Knives?* v. 14.

A. The Four Generations here mention'd, are, as one saies, the Four *Black Horses*, which draw the *Divel*, in his Triumphal Chariot. Or, if *Iniquity* sitt in the Chariot, the *Divel* is the *Driver*.⁹⁶⁶

⁹⁶¹ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 551.

⁹⁶² Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 685.

⁹⁶³ From the philological study of the Puritan scholar Edward Leigh (1602–1671), *Critica Sacra* (1650), p. 92; תָּרַף [taraph] "to tear in pieces (of wild animals)"; *discerpsit* (*proprium Ferarum*), "tore in pieces (of wild animals)"; τρέφω [trefo] "provide food for; take care of."

⁹⁶⁴ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 534.

⁹⁶⁵ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 687.

⁹⁶⁶ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 689.

If in the last of them, we note any Difference between the *Teeth*, and the *Jawteeth*; Dr. *Jermyn* observes, we may take the *Teeth*, (which are seen before) to intend their *open* Oppression; and the *Jaw-teeth* (which ly within) to be their secret Wringing & Wronging of the Poor.⁹⁶⁷

[▽Insert from 56r–56v]⁹⁶⁸

[▽56r–56v]

Q. Wee read, *The Horseleach hath two Daughters, crying, Give, give.* What may be the Meaning? v. 15.

A. But I am not sure, that we should Read it so.⁹⁶⁹

Interpreters, when with much ado, they keep the *Horse-Leach* in the Text, yett are altogether at their Witts-Ends, when they come to gloss upon *Two Daughters*. The *Greek*, the *Syriac*, the *Arabic*, read, *Three Daughters*.⁹⁷⁰ But whether *Two* or *Three*, they all find it hard enough to tell what they are. Hard enough is the Shift of them, who make them the two first of the *Four Insatiabls*, in the Words ensuing.

But after all, *Bochart* shewes, That Interpreters have confounded a couple of Words, which in *Sound* are much alike, but in *Sense* not at all. He shewes, That the Name of an *Horse-Leach*, is, / עלקה / *Gnalaka*, without a *Vau*. But the Word, / עלוקה /⁹⁷¹ *Gnaluka*, used here, is another thing. And from *Arabian* Monuments, he makes it appear, that the Word signifies, *Fate*, or *Death*, or what a Man ha's by the *Decree* of God impending over him. Thus, in brief, *The Term of Life*, settled by the *Decree* of God; or, *The Determined End of Life*.

Now we are not at a Loss, why *Daughters* are assigned hereunto; for we read, *Zeph. 2.2.* of, *The Decree bringing forth*. [Compare, *Prov. 27.1.*] Indeed, all *Events*, are by the *Hebrews* called, (as *Mercer* observes,) *Filii Temporis*.⁹⁷²

And, now, why may not the *Two Daughters* of the *Fatal Day*, be those in *Prov. 27.20.* *Sheol*, and, *Abadah*, which we translate, *Hell*, and, *Destruction*? Or, if these *two* be thought but *one*, why may not the *Two* be, / שחת /⁹⁷³ *The Grave*, and / שאול /⁹⁷⁴ *The Invisible World*, whereof the one receives, *The Body*, the other, *The Soul*?

⁹⁶⁷ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 690.

⁹⁶⁸ See Appendix B.

⁹⁶⁹ This entry is derived from *Bochart, Hierozoicon*, pars 2, lib. 5, cap. 19, pp. 800–02; see also Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 535.

⁹⁷⁰ Compare Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:390–91).

⁹⁷¹ עלקה [aluqah] “leech.” Perhaps an Aramaic loanword for a “vampire-like demon” (*BDB*).

⁹⁷² “The sons of the time.” From *Bochart* (see above), p. 802, a reference to the French Hebraist Jean Mercier (Joannes Mercerus, d. c. 1570), *Thesaurus linguae sanctae* (1614), p. 953, see also p. 958; see also Edward Leigh, *Critica Sacri*, p. 90.

⁹⁷³ שחת [shachath] “corruption; pit; grave.” From *Bochart* (see above), p. 802.

⁹⁷⁴ שאול [sheol] “underworld.” From *Bochart* (see above), p. 802.

Both are of the *Fæminine* Gender and so the Name of *Daughters*, is agreeably given to them. They cry, *Give, give*; they devour all Mankind in every Generation, & still call for more.

There are some Footsteps of this Interpretation in R. *Solomon* from *Menachem*, & the *Midrash* on the *Psalms*; (very ancient Authority!) *Menachem juxta Sensem literalem sic interpretatur: Didicimus Vocem esse Arabicam, quam interpretes / שאול* ¹⁹⁷⁵ *Seol, et illuc descensum, significare asserunt. Quod confirmavit Midras, qui duas Filias interpretatur hortum Edenis (Paradisum) et Geennam; quorum ille dicit, Date mihi Justos; hæc verò clamat, Date mihi Impios.* ¹⁹⁷⁶

But our Dr. *Patrick*, is after all, not willing to leave the common Translation. This Passage seems unto him, an Answer to some such Quæstion as this, (which the Disciples had propounded unto their Master *Agur*, after the Manner of ænigmatical Discourses,) *what is most Insatiable?* Of this he chuses to give an Account in this Place, the better to represent | the Nature of those wicked Men he had before spoken of; especially the Two Last, the *Proud*, and the *Tyrannical*, or *Extortioner*; whose Desires are a Gulf, that never can be filled.

At the first, he seems to have thought, but of Two Things; the *Grave*, and the *Barren Womb*; which indeed may be called, *The Daughters of the Horseleech*, because they are so perfectly like it, in regard of their being so Insatiable. But he presently adds, *Another*; nay, *A Fourth*, came into his Mind, as no less greedy: to witt, The *Thirsty Earth*, which in those hott Countreys, sucks up all the Rain as fast as it falls, tho' never so much; and the *Fire*, which devours all the Fuel that is laid upon it. This hee expresses after the Manner of the Hebrews; who intending to mention *Four* Things, or more, separate them at first, and begin with a lesser Number, & proceed then to all that they designed. See *Amos*. I. and *Prov*. VI.16.

There are those who compare certain Vices, with these *Four* unsatiable Things. The *Desire of Revenge*, to the *Grave*. *Libidinous Desires*, to the *Barren*

¹⁹⁷⁵ שאול [sheol] "underworld."

¹⁹⁷⁶ "Close to the literal sense [Menachem] explains it in this way: we have learned that the word is Arabic, which the interpreters affirm to mean שאול, *Sheol and the descent tither*. This the Midrash has confirmed which interprets the two daughters as the garden Eden (Paradise) and the Geenna; of these[two] I the one says: give me the just. But the other one indeed cries out: give me the unjust." From Bochart, a reference to Rashi, Menachem and the "Midrash on Psalms." See also Rashi's remark on Menachem in *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 505, on Prov. 30:15. Braude's translation in *The Midrash on Psalms*, vol. 1, p. 400, on Ps. 31: "These two are the Garden of Eden and Gehenna; the Garden of Eden says, 'Give me mine,' and Gehenna says, 'Give me mine.'" After the reference to Menachem Rashi adds a further interpretation (*Mikraoth Gedoloth, Proverbs*, p. 191, on Prov. 30:15): "... This one says, 'Give me righteous people!' and this one says, 'Give me wicked people!'" Menahem ben Jacob Ibn Saruk (c. 920–c. 970) was a Spanish-Jewish grammarian, who wrote an important dictionary of biblical Hebrew, the *Mahberet* (first printed in 1854). Menahem became a philological authority in the Jewish world for a long time. Rashi often cites him (*JE*).

Womb. Covetousness (or, we may rather say, *Drunkeness*,) to the *Thirsty Earth. Ambition*, to the *Devouring Fire*. It is easy to show a Resemblance to the *Horse-leech* in all of these. It is a vulgar Saying, *That Harlots are the Horseleeches of young Men*. The Servant in *Plautus* going to rob the Chests of the old Men, saies, *Iam ego me vortam in Hirudinem*.⁹⁷⁷

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[****]

Q. 'Tis said of the *Eye*, in which a Parent is contemned, *The Ravens of the Valley shall pick it out, and the young Eagle shall eat it!* What may bee the special Intention of this Communication? v. 17.

A. One would think, that here were threatned some violent & untimely *Death*, whereby the *Carcases* of Disobedient Children, should bee exposed unto the carnivorous Fowls of Heaven. But this was a thing that rarely happened in *Israel*, where *Carcases* were expressly forbidden to be exposed many Hours after *capital Executions*. And yett this hindered not, but that the undutiful Wretches being abroad kill'd in the Wars, the Fowls might prey on their unburied *Carcases*. However, the least that can here bee intended, is, That an *Eye* wherein a Parent is despised, is worthy to become the Prey of the *Raven* & the *Eagle*, yea, that those Birds, do notably rise up in the Reproach of such an *Eye*. For, of the old Ravens, being sick and spent with Age, tis observed, That the young Ones will keep 'em Company, & will take all possible Care of them, & will secretly bury them when they dy, & seem to mourn over them. Tis observed of the old *Eagles*, That when their Bills are grown over, so Hooked with Age, that they cannot Feed themselves, the young Ones gett the Prey for them, and feed 'em, and help 'em, in requital of all the Tenderness they have once received from them.⁹⁷⁸

Dr. *Jermyn* will have the *Ravens*, & *Eagles*, to be the *Divels*.⁹⁷⁹

Q. Why are the *Ravens* here called, *The Ravens of the Valley*? What *Valley*?

A. We must correct, what we said, about exposing the *Carcases* of the *Executed*. We read expressly, in Jer. 31.40. concerning, *The Valley of Carcases*. The *Carcases* of the *Executed*, were cast into that *Valley*: The *Ravens* frequented the *Valley*, for the Sake of the *Carcases* here provided for them. And the *Eyes* of the *Dead*, (yea, and of the *Living*, too) are the first thing which the *Ravens* fly at, where they go to sieze a Prey. Tis in the Nature of them to do so. Sais *Isidore*, *primò in*

⁹⁷⁷ "And now to turn myself into a leech." From Patrick (*Proverbs* 534–37), Mather quotes Plautus, *Epidicus*, 2.188 (transl.: LCL 61, p. 297).

⁹⁷⁸ Not in Jermin or Patrick.

⁹⁷⁹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 692.

*Cadaveribus Oculum petit.*⁹⁸⁰ So says *Catullus*, — *effessos Oculos varet atro gutture Corvus.*⁹⁸¹

Gr. Nyssen calls the *Raven*, σαρκοβορον των οφθαλμων αφανιστικον *Carnivorum Oculorum Corruptorem.*⁹⁸²

[▽ 57r–57v] [▽ Insert from 57r–57v]⁹⁸³

Q. On the Fate of *Rebellious Children?* v. 17.

A. Dr. *Patrick* observes; we may conceive such a wicked Person, to be *Drowned* by the Just Judgment of God upon him; and his Body to ly floating on the Water, or to be cast on Shore, where the *Ravens* (who frequent the Water) come and pick out his Eyes; at which they fly, sooner than at any other Part. Or, he may perish in Countreyes where the infamous Punishments of the *Gibbet* is in Use; or be slain in Battel, and be left there, to be a Prey unto Beasts and Birds. Among these, the *Raven*, is the rather mentioned, as some think, because the young Ones are so impious (as *Vossius* notes) as to fall upon the old Ones, & kill them when they are hungry;⁹⁸⁴ which is affirmed by *Ælian* and others.⁹⁸⁵ But, perhaps, there is more Fancy than Solidity in this Notion. Others for the quite contrary Reason, make the Eagles to be named here; because they are a Bird full of Piety; as Dr. *Castel* observes out of *Aben-Ezra*.⁹⁸⁶

This Doctor ha's a particular Illustration on the Word / יָקָהָה /⁹⁸⁷ which is used here. The Interpretation the Hebrews give it, is, *Doctrina*; & they so un-

⁹⁸⁰ “At first, he goes for the eye in the cadavers.” From Bochart, *Hierozaicon*, pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 10, p. 201, a citation from the Spanish theologian and Archbishop Isidore of Seville (Isidorus Hispalensis, c. 560–636), *Etymologiae*, lib. 12, cap. 7 [PL 82. 465].

⁹⁸¹ “Your eyes torn out and swallowed down the raven’s black throat.” From Bochart, *Hierozaicon*, pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 10, p. 201, a citation from the Roman poet Gaius Valerius Catullus (c. 84–54 BCE), *Carmina*, 108.5 (transl.: *LCL* 6).

⁹⁸² “The carnivorous desecrator of eyes.” From Bochart, *Hierozaicon*, pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 10, p. 201, a citation from Gregory of Nyssa, *In Cantica Canticorum*, hom. 13 [PG 44. 1055; *GNO* 6]; transl.: Jermin.

⁹⁸³ See Appendix B.

⁹⁸⁴ From Patrick (*Proverbs* 538–39), a reference to the Dutch classical scholar and theologian Gerardus Joannes Vossius (Voss, 1577–1649), *De theologia gentili et physiologia christiana* ([1641] 1668), lib. 3, cap. 85, pp. 591–95.

⁹⁸⁵ From Patrick (*Proverbs* 539), who draws upon Vossius, *De theologia gentili*, lib. 3, cap. 85, pp. 591–95, a reference to the Roman author and teacher of rhetoric Aelian (Claudius Aelianus, c. 161/177–c. 222/238 CE), *De natura animalium* (3.43) and other authors cited by Vossius.

⁹⁸⁶ From Patrick (*Proverbs* 539), a reference to the English orientalist, Cambridge professor for Arabic, and minister Edmund Castell (1606–1685), *Oratio in scholis theologicis* (1667), pp. 31–32. Castell draws upon Ibn Ezra; at this verse see Rashi in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, p. 192: “Let the raven, which is cruel to its young, come and pick it and not eat it and not derive benefit from it, and let the eagle, which is compassionate with its young, come and eat it and derive benefit from it . . .”

⁹⁸⁷ יָקָהָה [yiqhah] “obedience.” In context: וְהָבִיז לְיָקָהָתָאִם “[the eye that . . .] despises obedience unto the mother” (lit. from the Elberfelder Bibel “und den Gehorsam gegen die Mutter verachtet”).

derstand it: *The Eye which despiseth the Doctrine or the Lesson of his Mother*. But there is no known Root in their Language, from whence to derive that Signification of it. Our Doctor therefore out of the Neighbouring Languages, translates it rather, *Senium*, or, *Old-Age*. And this is most agreeable to the Sense of the Place. | For that which is *despised by the Eye*, seems to be some corporal Defect; [57v] *Wrinkled*, or *Stouping*, or *Shaking of the Head*, and the like. And it best agrees with what followes; about the *young Ones* of the *Eagles*, picking out such an Eye: for, tis observed, they bear a Regard unto their Ancients, & have a kind of Piety in them.⁹⁸⁸

On this Occasion, I will take leave to transcribe a Passage from a Sermon, which I myself preached on a solemn Occasion. "There is a Thing, which I have had from such credible Relations & so credibly circumstanced, I will venture to Repeat it, in the Place where I am now standing before the Lord. In this Countrey, there have been some *Grieved Parents*, whose Children would not in Matters of great Importance hearken to them. The *Troubled Parents* have at last broke off with the famous Text in the *Proverbs*. They have said; *Well, Remember, THE EYE, that will shew such Disdain, THE RAVENS OF THE VALLEY SHALL PICK IT OUT, AND THE YOUNG EAGLES SHALL EAT IT*. The graceless young Men have with Insolence enough replied, *They would look to their Eyes better than so!* This their *Carriage* has been known in the Neighbourhood; The *Event* ha's been look'd for. And Now, Harken to it! The young Men have soon after been hurried into a *Fight*, with the *Indians*. They have been kill'd in the *Fight*. Before the People could come to bury their Dead Bodies, the *Birds of Prey* have been at them, and have actually *pick'd out their Eyes*. Yea, and with such Distinction, that none but *Theirs* were so dealt withal!"⁹⁸⁹

[△Insert ends]

[△]

|
Q. That, *Way of a Man with a Maid*, which was too Inscrutable for the Wise Man, what is the Meaning of it? v. 19.

[55v]

A. If the *Wise Man* himself might say, t'was *too wonderful for him to know it*, why will you not allow such a *Mean Man* as I am, to say, *I know not his Meaning in it?* I know very well, what is commonly offered, That Men have Innumerable *Arts* to obtain the Love of the young Women, to whom they make their Courtship: yea, That as the Motions of an *Eagle*, a *Serpent*, and a *Ship* do make little Noise, thus clandestine are the *Arts* of Lovers, to gain their Ends. And, That it is as hard for one to know whether a Person that yett goes for a *Virgin*, in her

⁹⁸⁸ Patrick, *Proverbs*, pp. 538–39.

⁹⁸⁹ Compare Mather's sermon *A Family well-ordered*, p. 50; see also *Magnalia* (1702), bk. 5, ch. 5, second sermon, p. 33.

Fathers House, bee indeed so, as to know whether an *Eagle*, a *Serpent*, or a *Ship*, ha's passed that Way, which it ha's gone.

But, *Galatinus*, will tell you further, That the *Via Viri in Almá*, significat *Conceptum Messie in Utero ἀειπαρθένου*.⁹⁹⁰

For my own Part, after all, I am extremely inclineable to what is offered by *Saubertus*,⁹⁹¹ That, עַלְמָה⁹⁹² the concrete, *A young One*, is to bee taken Abstractively, for, *Youth*; and I think the LXX say, ἐν νεότητι.⁹⁹³ As if the Wise Man had said, *The Way of a Man in his Youth, is an uncertain, & a versatil sort of a thing; tis a difficult thing to know & say what it is.*

[2646:2]

But, That Notion, which we have quoted from *Galatinus*, ha's any body else fallen in with it?⁹⁹⁴

Yes, many have. But among the rest, very particularly the Learned, *Goussetius*; whose Words I will therefore transcribe. *Omnia hæc ibidem allegorica sunt. Via aquile in Cœlis, est Via Jesu Christi ascendentis in Cœlos. Via Serpentis in Saxo, denotat Viam ejusdem in Saxo in cujus Cavitare Sepultus est, in quo nulum fetorem reliquit, quo deprehenderetur Cadaver ibi per aliquot dies jacuisse. Via Navis in Mari ejusdem Christi Via est ambulantis, et huc illuc oberrantis, per Populum inconstantem, tumultuosum, Vitæ ejus sæpè Minantem: sæpè se è medio*

⁹⁹⁰ “The way of a man in *almah* signifies the conception of the Messiah in the womb of the ever-virgin [ἀειπαρθένου].” Mather here refers to Petrus Galatinus, *De arcanis*, lib. 7, cap. 15, p. 302. The Hebrew phrase בְּעַלְמָה *be-almah* means “with a virgin” (ESV) or “with a maid” (NAU, KJV). The word *almah* was hotly contested (see the footnotes on Isa. 7:14 and Jer. 31:22). Much of Christian tradition took the word *almah* to signify “virgin.” Compare here the Creeds of the Bishop of Constantia (Salamis) in Cyprus, Epiphanius (c. 315–403 CE), Second Formula (374 CE): “We believe in ... the Son of God ... that is, begotten perfectly of the holy ever-Virgin [ἀειπαρθένου] Mary by the Holy Ghost ...” (*Creeds of Christendom*, vol. 2, p. 36), also in *Ancoratus*, cap. 120 [PG 43. 233–34; GCS 25]. Galatinus cites Rabbi ha-Kadosh as his source. However, the actual source of the quotation is the *Petitio secunda* (second question, unpaginated) of the *Epistola de secretis* (*Gale rezeyal Revelator arcanorum*; first printed c. 1488), a spurious Christian apologetic work falsely attributed to the mishnaic teacher Rabbi Judah ha-Kadosh (Judah ha-Nasi). The actual author of this work was the Spanish anti-Jewish writer and Christian Kabbalist Paulus de Heredia (b. c. 1405 in Aragon, d. after 1488), who forged most of his alleged rabbinic sources. The *Epistola* contains a fictitious dialogue dated to 200 BCE between the Rabbi and a Roman consul Antoninus, in which the Rabbi answers eight questions and interprets OT passages in a way that supports the Christian view of Jesus’s messiahship. De Heredia’s work became famous mostly through Galatinus, who incorporated much of its content in his *De arcanis*. Via Galatinus the *Epistola* had a strong influence on early-modern Christian anti-Jewish polemic. See Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, *Geschichte der christlichen Kabbala*, pp. 282–97.

⁹⁹¹ References to the work of the German Lutheran theologian and orientalist Johannes Saubert (Saubertus) the Younger (1638–1688), *Palaestra theologico-philologica* (1678), pp. 152–53.

⁹⁹² עַלְמָה [*almah*] “young woman.” Cf. עַלְמִים [*alumim*] “youth (in the abstract sense).”

⁹⁹³ Νεότης [*neotes*] “youth.” Here the LXX reads “the ways of a man in youth [ἐν νεότητι].”

⁹⁹⁴ Galatinus, *De arcanis*, see above.

*illorum proripuit, findens eorum fluctus, ut navis Marinos: Conversatio autem inter illos Mirabilis fuit, Mirabile etiam quod post eam remanserit Corpus Populi, quale prius, ac si Jesus per eos non oberrasset docens et hortans, adeò ad indolem propriam redierunt. Via denique Viri in Virgine, est ejus Transitus, per Matris Loca, illesa ipsius Virginitate.*⁹⁹⁵

The Glosses of the Ancients, which look this Way, are too many to be recited. –

But yett lett us converse, at least with one of the Ancients, on the *Four wonderful Things!*

Ambrose ha's written a little Book upon them.⁹⁹⁶

And, first, by, *The Way of the Eagle*, he understands, the Ascension of our Saviour; *Qui ut Aquila, revolavit ad Patrem, prædam secum referens, id est, Hominem; quem rapuerat de faucibus Inimici.*⁹⁹⁷ Tho' He Ascended in the Sight of His Disciples, yett, *cujus tamen Hominis tam altus Sensus, et tantus est, ut explicare possit, quomòdò illa tanta Majestas, de Cælo aut venire dignata fuerit, aut redire!*⁹⁹⁸

By, *The Way of a Serpent on a Rock*, he understands, the Temptations, with which the Divil assaulted our Saviour; in whom, *Nulla Malitiæ suæ potuit im-*

⁹⁹⁵ “All this here is allegorical. The way of the eagle in the air is the way of Jesus Christ ascending up to the heavens. The way of the serpent on the rock denotes his [sc. Christ's] way upon the rock in whose tomb he was buried, in which he left no foulness, where it was discovered that the corpse had been lying there for several days. The way of the ship on the sea is the way of Christ himself walking and wandering about here and there, among an inconstant and turbulent people often threatening his life: Often he rushed out of their midst, parting their waves, like a ship parting the waves of the sea. But his way with them was miraculous and miraculous was also the fact that after this the body of the people had stayed the same, and even if Jesus had not wandered among them teaching and encouraging them: they returned to their given nature all the same. Finally, the way of a man with a virgin is his [sc. Christ's] entry into the womb of the mother, without harming her virginity.” A citation from the French Reformed Protestant theologian, Hellenist and Hebraist Jacques Gousset (Jacob Gussetius, 1635–1704), *Controversiarum adversus Judæos Ternio* (1688), pp. 94–95. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, Gousset left France to become a professor at the University of Groningen (ODNB). In his *Considérations théologiques et critiques sur le projet d'une nouvelle version française de la Bible* (1698) Gousset criticised the proposal of Charles Le Cène for a new Bible translation, which Mather repeatedly cites in the “Biblia.” Gousset is paraphrasing a passage from Galatinus, *De arcanis*, lib. 7, cap. 15, pp. 301–02, who in turn draws on Paulus de Heredia, *Epistola de secretis, Petitio secunda* (unpaginated), citing a spurious rabbinic source.

⁹⁹⁶ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 693), a reference to Pseudo-Ambrose, *Sermones de diversis*, sermo 46, *De Salomone* [PL 17. 693–699].

⁹⁹⁷ “Who as an eagle flew back unto his father, carrying his prey with him, that is man, whom he took from the jaws of the enemy.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 693), a citation from Pseudo-Ambrose, *Sermones de diversis*, sermo 46, *De Salomone* [PL 17. 695]; transl.: Jermin.

⁹⁹⁸ “What man's understanding is so high and so great, as that he can declare, how such great majesty, either vouchsafed to come down from heaven, or to return to heaven.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 693), a citation from Pseudo-Ambrose, *Sermones de diversis*, sermo 46, *De Salomone* [PL 17. 696]; transl. modified from Jermin.

primere Vestigia.⁹⁹⁹ Indeed, he could leave a Sign behind him, in the First Man, who was Earth and Dust; but in the *Rock, Christ*, he could leave none at all.

By, *The Way of a Ship in the Midst of the Sea*; he understands the Way of the Church, thro' the Sea of Persecution. Tho' the Storms be never so great, the Ship cannot miscarry, *Quia in Arbore ejus, id est, in Cruce, Christus erigitur; in Puppe Pater sedet; Proram Paracletus servat*.¹⁰⁰⁰

The last Clause, he reads with the LXX: *The Way of a Man in Youth*. He understands it, of the Way of our Saviour in His Youth upon Earth. *Quis enim aestimare Animo possit, quae Itinera Virtutum duxerit; in quas Vias Beneficiorum circa Humanum Genus ingressus fuerit?*¹⁰⁰¹

Yea, He will allow our Saviour also to be, *The Ship in the Midst of the Sea*. He saies; *Christus est Navis, in quam ascendunt omnes Animae Credentium, quae ut firmiter inter Fluctus evehatur, de ligno fabricator, de ferro configitur; hoc autem est Christus in Carne*.¹⁰⁰²

But then, tis admirable to find, That the ancient Jewish Rabbins applied these Four Things to the *Messiah*. He who is called, *Magister Sanctus*, among them, has these amazing Passages. *The Way of the Eagle in the Air* signifies the Messiah; *Qui post Passionem suam ascendet in Caelum*.¹⁰⁰³ *The Way of a Ship in the Midst of the Sea*, signifies also the Messiah; *Cujus Vita sicut Navis in Medio Mari agitabitur*.¹⁰⁰⁴ *The Way of a Serpent on a Rock*, signifies likewise the Messiah; *Qui transibit per Petram postquam sepultus erit*. He shall be buried, & come forth;

999 "He could imprint no footsteps of his malice and wickedness." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 694), a citation from Pseudo-Ambrose, *Sermones de diversis*, sermo 46, *De Salomone* [PL 17. 696]; transl.: Jermin.

1000 "Because Christ is lifted up in the mast of it, that is in the cross: the Father sits [as pilot] at the stern of it; the Comforter keeps the foredeck of it." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 694), a citation from Pseudo-Ambrose, *Sermones de diversis*, sermo 46, *De Salomone* [PL 17. 697]; transl.: Jermin.

1001 "For who is able to comprehend in his mind, what journey he made in virtues, what ways of favor and benefits he entered into towards mankind." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 694), a citation from Pseudo-Ambrose, *Sermones de diversis*, sermo 46, *De Salomone* [PL 17. 698]; transl.: Jermin.

1002 "Christ is the ship into which the souls of all believers go up, which, so that it may be carried the more strongly through the waves, is made of wood, and fastened with iron, and this is Christ in the flesh." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 694), a citation from Pseudo-Ambrose, *Sermones de diversis*, sermo 47, *In cap. XXX Proverb.* [PL 17. 699]; transl. modified from Jermin.

1003 "Who after his passion ascends into heaven." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 694), Mather again cites Galatinus, *De arcanis*, lib. 7, cap. 15, p. 301; transl. Jermin. Galatinus's "Magister Sanctus" refers to Judah ha-Nasi. Jermin's transl. probably relies on Gousset (see above), who in turn paraphrases Galatinus, who in turn quotes Paulus de Heredia, *Epistola de secretis, Petitio secunda* (unpaginated), citing a spurious rabbinic source.

1004 "Whose life shall be tossed as a ship in the midst of the sea." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 694), a citation from Galatinus, *De arcanis*, lib. 7, cap. 15, p. 301; transl.: Jermin. Galatinus quotes Paulus de Heredia, *Epistola de secretis, Petitio secunda* (unpaginated), citing a spurious rabbinic source.

no body shall see how, as he expounds it out of *Rabbi Jodam*.¹⁰⁰⁵ Finally, *The Way of a Man with a Maid*, he will have referr to the Messiah too; who shall be conceived & brought forth by a *Virgin*.¹⁰⁰⁶

[the entries from 56r–57v were inserted into their designated places]

[58r]

Q. The *Fool filled with Meat*? v. 22.

A. *Munsters Gloss, Intellige Divitem tenacem*.¹⁰⁰⁷

Q. The *Four little Things*? v. 24.

A. Here seems to be an Answer, unto that Quæstion; *Quid est magnum in minimo*? Or, *what is great in very little*?¹⁰⁰⁸

We are here taught several Things. First, Not to admire Bodily Bulk, Strength, or Beauty; but rather Wisdome, Industry, Discretion, and Sagacity to perceive & pursue our true Interest. Secondly, To admire the Wisdome & Power of God in the smallest Things. Thirdly, (as *Melanchthon* adds,) to reflect on our own Degenerate State, who neglect our own greatest Good, & mind not our own Preservation, but rather destroy ourselves by Wickedness.¹⁰⁰⁹ And, lastly, not to refuse Admonitions from the Brute Creatures.¹⁰¹⁰

Chrysostom, [Hom. XII. ad Pop. Antioch.] discourses admirably on the *Ant*, and its perpetual Desire of Labour.¹⁰¹¹ To which, if we attend, we cannot but receive this Instruction, μη καταμαλακιζεσθαι, μηδε φευγειν ιδρωτα και πονους: *Not to affect Softness & Delicacy, nor fly from Sweat & Labours*.¹⁰¹² He saies, when the Wise Man sends us to learn of those little Creatures, he does, just as we use to do in our Families. When the Greater & Better Sort have offended in any thing, we endeavour to shame them, by pointing to the little Children, saying, βλέπε

¹⁰⁰⁵ “Who shall pass the rock after he is buried.” Jermin (Proverbs 694) cites Galatinus, *De arcanis*, lib. 7, cap. 15, p. 301, who in turn quotes Paulus de Heredia, *Epistola de secretis, Petitio secunda* (unpaginated), citing a spurious rabbinic source. “Rabbi Iodam” is de Heredia’s short form for Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi or ha-Kadosh. Transl. modified from Jermin.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 694. Jermin paraphrases Galatinus, *De arcanis*, lib. 7, cap. 15, p. 301, who in turn quotes Paulus de Heredia, *Epistola de secretis, Petitio secunda* (unpaginated), citing a spurious rabbinic source.

¹⁰⁰⁷ “Understand the insistent rich man.” Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4386).

¹⁰⁰⁸ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 541.

¹⁰⁰⁹ From Patrick (*Proverbs* 542), a reference to Melanchthon, *Explicatio Proverbiorum*, cap. 30, pp. 80–81.

¹⁰¹⁰ Patrick, *Proverbs*, pp. 541–42.

¹⁰¹¹ From Patrick (*Proverbs* 542–43), a reference to John Chrysostom, *De statuis ad populum Antiochenum habitae*, hom. 12 [PG 49. 127–36].

¹⁰¹² “Don’t let yourself be softened, don’t flee sweat and labors.” From Patrick (*Proverbs* 542), a citation from John Chrysostom, *De statuis ad populum Antiochenum habitae*, hom. 12 [PG 49. 129]; Mather provides Patrick’s transl.

τον μικροτερον σου πως εστι σπουδαιος και διεγгерμενος· *Behold, one who is much less than thou, how towardsly, how attentively, & ready he is, to do as he is bidden.*¹⁰¹³

3003.

Q. Wee read, *The Coneyes are a Feeble Folk, yett make their Houses in the Rocks.* Quære, whether *Coneyes* be the true Name of the Creatures here intended? v. 26.

A. No. For, tho' the Hebrewes for diverse Ages, have called *Coneyes*, by the Name, / שפנים /¹⁰¹⁴ *Sephanim*, which is used here; nevertheless the most learned *Bochart*, with a Variety of Reading, and Learning, demonstrates, that another Creature, was originally intended. He shoves, that the *Coney* does not *chew the Cud*, as the Hebrews themselves, in their *Porta Cæli*, confess: whereas, in *Leviticus* and in *Deuteronomy*, the *Saphan* does *Ruminate*. He shoves, that *Coneyes* do not make their *Houses in the Rocks*; but they evermore choose for their *Burroughs*, a *soft Earth*, which may be easily dug into: He shoves, that all ancient Authors, declare *Coneyes* to have been in their Times, peculiar to *Spain*; *Varro*, and *Pliny*, and *Ælian*, and *Galen*, are positive in it. And *Moses* would not have prohibited by Name, unto the *Israelites*, the Eating of a Creature utterly unknown in the Land of *Israel*, or the adjacent Regions.¹⁰¹⁵

Bochart hereupon produces a Creature, which is by *Jerom* called, Ἀρκτομῦς, or, *A Bear-Mouse*, and by the *Arabians*, *Aljerbuo*: A Creature very frequent in *Libya*, and in *Egypt*, and in *Palestine*. Its feet are very like a *Squirrels*: and it often stands on its *Hinder Feet*, which are its *longer* ones.¹⁰¹⁶ Its Progress is by *Leaping* rather than *Running*; and it climbs the steepest Mountains. These *Bear-Mice*, do appoint unto themselves a Keeper, or a Captain, to stand upon the Guard, while | the rest are feeding; and the rest bring to him a Part of their Food; but if [58v] he be negligent, & give not Advice, by his Voice, of any danger approaching, & any one of their Company be lost, they kill him. They Dig their Burrowes after such a Manner, that they have a Window, & an Escape, at each of the Four Winds of Heaven. And they so artificially cover their Windowes, that the *Arabians* make them a Proverb for *Hypocrites*. Alluding to these Creatures, it is the

¹⁰¹³ From Patrick (*Proverbs* 543), a citation from John Chrysostom, *De statuis ad populum Antiochenum habitae*, hom. 12 [PG 49. 129]; Mather provides Patrick's transl.

¹⁰¹⁴ שפן [shaphan] "rock-badger, coney." Cited above in the plural form.

¹⁰¹⁵ Commentary here from *Bochart*, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 33, pp. 1001–17, esp. p. 1003; see also Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 543; with mention of Gerson ben Solomon Catalan (13th cent.), *Porta Coeli* (*Sha'ar ha-Shamayim*, 1547); Rabbi Gerson ben Solomon Catalan from Arles was the father of Levi ben Gershon (Rabag).

¹⁰¹⁶ From *Bochart*, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 33, p. 1001, a citation from Jerome, *Epistulae*, epist. 106, *Ad Sunniam et Fretelam* [PL 22. 861; CSEL 55A]; see also Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 543.

Expression that *Synesius* hath, of one Captain *John*; Δίκην ἀρουραίου μὺδος ἐνε-
δεῦδκει τῇ πέτρᾳ *Agrestis Muris instar, sese in Petram abdiderat.*¹⁰¹⁷

The *Arabians* tell us, *Aljarbuo domum suam non parat, nisi in Loco petricos*
*et sublimi.*¹⁰¹⁸

This *Bear-Mouse*, (which you may call, if you please, A *Rock-Rat*) they
celebrate, as a Delicate Food; especially the *Dried Flesh* of it, which is called,
Jarbuo Israeliticus.

Teixeira Lusitanus, calls these Creatures, *Ratones del Mato*, or, *Bramble-*
*Ratts.*¹⁰¹⁹ In fine, *Olearius* has given us an ample Description of them;

Huic sciuri Magnitudo est, neque forma dissimilis; Pilus tamen fuscior; et
Caput Muris; Aures longae; Crura antierius brevia, Posterius Longiora. Proinde non
nisi in Ascensu currunt; in Planis ferè reptitant, aut Saltu suprâ terram ad quinque
vel sex pedes efferuntur. Canda longa dorso incumbens, in Caule glabra, in Vertice
*hirta, et Albicans.*¹⁰²⁰

Bochart concludes, with abundance of Reason, That this is the *Creature*,
which our Translation calls, the *Coney*. Tho' he suspects, That the old *Phæni-*
cians might call the *Coney* also by the Name of *Saphan*; for its Resemblance; and
that *Spain* had its very Name from the Peculiarity of the *Coney* to it.¹⁰²¹

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[59r]

Q. Among the *Four little Things upon Earth*, which are *exceeding wise*, there is
mention'd, as it should seem, *The Spider, which takes hold with her Hands, &c is*
in Kings Palaces. Is it indeed the *Spider*? v. 28.

A. No. We shall sweep that *Spider* out of the Text, with an agreeable Illustration.

¹⁰¹⁷ "Like a field mouse he has hidden himself in the rock." From *Bochart, Hierozoicon*, pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 33, p. 1013, a reference to the Neoplatonic philosopher turned Christian bishop, *Synesius of Cyrene* (c. 373–c. 413 CE), *Epistolae*, epist. 104 [PG 66. 1481].

¹⁰¹⁸ "Aljarbuo does not construct his house if not in a rocky and high-lying place." From *Bochart, Hierozoicon*, pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 33, p. 1013, a reference to Ibnolgiauzi, possibly the Sunni Islamic jurist and theologian Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah (1292–1350).

¹⁰¹⁹ From *Bochart, Hierozoicon*, pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 33, p. 1015, a citation from the Portuguese explorer and cartographer *Pedro Teixeira* (1585–1641), *Relaciones de Pedro Teixeira* (1610), cap. 4, p. 85.

¹⁰²⁰ "It is the size of a squirrel and not dissimilar in form, but the hair is blacker and it has the head of mouse, long ears, shorter front legs and longer hind legs. This is why they only run uphill; on flat ground they usually creep or jump across the ground, being carried five or six feet. They have long hair covering the back; their reproductive organ is without hair and on their head they have shaggy white hair." From *Bochart, Hierozoicon*, pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 33, p. 1015, a citation from *Adam Olearius* (Adam Oehlschlegel, c. 1599–1671), *Voyages and Travels* (1662), lib. 7, p. 415.

¹⁰²¹ Mather refers to *Bochart's* chapter *Saphan* in *Bochart, Hierozoicon*, pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 33, pp. 1001–17; see *Patrick, Proverbs*, p. 543.

The learned *Bochart* observes, That the *Spider* is never in the Scriptures, or by any of the Hebrewes, called, / שֶׁמַּמִּית /¹⁰²² *Semamith*, (which is the Name used here,) but alwayes / עֲכָבִישׁ /¹⁰²³ *Accabis*. And tho' the *Spiders* Legs are often called *Fingers*; and among others, by *Ovid*:

*In Latere Exiles Digiti pro Cruribus hærent,*¹⁰²⁴

yett *Hands* are never ascribed unto that little *Animal*. Nay, in the Riddle of *Symposius*, all *Hands* are expressly denied unto it;

*Nulla mihi Manus est, pedibus tamen omnia fiunt.*¹⁰²⁵

Nor are *Kings Palaces* the most likely Places for the *Spider*; The Neatness of the Court, will not allow *Cobwebs* there. The *Spider* is rather a Guest, for the House of our Friend *Euclion*, where,

Nihil est quæsti furibus,

*Ità inaniis sunt oppletæ, atque Araneis.*¹⁰²⁶

And a Place for a *Spider*, is usually a Proverb for the most *empty Place* in the World.

Bochart therefore Conjectures, yea, Demonstrates, That the *Semamith*, is, the *Stellia*, or *Evet*; a Sort of *Lizard*, mention'd among the *unclean Reptiles*, in *Leviticus*. The LXX, the *Syriac*, the *Chaldee*, and *Jerom*, all confirm the Opinion of *Bochart*.¹⁰²⁷

[59v] Its being a little Creature, we find observed in several of the | old Poets; especially *Ovid*,

Inque brevem formam, ne sit vis magna nocendi,

*Contrahitur, parvâque minor misura Lacertâ est.*¹⁰²⁸

And its being a *cunning* one, is as much observed; very particularly, at *Fly-Catching*, which is much of its Living. *Pliny* saies, *Nullum Animal Fraudulentius*.¹⁰²⁹ And *Stellionatus* is therefore a Law-term, for a Peece of subtil Roguery.

¹⁰²² שֶׁמַּמִּית [semamith] “gecko; a kind of lizard.” Commentary here from *Bochart*, *Hiero- zoicon*, pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 7, pp. 1083–90; see also Patrick, *Proverbs*, pp. 543–44.

¹⁰²³ עֲכָבִישׁ [akkavish] “spider, tarantula.”

¹⁰²⁴ “The slender fingers clung to her side as legs.” From *Bochart*, *Hiero- zoicon*, pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 7, p. 1084, a citation from *Ovid*, *Metamorphoses*, 6.143; transl.: *LCL* 42, p. 299.

¹⁰²⁵ “I have no hand, but everything happens through my feet.” From *Bochart*, *Hiero- zoicon*, pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 7, p. 1084, a citation from a collection of Latin riddles by *Symposius* (*Symposius*, 4th or 5th cent.), *Aenigmata*, 17.3 [PL 7. 291; *CCSL* 133A].

¹⁰²⁶ “I vow we’ve got nothing else there for thieves to take – all full of emptiness as it is, and cobwebs.” From *Bochart*, *Hiero- zoicon*, pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 7, p. 1084, a citation from *Plautus*, *Aulularia*, 1.83–84; transl.: *LCL* 60, p. 243.

¹⁰²⁷ Compare the VUL (“stellio”), and the LXX (καλαβώτης), and the Latin translation of the *Syriac* (“stellio”) in *Walton*, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:392–93).

¹⁰²⁸ “He shrank to tiny size, that he might have no great power to harm, and became in form a lizard, though yet smaller in size.” From *Bochart*, *Hiero- zoicon*, pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 7, p. 1088, a citation from *Ovid*, *Metamorphoses*, 5.457–58; transl.: *LCL* 42, pp. 269–71.

¹⁰²⁹ Transl. with context: “For no living creature, they say, shows greater spite in cheating man.” From *Bochart*, *Hiero- zoicon*, pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 7, p. 1088, a citation from *Pliny*, *Natural*

Hands are very suitably assigned unto this Creature. As the Name, *Lacertus* comes à *Lacertis*, from *Arms*. Tis called, κωλώτης ἀπὸ τοῖς κώλοις.¹⁰³⁰ Now, κῶλα are the *Hands & Feet*.¹⁰³¹ Its *Taking Hold* with its *Hands*, may refer, either to its *Going*; for it will crawl along the Roofs, with its Back downward; or to its *Hunting*; for therein it snatches its Prey.

Tis a *Domestic Animal*. *Porphyris* calls them, κατοικιδίους σκαλαβώτας, *Domesticos Stelliones*.¹⁰³² The Greek Etymologists, all define it from this Property. And *Elluchasem* the Physician of Bagdad, ha's this Passage, *Stellio est Lacerta inhabitans Domos*.¹⁰³³ Among the Spaniards, tis, *Dragon de las Casas*; the *House-Dragon*.

T'were endless to cite the Authors which lodge this Creature, as *Pliny* does, *In Locis hostiorum fenestrarumque, aut Cavernis Sepulcrisve*;¹⁰³⁴ or, as *Matthiolus* in the *Cava Murorum prope terram*;¹⁰³⁵ or, as *Avicenna*, upon the Roofs and Rafters of Houses.¹⁰³⁶ And *Kings Palaces* are more likely than other Houses to be infested with this Creature. The *Walls* of stately *Palaces* affording more *Holes* to be *Receptacles* for it.

Q. The Five *Quaternions* that have Remarks here made upon them? v. 29.

A. R. *Solomon* applies each of them, unto the *Four Monarchies* which do successively oppress the *Israelites*.¹⁰³⁷

Lyra, chuses to leave out the Four first *Quaternions*, from such a Consideration; and applies this *prophetical Exposition*, as he calls it, unto the Last only.¹⁰³⁸

History, 30.27.91; transl.: LCL 418, p. 335.

¹⁰³⁰ "The lizard comes from the limbs." A citation without source in Bochart, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 7, p. 1088.

¹⁰³¹ "The limbs." See Bochart, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 7, p. 1088.

¹⁰³² "Domestic geckos." From Bochart, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 7, p. 1090, a reference to the work of the Syrian Neoplatonic philosopher and student of Origen and Plotinus, Porphyry of Tyre (Porphyrius, Malchus, c. 234–c. 305/310 CE), *De philosophia ex oraculis haurienda* (2034.11).

¹⁰³³ "The gecko is a lizard living in houses." From Bochart, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 7, p. 1090, a citation from the Nestorian physician Ibn Butlan (Elluchasem, 11th cent), see his remarks about the pharmaceutical use of lizards in his medical work, *Tacuini sanitatis Elluchasem Elimithar medici* (1531–1532).

¹⁰³⁴ "In places of doorways, windows, or in caves and graves." From Bochart, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 7, p. 1090, a citation from Pliny, *Natural History*, 30.27.93–94.

¹⁰³⁵ "The holes of walls close to the earth." From Bochart, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 7, p. 1090, a citation from the Italian naturalist Pietro Andrea Mattioli (1501–1577), *Commentarii* (1554), lib. 6, cap. 1 ("Cantharides"), pp. 655–57; see also the remarks on lizards in lib. 6, cap. 4 ("Salamandra"), pp. 658–59.

¹⁰³⁶ A paraphrase of Bochart, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 7, p. 1090; reference is made to Avicenna (Ibn Sina), *Al-Qanun fi'l-tibb* (*Canon of Medicine*), lib. 3, fen. 6, tract. 1.

¹⁰³⁷ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 701), Mather refers to Rashi on Prov. 30:29.

¹⁰³⁸ From Jermin (*Proverbs* 701), a citation from Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla* at this verse.

He makes the *Lion* to be *Nebuchadnezzar*. He is by *Jeremiah*, called so. *Cyrus*, the *Grey-hound*. *Alexander*, the *He-Goat*. The *Romans* to be the *King against whom there is no Rising up*.¹⁰³⁹

Q. Among the *Four Creatures* which are *comely in Going*, what is that which we translate, *The Greyhound*? v. 30.

A. It is not known, what was the Name of, *A Cock*, among the ancient Hebrews. (And yett, *A Cock*, which was never once præscribed among the Levitical Sacrifices, is the only Sacrifice at this day used among the *Jewes*; because, forsooth / גִּבֹר /¹⁰⁴⁰ *Geber*, signifies both, *A Man*, and *A Cock*;) Nevertheless, there are several Texts in the Old Testament, which *Jewish Interpreters*, and the *Greek* also, on too feeble Conjectures, apply to the *Cock*. Thus, the, *Succinctus Lumbos*; which we render, *The Grey-hound*, is to the *Greek Interpreters*, Ἀλεκτῶρ ἐμπεριπατοῦν θηλείαις εὐψύχως,¹⁰⁴¹ *The Cock walking among the Hens in his Alacrity*. The *Chaldee*, & the *Syriac* do also countenance it.¹⁰⁴² And the *Succinctus Lumbos*, is by the Patrons of this Interpretation, opposed unto the *Castration* of a *Capon*. But after all, *Bochart* will have this Animal to be, *An Horse*.¹⁰⁴³

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Q. *The King against whom there is no Rising up?* v. 31.

A. This King is here called, *Alkum*. Thus *Pallas* was called by the *Phenicians*; *Ela Alkuma*; that is, the Goddess, against whom none made Insurrection. And the City in *Bæotia*, sacred unto her, (she being born there) was called, *Alaleomēnas*, for tho' it was built on a plain, & a small Place; yett it alwayes remained Inviolated, because out of Reverence to the Goddess, (as we are informed by *Strabo*.) παντες απειχοντο πασης βιας.¹⁰⁴⁴ *All Men abstained from Force & Violence to it*.

The learned Mr. *Pocock* ha's another Conjecture. According to the *Arabic* Use of the Word *Alkum* (out of which Language, both *Rabbins* and *Christians*, often expound the more singular Words of the Bible;) the Sense is yett more pregnant, & sounds thus; *A King with whom his People is*; or, *whom his People*

¹⁰³⁹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 701.

¹⁰⁴⁰ גִּבֹר [geber] "young, strong man;" the *BDB* provides: "man as strong, distinguished from women, children, and non-combatants whom he is to defend."

¹⁰⁴¹ From *Bochart*, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 16, p. 116, a mention of the LXX: ἀλεκτῶρ ἐμπεριπατῶν θηλείαις εὐψυχος ("a cock walking in boldly among the hens"). Mather has ἐμπεριπατοῦν.

¹⁰⁴² Compare the Latin translations of the Targum ("gallus") and Syriac ("gallus"), in Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:393).

¹⁰⁴³ See *Bochart*, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 16, pp. 109–19.

¹⁰⁴⁴ "But all peoples . . . held aloof from any violence." From Patrick (*Proverbs* 546), a citation from the Greek geographer and historian Strabo (c. 63/64 BCE-after 23 CE), *Geography*, 9.2.36; transl.: *LCL* 196.

follow. For, as when there is such an happy Agreement between King and People, there is nothing more comely, so then he appears with the greatest and most awful Majesty, & strikes Terror into all his Enemies.¹⁰⁴⁵

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[60v]

1045 From Patrick (*Proverbs* 546), a citation from Edward Pococke, *Notae in quibus aliquam- multa quae ad historiam orientalium* (1648), in *Specimen historiae arabum* (1650), p. 203. The Anglican clergymen and Oxford scholar Edward Pococke (bapt. 1604; d. 1691) was one of the leading Orientalists and biblical scholars of the period (*ODNB*).

Q. King *Lemuel*, who should he be? v. 1.¹⁰⁴⁶

A. There seems Ground little enough, to establish the Conjecture, that *Lemuel* should be *Solomon*; tho' that be the general Opinion. And less Ground for the Conjecture of *Grotius*, that he should be *Hezekiah*.¹⁰⁴⁷

I concur with Dr. *Patrick*; That *Lemuel* might be a particular Prince of that Name; & possibly one of another Countrey; who gathered some weighty Sentences of his excellent Mother, whose Name is unknown unto us. They are adjoined unto the foregoing, because they are Wise, and Important, & proceeding from the propheticall Spirit. It appears by the History of the Q. of *Sheba*, and the Embassies which came from the Kings thereabouts, that there were in those times, great Persons inquisitive after Knowledge; as there had been in the Times foregoing, in the eastern Countrey's & in *Egypt*. [See 1. King. IV.30.]¹⁰⁴⁸

Among all the Fancies of the Jews on this Occasion, there seems none more probable, Than that *Lemuels* Mother, was a Jewish Lady, married unto a Prince of another Countrey; by whom she had the Son, here under her pious Instruction.¹⁰⁴⁹

By the Word, *Bar*, used here three times for, a *Son*, one would guess this *Lemuel* to have been some great Person in *Chaldaea*. And the Word, *Malachin*, for *Kings*, has a termination in the *Chaldaean* Language.¹⁰⁵⁰

Q. What special Exemple, might afford Occasion, for that Passage, in the Dehortation from *Drunkennes*, given to Persons in public Office, *lest they Drink, and Forgett the Law*? v. 5.

A. I doubt it refers to the Dismal Exemple of *Nadab* and *Abihu*, who *Forgatt the Law*, when they *offered strange Fire before the Lord*.¹⁰⁵¹

There is very great Cause to Fear; That they had been, by too much Liberty in taking *strong Drink*, betray'd into their Miscarriage, when they *Forgatt the Law*. Hence, immediately on the Story of their Fate, the next Thing is that

¹⁰⁴⁶ Mather follows Patrick (*Proverbs* 556) in this explanation of the superscription in the biblical text ("The Words of King Lemuel") and in his rejection of Solomonic authorship for this portion of the book, which Jermin, among many other interpreters, upholds (*Proverbs* 705).

¹⁰⁴⁷ With Patrick (*Proverbs* 565), Mather rejects the opinion of Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4416–17), who suggested that Lemuel was another name for Hezekiah.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Patrick, *Proverbs*, pp. 565–66

¹⁰⁴⁹ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 568.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 568.

¹⁰⁵¹ Lev. 10:1–2.

Law: *Don't Drink Wine, or strong Drink, when yee go into the Tabernacle of the Congregation.*¹⁰⁵²

The Text now before us to mee seems an elegant Allusion to that Matter.

Q. Upon *giving strong Drink, to him that is ready to perish?* v. 6.

A. The Jewes upon this Præcept grounded a Practice, of giving a sort of strong Potion unto such as were to suffer Death, by which their Senses might be stupified. It is apprehended, This might be the Potion of *Myrrhate Wine*, which was refused by our Saviour. [Mar. XV.23.] It is a Passage in *Apuleius*, *Indidem sese multimodis commaculat ictibus, Myrrha præsumptione munitus*. This Drink may seem what is called by *Amos*, *The Wine of the Condemned*; and what is called by *David*, *The Wine of Astonishment*.¹⁰⁵³

If the Verse have any relation to that, it shoves, That Kings are to mix what Mercy they can with the Execution of *Justice*.¹⁰⁵⁴

Q. *Such as are appointed unto Destruction?* v. 8.

A. In the Hebrew they are called, *Children of Change*; or, *that are passed by*. That is, Persons who have *changed their Countrey*, or that are in danger to suffer grievous *Alterations in their Condition*, if Right should not be done them; or who are *Deserted by all*, & have none to stand by them.¹⁰⁵⁵

Q. The Description of, *The Vertuous Woman?* v. 10.

A. In the Original, there is observed the Order of the Alphabet. *Jerom* looks on the Composure, as a Poem, in a Sort of *Jambic Verses*.¹⁰⁵⁶

The Papists apply it much unto the *Blessed Virgin*. The Fathers apply it much unto the *Church*, which is the Spouse of our Saviour. *R. Solomon* applies it unto the Old Testament;¹⁰⁵⁷ and *Lyra*, to all the Bible.¹⁰⁵⁸ But, as *Dr. Jermy*n observes upon it; That which is best to be done, is for *every Woman* to strive to make it agree to herself, as much as she can; and every *Man* be Ashamed, that any *Woman* should excell him in Vertue and Goodness.¹⁰⁵⁹

¹⁰⁵² Compare Lev. 10:9.

¹⁰⁵³ "And he scourged himself hard with strokes of its many knots, fortifying himself with miraculous obstinacy against the pain from the gashes." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 708), a citation from the Roman author Lucius Apuleius Madaurensis (b. c. 125 CE), *Metamorphoses* (*The Golden Ass*), 8.28; transl.: LCL 453, p. 95.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 708.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 571.

¹⁰⁵⁶ From Patrick (*Proverbs* 571), a reference to Jerome, *Epistulae*, epist. 30, *Ad Paulam* [PL 22. 443; CSEL 54].

¹⁰⁵⁷ See Rashi's commentary *In Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 521. Rashi interpreted the "woman of valor" as a representation of the Torah, following the *Midrash Mishle* (*Midrash on Proverbs*), see the explanation in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Proverbs*, p. 206.

¹⁰⁵⁸ At this verse, see Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla* at this verse.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 711.

The Word, *Chajil*, which we render, *vertuous*, notes, *Courage*, and *Riches*, and *Vertue*. Dr. *Patrick* well propounds as included in it, a *great Fear of God*, which is so powerful as to endure one, with the *Courage* to Do well, when *Piety* is Contemned, & Abused.¹⁰⁶⁰

Q. How is it said of the Husband, *He shall have no need of Spoil?* v. 11.

A. He shall not need to *spoil* his Enemies for the Getting of Wealth. *Spoil* became a Name for *Wealth*; since in the Dayes of *David*, the *Israelites* were vastly enriched by the *Spoil* of their Enemies.

But it is proposed by Dr. *Jermyn*, That the Translation may run thus; *The heart of her Husband doth safely trust in her, so that he shall not fail, as being a Prey*; A *Prey* to Enemies or Miseries; or to the Scoffs of wanton Deriders.¹⁰⁶¹

Q. *Her doing him good, all the Dayes of her Life?* v. 12.

A. It is not said, *of His Life* but, *of Hers*. For, as *Jermyn* observes upon it; Tho' he be Dead, she will do him Good, while she liveth: By Good to his Children, his Friends, his Memory.¹⁰⁶²

The Original properly signifieth: *She will Return Good unto him*. Her Husband loves her, at such a rate, that her doing of him good, is but a Requital of the Good he ha's done unto her. It is implied, as Dr. *Jermyn* remarks upon it; That the Man who challenges the Præcedency in other things, may not yeeld it in this; but be the Forwardest in *Doing of Good*; that the Woman may but follow his good Example.¹⁰⁶³

Q. A mystical Application of that; *she seeketh Wool and Flax?* v. 13.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* proposes this: she desires to have a good Conscience; For *Linnen* is that which we wear *Innermost*. Then she desires to be vertuous in her Conversation; For *Woollen* is that which we wear *Outward*.¹⁰⁶⁴ Thus *Austin*. *Invenies dicentem tibi, sufficit mihi Conscientia mea, Deum Colo, Deum Adoro. Quid mihi Opus est ad Ecclesiam ire, aut Visibiliter Christianis misceri? Lineam vult habere sine Laneâ. Non novit, neque commendat, talia Opera, Mulier ista. Invenit hæc Mulier Lanam ac Linum.*¹⁰⁶⁵

¹⁰⁶⁰ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 573.

¹⁰⁶¹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 712.

¹⁰⁶² Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 712.

¹⁰⁶³ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 712.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 713.

¹⁰⁶⁵ "You shall meet with someone who says: my conscience is sufficient for me, I serve God, I worship God. What need I to go to the church, or to converse openly with Christians? Such a one will have linen without woollen. This woman does not know, nor commend such works. This woman sought and found woollen and linen." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 713), a citation from Augustine, *Sermones de Scripturis*, sermo 37, cap. 31 [PL 38. 224; CCSL 41]; see

Q. About *laying the Hand to the Spindle*, and *holding the Distaff*? v. 19.

A. *Austin* meditating on this Verse, bids us to observe; In *Spinning* there are Two Instruments; the *Spindle* in the *Right Hand*, the *Distaff* on the *Left*; and as *Ambrose* also speaks, *In Colo est quod factururus es, in Fuso quod fecisti*;¹⁰⁶⁶ on the *Distaff* is what thou art about to do, on the *Spindle* what thou hast already done. *Austin* applies these two, unto the Intention of Doing well, and unto the Good that is already done. The Intentions are to pass into Actions. *Austin* cries out, *Opus tuum sit in Fuso, non in Colo*.¹⁰⁶⁷ The vertuous Woman does perform Good, as well as purpose it.¹⁰⁶⁸

{29:2}

Q. How is it said of the vertuous Woman, *All her Houshold are clothed with Scarlet*? v. 21.

A. It would not seem good Huswifry, sure, to array Servants in such Apparel. But the Hebrew Word here שָׁנִים is,¹⁰⁶⁹ as much as to say, *Double Garments*; that is, Coats & Cloaks, to make them winter-proof; and perhaps Duplicates of the same Kinds to bee worn successively.¹⁰⁷⁰

But then Dr. *Jermyn* would have the *Church* also to be understood here; the *Spouse* of Christ. All her Household, are cloathed with *Scarlett*; and a rich *Scarlett* indeed, in the Blood of our Saviour.¹⁰⁷¹

Yea, they are all cloathed with *Double Garments*; by a true Profession of the Twofold Nature in our Saviour, as both *Ambrose* and *Austin* apply the Words. The *Manichees*, who affirmed Him to be *God* only; the *Photinians*, who affirmed Him to be *Man* only; were but singly clothed.¹⁰⁷²

the same in Pseudo-Augustine, *De Veteri et Novo Testamento*, sermo 58, cap. 31 [PL 39. 1854]; transl.: Jermin.

1066 “That is on the distaff which you are about to do, that is on the spindle which you have already done.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 718), a citation from Augustine, *Sermones de Scripturis*, sermo 37, cap. 31 [PL 38. 227; CCSL 41]; see the same in Pseudo-Augustine, *De Veteri et Novo Testamento*, sermo 58, cap. 31 [PL 39. 1855]; transl.: Jermin.

1067 “Let your work be on the spindle, not on the distaff.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 718), a citation from Augustine, *Sermones de Scripturis*, sermo 37, cap. 31 [PL 38. 227; CCSL 41]; see the same in Pseudo-Augustine, *De Veteri et Novo Testamento*, sermo 58, cap. 31 [PL 39. 1855]; transl.: Jermin; see also *The Works of Saint Augustine* III/2.

1068 Commentary here from Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 718.

1069 שָׁנִי [shani]; שָׁנִים [shanim] “crimson, scarlet.” See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 719.

1070 See Clarius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4407).

1071 Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 720.

1072 From Jermin (*Proverbs* 720), a reference to Augustine, *Sermones de Scripturis*, sermo 37, cap. 31 [PL 38. 227; CCSL 41]; see the same in Pseudo-Augustine, *De Veteri et Novo Testamento*, sermo 58, cap. 31 [PL 39. 1855]; The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

Q. The *Fine Linen* and the *Girdles*, in a mystical Application? v. 24.

A. You may take the *Fine Linen* to be the Instruction of Knowledge; the *Girdles* to be the Admonitions of Restraining Reproof. These she delivereth to the Merchants; or bestowes for Thanks on them that are willing to Receive them. Thus Dr. *Jermyn*.¹⁰⁷³

Q. How is it said, *In her Tongue the Law of Kindness*? v. 26.

A. Not only a constant Softness & Sweetness in her unprovoking Language, (as Dr. *Patrick* paraphrases,) but in the Instructions & Exhortations given by her, unto the Doing of Good & Exercising of Mercy; & Living peaceably & lovingly together, which is the Lesson she every where inculcates.¹⁰⁷⁴

Q. A more spiritual Sense of those Words; *she looketh well to the Wayes of her Houshold & eateth not the Bread of Idleness*? v. 27.

A. Old *Beda* shall give you one.

*Semitas Domus suae considerat; quia cunctas Conscientiae suae Cogitationes subtiliter investigat. Panem Otiosa non comedit, quia hoc quod de Sacro Eloquio intelligendo perceperat, ante aeterni Judicis Oculis Operibus ostendit.*¹⁰⁷⁵

Jermyn adds this; she considereth her Wayes, & examineth her Life, before she cometh to the Table of the Lord; and there *she eateth not the Bread of Idleness*; for having received that Holy Bread, *studet imitari Actu, quod in Mysterio celebrat.*¹⁰⁷⁶

Q. How do they *Rise up*, and *Praise* her? v. 28.

A. They *Rise up*, and *Lift up* their Voices & Inventions in her Praises. They *Rise up*, and make it their *early Business*, lest they should want Time to praise her sufficiently.¹⁰⁷⁷

Q. A Remark on, *many Women have done vertuously*? v. 29.

A. *Solomon* could not find one Woman in a Thousand worthy to be praised. His Mother had mett with *many such Women*. Dr. *Jermyn* ha's this Note upon it;

¹⁰⁷³ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 722.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 588.

¹⁰⁷⁵ "She considers the ways of her household, because she carefully searches all the ways of her conscience. She eats not the bread of idleness, because that which she has understood and learned from God's Word, she shows in her works before the eyes of the eternal Judge." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 725), Mather quotes Bede the Venerable, *Super parabolas Salomonis allegorica expositio*, lib. 3, cap. 31 [PL 91. 1038; CCSL 119B]; transl. modified from Jermin.

¹⁰⁷⁶ "She strives in her life to imitate, that which she celebrates in a mystery." From Jermin (*Proverbs* 725), Mather continues citing Bede the Venerable, *Super parabolas Salomonis allegorica expositio*, lib. 3, cap. 31 [PL 91. 1038; CCSL 119B]; transl. modified from Jermin.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 726.

she that sought for the Company of the Vertuous, had found out *many*; he who had ranged among the Vicious, could not meet with them.¹⁰⁷⁸

It may be some will make some Improvement, of a Passage in Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase: “*Daughters* may do much by their Houswifry; but nothing like to the Care of a vertuous *Wife*.”¹⁰⁷⁹

Q. One that was a *Woman*, and a *Queen*, and a Lady very *Beautiful*, here saies, *Favour is Deceitful & Beauty is Vain; but a Woman that feareth the Lord, shee shall bee praised.* For what? v. 30.

A. For a *Beauty*!

Tho’ *Praise* may be dangerous; and *Bernard* therefore applies unto Praise, tho’ shott from the Bow of a Just Affection, the *Arrow* in the Psalm, which flies by Day, and saies, *leviter volat, leviter penetrat, sed dico tibi, non leve vulnus infligit.*¹⁰⁸⁰ Yett a *vertuous Woman* may be *praised* highly, and she will not be Damaged, but Bettered by it.

There is an Hott and a Drying Wind, by which the Bad Ears of Corn, are withered and spoiled; but the Good are bravely Ripened.¹⁰⁸¹

Q. *Deceitful* and *Vain*? v. 30.

A. It is observable, how the Terms, *Deceitful*, and, *Vain*, are used as Equipotent. So we read of, *Lying Vanities*. The Poet interprets, *Vanus*, by, *Mendax*. In old Latin, *Variare*, was the same with, *Fallere*.¹⁰⁸²

Q. Why is it said; *lett her Works praise her in the Gates*? v. 31.

A. Her *Praise* is to be given her *in the Gates*, as much as if assigned and ordered in the *Courts of Justice*; It belongs *of Right* unto her, and should be publicly bestowed upon her.¹⁰⁸³

¹⁰⁷⁸ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 727.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 589.

¹⁰⁸⁰ “It flies lightly, it pierces lightly, but I tell you, it is not a light wound that it marks.” From Jermin (*Proverbs* 727), a citation from Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones de tempore, Sermones XVII in Psalmum XC, Qui habitat*, sermo 6 [PL 183. 198; *Opera* 4]; transl.: Jermin.

¹⁰⁸¹ Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 727.

¹⁰⁸² *Mendax* “lying, false”; *variare* “to variegate, waver, change”; *fallere* “to decieve.” See Robert Estienne (Étienne, Robertus Stephanus, c. 1499/1503–1559), *Dictionarium latinogallicum* ([1538] 1552), p. 1350; the poet Jermin (*Proverbs* 728) refers to is Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro, 70–19 BCE), whose *Eclogae* (2.17) contains the famous warning against self-conceit based on vanities.

¹⁰⁸³ See Jermin, *Proverbs*, p. 728.

Melancthon calls this whole Description, *Speculum honestæ Matronæ*.¹⁰⁸⁴
 And that all is comprehended by the Apostle in those Words to *Timothy*; 1. Tim.
 II. ult. *Faith and Charity and Holiness, with Sobriety*.¹⁰⁸⁵

¹⁰⁸⁴ “The mirror of a respectable wife.” From Patrick (*Proverbs* 576), a citation from Melancthon, *Explicatio Proverbiorum*, cap. 31, p. 83.

¹⁰⁸⁵ A quotation from Patrick, *Proverbs*, p. 577.

Q. The Intent of the Book of *Ecclesiastes*? v. 1.¹

A. It is a little strange, that (as among the Jews,² there are some who ascribe this Book to *Hezekiah*, and others to *Isaiah*) *Grotius* could fancy this Book to be a *Collection*; (for he would have *Cohelate*, to be translated, A *Collector*,³ or an

¹ This introductory entry summarizes the preface (unpaginated) of Simon Patrick's *A Paraphrase upon the Books of Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon*. Patrick's work is a main source for Mather's annotations throughout Ecclesiastes and Song of Songs. The two sections of Patrick's commentary have separate paginations. The section on Ecclesiastes will hereafter be cited as *Ecclesiastes*; the one on the Song of Songs as *Song*.

² Patrick cites the opinion of some of the "Talmudists" (see the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Baba Bathra 15a; Soncino, p. 71) that Proverbs, Ecclesiastes or Koheleth, and the Song of Songs were compiled by King Hezekiah and his men; as well as the opinion of the medieval Rabbi and biblical commentator Joseph Kimchi (1105–1170), the father of David Kimchi (Radak), according to whom the author was Isaiah. "Hezekiah and his men" (referring to Prov. 25:1) are sometimes identified with the "Men of the Great Assembly" or "Great Synagogue" ("Keneseth ha-Gedolah"), mentioned in the Mishnah (Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Aboth 1.1; Soncino, p. 1). The latter are "representatives of the Law who occupied a place in the chain of tradition between the prophets and the earliest scholars known by name" (*JE*), to whom tradition attributes the formation of the biblical canon and the beginning of the "oral Torah." For other rabbinical opinions on the authorship of Koheleth, see the introductions to *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Ecclesiastes*, pp. vii–xi, and *Proverbs*, pp. xiii–xvii. According to one other tradition, the three books were suppressed before Hezekiah's time because some passages seemed immoral and inappropriate for Scripture and were then revealed again by the sages. See the *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan* (transl. by Neusner, *The Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan*, p. 6) from an unknown author probably in the eighth or ninth century CE. See also the *Midrash Mishle* (*Midrash on Proverbs*) on Prov. 25:1 (compiled probably between the eight or eleventh century CE; first edition Constantinople, before 1547; German transl. Wünsche, *Der Midrasch Mischle*, 1885, pp. 62–63).

³ Through Patrick, Mather refers to Hugo Grotius's introductory note to his commentary on Ecclesiastes, as cited in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4426–27). Based on linguistic and contextual evidence, Grotius here argued for the post-exilic authorship of Ecclesiastes. On this, see the Introduction and my *Prophecy, Piety, and the Problem of Historicity*, ch. 2.2. In his gloss on Eccles. 12:11, Grotius further notes that the sayings in the book of Ecclesiastes had been collected by scribes or redactors who put them together "sub persona Salomonis in unum opus," at the order of Zorobabel. With this interpretation and the translation of *qôhelet* as "collector" Grotius went against a long interpretative tradition ascribing authorship to Solomon. As Bartholomew explains, the "Hebrew word *qôhelet* is the Qal feminine singular participle of the verb *qâhal*, meaning "to call," "to assemble." In the Jewish tradition this had been generally understood as alluding to one "who gathers an assembly to address it or to one who gathers words for instruction." Christian translators and interpreters had then appropriated this understanding: "The English title derives from the Septuagint (*ekklēsiastēs*) via the Latin Vulgate (*Liber Ecclesiastes*). The Septuagint translator(s) interpreted *qôhelet* to refer to a citizen of the assembly or *ekklēsia*. English translations have traditionally translated *qôhelet* as 'Preacher' (KJV), which goes back to Luther's translation of *qôhelet* as 'der Prediger.' This translation is [now considered] somewhat anachronistic, with its overtones of the NT concept of the *ekklēsia* as the church." See Craig G. Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes* (2009), p. 18.

Heaper Up of Opinions, rather than a *Preacher*,) made by certain Men approved by *Zorobabel* for that Purpose;⁴ but published by him in the Name of *Solomon*. It is true, there are some Words here, that are no where to be mett withal, but in *Daniel* and *Ezra*, and the *Chaldee* Interpreters.⁵

But, supposing *Solomon* to write here, as a Pænitent, after he had frequented the Company of many outlandish Women, it need not seem strange to us, that he had learn't the Use of many of their Words. But then, there are many Passages in the Book, which none but *Solomon* could well pretend unto. See Chap. I.16. II.4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. VII.26. XII.9, 10.

If *Solomon* did not write this Book, yett undoubtedly he spoke the Things contained in it. He calls himself, *The Preacher*; because of the great Gravity and Dignity of the Subject, whereof he treats; desiring that it might be understood by the *whole Congregation*. The Word, *Cohemoth*, signifies, a *Circle*, or a Company of Men gathered together, in the form of a *Circle*, as *Ludolphus* ha's observed unto us.⁶

[1v] This Book ha's been treated as a very Independent Discourse; and each Verse ha's been expounded by itself, like those of the *Proverbs*. But *Antonius Corranus*, a learned Spaniard, an hundred & fifty Years ago, ha's drawn such a | Scheme of the Book to render it evident, that *Solomon* proceeds after an exact Manner, to deduce what he intended. The Design is to shew, what it is, in which the chief Good of Man, does consist; He reflects on the various Things wherein Men place their Happiness, and at the End of his Discourse on every one of them, he rejects them as utterly insufficient, for that Purpose; but continues the Search so far till at last he finds it, & declares, in the concluding *Epiphonema*, what it is; Fear God & keep His Commandments, for this is the Whole of Man.⁷

Dr. *Patrick* ha's this Remark. "Perhaps, as God suffered *Thomas* to doubt, of our Saviours Resurrection, for the greater Confirmation of our Faith; by the Satisfaction he at last received; so he lett this great Man go astray, that by his

4 A descendant of the Davidic family, Zerubbabel (Latin. Zorobabel) appears with Joshua the high priest as the recipient of Haggai's message (Hag. 1:1; 2:2) to rebuild the Temple; in Ezra 3:2, 8 and 4:2, 3 he is mentioned together with Joshua as responsible for the actual reconstruction. In Hag. 1:1 and 2:2 he is referred to as governor of Judah, an office to which he was probably appointed by Darius I (522–486 BCE) (*HCBD*).

5 In the introductory remarks to his commentary on Ecclesiastes Grotius argued that Ecclesiastes was written in a late form of biblical Hebrew, an argument which has become the linchpin for modern debates about the dating of the book's composition. See *Critici Sacri* (3:4426–27).

6 Through Patrick, Mather is referring to the work of the German polymath and pioneer scholar of the Ethiopian language Hiob Ludolf (Leutholf, Job Ludolphus, 1624–1704), *Lexicon aethiopico-latinum* (1699), p. 400.

7 From Patrick, a summary of the unpaginated preface of the commentary of the Spanish-born Anglican divine Antonius Corranus (Antonio del Corro, 1527–1591), *Ecclesiastes Regis Salomonis* ([1579] 1619).

dear bought Experience, he might teach us this Wisdom; to keep the closer to God in faithful Obedience.”⁸

*Cobelet*h leads one to consider him, as *Recollecting*.

Koheleth of the Fæminie Gender, may refer to *Chochma*, or, *Wisdome*, which is of the same Gender. *Sapientia*.⁹

[2r]

Q. What is the True Tendency of *Ecclesiastes*? v. 1.

A. Tis to Explain and Apply the Prophecy of *Nathan* to *David*, in 1. Chron. 17.11 – *I will Raise up thy Seed, – and I will Stablish his Throne forever. – I will Settle him in my House, & in my Kingdome forever.*

In the Book of *Ecclesiastes*, there is this Argument, formed upon the Prophecy.

If all things in the *present State of This World*, are subject unto an extreme *Vanity*, the *eternal Throne* promised unto *David*, must bee in and of *Another World*.

But all things *under the Sun*, in the *present State of this World*, are subject unto an extreme *Vanity*.

Therefore the *whole Concern of Man* is to expect the promised Kingdome, not before the Day, *when God shall bring every Work into Judgment*.¹⁰

A Greek Father expresses the Intent of this Book, to be; υπερθειναι τον νουν της αισθησεως *To seat the Mind above sensual Contentment*.¹¹

The Things whereof the *Vanity* is here weigh'd out unto us, are by *Hugo de Sancto Victore* reduced unto three Heads. *Aut quæ propter Homines facta sunt; aut quæ ab Hominibus facta sunt; aut quæ in Hominibus facta sunt*.¹²

⁸ See Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, pref., sec. 19.

⁹ These linguistic explanations are cited from Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4418). Münster's commentary on *Ecclesiastes* was published in his *Hebraica Biblia* and later included in the third volume of Pearson's *Critici Sacri*, from which Mather likely cites.

¹⁰ Taken from Hugh Broughton, *A Comment upon Cobelet*h or *Ecclesiastes*, framed for the Instruction of Prince Henry our Hope (1605), p. 13. The Cambridge-trained Anglican divine Broughton (1549–1612) was one of the most accomplished English Hebraists of the Elizabethan and early Stuart period, who, during the many years he spent on the Continent, came into close contact with leading Rabbis and Christian Hebraists (*ODNB*). Broughton's best-known work is a controversial work of biblical chronology and textual criticism, *A Conent of Scripture* (1588).

¹¹ From Michael Jermin, *A Commentary upon the whole Book of Ecclesiastes or the Preacher* (1639), p. 2, Mather refers to Gregory of Nyssa, *Homiliae in Ecclesiasten*, hom. 1 [PG 44. 619–20; *GNO* 5]. Mather cites Jermin's transl. With diacritical marks: υπερθειναι τον νουν της αισθησεως. Hall's transl: "to raise the mind above sensation" (*Homilies on Ecclesiastes*, p. 34). Jermin's work (hereafter, *Ecclesiastes*) is Mather's second main source throughout his annotations on *Ecclesiastes*.

¹² "Either those things which were made for men, or those things which are made by men, or those which are made in men." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 2), Mather cites the medieval

Q. The Word for, *The Preacher*, ha's, a *Congregation* in the Signification of it? v. 1.

A. He writes his Words to be read in the *Congregation*.

Yea, He declares his *Repentance* in the *Congregation*. One that hath sinned openly, should *Repent in the Congregation*.

One of the Fathers ha's an agreeable Turn: *Nos alloquitur Ecclesiastes; audiamus eius Verba, qui sumus Ecclesia*.¹³

Q. Why, those Titles mentioned, *The Son of David*, and, *The King in Jerusalem*? v. 1.

A. In His *Repentance* he followed the Example of his Father *David*.

And *Jerusalem*, the Glory of this World, was in a peculiar Manner exhibited; & the Vanities of this World were peculiarly embraced there. T'was fitt the People there, should be advised of these Matters, above any People in the World.¹⁴

{1327:}

Q. What Remarkable occurs in that Sentence, *Vanity of Vanities, saith the Preacher; Vanity of Vanities, All is Vanity?* v. 2.

A. This Book, which treats on the *Vanity* of all things under the Sun, whether *Creatures of God*, or *Labours of Men*, is written by one peculiarly called, *A Preacher*. An Intimation, that the *Vanity of this World*, (leading us to the World which the *Messiah* ha's for us,) is an eminent Subject, for any one to handle, that would bee, *A Preacher*; yea, tis a Subject enough to make, *A Preacher*.

But, what Sort of a *Preacher*? Hee was, as wee may read it, *Anima concionans*.¹⁵ And indeed, there is no good *Preacher*, but what ha's his *Heart*, and *Soul*, in what hee saith.

theologian and mystic Hugh of Saint Victor (d. 1141), *Homiliae in Ecclesiasten*, hom. 1 [PL 175. 116], from his work *De Scripturis*, which is an introduction to his larger Octateuch commentary. Transl.: Jermin. Probably a native of Saxony, Hugh became an influential teacher at the Parisian school of St. Victor, where he made important contributions to the systematization of the medieval sciences. As a biblical exegete, Hugh developed a hermeneutics of three distinct meanings of Scripture (historical, allegorical, and tropological), which he applied to many parts of the Bible, including Ecclesiastes. His most important work of systematic theology is *De sacramentis christianae fidei* where his mystical understanding of symbolism is on display (RGG). The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

13 "The Preacher speaks to us; let us hear his words, we who are the church." Mather cites Gregory of Nyssa, *Homiliae in Ecclesiasten*, hom. 2 [PG 44. 635; GNO 5]; transl.: Jermin.

14 From Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 4.

15 "Preaching from the soul." Mather here cites from the commentary of his maternal grandfather John Cotton (1585–1652), *A briefe Exposition with practicall Observations upon the whole Book of Ecclesiastes* (1654), p. 3. Here the quote reads in context: "That in this true church assembled he was *Anima concionans, in hæc verba*; he spake these words, or delivered them in the congregation, by word or writing, as a testimony of his repentance." This entry is the only time that Mather refers to his grandfather's commentary.

In this one Sentence, which now contains the Theme of the whole Discourse, perhaps the *Rhetorical Figures*, that occur, may bee more than at first View fall under your Notice. Mr. Cotton reckons up, no less than *eleven*; which are, 1. *Hyberbole*. 2. *Polyptoton*. 3. *Epizeuxis*. 4. *Anadiplosis*. 5. *Epanalepsis*. 6. *Anaphora*. 7. *Epistrophe*. 8. *Epanodos*. 9. *Numerus Oratorius*. 10. *Climax*. 11. *Paranomasia*.¹⁶

But passing from these things, as perhaps too obvious, for a room in these Papers, I rather hasten to invite your Observation of one Thing; That *Solomon* in this Discourse may seem to have the Observation & Experience, of our great Mother *Eve*, in his Eye. Our Mother *Eve*, having obtained a View, of a *Christ to come* & of the extreme Want which the World had, of a *Christ*, shee called her Son, *Abel*; that is to say, *Vanity*. And when shee had entertained herself with a View of this *Vanity*, then came *Seth* or, the Line of the promised *Messiah*. *Solomon* had his, *Cains*, or, *Possessions*; and when hee saw what they would prove, “Well, thinks hee I must now do like my Mother *Eve*, write *Abel*, or *Vanity*, upon all.” And, if the Remembrance and Resemblance of that famous Woman, were here proposed by the *Preacher* tis no wonder that the Name which hee assumes for himself, bee of the *Fæminine Gender*! *Kohemoth*.¹⁷

Munster thinks our Apostle had an Eye to those Words of *Solomon*, when he speaks of, *The Creature made Subject unto Vanity*.¹⁸

Jerom tells us, That in all Translations besides the LXX, the Words have been rendred, Ἀτμός ατμῶν *A Vapor of Vapors*.¹⁹ How thin a thing is this World, if it come to that.

¹⁶ See Cotton, *A briefe Exposition*, pp. 2–3.

¹⁷ Possibly derived from Cornelius à Lapide’s gloss on Gen. 4:1–4, which, drawing on Eusebius of Caesarea and Josephus, offers a reading very similar to Mather’s. See his *Commentaria in Genesim*, in *Commentarius in Pentateuchum Mosis* ([1616] 1717), p. 72.

¹⁸ Compare Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4417). The citation is written in a different ink and squeezed between the other entries.

¹⁹ From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 6), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 1 [PL 23.1013; CCSL 72]; with diacritical marks: ἀτμός ἀτμῶν, sive ατμῶν; see the LXX: ματαιότης ματαιότητων (“vanity of vanities”). Jerome’s allegorical commentary on Ecclesiastes, which essentially reads the book as a guidebook to a world-denying form of spiritual devotion, was the standard Christian interpretation throughout the patristic and medieval periods until the Reformers of the sixteenth century introduced completely new perspectives. The fact that Jerome (via Jermin) is one of the most frequent interlocutors in this section of the “Biblia” says a lot about Mather’s abiding interest in mystical and christological readings, even as he favors a hyperliteralist approach to some parts of the Bible. On this, see the Introduction.

The translation of the Hebrew word *hebel* has been much debated. The KJV’s “vanity” reflects the Christian ascetic tradition of reading Ecclesiastes in the spirit of a *contemptus mundi*. Modern scholarly proposals, as Bartholomew explains, have ranged “from ‘absurd’ (Fox), ‘meaningless’ (Longman), ‘useless’ (GNB), to ... ‘a puff of breath’ (N. Lohfink).” Bartholomew himself suggests “enigmatic,” because, “in line with the parallel expression ‘a striving after wind,’ *hebel* does not indicate that there is no meaning but that it appears ungraspable or incomprehensible.” Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 93.

I will add a Passage of *Chrysostom* in his Epistle to *Eutropius*. *Hunc Versiculum si saperent, qui in Potestate sunt, in Parietibus omnibus, et in Vestibus scriberent, in Foro, in Domo, in Januis, in Ingressibus, et antè omnia, in Conscientiis suis, ut semper eum Oculis cernerent, et Corde sentirent.*²⁰

[2v]

Q. Does *History* give us no lively Commentary on the First Words of *Ecclesiastes*? v. 2.

A. I might answer; what else can you find in *History*?

But in one Peece of *History*, methinks we have it in a very particular and pathetical Application.

Gelimer was a powerful and opulent King of *Africa*. After he had long been besieged by the Roman General, *Pharas*, he desired *Pharas*, to send him, an *Harp*, a *Loaf of Bread*, and a *Sponge*. *Pharas* knew not what Interpretation to putt upon so odd a Request, until the Messenger informed him, that the King did long to see a *Loaf of Bread*, because he had not seen such a thing, since he retired into the Mountains; that he wanted a *Sponge*, to Dry up his Tears; and an *Harp*, to comfort him in his present Calamity. *Gelimer* at last surrenders himself a Prisoner.

Anon, *Belisarius*, after a mighty Conduct and Success, in *Africa*, as well as in other Places, ha's ordered for him, the Just Honours of a *Triumph*, at *Constantinople*. In this Triumph, there were prodigious Treasures exposed; and among the rest, there were several Monuments of the *Jewes*, which *Titus* had carried from *Jerusalem*, to *Rome*; and which *Gensericus* had carried from *Rome* to *Africa*. Behold another Commentary on the Text now before us! These by the Order of *Justinian*, were now restored unto *Jerusalem*.

Among the *Vandals*, who were now led in Triumph, & admirable for the Tallness and Beauty of their Persons, appears King *Gelimer*, more conspicuous for Stature, as well as other Grandeur than the rest; & clothed in a *purple Robe*, as an Instance of the Inconstancy of Human Affayrs. Being brought into the *Hippodrome*, and beholding the Emperour seated on the Imperial Throne, surrounded on all Sides, by great Numbers of Spectators, and himself the publick Scorn of the People, he uttered no other Lamentation, but often repeated that Sentence of the Preacher, *Vanity of Vanities, Vanity of Vanities; All is Vanity*. The lively Sense of his Calamities touch'd the Emperour so nearly that instead of

²⁰ "This verse, if they who are great in this world were wise, they would write on all their walls and garments, in their common meeting places, in their private houses, on their doors, in their entries, and above all in their consciences, that so they might always see it before their eyes, always consider it in their minds." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 6), Mather cites an early modern Latin transl. of John Chrysostom's *In Eutropium* [PG 52. 391]; Jermin's transl. modified. The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

putting him to Death, he granted him, & his Relations, considerable Possessions in *Galatia*.²¹

Q. The *Earth abiding forever?* v. 4.

A. Saies *Olympiadorus*, – *Accusatrix vestra facta, in quâ nefaria Opera perpetrastis*.²²

Gregory applies it mystically to the *Church*.²³

And then, *Jerom* applies the *passing Generation*, to the Church of the *Jews*; the *coming Generation*, to the Church of the *Gentiles*.²⁴

The *Earth abides Forever*, inasmuch as it is unknown to us, how long it *Abides*. The original Word, עולם is from / עלם / that signifies, *To ly hid*. It is used for the Continuance of a Thing, the Ceasing of which is concealed from us.²⁵

Dr. *Patrick* offers this Gloss, as rather a *pretty* one, than a *solid* one, upon it. When Men go, they can carry none of the Earth along with them; they must leave it behind them, unto those that come after, who pass away also, leaving the Earth where they found it.²⁶

Q. The *Rising & Setting of the Sun?* v. 5.

A. *Gloriosior quod alios illuminet, quàm quòd ipse luceat*; as *Zanchy* expresses it.²⁷

21 This story of Gelimer (480–553 CE), last Germanic ruler of the North African kingdom of the Vandals and Alans (530–534), is based on the account of the Roman historian Procopius of Caesarea (c. 500–after 554 CE), who accompanied the Roman general Belisarius in the wars of the Emperor Justinian. See his *History of the Wars, Vandalic War*, 4.6.27–4.9.15 (LCL 81).

22 “[It is] made your accuser, in which you have done evil deeds.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 9), Mather cites a Latin translation of a Greek *katena*-style commentary by Olympiodorus the Deacon, an early sixth century CE Alexandrian exegete, *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten* (original authorship disputed), at Eccles. 1:4 [PG 93. 481]; transl.: Jermin.

23 From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 9–10), Mather refers to Gregory the Great, *In septem Psalmos poenitentiales, Explanatio quinti Psalmi poenitentialis*, on Ps. 101:26 [PL 79. 626].

24 From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 10), Mather refers to Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 1, on Eccles. 1:4 [PL 23. 1015; CCL 72].

25 From Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 10. עולם [olam] “long duration, antiquity, futurity;” עלם [alam] “conceal, be hidden, secret.”

26 Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 9. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

27 “More glorious in that it illuminates others, than in that it itself gives light.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 10), Mather cites the Reformed Italian theologian, Hieronymus Zanchius (Girolamo Zanchi; 1516–1590). See Zanchius’s discourse on the heavenly luminaries (“De luminaribus coeli”), in his *De operibus Dei intra spatium sex dierum creatis* (1591/1602), pp. 537–38, which draws upon the Greek philosopher Aristotle (Aristoteles, 384–322 BCE). Jermin’s transl. modified.

The Wise Man seems to make the Condition of the *Sun*, less transitory than the Condition of *Man*. For the *Sun* does not *Pass away*, but *Returns to his Place*; and as *Jerom* rightly translates it, *et oritur ipse ibi*; And *itself* rises there.²⁸

Q. Upon the *Rivers returning whence they came*, that they may flow again? v. 7.

A. *Gregory*, in a moral Sense, applies it unto *Preachers*; who having studied of Heavenly Things, do send them forth, for the Watering of the Fields of the Lord; and when they have so done, they return to their Studies. Unless they do thus; *Interna Cæcitas etiam Externa Prædicationis Verba siccabit*.²⁹

[3r]

Q. On what account is it said, *All things are full of Labour, the Eye is not satisfied with seeing*? v. 8.

A. *Ambrose* has given it unto us, in one brief Sentence: [*De Bono Mortis*. c. 7.] *Nullus finis Laboris, nullus est fructus Abundantiae*.³⁰

But then, *Gregory Nyssen* takes the Clause according to the old Translation; *All Words are full of Labour*. He applies it unto the Words of the Preacher, who is *worthy of Double Honour* for *labouring in the Word*. He saies, The *Words* are those which are truly *Words*, & which are spoken to the Profit of Soules. And such *Words*, he saies, are *full of Labour*, because they who teach them are under all possible Obligations, to follow them, to perform them, in their own Lives & Conversations.³¹

Q. *No New Thing under the Sun*? v. 9.

A. There came afterwards another King & Philosopher, who subscribed unto this. *Aurelius Antoninus* has it, Οὐδὲν καινὸν πάντα καὶ συνηθί.³² *Nothing is New; there is nothing but what we are used unto*.

²⁸ From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 10), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 1 [PL 23. 1015; CCSL 72]. See also his translation in the VUL: “ibique renascens” (“and there rising again”).

²⁹ “An inward blindness will indeed dry up the outward words of preaching.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 12–13), Mather cites Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 30, cap. 2 [PL 76. 526; CCSL 143B]; transl.: modified from Jermin. Compare *Morals on the Book of Job* (3:367).

³⁰ “There is no end of labor, no fruit of abundance.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 14), Mather cites Ambrose, *De bono mortis*, cap. 7 [PL 14. 553; CSEL 32.1]; Jermin’s transl. modified. In this text, Ambrose claims that in one sense death is good, as it releases the soul unto God; Augustine later contradicts him (in *De civitate Dei*, lib. 13 [PL 41. 377–404; CSEL 40; CCSL 48]) claiming that there is no *utilitas* of death.

³¹ From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 14), Mather refers to Gregory of Nyssa, *Homiliae in Ecclesiasten*, hom. 1 [PG 44. 630–31; GNO 5]. Hall’s transl. (p. 43): “words in the true sense, words uttered for spiritual benefit and the service of mankind Therefore all such words are laborious, since those who instruct in virtue first achieve within themselves the things which they teach.” Gregory of Nyssa refers to 1 Tim. 5:17 in connection to 2 Tim. 2:6.

³² Mather cites the reflections of the Roman Emperor and Stoic philosopher Marcus Aurelius (121–180 CE), *Meditations* (7.1). Although a more literal rendering of this phrase (οὐδὲν καινόν·

Q. On that, *No New Thing under the Sun?* v. 9.

A. Gregory Nyssene ha's a peculiar Exposition of the Passage: He reads it by way of Quæstion; He supposes, that the Preacher having shewed all things that are, to be vain, does here ask the Quæstion, what is to be conceived of those things that have been? In the Answer, he tells us, That as things *shall be*, so *they were*. That is, as they *shall be* Renewed unto Perfection at the Resurrection, so *they were* made in Perfection at the Creation. But as yett, there is *no New Thing under the Sun*; there is nothing Renewed from the Vanity thereof. There must be *New Heavens* and a *New Earth*, when we come to that Renovation.³³

Q. On that, *No Remembrance of Former things?* v. 11.

A. Dr. Jermyyn proposes that we take in this Consideration. *No Remembrance* / ראשנים / *primariorum*, of those who have been highest in wordly Esteem; of those who by famous Deeds, and glorious Works, have striven to leave their Memory behind them.³⁴ And much more, there is no Remembrance of them, who have been Inferior in the Repute of the World.

Gregory Nyssen calls in this Thought; As now, there is no Memory of that *Happiness*, wherein Man was created, so in the Resurrection there shall by no Remembrance of the *Misery* he now suffers.³⁵

| **Q.** On that, *Neither any Remembrance of things that are to come?* v. 11.

A. The Chaldee here understands a Mystery, which is indeed a golden & a glorious Key, to the whole Book of *Ecclesiastes*. It leads to the Happiness, in the Reign of the *Messiah*. *Profectò præteritarum Nationum Memoria non extat, neque earum quæ post future sunt Recordatio erit iis qui temporibus Regis Messie victuri sunt.*³⁶

[3v]

πάντα καὶ συνήθη) would be "nothing is new; and everything is familiar," even the modern translation of C. R. Haines, following a long interpretative tradition, resorts to the well-known idiom of Ecclesiastes: "There is no new thing under the sun. Everything is familiar." (*LCL* 58, p. 165). Grotius also cross-references the *Meditations* at this verse, see his gloss in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4427).

³³ From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 16), Mather refers to Gregory of Nyssa, *Homiliae in Ecclesiasten*, hom. 1 [PG 44. 633–34; *GNO* 5]. Hall's transl. (p. 45): "For such as you may see it after the resurrection of the dead, just such it was made at the first. The resurrection of the dead is nothing but the complete restoration of the original state." Reference is made to Isa. 65:22 and Rev. 21:1.

³⁴ Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 18); the plural ראשנים / ראשון [ri'shon] "first, primary; former things."

³⁵ From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 16), Mather paraphrases Gregory of Nyssa, *Homiliae in Ecclesiasten*, hom. 1 [PG 44. 635–36; *GNO* 5]. Hall's transl. (p. 46): "When our nature inclined to evil we became forgetful of the good; when we are set free again for the good, evil in turn will be veiled in oblivion."

³⁶ "Surely, for those who shall live in the times of Messiah the King, the memory of passed nations is not, and neither will there be recollection of those which are to come after." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 18), Mather cites a Latin translation of the Targum to Ecclesiastes (Qohelet)

Q. What might be the *Wisdom* which King Solomon gave his Heart to know, and what his *Madness & Folly*? v. 17.

A. Rabbi Solomon saies, That by *Wisdom*, is meant, the *liberal* Sciences; and by *Madness* and *Folly*, the magical ones; or such Superstitions as *Egypt* was famous for.³⁷

Q. Considering the Noble and Confessed Pleasure of *Knowledge*, how can it be said, *He that increaseth Knowledge, increaseth Sorrow*? v. 18.

A. Aquinas gives us a Distinction here. *Quòd ex parte rerum cognitarum Scientia Dolorem causat; ex parte autem Contemplationis, Veritatis Delectationem.*³⁸

But then Jerom gives this, as the Cause of the Verse; *Quantò magis quis Sapientiam fuerit consecutus, tantò plus indignatur subjacere vitiis, et procul esse a Virtutibus quas requirit.*³⁹ The more Knowledge any Man ha's, the more he discerns his own Defects & Vices; and this raises an Indignation in him. Saloni-
us is in the right of it; *Quantò quisque plus proficit in Sapientia, tanto magis sibi irascitur de malis Operibus quæ gessit.*⁴⁰

But the Indignation here spoken of, the *Chaldee* Paraphrast understands; not the Indignation of Man, but of God. He carries it thus; *Vir qui multiplicat*

at Eccles. 1:11; Jermin's transl. modified. See also Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:396), which translates the Aramaic מלכא משיחא [malka meshicha] "King Messiah" with [in diebus] regis Christi "[in the days] of the King Christ." See Knobel, ed., *The Targum of Qohelet* (1991); Sperber, ed., *The Bible in Aramaic*, vol. 4A, *The Hagiographia* (1968); Levine, ed., *The Aramaic Version of Qohelet* (1978), at this verse. In the LXX, משיח [mashiach] "anointed one" is translated with χριστός [christos] "anointed one."

³⁷ The gloss is not mentioned in Jermin, Patrick or *Critici Sacri*. Mather's source here seems to be the Latin translation of Rashi's commentaries by Sebastian Münster, *Qohelet. Ecclesiastes, iuxta hebraicam veritatem* (1525), at Eccles. 1. See Rashi's commentary in *Mikraoth Gedoloth, The Book of Kings 1*, pp. 43–45, on 1 Kings 5:9–14. Among other sources, Rashi refers to a midrash on 1 Kings 5:9–14 in a ninth-century collection of Aggadic Midrash, *Pesikta Rabbati*, Piska 14, col. 9 (Braude, pp. 271–79), in which King Salomo's wisdom is compared with that of the "children of the east" and "Egypt," who were experts in astrology, horoscopes, and magical practices.

³⁸ "From the point of view of the things one learns, therefore, knowledge is a source of pain; but insofar as it is a contemplation of truth, it is a source of pleasure." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 26), Mather cites Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae, Prima Secundae Partis*, qu. 38, art. 5. Engl. transl.: *Summa Theologiae*, vol. 20, p. 143.

³⁹ "By how much the more anyone has obtained wisdom, by so much the greater is his indignation, that he is subject to vices, and is so far from virtues which he seeks after." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 26), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 1 [PL 23. 1023; CCSL 72]. Jermin's transl. modified.

⁴⁰ "By how much the more anyone profits in wisdom, by so much the more is he angry with himself for the evil works which he has done." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 27), Mather claims to cite Saloni-
us, Bishop of Geneva (c. 400–after 450), *In Ecclesiasten expositio mystica* [PL 53. 996; ed. Curti, 1964], a commentary in dialogical format between Saloni-
us and Veranus (without chapter divisions). The commentaries on Proverbs and Ecclesiastes which are ascribed to him are actually from an unknown German author from the ninth century, while some set the *terminus ad quem* in the twelfth century (*Lexikon des Mittelalters* 7:1317). Jermin's transl. modified.

*Scientiam, quandò peccat, et non convertitur ad Sapientiam, multiplicat Indignationem à Domino.*⁴¹

⁴¹ “The man who multiplies knowledge, when he sins, and is not turned unto wisdom, multiplies indignation from the Lord.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 27), Mather cites the Targum at Eccles. 1:18. Jermin’s transl. modified. Compare the slightly different Latin transl. in Walton’s *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:398). See *The Targum of Qophelet* at this verse.

Q. *Enjoy Pleasures?* v. 1.

A. The Original is, *And see into the Good of it.* See what thou canst find in it, of the *Good* which thou desirest. *Vatablus* well expresses it; *Experiar quantum in eo bonum sit.*⁴²

Q. *Of Mirth, what doth it?* v. 2.

A. One of the Fathers apprehends the Preacher here, to speak of, or to, *Mirth*, as to a Thief unawares crept into the house of the Soul. *What doest thou?* What doest thou here, thou pernicious Enemy?⁴³

[▽5r] [▽Insert from 5r]

Q. On that, *I sought in my Heart to give myself unto Wine; yett acquainting my Heart with Wisdome; and to lay hold on Folly?* v. 3.

A. Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase runs thus. “I deliberated with myself, about a middle Course of Life; which should neither be altogether studious, nor altogether voluptuous; but a Mixture of both; and in Pursuance of this Counsel, entertained myself freely, with all the Delights of Feasting and Banqueting; yett so, as not to lose my Acquaintance with Wisdome, but to keep my Mind so intent upon it, that Folly might not have its full Swing; but find a Check upon it; till I might make a sufficient Trial.”⁴⁴ —

I gave myself.] The Hebrew Word imports *Extension*. When Men indulge themselves very liberally in Eating and Drinking, the Blood boils & rises, the Veins swell, and the Skin of the whole Body is distended.

To lay hold on.] The Word signifies, To keep under a Restraint, what we have siezed.⁴⁵

[△] [△Insert ends]

⁴² “I will try how much good there may be in it.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes*, p. 29), Mather cites the annotation of Vatablus on this verse. See the *Sacra Biblia, hebraice, graece, et latine*, vol. 2, at Eccles. 2:1; Jermin’s transl. modified. Compare the KJV 1611: “I said in mine heart, Goe to now, I will prooue thee with mirth, therefore enjoy pleasure: and behold, this also is vanitie.”

⁴³ From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 30), Mather paraphrases Gregory of Nyssa, *Homiliae in Ecclesiasten*, hom. 2 [PG 44. 645–48; *GNO* 5]. Hall’s transl. (pp. 56–57): “This is equivalent to saying ‘I set my face against pleasure, being suspicious of its approach like a thief’s, who slinks in secretly past the soul’s attendants.’”

See Appendix B.

⁴⁴ From Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, pp. 17–18.

⁴⁵ Explanations from Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 26. Here Mather refers to the transl. of the KJV 1611: “I sought in mine heart to giue my selfe vnto wine, (yett acquainting mine heart with wisdome) and to lay hold on folly” The first Hebrew word which Mather refers to is found

Q. On that, *I made me great Works, I builded me Houses, I planted me Vineyards?* v. 4.

A. Tis a note of Dr. *Jermyns*, That the Preacher most agreeably expresses the Nature of the wordly Pleasures: which is to be all for itself. *I did all for ME*. If those great Works had been made for some great and good Ends; the *Houses*, to lodge the Stranger & the Orphan; the *Vineyards*, to releev those that had been impoverished; It had been all for God, & would have Received a Reward of Blessedness. But all was for *himself* and this made *all* to be *nothing*.⁴⁶

Q. What Imitation of the *Solomitic Works*, did Christian Antiquity propose in a way of Repentance and Devotion? v. 7.

A. You shall guess, by my singling out one of them.

Saies he, *I made me Pools*.

One thing they proposed was, lett us make our Eyes to be *Pools of Water* in Sorrow for our Sins. That Sorrow, *Irriguo suo diluat et fluento fontis sui abstergat*. It is *Ambrose*.⁴⁷

Another thing they proposed, was, lett us make *Pools* of Charity, wherewith to water *Trees* of Misery & moisten the Dry Ground of Want & Necessity. *Charity* should be the Well of *Rehovoth*, in its Extensiveness. *Exuberat Caritas, ut haurire eam cominus possis*.⁴⁸ Tis *Ambrose* again. Thirdly, They proposed, lett us make *Pools*, by digging into the Depths of Heavenly Knowledge. *Nyssen* saies, *Nihil melius Fonte Divino per quem Animæ siccitas irroratur*.⁴⁹

Q. *Solomon* saies, *I made me Pools of Water*. Do Travellers give us any modern Account of those *Pools*? v. 6.

A. Mr. *Maundril*, in his Journey from *Aleppo* to *Jerusalem*; A. D. 1697, comes to view Remarkable Places in the Neighbourhood of *Bethlehem*. And, saies hee:

in the expression “to giue my selfe vnto wine,” מִשְׁכָּה לְמִשְׁכָּה בִּינִי אֶת־בְּשָׂרִי *ESV*: “to cheer my body with wine.” Here the verb is מִשַּׁךְ [mashak] “seize, carry off; pull, drag; extend, protract.” See מִשְׁכָּה [meshek] “a drawing.” The second Hebrew word which Mather refers to is in the phrase “to lay hold on folly,” וְלֶאֱחֹז בְּסִלּוֹת *NAU*: “and to take hold of folly.” Here the verb is אָחַז [achaz] “lay hold of, seize, hold fast.”

⁴⁶ Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 35.

⁴⁷ “With the well-watered stream from its fountain it washes and cleanses.” Drawing from Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 37), Mather cites Ambrose, *De Isaac et anima*, cap. 4 [PL 14. 512; *CSEL* 32.1]. The citation is also listed in Ambrose’s *Commentarius in Cantica Cantorum*, cap. 4 [PL 15. 1914]; transl.: *FC* 65:25–26.

⁴⁸ “For love abounds, so that you can drink it in close at hand.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 37), Mather cites Ambrose, *De Isaac et anima*, cap. 4 [PL 14. 512; *CSEL* 32.1]; transl.: *FC* 65:26.

⁴⁹ “There is nothing better than this divine fountain, by which the dryness and barrenness of our souls is made wet and moistened.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 37), Mather cites Gregory of Nyssa, *Homiliae in Ecclesiasten*, hom. 3 [PG 44. 663; *GNO* 5]; Jermin’s transl. slightly modified. Hall’s modern transl. with context based upon the Greek text (p. 71): “Surely it would be better to tap for ourselves a little stream from the divine spring, from which the virtues of the soul germinate and are watered, so that the grove of good habits may flourish in our souls.”

“The First Place that we directed our Course to, was those famous Fountains, Pools, and Gardens, about one Hour & a quarter distant from *Bethlehem*, southward, said to have been the Contrivance & Delight of King *Solomon*. To those Works, and Places of Pleasure, that great Prince is supposed to allude, [Eccl. 2.6.] where among the other Instances of his Magnificence, he reckons up his *Gardens, & Vineyards, & Pools*.

As for the *Pools*, they are Three in Number, lying in a Row, above each other; being so disposed, that the Waters of the Uppermost, may descend into the Second, and those of the Second into the Third. Their Figure is Quadrangular. The Breadth is the same in All; amounting to about Ninety Paces. In their Length, there is some Difference between them; the first being about one hundred & sixty Paces long, the second two hundred, the Third two hundred & twenty. They are all lined with Wall, and plaistered, and contain a great Depth of Water.

[4v] About the Distance of one hundred & forty Paces from them, is the Fountain, from which they principally derive their Waters. This the Friars will have to be that *sealed Fountain*, to which the Holy Spirit is compared | [Cant. 4.12.] They pretend a Tradition, that King *Solomon* shutt up these Springs, & kept the Door of them *sealed* with his own *Signet*, to the End that he might preserve the Waters for his own Drinking in their Natural Freshness & Purity. Nor was it difficult thus to secure them, they rising under Ground, & having no Avenue to them, but by a little Hole, like to the Mouth of a Narrow Well. Thro’ this Hole you descend directly down, but not without some Difficulty, for about Four Yards; & then arrive in a vaulted Room, fifteen Paces Long, & eight Broad. Joining to this, is another Room, of the same fashion, but somewhat less. Both these Rooms are covered with Handsome Stone Arches, very ancient, and perhaps the Work of *Solomon* himself. You find here, Four Places at which the Water rises; From those separate Sources, it is convey’d, by little Rivulets, into a kind of Basin, and from thence is carried, by a large subterraneous Passage down into the Pools. In the Way, before it arrives at the Pools, there is an Aquæduct of Brick Pipes, which receives Part of the Stream, & carries it by many Turnings & Windings, about the Mountains, to *Jerusalem*.

It is probable enough, the Pools may be the same with *Solomon’s*; there not being the like Store of excellent Spring Water, to be mett with any where else, throughout all *Palæstine*.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ This entry is derived from Henry Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, at Easter, A. D. 1697* ([1703] 1732), pp. 88–89. Maundrell (1665–1701) was a scholar at Oxford University and an Anglican divine. From 1695 until his death he served as a chaplain to the Levant Company in Syria. Based on the diaries written during his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1697, his *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem* became a popular piece of travel literature that was translated into Dutch, French and German, and reprinted many times during the eighteenth century (*ODNB*). Modern archaeologists, of course, think that these pools south of Bethlehem

Q. The *Servants born in the House, and great Possessions of Cattel?* v. 7.

A. The Original calls them, / בני בית / *Sons of the House*. An Intimation of the Tenderness, Beniquity, Humanity the *Servants* are to be treated withal.⁵¹

He had *Servants*; but he had also *much Cattel*; They were more than the *Servants*. By Consequence, there was for them Employment enough. Here is a Rebuke for the Vanity of those, who will have many *Servants*, but no Business for them. *Abraham* had many *Servants*; but it seems, they were all employ'd; For, when the three Strangers came to his Tent, there were none of those at hand; he himself ran for the Kid, and his Wife made ready the Meal.⁵²

Q. The *peculiar Treasure of Kings?* v. 8.

A. *Jewels*, Gold and Silver are the common Treasure of many.

Q. The *Delights of the Sons of Men?* v. 8.

A. Musical Instruments. The Musick of Instruments is proper unto Men. That of the *Voice*, is in *Birds* also.⁵³

[▽Insert from 5r]

Q. A further Thought, on the, *Siddoth*, called here, *The Delights of the Sons of Men*; which Dr. *Patrick* takes to be the greatest Difficulty in the Chapter? v. 8.⁵⁴

A. *Bochart* ha's probably enough conjectured them to be, most excellent Compositions in Musick, or most elegant Verses, sett by a rare Artist among the *Phœnicians*, called *Sido*, to the most ravishing & melting Notes.⁵⁵

We will not understand, *Beautiful Women* taken Captive in the Wars, of which the King had the first Choice. For there were no Wars in *Solomons* time, until towards the latter End of his Reign; & then he was worsted in them. Some that are fond of this Interpretation, will derive | the Word from *Saddaim*, the Breasts, or Paps. *Munster* finds here, *Quadrigas Pulchras*: Fine Coaches.⁵⁶

[△Insert ends]

Q. His *Wisdome remaining with him?* v. 9.

A. Many have rendred it, It *stood*, or, It *stay'd* with me. By this, it should seem, tho' he increased in Greatness, yett he did not in *Wisdome*; That stood still. The

[▽5r]

[5v]

[△]

were constructed much later, setting the *terminus ad quem* in the second century BCE. The identification with Solomon is derived from the *Jewish Antiquities* (8.186) of Josephus (HCBDB).

51 From Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 38. בְּנֵי־בֵית [bene bayit] “menservants” (KJV); “male slaves” (NAU).

52 Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, pp. 38–39.

53 Paraphrase of Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 40. See Appendix B.

54 Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 28.

55 From Patrick (*Ecclesiastes* 28), Mather cites Bochart, *Geographia sacra*, lib. 2, cap. 2, p. 787.

56 From Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4427).

Time he spent in wordly Delights, left him no Time to improve in *Wisdome*. His *Wisdome* was at a stay, while he went on from one Delight to another.⁵⁷

[▽5v] [▽Insert from 5v]

Q. A further Illustration on, *His Wisdome remaining with him?* v. 9.

A. Tis Dr. *Patricks*. It was not the Manner of great Men, in ancient time, to pass their Feasts only in Eating and Drinking, and after the sottish Custome now, to send the Cups going round, when all was taken away; but to spend the Time in pleasant, but learned, Discourses, or in telling Stories, or Propounding and Resolving Quæstions, which might whett the Witts of Men, & form their Manners, & both Refresh & Instruct the Mind. This we see exemplified, at *Sampsons* Marriage-feast. In *Plutarchs Symposiacks*, there are abundance of learned Quæstions introduced, at the Table. *Athenæus* in his *Deipnosophists*, hath the Flowers of all Arts and Authors there. *Virgil*, at the End of his first *Æneid*, brings in *Jopas* at the Feast made by *Dido*, singing a philosophical Song, about the Motions of the Moon, & the Sun, & in short, all that had been taught by *Atlas*, the Famous Astronomer. And in another Place, *Æneas* himself relates the Destruction of *Troy*.⁵⁸

[△] [△Insert ends]

Q. That Passage, *This is Vanity and Vexation of Spirit*; Is it capable of any Translation? v. 11.

A. I find this Passage, in a Letter of Holy Mr. *Philip Henry* upon it; *what is Translated*, Vexation of Spirit, *may bee read*, Feeding upon Wind. [Compare, Hos. 12.1.] *And can Wind satisfy?*⁵⁹

Truly, the Original does extremely countenance this Translation.⁶⁰

Q. Why this Expression so often used; *under the Sun?* v. 11.

⁵⁷ Paraphrase of Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 42. See Appendix B.

⁵⁸ From Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, pp. 29–30. References are made to Judg. 14:12–20, and two famous examples of the Greco-Roman literary genre of the *symposium* or philosophical table-talk in the tradition of Plato and Xenophon: the *Symposiacs* (Table-talk) in Plutarch's *Moralia* and Athenæus's third century CE *Deipnosophistai* ("the dinner-table philosophers"); further reference is made to the song of Jopas sung during the feast of Queen Dido in Virgil's *Aeneis* (1.740–47), and Aeneas's account of the destruction of Troy in bk. 2 of that work.

⁵⁹ Remarks taken from a letter by the English Nonconformist minister Philip Henry (1631–1696) to his son Matthew Henry, as recorded in the work of the latter, *An Account of the Life and Death of Mr. Philip Henry* (1699), p. 152. The fame of the Presbyterian minister and Bible commentator Matthew Henry (1662–1714) of course rests on his popular *Exposition of the Old and New Testaments*, published around the same time (1708–1710) during which Mather attempted to have the "Biblia Americana" printed.

⁶⁰ Mather refers to the transl. of the KJV 1611: "vexation of spirit;" the Hebrew here is וִרְעוּת רִיחַ *ESV*: "a striving after wind." The noun here is וִרְעוּת [re'uth] "striving, aspiration."

A. Dr. *Jermyn* saies, it means, As far & wide as the Sun shines, there is no Profit to be found on Earth in earthly things. The true *Insulæ Fortunatæ*, are not in any Part of the Earth, which the *Sun* shines upon.⁶¹

[the entries from 5r–5v were inserted into their designated places]⁶²

[6r]

Q. To behold *Wisdom*, and *Madness & Folly*? v. 12.

A. *Jerom* saies, *Madness* and *Folly* is added unto *Wisdom*; as noting, the *Wisdom* whereto Man attains, *plus Erroris Stultitiæque habere, quàm veræ certæque Prudentiæ*.⁶³

But *Hugo de Sancto Victore*, carries it well, after this Manner. He first looked on *Wisdom*, as thereby coming to behold *Madness* and *Folly*; *Nemo ad Tenebras vadit, ut videat Lucem, sed ad Lucem venit, ut videat per Lucem, non solum Lucem, sed et Tenebras et Lucem*.⁶⁴

Q. The Reading of that Passage; *what can the Man do that cometh after the King? Even that which hath been already done*. v. 12.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* chuses to come nearer the Original, and reads it thus; *what is that Man, who shall attain after the King, to that which they have already made him?* That is, to have that which *Wisdom*, & the Knowledge of *Madness & Folly* have made him. It implies the Perfection he had attained, and his Ability to Judge of things.⁶⁵

Q. The Commendation of *Light*? v. 13.

A. *Light* ha's God Himself to be the Praiser of it; And it is the First Thing that God praised. *Lett there be Light*, is the First Word, that we hear spoken by God.⁶⁶

Q. The wise Mans Eyes in his Head? v. 14.

⁶¹ "Fortunate isles." From Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 44. In Greek mythology, heroes and other favored mortals were allowed to go to the fortunate isles, a place of eternal bliss. Ancient texts sometimes speculated on the location of these islands in the Atlantic ocean. References can be found in a variety of Romans and Greek sources. See, for instance, Pliny, *Natural History* (6.37.202); Plutarch, *Life of Sertorius* (8.571), in *Vitæ parallelæ*.

⁶² See Appendix B.

⁶³ "Has more error and folly in it than true and certain prudence." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 46), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 2 [PL 23. 1030; CCSL 72]; Jermin's transl. modified.

⁶⁴ "No one goes to darkness so that he may see light, but he comes to the light, that by the light he may see not only light but light and darkness also." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 46), Mather cites Hugh of Saint Victor, *Homiliae in Ecclesiasten*, hom. 10 [PL 175. 178]; transl.: Jermin.

⁶⁵ Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 47.

⁶⁶ Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, pp. 47–48.

A. Gregory Nyssen makes a mystical and a most spiritual Application of it. CHRIST is the *Head* of a *wise Man*, and his Eyes are fixed upon CHRIST.⁶⁷

Gregory the Great, ha's the like Thought; *Sapiens quisque illum tota intentione considerat, cujus se Membrum per fidem pensat*.⁶⁸

But there is another Gregory, he of *Neo-Cæsarea*; who considers, the Seat of the Eyes in the Head, on this Intention, *ut Longius pertingere Visu possint*,⁶⁹ that they may be able to see things at a Distance: – even Things after Death itself, are seen by the Eyes of a wise Man.

Whereas, a Fool ha's his Eyes in his Heels; *Nam quando Vis Animæ Contemplativa occupatur in rebus sensibilibus, in ejus Calcaneos Oculorum transit Natura*.⁷⁰

Or, A *wise Man* ha's his Eyes in his Head, because he looketh *in capita et principia rerum*; into the Causes & Beginnings of things. Whereas a *Fool walks in Darkness*, neither considers, whence things come, nor whither they tend.⁷¹

[6v]

Q. The Wise Mans Complaint, that all his *Labour* should be left unto the Command of a *Fool*? v. 19.

A. He omitts the *wise Man*, that might come after him, as being somewhat content with such an one. But that a *Fool* should succeed, and possess, and command all his Labour! *Hugo de S. Victore* saith, *si vana sunt hæc omnia, etiam in nostros Usus quasita et retenta, quid erunt ad Stultorum Voluptatem transmissa*.⁷²

But *Jerom* ha's a particular Thought on this Place. Because the Preacher speaks of *shewing his Wisdome*, he will not have it understood of wordly things; for, saith he, what Wisdome in them? He applies it therefore to the Labour of a more *Divine Wisdome*, in *Writing of Books*, wherein after a Man has employed

⁶⁷ From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 48), Mather cites Gregory of Nyssa, *Homiliae in Ecclesiasten*, hom. 5 [PG 44. 683; GNO 5].

⁶⁸ "Every wise man thinks upon him with the whole intention of his mind, a member of whom by faith he considers himself to be." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 48), Mather cites Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 17, cap. 7 [PL 76. 14; CCSL 143A]; transl. modified from Jermin.

⁶⁹ From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 48), who attributes this to Gregory Thaumaturgus, *Metaphrasis in Ecclesiasten*, Eccles. 3:14 [PG 10. 993]. Mather cites Jermin's transl. Gregory Thaumaturgus (Gregory of Neocaesarea, "the Miracle-Worker", c. 210/213–270), studied in Caesarea with Origen and under his influence converted to Christianity. Subsequently, he became bishop of his hometown of Neocaesarea, and authored a number of minor theological and exegetical works (RGG).

⁷⁰ "Whenever the soul's power of vision and contemplation is engaged with the objects of sense, its eyes are transferred to its heels." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 48–49), Mather cites Gregory of Nyssa, *Homiliae in Ecclesiasten*, hom. 5 [PG 44. 683; GNO 5]; transl.: Hall, p. 89.

⁷¹ From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 49), Mather cites Gregory of Nyssa, *Homiliae in Ecclesiasten*, hom. 5 [PG 44. 683; GNO 5]; Mather provides Jermin's transl.

⁷² "If all these things are vain, being gotten and kept to our own use, what will they be being left to the pleasure of the fools?" From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 55), Mather cites Hugh of Saint Victor, *Homiliae in Ecclesiasten*, hom. 12 [PL 175. 199]; Jermin's transl. modified.

an Intense and Immense Labour, they come into the hands of *Fools*, who do but Censure and Abuse the Author, & Pervert the Meaning, of them.⁷³

Q. The Meaning of that Passage; *who can eate? or who else can hasten hereunto more than I?* v. 25.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* observes, The Wise Man here setteth forth his abundant Enjoyment of the Good of this Life, Two Wayes. First, By the Lowd and Free Cry of his Command & Authority for it. Secondly, by the Ready and Speedy Dispatch of them, that yielded him Obedience, to answer his Desire. The Word, / אכל / which we render, *To eat*, signifies, *To call for*.⁷⁴ The Sense, who can more freely call for these things, or more Quickly enjoy them?

Q. Upon Gods *giving to a Man that is good in His Sight, Wisdome & Knowledge & Joy?* v. 26.

A. The Chaldee Paraphrast, thus distinguishes these three Words; *Viro cujus Opera sunt recta, coram Domino, dedit Sapientiam et Scientiam in hoc Sæculo, et Lætitiâ cum justis in Sæculo venturo*.⁷⁵ Dr. *Jermyn* proposes them to be thus distinguished. By *Wisdome*, understand, a wise desire to enjoy what he has. By *Knowledge*, a discerning of the Manner how to enjoy them aright. By *Joy*, the Comfort of enjoying them.⁷⁶

It is added, *unto the Sinner He giveth*. It is not said, *The Sinner in His Sight*; as it had been said; *The Man that is good in His Sight*. For God will turn away His favourable Eye from him, as he has turned himself from the Law of God. God will not bestow a gracious Look upon him.⁷⁷

⁷³ Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 55.

⁷⁴ A paraphrase and citation from Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 64. אכל [akal] “eat, consume, devour, burn up, feed.”

⁷⁵ “To the man whose works are right before the Lord, he gives wisdom and knowledge in this world, and joy with the righteous in the world to come.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 65), Mather cites the Latin transl. of the Targum at this verse. Jermin’s English transl. modified. Compare Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:402), which offers exactly the same Latin transl. of the Aramaic. See also *The Targum of Qohelet*; *The Bible in Aramaic* 4A; *The Aramaic Version of Qohelet*, at this verse.

⁷⁶ Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 65.

⁷⁷ Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 65.

Q. The Wise Mans Catalogue of Things that have their *Time* here below, what may one see in it? v. 1.

A. It may bee called his, *Fasciculus Temporum*.⁷⁸

Is there a *Time for everything under Heaven*? Ambrose upon it, saith well, *That all things under Heaven are Temporal, & by Consequence Mutable*.⁷⁹

One Mr. *Whitefoote* observes, That the lowest Story of the Heavens, is that of the *Moon*; which is the common Emblem of Mutability: And if you count the Particulars of the *Changes* here enumerated by *Solomon*, you will find just as many as are the Days in a common *lunary Month*, namely, Twenty Eight.

As for the First Instance of *Temporalities*, A *Time to bee Born & a Time to Dye*; the primitive Christians confounded the Distinction of these *Two Times*, by calling the Dayes of their Martyrs *Deaths*, their *Natalitia*, or Birth-dayes.

No Man is *Born*, but hee must have a Time to *Dye*. But many an one hath found a Time to *Dye*, that never was *Born*.

Q. A Further Gloss, if you please? v. 1.

A. I have somewhere mett with this Remark, in a Sermon of Mr. *Matthew Meads*.

“There are two things, he allotts no Time for; for *Sin* and for *Holiness*. He doth not say, *There is a Time to Sin*; because there is *No Time* for That. He doth not say, *There is a Time to Serve God*, and be Holy, & Wise to Salvation; because *All Time* is for That; it is alwayes in Season.”⁸⁰

This Remark agrees well, with what I since find in the Ancients. *Nazianzene* thus expresses it; Sow in the Time of Sowing, Reap in the Time of Reaping.

⁷⁸ “Little bundle of times/seasons.” Mather’s gloss here draws on a funeral sermon by John Whitefoote (1610–1699), an English divine, rector of Heigham, and minister of St. Peter’s Mancroft and St. Gregory in Norwich, *Israea agchithanes, Deaths alarum* (1656), pp. 29–30. The Latin citation from Whitefoote refers to the title of the chronicle by the German Carthusian monk and historian Werner Rolevinck (1425–1502), *Fasciculus temporum* (1474), which was a popular work in the early modern period that went through many editions and was translated into a variety of vernacular languages.

⁷⁹ From Whitefoote Mather refers to Ambrose, *Expositio in Psalmum CXVIII*, sermo 19 [PL 15. 1474; CSEL 62]. The PL reads: “Quomodo scriptum est: Tempus omnibus, et tempus omni rei sub coelo est?”

⁸⁰ Taken from the sermon of the English Independent clergyman Matthew Mead (Meade, 1628/29–1699), *Spiritual Wisdom improved against Temptation* ([1660] 1678), p. 5. Removed from office after the Restoration, Mead continued to preach and write; amongst his works are *Solomon’s Prescription* (1666) and *An Appendix to Solomon’s Prescription* (1667). In 1671 a group of magistrates and clergy from Massachusetts wrote to him and other English Nonconformists seeking help for Harvard College (ODNB).

At verò salutis tuæ negotium semper age; But be alwayes doing the Work of thy Salvation.⁸¹

Lest this Place, that appoints a particular Time for every thing, should seem to oppose it, *Ambrose* notes, That it speaks only of every thing under Heaven: *sed Dominus Jesus suprà Cælum est, nullo circumscriptus Tempore;* But our Lord JESUS, is in Heaven, and not circumscribed by our Lawes of Time.⁸²

Q. Some further general Remarks on the *Times*? v. 1.

A. Two Seasons are here still putt into the Scales; to show, how the *Vanity & Vexation of Spirit*, in parting with our Enjoyments, over-weighs the Good that is found in having them. *Hugo de S. Victore* ha's made several Remarks upon them.

First; The *Good* and the *Bad* Things are joined together; because the Condition of this Life is well expressed so; *mixta sunt omnia quamdiù Tempus est, ut Omnia habeant Tempus.*⁸³

Secondly; First the *Good* Things are placed before the *Evil*: Afterwards the *Evil* Things are placed before the *Good*. There are Two Lives to Man; the *Carnal* and the *Spiritual*. In the *Carnal* Life, the *Good* Things go before, the *Evil* follow after. In the *Spiritual* Life, the *Evil* Things go before, the *Good* follow after. *Prima Vita, primum Bonum, ultimum Malum; secunda Vita, primum Malum, ultimum Bonum habet.*⁸⁴

Thirdly; The Preacher sometimes confounds the Order. Sometimes putts *Good* Things the first, and sometimes *Evil*. *Quia nec Malis usque ad finem Bona, nec Bonis usque ad finem Mala.*⁸⁵

Jerom observes, The Jewes apply all those Times to the People of *Israel*, and find them in the Vicissitudes of their Condition.⁸⁶

⁸¹ From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 67), Mather cites Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio 40, In sanctum baptismum* [PG 36. 375; SC 358]; transl. above: *NPNFii* 7:364. Mather slightly modifies Jermin's transl.

⁸² "But that the Lord Jesus is above the heavens not being circumscribed by time." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 67), Mather cites Ambrose, *Expositio in Psalmum CXVIII*, sermo 19 [PL 15. 1474; CSEL 62]. Jermin's transl. modified.

⁸³ "All things are mixed so long as there is time, that all things may have time." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 68), Mather cites Hugh of Saint Victor, *Homiliae in Ecclesiasten*, hom. 13 [PL 175. 209]; transl.: Jermin.

⁸⁴ "The first life has first good, finally evil; the second life has first evil, finally good." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 68), Mather cites Hugh of Saint Victor, *Homiliae in Ecclesiasten*, hom. 13 [PL 175. 210]; Jermin's transl. modified.

⁸⁵ "Because neither the wicked have always good things, nor the good have always evil things." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 68), Mather cites Hugh of Saint Victor, *Homiliae in Ecclesiasten*, hom. 13 [PL 175. 210]; Jermin's transl. modified.

⁸⁶ From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 68), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 3 [PL 23. 1034–35; CCSL 72]. The PL reads: "Hebraei omne hoc, quod de contrarietate temporum scriptum est, usque ad illum locum, in quo ait: *Tempus belli, et tempus pacis*, super Israel intelligunt."

[7v] |

Q. *A Time to Kill?* v. 3.

A. Dr. *Patrick* thinks, it refers to *Diseases* of our Body. There is a *Time*, when they are so Infectious, that they are Incurable; or when it is so improper to administer Physick, that it doth no good, but certainly kills.⁸⁷

Q. The *Time to cast away Stones*, and the *Time to gather them?* v. 5.

A. An Ancient Writer, takes the *Stones* to signify *Men*; the *Casting them away* to be the Sending them into Banishment; the *Gathering them*, to be the Recalling of them.⁸⁸

Gregory takes the *Stones* to be good Men; and the *Tempus mittendi Lapides*,⁸⁹ the Time of *Sending* them, he applies unto God, who in His own good Time, *sendeth* good Men into the World, for a Blessing to it; & in His Time *gathers* them out of the World, to deliver them from the Evils of it.

But *Lyra*, more properly, by *Stones*, understands, *Fortilicia*, or *Fortresses*, which were made of *Stones*. There is a Time to Demolish these, and a Time to Build them up.⁹⁰

A Greek Father, makes a mystical Interpretation of the *Stones*, The *Meditations which destroy Vice*; these are to be often cast out of the Sling, upon the Object, and yett to be continually gathering into the Soul, that we may have them in Readiness to be thrown against the Adversary. He ha's an Ingenious Remark upon them; There is this Excellency in them, that the throwing of them kills the Enemy, & yett they go not out of the Hand of him that throwes them.⁹¹

Q. The *Time to Refrain from Embracing?* v. 5.

A. A Time of singular Visitation from the Wrath of God.

The Ancient Fathers, do very much note, the Manner of *Noahs* going into the Ark. The Father and the Sons go together; the Mother and her Daughters-in-Law go together; God Himself at this Time Divided those, whom He Himself

⁸⁷ See Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 34.

⁸⁸ From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 72), Mather cites an unidentified source.

⁸⁹ "A time to scatter stones." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 72), Mather cites Gregory the Great, *Dialogi*, lib. 3, cap. 37 [PL 77. 313; SC 260]; transl.: FC 39:185.

⁹⁰ From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 72), a reference to Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla* at this verse.

⁹¹ From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 72), Mather refers to Gregory of Nyssa, *Homiliae in Ecclesiasten*, hom. 7 [PG 44. 715–18; GNO 5]. Gregory of Nyssa here draws a connection to the "holy stones" in Zech. 9:16 in the LXX transl. Mather paraphrases Jermin's transl. Jermin's Latin differs significantly from that of the PG. The PG reads: "Ii autem sunt, quae a divinitus inspirata Scriptura ad nos verba descendunt, quae colligere oportet in sinu animae, ut in tempore iis utamur adversus eos qui sunt nobis molesti: quorum est adeo pulcher jactus, ut es hostem interimant, et ab ejus qui jacet manu non separentur." Hall's transl. (pp. 115–16.): "These might be the words which come down to us from the divinely inspired writings, which we should collect in our soul's lap, to use at the right moment against those who vex us, and which when they are thrown destroy the enemy and yet do not leave the hand of the thrower."

had joined. *Ambrose* upon it, saies; *Apertè et velut Ordine ipso ingressionis, Vocem quandam justus emittit, Tempus illud non esse Delitiarum, quo omnibus imminet Interitus; quàm enim indecorum, ut quo tempore viventes morerentur, eo morituri generarentur.*⁹² Yett *Chrysostom* conceives, that *Cham* in the Ark, did not conform to this Mortification. He gathers it from this; we read, *The Sons of Noah went forth of the Ark, Shem and Ham amd Japhet; And Ham is the Father of Canaan.* It seems he was Begot in the Ark, and born not long after their coming out.⁹³

[8r]

Q. The *Time of War*, & the *Time of Peace*? v. 8.

A. *Time* is a Sort of a *Circle*: And the Wise Man shutts up his Remarks on *Time*, with a Sort of *Circle*. Having begun, with a *Time to be Born & a Time to Dy*, he ends with a *Time of War*, which is a *Time of Dying*, and a *Time of Peace*, wherein People are brought forth & multiplied.⁹⁴

Q. *What Profit hath he that worketh, in that wherein he laboureth?* v. 9.

A. A Greek Father, makes this Verse to be the Speech of *Conscience* unto the Soul of Man, when this Life is ended.⁹⁵

But the Meaning is plainly this. The Preacher having shewed in the *Vanities of Time*, the Succession of *Evil* after *Good*, the Precedency of *Evil* before *Good*, the Mixture of *Evil* with *Good*, he shewes, that it is not all the *Working* of Man, tis not all his *Labour* that can help it.⁹⁶

Q. The *Travel*, which *God ha's given unto the Sons of Men, to be exercised in it?* v. 10.

92 "Plainly, and as it were by the order itself of their entering in [the Ark], the righteous proclaims a certain call that it is not the time of delight in which destruction threatens everyone; for how unbecoming, that at the same time the living die, they should be begotten who are to die." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 73), Mather cites Ambrose, *De Noe et arca*, cap. 21 [PL 14. 397; CSEL 32.1]; Jermin's transl. modified.

93 From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 73), Mather refers to John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in Genesin*, hom. 18, on Gen. 9:18 [PG 53. 256–57].

94 Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 77.

95 From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 79), Mather refers to Gregory of Nyssa, *Homiliae in Ecclesiasten*, hom. 7 [PG 44. 749–52; GNO 5]; Mather paraphrases Jermin's transl. The Latin text of the PG reads: "... a qua haec vox quodammodo post hoc in coelom mittitur, ad eum qui per hujusmodi occupations aberravit in hac vita: Quid tibi amplius fuit ex multis illis laboribus quos suscepisti?" Hall's transl. (p. 141): "From this conscience, hereafter, this voice seems to come to the person whose life has gone astray through such occupations, 'What advantage have you had from those many labours, in which you toiled?'"

96 Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 79.

A. The Hebrew Word, most properly signifies, *To be Humbled in it*. God by this *Travel* does *Humble* the Children of Men; show them their own Ignorance and Feebleness; bring them to more Dependence on Himself.⁹⁷

Q. On that, *He hath made every Thing beautiful in His Time?* v. 11.

A. Be sure, *GODs Time is best*. The Chaldee Paraphrast gives a Notable Instance. The Breach of the Ten Tribes from the Two, might not be, when *Sheba* the Son of *Bichri* attempted it: Because the Temple for all the Tribes of *Israel*, was not yet erected; and could not have been after such a Revolt accomplished.⁹⁸

[8v]

Q. How can it be said, *God setteth the World, in the Heart of Men?* v. 11.

A. Tis not said so. Dr. *Jermyn* very justly proposes; The Hebrew Word / עולם / does not properly signify, *The World*, but, *An Hidden Time*. He chuses thus to render this Passage; *He hath made every thing beautiful in his Time; Also He hath sett an Hidden Time in the Heart of them;* that is, He hath hidden from the Heart of Men, the Time for every Thing which He hath Appointed: – so that *he cannot find out*, what God will do in the Time of it; when it is done, he cannot find out, why God hath done it.⁹⁹

I find the same Thought in *Munster*.¹⁰⁰

I will add R. *Solomons* Exposition. *Scientiam Mundi quam Deus inspiravit Cordibus Creaturarum, non totam fudit in unum Hominem, sed distribuit per Partes in diversos homines*.¹⁰¹

97 Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 80. Mather refers to the transl. of the KJV 1611: “to be exercised in it”; the Hebrew here is לְעִנּוּת בּוֹ NAU: “with which to occupy themselves.” Mather emphasizes the sense of the root verb עָנָה [anah] “afflict, oppress, humble.” Holladay’s dictionary offers for the infinitive form here and at Eccles. 1:13: “to be concerned about.”

98 Compare Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:402). From the Latin transl. of the Targum at Eccles. 3:11, Mather makes a reference to the biblical story of Sheba, son of Bichri, a Benjaminite, who led an uprising against David in the aftermath of Absalom’s rebellion. Hoping to capture northern Israel he was pursued and defeated by the army of Joab, who subsequently had him decapitated (2 Sam. 20). See *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 35, on Eccles. 3:11.

99 From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 82); עולם [olam] “forever, ever, everlasting, evermore, perpetual, old, ancient.”

100 See Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4440). See Rashi in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Ecclesiastes*, pp. 34–35.

101 “The knowledge of the world that God instilled into the hearts of the creatures – he did not pour all of it into one man but distributed it in parts to different men.” From Münster, *Qohélet. Ecclesiastes, iuxta hebraicam veritatem*, at Eccles. 3:11, Mather cites a Latin translation of Rashi’s commentary on this verse. Compare the modern transl. from the Hebrew in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Ecclesiastes*, pp. 34–35: “Also the wisdom of the world that He put into the hearts of the creatures – He did not put it all into the heart of everyone, but [He gave] a little to this one and a little to that one, [in order that man should not comprehend the entire deed of the Holy One, blessed be He, to know it.]”

Q. For a *Man to do Good in his Life?* v. 12.

A. The Original is, *In his Lives*. We may so carry it, *In his Life of Prosperity*, and in his *Life of Adversity*; His *Two Lives*. In *Adversity* we are to *Do Good*, even unto those who have been the Causes of it. But in *Prosperity*, our Opportunities to *Do Good*, how inviting are they; how numberless!¹⁰²

Gregory Nazianzen [Orat. LIII.] ha's thus briefly expressed the Sense of these Two Verses. *The greatest Good of Man, I persuade myself to be*, εὐθυμῖαν καὶ εὐποιαν, *Cheerfulness and Beneficence*.¹⁰³

Q. To *Eat and Drink*, and *Enjoy Good*; this the *Gift of God?* v. 13.

A. Dying Jacob said, *The God that fed me all my Life unto this Day*.¹⁰⁴ Philo thinks, that Jacob here a little touches upon the Words of the Message, that Joseph had sent unto him; *come down unto me, and I will nourish thee*. No, Joseph, it was not you, but God, that *nourish'd* me!¹⁰⁵

Q. The *Place of Judgment*, and the *Place of Righteousness*; how may they be distinguished? v. 16.

A. The former may be the Place of *Punishing* the Wicked; the latter, the Place of *Rewarding* the Righteous. Or, the former may exhibit the Judge, as acting in the Capacity of a *Judge*; the latter may consider him, as a *Man*, in his own Conversation.¹⁰⁶

Q. How is it said, *A Time for every Purpose?* v. 17.

A. The Original is, *A Time for every Will*; A Time for Gods Will, as well as a Time for Mans Will.¹⁰⁷ Here Man follows his own Will. But God will have His Time, to have *His Will*. We read, Gal. 6.9. *In due Season we shall Reap*. The Greek is καιρῷ ἰδῶ, *In His Time we shall Reap*. And so Tertullian render'd it.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰² Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 83.

¹⁰³ From Patrick (*Ecclesiastes* 45), Mather refers to Gregory Thaumaturgus, *Metaphrasis in Ecclesiasten* [PG 10. 996]; with diacritical marks: εὐθυμῖαν καὶ εὐποιᾶν; transl. in context: "I am persuaded, therefore, that the greatest good for man is cheerfulness and well-doing, and that this shortlived enjoyment, which alone is possible to us, comes from God only, if righteousness directs our doings" (*ANF* 6:11). Mather and Patrick erroneously refer to Gregory of Nazianzus as the author. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

¹⁰⁴ Gen. 48:15.

¹⁰⁵ From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 84), Mather refers to Philo of Alexandria, *Legum allegoriae* (*Allegorical Interpretation on Genesis 2 and 3*), 3.62.177–78.

¹⁰⁶ Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, pp. 89–90.

¹⁰⁷ Here the KJV 1611 has "for there is a time there, for euery purpose." The Hebrew is כִּי־יֵצֵת לְכָל־חֶפֶץ *NAU*: "for a time for every matter." The *ESV* uses "matter" to translate the noun חֶפֶץ [chephets], which is translated in a variety of ways, depending on the context: "joy, pleasure; wish (see 1 King 5:10); treasure, jewel; affair, business."

¹⁰⁸ From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 91), a reference to Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, lib. 5, cap. 4

Dr. *Patrick* is for thus translating this Verse, most-literally out of the Hebrew. *There is a Time for* (Judging) *every Purpose, & every Work there*; namely, in those corrupt Courts of Judicature. Every thing that hath been transacted in the Courts he had been speaking of.¹⁰⁹

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Q. The Meaning of that, *That they might see that they themselves are Beasts?* v. 18.

A. Dr. *Patrick* apprehends the Sense to be very perspicuous, if the Words be taken in Cohærence with the foregoing. They are intended to take down the vain Opinion that great Men have of themselves, (which makes them Tyrannize over their Inferiors) by representing to them, (or desiring rather that God would effectually represent unto their Minds,) how little they differ from Beasts; except only in that, which they do not value, or regard; that is, their Immortal Spirits.

The Word, *lebaram*, to *manifest them*, intends Gods Shewing of them to themselves; agreeable to the Word which follows, *That they might see*. It may be translated; *That God would clear their Minds that they may see*.¹¹⁰

Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase is: "In the mean time, I could not but think the Condition of Mankind, especially of the poorer Sort of them, to be very deplorable; which made me fetch a deep Sigh and wish to God, that He would be pleased to lay these great Men open, & manifest to themselves, & make them sensible, that they have no Reason to look down with so much Contempt upon others, much less treat them like Beasts destined to the Slaughter; for, were they stript of their external Pomp and Power, they are so far from excelling other Men; that in many regards, they do not excell the very Beasts."¹¹¹

[9v]

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Q. On that; *who knowes the Spirit of Man?* v. 21.

A. Take Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase on the Verse. "As for the Spirit, which makes all the Difference between the Beasts and us, that is Invisible; And where shall we find a Man, especially among those great Persons (spoken of before) who seriously considers it? and beleeves, that the Souls, of all Mankind, go to God that gave them, [XII.7.] to be Judged by Him, [v. 17. of this Chapter.] whereas, the Souls of Beasts perish with them? No; herein they differ not at all from Beasts, that having buried their Minds in brutish Pleasures, they have no more Sense of a Future Life, than they; but imagine that their Souls dy together with

[PL 2. 479–480; *CCSL* 1; *CSEL* 47]. The PL version has: "tempore autem suo metemus"; the VUL similarly translates *καὶ ὁ αἰὼν* [*kairo idio*]: "tempore enim suo metemus."

¹⁰⁹ Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 47. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

¹¹⁰ Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, pp. 47–48. Patrick refers to לְבָרָם [*lebaram*] "purifying them."

¹¹¹ Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, pp. 39–40.

their Bodies. So senselessly stupid are they, that trample on the rest of Mankind; & yett have such Ignoble Thoughts of themselves, that they imagine their very Souls are no longer-lived than a Beast.”¹¹²

Who?] that is, who among those unrighteous Judges.¹¹³

¹¹² Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, pp. 40–41. Compare Eccles. 12:7 and 3:17: “Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was: and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it”; “I said in mine heart, God shall judge the righteous and the wicked: for *there is* a time there for every purpose and for every work” (KJV).

¹¹³ Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 48.

1407.

Q. Behold, the Tears of such as were oppressed & they had no Comforter; what can you behold curious in this Passage? v. 1.

A. In the *Hebrew* it is only in the singular Number, *A Tear*. I deny not, That, *collectivè accipitur, pro magnâ Lacrymarum Copiâ*, as *Geierus* notes upon it.¹¹⁴ But may there not bee a further Emphasis? It may bee, to show, that there should bee so much Compassion towards the Afflicted that *one single Tear* even the *First* they shed, should procure them some Releef; or It may bee, to shew, the Neglect of Pitty in those, who have suffered the Afflicted so long to wait & weep for help, that they can weep no more, & have but *one single Tear* left unto them.¹¹⁵

That Clause, *I considered all the Oppressions that are done*, may more nearly to the *Hebrew* be translated, *I considered all the Oppressed, that are undone*.¹¹⁶

Q. The Emphasis of that Word, *under the Sun*? v. 1.

A. It is the Observation of *Theodoret*, that God appointed the vehement Heat of the Sun, sometimes to scorch the Earth, and to destroy the Fruits of it, *Ne solem Vitæ Causam, Autoremque opinemur*, lest we should think the *Sun*, to be the Cause and Author of Life.¹¹⁷ Dr. *Jermyn* supposes the Preacher showing the Vanities of this World, so often to mention their being *under the Sun*, that Men may not think the *Sun* to be the *God* of the World.

Or else, *under the Sun*; that is, the Things were very Visible and Apparent.

Q. *I praised the Dead*.] What the Advantage of the *Dead*? v. 2.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* proposes, that we understand it, with Respect unto the Evil of *Sin*.

¹¹⁴ "It is taken collectively for a great abundance of tears." Mather cites Martin Geier, *In Proverbia et Ecclesiasten Salomonis commentarius* ([1647] 1668), p. 128. Possibly, Mather is referring to Geier via Matthew Poole's *Synopsis criticorum* (2:1852). The Hebrew term is: דִּמְעָה [dimah] (sing.) "tear, tears."

¹¹⁵ Compare Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 100.

¹¹⁶ Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 99. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later. Mather may be referring to the passive character of the Niphal verb form here.

¹¹⁷ From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 100), Mather cites Theodoret of Cyrus, *Graecarum affectionum curatio*, sermo 3 [PG 83. 866]; Mather cites Jermin's transl.

The *Dead* here, according to *Ambrose*, is one, *Qui Sapientiam poposcit, et impetravit*; one who had attained unto Wisdome before he died.¹¹⁸ It is a good Saying of the same *Ambrose*; *Quid est Mors nisi Sepultura Vitiorum?*¹¹⁹

Upon that of our Apostle, *Tis Gain to Dy*; the same *Ambrose* ha's this Gloss; *Nam Lucrum est evasisse Incrementa Peccati.*¹²⁰

It is a Saying of *Bernard*, which may be applied unto what the Wise Man here saies, of them who Dy in their Youth: *Cur tantoperè Vitam istam desideramus, in quâ quanto amplius vivimus, tanto plus peccamus: quanto est Vita longior, tanto Culpa numerosior?*¹²¹

Q. *Better is he which hath not yett been?*] v. 3.

A. Thus our Saviour said of *Judas*; *It had been good for that Man, if he had never been born.* One saies well: *majus Malum Peccatum est, quàm non esse; et melius esset non esse quàm peccasse.*¹²²

Q. A Man *envied for every Right Work?* v. 4.

A. When *Abraham* had rescued *Lot*, and conquered the Kings, by whom he was taken Prisoner, afterwards the Word of the Lord came unto him; *Fear not, Abraham, I am thy Shield.*¹²³ If this had been spoken unto him before the Battle, it might have brought him some Encouragement in it; but being spoken to him after the Victory, they seem to Arm him against a New Combate of *Envy*, which his Conduct, and Valour, & Success was ready to bring upon him.¹²⁴

Old *Jacob* speaking of his Son *Joseph* saies, *The Archers have shott at him.*¹²⁵ *Jerom* expounds it, *Hic Invidiam cum Arcu, et Sagittis, introduci ad Sagittandum*

118 "The man who asked for and obtained wisdom." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 101), Mather cites Ambrose, *De excessu fratris sui Satyri*, lib. 2 [PL 16. 1323; CSEL 73]; transl. modified from FC 22:209. Mather paraphrases Jermin's transl.

119 "What is death except the burial of vices?" From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 101), Mather cites Ambrose, *De bono mortis*, cap. 4 [PL 14. 547; CSEL 32.1]; Wiesner's transl. (*Patristic Studies* 100:105).

120 "For it is a gain to have escaped the increase of sin." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 101), Mather cites Ambrose, *De bono mortis*, cap. 2 [PL 14. 542; CSEL 32.1]; Wiesner's transl. modified (*Patristic Studies* 100:92).

121 "Why do we desire this life so much in which by how much longer we live, by so much the more we sin: by how much longer the life, by so much more numerous are the faults?" From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 101), Mather cites an unknown author of the later Middle Ages, whose text was long attributed to Bernard. See Pseudo-Bernard of Clairvaux, *Meditationes piissimae de cognitione humanae conditionis*, cap. 2 [PL 184. 488]; Jermin's transl. modified.

122 "To sin is a greater evil than not to be, and it is better not to be than to sin." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 102), Mather cites Hugh of Saint Victor's *Homiliae in Ecclesiasten*, hom. 19 [PL 175. 253]; Jermin's transl. modified. Compare Matt. 26:24 and Mark. 14:21.

123 Gen. 15:1.

124 Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 103.

125 Gen. 49:23.

*quod immaculatum est.*¹²⁶ As an Archer shoots at a White; so does Envy. Jacob was more in the right, than he knew of, when he said, *An evil beast ha's devoured my Son*; For, Envy which had made him away, is indeed worthy to be called so.

A Man is envied of his Neighbour. Yea, of his Brother, the Abel of Cain; *Ut esse solum Zeli Livor faceret, quem primum fecerat Lex Naturæ*, saies Chrysologus.¹²⁷ Yea, of his Father. So David, of Saul, and he flies to Achish.¹²⁸ *Maluit Hosti, quam Invidiæ subiacere*; Jerom.¹²⁹

Q. The Fool folding his Hands together, & eating his own Flesh? v. 5.

A. Ambrose gives a spiritual Exposition, *Corporalibus se, implicavit negotiis, ut non invenerit Vitam Æternam.*¹³⁰

Q. An Handful with Quietness, & both Hands full, with Travel? v. 6.

A. In the first Clause, the original Word signifies, the Palm of the Hand; in the next Clause, the Word signifies, the whole Hand closed together, to hold a thing. The Meaning is; A little, even no more than a Man can hold in the hollow of his hand, being spread abroad, is better than much which a Man holdeth in both his Hands, folded to hold as much as he can.¹³¹

Q. Why is the Vanity here spoken of, said to be, under the Sun? v. 7.

A. Austin shall say; *sub Sole visibilia omnia.*¹³²

¹²⁶ "Here envy is introduced with bow and arrows for shooting at that which is immaculate." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 104). Jermin cites his sources as "Quæstionib. Hebræ.", which probably designates Jerome's *Liber quaestionum hebraicarum in Genesim* [PL 23. 935–1010; *CCSL* 72:1–56]; transl.: *Saint Jerome's Hebrew Questions on Genesis*. However, the commentary on Gen. 49:23, to which Jermin and Mather refer, could not be found there [see PL 23. 1009].

¹²⁷ "Thus the rage of envy made him to be the only son, whom the law of nature made to be the first [born]." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 104), Mather cites Peter Chrysologus, *Sermones*, sermo 4 [PL 52. 195; *CCSL* 24]; Jermin's transl. modified. Compare Gen. 4:5–8.

¹²⁸ This is the title that the Hebrew Bible gives to the Philistine ruler with whom David seeks refuge when he flees from Saul (1 Sam. 21:10–15).

¹²⁹ "He had rather be under an enemy, than under envy." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 104), Mather cites Jerome, *Epistolæ*, epist. 108, *Ad Eustochium virginem* [PL 22. 893; *CSEL* 55]; Jermin's transl.

¹³⁰ "He becomes involved in the concerns of the body, so that he shall not find eternal life." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 106), Mather cites Ambrose, *Epistolæ*, epist. 58 [PL 16. 1180; *CSEL* 82:1]; transl. modified from *FC* 26:146.

¹³¹ Paraphrase of Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, pp. 106–07.

¹³² "Under the sun, all things are visible." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 109), Mather cites Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Ps. 38 [PL 36. 421; *CCSL* 38]; Jermin's transl. modified. See also Boulding's transl. (*The Works of Saint Augustine* III/16, p. 180): "All the things we can see are under the sun." Modern editions of Augustine render this text differently.

Or, The *Vanity* is spread as far the *Sun* shineth. Or, Note the Unthankfulness of Sin; that it is *under the Sun*, by which God affords unto Men so many Blessings. The *Sun* is / שמש / a *Minister*.¹³³

[10v]

Q. On that, *They have a good Reward for their Labour?* v. 9.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* observes, The Preacher seems to intimate; That in getting and keeping of good Society, there is no little Trouble & Labour.¹³⁴

Q. A mystical Application of the Instances, wherein, *Two are better than One?* v. 9.

A. Dr. *Jermyn*, expresses in these Terms, an Observation of his upon Antiquity. *The Ancient Fathers took such Joy in meditating upon Christ, that whensoever they could find Occasion, their learned Skill made the Words of Scripture to sound this Music.*¹³⁵

Accordingly, *Jerom* applied this Passage, *Two are better than One*, unto *Christ*; *melius est enim habitantem in se habere Christum, quàm solum patere Insidiis adversantis.*¹³⁶

No doubt, there is a *good Reward* in the *Labour* of *Christ* and His Servants. *Ambrose* hereupon enquires, *Christus ergo laborat?* and answers, *laborat, sed in nobis.*¹³⁷

On the next Clause, *Jerom* goes on: *si unus ceciderit, Christus eriget Participem suum. Sed vae ei, qui quum ruerit, Christum non habet erigentem.*¹³⁸

And on the next. *Nisi Christus nobiscum dormierit et in Morte quieverit, Calorem Vitæ Eternæ accipere non valemus.*¹³⁹

133 Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 109; שמש [shemesh] “sun”; Jermin clarifies: “because it ministreth to the world so many benefits” (p. 110). The ancient world worshiped the sun (see Deut. 4:19); ancient deities were also associated with the sun, e.g., in Egypt, Re, or the goddess שמש (BDB); yet a just ruler is “like the sun shining forth upon a cloudless morning” (2 Sam. 23:4).

134 Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 113.

135 From Jermin’s annotation on Eccles. 4:8 (*Ecclesiastes* 111).

136 “For it is better to have Christ dwelling in us, than alone to lie open to the snares of the enemy.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 114), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 4 [PL 23. 1047; CCSL 72]; Jermin’s transl. modified. Modern editions of Jerome render this citation slightly different.

137 “Is Christ laboring? ... He labors, but He labors in us.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 114), Mather cites Ambrose, *Epistolae*, epist. 81 [PL 16. 1273; CSEL 82.1]; transl. modified from FC 26:317. Mather paraphrases Jermin’s transl.

138 “If one falls, Christ will rise up the partaker of him; but woe to him, who when he falls has not the raising Christ.” Drawing upon Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 115), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 4 [PL 23. 1047; CCSL 72]; Jermin’s transl. modified.

139 “Unless Christ sleep and rest in death with us, we shall never be able to receive the heat of eternal life.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 117), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 4 [PL 23. 1048; CCSL 72]; Jermin’s transl. modified. Modern editions of Jerome render this citation slightly differently.

And on the next. *Et si adversus hominem robustior in expugnando Diabolus extiterit; stabit homo, stabit et Christus, pro Homine suo, pro Sodali suo.*¹⁴⁰

Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase is; “How much wiser is he, who not only enjoys what he hath himself, but takes others into his Society, to partake of the good Things that God hath given him. For nothing is more comfortable than good Company; as nothing is more dull and melancholy than a solitary Life. And besides, when two or more are joined together in Communion, Comfort and mutual Help and Assistance, they will not only act more cheerfully, but more easily effect their Design, & take the greater Pleasure in the Fruits of their Labour.”¹⁴¹

Q. *The Living that walk under the Sun?* v. 15.

A. The Wise Man here seems to represent a *King*, under the Emblem of the *Sun*. The cherishing Influences of a *King* to His People, ought to be those of the *Sun*.

When the Life of *Hezekiah* had its Representation, in the going back of the *Sun* on the Dial of *Ahaz*, *Austin* (if he were the Author of the Book, *De Mirabilibus*) observes, That the *Sun* was an agreeable Emblem for him; to teach him, what he ought to be.¹⁴²

Q. The Meaning of that Passage; *There is no End of all the People*, & the rest? v. 16.

A. Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase is this.

“Nor is this a thing that will have an End; but an Humour so rooted in all Mankind; that, as in all præceding times (before this King & Son were born) they have been weary of that which they have long enjoyed: so this young Prince, who is now followed with such applause, must not think that it will last away; but they that came after, will take as little Delight in him, as the present Generation doth in his Father; and when he growes old, court his Son, after the same fashion, as they now do for him, being young.

From all which, it appears, that Happiness, is not to be found in Honour and Dignity; no, not in the very highest Pitch of it, which is the kingly Power.”¹⁴³

L. *De Dieu* seems to have express'd the Meaning of the First Words in this Verse, the best of any Interpreter. They run Word for Word in the Hebrew; *There*

¹⁴⁰ “And if the devil shall rise against man stronger in assault; the man shall stand, and Christ shall stand for his man, for his fellow.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 118), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 4 [PL 23. 1047; CCSL 72]; Jermin’s transl. modified.

¹⁴¹ Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 52.

¹⁴² From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 123), Mather quotes the text of an anonymous Irish monk (referred to as Augustinus Hibernicus) written around 655, which was long attributed to Augustine. See Pseudo-Augustine, *De mirabilibus Sanctae Scripturae* [PL 35. 2152–53]. On the Dial of Ahaz, compare Mather’s entries on 2 Kings 20:5–11 and Isa. 38:8.

¹⁴³ Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, pp. 54–55.

is no End to any People. That is, no End of their Fickleness, no Bounds to their Inconstancy; but one Nation is as Subject unto it as another; and as this Age followes the former, so the next will follow this, in its Levity & Mutability.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ From Patrick (*Ecclesiastes* 60), Patrick refers to Ludovicus de Dieu's annotation on this verse in his *Animadversiones*, pp. 442–43.

Q. In what Sense are we to *keep our Foot, when we go to the House of God?* v. 1.

A. Among other Glosses, for which I refer you to the common Annotations, I will offer you this.

First, lett not a careless Irreligion and Indevotion keep thy *Foot* back, from hastning to the House of God. Be there with the First, and at the Beginning of the Service there. *Cassian* tells us, That in the Ancient Times of the Church, he who did not come thither, *Priusquam Psalmus captus finiretur*, before the Ending of the First Psalm, durst not enter at all, but stood at the Door, till the rest came out; & *submissâ in terram Pœnitentiâ negligentiae suæ, vel tarditatis impetrabat Veniam*, Repenting with a Bow down to the Earth, obtained Pardon of his Tardy Negligence.¹⁴⁵

Secondly. When thou art in the House of God, keep thy *Foot* there, and stay cheerfully there, till the Worship shall all be finished. Some Ancient Councils have ordered Censures for them, who left the Assembly too soon.

Keeping the Foot, refers to the Care of putting off the {Shoes} or {Sandals}, as was the {Manner} of the Orient.¹⁴⁶

Q. How does this Admonition come in? v. 1.

A. The Cohærence is well expressed in Dr *Patricks* Paraphrase.

“And now, lest any Man add to the Affliction & torment of his Spirit, even by that which is the only Cure for it, lett every one, who would be a true Worshipper of God, (in whom alone lies the Happiness we seek) take Care to avoid that Negligence, which is observable in many People; & to approach with all Reverence both of Body and Soul, into His Blessed Presence: But do not think to please Him with meer Postures of Devotion; no, nor with Sacrifices & Incense, without the Oblation of an obedient Heart, disposed to do what He would have thee. For the worst Men in the World, may be able to offer Him the richest Sacrifices.”¹⁴⁷

[▽12r] [▽Insert from 12r]

Q. On that of, being *Hasty to utter any thing before God?* v. 2.

¹⁴⁵ “[He] was doing penance lying on the ground, and obtained absolution for his carelessness and lateness.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 126–27), Mather cites John Cassian, *De coenobiorum institutis*, lib. 3, cap. 7 [PL 49. 137; CSEL 17]; transl. modified from *NPNFii* (11:216).

¹⁴⁶ Paraphrase of Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, pp. 126–27.

¹⁴⁷ Mather here cites Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 62. See Appendix B.

A. *Jerom* seems to take it (and *Melanchthon* wholly confines it so;) about the Doctrines we deliver concerning the glorious God; That they should be very well considered, before we affirm any thing of Him.¹⁴⁸

As far as the Heaven is distant from the Earth, so much do our Thoughts fall short of the Excellency of His Name.

Q. How comes a *Dream*, to be here spoken of? v. 3.

A. As a Man that is full of Thoughts, commonly *dreams* of those things, whereof his Head is full, so he that attempts to discourse much of the Divine Majesty, falls into Folly. Or thus; our Words ought therefore to be few, because even those things which we think we know, we see thro' a Glass, and *in enigmat*, & we do no more than *Dream* of that which we fansie we comprehend. When we have said a great deal (& unto the Purpose, as it seems to us,) the Conclusion of our Disputation is meer Folly.¹⁴⁹ To this Purpose Dr. *Patrick*.

The Verse in the Hebrew sounds thus.

For a Dream proceeds from (or, by) a Multitude of toilsome Business; and the Voice of a Fool from (or, by) a Multitude of Words. Or if the Præposition which we translate *From*, should be translated, *With*, – it may do as well. *As Dreams come with a Multitude of Business, so a Fools Voice comes with a Multitude of Words;* he utters a deal of confused Stuff.¹⁵⁰

[△Insert ends]

[△]

Q. The *Payment of a Vow*, not to be *deferr'd*? v. 4.

A. It intimates, that the *Vow* should be such (of no Unlawful, or Unworthy, or Impossible Thing,) that we shall have no Occasion to make any Pause, whether it should be paid or no.

Besides, as *Lyra* notes, *Ex tali tardatione fit homo plerumque impotens ad reddendum.*¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ From Patrick (*Ecclesiastes* 71), Mather refers to Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 5 [PL 23. 1052; CCSL 72]; and Philip Melanchthon, *Enarratio brevis concionum libri Salomonis, cuius titulus est Ecclesiastes* ([1550] 1556; no pagination), at cap. 6.

¹⁴⁹ “In an enigma.” From Patrick (*Ecclesiastes* 72), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 5, on Eccles. 5:2 [PL 23. 1052; CCSL 72]; see 1 Cor. 13:12.

¹⁵⁰ Transl. from Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 72. KJV 1611: “For a dreame commeth through the multitude of businesse, and a fooles voyce is knowen by multitude of words.” The Hebrew (at Eccles. 5:2) is: *כִּי בָּא הַחֲלוֹם בְּרַב עֲיִנָּן וְקוֹל כְּסִיל בְּרַב דְּבָרִים* *NAU*: “For the dream comes through much effort and the voice of a fool through many words.” The preposition to which Mather refers is *בְּ*. One of the long entries in the *BDB*, the word can be translated in a variety of ways depending upon context: “in, at, by, with, through, among, upon, as” (in an infinitive construct it also introduces a temporal clause). This preposition has a very broad domain; the commentary that Mather provides draws upon this. LXX: *ἐν*; in the VUL it is represented in *sequuntur*: “Dreams follow many cares.”

¹⁵¹ “By such delaying a man is often made unable to perform it.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 133), Mather cites Nicholas of Lyra’s *Postilla* at Eccles. 5:4; transl.: Jermin.

Add this; God will be speedy in Rewarding of speedy Services. When *Zachæus* came down Quickly to entertain our Saviour, what a Quick Recompence did our Saviour encourage him withal.¹⁵² *This Day!* – Tis noted by *Ambrose*: *Festinavit Dominus ad Beneficium*. – *Ante fecit, postea declaravit. Dixit, Facta est Salus, quod utique Prævenientis fuit, non Promittentis*.¹⁵³ Of *Cain* we read, *In Process of Time*, – he did his duty.¹⁵⁴

Q. How may this Clause be taken; *He hath no Pleasure in Fools?* v. 4.

A. The Hebrew is, as *Jerom* reads it, *There is no Will in Fools. Fools have no Will, to pay what they vow*.¹⁵⁵

Q. On that, *suffer not thy Mouth, to cause thy Flesh to sin?* v. 6.

A. Besides the usual Interpretation, of the *Snares* laid for the *Flesh*, in the *Vowes* of the *Mouth*, I will not leave unmention'd, *Lyra's* Gloss. Don't suffer thy *Mouth*, by full and high Feeding, to inflame thy *Lusts*.¹⁵⁶ As *Tertullian* saies, *Appendices Gulae, Lascivia atque Luxuria*.¹⁵⁷ And *Jerom* saies, *Venter Mero æstuans, cito despumat in Libidines*.¹⁵⁸ The Words will also admit this Interpretation. Suffer not thy *Mouth*, to give bad Counsil unto thy Children; & so to make thy *Flesh* to sin.¹⁵⁹

Munster ha's a Gloss of this importance; A Mans *Children* are his *Flesh*; His *Rash Vows* may involve his *Children* in Transgression.¹⁶⁰

Q. *Neither say thou before the Angel, That it was an Error.* What *Angel?* v. 6.

A. Some *Angel* of God is an *Inspector* of our Actions; and oftentimes, a *Revenger* of our sinful Actions. Vain Excuses, for our Foolish or our Broken *Vowes*, will signify nothing, when wee have such *Angel* to deal withal.

¹⁵² Compare Luke 19:1–10.

¹⁵³ “The Lord hastened to perform His act of kindness. He first acted and then spoke of it. He said: ‘Salvation has come,’ which was, of course, the act of one who anticipates, not of one who promises.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 133), Mather cites Ambrose, *De Cain et Abel*, lib. 1, cap. 8 [PL 14. 332; CSEL 32.1]; transl. modified from FC 42:388.

¹⁵⁴ Gen. 4:3.

¹⁵⁵ From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 133–34), Mather refers to Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 5 [PL 23. 1052; CCSL 72]. The PL reads: “Non est voluntas in insipientibus.”

¹⁵⁶ From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 135), Mather refers to Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla* at Eccles. 5:6; transl.: Jermin.

¹⁵⁷ “Appendages of appetite are lasciviousness and voluptuousness.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 135), Mather cites Tertullian, *De jejuniis*, cap. 17 [PL 2. 953–78, 977; CCSL 2; CSEL 20]; transl. modified from ANF 4:113.

¹⁵⁸ “[When the body is] heated with drink it soon boils over with lust.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 135), Mather cites Jerome, *Epistulae*, epist. 83 [PL 22. 663; CSEL 54]; transl. modified from NPNFii (6:147).

¹⁵⁹ Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 135.

¹⁶⁰ Compare Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4457).

But the Greek Version here, calls this *Angel*, by the Name of πρόσωπον τοῦ θεοῦ, *The Face of God*.¹⁶¹ Compare, Gen. 32.30. The Reason of that is because Hee *Repræsents* God, and acts from Him, & for Him.

Quere whether since *This Name, The Face of God*, is peculiarly, the Name of the *Messiah*, it may not also have some Reference unto Him? We should not willingly multiply the Occasions, of our Confessing before the Lord Jesus Christ, the great *Angel* of the Covenant, our *sinful Want* of having His *Righteousness* applied unto us; tho' wee should on all Occasions with infinite Gladness and Gratitude, lay hold on that Righteousness. This is only a sudden Thought, which I do no sooner *Insert*, but I *Desert* it; for I beleeve the created *Angel*, to bee in the Text firstly referr'd unto.

Mr. *Mede* takes *Angel* here *collectively* for more than one; [as *Tree* is putt for *Trees*; and *Leaf* is putt for *Leaves*, Gen. III.2, 7.] even for the *Angels* which attended on the Divine Majesty in His House; where was uttered the *Vow* that is here spoken of. This Angelical Ministry in the House of God, was represented unto the Jews, by filling all the Curtains of the Tabernacle, with the Pictures of *Cherubims*; & by carving the Inside of the Walls of the Temple with the same; & by having two mighty *Cherubims*, which were called the *Chreubims of Glory*, over the Ark of the Testimony, where God ha's a sacred Memorial, the Angels out of Duty give their Attendance. As these are *Witnesses* of the *Vowes* we make there, so they are *Avengers* of our Delays to perform them.¹⁶²

Q. What may be the Meaning of what the Wise Man hints about, *A Multitude of Dreams?* v. 7.

A. *Jerom* translates the Verse; *In the Multitude of Dreams, there are Vanities, & many Words; but fear thou God*. And then the Meaning of it is, what *Jerom* learnt of the Jews. Tis to be taken from the last Words. There are in *Dreams*, many *vain* Fears, & many terrifying Words, *Fear not them*; No, but *Fear God*, who ruleth all things.¹⁶³

Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase on the Verse is this: "All this Folly, Inconstancy, and Falshood of Mankind, proceeds from the Want of a serious awful Sense of God,

¹⁶¹ A paraphrase and citation from Patrick (*Ecclesiastes* 74), see the LXX, Eccles. 5:5: πρόσωπον τοῦ θεοῦ, "before God" (NETS).

¹⁶² From Patrick (*Ecclesiastes* 73–74), Mather refers to the tract *The Reverence of God's House*, sect. 2, in *Several Discourses and Treatises concerning Churches* by Joseph Mede in his *Works* (2:345). The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

¹⁶³ From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 137–38), Mather refers to Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 5 [PL 23. 1053–54; CCSL 72]. Jerome refers to an unidentified Hebrew source. Compare similar statements in the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Berakoth 10b (Soncino, p. 55), referring to the prayer of the sick King Hezekiah in Isa. 38:2: "R. Hanan said: Even if the master of dreams says to a man that on the morrow he will die, he should not desist from prayer, for so it says, For in the multitude of dreams are vanities and also many words, but fear thou God." See also *Midrash Rabbah, Ecclesiastes*, p. 113, on Eccles. 5:6, and *Mikraoth Gedoloth, Ecclesiastes*, pp. 57–58, on that verse.

in whose Worship and Service, they therefore devise, after the Manner of Men in Dreams, a Multitude of senseless Things; hampering themselves, for instance, in many Vowes, from which they seek afterwards in vain to extricate themselves, & | therefore plainly violate & break: The Cure of which lies in an Holy Fear of offending God; which possess thy Soul, especially when thou comest into His House; that it may præserve thee from speaking much unto Him; & from vowing any thing, which is either Unworthy of Him, or so Inconvenient unto thyself, that afterward thou shalt not find in thy Heart to make it good.”¹⁶⁴

[▽12v] [▽Insert from 12v]

Q. The Meaning of that, *He that is Higher than the Highest regardeth?* v. 8.

A. Word for Word from the Hebrew, it is; *High above the High observeth*. But / מַעַל / in Hebrew, never signifies merely *Above*, but, *From Above*, or, *From on High*. It should be translated so; *He that is High, from on High; observeth*.¹⁶⁵ And then the Quæstion is, who is meant by, *The High?* Dr. *Patrick* understands it, of the King on Earth; who from his Throne observes what is done by Inferiour Judges; where he ought to call them unto an Account, & examine Complaints that are made against them. Or, if he doth not, both he and they are observed by the supreme Judge of all, & shall be accountable to Him, whether they will or no. God and His Holy Angels, are *Higher* than they; and God will employ His Holy Angels to punish them all.¹⁶⁶

[△] [△Insert ends]

Q. A Gloss of Antiquity on, *The King served by the Field?* v. 9.

A. *Jerom* reads the Verse thus; *And moreover, in all things of the Earth, a King in a Tilled Field*. He applies it unto God, who in the Verse before, is said to be Above all. He is *in all things of the Earth*, as a *King in a Tilled Field*. This World is unto Him, as a *Field of Corn*. He does not now always punish the Wicked, tho’ he sees their Wickedness. He leaves the *Corn* and the *Tares* to grow together unto the Day of Judgment.¹⁶⁷

[▽13r and 13v] [▽Insert from 13r and 13v]

Q. Some further Illustration, upon the Meaning & Intent of those Passages, about the *Profit of the Earth*, & the *King served by the Field?* v. 9.

A. Dr. *Patrick* endeavours to grasp at it, in such a Paraphrase as this.

¹⁶⁴ Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, pp. 64–65. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

¹⁶⁵ From Patrick (*Ecclesiastes* 76): מַעַל [me’al] “from above.”

¹⁶⁶ Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 65.

¹⁶⁷ From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 141), Mather refers to Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 5 [PL 23. 1054–55; CCSL 72]. Compare Matt. 13:24–30.

“And now, lett us consider, how senseless the Love of Money is, which is the Cause of all this Rapine, & Violent Dealing. And this appears from the Fruitfulness of the Earth; which brings forth more than enough for all Mens Necessities, if Husbandry be not neglected; an Employment no less Noble than Innocent; for Kings themselves, in former times, have not disdained to give their Mind unto it; nor is there any Prince now, who is not so much endebted to it, that it ought to be one of his principal Cares, to encourage, secure, & protect it.

And yett, such is the Vanity of Mankind, that, disregarding these Riches, which lie not very deep in the Earth, all their Business is, with incessant pains & danger, to dig into its Bowels for Gold & Silver; which tempt them also to oppress & squeeze the Poor, to pervert Judgment, & do all Manner of Evil, to extort their Money from them.”¹⁶⁸

What we render, *The King is served by the Field*, may more literally be rendred, *The King is a Servant* (or, addicted) *to the Field*. Anciently, the greatest Persons did not think it below them, to follow *Husbandry*, (the Just Praises whereof *Cicero* hath given in his *Offices*, but especially in his Book, *De Senectute*.) as we are taught by the Exemples of *Hiero*, *Philometor*, *Attalus*, *Arthelaus*, *Cyrus* the Younger, in profane Story; & by the Exemple of King *Uzziah*, in the sacred. This did not flatten their Witt, or abate their Courage; but made | them the more patient of Labour, and the more solid & serious. Hence we find, the greatest Captains among the Romans; even such as *Camillus*, *Regulus*, *Fabius*, *Cato*, *Cincinnatus*, fetch'd from the Plough; as *Gideon* among the *Israelites* was from the Threshing-floor; and *Elisha*, from driving one of the Twelve Ploughs, his Father had going in the Field.¹⁶⁹

[13v]

Maldonates Translation therefore is not to be despised; which is, *By following Husbandry diligently, a Man may grow so Rich as to become a King*.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, pp. 65–66.

¹⁶⁹ From Patrick (*Ecclesiastes* 77), reference is made to the works of Cicero, *De officiis* (*On Duties*), and *Cato Maior de senectute* (*On Old Age*), in which the pleasures of farming and the charms of country life are praised (esp. in chapters 15–16). From Patrick, Mather also cites the partly faulty list of eminent men from antiquity said to have practiced or appreciated husbandry: Hiero I, tyrant of Syracuse (reigned c. 478–466 BCE); Attalus III Philometor of Pergamon (reigned 133–138 BCE); Archelaus of Cappadocia (d. 17 BCE); Cyrus the Younger, prince of Persia and general (d. 401 BCE); the Roman generals and statesmen Marcus Furius Camillus (c. 446–365 BCE), Marcus Atilius Regulus (before 307–250 BCE), Quintus Fabius Maximus Verrucosus Cunctator (c. 280–203 BCE), Cato the Elder (234–149 BCE), author of the *De agri cultura*, and Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus (519–430 BCE), who famously retired to his farm after a brief dictatorship. Many of these names also show up in the works on agriculture by Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella (c. 4–c. 70 CE), *De re rustica* and the Socratic dialogue on household management and husbandry by Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*. The scriptural references are to 2 Chron. 26:10 (Uzziah), Judg. 6:11 (Gideon), and 1 Kings 19:19 (Elisha).

¹⁷⁰ From Patrick (*Ecclesiastes* 77), Mather refers to the commentary on Ecclesiastes by the Spanish Jesuit and biblical scholar Juan (de) Maldonado (Maldonatus, 1533–1583) in *Commentarii in praecipuos Sacrae Scripturae libros Veteris Testamenti* (1643), p. 154, which offers for this verse: “Rex ipse vivit ex agricultura, aut qui colit agrum tam dives evadit ut rex fit.”

Melanchthon is also alone in his Translation; *The King in the Earth, is above all for the Tillage of the Field*. A Tyrant laies all Waste; but a good King cherishes his People, especially honest Husbandmen.¹⁷¹

There is a memorable Passage in a *Persian* Writer, quoted by Mr *Pocock*; That in *Persia*, they kept a solemn Feast every Year; wherein the King descended from his Throne, laid aside his Royal Apparrel, threw the Veil from his Face, & conversed with the most ordinary People, even with Countrey Swains & Husbandmen; with whom he ate, saying, *I am one of you, nor can the World subsist without Tillage; which is performed by your Pains; and on the other Side, it is owing to the King, that Tillage subsists; so that neither of us, being able to subsist without the other, we are, as it were, Individual Brethren*.¹⁷²

[△] [△Insert ends]

Q. He that *loveth Silver, not satisfied?* v. 10.

A. *Bernard* elegantly compares him, to one, who being very hungry, gapeth continually for the Wind; *Quo inflari potest, satiari non potest*.

Upon the, *Love of Silver*, we have a pretty note of *Gregories*.¹⁷³

Peter saies, *We have forsaken All, & followed thee*.¹⁷⁴ This *All*, what could it be in itself, with such poor Men, who were but *Fishermen*, and sustained themselves by their daily Labour? But *Gregory* saies upon it: *In hac re, Affectum debemus potius pensare quàm Censum. Multum relinquit, qui quantumlibet parum totum deseruit. Multum ergò Petrus et Andreas reliquerunt, quando uterque etiam desiderium habendi reliquit*. To leave the *Love of having*, was to leave a great deal.¹⁷⁵

Q. On the *Sleep* of the *labouring Man*, & of the *Rich?* v. 12.

A. *Jerom* gives us a spiritual Application of it. He saies, The *Communis de hac Vitâ exitus*, the common Passage out of this Life, is called *Sleep*. And now, *melior erit Requies ejus qui operatur in Prasenti, et secundum Vires suas in Bonis Operibus*

¹⁷¹ From Patrick (*Ecclesiastes* 77), Mather refers to Melanchthon's *Enarratio brevis concionum*, which has on this verse: "Super omnes Rex in terra ad culturam agrorum, ubo discernit regem a Tyranno."

¹⁷² From Patrick (*Ecclesiastes* 77–78), Mather refers to a note in Edward Pococke's learned account of the ethnic origins and manners of the Arabs based on the chronicle of the thirteenth-century Syriac Orthodox bishop Gregory Bar Hebraeus (1226–1286), *Specimen historiae Arabum, sive, Gregorii Abul Farajii Malatiensis de origine & moribus Arabum succincta narratio* (1650), pp. 202–03.

¹⁷³ "By which he can be inflated, but not filled." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 143), Mather cites Bernard of Clairvaux, *De diligendo Deo*, cap. 3 [PL 182. 987; *Opera* 3]; Jermin's transl. modified. See also Gregory the Great, *Regula pastoralis*, pars 3, cap. 20 [PL 77. 86; SC 382]: "he who goes about to increase wealth is negligent in avoiding sin" (transl.: *NPNFii* 12:46).

¹⁷⁴ Compare Matt. 19:27 and Mark 10:28.

¹⁷⁵ "In this thing we must consider their state of mind rather than their wealth. He leaves much who abandoned all, however little. Therefore Peter and Andrew left much when both left the desire of having." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 143), Mather cites Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, lib. 1, hom. 5 [PL 76. 1093; *CCSL* 141]; Jermin's transl. modified.

*conversatur, quam eorum Divitum, de quibus scribitur; væ vobis Divitibus, quia recepistis Consolationem vestram.*¹⁷⁶

Q. How, *Riches kept for the Owners to their Hurt?* v. 13.

A. The Word intimates their being *kept* by another for them. God preserves them; expecting when the covetous Wretches will use for His Glory, what He keeps for their Comfort. But they possessing them unprofitably, tis all for *their Hurt*.

This is the Sense which the *Chaldee Paraphraser* gives us: *est autem perniciosum Malum quod vidi sub Sole, cui Medicina non est: Homo qui Divitias congregat, neque eas ad Pietatem confert: parum sanè prævidens dierum finem. Hæc enim Substantia illi in Perniciem venturo Sæculo conservatur.*¹⁷⁷

Q. On that Passage, *what Person?* v. 15.

A. I desire the Gloss of *Joseph* the *Chaldee* may not be forgotten.

*Qui ferventer inhiat Mammonæ congregandæ, non erit ei Laus in Sæculo futuro, nisi fecerit ex eo Eleemosynam.*¹⁷⁸

Q. The Addition of this *sore Evil, He shall go?* v. 16.

¹⁷⁶ The first phrase is translated by Mather, "The common passage out of this life." The following reads: "Better shall be his rest who works in the present, and conducts himself according to his abilities in good works, then that of those rich men of whom it is written, woe unto you that are rich, for you have received your consolation." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 148), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 5 [PL 23. 1056; CCSL 72]; Jermin's transl. modified. See the VUL, Luke 6:24.

¹⁷⁷ "There is a pernicious evil which I have seen under the sun, for which there is no remedy, a man who gathers riches, and does not bestow them upon the works of devotion, little indeed foreseeing the end of his days. For this substance is kept unto him, for his hurt and mischief in the world to come." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 150), Mather cites the Latin transl. of the Targum. Transl.: Jermin. Compare Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:408); see also *The Targum of Qohelet; The Bible in Aramaic* 4A; *The Aramaic Version of Qohelet*, at this verse.

¹⁷⁸ "Who fervently strives after accumulating riches, will not be praised in the coming age, unless he will make charity of it." From an unknown source, Mather seems to cite a Latin transl. of the Targum on Eccles. 5:15–18. Compare Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:412), where the Latin is similar in meaning but different in phrasing. Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 159–60) translates this Latin version of the Targum as follows: "Every man also to whom God hath given riches and wealth, and God hath given him power, that he may eat of it in this world, and that he may show charity by it, and that he may receive a perfect reward from his Father in the world to come, and may rejoice in his labour with the righteous." For a modern edition with English translation, see *The Targum of Qohelet; The Bible in Aramaic* 4A; *The Aramaic Version of Qohelet*, at this verse.

The attribution of the gloss to "Joseph the Chaldee" seems to refer to Joseph ben Hiyya or Rav Hiyya b. Yosef (d. 333 CE), a Babylonian *amora* and head of the Pumbedita academy. Among many other commentaries, he left an Aramaic translation / commentary of parts of the Hebrew Scriptures. Traditionally, the entire Targum to the Ketuvim was ascribed to him; now he is primarily associated with the Targum of the Book of Chronicles, which is also called "the Targum of Rav Joseph" (*JE*).

A. When *Constantine* the Emperour had shown the King of *Persia*, the good and glorious Things of *Rome*, then the *King* show'd him the *sore Evil*, which the Royal Preacher here comes unto. Said he, *Mira quidem hæc, sed, ut video, sicut in Persiâ, sic Romæ homines moriuntur.* But Men *Dy* at *Rome*, as well as in *Persia*.¹⁷⁹

Q. *Labouring for the Wind?* v. 16.

A. The Vision of the Four Chariots, which the Prophet *Zacharie* saw,¹⁸⁰ is by the common Opinion of all the Learned, both *Jews* and *Christians*, as both *Jerom* and *Cyril* affirm, interpreted of the *Four Monarchies*. But the Angel, who talked with the Prophet, being asked by him, *what they were*, answered, *These are the Four Winds of Heaven*. Indeed, what is the greatest Glory under Heaven, but a *Wind* that passeth away, & cometh not again?¹⁸¹

[▽14r] [▽Insert from 14r]

Q. How is it said, *He eateth in Darkness?* v. 17.

A. He finds no Comfort in his Wealth, he lives obscurely; he denies himself of what he has.

But *Gregory Thaumaturgus* understands the Words, of spending his Time in filthy Lusts, with vile Harlots.¹⁸²

[△] [△Insert ends]

Q. *God gives Riches?* v. 19.

A. When God commanded *Moses* to strike the Rock, He said *Behold, I will stand before thee there!* It is the Note of *Liepomannus*, This was *Ne gratia tanti Beneficii homini, et non Deo tribuatur*.¹⁸³ Surely, It is God who makes a Stream of Riches, to flow unto any one. God *stands by*, and makes the *Waters flow*.

Old *Hilarius* expounds, The *Poor in Spirit*, at this rate; *Qui nihil quicquam suum esse, nihil proprium sed cuncta Dono Parentis unius tribui agnoscunt*.¹⁸⁴ Such

¹⁷⁹ “These things are indeed wonderful, but I see that as in Persia, so at Rome men die also.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 153), Mather cites an unknown work by the jurist from Padua, Raphael Fulgosius (1367–1427); the citation is also provided later by Nathaniel Wanley (1634–1680), *The Wonders of the little World, or, A general History of man* (1678), lib. 6, cap. 8, p. 570. Wanley cites Nicolas Caussin (1583–1651), *The holy Court* ([French ed. 1624] 1626). Transl.: Jermin.
¹⁸⁰ Zech. 6:1–8.

¹⁸¹ Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 154.

¹⁸² From Patrick (*Ecclesiastes* 80), Mather refers to Gregory Thaumaturgus, *Metaphrasis in Ecclesiasten*, at Eccles. 5:16 [PG 10. 1001–02]. Jarick’s transl. (*Paraphrase of Ecclesiastes*, p. 131): “He spends his whole life in most unholy passions and irrational desires, with pains and illnesses as well. To put it briefly: to such a person the days are darkness and life is sadness.”

¹⁸³ “Lest the favor of so great a benefit should be ascribed to man and not to God.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 159), Mather cites the work of the Bishop of Verona Luigi Lippomano (1500–1559), *Catena in Exodus* (1550), at Exod. 17:6; Jermin’s transl.

¹⁸⁴ “Who acknowledge nothing at all to be theirs, nothing to be proper to themselves, but all things to be given by one parent.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 159), Mather cites Hilary of

as own they have received all from the Heavenly Father; and look not on any thing as their own.

[the entries from 12r–13v were inserted into their designated places]¹⁸⁵

[14r]

Q. The Meaning of, *He shall not much Remember the Dayes of his Life?* v. 20.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* gives us a good Gloss; He shall not much Think, or be much Troubled in his Mind, how to provide for the *Dayes of his Life*: He shall not lose the Comfort of his present Dayes, by being solicitous for the Dayes to come. The Fool in the Gospel, who was very busy at pulling down, and building up, *longos Annorum ambitus, Spei vanitate in horreis simul includebat*; as *Gregory Nyssen* speaks. But he adds; *Annon una Nox illam somniatam Spem confutavit?*¹⁸⁶

[14v]

Q. *God answers him, in the Joy of his Heart?* v. 20.

A. It supposes, a Quæstion. And it is a common Quæstion in a worldly Mind, *Quid faciam?*¹⁸⁷ *Chrysologus* finding the Rich Fool putting that Quæstion, when there was no one with him, supposes it must be to the *Divel*, who possesses the Hearts of such People.

But here, God answers; and He answers the Quæstion before it is asked, because He would not have it be asked. He gives the Man a cheerful Heart, relying on the Divine Providence, & Mercy, & Bounty. *Chrysologus* would have Man to be easy; *Quia Prandii tui, semper et ubique Deus Præparator existit, et Creatoris ad Prandium tota concurrat, et advolat Creatura.*¹⁸⁸

The original Word, may be translated, *canens*; as if God Himself did *sing* in the Heart of such an one.¹⁸⁹

Poitiers (Hilarius Pictaviensis, c. 310/320–368), *Commentarius in Evangelium Matthæi*, cap. 5 [PL 9. 932; SC 254]; Jermin's transl. modified.

¹⁸⁵ See Appendix B.

¹⁸⁶ “By idle hope he shut up at once the long period of years in his barns”; “Did not one single night confute that foolish hope?” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 160–61), Mather cites Gregory of Nyssa, *De oratione dominica*, oratio 4 [PG 44. 1175; GNO 7.2]; Jermin's transl. Graef's transl. of the Greek (ACW 18:69): “Shutting up long periods of years as it were in barns, without letting them bear fruit. Will not one night prove false all these imagined hopes, like some vain dream about a nonentity?”

¹⁸⁷ “What shall I do?” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 161), Mather cites Peter Chrysologus, *Sermones*, sermo 104 [PL 52. 490–91; CCSL 24A]; transl.: Jermin. Compare Luke 12:17.

¹⁸⁸ “Because God is the preparer of your dinner, at all times and everywhere, and to the dinner of the creator even all the creatures run and fly together.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 161), Mather cites Peter Chrysologus, *Sermones*, sermo 163 [PL 52. 628; CCSL 24B]; Jermin's transl. modified.

¹⁸⁹ “Singing.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 162). Mather refers to the Hebrew word עָנָה [‘nh] “be concerned about, worried about; keep someone busy” (see Holladay, *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon*); in older dictionaries it is translated, in the piel form, with “to sing” and in

Q. The *Evil common among Men?* v. 1.

A. It seems, as Dr. *Patrick* notes, covetous Wretches were no rare Creatures in those Dayes; but the Nation of the *Jews* abounded with them. They were then of the same Humour they are now; scraping up Riches by Right or by Wrong, which they never enjoy.¹⁹⁰

Q. The *Man to whom God hath given Riches*, but not *Power to eat thereof*; but a *Stranger eateth it?* v. 2.

A. The Meaning is obvious; the Instance every where.

But *Olympiodorus* applies it in a moral Sense.

*Sæpè accidit, ut aliquis magnas sibi Divitias in Dicendi copia, et in Scientia Scripturarum comparavit, aliarumque rerum Cognitione, sed quia inde fœditas Morum à Verbis suis dissidet ac Doctrina; hinc fit, ut qui in Libros illius Traditionesque incidunt, magnam inde ipsi quidem utilitatem capiant, nihil verò ipse Autor emolumenti perceperit.*¹⁹¹

One who ha's written more than Two Hundred Books, & addressed the World with more than Two Hundred Publications, now makes it his humble Prayer to the God of all Grace, that he may not be left unto the least Degree of this Unhappiness.

Lord, preserve thy Servant in the most spotless Purity, and lett me most of all myself conform to the Maxims of Piety, in the Books which thou hast helped me to write, & which I hope, thou wilt bring many others to be the better for.

Q. What is the Wretchedness represented here, under those Terms, *He hath no Burial?* v. 3.

A. He ha's a violent & untimely Death; He is murdered, or, perhaps executed. The Circumstances of his Death are such, as not to allow a Funeral for him.

qal and hiphil form "to answer, respond." Eccles. 5:20 in the KJV 1611: "God answereth him in the joy of his heart"; *ESV*: "God keeps him occupied with joy in his heart."

¹⁹⁰ Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 85.

¹⁹¹ "Oftentimes it comes to pass, that someone has gotten to himself a great fluency of speech, and a great abundance in the knowledge of the Scriptures and of other things; but because the lewdness of his manners departs and disagrees both from his words and doctrine, hence it is that they who meet with his books and instructions, do gather from them much profit to themselves, but the author himself reaps no benefit from them." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 166), Mather cites Olympiodorus the Deacon, *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten*, on Eccles. 6:2 [PG 93. 551]; Jermin's transl. modified.

Jermyn carries it so; He did so little Good while he lived, that nobody laments him at his Death.¹⁹²

But *Jerom* so; He did not think of his Burial, while he lived; He was wholly unmindful of his Death. Or, (which he præfers,) He did no worthy thing while he lived; he left no Monument, by which his Memory might be preserved.¹⁹³

Antonius Corranus has this Gloss upon the Words. *By the Just Judgment of God, such Wretches, who would not feed the Poor, while they lived, become the Food of Dogs or Crows when they are Dead.*¹⁹⁴

[15v]

Q. The Labour of Man for his Mouth, and yett his Appetite not filled? An Instance of it? v. 7.

A. Of the common Interpretation, there is no one Insensible.

But then, there is a good Sense wherein *Jerom* would have us to consider it. *Melius est hoc intelligi de Viro Ecclesiastico, qui in Scripturis eruditus omnem Laborem habet in Ore suo, et Anima ejus non impletur, dum semper cupit discere.*¹⁹⁵

Salonius makes the like Application. All the Labour of the Minister, is to furnish him for his Preaching; yett, his Soul is not filled; *Quia non sufficit sibi quod didicit, sed magis et magis semper discere cupit et studet.*¹⁹⁶

Q. On that, *what ha's the Wise more than the Fool?* v. 8.

A. Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase is; "Lett a Man be, otherways, never so Wise, as well as Rich, yett if he bridle not his Desires, he is little better than a Fool; and he that is Poor, but hath so much Understanding, as to know how to behave himself among Men, suitably to his Condition, & to be counted therewith, is incomparably the wiser & happier Man."¹⁹⁷

But then, he proposes afterwards this Construction also. *What Excellence is there in the wise Man*, (that is, in the Opinion of the Wretch before mentioned, there is none,) *more than a Fool; especially if he be Poor, &c.* To all other Miseries of these Churls, it is commonly added, that they are commonly Ignorant of what is most truly valuable; they have no Esteem of the wisest Man in the

¹⁹² Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 167.

¹⁹³ From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 167), Mather cites *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 6 [PL 23. 1059; *CCSL* 72]; Mather paraphrases Jermin's transl.

¹⁹⁴ From Patrick (*Ecclesiastes* 87), Mather refers to Antonius Corranus, *Ecclesiastes Regis Salomonis*, pp. 100–01.

¹⁹⁵ "It is better to understand this of an ecclesiastical man, who being learned in the Scriptures has all labor in his mouth, and his soul is not filled, while he desires always to learn." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 175), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 6 [PL 23. 1059; *CCSL* 72]. Jermin's transl. modified.

¹⁹⁶ "Because that which he has learned does not suffice him, but he desires and studies still to know more and more." Through Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 175), Mather cites Salonius of Geneva, *In Ecclesiasten expositio mystica* [PL 53. 1004; ed. Curti]; Jermin's transl. modified.

¹⁹⁷ Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 84.

World, any more than of a Fool. Nay, they prefer a Rich Fool, before a Poor Wise Man, who knows how to carry himself so decently, that he is not afraid of appearing before any Living.¹⁹⁸

Q. In what Sense; *Better the Sight of the Eyes, than the Wandering of the Desire?* v. 9.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* ha's a good Hint. That the Meaning is to be fetch'd, out of the præceding Argument. In Dainty & Profuse Variants of Meat, on a Luxurious Table, *His Sight of the Eyes is better than the Wandering of the Appetite*; It is better to be pleased with Looking on them, than to please the Appetite with Feeding on them.¹⁹⁹

Q. The Meaning of that Passage; *That which hath been, is named already?* v. 10.

A. *Melancthon* thus expresses the Sense of it. "*Tho' a Man grow famous, yett it is known he is but a Man; and he cannot contend with that which is stronger than himself.*"²⁰⁰

Some give another Interpretation. *As he was made at first, so his Name was given him*; that is, the Name of *Adam*, signifying that he was taken out of the Earth, & therefore mortal.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁸ Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 88.

¹⁹⁹ Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 178.

²⁰⁰ From Patrick (*Ecclesiastes* 89), Mather refers to Melancthon, *Enarratio brevis concionum*, at cap. 6; original: "Etiam si quis celebris est, tamen hoc scitur, quod homo sit, & non potest certare cum eo quod est potentius."

²⁰¹ Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 89.

Q. What the *precious Ointment* whereas a *good Name* is præferred? v. 1.

A. The Chaldee Paraphrase ha's answered; *Unguentum Unctionis, quod fuerit inunctum super Capita Regum et Sacerdotum.*²⁰²

Ointments were in much Esteem; they are mentioned among the Treasures of Kings. 2. King. XX.13. Isa. XXXIX.2.

Pindar saies, *A Bath of warm Water doth not so much refresh the tired Bones as Glory.* And *Thucydides* ha's a Saying, *Honour is the Nourishment & Food of an old Man.*²⁰³

The Gloss of *Jerom* is worth considering *Consydera, o Homo, Dies tuos brevis et fac tibi Famam longiorem ut ac tuum Vocabulum tota delectetur Posteritas.*²⁰⁴

The *good Name* here proposed, is, as *Olympiodoris* expresses it, *Quod ex officiosis Actionibus Viri Justi comparant.*²⁰⁵

'Tis a Remark of *Dr. Jermyns*. When *Jacob* asked the Name of the *Angel*, that had wrestled with him, the Reply of the *Angel* is, *Wherefore is it that thou dost ask after my Name?* And he *Blessed him there.*²⁰⁶ What is this? His *Name* is desired, and he gave him a *Blessing*. It was not sure so much that the *Angel* would have his *Name* concealed, as rather to shew, that the Glory of a Name doth not consist in Letters and Syllables, but shineth from the Actions of Goodness & Vertue.²⁰⁷

Dr. Patrick observes this to be the Design of the Maxims in this Verse. "And therefore, if we would be Happy, we ought to order our Life in such a Manner,

²⁰² "The ointment of anointing which was poured upon the heads of the kings and priests." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 187), Mather cites a Latin transl. of the Targum to Eccles. 7:1 and Jermin's English translation. Compare Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:412); see *The Targum of Qohelet; The Bible in Aramaic* 4A; *The Aramaic Version of Qohelet*, at this verse.

²⁰³ From Patrick (*Ecclesiastes*, 102), Mather cites an ode paying tribute to the wrestler Timasarchus of Aegina by the Greek lyric poet Pindar (Pindarus, c. 518–438 BCE), *Nemean Odes* (4.1). Reference is made to a passage in the famous funeral oration for the war dead by Pericles, as reported in the *History of the Peloponnesian War* (2.44) of Thucydides. This part of the entry is squeezed into the margin of the page and was clearly added later.

²⁰⁴ "Consider, o man, your days are short, make for yourself a longer reputation, so that all your posterity may delight in your name." Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 7 [PL 23. 1060; CCSL 72]; transl.: Jermin. Mather's text is an abbreviated version of the citation.

²⁰⁵ "Which righteous men procure by their dutiful actions." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 187), Mather cites Olympiodorus the Deacon, *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten*, on Eccles. 7:1 [PG 93. 559]. Jermin's transl. modified.

²⁰⁶ Gen. 32:29.

²⁰⁷ Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 187.

that Death, which Fools & wicked Men fear may be welcome to us; & only lett us out of our Troubles, into which we are brought at our Birth.”²⁰⁸

Q. The *House of Mourning*? v. 2.

A. Tis Remarkable, that he commands it, who had said, Eccl. II.4. *I builded me Houses*. He præfers *Houses of Mourning* before *Houses of Pleasure*.

Thus he *goes down to the House of the Potter*.²⁰⁹

Q. The *Living will lay it to his Heart*. How? v. 2.

A. *Jerom* observes, That *Symmachus* read it; *Respiciet ad Mentem*. He will look into his own Mind, and consider with himself, whether he be ready for his Death, or no.²¹⁰

Q. The *Heart of the Wise*, how in the *House of Mourning*; the *Heart of Fools*, how in the *House of Mirth*? v. 4.

A. The *Heart of the Wise*, is in the one House; that is, he is truly affected with what is there. The *Heart of Fools* is in the other House; that is, he is wholly possessed with what is there.²¹¹

But some carry it further. The *Body* is to the Godly, an *House of Mourning*; its deportment is with sober Sadness; it sheds its Tears for its own Sins, & for the Miseries of other Men. The *Body* is the *House of Mirth* with wicked Men; in regard of its light Behaviour.²¹²

Jerom supposes a Relation between this Verse, & that which followes; & gives this as the Sense of it. *Cor Sapientis vadat ad domum talis Viri qui se corripit delinquentem, ut adducat ad Lacrymas et qui provocet propria lugere Peccata; et non eat ad domum Lætitie, ubi Doctor adulatur et decipit, ubi non Conversionem audientium, sed applausus quærit*.²¹³

Q. The *Laughter of Fools*, how, like the *Crackling of Thorns under a Pott*? v. 6.

A. *Thorns*, when they burn, make a Noise, but are quickly consumed, & there is no Effect of their Heat; *Spinæ dum ardent sonant, et citò exuruntur, ut nullus*

²⁰⁸ Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 91. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

²⁰⁹ Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 18. Compare God's command to the prophet Jeremiah in Jer. 18:2.

²¹⁰ “He will look into the mind.” Drawing upon Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 190), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 7 [PL 23. 1061; CCSL 72]. Jermin's transl. modified. Jerome refers to Symmachus.

²¹¹ Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 192.

²¹² Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 193.

²¹³ “Let the heart of the wise go to the house of such a one, who may reprove him when he offends, that so he may bring him to tears, and make him to lament his own sins: and let him not go to the house of mirth, where the teacher flatters and deceives: where he does not seek the conversion of the hearers, but applause.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 193), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 7 [PL 23. 1061; CCSL 72]. Jermin's transl. modified.

Caloris sit Effectus;²¹⁴ tis the Gloss of *Ambrose* upon it; so Fools, when they are in Prosperity, make a Noise of it, but it is soon gone, they have little Fruit of any Comfort from it. Again, Tho' the Flame here lift up itself, in an exulting Bravery, yett it is kept down, & suppressed; thus the Merriment of the Wicked, is under the *Pott* of many Troubles and Distresses, which keep down the Gallantry of it.

Lyra applies it, unto Fools apprehending of others in their Wickedness; *Faciunt magnum Sonum et inutilem, imò ad sui Consumptionem*.²¹⁵

{139:}

Q. In what Sense take you those Words, *Oppression makes a wise Man mad?* v. 7.

A. I incline to think, (sais one) that the Expositors mistake,²¹⁶ who apply these Words to *Sufferers*; & that they rather mean *Rulers*; q. d. *An Affection of an oppressing Power, & the Exercise of it, makes wise Rulers forgett the very obvious Reasons of Morality & Interest, & to act as Men Distracted.* *Forsterus* chuses to read it; *Calumny makes even a wise Man inglorious*. Indeed, a great many, by the *Oscheck* which raises Disturbance in a wise Man, understand that Sort of *Oppression* which comes from *Calumny*. *Melancthon* especially does insist upon the Mischief of it. The Fountain whereof is, *Pride*, envying the Glory of others.²¹⁷

[▽Insert from 19r]²¹⁸

[▽19r]

Q. Some further Considerations on, *Oppression making a wise Man mad?* v. 7.

A. The old French Translation, instead of, *Oppression*, has it, *Ce qu'on est trompe*.²¹⁹ *This, that they are Deceived, makes a wise Man mad.* It refers to the Flatteries, which in the preceding Verses are spoken of. When a wise Man perceives, himself to have been deluded with them, it makes him even *mad* with Anger against himself.

²¹⁴ "Thorns when they burn make a noise, and quickly are consumed, so that there is no effect of their heat." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 195), Mather cites Ambrose, *Exhortatio virginitatis*, cap. 11 [PL 16. 358]. Jermin's transl. modified.

²¹⁵ "Make a great and unprofitable sound, and that to the consuming of themselves." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 195), Mather cites Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla*, at Eccles. 7:6.

²¹⁶ See Appendix A. Mather's source could not be identified.

²¹⁷ From Patrick (*Ecclesiastes*, 104–05), Mather refers to a work by the Lutheran theologian and Hebraist Johann Forster (Ioannes Forsterus, 1496–1558), probably his *Dictionarium hebraicum novum* (1557); and to Melancthon, *Enarratio brevis concionum*, at cap. 7; original: "Calumnia conturbat sapientem & perdit cor beneficium." Beginning with "Forsterus," the rest of the entry was written in a different ink and is likely a later addition.

²¹⁸ See Appendix B.

²¹⁹ "This that they are deceived." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 197); the transl. is also Jermin's. This appears to be reference to Pierre Robert Olivétan's (c. 1506–1538) French Protestant transl. (*Bible de Genève*, orig. 1535), which was revised multiple times and published with a preface from Calvin. In an edition from Amsterdam (*La Bible*, 1687), it reads at Eccles. 7:7: "Certainement CE qu'on est trompé, fait perdre le sens au sage: & le don fait perdre l'entendement."

But lett us keep to the Subject of *Oppression*. How much a *wise Man* may be indisposed, when he labours under the *Oppression* of a *Calumny*, you may read in the LXXXVI Epistle of *Basil*, which is to *Bosphorus*.²²⁰

But *Austin* well compares a *wise Man* suffering Wrong, unto a Ship, wherein our Saviour was Asleep. He hears himself to be slandered, and he is much moved with Anger at it. *Convitium Ventus est; Iracundia Fluctus*.²²¹ The Vessel is now in a Storm. When he studies Revenge, and the Desire of that oppresses his Mind, *Iam navis propinquat naufragio*.²²² And all is, because Christ is asleep in the Ship; *In Corde enim hominis, Somnus Christi Oblivio Fidei*;²²³ lett the Eye of Faith be open, and it will tell us, *Quisquis volens detrahit Famæ meæ, nolens addit Mercedi meæ*.²²⁴

[△] [△Insert ends]

1340:

Q. How is the *End of a Thing better than the Beginning thereof*? v. 8.

A. The Hebrew דבר which wee render, *A Thing*, may bee translated, and understood, *A Strife*.²²⁵ There is an Instance of its having such an Interpretation in Prov. 17.9. So the Sense of this Passage runs unexceptionably; and it agrees incomparably well with the Context.

Lyra makes it thus; *Better is the End of a Prayer, than the Beginning*; and from this Argument wishes the Oppressed to go to God for Help. *Quia incipit à Tristitiâ propter illatam sibi Calumniam; et terminatur in Consolationem à Deo datam*.²²⁶

[16v] |²²⁷

²²⁰ Paraphrase of Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 197.

²²¹ "The insult is the wind; the anger, the waves." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 197), Mather cites Augustine, *In Joannis Evangelium tractatus*, tract. 49 [PL 35. 1755; CCSL 36]; transl. modified from NPNFi (7:276).

²²² "His vessel is already nigh to shipwreck." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 197), Mather cites Augustine, *In Joannis Evangelium tractatus*, tract. 49 [PL 35. 1755; CCSL 36]; transl. modified from NPNFi (7:276).

²²³ "For the sleep of Christ in the heart of man is the forgetfulness of faith." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 197), Mather cites Augustine, *In Joannis Evangelium tractatus*, tract. 49 [PL 35. 1755; CCSL 36]; transl. modified from NPNFi (7:276). Compare Matt. 8:24–26; Mark 4:37–39, and Luke 8:23–25.

²²⁴ "Whosoever willfully detracts from my reputation is against his will contributing to my reward." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 198), Mather cites Augustine, *Contra litteras Petiliani*, lib. 3, cap. 7 [PL 43. 352; CSEL 52]; transl. from NPNFi (4:600).

²²⁵ דבר [dabar] "word, speaking, speech, matter."

²²⁶ "Because it begins from sorrow for the wrong received but is ended in consolation which is by God granted." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 195), Mather cites Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla* at Eccles. 7:8; transl.: Jermin. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later. See Appendix B.

²²⁷ See Appendix B. Two smaller leaves, 17r/17v and 18r/18v, were originally inserted here

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Q. What Complaints of, *The former Times being better than these*, may the Wise Man refer to, when hee rebukes the Want of Wisdome in those Complaints? v. 10.

A. In *Solomons* time, there was a Temple building, & the building of this Temple caused heavy Taxes upon the People. [See 1. King. 12.4.] Now, some think, the Complaints about the *Badness of the Times*, here faulted was on that Occasion.

Jerom has a good Hint on this Text. *Sic debes vivere, ut semper praesentes Dies meliores tibi sint, quam praeteriti.*²²⁸

[▽Insert from 19r and 19v]

[▽19r and 19v]

Q. How, *Wisdome good with an Inheritance?* v. 11.

A. Tis sure, *Wisdome* is commonly despised without *Wealth*. But the Words will bear this Construction; *Wisdome is equal to an Inheritance, nay, much to be preferred before it*. They may be thus translated; *Both Wisdome, & an Inheritance are profitable for Men in this World; but especially Wisdome.*²²⁹

Q. The *Profit of Riches*, with *Wisdome*, to them that *see the Sun?* v. 11.

A. That is, To them that are living. Tis only in this Life, that *Riches* are *profitable*; in the next Life they are of no Use.

But probably there is more intended by, them that *see the Sun*. It may mean, them who enjoy the Liberty of this Life; & who are under no Restraint; by Sickness or otherwise.

And may it not likewise be intended, That the Riches themselves also should *see the Sun*; and not be hoarded up in useless Coffers!

Maldonate renders this Clause, *And there is a Remainder to those that see the Sun*. That is, when all things in this World fail us, the Fruits of Wisdome only remain with us.²³⁰

with seal wax into the margin of the page. At some point, the two leaves came loose and are now stuck between the pages. In the microfilm version of the "Biblia Americana" the images of two leaves appear sideways and in the wrong places. We have inserted the content of these two leaves at the places intended by Mather, which can be deduced from the sequence of the biblical verses on which he comments.

²²⁸ "You should live so that always the present days may be better to you, then the past were." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 205), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 7 [PL 23. 1063; CCSL 72]. Jermin's transl. modified.

²²⁹ Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, pp. 109–10.

²³⁰ From Patrick (*Ecclesiastes* 110), Mather refers to Juan Maldonado, *Commentarii in prae-cipuos Sacrae Scripturae libros Veteris Testamenti*, p. 156, which offers for this verse: "residuum est videntibus solem, id est, cum omnia alia quae sunt in hac vita peteant solus sapientiae fructus manner."

Q. *Wisdom* a Defence, and *Money* a Defence: How? v. 12.

A. The Word for a Defence, is in the Original, a *Shadow*. A Defence and Protection is found in the *Shadow*.²³¹ But entertain the Gloss of the Chaldee Paraphrase. *Quemadmodum homo, Præsidio et velut Umbraculis Sapientiæ defenditur; sic et Umbra Pecuniarum incolumnis degit, eo potissimum tempore, quo illas ad Justitiam confert. Et sanè Dignitas Cognitionis Sapientiæ Legis ab ipso Sepulchro ad futurum Sæculum possessori Vitam confert.*²³²

[19v] If in the *Shadow* here, we may find my *Light* reflected on the | Clause that ended the former Verse, then, by them that *see the Sun*, may be meant, such as are heated & scorched, with the Troubles of this Life. Here we have a Shadow of Defence against those Troubles.

But the Hebrew Word being, *A Shadow*, it is well done by *Jerome*, to note upon it; *omnis nostra in hac Terrâ Protectio, instar Umbræ est, sive Sapientiæ, sive Argenti.*²³³

And then, lest the joining of *Wisdom* with *Money*, might seem to be some Disparagement unto it, the Preacher next sett's *Wisdom* alone, & gives it this Excellency, that it *gives Life*; both of Grace & Glory.²³⁴

When God had cast Man out of *Paradise*, that he might not eat of the *Tree of Life*, he placed at the Entrance of it, *Cherubims* with a fiery Sword.²³⁵ Some tell us, this not only was to keep him out, but also to show us the Way how we might return unto it. *Bacharius* has this Note upon it. *Eousque de Ligno Vitæ, id est, Christi participatione exules sumus, donec ad Eum per Romphæam flammeam, id est; Ignitam Martyrii Passionem, aut per Cherubim Domini, qui interpretantur multitudo Scientiæ, remeamus.*²³⁶

231 Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 110. KJV 1611: "For wisdom is a defence, and money is a defence" The Hebrew: כִּי בַצֵּל הַחֲכָמָה בַצֵּל הַכֶּסֶף *NAU*: "For wisdom is protection just as money is protection" The noun צֵל [*sel*] can be translated as both "shadow, shade" (also used metaphorically, see Isa. 49:2: "in the shadow of his hand hath he hid me") and "protection."

232 "As a man is defended by the succor and help of wisdom, as it were by a comfortable shadow, so does a man live safely by the shadow of money, especially, when that he uses his money in the works of righteousness. And indeed the excellency of the knowledge of the wisdom of the law, even from the grave, does give life to the possessor of it in the world to come." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 208), Mather cites a Latin translation of the Targum to Eccles. 7:12. Transl.: Jermin. Compare Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:412). See *The Targum of Qohelet; The Bible in Aramaic 4A; The Aramaic Version of Qohelet*, at this verse.

233 "All our protection upon this earth is as a shadow, whether it be of wisdom or of money." Drawing upon Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 209), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 7 [PL 23. 1064; CCSL 72]; transl.: Jermin.

234 Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 209.

235 Gen. 3:24.

236 "So long are we made exiles from the tree of life, that is from the partaking of Christ, until we return to him by a flaming sword, that is by the fiery suffering of martyrdom, or else by the Cherubims of the Lord, which are interpreted a multitude of knowledge." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 209), Mather cites Bacharius of Spain (5th century), *Liber de reparatione lapsi ad Januarium*, col. 3 [PL 20. 1039]; Jermin's transl. modified.

Q. In the *Day of Prosperity*, how are we to be *Joyful*? v. 14.

A. The Original is / **היה בטוב** /²³⁷ which is by *Jerom* rendered, *esto in Bono*.²³⁸ Be thou in Good. And then saies the Gloss upon it, *in Virtutibus et Operibus*. q. d. Do Good, and lett thy good Works declare thy Thankfulness.²³⁹

We read of some, Jer. XII.13. *They shall be ashamed of their Revenues*; That is, as *Theodoret* carries it, *cum Causam agetis apud Deum*; when God shall call you to an Account, what Use you made of them.²⁴⁰

Q. In the *Day of Adversity*, what is to be *considered*? v. 14.

A. Lett *Gaudentius* answer. *Et si Peccator, agnosce pro Correctione esse quod cæderis; si autem Justus es, ad Glorie tuæ Probationem intelligas evenire quod Pateris*.²⁴¹

Q. The Meaning of that; *That Man should find nothing after Him*? v. 14.

A. The French Translation will help us; That Man find nothing à *redire après luy*, to say after Him, or, to return as a Plea against Him. The LXX and the Vulgar Latin countenance that Sense; *Ut non inveniatur homo contra eum iustas querimonias*.²⁴²

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 17r–17v]

[▽17r–17v]

Q. *Solomon* saies, *I have seen, a Just Man that perisheth in his Righteousness*. If he *See* it, why did he not *Help* it? Surely, so great a King should have rescued the *Just Man*, from the Pawes of Oppression! v. 15.

²³⁷ **היה בטוב** [heje betov] lit. “be in good / gladness.”

²³⁸ “Be in good.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 212), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 7 [PL 23. 1065; CCSL 72].

²³⁹ “In virtues and in works.” Probably another reference to Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 7 [PL 23. 1065; CCSL 72]. While the *fructum bonorum operum*, “the fruit of good works,” are addressed by Jerome in the context of this verse, Mather’s citation, which he draws from Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 212), is not found in exactly this wording in the modern editions of Jerome. The themes of *virtus* and *opera* are, however, regularly discussed in his commentaries and epistles.

²⁴⁰ “When your cause shall be handled before God.” (Literally: “when you handle your cause before God.”) From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 212), Mather cites Theodoret’s commentary on Jer. 12:13, *In divini Jeremiae prophetiam interpretatio* [PG 81. 584]; Jermin’s transl. cited above.

²⁴¹ “And if you are a wicked man, acknowledge that it is for correction, that you are beaten, if you are a righteous man, you will understand, that what you suffer comes to pass for the proof of your glory.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 213), Mather cites the Italian bishop and preacher Gaudentius of Brescia (Gaudentius Brixianensis, d. 410), *Tractatus vel sermones, Praefatio* [PL 20. 839; CSEL 68]. See also *Sermons and Letters* (1965). Jermin’s transl. modified.

²⁴² “That man may not find against him just complaints.” Drawing upon Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 214), Mather cites Jerome, *Liber Ecclesiastes*, Eccles. 7:15 [PL 28. 1277; CCSL 72]. Jermin’s transl. modified. See the *Bible de Genève* at Eccles. 7:14; compare the VUL: “ut non inveniatur homo contra eum iustas querimonias” and the LXX: ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁπίσσω αὐτοῦ μηδέν.

A. Fuller has a Sermon on this Text, and he starts this Quæstion to be answered.

He answers in these Words. "It is answered in the First Place, *Solomons* Observations were not all confined unto his own Countrey & Kingdome. Tho' he staid at home in his Person, his Mind travelled into Foreign Parts; & in the Neighbouring Countreyes of *Egypt, Edom, Syria, Assyria*, he might behold the *Perishing of the Righteous*, & the long Flourishing of the Wicked. Secondly, His Expression, *I have seen*, relates not only to his ocular, but experimental Discoveries; what *Solomon* gott by the help of *History*, Study & Perusal of *Chronicles*. He that was skill'd in Natural Philosophy from the *Cedar* to the *Shrub*, was, no doubt, well versed in all civil Occurences, from the Prince to the Peasant, from *Adam* to the present Age, wherein he lived, so much as by any extant Records could be collected. To sett Humane Writers aside, the *Scripture* alone afforded [17v] him plentiful Præsidents herein. Open the Bible, and we shall find | (almost in the First Leaf) *Just Abel perishing in his Righteousness* & *Wicked Cain prolonging his Life in his Iniquity*. To omitt other Instances, *Solomon* by relation from his Father, might sadly remember, how *Ahimelech* the High-Priest *perished in his Righteousness*, with all the Priests; Inhabitants of the City of *Nob*, whilst *Saul* who condemned them, and *Doeg* who executed them, flourished long in their Iniquity."²⁴³

I will add a Note from Dr. *Jermyn* upon it. There was a *Just Man who perished in his Righteousness*, even as soon as there were but Three Men in the World. Tho' indeed, *Philo* notes, it was not *Abel* that perished, so much as *Cain* himself. He reads it so; *Proindè sic legendum, Insurrexit Cain, et occidit seipsum, non alium*.²⁴⁴

There was another perished so, soon after the Second *Adam* came into the World. The Jews putt *Stephen* to Death; and as *Austin* said; *Quum ad Lapides cucurrissent, duri ad duos, jactabant in illum pares suos*.²⁴⁵

As for the *wicked Man, prolonging his Life in Wickedness*, there is a good Account given of it, in *Minutius Felix* his Observation; *ut Victimæ ad Supplicium saginantur, ut Hostiæ ad Pœnam coronantur*.²⁴⁶

[△] [△Insert ends]

²⁴³ Derived from the work of the Church of England minister, prebendary of Salisbury, and historian Thomas Fuller (1607/8–1661), *A Comment on the eleven first Verses of the fourth Chapter of S. Matthew's Gospel, concerning Christs Temptations* (1652), p. 201. Compare 1 Sam. 21.

²⁴⁴ "And therefore is thus to be read. Cain arose and slew himself and not another." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 215), Mather cites Philo of Alexandria, *Quod deterius potiori insidiari solet* (*The Worse Attacks the Better*), 14.47. Jermin's transl. slightly modified.

²⁴⁵ "Well, when they had rushed for the stones, hard men for hard stones, they started hurling at him things just like themselves." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 215), Mather cites Augustine, *Sermones de sanctis*, sermo 317 [PL 38. 1437; CCSL 41]; transl.: *The Works of Saint Augustine* III/9, p. 144.

²⁴⁶ "These are fattened as victims for punishment, as sacrifices they are crowned for the

1408.

Q. How do you take those Words, *Bee not Righteous overmuch?* v. 16.

A. I'll tell you how old Mr. *Perkins* took them.

"*Solomon* never saith so himself, but hee brings Thee in, speaking. *Tush, Bee not thou Righteous overmuch, why shouldst thou destroy thyself.*"²⁴⁷

And if this bee introduced here, as the Language of the Atheist, very patt is the Language of the Wise Man upon it; *Bee not Wicked overmuch*; "for so thou art when thou art so afraid of being *Righteous overmuch.*"

But after all, what if, *Righteous overmuch* refer to our Censures on Action of *other Men*? *Solomon* plainly speaks of the *Justice*, which a Man is to exercise toward others. The Author of the *Essay for a New Translation* would have it so translated; *Do not exercise Justice too rigorously, neither sett up for a Man of too great Wisdome.*²⁴⁸

[▽Insert from 20r–20v]

[▽20r–20v]

Q. Some further Thoughts upon being *Righteous overmuch*, and *Wicked overmuch?* v. 16, 17.

A. *Ambrose* ha's a Saying, *si Virtutum finis ille est maximus, qui Plurimorum spectat Profectum, Moderatio propriè omnium pulcherrima est.*²⁴⁹

In our Essayes to redress the Vices of Humane Infirmary, we must as it were carry the Infirmary itself on our Shoulders, rather than cast it away with a rigid Severity. The Good Shepherd, we read, *Carried* the wandring Sheep; we do not read of his *Driving* it. It is not seldome, as Dr. *Jermyn* expresses it, that the Carriage of a moderate Reproof, does more good, that the fierce Driving of severe Austerity.²⁵⁰

Jerom saies well; *si quem rigidum et trucem ad omnia fratrum Peccata conspexeris, ut nec in Sermone peccanti, nec propter naturalem interdum Pigritiam moranti, det Veniam, hunc scito plus justum esse, quàm justum est.*²⁵¹

slaughter." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 216), Mather cites the third-century Christian apologist, Marcus Minucius Felix (Minutius Felix), from his main work, *Octavius*, cap. 37 [PL 3. 354; CSEL 2]; transl. modified from ANF (4:196).

²⁴⁷ A reference to an unidentified work of the great English Puritan theologian William Perkins (1558–1602). Perkins provides commentary on Eccles. 7:16 in his *Works* (1631), vol. 2, p. 116, but Mather's citation is not to be found there. The citation is also not in Jermin or Patrick.

²⁴⁸ Derived from Charles Le Cène, *An Essay*, pt. 1, ch. 8, p. 157. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

²⁴⁹ "If the highest end of virtue is that which aims at the advancement of most, gentleness is the most lovely of all." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 217), Mather cites Ambrose, *De poenitentia*, lib. 1, cap. 1 [PL 16. 465; CSEL 73]; transl. modified from NPNFii (10:329).

²⁵⁰ Paraphrase of Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 217.

²⁵¹ "If you see one who is rigid and fierce to all of the sins of his brethren, so that he would not pardon someone erring in speech or someone occasionally being late on account of natural sluggishness, know this man to be more just than it is just to be." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 217),

Cyprian thus reads this Verse; *Noli esse multum justus, et noli argumentari plus quam oportet.*²⁵²

Isidore thus; *Noli justum severè ac rigidè persequi, verum per Bonitatem id expura.*²⁵³

Jerom gives us this translation; *Ne queras amplius.*²⁵⁴ They that are *overwise* will be prying into things, which are beyond them; as if their Wisdom could judge of every thing; and as if it could rectify all that is amiss.²⁵⁵

He tells us well; *Via Regia temperata.*²⁵⁶

To be *over-wise* is to degenerate into Craftiness; & make ourselves as the Serpent; *more wise than Beast of the Field.*²⁵⁷

Upon the *early Death* which is threatened unto enormous *Wickedness*, there seems to be an Illustration, in the Curse denounced on the House of *Eli*, That there *should not be an old Man in his House forever.*²⁵⁸

There is a Remarkable Story related by *Bernard*. In a City of *Catalonia*, in his Time, a young Man of eighteen Years of Age, very Disobedient unto his Parents, & *wicked overmuch, & foolish*, fell into Robberies, for which he was hang'd. As he hung on the Gallows, on a sudden a long Beard grew out upon his Chin, & that with the Hair of his Head, was turn'd very white, and his Face became full of Wrinkles, which made him appear like one that was Ninety Years of age. The Spectators that stood by, were amazed at this. But a venerable Bishop, was inspired from Heaven, to tell them the Reason of it. It was, he said, an Intimation from God, that the young Man had lived unto such an Age, if he had not been so Disobedient unto his Parents; *wicked overmuch & foolish.*²⁵⁹

Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 7 [PL 23. 1066; CCSL 72]. Modern editions of Jerome render this citation slightly different.

252 "Be not excessively righteous, and do not argue and dispute more than is required." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 218), Mather cites Pseudo-Cyprian, *Adversus Judaeos*, lib. 3, cap. 53 [PL 4. 761; CCSL 4]; transl. modified from *ANF* (5:547).

253 "Do not exact your right severely and punctually, but by your goodness make it more clear and manifest." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 218), Mather cites Isidore of Pelusium, *Epistolae*, lib. 3, epist. 320 [PG 78. 983]. Jermin's transl. slightly modified.

254 "Seek not more." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 218), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 7 [PL 23. 1066; CCSL 72]; Jermin's transl. modified.

255 Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 218.

256 "The king's way is temperate." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 218), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, lib. 16 [PL 24. 553; CCSL 73A]; Jermin's transl. slightly modified. Mather paraphrases Jermin's transl. The PL text continues: "... nec plus in se habens nec minus." ("having in itself neither more nor less.") The variant of *temperantia* ("moderation/self-control") is also listed for *temperantia*.

257 Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 218. Compare Gen. 3:1.

258 Compare the prophecy against the house of Eli in 1 Sam. 2:32.

259 From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 220), Mather cites the Italian Franciscan theologian and preacher Bernardine of Siena (Bernardinus Senensis, 1380–1444), *Quadragesimale nuncupatum Seraphim*. In *die cinerum*, sermo 12, *Dominica II in quadragesima*, p. 188. See *Opera omnia*, vol. 3 (1745).

It is here said, *why shouldest thou Dy before Thy Time?* We are to distinguish between, *Tempus Mortis*, and, *Tempus Morientis*.²⁶⁰ The *Time of Death* is when-*ever Death comes*; But the *Time of him who dieth*, is, when he hath Time to consider of his *Death*, & make Ready for it.

By, *Al tirsha*, which we render, *Be not too Wicked*, some understand, *Be not too Busy*. q. d. make not too great a stir, & bustle, about the things of this World, (especially in dangerous times;) Don't destroy thyself, by too much Labour; or, by too much Stirring when it is better to sitt still & be quiet.²⁶¹ | [20v]

M. Pictet on the Caution against being *Over-just*, has a very Just Sentiment.

Le Sage veut defendre roi, qu'on ne pousse la Justice dans l'exces, en reprenant ou punissant trop severement les defauts, ou les pechez des autres.²⁶² Others add, *Solomon* also forbids our cruel Severities on ourselves, denying to ourselves the Innocent Enjoyments of Life.

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 18r–18v]

[▽18r–18v]

Q. A Further Account of the Caution; *Be not Righteous overmuch!* v. 17.²⁶³

A. It may be a Caution against Voluntary and Superstitious *Austerities*, and *Mortifications*, and Rigorous Disciplines in Religion, which may make our Lives a Burden to us, & shorten them.

Or considering the Addition of that exegetical Clause; *Neither make thyself overwise*; it may be a Caution against being too strict and exact and severe in passing a Judgment on the Providence of God, with relation to the seemingly confused & promiscuous Dispensations thereof, towards Good and Bad, in this Life; which was observed in the præceding Verse. We should not be more *Just* and *Wise*, than the Great God Himself; nor think, that we can govern the World more æqually than he; nor pry too far into Mysteries that are too deep for us; lest we *confound* ourselves.²⁶⁴

²⁶⁰ “A time of death” and “a time of him that dies.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 220); Jermin's transl. modified.

²⁶¹ From Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 113.

²⁶² “The Wise Man wants to forbid kings to carry justice to excess by reprimanding or punishing the faults or sins of others too severely.” A reference to an unidentified work by the Genevan Reformed theologian Bénédict Pictet (1655–1724), maybe his *Morale chrétienne ou l'art de bien vivre* (1694).

²⁶³ With the exception of the gloss from Münster, the following entry is derived from John Disney, *An Essay upon the Execution of the Laws against Immorality and Prophaneness* (1708), pp. 103–04. Disney (1677–1730) was a Church of England clergyman, who also acted as a justice of the peace for Lindsey, Lincolnshire. A prominent moral reformer, Disney was active in the SPCK and the Societies for the Reformation of Manners. He established charity schools in Lincoln and wrote multiple works in defense of reform, among them the essay cited by Mather that exhorts Justices to enforce the laws against immorality and profaneness but to do so in a spirit of moderation (*ODNB*).

²⁶⁴ From Disney, Mather cites a sermon on Eccles. 7:16 (Serm. 35) by the Bishop of Worcester and Latitudinarian theologian Edward Stillingfleet (1635–1699) in *Fifty Sermons*

Or, The Clause may refer to a too Rigourous Niceness in *Finding Fault*, & making a great Clamour, about every small Offence, which may be scarce worthy of our Notice: A magisterial Conduct, which may expose us to no little Envy & Censure.

One who writes a Paraphrase on the Moral Books of the Old Testament, thus paraphrases it. "I have seen Good Men visited with severe Providences, whilst Ill Men have lived in Prosperity. But the Misfortune of Good Men, have been drawn upon them, by an *Unseasonable Rigour*, and an *Intemperate Zeal*, which are therefore to be avoided, as well as *Profaneness*."²⁶⁵

[18v] Those Hints are collected by Mr. *Disney* (a Justice, as I suppose,) in his *Essay on the Execution of the Laws against Immorality*.|

Munster finds an Instance of one *Righteous overmuch*, in *Saul*, who would spare for *Sacrifices*,²⁶⁶ what was not by God called for. *Contrà Pietatem voluit esse pius; ob quam Causam ante Tempus suum mortuus fuit*.²⁶⁷

[△] [△Insert ends]

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Q. Tis said, *Hee that feareth God shall come forth from them all*. From all what? v. 18.

A. I'l recite you a Passage, I just now mett withal in the Life of Mr. *Vavasour Powel*.

Having mentioned the Extreme, Legal, Dreadful Horrors of Soul, thro' which hee had passed in his Conversion, hee adds:

"From hence also did Satan take Occa'ion to Thrust at mee, and throw mee into the other Experience. Even into that, which is truly & properly called *Antinomianism*, to destroy, & utterly deny the Use of the *Law*. But the Lord did kindly & graciously prevent my Fall into this also, and to fulfil unto mee that Scripture, *Hee that fears the Lord shall come out of all*, viz. out of all *Extremes*, as the foregoing Words do shew. Eccl. 7.18."²⁶⁸

preached upon several Occasions (1707), p. 564. The preceding and the following paragraph also paraphrase parts of Stillingfleet's sermon.

²⁶⁵ From Disney, Mather cites the anonymously published *Select moral Books of the Old Testament and Apocrypha, paraphras'd. Viz. Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus* (1706), p. 149. The presumed author of this book is Philip Bedingfield.

²⁶⁶ Compare 1 Sam. 15:15.

²⁶⁷ "He wanted to be pious over against piety. For this reason he died before his time." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4474).

²⁶⁸ Vavasour Powell (1617–1670) was a Welsh Nonconformist Puritan preacher, Independent church leader, and writer, who spent many years in prison after the Restoration. (*ODNB*) Mather refers to *The Life and Death of Mr Vavasour Powell* (1671), p. 14, a text attributed to the English Nonconformist minister Edward Bagshaw the Younger (1629–1671).

[▽Insert from 20v]

[▽20v]

Q. The Dependence of that Clause, *For there is not a Just Man upon Earth, that sinneth not?* v. 20.

A. It had just been said, *Wisdom strengthens the Wise, more than ten mighty Men*. Tis because the wise Man relies upon God, & by doing so, ha's far more Strength than, as *Lyra* speaks, *Qualibet Potestas humana*, any Power on Earth, is able to give him.²⁶⁹ Now behold, the necessity of taking such a Course. Sin weakens the Wisdom of Man. *All Men being Sinners*, there is in them no sound Wisdom of their own; and their Wisdom will afford no Strength unto them. We read in the *Maccabees*, [1. Mac. I.21.] when *Antiochus* went into the Sanctuary, he took away the *Light* that was burning there. Sin entering into that Sanctuary of God, the Soul of Man, it ha's taken away the *Light of Wisdom*, that was burning in it.²⁷⁰

Q. Concerning the Sleight of, *All Words that are spoken?* v. 21.

A. Our Saviour was called, *A Divel*. *Austin* saies upon it; *Non Opus erat ut Jesus hoc audiret; sed te monuit adversus aspera Verba*.²⁷¹

Indeed, the Advice here given, is not easy. *Solomons* Father said: *I mourn in my Complaint, & am sore vexed, because of the Voice of the Enemy*.²⁷²

But the Proposals of Dr. *Jermin* hereupon, are very agreeable.

If they be the Servants of God, that speak not well of thee, then regard what they say. For as *Gregory*, [in c. 2. Ezek. Hom. 9.] saies, *Debent haberi in Metu ac Reverentia Judicia justorum, quia Membra Dei omnipotentis sunt, et hoc ipsi in Terrâ reprehendunt, quod Dominus redarguit in Cælo*.²⁷³ But if they be the Words

²⁶⁹ "Any human power." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 224), Mather cites Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla*, at Eccles. 7:21. In the VUL this verse is listed as verse 21. Lyra's commentary actually concerns itself with 7:20 (VUL), 7:19 (KJV): "Wisdom strengtheneth the wise more than ten mighty men which are in the city" ("sapientia confortabit sapientem super decem principes civitatis"). Jermin's transl. reads: "any power of man."

²⁷⁰ From Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 224.

²⁷¹ "There was no need for Jesus to hear this, but [in so doing] he forewarned you against harsh words [sc. when being provoked]." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 228), Mather cites Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Ps. 90 [PL 37. 1152; CCSL 39]; transl. modified from *The Works of Saint Augustine* III/18, p. 319. The citation continues: "... ne incidas in laqueos uenantium" ("that you would not fall into the snares of hunters"). PL and CCSL have "dominus" while Jermin has "Iesus." See John 8:48.

²⁷² Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 228. Compare Ps. 55:2, 6:3, and 55:3.

²⁷³ "The judgments of the righteous ought to be held in esteem and reverence because they are members of the almighty God, and what they reprove on earth he condemns in heaven." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 228), Mather cites Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*, lib. 1, hom. 9 [PL 76. 876; CCSL 142]; Jermin's transl. modified. Mather has "in cælo" while Jermin and the PL have "e cælo" ("from heaven"). Mather paraphrases Jermin's transl. See 1 Cor. 6:3.

of the Wicked, regard not what they say; For, as the same *Gregory* speaks, *stultum est valdè, si illis placere querimus, quos non placere Deo scimus*.²⁷⁴

[▽19v] [▽Insert from 19v]

Q. The Meaning of that; *That which is far off, & exceeding deep, who can find it out?* v. 24.

A. Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase is this, “That which I have done already in time past, is far from the Wisdome, whereby I intended to have acted; and, who can tell, when he once sinks below himself, how much deeper & deeper, he shall be plunged in Sin, till he cannot find the way out again?”²⁷⁵

[△] [△Insert ends]

Q. The Woman, whose *Heart* is *Snares?* v. 26.

A. The Original is, *The Snares of Hunters*. Both the LXX & *Jerom* read it so: *Quæ Laqueus Venatorum est*.²⁷⁶ Now, who the *Venatores* are, lett *Lyra* advise us; *Laqueus Venatorum, id est, Dæmonum, qui venantur Animas, et Muliere quasi Laqueo utuntur ad eas capiendas*.²⁷⁷

Q. Those froward People, whose *Mothers*, I doubt, have had but naughty *Sons*, or whose *Wives* but cruel *Masters*, use to Revile, the *Female Sex*, as, *The Confusion of Mankind*. They handle that Theme *Fæmina nulla Bona*,²⁷⁸ with a singular Acrimony; and they mention it, by a Saying of *Solomon* here, *one Man among a thousand have I found, but a Woman among all those have I not found*. I pray, what shall a good Woman, say to that Scripture? v. 28.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁴ “It is very foolish if we seek to please them whom we know not to please God.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 228), Mather cites Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*, lib. 1, hom. 9 [PL 76. 875; CCSL 142]; Jermin’s transl. modified.

²⁷⁵ From Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 98.

²⁷⁶ “Who is the snare of the hunters.” Drawing upon Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 239), Mather cites the VUL [PL 28. 1281]. Jermin’s transl. above. The LXX has: καὶ σαγῆναι καρδία αὐτῆς δεσμοὶ χεῖρες αὐτῆς (*NETS*: “and her heart is hunting-nets; her hand are fetters”).

²⁷⁷ “The snare of the hunters, that is, of the devils, who hunt after souls, and use a woman as it were a snare to catch them.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 239), Mather cites Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla*, at Eccles. 7:26. Transl.: Jermin.

²⁷⁸ “No good woman.”

²⁷⁹ The language used in this question and the following answer can also be found in Mather’s conduct book for women, *Ornaments for the Daughters of Zion, or, The Character and Happiness of a Virtuous Woman* (1692), pp. 43–45. Since Mather started working on the “Biblia” manuscript in 1693, it can be assumed that he recycled the material from *Ornaments* for this entry. Mather possibly refers to Joseph Swetnam’s (d. 1621) infamous misogynous tract, *The Arraignment of lewd, idle, forward, and unconstant Women* (the text was first publ. in 1615 and went through multiple editions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), which frequently refers to Solomon and other biblical figures to support negative views of women.

A. You may reply, That *Solomon* speaks of what is usual about the *Courts* of Princes, & perhaps about his own *Court* especially: A *good Man* about such a Place, is a *Rare* thing; but a *good Woman* there, is a *Black Swan* indeed; *Solomon* himself particularly, had a *Thousand Women* to satiate his exorbitant Lust; and possibly, hee may intimate, that among all Those, hee did not find *one Woman* truly *vertuous*. Or, if this Reply bee not satisfactory, you may enquire whether *Solomon* speaks not of such as are by Repentance recovered from the *Snares* of *Whoredome*, when once they have been therein entangled. For a *Man* to bee Reclaimed from the Sin of *Uncleanness* when once hee ha's been given thereunto, is *Rare*; but for a *Woman* to bee snatch'd out of the *unclean* Divels Hands, when once hee ha's had any full *Possession* of her, is more extraordinary.

However it bee; Tis plain, that as there were Three *Maries* to One *John* standing under the Cross of our Dying Lord, so still, there are far more *godly Women* in the World, than there are *godly Men*; and our *Church Communion*s give us a little Demonstration of it. I speak of our *strictest Churches*, wherein one Fourth Part of our Hearers, are not *Communicants* at the Table of the Lord: but only such are {admitted} as given very positive Symptoms of growing *Regeneration* {of} their Souls. The Church whereof I myself am the unworthy *Pastor*, ha's near Four Hundred *Communicants*; but of these, there are not many more than an Hundred *Men*; all the rest are *Women*, of whom, Charity *will think no Evil*. Possibly, reason for it, may bee this;²⁸⁰

It seems, that the *Curse* in the difficulties both of *Subjection* & of *Childbearing*, which the Female Sex ha's been doom'd unto, ha's been turn'd into a *Blessing* by the Free-Grace of our most Gracious God. God sanctifies the *Chains*, the *Pains*, the *Deaths*, which they meet withal; and furthermore, makes the *Tenderness* of their Disposition, a further Occasion of serious Devotion in them.²⁸¹

Q. Tis possible you may have mett with a further Gloss on this Passage of Scripture, not unworthy to be mentioned?

A. The Idolatrous Wives of *Solomon*, sett up the Worship of *Chemosh*, with *Baal-Peor*, or *Priapus*, and *Ashtoreth*, or *Venus*, and this under very pudendous Figures, ὡς ἄττια γενέσεως as the *Causers* (tis the reason of those Figures assign'd by *Diodorus Siculus*) of *Fæcundity*.²⁸² Possibly *Solomon* permitted the Sacrifices

²⁸⁰ Mather here deletes a sentence that appears in *Ornaments*, p. 45. See Appendix A.

²⁸¹ This passage appears in *Ornaments*, p. 45 and again in Mather's medical handbook, *The Angel of Bethesda*, ed. Jones, p. 236. For an insightful treatment of Mather's understanding of gender relations and female piety that also takes into account the "Biblia" manuscript, see Helen K. Gelinas, "Regaining Paradise: Cotton Mather's 'Biblia Americana' and the Daughters of Eve" (2010).

²⁸² Mather provides a transl. of the Greek. Compare 1 Kings 11, where it states that Solomon, under the influence of his foreign wives, "went after Ashtoreh the goddess of the Zidonians" and built "an high place for Chemosh." For the identification of Chemosh with Baal-Peror and Priapus, the identification of Ashtoreth with Venus, and the characterization of their wor-

of his Thousand Wives, unto the strange Gods, to gain their Aid, in Point of *Fruitfulness*. But *Solomon* might now complain: “Among a *Thousand Women*, I have found but *One Man*, even *Rehoboam*, and him a *Foolish One*, too, to sitt on my Throne after mee.”²⁸³

Some think, the *one Man* excepted here, is the *Messiah*.²⁸⁴

Jerom applies it unto the Experience that *Solomon* had of an useful Conversation; such as he found himself the Wiser & the Better for.²⁸⁵

[the entries from 17r–20v were inserted into their designated places]²⁸⁶

[21r]

|

Q. On that, *They have sought out many Inventions?* v. 29.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase on the Verse.

“Only observe this, that I do not herein accuse (far be it from me) the Creator of the World; for I am assured of nothing more than this; That, as God made all other things very good in their several Kinds, so He made both Men & Women in perfect Integrity; with a clear Understanding, to, judge aright, & with an honest Will, inclined to do accordingly; præscribing them also no other Rule of Life, but such as was just & good; but they affecting to be greater than God intended, & to have more Liberty than He allowed, raised Scruples & Doubts, Quæstions & Disputes about their Duty; inventing many Wayes to shift it off; and so | depraved themselves, by following their own vain Fancies, and false Reasonings, rather than His Blessed Will.”²⁸⁷

[21v]

ship, Mather seems to be relying on the work of the Huguenot theologian and scholar Pierre Jurieu (1637–1713), *A critical History of the Doctrines and Worships (both good and evil) of the Church from Adam to our Saviour Jesus Christ* (1705), vol. 2, part 4, treat. 1, cap. 1–4 and treat. 5, cap. 1–4. On the identities of these deities, see also John Selden, *De diis Syris syntagmata II*, pars 2, cap. 2 (“Astarte”), pp. 142–71; and pars 1, cap. 5 (“Baal-Peor”), pp. 65–74. Reference is made to the Greek historian Diodorus Siculus (Diodorus of Sicily, c. 90–c. 31/30 BCE), *Library of History* (2.2.4). Compare Mather’s entry on 1 Kings 11:33 (BA 3:469–70).

²⁸³ Rehoboam was Solomon’s son with the Ammonite princess Naamah (1 Kings 14:31). He became the last king of the United Monarchy and the first king of Judah after the revolt of the northern tribes under Jeroboam. According to the Chronicler (2 Chron. 12:5), the disintegration of the monarchy was a divine judgment on Rehoboam for his apostasy (2 Chron. 11:18–22) and excessive lifestyle (HCBD).

²⁸⁴ Messianic interpretations of Eccles. 7:28 had been common among Christian exegetes since the patristic period. They often connected the “one man among thousand” in Eccles. 7:28 to similar phrases in the Bible, as in Cant. 5:10 or Job 33:23, and applied them to Jesus Christ. See, for example, Bede the Venerable, *In Cantica Canticatorum allegorica expositio*, lib. 4, cap. 5 [PL 91. 1161; CCSL 119B]; or Alcuin, *Commentaria super Ecclesiasten*, cap. 7 [PL 100. 698].

²⁸⁵ Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 7 [PL 23. 1072; CCSL 72]. The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

²⁸⁶ See Appendix B.

²⁸⁷ From Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 100.

De Dieu so interprets the last Words of the Verse; *Men sought out the Thoughts of the Great, or, Mighty.* He takes *Rabbim*, for, *Magnates*. Not contented with his own Condition, he affected to be like the *Angels*, nay, like *God*.²⁸⁸

Munster sais, the, *Mezimoth*, here are, *callide Cogitationes, atque perverse ad Peccatum Suggestiones*.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁸ From Patrick (*Ecclesiastes* 118), Mather refers to Ludovicus de Dieu's annotation on this verse in his *Animadversiones*, pp. 451–52.

²⁸⁹ “Crafty thoughts and perverse suggestions to sin.” Mather cites Münster's *Qohelet. Ecclesiastes, iuxta hebraicam veritatem*, at Eccles. 7:29. Compare also *Mikraoth Gedoloth, Ecclesiastes*, p. 13, at Eccles. 1:17. From Münster, Mather refers to מְזִמּוֹת [mezimot] (pl.) of מְזִמָּה [mezimmah] (sing.) “purpose, plot, discretion, device”; the word occurs occasionally in Proverbs (cf. Prov. 14:7), Psalms and a few times in the Prophets, but is not used in Ecclesiastes. Münster makes reference to the term in comparison to the vocabulary used in this verse, הִשְׁבּוֹן [hishshabon] “device, invention.” See Rashi in *Mikraoth Gedoloth, Ecclesiastes*, p. 98, on Eccles. 7:29: “plans and designs of sin.” Rashi refers to *Midrash Rabbah, Ecclesiastes*, p. 212, on Eccles. 7:29. Here the whole verse is understood as saying that Adam was made upright by God and did not sin while he was alone, but started to sin together with Eve after her creation.

Q. *A Mans Wisdome*, how does it make his *Face to shine*? v. 1.

A. You know the common Interpretations; & you will consider, how far there may be herein an Allusion to the *Glory* on the *Face* of *Moses*. *Grace* will be as great a *Glory*.²⁹⁰ But lett us learn, what a *shining Face* is, from the Opposite of it, a *cloudy Face*. Briefly, *Wisdome* will dispose a Man to be of a Cheerful, Courteous, & *Benign Countenance*: It will incline him to *kind Looks*; to carry a *Shine* of *good Will* in his Looks; to wish and mean well to everybody, & *look Favourably* upon them.²⁹¹

Q. *To keep the Kings Commandment, in regard of the Oath of GOD*. What *Oath*? v. 2.

A. The *Oath* which God had made unto the House of *David*.

Consider this Illustration, and it will presently lead you, into the Sense of the whole Sentence.²⁹²

Q. About *standing in an evil Thing*? v. 3.

A. Hear *Bernard*. [De Advent. Dom. Ser. 1.] *Alioquin non erit humanum Peccatum, sed Obstinatio Diabolica. Nam perseverare in Malo Diabolicum est; et digni sunt perire cum illo, quicunque in Similitudinem ejus permanent in Peccato*.²⁹³

Munster observes, That by, *the King* here, some understand, the Glorious GOD. And, *Ne festines fugere à facie ejus; quum ubique sit neque maneat in Malo, ne Iram et Vindictam suam contra Te exerat; quandoquidem omni suo velle subsit posse*.²⁹⁴

²⁹⁰ Compare Exod. 34:29, 30, 34.

²⁹¹ A very similar interpretation of this verse on which Mather might have drawn can be found in the commentary of the Church of England minister Edward Reynolds (1599–1676), *Annotations on the Book of Ecclesiastes* (1669), pp. 250–51. During the Puritan Revolution, Reynolds had been a member of the Westminster Assembly and moderate supporter of Presbyterianism, but after the Restoration he reconciled himself to episcopalianism and was appointed Bishop of Norwich (*ODNB*).

²⁹² Compare Reynolds, *Annotations*, pp. 252–53.

²⁹³ “Otherwise it will not be a human sin, but a diabolic obstinacy. For it is to persevere in a diabolic evil; and worthy are they to perish with him, who in a likenesses to him persist in sin.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 271), Mather cites Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones de tempore, Sermones in adventu Domini*, sermo 1 [PL 183. 37; *Opera* 4]; Jermin’s transl. modified. Mather and Jermin omit “humana erit tentatio.”

²⁹⁴ “Do not haste to go out of His sight, because He is everywhere; and do not remain in evil lest He show His wrath and vengeance unto you, since indeed whatever He wants He can bring under His subjection.” Mather cites Münster, *Qobeleth. Ecclesiastes, iuxta hebraicam veritatem*, at Eccles. 8:3. See Rashi in *Mikraoth Gedoloth, Ecclesiastes*, p. 100, on Eccles. 8:3: “Do not hasten, saying that you will go and flee from before Him to a place where He does not rule, for He rules

Q. How is it said of the good Man, *He shall feel no evil thing?* v. 5.

A. It has been Illustrated by an agreeable Story of *Constantine* the Great, reported by *Baronius*. He was urged by some, to punish those who had thrown Stones at his Image. They told him, That with the Stones they had wounded all his Face. He wiped his Face with his Hand, and smiling, answered, *Ego verò nusquam Vulnus in Fronte factum video; sed sanum quidem caput, sana verò et facies tota*. All the Evil done to good Men, is no more than if it were done only to their Pictures!²⁹⁵

Q. The Meaning of, *He knoweth not that which shall be?* v. 7.

A. No Man can be sure, that the like Opportunity will return again.²⁹⁶

[▽Insert from 23r]

[▽23r]

Q. The Meaning of that, *No Man hath Power over the Spirit?* v. 8.

A. The Wise Man advises the Prince, that he should not abuse his Power to Tyranny; but remember these Things. *First*; Tho' he command over Mens Bodies, yett he hath no Dominion over their Spirits; nor can he hinder them from thinking what they please, no more than he can the Wind, from blowing where it listeth. And, *Next*; He cannot command them long; For Death will come, & irresistibly sieze on him, as well as on the meanest Man. *Yett more*; He cannot rule the Chances of War, or promise himself certain Victory in the Day of Battel. Finally; If he should have good Success a great While, yett neither his Power nor his Policy, will be able to defend him, from the Vengeance that will be taken of the Impiety committed in his Government.²⁹⁷

On that Clause, *There is no discharge in that War*, it is observed by Dr. *Patrick*, that the Word, *That*, is not in the Original. The Meaning may be, The Tyrannical Prince will find himself so hated, that if they are engaged in a War, their Subjects will assist them very coldly. It will be too late *then* to *discharge* their Subjects, from the heavy Burdens, whereby they have opposed them, when they have need of their Service against an Enemy.²⁹⁸

everywhere. ... Do not persist in engaging in evil things. ... to mete retribution upon you, He has the authority and ability to do so." See also the Rabbis' interpretation of God as the king, in *Midrash Rabbah*, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 217, on Eccles. 8:3.

²⁹⁵ "I do not feel anywhere any hurt done me or any wound made in my face, but my head is sound, and all my face is well, and whole likewise." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 275), Mather cites the Italian cardinal and church historian Caesar Baronius (Cesare Barone, 1538–1607), *Annales ecclesiastici* in the chapter on the year 388 CE. See, for example, p. 11 in vol. 6 (1740) of the Lucca edition (38 vols., 1738–1759). Jermin's transl. slightly modified.

²⁹⁶ Mather here cites Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 122. See Appendix B.

²⁹⁷ Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 122.

²⁹⁸ Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 134.

The *Targum* translates it; *Nor do the Instruments of Arms profit.*²⁹⁹

[△] [△Insert ends]

Q. How is it said, *No Discharge in that War?* v. 8.

A. The original Word, which we render, *Discharge*, signifies only, a *Sending*. Here applied unto War, it may signify, a *sending out* Forces to withstand the great Enemy Death; or a *sending forth* Envoyes to make Peace with him. But the Word on the Shield born by this Warrior, is, *Nemini parco*.³⁰⁰ The Prophet speaks of some who said, They had *made a Covenant with Death*. But in the Beginning of the Chapter, we find, they were *the Drunkards of Ephraim*.³⁰¹ No sober Men
[22v] would speak of such a thing. | So honest Mr. *Fern* paraphrases. *No sending forth in that War*. When Death assaults, or makes *War*, upon us, tis in vain to *send forth*; any Forces to make Resistance against it, or any Embassadors to make Peace with it.³⁰²

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Q. Tis said, *The Heart of the Sons of Men, is fully sett in them to do Evil*. Is there any remarkable Intimation in the Manner of the Expression for this Matter? v. 11.

A. You may observe, Tis, *The Heart*, in the singular Number. An Intimation That there is as it were, but *one common Heart*, beating in all Mankind; all Men have the *same Heart*, for the evil Disposition of it.

Q. *Sentence against an evil Work not executed speedily?* v. 11.

A. *Rupertus* assigns Two Reasons of this Divine Patience: *Ut Omnis Penitens, id quod salvatur, debere se sciat expectantis Patientiae, et nullus impenitens in damnatione suâ derogare ei valeat, quasi festinantis impatientiae*.³⁰³

²⁹⁹ Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 134. Compare Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:416), which offers the following Latin transl. of the Targum at this verse: “neq; vasa armoru auxiliantur.”

³⁰⁰ “I spare none.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 283); transl. from Jermin. KJV 1611: “there is no discharge in that warre”; the Hebrew: *וְאֵין מְשַׁלַּחַת בַּמִּלְחָמָה* *NAU*: “and there is no discharge in the time of war”; *ESV*: “There is no discharge from war”; *LUT*: “und keiner bleibt verschont im Krieg [and no one escapes/is spared in war].” The Hebrew term here is *משלחת* [*mishlach*] “leave or discharge” (from military service). *LXX*: καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀποστολὴ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ (and there is no discharge/sending off/mission in the day of the battle). Here the term ἀποστολὴ is found in its etymological sense; elsewhere it is translated as “apostleship, office of an apostle” (Acts 1:25).

³⁰¹ Compare Isa. 28:15 and 28:1.

³⁰² Mather cites the work of the English Dissenting minister at Wirksworth, Derbyshire, Robert Fern (1652–1727). *A practical Discourse upon humane Bodies, especially in their State of Glorification* (1713), p. 31.

³⁰³ “That every penitent might know that he owes it to God’s patience that he is saved, that no impenitent in his damnation might derogate from him as if he were of an hasty impatience.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 289), Mather cites Rupert of Deutz, *In Naum prophetam*, lib. 1 [PL 168. 534]; Jermin’s transl. modified.

Jerom saies well: *Differt Pœnam dum expectat Pœnitentiam.*³⁰⁴

Why do we read concerning the *Riches* of the *Forbearance* & the *Long-Suffering* of God? It is His *Riches*, because it is that which does gain Souls. It renders Him Rich in Souls. This is the *Riches* which He desires.

But the Use the Wicked make of it, is: *Their Heart is full, to do Evil.* So it runs in the Hebrew. *Full* of evil Desires, evil Devices, evil Purposes; & so *full*, that no room for the Fear of God, or of His Wrath in it.³⁰⁵

Q. The Import of this *Double Fear*, Them which *Fear God*; which *Fear before Him*? v. 12.

A. Some apply it unto a *Double Fear*. First, A Fear, *Qui timet Iram Dei*; Secondly, A Fear, *Qui timet Offensam Dei*. The one feareth Him; the other feareth Before Him, as being Before Him in the Wayes of Godliness, & fearing to Depart from Him.³⁰⁶

Q. We read of the Wicked *prolonging his Dayes as a Shadow*? v. 13.

A. *Cajetan* looks on the wicked Man, as compared unto a *Shadow*; because a *Shadow*, is not the true Body; *Ità non timens Conspectum divinum non est homo sed hominis Umbra.*³⁰⁷

Q. The promiscuous Dispensations towards the *Righteous* & the *Wicked*? v. 14.

A. The Psalmist saies upon it: Psal. XCII.5. *O Lord, How great are thy Works! And thy Thoughts are very deep.* It is *Austins* Note upon it; *Nullum Mare est tam profundum, quam est ista Cogitatio Dei, ut Mali florent, & Boni laborent.*³⁰⁸

However, even in the Midst of this, Tis *good to show forth the Lovingkindness of God in the Morning, & His Faithfulness every Night.*³⁰⁹ As *Austin* ha's it; The *Morning* is, when it is well with us; when we have Comfort. The *Night* is, when we are in Darkness, Affliction, & Heaviness.³¹⁰

³⁰⁴ "He postpones the punishment while he expects repentance." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 289), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 8 [PL 23. 1077; CCSL 72]; Jermin's transl. modified.

³⁰⁵ Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 290.

³⁰⁶ "Which fears the wrath of God"; "Which fears the offending of God." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 293), who does not identify his source but seems to cite Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae, Secunda Secundae Partis*, qu. 19, art. 10. Aquinas addresses a citation from Augustine here. Jermin's transl. modified.

³⁰⁷ "So he that fears not the divine look is not a man, but the shadow of a man." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 296), Mather cites the gloss of Thomas Cajetan in his *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 8 (*Opera* 3:623). Jermin's transl. slightly modified.

³⁰⁸ "There is no sea so deep as this design of God, that the wicked flourish, and the good suffer." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 298), Mather cites Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Ps. 91 [PL 37. 1176; CCSL 39]; Boulding's transl. modified (*The Works of Saint Augustine* III/18, p. 352).

³⁰⁹ Compare Ps. 92:2 and 143:8.

³¹⁰ From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 298), Mather refers to Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Ps. 91 [PL 37. 1176; CCSL 39].

Q. The Meaning of the Paranthesis, which closes the Verse? (*For also there is, —*)
v. 16.

A. The Wise Man may mean himself. So Dr. *Patrick* paraphrases.

“(My Mind being one of those,) that is as eager and greedy of Knowledge,
as others are of Riches; for which they toil all Day, & take little Rest in the
Night.”³¹¹

[23r] |

[the entries from 23r were inserted into their designated places]³¹²

[23v] | [blank]

³¹¹ See Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 125.

³¹² See Appendix B.

Q. The Intent of the Wise Man, in saying, *I considered in my Heart, even to declare all this?* v. 1.

A. The original Word, which we render, *To Declare*, signifies, *To Cleanse*, *To Purge*, *To Purify*. He considered all this, that he might cleanse and purge his heart of the Doubts & Difficulties which he might have concerning it; & to purify his Mind, with a Right Understanding of things.³¹³

Q. Why is it said, *No Man knows either Love or Hatred, by all that is before them?* v. 1.

A. The learned *Amana*, in his *Antibarbarus Biblicus*, will tell you, That it is not said so. Consulting the Accents, he thus reads the Text; *The Righteous and the Wise, and their Works, are in the Hand of God; and so is Love and Hatred:* and then it followes, *Men don't know any of those things that are before them.* He quotes: *L. de Dieu* as being for this Translation.³¹⁴

R. *Solomon* gives us this Gloss upon the Text; *Nisi homines sint Justi et Sapientes, non advertunt, num diligantur, aut Odio habeantur à Deo; omnia igitur sunt antè eos, hoc est, Justi omnia hæc considerant.*³¹⁵

Q. The *Living Dog*, and the *Dead Lion?* v. 4.

A. *Jerom* applies it unto the Converted *Gentiles*; the *Dogs* that could not expect the *Childrens Bread*; and the Forsaken *Jews*; of whom it had been said, *He lay down as a Lion; who shall stir him up?*³¹⁶

Dr. Jermyn mentions another Exposition he had mett withal. By the *Dog*, understand such an one, as barks at Strangers, & undauntedly Reproves the

³¹³ Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 308.

³¹⁴ Mather cites Sixtinus Amama, *Anti-Barbarus Biblicus*, lib. 3, p. 598. Here Amama refers to a private letter by his colleague and friend at Leiden University Ludovicus de Dieu, in which this translation was suggested to him.

³¹⁵ “Unless men are just and wise, they do not realize whether they are loved or hated by God. Therefore, everything is before them, that is, they just examine all these things carefully.” Mather cites Rashi’s commentary from Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4502). See Rashi’s commentary in *Mikraoth Gedoloth, Ecclesiastes*, p. 111, on Eccles. 9:1, according to “the righteous and the wise”: “He helps them and He judges them in order to benefit them in their end. ... The rest of mankind does not know, and they do not discern to apply their hearts to what makes them beloved by the Omnipresent and what causes them to be hated. ... Everything is before them – before the righteous and the wise.”

³¹⁶ From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 315), Mather refers to Jerome’s annotation on Matt. 15:26 in *Commentarii in Evangelium Matthæi*, lib. 2 [PL. 26. 110–11; CCSL 77].

Enemies of Goodness. By the *Lion*, such an one, as is great in Power, and yet is Dumb, & reproves not the Wickedness of such as are great in the World.³¹⁷

- Q.** The Wise Man observes, That *a Living Dog is better than a Dead Lion*; The Design of which, is to shew, That *Life* ha's a vast Prærogative above *Death*. One would think it strange, that there should need any Similitudes or Demonstrations, to bring in such an obvious Conclusion as this: *That it is better to Live than to Dy*. But then the Method of the Holy Spirit seems much stranger, in confirming so plain a *Thesis*, by an abstruse Argument; For *the Living know that they shall Dy*. Because we know that we must Dy, therefore it is better to Live? v. 5. |
- [24v] **A.** I find this Enquiry made in a *Funeral Sermon* on this Text, preached by Mr. *Ezekiel Hopkins*, in the Year, 1662.

And lett his Words answer it, "This might seem somewhat an harsh kind of Argumentation, were it not, that as to *Dy* is the last Period, so to *Dy Well*, and breathe out an Holy Soul into the Armes of a merciful God, is the greatest End of Life; This Advantage have the Living. The *Dead* can Dy no more; *For it is appointed unto Men once to Dy*: Nor, if they erre in this, can they ever Recall or Amend it. This is that *Warfare*, as the Wise Man calls it; In which we cannot *Twice mistake*. But it is the Priviledge of the *Living*, that *knowing* the Frailty of their Lives, and the Certainty of their Dissolution, they may by Repentance & Holiness, so præpare themselves for Death, as to make it only an Happy Transition from a Temporal to an Eternal Life, and an Inlett into Endless Bliss and Joy. If we briefly gather up the Summ & Force of the Reason, we may find that it lies thus: It is better to Live than to Dy; because the *Living know that they shall Dy*, and the Knowledge and Expectation of our Death, is the most likely Means to engage us, to live in such constant Holiness & *Preparation*, as that after Death we may live in eternal Glory & Happiness."³¹⁸

[▽25r–25v] [▽Insert from 25r–25v]

- Q.** A mystical Gloss on, *Garments always white?* v. 8.
- A.** By *Garments* may be understood, the *Affections* of the Soul. These being Ill-ordered, the Apostle saies, *putt off all these, Anger, Malice, Wrath*. Being Well-ordered, he saies, *putt on, as the Elect of God, Bowels of Mercy, Kindness, Humbleness*. The Affections are alwayes to be kept in a cheerful Alacrity.³¹⁹

³¹⁷ Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 316.

³¹⁸ Mather cites the work of the Anglican divine and Bishop of Derry Ezekiel Hopkins (1634–1690), *A Sermon preached at the Funeralls of the Honourable Algernon Grevil ... 1662* (1663), in his, *The Vanity of the World with other Sermons* (1685), p. 7.

³¹⁹ Paraphrase of Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 324. Compare Col. 3:8–12.

But the Word, / עת³²⁰ which we render, *Alwayes*, is as much as to say, *In omni Tempore opportuno*, as often as fitly it may, as often as it shall be seasonable.³²¹

Gregory carries it so; *sint Membra Corporis à sordidis actibus munda*; For the Body is the *Garment*, of the Soul.³²²

Jerom ha's this Gloss upon it. *Cave ne quando pollutis Vestibus induaris; Populus quippè Peccator in fuscis Vestibus luxisse describitur.*³²³

R. Solomon ha's a notable Intimation here. This is like a King inviting one to a Feast, but not setting the Time for his Coming. He who is invited, if he be wise, doth so adorn himself, that at any time he may be ready. God calls His Elect unto a Feast! The Time is that uncertain Time of Death. A Man should be always Ready for it.³²⁴

Q. The *Head not lacking Ointment?* v. 8.

A. Gregory carries it so: *Oleum in Capite, est Charitas in Mente, et deficit Oleum à Capite, quum Charitas discedit à Mente.*³²⁵

This *Ointment*, tho' it run down, won't stain the *Garments*; they will be *alwayes white*, notwithstanding this.³²⁶

|
Q. A mystical Sense, of the *little City*, & the *poor wise Man* delivering of it?
v. 14.

[25v]

³²⁰ עת [et] "time, point of time, lapse of time". The Hebrew here at 9:8 is literally: "in/ at all times."

³²¹ "In every seasonable time." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 325), Mather cites this phrase from an unknown source. Similar expressions can be found throughout the Church Fathers. So also in the Vulgate, at Ps. 31:6, e.g.: "in tempore oportuno" ("in a seasonable time") the expression "in omni tempore" is used at least 19 times in the VUL.

³²² "Let the members of the body be clean from sordid acts." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 325), Mather cites Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 9, cap. 36 [PL 75. 891; CCSL 143]; Jermin's transl. slightly modified.

³²³ "Take care that you are not clothed with polluted garments at any time, for a sinful people is described to mourn in dark garments." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 326), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 9 [PL 23. 1085; CCSL 72]; Jermin's transl. modified.

³²⁴ Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 326. A Latin transl. of Rashi's gloss can be found in Münster, *Qobeleth. Ecclesiastes, iuxta hebraicam veritatem*, at Eccles. 9:8. Compare Rashi in *Mikraoth Gedoloth, Ecclesiastes*, p. 119, on Eccles. 9:8: "Prepare yourself at all times with good deeds, so that if you die today, you will enter in peace. And Solomon likened this to a man whom the king invited for a feast day, without setting a time for him. If he is wise or clever, he will immediately launder his garments, and bathe, and anoint himself." Rashi refers to an allegory, which is found in the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Shabbath 153a (Soncino, p. 781) and in slightly different form in *Midrash Rabbah, Ecclesiastes*, pp. 235–36, on Eccles. 9:8.

³²⁵ "Ointment on the head is charity in the mind, and there is ointment lacking on the head, when charity departs from the mind." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 326), Mather cites Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 2, cap. 52 [PL 75. 595; CCSL 143]. Jermin's transl. slightly modified. There are minor discrepancies between Jermin and Mather's text and that of the PL.

³²⁶ Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 326.

A. Many Christian Writers, by the *little City*, understand the Church of Christ, which is a *little Flock*.³²⁷

The *Few Men* in it, are the Faithful, which in Comparison of the *Wicked*, are very *Few*.³²⁸

By the *great King* besieging of it, may be meant, the *Divel*; *great*, as Jerom saies, *Non quòd magnus sit, sed quòd magnum se esse jactitet*.³²⁹

The *poor wise Man* is Christ, who *for our Sake was made poor*, & is *Wisdome* itself. How often have we seen (saith Jerom) the Lion, with the Forces of the World coming against the Church & strongly besieging of it; *Pauperis istius Sapientia corruisse*.³³⁰ But then, as that Father goes on, when He hath so prevailed, *vix aliquis eius meminit, vix aliquis illius Mandata considerat*.³³¹

That Clause, *And his Words are not heard*, the French Translation, reads, *There is nothing heard spoken of his Deeds*. The Hebrew admitts this Reading, & it best answers the Conclusion of the former Verse, *No Man remembered the poor Man*.

Q. *The Words of the Wise in Quietness?* v. 17

A. Tremelius reads it, *Verba Sapientium Submissorum*.³³² The Words of Wise, Modest, Humble Men.

These have more Command over wise Hearers, than the Proclamations of *Princes* have over Fools.

Q. Who is, *he that Rules among Fools?* v. 17.

A. The *poor Man* prevailed more than the furious Outcries of the greatest Commander, swaggering among his Troops of Ignorant Souldiers. The Phrase may be a Hebraism, for, *A great Fool*.

But Jerom applies it unto a *Preacher*, who declaims in the Church, with Elegancies, to excite Applause, & perhaps *Laughter*, among the Hearers.³³³

³²⁷ Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 340.

³²⁸ Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, pp. 340–41.

³²⁹ “Not because he is great, but because he boasts himself to be great.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 341), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 9 [PL 23. 1089; CCSL 72]; Jermin’s transl. modified. CCSL renders this citation slightly different.

³³⁰ “To have failed by the wisdom of that poor man.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 341), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 9 [PL 23. 1089; CCSL 72]; Jermin’s transl. modified.

³³¹ “There is scarcely anyone that remembers him, scarcely anyone that considers his commandments.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 343), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 9 [PL 23. 1089; CCSL 72]. Jermin’s transl. modified.

³³² “The words of wise, humble men.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 347), Mather cites the Latin transl. of Tremellius in the *Biblia Sacra*, p. 171, at Eccles. 9:18. Jermin’s transl. modified.

³³³ Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 157.

Q. That Passage; *one Sinner destroyes much Good?* v. 18.

A. The Vulgar Latin, with the LXX read it, *Qui in uno peccaverit, multa bona perdet.* Jerom will have this to agree very well with the Hebrew.³³⁴

Tis the same that our Apostle teaches; *whosoever shall keep the whole Law, & yett offend in one Point, is guilty of all.*³³⁵ That is, as *Aquinas* expresseth it: *Factus est Omnium Reus, quia pro Uno ac si pro Omnibus peribit.*³³⁶

He that had the Spott of Leprosy in any *one Part* of his Body, was counted a *Leper*, tho' all the rest of his Body were sound and whole. Any one Blemish on a Sacrifice rendred it unacceptable. *Chrysostom* uses the Similitude of an *Harp*, in which tis not enough, that all the Strings be rightly tuned except one. Our Saviour saies, *Take my Yoke upon you.* He saies not, on your Hands, or on your Shoulders, or on your Head; but, *upon you;* upon all of you, all over you.³³⁷

[△Insert ends]

[△]

Q. Who is the *one Sinner*, which *destroyeth much Good?* v. 18.

A. You'l find in the *Talmud*, in *Libro Kiddaschim*, in Distinct. quæ incipit *Haischa Niknet*, this Notable Gloss. "*One Sinner destroyes much Good.* For the Sin of but ONE, who sinned, *All Good* is lost by him, and by all the World. The Gloss of R. *Salomoh* upon it, is, / זה אדם הראשון / *Iste fuit Adam primus.*"³³⁸

[the entries from 25r–25v were inserted into their designated places]³³⁹

³³⁴ "He that sins in one thing shall lose many good things." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 348), Mather cites Jerome's transl. (VUL), *Liber Ecclesiastes*, Eccles. 9:18 [PL 28. 1283; CCSL 72]. Jermin's transl. above. The LXX has: ἀμαρτάνων εἰς ἀπολέσει ἀγαθωσύνην πολλήν.

³³⁵ Compare Jas. 2:10.

³³⁶ "He is made guilty of all, because he shall as well perish for one, as if he perished for all." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 349); compare Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae, Prima Secundae Partis*, qu. 73, art. 1. Jermin's transl.

³³⁷ Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 349. Jermin refers to the Greek orator, Sophist philosopher, and historian Dio(n) Chrysostom, Dio of Prusa or Dio Cocceianus (c. 40–c. 120 CE), *Discourses* (68.7). Compare Matt. 11:29.

³³⁸ "This was the first Adam." Mather seems to be taking this citation from Martini, *Pugio Fidei*, pars 3, dist. 1, cap. 7, p. 413. Reference is made to the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Kiddushin ("Consecrations") 40b (Soncino, p. 200). The citation seems to be from *Ecclesiastes Rabbah* 8:2; see also 7:1; *Midrash Ecclesiastes Rabbah*, transl. Abraham Cohen (London: Soncino, 1983): "Another interpretation of *Who is like the wise man?* (Eccl 8:1): This is the First Man ... of whom it is written, you were the *seal of correctness* ... (Ezek 28:12)" The above mentioned passage from the Talmud discusses the balance between good and bad deeds in an individual's lifetime and its consequences for judgment after death: "if he [a person] commits one transgression, woe to him for weighting himself and the whole world in the scale of guilt, for it is said, '*but one sinner*, etc.' – on account of the single sin which this man commits he and the whole world lose much good." Rashi's gloss on this verse does not mention Adam; see *Mikraoth Gedoloth, Ecclesiastes*, p. 127, on Eccles. 9:18. For a similar passage on Adam's sin, see Rashi's commentary on Gen. 1:11 (Sapirstein, *The Torah*, p. 9).

³³⁹ See Appendix B.

Q. The Operation of *Dead Flies* on the *Ointment*? v. 1.

A. The Chaldee Paraphrase here, is worth considering. *Appetitus malus qui moratur ad Portas Cordis sicut Musca, adducit Mortem in Sæculo, eo quod fetere facit Sapientem in eo Tempore quo peccat, et disperdit Nomen bonum, quod simile erat Oleo Uncionis, quod confectum est aromatibus.*³⁴⁰

Q. What are meant by *Dead Flies*? v. 1.

A. The Hebrew Phrase, *Flies of Death*, may be translated, rather, *Deadly*, than, *Dead Flies*. It means, *Venemous Flies*, which falling into a Pott of Ointment, spoil it all, when they putrefie.³⁴¹

Jerom thinks, the *Egyptians* are compared unto a *Flie*; [Isa. VII.18.] not only because they were a weak People, but, *propter Sordes Idololatriæ.*³⁴²

Q. The Meaning of that Passage; *A wise Mans Heart is at his Right Hand, but a Fools Heart is at his Left*? v. 2.

A. It is well-glossed by Dr. *Reinolds*, on the Hundred & Tenth Psalm.

His Heart is ready and præpared to execute any wise Counsels. As *David* saith, *my Heart is præpared, I will sing & give Thanks*. But a *Fools Heart*, when he ha's any thing to do, is like his *Left Hand*; it is to seek of Skill; it is unactive, unready, unpræpared; as it followes in the next Verse; *His Heart faileth him.*³⁴³

Tis *Munsters* Gloss; By the Heart of a Man, is meant his *Wisdome*. Tis in his Right Hand; that is, *Nihil agit sine prævia Rationis Disquisitione*. But a Fool, *Omnia agit sine Intellectu.*³⁴⁴

³⁴⁰ "An evil lust, which abides as it were at the gates of the heart like a fly, brings death in this world, because it makes a wise man even to stink in that time wherein he sins, and destroys his good name which was like the anointing oil that was made of spices." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 351), Mather cites the Targum to Ecclesiastes at Eccles. 10:1. Transl. modified from Jermin. Compare Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:422). See *The Targum of Qohelet, The Bible in Aramaic* 4A; *The Aramaic Version of Qohelet*, at this verse.

³⁴¹ Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 166. זְבֻוֵּי מָוֶת [zevuvēi maweth] "dead flies." The noun *maweth* can be translated "death, dying; mortal illness, epidemic, pestilence."

³⁴² "Because of the filth of idolatry." From Patrick (*Ecclesiastes* 166), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, lib. 3 [PL 24. 112; CCSL 73].

³⁴³ Mather cites the popular work of Edward Reynolds, *An Explication of the hundred and tenth Psalm* (1632) in *Works* (1679), vol. 2, p. 431. Compare also Reynolds, *Annotations*, pp. 314–15.

³⁴⁴ "He does nothing without previous inquiry of reason"; "[But a fool] does all things without understanding," Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4513). Münster paraphrases Ibn Ezra's gloss on Eccles. 10:2. See the explanation in *Mikraoth Gedoloth, Ecclesiastes*, p. 130, on Eccles. 10:2.

It ha's been so glossed upon. *Sapientia ducit Hominem ad Dextram per Viam bonam.*³⁴⁵

Q. How is said, *when the Fool walketh by the Way, he saith to every one, He is a Fool?* v. 3.

A. I disturb not the Common Gloss; which you have in *Tremelius; Quia ipso Vultu, Gressu, et Signis Omnibus clamat Stoliditatem suam.*³⁴⁶

But then *Jerom* observes, That the Word, *He*, may be referr'd unto every one. And so he carries it; *Stultus, ut ipse peccat, sperat omnes peccare similiter, atque ex suo Ingenio universos judicat.*³⁴⁷ He remarks it, that *Symmachus* did so translate the Verse; and so therefore he reads it; *sed et in Via Stultus quum ambulat, ispe insipiens suspicatur de omnibus, quod Stulti sunt.*³⁴⁸ Thus the Philosopher tells us; *Qualis quisque est, tales existimat alios.*³⁴⁹ And thus *Austin; Hoc proclivius suspicatur homo in alio, quod sentit in seipso.*³⁵⁰

Lyra gives another Meaning of it. When a *Fool walks by the Way*, that is, of Wickedness; for that is his Way; *his Wisdome fails him*; for in Truth, He is then a Fool. *He saies to every one*, that goes not in his Way, *That he is a Fool.* Why? *Quia non sequuntur delectabilia hujus Mundi, quæ sola reputat bona.*³⁵¹

³⁴⁵ "Wisdom leads man to the right hand by the good way." From Münster, *Qohélet. Ecclesiastes, iuxta hebraicam veritatem*, at Eccles. 10:2. Compare Rashi in *Mikraoth Gedoloth, Ecclesiastes*, p. 130, on Eccles. 10:2: "His wisdom is ready to turn him to the way that is 'righted' for his good." The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

³⁴⁶ "Because by his very countenance, his walk, in all signs he proclaims his stupidity." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 355), Mather cites the marginal gloss of Tremellius at Eccles. 10:3 in the *Biblia Sacra*, p. 171. Jermin's transl. modified.

³⁴⁷ "A fool, as he himself sins, he hopes that all others likewise sin, and he judges everybody according to his own disposition." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 355–54), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 10 [PL 23. 1091; CCSL 72]. Jermin's transl. modified.

³⁴⁸ "But also a fool when he walks in the way, being himself unwise, thinks of all others that they are fools." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 356), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 10 [PL 23. 1091; CCSL 72]; Jermin's transl. modified. Modern editions of Jerome render this citation slightly different.

³⁴⁹ "As every man is, so he holds others to be." Following Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 356), Mather claims to cite a Latin translation of Aristotle, *Politica*, lib. 3, cap. 6. However, this citation could not be found in this or the surrounding chapters. Chapter 6, which addresses forms of government, also briefly addresses principles of equality and likeness in politics and among citizens. Jermin may have taken the citation from an early modern handbook's summary of this chapter, under the presumption that it was a direct quotation of Aristotle. The citation may of course also be from another work. A similar expression is copied in Aquinas's *Catena aurea* on Matt. 21:23–27, "Omnis enim homo secundum se aestimat alterum" ("Every man judges of others by himself."). See *Catena aurea* (1:721).

³⁵⁰ "That does a man readily suspect of another, which he finds in himself." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 356), Mather cites Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Ps. 118 [PL 37. 1353; CCSL 40]; Jermin's transl. modified. Modern editions render this citation differently.

³⁵¹ "Because they do not follow the delightful things of this world, which alone he esteems to

Q. Unto what more particular Thing, might the Wise Man refer, in that Advice, *If the Spirit of the Ruler rise up against thee, leave not thy Place: For yielding pacifieth great Offences?* v. 4.

A. Do but Remember the Story of *Rehoboam* & of *Jeroboam*, foreseen by *Solomon*, and you have a Key to Multitudes of Passages, both in the *Proverbs* & in *Ecclesiastes*.

Thus, the former Part of the advice here, seems intended for *Jeroboam*; who when the *Spirit* of *Solomon*, rose up against him, then left his Place, & fled into *Egypt*, & prov'd a sore Scourge to the Throne of *David*.³⁵² The latter Part of the Advice might belong to *him* also; but *Solomon* doubtless left it, as Counsel unto *Rehoboam* likewise, how to allay the *Storms* which would arise upon this Occasion; Happy, had hee but followed it!

Q. But may not a mystical Sense be putt on the Words? v. 4.

A. It may be remembered, that the Word we translate, *Yeelding*, may be rendered, *Healing*. The French reads it, *La Douceur*.³⁵³

Now the Ancients generally took this in a spiritual Sense. By, *the Spirit of him that hath Power*, they understood, the *Divel*. *Jerom* saies, It signifies, *The Prince of this World*. If he *Ascend* into our Heart, and our Mind have received the Wound of an evil Thought, we must not willingly *give Place*, but fight against this evil Thought, & strive to be freed from it, that it may not proceed into Action.³⁵⁴

Thus *Gregory* carries it. *Si Tentatoris Spiritum contra te in aliquo prævalere consideras, Humilitatem Pœnitentiæ non derelinquas. Qui quod Locum nostrum Humilitatem Pœnitentiæ dixerit, Verbis sequentibus ostendit, dicens, Quia Curatio faciet cessare Peccata maxima. Quid est enim Humilitas Lamenti, nisi Medicina Peccati?*³⁵⁵

be good." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 356–57), Mather cites Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla*, at Eccles. 10:3. Transl.: Jermin.

³⁵² An Ephraimite from Zeredah, Jeroboam rose to power under Solomon but then rebelled against him (1 Kings 11:26) and escaped an attempt at his life by fleeing to Egypt until the king's death. Afterwards he led the secession of the northern tribes from the United Monarchy ruled by Solomon's son Rehoboam and became the first king of the Northern Kingdom, reigning from c. 922 to 901 BCE (*HCBD*).

³⁵³ "Gentleness, placability, mildness." From Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 358. See the *Bible de Genève* at Eccles. 10:4.

³⁵⁴ From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 358), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 10 [PL 23, 1091; *CCSL* 72]. Compare Eph. 2:2.

³⁵⁵ "If you perceive the spirit of the tempter to prevail in something against you, leave not the humility of repentance. He that has spoken of our humble place of repentance shows it in the following words, saying, 'that healing makes great sins to cease.' For what else is the humility of lamenting, but the remedy of sinning?" From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 358), Mather cites Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 3, cap. 22 [PL 75, 621; *CCSL* 143]; Jermin's transl. modified.

Lyra saies, This Verse may be applied unto the *Divel*; but he himself applies it unto the, *Fomes Peccati*;³⁵⁶ our Original Corruption. If the *Spirit*, & strong Inclination of *that which ha's Power*, namely, thy Natural Corruption, a thing that ha's truly a prodigious *Power* over the Children of Men; if this *Rise up against thee*, & press thee & urge thee to sin, leave not thy Stedfastness in Vertue, in which a Man ought to remain firm as in *his Place*. For, *Healing will make great Sins to cease*. Tho' by Resisting of Natural Corruption, it is not wholly taken away in this Life, yett by such Resistance the Power of it is diminished, & Vertue, which is the Health of the Soul, is increased & confirmed.

But then the Chaldee Paraphrase, ha's another, & a notable Exposition of this Verse. *Si Dominandi Cupiditas animum tuum invaserit, Locum priorem nē facile deserueris, qui enim compescit in hujusmodi Cupiditatibus animum suum, multa vitabit et gravia Peccata.*³⁵⁷

Ambrose tells us, that oftentimes those whom no other Vice or Lust can lead aside, *facit Ambitio Criminosos*.³⁵⁸

[26v]

Q. The Error proceeding from the Ruler? v. 5.

A. There are some, who with *Jerom*, suppose the *Divel* to be this Ruler. He ha's this Admonition upon it; *Ne simus Tristes, si in hoc Sæculo humiles videamur, scientes à facie Diaboli Stultos sublevari, et Divites dejici, Servos habere Insignia Dominorum, et Principes Servorum ingredi Vilitate.*³⁵⁹

Q. Folly sett in great Dignity? v. 6.

A. *Bernard* complains how it is in the Church. *Scholares Pueri et impuberes Adolescentuli promoventur ad Ecclesiasticas Dignitates, et de Ferulis transferuntur,*

356 "Tinder for sin." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 359), Mather cites Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla*, at Eccles. 10:4.

357 "If the desire of having power and ruling shall assault your mind, be not hasty in leaving thy former place and condition; for he that subdues his mind in these desires shall shun many and great offences." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 359), Mather cites the Targum at Eccles. 10:4. Transl. modified from Jermin. Compare Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:422). See *The Targum of Qohelet*; *The Bible in Aramaic* 4A; *The Aramaic Version of Qohelet*, at this verse.

358 "Ambition makes offenders." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 359–60), Mather cites Ambrose, *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam*, lib. 4 [PL 15. 1621; CSEL 32.4; CCSL 14]; Jermin's transl. modified.

359 "Let us not be sad if in this world we seem to be humble, knowing that it is before the countenance of the devil that fools are exalted and the wealthy cast out, that servants have the honor of masters, and princes walk in the baseness of servants." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 360), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 10 [PL 23. 1094; CCSL 72]; Jermin's transl. modified. Modern editions of Jerome render this citation slightly differently. See Eccles. 10:7: "servants upon horses, and princes walking as servants upon the earth." Prov. 22:29; Matt. 25:23.

letiores interim quod Flagella evaserint, quàm quod meruerint Principatum, nec tam illis blanditur adeptum quàm ademptum Magisterium. [Epist. 42.]³⁶⁰

Basil complains of the same in the Commonwealth. *Non eum eligunt, qui est Dignus, sed Domesticum ac Familiarem; neque ille eligitur, qui salutaris esse possit Reipublicæ, sed qui in suâ gente ac Familiâ vi facultatem præpollet.* [In c. 3. Isa.]³⁶¹

Q. *The Rich in low Places?* v. 6.

A. By the *Rich*, Expositors generally understand those, *Qui Divites sunt Sermone et Sapientiâ; Divites etiam Operibus bonis*; as Jerom expresses it.³⁶²

Austin descanting on those Words, *They that will be Rich*, notes; *Qui volunt Divites fieri, non qui sunt, nam qui sunt, Divites sunt in bonis Operibus.*³⁶³ But the French Translation reads it; *Ceux qui ont de quoi*, or, *They that have wherewithal*. Fools have not *wherewithal*; are not of Ability to order their Places, or to order themselves in their Places. They who have *wherewithal*, are such as have Wisdome, to discharge and honour their Places.³⁶⁴

Bernard reports of the Knights Templers; *Persona inter eos non accipitur, defertur Honor meliori;*³⁶⁵ while tis so, then Seneca's Golden Age arrives; *Aureum Sæculum erat in quo Honores melioribus dabantur.* [Epist. 91.]³⁶⁶

³⁶⁰ "School boys, beardless youths are advanced to ecclesiastical dignities, and from being under the rod they are transferred, in the meanwhile being more glad in themselves that they have escaped the whip, than that they are come to preeminence, and the mastership that is taken from over them pleases them more than that which is gotten by them." Drawing upon Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 362), Mather cites Bernard of Clairvaux, *De moribus et officio episcoporum tractatus* [PL 182. 826; *Opera* 7]; Jermin's transl. modified.

³⁶¹ "They choose not one who is worthy, but one who is familiar or related to them; not one who may be for the good of the commonwealth, but he who in his kindred or family aboundeth in wealth." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 362), Mather cites the theologian and Bishop of Caesarea, Basil the Great (Basilius Caesariensis, 330–379 CE), *Enneratio in prophetam Isaiam*, cap. 3 [PG 30. 299].

³⁶² "Who are rich in utterance and wisdom, rich also in good works." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 362), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 10 [PL 23. 1092–93; CCSL 72]; Jermin's transl. modified.

³⁶³ "Those who wish to be rich, not those who are; for those who are, are rich in good works." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 362), Mather cites Augustine, *Sermones de Scripturis*, sermo 85 [PL 38. 523; CCSL 41]; Jermin's transl.

³⁶⁴ From Jermin's (*Ecclesiastes* 363), Mather refers to the *Bible de Genève* at Eccles. 10:6.

³⁶⁵ "Among them there is no respecting of persons, honor is given him that is most worthy of it." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 363), Mather cites Bernard of Clairvaux, *Liber ad milites templi de laude novae militiae*, cap. 4 [PL 182. 926; *Opera* 3]; transl.: modified from Jermin. See Rom. 2:1; Eph. 6:9; Jas. 2:9; 1 Pet. 1:17.

³⁶⁶ "The golden age was, in which honors were bestowed on them that best deserved them." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 363), Mather cites Seneca, *Epistulae morales*, 91, but the exact citation cannot be found there. Seneca refers to the "golden age" in epist. 90 as an age of justice "under the jurisdiction of the wise" who "protected the weaker from the stronger" and "provided that their subjects should lack nothing." See also epist. 95. Jermin's transl. above.

[▽Insert from 27r–27v]³⁶⁷

[▽27r–27v]

Q. The Man who *diggeth a Pitt*, and *breaketh an Hedge*; who is he? v. 8.

A. Comparing it, with what goes before, it seems to be, the Ambitious Man, who uses many Plotts, & leaps over many Ditches, to suppress others & advance himself. *Abulensis* very truly observes, *Qui honorem desiderat, non est dignus honore; et qui desiderat Statum excellentem non potest eum convenienter sustinere.*³⁶⁸ The *Pitt* which these fall into, is the Disgrace which they design for others. The *Serpent* which bites them, is some other more subtil than they.

Lyra, makes this an Admonition, to shun the *Occasions* of Sin.³⁶⁹ And thus, when *David* prayed, *Remove from me the Way of Lying*; perhaps by, *the Way*, he means, *the Occasions* of Sinning; things which lead unto it, as the *Way* does to the End.

Q. The *Remover of Stones*, & the *Cleaver of Wood*; who? v. 9.

A. Dr. *Jermy*n carries this also to the Ambitious Man, who is unworthy of his Honours. This Man, is like one who takes upon him to *lift a Stone*, that is *too heavy* for him, & is *hurt with* it; He takes upon himself a weighty Place of Dignity, which he is not able to discharge, & is oppressed by it. He is like one, who *heweth Wood*, that is *too hard* for him, and endangers him: He putts himself into a Place of Business beyond his Capacity; which is not for his Comfort or Safety.³⁷⁰

But then some carry it so. Tho' the *Removing of Stones*, tho' it be so poor a Work, & have such *Trouble* in it, (as the Word signifies:) the *Cleaving of Wood*, tho' it be so mean a Work, & be not without some *Danger* in it; yett many apply themselves unto the Work. Why then should not we be willing to be at greater Pains, and undergo any *Trouble* or *Danger*, for Vertuous and Heavenly Things?³⁷¹

He that brought back his Talent unto his Lord, without any Profit made of it, had it *εν σουδαρίω*, *In Sudario*;³⁷² our English Word is, *A Napkin*. But the Word signifies, a Cloth used for the wiping away *Sweat*. It shoves, he had not been *Idle*; or without Labour. He had led a very Busy Life. But he had been *Idle* in regard of the true Improvements. *Eusebius Gallicanus* upon that Passage, saies;

³⁶⁷ See Appendix B.

³⁶⁸ "He that desires honor, is not worthy of honor, he that desires a high place, is not a man able fitly to discharge it." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 366), Mather cites Spanish exegete and Bishop of Ávila Tostatus Abulensis (Alonso Fernández de Madrigal, c. 1400/10–1455), *Commentaria in librum secundum Regum* ([1596] 1728), cap. 15, qu. 5. Jermin's transl. slightly modified.

³⁶⁹ From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 367), Mather cites Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla*, at Eccles. 10:8.

³⁷⁰ Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 368.

³⁷¹ Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 369.

³⁷² From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 369): *εν σουδαρίω* [en soudario] "in a napkin." See Luke 19:20.

*In Sudario Talentum reponit, qui Gratiam sibi traditam; in Carne Laboribus et Fatigationibus impensam torpescere finit.*³⁷³

But what is more foolish, than to labour about Stones and Chips, & the base things of this World; & be Idle about more glorious Things?

Jerom will have the *Remover of Stones*, to be the Pastor, who removes (those leprous Stones) the Wicked, out of the Church, by Censures. Of these he reads, *Dolebit in eis*; He shall be sorry for them.³⁷⁴

By the *Wood*, he understands, *Hereticks*, who are unfruitful Wood in the Church of God. *Quamvis sit Prudens et Doctus Vir, qui Gladio Sermonis sui hæc Ligna conscindat, periclitabitur in eis nisi diligenter attenderit.*³⁷⁵

[27v] |³⁷⁶

Q. The *Good* of *gracious Words*, the *Hurt* of *evil* ones? v. 12.

A. For the former, *Ambrose* makes the *Olive-leaf* in the Mouth of the *Dove*, an Emblem; *eo quod Virtus et Sapientia, in Ore Iusti habeant Claritatem.*³⁷⁷

For the latter, *Ephrem* the Syrian, makes a Remark on *Moses*; That *magnum et horrendum Mare ei Viam præcludere non potuit sed Verbum unicum iniquè ab eo prolatum, velut Murus aliquis ipsi obstitit, ne ulterius progredi possit.*³⁷⁸

Q. The *Fool*, how *full* of *Words*? v. 14.

³⁷³ "He lays up his talent in a napkin who limits the abundant grace which he has received in the labors and wearying of the flesh, so as to become weak." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 370). Mather refers to (Pseudo-)Eusebius Gallicanus, *Homiliae*, cap. 1 [works: *CCSL* 101, 101A, 101B]; transl. modified from Jermin. The parable is addressed in *Sermo in dedicatione ecclesiae*, cap. 7 [*CCSL* 101B. 837–841]. According to the *TRE*, modern scholars assume that the sermons attributed to Eusebius Gallicanus are a compilation by Caesarius of Arles, consisting partly of his own compositions, partly of older texts from, among others, Faustus Riez (d. c. 495 CE). The citation is also found in Bruno of Segni (1047–1123), *Commentaria in Lucam*, pars 2 [PL 165. 436].

³⁷⁴ "From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 370), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 10 [PL 23. 1095; *CCSL* 72]; Mather cites Jermin's transl.

³⁷⁵ "Although he be a wise a learned man, who with the sword of his discourse cuts this wood, he will be endangered by it unless he attend diligently unto it." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 370), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 10 [PL 23. 1095; *CCSL* 72]; Jermin's transl. modified.

³⁷⁶ There is a small scrap piece of paper with entries on both sides that is attached to the quarto page 27r/27v, creating an insert within an insert. This small piece is counted as an extra page: 28r/28v.

³⁷⁷ "Because virtue and wisdom in the mouth of a righteous man have clarity." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 376), Mather cites Ambrose, *De Noe et arca*, cap. 19 [PL 14. 393; *CSEL* 32.1]; Jermin's transl. modified. Compare Gen. 8:11.

³⁷⁸ "The great and horrid sea was not able to block his way, but one word ill spoken by him stood up as it were a wall against him, that he could not go on any further." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 376), Mather cites a passage attributed to the fourth-century Syrian Christian theologian, Ephrem the Syrian (Ephraim, Ephraem Syrus, c. 306–373 CE); see *The Armenian Commentaries on Exodus-Deuteronomy* (2001). Transl. modified from Jermin.

A. He seems to be full of Matter, as if, he wanted Words to express his Matter. Yett the Man that heareth him, *cannot tell what it shall be* that he arriveth at. Neither can he *tell that which shall be after him*; or what shall be said when he ha's done, either to answer his Words, or to confute his Errors.³⁷⁹

Q. *The Labour of the Foolish, not knowing how to go to the City?* v. 15.

A. Jerom, will have the *City*, to be that of *Wisdome*; and the *Labour of the Foolish* to be the Study of the *Heathen Philosophers*. He saies, *lege Platonem, Aristotelis revolve Versutias, Zenonem & Carneadem diligentius intueri, et probabis verum esse, quod dicitur; Labor Stultorum affligit eos.*³⁸⁰

Q. A mystical Sense of, *eating in the Morning?* v. 16.

A. Austin has one: *Id est, Ante horam congruam, quia non expectant opportunam quæ in futuro est felicitatem, festinanter beari hujus Sæculi felicitate cupientes.*³⁸¹

There are some Rulers, who are so sett upon their Pleasures, that they are Drinking when they should be at Council; Dancing, when they should be judging of Causes or doing of Duties.

Drusius applies, Jer. XXI.12. to illustrate this Place. He observes; The *Morning* is the Time for Judicial Deliberations; as the *Evening*, for Mirth & Comptations. The Hebrews have a Saying, *Non judicant, horâ Ebrietatis*; meaning, the Evening.³⁸²

The *Carthaginians* had a Law, that no Magistrate whatever, should Drink any Wine at all, *τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν οἱ ἀν ἀρχοῦσι*. *That Year in which they bare any Office.*³⁸³

Plato mentions it. l. 2. *De Legibus*. And in the next Book, shews what the Mischief of it is, when a meer Youth assumes a Government.

[△Insert ends]

[△]

³⁷⁹ Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 380.

³⁸⁰ "Read Plato, turn over the subtleties of Aristotle, look diligently upon Zeno and Carneades, and you will prove it to be true which is said, the labor of the foolish afflicts them." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 383), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 10 [PL 23. 1097; CCSL 72]; Jermin's transl. modified. Modern editions of Jerome render this citation slightly differently.

³⁸¹ "That is, before the due season, because they do not expect that seasonable happiness which shall be in the world to come, desiring hastily to be blessed with the happiness that is in this world." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 386), Mather cites Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, lib. 17, cap. 20 [PL 41. 556; CSEL 40; CCSL 48]; Jermin's transl. modified.

³⁸² "They do not judge in the hour of drinking." From Patrick (*Ecclesiastes* 181); compare Drusius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4518); transl. modified from Patrick.

³⁸³ From Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 181. See Plato, *Nomoi (Laws)*, 2.674. Mather provides Patrick's transl.

Q. That Passage, *Money answereth all things?* v. 19.

A. Vast is the Power of *Money*. A Prince ought to have *Money* at Command, because it commands other things. It is thought, this Text intimates the Happiness of a Nation, when the Government is careful, the People should not want any Provision. [*Bread* and *Wine*, in Hebrew, signifies all that is necessary for Humane Life, but especially, that the *Money* of the Nation whereby all other things are purchased, be not exported.

A Prince, who wants *Money* is tempted then to squeeze the People unjustly, or sett all things to sale; which is another Way of expounding that Phrase, *Money answers all things*.³⁸⁴

But I'll Transcribe to you, the Sense of a Devout English Writer, in a little Book, about, the *Love of the World*. *Saith hee*; I see no Reason to grant such an *Omnipotence* to *Money*, nor (with the Leave of the Learned) such a Translation of the Text, whether wee, Translate [*All things*] or, [*All Men*.]

By, *Answering all things* cannot bee meant, that it *stands Instead of all things*. It could not stand instead of *Meat*, unto *Midas*, who starved in the Midst of his Gold; for, tho' Men should eat Gold, as, they say, the Jewes did in the Siege of *Jerusalem*, it would not keep them from Famishing. It could not stand instead of *Drink*, to the Thirsty King; if it could, hee that had so much of it, would not have been so prodigal as to offer a *Kingdome* for a Cup of Water. It cannot stand, instead of so mean a Thing as *Apparel*; hee that is never so well *loaden with Thick Clay*, may for all that, bee in such Circumstances, that hee starves with *cold*. Neither, by *Answering all things*, can bee meant that it can purchase all things, and furnish Men with whatever they want. If it could, how comes *Money*, & the *Want* of the most desirable thing in the World, to bee so compatible, as in our own Language, to bee made up into one Word, called, *The Rich-Gout*. It often happens, that *Health*, cannot bee purchased with, *Money*. *Æger Dives habet Nummos, sed non habet Ipsum*.³⁸⁵ *Liberty* often is not Recoverable, *Life* not Præservable, by *Money*. The poor Apostle might have had his *Liberty*, if hee had had *Money*; but the King of *Judah* had *Money* enough, and yett could not get his *Liberty*. *Rich Men* may fall into the Hands of such Men, that will not *Regard*

³⁸⁴ From Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, pp. 182–83. The question and the citations from Patrick appear in a different ink and seem to have been added at a later stage. This interpretation is supported by the fact that Mather crossed out the original question: “Q. What think you of that passage, *Money answereth all things?* v. 19.” In this way, the original answer, beginning with “I’ll transcribe” became an addendum to the answer excerpted from Patrick.

³⁸⁵ “The sick, rich man holds wealth, yet not himself.” Mather cites the treatise of the English Presbyterian clergyman at Wirksworth, Derbyshire, and devotional writer Samuel Shaw (1635–1696), *The true Christians Test* (1682), part 2 (“Of Man Considered in his Political Capacity, in Forty nine Meditations”), meditation 48, p. 395. Shaw has “Ægro” where Mather has “Æger.” The entire gloss here is drawn from Shaw. For the Middle Latin proverb on the slavery of wealth, see *Thesaurus proverbiorum medii ævi* (9:245) and Barbazon, ed., *Fabliaux et contes* (4:485). The transl. is taken from a later edition (*The Works* 2:451).

Silver, nor Delight in Gold, that they should receive a Ransome for them, from thence. Isa. 3.17. As for *Ingenuity*, Learning, Wisdome, Grace, one may say of *Them*, as Solomon (who did, *simul Amare, et Sapere*) sais concerning *Love*,³⁸⁶ *If a Man would give all the Substance of his House for them, it would utterly be condemned*; nay, Rejected with Scorn, *Thy Money perish with thee*. Neither is it true, That *Money answereth all Men*, as others Interpret it, who thus paraphrase upon the Words, *lett there bee Money, & all Men have their Hearts Desire*. For, there are many in the World, that præfer the *Favour* of God, and their own *Conscience*, before Thousands of *Gold & Silver*. Nay, and those very Men who love *Money* best and have most of it too, are not yett *answered*; they are not *satisfyd by Money*. I could heartily wish, for the Sake of those that Damn themselves, with the *Love of Money*, and take Encouragement so to do, from this Text, that the Translation of it were amended, or the Sense fully explained by the Just Consideration of the Context.

Thus my Author; who provokes *mee*, now to give you my own *sudden Gloss* upon the Text. The Wise Man, is in the Context, reflecting on the *Epicurism* of States-Men; hee declares not only the *Mischievousness*, but also the *Expensiveness* of their sensual Entertainments. Thus hee sais here, *A Feast is made for Laughter, & Wine maketh merry*; for the Sake of a little Diversion, abundance of *Meat & of Drink* is præpared; *But*, it is added, *Money must pay for all*; there are [High Reckonings] follow, & these *Epicures* thus throw their Estates away.³⁸⁷

[the entries from 27r–27v were inserted into their designated places]³⁸⁸

|
1227.

[28r]

Q. {What is that *Bird of the Air*, that?} shall carry the Voice, of it, when wee do never so secretly *curse the King?* v. 20.

A. You know the common Interpretation of that Passage, too well for mee to Repeat it. Nor do I at all oppose it, or dislike it.

Nevertheless, what if one should further say, That a *Pen*, which is a *Quil* from the *Wing* of a *Bird of the Air*, will make discovery of the *Treason*. I remember the witty Dr. *Fuller*, giving a Report of the Gun-Powder-Treason, which was

³⁸⁶ “Be in love and wise at the same time.” Mather follows Shaw (*The true Christians Test*, meditation 48, p. 396) in reversing the Latin saying about Jupiter in reference to Solomon: “Amare simul et sapere, ipsi Iovi non datur.” (“Even Jupiter himself cannot be in love and wise at the same time.” Henderson, *Latin Proverbs*, p. 19). A later transl. of Shaw’s works (*The Works* 2:451) has “love them, and yet retain wisdom.”

³⁸⁷ The paragraph following “who provokes” was written in a different ink and probably added later. See Appendix A.

³⁸⁸ See Appendix B.

discovered by a *Letter*, ha's this Expression upon it; That it came to Light, thus, by a Feather of a *Bird of the Air*.³⁸⁹

{1655:}

Q. The last Gloss, is like the Author of it, *witty*, but I am willing to Hear another?

A. Then so you shall. While some think, that this *Bird of the Air*, may bee no more than a *Flying Rumour*, which is a *Secret* condensed into a *Whisper*, that runs from Ear to Ear, upon slender Conjectures, others think, it may be taken literally for the, *winged Creatures* that fan the Aiery Regions; and famous are the Stories of *Bessus*, and *Ibycus*, whose Crimes were detected by the *Birds of the Air*. But my worthy Friend, Mr. *Alsop*, hath a further note upon it. Saies hee, "Why may wee not look *higher*, to a superiour Region, where wee shall meet with winged
[28v] Creatures of another Feather? The Angels, who are described unto us | with Wings, swiftly flying, to carry the Mandates of their, & our great Lord, to execute His Commissions, & sometimes to Reveal the secret Will of God, in those Important Cases, which God will have known, & cannot otherwise bee known."³⁹⁰ There is a Dark Note in the *Chaldee* Paraphrase, that may give us some Light into the Matter. *Et enim Raziel Angelus, volans in Aere Caeli, velut Aquila Pennata, et nunciat Sermones in Latibulo, omnibus Habitatoribus Terræ*.³⁹¹

I will add: This proverbial Hyberbole is used in very good Authors, for a thing very secret; *unless some Bird saw it*.

Aristophanes has it, οὐδεις ειδεν, πλὴν ει τις αν ορνις.³⁹²

³⁸⁹ A reference to Thomas Fuller's *Church History of Britain from the Birth of Jesus Christ Until the Year MDCXLVIII* ([1655] 1868), vol. 3, bk. 10, p. 239. Reference is made to the famous 1605 Gunpowder Plot, a failed assassination attempt against King James I of England and VI of Scotland by a group of provincial English Catholics led by Robert Catesby. The plot was revealed to the authorities in an anonymous letter sent to William Parker, 4th Baron Monteagle, on 26 October 1605.

³⁹⁰ From the work of the prominent English Presbyterian clergyman and controversialist Vincent Alsop (bapt. 1630, d. 1703), *A Sermon upon the wonderful Deliverance by His Majesty from Assassination, the Nation from Invasion* (1696), p. 15.

³⁹¹ "And indeed, the Angel Raziel, flying in the air of the heavens, just as a winged eagle, announces conversations held in secret places to all the inhabitants of the land." From Vincent Alsop (*A Sermon upon the wonderful Deliverance* 15), Mather cites a Latin transl. of the Targum at Eccles. 10:20. Compare also Walton's *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:424); see *The Targum of Qohelet* at this verse. The Angel Raziel ("The Secret of God"), as mentioned in the Targum here, is purported to be the author of the Book of Raziel, a revelation from the Angel unto Adam (*JE*). A version of the book was redacted or composed by the student of Kabbalah, Eleazar of Worms (c. 1176–1238).

³⁹² The citation in context: "None but some birds know where my treasure lies." With diacritical marks: οὐδεις οιδεν τον θησαυρον τον εμὸν πλὴν ει τις ἄρ' ὀρνις. From the Athenian poet and playwright Aristophanes (middle of 5th cent.—c. 386/88 BCE), *Ornithes* (*Birds*), 600; transl.: *LCL* 179, p. 103. Mather takes the citation from Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 184.

Dr. Patrick suspects, that here may be an Eye to a *Prophet*, like *Elisha*; who may discover the things that are spoken in the Kings own Bed-Chamber.³⁹³

And, if with the *Chaldee*, we consider the *Angels*, Dr. Taylor is in the right of it. *The Government of the other World reaches strangely unto us.*³⁹⁴

Luther notes, that by the *Angels* in this Place referr'd unto, some of the Hebrews understand the *Divels*; who are called, [Matth. XIII.4.] *The Fowles of Heaven*. Those *Night-birds*. There is a Proverb; *speak, where there is no Night-bird.*³⁹⁵

³⁹³ 2 Kings 6:12.

³⁹⁴ From Patrick (*Ecclesiastes* 184–85), Mather refers to the work of casuistry (“Cases of Conscience”) by the Church of Ireland Bishop of Down and Connor and religious writer Jeremy Taylor (1613–1667), *Ductor dubitantium, or, the Rule of Conscience* (1660), bk. 3, ch. 3, rule 3, pp. 158–59.

³⁹⁵ From Patrick (*Ecclesiastes* 185), Mather refers to Luther’s *Annotationes in Ecclesiasten* (1526/1532, WA 20:184b). Here and in other places Luther reads the birds as angels: “Avem Hebraei dicunt ‘virum alarum’ vel maritum pennarum sive eum, qui habet pennas.” Elsewhere Luther also mentions demons in this context, for example in the *Dictata super Psalterium* (1513–1516, WA 4:65): “tanquam essent aves coeli, id est angeli vel potius demones, et quod etiam sunt, id est demoniaci doctores.” The identification of birds and demons, which were both thought to live in the same region between the earth and heaven (“aer”), was a commonplace in ancient and medieval Christian literature. Luther’s commentary appeared in German in 1533 as: *Ecclesiastes odder Prediger Salomo, ausgelegt durch D. Mart. Luth. Aus dem Latin verdeutschet durch Justum Jonam*; an English translation was produced in 1573: *An Exposition of Salomons Booke called Ecclesiastes or the Preacher*, where the quote appears on pp. 169–70.

Q. In what Sense is it said, *cast thy Bread upon the Waters?* v. 1.

A. Your *Mysticks*, are putt unto deal of Puzzle, for the Allegorizing of this Expression; and *Atheists* take the Liberty to Ridicule it. But we must know, That the Hebrew Word *Lechem*, not only signifies *Bread*, but also *Wheat*, whereof *Bread* is made; and the Hebrew Word, *Majim*, not only signifies *Waters*, but also *Ground* that is moist, or lies near the *Waters*. The Text should therefore be so translated; *Throw thy Grain into moist Ground*.³⁹⁶

Q. On that, *give a Portion?* v. 2.

A. May it not be an Allusion, to what was sent from *Feasts* unto the Poor, or unto them that were Absent?

To Seven & also to Eight, is by *Munster* glossed, *For Seven Dayes together, & also when the Eighth appears*.³⁹⁷

R. Josephs Gloss is pretty odd. *Da Partem bonam, Agro tuo in Septembri; idem non pigriteris in Octobri*.³⁹⁸

Q. The Intention of that Passage; *where the Tree falleth, there it shall be?* v. 3.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase. "When thou art Dead, none can raise thee up again, to exercise that Charity, which now thou neglectest; no more than a

³⁹⁶ Derived from Charles Le Cène, *An Essay*, pt. 1, ch. 10, pp. 157–58. לֶחֶם [lechem] "food, bread, grain." מַיִם [mayim] "waters."

³⁹⁷ See Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4522).

³⁹⁸ "Give a good part to your field in September; do not miss to do the same in October." From an unknown source (likely the same one he used for his gloss on Eccles. 5:15), Mather seems to cite a Latin transl. of the Targum on Eccles. 11:2, which he again attributes to "Rabbi Joseph." See the footnote at Eccles. 5:15. Compare Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:424). Whereas Mather's source refers to the Gregorian equivalents for the Hebrew calendar months ("in Septembri ... in Octobri"), Walton's transl. of the Aramaic preserves the Hebrew names ("in Tisri ... in Kasleu"). Mather's Latin is closer to, but not identical with, the transl. in the Antwerp Polyglot ed. by Arias Montanus (*Biblia Polyglotta Regia*), which has "mense septimo" and "mense octavo." Remarking upon "portion to seven, and also to eight," the Targum seems to advise the sowing of seed over the course of multiple months, rather than on just one occasion. Tishrei is the seventh month of the Jewish calendar, Cheshvan the eighth, and Chisleu / Kislev the ninth. The "evil" that might come "upon the earth" is then taken literally to refer to the earth, the ground, i. e., irregular or premature crops. The good portion is thus a portion of seed. Levine thus translates (*The Aramaic Version of Qohelet*, p. 45): "Give a good portion of the seed to your field in Tishri, and do not cease from sowing even in Kislev." By contrast, the early medieval bishop and author of monastic rules, Fructuosus of Braga, thought of the seventh and eighth in terms of the seventh and eighth hour of the day committed to prayer, and then again in reference to the sevenfold grace of the Spirit and the eight beatitudes by which, when added together, one could tread upon the fifteen steps of the ladder of Jacob into heaven (*FC* 63:191; *ACCS* 9:274).

Tree can be made to bear, when it is cutt down; but which Way soever it falls, whether to a colder, or to a warmer Quarter, there it remains forever, without so much as Leaves.”³⁹⁹

*Munsters Gloss is; ubi ceciderit Fructus Arboris, ibi sunt qui colligunt Fructus illos; sic ubique locorum inveniuntur Pauperes, in quos poterunt collocari Beneficia.*⁴⁰⁰

Q. On, the *Tree falling towards the South, or towards the North?* v. 3.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* propounds, that we may understand it thus. When a Work of Charity is done with a *warm Affection*, tis a *Tree falling towards the South*. When done with a *cold*, then a *Tree falling towards the North*; And so it lies, it is by God esteemed accordingly.⁴⁰¹

But generally, the Ancients as well as the Moderns, applied it unto *Death*. *Gregory* thus expresses it; *In Die Mortis suæ, justus ad Austrum cadit, Peccator ad Aquilonem. Quia et Justus per Fervorem Spiritus ad Gaudia ducitur, et Peccator cum Apostatâ Angelo, qui dixit, Sedebo in Lateribus Aquilonis, in frigido suo Corde reprobatur.*⁴⁰² *Bernard* accordingly will tell you; Man is a Tree, which is cutt down by Death, & wheresoever he falls, there he shall be; because where Death findeth him, there God Judgeth him. *Videat ergò quò Casura sit, antequam cadat; quia postquam ceciderit, non adjiciet ut resurgat, sed ut nec se vertat.*⁴⁰³

Luther glosses it; “If the Lord find thee in the *South*; that is, Fruitful & Rich in good Works; it will be Well; But, if in the *North*, that is, Barren of good Works; it will be Ill with thee.”⁴⁰⁴

³⁹⁹ Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 189.

⁴⁰⁰ “Where the fruit of the tree falls, in that place are those who collect the fruit; thus, everywhere there are poor to be found to whom benefits can be given.” Mather cites Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4522). The final clause, “quos poterunt collocari Beneficia,” is illegible on the microfilm image and was added after consultation of the manuscript at the MHS. See Mark 10:21.

⁴⁰¹ See Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 404.

⁴⁰² “In the day of his death, the just falls to the south, the sinner to the north. For the just spirit is carried through the heat to joy and the sinner with the apostate angel, who said ‘I will sit on the sides of the north,’ is condemned in his cold heart.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 404), Mather cites Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 12, cap. 4 [PL 75. 988; CCSL 143A]; Jermin’s transl. modified. Gregory cites Isa. 14:13.

⁴⁰³ “Let him therefore see where he falls, before he falls, because when he is fallen, he shall not help himself to rise, no, not so much as to turn himself.” Drawing upon Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 405), Mather cites Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones de diversis*, sermo 85 [PL 183. 702; *Opera* 6a]; Jermin’s transl. modified. Modern editions of Bernard render this citation slightly different.

⁴⁰⁴ From Patrick (*Ecclesiastes* 196), Mather cites a translation of Martin Luther’s Latin gloss on Eccles. 11:3 in *Annotationes in Ecclesiasten* (WA 20:186b). The original reads: “Id est: Nescis, quam diu victurus sis et possessurus res. Sicut arbor cum succiditur, sive cadat ad meridiem sive aquilonem, ibi manebit, sic utut mors te oppresserit, quocunque loco, conditione, ita manebis. Si invenerit te Dominus in meridie, id est, fertilem et in bonis operibus divitem, bene. Si vero in Aquilone, id est, non abundantem bonis operibus, male tibi. Utut invenieris, sic iudicaberis,

Mr. Henry observes, the true Meaning to be, That we should study to serve some good Purpose, wherever the Providence of God may cast our Lott; where *the Tree falls, there it shall be*, & be of some Use or other.⁴⁰⁵

Q. Upon so *observing the Wind*, as to forbear *sowing*? v. 4.

A. Methinks *Columella* may be something of a Commentator upon *Solomon*. Saies he, “*Ubi Paleis immixta sunt Frumenta*, when the Grains of Corn are mixed with Chaff, lett them be severed by the Wind. A West Wind is counted excellent for this business; *Quem tamen operiri Lenti est Agricola*; But to stay for it, is a Sign of a lazy Husbandman; because while tis expected, the Hard Winter overtakes us. Wherefore the | Threshed Corn is to be so laid together in the Barn-floor, that on every Occasion it may be winnowed. And if for many Dayes, the Wind, be still & quiet every Way, lett it be cleansed with Fans; lest after too much Dulness & Slackness of the Winds, a grievous Tempest overwhelm the Labour of the whole Year.”⁴⁰⁶

The plain Meaning of the Verse is, That Works of Charity, must not be delay’d, upon Pretence of waiting a Season for them.

We may add a Gloss of a mystical Importance.

Jerom applies it unto those, who preach the Word only when People are willing to hear. Whereas, *Opportunè, Importunè suo Tenore Dei Sermo est prædicandus, nec Fidei Tempore adversariarum Nubium consideranda Tempestas*.⁴⁰⁷

Gregory, by the *Wind* would understand the Tempting of wicked Spirits. By the *Clouds*, which are moved by the *Wind*, he would understand the Opposition of Wicked Men, driven by the Breath of unclean Spirits. Now, *Quisquis Tentationem malignorum Spirituum, quisquis Persecutionem malignorum Hominum metuit, neque nunc Grana boni Operis seminat, neque tunc Manipulos sanctæ retributionis secat*.⁴⁰⁸

sic recipies etiam.” Compare Luther, *An Exposition of Salomons Booke called Ecclesiastes or the Preacher*, p. 173.

⁴⁰⁵ Mather here refers not to the famous Bible commentary but to a minor work of Matthew Henry, *A Sermon preach’d at Haberdashers Hall, July the 13th, 1712. On Occasion of the Death of the Reverend Mr. Richard Stretton* (1712), p. 10. The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁴⁰⁶ “When the grain is mixed with the chaff”; “but to wait for it is the mark of a dilatory farmer.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 405), Mather cites Columella, *De re rustica*, 2.20; transl.: *LCL* 361, pp. 217–19.

⁴⁰⁷ “The word of God is to be preached in season, out of season, in its own tenor; neither in a time of faith, is the tempest of opposing clouds to be regarded.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 406), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 11 [PL 23. 1103; *CCSL* 72]; Jermin’s transl. modified. Modern editions of Jerome render this citation slightly different.

⁴⁰⁸ “Anyone who fears temptation from evil spirits, anyone who fears persecution from evil men, neither now sows the seeds of good works, nor hereafter cuts the sheaves of holy recompense.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 407), Mather cites Gregory the Great, *Regula pastoralis*, pars 3, cap. 15 [PL 77. 75; *SC* 382]; Davis’s transl. cited above (*ACW* 11:136). See 2 Tim. 4:2.

Q. The *Spirit*? v. 5.

A. Why not that *Vis formatrix*; which (as Dr *Patrick* hints) may possibly be meant by *Spirit*; Job XXXIII.4., Psal. CIV.30.⁴⁰⁹

Q. *How the Bones do grow in the Womb of her that is with Child.* What Relation may this have to the Context? v. 5.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* ha's a notable Hint. He saies, Itt makes him think, that Works of Charity may engage the gracious God, in a more special Manner, to Bless the Fruit of the Womb, & give Children (& Happy Children) to them, who give unto His Children in their Distresses. *Ambrose* ha's to this Purpose, a Note upon the *Shunamitess*.⁴¹⁰

But then our *Jermyn* also carries the Matter thus far. Our Charity should imitate the Great God in this Work of His. In forming the Bodies of Children, God giveth Souls, unto them, of whom He foreknows that they will be wicked, and employ both to His Dishonour. He giveth Life to the Children of Adultery and Fornication, as well as to those who are born in Wedlock, & those who He also foreknowes will fear Him and serve Him. Even so should our Charity do for very unworthy Objects; & for some, who, we suspect, may not make a good Use of what we do. And he that is in the Womb, knoweth not what is done for him; knoweth not who doth it; never asketh it, or desireth it. Even so, Do thou bestow thy Alms on him that knowes thee not, nor knowes whence it comes, nor ever asked it.⁴¹¹ Thus *Ambrose*, *videndus est ille, qui te non videt requirendus est ille, qui erubescit videri; ille etiam clausus in Carcere occurrat tibi; ille affectus ægritudine Mentem tuam personet, qui aures non potest*.⁴¹²

[30r]

⁴⁰⁹ "Formative force." The "vis formatrix" is a concept from the tradition of Hermetic-Paracelsian alchemy, which was adopted into seventeenth-century theories of vitalism that assumed the existence of a generative life force, divine in origin and present in all matter, organic and inorganic alike. This is already implicit in Patrick's annotation (*Ecclesiastes* 198), which continues: "*how it goes about its Work, to make this Body of ours in the Womb, which may possibly be meant by Spirit.*" Such a reading would have appealed to Mather, who developed his own theory of a divine life force (which he termed *Nishmath-Chajm*, "the breath of life") in conversation with, among others, the French physician Jean Fernel (1497–1558), the Cambridge Platonist and Kabbalist Ralph Cudworth (1617–1688), the father of Lutheran Pietism Johann Arndt (1555–1621), and especially the Paracelsian physician and chemist Jan Baptista van Helmont (1579–1644). On this, see Grainger, "Vital Nature and Vital Piety."

⁴¹⁰ Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 407.

⁴¹¹ Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 408.

⁴¹² "He must be seen who does not see you. He must be sought for who is ashamed to be seen. He also that is in prison must come to your thoughts; another seized with sickness must present himself to your mind, as he cannot reach your ears." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 408), Mather cites Ambrose, *De officiis ministrorum*, lib. 2, cap. 16 [PL 16. 124; CCSL 15]; transl. modified from *NPNFii* (10:55).

Q. A Remark yett further on, *The Growth of the Bones, in the Womb?* v. 5.

A. That Illustrious Philosopher, Dr. Nieuwentyt, in his *Contemplations*, takes many Occasions, to adore the Knowledge & Wisdome of the Holy Spirit, who dictated the Scriptures; inasmuch as tis find, when they are examin'd that the *Modern Discoveries* in Philosophy, are strangely countenanced in them.⁴¹³

One of his Remarks, is, That the Diligence of Anatomists has discovered many things, in the *Bones of Children before their Birth*, and plainly shewn in several Cases, the Difference there is, between those of a Newborn, and of a Person in Years; yett it is still unknown, of what Matter they are composed at the Beginning, and afterwards in their Changes, till they have acquired their Solidity, and true Nature; and particularly, what were the Real Causes of the Whole.

He glorifies hereupon, the *Adorable Spirit of GOD*, with which the Writers of the Scripture were endowed, when He uses this Instance to prove the Narrowness | of our Knowledge.

Without going to the Enquiries of *Malpighi*, our Incomparable Philosopher, sais, the Observations we have hitherto made, experimentally confirm these Words of *Solomon*; when we see the great *Harvey*, in his Treatise on the Subject, thus expressing himself.

"In the first Months, some of the Bones are soft, others cartilaginous; The Arms so short, that when laid upon the Breast, the Fingers cannot touch each other; nor can the Legs, tho' folded on the Belly, scarce reach unto the Navel: And this comes from hence, that the whole Fruit has hardly the Length of the Nail of ones Finger, till it comes to be about as big as a Frog, or a Mouse. At first, there are formed Little Fibres, or Threeds, of the Consistency of Slime; which are afterwards Nervous, then Cartilaginous, and finally of the Hardness of a Bone. In the second Month, the Embrio is very big in its Head, & very short in its Legs; and the whole Matter so soft and inconsistent that it can hardly bear Touching with the Hands: and in order to be examined, must be laid in Water, nor is there any Solidity in the Bones."⁴¹⁴

⁴¹³ This entry is derived from the work of the Dutch philosopher, physician, and theologian Bernard Nieuwentyt (Nieuwentijdt, 1654–1718), *The religious Philosopher, or the right Use of Contemplating the Works of the Creator* (transl. 1718–1719), vol. 1, sect. 10, pp. 206–07. A work of natural theology in many ways similar to Mather's own *The Christian Philosopher*, *The religious Philosopher* was popular among followers of the Christian Enlightenment throughout the Atlantic world, also because it specifically targeted Spinoza. The Dutch original appeared in 1715 under the title: *Het regt gebruik der werelt beschouwingen, ter overtuiging van ongodisten en ongelovigen*.

⁴¹⁴ From Nieuwentyt (*The religious Philosopher* 207), Mather refers to the work of the English physician, anatomist, and discoverer of the circulation of the blood William Harvey (1578–1657), *Anatomical Exercitationes concerning the Generation of living Creatures* (1653). The citation from Nieuwentyt seems to be a summary of two chapters, Exerc. 54 (pp. 304–17) and Exerc. 69 (pp. 419–32). Also a source in Mather's *The Christian Philosopher*, this work was originally publ. in Latin as *Exercitationes de generatione animalium* (1651). The anatomist and physician, Marcello Malpighi (1628–1694), is also mentioned, but not cited, in Nieuwentyt.

[31r]

Q. On *Remembering the Dayes of Darkness?* v. 8.

A. When *Samuel* had anointed *Saul* to be King, to confirm to him the Truth of the Joy, but also instruct him how to govern his Joy, he gave him this Token; *Thou shalt find two Men by Rachels Sepulchre*. He that finds in his Mind, a Remembrance of his Grave, will not easily be exorbitant in carnal Delights.⁴¹⁵

Eusebius Gallicanus has well given us, the Sense of the Matter. *Per Salutiferas gradimur Vias, quando anima damnatis Voluptatibus cogitat quòd sepositura sit Tabernaculum hujus Corporis.*⁴¹⁶

[31v]

Q. Why is it said unto the young Man, *Remove Sorrow from thine Heart, & putt away Evil from thy Flesh?* v. 10.

A. The LXX & *Vulgar Latin*, read it; *Take away Anger from thine Heart*. The Exposition *Lyra* gives of it, is; By *Anger* to understand, *Revenge*; *Quam solent Juvenes magis quærere quàm Senes, propter Caliditatem Naturæ*. By *Evil*, he understands *Luxury*.⁴¹⁷

But read it, *Indignation*, which is most agreeable to the Hebrew. Dr. *Jermyn* proposes to understand it, of an *Angry* fretting & chafing of the Heart against the *Day of Judgment*.

Or, that *Anger* that uses to be in the *Hearts* of young Men, when Reproved for their Miscarriages.⁴¹⁸

But *Munsters* Gloss upon the *Anger* here, is; *Qua irritas Deum.*⁴¹⁹

Q. An Expositor on that, *Childhood & Youth is Vanity?* v. 10.

A. Dr. *Owen* observes, That *Austins* first Book of *Confessions*, is an excellent Comment upon it.⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁵ Paraphrase of Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 414. Compare 1 Sam. 10:2.

⁴¹⁶ "Then do we go on the ways of safety, when the soul rejecting pleasures does rather think of that time, when it must lay aside the tabernacle of this body." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 414), Mather cites (Pseudo-)Eusebius Gallicanus, *Homiliae*, hom. 4 [CCSL 101:51]. Transl.: Jermin.

⁴¹⁷ "Of which young men are more desirous then old, by reason of the heat of their nature." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 420), Mather cites Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla*, at Eccles. 11:10. LXX: καὶ ἀπόστησον θυμὸν ἀπὸ καρδίας σου; VUL: "aufer iram a corde tuo."

⁴¹⁸ Paraphrase of Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 420.

⁴¹⁹ "By which you anger God." From Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4522). The Hebrew, נָאָץ [ka'as] "vexation, grief," is translated by the KJV as "sorrow"; LXX: θυμός [thumos] "anger, rage, fury"; VUL: *ira* "anger." Münster seems to make a play on words here, the anger angers God.

⁴²⁰ See the work of the famous English Nonconformist theologian and Oxford scholar John Owen (1616–1683), *Pneumatologia, or, A Discourse concerning the Holy Spirit* (1676), bk. 3, ch. 6 ("The manner of conversion explained in the instance of Augustine"), p. 289. In the first book of his *Confessiones*, Augustine describes his infancy, boyhood, and upbringing up to age 14. Among other themes, the converted Augustine, looking back at his childhood, emphasizes the

Q. I ask your *Illustrations* upon *Solomons* Description of *old Age*, or of our *evil Dayes*? v. 2.

A. You shall have them.⁴²¹ In that *Etas mala*, for even so *Plautus* could also call it.⁴²²

The Sun, & the Light, & the Moon, & the Stars, are darkned.

That the Illustrious Part of Man, the *Soul*, with all the bright Faculties of it, is miserably eclipsed when *old Age* comes upon him. *Clouds* of Ignorance, Prejudice, & Mistake, then impair the *Understanding*; the *Memory* becomes feeble & faithless; the *Imagination* growes conceited, and as the Philosopher expresses it, *suspicious of Evil*, but *lothe to Beleeve any Good*. And tho' they are thus liable to Misprisions, yett they are lothe to have them corrected.

*Vel quia nil rectum, nisi quod placuit sibi ducunt vel quia turpe putant parere Minoribus. Et quae Imberbes didicere, sense perdenda fateri.*⁴²³

Hence, *Diogenes* made it a Proverb *Νεκρον ιατρευειν, και γεροντα νουθετειν, ταυτον εστι*: *Tis the same to Cure a Dead Man, & Instruct an Old one.*⁴²⁴ The Reason hereof is partly, because their *Wills* also, are very strangely and sadly Distorted. If the powerful Grace of God prævent it not they are grievously froward & stubborn, & scarce any thing is acceptable to them except what they do themselves. And then, for their *Affections*, their *Selflove* prodigiously increases upon them; their Desire of Lengthening out their Lives is eager, and their Dot-

vanity and self-centeredness of these early years and his inability to even remember the many sins that he must have committed during this time.

⁴²¹ The following entry is derived from John Edwards, *A Discourse concerning the Authority, Stile, and Perfection of the Books of the Old and New Testament* (3 vols., 1693–1695), vol. 2, pp. 139–55. Edwards (1637–1716) was a Church of England clergyman and Calvinist apologist (sometimes called the Calvin of his age by his admirers) who wrote more than forty theological works, including such anti-rationalist apologetic works as *Some Thoughts concerning the several Causes and Occasions of Atheism* (1695), *Socinianism unmasked* (1696), *The Socinian Creed* (1697), and *A brief Vindication of the Fundamental Articles of the Christian Faith* (1697), as well as the influential 1713 *Theologia reformata* (ODNB). He was also a correspondent of Mather, who in a letter of 1712 complained to Edwards about the American activities of the SPG as a means of spreading High Church Anglicanism (*Selected Letters* 128–29).

⁴²² “Evil age.” Drawing upon the commentary of Edwards (*A Discourse* 2:139), Mather cites Plautus, *Menaechmi* (5.758).

⁴²³ “Either because they think nothing can be right save what has pleased themselves, or because they hold it a shame to yield to their juniors; and to confess in their old age that what they learned in beardless youth should be destroyed.” From Edwards (*A Discourse* 2:140), Mather cites Horace, *Epistles*, 2.1.83–84; transl.: *LCL* 194, pp. 403–05.

⁴²⁴ From Edwards (*A Discourse* 2:140), Mather cites the leading figure of pre-Socratic atomism, the “laughing Philosopher,” Democritus of Abdera (second half of the 5th cent. BCE), *Fragmenta* (302.7): *νεκρὸν ιατρεύειν καὶ γέροντα νουθετεῖν ταὐτὸν ἐστὶ*. Mather modifies Edwards’s transl. which reads: “To cure a Dead Man and instruct an old one, are the same.”

age on the things of this Life, extravagant. They must soon leave the World, and yett they can't endure to hear of doing so, but hug it infinitely. As *Plutarch* speaks, κερδαίνοντες μόνον ου κοπιῶσι, tho' they are weary of all other things, they are not weary of *getting Money*; all their former Passions are swallowed up in Avarice.⁴²⁵ Thus tis, when *Religion* is not prædominant. Yea,

The Clouds Return after the Rain.

The *Soul* being overwhelmed with *Darkening Distempers*, which hinder it from Shining, these *cloudy Distempers* increase upon it, until the Sun bee all overspread. As there is a *Vicissitude* of Disorders on the *Bodies* of old Men, thus there is also a *Succession* of Maladies on their *Minds*.

But from the *Soul*, proceed now to the *Body*; for that this is now distinctly considered, may bee gathered from the introductory Words, of the Wise Man [v. 3. *In the Day when!*] which are no more afterwards repeated.

The Keepers of the House shall Tremble.

The Active *Hands* and *Arms*, are the *Keepers* of the *Body*, which for a thousand just Reasons, is here compared unto an House. These Nimble *Guards*, which on all Occasions officiously defend the Body, do, at the approach of old Age, by a paralytic *Trembling*, own their Inability to keep the Tabernacle any longer. They must now carry a *Staff*, not for a *Defence*, but for a *Support*; and as the Spanish Proverb has it, *They therewith Rap at the Door of Death*.

The strong Men shall bowe themselves.

The *strong Men*, are the *Legs* and *Thighs*, which are in the Scripture particularly celebrated for their *Strength*; & indeed *strong Men* do glory in them. These become *weak* with Age, and *Bend* and *Shrink*; scarce able to sustain themselves.

The Grinders cease, because they are few.

The *Teeth*, wherewith wee *grind* and chew our Meat, then fail us; yea, sometimes the *Toothless Jawes* of the Aged, show them to bee *Twice Children*.

Those that look out of the Windowes are darkened.

The *Windowes* of the House, are the *Sockets* where the *Eyes* are placed; thro' those bony Cavities, our *visive Powers* are exerted. But in Length of Years, the *visual Nerves* and *Spirits*, derived unto the *Eyes*, decay, the *Humours* dry up, the *Coats* wear out, the *Muscles* flag. *Geierus* fancies that they who *look out of the Windowes*, are those that use their *Spectacles*; but it cannot bee proved, that those Instruments were known & used in the Dayes of *Solomon*.⁴²⁶ Lett us, in our Dayes bee thankful for the Invention.

⁴²⁵ The full citation with context: "the only time when we do not grow weary is when we are making money." From Edwards (*A Discourse* 2:140), Mather cites Plutarch's essay *Whether an Old Man Should Engage in Public Affairs*, 1.783, in *Moralia* (LCL 321, p. 81). With diacritical marks: κερδαίνοντες μόνον οὐ κοπιῶμεν. Mather modifies Edwards's transl. which reads: "they are not wearied with getting gain."

⁴²⁶ From Edwards (*A Discourse* 2:145) Mather refers to Geier, *In Proverbia et Ecclesiasten Salomonis commentarius*, p. 452.

But the *House* of our *Body* hath a *Door*; and

The Doors shall bee shutt in the Streets.

[32v] The *Door*, the *double valved Door*, here is the *Mouth*; and the *Throat*, the *Wind-Pipe*, the *Lungs*, the *Stomach*, | and all those *Vessels* that are to lett in *Air* or *Food*, may come under this Denomination. These *Doors* are in the *Street*; that great Passage {thro'} the *Body*, which is like an *High-Way*, whereby there are other Passages, into several Parts of the *Body*. These *Doors* are *shutt*, when they are obstructed by *Age*, and clog'd with *Catarrhs*, or fail in their *Motions* or *Ferments*. Above all, the *Mouth* is the *Door*, which is but seldome now opened; because

The Sound of the Grinding is low.

Mastication fails; there is little Disposition to *Food* & little *Grist* brought unto the *Mill*. Hence

Hee shall Rise up at the Voice of the Bird.

The old Mans Appetite being now gone & his poor *Stomach*, nauseating all coarse Fare, & common & vulgar Sustenance, hee will yett bee desirous of some small *Bird* or Fowl; some Dainty, Pleasant Easie Bitt. The Word, *Tsippor*, here signifies the lesser, & pleasant Sort of *Birde*.⁴²⁷ At an Invitation to such a Morsel, hee cheerfully Rises up, to take a Bitt, that may bee grateful to an Aged & a Squeamish *Stomach*.

And all the Daughters of Music shall bee brought low.

The *Ears*, which were delighted in excellent Notes of *Music* are now become Incapable of those charming Delights. Old *Barzillais* Complaint is, *Can I hear any more, the Voice of singing Men, & singing Women?*⁴²⁸ The mærcurial Spirit of Youth, is exhausted in them, & in this Foggy Weather of expiring Age the *Quicksilver* so subsides in these old Weather-Glasses as never to Rise again. Yea, and the *Vessels* and *Organs*, that belong to the forming of the *Voice* also those, *Daughters of Singing*, are by Age disabled.

They shall bee Afraid of that which is High.

Aged Persons, dare not ascend any *High Place*. Yea, and when they tread on *low Ground*

Fears are in the Way.

They are *Afraid* of stumbling, thro' their enfeebled Feet, & unsteady Steps against the smallest Object before them. For which Cause they must have a *Staff*; and the Hebrew Masters therefore say, *Two are better than Three*; that is, the Feet of young Men, walk better than the Feet of old.

The Almond-tree flourisheth.

⁴²⁷ צִפּוֹר [tsippor] "bird." See Eccles. 12:4. At Ps. 102:7 the KJV 1611 and ESV translate it with "sparowe/sparrow."

⁴²⁸ Compare 1 Sam. 19:35. See the footnote on Mather's entry on Eccles. 12:7.

That is, *gray Hairs* appear; the Head growes white, like the Blossoms and Flowers, of the *Almond-Tree*, whose Fruit was called, *καρηνον*, or *The Head*, as *Athenæus* ha's informed us.⁴²⁹

The Grass-hopper is a Burden.

Some read it, *The Backbone itself is a Burden*. Others take it so; the Lightest Thing imaginable becomes Heavy. But, I think, I have a better Interpretation to offer you; you will find, the *Grasshopper* enumerated among the *clean Meats*, [Lev. 11.22.] and it was commonly eaten in those Days. Now, this *light Food* would ly heavy on the Stomach of the Aged; as little as the *Grasshopper* is, t'would bee too much for them to Digest.

Whence tis added here,

Desire shall Fail.

All other Inclinations, that were vigorous in their Juvenile Years, do now abate, & *That* unto *Food*, particularly.

When it comes to this, it won't bee long before the old Mans *Funeral*. But yett before That there are several Other evils to bee undergone.

The silver Cord, is not lengthened.

So tis in the Hebrew.⁴³⁰ That is, the *Threed of Life* begins now to bee cutt short. Or, which is a more sensible Exposition, The white *Spinal Marrow* decays, and the *Nerves* which are derived from it, wither, whereby the whole Body falls into a miserable Weakness. And, because the *Marrow* of the Backbone, is the *Cerebrum* extended, it is therefore fitly added.

The golden Bowl, is broken.

The yellow *Membranes*, in which the choice *Viscus* of the *Brain* is contained, and the *Brain* itself contained in this *Membrane*, the grand Laboratory of the Animal Spirits, this also shares in the Ruines of old Age. Whence, Pains of the Head, Giddiness, Drowsiness, Lethargies, & Apoplexies.

But the *vital* Parts, must feel a Wast as well as the *Animal*.

The Pitcher is broken at the Fountain.

The *Pitchers* are the *Veins* and *Arteries*, whose Office tis to carry Blood, both to & from the Heart, which is the *Fountain*. Thro' these Vessels, the Blood continually passes, beginning its Course, from the Right Cavity of the Heart, thro' the *Arterious Vein*, the Branches of which are dispersed thro' the whole Lungs and spined unto the Branches of the *Veiny Artery*, by which it passes from the Lungs into the Left Side of the Heart, and thence it flowes into the *Great Artery*, the branches of which, being spread thro' all the Body united unto those of the *Hollow Vein*, which carry the same Blood again, into the Right Ventricle of the Heart. These Vessels now become Disordered. Whence Faintings, Tremblings,

⁴²⁹ From Edwards (*A Discourse* 2:150), a reference to Athenæus, *Deipnosophistai*, 2.38.

⁴³⁰ KJV 1611: "Or euer the siluer corde be loosed . . ." עַד אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִרְחַק הַכֶּלֶב הַכֶּסֶף ESV: "before the silver cord is snapped." The reference here is to the etymological sense of the verb רָחַק [rachaq] "be(come) far, distant; be removed" (in the Piel form, "to send away"); see Eccles. 12:6.

Palpitations and all Distempers, which are the Product of an undue Sanguification. And then also,

The Wheel is broken at the Cistern.

It ha's been gathered, from hence, that the *Circulation of the Blood* (obstructed in old Age) was understood in the *Dayes of Solomon*.⁴³¹ But others quæstion That, as much as the Sailing of his Navy, to the East, or West *Indies*.⁴³² Besides, The *Left Ventricle* of the Heart which must then be the *Cistern* here, is a *Fountain* rather than a Cistern. By the *Cistern* therefore, I would rather understand, the *urinary Vessels*, especially, the *Bladder*. This is, without any Fanciful Strain, the *Cistern* of the Body; a Vessel scituated beneath, on Purpose to Receive & Retain the *Water*, that comes from the *Ureters*. And here, as in those Receptacles, in the Ground, the Water gathers a Sediment, & growes Turbid & Muddy, the direful Effects whereof, are well-known to Mankind. The *Wheel is broken at the Cistern* when the Vessels appointed for the Percolation of the Blood, & the Separation of the serous Humour from it, the Transmission of it thro' the emulgent Arteries, into the Ureters & thence carrying it unto the proper Vessel, the Cistern of the Bladder. *These* are putt out of Order. Whereupon come Ulcers, Inflammations, the Strangury, all Nephritic Distempers, a Suppression of Urine, or undue Evacuation of it. Note, in *Solomons Time*, the great Work of *Cisterns* was performed by *Wheels*. Behold, Solomons old Man! To this Purpose one Mr. Edward{s}.

[33r]

Q. In *old Age*, how are Men *Afraid of that which is on High?* v. 5.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* propounds, whether it may not be, of God; as being speedily to give unto Him an Account of their Lives.⁴³³

Q. How is it said, *The Almond-tree shall flourish?* v. 5.

⁴³¹ From Edwards (*A Discourse* 2:153), Mather here alludes to the work of the English physician John Smith (1630–1679), *Gērokomia basilikē: King Solomon's Portraiture of old Age* (1666), a commentary on Eccles. 12:1–6 that argues that verse 6 presupposes an understanding of the circulation of the blood, first fully described by William Harvey in *De motu cordis* in 1628 (ODNB).

⁴³² Interestingly enough, Edwards himself (*A Discourse* 2:153) much more strongly questions the argument that Solomon's saying here anticipates knowledge of the circulation of the blood, as much as he clearly expresses his skepticism about speculations about an earlier discovery of the Americas by Solomon's navy. These speculations hinged on the location of Ophir, Solomon's fabled gold mines (1 Kings 9:28, 2 Chron. 8:18). As his annotations elsewhere show (*BA* 1:716–18, 749–50), Mather did not take a firm position in this debate on the location of Ophir, but was ready to entertain the possibility that Solomon's fleet reached Africa or parts of either the East or West Indies. Likewise, Mather was not averse to assuming that parts of Scripture, by inspiration of the Holy Spirit, implied scientific knowledge that was only fully discovered and explained much later.

⁴³³ Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 434.

A. Dr. *Jermyn* observes, That the Word signifies, To *Despise* and *Reject*. The Sense of *Tasting* is Decay'd in old Age. The Fruit of the *Almond-tree* is much esteemed, where it growes, as being (according to *Pliny*) the First that is Ripe. Yett by old Age, it is *Despised* and *Rejected*.⁴³⁴

Q. Your late Exposition of that Clause, *The Grasshopper shall be a Burden*, may call for a little further Consideration? v. 5.

A. Take your Choice then; For I will now offer you the learned *Bocharts*.

He will have neither *Grasshopper* nor *Locust* concerned in the Word / חַגַב / *Chagab*.⁴³⁵ He quotes the *Chaldee* as translating it, *The Ankle-Bone*; there it runs, *et intumescunt Malleoli Pedum tuorum*.⁴³⁶ Nevertheless, he rather takes up, with what his *Arabians* have taught him; with whom, *Chagaba*, is *Caput Femoris*.⁴³⁷ The Top of the *Thighs*, called by Anatomists, Αμφικεφάλον, or the, *Anchæ super Inguina*, he supposes intended here.⁴³⁸ In plain English, *The Hip shall grow heavy*: Noting the Indisposition and Inability of the *old Man* to walk.

Q. What is the *Desire*, that fails? v. 5.

A. *Jerom* & the *Vulgar Latin*, according to the LXX, read it, *Capparis*; The Fruit of *Capers*.⁴³⁹ *Lyra* expounds it of the venereal Inclination, which, *eo quod Capparis est Herba quo Luxuria excitatur*.⁴⁴⁰ And the Jews here understand the *Desire*, to be the *Lust of the Flesh*. But *Estius* would not have the Extinction of this to be reckoned among the Calamities of old Age; *Quod multi boni et Castitatis Studiosi etiam in Juventute exoptant*.⁴⁴¹ Yea, *Tully* himself reckons this among the Commodities of old Age: *Quod hominem à Libidinis astu, veluti à Tyranno quodam liberet*.⁴⁴² We may rather understand it of the Appetite for *Feeding*, which is provoked by *Capers*.

434 Paraphrase of Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 434. Reference is made to *Pliny*, *Natural History*, 16.42.104.

435 חַגַב [chagab] "grasshopper or locust." Also used metaphorically for hip, penis, or knuckles. This entry is derived from Bochart, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 2, lib. 4, cap. 8, p. 494.

436 "And the malleoli of your feet will swell." The malleoli are the two protuberances on either side of the ankle. From Bochart Mather refers to the Latin transl. of the Targum at Eccles. 12:5. Compare Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:426). See *The Targum of Qohelet* at this verse.

437 "Head of thigh bone."

438 "Upper thighs above the groin."

439 Paraphrase of Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 435. LXX: ἡ κάππαρις.

440 "Because Capparis is a plant by which lust is stirred up." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 435), Mather cites Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla*, at Eccles. 12:5. Transl.: Jermin.

441 "Which many that are virtuous and lovers of chastity, do in their youth wish for." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 435), Mather cites the Dutch Catholic exegete Willem Hessels van Est (*Estius*, 1542–1613), *In librum Ecclesiastae* ([1617] 1665), cap. 12, p. 273. Jermin's transl. slightly modified.

442 "That it frees man from the fire of lust, as it were from a certain tyrant." From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 435), Mather cites Van Est, *In librum Ecclesiastae*, cap. 12, p. 273. Jermin's transl. slightly modified. Reference is made to Cicero, *Cato Maior de senectute* (12.39–41).

Q. Entertain us, if you please, with a poetical Illustration, on, *Remember thy Creator?* v. 1.–7.

A. What can be more charming than the Lines of Mr. *Watts*, who in his *Lyric Poems*, ha's all along admirably elixirated his Poetry, with excelling Piety?

Children, To your Creator GOD
Your early Honours pay,
While Vanity and youthful Blood
Would tempt your Thoughts astray.

The Memory of His mighty Name
Demands your First Regard;
Nor dare indulge a meaner Flame
Till you have lov'd the Lord.

Be wise, and make His Favour sure,
Before the mournful Days,
When Youth and Mirth are known no more,
And Life and Strength decays.

No more the Blessings of a Feast
Shall relish on the Tongue;
The Heavy Ear forgets the Taste
And Pleasure of a Song.

Old Age with all her dismal Pain
Invades your golden Years,
With Sighs, and Groans, and raging Pain,
And Death that never spares.

What will you do when Light departs,
And leaves your withering Eyes,
Without one Beam to chear your Hearts
From the superior Skies?

How will you meet Gods frowning Brow,
Or stand before His Seat,
While Natures old Supporters bow,
Nor bear their tott'ring Weight?

Can you expect your feeble Arms
Shall make a strong Defence,

When Death with terrible Alarms
Summons the Pris'ner hence?

The silver Bands of Nature burst,
And lett the Building fall;
The Flesh goes down to mix with Dust,
Its vile Original.

Laden with Guilt, (a heavy Load)
Uncleans'd and unforgiv'n,
The Soul returns t'an angry God,
To be shutt out from Heav'n.⁴⁴³

[▽Insert from 34r]⁴⁴⁴

[▽34r]

Q. Lett us look back on some Articles in the *old Mans Picture*; with some further Illustrations upon them? v. 7.

A. *The Doors shall be shutt in the Streets, when the Sound of the Grinding is low.* The LXX suggest a Sense of this Passage, which in the Opinion of Dr. Patrick is unexceptionable. Tis, That they *are shutt out of all publick Meetings, because of the Lowness of their Voice, which formerly was as loud as a Mill.*⁴⁴⁵

The Daughters of Musick shall be brought low. It may be rendred, *The Daughters of a Song*, that is to say, singing Women, *are not valued at all*, by old Men. See old Barzillai's Confession; 2. Sam. XIX.35. Which Hierom thinks, may very well explain this.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴³ Mather here includes a scriptural poem entitled "Remember Your Creator" (on Eccles. 12:1–7) by the English Dissenting minister and father of evangelical hymnody Isaac Watts (1674–1748) from the second edition of his *Horæ lyricæ. Poems chiefly of the lyric Kind* ([1706] 1709), p. 43. See *Works* (4:432). A great admirer of Watt's poetical talents, Mather corresponded and exchanged literature with him, and promoted his lyrical poems and hymns in America. Mather included pieces from both the *Horæ lyricæ* and the more famous *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (first ed. 1707) in a number of his printed sermons for purposes of private devotion, and also incorporated some of Watts's renditions of the Psalms into his extensive commentary on that portion of Scripture (see BA 4). This particular poem also appears in the appendix to Mather's *The Wayes and Joyes of Early Piety* (1712). In the so-called regular singing controversy of the 1720s, Mather advocated hymn singing (as a supplement to the mere "lining out" of Psalms) as part of regular worship. See Christopher N. Phillips, "Cotton Mather Brings Isaac Watt's Hymns to America" (2012).

⁴⁴⁴ See Appendix B.

⁴⁴⁵ From Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 214. *NETS* supplies: "and they will lock the doors in the market, because of the weakness of the sound of the woman who grinds."

⁴⁴⁶ Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 217. Reference is made to Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 12 [PL 23. 1109–10; *CCSL* 72]. Jerome refers to the story of the 80-year old Barzillai in 2 Sam. 19:32–41, who describes to David how his advanced age makes him incapable of enjoying the good things of life in order to convince the king to leave him behind in his home place instead of urging him to follow him to Jerusalem.

The Spirit shall return to God. The Chaldee Paraphrase, is very apposite. *It shall return, that it may stand in Judgment before God.* For, *Elohim*, the Word used here for, *God*, signifies, *A Judge*.⁴⁴⁷

There is a Sentence not much unlike to this, in *Plutarch's* consolatory Discourse to *Apollonius*, on the Death of his Son; where he alledges this Saying of, *Epicharmus*. Συνεκρίθη και διηκριθη, και απηλθεν οθεν ηλθε παλιν, γα μεν εις γαν, πνευμα δ' ανω. *He is gone whence he came; the Earth to the Earth, & the Spirit upwards*.⁴⁴⁸

On that of, *The Sun and the Moon darkened, & the Clouds returning after the Rain*, the Gloss which *Munster* gives us, is; *Destituuntur Oculi Luce Stellarum, et videtur eis post Pluviam, Cælum serenum, Nubibus obductum*.⁴⁴⁹

The *Desire*, which now *fails*, *Kimchi*, will have to be, the, *Confœderatio Corporis et Animæ*.⁴⁵⁰

[△] [△Insert ends]

[33v]

Q. On the *Dust returning to the Earth*, and the *Spirit returning to God*? v. 7.

A. The Words of the Blessed *Arndt*, in his, *Verus Christianismus*, are of a very deep & vast Importance, and worthy to be transcribed & pondered on this Occasion.

Hoc fine in Mundo versamur, ut per Mortificationem propriæ Voluntatis, perque abnegationem Mundi et Creaturarum, in Deum redeamus, cum illo reconciliemur, et sicut Corpus Terræ, ita Anima Divinitatis Abyssu et Origini suæ iterum inseratur. Hic Reditus, si in Tempore negligatur, æternum miser manebis. Quia cum quo hic gavisus fueris, aut contristatus, cum eodem judicaberis.⁴⁵¹

447 Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 227. Compare the Latin transl. of the Targum at Eccles. 12:7 in Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:426), which reads: "Spiritus animæ tuæ redibit ut stet in judicio ante Dominu." See *The Targum of Qohelet* at this verse.

448 Full citation: "Excellently does Epicharmus put it: 'To be and not to be hath been his fate;' once more 'Gone is he whence he came, earth back to earth, The soul on high. What here is evil? Naught.'" From Patrick (*Ecclesiastes* 227), Mather cites from the *Letter of Condolence to Apollonius* (15.110) in Plutarch's *Moralia* (transl.: LCL 197, p. 151). With the diacritical marks (Mather's text differs slightly in spelling): συνεκρίθη και διεκρίθη και απήνηθεν οθεν ηλθε παλιν, γα μεν εις γαν, πνευμα δ' ανω.

449 "The eyes are abandoned by the light of the stars, and the clear sky after the rain appears to them overcast with clouds." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4527).

450 "Union of the body and soul." From Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4527), Mather cites the gloss of David Kimchi (Radak) at this verse.

451 "We are in the world for this end, that by the mortification of our own will, and the denial of the world and the creatures, we should return to God, and be reconciled to Him; and so as the body returns to the earth, so also the spirit would return again to the depths of divinity and its origin. If this return is neglected in time, you will remain forever miserable. For by that which you had joy, or were grieved, by the same shall you be judged." Mather cites Johann Arndt, *De vero Christianismo libri quatuor* (1708; publ. originally as *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum*, 1606–1610), vol. 2, lib. 3, cap. 8 ("Dei Vocationem sinceram esse & potentem,

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Q. What were the *Acceptable Words*, and the *Words of Truth*, written by *Solomon*? v. 10.

A. When that *Solomon* of the last Age, the Lord *Verulam*, composed the little Book of his *Essayes*, hee entitled it, *Sermones Fideles*; after the Manner of the Jewes, who called the Observations of wise Men, *Faithful Sayings*. But hee more particularly alluded, unto this Passage in *Ecclesiastes*, where, when the Preacher saies, Hee sought out, *Verba Delectabilia*, hee probably means, his Book of *Canticles*; but when hee speaks of his *Verba Fidelia*, tis likely, hee means his Collection of Proverbs. These hee calls, *Words of the Wise*, and so many *Goads* and *Nails* given, from *the same Shepherd*, of the Flock of *Israel*.⁴⁵²

Q. To what may be the Allusion, when tis said, *The Words of the Wise are as Goads & as Nails fastened by the Masters of the Assemblies, which are given out from one Shepherd*? v. 11.

A. One saies, It probably alludes to the long *Staves*, with a small Nail at the End of them, with which the *Overseers* of the *Assemblies* for *public Worship*, among the Jewes, used to prick such as Slept, or were Disorderly. They were given out from *one Shepherd*, that is, the *High-Priest*.

And so are the *Words of the Wise*, from our Saviour.⁴⁵³

& ducere ad se ipsum;" "Gottes Beruf ist herzlich und gründlich ..."), sec. 5, p. 252. Arndt is considered to be an important forerunner of German Lutheran Pietism. Among many other things, the Pietists appreciated Arndt emphasis on personal piety and the strain of mystical theology that runs through the *Vier Bücher*. Parts of Philipp J. Spener's pietist reform agenda, the *Pia Desideria*, were first published as an introduction to a 1675 edition of Johann Arndt's *Postilla*; the first independent edition appeared in 1676 (BBK).

Mather cites the Latin translation of the *Vier Bücher* produced by Anton Wilhelm Boehm (Böhme, 1673–1722), who was a student of August Hermann Francke and served as the Lutheran Pietist court preacher in London and chaplain to Prince George. Boehm also published an English edition of Arndt, which was consulted for the above translation: *Of true Christianity four books* (1712–1714), vol. 2, bk. 3, ch. 8 ("The Calling of God is sincere, and mighty to draw the Soul to Himself"), part 5, p. 350. Arndt refers to Matt. 7:2; see Obad. 1:15. Mather corresponded with Boehm, and, through him, also exchanged letters and literature with Halle. ⁴⁵² "Pleasant Words"; "Faithful sayings." This entry is derived from the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Tenison's (1636–1715) long introduction to the posthumous collection of Francis Bacon's writings: *Baconiana, or, certain genuine Remains of Sr. Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam* (1679), sec. 1, pp. 60–61. Reference is made to Bacon's moral and religious essays published as *Sermones fideles, sive interiora rerum* (1638).

⁴⁵³ This entry is derived from the work of the Church of England clergyman and activist for the SPCK and the Societies for the Reformation of Manners, Josiah Woodward (1660–1712), entitled *Fair Warnings to a careless World* (1707), cap. 1, pp. 1–2. Like Mather, Woodward was a prolific author of reforming tracts seeking to "dissuade his readers from swearing, drunkenness, 'Sodom's vices,' and 'worldly-mindedness'; he provided moral guidance to sailors, soldiers, the poor, and the young, and spiritual consolation to English captives enslaved abroad; he wrote catechisms and exhortations to sabbath observance" (ODNB).

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Q. Lett us again consider it. Who are meant by, *The Masters of Assemblies*, when *Solomon* speaks of, *Nails Fastened*, by them? v. 11.

A. The Phrase, / בְּעֵלֵי אֲסָפוֹת /⁴⁵⁴ which wee render, *Masters of Assemblies*, was of old used, for those great and long Iron *Spikes*, whereby *Doubled Planks*, were Bound one unto another, as uses to bee in Gates or Doors of a considerable Figure.

Dr. *Hyde* therefore, complaining of our Translation, as not Intelligible, chooses to render it, *As Nails fixed, which are Binders*; or, which might bee added in the Margin, *As great Binding Nails*.⁴⁵⁵

Dr. *Patrick* proposes, whether by, *Masters of Assemblies*, may not be understood, *Authors of Collections*. Thus *Julius Caesar* gathered a Book of Apophthegms, in which he registered the wise and grave Sayings of other Men.⁴⁵⁶

Take *Jeroms* Criticism on, *The Words of the Wise as Goads*. *Dicuntur Verba Sapientum pungere, non palpare, – Errantibus, et Tardis Pœnitentiæ Dolores et Vulnus infigere. Si cujus Sermo non pungit, sed Oblectationem facit audientibus iste non est Sermo Sapientis*.⁴⁵⁷

Q. Some will yett again ask, unto what may *Solomon* allude, when hee speaks of, *Nails fastned by the Masters of Assemblies*? v. 11.

A. Wee read concerning *Solomons* Temple in 2. Chron. 3.9. *The Weight of the Nails was fifty Shekels of Gold*; and *Ribera* will have each of those *Nails* to weigh fifty Shekels apiece. Now why may not *Solomon* have these Illustratrious *Nails* in his Ey, when hee compared his Inspired Words unto *Fastned Nails*?⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁴ בְּעֵלֵי אֲסָפוֹת [ba'alei asuppoth] "masters of assemblies" (KJV) "masters of these collections" (NAU).

⁴⁵⁵ This entry is derived from a marginal annotation in the work of the English orientalist Thomas Hyde (1636–1703), *Itinera mundi, sic dicta nempe Cosmographia*, p. 94. This book was a Latin edition of the work of cosmography, geography, and history by the Italian Jewish scholar Abraham Peritsol (Farissol, 1451–c. 1525) compiled around 1525 and first publ. in Hebrew in 1585 as *Iggeret orehot 'olam* (JE).

⁴⁵⁶ From Patrick, *Ecclesiastes*, pp. 229–30. That Caesar, among other lost works, left such a "Collection of Apophthegms" unpublished at his death is mentioned by Suetonius in his *Life of Julius Caesar* (56.7).

⁴⁵⁷ "The words of the wise are said to prick, not to stroke, – to inflict pain and injury on the wandering and the slow to repent. If a man's talk does not prick, but brings delight to the hearers, it is not the talk of a wise man." Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, cap. 12 [PL 23. 1113; CCSL 72]. The citation is found in exactly this form in Thomas of Ireland (Thomas Hibernicus, c. 1270–c. 1340), *Manipulus florum* or *Flores doctorum* ([manuscript written c. 1306; first print ed. 1483]; 1678), "Praedicatio, nr. 13," p. 255. A version of this work (*Flores doctorum*) was listed in the early eighteenth-century Harvard library catalogue. The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁴⁵⁸ Derived from the commentary of the Spanish Jesuit exegete and premillennialist Francisco de Ribera (1537–1591) in his work *De templo et de iis quae ad templum pertinent* (1592), lib. 1, cap. 22, pp. 55–56.

Q. Dos not *Solomon* putt the affectation of Writing & Reading *many Books* upon the file of his observed *Vanities*, when hee sais *of making many Books there is no End?* v. 12.

A. Surely, Hee do's not now Blot the *Books* which himself had *written*, or discourage others from *writing* any more. But, having Read his Son a *Lecture*, upon the *Vanity of the Creature*, and given him excellent Advice how to steer his Course thro' a vain World hee thus applies all; *And further, my Son, by these bee Admonished*; that is; lett what is already written prevail with thee. "Lett not *this Book*, which is *written*, upon the *Vanity of all worldly Things*, bee accounted *vain*. If this *Book* do not unto thee the Good which I intended, it will bee to *No End* for mee, to make *many* more such *Books*. *This Book* ha's as much of Perfection, of Argument of Authority, as you can expect in any. And why, my Son, shouldest thou putt mee, unto the *Making of many Books*? What if I could make *many*, with as much *Ease to my own Spirit*, as this one, which was given in to mee, by *Immediate Inspiration*? Yett thou canst not Read *many Books* without *wearying to the Flesh*."

Q. But resume the Consideration of the Words? v. 12.

A. Dr. *Edwards* takes this to be the Meaning of *Solomons* Advice. *By these, my Son, be admonished of making many Books*; namely to promote Religion and Godliness. He declares, how he had improved his own Talents this Way, & he directed others whom God has Talented for this Purpose (tho' they should not be inspired as he was) to follow his Example; to instruct others, not only with their *Lips*, but also with their *Pens*; to compose *many Books*, & as it were *without End*; and not give over too soon, but persevere in so good an Undertaking, tho' it be very laborious, tho' *much Study is a Weariness of the Flesh*.⁴⁵⁹

[the entries from 34r were inserted into their designated places]⁴⁶⁰

| [blank]

[34v]

|

[35r]

Q. Religion, in what regard called, *The Whole of Man?* v. 13.

A. The Original is, *This is every Man*.

Some so make it up: *Hoc*, that is, *Ad hoc*. Man was made for this End, & for this End should live.

⁴⁵⁹ Mather presumably refers to John Edwards, whose *Discourse* he cites above. However, this reference could not be identified either in Edwards's commentary on Eccles. (*A Discourse* 2:139–155), nor in the other works by Edwards that make a frequent appearance in the "Biblia."

⁴⁶⁰ See Appendix B.

Others thus. *Hoc*, that is, *Per hoc*. This is that which makes a *Man* to be a *Man*.⁴⁶¹

Lyra reads it, *Hoc est Totus sive Perfectus Homo*.⁴⁶²

Q. Why is it said, *God shall bring into Judgment?* v. 14.

A. An Intimation that guilty Man is *lothe to come* into Judgment.⁴⁶³

God coming to *Judgment*, has, *A Sickle in His Hand*. A compassing Instrument, that gathers in every thing.⁴⁶⁴

[35v] | [blank]

⁴⁶¹ Paraphrase of Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, pp. 454–55.

⁴⁶² “This is the whole or perfect man.” From Jermin (*Ecclesiastes* 455), Mather cites Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla*, at Eccles. 12:13.

⁴⁶³ From Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 455.

⁴⁶⁴ From Jermin, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 456.

Q. What is the true Title and Subject of the *Canticles*?

A. Wee have it, *The Song of Songs, which is Solomons*. But you may note, that the Particle אֲשֶׁר,² that wee translate, *which*, is often a causative Particle; as in Isa. 53.12. and in an hundred Places more.³ Wherefore some have thought, it would bee good Sense to read the Words, *A Song of Songs, Because of Solomon*: q. d. A Transcendent *Song*, because exhibiting the most Invisible Beauties, and Concerns, of the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the true *Solomon*.⁴

Lett that bee as you please. However the Jewes compare the Three Books of *Solomon*, to the Three Parts of the Temple Built by him; and the *Canticle* is likened unto the *Holy of Holies*, within the Veil, wherein all things were full of Mystery, Reverence, and Religion. Tis a *Pastoral*, and a *Nuptial Song*; and if wee make that Enquiry, *I pray thee, of whom speaks the Prophet this? Of himself; or of some other*:⁵ Truly, It cannot bee said of *Solomon*, that hee was a proper *Shepherd*, or that hee was any where shutt out of Doors, till his *Head was wet with the Dew*. Nor can it bee said, about the Queen of *Solomon*, that shee was a Rural, Busy, *Shepherdess*, or, that having lost her *Bridegroom* shee was beaten by *Watchmen*, that found her seeking of him. The Opinion that this was a *Love-Song*, made upon the Too Exceptionable Wedding between *Dauids Son*, & *Pharaohs Daughter*, is mee think to be confuted, by the Mention, which the Song makes about, *The Tower of Lebanon*, that was not built, as they say, until more than Twenty Years afterward. It is therefore evident, That *A Greater than Solomon is here*; ⁶ our Lord and His Church, are the *Lovers*, whose Interviews, are here described unto us. The Wise Man, some think, in his old Age bitterly Repenting, of the *Impure Loves* which his younger Years had been Defiled withal, do's now write of a more Divine & Sacred Love.⁷

¹ See Appendix B.

² אֲשֶׁר [asher] "who, which," the Hebrew relative particle.

³ See, for instance, Ps. 83:12.

⁴ Derived from the work of the English minister at Ramsgate, Kent, Samuel Pack (fl. 1670–1690), *An Exposition upon the first Chapter of the Song of Songs handled by way of Question and Answer for the Information of the weakest Understanding* (1691), p. 2.

⁵ See Acts 8:34.

⁶ See Matt. 12:42; Luke 11:31.

⁷ A number of works suggest themselves as sources for this introductory paragraph, each containing several (but none containing all) of the arguments rehearsed by Mather: the *Prolegomena* in Cornelius à Lapide, *Commentarius in Cantica Canticorum* ([1637] 1717), unpaginated; the introduction to Canticles in Matthew Poole, *Annotations upon the Holy Bible*, vol. 1 (1683); the work by Thomas Manton, *Several Sermons preached on publick Occasions* (1688),

I will go on, and employ some of Dr. *Patrick's* Thoughts, for my Assistance in giving this Matter a just Illustration.⁸

No considerable Number of Men, among Jews or Christians, have doubted, of it, That this is an Holy Book; and that in it some Divine Matter is treated of. *Theodoret* remarks, that the few singular Persons who have made a Doubt of it, ought to have look'd on the Blessed Fathers, who placed this Song among the Sacred Writings, as Men of greater Judgment than themselves. It seems not hard to find it out.⁹

The great Prophet *David*, having plainly foretold, That a far more glorious King than his Son *Solomon*, should one day arise; as we read in the Song, he made at his Marriage: [Psal. XLV.] And having more expressly prophesied, of His Divinity, and Royal, and Priestly Character and Majesty; [Psal. CX.] And, having resumed this Argument, just before his Death, when he caused his Son *Solomon* to be crown'd, and sitt upon his Throne: [Psal. LXXII.] Hereupon were excited the longing Desires of *Solomon*, after the Coming of this most Illustrious Prince. And this made him study to have as clear a Sight of Him, while He was yett afar off, as was possible to be attained. That he might excite & inflame the same Desires in his whole Nation after the Appearing of this Prince, he cast his

"A Sacrament Sermon," p. 83, in *A third Volume of Sermons*. Of course, the characterization of Canticles as "holy of holies" and the notion of Salomon's writing this book in his old age are already found in different rabbinical writings. Compare the authors in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Song of Songs*, pp. 1–5, on Cant. 1:1.

⁸ The following introduction is derived from the unpaginated preface to the second part of Simon Patrick, *A Paraphrase upon the Books of Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon with Arguments to each Chapter, and Annotations thereupon* ([1685] 1700). The two parts of Patrick's commentary are separately paginated. The second section of Patrick's commentary (hereafter *Song*) is the main source for Mather's first commentary on the Song of Solomon. Beginning with "I will go on" on 1r, the following paragraphs are written in different ink, suggesting a later addition to the existing entry.

⁹ Patrick, *Song*, pref., sec. 1. From Patrick Mather refers to the *Praefatio* of Theodoret of Cyrus, *Explanatio in Canticum Canticorum* [PG 81. 27–214, here 29–30]; transl.: *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, p. 22: "We therefore thought it necessary in the beginning of the commentary to take issue with this former interpretation, which is falsified and harmful, and then thus to render the purpose of the writing clear. They should have acknowledged, therefore, that the blessed fathers, who ranked this book with the divine Scriptures, included it in the canon as being spiritual, and judged it to be befitting the church, happen to be much wiser and more spiritual than they. After all, had they formed a different opinion, they would, on the basis of its licentiousness and eroticism, not have listed it with the Holy Scriptures." Theodoret's commentary on Canticles (written around 431), like his biblical hermeneutics more generally, defies easy classification. It moves between the kind of allegorical interpretations favored by the School of Alexandria and a more literalist interpretation favored by the School of Antioch, applying an array of exegetical methods to the OT texts, including historical readings, direct prophecy, and typology. Reference is made to debates in the early church over the inclusion of Canticles into the canon, as some literalist interpreters such as Theodore of Mopsuestia (ca. 350–428) decried the text as unfit for Christian Scripture on account of its sexual content. After that, the allegorical-christological approach established by the highly influential commentaries of Origen and Jerome held sway in the church for more than a thousand years.

Meditations into a *Song*, in the form of a *Pastoral Eclog*; which may indeed be called, a *Dramatic Poem*. Gregory Nazianzen calls it so; quoting a Passage; ἐκ τοῦ νυμφικοῦ δράματος τε καὶ ἄσματος. *Out of this Bridal Drama and Song*.¹⁰ The Shifting of Persons in it, according to the Greek Notion of a *Drama*, renders it so.

It need not seem strange to any one, that *Messiah the Prince*, is compared unto a *Bridegroom*, and His Church unto a *Bride*; who does but reflect on the XLV Psalm; and but observe how *Solomon* doth only follow the Metaphor, wherein his Father *David* had represented this Mystery; and observe withal, the common Language of the Prophets, who speak of the *Virgin Daughter of Zion*, whom God has espoused unto Himself.¹¹

We may add, That the profoundest of the Hebrew Divines, had such a Notion as this among them; *That sensible things are but an Imitation of things above*. And, that for Instance; There was an original Pattern of that Love and Union, which is between a Man and his Wife, here in this World. This they expressed by the Kindness of *Tipheret* unto *Malcuth*; which are the Names they give unto the Invisible *Bridegroom* and *Bride* in the upper World. This *Tipheret* [or, Beauty,] they call also by the Name of, the *Adam on high*, and the *great Adam*; in Opposition to the earthly & little *Adam* here below. This *Malcuth* [or, Kingdome,] they also call by the Name of *Cheneseth Israel*, or, *The Congregation of Israel*; who is united, they say, unto the *Celestial Adam*, as *Eve* was to the *Terrestrial*. *Tipheret* they likewise call, the *Sun*, and *Malcuth*, the *Moon*; the

¹⁰ From Patrick, *Song*, pref., sec. 2. Patrick provided a transl. With diacritical marks: ἐκ τοῦ νυμφικοῦ δράματος τε καὶ ἄσματος. Reference is made to one of the 45 *Orationes* by Gregory of Nazianzus. Modern editions place this citation not in *Oratio* 31, as Patrick does, but in *Oratio* 37, *In dictum Evangelii* [PG 36. 295; SC 318].

¹¹ See Patrick, *Song*, pref., sec. 3. With Patrick Mather here insists on the priority of the *sensus allegoricus*. If Canticles used the form of a nuptial song, speaking of bridegroom, bride, and their erotic love, this language had to be understood as exclusively metaphorical, i. e., as an extended metaphor or allegory that had no immediate historical reference but was used by Solomon to signify the spiritual relation between Christ, the messiah, on the one hand, and the individual soul and the church, on the other. In their insistence on the priority of the *sensus allegoricus*, Patrick and Mather were arguing against a number of ancient interpreters (both Jewish and Christian) who had understood the spousal imagery of Canticles as being more than just metaphorical and therefore challenged the sacredness of the text. Primarily, however, they were arguing against the more recent literalist interpretations by the Genevan humanist scholar Sebastian Castellio (Castalio; Chatillon; 1515–1563) and especially Hugo Grotius. In his commentary on Canticles in the *Annotationes ad Vetus Testamentum* (also included in Pearson's *Critici Sacri*), Grotius did not completely dismiss the long tradition of allegorizing and thereby spiritualizing Canticles. However, he regarded the *sensus allegoricus* as secondary, in the sense that the text originally had not been intended to be read that way, as it had been composed as a dialogic love song at the occasion of Solomon's wedding. The most that Grotius was willing to concede was that Solomon had composed this song with such artifice that it could be read without too much twisting of words as also expressing God's love for the people of Israel. This spiritualizing tradition, so Grotius, was then adopted by Christian interpreters in typological terms. See Grotius's remark in *Critici Sacri* (4:4543.)

former they make a more *Active*, the latter a more *Passive*, Principle.¹² In sum,
 [lv] They seem | to say the same, with our Apostle *Paul*, Eph. V.32.¹³

This, by the way, gives a plain Account, why *John* the Baptist, uses the Word *Christ*, and *Bridegroom*, as if they were in a Manner synonymous, & of the same importance. [Joh. III.28, 29.] And why our Saviour compares the affaires of His Heavenly Kingdome, (called by the People, Mar. XI.10. *The Kingdome of our Father David*,) unto a *Marriage*, or a *Marriage-Feast*, which a King made for his Son [Matth. XXII.2].¹⁴

12 From Patrick, Mather here again makes reference to several terms and concepts of the Kabbalah, as appropriated by early modern Christian interpreters. For the tradition of the Christian Kabbalah and Mather's interest in it, see the footnotes to his entry on Prov. 8:36. Patrick (and thus Mather) here summarizes a short treatise of Ralph Cudworth, *The Union of Christ and the Church in a Shadow* (1642). Based on the notion of a correspondence between macro- and microcosm, Cudworth proposes that "God having framed that excellent Plot of the Gospel, and therein contrived the Mystical union between Christ and the Church, delighted to draw some Shadowings and Adumbrations of it here below, and set the Seale of that Truth upon these Materiall things, that so it might print the same stamp and Idea, though upon baser matter; and thence arose the institution of Man and Wife here below . . ." (4). This basic proposition that "the Union between Man and Wife is a Type, whereof Christ and the Church is the Archetype" Cudworth then elaborates with the help of the kabbalistic system of emanations, the *sefirot*. In the cosmology of the Kabbalah, *tiferet* is the sixth of the *sefirot*, traditionally understood as reconciling the divine attributes of strict justice and law (*din* or *gevurah*) with those of pure love (*hesed*). In kabbalistic teaching, *malkuth* ("kingdom") or *shekinah* is the tenth and lowest *sefirah* that connects the divine realm with the earthly plane of man and is especially close to the suffering people of Israel. Its symbol is the bride which relates to the sphere of *tiferet*, symbolized by the bridegroom, in the way of receiving and giving form to divine emanations from above. While *malkuth* is understood to be female and has its correspondence in Eve in the created realm, the nine male *sefirot* are conceptualized as together forming a giant male figure, the *Adam Kadmon* ("original man"), or Adam "above," which reaches all the way from the Divine Unity to the lower realms of the created world, where it manifests itself in the creation of the earthly Adam (*Adam HaRishon*). According to kabbalistic tradition, the divine harmony of the world is disturbed when the cosmic forces of evil draw *malkuth* or *shekinah* away from her husband, sometimes the totality of the other nine *sefirot*, or, sometimes, specifically the sixth *sefirah*, *tiferet*. Inversely, many kabbalistic rituals aimed at the redemption of the *shekinah* from her exile and suffering through reuniting her with her husband. Christian Kabbalists, such as Cudworth, often identified *Adam Kadmon* with the divine Logos of the Trinity, and specifically associated the attributes of *tiferet* with the righteousness and mercy of Jesus Christ. Following Cudworth's platonizing interpretation, Patrick and Mather propose that in the divine realm of archetypes *tiferet* represents Christ the bridegroom, and *malkuth* the Church as his bride, while in the realm of the created order they are Adam and Eve, or man and woman. Just as man was meant for companionship with woman, originally created from his rib and finds fulfillment in their union, the Church was created from Christ and the progressive restoration of their union makes manifest His being in history, culminating in an eschatological wedding at His return. As Cudworth writes: "The meaning is, that as soone as Man was created, the Church did then flow out of Christ, and became distinct from him (whereas before it lay hid in him) yet so, as that Christ and it, that is, Tipheret and Milcuth, were united together againe, as Sponsus and Sponsa, whereof the Union of Adam and Eve by marriage was some Type and Shadow" (25).

13 See Patrick, *Song*, pref., sec. 4; compare Eph. 5:32: "This is a great mystery; but I speak concerning Christ and the church."

14 Patrick, *Song*, pref., sec. 4.

One Argument of this being a very Ancient Notion, is; That *Idolatry* and *False-Worship*, in the Church, is constantly expressed in the Scriptures, under the Notion of a spiritual *Fornication*; a *going a whoring from God*; whom therefore the Church was to look upon as her *Husband*. See Isa. LIV.5. LXII.4, 5. Jer. III.4, 20. XXI.32. Hos. II.2, 7.¹⁵

Nay, Those Words of *Adam*, Gen. II.23, 24. *This now is Bone of my Bone, and Flesh of my Flesh*, – our Apostle {takes}, as if spoken of *Christ*, & His Love to His Church. In the account of the Cabalists, these were not look'd on, as Two Distinct Senses; but the same Sense, different only as the *Matter* & the *Form* of the same thing.¹⁶

To this Purpose, *Archangelus Burgonovensis*, in his Preface to the Explication of some select Aphorisms of those Divines, gathered by *Mirandula*; who also observes, That as immediately after the Fabrick of the World was reared, *Matrimony* followed, as an Emblem of Gods Great Love, to those that should believe on Him; so this World shall end in *Marriage*.¹⁷ All the Mysteries of the Holy Scripture, are shutt up, with these Words in the *Revelation*, Rev. XIX.7. *Lett us be glad & Rejoice, for the Marriage of the Lamb is come, and his Wife has made herself ready*. If this be the Voice of the Heavenly Host, it agrees with what the Hebrew Doctors tell us, [In *Pirke Elieser*, Cap. 12.] concerning the Marriage of *Adam* and *Eve*; That the *Angels rejoiced at it, & with Music and Dancing attended upon the Wedding*.¹⁸

Probably *Solomon* wrote this Composure, soon after his being seated on the Throne, & while he had the Prophecy of his Father *David* fresh in his Mind, & was mightily affected with the Love of God unto himself. He was then likewise fill'd with Incomparable *Wisdom* from above; which brought the Queen of *Sheba* to discourse with him.¹⁹ At this time, the cælestial Gifts were newly

¹⁵ Patrick, *Song*, pref., sec. 5.

¹⁶ Patrick, *Song*, pref., sec. 5.

¹⁷ From Patrick, *Song*, pref., sec. 5, reference is made to the unpaginated preface to the collection of kabbalistic writings, *Cabalistarum selectiona, obscurioraque dogmata, a Ioanne Pico ex eorum commentationibus pridem excerpta, et ab Archangelo Burgonovensi* (1569), p. 91. The original compiler of this work was the great Renaissance humanist scholar and Hebraist Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. The count was one of the first promoters of a Christian Kabbalah, which he sought to integrate with elements of the scholastic tradition, Neoplatonism, and Hermeticism into a new philosophical theology. His activities ran afoul of the church and he had to flee temporarily to France. Arcangelo da Borgon(u)ovo (b. late 15th century) served as posthumous editor of Pico della Mirandola's kabbalistic work, and he also wrote an apology of the same with *Apologia fratris Archangelus Burgonovo [Burgonovensis] agri Placentini ...* (1564). Pico della Mirandola's *Cabalistarum selectiona* was also one of the main sources for Cudworth's *The Union of Christ and the Church in a Shadow* on which Patrick draws.

¹⁸ From Patrick (*Song*, pref., sec. 5), Mather cites the ninth-century commentary (midrash) of rabbinic Judaism on Genesis and Exodus, the *Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer* ([1544] 1644), cap. 12, pp. 27–28. Friedlander's transl. (pp. 88–89): “The angels were playing upon timbrels and dancing with pipes.”

¹⁹ Compare 1 Kings 10:1–13 and 2 Chron. 9:1–12.

poured into him;²⁰ which the Cabalists call, *The Unction of the Holy Ghost*, or, the *Sacred Name*, whereof they say, *Solomon* speaks, when here he saies, *Thy Name is as an Ointment poured forth*.

The Sense of the whole Book, seems so expressed by the Apostle *Paul*; who was not *Rude in Knowledge*, but mightily versed, as that Word *Knowledge* signifies, in the Mysteries of the Old Testament; 2. Cor. XI.2. *I have espoused you to one Husband; that I may present you, as a chaste Virgin, unto Christ*.

Theodoret zealously disputes against those, who look on the *Canticles*, as no better then a Description of the passionate Love of a Creature. He mentions a Number of the Fathers, who look on this Book, as a Divine Work. And adds, *Is it lawful to contemn these great Men, to follow private Opinions?* Having shewn, that the Old Testament abounds with Figurative Expressions; as, *Jerusalem* is there called *Lebanon*, & the Cedars are the Inhabitants; the King of *Babylon* is an Eagle; and a thousand more such Figures; he comes more closely to observe, That God addressing Himself to the Nation of the Jews, speaks to it as to a Woman, and uses the same Terms with *Solomon*. The Prophecies of *Ezekiel* are full of this. Yea, tis in all the Prophets. He concludes, The Apostles have taught us, who is the *Bridegroom*, and who is the *Spouse*.²¹

Joachim Langius in his, *Medicina Mentis*, gives this true and brief Account of what is designed by the Holy Spirit in the Book of *Canticles*.

*In Cantico, impuris Mentibus clauso, sanctas ac æternæ Sophiae nuptas Mentes describit, earumque secreta et suavissima cum Deo Commercia, pandit.*²²

²⁰ Derived from Patrick (*Song*, pref., sec. 7), who cites Arcangelo da Borgonuovo, *Apologia*, p. 107, on Cant. 1:3; and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Cabalistarum selectiona*, p. 1, where, however, the book of *Canticles* is not mentioned.

²¹ See Theodoret of Cyrus, *Explanatio in Canticum Canticorum, Praefatio* [PG 81. 29–34]. Transl. in *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, pp. 22–25: “Now, some commentators misrepresent the Song of Songs, believe it to be not a spiritual book, come up instead with some fanciful stories inferior even to babbling old wives’ tales, and dare to claim that Solomon the sage wrote it as a factual account of himself and the Pharaoh’s daughter. Others of the same ilk, on the other hand, portrayed Abishag the Shunammite as the bride instead of the Pharaoh’s daughter. Those of a more serious frame of mind, on the contrary, gave the name royal to the material, and saw the people referred to as the bride and the king as the groom. . . . Many of the ancients also commented on it; those afterwards who did not do so have adorned their own compositions with passages from it – not only Eusebius of Caesarea, Origen of Egypt, Cyprian of Carthage, who also wore the crown of martyrdom, and men more ancient than they and closer to the apostles, but also those after them who gained distinction in the churches. They knew the book to be spiritual – Basil the Great, who commented on the beginning of Proverbs, both Gregories, one boasting kinship with him, the other friendship, Diodore, the noble champion of piety, John, bedewing the whole world with the streams of his teaching to this very day, and – to put it in a nutshell and avoid length of discourse – all those after them.”

²² “In the *Song of Solomon*, which is inaccessible to impure souls, he describes souls which are holy and married unto eternal Wisdom and makes known their hidden and sweetest exchanges with God.” From Joachim Lange, *Medicina mentis*, § 11, p. 75.

One of the Ancients ha's a Remark, That the Reader of the *Canticles* had need employ Fervent Prayers for the *Eyes of a Dove*, that in the Reading of the Song he may have none but *spiritual Views*, & get beyond the Veil of the *Letter*, to discover the *Mysteries* contained in it.²³

²³ Several patristic and medieval exegetes interpret the dove's eyes as emblematic of the ability to recognize the spiritual sense in Canticles. Compare, for instance, Origen, *Homiliae in Canticum Canticorum*, lib. 3 [PG 13. 145; SC 376], and *Explicatio in Cantica Canticorum*, cap. 15 [PL 196. 450] by an unknown author, attributed by the PL to Richard of Saint Victor (1110–1173). The last three paragraphs of this entry were each written in different inks and probably added at different times.

Q. Is there anything observable, in the Manner of præfixing the Name of *Solomon*, to this, & his former Books? v. 1.

A. Behold, a gradual Diminution of *Titles* in them! First, in the Title of the *Proverbs*, hee is called, *The King of Israel*, a whole mighty Nation. Then, in the Title of *Ecclesiastes*, hee is called, *The King of Jerusalem*, which was but one Town. And now, hee is called only by his bare proper Name of, *Solomon*.²⁴

Doubtless, his Value for *Titles* of Honour, underwent the same Diminution, as Age came upon him: and other & various Reflections, you may presently make hereupon.

Thus, I remember, there was a Monarch in the former Age, who, when hee lay sick of his last Sickness, would not bee saluted by any *Titles*, but bee called only by his *Baptismal Name*.

Dr. *Patrick* ha's this good Thought upon it. "His *Titles* that had Respect only to his Temporal Estate, Greatness & Dignity, he wholly forgott; when he was rapt in Contemplation of that cælestial Prince, the Prince of Peace; in Comparison with whom all others are not worth the naming; & whose Character was best express'd by the Name of, *Solomon*, alone: He being the great *Peace-Maker*, and Reconciler of God and Man."²⁵

Q. In the *Canticles*, why are the first *Words*, those of the *Bride*, and not rather those of the *Bridegroom*? When *Eve* was first presented unto *Adam*, doubtless t'was *Hee* that first began the Discourse; and it is the most Natural and Usual Method in all Court-Ships, for the *Male* to make the *First Addresses*. Yea, tis thus in the mystical Interviews, between the Lord Jesus Christ, and His Church; tis *Hee* that still begins. How comes it then to pass, that in this Dialogue, the *first* Part is *Hers*? v. 2.

A. The Lord Jesus Christ had spoken before; tho' His *Words* are no further expressed, than as the whole Book of preceding Scriptures ha's expressed them. The *Words* uttered by the *Mouth* of the espoused Church here, are but the *Echo* of what the Lord Jesus Christ had first spoken unto Her *Heart*; Her *Soul* had first heard Him gloriously Speaking, Proposing, Demanding unto her before shee speaks to Him with her *Voice*.

Q. A Rabbinic Exposition of those *Words*, *The Kisses of His Mouth*? v. 2.

A. *Munster* quotes a Jewish Manuscript, which he had a little While in his hands, but so little that he could only take a Thought or two out of it. Here

²⁴ Patrick, *Song*, p. 8.

²⁵ Patrick, *Song*, p. 8.

particularly; *Oscula exponit, pro Allocutione Divina, et alio modo, pro Inspiratione Divina, qua Animam inspirat Corpori in hoc Mundo, atque post hanc Vitam, eandem iterum Corpori suscitato infundit.*²⁶

My *Arndt* ha's a good Thought; our God, *Ore suo*, hoc est in *Christo nos osculatus fuit.*²⁷

Q. *The Savour of thy good Ointments.* To what allusive? v. 3.

A. *Ointments* were much employ'd in the ancient Entertainments, as conducting both to Health & Pleasures. *Athenaeus* mentions a great Variety of them; He writes a Book on Purpose about it.²⁸

Dr. *Patrick* thinks, That *Solomon* alludes to the Words of his Father; Psal. XLV.8. & had an Eye to the glorious Offices of the *Messiah*; *Basil* observes, *A Dove* with *anointed Wings*, drew abundance after it.²⁹

1005:

Q. About the great Subject of the *Canticles* tis said, *Thy Name is as an Ointment poured forth.* What is that? v. 3.

A. As much as to say, *Thou* art the MESSIAH.³⁰

Munster will add: *Verbum Domini ex Scriptura Populis et Nationibus propositum, mirifico suo Odore trahit Animas ad Christum.*³¹

26 "He takes the kisses for the divine address and, in another manner, for the divine inspiration, by which He breathes the soul into the body in this world, and [by which] He pours the same [i.e., the soul] once again into the awakened body after this life." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4537). Münster probably cites the (*Agadat*) *Shir ha-Shirim Zuta* ("Midrash on Canticles"), a rather unknown medieval commentary, the manuscript of which Münster had borrowed from an acquaintance, as he tells the reader of his commentary. The manuscript was quoted by different later rabbinic authors, especially in *Yalkut Shimoni* ("Compilation of Simeon," first printed in Salonica, 1521), but never printed until 1896 (*JE*). Transl. of *Shir ha-Shirim Zuta* by Kosman in "Ancient Foundations of Rabbinic Homilies" (p. 117): "There were two kisses: one in this world, and one in the world to come. In this world: 'and he breathed into his nostrils the breath of life! (Gen. 2:7); the kiss for the world to come, as it is said: 'And I will put My spirit in you, and ye shall live' (Ezek. 37:14).

27 Citation in context: "My *Arndt* ha's a Good thought, our God, has kissed us with his mouth, that is in Christ." From Johannes Arndt, *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum* in the Latin transl. of Anton Wilhelm Boehm, *De vero Christianismo libri quatuor*, lib. 1, cap. 41, sec. 9, p. 258. In Boehm's English transl. of the work, *Of true Christianity four books*, the passage appears in lib. 1, cap. 41, § 12, p. 374.

28 From Patrick (*Song* 9), a reference to Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai* (2.45–46).

29 From Patrick (*Song* 10), Mather cites Basil the Great, *Epistolae*, epist. 10 [PG 32. 273]; see also the transl.: *NPNFii* (8:123–24).

30 The Hebrew is שָׁמֶן תִּרְיָק שְׁמֶךְךָ [shemen turaq shemekha] "your name is oil poured out." Mather alludes to the literal sense of "messiah." The word for messiah in Hebrew is מָשִׁיחַ [mashiach] "anointed one" (see Dan. 9:25–26), Μεσσίας in the New Testament (see John 1:41; 4:25).

31 "The Word of God, given forth from Scripture to the peoples and nations, draws the souls to Christ by its wondrous fragrance." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4537).

One makes this Remark, The Name JESUS is nothing else but CHRISTUS effusus.³²

Q. A Paraphrase upon that; *I am Black, but Comely, as the Tents of Kedar, as the Curtains of Solomon?* v. 5.

A. *Josephus de la Cerda* ha's gloss'd upon it, after this Manner.

*Tentoria Arabum, si è foris aspexeris, sordent è Situ, nigrent ab æstu, imbribusque tacta, multoque Pulvere sparsa, fædam Cutem Oculis objiciunt; ideò Corium Materia illis est, temporum flagellis accommoda; intus tamen placida Venustate arrident, picto Stromate variegata, auro texta, onusta Gemmis, opere polymito, Babylonico digito elaborata, ut si Pellem, Coriumque regyres, seu evolvas, locuples Pulchritudo, et splendens Opus perstringat Obtutum.*³³

But to carry on the Paraphrase, we will call in a much older Author than he: old *Willeramus*, the Bishop of *Marburgh*. He thus descants upon it.

*Fusca licet videar, ut Castra nigrantia Cedar,
Sum speciosa nimis, veluti Pellis Salomonis.
Fusca quidem Plagis, sed honore nitens Bonitatis.
Perfero grande Malum, natos inter Tenebrarum,
Attamen internæ Virtutis compta decore,
Pacifici veri Templum conabor haberi;
O vos Vicinæ cur sim tam fusca videte!
Ob nimium Solem pulchrum deperdo Colorem.
Gloria Virtutum pallet Fervore Malorum.
Dum premor à Pravis, nec sunt mihi Tempora Pacis.
At Decus interius Pressuris fit quoque majus.*³⁴

³² "Poured out Christ." This reading is found in different early modern Catholic commentators, who drew on a variety of patristic readings of this passage. See for example Michele Ghisleri, *Commentaria in Canticum Canticorum Salomonis* (1619), pp. 38–40; or the commentary of the Spanish Jesuit scholar Gaspar Sanctius (Gaspar Sánchez, 1553–1620), *In Canticum Canticorum Commentarii* (1616), p. 44, a work that Mather also mentions in his notebook as a source to be consulted. See also Cornelius à Lapide, *Commentarius in Canticum Canticorum*, pp. 14–16. Song 1:3: רִיק [rîq] "to make empty;" LXX: ἐκκενόω [ekkenoo] "to empty." See also Matt. 26:28; 20:28; Acts 2:17; Phil. 2:7. The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

³³ "If you look at them from the outside, the tents of the Arabs are dirty because of their location; they are dark from the heat, stained by the rain, covered in large amounts of dust and they display their filthy covering to the beholder. That is why they have leather as their outer material, which is suitable to bear the beatings of the weather. Yet inside they are pleasing and charming with elegance, as they are equipped with various colored rugs, woven of gold, laden with jewels, wrought with many threads and labored over by a Babylonian hand, so that if you turned around and rolled up their leather hide, rich beauty and a magnificent work would strike the eye." From the work of the Spanish Benedictine theologian José de La Cerda (Josephus de la Zerda, d. 1645), *Maria effigies revelatioque trinitatis et attributorum Dei* (1662), lib. 4, cap. 38, p. 90.

³⁴ "Although I appear dark, like fortifications of Cedar, / I am exceedingly beautiful just as the

[illeg.]

Q. How do you take those Words, *why should I bee as one that turneth aside, to the Flocks of thy Companions?* v. 7.

A. You know, They have commonly taken these, *Companions* of our Lord, for Hereticks; but, in my Opinion, catechresically enough. I should rather consider Godly and Faithful Pastors as these *Companions*. What if the Sentence bee Read thus? *I will bee like a Covering upon the Flocks of thy Companions?* The Hebrew Word עֲטִיָּה denotes a *glorious Covering*.³⁵ Wherefore wee may make this mystical Accommodation of it. If I have heretofore dishonoured the Gospel, I resolve that I will now by an Holy, Watchful, Fruitful Walk before God, Adorn it; & Endeavour there withal to shelter and comfort, such as may have been discouraged by my Ill Example.³⁶

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Q. That Clause, *O thou fairest among Women?* v. 7.

A. Take an Ingenious Gloss of *Bernard* upon it. *Pulchram, non omnimode quidem, sed pulchram Inter Mulieres docet; videlicet, cum Distinctione quatenus ex hoc amplius reprimatur et sciat quid desit sibi.*³⁷

curtains of Solomon. / Indeed, dark by stripes, but shining by the honor of goodness. / I bear great evil among the children of darkness, / yet adorned with the ornaments of inner virtue, / I will try to be regarded as the temple of the true peacemaker. / O you neighbors, see why I am so dark, / because of too much sun, I lose the beautiful color. / The glory of the virtues fades by the heat of evil. / As long as wickedness is heavy upon me, I have no times of peace. / Yet by the heaviness the inner splendor is made even greater.” From an unknown source Mather cites the medieval commentary *Expositio in Cantica Cantorum* of Williram, Abbot of Ebersberg. This translation draws upon the modern German edition (2004), pp. 12–15. There were a number of early modern editions, e.g., *Willeram Abbatis in Canticum Cantorum paraphrasis gemina* (1598), where the quote appears on p. 8. Williram, abbot from 1048 to 1085 in the Bavarian monastery of Ebersberg, wrote a commentary on the Song of Songs which drew upon patristic and contemporary sources. Composed sometime between 1059 and 1065, the text was originally divided into three columns: to the left was a summarizing and rhyming Latin prose hexameter; the Latin Vulgate was placed in the center; and to the right Williram added a prose explanation (*explanatio*) in a mixture of Early Middle High German and Latin in hexameters. Mather cites from the summarizing and rhyming Latin in the left column, and retains the hexameter breaks in his citation. The text is considered the first recorded German translation of a book of the Bible (*TRE*). Like patristic and medieval exegetes, Williram saw the Song of Songs as a dialog between Christ (the Bridegroom) and the Church (the Bride). Mather must have copied the misidentification of Willeram as “Bishop of Marburgh” from his intermediary source.

³⁵ עֲטִיָּה [atah] “enwrap, cover.” To the substantive use of this verb (“to wrap”) as referring to “one wrapping (a veil about her), i.e. a mourner; a harlot” (*BDB*).

³⁶ Derived from Samuel Pack, *An Exposition*, p. 8. The reading of “the companions” as heretics can already be found in Jerome, *Tractatus sive homiliae in Psalmos*, on Ps. 90 (Ps. 91) [*CCSL* 78; *FC* 48:160; *ACCS* 9:302].

³⁷ “He teaches that she is beautiful not in an absolute sense, but beautiful among women; that is, with a qualification in order to restrain her sufficiently and make her aware of her

Q. On that Speech, *Tell me, O thou whom my Soul loveth?* v. 7.

A. The Church, in the præceding Verse, gives an Account, how they came to Degenerate, & Lose their original Beauty: The False Prophets, & Prophetesses, in the Gentile World, led them to Idolatry; particularly to the Worship of the *Sun*, which was the most ancient of all, and spread as far as the Sun shines.

This Verse is the Voice of the Church longing to be acquainted with the Doctrine of our Saviour, which is compared unto *Food*, as His Disciples are unto *Sheep*; which the Shepherds in those hott Countreys would still at Noon lead unto the coolest Places they could find. *Solomon* represents here, all the Pious, as afraid also of wandring from the true *Shepherd*; & falling, like Sheep that go astray, into the hands of Strangers.³⁸ All these Metaphors are largely pursued by our Saviour in one of His Parables: [Joh. X.] as Comparisons familiarly known to His Disciples; who found them here used in this Holy Book.³⁹

But what a foolish, & even profane Whimper was that of the *Donatists*? The *Donatists* fancied the True Church to be found no where but among themselves. The Fathers urged them to shew how the Church that was universal came to be confined unto *Africa*. They urged this Text in the *Canticles* for it: *Indica, ubi pascas, ubi cubes in Meridie*. They took *Meridies* to be the southern Countrey of *Africa*.⁴⁰

Q. The *Spiknard?* v. 12.

A. It is observed by *Pliny*, that the most fragrant *Nard*, comes from the *Spikes*, a very small contemptible Shrub. It may well be look'd upon as an Emblem, of the sweet Odor of the Gospel; wherewith such mean Persons as the Apostles were of themselves, fill'd all the World, by their Preaching; together with the

deficiencies." Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum*, sermo 38 [PL 183. 976; *Opera* 2]; transl. modified from: *On the Song of Songs II*, p. 189. The quote also appears in Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana*, General Intro., part 3.

³⁸ Patrick, *Song*, p. 14.

³⁹ Patrick, *Song*, p. 14.

⁴⁰ Mather cites the Latin of the VUL at Cant. 1:6, "*Indica ... ubi pascas ubi cubes in meridie ne vagari incipiam per greges sodalium tuorum*," which translates: "Show ... where you eat, where you rest at midday." Reference is made to the Donatists who took their name from Donatus Magnus (d. 355). Donatism was a large Christian movement that flourished in North Africa from the early fourth to the early fifth century. The movement formed in the aftermath of the Diocletian persecutions in resistance to and rejection of the dominant ecclesial leadership at that time. The Donatists insisted that the sacraments were only effective within the visible and true church, and understood their community in exclusivist terms as that true church of the saints. In his writings against the Donatists, Augustine developed his universalist ecclesiology and his transsubjective theology of the sacraments (RGG). In his *Ad catholicos epistola contra Donatistas vulgo de unitate ecclesiae* [PL 43. 421–22] Augustine reports that the Donatists erroneously cited Cant. 1:6–7 in support of their exclusivist understanding of the church, translating *meridie* in geographic terms. The Donatist reading of this verse and Augustine's criticism of it is also discussed in à Lapide's *Commentarius in Canticum Canticorum*, pp. 28–29.

extraordinary Holiness of their Lives, which recommended their Preaching very much to all just Observers.⁴¹

R. *Judah*, in the Book *Zohar*, saies, when good Works are multiplied in the World, then the Congregation of *Israel*, [*Cheneseth Israel*, the same with *Malcuth*] exhales *good Odors*, being Blessed by that Holy King. The Scholiast expounds it: *she exhales sweet Odors to her Husband Tipheret*, & is most acceptable to Him; the Lower World being by this Means married unto the Higher.⁴²

Q. *Camphire?* v. 14.

A. Our *Camphire* was unknown to the Ancients; & growes not in Clusters, but is the Resinous Substance of a Tree in *Borneo* and *China*. In the Margin of our Bibles, tis better translated, *Cypress*. And this also, is not the Tree which bears that Name among us, but a far more Aromatic Plant in the East; which was a kind of *Ligustrum*, or *Alcharma*; by *Pliny* called, *Cyperus*, & sometimes *Cyprus*.⁴³ It produced a most sweet Bush of *Flowers*, and also *Berries*; not much different from the Fragrancy of Spiknard. Probably, the famous Island of *Cyprus*, took its Name from hence. Both *Stephanus* and *Eustathius* tell us, t'was, ἀπο ἐκεῖ φυομένου ἀνθους Κύπρου. *From the Flowers of Cyprus growing there*.⁴⁴ Of that Ointment, which *Pliny* calls, *The Unguent Royal*.⁴⁵

⁴¹ From Patrick (*Song* 16), a reference to Pliny, *Natural History*, 12.26.42.

⁴² From Patrick (*Song* 16), another reference to the *Sefer ha-Zohar* ("Book of Splendor") of the Kabbalah. In the extensive introduction and commentary to the partial Latin transl. of the *Zohar* by Christian Knorr von Rosenroth, *Kabbala denudata*, the kabbalistic reading of Cant. 3:12 is summarized. See vol. 1, pp. 237–39. Compare the footnotes on Prov. 8:36 and on Mather's prefatory remarks to Canticles.

⁴³ From Patrick (*Song* 17), Mather refers to Pliny, *Natural History*, 12.26; 12.51.109.

⁴⁴ ἀπὸ ἐκεῖ φυομένου ἀνθους Κύπρου. Mather provides Patrick's transl. From Patrick (*Song* 17), Mather cites Bochart, *Geographia sacra*, pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 3 ("Phoenices in Cypro"), p. 373. Bochart refers to the sixth-century grammarian, geographer, and historian at Constantinople, Stephanus of Byzantium. His Greek geographical compendium *Ethnica* might originally have consisted of 55–60 books, but only fragments survive (*Lexikon des Mittelalters*). The following remarks on Cyprus are found in the Greek and Latin edition of his work *Ethnica* (first Greek ed. Venice, 1502) by Thomas de Pinedo Lusitanus, *De urbibus* (1678), p. 401. Reference is also made to Eustathius of Thessalonica's (c. 1115–c. 1194/5) *Tēs oikumenēs periegesis* ([1547] 1697), p. 49, a commentary on the second-century Greek author of a geographical poem, *Oikumenēs periegesis* ("Description of the world"), Dionysius Periegetes (Dionysius of Alexandria).

⁴⁵ From Patrick (*Song* 17), Mather refers to Pliny, *Natural History*, 13.2.18. "What then is called the 'royal' unguent, because it is a blend prepared for the kings of Parthia, is made of behen-nut juice, costus, amomum, Syrian cinnamon, cardamom, spikenard, cat-thyme, myrrh, cinnamon-bark, styrax-tree gum, ladanum, balm, Syrian flag and Syrian rush, wild grape, cinnamon-leaf, serichatum, cyprus, camel's thorn, all-heal, saffron, gladiolus, marjoram, lotus, honey and wine" (*LCL* 370, p. 109).

The Ancient Hebrew Doctors by Dividing the First Word / אשכול / find out the Mystery of the *Messiah* in these Words. They understand them, as if it had been said; *my Beloved is to me* / איש כל כופר / *the Man that propitiates all things*.⁴⁶

One thinks, the Words may be translated, *A Cluster*, or, *A Cluster of great Value*; or to be bought at any rate. Because *Copher* denotes a Price of any thing that is Redeemed or Purchased.⁴⁷

[3r] |⁴⁸

Q. The Allusion of *our Bed is green?* v. 16.

A. By *Bed*, we may understand, their *Table*; about which they satt on *Beds*; which were strewed with Flowers, or such fragrant *Greens* as were in Season.⁴⁹

[3v] |

Q. The *Cedar Beams*, and the *Fir-Rafters*, of the House? v. 17.

A. Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase, is.

“Thou hast promised to dwell with us, in the several Churches of thy Saints; which are as so many living Temples, dedicated unto thy Service; & being protected & defended by thee, shall remain so stable and firm, that they shall last forever.”⁵⁰

Here seems an Allusion to the *Temple*, in the Fabric whereof these Woods were employed, as the most Incorruptible.

Compare Eph. II.20, 21, 22.

Yea, every particular Believer is a *Temple* of God. 1. Cor. III.16, 17. and VI.19.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Mather draws upon Patrick (*Song* 17–18), who in turn cites Bochart, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 2, lib. 5, cap. 9, pp. 723–24; see also his *Geographia sacra*, pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 3 (“Phoenices in Cypro”), p. 373. אֶשְׁכּוֹל [eshkol] “(grape) cluster.” When the word is split into two, the first two letters, aleph (א) and shin (ש), form the word אִישׁ [ish] “man, mankind,” and the last two letters, kaf (כ) and lamed (ל) make up the word כֹּל [kol] “all.” כּוֹפֵר or כֶּפֶר [koper] “henna,” KJV: “camphire;” BDB: “a shrub or low tree, with fragrant whitish flowers growing in clusters like grapes.” The radix is also found in כֶּפֶר [kapar] “to make an atonement” (e.g., Lev. 4:20); see Cant. 4:13. Martini also takes note of this reading in his *Pugio Fidei*, pars 3, dist. 3, cap. 3, pp. 524–25. See also their Targum source in Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:428). Some of the Church Fathers also take the cluster of henna as a prefiguration of Christ. See ACCS (9:306–07). See also the rabbinical discussion about “atonement” in *Midrash Rabbah, Song of Songs*, pp. 81–84, on Cant. 1:14, e.g. (p. 81): “Cluster refers to Isaac, who was bound on the altar like *A Cluster of Henna (Kofer)*: because he atones (*mekapper*) for the iniquities of Israel.”

⁴⁷ Patrick, *Song*, p. 17; see Bochart, *Geographia sacra*, pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 3 (“Phoenices in Cypro”), p. 373.

⁴⁸ See Appendix B.

⁴⁹ Patrick, *Song*, p. 18.

⁵⁰ Patrick, *Song*, p. 17.

⁵¹ Patrick, *Song*, pp. 18–19.

Q. They seem to bee the Words of the *Messiah*, *I am the Rose of Sharon*. Upon what singular Account may Hee bee called so? v. 1.

A. *Cogitent piæ Mentes*, (writes *Glassius*) *annon Voce* / שָׁרוֹן / *ad Locum Ortus hujus Rosæ odoratissimæ, seu Conceptionis Christi, in Spiritu respexerit Sapiens*.⁵²

Sharon is the champaign Countrey, between *Cæsarea*, and Mount *Tabor*, & the Lake of *Gennesareth*. *Nazareth* was a Part of this Countrey; and at *Nazareth* was the *Messiah* conceived.

The *Messiah* here owns the Praises the Church had bestowed upon Him.⁵³

A *Rose* is one of the goodliest Things to which a great Prince can be likened, in those eastern Countreys. The great *Mogul* thus complemented one of our British Kings, by the hands of Sir *Thomas Roe*.⁵⁴ *As upon a Rose in a Garden, so are my Eyes fixed upon you; God maintain your Estate, that your Monarchy may prosper.* &c. But the *Rose* was chiefly prized by *Shepherds* and *Shepherdesses*, & accounted by them, ἔρωτος φυτὸν as *Philostratus* tells us, *The Plant of Love*. And *Achilles Tattius* thus commends this lovely Flower.⁵⁵ If *Jupiter* would sett a *King* over the Flowers, it would be the *Rose* that should reign over them; It being, *the Ornament of the Earth, the Splendor of Plants, the Eye of Flowers, the Blushing Beauty of the Field, the most refulgent Brightness*; and a great deal more.

52 “Devout minds shall contemplate (writes *Glassius*) whether by this expression / שָׁרוֹן / [sharon] the Wiseman [sc. Solomon] thought of the place of origin of this most fragrant rose, or of the place of the conception of Christ, in the Spirit.” Salomo *Glassius*, *Onomatologia*, in *Opuscula* (1678), p. 130. According to the biblical tradition, Christ was *born* in Bethlehem (Matt. 2:1), but his hometown was Nazareth in the ancient province of Galilee. This is where he was *conceived by the Spirit* (Luke 1:26, 34–35). Mather’s geographical commentary which follows is also drawn from *Glassius*. *Opuscula* is a collection of three of the Lutheran theologian’s lesser writings: *Christologia Mosaica*, *Christologia Davidica* and *Onomatologia*, all dealing with christological interpretations of the OT. Prior to the citation, *Glassius* addresses how Christ is called the “rosa” and “lilium,” because of the “*veram humanitatem*.”

53 See Patrick, *Song*, pp. 24–25.

54 From Patrick (*Song* 25), Mather refers to a letter that was sent to King James through Sir Thomas Roe (c. 1581–1644), English diplomat at the court of the Great Mogul (*ODNB*). According to Patrick the letter from “a great Mogul,” written in Persian, compliments King James by comparing him to a rose.

55 “The Plant of Love.” Patrick’s (*Song* 25) transl. of ἔρωτος φυτὸν. This citation, like most of the other classical citations in Patrick, is likely drawn from Bochart, *Hieroicon*, pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 48 (“De Sarone”); see also Bochart, *Geographia*, pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 14. The classical source texts are Philostratus, *Epistolai erotikai*, epist. 55 [34], and the romance of Greek writer Achilles Tattius (fl. early 2nd century CE), *Leucippe and Clitophon* (2.1.2).

Q. The *Lily of the Valleys*? v. 1.

A. We must not understand, that which is called by us, *Lilium Convallium*, or the *May-Lily*; but a more Noble and Fragrant Flower.⁵⁶ It is joined here with *Roses*, as it is in several poetical Fragments quoted by *Athenaeus*, with *Violets*, and *Marjarom*, and other Sweetnesses.⁵⁷ He saies, The *Corinthians* called the *Lily*, by the Name of *Ambrosia*: And he tells us out of *Nicander*,⁵⁸ that it was esteemed, *The Delights of Venus*. *Theophrastus* mentions an Ointment of *Lilies*, as well as of *Roses*, among the sweet Unguents of the Ancients.⁵⁹

But for a mystical Sense, methink, that of Dr. *Gerhard* in his *Meditationes Sacrae*, is worth considering: *Dicit de sese Salvator noster, quod sit Lilium Convallium. Scilicet, quia ipse, qui nobilissimus Flos, nascitur et conservatur non in Montibus, id est, superbis et elatis Cordibus, sed in Humilioribus Vallibus, id est, Contritis et Humilibus Piorum Mentibus. Verè enim anima humilis est delectabile Christi Cubile.*⁶⁰ They are but the Humble and Lowly Souls, that may look for the Presence of our Saviour.

Q. How is it sadd, *His Banner over me was Love*? v. 4.

A. There are two Senses. LOVE, was the Inscription of the Banner. And, He conquers only by LOVE. Dr. *Patrick* ha's united them, in this Paraphrase.⁶¹

"I cannot but glory in this; that I am listed under His Banner, the Motto whereof is LOVE; whereby He hath overcome, shall I say, or overpowered my Heart, to submitt myself wholly unto His wonderful *Love*."⁶²

Delherrus elegantly saies; As the Roman Legions had their several Names; one was called, The *Pious*; Another, The *Faithful*; Another, The *Thundring*; An-

⁵⁶ "Lily of the valleys." See Patrick, *Song*, p. 26.

⁵⁷ From Patrick (*Song* 26), a reference to Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai* (15.8–9).

⁵⁸ From Patrick (*Song* 26), a reference to the *Fragmenta* of Nicander of Colophon, a Greek poet (2nd century BCE); see the *Poems and Poetical Fragments, Georgica*, 74.25–30; transl. p. 153: "From the seed no doubt spring the cupped flowers (lilies) that put forth heads, whose petals are white, whose centres saffron stained. These some poets style *krina*, and others *leiria*, others again *ambrosia*, and many *Aphrodite's Joy*, for the lily rivalled the hue of her skin."

⁵⁹ From Patrick (*Song* 26), a reference to the work of the Aristotelean philosopher Theophrastus of Eresos (c. 371–c. 287 BCE), *Historia plantarum* (6.6.4–5); see also *De odoribus* (4.42).

⁶⁰ "Our Saviour calls Himself The Lily of the Valley; and He seems to use this figure because He, the noblest of flowers, grows and flourishes, not on the lofty mountain-tops, that is, in hearts lifted up with pride, but in the humbler vales, that is, in the lowly and contrite minds of the godly. For truly the humble soul is the delightful couch of Christ." From Johann Gerhard (1582–1637), *Meditationes sacrae* ([1606] 1707), pp. 233–34. Gerhard's famous *Meditationes sacrae* on matters of theology, church life, and Christian piety were widely read and translated in the seventeenth century and after. Gerhard is often named among the most influential theologians of the Lutheran tradition. His later *Loci theologici* became a defining work for Lutheran Orthodoxy (BBK). Mather also refers to Gerhard in his *Tripuradismus* (p. 269) in a discourse on the "NEW EARTH survey'd."

⁶¹ See Patrick, *Song*, p. 27.

⁶² See Patrick, *Song*, pp. 20–21.

other, The *Victorious*. In like Manner, the Christian Band may be called, *Amoris Legio*: the *Legion of Love*.⁶³

|
3335.

[4v]

Q. What Sort of *Apples* may those be, whereof we read in the *Canticles*? v. 5.⁶⁴

A. The Lady, in the Song, praises the Tree and the Fruit, very particularly for the Smell of it, and for its Vertue to comfort the Heart, & recover out of a Swoon. The *Apple* thus applauded, appears unto learned Men, to be the *Orange*; which does wonderfully cheer the Spirits, (whereas the ordinary *Apple* does excite Vapours;) whence *Virgil* and *Theophrastus* observe, That Oranges are good against Shortness of Breath in old Persons, and a good Counter-Poison, having a Vertue to drive away Serpents.⁶⁵

Q. On that, *He cometh leaping on the Mountains*? v. 8.

A. *Gregory* saies upon it. *Vultis ipsos ejus Saltus agnoscere?*⁶⁶ He *leaped* from Heaven into the Womb; from the Womb into the Manger; from the Manger unto the Cross; from the Cross into the Sepulchre; from the Sepulchre up to Heaven again.⁶⁷

Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase, is;

“With Delight He comes, surmounting all Difficulties & Discouragements to do the Will of God. [Psal. XL.7, 8.]”⁶⁸

It may note, as he thinks, the Alacrity of our Saviour, to come down from the Heavens, (which may be meant by *Mountains*,) to dwell among us, who live here below upon the Earth.⁶⁹

Yett he allows the Ingenuity of those, who translate the Passage; *skipping over the Mountains*; and understand it, of His Passing by *Angels*, and Leaping as it were over their Heads, to take upon Him the Nature of Man.⁷⁰

⁶³ From Patrick (*Song* 27–28), a reference to the work of the German Lutheran theologian Johann Michael Dilherr (Delherrus, 1604–1669), *Disputationum academicarum praecipue philologicarum* (1652), vol. 1, p. 492.

⁶⁴ The following entry is derived from Charles Le Cène, *An Essay*, pt 1, ch. 8, pp. 169–70.

⁶⁵ From Le Cène Mather refers to Virgil, *Georgica* (2.61–70; 2.426–428); and *Eclogae* (3.70–71); and to Theophrastus, *Historia plantarum* (4.4.2).

⁶⁶ “Do you want to become acquainted with these leaps of his?” Probably from à Lapide (*Commentarius in Canticum Canticorum* 75), a citation from Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, hom. 29 [PL 76. 1218–19; CCSL 141]; transl. modified from *Forty Gospel Homilies*, p. 234.

⁶⁷ See Appendix A.

⁶⁸ Patrick, *Song*, pp. 21–22.

⁶⁹ Patrick, *Song*, p. 29.

⁷⁰ Patrick, *Song*, pp. 29–30.

R. Jodus and R. Hutta, say, *Iste est Rex Messias*. They say, *Magistri nostri dixerunt, quòd non sunt Montes aliud nisi Idololatria*; and they quote Hos. IV.⁷¹

Q. On that, *He stands behind our Wall; He looks forth at the Windows, shewing himself thro' the Lattice?* v. 9.

A. Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase is this.

“Tho’ he do not yett naturally shew Himself among us, I see notwithstanding something of Him; & behold Him approaching nearer & nearer to us; like one, that Resolving to be our Guest, doth not presently enter, but first stands behind the Wall of our House; then looks in at the Window, & thro’ the Lattises or Grates; whereby He is still more fully discovered.”⁷²

His *Standing behind the Wall* may be applied unto His Showing Himself in those Dayes, only in the Law of Moses, (which was the *Wall of Partition* between the Jews and us;) and His *Looking thro’ the Window*, unto His Showing Himself then in Figures & Prophecies, which they had of Him; & by which He was known but obscurely to them.⁷³

[5r] |⁷⁴

Q. The *Winter*, and *Rain*; what may be intended therein? v. 11.

A. *Theodoret* hereby understands, τον προ της παρουσίας αυτου χρονον· *The Time before His Coming*; when the Gentile World was buried in dismal Darkness, & the Jews themselves only saw things through the Clouds; & neither of them had much of the Warmth of Divine Love.⁷⁵

Q. The *Singing of Birds*; and the *Voice of the Turtle?* v. 12.

A. After the Coming of our Saviour, a New World appears;⁷⁶ & there was a greater Abundance of Divine Blessings; especially of the *Spirit poured forth*; which the *Chaldee Paraphrast*, here takes to be, the *Voice of the Turtle*. *The Turtle*

71 “This is the King Messiah. [They say,] Our teachers [i.e., rabbis] said that the mountains are nothing else than idolatry.” From Martini, *Pugio Fidei*, pars 2, cap. 8, p. 296. Martini refers to *Midrash Shir ha-Shirim*, a commentary on Canticles. Here reference is made to the Babylonian Rabbi Huna, a member of the Academy of Sura in the ancient Seleucid era and Rabbi Joden in the name of Rabbi Elieserus, sons or perhaps students of Rabbi Jose the Galilean. See *Midrash Shir ha-Shirim* (1971) at this verse. In Hos. 4:13 the prophet speaks out against the idolatrous sacrifices practiced “upon the tops of the mountains” and the incense burned “upon the hills.” See also *Midrash Rabbah, Song of Songs*, p. 117, on that verse, referring to Hos. 4:13: “this refers to Moses. . . ‘mountains’ being only a name for idolatry.”

72 See Patrick, *Song*, p. 22.

73 See Patrick, *Song*, p. 30.

74 See Appendix B.

75 With diacritical marks: τὸν πρὸ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ χρόνον From Patrick (*Song* 30), a citation from Theodoret of Cyrus, *Explanatio in Canticum Canticorum*, lib. 2, at Cant. 2:11 [PG 81. 104–05].

76 Patrick, *Song*, p. 22.

is a Sort of a *Dove*. And you know the Manner of the Holy *Spirits* Descent, at the Coming of our Saviour.⁷⁷

And then, the *Singing of Birds*, may be applied unto the *Songs* of the *Heavenly Host* at His Birth.⁷⁸

Others will have the *Turtle*, to be the Figure of *John* the Baptist; which, as Dr. *Patrick* saies, is pat enough.⁷⁹

Benjamin of *Tudela*, in the Conclusion of his *Itinerarium* applies these Words to the Coming of the *Messiah*. He saies, *They cannot be gathered unto their own Land, until that time of the Singing of Birds come, and the Voice of the Turtle; and till they come, who preach glad Tidings, saying alway, The Lord be praised.*

R. *Alschech* applies, the *Voice of the Turtle* to *Elias*; and thus glosses it. *The Voice of the Turtle, hath it not been heard in the Land, by the Means of the Prophet? According to that which is said; Behold, I will send to you Elias the Prophet.*⁸⁰

Q. The *Dove* in the *Clefts of the Rock; in the secret Places of the Stairs?* v. 14.

A. Some of the Hebrew Writers, whose intent is expressed by the *Chaldee Paraphrast*, refer this, to the People of *Israel*, flying from *Pharaoh*; like a *Dove* before the *Hawk*, ready to sieze her.⁸¹ But it may better be referr'd unto the

⁷⁷ Compare the Latin transl. of the Targum to Canticles in Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:432), which speaks of the “vox Spiritus.” See *The Targum of Canticles* at this verse. The majority of scholars leave the *terminus a quo* for dating of this Targum open while setting the *terminus ad quem* in the seventh century CE. Related to other Palestinian Targumim (paraphrases and translations) and aggadic midrashim (homiletic commentaries and interpretations), the Canticles Targum sees Solomon’s Song as describing a relationship between God and the Congregation of Israel from Moses to the Messianic Period (*TRE*). In the sixteenth century, Bible scholars, Orientalists and Hebraists brought it together with Onkelos, Jonathan and other Targumim into folio reference collections, such as Münster’s *Hamisha humshe Torah* (1551), or Franciscus Raphelengius’s *Variae lectiones et annotatiunculae, quibus Thargum* (1572); later it was brought into popular circulation among English-language theologians through the London Polyglot.

⁷⁸ Patrick, *Song*, pp. 30–31.

⁷⁹ From Patrick (*Song* 31), Mather refers to Gregory of Nyssa, *In Cantica Canticorum*, hom. 5 [PG 44. 871; *GNO* 6], who relates the verse to Matt. 3:3 and thus to John the Baptist, the “voice of one crying in the wilderness.” The Latin text of the PG reads: “Hoc testificatur vox turturis, id est, vox clamantis in deserto. Joannes enim est turtur.”

⁸⁰ From Patrick (*Song* 31), a reference to the medieval travel narrative by the Spanish Jew Benjamin of Tudela (Benjaminus Tudelensis, fl. 1150–1200), *Sefer ha Massa’ot* (1543). Patrick is probably citing the annotated Latin version prepared by the prominent Dutch Hebraist Constantine L’Empereur van Oppyck (1591–1648), *Itinerarium D. Beniaminis* (1633), p. 129. Reference is also made to Rabbi Mose Alschech’s (16th century) commentary on the Song of Songs at Cant. 2:12: *Sefer Shoshanat Ha-Amaqim* (Lily of the Valleys), as published in Venice in 1591 by Giovanni di Gara. See also the interpretation on Elijah in a messianic context in *Midrash Lekach Tov* in *Mikraoth Gedoloth, Song of Songs*, p. 29, on Cant. 2:12. This interpretation refers to *Midrash Rabbah, Song of Songs*, pp. 125–26, on that verse.

⁸¹ From Patrick (*Song* 32), a reference to the Targum at Cant. 2:14; for the Latin transl. see Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:432). Rashi in *Mikraoth Gedoloth, Song of Songs*, p. 30, on Cant. 2:14, commenting on *Midrash Rabbah* argues: “This is said concerning that time when Pharaoh pursued them and overtook them camping by the sea with no avenue of escape before them

Church of Christ, in danger to be torn to Peeeces, by her Pagan Persecutors, & by the Jews themselves, as it was in the primitive times. This forced the Christians | to hold their Assemblies in Recesses of much Obscurity, where they sang [5v] Hymns to our Blessed Lord before the Break of Day.

And it rendred the Church very like a *Dove*, which being in fear of Ravenous Birds, flies into Clefts of Rocks, & secret Holes in steep Places, to preserve herself.⁸²

For this *In foraminibus Petre, quiesce, in Latibulo prærupcto*, my dear *Boehm* has this Gloss, *Hoc est, In Vulneribus Jesu Christi*.⁸³

Q. Why the Comparison of a *Dove* so often used for the Church in this Book? v. 14.

A. *Bochart* looks on this, as the principal, if not the only Reason of it. It is to signify, that she is His *only Beloved*; and that He Alone also, is most dear to her. In *Doves*, there is a wondrous Love (observed by many Authors) between those that are once paired, who never part, but keep ever Faithful, the one to the other.⁸⁴

Q. The *Foxes*; who? v. 15.

A. *Foxes* abound in *Judæa*; and are observed by abundance of Authors, to love *Grapes* and make woful Devastations in Vineyards.⁸⁵

Now, the Prophet *Ezekiel*, comparing *False-Prophets* to *Foxes*; [XIII.4.] it hath led Interpreters, by *Foxes*, here to understand *Hereticks*. These appeared very early in the Church; & therefore are compared unto *young Foxes*, in regard of their Subtilties and Evasions; whereby the more simple Sort especially, & such as were newly converted, (compared here unto *Tender Grapes*, as the Church is to a *Vine*;) were in danger to be undone, unless a Timely Care were taken to prevent it. In answer to the Prayers of the Church, the Lord raised up skilful & faithful Pastors, whom He effectually called upon, to take this Care.⁸⁶

because of the sea, and they could not turn because of the wild beasts. What did they resemble at that time? A dove that fled from a hawk and entered the clefts of the rocks, and a snake was hissing at her." See *Midrash Rabbah*, *Song of Songs*, pp. 127–26, on that verse.

⁸² Patrick, *Song*, p. 32.

⁸³ Transl. in context: "For this *In the clefts of the rock, rest in the steep hiding-place*, my dear *Boehm* has this gloss, *That is, in the wounds of Jesus Christ*." Mather cites Anton Wilhelm Boehm's "Handbook of Prayer," *Enchiridion precum* (1707), sec. 1, p. 63. Bernard of Clairvaux glosses on this verse in a similar manner in his *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum*, sermo 61 [PL 183. 1071; *Opera* 2]; at this verse see also the *Glossa ordinaria* [PL 113. 1141]; compare also Gregory the Great at this verse in *Expositio super Cantica Canticorum*, cap. 2 [PL 79. 499; *CCSL* 144]; John 3:14, 20:25; 1 Cor. 10:4. Boehm also refers to John 20:25.

⁸⁴ From Patrick (*Song* 32) a reference to *Bochart*, *Hierozaicon*, pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 4, p. 11.

⁸⁵ Patrick, *Song*, p. 32.

⁸⁶ Patrick, *Song*, pp. 32–33.

The *Taking of the Foxes*, is by *Theodoret* expounded, The Discovering of their Sophistry.⁸⁷

Bernard on this, *Take them to us*, beholds an Intimation that they should be Reconciled unto the Catholick Church, and brought back to the True Faith.⁸⁸

Q. The *Mountains of Bether*? v. 17.

A. *Bether* is the same with *Bethel*. *Bochart* observes, how commonly as well as easily, those Two Letters, R, and, L, are changed, the one for the other.⁸⁹

Indeed, in another Work, *Bochart*, by *Mountains of Bether*, understands, *Mountains full of Clefts*. This would agree well with what went before, about, *The Dove in the Clefts*; and might by handsomely applied unto the Church, when there are many Breaches in it.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ From Patrick (*Song* 33), Mather cites Theodoret of Cyrus, *Explanatio in Canticum Canticorum*, lib. 2, on Cant. 2:15 [PG 81. 107–110]. Transl. in *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, pp. 65–66: “After saying this to the bride, the bridegroom gives instructions to his own servants in the words, *Catch us little foxes that demolish vineyards* (v. 15). Some commentators actually applied *little* to the *vineyards*; but the sense is no different in either case. By *foxes* he refers to those with a deceitful attitude who harm the Lord’s churches that are just beginning to flourish – hence his saying *our vines blossom*. By *foxes* he is hinting at the heretics warring against people in the church and endeavoring furtively and deceitfully to steal away those not yet made firm in the faith . . .”

⁸⁸ From Patrick (*Song* 33), a reference to Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones in Cantica Cantico-rum*, sermo 63, cap. 1, where he expresses his hope of bringing the enemies of the church (i. e., ‘the foxes’) back to Christ and into the fold. [PL 183. 1082; *Opera* 2].

⁸⁹ From Patrick (*Song* 34), a reference to Bochart, *Geographia sacra*, pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 33, p. 661. Bethel is a biblical city (modern Beitin) on the north-south mountain road north of Jerusalem. When Jacob was going to Aram, he spent the night at Bethel and had a dream. As a result he built a shrine there and named the place Bethel (Heb. “house of God”; Gen. 28:19; 35:1–7).

⁹⁰ From Patrick (*Song* 34–35), reference is made to Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 27, p. 894.

Q. *By Night I sought Him.*] What may be meant by, *The Night?* v. 1.

A. The Dark Time, which was before the Appearing of our Lord. Then good Men sought for Him, & had many Dreams and Visions about Him; but could meet only with Shadowes & Images of Him.⁹¹

He was represented unto *Solomon* here, with a Vision he had of Him, & of the Church espoused to Him; after he had sought a long Time, and groped every where after Him, in that Dark Night wherein they lived.⁹²

See Matth. IV.16. and Luk. I.29.⁹³

By the *Roe*, may be meant, only the Place for the most composed Thoughts. See Psal. IV.4.⁹⁴

Q. Unto what may, *The Pillars of Smoke*, refer? v. 6.

A. Here begins a New Vision of a Multitude of People, gathering unto our Saviour, like a *Cloud of Smoke*, which fills the Spectators with Admiration.

All that give up themselves unto the Lord, become thereby an Holy People; and are highly esteemed by Him; and they are therefore compared here, unto *Pillars of Smoke*, that went up every day from the Altar of Burnt-Offering & ascended in a straight Line, like a *Pillar*, that was not moved from its Uprightness, tho' the Wind blew never so boisterously.⁹⁵

The Jews report, in *Pirke Avoth*, and other Books; these among the *Ten Miracles* of the Temple; *That the greatest Rain did never putt out the Fire; and the most vehement Winds never dispersed or bent the Smoke, but it went up stedfastly to Heaven.*⁹⁶

How acceptable such Persons were to our Saviour, is represented yett further, by the sweet Perfumes which were burnt upon the *Altar of Incense*. No doubt, *Solomon* here alludes, to that Composition which God ordered to be made of sweet Spices, for His own Service at the Tabernacle. Exod. XXX.34, 35.⁹⁷

⁹¹ Patrick, *Song*, p. 40.

⁹² Patrick, *Song*, p. 40.

⁹³ See Matt. 4:16; see Luke 7:29.

⁹⁴ Patrick, *Song*, pp. 35–36.

⁹⁵ Patrick, *Song*, pp. 41–42.

⁹⁶ From Patrick (*Song* 42), a reference to ch. 5 of the *Pirke Avot* ("Chapters of the Fathers"), in Nezikin (the fourth order of the Mishnah). Transl. in *Pirke Aboth, The Ethics of the Talmud: Sayings of the Fathers* (p. 128): "Ten wonders were done for our fathers in the Sanctuary ... no rain quenched the fire of the wood-pile, and no wind overcame the column of smoke ..."

⁹⁷ Patrick, *Song*, p. 42.

Q. The *Threescore valiant Men, about the Bed of Israel?* v. 7.

A. The *Thrones* of the eastern Kings, were in the form of a *Bed*, or *Couch*, where more Persons than one may sitt. [Rev. III.21.] The *Throne* of *Solomon* is here attended & secured, by the most *valiant* Men in the Kingdome.

Why, *Threescore*? Some conceive, that *Solomon* doubled the Number of that Band of mighty Men, which consisted of *Thirty* in *Davids* Time. 2. Sam. XXIII.13, 23.

Or thus. In the End of that Chapter you read of *Thirty seven* Persons, that were of great Note for their Valour. To these, we may add, the Eleven Princes mentioned, 1. King. IV.2. And the *Twelve* great Officers, which had the Care of making Provision for the Household. Ibid. v. 7. They make just the Number of *Threescore*.

These may be look'd on as a Figure of the strong Guard, which there is employ'd for the Welfare of the Church; defended by the Holy *Angels*, who are mighty indeed, and very Numerous. Psal. LXVIII.17. Heb. I.16.⁹⁸

| **Q.** *Fear in the Night?* v. 8.

[6v]

A. The *Angels* do all of them unanimously oppose the *wicked Spirits in High Places*, who seek to destroy the Church; and may be meant by, The *Terror of the Night*; [as the Hebrews expound, Psal. XCI.5.] Those being the Rulers of the gentile World, stirred them up, to persecute Christianity, as destructive to the Kingdome of Darkness.⁹⁹

Q. Why are the *Valiant of Israel*, described as *every Man having his Sword on his Thigh, because of Fear in the Night?* v. 8.

A. If I should now tell you, that *Baptism*, which is the *Mark* of our Consecration to God, is not only a *Sign* but also a *Mean* of our Præserva-tion from the evil *Angels*, as being the peculiar Flock of the Lord; and that therefore, *Clemens Alexandrianus*, called *Baptism*, τελειον φυλακτήριον¹⁰⁰ and *Nazianzen* called it

⁹⁸ Patrick, *Song*, pp. 42–43.

⁹⁹ From Patrick, *Song*, p. 43. The Latin version of the Targum translates Ps. 91:5 (Walton, *Polyglotta* 3:232): “Non timebis a timore daemonum qui ambulant in nocte, a sagitta angeli mortis, quam emittit inderdiu.”

¹⁰⁰ “Perfect safeguard” (τελειον φυλακτήριον). From John Spencer, *De legibus Hebraeorum ritualibus* (1685), lib. 1, cap. 4, sec. 2, p. 43, a citation from Clement of Alexandria, *Quis dives salvetur*, 42.4 [PG 9. 609–32; GCS 17]; transl. ANF 2:603: “And the presbyter taking home the youth committed to him, reared, kept, cherished, and finally baptized him. After this he relaxed his stricter care and guardianship, under the idea that the seal of the Lord he had set on him was a complete protection to him.” Clement’s exegesis and theology was influential in the Alexandrian school, not least with his later and more popular successor, Origen. Both theologians were inclined towards the allegorical sense which is here used to explain the sword. The work of the Cambridge Hebraist John Spencer (1630–1693) was highly controversial in Mather’s day for it suggested that many religious laws and customs of the Israelites did not have

*Sigillum, ὡς συντήρησιν*¹⁰¹ and the Words of Basil in his Exhortation to Baptism are, *Nisi signatus sit super Tē Vultus Domini, nisi Characterem in Tē agnoscat Angelus, quōmodō pro te pugnabit, aut ab Inimicis vindicabit*.¹⁰² You'll wonder what all this is to the Quæstion. But that Wonder will stop, when from our Baptism I carry you to Circumcision and from Circumcision give you a Curiosity, upon the Text which is now before us. It was the Just Opinion of the Ancients, that among other Uses of the then required Circumcision, one was to be a Prophylactic defending the faithful from some Annoyances of the evil Dæmons which fill our Air. Origen particularly has this Observation with such a Proof aided thereunto; *Colligi potest ex Libris Exodi, ubi Angelus ante Circumcisionem Eleazari contrā Mosem valuit quo Circumciso irrita facta est illius Potentia*.¹⁰³ Now that the old Jewes were of this Perswasion is evident from the Chaldee Paraphrase upon this very Text: *Sacerdotes et Levite et omnes Tribus Israel apprehendunt Verba Legis, quæ comparantur Gladio, – Et super unoquoque eorum signata est Circumcisio in Carne ipsorum sicut signata fuit in Carne Abrahe; et prævalent et confortantur in eā, sicut fortis qui accinctus est Gladio super Femur suum: et ideò non timent, à Spiritibus nocivis et Dæmonibus qui ambulant in Nocte*.¹⁰⁴

their origins in immediate divine revelation but had historically developed from Egyptian origins under divine providence (ODNB). Spencer also refers to the church historian and Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea (Eusebius Pamphili, after 260–c. 337/40 CE), *Demonstratio evangelica*, lib. 3, cap. 17 [PG 22. 326; GCS 23].

¹⁰¹ “A seal” (σφραγίδα); “because it preserves [us].” From Spencer (*De legibus*, lib. 1, cap. 4, sec. 2, p. 43), a citation from Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio 40, In sanctum baptisma*, [PG 36. 364; SC 358]; transl.: NPNFii (7:360).

¹⁰² “Unless the countenance of the Lord be sealed upon you, unless the angel recognize the mark upon you, how will he fight for you, or protect you against your enemies?” From Spencer (*De legibus*, lib. 1, cap. 4, sec. 2, p. 43), a citation from Basil the Great, *Homiliae et sermones*, hom. 13, *In sanctum baptisma* [PG 31. 431–32]; see also Ps. 4:7 (in VUL), 4:6–7 (KJV). In accordance with patristic sources, Spencer and Mather view circumcision as a foreshadowing of Christian baptism.

¹⁰³ “This may be drawn from the book of Exodus, where the angel had power over Moses before the circumcision of Eliezer; after he had been circumcised the angel was powerless over him.” From Spencer (*De legibus*, lib. 1, cap. 4, sec. 2, p. 43), a citation from Origen, *Contra Celsum*, lib. 5 [PG 11. 1255–56; SC 147]; transl.: ANF (4:564). Compare Exod. 4:24.

¹⁰⁴ “The Priests and the Levites and all the tribes of Israel grasp after the words of the Law, which are compared to a sword, – and upon the very flesh of each and every one of them a mark is set by circumcision, just as it was marked in the flesh of Abraham, and they draw power and strength from this, just like a mighty man with a sword girt on his thigh: and on this account they are not afraid of harmful spirits or demons that prowl in the night.” From Spencer (*De legibus*, lib. 1, cap. 4, sec. 2, p. 43), a citation from the Targum at Cant. 3:8 in Latin translation; see Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:434). Spencer leaves out one subclause in the Targum, marking the deletion with the dash: “... gladio & ponderant & agitant ea sicut fortes docti in bello, & super ...” (“... and they weigh and meditate upon them just like mighty men experienced in warfare ...”). The rabbinic citation echoes the poetic schema of the symbolic and figurative meanings of the sword in the Bible and especially in reference to the messenger of God (see Gen. 3:24; Jos. 5:1; Num. 22:23; 1 Chron. 21:16; Ps. 45:3, 149:6; Isa. 49:2; Eph. 6:17; Heb. 4:12), one which the *Glossa ordinaria* also answers at Cant. 3:8 [PL 113.1144]; Mary Dove’s transl.: *The Glossa Ordinaria on the Song of Songs*. The citation also

Q. The *Chariot* of *Solomon* described? v. 10.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase.

“– He enlarges the Borders of His Church, by the Preaching of the everlasting Gospel, – unto which the Magnificence and Riches of that Chariot is not worthy to be compared; tho’, the Pillars of it being of Silver, the Back, the Sides, & the Seat being of Clothe of Gold, the Curtains and Covering of it, being of the Brightest Purple; the Carpett also under the Feet being curiously wrought with the most lovely Figures, by the Daughters of *Jerusalem*; they make it very Inviting unto all Spectators. For, what is this, to the wonderful *Love* of God, and the Riches of His Grace, in His great and precious Promise, (far dearer to all good Souls, than thousands of Gold and Silver,) which the Gospel calls us not only to Behold, but to Enjoy.”¹⁰⁵

In the last Clause, *Mibbenoth*,¹⁰⁶ signifies, *From*, or, *By*, as well as *For*, the *Daughters of Jerusalem*. The most Ingenious of these, it is likely, were employed, in working that *Foot-Clothe*, which lay at the Bottom of the Chariot, with elegant Figures; of Shepherds, and Shepherdesses, perhaps, and all their Innocent Courtships. These Figures furnish us with an Additional Gloss, for, *Paved with Love*.¹⁰⁷

Q. His *Mother* crowning him, on the Day of his *Espousals*? v. 11.

A. It refers not, unto the Day of his *Coronation*; when he rode not in a *Chariot*, but on his *Fathers Mule*; & was crowned, not by his *Mother*, but by *Zadok* and *Nathan*.¹⁰⁸

It was the Day of his *Espousals*, to *Pharaohs* Daughter. At such a Time, it was the Manner to crown married Persons; and his *Father* being Dead, it was done by his *Mother*. Of this Custome, there is Mention made by many Authors; you may find them quoted by *Bochart*, in his *Geographia Sacra*; Part. 2. l. 1. c. 25. where he applies that Passage in *Ezekiel* unto this; Ezek. XVI.8, 12. *Behold, Thy Time was the Time of Love*, (i. e. Thou wast fitt for Marriage,) *I entered into a Covenant with thee, & thou becamest mine; and I putt a beautiful Crown upon*

recalls the covenantal circumcision (see Gen. 17:10–27, 21:4), which is already spiritualized in the Pentateuch (Deut. 10:16).

¹⁰⁵ Patrick, *Song*, p. 38.

¹⁰⁶ מִבְּנוֹת [mibbenot] “by the daughters.” The LXX has: ἀπὸ θυγατέρων Ἱερουσαλὴμ (“for the daughters of Jerusalem”); VUL: “propter filias Hierusalem,” so also the KJV: “for the daughters of Jerusalem.” For the various uses of the preposition, see *BDB*, p. 584.

¹⁰⁷ See Patrick, *Song*, pp. 44–45.

¹⁰⁸ From Patrick, *Song*, p. 45. According to 1 Kings 1:8, 32, Zadok was the high priest who stood by David during the rebellion of Adonijah and supported Solomon after the death of his father. In 1 Kings 1:13–14 we are told that the prophet Nathan, who had confronted David about his moral crimes, acted as kingmaker, pushing David to crown Solomon as his successor. David then orders the two men to anoint his son (1 Kings 1:33–34).

thy Head.¹⁰⁹ The *Misneh* informs us, that the *Nuptial Crown* was in Use among the Jews, as well as other Nations.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ From Patrick (*Song* 45), who summarizes Bochart, *Geographia sacra*, pars 2, lib. 1. cap. 15, p. 421.

¹¹⁰ From Patrick (*Song* 45), a reference to the Mishnah in the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Sotah 49a. The Soncino edition translates: "During the war with Vespasian they [the Rabbis] decreed against [the use of] crowns worn by bridegrooms and against [the use of] the drum. During the war of Quietus they decreed against [the use of] crowns worn by brides" (p. 265).

Q. The *Hair as a Flock of Goats?* v. 1.

A. Read it, *Thy Hair is like the Hair of a Flock of Goats.*

Thus, as Dr. *Patrick* observes, The People of *Israel* brought *Goats Hair* for the Service of the Tabernacle. *Exod.* XXXV.23. And made *Curtains of Goats Hair* for the Tent over it. *Exod.* XXV.4. XXVI.7. On which Passages *Abarbanel* observes, That *Moses* makes no Mention of *Wool*, either of *Lambs* or of *Sheep*. For that was vile in those Countreys, in Comparison of the Hair of *Goats*.¹¹¹ The *Goats* were shorn here; as *Aristotle* tells us, they were in other Countreyes; particularly in *Cilicia*.¹¹² And some of them had a *Wool*, as fine almost as any *Silk*; which the Women spun, for the Use of the Tabernacle. *Exod.* XXXV.26. The Allusion, may here be made, unto that Sort of *Hair*, for the *Softness* of it.¹¹³

But there was also a *Coarser* and *Harder* Sort, with which they made Locks and Ornaments for the Head, when they were Bald, or would appear very Fine: as tis observed by *Braunius*, in his Book about, *The Priests Garments*.¹¹⁴

Q. Is there any Remark to bee made on this, That the *Bridegroom* here does not commend the *Hands* of his *Bride?* v. 1.

A. I find this Remark, in a late Writer.

¹¹¹ From Patrick (*Song* 52), who paraphrases the work of the Dutch Reformed theologian and professor at Groningen Johannes Braunius (Jean Braun, 1628–1708), *Vestitus sacerdotum Hebraeorum* (1680), lib. 1, cap. 9 (“De lana”), p. 203. Braunius refers to Abravanel’s commentary on *Exod.* 25:4 (*Perush ha-Torah*, first Hebrew edition Venice, 1579). Compare Abravanel’s gloss in *The Commentators’ Bible, The JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot, Exodus*, p. 216, on *Exod.* 25:4: “In Egypt and the other countries of the east, this is more prized than ewe’s wool.”

¹¹² From Patrick (*Song* 52), who paraphrases Braunius, *Vestitus sacerdotum*, lib. 1, cap. 9, p. 200. Braunius refers to Aristotle’s *Historia animalium*, but the passage cited by him is not contained in modern editions. Braunius’s Latin transl.: “In Cilicia Capra etiam tondentur ut oves apud alios.” Transl. by R. Cresswell in an edition from 1862 (here in lib. 8, cap. 28, p. 226): “In Lycia the goats are shorn as the sheep are in other places.” A similar quotation is found in Aelian, *De natura animalium*, 16.30, cited by Braunius on p. 202, see footnote below.

¹¹³ From Patrick (*Song* 52), who summarizes Braunius, *Vestitus sacerdotum*, lib. 1, cap. 9, pp. 203–04.

¹¹⁴ From Patrick (*Song* 52–53), who paraphrases Braunius, *Vestitus sacerdotum*, lib. 1, cap. 9, pp. 201–02. Braunius cites several authors on the different qualities of goat’s wool in ch. 9. Citing Aelian, *De natura animalium*, 16.30, Braunius polemicises against men and women of his own time using goat’s hair as fashionable wigs. Scholfield’s transl. (p. 305): “Callisthenes of Olynthos asserts that in Lycia the goats are shorn just as sheep are everywhere else, for they have such wonderfully thick, fine fleeces that one might say that their hair hung down in curls or ringlets. Moreover those who make tackle for ships use them for weaving ropes.”

“Mr. Cotton observes, when the Church commends Christ, shee commends His *Hands*; but when Christ commends the Church, He commends not her *Hands*. Man is Justified by *Christs Obedience*, not *his own*.”¹¹⁵

Q. That Expression, *Thou art Fair*, why Repeted? v. 1.

A. Take a Gloss of Antiquity. Tis Gregories, in his *Mor.* l. 9. c. 6. *Pulchram narrat Sponsus, et pulchram replicat. Quia alia est Pulchritudo Morum, in quâ nunc cernitur; atque alia Pulchritudo Premiorum, in qua, per Conditoris sui Speciem sublevabitur.*¹¹⁶

Q. What may be intended here, by the *Two Eyes*? v. 1.

A. Dr. Patrick, He would have compared the Apostles and Prophets unto these *Two Eyes*; who being Illuminated by the Holy Spirit, & who not having any other Aim, except sincerely to make known Christ & His Religion to the World, resembled the *Eyes of Doves*. But not knowing to what the *Locks* and *Hair* could be handsomely applied; therefore he looks on these, and the rest that follow, only as Parts of those things that make up together a perfect Beauty.¹¹⁷

Theodoret ha's made as Apt an Application as any. *Hair* signifying what is superfluous, the Meaning may be, That *even in Humane Things & worldly affaires, wherewith we cannot but be sometimes perplexed, the Church behaves herself laudably, and præserves a Decorum.*¹¹⁸

115 From an unknown source Mather cites this reference to the commentary of his grandfather, John Cotton. There are two versions of this work: *A brief Exposition of the whole Book of Canticles, or Song of Solomon* (1642); and the revised and much expanded *A brief Exposition with practical Observations upon the whole Book of Canticles* (1655), published posthumously by Cotton's friend Anthony Tuckney. In the commentary on Cant. 7:4–5 of the 1642 version, Cotton argues: “in that the Church neither here (where so many of her members are set forth) nor in all this song is described, by the beauty of her hands, or fingers, wee must not gather that therefore this Church will bee barren of good works, God forbid, but rather conceive, Christ concealeth the mention of her hands ... because it is he alone (and not wee) *that worketh all our works for us*” (220–21). Interestingly, this is the only reference made to either version of Cotton's commentary. On the likely reasons why Mather did not make more use his grandfather's work, see the Introduction and my *Prophecy, Piety, and the Problem of Historicity*, chs. 4.4 and 5.5.

116 “The bridegroom speaks of her as fair, and says again ‘fair.’ This is because there is one sort of beauty of life and conduct, wherein she is now seen, and another beauty of rewards, wherein she will be lifted up in the likeness of her Creator.” Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, lib. 9, cap. 11 [PL 75. 869; CCSL 143]. In accordance with Mather's version of the Latin, the above transl. is slightly altered from: *Morals on the Book of Job* (1:508). Mather's citation of Gregory recalls the mysterious theme from Gen. 1:26–27, and the two aspects of the creation of man in the image and likeness of God. Since the Church Fathers, the double of “image” and “likeness” reflected two aspects of the human in relation to the Creator; for while the image was given to man, as Origen claims, “the perfection of God's likeness was reserved for him at the consummation.” (*De principiis*, lib. 3, cap. 6 [PG 11. 333–35; SC 268]; transl.: ACCS (1:29–30).

117 See Patrick, *Song*, pp. 53–54.

118 From Patrick (*Song* 54), a reference to Theodoret of Cyrus, *Explanatio in Canticum Canticorum*, lib. 2, on Cant. 4:1 [PG 81. 127–130]. Transl. in *Commentary on the Song of Songs*,

Q. The Commendations of the *Bride*, here given, have been paraphrased in some Strains of *Latin Poetry*, which may afford us, if not some *Illustration*, yett some *Entertainment*? v. 1.

A. *Barlæus* ha's given us this Paraphrase.

– *Insons in Fronte relucet*
Simplicitas; Verique tenax Sententia Dens est.
Destillant Labris Vitiis adversa nefandis
Dogmata; quæque rubent morituri Sanguine Sponsi
Ora rubent. Turris sunt Exporrecta Fideles.
Spes Galea est, Lorica Salus, Fiducia Scutum.
Ubera justitiæ fontes, Patrisque Voluntas
Prisca Recensque mei. Surgunt, ceu Colla, Prophetae,
Ostenduntque meis Populis peccantibus iras.

In the Following Chapter, the *Bridegroom* ha's his Applauses. Whereof, the said *Barlæus* ha's given us this Paraphrase.

Ille meus, quem sola colo, candore Venusto,
Plus auro rutilat Caput, et sublimior ipsis,
Palmarum folijs surgunt à fronte Capilli,
Illustresque nigrore comæ. Quos vibrat Ocellos,
Ipsa Columbarum castissima Lumina vincunt
Lumina quæ nitidis præter Labentibus undis
Accipiunt purum fluvio abstergente nitorem.
Ut proprijs redolent distinctæ Sedibus herbæ,
Distinctæ stant lege Genæ. Manantia Myrrhæ
Lilia concedunt Labijs. Manus utraque Gemmas
Et glaucum Beryllon habet. Per Viscera latè
Candidulum transparet Ebur, cui pulcher Inerras
Ceruleis, Sapphire, notis; velut alta Columnis
Impavidis innixa domus, sunt Crura Marito
Aurea, nec Libani Vultus subsidit honori.
Blandula mellifluo subludit Lingua Palato
Argutumque canit docto Modulamine guttur
*Sic Oculos, sic ille Manus, sic Ora ferebat.*¹¹⁹

p. 77: "He also compliments her on her hair and admires her teeth in the words, *Your hair is like flocks of goats which emerged from Gilead, your teeth like flocks of shorn sheep come up from the washing, all having twins, no barren one amongst them* (vv. 1–2). We should not understand hair as *hair*, nor *teeth* as teeth. Instead, *hair* means what in the bride is superfluous, as it were, and corporeal, hair being without life or senses."

119 "Simplicity shines out innocently from the brow; / the tooth is the judgment that clings to the truth. / From the lips flow the doctrines which are set against abominable vices. / And they [the lips] are red from the blood of the bridegroom who is perishing. / The mouth is red. That which is stretched forth is liken unto steadfast towers. / Hope is the helmet, the

[7v]

Q. We read here, of *A Flock of Sheep*, in which, *every one beareth Twins, and there is not one Barren among them!* We have no such *Flocks* in our Countreyes? v. 2.

A. But very Fertile were the Flocks of *Syria*. The *Sheep* had commonly Two, sometimes Three, sometimes Four, at a Time. A Thing frequently observed by Writers, of *Egypt*, which was a Neighbour-Countrey.

This Fruitfulness of their *Flocks* (as tis observed by Sir *Tho. Brown*.) is answerable to the Expression of the Psalmist: [Psal. 144.13.] *That our Sheep may bring forth Thousands, and ten Thousands, in our Streets*. And hereby (which is observable,) besides what was spent at their *Tables*, a good Supply was made for the great Consumption of *Sheep* in their several Kinds of *Sacrifices*; and of so many thousand male unblemished yearling *Lambs*, which were required at their *Passovers*.¹²⁰

breastplate salvation, confidence is the shield. / The breasts are fountains of justice, my Father's will both old and new. / The prophets rise as the neck and show wrath to my sinful people." In the Following Chapter, the *Bridegroom* ha's his Applauses. Whereof, the said *Barlaeus* ha's given us this Paraphrase: "He is mine whom I alone adore in his radiant beauty. / His head is more lustrous than gold, and his hair rises from his forehead / higher than the leaves of the palm-trees themselves, and it is shining black. / His little twinkling eyes surpass even the chaste eyes of the doves, / Eyes that receive their pure splendor by shimmering waters flowing past, / as the river washes them clean. As herbs emit a scent in their respective places, / so each of his cheeks are where they should be. / Lilies dripping of myrrh are inferior to his lips, and both hands bear jewels / and a sea-green beryl. From his flesh shines far and wide / bright ivory, upon which you hang, beautiful blue sapphire / As a high house rests upon unshakable pillars, / so does my husband have legs of gold, and neither is his countenance inferior to the honor of Lebanon. / His flattering tongue plays under a mellifluous palate and his eloquent throat resounds with artful melodies. / So were the eyes, hands, and mouth he bore." A citation from the poetic work of the Dutch Humanist scholar, theologian, and poet Caspar Barlaeus (Caspar van Baerle, 1584–1648), *Faces sacrae, sive hymnus Salomonis quo, sub typo nuptiarum Salomonis & filiae Pharaonis, nuptiae Christi & ecclesiae adumbrantur*, cap. 4–5, pp. 14–15, lines 400–10; 550–65. The poem was published as part of Barlaeus's *Faces Augustae, sive, Poematia, quibus illustriores nuptiae* (1643). Barlaeus's poetic paraphrase of the Song of Songs is written in dactylic hexameters and in a highly wrought style that makes it hard to translate. Nota bene: Mather omits a line in his transcription. After "candore venusto," Barlaeus has "Ora rubent, juvenesque omnes pulcherrimus anteit." ("His face is red, and he surpasses all of the youth as the most beautiful"). Two of the metaphors introduced by Barlaeus deserve mention: The blood may be a reference to the atoning blood of Christ. See Cant. 4:3–6, 5:11–16. The description of the breasts as "fountains of justice" (*Ubera justitiae fontes*) and then the reference to "both old and new" (*Prisca Recensque*) are likely allusions to the Old and New Testament.

¹²⁰ This entry is derived from Thomas Browne, *Certain Miscellany Tracts* (1683), tract. 1 ("Observations upon several Plants mention'd in Scripture"), sect. 45, pp. 79–80. Sir Thomas Browne (1605–1682) studied medicine at Oxford and Leiden (where he received his medical doctorate in 1633) and worked as a physician in Norwich. Politically a royalist and firm supporter of the Anglican establishment, Browne was an intellectual skeptic, who veered toward a type of fideism that separated faith and rational knowledge, as evinced in his main theological work, the *Religio medici* (1643). Browne was known to be supportive of an anti-Calvinist Arminianism but widely suspected to be an Arian and even a crypto-Catholic by English Prot-

But what ha's been thus carried unto the *Sheep*, Dr. *Patrick* rather carries to the *Teeth*. They are here *like a Flock of Sheep come from the Washing*, in regard of their *Whiteness*. And as æqual, as if they had been exactly *polished* & fitted for their Places, in just Proportion by an Artificer, (so the Word which we translate, *Shorn*, signifies;) they that are below answering to those above, as if they were *Twins*. And none of these *miscarry* (so that which we translate, *Barren*, should be rendred;) that is, drops out of the Mouth; which is as much as to say, There is a perfect Number, as well as Order of them.¹²¹

Now, the *Teeth* being the Instruments wherewith we chew our Meat, they may be look'd on, as an Emblem for the Pastors of the Church, who prepare Christian Doctrine for the People.¹²²

Q. How, *the Temples, like a Piece of a Pomegranate, within the Locks?* v. 3.

A. Our Dr. *Castell*, ha's out of the Neighbouring Languages clearly explained several Words in this Verse, which have puzzled all Interpreters. The whole Clause is to be thus translated. *As the Flower of the Pomegranate, so are thy Cheeks without a Veil*. That is, when thy Veil is laid aside, thy Cheeks appear of a most lovely Colour. Such is that of the *Pomegranate-Flower*; the purest *White* and *Red*, most exactly mixed.¹²³

Q. The *Towre of David built for an Armory*, and the *Thousand Bucklers* there? v. 4.

A. The *Towre* was adorned with the *Shields* and *Bucklers* of the mighty Men, 2. Sam. XXIII. & other such Worthies. Wherewith *Grotius* compares the precious Stones, which are wont to be the Ornament of the Neck.¹²⁴

R. *Solomon*, & others of his Nation, will have this to be the Place, where the *Sanhedrim* had a Room; called in their Language, *Liskath haggazith*, or, *The Parlour of square Stones*; where Judgment was administered, & their Discipline præserv'd. This was their Strength; as *Councils* have been thought by some, in the Christian Church.¹²⁵

estants, even though Rome put the *Religio medici* on the index as well. With his *Pseudodoxia epidemica*, or *Treatise on vulgar Errors* (1646) he attempted to counter widely held prejudices, including presumed religious truths. He became an honorary member of the Royal Society in 1665 and was knighted by Charles II in 1671 (ODNB).

121 Patrick, *Song*, p. 54.

122 Patrick, *Song*, p. 54.

123 From Patrick (*Song* 56), a reference to Edmund Castell, *Oratio in scholis theologicis*, p. 36.

124 From Patrick (*Song* 57), a reference to the gloss of Grotius at this verse; see Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4557) and Grotius, *Opera* (1:268).

125 From Patrick (*Song* 57), Mather refers to Rashi. Rashi in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Song of Songs*, p. 46, on Cant. 4:4: "This is the Chamber of Hewn Stone, which was Israel's strength and fortification." "Sanhedrin" was used by Talmudic sources as a term for different forms of the highest Jewish political and religious government through the centuries (see *JE* on "Sanhedrin"; see also the introduction of Tractate Sanhedrin in the Soncino edition of the Babylonian

Theodoret so glosses. *Thou art armed, with all the Weapons of the Spirit, whereby thou easily woundest thy Enemies; and sometimes dost refel them by the Prophets, sometimes by the Apostles, and laiest open their Weakness.*¹²⁶

[▽8r–9v] [▽Insert from 8r–9v]¹²⁷

Q. The *Two Breasts*? v. 5.

A. *Gregory* the Great, applied this unto the Two Orders of Preachers in the primitive Times; The one, among the *Jewish* Christians, the other among the *Gentiles*. These were *Twins*, in regard of their perfect Agreement in the Christian Doctrine. Indeed, they who taught the first Rudiments of Christian Doctrine, went forth by *Pairs*.¹²⁸

Q. The *Mountains of Myrrh*, and the *Hill of Frankincense*? v. 6.

A. The Hebrews will have it, Mount *Moriah*, and *Jerusalem*, where the sweet Incense made of these, & other Spices, were continually burnt in the Temple.¹²⁹

Talmud, pp. xi–xii). The Talmudic Hebrew term לשכת הגזית “hall of hewn stones” signifies the meeting place of those institutions in the temple of Jerusalem, referring to 1 King 6:36 and 2 Chron. 4:9. See for example the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Sanhedrin 88b (Soncino, pp. 585–86), 32b (Soncino, p. 205), 106a (Soncino, p. 722), and *Midrash Rabbah*, *Numbers*, pp. 776–77, on Num. 21:17.

A further source for Patrick might have been the Dutch philologist and jurist Petrus Cunaeus (Peter van der Kun, 1586–1638), *De republica Hebraeorum* ([1617] 1703), lib. 1, cap. 13, pp. 127–28, footnote 2 on “Gazith,” where the opinions of different authors about the “conclave caesi lapidis” are discussed, e.g., John Selden’s and John Lightfoot’s. Compare Selden’s work on the Sanhedrin, *De synedriis et praefecturis juridicis veterum Ebraeorum* ([1650–1655] 1679), lib. 2, cap. 15, pp. 365–401. Cunaeus also refers to Lightfoot, *Centuria chorographica in S. Matthaeum* (1658), cap. 31, in *Thesaurus antiquitatum sacrarum* (1746), pp. 916–17. See the English version *A chorographical Century of the Land of Israel*, cap. 31, in *Works* (1684), vol. 2, p. 31. A member of the Westminster Assembly and later vice-chancellor of the University of Cambridge, Lightfoot (1602–1675) was one of the greatest English Hebraist and biblical scholar of the period, who bequeathed his library of Old Testament books and documents to Harvard.

¹²⁶ From Patrick (*Song* 57), a reference to Theodoret of Cyrus, *Explanatio in Canticum Canticorum*, lib. 2, on Cant. 4:4 [PG 81. 131–32]. Transl. in *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, pp. 78–79: “Your head (he is saying), supporting your head and mouth, holds the teachings of the others, figuratively called *javelins*, with which you prevail over all the adversaries. It also holds many shields, which you use for protection and to extinguish the burning shafts of the evil one, being clad in the panoply of the Spirit, and you easily wound your opponents with *all the javelins of the warriors*, refuting them at one time with the Old Testament authors, at another with the New Testament, and exposing their weakness.”

¹²⁷ See Appendix B.

¹²⁸ From Patrick (*Song* 58), a reference to Gregory the Great, *Expositio super Cantica Cantecorum*, cap. 4, at Cant. 4:5 [PL 79. 509; CCSL 144]. See Appendix A.

¹²⁹ From Patrick (*Song* 58), Mather refers to one of several Jewish traditions on the meaning of the land or the mount “Moriah.” In *Pesikta Rabbati*, Piska 40, col. 5 (Braude, p. 715), one of the rabbinic glosses explains the place where Abraham was told to sacrifice Isaac as a burnt offering (Gen. 22:2) in connection to Cant. 4:6: “It is the Land within which the incense of spices is offered up: *I will go to the mountain of myrrh* (Song. 4:6). The tradition that Moriah

Q. The *Top of Amana, and of Shenir & Hermon?* v. 8.

A. *Judea*, and the neighbouring Places, being the Scene of this Poem, we are not to go so far off, as to *Cilicia* (which many do) to seek for *Amana*.¹³⁰

Shenir and *Hermon* were but Parts of the same Mountain; and *Amana* was, as *Bochart* ha's observed, a Part of *Libanus*. Tho' the lower Parts of this Mountain *Libanus*, were very pleasant, yett the Top of it, which is here spoken of, was horrid, and had wild Beasts inhabiting of it. The Spouse is invited to come from hence, into more secure and pleasant Places.¹³¹

It is no wonder *Solomon* should have the State of the Christian Church in Trouble, thus represented unto him; for it was very suitable unto the State of the Church of the Jews, when it was first formed. It was then pressed by *Pharaoh*, & other Enemies.¹³²

Q. *My Sister?* v. 9.

A. This was a Word of *Tenderness* and *Endearment*, used by Husbands to their Wives. This appears in the Book of *Tobit*. *Raguel* there calls his Wife *Edna*, so. And *Tobias* calls his Wife, *Sarah*, so.¹³³

Q. *One of thine Eyes?* v. 9.

A. The old Interpretation of *Alcuinus* is very notable. He, by the Word *one*, understands the *Oneness*, | or *Unity*. By the *Eyes*, he understands, the Pastors of the Church. And by the *one Wreath of Hair about the Neck*, (so it should be rendred,) the pious *Unity* of the People subject unto them.¹³⁴ [8v]

Q. The *Lips dropping as the Honey-Comb?* v. 11.

A. Pure and Delicious Doctrine, delivered in such a Manner as to invite all to taste of it.

was the *mountain of myrrh* stems from your revered Masters." In *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Song of Songs*, p. 50, on Cant. 4:6, Rashi refers to *Midrash Rabbah*, *Genesis*, on Gen. 22:2 (p. 488), where הַר הַמּוֹרִיָּה [har hammor] "mountain of myrrh" is identified with הַר הַמּוֹרִיָּה [har hammoriyyah] "Mount Moriah" (see 2 Chron. 3:1) and explains Cant. 4:6–7 as God's foretelling: "When they will then sin before Me by profaning My sacred offerings ... I will withdraw from them and I will abandon this Tabernacle, and I will choose for Myself Mount Moriah, the everlasting Temple" Compare also the gloss of the Italian Rabbi and philosopher Obadja ben Jacob Sforno (c. 1475–c. 1550) in the *Mikraoth Gedoloth* on the same verse, in which he explains "the hill of frankincense" as "the Temple Mount in the days of Solomon," which refers to the building of Solomon's Temple "at Jerusalem in mount Moriah" (KJV) in 2 Chron. 3:1.

¹³⁰ Patrick, *Song*, p. 60.

¹³¹ From Patrick (*Song* 60–61), a reference to Bochart, *Geographia sacra*, pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 5, p. 377.

¹³² Patrick, *Song*, p. 61.

¹³³ Patrick, *Song*, p. 61. Compare the Book of Tobit 7:16 and 8:47.

¹³⁴ From Patrick (*Song* 61–62), a reference to Alcuin, *Compendium in Canticum Canticorum*, at Cant. 4:9 [PL 100. 652.].

This by all Sort of Authors, is compared unto *Honey*; and made *Xenophon* be called, The *Attick*, and *Sappho* the *Pierian Bee*; and the rare Eloquence of *Plato*, is said to be predicted by *Bees*, that came and satt on his Mouth.¹³⁵

Q. *Honey & Milk under the Tongue?* v. 11.

A. These were anciently the Food of Infants; and may denote, that the Church hath Instruction for all Sorts.¹³⁶

The Exposition of the Doctors in *Maimonides*, is very wide; That this *Milk* and *honey lying under the Tongue*, signifies the Concealment of such Truths as are very sweet, until Men be fitt to receive them.¹³⁷

Q. The *Smell of thy Garments?* v. 11.

A. *Garments*, in the New Testament, still signify, our Conversation. The *Perfume* thereof, notes, not only the Excellency of the Christian Life, but its being also known every where.¹³⁸

Q. A *Garden enclosed?* v. 12.

A. *Theodoret* gives us the best Exposition of it. He expounds it, of the Church bringing forth Fruits of Godliness, & a Variety of them, like an excellent Garden; and therefore guarded by the singular Care and Providence of her Lord and Owner, from Tyrants and Hereticks, who would destroy or deflower her.¹³⁹

¹³⁵ From Patrick (*Song* 62). The first two examples for mellifluous authors (from Latin *mellifluus*, “flowing like honey”) come from the Greek epic poet Christodorus of Thebes (c. 532 BCE), as cited in the *The Greek Anthology*, a collection of Greek poems, most of them epigrams, written between the classical and Byzantine periods. (Engl. transl. *LCL* 67). For the reference to Xenophon, see 2.388–92: “followed the sonorous genius of Plato’s Muse, mixing the fruit rich in exploits of History, mother of noble deeds, with the drops of the industrious bee.” For the reference to Sappho, see 2.69–71: “And the clear-toned Pierian bee sat there at rest, Sappho of Lesbos. She seemed to be weaving some lovely melody, with her mind devoted to the silent Muses.” For the reference to Plato, see Aelian, *Varia historia*, 10.21: “Note that Perictione was carrying Plato in her arms, and while Ariston sacrificed on Hymettus to the Muses or the Nymphs, the rest of the family attended to the ceremony, and she laid Plato in the myrtles nearby, which were thick and bushy. As he slept a swarm of bees laid some Hymettus honey on his lips and buzzed around him, prophesying in this way Plato’s eloquence” (transl.: *LCL* 486).

¹³⁶ Patrick, *Song*, p. 62.

¹³⁷ From Patrick (*Song* 62), a reference to Edward Pococke’s annotated edition (with the Arabic text in Hebrew characters and a Latin translation) of six sections of the Mishnah commentary by Maimonides, *Porta Mosis* (1655), p. 83. The Hebrew original *Mishneh Torah* (completed in 1182) is an extensive compendium of Jewish law, which includes many philosophical-theological deliberations. It has continued to be one of the most important Jewish legal sources until today (*TRE*).

¹³⁸ Patrick, *Song*, pp. 62–63.

¹³⁹ From Patrick (*Song* 63), a reference to Theodoret of Cyrus, *Explanatio in Canticum Canticorum*, lib. 3, on Cant. 4:12 [PG 81. 143]. Transl. in *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, p. 84: “A garden locked, my sister, bride, a garden locked, a fountain sealed (v. 12). Again he calls her a garden, not as though bearing a single fruit of piety and virtue, but as one producing

Q. A *Fountain sealed*? v. 12.

A. Dr. *Patrick* proposes, whether it may not be a Description of the Christian *Font*, or Baptism; to which none were Admitted, but those who sincerely Renounced all Wickedness; Resolving & Promising to lead an Holy Life.¹⁴⁰

Theodoret expresses a Sense of this Tendency; when he saies, The Church is compared unto a *Fountain sealed*, *ὡς μὴ πασιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀξίοις προκειμένην*.¹⁴¹ *As not lying exposed unto all Comers, but only to those who are worthy*. Especially in regard of the Sacraments.¹⁴²

Cotovicus in his *Itinerary* saies, That there is a Fountain Three Miles from *Bethlehem* southward, called by this Name, *The Fountain sealed*.¹⁴³

[9r]

Q. How, the *Plants an Orchard of Pomegranates*? v. 13.

A. *Theodoret* thinks, it setteth forth, the Variety of Christians in the Church; or, as his Words are, *The many Orders of Christians that shall be saved*. There are many Sorts of People, who all have their several Places & Stations in the same Church, as the Grains of the *Pomegranate* lie in their several *Cells*, and their distinct *Closetts*; & yett are all contained in the same *Cell*, all compose one *Body*.¹⁴⁴

Q. The several *Spices* here enumerated? v. 14.

A. Most of their Names in the Hebrew Text, are the same that are now used in our, & most other Languages.

Carcom, for *Saffron*, differs little from *Crocus*. The Mountain in *Cilicia*, called, *Corycus*, was famous for the best *Crocus* in the World.

many and varied fruits; and *locked* as though sealed off and proof against intrigue: “The gates of Hades will not prevail against her.”

¹⁴⁰ Patrick, *Song*, p. 64.

¹⁴¹ From Patrick’s (*Song* 64). With diacritical marks: *ὡς μὴ πᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀξίοις προκειμένην*; see Theodoret of Cyrus, *Explanatio in Canticum Canticorum*, lib. 3, at Cant. 4:12 [PG 81. 144]. Mather cites Patrick’s transl.

¹⁴² Compare Theodoret of Cyrus, *Explanatio in Canticum Canticorum*, lib. 3, on Cant. 4:12 [PG 81. 143]. Transl. in *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, p. 84: “She is also a *fountain sealed*: she is not available to everyone but to those thought worthy of these streams; the Lord in the sacred Gospels also says of this fountain, ‘Whoever drinks of the water I shall give will not thirst forever, and instead there will be in them a spring of living water gushing up to life eternal.’ Properly, then, he refers to her as a *fountain sealed* for not being available to everyone but to those thought worthy; the divine sacraments, after all, are available not to the uninitiated but to the initiated, not to those wallowing in iniquity after initiation but to those living an exact life or purified through repentance.”

¹⁴³ From Patrick (*Song* 65), a reference to the travel narrative of the Dutch pilgrim to Jerusalem Joannes Cotovicus (Jan van Kootwyck or Cotwyck, d. 1629), *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum* (1619), lib 2, cap. 9, p. 240; here he mentions a fountain “which is said to be a sealed fountain” (*quem Fontem signatum esse aiunt*), and which “is about three thousand feet away from Bethlehem (*Distat is à Bethlehem tria circiter millia passuum*)”.

¹⁴⁴ From Patrick (*Song* 65), a reference to Theodoret of Cyrus, *Explanatio in Canticum Canticorum*, lib. 3, at Cant. 4:13 [PG 81. 143–46].

Canna, which we translate *Calamus*, is a sweet *Cane*.

Cinamon, keeps its Name. And so does *Myrrh*; which grew only in the Midst of *Arabia*, among the *Sabeans*.

And, *Aloes*, which drops from a Shrub in those Countreys.

[9v] In *Athenæus*, we have *Mnesimachus* | an Ancient Poet, in a Poem of his called, *Hippotrophos*, making a Description of a great Supper, at a Marriage-Feast; and bringing in these very *Spices*.¹⁴⁵

Q. A Fountain of Gardens & a Well of Waters? v. 15.

A. *Bochart* observes, These are the same Thing. *Beer*, which we translate, *Pitt*, or *Well*, signifies a *Fountain*, as much as *Maajan*.¹⁴⁶

Libanus abounds with such Springs, (as all great Mountains do;) and particularly there is at the Foot of it, an excellent *Spring*, which growes presently into a *River*; that waters the whole Plain between That and *Tripoli*, with a good Stream whereby the Vineyards, Olive-Yards, Fig-Yards, and Gardens, which there were very numerous, were all supplied.

Hereto *Theodoret* compares the Evangelical Doctrine. See, Joh. IV.10, 14.¹⁴⁷

[△] [△Insert ends]

Q. Why do wee so Read the Wish of the Church, *Awake, O Northwind, & come thou Southwind, Blow upon my Garden?* v. 16.

A. I can tell, why wee should *Not* Read it so. The Church inviting her Lord into her Garden, wishes for such a Wind, as would bee most advantageous to the Fruits & Flowers in that Garden; and that is, a *South-Wind*. Shee does not wish, that at the same Time, Two contrary Winds may Blow; that were a thing many Wayes undesirable. No, but shee do's as it were say, *Depart, Bee gone, Leave off, thou Northwind*.

For the Hebrew Word, here, signifies, To *Depart*, as well as, To *Awake*. And it must now bee supposed, the Spring Time, when the *Northwind* uses to Retire.¹⁴⁸

[the entries from 8r–9v were inserted into their designated places]¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ From Patrick (*Song* 65–66), Mather cites Athenæus, *Deipnosophistai* (7.301). Mnesimachus is a Greek comical poet and playwright whom both Athenæus and the Suda associate with Middle Comedy; his creative period extends from the 360s into the 340s BCE (*NP*).

¹⁴⁶ From Patrick (*Song* 67), a reference to Bochart, *Geographia sacra*, pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 5, p. 377.

¹⁴⁷ From Patrick (*Song* 67), a reference to Theodoret of Cyrus, *Explanatio in Canticum Canticorum*, lib. 3, on Cant. 4:15 [PG 81. 145–48].

¹⁴⁸ Explanation from Patrick, *Song*, p. 68. Reference is made to עור "stir oneself up, be awake, astir, lively." In other forms or conjugations of the verb (e. g., in the Niphal stem), it can also indicate "set in motion."

¹⁴⁹ See Appendix B.

Q. The Meaning of, *I have gathered my Myrrh with my Spice?* v. 1.

A. Take Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase. "I am present in my Garden, & have brought it to such Perfection, that it hath produced many excellent Persons, more precious than Myrrh; & all the Spices before-named with whose Services I am not only well-pleased, but rejoice in the Purity of their Doctrine, & of their Lives; inviting all that bear any Love to me, both in Heaven and in Earth, to rejoice, & to be exceeding glad, together with me."¹⁵⁰

Q. On that Clause, *my Head is filled with the Dew, my Locks with the Drops of the Night*; A Gloss of Antiquity? v. 2.

A. *Gregory Nyssene* supposes, that our Saviour here, does represent Himself and His Church; By the *Head* he understands our Saviour Himself; by the *Locks* he understands the Servants of our Saviour; His Apostles & His Ministers. Now, the *Hair* being on, tis an Ornament; but when tis cutt off, what more Insignificant? Thus, when the Servants of God are joined unto Christ their *Head*, by Obedience, they are worthy of Honour; But when they are cutt off, by falling into Sin, there is no Value in them.¹⁵¹

Our Saviour is here (as Dr. *Patrick* observes) represented as a Beautiful *Nazarite*, having Bushy *Hair*, and many *Locks*, (like *Sampson*,) & having travelled all Night, that he might visit the Spouse, he was very wett therewithal. Great Hardships and Afflictions, are in the Scripture meant by the *Dew which falls in the Night*. See Dan. IV.25. [10v]

The *Dropping* of the Prophets, (a Metaphor taken from the *Dew*,) is their Speaking *Against* a Place. Amos. VI.16.

Probably *Solomon* may allude unto Psal. CX.7. which foretels the Afflictions of the *Messiah*, by, *Drinking of the Brook in the Way*.

Our Saviour seems here, to come in the Person & Condition of a poor Man, to beg Entertainment, and *not having where to lay his Head*, (as elsewhere He speaks,) He is thereby exposed unto the cold Air, & many Difficulties.¹⁵²

Q. On that, *I have putt off my Coat, how shall I putt it on?* v. 3.

A. There is a pious Note of *Theodoret*.

¹⁵⁰ Patrick, *Song*, p. 70.

¹⁵¹ Maybe from à Lapide (*Commentarius in Canticum Canticorum* 168), Mather paraphrases the gloss of Gregory of Nyssa, *Commentarius in Canticum Canticorum*, hom. 11, on Cant. 5:2 [PG 44. 993–96; GNO 6:314–15].

¹⁵² See Patrick, *Song*, pp. 76–77.

“Lett us learn from hence, the Mischief done by Sloth & Laziness, & in what Troubles & Travels it engages us. The Spouse here excusing herself, & not being presently willing to rise unto the Bridegroom, is compelled a little after, not only to rise and run to the Door, but to run thro’ the City, & wander about the Streets, & fall among the Watchmen, & by them to be wounded; and after all, could scarce find her Beloved: unto whom, if she had presently hearkened & obeyed His Heavenly Call, she had avoided all those Inconveniences.”¹⁵³

The Tempest of the Churches, in the II and III of the *Revelations*, will illustrate this Text.¹⁵⁴

[11r] |¹⁵⁵

Q. His *Putting in His Hand by the Hole?* v. 4.

A. That is, At the *Window*, or *Casement*, as if He would even draw her out of her Bed. Or, in a Threatening Manner, as if He would punish her for her Sloth. For so; *putting forth the Hand*, signifies. 1. Sam. XXVI.9, 11, 23.¹⁵⁶

This agrees with what follows, about the *Moving* of the *Bowels*. By the *Bowels* are meant, the *Passions*. The *Moving* means *Trembling*. The Word occurs, Ezek. VII.16. applied unto *Doves* (to which the Spouse is here compared) and it should not be read, *Mourning*, but rather, *Trembling like Doves*. For they are a very Timorous Creature. [Hos. XI.11.] and so it may be translated here; *I was so full of Trouble, that I quivered like a Dove*.¹⁵⁷

Or, by *putting forth the Hand*, may be meant, the Touches He gives by His Holy Spirit; which will not contradict what has been already mentioned.¹⁵⁸

Q. The Occasion of the *Hands dropping with Myrrh?* v. 5.

A. Such her Haste for opening the Door, that she broke the Vessel of *Myrrh* she snatch’d up, when she rose; intending therewith to Anoint and Refresh His Head, which was wett with the Dew.

Or rather, Her Hands in her panick Fear, shook at such a rate, that she spilt some of the *Myrrh*, and it ran about her Fingers.¹⁵⁹

It was, the *current Myrrh*, (so may be rendred, what we read, *sweet-smelling Myrrh*;) that is, as *Bochart* understands it, that which Wept and Dropt from the Tree, of itself; which was therefore the most unctuous, & the fittest for all

¹⁵³ From Patrick (*Song* 78), a reference to Theodoret of Cyrus, *Explanatio in Canticum Canticorum*, lib. 3, on Cant. 5:3 [PG 81. 151–52].

¹⁵⁴ Patrick, *Song*, p. 79.

¹⁵⁵ See Appendix B.

¹⁵⁶ From Patrick, *Song*, p. 79.

¹⁵⁷ Patrick, *Song*, pp. 79–80.

¹⁵⁸ Patrick, *Song*, p. 80.

¹⁵⁹ Patrick, *Song*, p. 80.

Uses.¹⁶⁰ Besides this; *Theophrastus* observes, that out of *Myrrh* being beaten, there flowed on *Oyl*, called, *στακτη*, which was very precious.¹⁶¹

Among the mystical Interpreters, the *Myrrha transiens super Manubria Seræ*, is interpreted of *Grace* disposing us to admitt the Truth, when it knocks at the Doors of our Hearts.¹⁶²

Q. On that, *They took my Veil from me?* v. 7.

A. *Gregory Nyssen* saies, That it was περιβόλαιον νυμφικόν *The Nuptial Veil*,¹⁶³ which together with the Face, covered the whole Body; and therefore, to be Disrobed of it, was the greatest Trouble and Reproach; it was to disown her being the Spouse that she had professed herself to be.

Q. *Sick of Love?* v. 8.

A. *Dr. Patrick's* Paraphrase.

"I do not enjoy myself, now I want His Company; nor can be well till I recover His Love."¹⁶⁴

Q. On the Description here given of the *Beloved Lord?* v. 10.

A. It is a notable Hint of *Dr. Patrick*; That *Solomon* seems to have his Eye, on the Person of his Father *David*: [1. Sam. XVI.12.] whose very Aspect promised much, & showed that he was born to Rule.¹⁶⁵

[11v]

¹⁶⁰ From Patrick (*Song* 80–81), Mather cites Bochart, *Geographia sacra*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 22, p. 136.

¹⁶¹ "Oil of myrrh" (στακτη). From Patrick (*Song* 81), Mather refers to Theophrastus, *Historia plantarum* (9.4.10); compare Gen. 37:25.

¹⁶² "Myrrh passing upon the handles of the lock." Mather objectifies the clause ("the ... is interpreted ..."), likely drawing from the literalist Latin translation of the Hebrew ("myrrham transeuntem super manubria seræ") provided in Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:438). The original 1611 KJV already addresses the exegetical issue of the participle עָבַר [ober] "passing" (from עָבַר [abar] "to pass over"), clarifying in the margin that the Hebrew suggests "passing, or running about." VUL: "stillaverunt" (dropped). Poole holds that the verse would signify "that Christ though he withdrew himself from her, yet left a sweet savour behind him, infusing into her, and stirring up in her the Graces of the Spirit, such as Repentance, which is bitter as Myrrh, earnest desire after Christ &c." (*Annotations upon the Holy Bible*, vol. 1, at Cant. 5:5). מַר [mar] "bitter" is related to מוֹר [mor] "myrrh," see Ruth 1:20. The etymological aspect carries over into Poole's commentary which references the bitterness of repentance.

¹⁶³ From Patrick's (*Song* 82). With diacritical marks: περιβόλαιον νυμφικόν. See Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum Canticorum*, hom. 12 [PG 44. 1029–30; GNO 6:359]. The medieval *Glossa ordinaria* sees the watchmen as preachers exposing errors and sinfulness [PL 113. 1154]; Mary Dove's transl.: *The Glossa Ordinaria on the Song of Songs*.

¹⁶⁴ Patrick, *Song*, p. 72.

¹⁶⁵ Patrick, *Song*, p. 83.

What we read, *White & Ruddy*, is by *Bochart*, read, *White & Shining*. It represents the majestic Beauty of the Aspect whereto *David* referr'd in those famous Words; Psal. XLV.2. *Thou art fairer than the Children of Men*.¹⁶⁶

The latter Clause of the Verse, may have respect, unto what they sang of *David*, after he came from his Victory over *Goliath*: [1. Sam. XVIII.7.] and unto what *David* himself sang of this great Prince, in Psal. XLV. and CX. relating to the Conquest of this World unto Him. Tis expressed in His being *Chief*, [or, *lifting up the Standard*] *over Ten thousands*; that is, over great Multitudes.¹⁶⁷

White and *Ruddy*, is by *Munster* gloss'd, as *Fons omnis Claritatis, Puritatis, et Vitæ*; and, *severus Ultor Scelerum*.¹⁶⁸

Q. How is *His Head as fine Gold*? v. 11.

A. That is, The *Crown* on His Head. *Basil* takes it for a *Diadem*.¹⁶⁹

This *Crown* is the same that we find mentioned by *David*: Psal. XXI.3. of *pure Gold*.

The Hebrew is, *Paz*.¹⁷⁰ And *Bochart* shewes, This was the Island, anciently called, *Taprobana*; on which the Footsteps of this Word, *Paz*, remained in *Ptolemies* Time; who mentions on that Island, the River *Phasis*, and the Creek, or Bay, *Pasis*.¹⁷¹

Q. The *Locks*? v. 11.

A. *Bochart* shewes, Tis the Foretop, or the Hair coming down on the Forehead; which is expressed in the Next Word, *Taltalim*, hanging down. This Foretop is only mentioned, because little else appeared, when the Head held the *Crown* upon it.¹⁷²

Shining Black Hair, was accounted majestic; & much affected in the eastern Countreys. They endeavored by Art, to make their Hair of this Colour;

¹⁶⁶ Mather paraphrases Patrick (*Song* 83), who cites Bochart's alternative transl. from *Hiero- zoicon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 10, pp. 197–203, esp. 199.

¹⁶⁷ See Patrick, *Song*, p. 83.

¹⁶⁸ "A fountain of all clarity, purity and life; and, a grave avenger of wicked doings." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:4553).

¹⁶⁹ From Patrick (*Song*, p. 84), a reference to Basil, Bishop of Seleucia and ecclesiastical writer (d. after 468), *Orationes*, oratio 2, *In Adamum* [PG 85. 37–38], on "a sparkling diadem that shines in the light of the gemstones."

¹⁷⁰ *paz* [paz] "refined, pure gold." See Patrick, *Song*, p. 84. compare Lam. 4:2; Isa. 13:12.

¹⁷¹ From Patrick (*Song* 84), a reference to Bochart, *Geographia sacra*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 27, p. 156; and par. 2, lib. 1, cap. 46, p. 771. Bochart cites the work of the famous Greek geographer, astronomer, and mathematician Ptolemy (Claudius Ptolemaeus, 2nd century CE). In bk. 7 of his *Geography* Ptolemy mentions the fabled island of Taprobana, whose location he assumed to be in the Indian Ocean south of continental Asia.

¹⁷² From Patrick (*Song* 84), a reference to Bochart, *Hiero- zoicon*, pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 10, pp. 197–203.

and, as *Pliny* informs us, employ'd the Eggs, the Blood, & the Brains of *Ravens* for this Purpose.¹⁷³

Q. The Comparison of the *Eyes* to *Doves*? v. 12.

A. They are compared for their Sparkling, & yett Mildness, unto the Eyes of *milk-white Doves*. *Washed*, and *sitting*, don't refer to the *Eyes*; but unto *Doves*, who love to *Sitt*, nay, to *Tarry* (as the Word here notes,) by River-Sides, & Places which abound with Water; and then are so pleased, that their *Eyes* appear very Quick & Lively.

Washed with Milk, signifieth *Doves* as white as Milk, which when they have washed themselves look as if they had been in Milk.¹⁷⁴ The exact Providence of our Saviour unto His Church, may be [***torn.*]¹⁷⁵

|¹⁷⁶

[12r]

Q. *Lips like Lillies*. Is this an advantageous Comparison? v. 13.

A. *Almonazir* has observed out of *Dioscorides*, and *Theophrastus*, and *Pliny*, that there were *Lilies* of a *purple Colour*.¹⁷⁷

In *Pliny*, [l. XXI. c. 5.] there is Mention of a *Lily*, which he calls, *Rubens Lilium*; & which was much esteemed, he saies, in *Syria*.¹⁷⁸

Indeed *Eloquence* is described sometimes by *Lilies*, and may be here intended.

Compare Luk. IV.22. with Psal. XLV.2.¹⁷⁹

Q. The *Belly* compared unto *Bright Ivory*, overlaid with *Sapphires*? v. 14.

A. Dr. *Patrick* observes, 'Tis both against the very Scope of this Discourse, and against the Rules of Decency, to fansy, that any of those Naked Parts of the Body are here described, which are not commonly exposed unto every bodies

¹⁷³ Patrick, *Song*, p. 84. Compare *Pliny*, *Natural History*, 29.34.111.

¹⁷⁴ Patrick, *Song*, p. 85.

¹⁷⁵ A piece of the manuscript is torn off here, but it seems likely that in the missing part Mather concluded his summary paraphrase of Patrick's explanation of the mystical application of "Doves Eyes" to the eyes of the Spouse, or the Church: "The mystical application of these eyes to the Doctors of the Church, seems impertinent; because they are described before in the eyes of the Spouse, IV. 1. Rather therefore his exact care and providence over the Church, which nothing can escape, may be hereby represented: for He sees into the very heart and reins, as He himself affirms, II. Revel. 18:23" (*Song* 86).

¹⁷⁶ See Appendix B.

¹⁷⁷ From Patrick (*Song* 86), references are made to the commentary of the Dominican scholar Jerónimo Almonacir (d. 1604), *Commentaria in Canticum Canticorum Salomonis* (1587), p. 35; to the work of the Greek physician, pharmacologist, and botanist Pedanius Dioscorides of Anazarbus (c. 40–c. 90 CE), *De materia medica* (Περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς), lib. 3, cap. 102; to Theophrastus, *Historia plantarum*, 6.6.3–4; and *Pliny*, *Natural History*, 21.5.11–12.

¹⁷⁸ "Red lily." From Patrick (*Song* 86) another reference to *Pliny*, *Natural History*, 21.5.11–12.

¹⁷⁹ Patrick, *Song*, pp. 86–87.

View. The Spouse is desired to tell, by what Marks this glorious Person might be discovered.¹⁸⁰

She proceeds now therefore to describe the *Habit* of that glorious Person. *Solomon* having in his Mind, the *Idæa* which his Father had given him of the *Messiah* in the CX Psalm, where He is a *Priest* as well as a *Prince*, represents Him in the Habit of an *High-Priest*, in the Clauses now before us. The *High-Priest*, among other Noble Vestments, had an *embroidered Coat*; the Sleeves of which, the Hebrews tell us, came down to the Wrists; nay, as *Maimonides* tells us, as far as to the Hollow of his Hand. This may be meant by, *His Hands*; (which comprehend the *Arms* and *Shoulders*) that is, the Clothing of those Parts. The *Sleeves* as well as the whole *Coat*, were *embroidered*; | that the High-Priest might appear the more glorious. The *Embroidery* was, as the Hebrews tell us, in a Kind of *Oilet-holes*, finely wrought.¹⁸¹ R. *Solomon* saies, *They were Holes made in golden Rings, in which were fixed precious Stones*. This explains these Words, *His Hands are as Gold Rings, sett with the Beryl*.¹⁸²

Or might not the *Ephod* itself be here intended? Which being fastened on the *Shoulders*, hung down before and behind, and had two *golden Rings*, unto which the *Breast-Plate* was fastned; *Maimonides* makes *Four*; Two above, at the Jewel-Buttons, and Two Below, about the Girdle of the *Ephod*! This was one of the principal Ornaments, in which the *High-Priest* carried on his Ministrations. But the greatest of all, was the *Breast-Plate* annexed unto it.¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ Patrick, *Song*, p. 87.

¹⁸¹ From Patrick (*Song* 88), who paraphrases Braunius, *Vestitus sacerdotum*, lib. 2, cap. 1 ("De brachis sacerdotum"), pp. 447–48. Braunius references the commentary of Maimonides on Exod. 28:4 in *Mishneh Torah*, Tractate *K'lei HaMikdash* ("Laws of temple utensils"), ch. 8, Halachah 17. Touger's transl. (p. 196) renders this passage differently, though: "The length of the tunic extended until slightly above the heel. The length of the sleeve extended until his wrist and its width was the width of his hand." Maimonides refers here to the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Yoma 72b (Soncino, p. 345). Referring to another passage in Tractate Yoma 72b (Soncino, p. 348), Maimonides explains the "embroidered coat" or tunic in ch. 8, Halachah 15 (Touger, p. 196): "Whenever the Torah uses the term 'a work of embroidery,' the intent is that the design which is woven will be seen on one side of the fabric." For the Jewish sources of the following description of the priest's garments, see chs. 8 and 9 in Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, Tractate *K'lei HaMikdash* (Touger, pp. 190–206).

¹⁸² From Patrick (*Song* 88) who translates Braunius, *Vestitus sacerdotum*, lib. 1, cap. 17 ("De schesch moschzar"), p. 379. Braunius cites Rashi's commentary on Exod. 28:11. In the transl. of the Sapirstein ed. (pp. 384–85): "The stones are encircled in golden settings. He would make the base for the stone in the gold, a sort of indentation, to fit the dimensions of the stone, and he would imbed it in the setting. Thus the setting surrounds the stone completely. And he attaches the settings onto the shoulder straps of the Eiphod."

¹⁸³ Compare the prescriptions for the vestments of the high priest in Exod. 28:6–28. Patrick (*Song* 88–89) cites Braunius, *Vestitus sacerdotum*, lib. 2, cap. 6 ("De ephodo"), p. 599, who translates Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, Tractate *K'lei HaMikdash*, ch. 9, Halachah 8. Touger's transl. (p. 202): "Four golden rings are made on the four corners of the breastplate. In the two upper rings from which the breastplate is suspended, two golden cords are placed. They are

This is meant in the latter Part of the Verse; where the Word, *Belly*, comprehends the *Breast*, and all. This *Choschen* covered it; and so it was covered & overlaid with Twelve precious Stones. Indeed only the *Sapphire*, which was the *Tenth* of them is mentioned; but by a Figure usual in the Scriptures, the whole Company are intended. And, *Rings*, being mentioned in the plural Number, this also leads us to more Stones than one.

The *Chaldee* Paraphrase countenances this Interpretation; and supports a Respect unto the High-Priests *Breast-Plate* here; & therefore mentions all the *Stones* of it, one by one.¹⁸⁴

The *Sapphire* may be here mentioned, rather than the others, because it is peculiarly of the Colour of the Heavens, and fitter than any to represent the sublime Dignity here described. Consider Exod. XXIV.10. and Ezek. I.26.¹⁸⁵

The *polished Ivory* here notes only a singular Brightness, & Smoothness; and it may possibly relate unto the Tunick of *Fine Linen*; wherein the High-Priest was to minister. Especially on the great Day of Expiation. [Exod. XXXVIII.39. XXXIX.27. Lev. XVI.4.]¹⁸⁶

Q. The Description goes on to the *Legs*? v. 15.

A. The Garments of the *Thighs* are here intended. These were the First, that the *High-Priest* putt on, when he went about his Ministry. They were made of *Schesch*; which is a Word common, both to *Fine Linen*, and to *Pure White Marble*.¹⁸⁷ The LXX twice translate it, *Parian Marble*. Est. I.6. & 2. Chron. XXIX.2. This *Byssus*, (which resembled *Marble*,) was a thing of great Price in those Countreys as appears both by *Pliny*, & by *Pausanias*.¹⁸⁸

called chains. In the two lower rings that are opposite [the high priest's] breast are placed two cords of sky-blue wool."

184 From Patrick (*Song* 88). The extensive interpretative paraphrase of the Targum at Cant. 5:14 reads the different precious stones as signifying the twelve tribes of Jacob. Compare the Latin transl. in Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:440). In Exod. 28:18 the sapphire is actually the fifth stone. Patrick's source here is again Braunius, *Vestitus sacerdotum*, lib. 2, cap. 7 ("De pectorale"), pp. 606–26, and cap. 12 ("De saphiro"), pp. 670–83.

185 From Patrick (*Song* 89), who paraphrases Braunius, *Vestitus sacerdotum*, lib. 2, cap. 12, p. 676, who refers to Exod. 24:10 and Ezek. 1:26.

186 Patrick (*Song* 90), who summarizes Braunius, *Vestitus sacerdotum*, lib. 2, cap. 12, pp. 670–83; see here pp. 676–77. Compare the christological interpretation in Mather's summary of the great Dutch Reformed theologian Johannes Cocceius (Koch, Coch, 1603–1669) on that verse. Cocceius's interpretation in *Cogitationes de Cantico Canticorum Salomonis* (1665), pp. 97–99, is also cited and extensively explained by Braunius, pp. 674–78.

187 From Patrick (*Song* 90), who summarizes Braunius's extensive discussion on "Schesch" in lib. 1, cap. 6 ("De schesch, lino"), pp. 116–35, and cap. 7 ("De vestibis albis pontificis maximi"), pp. 135–57. Here the Hebrew word is שֶׁשֶׁךְ [shesh] "alabaster (calcium carbonate)."

188 From Patrick (*Song* 90–91), who refers to Braunius, *Vestitus sacerdotum*, lib. 1, cap. 6, pp. 128–29; references are made to Pliny, *Natural History*, 19.1.4; and to the Greek traveler and geographer Pausanias *Periegetes* (c. 115–180 CE), *Description of Greece* (5.5.2). At Esther 1:6 the LXX has στύλοις παρίνοις (*NETS*: "pillars of Parian marble"), and reference is made to πάριον πολύν ("much Parian marble") at 1 Chron. 29:2.

These Garments were made of *Twined fine Linen*; [Exod. XXXIX.28.] which rendred them the more substantial & sitt the fatter and stiffer; & more like *Pillars*.¹⁸⁹

Below these, came the *Meil*, or the Robe; on the Skirts where hung Bells made of pure Gold. These may be the *Sockets of Gold* here mentioned. Or also these may refer to his *Sandals*; bound unto his Feet with *golden Ribbons*.¹⁹⁰

[13r] |¹⁹¹

Q. Why is it said, *His Countenance, as Lebanon*? v. 15.

A. The Hebrew Word may mean, His whole *Appearance*.¹⁹²

Lebanon afforded, one of the most goodly Sights, in those Countreys; especially after *Solomon*, had made his Garden there.¹⁹³ Unto this lovely Forest and Garden, the *Appearance* of the High-Priest may be the better compared; because there were *Flowers* as well as *Pomegranates*, (according to *Philo*,) wrought in the bottom of the Holy Robe.¹⁹⁴ This the LXX affirm in the express Words; that there was *ανθινον*, a *Floury Work*, as well as *Pomegranates* and *Bells*, in the Hem of the *Meil*. [Exod. XXVIII.34.] And indeed, the *Pomegranates*, being made of *Wool* of diverse Colours, they themselves might look like diverse *Flowers*.¹⁹⁵

Besides this; It is to be observed, that several other Parts of the *High-Priests* Habit, are commanded to be made of a Work, that is called, *Choscheb*, which we render, *Cunning Work*. Some translate it, *Artificial*, others, *Ingenious Work*. All agree, that it consisted in certain Beautiful Figures of Flowers and Animals, and in Variety of Colours. Tis very probable, then, *Trees* were also wrought in those priestly Vestures; which gave yett a more lively Representation of *Lebanon*.¹⁹⁶

¹⁸⁹ From Patrick (*Song* 91), who summarizes a passage in Braunius, *Vestitus sacerdotum*, lib. 1, cap. 17, pp. 420–21. The comparison with pillars is taken from Cornelius à Lapide, *Commentarius in Cantica Canticorum*, pp. 192–93, on Cant. 5:15.

¹⁹⁰ From Patrick (*Song* 91), who summarizes Cornelius à Lapide, *Commentarius in Cantica Canticorum*, p. 192, on Cant. 5:15. See the description of the high priest's robe in Braunius, *Vestitus sacerdotum*, lib. 2, cap. 2 ("De tunica"), pp. 456–75. The Bible does not mention shoes or sandals for the priests, so the authors speculate here on the form of King Solomon's shoes.

¹⁹¹ See Appendix B.

¹⁹² הַמַּאֲרָה [mar'eh] "sight, appearance." KJV: "his countenance is as Lebanon;" NAU: "His appearance is like Lebanon."

¹⁹³ From Patrick (*Song* 92), who summarizes Cornelius à Lapide, *Commentarius in Cantica Canticorum*, p. 193, on Cant. 5:15.

¹⁹⁴ From Patrick (*Song* 92), who refers to Braunius, *Vestitus sacerdotum*, lib. 2, cap. 5 ("De pallio pontificis maximi"), p. 575. Reference is made to Philo of Alexandria, *De vita Mosi*, 2.23–24.109–26.

¹⁹⁵ Ἀνθινος [anthinos], so also, ἀνθινὴ or, ἀνθινον, "like flowers." From Patrick (*Song* 92), who cites Braunius, *Vestitus sacerdotum*, lib. 2, cap. 5, p. 576. Compare the LXX at Exod. 28:34: παρὰ ῥόισκον χρυσοῦν κώδωνα καὶ ἀνθινον ἐπὶ τοῦ λώματος τοῦ ὑποδύτου κύκλῳ; "Beside a little golden pomegranate, a bell and a blossom on the hem of the undergarment around" (NETS).

¹⁹⁶ From Patrick (*Song* 92–93), who summarizes Braunius, *Vestitus sacerdotum*, lib. 1, cap. 17 ("De schesch moschzar"), pp. 384–85 (actually four pages where the pagination is off).

Some think, only the Tallness of the Stature of this glorious Prince is intended.¹⁹⁷

Be sure, there is intended, the *Excellency* of our Lords everlasting Priesthood; & its Preheminence above the other, as much as the *Cedar* excells all the Trees of the Forest.¹⁹⁸

[13v]

Q. Why is it said, *His Mouth is most sweet?* v. 16.

A. It shoves, the perfect Soundness of the Inward Parts, as the foregoing Description does the Excellency of the Outward.

It is applied by Interpreters, to the Purity of the Affections in our Saviour. But, *Patrick*, thinks, it may be as well applied unto His Breathing on His Apostles, when He bade them, *Receive the Holy Spirit*.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ From Patrick (*Song* 92), who summarizes Cornelius à Lapide, *Commentarius in Cantica Canticorum*, pp. 193–94, on Cant. 5:15.

¹⁹⁸ Patrick, *Song*, p. 93.

¹⁹⁹ From Patrick (*Song* 93), who summarizes Cornelius à Lapide, *Commentarius in Cantica Canticorum*, pp. 194–95, on Cant. 5:16.

Q. His *Feeding among the Lilies*? v. 3.

A. Dr. *Patrick*, supposing, as others do, our Saviours doing the Office of a Shepherd here, takes his *Feeding among the Lilies*, to be the same with His *Walking in the Midst of the golden Candlesticks*; That is, to have His Conversation, & to take up His Abode with them; as He saies in His Gospel, [Joh. XIV.23.] He will do with them who *love Him and keep His Commandments*.²⁰⁰

These Persons are here compared unto *Lilies*; which being a Name given to our Saviour Himself, *Gr. Nyssen* and *Theodoret*,²⁰¹ hereby understand such as are conformed unto Him, and have His Image wrought in their Souls, in Holiness and Righteousness. The former of them, quoting, Phil. IV.8. saies, ταυτα εστι τα κρινα, *These are the Lilies wherein our Saviour delights*.²⁰²

Q. *Beautiful as Tirzah*; The Sense of this Verse? v. 4.

A. *Tirzah* was a beautiful Scituation in the Countrey of *Ephraim*; & therefore chosen by *Jeroboam* for the Seat of his Kingdome. The very Original of the Word, signifies, as much as, *Urbs Amabilis*.²⁰³ One of the Ancient Kings of *Canaan*, chose it, for his Place of Residence.

Lest this Comparison should not be high enough, there is added, *Jerusalem*, the most lovely Place in all those Regions. Read, Lam. II.15. *Pliny* also mentions it, as the most glorious of all the Cities in the East.²⁰⁴

The Comparison proceeds so, *Terrible as an Army with Banners*; which strikes an Awe into Beholders.²⁰⁵

This Passage is, to Dr. *Patrick*, a New Proof, that *Solomon* in this Book, speaks not of a single Person, (as *Pharaohs* Daughter, or a *Shulamite*.) under the Name of the *Spouse*; but a *Society* or Body of People; For who else could be compared unto *Cities*, nay, to *Armies* drawn up under their Banners.²⁰⁶

The last Clause, may refer to the comely Order appointed by our Saviour in His Church; by which it is præserted venerable. So *Theodoret* glosses. *They are astonished, who behold thy Order; there being nothing Disorderly, nothing Uncer-*

²⁰⁰ Patrick, *Song*, p. 100.

²⁰¹ From Patrick (*Song* 100), references are made to Gregory of Nyssa, *Commentarius in Canticum Canticorum*, hom. 13 [PG 44. 1049–50; GNO 6:384]; and to Theodoret of Cyrus, *Explanatio in Canticum Canticorum*, lib. 3, on Cant. 6:3 [PG 81. 165–66].

²⁰² “These are the Lilies.” Patrick’s (*Song* 100) transl. of ταυτά εστι ... τὰ κρινα; see Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum Canticorum*, hom. 15 [PG 44. 1093–94; GNO 6:439].

²⁰³ “A city that pleases one.” Patrick’s translation (*Song* 100); literally: “a pleasant city.”

²⁰⁴ From Patrick (*Song* 101), a reference to Pliny, *Natural History*, 5.14.70.

²⁰⁵ Patrick, *Song*, p. 101.

²⁰⁶ Patrick, *Song*, p. 101.

tain or Undetermined, nothing Confused & Indistinct; but all | τεταγμένα και κε- [14v]
κριμένα, orderly appointed, & judiciously determined.²⁰⁷

Some refer this *Terribleness*, to the *Gravity*, or, *Severity* of the Countenance; forbidding all wanton Approaches to so great a Beauty.²⁰⁸

Q. The *Threescore Queens*, and *Fourscore Concubines*, and *Virgins without Number*? v. 8.

A. *Solomon* may allude unto the Custome of other Princes in the East, who, besides their principal Wives, that were solemnly espoused and endowed, had also another Sort, who were not so; & yett were look'd on as a Sort of *Wives*. The Hebrews called them, *Concubines*.²⁰⁹ The *Romans* also made a Difference between her, whom they called, *Matrona*, one who was only taken in Marriage; and her whom they called, *Materfamilias*, who was taken also to order and govern the Family, and whose Children inherited; as may be seen in *A. Gellius*.²¹⁰

The *Threescore* and *Fourscore*, may be only a certain Number for an uncertain.²¹¹

These may be accommodated unto the several Sorts of *Hæretical* & *Schismatical* Churches, as Dr. *Patrick* expounds it; who have gloried in the Multitude of their Followers; & in their Wealth, Splendor, & Grandeur.²¹² But our Saviour hath only one Catholic Church; more glorious than them all, putt all together.²¹³

Q. Who is the *Mother* here? v. 9.

A. 'Tis needless to enquire. Here is only a Comparison of the *Love*, unto the *Love* of a Mother toward an only Daughter; who hath engrossed all the excellent Qualities, that are in any other Persons.²¹⁴

²⁰⁷ From Patrick's (*Song* 101). With diacritical marks: τεταγμένα και κεκριμένα; see Theodoret of Cyrus, *Explanatio in Canticum Canticorum*, lib. 3, on Cant. 6:4 [PG 81. 168]. Mather cites Patrick's transl.

²⁰⁸ Patrick, *Song*, p. 102.

²⁰⁹ Before "Concubines" Mather seems to have written a word and then crossed it out. Patrick transliterates the Hebrew here with "Philagshim" (*Song* 103), פִּילָגֶשִׁים; the LXX has: παλλακαί. See Appendix A.

²¹⁰ From Patrick (*Song* 103), a reference to the Roman author and rhetorician Aulus Gellius (c. 125/30–c. 170 CE), *Noctes Atticae* (18.6.4): "From that book I take these words: '*Matrona*, 'a matron,' is a woman who has given birth once; she who has done so more than once is called *mater familias*, 'mother of a family'" (LCL 212, p. 317).

²¹¹ Patrick, *Song*, p. 104.

²¹² Patrick, *Song*, p. 104. Both Mather and Patrick dispute Theodoret's gloss, cited in Patrick, according to which the numbers represent "several Rank of Christians in the Church; some more, some less perfect." See Theodoret of Cyrus, *Explanatio in Canticum Canticorum*, lib. 3–4, on Cant. 6:7–8 [PG 81. 169–76].

²¹³ Patrick, *Song*, p. 104.

²¹⁴ Patrick, *Song*, pp. 104–05.

Q. In what Regard, *Fair as the Moon, Clear as the Sun?* v. 10.

A. Good Mr. *William Allein* carries it; *Fair as the Moon*, in *Point of Sanctification*; *Clear as the Sun*, in *Point of Justification*. There are *Spotts* on the former; none on the latter.²¹⁵

[15r] |²¹⁶

Q. A Remark on the *Beauty* here described? v. 10.

A. Here is a Gradation. The Speech growes & increases. Tho' the *Morning* be very Beautiful, & agreeable to every Eye; yett the *Moon* is more bright still; and the *Sun* far brighter than that; But *all the Host of Heaven* (which Dr. *Patrick* takes to be the Meaning of the last Words,) is yett more wonderful and amazing.²¹⁷

It may note the Progress of the Church, in its Brightness and Greatness.

Comenius in the Beginning of his Book, *De Bono Unitatis*, ha's amplified on the Applications of these things.²¹⁸

²¹⁵ Mather cites this pious application from the work of William Alleine (1614–1677), *The Mystery of the Temple and City, described in the nine last Chapters of Ezekiel, unfolded* (1679), p. 280. Alleine was the Nonconformist vicar of Bridgewater (Somerset) and private chaplain to Lord Digby of London (*ODNB*). Mather was evidently quite fond of this millennialist work, as it is cited repeatedly in the *Tripuradismus*.

²¹⁶ See Appendix B.

²¹⁷ Patrick, *Song*, pp. 105–06.

²¹⁸ From Patrick (*Song* 106), Mather refers to Comenius, *De bono unitatis et ordinis disciplinaeque ac obedientiae in ecclesia recte constituta vel constituenda ecclesiae Bohemicae ad Anglicanam paraenesis* (1660), esp. pp. 7, 12, and 16. Born in Nivnice, Moravia, John Amos Comenius (Jan Amos Komenský, 1592–1670) studied in Herborn and Heidelberg and was destined to serve as a leader of the *Unitas Fratrum* (the Moravian Church) before the onset of the Thirty Years' War forced him to go into exile and lead the life of an itinerant scholar. In the following decades, he spent time in, among other places, England, Holland, Sweden, and Hungary, gaining a reputation as a teacher, educator, philosopher, and ecumenical theologian at various centers of Reformed learning. His most famous publications are the *Didactica magna* (1657) and *Orbis pictus* (1658), two monumental works on education. Comenius was tied into the Hartlib circle, which also extended to New England, and he shared its pansophist and millenarian ideas of universal social, ecclesial, and educational reform coupled with schemes for scientific advancement. Mather actually reports in his *Magnalia* (vol. 2, bk. 4) that John Winthrop, Jr. tried to recruit Comenius to head a new college in New Haven. An integral part of Comenius's reformist visions was the hope of overcoming the divisions of the Church, a hope which he expected to be realized progressively as the latter days were drawing near. The treatise referenced by Patrick presents Comenius's ecumenical ideal of the future Church. In the pages cited he reads Cant. 6:10 as symbolic of the progress of the Church in beauty and greatness. The first in-breaking of Christian knowledge stands for the splendor of early morning after a long night of ignorance; the early Church appears like the moon, the paleness of which symbolizes the terror of persecution. With its advancement the Church becomes like the sun that shines ever more brightly. As Francis Bremer has pointed out in his "The Ecumenical Background of Cotton Mather's 'Biblia Americana'" (2010), Mather's own writings on universal reform and ecumenism very much stand in the tradition of Comenius and the Hartlib circle.

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Q. Who was this *Amminadib*? v. 12.

A. It is probable, He might be some great Captain, who pursued his Victories, or Advantages very Industriouslly, with very swift *Chariots*.²¹⁹

Q. The *Two Armies*; what? v. 13.

A. We will take Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase on the whole Verse.

“Lett us have thy Company again, O thou fairest, & most accomplished of all the Daughters of *Jerusalem*. Come back again, come back that we may behold thy wondrous Perfections. And if any ask, what it is that you would see? what would you enjoy in her happy Society? our Answer is, such a Divine Presence as appeared unto *Jacob*, when he saw the Angelical Choirs; which made him cry out, *This is Gods Host*, and call the Name of that Place, *Mahanaim*.”²²⁰

²¹⁹ Patrick, *Song*, p. 105.

²²⁰ Patrick, *Song*, p. 98. Compare Gen. 32:2.

[▽17r] [▽Insert from 17r]²²¹

Q. The Description of *The Princes Daughter*, [so called, no doubt, with an Allusion to Psal. XLV.13, 14.] begins now at the *Feet*? v. 1.²²²

A. They saw her in Motion.

And they admire her very *Shoes* or *Sandals*. These use to be sett forth with *Gems*: [see *Judith*. X.4. XVI.9. See also, Isa. III.18.]²²³

Now, as Dr. *Patrick* observes, The *Feet* not being here considered as *Naked*, the *Thighs* that are presently mentioned must not be supposed in an Immodest Nakedness. Tis the *Cloathing* of them that is considered. What we translate *Joints*, others render *Circuit*; and the LXX, *Model*.²²⁴

The Word, *Chelaim*, as R. *Solomon* observes, is an Arabic Word. It means not *Jewels*, as we render it; but the *Fine Attire* & *Trimming*, wherewith Women deck themselves, to sett off their Beauty.²²⁵

It follows, *The Work of the Hands of a cunning Workman*; where *Bochart* observes, *Workman*, signifies a *Goldsmith*; who made Laces, Wires, Wreathes, Rings, & such Ornaments of Gold & Silver as Women delighted in.²²⁶

Christian Writers, apply this to Apostles, going thro' the World to preach the Gospel. Tho' it may as well be applied (as Dr. *Patrick* judges) to Christians going cheerfully to worship God in their public Assemblies.²²⁷

Q. The *Navel*. What may be intended? v. 2.

A. They are the *Garments* of these Parts, that are here described. Here seems a Reference, to what is called, Psal. XLV.13. *Apparel of wrought Gold*. That Part of it, which covered the *Belly*, was of *Raised* or *Embossed* Work, resembling an *Heap of Wheat*. Hereby may be meant, many *Sheaves of Wheat*, embroidered round about, [as that was, Psal. XLV.14.] with *Flowers*, especially with *Lillies*. This was

²²¹ See Appendix B.

²²² Patrick, *Song*, p. 113. See Appendix B.

²²³ Patrick, *Song*, p. 113.

²²⁴ The LXX has: ὅρθμοι μῆρων; the Greek word ὅρθμός can have different meanings, including rhythm, harmony, proportion, form, or shape. The latter meaning of "whole proportion or model," is the one suggested by Patrick (*Song* 113–14). *NETS* proposes: "your thighs' shapes."

²²⁵ From Patrick (*Song* 114), an oblique reference to Rashi's commentary on Cant. 7:1 that actually focuses on the Temple. See Rashi in *Mikraoth Gedoloth, Song of Songs*, p. 83: "A collection of gold jewels is called al chali in Arabic." חָלִי [chali] (pl. חָלִיִּים chalim) "ornament." See Prov. 25:12.

²²⁶ Patrick, *Song*, p. 114. Patrick refers to Bochart, *Hierozaicon*, pars 2, lib. 5, cap. 8, p. 718.

²²⁷ Patrick, *Song*, p. 114.

then a Figure, wherein *Harvest* was represented; and indeed, anciently nothing was more honourable, than to follow Tillage or Pasturage. Hence we find in *Homer*, (*Iliad*. 18.) that the Device contrived by *Vulcan*, in *Achilles's* Shield, were Reapers cutting down ripe Corn, & the King himself standing in a Furrow, and providing a Dinner for them.²²⁸

Now in the very Midst of this Work, Dr. *Patrick*, apprehends, there was a *Fountain*. When we read of, *A Round Goblet, which wanteth not Liquor*, it means, *A Great Bowl or Basin, was wrought in the Corner of the Embroidery; full of Water; which ran continually from above into it*. Or, *A Conduit, running with several Sorts of Liquors into a Great Bowl*.

It may be applied unto the Two Sacraments.²²⁹

[▽Insert from 16v]

[▽16v]

4847.

Q. For my own Part, while I am sufficiently unsatisfied, in the Arbitrary Expositions, which many Mystical and Fanciful Expositors, go to *impose* upon the *Canticles*, I must profess myself utterly at a Loss how to substitute any better. However, I am glad, when an Holy and an Useful Thought, tho' but in the Way of *Allusion* to any thing in the *Canticles*, comes in my Way. Tho' it should be no more than such an one, lett us have Dr. *Edward's* upon one Passage, for an Instance; Namely that: *Thy Navel is like a round Goblet, that wanteth not Liquor; Thy Belly is like an Heap of Wheat sett about with Lillies*. v. 2.²³⁰

A. That worthy Man, thinks, the *Two Sacraments* of the *Christian Church* are here obscurely mentioned.

In the former Clause, we have the Sacrament of *Baptism*. The Church of Christ is never destitute of spiritual Nourishment and Refreshment; no, not when the Members of it, are Weakest and Feeblest. The *Navel* serves for the Conveyance of Nourishment unto the Infant in the Womb. It was the received Opinion of old, that the *Fœtus* receive its Aliment, of the Mothers Blood, by the *Navel-String*; (tho' the modern Physicians tell us, The *Embryo* takes no Nourishment by the *Navel*, but is nourished by a lacteal Humour, in which it swims.) Thus, little Children in the Church, have a peculiar Way of Nourishment, by *Baptism* convey'd unto them. It is the early Nourishment, which God ha's provided for them. The *Navel*, or fœderal Knott, or Link, which ties them fast unto their Christian Parents, derives advantages unto them, while they cannot yett use their Mouthes.

²²⁸ Patrick, *Song*, pp. 114–15. Compare the description of the shield of Achilles in Homer's *Iliad* (18.556–57).

²²⁹ Patrick, *Song*, pp. 115–16. See Appendix B.

²³⁰ This entry is derived from John Edwards, *Exercitations critical, philosophical, historical, theological on several important Places in the Writings of the Old and New Testament* (1702), part 1, pp. 130–40.

In the latter Clause, we have the Sacrament of the *Eucharist*. An *Heap of Wheat* may well mind us of the *Breaking of Bread*. An Abundant Provision is made for us at the *Table* of the Lord. The Effects of that Ordinance are marvellous and glorious. This *Heap of Wheat* is also *sett about with Lillies*. The Lords Table must not be environed with *Weeds*, with profane, wicked, scandalous People, but with pious and faithful Christians, with worthy Communicants.

[△] [△Inserts end]

Q. *An Heap of Wheat sett about with Lillies?* v. 2.

A. It was a Custome in *Palæstine*, after the Threshing & Fanning of their Corn, to lay it in *Heaps*, & putt *Lillies* about them.²³¹

Q. Give us a Paraphrase on that; *Thy Two Breasts, are like two young Roes, that are Twins?* v. 3.

A. Some do here find, the *Two Sacraments*, and some, The *Law*, and, The *Gospel*. But lett us hear the Notes of old *Willeramus*.

Ubera bina tui turgemia Lacte liquetti
Benis Hinnuleis capreæ compone Gemellis.
Lacte mei Verbi qui nutrimenta Magistri
Daut Plebi teneræ Gentili Judaicæquem,
Fætus esse mei, noscuntur More fideli.²³²

But then, in the next Chapter, we read of, *A little Sister, that ha's no Breasts*. On this Passage, we will take a Gloss from *Ambrose*.

*Audierunt Filie Hierusalem, quòd iam Dominus Jesus sibi Ecclesiam copulabat, et quirà considerementes Magnitudinem Verbi, impartes se tantis Nuptijs æstimabant, nè forte tantæ Copulæ Pondus sustinere non possent, excusant disentes, Soror Nostra pariba et Ubera non habet. Sic enim qui volunt differre nuptias, excusare consueverunt, ut pretendunt immature ætatis infirmitatem, et astruant, quòd Ubera non habeant, quæ nubilis significant Tempus ætatis. Hoc solet symbolum commune omnibus Virginibus esse nupturis, ut cum Ubera cæperint eminere, tunc Conjunctioni habites indidentur. Turbatæ igitur, quòd Studio dilectionis urgent Nuptias Sponsus, dicunt, Quid faciemus Sorori nostræ in Die, quâ loquetur in eâ; vel, ut Symmachus, quâ loquetur ei; h. e. Sponsalium Calebritate solet fieri Collocutio et Confirmatio nuptiarum.*²³³

²³¹ Derived from the work of the High Church Anglican controversialist Thomas Lewis (b. 1689, d. in or after 1737), *Origines Hebraeae: the Antiquities of the Hebrew Republic* ([1724] 1725), vol. 4, lib. 7, cap. 10, p. 61. This work was in the Harvard library.

²³² “*Your two breasts* swelling with flowing milk / I take as *two young twin roes*. / The teachers, who by milk of my word give nourishment / to the tender people, gentile and Jewish, / are recognized as my offspring by their faithful character.” From an unknown source, Mather again cites the medieval commentary *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum* of Williram of Ebersberg. The transl. draws upon the modern German edition (2004), pp. 218–19.

²³³ “The daughters of Jerusalem heard that the Lord Jesus was already joining the church to

Q. Is there anything in Philosophy to countenance that Comparison, of *A Nose as the Tower of Lebanon*? v. 4.

A. Yes; If you'l Read *Aristotle*, in his *Physiognomics*, you'l find him saying, *A Tower-fashion'd Nose*, [Round & Blunt at the Top] *is a Sign of Magnanimity*.²³⁴

The *Towre of Ivory* to which the *Neck* is here compared, for its Whiteness & Smoothness, may be the same that is before called, Cant. IV.4. *The Towre of David*. Ελεφάντινος τραχήλος is in *Anacreon*, a Description of extraordinary Handsomeness.²³⁵

himself, and because they assessed that, considering the greatness of the Word, they were unfit for such a marriage, lest perhaps they could not bear the weight of such a union, they make excuse, saying: *Our sister is little and she hath no breasts*. For after this manner those wishing to postpone marriage were accustomed to make excuse, so they would allege the weakness of immature age, and they add that they do not have breasts, which indicate marital age. This is usually a symbol common to all the virgins to be married, so that as soon as the *breasts* have begun to *grow* they are considered fit for union. Therefore, being disturbed that the bridegroom, in eagerness of love, urges the marriage, they say: *What are we going to do for our sister in the day in which he shall speak in her?* Or, according to Symmachus, *in which he shall speak to her?* That is, at the celebration of the wedding feast there is normally a conversation and confirmation of the marriage." From an unknown source, Mather cites the French Cistercian monk, mystic, rationalistic philosopher, and theologian William of Saint Thierry (Guillelmus de Sancto Theodorico, c. 1075–1148), from his edition of Ambrose's commentary: *Excerpta de libris beati Ambrosii super Cantica Canticorum*, 138.12–13 [PL 15. 1956–57; CCCM 87]. William both composed his own commentary on the book (*Expositio super Cantica Canticorum*) and edited a collection of Ambrose's glosses. The original version of the citation is in Ambrose's *Expositio in Psalmum CXVIII* (in KJV, Heb. text, etc., Ps. 119), sermo 22 [PL 15. 1522; CSEL 62]. There are discrepancies between Ambrose's text and the later medieval edition; Mather's citation accords closely with William's. William is said to have had long conversations with Bernard of Clairvaux about the mysterious Hebrew song (*TRE* 36:51–54). This citation is not taken into his *Expositio super Cantica Canticorum*, a largely original commentary which draws only sparsely upon the Church Fathers. The unusual use of *symbolum*, which is rarely found in Ambrose's corpus, seems to form part of the allegory. Ambrose refers to Symmachus's Greek version of the Old Testament. Ambrose seems to translate the Hebrew literally here, "in eā", תַּי "in her" (see also the LXX "ἐν αὐτῇ"); this accords with his allegorical understanding of the passage, the union between Christ and the church.

²³⁴ From an unknown source Mather cites (Pseudo-)Aristotle, *Physiognomica*, 811a29–811b3 (transl.: Oxford ed. 1913, vol. 6, p. 33): "A *nose* broad at the tip means laziness, as witness cattle: but if thick from the lip, it means dullness of sense, as in swine; if the tip is pointed, irascibility, as in dogs; while a round, blunt tip indicates pride, as in lions. Men with a nose thin at the lip have the characteristics of birds. When such a nose curves slightly right away from the forehead, it indicates impudence, as in ravens: but when it is strongly aquiline and demarcated from the forehead by a well-defined articulation, it indicates a proud soul, as in the eagle." Compare Aristotle, *Opera*, vol. 2, 805a1–814b8.

²³⁵ "Ivory neck" (ἐλεφάντινος τραχήλος). From, Patrick (*Song* 116), a citation from the *Carmina Anacreontea* (17.29). The Anacreontea, later attributed to the Greek poet Anacreon the Elder (c. 582–c. 485 BCE), are comprised of some 60 Greek poems and short verses about love, drink, etc., providing entertainment for the Hellenic symposium; they can only be dated roughly to around the time of Christ (*NP*). Here the LXX has τραχήλός σου ὡς πύργος ἐλεφάντινος; "Your neck is like an ivory tower" (*NETS*). The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

[▽17v–18r] [▽Insert from 17v–18r]²³⁶

Q. The *Eyes* compared unto Pools? v. 4.

A. The ὀμμάτων υγρότης, the shining Moisture of the *Eyes*, is commended by many Authors, as very beautiful.

It is commended by *Plutarch*, in *Pompey*, and in *Alexander*. And by *Philostratus* frequently, in his *Epistles*.²³⁷

Among *Pools*, those Fair Ones at *Heshbon*, were much celebrated. These were in the Entrance of the City, hard by the Gate, which was called, *Bath-rabbim*, for its Opening towards the Way that led unto *Rabbah*, the Metropolis of the Children of *Ammon*. *Heshbon* was in the Countrey of the *Gadites*, which was well watered, with Rivulets, from whence the Pools of *Heshbon* were supplied. The *Purity* and *Quietness* of these Pools, might well represent the composed Eyes of a modest Virgin.

The *Nose like the Towre of Lebanon*, may be so express'd, because it appeared among the Locks of Hair falling on the Cheeks, as the *Towre* at a Distance among the Trees of *Lebanon*, especially on that Side which did *look towards Damascus*.

A well proportioned *Nose* is by some thought a note of Sagacity. The *Nose* being the Instrument of Smelling, some apply it unto the great Judgment and Foresight of the Doctors of the Church.

And the *Eyes* may well signify, the Teachers and Rulers of the Church. And as Dr. *Patrick* thinks, they may the better be compared unto the Pools of *Heshbon*, because *Heshbon* was a City of the Levites, who were to instruct the People.

Some fancy the Name of *Rabbim*, which was given unto their Doctors, here pointed at. *Bath-rabbim*, is, *The Daughter of Rabbim*. And *Bath*, signifies *People*, or, *Inhabitants*, who were taught by these great Men (as *Rabbim* signifies) what was Law & Judgment, in the Gates of their Cities.

Damascus also being a great Enemy to *Israel*, & Infamous for Idolatry, the *Nose* being turned that Way, may be an Emblem of the Care to be used by Christian Doctors, that their People be not seduced by Idolatrous Worship.²³⁸

Q. Why the *Head, like Carmel*? v. 5.

A. *Thine Head upon thee*, means, the Covering of the Head. Perhaps the *Crown*, or *Garland* that she wore, as being Ready for her Nuptials. This might well resemble the *Top of Carmel*; a beautiful Mountain, covered with a great Variety of Trees and Flowers.

²³⁶ See Appendix B.

²³⁷ “Moisture of the eyes” (ὕγρότης τῶν ὀμμάτων). From Patrick (*Song* 117), references are made to Philostratus, *Epistolai erotikai*, epist. 12 [51] and epist. 32 [25]; and to Plutarch, *Life of Agesilaus* (2.596) and *Life of Pompey* (2.619), in *Vitae parallelae*.

²³⁸ The preceding paragraphs are all derived from Patrick, *Song*, pp. 117–18.

But there is no necessity to say, *Carmel*. It may be read, *Thy Head is like a Pleasant Fruitful Field*. So the Word, *Carmel*, (perhaps from the Goodliness of that Mountain) signifies in many Places. [Isa. XVI.10. XXXII.15. Jer. XLVIII.33.]²³⁹

Philostratus writes to his Wife; *Thy Head is a Meadow full of Flowers which are never wanting in the Summer, & disappear not in the Midst of Winter*. The same Comparison is in other Authors.²⁴⁰

[²⁴¹

[18r]

Q. The *Hair* of her *Head*? v. 5.

A. *Dallath*, is never used any where for *Hair*. It should rather be translated, the *Hair-Lace*; or that by which the *Hair*, and all the Ornaments belonging to it, were tied up.²⁴²

The Vulgar Latin reads on; *The Purple of the King, tied up in Folds, hanging down like Canals*; that is, loose on the Shoulders, waving up & down.

Others refer the Two last Words, unto *Purple lying in Canals*, to receive a deeper Tincture, and be double-died.

But the LXX make the last Words, a Distinct Sentence, as we do. *The King is tied, or bound in his Walks*. When he walks in his Royal Palace, and beholds her Beauty, he stands still, he can't take his Eyes off her, he is captivated, he is tied as fast unto her, as the *Hair* of her *Head* is unto the *Lace* that binds it.²⁴³

Q. On that, *How fair art thou for Delights*? v. 6.

A. It is a pious Note of *Theodoret*. That we become lovely by *Delighting* in Charity, and by making it the greatest of our *Delights*, To *Do Good*.²⁴⁴

Q. A *Stature* like a *Palm-tree*? v. 7.

A. The Noblest *Palm-trees* in the World, were in *Judæa*, especially near *Jericho*; so *Pliny* informs us, l. XIII. c. 4. In future times, it became the very Emblem of that Countrey.²⁴⁵

²³⁹ Patrick, *Song*, p. 118.

²⁴⁰ From Patrick (*Song* 119), a citation from Philostratus, *Epistolai erotikai*, epist. 21 [38]: ἡ γὰρ σὴ κεφαλὴ λειμῶν πολλὰ ἀνθη φέρων ἐστίν, ἃ μήτε θέρους ἀπεισι καὶ χειμῶνος μέσου φύεται καὶ δρεψαμένων οὐ λύεται See LCL 383.

²⁴¹ See Appendix B.

²⁴² דַּלָּת [dallath] “unbound hair”; and also “thrum (warp-threads remaining on the loom after woven material is removed).” In Isa. 38:12, its cutting is a similitude of premature death.

²⁴³ From Patrick (*Song* 119), Mather cites the VUL (“sicut purpura regis vincta canalibus”) and the LXX: βασιλεὺς δεδεμένος ἐν παραδρομαῖς; for which NETS proposes: “a king is bound by retinues.”

²⁴⁴ From Patrick (*Song* 120), a reference to Theodoret of Cyrus, *Explanatio in Canticum Canticorum*, lib. 4, on Cant. 7:6 [PG 81. 193–96].

²⁴⁵ From Patrick (*Song* 121), a reference to Pliny, *Natural History*, 13.6.26.

Clusters of the Vine, are added. Some suppose, that *Vines* ran up the *Palm-trees*, in those Countreys.

[△] [△Insert ends]

Q. That Expression; *I said, I will go up unto the Palm-tree, and take hold of the Boughs thereof?* v. 8.

A. This Expression is, (as tis observed by Mr. *Tho. Brown*) more agreeable unto the *Palm-tree*, than is commonly apprehended;²⁴⁶ for that it is a Tall Bare Tree, bearing its *Boughs* only on the Top; one must *go up* into the Tree, before one can *take hold of the Boughs* thereof. And the *Going up* in this Tree, is emphatical; for the *Trunk* of it is naturally contrived for *Ascension*, and made with Advantage for Getting up. It has many Wells and Eminencies, and a sort of Natural Ladder, and Staves, by which it may be climbed; as *Pliny* observes, *Palmae teretes atque proceres, densis quadratisque pollicibus faciles se ad scandendum præbent.*²⁴⁷ *Linschoten* gives you the Figures of Indians thus climbing the *Tree*.²⁴⁸

This Tree is often mentioned in Scripture, and was so remarkable in *Judea*, that in after-times, it became the Emblem of that Countrey, as may be seen in that Medal of the Emperor *Titus*, with a Captive-Woman sitting under a *Palm*, and the Inscription of *Judea Capta*.²⁴⁹ And *Pliny* confirms it; saying, *Judea Palmis inclyta.*²⁵⁰

²⁴⁶ From Patrick (*Song* 121), a reference to Thomas Browne, *Certain Miscellany Tracts*, tract. 1, sect. 44, p. 78 (*Works* 4:24).

²⁴⁷ “The palm-trees are rounded and tall, and have compact knobs which render them easy to climb.” Mather cites Pliny, *Natural History*, 13.7.29; *LCL* 370, p. 115. The description is mentioned but not cited in Patrick (*Song* 121); it comes from Browne, *Certain Miscellany Tracts*, tract. 1, sect. 44, p. 78 (*Works* 4:24).

²⁴⁸ From Browne Mather cites the narrative of the Dutch merchant, traveler, and historian Jan Huyghen van Linschoten (1563–1611), *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies* (1885 ed. of the 1598 English transl. of the 1597 Dutch ed.), ch. 56, p. 44: “The wood of the tree is very [sappy] like a sponge, and is not firme, they doe not grow but on the sea sides, or bankes of rivers close by the strand, and in sandie grounds, for there growth none within the land. They have no great rootes, so that a man would thinke it were impossible for them to have any fast hold within the earth, and yet they stand so fast and grow so high, that it maketh men feare to see men clime upon them, [least they should fall downe]. The Canarijns clime as nimbly, and as fast upon them, as if they were Apes, [for] they make small steppes in the trees like staires, whereon they step, and so clime up, which the Portingales dare not venter; their planting is in this manner.”

²⁴⁹ “Judeaea captured.” From Patrick, *Song*, p. 121. “Judeaea Capta” was the inscription on the Roman coin issued by Emperor Vespasian after the suppression of the Jewish rebellion, capture of Judeaea, and destruction of the Temple in 70 CE. As Mather mentions, the coins were also issued later with Titus. See Sayles, *Ancient Coin Collecting* VI, p. 117. The “Captive-Woman” represented Judeaea.

²⁵⁰ “Judeaea [is] renowned for its palm-trees.” From Browne, *Certain Miscellany Tracts*, tract. 1, sect. 44, p. 78 (*Works* 4:24); see Pliny, *Natural History*, 13.6.26.

Dr. *Patrick* proposes that this Verse be mystically thus expounded. “And now shall we delight to hang on the Breasts of the Church; and the Breath or Spirit of the Apostles; sweeter than Grapes, or the Smell of any other Fruit.”²⁵¹

[illeg.]

Q. What may bee meant by that Passage, *The Roof of thy Mouth, is like the best Wine for my Beloved, causing the Lips of those that are Asleep to speak?* v. 9.

A. In the Talmuds, you’ll find *Rabban Gamaliel* quoting this Text unto the *Sadducees*, to prove the *Resurrection*.²⁵²

It properly means, a Wine so generous, that it will putt Spirits into those that are quite *spent with Age*; yea, raise those who are in a Manner *Dead*. But as Dr. *Patrick* observes, It may be read, *which makes Men speak with the Lips of the Ancient*, that is to say, *Sentences, most excellent Sayings*.²⁵³

|

[16v]

Q. On that, *I am my Beloveds?* v. 10.

A. Take Dr. *Patrick’s* Paraphrase.

“If there be any thing in me, that is pleasing to you, & deserves such Praises, ascribe it all to Him, from whom I have received it.”²⁵⁴

Q. On that, *His Desire is towards me?* v. 10.

A. Mr. *Mede* [on Dan. XI.37.] observes, it means only, *He is my Husband*.²⁵⁵

But then, as Dr. *Patrick* suggests, Here seems an Allusion to Psal. XLV.11. *The King shall greatly desire thy Beauty*, unto which Solomon, as I take it, hath a respect unto that Psalm, all along in this Poem.²⁵⁶

Q. On that; *lett us lodge in the Villages?* v. 11.

A. *Theodoret* so glosses on it.

²⁵¹ Patrick, *Song*, p. 123.

²⁵² From John Lightfoot, *Horae hebraicae et talmudicae or Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations on the Gospel of St. John* (Works 2: 541), on John 4:25, Mather cites the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Sanhedrin 90b (Soncino, pp. 604–05). Here it is reported how the Sadducees confront Rabban Gamaliel, the leading authority in the Sanhedrin in the first century CE, to give them evidence of the resurrection. In the transl. of the Soncino ed. they ask: “Whence do we know that the Holy One, blessed be He, will resurrect the dead?” Rabban Gamaliel answers them “from the Torah, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, yet they did not accept it [as conclusive proof].” Among the passages Rabban Gamaliel cites is Cant. 7:9.

²⁵³ Patrick, *Song*, p. 123.

²⁵⁴ Patrick, *Song*, p. 121.

²⁵⁵ From Patrick (*Song* 124), a reference to Joseph Mede, *The Apostasy of the latter Times*, in Works 3, ch. 16, p. 668, on Dan. 9:37.

²⁵⁶ Patrick, *Song*, p. 124.

*Lett us now take Care of the meanest & most abject Souls, that have lain long neglected.*²⁵⁷

Most apply it unto the Gentile World. Q. D. “We have staid long enough in the City of *Jerusalem*, & in *Judea*; lett us go now to the Heathen.”²⁵⁸

Dr. *Patrick* notes; The Gospel was first preached in *Cities* mostly, and from thence it spred itself into the neighbouring *Villages*; where Idolatry lasted so much longer than in *Cities*, that they gave unto it, the name of *Paganism*.²⁵⁹

Q. The *Mandrakes*? v. 13.

A. See our Illustrations, on Gen. XXX.14.²⁶⁰

Q. *At the Gates all Manner of pleasant Fruits*? v. 13.

A. They found more than they expected. Or, By her Care, the most excellent Fruit was produced from People of the Best Rank, (who may be understood, by this most rare Sort of Fruit) and that, every where, even at their very *Gates*; they need not be at the Trouble to go far for it.²⁶¹

Q. *New and Old*? v. 13.

A. Some apply, *New and Old*, unto the Knowledge of the *Old and New* Testament, whereby Idolatry was vanquished, & true Religion planted in the World. They think, our Lord Himself alludes to this Place in those Words; Matth. XIII.52. about the *Scribe*, who *brings forth out his Treasures, Things New & Old*.²⁶²

Dr. *Patrick* would have it applied unto the *spiritual Gifts*, which were newly bestow'd on the Church, by the Holy Spirit, after the Ascension of our Saviour, and the *Temporal Blessings* which they had before enjoyed. These were now All Reserved for Him, and Employed for Him. So that these Words may have some Respect unto Psal. CX.3. *A People of Free-Will Offerings*. When Men give up

²⁵⁷ From Patrick (*Song* 124), a reference to Theodoret of Cyrus, *Explanatio in Canticum Canticorum*, lib. 4, on Cant. 7:11 [PG 81. 197].

²⁵⁸ Patrick, *Song*, p. 124.

²⁵⁹ Patrick, *Song*, pp. 124–25.

²⁶⁰ Mather refers to his explication of the Hebrew word דודאים [duda'im] “mandrakes” (KJV: Cant. 7:13; BHS: 7:14) in the commentary on Genesis (BA 1:1038–39). The word appears both in Gen. 30:14 and Cant. 7:13. In his gloss on the former verse he cites the English transl. of the work of Hiob Ludolf, *A new History of Ethiopia* (1682), lib. 1, cap. 9, p. 50. Here it is explained that the *duda'im* over which the wives of Jacob quarrel cannot refer to the offensive-smelling mandrake (as the KJV renders the word) but should be translated as “Indian fig,” signifying a “rare and pleasant Fruit.” Patrick (*Song* 125) offers the same explanation and likewise refers to Ludolf as his source.

²⁶¹ Patrick, *Song*, p. 126.

²⁶² Patrick, *Song*, pp. 126–27.

themselves to God sincerely, they readily devote their All unto Him, & unto such Uses as He ha's assigned.²⁶³

[the entries from 17r–18r were inserted into their designated places]

| [blank]

[18v]

²⁶³ Patrick, *Song*, p. 127.

Q. On that, *Yea, I should not be despised?* v. 1.

A. Dr. *Patrick* ha's well paraphrased it. "I may look on it, as an Honour, to make a public Profession of my Relation to thee."²⁶⁴

Here is an ardent Profession of Love, unto the glorious Person that had been spoken of; with a Desire to have a more Intimate Familiarity with Him; such as a Sister hath with a Brother, when he is a sucking Child; whom, if she mett in the Street, she would not be ashamed, to take out of the Nurses Arms into her own, & openly to kiss him.²⁶⁵

It may be applied unto the open Profession of Christianity. This is very sure, the more obedient any Person is, to the Commands of God, He holds that Person the Dearer to Him; as Dear as a *Brother*, or *Sister*, or *Mother*. Matth. XII.50. Which *Grotius* tells us, is the mystical Sense of the *Canticles*.²⁶⁶

Q. On that, *I would lead thee into my Mothers House?* v. 2.

A. Dr. *Patrick* allowes, It may be applied unto the Design of God, to awaken the Jews to beleve on Christ, by bringing in the *Fulness*, that is a vast Number, *of the Gentiles*. [Rom. XI.25.] The Apostle saies, *This would be Life from the Dead*. And unto this, the last Words of the Verse may be accommodated; making a Feast of that *spiced Wine*, which it had been formerly said, *makes them that are asleep, to speak*.²⁶⁷

Q. How is it said, *The Coals thereof are Coals of Fire?* v. 6.

A. Dr. *Patrick* observes, It should be translated; *The Arrows thereof are Arrowes of Fire*. It shoots into the Heart, wounds it, and burns there. The LXX read, *Its Feathers*.²⁶⁸

A most vehement Flame; should be rendred, *The Flames of the Fire of the Lord*. The Hebrew Word seems compounded of Three Words, *Flame*, and *Fire*, and, *The Lord*. *Bochart* shewes that such Compositions are to be found in other Places.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁴ Patrick, *Song*, p. 128.

²⁶⁵ Patrick, *Song*, p. 133.

²⁶⁶ Patrick, *Song*, p. 133; see Grotius's prefatory remarks to his commentary on Canticles in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4543); and Grotius, *Opera* (1:267).

²⁶⁷ Patrick, *Song*, p. 134.

²⁶⁸ Compare Patrick (*Song* 138–39), drawing on the transl. of the LXX, which has *περίπτερα πυρός*, "feathers or wings of fire."

²⁶⁹ From Patrick (*Song* 138–39), a reference to Bochart, *Geographia sacra*, pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 15, p. 845.

Some translate it; *such Flames as are kindled only by the Lord*. Then, if there | [19v]
be an Allusion to the *Breast-Plate of the High-Priest* in the Beginning of the Verse,
(as is by some conceived) the Conclusion may allude unto, the *Fire that went*
out from before the Lord, [Lev. IX.24.] and devoured the Sacrifices, as *Love* does
all Manner of Difficulties. This *Fire* was to burn perpetually upon the Altar, &
never to go out; [Lev. VI.12.] and therefore the best Emblem of *Love* that could
be.²⁷⁰

Q. The Meaning of that, *It would be utterly despised?* v. 7.

A. *Theodoret*, and the LXX understand it thus. *If a Man give away all his*
Substance in Charity, they will extremely despise him. That is, saith he, They that
spend all they have, & their very Lives, for the Love of God, are sett at nought
by those that want such Love.²⁷¹

Q. On that; *If she be a Wall, we will build upon her a Palace of Silver*; – v. 9.

A. Take Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase.

“We will not despair of her, nor cast her off; but be both patient with her,
& do our utmost to make her such as we desire. Lett her but be faithful &
constant, & we will do for her, as we do for a Wall that is low; which we pull
not down, but build up higher, & adorn also with fair and goodly Turrets. Or
as we do with a Door of a Noble House; which, if it be too weak, or too mean,
we spare no Cost to mend it, but enclose in a Case of Cedar.”²⁷²

He adds; It may very naturally be applied unto a Soul, or a Church, in a
State of Imperfection, but built upon Christ the Foundation; in this Manner.²⁷³

“Lett her but be firm and constant, like a Wall, in her Love to me, and I
will not abandon the Care of her. Lett her but exclude all other, & open to me
alone, and she shall never want any thing necessary to her Perfection; for I will
richly adorn her, & make her like the House of God Himself; which is lined
with Cedar.”²⁷⁴

|²⁷⁵

[20r]

Q. The Revenue of a *Vineyard?* v. 12.

A. The Intent is this. If *Solomon* made such a Profit of his *Vineyard*, as that
which ha's been mentioned; every one of the Farmers paying him a *thousand*

²⁷⁰ Patrick, *Song*, p. 139.

²⁷¹ From Patrick (*Song* 140), a reference to Theodoret of Cyrus, *Explanatio in Canticum Canticorum*, lib. 4, on Cant. 8:7 [PG 81. 198]; and the LXX: δὲ ἀνὴρ τὸν πάντα βίον αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ ἐξουθενώσει ἐξουθενώσουσιν αὐτόν; *NETS* has: “If a man offered for love all his livelihood, they would scorn him with scorn.”

²⁷² Patrick, *Song*, p. 131.

²⁷³ Patrick, *Song*, p. 141.

²⁷⁴ Patrick, *Song*, p. 141.

²⁷⁵ See Appendix B.

Peece of Silver, besides the *Two hundred* Shekels, which each of the Farmers gott over & above for their Pains; and this, tho' he dressed it not himself; what would be the Increase that would be made, by her own Care & Diligence in the Business? The Fruit would be incredible. This is a Thought suggested by *Almonazir*.²⁷⁶

Some ingeniously apply this, to a far greater Increase of Knowledge and Goodness in the *Church*, than in the *Synagogue*; or by *Christianity* than by *Judaism*.²⁷⁷

Q. The *Roe*, and the *young Hart*, upon the *Mountains of Spices*? v. 14.

A. What these *Mountains* were, we are now ignorant. But we know, the Creatures here mentioned, were bred on the Highest *Mountains* in the Countrey. So *Ælian* saies; *The Harts in Syria, are bred in their Highest Mountains, Amanus, and Libanus, and Carmel*.²⁷⁸ There they were the most secure from their Persecution. Hence the *Psalmist* & the *Prophet*, when they would represent themselves in a State of perfect Security, they say, *God had made their Feet like Hindes Feet, & made them to walk upon their High Places*. [Psal. XVIII.33. Hab. III.14.]

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²⁷⁶ From Patrick (*Song* 143) a reference to Jerónimo Almonacir, *Commentaria in Canticum Canticorum Salomonis*, p. 177.

²⁷⁷ Patrick, *Song*, p. 143.

²⁷⁸ From Patrick (*Song* 145), a reference to Aelian, *De natura animalium*, 5.56 (*LCL* 446): Αἱ ἐν Σύροις ἑλαφοὶ γίνονται μὲν ἐν ὄρεσι μεγίστοις, Ἀμανῷ τε καὶ Λιβάνῳ καὶ Καρυμῇ.

Q. How shall we come to a Key that will unlock the Book of the *Canticles*? The Glosses of Interpreters upon that Book, have been so Various, and (often) so Jejune, and (at best) so Forced, and (ever) so very Arbitrary, that it hath been a Discouragement unto me, for Meddling with it; and especially, from Attempting to accommodate the Passages of the Book, unto the *prophetical Interpretations*, that some have conceived therein. But yett, it were worth our While to try, whether this Portion of our *Scripture* may not be made *profitable*, as well as the rest?

A. I am willing to make a Trial. And that I may avoid Confusion, I will sett aside all Interpreters, (and above all, the smutty *Grotius*,²) confining myself to none but the famous *Cocceius*; from whose Commentaries on this mystical Book, I will select such Passages as give me most of Satisfaction.³

¹ Here begins Mather's second commentary on Canticles, which appears as an independent appendix in the manuscript. This second commentary is a highly selective, summary translation of the more than two-hundred page-long *Cogitationes de Cantico Canticorum Salomonis* by Johannes Cocceius. This commentary on the Song of Songs is also found in Cocceius, *Opera omnia theologica, exegetica, didactica, polemica, philologica* (10 vols., 1701), vol. 2, *Commentarius in librum Ijobi, Psalmos, Proverbia, Ecclesiasten et Canticum Canticorum*. As the concluding reference to "his own Entrance into the *Married State*" suggests this appendix was added either in 1703 or in 1715, when Mather got married for the second and third time respectively. 1715 seems the more likely date. For a more detailed discussion, see the Introduction.

² This invective is a response to Grotius's literalist reading of the Song of Songs as an erotic and often explicit "ὁμοιωτής, inter Solomonem & filiam Regis Ægypti" ("discourse of lovers/dialogic love song between Solomon and the daughter of the king of Egypt"). See Grotius's prefatory remarks to his commentary on Canticles in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4543); and Grotius, *Opera* (1:267). Against Grotius and other literalist interpreters Mather seeks to uphold the validity of the allegorical tradition, specifically the tradition that reads Canticles as a prophetic history of the church (see below).

³ Cocceius is mostly remembered today for his *opus magnum* of systematic theology, the *Summa doctrinae de foedere et testament Dei* (1648), in which he worked out his understanding of salvation history based on the concept of the *foedus Dei*. The salvation history approach also informs his extensive exegetical works, including his commentary on the Song of Songs. Although it takes the form of a wedding song, and although its imagery draws on the king's cultural and personal experience, Canticles, according to Cocceius, had been originally intended by Solomon as an allegory that mapped out the history of the church's relationship with the messiah. Like Patrick, Cocceius also adopts the view – already formulated by patristic commentators such as Gregory of Nazianzus – that the literary form of the song is dramatic, in the sense that it is constructed as a dialogue between bridegroom (the messiah or Christ) and bride (the church or the community of the faithful), with interludes by a chorus of "spectators" (who are both human and angelic) commenting on the action. Mather's second Canticles commentary follows Cocceius in his understanding of the Song of Songs as prophetic history predicting in allegorical form first the emergence of the Christian church from the Synagogue and Judaism, then its development from Constantine through the Middle Ages of decline and the renewal

This Book may be called, *The Song of Songs*, not only for the Excellency of it; But also, as, a *King of Kings*, denotes one that hath other *Kings* under him, and a *Servant of Servants*, one that hath other *Servants* over him; & the *Heaven of Heavens*, that which comprehends all other *Heavens* in it; thus, may this comprehend, as an Abridgement or an Epitome, all the *Songs* composed by *Solomon*. *Mercer* likewise approves of this Interpretation.⁴

The Jewes call it, *The Holy of Holies*. The *Kindness* of the *Messiah* to His *Church*,⁵ and the *Desire* of the *Church* unto her *Lord-Messiah*, may well be conceived the Subject of it. And it may not be amiss to conceive, that *Solomon* in his Book of *Proverbs* also, under the Name of a *wise Woman*, intends the *Church of God*, but under the Name of a *strange Woman*, the *Church of Rome*. But whereas the *Song* before us, is said to be, *of Solomon*, we may understand *Solomon*, to be the *Subject*, as well as the *Writer* of it; only a *Greater than Solomon* is intended in that Name, and our truest *Jedidiah*.

I. The *Church* begins.

Chap. I.

v. 2. *Lett Him kiss me with the Kisses of His Mouth: for thy Love is better than Wine*. The Church had heard the Discourse of God the Father, concerning His *Messiah*; and His Promise, that His Son should one Day come into the World, & that she should View Him and Have Him. We have here before us the Face of the Church, before & until the Incarnation of our Lord, longing for the Accomplishment, of what had been foretold about His Coming. No Enjoyments of *Wine*, or any Temporal Delights & Blessings, were of so much account unto the Faithful in those Dayes, as the Benefits expected by the Coming of the Lord.

movement of the Reformation to its triumphant consummation in the latter days. For more on this, see the Introduction and chapter 5.5 of my *Prophecy, Piety, and the Problem of Historicity*.

4 From Cocceius (*Cogitationes* 1–2), a reference to Jean Mercier, *Commentarii in Iobum et Salomonis Proverbia, Ecclesiasten, Canticum Canticorum* ([1573] 1651), p. 604. Here Mercier writes: “Canticum Canticorum, id est, inter cantica præstantissimum & laudatissimum, ut Dominum dominorum, summum Dominum, & Regem regum, summum Regem dicunt, & ejusmodi.” This work was also in the Mather family library.

5 This may be a reference to the famous saying of Rabbi Aquiba (fl. 100 CE): “God forbid! – no man in Israel ever disputed about the Song of Songs [that he should say] that it does not render the hands unclean, for all the ages are not worth the day on which the Song of Songs was given to Israel; for all the Writings are holy, but the Song of Songs is the Holy of Holies.” Qtd. from Tremper Longman III, *Song of Songs*, p. 21. The words of Rabbi Aquiba are the earliest testimony to a long Jewish exegetical tradition in which the erotic imagery of the Song of Songs is allegorized as expressing the spiritual love of God for Israel. The most prominent early example of this tradition is the Targum that reads the Song more specifically as an allegory of the redemptive history of God’s chosen people, Israel. This tradition was subsequently appropriated by Christian exegetes.

[Gen. 49.18.] *Esset Animi obliqui et stupidi (saies Cocceius) in hoc Carmine, quod Ecclesiae traditum est sacrum, non cogitare de Eccelsiæ desiderio.*⁶

v. 3. *Because of the Savour of thy good Ointments, thy Name is as Ointment poured forth.*] The *Messiah* appeared at Length, with all the Graces, which the Prophets foretold His Appearance to be attended withal. The Name of GOD, &c, of His Glorious Perfections, in the *Messiah*, was *poured forth*, at such a rate as to be notified unto all the World.

A Departure from Him, is a spiritual *Whoredome*. Chastity lies in loving of Him. The Faithful did so, do so. Tis with good Reason added,

The Virgins love thee.]

Every one in the whole Society of those *Virgins*, agrees to say,

v. 4. *Draw me, we will run after thee.*] When the *Messiah* comes to bring us into Covenant with Himself, He does not only *command* but also *produce* our Love unto Him; we are under the sweet Influences of a Divine Attraction upon our Souls; & we are made highly sensible of our continual Dependence on Him; for His Influences, that we may never depart from Him.

In what Way do we *run after Him*? See Psal. 16.11. and Joh. 14.3.

We arrive at Length to that Exultation:

The King hath brought me into His Chambers.] That is to say, *Into Heaven*, where the *Messiah* sits as a *King* at the Right Hand of God, and becomes the *Head of His Church*. Thither is our Lord ascended, as our *Fore-runner*. [Compare, Eph. 2.6.]

The first Publication of the Gospel, after the Ascension of our Lord, proclaimed His being gone as a *King unto His Chambers*. The Disposition which followed in His People, was this;

We will be glad & Rejoice in thee; we will Remember thy Love more than Wine.] The former Expression, *Be Glad*, notes the Lively & Joyful Hope we have of coming to a Share in the Heavenly Glory; The latter Expression, *Rejoice*, notes the grateful Satisfaction we have in the View of the *Wisdom, Righteousness, Holiness*, already obtained for us. No Terrestrial Sweetness comparable! The Ministry of the first Preachers of the Gospel, so commemorated it, that it will never be forgotten. It follows *The Upright love thee.*] A Love to the *Messiah*, produces indeed a Rectitude of Soul.

We read of, *A Soul upright in Him*: Hab. 2.4. That is, In the *Messiah*. |

[21v]

We are now to expect a Description of the Church, from the Time of our Lords Ascension, to the Time of the utter Destruction & Extinction of the *Israelitish Commonwealth*; which æmulated the Glories of the *Kingdome of God*. [Dan. 9.27.]

⁶ "It would be evidence of a twisted and obdurate mind not to think of the desire of the church in this song, which was passed down to the church as holy." Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, p. 6.

By, the *Daughters of Jerusalem*, now introduced, lett us understand, the Assemblies of the *Jewish Synagogues*, which depended on *Jerusalem*, as their *Metropolis*.⁷

v. 5. *I am Black, but Comely, O yee Daughters of Jerusalem.*] The Church had not the *Kingdome of God* now appearing with external Pomp, Splendour, & Figure. [Luk. 17.20.] It appeared, as did its Lord. [Isa. 52.14. & 53.2, 3.] And as Doctrine is liable to many *Contradictions of Sinners*; Nevertheless, it had the Internal Glory of its Justified and Sanctified State; and God was glorified in it. Its very *Humility* is its *Greatness* & its *Glory*.

But now observe, how my *Cocceius* renders the next Clause;

The Curtains of Solomon, are very like the Tents of Kedar.] The doubling the Note of Similitude, in the Hebrew, notes a very great Similitude. *Curtains* are putt for the *Tabernacles* that are covered by them. The *Curtains of Solomon* are Churches (and Christians) inhabited by the *Messiah*. These are compared unto the *Tents of Kedar*; The *Arabians* descended from *Kedar*, did use frequently to Remove their *Tents*, for Change of Pasturage. The Remove of the *Church-State* from Nation to Nation, from one Part of the World into another, is here pointed at. An Admonition on to the *Jewes*, that they must not now stick unto the Temple, or unto the Land of *Canaan*, for the Blessings of the Covenant. [See Heb. 13.14.]⁸

v. 6. *Look not upon me, because I am black:*] Compare, Num. 12.1.

Because the Sun hath looked upon me.] The Injuries & Sufferings, whereto the Faithful are exposed in this World, are compared unto the Scorches of the Sun. [Isa. 49.10. Rev. 7.16.] Moreover The *Sun of Righteousness*, arising unto the Souls of the Faithful, produces in them, that Self-denial, that Humility, that Contempt of the World, which makes the rest of the World think meanly of them.

My Mothers Children were angry with me; they made me the Keeper of the Vineyards, my own Vineyard I have not kept.] God *abhorred Israel*; for the *Provocations* which by their Persecutions, they thus gave unto His *Sons* & His *Daughters*. The *Jewes* rejected the People of the *Messiah*, as well as the *Lord-Messiah* Himself; they persecuted that People, with Indignations, & Excommunications. The Faithful then left that *Vineyard*, of the Jewish Church, to which they had

7 Guided by Cocceius, Mather assumes that Cant. 1:1–4 constitutes a brief prologue, which looks back to “the Church, before & until the Incarnation of our Lord, longing for the Accomplishment, of what had been foretold about His Coming.” Cant. 1:5 then marks the actual beginning of the Song’s prophetic history of the church after Christ’s ascension. For Cocceius the first period of this history runs up until ch. 3 of the Song, covering the epoch “of the preaching among the Jews and gentiles before the increasing persecutions and the destruction of the Temple,” and thus the time span to about 70 CE. Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, pref. p. 4: “Periodus est praedicationis inter Juæos & gentes ante ingravescentes persecutiones & destructum templum.”

8 Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, pp. 15–16.

hitherto belonged. They were compelled for to keep close unto the *Vineyards* of their own particular Congregations.

v. 7. *Tell me, O thou whom my Soul loveth, where thou feedest, where thou makest thy Flock to rest at noon: for why should I be, as one that is veiled, by the Flocks of the Companions?*] The Church loves the *Messiah*, and the Name of God Revealed in Him. No Wonder, that she desires to know, where the *Messiah* will find a Place for the Edification of His Church, in Rest and Peace; for every thing in this World appears contrary & uneasy to the Church. The Church is particularly made uneasy, by being treated as one *veiled*; which was the Condition of a *Widow*, yea, of a *Leper*, yea, of an *Harlot*. They who treated her so, were the *Flocks* of such *Officers* as then bore the same Name with our Lord; The *Priests*, and other *Doctors*, who pretended for to be *Anointed* of God, for the Teaching of the People. There were such who pretended unto an *Anointing* of God, & an *Appointment* from Him, to be the Teachers of the Church. The Synagogues under their Influences, look'd on the *Disciples* of the *Messiah*, as Apostates that went a Whoring from God. This hard Usage obliged them to leave the Land of *Canaan*, & seek a quiet Habitation, where they could find it.

II. Behold the Messiahs Answer.

v. 8. *If thou know not, O thou fairest among Women, go thy Way forth by the Footsteps of the Flock, and feed thy Kids beside the Shepherds Tents.*] The Beauty of the Church here acknowledged, in what can it be more apparent & illustrious, than in her Love to her glorious Lord? Lett that be her *Internal* Beauty, and her *External* be, in her vertuous Conversation. The Lord will with much Tenderness Pity, & Releeve the Ignorance of those that love Him. He does not say, *Thou shouldst have known; the Prophets have told thee*; but, *If thou know not*. She is directed hereupon, that wherever shee finds any *Footsteps* of a People Beleeving and Obeying of the *Messiah*, she should not scruple their Fellowship. The Apostles were for a while scrupulous of Communion with *Samaritans*, and *Gentiles*, till they were further instructed from Heaven. But the *Kids* are here particularly mentioned. They may mean the Christian *Jewes*, that were more *weak in the Faith*, & *zelous for the Law*, & ignorant of their Christian Liberty. [Act. 21.20, 21.] These were often on a Precipice, & ready to fall, being scandalized by the Liberty taken by the Apostles. *Columella* notes of the *Kids*, *sunt Lasciviores, et Stercoris et Fimi ac Luti in Stabulis Impatientes*;⁹ thus those Jewes abominated the Gentiles, as an Impure Generation. But our Lord would have special Care taken about the Feeding of them. |

[22r]

v. 9. *I have compared thee, O my Love, to a Company of Horses in Pharaohs Chariots.*] An Admonition, that the Church must not expect a State of *Rest*, that

⁹ "They are more irritable and cannot suffer filth, dung, and mud in the stable." From Cocceius (*Cogitationes* 20), a reference to Columella, *De re rustica*, 7.6.

she had newly been enquiring after. *Hæc hora, est hora Certaminis.*¹⁰ War must be look'd for; and the Church is therefore endued with the *Fortitude* of the *Horse*, as well as the *Mansuetude* of the *Sheep*. [Compare, Zech. 10.5. and Job. 39.19.] The most noble Sort of Horses, were those employ'd in *Pharaohs Chariots*.

v. 10. *Thy Cheeks are comely with Rows of Jewels, thy Neck with Chains of Gold.*] The Comparison to an *Horse* is here further prosecuted: The Ornaments of that stately Creature are alluded unto. The Church had complained of herself, as one *covered* with a *Veil*. It is here intimated, that whatever *Covering* she had upon her Face, it was to *Adorn* her, not *Abase* her: And what seemed a *Yoke* upon her *Neck*, was only to *Beautify* her. The very *Buffets* which the *Jewes* gave her, served rather to *Direct* her, than to *Disgrace* her. The Church could not have avoided the Condition of a *worldly Kingdome*, (nor Perdition in the common Calamity of the World,) if the Injuries of the Synagogue, had not pointed her to a Separation.

v. 11. *We will make thee Borders of Gold with Studs of Silver.*] The *we*, implies the Operation of the whole *Trinity*. To *make*, is to *give*. The *Rings of Gold, with Knots of Silver*, Cocceius thinks may signify, the *Righteousness* of the *Messiah*, becoming ours, with the Blessed Fruits of it.¹¹

We proceed now, to the State, wherein the Church obtains a little Rest, and rejoices in what she obtains.

While the King sitteth at his Table, my Spiknard sends forth the Smell thereof.] The Messiah did not presently desert the Jewish Temple and People. After His Ascension, He appeared unto *Paul* in the Temple. [Act. 22.17, 18.] And the Apostles frequently held their Meetings there. While the *Messiah* was not yett wholly Risen from His Ancient *Table*, the *Gospel* committed unto the Church of the New Testament, was a *Spiknard*, that was a *Savour of Life*, unto such as were *ordained unto eternal Life*. The King pours this *Ointment* on his Guests (as was usual) at His Table, and the *Odour* of it is diffused unto all about.

v. 13. *A Bundle of Myrrhe is my Well-beloved unto me; he shall by all Night between my Breasts.*] The Delight which the Church takes; in the Lord, the Remembrances, & the Meditation of the Messiah, is thus pointed out unto us. *Inter Ubra dicitur pernoctare, cujus Memoria et Amor in Corde semper stabulatur.*¹²

v. 14. *My Beloved is unto me, as a Cluster of Cypress in the Vineyards of Engedi.*] The Church compares herself unto *Vineyards*, for its acceptable Fruitfulness. But *Engedi* (by *Pliny* called, *Engadda*,) was a Town of admirable Fertility, on the Westside of the *Dead-Sea*. The Waters which rendred it so fertile were

¹⁰ "This hour is the hour of contest." Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, p. 20.

¹¹ See Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, p. 21.

¹² "Lying all night betwixt the breast is said of him whose remembrance and love always rest in our heart." Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, p. 23.

soaked thro' from the *Asphallite* Lake.¹³ Here is an Intimation, that the *Vines* of the Church, (its People) grew in the *Dead World*; and that the Grace of the Holy Spirit, which made them fruitful, like a Blessed River, mixing itself with the *Dead Sea* of the World, that it may heal the Sloth and Stench thereof. The *Messiah* is commended as an *Aromatic Tree*, the Presence whereof is a Commendation to the *Vineyards*, & its Præservaⁿtion from what might be unsavoury.

Behold, how the *Messiah*, and His *Church*, now mutually applaud one another.

First the *Messiah*.

v. 15. *Behold, Thou art fair my Love; Behold, thou art fair; thou hast Doves Eyes.*] A Double Beauty is upon her. First, His Beauty is here; and, then, she ha's the Beauty of Conformity to Him. Her *Doves Eyes* are a peculiar Excellency in her. The *Dove* ha's its *Eyes* upon its Mate continually; *semper Comparem suum aspicit*.¹⁴ Compare Psal. 123.1, 2.

Then the Church.

v. 16. *Behold, Thou art fair, my Beloved; yea, pleasant: also our Bed is green.*] The *Church*, denying & refusing any Excellency in herself, returns all to the *Messiah*. [Compare, Psal. 115.1.] She acknowledges Him, to be not only *Fair*, but also *Gracious*; namely, in His looking so mercifully upon her; especially, His Espousing her unto himself: & having a Numerous Offspring from her. In the primitive Times, this Passage had its Accomplishment. [Act. 21.20.] Compare, Psal. 128.3.

v. 17. *The Beams of our House are Cedar, & our rafters of Fir.*] She blesses Him, for the Houses, which He erected for her; namely, in the Congregations of His People. Yea, and for the eternal Mansions, which He ha's præpared for all His People, in a better World. [Luk. 16.19. Joh. 14.2.] | *Cocceius* thinks the latter, to be rather intended.¹⁵ Those eternal *Houses*, [2. Cor. 5.1.] are commended, from their *Firmitude* & from their *Fragancy*. What we translate *Fir*, is by *Cocceius*, and by *Junius* before him,¹⁶ taken to signify the Tree mentioned by *Pliny*,¹⁷

¹³ From Cocceius (*Cogitationes* 23–24), a reference to Pliny, *Natural History*, 5.15.73; transl. LCL 352, p. 277: “Lying below the Essenes was formerly the town of Engedi, second only to Jerusalem in the fertility of its land and in its groves of palm-trees, but now like Jerusalem a heap of ashes, next comes Masada, a fortress on a rock, itself also not so far from the Dead Sea. This is the limit of Judaea.”

¹⁴ “It [sc. the dove] is always gazing at its mate.” Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, p. 25.

¹⁵ Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, pp. 25–26: “vivendum est, an non melius de illis hoc explicetur, q.d. per bonitatem nobis præparasti domos & mansions æternas; in quarum vestibule jam sumus constituti.”

¹⁶ From Cocceius (*Cogitationes* 26), Mather refers to the marginal gloss (“Brutas autem arbores interpretamur”) added to the Latin translation of Cant. 1:17 in the *Biblia Sacra* of Junius and Tremellius, p. 174.

¹⁷ From Junius/Tremellius and Cocceius (*Cogitationes* 26), a reference to Pliny, *Natural History*, 12.39.78; transl. LCL 370, p. 59: “Consequently they send to the Elymaei for the wood of the bratus, a tree resembling a spreading cypress, with very white branches, and giv-

for its *Odor*, & other Qualities much resembling the *Cedar*, under the Name *Bruta*. And the Name indeed, is very like the Hebrew occurring here.¹⁸

Chap. II.

v. 1. *I am the Rose of Sharon, & the Lilly of the Valleys.*] Jerom tells us, That all the Countrey between Mount *Tabor*, & the Sea of *Galilee*, was to his Time called by the Name of *Sharon*.¹⁹ The Resemblance of the Church to a *Rose*, & a *Lilly*, may be prosecuted with many Flourishes. But the Place here assigned for them, is more peculiarly to be considered in the Resemblance. The Church laments her not being yett lodged safe in the *eternal Houses* which her Lord ha's provided for her. She is yett in the open Field of *Sharon*, exposed to the Tooth and Foot of every Beast in the Field. She is yett in the *Valleyes*, where Torrents running down from the Mountains may easily overwhelm her. She admires the Goodness of the Lord, in her Præservation.²⁰

The *Messiah*, & the *Church*, having so directed their Speech *to* each other, they now alternately direct their Speech *of* each other, to others.

The Messiah.

v. 2. *As the Lilly among the Thorns, so is my Love among the Daughters.*] Such *Thorns*, indeed were the Jewish Synagogues, that would have been Thought the *Children of GOD*. [Compare 2. Sam. 23.6, 7.] Whereas, the *Church* in regard of its Unity, its Frangrancy, its beauty, its Weakness, & its Cloathing, is as a *Lilly* in the Midst of their Persecutions.

The Church.

v. 3. *As the Appletree among the Trees of the Wood, so is my Beloved among the Sons; I satt down under His Shadow, with great Delight, & His Fruit was sweet unto my Taste.*] The *Sons* here are the *Fathers of the Flesh*, the Rulers of the Church, who were angry with the *Spouse* of the *Messiah*, for her leaving of them & cleaving to Him. What were they but unfruitful *Trees of the Wood*, tho' stately enough in their Stature? The *Messiah* was as a more *Lowly* Tree, so a more *Fruitful* One; reaching forth His *Boughs* & *Fruits* into the very Hands of His

ing an agreeable scent when burnt. It is praised in the Histories of Claudius Caesar as having marvelous property: he states that the Parthians sprinkle its leaves into their drinks, and that it has a scent very like cedar, and its smoke is an antidote against the effects of other woods. It grows beyond the River Karun on Mount Scanchrus in the territory of the city of Sostrata."

18 עֵרֶז [erez] "cedar." See Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, p. 26.

19 From Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, p. 26; see Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiaem*, lib. 10 [PL 24. 365; CCSL 73]; Cocceius: "Hieronymus de locis Hebraicis: 'Saron, cujus & Esaias meminit, dicens, In paludes versus est Saron. Usque in presentem autem diem region inter montem Tabor & Stagnum Tiberadis Saronas appellatur; sed & a Cæsarea Palestinæ usque ad oppidum Joppe omnis terra, quæ cernitur, dicitur Saron.'"

20 See Appendix A.

People. The *Delight* of conversing with Him, here described, needs *Experiment*, rather than *Exposition*.

Cocceius has an useful Note on this Occasion. *Sumendum Hinc Exemplum verorum et falsorum Doctorum: eorum qui Christi Ministri sunt, et quasi Rami Christi ad porrigendum fructus ejus; eorumque qui Christi Ministri non sunt, qui vel nullam frugem ferunt, vel Glandes pro Suibus; aut etiam nuces suas, velut Pinus, in Capita dejiciunt; quorum Umbra est potius ad Lucem et Pluviam excludendam, quàm ad æstum mitigandum; aut temporarium quidem suffugium præstat, sed famelicis non dat Vitam et Satietatem.*²¹

v. 4. *He brought me to the House of Wine; and His Banner over me was Love.*]

The World of the Gentiles may here be called, *The House of Wine*. The Church being brought hither, it swallow'd plentiful Draughts of *Wine*, in the Plenty of Converts. To convert Men unto God is the very *Meat* and *Drink* of the Faithful. [Compare Joh. 4.34.]

The *Love* of God unto Christ and His People, among the *Gentiles* as well as the *Jewes*, is the *Banner* of the *Messiah*, over the Church. By this, His Kingdome is known, and is to be carried on unto the Nations. [Compare, Joh. 13.34, 35.] A Confession of the *Love*, wherewith God and Christ ha's *loved* us, and our *Love* to Him and His, this is the very Colour & Character of the *Messiahs Banner*. Not any *Force*, but the bare Exhibition of this *Banner* unto the Nations, brings them in unto Him.

v. 5. *Stay me with Flagons, & comfort me with Apples; for I am sick of Love.*]

Men full of the Holy Spirit, and such as will diffuse the Odors of the Graces unto all that are about them, are here wish'd for. The Church, & especially the Faithful Ministers of the Gospel in the Church, are desirous to be Refreshed with such Christians. [1. Cor. 16.18. Philem. 7.20. 2. Cor. 7.13.] They even *languish*, for such an Entertainment. The Apostle *Paul* often expresses this languishing desire, to see what was desirable, in the People to whom he directed his Epistles.

v. 6. *His Left Hand is under my Head, & His Right Hand doth embrace me.*]

The *Rest* & *Peace* procured unto the Church, by its *Lord-Messiah*, is a sufficient Reason for her most vehement *Love* unto Him. |

[23r]

The Messiah.

v. 7. *I charge you, O yee Daughters of Jerusalem, by the Roes & by the Hinds of the Field, that yee stir not up, nor awake my Love, until it shall be pleasing to her.*] The *Roes* and the *Hindes*, were clean Creatures, allowed unto the *Israelitish*

²¹ "From this is to be taken an example of true and false teachers: Of those who are the ministers of Christ and are like the branches of Christ for bringing forth His fruits, and of those who are not of the ministry of Christ, who either bear no fruit or give acorns to the swine, or even cast their nuts into the fodder, just as the pine trees, whose shade is better for blocking light and rain than it is notable for alleviating heat or providing at least temporary shelter; instead, it gives neither life nor satiety to the famished." Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, p. 28.

Tables; but yett such as run wild in the Woods. They are a very good Metaphor for the *Gentiles*, whose Conversion was promised unto the Church of *Israel*. And Adjuration by these, does truly adjure by the God, who was Author of the Promise, that had been made concerning these. The *Jewes* are here warned & charged, that they should not by their Injuries and Blasphemies, awaken in the Christian Church, gathered among them, a Desire to withdraw from them into the Countreys of the *Gentiles*, where the *Roes* & the *Hindes* inhabited; or to lift up her Cry unto her Lord against them. That would be the Ready Course, for what had been promised unto their Fathers, as their *Blessing*, to be turned into a *Curse* unto them. [See Deut. 32.21.] It is remarkable That the *Daughters of Jerusalem*, are here addressed with a *Verb* and *Pronoun* of the *masculine Gender*.²² *Quære*, what Reproach may be intended in it?

Notwithstanding the Warning thus given, we shall see the Thing immediately come to pass.

The Church.

v. 8. *The Voice of my Beloved! Behold, He cometh, leaping upon the Mountains, skipping upon the Hills.*] Here is the Departure of the Church unto the *Gentiles*, from the *Jewes* who allowed no Rest unto it. The Church relates this Matter, unto the *Daughters of Jerusalem* here, at her Departure from them. She takes Notice of, *A Voice*, a Report, a Rumour, wherein Her *Beloved* was concerned, & which was indeed of His Raising. T'was, that He was *come*, to sett up His Kingdome among the *Gentiles*, and possess both the *Mountains* and the *Hills*, both the greater & lesser Kingdomes among them. The Time was now come, foretold by the Angel *Gabriel*, Dan. 9.24. To *Restrain Transgression & to Seal up Sins*; that is for the *Gentiles*, who had lain *Dead in Trespasses & Sins*, no longer to be called, *Sinners*.

v. 9. *My Beloved is like a Roe, or a young Hart; Behold, He standeth behind our Wall; He looketh forth at the Windowes, showing Himself thro' the Lattess.*] Compare, Psal. 18.34. No Heighth is an Obstacle to the Course of the *Roe* and the *Hart*. Nor is there any thing so *High* as to stop the Progress of the *Lord-Messiah*; nor will He suffer Himself, and any more than they to be detained in any Place; and when He comes to any Place, tis often with a *sudden* Efficacy. The *Messiah* now going from the *Jewes*, was to be seen on the other Side of that *Wall of Partition*, which was between them and the *Gentiles*; There, from on High, He *look'd forth* as *from Windowes*, to see what was done by and on His Enemies. He *show'd Himself*; and His People could point at Him, when they could admonish the *Jewes*, that the dreadful Judgments which in the Reigns of

²² Reference is made here to the Hebrew second person plural masculine pronoun as direct object אַתְּכֶם [ethkhem] "you (pl. masc.);" which is sometimes used, as it is here, as a feminine: הַשְׁבַּעְתִּי אֶתְכֶם "I adjure you [O daughters of Jerusalem]."

Caligula, and *Claudius*, and *Nero*, came upon them (related by *Josephus*) came to Revenge their Rebellion against Him.²³

v. 10. *My Beloved spake, and said unto me, Rise up, my Love, my fair one, & come away.*] Thus the Lord, who calls the Church here, *my Companion*, (for so the Word signifies, & He makes Her so in astonishing Participations,) calls upon her, to leave the Countrey, the City, the People of the *Jewes*. [Psal. 45.11.]

v. 11. *For the Winter is past, the Rains over & gone.*] The *Winter* is the Time, when the Earth can bear no Fruit. This being *past*, there is Hope, that the Gospel may have most fruitful Effects among the Nations of the World. The *Rain* is the Flood of the Wrath of God upon Mankind; with Effusion of spiritual Plagues upon them. This being *over & gone*, there is Hope that God may shine upon the World with His Favours.

v. 12. *The Flowers appear on the Earth; the Time of the Singing of Birds is come; & the Voice of the Turtle is heard in our Land.*]

v. 13. *The Fig-tree putteth forth her green Figs, & the Vines with the Tender Grape give a good Smell. Arise, my Love, my Fair One, & come away.*]

Behold, what *Pleasures* now follow to gratify all the *Senses*! The Success of the Gospel among the *Gentiles*, afforded incredible Delights unto the Church of God. The *Appearing of the Flowers*, may note the First Essayes of Christianity among the Gentiles; their Enquiry after Truth, their Convictions of the Vanities among them, and their Abandoning of their Superstitions. The *Singing of Birds*, may note the continual Discourse & Report, made about the Christian Religion, among the Gentiles. The *Voice of the Turtle* may note the Prayers of the Faithful, for the Coming & Kingdome of the Lord Jesus Christ. The *Fig-tree putting forth her green Figs*, may note the Ripening of their Faith into Works of Charity & Obedience, and their Willingness to be pluck't off from their worldly Stock & State, & be siezed by the Lord. The *Vines with the Tender Grape giving a good Smell*, may note, their being furnished with *Cordials*, which like Wine, might comfort them, when *Crosses* now to be expected should come upon them. *Our Land*, is here opposed unto the Land of *Israel*. Upon which followes, a kind Invitation of the Lord-Messiah, unto His Church, to *come away*.

It is time for the Church now to supplicate, That the *Messiah* would come & enlighten His Church with all the Light & Grace of the New Testament. The Occasion for such a Supplication is in the first Place to be declared. |

[23v]

And in the first Place, the Messiah putts His Church upon making such a Supplication.

v. 14. *O my Dove, that art in the Clefts of the Rock, in the secret Places of the Stairs; lett me see thy Countenance, lett me hear thy Voice; for sweet is thy Voice, & thy Countenance is comely.*] There were those who now made Profession of

²³ From Cocceius (*Cogitationes* 34), a reference to Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* (19.1; 19.278; 20.154; 20.183).

the Lord Jesus Christ, but not with that Liberty and Confidence, that should have been. The Haughty Governments of the World, which were like *Rocks* and *Stairs*, discouraged them from appearing so openly to profess the Gospel, as they should have done. They are here called upon, with the same Intention that the Epistle to the *Hebrews* was written; they are commanded by no means to *ly Hid*. There is nothing in the Gospel to be Ashamed of.²⁴

v. 15. *Take us the Foxes, the little Foxes, that spoil the Vines: for our Vines have tender Grapes.*] These *Foxes* are the False Apostles, which corrupted the Gospel, & made Schisms among the Professors of it; [Rev. 2.2.] the same that the true Apostles called also, *Dogs*, and, *Wolves*. They are styled, *little*, because they were Fore-runners of the *greater* ones, & preparatory to the Introduction of *Antichrist*. The *Grapes* in the Vineyard of the Lord, were yett but very *Tender*: the Faith of the Disciples, was yett feeble & wanted Confirmation. The Poet *Theocritus* will tell us, how dangerous *Foxes* are to *Vineyards*.²⁵

The Church.

v. 16. *My Beloved is mine, and I am His; He feedeth among the Lilies.*] The Church yeelds Obedience; resolves openly to assert her Saviour, & His Gospel, and her Interest in Him. The Triumph of the Church in the Messiah, is encouraged, by His Goodness in Feeding His *Flock*, not with Grass, or Hay, but with *Lilies*. He brings into the Communion of the Church, Persons like *Lillies*, for their Humble, Fragrant, Modest, & Beautiful Temper, of an Heavenly Tendency. There was Cause for the Church, to desert the Jewish Synagogue, as wanting that Character, but no Cause to be ashamed of maintaining open Communion, with such as were thus to be characterised.

v. 17. *Until the Day break, & the Shadowes flee away; Turn, my Beloved, and be thou like a Roe, or a young Hart upon the Mountains of Bether.*] She desires the Kingdome of her Lord, yett more plainly exhibited. The *Mountains of Bether*, or, of *Division*, those two Divided Mountains, were the *Jewes* & the *Gentiles*. The Church would have the Lord, swiftly & quickly tread them under foot; & the *Shadowes* that obscured the Light of the *Messiah*, & His Gospel, dissipated.²⁶

²⁴ Probably a reference to Heb. 11–12; and Rom. 1:16.

²⁵ From Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, p. 42; see Theocritus, *Idyllia* (1.45–51).

²⁶ Mather also accepts Cocceius's proposal that chs. 3 and 4 form the second act in the Song's visionary bridal drama, containing predictions about the history of the early church, "as carried on under the Heathen Emperours" up to and including the reign of Constantine. Thus, with Cocceius's help, Mather decodes the images of these two chapters as predicting the terrible sufferings and trials of the early Christians, first in the wake of the disastrous Jewish uprising and the destruction of Jerusalem (read as divine punishments for the obduracy of natural Israel), and then under the various Roman persecutions. Both exegetes see these first three centuries as simultaneously the darkest, most desperate time and the brightest, most glorious time of the church on this side of the millennium, because the primitive Christians were, after the destruction of the Temple and the Jewish state, for the first time fully freed from the yoke of legal religion and put all their hope in Christ. Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, pref. p. 4: "Periodus est Probationis & Conflationis Ecclesiae in gravissimis, diuturnis ac variis persecutionibus"

Chap. III.

We have seen the State of the Church, until the Destruction of the Jewish Polity. Lett us proceed now to see the State of it, as carried on under the Heathen Emperours. The Speakers are,

The Church.

v. 1. *By Night on my Bed, I sought Him whom my Soul loveth; I sought Him, but I found Him not.*] She had wished for the Day; but she complains that the *Night* was continued; A *Night*, wherein the Powers of Darkness, animated the Wicked against the *Children of Light*, and the Kingdome of our Saviour was in Obscurity, & the faithful themselves had much Darkness, & Ignorance & Sorrow upon them. She desired the Help of the *Messiah* for the Converting of the Unbelievers among the Jewes, & the Restraining of the Adversaries. But she found Him not at hand for such Purposes.

v. 2. *I will rise now, and go about the City in the Streets, & in the broad Wayes I will seek Him whom my Soul loveth; I sought Him, but I found Him not.*] The *Christians* could not now be quiet among the *Jewes*: an horrible War, was throwing all into Confusion; the *Romans* were upon them; they were also tearing one another to Peeces; and the *Priests* getting the Authority into their Hands, the Vexations given to the *Christians* were insupportable. There followed a Dispersion of them, throughout the *Roman Empire*; [Rev. 11.8.] they erected Churches every where; there they hoped, that the *Messiah* would appear to afford them some Tranquillity. However they now also *found Him not*; that is, as the *Præbitor Quietis*,²⁷ for under that Character they sought Him. Thro' the Calumnies of the *Jewes*, the *Christians* found hard Measure among the *Gentiles* too. Quoth *Tacitus* [Annal. 15. c. 44.] *Per Flagitia invisos Vulgus Christianos appellabat. Et exitiabilis Superstitio rursus erumpebat, non modò per Judeam, Originem ejus Mali, sed per Urbem, quo cuncta undique atrocitas aut pudenda, confluunt celebranturque.*²⁸

v. 3. *The Watchmen that go about the City, found me; I said, saw yee Him, whom my Soul loveth?*] The *Watchmen* might be the *Apostles*, who visited all the Churches of the Faithful, & confirmed them in their Faith, & perswaded them to bear the Cross cheerfully. The *Christians* enquired of these, what Manner of Kingdome the Lord would maintain in His Church & how they should come to the Enjoyment of Him.

They seem to be in such Haste, that they do not stay for an Answer.

("It is the period of the trial and moulding of the church in the most severe, long-lasting, and numerous persecutions").

²⁷ "Giver of rest." Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, p. 47. Compare Heb. 4:1–13.

²⁸ "Loathed for their vices, whom the crowd styled *Christians*. And the pernicious superstition broke out once more, not merely in Judaea, the home of the disease, but in the capital, where all things horrible or shameful in the world collect and find a vogue." From Cocceius (*Cogitationes* 47) a reference to the Roman historiographer and politician Publius/Gaius Cornelius Tacitus (c. 55–120 CE), *Annales*, 15.44; transl.: LCL 322, p. 283.

[24r] v. 4. *It was but a little that I passed from them, but I found Him whom my Soul loveth; I held Him, and I would not lett Him go, until I had | brought Him into my Mothers House, & into the Chamber of her that conceived me.*] The Christians had been full of Hopes, that the Lord would appear in that Age; but the Apostles having inculcated the *Patience under the Cross*, with which that *Kingdome* is to be waited for, & they being themselves also at Length all taken out of the World, the Lord exhibited Himself unto His People, by Casting of New and Right Thoughts into their Minds. He Illuminated them with clearer Apprehensions of His Kingdome, and of the Tribulations thro' which we must enter into it. The Faithful now submitted unto the Will & Call of the Lord, & consented unto the Enjoyment of Him, under the Cross. The Church that in all Ages had expected the *Messiah*, was the Parent of this Christian Church; And in the Communion of it, she propounded the Enjoyment of the Lord.

v. 5. *I charge you, O yee Daughters of Jerusalem, by the Roes & by the Hindes of the Field, that yee stir not up, nor awake my Love, till He please.*] Quiet and Silence is here ascribed unto the Messiah. The Meaning is, That tho' His Church mett with horrid Persecutions in the World, yett He did not stir Himself up to Revenge their Cause upon their Persecutors. The Church now would not have her Children too impatiently to call for the Vengeance of Heaven upon a persecuting World. And accordingly, the Story tells us, That they were a *People* offering themselves; a *Voluntary-Offering*, in the *Day of Battel*, [Psal. 110.3.] & in the Midst of all their Torments, they would still pray for *the Stability of the Roman Empire*. Tertullian reports, *Oramus etiam pro Imperatoribus, pro Ministris eorum; et Potestaribus, pro Statu Sæculi, pro rerum quiete, pro morà Finis*. He elsewhere gives the Reason: *Est et alia major nobis Necessitas orandi pro Imperatoribus, etiam pro omni Statu Imperii rebusque Romanis, quòd Vim maximam universo Orbi imminentem, ipsamque Clausulam Sæculi, acerbitates horrendas Comminantem, Romani Imperii Commeam scimus retardari. Itaque nolumus experiri et dunc precamur differi, Romane diuturnitati favemus.*²⁹

Hereupon there follows a Speech of the Spectators. The *Chorus* of Spectators may be both *Angels* and *Men*; the *Men* may be, as well the *Glorified* in

29 "We pray also for Emperors, for their ministers and those in authority, for the security of the age, for peace on earth, for postponement of the end. [He elsewhere gives the Reason:] There is another need, a greater one, for our praying for the Emperors, and for the whole estate of the empire and the interests of Rome, because we know that the great force which threatens the whole world, the end of the age itself with its menace of hideous suffering, is delayed by the respite which the Roman empire means for us. We do not wish to experience all that; and when we pray for its postponement we are helping forward the continuance of Rome." From Cocceius (*Cogitationes* 50), Mather cites Tertullian, *Apologeticus*, cap. 32 and cap. 39 [PL 1. 447, 468; CSEL 69; CCSL 1]. Born into a military family stationed in Carthage, Tertullian studied law and literature and converted sometime after 195. His *Apology* was written during the persecution of the early Christians (197/198 CE).

Heaven, as those that were converted by the Patterns and Passions of the Faithful on Earth.

The Spectators.

v. 6. *Who is this that cometh out of the Wilderness like Pillars of Smoke, Incensed like Myrrh & Frankincense, better than all Powders of the Merchant.*³⁰ Compare, Rev. 12.10. They admire the Church, presenting herself a Sacrifice unto God, & appearing like a Pillar of Smoke, from *Incensed Myrrh and Frankincense*. Indeed, literal *Burnings* at the Stake, were in that Age the more usual *Sufferings* of the Martyrs. Tacitus tells us; They were *Crucibus affixi, aut flammam, atque, ubi defecisset Dies, in Usum nocturni Luminis urerentur*.³¹ Tertullian has it; *Licet nunc Sarmentitios et Semassarios appelletis, quia ad Stipitem dimidii assis revincti Sarmentorum ambitu exurimur*.³² The Mention of *Myrrh* and *Frankincense* (banished from the piacular Victims under the Law,) expresses how acceptable these Offerings of the Christians were unto God, and the Graces of the Holy Spirit in them. These were better than all *the Powders of the Merchant*, or the Offerings of the Old Testament. God would now have no more of them. [Jer. 6.20.] Indeed, the Destruction of the Temple follow'd immediately upon the first of the primitive Persecutions, which is here more immediately refer'd unto.

v. 7. *Behold, His Bed, which is Solomons; Threescore valiant Men are about it, of the Valiant of Israel.* They now with Wonder, behold the Messiah, as resting in His *Bed*; and the Faithful, as the *Valiant of Israel*, watching that none disturb Him there. The *Heart* of every Saint, is as a *Bed* unto the Lord; and the Faithful are watchful over one another, *ut Christo in omni Fraternitate tranquillam quietem praeant*.³³ But the Lord lay also as in His *Bed*, while He suspended His Judgments on the Persecutors of His People; and possessed His Heavenly Throne of Glory. The Faithful in the mean time, continually and successively appeared for Him. Their Number is *Threescore*; The Ring is composed of *Twelve*

³⁰ See Appendix A.

³¹ "They were fastened on crosses, and, when daylight failed were burned to serve as lamps by night." From Cocceius (*Cogitationes* 51), another reference to Tacitus, *Annales*, 15.44; LCL 322, p. 285.

³² "Call us, if you like, Sarmenticii and Semaxii, because, bound to a half-axe stake, we are burned in a circle-heap of fagots." From Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, p. 51; see Tertullian, *Apologeticus*, cap. 50 [PL 1. 530; CSEL 69; CCSL 1]; ANF 3:54–55. The rhyming couplet "Sarmenticii and Semaxii," or in Mather's version "Sarmentitios et Semassarios," was an expression in Tertullian's time that referred to the Roman method of execution by burning alive. See Joseph Bingham, *Origines ecclesiasticae* (1708), p. 17: "The martyrs, which were burnt alive, were usually tied to a board or stake of about six feet long, which the Romans called *Semaxis*; and then surrounded or covered with faggots of small wood, which they called *Sarmenta*. From this, their punishment, the heathens, who turned everything into mockery, gave all Christians the despiteful name of *Sarmentitii* and *Semaxii*." Tertullian goes on to explain: "This is the attitude in which we conquer, it is our victory-robe, it is for us a sort of triumphal car" (ANF 3:55).

³³ "In order to offer Christ tranquil rest in all the brotherhood." Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, p. 52.

Divisions; *Five* allow'd unto One Division. *Five* out of a Tribe in *Israel*. *Valiant* may they well be called, for their Exposing of themselves to Martyrdome.

v. 8. *They all hold Swords, being expert in War; every Man hath his Sword on his Thigh, because of Fear in the Night.*] Their *Sword*, is the *Word of God*; It is ready at their *Side*, because of their continual *Meditation* thereupon. Their Combates with the *Powers of Darkness* & the *wicked Spirits* which go to rob them of their Blessedness in the *Heavenly Places*; & this in the *Dark Time* of their present State; oblige them to such an Armour & such a Posture.

v. 9. *King Solomon made himself a Chariot, of the Wood of Lebanon.*] The Word used here for *Chariot*, is | אַפְרִיּוֹן ³⁴ a *Greek Word*; the same with φορῆτον.³⁵ Probably the Use of *Chariots* came from the *Greeks* to the *Jewes*. However, the Holy Spirit using a *Greek Word*, intimates, among what People, the Messiah should have | His *Chariot*. The Incorruptible Wood of *Lebanon*, which had also an incomparable Saviour in it, must be the Materials of it. It is no other than the *Kingdome* of our Lord Jesus Christ. A Royal Seat!

[24v] v. 10. *He made the Pillars thereof of Silver, the Bottom thereof of Gold, the Covering of it, of Purple; the Midst thereof being paved with Love, for the Daughters of Jerusalem.*] The *golden Bottom* of it, may be the Deity of our Lord, sustaining all things; the *silver Pillars*, may be the Obedience of our Lord, which ha's purchased all; the *purple Covering*, may be the Exaltation of our Lord, after His Passion. The *Seat* affords a triumphant Spectacle unto the Faithful. This *Chariot* is opposed unto the *Ark* in the *Temple*. The *Ark* was shutt; the *Chariot* is open; the *Ark* had the Tables of the *Law* in it, the *Chariot* ha's the *Messiah* Himself & His Grace; the *Ark* had *Cherubims*, not beheld by the Children of Men; the *Chariot* with all its beautiful Figures, is beheld by the *Daughters of Jerusalem*. The *Ark* was made by others; the *Chariot* is made by *Solomon* Himself. The *New Jerusalem* is now to be considered, and the Relation which the *Chariot* had unto that, and the *Daughters* as belonging thereunto.

v. 11. *Go forth, O yee Daughters of Zion, and behold King Solomon, with the Crown, wherewith his Mother crowned him, in the day of his Espousals; & in the day of the Gladness of his heart.*] The *Day of the Espousals of King Solomon*, is, the Time of the New Testament; it is opposed unto the Time of the Old Testament, when the Church had only heard of her Lord, and not seen any thing but a Picture of Him. Unspeakable the *Gladness* in the *Heart* of the Messiah, to have the Opportunity which He now had, of giving His Church the Demonstrations of His Power and Goodness. He is called *King*, on this Occasion, because His very *Marriage* is His Coming into His *Kingdome*. The chosen People of God, from whom our Lord in respect of His Humanity descended as from His *Mother*, afforded Him a *Crown*. His *Crown* was in the *Apostles*, and *Sufferers*, & *Witnesses*

³⁴ אַפְרִיּוֹן [appiryon] "sedan-chair." KJV: "chariot."

³⁵ Φορῆτον [foreion] "litter, sedan-chair."

which appeared for Him. All that belong to the Kingdome of the L. Jesus Christ which is in *Zion*, are here called upon, to *go forth*, from their several Nations & Countreyes, & come to *Zion*, that they may there behold the Glory of the Lord, *espoused* unto His Church.

Chap. IV.

The Messiah.

v. 1. *Behold, Thou art fair, my Love; behold, thou art fair; thou hast Doves Eyes within thy Locks; thy Hair is as a Flock of Goats, that appear from Mount Gilead.*] Thus does the Messiah commend His Church, while encountering with its Adversaries. The Reproaches & Blasphemies of the Adversaries against the Saints, have a wonderful Recompence in the Spirits Testimony within them, that they are accepted with the Lord. The Beauty of the Church appears under the Cross; Tis then *twice Fair*, in both active & passive Obedience. The *Eyes* of the Church, are then, like those of the *Dove*, directed & confined unto the Messiah alone. And her *Locks* bound up, signify her Subjection unto her Lord. The Christians, like *Hair*, born of the *Head of the Church*, do adorn her, & cherish her, while they have an orderly Communion with one another. There is to be an *Abundance* of them; The best Feeding for them, is that *Covenant of Peace*, which God ha's made for them, like that between *Laban* and *Jacob* upon Mount *Gilead*.³⁶ They are like a *Flock of Goats*, that (as *Cocceius* renders it) *look white & bright* there. Their Purity, and Charity, their Agreement, procure for them this Comparison.³⁷

v. 2. *Thy Teeth are like a Flock of Sheep, that are of equal Stature, which came up from the Washing; whereof every one bear Twins, & none is barren among them.*] As, *Eating*, is a Term for the Taking of Persons into the Communion of the mystical Body of Christ, so, the *Teeth*, according to *Cocceius*, may signify, the Judgment passed upon the Subjects to be received into that Communion; who are to be Received, & who to be Rejected.³⁸ This *equal Stature* of the *Teeth*, is to note the æquity, to be used in that Judgment; Impartially treating one with no more Severity than another. The *Goodness*, & the *Cleanness*, of them that sitt in the Seat of Judgment, is hinted, when they are compared unto *Sheep come from Washing*. The Purity of the Church in such Procedures, will be Rewarded by God, with notable *Fruitfulness*, & *Addition*, among them.

v. 3. *Thy Lips are like a Threed of Scarlet, and thy Speech is comely; Thy Cheeks like a Peece of Pomegranate within thy Locks.*] The Cross and Blood of the L. Jesus Christ, we may look to find much occurring in the Speech of His Church. [1. Cor. 14.18.] And, whereas *Dead Lips* are *pale*, the *Life* of the Church is by *Red*

³⁶ See Gen. 31:44–54.

³⁷ Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, p. 59.

³⁸ Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, p. 59.

Lips pointed out unto us. Her *Speech* is most of all comely, in her Prayers for her Persecutors. The *Cheek* (which *Mercer*, after *R. Schel*, notes, is by the Talmudists called, *The Pomegranate of the Face*,) is the Seat of Blushing Modesty. The modest Humility of the Church, & her low Opinion of herself, is thus deciphered.³⁹

v. 4. *Thy Neck is like the Tower of David, built with a Pile of Battlements; which there hang a thousand Bucklers, all Shields of mighty Men.*] Compare, Neh. 3.2. *Faith* is that *Neck*, by which the mystical *Body* is joined unto its *Head*. In it, we enjoy our King fighting for us, & making us victorious over our spiritual Enemies. The Graces of the H. Spirit, which are the *Pearls* about the *Neck* of the Church, are like so many *Bucklers* to shield it from Injuries. |

And if we should add, That the Promises of God, possessed by *Faith*, are the Shields of the Church, the Comparison would be very congruous.

v. 5. *Thy Two Breasts, are like two young Roes, that are Twins, which feed among the Lillies.*] The Church nourishes her young ones, with the *Two Breasts*, of *Instruction* and *Exemple*. There should be an *equality* of these two, as of Twins; and they will afford a very savoury Nourishment, like the Milk of the Deer that feed among the Lillies.

Lett us proceed now to behold the State of the Church, as it was under the First Manifestation of the Kingdome of our Lord Jesus Christ; which was Illustrious even before the Eyes of this World; at the arrival of the Reign of *Constantine*.⁴⁰

The Messiah.

v. 6. *Until the Day break, & the Shadowes flee away, I will gett me unto the Mountain of Myrrhe, & unto the Hill of Frankincense.*] In answer to the Desire of the Church, the *Messiah*, who had hitherto suffered the Church to continue in a dark State, affording wonderful Exemples of Conversion & of Patience, He now saies, That He would now gett Him to a Place, where the *Day should break, & the Shadowes flee away*, & the Church not have such a *Dark Time* of it, as heretofore. That Place, is an Empire, called, *A Mountain*, and, *Hill*; but for the Presence of the Church in it, which is anointed with the Unction of the Holy

³⁹ From Cocceius (*Cogitationes* 60), Mather references Jean Mercier (*Commentarii* 624), who alludes to Rashi's gloss on Cant. 4:3. Here Mercier writes: "Nostri pro temporibus genas legunt quæ sunt inter oculos & aures, in quibus rubor malo punico similis pulcher est in muliere, ac pudoris signum & pudicæ verecundiæ, quod Ecclesiæ optimè convenit, quæ præ se fert signa castitatis, quam servare Christo Sponso velit, &c." See *Mikraoth Gedoloth, Song of Songs*, p. 45, at this verse. The modern transl. uses "temple" instead of "cheeks": "And in the language of the Talmud, it is called 'the pomegranate of the face,' and it resembles the split half of a pomegranate from the outside, which is red and round." In *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, Rashi and other Rabbis interpret the pomegranate as metaphor for being filled with God's laws (*mitzvot*) and wisdom, as the fruit is full of seeds.

⁴⁰ Constantine the Great or Constantine I (Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus Augustus; 272 CE–337 CE), th first Christian Emperor reigned from 306 to 337.

Spirit, and had been offering herself a *Sacrifice* to God, it is called, *A Mountain of Myrrhe*, and, *An Hill of Frankincense*.

v. 7. *Thou art all fair my Love, there is no Spott in thee.*] See Isa. 60.21. The Lord going to Invite His Church unto Communion with Himself, here gives the Reason for that Invitation; The *Loveliness* which He beheld in her.

v. 8. *Come with me from Lebanon, my Spouse, with me from Lebanon; look from the Top of Amana, from the Top of Shenir, & Hermon; from the Lions Dens, from the Mountains of the Leopards.*] The Church is under her Afflictions, preparing to be made the *Spouse* of the Lord-Messiah, & brought into a *Marriage* with Him, & unto a Participation in His Inheritance. Accordingly, The Lord now invites her, to *come with Him*, & to take a Share of His Dominion, & no longer ly Hid, as heretofore.

We have here the Bounds of the *Holy Land*, where the People who dwelt, were a Type of the Church. *Lebanon*, was the Northern boundary of that Land, separating *Judea* from *Syria*, *Amana* was a Mountain of *Cilicia*, beyond *Lebanon*, in *Asia* the less, to the westward. *Shenir* and *Hermon* are diverse Tops of the same Mountain; to the eastward of *Lebanon*, & of the adjacent Countrey. The *Mountains of Leopards*; (indeed, *Brocardus* tells us, that there are some so called, a League or two from *Lebanon*; but *Cocceius* thinks,⁴¹ the Inhabitants thereabout took that Name for that Place, from this in the *Canticles*;) where can we better look for them, than to the *southward*, in *Idumæa*, & in *Arabia*. Well then; The Spreading of the Church into all Parts of the World, unto all Points of the Compass, is here intimated & prophesied.

v. 9. *Thou hast Ravished my Heart, my Sister, my Spouse; Thou hast ravished my Heart with one of thine Eyes, with one Chain of thy Neck.*] Our Lord, acknowledges the Relation of His Church to Him, as it is a Child of His *Father*, and as it ha's Him for an *Husband*. He gives the Reason of His being willing to appear, as He had newly declared that He would; *one Look* of the Church to Him, had a great Force to bespeak His Favour; how much more, her looking to Him with so many *Prayers*, & for so many *Years*? The *Chain* on the *Neck*, refers to the same, that the *Shields* did, five Verses ago. The *Faith* with the other Graces, of the Church, (especially under *Dioclesians* Persecution;) bespoke the speedy Salvations of God.

v. 10. *How fair is thy Love, my Sister, my Spouse! How much better is thy Love than Wine! and the Smell of thine Ointments, than all Spices!*] These Commendations need no Explications. They are amplified in the following Passages.

v. 11. *Thy Lips, O my Spouse, drop as the Honey-Comb; Honey & Milk are under thy Tongue, & the Smell of thy Garments is like the Smell of Lebanon.*] The

⁴¹ From *Cocceius* (*Cogitationes* 66), Mather refers to the work of the Italian Protestant convert and apocalyptic interpreter of Scripture Jacopo / Giacomo Brocardo (Jacobus Brocardus, c. 1518–1594?), *In Canticum Canticorum Salomonis, quod est typus Christi et ecclesiae expositio mystica* (1585), unpaginated, at Cant. 4:8.

Speech of the Church, about what is it? But the Grace of God, the Love of Christ, the Pardon of Sin, & the Hope of everlasting Life! The *sweetest* Matters in the World. Yea, these things, are also *under her Tongue*; That is to say, In her Heart. [Mat. 12.35.] And the Savour of the Holy Spirit, who dwells in the Faithful, appears also *in their Garments*; that is to say, In the *Good Works* of their godly Conversation. The *Dead Works* of Sin, have an unsufferable Stench in them; the *Good Works* of them that have *putt on Christ*, are exceeding savoury.

v. 12. *A Garden enclosed is my Sister, my Spouse; an Heap shutt up, a Fountain sealed.*] The Church is a *Garden enclosed*, that so the Enemy may not come in to *sow Tares*, nor the *little Foxes* break in to spoil the *Vines*.⁴² 'Tis an *Heap*, (so Cocceius renders it, and not, A *Spring*;) *shutt up*; alluding to an Heap of Fruits, or Spices, reserved in a Box, or Closett; that the Theeves may not come at it.⁴³ 'Tis a *Fountain sealed*; and so kept, that its Waters may not be poisoned or corrupted. The Care of the Church, to keep at a Distance from all *Works of Darkness*, is here applauded; and the Divine Providence, watching over the Church to prevent the Incursions of the Wicked, celebrated.⁴⁴

[25v] v. 13. *Thy Plants are an Orchard of Pomegranates, with pleasant Fruits; Cyperus with Spiknard.*] It was fitt we should hear what excellent Fruits were in the | *Garden enclosed*. The *Pomegranate* is a very good Resemblance, for the Affection & Communion between the Faithful, contained like the beautiful & savoury Seeds of the *Pomegranate*, under the same Spirit of Charity, which is like a *Shell* Covering of them. The *Root* which supports them, namely the *Spirit of Life* in Jesus Christ, is like that of *Cyperus* and *Spiknard*, for its Fragrancy.

v. 14. *Spiknard & Saffron, Calamus & Cinnamon, with all Trees of Frankincense; Myrrhe & Aloes, with all the chief Spices.*] The *Heap shutt up*, we now see, what it was of: Not of *Chaff*; [Indeed, at that time of day, there was almost every Day, the Ventilation, *per quam leves Paleæ resiliebant*, as tis expressed by Cyprian;⁴⁵] but of *Spices*. No Sort of *Vertues*, (those Heavenly *Spices*) are wanting in the Church. And out of the Church, there are no Real *Vertues*, and *Graces* at all. One Christian excells in one Grace, & another in another; but they all join together in glorifying the Spirit of Grace.

v. 15. *A Fountain of Gardens, a Well of living Waters, & Streams from Lebanon.*] The *sealed Fountain*, is one that waters the Gardens. Fruitfulness is the Effect of their Influences. Not a *Cistern*, but a *Spring of living Waters*; yea, Rivers, like those of *Eleutherus*, and *Jordan*, that issued out of *Lebanon*; are in

⁴² See Matt. 13:25

⁴³ Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, pp. 68–69. Mather chooses the interpretation of Cocceius (“heap”) over the common English translation (“spring”) even in his rendering of the verse.

⁴⁴ Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, pp. 68–69.

⁴⁵ “Through which light chaff was whirling in the air.” From Cocceius (*Cogitationes* 71), a reference to Cyprian of Carthage, *Liber de unitate ecclesiae* [PL 4. 507; CCSL 3]; *Epistolae*, epist. 69, *Ad Florentium Pupianum, de obtrectatoribus* [PL 4. 405–406; CCSL 3C]; and *Liber de mortalitate* [PL 4. 591; CCSL 3A]; Cant. 4:12; 1 Cor. 12–14; Eph. 4:15–16.

the Church. The Original of all the Good, that flowes out unto the World, is here to be mett withal.

The Church.

v. 16. *Awake, O Northwind, & come, thou South; blow upon my Garden, that the Spices thereof may flow out; lett my Beloved come into His Garden, & eat His pleasant Fruits.*] The *Wind*, for its penetrating, its purifying, its vegetating, & its moving Influences, is a fitt Comparison for the Holy *Spirit*. (Joh. 3.8.) As the *North Wind* is to *clear* the Air, & the *South Wind* is to *warm* it, so various are the Influences of the Holy *Spirit*. He scatters the Clouds & Mists that are upon our Souls; and He comforts us with the Showres of Blessing. The main Desire of the Faithful, is that they may be rendred Acceptable unto the Lord Jesus Christ, & may entertain Him with such things as may be pleasing to Him. Calling for the Help of the Holy *Spirit*, in order hereunto, tis a suitable Confession of Dependence upon Him for all, and of our own Inability for any good Thing.

Might not a Mistake of the Church, be foretold in these Figures? The Church might hope, That the Time of her extraordinary Sorrowes now being so much over, her good Fruits would now abound more than ever?⁴⁶

Chap. V.

The Messiah.

v. 1. *I am come into my Garden, my Sister, my Spouse; I have gathered my Myrrhe with my Spice; I have eaten my Honeycomb with my Honey; I have drunk my Wine with my Milk; Eat, O Friends, Drink, yea, Drink abundantly, O Beloved.*] The Lord was now going to give His Church more evident & external Demonstrations of His Presence. The Church had entertained Him, with Heavenly Delights; & He was going to bestow upon it, some of the Delights and Gracdeurs of this World. But yett He would now insinuate, That His Church had enjoy'd His Presence, all along. It must not be supposed, That ever He would be absent from His *Garden*. Where *Fruit* is, there *Christ* is, we may be sure of it. The *Myrrhe* which the Lord had gathered, with His *Balsam*, intends perhaps, the *Martyrs* which had offered themselves a Sacrifice of a sweet Odour to God, in

⁴⁶ The fifth chapter of Canticles, according to Cocceius's and Mather's scheme, contains the prediction of a momentous turning point in the history of the church. When the pope was established as the head of an ever more expansive and powerful church and pushed for supremacy after the final collapse of the Empire in the middle of the fifth century, the Antichrist, though still restricted in his power, raised his head. Under the growing influence of the Antichrist, the church of Rome would enter into its Babylonian captivity step by step. In his commentary on Revelation, Cocceius explicated that he understood this process to have been finally completed with Louis IV (1282–1347), the last Emperor to resist the claim of papal supremacy. For Cocceius the thousand years from Constantine to Louis were the millennium spoken of in Rev. 20:2, during which Satan had been bound. It is not clear whether Mather was aware of Cocceius's preterite interpretation of the millennium; if he was, he chose to ignore it.

the Time of the Churches Trouble. We may be sure, That the *Myrrhe & Balsam* thus gathered, was laid up in the perfumed Closetts of Heaven.

[By the way, what we translate, *Honey*, here, is the *Wild-honey*, (1. Sam. 14.25, 26, 27.) that which *Pliny* calls *Mel acetum* i.e. *carens Sedimento*.⁴⁷ But inasmuch as the Word / יַעַר /⁴⁸ signifies also, *A Place of Canes*, *Cocceius* thinks, That the *Honey of the Cane*, (that is to say, *Sugar*) is intended here; which in *Arrianus* is called, μέλι καλάμινον,⁴⁹ and *Strabo*, tells of an *Honey* flowing from *Canes*, μέλιοςζών μὴ οὐσών.⁵⁰

Our Lord now saying, That He had eaten the *Sugar*, & the *Honey*; and drunk the *Wine* & the *Milk*, it is a further Expression of the Satisfaction, which He took in the *Fruits*, that His Church yeelded unto Him. The *Friends* which He invites to partake with Him, are the Faithful; who under another Consideration make the *Spouse* herself. [Compare, Joh. 3.29.] In that Name, is intimated, as the Love that the Lord ha's to them, so the Love that they should have one to another; *Quæ Fraternitas diligenter observanda est illis, qui suaviter et jucundè in Conversatione ecclesiasticâ agere volunt*.⁵¹ The *Meat* and the *Drink* whereto He invites them, is not only His own *Flesh* and *Blood*; but also the *Converts* which they are to take into their Communion: A delicious Food of the Church! *Cibus Ecclesiæ, quæ illos in Unitatem Corporis assumit*.⁵² The *feeding Abundantly*, whereto they are invited, intimates, that they should Receive *many* into their Communion; only they should be careful, that they receive nothing of Satans Offering, nothing but what should be wholesome, like *Sugar & Honey*, like *Wine* and *Milk*.

The Church.

v. 2. *I slept, but my Heart waked; The Voice of my Beloved* was heard, *open to me, my Sister, my Love, my Dove, my Undeified; For my Head is filled with Dew, & my Locks with the Drops of the Night.*] | Behold, the Deformity coming upon

⁴⁷ From *Cocceius* (*Cogitationes* 75), Mather refers to *Pliny*, *Natural History*, 11.15.38–51. Here different kinds of honey are described, including the finest kind that *Pliny* calls *acetum* (literally: vinegar). This “mel acetum” is deemed supreme because it flows of itself from the combs like must or oil and is “carens sedimento,” i.e. “without sediment.”

⁴⁸ יַעַר [ya'ar] “honeycomb.” *Cocceius*, *Cogitationes*, p. 75.

⁴⁹ “Honey cane/reed” (μέλι καλάμινον). From *Cocceius* (*Cogitationes* 75), Mather cites *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (14.8, see also 14.130), in *Geographi graeci minores*, vol. 1, 14.8. This text is sometimes attributed to the first century Roman historian and politician, *Arrian* (*KP*). *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* is a text from the first century CE which describes navigation and trading routes and gives information on Roman ports and seaways, including the inhabitants and political and economic relations between the eastern Mediterranean, Egypt, Arabia, Persia and India (*KP*).

⁵⁰ “Without there being bees” (μέλισσών μὴ οὐσών). From *Cocceius* (*Cogitationes* 75), Mather cites *Strabo*, *Geography*, 15.1.20.

⁵¹ “This fraternity is to be carefully observed by those who wish to conduct themselves pleasantly and delightfully in ecclesial conversation.” *Cocceius*, *Cogitationes*, p. 76.

⁵² “Food of the church, which takes them up into the unity of the body.” *Cocceius*, *Cogitationes*, p. 77.

the Church, after *Peace* granted unto it. The Church here discoursing with the Daughters of *Jerusalem*, complains of the Lords Withdrawing from her, but confesses the Reason of the Withdraw to be, her declining thro' Sloth, to open unto Him. She *slept*, and abandoned herself to a carnal Repose. Ecclesiastical Præferments were the main Ambition of the Clergy. The Christian Religion was lost in philosophical Speculations. *Justification by the Righteousness of Christ*, became little considered, when Men were taken up, with endless Controversies. A World of *Dreams* filled the Doting World with *Hæresies*. Yett in her *Heart* was kept *awake*, some *Love* to Christ, some Thirsting & Sighing after Him. The Lord *knocked*, with Terrors both External & Internal, to *Awaken* her. The Vexations raised by the *Arians*, and by *Julian*, were the *Knockings* of the Lord.⁵³ He demanded, an Entrance to be *opened* unto Him; That so they might not continue in a *Minority* of Christianity, but that they might advance to a *Fulness of Stature*, in *Knowledge* and *Goodness*. To cherish the Work of *growing Christianity*, and cry mightily to the Lord, that He would make more and more *Entrance* into His Church, would have been to *open* unto Him. And whereas we are said ourselves, to *open* unto the Lord, Cocceius ha's well stated it; *Non est neganda actio humana, sed humana præventio*.⁵⁴ A *Sister* should have *opened* unto her *elder Brother*; A *Mate*, (for so may be rendred, what we render, *Love*), should have taken Part with the Friend, with whom she was in Covenant against a common Enemy. By being a *Dove*, she should have shown her Faithfulness & Jealousy for her *Mate*; for, as *Pliny* writes of that Bird, *Conjugii Fidem non violant, Communemque servant Domum, et imperiosos Mares, subindè etiam iniquos, ferunt: quippe suspicio est Adulterii, quamvis Natura non sit*.⁵⁵ And Respect was more due unto the Lord,

⁵³ Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, p. 80. References is made to the christological controversies of the early church, in which the deity, inter-trinitarian relations, and the nature of Christ were debated. The followers of Arius (c. 260–336) claimed that Father and Son were not co-essential and co-eternal, and that Christ was a created being, subordinate to the Father. This position was condemned by the Council of Nicaea (325), which defined Christ as “true God of true God, begotten not made, of one substance (*homoousios*) with the Father, through whom all things were made . . .” Mather’s mentioning of “Julian” is likely a reference to Emperor Julian (Flavius Claudius Iulianus Augustus 331/332–363), also known as Julian the Apostate because he rejected the Christian faith of his predecessors. During Julian’s years in power (361 to 363) paganism was restored as a state religion.

Alternatively, Mather might refer to Julian of Halicarnassus (d. after 527), an anti-Chalcedonian theologian who contested with Severus of Antiochia on account of his teaching of *Aphtharsia*. According to Julian, Christ was not subject to the necessity of suffering that comes with a fallen human existence (*phtharsia*), and His body from the very moment of His conception, was incorruptible, immortal and impassible, as it was after the resurrection. Christ freely chose to take upon himself suffering in a truly human existence (essentially the same to ours), making His passion and death a miracle contrary to the normal conditions of His humanity. This heterodox position came to be known as *Aphthartodocetism*. (RGG).

⁵⁴ “It is not to deny human action, but human antecedence.” Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, p. 80. On this crucial point of Reformed theology, compare the Canons of Dort (1.7–10).

⁵⁵ “They do not violate the faith of wedlock, and they keep house in company; and they say that the cock pigeon is domineering, and occasionally even unkind, as he is suspicious of

because He was, taking Pains at this Time, to gather into His Fold, the *Sheep* which were still in a desolate Night of Ignorance & Wretchedness; and, as *Uriah*, in the History of *David*, would not rest, while Israel was exposed, no more should we be easy, while the Interest of our Lord is labouring.

v. 3. *I have putt off my Coat, how shall I putt it on? I have washed my Feet, how shall I defile them?*] These are the carnal Considerations, that hindred her *Opening* to the Lord. The *Christian Discipline*, which was her Garment, Muni-ment, & Ornament, had been laid aside. And, *Non facîle reditur ad priora bona, quæ semel obsolescere sivimus.*⁵⁶ Compare, Rev. 2.4, 5.

They *washed their Feet*, who coming home from a long Journey, composed themselves unto *Rest*. The Church now entertained a False Opinion, that her Travel & her Trouble was over; & as if her Journey towards the Kingdome of God, was coming to an End. She was loth to hear of passing thro' the Dirt of any more Persecution.

v. 4. *My Beloved putt in His Hand by the Hole of the Door, and my Bowels were moved for Him.*] *Faith* accompanied with great *Light* and *Love*, is like an *open Door*. But a lesser *Faith*, may be compared unto a *Crevis* in the *Door*, by which there is yett some Intermission of *Light*. Such was now the *Faith* of the Church. And the *Hand* of the Lord Jesus Christ, applied thereunto, excited in the Church some Cogitations and Anxieties, about the Corruption which they saw coming in.

v. 5. *I Rose up to open unto my Beloved, and my Hands dropped with Myrrhe, and my Fingers with sweet-smelling Myrrhe, upon the Handles of the Lock.*] In whatever Manner our Lord pleases to approach unto us, we should be ready to entertain Him; we should have no Affection shutting our Souls against Him. In this Point we miscarry grievously. However, the Church makes an Essay towards the Reception of the Lord; and is no Loser by it. Tho' she did not immediately find the Lord, yett she found some Tokens that He had not wholly forsaken her. The *Lock* that opens our Heart unto the Lord, is our *Faith*. The *good Works* of the Church, while she was desiring to open unto the Lord, had the Efficacy of the Holy Spirit, like *Myrrhe*, perfuming of them.

v. 6. *I opened unto my Beloved, but my Beloved had covered Himself; & was gone; my Soul failed when He spake; I sought Him, but I could not find Him; I called Him, but He gave me no Answer.*] The Church had a Desire to entertain her Lord; but what if it were more for a *Knowledge* of Him, than a *Living* in Him? He *covered* Himself: New Doctrines about His Person were now so prevailing, that it was not easy to come at the true Knowledge of Him.⁵⁷ The Warnings

adultery although not himself prone to it." From Cocceius (*Cogitationes* 81), Mather cites Pliny, *Natural History*, 10.52.104; transl. modified from LCL 59, p. 359.

⁵⁶ "It is not easy to return to the prior virtues once we have allowed them to be forgotten." Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, p. 82.

⁵⁷ Another reference to the christological debates of the early church.

which He had given about Negligent Christians terrified her *Soul*; & animated her unto the *Seeking* of Him. She *called* by her *Fervent Prayers*; but He did not grant the comfortable Influences of His Grace, which the *Prayers* had petition'd for.

v. 7. *The Watchmen that went about the City, found me, they smote me, they wounded me; the Keepers of the Walls took away my Veil from me.*] The Church, for the Multitude of People coming in unto it, now began to make the Figure of a City in the World. It ha's its *Watchmen*. And, as Cocceius expresses it, *Ecclesia vera est Civitas Dei, in quâ non valet nisi Verbum ipsius, propositum et administratum per Ministros ipsius, non exercentes Dominationem in ullum Membrum Ecclesiæ, aut propriam Auctoritatem, vel Fidem in nomen suum sed omnibus inservientes Sermone et Opere.*⁵⁸ But there arises another City, æmulous of This; namely, That of the *Beast*. When it was growing | into that Condition, the *Clergy* [26v] challenge an overgrown Power to themselves, and begin to treat the Spouse of Christ, as if she were a Stranger, and obliged all to obey their Commands, *dummodò ne quid præciperent contrà Verbum Dei et Vetustam Traditionem.*⁵⁹ The Spouse of Christ suffered many Injuries from these *Watchmen*. (Isa. 56.10, 11, 12.) At the Council of *Nice*, they began their *Pædagogy*.⁶⁰ The *Schisms* now arising were some of the *Wounds* of the Church; the *Wounds* & *Wrongs* proceeded until her *Veil* was taken away; & she was condemned & confused, as if she had not Christ for her Husband.

v. 8. *I charge you, O Daughters of Jerusalem, if yee find my Beloved, that yee tell Him, that I am sick of Love.*] Every one of the Faithful, desires all the rest, even all that belong unto the *Holy City*, that if they have any thing of Christ in them, or if they have any Communion with Christ, they would entreat Him to manifest more of Himself unto them.

The Daughters.

v. 9. *What is thy Beloved more than another Beloved, O thou fairest among Women? What is thy Beloved more than another Beloved, that thou dost so charge us?*] The Desires which the Church had uttered, awakened the Desires of others, to be more informed of Him; & to come into the Communion of the Church, which could give them that Information. As, *Omni tempore supersunt in Ec-*

⁵⁸ "The true church is the city of God, in which only His word is powerful, brought forth and administered by His ministers, who do not rule over any member of the church, or demonstrate their own authority or confidence in their own name, but serve all by word and work." Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, p. 86. See Augustine, *De civitate Dei* [PL 41. 13–804; CSEL 40; CCSL 48].

⁵⁹ "As long as they did not command anything against the Word of God and the ancient tradition." Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, p. 87.

⁶⁰ A reference to the Council of Nicea, convened by Constantine in 325 in order to settle the christological debates. For Cocceius and Mather the outcome of the Council was ambiguous: While they approved of the christological positions codified in the Nicene Creed, they viewed it as a sign of the beginnings of anti-Christian corruption as the councils strengthened Roman claims to power.

clesia, in quibus Vita Christi cernatur;⁶¹ so the Lord continually stirs up some or other, from what they see and hear in His Faithful Servants, to enquire further after Him. The Daughters here, are desirous to know the Difference of the True Christ, & Head of the Church, from Him that the Corruptions now growing upon the Church, began to exhibit, as being so.

The Church.

v. 10. *My Beloved is white & ruddy, the Chiefest among ten thousand.*] Behold, a Description of the *Messiah*! The *Councils* of that Age, did thus exhibit Him, condemning the Hæresies, which were making of Him, *Another Beloved*. The *Messiah's* Face, ha's the Glory of God shining in it. The Fulgor & Splendor, which we translate, *White*, may intimate His Deity, the *Light unapproachable*. But the Addition of the Term, *Ruddy*, intimates, that His Infinite Majesty, being attempered with an Accession of *Flesh and Blood*, is rendred most Amiable to us. It is added, *He is distinguished as a Banner before a Myriad*. The Excellencies in Him, above what are in any other Object, are as conspicuous, as the *Banners* are above the Companies that follow them.

v. 11. *His Head is as the most fine Gold; His Locks are Bushy, & black as a Raven.*] It is *God* that is the *Head of Christ*. Infinite, His Worth, above that of the *most fine Gold*. By the *Locks*, which issue out from the *Head*, Cocceius will understand the *Humane Nature* of our Lord. The *Bushy* or Curled Circumvolution thereof, notes, *Humanitatem Christi, ut à Divinâ Potentiâ profectam, ità ad ejus Gloriam reciprocitam*.⁶² Wonder not, that the Sufferings of our Lord, is called a *Shearing*. [Isa. 53.7.] These *Locks* of our Lord, elsewhere appear as *White*, when His *Righteousness* is to be exhibited; but here they appear as *Black*, to signify His *Humility*. And *Black* sett by *Gold*, yett more notably setts it off.

v. 12. *His Eyes are as the Eyes of Doves, by the Rivers of Waters, washed with Milk, & fitly sett.*] The Omniscience of our Lord, penetrating to the bottom of our Hearts, may be well compared unto the sharp *Eyes of Doves*, which penetrate unto the bottom of the *Rivers of Waters*, when they come to Drink at them. The *Apples* of their *Eyes*, are as it were *washed with Milk*, for the delicate *white* Circle about them. The *Mansuetude* and *Clemency* of our Lord, may be here pointed at; for the *Eyes* grow *Red*, when inflamed with Anger. It is added *They are sett* (as a Stone) *in a Foil*. In this Passage, the Song may have an *Eye* to the fixed Observation of God & of His People, in the Eye of our Lord. Christians in these things may see something for their Imitation.

v. 13. *His Cheeks are as a Bed of Spices, as sweet Flowers; His Lips like Lillies, dropping sweet-smelling Myrrhe.*] The *Beard* is on the *Cheeks*. The Faithful, who

⁶¹ "In all times they remain in the church, in whom the life of Christ is discernible." Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, p. 89.

⁶² "The humanity of Christ that went forth from divine power, so was brought back again to his glory." Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, p. 92. Here and in the following Cocceius derives from the images of Canticles a Christology in accordance with Nicene and Chalcedonian orthodoxy.

adhære to Christ, and have no Life but from Him, and are weak Things, and such as He ha's little Need of, may be fitly compared thereunto. They may be an Ornament unto him. [Isa. 60.21.] The sweet Gifts of the Holy Spirit, gloriously distributed among them, as a *Bed of Balsam*, and as the *Flowers* whereof Unguents & Perfumes are composed. Great Art lies, in tempering of several Sorts of Odors together, to produce an exquisite one. Tis done in the Varieties of Gifts bestow'd upon the Faithful. A *Mouth* of a Decent Figure & Posture, with a Sweet Breath issuing from it, maybe well compared unto *Lillies*. And such is the *Mouth* of our Lord. Yea, a *sweet-smelling Myrrhe* issues from it; He is able to give the Holy Spirit, with His Word, which no *other Beloved* can.

v. 14. *His Hands are as Gold Rings sett with the Beryl; His Belly, is as Bright Ivory overlaid with Sapphires.*] The Laying Hold on any thing, makes a *Ring*. Cocceius will have the *Sardonyx* | rather than the *Beryl*, to be the Jewel here used [27r] in the Comparison; for the *Beryl* is of a green Colour, which is alwayes of an Ill Importance in an Humane Body.⁶³ The Colour of the *Sardonyx*, is that which belongs unto the *Nails* upon the Hand. The Hand of our Saviour takes fast Hold of those whom His Father ha's given Him. The Colour of the *Nails* upon the Fingers of His Glorious Hand, (a Mixture of *White* and *Red*) may note the Virtue of His Innocence and Suffering, for the Confirming of the Faithful.

The *Bowels* of our Lord, (or, His Compassions) have an Aspect of *Ivory overlaid with Sapphires*. Methinks, we have the Body of our suffering Lord, as wounded with Scourges, thus exhibited; or, His Coming with *Water* (Innocence) and *Blood*; (Suffering.)

v. 15. *His Legs are as Pillars of Marble, sett upon Sockets of Fine Gold; His Countenance is as Lebanon, excellent as the Cedars.*] The *Legs*, are the Vertues, by which the Kingdome of our Lord is maintained and supported. [See Psal. 45.5. and Psal. 89.15. and, Isa. 11.5.] And then, He ha's *Feet*, like *Sockets of Fine Gold*, by which He can subject all things unto Himself. The Stateliness of His *Countenance*, is well resembled unto that of *Lebanon*; which had not *Briars* and *Thorns* (2. Sam. 23.7.) but stately *Cedars*, to adorn it. The Church desired now to see such a Christ, when thro' the Influences of the Romish Apostasy, the Field was come to yeeld nothing but *Briars* and *Thorns*.

v. 16. *His Mouth is most sweet; yea, He is altogether lovely. This is my Beloved, and this is my Friend, O Daughters of Jerusalem.*] What *sweeter* than the Invitations and Encouragements of the Gospel! In fine, All that is *Harsh* and all that is *Base*, is denyed concerning our Lord. And He is præferred unto all Creatures; inasmuch as there are none of them, which have not some Want of *Loveliness*, in some Circumstance or another.

These things were calculated for the Time, when Errors about the Person of *Christ*, began to abound in the Church, & the Doctrine of the Gospel was

⁶³ See Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, p. 97.

lost, & the *Gentiles trod under foot the Holy City*. The Discourses between the Faithful and other People, then very much ran upon the Prærogatives of *Christ*; & upon the Evil of advancing *Idols* in His room.

Chap. VI.

The Daughters of Jerusalem.

v. 1. *Whither is thy Beloved gone, O thou fairest among Women; whither is thy Beloved turned aside? That we may seek Him with thee?*] A proper Effect, of the Instructions given by the Church, to them that come to her for the Word of God. They become desirous to be informed, (under that general Corruption which was now come upon the Profession of Christianity,) in what Communion, or Discipline the Enjoyment of Christ, was most likely now to be mett withal.

The Church.

v. 2. *My Beloved is gone down into His Garden, to the Beds of Spices, to feed in the Gardens, & to gather Lillies.*] The Church of God, is a *Garden*, that ha's many *Beds of Spices*, in regard of its Lying in diverse Regions. The *Eastern* and *Western* Churches, made a notable Division of the *Garden*. The Lord fed His Flock here, tho' there was a general Degeneracy. The Visit which our Lord now made unto His Garden, might be, in the astonishing Descent of the *Barbarous Nations* upon it, which issued in the Conversion of many to Christianity, and the *Gathering* of some *Lillies* for the Heavenly Kingdome.⁶⁴

v. 3. *I am my Beloveds, and my Beloved is mine; he feedeth among the Lillies.*] Thus does the Church make Professions of Christ; her Affection to Him, and His Interest in her, At the same time Rejecting such a Christian, as the *Arian* and other Hæresies, then grassant, would have offered unto her. And thus the Church rejoices in Christ; His Affection to her, & her Interest in Him; which much appeared in the Conquest of *Arianism*, as well as *Paganism* & the Coming over of Princes and Nations to the *Catholick Faith*, in the sixth Century.⁶⁵ And hitherto, but never so much after this, our Lord fed His Church, with Accessions, that might be called, *Lillies*, for their amiable Properties.

The Messiah.

v. 4. *Thou art Beautiful, O my Love, as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem, terrible as an Army with Banners.*] The Church of that Age, is thus described & com-

⁶⁴ Reference is made to the great East-West Schism of 1054 that divided Chalcedonian Christianity into Eastern or Greek (later the Eastern Orthodox churches) and Western or Latin (later the Roman Catholic church) branches. Reference is also made to the spread of Christianity over Europe and among the Slavic peoples by the end of the first millennium.

⁶⁵ In the sixth and seventh centuries the Visigoth peoples that had migrated into the Western Empire and established kingdoms in modern France and Spain converted to Nicene orthodoxy, after they had embraced subordinationism in the wake of the Arian controversies during the fourth century. A turning point was the conversion of Reccared I, Visigothic king of Hispania, Septimania, and Galicia, in 587 (*RGG*).

mended by the Lord. *Tirzah* was the Metropolis where the King of the Ten Tribes resided before the Building of *Samaria*. *Jerusalem* was, as all the World knows, the Metropolis of the Two Tribes. The Mention of these, would lead one, to think of a Time, when the Church was divided into Two Factions. T'was Remarkable in the *Eastern & Western Churches*. To *Tirzah*, or the Church of the Ten Tribes, answered *Constantinople*. To *Jerusalem*, or the Church of the Two Tribes, *Rome* answered. The Authority of the Church, at this time of Day, grew *Terrible*; its *Anathemas* especially carried a mighty *Terror* with them.

v. 5. *Turn away thine Eyes from me, for they have overcome me; Thy Hair is as a Flock of Goats, that appear from Gilead.*] It may be read, *Turn about thine Eyes to me*. An Intimation that the Church had been looking too much towards other Lords. | Whereas, the Just and Chast Looks of His Church unto Himself, had a mighty Influence, to *obtain His Favour*. But so far as the Church now began to have *Eyes*, either *Haughty* or *Impure*, He would have those *Eyes turned away from Him*. For they will *move Him to Anger*. Both of these Admonitions, were highly seasonable to the Time, for which the Prophecy seems to be calculated; when the Two Bishops of *Rome*, and *Constantinople*, were contending, who should be *universal Bishops*. [27v]

The Commendations of, *The Hair*, see explained on Chap. 4.1.

The *Teeth*, and the *Temples*, in the two following Verses, have also been considered. Only here, the *Parity* of the *Sheep* is now omitted; because the Discipline of the Church, was now decay'd, in regard of its Impartiality. And there was Occasion for the *Blushing* of the *Pomegranate*, in the Errors now committed.

v. 8. *There are Threescore Queens, and Fourscore Concubines, & Virgins without Number.*] Behold, the Condition into which the Church was now fallen. The *Clergy* (who are a Sort of *Mothers* in the family of the Church) were some of them *Queens*, others of them *Concubines*. (It may be *Solomon* had this Number, at the Time of his Writing the *Song*.) A Clergy there was, to sett out the Pomp of the Family, and various their Influences in it. The *Virgins*, born & bred in the Family, may note the People. But our *Lord-Messiah* reckons not this Pomp, His Glory; for His *Beloved is but one*.⁶⁶

v. 9. *My Dove, my Undeified is but one: she is the only one of her Mother, she is the choice one of her that bare her; If the Daughters saw her, they would bless her; yea, the Queens & the Concubines, even they would praise her.*] The Church is a

⁶⁶ With the reign of the Antichrist established in ch. 5, Cocceius, in the typical manner of Protestant apocalypticism, finds predictions in the remaining verses of Canticles of the ongoing historical struggle between the faithful witnesses of Christ and their great enemy, who distorts the true teachings of the gospel and puts himself as Lord in the place of Christ. Mather follows Cocceius in marking off Cant. 6:9 to 7:11 as a separate fourth act in this drama, which reaches from the ninth century to the Reformation of the sixteenth century, and in which the true church is "shining forth and making itself known within the false church, up until the division" ("in medio falsae Ecclesiae emicantis & se ostendentis, usque ad divisionem"). Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, pref., p. 25.

Dove in regard of her Chastity; and an *undefiled one*, in regard of a *Dove-like Simplicity*. All things in the True Church, have a Tendency to *Unity*. And the *True Church* has a Resemblance alwayes to the *First Church*; her Endeavour is to Resemble the Primitive Church, that was *her Mother*, & she *that bare her*. But the Church-Officers and People at this Time of Day, had their Eyes enchanted so much, with the *Pomp* of this World, that they could not be affected with that primitive Lustre on the, only *Dove* of our Lord.

The Spectators.

v. 10. *Who is she that looks forth as the Morning; fair as the Moon, clear as the Sun, & terrible as an Army with Banners?* The growing *Apostasy* had caused the True Church to retire into a State of Obscurity. But the *Light* of that Retired Church, is now breaking forth, to the Astonishment of the World. This *Light* was first, *as the Morning*. The *Word of God*, which is the *Light*, began to be produced against the *Apostasy*, by a few Witnesses, in the Ninth Age. Many Italian Bishops fell from their Obedience to the *Pope*: And such Men as *Hincmarus*,⁶⁷ and *Luitbertus*,⁶⁸ testified against the Abominations of *Antichrist*. The *French* Clergy bore notable Testimonies; and *Ludovicus* I. the Emperour, made the Bible be translated into the *Saxon* Tongue.⁶⁹ This *Light of the Morning*, was within a While suppressed; and the Times came on, whereof *Sigonius* affirms, *Nulla alia fediora aut tetriora, vel Principum Nequitia, vel Populorum Insania, in totâ Antiquitate reperiri*.⁷⁰ And the Age, which *Baronius* calls, *Sæculum*

⁶⁷ From Cocceius (*Cogitationes* 128), Mather refers to Hincmar, Archbishop of Reims (Hincmarus Remensis, c. 806–882), who points to the dangers caused by the Antichrist in many places of his works. Compare, for example, *De predestinatione contra Gothescalcum*, cap. 7 [PL 125. 94], where Hincmar quotes a passage of Gregory's *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 29, cap. 8 [PL 76. 487; CCSL 143B], in which Gregory states that the Antichrist aims at being like God after having destroyed the divine order. See also op. cit., cap. 27, where Hincmar cites 1 John 2:18 to say that already now many Antichrists have appeared [PL 125. 280].

⁶⁸ From Cocceius (*Cogitationes* 128), Mather makes reference to Liutbert (or Ludbert), Archbishop of Mainz (d. 889), who in his *Epistola ad Ludovicum regem* [PL 129. 1051–54] expresses alarm at the state of the church. Although he doesn't mention the Antichrist, Liutbert sees a "danger threatening you" (*videns periculum vobis imminens*), states that "His (e.g. God's) primacy and dignity in the seat of Saint Peter are severely damaged and debased" (*Quatitur namque graviter et debonestatur primatus et dignitas ejus in sede sancti Petri*) and speaks about a "danger for the people of God posing a terrible threat (*periculum populi Dei, quod terribiliter imminet*)."

⁶⁹ The reference is probably to the translation into Old High German of the *Diatessaron* (c. 160–175), the Gospel harmony of Tatian, which was produced in the monastery of Fulda under Rabanus Maurus (Hrabanus, c. 780–856) around 830 and thus during the reign of Louis the Pious (778–840), king of the Franks and a promoter of the Carolingian renaissance begun under Charlemagne.

⁷⁰ "[Sigonius affirms that] in all of antiquity you find no times which are more vile or shameful, be it because of the villainy of the leaders or because of the madness of the people." From Cocceius (*Cogitationes* 129), Mather cites the Italian Humanist historian Carlo Sigonio (Carolus Sigonius, 1524–1584). While not providing an exact *locus*, the context in which Cocceius's citation appears suggests that reference is made to Sigonio's *Historiarum de regno Italiae*

*asperitate ferreum, boni Sterilitate malique exundantis deformitate Plumbeum.*⁷¹ The *Light* revives *Fair as the Moon*, in the *eleventh* Century. Henry II. provoked by the Cries of good Men, attempted a Reformation of the Church.⁷² Something was done; and *Berengarius* quickly opposed the Figment of *Transubstantiation* and opposed the Pope and Powers of the Clergy.⁷³ On the Occasion of the Division between the *Guelphs* and *Gibellines* also, many true things came to be proclaimed concerning the Court of *Rome*.⁷⁴ And some will reckon the Honest Passages in *Bernard*, as belonging to the *Moon*, that was now faintly shining.⁷⁵ But an *Eclipse* came upon it. A greater *Light* anon breaks forth. It was *Clear as the Sun*, in the Sermons, Writings, and Actions of the *Vaudois*, and their Brethren; which now preached that the Pope was *Antichrist*, with such Clearness, that they must shutt their Eyes against the *Sun*, who did not receive it.⁷⁶ *Rainerius*

(1575) or his *Historiae de Occidentali imperio* (1578); see also Sigonio's *Opera omnia*, 6 vols. (1732–1737).

71 “An age of iron on account of its severity, of lead on account of its sterility of the good and the horror of abundant evil.” From Cocceius (*Cogitationes* 129), Mather cites Caesar Baronius, *Annales ecclesiastici*, at the beginning of his chapter about the tenth century. See vol. 15 (1744), p. 500, in the Lucca edition.

72 A reference to Henry II (973–1024), the last ruler of the Ottonian dynasty and Holy Roman Emperor from 1014–1024. Henry II simulatenously strengthened the church and expanded imperial control over it. He supported service to the church, made large donations, and promoted various monastic reforms. Under his rule the Ottonian “Imperial-Church System” reached its climax, which hinged on the secular rulership of bishops appointed by the Emperor.

73 From Cocceius (*Cogitationes* 129–30), Mather refers to the French medieval theologian, archdeacon of Angers and leading scholar of the cathedral school at Chartres, Berengar of Tours (c. 1005–1088), who disputed the dominant understanding of transubstantiation. In his work *Rescriptum contra Lanfrannum* (*De sacra coena*), cap. 51–52 [CCCM 84], he stated that it was only expressed in a figurative way (*tropica locutione dici*), that “after the consecration the bread, which is placed on the altar, is the body of Christ and the wine is his blood” (*panis, qui ponitur in altari, post consecrationem est corpus Christi et vinum sanguis*). In the same figurative manner, according to Berengar, “Christ is a lion, Christ is a lamb, Christ is the highest corner stone (*Christus est leo, Christus est . . . agnus, Christus est summus angularis lapis*).”

74 These two aristocratic parties in central and northern Italy supported the Pope and the Holy Roman Emperors respectively as they struggled for supremacy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

75 From Cocceius (*Cogitationes* 131), Mather refers to the great medieval theologian Bernard of Clairvaux, who propagated the ideal of apostolic poverty that inspired the new mendicant orders and who called for thoroughgoing reforms of the Catholic church. In so doing he also directly appealed to the pope to follow this ideal and renounce the worldly means of power held by the Curia.

76 Or Waldensians. Founded by Peter Waldo (Petrus Waldes, Pierre Vaudès, Valdesius, d. c. 1205) of Lyon around 1175, this lay reform movement also embraced the ideal of apostolic poverty as well as nonresistance, preached repentance, and rejected most aspects of the papal church, including its hierarchy, liturgy, the sacraments (except for the confession of sins), the cult of the saints, as well as the practice of indulgences. Despite their excommunication in 1215 and the onset of violent persecutions, the movement spread in southern France, and several regions of the Holy Roman Empire, notably Bohemia, and survived the religious wars of the early modern era, including the infamous Piedmont massacre of 1655. Parts of the nonresistant Waldensians mixed with other reform movements such as the Cathars, the followers of John

about the Year, 1250. has this Remarkable Report of them: *Novum et Vetus Testamentum Vulgariter transtulerunt, et sic docent ac discunt. Vidi et audiui Rusticum Idiotam, qui Iob recitavit de Verbo ad Verbum, et plures alios qui Novum Testamentum sciverunt perfectè.*⁷⁷ At last, the Church, with her *Light*, becomes *Terrible as an Army with Banners*, in regard of the Opposition made unto *Antichrist*, by such as *Wickliff*, and his Followers; and the *War* which with a Variety of Success, was now managed against *Antichrist*, by such as were pressing after a Reformation.⁷⁸ |

The Messiah.

v. 11. *I went down into the Garden of Nutts, to see the Fruits of the Valley; & to see whether the Vine flourished, & the Pomegranates budded.*] Our Lord gives the Reason, why the *Light* of His Church broke forth so Remarkably: It was by reason of His *Descent*. The Lord visited the World, in a Way of dreadful *Judgments*, especially by bringing a *Mahometan Sword* upon it, which filled the World with horrible Desolations. He visited with *Mercies* also, by stirring up them that feared Him, courageously to bear their Testimonies against the Apostasy then prevailing. The Church is now called, *The Garden of Nutts*; for as *Nutts* have a *Kernel* under a *Shell*, so the truly Faithful are the Lords *Hidden ones* among them that make a formal Profession of Christianity. Yea, much must be *broke, & lost, & thrown away*, among the Professors of the Christian Faith, while our Lord singles out the sincere People, that are as a Repast unto Him.

Wycliffe, the Hussites and the Bohemian Brethren (RGG). Cocceius's and Mather's use of metaphors of light when speaking about the Waldensians might be inspired by the movement's emblem, a lighted candelabrum surrounded by stars with the motto *In tenebris lux* ("In darkness light").

77 "They have translated the New and Old Testament into the vernacular and they teach it and learn it in this manner. I saw and heard an uneducated peasant who recited Job word for word and many others who knew the New Testament perfectly well." From Cocceius (*Cogitationes* 133), Mather cites the *Passau Anonymous*, a kind of apologetic compendium dealing with Jews, Muslims and heretics (including the Waldensians), written by an unknown cleric from Passau in the 1260s. In the following decade, another unknown author produced a shortened version of this work that was then falsely attributed to the inquisitor of Lombardy Rainer Sacconi (d. 1259) and is thus often referred to as "Pseudo-Rainerius." Sacconi himself had written a short text on the Waldensians and Cathars. For an edition of this text from Mather's period, see Philippe Despont, ed., *Maxima bibliotheca veterum patrum et antiquorum scriptorum ecclesiasticorum*, vol. 25, *Continens scriptores ab ann. Christi 1200 ad ann. 1300* (1677), where the citation appears on p. 264. For a modern edition, see Alexander Patschovsky, *Der Passauer Anonymous* (1968).

78 From Cocceius (*Cogitationes* 135), Mather refers to the English scholastic theologian John Wycliffe (c. 1330–1384) and the reform movement associated with his name. Like the Waldensians, Wycliffe and his followers emphasized the Christian ideal of poverty and sharply criticized the ecclesial hierarchy. In the great philosophical debates of his time revolving around the problem of universals he assumed an extreme position of realism that also led him to utterly reject the doctrine of transubstantiation, for which he was condemned as a heretic. Wycliffe also advocated translations of the Bible into the vernacular languages. He completed his English translation directly from the Vulgate in 1382. His teachings inspired Jan Hus (RGG).

I will add, The Saints themselves are to be *knockt* and *crackt* with sore *Temptations*, ere they can afford a good Entertainment unto those that are about them. The Design of the Lords Descent, is to take Notice, what Fruits were brought forth among His People; who were like *Valleyes*, for their Afflicted, their Depressed, their Humble & Modest Character; like *Vines*, for the good Spirit in them; and like *Pomegranates*, for their Communion with one another.

v. 12. *My Soul placed me unawares upon the Chariots of my willing People.*] Our Lord had a *People* now adhæring to Him, & His Word, & opposing of the prevailing Apostasy. This *People* had their *Chariots*, and their Instruments of *War*. Our Lord, Humanely speaking, was unexpectedly made the Commander & Conductor of the *War* now managed. His Affection to His Distressed Church, caused Him to interpose, for the Conduct of it. Methinks, one may see the Struggles of the *Hussites* in *Bohemia*, against *Antichrist*, here pointed out unto us; And the astonishing Successes & Victories granted by Heaven, to a very *unlikely Sort of People*.⁷⁹ After which, the Lord threw the *Chariots*, into the Fire.

v. 13. *Return, Return, O Shulamite, Return, Return; that we may look upon thee. What will yee see in the Shulamite? As it were the Company of two Armies.*] The Comparison of our Lord, calling His Church unto *Repentance*, is here express'd unto us. The *Bohemians*, who now Reconciled themselves unto the Church of *Rome* & Subjected themselves unto the Authority thereof, might be especially concerned in such a Call. The Admonitions to *Return* out of *Babylon*, into a *Jerusalem-State*, are *Four Times* over inculcated. Was there any thing in the Excitations to a *Reformation*, that might answer it, at the Time of Day? That Clause, *That we may look upon thee*, intimates, That while the Well-Willers to the *Reformation*, & they who were weary of the *Apostasy*, continued in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, they were but an unlovely Spectacle. Well, but what may it be expected that we shall see upon the *Return* of the *Shulamite*? A Chorus, and a Concord of two Armies; an Union of several considerable Parties, (or, if you will, *An Harmony of Confessions*;) in opposing the Abominations of *Antichrist*.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ A reference to the Czech theologian church reformer Jan Hus (Husinec, c. 1370–1415), who was burned at the stake during the Council of Constance for insisting on his heretical views (inspired by Wycliffe) about key doctrines of the church, including those on ecclesiology and the Eucharist. The Hussite movement in Bohemia that arose after his death – divided between the radical Taborites and the more moderate Calixtines – led to open revolt against Emperor Sigismund, and the subsequent Hussite Wars (1419–36) forced the church to make significant concessions (communion under both kinds and free preaching, amongst other things) in order to achieve a settlement with the moderates under the “*Compacta*” of Prague in 1433 (RGG).

⁸⁰ Maybe a reference to the Schmalkaldic League, the defensive alliance of Lutheran princes within the Holy Roman Empire founded in 1531 by Philip I, Landgrave of Hesse, and John Frederick I, Elector of Saxony.

Chap. VII.

v. 1. *How beautiful are thy Feet with Shooes, O Princes Daughter! The Coverings of thy Thighs are like Jewels, the Work of the Hands of a cunning Workman!]* Our Lord proceeds to describe and commend the *Reforming Church*. This *Princes Daughter*, [Psal. 45.14.] or, *Daughter of Ingenuity*, is accommodated with *Shoes*, in the *Preparation of the Gospel of Peace*, and being *prepared* for to undergo, all that the *Gospel*, or the *Preaching of the Gospel*, shall require. What we translate, *The Joints*, may be read, *The Coverings*, – A certain Ornament sett off with Jewels and curious Workmanship, wherewith Nakedness was covered. We read Prov. 29.18. *where no Vision* (or, Prophecy) *the People is Naked*. The Teachers of the Church, are the *Velamenta Pudoris, qui curant, ne quid in Populo appareat, quod turpe et fœdum sit*.⁸¹ The Pastors with which the Churches, aspiring after Reformation, furnished themselves, were of that Character. The Churches had an answer for the Cavils of *Rome* against their Pastors, as if they were not lawful ones, because the Pope gave them not a Mission; It was no Matter, They were the *Work of the Hands of God*, who furnished them for their Employment, & excited them to it.

[28v] v. 2. *Thy Navel is like a round Goblet, which wanteth not Liquor; Thy Belly is like an Heap of Wheat sett about with Lillies.]* The Church had here that Wisdom [Prov. 3.8.] & Heavenly Grace, by | and from which, it receives agreeable Nourishment. And, a *Belly like an Heap of Wheat*, may note both the Fruitfulness of the Church, and a collective Communion and Charity among them that belong to it.⁸²

v. 3. *Thy Two Breasts, are like two young Roes, that are Twins.]* Compare, Chap. 4.5. Edification afforded (like *Milk*), both in *Doctrine* and in *Practice*, is here intimated. It was exemplified, between the *Bohemian & Waldensian Churches*, a little before *Luthers* Reformation.⁸³

v. 4. *Thy Neck is as a Towre of Ivory; Thine Eyes like Fish-Pools in Heshbon, by the Gate of the Daughter of many People; thy Nose is as the Towre of Lebanon, which looketh toward Damascus.]* The *Neck* is here so painted out, as to denote, both Purity and Constancy, in the Profession of the Faith: whereof the *Bohemian Churches* were wonderful Instances, But the *Eyes* of the Church are now like *Fish-Pools*, for the Abundance of *Tears*, to be found in them. *Heshbon* was a Place between *Jordan* and *Amon*, belonging unto *Moab*. The *Moabites* were alwayes *False-Brethren* to the *Israelites*. The *Tears* of the Church are now especially

⁸¹ “Covers of shame which take care lest something disgraceful and shameful appears among the people.” Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, p. 151.

⁸² Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, p. 152.

⁸³ In the wake of the Reformation, Protestant historiography began to interpret these movements (as well as the Cathars and Wycliffians) as forerunners of their own cause and as preservers of biblical truth during the apostasy of the Roman Catholic Church.

employ'd on the Mischiefs which *False Brethren* did unto it. *Heshbon*, the Palace of the King of the *Amorites*; and *Sihon* there, was a Type of *Antichrist*; whereof the Church makes her Tearful Complaints unto Heaven. She is by the *Gate of the Daughter of many People*; the *Daughter* affected & addressed by the *many People*; And who is that, but *Rome*? The *Gate*, or Court of *Rome*, now decrees nothing but Desolation for the Church; tho' it make never so many Offers of Submission unto her. *Luther* particularly, now coming upon the Stage, found it so, as well as his Predecessors.⁸⁴ The *Nose* ha's a Place in the Head, answerable doubtless, to what the *Towre of Lebanon* had on the Mountain. The *Towre* there, was to defend the Place, from the Invasions of the *Syrians*. The *Nose*, is that wherewith *Wrath* is expressed. The *Protestation* which the Churches of the *Reformation* made against the Roman Decrees and their Resolution to stand by their Cause, & by one another, now grew formidable to their Enemies.

v. 5. *Thine Head upon thee, is like Carmel; and the Hair of thine Head like Purple; the King is held in the Galleries.*] The *Princes* which espoused and maintained the *Reformation* of the Church, had a Resemblance to Mount *Carmel*, for their Power & their Number, and by the Fruitfulness of good Works done by them. And the poor *Protestants*, which hung loose dispersed in other Nations, where the *Princes* did not favour them, & yett they were in affection united unto those who did; These continued like *Purple*, for their Bloody Sufferings. Thus they were for a while, in *England*, and *France*, and *Italy*, & the *Low Countreyes*, where they were commonly burnt alive.⁸⁵ The *King of Heaven* was entertained in His *Galleries*, with the charming Spectacle. *Cocceius* reads it, *The King is Bound in the Channels*; and is so very particular, as to make it a Prophecy of the Elector of *Saxony* (the first & cheef Assertor of the *Reformation*) being taken Prisoner, between *Albis* and *Alstera*; a Place watered with many Rivers.⁸⁶ Or, hee will allow it, a more large Signification; of the Subduing of the *Princes* that asserted the *Reformation*; by the two *Channels* (or Armies) of that mighty River, the *German Empire*.

⁸⁴ A reference to Martin Luther's critique of the papal church, as formulated most famously in his *De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae, praeludium* (1520; WA 7).

⁸⁵ Mather here alludes to the Marian persecutions (1553–58) in England; the persecutions of Huguenots before and during the French Wars of Religion (1562–98), and the bloody attempts to suppress the rising Protestant movement in the Spanish Netherlands during the reign of Philip II, which contributed to the independence movement of the Seventeen Provinces beginning in 1566.

⁸⁶ A reference to the Battle of Mühlberg, a city situated between the river Elbe (*Albis*) and its right tributary the Black Elster (*Alstera*), where in 1547 the Catholic princes of the Holy Roman Empire led by Charles V defeated the Protestant Schmalkaldic League under the command of Elector John Fredrick of Saxony and Landgrave Philip I of Hesse. During the chaotic retreat of the Protestant army both John Frederick and Philip were captured. The defeat effectively crushed the Schmalkaldic League and, as a result, the Protestant cause was left highly vulnerable.

v. 6. *How Fair & how Pleasant art thou, O Love, for Delights.*] The *Beauty* of the Church, afforded singular *Delights* unto the Lord. And that *Beauty* particularly appeared after the *Reformation*, in their Zeal to undergo any Expences and Penalties, rather than to part with the Reformed Religion.

v. 7. *This thy Stature is like to a Palm-tree, and thy Breasts to Clusters of Grapes.*] The Church for both Celitude and Constancy may be will compared unto a *Palm-tree*. Its Opposition to the Council of *Trent*,⁸⁷ and to the other Endeavours used at that time of Day, to undermine the *Reformation*, was a particular Exemplification of it. The Nourishment yeilded by the Instructions of the Church rendred her *Breasts* like to *Clusters of Grapes*. The warm *Acrimony* with which they were tempered rendred *Grapes* an agreeable Ingredient of the Comparison for them.

The Church.

v. 8. *I said, I will go up to the Palm-tree. I will take hold of the Boughs thereof now also thy Breasts shall be as Clusters of the Vine, & the Smell of thy Nose like Apples.*] The Evangelical Church now declares a Resolution, to address the *Multitude* in the Church of *Rome*, which is here exhibited as a *Palm-tree* for its inflexible *Arrogance*: and conquer it, (gett the *upper Hand* of it) with such Demands as these.

[29r] Lett thy *Doctrine* yeilded by thy *Breasts*, be as healthful & useful, as the Liquor yeilded by the *Clusters of the Vine*. Lett not thy *Scent* be depraved, not having any Delight in *wicked Men*, but approving of the *godly* only, for thy Communion. |

v. 9. *And the Roof of thy Mouth, like the best Wine for my Beloved, that goeth down sweetly, causing the Lips of those that are asleep to speak.*] She further demands, That the Church of *Rome* should be pleased, with what is pleasing to the Lord Jesus Christ; and what may excite those who are sleeping in Sloth and Sin, to glorify God. Such a Thing would be, a sincere and simple Confession of the Christian Faith, as it is exhibited in the pure Word of God, a *Wine*, that is not adulterated with any Mixtures.

A *Palmtree* (contrary to what is here proposed,) bringing forth no good Fruit; A *Woman* that suckles not her Offspring, & values not the Scent of *Apples*, & loathes the *Wine* that is acceptable to Christ, the true Spouse of His Church: even such was the Church of *Rome*, in the Council of *Trent*; and it was an Error in the Church, to hope, that ever she would be otherwise.

v. 10. *I am my Beloveds, and His Desire is towards me.*] The Church ha's now done with all Hope from the Church of *Rome*, and is for applying to, and conversing with, the Lord Jesus Christ alone. She Rejoices in His Kindness to

⁸⁷ Prompted by the Reformation, the Council of Trent, held between 1545 and 1563 in Trent and Bologna, northern Italy, issued condemnations of what it defined to be Protestant heresies and, in response to them, key statements and clarifications of the church's teachings. The Council was key in defining modern Roman Catholicism.

her. The Peace of Religion, established in *Germany*, about the Middle of the sixteenth Century, was one Instance of that Kindness.⁸⁸

v. 11. *Come, my Beloved, lett us go forth into the Field, lett us lodge in the Villages.*] The Church is not for continuing in the wicked *City*. [Isa. 26.5.] She is for *going forth*, where good Fruit for the Glory of the Lord may be expected. She is for being found in the *Villages* of lesser Congregations, gathered for the Service of God. It is as yett *Night*; the Day must be patiently waited for.

v. 12. *Lett us get up early to the Vineyards; lett us see if the Vine flourish, whether the Tender Grape appear, & the Pomegranates bud forth; there will I give thee my Loves.*] The *Vineyards* may signify more copious Collections of People for the Cause of Religion. There were such now beginning to show themselves; in which yett the Interests of Religion, as *Bucer* foretold they would, for the Want of a Regular Discipline.⁸⁹ The Church had an *Hope* to find more than *Leaves*, even *blossoms*, yea, more than *blossoms*, even *Fruits*, in them; and there to enjoy a Communion with Her Lord.

v. 13. *The Mandrakes give a Smell, and at our Gates are all Manner of pleasant Fruits, new and old, which I have laid up for thee, O my Beloved.*] The Church now found a Zeal among the common People, (which appeared in their demolishing the Monuments of Superstition) which was not ungrateful, tho' they had not yett Grace enough to encounter strong Temptations. But the Church quickly had an Opportunity to produce *all Manner of precious Fruits*, when Tempted with the Persecutions now raised upon it; There were *New Fruits*, in the Sufferings and Martyrdomes, which were now undergone; and there were *Old Fruits*, inasmuch as the Grace of the Ancients, was brought now to Mind, in the Invitation of it.

⁸⁸ A reference to the 1555 Peace of Augsburg between the Schmalkaldic League and Charles V, who had been unable to suppress the Protestant cause in his realm, partly because of the simultaneous conflicts with the Ottoman Empire and with France. The settlement ended the war between the two parties and legally established Lutheranism in the Empire, thereby recognizing the religious division as permanent.

In Cocceius's historical scheme, Cant. 7:11 to 8:3 comprises the fifth period, in which the schism becomes permanent, after the anathemas of the Council of Trent. In this time, the churches of the Reformation would consolidate, and find increasing acceptance among the common people. Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, pref., p. 27: "Periodus est Ecclesiae, post frustra petitam pacem & expectatam conversionem Multitudinis adversariae, sive Reformationem, recedentis ab urbe magna, & in ea recessione exagitata, usque ad pacem ejus" ("It is the period of the church in which she, after peace had been sought and the conversion or the reformation of many people from the opposing side had been expected in vain, she is withdrawing from the great city, and is being persecuted in her withdrawal until the coming of His peace.").

⁸⁹ From Cocceius (*Cogitationes* 172), Mather references the opinions of the dying Protestant Reformer Martin Bucer (1491–1551), as attributed to him by the French historian Jacques-Auguste de Thou (Thuranus, 1553–1617) in his monumental work *Historiae sui temporis* (1620), vol. 1, lib. 8 (covering the year 1551). In the English translation by Bernard Wilson, *Monsieur de Thou's History of his own Time* (1729), the passage can be found in vol. 1, bk. 8, p. 410.

Chap. VIII.

v. 1. *O that thou wert as my Brother, that sucked the Breasts of my Mother; when I should find thee without, I would kiss thee; yea, I should not be despised.*] The Church, being Reproached, by her Enemies, as if she were not the *Daughter of God*, is desirous that her *Lord-Messiah* would approve Himself as her *Brother*, in affording Protection unto her. And her Doctrine being condemned, as not being truly Christian, she desires, that it may appear, that the Doctrine of her Mother, even the ancient Church, follow'd by her, is acceptable to the Lord. This Request of the Church is carried on, That as often as she converses with the Lord Jesus Christ, in the public Means of His Worship, she may not suffer continually.

v. 2. *I would lead thee, and bring thee into my Mothers House, that thou mayest instruct me; I would cause thee to drink of spiced Wine, of the Juice of my Pomegranate.*] The Church confesses her *Ignorance* of God, and His Christ; but in Part excuses it, as being so taken up in Managing Disputations and Controversies with her Adversaries, upon the Truth already advanced, that she had not the Liesure to make a due Progress in the Knowledge of the Lord. The Church seems to have been præposterously, *magis de Contumeliâ, quàm de Salutê atque Sanitate sollicita*.⁹⁰ But now she wishes that she might introduce the Lord, into every Place, where He had a True Church in the former Ages, yea, into the whole World. The Introduction of His True Doctrine, would be the Introduction of the Lord Himself. She thereupon promises to herself, a fuller Instruction from Him, whereto she would ingeniously Resign herself. Then would she entertain the Lord, (which is here called, *causing Him to drink*,) with such Confessions, such Graces, and such Actions of Christianity as would have the Racy Excellencies of *spiced Wine*, & *Juice of Pomegranates* in them.⁹¹

⁹⁰ "Taken up more with reproach than with salvation and soundness." Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, p. 180. Cocceius has "sanitate sollicitæ." According to Cocceius, the *ecclesia reformata* was still far from being the true church of God. It was internally divided along territorial and confessional lines, disturbed by dangerous enthusiasts "for the Want of a Regular Discipline," and full of unregenerate members lacking a genuine *praxis pietatis*. As a Pietist of irenic-ecumenical orientation, Cocceius was also highly critical of the polemical tendencies among the scholars of the age of confessionalization. Mather finds this criticism congenial.

⁹¹ According to Cocceius, Cant. 8:3–7 contains the prophecy of a separate epoch (the sixth) in church history of unprecedented suffering, which, however, was drawing to a close in his own day. For Cocceius these verses spoke in detail of the horrors of the seventeenth-century religious wars and persecutions across Europe, especially of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), which he himself had experienced. In this sixth period, the beast was raging against the church with terrible power, until at last the first signs of Christ's victorious approach were beginning to show when open warfare came to an end. But the final defeat of the Antichrist and the casting of the beast into the lake of fire were still pending. This was the point in the course of history where Cocceius located himself when he wrote the commentary in 1665. In the *Cogitationes* no precise date was given for the end of this sixth period of suffering. However, Cocceius was convinced that the sixth period was practically over and that the church was on the threshold

v. 3. *His Left Hand is under my Head, & His Right Hand embraces me.*] The Church obtains Part of her | Desire; In the *Peace*, and *Rest*, by the kind Providence of the Lord, for a While bestow'd upon her. [29v]

The Lord-Messiah.

v. 4. *I charge you, O Daughters of Jerusalem, that yee stir not up, nor awake my Love, till she please.*] The Lord would have His Church enjoy the *Rest*, which He had afforded unto it. But the false Professors of Christianity had alwayes a Disposition, to disturb that Rest. For the Spirit of Persecution in them, renders them like the *Troubled Sea*, which will alwayes be casting up *Dirt & Mud*. At least, they will be casting *Reproaches* on the Church of God.

The Spectators.

v. 5. *Who is this, that cometh up from the Wilderness, leaning upon her Beloved?*] The Spectators take Notice of the Church now *Ascending*, in regard of *Banishments*, and *Martyrdomes*, & other *Separations* from the wicked World, up unto the Palace, & Chamber, of her Lord-Redeemer. She *Ascends from the Wilderness*; or, from the Midst of an unfruitful World, that yeelds nothing but *Briars* and *Thorns*. There she is Tir'd, and Spent, and Languishing. She *leans upon her Beloved*; she cannot *Ascend* without His Gracious Assistences. [Compare Isa. 51.17.]

The Church.

I stirr'd thee up under the Apple-tree; there thy Mother brought thee forth, there she brought thee forth, that bare thee.] The Church apprehending her Lord *Asleep*, in regard of her frequent Injuries and Miseries, wherein she seem'd for to be neglected, but also being apprehensive of her being under the *Apple-tree* of God the Fathers Providence and Protection, she *stirrs up* her Lord with her Cries unto Him. [Compare Matth. 8.24, 25.] The *Mother* of our Lord, is the Church which *does the Will of His Father*. [Mat. 12.49.] There is an *Emphasis* in this Argument; she that *brought Him forth*, cried for His Help.

v. 6. *Sett me as a Seal upon thine Arm; For Love is strong as Death, Jealousy is cruel as the Grave; the Coals thereof are Coals of Fire, which hath a most vehement Flame.*] Compare Isa. 49.16. The Church hopes, that her Lord will never lift up His *Arm* without Remembring her. She hopes, That the *Love* and *Zeal* of her Lord, for her, break forth as a *Fire*, to torment the Powers of Darkness, that have sought her Destruction.

v. 7. *Many Waters cannot quench Love, neither can the Floods drown it; if a Man would give all the Substance of his House for Love, it would utterly be contemned.*] She glories in the *Constancy* of the Love, which her Lord bears unto her; no *Multitude of People* appearing against her, can extinguish it. She glories in the *Excellency* of it. As no Wealth can purchase it, so she præfers it before all

of the last age. Writing half a century after Cocceius and with very different millennialist expectations, Mather does not follow his source very closely here.

the Wealth in the World. And if any *Man*, tho' never so great a *Man*, should make never such Offers, unto any Servant of Christ, to abate of his *Loving* & Serving that glorious Lord, it would *all be utterly contemned*.

We arrive at length, unto the last Paragraph of the Song.

A Consultation of the Faithful.

v. 8. *We have a little Sister, and she ha's no Breasts; what shall we do for our Sister, in the Day when she shall be spoken for?*] It is a grammatical Rule, *Femininum Singulare notat Multitudinem*.⁹² The Faithful are now concerned about a *Multitude*, that wanted the Means by which they might be nourished in the Holy Faith of Christianity; and yett have some Dispositions unto it. It belongs unto the Church, to take some Care of those, who need Means to bring them on unto a good Growth in Christianity.

v. 9. *If shee be a Wall, we will build upon her a Palace of Silver; and if she be a Door, we will enclose her with Boards of Cedar.*] Behold a direction, how to manage, & unite, & bring on, those whom we may call, *Christ's Little Ones*. We are to distinguish them; some are to be compared unto a *Wall*, for their firm Standing on the scriptural Foundation; some are to be compared unto a *Door*, for their aptness to turn hither & thither in various Opinions, and the Occasion given then for the Wicked to thrust in, or the Weak to go out. The Former Condition, calls for nothing from us, but our *Assistance*, & our *Charity*, that they may be carried up to an Acquaintance with all the Truths of the Gospel, and that we joining ourselves unto them also, may adorn them, as a *Palace of Silver* upon them. The Latter Condition calls for a *Remedy*. The Agitation of the *Door* must be stop'd, by such plain Judications & Demonstrations of the Truth, as may satisfy the Consciences of such as walk in the Fear of God; which may be compared unto *Boards of Cedar*. [Compare Hab. 2.2.]⁹³

[30r]

⁹² "The feminine singular indicates a multitude." Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, p. 191. Cocceius has "notet."

⁹³ Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, p. 195. The last four verses of Canticles (Cant. 8:10:14) in Cocceius's scheme make up the seventh period and treat the church's final triumph in realizing the kingdom of Christ on earth. Cocceius's spiritualist-progressivist vision of this final age was quite unlike Mather's in many respects. For Cocceius, the beginning of the last age would be marked by the final defeat of the beast through the forces in league with Christ's church but not through Christ's direct intervention at His return, as Mather imagined it in much more literalist terms. With its great adversary gone, the *ecclesia reformata*, according to Cocceius, would flourish inwardly and outwardly. It would progress to glorious unity and holiness, as the lives of its members became ever more thoroughly reformed. And the pure gospel would be spread across the globe. All the heathen nations would come into the church and serve it. For the most part, Cocceius remained quite general on how these things were to play out. But he was very explicit on one significant point: The total triumph of the church also implied that God would not only miraculously cause the Christianization of all the Muslim and heathen nations, but also that He would have mercy on his erstwhile chosen people and lead all the natural children of Israel home into the true faith, as promised in Rom. 11. Mather went along

v. 10. *I am a Wall, & my Breasts like Towers; Then was I in his Eyes as one that found favour.*] She declares the Success of the *Remedy*. She is become entirely a *Wall*, gloriously established in the Truth and Way of the Gospel. And she is furnished with *Teachers*, that nourish her with the Doctrine of God. These *Teachers* are *Towers*, for their Capacity and Inclination to defend the Church from all its Enemies. And now she is *in favour* with Heaven!

v. 11. *Solomon had a Vineyard at Baal-hamon; he lett out the Vineyard unto Keepers; every one for the Fruit thereof, brought in a thousand Peeces of Silver.*] Christ is the *Solomon*, and his Church is, the *Vineyard*. The World, is the *Baal-hamon*, a Place having in it, a *Multitude*. The *Keepers* were the *Teachers* and *Rulers* of it. [Mat. 21.33.] They *every one brought in*, for themselves (nothing for the Lord,) an unreasonable *Gain*. All things were done for *filthy Lucre*. Such a State of Things, we know, where to meet withal. But another State is to be expected.

v. 12. *My Vineyard, which is mine, is before me; Thou, O Solomon, must have a Thousand, and those that keep the Fruit thereof, two hundred.*] See, we are already come to another State.

The Church is the *Vineyard* itself; but she calls it, *mine*, to intimate, that it is now delivered from the Hands of Oppressors, & because there is that *Communion of Saints* in the Church, by which they all belong to one another. Its being, *Before her*, notes the common *Care & Watch*, which the Saints maintain, over each other. The whole Revenue of this *Vineyard*, is to be rendred unto the *Lord-Messiah*. And yett He grants a Share of it, unto those faithful Servants of His, who do their Part for the Præservaⁿtion & Fructification of the Vineyard.

The Messiah.

v. 13. *Thou that dwellest in the Gardens, the Companions hearken to thy Voice; cause me to hear it.*] Our Lord sees in the *Diocesses*, that are governed by the Counsel and Conduct of Men, some that fear God and love Truth, altho' great Weaknesses attend them. He stirs up those that yett continue in these *Gardens*, to speak, and bear their Testimonies for Him. They who assume an undue Power, and make themselves *Companions* to the Lord, listen with some Awe upon them unto the Voice of these *Witnesses*. Lett them *speak out*; who can tell what may be the Consequences?

The Faithful.

v. 14. *Make Haste, my Beloved, and be thou like to a Roe, or to a young Hart, upon the Mountains of Spices.*] This is the Answer of the Faithful, both within and without the *Gardens*; A Desire that the Lord would with a singular Celerity

with Cocceius's proposal to set apart the last four verses of Canticles as a prophecy of the happy times that were also promised to the church elsewhere in the Bible. And he accepted some very general hints as to the glories that lay in store. Otherwise, however, he politely ignored Cocceius's interpretation as he did not share his highly spiritualized form of chiliasm. Significantly, Mather also suppressed all of Cocceius's references to the eschatological conversion of the Jews. On this, see the Introduction and ch. 5.5 of my *Prophecy, Piety, and the Problem of Historicity*.

and Expedition, possess Himself, of all the *Kingdoms* of the World; especially such as ever have been the *Mountains of Spices*, in regard of His having been entertained with the Graces of His Faithful People there.⁹⁴

In thus glossing upon this mysterious Book of, The CANTICLES, tho' I have not given you a Formal Translation of *Cocceius's* Commentary, yett the Hints have been mostly collected from that Commentary. I could heartily wish, that the Book were Illustrated with more of Demonstration; however these Illustrations have in them such Thoughts as are both *curious* and *singular*, and perhaps, as near the Mark as any that have been yett offered; or at least, not unworthy of Consideration. And having chosen to write these things, at the Time of my own Entrance into the *Married State*, I hope, that my Contemplations on the *Marriage-Song* inspired by the Holy Spirit of the *Messiah*, have not been unseasonable, nor unserviceable unto *myself*. If the *Reader* be no *Gainer*, yett I am sure, the *Writer* has not been a *Loser*.

⁹⁴ Tellingly, Mather does not carry over Cocceius's allusion to an eschatological conversion of the Jews here. Compare, Cocceius, *Cogitationes*, pp. 199–200: “Judæi adducantur ad fidem. Nam in occupatione omnium montium & populorum intellegimus & conversionem Judæorum, de qua multa dicta satis aperta extant” (“The Jews would be led to the faith. Because by the occupation of all mountains and people we also understand the conversion of the Jews, of which there are many more obvious words [of the Bible]”).

Q. Some Remarks on the Prophet *Isaiah*? v. 1.

A. *Fuerunt Amoz et Amaziah Fratres, et Amoz Pater Iesaia Propheta. Seder Olam.*¹ The Reigns of the Four Kings here mentioned, make it 113 Years. If then, with *Eusebius*, we fix the Time, when *Isaiah* began to prophecy, in the XVIIth *Uzziah*, he exercised his Ministry above Ninety Years. Before above Sixty; computing from the Time when *Uzziah* died unto the End of *Hezekiah's* Reign.²

But I cannot forbear Transcribing a Passage of Mr. *Robert Jenkins*.

“The Prophecies of *Isaiah* cannot be Read or Heard or Thought of, without being moved by them. With what Life then, with what Zeal and Flame, must they have been delivered! And what a mighty Blessing was such a Prophet, to his own Age, & to all succeeding Generations! Of Royal Blood, and of a Style & Behaviour suitable to his Birth! Of Divine Vertues, & of Divine Eloquence! He declares things, which were not to be fulfilled until many Ages afterwards, as plainly as if he had seen them before his Eyes, and would make all others to see them. He speaks of CHRIST as clearly, as if with *Simeon*, he had his Saviour in his Arms; or with the *Wise Men* had been kneeling down before Him, & presenting Him with more precious Gifts, than any they had to offer; and describes His *Passion* as fully, as if he had follow'd Him thro' every Part of it, & having been *crucified* with Him, had been just entring with Him into *Paradise*. If this be thought a Digression, I hope, it may easily be excused. For, who can speak of *Isaiah*, without a *Digression*, when Men chuse the Food of *Swine*, and trample on *Pearls* as things of no Value; as if he & the other Prophets, had always the hard Fate, to preach to *the Rulers of Sodom, and the People of Gomorrah*.”³

¹ “Amoz and Amaziah were brothers, and Amoz was the father of the Prophet Isaiah. *Seder Olam*.” Reference is made to the early medieval (after 700 CE) rabbinic chronicle *Seder Olam Zutta* covering 89 generations from Adam to the end of the Talmudic period. The Latin quotation is found in Sebastian Münster's transl. of the Greek version of it, as cited in the preface (*Praefatio*) of the fourth volume of Pearson's *Critici Sacri* (4:4612). Alternatively, Mather could have referred to the *Seder Olam* from the Latin transl. of the French Benedictine exegete and Hebrew scholar Gilbert Génébrard (1535–1597), *Chronologia Hebraeorum maior, quae Seder Olam Rabba inscribitur* (1578), pp. 113–14. That Amoz was the brother of Amaziah, king of Judah, goes back to a Talmudic tradition; see the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Megillah 10b (Soncino, pp. 57–58).

² From Samuel White's, *A Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah, wherein the literal Sense of his Prophecy is briefly explain'd* (1709), p. 2, Mather refers to the calculations in Eusebius of Caesarea's *Commentarii in Isaiam prophetam* [PL 24. 104; PG 24. 131–32]. See also Hollerich, *Eusebius of Caesarea's Commentary on Isaiah* (1999), pp. 149–51. The alternative calculation is derived from William Lowth, *A Commentary upon the Prophet Isaiah* (1714), p. 1.

³ Robert Jenkin, “Of the Style of the Holy Scriptures,” in *The Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion* ([1696–1697] 1715), vol. 2, p. 78. This book was a defense of revealed

For my own Part, I can allow to the wretched Mr. *Samuel White*, out of whose Commentary on *Isaiah*, I shall now & then accept an Illustration; (and unto the other Admirers & Followers of *Grotius*.)⁴ That this wondrous Book of Prophecies, had an Eye to the Condition of the People, under their Invasion from *Sennacherib*, and somewhat before and after it; and then unto the *Chaldean* Captivity & their Deliverance from it. But then to deny that the *Prophetic Spirit* had also in View, the *Deep Things* of our SAVIOUR, & of the *New Testament*, & of the *Millenium* in the Last Day; to which the Terms have a most lively Adaptation. This is an Ignorance by no Means to be countenanced. And the Quotations from this Book in the *New Testament*, bestow a frequent & a potent Confutation upon it. The Son of *Sirach* says truly of him, Eccles. XLVIII.24, 25. *He saw by an excellent Spirit what should come to pass in the Last Times, & what should come to pass forever.*⁵

Q. Why does the Prophet begin, with Terms, like those that begin the Song in *Deuteronomy*? v. 2.⁶

A. Perhaps, to intimate, that the Terrible Things in that Prophecy were now going to be accomplished.

religion and the fundamental dogmas of Protestant Christianity against contemporary skeptics, such Thomas Hobbes or the English Deist Charles Blount, and against proponents of an “overconfident” rationalism such as John Locke, whom Jenkin attacked both in *The Reasonableness* (vol. 1) and in a tract entitled *Remarks on some Books lately publish’d; viz. Basnage’s “History of the Jews,” Whiston’s “Eight Sermons,” Lock’s Paraphrase and Notes on St. Paul’s epistles, Le Clerc’s “Bibliothèque Choisie* (1709). His two-volume *opus magnum* enjoyed great popularity throughout the eighteenth century and went through multiple editions; Mather probably used the fourth edition printed in 1715. The Anglican divine Robert Jenkin (bapt. 1656, d. 1727) was a prominent Anglican divine and nonjuror after the Glorious Revolution, who later became a Master of St. John’s College, Cambridge (since 1711), as well as Lady Margaret’s Professor of Divinity (ODNB).

⁴ The reference is to Samuel White’s, *A Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah*, on which Mather draws, if very selectively, throughout his annotations on Isaiah (see Introduction). White (1678–1716) was a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and served as chaplain to Hans Willem Bentinck, 1st Earl of Portland (1649–1709). White followed Hugo Grotius’s historical-contextual approach to the prophet; see Grotius’s annotations (*Opera* 1:275–342) which are also found in the fourth volume of Pearson’s *Critici Sacri*. White’s work will be abbreviated as *Commentary* in the following.

⁵ The part that begins with “The Son of Sirach” was written in a different ink. This is one of the instances in which Mather refers to a book that was considered non-canonical by most Protestants, namely the Book of Ecclesiasticus or the Wisdom of Sirach (a Hebrew book of instruction and proverbs written by Joshua ben Sira around 180 BCE), to back up his interpretation, in this case the claim that the prophecies of Isaiah were not fulfilled in their own times but pointed to “the *Deep Things* of our SAVIOUR, & of the *New Testament*, & of the *Millenium* in the Last Day.” According to the KJV (1611), the verses summarized by Mather say: “He saw by an excellent spirit what should come to passe at the last, and he comforted them that mourned in Sion. He shewed what should come to passe for euer, and secret things or euer they came.”

⁶ The reference is to the exordium (vs. 1–3) of the so-called “Song of Moses” in Deut. 32:1–43.

– Here is also an Intimation, That if the Jews disregarded the Admonitions, *Heaven & Earth* would conspire to punish their Infidelity, and Inanimate Things revenge the Affront putt upon their Creator.

Q. On, *why should ye be stricken any more?* v. 5.

A. It may be rendred, *where?* Q. D. In what Part of the Body shall I strike you? *Non habet in nobis iam nova Plaga Locum.*⁷

Q. Unto what *Matter of Fact*, may the Prophet refer, when he saies, *your Countrey is desolate, your Cities are burnt with Fire, your Land Strangers devour it?* v. 7.

A. Consider, 2. King. 12.18.

And, 2. Chron. 25.23.

Nothing of this Nature ocured in *Uzziahs* Time. In *Jothams* time we read, GOD *Began* to send *Rezin* and *Pekah*, against *Judah*. In the Reign of *Abaz*, these confederate Princes took seven Cities. But the Invasion of *Sennacherib* was more terrible than the rest. The Words of the Text should be rendred in the Future Tense; *your Countrey shall be Desolate.* –

Q. *The Daughter of Zion*; who? What? v. 8.

A. *Jerusalem*, which grew up as it were under the Protection of the Castle, that stood on that Mountain, secure from the sudden Attacks of an Enemy.

[▽Insert from 2r]⁸

[▽2r]

Q. *A small Remnant?* v. 9.

A. Compare, Ch. IV.2, 3. X.20, 22. XVII.6. XXIV.13. XXVII.32.

A Type of those few Converts among the *Jews*, who embracing the Gospel, should escape the Temporal and Eternal Judgments, that came upon the rest of the Nation, for their vile Rejecting of CHRIST, & of His Messengers. This Remnant are called, The *Σωζόμενοι*,⁹ in the New Testament. [Luk. XIII.23. Act. II.47.] The LXX used it, Isa. XLV.20. LX.19. Joel. II.32.¹⁰

⁷ “There is no space in us now for a new wound.” From White (*Commentary* 3), Mather makes an allusion to Ovid, *Epistulae ex Ponto*, 4.16.52; transl. modified from LCL 151, p. 489.

⁸ See Appendix B.

⁹ *Σωζόμενοι* [sozomenoi] “the saved; the redeemed.” Here Mather follows Lowth’s interpretation (*Commentary* 6), whereas White (*Commentary* 3) reads the “small remnant” in purely preterite fashion as those Jews who escape the attack of the Assyrian king Sennacherib by fleeing to Jerusalem.

¹⁰ Mather drew heavily on his annotations on Isaiah in the composition of his final work on eschatology, the *Trip paradisus* (1726/27)). In this case, compare *Trip paradisus*, p. 176.

Q. *To what Purpose the Multitude of your Sacrifices?*] v. 11.

A. A very proper Method, for the Preparing of Mens Minds to receive the Gospel; by shewing them a more excellent Way of serving the glorious GOD, than what is præscribed in the Law of *Ceremonies*. Our SAVIOUR, abolishing the legal Rites, which gave such Offence to the Jews, was very agreeable to the Doctrine of their own Prophets; and even foretold by some of them.

See, Jer. XXXI.31.

Such Remarks we have, in Mr. *William Lowths* Commentary on *Isaiah*: from whence I propose many Delibations.¹¹

An excellent Commentary; and the Reverse of what the miserable *White* has offered us.

[△] [△Insert ends]

Q. *My Courts*, in the plural Number? v. 12.

A. Before the *Temple*, the *Priests* had a *Court* in which they performed their Service; and the *People* had another *Court* wherein their Worship was carried on. See Luk. I.10. In saying, *my Courts*, both *Priests* & *People*, have a Reprehension given to them.

When GOD required the *Israelites* to appear before Him *Three times* in a Year, the Command was to be understood of their Coming with Hearts Religiously disposed. The Sense of the Words, is the same with Prov. XV.8.¹² –

[▽2r] [▽Insert from 2r]

Q. *Relieve the Oppressed?*] v. 17.

A. *Bochart* seems to have hitt on the true Sense of the Word; *Rectify what is amiss*; or; *Reform what is corrupt*.¹³ It is agreeable to the *Pauline* Expression; 1. Cor. V.7. *Purge out the old Leven*: which even literally answers the Hebrew Word, *Chamutz*, used here.¹⁴

¹¹ Mather here “officially” introduces his second main sources for the annotations on *Isaiah*, William Lowth, *A Commentary upon the Prophet Isaiah*, here pp. 6–7. William Lowth (1661–1732), was a graduate of St. John’s College, Oxford, and Anglican priest, who became vicar of St Nicholas, Rochester, rector of Overton, Hampshire, and prebendary of Winchester (ODNB). On Lowth and White, whose commentaries were in direct conversation, see the Introduction. In the following, Lowth’s work will be abbreviated as *Commentary*.

¹² Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 7. Here the Hebrew is in the plural: מִצְרַיִם [chatserai] “my courts.”

¹³ From Lowth (*Commentary* 8), Mather refers to Bochart, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 7, p. 113.

¹⁴ Here the Hebrew word is: חָמוּץ [chamots] “oppressor.” The KJV has “relieve the oppressed.” The modern literal *NAU*: “Reprove the ruthless.” The modern literal German translation (Elberfelder Bibel) has: “weist den Unterdrücker zurecht! [rebuke the oppressor!].”

Q. On that, *lett us Reason together?* v. 18.

A. The Word properly signifies, for Two contending Parties to argue the Case together. But here, as Mr. *Lowth* observes, it seem to import the Effect or Issue of such a Debate; q. d. lett us accommodate our Differences.¹⁵

[△Insert ends]

[△]

|
Q. We read of, *Sins like Scarlett*; what might be the *Scarlet* therein alluded unto? v. 18.

[1v]

A. Near Mount *Carmel*, was taken the *Purple-fish*. In the Midst of his Jaws is a certain *Vein*, containing the precious Liquor, which was famous of old, for Dying the Garments of the Emperours. The *Blood*, with the opened *Vein*, was boiled in a leaden Vessel, and mixed with Water. The Cloathes dept in it, received a *Tincture* between *Red* and *Black*, near to the Colour of a *Clove-Gilliflower*; and the Excellency of it was, that it was not easy to be washed out. Hereto the Prophet alludes, when he speaks of *Sins like Scarlett*. The LXX read it, ὡς φοινικοῦν,¹⁶ as the *puniceous* Liquor. *Quære*, whether when *Moses*, Deut. 33.19. speaks of, *Treasures hid in the Sands*, his Pen might not be dipt in this famous Juice?¹⁷

Q. What special Sins may be intended in *Sins like Scarlet*?

A. It is an old Observation, That an *Apostate* was compared unto *Scarlet*; (which the Greeks call, διβαφον,¹⁸ *Twice-Died*;) because he returns to the Sin which he had forsaken. I suspect, That *Scarlet-Sins* may in a special Manner, mean those of *Apostasy*.

Quære, whether the Sins of the *great Folks*; of them who went in *Scarlet* & *Crimson* might not be peculiarly considered in this Expression. For these to be made *white*, is anon explained; v. 26. *Judges as at the First, Counsellors as at the Beginning*. Dr. *Edwards* propounds this.¹⁹ Perhaps the Manner of Expression here used, is an Allusion to the Garb of *Prostitutes* & *Courtisans*, the vilest Sort of Sinners; For these of old, sett themselves off with *Scarlet* & *Purple*; as tis intimated in that of *Plautus*, [*Meretricem Pudorem gerere magis decet, quam purpuram*.] and other ancient Writers.²⁰ And thence tis probable mystical *Baby-*

15 Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 8. Here the Hebrew is: לְכִי נִצָּח וְנִדְבַחְהָ ESV: "Come now, let us reason together." Holladay's Lexicon sees this in the sense of "argue out together (in legal dispute)."

16 "Dark-red; purple; crimson."

17 The entry is derived from Bochart, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 2, lib. 5, cap. 9, pp. 739–40.

18 Διβαφον [dibafos] "twice died."

19 The entry is derived from the work of John Edwards, *Theologia reformata* (1713), vol. 1, p. 772.

20 "Modesty's more becoming to a courtesan than purple." The citation is from Plautus's comedy (probably written between 195 and 189 BCE), *Poenulus*, 1.305; transl.: LCL 260, p. 31.

lon, who is called, *The Mother of Harlots*, is [Rev. XVII.4.] arrayed in *Purple & Scarlett*.

Q. Is there any famous Jewish Tradition, which ha's an Eye to the Expressions of the Prophet, about *Sins like Scarlet & Crimson*, becoming like *Snow* and *Wool*? v. 18.

A. It is a Jewish Tradition, That when they sent out the *Scape-Goat*, they tyed unto his Horns, a Peece of *Scarlet*, cutt into the form of a *Tongue*, of the Weight of *Two Shekels*. But they took off this Peece of *Scarlett*, and they tied it then unto the Door-Post of the Porch of the *Temple*. If it grew *white*, they look'd on it, as a very happy Omen and quoted the Text of *Isaiah*, now before us.

But the *Talmuds* (in *Ioma*, c. 4. fol. 39.) declare, That *forty Years* before the Destruction of the *Temple*, that Sign of the Remission of their Sins utterly ceased among them; *Neque Linguam coccineam amplius exalbuisse*.²¹

Now, the Death of our Lord Jesus Christ, being just *Forty Years* before the Destruction of the *Temple*, it would not be amiss for the Nation, who beleeve the *Talmuds*, to consider it.

Q. The Prophet complains, That now there were *Murderers* in the City, that was once full of *Judgment*. Whom does he mean? v. 21.

A. Turn to 2. Chron. 24.21. and you'll see, whom he meant.²²

Q. The Time, when *Jerusalem* was thus horribly degenerated? v. 21.

A. The Reign of *Ahaz*.

Consult, 2. King. XVI.2, 3.²³

Q. On, *Thy Wine mixed with Water*? v. 22.

A. The LXX render it more at large; *Thy Vintners mix thy Wine with Water*. Οι καπηλῶν σου.²⁴ Whence καπηλεύω signifies, To embase by a foreign Mixture. See 2. Cor. II.17.²⁵

²¹ "And that the tongue of crimson [wool] no longer became white." From Bochart (*Hiero-zoicon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 54, p. 657), Mather cites the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Yoma 39b. The Soncino edition (p. 186) renders it: "During the last forty years before the destruction of the Temple the lot ['For the Lord'] did not come up in the right hand; nor did the crimson-coloured strap become white."

²² Zechariah, of whom it is here said: "And they conspired against him, and stoned him with stones at the commandment of the king in the court of the house of the Lord."

²³ White, *Commentary*, p. 8.

²⁴ LXX: οἱ καπηλῶν σου; "your taverners" (*NETS*). See Sir. 26:29. Compare Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:5).

²⁵ 2 Cor. 2:17: "For we are not as many, which corrupt [καπηλεύοντες] the word of God: but as of sincerity, but as of God, in the sight of God speak we in Christ." (KJV)

Q. On this Term, *The Lord of Hosts*? v. 24.

A. Dr. *Arrowsmith* observes, That the great God is called by this Name, no less than one Hundred & thirty times in two of the Prophets, *Isaiah*, and *Jeremiah*.

His note upon it is, That in ordering martial Affairs, God is in a Manner all. Generals & Officers may consult, but it is God who determines all. What Answers this Title in the New Testament is, *Lord God Almighty*.²⁶

Q. That Passage; *Aha, I will ease me of my Adversaries*. v. 24.

A. Mr. *Charnock* has a Note upon it;²⁷ That when God comes to strike, He does it, with a *Sigh* or a *Groan*. הוי! ²⁸ *Ah*, A Note of Grief! All Illustration of the Divine *Patience*, and, *Compassion*.

Some observe, That GOD is never said, to take Pleasure in the Punishment of any, but such as have *filled up the Measure* of their Iniquities, Prov. 1.25. Deut. XXVIII.63.²⁹

[▽Insert from 2r]

[▽2r]

Q. The Meaning of that Phrase; *I will turn my Hand upon thee*? v. 25.

A. It signifies, To fall on those who had been spared before, and punish those who had been before connived at.

See, Psal. LXXXI.14. Zech. XIII.7. 2. Sam. VIII.3. where the Phrase is the same in the Original: But otherwise understood by our Interpreters, whose Translation is, *To recover his Border*.

[△Insert ends]

[△]

Q. How *Zion* redeemed with *Judgment*? v. 27.

A. *Sanctius* has this Gloss, *Non temere et sine Delectu*.³⁰ They were not all to be redeemed without *Exception*; but GOD would make a *Distinction* between the Good and the Bad.

Others, carry it *post Justam Satisfactionem*.³¹

²⁶ Mather quotes from the work of the Cambridge professor of divinity and member of the Westminster Assembly John Arrowsmith (1602–1659), *Armilla catechetica, a Chain of Principles* (1659), aphor. 6, exer. 1, p. 410.

²⁷ From the work of the English Presbyterian divine Stephen Charnock (1628–1680), *Several Discourses upon the Existence and Attributes of God* (1682), “Discourse upon God’s Patience,” in *Works* ([1684] 2 vols., 1699), vol. 1, p. 483.

²⁸ הוי [hoy] “alas! woe! oh!” See, e. g., 1 Kings 13:30: “And he laid his carcase in his own grave; and they mourned over him, saying, Alas [הוי], my brother!”

²⁹ The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

³⁰ Transl. in context: “[They were not all to be redeemed] randomly and without exception.” From White (*Commentary* 10), Mather refers to Gaspar Sanctius, *In Isaiam prophetam commentarii* (1616), see pp. 12, 18.

³¹ “After a just penance.” From White (*Commentary* 10), Mather cites Cornelius à Lapide, *Commentaria in Isaiam prophetam*, in *Commentaria in quatuor prophetas maiores* ([1625] 1717), p. 46.

Q. What is the *Strong*, that shall be as *Tow*? v. 31.

A. *Kason*, is any thing, (as *Forerius* notes) *In quo Fiducia collocatur*. It means here, the *Idol*, which is the *Strength* of its Worshippers, who depend upon it.³²

[the entries from 2r were inserted into their designated places]³³

[2v] | [blank]

³² “[Any thing] in which trust is placed.” Mather cites Franciscus Forerius, *Jesaiæ prophetae vetus et nova ex hebraeo versio, cum commentario* (1566), from Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:29). Hebrew adjective חָסוֹן [chason] “strong.” Born in Lisbon and academically trained in Paris, Franciscus Forerius (Francisco Foreiro, 1523–1581) was a Portuguese Dominican monk and Hebrew scholar, who preached at the court of King Sebastian and participated in the Council of Trent (1545–1563). He was a principal redactor of the *Catechismus Romanus* (1566) and wrote commentaries on several books of the OT, of which only the one on Isaiah survives. He brought it to Trent for publication together with a new translation of the prophet, which, however, was omitted in the reprint for *Critici Sacri*.

³³ See Appendix B.

Q. The Prophecy of *All Nations flowing to the House of GOD at Jerusalem?* v. 2.

A. What if we should find a Fulfilment of it, in what followed upon the Destruction of *Sennacherib*? 2. Chron. XXXII.23. *Many brought Gifts unto the Lord at Jerusalem; – so that He was magnified in the Sight of all Nations from thenceforth.*

I purpose to offer some such Illustrations. But I here enter an early & earnest Protestation, that when I do so, I would by no means at all supersede, a just Regard which the Gospel has taught us to pay, unto the Intention which the *Prophetic Spirit* may have of exhibiting to us, the affayrs of the *Messiah*, and what is to be done for & on the Destruction of *Antichrist*, & the glorious Occurences of the *Latter Days*.³⁴

Q. On that, *The Mountain of the Lords House?* v. 2.

A. To be fulfilled, when the *Stone* in the Visions of *Daniel*, shall become a *great Mountain*.³⁵

Q. When is this *Peace* to arrive? v. 4.

A. When that *Rest* shall arrive, whereof we read; 2. Thess. I.7.

Q. How did they, *please themselves in the Children of Strangers?* v. 6.

A. *Jerom* and *Haymo* think, tis a Glance at the abominable Pæderasty to which they were addicted.³⁶ [See 2. King. XXIII.7.]

But others think, it only means, They were fond of Imitating the Customes of Strangers.

³⁴ Mather's annotations on Isa. 2:2–4 suggest multiple fulfillments of this prophecy, thereby attempting a compromise between a Christian interpretation and White's preterist reading (*Commentary* 14), which understands Isaiah's prediction to have been fulfilled in the thanksgiving and celebrations in Jerusalem for deliverance from the hands of Sennacherib. For Mather this *primum implementum* of Isaiah's prediction was a prophesied type not only of the gentiles coming into the house of God under the gospel dispensation but also of the glories of the latter-day saints in the New Jerusalem after the fall of Antichrist. On Mather's hermeneutical model of multiple fulfillments, see the Introduction and part five of my *Prophecy, Piety, and the Problem of Historicity*.

³⁵ Compare Dan. 2:44–45. This was a key eschatological prophecy for Mather that referred to the coming of the millennial kingdom. See his tract *The Stone Cut out of the Mountain* (1716). Compare also Mather, *Tripuraditus*, p. 189.

³⁶ From White (*Commentary* 16), a reference to Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, lib. 1 [PL 24. 47–48; CCSL 73]; and Haymo of Halberstadt (Haymo Halberstatensis), a Benedictine bishop of the ninth century, probably his *Commentarii in Isaiam* [PL 116. 731].

Q. On that, *enter into the Rock?* v. 10.

A. *Judea* was a Mountainous Countrey, full of Rocky Retirements, from whence (as *Josephus* notes) it was no easy Matter to force them. The Prophet speaks, as if he saw the Ending entring Sword in hand, and the People skulking to hide themselves. He gives them this insulting Advice, to show them, that no Place would shelter them from the Terrors of the Lord.

Quære, why may not CHRIST the *Rock of Ages*, be a *Rock* here thought of?³⁷

Q. *Lofty Looks humbled?* v. 11.

A. Mr. *Lowth* observes, one End of the Destructions on particular Countries, & on the whole World, is, *To stain the Pride of all worldly Glory*, and convince Men, that there is nothing in This World, worth our setting our Hearts upon. See Isa. XXVI.5.³⁸

Q. What meant by, *All the Cedars of Lebanon?* v. 13.

A. *Lebanon* was famous for tall *Cedars*; whence they called any High Trees, *the Cedars of Lebanon*. Here may be understood, great Men, & Persons in eminent Station that stand on higher Ground than the People, and overlook the Crowds before them.³⁹

Q. What, *pleasant Pictures?* v. 16.

A. All in general, whether made for Superstitious Uses, or for Domestic Ornaments. But some restrain it more particularly to the *Pictures*, wherewith Ships use to be beautified.

Ships of Tarshish, were Vessels of the larger Size; and such as could Tire out a Storm in the *Mediterranean*. They were beyond the little Boats in the *Nile*, or on the Lake of *Gennesareth*.⁴⁰

The *Tarshish* of *Bochart*, is *Tartessus* a Port in *Spain*.⁴¹ The *Tarshish* of *Huet*, is near *Ophir* in *India*. Wherever it stood, it was famous for the Traffic of the

³⁷ Again, Mather offers a double reading: one that follows White (*Commentary* 16) in referring the prophecy to the immediate history of Judah, the other looking to the coming of the Messiah. The reference is to Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* (14.26). The sentence beginning with “Quære” is written in a different, more ornamental style, similar to the handwriting that also appears in other parts of the manuscript. Originally, the entry in the different hand was: “Quære, why may not CHRIST the *Rock of Ages*, be the *Rock* spoken of?” Mather may have later revised this entry to the form in which it appears above.

³⁸ See Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 19.

³⁹ White, *Commentary*, p. 18.

⁴⁰ White, *Commentary*, p. 18.

⁴¹ Bochart, *Geographia sacra*, pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 34, p. 671. As mentioned in Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 19.

Phœnicians.⁴² The *Ships of Tarshish* in Scripture, are any *Trading Ships*. Here the LXX renders it, *Ships of the Sea*; as our old English Translation does, in Psal. XLVIII.6.⁴³

And, upon all pleasant Pictures, as Mr. Lowth says, denotes the Destruction of all the elegant Furniture, & those Rarities which are brought by Sea, from foreign Parts. Compare; Rev. XVIII.17, 18, 19.⁴⁴

Q. On the Prophecy of, *Idols abolished?* v. 18.

A. Jerom observes, and the *Jerusalem Talmud* confirms it; That the Jews never fell into Idolatry, after their *Babylonian Captivity*.⁴⁵

Q. How may that Passage be taken, which we translate, *cease yee from Man, whose Breath is in his Nostrils; for wherein is he to be accounted of?* v. 22.

A. I find a learned Man, carry it thus. The Prophet is denouncing the Judgments of God upon the *Jewes*, for their Despising the Gospel, the Offer, the Person of the *Messiah*. This Text is the Conclusion of those Denunciations;

⁴² From Lowth (*Commentary* 19), reference is made to Petrus Daniel Huetius, *Commentarius de navigationibus Salomonis* (1698), cap. 2. Huetius, or Pierre Daniel Huet (1630–1721), was the son of a Huguenot convert to Catholicism, who studied at the Jesuit college in Caen. An aspiring scholar of Hebrew, Arabic, Greek, geography and natural philosophy, he worked with Samuel Bochart at the Swedish court for some time before returning to Caen to establish an academy for the physical sciences. In 1670 he was appointed as one of the personal teachers of the Dauphin, and in 1674 elected into the Académie française. After his ordination (1676), he would later become Bishop of Soissons (1685) and Avranches (1692). His fame as a theologian rests on his apologetic work *Demonstratio Evangelica ad serenissimum Delphinum* (1679), in which he defended the authority of the Scriptures and the harmony of revelation and reason against Cartesians and the rising tide of rationalistic-historical criticism.

⁴³ LXX: πᾶν πλοῖον θαλάσσης; “every ship of the seas” (*NETS*); the reference seems to be to Ps. 46:7 in the Miles Coverdale translation of 1535 that has: “ye shippes of the see,” while the KJV has “the ships of Tarshish.”

⁴⁴ See Lowth, *Commentary*, pp. 19–20. The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁴⁵ From White (*Commentary* 18), Mather refers to Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, lib. 1 [PL 24. 55; CCSL 73]. White also cites Pierre Allix’s treatise, *An Examination of several Scripture Prophecies, which the Reverend M. W. hath applyed to the Times after the Coming of the Messiah* (1707) written in refutation of William Whiston’s hyperliteralist interpretative scheme of the prophecies, as first put forth in *An Essay on the Revelation of Saint John, so far as concerns the past and present Times* (1706). White specifically refers to a passage where Allix writes: “A Prophecy which foretells to the People of Israel their Destruction because they were fallen into Idolatry, cannot be said to be fulfilled by Destruction which happened at a time when they were not guilty of Idolatry” (p. x). Allix therefore argues for a preterist reading.

The reference to the Jerusalem Talmud (taken from White) could not be identified. However, there is a story in the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Yoma 69b (Soncino, pp. 327–28) about the killing of the personified evil spirit of idolatry by the Jews returning from the Babylonian exile. That the Babylonian captivity marks the end of idolatry in Israel’s history and can be understood as a fulfillment of the prophecy in Isa. 2:18 was a widespread idea in later Jewish and Christian literature. See Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 12, on Isa. 1:29.

and it may so be understood: *Forbear as to that Man*, [or, cease from offending & provoking Him,] *who is now very Angry*; [which the Hebrewes express by, *Breathing thro' the Nostrils*; tis a well-known Phrase; tho' others may think, the *Humane Nature* of our Lord here described:] *For wherein is He to be accounted of?* [Which is to be taken as an Exclamation of Admiration; q. d. None is able to declare, how high an Account is to be made of that glorious Lord.]

The excellent *Langius* has demonstrated, that the MAN here, is the same with the JEHOVAH mentioned just before.⁴⁶

Methinks, I see the Conclusion of the *second Psalm* here alluded to.⁴⁷

Q. But without such a Correction of the Translation, how may this Passage be understood?

A. It is a Prophecy, [I find an Hint in *Munster*, unto this Purpose,] That in those Days, (of the *Messiah*,) the Doctrine preached, shall be that, Mat. 10.28. *Fear not them which can kill the Body, but are not able to kill the Soul*. Etc. The Text thus mentioned, is not only a *Citation* from this of *Isaiah*, but an *Accomplishment* of it.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Joachim Lange's interpretation of this passage can be found in his *Gloria Christi et Christianismi apocalyptico-prophetica nec non antisociniana et antijudaica* (2 vols., 1740), vol. 1, pp. 355–57 (“Clavis apocalyptica in Jesaiam”). Obviously, Mather must have taken the citation from an earlier publication by Lange.

⁴⁷ “Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little” (Ps. 2:12). The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁴⁸ See Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4641). Münster's commentary on Isaiah was originally published in his *Hebraica Biblia*; but Mather likely cites it from *Critici Sacri*.

Q. Why, this *Taking away*? v. 1.

A. A Confusion coming on, the Lord threatens to *take away* all that may be any Defence unto them.

Q. How could it be said, The *Prophet* was *taken away*; when they had *Prophets* under & after the Captivity, as well as before it? v. 2.

A. *Sanctius* has provided a Sense for it.⁴⁹ *Prophets* are *taken away*, when the People neglect them, & persist in the Impieties rebuked by them, & refuse to take notice of their Messages.

Q. *Babes to Rule over them*? v. 4.

A. May it not point at the Inglorious Reigns of *Jehojachin*, and *Jehojachin*, and *Zedekiah*?⁵⁰

| [4v]
Q. The Meaning of that; *lett this Ruine be under thy hand*? v. 6.

A. What if it should be, q. d. lett thy *Hand* and *Power* support the Government in its Ruinous Condition.⁵¹

| [5r]
Q. How, *Children their Oppressors*? v. 12.

A. Compare, v. 4. The Words may be rendred, *Oppressors gleam them*; that is, take from them, the Remainder of what the former Calamities had left, of their Substance.

For that of, *Women ruling over them*, it means, the weakest, & most silly Part of the People. See v. 4, 5. Ch. XXVII.11.

Thus, *Virgil*, – *O veræ Phrygiæ, neque enim Phryges*.⁵² –

Q. Of the *False-Teachers* it is said, *They destroy the Way of thy Pathes*? v. 12.

A. It may be read, *They swallow up the Way of thy Narrow Pathes*.

Now compare, Matth. VII.14, 15. And consult our Illustration upon it.

⁴⁹ From White (*Commentary* 21), Mather refers to Sanctius, *In Isaiam prophetam commentarii*, p. 39, 43.

⁵⁰ White, *Commentary*, p. 22.

⁵¹ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 22.

⁵² “Phrygian women, indeed! – for Phrygian men you are not.” From Lowth (*Commentary* 24), Mather cites Virgil’s *Aeneis*, 9.617; transl.: LCL 64, p. 157.

They are here called, *Meashreka*, or, *Fælicitantes te*.⁵³ Those who always kept soothing them up with soft & smooth Words; flattering them, that they were the People of GOD, and promising Security to them.⁵⁴

Q. Whence that Expression, *To grind the Faces of the Poor*? v. 15.

A. *Beating*, and *Grinding*, is, to force the Flowre out of the *Wheat*. Thus, the Oppression forced the Poor out of their Possessions, & extorted unreasonable Summs from them.⁵⁵

Q. On the *Ornaments* worn by the *Daughters of Zion*? v. 16.

A. One of *Exeter*, after a Captivity in *Algier*, published, *An Account of the Manners & Religion of the Mahometans*. I take notice of this Passage in his Account. “The *Lady’s of Pleasure*, as well as other Women, have their broad velvet Caps on their Heads, beautified with abundance of *Pearls*, & other costly and gaudy Ornaments; And they wear their Hair in Tresses behind, reaching down to their very *Heels*, with little *Bells*, or some such things, at the End, which swing against their *Heels*, & make a Tinkling Sound, as they go. They also wear *Nose Jewels*; & therefore tis not altogether improbable, that these or some like them, were the Vanities of Bewitching Apparel, which the Prophet exclaims against.”⁵⁶

Q. Whence was that *Mincing* in the *Walking* of the *Daughters of Zion*, & their Making a *Tinkling with their Feet*? v. 16.

A. You know, that among the Hebrewes, the Name of a *Virgin* was, / עלמה / *Alamah*,⁵⁷ which is as much as to say, An *unknown*, a *covered*, a *concealed* one. That they might the better keep their *Virgins* indeed so, they fastened upon their Feet, a little above the *Shoe*, a sort of seemingly *Ornamental*, but really Restrictory, *Chains*; whereby much *Walking* was not only rendred Incommodious, but it would also be discovered by the Chink of the Metal, whenever they took a

⁵³ “Meashreka” is a transl. of the Heb. מְאַשְׁרֵיכָה [me’ashshereikha]; “your guides” (ESV). “Fælicitantes te”: “Those making you happy” (from “felicito, -are,” “to make happy”); VUL: “qui beatum te dicunt”: “they that call you blessed.”

⁵⁴ White, *Commentary*, p. 24

⁵⁵ White, *Commentary*, p. 25.

⁵⁶ Mather cites Joseph Pitts (c. 1663–c. 1735), *A true and faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mohametans* (1704), p. 68. Pitts’s text is essentially a captivity narrative that gives an account of the Englishman’s life as a slave in North Africa from the time he was captured by Barbary pirates from Algeria in 1678 to his escape in 1693/94. Since Pitt converted to the religion of his masters, the text contains some of the first authentic descriptions of Islam and Islamic rituals in English. Mather uses the text more as a source of ethnographic knowledge. However, Mather was very concerned with the fate of Anglo-American captives such as Pitts, as evinced by his *A pastoral Letter to the English Captives in Africa* (1698) and *The Glory of Goodness* (1703).

⁵⁷ עַלְמָה [alma] “young woman; maiden.” See also Mather’s discussion of Isa. 7:14 and Jer. 31:22.

Walk. *Silver* and *Gold* & much Gaiety was used in the forming of these Chains, that so the Girls might be cheated the more patiently into a *Confinement*, by a pretended *Finery*. Because of the *Gallantry* affected by the young Gentlewomen, but much more because of the *Corruption*, which was the Occasion of the *Chains*, God threatned His Heavy Judgments on the Daughters of *Zion*. The Reason which *Maimonides* gives for the Use of these Fetters, I will not mention; but I will quote you, first, one Passage out of *Abarbinel*, who saies; *In Pedibus suis tinniebant; Quoniam induerunt Pedibus suis Compedes, ut, cum moverentur, audirentur. Aut quoniam gestarunt, in Pedibus suis Ornamenta, ut, cum moverentur, et Pes Pedem attingeret, exaudiretur Sonus Pulsationum Ornamentorum istorum.*⁵⁸ And then, one Passage out of R. *David Kimchi*; who saies; *In Pedibus suis tinniebant; Sonum alicujus Campanæ edebant per Compedes Pedibus suis impectos: Hoc enim fuit monile, instar Tintinnabuli resonans, quod gestarunt Mulieres in suis Pedibus.*⁵⁹

On the same Design, the Rabbins tell us, they had their / נעלים גדולים /⁶⁰ Their *High-Shoes*, contrived so, that the Maids could hardly *stand* in them, and much less *gad* abroad. In these also they had the *Luxury* of *Balsamic Unguents*, which procured the Threatnings of Heaven, here in our Contexts. But it seems, as if the *primitive Christians* were no Strangers to a like Usage; For they are the Words of *Matenesius*; *D. Ambrosius Vincula vocat, et Colopodia, aut Grallas, Crepidas Mulierum elevatas, in quibus ipsæ cognoscentes Naturam suam inquietam et vagabundam, Pedes infigunt, ut in Carceris sui Domo possint retineri facilius, et per hoc constat, quod Reprehendendæ non sint illæ, quæ elevatissimas Crepidas gessent, laudandique Viri qui illis tales permittunt.*⁶¹

58 “They were jingling at their feet, because they wore fetters around their feet, so that they would be heard when moving; or because they carried ornaments on their feet, so that the sound of these ornaments jingling would be heard clearly when they were moving and when one foot was making contact with the other.” Mather seems to cite Abravanel’s gloss from an early treatise of Friedrich Adolph Lampe (1683–1729), *De cymbalis veterum* (1703), p. 133. Trained under Campegius Vitringa at Franeker, Lampe was one of the leading figures of German Reformed Pietism and important for his attempt to reconcile Cocceian theology with the precisionist piety of the Voetians. His main work was a massive federal theology, *Das Geheimnis des Gnaden-Bunds* (6 vols., 1712–1719). Abravanel’s full commentary on Isaiah in Latin translation would have also been available in Mather’s time as *Commentarius celeberrimi Rabbi Ishak Abarbanel super Iesaiam, Jeremiam, Jehazkelem et prophetas XII. minores* (1642).

59 “They were jingling at their feet; the sound of a bell came from the fetters fastened to their feet. This was thus a chain that made a sound like bells and the women wore it on their feet.” Mather seems to cite Kimchi (Radak) from Lampe, *De cymbalis veterum* (1703), p. 133. See Rosenberg, *Isaiah*; Slotki, *Isaiah*.

60 נעלים גדולים [na’alayim gedolim] “large shoes.”

61 “Saint Ambrose calls them *chains*, *wooden legs* or *stilts*, the high heel sandals of women, in which they themselves, when recognizing their restless and vagabonding nature, fasten their feet so that they can be held back more easily in the home of their own imprisonment; and by this it is evident that those (sc. women) who wear high heel sandals are not to be reprehended and that the men who allow the women to wear such sandals are to be praised.” From Johann Friedrich Matenesius (d. 1621), *De luxu et abusu vestium nostri temporis* (1612), discourse 25,

Q. The *Tinkling Ornaments about the Feet?* v. 18.

A. Mr. Terry in his *Voyage to East-India*, saies; “This I observed in some of the better Sort, I there saw that they did wear great broad hollow *Rings of Gold* enamel’d; and some made of Silver or Brass, upon their Wrists, & upon the Small of their Legs, to take off and on. Two or Three of them on each Arm and Leg, which make a *Tinkling Noise*. Very probably such Ornaments as the *Jewish* Women were threatened for; Isa. III. where Almighty God tells them, *That He would take away their Tinkling Ornaments about their Feet; the Bracelets & Ornaments of their Legs, their Rings and Nose-Jewels.*”⁶²

[5v]

Q. Some Illustrations upon the *Ornaments* of the Female Vanity & Luxury? v. 23.

A. We will only transcribe the Words of *Alvarus Pelagius*, thus describing the Trinkets of the Jewish Ladies Toilet.

In die illa auferet Dominus Ornamentum Calceamentorum et Lunulas.

Lunula est Genus Monilium, propriè sunt aureæ bullæ dependentes ad Similitudinem Lunæ; undè Lunulatus, Lunulis ornatus.

Et Torques. i. e. Ligamentum tortum, aureus Circulus circà Collum, à Collo usque ad Pectus descendens.

Et Monilia. Monile, vel Munile est Ornamentum Pectoris Mulieris; non Hispanarum immundarum, quarum Plurimæ, maximè Plebeïæ, discooperiunt Pectus et Ubera; quasi muniat Pectus Mulierum, ne Leccatores possint immittere Manum in Sinum earum.

Et Armillas. i. e. Torques, Brachiale, Dextrocherium, et sunt propriè Virorum, ab armorum Virtute collatæ.

Et Mitras. Mitra est Pileum Phrygium Caput protegens, quale est Ornamentum Capitis devotarum.

Et Discriminalia. Discriminalia sunt quibus Crines divisi religantur, quod Caput a Viro discernant, vel Crines inter se.

Et Perichelides. Perichelis est Ornamentum Mulierum circà Brachia, vel potius circà Crura, quo Gressus earum ornatur.

Et Murenulas. Murena vel Murenula dicitur, Ornamentum Femininarum quod se auri Metallo lasciviâ quâdam inflexi ordinis, contextitur, in Similitudinem Murenæ Serpentis, quod ad Collum ornandum aptatur.

Olfactoriola. Olfactorium est Vas Unguentarium Muliebre, in quo Odoramenta gestantur.

pp. 70–71, Mather cites Ambrose, *De virginibus ad Marcellinam sororem suam*, lib. 1, cap. 9 [PL 16. 204]. The Catholic divine Matenesius was a professor of history and Greek at the University of Cologne (ADB). This passage (Isa. 3) is also addressed in Tertullian’s *De cultu feminarum*, lib. 2, cap. 10 [PL 1. 1327–28; CSEL 70; CCSL 1].

⁶² Edward Terry, *A Voyage to East-India*, sect. 11, pp. 217–18.

Et Inaures. *Inauris, Annulus, qui in aure perforata olim gestabatur.*⁶³

We will only annex the Words of *Dietericus*; *Quid tandem est ornata suprà Modum Mulier, nisi Statua illa Nabuchodonosoris, cujus Caput Aureum, quia ibi Ornamenta aurea; Pectus argenteum; Monilibus ornatum. Sed si vis nosse Statuæ Pedem, Lutum deprehendes.*⁶⁴

Q. How, *Burning instead of Beauty?* v. 24.

A. The Prophet intimates, That they should be compelled unto hard Labour in the open Air & Sun, by which the Colour of their faces would be changed into a dark swarthy Complexion.⁶⁵

Q. *She being Desolate, shall sitt upon the Ground.*] What is the Meaning of the Threatning thus denounced against, *The Daughter of Zion?* v. 26.

⁶³ “On that day the Lord will take away the decoration of the shoes and the crescent-shaped ornaments. A *lunula* is a specific kind of necklace; in the proper sense [it refers to] golden pendants that hang from the neck and look like the crescent moon hence the term *lunulatus* [adj. derived from *lunula*] i. e. adorned with *lunulae*. And the *torques*, i. e. a twisted band, a golden ring around the neck that hangs from the neck to the breast. And the *monilia*. A *monile*, or *munile*, is an ornament for the female chest; not one of the lewd Spanish ladies, most of whom, in particular the plebeians, fully expose their chest and breasts; as if it [sc. the *monile*] is to protect the breast of the ladies lest the lecherous lay their hands on the ladies’ bosom. And the *armillas*, i. e. a twisted ring, an armband, a bracelet, and they are originally worn by men, signifying the strength of the shoulders. And the *mitras*. A *mitra* is a Phrygian veil covering the head, like the head ornament of devout ladies. And the *discriminalia*. The *discriminalia* are devices by which one’s hair is parted and bound back, which distinguish [i. e., *discriminalia*] a woman’s head from that of a man’s, as they part the hair. And the *perichelides*. A *perichelis* is an ornament of the ladies [worn] around the arm or around the leg, by which their step is adorned. And the *murenulas*. It is called *murena* or *murenula*, an ornament which is interwoven with gold and lasciviously shaped, in the likeness of a slithering moray, which [sc. the *murenula*] is put on to adorn the neck. [And the] *olfactoriola*. A scent bottle is a lady’s vessel of perfumes in which fragrant odors are carried about. And the *inaures*. The *inaures*, i. e., a ring which used to be worn in the pierced ear.” From Alvarus Pelagius (Álvaro Pelayo, c. 1280–1352), *De planctu ecclesiae* (1474), lib. 2, cap. 76, pp. 369–70. Here Pelagius comments on the Latin translation of Isa. 3:18–20. Alvarus Pelagius was a Franciscan monk and a penitentiary with Pope John XXII at Avignon. His *De planctu* was written at Avignon between 1330–1332 (corrected in 1335 and 1340), and first published in Ulm in 1474. It asserts ecclesiastical rights and rebukes the ecclesiastical abuses of the time, including laxity towards ostentatious female dressing and ornaments (*CE*). It seems that Mather copies the Pelagius citations from Johann Conrad Dieterich (see below), where they are given in the exact same form in which they appear here.

⁶⁴ “Why, after all, is the lady adorned beyond measure, if this is not in reference to the statue of Nebuchadnezzar, whose head is golden, because you can find golden ornaments there, and whose breast is silver, as it is adorned with necklaces? But if you want to know about the foot of the statue, you will discover clay.” Johann Conrad Dieterich (1612–1669), *Antiquitates biblicae* ([1641] 1671), p. 570. See Dan. 2:1; 31–35. Dieterich was a professor of Greek and history at the University of Giessen.

⁶⁵ White, *Commentary*, p. 26.

A. The *Meaning* is, *Mourning*. Sorrow for grievous Desolations, was, in the Expressions of the Ancients, with Two Things, namely *Sitting* and *Silence*. Compare Job. 2.13. with many other Scriptures. Especially Lam. 2.10.⁶⁶

Indeed the Rites of *Mourning*, were forbidden for Malefactors, that underwent capital Execution: The Law was, *These are not to be lamented by the Lamentation of Mourners, but only in the Heart*. And this tells the Reason why the *Mother* of our Lord, and the Women with her, *stood* afar off, tho' as near as they could for the Souldiers. Whatever *Sorrow* were like a *Sword piercing* of their Souls, yett they durst not make the solemn & usual Show of *Mourning*, lest they should have exposed themselves unto the Rage of them who were now carrying on an horrid Execution. Indeed afterwards, they *satt* over against the Sepulchre, *mourning* for the Dead, when they had obtained Leave of the Governour, to bury the Body, and they might carry on their *Mourning* with more of Safety.

As for the Prophecy in the Text now before us; it pointed indeed, at a nearer Desolation; but it might extend also unto the Destruction of *Zion* by *Vespasian*. I am sure, the Coins made in Memory of this Conquest, both by Father and Son, are a notable Commentary upon this Prophecy. On the Reverse of those Medals, which are to be seen unto this Day, there is; *A silent Woman sitting upon the Ground & leaning her Back to a Palm-tree*, with this Inscription, IVDÆA CAPTA. *John Gregory* observes, That this is the more to be considered; inasmuch as no conquered City or Countrey besides this of *Judea*, at least before the Times of *Titus*, is expressed upon the Coins, by *A Woman sitting upon the Ground*.⁶⁷ For which Cause he thinks, That the Emperours Reverse might be contrived out of this Prophecy; and that *Josephus*, a great Man then at Court, might have an Hand in the Contrivance.

⁶⁶ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 25.

⁶⁷ Taking his cue from Lowth (*Commentary* 25), Mather excerpts this paragraph from ch. 4 of John Gregory's *Notes and Observations upon some Passages of Scripture* (1646), in *The Works of the Reverend and Learned Mr. John Gregory* (1665), pp. 24–27. A chaplain to the Bishop of Chichester, Gregory (1607–1646), was a genuine polymath with interests in philology, astronomy, geometry, and arithmetic and one of the leading English orientlists of the day, famed for his command of Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Samaritan, as well as of Saxon, and Armenian. He did important work in biblical studies but also wrote on globes and cartography, church music, ancient history, and chronology (*ODNB*).

Q. On that Phrase, *In that day?* v. 2.

A. The Phrase, in *Isaiah*, often denotes, not the same time that was last mentioned, but an extraordinary Season, Remarkable for some signal Event of Providence; called elsewhere, *The Day of the Lord*. See Ch. II.11, 12. X.20. Compare 1. Thess. I.10. 2. Tim. I.12, 18. and IV.8.⁶⁸

Q. How, the *Branch of the Lord, Beautiful, & Glorious?* v. 2.

A. The Body of the Jews in Captivity were like a Decay'd & Sapless Tree. Those who returned, were a *Beautiful & Glorious Branch*, that sprung out of a Trunk seemingly withered.

Yea, But the *Chaldee Paraphrast* himself as well as diverse of the Rabbis, & most Christian Interpreters, discover the *Messiah* here. And, I pray, why should not the *Prophetic Spirit* look as far as to the Original of the *promised Blessedness*: if that which you (Mr. *Grotius* and Company) understand here, be indeed the *promised Blessedness*?⁶⁹

Q. Why and How, is the *Messiah* called, *The Branch of the Lord?* v. 2.

A. You may read it, *The Branch the Lord*, i. e. the *Branch*, who is the Lord *Jehovah*. Compare Isa. 11.1. and Jer. 23.5, etc. Jer. 33.15, 16. and Zech. 3.8. and 6. 12, 13. *Abarbinel* acknowledges, That the *Branch* in the Prophecies of *Zechariah*, cannot be meant of *Zorobabel* (as the Jewish Writers had fancied,) because *hee* was not a *King*. And it is observable, That in the *Targum of Jonathan*, the *Branch* is explained by, *The Messiah*.⁷⁰

But now observe; That in those Places of the *Old Testament*, where wee read of, *The Branch*, particularly in the Prophecies of *Zechariah*, the *Greek* Interpreters (and so the *Vulgar Latin*) render it, *The East*, the *Sun-rise*, the *Day-spring*. The *Hebrew* Word comes from a Root, that signifies, both to *Branch out*, and

⁶⁸ See Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 27. Here the Hebrew is: בַּיּוֹם [bayyom] "In that day." The term is used 58 times in *Isaiah*.

⁶⁹ Mather here offers another double reading. He first allows with White and Grotius (*A Commentary* 28–29; *Opera* 1:277) for an application of this prophecy to the time when the Jews would return from the Babylonian captivity. But then he insists, with a little polemical aside, on a second and higher fulfillment in Christ. The Targum *Isaiah* indeed speaks of the messiah here; for a modern edition and English transl. compare Chilton, ed., *The Targum of Isaiah* (1987), at Isa 4:2. Curiously, the Latin transl. in Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:12) even Christianizes the passage: "In tempore illo erit Christus Domini in gaudiu & gloriam ..."

⁷⁰ Here Mather seems to follow insights from Edward Pococke's commentary on Hosea, in *The theological Works of the Learned Dr. Pococke* (2 vols., 1740), vol. 2, pp. 139–40. On the Targum, compare the previous footnote.

to *Rise up*. And besides this, the *Beams of Light*, are to the *Sun* as *Branches* are to a *Tree*; they are the *Branches* of Light. Thus in the *New Testament*, another *Zechariah* sings, *As the Lord spake by the Mouth of His Holy Prophets, – the Day-spring from on High hath visited us*.⁷¹ He alludes to those Prophecies of the Old Testament, wherein the *Messiah* is called (according to our Translation,) *A Branch*. See 2. Pet. 1.19.⁷²

Compare, Mal. 4.2. *The Sun of Righteousness shall arise*. The *Sun of Righteousness*, is the same that is called, *The Righteous Branch*. Both are joined, in Rev. 22.16. *The Branch of David*, and the *Bright & Morning Star*.

Q. How is it said; *In that Day shall the Branch of the Lord, be Beautiful and Glorious, and the Fruit of the Earth shall be Excellent and Comely?* v. 2.

A. It is admirable, that the Book of *Resolution*, written by *Parsons* the *Jesuite*, ha's by the Providence of God, been the Instrument of making many a serious *Protestant*.⁷³ A Work of *Grace*, and of real *Regeneration*, has been begun in many a *Protestant*, by Reading the Book of that *Roman-Catholick*. I will make his Book also serviceable unto this our Collection of Illustrations. He there thus Translates and Explains the Text now before us. "*In that Day shall the Issue of the Lord, be in Magnificence & Glory; & the Fruit of the Earth, in Sublimety & Exultation, to all such as shall be saved of Israel*. In which Words, he calls the *Messiah*, both, *The Issue of God*, and, *The Fruit of the Earth*, because He should be both *God* and *Man*." |

[6v]

The *Escaped of Israel*, may mean, the converted Jews that were to *escape* the Destruction which was to overtake the Disobedient. But the ultimate Fulfilment will be, in them who shall *escape* the *Conflagration*, & be *caught up*, at the *Coming* of the Lord.⁷⁴

⁷¹ See Luke 1:70, 78.

⁷² The phrase "particularly in the Prophecies of *Zechariah*" was added in a different ink. These explanations are taken from Lowth's gloss on Isa. 41:2 (*Commentary* 327). צמח [tsemach] "sprout, growth, branch." The term is, as Mather argues, related etymologically to "sprouting" and "springing up" (צמח tsamach). Kimchi also provides a messianic reading of the term. See Jer. 23:5, 33:15, and the passages in Zech. which Mather addresses above. Here the VUL has: "germen Domini" (the bud / sprout of the Lord) and the LXX reads: τῇ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐπιλάμψει ὁ θεὸς ἐν βουλῇ μετὰ δόξης ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τοῦ ὑψῶσαι καὶ δοξάσαι τὸ καταλειφθὲν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ (*NETS*: "But on that day God will gloriously shine on the earth with counsel, to uplift and glorify what remains of Israel").

⁷³ See Robert Parsons, *A Christian Directory*, lib. 1 ("On Resolutions"), part 1, ch. 4, p. 100. Robert Parsons or Parsons (1546–1610) was an English Jesuit priest, who was instrumental in establishing the "English Mission" of the *Societas Jesu* and published multiple apologetic, controversial, and devotional works (*ODNB*). His famous devotional book first appeared under the title *The first Booke of the Christian Exercise: Appertayning to Resolution* ([1582] 1722).

⁷⁴ The first part of the annotation is gleaned from Lowth (*Commentary* 29), but Mather adds the reference to the rapture of the saints during the conflagration.

Q. Who may be meant, by, *Him that is left in Zion?* v. 3.

A. The Ancient Inhabitants, that out-lived the long Bondage; These Returning to *Zion*, would be *Holy* ones; distinguished from the rest of the World, by their Piety.⁷⁵

These would be *written among the Living in Jerusalem*; that is, in the List of her Inhabitants. This was called, *Liber Vitæ*, or *Viventium*.⁷⁶ For when any Died they were left out of the Book; To which the Prophet *Ezekiel* alludes, when he says of those who should not return to their Countrey, Chap. XIII.3. *They shall not be written in the Writing of the House of Israel.*

This, by the way, shews, That when *Moses* ask'd, that he might be *blotted out of the Book of Life*, he meant, only to Dy instead of the People.⁷⁷

Q. *The Spirit of Burning?* v. 4.

A. It refers to what shall be done at the general *Conflagration*; when many of the *Righteous* will escape with much Difficulty, and *be saved as thro' Fire*. [1. Cor. III.15.] So Mr. *Lowth*, excellently well.⁷⁸

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Q. *Upon all the Glory shall bee a Defence.* What is the *Defence* upon the *Glory?* v. 5.

A. The Word is elsewhere found, only in Psal. 19.5. and Joel. 2.16. in both which Places, it is Translated, *A Bride-Chamber*. The Jewes understand by it, the *Vail* cast over the *Bridegroom* & the *Bride*, in their Ancient Marriages.

Well; Tis our Lord Jesus Christ, that is, *The Glory*, who shall bee as the cloudy fiery *Pillar* upon Mount *Zion*. Is not the Consummation of His *Marriage* with His People, here then signified?⁷⁹

Q. What may be more particularly meant by, *The Glory?* v. 5.

A. Why not, The *glorious* ones?

The LXX render the Words, to a Sense which the Hebrew will bear well enough; *παση τη δοξη σκεπασθησεται* *It* [that is to say, *Zion*] *shall be defended with*

⁷⁵ Compare also Mather, *Triparadisus*, p. 176.

⁷⁶ *Liber vitæ*, "book of life"; [*liber*] *viventium*, "book of the living."

⁷⁷ White, *Commentary*, p. 29. Compare Exod. 32:32.

⁷⁸ Against White's preterist interpretation of this prophecy (*Commentary* 30), Mather sides with Lowth's eschatological reading that sees the ultimate fulfillment of this prophecy in the conflagration, from which the saints will be saved by being caught up in the air. See Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 30.

⁷⁹ Another double reading: Following the historical explication (apparently his own), Mather allows for a higher fulfillment in Christ, for which he draws on Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 31. Compare also Mather, *Triparadisus*, pp. 183–84.

all the Glory, [of GOD.] The *Glory* of GOD, or the Divine *Shechinah*, shall be both a Light & a Defence unto His People. See Zech. II.5.⁸⁰

Q. To what may allude the Promise of a *Tabernacle*? v. 6.

A. One Sort of Interpreters tell us; It alludes to the moveable *Tabernacles* made by their Ancestors in the Wilderness to secure them from the Inconveniences which they must have suffered, if they had been exposed on to the open Air, in sultry days and piercing nights. It may be understood of the Captives either on their Travels from *Chaldea*, or their Arrival at *Jerusalem*.

And what? Look for no further Accomplishment? Say not so.⁸¹

⁸⁰ LXX: Πάσῃ τῇ δόξῃ σκεπασθήσεται; “With all glory will it be covered” (*NETS*); Heb.: על־כָּל־קְבוֹד הַפָּה [al-kal-kabod huppah] “over all the glory will be a safe-guard.” KJV: “upon all the glory shall be a defence.” From Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 31.

⁸¹ After offering White’s purely historical explication (*Commentary* 30), Mather here alludes to another, higher fulfillment of this prophecy in the Christian church that will be sustained by God’s presence. See Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 32.

Q. To, *my Well-beloved*? v. 1.

A. As *David* inscribes his Composures, *To the chief Musician*, so the *Prophet* here, *To the Messiah*.⁸²

Q. Why, an *Hill*? v. 1.

A. *Virgil*, Do thou answer; *Apertos Bacchus amat Colles*. Georg. l. 2.⁸³

Q. The *Stones gathered out*? v. 2.

A. So the Roman Satyrist, *Persius*, will tell you, of, *Exossati agri*.⁸⁴

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Q. The Parable of the *Vineyard*, what is in short, the Intention of it?

A. *Munster* shall give you the Summ of the Matter, *Vinea fuit Populus Judaicus; Sepes Lex Mosis; Vites, Viri sancti et zelosi; Turris Templum et Dei Cultus; Torcular, Penitentia et Mortificatio veteris Adam; Labruscæ, pessimi fructus, Adulteria, Rapinæ, Homicidia, &c. Spinæ, sunt Errores, Odia, Blasphemiæ, Cæcitas Mentis; Pluvia est Verbum Dei per quod offertur Remissio Peccatorum, Gratia Dei, et Vita æterna*.⁸⁵

{54t}

Q. Why does the Lord use that Expression, *what could have been done more to my Vineyard, that I have not done in it*? Surely, The Lord could have *done more*, than have given the outward *Helpe of Grace* unto the People; Hee could have *done That more*, in Jer. 31.33. Have *written his Law in their Hearts & putt His Fear in their Inward Parts*? v. 4.

⁸² Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 33.

⁸³ "Bacchus loves open hills." From White (*Commentary* 32), Mather cites Virgil, *Georgica*, 2.112; transl.: *LCL* 63, p. 145. The idea is that, as White explains, the prophet mentions the hill "to shew the unaccountable strangeness of the thing, that Vineyard so advantageously planted [i. e., on a hill] should not succeed . . ."

⁸⁴ "Deboned fields." From White (*Commentary* 32), Mather refers to the Roman satirical poet Aulus Persius Flaccus (34–62 CE), *Satires*, 6.52; transl.: *LCL* 91, p. 397.

⁸⁵ "The vineyard was the Jewish people; the fence the Law of Moses; the grape vines the holy and zealous men; the tower the temple and worship of God; the winepress penitence and the mortification of old Adam; the wild wines bad fruit, adultery, robbery, murder, and the like; the thorns are deceits, hatred, blasphemy and blindness of the mind; the rain is the word of God, through which is offered the remission of sins, the grace of God, and eternal life." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4681).

A. They are the memorable Words, of a converted Jew; *The Jewes, of whom I am, as concerning the Flesh, have been from the Beginning, a stubborn People, conceited of their own Righteousness, and so minding no spiritual Help nor willing to Receive Christ, & to Beleeve in Him, in the Day of His Appearance in the Flesh; & for that utterly Rejected from God & Dispersed thro' all the World.*⁸⁶

You must note that the Spirit of the *Covenant of Works*, was generally prevailing in that People. When God proposed His *Covenant* unto them, they presently sett their *Works* before *Faith*, in Exod. 19.8. *All that the Lord hath spoken wee WILL DO:* And the God of Heaven, do's accordingly accomodate Himself sometimes, in His Expressions to these their vain Conceits, that Hee might the more significantly convict them & confound them. Thus here: According to that *Old Covenant*, wherein the Jewes would needs bee still dealing with the Lord, *what could Hee have done more* than sett Good and Evil before them with *moral Swasions* thereabouts, & give them Opportunity to use their own *Free-Will* in the Making of their Choice? As for any *more* that *might have been done*, tis only proposed in that *New Covenant*, whereto the Jewes had ordinarily such a carnal & woful Indisposition, that they would not bee driven to Transact with the Lord upon the Terms of it.⁸⁷

[illeg.]

Q. What further Accomodation of the *Song of the Vineyard*, than that which is commonly made, may one think upon? v. 7.

A. Why not *Adam*, and Mankind in *Paradise*? *R. Solomon*, the Jew, in his Exposition on the Song, ha's a Notable Passage;

Vinea ista fuit primus Adam; invenimus quippe in Locis plurimis; videlicet in Libro Tanchuma; et in Bereschit Rabba, Scripturas hujusmodi expositas super eo.

And hee concludes; *Quia Vinea Domini Exercituum Domus Israel est; quasi dicat sicut illa Vinea, id est, Adam, domus Israel est mihi; id est Decem Tribus.*⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Perhaps an Engl. transl. of a passage from Johannes Isaac Levita (1515–1577), *Defensio veritatis hebraicae Sacrarum Scripturarum adversus libros tres* (1559). See also Mather's gloss below on Isa. 53:1. It is unlikely that this is a reference to the Jewish convert Judah Monis (1683–1764), whom Mather knew personally because the entry (as indicated by the crossed out numeral) seems to have been composed before 1706 and Monis was baptized in 1722. See the annotation on Isa. 9:6.

⁸⁷ This explication in the spirit of Reformed covenantal theology seems to be Mather's own. It is interesting to note that he decided not to transcribe Lowth's annotation: "From this, among many other Texts of Scripture, we may conclude that those have *sufficient* Means of Grace afforded them, who nevertheless are not actually or *effectually* converted" (*Commentary* 34).

⁸⁸ "That vineyard was the first Adam; to be sure, we find this in many places, namely in the Book of Tanchuma and in Genesis Rabba, and in writings of this kind glosses on this matter. And he concludes: Because the vineyard of the Lord of Hosts is the House of Israel; as if he said that just as that vineyard, which is Adam, is the House of Israel to me; it is [also] the Ten Tribes." From Martini, *Pugio Fidei*, pars 3, dist. 2, cap. 7 ("Quod Adam, & Eva fuerunt Deo culpabiles ..."), pp. 592–93.

|
[illeg.]

Q. When did the Jewish *Vineyard*, most of, all, *bring forth wild Grapes?* v. 7.

A. The LXX reads, *Thorns*.⁸⁹ And the Ancients are very curious in their Allusive Interpretations of it. The *Jewish Vineyard*, they say, eminently brought forth *wild Grapes*, when it offered *Vinegar* unto the Dying Messiah; and *Thorns*, when it placed on His Head, a *Crown of Thorns*.

Q. On, *Ten Acres of Vineyard yielding one Bath?* v. 10.

A. Not above Nine Gallons of Wine. A mean Return.

These Quantities of Ground well improv'd & bless'd with seasonable Weather, would have yeelded no less than Two Hundred of the Measures here mentioned.⁹⁰

The Seed of an Homer shall yeeld an Ephah.] A *Bath* and an *Ephah* are the same Measure, & contain but the Tenth Part of an *Homer*. By this Computation, the Harvest should produce but the *Tenth* Part of the *Seed*.⁹¹

Q. How, *Because they have no Knowledge?* v. 13.

A. *Forerius* and *Mollerus* take it so; on the Sudden unexpectedly, before they could recover their Sense, or know where they were, or what they were going to suffer.⁹²

Q. What may be meant by *Strangers eating the waste Places of the Fatt ones?* v. 17.

A. While the Vertitous, like Innocent *Lambs*, are feeding in their plentiful Pastures, the rich luxurious Epicures, will be snatch'd from their Possession by Death or by Captivity; and *Strangers* that had no Relation to them, shall plant & sow, & eat the Fruit of their Land. It was fulfilled, when the Richer Jews were carried into Captivity, and the Poorer were left by the *Chaldeans* to till the Ground; and more fully when they returned from Captivity, and entred the Possessions of their great Men, who had perished by the Sword.⁹³

⁸⁹ Here the LXX indeed has ἀκανθα [akantha] "thorns" (NETS). See Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:12); compare Matt. 27:29.

⁹⁰ White, *Commentary*, p. 34.

⁹¹ Derived from Pococke's commentary on Hos. 3:2, in *Works* (2:117–22).

⁹² From White (*Commentary* 35), Mather references Forerius (in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* 4:4691), and the commentary of the Lutheran scholar Heinrich Moller or Möller (1530–1589), *Iesaia: In Iesaia prophetam commentarius* (1588), p. 49. A native of Hamburg, Möller studied with Melanchthon at the University of Wittenberg to which he later returned as a professor of Hebrew and theology. After the expulsion of the Melanchthonians in 1574 he returned to Hamburg, where he worked as a physician (*ADB*).

⁹³ White, *Commentary*, p. 36.

Q. Who are they, who *Draw Sin as it were with a Cart-ropes?* v. 18.

A. *Basil* interprets it of Sinners, who by long Inveterate Habits, are so in the Power of Sin, that they are unable to disengage themselves from it.⁹⁴

Z. Ursin saies, *ex Infirmitate Peccantes trahuntur, a Peccato contrà Voluntatem eorum ipsos sequente et ipsis adherente. Pertinaces autem trahunt Peccatum etiam fugiens, et repugnans Conscientiæ.*⁹⁵

But others more agreeably, by *Sin* understand the *Punishment* of Sin. Wo to them, who by Sin *draw* the Judgments of GOD upon themselves *as it were with Cart-ropes*; which are called, *Cords of Vanity*, in respect of the Ends they proposed unto themselves in Sinning; which could not but be *Vain* and Irrational.

Q. Why these Expressions, of, *The Hills trembling?* v. 25.

A. *Mr. Lowth* observes well; Because these particular Judgments are an Earnest of the *general one*, when the whole Frame of the World shall be dissolved.⁹⁶

Q. On, *Lifting up the Ensign*, and, *Hissing from the End of the Earth?* v. 26.

A. *Arnoldus Bootius* thinks, it refers to the *Signum Expeditionale*, which as soon as the Army saw, they were to begin their March.⁹⁷

As for the *Hissing*, the Lord here stands on the Borders of *Judea*, and calls on the distant *Babylonians*, to come & execute His Vengeance. They come at the first Call, at the lowest Sound of His Voice. So, a *Shepherd* calls his Flock, with a Whistle; so a *Master* his Mariners.⁹⁸

Q. What may the *Roaring* refer to? v. 29.

A. Armies gave a Show before an Engagement. The Roman Histories mention one, at which the flying Birds fell down Dead between the Armies.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ From White (*Commentary* 36), Mather references Basil the Great, who makes a similar comment on Isa. 5:18 in his *Enneratio in prophetam Isaiaem*, cap. 5 [PG 30. 399–402].

⁹⁵ “Those who sin out of weakness are drawn by sin which follows them and adheres to them against their will. But those who are obstinate draw sin even if it flees from them and resists their conscience.” From White (*Commentary* 36), Mather here cites the famous Heidelberg theologian Zacharias Ursinus (1534–1584), principal author of the Heidelberg Catechism. However, this gloss is not to be found in Ursinus’s commentary on Isa. 5:18 or before or after this section. Compare Ursinus, *Commentarium in prophetiam Isaiae*, in *Opera theologica* (1612), vol. 3, p. 176.

⁹⁶ See Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 38. “Earnest,” here in the sense of “a foretaste.” Compare also Mather, *Tripuraditus*, p. 184.

⁹⁷ “Campaign sign.” From White (*Commentary* 38), Mather cites Arnold Boate, *Animadversiones sacrae ad textum hebraicum Veteris Testamenti* (1644), lib. 1, sec. 1, cap. 7. Boate (de Boot, Arnoldus Bootius, 1606–1653), was a Dutch scholar who wrote both on exegetical and on medical topics.

⁹⁸ White, *Commentary*, p. 38.

⁹⁹ White, *Commentary*, p. 39.

Q. A Curiositie, about the Chronology of the Prophets Vision; *In the Year that King Uzziah died?* v. 1.

A. In the *Theses Theologicae*, published at *Saumur*, I mett with an Hint of one *Petitius*, that led me to some very particular Sentiments.

The Kings of the *Jews*, were sometimes notable Types of our SAVIOUR, who was pleased on His *Cross* to allow *that* for His Title. *Uzziah* was very particularly so: A pious Prince; A great Warriour; A Builder of Towers; A Digger of Wells; A wealthy Shepherd; A great Maintainer of Husbandry; one who laid up great Stores of War, in his Magazines; & one who obtained no little Fame among the Nations; *Quorum omnium* (sais my *Petitius*,) *qui non videt Spiritualem Veritatem in Rege CHRISTO reperiri nemo est, opinor, verè Christianus*.¹⁰⁰

But now, Behold marvellous Occurences.

First, *Uzziah* very Irregularly would be a *Priest*, as well as a *King*; unite the *High-Priesthood* with His *Royalty*.

But this was done by our SAVIOUR, with a most incontestible Claim unto it. He is both a *Priest* and a *King*: a *Priest* upon the *Throne*.

Secondly. The Things that were justly done unto *Uzziah*, were very like the Things that were with the greatest Injustice offered unto | our SAVIOUR. The *Priests resisted* Him. He was treated as a *Leper*. He was cast out of the Temple, and chased away from the Society of the Jews. They would not own him for their Prince, nor have any thing to do with him. [8v]

And now, *sublata Umbra, Viva Imago Veritatis sese ostendit*.¹⁰¹

Uzziah must vanish. Our SAVIOUR appears; in the *Temple*, as a *Priest*; on a *Throne high and lifted up* as a *King*.

But the *Blindness* of the Jewish Nation, which would not acknowledge Him, at His appearing, is that which the Prophecy proceeds unto.

| [9r]
Q. Why do's the Chronology of the Prophets Vision, run in those unusual Terms, *In the Year that King Uzziah died?* v. 1.

¹⁰⁰ "Among all these (saies my *Petitius*) no one, I think, is truly Christian who does not see that spiritual truth is found in our Lord Christ." See Jean Petit and Jacques Cappel, *Theses theologicae, in quibus observationes in caput quintum Epistolae ad Hebraeos continentur* (1621). This thesis is unpaginated and only eight pages long. One of its authors, Jacques Cappel, the Younger (1585–1658), attained great fame as a Hebrew scholar at Saumur, while history has forgotten Jean Petit.

¹⁰¹ "Once the shadow has been removed, a living image of truth appears." See Petit and Cappel, *Theses theologicae*.

A. Because the following Vision, was all made up of such Characters as had a particular Opposition unto, and Consolation against, all the Troublesome *Idea's*, raised in the Mind of our Prophet, on the Death of King *Uzziah*: and not merely because it happened in the Year of that Princes Death. For a King *Dethroned* by Mortality, our Prophet now sees, *the Lord sitting upon a Throne, high & lifted up*. For the *sable Hangings* in the Palace of the Deceased Monarch; our Prophet now sees, *the Lords Train filling the Temple*. For the *Officers of Uzziah*, hanging down their covered Heads as Mourners about his Corpse, our Prophet now sees the *Seraphim*, with *Wings*, at once *covering* themselves, but yett mounting and soaring aloft. For a departed *Ruler*, that was a polluted *Leper*, our Prophet now hears that Cry, *Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts*. For an expired Comander, whose Dominion had no larger Bounds, than a little of the Land of *Judea*, our Prophet is now entertained with, *The Lord of Hosts, of whose Glory the Earth is full*. For a Person, become wholly speechless, and senseless, and utterly unable in the least Measure to move himself, our Prophet now beholds those at whose *Voice, the Posts of the Door moved*; & the Temple shook. The *Fire* which served the Body of this Man, was now extinct; but instead thereof, the Prophet sees *The House filled wih an Heavenly Smoke*. Our Prophet having this Vision of the *Messiah*, the true King of *Israel*, at a Time when King *Uzziah* died, and with Circumstances particularly releiving the Mind of this Blessed Courtier, against the Images therein made upon the Death of King *Uzziah*, it was very well to sett off the Chronology of it so, *In the Year that King Uzziah died*. Such Things as these, I find, as I remember, in *Isaac Sarrau*.¹⁰²

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Q. What Remark further may any of the Ancients have, on this Passage; *The Prophet* not seeing *the Lord sitting on a Throne, high & lifted up*, until *the Year that King Uzziah died*? v. 1.

A. K. *Uzziah* was in such ill Terms with Heaven, that the glorious Discoveries of the *Messiah*, and His Kingdome, are withheld until *the Year that K. Uzziah died*.

Unto this Purpose is the Gloss of *Chrysostom* upon it, *Cur vivo Ozia, non vidit Visionem? Hanc Pœnam irrogavit Urbi infideli, quam solet amicus offensus offendentis amico irrogare, abstinens se a convictu et consuetudine pristinâ, subtractâ etiam Communi colloquendi familiaritate*.¹⁰³

¹⁰² Mather here summarizes the commentaries on Isaiah 6:1 by the French Huguenot scholar Isaac Sarrau (1634–1713), *Pensées sur divers passages de l'Ecriture Sainte* (1685), pp. 133–36. The last sentence of this entry was written in a different ink that resembles the ink used in the next gloss.

¹⁰³ “Why did he not see the vision while Uzziah was alive? This punishment he handed out to the unfaithful city, like an offended friend hands it out to an offending friend by no longer keeping the old company and custom and even withdrawing friendliness in the conversation

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Q. Why is the Word, *Holy*, repeated Three Times by the *Seraphim*? v. 3.

A. It was no *vain Repetition*; and certainly the *Jewes* might allow it some Intimation of the *Trinity* in God.

Galatinus appeals to R. *Simeon Ben Johai*, and *Jonathan Ben Uzziel*. The first of them thus expounds the Place; *Holy*, / זה אב / *This is the Father*. *Holy* / זה בן / *This is the Son*. *Holy* / זה רוח הקדוש / *This is the Holy Ghost*. The other of them thus, *Holy, Father*; *Holy, Son*; *Holy, Holy Ghost*. Indeed, for what he saies of R. *Simeon*, I must confess, with Dr. *Kidder*, I can affirm nothing upon my own Knowledge. For what he saies of *Jonathan*, It is not so in the Copies we now have. But *Galatinus* positively affirms, it was thus in the ancient Copies, out of which the *Jewes* have raised it; and he avowes, that he saw these Words himself in one of them, at the Time when the *Jewes* were expelled {from} the Kingdome of *Naples* by the King of *Spain*. I add, with Dr. *Kidder*, *I see no Cause to disbeleieve him*.

However, tis past all doubt; we have a Remarkable Passage to this Purpose, in R. *Bechai* (in *Legeni*, fol. 124. col. 2. edit. Cracov.) He tells of *Three Degrees*, or Excellencies, which are in God; and every *Degree*, or Excellency, is called / כבוד / that is, *Glory*; and, / פנים / that is, *Faces*: (which may be called, *προσωπα*, or, *Persons*.) The *first Degree* or Excellency, (he saies) is called, *The supreme Glory*; The Second is called, *The middle Glory*; The Third is called, *The latter Glory*. And he adds; *This is a Mystery*.¹⁰⁴

1902

Q. We read about one of the *Seraphim*, *having a live Coal in his Hand, which he had taken with the Tongs from off the Altar*? v. 6.

with each other.” Compare the Greek ed. John Chrysostom, *Interpretatio in Isaiam* [PG 56. 1–8, 11–94]; see also Garrett, *An Analysis of the Hermeneutics of John Chrysostom’s Commentary on Isaiah 1–8* (1992), p. 123.

¹⁰⁴ Translations provided by Mather. Commentary here from Richard Kidder, *A Demonstration of the Messias* ([1684] 1726), part 3, p. 85. Kidder refers to Petrus Galatinus, *De arcanis*, lib. 2, cap. 1, p. 29. Galatinus refers to the *Zohar* (p. 28), but the citation seems to be spurious. See Yehuda Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar* (2012), p. 230, FN 19. The Anglican churchman Richard Kidder (1633–1703), was Bishop of Bath and Wells, and a well-known apologist. The *Demonstration* was his most popular work, going through at least four editions in Mather’s lifetime.

Whereas White (in line with Grotius) keeps clear of such mystical readings, Lowth too asserts: “The Christian Church hath always thought that the Doctrine of the blessed Trinity was implied in this Repetition, which is intimated in several other places of the Old Testament. ... Where the Word Jehovah is thrice repeated, to denote some great Mystery as the Jews themselves acknowledge.” Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 44.

A. Bochart asserts, that the Word / רִצְפָּה / *Ritspa*, signifies, *A Stone*. [See. Est. 1.6. and Ezek. 40.17, 18. and 42.3.]¹⁰⁵ And that by *Jerom* here particularly, it is rendred, *Calculus*; who therein followes *Aquila*, and *Symmachus*, and *Theodotion*.¹⁰⁶ Hee saies, That *Red-hott Stone*, were much improved in the *Fires* of the Ancients, to forward the various Designs upon which the *Fires* were kindled; and that there were such *Red-hott Stones* upon the *Altar*, *quorum Contactu Caro Victimarum, vel coqueretur, vel absumeretur citius*.¹⁰⁷

He saies therefore, that what is translated, *A live Coal*, in the Text before us, is to be understood, *A Red-hott Stone*. Compare Luk. XXIV.32.

Consider also, Acts II.3. and Jer. XXIII.29.

Q. A Remark on the *Speech* of the Prophet? v. 6.

A. Some think, He had a *Natural Impediment* in his *Speech*. The Men most employ'd in *Speaking* for GOD, have had so. *Moses*, & *Paul*.¹⁰⁸

Isaiah supposed the Effect of this Vision would be his being sent on a Message to the People; as *Moses* before him, and *Ezekiel* after him. He deprecates the Office; He knew what a People they were. The *Lips* that he calls *unsanctified*, were such as *Moses* called, *uncircumcised*. He seems to have an apprehension of his not having an extraordinary Talent at *Speaking*.¹⁰⁹

[9v] |

¹⁰⁵ רִצְפָּה [ritspa] "glowing stone" or "coal." From Bochart, *Hieroicon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 33, pp. 327–28.

¹⁰⁶ From White (*Commentary* 42). This passage is mentioned in Jerome, *Epistulae*, epist. 18, *Ad Damasum Papam. De Seraphim et calculo* [PL 22. 372–73; CSEL 54]; see also Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, lib. 3 [PL 24. 96–97; CCSL 73].

¹⁰⁷ "By the contact of which the flesh of the sacrifices will either be boiled or quickly consumed." Bochart, *Hieroicon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 33, p. 328.

¹⁰⁸ It might be remembered in this context that Mather had difficulties with stuttering in his youth. In his diaries and sermons he often likened his speech impediment to that of biblical figures, including Moses and Isaiah, and interpreted it as a divine correction (mostly for pride and anger) that trained him for special service to the Lord. As a servant of God, he believed to have sometimes experienced instances of "particular faith," by which he meant "a little degree of the *Spirit of Prophecy*." See Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (1984), pp. 15–16, 33–8, 171–179, quotation at 173. Famously, Mather also reported having been visited by an angel, very much in the manner of the ancient prophets. In 1685, following intense religious devotions, the young Mather saw a radiant, winged angel in the shape of a "beardless" man, "whose face shone like the noonday sun," wearing a "splendid tiara" and "white and shining" robes down to his feet. A messenger from Jesus Christ, the angel prophesied to him a glorious future, like a "*Cedar in Lebanon with fair branches*" in Christ's kingdom and "in the revolutions that are now at hand." (*Diary* 1: 86–87; *Paterna* 112–13). See Levin, *Cotton Mather* (106–08, 200) and Silverman, *Life and Times*, pp. 127–30, 135–37, 311–12, 414. Mather also wrote about angels in his sermons *Coelestinus* and *Things for a distress'd People*. For Increase Mather's interest in angels, see his *Angelographia* (1696).

¹⁰⁹ See Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 45. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

4026

Q. What special Intention may there be in those two Circumstances of the Prophets Vision, The Lords *Throne high & lifted up*; and; *His Train*, or Skirts, *filling the Temple*?

A. *Munster* ha's a good Note; That the Jewes were very præsumptuous in their Wickedness, because they had the *Temple* among them. Now, the Prophet would intimate unto them, That the Presence & Favour of God, was not confined unto the *Temple*; He saw the Lord sitting above & without the *Temple*, and His very Skirts were enough to fill the *Temple*. Nor would it signify any thing, for them to pretend, That they were the Worshippers of God. God had *Seraphim* about Him to worship Him, who flamed with another Sort of Love to Him, & Zeal for Him, than was in those miserable Hypocrites.¹¹⁰

Q. How, *make* them so? v. 10

A. *Austin* gives us a Rule; [l. 83. Quæst. 69.] In the Scripture one has it said of him, that he *does* a thing when he *Declares* that it is or shall be done. Thus *Moses* of the leprous Person saies, *Contaminabit eum Sacerdos*.¹¹¹ That is, The Priest shall *Declare* him unclean. Thus *Job* saies, *my own Cloathes shall abhor me*; that is, *Declare* me one to be *abhor'd*.¹¹²

1759.

Q. The *Blindness*, and *Hardness*, and *Wickedness*, with which the *Jewes* would Reject, the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, is here foretold. Is there any thing, in the Writings of those *wicked Jewes* themselves, that agrees with it? v. 10.

A. What think you, concerning that Saying of R. *Judas*, in the *Talmud*?

When the Son of David shall come, there shall bee few wise Men in Israel, and the Wisdome of the Scribes shall stink, and the Schools of the Prophets shall become Brothel-houses.¹¹³

Q. How is it said, *It shall Return, and be Eaten*? v. 13.

A. Mr. *Lowth* observes, That the Word, [*shûb*] which we translate, *Return*, is often used Adverbially. Thus, Psal. LXXI.20. Our old Translation keeps to

¹¹⁰ See Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4702).

¹¹¹ Lev. 13:20: "the priest shall pronounce him unclean" (ESV). From White (*Commentary* 44), Mather cites the Rule of St. Augustine: *Regula Sancta Augustina (Regula ad servos Dei)* [PL 32. 1377–84].

¹¹² Job 9:31.

¹¹³ Compare the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Sanhedrin 97a. The Soncino transl. (p. 655) reads: "R. Judah said: In the generation when the son of David comes, the house of assembly will be for harlots, Galilee in ruins, Galban lie desolate ... the wisdom of scribes in disfavor, God-fearing men despised, people be dog-faced, and truth entirely lacking" Possibly, Mather gleaned this citation from John Lightfoot's explications of Matt. 10:34 in his *Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations on the Gospel of St. Matthew* (Works 2:181).

the Letter of the Hebrew, *Thou didst Turn and Refresh me*; But the Translation we now have, is; *Thou shalt quicken me Again*. Thus, Eccl. IV.1. and IX.11., *I Returned & Considered*; that is, *I Considered Again*. And thus here; It may be rendred, *Tho' it is Again Eaten*, or Devoured? Tho' there be first a *Chaldean* Captivity, & then a *Roman* Captivity, yett my People shall not be lost.¹¹⁴

Q. How, *the Holy Seed the Substance thereof*? v. 13.

A. A Tree appears Dead in the Autumn. Yett it has a *vital Principle* in it, which will expand in Leaves & Buds & Fruits when it feels the Warmth of the Sun. A few good Men remaining in the Captivity would be as a *vital Principle* to the Nation, and make it anon spread again, & fill the Land.¹¹⁵

4027.

Q. Why is it said, *But yett there shall be a Tenth*? v. 13.

A. I don't at all go to remove the Ancient Exposition. But only add, It is a notable Hint, that *Munster* ha's; They should be carried captive, *Non quidem hoc Tempore, sed post Decadem Regum*.¹¹⁶

Zach. Ursin thinks the *Decima Pars* here, to refer unto the poor Jews who were left behind by *Nebuchadnezzar*, when the rest were carried away.¹¹⁷

[10r] |
{4294}

Q. We have in the Chapter before us, an illustrious Repräsentation, of our Lord-Messiah, as a glorious King and Judge upon a Throne, proceeding to pass a Judgment upon the Jewish Nation, by which they are condemned unto Blindness and Hardness, until there should come upon them, the Excision under which they are now languishing.

If you please, lett us look back upon the Chapter. And whereas, the incomparable *Witsius* ha's an Exercitation upon it, perhaps we may select some few fine Thoughts, from his *fifty Sections*, well worthy to be received among our *Illustrations*? v. 13.

A. You shall have them.

¹¹⁴ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 49. Reference is made to Ps. 71:18 in the 1535 Coverdale translation: "O what greate troubles & aduersite hast thou shewed me? & yet didest thou turne & refresh me, yee & broughtest me from the depe of the earth agayne." שוב [shub] "to turn, to return." Here reference is made to the use of the verb in Ps. 71:20 where it is translated as "again": "You who have made me see many troubles and calamities will revive me again; from the depths of the earth you will bring me up again" (ESV).

¹¹⁵ White, *Commentary*, p. 45.

¹¹⁶ "Indeed not at this time, but after a decade of the kings." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4702).

¹¹⁷ "Tenth part." From White (*Commentary* 46), a reference to Zacharias Ursinus, *Commentarium in prophetiam Iesaiæ*, in *Opera theologica* (3:245–46).

The Necessity and Occasion which there was, to animate our Holy Prophet with a glorious Vision of the *Messiah*, to undertake the Work of Propheying unto so Difficult and Rebellious a People as the Jewes, will well Justify our *Witsius's* Observation; *Adeò nemo est tantà Heroici Animi fortitudine præditus, quem non ferocientis Populi Pervicacia Statione aliquandò sua dejiciat.* And, *Ipsi illi, quos Equos Divinæ Majestatis in Proelio dixeris, Calcaribus aliquandò et Palpo indigent.*¹¹⁸

The Time of the Vision is here specified; [And the Saints of God use to observe such in the *Time* of Things;] It was in *the Year that King Uzziah died.* And why not, *In the first Year of the Reign of Jotham?*

Uzziah was a *King*, who against the Command of God, would prætend & presume to be a *Priest*. A Civil *Death* first came upon him, for this Crime; and then a *Natural* Death. How agreeably is the *Death* of this *King*, made the Character of the Time, when our Prophet ha's a Vision of the glorious Lord, who is both a *King* and a *Priest*?

Is here not, an Intimation (as *Placæus* thinks,¹¹⁹) That the *Messiah* would not appear unto the Jewes, until their *Kings* were all taken away? Our Saviour likewise, when He came, was unjustly treated by the Priests, as *Uzziah* was justly. And He was used, as if He had been what *Uzziah* really was, a *Lepër*! It was for this Usage, that there came upon the Jewes, the Desolation, here predicted, & pronounced.

The *Throne* of our Lord, being placed at the Entrance of the *Temple*; (as, *Antiquitus Reges in Porticu Palatiorum ad jus dicendum considebant*, 1. King. 7.7.)¹²⁰ And His *Train* filling the *Temple*; (which argues Him to have not so much a *Priestly*, as a *Royal* Habit: Eph. 4.10.)

Upon which there is by the way, a pious Observation of *Wolphgangus Musculus*, commended by our *Witsius*; That the Prophet saies nothing about the upper Ornaments of Majesty upon the Lord, but only looks upon the Bottom of His Robes; *Quod imitandum omnibus modestis Dei Ministris est, ne temeraria et irreligiosa Præsumptione ad superiora et secretiora Mentis Oculos elevantes, nihil inde quam Exccæcationem reportent, experianturque infelici Exemplo, Veriverbium*

¹¹⁸ "Indeed, no one has such great strength of heroic spirit, whom the stubbornness of a fierce people would not cast from his watch at some point. [And] they themselves, whom you called the *horses of divine majesty in battle*, sometimes need spurring and coaxing." In these additional notes on Isa. 6, Mather draws from over 25 pages of commentary from Hermann Witsius, *Miscellaneorum sacrorum libri IV* ([1692] 2 vols., 1736), vol. 2, exercit. 1 ("Gloria Messiae Regis, in demonstratione Justitiæ & Gratiae, revelata Jesaïæ"), here, p. 5. Mather would have used the earlier version (1692–1700, 2 vols) which was not available to me.

¹¹⁹ A reference to the French Reformed theologian Josua Placæus (Josué de la Place, 1606–1655), who taught at Saumur. See his *Opera omnia* (1699–1703).

¹²⁰ "As the kings of old sat at the porch of the palaces to declare the law, 1 Kings 7:7." Witsius, *Miscellanea sacra*, vol. 2, exercit. 1, p. 10.

illud; Scrutator Majestatis opprimitur à Gloriâ.¹²¹ Now the *Seraphim* with Six Wings apeece appear about Him. The *Cherubim* seen by *Ezekiel*, use not the *Two Wings*, that cover the Face; their Business lying below, among the Affayrs and Changes of the World. Here our *Witsius* mentions a Contemplation of Dr. *Owens*,¹²² That the *Eyes of Angels* themselves, are not able to encounter the Mystery, of the Rejection of the *Jewes*, and the Vocation of the *Gentiles*, here exhibited.

As for the *Two Wings* with which the *Angels* here cover their *Feet*, our *Witsius* thinks, it may refer to the *Invisible Nature* of the *Angels*; who are present unto us, but we see not their *Feet*; that is to say, we are insensible of their Approach unto us. Others think, Tis here implied, that the Earth must not be touch'd by the *Feet* of the *Angels*: nor any Defilement and Pollution contracted by them. After all, our *Witsius* commends the Words of *Grotius*, having, *multa et magna paucis*. They are these; *Intellige per Pedes, More Hebræo, ea quæ velari jubet Pudor; Quibus respondent in ipsis etiam Angelis imbecillitates quædam, si Deo comparentur. Vide, Iob. IV.18.*¹²³

When the Lord is here acknowledged as, *The Lord of Hosts*; we must know that the Word TZEBAOTH, signifies, not only, *Hosts*, but also, *Times*. [Compare Num. 4.23. and Num. 8.25.] Thus *Witsius* would have to be rendred, Job. 10.17. *Changes, and the Appointed Time, are upon me*; that is, *Changes* at their *Appointed Time*. The Lord is to be adored, not only as the Commander of all the [10v] *Armies* in Heaven & Earth, but | also, as the Disposer of all the *Seasons*, wherein every thing is to befall them. How admirably is this considered, in the dreadful Affayr, which this Vision comes upon! [Consider, Dan. 11.22. Act. 17.26. Eph. 1.10.]

The Treble Repetition of the Term *Holy*, in the Doxology, was esteemd by the Ancients, *Argumentum του τρισυποστατου*.¹²⁴ And this Argument of the

121 "That is to be imitated by all modest servants of God, lest they, when lifting up their eyes to an intellect too superior and hidden – due to a rash and irreverent presumption –, report nothing from there but blindness, and by an unfortunate example test those true words: *the searcher of majesty will be cast down by glory*." Witsius, *Miscellanea sacra*, vol. 2, exercit. 1, p. 14. Witsius refers to the commentary of the Reformed theologian Wolfgang Musculus (Müslin or Mäuslein, 1497–1563), who taught at Strasbourg and Bern, *In Esaïam prophetam commentarii* (1557), p. 147.

122 Thoughts to this effect can be found in John Owen, *Of Communion with God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost* ([1657] 1808), pp. 100–01.

123 "Many great things in few [words]. They are these: Understand the feet according to the tradition of the Hebrews as those things which shame commands to be covered. To which they add that even in the angels themselves there are certain weaknesses, if they are compared to God. See Job 4:18." From Witsius, *Miscellanea sacra*, vol. 2, exercit. 1, p. 15. See also Grotius, *Opera* (1:278).

124 "The argument of the three-hypostases." See Witsius, *Miscellanea sacra*, vol. 2, exercit. 1, p. 17. A reference to the doctrine of the Trinity: *mia ousia, treis hypostaseis*, "one being" in "three hypostases" (Lat. *una substantia, tres personae*).

Trinity is not altogether to be despised; especially since the *eighth* Verse, brings a Suggestion of a *Plurality* in the Persons of the Godhead. But Witsius well adds, *Habemus multò in eam rem fortiora*.¹²⁵

We read, *The Posts of the Door moved at the Voice of him that cried.*] And what saies Witsius upon it? What is most agreeable; *significatur nutatio Templi, et cum eâ Reipublicæ ac Religionis*.¹²⁶ And was not here also a Reproof to the *unmoved* Hearers of the Prophet?

The *House* being there upon *filled with Smoke*, may be a terrible Intimation, that it should be by the Romans destroy'd with *Fire*; For, there is *no Smoke but there is some Fire*. The Jewes never saw the Divine Anger more Smoaking and Flaming against them. And why may not that *Smoke* also intimate the *Blindness* that should come upon the *Jewes*? We are sure, *Smoke is bad for the Eyes*.

In the Horror of the Prophet hereupon; that Clause, *I am undone*, is by the Vulgar Latin rendred, *I have held my Peace*. q. d. *Non liberè satis reprehendi Regis aliorumque Peccata*.¹²⁷ Or, because the Word is in *Niphal*,¹²⁸ we may read it, *I am brought to Silence*. q. d. I know not what to say; I am amazed, I am confounded. Calvin adds, *Silentium sæpè pro Morte, in Scripturis capitur*.¹²⁹ Or, keep the Term of *Excision*, and, ἀφασια,¹³⁰ tis well enough. The Fear of the Prophet seems to arise from what the Lord had spoken, Exod. 33.20. *There shall no Man see me, & live*.

The Prophet adds, *I dwell in the Midst of a People of unclean Lips*. Witsius ha's an Holy Note upon it; *Notatu dignum est, quòd semetipsos sancti Prophetæ uti Partem Populi consideraverint, sic ut sibi quodammodo attribuerent Crimina quæ Populus perpetraverat; neque minus de ijs erubuerint, quam si ipsi aliquam in eorum Communionem Partem habuissent*.¹³¹ [Dan. 9.5, 6. Ezr. 9.7.]

¹²⁵ "We have much stronger [passages] in this matter." Witsius, *Miscellanea sacra*, vol. 2, exercit. 1, p. 17.

¹²⁶ "The shaking of the temple is signified, and with it that of the state and the religion." From Witsius, *Miscellanea sacra*, vol. 2, exercit. 1, p. 20.

¹²⁷ "As if he says, I have not condemned the sins of the king and others boldly enough." From Witsius, *Miscellanea sacra*, vol. 2, exercit. 1, p. 23. Isa. 6:5 "quia taciui" (VUL); "because I have been silent"; see Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:16).

¹²⁸ Niphal is a verb stem in Hebrew which usually communicates the passive or reflexive voice.

¹²⁹ "In the Scriptures, silence is often taken for death." From Witsius, *Miscellanea sacra*, vol. 2, exercit. 1, p. 23. Mather cites Jean Calvin, *Commentarii in Iesaiam prophetam* ([1551] 1667), in *Opera* (3:41), on Isa. 6:5. Transl.: *Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Isaiah* (1:207).

¹³⁰ *Aphasia*, "speechlessness." From Witsius, *Miscellanea sacra*, vol. 2, exercit. 1, p. 23; see 2 Mac. 14:17.

¹³¹ "It is worth noting that the holy prophets considered themselves as part of the people, so that they, to a certain degree, attributed to themselves crimes which the people had committed; and that they were no less ashamed of these as if they themselves had had part in them." From Witsius, *Miscellanea sacra*, vol. 2, exercit. 1, p. 24.

The *Angels* using *Tongs*, to convey the *Coal* unto the Lips of the Prophet, instructs us, *ubi fieri potest, utendum esse Medijs à Deo præscriptis*.¹³² But was not here a Prophecy, of what befel the Apostles, to qualify them for preaching the Gospel, when *Fiery Tongues* made a Descent upon them? [Act. 2.3, 4.]

The Alacrity of *Isaiah*, now to go upon the Divine Messages, was more laudable than the Tergiversation of *Moses*, or of *Jeremiah*. And this the rather, because this Vision being upon the Death of *Uzziah*, it was not the first Vision of our Prophet, who prophesied in the Reign of *Uzziah*. And so, he had made a Trial already of the Peoples Pervicacity.

The Term of the Jewish Obduration, *until there be a great Forsaking in the Midst of the Land*; seems to intimate a voluntary Dereliction. In this, the Destruction inflicted by the *Romans*, was distinguished from that inflicted by the *Assyrians*, and the *Babylonians*. For the *Romans* did not compel the surviving Jewes to Remove out of the Land; but they themselves chose a Removal, not caring to dwell in a Land, so horribly smitten with the *Curse* of God.

So much out of *Witsius*.

¹³² “Where it is possible, the means prescribed by God should be used.” Witsius, *Miscellanea sacra*, vol. 2, exercit. 1, p. 27.

Q. *Confederate?* v. 2.

A. The Hebrew is, *Rested*. It imports that the confederate Forces, were not only Join'd, but actually *incamped* in the Tribe of *Ephraim*, which was not very far from *Jerusalem*.¹³⁴

Q. *Shearjashub?* v. 3.

A. The Name signifies; The *Remnant* [or, the Forsaken] *shall Return*. The Prophet in the very Name & Sight of this Youth, foretells, That they who *Remain'd* after the Incursion of this Enemy should *Return*, & be a flourishing People, or, that the People now *Forsaken* of GOD should be Restored unto His Favour.¹³⁵

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Q. Two mighty Kings, are called only, *The Two Tails of smoking Fire-brands*. Were they not rather to be look'd upon, as Two mighty *Furnaces?* v. 4.

A. *Munster* gives this good Answer to it. *At vera Fides in Deum dicit, si Deus pro nobis, quis contrà nos? Sunt omnes Titiones adusti et fumigantes, qui contrà Pios*

¹³³ There was a consensus among Mather's two main interlocutors, White and Lowth, as well as among most exegetes at the time that in Isa. 7:3–9 Isaiah promises deliverance to Ahaz, King of Judah, who was under much apprehension at this time of being invaded by the confederate forces of Syria and Israel under Rezin and Pekah. This he does, as White puts it, "by dumb show, as it were, setting his Son Searjashub before him, whose Name was given him on purpose to signify that they should not be initirely cut off: But his prophetick Name not being sufficient to allay the fears of the dejected King, the Prophet bids him ask what sign he pleas'd, and it should be granted, in Confirmation that God would certainly deliver him out of the Hands of his Enemies" (White, *Commentary* 48; see also Lowth, *Commentary* 52). There was much disagreement, however, among the two exegetes and indeed among the larger contemporary scholarly community, about how to interpret the famous verbal prophecies that Isaiah delivers (Isa. 7:14–16) when the king, for whatever reasons, refuses to ask for another sign (Isa. 7:12). Were these prophecies indeed predictions of the birth of Jesus as the Gospel of Matthew and Christian tradition assumed? Or were they to be understood in the context of the Assyrian crisis as well? In the annotations below, Mather dedicates much room to these debates.

¹³⁴ White, *Commentary*, p. 48. Here the KJV has: "Syria is confederate with Ephraim." The *NAU* has: "The Arameans have camped in Ephraim" (so also Hans Wildberger). Other modern translations, such as the ESV, follow the reading of the KJV. The verb here, נָחַךְ [nuach], may be interpreted in the sense of "to rest upon, to keep close to" or "to stay loyal to." "Ephraim" is another term for Israel.

¹³⁵ White, *Commentary*, p. 48. The Hebrew here is a symbolic proper name: שְׂאֵר יִשָּׁח [Shearjashub] meaning literally "a remnant shall return." See the same phrase used literally at Isa. 10:21: "A remnant will return."

*suscipiunt Arma et acunat ingenium. Non ardent, sed fumant, ac mox in Cinerem redigentur.*¹³⁶

Q. Who was, The Son of *Tabaal*? v. 6.

A. The Scripture no where declares who he was; But he seems to have been (as Dr. *Prideaux* expresses it) a Potent and a Famous Jew, who having Revolted from his Master the King of *Judah*, stirr'd up the War of *Rezin* and *Pekah* against him, out of an ambitious Aim, to pull him down from his Throne, and Reign in his room.¹³⁷

Q. It is Foretold, *within Threescore and Five Years, Ephraim shall bee broken, that it bee not a People*. Now, compute the Time, till the Accomplishment? v. 8.

A. *Ahaz*, at the Beginning of whose Reign, this Prophecy was uttered, Reign'd Sixteen Years. In the Sixth of *Hezekiah*, who Reign'd Nine and Twenty Years, the Ten Tribes were carried captive. In the Twentieth of *Menasseh*, *Esarhaddon* planted other Colonies in the Room of the Ten Tribes. [Ezr. 4.2.]

Then the *Threescore and Five Years* expired. And then *Ephraim* was no more a People.

Gataker gives this Paraphrase to the Prophecy. “Tho’ the House of *Israel* carry itself so high, relying on their Confæderacy with *Rezin*, who is King of *Damascus*, & by reason thereof has the greatest Part of that Countrey at his Command, yett that shall not hinder, but within the Time here designed, the State of *Israel* shall be dissolved, & the King of *Israel* killed in a much shorter time.”¹³⁸

Q. The Meaning of That; *The Head of Syria* is *Damascus*, & the Head of *Damascus* is *Rezin*? v. 8.

¹³⁶ “Yet true faith in God says: If God be for us, who can be against us? All those who take up arms and use their cunning against the pious are scorching and smoking firebrands. They do not burn, but smoke, and soon they will be reduced to ashes.” Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4713).

¹³⁷ See Humphrey Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected in the History of the Jews and neighbouring Nations* ([1716–1718] 1729), vol. 1, p. 2. Prideaux (1648–1724) was an English churchman (Dean of Norwich from 1702 onwards) and Oxford-trained Orientalist, who besides numerous other works also wrote a *Life of Mahomet* (1697). His *The Old and New Testament connected* became very influential in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and appeared in many editions and translations (*ODNB*).

¹³⁸ Mather cites Gataker’s annotations on Isa. 7:14 in the *Westminster Annotations*, unpaginated. Educated at Oxford, Thomas Gataker (1574–1654) was one of the leading Puritan clergymen during the era of the Civil War, who served on the Westminster Assembly and helped to draft the Westminster Confession. Besides many other theological works, he contributed annotations on Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations to the comprehensive Westminster Commentary on the Bible. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink, resembling the ink used in the preceding annotation and was probably written before the rest of the entry on v. 8.

A. The Kingdome of Syria shall not extend itself beyond its Ancient Bounds, Damascus shall be the Metropolis only of Syria, and Rezin shall have no other Royal City under his Government besides Damascus.

What follows, may be readd; *The Head of Ephraim which is Samaria, and the Head of Samaria which is Remaliahs Son*, [shall be broken.] The Verb is to be supplied from the foregoing Verse.¹³⁹

[illeg.]

Q. Those Words, *If yee will not Beleeve, yee shall not bee established?* v. 9.

A. They may bee Read, *An ideò non creditis, quia non confirmamini?*¹⁴⁰ Is that the Cause why you don't beleeve? because you bee not confirmed with some Sign from Heaven? Well! A Sign is immediately tendered.

[illeg.]

Q. Wherein lay the Sin of Ahaz's refusing to ask a Sign, when the Lord offered him one, to assure the Deliverance of his Kingdome, from the difficulties now upon it? v. 12.

A. Shall wee say, That hee was willing to show a greater Modesty, than to accept the Tendered Grace of Heaven? Or, shall wee say, That hee was willing to show a greater Confidence than to want any such Supports to his Faith, as were now proposed? Charity, would hope, this were the worst of his Fault. But the Indignation, wherewith God entertains this Refusal of Ahaz, may seem to intimate a further Crime, in the business. I doubt, therefore, lest there were in this Idolatrous Prince, a certain malicious Indisposition, to have the Glory of the True God convictively exhibited unto the People by a Miracle; and a Disposition that either his Idols, or his own Prudence and Conduct might have the Glory of the promised Salvation.

Q. An Essay for the Interpretation of this famous Prophecy? v. 14.

A. I will transcribe the Words of the learned Huetius, who could have no Design to weaken the Arguments for Christianity.

*Ambigua Verba ista sunt, ecce Virgo concipiet, et pariet Filium, et vocabitur Nomen ejus Immanuel. Proximus enim Sensus est, Virgo in Manum Viri conveniet, ex eorumque Conjugio nascetur Filius, qui Nomine suo, Immanuel, hoc est, Nobiscum Deus, Opem Dei Judæos prosequentem et Præsentem ostendet. Occultior verò ille est, Virgo Spiritus Sancti Virtute, sine Viri Consortio, Filium, pariet, qui cum in Lucem prodierit, tum verè erit Nobiscum Deus.*¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Lowth, *Commentary*, pp. 53, 55.

¹⁴⁰ "Or do you therefore not believe because you have no confirmation?" Taken from Gro-tius, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4731); see also *Opera* (1:279).

¹⁴¹ "The ambiguous words are these: Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel. Indeed, the nearest sense is this: The virgin will take the hand

[11v] |
{1755}

Q. That little Particle, *Behold*, (which occurs here & often elsewhere,) is there any *Remark* to be made upon it? v. 14.

A. It calls for some *Remark*. 'Tis a Note of Attention; and it stands like an Hand in the Margin, inviting us to a serious Consideration of the Matter which it is præfix'd unto. When there stands a *Behold*, before a Text, wee may do well to say as *Moses*, upon another Occasion, *I will Turn aside, & See the Sight!* It is an Adverb of Demonstration, used, *In Rebus Notabilibus*,¹⁴² to bespeak the Observation of them, when any Notable Things are spoken of. I have several Times heard copious & useful Sermons preached upon this one Word; for indeed, There is not a Tittle in the Scripture, to be neglected, as Impertinent or Unprofitable. *Singuli Sermones, Syllabæ, Apices, in Divinâ Scripturâ, plena sunt Sensibus*,

of a man and out of their marriage a son will be born, who, by virtue of his name *Immanuel*, which means *God with us*, will reveal the might of God accompanying the Jews and being of assistance to them. More hidden, though, is this [sense]: The virgin, by the power of the Holy Spirit, without the partnership of a man, shall bear a son, who will not only come forth into light, but also truly be God with us." From White (*Commentary* 52), Mather cites Petrus Daniel Huetius, *Demonstratio Evangelica* ([1679] 1722), prop. 9, cap. 12, p. 359. Huetius thus proposes a double interpretation of the famous prophecy. While in its immediate historical sense the prophecy was foretelling the birth of a child in Isaiah's own time, in a "more hidden" sense it was also predicting the future birth of the messiah. Huetius's formulation leaves the question open whether Isaiah consciously predicted the birth of Christ, or whether this hidden higher meaning was only retrospectively found in the prophet's words by Christian interpreters. For White, the Christian sense constituted only a secondary level of signification. The prophet's words, just like the events or figures to which they referred, were, by God's providence, arranged in such a way that they lend themselves to a retrospective allegorizations in the citations made by the New Testament writers. However, these citations had usually little to do with the original meaning intended by the Hebrew prophets but expressed the faith of Christ's early followers and Christians ever since. This essentially was also what Grotius had argued. Compare his annotations on Isa. 7:14 and Matt. 1:21–23 in *Opera* (1:279 and 2: 12–13). Mather and Lowth, in contrast, maintained that both the immediate sense and the higher Christian significance had been intended by the prophet. This is also how Mather seems to have understood Huetius's double interpretation. Lowth likewise approvingly refers to Huetius's reading in this context. See his *Commentary*, p. 58. Significantly, Mather in the last years of his life changed his view on this key prophecy. Compare the insert on 14r. On this, see chapter 5.3 of my *Piety, Prophecy, and the Problem of Historicity*.

Interestingly, White does not address the thorny questions surrounding the translation of the Hebrew word *almah*. Mather takes on these questions in the entry on Jer. 31:22, where he quotes the authority of Jerome to assert that the word indeed signifies "a virgin." (Compare the footnote there.) In this view Mather also found confirmation in Lowth's commentary which asserts: "The Hebrew Word *Almah*, most properly signifies a Virgin, and so it is translated here by all the Ancient Interpreters, and is never once used in the Scripture in any other Sense, as several Learned Men have proved against the Pretensions of the Modern *Jews*" (56). Compare also Mather, *Tripuradisis*, pp. 165–67.

¹⁴² "In remarkable matters."

as *Jerom* saith well;¹⁴³ And as the Jewish Doctors well say, *whole Mountains of Sense do hang on every Tittle of the Law*. For which Cause, one well compares the Scripture at this rate; It is not like the *Carpenters Yard*, wherein are many useless *Chips*, but it is like the *Goldsmiths Shop*, where the very Dust, is Metal of some good Account.

But none of all this, is the Thing that I was Intending for you; All this hitherto, is obvious to all the World; I would have offered you some *Illustration of Scripture* on this Occasion, as well as, on others, beyond the *common View*. I say then; I take notice, that, *Behold* is an Adverb frequently sett before those Passages of Scripture, that eminently relate unto our Lord JESUS CHRIST; and indeed, for my own Part, I will rarely meet with a *Behold*, in the Oracles of Heaven, but I will suspect that there may bee something of the Lord JESUS CHRIST latent in the Matter; and I will Try and Search accordingly.

Behold, whether I have not now furnished you, with a further Material to run the Blessed *Oare* of the Bible withal, & find the rich *Metal* that lies concealed in it.¹⁴⁴

{4719}

Q. About the *Messiahs*, being *Born of a Virgin*, can you find any Remarkable Concessions of the *Jewes*? v. 14.

A. Some I have elsewhere given.¹⁴⁵

When the *Messiah* is in the Prophecies of *Daniel* called, *A Stone cutt out of a Mountain without Hands*, it is Intimated, *Ipsum fore Concipiendum et Nasciturum absque Humano Opere, Inusitato Modo, solâ Dei Virtute*.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ "All words, syllables, accents in Divine Scripture are full of meaning." Jerome, *Commentarii in Epistolam ad Ephesios*, lib. 2, at Eph. 3:6 [PL 26. 481].

¹⁴⁴ Very similar reflections on the particle "behold" can be found in the work of the Puritan divine and member of the Westminster Assembly William Gouge (1575–1653), *Commentary on the whole Epistle to the Hebrews* (3 vols., [1655] 1866), vol. 1, pp. 157, 206.

¹⁴⁵ Mather here seems to refer to his annotations on Jer. 31:22.

¹⁴⁶ "It is intimated that he himself is to be conceived and will be born without human labor, of unusual manner, only by the virtue of God." From Martini, *Pugio Fidei*, pars 2, cap. 7 ("*Qualiter Dominus noster Jesus Christus . . .*"), p. 354 (f. 284). Martini does not point to an immediate rabbinic source here but rather presents this as a received opinion. The symbol of the stone is found in diverse biblical texts, most prominently in the prophecy of Dan. 2:34, but also in Gen. 49:24, Ps. 118:22, Zech. 3:9, and Isa. 28:16. In rabbinic interpretations the stone variably stands for Israel, biblical patriarchs and kings, or the messiah. See the *Mikraoth Gedoloth* on these passages. The Babylonian Rabbi Saadia (Saabia) Gaon (882–942 CE) interprets "without hands" as "not with human hands" (*Mikraoth Gedoloth, Daniel*, p. 19, on Dan. 2:34). The *Tzror Hamor* (*Zeror ha-Mor*, i.e. "Bundle of Myrrhe"), a commentary on the Pentateuch by the Spanish Rabbi Abraham Saba ben Jacob (1440–1508), at Gen. 49:25 (i.e. Gen. 49:24), interprets the stone as the patriarch Jacob, through whose merit the messiah will come (vol. 2, pp. 823–24). It cites older rabbinic sources and refers to Rashi on Isa. 28:16. Paulus de Heredia has a long passage about the christological meaning of the "stone cut out without hands" in

And for this Cause, in the *Talmudic* Writings, the *Messiah* is called, *Semen quod est veniens de alio Loco*.¹⁴⁷

In the *Bereschith Ketannah* upon *Genesis*, it is thus written.

R. Tanchuma dixit, Gen. 19.34. vivificemus de Patre nostro Semen. Filium, non est scriptum, sed Semen. Illud scilicet Semen quod est veniens de alio Loco; et illud est Messias.¹⁴⁸

Thus again, In *Bereschith Rabba*, of *R. Moses Hadarsan*, upon Gen. 4.25. *Quia posuit mihi Deus Semen aliud. Dixit R. Tanchuma, in Nomine R. Samuel, Illud Semen quod surget de alio Loco. Et quodnam est illud? Istud est Rex Messias*.¹⁴⁹

And in *Midrasch Ruth*, you have *R. Nechoma*, and *R. Jacob* giving the same Gloss upon that in *Genesis*.¹⁵⁰

But above all, remarkable to this Purpose are the Words in *Bereschith Rabbi*, on that Passage, *Pharaoh Dreamed*.

Dixit, R. Josua F. Levi, veni et vide, quoniam non est sicut Mos Dei Sancti et Benedicti, Mos Carnis et Sanguinis. Caro namque, et Sanguis vulnerat cum Novacula, et medetur cum Emplastro. Deus verò Sanctus et Benedictus, non est

Dan. 2, in *Epistola de secretis, Petitio sexta* (sixth question, unpaginated). See Wilhelm Schmid-Biggemann, *Geschichte der christlichen Kabbala*, pp. 291–94.

147 “And for this cause, in the Talmudic writings, the Messiah is called seed which is coming from another place.” From Martini, *Pugio Fidei*, pars 2, cap. 7, p. 354 (f. 284), Mather cites the *Midrash Rabbah* on *Genesis* (*Bereshit Rabbah*), at Gen. 4:25 [*And Adam Knew His Wife Furthermore*]. See *Midrash Rabbah, Genesis*, p. 196: “*And She Called His Name Set: For God Hath Appointed Me Another Seed*, etc. *R. Tanhuma* said in the name of *Samuel Kozith*: [She hinted at] that seed which would arise from another source, viz. the king Messiah.”

148 “For Gen. 19:34 *Rabbi Tanchuma* says: *Let us bring the seed of our father back to life*. *Son*, is not written, but rather *seed* so one may know that it is the seed which is coming from another place, and that is the messiah.” From Martini, *Pugio Fidei*, pars 2, cap. 7, p. 354 (f. 284), Mather cites the *Midrash Rabbah* on *Genesis*, at Gen. 19:34. See *Midrash Rabbah, Genesis*, p. 448: “*R. Tanhuma* said in *Samuel’s* name: It is not written, *That We May Preserve Seed Of Our Father*: viz. the seed that comes from a different source, which is the King Messiah.”

149 “For God appointed me another seed. *Rabbi Tanchuma*, in the name of *Rabbi Samuel*, said: That seed which will grow from another place; and who then is that? That is the King Messiah.” See Martini, *Pugio Fidei*, pars 2, cap. 7, p. 354 (f. 284). The passage cited by Martini is not in the *Midrash Rabbah Bereshit*. As his source, Martini refers to a “*Bereschit rabah Rabbi Mosis Hadarsan*,” which is also cited elsewhere in the *Pugio Fidei*. Since this text was otherwise unknown, it was assumed that Martini had invented this source for apologetic purposes. But in the twentieth century some of the seemingly spurious passages cited in the *Pugio Fidei* were found in writings of *Moshe ha-Darshan’s* school and showed Martini’s very precise translation of the Hebrew into Latin. Consequently, current scholarship now assumes the authenticity of the still missing passages as well. See *Günter Stemberger, Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch* (2011), p. 394.

150 See Martini, *Pugio Fidei*, pars 2, cap. 7, p. 354 (f. 284). See *Midrash Rabbah, Ruth*, p. 93, at *Ruth 4:19* [*And Ram Begot Amminadab*]: “*R. Huna* said: It is written *For God hath appointed me another seed* (Gen. IV, 25), that is, seed from another place, referring to the Messiah. *R. Berekiah* and *R. Simon* said: ... ” It seems that Martini misattributed this citation to *Jacob ben Abbin* (4th cent.), transmitter of the *haggadot* of *Samuel ben Nahman*, *Abba hu*, and *Abba ben Kahana*, and to *Nehunya ben ha-Kanah* (*Nehunya ha-Gadol*), tanna of the first and second centuries (*JE*).

*Modus suus ejusmodi; sed iisdem quibus vulnerat medetur. Et sic Tu invenis in Joseph, et in Israel, cum re cum quâ vulneravit eos, sanavit eos. Et nonne Israel peccavit in Virgine? Sicut dictum est, Ezek. 23.3. et ibi subacta sunt Ubera Virginitatis illarum. Punitive sunt in Virgine; sicut dictum est, Thren. 5.11. Mulieres in Sion Humiliaverunt, Virgines in cunctis Civitatibus Juda. Reversurus (vel, Pœnitentiam Acturus) erat, et consolandus per Virginem; sicut dictum est, Jer. 31.21. Revertere Virgo Israel. Revertere ad Civitates istas. Usquequo te Revolves, Filia vagabunda? Quia creavit Dominus novam rem in terrâ; Fœmina circumdabit Virum fortem. R. Huna, in nomine R. Idi, et R. Josua ben Levi, dicentes, Iste est Rex Messias, de quo dictum est Psal. 2.7. Hodie genui Te. Et super eo, est Isaias dicens; Cap. 62.1. propter Sion non tacebo, donec egrediatur ut Splendor Justus ejus.*¹⁵¹

[12r]

Q. *That he may know?*] v. 15.

A. Read it rather, *Till he know*. So the Particle is used; Lev. XXIV.12.¹⁵²

Q. The Death of those Two Kings, *Pekah*, and *Rezin*; are foretold for to fall out, before a *Child shall know to Refuse the Evil & Choose the Good*. Within how many Years did it fall out? v. 16.

A. Within Four Years.

Of *Pekah's* Death, you have the History, in 2. King. 15.30.

Of *Rezins*, in 2. King. 16.9.¹⁵³

[illeg.]

Q. A clear *Idæa* and Paraphrase of this Difficult Context, would bee very acceptable? v. 16.

¹⁵¹ “*Rabbi Josua son of Levi* said: Come and see for the manner of the holy and blessed God is not the manner of flesh and blood. For flesh and blood are wounded by the razor and heal by the bandage. But God, the holy and blessed, his dealings are not like this, but those he wounds he heals. And so you discover in Joseph and in Israel that he healed them in the same way in which he wounded them. And has Israel not sinned in virginity? So it is said, *Ez. 23:3 And there were their breasts of virginity pressed*, and they were punished in virginity; so it is said, *Lam. 5:11 They ravished the women in Zion, and the maids in all the cities of Judah*. They would turn back (and repent) and be comforted by the virgin. So it is said, *Jer. 31:21 Turn again, O virgin of Israel, turn again to these cities*. How long will you revolt, o wandering daughter? For the Lord hath created a new thing in the earth. A woman shall compass a strong man. Rabbi Huna, in the name Rabbi Idi, and Rabbi Josua ben Levi, say this is the King Messiah, of which it is said, *Ps. 2:7 This day have I begotten thee*. And concerning this, Isaiah says, ch. 62:1. *For Zion's sake will I not hold my peace, until the righteousness thereof go forth as brightness*.” From Martini, *Pugio Fidei*, pars 2, cap. 7, p. 355 (f. 284). The passage cited by Martini is not from the *Midrash Rabbah* but from *Bereshit Moshe ha-Darshan*, *Bereshit Rabbah*, on Gen. 24:67 (see above).

¹⁵² Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 59.

¹⁵³ White, *Commentary*, pp. 53–54.

A. In the Dayes of *Abaz*, God afflicted *Judah*, both by *Syria*, and *Ephraim*, separately. These two were now confæderate, intending to overthrow *Judahs* Kingdome, and the *Davidical* Succesion; & sett up a Vice-roy, the Son of *Tabeal*, a famous Warriour, who should pay Tribute unto Them Two, according to Agreement. The Newes of this most grievously afflicts *Abaz*, & all *Jerusalem*; and in this Condition, God sends *Isaiah* with his Son *Shear-jashub*, to comfort them. Hee tells them, That the *Fire* wherein they feared Consumption, would not continue long; That the Lease of the Lives of the Two confæderate Kings, & of their Kingdomes, would bee but short; That within *Sixty Five* Years from the Time of *Amos's* Prophecy, whereof there now remained not so much as Twenty, the Kingdomes would feel the Effects of it. Hee continues to press their Beleeif of this & bids them ask any *Sign* for Confirmation. But *Abaz* with a Blasphemous Mouth utterly & entirely Rejects *Jehovah*; hee will not make any Trial, what *Jehovah* can do for him. The *Assyrian* was the Pillar hee depended on. Hee had chosen *his Gods*; and *Jehovah* should not have a Place among *his Gods*. In Opposition hereto, saies *Isaiah*, *Will yee weary my God?* And the Prophet informs them, how *his God*, would dispose of the *Davidical Family*.

Hee foretels, That a *Virgin* of that Family, should bear the *promised Seed*. And that the *Seed* should bee Beleeved in, as, *God with us*. But, that Riches & Honour, & Glory would perish from that Family; whence this great King should not live, like *Solomon*, but on the Natural Wild Food of the Countrey; *Inter*
 [12v] *Caseatos* | *Nutritus Montes*, *Sylvasque Melleas*, as *Jerom* expresses it.¹⁵⁴ Yea, That Hee should endure much Affliction, yett alwayes make an Holy Choice. But, saies hee, tho' God on this account, will perfect this Royal Line, hee will not suffer your Iniquity to pass unpunished. And tho' their Two Enemies were quickly to bee Ruined, yett the *Assyrian*, in whom *Abaz* trusted, would quickly prove a destroying Plague, to those who trusted in them.¹⁵⁵

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Q. If on the Occasion of this Prophecy, you give us a Key, to open the Nature and Meaning of the *prophetic Excursion* often occuring, it may bee serviceable to us, in Reading almost all the Writings of the Prophets? v. 16.

A. I'l Transcribe for you then, the Words of one Dr. *Nicholls*.

¹⁵⁴ "Raised among curdled mountains and honeysweet forests." Jerome, *Epistulae*, epist. 66 [PL 22. 645; CSEL 54]; the PL texts renders this passage differently. Reference is made to the prediction "Butter and honey shall he eat" (Isa. 7:15).

¹⁵⁵ From Walter Cross, *The Thagmical Art: or, the Art of expounding Scripture by the Points, usually called Accents, but are really tactical* (1698), pp. 114–15. Cross (d. 1701) was an English Nonconformist minister at Moorfield (London) and preacher at Utrecht (ODNB). In contrast to the later annotations extracted from Huetius, White, and Lowth, the explications Mather cites from Cross insists that Isa. 7:14–16 solely refers to the messiah and not to a child in Isaiah's time.

“I make no Doubt, but for the most Part, the H. Ghost influenced the Prophets, especially the Psalmographers, in a pretty easy Way, & as agreeable as might bee, to Nature. Hee first suggested unto their Minds, the Thoughts of writing on such a Subject, and then assisted them, as far as was requisite, in the Composition; oftentimes going along with, & little altering the Natural Chain of their Thoughts, & the Common Vein of Reasoning. But when Hee had a Mind to make them prophesy of some extraordinary Decrees of God, as, of the Kingdome of the *Messias*; Hee then runs off their Thoughts, into some strange and surprizing Idæa’s, & makes them insensibly leave their first Subject for those New Turns of Thought, which the Holy Spirit had inspired them with. Hee begins, if I may so speak, with a kind of Inspired Reasoning, but proceeds to a sort of Extatic Revelation. And something like This, is to bee found, not only among the Heathen Prophecies, but even the Dithyrambic or Pindaric Poems, which are an Imitation of Prophecies; wherein, upon the Heat and Fury of the Poets Fancy, the former Subject is deserted, and Thoughts do of a sudden run off upon a New Hint, which is started in the Imagination. It may bee, the Prophet, whilst hee was under the Workings of the Holy Spirit, might not comprehend the Tenour of the Transition, & might not understand the full Meaning of the Words, which were suggested. Yett, tis probable, it was afterwards Reveled to him, as his Reason told him, that it was a Prophecy of the *Messias*; and from hence arose those Traditions in the Jewish Church, which made *them* Interpret these Transitions, with so uniform an Agreement, as they did, of the *Messias*.”¹⁵⁶

Q. Lett us Resume the Text. Why is it said of the *Messiah*, *Butter & Honey He shall eat?* v. 16.

A. Tis not spoken of Him.

The Prophet now had his Son *Shearjashub* with him. The Lad was just able to go alone.

The Prophet having uttered his Prophecy concerning the *Messiah*, now points to this Child, even to *Shearjashub*; and sais, This Child, shall go on feeding on the Diet of Childhood, but *before* (*Hannaguar*) *This Child* here present, (and not the Son of the Virgin, spoken of just before,) shall *know to refuse the Evil & chuse the Good*, before the Child who is now Able to walk with his Father

¹⁵⁶ William Nicholls, *A Conference with a Theist* ([1696] 1723), vol. 1, part 3, pp. 370–71. Nicholls (1664–1712), D.D., was rector of Selsey, Sussex, and chaplain to Ralph, Earl of Montague (*ODNB*). Like Nicholls, Lowth argued that “the Prophets in foretelling Temporal Mercies, are sometimes carried beyond themselves and their Subject, if I may so express it, to foretell the Blessing of the Gospel, and after this extraordinary Rapture, they return to the Subject which was the immediate Occasion of their Prophecy” (*Commentary* 58).

hither, shall come to Years of Discretion, *the Land* by which thou art vexed, *shall be forsaken of both her Kings*.

Thus has Mr. *Whiston* offered it.¹⁵⁷

[13r]

Q. A little further, upon this Prophecy. v. 16.

A. There ha's been a Controversy of late managed particularly between Mr. *Whiston*, and Dr. *Clagget*.

The former maintains, That the Language & Intent of the Prophets, is ever *Single*: and that their Prophecies are not capable of a Double Sense, & of such Typical Interpretations, as many Christian Expositors putt upon them. The latter gives us a Collection of Twenty Five Prophecies, which he allows to be meant only of the *Messiah*, & applicable to no other. But then he maintains, That there are Prophecies of the *Messiah*, which carry a *Double Sense* in them: & that it is fitt there should be so. One of those, he supposes to be that which is now before us. He observes, The *Sign* of Deliverance given to *Ahaz*, is a Prophecy of *the Holy Child*, and of *Another Child*. A Prophecy of a *Child*, that should be born in *Isaiah's*, and *Ahaz's* Time, & of a *Child* that should not be born till some Hundred Years after. A Prophecy, that within the Time, that a *Virgin* should marry, & conceive, & bring forth, & the Child should be grown to distinguish between Good and Evil, *Ahaz* should be delivered from the Two Kings he feared. And a Prophecy that a *Virgin*, while a *Virgin*, should conceive, & bring forth, a Son for the Deliverance of Mankind. Here is a Prophecy of a

[13v]

Child, that should be called, *Immanuel*; as token of the | Presence of God, with the House of *David*. And a Prophecy of a *wonderful Child*, who should be called, *Immanuel*, because he should be God Incarnate. The former, to have another Name of Distinction; even *Maher-shalal-hashbaz*. The latter to be distinguished

¹⁵⁷ See William Whiston, *The Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies* (1708), pp. 52, 87–94. This interpretation contradicts the interpretations Mather excerpted in his earlier annotations of Isa. 7:14–16, which all took these verses to speak of the same child (whether understood as Isaiah's son, the messiah, or both), whereas Whiston assumes that Isa. 7:14 exclusively speaks of the messiah and Isa. 7:15–16 exclusively speaks of Shearjashub, Isaiah's son. On Whiston's role in the controversies over prophetic evidence and the interpretation of Isaiah, see my *Prophecy, Piety, and the Problem of Historicity*, ch. 5.3.

As Newton's successor to the Lucasian chair of mathematics at Cambridge, Whiston (1667–1752) was, like his predecessor, very engaged in contemporary debates over biblical interpretations. He published many controversial works, especially on the subjects of creation and the end-time prophecies, which, according to Whiston's scheme, pointed to the year 1716 as the beginning of the millennium (*ODNB*). Whiston is one of the main interlocutors throughout the “Biblia,” and Mather held him in high regard (although he did never concur with all of his interpretations) until Whiston took a public stance against traditional Trinitarianism in the so-called “Arian Controversy” that deeply divided the Church of England in the late 1710s. Afterwards, Mather critically revised many of his entries derived from Whiston. On this see David Komline, “‘The Controversy of the Present Time’: Arianism, William Whiston, and the Development of Cotton Mather's Late Eschatology” (2010).

by the Name of JESUS. If the Child, that should eat *butter and honey*, & before whose Knowing to *Refuse* the Evil, and *Chuse the Good*, the Land which *Ahaz* abhorred, should be *forsaken of both her Kings*, be the Child *Immanuel*, then tis plain, the Sense is double; because the Prophecy of *Immanuel* is most certainly a Prophecy of the *Messiah*. And as there is a *double Sense* in the Prophecy, so it gave a *Double Sign* of the Deliverance for the House of *David*; & a *Double Security* against their Destruction by *Rezin* or *Pekah*. The Promise of *Maher-shalal-hashbaz*, the Son of the Prophetess, assured *Ahaz*, he should be delivered of his Oppressors in two or three Years. The Promise of the *Messiah*, assured him, that the Tribe of *Judah*, and Family of *David*, must be yett preserved for seven Centuries.¹⁵⁸

[14r]

Q. A Fresh Operation on that famous Prophecy; *Behold, A Virgin shall conceive?* v. 14.¹⁵⁹

A. A Gentleman, whose Name is Mr. *John Green*, in some Letters published, 1726. has argued well upon it.

It may be owned, that the Infant *Shearjashub*, whom the Prophet by the Order of Heaven took with him, when he was to meet *Ahaz*, was a *Sign* to *Ahaz*, that *Isaiah* was really a Prophet of the Lord; and that the Projects of the Enemies to *Judah*, would according to his Prædiction, be confounded. His Name signifying, *The Remnant shall return*, given him just about the Time when the Two Kings had invaded *Judea*, & carried great Multitudes into Captivity, was a Token, that some of them should be sent home again; which came to pass accordingly. [2. Chron. XXVIII.5, 16.] And the Sight of *this Child* might be a proper *Sign* for this Purpose.

But when the *Word* of *Isaiah*, and the *Sign* in his hand, was disregarded, GOD offers to *Ahaz* any *Sign*, (or *Miracle*) he should make his Choice of. And this gracious Offer being refused, *Ahaz* has no further *Sign* for this Purpose given him. Had any *Sign* been given him, he was a Wretch that would not have spent one Thought upon it. The *Hypocrite* pretended a Fear of Transgressing the Divine Command, *Ye shall not Tempt the Lord your GOD*: But in Reality, he paid more of Respect unto *Baalim*, than unto the True GOD; and instead of

¹⁵⁸ See Nicholas Clagett, *Truth defended, and Boldness in Error rebuk'd ... a Confutation of part of Mr. Whiston's Book, entituled, The Accomplishment of Scripture-Prophecies* (1710), esp. pp. 78–87. Nicholas Clagett the Younger (1654–1727), D. D. from Cambridge and preacher of St. Mary's Church, Bury St. Edmunds, published several apologetic and controversial works, including this refutation of Whiston's proposal for a hermeneutics that would only allow one literal accomplishment for the scriptural prophecies.

¹⁵⁹ The smaller pieces of paper with this entry on v. 14. [14r–15v] are attached to the MS after pages [12r–13v], with [13r/v] being partly attached to [14r]. We have chosen to present the entries in the order which Mather seems to have intended.

waiting on the GOD of *Israel*, he was resolved on flying to the King of *Assyria* for Assistance.

And if it had been the Intent of the Holy One, to have given *Ahaz* a *Sign*, certainly He would have done it *at first*, and not have given him Opportunity to *Sleight* it and *then* even *Force* it upon him. Yea, from the Dreadful Judgments which are threatened in the very Breath in which this Prophecy is delivered, it is plain, that GOD had no Design any further to comfort *Ahaz*, with an Assurance that the Plotts of his Enemies would be in a little time defeated. The Threatening is, *The Lord shall bring upon thee, & upon thy Fathers House, Days that have not come, from the Day that Ephraim departed from Judah; even the King of Assyria.* And the rest of the Chapter foretells the Depopulating of the Countrey by him. We know accordingly what was done to *Ahaz*, by *Tiglath-Pilneser*, a great Monarch, that was a greater Plague to him, than the Two petty Princes he had now to deal withal: and how from this Time the Jews were excluded from all their Traffic into the *Southern Sea*, which they had ow'd most of their Wealth unto.

In short; The Prophet leaves *Ahaz*, as a Person on whom he despaired of doing any Good; and except the Prophesy of the *Messiah*, to be *Born of a Virgin*, dropt for the Comfort of the Religious among the Jews, and the Benefit of the Church in after-ages, you hear nothing besides terrible Comminations.

[14v] The *Birth* of a Son from a *young Woman*, foretold as a *Sign*, that the *Enemies* now feared, should | be defeated, would have signified but very little. For their Enemies had now taken the Field, yea, probably were on their full March to *Jerusalem*. Their Armies were Numerous, and Well-appointed; and flush'd with former Victories; and the Jews but ill-præpared for opposing them. Yea, they expected within a very Few Months to be swallowed up. They wanted Comfort under their *present* Anxiety & Perplexity. Now, how useless a *Sign*, would such a *Remote Matter* have been to them, under their *present Anguish*.

As to *Mahe-shalal-hashbaz*, all that we can collect with Certainty is, That the Prophet was ordered first of all to write those *Words* on a *Roll* before Witnesses, without any Intimation of a *Son* to be born unto him. Some time after this, the Prophetess having been delivered of a *Son*, he was commanded for to putt all the *Words* into his Name, as a Prophecy of the speedy Ruine to come on the *Syrians* and the *Israelites*.

Briefly; This Prophecy, cannot in any Sense at all relate unto a young Woman in the Days of *Ahaz*. But *Matthews* Interpretation of it, is *literal*, and *obvious*, and indeed the *only* one that can be given.¹⁶⁰ This makes the Prophecy serve to a considerable End; conspicuously distinguishing the *Messiah* from all other Persons: An End, worthy of the solemn Introduction: *Behold!* None but JESUS ever was born of a *Virgin*: And none but He could be called, *Immanuel*; And of none but Him could it be said, *His Name shall be called, The mighty*

¹⁶⁰ Matt. 1:21–23.

GOD. All too high for a *Maher-shalal-hashbaz*, or for an *Hezekiah*, or for any meer Man in the World.

Here are evidently Two distinct Prædictions. The first, That a *Virgin* should conceive & bear a Son. The second, That the Land of the Enemies to *Judah* should be forsaken of its Kings, before *Shearjashub* should know to Refuse the Evil & Chuse the Good. The one of these Prædictions is made a *Sign* of the other, and was to be fulfilled, in Token, that the other should also come to pass in the Season of it. GOD here assures the House of *David*, That a *Virgin* should bring forth a Son, who should be an *Immanuel*. And since many of them were *staggering* at the *Promise thro' Unbeleef*, that the *Messiah* should be born to the House of *David*, then in such melancholy Circumstances; and since this was a Thing that has never been heard of before, and yett more Incredible, *That He should be born of a Virgin*, GOD kindly tells them, That He would give *This* as the *Sign* of His Giving a most certain Accomplishment unto that glorious Prophecy; The *Land* of their Enemies, would be *forsaken of their Kings*, before *Shearjashub*, [whom we may suppose the Prophet then pointing at] *should know, to refuse the Evil & chuse the Good*; tho' he should *eat Butter & Honey* [and have a Plenty of the Food suitable to his Age,] *that he might be in a Capacity of doing it assoon as possible*. Thus we have a *Sign*, soon coming to pass, of a Thing to be performed above seven hundred Years afterwards. |

[15r]

Mr. *Green* gives us this Paraphrase. “*Therefore, or, Notwithstanding, tho' Ahaz & such as join'd with him, have carried it in so provoking a Manner, the Lord Himself out of His abundant Grace and Mercy will give you a Sign; a Sign to another Purpose, than that which was before offered unto Ahaz, and suddenly refused; a Sign of a much more wonderful thing that the Delivering of you from your Enemies. Behold, Take particular Notice of what I say; A pure and undefiled Virgin, shall conceive & bear a Son, and shall with Reason, call His Name IMMANUEL; for such shall He be, GOD with us; JESUS the Saviour: The promised MESSIAH. This is the Prediction to be confirm'd by the Sign the Lord will give you; and the Sign that I am speaking of, is this. You see, here is this little Child Shearjashub: Butter & Honey shall he eat, that he may know to refuse the Evil & chuse the Good; or attain to Years of Discretion; for, or, but, before the Child shall know to Refuse the Evil & Chuse the Good, the Land that thou abhorrest, the Land of Syria, and the Land of Israel, shall be forsaken of both her Kings.*”

Thus, How does GOD in *Wrath remember Mercy*? And how admirably does He provide for the Few Beleevers now among His People? Were they fearful, that their Enemies pursuant unto their League, would sett up the Son of *Tabaal* for their King & frustrate the grand Promise of the *Messiah*? Behold, That grand Promise is Renewed; The Manner of it is declared; and a *Sign* is given of its Performance; a *Sign* that was not long to be waited for; and a *Sign* that fixed their Eyes on one, whose prophetic Name, *Shearjashub*, gave them Reason to receive *Isaiah*, as a Prophet of the Lord! Behold, How the *Messiah* is at the same

time, distinguished; and a Provision made against the *False Christs* that might arise, by foretelling that the *Messiah* should be *born of a Virgin*!¹⁶¹

[15v] | [blank]

[16r] |

Q. – *Even the King of Assyria?* v. 17.

A. Soon did *Abaz* behold this Prophecy accomplished, by *Tiglath Pileser*, who *came to him, and distressed him, but strengthened him not, Tho' he had taken a Portion out of the House of the Lord*: [As the Particle which our Translators have rendred, *For*, should be rendred, 2. Chron. XXVIII.21.]¹⁶²

Q. The *Fly of Egypt*, & the *Bee of Assyria?* v. 18.

A. Often joined, as the Two great Oppressers of the People of GOD. See Ch. XIX.23. XXVII.13. Dr. *Usher* thinks, the Conquest of *Egypt* by the *Assyrians*, foretold, Chap. XX. happened before *Sennacherib's* besieging of *Jerusalem*; and that many *Egyptians* were his Auxiliaries in that Expedition.¹⁶³

Q. To what may allude, *The Holes of the Rocks?* v. 19.

A. 'Tis an Allusion to *Bee's*, which harbour in such Places. According to *Forerius* the Prophet means, That the *Assyrian Army* should plunder within & without, in Cities & in Fields, private Houses as well as Palaces, & leave no Place unransack'd.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ This annotation is extracted from the work of John Green (d. 1774), curate of Thurnscoe, *Letters to the Author of the Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion: Shewing, that Christianity is supported by Facts well attested* (1726), pp. 80–81. This apologetic tract was an attack on Anthony Collins's (1676–1729) anonymously published *A Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion* (1724). Its aim was to refute Collins's claim that the NT references to the messianic prophecies of the OT were arbitrary allegorizations. Like Whiston, Green argues that Isa. 7:14 in its literal sense exclusively predicts the future birth of the messiah, while Isa. 7:15–16 in its literal sense refers to Shearjashub. However, according to Green, the fulfilment of the predictions relating to Isaiah's own son are “made a *Sign* of the other [predictions], and was to be fulfilled, in Token, that the other should also come to pass in the Season of it.” This reading departs from the earlier interpretation that Mather offers on 11v.

On the centrality of the issue of prophetic evidence in the Deist debates of the early eighteenth century and Collins' role in these debates, see James O'Higgins, James. *Anthony Collins. The Man and His Works* (1970); see also the Introduction, and my *Prophecy, Piety, and the Problem of Historicity*, ch. 5.3.

¹⁶² White, *Commentary*, p. 54.

¹⁶³ From Lowth (*Commentary* 61), Mather refers to James Ussher, *Annales Veteris Testamenti* (1650), p. 116. The Anglican divine Ussher (1581–1656) was Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland between 1625 and 1656. His fame as a scholar rests on his biblical chronology, which Mather employs throughout the “Biblia.”

¹⁶⁴ See Forerius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4727).

Q. Why the Metaphor an *Hired Rasor*? v. 20.

A. An universal Pillage. A *Rasor* was also used in Mourning. Lev. XXI.5. So it means a great Calamity.

But the Epithit, of, *Hired*, is, to upbraid *Ahaz* with Simplicity, for inviting a powerful Prince into his Countrey, whom he was never like to drive out again; and by the Value of his Rich Presents, lett him know, that the Countrey was worth conquering.

The *River* here, must be *Euphrates*; which divided *Syria* from *Assyria*.

The *Assyrian* is called, *An Hired Rasor*, because GOD often Rewards the Instruments of his Vengeance. Compare, Ezek. XXIX.18, 19. 2. King. X.28.

As *Ahaz* had hired the King of *Assyria* to assist him, so, GOD would hire a King of the same Countrey to Destroy Judæa as *Tiglath Pilneser* did.¹⁶⁵

Q. The Meaning of, *Nourishing a young Cow, & Two Sheep*? v. 22.

A. An horrible Devastation! All that should be præserv'd by them that were best of it, from the Ravenous Jaws of the Enemy, should be a *Cow* & a *Sheep* or two.

And yett so great should be the Slaughter, that *these* would be enough to preserve the largest Family from Starving. *Forerius* thinks, the Prophet means, that the Fields would ly uncultivated for Want of Husband-Men, & the surviving few maintain themselves with *Butter & Honey*.¹⁶⁶

He adds in the Two next Verses; That their choicest *Vineyards*, which in Times of Peace were worth a Thousand Shekels, would be what none would care to be at the Charge of Improving, because they knew not how soon they might be troden under foot. Yea, the Land would become such a Wilderness, that it would be dangerous to travel *unarmed*, because of the *Wild-beasts* now abounding there.

Q. How, the *Hills*, for the *sending forth of Oxen*? v. 25.

A. *Gataker* takes it so. The *Hills* which the Rich had fenced in for Pleasure or Profit, would have their Fences thrown down by the *Assyrians*, and would ly open to the Cattel, who before were kept at a Distance, & came not near *for fear of Briars & Thorns*.¹⁶⁷

But *Zach. Ursin* thinks, it only means, That the few who escaped the Enemy, should retire with their Cattel to the Mountains; & there live poorly on what such barren Places, without Inclosures, yielded; And that their Cattel

¹⁶⁵ See Lowth, *Commentary*, pp. 61–62.

¹⁶⁶ See Forerius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4728).

¹⁶⁷ From White (*Commentary* 56), Mather refers to Gataker's gloss on Isa. 7:25 in *Westminster Annotations*, unpaginated; and to Zacharias Ursinus, *Commentarium in prophetiam Iesaiæ*, in *Opera theologica* (3:293–97).

might have the better Food, they grubb'd up the Bushes & Briars, that lay in the Way of the Cattel, with Mattocks.

Mr. *Lowths* Paraphrase is, Just into Vineyards would now ly waste, and be only fitt for Cattel to graze in.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁸ See Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 63.

Q. Why, the *Pen of a Man*? v. 1.

A. To distinguish it from an Instrument used by Women, in curling their Hair, which was called also *Chereth*.

Of the Opinion, that this whole Transaction was only an Imaginary Representation, *Oleaster* justly sais, *videtur nimis torquere Literam*.¹⁶⁹

Q. Why these *Two Witnesses*? v. 2.

A. *Forerius* thinks, That the Incredulous People suspected the Prophets Veracity; and finding his Reputation so far sunk among them, he desired these Two Persons of Authority among them, to testify in his behalf, that he had prophesied these things, & they saw him write them.¹⁷⁰ There is no need of this Remark; For *Selden* in his, *Uxor Hebraica*, shows, There were always Witnesses to the *Marriage-Contract*.¹⁷¹

Q. In what Sense is *Isaiahs* Wife called, A *Prophetess*? v. 3.

A. Some say, Not that shee uttered Prophecies, or was extraordinarily Inspired but in the same Sense, that in the Canons of Ancient Councils, the Wives of *Bishops & Elders*, are called, *Episcopæ* and *Presbyteræ*.

But there were *Women* that had the Gift of Prophecy.¹⁷²

Q. But the Prophet was married before? v. 3.

A. We will not plead the Ancient Connivence at *Polygamy*. Tis ought to say, He might *be* now a *Widower*.

And yett, I perceive Interpreters insist on the Indulgence in the Law of *Moses*.

Compare, Hos. I.2. and III.2.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁹ "It seems to twist the letter too much." From White (*Commentary* 58), a reference to Hieronymus Oleaster (d. 1563), in *Isaiam prophetam commentarii* (1622), at Isa. 8:1. Oleaster was a Portuguese Dominican.

¹⁷⁰ See Forerius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4738).

¹⁷¹ From Lowth (*Commentary* 65), Mather refers to John Selden, *Uxor ebraica* (1646), lib. 1, cap. 2.

¹⁷² The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later. Female prophecy in OT times (see Judg. 4:4; 2 Kings 22:14) and its promised restoration in the latter days (Joel 2:28–29) was a topic of great interest to Mather that also led him to encourage education and a more active role for women in the church. See Helen K. Gelinas, "Regaining Paradise" (2010), esp. 487–493.

¹⁷³ The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later. See for instance Edward Pococke's commentary on Hosea, in *Works* (2:117–20).

Q. The Meaning of this Prophecy, about the *Waters of the River?* v. 7.

A. *Shiloah* was a gentle Stream, which rising at the Foot of Mount *Zion*, ran into the Brook of *Kedron*, and furnished the lower City with Water. Because the People despised the Weakness of this Provision which GOD had made for their Safety & Comfort, which compared with what the King of *Assyria* might have Power to do for them, was no more than the little Stream of *Shiloah* to the rapid *Euphrates*, and were inclined thro' their many Disasters, to submit unto the *Syrians* and *Israelites*. (Which is the Meaning of, *Rejoicing in Rezin and Remaliahs Son*;) Therefore GOD would bring upon them the *Assyrian*, who like a violent Inundation should overrun their Countrey. The *Euphrates* here, outdoes the *Rapidus* of *Horace*.¹⁷⁴

Q. The Meaning of what we read, about, *A Confederacy?* v. 12.

A. There seems to have been a general Inclination of the People, to Revolt & Submitt unto the *Confederates*; as *Grotius* & *Sanctius* & *Forerius* carry it.¹⁷⁵

Or, To strengthen themselves against these Enemies, by *confederating* with the *Assyrians*, as *Gataker* and *Moller* carry it.¹⁷⁶

Or, The *Confederacy* of the Two Crowns against them, have so scared them, that they were continually crying out, *The Confederates! The Confederates!* as if their Army were at the Gates. The Prophet seems to say, *I was inclining to their Opinion; but the Lord, as it were, by Strength of hand kept me from joining in the common Outcry.*

The Chaldee Paraphrast, by the *strong Hand* here understands a strong Impulse of the Spirit making Impression on his Mind.¹⁷⁷

[17v] |

Q. Why, *To both the Houses of Israel?* v. 14.

A. Tis, to shew the general Rejection of the *Jews* under the Gospel.

This Expression, is, as Mr. *Lowth* observes, a Demonstration, that the Prophet here enlarges his Views beyond the Subject of *Rezin's* & *Pekah's* Association, which was the immediate Occasion of this Prophecy. For here, *Israel* and *Judah* were in two different Interests; And the Prophet exhorts the King & People of *Judah*, to trust in GOD who would be their Defence against the Designs of their Bretheren, the Ten Tribes. Whereas, in this Verse, they are involved in the same Sin & Punishment.

¹⁷⁴ See White (*Commentary* 60), who also makes the reference to Horace, *Odes* (4.14.46): "Rapidus Tigris."

¹⁷⁵ From White (*Commentary* 62), Mather refers to Sanctius, *In Isaiaem prophetam commentarii*, pp. 102, 112–13; and Grotius and Forerius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4738).

¹⁷⁶ From White (*Commentary* 62), Mather refers to Gataker's gloss on Isa. 8:12 in *Westminster Annotations*, unpaginated; and Möller, *Iesaias*, p. 84.

¹⁷⁷ Compare the Latin transl. of the Targum in Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:16), which offers "in fortitudine prophetiæ."

He has one Observation more.

This Text is directly spoken of GOD by the Prophet; but it is expressly applied unto CHRIST by the Apostles. Rom. IX.33. 1. Pet. II.8. [see the like, Isa. VI.1. with Joh. XII.41. and Isa. XLV.23. with Rom. XIV.11.] A plain Proof, That CHRIST is GOD: and owned for such by the Prophets.¹⁷⁸

1717

Q. Will you Favour mee, with some Jewish Glosses, on those Passages, *Hee shall bee, for a Stone of Stumbling, & for a Rock of Offence, to both the Houses of Israel. – I will wait upon the Lord, that Hides His Face from the House of Jacob, and I will look for Him?* v. 14, 17.

A. In the *Messiah* Delaying to Appear, you have, *The Lord Hiding His Face.*

Now, there is a wonderful Passage, in the Book, *Sanhedrin*, & the Chapter, *Echad dine Mamonoth*. It informs us, That when tis here said, *sanctify the Lord of Hosts Himself*, the *Messiah* is that, *Lord of Hosts*: And, That the Jewes bequeathed still the *Mystery of the Messiah*, as their best Legacy unto their Children: And, That the *Messiah*, would bee the *Stone*, which breaks to Peeces the *Image*, in the Prophecies of *Daniel*: [Tis also the Gloss of R. *Solomon*, *erit ad Lapidem Offensionis; offendet enim Pedes Statuae, Ferrum scilicet et Testam.*] And, That when the Two Houses, in which was the chief Government of the Jewes, after the Return from the Babylonian Captivity were taken off, *then*, and not until *then*, the *Messiah* should come:¹⁷⁹ Now, first there was the *Zorobabelian* Family, which was deposed by the *Græcians*; And then there was the *Maccabæan* Family, which Recovered the Government from the *Græcians*, but was Deposed by *Herod*: And in the Days of *Herod*, was the *Messiah* born.¹⁸⁰

Tis a marvellous Thing, to find such Matters as these, in the Jewish Writings!

Q. What the Meaning of, *Bind up the Testimony?* v. 16.

A. The Prophet probably stood hitherto before *Abaz* and his People, with the Roll in his hand unfolded; But since neither Prince nor People had any Regards unto the Words of the Prophet, or that Writing which had been drawn up to give them Assurance of His Protection; God now commands him to Roll it up,

178 From Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 70. By contrast, White (*Commentary* 63) allows no application of this prophecy to the messiah, but sees it fulfilled in the Babylonian captivity. Compare also Mather, *Tripuraditus*, p. 176.

179 "He will be as a rock of offense; for he will strike the feet of the statue, that is, the iron and the clay." Taken from Martini, *Pugio Fidei*, pars 2, cap. 5, p. 343. Martini cites the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Sanhedrin 38a (Soncino, p. 238). In this midrash the two young sons of Rabbi Hiyya are made drunk by Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi. They then reveal to him the teaching that the Son of David will not appear before the two ruling houses in Babylon and Palestine have come to an end.

180 Commentary here from Martini, *Pugio Fidei*, pars 2, cap. 5, pp. 343–44.

& seal it carefully and deliver it unto his Disciples, to be kept, that Posterity might know, that GOD had promised their Deliverance, & yett they would not Rely on him.¹⁸¹

Q. How, *The Children for Signs?* v. 18.

A. By their *Names*, of *Shear-jashub*, and *Immanuel*, and *Mahe-shalal-hash-baz* they putt the People in Mind of the Salvation intended for them.¹⁸²

Q. How *To the Law & to the Testimony?* v. 20.

A. If they would receive Satisfaction, as to the Event of the Expedition which they are now in so much Distress about, lett them have Recourse to the Instructions that GOD has given them and the Testimony of His Veracity which He hath shewn unto them.

It may fairly be understood of the Word of GOD in general.

If they run counter to this, they have no Understanding in them. *Diodati* renders it, *Il ny aura point de Matin pour lui*: The Morning-Light shall not arise unto them; They shall see no *Peace & Prosperity*.¹⁸³

Q. On that, *look upward*, and, *look to the Earth?* v. 22.

A. The Two Sentences are to be joined. So the LXX, and so our old English Translation understand it: whether they *look Upwards* to Heaven, or *Downwards* to the Earth, they shall see nothing but fearful Trouble.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ White, *Commentary*, p. 63.

¹⁸² Mather comments on the significance of the prophetic names *Immanuel* ("God is with us"), *Shea-jashub* ("a remnant will return"), and *Mahe-shalal-hash-baz* ("The spoil speeds, they prey hastens"). The last of the three symbolic names was probably intended to assure Judah that it need not fear Damascus and Samaria, since they would soon be plundered (*HCBD*).

¹⁸³ From White (*Commentary* 65), a reference to the French transl. of the Bible with commentary from the Swiss-born Calvinist theologian and translator of the Bible into Italian and French, Giovanni Diodati (1576–1649), *La Sainte Bible* (1644) at Isa. 8:20. The transl. is actually found in the 1707 French transl. of David Martin (1639–1721), *La Sainte Bible*.

¹⁸⁴ From Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 74. Compare the Latin transl. of the LXX in Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:24); and the Coverdale transl. of Isa. 8:21, which offers: "Then loketh he vpwarde, and downewarde to the earth."

Q. Why is *Galilee* called, *Galilee of the Nations*? v. 1. See Math. 4.15.

A. Not because the People in that Province were commixed with the *Gentiles*, & so more drossy Jewes than the rest of their Countrey-Men. How unlikely is it, that our Saviour, who sending forth His Disciples, bad them *not go into the Way of the Gentiles*, would choose *Galilee*, if so debased with a Mixture of *Gentiles*, for the Place of His own principal Residence? But this upper *Galilee*, was called *Galilea Gojim*; either because it was very *populous*. Thus *Josephus* terms it *πολυανθρωπος*,¹⁸⁵ affirming that the least *κώμη*,¹⁸⁶ or Village therein, had fifteen thousand Inhabitants. *Decapolis* also was in this Countrey, & one City seem'd as it were to tread upon another. It was in English, *populous Galilee*. If any except that *Gojim*, in the Scripture is never taken for *Jewes*, but only for *Heathen*, the great *Rivet* will Rectify his Judgment, by Instances to the Contrary. Exercit. 114. in Gen. c. 25.

Or else, because it bordered on the more pagan People. It lay in the Passage thro' which Travellers Journey'd unto the *Gentiles*. Thus in 2. Kin. 14.13. *The Gate of Ephraim* gott the Name not because it *stood* in, but because it *led* towards, the Tribe of *Ephraim*. See *Fullers Pisgah-Sight*.¹⁸⁷

Q. The next Intention of this Prophecy. v. 1.

A. The Affliction of *Judah* by *Sennacherib*, shall not be so grievous, as the Affliction of *Israel*, by *Tiglath-Pileser* and by *Salmanassar*; The former of which, began, & the latter finished, the total Overthrow of that Kingdome, & Captivity of the Nation.

The *Sea* here spoken of, is the Lake of *Gennesareth*; By *the Way of the Sea* is meant the Tract of Land, which lies on the other Side of that Lake.

[illeg.]

Q. In what Light sett you that Prophecy about the Illuminations of *Galilee*, which the Evangelist finds fulfilled, in the Residence of our Lord, about *Galilee*? v. 1, 2.

¹⁸⁵ "Full of people, populous."

¹⁸⁶ "Village." See *Josephus, Jewish War* (3.3.2).

¹⁸⁷ The commentary here draws upon the geographical and historical description of Palestine written by Thomas Fuller, *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine* (1650), bk. 3, ch. 1 and ch. 11; Fuller refers to the work of the Huguenot scholar, professor of theology at Leiden and rector of the College of Orange at Breda, André Rivet (1572–1651), *Theologicae & scholasticae exercitationes CXC in Genesin* (1633), pp. 557–67.

A. Compare Math. 4.16. And then mind what I am going to tell you.¹⁸⁸

Methinks, Mr. *Mede* has given the Words a very Agreeable Translation. *At the first Time, Hee made Vile (or, Debased) the Land of Zabulon, & the Land of Naphthali; so in the latter Time Hee made it, (or, shall make it) glorious.* [If you ask, *How?* It followes.] *The Way of the Sea beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles; the People that walked in Darkness [namely, of Affliction,] have seen a great Light; they that dwelt in the Land of the Shadow of Death, upon them hath the Light shined.* [If you ask, *How this comes to pass?* It followes.] *Unto us, a Child is Born; unto us a Son is Given; and the Government shall bee upon His Shoulder.*¹⁸⁹ You may now Remember what the Scripture tells us about the *early Captivity*, with which this People was Afflicted; even in the *Dayes of Pekah*, [2. King. 15.29.] by *Tiglath Pileser*. Now, as it were in Recompence of those *early Sufferings*, they are promised here, by the Prophet, a *glorious Dignation* (as Mr. *Kidder* well expresses it) from the Presence, & Preaching, & mighty Works of our Saviour. As the *Second Temple*, which fell short of the *First*, in Glory, was to bee more glorious than *That* by the *Messiahs* appearing in it, so *Galilee* tho' an Obscure Countrey, & Remote from *Jerusalem*, the principal City of the Nation, & a Countrey that had laboured under *early* & severe Affliction, should enjoy a special Proportion of our Lords Residence, & Ministry, & Miracles. Now, Read over the Gospels, and there you'll find, that tho' our Lord celebrated the Anniversary Feasts at *Jerusalem*, yett in *Galilee* Hee was conceived, in *Galilee* Hee lived, in *Galilee* Hee wrought His Miracles, and in *Galilee* Hee Appeared after His Resurrection. Yea, This Famous Prophecy, proceeds more particularly, to point out the very Places in *Galilee*, that should bee thus præferred. The *Land of Zabulon*, is *First* Named; and accordingly our Saviour had His *First* Abode at *Nazareth*, which belonged unto this Tribe. *Then* the Land of *Naphthali*; and accordingly our Saviour lived afterwards in *Capernaum*, a great City of this Tribe. The Scituation of *Capernaum* was on the Coast of the Sea of *Galilee*, & on the Borders of *Zabulon*; and both *It* and *Nazareth* were beyond *Jordan*. This agrees exactly with what the Prophet speaks of *Zabulon & Naphthali, the Way of the Sea, beyond Jordan*. And thus was *Capernaum*, exalted unto Heaven.¹⁹⁰

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Q. Have you any further Illustration for this Prophecy?

A. What if you should read it so? *For that Darkness, shall not bee such as was in her | the first Vexation, when lightly afflicted the Land of Zebulon, & the Land of Naphthali, or when the latter did afflict more heavily the Way of the Sea, the*

[18v]

¹⁸⁸ Isa. 9:1–2 is referenced in Math. 4:14–16 as a prophecy of Christ's ministry and the proclamation of the good news among the gentiles.

¹⁸⁹ Mather refers to Joseph Mede, *Discourses on divers Texts of Scripture*, discourse 25, p. 101, in *Works* 1.

¹⁹⁰ See Richard Kidder, *A Demonstration of the Messiah*, pt. 1, pp. 32–34.

Countrey beyond Jordan, and Galilee of the Gentiles: That People that walked in Darkness, saw a great Light. The Prophet foretels a greater Calamity, to befall the Despisers of Immanuel, and His Gospel, than did befall the People here mentioned, in their Captivity, whether under a *First*, or under a *Latter* Conqueror. The *First*, was Benhadad, the King of Syria, who (1. King. 15.20.) smote Ijon, Dan, Abel-beth-maachath, and all Cinneroth, and all the Land of Naphthali. A sad Captivity this was; but Light in Comparision of an *Heavier* Stroke, from the latter, namely, the Assyrian, who (2. King. 15.29.) took Ijon, Abel-beth-maachath, Janoah, Kedesh, Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the Land of Naphthali, & carried them away captive to Assyria; And (1. Chron. 5.26.) carried away the Reubenites, & the Gadites, & the half Tribe of Menasseh. These Places did see Light afterwards: yea, the *Light* of the Gospel first shone upon these Places. Whereas, the Places, which despise the *Gospel*, shall bee driven into utter *Darkness*.

Q. How, multiplied the Nation, & not increased the Joy? v. 3.

A. It may be a Rebuke to Sennacherib, telling him, that he should have no Reason for Triumph. But if instead of the Negative Particle / אֵין / we read the Relative Particle / לוֹ / as the Masorites direct us, the Sense will be more easy, “Thou shalt multiply the exhausted Nation of the Jews, and increase Joy unto it.”¹⁹¹

Q. On, the *Burning*, & the *Fuel*? v. 5.

A. The *First* and *Second* Coming of the Lord, are often joined in the Prophecies. This refers to the Day of Judgment. See 2. Thess. I.7. see Isa. XXX.33. LXVI.15.¹⁹²

Q. The Import of that Phrase, *The Government shall be upon His Shoulder*? v. 6.

A. In the *Sacred Observations* of M. Deyling, lately published at *Leipsich*, there is a Discourse upon this Matter. He thinks, that the Prophet in this Passage, made an Allusion to the *Keyes*, that certain great Officers of the Eastern Monarchs, bore on their Shoulders. Compare Isa. XXII.22. with Rev. III.7.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 75. Here the VUL and KJV (following the *ketiv*) have: “Thou hast multiplied the nation, and not increased the joy,” while the contemporary literal translation, the *NAU*, following the *qere*, has: “You shall multiply the nation, You shall increase their gladness.” Reference is made here to the different readings of the text, the *qere* (“to be read”), לוֹ [lo] “to it/him,” and the *ketiv* (“the written”), אֵין [lo] “not (declarative negation).”

¹⁹² Mather’s application of the prophecy to the end times is in agreement with Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 78.

¹⁹³ Mather refers to the work of the German Lutheran theologian and professor at the University of Leipzig Salomo Deyling (1677–1755), *Observationes sacrae* (5 vols., 1732–1757), vol. 1, cap. 34, pp. 174–77. Deyling was a defender of Lutheran Orthodoxy against new tendencies in biblical criticism (Spinoza, Clericus, Simon etc.) and against Wolffianism in philosophy (*ADB*).

The Custome of carrying *Keyes on the Shoulder*, is now unknown to us, tho' anciently it was very common. It was grounded on the Form of those *Keyes*, which it would not have been easy to have carried otherwise. They were long, heavy, crooked, a Sort of Semicircle, not unlike our Sickles; with handles of Wood, or Ivory. There was in each Gate, an Hole made on Purpose, by which these *Keyes* were lett in, to open Bolts, as the Picklocks of our Locksmiths, open our Locks. *Huet* in his, *Demonstratio Evangelica*, has described these *Keyes*, very learnedly and elegantly; guided by *Homer & Eustathius*.¹⁹⁴

I am acquainted with a christianized *Jew*, who has a very singular Thought upon this Expression, *The Government on the Shoulder of the Messiah*. He thinks, it may have a most literal Sense; & might be most literally accomplished in that Action. Joh. XIX.17. *Bearing His Cross, He went forth*. By this Action of bearing the *Cross* on His Blessed Shoulder, He overcame His Enemies, & produced the Redemption of the World. By His *Cross* He ha's purchas'd His Government; By His *Cross* He does manage it.¹⁹⁵

Q. How do you Distinguish and Enumerate, the Titles of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the Words of the Prophet? v. 6.

A. *Jerom* seems to have done best, in this Matter. Thus hee reckons them. I. *Wonderful*. II. *Counsellour*. III. *God*. IV. *The Mighty One*. V. *The Father of the World to Come*. VI. *The Prince of Peace*. And since him, great Interpreters have gone that Way.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ From Huetius, *Demonstratio Evangelica*, prop. 9, cap. 105, p. 563. The reference is to Homer, *Odyssey*, 21.1–7, where Penelope uses a beautiful, curved key to open the armory of her husband. Eustathius of Thessalonica comments on this passage in his *Commentarii ad Homerī Odysseam*, ed. Stallmann, vol. 2, p. 244. According to Eustathius, Penelope's key had an "ancient look" (ἀρχαῖκὸν εἶδος). Eustathius asserts that "such keys are still in use in his days" (τοιοῦτων κληῖδων μέχρι καὶ νῦν χρήσις).

¹⁹⁵ Mather here refers to his acquaintance, the Jewish convert to Christianity Judah Monis (1683–1764), who taught Hebrew at Harvard from 1722–1760. Monis was publicly baptized on March 27, 1722 in the College Hall at Cambridge. Benjamin Colman (1673–1747) delivered a sermon on this occasion. The text was then published together with three of Monis's tracts as *A Discourse ... Before the Baptism of R. Judah Monis, to which were added three Discourses, written by Mr. Monis himself, The Truth, The whole Truth, Nothing but the Truth. One of which was deliver'd by him at his Baptism* (Boston, 1722). To this publication Increase Mather contributed a preface. The citation comes from *The whole Truth*, p. 14. On Monis, see Mather's *Diaries* (2:741, 743). See also Friedman, "Mather and the Jews" and "Early Jewish Residents," as well as Hoberman, *New Israel/New England* (2011), pp. 86–120. This entry must have been written sometime after 1722, the year of Monis's conversion.

Following the suggestions of several rabbinic interpreters, Grotius (*Opera* 1: 281) had read this prophecy as referring to Hezekiah. White admitted the legitimacy of such a reading in the historical context, but allowed for a second, typological fulfilment of these words in Christ (*Commentary* 69). Lowth (*Commentary* 79–80) and Mather insist that the prophecy exclusively refers to the messiah.

¹⁹⁶ Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, lib. 3 [PL 24. 126; CCSL 73]. The Latin text reads: "Parvulus enim natus est nobis, filius datus est nobis: et factus est principatus super humerum

But then, there are others besides Dr. *Knight*, who urge that the Two First Words be read conjunctly; *wonderful Counsellour*: Agreeably to Isa. XXXVIII.29. *The Lord of Hosts, wonderful in Counsel*, yea, they think, that wonderful Consultation, *lett us make Man*, referr'd unto.¹⁹⁷

The Jews object, That the Hebrew Word, which we render: *A Son*, here, is not / בן /¹⁹⁸ but / בר /¹⁹⁹ which, in Gen. XLII.25. signifies, *Corn*, or *Bread*, or *Food*. However, in this Place, the Context all determines it for, *A Son*: But yett an Ingenious Jew, of my Acquaintance, (and shall I say, partly by being so?) turned a Christian; gives me a witty Thought upon it. The Word signifying also, *A pure one*, very agreeably intimates, the *sinless Purity* of our JESUS. But say, There is *Bread* also in the Signification of it. Our Blessed JESUS, is the *Bread that comes down from Heaven*: the *Food* of our Souls.²⁰⁰

Q. In what Sense may it be said, *The Zeal of the Lord of Hosts will perform this?* v. 7.

A. The Thing foretold, is, The Enlargement and the Establishment of the Kingdome of a glorious CHRIST in the World.

Now the *Zeal of the Lord of Hosts* will *perform* it. May it not, at least in Part, mean, a *Zeal* enkindled by the *Lord of Hosts*, in the Hearts of His Faithful Servants. This is also a *Zeal for the Lord of Hosts*. Good Men will be filled with a Divine *Zeal*, to propagate the Gospel; & Reform and Proclaim Religion in the World. By such a *Zeal*, there will be mighty things *performed* for the Holy and Blessed *Kingdome* of our Lord.²⁰¹

Q. What Curiositie is to bee conserved in that Prophecy of the *Messiah*. *Of the Increase of His Government and Peace, there shall be no End?* v. 7.

A. The first Word / לְרִבְּהָ /²⁰² *Ad Multiplicandum*,²⁰³ hath a *Mem* final extraordinarily for the second Letter of it. The Jewish Rabbins do seek for many Secrets

—
ejus; et vocabitur nomen ejus admirabilis, consiliarius, Deus, fortis, pater futuri saeculi, princeps pacis.”

¹⁹⁷ Mather cites the work of the vicar of St. Sepulchre, London, and senior fellow at St. John's College, Oxford, James Knight (1672–1735), *Eight Sermons preached at the Cathedral Church of St. Paul* (1721), p. 169 (Sermon 5 on Isa. 9:6.)

¹⁹⁸ בן [ben] “son.”

¹⁹⁹ בר [bar] “cleaned, threshed grain” (cf. Gen. 41:35).

²⁰⁰ Another reference to Judah Monis, *The whole Truth*, pp. 12–13.

²⁰¹ Grotius, *Opera* (1: 282) had suggested a double application for this prophecy (literally Hezekiah; mystically Christ). White went along with this but admitted that the reference to Hezekiah seemed somewhat forced (*Commentary* 71). Lowth (*Commentary* 81–82) and Mather insist that the prophecy exclusively refers to the messiah.

²⁰² לְרִבְּהָ [lemarbeh] “to the abundance;” KJV: “Of the increase.” In the Hebrew text of the OT some words are marked to be read differently than they are written. These two forms are called the *qere* (“to be read”) and the *ketiv* (“the written”). Here the *ketiv* has the final mem, while the *qere* provides a normal (initial and medial) mem.

²⁰³ “To the abundance.”

in the extraordinary Circumstance; and among other things, they say, That inasmuch as this Letter / □ / is a Cyphar for six Hundred, it would bee six Hundred Years, from *Isaiah*, to the *Messiah*; Now, reckon from *Ahaz* in whose Time *Isaiah* uttered these Words and six Hundred Years bring you down to *Herod*, in whose Time was our *Jesus* born.

I will add *Luthers* thoughts upon this *Mem clausum*. *Quid si ibi esset significatum, quod Christus dicit, vobis datum est nosse Mysterium Regni Cælorum? Ut significet illam horribilem Clausuram, quòd Judei nunquam intellexerunt istam mirabilem hujus Regni Administrationem! Quasi dicat erit mirabilis Multiplicatio, quæ erit clausa Judeis; quam non intelligent quia prorsus est spiritualis.*²⁰⁴

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Q. On that, *His Government, & Peace?* v. 7.

A. *Experimental Piety*, what an Happy *Interpreter* of the Sacred Oracles art thou! How fine, how rich, how noble Thoughts, & such as make our *Hearts* to burn *within us*, dost thou lead us to!

Here is a Contemplation.

There is no *Peace* comparable to that of a Mind, satisfied that no Evil shall happen to us; A Mind assured that all things conspire for our Good: a Mind enlightened, perswaded, comforted, with the *Love* of God; A walking, a dwelling in His *Love*! Behold, A *Peace*, which nothing on Earth can violate: A *Peace* which will triumph over all Adversaries, all Adversities, & be forever Inviolable. You *Martyrs*, know the Meaning of it. You great *Sufferers*, & *Confessors*, are acquainted with it.

Now, observe the Method of arriving to this glorious *Peace*. Christian, Beleeve, & Adore the *Government* of thy Saviour, & Submitt unto it. Acknowledge thy Saviour, as the *Governour* of the World, & as having the administration of the Divine Providence, in His Wise, & Kind, & Faithful Hands. Bring Presents to thy *Governour*; and offer up cheerfully to Him, whatever He calleth for. Consider thy *best Friend*, as dispensing to thee, every *Cup*, that is ordered for thee. Be so apprehensive of His *Government*, as to leave thy whole Condition to His Disposal. Strive to take a Sort of *Pleasure*, in being & in bearing any thing, that it *pleases Him*, to see thee Be or Bear before Him.

Now, Oh! the matchless *Peace*, which the Government of thy *Saviour*, so Recognized will bring upon thee! –

²⁰⁴ “What if it was signified here, what Christ said, *Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God*, signifying that horrible closure, that the Jews have never understood the wondrous administration of this kingdom. As if he meant to say it will be a miraculous increase that will be closed to the Jews; which they do not understand for it is entirely spiritual.” Martin Luther, *Enarratio capituli noni Esaiæ* (1543/1544, first printed in 1546; WA 40.3:681). *Luther's Works* includes a transl. of his lectures on Isaiah (*In Esaiam scholia*, 1528/1530) in vols. 16–17, but his over 100-page Latin discourse on Isa. 9 is not included. Compare the WA 40.3.

Q. The *Lighting of the Word*? v. 8.

A. GOD had sent Threatening Messages, to the Sons of *Jacob*, and like a well-directed Arrow, they hitt the Mark they were level'd at; even the Ten Tribes of *Israel*, who had felt the severe Effects of them.²⁰⁵

Q. How & when were *the Adversaries of Rezin sett up against him*? v. 11.

A. *Rezin* the King of *Syria*, and the Nation of *Israel*, were now good Friends, in a very strict Alliance, and *Israel* very much depended on the Assistance of their powerfull Ally. But it is here foretold, that *Rezin* should be first conquered by the *Assyrians*, who should afterwards come upon *them*, with a mixed Army of his own National Troops, & those of the vanquished *Syrians*.²⁰⁶

Q. What may be meant by, *Branch and Rush*? v. 14.

A. Those that are strong, & lively & vigorous, from whom the Countrey might expect some Support, as well as the Weak & Old, who like a *Rush*, can hardly support themselves, but stoup under the Burden of Age.²⁰⁷

Q. How did they *eat every Man the Flesh of his own Arm*? v. 20.

A. It elegantly describes the Animosities rising among them: and the Self-Destruction thereby brought upon them.²⁰⁸

Q. How, *They together against Judah*? v. 21.

A. Some suppose that the Ten Tribes were not entirely carried away by *Salmanassar*; but that some remained in the Countrey; others having fled into other Kingdomes return'd, and rebuilt *Samaria*; so that *Sennacherib* had something to do to subdue these before he marched into *Judea*. [2. King. XVIII.34.] And upon his reducing of *Samaria* they think it probable, that *Sennacherib* compell'd and employ'd several of the *Israelites* to fight under him, against their Brethren of *Judah*.

But others make a shorter Solution of the Difficulty; by reading, *Though*, instead of, *And*. q. d. They shall be miserably divided among themselves; *and yett* ready upon all Occasions to join their Forces against their Brethren.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵ From White, *Commentary*, p. 72.

²⁰⁶ From White, *Commentary*, p. 72.

²⁰⁷ From White, *Commentary*, p. 73.

²⁰⁸ From White, *Commentary*, p. 74.

²⁰⁹ From White (*Commentary* 74–75), Mather refers first to Grotius (*Opera* 1: 282) and then to Gataker's annotation on Isa. 9:21 in *Annotations upon all the books of the Old and New Testament*.

Q. What *Glory*? v. 3.

A. In whose Hands will ye leave the *Riches* you now *glory* in? Under what Safeguard will you leave the fine *Ornaments* of your Houses?

Forerius thinks, By their *Glory*, may be meant, their *Princes*; who commonly found Means to escape, when the lower & lesser Sort of People were undone by Hostile Incursions; but now should find it otherwise.²¹⁰

Q. How, *under the Prisoners*, and, *under the Slain*? v. 4.

A. Read it, *Among* them. The LXX will countenance it.²¹¹

Q. What means he, when he says: *my hand has found*? v. 10.

A. The haughty Monarch, makes the Conquest of Kingdomes as easy as the Taking of Birds-Nests.

He found them (as Mr. *White* expresses it) a Resistless Prey, and took them *en passant*, without the Formality of a Siege, or the Risque of a Battel.²¹² Compare v. 14.

Q. What is meant by, *The Fruit of the stout Heart of the King of Assyria*? v. 12.

A. His Præsumption, which as naturally proceeds from an Heart puff'd up with Pride, as *Fruit* from a Tree.

Or, as Mr. *Lowth* glosses it: Those Deeds, and Actions & Atchievements which were the Effects of his Pride & Ambition. *Fruit* is the same with *Work*. See, Prov. XXI.16, 31.²¹³

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Q. Tis said, *The Lord of Hosts, under His Glory shall kindle a Burning*. What may be peculiarly meant, by the *Glory* of the *Assyrian*? v. 16.

A. *Munster* is doubtless in the right of it; The great Army of the *Assyrians*, which was destroy'd by *Fire*.²¹⁴

²¹⁰ From *White* (*Commentary* 76), Mather refers to *Forerius* in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4744).

²¹¹ *Lowth*, *Commentary*, p. 87. The LXX version of the London Polyglot has: τοῦ μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς ἀπαγωγὴν (lit.: "so as not to fall into captivity"); see Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:28).

²¹² *White*, *Commentary*, p. 78.

²¹³ *Lowth*, *Commentary*, p. 90.

²¹⁴ Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4767).

Q. Why, *The Light of Israel*? v. 17.

A. GOD is called so, as Mr. *Lowth* notes; perhaps in Allusion to the *Fiery Pillar* which conducted them thro' the Wilderness.²¹⁵

Q. The Meaning of that Expression, *Soul and Body*? v. 18.

A. Entirely.²¹⁶

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Q. *The Remnant*. – Who? v. 22.

A. The *Remnant* so miraculously preserved in *Jerusalem* from *Sennacherib's* Invasion, [see Ch. XXXVII.31, 32.] were a Type, or Figure, of that small Number of Converts under the Gospel, styled, The *Σωζόμενοι*,²¹⁷ Act. II.42. [An equivalent Expression, see Isa. X.20. XXXVII.31.] who escaped the Vengeance that fell upon the main Body of the Jewish Nation.

Q. How, Because of the *Anointing*? v. 27.

A. *Grotius* and *Vatablus* will tell you, the Abstract is putt for the Concrete; The Deliverance is promised, for the Sake of *Hezekiah*, the *Anointed* of the Lord.²¹⁸ Or say others, For the Præservaⁿtion both of the *Kingdome* & of the *Priesthood*; both of which were conferred with the Ceremony of *Anointing*.

But, *Christian*, Thou wilt look higher than so.²¹⁹

²¹⁵ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 91. See, for instance, Exod. 13:21.

²¹⁶ White, *Commentary*, p. 80.

²¹⁷ Σωζόμενοι [sozomenoi] “the saved; the redeemed.” While White reads this prophecy as solely referring to the deliverance and return to Jerusalem of a small group of Jews in the context of the Assyrian crisis (*Commentary* 81–82), Lowth proposes multiple fulfillments (*Commentary* 92–93). Mather basically agrees. However, he limits the reach of the fulfillment under the gospel to a small group of Jews converted during the apostolic period. Significantly, Lowth sees this prophecy as also predicting “that signal Time, when there shall be a general Conversion of the *Jews* to God” (92). That Mather does not follow Lowth in making this third application might indicate that Mather was in the process of rethinking his hopes for a national conversion of the Jews before the beginning of the millennium as he was writing these annotations. The shift in Mather’s thinking on the eschatological conversion of the Jews took place sometime after 1718. See Smolinski’s “Introduction” to *Trip paradisus* (38–78), and Harry Clark Maddux’s “Editor’s Introduction” (*BA* 4: 51–53). On this prophecy, compare also Mather, *Trip paradisus*, p. 176. See also the annotations on Isa. 1:9, 7:3, and 65:8.

²¹⁸ From White (*Commentary* 83), Mather refers to Grotius and Vatablus in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4770; 4:4785).

²¹⁹ Beginning with “Or say others,” the final part of the entry was written in a different ink and probably added later. The last sentence suggests that Mather understood this verse to be amenable to a higher, Christian reading.

Q. Why, or, with what Allusion, is our Lord Jesus Christ, so often called, *The BRANCH?* v. 1.

A. Doubtless, with Allusion to *Aarons Rod*. The Blossoming *Rod* of *Aaron*, was laid up in the *Holy of Holies*, as a *Type* of our Lord Jesus Christ, & a *Sign* of His Government. Hence a learned Man, considering how the LXX still render, *The Branch*, by the Term of Ἀνατολή,²²¹ chooses thus to read, Luk. 1.78. *The Branch from on High hath visited us*; and overshadowed us with His Healing Boughs; alluding to *Aarons Rod*, laid up in the *Oracle*, which was a Figure of *Heaven*.²²²

They are the Words of *Justin Martyr*, in his Dialogue with *Tryphon* the Jew. Πάβδος κλ.²²³ *The Rod of Aaron bringing forth Buds, did declare him High Priest. Isaiah did prophesy of Christs Birth, by, The Rod out of the Root of Jesse.*

²²⁰ Critics at Mather's time were also sharply divided over the interpretation of Isa. 11. There was a long Jewish tradition of reading this chapter as a prophecy of the national restoration under the reign of the messiah. Many Christian exegetes had followed this tradition while applying it to Christ and the conversion of the Jews to Christianity. However, Grotius (*Opera* 1:284) and his followers thought it historically more accurate to have these prophecies refer to the reign of Hezekiah. Against this "de-Christianization" of Isa. 11, William Whiston (*Accomplishment* 267–68) argued that at least the latter part of this chapter, if read literally, could only be understood of Christ and his reign. White wrote his annotations on the chapter in defense of Grotius and against Whiston. As he puts it: "This Chapter is by the Jews understood of the Messiah, as they vainly fancy, yet to come, and with these fatally blind Wretches I find Mr. Whiston concurs, ranking the latter part of this Chapter among the Prophecies which relate to the future restoration of the Jews, and the erecting of the Kingdom of the Messiah; but the Prophet cannot be understood of a Time so remote from his own, because it is very unnatural to suppose the Prophets pass'd over and omitted the nearest Events, in order to speak of such Things, which neither the Generation of Persons he spoke to nor their Posterity could be in any way concern' in; and 2dly, because it is against common Sense to apply those Oracles which speak of the People as being in such and such Countries to a Time when they can no more be said to be in those Countries than in any other, but are indifferently scatter'd in all Parts of the World" (*Commentary* 85). By contrast, Lowth argues that Isaiah might have uttered this oracle at the occasion of the temporal deliverance of part of the Jewish population from the Assyrian aggressor. However, he too insisted that this "Prophecy cannot with any Probability be understood of Hezekiah," but "contains an Illustrious, prophecy of the Coming of Christ, and of the Advancement which the Kingdom should make in the World" (*Commentary* 97).

²²¹ Ἀνατολή [anatole] "rising, sunrise, dawn; branch, bud, sprout, east." For Isa. 11:1 the LXX has: καὶ ἐξελεύσεται ῥάβδος ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης Ἰεσσαὶ καὶ ἄνθος ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης ἀναβήσεται; *NETS* provides: "And a rod shall come out of the root of Issai, and a blossom shall come up out of his root."

²²² Derived from John Lightfoot's explications on Luke 1:78 in his *The Harmony of the four Evangelists* (1650), in *Works* (1:387). Compare the phrase from Luke 1:78: ἐπισκένψεται ἡμᾶς ἀνατολή ἐξ ὕψους

²²³ Πάβδος [rabdos] "a rod, wand, stick, staff, or switch" (κλ "etc."). See Justin Martyr, *Dialogue cum Tryphone judaeo* [PG 6. 469; *Patristische Texte und Studien* 47]. Compare Num. 17:8.

Q. The *Spirit of the Lord*, resting on the Messiah? v. 2.

A. Since the *Union* of the *Word* with the *Humane Nature* in our SAVIOUR, is ascribed unto the Operation of the Holy SPIRIT; all the *extraordinary Graces* consequent unto that *Union*, may on that Account be justly attributed unto that Principle.

Wisdom, it may be understood of *Divine Things*; *Understanding*, of *Natural*. *Counsel*, is to form good Designs; *Might*, or *Courage*, is to execute them. *Knowledge*, is an Acquaintance with the Will of GOD. *The Fear of the Lord*, is a Disposition to obey it.

The LXX reckon here, *seven Gifts* of the Holy Spirit; answerable to the *seven Spirits of God*. Zech. III.9. Rev. I.4.²²⁴

Whereas it follows, He is *Quick of Understanding in the Fear of the Lord*, or, in Things pertaining to Godliness; Mr. *Lowth* glosses it; He shall lay hold on all Opportunities of advancing the Honour of GOD, & promoting true Piety. Compare, Joh. IV.24.

And with what follows, compare Joh. VII.24.²²⁵

Q. A Remark, on, *The Earth* and, *The Wicked*? v. 4.

A. *White* observes, That by the *Wicked* are meant according to the Prophet those *earthly Souls*; who had no Thoughts of GOD or Heaven.²²⁶

But one *Paul* is worth a Thousand *Whites* for an Expositor. I pray, How does *he* Expound and Apply this Prophecy?²²⁷

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Q. In what Sense is it said, *Righteousness shall bee the Girdle of His Loins, and Faithfulness the Girdle of His Reins*? v. 5.

A. *Viros Pios ac Justos semper circum se habebit*;²²⁸ Hee shall always have none but *Righteous* and *Faithful* Men about Him. This is the *Chaldaic* Interpretation; and in my poor Opinion, a very good one.

²²⁴ LXX: καὶ ἀναπαύσεται ἐπ' αὐτὸν πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα σοφίας καὶ συνέσεως πνεῦμα βουλῆς καὶ ἰσχύος πνεῦμα γνώσεως καὶ εὐσεβείας; NETS offers: "And the spirit of God shall rest on him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and godliness. The spirit of the fear of God will fill him." Compare Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:32).

²²⁵ Lowth, *Commentary*, pp. 98–99.

²²⁶ White, *Commentary*, pp. 88–89.

²²⁷ A reference to 2 Thess. 2:8: "And then shall the Wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming."

²²⁸ "He shall always have righteous and faithful about him." Mather cites the Latin transl. of the Targum from Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:32); for a modern edition and English transl. see Chilton, ed., *The Targum of Isaiah* (1987), at 11:5.

Q. That of the *Wolf dwelling with the Lamb?* v. 6.

A. Tis a lively Description of Peace. What we find in classic Authors,

*Nec magnos metuent Armenta Leones;*²²⁹

*Nec Lupus insidias pecori,*²³⁰ –

All shall fall short of this.

Q. On, *The Root of Jesse?* v. 10.

A. The Hebrew Word, *Shoresh*, signifies both a *Root*, and a *Branch* growing out of a *Root*.²³¹ Compare the First Verse of this Chapter, with Ch. LIII.3. where our Saviour *grows up as a Tender Plant, and as a Root out of a Dry Ground*, where the Sense directs us to explain it, rather of a *Branch*, called, a *Tender Plant* just before; since a *Root* properly grows not *out of* but *in* the Ground. So He is called, Rev. XXII.16. *The Root and Offspring of David*; which Words refer to this very Place. And so the Latin Word *Stirps*, is both for the *Stock*, and for the *Branches* that spring out of it.

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Q. What is the Design of that Passage, *His Rest shall bee glorious?* v. 10.

A. These Words prædict the Honourable Burial of the *Messiah*.²³² This is granted by himself, when hee brings these very Words, as a Proof, (tho' they are a very Insufficient one) that what wee have in Isa. 53.9. *Hee made his Grave with the Wicked*; cannot belong to the *Messias*. And as this *Jew* doth Justify those *Christians*, who understand this Place, concerning the Burial of the *Messiah*, thus, tis very certain the Place hath been so understood, by the ancient Writers of the Church. The *Vulgar Latin* so renders this Clause, *erit Sepulchrum ejus gloriosum*.²³³ And the Greek Interpreters elsewhere do render the Word, *Rest*, as if it signify'd, *Burial*. Thus, *Hee shall enter into Peace, they shall Rest in their Beds*, [which Words, *Justin Martyr* understands of the *Messias*,] tis by the Greek rendered, *Ἐν ειρήνῃ ἣ ταφῇ αὐτοῦ*, *His Burial shall bee in Peace*.²³⁴ This was admirably fulfilled, in the Burial of the Lord Jesus Christ. Wee read in Isa. 53.9. *Hee made*

²²⁹ "And the cattle will not fear huge lions." From White (*Commentary* 89), Mather refers to Virgil, *Eclogae*, 4.21; transl.: *LCL* 63, p. 51.

²³⁰ "The wolf plans no ambush for the flock." From White (*Commentary* 89), Mather refers to Virgil, *Eclogae*, 5.60; transl.: *LCL* 63, p. 59.

²³¹ שֶׁרֶשׁ [sheres] "root." Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 103.

²³² This entry is based on Richard Kidder, *A Demonstration of the Messias*, pt. 1, p. 91.

²³³ "His sepulcher shall be glorious." From the VUL, transl. Douay-Rheims Bible. This citation from the Vulgata is derived from Kidder.

²³⁴ "His burial shall be in peace." From Kidder (*A Demonstration of the Messias*, pt. 1, p. 91), Mather refers to Justin Martyr, *Apologia prima* [PG 6. 399–400; SC 507]; transl.: ANF 1:179. See also Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, lib. 3, cap. 19 [PL 2. 347–49; CSEL 47; CCSL 1].

His Grave with the Wicked, & with the Rich in His Death, Because Hee had done no Violence, neither was Deceit found in His Mouth.

That is His Enemies designed Him the *Burial* of a Malefactor; and indeed hee who *Dies* among such, is like to bee *Buried* with them also; but the *Messias* never having done any *Violence*, would bee Rescued by the Providence of God, and Honourably *Buried*. Tho' our Lord were crucify'd under the *Roman* Power, yett Hee was buried contrary to the *Roman* Custome; which was to leave the Crucify'd unto the Injuries of the Air. Tho' Hee Dy'd also as a Malefactor, & His Enemies designed Him nothing more than an *Ignoble Burial with the Wicked*; yett by the wonderful Providence of God, His Dead Body was *Buried with the Rich*, & great *Honour* was done Him *in His Burial*.

Quere, whether the *Glory* of the *Sabbath*, may not be in this Passage referr'd unto? Be sure, it may be well applied unto the *Rest*, which our Saviour will give unto His Followers.

It is understood by some, of *Jerusalem*; the Place of his Residence.

Tis most certainly true of that *Rest* which our Saviour will bring His People to. See Matth. XI.28.

Mr. *Lowth* carries it so. The *Ark* is called, The *Rest* of GOD. Psal. CXXXII.8, 13. 1. Chron. XXVIII.2. So, the *Church* may be called, The *Rest* of our SAVIOUR. It is *glorious*, in Allusion to the *Shechinah*, which covered the *Tabernacle*, and filled the *Temple*; and then settled itself over the *Cherubim*. The Church is now to be in a *glorious* Condition, and what shall be very visible.²³⁵

Q. *Pathros* here seems to be distinguished from *Egypt*. But in Jer. XLIV.1. and Ezek. XXX.14. it is made a Place in *Egypt*? v. 11.

A. The Region or Province of *Thebais*, was what the Prophets meant by *Pathros*. *Pliny* mentions *Phanturites* (which Mr. *Jameson* well corrects into *Faturites*;) among the Districts of *Thebais*.²³⁶ But *Thebais* was not within the *Delta*, which the Name of *Egypt* was often more *strictly* confined unto; tho' sometimes it was more *largely* taken.²³⁷

²³⁵ See *Lowth*, *Commentary*, p. 104. The last two paragraphs of this entry were each written in different inks and probably added later.

²³⁶ Mather here refers to William Jameson, *Spicilegia antiquitatum Aegypti atque ei vicinarum gentium* (1720), cap. 1, § 8, p. 18. Jameson (fl. 1689–1720) was a professor of history at Glasgow University and a Presbyterian controversialist. He was born blind, but became a polymath scholar who attained some fame for his works on civil and ecclesiastic history. The *Spicilegia* was an attempt to harmonize sacred and profane history as well as geography (*ODNB*). Mather corresponded with Jameson and in 1714/15 made plans to visit him in the context of a journey to London, which, however, ultimately did not happen. See Silverman, ed., *Letters*, 179.

²³⁷ See Appendix B.

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Q. What are the Countreyes called, *Elam*, *Shinar*, and the rest, which are not so named in the modern Geography? v. 11.

A. The *Chorography* of Scripture, differs from that of profane Authors.

In this particularly; That in Scripture several Places have not the same Name that they have in other Authors.

Babylon, is called, *Shinar*. [Gen. 11.2.]

Egypt, is called, *Ham*: [Psal. 78.51.] and *Rahab*. [Psal. 87.4.]

On, and *Bethshemesh*, were of old the Names of that Place in *Egypt*, which was afterwards called, *Heliopolis*. [Gen. 41.45, 50. Jer. 43.13.]

Some think that *Nile*, was at first called, *Gihon*. [Gen. 2.13.] An Intolerable Blunder!²³⁸

Memphis was called *Noph*. [Isa. 19.13. Jer. 46.14.]

The City of *Alexandria*, so called, from *Alexander* M. who built it, after it had been laid wast by the *Chaldeans*, was at first called, *No*. [Jer. 46.25. Ezek. 30.15. Nah. 3.8.]

The Ancient Name of *Mesopotamia*, was, *Padan-aram*. [Gen. 25.20. & 28.6.]

Before the Time of *Cyrus*, the Countrey which is now called *Persia*, was known by the Names of *Cuth* and *Elam*. Its new denomination, it received of, *Paras*, an Horse; because the *Persians* were great Riders on Horse-back.

Thus, *Canaan*, and, *The Holy Land*, are the Terms in Scripture, for the Countrey, which is called, *Syria*, and *Judea*, by the Græcian and Roman Writers.²³⁹

Q. Of *Pathros* more particularly? v. 11.

A. *Pathros* was both a City and a Countrey in *Egypt*.

Being mentioned, Ezek. XXX.13. with *Noph*, or *Memphis*; and *Zoan*, or *Tanis*, it is plainly a City. But Jer. XLIV.1. we read of, *The Countrey of Pathros*.

Egypt was distinguished into several *Nomi*, or Districts, which were usually denominated from the principal City in each. Thus, the District of *Memphis*, was called, *Nomus Memphites*. But in *Pliny* we meet with a District called, *Nomus Phanturites*, probably for, *Phaturites*;²⁴⁰ And | *Ptolomy* mentions a Town, *Pathyris*, corruptly written, *Tathyris*.²⁴¹ It is probable, this *Pathyris*, which gave Name to the *Nomus Pathyrites*, was the *Pathros* now before us. And if so, then it lay in that Part of *Egypt*, which is more properly called *Thebais*; and which takes up

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²³⁸ This exclamation appears to have been added later.

²³⁹ Mather here summarizes explanations from Jameson, *Spicilegia*, esp. cap. 1, § 5, pp. 9–13; § 8–9, pp. 17–19.

²⁴⁰ Through Jameson Mather refers to Pliny, *Natural History* (5.9.50).

²⁴¹ Through Jameson Mather cites Ptolemy, *Geography* (4.5).

the Southern Part of *Egypt*, largely taken. For as *Egypt* was formerly distinguished into Two greater *Divisions*; The Northern, which was more especially called, *Egypt*; and the Southern, called, *Thebais*. And unto this Distinction there seems to be some Reference, in the Prophets, when together with the *Land of Egypt*, they mention, the *Land of Pathros*.

See, Isa. XL.11. with Jer. XLIV.1. and, Ezek. XXIX.14.

The City *Pathros*, lay somewhat remote, from the River *Nile*; on the West-Side thereof, towards *Africk*, not far from *Memmon*, and over against *Thebes*.²⁴²

Q. The Meaning of their *Flying on the Shoulders of the Philistines*? v. 14.

A. They who apply this Prophecy Literally & Immediately, to the Condition of them, who should return to the Holy Land, after the Defeat and Withdraw of *Sennacherib*, thus interpret it; The Persons who were to be recalled, from the several Nations into which they were fled; out of the reach of the *Assyrians*, they (says the Prophet) shall sett upon the Ancient Adversaries of their Nation, the *Philistines*, with united Force; & putt them to Flight, & pursue them so fast, that they should seem to *fly upon their Shoulders*. Tis true, we have no Account of this Matter in the Sacred *History*. But this is no Prejudice to the *Prophecy*.²⁴³

²⁴² Mather here summarizes Jameson, *Spicilegia*, cap. 1, § 8, pp. 17–18.

²⁴³ White, *Commentary*, p. 92.

Q. The Meaning of, *Drawing Water from the Wells of Salvation?* v. 3.

A. They that most confine it unto the Days of *Sennacherib*, say, The Prophet here compares the *Love* of GOD unto His People, to a *perpetual Spring*, which never fails entirely, tho' it may seem to be dried up, or diverted into another Channel, for the Punishment here.²⁴⁴

But they who see a glorious CHRIST here, and the Means wherein He is to be Approach'd & Enjoy'd, may be more like the Person to whom the *Angel* of GOD once made a Discovery of a *Fountain*.²⁴⁵

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Q. What may bee intended, in that Passage, *with Joy yee shall draw Water out of the Wells of Salvation?* v. 3.

A. Wee read, concerning the *molten Sea*, in the Temple, 1. King. 7.25. *It stood upon Twelve Oxen*.

It is Reported, That in the Mouth of each of these *Oxen*, there was a *Cock*, by the Turning whereof they drew *Water* from that Sea.²⁴⁶

Some have look'd on those *Oxen*, as Figures of our *Twelve Apostles*; and that, the People, sitting under the Evangelical Instructions of those Apostles, are said in this Prophecy, to *draw Water out of the Wells of Salvation*, with some Allusion to the Custome, of their Water in the *Temple*, at the Mouths of *Solomons Oxen*.

Consider of it. The Allusion is very elegant.

It is pretty to see *Samuel Marochianus*, the Jew, say upon this Passage, *Hoc Dictum, secundum videre meum, intelligo de Baptismo*.²⁴⁷

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²⁴⁴ Mather here refers to White's historical explanation (*Commentary* 93–94) in the tradition of Grotius.

²⁴⁵ Probably a reference to Rev. 21:6.

²⁴⁶ This description seems to draw on John Lightfoot, *The Temple, especially as it stood in the Days of our Saviours*, sect. 3 ("The Molten Sea"), cap. 37, in *Works* (1:2047).

²⁴⁷ "This saying, according to my view, I understand to refer to baptism." Mather here cites the medieval apologetic work by Alphonsus Bonihominis, *De adventu Messiae praeterito*, cap. 11 [PL 149. 347], ascribed to Samuel Marochianus. In the translation by Calvert, *The Blessed Jew*, the citation appears on p. 86. The paragraph on Marochianus was written in a different ink and probably added later than the ones preceding it. Mather also cites the work in his missionizing catechism for Jews, *The Faith of the Fathers*, p. 2.

Q. The *High Mountain*? v. 2.

A. The *Banner* to be lifted up, is for the Expedition against *Babylon*. And therefore, as, *Emanuel Sa* notes, the *Mountain* from whence the Signal is to be descried, must be supposed in *Media*, or in *Persia*.²⁴⁹

In the next Verse, By *those that Rejoice in my Highness*, may be meant, Those that *Rejoice in the Lifting up of my* [Standard,] and run with Ambition into such an Honourable Service.²⁵⁰

Q. On, *The Noise of a Multitude*? v. 4.

A. The Prophet seems to be surprized with the confused Noise of eager Volunteers flocking in unto the Standard of the Lord.

It is imitated by *Horace*, in his, *Audire magnos jam videor Duces*.²⁵¹ — *White* observes, That this Ode of *Horace* is one of his Best; but a true Judge of Poetry, will find something that surpasses it, in the Bright Descriptions of this lofty Chapter.

Q. How, From a far Country? v. 5.

A. *Babylon* is Two Hundred and Twenty five Miles, from the eastern Borders of *Persia*; and perhaps many of the Auxiliaries might yett come from far more distant Country's.

Q. How is it said, *Their Faces shall be as Flames*? v. 8.

A. They shall blush at their own Faintheartedness. *Plurimus ignem suffudit Pudor et Calefacta per Ora cucurrit*.²⁵²

²⁴⁸ Regarding Isa. 13 and 14, Mather's two main interlocutors disagreed on whether the prophecies had their complete fulfillment in the overthrow of Babylon by Cyrus and the consequent return of the Jews from their captivity (which is what White maintained), or whether they also predicted the eschatological judgments and promises. Lowth argued for such a double application. In its ultimate reach, the oracle signified, as Lowth puts it, how God during the latter days would "thoroughly vindicate the Cause of oppressed Truth and Innocence, and put a final Period to Idolatry, and to all the Miseries and Oppressions of God's People." Thus the final "Destruction of the Powers of Antichrist" (*Commentary* 111, 120) was also alluded to here. Mather generally goes along with Lowth but again omits the references to an eschatological restoration of the Jewish nation.

²⁴⁹ From White (*Commentary* 97), Mather refers to the work of the Portuguese Jesuit scholar Emanuel Sa (Manuel de Sá, 1530–1596), *Notationes in totam Scripturam Sacram* (1598), p. 229.

²⁵⁰ White, *Commentary*, p. 97.

²⁵¹ "Already I seem to hear the shouts of mighty captains." From White (*Commentary* 98), Mather refers to Horace, *Odes*, 2.1.21; transl.: *LCL* 33, p. 109.

²⁵² "A great shame pours out fire and heat makes the whole face burn." From White (*Commentary* 99), a reference to an unidentified source.

But, because Fear contracts the Heart, (stopping its Motion, as it were with *Cords*, which is the Signification of the Word, *Chabalim*, that we render, *Pangs*,) we may with *Moller*, apply it rather to the pale Colour of the Flame.²⁵³

Q. On that of, *The Sun darkened?* v. 10.

A. The Prophets thus express themselves, in describing a Time of more than ordinary Confusion & Horror. Q. D. every Soul shall be filled with Despair & Anguish, as if the Heavenly Luminaries had all withdrawn themselves, & left People in eternal Darkness. All the Orientals at this Day, mean only this, by such lofty Expressions.²⁵⁴

Mr. *Lowth* has a Note here, that should not be forgotten. All the *particular Judgments* of GOD are earnest and Forerunners of the last & general Judgment; And the same Expressions are common to Both. Compare Joel. III.15. Math. XXIV.29. 2. Pet. III.10.²⁵⁵

1844:

Q. 'Tis foretold, as one of the Remarkable Things, to fall out, about the Time that *Babylon* was to be Destroyed, *I will make a Man more precious than fine Gold, even a Man than the golden Wedge of Ophir*. What special Accomplishment was there of this Prædiction? v. 12.

A. In the Remarkable Circumstances of *Daniel*, this Prediction seems to have had its Accomplishment: even, *Daniel*, whom the *Angel* called, *The Desireable Man*.²⁵⁶

This Illustration, will suggest unto you, some singular Thoughts, if you'll prosecute it.

[24v] |

4039:

Q. But what may be the more obvious Intention of that Prophecy, *I will make a Man more precious Gold?* v. 12.

A. *Munster* offers a good Gloss upon it; The *Medes* would not accept *Gold* from the *Babylonians*, offering it for their own Redemption.²⁵⁷

Be sure, it may denote the small Number, that should escape the Sword of the Conquerors.

²⁵³ From White (*Commentary* 99), Mather refers to Möller, *Iesaías*, p. 130. He cites the term בְּרִיחַ [chevel] “pangs of childbirth, travail” in the plural form as it is found in Is. 13:8. Mather relates this to the latter phrase in the verse, as the KJV renders it: “their faces shall be as flames.” The *NAU*: “Their faces aflame.”

²⁵⁴ White, *Commentary*, p. 99.

²⁵⁵ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 114.

²⁵⁶ See Dan. 9:21–23; 10:11, 19, where the prophet Daniel is addressed by angelic messengers as a “desirable man.”

²⁵⁷ See Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4780).

Q. *Their Children dashed in Peeces?* v. 16.

A. This is particularly foretold by the Psalmist; Psal. CXXXVII.9. And it was only a just Retaliation upon them for the Cruelties by them exercised on the People of GOD. [2. Chron. XXXVI.17.]²⁵⁸

1479:

Q. The Prophecy, That the *Chaldean* Kingdome should bee Destroy'd by the *Medes*; what Remarkable was there in its Accomplishment? v. 17.²⁵⁹

A. Tho' it were *Darius* the *Median*, who took *Babylon*, yett hee Dying soon after, and *Cyrus* the *Persian*, then succeeding him, the Fame of *Cyrus*, who was at the taking of *Babylon*, but General of his Army, so obscured the Name of *Darius*, that Histories take no Notice of him. However, hee is found mentioned, by the Scholiast on *Aristophanes*, who saies, That a *Darius*, which was before him, who was the Father of *Xerxes*, gave Name to the Peeces of Coin, called, Δαρεῖχοι who must bee this very *Darius*, the *Median*.²⁶⁰ The Thing, which here I observe, as Remarkable is, (what Mr. *Jenkyn*, hath well noted,) *That so much better were Transactions known to the Prophets aforehand, than to Historians afterwards!*

It is indeed considerable, That the War carried on by *Cyrus* the King of *Persia*, was on the Account, and by the Army, of old *Cyaxares*, the King of the *Medes*, on whom the King of *Babylon* had first made War. And therefore the Prophet here mentions none but the *Medes*.

It is also further considerable, That in the Time of *Isaiah*, the *Medes* had no Kings, but were subject unto the Kings of *Assyria*. [See for this; 2. King. XVII.6.] But in the Reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, it was, that *Cyaxares*, the first King of the *Medes*, in Conjunction with the *Babylonians*, took and sack'd *Ninive*; and putt an End unto the *Assyrian* Empire. Wherefore, when *Isaiah* delivered this Prophecy, near two hundred Years before the taking of *Babylon*, there could be no Suspicion of such a Revolution; For the *Medes* were the Allies of the *Babylonians*; nor, till the Time of *Cyrus* could their Power be formidable to the *Babylonians*. *Nulla Humana Sapientia vel Conjectura divinari poterat.*²⁶¹

²⁵⁸ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 116.

²⁵⁹ The first two paragraphs of this entry are derived from Robert Jenkin, *The Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion*, vol. 1, p. 216.

²⁶⁰ A coin called δαρεῖκος is mentioned in the *Scholia in Aristophanem*; more precisely in the *Scholia in ecclesiastusas*, v. 602: δαρεῖκος εἶδος νομίσματος. Transl.: "The δαρεῖκος is a type of coin." See the ed. by Dübner.

²⁶¹ "No human wisdom or conjecture could have prophesied this." From White, *Commentary*, p. 101. As his background sources White mentions Eusebius of Caesarea's *Chronicon* and Josephus's *Jewish Antiquities*. The references are probably to *Chronicon bipartitum*, pars 1, p. 41 and *Jewish Antiquities* (10.6). However, the Latin citation above seems to come from a different source.

Q. The *Time near at hand?* v. 22.

A. What will *certainly* come to pass, the Prophetic Spirit still speaks of, as being *speedily* to come. See Ch. XLVI.13. Hab. II.3. Deut. XXXII.35. Matth. XXIV.29.

[25r]

Q. The Destruction of *Babylon?* v. 22.²⁶²

A. The Pains Dr. *Prideaux* has taken, to collect what may be known, of the Countrey about *Babylon*, will be of some Use to us, on this Occasion.

About Three hundred & ninety odd Years before the Incarnation of our SAVIOUR, *Seleucus* built *Seleucia*, on the *Tigris*, about forty Miles from *Babylon*. It was on the western Side of that River, over against the Place where *Bagdad* now stands on the eastern Side; And it soon grew to be so great a City, that *Pliny* sais, it had six hundred thousand Inhabitants.²⁶³ The Banks of *Euphrates* being broken down, the Countrey near *Babylon* was drowned; and the Branch of that River, which ran thro' the Middle of the City, being rendred unnavigable, this made the Scituation of *Babylon* become so Inconvenient, that its Inhabitants now flow'd away into *Seleucia*; which became the Metropolis of *Seleucus's* Empire beyond *Euphrates*, and the Place of his Empire, whenever he came into those Parts, as *Antioch* was for his Provinces on this Side of the River: And intending the City for an eminent & perpetual Monument of his Name, he endued it with many Privileges. *Babylon* on this Occasion quickly became so Desolate, as to have nothing remaining of it, but its Walls. *Pliny* sais, *It was exhausted of its Inhabitants; & brought to Desolation, by the Neighbourhood of Seleucia.*²⁶⁴ *Strabo* sais the same.²⁶⁵ And *Pausanias* tells us, *That Babylon, once the greatest City that ever the Sun saw, had in his Time* (about the Middle of the second Century) *nothing left but its Walls.*²⁶⁶ These indeed remained a long While; For the Space within, being made a Park by the *Parthian* Kings, to keep wild beasts in it for Hunting, the Walls were kept up for a Fence to the Enclosure. Accordingly *Jerom*, who lived in the Fourth Century, tells us, *That excepting the Walls, which they repaired for the Enclosing of Wild-beasts, that were kept there, all within was*

²⁶² Commentary here with all of the references, names and sources from *Prideaux*, *The Old and New Testament connected* (1:567–70). The paper and ink look similar to those used in Mather's excerpts from *Prideaux* inserted after *Malachi*. See vol. 6.

²⁶³ Compare *Pliny*, *Natural History* (6.30.122).

²⁶⁴ Compare *Pliny*, *Natural History* (6.30.122).

²⁶⁵ Compare *Strabo*, *Geography* (16.1.5).

²⁶⁶ Compare *Pausanias* *Periegetes*, *Description of Greece* (8.33.3). Here it reads: "At Babylon the sanctuary of Belus still is left, but of the Babylon that was the greatest city of its time under the sun nothing remains but the wall. The case of Tiryns in the Argolid is the same. These places have been reduced by heaven to nothing. But the city of Alexander in Egypt, and that of Seleucus on the Orontes, that were founded but yesterday, have reached their present size and prosperity because fortune favours them" (transl.: *LCL* 297).

Desolation. And again, *That Babylon was in his time nothing else but a Chase for Wild-beasts kept within the Compass of its ancient Walls for the Hunting of the King.*²⁶⁷ When or How these Walls came to be demolished, no body now knows: For no Writer speaks a Word of this Place, for several hundred Years after the Days of *Jerom*. The First that mentions it after him, is *Benjamin of Tudela*, in his *Itinerary*, in the Twelfth Century; who tells us, That he found it wholly destroy'd; only he sais, *There were some Ruins of Nebuchadnezzars Palace then remaining; but Men were afraid of going anear them, in regard of the Serpents & Scorpions then abounding there.*²⁶⁸ *Texeira*, a Portuguese, in his *Travels from India to Italy*, tells us, *There was nothing then remaining of that Ancient & Famous City, but only some few footsteps of it; and there was no Place in all that Countrey, less frequented than that Spott of Groundd.*²⁶⁹ And *Rauwolf*, a German Traveller, who passed that Way A. C. 1574. tells us the same; and sais, The Village of *Elugo*, is thereabouts. "But the Countrey (sais he) is so dry and barren, that it cannot be tilled, and so bare, that I should have doubted very much, whether this potent City (which once was the most stately & famous one of the World, situated in the Pleasant & Fruitful Valley of *Shinar*) did stand there, if I should not have known it by its Situation, & several ancient & delicate Antiquities, that still are standing hereabout in great Desolation. — The Tower of *Babylon*, this we see still; and it is half | [25v] a League in Diameter; but it is so mightily ruined and low, & so full of venomous Reptiles, that have bored Holes through it, that one may not come near it within half a Mile, but only in Two Months in the Winter when they come not out of their Holes."²⁷⁰ The Ruines which *Benjamin* and *Rauwolf* speak of, are of *Nebuchadnezzars* Old Palace, that stood on the eastern Side of the River. Of the Ruines on the western Side, where stood his New Palace, they say nothing at all.

Now look back on the Words of our Prophet here, & lett us be filled with Astonishment, at the most exact & punctual Accomplishment!

It is true, there is a Mention made of *Babylon*, as a City standing long after the Time of *Seleucus Nicator*. But this is always to be understood of *Seleucia*; which was at first called *Seleucia Babylonia*, (or *Seleucia* belonging to the Province of *Babylon*) to distinguish it from other *Seleucia's*; and after that simply

²⁶⁷ From Prideaux, Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, lib. 5, on Isa. 14:22–23 [PL 24. 164; CCSL 73] ("exceptis enim muris coctilibus, qui propter bestias concludendas [post annos plurimos] instaurantur, omne in medio spatium solitudo est.") and on Isa. 13:20–22 [PL 24. 159; CCSL 73] ("venationes regias esse in Babylone, et omnis generis bestias murorum ejus tantum ambitu coerceri.").

²⁶⁸ Through Prideaux, Mather cites Benjamin of Tudela, *Sefer ha Massa'ot*. Prideaux very likely used the Latin version, *Itinerarium D. Beniaminis*, where the quote appears on p. 76.

²⁶⁹ Through Prideaux, Mather cites the narrative of Pedro Teixeira, *The Travels of Peter Teixeira from India to Italy by Land* ([1710?] 1711), ch. 6, pp. 42–43.

²⁷⁰ Through Prideaux, Mather cites the German physician, botanist and traveler Leonhard Rauwolf (Leonhart Rauwolff, Dasylycos, d. 1596), *Itinerary into the Eastern Countries*, in *A Collection of curious Travels & Voyages* (1693), pt. 2, ch. 7, p. 175.

Babylonia; and at last *Babylon*. It is plain, that *Lucan* speaks of This; for it is with him, the Metropolis of the *Parthian* Kingdome, where the Trophies of *Crassus* were hung up, after the Vanquishing of the Romans at *Carrhae*.²⁷¹ Old *Babylon* was never the Seat of the *Parthian* Princes. Elsewhere, he speaks of his *Babylon* as being surrounded with *Tigris*, like *Antioch* with *Orontes*. *Philostratus* brings his *Apollonius* (the *Don Quixot* of his Romance, as Dr. *Prideaux* calls him) to the Royal Seat of the *Parthian* King;²⁷² which being then called *Babylon*, he was by the Name led into the Blunder of mistaking it for the old *Babylon* and therefore he gives the same Description of *Seleucia* that is given of the old *Babylon*, by *Herodotus*, by *Diodorus Siculus*, by *Strabo*, and others.²⁷³

Perhaps, the Giving of the Name of *Babylon* to *Seleucia*, was, that which gave Rise to the vulgar Error, That *Bagdad* is now situated in the very Place where Old *Babylon* stood formerly. When *Bagdad* was first built, it was on the same Spott of Ground, where formerly stood *Seleucia*, or New *Babylon*. For as Old *Babylon* was exhausted by *Ctesephon* and *Almadayen*; and these Two again by *Bagdad*: It being the Humour of the Princes in those Ages, to build New Cities for Monuments of their Names; and extinguish Old ones in the Neighbourhood for the Peopling of them. *Seleucia* being by such Means reduced unto a Desolation, as well as *Babylon*, at the Time when *Abu Jaafar Almansur*, Caliph or Emperour of the *Saracens*, begun his Reign, A. C. 754. it had nothing upon it, but the Cell of a Christian Monk, whose Name was *Dad*, and a Garden adjoining to it. From hence it had the Name of *Bagdad*, which is in the Language of that Countrey, *The Garden of Dad*. *Almansur* being resolved, out of a Dislike to *Hashemia*, where his Predecessor had resided, that he would build him a New City, to be the capital Seat of his Empire, chose this Place for it; and here A. C. 762. he erected a City on the very Foundations, where *Seleucia* formerly stood, on the west Side of the *Tigris*. But not long after, it was translated over unto the other Side; & there it stands at present about Three Miles above the Place where *Ctesephon* formerly stood, on the east Side of the River; that which was first built on the west Side now being but a Suburb unto it. It still remains a Place of great Note in the East; But they are mistaken, who take it for Old *Babylon*; which stood not upon *Tigris* as this does; and is Forty Miles distant from it.

[the entries from 26r–27v were inserted into their designated places]²⁷⁴

²⁷¹ The reference is to the work of the Roman epic poet *Lucan* (Marcus Annaeus Lucanus, 39–65 CE), *Pharsalia* (*Civil War*), 1.8–12.

²⁷² In his *Vita Apollonii*, *Philostratus* describes how the philosopher *Apollonius* of Tyana comes to the court of *Vardanes*, the *Parthian* king (first mentioned in 1.2), who is then falsely assumed to be the king of *Babylon*.

²⁷³ Compare the Greek historian *Herodotus* (c. 485–424 BCE), *Histories* (1.178–1.179); and *Diodorus Siculus*, *Library of History* (2.7.2–2.10.6); *Strabo*, *Geography* (16.1.5). References is made to the famous novel *Don Quixote* (1605–1615) by *Miguel de Cervantes* (1547?–1616).

²⁷⁴ See Appendix B.

Q. The *Strangers* to be *joined unto them*? v. 1.

A. It is probable, that many *Strangers* might be made *Proselytes* to the Religion of the *Jews* during their Captivity; who were willing to accompany them into *Judea*; as a *mixt Multitude* went up with *Israel* out of *Egypt*. The Orders given by *Cyrus* & by *Darius* were also remarkable.

But about the time of our Saviours Coming there were vast Numbers of *Proselytes*.

This Prophecy relates to the Times of the Gospel. See Isa. LVI.3, 6, 7, 8.²⁷⁵

Q. On their *taking them Captives whose Captives they were*? v. 2.

A. The Readiness of the *Gentiles* to ease them in their Travels homewards, having been declared, this Clause is by Interpreters understood of their making them Converts {to}{the} true Religion, and therein triumphing over their Infidelity.

Mr. *Lowth* adds; The Words may have a further Meaning, and point at those times under the Gospel, when those Powers that were great Enemies to the Truth, shall be converted, and pay a profound Submission to the Laws of Christianity.²⁷⁶

See Isa. XLIX.23. LXI.5.

Q. The Lamentation over *Babylon*, is thus translated with us, *How hath the golden City ceased!* Do you read it so? v. 4.

A. No. I read it, *How hath the golden Scepter ceased!* The Hebrew Word is מַדְבֵּה, ²⁷⁷ – and it signifies, *Aurea*; ²⁷⁸ but it is not *Civitas*, ²⁷⁹ it is, *Virga*, ²⁸⁰ that supplies it. In the Book of *Esther*, Chap. 5.2. you find that the Emperours, carried & used, a *golden Scepter* as the Badge of their Authority. Accordingly, The Prophet *Isaiah* here had respect unto that *golden Scepter* foretelling that the Authority of the King of *Babylon*, should come unto an End: – compare there-

²⁷⁵ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 121. Compare also Mather, *Trip paradisus*, p. 176.

²⁷⁶ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 122. Significantly, Mather does not transcribe Lowth's opinion that this prophecy will "have a more signal Completion in the Restoration of the Jewish Nation, which shall come to pass in the latter Times" (ibid.).

²⁷⁷ מַדְבֵּה [madhebah] "boisterous, raging, behavior." KJV: "golden city," *NAU*: "fury," *ESV*: "insolent fury."

²⁷⁸ "Gold, or golden."

²⁷⁹ "City."

²⁸⁰ "Rod, staff, scepter, sprout."

fore the following Verse: *The Lord hath broken the Staff of the Wicked the Scepter of the Rulers.*²⁸¹

Q. A Remark on, *The chief ones of the Earth?* v. 9.

A. The Original is, *The great Goats of the Earth.* They are such as feed high; They are also notoriously libidinous.

But they are very unuseful Creatures. — *nec ad Bellum prosunt, nec ad Aratrum.*²⁸²

[▽ 26r–27v]

[▽ Insert from 26r–27v]

Q. On whom in a special Manner, might the *Prophetic Spirit* have his Eye, when among the *Dead*, he mentions, *The chief ones of the Earth?* v. 9.²⁸³

A. They were such as the LXX here call, Γίγαντες,²⁸⁴ — The *Giants*, [or, *Titans*,] *that were Masters of the World*: And as the Next Clause was Read of old; *such as drove the Kings of the Nations from their Thrones.*

On the Occasion of this Passage, I will entertain you with a very surprising Peece of History, which has been lately recovered by the vast Sagacity & Penetration of a French Writer, Dr. *Pezron*, who has entertain'd the World with a Collection of *Antiquities*; of which he is become a Master, especially by the Help of the Ancient *Celtic* Language, that continues from the Confusion of *Babel*, down to this Day, spoken in the French *Bretaigne*, & the British *Wales*.

Know then, That from *Gomer*, the eldest Son of *Japhet*, there descended the People, which while they continued in the *Higher Asia*, were called, *Comarians*, or, *Gomarians*; who afterwards assumed the Name of *Celtæ*: A Name that signifies, *powerful*, or *valiant*; As well as the Name of *Galli*, [and, *Galatæ*,] which Name signifies the same Thing; tho' *Cæsar* knew it not. The Name of *Celtæ*, was most used by the *Græcians*; as the Name of *Galli*, was by the *Romans*. Tho' the *Græcians* also sometimes used the Name of *Galatæ*; which Name indeed, is of a much later Date, as it more particularly belonged unto a Colony of the *Gauls*; that settled in the Lesser *Asia*, or *Galatia*, about Two hundred & seventy Years before the Incarnation of our SAVIOUR.

²⁸¹ Mather's source here could not be identified.

²⁸² "They are of no use, neither for warfare nor for the plough." Mather seems to derive this entry from Bochart, *Hieroicozon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 53, p. 446.

²⁸³ The following miniature essay, which reflects Mather's fascination with ethnographic, etymological, and euhemeristic explanations, is derived from the work of the Cistercian brother from Brittany, Paul-Yves Pezron (1639–1706), *The Antiquities of Nations; more particularly of the Celtæ or Gauls* (1706), pp. 22–80. The original work *Antiquité de la nation, et de la langue des Celtes* appeared in 1703. Pezron was a doctor of theology at the Cistercian College of St. Bernard in Paris and abbot of La Charmoie. In his *Antiquité* he argued, among other things, that the Bretons and the Welsh had their common linguistic and cultural origin in the ancient Celts. On Mather's euhemerism, see the essay by Harry C. Maddux (2010) and the literature cited there.

²⁸⁴ "Giants."

Josephus makes the *Gomarians*, the Fathers of the *Gauls* and *Galatians*.²⁸⁵ Eustathius of Antioch, in his Comment on the *Hexaemeron* is of the same Opinion.²⁸⁶ Jerom embraced it without Hæsitiation; Isidore of Seville sais enough to solve all Difficulties about it.²⁸⁷ All the Ancient Geographers; Dionysius of Alexandria, (or, Charax rather;²⁸⁸) and Mela, and Pliny, and Ptolomy, confirm it.²⁸⁹

Of these *Gomarians*, there were some, that went under the Name of *Scythians*; who so called themselves, from their being Expert at, *Shooting*. Some Northern Nations to the Day, use the Term of *Schuten*, or *Schoten*, in that Sense; and, *Schutz*, from whence we have, *Scythes*, is, An *Archer*. Tis true, the proper *Scythians* descended from Gomers younger Brother *Magog*; notwithstanding what Justin sais; *Scytharum Gens antiquissima semper habita*.²⁹⁰ Nevertheless, the *Gomarians* have been sometimes comprehended under that Name. When they passed into *Europe*, the Greeks (as we find in *Strabo*) call'd 'em, *Scythians*, and *Celto-Scythians*.²⁹¹

Part of this People possessed themselves of the Provinces, that lay to the East of the *Caspian Sea*; particularly, that which has been called, *Margiana*. These are by *Herodotus* called, *Amyrgian Scythians*;²⁹² According to which Author also, these *Margians*, or *Amyrgians*, wore Breeches; And it was from them, that the *Celtæ*, who came afterwards into the West, brought them into *Gaul*; from whence Part of the People were, *Galli Braccati*.

²⁸⁵ Compare Josephus's comments on the peopling of the world by Noah's sons in his *Jewish Antiquities* (1.6).

²⁸⁶ From Pezron, *Antiquities of Nations*, cap. 3, p. 15, Mather refers to an unknown author who wrote between the late fourth and the early fifth century, Pseudo-Eustathius of Antioch, *In Hexaemeron commentarius* (ed. 1629), p. 51. [PG 18. 754–55]. See also the discussion in Bochart, *Geographia sacra*, lib. 3, cap. 8, on "Gomer."

²⁸⁷ From Pezron, *Antiquities of Nations*, cap. 3, p. 15, Mather refers to Jerome, *Liber quaestionum hebraicarum in Genesim*, on Gen. 10:2 [PL 23. 950; CCSL 72]; and Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, lib. 9, cap. 2 [PL 82. 330].

²⁸⁸ From Pezron, *Antiquities of Nations*, cap. 3, p. 17, Mather refers to Eustathius of Thessalonica, *Tes oikumenes periegesis*, verse 700, p. 234. Pezron actually does not say that Eustathius, Mela, Pliny and Ptolomy confirm Josephus's theory about the descent of the Gauls and Galatians from Gomer, but simply mentions their knowledge of the Gomarians. Pezron's remarks reflect a widespread discussion among ancient geographers about the identity and origins of different tribes and peoples called "Comarians," "Gamarites," "Κιμμέριοι" amongst others, some of them probably identical with the Cimmerians, an ancient people from the Northern Caucasus.

²⁸⁹ From Pezron, *Antiquities of Nations*, cap. 3, pp. 17–18, references to the geographer from southern Spain and author of the first Latin geographical book, Pomponius Mela (fl. 43/44 CE), *De orbis situ* (*Geography*), 3.1. and 3.6; to Pliny, *Natural History* (4.17.105); and the *Geography* of Ptolemy (2.7–10), where a detailed description of Gaul and its different tribes in ancient times is given.

²⁹⁰ "The nation of the Scythians has always been considered the oldest." Pezron, *Antiquities of Nations*, cap. 3, p. 22. Pezron refers to: "Justin. Histor. lib. 2. cap. 1."

²⁹¹ Compare Strabo, *Geography* (11.6.2).

²⁹² Compare Herodotus, *The Persian Wars* (7.64).

[26v] Factions arising in *Margiana*, the stronger Party obliged the weaker to withdraw; who passed over the vast Mountains that lye to the South of *Margiana*, and entred into | a Countrey then in Possession of the *Medes*, who were known by the Name of *Arii*. These Fugitives fixing themselves there, were called, *Parthians*; which signifies, Persons that are *separated* from others, or, *Exiles*; a *Banished* People. *Partha*, at this very Day, in *Celtic*, signifies, To *Divide*, or, *Separate*.

This was before the Time of *Abraham*.

Hence it comes to pass, that unto this very Day, there is a great Number of *Celtic* Words in the *Persian* Language. In the same Language, there is a great Number of *Teutonic* (or, *German*) Words; At which the Learned are greatly surprised; but can give no Reason, because they know not, that the same Nation, of whom in Part the *Teutones* came, had formerly planted the *Parthian*, and so the *Persian*, Colonies.

The *Parthians* Nick-named their Oppressors, with the Term of *Sacæ*, or, *Scacæ*; which is as much to say, *Robbers*, or *Spoilers*, or a *mischievous* People. We find the Remains of this Ancient Word, in that of, *Sac*, or *Sacager*, which is the same as, To *murder*.

Dr. *Pezron* will fetch from hence, the Name we give to the Game, of, *Chess*, [or, *Eschecs*.] In Barbarous Latin, tis called, *Scacorum Ludus*; and by the Ancients, *Latrunculorum*.²⁹³ This Game came originally from those People, who dwelt in the North of *Asia*; from whom it passed into *Parthia*, and *Persia*; & in Process of Time into *Europe*.

The *Sacæ* made themselves Masters of *Armenia*; which *Strabo* sais, was therefore called, *Sacacena*.²⁹⁴ But *Isidore* of *Charax*, will have it called, *Sacas-tena*.²⁹⁵ *Stan*, or *Tan*, in the *Celtic*, signifies, a *Region*; As, *Brit-tania*, is, the Countrey of the *Brits*. The *Parthians*, and *Persians*, do still use the Term, as in, *Cusistan*, and *Indostan*.

From thence, the *Sacæ*, according to *Strabo*, passed into *Cappadocia*.²⁹⁶

The Person at the Head of this Enterprise, was *Acmon*; who, according to *Stephen* of *Byzantium*, was the Son of *Man*, or of *Manens*. He had a Brother, whose Name was, *Doeas*, that accompanied him in all his Enterprizes. He was

²⁹³ "The game of chess; and by the ancients, of the robbers." *Pezron*, *Antiquities of Nations*, cap. 4, p. 27.

²⁹⁴ Compare *Strabo*, *Geography* (11.8.4).

²⁹⁵ Compare the work of Greek writing geographer *Isidore* of *Charax* (*Isidorus Characenus*, end of 1st cent. CE), *Parthian Stations*, sec. 18: "Beyond is Sacastana of the Scythian *Sacæ*, which is also *Paraetacena*, 63 schoeni. There are the city of *Barda* and the city of *Min* and the city of *Palacenti* and the city of *Sigal*; in that place is the royal residence of the *Sacæ*; and nearby is the city of *Alexandria* (and nearby is the city of *Alexandropolis*), and 6 villages." *Schoff's* transl. is cited here.

²⁹⁶ Compare, *Strabo*, *Geography* (12.1.1).

Augur to his Brother *Acmon*; {For} the *Sacæ* attempted nothing, until they had consulted their Diviners. *Doeas* might come from *Doue*, or, *Doe*; which even at this Day, in the *Celtic* signifies, GOD. So, the Word might be, as much as to say, *Divinus*, a Diviner, or one that held a Correspondence with GOD.

They entred *Phrygia*; where we have the City *Acmonia*. They were not wanting any more here, then in *Cappadocia*, to consecrate Woods and Groves: And there are still Plains in that Countrey, called by the Name of *Doeantes*; from the Name of *Doeas*.

Now and Here it was, that they took up the Name of *Titans*; which became so famous in the Fictions of the Poets. *Titan*, is a *Celtic* Word, and signifies, *A Man of the Earth*, or, *one born of the Earth*. And they had successively, Three or Four Princes who performed such Prodigious and Astonishing Exploits, as are hardly to be parallel'd: From whence anon, they came to be the *Gods of the Nations*.

Here *Strabo*, and all the Ancient Historians, leave them, as if they knew no more of them. Only *Sanchoniathon* lets us know, that they were so horribly Idolatrous, as to give their *Acmon*, the Name of *Elion*, or, The *Most High*.²⁹⁷ Tho' the *Græcians* have disguised their Story with Fables; they were not a *Fabulous* People; But a very *Terrible* People they were. *Judith* mentions them in her Fine Song.²⁹⁸ And *Pezron* will | have the Prophet *Isaiah* now to refer unto them.

[27r]

Acmon died a violent Death, by being over forward in Encountering of Wild-Beasts.

Uranus then succeeded his Father. This Tradition is countenanced by *Phornutus*, in his Book, *De Natura Deorum*.²⁹⁹ *Simias* of *Rhodes*, in his Book, *De Alis*, gives *Uranus* the Name of *Acmonides*;³⁰⁰ And so *Hesychius* explains it.³⁰¹

Uranus, according to *Sanchoniathon*, married his own Sister, whose Name was, *Terra*. The *Græcians* have preserved her Name for us, which was, *Titæa*. *Tit*,

²⁹⁷ Compare Strabo, *Geography* (15.3.13).

²⁹⁸ A reference to the apocryphal Book of Judith (16:7), where Judith mentions “mighty giants” in her song of praise.

²⁹⁹ Although Mather, following Pezron (*Antiquities of Nations*, cap. 9, p. 50), speaks of “Phornutus,” the reference is to the Stoic philosopher Lucius Annaeus Cornutus, who flourished in the days of the emperor Nero until he was banished by Nero in the late 60s CE. His main work is *De natura deorum* or *Theologiae graecae compendium*, in which the nature and attributes of the gods, including Uranus, are explained in euhemeristic fashion.

³⁰⁰ Compare the work of the Greek poet and grammarian Simmias of Rhodes (Simias Rhodius, c. 300 BCE), *Ad alas amoris divini*. In the 1640 ed. the reference to Acmonides as “king of the earth” appears on p. 27.

³⁰¹ Reference is made to the Greek grammarian Hesychius of Alexandria (probably 5th century BCE), who compiled an extensive dictionary containing Greek words and names. In the edition of the *Lexicon* by Latte the word entry “alpha 2456” reads: Ἀκμωνίδης· ὁ Χάρων· καὶ ὁ Οὐρανός· Ἀκμωνος γὰρ παῖς. Transl.: “Charon is the son of Akmon. As well as Uranus. For he is the child of Akmon.”

in the *Celtic*, signifies, *Earth*. So, *Lutetia*, is *Leuco-titia*; that is, *White-Earth*. It was built of a *Plaister*, which is found still in its Neighbourhood.³⁰²

Uran, in *Celtic* is, *A Man of Heaven*. *Ur*, is, *A Man*; whence the Latin, *Vir*. And, *En*, even at this day signifies, *Heaven*. He was given to the Study of *Astronomy*.

He carried his Arms into *Thrace*, and *Greece*; and penetrated as far as *Crete*; the Government of which he conferred on one of his Brothers; who had Ten Sons, which they called, *Curetes*. Yea, He fell furiously on the other Provinces of *Europe*, and carried all before him, even to the uttermost Boundaries of *Spain*.

And according to *Diodorus Siculus*, he pierced into those Parts of *Africa*, that bordered on the *Atlantic Ocean*.³⁰³

Saturn rebelled against his Father *Uran*; and siezed on several of his Provinces; and after some Years of civil War, gott his Person into his Power. In his Confinement *Uran* died of Grief; but the Brothers of *Saturn* contested his Title; especially the eldest, whose Name was *Titan*. By his Intreagues, (being assisted by his Mother, & by his Sister *Rhea*, a Name that signifies, *A Lady*, who was also his Wife,) he prevailed over the rest; And so taking on him a *Crown*, he were the First of the *Titan* Princes that was called, *A King*. *Ennius*, translating *Evemerus*, tells us, That *Uran* had only the Title of, *A Prince*; But *Saturn* heaping up vast Riches, *Regium Nomen asciverit*.³⁰⁴ His Name, *Κρονος*, indeed comes from *Kroone*; which signifies, *A crowned one*. But his Name, *Sadorn*, in *Celtic*, signifies, *A Warriour*. Tis not from the Hebrew, *Satar*, to *Hide*; As if he had his Name from flying into *Latium*.

Titan enraged, that *Saturn* had not performed Articles, took his Opportunity, to surprize him, with his Wife *Rhea*, in *Thrace*, and kept a Guard upon them. His Son *Jupiter*, yett in *Crete*, embarked a Body of Troops, fought his Uncle, & restored his Father: which *Lactantius* relates, on the Credit of *Ennius*.³⁰⁵

³⁰² Reference is made to the writings of the Phoenician author Sanchuniathon, which served as a principal source for the *Phoenician history* written by Herennius Philo of Byblos (second half of 1st cent. CE). Through this work fragments of Sanchuniathon have survived, as Philo is cited in the *Praeparatio evangelica* by Eusebius of Caesarea. Drawing upon Philo, Eusebius references Sanchuniathon in describing the marriage of Uranus and the Earth in lib. 1, cap. 10 [PG 21. 81–82; SC 206]: “And Uranus, having succeeded to his father’s rule, takes to himself in marriage his sister Ge, and gets by her four sons, Elus who is also Kronos, and Baetylus, and Dagon who is Siton, and Atlas. Also by other wives Uranus begat a numerous progeny; on which account Ge was angry, and from jealousy began to reproach Uranus, so that they even separated from each other.” Gifford’s transl. (vol. 1, p. 41).

³⁰³ Compare Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* (3.56.1–4).

³⁰⁴ “Saturn has adopted the name ‘king.’” Pezron, *Antiquities of Nations*, cap. 10, p. 58.

³⁰⁵ Reference is made to the Latin Church Father Lucius Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius (c. 240/50–c. 320), who in his *Divinae institutiones* draws upon the work *Euhemerus sive Sacra historia* by the dramatist Quintus Ennius (239–169 BCE). Ennius is considered as one of the main fathers of Roman poetry. For this account, see Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones*, cap. 14 [PL 6. 191; CSEL 19].

The wretched *Saturn*, had sacrificed several of his Children to the Gods, and the Angry Ghost of his Father. Now *Rhea* finding herself with Child, retired from Court, lest this Child also should be made a Victim. She brought him forth, according to *Callimachus*, on Mount *Lycaeus* in *Arcadia*; called therefore, *The sacred Top*. His Name was, *Jou*, which signifies, *young*: as being the *youngest* of the Sons. 'Tis very wrong to derive it, from the sacred Name, JEHOVAH. Dr. *Pezron* is merely Angry at them who do it. She caused *Jupiter* then, to be transported into *Crete*; where he was bred in the Recesses of *Ida*, among the *Curates*.

This was in the Days of *Abraham*.

Saturn growing Old, Jealous, & Froward, consulted his Diviners; who warned him, to have a Care of his young Son *Jupiter*. He imagined | thereon, that *Jupiter* would so treat him, as his Conscience reproached him for treating his Father *Uranus*. He therefore sought Ways to entrap him; all which were defeated by the Cunning of *Jupiter*; who being incensed at his Fathers pernicious Designs against him, followed him & engaged him, conquered him; whereupon *Saturn* fled into *Italy*, for his own Security. [27v]

Jupiter, extending his Empire, the *Titans*, his Cousin-Germans, formed a strong Confæderacy against him. He fought 'em, & beat 'em. They retired into *Spain*; and *Saturn* went thither to them. They renewed the War; which lasted, *ενιαυτους δεκα*, *Ten Years*; until *Jupiter* himself went into *Spain* in Person; and there obtained a complete Victory. This great Battel was fought near *Tartesa*, a famous & ancient City upon the Ocean, a little above *Cadiz*, to the Northward. It is not known, what became of *Saturn*; unless that retiring into *Sicily*, he died there with Pressures of Grief & Age. *Philocorus* the Historian, sais, That the Sepulchre of *Saturn* is there pretended to.³⁰⁶

Behold, the Source of the Heathen Deities!

Jupiter being thus Master of the vast Empire, from *Euphrates* to *Spain*; he took *Juno*, the Heroine of the *Græcians*, (who was also his own Sister,) to be his Wife. These Incestuous Marriages, were common among the *Chaldeans*, (the First perhaps, whose Heads the Devil putt 'em into,) the *Egyptians*, the *Persians*, the *Macedonians*; perhaps, the *Latins*; to say nothing of the *Athenians*. 'Tis well-known, how the later *Magians* countenanced them.

Jupiter entrusted the Government of the West, with his Brother *Dis*, whom the Greeks call, *Pluto*.

He molested not his Cousin *Atlas*, in *Africa*: A Prince of gigantic Stature, to whom the *Celtæ*, or *Titans*, gave therefore the Name of *Telamon*; For *Tel*, or, *Tal*, in their Language, signifies, *High*; and, *Mon*, or, *Man*, is, *Man*. As *Atlas*,

³⁰⁶ Reference is made to the Greek historian Philochorus of Athens (c. 340—probably 262/1 BCE), whose work is extant only in fragments. The passage cited by Pezron is preserved in the work of the Church Father Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, cap. 2 [PG 8. 103–04; GCS 12; *Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae* 34].

is made of, *Altus*. He was well-skilled in Divination, and Astronomy; which together with his Bulk, was the Original of the Fables about him.

Jupiter married a Daughter of his; by whom he had *Mercury*; who succeeded, in the Government of *Spain*; and was a great Encourager of *Traffic*. *Mercury*, in *Celtic* signifies, *A Trading Man*. *Merxs*, [h. *Merx*] is, *Merchandise*, and, *Ur*, a *Man*. His Name was also *Teutat*; from, *Teut*, which is, *People*, and, *Tat*, a *Father*. The *Teutons* were called so, because great Worshipers of him.

Jupiter was guilty of Oppressions & Iniquities now. But he obliged the *Græcians*, by suppressing the *Robbers*, who sheltered themselves too near *Olympus*, where *Jupiter* kept his Court; which Mountain was therefore made *Heaven* by the Poets.

This great Man, after he had ruled over a great Part of the World, and made his Name Immortal, Died like other Men, (as *Ennius* translating *Evemerus*, tells us,³⁰⁷) in the Isle of *Crete*; which *Lactantius* affirms, from the Authority of *Cicero*.³⁰⁸ Lett *Callimachus* reproach the *Cretians* never so much for it, they were not *Lyars*, in boasting his Tomb among them.

His Days were about an Hundred & Twenty Years; like those of *Moses*, who came about Three Hundred Years after him. His Reign lasted unto sixty two Years after the Disappearing of his Father, and seventy two, from the time he first made War against him.

Suidas, who had seen the ancient Authors informs us of this:³⁰⁹

³⁰⁷ Compare Quintus Ennius, *Euhemerus sive Sacra historia*, fragment 11. This information is also confirmed by Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones*, cap. 11: "Ennius, in his *Sacred History*, after describing all the deeds which he performed in his life, thus writes at the end: 'Then Jupiter, after he had circled the lands five times and divided the command among all his friends and relatives, and left to men laws and customs, and prepared grain, and had done many other good things for them, affected by immortal glory and memory left lasting memorials of himself. When his age was completely spent in Crete, he exchanged this life and passed to the gods. The Curetes, his sons, took care of him and honored him. His sepulcher is in Crete, in the town of Cnossos ... and on his sepulcher is inscribed in ancient Greek characters, ZAN KRONOY; in Latin, Jupiter son of Saturn.'" [PL 6. 178; CSEL 19]. McDonald's transl. (FC 49).

³⁰⁸ Compare Cicero's euhemeristic work *De natura deorum* (*On the Nature of the Gods*), 3.53.

³⁰⁹ Compare the Byzantine encyclopedia *Suda*, a work written in the tenth century and consisting of about 30,000 entries in alphabetical order. For a long time, it was attributed to the legendary Greek lexicographer Suidas, who is said to have lived in the tenth century CE. Under the Greek letter *pi*, the entry with the number 1,500 reads as follows: Πήκος, ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς, παραδοὺς τὴν τῆς δύσεως ἀρχὴν τῷ ἰδίῳ υἱῷ Ἑρμῇ τελευτᾷ, ζήσας κ' καὶ ρ' ἔτη· καὶ τελευτῶν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποτεθῆναι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ τῇ νήσῳ, ἐν ᾧ ἐπιγέγραπται· ἐνθάδε κείται θανόντων Πήκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς, μέμνηνται τοῦ τάφου τούτου πλείστοι ἐν τοῖς ἰδίῳις συγγράμμασι. Transl.: "Pekos, also named Zeus, hands over his declining reign to his son and dies, after having lived twenty and a hundred years. And dying, he made the instruction to bury his body on the island Crete, where an inscription says: 'Here is buried the dead Pekos, also named Zeus.' Many authors make mention of the tomb of this man in their own works."

It was Two Thousand Years from the Death of *Jupiter*, to the Birth of our SAVIOUR; In all which he was adored as the great God of Heaven & Earth.

But so much for these very entertaining Antiquities.

[△Insert ends]

[△]

Q. On the *Fall of Lucifer*? v. 12.

A. The King of *Babylon*, who outshone other Princes, as the *Morning-Star* does the other *Stars*, is first intended here. But not without an Allusion to the Fall of *Satan*, the Prince of the Apostate Angels. The *Angels* are called *Morning Stars*.³¹⁰

Compare, Ezek. XXVIII.2, 13, 14.

4194:

Q. In the Fate of *Lucifer*, (or, the King of *Babylon*,) may we not see an admirable Prophecy, Typing out unto us the Bishop of *Rome*, the King of the mystical *Babylon*? v. 12.

A. We may so.

Before his Fall, he appears as a *Bright Star*.

He does boast himself, *The Son of the Morning*; and brag, that he appeared with the very first Light of the Gospel in the World.

He saies in his Heart, (for he does all things, κατ' ιδιον θέλημα³¹¹) *I will ascend into Heaven*. He will be exempted, from all Jurisdiction, both ecclesiastical and political, to which all that stand upon the Earth are subject.

I will exalt my Throne above the Stars of God; He will be superior, to all the Ministers of both Testaments.

I will sitt upon the Mount of the Congregation. Compare, 2. Thess. 2.4.

In the Sides of the North. Here were the Tables at which they slew & {flay'd} the Sacrifices; & here was the Table of *Shewbread*. It intimates, That he would wear the Character of a *Priest* & make the *Bread* of the *Sacrament* the great Matter of his Ostentation.

I will ascend above the Heights of the Clouds. All the *Dew* and *Rain* of the Word of God, he will have to ly at his Dispose; for him to dispense it, or withhold it, at his Pleasure.

I will be like the Most High. Compare, 2. Thess. 2.4.

|

[28v]

822:

Q. In that Passage, *How art thou fallen from Heaven, O Lucifer*? Whence, & why, does our Translation use the Term of *Lucifer*? v. 12.

³¹⁰ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 124.

³¹¹ "According to his own will." Compare Dan. 11:16: κατὰ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ (LXX).

A. A learned Frenchman, Mr. *Despaign*, wishes that wee would not use it.

The original Word, in the Hebrew, signifies no more, than the *Morning Star*; and why should a *Latin*, rather than the True *English* Term for it, bee used here? For it begets & mentains, a vain Fancy, that *Lucifer* is a Name, which belongs unto some great *Prince of Divels*; and that Fancy ha's accordingly so mastered our Style, that wee do, at every Turn, meet with it. Whereas, *Lucifer*, is no more the proper Name of any *Divel*, than *Dives* was the proper Name of a Man gone to the *Divel*.³¹²

Q. On the Pride of the King of Babylon? v. 13.

A. *Sanctius* will have it probable, that he began to fancy himself a God, and would be like the God of *Israel*, of whom he had often heard surprizing Accounts from some of his Jewish Captives; that he had his Throne in Heaven, & had a stately Temple at *Jerusalem*.³¹³

He says, I will be worshipped in Heaven as the GOD of *Israel* is worshipped there; and on Earth, with the same Honour wherewith He is adored at *Jerusalem*.

Q. The *Sides of the Pitt*? v. 15.

A. Some render it, The *Bottom of the Pitt*.

As one said of *Xerxes*, That he was doomed unto a poor Employment in the lowest Region of the Infernal Shades.³¹⁴

Q. How, *cast out of his Grave*? v. 20.

312 Mather here refers to the work of Jean D'Espagne, *Shibboleth: ou réformation de quelques passages dans les versions françoise et angloise de la Bible* ([1653] 1671). This work, dedicated to Oliver Cromwell, was translated into English as *Shibboleth: or, the Reformation of severall Places in the Translations of the French and of the English Bible* (1655), where the passage cited by Mather appears on pp. 7–10. D'Espagne (1591–1659) was a Huguenot theologian who served as pastor in Orange and The Hague before he moved to London in 1657, where he became minister to a French congregation in the city. He published on a variety of subjects, and some of his works were translated into English. Compare also Mather, *Trip paradisus*, p. 176.

Lucifer is the KJV translation of the Hebrew word הֵיִלֵּל [heylel] in Isa 14:12. This is the only place in the Hebrew Bible where this word occurs. It signifies “shining one, morning star.” The KJV-term *Lucifer* is derived from the VUL, where it is used to refer to “the morning star” “the planet Venus,” or, as an adjective, “light-bringing.” The LXX translates הֵיִלֵּל [heylel] as ἑωσφόρος [heosphoros], a name, literally “bringer of dawn,” for the morning star. It was only in later Christian tradition that *Lucifer* came to be used as a proper name for the devil or prince of the devils. With D'Espagne, Mather contests this tradition and insists that Isaiah's prophecy primarily referred to the king of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar, while typologically foreshadowing the fall of the Bishop of Rome. However, Mather still wants to allow for “an Allusion to the Fall of *Satan*, the Prince of the Apostate Angels.”

313 As mentioned by White (*Commentary* 108); see Sanctius, *In Isaiam prophetam commentarii*, p. 164, p. 169.

314 As mentioned by White (*Commentary* 108), who refers to Möller, *Isaias*, p. 139.

A. It was fulfilled in the Corpse of *Belshazzar* who being slain, in the Confusion of {a} surprised City, when there was no body at liesure to interr them, lay putrifying in an unburied Condition. He was afterwards buried without any Solemnity, and thrown into a Pitt, in the very Cloathes wherein he was killed, as common Souldiers are buried in the Field, after an Engagement.³¹⁵

[illeg.]

Q. The Lord promises, concerning *Babylon*, *I will make it a Possession for the Bittern, and Pools of Water*; what may be the Creature meant by / קפוד /³¹⁶ *Kippod*, which we translate, *The Bittern*? v. 23.

A. In the Translations of the Learned, no less than *Three Elements*, contend for this Creature. I will not give you the Trouble of Repeting the different *Claims*, or the various *Names* assigned by the Translators.

The most Accurate *Bochart*, has Invincibly proved, That the *Kippod* is no other than the *Hedgehog*. He brings the Authority of the Ancients, both *Hebrew* and *Græcian* for it. And he suspects, that the Name originally might be compounded, of / קנה / *Kana*, a *Dart*; and / אפר / *Aphad*, to be *cloathed* or *armed*.

The *Hedgehog* is a most solitary Creature; And the Prophets do with much Elegancy represent it, as an Inhabitant of *Babylon*; and *Bozrah*, and *Ninive*, under their Desolations. And what tho' the Prophets do sometimes join it with *Birds*? They are but the more elegant for their doing so: & for the more of Confusion, that appears in the Mixture on such an Occasion.

But we are here to take Notice of one Alteration more to be made, in the Version of the Verse before us. Read it, *I will make it a Possession for the Hedgehog, even the Pools of Water*. q. d. Not only shall the *City* be destroy'd, but the neighbouring *Pools* also shall be Dried up & become a fitt receptacle for the Creatures, which delight most in the Driest Places. Compare, *Zeph.* 2.13. and *Isa.* 34.11.

Q. The *Besome of Destruction*? v. 23.

A. The *Persians* would carry off all the Riches of *Babylon*, as clean as if they searched every Corner, and swept carefully every single Room, that nothing of any Value might escape them.³¹⁷

Q. The Design of those Words, *I will break the Assyrian*? v. 25.

A. The Prophet from GOD answers an Objection. What Good will the Destruction of *Babylon* do to us? Tis the *Assyrian* that we are now concern'd withal.

³¹⁵ As mentioned by White (*Commentary* 110), who refers to Sanctius, *In Isaiam prophetam commentarii*, p. 169.

³¹⁶ קפוד also קפוד [kippod] "porcupine; hedgehog," LXX: ἐχῖνοι; VUL: *ericius*. See Bochart, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 36, pp. 1035–39. Mather provides translations for the following Heb. words.

³¹⁷ White, *Commentary*, p. 111.

The Answer is; I will certainly destroy the *Assyrian* in my Land, that is, in *Judæa*; and so certainly you shall afterward see the Destruction of the *Chaldeans*.

The Empire of the *Chaldeans*, is called, in the next Verse, *The whole Earth*.³¹⁸

Q. Give mee the Intention of those Passages, *Rejoice not, thou whole Palestina, because the Rod of him that smote thee is broken; for out of the Serpents Root shall come forth a Cockatrice, and his Fruit shall bee a fiery flying Serpent?* v. 29.

A. Rejoice not, that King *Uzziah*, who afflicted you, [2. Chron. 26.6.] is dead; and that under *Ahaz*, you afflict the Jewes at your Pleasure. [2. Chron. 28.18.] For *Hezekiah* shall come, and bring an horrible Destruction upon you. See the Accomplishment of this Prophecy, 2. King. 18.8.³¹⁹

Quære, whether tis not remarkable, that hee who destroy'd the *Brazen Serpent*, should here bee called, *A Fiery Flying Serpent?*

Children are commonly represented by *Rods* or *Shoots* that grow out of the Root of a Tree. See Isa. XI.1.³²⁰

Q. On the *Smoke from the North?* v. 31.

A. *Judæa* bore N. E. of *Palæstine*. From thence there came a great Army, raising a *Smoke* of Dust as they marched. Nobody staid at home to decline the Expedition. In the Places of public Resort among the *Philistines* also, there was none to be seen: they forsook their Cities, for fear of *Hezekiah's* Invading Army.³²¹

Q. On, the *Messengers of the Nations?* v. 32.

A. It was the Custome of those times, when any thing extraordinary happened, for neighbouring Princes to send their Embassadors, to congratulate one another, & pay their Complements, – [2. Sam. X.1.] Now, sais the Prophet when the Foreign Nations, wondring at our Success depute Embassadours to congratulate it, and inform themselves of the Particulars, what *Answer* shall we return to their Enquiry how our Army became so successful?³²²

³¹⁸ White, *Commentary*, p. 111. Interestingly, Mather ignores the typological readings of this verse offered by Lowth (*Commentary* 128) who sees the destruction of the Antichrist foreshadowed.

³¹⁹ White, *Commentary*, p. 112.

³²⁰ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 129. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

³²¹ White, *Commentary*, p. 113.

³²² White, *Commentary*, p. 113.

Q. Remarks upon, *Ar*? v. 1.³²³

A. The *Moabites*, besides the Countrey they possessd on the North of the River *Arnon*, which *Sihon* the King of the *Amorites* took from them, they possessed also a Tract South of that River, between *Edom* in the West, and *Midian* in the East. This they enjoy'd all along, after the Loss of the other Part of their Countrey. The chief City of the *Moabites* in this Countrey, was called, *Ar*; and by the Greek Writers called, *Areopolis*.

We are told by *Eusebius* and *Jerom*, it was also called *Moab*; in honour of *Moab*, the Father of the *Moabites*.³²⁴ Writers have also called it *Rabbah*; and it ha's been thought the same that occurs in the Geography of *Ptolomy*, under the Name of *Rhalmathum*.

Grotius thinks, The Destruction here threatened unto *Moab*, was brought by *Salmanassar*. *Jerom* thinks, by *Sennacherib*.³²⁵

Q. On, the *Tops of their Houses*? v. 3.

A. These were their *Praying-Places*, q. d. They should make their *Prayer* now to little Purpose.

222t.

Q. What is the Meaning of that *Heifer*, when tis said, *His Fugitives shall flee unto Zoar, an Heifer of Three Years old*? v. 5.

A. You have the like Passage, in Jer. 48.34. *From Zoar to Horonaim, an Heifer of Three Years old*.

There were two other Places, called *Eglah*. [Compare, Ezek. 47.10.] And besides these, there was this *Third Eglah*; probably the same that is by *Ptolomy* called, Νεκλα, in *Arabia Petraea*. This is here styled, *Eglah Shelishijah*, or, *The*

³²³ The commentary here is derived from the work of the Anglican divine, mathematician and geographer Edward Wells (1667–1727), D.D., rector of Cotesbach, Leicestershire, *An historical Geography of the Old Testament* (1711–1712), vol. 2, ch. 3, p. 177.

³²⁴ See Jerome's reflections on "Moab" in his *Commentarii in Sophoniam*, on Zeph. 2:8 [PL 25. 1363; CCSL 76A]; see also his entry on "Arnon" in Jerome, *Liber de situ et nominibus locorum hebraicorum*, Section A, *De Numeris et Deuteronomio* [PL 23. 864; GCS 11.1], and on "Moab" in Section M, *De Genesis* [PL 23. 909; GCS 11.1]. The book is a translation and revision of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Onomastikon* (*Book of Places*). Editions of both versions are contained in GCS 11.1.

³²⁵ From White (*Commentary* 115), Mather refers to the opinions of Grotius in *Critici Sacri* (4:4831) and Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, lib. 5, on Isa. 15:1 [PL 24. 167; CCSL 73] and Isa. 16:14 [PL 24. 173; CCSL 73]. As White explains, Jerome thinks of "Sennacherib and Nebuchodonosor both" in his comment on Isa. 15:1, but only of "Sennacherib" on Isa. 16:14.

Third Eglah. The Words in *Isaiah*, are to bee read thus; *His Fugitives shall flee unto Zoar, unto the Third Eglah.* In *Jeremiah*, thus; *From Zoar unto Horonaim, even unto the Third Eglah.* It seems, the same with Ἀγαλλᾶ, mentioned by *Josephus*, among the Twelve Cities, which *Hyrcanus* promised to Restore unto *Aretas*, the King of *Arabia*. So that here's nothing of an *Heifer of three Years old*, in the Matter.³²⁶

But if there be, it must be that their Flight would be like that of a *young Heifer*. Mr. *Lowth* rather proposes, that instead of the Word of supply *shall flee*,³²⁷ the Word may be fetch'd from the former Part of the Verse, and be *shall Roar*. They *shall Roar out unto Zoar as an Heifer*. An *Heifer* is more Noisy than a *Bullock*. The Particle [*As*] is often understood.³²⁸

What follows, means, That Part of the *Moabites* would make the best of their Way to *Luith*, & Part of them to *Oronaim*; and both of them in utmost Consternation. These Places probably were either Fortified Towns, or, like *Bajith* and *Dibon*, High-Places where they expected the Protection of their GODS.³²⁹

Q. When and how were these Prophecies against *Moab* accomplished? v. 6.

A. They bore date the first Year of *Hezekiah*. They seem to have been executed the first Year that *Samaria* was besieged. *Salmaneser*, to secure himself against any disturbance on that Side, first invaded *Moab*, and having destroyed the Two Cities of *Arne* and *Kir-Harasheth*, subdued all the Countrey, and placed Garisons there, to prevent all Incursions from the *Arabians* that Way upon him.

[For the Meadows of *Nimrim*, read, Num. XXXII.3.]

³²⁶ The commentary here is from John Lightfoot, *A chorographical Inquiry into some Places of the Land of Israel*, cap. 3, sec. 8, in *Works* (2:502). Compare *Josephus*, *Jewish Antiquities* (14:1, 4).

³²⁷ It seems that Mather forgot to strike out “the Word of supply” in the process of composing this sentence, resulting in the garbled syntax. See *Lowth*, *Commentary*, p. 133.

³²⁸ See *Lowth*, *Commentary*, p. 133. The Hebrew is לְבִי לְמוֹאָב יִצְעַק בְּרִיחָהּ עַד-צֶעַר עֵגְלַת שְׁלִישִׁיָּהּ. Here the KJV 1611 has “My heart shall cry out for Moab; his fugitiues shall flee vnto Zoar, an heifer of three yeeres olde.” The modern literal *NAU* has “My heart cries out for Moab; His fugitives are as far as Zoar and Eglath-shelishiyah.” The Hebrew עֵגְלַת שְׁלִישִׁיָּהּ [egloth shelishiyah] is translated as “an heifer of three yeeres olde” in the KJV (so also LXX and VUL), while modern translations understand it as the proper name of a location (probably on the southern border of Moab): “Eglath-shelishiyah.” The word “fetch’d from the former Part of the Verse” is יִצְעַק [za’aq] “cry out, call for help.” Mather refers to the particle preposition (which is also used as a conjunction) עַד [ad] “as far as, even to, up to, until, while, to the degree; until ... no more; that ... not.”

³²⁹ The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in different inks (the citation from *Lowth* is a marginal insertion) and probably added later.

Q. Where, *The Brook of the Willows?* v. 7.

A. 'Tis in the Valley of the *Arabians*, the Direct Road, as *Jerom* sais, from *Moab*, to *Assyria*.³³⁰ The Prophet here describes the Incursion of the Enemies, like an Invasion of the *Tartars*, who plunder as long as they can find any Subsistence for themselves & their Horses.

Q. *The Howling*, to *Eglaim*, and *Beer-Elim?* v. 8.

A. *Eglaim* and *Beer-Elim*, were scituated in the Two Borders of *Moab*; And by their *Howling* reaching to both, we are to understand, that the Calamity would be universal, and every Town filled with Lamentation, & the Shrieks of the Inhabitants.

See the Reason of the Name, *Beer-Elim*, Num. XXI.18.

Elim in the *Syrian* Language, is the same with *Sarim* in the Hebrew; and signifies, *Princes*.³³¹

Q. To what may that Passage Allude, *The Waters of Dimon shall bee full of Blood?* v. 9.

A. To that Story, in 2. King. 3.22. some think, the Place had its Name, from the terrible Slaughter then made of the *Moabites*. q. d. I will give yett a greater Occasion for the Name of *Dimon*. *Dimon* has its Name from *Dam*, which signifies *Blood*. The Word which we translate, *more*, signifies any Additions, *Additamenta Plagarum* q. d. I will send Plague upon Plague, upon those that escape to *Dimon*. A *Lion*, that is to say, *Sennacherib* raging like a *Lion*.³³² —

³³⁰ From White (*Commentary* 117), Mather refers to Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, lib. 5 [PL 24. 170; CCSL 73]. Compare also Grotius, *Opera* (1:287).

³³¹ White, *Commentary*, p. 118. The Hebrew proper name here is בְּאֵר אֵילִים [beer elim] “Beer-Elim.” A *beer* is a “well.” See Num. 21:16. With “princes,” Mather refers to the word שָׂרִים [sarim] “officials, chiefs, rulers.”

³³² “Multiple plagues.” Mather cites Cornelius à Lapide, *Commentaria in Isaiam prophetam*, p. 145. The Assyrian king Sennacherib reigned from 705 to 681 BCE, see Isa. 5:29. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

Q. What is the Meaning of the Address, which the Prophet makes unto *Moab*, *send yee the Lamb, to the Ruler of the Land?* v. 1.

A. It would require a *Camel* rather than a *Lamb*, to carry the various Expositions that have been given of this *Text*; and indeed a *Camel* has been read instead of a *Lamb*, in some of those Expositions. I will only mind you, That there are some, who with, *The Lamb*, here, do putt in Apposition, *The Ruler of the Land*; as if the Prophet were wishing, for the Sending of the Messiah, *the Lamb* that was to bee *the Ruler of the Land*; and this not without some allusion to the Interest which *Moab* had in the Nativity of our Lord, by His Descent from *Ruth*, a *Moabite*, who went from *Sela*, or *Petra*, in *Arabia* the Desart, unto *Judaea*, where was Mount *Sion*. This is a *Christian* Interpretation; but the plural Number of the Verb, *send*, seems to countermand it. But if this Interpretation, bee hard, I doubt you will not count the next, much easier. *Bohlius* thinks that in these Words, there is a Scoff upon the King of *Moab* himself.³³³ The *Moabites* of old, paid a Tribute of *Lambs*, unto the King of *Judah*; but now saies the Prophet, *I pray send the sheepish Ruler of your Land himself, as a Lamb, to obtain, if hee can, the favour of Israel*. Wherefore after all, with mee, *Hezekiah* shall bee the *Ruler of the Land*; and whereas, wee find in 2. Sam. 8.2. *The Moabites became Davids Servants, and brought Gifts*; wee find also in 2. King. 3.4. *The King of Moab, rendred unto the King of Israel, an hundred thousand Lambs*: which Tribute was paid it seems until the Dayes of *Jehoshaphat*; and inasmuch as the *Moabites* were the Tributaries of *Hezekiah*, both as hee was the Heir of *David*, and as hee was Descended from the King of *Judah*, who in Partnership with the King of *Israel*, had renewed the Conquest of that People; the Prophet now demands of them, not their *Sacrifices*, but their *Tributary Lambs*, to bee paid unto King *Hezekiah*.

Selah seems the proper Name of a City on the Borders of *Moab*.

Q. On, the *wandering Bird?* v. 2.

A. Here is a Threatning, that if they refuse to comply with the Demand of the Tribute, the Inhabitants of *Moab* should be driven out of their Habitations; and like *Birds* driven out of their *Nests*, they should scatter themselves into different Regions.³³⁴

Q. On that Command, *Hide the Outcasts?* v. 3.

³³³ Mather here probably refers to the work of the Lutheran theologian and Hebraist at the University of Rostock Samuelis Bohlius (Samuel Bohl, 1611–1639), *Commentarius biblico-rabbinicus super orationem tertiam Esaiae cap. VII & seqq.* (1636).

³³⁴ White, *Commentary*, p. 122.

A. The Prophet compares the Persecution which he saw coming on his Nation, to the Scorching of the Meridian Sun; and he Desires of the *Moabites*, a Refuge for them.³³⁵

It refers to the *Assyrian Invasion*, in the 14th of *Hezekiah*. And he lets the *Moabites* know, that the Calamities of the Jews would not last long, nor the Kindnesses that should be shown them, have any Ill Consequences.

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Q. To what may bee the Allusion of that Passage, *lett mine Outcasts dwell with thee, Moab, bee thou a Covert unto them, from the Face of the Spoiler?* v. 4.

A. There was a Time, wee read in 1. Sam. 22.3. when, *David said unto the King of Moab, lett my Father, & my Mother, come forth, I pray thee, and bee with you, till I know what God will do for mee;* and there those *Outcasts dwelt with Moab*, and *Moab was a Covert unto them from the Face of Saul, the Spoiler*. Quære, whether this Ancient Action of *Moab*, is not here commemorated, with some Allusion thereunto?

Q. How, *In Truth?* v. 5.

A. It may be rendred, *In Stability*. The Throne of *Hezekiah*, that seem'd very tottering, should be established.³³⁶

The *Tabernacle of David* alludes, to his having been a *Shepherd*, & his dwelling in Tents, before he was advanced unto a Kingdome.

Here, and *Amos*. IX.11. the only Places where the Phrase is used, there is a mystical Intention for the Church; which is also called, *The Tabernacle of GOD*. See Lev. XXVI.11. with Rev. XXI.3.³³⁷

Q. On, *The Pride of Moab?* v. 6.

A. The Prophet intimates, That he had made but a vain Request unto them.

Q. The Meaning of, *Moab howling for* (or, to) *Moab?* v. 7.

A. The *Moabites* would give to one another, a sad account, about the deplorable Circumstances of their Countrey. Mr. *Lowth* prefers, the Reading of the Vulgar Latin, *Indignatio ejus plusquam Fortitudo ejus*. q. d. His Power does not answer his vain Boasts.³³⁸

³³⁵ White, *Commentary*, p. 121.

³³⁶ White, *Commentary*, p. 122.

³³⁷ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 137. The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later. Compare also Mather, *Tripuradisu*, p. 176.

³³⁸ "His shame rather than his strength." Mather cites the VUL from Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 137. This marginal insertion of Lowth's commentary was written in a different ink and probably added later.

What we render *Foundations*, tis asserted by *Forerius*, that it always means, *valiant Men*, or, *Men of Courage*.³³⁹

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Q. Remarks upon, *Hesbon*? v. 8.

A. Upon the Conquest of *Sihon*, it fell to the Share of the *Reubenites*; tho' it stood in the Confines of the Tribe of *Gad*.

It was remarkable for its excellent *Fish-Pools*. [Cant. VII.4.]

After the Captivity of the Ten Tribes, it was repossessed by the *Moabites*. Hence tis, that we have so frequent Mention of it, in the Prophecies, against the *Moabites*.

While it was in the hand of the *Israelites*, it was a *Levitical City*.

It continued a Great and Noble City, till the Days of *Eusebius* and *Jerom*; and was by the Greeks called, *Esbu*.

The Scituation of it, according to these Writers was on the Hills over against *Jericho*, at about Twenty Miles distance from the River *Jordan*.

It was in their Days reckoned a City of *Arabia*; under which Name was then comprehended a good Part of *Peræa*, or the Countrey beyond *Jordan*.

Q. The *Vines of Sibmah*? v. 8.

A. It is here foretold, that the *Assyrians* would break down the principal Branches thereof.

These were very flourishing *Vines*. They reached for many Miles; even to *Jazer* in the Confines of *Moab*, and thro' the Wilderness over to the Dead Sea. Compare Psal. 80.11.³⁴⁰

Q. How, *weary on the High Place*? v. 12.

A. q. d. *Moab* shall go to his ordinary *High Places*, to pray unto his Idols, to deliver him; and when he has wearied himself in Vain, without any Return unto his repeted Prayers there, he shall come to the Temple of his GOD *Chemosh*, and there also his Prayers will be still as unsuccessful.³⁴¹

The Word, *Sanctuary*, is applied unto Idolatrous Temples. Amos. VII.9, 13. Compare, Num. XXIII.13, 27.³⁴²

Q. The Meaning of, *since that time*? v. 13.

A. The *Port-Royal* translation has it, *Il y a deja long tems*. This is the Word which the Lord has a *long time ago* spoken concerning *Moab*. Either when

³³⁹ See *Forerius* in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4837).

³⁴⁰ White, *Commentary*, p. 123.

³⁴¹ White, *Commentary*, p. 124. On *Chemosh*, see Isa. 44:17–20; 1 Kings 11:7.

³⁴² Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 139. The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

Balak hired *Balaam* to curse *Israel*; or, when their Destruction was foretold by *Amos*, in the time of *Uzziah*. See *Amos* II.1. What was then prædicted, is now confirmed.³⁴³

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Q. It is here foretold, *within Three Years, the Glory of Moab shall be contemned*. How was it fulfilled? v. 14.

A. It seems too hard a Strain of those Interpreters, who would make the *Moabites* here, a Type of the *Jewes*, refusing Obedience to the Preaching of our Saviour; and the *Weeping* of the Prophet here, a Prophecy of our Saviours Tears over *Jerusalem*; and the *Three Years* upon which the *Glory of Moab* was to be contemned, a Prædiction of the *Three Years*, which according to the Account of *Josephus* and of *Tacitus*, were employ'd in the *War* by which the *Romans* destroy'd *Jerusalem*, and all its Glory.

Some think it enough to say;³⁴⁴ This Prophecy was in the *First Year* of *Hezekiah*. In his *Fourth Year*, *Salmanasser* came against *Samaria*. In that Expedition *Salmanasser* laid waste the Cities of *Moab*, that he might not leave any thing in the Rear to damnify his Army.

But this will not agree, with the Advice in the Fourth Verse of the Chapter.

Our *Gataker* conceives the Prophecy to have been accomplished by *Esarhaddon* the Son of *Sennacherib*.³⁴⁵

³⁴³ From White (*Commentary* 125), Mather refers to the *Bible de Port-Royal* (1672–1693), transl. by the French Jansenist theologian, and humanist Louis-Isaac Lemaistre de Sacy (1613–1684). Mather provides an English transl. The last sentence of this entry, transcribed from Lowth (*Commentary* 139), was written in a different ink and probably added later.

³⁴⁴ Originally Mather had: "Tis enough to say."

³⁴⁵ This listing of different interpretations comes from White (*Commentary* 125–26), who also refers to Gataker's commentary at Isa. 16:14. in *Westminster Annotations*, unpaginated. The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

Q. Some History of *Damascus* will come in here, not unseasonably? v. 1.

A. The Erudition of Mr. *William Jameson*, which gives us a Just Astonishment, when we remember, that he was one Blind from his Nativity, shall help us anon to conquer a Difficulty, which was never yett assoil'd by any Interpreter.³⁴⁶

We will first from the *Spicilegia Antiquitatum* of that Gentleman, observe, That no City of *Syria* was more famous than *Damascus* for its Antiquity; For it was extant in the Days of *Abraham*; and *Josephus* thinks it built by the Son of *Aram*.³⁴⁷ The Etymologies of the Name among the Græcians, which are mentioned by *Stephanus Byzantinus*, and particularly such as refer to the Skinning of the Giant *Ascos*, by *Bacchus*, (from whence they kept *Wine* in Bottles of *Skin*,) are too trifling to be insisted on.³⁴⁸ The Name of *Damascus*, doubtless comes, from / דם / *Sanguis*,³⁴⁹ and, / שקה / *Bibit*.³⁵⁰ *Jerom* was aware of this: But he adds, that it might also be taken for, *Sanguis Sacci*;³⁵¹ In which he seems to take, *Sack*, for a Name of *Wine* among the *Oriental*s, as it is now among the *Europæans*. Be sure, *Blood* is a term for *Wine*. [See Gen. XLIX.11. and, Deut. XXXII.14.] *Damascus* is then as much as to say, *A Red Soyl, Fertile in Wine*. The Tradition of the *Blood* of *Abel* shed there, has little Foundation. And how the Letter / ט / gott into the Name, & made it become *Damascus*, in the Books of the *Chronicles*, none of the Learned have hitherto discovered.

The City stood in an Ample and Fruitful Plain; For which Cause tis by *Lucan* called, *Ventosa*.³⁵² And, which is a little uncommon, it has never to this day changed its Name. It was watered with Two Rivers, *Abana* and *Pharphar*.

³⁴⁶ The following entry, including all the references, is derived from Jameson, *Spicilegia*, cap. 7, § 3–8, pp. 142–53.

³⁴⁷ Compare Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* (1.143).

³⁴⁸ From Jameson, *Spicilegia*, cap. 7, § 3, pp. 142–43, Mather refers to the work of Stephanus of Byzantium. The following remarks on Damascus are found in the 1678 Latin ed., *De urbibus*, on p. 220. Josephus's *Jewish Antiquities* (1.7) and Nicolaus Damascenus are cited in the editor's annotations on the same page. Nicolaus Damascenus was a Greek historian and philosopher, who was born in Damascus and became a friend of King Herod the Great. He wrote many works, including a voluminous history in 144 books, of which only fragments survive in, among other places, the writings of Josephus. Josephus was both dependent on Nicolaus in many places and highly critical of his views (*JE*).

³⁴⁹ דם [dam] "blood."

³⁵⁰ "He drinks." Here Mather refers to the causative Hiphil form of the Hebrew verb: שָׁתָה [shatah] "to drink."

³⁵¹ "The blood of the sack." See Jerome, *Graeca fragmenta libri nominum hebraicorum* [PL 23. 1182]. On the origins of the name of Damascus, see also *Epistulae*, epist. 65, *Ad principiam virginem, sive explanatio Psalmi XLIV* [PL 22. 623; CSEL 54].

³⁵² "Windy." Compare *Lucan, Pharsalia* (3.214–217).

Tho' *Maundril* sais,³⁵³ He could not find them, *Lithgow* sais,³⁵⁴ He could. But if they now be lost, it is not to be wondred at. Compare the Fifteenth Book of *Ovids* *Metamorphosis*.³⁵⁵

There is no Mention of *Damascus*, from the Days of *Abraham*, down to the Days of *David*. Then *David* made himself a Master of it; but placing only a Garrison in it, *Rezon* in the latter time of Backsliding *Solomon*, siezed it, & sett up there for himself. The Story of the Matter as related by *Nicolaus Damascenus*, in *Josephus*; we will not now criticise upon it.³⁵⁶

The Kings of *Damascus* proved grievous Troubles to *Judah*, & *Israel*. *Benhadad* almost ruined *Samaria*: and was a very bad Neighbour to *Israel*, till *Hazael* dispatched him, and succeeded him. *Josephus* relates, that even in his Time, the *Syrians* boasted the Antiquity and Magnificence of those two Kings, & paid no small Honours to their Pictures.³⁵⁷ *Tiglath Pileser* slew *Rezin*, the last of their Kings; and carried the People of *Damascus* Captives to *Kir*. 'Tis a great Blunder of *Schindler*, to understand *Cyrene*,³⁵⁸ as intended by *Kir*; whither the *Assyrian* Dominion was never extended. *Junius* more truly understands it of, that Part of *Media*, which from this very Deportation is called *Syro-Media*.³⁵⁹ It is called, *Kir*, which signifies, *A Wall*; because it is encompassed by the *Zagrian* Mountains, as by a Wall.

We read concerning *Jeroboam* the Second: [2. King. XIV.28.] *That he recovered Damascus, and Hamath of Judah, for Israel*. This Difficult Place is thus explained by our *Jameson*. *David* had intended this fine City, & the circumjacent Countrey, as an Annexation unto his Tribe of *Judah*. *Jeroboam* having made himself a Master of it, annexed it unto his own Kingdome of *Israel*. But that Kingdome was now so near its Period, & so full of Confusion, that probably it was again lost upon the Death of *Jeroboam*. It seems also probable (from some Words in *Josephus*,) That many of the *Damascen* Captives, did in Process of

353 A reference to Henry Maundrell's *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 123, where it is claimed that rivers by these names are nowhere to be found.

354 A reference to the travel account of the Scottish writer William Lithgow (1582–c. 1645), *The totall Discourse, of the rare Aduentures, and painefull Peregrinations of long nineteene Yeares Trauayles from Scotland, to the most famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Affrica* (1632), p. 206, where it is claimed that Damascus was surrounded by many rivers, among them "Paraphar and Abana."

355 In his *Metamorphoses* (15.273–331) Ovid gives a list of famous and legendary rivers, in which the two rivers Abana and Pharphar are not mentioned.

356 Compare Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* (9.244). Reference is made to Nicolaus Damascenus.

357 Compare Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* (9.87).

358 Jameson here contests the definition of "Kir" in the dictionary (publ. posthumously) of the Lutheran Hebraist and professor at the University of Wittenberg Valentin Schindler (d. 1604), *Lexicon pentaglotton, hebraicum, chaldaicum, syriacum, talmudico-rabbinicum, & arabicum* (1612), col. 1607.

359 Jameson refers to the marginal gloss added to the Latin translation of Isa. 15:1 in the *Biblia Sacra* of Junius and Tremellius, p. 183.

Time return to their Beloved Countrey,³⁶⁰ and other *Syrians* joined with them in anniversary Celebrations of their mighty Princes there.

[31v] Tis very certain, That after the *Assyrian* Captivity, *Damascus* never did lift up its Head any more, but has continued | in Servitude unto this very day. Upon the Fall of the *Assyrian* Power, the *Babylonians* were Masters of it. Then the *Persians*; Then the *Græcians*; Then the *Romans*. Tis true, the *Damascenes*, provoked by the Injuries of *Ptolomy Mennæus*, chose *Aretas* for their King, & sett up for themselves. But it was not long before *Merellus* and *Lollius*, employ'd by *Pompey*, routed him, and so *Damascus* was added unto the *Roman* Empire.

But unto our Surprise, we find in the Time of our Apostle *Paul*, [2. Cor. XI.32.] *Damascus*, with *Aretas*, a King of its own reigning over it. Our *Jameson* observes, That the Difficulty in this Text, is what as yett no Interpreter ever durst meddle with. But, *O Eagle-Ey'd Man*, Thou shalt be the Man that shall solve the impenetrable Difficulty!

What Author is there, that mentions the Recovery of *Damascus*, from the hands of the *Romans*, after *Pompey* had reduced it? The Attempt of the learned *Cellarius* to explain this Matter, will not satisfy.³⁶¹ The *Aretas*, whom *Augustus* indulged, could not well be the same *Aretas* that reigned when the Apostle *Paul* was in *Damascus*. It is proved by *Spanheim*, That the Conversion of *Paul*, was in the last Year of *Caligula*. Now this was Forty Years after the Birth of our SAVIOUR;³⁶² And the pretended Reign of that *Aretas*, was diverse Years before it. The Quotations also, which learned Men bring from *Justin Martyr* & from *Tertullian*, on this Occasion, have palpable Mistakes in them.

The true Story seems to be this; A War arose, between *Aretas* and *Herod*, upon his Divorcing of his Wife, the Daughter of *Herod*; wherein the Forces of *Herod* suffered a miserable Overthrow. *Herod* hereupon made his humble & pressing Applications to *Tiberius*; who, as *Josephus* tells us, with much Indignation, sent *Vitellius* to fall upon *Aretas*, & bring him Dead or Alive unto him.³⁶³ *Vitellius* accordingly prepared for the Expedition; but while he stop'd a While at *Jerusalem*, the Advice of *Tiberius*'s Death arrived unto him; which made him dismiss his Forces to their Winterquarters. When *Aretas* the King of *Arabia*, found himself thus delivered from a formidable War, our *Jameson* thinks, he took this Opportunity to sieze upon *Damascus*, and place over the City a Governour of his own. As for *Caligula*, the Successor of *Tiberius*, he was a Blockhead, of whom

³⁶⁰ Probably a reference to Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* (9.249–251).

³⁶¹ Jameson here rejects the arguments about the identity of Areats put forth in the posthumous work of the German classical scholar Christoph(or) Cellarius (Christoph Keller, 1638–1707), *Dissertationes academicae varii argumenti* (1712), p. 153.

³⁶² Jameson refers to the treatise *De aera conversionis Paulinae* by the Reformed theologian, church historian, and professor at the Universities of Heidelberg and Leiden, Friedrich Spanheim the Younger (1632–1701), in *Dissertationum historici argumenti quaternio* (1679).

³⁶³ Compare Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* (18.109).

Suetonius relates, *Militiam resque bellicas semel attigit, neque ex destinato*.³⁶⁴ Dion Cassius relates the like of him. And so *Damascus* for a while continued under a King of *Arabia*.³⁶⁵ It is no Wonder, that the Roman Historians of those times make no Mention of this. I pray, which of them all mentions the lamentable Overthrow of *Herod Antipas*? As to *Josephus*, the Story of *Damascus* was none of his Business.

Our *Jameson* makes this Conclusion. *Si hæc non sufficient, ad hunc difficile Locum elucidandum, alij, ut spero, inveniant clariora*.³⁶⁶

Q. *Damascus taken away from being a City?* v. 1.

A. The City was afterwards rebuilt, and prophesied against; Jer. XLIX.23. Zech. IX.1.³⁶⁷

| **Q.** The Order of these Prophecies? v. 1.

A. 'Tis plain, The Prophecies here do not stand exactly in their chronological Order. For *Damascus* was destroy'd before the Death of *Abaz*. *Tiglath-Pileser*, at the Motion of *Abaz*, took it. Yett it is placed after the Burden of the *Philistines*, which was in the Year that *Abaz* died. *Salmanassar* made a further Progress in destroying of it. Yett we find it a City in the time of *Jeremiah*: which derogates not from the Truth of the Prophecy; For the Inhabitants might be carried away, tho' the Buildings were left standing.³⁶⁸

Q. How, *be for Flocks?* v. 2.

A. It is a Proverb for utter Destruction.
— *Iam seges est*. —³⁶⁹

Q. What, the *Fortress?* v. 3.

A. *Samaria*; the Fortress of *Ephraim*, the capital City of *Israel*, shall be destroy'd.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁴ "He had but one experience with military affairs or war, and then on a sudden impulse." The reference is to Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, 43.1 (transl.: LCL 31).

³⁶⁵ Probably a reference to a passage in Cassius Dio's *Roman History* (59.25.1–5), which states that Emperor Gaius Caligula started a military campaign against Britain only because he wanted to prove himself.

³⁶⁶ "If that is not enough to elucidate this most difficult passage, others may, as I hope, find words that are more clarifying." See Jameson, *Spicilegia*, cap. 7, § 8, p. 153. Underneath this annotation appears a mark in ink that bears some resemblance to a lightning bolt.

³⁶⁷ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 140.

³⁶⁸ White, *Commentary*, p. 127. Compare Jer. 49:23–27.

³⁶⁹ "It is already a field." Ovid, *Heroides*, 1.1.53; original (LCL 41): "Iam seges est, ubi Troia fuit."

³⁷⁰ White *Commentary*, p. 128.

Q. The *Valley of Rephaim*? v. 5.

A. A Fruitful Valley near *Jerusalem*. It may be called, *The Valley of Giants*.³⁷¹

Q. The *Gleanings*? v. 6.

A. We find, that some of the Ancient Inhabitants of the *Ten Tribes*, were left after *Salmanassers* Captivity. [2. Chron. XXX.10, 11.] And even after the second Captivity of that People, in the Time of *Eserhaddon*. [2. Chron. XXXV.18.]³⁷²

Q. When might be fulfilled that Prophecy of, *Respect unto the Holy One of Israel*? v. 7.

A. The Judgments of GOD had so good an Effect upon the Remnant of *Israel*, that a Multitude of the People, even many of *Ephraim* & *Menasseh*, & *Issachar*, & *Zebulun*, came to the Passover at *Jerusalem*.

See 2. Chron. XXX.18, 21. and XXIX.3.

It is not unlikely, that soon after the Captivity of their Brethren, they began to have Thoughts of Returning to GOD.³⁷³

Q. The *Groves*? v. 8.

A. The Word which we render *A Grove*, seems not only used for a Company of Trees growing together, of which it was not lawful to plant any near the Temple of GOD; but also for a Model, or curious Peece of Workmanship, of Gold or the like, resembling a *Grove*. Such probably was what *Josiah* found in the Temple.³⁷⁴

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Q. Does not that Passage seem a little obscure; *Because thou hast forgotten the God of thy Salvation, and hast not been mindful of the Rock of thy Strength; therefore shalt thou plant pleasant Plants, & shalt sett it with strange Slips: In the Day thou shalt make thy Plant to grow, & in the Morning thou shalt make thy Seed to flourish: but the Harvest shall be an Heap in the Day of Grief & of desperate Sorrow*? v. 10, 11.

A. The Hebrew Expositors do thus expound it; “When Thou doest Remember the God of thy Salvation, *Then* thou didst *plant pleasant Plants*; but *now* thou art not *mindful of the Rock of thy Strength*, thou doest sett reprobate Vines,

³⁷¹ White, *Commentary*, p. 129. The noun רֶפְאִים [repha'im] appears in three contexts in the Bible: In Prov. 9:18 and Ps. 88:10 it is usually rendered as “the dead” or “shades (of the dead)” inhabiting Sheol; in Gen. 14:5 and Deut. 2:10–11 it is taken to refer to the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Jordan; and in 1 Chr. 20:4, 6, 8 and in 2 Sam. 21:16, 18, 20 it signifies “giants” from Philista (*HCBD*).

³⁷² Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 142.

³⁷³ White, *Commentary*, p. 130.

³⁷⁴ White, *Commentary*, p. 130.

or Slips for Strangers. Then thy *Plant* did grow, and thy *Seed* flourish, even of its own Accord; but *now*, when thou doest expect an *Harvest*, it proves no other than an *Heap of Grief* & of *desperate Sorrow*.”³⁷⁵

Scarce two Commentators give the Words the same Turn. But Mr. *White* gives this Paraphrase. “Because thou hast *forgotten the Rock of thy Salvation*, & left Him to follow Idols, therefore thou shalt sett up thy Vineyards with choice Vines, & the best that can be pick’d up in foreign Countreys. In the Daytime thou shalt trim thy Tender Plant, to make it grow, & in the Morning shalt make it flourish by careful Watering; But the Harvest shall vanish: After all thy Care & Cost, thou shalt find the Fruit gathered by other Hands.”³⁷⁶

Q. On, *The Chaff of the Mountains before the Wind*, and, *A Rolling thing before the Whirlwind?* v. 13.

A. The Custome of the Jews was to thresh their Corn upon *Hills*, & Places exposed unto the Wind, [see, Isa. XLI.14. 2. Chron. III.1.] which dispersed the *Chaff*, and blew it away.

The Word, *Galgal*, which we render, *A Rolling thing*, is better translated, *Thistle-down*; The Word signifies any Straws or *Motes*, which are driven about with the Wind.

In Psal. LXXXIII.13. what we read, *A Wheel*, should be translated so.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁵ Mather here translates Münster’s Latin summary of the rabbinic glosses on this passage in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4842).

³⁷⁶ White, *Commentary*, p. 131. Here the term is גַּלְגַּל [galgal] “a plant with wheel-shaped stem & thistles; *Gundelia Tournefortii*, a sort of tumbleweed” (cf. *HOL*).

³⁷⁷ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 144.

Q. What is meant by, *The Land that makes a Shadow with Wings, & sends Embassadors by Sea on Bulrushes?* v. 1, 2.

A. The Pagans looked upon the *Sun*, as the Author of all the good Things in Nature: and they painted it with *Wings* and *Feathers*.

M. *Le Moyne* thinks that the Prophet here, alludes unto that Usage of the Pagans. It was the Usage of the *Egyptians*, annually to solemnize a Feast of the *Sun*, & of the *Earth*; of *Osiris* and *Isis*. They putt the winged Image of *Osiris*, in little Vessels of Bulrushes, which they sent from City to City, upon the *Nile*, and sometimes by Sea. M. *Le Moyne* applies the *Wings* & the *Shadow* mentioned by *Isaiah*, to the Image of the *Sun*; and the little *Vessels of Bulrushes*, unto the Way of their Solemnizing the Festival of that Divinity of the *Egyptians*, who could now draw no Consolation, therefrom.³⁷⁸

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Q. What may be meant by, *The Land shadowing with Wings?* v. 1.

A. They who apply it unto *Egypt*, expound it of, the Ships with spreading Sails like *Wings*, promising Assistance to the Jews. Or, the Mountains that shadowed the Inhabitants as with *Wings*, lying beyond the Rivers of *Ethiopia*.³⁷⁹

But what if the Prophetic Spirit means *Ethiopia*; and threatens a *Wo* to the Land, which makes a proud Boasting of protecting her Neighbours *under the Shadow of her Wings*. The Land which lies among the Rivers of *Ethiopia*, which sends Embassadors by Sea in light Vessels to declare War against the *Assyrians*. Go to the People of *Assyria*, – and tell them, the *Ethiopians* (under *Tirhaka*) despise their Land, & are not afraid of their Power. The Word which we render, *spoiled*, is by *Kimchi* derived from a Root, that signifies, to *Despise*.³⁸⁰

But *Bochart* gives another Turn to the Words. *Wo to the Land of the Timbrel*; A sonorous Instrument, peculiar to the *Egyptians* in their Sacrifices: The *Sistrum*.³⁸¹

Carpentius has elegantly paraphrased it.

³⁷⁸ Mather here refers to the work of the French Huguenot theologian and professor at the University of Leiden Stephanus le Moine (Étienne Le Moyne, Monachus, 1624–1689), *Disertatio theologica ad locum Jeremiae XXIII:VI* (1700). The wording suggests that Mather cites an English review and summary of this book from the journal *The History of the Works of the Learned* (1700), vol. 2, pp. 144–46.

³⁷⁹ White, *Commentary*, p. 134.

³⁸⁰ Mather might be summarizing Münster's Latin summary of the rabbinic glosses on this passage in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4849). See also Rosenberg, *Isaiah*; Slotki, *Isaiah*.

³⁸¹ See Bochart, *Geographia sacra*, pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 2, p. 240.

Væ tibi, quæ reducem Sistris Crepitantibus Apim
 Concelebras, Crotalos et inania Tympana pulsans,
 Amne superba sacro Tellus.³⁸² —

Huetius finds, a *winged Cymbal* here.³⁸³ *Egypt* was a Land famous for its *winged Cymbals*. Mr. Reeves in his Notes on *Minutius Felix*, expounds the Phrase, of a *Swallow*, which was usually pictured over the Image of *Isis* with expanded *Wings*.³⁸⁴ Le Moyne in his *Varia Sacra*, thinks, that by the Word, *Kenaphim*, *Wings*, the Prophet refers to the Idol which the *Egyptians* called, *Kneph*: which was with *Wings*, and an *Egg* proceeding out of its *Mouth*: to signify the Creation of the World, by the Word of GOD: the World itself being represented by *Isis*. It is mentioned by *Plutarch* & *Strabo*.³⁸⁵

[illeg.]

Q. Why are the *Egyptians* called, *Goi Kau-Kau*, which we render, *A Nation meted out*? v. 2.

A. The *Egyptians* pronounced it, *Ki Ki*.

It is evident, That the marshy Parts of *Egypt* are here pointed at. Now hear *Herodotus* concerning them; l. II. c. 94. Αλειφατι κλ. *Unguento autem utuntur Ægyptii, qui circa Paludes habitant, ex fructu Sillicypriorum, quod appellant Ægyptii KIKI*.³⁸⁶

Some think, The Words here are a Message from GOD, which denounced Judgment against the *Ethiopians*, who are called, *A People terrible from their Beginning*, because they had invaded *Judea* formerly with terrible Armies. [2. Chron. XII.3. XIV.9.] It foretells, that the Forces of the *Assyrian*, like an overflowing River, [Isa. XVII.12.] should overwhelm them. This was fulfilled. [Isa. XX.4.] This agrees with v. 7. And with Ezek. XXX.9. where GOD says,

³⁸² “Woe to you, celebrating the return of Apis with noisy rattles while shaking bells and useless tambourines, [woe to you] land boasting of your sacred stream.” From Bochart, Mather cites *In vaticinia Isaiae, prophetae clarissimi, paraphrasis* (1588), lib. 2, cap. 6, p. 83. The author is probably the Swiss musician and playwright of Latin history and biblical drama, Hans Wagner (Ioannes Carpentarius, Carpentarius, 1522–1590). The *Apis* is a holy black bull of the Egyptians. The *sistrum* is a rattle used in the cult of Isis.

³⁸³ From Lowth (*Commentary* 147), Mather refers to Huetius, *Demonstratio Evangelica*, prop. 4, cap. 10, p. 121.

³⁸⁴ From Lowth (*Commentary* 147), Mather refers to the Church of England minister William Reeves (1667–1726), *The Apologies of Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and Minutius Felix* (1709), p. 113.

³⁸⁵ From Lowth (*Commentary* 147), Mather refers to Stephanus le Moine, *Varia sacra* (2 vols., 1685), vol. 2, p. 4. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

³⁸⁶ Greek: “Oil and so forth”; Latin: “The Egyptians who live about the marshes use an oil drawn from the castor-berry, which they call kiki.” Mather here refers to Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, 2.94 (transl.: *LCL* 117, p. 381). Mather takes this reference from the work of Jean LeClerc, *Ars critica* (1697), vol. 1, cap. 4, p. 135.

Messengers shall go from ME in Ships, to make the careless Ethiopians afraid; and the Text plainly alludes to these Words in *Isaiah*.³⁸⁷

Q. The Meaning of, *I will take my Rest?* v. 4.

A. q. d. *Tirhaka* may go on, and see what he can do against *Sennacherib*. As for me, I will sitt quietly by, as an unconcerned Spectator; and I will consider in *Jerusalem*, what the *Assyrians* are doing there.³⁸⁸

What follows, *I will consider in my Dwelling Place*, may be rendred, *I will have a Regard for my Dwelling Place*. q. d. I will defend it without the Assistance of such Confæderates as my People have in the *Ethiopians* applied unto.³⁸⁹

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Q. The Meaning of this *Bad Harvest?* v. 5.

A. It seems a Reason of the Overthrow befalling the *Ethiopians*. q. d. They were too confident of Success, & thought they should make an easy Prey of *Assyria*, while *Sennacherib* was taken up with the Siege of *Jerusalem*.

But the Prophet (as one would gather from the seventh Verse,) rather speaks of the Overthrow that befel the *Assyrians*: – who were cutt off, when they were just in View of their Harvest, in a compleat Conquest of *Judæa*.³⁹⁰

Q. On, *The Present brought unto the Lord of Hosts?* v. 7.

A. At the Destruction of *Sennacherib*, the common Enemy of the Jews & the other Nations, many of the Neighbours congratulated *Hezekiahs* Victory, & magnified the Power of GOD, so evidently interposing for his Deliverance. [Compare, 2. Chron. XXXII.23.]

But this Prophecy, as Mr. *Lowth* observes, is chiefly to be applied unto the Calling of the Nations to and by the Gospel. The Conversion of the *Gentiles*, is expressed by their bring of *Offerings*, to the *Temple* and *Altar* of GOD, because that was the solemnest Part of His Worship among his Ancient People. [See Chap. LX.6, 9. Mic. IV.13. Psal. LXVIII.29.]

It is Remarkable, That several Prophecies which threaten Destruction to Nations or Cities, conclude with a gracious Promise, that GOD will Remember them in His Time forth & Acknowledge them for His People.

[See Isa. XIX.18. XXIII.18. Jer. XLVIII.47. XLIX.39.]³⁹¹

³⁸⁷ The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

³⁸⁸ White, *Commentary*, p. 135.

³⁸⁹ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 149.

³⁹⁰ White, *Commentary*, pp. 135–36.

³⁹¹ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 151. Compare also Mather, *Triparadisus*, p. 176.

Q. The Import of the Prophecy against *Assyria*? v. 7.

A. When the *Assyrians* are triumphing over the *Ethiopians*, they shall be themselves defeated in *Judæa*; and the Spoil of their vanquished Army, be brought unto the Temple in *Jerusalem*, as a grateful Acknowledgement of the Jews, that they owed their Deliverance to the Power of GOD.

He repeats the same Epithits, which in the Person of an *Ethiopian*, he had before given to the *Assyrians*.

A People Distracted and Impoverish'd by a long & expensive War; A People terrible to all the petty Kingdomes round about them; still præscribing what Laws they pleased unto them, & on every sleight Occasion treading them under foot; A People whose Land the *Ethiopians* despised, tho' unto their Cost.³⁹²

³⁹² White, *Commentary*, p. 137.

Q. What special Intention, may there bee, in that Passage; *Behold, the Lord Rideth upon a swift Cloud, and shall come into Egypt, and the Idols of Egypt, shall bee moved at His Presence?* – v. 1.

A. I have seen it expounded, of our Lords Transportation into *Egypt* in His Infancy; to which the Spirit of Prophecy had an Eye, in that famous Passage of *Hosæa, out of Egypt have I called my Son.*³⁹³ The *light Cloud*, on which our Lord now Rode, was His *Humanitie*. For the Uproar hereby caused among the *Idols of Egypt*, lett *Eusebius* bee your Interpreter, who observes, That no Nation came to the Christian Religion, with such Celerity and Affection, as did the *Egyptians*, who threw down their *Idols*, before any other Nation. They that had gone before other Nations in *Idolatry*, now went before them in *Christianitie*. And whereas it followes, *I will deliver the Egyptians into the Hands of cruel Lords*, (by whom the Roman Lords, *Pompey, Cæsar, Antony*, are intended) *and a mighty King shall Reign over them*; why may not *Augustus* his taking Possession of *Egypt*, bee therein pointed at?³⁹⁴

But what the Prophet means more directly by, *Riding on a swift Cloud*, may be, That the Lord would speedily visit *Egypt* with His Judgments.

The Psalmist speaks of His *Flying on the Wings of the Wind.*³⁹⁵

Q. When were these Intestine Troubles of the *Egyptians*? v. 2.

A. After the Death of *Sethon*, when the Kingdome of *Egypt* was divided into Twelve petty Governments.

But some (like *Sanctius*) imagine this fell out on *Sennacherib* invading their Countrey. When some were Willing to Receive him, others Resolv'd to Oppose him.³⁹⁶

³⁹³ Compare Matt. 2:13–23 and Hos. 11:1.

³⁹⁴ While his Protestant interlocutors are satisfied with historical explanations for this passage, Mather here translates the Latin summary of mystical interpretations in the patristic tradition (including Eusebius of Caesarea) given in the commentary of the Catholic Cornelius à Lapide, *Commentaria in Isaiam prophetam*, p. 153.

³⁹⁵ White, *Commentary*, p. 138. Compare Ps. 18:10. The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

³⁹⁶ As mentioned in White (*Commentary* 139); see Sanctius, *In Isaiam prophetam commentarii*, pp. 163, 167.

Q. Who, *the cruel Lord?* v. 4.

A. *Psammiticus*, who making his Way to the Throne by Arms, kept a strict hand on the *Egyptians*, and sacrificed many Friends of the late Usurpers.³⁹⁷

Q. That Prophecy, *The River shall be Dried up?* v. 5.

A. One observes, *Ingratitude* forfeits Mercies, as Merchants do all to the King, by not paying of Custome.

The River *Nilus* watereth *Egypt*, & makes it Fruitful. The *Egyptians* used in Mockery, to tell the *Gracians*, That if God should Forget to *Rain*, they might happen to be starv'd. They thought the *Rain* was of God, but not the *River*. God therefore threatens, to *Dry up the River*.

[Compare, Ezek. XXIX.]

And so He did.

Will it not suprise you to find *Ovid* a Commentator on *Esay*?

*Creditur Egyptus caruisse juvantibus Arva
Imbribus, atque Annis sicca fuisse Novem.*³⁹⁸

Call in *Seneca* too, in his *Nat. Quæst.* l. 4. c. 2.³⁹⁹

Q. The Meaning of, *The Waters failing?* v. 5.

A. A Scarcity. All the Fertility and Fælicity of *Egypt*, mightily depending on the Inundation of the *Nile*; which, as *Pliny* sais, if it rose no higher than Twelve Cubits, the *Egyptians* were starved; At Thirteen they were pinched; Fourteen made them rejoice; Fifteen made them secure; Sixteen furnished them with an abundance of Delicacies.⁴⁰⁰

Herodotus tells us, how this was *literally* fulfilled under the Government of the Twelve petty Tyrants who reigned after *Sethon*.⁴⁰¹

But *Scaliger* understands it of a severe *Draught*, which caused a *Dearth*, by making the Inundation of the *Nile* to fail.⁴⁰²

³⁹⁷ White, *Commentary*, p. 139, referring to Grotius (*Opera* 1:289).

³⁹⁸ "Egypt is said to have lacked the rains that bless its fields, and to have been parched for nine years." Ovid, *Ars amatoria* 1.647; transl.: LCL 232, p. 57. This annotation is derived from *A Commentary or Exposition upon the Book of the Prophet Isaiah* by the Puritan-leaning Anglican theologian John Trapp (1601–1669), in *A Commentary or Exposition upon these following Books of holy Scripture: Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel & Daniel* (1660), p. 73.

³⁹⁹ Compare Seneca, *Naturales Questiones* (bk. 4 A, q. 8.2).

⁴⁰⁰ Pliny, *Natural History* (5.10.58); transl. LCL 352: "The province takes careful note of both extremes: in a rise of 18 feet it senses famine, and even at one of 19^{1/2} feet it begins to feel hungry, but 21 feet brings cheerfulness, 22^{1/2} feet completely confidence and 24 feet delight."

⁴⁰¹ Compare Herodotus, *The Persian Wars* (2.141).

⁴⁰² Commentary here from Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 154. See the work of the Dutch Renaissance scholar Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), *Isagogici chronologiae canonum* (1658), p. 318. Also in Ussher, *Annales Veteris Testamenti*, p. 107 ("Anno Mundi 3319"). The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

Q. A Remark on that; *The Fishers shall mourn?* – v. 8.

A. Very rich was the Fishery of *Egypt*. According to the Report of *Herodotus*, During the six Months in which the Waters of the Lake *Meris* flow'd into the *Nile*, the Fishery produces a Royal Treasury of a *Talent* every day; and Twenty *Minæ*, when they return from this River to that Lake. *Diodorus Siculus* gives us as Advantageous a Description of this Fishery. Indeed, the *Priests* among the *Egyptians* had this Food forbidden to them.⁴⁰³

Q. The *Princes of Zoan*, becoming *Fools*? v. 11.

A. *Zoan*, or *Tanis*, was the Metropolis of *Egypt*, where *Moses* wrought his Miracles. The *Egyptians* in early Days, were celebrated for their Wisdome. Philosophers and Legislators applied themselves unto them for Instruction, to pick up some Gleanings of the Knowledge that abounded there.

But Now! –

The Twelve Princes which divided *Egypt* into so may Principalities, were unskilful Governours.⁴⁰⁴

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Q. What may be the special Intent of that Passage; *They have seduced Egypt, even they that are the Stay of the Tribes thereof?* v. 13.

A. In the Hebrew, tis, *The Corner of the Tribes thereof*. *Munster* sais, It means the King. *Decepto autem Rege, oportuit cadere totum Regnum*.⁴⁰⁵

Q. By the Name of *Noph*, what Place intended? v. 13.

A. The LXX, *Jerom*, the *Vulgar*, & all the Ancients, by *Noph* understand *Memphis*; a City in the most Noble Province of *Egypt*.⁴⁰⁶ And therefore κατ' ἐξοχην called,⁴⁰⁷ *The Province*; which the Name signifies. The same City is by *Hosea*, Chap. IX.6. called, *Moph*; where all take *Memphis* to be intended; Not because the Mountain Μώφι stood in the Vicinity, as *Paræus* & others have conjectured;⁴⁰⁸ for *Herodotus* has given that Mountain another Scituation.⁴⁰⁹ Mr. *Jameson* observes, The Original of the *Town* is as obscure as the Original of

⁴⁰³ See *Herodotus*, *The Persian Wars* (2.97); *Diodorus Siculus*, *Library of History* (1.12). On *Egypt* and the *Nile*, see *Jameson*, *Spicilegia*, cap. 15, § 14–22, pp. 373–389; see also cap. 1, § 9, p. 18.

⁴⁰⁴ *White*, *Commentary*, p. 141.

⁴⁰⁵ “But after the king had been deceived, it followed that the entire kingdom had to fall.” Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4858).

⁴⁰⁶ The LXX has Μέμφεως and the VUL has *Mempheos*. See Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:50).

⁴⁰⁷ “Preminent, par excellence.”

⁴⁰⁸ The reference is to the commentary on *Hosea* (in which Isa. 19:11 is touched upon) by the Heidelberg theologian David Paræus (Wängler, 1548–1622), *Scripta exegetica*, p. 534, in *Opus theologicorum* (1628), vol. 1.

⁴⁰⁹ Compare *Herodotus*, *The Persian Wars* (2.28).

the *Name*.⁴¹⁰ It was a Royal & Wealthy City; and Infamous for the Worship of *Apis* in it.

Q. To what may allude, *The Shaking of the Hand of the Lord of Hosts?* v. 16.

A. The Posture of an offended Parent. Or, may it not allude unto the Action of *Moses*, in stretching out his hand over the Red-Sea? It might be the near Approach of *Sennacherib* that raised this Consternation.⁴¹¹

[35v]

Q. How was the *Land of Judah* a *Terror to Egypt?* v. 17.

A. The Report of *Sennacherib* Invading *Judaea*, and his taking many Cities there [2. King. XVIII.13.] three Years before his Besieging of *Jerusalem*, caused a mighty Terror in *Egypt*, which were in the Neighbourhood & Alliance of the *Jews*.

Q. What City is that which is called, *The City of Destruction?* v. 18.⁴¹²

A. In the Land of *Egypt*, the first City that we find mentioned, is, Gen. XLI.45. that which is called by the Name of, *On*. A Name which carries in it the Signification of, *Strength*. It is commonly thought the same that *Ezekiel*, not without a paranomastic Allusion calls by the Name of *Aven*. But we have more than seventy Assurances, That it was also called, *Heliopolis*. *Ptolomy* assures us of it.⁴¹³ And as it stood on the Arabic Side of the *Nilus*, tis describ'd and sett forth, by *Herodotus* and *Strabo* and others.⁴¹⁴ For the same Cause, tis in Jer. XLIII.13. called, *Bethshemesh*. Yea, it is for the same Cause, that it is here called, *The City of Heres*: and our Translation has it in the Margin, *The City of the Sun*. Be sure, if instead of the Letter, / ה / you read a / ח / all Difficulty vanishes at once, even as a Mist before the *Sun*. For that is plainly, the Name of the *Sun*. [Jud. VIII.13.] Now, *Jerom* read it so. And the LXX in the Copy used by the *Complutensian* Gentlemen read it so.⁴¹⁵ *Symmachus* likewise read it so. And in Jer. XLVIII.41. where, the *Men of Kirheres*, are mentioned, that Letter is used. The oriental Nations generally worshipping the *Sun*, dedicated their principal Cities to him. A City in *Moab*, as well as one in *Egypt*, was dedicated unto the *Sun*.

⁴¹⁰ Commentary here from Jameson, *Spicilegia*, cap. 1, § 9, p. 18. See Jerome at Isa. 19:13 in *Commentarii in Isaiam*, lib. 5 [PL 24. 183; CCSL 73].

⁴¹¹ White, *Commentary*, p. 143.

⁴¹² Commentary here from Jameson, *Spicilegia*, cap. 1, § 5, pp. 9–13.

⁴¹³ Compare Ptolemy, *Geography* (4.5.53).

⁴¹⁴ Compare Herodotus, *The Persian Wars* (2.3, 7, 59); and Strabo, *Geography* (16.2.10).

⁴¹⁵ *Complutensian Polyglott*, the earliest complete polyglot Bible, published as *Biblia Polyglotta* at Alcalá under the supervision of Cardinal Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros between 1514 and 1517. The term here is a *hapax legomenon*: הֶרֶס [heres]; since Jerome it has been understood (probably correctly) as a reference to a place in Egypt, changed from הֶהָרִים = *Heliopolis* (*HOL*). See Jer. 43:13.

The Egyptian *Heliopolis*, was a splendid, & haughty, & very wicked City; full of *Detestable Idolatries*. In *Strabo* we find not only a *Temple* for the *Sun* there, of uncommon Magnificence, (which is also celebrated by *Herodotus*,⁴¹⁶) but also the Bull *Mnevis* worshipped there as a GOD.⁴¹⁷ And now, the Meaning of this Prophecy seems to be, That many Cities in *Egypt*, shall enjoy & embrace the Gospel, (which is here called, *speaking the Language of Canaan*,) and consecrate themselves unto the glorious JEHOVAH. Yea, *Heliopolis* itself, tho' wickeder than the rest, shall be one of them. This Prophecy, as my Incomparable *Jameson* observes, was fulfilled upon the Preaching & Spreading of the Gospel. Yea, tho' it be now poisoned with *Mahometism*, yett as my Seer does foresee, *conservavit Deus inibi multos Christianos, ut Sanctum Semen, unde olim ut speramus Florentissima Ecclesia nascitura est.*⁴¹⁸

But why would the Prophet so disguise the *Name*, as to say, *Heres*, rather *Cheres*? Mr. *Lowth* observes, It is in Detestation of the *Idol* worshipped there; to which it was Dedicated. It is a Reproachful Term, and an Intimation that the *Idol* worshipped there, should be destroyed.

The Jews were forbidden to mention the *Names* of the Heathen Idols, if they could avoid it. [Exod. XXIII.13. Josh. XXIII.7. Psal. XVI.4.] So, they either changed the Names of the Places Dedicated unto *Idol-Worship*, or else gave Nicknames to them & their Idols, and substituted such a Word as had some Affinity with the True Name, and yett expressed an Abhorrence of it.

Thus *Baal* they called, *Besbeth*, or, *Shame*. [Jer. XI.23. Hos. IX.10.] *Har-Mischah* they called *Har-Maschith*. And *Bethel* they called, *Beth-aven*.⁴¹⁹

Q. How to be understood, *Five Cities in Egypt speaking the Language of Canaan*? v. 18.

A. The *Land of Judah* was now a *Terror to Egypt*, in regard of their Suffering under Cruelties committed by the *Assyrians* there. And while *Sennacherib* was ravaging *Judea*, many *Jews* did seek Shelter in the Cities of *Egypt*, & propagate their Language & Religion there. The Danger they had escaped, made them live answerably to their Holy Religion, which had an Influence on the Idolatrous Natives, to make many Converts among them; and engage them to understand

⁴¹⁶ Herodotus, *The Persian Wars* (2.63).

⁴¹⁷ Compare Strabo, *Geography* (17.1.28).

⁴¹⁸ "God retained many Christians there, like a holy seed from which one day, as we hope, a most flourishing church will come into being." Jameson, *Spicilegia*, cap. 1, § 5, p. 12. Compare also Mather, *Trip paradisis*, p. 176–77.

⁴¹⁹ See Lowth, *Commentary*, pp. 160–61. At Jer. 3:24 בֹּשֶׁת [boshet] "shame, shameful" is used to refer to Ba'al, see LUT here: "Der schändliche Baal" (The shameful Baal). The second reference is to הַרְמַשְׁכִּיחַ [har-hammashchith] *NAU*: "mount of destruction" (e.g. at 2 Kings 23:13). The third reference is to בֵּית אָוֶן [beth aven] "Bethaven" (e.g. at Hos. 4:15, cf. 5:8), "house of iniquity," a disparaging reference to Bethel. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

the Language of *Canaan*, that they might Read the Law, & be instructed in the *Mosaic* Institution.

Heliopolis, tho' *Strabo* calls it, *A City of Priests*, for the great Number of them employ'd in their Superstitions, proves one of these Reformed Cities.⁴²⁰

In *Egypt*, these Jews now erected an *Altar*, as a Monument publicly to testify their Gratitude unto GOD, for delivering them from the *Assyrian*.

This was to be *for a Sign & for a Witness*, a public Testimony in the Land of *Egypt*, that the Lord had a People not afraid of owning Him, in the Midst of an Idolatrous Nation.⁴²¹

The Meaning of this Prophecy may rather be,⁴²²

That the *Gentiles* would come to be of one Mind, with the True Servants of GOD. The *Christians* are now the true Seed of *Abraham*, whereto all the Promises belong, and are sometimes in the *New Testament*, even styled by the Name of *Jews*. [Rom. II.29. Gal. VI.16. Rev. II.9.] But all along the *Old Testament* they are described by the Titles, and the Privileges, and the Rites of Worship, which belong to the *Jews*. [Isa. LVI.7. LXVI.23.] Mr. *Lowth* observes, This Place can't be so well understood (with *Grotius*) of the *Jews* going down into *Egypt* for fear of *Sennacherib*; for this is when they are severely reprov'd for, & Judgments are threaten'd unto both Nations on that account. [Ch. XXX. and, XXXI.] whereas what we have here is a Promise of Mercy & Comfort.⁴²³

Q. Who the *SAVIOUR*, & *the great one*? v. 20.

A. These godly Jews made there Supplication to GOD, that He would stop the *Assyrian* Invasion. The *Saviour* sent by GOD, was the *Angel* that made such a Slaughter of the *Assyrians*.⁴²⁴

Even the *Egyptians*, who were nearly concerned in this Deliverance, could not but be sensibly affected with so surprizing an Event.

Q. What the *Highway out of Egypt*? v. 23.

A. *Psammeticus* being settled in the quiet Possession of his Kingdome, there was a Peace established, and a Trade revived without Interruption, between

⁴²⁰ Compare *Strabo*, *Geography* (17.1.28).

⁴²¹ For this historical explanation Mather draws on White (*Commentary* 145), even though White explicitly rejects any further application of this prophecy to the future Christianization of Egypt, for which Mather had argued with Jameson in the preceding entry.

⁴²² See Appendix B.

⁴²³ From Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 159; compare Grotius (*Opera* 1:289). In contrast to White, Mather (with Lowth) here argues for a secondary, Christian application of this prophecy, referring it to the latter-day expansion of the Christian church. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁴²⁴ White, *Commentary*, p. 146.

Egypt and *Assyria*; ancient Animosities buried; And both conspired in doing of kind Offices to the *Jews*.⁴²⁵

This *Triple Alliance* lasted unto the End of *Hezekiahs* Reign.

Q. How comes the Holy One, to call the *Egyptians, my People?* v. 25.

A. Their Kindness to the People of GOD procured it. A great many of the *Egyptians* also at this time, turned unto GOD.⁴²⁶

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Q. A Remark on the Prophecy, in the Conclusion of the Chapter? v. 25.

A. I will fetch it out of Mr. *Lowth's* Commentary.

It is a judicious Observation of *Calvin*, on Isa. LVI.7. *loquitur Propheta Figuris quæ suæ ætati conveniunt*.⁴²⁷ The Prophets, when they speak of the *Gentiles* coming into the Church, express their serving the True GOD with such Acts of Devotion, as were most in Use in their own Time; and therefore could be best understood by those to whom they directed their Discourses: And such particularly, were *offering Sacrifices*, and *keeping the solemn Feasts* at *Jerusalem*, whither the *Gentiles* were from all Parts to resort. [Ch. II.3. XXVII.13. LVI.7. LXVI.23. Zech. XIV.16. Mal. I.11.]

To such a Sense we may apply the *Altar*, the *Sacrifice*, the *Oblation*, and the *Vows*, mentioned here: even, for the Worship & Service of God in general. *Onias* indeed, in After-times, built a *Temple* and an *Altar* in *Egypt*, for the Use of the *Jews*, thinking to fulfil this Prophecy literally: But it was against the general Sense of his own Nation; who thought, that according to their Laws, no *Temple* might be built, but at *Jerusalem*. So that it is plain, they thought this Prophecy was to have a *mystical* and not a *literal* accomplishment.

The *Pillar* erected here, is an evident Allusion to the *Pillar* that *Jacob* sett up at *Bethel*: [Gen. XXVIII.18.] And the *Altar* which the *Reubenites* and their Brethren built on the Borders of *Jordan*. [Josh. XXII.10.]

Tho', the SAVIOUR and the great one, be by some understood of the *Angel* that cutt off the *Assyrians*, yett the Words may be fitly applied unto the Tyranny which the devil exercises over the wicked World, which are *led Captive by him*, |

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⁴²⁵ White, *Commentary*, pp. 146–47.

⁴²⁶ White, *Commentary*, p. 147.

⁴²⁷ “The prophet speaks in figures that are fitting for his time.” From Lowth’s commentary on Isa. 56:7 (*Commentary* 448), Mather cites a variant of Calvin’s remark in *Commentarii in Iesaiam prophetam*, in *Opera* (3:360). Calvin’s original gloss reads: “Nam Propheta usitatum sui temporis morem sequutus est” (“The prophet has followed the usuals custom of his his time”). Compare Calvin, *Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Isaiah* (4:184). See also Mather’s annotation on Isa. 56:7.

general Desires of a Deliverance. On which account our SAVIOUR is called, *The Desire of all Nations*; that is, He who alone can answer their *Desire*.

It is here foretold, That *Egypt* and *Assyria*: that is to say, Those who formerly were Enemies to the Truth & People of GOD, should become *Fellow-Heirs, and of the same Body, and Partakers of the Promises*, which were made unto the Jews, *by the Gospel*. [Eph. III.6.]⁴²⁸

⁴²⁸ See Lowth, *Commentary*, pp. 161–62. Compare also Mather, *Trip paradisus*, p. 174.

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Q. Who is meant, by, *Sargon the King of Assyria*? v. 1.

A. *Munster* tells you, 'Tis no other than *Sennacherib*; who, according to the Hebrewes, *multa habuit Nomina*.⁴²⁹

Q. How is the Prophets *Walking Naked*, for to be understood? v. 3.⁴³⁰

Compare 1. Sam. 19.24. and Mic. 1.8. and Joh. 27.1.

A. *To go Naked*, often in the Scripture, signifies no more, than to have Part of the Body uncovered; [2. Sam. 6.20.] or only to be without a *Gown*, or *upper Garment*, according to the Custom of both the *Eastern* and the *Roman* People, who when they went abroad, wore a long *upper Garment*, called a *Toga*.

It is not at all probable, That the Prophets could be guilty of such an Indecency, as to go altogether *Naked*. God expressly enjoined *His Priests*, to cover their Bodies with several Garments, that they might thus be distinguished from the *Pagan Priests*, who appear'd *Naked*, especially in their *Lupercalia*, which were purposely appointed for that Abomination, whereof *Livy* and others, give us an Account.⁴³¹

It is not likely, That *Isaiah* could have lived three whole Years, without any Cloathes to cover him. And his Condition being to represent how the *Egyptians* and *Arabians*, were to be carried away *Captives*, in that Manner, by the *Assyrians*, tis observed by *Sanctius* and *Grotius*, That it was not the Custome to strip Captives altogether *Naked*, but only to strip them of their best *Clothes*, and give them worser and shorter, and more agreeable to their Servitude.⁴³²

How far *Peter* was *Naked*, is best understood, by observing to you, that what we read, *He girt his Fishers Coat unto him*, should be read, *He girt on his upper Garment*.⁴³³

Sauls Lying on the Ground *Naked*, was in the same Sense, that *Aurelius Victor* speaking of those, who were sent unto *Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus*, to bring him unto his Dictatorship, saies, They found him *Naked*, ploughing, on the other Side of the *Tyber*.⁴³⁴ The Story whereof being related by *Titus Livius*,

⁴²⁹ "had many names." Münster in Pearson's *Critici Sacri* (4:4873).

⁴³⁰ The following entry (including all the references) is derived from Charles Le Cène, *An Essay*, pt. 2, ch. 8, pp. 179–83.

⁴³¹ Compare the Roman historiographer Livy (Titus Livius, 59–17 BCE), *Ab urbe condita* (1.5.1–2).

⁴³² From Le Cène Mather refers to Sanctius, *In Isaiam prophetam commentarii*, pp. 211–12; compare Grotius (*Opera* 1:290).

⁴³³ See John 21:7.

⁴³⁴ A reference to the collection of biographies *De viris illustribus*, written by an unknown

he saies, He call'd unto his Wife *Ruccha*, for his *Toga*, that he might be fitt for to accompany them.⁴³⁵ *Virgil* advises the *Husbandmen*, to labour *Naked*;⁴³⁶ and yett they were to have their Shirts on, as the ancient Medals have represented them. Thus also, *Ælian* brings *Gelon* presenting himself *Naked* in the Market-Place, after he had vanquished the *Carthagineans*, and swearing that he would Restore their | Liberties; and saies, They erected a *Naked Statue* for him, in the Temple of *Juno*.⁴³⁷ But here, the Word, *Gumnos*, only signified, *one that ha's laid down his Arms*, especially the *Buckler*, and *Sword*, and *Curass*, as the Observations of G. *Cuper* have instructed us.⁴³⁸ Probably, This was all the *Nakedness* of *Saul*; who had before been Armed, being in the Pursuit of *David*.⁴³⁹ [37v]

Moreover, 'Tis observed by *Glassius*, that the *Ill-cloath'd* seem in the Scripture to be call'd, *Naked*. In the same Sense, that *Seneca* notes, He who sees a Man in Rags, will say, he saw him *Naked*.⁴⁴⁰

Q. What is the *Isle* here intended? v. 6.

A. Is it *Ashdod*? That was a maritim Town on the Coast of the Mediterranean Sea. The Hebrew Idiom, would call such a Town, an *Isle*.

But is it not rather *Jerusalem*? It might be called, an *Isle*; because GOD was at this time, [Isa. XXXIII.21.] a *Place of Broad Rivers & Streams* unto it; and encompass'd it with as much Defence, as if it had been an *Island*.⁴⁴¹ *Forerius* thinks, that in calling *Jerusalem*, an *Isle*, there is an Allusion to the Comparision frequently made of the *Assyrian* Army to an overflowing River which surrounded *Jerusalem* on every Side.⁴⁴²

The Inhabitants of *Jerusalem* saw their Folly, in trusting to the Arm of Flesh; and then said within themselves: *Behold, Those wretched Captives, who have scarce Cloathes enough left them to hide their Nakedness, were the Persons we vainly expected should deliver us out of the Hands of the Assyrians! How shall we escape, if the GOD of our Fathers interpose not?* So our *White* paraphrases.⁴⁴³

Roman author and falsely attributed to Aurelius Victor, a Roman historian of late antiquity (c. 320–390 CE). This is the reason why it is now among the writings of the *Corpus Aurelianum*. The story can be found at *De viris illustribus* (17.1).

⁴³⁵ Compare Livy, *Ab urbe condita* (3.26.7–9).

⁴³⁶ Compare Virgil, *Georgica* (1.299).

⁴³⁷ Compare Aelian, *Varia historia* (13.37).

⁴³⁸ From Le Cène Mather here refers to the work of the Dutch scholar Gisbert Cuper (1644–1716), *Observationes* (3 vols., 1670), vol. 1, lib. 1, cap. 7, pp. 36–50. The usual transl. of γυμνός would be “naked” or “wearing only an undergarment.”

⁴³⁹ Compare 1 Sam. 19:24.

⁴⁴⁰ From Le Cène Mather refers to Glassius's *Philologia sacra*, lib. 5, tract. 1, cap. 16, p. 1923, who cites Seneca, *De beneficiis* (5.13).

⁴⁴¹ White, *Commentary*, p. 150.

⁴⁴² See Forerius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4875).

⁴⁴³ White, *Commentary*, p. 150.

Q. Why is *Babylon* called, *The Desart of the Sea?* v. 1.

A. The Time would come, when the *many Waters* of *Euphrates*, whereon *Babylon* satt, would render the Countrey about it so.

But *Gataker* observes, That the Word, *Mithbar*, may be rendred, *A Plain*, as well as *Desart*.⁴⁴⁴ *Chaldea* was a champain Countrey.

The Title may be rendred, *The Burden of Babylon scituated on a Plain on the River Euphrates*.⁴⁴⁵

Q. How, The *Sighing thereof made to cease?* v. 2.

A. An End was now putt unto the Oppressions wherewith *Babylon* drew Sighs from her Injured Neighbours.⁴⁴⁶

But if we understand it, as *Forerius* does, of the *Medes & Persians*, then tis, q. d. I will give you an easy Conquest; the Expedition shall fetch no *Sighing* from you.⁴⁴⁷

Q. What, and How, was the Fulfilment of that Prophecy, *my Heart panted, Fearfulness affrighted mee, the Night of my Pleasure ha's Hee Turned into Fear unto mee?* v. 4.

A. You know, the Fall of *Babylon* by the *Medes & Persians*, is the Thing foretold in this Context. And so, of this particular Prophecy, you cannot have an exacter Exposition, than in Dan. 4.6, 30. *Belshazzars Countenance was changed, & his Thoughts Troubled him, so that the joints of his Loins were loosed, & his knees smote one against another.* – And, *In that Night was Belshazzar, the King of the Chaldeans, slain.* Then, even in that Night, as *Isaiah* here adds, while they were *preparing of Tables*, & setting of Centinels to *Watch*, while they did *Eat & Drink*, there was an Alarm given & the Cry was, *Arise, yee Princes, & anoint the Shield.* This, and what followes, is by *Daniel* reported, How accomplished.⁴⁴⁸

Our Prophet anon adds, That in *Idumæa*, it would bee quæstioned, what was the Issue of that Night, when *Babylon* was Destroy'd; *Watchman, what of that Night?* And the Issue & the Answer should bee, that first, a *Morning*, or some Dawning, from the Bondage of *Babylon*, appeared; but afterwards a sad

⁴⁴⁴ See *Gataker's* commentary on Isa. 21:1 in *Westminster Annotations*, unpaginated. מִדְּבָר [midbar] “pasturage, wilderness, desert or an area not cultivated” (*HOL*).

⁴⁴⁵ White, *Commentary*, p. 151.

⁴⁴⁶ White, *Commentary*, p. 152.

⁴⁴⁷ See *Forerius* in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4881).

⁴⁴⁸ Sanctius, *In Isaiam prophetam commentarii*, p. 216.

Night of Calamity should come upon *Idumæa*, as there had already come upon *Babylon*.

Q. On that, *præpare a Table?* – v. 5.

A. Read it, *while they præpare a Table, while they –*.

While the *Babylonians* make a faint Provision for War, but are more Intent upon Feasting and Luxury, Arise, ye Princes & Leaders of the *Persian Army*, and præpare for War in earnest.⁴⁴⁹

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Q. In the Vision of *Babylons* Fall, why does the Prophet see, a *Chariot with a Couple of Horsemen?* v. 7, 9.

A. Because there were *Two*, namely *Cyrus* the Persian, and *Darius* the Median, who were joined in the Expedition against *Babel*, & so in the Rule of the Monarchy, when they had obtained it. Tho' in the Book of *Daniel*, only *Darius* carried the Name; inasmuch as by far the older Man, & perhaps the Grandfather of *Cyrus*.⁴⁵⁰

As *Chariots* were much used in War among the Ancients, thus we often read in *Homer*, of Two *Hero's* that satt in the same Chariot. One to guide the Horses, the other to fight the Enemy.⁴⁵¹

Diodorus Siculus reports the like of the *Germans*.⁴⁵² –

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Q. Well; but why do wee read of, *A Chariot of Asses*, and, *A Chariot of Camels?* v. 7.

A. Behold, in the *Foreseeing*, & therefore in the *Ordering*, of how minute Circumstances, is the *Spirit* of the Most High concerned.

Cyrus, for the Conquest of *Babylon*, opposed *Mules*, and *Camels*, unto the *Horses* of the *Chaldeans*, because the *Horses* had some Antipathy, to the Scent of those Creatures.

In the *Clio* of *Herodotus*, you have the Story.⁴⁵³

⁴⁴⁹ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 170.

⁴⁵⁰ Compare Dan. 6–11.

⁴⁵¹ See, for instance, Homer's *Iliad* (5.9–20).

⁴⁵² Compare Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* (5.29.1). The last two paragraphs are from Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 171. They were written in a different ink and probably added later. On the relation between Darius and Cyrus and their role in the conquest of Babylon, compare also Mather's (partly conflicting) explanations in the entries on Isa. 13:17, 45:1–3, and Jer. 52:64.

⁴⁵³ See Gataker's commentary on Isa. 21:7 in *Westminster Annotations*, unpaginated. From Gataker a reference to Herodotus, *The Persian Wars* (1.80).

Moreover, the *Chariot with Two Horses* may denote the main Body of the *Persian* and *Median* Army; and the following Sentences may signify their Baggage & Provisions.⁴⁵⁴

Q. Why does he cry, *A Lion?* v. 9.

A. The Meaning may be; *He cried as a Lion*; that is, with a very loud Voice. The Hebrews often leave out the Note of Similitude.⁴⁵⁵

Q. Why are the People of GOD called, *His Threshing*, and, the *Corn of His Floor?* v. 10.

A. To lett them know, that their Afflictions were by GOD sent upon them, to *Reform* them, and not to *Ruine* them. *Corn* is roughly handled; but with no Design of Destruction to it.⁴⁵⁶

Q. In the Fate of *Duma*, (or, *Idumæa*) here foretold, unto the Demand, *Watchman what of the Night?* it is answered, *The Morning cometh, & also the Night*. What may bee the Import of those Passages? v. 12.

A. If what ha's been already offered, in our Illustrations on this Chapter, do not satisfy, you may add This.

The *Idumæans* Ironically ask, what saies the Prophet, of our Troubles?

The Prophet answers, Tho' you have some *Light* of Prosperity *dawn* upon you, in your shaking off the *Jewish* Yoak, [2. King. 8.20.] yett you shall not escape a sad *Night* of Calamity, in the Troubles, which the *Assyrians* will now bring upon you.⁴⁵⁷

These two Verses have puzzled Commentators, more than all the Book of *Isaiah* besides. But, methinks, now all is plain.

He that writes a late *Essay, for a New Translation of the Bible*, reflects, that one can hardly make a Riddle more intricate, than the Words, which our Version putts into the Mouth of the *Idumæan* Watchman, *The Morning cometh, and also the Night: If ye will enquire, enquire yee; Return, Come*. He saies, These Words have no Sense in them, & never did Heathen Oracle give a more dark Response! And therefore he adds, That they who understand the Original, may easily see,

⁴⁵⁴ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 170. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁴⁵⁵ White, *Commentary*, p. 156.

⁴⁵⁶ White, *Commentary*, p. 156.

⁴⁵⁷ White, *Commentary*, p. 157. The following paragraphs of this entry were written in four different types of ink, with the excerpts from Lowth and Münster each appearing in a different ink.

that the Words of the Watchman should be thus rendred; *The Morning is come, and the Night also; tho' yee enquire so impatiently, yee shall certainly return again.*⁴⁵⁸

Mr. Lowth's Gloss upon it is, "You enquire every *Night*, what that brings, but the *Morning* may be as dangerous as the *Night*."

If you will *enquire* indeed, *enquire* of God first, ask His Mercy; and afterwards come again."⁴⁵⁹

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We will add *Munsters* Gloss upon it;⁴⁶⁰

The *Duma* here, was one of the Sons of *Ishmael*, from whom the *Dumites* descended. Against these *Dumites*, it is here foretold, That Mischief should arise from *Seir*.

*Cujus Custodes cum interrogarentur, Num superventura Nox aliquid Mali paritura esset, illi responderunt, succedet Mané post Noctem, atque ideò si per Noctem nihil Mali incidit, sequente die incidere potest.*⁴⁶¹

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Q. In the Prophecy about the *Arabians*, there is notice taken of their *Hospitality*; as if they *lodged* the Travellers, and brought *Bread* and *Water* unto them? v. 13, 14.

A. *Munster* saies, 'Tis an *Irony* upon them. *Non enim fuerunt Hospitales in Profugos.*⁴⁶²

Q. The *Archers of Kedar*? v. 17.

A. Another Division of the *Arabians*, descended from *Kedar*, the Son of *Ishmael*. They were famous for the Use of the *Bow*, at which Weapon their Ancestor *Ishmael* was very dextrous. These People have it said of them, [Psal. CXX.5.] *They dwelt in the Tents of Kedar*. A swarthy People: [*Kedar* carries that in the Signification of it.] The true Order, in Cant. I.5. is, *I am black as the Tents of Kedar, but comely as the Curtains of Solomon*.

⁴⁵⁸ Commentary from Charles Le Cène, *An Essay*, pt. 1, ch. 8, pp. 97–98.

⁴⁵⁹ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 174.

⁴⁶⁰ The gloss from Münster was the first annotation on this verse, as indicated by the index number. Mather originally introduced it with: "Q. Favour me with Munsters Gloss upon it." When he later added further commentary into the free space above it, Münster's gloss became an addendum. So Mather crossed out the introductory phrase and replaced it with "We will add."

⁴⁶¹ "When his watchmen were asked whether the coming night would bring something bad, they responded: The morning will come after the night, and hence, if nothing bad happens at night, it can happen the following day." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4876).

⁴⁶² "They were not, to be sure, hospitable to fugitives." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4876).

Q. Why runs the Title of the Prophecy here, *The Burden of the Valley of Vision*; and not rather, *The Burden of Jerusalem*? v. 1.

A. You must note, that it was the Custome of the *Ancient*, not altogether abandoned by the *Modern*, Jewes, for any one that published a Writing, to putt something of the Writing into the *Title* of it: but whereas tis *our* Manner, to make the *Titles*, of our Books, an Account of the Matter handled in the Books, it was *their* Manner to fetch the *Titles* of their Books, from some Remarkable *Word* or *Phrase* therein occuring; for which Cause the *Titles* of the Jewish Books oftentimes have somewhat suprizing in them. Consider no more but the Hebrew *Titles* of the *Pentateuch*, and you'll see what I say. Accordingly, in the fifth Verse of the Prophecy now before us, there occurs, that Expression *The Valley of Vision*; and because there do's not before occur any other Expression so Remarkable it is employ'd as the *Title* for the whole Discourse. But I would upon this Occasion, observe, That the Word מִשָּׂא, which wee translate, *Burden*, do's not alwayes intimate that the following Discourse is *Against* or that it must bear & ly *Hard* upon, the Objects, therein Addressed. Thus here I render it, *Prolatio de Valle Visionis*; which is as much as to say, *Vaticinium in quo Mentio fit VALLIS VISIONIS*;⁴⁶³ tho' here indeed, it bee *Against* the People of that Valley. Yea, some learned Men, think, That the *Titles* of the *Prophecies*, might sometimes bee præfixed unto them not by the *Prophets* themselves, but by some Holy Men, whose Office t'was to conserve, and {emit}, the Sacred Writings which were Treasured in the Temple. If you demand another Instance to confirm thus my Opinion, of *Titles*, you shall have it. In Isa. 21.13. The Title of the Prophecy, מִשָּׂא בְעֶרֶב *The Burden of Arabia*.⁴⁶⁴ – why is it not barely מִשָּׂא עֶרֶב, as in other Cases; but מִשָּׂא בְעֶרֶב Why? Because the *Word*, בְּעֶרֶב, is the first, & most considerable Word of the Prophecy!

Q. Why is *Jerusalem* called, *The Valley of Vision*? v. 1.

A. The glorious God made Himself in some sort *visible* there, so as no where else in the World. The People there had most sensible Representations of the Divine *Glory* before their Eyes; especially in the Exhibition of the, *Shechinah*.

Or it might be called thus, Because there was a Colledge of *Seers* in it. They had inspired Prophets there & Messengers that came from God, with Discoveries of His Will unto them.

⁴⁶³ “A mention of the valley of vision; [which is as much as to say], A prophecy in which the VALLEY OF VISION is referred to.”

⁴⁶⁴ מִשָּׂא בְעֶרֶב [massa ba'ra'v] *ESV*: “The oracle concerning Arabia,” *KJV*: “The burden upon Arabia.”

Jerusalem was a Valley, for the low Scituation of it; being a great Part of it built at the Foot of Mount *Zion*, and compassed with Hills on every Side.

Might it not be called, *A Valley of Vision*, partly because of Mount *Moriah* there? Every one knows the Signification.⁴⁶⁵

Q. What to do on the *Housetops*? v. 1.

A. They went thither for *Prayers*, as well as to discover the Approach of Adversaries or of Assistences.⁴⁶⁶

Q. On that of, *Breaking down the Walls, and of Crying to the Mountains*? v. 5.

A. Some are breaking down the Walls of the Houses in others, while others are giving of communal Alarms to those that guard the Passes of the Mountains, & calling on them stoutly to maintain their Posts.⁴⁶⁷

1516.

Q. What was the Intention & Original of that Action, *They uncovered the Shield*? v. 6.

A. You will oblige mee, to Recite the several Remarkables, concerning the *Shields* of the Ancients.

Their *Shields* were large enough, to make a Bier for a Dead Man; else the *Lacadæmonian* Women would never say to their Sons, at their going into the Wars ἢ σὺν τούτῳ ἢ ἐπὶ τούτῳ *either bring back this Peece of Armour, or bee carried on it unto thy Grave.*⁴⁶⁸

It was infinitely opprobrious among the *Græcian* Warriours to lose this Weapon in a Fight. *Plutarch* relates, that they banished *Archiculus*, for saying and writing, *That it were better for a Man to throw away his Shield, than his Life.*⁴⁶⁹ And thus it was, among the *Jewish* Warriours too. Wherefore, you find this to bee an Ingredient of the public Mourning, in 2. Sam. 1.21. That *the Shield of the Mighty was vilely cast away. David*, a Man of Arms, composed that Funeral Song; and hee was very sensible how disgraceful a Thing it was for Souldiers to

⁴⁶⁵ The last three explanations are White, *Commentary*, p. 161. *Moriah* is mentioned in two different contexts (*HCBD*): a) as the place three days travel from Beersheba where Abraham was about to sacrifice his son when an angel of God stopped him (Gen. 22:2); b) as a rocky hill in Jerusalem where Solomon built the temple (2 Chron. 3:1).

⁴⁶⁶ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 177.

⁴⁶⁷ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 177.

⁴⁶⁸ "Either with this [shield] or [dead] upon it. See *Plutarch, Sayings of Spartan Women* (16.241), in *Moralia*.

⁴⁶⁹ *Plutarch, The Ancient Customs of the Spartans* (34.239), in *Moralia*: "Archilochus the poet, when he arrived in Sparta, they ordered to depart that very instant because they learned that he had written in his verses that it is better to throw away one's arms than to be killed. 'Shield that was mine, fair armour, now gladdens the heart of some Saian; / Sorry I left it behind tangled in brush in my path; / But for myself I escaped from the clutches of Death. Let perdition / Take the old shield, for no worse surely I'll get the next time'" (transl.: *LCL* 245, p. 443).

quitt their Shields in the Field; yett this was the deplorable Case of the *Jewish Souldiery*, in that unhappy Engagement with the Philistines. They *fled away* (1. Sam. 31.7.) and left their *Shields* behind them.

Furthermore, they did use to scour their *Shields* with *Oyl* (for they were *Brass*) to make them look *Bright*. This was because they took a singular Pride in them, and generally engraved, as well their *Deeds*, as their *Names*, thereupon; whereas the *Shields* which were not thus engraved upon, were call'd, *Blank Shields*, and were thought, very Disgraceful; according to that in *Virgil*, – *Par-mâque inglorius Albâ*.⁴⁷⁰

[39v] Now this also might Illustrate several Passages of Scripture unto us. As now, tis said, 2. Sam. 1.21. *The Shield of the Mighty is vilely cast away, the Shield of Saul, as if it had not been anointed with Oil*; for | so the latter Clause is to bee rendred, referring to the *Shield*, and not unto *Saul*; and the Hebrew That best bears that Version q. d. *The Shields were trod underfoot; as if they had never had any Oil used upon them*, to brighten them. Thus, what wee read, in Isa. 21.5. *Anoint the Shield*; is a plain Reference to this Custom.

All that I shall here further observe is, That as the Warriours, with whom glittering Arms were in great Esteem, did *Anoint their Shields*, to give them a Luster, so, they covered them with a *Case*, when they used them not; this was to preserve them from growing Rusty and Soiled. And this was the Intention and Original of that Expression here, which led up into all this Discourse, *uncover the Shield*. –

Q. What was, the *Covering of Judah*? v. 8.

A. *Jerom* takes it, for the *Veil* of the Sanctuary.⁴⁷¹

But it may be taken for the *Strongholds* which covered the People from Danger. The dismantling of the Fortified Cities is here foretold.

Then they betook themselves to the *House of the Forest*. The Arsenal in *Jerusalem* was called so: perhaps for the Sake of Resemblance it might have to some Famous House in the *Forest of Lebanon*. Is it not the same that called, [Cant. IV.4.] *The Tower of David*?⁴⁷²

Q. The Provision of *Water*? v. 11.

⁴⁷⁰ “And a white shield, as yet unfamed.” *Virgil, Aeneis*, 9.548; transl.: *LCL* 64, p. 153.

⁴⁷¹ From White, *Commentary*, p. 163, Mather summarizes Jerome’s opinion, as expressed in his *Commentarii in Isaiam*, lib. 7, at Isa. 22:8 [PL 24. 270; *CCSL* 73] (“Tunc Omnipotens Deus per ecclesiasticos viros revelabit operimenta Judae ...”) and even more clearly in lib. 14, at Isa. 52:4 [PL 24. 497–99; *CCSL* 73A] and in his *Epistulae*, epist. 46, *Paulae et Eustochii ad Marcellam. De sanctis locis*, col. 4 [PL 22. 485; *CSEL* 54] (“et postquam velum templi scissum est, et circumdata ab exercitu Jerusalem ...”).

⁴⁷² White, *Commentary*, p. 164.

A. Our gracious GOD at the time of denouncing His Judgments instructs the People how to prevent & escape the Judgments.⁴⁷³

Jerusalem was ill furnished with Water; not having any but what came from a small Brook, and a Fish-Pond without the City. Wherefore He tells them, they should make Receptacles for Water between the Two Walls of the City. All thus *Hezekiah* did. [2. Chron. XXXII.4.]

There were Two *Pools* or *Lakes*, that supplied *Jerusalem* with Water: The *upper Pool* [Ch. VII.3. XXXVI.2.] called *Gihon*. [2. Chron. XXXII.30.] called likewise, the *old Pool*, [Here, v. 11.] and the *lower Pool*, here mentioned. *Hezekiah* made a Conveyance, to bring down the Waters from the *upper Pool*, into this *lower*. [2. Chron. XXXII.30.]

The *Numbring of the Houses* here spoken of, was the Marking out what Houses were to be pulled down for the better fortifying the Walls of the City.⁴⁷⁴

Q. What was the Meaning of the Prophecies against *Shebna*, and how were they accomplished? v. 17, 18, 19.

A. When tis here said (for so wee are to read it) *The Lord will certainly cast thee forth, O mighty Man*; the Meaning is, The Lord will cause thee to dwell at a Distance from the City; Namely by smiting him with a *Leprosy*. And the *Covering* hereupon threatned unto him, is that which the *Lepers* were obliged by the Law [Lev. 13.45.] to wear upon them. When tis added, *Hee will violently Turn thee*, the Sense of the Original is, *convolvendo convolvet Te Involucris*, and it is but a continuation & amplification, of the former Threatning about the *Covering* of the *Leprosy*.⁴⁷⁵ Hee was Hurled like a *Ball into a large Countrey*; when hee was Thrown out of the City for his Distemper. And when tis said, *There shalt thou Dy* the Design of it is, *There [eris par mortuo] Thou shalt be like one that is Dead*. This was an Expression, used for *Lepers*, [Num. 12.12.] whom *Josephus* calls νεκροῦ μηδὲν διαφέροντας, *Nothing differing from the Dead*.⁴⁷⁶

Shebna, tis true Dyed not of this *Leprosy* (as *Grotius* observes) but being Healed of it hee returned into the City; nevertheless hee never did Recover his former Dignity of the *κουροπαλάτου*, whereto *Abaz* had advanced so unworthy a Person.⁴⁷⁷

And then according to the Prædiction, in the last Verse, *The Burden* (or the Dependence) *that was upon it, shall bee cut off*; all that had been Dependents upon that Minister of State {hereby} forsook him.

⁴⁷³ White, *Commentary*, p. 164.

⁴⁷⁴ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 179. The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁴⁷⁵ "By whirling around he wraps you in blankets." Grotius, *Opera* (1:292).

⁴⁷⁶ "In no way differing from a corpse." Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 3.264; transl.: LCL 242, p. 445. The entry is probably derived from Grotius (*Opera* 1:292).

⁴⁷⁷ From Grotius (*Opera* 1:292). A title for the person leading a palace or a court.

Or, The *Covering of Shebna*, may be allusive to the Case of Persons disgraced & condemned. [2. Sam. XV.30. Esth. VII.8. Jer. XIV.3.]⁴⁷⁸

Q. Some of the Jewish Traditions about *Shebna*? v. 19.

A. The *Talmuds* report, That *Shebna* revolting to *Sennacherib*, was by him (after the Execution done by the Angel of God upon his Forces,) carried unto *Ninive*; and there tied unto an Horses Tail, and drawn thro' Briars and Brambles until he died.⁴⁷⁹

The Hebrews accuse him, For having secretly kept a *Correspondence* with the Enemy, that he might secure a good Chance to himself, whatever might happen: Yea, that he treacherously agreed with the Enemy, to deliver the City into his hands.⁴⁸⁰

Yea, 'Tis also said, That he hoped, for the Betraying of the City, to be made a *King* there till his Death. For which Cause he hewed himself out a *Mausoleum*, a Royal Sepulchre.

Q. The *Key* on the *Shoulder* of *Eliakim*? v. 22.

A. The *Key* is an Ensign of Authority, worn in our Courts at present, by Persons of the highest Posts in Government. It is laid on the *Shoulder* here, to show the *Weight* of the *Business*, & the *Strength* requisite under the Discharge of it.⁴⁸¹

Eliakim is here called, A *Father*. Princes often putt this Title on their chief Ministers. In the *Theodosian* & *Justinianian* Codes, there are Instances, in the Rescripts of *Constantine* & his {Successors} to their {*Præfects*?} & {*Prætors*?}.

Q. How, *from the Vessels of Cups to all the Vessels of Flagons*? v. 24.

A. – From the Highest to the Lowest.

⁴⁷⁸ See Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 181. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁴⁷⁹ This annotation is derived from John Trapp, *A Commentary upon Isaiah*, p. 83, who paraphrases the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Sanhedrin 26b (Soncino, p. 154).

⁴⁸⁰ From Trapp (*A Commentary upon Isaiah* 83), who paraphrases a speculative midrash on 2 Kings 18 and Isa. 36–37 about the betrayal of Shebna's and Joah's who write a secret letter of surrender to Sennacherib using an arrow to deliver it. The midrash is found in *Midrash Leviticus*, pp. 70–71, on Lev. 4:3 [*If The Anointed Priest, Sin*], and in the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Sanhedrin 26a (Soncino, p. 153).

⁴⁸¹ See White, *Commentary*, p. 168. Compare also Mather, *Tripuradissus*, p. 168.

4183.

Q. The Fate of *Tyre* in general; what was it? v. 1.

A. It was diverse Times *Destroy'd*, and it was diverse Times *Rebuilt*; and, as *Curtius* expresses it, *multis Casibus defuncta, et post Excidium renata*.⁴⁸²

All Intineraries inform us, That at this Day, *Tyre* is a Ruinous Heap, having only a few poor Cottages of a few mean Fishermen to be seen upon it. There is but *one whole House* there to be seen; all the rest are destroy'd; only some Caves, or Ovens are left, in which it may be two Hundred People are lodged.⁴⁸³

Q. The Occasion of this terrible Prophecy? v. 1.

A. While *Salmaneser* was engaged in the Siege of *Samaria*, *Hezekiah* took the Opportunity of Recovering what his Father had lost; and he requir'd from the *Philistines*, all the Cities of *Judah*, which they had siezed while *Pekah* and *Rezin* distressed the Land. Yea, he dispossess'd them of almost all their own Countrey, except *Gaza* and *Gath*.

When the Siege of *Samaria* was over, *Salmaneser* demanded of *Hezekiah* the Tribute which his Father *Ahaz* agreed with *Tiglath-Pileser*, who was the Father of *Salmaneser*, to pay unto him; And upon his refusing of the Payment, *Salmaneser* would have come upon him with all his Power, had not the *Tyrians* diverted him. *Elulæus* the King of *Tyre*, seeing the *Philistines* brought low, by *Hezekiah's* War upon them, laid hold on the Opportunity to reduce *Gath*, which some time afore had revolted from him. The *Gittites* hereupon engaged *Salmaneser* in their Cause; who marched with his whole Army against the *Tyrians*. Whereupon *Sidon* and *Ace* (called afterwards *Ptolomais*, and now *Acon*,) and other maritim Towns in *Phenicia*, revolted from the *Tyrians*, and submitted unto *Salmaneser*. But the *Tyrians* in a Sea-fight with Twelve Ships only, beat the *Assyrian* & *Phenician* Fleets which were together & consisted of Sixty Ships. This gave such a Reputation to their Naval Affairs, that *Salmaneser* turned the War into a Siege; & leaving an Army to block up the City, returned into *Assyria*. They held out five Years; at the End whereof *Salmaneser* dying, they were delivered. On such a Success they were puffed up, & grew very Insolent; And this Insolence of theirs provoked the Prophecy which here foretells the Miseries that *Nebuchadnezzar* afterwards brought upon them.⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁸² "Destroyed by many misfortunes and reborn after demolition." See the work of the Roman historian Quintus Curtius Rufus (1st cent. CE), *Historiae Alexandri Magni Macedonis*, 4.4; transl.: LCL 368, p. 204.

⁴⁸³ Mather is here drawing on Thomas Fuller, *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine*, lib. 2, cap. 5, p. 127.

⁴⁸⁴ Derived from Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected* (1:19–20).

It is here said, *From the Land of Chittim*. *Chittim* signifies all the Countries lying upon the *Mediterranean*. The Meaning is, The News of the Siege of *Tyrus*, would be carried unto all the trafficking Parts of the *Egean* and *Ionian* Seas, and reach the most western Coasts.⁴⁸⁵

Q. Why is *Tyrus* called, *The Sea, & the Strength of the Sea*? v. 4.

A. Because of her maritim Scituation and Fortifications.

She laments her Condition, as one that had never brought forth & brought up any Children, because of the Slaughter of her Inhabitants.⁴⁸⁶

Q. How, *As at the Report concerning Egypt*? v. 5.

A. The *Port-Royal* Version is more conformable to the Hebrew.

*When this Report shall reach to Egypt, they shall be very much troubled for the sad Condition of Tyre.*⁴⁸⁷

Q. Why, *pass over to Tarshish*? v. 6.

A. Seek a Refuge in some of the Ports that ly on the *Mediterranean* Sea; where the *Egyptians* did use to Traffick.⁴⁸⁸ The LXX understand the Place, of *Carthage*, which was a Colony transplanted from *Tyrus*.⁴⁸⁹

Q. On the *Antiquity of ancient days*? v. 7.

A. *Tyre* is mentioned as a strong City, in the Days of *Joshua*. [XIX.29.] *Strabo* says, *Next unto Sidon*, *Tyrus* is μεγιστε των φοινικων και αρχαιοτατη πολις. *The greatest and most ancient of all the Phenician Cities.*⁴⁹⁰

59

Q. Why are the Merchants of *Tyre*, said to bee *Princes*? v. 8.

A. For their Honourable & Magnificent Way of Living. And it seems, *Tyrannus*, which was a good Word, for a good King, until the customary Using of it in the worst Sense infected it, had its Original from the Stateliness of the *Tyrian* Merchants. — 59.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁵ See Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 186. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁴⁸⁶ White, *Commentary*, p. 171.

⁴⁸⁷ “Lorsque le bruit de la destruction de Tyre sera passé en Egypt on sera saisi de doideur.” Cited from White, *Commentary*, p. 171. See the *Bible de Port-Royal* at this verse. Mather provides the English transl. The Hebrew reads כְּאֶשֶׁר-שָׁמַע לְמַצְרַיִם יְחִילוּ בְּשִׁמְעָם נָא: “When the report reaches Egypt, they will be in anguish at the report of Tyre.”

⁴⁸⁸ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 186.

⁴⁸⁹ The LXX has: Καρχηδόνα. See Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:58).

⁴⁹⁰ “The largest and oldest city of the Phenicians.” From Lowth (*Commentary* 188), Mather cites Strabo, *Geography*, 16.2.22; Mather provides a transl.

⁴⁹¹ From Thomas Fuller, *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine*, bk. 2, ch. 5, p. 127.

60

Q. Unto what alludes that Expression, in the Threatnings denounced upon *Tyre*, *I will stain the Pride of all Glory*. v. 9.

A. The Master-Piece among all the Arts professed in *Tyre*, was to fix fair & fresh Colours in Garments. Glorious *Dies* came from thence, to nourish the *Pride* of the World. The Expression threatens a Blast upon *Tyre*, in what was their greatest Glory. – 60.

Q. Why is *Tyre* called, *The Daughter of Tarshish*? v. 10.

A. Because of her being scituated near the Sea, whereto she owed her Greatness: her being enriched by *Tarshish*.

She was forced to pass over her own Land into Captivity, like a *River*, very swiftly; Because, tho' she fancied herself Imprægnable, she should *not have Strength* enough to hold out against the Adversary.

[40v]

Q. Why is *Tyre* called, *The Daughter of Zidon*? v. 12.

A. *Zidon* being taken by the *Philistines* of *Askalon* as tis related by *Justin*, l. 18. c. 3.⁴⁹² many of the Inhabitants escaping in Ships, became the Builders of *Tyre*. So 'twas the Daughter of *Zidon*; But soon out-grew its Mother.

Mr. *Lowth* observes, *Tyre* was a Colony of *Sidonians*.

An *oppressed Virgin*, – because Conquered, and Ravished, by her Enemies.⁴⁹³

1370

Q. The Meaning of that Passage, *Hee brought it to Ruine*? v. 13.

A. There is a *Punic* Word, *Mapalia*, which old *Festus*, (and *Servius*,) affirms to signify, *Cottages*. According to *Philargyrius*, it signifies, *Casa in Eremo Habitationum*.⁴⁹⁴ Now that is the very Word here used, מִפְּלֵה,⁴⁹⁵ and the *Condition* of *Cottagers* in a Wilderness, is meant by the *Ruine* here spoken of.

⁴⁹² See the Roman historian Justin (Marcus Junianus Justinus, fl. 3rd cent. CE), *Epitome historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi* (18.3). From Jameson, *Spicilegia*, cap. 16, § 7, p. 412.

⁴⁹³ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 190. The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁴⁹⁴ "Cottage of dwellers in the wilderness." From Grotius (*Opera* 1:294), Mather cites Philargyrius (Iunilius Flagrius), a Milan-based fourth- or fifth-century commentator on Virgil's *Georgica* and other works; transl. modified from the editorial notes in the 1855 ed. of Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, vol. 1, p. 239. Mather recycled this entry for the introductory remarks to bk. 3 ("De Viris Illustribus") of the *Magnalia*, which collects the exemplary biographies of New England clergymen "who retired into an horrid wilderness of America, and encountered the dismal hardships of such a wilderness," because at home they had been "deprived, not only of their livings, but also of their liberty to exercise their ministry . . ." In this context, Mather then adds "that I remember the prophet speaking of what had been done of old by the Assyrians to the land of the Chaldeans uses an expression which we translate, in Isa. xxiii.12: 'He brought it unto ruine.'" Then follows the suggestion for the revised translation

The Meaning of this whole obscure Verse, (which the Generality of Interpreters do but plunge into more Obscurity,) is this. The *Chaldeans* were an ancient People, brave & rich, and had many strong Places to defend themselves; yett were they vanquished by the *Assyrian*. – The Prophet leaves the *Tyrians*, to draw the Conclusion. Therefore no Wonder if the *Babylonians* now prevailed against so Inconsiderable a People as Them.

Our *Day*, after *Grotius*, gives this Turn to the Words; *Behold, The Land of the Chaldeans; The People which now dwell in it, dwelt not in it, until the Assyrians founded it for them that before dwelt in the Wilderness.*⁴⁹⁶

They, that is, the *Chaldeans*, the first Inhabitants thereof, *built the Towers thereof, they raised up the Palaces thereof*; yett for all that; *He*, that is, the *Assyrian*, made a compleat Conquest of them. Now the constant Custom of the *Assyrian* was, when they reduced any Nation, to remove the old Inhabitants, & substitute fresh Colonies. Thus, they removed, the old Inhabitants of *Chaldaea*, & brought in them who before *dwelt in the Wilderness*.

Baladan, or *Nabonassar*, did restore the decay'd *Babylon*; to be the Metropolis of the *Scenites*, which dwelt in Tents before dispersed thro' *Arabia deserta.*⁴⁹⁷

Q. What is meant, by, *The Days of one King?* v. 15.

A. *Sanctius* thinks, The Age of *David* was become now proverbial.⁴⁹⁸

But our *Gataker* takes it, According to the Duration of *one Kingdome*; that is, the *Chaldean*; At the Subversion whereof *Tyre* would be delivered.⁴⁹⁹

The *Tyrians*, now so sharing to the *Jews* in their Deliverance, many of them embraced the Jewish Religion: and they freely & largely contributed unto the Maintainance of those who stood at the Altar of GOD, & lett them neither want Food nor Cloathing.

A Prophecy, that many Strangers to the True Religion would be at Length converted and consecrate their Wealth to the Service of GOD.⁵⁰⁰

(“*Condition of Cottagers in a Wilderness*”) provided above and the conclusion: “Truly, such was the *ruine* which the *ceremonious* persecutors then brought upon the most conscientious non-conformists unto their unscriptural *ceremonies*.”

Grotius also refers to the work of the late fourth-century Roman historian Festus (Festus Rufius, Sextus), *Breviarium rerum gestarum populi Romani* (132.9.) and the grammarian Maurus Servius Honoratus who wrote a commentary on Virgil's *Aeneis*; see his *Opera* here at *Aeneis* (4.259).

495 מַפְּלָה [mappalah] “heap of rubble, ruin.”

496 Mather here draws on the work of the Church of England clergyman and biblical commentator William Day (bapt. 1605, d. 1684), *An Exposition of the Book of the Prophet Isaiah* (1654), pp. 27–28. Compare also *Grotius*, *Opera* (1:294).

497 The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

498 As mentioned in White (*Commentary* 175); compare *Sanctius*, *In Isaiam prophetam commentarii*, pp. 244–47.

499 From White (*Commentary* 176), Mather refers to *Gataker's* commentary on Isa. 23:15 in *Westminster Annotations*, unpaginated.

500 Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 193.

Q. *Of whom speaks the Prophet these terrible things, in this Hard Chapter?* v. 1.

A. I make no doubt, That the Prophetic Spirit had an Eye to the Condition of the World, when our glorious Lord, shall come to Destroy Antichrist, & pour out the seven last Plagues, & sett up His Kingdome on the Ruines of the Adversaries.⁵⁰²

But yett, we may find a more Immediate Accomplishment of those Tremendous Things, in the Condition of *Judæa*, under the Invasion of *Sennacherib*. That it is indeed so, *Forerius* will tell you, *Res ipsa clamat, et Verba ipsa satis ostendunt de Judæa esse Sermonem.*⁵⁰³

Q. On that of, *Transgressing the Laws, & Changing the Ordinance?* v. 5.

A. It is the very Crime, that gives the Character of *Antichrist*. [Dan. VII.25.]⁵⁰⁴

Q. What, *The City of Confusion*, and how, *Broken down?* v. 10.

A. *Forerius* determines it, for *Jerusalem*. It is called, *Kiriath Tohu*, for the same Reason that *Moses* called the first Rudiments of the Earth, by that Name. *Tohu* is a Term for what is much out of Order. So was *Jerusalem*, *Quod Gubernatione, Magistratibus, Judiciis, Sacrificiis, quæ in florenti R. P. Statu certis locis Temporibusque peraguntur careret.*⁵⁰⁵

Be sure, an Army of near Two hundred thousand Men, could not ly about a Town, a whole Summer, without making several Breaches in the Wall; which is all that *Nishbera* signifies; not an universal Destruction.

But, by the *City*, some understand, *Samaria*.⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰¹ While Mather (with Forerius, Grotius, and White) allows for a more immediate historical application of the prophecies of ch. 24 to the historical fate of the Ten Tribes, he, at the same time, insists with Lowth (who, in turn draws on a long interpretative tradition reaching back to the Church Fathers) that the prophecies also foretell the “General Destruction of the World at the Last Day” (*Commentary* 195).

⁵⁰² Compare Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 195.

⁵⁰³ “The matter itself proclaims it, and the very words show it sufficiently, that the speech is about Judæa.” From White (*Commentary* 178); Forerius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4919).

⁵⁰⁴ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 196.

⁵⁰⁵ “Because it was without government, magistrates, courts and the sacrifices which are made in the right place and in the right time when the body politic flourishes.” From White (*Commentary* 180); Forerius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4921). תוהו [tohu] “emptiness, void, formlessness, chaos,” in this case a reference to a deserted city. Cf. Gen. 1:2.

⁵⁰⁶ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 197.

Q. The *Crying for Wine*; what? v. 11.

A. Not so much a Calling for it, as a Lamentation for the Want of it. The plundering Souldiers destroy'd their *Vintage*; and the frighted People, who fled to *Jerusalem* for Security, bitterly lamented the Calamity.⁵⁰⁷

Q. If *Jerusalem* were now filled with Inhabitants, how was it there *left in a Desolation*? v. 12.

A. *Shammah* is used sometimes to denote the Gesture of Men terrified with any sudden Danger, or surprised with any thing wonderful or an Unusual: The City was filled with Horror & Amazement.

It is by *Gousset* rendred, *Res stupenda*, or, *Stupor*.⁵⁰⁸

[41v]

Q. Who are they, that were thus to *glorify GOD*? v. 14, 15.

A. The good People whom GOD now favoured with Deliverance. Not only they whom He preserved in *Jerusalem*, who had a near View of His Majesty, but they also who fled unto the Isles of the *Mediterranean* Sea, and remained there till this Tyranny was over.

Be Urim, which we render, *In the Fires*, is by *Vatablus* understood of them who remain'd in the Valley of *Jerusalem*.⁵⁰⁹

Nevertheless, Christian, look so far forward, as the *Conflagration* of the World, at the *Second Coming* of the Lord. This is the main Event, that the Prophecy refers unto.

It is remarkable, That in this Event, only the Inhabitants of the *Isles of the Sea*, which is the Prophetic Phrase for *Europe*, and the western Parts of the World, are called upon to *glorify the Lord in the Fires*. No where, but there, will there be found any Number that shall then *glorify the Lord*, & bee *caught up* from the reach of the *Fires*, to *meet the Lord*.⁵¹⁰

Q. Who, the *Treacherous Dealers*, here? v. 16.

A. It is, q. d. The *Treacherous Dealer*, I foresee, will *deal treacherously*; tho'

⁵⁰⁷ White, *Commentary*, p. 180.

⁵⁰⁸ "An astonishing thing; an astonishment." From White (*Commentary* 181), Mather cites Jacques Gousset, *Commentarii linguae ebraicae* (1702), p. 354.

⁵⁰⁹ White, *Commentary*, pp. 181–82. Compare the gloss of Vatablus in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4918). The Hebrew is בְּאֲרָיִם [ba'urim] "in the east" or in the region of "light" or the "dawn."

⁵¹⁰ Compare 2 Thess. 1:10. With Lowth (*Commentary* 198), Mather connects this prophecy to the apocalyptic conflagration and the parousia but again leaves out Lowth's reference to the national conversion of the Jews. It is interesting to note that Mather also inserts his own speculations about the rapture, according to which the saints to be saved from the fire will primarily come from Europe and "the western Parts of the World." Compare also Mather, *Trip paradisus*, p. 189.

he pretends to be pacified with the Presents the King shall make him, he will destroy the Countrey with Fire & Sword.⁵¹¹

Q. The Allusions, of the, *Fear*, and *Pitt*, and *Snare*; and the *Windows open from on high*? v. 17, 18.

A. The first Part, alludes, to a *Deer*, in a Fright flying from its Pursuers. The Three Hebrew Words *Pachad*, and *Pachath*, and *Pach*, are an Elegancy (studied by the best Writers) which cannot be translated into any other Language.⁵¹²

The other, alludes to the *Deluge*. An Intimation, that the *Diluvium Ignis*, is here prædicted.⁵¹³

This by the Way, as Mr. *Lowth* observes, does confute the wretched Libertines, which have started a Whim, that the Pentateuch was written, a considerable time after the Captivity of the *Ten Tribes*.⁵¹⁴

Q. How, as *Prisoners are gathered in the Pitt*? v. 22.

A. Q. D. They shall be slain, and their bodies gathered and flung into a common Hole, as *Prisoners* under a Sentence of Death are shutt up together in a common Dungeon.

But after a Siege of *many Days*, the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem* were to be favourably visited by God, & brought out of their Distress.

This obscure Text, gave rise to the charitable Opinion of *Origen*, about the Release of the Devils.⁵¹⁵

The Text really refers to them; that are to be Raised from the Dead after the Battel of *Gog* and *Magog*. [Rev. XX.10.]⁵¹⁶

And so, in the præceding Verse, *The High Ones on High, & the Kings of the Earth on the Earth*, mean, the Devils, the *spiritual Wickedness* in *High Places*,

⁵¹¹ White, *Commentary*, p. 182.

⁵¹² פַּחַד וּפְחַת וּפַח [pachad waphachath waphach] "Fear, and the pit, and the snare." (KJV). Mather's explanation of the Hebrew paronomasia is taken from Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 200.

⁵¹³ "Deluge of fire." Possibly a reference to Joseph Mede, *De Gogo et Magogo conjectura*, in *Works* 3, p. 574. Here Mede speaks of the "Gentilium reliquiae quas diluvium ignis sub resurrectionem primum non inundaverit." In 1726 Mather published a millennialist tract in Latin that uses this phrase for a title: *Diluvium ignis: De secundo ac optando Jehovah-Jesu adventu*.

⁵¹⁴ Cited from Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 201. The reference is to those critics, most prominently Hobbes, Spinoza, and the Catholic Old Testament scholar Richard Simon, who had argued that the Pentateuch could not have been authored by Moses alone but must have been written or completed (drawing on an existing textual tradition) by Ezra or in the period of Ezra after the captivity. The logic here is that since Isaiah cites a phrase from Genesis (7.11), the Pentateuch could not have been written after the time of the prophet. On these debates and Mather's position in them, see Smolinski's "Editor's Introduction" (*BA* 1:131–44).

⁵¹⁵ White, *Commentary*, p. 184. From White Mather references Origen's teaching of the *Apokatastasis panton* ("The restitution of all"). See *De principiis*, lib. 1, cap. 6 ("De fine vel consummatione") [PG 11. 165–70; SC 253].

⁵¹⁶ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 203.

and the Rulers of the Earth under their Influences, whom the *Conflagration* will make a terrible Work among.

Q. How, *the Moon confounded & the Sun ashamed?* v. 23.

A. The Idolatrous Representations of those Heavenly Bodies would, as it were, blush for Shame to find themselves unable to protect their Worshipers.

The *Chaldee Paraphrast* understands the Words, of the *Assyrians* themselves, who worshipped the *Planets*.⁵¹⁷

But as Mr. *Lowth* rightly observes, the Text must be interpreted from, Rev. XXI.23.⁵¹⁸

Ancients, alludes to Exod. XXIV.9, 10. And refers to Rev. IV.4. XIX.4, 6.

⁵¹⁷ White *Commentary*, pp. 184–85. Compare Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:62).

⁵¹⁸ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 204.

4036

- Q.** Give us a Key to the whole Prophecy, in the Hymn here before us. v. 1.
A. One little Stroke of *Munsters*, will be an admirable one. *Gratiarum Actio de Gloriâ Piorum in Die Judicii*.⁵²⁰
 He ha's the Apostle *Paul* to bear him out in it.⁵²¹ And now, Read on!

- Q.** A *Palace of Strangers*? v. 2.
A. *Babylon* was built for the *Strangers* and Sojourners, who before dwelt in Tents, as Wanderers, in *Arabia Deserta*.⁵²²

- Q.** A Paraphrase on, *The City made an Heap*, and the rest? v. 2, 3.
A. *White* has been taught this Paraphrase.
 “Tho’ thou hast *made* of many a *City an Heap*, and of many a *defended City* a Ruin, and demolished the Habitations of *Strangers*,” (whereof there were many among the Jews, who partook in the common Calamity of having their Habitations destroy’d, but escaping, thought of settling for the time to come in Places of more Security, & were never tempted by the *Dulcedo Patriæ* to return again,) “so that they *never shall be built again*: Nevertheless the *People*, who by thy Assistance have been *too strong* for their Enemies, *hath glorify thee; the City* of brave Inhabitants, or of a strong People, *shall fear thee*.”⁵²³

But Mr. *Lowth* observes, The Word which we translate, *Strong*, may be rendred, *Fierce*. Its in *Sampsons* Riddle.⁵²⁴

- Q.** The first Intention of the *Feast*, here prepared? v. 6.
A. To express the Joy of the Jews, and the Nations about them, for the Overthrow of the *Assyrian* Oppressor, the Prophet here describes the Almighty, as

⁵¹⁹ Mather and Lowth (*Commentary* 206) side with a long exegetical tradition that interprets the prophecies in the next two chapters as (also) referring to the Last Judgment and the songs of praise that the blessed will then sing to God. By contrast, White has nothing but derision for such “amazing Instances of violent wresting of Scripture” (*Commentary* 185), offering instead a purely preterist interpretation.

⁵²⁰ “The expression of thanks about the glory of the righteous on the Day of Judgment.” See Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4929); compare Mather, *Tripuradensis*, p. 188.

⁵²¹ Possibly another reference to 2 Thess. 1:10.

⁵²² Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 207.

⁵²³ White, *Commentary*, p. 186. White refers to Salomon Glassius, *Philologia sacra*, lib. 3, tract. 7, pp. 1091–136, and Jacques Gousset, *Commentarii linguae ebraicae* p. 355.

⁵²⁴ A reference to Judg. 14:14. See Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 207. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

making a *Feast*, and inviting the People to come and satiate themselves with the Blood of their Enemies, which would be as good as a Banquet composed from the choicest Products of Nature for them. This *Feast* was to be made on Mount *Zion*, because from thence the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, would have a View of their slaughtered Enemies, & have the Surprise & Pleasure of the dreadful Spectacle.⁵²⁵

But a more evangelical View must be taken of the Matter.⁵²⁶

[42v]

Q. What, the *Face of the Covering*? v. 7.

A. Q.D. He will take away *Sorrow* from *all People*, by destroying the *Assyrian*; the Apprehensions of whose Barbarous Cruelty made them hang down their Heads, & cover their Faces; as *Elijah* did. [1. King. XIX.13.] It was the Custome of the Jews, when they were in Mourning, to cast a *Veil* or *Covering* over their *Faces*.⁵²⁷

The *Face of the Covering*, is an *Hypallage*, for the *Covering of the Face*; the Token of *Mourning*.

But how could *all the Earth* be concerned in the Terror that *Sennacherib* gave unto *Jerusalem*? No; The Prophecy looks forward unto the Time, when *GOD will wipe away all Tears from the Eyes* of His People.

The taking away of Ignorance and Prejudice, may be also comprized, in the *Destroying* of this *Covering*. [Isa. XXIX.10. 2. Cor. III.13, 14.]⁵²⁸

Q. What was, *The Rebuke taken away*? v. 8.

A. The *Fear of Death* was taken away from the People that lay under it, by a *Victory* given them over their Enemies.

The Neighbouring Nations, when they saw the Jews reduced unto Extremity, could not but call to Mind, how often they had their Boast of their being the peculiar People of GOD, & probably on that account they now upbraided them. This *Rebuke*, and *Satyr* upon them, was now taken away.

⁵²⁵ White, *Commentary*, p. 187.

⁵²⁶ Lowth's interpretation was certainly more evangelical than White's: "God's calling Men by Grace is often expressed in Scripture by the metaphor of inviting them to a Feast" (*Commentary* 208). The last sentence of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later. Compare also Mather, *Tripuradibus*, p. 177.

⁵²⁷ White, *Commentary*, p. 188. In his annotation on this verse White makes fun of those interpreters "who understand by these words" the taking away of "the Oppression of the *Devil*, *original Sin*, or *Chains of Diseases*." Lowth, and Mather after him, accept White's historically-oriented interpretation but argue that it does not exhaust the significance of the prophecy, insisting that there is a higher, eschatological meaning that refers to "all people, and all the earth."

⁵²⁸ The last three paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

Or, the Prophet might refer to the Insulting Speech of *Rabshakeh*, which when *Hezekiah* heard, he said, *This is a Day of Rebuke*.⁵²⁹

But now, lett a profane *White* and Company say what they will; The Apostle *Paul* has invited us, to consider the Deliverance of *Jerusalem* from the *Assyrian*, as intended by the Prophetic Spirit for a Type, of what shall be done for the People of GOD, in the latter Days, and at the *Resurrection of the Dead*.⁵³⁰

The Rebuke of His People, is, as Mr. *Lowth* observes, *The Reproach of His People*. So the Word is elsewhere translated. [Mic. VI.16.] *The Reproach* which the People of GOD endured, from their Adversaries and Persecutors.⁵³¹

1373

Q. *Moab shall be Troden down, as the Straw is troden down for the Dunghil.* How is that? v. 10.

A. Read it, *sicut teruntur Paleæ in plaustro*.⁵³² And take old *Jeroms* account of it.

*Hoc juxtà Ritum Loquitur, Palestinæ, et multarum Orientis Provinciarum, quæ ob Pratorum et Fæni Penuriam, Paleas præparant esui animantium. Sunt autem carpenta ferrata rotis in Sarralorum modum revolventibus, quæ stipulam conterunt, et comminuunt in Paleas.*⁵³³

The *Moabites* were sworn Enemies of the Jews; and may be supposed, either to Join with the *Assyrians*, or to take advantage of their Invasion, to insult & ravage their Side of the Countrey: For which *Hezekiah* made them smart, after the Overthrow of *Sennacherib*: [tho' we have nothing of this in the History.]⁵³⁴

⁵²⁹ *White*, *Commentary*, p. 188.

⁵³⁰ See 1 Cor. 15:54.

⁵³¹ *Lowth*, *Commentary*, p. 210. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁵³² "As straw is ground with the cart" (VUL). From Grotius in *Critici Sacri* (4:4939), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, lib. 8 [PL 24. 291; CCSL 73].

⁵³³ "He says this in accordance with a custom in Palestine and in many provinces of the Orient which – for lack of meadows and hay – prepare the chaff as food for animals. There are wagons with studded iron wheels rolling like saws which crush the straw and reduce it to chaff." From Grotius in *Critici Sacri* (4:4939), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, lib. 8 [PL 24. 292; CCSL 73].

⁵³⁴ *White*, *Commentary*, p. 189. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

1376.

Q. What is meant, when tis said, *Salvation God will appoint for Walls & Bulwarks?* v. 1.

A. The Original runs thus, *Salvation*, [or, if you will, JESUS] *will appoint Walls & Bulwarks*. And you will wonder, when I tell you, tis *Grotius* himself, who ha's this Touch upon it; *Sensu sublimiore referes ad Civitatem Caelestem, cujus conditor JESUS, / יֵשׁוּעַ* ⁵³⁵

Q. The *lofty City?* v. 5.

A. As, the Church is called, *The City of GOD*; so the Enemies of GOD and CHRIST, & His People, are full represented, as a *City*; a *Sodom*, and a *Babylon*, and a *Jerusalem* that kills the Prophets. [Rev. XI.8.]⁵³⁶

Q. The *Feet of the Poor treading it down?* v. 6.

A. Mr. *Lowth* observes, That under every Advancement which the Kingdome of our SAVIOUR has had in the World, the *Poor*, the Humble, the Lowly, those who have despised the World, & been despised by it, have a particular Share in the Glory and the Success of it.

And the Final Triumph of the Church over Antichrist, principally intended here, will be of them, who are *brought out of great Tribulation*.⁵³⁷

Q. On what we read about, *The Way of the Just?* v. 7.

A. A *Just* Man does Iniury to none; *Equity* is the Rule of all his Actions. It is thou, *O Lord*, who dost inspire this Equity into him; and thou dost govern the Steps of his Life, & mark out his Way for him. How equal then must be the Judgments of GOD? And how can He fail of Defending those, whom He encourages by His Promises to rely upon Him for His Protection?⁵³⁸

Forerius having offered this Illustration, adds upon it; *certo scio quod Viri docti hanc Elucidationem probabunt*.⁵³⁹

⁵³⁵ "In a more sublime sense you would refer it to the heavenly city, whose founder is Jesus." Grotius, *Opera* (1:296). This is one of the instances, in which Grotius allows for a *sensus sublimior* or *sensus mysticus* of the Isaianic prophecies, which, however, he regards as quite detached from the primary, historical sense.

⁵³⁶ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 213.

⁵³⁷ See Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 213.

⁵³⁸ White, *Commentary*, p. 192.

⁵³⁹ "I know for certain that learned men will approve of this explanation." From White (*Commentary* 192), Mather cites Forerius gloss; in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4945).

2320

Q. In that Passage, *They shall see and bee Ashamed, for their Envy at the People*: what is the *Envy* intended? v. 11.

A. By all Means, lett it bee rendred, *For the Zeal of the People*; that is to say, The *Zeal* of GOD, for His People; which, as it here followes, will bee a *Fire*, to devour their *Enemies*.

That Expression, *The Fire of thine Enemies shall devour them*, refers to what was done upon the Army of *Sennacherib*.

[43v]

Q. On that, *Thy Dead Men shall live?* v. 19.

A. Here comes on, the Answer of GOD, unto the Complaints of His People. Mr. *Lowth* doubts not, but this was one of the Texts, on which the Ancient Jews grounded their Beleeif of the *Resurrection*. [See Act. XXIV.14.]

In that Expression, *my Dead Body, they shall arise*, the Noun is in the singular Number, and the Verb in the plural. So Interpreters take the singular Distributively, for every Body. [As, Psal. XII.7.]

They that are the Churches *Dead*, in the former Sentence, are GODS *Dead*, in the latter Sentence.⁵⁴⁰

But, Christian, consider the *Resurrection* of thy SAVIOUR here, as assuring the *Resurrection* of all the Faithful.

{4563}

Q. How did the Ancients understand, *The Chambers*, into which the People of God are invited? v. 20.

A. *Tertullian* shall speak for the rest.

What we translate, *Chambers*, he will have to be translated, *Cellas promas*; and he adds, That they are the *Sepulchres*, wherein the Saints are to ly, till the Time of the Divine *Indignation*, in the Reign of *Antichrist*, be expired. But then, he proceeds; *cur Cellarum promarum potius Vocabulo usus est, et non alicujus Loci receptorij, nisi quia in Cellis promis caro salita, et usui reposita, servatur, depromenda illic suo tempore? Proinde enim et corpora medicata condimentis Sepulture, Mausoleis et Monumentis sequestrantur, processura indè cum iusserit Dominus. — De cellarijs non aliud effertur, quàm quod infertur; et post Antichristi eradicationem agitabitur Resurrectio.*⁵⁴¹

⁵⁴⁰ See *Lowth, Commentary*, pp. 218–19.

⁵⁴¹ “Or else, why did he prefer to use the expression ‘larders’ and not that of some other place of storage, except that in larders flesh is kept which has been salted and put by for use, so as to be brought out from them in due time? For in like manner bodies also, having been treated with the spicery of burial, are laid aside in tombs and sepulchres so as to come forth from them when the Lord commands . . . For even from pantries nothing other is brought out than what is brought in, and it is after the uprooting of Antichrist that the resurrection will be

Q. What are the *Chambers* intended, when the Lord saies, *come, my People, enter thou into thy Chambers, Hide thyself, as it were for a little Moment?* v. 20.

A. Consider, with mee, how often *Death* is called *Sleep*; even *Galen* saies, they are *Brother* and *Sister*, and in *Homers* Poetry, they both have *one Mother*, & are begotten of the *Night*; Yea, *Plato* will have them not *Alike*, but, in a Manner, *The Same*. Thus, when the Scripture speaks of our *Dying*, it ordinarily calls it, our *Sleeping*.

Consider with mee again, that the *Resurrection* is gloriously described and intended, in those Words, *Thy Dead Men shall live, they shall Arise, my Dead Body*; [for so I read it.] *For thy Dew, is as the Dew of Herbs, and the Earth shall cast out the Dead*. Our Lord Jesus Christ, reckons the Dead Race of them, that are by Faith united unto Him, to bee His *Dead Body*. Hee is the *Root*; and Hee now lives forever. What tho' the *Branches* are lopt off by *Death*? Still there is *Hope in the Tree*, saith Holy *Job*. For, *tho' the Stock thereof Dy in the Ground, yett thro' the Scent of Water, t'wil bud, and bring forth Boughs like a Plant*. The Jewes in the Book *Zohar*, tell us, That at the last Day, a Kind of *Plastical Dew* shall fall down upon the *Dead*, and ingender with *Luz*, the præserted *Bone*, out of which the whole Man shall again spring forth.⁵⁴² Jewish Fancies I indulge not; but I am sure, wee shall bee at last quickened by the Influences of Him, *whose Head is filled with the Dew, & whose Locks with the Drops of the Night*.⁵⁴³

And now, *consent* with mee, That the *Chambers*, which the People of God, are here invited into, are those of the *Grave*; their *Cameteries*, their *Dormitories*, their sleeping Places. [As the Kings Coffin, is called his *Bed*, 2. Chron. 16.14.] Here tis, that the People of God, must wait for the *grand Revolution*.

Is here no Allusion, to Exod. XII.22, 23.⁵⁴⁴

set in motion." Tertullian, *De resurrectione carnis*, cap. 27 [PL 2. 834–5; CSEL 47; CCSL 2]; transl.: *Tertullian's Treatise on the Resurrection*, p. 77.

⁵⁴² Derived from John Gregory, *A Sermon upon the Resurrection*, in *Works*, pp. 62–69. Compare also Mather's reflections on the resurrection in his annotation on Isa. 66:14. Gregory references the foundational text of the Kabbalah, the *Sefer ha-Zohar* ("Book of Splendor") through the partial Latin edition of Christian Knorr von Rosenroth, *Kabbala denudata*, vol. 2, *Idra Rabba*, sect. 4, col. 45–47, p. 393. In the 1887 English translation of the *Kabbala denudata* by Samuel Liddell MacGregor Mathers, the passages cited by Cotton Mather appear in ch. 4 ("Concerning the Dew, Or Moisture of the Brain, of the Ancient One, or Macroprosopus"). See esp. verse 45: "And from that dew which floweth down from his head, that (namely) which is external, the dead are raised up in the world to come"; and verse 47: "And it is written Isa. Xxvi.19: 'The dew of the lights is Thy dew.' Of the lights – that is, from the brightness of the Ancient One." On Mather and the tradition of Christian Kabbalah, see the footnote to his commentary on Prov. 8:36.

⁵⁴³ See Cant. 5:2.

⁵⁴⁴ See Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 219.

Q. On that, *Fury is not in me?* v. 4.

A. *White* so paraphrases it.

Fury is not in me against my Vineyard, to destroy it. *But yett* who would encourage *Briars & Thorns*, to come against me, as if they should be spared because they find I am not angry with my Vineyard? – Tho' I spare my *Vineyard* at this time, yett if they degenerate more & more, they shall feel the Effects of my consuming Indignation.⁵⁴⁷

Mr. *Lowth* so. The *Fury* doth not belong to me, and *Vengeance* be my *strange Work*; yett if *Briars* and *Thorns*, and such are the Wicked, will bid a Defiance to me, they will find, that I should soon destroy them; An Instance whereof they may see in the foregoing Prophecies.⁵⁴⁸

Q. On that, *lett him take hold of my Strength?* v. 5.

A. 'Tis an Allusion to one, who seeing another with a stretched-out *Arm*, ready to strike him, to the Ground, prevents the Blow, by taking hold of his Arm, & holding it fast that he cannot stir it.⁵⁴⁹

This is here to be done by humble *Repentance*.

This makes our Peace with God, who is the *Strength* of all them that fly to Him for Succour.⁵⁵⁰

Q. On that of, *staying the Rough Wind?* v. 8.

A. In winnowing His People from their Chaff, He allays & restrains the Violence of the Wind that it may not carry all away before it.⁵⁵¹

⁵⁴⁵ There is a stump of a torn-out page in the gutter of the manuscript here that has the index number 2635 written on it.

⁵⁴⁶ In his annotations on ch. 27 Mather again considers the very different interpretations of White and Lowth. Lowth (*Commentary* 221), with a long Christian tradition at his back, reads these prophecies as having their ultimate fulfillment in the glory of the millennial church after the binding of the dragon. By contrast, White (*Commentary* 196) understands these oracles as merely foretelling the defeat of Sennacherib and the future restoration of the Jews. In this case, Mather was apparently satisfied with White's historical explanations and mostly ignored Lowth's references to the latter days. Instead he added moral applications.

⁵⁴⁷ See White, *Commentary*, p. 197.

⁵⁴⁸ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 223. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁵⁴⁹ White, *Commentary*, p. 198.

⁵⁵⁰ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 223. The last sentence of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁵⁵¹ White, *Commentary*, p. 199.

Q. The *Stones of the Altar*? v. 9.

A. Tis to be taken Distributively, for every Altar. These, tis foretold, shall be beaten to Dust like *Chalkstones*, to abolish the very Memory of all Idolatrous Worship. [Compare, Exod. XXXII.20. 2. Chron. XV.16.]

Mr. *Lowth* observes, when the Prophets foretell a Thorough Reformation, they always mention an entire & utter Abolition of *Idolatry*: As if that were the Last of the Enemies to be destroyed.⁵⁵²

Q. That Passage; *He that made them will not have Mercy on them*? v. 11.

A. It is very worthy to be considered, by them who indulge themselves in all Wickedness upon this Encouragement; *God Almighty never made Man to Damn him*. The same Hand, which did *Create*, may, & for just Reasons will, also *Ruine*.

It is a Criticism some have made on this Occasion; That the Hebrew Word, *Bara*, signifies not only to, *Create*, but also, to *Destroy*, to *Remove*, to *Cut off*. *Sin* will bring it unto that. He that is, [Job. VII.20.] The *Præserver of Men*, will be the *Destroyer* of them.

[44v]

Q. What means, *From the Channel of the River, to the Stream of Egypt*? v. 12.

A. All the Countreys between *Euphrates* and the *Nile*.

q. d. when GOD shall have defeated the *Assyrian* Host, He will restore to their own Countrey, the Fugitives, who, upon the Coming of *Sennacherib*, shall be scattered among the other Nations.

They shall be *Beaten off*; as Fruits are separated from their Trees, thus would GOD make them leave the Places to which they had retired for Security.⁵⁵³

⁵⁵² Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 225.

⁵⁵³ White, *Commentary*, p. 201.

Q. *Wo to the Crown of Pride*: what, and why? v. 1.

A. *Samaria*, was now become the City, where the King of the Ten Tribes had his *Royal Seat*: That City had a King & a *Crown* to boast of; and they grew *proud* of the Honour which they thus enjoy'd. This expos'd them to many *Sins*, & *Woes*.

Q. Well; but the *Crown of Pride*, and the *Drunkards*, why mentioned in the same Sentence? v. 1.

A. It was the Custome of *Drunkards*, to putt upon their Heads, a *Crown*, (of *Flowers*, which are therefore here also mentioned.)

Of this Custome speaks *Anacreon*;

το ροδον το καλλιφυλλον
κροταφοισιν αρμοσαντες
πινωμεν αβρα γελωντες
Foliis Rosas Decoris
Caput undique Implicati
*Ridentes dulcè bibamus.*⁵⁵⁴

And elsewhere,

Στεφανους μεν κροταφοισι
Ροδινους συναρμωσαντες
μεθυωμεν αβρα γελωντες
Sed in Orbem Redimiti
Roseis Caput Corollis,
*Poti ridemus amicū.*⁵⁵⁵

The Prophet, with an elegant Similitude, here shoves, that their *sensual Pride*, would endure no more than a little While, but wither as soon as the Flowery *Crowns* upon their Heads.

To this Purpose, the Greek Epigrammatist;

Ανθεις και ληγεις και συ, τε ο στεφανος
*Flores ut sertum tu quoque deinde peris.*⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁴ "Let us fasten on our brows the rose with its lovely petals and drink, laughing gently." From Grotius (*Opera* 1:298), Mather cites Anacreon, *On the Rose* (5.44): τὸ ρόδον τὸ καλλιφύλλον, κροτάφοισιν ἀρμόσαντες, πίνωμεν ἄβρὰ γελῶντες (*LCL* 143, p. 219).

⁵⁵⁵ "Let us fasten garlands of roses on our brows and get drunk, laughing gently." From Grotius (*Opera* 1:298), another reference to Anacreon, *The Revelry* (5.43): Στεφάνους μὲν κροτάφοισι, ροδίνους συναρμόσαντες / μεθύωμεν ἄβρὰ γελῶντες (*LCL* 143, p. 217).

⁵⁵⁶ "Both thou and the garland flower and fade." From Grotius, *Opera* (1:298), Mather cites

Q. The *glorious Beauty on the Head of the fat Valley?* v. 4.

A. The Fine Buildings of *Samaria*, the stately City that stands on the Summit of a Mountain, overlooking the fertile Valley of *Sichem*.⁵⁵⁷

Q. What was, the *Crown of Glory unto the Residue of the People?* v. 5.

A. When the Threatened Judgments were executed on the Ten Tribes, (which was in the Days of *Hezekiah*,) GOD then made the Two remaining Tribes glorious: particularly upon the Overthrow of *Sennacheribs* Army.⁵⁵⁸

Q. How, *Turn the Battel to the Gate?* v. 6.

A. Read, *Return* it. They turn it back on their Enemies, and pursue them to the *Gates* of their own Cities. [Compare, 1. Sam. XVII.52.]⁵⁵⁹

Q. But the Meaning of that; *But they also have erred thro' Wine?* v. 7.

A. The Two remaining Tribes, who during the exemplary Reign of good *Hezekiah*, did persevere in the Worship of GOD, & an Observation of His Laws, when he was gone, fell into all Manners of Disorders & Excesses; and the Priests & Prophets were as bad as the rest of the People.⁵⁶⁰

Q. The Meaning of that, *whom shall He teach Knowledge?* v. 9.

A. Q.D. If the Teachers were Sober, Vigilant, Diligent, and ready to instruct the People under their Care, the People themselves will be so sottish & stupid as to render their Instructions insignificant. They will be as Incapable of receiving the plainest Lessons, as Children at the Mothers Breast.

This is *White's* Paraphrase. Tho' his great Master *Grotius*, gives the Words this Turn; *shall I address my Discourses to the younger Sort; since the old ones disregard them?*⁵⁶¹

It follows, *Præcept must be upon Præcept*. That is; They must be taught like little Children, who must have but a little at a time.

Tis Mr. *Lowth's* Paraphrase; If the Teachers were never so well qualified to instruct, there are none that will be instructed.

They that are grown to Years of Discretion are but Children in Religious Knowledge. And it is to as little Purpose to teach this People, as to undertake the Teaching of Infants that are but newly weaned.⁵⁶²

a poem from the epigrammatist of the early Byzantine period Rufinus, in *Greek Anthology*, (5.74): ἀνθείς καὶ λήγεις καὶ σὺ καὶ ὁ στέφανος (LCL 67, p. 165).

557 White, *Commentary*, p. 203.

558 White, *Commentary*, p. 203.

559 Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 231.

560 White, *Commentary*, p. 204.

561 From White, *Commentary*, p. 204. See Grotius, *Opera* (1:298).

562 Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 232. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

Q. The Meaning of that; *with stammering Lips will He speak to this People?* – v. 11.

A. q. d. They are grown so senseless, that they no more understand what is delivered unto them, than if it were delivered in a Strange & Barbarous Language.⁵⁶³

But some understand it thus. The glorious GOD, who by His Prophets had spoken unto them to no Purpose, would speak to them hereafter, not by Words, as to Rational Creatures, but by Blows & Stripes, as to bruits, and by bringing a People of a *strange Language*, the *Assyrians & Chaldeans*, upon them.⁵⁶⁴

Q. On that, *This is the Rest?* v. 12.

A. GOD by His Prophets insisted not on any thing more, than a tender Concern in the People for their suffering Brethren, to relieve one another in Distress; which would be a *Rest & Refreshment* unto the Lord Himself. [See Zech. VII.7.] But tho' this was delivered in so short & plain a Manner; yett they would not learn it, until their own Sufferings taught them.⁵⁶⁵

Or, as Mr. *Lowth* carries it; GOD often admonished this People, that His Word, and the Promises of it, were the only thing that could comfort them under their Trouble.⁵⁶⁶

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[45v]

[illeg.]

Q. What was the Meaning of those profane Words, *we have made a Covenant with Death, and with Hell are we at an Agreement?* v. 15.

A. *Death and Hell* shall do us no Hurt. Men fear no Hurt from those with whom they are in *Covenant*, and at *Agreement*.

Grotius will have to be understood here, *Sennacherib*, their *Deadly Enemy*, whom they sooth'd into a good Humour with soft Words & appealing Presents.

They made *Lies a Refuge*, in their Flatteries of that Monarch, & pretended Compliance with his Religion.⁵⁶⁷

Others, by, *Lies*, and *Falshood*, understand, their *Idols*. Others, their *Wealth* dishonestly gotten, by which they were sure to make their Peace with the *Assyrian*.

⁵⁶³ White, *Commentary*, p. 205.

⁵⁶⁴ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 233.

⁵⁶⁵ White, *Commentary*, pp. 205–06.

⁵⁶⁶ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 233. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁵⁶⁷ See *Grotius, Opera* (1:298). Beginning with “*Grotius*,” the entry was written with a different ink and probably added later.

They are not supposed, for to have said thus much in *express* Terms, but This was their *Meaning*.⁵⁶⁸

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Q. In what Sense, to what End, is that Clause inserted, *Hee that Beleeveeth, shall not make Hast?* v. 16.

A. I am not altogether Displeased, with *Fernandius's* Gloss upon it.

*Locus est obscurus, sed puto quadrare hunc Sensum; ut moneantur à Deo Fideles superædificandi Christo Lapidi in Ecclesia, nè in eo solùm attendant firmitatem, elegantiam, pretium, sed meminerint esse Lapidem; proindè cum superimponuntur ei per fidem, nè præcipitanter id faciant, incautè de cætero viventes: sic enim at durum Lapidem confringentur; juxtà illud Domini, Matth. 21.44. Qui ceciderit super Lapidem istum, confringetur: Verbum, ceciderit, inconsiderantiam notat.*⁵⁶⁹

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I will Add, if you please, *Munsters* Gloss upon it.

It is this, and a good one; *Qui credit his Verbis meis, non festinet videre hunc Lapidem Angularem; Nondum enim impletum est Tempus quod Pater cælestis præfinivit Filio Suo incarnando.*⁵⁷⁰

But some will not quite lose the Sight of *Sennacherib*; – *Jerusalem* was the only Place for Safety; Here GOD laid a *Foundation* for the Security of His People, when others used various Tricks to shelter themselves from that Monarch. He that *Beleeved*, would have no Occasion to *hurry away* into distant Countreys.⁵⁷¹

⁵⁶⁸ White, *Commentary*, pp. 206–07.

⁵⁶⁹ “The passage is obscure, but I believe that the following reading is appropriate: that the faithful shall be reminded by God to build the stone upon Christ in the church, [and] that they shall not only attend to its stability, elegance and value but also remember that it is a stone; that they shall therefore, when they [i.e. the stones] are laid upon one another through faith, not make haste and live without caution concerning the rest: for so they will break into pieces on the hard stone next to that which is of the Lord, *Matth. 21.44: He who falls upon that stone will break into pieces*. The word *ceciderit* signifies inconsideration.” Cited from Antonius Fernandius (Antonio Fernández), *Commentarii in visiones Veteris Testamenti* (1617), col. 96. Antonio Fernández (1569–1642) was a Portuguese Jesuit missionary who worked in India and Abyssinia, where he translated various liturgical books into Ethiopian and wrote polemical works against heresies in Ethiopia (*CE*).

⁵⁷⁰ “He who believes these words of mine shall not make haste to see this cornerstone; for the time that the heavenly Father has determined for the incarnation of His Son has not been fulfilled.” Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4965). By citing Fernandius and Münster Mather, like Lowth, insists that these verses “cannot belong to any but Christ, to whom it is often applied in the New Testament” (*Commentary* 235).

⁵⁷¹ White, *Commentary*, p. 207. White also mentions that the Apostles cite and apply these words “in the Spiritual Sense to Christ” but abstains from discussing the legitimacy of such a reading.

But our Apostles, read, *Lo Jebish*, instead of, *Lo Jechish*: [Rom. IX.33. 1. Pet. II.6.] *He shall not be Ashamed*. So they talk: But our Dr. *Pocock* sayes, that the Word, *Cush*, in the *Arabic* still signifies, *To be Ashamed*; which makes it probable, that it was formerly of the same Signification in the *Hebrew*.⁵⁷²

It follows, “Tho’ I lay this *Foundation* in *Jerusalem*, yett I will also lay *Judgment to the Line & Righteousness to the Plummert*. I will not Abate the Severity of my Threatenings, but will fulfil them with as nice Exactness as is observed by accurate Architects, who do all by Rule & Measure.”⁵⁷³

Q. On that, *Morning by Morning it shall pass over?* v. 19.

A. q. d. It shall pursue you without an Stop or Interruption.⁵⁷⁴

Q. The *short Bed?* v. 20.

A. *Kimchi* glosses well. Nothing shall be left but the City *Jerusalem*; and that shall be too narrow to hold them all; so that a great many must unavoidably fall into the hands of the *Assyrians*.⁵⁷⁵

Q. The *strange Work?* v. 21.

A. Those extraordinary Manifestations of GODS Power at *Perazim* and *Gibeon*, were for the Deliverance of His People, & the Destruction of His Enemies. But now, GOD, contrary to His usual Dispensations, will employ His Power for the Destruction of His People.

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Q. The Lord saies, *Hee will do His Work, His strange Work, and bring to pass His Act, His strange Act*. What? v. 21.

A. Perhaps you may reckon the *Gloss* a *strange Gloss*; but no less a Man than *Gregory the Great*, [in *Homil. 16. in Ezekiel*.] and others after him, expound it, of the *Incarnation*, & following *Humiliation*, of the Son of God.⁵⁷⁶

Q. To what allude, *Bands made strong?* v. 22.

572 לֹא יַחִישׁ [lo yachish] “not be in haste.” From Lowth (*Commentary* 236), Mather refers to the explanation of Edward Pococke in his edition of the Arabic notes of Maimonides on the Mishnah, published as *Porta Mosis*, cap. 1, p. 10.

573 The last three paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later. Instead of the “But some will not quite lose the Sight,” Mather originally had, “But we need not.”

574 White, *Commentary*, p. 208.

575 This reference to Kimchi (Radak) comes from White (*Commentary* 208), who in turn cites it from Sixtinus Amama, *Anti-Barbarus Biblicus*, lib. 4, p. 675. On the rabbinic commentary, see Rosenberg, *Isaiah*; Slotki, *Isaiah* at this verse.

576 See Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*, lib. 2, hom. 4 [PL 76. 984; CCSL 142].

A. Refractory Criminals; who are loaded with heavier Chains, beyond Possibility of Escaping.⁵⁷⁷

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Q. What may be the special Intention of what is here proposed about, *The Husbandman?* v. 24. —

A. The Jewes look on it, as a most Instructive *Parable*; describing the wonderful Operation of God upon His *Israelitish People*; a wretched Field, whom He would thus dispose to entertain the good Seed of His Word.

The Parable expires, in this Instruction; *sicut Trituratione hoc queritur, ut Panis fiat, non ut conculcentur Grana, sic Deus querit Salutem Reliquiarum, quandò Consummationem immittit impiis.*⁵⁷⁸

But had not our Lord JESUS CHRIST, some Eye to this Paragraph of the Sacred Scripture, in His *Parable of the Sower*? Truly, when our Lord uttered that *Parable, This also came forth from the Lord of Hope.*

The Meaning of the Parable here is, That GOD would not always deal with His People alike: He has His proper Seasons for Mercies, & His proper Seasons for Judgments, as the Husbandman has for the several Parts of His Husbandry.⁵⁷⁹

[46r]

Q. *Doth he not cast abroad the Fitches, and scatter the Cummin, and cast in the principal Wheat, and the appointed Barley, and the Rye, in their Place?* Are the Names of these Grains, all of them rightly translated? v. 25.

A. The Sense holds, whether the *particular Grains*, be rightly translated, or no. What we render *Fitches*, the Vulgar Latin renders *Gith*. What we render *Rye*, the Vulgar Latin renders *Millet*.⁵⁸⁰ And the *Dutch* retains it.

That it may be *Melanthium*, *Nigella*, or *Gith*, Sir *Tho. Brown* thinks, may be allowably apprehended, from the frequent Use of the Seed among the Jewes, & other Nations, as also from the Translation of *Tremellius*; and the Original, implying a Black Seed, which is less than *Cummin*, as *Buxtorf* expounds it, out of *Aben-Ezra*.⁵⁸¹

⁵⁷⁷ White, *Commentary*, p. 209.

⁵⁷⁸ “Just as threshing seeks to make bread, not to crush grain, so God seeks the salvation of what is left behind, when He dispatches to the wicked their consummation.” Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4966).

⁵⁷⁹ While Mather cites this reading of the parable in Isaiah from White (*Commentary* 209), the reference to the NT parable of the sower is not taken from that source. Compare Matt. 13:1–23; Mark 4:1–20; Luke 8:1–15. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁵⁸⁰ The VUL at Isa. 28:25 has “gith” (“black cumin”) and “miliun” (“millet”). The Dutch *Statenvertaling* has “komijn” and “gerst.”

⁵⁸¹ Junius and Tremellius have “melanthium, cyminumque” in their *Biblia Sacra*, p. 190.

Milium or Κετχρος of the LXX,⁵⁸² is by ours rendred, *Rye*. But there is little Similitude between those Two Grains.

That we so often meet with *Cummin-Seed*, in many Parts of the Scripture, with reference to *Judea*, a Seed so abominable to our Nostrils and Palates, will not seem strange unto any, who consider the frequent Use thereof among the Ancients, in Uses not only *Medicinal*, but also *Dietetical*. Their Dishes were filled with it; the noblest Præparations of *Apicius* were not without it. And even in the *Polenta*, and parched Corn, the old Diet of the *Romans*, (as *Pliny* relates) unto every Measure, they mixed a small Proportion of *Lin-Seed*, and *Cummin-Seed*.

And so, *Cummin* is justly sett down among things of common and vulgar Seed; Matth. 23.23. *you pay Tithe of Mint, Anise, and Cumin*. But how to make out the Translation of *Anise*, we are a little to seek. The original Word is, Ανιθον, which the Latins call, *Anethum*; the proper English whereof is, *Dill*.⁵⁸³

There is no Mention of *Oats* in the Scripture. *Theophrastus* also, who is large about other Grains, delivers very little of this. *Dioscorides* likewise is very short on it. *Galen* delivers, that it was of some Use in *Asia Minor*, but rather for *Beasts* than *Men*. *Pliny* reports, that the *Pulticula* thereof was most in Use among the *Germans*. Yett that the *Jewes* were not without all Use of this Grain, seems evident from the *Rabbinical Account*; That Five Sorts of *Grains* were liable to their Offerings, whereof the *Cake* to be presented, might be composed: namely, *Wheat, Oats, Rye*, and two Sorts of *Barly*.⁵⁸⁴

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See the entry on “cyminum” in Buxtorf, *Lexicon chaldaicum, talmudicum et rabbinicum* ([1621] 1639), col. 1051.

⁵⁸² The reference (from Brown) to the LXX is unclear. Modern editions of the LXX have κριθήν (“barley”). However, Walton’s *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:72) also has κετχρον which is rendered into Latin as “milium.”

⁵⁸³ The LXX has: μικρόν μελάνθιον. See Walton’s *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:72); *NETS* offers: “small dill.”

⁵⁸⁴ Commentary here from Thomas Browne, *Certain Miscellany Tracts*, tract. 1, sect. 18, pp. 21–23.

Q. What is the Meaning of that Clause, *Add yee Year to Year?* v. 1.

A. *Expectate Biennium.*⁵⁸⁵ Stay *Two Years*, and you shall see those Things accomplished. *Sennacheribs* Invasion, came Two Years, after the Uttering of this Prophecy; and this whole Prophecy is about that Invasion.

q. d. For *two Years*, or a very few, ye may kill Sacrifices; but after that, I will so straiten *Jerusalem*, that the public Worship shall be interrupted among you.

Others take it so; Flatter yourselves, with the Prospect of many Years to come.⁵⁸⁶

Q. The Meaning of, *It shall be to me as Ariel?* v. 2.

A. Like the Brazen Altar, surrounded with Dead Carcases.

Or, It may refer to the *Assyrians*, that were slain without the Walls; or, the Citizens, within.⁵⁸⁷

Q. The Prophecy about, *The Multitude of Strangers?* v. 5.

A. *Munster* tells us, The Jews understand this Verse, *De Assyriis una Nocte in favillam redactis.*⁵⁸⁸

Q. On that, *stay yourselves* —. v. 9.

A. q. d. *Stop*, ye Passengers, and *wonder* at their Infidelity, till upon considering the Matter, ye see Reason to *cry out.*⁵⁸⁹

Q. A Remark on the *sealed Book?* v. 11.

A. Remarkable are the Words of *Samuel Marochianus* the Jew, upon it. *Que clausura Libri maior est, quàm Clausura qua clausit Deus Corda nostra! Iam sunt mille Anni et ultrà, nec possumus cognoscere per Prophetiam nobis traditam, à prophetis super adventum illius Iusti.*⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁵ "Wait for two years." From Grotius, *Opera* (1:299).

⁵⁸⁶ White, *Commentary*, p. 212. The last two paragraphs of this entry were each written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁵⁸⁷ White, *Commentary*, p. 213. See Grotius, *Opera* (1:299).

⁵⁸⁸ "To refer to the Assyrians, who were reduced to ashes within one night." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:4986).

⁵⁸⁹ White, *Commentary*, p. 215.

⁵⁹⁰ "This lock of the book is greater than the lock with which God closed our hearts. It is more than a thousand years now, and we cannot understand anything in the prophecy handed down on to us, or from the prophets, about the advent of that Righteous One." Alphonsus Bonihominis, *De adventu Messiae praeterito*, cap. 15 [PL 149. 351]. Also in Mather, *Tripadismus*, p. 177. In the translation by Calvert, *The Blessed Jew*, the citation appears on pp. 99–100. Mather seems to here quote Bonihominis from an edition of Pseudo-Gregentios,

Q. That Passage, *A Book sealed, which Men deliver to one that is learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee; and he saith, I cannot, for it is sealed*: what Illustration of it, shall you find among the Ancients? v. 11.

A. The Disposition, which I find in many of the Ancients, to find, CHRIST, everywhere throughout the Old Testament, was an heavenly & a laudable Disposition, and it will certainly be Revived, in the Approaching Age of *Light*, when the Knowledge of CHRIST, will be the special Character of the Age, and the *Sun of Righteousness* will more than ever arise upon the World.

Nevertheless, you must excuse those excellent Men, if sometimes thro' Ignorance of the *Hebrew Tongue*, and sometimes from other Causes, they *strained* a Text, beyond what it would bear, to find a Prophecy of CHRIST contained in it. I will instance a very few, that seem to be *Strains*, and yett among them, I will insert some, that *Ingenious Christianity*, will excuse from that harsh Denomination.⁵⁹¹

In that admirable History of the Disputation between *Gregentius* a Christian, and *Herbanus* a Jew, (written, as it seems, by one *Palladius*, the Scholar of that *Gregentius*) there are Illustrations upon many Passages of the Old Testament. One is, upon the Text that is now before us: And it runs in these Terms; τί τὸ βιβλίον τὸ ἐσφραγισμένον ἀλλ' ἢ παρθένος καὶ θεοτόκος; κλ. *Quid aliud, Liber Sigillo Obsignatus, quam Virgo et Dei Genitrix? Quis ille Vir? Josephus Faber. Quid quòd et literas Scienti; id est, qui alijs Nuptijs cum alià conjuge congressus est, de quâ liberos sustulit? Quid autem quòd is Divinam Tabulam, nempe Librum, legere non potuerit? Id est, cum ipsâ Virgine commisceri non potuit, ex Deo intelligens, quòd hæc Domino Jesu esset clausa, et reservata incorrupta et integra, ut de Spiritu Sancto Deus Carnem ferens, & mortalis τὸ κατ' οὐσίαν ex ipsâ nasceretur.*⁵⁹²

Disputatio cum Herbano Judæo (1586), p. 44. Gregentius was the early medieval Archbishop of Taphar (Zafar). In the late tenth century an anonymous author wrote a fictitious account of the bishop's dialogue with a Jewish rabbi and embedded this text in a hagiographic life of Gregentios. The work became a popular piece of Christian apologetics in the Middle Ages and early modern period, which sometimes was published in combination with other materials. See also *Life and Works of Saint Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar* (2006).

⁵⁹¹ This paragraph reflects some of the basic tensions in Mather's entire "Biblia Americana" project, resulting from the often conflicting interests between academic exegesis and the pious desire to find Christ everywhere in the Scriptures.

⁵⁹² Greek: "What else is the sealed book but the Virgin and Mother of God? etc."; Latin: "What else is the sealed book but the Virgin and Mother of God? Who is the man? Joseph, the master-builder. What does it mean that he knew to read, that is, that he had been married to another woman, of whom he already had children before? What does it mean that he was not able to read the divine book? It is, that he could not come together with that same virgin; for he had perceived from God that she was chosen for the Lord Jesus and kept incorrupted and untouched, so that God may be born from her from the Holy Ghost in the flesh and as a mortal man τὸ κατ' οὐσίαν [in substance]." Pseudo-Gregentios, *Disputatio cum Herbano Judæo*, pp. 44–45; transl. modified from: *Life and works of Saint Gregentios* (2006), *Dialexis* (B), 85–91, pp. 500–03.

If you Judge This to be *strained*, I doubt you will Judge *That* so; wherein *Gregentius* makes that Passage, Deut. 28.69. *Thy Life shall be Hanging*, to be fulfilled in the Crucifixion of our Lord Jesus Christ; ὅτι μέλλει κρεμασθῆναι σαρκὶ ἐπὶ ξύλου τοῦ σταυροῦ. *Quòd futurum erat, Hunc pendere in Ligno Crúcis*.⁵⁹³ Tho' I find this also, in, I know not how many more of the Ancients.⁵⁹⁴

Tis well enough done of our *Gregentius* to expound the *seventy second* Psalm, of our Saviour. And, when He carries, *Gods dwelling in Darkness* unto the Son of Gods Concealment from the Eyes of an unbelieving World, in the *Dark* Circumstances of His *Humanity* and His *Humiliation*, This also is well enough. But, that Psal. 86.17. *shew me a Sign for Good*, should be meant of the *Cross*, I suppose you will Judge it a little strained.

Q. The *Perishing of their Wisdome*. v. 14.

A. Remarkably verified, as Mr. *Lowth* observes, under the Gospel, when their Murder of our SAVIOUR for fear of the *Romans*, brought the *Romans* upon them; And their learned Rabbins have ever since minded little else but ridiculous Fables, and their *Cabalists* given us only Trifles & Follies for profound Mysteries.⁵⁹⁵

Q. Who are the Persons, that the *Wò* is here denounced unto? v. 15.

A. The sceptical Statesmen, as our *Gataker* thinks, who derided the Prædictions of the Prophet, & thought their own Wisdome sufficient at any time to secure themselves.⁵⁹⁶

It follows by 'nd by, *The Scorners is consumed*. The sceptical Jews, who gave no Credit unto the Words of the Prophet, were probably most of them slain, or carried Captives.

Among these, there were some who *watched for Iniquity*; They not only despised the Threatenings of the Prophet, but sought his Ruine for telling them the Truth.

Q. Who was the *Man*, whom they made an *Offender*? v. 21.

A. The Prophet himself, whom they accused as an *Offender*; and, if they could have prevailed, would have putt him to Death, as they dealt with *Jeremiah* afterwards.

He *reproved them in the Gates*; in all their public Places of Resort.

⁵⁹³ Greek and Latin: "What shall come to pass, that he will hang on the wood of the cross." Pseudo-Gregentios, *Disputatio cum Herbano Judæo*, pp. 14–15; transl. modified from: *Life and works of Saint Gregentios* (2006), *Dialexis* (A), 189, pp. 466–77.

⁵⁹⁴ This last sentence was written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁵⁹⁵ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 247. Compare also Mather, *Tripuradisis*, p. 177.

⁵⁹⁶ See Gataker's commentary on Isa. 29:15 in *Westminster Annotations*, unpaginated.

And they that were *in the Gates*, that is to say, their public Offices, did above others *hate* him.

He was the *Just* one, whom they would have *turned aside from his Integrity*, representing him as a Dangerous Person, & an Enemy to his Countrey.⁵⁹⁷

Q. The Meaning of, *Jacob shall not now be ashamed?* v. 22.

A. On the Coming to pass of these things; the *Assyrians* overcome, the Unbelievers destroyed, the Faithful delivered; *Jacob* the Father of the Faithful *shall not be ashamed* of his Children. He speaks of the Patriarch, as if he were now alive, & looking on the happy Condition of his Posterity.⁵⁹⁸

Q. On that, *The Work of my Hands?* v. 23.

A. The Prophet speaks of a New Generation of the Faithful, to be added unto the Church, called elsewhere, *The Work of the Hands of GOD*. See Ch. XLV.11. LX.21. Compare, Eph. II.10.⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹⁷ White, *Commentary*, pp. 218–19.

⁵⁹⁸ White, *Commentary*, p. 219.

⁵⁹⁹ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 250.

Q. Who were, *The Rebellious Children?* v. 1.

A. When it was known, that *Sennacherib* was on his March to invade *Judea*, it was only *Isaiah*, and a few Men, that were for a Reliance upon GOD for their Deliverance. The *People* are called *Rebellious*, because they were not for following of GODS Directions, but their own Devices. That Clause, they *cover* with a *Covering*, but not of my Spirit, is well rendred in the Port-Royal Version; *Qui forment des Entreprizes qui ne viennent point de mon Esprit*.⁶⁰⁰ The Words are metaphorically taken from Casters of Metal; *Nam* (as *Oleaster* observes) *quem-admodum ad fundenda Metalla, Opus est follibus, ita ad Opus bonum faciendum Opus est Spiritu Dei*.⁶⁰¹ Of these it is here said, *They add Sin to Sin*. They sinn'd in seeking Aid from *Egypt* against the *Assyrians*, as they formerly sinned in seeking Aid of the *Assyrians* against their confederate Enemies, *Israel* and *Rezin*.

Q. Remarks upon the City in *Egypt*, which is here called, *Hanes?* v. 4.

A. 'Tis the same that is called, Jer. XLIV.1. and elsewhere, *Takpanhes*. With *Jerom*, and the Vulgar, tis, *Taphnis*.

Our *Jameson* supposes it comes from a Root, that carries, *Beauty*, and, *Pleasure*, in it.⁶⁰² We find a Queen, [1. King. XI.20.] of a Name very near akin to it.

The City was near to *Pelusium*, in the Border of the Kingdome: and by an easy Change of a Letter, it was undoubtedly, that which was known to the Greeks by the Name of *Daphnæ*. A City of such wondrous Delights, that other Delightful Places elsewhere, went by the Name. Especially the famous oriental *Daphnæ*, in the Suburbs of *Antioch*. *Stephanus* mentioning the *Egyptian Daphnæ*, sais, It had its Name from the Plenty of *Bays* growing there.⁶⁰³

Both *Zoan* and *Hanes* are here mention'd, because the Court might be sometimes at the one, sometimes at the other, of these principal Cities.

⁶⁰⁰ "Who form enterprises which do not come of my Spirit." From White, *Commentary*, p. 221. A reference to the *Bible de Port-Royal* at this verse.

⁶⁰¹ "For as you need a pair of bellows to make metal, you need the Spirit of God to make a good work." From White (*Commentary* 222). See *Oleaster*, *In Isaiam prophetam commentarii*, at Isa. 30:1.

⁶⁰² *Commentary* here is from *Jameson*, *Spicilegia*, cap. 1, § 10, p. 19.

⁶⁰³ From *Jameson*, *Spicilegia*, cap. 1, § 10, pp. 19–20, *Mather* mentions *Jerome*, *Commentarii in Ezechielem*, lib. 9, on Ezek. 30:1–19 [PL 25. 286–94; CCSL 75] and *Stephanus of Byzantium*, *De urbibus*, p. 226.

Q. What was, *The Land of Trouble & Anguish*? v. 6.

A. The Verse may carry on the Threed of the Discourse, *The Beasts carry Burdens to the South*; Loads of Presents to the *Egyptians*. The *Land of Trouble & Anguish*, seems to be the *Isthmus*, between the *Mediterranean* and the *Red-Sea*; called so, from the Difficulty of passing it; on the account of excessive Heats, with Scarcity of Water, and the *Lions* & savage Beasts, & *fiery flying Serpents* infesting of it.⁶⁰⁴

Q. How *cause the Holy One of Israel to cease*. v. 11.

A. q. d. Don't so often repeat, *Thus saith the Holy One of Israel*. We are quite weary of Hearing Him so often mentioned! Compare Amos VI.10.⁶⁰⁵

Q. What, *Returning* and *Rest*? v. 15.

A. *Returning* to GOD, and quietly *Resting* within their Walls; not sending to *Egypt* for Succour.⁶⁰⁶

The Word, *Rahab*, which we translate, *Rest*, is also the Name of *Egypt*. An Elegancy. A Trust in GOD was better than in {their} *Egyptian* Allies.

Q. That Passage, *ye shall be left as a Beacon on the Top of a Mountain*? v. 17.

A. The Vulgar Latin renders it; *As the Mast of a Ship on the top of a Mountain*.⁶⁰⁷

And some give this as the Sense of it; They should be as a *Sea-Mark*, to them that sail, that they may hold a Right Course, and not split themselves on those Rocks that others have done.

Q. The Meaning of, *GOD waiting that He may be gracious*? v. 18.

A. The first Word, *And therefore*, may signify, *yett notwithstanding*. q. d. The Destruction shall overtake the Rebellious Jews, *yett notwithstanding* the Lord will *wait* until your City be fortified, & you have with all possible Solemnity putt yourselves under His Protection, before He brings the *Assyrian* into the Countrey, that He may shew Favour to you.⁶⁰⁸

The Particle, is rendred, *Nevertheless* Jer. V.2. The seeming Incohærence of the Prophetic Style, as Mr. *Lowth* observes, would be avoided in many Places, by regarding the various Meaning of the *Hebrew* Particles more carefully than Interpreters have generally done. The Subject has been treated with great Exactness by *Noldius*, in his, *Concordantia Particularum Hebræarum*.⁶⁰⁹

⁶⁰⁴ White, *Commentary*, p. 223.

⁶⁰⁵ See Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 254.

⁶⁰⁶ White, *Commentary*, p. 225.

⁶⁰⁷ VUL: "quasi malus navis in vertite montis." See Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:78).

⁶⁰⁸ White, *Commentary*, p. 226.

⁶⁰⁹ "Concordance of Hebrew Particles." The reference is to the work of the Danish divine and Hebraist Christianus Noldius (Christian Nolde, 1626–1683), professor of theology at the University of Copenhagen, *Concordantiae particularum ebraeo chaldaicarum* (1679). This work

Q. On, the *People dwelling in Zion*, & what follows? v. 19.

A. Here follow Promises of Mercy, which can scarcely be applied unto *Hezekiahs* times. Mr. *Lowth* will observe, An Hint here being taken from those prosperous Times that succeeded the Deliverance from *Sennacherib*, the Prophet is carried on to a View of better Days to be expected under the Gospel.⁶¹⁰

Q. On their, *Eyes seeing their Teachers*? v. 20.

A. q. d. Tho' ye find yourselves reduced unto the Extremities that are usual in long Sieges, & are stinted unto short Allowances of *Bread* and *Water*, yett see that you do not use my Prophets ill; don't make them run into Corners, to hide themselves from any Impatient Multitude. Be glad rather to see them among you; and lett their Exemples encourage to bear up handsomely under the short Afflictions that shall then be upon you. Thus *White* paraphrases it, having *Lyranus*, & *Grotius*, and *Emanuel Sa*, to countenance him.⁶¹¹ Or, as *Lowth* has it, Tho' Provisions be scarce for your Bodies, yett your Souls will not suffer a *Famine of Hearing the Words of the Lord*.⁶¹²

But, *Christian*, look further than so!

Q. The *Covering* here mentioned? v. 22.

A. All Monuments of *Idolatry* destroy'd. The Covering may by the Rich Silver or Golden Plates with which their Images were overlaid; Tho' they had Rich Robes also on them. [Jer. X.9.]⁶¹³

Q. The Intention of the Prophecy, That the Cattel should *eat clean Provender*? v. 24.

A. There should be such a Plenty that there should be no need of mingling Chast with the Provender which they gave their Cattel, to make it hold out the longer.⁶¹⁴

Q. What, *The Day of the great Slaughter*? v. 25.

A. When the *Assyrians* are destroyed, and the Towers which they erected against *Jerusalem* are pull'd down.⁶¹⁵

is mentioned in *Lowth*, *Commentary*, p. 256. The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁶¹⁰ *Lowth*, *Commentary*, pp. 257–58.

⁶¹¹ From *White*, *Commentary*, p. 227; See also *Grotius* (*Opera* 1:301); *Emanuel Sa*, *Notationes*, p. 236; *Nicholas of Lyra*, *Postilla* at Isa. 30:20.

⁶¹² *Lowth*, *Commentary*, p. 258.

⁶¹³ *Lowth*, *Commentary*, pp. 258–59.

⁶¹⁴ *White*, *Commentary*, p. 228.

⁶¹⁵ *White*, *Commentary*, p. 228.

Q. What, the *Rivers* here? v. 25.

A. Large Supplies of Grace under the Gospel. Compare, Ch. XLIV.3.⁶¹⁶

Q. On, *The Light of the Moon, & Sun?* v. 26.

A. *Light* is an Emblem of Joy & Prosperity. Tis on this account, he tells them, the *Moon* and *Sun* shall shine on them with greater Splendor than before. So *Horace*, on the Joy of the Romans, *Gratior it Dies, et Soles melius nitent*.⁶¹⁷

[▽Insert from 49v]⁶¹⁸

[▽49v]

Q. On, *The Name of the Lord comes from far?* v. 27.

A. So, our Lord, is described, as coming *from a far Countrey*, at the Day of Judgment: [Luk. XIX.13, 15.] Partly, because of His coming so unexpectedly.

Burning with Anger.] Here, the Rule of the Schoolmen; *Affectus in Deo denotant Effectus*.⁶¹⁹

Besides, as Mr. *Lowth* notes, Tho' GOD be not subject unto the Turbulency and Inconstancy, which attends Humane Passions, yett His Favour and His Hatred, must be as vigourous & as permanent, as the Highest Expressions can carry it.⁶²⁰

Christian, look as far as the Conflagration here. For what thou redest about the *Lips* of the Lord, compare Isa. XI.4. and, 2. Thess. II.8. Then shall be fulfilled that Word: *The Lord will heal the Stroke of the Wound of His People*. Good old *Irenaeus* expounded the *Stroke of the Wound*, as meaning, That which Man was in the Beginning smitten withal, that is, *Death*, which GOD will *heal*, by Raising us from the *Dead*.⁶²¹

Q. The *Sieve of Vanity?* v. 28.

A. *Vanity* sometimes means *Destruction*. See Isa. LVII.13. *Vanity shall take them*; that is, They shall be Destroy'd. Here, the *Sieve of Vanity*, is one which does not separate the *Chaff*, in order to save the *Corn*, but makes a full Riddance. Compare, Ch. XXIX.4. Hos. XIII.3. Psal. I.3.⁶²²

[△Insert ends]

[△]

⁶¹⁶ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 259.

⁶¹⁷ "The day passes more happily and the sun's radiance is brighter." From White (*Commentary* 229), Mather cites Horace, *Odes*, 4.5.7–8; transl.: *LCL* 33, p. 233.

⁶¹⁸ See Appendix B.

⁶¹⁹ "Affections in God denote effects." From Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 261.

⁶²⁰ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 261.

⁶²¹ Mather cites Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*, lib. 5, cap. 34 [PG 7. 1216; SC 153]. The PG reads: "Dolor autem plagae est, per quam percussus est homo initio in Adam inobediens, hoc est mors, quam sanabit Deus resuscitans nos a mortuis, et restituens in patrum haereditatem."

⁶²² Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 262.

Q. Illustrate, if you please, that Passage, *you shall have a Song, as in a Night when an holy Solemnity is kept, and Gladness of Heart, as when one goeth with a Pipe, to come unto the Mountain of the Lord?* v. 29.

A. *Maimonides in Bicurim*, c. 4. s. 16. tells us, “When they carried up their First-fruits, all the Cities that were in a County, gathered together unto the chief City of the County, to the End, that they might not go up alone: For it is said, Prov. 14.28. *In the Multitude of the People is the Kings Honour*. And they came, & lodged all night in the Streets of the City, & went not into Houses, for fear of Pollution: And in the Morning, the Governour said, *Arise, & lett us go up to Zion, the City of the Lord our God*. And before them went a Bull, which had his Horns covered with Gold, and an Olive-Garland on his Head, to signify the First Fruits of the seven Kinds of Fruits. There was likewise a Pipe, struck up before them, until they came near unto *Jerusalem*, and all the Way as they went, they sang, *I Rejoiced in them that said unto me, we will go into the House of the Lord*.”⁶²³ Unto this, & the like Assemblies, refer the Words of the Prophet.

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Q. On, *The grounded Staff?* v. 32.

A. Having described the glorious GOD, with an out-stretched Arm in a striking Posture, he carries on the Metaphor. He calls the Destruction of the *Assyrians*, a *Staff*, because, He bruised them to Peeces as with such an Instrument, and a *grounded Staff*, because it made a deep Impression, and stuck as it were in their Flesh. In every Place where this Destruction of the *Assyrians* was heard of, it would occasion universal Joy & Gladness; for they had been a Plague to all the Nations about them.⁶²⁴

Q. What, *The Battels of Shaking?* v. 32.

A. That is, He shall *shake* them to Peeces, as a Lion does his Prey.

But some think, the Prophet alludes to the Battel in which the *Midianites* were conquered by the Jews, without striking a Stroke, but only *shaking* of Lamps.⁶²⁵

Q. What is the Meaning of, *Tophet prepared for the King?* v. 33.

A. Read it, *prepared by the King*.

You must note, That the Prophet, in these Prædictions, which were uttered a couple of Years before *Sennacheribs* Invasion, is here prædicting the wonderful Things that should happen in, and on, that Invasion. Which is the Reason that

⁶²³ Drawn from Henry Ainsworth, *Annotations upon the five Bookes of Moses; the Booke of the Psalmes, and the Song of Songs, or, Canticles* (1627), p. 119. Compare Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, Tractate Bikkurim (“Laws of first fruit offerings”), ch. 4, Halachah 16 (Touger, p. 632).

⁶²⁴ White, *Commentary*, p. 231.

⁶²⁵ White, *Commentary*, p. 231.

a few Chapters hence, the *History* of the Transaction is Introduced; namely, to show by the *History*, the exact Fulfilment of the *Prophecy*.

To gain Help against *Sennacherib*, there was a great Party of the Jewes, who not only solicited *Egypt* for *Succour*; but also offered a Compliance with the *Worship* of *Egypt*, on that Condition. Behold, a *Key* to the Discourses of the Prophet.

That Passage, there in v. 6. *The Burden of the Beasts of the South*, is not to bee taken as the Title of a New Discourse; but it is to bee read (as *Jerom* well noted) *A Burden was carried by the Beasts to the South*; that is, the Embassadors carried a rich Present unto *Egypt*, for the Purchase of their Assistences.

But all prov'd vain. *Psammitichus* the King of *Egypt* was in Confæderacy with the King of *Assyria*, and would not break with him, for the Sake of poor *Judea*. The Lord had another Way to save that Handful of good People which with *Hezekiah*, putt their Trust in Him.

While they had, the *Bread of Adversity*, and the *Water of Affliction*, thro' the Straits whereto the Siege of *Jerusalem* was to drive them, they should yett have the Presence of *Teachers* among them, whereof *Isaiah* himself was the principal, to direct them, in their Difficulties.

But *Sennacherib's* Army when it came to the Extremity, was to bee destroy'd, in the Manner that is here described. The King, *Hezekiah*, had *prepared Tophet*; hee had emptied that horrible Valley, of its old *Idols*, and their Appurtenances, and Encumbrances. The *Assyrian* Army was now to Randevous in that Valley of *Tophet*, thus prepared; and in some allusion unto the Sacrifices, there Imolated in terrible Fires unto *Moloch*, it is here foretold, that the *Breath of the Lord*, should like a *Stream of Brimstone enkindle the Fire*, wherein the Army of *Sennacherib* should bee sacrificed & consumed. Wee all know, how this was fulfilled, in the prodigious *Thunderstorm*, that cutt off near two hundred thousand of the miserable *Assyrians* in that memorable Valley.

But, Mr. *Lowth* observes well; There is a more *Hidden Sense* couched under this Description; which is the final Destruction of Sinners in the *Gehenna*, whereof the Valley of *Hinnom* was only a faint Resemblance, together with *Satan* their Prince at the Head of them.⁶²⁶

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Q. Upon the Mention of *Tophet* here, I call to Mind, the Name of *Gehenna*, used for *Hell*, in the New Testament. And this leads mee to enquire, what special Judgments of God, upon the Enemies of His People, in the Old Testament, were *Typical* of the like Judgments under the New? v. 33.

⁶²⁶ Lowth, *Commentary*, pp. 264–65. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later. Compare also Mather, *Trip paradisus*, p. 185.

A. *Tophet* is a very fitt Occasion to Introduce this Enquiry.

That *Valley of the Son of Hinnom*, was an execrable Place. There they sacrificed their Children to the Divil, with hideous Noises to drown their Screeches. King *Josiah* therefore polluted that Place, & ordered Carcases and Garbages, & other unclean Things to bee cast forth into it; for the Consuming whereof, a continual Fire was burning there.⁶²⁷ Yea, God Himself made that Place the Stage of His Anger, and the Field of His Vengeance; for there Hee destroy'd *Sennacheribs* Blaspheming, Damning, Roaring Army; whose Corpse were, it seems, burnt with Fire, to prevent the Annoyance & Infection of the Air. And in this very Place also, were the *Jewes* themselves butchered in so great Numbers, that there was no Room to bury them. [Jer. 7.31, 32, 33.]⁶²⁸

Here was doubtless a Type of the Burning Desolation, wherein the Inhabitants of the *New Jerusalem*, in the *Resurrection-World*, shall see the Wicked perishing. [Compare Isa. 66.24.]⁶²⁹

Yea; not only the Territories of *Antichrist*, will perish in the *Fire*, with which our Lord Jesus Christ, at His Descent, will Thunderstrike that wicked one. When the *Fire* ha's done its Office, in burning up the Chaff that so there may bee none but pure Grain left, for the Kingdome of our Lord Jesus Christ, it shall retire to that Receptacle which God ha's intended for it. But all the Ungodly, being afterwards Raised into a fitt Condition for it, shall by the Sentence of the Lord Jesus Christ, be Banished into that *Fiery Receptacle*, where they shall eternally remain, full of Horror and Anguish. The Fire which our Lord Jesus Christ will kindle at His Coming, will not only reach the Generation of ungodly Men, that shall then bee living in the World, but at last all the Ungodly that ever lived in the World. There is a certain Matter now in the World, which *Burns* of itself, and will *Burn* forever, and needs no Fuel to support it: It is Natural and Essential Flame, able forever to mentain itself, without any Forreign *Aliment*. God will amass a direful Portion of this Matter, and make it the Troublesome *Element* of the Damned, throughout eternal Ages.

⁶²⁷ The Valley of Hinnon is notorious in the OT as a place of idolatrous worship, including the sacrifice of children, especially under Ahaz and Manasseh (2 Chron. 28:3; 33:6) and again in Jeremiah's day (Jer. 7:30–34; 32:5), despite the abolition of such practices by Josiah (2 Kings 23:10). In the NT the Hebrew name *gehinnom* becomes identified with hell (e.g. Matt. 5:22, 29; 23:15, 33; Mark 9:43, 47; James 3:6). The actual valley was probably the Wadi er Rababi, beginning west of Jerusalem, near the Jaffa Gate, from where it stretched south to join the Kidron Valley (*HCB*D).

⁶²⁸ This paragraph is derived from the famous work of Cotton Mather's uncle, Samuel Mather (1626–1671), an Independent pastor in Dublin and exegete, *The Figures or Types of the Old Testament* ([1683] 1705), p. 163.

⁶²⁹ Compare Mather's description of the conflagration in the *Tripuradisis*, pp. 184–86. On this, see chapter 5.4.2 of my *Prophecy, Piety, and the Problem of Historicity*.

This formidable *Hell*, did in the Dayes of the Second Temple, obtain among the Jewes, the Name of *Gehinnom*. That Name is not used for *Hell*, any where in the Old Testament. But the Valley of *Hinnom*, was there a Type of it.

A *Type* of the same Confusion, to come upon the Wicked, was the Destruction of the *old World* by the Deluge. The Scriptures compare these two. [2. Pet. 3.6, 7.] Hence, *Hell* is called *The Congregation of the Giants*. [Prov. 21.16. Prov. 2.18. Isa. 14.9, 10.]

Sodom was likewise a Type of *Hell*; *The Lake that Burns with Fire & Brimstone*.

And so was *Egypt*, when it was a Place of utter Darkness, wherein *God sent evil Angels among them*.

But as there were *Types of Hell* in the Old Testament, you must Remember, there were | Types of *Rome* also, that *Antichamber of Hell*. *Sodom* was thus, for [49v] unnatural Filthiness. [Rev. 11.8.] *Egypt* was thus, for Idolatry and Persecution. Hence the Plagues of *Rome* are described, with allusion to the Plagues of *Egypt*. *Jericho* was thus; the City that first opposed the Entrance of *Israel* into Rest; and upon the Rebuilders whereof there was a Curse denounced. *Edom*, and *Bosra*, were a Type of *Italy*, & *Rome*. [Consider, Isa. 34. *passim*.]

And finally, *Babylon*. [Consider, Rev. 17.5, 18.]⁶³⁰

⁶³⁰ Compare Samuel Mather, *The Figures or Types of the Old Testament*, p. 163

Q. If the *Egyptians* and *Jews* were to perish together, how could the following Promise be made good, of the Lords defending the City? v. 3.

A. Those in the open Towns, that were for putting themselves under the Protection of *Egypt*, were probably most of them cutt off. But those who remained in *Jerusalem*, & relied on the Divine Protection of Heaven, were wonderfully preserved and rescued.⁶³¹

Q. The Lords *passing over Jerusalem*? v. 5.

A. It alludes to that memorable Transition, when GOD seeing the Blood of the Lamb, on the Doors of the *Israelites*, left them untouched in that general Slaughter, which He brought on the *Egyptians*.⁶³²

As Birds flying.] An Allusion to the Wings of the *Cherubim*, which covered the Mercy-Seat.⁶³³

Q. Why does He call their *Idols*, the *Things which their own Hands have made*? v. 7.

A. Not as if they made them themselves, but because by worshipping them, they made them their GODS. He that made them (as *White* expresses it) gave them the Shape; but they made them their *Idols* by prostrating themselves before them.⁶³⁴

Q. How, *Afraid of the Ensign*? v. 9.

A. If they see but an *Ensign* at a Distance, they shall think the whole Nation of the Jews at their Heels, and shall tremble at the Imaginary Approach of their victorious Enemies. Thus *White*, out of *Diodati*.⁶³⁵

But *Gataker* thinks, the Prophet means the *Ensign* or *Standard* of GOD, which was lifted up as it were for a *Sign* unto His Invisible Host, for to fall upon them.⁶³⁶

Compare, Chap. LIX.19.

And think on, *The Sign of the Son of Man*, appearing in the Heavens.

⁶³¹ White, *Commentary*, p. 233.

⁶³² White, *Commentary*, pp. 233–34. Compare the account of the Passover in Exod. 12:7.

⁶³³ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 268. Compare, for instance, Exod. 37:9.

⁶³⁴ White, *Commentary*, p. 234.

⁶³⁵ White, *Commentary*, p. 235. A reference to Giovanni Diodati. See his Italian Bible translation *La Sacra Bibbia* ([1607] 1641), p. 620.

⁶³⁶ See Gataker's commentary on Isa. 31:9 in *Westminster Annotations*, unpaginated.

Q. What *Fire*, & *Furnace*? v. 9.

A. The *Altar*. GOD would gloriously defend the Place, where He was worshipped.

4039.

Q. What is that which is called, *A weary Land*? v. 2.

A. *Terra fatigari dicitur, quando perpetuò Radiis Solaribus aduritur.*⁶³⁸

Q. But other Prophecies foretell the *Blinding* of the *Jews* under the Gospel? v. 3.

A. Our Apostle *Paul* answers, That the *Children of the Promise* are counted for the true *Seed of Israel*, in whom the Promises are to be fulfilled. Rom. IX.8.

Q. How, *The Tongue of the Stammerers speak plainly*? v. 4.

A. *Gataker* takes it so: Their Language, which before was Rude, Barbarous, Unpleasant, shall then be Pure, & Pious, & Season'd with Grace & acceptable to GOD & Man.⁶³⁹ Or, It may intend the Conversion of the Barbarous Nation, and their Coming to praise GOD in their various Languages.

But *Grotius* thinks, the Prophet means, those were dumbest among them, shall be sensible of the Divine Goodness to them, and the very balbutient Infants break forth in the Praise there.⁶⁴⁰

4040.

Q. What may be the Intention of that Passage, *The vile Person shall no more be called liberal*? v. 5.

A. *The vile Person*, is in the Original, *The Fool*. A Rich Covetous Man, is here intended; such an one as *Nabal*; or, *The Rich Fool in the Gospel*. It is here foretold, That in the Dayes of the Gospel, the influence of the Divine Grace on the Hearts of Men, will be such, as to make them *liberal*. For they will not like the *Fool*, utter *Error* against the Lord, or deny that the Providence of God extends unto those inferior Matters.

⁶³⁷ Interestingly, Mather's annotations on ch. 32 generally follow the historicizing approach of Grotius and White. They largely ignore the instances in which Lowth attempts to demonstrate how "the Reformation which Hezekiah made, was but a Shadow or Image of those greater Improvements in Grace and Holiness, which properly belong to the Gospel-Times, under the Government of Christ . . ." (*Commentary* 270). Compare also Mather, *Tripuradisi*, p. 177.

⁶³⁸ "The land is said to weary when it is constantly scorched by sun rays." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5031).

⁶³⁹ See Gataker's commentary on Isa. 32:4 in *Westminster Annotations*, unpaginated.

⁶⁴⁰ Grotius, *Opera* (1:303).

Under the Government of Tyrants, as *Munster* notes, the Names of Things are misapplied, and *Vertues* and *Vices*, are called by contrary Names: But where the *Messiah* governs, it is not so.⁶⁴¹

Whites Gloss on the Text is, A vile Person shall no more be advanced unto any Employment in the Government; as there had been in the Days of *Ahaz*.⁶⁴²

The Original is, A *vile Person* shall not have the Title of a *Prince* bestow'd upon him.⁶⁴³

Q. What are, *The Instruments of the Churl?* v. 7.

A. Some understand their *False Weights & Measures*.

But since the Prophet is discoursing about corrupt *Magistrates* the Word may denote the *Under-Officers*, used by corrupt Judges, in illegal Ways to extort Money from them, or bring them into Trouble.⁶⁴⁴

|
4041.

[51v]

Q. Who may be meant, by, *The Women at Ease, & the careless Daughters?* v. 9.

A. By the *Women*, the Jewes understand, *Cities*; and by *Daughters*, they understand smaller Places, as Castles, & Villages, & the like.⁶⁴⁵

Q. What Space of Time, this, *many Days & Years?* v. 10.

A. The Hebrew may be rendred so, *Days over & above a Year*.

The Prophet is to be understood of the *Assyrian* Invasion; which he foretells here to last something more than a Year. And so it came to pass. He invaded *Judæa* in the XIV of *Hezekiah*. And soon after his Overthrow, *Hezekiah* is promised a Continuation of Fifteen Years. And he reigned in all but Nine & Twenty. Therefore there cannot be Two entire Years between the Beginning of this Invasion and the Fifteen Years which he was to survive it. Here seems then, as *Gataker* thinks, a Just Limitation of that calamitous Time.⁶⁴⁶

Dr. *Usher* supposes two Invasions; by *Sennacherib*; The First mentioned 2. King. XVIII.13. The Second mentioned, v. 17. And he thinks, the Sickness of *Hezekiah* happened between these two Invasions, about Three Years before the Total Defeat of the *Assyrian* Army.⁶⁴⁷

⁶⁴¹ Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5031).

⁶⁴² White, *Commentary*, p. 237.

⁶⁴³ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 272. The last two paragraph were added later.

⁶⁴⁴ White, *Commentary*, p. 238.

⁶⁴⁵ See Gataker's explanations on Isa. 31:9 in *Westminster Annotations*, unpaginated.

⁶⁴⁶ White, *Commentary*, p. 237. See Gataker's commentary on Isa. 32:10 in *Westminster Annotations*, unpaginated. יָמִים עַל־שָׁנָה [yamim al-shana] "Within a year and a few days" (NAU).

⁶⁴⁷ See Ussher, *Annales Veteris Testamenti*, pp. 99–105 ("Anno Mundi 3287–3295").

Q. On that, *They shall lament for the Teats?* v. 12.

A. It may be better translated *striking your Breasts*, because of the pleasant Fields & fruitful Vines, that should be destroy'd by the Assyrians.

It was a common Gesture on mournful Occasions.⁶⁴⁸

The Word, *Sophedim*, which we translate, *They shall lament*, is in the masculine Gender, & therefore can't be understood of the *Women* mentioned in the Verse before.⁶⁴⁹

Q. The Places where *Judgment* was to dwell? v. 16.

A. The *Wilderness*, which comprehends the Woods & Plains, where their Cattel fed; and *Carmel*, which consisted of Grounds which were sowed with Corn, & planted with Vines & Olive-trees.⁶⁵⁰ —

Q. On, *The City low in a low Place?* v. 19.

A. q. d. GOD shall preserve the Fruits of the Earth, from the Injuries of unseasonable Weather; & when He sends a Storm of *Hail*, He will make it fall on the Woods & Desarts. And GOD shall give them so great Security, that for the future, they shall build their *Cities* in *low Ground*, to shew they don't fear being over-run by an Enemy.⁶⁵¹

{4042}

Q. What may be the import of that Passage, *The City being low, in a low Place*, and then their *sowing beside all Waters?* & *sending forth thither the Feet of the Ox & the Ass?* v. 20.

A. Hear our *Munsters* Paraphrase. There shall be such Tranquility that they shall build *Cities*, not in lofty, & mountainous Places, which are by nature fortified, but in the lowest Places, & such as are most exposed.

And by the Favour of the *Spirit* from on High, there shall be such a Plenty of *Corn*, that they shall *send forth* their *Oxen* & their *Asses* to range in their Corn-fields without Apprehension of their not having plenty enough left for themselves.⁶⁵²

Whites Paraphrase is, Happy ye who shall enjoy as great Fertility as if all your Lands lay on the Side of a Running Stream; your Corn shall grow so thick & fast, that ye shall permitt your Cattel to crop the luxuriant Ears.⁶⁵³

The Jewes plowed sometimes with *Asses*. Ch. XXX.24.⁶⁵⁴

⁶⁴⁸ White, *Commentary*, p. 239.

⁶⁴⁹ סֹפְדִים [sophedim] transl. with context: "Beat your breasts for the pleasant fields" (ESV). See Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 274.

⁶⁵⁰ White, *Commentary*, p. 240.

⁶⁵¹ White, *Commentary*, p. 241.

⁶⁵² Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5031).

⁶⁵³ White, *Commentary*, p. 241.

⁶⁵⁴ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 277. The last three paragraphs were added later.

Q. *Their Arm, in the Morning?* v. 2.

A. *Our Arm.* – And that speedily.

Some suppose an Allusion to the Lords overthrowing the *Egyptians*, when the *Morning appeared*. Exod. XIV.27.⁶⁵⁵

Q. What may be meant by, *The Noise of the Tumult?* v. 3.

A. Why not, the Outcry that was raised in the great Army of the *Assyrians*, when the Angel began the Slaughter.⁶⁵⁶

Tho' some, as *Tirinus* and *Menochius*, think that *Hamon* may be referr'd unto the Multitude of *Angels* employ'd in the dreadful Execution.⁶⁵⁷

Q. The *Weeping* of the *Ambassadors?* v. 7.

A. The Prophet is here aggravating their Danger before their Deliverance. One Article of it was, the Sorrow with which the *Ambassadors* returned, when they were sent unto *Sennacherib*, with Supplications for *Peace* unto him.⁶⁵⁸

It follows therefore, That no body would venture to Travel in the *High Ways*, for fear of the *Assyrians*; For tho' *Sennacherib* would seem to be pacified by the Presents of *Hezekiah*, and come to Articles of Agreement with him, yett he would *break the Covenant*, and would insult the Defenceless Towns & Villages, & regard no Condition of People.⁶⁵⁹

Q. Whence the Mention of *Bashan* and *Carmel?* v. 11.

A. These Places lay in the Way of *Sennacherib*. *Tacitus* expressly sais, *Carmel* was in the Way between *Judea* and *Syria*.⁶⁶⁰

Q. The Meaning of that, *your Breath shall devour you?* v. 11.

A. q. d. The Wrath you have against my People, shall bring Ruine upon you.⁶⁶¹

⁶⁵⁵ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 280.

⁶⁵⁶ White, *Commentary*, p. 243.

⁶⁵⁷ חֲמֹן [hamon] "agitation, procession, pomp, army." From White, references to explications of this verse in the work of the Belgian Jesuit exegete Jacobus Tirinus (1580–1636), *Commentarius in Sacram Scripturam* (2 vols., 1645); and in the work of the Italian Jesuit exegete Giovanni Stefano Menochio (Menochius; 1575–1655), *Brevis Explicatio Sensus Literalis Sacre Scripturæ optimus quibusque Auctoribus per Epitomen Collecta* (3 vols., 1630).

⁶⁵⁸ White, *Commentary*, p. 244.

⁶⁵⁹ White, *Commentary*, p. 244.

⁶⁶⁰ From Gataker on Isa. 33:11 in *Westminster Annotations*, unpaginated. See Tacitus, *Histories* (2.78).

⁶⁶¹ White, *Commentary*, p. 245.

Q. On that, *The Sinners in Zion afraid?* v. 14.

A. q. d. The *Sinners in Zion* would not believe what the Prophets foretold about the Preservation of *Jerusalem*; They would say, How is it possible to escape the Enemy, who carries & consumes all before him? They who did not rely on GOD for Help, cried it, who can bear the approach of the *Assyrian*, who devoured all the things like *Fire*?⁶⁶² But, *Christian* look forward to the *Conflagration*.⁶⁶³

Q. On that Character of the good Man, *He shaketh his hands from holding of Bribes?* v. 15.

A. *Hincmar* citing those Words of the Prophet, (which in the Vulgar are, *from every Bribe*,) applies them unto Three Sorts of *Simony*. The Three Sorts are those which *Gregory* the Great, is very copious in Bewayling & Rebuking of; *Manus, Oris et Ministerii*.⁶⁶⁴

The Prophet here foretels, who should be preserved from the *Assyrian*.

He that stoppeth his Ears from hearing of Blood, is He that won't give Ear to any *Bloody Designs* against the *Innocent*.⁶⁶⁵

Q. How is it said, *They shall behold the Land that is very far off?* v. 17.

A. Tho' they are at Present coop'd up within their Walls, yett then shall they be at Liberty to look abroad, & safely travel to the Remotest Corners of the Land.

Then, instead of stouping in a submissive Manner to a cruel Tyrant, in Sackclothe & Mourning, they shall *see their King* in a greater Magnificence than ever he appear'd before.⁶⁶⁶

Q. The Meaning of that Passage, *where is the Scribe? Where is the Receiver? Where is hee that counted the Towers?* v. 18.

A. I am extremely beholden to Dr. *Templar*, for a Key to the Sense of this Passage.⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶² White, *Commentary*, p. 283.

⁶⁶³ Here Mather follows the eschatological reading of Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 246.

⁶⁶⁴ "Of the hand, of the mouth and of the office." From the work of the Scottish theologian, historian, and Bishop of Salisbury Gilbert Burnet (1643–1715), *A Discourse of the pastoral Care* ([1692] 1736), p. 230. Via Burnet, reference is made to Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, lib. 1, hom. 4 [PL 76. 1092; CCSL 141]. The PL reads: "aliud est munus ab obsequio, aliud munus a manu, aliud munus a lingua." Compare also Hincmar of Reims commentary on simony, citing Gregory, in a letter to his nephew Bishop Hincmar of Laon, cap. 35, in *Opuscula et epistolae ad causam Hincmari Laudunensis* [PL 126. 425].

⁶⁶⁵ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 283. The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁶⁶⁶ White, *Commentary*, p. 247.

⁶⁶⁷ Mather derives this spiritual application from the work of the Anglican divine John Templer (d. 1693), *A Treatise relating to the Worship of God* (1694), sect. 3 ("Concerning the True Worshipers of God"), p. 156.

Wee read of *Colledges* in *Jerusalem*. And *Solomon Jarchi*, tells us, there were no fewer than 480, of them in the Time of the Prophet *Isaiah*.

Now these Words of the Prophet intimate, what Kind of *Studies* they followed in those *Colledges*: *Where is the Scribe? Where is the Weigher? Where is hee that counted the Towers?*

The People of God, were now in *Prosperity*, but that they might not bee Transported into *Carnality* by their *Prosperity*, the Prophet advises them to *Meditate upon their former Terror*, & Remember the Calamities, which | had [52v] involved them in those Intricate Circumstances, wherein those who devoted themselves unto the Study of Wisdome, were so far from offering the least Expedient, that it was commonly said, by Way of Reproach, *where is the Scribe? Where is the Weigher? Where is hee, who tells the Towers?* Here were Three Sorts of Students.

First. *Scribes*. Their Skill & Work was, to give the Sense of the *Law*, as *Ezra* did. In order hereto they read over the Writings of the former Prophets. *Daniel* thus was conversant in the Books of *Jeremiah*. *Justin Martyr* saies, That in the Colledge, which the Sons of the Prophets, were building in the Dayes of *Elisha*, their Design was, τὸν νόμον καὶ τὰ προστάγματα τοῦ θεοῦ λέγειν, καὶ μελετᾶν.⁶⁶⁸

Secondly. *Weighers*. These were *polemical Divines*. They weigh'd in the Intellectual Ballance, all Arguments for, & against the Received Sense of the *Law*. *Paul* calls them, *The Disputers of this World*.

Thirdly. *Tellers of the Towers*. These were *mystical Divines*. They applied themselves to find out the High & Rare Mysteries of the *Gospel*, concealed under the Shadowes of the *Law*. *Paul* calls them, *The Wise*. There is no greater Degree of Wisdome, than to arrive at a clear Perception of the *Messias*, who is, *The Wisdome of God*. This was the Study of *Heman*. Hee was, *A Seer in the Words of the Lord*, which did relate unto the *Horn of Salvation*. [1. Chron. 25.4, 5.] That this was the principal Enquiry of the Prophets, is evident, by the Words of *Peter*. [1. Pet. 1.10.] *Of which Salvation the Prophets have enquired, & searched Diligently*. The Word, imports the *Diligence* of those who dig in the *Minds*. They took such Pains, to discover the Mysteries, which were lock'd up in the Figures of the *Law*.⁶⁶⁹

But the original Intention of the Prophecy is; There shall ye think with *Pleasure* on the *Terror* ye were in, when ye saw the *Assyrian* at your Gate. Then shall ye insult over your conquered Enemies: and ask, *where is the Scribe*; or the Secretary of War? *Where is the Receiver*; or the Tribute-Gatherer? *Where is he that counted the Towers*; or the Matter of the Artillery?⁶⁷⁰

⁶⁶⁸ "to read and study the law and commandments of God." Templer cites Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo*, cap. 86 [PG 6. 681; *Patristische Texte und Studien* 47]; transl.: ANF 1:243.

⁶⁶⁹ See Templer, *A Treatise relating to the Worship of God*, sect. 3, p. 156.

⁶⁷⁰ White, *Commentary*, p. 247. Compare also Mather, *Tripuradisis*, p. 177.

Q. On that, *A Place of broad Rivers & Streams?* v. 21.

A. q. d. Tho' *Jerusalem* is not surrounded with any River, to render difficult the Access unto it, yett GOD shall afford as much Security to it, as if it had *broad Rivers & Streams* over which the *Assyrians* could not pass in their Vessels to it.⁶⁷¹

Hereupon, the *Assyrians* are likened unto a disabled Ship. So *Horace* afterwards likened the Roman Empire; *Ac sine funibus, vix durare Carinæ possunt imperiosius æquor.*⁶⁷²

Then *Sennacherib* would be in such a shipwreck'd Condition, that the Prey taken by him from the conquered Nations, would be divided among the Jews; of whom the *Strong* would not be able to take all away, but even the *Lame* would come in for a Share.

⁶⁷¹ White, *Commentary*, p. 248.

⁶⁷² "And the hull, without the support of ropes, can scarcely withstand the overbearing sea." From White (*Commentary* 248), Mather cites Horace, *Odes* (1.14.6–9); transl.: *LCL* 33, pp. 51–53.

Q. How, *upon all Nations?* v. 2.

A. The grand Army of *Sennacherib* was raised out of *many Nations*; There were several Tributary Princes, who commanded their own Troops under him.⁶⁷³

Q. How, *The Host of Heaven dissolved?* What & whence these Mutations in the *Heavens?* v. 4.

A. *White* paraphrases it; “So great shall be the Slaughter of the *Assyrians*, that those who survive shall think that Heaven & Earth are coming together & the whole Fabric of the World is falling to Peeces; tumbling into its primitive Confusion.”⁶⁷⁴

Grotius thus carries it; so much Blood shall be spilt, that the Air shall be filled with Vapours, intercepting the Light of the Sun and Stars, and making them seem as if they were fallen from their Orbs, or the Heavens rolled up & their Lights extinguished.⁶⁷⁵

Pompous Expressions, to sett off a great Slaughter, or unusual Calamity.

Q. Why, *Idumæa?* v. 5.

A. The *Idumæans* joined with *Sennacherib*, GOD heinously resents their treating of their Brethren so.⁶⁷⁶

{4043.}

Q. What is meant by, *The Sword of the Lord?* v. 6.

A. *Munster* has a Jewish Notion of it, not unworthy to be considered; *Gladius Domini est Decretum illud Divinum, quod nemo immutare valet.*⁶⁷⁷

Mr. *Lowth* well observes here, That the Words describe a more general Judgment, of which the Destruction of *Edom*, was an imperfect Repræsentation.

It may be observed, the Words *Edom* and *Bozrah*, may be taken figuratively; inasmuch as in their original Sense, they may be fitly applied unto any Place of Slaughter: *Edom* signifies *Red*; the Colour of *Blood*; And, *Bozrah* signifies, a *Vintage*; which notably sett out the Vengeance of GOD upon the Wicked. [See Joel. III.13. Rev. XIV.19. Isa. LXIII.3. Rev. XIX.14.] We find *Edom* and *Bozrah* together, in a parallel Place; representing the Vengeance of GOD. Isa. LXIII.1.

⁶⁷³ White, *Commentary*, p. 250.

⁶⁷⁴ White, *Commentary*, p. 250.

⁶⁷⁵ Grotius, *Opera* (1:305).

⁶⁷⁶ White, *Commentary*, p. 251.

⁶⁷⁷ “The sword of the Lord is the divine decree that nobody has the power to change.” Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5064).

The Prophets, in the Denunciations of Judgments, often allude unto the *Names* by which Places are called; Mic. I.10.

The Jewish Writers do generally suppose, that by *Edom* in the Writings of the Prophets, *Rome* is intended. And if we compare the XVIII Chapter of the *Revelation*, and what goes before and after, (which several *Popish* as well as *Protestant* Interpreters, explain of *modern Rome*) we shall find a marvellous Agreement with many Passages in the Chapter now before us.⁶⁷⁸

Q. The Fate of *Idumæa*? v. 9.

A. Tis an Allusion to the Destruction of *Sodom*.
Look to it, *Rome*; Thou art *Edom*!

Q. What is meant by the *Line of Confusion*, and the *Stones of Emptiness*? v. 11.

A. In the Building of Houses, there is employ'd a *Line*, and a *Level*; now a *Line of Confusion*, means a *Line* that shall find nothing to be applied unto. What we render *Emptiness*, may be rendred, *Perpendicularum inane*; *Stones of a vain Perpendicular*, intimate, that it shall be *in Vain*, to apply a *Perpendicular* unto them, for they shall never be employ'd in Building any more.

The Words which we render, *Confusion*, and, *Emptiness*, are the same that are used by *Moses* for the primitive *Chaos*. *Idumæa* was to have nothing but *Confusion* reigning in it.⁶⁷⁹

The Word, *Eben*, which signifies, a *Stone*, is taken sometimes for, a *Plummet*. [See, Zech. IV.10.] So it should be taken here. Thus it will be exactly parallel, with, 2. King. XXI.13. *I will stretch over Jerusalem the Line of Samaria, & the Plummet of the House of Ahab*. The Instruments of *Building* are applied unto *Destroying*.⁶⁸⁰

[53v]

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Q. On that of, *calling the Nobles*? v. 12.

A. There shall be no Sign of any Government. The Final Destruction to be brought on the *Kingdome* of *Antichrist*, is here pointed at, and painted out.⁶⁸¹

Q. In the Destruction of *Idumæa*,⁶⁸² wee read, *The Wild-beasts of the Desert, shall meet with the wild Beasts of the Island*: what more particular Sort of *Beasts* may be intended? v. 14.

⁶⁷⁸ Here Mather again leaves the historical interpretations of White and follows the eschatological readings of Lowth (*Commentary* 287–88). The last four paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later. Compare also Mather, *Trip paradisus*, pp. 185–86.

⁶⁷⁹ White, *Commentary*, p. 253.

⁶⁸⁰ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 290.

⁶⁸¹ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 290.

⁶⁸² See Appendix A.

A. The Word / צִיִּים / *Tzijim*, which we translate, *The Wild-beasts of the Desert*, are by *Bochart* proved for to be *Wild-Catts*,⁶⁸³ the same Creatures, whereof *Diodorus* tells us, That no *Birds* can build on the *Trees* near unto them; and *Nemesianus* the *Carthagian Poet* sings,

*Felemque Minacem Arboris in Trunco Longis præfigere telis;*⁶⁸⁴

And *Alkazuinus*, the Arabian describes them as being in Figure much like our *Tame Catts*, but much larger in Stature, and swifter in Running.

And then, the Word / אִיִּים /⁶⁸⁵ *Ijim*, which we translate, *The Wild-beasts of the Island*, are by *Bochart*, repræsented, as the, *Thoes* of the eastern Countreyes. Now, the *Thos*, is the same with the, *Lupus Cervarius*. Perhaps it will be no Mistake in us, to call it, The *Lynx*; or at least, that is the Nearest Name of any, by which *Europe* knowes how to Distinguish it. It is bigger than a *Fox*, and having in it, the Dispositions of a *Wolf*, and it barks like a *Dog*. It is a voracious Animal, and will dig into the Sepulchres of the Dead, for Prey. *Gesner* will give you an entertaining Account of them.

In Isa. 13.21. there is added, the Term of, / אֲחִים / which we render, *Doleful Creatures*. *Bochart* shewes, Tis not the Name of any *Creatures* at all, but of their *Noises*. Tho' Interpreters have used the Names of Ten or a dozen several Creatures, in their Translations: And after all, R. *Solomo*, does protest, He does not know, what Creature it is. *Bochart* shewes, That the Word only notes the *Doleful Howlings* of the Creatures before mentioned; and that the Word, *Echo*, comes from this Word.⁶⁸⁶

Q. What is the Meaning of that Passage, *Seek yee out of the Book of the Lord, and Read; No one of these shall fail?* v. 16.

A. Q. D. When the *Time* for the *Accomplishment* of these Things doth arrive, then do you take the *Book* of the Sacred Prophecies, and Read *This Chapter*, in that Book particularly. You shall then find, that tho' I have here with much Particularity foretold the Creatures, the *Beasts* and the *Birds*, that shall Inhabit

683 From *Bochart*, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 2, lib. 3, cap. 14, p. 861. צִי [tsi] pl. צִיִּים "a wild beast," either "desert-dweller" (from צִי, so most) or "crier, yelper" (*BDB* 850).

684 "And the wild cat clings to the trunk of a tree with its long claws." ("Claws" here is *telis* which is used figuratively: "spears, darts, javelins."). From *Bochart* Mather refers to Grattius Faliscus (Gratius), a contemporary of Ovid, who wrote a poem on hunting entitled *Cynegetica*, which has survived in fragments. Mather quotes v. 55. See *Gratii Falisci Cynegeticon* (1775), p. 228.

685 Here the Hebrew word is אִי [i] pl. אִיִּים "jackals," others have "goblin." (*Holladay* 12).

686 From *Bochart*, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 2, lib. 3, cap. 14, p. 861. A reference to the Swiss naturalist and bibliographer Conrad Gesner (1516–1565), who wrote a five-volume *Historia animalium* (1551–1587). אֶח [oach] pl. אֶחִים "howling wild creature, usually: eagle-owl," others have "laughing hyena" (*Holladay* 12).

the Desolated Land, every Syllable shall bee accomplished, there shall *not one* of those Creatures *fail* of being there.⁶⁸⁷

⁶⁸⁷ White, *Commentary*, pp. 253–54.

Q. What, *The Wilderness*, that should *be glad*? v. 1.

A. *Judæa*, that had been reduced into the Condition of a *Wilderness*, would *be glad*, upon the Destruction of such Enemies as the *Assyrians* & the *Idumæans*.

A golden Key to this Chapter, see in our Illustrations on the XI Chapter of *Matthew*.⁶⁸⁸

Q. A Remark on the Miracles foretold here, to be wrought by our SAVIOUR? v. 6.

A. 'Tis Remark'd by Dr. *Allix*, That the Prophet here singles out Four Sorts of *Miracles*, the like whereto we do not find ever done by any Prophet; That so the Character of the *Messiah* in His *Miracles* too, might be very distinguishing.⁶⁸⁹

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Q. The Prophecy of, *The Highway*, and, *The Way of Holiness*? v. 8.

A. In the Letter, it means, *The Highway* would be restored; It should no longer be unsafe to travel about the Countrey, for fear of the *Assyrians*. It should be a

⁶⁸⁸ The last sentence of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later. In his annotations on Matt. 11:5 Mather raises the question "What Sort of *Works* done by our Saviour, were *those*, to which Hee referred the Disciples of *John*, in His Answer to Them?" His answer is: "They were *Those Works*, which the *Messias* was to do according to the Prædictions of the Divine and Ancient Oracles. When our Saviour tells them, That *the Blind Receive their Sight, & the Lame Walk*, you'll find the Prophet foretels in Isa. 35. 5, 6. That these very Things were to come to pass in the Dayes of the *Messias*." Mather then adds: "In the XXXV Chapter of *Isaiah*, the Kingdome of the *Messiah* is described. It should be connected with his XL Chapter. The *Joy of the Wilderness* foretold there, means, that the People & Places least instructed, should be in as good a Condition for Knowledge, as the most cultivated. *The Glory of Lebanon, the Excellency of Carmel & Sharon*, – The Advantages of *Jerusalem*, and other Cities, best situated for Fruitfulness in Instruction & Religion, should be offered unto them in the Desart. The *Gifts and Powers* of the Holy SPIRIT, are promised, under the Figures of *Waters*, to *break forth in Parched Grounds*; because, for many Years they had ceased in the Nation. In this *Wilderness*, the *Way* of this Glorious King, was to be præpared, by the Preaching of *John Baptist*; A *Way of Holiness*, and, *no Lion there* – He should preach up *Repentance*, instead of *Uncleanliness*; Men of Brutish Appetites would then despise his Preaching & not come into his *Way*; The Godly alone should receive the Doctrine of the Kingdome. Then would be no mighty Difficulty in the Learning of it; the Poor, Simple, Honest Sincere ones would not mistake the *Way*. Even the Ancient *Jews* understood these Poetical Expressions of the Prophet, as Prophecying a SAVIOUR to come." Compare also Mather, *Trip Paradise*, p. 166.

⁶⁸⁹ A reference to the work of Pierre Allix, *Reflexions upon the Books of the Holy Scripture to establish the Truth of the Christian Religion* (2 vols., 1688), vol. 2, pt. 4, ch. 10 ("That the Miracles Wrought by Our Saviour clearly Prove that He is the Messiah").

Way sett apart for the Jewish Nation, which were an *Holy People*, to walk in; that none other should walk there, without their Leave or Consent.⁶⁹⁰

Q. Who were, *The Ransomed of the Lord*? v. 10.

A. They who had fled unto *Jerusalem* for Shelter, but after the Defeat of the Besiegers returned unto their own Possessions, when *Jerusalem* was again sett in Order, they returned unto the Temple to give Thanks unto GOD, their Almighty Deliverer.⁶⁹¹

Q. *Joy on their Heads*? v. 10.

A. The Phrase alludes to the *Crowns* (or, Garlands) putt on the Heads of Persons at their Weddings. [Cant. III.11.] Compare, 1. Thess. II.19. It refers to the *Marriage of the Lamb*. [Rev. XIX.7. XXI.2, 4.]⁶⁹²

⁶⁹⁰ White, *Commentary*, p. 257.

⁶⁹¹ White, *Commentary*, p. 258.

⁶⁹² Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 296.

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

A. The Son of *Salmanassar*. See Tobit. I.15.⁶⁹⁴

Q. *Rabshakeh*, who? v. 4.

A. The Hebrew Doctors will have it, that this *Rabshakeh* was an *Apostate Jew*; And *Procopius* is of the same Opinion. This is not altogether improbable. Both because he could speak Readily in the Hebrew Tongue; and where he blasphemed the Divine Majesty the King & Nobles rent their Clothes; which was not usual unless he that uttered such Blasphemous Words were an *Israelite*.⁶⁹⁵

Some think his Name imports that he was principal Cup-bearer to the King of *Assyria*.

Q. The Speech of *Rabshakeh* begins very Abruptly. *I say (but vain Words) Counsel & Strength for War*. How would you gloss them? v. 5.

A. Some think, 'Tis a vile Reflection upon *Prayer*; as if Prayer were but an Aiery thing, a Trifle. q. d. What can *Hezekiah* say, to embolden him against the least of my Lords Servants? What? I say (quoth *Hezekiah*) I have *Words of my Lips*, that is, Prayer. *Prayer!* saith *Rabshakeh*; those are empty Words; for *Counsel & Strength are for War*. What can *Prayer* signify to beat an Enemy? So I take the Words.

And here, speaking of *Prayer*, I would Remark upon Isa. 45.20. where tis said of Idolaters, *They pray to a God that cannot save*. I think, it may bee thus also carried, *praying unto God Hee will not save them*.

Q. *Egypt*, a *Broken Reed*? v. 6.

⁶⁹³ As chapters 36–39 of Isaiah reappear in 2 Kings 18:13–20:19 with minor variations, Mather keeps his annotations to a minimum here, referring the reader (see his note at Isa. 36:10) to the explanations in the preceding sections of the “Biblia” (see BA 3: 619–33), where he heavily relies on Simon Patrick’s commentary on Kings. Lowth (*Commentary* 298) adopts a similar strategy and refers the readers to Patrick’s *A Commentary upon the two Books of Kings* (1705). White, in fact, tells his readers that he is also going to borrow his notes “from the Bishop of Ely’s Learned Comment on the Second Book of Kings; where the same History occurs, without adding a Word of my own . . .” (*Commentary* 259).

It is worth noting that in 1699 Mather wrote a new versification of Isa. 36 in iambic tetrameter for the tenth edition of the *Psalm Book* (pr. 1702), which was supposed to facilitate the singing of that portion of Scripture (*Diary* 1:300). See Knight, ed., *Cotton Mather’s Verse in English*, pp. 120–23.

⁶⁹⁴ White, *Commentary*, p. 260.

⁶⁹⁵ White, *Commentary*, p. 257, citing Procopius of Gaza, *In libros Regum et Paralipomenon* (ed. 1620), p. 320; see cap. 17 (18) [PG 87.1.1197–98]. See Patrick, *Kings*, p. 533.

A. An allusion to the *Reeds* that grew on the Banks of the *Nile*.⁶⁹⁶

Q. How could the Wretch say, *The Lord said, go up?* v. 10.

A. Perhaps, he concluded from what had been done by the *Assyrian* Monarch, to *Samaria* that GOD intended the like to be done unto *Jerusalem*.⁶⁹⁷

But see our Illustrations on the Second Book of the Kings.

Q. The Intent of the Menace about the *Men that satt upon the Wall?* v. 12.

A. He would make them know, that he would reduce them to the greatest Extremity if they did not submitt unto him.

An Hyperbolical Speech, for such Streights as never were known!⁶⁹⁸

It is a Remark, which has been made upon *Rabshakeh*, That he was an excellent Orator.⁶⁹⁹

[55v]

Q. The King of *Assyria* offers to *come, and carry away the Jewes, unto a Land like their own Land*. What *Land?* v. 17.

A. *Maimonides* thinks, *Africa* to bee understood hereby, and saies, that the *Gergezites*, did so far accept the Condition of *Sennacherib*, as to go thither.⁷⁰⁰

Grotius beleeves these to bee those, *Phenicians*, from whom the *Tingitans* affirm'd themselves, to have their Original.⁷⁰¹ For tho' *Procopius* refer their Original, to the Dayes of *Joshua*, tis likely enough, that hee might bee several Ways, Imposed upon.

Q. The Rite of, *Rending the Cloathes?* v. 22.

A. The Jews did it, at the Hearing of Blasphemies. Yea, the Witnesses did it, at the Repeating of the Blasphemies before the Judges. *Hezekiahs* Commissioners did so.

All Nations, as appears from *Homer*, and *Herodotus*, and *Vergil*, express'd great Grief, in such a Manner.⁷⁰²

⁶⁹⁶ White, *Commentary*, p. 261. See Patrick, *Kings*, p. 534.

⁶⁹⁷ White, *Commentary*, p. 262. See Patrick, *Kings*, p. 535.

⁶⁹⁸ White, *Commentary*, p. 263.

⁶⁹⁹ White, *Commentary*, p. 264. Compare Patrick, *Kings*, p. 538. See Appendix A.

⁷⁰⁰ The Gergezites or Girschites belong to the nations which possessed the land of Canaan before the Israelite conquest. In Gen. 10:16 and 1 Chron. 1:14. "the Girschite" is mentioned as the fifth son of Canaan. The territory of the Girschites has never been exactly located; but is described as having been west of the Jordan in Josh. 24:11. There is a Talmudic legend that the Girschites went to Africa from Canaan (*JE*). I was unable to locate Maimonides's explication of this.

⁷⁰¹ Grotius (*Opera* 1:307). Compare Procopius of Gaza, *In libros Regum et Paralipomenon*, p. 323; see cap. 18 (19) [PG 87.1.1197–98].

⁷⁰² White, *Commentary*, p. 265.

Q. On that of, *No Strength?* v. 3.

A. *Procopius Gazeus* expounds it; we are in Pain to hear such Blasphemous Words, & have no Power to punish the wicked Blasphemers.⁷⁰³

But lett us putt by the common Gloss; – we are in the same Danger of Perishing, as a Woman spent in Travail.

Q. *Gozan* and *Haran* and *Rezeph*; where? v. 12.

A. There was a *Gozan* and *Haran*, which *Bochart* finds in *Media*.⁷⁰⁴

Tis harder to find *Rezeph*. *Ptolomy* makes Mention of such a City in *Syria*; where *Jerom* also places *Thelassur*. There were more Cities in *Adana*, which is here called, *Eden*.⁷⁰⁵

Q. On that, *O Lord of Hosts, who dwellest between the Cherubims?* v. 16.

A. Those two Titles, as Mr. *Lowth* observes, are commonly joined. [See, 1. Sam. IV.2. 2. Sam. VI.2.] Because the Sitting of GOD upon the *Cherubims* in the Temple, signified His being attended with the *Hosts of Heaven*, as always in a Readiness, to obey His Commands. [Compare, 1. King. XXII.9.]⁷⁰⁶

– Some read it, *He inhabits the Cherubims*.

Q. *Zion*, why called, *A Virgin?* v. 22.

A. The Fortress had never been taken, by any Enemy, since *David* conquered it.⁷⁰⁷

Q. On the Promise here made unto *Hezekiah*, – *The Third Year, Sow and Reap?* v. 30.

A. Tho' *Sennacheribs* Invasion, would in all Probability lay Waste all *Judæa*, yett they might eat the Fruits of the Earth in Quietness, the Fourteenth Year of *Hezekiah*; and the Next Year they should eat the Fruits that would grow up of themselves without any Tillage; and on the Sixteenth Year, they should have Liberty to till the Ground as formerly. That shows, as Dr. *Allix* observes, That

⁷⁰³ White, *Commentary*, p. 267, citing Procopius of Gaza, *In libros Regum et Paralipomenon*, p. 323; see cap. 18 (19) [PG 87.1.1197–98]. Compare Patrick, *Kings*, p. 540.

⁷⁰⁴ Bochart, *Geographia sacra, Prefatio*; and *ibid*, pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 14, p. 220.

⁷⁰⁵ White, *Commentary*, p. 269.

⁷⁰⁶ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 301.

⁷⁰⁷ White, *Commentary*, p. 270. Compare Patrick, *Kings*, p. 545.

the *Fifteenth Year of Hezekiahs Reign*, was the *sabbatical Year*. This Observation may be some Help to us in our Chronology.⁷⁰⁸

[56v] |
H71:

Q. *The Angel of the Lord WENT FORTH, & smote in the Camp of the Assyrians.* The Intention, and Occasion of that Expression, *Hee WENT FORTH*; what might it bee? v. 36.

A. It seems that particular Societies of Saints, are under a special Inspection of Holy Angels. The Church of the *Jewes*, had their *Angel*; [Dan. 12.1.] and so, no doubt has every Church of *Christians* too. Thus, when *Jerusalem* was besieged by the *Assyrians*, tis here said, *The Angel of the Lord, WENT OUT, & smote the Camp of the Assyrians*. There was one particular *Angel*, which did Reside in, and Præside over, that City, where the Temple was; who upon this Occasion, *went out* of it.

Q. *Esar-haddon?* v. 38.

A. Called, *Sarchedon* in *Tobit*; and *Asordan* in the *Septuagint*:⁷⁰⁹ A Word near akin to *Assaradinus*, by which Name he is called in *Ptolomies Canon*.

Under his Government, the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Kingdoms were joined into one Monarchy. He reigned Thirteen Years over the Latter, as appears by the forementioned *Canon*; tho' he reigned on all, more than Forty Years from the Death of his Father.⁷¹⁰

Q. *Sennacherib* slain by his Two Sons, as hee was worshipping in the House of *Nisroch*, his God: lett mee exactly understand, a little more, about the, *where* and the, *why* of that Emperours Death? v. 38.⁷¹¹

A. As for the, *where*; It was in the Temple of *Nisroch*. Who, or what this *Nisroch* should bee, *Peter Martyr* confesses, that hee could find nothing in all the Ancient Writers to explain it: only hee gives his own Opinion depending on the Etymology of the Word, *Nesrac*, that signifies, as he saies, *Deum Fugæ mollis*;⁷¹² a, *Jupiter* Φυξιος, to whom *Sennacherib*, as it should seem very properly, *flies* for Sanctuary.

⁷⁰⁸ From White (*Commentary* 274), a reference to Pierre Allix, *Reflexions upon the Books of the Holy Scripture*, pt. 2, ch. 1.

⁷⁰⁹ See Tob. 1:21; Ἀσαρδάν (LXX). See Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:100).

⁷¹⁰ Patrick, *Kings*, p. 553.

⁷¹¹ The following entry is derived from *The Assyrian Monarchy* (1663) by John Gregory. See *Works*, p. 200.

⁷¹² "God of smooth flight." Through Gregory, Mather refers to a work of the Reformed theologian Pietro Martire Vermigli (Peter Martyr Vermigli, 1499–1562), presumably his *Melachim, id est, Regum libri duo posteriores cum commentarijs* (1566), at 2 Kings 19:37, where *Nisroch* is also discussed.

But, Mr. Gregory saies, that *Rac*, signifies, the *Sun*, as *Francis Junius* ha's noted, upon *Shadrac* in *Daniel*. So then, this Temple seems to have been the *Asylum* of *Ninive*, built unto the Honour of the *Sun*, who was therefore called, *Nesrac*, or, the *Sun of Flight*.⁷¹³

And then, for the, *why*: the Jewish Rabbins inform us, that the City of *Ninive*, being all in a Tumult & Uproar, upon the Loss of their Friends, before *Jerusalem*, *Sennacherib* in his Distress, made a Vow unto his God *Nisroch*, that if hee would appease the Rage of the People now likely to fall upon himself, hee would sacrifice his *Two Sons* unto him. His *Two Sons* having private Information of their Fathers bloody Purposes, resolved thus to bee aforehand with him.

The Tradition of *Sennacheribs* Purpose may bee given a little fuller?

Sennacherib, they say, enquired of one about him, what might bee the Reason, why God so favoured the *Jewes*. Hee answered, There was one *Abraham*, their Father, that was willing to sacrifice a Son unto Death, at the Command of God, and ever since, God favoured that People. Well; said *Sennacherib*, if that bee it, I have two Sons, and I will sacrifice both of them, if that will procure their God to favour mee. On this, the Two {Sparks?} did what they did.⁷¹⁴

⁷¹³ In Dan. 1:7 Shadrach is the Babylonian name given to the Hebrew boy Hananiah (one of the three boys to miraculously survive the fiery furnace) in honor of a Babylonian deity. See also John Selden, *De diis Syris syntagmata II*, pars 2, cap. 10, p. 254. From Gregory Mather refers to the marginal gloss at Dan. 1:17 in the *Biblia Sacra* of Junius and Tremellius.

⁷¹⁴ This explanation is derived from Dieterich, *Antiquitates biblicae*, p. 380. The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

Q. What was *Hezekiah's* Distemper. v. 1.

A. Some say, *The Pleuresy*. And others yett, more confidently, *The Pestilence*; whence in pestilential *Bubo's*, a great Use ha's been of a Cataplasme, of *Figs*, fry'd with Butter & Treacle. But what if it should bee a malignant *Quinsy*. That is a Distemper whereof Men are either kill'd, or, (like *Hezekiah*) cur'd, on the *Third Day*. Hence came the *Chattering*, whereof *Hezekiah* complained. *Figs* were very Agreeable to this Distemper. *Durities discutiunt, parotidas et furmiculos emolliunt* sais *Dioscorides*.⁷¹⁵ *Pus movent, et evocant*, sais *Celsus*.⁷¹⁶

The Meaning of that Word, *Thou shalt Dy and not Live*; is, Thy Disease is in the Nature of it a mortal Distemper and can't be cured by any Humane Remedy.⁷¹⁷

Q. *Hezekiah's* Plea? v. 3.

A. He had been so exact, as to Remove the High Places, which had continued ever since the Time of *David*, & none durst attempt the Removal of them. He begs that he might live to settle what he had begun.⁷¹⁸

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Q. *Hezekiah* ha's an Assurance of his Life to be prolonged, yett *fifteen Years*. How many Persons can you find in the whole Bible, who had any Assurance of their Lives being for any considerable While continued unto them? v. 5.

A. There are the Names of above *Eighteen Hundred* Persons, mentioned in the Bible; but of all these, there were but *Fifteen* single Persons who were sure of Living until such or such a Remarkable Period of Time should come about.

Noah was very sure of living, till after the Flood.

The *Twelve Persons* named as the Dividers of the Land *Canaan*, were sure of living, till the Land was conquered.

Hezekiah had his *Fifteen Years* assured unto him. And *Simeon* was assured of seeing the *Messiah* before hee dyed.

⁷¹⁵ "Figs disperse indurations about the ears and soften boils." The reference is to Pedanius Dioscorides, *De materia medica*; see the chapter on figs in the edition by Beck (2005), pp. 89–91. The citation also appears in Cotton Mather, *The Angel of Bethesda*, pp. 169, 361.

⁷¹⁶ "They promote and evoke suppuration." Compare the Roman medical writer Aulus Cornelius Celsus (fl. 1st cent. CE), *De medicina*, 5.27; transl.: LCL 304, pp. 92–93.

⁷¹⁷ White, *Commentary*, p. 277.

⁷¹⁸ See Appendix B.

This is Monsieur *D'Espaignes* Observation.⁷¹⁹ But I beleieve, when you consider a little further, you'll see several other Instances to bee added.

Were not the *Heroes*, that were called unto several eminent Services, assured of living to go thorough them? Were not the *Women*, who had Sons promised from Heaven unto them, assured of living to bring them forth?

However, the Instances are so few, that still they Invite us unto a serious Reflection, on the Law of our Mortality.

[▽Insert from 57v]

[▽57v]

903.

Q. When *Fifteen Years* were assured unto *Hezekiah*, what Remarkable was there in the *Year* of that Assurance? v. 5.

A. This memorable Thing, fell out according to common Reckoning, in the 735 Year, from the Conquest of *Canaan*, in which Time there had passed just *Fifteen Jubilee's*, or 15. times 49.

From this Time, if you reckon 105 Years to the *Babylonish* Captivitie, you'll find that it was an Epoch to just *Fifteen Weeks* of Years, or 15 times 7.

You may add, that *Hezekiah* was Just the *Fifteenth* King, from the Beginning of the Israelitish Monarchy; and now the Support of that Monarchy when just Ready to fall, was given by granting *Fifteen Years* of Life unto the King upon the Throne. —

(And from the Sacking of *Jerusalem* by the *Babylonians* to the Sacking of it by the *Romans*, they count Just *Fifteen Forties* of Years.)⁷²⁰

917.

Q. Why were *Fifteen Years*, the Term added unto the Life of *Hezekiah*? v. 5.

A. Among the many Reasons, to bee given of it, lett mee single out one Remark for you not altogether devoid of *Curiositie*.

In this Term, *Hezekiah* might see a Son that was not yett born, arrive to the Age capable of swaying a *Scepter*. Which was the chief Desire then boiling in the Heart of *Hezekiah*.

Nevertheless, to see how the Faith of this good Man was Tryed! The *Third* Year of the *Fifteen* arrived, before hee saw the Son, which hee so much desired.

And, for a Touch on the Vanity of Humane Desires & Affayrs, I might have added; what Sort of a Son was hee, when hee *did* arrive?

[△Insert ends]

[△]

⁷¹⁹ Mather cites Jean D'Espagne's posthumously published *Essay des merveilles de Dieu* (1657), translated into English as *Essay on the Wonders of God* (1662), pp. 74–75.

⁷²⁰ These thoughts on the "Strange and wonderful concurrences of the proportions of Times, which went before, and followed, the going back of the Sun, in the days of Hezekia" are derived from D'Espagne, *Essay on the Wonders of God*, pp. 102–04.

Q. Was there any thing Remarkable in the Time of *Hezekiah's* Recovery? v. 7.
A. *Hezekiah's* Recovery on the *Third Day*, was Typical, of our Lords Resurrection on the *Third Day*. And it is further to bee Remark'd, That a miraculous Thing befel that glorious Luminary, the *Sun*, to signalize the Condition both of *Hezekiah*, and of our Lord. But the Return of the *Sun Ten Degrees*, upon the Return of *Hezekiah's* Life, was not so miraculous as our Lords Returning to Life, after the præternatural *Eclipse* of the *Sun*, which hee evidenced by *Ten Apparitions*, as by so many *Degrees*, unto the World.

On this Occasion, I will here enter one Observation; which is, That a Resurrection on the *Third Day*, is a Thing appropriated unto our Lord Jesus Christ. Of all the Raised, that are mentioned in the Scripture, every one was either *Before*, or *After*, the *Third Day*. This was by our Lord kept peculiar unto Himself.

And now my Hand is in, I will observe this one Thing more:

That there were Two *Instruments of Resurrection* in the *Old Testament*, namely *Elijah* and *Elisha*; and there were Two *Instruments* in the *New*, namely *Peter* and *Paul*. Between these came the *principal Efficient*; even the Lord Jesus Christ, as the *Sun*, in the Midst of the Planets.

And yett I cannot break off, till there bee one thing further observed; That is, That of all the *Raised* from the Dead, occuring in the Scripture, there were none besides the Lord Jesus Christ, who were Persons of any Qualitie, Patriarchs, Prophets, or Princes; but all were young or mean Persons. This might bee to prevent the *Idolatry*, with which the *Raised* might otherwise have been Honoured by the *Mortal*. Again, of all the *Raised*, from the Dead, the Scripture introduces not one, as ever speaking so much as one Word unto the Living; tho' doubtless a thousand Quæstions were asked of them. This might bee, to correct the *Curiositie*, which wee might have expected otherwise to have been gratified, from the Informations of the Raised.

4044

Q. How large a Space of Heaven, might there be in the *Ten Degrees*, of the *Suns* going back? v. 8.

A. *Munster*, a Person as well acquainted with Hebrew Traditions, as any Man living in his Time, tells us, That the Hebrewes take the *Ten Degrees* here to be no less than *Ten Hours*, which amounts, to *Five Signs*, or *one hundred & fifty Degrees*, in the *Zodiack*. They have a Story, That the Day whereon King *Ahaz* died, was abbreviated the Space of *Ten Hours*; for which amends were now made.⁷²¹

But the Division of the Day into *Hours*, appears not such an ancient Invention. *Daniel* is the First Writer of the O.T. who mentions, *An Hour* as a

⁷²¹ Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5046).

Division of Time. There is no *Hebrew Word* for such a Thing. We have elsewhere spoken to it.⁷²²

[57v]

Q. A *Shepherds Tent*? v. 12.⁷²³

A. q. d. I must be gone to another Countrey, like the wandring Shepherd, who when his Flocks have eat up the neighbouring Pasture, must roll up his Tent, & remove to another Quarter.⁷²⁴

Q. On that, *undertake for me*? v. 14.

A. He speaks of his Disease, as if it siez'd him like a rough Bailiff, & begs that the Mercy of GOD would be, as it were, bound for him, to gett him out of those violent Hands.⁷²⁵

1383.

Q. In the Song of *Hezekiah*, which *Grotius* thinks to bee by *Isaiah* dictated unto him, what means that Passage, *I shall go softly, all my Years, in the bitterness of my Soul*? v. 15.

A. All the Rest of my Years, I shall carry with mee, the *Remembrance* of the *Bitterness*, thro' which I have now passed, and of my *Deliverance* from this *Bitterness*.⁷²⁶

Tis certain, that *Hezekiah*, was at this Time very sensible of the great Thing done by God for him, in his *Recovery*. Hence particularly, the last Words of this Chapter, *Hezekiah had said, what is the Sign that I shall go up to the House of the Lord?* are to bee read rather *what a Sign*, [or Miracle] *will it bee, of that I should go up to the House of the Lord?*

⁷²² A reference to Mather's annotation on 2 Kings 20:9, where he excerpts long passages from Jacques Basnage's *The History of the Jews, from Jesus Christ to the present Time* (1708) on the different ways of measuring time in ancient civilizations (see BA 3:630–32). The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later. Born in Rouen, Normandy, Jacques Basnage (1653–1723) was a French Reformed divine, a celebrated scholar and diplomat, who emigrated to Holland after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Later he became a leading member of the Walloon church. Amongst his many works are a number of studies in the history of religion that had a lasting impact on the Protestant world, including *Histoire de la religion des églises réformées* (1690), the *Histoire de l'église depuis Jésus-Christ jusqu'à présent* (1699), the *Histoire des Juifs* (1706, first Engl. trans. 1708), on which Mather draws throughout the "Biblia," and the *Antiquités judaïques ou remarques critiques sur la république des Hébreux* (1713).

⁷²³ In the manuscript the annotations on v. 15 appear before those on v. 12.

⁷²⁴ White, *Commentary*, p. 280.

⁷²⁵ White, *Commentary*, p. 281.

⁷²⁶ See Grotius, *Opera* (1:307).

Q. Those Expressions are very *elliptical*, *O Lord, By these things Men live, and in all these things is the Life of my Spirit?* v. 16.

A. *Munster* thus reads it.

O Lord, even beyond these they live; and I will tell unto all Men, that in these [or, during these] I have the Life of my Spirit. That Clause, *Beyond these*, refers to the Clause præceding, *All my Years*. An Intimation, That Men may live even beyond the common Term of Life if the Lord shall please.⁷²⁷

But, by *These Things* may mean, such merciful Visitations as GOD had made unto him.⁷²⁸

{4046}

Q. What Remark on that Passage, *Thou hast cast all my Sins behind thy Back?* v. 17.

A. *Hezekiah* had above said, *Lord, I have walked before thee in Truth, and with a perfect Heart, & have done that which is Good in thy Sight.*

And yett now he acknowledges himself to have been a *Sinner* that needed *Pardon*. An Acknowledgment always to be made, in the Midst of our greatest Pretensions, to a *Walk with God*; and which we shall then most sensibly make, when we have been by Affliction brought like *Hezekiah*, to know ourselves.⁷²⁹

Q. On that, *The Fathers of the Children*, —? v. 19.

A. Mr. *Lowths* Gloss is a good one.

“Thy wonderful Mercy towards me, shall be recorded unto After-Ages, and Fathers will mention it unto their Children as an Instance of thy Faithfulness.”⁷³⁰

⁷²⁷ Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5097).

⁷²⁸ White, *Commentary*, p. 281.

⁷²⁹ Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5097).

⁷³⁰ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 310.

Q. Upon *Merodach-baladan*, the Son of *Baladan*? v. 1.

A. He began his Reign at *Babylon*, the same Year that *Samaria* was taken; and was called, *Mardoc-Empadus*. He was the Son of *Baladan*, or *Belesis*, or *Nabonassar*. But after the Death of his Father, several other Princes had succeeded in *Babylon*, before the Crown came to him. For after *Nabonassar* had reigned his fourteen Years, *Nadius* reigned his Two Years; and after him, *Chinzerus* and *Porus* jointly five Years, and after them *Iugæus* five Years. Of these there is nothing on Record, besides their Names in the Canon of *Ptolomy*. *Mardoc-Empadus* arrived unto the Throne in the 27th Year after the Beginning of his Fathers Kingdome in *Babylon* & enjoy'd it for Twelve Years.⁷³¹

|

[58v]

Q. Upon that Prophecy; *All that is in thy House, shall be carried unto Babylon*? v. 6.

A. It is a Remark of Dr. *Jackson*. Whosoever will consider the State of things in the World, at this Time, and the small Power which the *Babylonians* now had, in respect of their mighty Neighbour; the King of *Assyria*, (whom the Jews had Reason to fear above all other Princes,) the Accomplishment of this Prophecy of *Isaiah*, was according to Humane Conjecture, far more improbable, than if a Man should in the last Age, have taken upon him, to Foretel, that some Prince in *Germany*, suppose the Duke of *Saxony*, should conquer *France*, and *Spain*, and lead them captive to *Dresden*. But in an hundred & twenty Five Years, *Isaiah* is provid'd a True Prophet.⁷³²

⁷³¹ It seems these dates are based on the work of the English historian and chronologer John Marsham (1602–1685), *Chronicus canon ægyptiacus, ebraicus, græcus, & disquisitiones* (1672), pp. 495–97.

⁷³² See Patrick, *Kings*, p. 562. Through Patrick, Mather is here citing the work of the English scholar and president of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Thomas Jackson (1579–1640), *Christs Answer unto Johns Question* (1625), in *The Works of Thomas Jackson* (1673, 3 vols.), vol. 2, p. 490. It is somewhat surprising to see Mather here and elsewhere refer to Jackson, who initially had Puritan leanings but then became a well-known Arminian under the influence of Neile and Laud. This made him a target of criticism from writers such as William Prynne (1600–1669), who attacked him in *Anti-Arminianism* (1630) and his 1646 *Canterburies Doom, or the first Part of a complete History of the Commitment, Trial, &c., of William Laud* (ODNB).

Q. How, *Received Double?* v. 2.

A. Double, in Proportion to the usual Severity, wherewith GOD punished the Sins of Men.

[See Dan. IX.12. and Amos. III.2.]

Some so translate the Words; *she shall receive of the Lord Double for all her Sins*; taking the Word, *Sins*, for the *Punishments* due for them. q. d. she shall fully be made Amends for her Sufferings; and receive twice as much as she enjoy'd before. [Compare, Isa. LXI.7. Job. XLII.10.]⁷³⁴

Q. The most literal Meaning of that, *prepare ye the Way of the Lord*, and the rest? v. 4.

A. The Prophet speaks of GOD, as Resolved that He would march out of *Babylon*, at the Head of His People, and make His Triumphant Entry into *Jerusalem*, all the Way preceded by Harbingers, who should Clear the Roads, and Remove all Impediments, that might Retard Him or Offend Him.⁷³⁵

Q. What Remarkable might bee Intended & Performed, from that Prophecy, *every Valley shall bee exalted, & every Mountain, & Hill, bee made low?* v. 4.

A. Great Changes upon the *Church*, & the *World*, have been ushered in by great *Earthquakes*. After the Terrible *Earth-quake*, in the Dayes of *Uzziah*, is mentioned, Zech. 14.5. it is added, *And the Lord my God shall come, & all the Saints with thee*. A learned Man thinks,⁷³⁶ That *Earthquakes* were Emblems & Figures, of the great Change, by the Ministry of *John Baptist*, the Forerunner of our Lord, in the Fifteenth Year of *Tiberius*, who declared the Kingdome of

⁷³³ The interpretation of this chapter was much debated between the "Grotians" and the traditionalists. White, for instance, thought that the prophecies here were all "concerning the Deliverance of the Jews from the Babylonian Captivity" (*Commentary* 286), even if some secondary, typological readings might be admissible. Lowth, on the other hand, insisted that in Isaiah's visions of a restoration of the Jews after the Babylonian captivity many direct predictions were to be found "relating to the Life and Death, the Character and Offices of the Messias, the flourishing State of the Church under him, [that] can never be supposed to receive their due Accomplishment, unless we assert that the Prophet was carried on from his first Subject to a further View of the Enlargement of the Church under the Gospel and the bringing the Fulness of the Gentiles into it" (*Commentary* 314). Characteristically, Mather attempts to navigate a middle course by suggesting multiple fulfillments.

⁷³⁴ Lowth, *Commentary*, pp. 316–17.

⁷³⁵ White, *Commentary*, p. 288.

⁷³⁶ Mather derives this entry from Jackson's *Christs Answer unto Johns Question*; in *Works*, vol. 2, pp. 526–27. See also Mather's sermon on the occasion of an earthquake in New England, *Boanerges: The Terror of the Lord* (1727), in which he read the event as a harbinger of the approaching Second Coming.

Heaven at hand: when *Sinners & Gentiles* were advanced, & the Children of *Abraham*, who gloried in their Birthright, were debased; when poor *Fishermen* became *Heads* to the Tribes of *Israel*, and mightier Men in the House of God, than *Moses* and *Aaron*, while the Successors of *Moses* were Infatuated, like *Salt* that had lost the Saviour. And hee Reckons the Prophecy of *Isaiah*, *every Valley shall bee exalted, and every Mountain & Hill shall be brought low*, to have been fulfilled, and answered, in its *literal Meaning* (partly at least) by the Terrible *Earthquake* in the sixth, or seventh Year of the Emperour *Tiberius*, which overthrew Twelve Renowned Cities in *Asia*. For among other Symptoms thereof, *Tacitus* relates this for one, *sedisse Immensos Montes, visa in arduo quæ Plana fuerint; The Valleys were exalted, & Mountains & Hills brought low*. Before the Accomplishment of Prophecies, God gives often some Glimpse, or Hint, by some Real Event, answerable to the plain literal Sense of the Prophet, but Immediate Prognosticks of greater Mysteries approaching.⁷³⁷

Hee (tis Dr. *Jackson*) observes further, That the *Earthquake*, which happened in *Jewry*, while *Augustus Cæsar*, and *Anthony*, were Trying for the Empire, in that memorable Sea-fight at *Actium*, it was in Part, an Accomplishment of the Prophet *Haggai's* literal Meaning, in Chap. 2.6, 7. *Yett once, it is a little While, and I will shake the Heavens, & the Earth, & the Sea, and the Dry Land, and I will shake all Nations*. The *Shaking* of the *Nations*, & of the *Earth*, (and of the *Sea* too) at this Time, a shrewd Prognostic of the Mystery, which the Prophet foretels, in the following Verses, *That the Glory of the latter Temple should bee greater than the Glory of the former*; & that Hee, who was the *Desire of all Nations*, & the Glory of both *Temples*, the Prince of that *Peace*, which God had promised in *Jerusalem*, should *shortly come*. For about a Dozen Years after this, *Herod* erects the Temple anew, & made it, some say, more beautiful than *Solomons* had been: that the *King of Glory*, and *Prince of Peace*, for whose Entertainment, (tho' *Herod* knew it not) it was erected, might come into it, & *fill it with Glory*. And within eighteen Years, after *Herod* began this Work, our Lord was presented in it, and acknowledged by *Simeon*, to bee the *Light of the Gentiles*, (or, one *desired of all Nations*) and, *the Glory of His People Israel*.⁷³⁸

[59v]

Q. We read, *The Voice said, cry. – All Flesh is Grass. The Grass withereth?* v. 6, 7.
 A. It is a good Gloss, Mr. *Matthew Henry*, somewhere ha's upon it. (In a Sermon) "I need not tell you, *John Baptist* was that *Voice*. Tis his Testimony concerning himself: He was only the *Voice*; God was the *Speaker*. And I am apt

⁷³⁷ Throughout his work Jackson argues for a hermeneutics of double application (allowing for a partial historical fulfillment of many prophecies in their plain literal sense, while insisting on an ultimate spiritual fulfillment in Christ), which Mather would have found congenial to his own approach to Isaiah and the other OT prophets.

⁷³⁸ From Jackson's *Christs Answer unto Johns Question*, in *Works*, vol. 2, p. 527.

to think, that as *John* was the *Voice crying*, so he was the *Grass* that was to *Wither*, and the *Flower* that was to *Fade*. All his *Glory* was to be *done away*, & would be *no Glory*, in Comparision with the *Glory* of the *Messiah*, which *excell'd* & would *remain*.⁷³⁹

They who adhære to the most literal Interpretation, behold, here a Promise for the Redemption of the Jewish Nation, out of their Bondage in *Babylon*; which however Improbable it might seem to Persons in their Circumstances, yett if they considered the Almighty Power of Him that promised it, they would have no Reason to doubt it; For, *All Flesh is Grass*; the strongest Empire in the World, even that of the mighty *Babylonians*, are no more able to make any *Resistance* unto Him who had espoused their Cause, than a Flowre ha's to resist an Hurricane, or a Wind that brings a Blast upon it. It is to be taken thus: Tho' Men are weak Things, yett GOD and His Promises may be relied upon. The Restoration of the Jewish Nation, was not brought about by Humane Force, but by the Power & Wisdome & Goodness of GOD. See Zech. IV.6. But all this is yett more verified in the Revelation & the Dispensation of the *Gospel*.⁷⁴⁰

Q. On that, *O Zion*, and, *O Jerusalem*? v. 9.

A. Some think, that *Zion* and *Jerusalem* are not in the *Vocative* Case, but in the *Dative*. They that brought the Tidings to *Zion* and *Jerusalem*, were to take all Advantages, that it might be effectually published.⁷⁴¹

Mr. *Lowth* observes, This is a better Sense; and best agrees with what follows.⁷⁴²

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Q. It is said, *He hath measured the Waters in the Hollow of His Hand, and meted out Heaven with the Span*. What singular Gloss have you seen upon it? v. 12.

A. This. That the Lord goes with a Close, a Shutt, a contracted Hand, unto Punishments, which are signified by *Waters*; but He proceeds with the whole Extent of His Goodness, to Reward, which is represented by *Heaven*.

The Notion is Devout, and Pretty; whether the Text afford it, or no.

But *Grotius* thinks, The Word here signifies, That GOD is *Able to poise* the Heavens in His Palm, & bear them up as it were at Arms Length; which goes

⁷³⁹ Here Mather refers to an occasional work of Matthew Henry, *Two Funeral Sermons: one on Dr. Samuel Benion, and the other on the Reverend Mr. Francis Tallents* (1709), p. 9. Compare also Mather, *Tripuradus*, p. 166.

⁷⁴⁰ White, *Commentary*, p. 288.

⁷⁴¹ White, *Commentary*, p. 288, referring to Grotius, *Opera* (1:308).

⁷⁴² Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 319.

beyond the Poets *Atlas*; who putts the whole Strength of His Body, and groans under the Weight.⁷⁴³

Bashalish, is by the *Vulgat* rendred, *Tribus Digitis*;⁷⁴⁴ He weighs the whole Earth with *Three Fingers*; in Allusion to Retailers, who in Things of small Weight, use not the Strength of their whole Hand, but poise the Scale with their Fingers.

Q. *Behold, Hee taketh up the Isles, as a very little Thing?* v. 15.

A. The LXX, translate the Word which wee render, *A very little Thing*, Σίελον, or *Spittle*. q. d. Hee manages the *Isles* as a Man does the *Spittle* of his Mouth. Hee gives it whatever Turn, & whatever Cast, He pleaseth.⁷⁴⁵

Note, The Hebrew Language calls all those Countreys, *Islands*, to which we go by Sea.⁷⁴⁶

[60r]

Q. The *silver Chains?* v. 19.

A. By which the *Idols* were fastened unto Walls or Pillars.⁷⁴⁷

Q. Who are the *Young* that should *faint* and fall? v. 30.

A. They that keep close to the literal Sense carry it so; even the *Chaldeans*, tho' they are at present in the Height of their Glory, like a *young Man* full of Spirit, and Vigour. Yett they should *faint* at the Appearance of GOD and make no Resistance.⁷⁴⁸

But the People of GOD, should surmount all their Difficulties.

[60v]

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Q. Of the Saints, tis promised, *They shall mount up with Wings as Eagles*: what, and when may be the Accomplishment of this Promise? v. 31.

A. This will be, when they shall *Renew their Strength*; that is to say, At the *Resurrection* of the Just.

The *mortal Body*, which we *sowe* in the Grave, shall be the *Seed*, that shall Receive our *Spirit* at the *Resurrection*. Tis far from Impossible, for the great, omnipotent, omnipresent Author of Nature, to extricate that *Seed*, out of all

⁷⁴³ Grotius, *Opera* (1:308).

⁷⁴⁴ VUL: "By three fingers." Cited from White, *Commentary*, p. 290.

⁷⁴⁵ From Grotius (*Opera* 1:308). The LXX has σίελος (*NETS*: "spittle"). Compare Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3: 104).

⁷⁴⁶ כִּי־יָם [iyyim] "coastlands" (*ESV*), "isles" (*KJV*), "islands" (*NAU*). Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 321. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁷⁴⁷ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 322.

⁷⁴⁸ White, *Commentary*, p. 294.

those other Substances, wherein it may seem to have been entangled. We see, a Parcel of *Quicksilver*, may run thro' a tedious Course of Alteration; it may shift itself out of its *Natural Form* into that of a *Vapour*, out of a *Vapour* into an insipid *Water*; out of *Water* into a white, or red, or yellow *Powder*; out of that *Powder* into a *Salt*; & thence into a malleable *Metal*: And yett, a skilful Chymist, will reduce it, out of all those various Contextures, into its old Natural Form, of Plain, Shining, Running *Mercury*. What cannot then be done, upon our *Bodies*, by a Being of Immense *Knowledge* and *Power*, to bring back the wandering Particles of our corrupted *Bodies*, into the Figure, of the *Resurrection*?⁷⁴⁹

But the *Body*, in the *Resurrection* of it, will be endowed with most glorious *Qualities*, which it never had before. Yea, such will be the glorious *Qualities* of it, that the *Separation* of the *Soul* for some While, before its being placed in such a *Body*, seems but Necessary. As the Author of the Book entituled, *The Christian Life*, expresses it; It is requisite, that for some time, the *Soul* should continue in a *separate State*; there to inure itself unto an Heavenly Life, & by a continual Contemplation and Imitation of God to ripen *gradually* into the State of the *Resurrection*, & contract a perfect aptitude, to animate an *Heavenly Body*, that so its Powers being enlarged & improved by Exercise, it may be able to manage that *active fiery Chariot*, & be prepared to operate by its nimble & vigorous Organs, which till the *Soul* is rendred more Sprightly and Active by Exercise, will be perhaps to swift for it to keep Pace withal. [That in 1. Cor. 15.51, 52. will be all over miraculous!]

Now, as the *Body*, at the *Resurrection*, shall come forth very *Beautiful*: the *Matter* of it, will be Refined & Exalted into a lucid Substance, that shall glitter like the *Sun*; this will be the *Inheritance of the Saints in Light*: the glorified *Soul* that animates it, will convey *Lustre* into it, & our Saviour Himself *shall change this vile Body, into the Likeness of His glorious Body*: so, it will come forth very *spiritual* & very *powerful*. God will fitt our *Bodies* then, to the utmost Activity of our *glorified Spirits*: unspeakable will be their *Agility*. The Ancient Hebrewes therefore called, the *Bodies* of the *Resurrection*, by the Name of *Eagles Wings*, on which they shall be able to fly as fast, & as far as they please. Here is a Key to the Text now before us. Dr. *Scott* ha's been helpful to us in it.⁷⁵⁰

⁷⁴⁹ Derived from John Gregory, *A Sermon upon the Resurrection*, in *Works*, pp. 70–71.

⁷⁵⁰ These thoughts on the resurrection are taken from the popular work of the English clergyman, apologist, and devotional writer John Scott (1639–1695), *The Christian Life* (1681), in *The Works of the Reverend and Learned John Scott* (1718), vol. 2, p. 528. Compare also Mather's use of this passage in his *Triparadisus*, p. 190.

Q. How, *Renew their Strength*? v. 1.

A. Muster up the whole *Strength* of their Cause, and make the Best Plea they can for themselves. Tis the Gloss of Mr. *Lowth* upon it.⁷⁵¹

Q. Who is meant by, *The Righteous Man*? v. 2.

A. *Cyrus*, [of *Persia*, which lay east of *Babylon*.] He is called, *Righteousness*, because he was to execute the Justice of GOD on the *Babylonians*.

A Type of our SAVIOUR; one of whose Titles is, *Righteousness*. He also comes from, *The East*, or, is it, [Zech. III.8.] *Tsemash*, which we render, *The Branch*, is, *The East*; rendred Ανατολή by the LXX.⁷⁵² Compare Luk. I.78.⁷⁵³

Q. The Terror upon the *Isles*? v. 5, 6.

A. The Remotest Nations were terrified at the Growth of the *Persian* Empire. They fell to consulting on proper Methods to reduce the exorbitant Power of the *Persians*. What they pitch'd upon, was to increase the Number of their *Idols*; And here, the Artificers in that Work encourage one another.⁷⁵⁴

Mr. *Lowth* observes well; This Passage may be applied unto the Heathen-Powers, combining together, to support their Idolatry, and suppress the Christian Religion.⁷⁵⁵

Q. On that, *Abraham my Friend*? v. 8.

A. Compare, 2. Chron. XX.7. and Jam. II.23. *Ravanellus* observes, That this Term of, *A Friend*, sometimes more especially carries it, the near Conjunction between an Householder, and his Domesticks. His Interpretation of the Clause now before us, is; *Quem Deus in Album Domesticorum recipere dignatus est*.⁷⁵⁶

⁷⁵¹ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 327.

⁷⁵² LXX: Ανατολή ("rising, sunrise, dawn; branch, bud, sprout"). Compare Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3: 108). Compare Mather's entries on Isa. 4:2 and 11:1.

⁷⁵³ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 327. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁷⁵⁴ White, *Commentary*, p. 296.

⁷⁵⁵ Lowth, *Commentary*, pp. 328–29. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later. Compare also Mather, *Trip paradisu*, p. 177.

⁷⁵⁶ "This one God deemed worthy to be included in the register of his domestics." Mather cites the entry on "domus Deis" from the biblical dictionary of Petrus Ravanellus (Pietro Ravanelli, d. c. 1680), *Bibliotheca sacra, seu, thesaurus scripture canonice amplissimus* (1654), p. 497.

A most Honourable Title! In Imitation of it, *Homer* gives this to *Minos*, as a Title of singular Honour, *The Friend of Jupiter*;⁷⁵⁷ as *Plutarch* observes in his *Theseus*.⁷⁵⁸ And so *Apollonius Tyaneus*, is by *Vopiscus* called, *A Friend of the Gods*.⁷⁵⁹

It may illustrate this Matter, to observe, The oriental Custome, in which the principal Counsellours & Officers of *Kings*, and those that were most of all made acquainted with their Secrets, & those who had most Authority in their Court, & had their Word most regarded, were called, *The Friends of the Kings*. Thus, 2. Sam. XV.37. and, 1. King. IV.5. and, 2. King. X.11. and, in several other Places. – The Term thus applied, occurs diverse times in *Josephus*. In *Livy*, in *Justin*, in *Salust*, we have it, I know not how often over.⁷⁶⁰

We find, the Favourites of the Roman Emperours were called, *Cesars Friends*; and he that held the first Rank in the Favour had the Title of *Dear Friend*. *Mæcenas* was called *Amicus Mæcenas*, which is to say, *The Favourite*. Thus in *Horace* (Epod. 1.) *Amice Mæcenas*, must be rendred Friend & Favourites of *Augustus* and not as some body had ridiculously rendred it *Friend Mæcenas*.⁷⁶¹ See *Salmatius*' Annotations on the *Augustean History*. – *Juvenal*'s Scholiast says, in that Sense, that *Seianus* was *Charas Amicus to Tiberius*.⁷⁶² [**]

Q. The Intention of, *Holding the Right Hand*? v. 13.

A. The *Joining of Right Hands*, has been in all Nations look'd upon, as a Token of *Friendship*, and of coming into *Covenant*.⁷⁶³

Q. What special *Emphasis*, and *Elegance*, can you see in that Passage, *Fear not, thou Worm, Jacob*? v. 14.

757 Probably a reference to *Homer*, *Iliad*, 13.445–54.

758 See *Plutarch*, *Life of Theseus* (16.3), in *Vitae parallelae*.

759 See the *Historia Augusta*, *The Deified Aurelian* (24.2–3). The *Historia Augusta* is a late Roman compilation of biographies by six different authors collectively known as “Scriptores Historiae Augustae.”

760 See, for instance, *Josephus*, *Jewish Antiquities* (10.13); *Livy*, *Ab urbe condita* (33.41.7–8), where we are told about the death of some of the friends of the King Antiochos. Compare also the Roman historian and politician *Sallust* (Gaius Sallustius Crispus, 86–34 BCE), *Bellum Jugurthinum*, cap. 80, where it is told how Jugurtha “won the favour of the nearest friends of King Bocchus by lavish gifts and still more lavish promises, and through their aid approached the king and induced him to make war upon the Romans” (transl.: *LCL* 116).

761 See *Horace*, *Epodes* (1.2–4). This first poem of *Horace*'s *Epodes* is dedicated to *Mæcenas*, his own patron and that of *Virgil*.

762 “A joyful friend.” *Lucius Aelius Seianus* (20 BCE –31 CE) was an ambitious soldier, friend and confidant of the Roman Emperor *Tiberius*. Compare the annotations by the French classical scholar *Claude Saumaise* (*Claudius Salmatius* or *Salmasius*; 1588–1653) in his edition of the *Historiae Augustae Scriptores VI* (1620), pp. 306–09. The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later. Beginning with “that held,” the text is written in a different, ornate hand, similar to the handwriting that appears in other parts of the manuscript.

763 Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 330.

A. One would think, That if *Jacob* were a *Worm*, hee had *more* Cause to *Fear*, than any other Creature under Heaven; A *Lion* hath a *Strength*, to fortify him against *Fear*. A *Worm* ha's None. The *Dove* ha's *Fear* enough, but shee hath *Wings*. The *Hare* ha's *Fear* enough, but shee hath *Feet*. A *Snake* indeed cannot *Fly*, cannot *Run*, but shee ha's a *Sting*. A Despicable *Worm*, a Creature subject unto the Tread of every other Creature, hath no *Wings*, no *Feet*, that may carry him from the Hurtful, nor any *Sting* to make the Hurtful keep from him; yett, *Fear not thou Worm; why? For I am with thee.*

GOD here sees the captive Sons of *Jacob*, trod underfoot in *Babylon*.⁷⁶⁴

Q. A *New Sharp Threshing Instrument, having Teeth*; to what alludes it? v. 15.

A. This was one Way of *Threshing*, among the Ancients. They had a wooden *Sled*, or *Dray*, without *Wheels*, full of Iron *Teeth*, or, *Nails*, on the Side which was towards the Ground, & loaded with massy Iron or some other Weights at the Top, to make it heavy. This was Drawn by *Oxen*, over the *Corn* till the Ears were so pressed, that the Grain flew out. The *Iron Teeth*, cutt the Sheaves; & are called, Amos. 1.4. *Threshing Instruments of Iron*. [The Talmuds tell us, the Name of this Engine, was, *Morag*, and *Charutz*. Compare, 2. Sam. 24.22. and Isa. 28.27. where you have these Names.] It was a Kind of *Harrow*.⁷⁶⁵

Threshing of the *Mountains* and *Hills*, may allude unto the Custom of the eastern Countreys, which præferr'd such Places for their *Threshing Floors*. Compare, Ch. XVII.13.⁷⁶⁶

Q. That Promise, *when the Poor & Needy seek Water, & there is None; and their Tongue faileth for Thirst; I the Lord will Hear them*: unto what alludes it? v. 17.

⁷⁶⁴ White, *Commentary*, p. 298. The last sentence of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁷⁶⁵ This is mentioned several times in Lowth, *Commentary*. See his annotations on Isa. 17:13 (p. 144), on Isa. 21:10 (p. 173), on Isa. 28:28 (p. 240), and on Isa. 41:15 (p. 330). As his source, Lowth refers to the work of the Anglican theologian and exegete Henry Hammond (1605–1660), *A Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the Books of the New Testament* ([1653] 1702), p. 12, on Matt. 3:12. Hammond refers to Kimchi (Radak), probably via Nicholas Fuller, *Miscellaneorum theologicorum* (1612). A possible further source is the first Aramaic-Latin edition of the Targum on Chronicles by the German theologian and orientalist Matthias Friedrich Beck (1649–1701), *Targum shel divre hay-yamim* (1680), pp. 209–10, on 1 Chron. 20:3. In his footnotes, Beck gives a drawing of this agricultural engine and cites Rashi on 2 Sam. 12:31. See also Rashi's explanations of the "harrow" in his note on Isa. 41:15 in the *Mikraoth Gedoloth* (p. 331): "It is a heavy wooden implement made with many grooves, similar to the ironsmiths' tool known as 'lime' in French, a file, and they drag it over the straw of the ears of grain and it cuts them until they become fine straw."

⁷⁶⁶ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 331. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

A. Read the Story of *Hagar*, and *Ishmael*, (whose very Name, ha's this Promise in the Signification of it) and then say, whether you see no Allusion.⁷⁶⁷

[61v] But this is not the only Scripture wherein there is an Allusion to that Remark. |

Tho' this may also allude unto the Supply of the *Israelites* with Water, in their Passage thro' the Wilderness.⁷⁶⁸

Q. On the *Trees* here promised? v. 19.

A. In the former Verse, there was promised a Supply of *Water*, & other Necessaries.

In this tis engaged, that they should be skreened from the scorching Beams of the Sun, as effectually, as if they were to travel thro' shady Walks of Tall Thick Spreading Trees.

But certainly, the Prophetic Spirit look'd further than this.⁷⁶⁹

Q. On that Challenge, *Do Good, or Do Evil?* v. 23.

A. The Heathen worshipped some Gods, in hope of *Good* from them; others (called, *Averrunci*, and *Αποτροπαιοι*) for fear of *Evil* from them.⁷⁷⁰ With reference to this Opinion, the Prophet says, They can do no *Good*, because they are *Evil*: Nor can they do *Evil* any further that GOD permitts them to do it. Besides, The *Images*, whereto they paid their exterior Worship, were Dead, Insensible Things.⁷⁷¹

Q. Who was, *Raised from the North, & from the Rising of the Sun?* v. 25.

A. *Cyrus*; who was *Persian* by his Father; and a *Median* by his Mother.

⁷⁶⁷ Hagar is the Egyptian maidservant whom Sarah gave to Abraham as his concubine, and who bore him Ishmael (the name signifying "God has heard"). In Gen. 21:8–21 the story is told how Hagar is sent away with her child at Sarah's urging. When Hagar's provisions are used up and the death of the child seems imminent an angel appears and reassures Hagar that the child will produce a great nation. A well of water appears that ensures the survival of the child. Ishmael grows up and becomes an archer in the wilderness of Paran and marries an Egyptian woman (HCBD).

⁷⁶⁸ A reference to the wilderness journey of the Israelites, during which Moses's first turned brackish water into sweet water (Exod. 14:21–15:21) and then produced water from a rock (Exod. 17:1–7).

⁷⁶⁹ As Lowth makes explicit in his annotation on Isa. 25:5 (*Commentary* 208), it is implied here that the image of God providing protective shade can also be read in a futuristic and spiritual sense, as a promise that "God will over-shadow his People" until the tyranny of the Antichrist is over.

⁷⁷⁰ In ancient Greek religion the *Ἀποτρόπαιοι θεοί* (*Apotropaioi Theoi*) or "Averting Gods" were thought to be able to turn away the harm of evil influences if placated by offerings. Hence the term "apotropaic magic." Similarly, *Averruncus* or *Auruncus* was a god in ancient Roman religion to whom sacrifices were made in order to avert harm (*NP*).

⁷⁷¹ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 333. See also Mather's commentary on Isa. 45:7.

Against the *Babylonians*, he carried forces out of *Media*, which lay *North* of *Babylon*; and out of *Persia*, which lay more to the *East*.⁷⁷²

He *called on the Name* of GOD, that is, fulfilled His Pleasure as exactly, as if He had asked what His Pleasure was. Yea, He made public Profession of his Beleeif in the great GOD of *Heaven & Earth*. [Ezr. I.2.]⁷⁷³

Q. The Lords saies, *I have Raised up one from the North, and Hee shall come; from the Rising of the Sun, and Hee shall call upon my Name; and Hee shall come upon the Princes as upon Mortar, and as the Potter treadeth Clay*. Who is This? v. 25.

A. I do not think, that wee need exclude, any to whom the common Glosses apply this Prophecy. Nevertheless, why may not the Spirit of Prophecy, have further Eye unto the *Messiah* therein? I beleeve, it will bee pleasing unto that Spirit, for us, to treat it with such an Illustration.

Our Lord Jesus Christ was, *one Raised up from the North*. His Conception, His Habitation, His Education, was at *Nazareth*; for which Cause Hee was called, *A Nazarene*. This was to the *Northward* of *Jerusalem*.

When our Lord Rode into *Jerusalem*, it was by the Way of Mount *Olivet*. This was to the *eastward* of *Jerusalem*. Hence tis here said, *Hee shall come from the Rising of the Sun*.

Whereas tis said, *Hee shall call upon my Name*, the Phrase elsewhere signifies, To make known the Name of God unto others; & Reform and Restore His Worship, with the Abolition of Superstition. This was then done by our Lord, when Hee *cleansed* the *Temple*, & preached the glorious Truths of God.

Hee then *came upon the Princes as Mortar*; Hee Thunderstruck the Rulers of the Nation with severe Admonitions; Hee *trampled* upon them, as *Clay*, when Hee exposed their *Hypocrisy*, with terrible denunciation of *Woes* unto them.

Q. How, *The First shall say to Zion?* v. 27.

A. The Words may be rendred, *I will first say to Zion, Behold them*, returning.⁷⁷⁴ —

Q. When tis said, *I will give to Jerusalem, one that bringeth good Tidings*: who is intended? v. 27.

⁷⁷² Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 334. Compare also Mather, *Tripuraditus*, p. 168.

⁷⁷³ White, *Commentary*, p. 300. The last sentence of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁷⁷⁴ White, *Commentary*, p. 301.

A. Take the whole Verse, with the Version of that christianized & memorable Jew, whose last Words were, *Not Barabbas, but Jesus!*⁷⁷⁵ And you'l see our Blessed *Jesus* intended in them.

Hee so renders it; *Primarium Zioni* (in quo) *ecce ista, et Jerusalem Evangelizantem daba.* i. e. *I will give to Zion that principal one, in whom, Behold these things, and to Jerusalem one that bringeth good Tidings.*⁷⁷⁶ The Lord shoves, that Hee would fulfil all that Hee had here foretold, in the Exhibiton of *Christ*; and that the *Messiah* Himself should bee the great *Preacher*, as well as the *Worker* of them.

Mr. *Lowth* propounds that it may be rendred; *I that am the First, will give unto Zion one that bringeth good tidings*, saying *Behold, Behold them.* i. e. Behold, the wonderful Works, which GOD has wrought for you, or, Behold, thy People returning to their Ancient Habitations.⁷⁷⁷

⁷⁷⁵ The reference is to the famous Italian-born Hebraist and Bible translator Immanuel Tremellius (Giovanni Emmanuele Tremellio, 1510–1580), who converted from Judaism first to Catholicism and then to Reformed Protestantism. After stints in Strasbourg and Cambridge, he became professor of Old Testament at the University of Heidelberg from 1561 to 1577, where he collaborated with his colleague Franciscus Junius (1545–1602) on a distinctively Reformed new Latin translation of the OT, which was first published in 1579. Tremellius spent his last years at the College of Sedan. Legend has it that he exclaimed on his deathbed, “Not Barabbas, but Jesus! (*Vivat Christus, et pereat Barabbas!*)”, as a symbolic reversal of the response of the Jewish multitude (Matt. 27:20–22) to Pontius Pilate (*JE*). Increase Mather also mentions this deathbed exclamation of Tremellius in his preface to Judah Monis, *The Truth*, p.ii.

⁷⁷⁶ This is how the verse is rendered in Latin by Junius and Tremellius in *Biblia Sacra*, p. 195. Mather provides a transl. See also the use of this citation in Martinus, *Pugio Fidei*, pars 3, dist. 3, cap. 1 (“*Quod Deus misurus ...*”), p. 503.

⁷⁷⁷ See Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 335. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

4175.

Q. *Of whom, I pray you, speaks the Prophet this; of himself; or of some other Man?*
v. 1, 2, 3, 4.⁷⁷⁸

A. Not of himself; Tho' *Grotius* impiously would have it so.⁷⁷⁹ Nor of *Cyrus*, tho' *Rabbis* would have it so. Nor of the *Jewish Nation*, as the *Jewes* would have it, and the *LXX* boldly thrust in the Name of *Jacob* and *Israel*. But, of the *Messiah*. The *Chaldee* discerns this; *Kimchi* confesses it; *Abarbanel*, with a laborious Commentary proves it against the *Grande*es of his Nation, & against his Friend *Aben-Ezra*.⁷⁸⁰ He had the Courage to utter such Words as these; *videntur omnes hi Sapientes percussi esse Cæcitate, quòd non animadverterint, omnia quæ hic scripta sunt, ritè et orthodoxè exponi non posse, nisi de Rege Israelis ex domo David*.⁷⁸¹ And anon he adds *וזהי המשיח Atque hic est Messias*.⁷⁸²

And our *Witsius* makes this just Reflection upon it; *Cæci cæteroquin Judei Observatione in Ruborem eos ex nostris dari oportet, quibus tam insigne Vaticinium aliovorsum torquere Religio non est*.⁷⁸³

⁷⁷⁸ The intended reference of the four first verses in this chapter was hotly debated among scholars, because Matthew cited parts of them as predictions of Christ (Matt. 12:18, 20, 21). *Grotius* (*Opera* 1:311) had argued that Isaiah was actually referring to himself, not to the messiah. As this meant a direct denial of the NT interpretation of this passage, White decided to part ways with *Grotius* on this issue, asserting that "the four first Verses of this Chapter were by the Prophet design'd to point out the meek redeemer of Mankind, I am fully satisfy'd of, upon the Word of an Evangelist; but that in a lower Sense they may be apply'd to *Cyrus* any unprejudic'd reader will allow ..." (*Commentary* 301). In contrast to his interpretation of Isa. 7:14–16, Lowth was not prepared to settle for a double application of these verses. He insisted that they could not reasonably "be expounded of any other Person" (*Commentary* 336) but Christ. Mather too argues for a single fulfillment in Christ.

⁷⁷⁹ The following entry with its elaborate repudiation of the *Grotian* interpretation is derived from *Witsius*, *Meletemata Leidensia* (1703), diss. 8 ("De Prophetia Jesaiaë XLII: I"), p. 391. Compare also Mather, *Tripuradismus*, p. 168.

⁷⁸⁰ See both the *LXX* and the *Aramaic* (*Chaldee*) versions in Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:110). Isa. 42:1 in the *LXX*: *Ἰακωβὸς παῖς μου ... Ἰσραὴλ ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου ...* (*NETS*: "Iakob is my servant ... Israel is my chosen").

⁷⁸¹ "All these wise men seem to have been struck with blindness, because they did not recognize that all that had been written here could only be explained in an orderly and orthodox manner with reference to the King of Israel from the House of David." As cited in *Witsius*, *Meletemata Leidensia*, diss. 8, p. 391. For the rabbinic commentary, see Rosenberg, *Isaiah*; Slotki, *Isaiah* at this verse.

⁷⁸² Hebrew and Latin: "And this is the Messiah/Anointed one." As cited in *Witsius*, *Meletemata Leidensia*, diss. 8, p. 391.

⁷⁸³ "Besides, those of us, for whom it is not religion to twist around such a notable prophesy, should be made ashamed by virtue of the observation of a blind Jew." *Witsius*, *Meletemata Leidensia*, diss. 8, p. 391.

Some think they find *Cyrus* here; who did not *cry aloud* unto the Souldiers to kill & spoil all when he took *Babylon*; but was calm in Victory, and gave Orders with wonderful Sedateness. He also treated the languishing Jews with wonderful Tenderness: while on their Oppressors he *brought forth Judgment unto Truth*; & punished them as they deserve. Yett even these confess, that the *meek Redeemer of Mankind* is here pointed out unto us.⁷⁸⁴

Mr. *Lowth* here carries us well, to the Declaration which our SAVIOUR made, of His *Coming to do the Will of Him that sent Him*. [Joh. IV.24. VI.38. XIV.31.]

And he thinks, it may be in this Respect, that the Apostle says, our SAVIOUR took on *Him the form of a Servant*. [Phil. II.7.]

GOD here *upholds Him*, and, *holds His Hand*: Because He was under the particular Care and Protection of Providence. [Joh. VIII.29. XVI.32. VII.30. VIII.20.]⁷⁸⁵

Q. Tis said, *The smoking Flax He shall not quench*; what may be meant by, *The smoking Flax*? v. 3.

A. I'll tell you a Gloss, that I find among the Ancients; Tis in *Prosper*. Saies he, *Gentem ipsam Judæam signans, quæ ut Linum fumigans in Sacrificijs, omnem usque ad Christum tectam celavit Prophetiam*.⁷⁸⁶

Q. Some Observations upon the *Reeds* mentioned in the Scripture? v. 3.

A. The *Paper-Reed of Egypt*, is famous in the Scripture. But the *Reeds*, which are so often mentioned, without any Distinction, Sr. *Tho. Brown*, thinks, That they were not all of one Kind. Or, if they were, the common one, was the only one implied.⁷⁸⁷

In *Ezekiel*, we read of, a *Measuring Reed of six Cubits*.⁷⁸⁸

⁷⁸⁴ Mather is here referring to White, *Commentary*, p. xiv. White argued that Isaiah originally referred to Cyrus but allowed for a double interpretation: "One, as all the Words belong to *Cyrus*; the other, as part of them belong to our *Saviour*, both design'd by the same Spirit which directed the Prophets and the Evangelists hand" (p. xvi).

⁷⁸⁵ See Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 337. The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁷⁸⁶ "Denoting the Jewish nation itself, which – like smoking flax in sacrifices – concealed the whole secret prophecy until the coming of Christ." Mather refers to a work traditionally ascribed to Prosper of Aquitaine, *De promissionibus et prædictionibus Dei*, in *Opera* ([1540] 1577), pars 2, cap. 14 [PL 51. 783]. Possibly the work was authored by the Bishop of Carthage Quodvultdeus (d. before 454).

⁷⁸⁷ This entry is derived from Thomas Browne, *Certain Miscellany Tracts*, tract. 1, sect. 47, pp. 82–83.

⁷⁸⁸ Ezek. 40:9.

We find, they smote our Saviour on the Head, with a *Reed*; and they putt a Sponge with Vinegar, on a *Reed*, which was long enough to reach unto His Mouth, while He was upon the Cross.⁷⁸⁹

With such Differences of *Reeds*, as, *vallatory*, *sagittary*, *scriptory*, and others, they might be furnished in *Judea*.

In the Portion of *Ephraim*, we find there was, [Josh. 16.17.] *Vallis Arundineti*; and so sett down in the Maps of *Adrichomius*; and in our Translation, the River *Kana*, or Brook of *Canes*.⁷⁹⁰

Bellonius tells us, The River *Jordan* affords Plenty and Variety of *Reeds*. Out of some of them, the *Arabs* make Darts, and light Lances; & out of others, Arrowes. And there is plentifully growing there, the fine *Calamus*, the *Arundo Scriptoria*, or, the Writing Reed; which they gather with the greatest Care, as a most useful Commodity at home and abroad.⁷⁹¹ And *Hard Reed*, about the Compass of a *Goose* or *Swans* Quill; Tis used in Writing, throughout the Turkish Dominions; for the *Birds* Quill is not used among them.⁷⁹²

626.

Q. When a Deliverance from Captivity is promised, the Promise begins with this, *To open the Blind Eyes*; and then, *To bring the Prisoners from the Prison?* v. 7.

A. The Jewes, that were Born in *Babylon*, if they were not better informed, would account *Chaldea* to have been the Native Countrey of their Fathers, & would have been content therefore to stay alwayes in that Countrey, the Land of their Captivity. They needed therefore, to *have their Eyes opened* in the first Place, that they might know themselves to be in a Land, & a State, whereinto God had slung them in His Wrath, & that thro' the Wrath of God they were now scattered among their Enemies. Even so, In the *spiritual Salvation* of Men,

⁷⁸⁹ Matt. 27:30, 48.

⁷⁹⁰ "Valley of reed." From Browne, Mather refers to the Dutch Catholic theologian Christian Kruik van Adrichem (Christianus Crucius Adrichomius, 1533–1585), *Theatrum terrae sanctae et biblicarum historiarum* (1590), p. 25. Van Adrichem's lexicon entry reads: "Vallis Arundineti, seu Arundinetum; sic dictum, quia ibi crescunt arundines in copia. quo forte & in Psal. respicit David: Increpa feras arundinis."

⁷⁹¹ From Browne, Mather refers to the French naturalist, physician, and traveller Pierre Belon du Mans (Petrus Bellonius Cenomanus, 1517–1564), whose works mark the beginning of modern embryology and comparative anatomy. Browne (and thus Mather) seems to have misunderstood Bellonius as classifying "Calamus" as a kind of reed. Bellonius describes "Calamus aromaticus" (or "Acorus calamus," that is "Sweet Flag"), from which expensive fragrances were extracted and traded by the Turks and Arabs and other Mediterranean peoples, in his work *Les observations de plusieurs singularitez & choses memorables* (1554), lib. 1, cap. 76, pp. 74–75; lib. 1, cap. 21, p. 23. Today it is thought that the Hebrew word *qaneh* in Isa. 43:24 refers to Sweet Flag; see Mather on "sweet cane" there.

⁷⁹² Mather here seems to have misunderstood Browne who is describing "Arundo scriptoria" as the hard reed used as a writing quill by the Turks. Browne is thus not speaking of two different plants.

by the Lord Jesus Christ, they had need have their *Eyes opened* in the first Place, to know *who*, and *who's*, and *where* they are.

[To *open the Blind Eyes*.] There is a notable Paraphrase on this Verse, in Act. XXVI.18.

[To *bring the Prisoners from the Prison*.] Compare, Ch. LXI.1. Rom. VIII.21. 2. Tim. II.26. 2. Pet. II.19.

[62v] Mr. *Lowth* is for fetching from hence, an Explanation, of, 1. Pet. III.19., *The Spirits in Prison, to which Christ preached* by the Ministry of *Noah*. Understanding it of those wicked People in the old World, | who were under the Bondage of Sin; and whom the SPIRIT of CHRIST, who was in the Prophets from the Beginning of the World, [1. Pet. I.11.] endeavoured for to reclaim in the Ministry of *Noah*.⁷⁹³

Q. The People Rejoicing in the Revolution upon *Babylon*? v. 11.

A. By *them that go down to the Sea*, may be understood the *Tyrians*, whom *Nebuchadnezzar* carried into Captivity, at the same time with the Jews.

By the *Inhabitants of the Isles*, the Neighbouring Maritime States.

By the *Wilderness* may be meant the *Edomites*, who were ill used by the *Chaldeans*.

By the *Villages of Kedar* are meant the *Arabians*; who were also *Inhabitants of the Rocks*, because the Countrey is very mountainous, and called, *Arabia Petraea*.⁷⁹⁴

Q. How was the Prophecy of, *making the Rivers Islands*, fulfilled? v. 15.

A. Most Remarkably, when *Cyrus* derived *Euphrates* into Channels.

Q. That of, *bringing the Blind by a Way they knew not*? v. 16

A. If we understand it of the Peoples Return from Captivity, it means, That GOD would provide Ways and Means, for the Restoring of them, which they did not think of.

But lett us look further than this; to the Enlightening of the World by the Gospel.

Be sure, as Mr. *Lowth* well observes, *They shall be greatly ashamed who trust in graven Images*, must relate unto the Destruction of the Idolatrous Worship, which followed upon the Settlement of Christianity in the *Roman Empire*; yea, and, I will add, it shall have a further Accomplishment, in the Confusion to be brought on the present *Romish* Idolatries.

⁷⁹³ *Lowth*, *Commentary*, p. 340.

⁷⁹⁴ *White*, *Commentary*, pp. 304–05. During the Roman period, “Arabia Petraea” became a province of the Empire.

The Destruction of the *Babylonish* Monarchy by the *Persians*, had no such Effect. The *Persians* were Strangers to the True GOD, as much as the *Babylonians*. Indeed, *Strabo* says of the *Persians*, That they sett up, neither *Αγαλματα*, nor *Βωμους* *Neither Images nor Altars*. But still they were *Fire-Worshippers*.⁷⁹⁵

Q. What is the Meaning of that Passage, *who is Blind, but my Servant? or Deaf, as my Messenger, that I sent? Who is blind, as hee that is perfect, & blind as the Lords Servant?* v. 19.

A. In the Midst of the Rebukes, which the Lord is here bestowing on the *Gentiles*, Hee complains, that after all, there were none more sottish & senseless than His own People, the *Jewes*, under His wondrous Appearances on their behalf.

In the Original tis, *who is Deaf, but hee to whom I have sent my Messenger?* That is to say, The People of the *Jewes*, to whom the Lord sent *Isaiah*, as a *Messenger*; the Promises and Threatenings brought by that *Messenger*, were little regarded by this People.

What wee render, *perfect*, may better bee rendred, *covenanted*: – the People of God, that were in *Covenant* with Him.⁷⁹⁶

Q. Is there any thing very Curious & Instructive, in the Language of the Prophet, when he saies, *who gave Jacob to the Spoil? – Did not the Lord? He against whom we have sinned? For they would no walk in His Wayes?* v. 24.

A. I take notice of Two Notable, and Instructive Intimations, in the Language of the Prophet on this Occasion; Intimations, which it becomes a Minister to consider, in his bearing of his Testimonies.

First. The Servant of God speaks in the *First Person*. He saies not, *The Lord, He against whom [YOU] have sinned*; but, *He against whom [WE] have sinned*. Tho' he were the best Man in the Land, yett he owns himself as a Part of the sinful People; he fears lest his own Sins might have a Part in bringing down Judgments on the Land. The Men of the most Raised & Flaming Piety among any People, yett will think they have Cause to Loathe & Judge themselves before the Lord, as deserving to take their Share with the rest of the People, in their Calamities. This is *Musculus's* Observation.⁷⁹⁷

But then, another observes, That the Prophet presently strikes into the *Third Person*. He adds; *For [THEY] would not walk in His Wayes*. This may be,

⁷⁹⁵ From Lowth (*Commentary* 343), Mather refers to Strabo, *Geography* (15.3.13): "Now the Persians do not erect statues or altars, but offer sacrifice on a high place, regarding the heavens as Zeus; and they also worship Helius, whom they call Mithras, and Selenê and Aphroditê, and fire and earth and winds and water; and with earnest prayer they offer sacrifice in a purified place, presenting the victim crowned" (transl.: LCL 241).

⁷⁹⁶ White, *Commentary*, p. 306.

⁷⁹⁷ See Wolfgang Musculus, *In Esaiam prophetam commentarii*, p. 607.

to show his *Dislike* of the Sins committed among the People; his *Lothness* to sin as the rest of the People did; his Resolution to do all that he could in his Place, to Disclaim any Share with them in their sinful Wayes.⁷⁹⁸

⁷⁹⁸ Derived from Grotius (*Opera* 1:312).

1347.

Q. What and when, was the Fulfilment of that Prophecy, *when thou passest thro' the Waters, I will bee with thee?* v. 2.

A. You may take the Words, first in the *Præter* Tense. When that People *passed thro' the Waters*, of the Red Sea, then the Lord was *with* them. When they *passed thro' the Rivers*, of *Jordan*, which Rose from Two Springs, they did not *overflow* them. When they *walked thro' the Fire*, in their being Invaded and Beseiged by *Sennacherib*, who still carried *Fire*, with him, to *Burn* down all where hee came, the *Flame* did not kindle upon them.

God gave *Egypt*, *Ethiopia*, and *Seba*, as a Ransome for them; when *Asarhad-don* was going to lay them utterly wast, God mett him, with such an Enemy as *Therah*, the *Ethiopian*, who was accompanied with a mighty Force, raised out of *Egypt*, and *Meröe*, or, (as the Greek here ha's it,) *Syene*.⁷⁹⁹

Much of this is here putt into the *Future* Tense, because the *Faith* of the good People was to putt it into this Tense, and they were to beleieve that God would over again, Do such wonderful Things for them. *Quod antehac feci, nunc quoque faciam*.⁸⁰⁰

1951.

Q. That Passage, *I gave Egypt for thy Ransome, Ethiopia, and Seba for thee*; To what may it bee Allusive? v. 3.

A. Some will have it borrowed, from the Bounty of the great *Assyrian* Monarchs to their Queens; who, out of their Hundred & Twenty Provinces, gave them This to buy them *Pinnes*, another to buy them *Chains*, a third to buy them *Girdles*; and were according hereto severally called, *The Queens Pin-Cushion*, *Chain*, *Girdle*.

But for the Fulfilment of it, most Commentators agree that it should be this; when all *Judea* was ready to be destroy'd by *Sennacherib's* Army, the Lord then diverted his Forces, & caused them to fall on *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*. However our *Gataker* thinks rather, that the Prophet refers to what was done at the Destruction of the *Egyptians*, in the *Red-Sea*; and the Remarkable Overthrow of the *Ethiopians*, by *Asa*.⁸⁰¹

⁷⁹⁹ These explanations are based on Grotius's annotations on Isa. 43:2–4 (*Opera* 1:313).

⁸⁰⁰ "What I have done before I will also do now." From Grotius, *Opera* (1:313).

⁸⁰¹ See Gataker's commentary on Isa. 43:3 in *Westminster Annotations*, unpaginated.

Q. When, the *Gathering together?* v. 5.

A. Mr. *Lowth* allows it, for the Gathering of the Elect into one Body, by the Gospel. See Eph. I.10.⁸⁰²

[63v] |

Q. On that, *Ye are my Witnesses?* v. 10.

A. q. d. The Idols, and their Worshipers, can bring no credible Witnesses, to prove, that they ever foretold Things Justified with such Events as I have done. But you *Israelites* can testify what Proofs you have seen of my Power & Providence. And more particularly, my Servant *Isaiah*, whom I have employ'd for this Purpose, that when you see his Predictions fulfill'd, you may beleeve, that I am GOD; and as for your *Formed GODS*, I existed before them, & I shall continue, in Being, when they have perished.⁸⁰³

By, *my Servant*, may be eminently meant, The *Messiah*; who is expressly called, The *Witness* of GOD; Isa. LV.4. Compare, Rev. I.5.⁸⁰⁴

Q. How had the *Chaldeans*, their *Cry in Ships?* v. 14.

A. *Babylon* being surrounded with *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, there must needs be many Vessels on such Navigable Rivers.

Grotius thinks, the Prophet means, that the *Chaldeans*, on the Coming of *Cyrus*, would *cry* out, and exhort one another to Retire to their Ships.⁸⁰⁵

157:

Q. The Lord is in this Chapter, diverse Times called, *The Holy One of Israel*; Is there any special Remark to bee made upon it? v. 14.

A. It is Remarkable, That when the most evangelical Prophet, mentions, the Lords Appearing to erect His Church, & forme a People for Himself, in the latter Dayes, Hee is oftner called, *The Holy One of Israel*, than in all the Scripture besides. Tis an Intimation, that in the Gathering & Ordering of an evangelical Church, there should bee a special Consideration of God, as, *The Holy One of Israel*. And in the Approaching Age, that wee look for, *Holiness* will bee more than ever, the Character of all Things; *The Holy One of Israel*, will more Express His *Holiness* unto the World, and Imprint it upon the World.

1348.

Q. *They are extinct, they are quenched as Tow?* v. 17.

⁸⁰² Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 348.

⁸⁰³ White, *Commentary*, p. 310.

⁸⁰⁴ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 349.

⁸⁰⁵ See *Grotius, Opera* (1:313).

A. The Spirit of Prophecy, is here touching upon the ancient Extinction of the *Egyptians*, in the *Red Sea*; with an Intimation of the like Things, to bee still done for the People of God.⁸⁰⁶

Flax, was a Noted Commodity of *Egypt*; And it was with much Propriety and Elegancy of Allusion, that the Destruction of Egyptians, is described by Colours fetch'd thus, from their own Commodity.

Q. How could it be said, *Thou hast not brought me*, – when the Jews had been very punctual, [Isa. I.15.] in offering Sacrifice? v. 21.

A. The Service was not performed with a Devout and Pious Mind. Compare, Amos. V.25. and, Zech. VII.5.

Or these Words may refer to the Idolatrous times in the Reigns of *Abaz* and *Menasseh*.

The *Offering* here spoken of, is, the *Mincha*, which is to be rendred, rather, *Bread-Offering*, than, *Meat-Offering*. It was answered by the *Ουλοχυται* of the *Greeks*, & the *Mola* of the *Romans*. It accompanied the other *Sacrifices*, & had *Frankincense* laid upon it. Lev. II.2, 15.⁸⁰⁷

Q. A Remark on; *The sweet Cane*? v. 24.

A. It may not be amiss to transcribe the Words, I find in a little Pamphlet, entituled, *The General History of Trade*.

“We have reason to beleeeve, that the *Sugar-Cane*, which is now so valuable, & so much improved, was known in the *Græcian Empire*, & in *Judia*, in former times, & very far back; but it appears plainly, that it was known only as a wonderful Rarity, fetch'd unto them from a very great distance, and valued at a very great Price; even such a Rarity was it esteemed, that it was thought meet to be mingled with the Incense & Perfumes offered in their Sacrifices to their GODS; and perhaps to the True GOD also; as those Words of the Prophet seem to imply; Isa. XLIII.24. and, Jer. VI.20. – Both these Places join to lett us know, that the *Sugar-Cane* was fetch'd from a far Countrey, and at a very great Price. The Words, *Far Countrey*, are often understood, to mean of the *East-Indies*, or Countreys beyond the Deserts of *Arabia*.”⁸⁰⁸

⁸⁰⁶ White, *Commentary*, p. 312.

⁸⁰⁷ Commentary here from the modified second edition of Edward Stillingfleet, *Irenicum: A Weapon-Salve for the Churches Wounds* ([1660] 1662), bk. 1, ch. 3, p. 80. *ουλοχυται* and *mola* signify barley or ground meal for scattering in a ceremonial context.

⁸⁰⁸ Mather refers to one of the works on trade by the famous British writer Daniel Defoe (1660–1731), *A general History of Trade, and especially consider'd as it respects the British Commerce* (1713), pp. 12–13. The treatise was published in four installments over the course of four months; Mather quotes from the July installment. The work explains, among other things, which goods are traded in which countries and where the biggest and best ports are located, and also how the various foreign manufactures were introduced to England.

The *sweet Cane*, was, to make the *sweet Incense*, which was daily offered on the Altar sett apart for that Purpose.⁸⁰⁹

Q. How, *profaned the Princes of the Sanctuary?* v. 28.

A. God suffered the *Babylonians* to *profane* the *Sanctuary*, and abuse the *chief Priests*, and whatever had a sacred Character upon it.

⁸⁰⁹ The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

Q. On that of, *subscribing with the Hand unto the Lord?* v. 5.

A. All the various Expositions given of it, come to the same thing.

He shall write with his Hands, I am the Lord; He shall Dedicate Himself to the Service of the Lord, by writing his Name in the Jewish Register.

Or, *He shall write on his Hands, I am the Lord;* like Souldiers, marked on the Hand, that they might signify their being under such a Commander.

Or, *He shall inscribe his Hands to the Lord;* As Temples & Altars use to be Dedicated by writing over them D. O. M.

The Meaning is, The Number of Jews would be increased by the Addition of many Proselytes.⁸¹⁰

Q. The Lord, in His Holy Derision of the *Idol-Maker*, utters this Passage, *Hee is Hungry, & his Strength faileth, hee drinks no Water, & is Faint*: what may be the special Design of this Passage? v. 12.

A. The *GOD*, which this poor Man is now at Work for, will afford neither *Meat*, nor *Drink*, unto him, in the Necessities, whereto hee does, for the Sake of his *God*, expose himself.

But, in this Passage, there seems couched, a Remembrance, of what the Lord *Jehovah* did for His People, when they chose and serv'd Him for their God, in the Wilderness. They were *Hungry*; but Hee would not lett their *Strength fail* them; Hee sent *Manna* to them from Heaven. They *drank no Water*; but Hee would not lett them *Faint*; Hee gave it unto them out of the *Rock*.⁸¹¹

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Q. Why is it said, *He cannot deliver his Soul?* v. 20.

A. The Idolater is as much deceived, as one who feeds on *Ashes*, (indeed, the Tree out of which he made his Idol, is without a Metaphor turned into *Ashes*;) yett he cannot shake off the *Prejudice of Education*, which has brought this Delusion upon him.⁸¹²

Q. That Expression, *I will Blott out as a Cloud thy Sins*. The *Blotting out of a Cloud* seems an uncouth Expression? v. 22.

A. The *Blotting out of Sins*, is no uncouth Expression. Tis highly suitable & scriptural. They are not *Blotted out as a Cloud*. But the *Sins*, which are *as a Cloud*

⁸¹⁰ White, *Commentary*, p. 316.

⁸¹¹ See Gataker's commentary on Isa. 44:12 in *Westminster Annotations*, unpaginated.

⁸¹² White, *Commentary*, p. 320.

☞ as a *Thick Cloud*, and prevent the Face of our GOD from shining on us; These have it agreeably said of them, that they are *Blotted out*.

Q. How is it said, *I spread abroad the Earth by myself?* v. 24.

A. / מאתי / It may be read, *By Him that is with me*. A glorious CHRIST is, as Mr. Strong expresses it, the *great Artificer by whom GOD created all at first, & by whom He now admonishes all things*.⁸¹³

Q. What was there observable, in the Accomplishment of the Prophecy concerning *Cyrus*? v. 28.

A. That the very Name of *Cyrus* is foretold, This truly is very observable. The Name so far prevailed, That if he had any other Name, as *Grotius* from *Herodotus* reports he had, it soon was utterly lost in Oblivion.⁸¹⁴ As the Name was *Persian*, tis thought by *Ctesias* and by *Plutarch*, to signify, *The Sun*.⁸¹⁵ As it is *Hebraic*, & written with a *Caph*, it may be derived of *Cherub* and *Rus*; which is as much as to say, A Prince of an *Angelical Mind*, and yett *without great Riches*. Accordingly, God calls him, *His Shepherd*; that is, not a Tyrant, but a Benevolent Prince, who would look on the Empire, & on the Jewes dispersed in it, as his Flock. All profane Authors agree in this Character of him. For the like Reason was the Name *Cherub* given to the King of *Tyrus*, namely, *Hiram*, whom the Prophet looking backward, chiefly intends. That Prince eminently assisted in building the *First Temple*; as our *Cyrus* did the *Latter*. And it is well known, That *Cyrus* was a Prince of a poor Kingdome; for which Cause, tis foretold by the Prophet, *That for his Reward, he should receive the Treasures of the Babylonians*.

When *Cyrus* came to issue out his Proclamation, on behalf of the *Jewes*, tis further observable, that he Repeats the very Prophecy, of *Isaiah* concerning him.

Here; (v. 24.) God is styled, *The Lord that stretcheth out the Heavens*. There, (Ezr. 1.2.) *Cyrus* styles Him, *The God of Heaven*.

Here, (Ch. 45.2.) He is styled, *The God of Israel*. There, (Ezr. 1.3.) the Temple is called, The House, not of the God of the Jewes, but of, *The Lord God of Israel*.

⁸¹³ מֵאֲתֵי [me'itti] a reference to the *qere*; *ESV*: “by myself.” In the Hebrew text of the Old Testament some words are marked to be read differently than they are written. These two forms are called the *qere* (“to be read”) and the *ketiv* (“the written”). This gloss is likely derived from work of William Strong, *A Discourse of the two Covenants: Wherein the Nature, Differences, and Effects of the Covenant of Works and of Grace are distinctly, rationally, spiritually and practically discussed* (1678), which Mather used in other contexts as well.

⁸¹⁴ See *Grotius, Opera* (1:315).

⁸¹⁵ Compare the Greek historian and physician *Ctesias* (5th and 4th century BCE), *Fragmenta*, 15a.3 (mentioned by *Plutarch, Life of Artaxerxes*, 1.1012, in his *Vitae parallelae*), where it reads: “Cyrus took his name from Cyrus of old, who, as they say, was named from the sun; for ‘Cyrus’ is the Persian word for sun” (transl: *LCL* 103, p. 129).

Here, (Ch. 45.1.) *Thus saith the Lord to Cyrus, whose Right Hand I have holden, to subdue Nations before him.* There, (Ezr. 1.2.) Cyrus declares, *The Lord God of Heaven hath given me all the Kingdoms of the Earth.*

Here, (Ch. 44.28.) Cyrus is personated, *saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built; & to the Temple, Thy Foundation shall be laid.* There, (Ezr. 1.3.) he saies, *God had charged him, to build him an House at Jerusalem.*

The Prophet shewes, That Cyrus should not only *Permit* the Jewes, but also *Invite* them, to Rebuild the Temple. It was done.

And the Prophet shewes, The Redemption of the Jewes should be *without Price*: a most extraordinary thing! Cyrus accordingly orders, That People throughout the Empire, instead of requiring *Redemption-Money* of them, should supply them *with Silver and Gold, & with Goods & Beasts.*

Q. The Prophecy of *Isaiah*, about *Cyrus*, what is there further *observable* in it? v. 27, 28.

A. What is there *not*?

By the Reckoning of *Josephus*, it was uttered no less than Two Hundred and Ten Years before the Accomplishment.⁸¹⁶

And this Passage, in the Prophecy, *That saith to the Deep, Bee Dry; and I will Dry up thy Rivers*: had a very particular, & remarkable Accomplishment, in what *Cyrus* did, at the Taking of *Babylon*. *Herodotus* informs us, How hee divided *Euphrates* into several Channels, & by Means of the Passage thus afforded him, took the City.⁸¹⁷

Q. But give mee, an exacter Computation, of the Time that passed, between *Isaiah's* Prophecy, and *Cyrus's* Fulfilment. v. 28.

A. <i>Menasses</i> Reigned, Years,	55.
<i>Amnon</i> , Reigned,	2.
<i>Josias</i> , Reigned,	31.
<i>Jeconias</i> , Reigned,	11.
The Captivity lasted,	70.
	—
The Sum Total.	169.

⁸¹⁶ From White (*Commentary* 322), a reference to *Josephus*, *Jewish Antiquities* (11.5), where it reads: "These things Cyrus knew from reading the book of prophecy which *Isaiah* had left behind two hundred and ten years earlier" (transl.: *LCL* 326, p. 315),

⁸¹⁷ See *Grotius*, *Opera* (1:315).

Q. How was that Prophecy concerning *Cyrus*, fulfilled; about, *The Subduing of Nations before him, & turning the Backs of Kings?* v. 1.

A. *Cyrus* first subdued *Cræsus*; then the *Ionians*, and then *Nabonidas*, the King of *Babylon*.

Thus the Prophecy, of *breaking in Peeeces the Gates of Brass*. *Abidenus* testifies, that *Babylon*, which *Cyrus* conquered, had *Gates of Brass*.

Xenophon gives a large Catalogue of the Countreys conquered by *Cyrus*; and *Herodotus* reports him to have been successful in all his Expeditions.⁸¹⁸

Q. The Lord promises to *Cyrus*, *I will give thee, the Treasures of Darkness, & Hidden Riches of Secret Places*. Was this Remarkably fulfilled? v. 3.

A. Most Remarkably! Not only when the *Sardian* Treasures fell into his Hands, but also when hee took the Rich Countreys of *Asia*, *Ionian*, *Mesopotamia*. I'll tell you, whom I will quote, as an Expositor upon *Isaiah*; It shall bee as unlikely an Author, as *Pliny*, who saies, l. 33. c. 3. *Iam Cyrus, devictâ Asiâ, Pondo XXXIV Millia invenerat, præter Vasa Aurea, Aurumque factum, et in eo folia, ac Platanum, Vitemque; Quâ Victoriâ Argenti quingenta Millia Talentorum reportavit, et Craterem Semiramidis, cujus Pondus XV Talentorum colligebat. Talentum autem Ægyptium, Pondo LXXX patere Varro tradit.*⁸¹⁹

Some *Chaldee* Manuscripts at *Complutum*, at the Beginning of the Book of *Esther*, make this Remark; That when *Cyrus* took *Babylon*, he dug in the Side of *Euphrates*, and found six hundred & fourteen *Hydrie* of Gold & precious Stones.⁸²⁰

Q. The Lord saies of *Cyrus*, *I called thee by thy Name*: was there any singular Circumstance in the Event, which might carry in it any Commemoration of this particular Article in the Prophecy? v. 3.

A. Histories relate & affirm, That when *Cyrus* came to bee Emperour, hee was Remarkable for this Excellency; Altho' hee had a very vast Army, yett hee

⁸¹⁸ See White, *Commentary*, p. 323. Compare *Xenophon*, *Cyropaedia* (1.1.4) and *Herodotus*, *The Persian Wars* (1.130).

⁸¹⁹ "Cyrus had already on conquering Asia Minor found booty consisting of 24,000 pounds weight of gold, besides vessels and articles made of gold, including a throne, a plane-tree and a vine. And by this victory he carried off 500,000 talents of silver and the wine bowl of Semiramis the weight of which came to 15 Talents. The Egyptian talent according to Marcus Varro amounts to 80 pounds of Gold." From Grotius, *Opera* (1:316), Mather cites Pliny, *Natural History*, 33.15.51 (transl.: LCL 394, p. 43).

⁸²⁰ White, *Commentary*, p. 323. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

knew the *Name* of every Souldier in it, and whenever, or wherever, hee mett any Souldier, hee could *call that Man by his Name*. This very singular & wonderful Memory of *Cyrus*, whereof so much notice was taken all the World over, seems to have been a Commemoration of the *proper Terms* in this Prophecy, and an Invitation unto Men to consider what the Almighty had said of this Man, *I call thee by Name*.⁸²¹

4767.

Q. What might bee the special Occasion, and Intention of that Passage, *I Form the Light, & Create Darkness, I Make Peace & Create Evil; I the Lord do all these things?* v. 7.⁸²²

A. It was an Ancient Opinion, among the *Egyptians*, and other Pagans, That *Good* and *Evil*, proceeded not from the same *First Principle*: That there were two Sorts of *Gods*, to bee pleased with *Sacrifices*; one that were the *Bestowers* of *Good*, Another, that were the *Inflictors* of *Evil*. *Plutarch* tells us, That *Zoroaster* asserted *Oromazes*, to bee the *First Principle* of *Good*, and *Areimanius*, to bee the *First Principle* of *Evil*. Unto the *former* of whom, were to bee sacrificed, ἐκταῖα καὶ χαριστήρια, unto the latter, ἀποτρόπαια καὶ σκυθρωπά.⁸²³ And *Plutarch* himself defends this Assertion, with this Argument, *Nothing* is done without a *Cause*, and, αἰτίαν κακοῦ τὰγαθὸν οὐκ ἂν παράσχοι, *Good cannot be the Cause of Evil*.⁸²⁴ And *Porphyrius*, to mentain in the same Assertion, saies, τούτους ἀδυνατὸν ἐστι κλ. *Tis Impossible that the same, should bee the Bestowers of Good, and the Inflictors of Evil*.⁸²⁵ *Aristotle*, reports, that the *Magicians*, who were older than the *Egyptians* themselves, did hold these Two *First Principles*, of *Good* and *Evil*, ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα καὶ κακὸν δαίμονα.⁸²⁶ *Plutarch* saies, it was παμπάλιος δόξα, *A most Ancient*

⁸²¹ Here Mather draws on D'Espagne, *An Essay on the Wonders of God*, pp. 115–16.

⁸²² The following entry, in which Mather contrasts the understanding of evil in Jewish and Christian monotheism with that in diverse polytheistic systems, is derived from John Spencer, *De legibus*, lib. 3, diss. 8, “De Hirco Emissario,” cap. 10, sec. 1, pp. 1027–29.

⁸²³ Transl. with context: “[He also taught that] votive- and thank-offerings [should be made to Horomazes, but] gloomy offerings [to Areimanius] and those intended to avert evil.” From Spencer, Mather cites Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 46.369e, in *Moralia* (transl.: Griffith, p. 191).

⁸²⁴ Transl. with context: “[For if nothing comes into being without a cause, and if] good could not provide the cause of evil, [then nature must contain in itself the creation and origin of evil as well as good].” From Spencer, Mather cites Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 44.369d, in *Moralia* (transl.: Griffith, p. 191).

⁸²⁵ Transl. with context: “For it is impossible that these etc. [daemons should impart utility, and yet become, in the very same things, the causes of what is detrimental].” From Spencer, Mather cites Porphyry, *De abstinence*, 2.38 (transl.: *Select Works of Porphyry*, p. 75).

⁸²⁶ “The good spirit and the evil spirit.” From Spencer, Mather cites Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* (1.8). Transl. with context: “Aristotle in the first book of his dialogue *On Philosophy* declares that the Magi are more ancient than the Egyptians; and further, that they believe in two principles, the good spirit and the evil spirit, the one called Zeus or Oromasdes, the other Hades or Arimanius” (*LCL* 184, p. 11). Reference is made to Aristotle, *Fragmenta varia*, fragment 6 (see Rose’s ed.).

Opinion; Received every where, and confessed in all the *Sacrifices* of the *Nations*, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀδέσποτον ἔχουσα τὴν δὲ πίστιν ἰσχυρὰν The *Rise* of it not known, but the *Faith* of it strong.⁸²⁷ *Eusebius* mentions, these Two Sorts of *Gods* among the *Gentiles*, δωτῆρες ἀγαθῶν, and κακῶν κωλυτῆρες.⁸²⁸ And *Arnobius* has this Passage; *Dici à vobis Accepimus, esse quosdam ex Diis Bonos, alios autem Malos, et ad nocendi Libidinem promptiores: illisque ut prosint, his verò ne noceant, Sacrorum solemnina ministrari.*⁸²⁹

Now, to contradict this pestiferous *Opinion*, the Lord *Jehovah* here saies, *Tis I that am the Doer of all these Things.* [To the like Purpose, read, Isa. 41.23.]

Thus, in Jer. 10.5. *They cannot do Evil, or Good.* *Jerom* ha's this Illustration upon it, *Solent enim plerique Gentilium, Dæmones alios colere ne noceant, et alios evocare ut præstent Beneficia.*⁸³⁰

[65v] |
1343.

Q. *Wo to him that striveth with his Maker.* who may bee intended in that Passage? v. 9.

A. The King of *Babylon*, Resolving to continue, and perpetuate, the *Captivity* of the People of God.

1402.

Q. The Lord saies, *Ask of mee things to come, concerning my Sons, & concerning the Work of my Hands, command yee mee?* v. 11.

A. The God of Heaven, who here exhibits Himself, as the *Maker* of His People *Israel*, which People Hee had Adopted into *Children* unto Himself, does now foretel their Deliverance from the *Babylonian* Captivity, in Spite of all that the King of *Babylon*, who *strove with his Maker*, should oppose unto it. In this Text, the Lord, as it were, Triumphs over the *Babylonians*. He saies, "If you'l ask, what

⁸²⁷ Transl. with context: "[There has, therefore, come down from theologians and lawgivers to both poets and philosophers this ancient belief] which is of anonymous origin, but is given strong and tenacious credence." From Spencer, Mather cites Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 44.369b, in *Moralia* (transl.: Griffith, p. 191).

⁸²⁸ Transl. with context: "[For these are] givers of good things, [but the others are] averters of evil." From Spencer, Mather cites Eusebius of Caesarea, *Praeparatio evangelica*, lib. 4, cap. 9 [PG 21. 255–56; SC 262]; transl.: Gifford, vol. 1, p. 106.

⁸²⁹ "We have learned that you say that some of the gods are good, whereas others are evil and more disposed to an inclination to do harm; and that the ceremonies of the sacrifices are performed so that these are beneficial to the former [i. e. the good gods], and lest they are offensive to the latter [i. e. the evil gods]." From Spencer, Mather cites the Christian rhetorician and apologist from Sicca Veneria in Africa, Arnobius Afer (the Elder, fl. 4th cent. CE), *Disputationum adversus gentes*, lib. 7, cap. 23 [PL 5. 1246].

⁸³⁰ "For very many of the pagans habitually worship some demons lest they do harm and summon others in order that they perform beneficial deeds." From Spencer, Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarii in Jeremiam*, lib. 2 [PL 24. 746; CSEL 59; CCSL 74].

I will do for my *Children*, the People of *Israel*, I have told you; And now, *command yee mee* if you can; (that is to say,) Hinder mee, Defeat mee, Putt mee by from the *Work of my Hands*; lett us Try, which of us is the Stronger. [*Impedite, si potestis nè quod volo, de illis faciam.*]⁸³¹

Q. What was the Importance, and what the Fulfilment, of that Prophecy, *The Labour of Egypt, & the Merchandise of Ethiopia, shall come over unto thee, and they shall be thine?* v. 14.

A. The Kingdome of *Egypt*, being conquered by the *Persians*, *Artaxerxes* the Emperour of *Persia*, gave the *Jewes* out of the Tribute, on that Side of the River *Euphrates*, to which *Egypt* belonged, (see *Ezr.* 7.21.) Expences for the building of their Temple and City, and setting up the Worship of God.

Xenophon mentioning the Dominions of *Cyrus*, tells us, They were bounded by *Euphrates* to the East, *Egypt* to the West, *Ethiopia* to the South, the *Euxine Sea* to the North. So did GOD reward his Generosity to His People; even beyond what He promised.⁸³²

Mr. *Lowth* observes, This Verse can't be understood of *Cyrus's* Conquests, as *Grotius* and some others do explain it; For the Words [*Thee*] and [*Thine*] so often repeted in this Verse, are all of the Fæminine Gender in the *Hebrew*: and consequently must be understood of *Jerusalem*, and the City mentioned in the Verse præceding. He conceives, it may be principally meant, concerning the flourishing State of the CHURCH, [which is often described under the Figure of a *City*] when the Gentile World should Come into it, & Enrich it & Adorn it, and Submitt unto it, as the Temple of Truth. Compare, Ch. XVIII.7. XXIII.18. XLIX.23. LX.9, 10, 14, 16. *Psal.* LXVIII.30, 31.⁸³³

And yett the Words were in some Degree verified, when *Cyrus* devoted the Tribute coming out of those Rich Provinces, *Egypt*, and *Ethiopia* and *Seba*, to the Building and Service of the Temple at *Jerusalem*. Some of the succeeding *Persian* Monarchs also settled Revenues upon the Temple, for the Offering of Sacrifices for themselves and their Families. [*Ezr.* VI.10.] The same was done in after-times, by *Alexander* the Great, and several of the *Syrian* and *Egyptian* Kings, and some of the *Roman* Emperours.⁸³⁴

Q. The Application of that, *surely GOD is in thee?* v. 14.

A. The Doctors of the Primitive Church; *Tertullian*, against *Praxeas*, and *Cyprian* against the *Jews*, and *Hippolytus* against the *Noetians*, and the Fathers

⁸³¹ "Prevent me, if you can, from doing with them what I want." From *Grotius, Opera* (1:316).

⁸³² White, *Commentary*, p. 327. Compare *Xenophon, Cyropaedia* (1.1.4).

⁸³³ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 348. Compare also *Mather, Triparadisus*, p. 177.

⁸³⁴ Lowth, *Commentary*, pp. 370–71.

of the *Antiochian* Synod, against *Samosatenus*, and others, apply this Passage to our Blessed JESUS. How Appositely! How Admirably!⁸³⁵

That Clause, *Thou art a GOD that hidest thyself*, the LXX rends, οὐκ ᾔδειμεν· *Thou art GOD, & we knew thee not.*⁸³⁶

Q. Why does the Lord insist so very much on the Vanity, and Wickedness, of *Idolatry*, in his Prophecies, about the Condition of His People, relating to the *Babylonian* Captivity? v. 16.

A. Behold, the Compassion, and Faithfulness, of our God! His People were to be carried into *Babylon*. In *Babylon*, the Temptations to *Idolatry*, were infinite. The good God, would, with manifold Expressions, lett fall on all Occasions, fortify them against their Temptations.

Q. The Lord is here it may be speaking about the *New Earth*; And He saies, *He formed it to be Inhabited*: How may that Clause be otherwise and properly read? v. 18.

A. It may be read, *He formed it for the Sabbath*; even for that great *Sabbatism*, when the Illustrious Matters here foretold, shall receive their full Accomplishment.

From this Text, some demonstrate that the *Planets*, must not be destitute of *Inhabitants*.

It is evident, from the Apostle *Pauls* applying this Context unto the *Day of Judgment*, that Mr. *Mede* is in the right on't, when he explains this Place, of the *New Heavens*, and the *New Earth*.⁸³⁷

⁸³⁵ Mather here alludes to several important texts in the trinitarian controversies of the early church: 1) Tertullian, *Adversus Praxeam*, cap. 13 [PL 2. 168; CSEL 47]. The PL reads: "Et hic enim dicendo, *Deus in te et, tu Deus*, duos proponit: qui erat, et in quo erat; Christum, et Spiritum"; 2) Pseudo-Cyprian, *Adversus Judaeos*, lib. 2, cap. 6 ("Quod Deus Christus") [PL 4. 700; CSEL 4], who cites Isa. 45:14–16; 3) an apology against Noetus of Smyrna (2nd cent.) by the theologian, first anti-Pope and martyr Hippolytus of Rome (c. 170–c. 235), *Contra haeresin Noeti cujusdam* [PG 10. 805–06; *Patristische Texte und Studien* 25]. Noetus had used Isa. 45:14 to demonstrate the unity of God and Jesus, while Hippolytus invokes the verse to emphasize that they are two distinct persons. The complete collection of apologies against different heretics and pagan cults *Refutatio omnium haeresium (Philosophumena)* has a highly complex history, in which parts of the text were at times ascribed to different Church Fathers (hence the confusing allocation of the text in the PG), while modern historians again attribute it to Hippolytus. See Marcovich's introduction in *Patristische Texte und Studien* 25:4) 4) Finally, Mather refers to theologians of the Synod of Antiochia and the First Council of Nicaea (325 CE). One of them, Eusebius of Caesarea, uses this passage for his trinitarian argumentation in *Demonstratio evangelica*, lib. 5, cap. 4 [PG 22. 369–74; GCS 23].

⁸³⁶ LXX: οὐκ ᾔδειμεν transl. with context; "[For you are God, and] we did not know it, [O God of Israel, Saviour.]" (*NETS*).

⁸³⁷ From Lowth (*Commentary* 372), Mather cites Joseph Mede's notes on *De regno Christi accipiendum illud apostoli ad Hebraeos cap. 2. vers. 5*, from his *Clavis apocalyptica*, in *Works* 3, p. 578. See Mather's annotations on Isa. 65:17 and 66:22.

Q. It is said, *In the Lord shall all the Seed of Israel bee Justified*. What singular Lesson may that Passage afford unto us? v. 25.

A. *Israel* was one, who came to bee so call'd by *wrestling* for a *Blessing*. Them that would enjoy the Blessing of *Justification* by the Righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ, Hee will have to *wrestle* for it, with Importunate Supplications.⁸³⁸

⁸³⁸ There are close parallels between the language that Mather uses in this pious application and that of a diary entry from June 1699 that tells about how Mather entreated God to save his sick daughter Nanny, promising to be an even more useful servant: "God helped mee, to follow Him with importunate Supplications, on this Occasion. I wrestled with the *God of Jacob*, for my threatened Family, as once *Jacob* did for his." Mather notes how his "Soul was immediately and inexpressibly hereupon, irradiated with a Faith from Heaven, *that the Child should live*." (*Diary* 1:303). Possibly, this personal experience served as the occasion for this "Biblia" entry.

Q. *Bel and Nebo?* v. 1.

A. The Two Principal Idols of the *Babylonians*. *Bel* is the same with *Baal*. *Nebo*, as well as that gave Name to several of their Kings; as *Nabonassar*; and, *Nebuchadnezzar*. The Images of these Deities were carried in Triumph by the *Persians*; which was what Conquerors used to do. *Livy* records it as a Moderation in *Fabius Maximus*, to forbear it for the *Tarentines*.⁸³⁹

Q. On that; *even to your old Age?* v. 4.

A. – So much beyond the Tenderness of the dearest Mothers, whose Fondness rarely extends beyond the Years of Childhood, but suffers a Decay as their Age increases.⁸⁴⁰

When the Lord speaks of *Jacob*, as *Born by Him*, He alludes to the Carrying of *Idols*, in Triumph, v. 1. or, in Procession, v. 7. GOD, instead of being so carried by His Worshippers, as the senseless *Idols* are, does Himself carry them, & support them, as a Father does his Children in his Arms.⁸⁴¹

Q. Who was the *Ravenous Bird*, which the Lord called from the East? v. 11.

A. *Cyrus*; the *Eagle* out of *Persia* of whom tis particularly noted by *Plutarch*, that hee had, a *Nasus Aquilinus*.⁸⁴² And *Aristotle*, in his *Physiognomicks* do's note, That such are, *μεγαλόψυχοι* for *ἀναφέρεται ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀετοὺς* *Magnanimous* for it references the *Eagle*.⁸⁴³

But what is more to the Purpose; The Standard of *Cyrus*, bore an *Eagle*.⁸⁴⁴

⁸³⁹ Lowth, *Commentary*, pp. 376–77. Compare *Livy*, *Ab urbe condita* (27.16.7–8).

⁸⁴⁰ White, *Commentary*, p. 332.

⁸⁴¹ The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁸⁴² “An aqualine nose.” A summarizing remark from Grotius, *Opera* (1:318).

⁸⁴³ “Magnanimous” for “it’s related to the eagles.” From Grotius, *Opera* (1:318), Mather refers to Pseudo-Aristotle, *Physiognomonica* (811a37).

⁸⁴⁴ White, *Commentary*, p. 333.

Q. Why *Virgin-Daughter*? v. 1.

A. As one that had never been conquered.⁸⁴⁵

Q. On that, *I will not meet thee as a Man*? v. 3.

A. Hebr. *I will not meet a Man*. An Hypallage. *A Man shall not meet me*. q. d. No Man shall putt a Stop to my Wrath, by endeavouring to succour thee. Nor shall any *Intercession* for thee, prevail with me. [Jer. VII.16. XV.1. Ezek. XIV.14.] The Word *Pagany* is used sometimes, for making *Intercession*. [Ch. LIII.12.]⁸⁴⁶

Q. On the, *Widowhood & Loss of Children*, threatened unto *Babylon*? v. 9.

A. *Herodotus* acquaints us, That when *Darius* had laid Siege unto *Babylon*, the Barbarous and Inhumane Inhabitants, murdered their Wives, and Sisters, and Children, and Servants, that were useless for War. Only every Man præsaved one of his Wives, that was the dearest unto him, and a Maid-Servant for to do the necessary affairs of the House. Mr. *Blackwall*, from his Classicks, brings this, as the most signal Completion of the terrible Prophecy.⁸⁴⁷

Q. It is here threatned unto the *Chaldæans*, That an *Evil should come upon* them, and they should *not know from whence it riseth*; and a *Desolation come suddenly upon them, which they should not know*? v. 11.

A. Behold, a notable Pungency! The Chaldæans were great *Astrologers*.⁸⁴⁸

It is a most victorious and marvellous Confutation of *Astrology*, that it perpetually leaves its Votaries ignorant of the most important and most afflictive things, that are to befall them.

There is a Saying of the Jews, which may be applied this Way; *The Law is not found among Astrologers, & Genethliacks*.

It is a Shame to our Nation, that the *Astrologers* are a Tribe of Men in it, whereof it may be said, as it was by *Tacitus*, of Ancient *Rome*, (and yett indeed

⁸⁴⁵ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 380.

⁸⁴⁶ Lowth, *Commentary*, pp. 381. A “hypallage” signifies an inverted sentence.

⁸⁴⁷ Mather here cites the work of the English classical scholar and schoolmaster Anthony Blackwall (1674–1730), *An Introduction to the Classics* (1718), p. 90. This book was an introduction to the Greek and Roman classics for schoolboys that remained in use into the nineteenth century.

⁸⁴⁸ The following paragraphs of this entry were written in different inks, the last paragraph being different from the preceding ones.

hee hardly arise to the Vertue of the First Clause,) *Quod in Civitate nostra et vetabitur semper, et retinebitur.*⁸⁴⁹

[67v] It was well said by *Johannes Sariburiensis*; *est Astronomiae nobilis et gloriosa Scientia, si Clientelam suam, intrà Moderationi metas | cohibeat; quam si licentiore Vanitate excedat, non tam Philosophiae Species, quam Impietatio decipula est.*⁸⁵⁰

As one saies, How often do these *Barchochabs*, (Sons of the Stars,) prove, *Barcozbi's*, (the Sons of a Lye?)

But in this Prophecy there is a particular Eye to *Cyrus's* taking the City by Surprize; leading the Souldiers thro' unsuspected Ways, while they were in the Midst of Revels.⁸⁵¹

⁸⁴⁹ "Which in our state will always be both forbidden and retained." Mather cites Tacitus, *Histories*, 1.22 (transl.: *LCL* 111, p. 41).

⁸⁵⁰ "The science of astronomy is insofar noble and glorious as it holds its client in moderation; when it grows into bolder vanity then it is not so much a form of philosophy than a trap of impiety." From the work of the English Latinist and secretary to several archbishops of Canterbury, John of Salisbury (c. 1115/20–1180), *Policraticus*, lib. 2, cap. 19 [PL 199. 440; see also Webb's ed. 1909].

⁸⁵¹ White, *Commentary*, p. 337. This entry was probably added at a later time.

Q. Of the True God, it is said, *The Lord of Hosts is His Name*. Do you find any Footsteps of that Name, in Pagan Antiquitie? v. 2.⁸⁵²

A. 'Tis very certain, that the Pagans derived, & applied, unto their *False Gods*, the Names of the True God of *Israel*.

Among those Names, wee may reckon, Σαβαζιος, or, *Sabazius*; which was especially the Name of *Jupiter*, as you read in *Strabo*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Apuleius*.⁸⁵³

And, it is affirmed by *Aristophanes*, by *Diodorus*, by *Lucian*, that this Title was given unto *Bacchus* also:⁸⁵⁴ in Allusion whereto, *Plutarch* tells us, the Word *Sabos*, was often heard in the *Orgia*, or, the sacred Rites of *Liber*: from others wee also learn, that σαβοι, and σαβαζιος, were Words of Acclamation among the Heathen, in their great Solemnities and Festivities.⁸⁵⁵

It may now bee thought, that the Judaic *Sabbath*, wherein God was worshipped, by His People, might herein bee referr'd unto; and *Plutarch* therefore Ignorantly thought, that σαββατον came from σαβοι.⁸⁵⁶

But wee rather think, that *Jupiter Sabazius*, was as much as to say, *Jehovah Zabaath*, or, *The Lord of Hosts*; which is the Name, that our God challenges unto Himself. Some have conceived, that *Zabaath* [**torn] is placed there by Way of Apposition, and that it should bee rendred, *The Lord Zabaath*; for which reason, *Sabaath* is by *Jerom* reckoned among the Names of God.⁸⁵⁷ But quæstionless, the Word is of the plural Number, and, in *Regimine*; & so to be rendred; *The Lord of Hosts*.

You will find the *Hebrew* Word, in the *Greek* [Rom. 9.29. Jam. 5.4.] as if the *Hebrew* had in it something extraordinarily Remarkable. Now the *Pagans*,

⁸⁵² These euhemeristic interpretations are very likely derived from the work of the father of English Deism Edward Herbert (Baron Herbert of Cherbury, 1583–1648) *De religione gentilium* (1663), cap. 3, pp. 16–17; translated into English during Mather's time as *The antient Religion of the Gentiles, and Causes of their Errors consider'd* (1705), ch. 3, pp. 27–28. Herbert directly depends on the treatment of the same topic in Gerardus Vossius, *De theologia gentili*, lib. 2, cap. 14, pp. 190–93. Thus, Mather might also cite this work.

⁸⁵³ Compare Strabo, *Geography* (10.3.15); the Roman historian and moralist Valerius Maximus (fl. during the reign of Tiberius 14–37 CE), *Facta et dicta memorabilia* (1.3.2); and Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* (8.25).

⁸⁵⁴ Reference is made to Aristophanes's play *Horai* (*Seasons*) that survives only in fragments (see fr. 578); and to Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* (4.4.1).

⁸⁵⁵ Compare the work of the Greek orator and political leader of Athens Demosthenes (384/3–322 BCE), *Orationes*, oratio 18, *De corona* (sect. 260); and Strabo, *Geography* (10.3.19).

⁸⁵⁶ In his *Symposiacs* (*Table-talk*), 4.6.671–72, in *Moralia*, Plutarch maintains that the Sabbath is the festival of Sabazius.

⁸⁵⁷ Compare Jerome, *Commentarii in Jeremiam*, lib. 2, at Jer. 10:16 [PL 24. 749; CSEL 59; CCSL 74].

who had gott the Sound thereof, took it by itself, & thence framed that Name of God, Σαβαζιος.⁸⁵⁸

Q. That obscure Verse, — *yea, thou heardest not.* — v. 8.

A. q. d. “*Yea, thou heardest not of them*, before my Prophet Reveal’d them to thee; *yea, Thou knowest not*, before I made them known unto thee; *yea, from that time when thine Ear was not opened*, I told thee of them; even at a Time when thou hadst heard nothing of them: And this I inculcate so often, *because I knew thou wouldest deal very treacherously, and wast a Transgressor from the Womb*. I knew, thou wouldest take all Occasions to magnify thy Idols, and attribute thy Deliverance to them, if I had not so particularly Reveal’d it before.” This is Mr. *Whites* Paraphrase; who complains that most Commentators have slightly passed over this Verse, & left it in Obscurity.⁸⁵⁹

Q. How, *Not with Silver?* v. 10.

A. With a moderate heat, & a gentle Fire, not so Intensely hott, as that which is requisite unto the Refining of *Silver*. It follows, “*I will chase thee*, that is, I will make a choice one of thee, by making thee pass thro’ a Furnace of Affliction.”⁸⁶⁰

[▽68v] [▽Insert from 68v]

Q. On that, *I have refined thee, but not with Silver?* v. 10.

A. Or, *not like Silver*; not as if thou werest good *Silver*, before my taking thee under my Operations.⁸⁶¹

Alas, we are meer *Dross* till then.

And, *not like Silver*, in this regard; of taking away all the *Dross* & leaving only pure *Silver*. Should that be done, we should be utterly consumed.

Some read, *Not for Silver*. q. d. I did not aim at Gain in what I have done.

Or, *Not with such a furious Heat*, as is requisite unto the Melting down of *Silver*; For then, thou wouldest have been utterly consumed. [See Jer. XXXII.11. Ezek. XXII.10.]

I have chosen thee in the Furnace, may be rendred, *I have proved thee. Bahar* is æquivalent unto, *Bahan*. [Prov. VIII.10. X.20.]⁸⁶²

[△] [△Insert ends]

⁸⁵⁸ Compare Rom. 9:29: Κύριος Σαβαώθ and Jam. 5:4: Κυρίου Σαβαώθ; transl.: “[of] the Lord of Hosts”.

⁸⁵⁹ White, *Commentary*, p. 341.

⁸⁶⁰ White, *Commentary*, p. 342. See Appendix B.

⁸⁶¹ The inks used in the last two paragraphs of the following annotations are different from that used in the preceding ones.

⁸⁶² Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 390.

Q. It is twice over said; *For my own Sake, even for my own Sake, will I do it?* v. 11.

A. According to the Jewish Interpreters, even this Repetition carries in it a glorious Prophecy. Thus in *Midras Tillim*.

*Quarè Bis dicit, propter meipsum, propter meipsum? Dicit Deus S. B. cum fuistis in Egypto, Redemi vos propter Nomen meum; Atque enim de edom faciam propter Nomen meum. Et quemadmodum Redemi vos in hoc Sæculo, ità Redimam vos in Sæculo futuro.*⁸⁶³

[68v]

Q. On, *Israel my Called?* v. 12.

A. It alludes unto GODS Calling of *Abraham*, out of an Idolatrous Kindred & Countrey, to be His Faithful Servant. [Gen. XII.1.]⁸⁶⁴

1846.

Q. Upon that Passage, *My Hand hath laid the Foundation of the Earth*: what Illustration occurs? v. 13.

A. I have much insisted on This; That our *Bible* is, *The Book of the Messiah*. If Men would come to the Reading of the *Bible*, præpared with a Resolution, to seek the *Messiah*, in every Part of it, they would then come to the Sense of this miraculous Book, and Behold and Confess its Glory.

One Way to find the *Messiah*, the *Pearl of great Price*, in this *Field*, is to bee well acquainted with the several *Names*, whereby the *Messiah* is designed. I will here give you a Touch upon some of them.

Wee all are sensible, that, *The Word of God*, is a *Name* of the *Messiah*. Now, if one would observe, where that Name occurs in the *Chaldee Paraphrase*, it would suggest abundance of serviceable Thoughts about the *Messiah* to us.⁸⁶⁵

But more than so; I do elsewhere ask you, to consider, that, *The Face of God*, is a *Name* of the *Messiah*. Why? God is to bee more plainly seen in Him, than in all His Creatures.

Thus, Jer. 5.22. *Will yee not Tremble at my Face?* The Chaldee Paraphrase is, *Si Coram Verbo meo* [מימרי] *non formidabitis*.⁸⁶⁶

⁸⁶³ "But why is it said twice, *For Mine own sake, For Mine own sake?* Because God, blessed be He, said: Even as when you were in Egypt, I redeemed you for the sake of My name, so in Edom I shall save you for the sake of My name. ... And even as I redeemed you in this world, so I shall redeem you in the world-to-come." Mather cites the *Midrash Tehillim* from Christopher Cartwright, *Mellificium hebraicum*, lib. 1, cap. 4, p. 1287. Transl. modified from: *The Midrash on Psalms*, vol. 2, p. 195, on Ps. 107.

⁸⁶⁴ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 390.

⁸⁶⁵ This entry is mostly derived from Martini, *Pugio Fidei*, pars 3, dist. 3, cap. 1 ("Quod dues missurus erat *Verbum suum* ..."), pp. 630–31.

⁸⁶⁶ "If you are not frightened in the presence of my word." See Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:130); *The Targum of Isaiah*, at 48:13.

Moreover, *The Mouth of God*, is a *Name* of the *Messiah*. Why? By Him tis that God speaks unto the World.

Thus, Jer. 15.19. *Thou shalt bee as my Mouth*. In the Chaldee Paraphrase tis, *My Word*.⁸⁶⁷ It is a sweet Promise unto *Jeremiah*, that hee should bee like the *Messiah*; which was fulfilled so wonderfully, that some have (not without Injury to the *Messiah*;) understood the *Fifty Third* Chapter of *Isaiah*, which is the *Messiahs* Chapter, concerning Him.

And what if one should say, *The Eye of God*, is a *Name* of the *Messiah*?

Wee read in Ezek. 20.17. *Mine Eye spared them*. The Chaldee Paraphrase is, *My Word pittied them*. And indeed, it was the *Messiah*, who conversed that Congregation.⁸⁶⁸

I will in this Place add no more, but this: *The Hand of God*, is a *Name* of the *Messiah*; Inasmuch as by the *Messiah*, all the Purposes of God are executed. Thus upon the Text now before us, the *Targum* of *Jonathan* saies, *By my Word have I laid the foundation of the Earth*.⁸⁶⁹

Here are *Keyes*, by which you may come at Numberless Praises of our glorious Lord Jesus Christ, scattered throughout the Sacred Pages, & not observed by those that Read them!

Q. On that, *Before the Time that it was, there am I*: v. 16.

A. The Original may be rendred, *A Tempore esse illud ibi ego*. i. e. even Now, before these things come to pass, they are present to my Mind; I see them as plainly as if I were in *Babylon* among my captive Brethren. The Hebrew Phrase, *A Tempore esse illud*, signifies, as *Forerius* observes, *Nondum existente Tempore horum eventuum*.⁸⁷⁰

[illeg.]

Q. In what Respects is *Peace* to be considered as a *River*, and *Righteousness* as the *Waves of the Sea*? v. 18.

A. *Munster* very prettily glosses it. *Multa fuisset Pax, sicut aquae fluvis plurima sunt; et Iustitia tua fuisset perpetua, sicut Mare numquam est sine Fluctibus*.⁸⁷¹

⁸⁶⁷ Mather provides "my Word" as a translation of מִיְּמֵי from the Jeremiah Targum at Jer. 15:19; see Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:230). Here the Latin translation is "verbi mei." Compare *The Targum of Jeremiah* at this verse.

⁸⁶⁸ See the Targum of Ezekiel in Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:62); there also in Latin: "Et pepercit Verbum meum illis." Compare *The Targum of Ezekiel* at Ez. 20:17.

⁸⁶⁹ See the Targum of Isaiah in Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:130); there also in Latin: "Etiam in verbo meo fundavi terram." Compare *The Targum of Isaiah* at Isa. 48:13.

⁸⁷⁰ "Before the time that this is, there I am"; "Before the time that this is"; "The time of these events not yet being." Derived from Forerius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5228).

⁸⁷¹ "There would have been as much peace as rivers have water; and your righteousness would have been everlasting, like the sea is never without waves." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5221).

By *Righteousness* here is meant, not a moral Virtue, but a Confluence of all good Things, which GOD of His Benignity bestows on an obedient People.⁸⁷²

The Clause in the next Verse, *The Offspring of thy Bowels, like the Gravel thereof*, is rendred by *Munster*; *Germina viscera tuorum sicut Interiora ipsius; [Maris.]* By the *Interiora Maris*,⁸⁷³ he saies that some understand, *The Fish*. If it will hold, the Expression is very natural and notable.

Q. Who may be especially intended by, *The Wicked*, here? v. 22.

A. *Grotius* thinks, *The Chaldeans*.⁸⁷⁴

But, why not rather, the *Jews*, who during their Captivity fell off to *Idolatry*, and were not reformed by that severe Correction. The pious Captives were to be gloriously Redeemed; But the Wicked were to have no Share in the Prosperity.⁸⁷⁵

⁸⁷² This sentence was written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁸⁷³ “The offspring of your bowels like the inner parts [of the sea] itself”; “The inner parts of the sea.” From Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5221).

⁸⁷⁴ See Grotius, *Opera* (1:319).

⁸⁷⁵ Lowth, *Commentary*, pp. 394–95.

Q. How, *called from the Womb*? v. 1.

A. Both *Jeremiah* and *Paul*, have the like Expression. It means an early Designation of the prophetic Office. *Quere*, whether not with some Eye to the *Natural Constitution* given by GOD unto them. Not, that I pay much Regard unto the Fancy of the *Jews*, who say, That a Man is called to be a Prophet *from the Womb*, when he is endued by GOD, with such an Happy Temperature of the Brain, as makes him fitt for the receiving of cælestial Impressions.⁸⁷⁷

Q. On that, *Him whom Man despiseth*? v. 7.

A. *Libzo Nephesh*, is, *Ad Contemptorem Animæ*;⁸⁷⁸ To Him who without my Regard unto his own Safety, rebuked the Vices of the great ones with an undaunted Courage.

Q. When, the *Acceptable Time*? v. 8.

A. If these Words have any relation to the Time of the *Jews* returning from their Captivity the Sense will be, That the Expiration of the *seventy Years*, was the *Time of Grace*, in which GOD would hear the Prayers of His Devout Servants. Compare, Psal. CII.17.

But it is applicable to the Time when GOD first published the Gospel to the World. Compare, 2. Cor. VI.2.⁸⁷⁹

Q. A Remark on That; *They shall not Hunger nor Thirst*, – v. 10.

A. The Words are by *John* applied unto the Heavenly State. – Rev. VII.16, 17.

Mr. *Lowths* Remark upon it is, It is usual with the Prophets, to describe the flourishing Times of the Church-Militant, by such Expressions as properly belong to the Church Triumphant. Because every Advancement of the Kingdome of GOD in This World, is a *Præludium*, and Earnest of the Kingdome of Heaven.⁸⁸⁰

⁸⁷⁶ Again, White and Lowth debated whether the prophecies in this chapter only foretold the restoration of the Jewish people from captivity, or whether they had their ultimate fulfillment, as Lowth puts it, in “the great Enlargement of the Church in After-times” (*Commentary* 396).

⁸⁷⁷ White, *Commentary*, p. 346.

⁸⁷⁸ לִבְזוֹת נֶפֶשׁ [livzoh-nephesh] “to the despised One” (*NAU*); *Ad Contemptorem Animæ*: “to the despiser of the soul.” VUL: “ad contemptibilem animam” (“to the despised soul”). See White, *Commentary*, p. 348.

⁸⁷⁹ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 399. Compare also Mather, *Triparadisus*, pp. 177–78.

⁸⁸⁰ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 400.

4048:

Q. What is meant, by, *The Land of Sinim?* v. 12.

A. *Munster* observes, That it is a Mistake to read the Word, *Sinim*. It ends with *Samech*, and is to be read, *Sinis*, and probably the famous Egyptian City of *Syenes*, placed by *Ptolomy* under the Tropick of *Cancer*, is here intended.⁸⁸¹

|

[69v]

1615:

Q. The Lord saies to *Zion*, *Behold, I have graved thee, on the Palms of my Hands*. To what may it allude? v. 16.

A. The Jewes, in their Captivity, engraved the Effigies of *Zion*, on their Rings, to keep her in continual Remembrance, as often as they opened their Hands.

Compare, *Exod.* XIII.9. *Cant.* VIII.6.⁸⁸²

2327:

Q. Give us a further Illustration of, *The Church engraved on the Palms of the Hands* of our Lord?

A. I find an Ingenious Author, here considering the *Wounds*, which the *Nails*, made on the *Hands*, of our crucified Lord; – saies *Fernandius*, – *nimirum per exceptas in eis Plagas, quarum deductione apertus est Locus ad futurum edificium*.⁸⁸³

Some explain the Phrase, as if it were a Metaphor taken from an Architect, who draws the Model of a New Building, so as to have it always lie before him. In like Manner should the Platform of their City be always before the Eyes of GOD, in order to the Re-edifying of it.⁸⁸⁴

Q. What *Emphasis* is there in that Passage, *Queens shall bee thy Nursing-Mothers?* v. 23.

A. In the Original here, *Queens* are called *Sarah's*, q. d. They shall bee as Tender over thee as ever *Sarah* was over her *Isaac*, when shee gave suck unto him.

The Prophecy of the *Kings* and *Queens* here, had a Remarkable Fulfilment, in *Cyrus*, in *Artaxerxes*, in *Esther*, and in some other *Persian* Princes. But further

⁸⁸¹ Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5231). Reference is made to Ptolemy, *Geography* (4.5.73). מֵאֶרֶץ סִינִים [me'ereṭs sinim] "from the land of Sinim" (*NAU*). Some read here "land of the Chinese" (*BDB*). The LXX has: ἐκ γῆς Περσῶν (*NETS*: "from the land of the Persians"). VUL: "de terra australi" ("from the south country"). There is no consensus on this matter in modern commentaries. As the *BDB* suggests, it is probably the land of the "Syenites," as Mather argues, an "Egyptian City," or perhaps a city on the border between Egypt towards Ethiopia (John D. W. Watts).

⁸⁸² Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 401. The last paragraph was added later.

⁸⁸³ "Indeed, through the wounds received in them [sc. the hands], by which, once taken away, a space has been opened for the future building." Antonius Fernandius, *Commentarii in visiones Veteris Testamenti*, col. 83.

⁸⁸⁴ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 402.

fulfilled, in what *Constantine*, & his Mother *Helen*, & others like them have done for the Christian Church.⁸⁸⁵

That of *licking the Dust of the Feet*, represents the City of *Jerusalem*, as a Person of Quality, Respected and Courteously & Civilly treated, by the great ones of those Times. The Hebrew Phrase means no more, than the, *Vestigia adorare*, of the Latins; or, a Kind of Respect in fashion among the eastern Countries.⁸⁸⁶

Q. How, *Drunken with their own Blood?* v. 26.

A. *Xenophon* reports, that many of the *Chaldeans* fell from their King *Baltazar*, and join'd themselves to *Cyrus*, who were the most forward of all in surprizing the City, & shew'd the *Persians* the Way to the Kings Palace, where they slew him & all his Attendants.⁸⁸⁷

Cyrus also conquered a great many Allies of the *Babylonians*, and made them serviceable in reducing the Capital City of the Empire.⁸⁸⁸

⁸⁸⁵ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 403. This sentence was written in a different ink and probably added later. Compare also Mather, *Tripuradisi*, p. 178.

⁸⁸⁶ "To adore the footsteps." White, *Commentary*, p. 353.

⁸⁸⁷ Compare Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* (3.3.1).

⁸⁸⁸ White, *Commentary*, p. 354.

Q. On that, *He wakeneth mine Ear to hear as the Learned?* v. 4.

A. It may be read, *As Scholars*. As Masters rouze up their *Scholars* betimes, to learn their Lessons. If we take the Word, in such a Sense, *The Tongue of the Learned*, just before, will mean, a *Teachable Tongue*, which readily obeys the Dictates of its Instructor.⁸⁸⁹

Compare the Verse that follows.

1581.

Q. Of whom is it, that those Words are spoken; *He is near that justifieth me?* v. 8.

A. We will take an Hint of Dr. *Goodwyn's*, which may lead us into the Sense of many other Passages. "They are the Words of CHRIST; and spoken of Gods *Justifying* Him. CHRIST is brought in there uttering them, as standing at the High-Priests Tribunal, when they spatt upon Him. [v. 5, 6.] When He was condemned by *Pilate*, then He exercised this Faith on God His Father; for His Deliverance and Justification from our Sins that were laid on Him, to be given Him at His Resurrection."⁸⁹⁰

Q. We read of one, *who feareth the Lord, that obeyeth the Voice of His Servant, that walketh in darkness, & seeth no Light?* v. 10.

A. I would by no Means dislodge the common Exposition and Application of this Passage, from the Minds of the Faithful. Yett I would carry you a little further.

Jerom thinks, That our glorious CHRIST here is meant, by the *Servant of God, who walked in Darkness, & saw no Light*. He was unknown, & conceal'd; He came in much Obscurity; He appear'd in the Form of a *Servant*; He saw nothing but the *Darkness* of sad and sore Affliction and Ignominy. They that *obey'd the Voice* of this *Eclipsed* and *Abased* Servant of God, might safely *Trust in their God*.⁸⁹¹

⁸⁸⁹ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 407.

⁸⁹⁰ Mather quotes from the work of the English Puritan divine Thomas Goodwin (1600–1680), *Christ set forth in his Death, Resurrection, Ascension, Sitting at Gods right Hand, Intercession, as the Cause of Justification, Object of iustifying Faith together with a Treatise discovering the affectionate Tendernesse of Christs Heart now in Heaven, unto Sinners on Earth* (1642), sect. 1, ch. 1, p. 2. Compare also Mather, *Trip paradisus*, p. 169.

⁸⁹¹ See Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, lib. 14, at Isa. 50:10 [PL 24. 480–81; CCSL 73A]. Compare also Mather, *Trip paradisus*, p. 169.

[70v] I would bestow this Thought upon it. We are Travellers in a *Dark Night*. What shall we do for our Instruction, and our | Direction, that we may not miss the Pathes of Truth, in this our *Darkness*? Lett us *Fear God*, & be *willing to obey His Voice* by such Messengers as He evidently sends unto us. We may then *Trust in the Name of the Lord*, and *stay* upon our *God*, and safely depend upon it, that He will not leave us to be deceived. Whereas they who will not rely upon the Divine Revelation, but will be acted by a Spirit of Contradiction; & raise a *Fire* of Contention, and think to walk in the *Light* of their contentious Disputations, This *they shall have of my Hand*, saith the Lord: *ye shall ly down in Sorrow*.⁸⁹²

Mr. *White* so glosses upon it. Who is there among you, that in the Midst of an Idolatrous Nation, keeps him stedfast unto GOD? Who *obeys* the Voice of His Prophets, tho' in the Midst of Afflictions? (Which he means, by *walking in Darkness, & having no Light*;) Lett such Repose their Confidence in GOD, who will deliver them at last.⁸⁹³

But the Wicked kindle a *Fire* of their own; they seek a Comfort from among themselves, without having any Recourse to GOD in their Distress. This *Fire* will be so far from comforting them, it will only consume them.

R. *Samuel* of *Morocco*, the Jew, has an odd Passage; – *In quibus Flammis nos sumus; jam Mille Anni sunt*.⁸⁹⁴

⁸⁹² Isa. 50:11.

⁸⁹³ White, *Commentary*, p. 358.

⁸⁹⁴ “We are in these flames; it is already a thousand years.” From Alphonsus Bonihominis, *De adventu Messiae praeterito*, cap. 15 [PL 149. 352]. In the transl. by Calvert, *The Blessed Jew*, p. 101.

Q. How, *called him Alone?* v. 2.

A. The Hebrew Word is, [*Echad*,] *one*.⁸⁹⁵ That is, when he was but *one single* Person, without Child or Family.

Abraham is elsewhere styled, *one*; as being singled out from the rest of his Kindred, that he might be the *Head*, unto the People of GOD. [Mal. II.10, 15. Heb. XI.12.]

The Consolation here is, That as GOD gave an Original to their Nation, from *Abraham* and *Sarah*, two Persons past Age for having Children, so He could multiply their Posterity tho' reduced unto a small Number.⁸⁹⁶

Q. A Remark on that, *The Heavens shall vanish away?* v. 6.

A. Mr. *Lowth's* Gloss upon it is admirable, and calls for a very deep Consideration: "When Heaven and Earth shall be dissolved, then is the Time for fulfilling that *Righteousness* and *Salvation*, which I promise to my Servants."

Consider, 2. Pet. III.12, 14. And compare, Matth. XXIV.35.⁸⁹⁷

Q. *The Pitt?* v. 14.

A. The Hebrew runs plainly thus. *The captive Exile shall quickly be delivered; he shall not Die in the Pitt; neither shall his Bread fail.*

The *Pitt* is that Part of the *Prison*, called, The *Dungeon*. See, Jer. XXXVII. 16. XXXVIII.6. Lam. III.53. Zech. IX.11.⁸⁹⁸

Q. On that, *He Divided the Sea?* v. 15.

A. Does it not look back to the Dayes of *Moses*?

But *Gataker* no where finds that *Ragang* signifies, To *Divide*. It carries rather a Notion of *Quietness* in it. He thinks, It should rather be rendred, *I the Lord thy God am He that still the Sea, when the Waves thereof Roar*.⁸⁹⁹

Q. How, *plant the Heavens, and lay the Foundation of the Earth?* v. 16.

⁸⁹⁵ אֶחָד [echad] "one."

⁸⁹⁶ Lowth, *Commentary*, pp. 410–11.

⁸⁹⁷ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 412. Compare also Mather, *Trip paradisus*, p. 190.

⁸⁹⁸ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 413. מֶהֱרָ צָעָה לְהַפְתֵּחַ וְלֹא יָמוּת לְשַׁחַת וְלֹא יִחְסֵר לֶחֶמוֹ NAU: "The exile will soon be set free, and will not die in the dungeon, nor will his bread be lacking."

⁸⁹⁹ See Gataker's commentary on Isa. 51:15 in *Westminster Annotations*, unpaginated. Here the KJV has: "But I am the LORD thy God, that divided the sea." NAU: "who stirs up the sea." רָגַע [ragah] "to stir up." Mather and his source draw upon the sense of the Niphal stem of the verb, here it is Qal, however. Cf. Jer. 47:6.

A. Q.D. I will Restore them to such an Happy Condition, that it shall seem, as if they breathed in a New Created Air, and as if Heaven & Earth were changed for the Better, as well as all their Circumstances.⁹⁰⁰ —

[71v] |

Q. What the *Two Things*? v. 19.

A. *Forerius* and *Menochius*, apply it so. *Famine* and *Sword* are mention'd, as one Calamity to befall the Citizens; *Desolation* and *Destruction*, as the other, to befall the City.⁹⁰¹

Abraham à Schultens, in his Observations on *Job*, remarks, that the Hebrew Word, *Shôd*, which we render, *Desolation*, is properly used for, *Famine*. See *Job*. V.22.⁹⁰² So then, *Desolation* and *Famine*, *Destruction* and *Sword*, are æquivalent; and the *Two Things* here mentioned.

2944.

Q. Unto what Creature may be the Allusion, when the Prophet speaks, of a, *Wild-bull in a Net*? v. 20.

A. *Bochart* proves, that the Hebrew Word / תוֹא / or / תאֹר / which we translate here, *A Wild-bull*, and in *Deut. 14.5. the Wild Ox*; means no such thing. He shoves, That such a Creature, was wholly unknown in those Parts of the World. And that the *Jewes* do generally abhor that Creature, tho' *Moses* allow the *Eating* of that which we have so rendred.⁹⁰³

*Bubalus hinc abeat, neve intret Prandia nostra.*⁹⁰⁴

And that a Creature of so vast a Strength, uses to be taken in a *Pitt*, &, not in a *Nett*; τὸ δ' εἰς ὄρυμα πέσον,⁹⁰⁵ saies *Diodorus*: And, *Ipsi non aliter quàm foveis capti*, saies *Pliny*.⁹⁰⁶ In fine, He proves, that the *Oryx*, is the Creature here intended; a Sort of a *Wild-Goat*, or *Stag*, very common in those Parts of the World. This Creature, taken in a *Nett*, when he sees he cannot escape, lies down

⁹⁰⁰ White, *Commentary*, p. 364. Compare Mather's annotations on *Isa. 65:22*.

⁹⁰¹ From White (*Commentary* 365), Mather refers to *Forerius* in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5267); and the Bible commentary of the Italian Jesuit scholar Giovanni Stefano Menochio (Menochius, 1575–1655), *Brevis explicationes totius Sacræ Scripturæ* (1630), vol. 2, p. 79.

⁹⁰² From Lowth (*Commentary* 415), Mather refers to the work of the Dutch Reformed theologian and professor of Oriental languages at Franeker, Albert Schultens (1686–1750), *Animadversiones philologicae in Jobum* (1708), p. 10. שֹׁד [shod] “violence, destruction.”

⁹⁰³ *Bochart*, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 28, p. 973. תוֹא [to] “unidentified clean animal,” possibly “wild sheep,” others have “antelope” (*Holladay* 385).

⁹⁰⁴ “The wild bull ought to leave from here lest it enter our meals.” *Bochart*, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 28, p. 974.

⁹⁰⁵ Transl. with context: “If he has fallen into a pit or been captured by some other ruse.” From *Bochart*, Mather cites *Diodorus Siculus*, *Library of History* (3.35.11–12); transl.: *LCL* 303, p. 183. Modern editions render the Greek: εἰς ὄρυμα πέσον.

⁹⁰⁶ “But themselves can only be caught in pits.” From *Bochart*, Mather cites *Pliny*, *Natural History*, 8.30.75; transl.: *LCL* 353, p. 55.

in *Despair*; he sinks, he faints, he languishes desperate upon the Ground. Even such was the Condition of the Jewes, when overtaken by the Judgments of God.

Q. On that Passage; *Awake, Awake?* v. 1.

A. It is pleasant enough to see *Samuel* the Jew, of *Morocco*, upon this Repetition of the Term, say, *Deus describit aperte duos Adventus CHRISTI*.⁹⁰⁷

The same Remark he makes on the Repetition, in the Conclusion of the XC VII Psalm.

Q. The *Bands of the Neck?* v. 2.

A. It seems an Allusion to the Condition of Captives, which wore *Chains* round their Necks, in token of Slavery, as our Negro's do Collars at this day; or were chained together, or unto a Post, that they might not escape.⁹⁰⁸

4738:

Q. A Gloss upon the Context here; *my Name is continually Blasphemed every Day. Therefore my People shall know my Name?* v. 6, 7.

A. We have a Gloss in the *Targum of Jonathan*, worthy to be considered.

*Therefore my Name shall be magnified, among the Nations. And therefore in that time yee shall know, because I am He that hath spoken, and my Memra [or, Word, i. e. Christ,] shall continue. Oh! how Beautiful upon the Mountains of Israel, are the Feet of The Preacher, [or, This Preacher, the Memra just mentioned:] who shall cause them to hear Peace, who shall preach Good, who shall cause them to hear Salvation, and who shall say unto Zion, The Kingdome of your God is now Reveled.*⁹⁰⁹

This last Passage is Remarkable; Because our Saviour began His Preaching with these very Words; *The Kingdome of God is at hand*, and, *The Kingdome of Heaven is come unto you*.⁹¹⁰

The Completion of this Prophecy, you will find, in the Words of our Saviour; Joh. 17.25, 26.

Q. *How beautiful upon the Mountains, are the Feet of him that bringeth good Tidings!* What may be meant by the *Mountains* here? v. 7.

A. I have read this Gloss upon it; They shall have *Strength* and *Power*, represented there by *Mountains*, attending of them.

⁹⁰⁷ "God obviously describes the two comings of CHRIST." Alphonsus Bonihominis, *De adventu Messiae praeterito*, cap. 10 [PL 149. 345]. In the transl. by Calvert, *The Blessed Jew*, p. 82.

⁹⁰⁸ White, *Commentary*, p. 367.

⁹⁰⁹ See Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:142); *The Targum of Isaiah*, at Isa. 52:6–7. Mather refers to וְיִמְיָרִי [umeimeri] "and my Word." KJV: "I am he that doth speak: behold, it is I."

⁹¹⁰ Compare Matt. 4:17 and Mark 1:15.

'Tis a poetical Description of the Messenger who first brought the good News of *Cyrus's* Decree for the Peoples Return: whom the *Watchmen* are supposed here to descry from the tops of the Mountains, making all the Haste imaginable to publish the happy Tidings.

Our Apostle *Paul*, very fitly, applies this Text, unto the first Preachers of the Gospel. [Rom. X.15.]⁹¹¹

We may observe, The *Psalms*, wherein we find the Expression, *The Lord reigneth*, are by the Generality of Interpreters, both Christian and Jewish, applied unto the Times of the *Messiah*. [Psal. XCIII. XCVI. XCVII.]⁹¹²

[72v]

Q. On the *Exaltation* of our SAVIOUR here spoken of? v. 13.

A. I would not be at any Pains, to stlock the Text from the Sense in which Divines have generally taken it, and for which they have the Countenance of the Chaldee Paraphrast; and not only so, but of the LXX, which were before him; & render the Middlemost of the Three Words used here, [נשא] by, Δοξασθῆσεται.⁹¹³

But yett I am willing to report the Attempt of honest *Cellarius*, in his *Programmata*; to perswade us, That *Exaltation* of our SAVIOUR here spoken of, is, His being *lifted up* on the *Cross*. [Compare, Joh. XII.32.] Great Men have observed, That the Words / ירום / and / גבה /⁹¹⁴ rendred by the LXX, υψωθῆσεται and μετεωρισθῆσεται.⁹¹⁵ admirably suit the Occasion; the former answering to the Style of the Evangelist; the latter answering to the Condition of the *Crucified*, who hung in the Region of *Meteors*. Our SAVIOUR & the Jewish Nation in the Time of His Incarnation, spoke the *Syriac* Tongue. And in this Tongue, υψουν is the same with σταυρον.⁹¹⁶

The *Roman Cross* was indeed ordinarily a *Low Thing*. But both *Suetonius* and *Justin* inform us, that they erected very *High* ones, for such as they counted more notable & criminal Malefactors; which they did our SAVIOUR. And in His having such a *Cross*, the Type of the *Brasen Serpent* was the better answered.⁹¹⁷

⁹¹¹ Compare also Mather, *Trip paradisi*, p. 178.

⁹¹² Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 420.

⁹¹³ Mather here refers to the work of Christoph Cellarius, *Programmata varii argumenti oratoriis exercitiis in Citicensi lyceo praemissa* (1689), p. 25. LXX: Δοξασθῆσεται ("glorified"); Isa. 52:13: "my servant ... shall be exalted" (ESV).

⁹¹⁴ Cellarius, *Programmata*, p. 26.

⁹¹⁵ "He will be high and lifted up [יָרוּם וְנִשָּׂא] and greatly exalted [וְגִבָּה מְאֹד]" (NAU). Isa. 52:13 (LXX): ὑψωθήσεται ("shall be exalted") and μετεωρισθήσεται, e. g. Mic. 4:1: "shall be exalted."

⁹¹⁶ Cellarius, *Programmata*, p. 28: ὑψουν [hypsoun] "lifting up;" σταυρόν [stauron] "cross."

⁹¹⁷ Compare the section of Suetonius's biography of the Roman emperor Galba (9.1) in his *Lives of the Caesars*, where Galba's severe methods of dealing with criminals are described. When an offender invoked the law and declared that he was a Roman citizen, we are told, his cross

The next Illustration, will bespeak a further Meditation upon This.

1687.

Q. That Passage, *my Servant shall deal prudently*: what may one find in it, beyond the common Acceptation? v. 13.

A. Would it not surprise you, to find in it, a Notable Prophecy, of our Lords Dying on the Cross?

Glassius tells mee, tis, *Quorundam observatio Cabalistica, non Injucunda*; nor is the Observation any more *ungrounded* than *unpleasant*.

The Hebrew Word here, to *Deal prudently*, is / יִשְׁכִּיל / Now, it hath been gathered, from Gen. 48.14. that / שָׁכַל / is, *In formam Crucis Agere*,⁹¹⁸ to expose a Cross. When *Jacob* laid his Hands in the form of a Cross, on the Heads of his Two Grandsons, tis said / שָׁכַל אֶת יָדָיו /⁹¹⁹ Behold, our Lords laying Himself on a Cross here pointed at. Hence, if you mind it; the following Words, about the *Exaltation* of our Lord Jesus Christ, are applied by Himself, to His *Exaltation* on the Cross, in the first Place. [Joh. 3.14. and Joh. 12.32.]

Q. A Remark on the Visage of our SAVIOUR? v. 14.

A. It shall be transcribed out of Monsr. *Perrault's* Character of N. *Rigault*.

"It was he, who reviv'd and maintain'd, a very extraordinary Paradox, touching the *Visage* of JESUS CHRIST. He was so far from being of the common Opinion, which will have the Make of our Lord, to be very Beautiful & Comely, according to the Passage that's alledged, *Speciosus formâ præ filiis hominum*;⁹²⁰ That he argues, our Saviour was unfurnished with any of the Goods of Nature; and that as He would neither have Honour nor Richness, He also renounced the advantage of a graceful Figure. And this he grounds upon an infinite Number of Passages of Holy Scripture, & the Fathers, which give some Probability to his Opinion: being perswaded that the Countenance of our Lord, ought to carry all the Marks of the Weakness & Infirmary, which are the Attendants of Humane Nature; Sin only excepted.

But, be it as it will, it is amazing, that there should be Disputes upon this Article, from the time even of *Tertullian*, who was of the Opinion with Monsr. *Rigault*. The Reason that may be given of the Uncertainty of a Thing, which one would think, ought not to be Doubtful, is, That our Lord having passed

was raised higher than the rest. See also Justin, *Epitome historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi* (18.7.15), where it reads: "And in this way he commanded him to be fastened with his costume to a very high cross in the sight of the city."

918 "The cabalistic observation of certain people is not unpleasant"; "my servant shall act wisely"; "To make in the shape of a cross." From Solomon Glassius (Glass), *Philologia sacra*, pp. 1629–30.

919 שָׁכַל אֶת יָדָיו [sikkal eth-yadaiw] "crossing his hands" (ESV).

920 "Beautiful in his shape, exceeding the sons of man." Ps. 44:3 (VUL).

His whole Time among the Jews, who were expressly forbidden, by the Law of GOD, to make any Image, or any Resemblance, of any thing that is in Heaven above, or in the Earth below, there was not any Painter, or any Sculptor, who dared to make His Pourtrait; whereof the sole View would have prevented all these Disputes.⁹²¹

Father *Vavasseur*, ha's taken a middle Way between these Two opposite Opinions: His Thought is, That our Lord was neither Handsome nor Ugly; and that if it be probable, that He renounced the frivolous Advantage of an extraordinary Beauty, it is no less unreasonable to think, that He chose to appear under a Form that were scandalous & shocking; which did not in the least suit with Him, nor could it be of any Service in the Divine Functions of his Ministry.⁹²²

921 From the article of the French author and member of the Académie française, Charles Perrault (1628–1703), “Nicolas Rigault, Garde de la Bibliothèque du Roy,” in *Les hommes illustres qui ont paru en France pendant le XVII. siècle*, vol. 1 (1701), pp. 139–40, Mather cites Nicolas Rigault's appendix to his Cyprian edition: *De pulcritudine* [sic] *corporis D. N. Iesu Christi*, in *Sancti Caecilii Cypriani opera* (1648), pp. 235–56. Rigault consults several Church Fathers to prove Christ's uncomely appearance, referencing Ps. 44:3, Isa. 52–53 and further biblical texts. He cites Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, lib. 3, cap. 16 and 17 [PL 2. 344; CSEL 47; CCSL 1] (p. 250: “Mihi vindico Christum, mihi defendo Iesum, quodcumque illud corpusculum sit, quoniam habitum, & quoniam conspectum fuit ...”), *De patientia*, cap. 3 [PL 1. 1252; CSEL 47; CCSL 1], and *De carne Christi*, cap. 9 [PL 2. 772; CSEL 70; CCSL 2] (p. 244: “Adeo nec humanae honestatis corpus fuit, nedum coelestis claritatis, tacentibus apud nos quoque prophetis de ignobili aspectu ejus ...”). Nicolas Rigault (1577–1654) was a French classical scholar who served as a royal librarian to Louis XIII.

922 From Perrault, who cites the French Jesuit humanist and controversialist François Vavasseur (1605–1681), *De forma Christi liber* (1649), pp. 63–64, Mather refers to Tertullian's discussion of Christ's physical appearance as an outward sign of his *kenosis*, in *Adversus Marcionem*, lib. 3, cap. 17 [PL 2. 344–45; CSEL 47; CCSL 1]. See also *Adversus Marcionem*, lib. 3, cap. 7 [PL 2. 329–31; CSEL 47; CCSL 1]. Vavasseur also cites Tertullian, *De carne Christi*, cap. 9 [PL 2. 772; CSEL 70; CCSL 2] and other writings of Tertullian on this subject; see pp. 60–68. Vavasseur wrote this dissertation about the question of Christ's bodily appearance as a critical reaction to Rigault and seems partly to have copied Tertullian's quotations from Rigault. Perrault summarizes Rigault's and Vavasseur's theses. Vavasseur, Perrault, and Mather follow the VUL reading of Ps. 44:3, while the PL text of Tertullian reads: “Nam etsi *tempestivus decore*, apud David, *supra filios hominum*.” [PL 2. 344].

Q. The Opinions and Confessions of the *Jews*, concerning this famous Chapter, deserve to be considered? v. 1.

A. It is especially with relation to this Chapter, that our *Jerom* saies concerning *Isaiah*; *Quòd non tam Propheta dicendus sit, quàm Evangelista. Ità enim Universa Christi Ecclesiaeque Mysteria ad liquidum prosecutus est, ut non putes eum de futuro vaticinari, sed de præterito Historiam texere.*⁹²⁴

I will anon bring in *John Isaac*, a converted Jew, to chastise our Unchristian Expositors.⁹²⁵

I will here observe, That *Hulsius*, in his Treatise, *De Judæorum Messiâ*, calls this Chapter, the, *Carnificina Rabbiorum*.⁹²⁶ And he relates, that some Jews confessed unto him, *Rabbinos suos ex Prophetis Scripturis facillè se extricare potuisse, modò Isaias tacuisset.*⁹²⁷

⁹²³ Together with Isa. 7, this chapter was traditionally regarded by Christian interpreters as containing the central messianic prophecies of Isaiah that were fulfilled in the birth, life, and death of Jesus Christ, as described in the gospel accounts. Specifically, the oracles in this chapter on the suffering servant were seen as having been fulfilled in Christ's passion and his death on the cross. Thus, the prophecies of the suffering servant constituted a key element of Christian apologetics in the controversies with Jewish exegetes and were frequently referred to in missionary literature. At the same time, the prophecies of this chapter were the object of intense controversy among Christian biblical scholars of Mather's period. Since Grotius had suggested in his *Annotationes* that they primarily referred to Jeremiah and only in a secondary, mystical sense to Christ (*Opera* 1:323), countless defenders of orthodoxy had argued against such a historicization, while others defended Grotius's reading. In this case, even Samuel White supported the traditional interpretation. Hence, both of Mather's main interlocutors agreed that, as White puts it, "This Chapter is to be understood solely of Christ" (*Commentary* 371). This was also Mather's firm conviction, whose annotations on Isa. 53 are much less open to historical contextualization than those on other chapters. Significantly, Mather also referenced Isa. 53 in the works he wrote for or about Jewish mission. See for instance his *Faith of the Fathers* (1699), p. 13–18, and *Faith encouraged* (1718), pp. 21–22. On these issues, see also the Introduction.

It seems that Mather takes many of his christological readings of rabbinic sources on Isa. 53 from Christopher Cartwright, *Mellificium hebraicum*, lib. 1, cap. 6, pp. 1296–98. ("Ubi de Isaiae cap. 53. Agitur, idque a veteribus Hebraeis de Messia expositum fuisse ostenditur"). Possibly, Mather also excerpted Hulsius's work (see below) from Cartwright.

⁹²⁴ "That he should not be called prophet, but evangelist, for he presented the universal mystery of Christ and the Church in such a clear manner that one could think that he did not prophesy about the future but rather composed the narrative of past things." From the preface (*Praefatio*) of Jerome's translation of Isaiah, *Liber Isaiae* [PL 28. 771]. Possibly from Christopher Cartwright, *Mellificium hebraicum*, lib. 1, cap. 6, p. 1296.

⁹²⁵ See the gloss below at Isa. 53:4.

⁹²⁶ "Torment of the rabbis." The reference is to the work of the German Reformed theologian and professor Hebrew at the University of Leiden Antonius Hulsius (Anton Hüls, 1615–1685), *Theologia iudaica* (1653), lib. 1, pars 2, p. 318. References to Hulsius can also be found in Poole, *Synopsis criticorum* (3:497).

⁹²⁷ "That their rabbis could have easily disentangled themselves from the prophetic scrip-

But what said the Ancient Jews? Even the *Chaldee* Paraphrast, renders, Isa. LII.13. *ecce prosperè aget Servus meus Messias*.⁹²⁸

And we elsewhere take Notice, how the Ancient Jews, from the Context, look on the *Messiah*, as being superiour, not only to *Abraham*, & *Moses*, but also to the *Angels* of God.⁹²⁹

In *Sanhedrim*. *Cap. Chelek*; fol. 98. 2. that Passage; *He hath born our Grieffs*; is referred unto the *Messiah*.⁹³⁰

And the Tradition of some *Rabbis* concerning the *Messiah* is mentioned; *Leprosus de domo Rabbi est Nomen ejus*.⁹³¹

tures, if only Isaiah had been silent.” Possibly from Christopher Cartwright, *Mellificium hebraicum*, lib. 1, cap. 6, p. 1297. See Hulsius, *Theologia iudaica*, lib. 1, pars 2, p. 318; See also Mather’s use of this citation in *Tripuradus*, p. 164. Compare *The Targum of Isaiah*, at Isa. 53. 928 “Behold, my servant Messiah will be prosperous.” Possibly from Christopher Cartwright, *Mellificium hebraicum*, lib. 1, cap. 6, p. 1297. See Hulsius, *Theologia iudaica*, Breviarium, p. 581; for the Latin transl. of the Targum on this verse compare Walton *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:142).

The same references are also used for the same purpose (of showing that this was a prophecy of the messiah literally and exclusively fulfilled in Christ) in the famous commentary on Isaiah by the great Dutch scholar Campegius Vitringa the Elder (1659–1722), who studied with Hulsius in Leiden. See *Commentarius in librum prophetiarum Jesaiae*, vol. 2 (1720), p. 654. Like Mather, Vitringa sought a compromise between the historical readings of the prophecies after the manner of Grotius and their traditional christocentric interpretations.

929 Possibly from Christopher Cartwright, *Mellificium hebraicum*, lib. 1, cap. 6, p. 1297.

930 Possibly from Christopher Cartwright, *Mellificium hebraicum*, lib. 1, cap. 6, p. 1297. The famous chapter “*Chelek*” about resurrection, the world to come, and the messiah is the eleventh chapter of Tractate Sanhedrin in Seder Nezikin, a part of the Babylonian Talmud (Sanhedrin 90a–113b, Soncino, pp. 601–781). Martini mentions it several times in his *Pugio fidei*.

931 “Leper of the house of Rabbi is his name.” Possibly from Christopher Cartwright, *Mellificium hebraicum*, lib. 1, cap. 6, p. 1297. See also Hulsius, *Theologia iudaica*, lib. 1, pars 2, p. 431. Compare the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Sanhedrin 98b. The Soncino transl. (p. 668) reads: “The Rabbis said: His name is ‘the leper scholar,’ as it is written, *Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows*: yet we did esteem him a leper, smitten of God, and afflicted.” See footnote below on Isa. 53:1, where Mather refers to the same passage again.

Abrabanel confesses, *Sententiam Sapientum b. m. in multis ipsorum Commentariis*,⁹³² That it is the Judgment of many of their ancient wise Men in their Commentaries, That this Chapter is to be understood of the Messiah.⁹³³

And he then adds the Exposition of *Nachmanides, et vide Expositionem, quam fecit R. Moses Filius Nachmanis, quae eam exponit de Rege Messiâ*.⁹³⁴

The Words of R. Moses Alshec are very considerable; *ecce Rabbini nostri b. m. uno ore statuerunt, et à majoribus acceperunt, de Rege Messia Prophetam esse locutum*. He adds, *et eorum, quorum in Benedictione sit Memoria, Vestigiis insistemus*.⁹³⁵

932 "That it is the opinion of the wise men of blessed memory in many of their commentaries." Possibly from Christopher Cartwright, *Mellificium hebraicum*, lib. 1, cap. 6, p. 1297. See Hulsius, *Theologia iudaica*, lib. 1, pars 2, p. 433; see Driver/Neubauer, eds., *The Fifty-Third Chapter of Isaiah According to the Jewish Interpreters* (1876–1877), vol. 1, p. 144. ז"ר [zichrono livrocho] "in blessed memory," in Latin *b.m.*, *benedicta memoria*. Like Maimonides's works, Abravanel's works show a strong belief in the coming of the messiah to rescue the oppressed Jews. He wrote three apologetic books about the Jewish messianic hope, *Sources of Salvation* (1496), *The Salvation of His Anointed* (1497), and *Proclaiming Salvation* (1498), in which he also comments on the book of Daniel, describes the traditional doctrines of the messiah in Talmud and Midrash, collects relevant biblical messianic passages and their Jewish interpretations, and attacks the Christian interpretations of these passages (*JE*). Abravanel himself understands the references to God's "servant" in Isa. 53 as more likely referring to Israel than to the messiah, and he seeks to demonstrate that the text cannot refer to Jesus. See Sarachek, *The Doctrine of the Messiah in Medieval Jewish Literature* (1932), pp. 252–57. Thus, Abravanel argues that "even if it were true that the First Cause had taken flesh, he would not have been a man like one of us: how much more then is the supposition self-contradictory – as in fact is the normal case with the generality of their arguments – that the Deity should become incarnate?" *The Fifty-Third Chapter*, vol. 2, p. 158.

933 Possibly from Christopher Cartwright, *Mellificium hebraicum*, lib. 1, cap. 6, p. 1297.

934 "And see the exposition that Rabbi Moses, the son of Nachman, has composed, which explains it [the prophecy] about the King Messiah." Possibly from Christopher Cartwright, *Mellificium hebraicum*, lib. 1, cap. 6, p. 1297. See Hulsius, *Theologia iudaica*, lib. 1, pars 2, pp. 433–434; compare also Vitringa, *Commentarius in librum prophetiarum Jesaiae*, vol. 2, p. 658; *The Fifty-Third Chapter*, vol. 1, p. 144. The modern English transl. of Abravanel's commentary on Isa. 53 has: "I see in the exposition of R. Mosheh ben Nahman that he explains the prophecy of the King Messiah." See *The Fifty-Third Chapter*, vol. 2, p. 153.

Ironically, reference is made to an apologetic work of Ramban (Rabbi Mosheh ben Nahman, Nachmanides, 1194–1270) on the messiah that was directed against the Christian view. In 1263, Ramban led the Jewish-Christian "Disputation of Barcelona" with the apostate Pablo Christiani about messianic questions. Afterwards he published an account of the disputation with a short commentary on Isa. 52 and 53. In it Ramban argues that, according to a long interpretative tradition, the "servant" of Isa. 52 and 53 is to be understood as referring to Israel, and that, although the chapters can be understood as offering a messianic hope, the prophets spoke of the messiah as a man born of human parents, not as divine. Moreover, he argues against the Christian view, maintaining instead that the prophesied reign of universal peace and justice had not been fulfilled since Jesus's appearance (*JE*). See Chavel's translation *The Disputation at Barcelona* (1983). The short commentary on Isa. 52 and 53 is added in *La dispute de Barcelone, suivi du commentaire sur Esaïe 52–53* (1984) [=Sefer haw-Wikkuah]. See also Sarachek, *The Doctrine of the Messiah*, pp. 176–87.

935 "Behold, our Rabbis of blessed memory affirmed the opinion with one voice and received it from their forefathers that the prophet had spoken of the King Messiah. He adds: And we will

Lyranus owns, That the Ancient Jews understood this Chapter of the Messiah.⁹³⁶

White himself blushes for the Strains of his Master *Grotius* here.⁹³⁷

[73v]

Q. A Remark on the Fifty Third Chapter of *Isaiah*? v. 1.

A. If you read *Plato*, in the second Book of his *Republic*; you will find him there giving as lively a Description of his *Divine Man*, the Person, the Qualifications, the Life & the Death, of his *Divine Man*, as if he had almost copied the Fifty third Chapter of *Isaiah*. He particularly says, That this Person must be poor, and void of all Recommendation but Virtue alone; That a wicked World would not bear his Instructions, Counsils & Reproofs: And that therefore that within Three or Four Years after he began to preach, he should be Persecuted, Imprisoned, Scourged, and at last Putt unto a cruel Death.

But this is not the only Prophecy of the *Messiah*, in *Plato*.

See *Plat.* Alcib. 2. p. 150.⁹³⁸

follow the footsteps of those blessed in memory.” Possibly taken from Christopher Cartwright, *Mellificium hebraicum*, lib. 1, cap. 6, p. 1297. Compare Hulsius, *Theologia iudaica*, lib. 1, pars 2, p. 322. The modern transl. of the original Hebrew quotation from Rabbi Mosheh Alshech: “I may remark, then, that our Rabbis with one voice accept and affirm the opinion that the prophet is speaking of the King Messiah, and we ourselves also adhere to the same view: for the Messiah is of course David, who, as is well known, was ‘annointed,’... .” See *The Fifty-Third Chapter*, vol. 2, p. 258. Rabbi Moshe Alshech (Alshich, Alsheikh, Alschech, El-Sheikh, 16th cent.) from Safed, Palestine, published a number of commentaries (perushim), engaging with Talmud, Midrash, and Zohar, but also other commentaries, e.g., from Abravanel, Levi ben Gershon (Ralbag) or Maimonides. The hope of the coming messiah was an important subject of his teaching (*JE*). The quotation from Alshech that Mather cites is probably a Latin paraphrase of a passage from his Hebrew commentary on Isaiah, parts of which were published in the *Kohelet Mosheh (Biblia Rabbinica)* in 1724. But even before that variants of this quotation can frequently be found in early modern Christian apologetic literature. See, for example, Hulsius, *Theologia iudaica*, lib. 1, pars 2, p. 322; or Robert South, *Twelve Sermons upon several Subjects and Occasions*, vol. 3 ([1698] 1727), *Sermon preached on Good-Friday*, on Isa. 53:8, p. 340; or Joachim Lange, *Gloria Christi et Christianismi apocalypticoprophetica*, pars 1, cap. 22, p. 519.

⁹³⁶ From *White* (*Commentary* 371), Mather refers to Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla* at Isa. 52–53. Lyra draws upon the Isaiah Targum in his rejection of Rashi and Andreas. See Bunte, *Rabbinische Traditionen bei Nikolaus von Lyra* (1994).

⁹³⁷ See *White* (*Commentary* 371), who admits that “Grotius stands single in referring it to the Prophet Jeremiah.” Further to the debate, see Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 424. The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁹³⁸ Mather derives this entry from an apologetic work by Anthony Blackwall, *The sacred Classics defended and illustrated* (1725), “The Life of Plato,” p. 87. In the second book of Plato’s *Politeia (The Republic)* Socrates converses about justice with Glaucon, who paints a portrait of the perfectly just man that bears some resemblance to the prophecies of the servant in Isaiah. Christian apologists like Blackwall, who argued in the *prisca theologia* tradition, believed that Plato, like many other highly regarded thinkers from pagan antiquity, had inherited many ideas from the Hebrew Scriptures, of which he would have had some knowledge mediated through

[74r] |⁹³⁹

359.

Q. Wee know, that in the *Fifty Third* Chapter of (what wee may call) *The Gospel according to Isaiah*, the Sufferings of the *Messiah*, are so livelily display'd, as to make an *History*, rather than a *Prophecy*. Now in such an *History* one would expect some intimations about the Manner of our Lords Death; even *Crucifixion*: can you find any thing particularly of *That*, in this Chapter? v. 1.⁹⁴⁰

A. Yes, in several very famous Passages. For besides the true Signification of / נָגוּעַ / *The stricken one*,⁹⁴¹ as our Lord is called in the fourth Verse, whereof, I advised you on the Occasion of something in the eighty eighth Psalm.⁹⁴² Consider now, that Clause in the fifth Verse, *Hee was wounded for our Transgressions*. The Hebrew Word / מַחֲלֵל / signifies, *pierced with Iron*. [Compare Isa. 51.9. where you have the same Word.]⁹⁴³ But with such Circumstances of Misery, that I should not scruple to render it, *Hee was crucify'd for our Transgressions*. And this, the more freely; Because the Apostle *Paul* seems to quote this very Text, when hee sais in Rom. 4.25. *Hee was Delivered for our Offenses*. How, *Delivered*? The Word, παραδίδωμι,⁹⁴⁴ is elsewhere used, concerning our Lord, with this Import, *Hee was DELIVERED by the Jewes unto the Gentiles, that so Hee might bee CRUCIFIED*. [Compare Math. 26.2. and Luc. 24.20. and Gal. 2.20.] *Traditus* here then, is, *Traditus Cruci*;⁹⁴⁵ what in *Isaiah* is, *Wounded*, in *Paul* is, *Delivered unto the Crucifiers*. And hence, when it is said, in 1. Cor. 15.3. *Christ dyed for our Sins, according to the Scriptures*, this very Text is probably referr'd unto.

What followes is, *The Chastisement of our Peace was upon Him*. The Hebrew Word מוֹסֵר signifies, *exemplary Punishment*;⁹⁴⁶ now, of the *exemplary Punishments*, among the *Jewes*, the greatest was, *A Suspension*, among the *Gentiles*, the greatest was, *A Crucifixion*; in these one was most proposed, for an *Exemple*, of the Miseries whereto Sin renders Men obnoxious. Thus our Lord, was both by *Jewes* and *Gentiles* to bee condemned unto such a *Punishment*, as might most manifest, how Indecorous it was for the God of Heaven to receive us into His *Peace*, without the most effectual Demonstrations of His Justice. [Compare Rom. 3.25, 26.]

Egypt. Compare Plato, *Politeia*, lib. 2. Parallels between Isaiah's servant and the description of the wise man in the Second *Alcibiades* are harder to detect. Compare Plato, *Alcibiades* I and II.

⁹³⁹ See Appendix B.

⁹⁴⁰ The following entry is derived from the *Observationes sacrae* ([1689] editio novissima, 1723) of Campegius Vitringa, lib. 2, cap. 9 ("De Supplicio Crucis Christi"), sec. 26, pp. 402–03.

⁹⁴¹ נָגוּעַ [nagua] "stricken." Isa. 53:4.

⁹⁴² See BA (4: 623–26) at Ps. 88:3.

⁹⁴³ מַחֲלֵל תַּנִּין [mecholeleth tannin] "pierced the dragon." (ESV) Isa. 51:9.

⁹⁴⁴ Compare Rom. 4:25: παραδίδωμι [paradidomi] "to hand over, betray."

⁹⁴⁵ "Delivered over to the cross."

⁹⁴⁶ מוֹסֵר [musar] "correction, chastisement."

Add, The *Crucifixion* of our Lord Jesus Christ, is more that once called, *His Exaltation*; [tis thus, in Joh. 3.28. and Joh. 12.32.] altho' it were indeed, *His Humiliation*. But it is with some Allusion to what wee have not far from us, in Isa. 52.13. *my Servant shall deal prudently; Hee shall bee exalted*. So Hee was, *when many were astonished at Him*. And, in Truth; besides the *Elevation*, which there was in this Kind of our Lords Death, read Col. 2.15. and you'l see, there was a Real *Exaltation* in it; and a most glorious *Triumph* over all the Enemies of our Salvation.

174.

Q. You know how wickedly the Modern *Jewes* misapply the *fifty Third* Chapter of *Isaiah*, and are countenanced by some wicked *Christians* in doing so. It would bee very entertaining to find the Ancient *Jewes* confuting them!

A. Well then! Besides the Chaldee Paraphrase, which applies, Isa. 52.13. (which is the True Beginning of the 53^d Chapter,) to the *Messiah*, R. *Solomon* does so too; and adds,

ecce dicunt Magistri nostri pie Memoriae quod Messias plagatus est, sicut dictum est, Isa. 53.4. Verè Languores nostros ipse tulit, et Dolores nostros ipse portavit.⁹⁴⁷

And in *Midrasch Ruth*, on Ruth. 2.14. you have this Passage.

Intinges Buccellam tuam in Aceto. *Ista sunt Tormenta Messiae; sicut dictum est*. Isa. 53.5. Et ipsa Tormentatus est, propter Scelera nostra, et contritus propter Iniquitates nostras.⁹⁴⁸

And once more, In *Bereschit Rabba*, on Gen. 24.67. there is this Passage.

Et fuit Rex Messias in Generatione Impiorum, deditque, Cor suum, ad requirendas Misericordias pro Israel, et ad Jejunandum et Humiliandum se pro illis; sicut dictum est Isa. 53.5. Et ipse Tribulatus est propter Scelera nostra. *Et ipse petens Misericordias pro ipsis cum peccant, sicut dictum est*, per Livorem ejus

⁹⁴⁷ "Behold, our teachers of pious memory say that the Messiah was stricken, as it is said in Is. 53:4: Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows." See Martini, *Pugio Fidei*, pars 3, dist. 1, cap. 10, p. 429. See *The Fifty-Third Chapter*, vol. 2, p. 39; *The Targum of Isaiah* at 52:13; Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:142). The Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Sanhedrin 98b (Soncino, p. 668) has: "The Rabbis said: His name is 'the leper scholar,' as it is written, *Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows*: yet we did esteem him a leper, smitten of God, and afflicted."

⁹⁴⁸ "You shall dip your morsel in vinegar. These are the torments of the Messiah, as it is said in Is. 53:5. *And he was tormented for our transgressions, and bruised for our iniquities*." See Martini, *Pugio Fidei*, pars 3, dist. 1, cap. 10, p. 430; *The Fifty-Third Chapter*, vol. 2, p. 9. Martini cites *Midrash Rabbah, Ruth* (p. 64) on Ruth 2:14. The midrash gives six different interpretations of this verse by Rabbi Jonathan, the fifth one referring to the messiah: "And dip thy morsel in the vinegar refers to his sufferings, as it is said, *But he was wounded because of our transgressions* (Isa. LIII, 5)."

Medicatum est nobis; *et dicit*, Ipse Peccatum multorum tulit et pro Transgressoribus Intercessit.⁹⁴⁹

1913:

Q. How may those Words, bee understood, *unto whom is the Arm of the Lord Reveled?* v. 1.

A. *The Arm of the Lord*, is, the Name of the *Messiah*, by whom the Lord works, as by His Arm. [Compare Isa. 52.10. with Heb. 1.2, 3.]

Now this Clause may bee read, *upon whom is the Arm of the Lord Reveled?* that is, upon what Manner of Person shall the *Messiah* make His Descent? The Conception and Nativity of the *Messiah*, shall the Power of God bee seen in producing it? Unto this Quæstion the Answer here followes. *Hee* shall grow up out of a *Dry Ground*. *Hee* shall have such an unlikely Mother, that few shall beleve Him to bee the *Messiah*. When *Mary* the Virgin-Mother of our Lord, celebrated the Power of God as Display'd in the *Messiah* shee saies, Luc. 1.51. *Hee hath shown Strength* with His Arm.

Quære. Is not the Holy SPIRIT rather, the *Arm of the Lord*?

Q. We find here in the Original, *There was as an Hiding of Faces from Him*, or, *from us?* v. 3.

A. Our Saviour *hid His Face from them*; He covered & conceled His Glory, by the Vail of His Flesh, & in the Circumstances of His Humiliation; And they *Hid their Faces from Him*, in an absurd & surly Carriage towards Him. Honest Mr. *Beart* notes upon it; “O this *Hiding of Faces*! How Awful is the one, and how Sinful is the other!”⁹⁵⁰

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534:

Q. How do you take those Words about the *Messiah*, – *Smitten of God, & Afflicted?* v. 4.

A. It was the Confession of *Johannes Isaac*, a *German Jew*, afterwards a Christian Professor at *Cologne*, Anno, 1558.

⁹⁴⁹ “And the King Messiah was in the generation of the wicked, and he gave his heart to seek after mercy for Israel and to fast and humble himself for them, as it is said in Is. 53:5: *And he was afflicted for our iniquities*. And he seeks after mercy for them as they are sinning, as it is said: *By his stripes we are healed*. And he says: *He carried the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors*.” See Martini, *Pugio Fidei*, pars 3, dist. 1, cap. 10, p. 430; *The Fifty-Third Chapter*, vol. 2, p. 35; Martini seems to take this citation from Moshe ha-Darshan, see the footnote on Isa. 7:14.

⁹⁵⁰ Mather cites the devotional work of the English nonconformist minister John Beart (1673–1716), *Divine Breathings: or, spiritual Meditations suited to the Occasion of breaking Bread* (1716), med. 16, p. 124. Compare also Mather, *Tripuradissus*, p. 164.

“This I do ingenuously profess, That the Fifty Third Chapter of *Isaiah*, drew mee to the *Christian Faith*; for more than a Thousand Times have I read that Chapter thorough, and I have accurately compared it with many Translations, and I have found that there is an Hundred Times more of the *Mystery of Christ* in the Hebrew Text, than can bee found in any Translation whatsoever.”

And then hee declares, how at *Frankford* hee Disputed with the Five *Rabbins* and from this very Chapter, did so stop their Mouths, that they could not Answer one Word.⁹⁵¹

Andradius tells us, That hee knew several Jewes, Inhabitants of the Inner *Africa*, who by Ruminating on this very Chapter, were so wrought upon, that they left their Possessions & Relations, and with inflamed Hearts consecrated themselves unto the Lord Jesus Christ. Hee adds, That he ask'd some of them, what it was in the Fifty Third of *Isaiah*, that wrought such a Conviction upon them? They answered, that one Passage did more Touch them than all the rest; and that is the Clause, which wee Translate, *Smitten of God & Afflicted*. The Words they said, carried thus much in them *That God Himself* was Smitten and Humbled. [Hebr. a *smitten God*.]⁹⁵² By which Words, they assured themselves, the whole Chapter was to bee understood, not of a *Man* but of *God Himself* made *Man*, that Hee might bear our Sins.⁹⁵³

1566.

Q. How is it said, *The Chastisement of our Peace was upon Him?* v. 5.

A. The Word, *Peace*, is in the plural Number; all Sorts of *Peace* are included & intended.

But the Word will more fully suit the Matter, if it bee Translated, (as the LXX hath translated it in Ps. 69.22.) *Retributions: The Chastisement of our Retributions, was upon Him*. That is, The Punishment, that wee should have paid ourselves, Hee hath paid.⁹⁵⁴

⁹⁵¹ Mather probably translates this passage from Christopher Cartwright, *Mellificium hebraicum*, lib. 1, cap. 6, pp. 1296–97, who excerpted the work of Johannes Isaac Levita, *Defensio veritatis*. Johannes Isaac Levita (1515–1577) was a German Jew who served as a Rabbi in Wetzlar before embracing Christianity. According to his own account, the conviction that Isa. 53 was a messianic prophecy and fulfilled in Jesus played a decisive role in his decision to embrace Christianity. He was baptized with his wife and his son Stephen in 1546, and became a professor of Hebrew at the University of Cologne (*JE*).

⁹⁵² מְכָה אֱלֹהִים וּמַעֲנָה “smitten by God, and afflicted” (*ESV*). The KJV has “... of God ...” The LXX has simply ἐν πένῃ [en pēnē] “in suffering” without reference to God. The VUL: “percussum a Deo” (“struck by God”).

⁹⁵³ Mather here refers to the famous work that the Portuguese theologian Diego de Paiva de Andrade (Payva Andradius, 1528–1575) wrote in defense of the Council of Trent, *Defensio Tridentinae fidei catholicae* (1578), lib. 4, pp. 250–51.

⁹⁵⁴ מוֹסֵר שְׁלוֹמֵנוּ עָלָיו [musar shelomenu alayv] “the chastisement of our peace was upon him” (KJV). *NAU*: “The chastening for our well-being fell upon him.”

There is an odd Passage of the Chaldee Paraphrase here; *He shall build the Temple which is polluted by reason of our Backslidings*. Either this Place in the Paraphrast has been Interpolated by the modern Jews, with the Addition of these Two Words, *Edificabit Templum*.⁹⁵⁵ Or, if that be the genuine Reading, the Author of that Paraphrase did not live before the Time of our SAVIOUR, as has been commonly Beleeved; But after the Destruction of the Second Temple; the First being Rebuilt long before the Days of *Jonathan*.

884.

Q. The *Modern Jewes* are great Enemies unto such a *suffering Messiah*, as is here described in the Prophecies of *Isaiah*. Can you find any thing in the Writings of the *Ancient Jewes*, more agreeable to these Prophecies?

A. I'll give you a Tast, out of one old Jewish Book, which they call *Pesikta*, wherein wee have a Dialogue of the *Almighty*, with the *Messiah*; after this Manner.

“God, beginning to make a *Covenant* with the *Messiah*, spake thus to Him; *Those, whose Sins are unknown to thee, would Impose a Yoke of Iron upon thee, by which they will make thee, like to a young Heifer, almost Blind with Labour; & they will destroy thee; because of their Iniquity, thy Tongue shall cleave unto the Roof of thy Mouth. Art thou willing to suffer all this?*

Messiah. It may bee, these Pains and Afflictions, shall endure but for a short Time.

God. I am Resolved, thou shalt suffer it, for a whole Week of Years: but if thou wilt not consent to it, I will not Impose these Sufferings upon thee.

Messiah. I willingly submitt to it, on Condition that no Israelite perish, but that they shall bee all saved, those that are Born after my Time, & those that are already Dead, since Adam; in short, all those that have been created until now, or shall hereafter bee created.”⁹⁵⁶

⁹⁵⁵ “He will build the temple.” Drawn from White, *Commentary*, p. 374. See Walton (*Biblia Polyglotta* 3:144); *The Targum of Isaiah*, at Isa. 53:5.

⁹⁵⁶ Mather cites a passage from the work of the English bookseller and author John Dunton (1659–1733), *A Supplement to the Athenian Oracle* (1710), pp. 267–68. This publication was part of the second life-cycle of Dunton’s famous *The Athenian Mercury*, the first major popular periodical in England, which appeared (with intermissions) between 1691 and 1697. After Dunton had sold the enterprise in 1703, the new owner Andrew Bell brought out selected and abridged parts of previous issues in four larger volumes called *The Athenian Oracle* (1703–1704 and 1710 with multiple reprints).

Dunton refers to Piska 36 of the *Pesikta Rabbati*, as cited also in the unpaginated preface of vol. 1 of Lightfoot, *Works*. The modern transl. by Braude (pp. 678–79) reads: “[At the time of the Messiah’s creation], the Holy One, blessed be He, will tell him in detail what will befall him: There are souls that have been put away with thee under My throne, and it is their sins which will bend thee down under a yoke of iron and make thee like a calf whose eyes grow dim with suffering, and will choke thy spirit as with a yoke; because of the sins of these souls thy tongue will cleave to the roof of thy mouth. Art thou willing to endure such things? The Messiah will

Q. On that, *He was oppressed, and he was afflicted?* v. 7.

A. The Words may better be rendred, *It was exacted of Him, and He answered the Demand.* He gave the Satisfaction, which the Divine Justice demanded for our Sins.⁹⁵⁷

Q. That Passage, *He shall be brought as a Lamb to the Slaughter?* v. 7.

A. There is Reason, to beleeve, That the Death of our Lord, was in the Year of *Jubilee*; Now to countenance this Beleeif, some learned Men, observe the Word used here, and in some other Places; *As a Lamb*, [JUBAL] *he shall be brought unto the Slaughter.* The Word *Jobel* (a *Jubilee*) may have the same Original with *Jubal*; a Stream, or *carrying along*; It *carried them along* to the Death of the Lord Jesus Christ.⁹⁵⁸

Q. How do you understand that Passage, *Hee was taken from Prison, & from Judgment?* v. 8.

A. The *Suffering* and the *Glory* of our Lord Jesus Christ, [Luk. 24.26.] were so nearly Related unto each other, that sometimes the Sacred Scriptures do under the very same Phrases, most comprehensively express both of them. Thus in the Passage now before us;

One thing Intimated, may bee; that when our Lord Jesus Christ, unjustly suffered as a Malefactor, the Justice due even to every Malefactor was Denied unto Him. The Text may bee read, *without Prison & without Judgment, Hee was taken away.*⁹⁵⁹ Our Lord Jesus Christ was Illegally dealt withal. The Condemnation and Execution of our Lord Jesus Christ, was against Law præcipated. Hee was not first committed unto *Prison*; Hee had not first a *Judgment*, with a fair Trial, & a full Hearing, passed upon Him. His Murderers barbarously made a *Quick Dispatch* in their Proceedings. Compare, Act. 8.33.

ask the Holy One, blessed be He: Will my suffering last many years? The Holy One, blessed be He, will reply: Upon thy life and the life of My head, it is a period of seven years which I have decreed for thee. But if thy soul is sad at the prospect of thy suffering, I shall at this moment banish these sinful souls. The Messiah will say: Master of the universe, with joy in my soul and gladness in my heart I take this suffering upon myself, provided that not one person in Israel perish; that not only those who are alive be saved in my days, but that also those who are dead, who died from the days of Adam up to the time of redemption; and that not only these be saved in my days, but also those who died as abortions; and that not only these be saved in my days, but all those whom Thou thoughtest to create but were not created."

⁹⁵⁷ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 427.

⁹⁵⁸ יִבְל [jubal] transl. with context: "[like a lamb that] is led [to slaughter]." Mather here refers to à Lapidè's commentary on Lev. 25: 10 in *Commentarius in Leviticum*, in *Commentarius in Pentateuchum Mosis*, pp. 748–49, where the jubilee is explained linguistically, historically, and then allegorically as pointing to Christ's death. Cornelius à Lapidè in turn refers to an unidentified work of the German Catholic priest and Syriacist Andreas Masius (Maes, 1514–1573), maybe his *Annotationes in Deuteronomium* (cap. 17–34).

⁹⁵⁹ This is mentioned as an interpretative possibility by Gataker in his annotation on Isa. 53:8 in *Westminster Annotations*, unpaginated.

But yett, another Thing Intimated, may bee; That when Earth & Hell were Afflicting of our Lord Jesus Christ, the God of Heaven gloriously *Took Him away* to Heaven. What wee Translate; *Prison*, may be Translated, *Straits*, of Trouble and Sorrow when our Lord Jesus Christ, was, by the unrighteous *Judgment* of Men, plunged into *Straits* of much Affliction, the Righteous God saw how Injuriouly Hee was Handled; & seeing it, Hee Rescued Him: How was the Rescue? By *Taking* Him away to Heaven. *Hee was Taken*. The Ascension of *Elias* to Heaven is described by that very Term. Compare, 2. Kin. 2.10. Now herein *Elias* was a Type of our Lord Jesus Christ.

[See. Psal. 18.16.] Add, when our Lord was *taken from Prison*, or came out His Grave, Hee was *taken from Judgment*, the Law of God [ill.].⁹⁶⁰

[75r] |
159*.

Q. Will you *Declare*, what you take to bee the Meaning of that Passage, *who shall Declare His Generation?* v. 8.

A. Take your Choice from these Five Interpretations.

I. *Who shall Declare* the extreme Wickedness of that *Generation*, who with wicked Hands crucified the Jesus, that God Approved with so many *Miracles*, and *Wonders*, and *Signs* among them? Truly, Twas an *Untoward Generation*. [Act. 2.40.] Add Math. 12.39. and 16.4.

II. *Who shall Declare*, the *Marvellous Generation* of our Lord Jesus Christ, as Hee is the Son of a *Virgin-Mother*.

Consider, Jer. 31.22. and Isa. 7.14.

III. *Who shall Declare*, the *Eternal Generation* of our Lord Jesus Christ, as Hee is the *Son of God*, & God over all, Blessed forever?

Consider, Mic. 5.2. and Prov. 30.4.

IV. *Who shall Declare*, the *Numerous Generation* of *Beleevers*, by whom our exalted Lord Jesus Christ shall bee Adored?⁹⁶¹

Lyra, A Christian Jew, gives this Exposition. A Posterity is a Generation. Beleevers are in some Sort the Posterity of our Lord Jesus Christ. [Isa. 53.10.] These are to bee, *An exceeding great Multitude, whom no Man can Number. Who shall Declare*, how many?⁹⁶²

Compare, Psal. 22.30. and 24.6.

V. *Who shall Declare*, the Duration, or Continuance of our Lord Jesus Christ, in that Blessedness, which after His Passion, Hee enters into? When tis so, *Noah was Just in his Generation*; it means, In his Time, his Age. The *Genera-*

⁹⁶⁰ The last sentence is lost in the gutter of the MS.

⁹⁶¹ These different readings are also discussed by Gataker in his annotation on Isa. 53:8 in *Westminster Annotations*, unpaginated.

⁹⁶² See Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla* at Isa. 53:10.

tion of our Lord Jesus Christ, may bee, the *Time* of His Reign, after His Rising from the Dead.

Now, *who shall Declare it?* It is beyond all *Time*. The Grief of our Lord, quickly came to an End; but the *Reign* of our Lord in Heavenly Splendor & Grandeur following thereupon, there shall never bee any End of *That*; it is beyond all Generations.

Compare, Rom. 6.9. and Heb. 7.16. and Psal. 146.10.

Q. May not yett a further Sense be thought of?

A. A worthy & learned Friend of mine, Mr. *Nehemiah Hobart*, ha's offered me this. By the *Generation* of our Lord, may be meant, the *History* of the Admirable things done by our Lord. The Notable Events befalling *Jacob*, are called, [Gen. 37.1.] *His Generations*.⁹⁶³ Compare, Joh. 21.25.

Note, The Two Terms, *Prison* and *Judgment*. Some observe That *Notzer* may well be understood of the *Confinement* our Lord was under, during the Night in which He was taken. And *Mishpat* may mean His *Trial* before *Pilate*; from which He was hurried unto Execution.⁹⁶⁴

Q. That Passage, *Hee made His Grave with the Wicked, and with the Rich in His Death*: How do you understand it? v. 9.

A. Perhaps there ha's hardly been any one Verse in all the Bible, perplexed with a greater Varietie of Senses putt upon it. But after all, the French Translation, seems to come the nearest of all, unto the Mind of the Holy Spirit, in this Text. *Or on avoit ordonné son Sepulcre avec les meschans, mais il a esté avec le riche en sa mort*.⁹⁶⁵ They had indeed appointed His Grave with the Wicked, but it was with the Rich, in His Death.

The Murderers of our Lord Jesus Christ intended for Him, an Ignominious Grave, even the Grave of a wicked Malefactor; but the Providence of God wonderfully disappointed their Intention. If the Body of our Lord had been at the Dispose of the *Jewes*, they would have made His Grave, as they did His

⁹⁶³ Mather refers to the work of the Puritan Nehemiah Hobart (1648–1712), author of *The Absence of the Comforter described and lamented* (1717), p. 55. Hobart graduated from Harvard in 1667 and afterwards served as a minister in Newton, Massachusetts, for forty years. Like Mather, Hobart had an interest in science and published, among other things, *An Almanack of Coelestial Motions for the Year of the Christian Aera 1673* (1673). Mather mentions praying for the recovery of the sick Hobart in a diary entry of May 1700 (*Diary* 1:350), and in August 1713 refers to the vacancy in Newton after Hobart's death (*Diary* 2: 226), which was eventually filled by John Cotton.

⁹⁶⁴ White, *Commentary*, p. 377. מַעֲצָר וּמִשְׁפָּט לָקָח “By oppression and judgment he was taken away” (ESV); “He was taken from prison and from judgment” (KJV). Cf. Mark 14:35; 15:2 ff.

⁹⁶⁵ See the French Protestant translation of David Martin, *La Sainte Bible* at Isa. 53:9: “Or on avoit ordonné son Sépulcre avec les méchants, mais il a été avec le riche en sa mort.” Mather provides a transl.

Cross, among *Theeves*, in that vile Apartment of *Golgotha*, where the Carcases of Criminals use to bee hastily hurried & huddled under Ground, after their Execution. If it had been at the Dispose of the *Romans*, they would have left His Body on the *Cross* to have been there Corrupted or Devoured: the *Cross* was of old esteem'd the *Grave* of them who expired upon it. But the Providence of God, wonderfully Defeated both the *Jewes* and the *Romans*, in their Design. The *Grave* of our Lord, was an Honourable *Grave*, of a *Rich Man*, who laid Him there. [Compare what wee have said, on Isa. 11.10.]

Turn to Math. 27.57. *There came a RICH MAN, – and laid it in his own New Tomb.* The Holy Spirit there points to that very Text, upon which wee are now discoursing.

Yea, I suspect, that the Hebrew Word, *In His Death*, may bee read, *His Monuments*. If so, Behold, how the Sense is further countenanced!

But I Remember, *Glassius* chooses to read, *The Wicked*, and, *The Rich*, in the Abstract; Hee hath putt *Wickednesses in His Grave, and Riches in His Death.*⁹⁶⁶ First, our Lord Jesus Christ, hath carried all our *Wickednesses* into His *Grave*: our Sin is all Buried in the *Grave* of our Lord Jesus Christ forever. Hee *Bore our Sins*, tis said: whither? Hee carried them down into His *Grave*, & left them there to bee Buried in eternal Oblivion. The Import of this, is thus much: our Lord, by going down into His *Grave*, perfeckted & completed all the Satisfaction, that was to bee made for our *Sin*. Tis emphatically expressed, in Dan. 9.24. *To shutt up Transgression, & seal up Sins.* The *Grave* of our Lord, was both *shutt up*, and *seal'd up*; yea, our *Transgression* was there *shutt up*, and our *Sins* were *seal'd up*. When our Lord came out of His *Grave*, Hee came clear of all our *Sins*, which had been Imputed unto Him: Hee was *Justified by the Spirit*, when the *Spirit* of God brought Him out of His *Grave*: wherefore Hee hath left all our *Sins* behind Him there, in that *Land of Forgetfulness*. Our *Sins* are all *Dead*, & our *Souls* do *Live*.

[75v] Again; In the *Death* of our Lord Jesus Christ, wee have our greatest *Riches*; all the *Riches* that wee hope for, are | all of them, in the *Death* of our Lord Jesus Christ. Wee hope that God wil *enrich* us, with all Good: The *Death* of our Lord Jesus Christ, is the Price of all the *Riches*, that wee can have in our Hopes. Consider, 1. Pet. 1.19. and Eph. 3.8. The *Poverty* of our Lord Jesus Christ, is the *Riches* of the Christian; it merits for him all Riches. Now, t'was in the *Death* of our Lord Jesus Christ, that His *Poverty* came to an Extremity. Hee that hath an Interest in the *Death* of our Lord Jesus Christ, hath *Riches* enough. *Hyrcanus* Opening of *Dauids* *Grave*, took thence three thousand Talents of Silver & Gold.⁹⁶⁷ It was said of the *Chaldeans*; *They shall bring out the Bones of the*

⁹⁶⁶ The following section is derived from *Glassius, Philologia sacra*, p. 149.

⁹⁶⁷ Compare Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* (16.7 and 13.249), where it is reported that Hyrcanus I, the Hasmonean leader and High Priest of the Jews (164–104 BCE), opened David's grave and took out three thousand talents of silver.

Princes;⁹⁶⁸ i. e. out of *Covetousness*, they should Ransack & Pillage the Tombs of the Dead. Wee need not break open the *Grave* of our *David*: Hee hath left it *open* for us; lett us go in, and wee shall find Riches infinitely better than Silver & Gold.⁹⁶⁹

1654:

Q. Upon the Death of our Lord, as a *Sacrifice* for us, tis here said, *Hee shall see a Seed*. Unto what may it allude? v. 10.

A. When the famous *Isaac*, was laid upon the Altar, so to bee made a *Sacrifice*, that there was no Likelihood of any Offspring to arise from him, *Then* immediately was given that Promise of God, in Gen. 22.17. *I will multiply thy Seed, as the Stars of the Heaven, and as the Sand which is upon the Sea-Shore; and thy Seed shall possess the Gate of his Enemies.*⁹⁷⁰

I make no Quæstion, that the Prophet here alludes to that Passage.

Our SAVIOURS Words, in Joh. XII.24. – *if it die, it brings forth much Fruit*: are, as Mr. *Lowth* observes, a Commentary on it.⁹⁷¹

1682:

Q. When tis said, *The Pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in His Hand*; what is that *Pleasure of the Lord*? v. 10.

A. The Work of Redemption. A Work, which our L. Jesus Christ undertook at the *Command* of God; And which being undertaken, by our L. Jesus Christ, is the *Delight* of God: And for the whole Decree whereof, the sole Reason to bee assigned is, *The good Pleasure of God*.

But, *Quære*, whether this, *The Pleasure of the Lord*, bee not one of the Names for the *Messiah*? Hee may well bee called so; Because God ha's more *Pleasure* in Him than in all the World besides; and all the *Pleasure* that God has in any Part of the World besides, is on His Account. If / צפח / *The Pleasure of the Lord*,⁹⁷² bee the Name of the *Messiah*, no Wonder that the Church, which is His Wife, have that Name of Her most Royal Husband, *Hephzibah*, putt upon her. And then, *God will bee among {them}*, the Note sung by Angels, is, q. d. The *Messiah* is among {them}.

Q. On that, *my Righteous Servant*? v. 11.

⁹⁶⁸ See Jer. 8:1.

⁹⁶⁹ This pious application of Isa. 53:9 also appears in slight variation in Mather's tract, *The true Riches: A Present of glorious and immense Riches ... In a brief Essay on the unsearchable Riches of Christ* (1724), pp. 21–22.

⁹⁷⁰ This is also mentioned by Gataker in his annotation on Isa. 53:10 in *Westminster Annotations*, unpaginated.

⁹⁷¹ See Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 429. The last two paragraphs were added later.

⁹⁷² צפח [chephets] “want, desire.”

A. *John* alludes to this Place, when he says, 1. Joh. II.1. *Jesus Christ the Righteous*.⁹⁷³

398.

Q. How understand you, that Passage concerning the Messiah, *Hee was Numbred with the Transgressors?* v. 12.

A. The Evangelist *Mark*, ha's apply'd it, unto the Crucifixion of our Lord, between two *Thieves*.⁹⁷⁴ But one Prophecy may have several Degrees of Accomplishment; for Instance, the fourth Verse in our fifty third of *Isaiah* is apply'd in Math. 8.16, 17. unto *Bodily Grievs*; but in 1. Pet. 2.24. unto *Spiritual* ones.

I say then; If one would see our Lord Numbred with Transgressors, lett him look, not only upon the *Tree* where our Saviour died, but also upon the *Root*, whence Hee sprang. Look into the *Genealogie* of our Lord, and what horrible *Transgressors* will you find among His *Progenitors*? What horrible *Transgressions*, furnishing the *Seed*, whereof His Body was to bee formed? There you have that most Incestuous and Abominable Business of *Lot*: There you have that Ignominious and Inexcusable Business of *David*; in particular.

Q. On that, *I will divide Him a Portion with the Great?* v. 12.

A. It may be rendred, *I will give Him Many for His Inheritance*.⁹⁷⁵

Q. How, *Divide the Spoil with the Strong?* v. 12.

A. The Expression alludes to the Custom of Conquerors, who divide the Spoils of their Victory with their Officers and Souldiers.

Compare, Col. II.15. Eph. IV.8.

The Chaldee Paraphrase, & the LXX, read it; *He shall divide the Spoils of the Strong*. Our SAVIOUR will turn *Satan* out of that Kingdome which he has usurped over Mankind, and assert his own Right unto it [Joh. XII.31.]⁹⁷⁶

Our SAVIOUR may Himself allude unto this Interpretation of the Words: Luk. XI.22.⁹⁷⁷

⁹⁷³ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 430.

⁹⁷⁴ See Mark 15:28: "And the scripture was fulfilled, which saith, And he was numbered with the transgressors."

⁹⁷⁵ Compare Gataker in his annotation on Isa. 53:12 in *Westminster Annotations*, unpaginated.

⁹⁷⁶ LXX: καὶ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν μεριεῖ σκύλα (*NETS*: "and he shall divide the spoils of the strong"). Targum of Isaiah: "Then I will divide him the plunder of many peoples, and he shall divide the spoil, the possessions of strong fortresses." See *The Targum of Isaiah*, at 53:12; compare Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:144).

⁹⁷⁷ Lowth, *Commentary*, pp. 430–31. See Appendix A.

Q. On that, *sing, O Barren?* v. 1.

A. It can't be literally true of the Jewish Nation, who never made such a Figure after the Captivity, as they did in the days of *David* and *Solomon*. The Apostle *Paul* gives the True Exposition of this Text, Gal. IV.27. And according to That, it should mean, That the Church after her Spouse, the Blessed JESUS, was taken from her by Death, and she left in a Disconsolate Condition, [Joh. XIV.18. Luk. XXIV.21.] from such mean and contemptible Beginnings, would spread over the World.⁹⁷⁹

Q. *Youth*, and, *Widowhood*: what? v. 4.

A. *Youth*, was the Time of their Servitude in *Egypt*.

Widowhood, was what they suffered in their more advanced Years under their Captivity.⁹⁸⁰

Q. How, *called, A Wife of Youth?* v. 6.

A. When thy Condition most appears Desperate, He shall then look on thee with Compassion, and make thee a *Wife of Youth*, & restore thee to the same room thou hadst before in His Affection.⁹⁸¹

Q. What *Gathering?* v. 7.

A. Of the *Jews*, from their several Dispersions. Isa. XI.12. XXVII.12. XLIII.6. Of the *Jews* and *Gentiles* united under one Head; JESUS CHRIST, which will be consequent on the former. Isa. LVI.8. LX.4. LXVI.18. Gen. XLIX.10. Eph. I.10.

Lastly, of the *Gathering together* of the Saints, at the Coming of the Lord. Matth. XIII.41, 49. XXIV.31. XXV.32. 1. Thess. IV.17. 2. Thess. II.1.

So Mr. *Lowth*, —⁹⁸²

⁹⁷⁸ While White argued that, after the intermission of the previous chapter, the prophecies of this and the next chapter again concerned the Jewish captivity in Babylon (*Commentary* 382), Lowth insisted that “here be prophecies of the Increase and Glory of the Church” (*Commentary* 432). Mather tries to combine and harmonize both approaches.

⁹⁷⁹ Lowth, *Commentary*, pp. 432–33. Compare also Mather, *Triparadisus*, p. 178.

⁹⁸⁰ White, *Commentary*, p. 384.

⁹⁸¹ White, *Commentary*, p. 384.

⁹⁸² Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 435.

{1546:}

Q. In what Regard is it said, *This is as the Waters of Noah unto mee?* v. 9.

A. THIS, may refer to all that had been said in the foregoing Chapter, about the Coming and the Suffring of the *Messiah*. And, however the Church bee intended, by the *Woman* described in the Beginning of this Chapter, I make no quæstion, but that the Virgin *Mary* did one day apply unto herself the Consolations which the Spirit of Prophecy had here provided for *Her* also.

[76v] Now, the regard upon which the *Waters of Noah* are here brought in as a Comparison, is expressly declared, in the next Clauses of the Verse before us; The *Oath of God*, that when the Jewish Nation is delivered from their present Wickedness, a *Flood of Wrath* shall no more go over them. Nevertheless wee | shall but glorify the *Spirit of Prophecy*, by being sensible of a further Intimation in it. It is then intimated, That as the *Waters of Noah* came, when hee was about *six hundred* Years old, so the Arrival of the *Messiah*, would be within *six hundred* Years after the Uttering of this Prophecy. And with a wonderful Exactness, it came to pass accordingly!

Q. On the *precious & pleasant Stones*, laid in the *Foundation of the Church?* v. 12.

A. Tis a Figurative Description of the *New Jerusalem*. And the Design of it, is, To show its Resemblance to the State of *Paradise* at its first Creation. See Rev. XXI.2, 10.⁹⁸³

By the Plenty of all Sorts of *Gems*, is the Glory of *Eden* represented by the Prophet *Ezekiel*. See Ezek. XXVIII.13. And where we read in Job. XXVII.6. *As for the Earth, the Stones of it are the Place of Sapphires*.⁹⁸⁴ The Targum explains it of *Eden*.⁹⁸⁵ From *Ezekiel* it was that *Plato* seems to have borrowed the Figures wherewith he settis out the Beauty of the *paradisaical Earth*, by the bright Stones of several Colours, which it abounded withall.

Compare, Isa. XLI.3.⁹⁸⁶

Q. How do you understand that Promise, *All thy Children shall bee taught of the Lord?* v. 13.

A. The Prophet settis forth the glorious State of the Church in the Dayes of the *Messiah*, (and so the *Rabbins* understand the Place,) adding this as a singular and

⁹⁸³ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 437.

⁹⁸⁴ The reference is to Job 28:6.

⁹⁸⁵ See Mangan, ed., *The Targum of Job* (1991) at Job 28:6.

⁹⁸⁶ Mather here relies on the work of Edward Chandler, D.D. (1668–1750), Bishop of Durham, *A Defence of Christianity from the Prophecies of the Old Testament* (1725), p. 51. The reference is to the vision of heaven in Plato's *Phaedrus* (26.247) that Chandler reads in the *prisca theologia*-tradition as derived from the Hebrew Scriptures. Chandler's work is a rebuttal of Anthony Collins, *A Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*. Compare also Mather, *Trip paradisus*, p. 190.

eminent Priviledge of those Times, above the Times which went before. That whereas, formerly they had been *Taught*, by Prophets, & others, who were meer *Men*, in those Times the LORD Himself, conversing visibly among Men, in our Nature, should bee our Teacher.⁹⁸⁷

⁹⁸⁷ This entry is derived from John Lightfoot, *The Harmony*, in *Works* (1:631).

Q. On the Invitation to the *Waters*? v. 1.

A. The Chaldee Paraphrase is very particularly worth considering. Tis, *Qui vult discere, veniat ac discat*.⁹⁸⁸

Buying signifies in general, any *Gaining*. So, Prov. XXIII.23. *Buy the Truth*, is, q. d. spare no Pains to learn it. See Rev. III.18.

It is added, *without Money and without Price*; to shew, that these Blessings are of greater Value, than to be purchased with *Money*. They are the Gift of God, and cannot be obtained, but by going to our SAVIOUR for them.⁹⁸⁹

Q. Upon the various Blessings offered here? v. 1, 2.

A. What an Alsufficient Saviour have we! Dr. *Arrowsmith* observes, That the Prophet here makes a Tender of something, that is proper to every Sort of True Beleevers. *Milk*, for Babes; *Water*, for such as are young & hott; *Wine*, for the Aged: [*Vinum Lac Senum*.] And, *Bread*, for all. Compare, Rev. III.18.⁹⁹⁰

We are to come for these, *without Money*. *Money* signifies *Merit*. They who *have no Money*, are those who are conscious to themselves of their *not having any thing of their own*, wherewith to answer Divine Justice, & to fetch into them the Blessings of God; Those who disclaim all *Self-Sufficiency*, & come unto their Saviour, as unto one, who expects not to *Receive*, but to *be Received*.

This does not excuse our *Industry*. Indeed we will not say, with the Pagans, That God *sells* His Benefits to us for our *Pains*; our *Labours* cannot *merit* His *Blessings*. Yett He so gives them, as to require our Industry about them. When a Scholemaster teaches a Lad *gratis*, the Youth cannot attain to Learning, unless he be Industrious, & unless he takes Pains at his Book.

And yett *A Lapide*, on this very Place flourishes for *Merit* and *Free-Will*!⁹⁹¹ So Elephants, [as *Arrowsmith* saies upon it,] before they drink, bemud the Water, which if it were suffered to remain clear, would discover their Deformity.⁹⁹²

⁹⁸⁸ "He who wants to learn shall come and learn." From White, *Commentary*, p. 390; see the Latin transl. of the Aramaic in Walton (*Biblia Polyglotta* 3:146); compare *The Targum of Isaiah*, at 55:1.

⁹⁸⁹ Lowth, *Commentary*, pp. 440–41.

⁹⁹⁰ "Wine [is] the milk of the aged." Mather cites John Arrowsmith, *Armilla catechetica*, aphor. 1, exer. 4, p. 47.

⁹⁹¹ Through Arrowsmith Mather refers to à Lapide's Catholic exposition of this passage, in *Commentaria in Isaiam prophetam*, pp. 342–43.

⁹⁹² Arrowsmith, *Armilla catechetica*, aphor. 1, exer. 4, p. 52.

1698:

Q. What are meant by, *The sure Mercies of David?* v. 3.

A. I'll give you a *Key*, to come at an Illustrious Treasure of *Truth*.

I pray you, to compare, deliberately this Passage, and its Context, with the whole *Eighty Ninth Psalm*.

Those which are here called, *The Sure of Mercies of David*, are, in the first Verse of that Psalm called, *The Mercies of Jehovah, and His Faithfulness*. Behold, by the Way, a plain Intimation, That the *David* here celebrated, must be no less than *Jehovah*.

The Jewes ordinarily made the first Words of a Composure, to bee the Title of the whole Composure. Accordingly, they entituled, the Eighty Ninth Psalm, when they quoted it, *The Mercies of the Lord*. Well then; peruse the glorious Promises to, and of the *Messiah*, in that Psalm; and compare them with the seraphic Strains of our Prophet in this Place. Great & clear Thoughts will be Raised in your Mind immediately!

[77v]

Q. The Acclamations to the *Mountains & Hills & Trees?* v. 12.

A. The *Mountains & Hills* were to echo unto the Joyful Acclamations of the Returning Captives; and the *Trees* by the gentle Motion of their Heads would seem to applaud their Fælicity.

Virgil imitates it.

— *Ipsi Lætitia Montes ad Sydera jactant*
Ipsa sonant Arbusta. —⁹⁹³

It is also imitated in the *Nodding Mountains* of *Statius*.⁹⁹⁴

Compare, Psal. XCVI.12.

Q. The Occasion of that Prophecy; *That instead of the Thorn shall come up the Fir-tree?* v. 13.

A. Their Minds might be troubled, when they began to think, what there would be to entertain them in a Countrey so long uninhabited. But instead of a Land overgrown with *Briars* and *Thorns*, they should find it replenished with stately Trees. Thus Mr. *White*.⁹⁹⁵

⁹⁹³ “Even the unshorn mountains call out to the stars / the very groves resound.” From White (*Commentary* 393), Mather cites Virgil, *Eclogae*, 5.62–64; transl. modified from: *The Poems of Virgil*, p. 18.

⁹⁹⁴ In the work of the Roman epic and lyric poet Statius (Publius Papinius Statius, 45–96 CE), *Thebaid* (9.535), it is mentioned that “the forest and the mountain itself tremble” (transl.: LCL 498, pp. 98–99).

⁹⁹⁵ White, *Commentary*, p. 393.

– But, – *Majora Canamus*.⁹⁹⁶

Mr. *Lowth* observes, The Words may import a Renovation of the World; and a Restoration of it, unto a *paradisiacal State*.⁹⁹⁷

⁹⁹⁶ “Let us sing of greater things.” As a way of introducing a “higher” typological interpretation, Mather cites this phrase from Virgil, *Eclogae*, 4.1; transl.: *LCL* 63, pp. 28–29.

⁹⁹⁷ See Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 444. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later. Compare also Mather, *Triparadisus*, p. 190.

Q. On, *Taking hold of the Covenant?* v. 4.

A. It is a Metaphor taken from a Man, who holds fast what he values, lest it should be snatch'd out of his Hand.⁹⁹⁹

Q. What and How, *A Name better than of Sons & of Daughters?* v. 5.

A. It alludes to a Custome among the Jews; who recorded the Names of those who were eminent for Vertue, or any worthy Action of public Advantage to their Countrey, and publicly Read them in the Congregation. Compare, Ecclesiasticus. XLIV.1, 15.¹⁰⁰⁰

Parents naturally glory in the Number of their Children; by which the little Span of Life seems to be lengthened.

They who could not enjoy this Benefit, would have it made up another Way, in a Reputation more Durable than the Name of a Family continued in their Posterity, & cause future Ages to make an Honourable Mention of them.¹⁰⁰¹ |

[78v]

Mr. *Lowth's* Remark upon it, is, *Eunuchs* were forbidden to *enter into the Congregation of the Lord*; [Deut. XXIII.1.] or, join themselves with the *Jews*, in their public Assemblies. Here is foretold, a Time coming, when such Restraints would be taken off, and the Inward Endowments of the Soul would be enough to give pious Persons a Title to the Communion of Saints; and their *Names* being written in the *Book of Life*, would be a more lasting Remembrance, than Posterity can entitle to. See Col. III.11.¹⁰⁰²

Q. The *Sacrifices* foretold here? v. 7.

A. The Calling of the *Temple*, an *House of Prayer*, makes it probable, that the *Sacrifices* here, are chiefly to be understood of the *spiritual Sacrifices*, of *Prayer* and *Praise*. [Heb. XIII.15. 1. Pet. II.5.] *Calvin* says, *Loquitur Propheta Figuris quæ suæ conveniunt ætati*.¹⁰⁰³

⁹⁹⁸ Both of Mather's main interlocutors agreed that this chapter was mainly directed at the Jews in captivity and to the foreign proselytes who would join them.

⁹⁹⁹ White, *Commentary*, p. 396.

¹⁰⁰⁰ From White (*Commentary* 396), Mather references the Book of Ecclesiasticus (the Wisdom of Sirach) 44:1, 14: "Let us now praise famous men, and our fathers that begat us"; "Their bodies are buried in peace; but their name liveth for evermore."

¹⁰⁰¹ White, *Commentary*, p. 396.

¹⁰⁰² From Lowth's annotation on Isa. 56:4 (*Commentary* 446–47).

¹⁰⁰³ "The prophet speaks in figures that are fitting for his time." From Lowth's commentary on Isa. 56:7 (*Commentary* 448), Mather cites a variant of Calvin's remark in *Commentarii in Iesaiam prophetam*, in *Opera* (3:360). See also Mather's commentary on Isa. 19:25.

Q. Why are the *Beasts of the Field* called upon, to *Come and Devour*? v. 9.

A. The Meaning is, That the Lord with certainly in the Time appointed bring home the *Jewish Outcasts*. But *Israel* must first of all suffer unheard of Cruelties. Their Enemies must handle them as *Wild-beasts* do their Prey. The Wickedness of their *Watchmen* would bring this Fate upon them.¹⁰⁰⁴

A New Chapter should have been begun here.

Here, and in the following Chapter, we have the Sins & Plagues, which issued in the Captivity. First *Pharaoh-necho* made the Land become Tributary. Then Bands of *Chaldeans*, and *Syrians*, and *Ammonite*, and *Moabites* invaded it. [2. King. XXIV.] At last, *Nebuchadnezzar* completed the Destruction.¹⁰⁰⁵

Q. *Greedy Dogs*? v. 11.

A. Hebr. *Impudent*. So, *Naz*, is rendred; Prov. VII.13. XXI.29. *Homer* describes *Impudence*: κύνος ομμάτων *εχων* The *Look of a Dog*.¹⁰⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰⁴ White, *Commentary*, pp. 397–98.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Lowth, *Commentary*, pp. 448–49.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Transl. with context: “Heavy with wine, with the face of a dog but the heart of a deer.” From Lowth (*Commentary* 449), Mather cites Homer, *Iliad*, 1.225; transl.: *LCL* 170, p. 19. In the modern ed. the verse reads: οἰνοβαρές, κυνὸς ὄμματα ἔχων, κραδίην δ’ ἐλάφοιο. The term is ἵγ[az] “strong (strong person); fierce, defiant, shameless.”

713.

Q. Unto what special *Righteous & Merciful* Man, and unto what special *Evil to come*, was it, that the Prophet probably referred, when hee complained, *The Merciful are taken away, none considering that the Righteous is taken away from the Evil to come?* v. 1

Q. It is probable, that the Death of the good King *Hezekiah*, was the Occasion upon which the Prophet uttered these Lamentations.

The *Evil to come*, was the Babylonish Captivitie, which *Hezekiah* must not live to see. The Jewes were bereaved of *Righteous & Merciful* Men, as a Token of their being shortly delivered into the most *unrighteous & unmerciful* Hands in the World, even those of the *Chaldeans*.

If the Prophet had now likewise a Prospect of the *Idolatry* and *Persecution*, which was to bee advanced by *Menasseh*, the Son of *Hezekiah*, this was an *Evil to come*, yett sooner than the other; and the Prophet himself was to have a singular Share in the *suffering Part* of that *Evil*. In the Death of *Hezekiah*, hee might foresee a Storm *coming* upon himself.

The gradual Decrease of good Men, came on so fast, that the Prophet *Jeremiah* sais, Not one Man was left in the City.¹⁰⁰⁸

Q. But how did Christian Antiquity understand this Prophecy? v. 1.

A. *Justin Martyr* in his *Apology*, ha's a notable Hint, which applies this Passage to the Death of our Saviour, & of His Faithful Martyrs. His Words are; "The Prophetick Spirit declared before hand, that both He, and those who trusted in Him, should lose their Lives. I refer you to this Passage in *Isaiah*, *Behold, how the Righteous perisheth, & no Man layeth it to heart; and merciful Men are taken away, none considering, that the Righteous is taken away from the Evil to come; he shall go into Peace, he is taken from among us.*"¹⁰⁰⁹

Q. How, *Inflamed with Idols?* v. 5.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Both White and Lowth interpret this chapter to speak of the corruption and idolatry in the latter times of the kings of Judah, for which Isaiah threatens the people with God's punishment, culminating in the captivity. At the same time, they also understand Isaiah as offering promises of an ultimate restoration. Mather mostly follows this path, but insists on prophetic predictions of Christ in some places.

¹⁰⁰⁸ This entry combines insights from White (*Commentary* 399) and Lowth (*Commentary* 450). Compare Jer. 5:1.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Justin Martyr, *Apologia prima*, cap. 48 [PG 6:399–400; SC 507]; see ANF 1:179.

A. They were *in Love* with their *Idols*. Yea, the *Lusts of Unchastity* were fired in their Worship.

The *Valley of Hinnom* it may be was particularly considered in the *Valleys* here mentioned.¹⁰¹⁰

Q. The Meaning of, *The Portion among the smooth Stones?* v. 6.

A. As GOD is the *Portion* of His People, so *Idols* are the *Portion* of their Worshippers.

If they happened on the Brink of a River to see a *Stone* made *smooth* by the continual Course of the Water, this, as if it had something sacred in it, was thought a proper Place to sett up an *Idol*.

Or, It may be rendred, *In the Divisions of the Brooks*. In the small private Island which happened sometimes to be made, by the Divine Streams of a River they sett up their *Idols*, to perform their Devotions there.¹⁰¹¹

They erected Pillars of *Stone* for Idolatrous Worship, & anointed them with Oil, & poured their Offerings on them. It was hence a Proverb for a superstitious Man, πάντα λίθον προσκυνων· *A Worshipper of every shining Stone*. Tis mentioned by *Clemens Alexandrinus*; Strom. l. 7.¹⁰¹²

[ill.]

Q. Upon a *Lofly & an High Mountain*, Idolaters did *sett up their Bed*. What for? v. 7.

A. To *sleep* there, after the Performance of *magical Rites*, in Expectation of *præsagious Dreams*.

This was likewise the Usage of *Delphos*; *Euripides* mentions it.¹⁰¹³

Or, why not, for criminal Pollutions?¹⁰¹⁴

404?

Q. What is the Meaning of that Passage, *Behind the Doors also, and the Posts, hast thou sett up thy Remembrance?* v. 8.

¹⁰¹⁰ White, *Commentary*, p. 400. Compare Mather's annotations on Isa. 30:33.

¹⁰¹¹ White, *Commentary*, p. 401.

¹⁰¹² Transl. with context: "The same people, who worship every stick and greasy stone." From Lowth (*Commentary* 452–53), Mather cites Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, 7.4.26 [PG 9. 433–34; GCS 52]. The Greek text reads: πάντα λίθον, τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον, λιπαρὸν προσκυνούντες; transl.: ANF 2:529. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

¹⁰¹³ See Grotius (*Opera* 1:328). A reference to the work of the famous ancient Greek tragedian Euripides (c. 484/5–406 BCE), *Iphigenia in Tauris* (1260–69), where it is told how Dream, the daughter of Earth (Themis), gave birth to the nightly dream-visions of men staying at the temple.

¹⁰¹⁴ The last sentence of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

A. God had commanded His People, to write His *Lawes* as a *Remembrance*, on the *Posts* of their *Doors*. Instead of that, the People falling to Idolatries, did there affix *Memorials* of their cursed Idols, that neither going in, nor going out, they might forgett them.

|
4059.

[79v]

Q. What may be the Meaning of that Clause, *Thou hast found the Life of thine Hand*? v. 10.

A. Thou hast found the *Prosperity* of the Business which thy *Hand* has undertaken. *Munster* seems to carry it so.¹⁰¹⁵

But I have seen it thus paraphrased. *Thou are wearied in the Greatness of thy Way*; that is, with thy long Journey's hither & thither; *yett saidst thou not, There is no hope*; thou wouldst not be convinced, that it was all to no Purpose. *Thou hast found the Life of thy hand*; that is, Thou hast found one Means or other still to give *Life* to thy Actions and Endeavours, & so to *strengthen thy Hand*. [A Sermon of Mr. S. Wright.]¹⁰¹⁶

Or, *Thou hast found those that can strengthen thy Hands*.¹⁰¹⁷

Q. How comes in this Promise, for the *Contrite & Humble Spirit*? v. 15.

A. Q.D. Wonder not, that the same GOD who gave His People into the Hands of their Oppressors, is yett solicitous to have them delivered. For, tho' I am a GOD of such Majesty, yett I take Delight in reviving those who I see make a Right Use of the Afflictions which I send upon them.¹⁰¹⁸

Q. What may be meant by, *The Iniquity of his Covetousness*? v. 17.

A. *Jerom* sais, The Hebrew Word, *Betzang*, which we render *Covetousness*, may signify that strong Inclination to Sin, which every Natural Man may find in himself. Be sure, The Jews were notorious Instances of it.¹⁰¹⁹

Q. On that, *I have seen his Ways, and will heal him*? v. 18.

A. Q.D. But now I see his Repentance, I will heal his Wounds, & bring him home in Safety. Thus the Chaldee Paraphrast: *The Way of his Conversion is reveled before me*.

¹⁰¹⁵ Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5337).

¹⁰¹⁶ Mather here cites the work of the English Presbyterian divine Samuel Wright (1683–1746), *A Sermon preach'd at Black-Fryars, on Occasion of the Publick Fast, January 16, 1712* (1712), p. 15.

¹⁰¹⁷ See White, *Commentary*, p. 402.

¹⁰¹⁸ White, *Commentary*, p. 404.

¹⁰¹⁹ בֶּצַח [betsa] “gain made by violence, unjust gain, profit.” From White (*Commentary* 404), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, lib. 16, at Isa. 57:17 [PL 24. 559–60; CCSL 73A].

But *Gataker* proposes, That *his Ways* be those of *his Heart*, mentioned in the foregoing Verse. And so, the Proceedings of *sovereign Grace* are here gloriously exhibited.¹⁰²⁰

1405.

Q. Why is *Peace*, called, *The Fruit of the Lips*? v. 19.

A. When the Lord saies, *I create the Fruit of the Lips*, for them, it is, q. d. *I will afford Matter for them to praise mee, with their Lips*. – The *Praise* of God, is elsewhere called *The Fruit of the Lips*. See Heb. 13.15.

For the *Peace* here spoken of, compare, Eph. II.17.¹⁰²¹

¹⁰²⁰ See *Gataker's* commentary on Isa. 57:18 in *Westminster Annotations*, unpaginated.

¹⁰²¹ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 457. The last sentence of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

Q. The Ministers of God, in Rebuking & Reproving the Sins of their People, are to, *lift up their Voice like a Trumpet*; why, *like a Trumpett*? v. 1.

A. 'Tis true; like the Souldiers of *Gideon*, wee are to carry the *Light* of the Gospel (as *Paul* speaks) *in earthen Vessels*: but at the same time wee must also carry *Trumpets*, to oppose the Enemies of that Gospel. The *Angels* of old, sounded with *Trumpets*, at the *Giving* of the Law; and so must *wee*, at the Breaking of that Holy Law. That is, wee are to make Sinners know, that they are engaged in a desperate *War*, with the Almighty God, while they continue so; and wee are to give them a *Call*, unto their *Bethinking* of themselves, & their *Amending* of their Wayes. This is the *Alarm*, this the *Retreat*, which wee are to sound unto them.

But this is not all;¹⁰²³ Here is an Intimation, That Ministers had need bee Men of most Exact and Blameless Lives; for, why is it said, *lift up thy Voice like a Trumpet*? There are many *louder* things than a *Trumpet*; the *Thunder* is louder, the *Ocean* is louder, in its Noises. But that of a *Trumpet*, is here singled out, because the *Hand*, as well as the *Mouth*, is Apply'd in the Using of it. A Minister must bee a *Boniface* as well as a *Benedict*: hee is to teach, not only *Facienda*, but also *Faciendo*;¹⁰²⁴ otherwise, every Sermon of his, will in the Day of the *last Trumpet*,¹⁰²⁵ but aggravate the Confusion of its unhappy Author, when it shall bee said, *ex ore Tuo, Serve Nequam*.¹⁰²⁶ Indeed, if *wee* miscarry, t'wil bee (what the Wise Man speaks of, *The Righteous falling before the Wicked*) like a *Corrupt Fountain*, & a *Troubled Spring*,¹⁰²⁷ all the Town will bee poisoned with it, as they would if *Rats-bane*, were thrown into the only *Spring* or *Fountain* of the Town.

Q. On the Character here given to the People? v. 2.

A. Some think, the Prophet means They *call'd on* the Holy One *daily*, to Justify the Severity of His Dealings with them; They *desired to know His Ways*,

¹⁰²² Mather generally follows White and Lowth in reading this and the next chapter as containing Isaiah's instructions to the Jewish people on how to perform the duties of repentance and humiliation under their future captivity in order that God might deliver them. But as always he adds typological and moral applications as well.

¹⁰²³ These reflections on ministerial duties seems to have been inspired by a sermon on "St. Paul's Combat" (Sermon 24) by Joseph Hall (1574–1656), in *Works* ([1625], 1808), vol. 5, pp. 331–43. Hall was an Anglican divine and Bishop of Exeter and Norwich, who authored many theological and devotional works as well as satires and moral writings.

¹⁰²⁴ Transl. in context: "[not only] what is to be done, [but also] by doing it."

¹⁰²⁵ These characterizations of a dutiful minister are also used in Mather's *Life of John Eliot* (1691), which he subsequently included in the *Magnalia* (1702), where it appears in bk. 3, pt. 3, "Eliot as a Christian," p. 535.

¹⁰²⁶ "Out of your mouth, you worthless slave!"

¹⁰²⁷ Compare Prov. 25:26.

and the Reason of His treating so harshly, a *Nation which did Righteousness*. They *took Delight* in Contending with GOD, and *Approaching* after an Hostile Manner unto Him.

The *Port-Royal* Translation falls in with such an Exposition.¹⁰²⁸

Q. How did they *find Pleasure, and exact all their Labours?* v. 3.

A. Mr. *Lowth* proposes, to read it; *you find wherewithal to please yourselves, and you are rigorous in burdening of others*. They gratified their own Passions, and oppressed the Poor.¹⁰²⁹

Q. How did they *Fast for Strife & Debate?* v. 4.

A. They were so Degenerate, that when they mett on the most awful Occasions & for the most solemn Exercises, they fell a Quarrelling with one another about their Debts and Mortgages, (as our *Gataker* thinks) and would often be so transported with Passion as to fall together by the Ears.¹⁰³⁰

Or, as Mr. *Lowth* takes it; They *fasted* for the Promoting of *Parties*.¹⁰³¹

Q. The Description of a *Jewish Fast?* v. 5.

A. Here is a compleat one.

They would be dress'd in a most homely Garb, with a close and rough Garment next their Skin; sometimes they stood pensive with a Bending Neck, and Eyes fixed on the Ground. At other times they appeared still more Humble, and prostrated themselves on the Ground, besmear'd their Faces with Dust, and cover'd their Heads with Ashes. Now to what Purpose this Pageantry of Sorrow, if —¹⁰³²

Q. The *Putting forth of the Finger?* v. 9.

A. It alludes probably to some Gesture used in Conversation, for *Mocking*, or *Threatning*.

Or, may it not signify, (as Mr. *Lowth* propounds) the least Attempt, or Essay, towards Invading the Right of others. Compare, Ch. LIX.3.

¹⁰²⁸ From White, *Commentary*, p. 407, where the French translation is cited as follows: "Car ils me cherchent chaque jour et ils demandent a connoitre me voies, comme si c'toit un peuple qui eut agi selon la justice et qui n'eut point abandoner la loi de son Dieu. Ils me consultant sur les regles de la justice et ils veulent s'approcher de Dieu." See the *Bible de Port-Royal* at this verse.

¹⁰²⁹ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 459.

¹⁰³⁰ See Gataker's commentary on Isa. 58:4 in *Westminster Annotations*, unpaginated.

¹⁰³¹ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 459. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

¹⁰³² White, *Commentary*, p. 409. This sentence ends with a long dash.

To putt forth the Hand unto Iniquity, [Psal. CXXV.3.] is, to offer at something which is not consistent with Righteousness.¹⁰³³

[80v]

Q. What, *the Foundations of many Generations?* v. 12.

A. I am sure, *The Foundations of Jerusalem* were laid many Ages ago.

Q. What is meant by a Mans *Doing his own Wayes*, on the *Sabbath?* v. 13.

A. It means, the exercising of his *Trade*; the following of his *Occupation*.

93.

Q. What *Sabbath* is that, the one Keeping whereof, hath so much Blessing engag'd unto it? v. 13, 14.

A. It is true, That the *weekly Sabbath* may lay claim to all of those Promises: but some think that a *Fasting Sabbath* may be also intended. A solemn *Fast* is no less than Twice, in one Verse, Lev. 23.32. called, *A Sabbath*: and that is the *Sabbath* more especially meant in the Beginning of the fifty eighth Chapter of *Isaiah*. Yea, compare an Expression twice used here in the last Verse but one; tis that of, *Doing thy Pleasure*, and, *Finding thy own Pleasure*, on the *Sabbath*. Now look back to the Third Verse, & you have the self-same Phrase, *In the Day of your Fast, you find Pleasure*; which, *Finding of Pleasure* is opposed unto that *Affliction*, both of Soul and Body, required on such a Solemnity.

Q. You will then præserve unto the *weekly Sabbath*, a peculiar Share in the Claim of Blessedness, to him that keepeth it. Well, but in keeping it, we must call the *Sabbath a Delight; the Holy of the Lord, Honourable*. What may be intended in those Clauses? v. 13.

A. My Incomparable Dr. *James Alting*, shoves that our Translation is to be corrected. It is plain, that, *The Holy of the Lord*, is in the Dative Case. The Passage is therefore to be thus translated. *Thou shalt call the Sabbath a Delight*, (or, keep is as a Day of Holy Delight;) *unto the Holy One of the Lord, the Glorified One*. That Name, *The Holy One of the Lord*, is evidently, the Name of the *Messiah*. We find that Name, in the Acknowledgments of *Satan* himself, concerning our Lord; [Mar. 1.24. and Luk. 4.34.] *Satan* fetch'd his Knowledge of the *Messiah* doubtless out of the Bible; and probably, he fetch'd this Name of the *Messiah*, from this very Text of the Bible. The Term of, *The Glorified*, plainly refers to the Glorious & the Triumphant Victory of our Saviour, over the Enemies of our Salvation. [Compare Psal. 8.5. with Heb. 2.7, 8, 9.] It is to be thus taken; The *Sabbath* is to be (as the Words of *Alting* are,) *Delectationi propter Messiam*

¹⁰³³ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 461.

Gloriosum Triumphatorem Mortis.¹⁰³⁴ Even the *Sabbath* under the Old Testament was to be so. The Institution of the *First Sabbath* came in Order of Time, after the Fall of Man, and after the Promise of the *Messiah*, to come and rescue Man from the Misery into which he was fallen, & to Triumph over the Devil. Even the *Sabbath* under the Old Testament, was Instituted, with an Eye unto the Celebration of that Work of *Redemption*.

1034 “For our delight because of the Messiah, the glorious conqueror of death.” Mather here cites Jacob Alting’s *Commentarii theoretico-practici in loca quaedam selecta Veteris Testamenti* at Isa. 58:13, 14 in *Opera omnia* (5 vols., 1685–1687), vol. 2, pp. 119–20. Born in Heidelberg as the son of the famous Reformed divine Heinrich Alting (1583–1644), Jacob Alting (1618–1679) was a professor of Oriental languages and theology at the University of Groningen. One of the most renowned Christian Hebraists of his day, Alting was also a follower of Johannes Cocceius and became embroiled in the controversies with the Voetians (*RGG*).

3088.

Q. How did the Ancients use to gloss upon that Clause, *They weave the Spiders Web?* v. 5.¹⁰³⁵

A. The true Sense of that Clause, is, I conceive, expressed by *Origen*, (in Ps. 38. Hom. 2.) *Omnia quæ textit et agit Peccator, tam nihil esse scias, quàm illa quæ textit Aranea, licet varia videantur et composita, licet exquisitâ quâdam arte digesta. Quanta texuerunt illi Divites, qui antè nos fuerunt; qui Divitias varijs artibus et callidis adinventionibus congregabant, qui magistratus, qui honores, qui consulatus, diversa ambitione querebant, isti omnes Telas Araneæ texuerunt. Tam enim vana, tam frivola, quàm est Araneæ Textrina, fuerunt omnia quæ gerebant.*¹⁰³⁶

Unto the like Purpose, *Jerom*, (or, whoever it was,) upon the same Psalm. *Ille, qui agit quæ mundanæ Vanitati sunt apta, Telas textit Araneæ, iuxta Esaiam Prophetam; hoc est, diu noctuque in Opere vano vacat, et non utilia, sed dissolubilia, et corruptibilia operatur.*¹⁰³⁷ And *Gregory*, (on *Job*;) *Telas Araneæ texere, est pro huiusmodi Concupiscentia temporalia quælibet operari; quæ dum nulla Stabilitate solidata sunt, ea proculdubio Vita mortalis rapit.*¹⁰³⁸

Nevertheless, I may observe to you, That the Ancients frequently made this Text, a Description of the *Sophistry*, wherewith *Hereticks* ensnared the Souls of Men. Thus *Gregory Nazianzen*, and thus *Gregory Nyssen*, particularly, make this

¹⁰³⁵ The following entry is derived from *Bochart, Hierozoicon*, pars. 2, lib. 4, cap. 23 “De Aranea,” pp. 609–10.

¹⁰³⁶ “You should know that all the sinner weaves and conducts is nothing, just as that which the spider weaves, even if it appears varied and orderly, even if it appears arranged with exquisite artistry. How much did those rich men who lived before us weave, who amassed riches through various crafts and clever inventions, who sought after public offices, honors or consulships with all kinds of flattery! All these men wove spider’s webs. For all they did was as vain and frivolous as a spider’s weaving.” From *Bochart*, Mather cites *Origen, Commentarii in Psalmos*, hom. 2, on Ps. 38 [PG 12. 1408–09; SC 411:399–400]. See also *White (Commentary 414)*, who also references *Bochart*.

¹⁰³⁷ “According to the Prophet *Isaiah*, the one who engages in matters of worldly futility spins the spider’s web; that is, by day and by night he is idle in vain work and he toils over matters that are not useful but transitory and corruptible.” From *Bochart*, Mather cites the *Breviarium in Psalmos* [PL 26. 943], a text attributed to *Jerome* but of uncertain authorship, not to be confused with *Jerome’s* brief *Commentariola*, or his homilies on *Psalmos*. A version of the citation was also later taken up by *Bruno Herbipolenis, Expositio Psalmorum* [PL 142. 168].

¹⁰³⁸ “To weave webs of the spider is, on account of lust of this kind, to be busied in any temporal employments; which, whilst they are established with no steadfastness, assuredly are carried off by a mortal life.” From *Bochart*, Mather cites *Gregory the Great, Moralia in Iob*, lib. 25, cap. 19 [PL 75. 1090; CCSL 143B]; transl. slightly altered from: *Morals on the Book of Job* (2:83).

Passage to mean, τὴν μικρολογὸν σοφίαν.¹⁰³⁹ That *little Sophistry*, of the *Hereticks*, whereby Souls of a *lesser Capacity*, like *Flies*, are taken; but Souls of a *greater Capacity*, make nothing to see thro' it, & break thro' it all. | Jerom therefore saies, in one of his Epistles, (139. ad *Cyprian*.) *Super Personâ Hereticorum, Scriptum est in Esaiâ, Telam Araneæ texunt, quæ parva et levia potest capere Animalia, ut Muscas, et Culices, et cætera hujusmodi; a fortioribus autem rumpitur.*¹⁰⁴⁰ When the *Heresy* of the *Monothelites* was condemned by the sixth oecumenical Council, at *Constantinople*, A. C. 681, there were a World of black *Spiderwebs* rained upon the People, which they took as a Token, *quasi Deus tam insolitâ Pluviâ significatum voluisset, Hæreseos Sordes ex Ecclesiâ fuisse rejectas.*¹⁰⁴¹

But *Basil*, (and with him *Ambrose*), applies this Text, unto the Work of *Astrologers*.¹⁰⁴² The Words of *Ambrose* are, *vos, qui validiores estis, cum videritis Mathematicos, dicite*, Telam Araneæ texunt.¹⁰⁴³ And sorry *Flies* indeed they are, that will be entangled in the Conjectures of those Impostors.

Q. How, *Roar like Bears, & Mourn like Doves?* v. 11.

¹⁰³⁹ "Piddling wisdom." From Bochart, Mather cites Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio 25* [PG 35. 1223–24; SC 284]; transl. FC 107:173. The citation appears in the context of one of Gregory's defenses of belief in the Trinity, the center of his theology, and, of course, a matter of greatest interest to Mather against the background of the Arian controversy in England: "Neither show perverse reverence for divine monarchy by contracting or truncating deity, nor feel embarrassed when you are accused of worshipping three gods Even if your power of reasoning are not up to the task, it is still better to falter with rational arguments directed by the Spirit than to adopt easy but impious solutions out of indolence. Be contemptuous of objections and counter-arguments, and the newfangled piety and piddling wisdom; more contemptuous than of spiders' webs, which can snare a fly but are easily snagged by a wasp, not to mention a finger or anything with some mass behind it."

¹⁰⁴⁰ "It is written in Isaiah about heretics: They weave the spider's web, which can capture small and light insects such as flies and gnats and others of this kind, but it is torn by the more mighty." From Bochart, Mather cites Jerome, *Epistulae*, epist. 140, *Ad Cyprianum* [PL 22. 1175; CSEL 56]; transl.: NPNFii 6:282.

¹⁰⁴¹ "As if God had wanted to show with such unusual rain that the filth of the heresy had been cast out of the Church." Mather cites Bochart, who refers to: "*Anastasium, Reginonem Abbatem*". This is likely a reference to the work of the Benedictine and historian Regino of Prüm (c. 840–915 CE), *De synodalibus causis et disciplinis ecclesiasticis* [PL 132. 175–484], written in 906. The Sixth Ecumenical Council or the Third Council of Constantinople (680/681 CE) condemned the teaching that Christ had only one will (monothelitism) and declared that Christ had two wills and two energies (*TRE*).

¹⁰⁴² Basil the Great, *Homiliae in Hexaameron*, hom. 6 [PG 29. 129–32; SC 26]. In his discussion of the creation of the luminous bodies, Basil calls astrology a "pretended science" which "is a true spider's web." He continues: "if a gnat or a fly, or some insect equally feeble falls into it is held entangled; if a stronger animal approaches, it passes through without trouble, carrying the weak tissue away with it" (transl.: NPNFii 8:85).

¹⁰⁴³ "You who are stronger, say when you have seen the astrologers: They weave a spider's web." From Bochart, Mather cites Ambrose, *Hexaameron*, lib. 4, cap. 4 [PL 14. 196; CSEL 32.1]; transl. modified from FC 42:141–42.

A. q. d. Sometimes we cry aloud, at other times we bemoan ourselves after a more silent Manner. Compare, Ch. XXXVIII.14.¹⁰⁴⁴

~~1694.~~

Q. How do you understand that Passage, *when the Enemy shall come in like a Flood, the Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a Standard against him?* v. 19.

A. It is our Lord Jesus Christ, that is here called, *A Standard*, as Hee is elsewhere called, *An Ensign for the Nations*. [Isa. 11.10. compare Psal. 60.6.] The *Cross* indeed, was the *Staff*, on which Hee was first of all display'd; whereto repairing, wee conquer the Enemies of our Salvation. But there is to bee a further Display hereof, in the Day, when, *The Sign of the Son of Man shall appear*.

The Hebrew Word, / צַר / in the Text before us, which wee translate, *The Enemy*, is rather an Adjective, and an *Epithet* of the *Flood* here spoken of.¹⁰⁴⁵ Read it so; *when Hee shall come as a Narrow River* [veluti Fluvius Arctus]¹⁰⁴⁶ *the Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a Standard in Him*. By that Similitude of a *Narrow River*, it is intimated, That the *Kingdome* of our Lord Jesus Christ, must bee at first contracted within smaller Limits, but that it shall bee Increased wonderfully. [Compare Isa. 66.12.] The *Spirit* of God, shall in that Kingdome, render our Lord, the *Banner* of the Nations.¹⁰⁴⁷

¹⁰⁴⁴ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 466.

¹⁰⁴⁵ KJV: "When the enemy shall come in like a flood." NAU: "For He will come like a rushing [רָץ tsar] stream."

¹⁰⁴⁶ "As a narrow river." Mather's transl.

¹⁰⁴⁷ For a similar explanation, see Forerius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5370).

Q. How, *Bring Gold & Incense?* v. 6.

A. The Conversion of the Nations, is expressed, by their bringing of Offerings unto GOD; and their Dedicating of their Wealth unto Him. See Ch. XVIII.7. XXIII.18.

But this will be further verified, – Rev. XXI.24, 26.

What follows, *They shall come up with Acceptance on my Altar*; it may in a Measure be understood of the Offerings brought from the Neighbour Nations, to the Second Temple.

But as Mr. *Lowth* observes, The whole Scope of the Chapter, plainly regards the Coming of the *Gentiles* into the Church, and the Dedicating of their Substance to the Service of GOD.

Nothing is more usual, than for the Prophets to describe the State of the Christian Church, by Representations taken from the Jewish Temple & Service.¹⁰⁴⁹

1846.

Q. That Passage about the Offerings, *They shall come up with Acceptance upon my Altar*: How may it be rendered & further understood? v. 7.

A. It may be rendered, *They shall Ascend upon good Will, my Altar*. And so, it may be understood of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is our *Altar*, with and thro' whom, God is *well-pleased* with us. A pious Writer one Mr. *Tomlyns*, observes, That God here putteth this glorious Name on our Lord Jesus Christ, *Goodwill, my Altar*. What an Encouragement is here to present our Offerings unto Him!¹⁰⁵⁰

Compare Luk. 2.14.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Again, White and Lowth very much disagreed over the interpretation of this and the following two chapters. Mather's main interlocutors were divided over whether the Isaianic prophecies here only related to the restoration of the Jews, or whether they also applied to, as Lowth puts it, "the glorious State of the Church in the latter Days" (*Commentary* 493). Mather generally sides with Lowth and thus implicitly writes against the opinion expressed by White that these chapters of Isaiah "cannot in the literal Sense of the Word be at all apply'd to the Church" (*Commentary* 419).

¹⁰⁴⁹ See Lowth, *Commentary*, pp. 472–73.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Probably the English Presbyterian divine Samuel Tomlyns (1632/3–1700), who published various sermons in the 1680s and 1690s. The citation could not be located, but Mather might be referring to *Jehovah our Righteousness, or, The Justification of Believers by the Righteousness of Christ only* (1696).

Q. How, *Strangers*, – and, *Kings*, – helping them? v. 10.

A. Partly fulfilled in the Assistance that *Cyrus*, and some Successors, gave to the Building of their City, & their Temple.¹⁰⁵¹

But it has a further Accomplishment, in the Regards paid by the *Gentiles*, to the Church, under the Gospel. [Compare, Ch. XLIX.23. and, Zech. VI.15.]

But more yett remains. Rev. XXI.24.¹⁰⁵²

Q. Why, *Gates open continually*? v. 11.

A. Sign of settled Peace. Compare, Ezek. XXXVIII.11.

The Poets thus describe a profound Peace; *Apertis otia Portis*.¹⁰⁵³

But as Mr. *Lowth* observes; The Phrase may withal signify, There shall be such a Confluence of People to the Church, that the Gates must continually stand open to give them Admittence.¹⁰⁵⁴

Q. The Lord saies, *I will make the Place of my Feet glorious*. What is that Place? v. 13.

A. See, Isa. LXVI.1. and, Matth. V.35. and, Act. VII.49.

GOD satt between the Two *Cherubim*, over the Ark, in the Midst of the Temple.¹⁰⁵⁵

Q. What is, *The Glory of Lebanon*? v. 13.

A. The Cedar.¹⁰⁵⁶

Q. How comes in the Promises about *Officers* and *Exactors*? v. 17.

A. To prevent an Objection which might be made by *Zion*. What shall I be the Better, if thou givest me Gold instead of Iron, if I must be governed by such Magistrates as will take it away whether I will or no?¹⁰⁵⁷

What follows, may as Mr. *Lowth* observes, be more plainly expressed, *Thou shalt call Salvation thy Walls, and praise thy Gates*. Gods *Protection* shall be to thee, instead of Walls, and the *Praises* thou art offering alway to Him, in the room of *Gates & Bars*.¹⁰⁵⁸

¹⁰⁵¹ White, *Commentary*, p. 422.

¹⁰⁵² Lowth, *Commentary*, pp. 474–75.

¹⁰⁵³ Transl. with context: “[Let the Chorus ... praise ... justice, laws, and] peace with her open gates.” From Lowth (*Commentary* 475), Mather cites Horace, *The Art of Poetry*, 199; transl.: LCL 194, p. 467.

¹⁰⁵⁴ See Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 475.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 475. Compare Exod. 25:22 and Num. 7:89. The last sentence of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

¹⁰⁵⁶ White, *Commentary*, p. 423.

¹⁰⁵⁷ White, *Commentary*, p. 425.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 478.

Q. On that, *They shall inherit the Land forever?* v. 20.

A. Mr. *Lowth* observes, It must be meant of the Blessed *Millenium*. See Matth. V.5. Rev. V.10. XX.4. XXI.3, 4, 7.¹⁰⁵⁹

¹⁰⁵⁹ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 479.

Q. On that Expression; *For your Shame Double?* v. 7.

A. It seems an Allusion to the Blessing of *GOD* upon *Job*, after his Affliction. [Job. XLII.10. Compare, Zech. IX.12.]¹⁰⁶⁰

405*:

Q. That Clause, *I hate Robbery for Burntoffering*, perhaps it may be read, *I hate a Robber at Burnt-Offering*. What is it? v. 8.

A. Munster has a good Hint.

*Raptorem in Holocausto vocat, qui per Opera sua contendit Iustificare, et rapit id quod Deo est proprium.*¹⁰⁶¹ | But why may not the Passage be a notable and elegant Reference, to the History of *Saul*? [1. Sam. 15.22, 23.] [83v]

Q. On that, *I will direct their Work in Truth?* v. 8.

A. It may be rendred, *I will give them their Reward faithfully*.

The Hebrew Word, *Penulah*, signifies, both, *Work*, and, *Reward*.¹⁰⁶²

See Ch. XL.10. LXII.11.¹⁰⁶³

Q. The import of that Passage; *As a Bridegroom decketh himself with Ornaments?* v. 10.

A. The ancient Jewes *crowned* their married People.¹⁰⁶⁴

The *Bridal Crowns* were commonly of *Gold*, made in form of a *Tower*; as we see a great many Empresses in *Medals*. The Custome is very ancient among the *Heathens* also. The *Christians* have borrow'd it.

Magnisque Coronis Conjugium fit. Claud. de Laus. Serenæ.¹⁰⁶⁵

And the Coronation of the *Bridegroom* is at present, one of the principal Ceremonies of Marriages among the *Greeks*. The sacred Writers have often mention'd it. *Go forth, O yee Daughters of Zion, and behold King Solomon with the Crown, wherewith his Mother crowned him in the Day of his Espousals*. And Monsr. *Basnage* observes, 'Tis very probable, that when *Isaiah* rejoices, that God had *covered him with a Robe of Righteousness, as a Bridegroom decketh himself*

¹⁰⁶⁰ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 484.

¹⁰⁶¹ "He calls him a robber at the burnt-offering who strives to justify himself through his works and steals that which belongs to God." See Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5395).

¹⁰⁶² עֲלָה [pe'ullah] "work, deeds, reward, wages, punishment."

¹⁰⁶³ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 486.

¹⁰⁶⁴ This entry is derived from Jacques Basnage, *The History of the Jews*, lib. 5, cap. 19, p. 472.

¹⁰⁶⁵ "And glorious are the garlands that thy marriage brings." From Basnage, Mather cites the Graeco-Latin poet Claudian (Claudius Claudianus, c. 370–c. 404 CE), *In Praise of Serena* 189–90; transl.: LCL 136, p. 253.

with *Ornaments*; we ought to understand a *Crown*, instead of *Ornaments*. For the LXX Interpreters, who must have known the Use of the Expression, have translated it, *He has putt a Mitre upon my Head, as on a Bridegroom*.¹⁰⁶⁶

Tertullian has, according to his Custom, overshott himself, in saying, the People of God never used *Crowns*, as a public Indication of their Joy.¹⁰⁶⁷

¹⁰⁶⁶ The LXX has: καὶ χιτῶνα εὐφροσύνης ὡς νυμφίῳ περιέθηκεν μοι μίτραν (*NETS*: “he has put on me a headdress as on a bridegroom”). See Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:162).

¹⁰⁶⁷ Mather summarizes Tertullian, *De corona* [PL 2. 76–102; *CSEL* 70; *CCSL* 2].

Q. A *Crown* belongs to the *Head*, and is not worn by the *Hand*? v. 3.

A. Read it, *Thou shalt be as a Crown of Glory through the Hand of the Lord*; That is, By His Power, that shall be manifested in thy Deliverance, & make the Honourable in the Eyes of all the World.¹⁰⁶⁸

Or, as Mr. *Lowth* observes, The Phrase may mean, that GOD will make *Jerusalem* His *Bride*. For it was a Custome to putt a *Crown* on the Head, at the Time of Marriage. [Cant. III.11. Ezek. XVI.8–12.]¹⁰⁶⁹

2360:

Q. What Remark is to be made upon that Name of the Church, *Hephzibah*? v. 4.

A. It may bee rendred, *my Will is in her*; and I find some taking it, as a Prophecy of the primitive Church, in which, *The Will of God*, was the only Rule of all that was done.¹⁰⁷⁰

This Note might be Improved unto great Advantage.

Q. How, *Thy Sons marry thee*? v. 5.

A. It implies, living with their Mother, now she is owned by her Husband.¹⁰⁷¹

***597**

Q. Who are those *Watchmen* that God hath sett upon the *Walls of Jerusalem*, which never hold their Peace, & give Him no Rest, until He make Jerusalem a Praise in the Earth? v. 6, 7.

A. If you agree with me, in granting, That the *Holy Angels* of God, be at least allow'd a Share in this Matter, you will have no less an Interpreter, than old *Jerom*, to countenance your Opinion.¹⁰⁷² Yea, compare Dan. 4.17. and you'l see this Opinion yett more notably countenanced.

¹⁰⁶⁸ White, *Commentary*, p. 433.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 489.

¹⁰⁷⁰ This entry is based on the ecclesiological reading of the name Hephzibah in Stephen Charnock's sermon on *The Stability of the Church*, in *Works* (1:580).

¹⁰⁷¹ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 490.

¹⁰⁷² See Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, lib. 18 [PL 24. 606; CCSL 73A]. Here Mather parts ways with White (*Commentary* 434) and Lowth, who both read this verse primarily in a historical fashion as referring to the Jewish priests and levites, although Lowth allows for a secondary application to the future ministers of the gospel (*Commentary* 490). The possibility of understanding the watchmen as angels is discussed but ultimately rejected by Gataker in his remarks on Isa. 62:6 in *Westminster Annotations*, unpaginated. Jerome's interpretation is mentioned approvingly by Cornelius à Lapide, *Commentaria in Isaiam prophetam*, p. 391.

But then, beware of making the least Encroachment, on the powerful & peculiar Intercession of the Lord Jesus Christ.

[84v] | [blank]

Q. *I, that speak in Righteousness?* v. 1.

A. It is the Answer of our SAVIOUR.

Several Parts of the Prophetic Books we find written in the Form of a *Dramatic Poem*; where several Persons are introduced, speaking by Turns, and answering one another.

This Observation (as Mr. *Lowth* remarks) will sometimes account for the Altering of the Style in the Writings of the Prophets, from the *First* unto the *Second* or *Third* Person.¹⁰⁷⁴

For a Key to the Terms used here, look back to our Illustration of Isa. XXXIV.5, 6.

The Prophets often apply the Names of Places, to the subject Matter they are treating of. So, Joel. III.15. The Nations are summoned unto the Valley of *Jehoshaphat*, because the Word *Jehoshaphat* signifies, *The Judgment of GOD*. Again; Hos. I.5, 11. The Valley of *Jezreel*, and the Day of *Jezreel*, allude unto the Word *Jezreel*, which signifies, both, *The Arm of GOD*, and, *The Seed of GOD*.

Compare, Isa. LXV.11, 12.

Q. Upon this glorious Exhibition? v. 6.

A. It is a little suprizing, to find a Jew, namely *Samuel of Morocco*, considering it as the Speech of our glorious Redeemer to His *Angels*. Complaining of the Injuries He had received from the Jewish Nation, and uttering the Vengeance which He has taken on them, in the Destruction which remains to this Day upon them.¹⁰⁷⁵

Q. How is it said, *In all their Affliction He was afflicted?* v. 9.

A. The Reading, / אֵל / is much præferred by many, before the Written, / לוֹ / And it should be translated accordingly, *In all their Afflictions, there was no Af-*

¹⁰⁷³ Rejecting as groundless the long tradition of reading this and the next chapter in an eschatological fashion, White (*Commentary* 436) asserted that the prophecies had to be read as referring to the future destruction of the Babylonians. Lowth (*Commentary* 493) and Mather insist that these predictions indeed look forward to the latter days.

¹⁰⁷⁴ See Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 495. In his introductory remarks on the chapter Lowth explains: "The Beginning of the Chapter is by Way of Dialogue between the Prophet or the Church, and Christ, where the latter is described as returning to Triumph from the Slaughter of his Enemies, which seems to be the same Scene which was represented ch. XXXIV" (493).

¹⁰⁷⁵ Alphonsus Bonihominis, *De adventu Messiae praeterito*, cap. 12 [PL 149. 348]. In the transl. by Calvert, *The Blessed Jew*, p. 89.

fliction.¹⁰⁷⁶ Various may be the Significations of such an Expression. But this among the rest, is very obvious; They enjoy'd so much Consolation under all their *Afflictions*, as very much to take away the Nature and Burden of them. The *Angel* of the Divine *Presence*, did such Things for them, under all their *Afflictions*, that they might be well esteemed as if they had been just none at all.

It may be extended unto the Benefits, which the Godly gain by their *Afflictions*.

1828:

Q. Who is meant by, *The Angel of His Presence?* v. 9.

A. The *Messiah*.

But then Remember, That it should rather bee Read, *The Angel who is His Face*. Thus the Jewish Rabbins themselves explain it, / מלאך שהוא פניו /¹⁰⁷⁷

Behold, in this one Observation, a golden Key, to open Multitudes of Passages, concerning, *The Face of God*, and, *The Light of His Face*, frequently occurring in the Sacred Oracles.

The *Angel* who led the *Israelites* by the *Pillar*, was no other than the *Logos*, or the second Person in the *Trinity*; which Dr. *Allix* proves to have been the Sense of the Ancient Jews.¹⁰⁷⁸ Tho' He be called, an *Angel*; yett, at other times the Incommunicable Name of, JEHOVAH, is given to Him. See, *Exod. XIII.21. XIV.24.*

When GOD says, *Exod. XXIII.21. His Name is in Him*; it means, His *Godhead*. He is also called, *The Presence of GOD* [*Exod. XXXIII.14.*] And thus we should read; *Deut. IV.37. He brought thee out by His PRESENCE*.¹⁰⁷⁹

[85v]

|

Q. That Passage, *The People of thy Holiness have possessed it, but a little While?* v. 18.

¹⁰⁷⁶ A reference to the *ketiv* and *qere* לֹא [lo] "no, not;" לוֹ [lo] "to him." In the Hebrew text of the Old Testament some words are marked to be read differently than they are written. These two forms are called the *qere* ("to be read") and the *ketiv* ("the written"). Compare Vatablus in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5414).

¹⁰⁷⁷ "The angel who is His countenance." Compare Witsius, *Miscellanea sacra*, vol. 1, lib. 1, cap. 17, pp. 150–52. This is from the middle age Rabbi Bahya's (d. 1340) very popular *Commentary on the Pentateuch* (in his commentary beginning with Ex. 22:24, cf. Ex. 23:23). The same reading is given by Franz Delitzsch in his *Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Isaiah* (vol. 2, p. 420): "in the epeexegetical sense: the angel who is His countenance, or in whom His countenance is to be seen." At 63:9 the LXX has: "not an ambassador, nor a messenger, but himself saved them, because he loved them and spared them".

¹⁰⁷⁸ From Lowth (*Commentary* 497), Mather refers to Pierre Allix, *The Judgement of the ancient Jewish Church against the Unitarians in the Controversy upon the Holy Trinity and the Divinity of our Blessed Saviour* (1699), "A Dissertation Concerning the Angel," sect. 4, pp. 360–61.

¹⁰⁷⁹ The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

A. It may bee read, *For a little While they have possessed the People of thy Holiness.*

Grotius referrs it unto the Possession which *Antiochus* had of *Jerusalem*, for *Three Years & an half*.¹⁰⁸⁰

That Expression, *Trodden down thy Sanctuary*; is explained, Luk. XXI.
24. —¹⁰⁸¹

¹⁰⁸⁰ See *Grotius*, *Opera* (1:337).

¹⁰⁸¹ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 502. The last sentence of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

Q. On this, *As when the melting Fire burneth, the Fire causes the Waters to boil?* v. 2.

A. Mr. *Lowth* propounds the Supplement, between the Two Parts of the Sentence. *As when the melting Fire*, [or, the Fire of the Founder,] *burneth*, and *the Fire causeth the Waters to boil*. This *Flowing down of the Mountains* is compared unto the Melting of Metals by the Force of a vehement Fire, & unto the Boiling over of Water when it is heated.

He propounds, that the following Words be read; *when thou shalt do terrible & unexpected things when thou shalt come down, the Mountains shall melt at thy Presence.*¹⁰⁸²

|
Q. What is meant by, *Those?* v. 5.

A. The *Ways* of GOD, mentioned just before: – Not only His Laws, but the Dispensations of His Providence.

Compare, Mal. III.6.

But it may be so translated; *Behold, Thou art wroth, because we have sinned continually against those [Ways;] and shall we be saved?*¹⁰⁸³

Q. On that, *For thou hast hid?* – v. 7.

A. The Particle, *Ki*, should be translated, *Therefore*.¹⁰⁸⁴
So tis rendred, Psal. CXVI.10.

Thus, the Greek Particle *ὅτι*,¹⁰⁸⁵ should be translated; Luk. VII.47. *Therefore she loved much.*

¹⁰⁸² Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 505.

¹⁰⁸³ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 506.

¹⁰⁸⁴ כִּי [ki] demonstr. particle, “yes, indeed, truly, thus.”

¹⁰⁸⁵ ὅτι [hoti] “that, therefore, because.” See Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 507.

Q. Upon what Score is it said of, *Idolaters, They lodge in the Monuments?* v. 4.

A. The Vulgar Latin has it, *In Delubris Idolorum dormiunt*. Whereupon, tis the Note of *Jerom*, That it was the Usage of the Heathen, to ly & sleep, upon the Skins, of the Beasts, which were slain in Sacrifices, that so Prophetical, Divinatory Dreams might bee infused into them.¹⁰⁸⁷ So *Virgil*, En. 7. de Rege *Latino*.

*Pellibus incubuit stratis, Somnosque petivit.*¹⁰⁸⁸

Yea, *Homer*, in *Odys*. Y.

Χλαῖναν μὲν συνελών, καὶ κωέα τοῖσιν ἔνευδεν. i. e.

*Lana collecta, et Pellibus, quibus indormiebat.*¹⁰⁸⁹

See Suet. Cap. 94. about the Dream of *Atia*, the Mother of *Augustus*, in the Temple of *Apollo*.¹⁰⁹⁰

And *Plutarch*, of the *ceasing* Oracles.¹⁰⁹¹

Q. Upon what account do the Idolatrous Jewes, use that Speech, *come not near me, for I am Holier than thou?* v. 5.

A. The Author of a late *Essay for a New Translation of the Bible*, observes, That our Translators have not sufficiently observed, the Signification of the Word *Kadash*,¹⁰⁹² to be, not only, *To Sanctify*, or *Make Holy*; but also, *To Defile*, or, *Make Unclean*. He thinks therefore, that this Text should be rendred, *come not near me, for I will make thee unclean*. He likewise thinks, that when tis said, *Exod. 29.37. whosoever toucheth the Altar shall be Holy*; and *Lev. 6.18, 27. whosoever toucheth the Offerings made by Fire, unto the Lord, shall be Holy*; &

¹⁰⁸⁶ While adding further interpretative possibilities, Mather generally seems to have agreed with Lowth (*Commentary* 508) that in the first part of this chapter “God answers the foregoing Complaints of the Jews concerning their Dereliction He then rebukes them for their Incredulity, Idolatry, and Hypocrisy, but promises Mercy to those that repent, and gives a Description of that new Jerusalem State”

¹⁰⁸⁷ “Sleep in the temple of idols.” See Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, lib. 18 [PL 24. 632; CCL 73A]. Grotius also refers to Jerome (*Opera* 1:338). Compare also Mather, *Tripuradisy*, p. 190.

¹⁰⁸⁸ “She lies on the outspread fleeces and woos slumber.” Virgil, *Aeneis*, 7.88; transl.: *LCL* 64, p. 9. Mather seems to derive this entry from the work of the Cordoban jurist Francisco de Torreblanca y Villalpando (d. 1645), *Daemonologia, sive de magia naturali, daemonica, licita et illicita* (1623), cap. 25, pp. 146–47. In the chapter where these references appear, Torreblanca expounds on supernatural visions in dreams, distinguishing the dreams of the biblical prophets from the diabolic dreams of pagan idolaters caused by evil spirits.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Greek and Latin: “Then he gathered up the cloak and fleeces on which he was lying.” Homer, *Odyssey*, 20.95; transl.: *LCL* 105, p. 287.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Compare the biography of Augustus in Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars* (94.4).

¹⁰⁹¹ Compare Plutarch’s essay *The Obsolescence of Oracles* (45.434), in his *Moralia*.

¹⁰⁹² קָדַשׁ [kadash] “be holy, to sanctify.”

whosoever shall touch the Offering for Sin, shall be Holy; it should be rendred, shall be unclean. For God forbids coming near the *Altar*, & appoints that every thing whereon some Drops of the *Blood* of the *Offering* did come, should be wash'd in the Holy Place. He ha's the Rabbi's *Solomon*, and *Kimchi*, and the *Chaldee Paraphrase*, and *Flacius*, to countenance him.¹⁰⁹³ It is propounded by Mr. *Lowth*, to read it, *I esteem thee unclean*.¹⁰⁹⁴

Q. In what Sense does the Lord say of those *unholy* Sinners, *They are a Smoke in my Nose, a Fire that burneth all the Day?* v. 5.

A. His Anger shall Smoke and Burn against them everlastingly.

Q. On, the *Cluster?* v. 8.

A. Those, for the Sake of whom the rest are spared, are called, *The Remnant*. [Rom. IX.27. XI.5.] The Apostle alludes to, Isa. I.9. VI.13. VII.3. X.21.¹⁰⁹⁵

1412:

Q. Tis said of the Idolaters, *They præpare a Table for Gad, & they furnish a Drink-Offèring unto Meni*. What is intended? v. 11.

A. *Gad*, was to the Hebrewes, the Chaldees, the Arabians, the same with *Fortune*. The Jewes tells us, That the *Idumeans*, were great Worshippers of this Idol. But lett us receive the Informations of *Jerom*, concerning it;

*Est autem in cunctis Urbibus, et maximè in Egypto, et in Alexandria, Idolatriæ vetus consuetudo, ut ultimo Die Anni, et Mensis eorum qui extremus est, ponant Mensam refertam varii Generis Epulis, et Poculum Mulso mistum, vel præteriti Anni, vel futuri Fertilitatem auspicantes. Hoc autem faciebant et Israelitæ, omnium Simulachrorum portenta venerantes.*¹⁰⁹⁶

Meni, was a Sort of a God, which as wee are informed by *Strabo*, was worshipped in *Armenia*, and *Phrygia*. *Iamblichus* in the Life of *Pythagoras*, mentions it.¹⁰⁹⁷

¹⁰⁹³ See Le Cène, *An Essay*, pars 2, cap. 4, p. 73. Walton's Latin transl. of the Targum at this verse in fact renders the phrase "quia purior te sum" ("because I am purer than you") and thus does not support Le Cène. Compare Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3: 170).

¹⁰⁹⁴ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 512. The last sentence of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 513.

¹⁰⁹⁶ "But in all cities, and first and foremost in Egypt and in Alexandria, there is the old practice of idolatry, and on the last day of the year and in the month which is the last of all, they arrange a table full of dishes of every kind, and a drink mixed with mead, either thanking for the fertility of the past year or looking forward to the fertility of the coming. But the Israelites did this also, revering the miraculous signs of all the idols." Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, lib. 18 [PL 24. 639; CCSL 73A].

¹⁰⁹⁷ The first three paragraphs of this entry, including the citation from Jerome and the references to Strabo and Iamblichus, seem to be derived from the exegetical work of the famous representative of Lutheran Orthodoxy Abraham Calovius (Calov, Kalau, 1612–1686), *Biblia*

The allusion to the Sound of the Name, in the Words of the Commination following, all that Read Hebrew, observe.¹⁰⁹⁸

[87v]

Q. *Another Name: what?* v. 15.

A. The Name of, *Jew*, changed into, *Christian*.¹⁰⁹⁹

Q. On that, *He shall Bless himself in the God of Truth?* v. 16.

A. The Original runs, *He shall bless himself in the God AMEN*. And now compare; Rev. III.14.¹¹⁰⁰

Q. What may be intended in those Words; *There shall be no more thence an Infant of Dayes, nor an old Man that hath not filled his Dayes; for the Child shall dy an hundred Years old, but the Sinner being an hundred Years old, shall be cursed?* v. 20.

A. I find *Heidegger* giving this Gloss upon it; That the Faithful in these Dayes of the *Messiah*, tho' they are but *Children* in Age, will be so improved in *Knowledge* and *Goodness* and *Gladness*, as to be æqual unto those who were an *hundred Years* of Age under the former Dispensation. But now if one be a *Child* in Knowledge, that is to say, in Weakness and Folly of Mind, he shall (tho' he were a *Child for Years*) be as inexcusable, as if he were an *hundred Years* old.¹¹⁰¹

Q. What further Sense of those Words, *The Child shall Dy an hundred Years old?* &c. v. 20.

A. The marvellous Longævity, of the Saints, in the *New Earth*, under the future & glorious Kingdome of the *Messiah*, is here intimated. It is probable, that None of those Happy Saints are to Dy, during the *Millenium*; but like *Enoch*, the Seventh from *Adam*, the Subjects of the Second *Adam*, in that Seventh Age, or Sabbatism of the World, they shall bee Translated still in Gods Time, unto the

Testamenti Veteris illustrata ([1672–1674] 1719], vol. 2, p. 367. Calov, in turn, appears to draw on Spencer, *De legibus*, lib. 3, diss. 2, cap. 2, sec. 2, p. 661. Compare also John Selden, *De diis Syris syntagmata II*, pars 1, cap. 1 (“De Gad seu Fortuna Bona”), pp. 1–15. The further references are probably to Strabo, *Geography* (12.3), where a temple of the God Mên is mentioned, and to the Syrian Neoplatonist Iamblichus (c. 250–c. 330), *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* (109.84), where Pythagoreans are admonished not to sacrifice a white cock since this animal was sacred to the God Mên.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Here the Hebrew word is: מְנִי [meni] “name of god of fate, Meni.” As explained by Lowth (*Commentary* 515): “An Allusion to the Etymology of the Word *Meni*, which is derived from the Verb *Manah*, which signifies to *Number*; such Paranomasia’s are frequent in the Prophets.”

¹⁰⁹⁹ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 516.

¹¹⁰⁰ Compare the explanations of Forerius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5442).

¹¹⁰¹ Mather is drawing here on the work of the Swiss Reformed theologian Johann Heinrich Heidegger (1633–1698), *Historia sacra patriarcharum*, vol. 1 (1667), exercit. 14, pp. 387–88.

Raised Saints, in the *New Heaven* Reigning with our Lord. And so this Text may bee Read, *Illinc non erit amplius etate Infans, aut Senex qui non suam compleat etatem. Nam Puer* [erit, aut censebitur qui] *centum Annos natus morietur; et Peccator* [qui] *centum Annos natus* [moritur] *maledictus erit.*¹¹⁰² Compare v. 22. *As the Dayes of a Tree are the Dayes of my People.* The Chaldee & Greek Version have it, *As the Dayes of the Tree of Life.*¹¹⁰³ Consider, Psal. 92.13, 14, 15.

I call to mind, That the pagan Poets have Passages of this Importance, in their Description of the *Golden Age*.

Old *Ascreus* writes,

Ἀλλ' εκατον μεν παις ετεων περι μητερι κεδνη κλ.¹¹⁰⁴

But, it being most certain, That there will be no *Mortality* in the *New Earth*, which according to the *Promise* of GOD in this Place we are to look for, lett us take a Review of this Text; which according to Dr. *Homes*, is to be rendred so; *There shall be no more thence, an Infant of Days, or an old Man that hath not filled his Days; that the Child* [or, young Man,] *should dy at an hundred Years old.* The Hebrew Particle may be rendred, *That*, as well as, *For.*¹¹⁰⁵ He that is an *Hundred Years old*, is but a *young Man*; has lived but a Tenth Part of the *Thousand Years*, whereto *Life* shall be then extended. And as the *young Man* must not have his *Days cutt off*, so the *old Man* shall fulfil his *Days*. Both *Young* and *Old*, will be found Alive, & be caught up, at the Coming the Lord, and become the Dwellers on the *New Earth*, in the Kingdome of GOD. It is added, *or the Sinner, an hundred Years old should be cursed.* Neither *Young* nor *Old* shall Dy a *Natural Death*; nor shall there be a *Sinner*, who shall bring upon himself the *Curse* of a *violent Death*, for his Crimes.¹¹⁰⁶

1102 “There shall be no more thence an infant of days, or an old man that hath not filled his days. For the youth [it will be a youth, or he will be believed to be one, who] shall die a hundred years old; and a sinner [who dies at the age] of a hundred years will be cursed.” Compare Heidegger, *Historia sacra patriarcharum*, vol. 1, exercit. 14, p. 388.

1103 LXX: κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς ἔσονται αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ λαοῦ μου τὰ ἔργα τῶν πόνων αὐτῶν παλαιώσουσιν; NETS supplies: “or according to the days of the tree of life shall the days of my people be; they shall make old the works of their labors.” The Latin transl. of the Targum at this verse reads: “quoniam sicut arboris vitæ erunt dies populi mei: & opus manuum suarum inveterabunt.” Compare Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3: 172)

1104 “A boy would be nurtured for a hundred years at the side of his cherished mother etc.” From one of the earliest Greek poets, Hesiod (Hesiodus, fl. c. 700 BCE), *Works and Days* 130; transl. LCL 57, p. 97; cited from Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 519. Hesiod was allegedly born in Ascrea, a village at the foot of mount Helicon, and thus the poet is often referred to as “Ascreaus.”

1105 וְאִשֶּׁר [asher] “who, whom, that, so that, if” (the relative particle).

1106 Derived from the work of the English Independent theologian and Hebraist Nathanael Homes (1599–1678), *Apokalypsis Anastaseos: The Resurrection revealed* (1653), sec. 25, p. 223. Inspired by Homes, Mather here parts ways with Lowth who read this verse as implying that although the power of sin and death would be much diminished during the millennium, it would not be altogether extinguished. Lowth writes: “The Words of the Text seem to imply, that the *Millennial State* shall not be free from all Manner of Sin, though there shall be no Place there for Idolatry and Apostacy” (*Commentary* 519). Through the new translation Mather was

Or, Take it so; Tho' the *old Sinner* shall be destroy'd, even by the Flames,
at the Beginning of the Millenium, yett no Saint, either young or old, shall ever
dy at all.

thus able to resolve for himself the contradiction between his hopes for a millennial state free from death and sin and the received understanding of this prophecy.

In the *Triparadisus* Mather takes this up and expands upon it: "There is indeed One Text, which in our Translation seems to militate against all Hope of such *Deathless & Sinless Earth*, as we have been Striving for. We read concerning the New Earth [Isa. LXV. 20] *There shall be no more thence an Infant of Days, nor an Old Man that hath not filled his Days; for the Child shall Die an hundred Years old, but the Sinner being an hundred Years old shall be cursed.* But we must Read over again. Being fully perswaded, that the *Holy People* on the *New Earth*, being the Subjects of the *Second Adam*, would like *Enoch* the *Seventh* from *Adam*, in that *Seventh* Age, or Great *Sabbatism* of the World, be *released* from the *Statute* of *Death*, but be in GODs Time *Translated* into the Holy City: this Text was to me among the *Difficiliora Loca*; Yea, at first one of the *Insolubilia S. Scripturae*." Then follows the citation from Homes and Mather's conclusion: "Thus the Text Asserts & Confirms, the very Thing, which we thought it at first appear'd against" (281–82). Compare also Mather, *Triparadisus*, p. 158.

Q. Who is the Man, of whom it may be said, *He trembles at my Word?* v. 2.

A. What if I should give you this Description of him?

He so *Trembles* as the *Balances* that are in *æquipondio*, when they are one Weight, ready to turn with the Weight of the *Word*. This is one of Dr. *Gells* Glosses upon it.¹¹⁰⁸

Q. On that, *I will chuse their Delusions?* v. 5.

A. q. d. I will punish them in their own Way.¹¹⁰⁹

It was done, when the Scribes and Pharisees were sett over them, who governed them with their *Traditions*, instead of the Word of GOD.

Or, when GOD permitted *False Christs*, and *False Prophets* to impose upon them. See Matth. XXIV.24. Joh. V.43.

What follows, *I will bring their Fears upon them*, was exactly fulfilled, when they crucified our SAVIOUR, for *Fear* of the *Romans*; and that Sin was punished in their Destruction by the *Romans*.¹¹¹⁰

Q. How are those Words to bee understood, *Before shee Travelled, shee brought forth; before her Pain came, she was delivered of a Man-Child?* v. 7.

A. I'll give you a wonderful Answer. R. *Joshua*, in the *Talmud*, reports it, as the Opinion of one *Elias*, That the *Messiah* was to bee Born, according to the Scriptures, before the Destruction of the *Second Temple*: because, *Isaiah* saith of it, *Before shee Travelled, shee brought forth, before her Pain came, shee was Delivered of a Man-Child*; That is to say (saith hee) before the Synagogue, was Afflicted and Destroyed by the *Romans*, shee brought forth the *Messiah*. But yett (saies

¹¹⁰⁷ White argued that this final chapter was solely about the Jews in captivity, promising “those who tremble at the Word of God, a joyful restoration,” while “threatening as certain destruction to the Idolaters” (*Commentary* 455). For Lowth, by contrast, Isaiah was serving here as the mouthpiece of God to answer “the Complaints of the Jews concerning the Destruction of their Temple” by the Romans and to assign “the Causes of his rejecting the Jews, and Calling the Gentiles,” while promising in due time redemption to those who would embrace the true faith (*Commentary* 521). Mather’s comments should be understood as generally building on the basis of Lowth’s interpretation.

¹¹⁰⁸ “In equal counter-balancing weight.” Mather is drawing here on Robert Gell, *An Essay toward the Amendment of the last English-Translation of the Bible*, sermon 15, p. 679.

¹¹⁰⁹ Compare Gataker’s gloss on Isa. 66:5 in *Westminster Annotations*, unpaginated.

¹¹¹⁰ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 523.

hee, like an Infidel Jew,) the *Messiah*, for our Sins doth hide Himself, in the Seas, & in the Desarts, till wee bee worthy of His Coming.¹¹¹¹

But here is indeed, as Mr. *Lowth* observes, a Description of the sudden & wondrous Increase of the Gentile Church on the Rejection of the *Jews*, and the Destruction of their Temple and Worship.

The latter Clause alludes to the Travail of the Hebrew Women; Exod. I.19. Compare, Rev. XII.1, 2, 5.¹¹¹²

[89r]

Q. Upon that, *As one whom his Mother comforteth?* v. 13.

A. I would ask Leave, to mend the Translation here; and read it; *As it is with a Man whom his Mother comforteth, so will I comfort you.* The *Consolations*, which the People of God find in Him, are here compared, first, unto those which the Child ha's from the *Mother*, while in a State of *Infancy*: The *Consolations* of the Infant *sucking at the Breast of Consolations, carried in the Arms, Daundled on the Knees*, of the *Mother*. But in the Verse now before us, the Comparision for the *Consolations* goes on, to those which a MAN receives from his *Mother*. One Reason for it may be, because a *Mother* who sees a Son grown to be a *Man*, & prove a *Worthy*, & an *Useful*, & a *Noted Man*, & one that is unto her, as they said unto *Naomi*, *The Restorer of her Life, & the Nourisher of her old Age*; Her Affection to such a Son will be very passionate, very marvellous; nothing æqual to the Transport of it. A *Mother*, when she has in her Sight, a Son that is a valuable *Man*, and a rich Harvest of all her painful & anxious Nursery, she places a violent Affection on him; such, that no Tongue is able to utter it. She thinks, no *Consolation* too much for a *Son*, that affords her such *Consolations*. However, our God has a Kindness for His People, which exceeds that of such a *Mother*. There may be also this Reason for it; our God is concerned for the Welfare of His People, not only in their more *early Dayes*, but also *all their Dayes*. *When Israel was a Child, then I loved him*, saith the Lord. Yea, and so He will in the *Riper & Later Years* of His People. *Having loved thy own, Lord, Thou will love them to the End, & without End*. Particular Saints find it so; The *seventy first Psalm* contains

1111 There was a widespread debate in rabbinical and Christian apologetic literature about the time of the messiah's coming. Frequently, this debate centered on whether or not the messiah had been prophesied to come before or after the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE, because this decided the possibility of Jesus being the messiah. Quotations similar to Mather's are found in the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Sanhedrin 98a (Soncino, p. 665) and Tractate Yoma 10a (Soncino, p. 44), both citing Mic. 5:2. Both passages actually argue from Scripture that the messiah will not come before the Romans have exerted their destructive power over a certain period of time, symbolized by the nine months of pregnancy in Mic. 5:2 and Isa. 66:7. Mather's quotation might be derived from John Lightfoot, *Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations upon the Evangelist St. Matthew*, at Matt. 24:24, in *Works* (2:244), but Lightfoot does not mention Rabbi Joshua and Elias.

1112 Lowth, *Commentary*, pp. 524–25. The last three paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

their Story, & is fulfill'd unto them. I have thought of one Reason more for it. The Church will be arrived unto *Mans Estate*, and unto *manly Christianity*, when this Word shall be accomplished. When the Church is *come unto a perfect Man, unto the Measure of the Stature of the Fulness of Christ*, Then shall this Word have its full Accomplishment.

I write this Illustration on the Morning, that my own pious *Mother* expired.¹¹¹³

Q. Of what Importance that Expression, *your Bones shall flourish like an Herb?* v. 14.

A. Rather than Deny the Immortality of the *Soul*, wee might almost Assert the Immortality of the *Body*; and bring this Text for the Illustration of our Assertion.

1113 Maria Cotton Mather (b. 1642) died on April 4, 1714. Maria was Increase Mather's stepsister through Richard Mather's marriage to Sarah Hankredge, the widow of John Cotton. Maria and Increase married in March 1662/3. Cotton was the first of ten children. Except for some references to her in the diaries of Increase and Cotton, not very much is known about Maria but she seems to have been much beloved and admired by her husband as well as her oldest son. Both preached sermons on the occasion of her death, in which she was represented as a model of piety. See Silverman, *Life and Times*, pp. 11, 275. Increase's sermon was published under the title *A Sermon concerning Obedience & Resignation* (1714), Cotton's as *Maternal Consolations: An Essay on the Consolation of God, whereof a Man whom his Mother comforteth, receives a Shadow* (1714). In these Maria appears as a devout woman and ideal Puritan goodwife and mother, who was deeply invested in family religion and the spiritual nurture of her children, who regularly read her Bible, frequently performed private devotions, kept days of fasting and prayer, and was always humble and charitable.

The above entry in the "Biblia" seems to have served as the germ for the sermon that Cotton subsequently gave on that same verse, Isa. 66:13. The tenor of the sermon is that the strongest and most tender human affections give us a hint of divine love and comfort. Thus, in the Isaianic prophecies God's promises of consolation to the faithful are metaphorically expressed though images of motherly love. Mather writes: "The *Consolations* which the People of God find in Him, are here compared, First, unto those which the Child has from the *Mother*, while in a State of *Infancy*: the *Consolations* of the Infant, *Sucking at the Breasts of Consolations, carried in the Arms, dandled on the Knees of the Mother*. But in the Verse now before us, the Comparison for the *Consolation* goes on, to those which a *Man* received from his *Mother*. I have the Original on my side, in so mending the Translation; *As it is with a MAN whom his Mother Comforteth*. One Reason for it may be, Because a *Mother* who sees a Son grown to be a *Man*, and prove a *Worthy* and an *Useful* and a *Noted Man*, and one that is to her, as they said unto *Naomi*, *The Restorer of her Life, and the Nourisher of her old Age*; her Affections to such a Son, will be very *Passionate*, very *Raptorous*, very *Marvellous*, nothing will be equal to the Transport of it. A *Mother*, when she has in her Sight, a Son that is a *Valuable Man*, and a *Rich Harvest* of all her painful and anxious *Nursery*; she places a violent Affection on him; such, that no Tongue is able to utter it! She thinks no *Consolations* too much for a Son, that affords her such *Consolations*. ... However, our God has a Kindness for us, which exceeds that of such a *Mother* ... I have thought of one Reason more for it. The Church will be arrived unto *Mans Estate*, and unto *Manly Christianity*, when this Word shall be accomplished. When the Church is *come, unto a perfect Man, unto the measure of the Stature of the fullness of Christ*, then, then shall this have its full Accomplishment" (5–7).

Resurrection, is as Gregory notes, among the Jewes commonly called, *Regermination*, or, *growing up like a Plant*. And it is a Tradition among them, That there is a little Bone in the Bottom of the *Spina Dorsi*, by them called, *Luz*; which Bone, they say, was created by God, of such an Incorrupt and Immortal Temper, that when its ever-living *Power* shall be fermented by a Kind of *Dew* from Heaven, all the Dry Bones of the Body shall bee Reunited, & the Generation of Mankind Recruited. There may bee some *Vanity* interwoven, into this Tradition, but yett it may bee not so much, as at first Sight appears. The *Keel* whereupon the Body at the Resurrection, shall bee Rebuilt, will bee some or other of the *Bones*, that shall *florish like an Herb*.¹¹¹⁴

To wave That, I'l now only mind you, That at this Day, when the Jewes Return back from a *Grave*, every one plucks up the *Grass* from the Earth two or three times, & throwes it behind him, using one of these Passages; either, *They shall florish out of the City like the Grass of the Earth*; or, *your Bones shall florish like an Herb*. The Dead Body, shall from the *Root* in it, bee Reinforced, at the Return of Time.

And what will you say, if I can give you the Experience, of a Vegetable called out of its *Ashes*? The Chymists affirm, That they'l take a Plant, in its most vigorous Consistence, & beat it all in a Mortar, till it bee Reduced unto a confused *Mass*. Then after *Maceration*, *Fermentation*, *Separation*, and other Artificial Methods, there is extracted the *Salt* of the Plant, which as it were in *Chaos*, invisibly Reserves the Form of the Whole, with its vital Principle. The *Salt* is to bee kept in a Glass *Hermetically* sealed; and when you would again see any of these Vegetables, tis but Applying a soft Fire to the Glass, and you'l perceive the Plant by little and little Rise up out of these its Ashes, in its proper form; which upon the Withdraw of the Fire, subsides again where it was before. In *Quercetans* Time this went for a great Secret; but *Gaffarel* tells us, *A present, ce secret n'est pas si Rare*.¹¹¹⁵ I know also, what *Borellus* relates, not only concerning the *Salt* of a Vegetable, but likewise, concerning the essential *Salt*, fetch'd from the Ashes of an Humane Body.¹¹¹⁶ Indeed, I write these things, not without great Suspicion; but they are *Curiosities*.

Compare, Isa. 26.19.

¹¹¹⁴ These reflections on the resurrection are based on John Gregory, *Notes and Observations*, in *Works*, ch. 26, pp. 120–24. Compare also Mather, *Trip paradisi*, p. 186.

¹¹¹⁵ "At present, this secret is not so rare." From Gregory (*Notes and Observations*, in *Works* 123), Mather cites the popular esoteric work by the French priest, doctor of canon law, Hebrew scholar and astrologer Jacques Gaffarel (Jacobus Gaffarellus, 1601–1681) *Curiositez inouyes sur la sculpture talismanique de Persans* ([1629] 1650), lib. 5, nt. 9. "Quercetan" refers to the French physician and scholar Joseph Duchesne or du Chesne (Josephus Quercetanus, c. 1544–1609), who was a follower of Paracelsus and is now chiefly remembered for his alchemical theories.

¹¹¹⁶ This reference is to the French scholar, chemist/alchemist and botanist Pierre Borel (Petrus Borellius, c. 1620–1689), who during his time as the *Médecin ordinaire du Roi* under Louis XIV collected a library of about 4,000 hermetic and esoteric books and manuscripts,

[89v]

Q. On that, *The Hand of the Lord shall be known?* v. 14.

A. I would here once for all propose it unto Consideration; whether by, *The Hand of the Lord*, and so by, *The Arm of the Lord*, in the sacred Language may not for the most Part be more peculiarly intended, *The Holy Spirit of God*, exerting those Operations, which are more peculiar to the Third glorious Person in the eternal Godhead; *The Holy Spirit*, as enlightening, or sanctifying, or comforting His People; or as putting forth His verticordious Influences on the Hearts of Men; or as appearing in the wonderful Works of the *Prophetic Spirit* in the Church of God.

There are notable Reasons, why the *Holy Spirit* of God, should have this Denomination.

of which he published a catalogue in 1654 under the title *Bibliotheca chimica: seu, Catalogus librorum philosophicorum hermeticorum*. Among many other things, he authored a book on the telescope (*De vero telescopii inventore*, 1655) and the botanical compendium *Historiarum et observationum medico-physicarum centuria IV* (1653). The alchemical theory supported by Duchesne, Gaffarel, Borel, and Gregory is that of essential salts to which living organism could be reduced and from which they then could be recreated.

Mather also references the works of both Gaffarel and Borel in *The Christian Philosopher* and the *Angel of Bethesda*, reflecting his overlapping interests in esotericism and the emerging new sciences. As the final sentence of this entry implies, Mather was aware that many, though by no means all, alchemical theories were increasingly viewed with skepticism by the learned. For his attempts to separate valuable from false alchemical theories and to harmonize them with the discoveries of the new sciences through his notion of an all-permeating plastic vital force or *anima mundi*, see Grainger, "Vital Nature and Vital Piety."

Interestingly, Mather uses the same material from Gregory as an introduction for his *Pietas in Patriam: The Life of his Excellency Sir William Phips* (first publ. 1697) which he subsequently incorporated into the *Magnalia*, bk. 2, appendix. Here it is used in a rhetorical manner to compare the art of biography to that of alchemical necromancy: "If such a renowned chymist as Quercetanus, with a whole tribe of 'labourers in the fire,' since that learned man, find it no easie thing to make the common part of mankind believe that they can take a *plant* in its more vigorous consistence, and after a due *caceration*, *fermentation*, and *separation* extract the *salt* of that plant, which, as it were, in a *chaos*, invisibly reserves the *form* of the whole, with its vital principle; and, that keeping the *salt* in a *glass* hermetically sealed, they can, by applying a *soft fire* to the glass, make the *vegetable* rise by little and little out of its *ashes*, to surprisze the spectators with a notable illustration of that *resurrection*, in the faith whereof the Jews, returning from the graves of their friends, pluck up the *grass* from the earth, using those words of the Scripture thereupon, 'Your bones shall flourish like an herb:' 'tis likely, that all the observations of such writers as the incomparable Borellus, will find it hard enough to produce our belief that the *essential salts* of *animals* may be so prepared and preserved, that an ingenious man may have the whole *ark* of Noah in his own study, and raise the fine *shape* of an animal out of its ashes at his pleasure: and that, by the like method from the *essential salts* of *humane dust*, a philosopher may, without any criminal *necromancy*, call up the *shape* of any *dead* ancestor, from the dust whereinto his body has been incinerated" (165). Presumably, then, the above entry was written before 1697 and recycled later by Mather for the biography. From the *Magnalia*, this passage has entered American popular culture through the dramatic use that the writer of horror fiction H. P. Lovecraft (1890–1937) made of it in his *The Case of Charles Dexter Ward* (written in 1927).

The *Holy Scripture* does more than once expressly countenance it.
Behold, a Key to a vast number of Passages in the Bible.

Q. Tis said of the Idolaters, *They purify themselves in the Gardens, behind one Tree, in the Midst*, – In the Original, there is not a Word, of a *Tree*; what is the true Sense of the Place? v. 17.

A. *Macrobius* tells us, That the great God of *Assyria*, was, *The Sun*; and that his Name was *Adad*; which, by Interpretation, saies hee, signifies, *one*. So indeed / אַדַּד / *Ada*, in the Assyrian Tongue, doth signify; from the Hebrew / אַחַד / *Achad*, *unus*.¹¹¹⁷

A greater Testimony for this *Idolatry*, than *Macrobius*, wee find, (saies Mr. *Gregory*) in the last Chapter of the Prophet *Esay*, where God threatens to confound those that, *purify themselves in Gardens behind* / אַחַד / *Achad*: that is, either the *Temple*, or, more likely, some *Idol* erected unto the Honour of the *Sun*; which they placed in the *Midst* of their *Gardens*, where every Spectator might every day behold and admire, the prægnant Effects of the *Suns* daily Influences. This is the Interpretation of *Scaliger*, approved by *Selden*; a duum-Virate of Incomparable Criticks.

Moreover, Here is Mention made of *Mice* bearing a Share in their Abominations. *Lustrations* are the Things here spoken of; and the *Mouse* was reckoned ζῷον μαγικόν, A magical Sort of a Creature.¹¹¹⁸ *Pierius* tells of notable *Charms* made with the *Liver* of a *Mouse*.¹¹¹⁹ And the *Assyrians* wee know, were much give to Exorcisms. But when I have the Liesure to think a little further, I'll tell you more of the Matter.

We may read it, *Behind [the Chappel of] the Sun, in the Midst [of the Garden.]*

Why these Ancient Idolatries are applied unto latter Times, there may be a Reason, in the *Romish Idolatries*, which are the same in a New Edition.¹¹²⁰

2064.

Q. That Expression, *The Carcases of the Men that have Transgressed against mee*: Have you mett with any Notable Gloss upon it? v. 24.

¹¹¹⁷ “One.”

¹¹¹⁸ Transl. provided by Mather. Commentary from John Gregory, *The Assyrian Monarchy*, in *Works*, p. 198. From Gregory, Mather refers to the Latin grammarian and philosopher Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius (fl. 400 CE), *Saturnalia* (1.23); John Selden, *De diis Syris syntagmata II*, pars 1, cap. 6 (“Moloch”), pp. 87–88; and the work of Joseph Justus Scaliger, *Notitiae in fragmenta graece*, in *Opus de emendatione temporum* ([1583] 1629), p. 39.

¹¹¹⁹ From Gregory, a reference to the work on Egyptian hieroglyphics by the Italian Renaissance scholar Piero Valeriano Bolzani (Pierius Valerianus, 1477–1558), *Hieroglyphica, sive de sacris Aegyptiorum literis commentarii* (1556), “De Fibre,” p. 99.

¹¹²⁰ Lowth, *Commentary*, p. 529. The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

A. I have mett with a Rabbinic one.

If you consult the Original, you'l find, that it is not, *The Men which have Transgressed against mee*, but, *The Men which do Transgress against mee*.

Accordingly R. *Huna*, in the Name of R. *Simeon* observes, *Dicit in prasenti, quia non relinquunt Peccata sua ἐν βά [* torn]* They don't leave Sinning in *Hell*.¹¹²¹

[90r] |

Q. On that, *Their Worm shall not die?* v. 24.

A. The famous Mr. *Leibnitz* finds himself compelled by the most accurate Observations, to beleve, That the *Souls* of Men, are before their *Nativity* from their Parents, originally united unto *organized Machines*; and that what we call *Generation* is but the Unfolding & Augmenting of those *Machines*; and that notwithstanding the *Mortality* of Men, these *organized Machines* are still præserv'd & surviving, tho' Death ha's reduced them to a Minuteness that is as Imperceptible as it was before they were born. Some are perswaded, That the *primitive Subject*, unto which the *Soul* is united, goes out of the Body together with it, in its Expiration.¹¹²²

1121 "It is spoken in the present tense because they do not leave their sins in hell." From an unknown source, Mather cites a Latin and Greek translation of *Midrash Tehillim* (*The Midrash on Psalms*, vol. 1, p. 34, on Ps. 1). The final words of the Greek are lost in the gutter of the manuscript. But it seems to be ἐν βάθει [en bathei] "in the depth." The term βάθος has a wide semantic range and may be used here to refer to hell. Compare Rom. 8:39; Aristotle, *De sensu et sensibilibus* (440a14), in *Parva naturalia*. Compare Christopher Cartwright, *Mellificium hebraicum*, lib. 1, cap. 4, p. 1287, on Isa. 66:24. However, Cartwright's Latin text differs from Mather's and does not give the Greek term. In this context, Cartwright mentions a similar rabbinic source in the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Erubin 19a (Soncino, pp. 129–32), where different rabbis discuss the nature of hell and paradise.

1122 Mather is here referring to an early version of the theory of monads developed by Gottfried Wilhelm Freiherr von Leibniz (1646–1716) in response to Cartesian dualism. In 1695 Leibniz published an essay entitled "Système nouveau de la Nature," in the *Journal des Savantes* (27 June–4 July), also published independently as *Système nouveau de la nature et de la communication des substances, aussi bien que de l'union qu'il ya entre l'âme et le corps*. In this work Leibniz argued not only that all living beings are endowed with an immortal soul but also that the material universe was composed of indivisible and indecomposable units. Later Leibniz developed this theory into his famous monadology that defined the ultimate elements of the universe as monads that existed in different forms of complexity, with rational souls and God as the highest manifestations. Monads were thought of as ontological substances of irreducible simplicity, which existed completely independent of each other. Interactions only appear to be taking place between different monads and thus among body and soul. Instead, by virtue of Leibniz's famous principle of pre-established harmony, each monad followed an inherent *telos* peculiar to itself, which, however, reflected the general laws of the universe. For a modern edition, see *Monadology*, in *G. W. Leibniz Philosophical Essays*, transl. by Roger Ariew and Daniel Garber (1989).

Leibniz original essay was incorporated into the entry on Hieronymus Rorarius in Pierre Bayle's (1647–1706) *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (first ed. 1697), which was first translated into English in 1702. Here and elsewhere in the "Biblia" (see Smolinski's annotations in *BA* 1:596), Mather seems to have gleaned his knowledge of Leibniz's monadology from Bayle. In

This *original Machin* is of a *vermicular Form*; as is known to them that have examined it in the *Microscope*. Truly, *Man is a Worm*, without a Metaphor.

I have heard a *Virtuoso* propose it, as a Matter of Enquiry, whether the never-dying *Worm* in the Prophecy now before us, may not be meant of that *organized Machin*. Tho' the *Devouring Fire* & the *Everlasting Burnings* here foretold as the Punishment of the Wicked, be so consuming an Element, yett the *original Vehicle* whereto their Souls are united, shall remain unconsumed; It shall have a lasting Subsistence, & Residence, & Confinement, in that *uneasy Element*. A Tender of a *philosophical Illustration* may now and then gratify our more curious Readers.¹¹²³

| [blank]

[91v]

the annotation above Mather summarizes a long citation from Leibniz's original essay that appears in *General Dictionary, historical and critical* (1734–1740), vol. 8 ("Rorarius"), p. 767.

1123 This might be a reference to one of the "Curiosa Americana" that Mather himself sent to the Royal Society. He is possibly referring to a letter sent in 1716 (MS draft communication on "Monstruous Impregnations" to Dr. John Woodward, 2 July 1716; *MHS*; MAP, Reel 7, fr. 0564), in which he sought to combine the idea of monads with his theory of an all-permeating vital force or plastic force. See Silverman, *Life and Times*, p. 252.

Q. The Term of the Prophet *Jeremiah's* Prophesying? v. 3.

A. More then Forty Years, in his own Land. How long in *Egypt*, we know not. *Munster* adds a sad Remark, on this Collection of his Prophecies; *Tandemque in Codicem scribens, diu quidem se prædicasse Verbum Dei ostendit, sed nihil promovisse tanto Tempore.*²

Q. On that; *Before I formed thee in the Belly, I knew thee?* v. 5.

A. 'Tis a Remark of M. *Dacier*; "That *Plato* had a particular Knowledge of the Sacred Writings, appears by many Passages in his Works, and by his Errors themselves. His erroneous Opinions proceed in some Sort from that Source of Light which dazzled him, & on which he hath spread so much Darkness. That of the Creation of *Souls* before *Bodies*, seems to have had no other Foundation, than that Passage of *Jeremiah*, where GOD saith to this Holy Prophet; *Before I formed thee in the Belly, I knew thee*. This Philosopher, not understanding that *GOD calls Things that are not* as if they were, and that He knows not only all that is, but also all that shall ever be, built on this Text, that Error of his, that *Souls* existed before *Bodies*."³

1 Mather tends to read the prophecies of Jeremiah as having their primary fulfillment in events leading up to and immediately following the Babylonian captivity, which he understood as God's punishment of the Jewish people for their idolatry and sins. Likewise, he understands Jeremiah's promises of future restoration to be referring primarily to the return from captivity and rebuilding of Jerusalem. As he does in his annotations on Isaiah, Mather nevertheless firmly rejects a purely historical-contextual interpretation. He insists that many of Jeremiah's prophecies have a secondary and even tertiary fulfillment in Christ, the gospel times, and the eschaton. In this, Mather would have found himself in agreement with the *Commentary upon the Prophecy and Lamentations of Jeremiah* published by William Lowth in 1718. It is clear, however, that Mather never got a hold of this work, of which he surely would have made good use. In it, Lowth helpfully explains the difficulties involved in such a hermeneutics of multiple fulfillments, when he writes that Jeremiah's prophecies "which were uttered near the Times of the *Babylonish* Captivity, or before the People's Return from it, do so intermix the Promises relating to their first or second Restoration, that it is no easy Matter to discern the Transition from one to the other: the like Ambiguity may be observed in many Prophecies, relating to the first and Second coming of the *Messias*" (44).

2 "And when he finally wrote in his scroll, he revealed that although he had preached the word of God for a long time, he had not advanced anything during this whole period." This quote is from Sebastian Münster's commentary on Jeremiah, which was originally published in his *Hebraica Biblia* and later included in the fourth volume of Pearson's *Critici Sacri*, from which Mather likely cites. See Münster in Perason, *Critici Sacri* (4:5466).

3 With slight variations, a citation from the English translation of André Dacier's *The Works of Plato Abridg'd: With an Account of his Life, Philosophy, Morals, and Politicks* (1701), p. 141. A member of the Academy of Inscriptions and the Académie française, Dacier (1651–1722) was a distinguished French classicist and editor of the Delphin series of classical texts. He also served

Q. What special Emphasis may there be in those Words of the Prophet; *Ah, Lord God; Behold, I cannot speak, for I am a Child?* v. 6.

A. The Hebrew Particle, which we render, *Ah*, is אַה *Aha*.

Now, tis a Fancy that *Furitiere* ha's in his great *Lexicon*; when he speaks of the Letter, *A*: Tis the first Articulation of Nature, and the first Sound, the first Cry, of our Infants. He thinks, that *Jeremiah* here, humbly professing himself to be yett in the State of *Infancy*, begins with using the, *A, A, A*, of Infancy; as if he were able to say nothing but, *Ah, Ah, Ah*, like the poor Incipient and Balbutient Infants.⁴

Q. What was the *Rod of an Almond-Tree*, in the first, & the *seething Pott with its face towards the North*, in the second, Vision of *Jeremiah*? v. 11, 13.

A. A learned Man, *J. H. Ursin* by name, ha's written a whole Discourse, to prove, that it was, nothing more nor less, than, *A Blazing Star*. God call'd him forth, & bidding him, *look*, to the Northward early in the Morning, hee saw a *Comet*; only the *Blaze*, or *Stream* of it, here was the *Rod*; above the *Horizon*. A little after, at the Call of God, coming forth to *look*, hee saw more; even the *Star* itself, or the *Nucleus* & *Body* of the *Star*, as well as the *Coma* of it, risen above the *Horizon*; here was the *seething Pot*, sending up the *Blaze* of the *Star* towards the *North*. The Prophet compared this Object, unto an *Almond Rod*, because it had not only a Resemblance to a thing of that Figure, but also because the Rulers and Judges of the Jewish Nation, carried such *Rods* with them, both as Intimations of the *Blowes*, with which their Justice was to smite all Delinquents, and of the *Watchfulness* which they were to use in Executing of those *Blowes*.

as the keeper of the library of the Louvre. The citation comes from Dacier's introduction to "The Life of Plato" in which, after a short biographical account, Plato's philosophy is explained in terms of the *prisca theologia* tradition: "Plato received all these Ideas from the Traditions of the Egyptians, who had 'em from the People of God, and the Ancient Patriarchs. But in the process of Time, these Traditions were so corrupted by those Idolaters, and mix'd with so many Errors, that 'tis not to be wondered that Plato has explain'd one and the same Truth by Descriptions so different as those of his *Phædon*, his *Gorgias*, and the last book of the *Republic*" (138). On this basis Dacier interprets many of Plato's ethical and metaphysical ideas, including the notion of the soul's creation before the body and its ongoing reincarnations (see bk. 10 of *Politeia* or *The Republic*), as corrupted version of the truths revealed by God to Moses and the Hebrew prophets.

⁴ Mather is here paraphrasing parts of the opening paragraphs of the article on the letter "A" in Antoine Furetière's *Dictionnaire universel* (unpaginated). Furetière (1619–1688) was a French polymath and literary author, who in 1662 became a member of the Académie française and began to join the work on the great universal dictionary that had been occupying the academy for almost three decades. Dissatisfied with the format and the slow progress of the project, Furetière began to edit his own rival dictionary. When he announced the completion of his *Dictionnaire universel* in 1684, the academy accused him of plagiarism and stopped him from publishing the work in France. Consequently, Furetière's great lexicon, which would go through six more editions in the eighteenth century, was first published in The Hague and Rotterdam in 1690 by Pierre Bayle after the death of the author.

Virga Amygdalina Celeritatem Vindictæ indicat, floret enim hæc arbor antè alias; as *Theodoret* expresses it.⁵ *Cyrillus Alexandrinus* adds, *Nuceam Virgam Capiti suppositam, Vi Naturali efficere Vigilantiam.*⁶ But, why the Body of a *Comet*, should bee compared unto an opened *seething Pott*, many Reasons might be given, which perhaps, this Author himself never thought of. See the Ingenious Mr. *Hook*, in his Collections, where the Hypothesis of *Comets* that hee gives in the first of his Tracts, called, *Cometa*, will very much illustrate the Agreeableness of such a Similitude;⁷ A *Comet*, being but an opake Body, like a *Pott* or an *Oven*, full of Fire, now opened, & so steaming out.

2342:

Q. What *Hieroglyphical* Reason may bee given, why the *Rod of an Almond tree*, must, in the Visions of the Prophet, represent the Judgments of God?

A. *Jerom* ha's a Gloss to this Purpose upon it; As the *Almond* hath an harsh, and an hard, *Shell*, but a sweet *Fruit*, when wee are gott past that *Shell*; so, the Castigations that God employes upon us, are for the Prophet *bitter* enough, but

5 "The almond rod symbolizes the swiftness of the punishment, for this tree is in blossom before the other ones." A citation from the Lutheran theologian and scholar Johannes Heinrich Ursinus (1608–1667), *S. Jeremie, virga vigilans et olla succensa occasione terribilis nuper visi cometæ* (1665), p. 12. Not to be confused with the Heidelberg theologian Zacharias Ursinus (1534–1584), Johannes Heinrich Ursinus served as dean of Regensburg and rector of Mainz. Johannes Heinrich Ursinus was the author of *Arboretum biblicum* (1663), a work on the scale of Bochart's *Hieroicon*; yet whereas Bochart followed the animals, Ursinus turned his humanist inquiry to the plants of the Bible (*ADB*). Ursinus refers to Theodoret of Cyrus, *In divini Jeremie prophetiam interpretatio* [PG 81. 496–760, here 501–02].

6 "A twig of the nut tree attached to the head causes watchfulness due to its natural powers." From Ursinus (*S. Jeremie, virga vigilans* 12), a citation from Cyril of Alexandria (Cyrillus Alexandrinus, c. 375–444), Bishop of Antioch and an important theologian in the christological discussion of the Council of Ephesus (431), probably from *De adoratione et cultu in Spiritu et veritate*, lib. 10 [PG 68. 676].

7 A reference to Robert Hooke's work *Cometa*, published in *Lectures and Collections* (1678), pp. 1–55. The British natural philosopher, polymath, inventor, and leading member of the Royal Society (curator of experiments and member of council), Robert Hooke (1635–1703) played a significant role in the scientific revolution. He did important theoretical and empirical work in the fields of mechanics, microscopy, biology, gravitation, and astronomy. Hooke's *Cometa* is based on his telescopic observations of comets first in 1664–65 and then in 1677. It argues that comets did not move within the earth's atmosphere, but were small celestial bodies whose movements, like that of planets or stars, were dictated by the law of gravity. Their fiery nuclei consisted of solid matter that underwent progressive dissolution or combustion, a process in which the blaze or trail was exuded. Comets were visible to us partly by reflecting sunlight, partly through their own light generated in the combustion. Mather is probably alluding to Hooke's observations on the solid surface and fiery nucleus of the comet that made the "seething Pot" an apt comparison. While drawing on current scientific research, Mather's understanding of the comet as a sign from God ultimately remains tied into a providential framework of interpretation, which, however, Hooke himself disapproved of. For further discussion, see the Introduction.

if wee bear them well, wee shall at last find a wonderful *Sweetness* in the Effects
of them.⁸

| [blank]

[1v]

⁸ A reference to a passage in Jerome's *Commentarii in Jeremiam*, lib. 1, at Jer. 1:11–12 [PL 24. 685; CSEL 59; CCSL 74]. In translation it reads: "The Lord corrects in order to amend. And like a nut or an almond has the hardest shell and is enclosed by the toughest husk so that the sweetest fruit can be found when you've taken the bitter and hard parts away: Thus every correction and every effort at self-control appears to be bitter at the time. But it bears the sweetest fruits. From there comes also that old word: The roots of the Scriptures are bitter, the fruits sweet." Jerome's gloss is also cited by Johannes Heinrich Ursinus (*S. Jeremiae, virga vigilans* 12), but it seems that Mather wrote this entry earlier than the preceding one, for which he used Ursinus's work.

Q. What are the *Heavens*, which the Lord calls upon to bee *Astonished*, at the Apostasy of His People? v. 12.

A. The *Angels*.

And, what wee read *And bee horribly afraid*, the Vulgar Latin with some Reason, reads, *And yee Doors thereof*—that is, yee *Door-Keepers* of the Heavens:—Do you mourn, like those that are *very desolate*.⁹

{1415:}

Q. That Argument, *Is Israel a Servant? Is hee a Homeborn Slave?* Where is the *Emphasis* of it? v. 14.

A. Had *Israel* any Occasion, to sell themselves, thro' *Poverty*? Was *Poverty* any Temptation unto them, to become *Idolaters*? Compare Deut. 15.12. —

Or, were they not born of *Sarah*? Their Mother was not such an one, that their Birth should entail Slavery upon them.¹⁰

{1416:}

Q. What were the *Waters of Sihor*? v. 18.

A. The Waters of *Nilus*. The People thereabouts, called that famous River, Σείρις

The *Waters of the River*, mentioned in the Close of the Verse, are, those of *Euphrates*. To *drink of their Waters*, was to take up their Errors, Manners, and Worship, & by this Compliance, to obtain their Help.

The *Nile* might be called, *Sihor*, from the Blackness, or Muddiness of the Waters; For *Sihor* signifies *Black*.¹¹

I wonder that the LXX here ha's the Name *Geon*. Some have thought, they were of that Ridiculous Opinion, That *Geon*, or *Gihon*, mentioned among the Rivers of *Paradise*, was the same with the *Nile*. But perhaps the True Original Reading was γῆϊον *Geion*, that is, earthy and muddy; which very well answers the Hebrew *Sihor*.¹²

⁹ See Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5478), and Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:180); The VUL has: "Obstupescite, caeli, super hoc: et portae ejus ..."

¹⁰ See Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5478).

¹¹ See Grotius and Vatablus in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5472–78).

¹² שִׁיחֹר [shichor]; LXX: Γῆϊον; KJV: "Sihor;" ESV: "Nile." See Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:182). Mather seems to base these explanations on the work of Hiob Ludolf, *Ad suam historiam aethiopicam antebac editam commentarius* (1691), which has an entry (no. 56) on "Cur Nilus Erronee Geon vocetur" (pp. 119–20). Gihon is mentioned as one of the four rivers (Euphrates, Tigris, Pison, and Gihon) of paradise in Gen. 2:13. Mather discusses the rivers of

Q. Whence that Expression of, *Washing with Nitre?* v. 22.

A. Buxtorf tells us, *septem sunt Species, quæ auferunt Maculas, apud Talmudicos, inter quas est נתר Nitrum*.¹³ And, If *Nitre* bee mixed with Earth, it makes an Abstergent, like *Soap*.¹⁴ The scouring Faculty of it, wee see, was well-known unto the Ancients; &, some say, tis well worthy again to bee brought into Use. | [2v]

The *Sope* here spoken of, is in the Hebrew *Borith*. And *Jerom*, who lives in those Parts, tells us, That it was *Herba Fullonum, quæ in Virentibus et Humectis Palestina nascitur Locis*.¹⁵

Q. That Invitation, *O Generation, see the Word of the Lord*; unto what may it refer? v. 31.

A. *Josiah*, had, (and this by Means of *Jeremiahs* Father) a little before this, found the original Volumn of the *Law*, which, you know, was an Occasion of much Discourse and Action, throughout the Kingdome.¹⁶

Tis true, *Jeremiah* himself was not then come to *Jerusalem*; and therefore, not *hee*, but *Huldah*, was consulted on that Occasion. Hee spent his younger Years, in Preaching to his own Countreymen, at *Anathoth*; until his Townsmen going to kill him, hee afterwards went unto *Jerusalem*: [Herein a Type of our Lord Jesus Christ:] altho' the Lord assured him, that hee should there meet with rougher Dealing; and, if the *Footmen* of *Anathoth*, wearied him, what would hee do with the *Horsemen*, of *Jerusalem*?

However, tis more likely, that these Words of the Prophet, had a Reference to the Copy of *Moses*, newly then found, than that hee pointed at the Pott of *Manna*, as the Jewes have supposed.¹⁷

paradise as part of his lengthy essay on the Garden of Eden in his annotations on Genesis (*BA* 1:444–74; on Gihon, pp. 460, 470).

13 “There are seven kinds which remove stains, according to the Talmudic commentators, among them נתר *nitro*.” Mather takes this definition from Buxtorf, *Lexicon chaldaicum, talmudicum et rabbinicum*, col. 1411. Buxtorf translates a passage from the Mishnah, which is incorporated in the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Niddah 61b–62a (Soncino, p. 435).

14 בִּרְיָה [borith] “lye, alkali, potash, soap” used in washing.

15 “The fullers’ herb, which grows in the moist and green places of Palestine.” Mather cites Jerome from Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5478). Grotius paraphrases Jerome’s gloss in *Commentarii in Jeremiam*, lib. 1 [PL 24. 693; CSEL 59; CCSL 74].

16 Compare 2 Kings 22.

17 Mather’s here cites the explications on the second chapter of Jeremiah in *A Chronicle of the Times, and the Order of the Texts of the Old Testament* (1647) by John Lightfoot, in *Works* (1:116). From Lightfoot, reference is made to a topos in rabbinical literature, according to which the pot of manna, which Moses put into the Ark of the Covenant together with the Tablets of Law (Exod. 16:32), represented both the spoken Word of God and his provision and caring love for Israel. That is why some Rabbis explain that Jeremiah showed the pot of manna to the people to remind them of God’s provision for those who study the Torah. Rashi’s commentary on Exod. 16:32 reads: “He brought out to them the jar of manna. He said to them, ‘You! See the word of Hashem!’ It does not say ‘hear,’ but rather ‘see,’ ... ‘With this ... your ancestors sustained

Only, it may be a Doubt in Chronology raised from v. 18. whether *Judah* had any League with *Egypt*, in *Josiahs* Time. This, as no Scripture Asserts it, so no Scripture Denyes it; the Thing is for all Circumstances probable enough: And, saies my Dr. *Lightfoot*, what if *Josiahs* Death by the King of *Egypt*, were a Temporal Punishment, for his Reliance upon *Egypt*?¹⁸

{4***}

Q. What is the Meaning of that Passage, *I have not found it by secret Search*? v. 34.

A. The Clause præceding, is, *In thy Skirts is found the Blood of the Souls of poor Innocents*. Now, *Munster* shewes that what we render, *I have not found it, by secret Search*, is to be rendred, *Thou hast not found them in breaking up [an House;]*¹⁹ In which Case any one might have killed them. It alludes, he thinks, to the Law, *Exod. 22.2. If a Thief be found Breaking up, and be Smitten that he dy, there shall no Blood be shed for him*. Whereas the *Blood* of these *Innocents*, was more publickly, & openly, & barbarously shed. Barbarous Murders were committed upon them.

themselves; the Omnipresent has many emissaries to prepare nourishment for those who fear Him.” (Sapirstein, p. 196.) Rashi refers to the *Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael*, *Tractate Vayassa*, ch. 6, on that verse (Lauterbach, vol. 2, p. 126).

¹⁸ See *Lightfoot*, *A Chronicle of the Times* (*Works* 1:116). According to 2 Kings 23, King Josiah (who ruled the kingdom of Judah from 639 to 609 BCE) undertook a great religious reform (c. 620 BCE), which was motivated by discovery of “the book of laws,” generally considered some form of Deuteronomy. Josiah was killed in 609 BCE at Megiddo while trying to block the army of Pharaoh Neco II from helping the last remnant of the Assyrian Empire against the rising power of Babylonia (2 Kings 23:29). The Book of Chronicles (2 Chron. 35:20–27) gives a longer account of the events and states that the king’s death was the result of not having listened “unto the words of Necho from the mouth of God” when Neco, Josiah’s former ally, said: “I come not against thee this day, but against the house wherewith I have war: for God commanded me to make haste: forbear thee from meddling with God, who is with me, that he destroy thee not.” (*HCBD*).

¹⁹ See *Münster* in *Pearson*, *Critici Sacri* (4:5471): “... *In secreto non invenisti*] Seu potius in suffossione.”

Q. An Hint upon *Idolatri* being so often compared unto *Adultery*? v. 1.

A. It leads one to such a Thought as this, lett a *Church* keep it self pure from all Tendencies to *Idolatri*, and admitt no *Superstitions*, have no *Idols*; Then her espoused Saviour will make the more frequent & gracious *Visits* unto her; will grant her more Communion with Him. The Effects of these *Visits* will be wonderful; especially in His Blessing of His Ordinances, and giving them to obtain the glorious Ends thereof on the Souls of Men. A *Church* wherein *Idols* are entertained, provokes our Saviour to withdraw from it; and the *unvisited* Souls of the People there, are left under an horrible Inundation of Impiety. Oh! That this were more thought upon!

Q. That Passage, *Behold, thou hast spoken, & done evil Things, as thou couldst?* v. 5.

A. The Lord is, in the preceding Verse, exhorting the People unto *Repentance*. The Expression of *Repentance*, which He demands from them is, *To cry, my Father, thou art the Guide of my Youth*. Upon this follow the Words now before us, which in the Original are, *Behold, thou hast spoken, thou hast done evil things, and thou hast prevailed*. Now the full Sense of these elliptical Expressions is this; *Behold, thou hast spoken* according to my Direction, and altho' *thou hast done evil things*, yett *thou hast now prevailed* for the Turning away of my Anger from thee.²⁰

Q. How, *Feed them with Knowledge and with Understanding?* v. 15.

A. Mr. *Jeremiah Dyke*, employs this, as a Direction for Preachers, to speak unto the *Understanding* of their People; preach so plainly as to be well *understood* by the People.²¹ The People can't be fed with *Knowledge*, if they be n't fed with *Understanding*, and han't the Truth so Tendered to them, as to be *Understood* by them.

Some who observed *Austins* Books against the *Manichees*, to be written in such Terms of Learning, that the common People did not *understand* them, he reports; *Benevolentissime me monuerunt, ut communem Loquendi Sermonem non desererem; Hunc enim Sermonem usitatum et simplicem etiam Docti intel-*

²⁰ See Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5483) and Gataker on Jer. 3:5 in *Westminster Annotations*, unpaginated.

²¹ These practical applications are based on Jeremiah Dyke's *Divers select Sermons on severall Texts* (1640), pp. 265–66. Dyke (bapt. 1584, d. 1639) was an English conforming Puritan minister and a fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge (*ODNB*).

ligunt, illum autem indocti non intelligunt. [De Gen. *ad Manich.*] He liked their Counsel.²²

[3v] |
1422.

Q. *In those Dayes, they shall say no more, The Ark of the Covenant of the Lord.* In what Sense? v. 16.

A. *Grotius* thinks, that it is to bee supplied with this Clause: *præcedat nos ad Prælium.*²³ They shall no more bee for carrying the *Ark* forth to Battel with them. Compare 1. Sam. 4.4. Josh. 3.3, 6. & 4.7. & 6.8, 13. & 2. Sam. 7.2. & 11.11. & 15.24.

²² “They advised me in a friendly fashion not to abandon the common manner of speaking [(the following phrase is not included by Mather:) if I was planning to uproot those destructive errors from the minds of the uneducated as well.] For the learned also understand this familiar and simple language, but the unlearned do not understand the former.” Augustine, *De Genesi contra Manichæos*, lib. 1, cap. 1 [PL 34. 173; CSEL 91]; transl.: FC 84:47–48.

²³ “He shall lead our way to the battle.” Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5483).

Q. How do you understand those Words *If thou wilt Return, O Israel, saith the Lord, Return unto mee?* v. 1.

A. I thus Read them, thus Take them; *If thou wilt Return unto mee, O Israel, saith the Lord, thou shalt Return into thy own Countrey again.*²⁴

1420.

Q. What is intended in that Passage, *A Voice declareth from Dan, & publisheth Affliction from Mount Ephraim?* v. 15.

A. It is as much as to say, The Affliction that has come upon the *Ten Tribes* for their Idolatry, is a solemn Admonition unto you, that are of the *Two Tribes*.

Dan, and *Ephraim*, are particularly mentioned, because the Idolatrous Calves were there; one of them in *Dan*, the other in *Bethel*, which was a Part of *Ephraim*.²⁵

[4v]

[illeg.]

Q. When may it be said, That *the Earth mourns, & the Heavens above are black?* v. 28.

A. When the *Earth* is no more cultivated, and when the *Heavens* afford no Light nor Help to the *Earth*, in the Distresses of it.

Of them, who fled in & from these Distresses, tis here said, *They shall go into Thickets*. Munster chuses to read it, *They shall go into the Clouds*; that is to say, They shall fly to the Tops of the Mountains, which are among the *Clouds*.²⁶

Q. What should be the Import of that Expression, *Tho' thou Rentest thy Face with Painting?* v. 30.

A. In the Hebrew, it is not, *Thy Face*, but *Thine Eyes*. And we read of *Jezabel*, [2. King. 9.30.] she *painted her Eyes*. Tis probable, by drawing certain Lines between them, or upon the *Ey-Lids*, which might be esteemed very ornamental.²⁷ And, what is more material, it seems, that by, *scindere*, is meant no more, than, *Partes distinguere*.²⁸ The *Arabic*, the *Syriac*, the *Chaldee*, and the *Septuagint*, here

²⁴ See Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5491) and Gataker on Jer. 4:1 in *Westminster Annotations*, unpaginated.

²⁵ See Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5491).

²⁶ See Münster on Jer. 4:28–29 in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5487).

²⁷ See Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5493).

²⁸ In context: “... by, *scindere* [usual meaning: ‘divide’ or ‘rend’], is meant no more, than, *partes distinguere* [‘to distinguish parts’].” The *Polyglotta* Latin translation of the Syriac offers “*collinendo collyrio oculos tuos?*” The Arabic is rendered into Latin as “*licet stibio fuligines*

all agree, to say, *Tho' thou paintest thine Eyes*; and our Translators, might have done well, to have done so too. It must be an odd *Paint*, that should make a *Rent*; and an odd *Rent*, that should add Beauty to the *Face*.

oculos tuos," while the Aramaic (Chaldee) is translated as "pingis stibio oculos tuos," and finally the LXX is here rendered: "unxeris stibio oculos tuos." See Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:192–93).

|

Q. The Meaning of that Word; *They overpass the Deeds of the Wicked?* v. 28.

A. The plain Meaning is, *Vice* was not punished; The *Deeds of the Wicked* were connived at; No Punishment was inflicted on them.

The LXX so translate it; παρεβησαν κρίσιν *They pass over Judgment;*²⁹ They take no Notice of Offences, to detect & punish them.

²⁹ See Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:196): παρεβησαν κρίσιν; *NETS* has: “they transgressed justice.”

Q. *Behold, the Word of the Lord is unto them a Reproach.*] How may this be understood? v. 8.

A. Q.D. "They complain, that I *Reproach* them, Revile them, Slander them, when I Preach *thy Word* unto them."³⁰

Q. It is here prophecied, *I will bring Evil upon this People*; The Reason is given, *Because they have Rejected the Words of the Lord*; and, *Because they would not walk in the good Way*; and, *Because they would not hear the Sound of the Trumpet*. At last the Conclusion is; *Therefore, Hear yee Nations; Hear, O Earth: Reprobate Silver shall Men call them, because the Lord hath Rejected them*. Some Remarks upon this Prophecy? v. 30.

A. The most obstinate Jew, can't shutt his Ey so close, but he may see the Glimmerings of such unwelcome Truths as these.

The *Evil* foretold, is an *Evil*, the Effects whereof should be so palpable, that *all Nations* would manifestly see them *a People Rejected of God*; a *Refuse Nation*; an *Outcast*. A Name which God was angry with the Heathen for fixing on them, in their former Derelictions.

The *Word*, and the *good old Way*, for their declining to *walk* wherein, they were left out of the *Road* of Mercy, can be no other, but that eternal *Word*, who proclaimed Himself the *Way*, and offered *Rest of Soul*, to them who would come to Him.

Tis what was preached unto *Abraham* four hundred Years before the *Way* of *Moses* was known. It was preached by *Noah*, the *Preacher of Righteousness* by Faith, long before *Abraham*. Yea, God Himself preached it in *Paradise*.

This is the only *Word* and *Way*, which the Jewes totally Rejected. That of *Moses*, their Fathers did partly neglect, for a little While: They never wholly Renounced it. The modern Jew does too tenaciously stick to the Letter of that *Word*, & the external Form of that *Way*.

The only *Sound of the Trumpett*, which the Gentiles hearken to, and *find Rest for their Souls*, is that *Sound* of the Apostles, which from *Jerusalem* is *gone into all the Earth*; even that whereby CHRIST is proclaimed, *The Word of God*, and, *The Way of Life*.

³⁰ See Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5499).

To this Purpose one Mr. *John Smith*, in a Book entituled, *Christian Religions Appeal*.³¹

³¹ This is a quotation John Smith's *Christian Religion's Appeal from the groundless Prejudices of the Sceptick, to the Bar of common Reason* (1675), bk. 4, ch. 3, p. 16. Smith (fl. 1675–1711) was an Anglican divine and rector of St. Mary's, Colchester. His *Christian Religion's Appeal* can be characterized as an apologetic and controversial work that primarily aimed to refute the opinions of modern skeptics by proving the reasonableness of Christianity and by providing rational or factual evidence for the truthfulness of its teachings. Smith puts a heavy emphasis on prophetic evidence, that is, historical evidence for the fulfillment of the Scripture prophecies. The chapter from which Mather quotes is entitled "Instances of Prophecies fulfill'd whose Effects are permanent and obvious to the Atheist Eyes, if he will but open them." It is devoted to demonstrating that the hardships suffered by Jewish communities throughout modern history are the ongoing punishment for their denial of Christ, the Word incarnate and savior, foretold since the fall of man. While Mather obviously approved of Smith's reading of Jeremiah's prophecy as referring to the rejection of Christ, he did not embrace Smith's replacement theology with regard to the future of the Jewish nation. Smith's remarks on this are consequently omitted from Mather's commentary. For Smith, God's rejection of His former *peculium* was permanent. Jeremiah thus predicted both their continuing refusal of the gospel as well as their rightful and total destruction upon the Second Coming of Christ at the end of days. Smith's stance on this issue was directly connected to his refutation of a futurite understanding of the millennium, spelled out in bk. 4, ch. 7 of *Christian Religion's Appeal*, entitled "The Millennium, yet to come, is the Dream of Waking Men." Whereas most English millennialist in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries expected a national conversion of the Jews before the onset of the millennium, Smith rejected such an expectation as an empty fancy. As is made clear, for instance, by his gloss on Jer. 30:11 Mather, a staunch millennialist for all of his life, believed instead that God was indeed punishing His reprobate people for rejecting Christ, but never stopped caring for them in a special way. Miraculously protecting them from total destruction, God, in Mather's opinion, still held out the opportunity to the Jewish people to convert before Christ's return. At the time Mather wrote his commentary on Jeremiah, he also still would have embraced the hope for an eschatological conversion of the Jews so vehemently expressed in his father's work *The Mystery of Israel's Salvation* (1669). Even though Mather gave up this hope for a sudden, supernaturally induced national conversion in the last years of his life, he never embraced Smith's opinion of a collective damnation and inevitable destruction of all Jews. On this, see Smolinski's "Introduction" to the *Trip paradisus* (21–38).

Q. Why is that Boast of the *Ceremony-Mongers* among the Jewes, *The Temple of the Lord!* Thrice Repeted? v. 4.

A. It may bee, not only with some Eye to the Three Parts where of the Temple consisted; the **היכל** the **קדש** and the **דביר**.³² But also, to the Practice of Going up unto the Temple *Thrice* a Year, for the *Three* Anniversary Festivals. As long as the People continued thus to do, the False Prophets, taught 'em, that this was enough to render Heaven propitious unto them; tho' they neglected the *Three* great Points of *Justice*, and *Mercy*, and *Piety*, which the Prophet of the Lord here opposes thereunto.

With this Discourse of the Prophet compare the Oration of the Martyr *Stephen*.³³

Munster saies, *Repetit autem per Templum, propter Vestibulum, Domum Sanctam, et Sanctum Sanctorum*.³⁴

A Gentleman lately converted from the Jewish to the Christian Faith, *R. Judah Monis*, has a Remark of this Importance.

One great Argument, which the modern Jews pretend, against the *Messiah* being already come, is, That He is to build a *Third Temple* at His Coming. Their pretended Proof, is the last Chapter of *Ezekiel*, and *Zech.* VI.12, 13. – It seems by the Words of the Prophet, *Jeremiah*, that even in *His* Days, this Notion of having *Three Temples* was introduced among the Nation by the *lying Prophets*. Those False-Teachers, to encourage them in their Wickedness, taught that GOD would not so destroy the *Temple*, as to keep it forever desolate; under a pious Pretence, that if He did, He would not then have an House wherein to observe the Performances of the Sacrifices; and that therefore in Case the *Temple* should come to be destroy'd, as *Jeremiah* said, it would, He would *Rebuild* it and even

³² See Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5509). For **הֵיכָל** [heikhal] Grotius provides *subdiale*, “open air, nave, palace, sanctuary”; for **קֹדֶשׁ** [qodesh] Grotius provides *basilica*. At Ezek. 45:1, the term is used for a holy area; it is also used for the holy place in Exod. 26:33. For **דְּבִיר** [devir] Grotius provides *oraculum*; “holy of holies,” or “most holy place.” See Ps. 28:2, “holy oracle.”

³³ The following paragraphs were written in different inks, with the Münster citation being different from the rest. Mather refers to Saint Stephen (Stephanus Protomartyr, d. c. 40 CE), known as the first martyr of Christianity. The Book of Acts tell us that Stephen was sentenced to death by the Jewish High Court (Sanhedrin) for blasphemy and speaking against the Temple and the Law (Acts 6:11–14). In his final speech Stephen is presented as indicting the Jewish people for persecuting their prophets who have warned them against their sins: “Which of the prophets have not your fathers persecuted? And they have slain them which showed before of the coming of the Just One; of whom ye have been now the betrayers and murderers” (Acts 7:52).

³⁴ “But he repeats it through the temple because of the court, the holy house and the holy of holies.” Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5506).

Trebuild it, over again. Hereupon GOD ordered His Prophet here, to tell them, That this was False Doctrine; and that if they did not Repent, the *Temple* should be destroy'd; and if it should be once Restored, yett if they did persist in their Sins, and provoke Him to Destroy it a *second Time*, it should never be Restored any more; but the Fate of *Shiloh* should come upon it.

He thinks, this is intimated here, in the Triplication of the Words, *The Temple of the Lord*.³⁵

{935:}

Q. In what Sense, did the wicked Jewes reckon themselves, *Delivered to Do Abominations?* v. 10.

A. *Pardoned*, into a Liberty to committ *New Abominations*. The Word here, for, *Delivered*, signifies also, *Purged*. It is as much as to say, *Discharged* from the old Score. It carries, the *Forgiveness* of Sin, in the Signification of it. [You have it, in Psal. 39.8. and Psal. 51.14.] The Wretches having brought their *Sacrifices* into the House of God, reckoned themselves Acquitted from the *Old Score* of Guilt which lay upon them, and now they impiously and profanely, reckon'd that they might run upon a *New Score* of Sin, for the Satisfaction of all their ungodly Lusts. Look back, on the first Clause of the Verse, *Yee come, and stand before mee, in this House*.³⁶ –

³⁵ From Judah Monis, *The Truth*, pp. 15–19. On Monis, see the annotation on Isa. 9:6. As a recent convert to Christianity, Monis here argues that the ancient rabbinical authors did not entertain the hope for a Third Temple, and that this eschatological hope was part of the false teachings of “modern Jews” such as Abravanel und Menasseh ben Israel. To support his case, Monis cites, among others, Rashi on Zech. 6:12–13. Compare Rashi in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *The Twelve Prophets*, p. 346: “whose name is the Shoot – He is Zerubbabel, mentioned above (3:8) ... Some interpret this as referring to the King Messiah, but the entire context deals with the [time of the] Second Temple.”

In fact, the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the Third Temple, or “Ezekiel’s Temple,” by the eschatological Davidic ruler had been a central element in Jewish theology and liturgy (based on the visionary architectural plans in Ezek. 40–47) since the catastrophe of 70 CE, when the Second Temple was destroyed. There was widespread discussion in rabbinical literature throughout the centuries about whether the messiah or the Jewish people themselves would rebuild the Temple. Praying for the restoration of the Temple service is part of the “Amidah,” which every observant Jew is supposed to pray three times a day. The Third Temple in connection with the fulfillment of the messianic prophecies is thus a common theme in Jewish religion and literature from late antiquity into the modern period (*TRE*). In his *Mishneh Torah* Maimonides systematized the rabbinical laws that would regulate religious life at the Temple after its restoration. Maimonides also states in his *Mishneh Torah*, Tractate *Melachim u’Milchamoteihem* (“Laws of kings and their wars”), ch. 11, Halachah 1 (Touger, p. 222) that the true messiah would accomplish what Jesus failed to do: he would rebuild the Third Temple and “gather the dispersed of Israel.”

³⁶ Here Mather seems to follow the explanations of Gataker on Jer. 7:10 in *Westminster Annotations*, unpaginated.

[7v] |
[illeg.]

Q. The *Making of Cakes unto the Queen of Heaven*; what may bee the *Rise*, & what the *Sense* of that *Idolatry* among the *Jewes*? v. 18.

A. *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Assyrians* worshipped the *Moon*. They did it under the Name of *Mylitta*, which according to *Scaliger*, signifies, *Genetrix*. It is very certain, whether the *Midwives* observe it or no, that (as Mr. *Gregory* saies) the *most easy Delivery a Woman* can have, is alwayes in the *Increase*, towards or about, the *Full of the Moon*. Hence the *Midwives* of old, alwayes implored the *Aid* of this Planet, for the safe *Delivery* of their *Infants*; as you have it in the *Comædy*, *O Juno Lucina, fer Opem*.³⁷ For this Cause, the *Assyrians* worshipped the *Moon*, & for this Cause they did it under that Name of *Mylitta*. The Prophet *Jeremiah* here mentions this *Moon-Worship*; the *Women made Cakes* to her, as the *Queen of Heaven*; and as being in their *Labour*, much beholden to her, for several *Circumstances*. This *Custome* of *Offering Cakes to the Moon*, our *Ancestors* retained, and practised; and unto this *Day*, *Women* do make their *Cakes* for their *Travail*, yea, and they call their *Babes* themselves, *Cake-bread*. Moreover, the *Follies* of *Shrove-tuesday*, when they fry their *Pan-Cakes* (which as I remember a *Forreigner* thus describes; *Genus Placentarum, quibus esis, insaniunt Juvenes, et ædes diruunt*, meaning, *Whore-Houses*;) are but a *Continuation* of that *Superstition*.³⁸

To these *Illustrations*, you may add the Report of *Solomon Jarchi*; *In illis Libis fuisse Deorum Icunculas*.³⁹

³⁷ “Juno Lucia, Help me ...!” (Literally: “bring aid.”) The explanation of Assyrian moon-worship, including the comparison with modern English customs, is taken from *The Assyrian Monarchy* by John Gregory, in *Works*, pp. 199–200. Gregory cites Terence’s comedy *Andria*, 3.1.15; transl.: *LCL* 22, p. 103. Gregory refers to the description of Persian religious customs in Herodotus, *The Persian Wars* (1.31).

³⁸ “After the young men have eaten these kinds of cakes, they lose their mind and destroy the house.” This part of the entry is not derived from Gregory and no source could be identified. Maybe Mather is the original author of this addendum and he uses the rhetorical persona of the foreigner to present this somewhat indecent curiosity.

³⁹ “In these cakes were small images of gods.” Mather takes this Rashi quote from Grotius, as quoted in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5516). In *Mikraoth Gedoloth, Jeremiah*, pp. 339–40, on Jer. 44:19, Rashi’s gloss reads: “molds in the shape of idols (idols in the shape of a young lady as above ch. 22:28).” According to the modern edition (p. 340) the parenthesis was probably not written by Rashi, however, and first appears in the *Biblia Rabbinica*, vol. 3. On the discussion about shape, purpose and the possible addressees of those offering cakes, see Rashi and other Rabbis in *Mikraoth Gedoloth, Jeremiah*, pp. 68–69, on Jer. 7:18, and in *Mikraoth Gedoloth, The Twelve Prophets*, p. 145, on Amos 5:26. See also Münster, Vatablus, Drusius, Liveleus, and Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:6512–532) on Amos 5:26. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

Q. The Lord saies, *I spake not unto your Fathers, in the Day that I brought them out of the Land of Egypt, concerning Burnt-Offerings, or Sacrifices.* In what Sense might this bee said? v. 22.

A. The Emphasis lies on that Passage, *In the Day.* Tis q. d. Inasmuch as I did such good and great Things for you, before ever I published among you the Law of *Sacrifices*, by this alone, you may understand sufficiently, that I do not regard *Them*, so much as you now Imagine.

If the Law of the *Passeover*, bee objected, *Grotius* hath an Answer, *Paschatis alia est Ratio; id enim Convivium magis erat, quàm Sacrificium.*⁴⁰

⁴⁰ “The meaning of Passover is a different one. For this was not so much a sacrifice but a feast.” Mather cites Grotius, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5516).

Q. Among the *Season-Birds*, we read of the *Crane*, and the *Swallow*; Are the Names truly translated? v. 7.⁴¹

A. *Bochart* saies, *No*; but reads, The *Swallow*, and the *Crane*.

The Hebrew / סוס / *Sus*; or rather / סיס / *Sis*,⁴² is to be translated, not, a *Crane*, but a *Swallow*. To confirm This, we have the Consent of the LXX and of *Theodotion*, and of *Jerom*, and *Symmachus*, and the *Arabic*. By the Sound of the Name, *Sis*, which is, ὀνομασποιητικὸν,⁴³ the Hebrewes express the ψιθυρισμός,⁴⁴ of the *Swallow*; And the *Italians* therefore, near *Venice* call that little Bird, *Zisilla*.

The Hebrew / עגר /⁴⁵ *Agor*, is to be translated, not a *Swallow*, but a *Crane*. *Hezekiah* complaining, Isa. 38.14. That he made a *Noise like a Swallow and a Crane*, he means, as *Bochart* glosses upon it, *se, gravi Morbo afflictum, non modo instar Herundinis leni murmure gemuisse, sed et Gruis instar contentà Voce ejulasse*.⁴⁶ His Voice was first *smaller*, like that of a *Swallow*; then *greater*, like that of a *Crane*.

Ingenti Clamore Grues.⁴⁷

⁴¹ The following entry is derived from *Bochart, Hierozoicon*, pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 10, pp. 62–74.
⁴² סוס [sus]; סיס [sis] “swallow, swift.” Mather mentions both the *gere* (“to be read”) and the *ketiv* (“the written”). Some words in the Hebrew Bible are prescribed to be read differently from how they are written. The LXX has: καὶ χελιδὼν ἀγροῦ στρουθία (*NETS*: “the swallow and the agour [sparrows]”); Jerome’s VUL has “hirundo et ciconia” (“the swallow and the stork”); the Arabic, as rendered into Latin by Walton, actually has “grus, atque hirundo” (“the crane and the swallow”). See Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:207). *Theodotion* translated the OT into Greek relying upon, but also modifying, the LXX; his edition was included in Origen’s *Hexapla*. Around 170 CE, *Symmachus* also translated the OT into Greek. Jerome drew upon him in his translation and commentaries.

⁴³ “Of, pertaining to, or characterized by onomatopoeia.” ὀνομασποιεῖα signifies the coining of a word in imitation of a sound. *Bochart* and *Mather* are referring to the etymological roots of *sis*.

⁴⁴ A whispering sound, a murmur, a whisper, susurrus.

⁴⁵ עגר [agur] a type of bird, perhaps “crane” or “thrush.” See *Bochart, Hierozoicon*, pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 10, p. 68.

⁴⁶ “Afflicted with severe illness, he not only sighed tenderly like the swallow but also howled like the crane using the full range of his voice.” See *Bochart, Hierozoicon*, pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 10, p. 69.

⁴⁷ “The cranes with their powerful screams.” See *Bochart, Hierozoicon*, pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 10, p. 69. *Bochart* takes this phrase from Claudian, *De bello Gildonico*, 474–76: “Pendula ceu parvis moturae bella colonis/Ingenti clangore grues aestiva relinquunt/Thracia, cum tepido permutant Strymona Nilo”: “Even as the cranes leave their summer home of Thrace clamorously to join issue in doubtful war with the Pygmies, when they desert the Strymon for the warm-watered Nile, the letter traced by the speeding line stands out against the clouds and the heaven is stamped with the figure of their flight” (*LCL* 135, p. 133). This is a reference to the *Iliad* (3.3–7), where the cranes are said to have attacked the pygmies who used to reside in the

The *Cranes*, at their *Season*, do (*congruere*) come together with Agreement. And as *Aristotle* saies, Ἐκτοπιζουσιν εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα, ἐκ τῶν ἔσχατων *Ex Ultimis in Ultima migrant*.⁴⁸

The vast Flock have a Leader, and fly in the form of the Greek Letters, A, or Δ, or Λ, or our V. Whence *Jerom* saies, *Grues unum sequuntur, Ordine Literato*.⁴⁹ And, *Martial*,

*Turbabis Versus, nec Litera tota volabit,
Unam perdidideris si Palamedis Avem.*⁵⁰

And the *Crane* saies, in *Symposium*;

*Litera sum Celi Penna perscripta volante.*⁵¹

And *Claudian*;

*Ordinibus variis per nubila textitur ingens
Littera, Pennarumque notis inscribitur aër.*⁵²

[illeg.]⁵³

Q. Wee read concerning, *The Stork in Heaven, knowing her Appointed Times, & the Turtle, and the Crane, & the Swallow which observe the Time of their*

Nile valley. Ovid takes up this notorious habit of the cranes in transforming a pygmy woman into a crane and has her fight against her own people. See *Metamorphoses*, 6.90–92.

⁴⁸ Greek and Latin: “They travel from one end to the other.” The reference is to Aristotle’s *Historia animalium* (7.597a31). Balme’s translation (*LCL* 439, p. 135) renders the Greek original: “[they] migrate from the farthest points to the farthest.” See Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 10, p. 70.

⁴⁹ “The cranes follow each other in the shape of a letter.” See Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 10, p. 74. Bochart refers to Jerome, *Epistola quarta ad rusticum*. The citation is in Jerome, *Epistulae*, epist. 125, *Ad rusticum monachum* [PL 22. 1080; CSEL 56].

⁵⁰ “You will confuse the lines and the writing will not fly complete, if you lose one of Palamedes’ birds.” A reference to Martial, *Epigrammata*, 13.75; transl.: *LCL* 480, pp. 202–03. See Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 10, p. 74.

⁵¹ “A letter of the sky am I, written with flying wing.” A reference to Symphosius (Symposium), whose work *Aenigmata* contains one hundred Latin riddles. Bochart (and Mather after him) uses the first line of the 26th riddle [PL 7. 292; CCSL 133A], which reads in the ed. of R. T. Ohl (p. 58): “Littera sum caeli penna perscripta volanti, / Bella cruenta gerens volucris discrimine Martis; / Nec vereor pugnas, dum non sit longior hostis.” Ohl’s transl. (p. 59): “A letter of the sky am I, written with flying wing, waging bloody wars with Mars’ swift hazard; nor do I fear fighting, provided that not taller be the foe.” According to Greek mythology, the hero Palamedes is said to have created some of the Greek letters from watching the formations of cranes. See Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 10, p. 74.

⁵² “A giant letter unfolds across the clouds as the birds change their formation and the air is inscribed by the script of their wings.” Another citation from Claudian, *De bello Gildonico* (477–78). These lines immediately follow the section to which Bochart (and hence Mather) refers above (*ingenti clamore grues*). In the original the lines read: “Ordinibus variis per nubila textitur ales littera pinnarumque notis inscribitur aër.” See Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 10, p. 74.

⁵³ The second entry on vs. 7 appears in a different ink.

Coming, or as I read it, *The Time of their Journey*. Have you any Curiosity to offer about these little *Season-Birds*? v. 7.⁵⁴

A. There are certain little Birds, which wee may call *Season-Birds*, for their Visiting of us at certain *Seasons*, either of *Summer* or *Winter*; and that I may now give you a *Break-fast* of those little Birds, what will you say, if I do from this Text, offer you a singular & curious *Hypothesis* concerning them?

I will then suppose, That the Annual Recesses of these little *Birds*, are in some Remote Regions of *Heaven*; they are not only *Birds [Of] the Heaven*, but also *Birds [In] the Heaven*, from whence, at their *Appointed Times*, they take their *Journey* hither. They find something either in the Temper of their own *Bodies* or in the *Alterations* of their Lodgings at home, or in the *Effluvia* of the Earth upon the new Reflections of the Sun, thereupon, which invites them to change their Quarters; and so, they *know their Seasons*.

To Illustrate this Matter, lett mee mind you; First, If these Birds during their Absence from us, did reside in any Part of this Earth, wee should after so many Ages at last, have heard, *where* it is; but no Man hath yett seen any Numbers of them, out of their *Seasons*: nor have wee had any but *old Wives Fables* concerning the finding of any, except a poor Bird or so, that by some *Lameness* has been left behind his Fellowes.

⁵⁴ The following entry, in which Mather speculates on the migration of seasonal birds (whose whereabouts when they were absent from their normal habitats was still a mystery to science at the beginning of the eighteenth century) heavily draws on *An Essay toward the probable Solution of this Question: Whence come the Stork and the Turtledove, the Crane, and the Swallow, when they know and observe the appointed Time of their Coming* (1703). This tract was written by Charles Morton (1627–1698) and anonymously published after his death. Morton was a prominent English Dissenting preacher, scholar and educator who, after being arrested and excommunicated in England, emigrated to the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1686, where Increase Mather apparently intended for him to become president of Harvard. However, the revocation of the Massachusetts charter forced Morton to take up a parish in Charlestown. Morton and Cotton Mather were both suspected by the governor's council of conspiracy, and they both shared common views on the use of spectral evidence during the Salem witch trials. Morton was later named vice-president of Harvard, where he lectured on scientific subjects. His *Compendium physicae* (1687) was one of the most popular textbooks on astronomy and physics in Harvard and Yale through the 1720s (ANB).

While Morton argued that the seasonal birds probably migrated to the moon, Mather puts forth the hypothesis that they were flying to planetoids circling between the earth and the moon. In 1712 Mather copied this part of the “Biblia” manuscript and sent it to Dr. John Woodward at the Royal Society in London as part of his first package of thirteen letters, which he entitled “Curiosa Americana” (see Silverman, ed. *Selected Letters* 113–15). A digest of this first series of “Curiosa,” including the theory on bird migration, was published in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* 29 (Apr.–June 1714): 64. The “Curiosa” so pleased the Royal Society that Mather was elected a fellow in 1713. For an in-depth comparison of the “Biblia” commentary on Jer. 8:7 and the letter to the Royal Society, see Michael Dopffel’s study “Between Biblical Literalism and Scientific Inquiry: Cotton Mather’s Commentary on Jeremiah 8:7” (2010). On Mather’s relations with the Royal Society, see Kittredge, “Cotton Mather’s Scientific Communications to the Royal Society” (1916).

Secondly, The Birds come in a Manner so sudden, so surprising, so unobserv'd, as if *dropping down from above* upon us. In a Nights Time, the whole Countrey is full of them; & that not in *Flocks*, but extremely *separated*. Probably they keep Hovering towards the upper Part of our *Atmosphere*, which, being there freed from the Inconveniences of *Gravitation*, they may do with Ease, till by the Blowing of certain *Winds*, they perceive agreeable *Streams* calling for them; and then down they fall, tho' by some Accidents disadvantaged somewhat as to their Designed Pirching-Places. Hence, by the way, sometimes one of these Birds, ha's made his Descent upon a Vessel, farther off at *Sea*, than ever any such *Land-birds* were known to Fly.

Thirdly, At the first Coming of these Birds, they are generally of a *Texture* very different, from what they have, after they have been here a While. Their *Tast* is finer; they eat short; their *Flesh* is Tender; they have little or no *Blood* in them. Which argues, that they have had another Sort of Nourishment, than what this *Earth* affords. |

[8v]

Fourthly, The *Flight* of these Birds, while they abide among us, for the most Part, is but *short*; and those, which on such an Island as *Great Britain*, are found near the *Sea-Shore*, yett being disturbed, never will offer *towards* the *Sea*. Wherefore, tis probable, they *never* came thither from *beyond* the *Sea*.

Fifthly, There are very odd *Phænomena* among these Birds, at or near the Time of their *Departure*. They don't grow Duller; their *flights* are higher, their *notes* are brisker, & they *gather together* as having a noble Design for another World. Particularly to mention, the first Bird in our Text; The *Storks*, in the *Low-Countreyes*, when the *Time of their Departure is at hand*, they all, to a Bird, Assemble together; there they continue Chattering for diverse Dayes, till the last are come in to this *general Rendezvous*; then in the Midst of all the Din, there is a sudden *Silence*, for a little While: after which, upon some *Signal*, they all Rise together, and fly in one great Flock or Cloud, fetching many great Rounds, higher & higher still, much like the *spiral Ascent* of a *Goshawk*, when shee Towers, till at last, their Distance makes them appear less & less, & so they utterly disappear. They seek a comfortable Repose, by flying *Directly Upward*, which is not the Way to any other Land on our Earth.

I expect, that you will now demand, what & where bee the *Heavenly Receptacles*, whither wee may imagine, these little *Season-Birds* Retiring?

Truly, I will not say with the Author of *Gonsales* his *Ganzas*, *The Moon*.⁵⁵ For if wee do but allow unto the *Moon*, such a small Distance from the Earth as the *Arabians*, after *Ptolomy*, have assigned; namely *Forty-nine* Semidiameters of the Earth, which is in English Miles, counting according to *Cluverius* fifty-five Miles to a Degree on the great Circle of the Earth, 154350 Miles; and if wee

⁵⁵ A reference to the work of Francis Godwin (1562–1633), Bishop of Hereford, *The Man in the Moone: Or a Discourse of a Voyage thither by Domingo Gonsales the speedy Messenger* (1638).

suppose the Birds to Travel at least one Third of the Year, according to which, they can have but sixty-one Dayes for their Journey, they must then fly every Day, at least 1530 Miles, which is omitting Fractions about 63 Miles *per Hour*, which is nigh as fast again, as the swiftest Race-horse, who moving at the rate of four Miles in seven Minutes, & an half, dispatches in an Hour but *Thirty two Miles*. Now, tho' much might bee said about the Possibility of an unsuspected Velocity in a Bird, sett at some Liberty from the grosser & heavier Parts of the *Atmosphere*, yett wee cannot consent unto so great a Swiftness; especially, since the True Distance of the *Moon* from the *Earth*, is much greater than what was conceived by *Ptolomy*.

Know then, That it is no unreasonable Præsumption, to imagine, That there are nigh unto our *Terraqueous Globe* several *planetary Bodies*, which partly from the Smallness of their Bulk, and partly from some other Qualities, may not bee visible unto *us*, without the Help of Instruments. Until wee were assisted with *Telescopes*, who ever dreamt of the *Satellites* which move about *Jupiter*, and some other of the Planets? Or, who ever thought of catching *Saturn* by his *Ears*? I say, if *Glasses* were a little more Improved, & Mens Attention to the Discovering of their *Glasses* a little further awakened, it is possible wee might soon discern some very significant *Globules* in our supern Regions, without coming under the Scoffs of those, that *Build Castles in the Air*. Yea, the greatest Philosopher in this Age,⁵⁶ ha's already affirm'd That some *christalline*, or *semipellucid* Bodies, between the *Earth* & the *Moon* have already been Discovered. Certainly, the *Negroes* on the Coast of *Barbary* that know not of such a Rock, as the Isle of *Ascention*, which tho' it bee thirty Miles in Compass, ha's not a Drop of any Fresh-Water on it, will ignorantly think the prodigious Multitudes of *Sea-fowl* which visit them from that *Rock*, to be bred on their own Shoar, because they know not of such a notable Place. Thus it may bee in the Case before us.

I would not have so much as mentioned these *Curiosities*, much less would I have been so large & long upon them, if I had not been willing to serve the *Illustrations* of the Scripture, by exciting the further Enquiries of Ingenious Men, about this Matter. For if it shall bee experimentally Demonstrated, that there is any thing in what I have written, there will bee a glorious Opportunity, not only to magnify the Power, & Wisdome, & Goodness of our God, in some Circumstances of the Creation, hitherto unheeded, but also to Illustrate many Texts in the Bible, which have hitherto wanted a Tolerable *Commentary*; especially, about,⁵⁷ *The Windowes of Heaven opened for the Flood*; about, *The Treasures of the*

⁵⁶ Mather may be alluding to the Italian astronomer, mathematician, and natural philosopher Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), as his name is mentioned in the letter to the Royal Society. Through his use of the telescope, Galileo made groundbreaking observations of the sun, hitherto invisible stars, and moons in orbit around Jupiter, which he recorded in his *Sidereus Nuncius* (1610).

⁵⁷ See Appendix A.

Snow & Rain, reserved against the Time of Trouble;⁵⁸ and some things, referring to the *New Jerusalem*, at the Second Coming of our Lord;⁵⁹ About all of which, you shall have in your ordinary Annotators, far more exorbitant things, than any that I have this Morning tendred you.

|⁶⁰

[9r]

Q. Why is it said, *The Pen of the Scribe is in vain*? v. 8.

A. *Munster* thus gives the Sense of it; *Frustra Scriptor Laborem insumpsit cum Legem scriberet, cum à vobis non observetur*.⁶¹ q. d. Tis is vain, that you have the Law written for you.

|

[9v]

Q. In that Enquiry, *Is there no Balm in Gilead? Is there no Physician there? Why then is not the Health of the Daughter of my People Recovered?* What special Reference? v. 22.

A. There was in *Gilead*, such a Plenty of *Balm*, & thereupon there were so many *Physicians* to apply it, that if a wounded Man were not cured, it was his own Fault, in his not seeking for a Cure. Thus, Prophets, and Counsils, were never wanting to the wounded People of *Israel*.

But I suspect, a more *special Matter*, than all of 'This referr'd unto. Wee read concerning that great Messenger of Heaven, *Elias*, in 1. King. 17.1. *Hee was of the Inhabitants of Gilead*. Now *Jeremiah* may here intend this peculiar Thing, above the rest: Have you not had the Instruments of such a Man as *Elias*, to Reform what is amiss among you? Why don't you follow His Instructions? Yea, at *Gilead* there as a *School of the Prophets*. These *Prophets* were to have been the *Healers* of

⁵⁸ The references are to Gen. 7:11, a verse which addresses the origin of the waters of the deluge, and to Job 38:23, where God admonishes Job for challenging Him and His judgment.

⁵⁹ A reference to Rev. 21, which foretells that the New Jerusalem will come down from heaven. Apparently, Mather intended to use his ideas from Jer. 8:7 as the basis for further interpretations of these passages. In the *Tripuradisu* Mather put forth his belief that the New Jerusalem, the city of the resurrected saints in the New Heaven, would be "*coming down from GOD out of Heaven*" (244), and hover above the surface of the Earth: "The Situation of it, will be in a Part of the *Atmosphaere*, which will be nearer to the *Earth*, where the *Nations* are to Walk in the *Light* of it, than as yett it is, and it will be conspicuous to the *Nations*" (245). The New Jerusalem, gigantic in its proportions, would descend from the regions of the sky where it was hitherto stationed, "*a Material City*" (244). It may be that Mather had this flying planetoid in mind when he wrote in his commentary on Jer. 8:7 about a celestial body small enough to escape the naked eye, perhaps even transparent, and as yet invisible, but soon to be "experimentally demonstrated" by the technological innovations of the modern age such as the telescope. Mather adapted the concept of the corporeal city from Tertullian's *Adversus Marcionem*, lib. 3, cap. 24 [PL 2. 355–56; CSEL 47; CCSL 1].

⁶⁰ See Appendix B.

⁶¹ "If you do not observe the law, then the scribe labored in vain when he wrote it down." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5511).

the People. The *Ministry* of the Word, may here be mystically considered, as the grand *Medicine* for a wounded People.⁶²

⁶² Based on Grotius, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5516).

[illeg.]

[10v]

Q. How came *Death* up into their *Windowes*? v. 21.

A. By the *Saxa Balistaria*, shott into them, from the Beseigers.⁶³

The Ancients wittily Apply this, To Temptations unto *Sin*, entring into us at the *Eye*. They advise us to *shutt our Casements*, lest *Sin* thereby ascend into the Soul, and *Death by Sin* & lest the *Light of the Body bring the Soul to utter Darkness*.⁶⁴

Munster understands it, of the Calamity breaking in *silently*, and *suddenly*, & from an *unsuspected Quarter*.⁶⁵

Q. The *Wise Man* must not glory in his *Wisdome*, nor the *Mighty Man* in his *Might*, nor the *Rich Man* in his *Riches*. Might there bee any special Instances, whereto the Holy Spirit may refer in this Prohibition? v. 23.

A. The *Chaldee* do's here, not without Reason, add Three Instances.

For *Wisdome*, *Solomon*, who fell into extreme Folly, & lost the Divine Favour.

For *Might*, *Sampson*, whom so small a Thing as a Woman, Deceived and Ruined.

For *Riches*, *Ahab*, the Richest of all the Kings, over the Ten Tribes, and yett exceeding miserable.⁶⁶

⁶³ "Catapult stones." The "Saxa Balistaria" are also mentioned by Grotius, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5521).

⁶⁴ Mather would have found a good digest of tropological interpretations of this verse by diverse Church Fathers in Cornelius à Lapide, *Commentaria in Jeremiam prophetam*, in *Commentaria in quatuor prophetas maiores*, p. 474. À Lapide mentions Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 21, cap. 2 [PL 76. 189; CCSL 143A]; see *Morals on the Book of Job* (2:516); he also refers to Ambrose, *De fuga saeculi*, cap. 1 [PL 14. 569–596; CSEL 32.2]; he also refers to Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum* [PL 183. 785–1198; *Opera* 1–2]; see *On the Song of Songs I–IV* (*Cistercian Fathers Series*).

⁶⁵ Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5518); in translation: "Death climbs up through our windows, that is: Suddenly and unexpectedly this tribulation comes over us as well as the ruin of our city so that death itself seems to have sneaked in through the windows. But death was so horrible that it didn't even spare boys and young men playing in the streets. Neither could the wise men in their cleverness escape, nor could the courageous avert it with their strength or the rich redeem themselves with their riches." The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

⁶⁶ Transl. of the Latin version of the Targum Jonathan, at Jer. 9:23, from Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:196): "Ne sibi placeat Salomon ... in sapientia sua, nec sibi placeat Sampson ... in fortitudine sua, nec sibi Achab ... in divitiis suis." Compare *The Targum of Jeremiah* at this verse.

Q. Why does the Prophet join, *The Signs of Heaven*, together with, *The Trees cutt out of the Forrest*, in his Testimony against Idolatry? v. 2, 3.

A. The *woodden Images*, carved by the Idolaters, were usually contrived into Images of the Stars & Planets. Yea, and they carved their *woodden Images* with such *magical Rites*, that they imagined, a certain *Spirit* thereby to bee derived from their proper *Stars* into them; and that the *Spirit* of the *Stars* now dwelling in these *woodden Images*, did from thence exert their Vertue, to Defend, Succour & Supply, their devout Worshippers.⁶⁷

Q. On that, *Thus shall ye say unto them, The Gods that have not made the Heavens & the Earth, even they shall perish from the Earth, and from under these Heavens?* v. 11.

A. So necessary is the Confession of the *great God that maketh all things*, and for Men, even with the utmost Hazard of all things, to distinguish Him from the Idols of a foolish & wicked World; that unto the End, the Jews, who were now Captives in *Babylon*, might not be wholly to seek for a Profession of their Faith, behold, this Verse given to them in the *Chaldee* Dialect. Tho' all the rest of the Book be in *Hebrew*, this Verse is in *Chaldee*; and it furnishes the People of God, with what they were to declare unto their *Chaldee* Masters on all just Occasions.⁶⁸

God caused a Pagan about this time, to speak at this rate. It was a notable Speech of *Pythagoras*, which we find cited by *Justin Martyr*; *whosoever would from henceforth challenge any Diety to himself, must be also to shew such a World as this, and with Truth say, This is of my Making.*⁶⁹

We have also a Pagan *Trismegistus*, who said; *There are mainly Three to be considered; God, The World, and, Man. The World made for Man, & Man for God.*⁷⁰

⁶⁷ See Grotius, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5526).

⁶⁸ This explanation for the switch to Chaldean or Aramaic in Jer. 10:11 was common among interpreters of Mather's period. See, for instance, Münster and Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5523, 5527). Lowth (*A Commentary upon ... Jeremiah* 100) also argued to the same effect.

⁶⁹ This alleged speech of the Greek philosopher Pythagoras (6th century BCE) is cited from the introduction of André Dacier's *The Life of Pythagoras, with his Symbols and golden Verses* (1707), p. ix. Dacier refers to "St. Justin, de Monarch" as his source. Mather erroneously seems to have believed that this was part of Justin Martyr's *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo* (c. 160 CE). Today the text *De monarchia* is attributed to the apologist writer Pseudo-Justin, whose identity remains uncertain. See Pseudo-Justin, *De monarchia* [PG 6. 311–26; *Patristische Texte und Studien* 32].

⁷⁰ Mather is here refering to the 51st saying in tract 4 ("The Key") of the *Corpus hermeticum*. The *Corpus hermeticum* comprises Hellenistic texts, which were traditionally understood as

Q. The Intent of that Passage: *my Tabernacle is spoiled, and all my Cords are broken?* v. 20.

A. I am satisfied with the common Annotations upon it.⁷¹

Yett I will transcribe the Words of Monsr. *Basnage*, in his *History of the Jews*.

“*Venus* was famous among the *Chaldeans*, for the Filthy Actions, which were perpetrated in her *Temples*; wherein Women were obliged to prostitute themselves, to pay their Court to that Goddess. *Succoth benoth* signifies, the *Tents* of the young Women, who were brought up for that Purpose. Single & married Women had *Tents* about these *Temples*, & expected there to be ask’d to sacrifice their Honour. Those that had no *Tents*, were separated only with *Ropes*. And to this, *Jeremiah* alludes, when he represents the Jollity of Idolatrous Women, when their *Cords were broken*, because they were glad to find a Man, that made them go out of their Pen, that they might prostitute themselves in honour to the Goddess. This is the true Sense of that Passage, that seemed so hard to be understood.”⁷²

{4***}

Q. Unto what special Instance may the Prophet refer, when he saies, *O Lord, I know, that the Way of Man is not in himself; it is not in Man that walketh, to direct his Steps?* v. 23.

oracles revealed by the god Hermes Trismegistos. The texts belong to a tradition of Egyptian-Greek wisdom writings in the form of Platonic dialogues, containing elements of Egyptian religion, Greek philosophy and theology, as well as occultism, magic, and alchemy. Originally composed during the second and third century, several manuscripts of this tradition were rediscovered by Italian Renaissance scholars, and then gathered into a *Corpus*, translated into Latin and published in fourteen books or tracts by Marsilio Ficino. Subsequently, three more tracts were added to later editions of the *Corpus*, which was a major source of Western esotericism throughout the early modern period and beyond. Mather would have had access to the expanded edition *Mercurii Trismegisti Poemander* (1554) of Ficino’s work, as well as to the English translation by John Everard, *Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus, his divine Pymander, in seventeen Books* (1657). Here the saying is rendered as: “There are therefore these three, God the Father, and the Good, the World and Man: God hath the World, and the World hath Man; and the World is the Son of God, and Man as it were the Offspring of the World.”

71 Gataker’s gloss on Jer. 10:20 (in *Westminster Annotations*, unpaginated) gives a good summary of this *sensus communis*: the tabernacle is understood as a metaphor for Jerusalem, and the broken cords (with which “the curtains of their tents, or pavilions were fastened to the pins, or stakes”) are symbols of the broken “stays of city and State.”

72 Mather is citing a passage from ch. 4 (“The Second Degree of the Ruin of the Jews. The Corruption and Decay of the Jewish Church. The Power of the High Priests, and Kings”) in the English transl. of Jacques Basnage’s *The History of the Jews*, p. 89. Basnage expands upon the explication from Grotius’ commentary on Jeremiah at 10:20. See Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5527). סֻכּוֹת-בְּנוֹת [sukkot-benot] is the name of a Babylonian god (2 Kings 17:30), meaning literally “booths for daughters.”

A. The Hebrew Interpreters, do suppose, that it ha's a special Reference to the King of *Babylon*; who was deliberating upon an Expedition against the *Moabites*, but changing his Mind, he took his Journey & led his Army, against *Jerusalem*.⁷³

⁷³ Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5523). Rabbi David Kimchi (Radak) cites the interpretation of his father, Rabbi Joseph Kimchi, on this verse in connection with Ezek. 21:26. See *Mikraoth Gedoloth, Jeremiah*, p. 98, on Jer. 10:23.

4036.

Q. In that Passage, *what hath my Beloved to do in mine House*, or, *what is there for my Beloved in mine House*? Who is the *Beloved* intended? v. 15.

A. *Munster* will have it, *Hæc sunt Verba Prophetæ loquentis ad Deum*.⁷⁴ It is the Speech of the Prophet concerning the Blessed God, *what ha's my Beloved* now to entertain Him in the Temple, since that *she*, (*Jerusalem*) *ha's wrought Lewdness with many Idols*?

I don't insist upon it.

| **Q.** What is the Meaning of that *Plot* against the Prophet, which wee render, *lett us destroy the Tree with the Fruit thereof*? v. 19.

A. The Original is, *lett us putt Wood, into his Bread*; so the LXX also read it, ἐμβάλωμεν ξύλον εἰς τὸν ἄρτον αὐτοῦ.⁷⁵ And the *Chaldee*, expounds it incomparably well, of *Poison-Wood*.⁷⁶ The Tree *Taxus*, perhaps the same that wee call the *Yewe Tree*, is, according to other Authors as well as *Pliny*, venemous, and the *Berries* of it are *Poison*.⁷⁷ Yea, tis thought, that from hence, *Poisons* have had the Name of *Toxica*. It seems, The Prophet complains, that there was a Plot among the Priests, to *poison* him; & this, by Putting of *Poison-berries* into his *Bread*.

[12v]

⁷⁴ "These are the words of the prophet speaking unto God." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5530).

⁷⁵ LXX: ἐμβάλωμεν ξύλον εἰς τὸν ἄρτον αὐτοῦ; NETS offers: "let us throw wood into his bread." See Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:216).

⁷⁶ Thus the Latin translation of the Targum Jonathan: "venenum mortiferum." See Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:216); compare *The Targum of Jeremiah* at this verse.

⁷⁷ Compare Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5533); and Pliny, *Natural History*, 16.20.50: "The fruit of the male yew is harmful – in fact its berries, particularly in Spain, contain a deadly poison; even wine-flasks for travellers made of its wood in Gaul are known to have caused death" (transl. LCL 370, p. 421).

[illeg.]

Q. When it is said, *mine Heritage is unto me, as the speckled Bird*; what Bird may be intended in that *speckled Bird*? v. 9.

A. No *Bird* at all. You shall presently see that *speckled Bird*, by a critical *Metamorphosis* turn'd into a *Four-footed Beast*.

The *Hyæna*, or *Jackal*, (a Creature between a *Wolf* and a *Fox*,) was very common, in the Land of *Canaan*. It is a Beast of Prey, and very mischievous and pernicious. / צבוע /⁷⁸ *Tzeboa*, was the Name of the Beast; and it is the very Name used in the Text now before us.

Bochart therefore thinks, and proves, that this Text refers unto it.⁷⁹ It is very sure, That Interpreters, who keep to the Notion of, *A speckled Bird*, are putt unto abundance of Difficulties, & Varieties; until *Drusius* at last saies, *ut dicam quod res est, Locus iste mihi suspectus est de Vitio*.⁸⁰ But after all, *Tzeboa* indeed signifies the Colour that the *Jackal* is of: but the Word / עיט /⁸¹ which we render a *Bird*, notes any prædatory or carnivorous thing, *Beast* as well as *Bird*.

Bochart therefore thus reads the Context; *mine Heritage is unto me, as a Lion in the Forrest; it cries out against me; therefore have I hated it. Is therefore my Heritage as a Ravenous Jackal unto me? Is the Ravenous Beast every where about it?*⁸² Come yee – And it may be thus paraphrased, – “why do the People, whom I have Adopted for my Children, roar & rage against me, with a Brutish Fierceness? Have they cast off all Humanity? Do *Lions* and *Jackals* | and Beasts of Prey, rather than Humane Creatures, inhabit the Land, which I have chosen for my chosen People? It is indeed so. But since it is so, I will send other *Wild-beasts* upon them, as fierce as they, to devour them.”

4077.

Q. It is said, *They have Sown Wheat, & they shall Reap Thorns*: what, is to be understood, & of whom? v. 13.

⁷⁸ צבוע [tsavuah] “colored, variegated,” or “hyena.” LXX: ὑαίνα [hyaina] “hyena;” VUL: “avis discolor” (“bird of different colors”). See Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:218).

⁷⁹ *Bochart*, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 11, p. 839.

⁸⁰ “To say what the matter is here, it seems to me that this passage is suspect of defect.” Mather cites *Johannes Drusius*, whose commentary on Jeremiah was also compiled in volume four of Pearson’s *Critici Sacri*. See *Critici Sacri* (4:823).

⁸¹ עיט [ayit] “a bird of prey.”

⁸² See *Bochart*, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 11, p. 839: “*Est erga me hereditas mea tanquam leo in sylva. Edit contra me vocem suam, ideo illam odi. An igitur est fera rapax variegata* (hyæna) *hereditas mea erga me? An est fera rapax circumquaque super eam?*”

A. Munster saies, *De Prophetis hoc dictum accipe*.⁸³ They were the *Prophets*, who sowed *Wheat* (a good Seed) in their Ministry. But an unfruitful People yeilded nothing but *Thorns* unto them, & *Revenues* which they were *Ashamed* of.

⁸³ “Take this saying to refer to the prophets.” Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5534).

Q. What shall wee think, about *Jeremiahs* Going to *Euphrates*, and there Hiding his *Girdle* under a *Rock*? They say, this was Eighteen or Twenty Dayes Journey, into an Enemies Countrey. v. 4.

A. Many learned Men conceive this thing to bee Transacted, only in *Vision*. But it is probable enough, that *Jeremiah* went personally to *Euphrates*; and they who think otherwise, have not well examined the *Geography* of those Countreyes. For it was not Eighteen or Twenty Dayes Journey, into an Enemies Land, but the Boundary to the Tribe of *Reuben*. And tho' there should hereby bee meant, that Part of *Euphrates*, which encompassed *Babylon* it was not so very far thither, but hee might have Time to come or go; nor is it impossible, that hee might have some further Occasions there, not mentioned in the Prophecy: for tis said, v. 6. *After many Dayes the Lord said unto mee, Arise, Go to Euphrates, & Take the Girdle from thence.* What if this bee the Meaning of the Whole? The Prophets Journey to a Part of *Euphrates*, was propheticall, that the Jewes were to bee carried captive, unto *Babylon*, where was likewise a Part of that *Euphrates*. The Spoiling of the *Girdle* there, was expressive of the *Spoil* which their Captivity, would bring upon all those things which had been their Pride.⁸⁴ —

|
Q. *Before your Feet stumble on the Dark Mountains.*] What may be meant by *the Dark Mountains*? v. 16.

A. *Kimchi* thinks, That hereby was meant *Egypt*, unto which the Jewes were flying for Succour.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ The question whether this and similar passages from other prophetic writings ought to be read in a literal or a figurative fashion is discussed at length by Edward Pococke in his commentary on Hosea, in *Works* (2:3–4).

⁸⁵ From Münster in Pearson's *Critici Sacri* (4:5539), a reference to Kimchi's annotation on Jer. 13:16. In translation Münster's gloss reads "But the words 'tenebrae, nox & caligo' signify extraordinary and horrible tribulations. And by the words 'montes caliginosos,' must be understood, as Kimchi thinks, Egypt, to which the Jews were flying for refuge." On this verse, see Kimchi (Radak) in *Mikraoth Gedoloth, Jeremiah*, p. 117, on Jer. 13:16.

Q. On that whole Paragraph of, *The Hope of Israel?* v. 8.

A. In the Translation, which I give you of it, and which a learned Jew converted unto Christianity suggested unto me; you will see, that I look on it as a Prophecy of the wonderful Circumstances, wherein our SAVIOUR was to be exhibited at His Appearing.⁸⁶

| [blank]

[15v]

⁸⁶ The part with the suggestion by the “learned Jew” is missing from the manuscript. Since [16r] is only a small stub, it seems likely that a page was torn out here at some point. However, the material from the missing part seems to have been re-used in Mather’s *Triparadisus*, where we read on this verse: “However, Whom else, but a Glorious CHRIST could I think upon, when a *Jew* of my Acquaintance becoming a *Christian*, recommended unto me such a Reading [of Jer. XIV.8,9] as This. *The Expectation of Israel is the SAVIOUR thereof in time of trouble. Why; Thou shalt be as a Stranger in the Land, and as a Wayfaring Man, who turneth aside to tarry for a Night. Why; Thou shalt be as a Man astonished, as a Mighty Man that cannot save. Yett thou, O Lord, art in the Midst of us, and we are called by thy Name. Leave us not*” (169). The reference is very likely to Judah Monis. However, I could not find such a suggestion for a revised transl. of Jer. 14:8 in Monis’s published writings.

Q. What observable of *Moses* and *Samuel*? v. 1.

A. Both were *Levites*; both were *Prophets*; both were political *Governours* of the People.⁸⁷

Q. What are meant by, *The Gates of the Land*? v. 7.

A. *Munster* will tell you, The Cities.⁸⁸

|

{4079}

Q. What may be the Meaning of the Prophet, in that Petition, *Take me not away in thy Longsuffering*? v. 15.

A. “*Lord*, lett me live, to see that Vengeance taken by Heaven, which may convince the Gainsayers, that I have served thee, & preached thy Truth. Lett not thy *Longsuffering* towards the Sinners be such, that I shall be *taken away* before I see thy *Vengeance* executed on them.”⁸⁹

The Impatient Prophet sinned in this Petition. And therefore saies the Lord, *If thou Return, then will I bring thee again, & thou shalt stand before me*. That is to say, “If thou Repent of thy Impatience, & thy Unbeleef, and sett thyself to bring the People unto Repentance, that after all their Unworthiness, I may show favour to them, *Then!* – *Recipiam Te in dignitatem pristinae Functionis*.”⁹⁰ –

⁸⁷ Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5546).

⁸⁸ Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5546).

⁸⁹ See Münster on Jer. 15:15 in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5547).

⁹⁰ “I will accept you again in the dignity of your previous office.” Münster on Jer. 15:18 in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5547).

|
{*433-}

Q. What may bee the more special Meaning of that Passage, *I will Recompense their Iniquity, & their Sin, Double?* v. 18.

A. The Passage may have Respect unto That in Isa. 40.2. *shee hath Received of the Lords Hand, Double for all her Sins.* But the *Chaldee*, in my Opinion very Agreeably, applies it unto the *Double Captivity*, which the Jewes were punished withal; That of *Jeconiah*, and that of *Zedekiah*.⁹¹

⁹¹ See Grotius, *Opera* (1:361). Compare the Targum in Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:232).

Q. Unto what may allude, that Passage, about, *The Sin of Judah, being written with a Pen of Iron, and with the Point of a Diamond; and graven upon the Table of their Heart; & upon the Horns of their Altars?* v. 1.

A. The Sin of Judah, was, *Idolatry*. Tis here threatned, That the Lord would visit them, with such *Hard* Inflictions of His Providence, as would make them Remember the *Sin*, that had procured such Afflictions unto them.

The *Idolaters*, did use to hang about their Hearts, those *Amulets*, (perhaps golden Plates) whereon the *Names*, or the *Marks* of their Idols were engraved. In allusion here unto, the Lord assures the Jewes, That as their Disposition to *Idolatry*, did remain upon their Hearts, thus the severe *Punishment* of it, should keep alive in their *Hearts*, the *Remembrance* thereof.

When tis said, Their *Sin was written on the Horns of their Altars*, wee are to know, That on the *Horns* of the *Altars*, were Inscribed the Names of the Gods, whereto they were devoted.

Compare Act. 17.23.⁹²

Q. What was the true *Heath in the Desert?* v. 6.

A. Sr. *Tho. Brown* saies, It sounds Instructively enough to our Ears who behold that Plant so common in Barren Plains among us; But the *Erica*, or our *Heath*, is not the same Plant with *Myrica*, or *Tammarice*, described by *Theophrastus* and *Dioscorides*, and which *Bellonius* declares to grow so plentifully in the Desarts of *Judea* and *Arabia*.⁹³

Q. On that Passage, *I will give to every Man according to the Fruit of his Doings?* v. 10.

A. Mr. *William Hook* has a very singular Thought, which because of its being so, I will enter here; And, *valeat quantum valere potest*.⁹⁴

The Good that good Men do upon Earth, after they are Dead, will procure an Addition to their Glory in the Heavenly World. Not only their *Works*, but the *Fruit* of their *Works* will be Rewarded there. As the *evil Works* of wicked

⁹² See Grotius, *Opera* (1:361).

⁹³ See Thomas Browne, *Certain Miscellany Tracts*, tract. 1, sect. 6, p. 9.

⁹⁴ "It shall have effect as far as it can have effect." This is a standard legal phrase which Mather here employs in a metaphorical sense and for rhetorical purposes. The following argument is paraphrased from William Hooke's *The Priviledge of the Saints on Earth* (1673), pp. 91–92. Hooke (1601–1678) was a distinguished Puritan clergymen, who lived in New England from 1640 to 1656 (most of this time he worked with John Davenport in New Haven's first Congregational Church), before he returned to England to serve as the private chaplain to Cromwell (ANB).

Men, may increase their Damnation & Punishment, as the *Fruit* of what they have done causes an Increase of Wickedness in their Survivors. Thus *Jeroboam*, found the Influence of his *evil Works* for three hundred Years together, to make at last sevenfold Hell unto him. The Rich Man in Hell, seems to have some Apprehension of such a Matter.

[18v]

[illeg.]

Q. Wee read of the *Partridge*, that *sitteth on Eggs*, & *hatcheth them not*; Is it really the *Partridge*, that is the *Bird* intended here? v. 11.

A. *Bochart* saies, No.

By the way, the Hebrew terms for the Actions of this *Bird*, should be better Translated. It should be read, *shee hatcheth Eggs*, & *she did not lay them*. The Birds brooding upon *Eggs*, that are none of her own Laying, is an Incomparable Good Similitude, for Mens *Getting Riches*, & *not by Right*.

Indeed, the *Ancients* ordinarily apply this Passage, to the *Partridge*; & the *Moderns* take it from them. They have also their elegant Glosses upon it; agreeing to that of *Eustathius*, Ἀλλότρια δὲ κλέπτων ὡς νοσσοποιεῖ, *Aliena Ova Surrepta educit*.⁹⁵ *Ambrose*, on the *Hexaameron* saies the same. And, in one of his Epistles, he thus glosses on the Text now before us. *Quidam, naturæ Perdici etiam istud aptandum putârunt, eò quòd aliena diripiat Ova, et foveat suo Corpore, atque hâc sua fraude Partus alienos studeat acquirere*.⁹⁶ And *Philastrius*, in the Præface of his Treatise, *De Hæresibus*, writes, *Inimicum humani Generis Perdici fuisse ab Jeremia Prophetâ non immerito comparatum (oportet) agnoscere, qui, cum infæcunditatem patiat, sæpius aliorum furtim fœtus incubans, quasi suos jam foveat ac vindicat filios*.⁹⁷ Thus *Epiphanius*, thus *Cassiodorus*, thus *Isidore*, the last of whom thus briefly expresses the Sense of the rest, *Perdix adeò est fraudulenta, ut alteri Ova diripiens foveat*.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Greek and Latin: "It rears stolen foreign eggs." *Bochart*, *Hieroicon*, pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 12, p. 84. *Bochart* refers to Pseudo-Eustathius of Antioch, *In Hexahemeron commentarius*, p. 29 [PG 18. 733].

⁹⁶ "Some think of this as belonging to the nature of the partridge, that it steals foreign eggs and fosters them with its body, and through this trickery strives to acquire foreign offspring." *Bochart*, *Hieroicon*, pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 12, p. 84. *Bochart* refers to *Ambrose*, *Hexaameron*, lib. 6, cap. 3 [PL 14. 246; CSEL 32.1], see FC 42:234; and to his letters: *Epistolæ*, epist. 32 [PL 16. 1071; CSEL 82.1].

⁹⁷ "The prophet Jeremiah does not unjustly compare (as we should acknowledge) the hostility of human kind to that of the partridge, which when suffering from barrenness often secretly nests the offspring of others, fostering it and claiming it as its own progeny." *Bochart*, *Hieroicon*, pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 12, p. 84. *Bochart* refers to *Philastrius* (Filaster), Bishop of Brescia (4th century), *De hæresibus* [PL 12. 1112].

⁹⁸ "The partridge is so deceitful that it steals the eggs of another and fosters them." From *Bochart* (*Hieroicon*, pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 12, p. 84), *Mather* cites *Isidore of Seville*, *Etymologiae*, lib. 12, cap. 7 [PL 82. 467]; transl.: *The Etymologies*.

But it is not easy to see, how the *Bill* and *Clawes* of a *Partridge*, should be able to manage such a *Peece* of *Theevery*.

The *Bird* here is one that *Invades* the *Nests* of other *Birds*; which is a *Crime* charg'd upon many other *Birds* besides the *Cuckow*; and among the rest, that which is here called; the / קרא / *Kore*.⁹⁹

And this *Bird*, our learned *Bochart*, will have to be, the *Woodcock*, or *Snipe*; or a *Bird* of *Palæstine* so near to that *Sort*, that we have no other *Name* for it. This is indeed in some regard so like a *Partridge*, that it is a *Verse* in *Martial*;

*Rustica sim, an Perdix? Quid refert,
Si Sapor idem est?*¹⁰⁰

Q. The *Fate* of the *Jewes*, is here foretold; *They are to be written in the Earth*; [namely, where the *Ostrich* *layes her Eggs*, where the *Foot* of every *Beast* that *passes by*, may *crush them*;] and what for? v. 13.

A. Because they *Forsake the Lord*, the *Hope* of *Israel*; not, *The Lord*, the *Possession* of *Israel*; but the promised *Lord*, which *Israel* *hoped for*.

And thus, *David* long before, *Devoted* this *Nation* to *Ruine*, for their *Hating* the *Innocent* *JESUS* *without a Cause*. For this *their Table* is *made their Snare*, and *their Welfare*, *their Trap*; The *Law* of *Moses*, & their *Covenant* of *Peculiarities*, becomes an *Occasion* of their confirmed *Occæcation*, & *Obduration*. For their *Persecuting* of *Him*, whom *God smote* (when *God laid on Him the Iniquity of us all*;) therefore they *forever bow down their Backs*; that is, as the *Syriac* expounds it, they never see that *Redemption* from *Captivity* which they look for.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ קרא [kore] "partridge," see 1 Sam. 26:20.

¹⁰⁰ "Whether I am a woodcock or partridge, what does it matter if the flavor is the same?" From *Bochart* (*Hieroicoicon*, pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 12, p. 89), a reference to *Martial*, *Epigrammata*, 13.76; transl.: *LCL* 480, p. 202.

¹⁰¹ Mather here refers to Ps. 69:22–23 as interpreted in Rom. 11:9–10, where Paul reads these verses as predicting the fall of Israel and its supersession by the Christian Church. The connection to Jer. 17:13 is Ps. 69:28: "Let them be blotted out of the book of the living, and not be written with the righteous" (KJV). Mather would have had access to a Latin transl. of the Syriac version of Rom. 11:9–10 in Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (5:664). However, no reference to hope for redemption from captivity is made here.

Q. What mean the Conspirators against the Life of the Prophet, in those Words; *For the Law shall not perish from the Priest, nor Counsel from the Wise, nor the Word from the Prophet?* v. 18.

A. *Jeremiah* was all of these. But say these Murderers, what tho' *Jeremiah* be destroy'd? What shall we lose by that? We shall still have the Benefit of the *Priest*, & the *Wise* & the *Prophet*. *Non ob ejus interitum destituemur.*¹⁰² So *Munster* carries it.

| [blank]

[19v]

¹⁰² "We will not be left deserted on account of his death." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5563).

Q. In what Sense is the *Smiting of the Prophet*, by *Pashur*, to be taken? v. 2.

A. *Pashur*, was at this Time, the *Prætor* of the Temple, the στρατηγός τοῦ Ἱεροῦ.¹⁰³ The Office of Apprehending Delinquents in the Temple belong'd unto him. Hee *smote* the Prophet, by serving upon him an *Arrest*, as the Greek Word πατάσσειν also signifies.¹⁰⁴ [Math. 26.31. & Mark. 14.27.]

Q. What was the Form of the *Stocks*, whereinto the Prophet was putt? v. 2.

A. The Jewes tell us, T'was a wooden Engine which had Three Holes: one of for the *Neck*, the other Two for the *Hands*, to bee fastned in; That is to say, The *Pillory*.¹⁰⁵

823.

Q. That *Expression* of the Prophet, *O Lord, Thou hast Deceived mee, and I was Deceived*; seems it not hard & harsh enough? v. 7.

A. I wish the *Translation* were somewhat easier. This Language of the Prophet, seems to carry Blasphemy in it: The Hebrew Original may as well bee rendred, Thou hast *Perswaded* mee, *Induced* mee, *Inclined* mee; and a good Sense may bee putt upon it. And I concur with a learned Frenchman, who saies here upon, *La plus favorable Exposition, est aussi la plus recevable*.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ "Leader (or commander, prætor, magistrate) of the temple." Grotius, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5572).

¹⁰⁴ "To smite; to beat." Grotius, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5572). Although πατάσσω [patasso] means almost exclusively: "strike down," or "beat" (see *LS*), in the LXX it is occasionally used in conjunction with taking one into custody, so also here in Jer. 20:2. Following Grotius's hint, Mather implies an expanded typological reading of this passage by the lexical connection to the betrayal and arrest of Christ. That is, when Christ refers to the shepherd being smitten, and thus refers to himself being taken into custody, this Greek word (*patasso*) is employed by Matthew and Mark: "And Jesus saith unto them, All ye shall be offended because of me this night: for it is written, I will smite [πατάξω, *patazo*] the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered." (Mark 14:27; see also Matt. 26:31); Zech. 13:7: "Awake, O sword, against my shepherd, and against the man that is my fellow, saith the LORD of hosts: smite [LXX: πατάξατε, *patazate*] the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered: and I will turn mine hand upon the little ones."

¹⁰⁵ Derived from the glosses of Münster and Vatablus in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5568–69). Münster mentions Kimchi as one of his sources. This might refer to Joseph Kimchi as cited in the annotations of his son David Kimchi (Radak).

¹⁰⁶ "The more favorable exposition is also to be most received." See Jean D'Espagne's notes on Jer. 20:7 in *Shibboleth: ou réformation de quelques passages*, p. 22. The transl. is taken from the English version of *Shibboleth*, p. 26

Or, why mayn't wee take the Version of *Grotius; si Tu me seduxisti Domine seductus sum.*¹⁰⁷

[20v]

1737.

Q. What means the Prophet, by the *Fear on every Side*; when hee saies, *I heard the Defaming of many, Fear on every Side?* v. 10.

A. 'Tis, *Magor Missabib*, the very Name, which the Prophet had newly putt upon *Pashur*. q. d. I heard the Defamations of many, especially of my Friend *Magor Missabib*.

Report say they, and wee will Report it. q. d. If you that are of *Jeremiahs* Acquaintance, will inform us, of any thing that may bee of Consequence to procure him Trouble, wee will inform the *Sanhedrim* concerning it.¹⁰⁸

Q. The Prophet seems abruptly transported from one Extreme to another, when he saies, *cursed be the Day wherein I was born?* v. 14.

A. The learned *Robert Jenkins* is of Opinion, They may be the Words of the Wicked, under the Divine Vengeance; the *Evil-doers* mentioned in the Verse before. These are now represented, as making the Lamentations, to the End of the Chapter. So the Sense will be more easy.

He observes, That *Longinus* takes notice of such an abrupt Change of the Person, as an Excellency in *Homer*, & in *Hecateus*, & in *Demosthenes*. And it is observed by *Justin Martyr*, and *Origen*, that the Want of Distinguishing the Persons that are speaking, ha's been a great Cause of misunderstanding the Scriptures.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ "If you have deceived me, Lord, I was deceived." Grotius, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5572): "Optime autem vertas: *Si tu me seduxisti, Domine, seductus sum*. Isti homines ajunt me falsa vaticinari; at ergo decipi non possum, nisi tu me deceperis, cui fidem habui." The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

¹⁰⁸ See Grotius, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5572).

¹⁰⁹ Mather refers to Robert Jenkin's *The Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion*, vol. 2, p. 55; specifically the chapter entitled "Of the Style of the Holy Scriptures," where Jenkin praises the literary merits of the Hebrew Bible, especially of the prophets. In the passage cited by Mather, Jenkin discusses the abrupt change of the rhetorical *persona* in Jeremiah, a technique, which he argues, was also appreciated in classical rhetoric and poetics as a means of intensifying emotions. In this context he points to the discussion of the same rhetorical technique in the famous treatise *On the Sublime* (*Peri hypsous*; first century CE) ascribed to the Platonic philosopher Cassius Longinus (c. 210–272/3 CE). In lib. 7, sect. 27, Pseudo-Longinus talks about cases in which writers, when relating something about a person, suddenly break off and take on a new identity as that person, conveying the impression of an emotional outburst. As examples Pseudo-Longinus cites passages from Homer, Hecataeus and Demosthenes. The works by the early Christian Apologist Justin Martyr and Origen, the first great systematic and biblical theologian of Christianity, to which Jenkin alludes, are Justin's *Apologia secunda* [PG 6. 441–70; SC 507] and Origen's *Philocalia* [SC 302/226], an anthology of writings by Origen compiled by Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus.

I will add; How far might our Saviour have an Eye to this Description of the Fate & Cry of *Evil-doers*, when he saies of such an one, *It had been good for that Man, he had never been born.*¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ Matt. 26:24; Mark 14:21.

Q. *Zedekiah* sent *Pashur*, unto *Jeremiah*; was there any thing Remarkable in it? v. 1.

A. In the former Chapter, a *Pashur* (the Son of *Immer*) under the Reign of King *Jehojakim*, sett's *Jeremiah* in the Stocks, for foretelling Destruction to *Jerusalem* from the *Babylonian*. And now in the Next Chapter, a *Pashur* (the Son of *Melchiah*) is by King *Zedekiah* sent unto *Jeremiah* for advice against the *Babylonian*, who had already so made good the Prophecy, as to besiege *Jerusalem*. One *Pashur* oppos'd what hee had said, & now another asserts it. This was a thing so Remarkable, that the Two Chapters, otherwise different in Chronology, are with some Dislocation, laid here together.¹¹¹

| **Q.** What may be the Intention of that Expression; *execute Judgment in the Morning*? v. 12. [21v]

A. I will give you the Gloss of the *Talmude* upon it.

Atqui, an non Judicandum est toto Die? Verum est. Sed hoc innuitur; nisi ità liquida sit tibi Causæ Veritas, tanquam Lux Matutina, non perferendam esse Sententiam.

*Dixit R. Jonathan, (ex hoc, dic Sapientiæ, Soror mea es;) si tibi res ità explorata sit, sicut Soror tua, quâ tibi interdictum est, perferas; sin, non perferas Sententiam.*¹¹²

The Courts among the Jewes, we know, chose the *Morning* for their Time of *Hearing* and *Judging*.

With Allusion hereto doubtless it is, that the Judges, who *eat in the Morning*, are condemned. [Eccl. 10.17.] Such as are more sett upon the Gratification of their sensual Appetites, than upon the doing of Justice.

¹¹¹ Grotius, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5574).

¹¹² "But should you not rather be acting as judge the whole day? That is true. But what is suggested is this: If the truth of the case is not as clear to you as the morning light, then the judgment is not to be given. R. Jonathan said (from the following [sc. verse]: Say unto wisdom, thou art my sister): If the matter is as certain to you as is the prohibition of your sister [in marriage], give your judgment, but not otherwise." Mather cites the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Sanhedrin 7b (Soncino, p. 28), from one of the annotations of Johann Heinrich Reitz in Thomas Goodwin's *Moses et Aaron, seu civiles & ecclesiastici ritus antiquorum Hebræorum* (1690), fn. 11 of lib. 5, cap. 6, pp. 417–18.

[illeg.]

Q. When tis said, *weep not for the Dead, but for him that goeth away*, who may be more particularly intended? v. 10.

A. The first Clause in the Chapter *Thus saith the Lord*, is to bee rendred, *Thus said the Lord*. For the Prophet here, is Repeting unto *Zedekiah*, what Sermons hee had preached unto the former Princes of *Judah*, namely, the Brother, and Nephew, of *Zedekiah*; that so hee might not complain of the Devine Dispensations.

In the Verse now before us, by *the Dead*, is meant King *Josiah*; q. d. leave off Mourning for him, who Dyed bravely in Battel, & was taken away from *the Evil to come*. By, *Him that goeth away*, is meant *Jehoabaz*, whom *Pharaoh Necho* carried into *Egypt*.¹¹³

[22v]

Q. It having been said, *He did Judgment & Justice, He Judged the Cause of the poor, & needy*, it followes, *was not this to know me, saith the Lord?* v. 16.

A. *Munster* observes, That this Passage refers to that; Jer. IX.24.¹¹⁴ *lett him that glorieth, glory in this, that he understandeth & knoweth me, that I am the Lord, which exerciseth Loving-Kindness, Judgment & Righteousness in the Earth*. Some Holy & Useful Thoughts, will soon be raised in the Mind, that compares these Two Texts together.

Q. Why is *Jeconiah*, called *Coniah*? v. 24.

A. In the Hebrew tis / כְּנִיָּהוּ / *Chonjahu*. *Jod*, at the Beginning, is taken away; as an Intimation, that his Head should bee taken off.¹¹⁵ *Vav*,¹¹⁶ is added in the End, by way of Contempt, q. d. *Conia ille*.¹¹⁷

Q. What, & why was the Threatning so particular against the *Mother* of the King? v. 26.

A. The Impiety of that Lady, *Nehush*, you'l find, in Jer. 13.18. –

The Accomplishment of the Threatning denounced against her, for that Impiety, you'l Read, in 2. King. 24.12, 15.¹¹⁸

¹¹³ See Grotius, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5582). Compare 2 Kings 23:34 and 2 Chron. 36:4.

¹¹⁴ Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5557).

¹¹⁵ כְּנִיָּהוּ [konjahu] proper name; jod is the Hebrew letter: ך

¹¹⁶ The vav is the Hebrew letter: ם and a word, “and, as, now, then,” etc.

¹¹⁷ “As if to say, *that* Coniah.” See Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5582).

¹¹⁸ See in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5582).

Q. That Name, *JEHOVAH Tzidkenu*, or, *The Lord our Righteousness*: To whom does it belong? v. 6.

A. That it belongs to the *Messiah*, tis evident, not only from the Context, but also from the Jewish Talmud, & the many Rabbins, who apply this Prophecy to the *Messiah*.

Edzard, in his *Consensus Antiquitatis Judaicæ*, hath collected, more than seventy Instances, from the Jewish Writings, of their thus Applying this Prophecy.¹²⁰

Q. Is there any special Emphasis on, and Inference from those Words, *In the latter Dayes, yee shall consider it*? v. 20.

A. It was the Opinion of the Ancient Jewes, That there should bee a *Resurrection* in the Dayes of the *Messiah*. Lett us hear some Glosses of the Chaldee Paraphrast, unto this Purpose.

Hos. 6.2. *Hee will Revive us in the Dayes of Consolation, which are to come, in the Day of the Resurrection of the Dead.*¹²¹

[23v]

¹¹⁹ In his annotations on ch. 23 Mather clearly parts ways with Grotius. While Mather reads the prophecies of Jer. 23:5–6 as predicting the messiah, Grotius understands them as referring to Zerubbabel, leader of the tribe of Judah at the time of the return from the Babylonian captivity. See Grotius, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5588).

¹²⁰ Mather refers to Esdras Edzard (Edzardus, 1629–1708), *Consensus antiquitatis judaicæ cum explicatione Christianorum, super locum Jeremiæ, cap. XXIII.5.6* (1670). A native of Hamburg, Edzard was a Lutheran Hebraist who worked as a private tutor of Hebrew for Christian ministers. His most famous pupil was August Hermann Francke. Edzard's main passion was the mission to the Jews. In 1677 he established an institute for missions (*Proselytenanstalt*) in Hamburg (ADB). Like Hulsius's *Theologia iudaica*, which Mather used for his comments on Isaiah, Edzard's *Consensus antiquitatis* was an apologetic work that employed the growing Hebraist knowledge to defend the messianic readings of OT prophecies and demonstrate that they were fulfilled in Christ. Among other sources, Edzard cites the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Baba Bathra 75b (Soncino, p. 303). The Soncino transl. reads: "R. Samuel b. Nahmani said in the name of R. Johanan: Three were called by the name of the Holy One; blessed be He, and they are the following: The righteous, the Messiah and Jerusalem. ... [As regards] the Messiah – it is written: And this is the name whereby he shall be called, The Lord is our righteousness." See also Judah Monis, *The whole Truth*, pp. 22–23, who seems to reference Edzardus's work or similar apologetic writings. He adds a quotation from Maimonides, *More Nebuchim*, pars 1, cap. 61 (*Guide for the Perplexed*, pp. 89–91), and a quotation from Midrash Rabbah, Lamentations (Eichah Rabbah), on Lam. 1:16. The modern transl. reads (pp. 135–36): "What is the name of King Messiah? R. Abba b. Kahana said: His name is 'the Lord'; as it is stated, And this is the name whereby he shall be called, The Lord is our righteousness (Jer. XXIII, 6)."

¹²¹ From Lightfoot's *The Harmony*, in *Works* (1:676), on John 5:25, Mather cites this transl. of the Latin version of Targum on Hos. 6:2. The Latin version reads: "Vita donabit nos in

Hos. 14.8. *They shall bee gathered out of their Captivity, they shall sitt under the Shadow of their Messias, & the Dead shall Revive, and Good shall bee multiplied on the Earth.*¹²²

Isa. 49.9. *I give thee for a Covenant unto the People, to Raise the Righteous, that ly in the Dust.*¹²³

And on Ezek. 37. *It may bee, God showed Ezekiel, the Vision of the Dead Bones Reviving, to signify to him, that hee would Raise the Dead at the Time of Deliverance, that they also might see the Deliverance.*¹²⁴

But on the Text now before us;

Jer. 23.20. *In that Hee saith, YEE shall consider it, & not, THEY shall consider it, it intimateth the Resurrection of the Dead, in the Dayes of the Messiah.*¹²⁵

And thus, *Aben Ezra*, on Dan. 12.2. *The Righteous, who died in the Captivity, shall Revive, when the Redeemer cometh.*¹²⁶

Q. What is the Meaning of that Passage, *The Prophet that hath a Dream, lett him Tell a Dream?* v. 28.

diebus consolationis qui venturi sunt, in die resurrectionis mortuorum suscitabit nos & vivemus coram eo.”

122 From Lightfoot's *The Harmony*, in *Works* (1:676), on John 5:25, Mather cites this transl. of the Latin version of Targum Jonathan on Hos. 14:8. The Latin version reads: “Congregabuntur de medio captivitatis suae, habitabunt in umbra Christi sui, & vivent mortui, accrescetque bonum in terra: erit memorial bonitatis eorum fructificans & indeficiens juxta ac memoria clangoris tubarum super vino veteri, quod libari solet in domo sanctuarii.”

123 From Lightfoot's *The Harmony*, in *Works* (1:676), on John 5:25, Mather cites this transl. of the Latin version of Targum Jonathan on Isa. 49:8. The Latin version reads: “dedi te in pacem populi, ut suscitares justos qui jacent in pulvere.” Kimchi (Radak) in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Isaiah*, p. 397, on Isa. 49:8, explicitly makes the messianic connection: “Nevertheless, I will preserve you until, in the times of the Messiah, I make you *an everlasting people*.”

124 From Lightfoot, *The Harmony*, in *Works* (1:676), on John 5:25. Lightfoot references Kimchi (Radak). See his gloss in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Ezekiel*, p. 318, on Ezek. 37:1: “God showed these bones to Ezekiel to symbolize the revival of the Jewish people, in which they will emerge from exile, after having been like dry bones. It is also possible that He showed him this vision to teach him that at the time of the future redemption, the dead will be resurrected in order for them to share in the redemption.” For other rabbinical interpretations of the “dead bones,” compare *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Ezekiel*, pp. 317–22, on Ezek. 37:1–14. Some of them refer to the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Sanhedrin 92b (Soncino, pp. 618–20).

125 From Lightfoot, *The Harmony*, in *Works* (1:676), on John 5:25. Lightfoot again references Kimchi (Radak). See his gloss in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Jeremiah*, p. 191, on Jer. 23:20: “This denotes the Messianic era. Then you will consider this prophecy, for, until those days, you do not consider it since you do not witness the destruction of the wicked. The use of the second person rather than the third, denotes the resurrection of the dead that will take place at that time. Therefore he addresses his own generation, who will be present at the end of days.”

126 From Lightfoot, *The Harmony*, in *Works* (1:676), on John 5:25. Lightfoot probably cites Ibn Ezra's commentary on Daniel, which was never translated. See Ibn Ezra in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Daniel*, p. 111, on Dan. 12:1–2. Here the relation to those who died in exile is not mentioned, however. Compare also Mather, *Trip paradisus*, p. 188.

A. The Lord complains of it, that the Prophets of this People, made their Trifling and Foolish *Oneirocriticks* to bee the Rule of their Prophecies.¹²⁷ Whereas now, saies the Lord, lett the pretended Prophet, who has a *Dream* to Tell, Tell it only as a *Dream*; lett him not pretend unto any more than a *Dream*. But if a Prophet have a *Divine Revelation* to utter, lett him *speak my Word faithfully*, & utter nothing of his own but keep close to His Comission.

It followes, *Is not my Word, like a Fire, & like an Hammer?* It spares no body; no, not the most Hard-hearted Wretches in the World. Whereas the false Prophets, do with their flatteries, & falshoods accommodate themselves unto the Lusts of the People.¹²⁸

Q. Who are meant, by, *The Prophets, that steal the Words of God, every one, from their Neighbour?* v. 30.

A. They, who by their *Lies*, kept People, from Giving a due Entertainment unto the *Word of God*, when it was, by His Prophets, brought unto them. Or, shall we say? They who *conceal'd* and *witheld* from the People those *Words of God*, which had been Reveal'd unto themselves. Or, shall we say? Who bring to the People those things for the *Words of God*, which are but their own Inventions.¹²⁹

Q. May there not be a further Sense of it?

A. Why may not they be said also, to *steal the Words of God*, who pervert the Words from the true Meaning of them, and who take them away from those good Purposes, whereto they belong, and apply them unto Purposes which have no Claim unto them: or, as one glosses upon it, *when it may be, its on his Neighbours Side, which he preaches against*.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ "Interpretations of dreams".

¹²⁸ See Grotius, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5590).

¹²⁹ Similar readings are offered in the glosses by Rashi, Kimchi (Radak) and other rabbis in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Jeremiah*, pp. 194–97, on Jer. 23:30–40. See also the discussion of false prophecy in the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Sanhedrin 89a-b (Soncino, pp. 590–95). Here the Gemarah begins with the statement: "Our Rabbis taught; Three are slain by man, and three by heaven; He who prophesies what he has not heard or what has not been told him, and he who prophesies in the name of an idol are slain by man. But he who suppresses his prophecy, or disregards the words of a prophet, and a prophet who transgresses his own words are slain by Heaven." See also Münster's short remarks in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5583), citing Kimchi and the Targum Jonathan. The last two sentences of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

¹³⁰ The source of this interpretation could not be identified.

Q. In the Visions of the Prophet, why are *Men* compared unto *Figs*, rather than any other Fruit? v. 1.

A. *Austin* in many Places does descant upon it; but particularly, Serm. 31. *de Verbis Domini Sec. Lucam*. hee thus expresses himself. *Ab eo jam Tempore, quo primus homo post Peccatum, foliis se ficulneæ texit, humanum Genus Similitudinis cum ficu induit cognationem.*¹³¹

And *Ambrose* hath a Gloss to this Purpose; That since our First Parents covered their Loins, with Leaves from the *Fig-tree*, all Men descended from their Loins, may by being Resembled unto *Figs*, have their sinful Nature intimated.¹³²

[illeg.]

Q. What may bee the Signification of the *Two Basketts*, wherein the Prophet sees, the *Good Figs*, & the *Bad*?

A. *Fernandius* has a Fancy, That the *Two Basketts*, are the *Two Kings*; namely, *Jechoniah*, and *Zedekiah*; and the *Figs*, the People transported with them into Captivity.

To maintain his Comparision, hee thus carries it on; *Illud notari debet, in Calatho continente, et sustentante, significari Regem, quatenus suos continent, dumque illos non dissolutos ac dissipatos vivere permittit, sed Vi sua Legumque Obicibus adunatos servat, ac in Gyrum quasi Rationis ac Iustitiæ cogit; item quatenus humeris suis totum Regnum sustentat.*¹³³

Q. That Prophecy, *I will deliver them to be Removed into all the Kingdomes of the Earth, for their Hurt, to be a Reproach & a Proverb, a Taunt & a Curse*; How ha's it been accomplished? v. 9.

¹³¹ "Already from this time, after the (original) sin, when the first man covered himself with fig leaves, the human race took on a relation of similarity with the fig tree." Cited from Cornelius à Lapide, *Commentaria in Jeremiam prophetam*, p. 535. À Lapide here paraphrases the argument from Augustine's sermon *De verbis Evangelii Lucae*, which the PL counts as sermon 110 of the *Sermones de Scripturis* [PL 38. 680].

¹³² From à Lapide's loose summary (*Commentaria in Jeremiam prophetam* 535), Mather refers to Ambrose's reflection on Adam's fall in *De paradiso*, cap. 13 [PL 14. 307–08; CSEL 32.1].

¹³³ "It is to be observed that the enclosing and nourishing basket stands for the king in so far as he holds his subjects together, and so long as he does not allow them to be divided among themselves or to be scattered. [The basket stands for the king in so far that] he unifies and protects them with his own power and through the boundaries of laws and, as it were, gathers them into a bond of reason and justice; and in so far that he sustains the entire kingdom by his arm." From à Lapide (*Commentaria in Jeremiam prophetam* 535), Mather refers to Antonius Fernandius's *Commentarii in visiones Veteris Testamenti*, col. 335–36.

A. Honest Mr. Terry, in his, *Voyage to East-India*, writing a particular Account of *Indoustan*, ha's these Passages, which will help a little to Illustrate the Text before us.

"There are some Jews here, whose Rebellion long ago caused Almighty God to threaten them, that they should be after scattered among all the Nations of the World. [Jer. XXIV.9. & XLII.18.] Those Prophecies and that ancient Imprecation, *His Blood be on us & our Children*, follow them close all the World over; they being every where *Strangers*, but no where *Beloved*; Tho' they be a People that gett Wealth wherever they come, yett this frees them not, from being a *Proverb* of Contempt & Reproach. Those ancient Satyrists, *Persius* and *Juvenal*, call them *Verpos*, *A circumcised Vermine*. *Tacitus* gives them a most unsavoury Epithite; calling them, *Fætentes Judæos*. *Marcus* the Emperour, concluded they were a Generation of Men worse than Savages or Canibals; as if they were the very *Refuse* and *Drege* of Mankind.

How usual is that Proverb, *Am I a Jew, that I should do so & so?* I have observed something to this Purpose from the People of East-India; who are very valiant at *Tongue-fights*, very nimble in *Railing* at one another, & their Language so full, and significant, that in it, they can call a Man Two or Three Base Things in One Word. But when they come to call him, whom they miscall, *Judæo*, JEW! they believe (as I have often been told) that they can go no higher; esteeming *that*, above all other Terms, the Highest Name of Obloquy."¹³⁴

¹³⁴ "Verpos" signifies "the Circumcised," "Fætentes Judæos" means "Stinking Jews." This derogatory account of the diasporic communities in the Mogul empire, along with the catalogue of anti-Semitic opinions from classical antiquity, is cited with slight variations from sect. 5 ("Of the Inhabitants of East-India") of Edward Terry's travel account *A Voyage to East-India*, pp. 130–31. Terry references anti-Jewish invectives in the *Satires* of the two Roman satirical poets Juvenal (Decimus Iunius Juvenalis, c. 55/60/67–c. 127 CE), 14.100 ff., and Persius (5.180 ff.). The reference to Tacitus is probably a mistake. The phrase Terry mentions is more likely from either Martial's *Epigrammata* (4.4), where Martial refers to the stench "of the breath of fasting Sabbatarian Jews" (compare *LCL* 94, p. 263). However, anti-Semitic remarks are to be found in a passage of Tacitus's *Histories* (5.5): "the ways of the Jews are preposterous and mean" (*LCL* 249, p. 185). An anti-Semitic remark by the Emperor Marcus Aurelius is to be found in the *Roman History* (22.5) of the Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus (325/330–after 391 BCE): "Marcus, as he was passing through Palestine on his way to Egypt, being often disgusted with the malodorous and rebellious Jews is reported to have cried: 'O Marcomanni, O Quadi, O Sarmatians, at last I have found a people more unruly than you'" (transl.: *LCL* 315, p. 205). By interpreting the condition of the diasporic Jews as a consequence of the ancient imprecation, "His blood be on us, and on our children," Terry is alluding to the response which the priests, after demanding Jesus's crucifixion, give to Pilate's gesture of washing his hand and saying "I am innocent of the blood of this just person: see ye to it." (Matt. 27:24–25).

{1443:}

Q. What was the *Book*, that *Jeremiah prophesied against all the Nations*? v. 13.

A. The Method actually used by the LXX, in this Place, will expound it.¹³⁵ For here, they introduce the *Prophecies of Jeremiah against all the Nations*. Particularly,

The Prophecy against the *Elymeans*,
at Jer. 49.35.

Then, the Prophecy against *Egypt*,
at Jer. 46.

Then, That against *Babylon*,
at Jer. 50. and 51.

Then those, of Chap. 47. & 48. & 49.

And so, those that come in at the 15th Verse of this Chapter.

I beleeve, tis well done to putt these together; for, I beleeve, those make up,
The Book that Jeremiah prophesied against all the Nations.

|

~~1444:~~

Q. Who may bee meant, by, *All the mingled People together*, that are to Drink of the Prophets *Wine-Cup*? v. 20.

A. / וְאֵת כָּל-הָעֲרָב / It may bee rendred, *And all those Arabians*, whose Enumeration presently follows.¹³⁶

Among the Cities of the *Philistines* wee don't find any Mention of *Gath* at all, & wee find but the *Remnants of Azotus* mentioned: Because the Region hereabouts had been horribly exhausted by the Seige of *Psammitichus*, the King of *Egypt*; which held for near Thirty Years together. *Azotus* was almost, and *Gath* altogether, destroy'd: whereof you may read in *Herodotus's Euterpe*.¹³⁷ For

¹³⁵ Here Mather refers to the fact that in the LXX Jeremiah's prophecies against the neighbouring countries are placed immediately after v. 13, whereas the Masoretic text has them at the end of the book. Following Grotius (in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* 4:5597), Mather suggest that the "Book which Jeremiah hath prophesied against all Nations" (v. 13) refers to this collection of prophecies and that they should indeed be inserted here.

¹³⁶ Mather here follows Grotius's commentary in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5597). This is a citation from Jer. 25:20: וְאֵת כָּל-הָעֲרָב; KJV: "And all the mingled people;" VUL: "et universis generaliter." Grotius suggests: "Et omnes illos Arabas, quorum scilicet enumeratio sequitur." ("And all those Arabs, whose enumeration certainly follows.") See Jer. 25:20–25; 25:24: "And all the kings of Arabia, and all the kings of the mingled people that dwell in the desert."

¹³⁷ See Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, 2.157: "Psammetichus ruled Egypt for fifty-three years; for twenty-nine of these he sat before Azotus, a great city in Syria, and besieged it till he took

I confess, tis no little Satisfaction to read such Commentators as *Herodotus*, upon the Prophecies of *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah*. Of whom I may say, as in those Prophecies the Lord speaks of the Instruments that were to fulfil them, *Howbeit they do not mean so!*

Q. Who is meant, by the *King of Sheshach*, that was to Drink of the *Fury-Cup*, after the other *Kings*? v. 26.

A. It undoubtedly means, *The King of Babylon*. But all the Quæstion is, why is hee called *The King of Sheshach*? Surely, Not because the Prophet foreknowing that hee was one Day to live under that King, forebore any plain Indigitation of his Name, to prevent any hazard that might afterwards from his Prophecy arise unto himself. Why then? The Jewes here do Retreat unto that Sort of *Cabala*, which is called, *Athbasch*,¹³⁸ among them: In that *Cabala*, the *Last Letter* of the Alphabet is putt for the *First*, the *Penult* for the *Second*, after this Fashion.

א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ
ת ש ר ק צ פ ע ס נ מ ל

Now by this *Cabala*, you'll see ששך¹³⁹ becomes בבל.¹⁴⁰ And this being a Curiosity, which no less a Man than *Jerom*, received as a Mystery from his Hebrew Tutor; and such great Persons as *Alsted* and *Kircher*, have since counted it worthy to bee considered; I was not unwilling once for all to give it you.¹⁴¹

it. Azotus held out against a siege longer than any city of which I have heard" (transl. *LCL* 117, p. 469). See Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5597).

¹³⁸ Atbash (A[leph]T[av]B[eth]S[hin]) is a hermeneutical device which involves a substitution of successive letters of a word by letters from the opposite end of the alphabet. It is rule number 30 of the Baraita of 32 rules for interpreting Scripture. See "Baraita of 32 rules" in the *Encyclopedia Judaica* (4:194–95). Sheshak, which refers to Babylon (see also Jer. 51:41), is taken by most scholars to be an example of Atbash. "Thus bbl ("Babel," "Babylon") becomes sh sh k. The second letter of the alphabet b is replaced by the second to last, sh, and the l by the k. The purpose of this code here is not clear, since Jeremiah certainly didn't hesitate to speak openly of the demise of Babylon. Keil suggests that Sheshak is not only the result of Atbash, but signifies a crouching, sinking down, thus speaking of Babylon's fate. KB suggests a possible connection with the name Shish-ku found in late king lists. Another probable case of Atbash is found in Jer. 51:1 where lēb qāmāy stands for Chaldeans (kasdīm)" (2:2475).

¹³⁹ ששך [sheshak]; בָּבֶל [babel] Babylon. Sheshach is used twice in Jeremiah to refer to Babylon; see above.

¹⁴⁰ בָּבֶל [babel] Babylon.

¹⁴¹ The Reformed theologian Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588–1638) and the Jesuit Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680), two leading Christian Kabbalists of the period, approved of the hermeneutical method of Atbash. In his *Edipus Aegyptiacus* (3 vols., 1652–1654), vol. 2, pars 1, sect. 4, cap. 5 ("De Tabula Ziruph sive Combinationis Alphabetorum Hebraicorum"), pp. 247–67, Kircher deals extensively with a variety of different hermeneutic theories including Atbash. Alsted addresses Atbash in his famous compendium *Scientiarum omnium encyclopaedia* (1649), vol. 1, lib. 35, sect. 4, p. 304; see Klaus Reichert, "Christian Kabbalah in the Seventeenth Century." It is impossible to identify Mather's immediate source for this example of Atbash since it can be found in many places. Jerome already mentions it in his *Commentarii in Jeremiam*, lib. 5, at Jer. 25:26 [PL 24. 838; CSEL 59; CCSL 74]. It is also explained, for instance, by Münster and Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5591 and 5597), and in the learned annotations which

Nevertheless, I am loth to admit that it should bee applyed as an *Herme-
neutic* Instrument, unto the Oracles of the Scriptures. I shall rather think,
Babylon to bee called *Sheshach* for the Sake of the *Sacæan* Idolatries therein
committed. The Babylonians worshipped a *Goddess*, known by the Name of *Saca*;
shee is mentioned by *Strabo*, by *Valerius Maximus*, by *Athenæus*.¹⁴² The Dayes
called, *Sacææ*, were those wherein, as in the Roman *Saturnalia*, the Servants were
by their Masters waited on. *Martinius* derives the Name from שַׁח *Feriarum*.¹⁴³

Wherefore our Prophet here plainly sais, *Babylon*, without any Tergiversa-
tion; only hee Derides and Illudes the Idolatry of *Babylon*, by a Name fetched
from the Goddess therein adored: not without Insinuations, that this *Idolatry*,
was to bee reckoned among the Causes of their Confusion. Yea, as in the Rites
of *Saca*, the Masters were to Drink after their Servants, thus here the *King of*
Sheshach, is to drink, and *Spue* and *Fall*, (still after the same Fashion!) after the
other Kings which hee had made his Tributaries.

Joseph de Voisin added to Martini's *Pugio Fidei* (fol. 268). It is also used as an example in ch. 12 of Basnage's *The History of the Jews* entitled "Of the Mysteries the Cabbalists find in the Words of the Holy Scriptures" (191), and mentioned by Gataker in his annotations on Jer. 25:26 in *Westminster Annotations*, unpaginated.

142 In his *Geography* (11.8.5) Strabo relates how the cult of the Babylonian goddess Saca developed in the context of an expedition that Cyrus made against the Sacæ. Athenæus mentions in his work *Deipnosophistai* (14.44) that the festival of Saca was celebrated in Babylon for a period of five days. In his *Facta et dicta memorabilia* (2.6.15), Valerius Maximus explains that the North African city of Sicca derived its name from a temple of Venus which existed there.

143 "From celebrating the festival of שַׁח; שַׁח [shach] Shach, Shaka or Saca, a Babylonian goddess; see Dan. 1:7: "Unto whom the prince of the eunuchs gave names: for he gave unto Daniel the name of Belteshazzar; and to Hananiah, of Shadrach; and to Mishael, of Meshach [מִשְׁכַּח]; and to Azariah, of Abednego." Mather takes this from the entry on "feria" in the work of the German Reformed theologian and professor at Herborn and Bremen Matthias Martinius (1572–1630), *Lexicon philologicum præcipue etymologicum et sacrum* ([1623] 1655), unpaginated.

1445.

Q. How comes the Story of *Urijah*, into the Speech of the Princes, pleading for the Life of *Jeremiah*? v. 20.

A. It is not in their Speech at all.¹⁴⁴

It is from the Instance of *Jeremiah*, remarkable, That a *corrupt Clergy* are usually more dangerous, bloody, cruel Enemies to the Truth of God, than Persons of a generous Education in a more civil Capacitie; and that this *Clergy* do much manage their Enmity against the *Truth*, by poisoning & enraging the common People against it.

It is *Jeromes* Remark upon this History, *perierat Propheta, quantum fuit in Sacerdotibus et Prophetis, si Accusatores ipsi habuissent Iudicii Potestatem. Ex quo intelligimus, crudeliores fuisse in Prophetam, per Invidiam Sanctitatis, qui Religioni videbantur dediti, quàm qui Necessitatibus Publicis præerant.*¹⁴⁵

The Clamour against *Jeremiah* was, That by prophecyng the *Ruine* of his Countrey, hee had given the *People* Occasion to take *Desperate & Seditious* Courses.

Jeremiah's Answer is, That his Prophecies had the great *God*, for their Author; and that they were not so much *Against*, as *Unto* his Countrey, namely, to prevent the Ruine of it, by a seasonable Repentance.

The *Nobles* interpose for his Defence, by producing the Præcedent of *Micah*.

But what followes about *Urijah*, is a *Parenthesis* introduced by the Historian, on this Occasion. It is to magnify the Providence of Heaven, in the

¹⁴⁴ Ch. 26 describes how Jeremiah, having prophesied the destruction of the city and temple, is apprehended and brought before the Sanhedrin. After he makes his apology and some "princes" and "certain of the elders" (26:16–9) speak on his behalf, he is finally acquitted. Mather here ponders the question whether or not the story told in vs. 20 is part of Jeremiah's defense before the court. Mather argues that it is rather an intermission, inserted by the scribe (Mather probably thought of Baruch) who recorded Jeremiah's history. This scribe is thought to be telling the story of another prophet's (Urijah) execution and of Jeremiah's deliverance in order to show that Jeremiah stood in favor with God. Gataker comes to much the same conclusion in his gloss on Jer. 26:20 in the *Westminster Annotations*, unpaginated.

¹⁴⁵ "The prophet had died; how great was the power of the priests and prophets; if only the accusers themselves would have been capable of judgment. In this we see that those who appeared to stand in the service of religion acted more cruelly, because of jealousy of holiness, against the prophet than those who were responsible for the civil affairs." Jerome, *Commentarii in Jeremiam*, lib. 5, at Jer. 26:11 [PL 24. 846; CSEL 59; CCSL 74].

Deliverance of the Prophet *Jeremiah*, under a King who had already murdered another Prophet, for the like faithfulness in fulfilling of his Ministry.

God raised him up a Friend, namely *Ahikam*, a Councillour, whom *Josiah*, the Father of this King, much hearkened unto; & very much by his Means the Prophet was delivered.

[illeg.]

Q. The Prophecy runs, *After seventy Years bee accomplished at Babylon, I will visit you.* Give a Computation of the seventy Years? v. 10.

A. *Jeconiah*, was carried into Captivity in the eighth Year of *Nebuchadnezzar*,
who, after this Reign'd Years, 35.
Evil-Merodach Reign'd, 2.
Neriglezar Reign'd, 4.
Belshazzar, Reign'd 9 Months, 1.
Darius the Mede, Reign'd,
— seventeen Years;
But after Ten Years, more, and
about the 28th of *Cyrus*, the Jewes
Returned from their Captivity. 28

—
70¹⁴⁶

| [blank]

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¹⁴⁶ These calculations seem to be derived from William Whiston, *A short View of the Chronology of the Old Testament, and of the Harmony of the four Evangelists* (1702), prop. XIII, pp. 48–52. For an alternative, but equally affirmative, calculation of the seventy years, see Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected* (1:185–86), to which Mather refers in his annotations on Jer. 52:64.

Q. Wee read of, *A Man Travailing with Child; every Man, with his Hand on his Loins, as a Woman in Travail; and all Faces Turned into Paleness?* v. 6.

A. Yes; and you'l bee surprised, when you read the Jewish Glosses upon it.¹⁴⁷

*Quid est, vidi omnem Virum? Dixit Rabba, Ille est qui habet omnem Virtutem, vel Potestatem.*¹⁴⁸

And then, the Gloss of R. Salomoh, is, *Deus ipsemet angustabitur, ut Puerpera.*

*Et quid est, conversæ sunt omnes Facies ad Icteritiam? Dixit R. Jochanan, etiam Superioris Familiae, et Inferioris Familiae.*¹⁴⁹

But then, the *Midrasch Tillim*, on Psal. 20.1. *The Lord hear Thee* [Messiah] *in the Day of Trouble*; expounds this Day to bee that, *De quo omnes fatebuntur, quòd Dies Tribulationis sit Superioribus et Inferioribus.* It then quotes this Text, in *Jeremiah*, and adds; *Non est, omnis Vir, nisi Deus Sanctus Benedictus; et non sunt, omnes Facies, nisi Angeli Ministerii.*¹⁵⁰

Behold the Passion of our Lord, acknowledged!

Compare, Isa. 53.11.

¹⁴⁷ The following citations come from Martini, *Pugio Fidei*, pars 3, dist. 3, cap. 16 ("De Passione Christi"), p. 845 (fol. 659). The first three "Jewish Glosses" which Mather quotes from Martini all seem to be derived from a passage in the Talmud, Tractate Sanhedrin 98b (Soncino, pp. 666–67), which has a very different meaning if read in the original context. It reads in the modern transl.: "But [his unwillingness to see the Messiah] is because it is written, Ask ye now, and see whether a man doth travail with child? Wherefore do I see every man [geber] with his hands on his loins, as a woman in travail, and all faces are turned into paleness? What is meant by 'wherefore do I see every geber?' – Raba b. Isaac said in Rab's name: it refers to Him to whom all geburah [strength] belongs. And what is the meaning of 'and all faces are turned into paleness?' – R. Jochanan said: [This refers to God's] heavenly family [i. e., the angels] and his earthly family [i. e., Israel,] when God says, These [the Gentiles] are my handiwork, and so are these [the Jews]; how shall I destroy the former on account of the latter?"

¹⁴⁸ "What is meant by, [wherefore] have I seen every man?" Said the rabbi, it is He who possesses every virtue and power."

¹⁴⁹ "God himself will be in travail like a pregnant woman. And what means *all faces are turned into paleness?*" Said R. Jochanan: both the higher and the lower family."

¹⁵⁰ With Mather's English explanation inserted between the translations from the Latin this passage reads: "On that issue everyone will agree that it will be a day of trouble for both the higher and the low sorts. [It then quotes this Text in *Jeremiah*, and adds;] It is not every man but God the holy and the sacred. And it is not all faces but only the ministering angels." Compare the modern transl. of *The Midrash on Psalms*, on Ps. 20:1: "*The Lord answer [for] thee in the day of trouble.* What day of trouble? The day which all acknowledge is a day of trouble above and below, a day which even the ministering angels fear. Mark what is written of it! *Thus saith the Lord: We have heard a voice of trembling, of fear ... Wherefore do I see ... all faces turned to paleness* (Jer. 30:5–6), *faces* clearly being the faces of the ministering angels, of whom it is said *Every one had four faces* (Ezek. 10:14)" (p. 288).

Q. That Promise; *I will not make a full End of thee?* v. 11.

A. We may with astonishment behold how literally it is fulfill'd at this Day. The great and famous *Monarchies*, (as one expresses it,) who in their Turns govern'd the World, & successively have destroy'd the Jews, are all vanished as a Dream; there is not one of them left; their very Names are perished. But the *Jewish Nation*, tho' *sifted among all Nations* (as the Prophet *Amos* expresses it,) *like as Corn is sifted in a Sieve*,¹⁵¹ yett is preserved a Visible, Distinct People, in all the Nations whither they have been scattered. The Rage also of many Kings & Governments has been lett loose upon them, to Root them off from the Face of the Earth: And they have had no Helper. But the Lord ha's been their Helper, & putt it out of the Power of all the Earth (yett without any visible Opposition) to infringe the Promise He ha's made unto them. The Cavillers cannot pretend that these Prophecies are but lately coined. And what a Folly as well as Vanity, had it been in the Jews, if they had forged such audacious, and | provoking Prophecies, to have dared the Powers of the Earth to extirpate them, when they hated them, & had them lying perfectly at their Mercy?¹⁵² [28v]

The Jewish Nation is a *standing Miracle*, exhibited before the Eyes of all the World!

42*7.

Q. Who are the *Nobles of Israel*, that are to be *of themselves?* v. 21.

Q. Here is no plural Number.¹⁵³ The Translation takes an undue Liberty. It is a Promise of the *Messiah*; It should be rendred, *Their Magnificent One*, or, *their Excellent One*.

And some that have written against the *Anabaptists*, take Notice, That when *the Magnificent One*, who is to be the *Governour*, shall come; Then, in that evangelical Dispensation, *their Children shall be as of old*; Their Children shall be solemnly Dedicated, and Given up to God, & Putt under His Protection, & be *Baptized*, as *of old*, in a *fore-time*, they were *circumcised*.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ Amos 9:9.

¹⁵² This entry is based on the work of the Irish Anglican nonjuror Charles Leslie (1650–1722), *A short Method with the Jews* (1689), in *The theological Works of the Reverend Mr. Charles Leslie* (2 vols., 1721), vol. 1, p. 71. Leslie wrote numerous controversialist and apologetic works, including *The Snake in the Grass* (1696) against the Quakers, *The Socinian Controversy discussed* (1708), and *A short and easy Method with the Deists ... wherein the certainty of the Christian Religion is demonstrated* (1698).

¹⁵³ אֲדִירוּ [addiro] ESV: "Their prince;" NAU: "their leader;" KJV: "their nobles." See also Vatablus in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5613).

¹⁵⁴ Mather here refers to the work of the English physician, magistrate, and philosopher Richard Burthogge (1637/38–1705), *An Argument for Infants Baptisme, deduced from the Analogy of Faith, and Harmony of the Scriptures* (1684), p. 56. Compare also Mather, *Tripuradismus*, p. 178.

Q. That Expression, *satiated with Fatness?* v. 14.

A. In *Homers* Twenty second *Iliad*, the comfortable Subsistence of *Astyanix*, the Son of *Hector*, is described so: *on his Fathers Knees, he used to eat Marrow & the Fat of Sheep.*¹⁵⁵ The Annotator on him observes, That *Marrow* and *Fatness* are used in the Style of the Orientals, for whatever is the Best, Tenderest, & most Delicious.¹⁵⁶

Thus, Job. XXI.24. XXXVI.16. and the Text now before us.

Q. On that, *I smote on my Thigh?* v. 19.

A. It was the ancient Custome of the Orient, in their deepest Mourning. The *Hero's* in *Homer* are described as using this Gesture of Grief.

— και ω πεπλήγητο μηρῶ¹⁵⁷

In *Xenophon*, we have the brave *Cyrus* also *smiting on his Thigh* on his receiving the News, that his generous Friend *Abradatas* was dead.¹⁵⁸

[illeg.]

Q. Can you find any *Mystery* in those Words, *Turn again, O Virgin of Israel, Turn again, to these thy Cities. How long wilt thou go about, o thou Backsliding Daughter? For the Lord hath created a New thing in the Earth; A Woman shall compass a Man.* v. 21, 22.

A. *Bethlehem* had been foretold, for the Place of the Messiah's *Nativity*. Wonder not, if I now tell you, that *Nazareth* is here foretold, for the Place of His *Conception*. *Jeremiah*, who lived in the Time of the Babylonish Captivities, prædicted the Return of the *Jewes* unto their own Land: but hee adds, an Invitation of the *Israelites* to Return with them. And that hee may allure them hereunto, hee prophesies the *Messiah*, to bee the Delight of both.

First, for the *Nativity* of the *Messiah*, this was to bee in the Countrey of the *Two Tribes*. There, *Bethlehem*, which was within Hearing of *Ramah*, together

¹⁵⁵ Mather refers to Homer's *Iliad*, 22.500; transl. *LCL* 171, p. 490: "Astyanax, who before on his father's knees ate only marrow and the rich fat of sheep."

¹⁵⁶ The reference is to commentary on the above-cited verses of the *Iliad* by Eustathius of Thessalonica, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, pp. 659–60.

¹⁵⁷ "And struck both his thighs" (καὶ ὦ πεπλήγητο μηρῶ); Homer, *Iliad*, 12.162; transl. *LCL* 170, p. 153: "Then it was that Asius, son of Hyrtacus, uttered a groan, and struck both his thighs, and in great indignation he spoke, saying 'Father Zeus, it appears that you, too, then are utterly a lover of lies ...'"

¹⁵⁸ Mather refers to Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, 7.3.2–6; *LCL* 52, p. 245: "Upon hearing this, Cyrus smote his thigh, mounted his horse at once, and rode with a regiment of cavalry to the scene of sorrow."

with great Lamentations over the Death of Children, was to have the Recompence of the *Messiah* born in it.

But then, for the *Conception* of the *Messiah*, this was to be in the Countrey of the *Ten Tribes*. In one of their Cities, there should be this unheard-of Thing, A *Woman* alone, without a *Man*, should *compass*, (or, conceive) that *Gebar*, even, that *Strong Man*, the Son of Man, the Christ: Now, this was at *Nazareth*, in Spite of the Jewes, who said, *can any good Thing come out of Nazareth?*

Yea, observe it critically. *Sampson*, a Notable Type of our Lord Jesus Christ, was from his Conception proclaimed, *A Nazarite*. And in allusion thereunto, *Jeremiah* here uses a Word, about the Conception of our Lord, which has an Eye to *Sampson*. It is not only said, That a *Woman* shall conceive a *Man*, but *Gebar*, a strong Man, even that *Strong Man*, of whom, *Sampson* the strongest of Men, was but a Figure.¹⁵⁹

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{395.}

[29v]

Q. What is the Meaning of that Passage, *The Lord hath created a New Thing in the Earth, a Woman shall compass a Man?* v. 22.

A. The Meaning is, *A Woman shall be with Child of a Man*. But this were no *New Thing*, if it refer to no other than the ordinary Way of Generation. It cannot, possibly be expounded better, than concerning the Conception of a *Virgin*; as the Ancient Rabbins did certainly understand it, applying this Prophecy expressly to the *Messiah*.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ This entry is based on Thomas Jackson, *The Knowledge of Christ Jesus* (1634), in *Works*, vol. 2, bk. 7, sect. 2, ch. 19, pp. 650–52. Originally, the work was part of a series of commentaries that Jackson wrote on the Apostles's Creed; in that series it was the seventh book (*ODNB*). Earlier in his career Jackson had already published two sermons on this passage under the title *Nazareth and Bethlehem, or, Israels portion in the Sonne of Iesse. And, Mankinds Comfort from the weaker Sexe* (1617).

¹⁶⁰ The entry seems to draw on John Turner, *A Discourse concerning the Messiah* (1685), pp. 24–25. With the help of Turner, Mather affirms the Christian tradition of interpreting the “new thing” spoken of in this verse as referring to the virgin birth of Christ as announced by the angel in Matt. 1:22–23. In this verse Matthew cites Isa. 7:14, reading this famous prophecy as having its fulfillment in Christ. There was a long Christian apologetic tradition that therefore took both Jer. 31:22 and Isa. 7:14 as prophetic evidence for the messiahship of Jesus. This tradition had been challenged both by rabbinical exegetes and proponents of a historical-critical approach, especially Grotius. Grotius (in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* 4:5625) reads Jer. 31:22 as a metaphorical or proverbial expression. As it would be a “new thing” (i. e., unheard of) that a woman should court a man, so God will bring an extraordinary thing to pass, namely, that the Jewish nation would return to God, her husband. Grotius acknowledges that Moshe ha-Darshan, in his commentary on Genesis (*Midrash Bereshit Rabbati*), on Gen. 41:1 (“Pharaoh dreamed”), had read this passage as being about the messiah, but would allow this reading only in a secondary, mystical sense. By contrast, Mather, like many other Christian apologists of his period, insists that this prophecy literally and primarily refers to the messiah and was fulfilled in Jesus Christ.

Well then, you shall permitt mee on this Occasion to sett before you, That whereas all the Evangelists are unanimously positive in asserting that our Blessed Jesus was born of a pure *Virgin*, it was Typically and Prophetically Necessary that it should bee so.

I will not here insist upon that famous Prædiction, in Isa. 7.14. *Behold, A Virgin shall conceive*. The ridiculous Endeavours of the Jewes to wrest that Scripture from us, do but confess that our Lord was indeed born of a *Virgin*: and you may see them elsewhere considered. I'll now only Note, That the *Hebrew* Word there is ALMA; and the *Punic* Language, is almost the same with the *Hebrew*; but *Jerom* assures us that ALMA, in the *Punic*, was the proper & peculiar Name of a *Virgin*.¹⁶¹

To proceed; The first Promise made of the Messiah was, *The Seed of the Woman shall bruise the Serpents Head*.¹⁶² Now, if you observe the Circumstances of the Context, you will see, that the *Woman* here is distinguished, & considered apart from the *Man*; and so as not having the *Seed* of a *Man*, to contribute unto the Production of the promised *Serpent-Killer*.

Moreover, *Isaac* was intended for a notable Figure of our Lord. But hee was born of a Woman, that was *Naturally* Incapable to conceive.¹⁶³ Old *Sanchoniathon* called that *Sarah*, by the Name of *Annobert*; which is as much as to say, *shee conceiveth by Grace*.¹⁶⁴ And *John*, the Forerunner of our Lord; Hee was

In order to uphold this reading, he must also maintain that the Hebrew word used in Isa. 7:14 עַלְמָה [alma] signifies "virgin" and not simply a "young woman," as some Rabbis and modern Christian interpreters claimed. After all, Matt. 1:23, following the Greek transl. of Isa. 7:14 in the LXX, had rendered עַלְמָה as παρθένος ("virgin"). The debate surrounding the translation of Isa. 7:14 had preoccupied Christian theologians since the very early days of the church, as witnessed by Justin Martyr's anti-Jewish polemics in *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo* [PG 6. 469–800; *Patristische Texte und Studien* 47], esp. chapters 43, 66–68 and 84. With the advent of humanist philology, the situation for Christian apologists became more complicated. Both Luther and Calvin actually conceded that the Hebrew *almah* semantically only referred to the age of the woman but found other reasons to defend the traditional christological interpretation. See Luther, *In Esaiam scholia* (WA 25:116; *Luther's Works* 16:84); John Calvin, *Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Isaiah*, (1:244, 247–48). For more on this matter, see the footnote to Mather's entry on Isa. 7:14 and the Introduction. Compare also Mather, *Tripuradismus*, p. 169.

¹⁶¹ Mather's explanation here seems to be based on Turner, *A Discourse*, p. 24. Similar arguments are also offered by Richard Kidder, *A Demonstration of the Messiah*, part 2, p. 101. Through Turner or Kidder, Mather refers to Jerome's annotation on Isa. 7:14 in *Commentarii in Isaiam*, lib. 3 [PL 24. 108; CCSL 73]: "*Lingua quoque Punica, quae de Hebraeorum fontibus manare dicitur (Al. ducitur), proprie virgo alma appellatur*"; "Also in the Punic language, which is said to derive (or: 'which is drawn') from the sources of the Hebrews, the virgin in fact is called 'alma.'" See also John Lightfoot's philological explanations in *The Harmony*, in *Works* (1:419).

¹⁶² The reference is to the "Protevangelium" (Gen. 3:15), traditionally regarded as the first messianic prophecy in the Old Testament. For Mather's interpretation of this prophecy see his commentary on Genesis (*BA* 1: 486–89).

¹⁶³ Gen. 21:1–7.

¹⁶⁴ Sanchuniathon was a Phoenician author of whose works we only have a partial paraphrase and summary of a Greek translation (ascribed to Philo of Byblos) in Eusebius of Caesarea's *Praeparatio Evangelica*, lib. 1, cap. 9–10 [PG 21. 63–90; SC 206]. These second-hand

born of a Woman under the like *Natural Inabilites*:¹⁶⁵ This was to point out the *Overshadowing of the Holy Ghost*, for the Conception of our Lord.¹⁶⁶

Furthermore, The Psalmist, addressing the Kings Daughter, saies, in Psal. 45.16. *Instead of thy Fathers, shall bee thy Children*. You must Remember, that the Jewish Genealogies, always reckoned by the *Males*; it was not Material in any Genealogy who was the *Mother*; *Women* were called, *Nashim*, from a Word that signifies, to *Forgett*; but *Men* were called *Zecarim*, from the Contrary; for None but their Names were inserted in *Tables of Descent*.¹⁶⁷

Well, In this Text, you behold a Genealogy reckoned by the *Mother* only; whereforth you may suppose, there was no Humane *Father*, to be allow'd any Room in the Case. And indeed the Words that follow, *I will make thy Name to be Remembred in all Generations; therefore shall the People praise thee forever*,¹⁶⁸ are the very Words that were afterwards used by the *Virgin Mother* of our Lord, *Behold, From henceforth, all Generations shall call mee Blessed*.¹⁶⁹

I will add, That our Lords Descent, thro' *Ruth*, of *Moab*, would invite one to consider whether that odd Thing in *Moab*, where the *Son* had no other *Father* that what the *Mother* herself had, might not something Indigitate, such a Descent of our Lord, as admitted no other Father, but what was the common Parent, both of the *Mother* & of the *Son*.

Whether the *Mother* of our Lord, continued a *Virgin* all her Dayes, or, a Stranger to all Humane Embraces, is another Quæstion. I know, how her Style among the *Greeks* ha's been ἀει παρθένος and among the *Latins* also, *semper Virgo*.¹⁷⁰ And an English Prelate, judging that one of so pious a Character, as *Joseph*, would never have been so sacrilegious, as to have conversed with her, who had lodged the Saviour of the World, applies thereunto, that Passage in Ezek. 44.2. *This Gate shall be shutt, it shall not bee opened, and no Man shall enter in, by it; because the Lord, the God of Israel, hath entred in by it, therefore it shall bee shutt*. Indeed, if *Joseph* were, as *Epiphanius* reports, about seventy or eighty Years of

fragments are a central literary source on Phoenician religion. In cap. 10, Eusebius, following Sanchuniathon, tells the story of Cronus or Kronos (whom the Phoenicians called Elus), who had his only child Jeoud with the nymph Anobret. Bochart (*Geographia sacra*, pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 2, p. 790) interprets the myth of Anobret in the *prisca theologia* tradition as being a corrupted version of the biblical story of Sarah. In Mather's time, the English scholar, philosopher and Bishop of Peterborough Richard Cumberland (1631–1718) produced an English edition of the Sanchuniathon fragments with learned annotations that was published posthumously as *Sanchoniatho's Phonician History, translated from the first book of Eusebius De præparatione evangelica* (1720). However, Cumberland rejects Bochart's interpretation as ahistorical (142–43).

¹⁶⁵ Luke 1:7.

¹⁶⁶ These typological readings can be found in Samuel Mather, *The Figures or Types of the Old Testament*, pp. 83–84. See also Thomas Jackson, *Nazareth and Bethlehem*, pp. 16–18.

¹⁶⁷ A similar interpretation referencing Talmudic sources can be found in Buxtorf, *Lexicon chaldaicum, talmudicum et rabbinicum*, col. 1401–02, on “nashim.”

¹⁶⁸ Ps. 45:17.

¹⁶⁹ Luke 1:48.

¹⁷⁰ Both the Greek and the Latin phrase signify: “Always a virgin.”

Age, when betrothed unto the Bl. Virgin, wee may the more easily allow it. But, the Humour of the Ancients, in Decrying & Reproching, the Circumstances of a married Estate, may have been too much Indulged, in mentioning of this Assertion.¹⁷¹

The Text, in Math. 1.25. may bee considered another time.

Q. That Passage, *I have satiated the weary Soul, and I have replenished every sorrowful Soul: upon this I awaked, & behold, my Sleep was sweet unto me?* v. 25, 26.

A. Gurtierus has a very evangelical Contemplation upon it.¹⁷²

It is the Speech of our SAVIOUR, whose Glory it is, to *speak a Word in Season unto the weary Soul*. When the Disciples of our Saviour, were with a *sorrowful Soul* bewailing what had been done unto Him on His Crucifixion. Lo, He comes into the Midst of them, with the Joyful Tidings of His Resurrection. It was our SAVIOUR, who *Awoke* out of *Sleep*, in His Rising from the Dead, and, *Behold*, and gave His Vision to His Disciples. How *sweet* the *Sleep* had been unto Him, lett the *sixteenth Psalm* declare unto us.

Q. On, the Lords *Forgetting the Sin* of His People? v. 34.

A. An Expression, which is a Condescension to our Capacities, and signifies, that the Pœnitent shall be dealt withal, as if their Sin were indeed *Forgotten*.

Herodotus, who has a Style the most like that of the Bible, of any Prose-Writer among the *Classicks*; he says of *Otanes*, the General of *Darius's* Army; *Tho' he kept the Kings Orders in Mind, yett he forgott them*. That is, He neglected to obey them, as if he had forgott them.¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ Mather here refers to Article III ("Born of the Virgin Mary") of John Pearson's learned *Exposition of the Apostles' Creed* ([1659] 1715), pp. 169–81, here 173. Mather's ironic detachment from the opinion of the "English Prelate" (Pearson was Bishop of Chester) probably has less to do with his contempt for the anti-Puritan Pearson. More likely, it reflects his disdain for the quasi-Catholic view of sexuality implicit in the assertion of Mary's perpetual virginity. Through Pearson, Mather references the work of Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, lib. 3, tom. 2, haeresis 78 [PG 42. 713–14; GCS 37], where it is mentioned that Joseph was eighty-four when the family fled to Egypt and that he died eight years after their return.

¹⁷² Mather refers to the work of the Reformed scholar, professor of theology at Hanau, Bremen, Deventer, and Franeker, Nicolaus Gùrtler (Gurtierus, 1654–1711), *Aphorismi theologiae propheticae delineantes* (1717), cap. 15, art. 4, p. 123. Gùrtler cross-references this text with John 20:19; Luke 24:33–36 and Matt. 26:32; 28:10; 28:16, 17; 16:10–14.

¹⁷³ This entry is derived from Blackwall, *An Introduction to the Classics*, p. 93. Through Blackwall Mather references Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, 3.147: "The Persian captain Otanes, seeing the great harm done to the Persians, of set purpose put away from his memory the command given him at his departure by Darius to kill or enslave no Samian but deliver the island unharmed to Syloson; and he commanded his army to kill all they took, men and boys alike" (transl. LCL 118, p. 181).

1448.

Q. How could *Hanameel*, a *Priest*, propose to sell unto his Cousin *Jeremiah*, who was also a *Priest*, a Peece of Land: when, the Law was, (Lev. 25.34.) That *the Priests Lands might not bee sold?* v. 7.

A. Therefore it was not a Garden in the Suburbs, which were allow'd unto the *Levites*, as *Jerom* interprets it.¹⁷⁴

It seems to be a Peece of Ground, which in the Right of one that was *Grandmother*, or perhaps *Great-Grandmother*, unto these Two Persons, was convey'd unto them. For the *Women*, among the *Jewes*, if they had no *Brethren*, were the *Heirs* of their *Parents*.¹⁷⁵

If this Peece of Ground, had been sold unto any other, the *Right of Redemption*, had belong'd unto *Jeremiah*; as being the next akin; [according to the Law, in Levit. 25.25.]

Now to avoid any Circumferences, the Offer is first civilly made unto him.

And what follow'd hereupon, makes one think of a notable Passage, in *L. Florus*, l. 2. c. 6. *parva res dictu, sed ad Magnanimitatem Populi Romani Probandam satis efficax; quòd illis ipsis, quibus obsidebatur, diebus, Ager, quem Annibal Castris insederat. Venalis Romæ fuit, hastæque subjectus invenit Emtorem.*¹⁷⁶

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[30v]

1452.

Q. The Lord saies concerning the City *Jerusalem*; *It hath been a Provocation of mine Anger, from the Day, that they Built it.* How could this bee so? v. 31.

¹⁷⁴ This entry is based on Grotius, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5631). Through Grotius Mather refers to Jerome's gloss on *Liber Josue* [PL 28. 466; SC 71]. In translation: "The Lord gave the order to Joshua that the cities were to be divided into shelters for the fugitives, as he had spoken to Moses, and gave a law who was to tender the shelters of these cities. The cities and suburbs were distributed among the priests and the Levites."

¹⁷⁵ Num. 27:8.

¹⁷⁶ From Grotius, Mather cites the African poet and historian of Rome Publius Annii Florus (fl. 2nd century CE), *Epitome of Roman History*, 1.22.47: "It is a small detail but rather a striking proof of the stout-heartedness of the Romans that, during the very days when the city was being besieged, the land upon which Hannibal had set up his camp came up for sale at Rome, and, on being put up for auction, found a purchaser" (transl.: *LCL* 231, p. 1119.) The reason why this story reminds Grotius and Mather of the Roman stout-heartedness described by Florus is that Hanamel, Jeremiah's cousin, sold the field to the prophet in the very year that the Babylonians were laying siege to Jerusalem. In Jeremiah this story serves as a symbol of God's promised restoration of Israel.

A. *Solomon*, was the first, that brought the Building of the City, unto Perfection. And hee was the First of the Kings, that Introduced *Idolatry*.¹⁷⁷

From this time, as *Munster* observes, *cæperunt extruere Excelsa, Uxoribus ejus eum ad Idololatriam impellentibus*.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷ See Grotius, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5631).

¹⁷⁸ “They began to build the high city while his wives were pushing him towards idolatry.” Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5627).

2368.

Q. How can it be said of *Jerusalem*, (or the Church,) *This is the Name where-with shee shall be called, The LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS*: A Name, which I thought, had belonged unto none but our *Lord Messiah*? v. 16.

A. Nor does it belong to any other. The Original here does plainly run thus: *Hee that shall call her*, [, or, give a Name to Her,] *shall bee, The Lord our Righteousness*.

And, since the Hebrew Word, for *call*, here, signifies also, *To preach*; consider whether a further Intimation of our Lords Presence in the *New Jerusalem*, is not here pointed at.¹⁷⁹

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[31v]

Q. *The Two Families, which the Lord hath chosen, He hath even cast them off*; which two Families? v. 24.

A. The *Royal* Family of *David*, and the *Priestly* Family of *Aaron*. So *Munster* carries it.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ The Hebrew reads: *וְזֶה אֲשֶׁר יִקְרָא-לֶיהָ יְהוָה צְדִיקָנוּ* *NAU*: “and this is the name by which she will be called: the LORD is our righteousness.” Mather refers to *קָרָא* [qara] “call, give a name, invoke, summon, proclaim, appeal to, recite, read aloud.”

¹⁸⁰ Translated from Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5631).

1453.

Q. *Jonadab*, the Father of the *Rechabites*, to whom the Prophet apply'd himself, who was hee? When liv'd hee? Why did hee lay those Commands, which hee did, on his Posterity? v. 6.

A. *Jonadab* was not the Immediate Father of these Honest Men: but their Progenitor, who lived Three Hundred Years before. Hee was the *Jonadab*, that was the Friend of King *Jehu*. [2. King. 10.15.]

The Ancient Custome of the *Kenites*, whereof those were a Branch, was to live in *Tents*. [Judg. 4.17.]

They were not of *Jacobs* Posterity; and therefore, t'was wisely done, of their Father, to advise them unto such a Way of Living, as might least expose them unto the *Envy* of them that were the Lords of the Soil.¹⁸²

Tho' tis likely, That there may bee further Causes of the Charges by their Father laid upon them; which another Time, wee may more fully enquire into.

All that wee shall do at Present, is to observe the Remarkable Fulfilment of this Prophecy. *Jonadab, the Son of Rechab, shall not want a Man to stand before mee forever*: that is, till the Coming of the *Messiah*. The *Standing before God*, means, to *minister* unto Him, as the *Chaldee* expresses it in Singing of His Praises. Now, in 1. Chron. 2.55. you accordingly find, That the *Rechabites* make a Figure among those, who Returned from the *Babylonian* Captivity, & bore a Part afterwards in the Service of the Lord.¹⁸³

[32v] | [blank]

[33r] |¹⁸⁴

4101.

Q. Some Notables about the *Rechabites* may help to carry on our main Intention of *Illustration* upon the Divine Oracles? v. 2.

A. We will at Present content ourselves, with such as are afforded us, by our learned *Witsius*.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ Mather provides no annotations on Jer. 34.

¹⁸² See Grotius, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5643).

¹⁸³ Walton's Latin version of the Targum Jonathan at Jer. 35:19 (*Biblia Polyglotta* 3:306) has: "ministrans coram me." Compare *The Targum of Jeremiah* at this verse. In 1 Chron. 2:55 we learn that Rechabites had become scribes: "These were the Kenites who came from Hammath, the father of the house of Rechab."

¹⁸⁴ See Appendix B.

¹⁸⁵ The following entry on the identity and history of the Rechabites is a summary translation of Hermann Witsius's Latin essay *De Rechabites*, published as an introductory piece in the

In every Age and Place, there are Mortals, who not content with the common Measures of Piety observed among their Neighbours, do follow a singular Way of Living, which distinguishes them, not only from other Men, but also from other vertuous Men.

Such were the *Reckabites*, who belonged not unto any Family of *Israel*, but were originally *Kenites*. [See 1. Chron. 2.55.] These *Kenites* had their Name from one *Kain*, from whom they drew their Original. *Hobab* or *Jethro*, the Father-in-Law of *Moses*, was one of that People. [See Judg. 1.18.] And he being a *Midianite*, it is probable that the *Kenites* were so too. Now *Midian* was a Son, that *Abraham* had, by his Wife *Keturah*. These *Kenites* are therefore to be distinguished, from those whose Lands the Lord promised unto *Abraham*, to be possessed by his Posterity. [See Gen. 15.19.] *Jethro* with his Family, joined himself unto the Church of God in the Wilderness, at the Invitation of *Moses*. And tho' he Returned unto his Countrey, tis probable, that it was only to take his Leave of his Friends; or, if he did not, yett his Children did, return, and adjoin themselves unto the *Israelites*. [See Num. 10.29.]

Balaam admired the Discretion, & Fælicity of those *Kenites*; who by coming into Covenant with the People of God, & embracing & maintaining the true Worship of God, secured unto themselves, a *strong Dwelling Place*; tho' afterwards they must have their Share in the Calamities, which in common befel the *Israelitish* Nation. [See Num. 24.21.]

Afterwards we find the *Kenites* adhæring to the Tribe of *Judah*, in their Atchievements and Enjoyments; probably invited thereto by the Preheminences of that famous Tribe. We find them in the *Wilderness of Judah, to the South of Arad*. [See Judg. 1.16.] *Arad* is thought the same with *Thamar*, or *Engech*; a City in the extreme Confines of *Judah*; a Soyl second unto none for Fertility. Here they extended their Habitations, as far as the Region of the *Amalekites*; where we find them so intermixed, that when *Saul* had a Commission to destroy the *Amalekites*, he did, in remembrance of old Acquaintance, lovingly advise them to gett out of the Way. [See 1. Sam. 15.6.] Another Party of these *Kenites*, took their Seats more to the Northward, near *Kadesh*, in the Tribe of *Naphthali*. And of these was *Jael*, the renowned *Virago* celebrated in the Song of *Deborah*. Tho' the learned *Burman*, at first would have had the *Reckabites*, to descend from the *Kenites* of *Naphthali*, yett he saw Cause afterwards to deduce their Genealogy from those of *Judah*.¹⁸⁶

third edition of Thomas Goodwin's *Moses et Aaron*, unpaginated. Witsius also included this material in his *Miscellanea sacra*, vol. 2, exercit. 9, pp. 223–37.

¹⁸⁶ From Witsius, a reference to a commentary on 1 Chron. 11:55 in a work of the Dutch Reformed theologian and professor at the University of Leiden, Franciscus Burmannus the Elder (Frans Burman, 1628–1679); probably his annotation on this verse in *Verklaring over de Boeken der Koningen, Kronijken, Ezra, Nehemia, Esther* (1683), which was not accessible to me.

Among the *Kenites*, the Name of *Rechab*, was of great Note. When *Rechab* lived, it appears not. But we find that *Jonadab* the Son of *Rechab*, was a Person of extraordinary Esteem, in the Dayes of *Jehu*; [see 2. King. 10.15, 23.] which was near Three Hundred Years before the *Babylonish* Captivity. Tho' whether he were the Immediate Son of *Rechab*, is by *Scaliger* disputed.¹⁸⁷

The Author of the Institutions enjoined upon the *Reckabites*, there is no Cause, to think that it was any other than that very *Jonadab*; a Person so Remarkable for his *Religious* and *Ascetic* Life, that *Jehu* was ambitious to have him a Witness of his pretended *Zeal* for the Lord.

This *Jonadab* would oblige his Posterity to a *pastoritian* Life, which had been very much the Life of his Ancestors. By living so, like a Sort of *Nomades*, he prudently foresaw, they were more likely to escape, when powerful Enemies might invade the Land. Their Orders, to *Drink no Wine*, to *Till no Land*, & to *Build no House*, were doubtless designed also, as a practical Confession of their *Pilgrimage* in the World. Hereby likewise, they avoided the Envy of the *Israelites*, to whom the Command of God, had made those *Reservations* unlawful Things; for it was their Duty to *Till*, and *Build*, and Leave as good Possessions as they could unto their Offspring. And the Devotion and Piety of the *Reckabites* was not a little cherished, by prohibiting to them those Things, which were the Incentives of the prevailing Debaucheries. Yea, the *Reckabites* thus proclaimed their Faith of the Divine Oracles, which had foretold Calamities to come upon the |
[33v] Jewish Nation; and they preached a pious Contempt of the *Earth*, upon which the Jewish Nation was more than a little enamoured.

Wee don't find that the Holy God blamed these Institutions of the *Reckabites*; And therefore, why should we? They did like the *Nazarites*; only their *Abstinence*, they made not a Part of Divine Worship. Nor may we suppose the Injunctions to be so strict, but that in Cases of the extremest Necessity, they might be dispensed withal.

We have not the least Cause Imaginable, to reflect on the Prophets Action towards the *Reckabites*, as laying before them a Temptation to Sin. He did not in the Name of God invite them to Drink; mind his Words, you'll see nothing of That. And the very Countenance of the Prophet, the air & the Tone of his Voice, and many other Circumstances, might intimate, unto the *Reckabites*, that he did not expect their Compliance. However, God foresaw their Constancy; and He ordered the fittest Place under Heaven, to have it express'd before the most significant Witnesses.

As for that Promise, *Jonadab the Son of Rechab, shall not want a Man to stand before me forever*; we will not Recite the Story that *Benjamin Tudelensis* ha's given us, *De Regno Rechabitarum*; for *Constantine L'Empereur* ha's enough

¹⁸⁷ From Witsius, Mather refers to Joseph Justus Scaliger, *Elenchus Trihaeresii Nicolai Serarii: Eius in ipsum Scaligerum animadversiones confutata* (1605), cap. 24.

rebuked the *Fable*.¹⁸⁸ But we will produce the Words of the Incomparable *Jacob Alting*;

*Equidem non agnoscitur hodiè illa Familia, sed ab Ignorantia Hominum, ad Negationem Rei non valet Consequentia. Familiae confundi nequeunt; quum per Patres descendant, Matres ad eam non pertineant; et qualis Pater, quoad Tribum, talis quoque sit Filius et Nepos, ac sic deinceps. Potest Series genealogica perire ex notitia hominum, sed non ex rerum Natura, et Notitia Dei. Confundantur licet Semina Tritici, Siliginis, Hordei, et quaecunque sunt alia, ut Homines nequeant discernere; non tamen perit illis distinctio, et Deus non novit solum, sed prodit quoque quando unumquodque Semen suo Corpore facit surgere. 1. Cor. 15.37, 38. sic de familijs statuendum est.*¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ From Witsius, Mather refers to Benjamin of Tudela's speculations "de regno Rechabitarum" in his *Itinerarium D. Beniaminis*, p. 82, and L'Empereur van Oppyck's critical annotation on pp. 200–02. Writing in the middle of the twelfth century, Benjamin of Tudela reports on a Jewish tribe called Rechabites, which lived in a large fortified city twenty-one day's journey from Babylon, through the desert of Sheba, or Al-Yemen.

¹⁸⁹ "That family is actually not recognized today, but it is wrong to deny the matter because of human ignorance. Families cannot be totally obscured. Because they descend from the fathers, the mothers should not be considered here. And how the father stands in relation to the tribe, in the same way is it for the son, grandson, and so on. A lineage may indeed disappear from the knowledge of men, but not from nature itself or the knowledge of God. The seeds of wheat, winter wheat, barley and other kinds may indeed be mixed together so that people can no longer tell them apart, yet the difference does not disappear, and God not only knows of it but also determines when each and every seed goes into its own body. 1. Cor. 15. 37, 38: so shall it come to pass with the families." From Witsius's essay in *Moses et Aaron*, unpaginated; *Miscellanea sacra*, vol. 2, exercit. 9, pp. 235–36, a citation of Jacob Alting. Alting's original notes on Jeremiah can be found in his *Praelectiones in Jeremiam*, in *Opera omnia* (1:889). See 1 Cor. 15:37–38: "And that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other grain: But God giveth it a body as it hath pleased him, and to every seed his own body."

Q. *Jeremiah* complains of being, *shutt up*. How *shutt up*? v. 5.

A. Some think, *shutt up* in *Prison*, by the Malice of the Priests.¹⁹⁰ But we anon find, that by the Advice of the Princes, they were hidden from these.

But waving the other Accounts given by *Junius* and *Tremelius*, the Last which they offer seems the Best.¹⁹¹ GOD, that He might provide for the Safety of His Prophet, & punish the People, would not lett him go among them. What *shutt him up*, was a Restraint which God laid & kept upon his Mind.

Q. *Jeremiah's* Roll, was it read Once or Twice, by *Baruch*, in the Temple? v. 10.

A. Doubtless; Twice. In the First Relation, we find it is done in the Fourth Year of *Jehojakim*; In the Second, we find it is done in the Fifth. In the First Relation, *Jeremiah* was at the Time *shutt up* in the Prison. In the Second, he was at Liberty to go away & hide himself. Dr. *Usher*, & after him, Dr. *Prideaux*, are for a second Reading.¹⁹²

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Q. When the King had commanded *Jeremiah's* Roll to be burnt [which, by the way, the Jewes tell us, was his Book of *Lamentations*,] the Lord orders him, *Take thee again another Roll, & write in it all the former Words that were in the First Roll*. Give us, if you please a Note upon it? v. 32.¹⁹³

A. Then take one of *Munsters*. *In rege isto videmus Exempla eorum, qui extinguere conantur Verbum Domini, et nihil proficiunt, quin magis ac magis illud illustrant.*¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁰ See Vatablus ("ego vincitus detineor in carcere") and Grotius (who also has "detineor") in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5646–47). Mather refers to the help that the princes offer to Jeremiah in 36:19.

¹⁹¹ A reference to the marginal glosses in the Latin transl. of Jer. 36 in the *Biblia Sacra* of Junius and Tremellius, p. 222. Following two other explanations (order of the king; order of the priests) it is written here: "tertia est mandatum Dei; quo voluit Deus consulere Prophetae suo . . ."

¹⁹² The first reference is to James Ussher, *Annales Veteris Testamenti*, pp. 119–21 ("Anno Mundi 3397–3399"); the second reference is to Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected* (1:61–64). Both biblical scholars place the first reading of Jeremiah's collected prophecies by Baruch in the year 604 and the second reading in the year 605.

¹⁹³ The Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Mo'ed Katan ("Minor Feast") 26a reads: "They told [King] Jehoiakim that Jeremiah had written a book of Lamentations, [and] he said to them: What is written there?" (Soncino, p. 166). In *Midrash Rabbah, Lamentations*, Proem 28, pp. 53–54, we find the opinion of several Rabbis that the burnt roll included only the first chapter of Lamentations. See also *Mikraoth Gedoloth, Jeremiah*, p. 297, on Jer. 36:32.

¹⁹⁴ "In this king we see the examples of those who try to extinguish the word of the Lord

|
1454.

[35v]

Q. What might bee the more special and secret Reason of *Irijah's* Offering such Violence unto *Jeremiah*? v. 12.

A. To bee Revenged on him, for the Death of his Grandfather.

Jeremiah's Prædicting the Death of *Hananiah*, was interpreted by this his Grandson, as if hee had an hand in Procuring & Inflicting of it. And now, hee thought, hee would bee even with him!¹⁹⁵

and achieve nothing. Instead, they illustrate it all the more." Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5646).

¹⁹⁵ See Grotius, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5650).

1455.

Q. What Remarkable is there, in *Ebedmelechs* being the Man, by whom the Prophet was delivered out of the Dungeon? v. 7.

A. The Prophet in the Dungeon, was a notable *Type* of our suffering Lord Jesus Christ.

Pursue that Matter in your Thought. Now, that an *Ethiopian* should be the Man, whom God calls to serve this Prophet! This was an Intimation, that the Lord would call in the *Gentiles* unto the Service of Himself.¹⁹⁶

[36v] | [blank]

¹⁹⁶ See Grotius, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5654). This is one of the few places in Jeremiah where Grotius allows for a secondary *sensus sublimior*.

Q. The Affair of the Jews flying into *Egypt*, against the Warnings of God by the Prophecies of *Jeremiah*? v. 7.

A. The *History* of this affair is obvious. But then there is also a *Mystery* in it, which is to be deeply considered.

What befel the Church of the *Jews*, had in it curious & marvellous *Emblems* of what was to befall the Church under the New Dispensation introduced by our Saviour.

The Captivity of the Old Church in *Babylon*, was Figurative of the Degenerate State, wherein the Christian Church was to languish under the *Romish* Apostasy.

When the Church was passing into the Degeneracy, there was a Remnant, who were for consulting the Mind of God in their Emergencies.

God show'd them, that when they fled from a Multitude of superstitious Rites and Ceremonies, if still they would fly to the Conduct of meer Humane *Prudence* and *Reason*, and have the Church form'd and rul'd by *That*, they would find the *Broken Reeds* of *Egypt* wholly to disappoint them: All their Safety lay in obeying *the Word of the Lord*!

Accordingly, The Remnant, who escape the grosser Pollutions of Anti-christ, & are desirous to serve God in a more perfect Manner; yett follow the Conduct of their own *Prudence* and *Reason* in the Constitution of their Church-State, and in the | Affairs of the Kingdome of God; they find their Wisdome will prove but a Snare unto them; the pretended Ends of it will not be answered. [37v]

I have somewhere mett with some Thoughts of this Importance; And they seem to me, not unworthy to be prosecuted.¹⁹⁸

Q. *Bethshemesh in the Land of Egypt*? v. 13.

A. There was a Place of that Name in the Land of *Israel*. This might be the Occasion of the Distinction used here.

It was the *Heliopolis*; which was also called, *On*.¹⁹⁹

It was the Priest of this *Heliopolis*, whose Daughter *Joseph* married.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ There are no annotations on chs. 39–42.

¹⁹⁸ The source of this gloss could not be identified.

¹⁹⁹ The LXX renders both On (Exod. 1:11; KJV: Pithom) and Bethshemesh as Ἡλίου πόλις (Heliopolis); see Grotius, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5670).

²⁰⁰ The reference is to Potiphra, the Egyptian priest of On whose daughter Asenath was given to Joseph. See Gen. 41:45, 50; 46:20.

Josephus tells us, It was a City given unto the *Israelites*, upon their Coming to dwell in *Egypt*.²⁰¹ Indeed, it lay in or near *Goshen*. In after-ages, by the Consent of *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*, a Temple was here built for the Jews.²⁰²

201 A reference to Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* (2.187–88).

202 Ptolemy II Philadelphus (c. 308–246 BCE) was the second king of Ptolemaic Egypt from 283 BCE to 246 BCE. Jewish sources credit him with sponsoring the Greek translation of the Hebrew OT, the Septuagint (LXX). See Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* (12.11–13, 45, 51, 58–86, 106, 118). The biblical land of Goshen, where the family of Jacob was allowed to settle (Gen. 47:28–29, 34) and from which Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt (Exod. 4–13), is now identified by scholars as a region in the eastern Nile delta of northern Egypt (*HCBDB*). Goshen was thus indeed located east of the city of On or Heliopolis. Josephus also mentions several times the Jewish temple of Onias in the district of Heliopolis (*Jewish Antiquities*, 13.62; 13.72; *Jewish War* 7.426–32). The temple was established during the Hellenistic period and modeled after the temple in Jerusalem.

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[illeg.]

[38v]

Q. The *Jewes* decoy'd by their *Wives* into Idolatry; what Way does the Lord Rebuke them? v. 25.

A. The *Jewes* now settling in *Egypt*, contrary to the Command of God, at the Instigation of their *Wives*, fell into open Idolatry. In the Reprehension of this Matter, at v. 9. there seems to bee a close Touch upon the Idolatry of *Solomons Wives*, which was the first Original of Idolatry to the Kings of *Judah*. That Verse may bee read, *The Wickedness of the Kings of Judah, and the Wickednesses of His Wives*. Indeed it may bee construed, *The Wickednesses of every one of their Wives*; but the quaintness of the Phrase, here taxing the Idolatry which the *Wives* of the *Jewes* in *Egypt* fell into, seems to rip up the Sore unto the very Head; which indeed first was in those *Wives* of *Solomon*.

But that whereof I rather do here take notice of, is, that in v. 25. the base Uxoriousness of these *Idolaters*, is, by the *Hebrew Syntax*, here notably Reproched; for, tho' the Lord speak to *Men*, yett Hee still uses the Verb in the *fæminine* Gender, as if none but *Women* had been spoken to.²⁰³

Q. How was that Prophecy Accomplished, *I will give Pharaoh-hophra, King of Egypt, into the Hand of his Enemies, and into the Hand of them that seek his Life?* v. 30.

A. *Herodotus*, will bee a notable Interpreter of this Prophecy. From him, you may learn, how this *Pharaoh*, (in him called Ἀπρήης) fell into the Hands of his Enemy, *Amasis*, and of those who took the Part of *Amasis*: And how those kept him a Prisoner, in the City *Sai*, until hee was there slain, at the Instigation of

²⁰³ See John Lightfoot, *A Chronicle of the Times*, in *Works* (1:131); Vatablus in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5671). Here Mather refers to וְאַתֶּם וְנָשֵׁיכֶם וְתַבְרִינָה “You and your wives have declared” where “(you) have declared וְתַבְרִינָה [vattedabberenah]” is in the second person feminine plural form.

those, who thought they could not bee safe, so long as hee lived;²⁰⁴ strangled in his own Palace.²⁰⁵

See more on Ezek. XXIX.

²⁰⁴ See Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5675), who refers to Herodotus, *The Persian Wars* (2.161). Apries is the name by which Herodotus refers to Wahibre Haaibre, or Ουαφρης (Pharaoh-Hophra), a pharaoh of Egypt, who reigned from 589 to 570 BCE, and whom Jeremiah designates חִפְרִיָּה (BDB 344). In 588 BCE, Apries sent an army to Jerusalem in order to protect his ally Judah from the Babylonian forces, but his intervention failed and Jerusalem was destroyed shortly thereafter. This and other unsuccessful military adventures instigated an uprising against Apries led by general Amasis, who defeated Apries and declared himself pharaoh in 570 BCE. Apries was eventually killed by Amasis's forces in 567 BCE. At the end of his gloss Grotius remarks: "Hæc habes apud Herodotum optimum hujus loci interpretem." Transl.: "One can find this in Herodotus, the best interpreter of this locus."

²⁰⁵ See Appendix A.

4082.

Q. Why are the First Prophecies of *Jeremiah* directed against the *Egyptians*? v. 2.

A. *Munster* saies, *eò quòd Rex Egypti occiderat piissimum Regem Jehudæ Josiam*.²⁰⁷

Q. What may be meant, by, *The oppressing Sword*? v. 16.

A. The Original may be rendred, *The Sword of the Dove*.

The Occasion of my Looking to see, whether it might be rendred so, or no, was a Passage I read in, *A Description of Palestine*, præfaced unto, *A Journey of Fourteen Englishmen to Jerusalem*.²⁰⁸ The Passage is this.

“*Semiramis* signifies, *A Dove*, in the *Assyrian* Tongue; In Memorial whereof, the *Babylonians* did bear a *Dove* in their Ensigns. Which is confirmed by the Prophecy of *Jeremiah*, who foretelling the Devastation of *Judæa*, advises them to, *Flee from the Sword of the Dove*.”²⁰⁹

4083.

Q. What may be the Meaning of that Passage; *surely as Tabor is among the Mountains, and as Carmel by the Sea, so shall he come*? v. 18.

A. The *Babylonians* shall hunt the *Egyptians*, as they take Wild-beasts in *Tabor* and other Mountains; and shall carry them away, as the Wood of *Carmel* is floated away upon the Sea.

Thus *Munster* takes it; and not as a proverbial Asseveration.²¹⁰

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[39v]

Q. That Clause, *Behold, I will punish the Multitude of No*, how should it indeed be rendred? v. 25.

²⁰⁶ There are no annotations on Jer. 45.

²⁰⁷ “Because the King of Egypt had slain the most pious King Josiah of Judah.” Münster from Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5678).

²⁰⁸ Mather quotes the anonymous travel account of the Holy Land (published under the initials T.D.) *A Journey to Jerusalem: or, a Relation of the Travels of fourteen Englishmen, in the year, 1669...* (1672), to which was added as a preface “A Description of Palestine.” This preface has no pagination, but the quote can be found on the twenty-fourth page.

²⁰⁹ The *Douay-Rheims Bible* also rendered this phrase “Sword of the Dove.”

²¹⁰ Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5677).

A. *Ham*, the Son of *Noah*, was the very Person whom the Heathen Mythologists call by the Name, of *Jove*, or *Jupiter*.

His Portion fell in the *Naked Sands of Africa*, where he was, for many Ages, worshipped under the Title of *Jupiter Ham*, or *Jupiter Hammon*. *Herodotus* expressly saies, *The Egyptians call Jupiter by the Name of Ammon*: And thence he affirms, That a Neighbouring People are called, *Ammoticans*. The Scripture mentions him under the Title of *Amon*, or *Hamon*. What we render, *The Multitude of No*, should be rendred, *Amon of No*, namely, the God *Amon*, in Honour of whom a Temple was Dedicated in the City of *No*. And hence it is observed, That the City, *No*, is called sometimes by a compound Name, *Amon No*, and *No Amon*. [Ezek. 30.15, 16.]

Thus, Nah. 3.8. *Art thou better than No Amon*? We render it, *populous No*. To suppose that *Alexandria* is there intended, is to suppose a Comparision drawn from a Place not then in Being; for certainly, *Alexandria* could not be before *Alexander*, that built it.²¹¹

Bochart supposes the City to be, the *Diospolis* of the LXX; The same that was called, *Thebe*.²¹² A City so large, that it had no fewer than an Hundred Gates; from whence it came to be syrnamed, *Hecatompyla*. A City so beautified with Colosses, Obelisks, Temples, Palaces, & other superb Edifices & stately Ornaments, that it was thought, the *None-such* of the whole World. But it long since fell to Decay; In the time of the Poet *Juvenal*, there was nothing left of it, but the Ruines.²¹³

²¹¹ This entry is based on the speculations in the work of Ralph Cudworth, *The true intellectual System of the Universe* (1678), pp. 338–40. Through Cudworth, Mather refers to Herodotus, *The Persian Wars* (2.42). Ezek. 30:15: נֹא [no] “Thebes” (ESV); Nah. 3:8: נֹא אַמֹּן [no amon] ESV: “Thebes;” NAU: “No-amon.” *Amon* was the god of Thebes.

²¹² Bochart, *Geographia sacra*, pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 1, pp. 7–8. According to Bochart, who is also referenced by Cudworth, this city is the same as the one that was called Thebes by many ancient writers. Thebes was famous for its hundred gates. The word is rendered by the LXX Διόσπολις (*Diospolis* or “City of Zeus”), the Greek name for Thebes, a city associated with the worship of Jupiter Hammon. The VUL interprets it as Alexandria. The last paragraph of this entry was written in a different ink and probably added later.

²¹³ From Bochart, a reference to Juvenal, *Satires*, 15.6: “atque vetus Thebe centum iacet obruta portis”; “and ancient Thebes lies in ruins with its hundred gates” (transl.: LCL 91, p. 489).

{90:2}

Q. Upon what Reflects that Expression, in the Threatnings against *Moab*, *make yee him Drunken, hee shall wallow in his Vomit?* v. 26.

A. 'Tis an Allusion to the Geniture of *Moab*, who was, Begotten in a Fit of *Drunkenness*.²¹⁵

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[40v]

1458:

Q. What Remarkable is there, in the Words of the Prophet, *wee have heard the Pride of Moab?* v. 29.

A. The Prophet *Jeremiah* now repeats the Words, which the Prophet *Isaiah*, had used many Years before; only hee does it, with Augmentation, & Aggravation.

The Words of *Isaiah* were, Chap. 16.6. *wee have heard of the Pride of Moab, (hee is very proud) even of his Haughtiness, and his Pride, and his Wrath.*

The Words of *Jeremiah* are, *wee have heard the Pride (hee is exceeding proud) his Loftiness, & his Arrogancy, & his Pride, & the haughtiness of his Heart.*

Now the Addition made unto the Words of *Isaiah*, by the Words of *Jeremiah*, intimates, That the *Moabites*, had not been Reformed by the former Threatnings & Judgments of God; but that they had *Added* unto their own former Impiety; for which Cause, greater Judgments are now denounced upon them.²¹⁶

²¹⁴ Mather provides no annotations on ch. 47.

²¹⁵ See Thomas Fuller, *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine*, bk. 4, ch. 2, p. 27.

²¹⁶ See Grotius, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5694).

1459:

Q. What may bee the Intent of these Words, used by the Lord, unto the *Idumeans*, *leave thy Fatherless Children, I will preserve them alive, & lett thy Widowes Trust in mee?* v. 11.

A. For poor *Widowes* and *Orphans*, in general, to take this Passage as a Promise unto them, inviting them to putt their *Trust* in God, may bee a Thing pleasing to the Spirit of Christ, who ha's written every Thing in the Scripture, with a glorious Variety of Design.

But as for the *Widowes*, & the *Orphans*, of the *Idumeans*, here more immediately intended, the Sense of this Passage seems to bee This: If thou dost leave any *Widowes* or *Orphans*, I'll take the Care of them; but I'll make such an utter Destruction of thee, that there shall bee left no such Objects of my Care at all.²¹⁷

1460:

Q. Who was the *Ambassadour sent unto the Heathen*, for the *Gathering of the People* against *Bozrah*, unto Battel? v. 14.

A. The *Angel* of God, who stirr'd up the *Chaldeans*, to chastise that City and Nation.²¹⁸

[41v]

Q. To what may that Passage allude; *He shall come up like a Lion from the Swelling of Jordan?* v. 19.

A. The modern Travellers, have ever now and then brought home with them, an Illustration, worthy of their Travels.

Mr. *Maundrel*, in his Journey from *Aleppo* to *Jerusalem*, ha's a Passage which may Illustrate what we have now before us.

"We went to the River *Jordan*. – So far was the River from overflowing, that it ran at least Three Yards below the Brink of its Channel. After having descended about a Furlong upon a level Strand, you come to the immediate Bank of the River; this second Bank is so besett with Bushes, and Trees, such as *Tamarisks*, *Willows*, &c that you can see no Water, till you have made your Way through them. In this Thicket anciently (and the same is reported at this day) several Sorts of Wild-beasts were wont to harbour themselves; whose being

²¹⁷ See Grotius, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5703).

²¹⁸ See Grotius, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5703).

wash'd out of their Covert, by the Overflowings of the River, gave Occasion to that Allusion; *like a Lion from the Swelling of Jordan*.”²¹⁹

See our Illustration, on Jer. 50.44.

Q. The Prophecies about *Elam*, how accomplished? v. 39.

A. *Elam*, was a Kingdome lying upon the River *Ulai*, eastward beyond the *Tigris*. It was conquered by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and subjected unto him as *Judah* was. But afterwards joining with *Cyrus*, it performed its Part in conquering and subduing the *Babylonians*. And *Shushan*, which was the chief City of that Province, was thenceforth made the Metropolis of the *Persian* Empire, and had the Throne of the Kingdome there.²²⁰

²¹⁹ A passage with slight abbreviations from Henry Maundrell's *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, pp. 81–82.

²²⁰ See Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected* (1:70).

1461.

Q. What is meant by *Babylons, Giving her Hand?* v. 15.

A. Shee was, as *Herodotus* tells us, in a League with the *Lydians*, who were Enemies unto those that now Invaded her, & were in Part stirr'd up to the Invasion, by her being so.²²¹ Διδόναι δεξίας, is, *To make a League*.²²²

1462.

Q. Why must *the Sower*, bee *cutt off from Babylon?* v. 16.

A. There was a περιγραφή,²²³ a Circuit about *Babylon*, as *Aristotle* expresses it (Politic. III. 2.) And *Pliny* assures us (l. XVIII. c. 17.) that even in the City itself, they Sow'd and Reap'd.²²⁴ Many Husbandmen were in the City. Merciful Conquerors, use to spare that Sort of Men; but the *Medians* and *Persians* did it not, when they took *Babylon*.

1463.

Q. To what is the Allusion of that Expression, *The Iniquity of Israel shall bee sought for, and there shall be None?* v. 20.

A. 'Tis an Allusion to *Debts* entred in a Book of Accounts; which are obliterated, when the *Debts* are paid.²²⁵

Now, even the Ancient Pagans themselves, the Græcians, as *Euripides* will inform us, did use to reckon, τὰ ἀδικήματα ἐν Διὸς δέλτου πτυχαῖς γράφεσθαι.²²⁶ *The Faults of Men to bee written down in Jupiters Book of Accounts.*

²²¹ See Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5710), who refers to Herodotus, *The Persian Wars* (1.74). Here we learn about a diplomatic marriage that was arranged to end a five-year war between the Lydians and the Medes. In 585 BCE Aryenis, a sister of the Lydian king Croesus, was married to the Median crown prince Astyages, whose sister, Amytis, was married to Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, creating a triple alliance, which was later brought down by Cyrus.

²²² "To give hands." A pledge of mutual friendship, a sign of a compact, or the initiation of an alliance; Grotius mentions Gal. 2:9.

²²³ Περιγραφή [perigraphē] "circuit, circumference." From Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5710), a citation from Aristotle, *Politica*, 3.1.12: "a case in point perhaps is Babylon, and any other city that has the circuit of a nation rather than of a city; for it is said that when Babylon was captured a considerable part of the city was not aware of it three days later" (transl. LCL 264, p. 183).

²²⁴ See Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5710), who refers to Pliny, *Natural History* (18.44.162); Curtius, *History of Alexander* (5.1).

²²⁵ See Grotius, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5710).

²²⁶ "The faults to be written down in the writing tablet of Zeus." From Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5711), Mather cites Euripides's *Fragmenta* (506.2). The Greek slightly differs in modern editions: τὰδικήματ' εἰς θεοῦς πτεροῖσι, κάπειτ' ἐν Διὸς δέλτου πτυχαῖς γράφειν.

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1464:

Q. How was that Prophecy fulfilled, *Thou wast taken, O Babylon, & wast not aware?* v. 24.

A. *Herodotus*, and out of him, *Aristotle*, will expound this Passage, when they tell us, That the City was *taken*, while the People in the *Middle* of the City were *not Aware* of any such Matter; they knew nothing of it.²²⁷

1465:

Q. How do you understand that Passage, *The Lord hath opened His Armoury, & brought forth, the Weapons of His Indignation?* v. 25.

A. *The Lord hath opened His Treasury*, even the *Treasury* of His Temple, which had been carried unto *Babylon*: *And Hee hath brought forth the Weapons of His Indignation*, even those of His Temple, for the Carrying of which into *Babylon*, His *Indignation* was provoked.

When these were ordered by the Providence of God, to bee produced in the Court of *Babylon*, then came the Destruction of the City at once.

Compare, Dan. 5.2, 3. and wonder at the Particularity of this Matter.

1466.

Q. What is the Meaning of that, *A Drought is upon her Waters, & they shall bee Dried up?* v. 38.

A. *Cyrus*, turning *Euphrates* into another Channel, *Dried up* the Waters of *Babylon*, & so they were passable, by the Conquerors.

Compare Jer. 51.32.

And go to *Herodotus*, & *Xenophon*, for a Commentary.²²⁸

Q. Unto what is the Allusion, of a *Lion coming up from the Swelling of Jordan?* v. 44.

A. *Jordan*, in the Land of *Naphtali*, expatiates itself into the Waters of *Merom*; or the *Samochonite* Lake. This was a *Sea*, in Winter; and in Summer a *Thicket* of Reeds, affording Shelter to Lions, & Wolves. The *Lion* having lodged there quietly all Summer in the Shade, is Roused by the Rising of the Water in the Winter; and vexed, is ready to Revenge himself on the next Object hee meets withal.²²⁹

²²⁷ From Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5711), a reference to Herodotus, *The Persian Wars* (1.191) and Aristotle, *Politica* (3.1276).

²²⁸ From Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5712), a reference to Herodotus, *The Persian Wars* (1.191) and Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* (7.5.10, 13, 15–16), where it is described how Cyrus and his armies appear before Babylon, survey the walls of the city, and attempt to breach them by dividing the river Euphrates.

²²⁹ Based on Thomas Fuller, *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine*, bk. 4, ch. 4, p. 107.

3047:

Q. It is said, *call together against her, the Kingdoms of Ararat, Minni*, etc. What may be meant by *Minni*? v. 27.

A. For / מני / *Minni*, the Chaldee here hath / הרמיני / *Armenia*.²³⁰ And so in Mic. 7.12. And indeed the Name of *Armenia* seems to be originally / הר-מני / The Mountain of *Mini*, or, *Montana Minyadis*. Probably that Part of *Armenia*, which lies next unto the *Gordyeen* Mountains, might be called so; & the rest from thence receive its denomination.

|

3258:

Q. What might be the Occasion of that Expression, for the Taking of *Babylon*: *How is Sheshbach taken*? v. 41.

A. Behold, a Prædiction of that particular Time in the Year, when *Babylon* should be *taken*. We read, Dan. 5.1. It was, when *the King made a great Feast unto a thousand of his Lords*. The Revels now made, were upon the Festival, which was instituted in honour of *Sesach*, the Goddess of *Babylon*, and by the Greeks called Σακχαια and Σακσαι ημεραι.²³¹

1469:

Q. Tis said of perishing *Babylon*, *All her Slain shall fall in the Midst of her*. What may be intended in that Passage? v. 47.

A. It may be rendred, *All her Dancers shall fall in the Midst of her*. [So the Word / חלל / is usually rendred.²³²

Now this also is a notable Prophecy, That *Babylon* should be destroy'd at the Time of a *Festival*. And this is the very Thing that you find Reported by *Herodotus*, telling the Story of *Babylon* being taken by *Cyrus*, *evenerat ut ipsis*

²³⁰ From Bochart, *Geographia sacra*, pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 3, p. 22, Mather refers to the Targum at this verse. The Latin transl. also has "Armenia." See Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:364).

²³¹ Σακχαια [sakchia], Σακσαι ημεραι [sakeai hemerai] "The [festival] days of Shacha." Shacha, Shach, Shaka or Saca is the name of a Babylonian goddess; see Grotius on Jer. 25:26 in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4: 5597) and Mather's annotations on this verse.

²³² חלל [chalal] "pierced one." The KJV and ESV have: "and all her slain shall fall in the midst of her." See Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5723), who points to Judg. 21:21, 23; 1 Sam. 18:6; 1 Kings 1:40, passages which talk about women dancing.

Dies Festus ageretur, utque saltarent eo ipso Tempore, et essent in Gaudijs: τυχεῖν γάρ σφι εἶδον ὀρτὴν κλ.²³³

Q. Tis said, *The Broad Walls of Babylon shall bee utterly broken & her High Gates shall be Burnt with Fire.* How *Broad*, & how *High* were they? v. 58.

A. *Berosus* tells us, There were Treble *Walls* about the τὴν ἐνδον πόλιν *Inner City*, & as many about the τὴν ἐξω *Outer*.²³⁴ They are well called, *Broad*; for *Herodotus* assures us, they were Fifty Cubits Thick. *Pliny* relates, *Latos fuisse Quinquagenos Pedes in singulos Pedes tribus digitis Mensurâ ampliore, quam erat Romana*.²³⁵

As for the *Height* of them, *Herodotus* and *Strabo* and *Diodorus Siculus* {and} *Pliny*, affirm them, to have been {Two} Hundred Cubits High.²³⁶

4084:

Q. Why is *Serajah* called, *A Quiet Prince*? v. 59.

A. We commonly take, the *Prince of Menucha*, to mean, *Chief Chamberlain*. But now take *Munsters* Interpretation. *Vocatur Princeps Quietis et Solatii, quòd semper cum Rege fuerit, et facietis suis Colloquiis illum ab animi levaret Molestia, aut quòd Rex illo per Otium se oblectaret*.²³⁷

I will here add an agreeable Thought, which I find in a Sermon of our Mr. *John Oxenbridge*, concerning, *Watchfulness*.

“The Prophecy against *Babylon* is committed unto *Serajah*; And *Serajah* was a *Quiet Prince*. Another Man, of a Turbulent Spirit, would not have waited for GODS Time & Way of performing the Prophecy, but would have been making

²³³ The Latin: “It had come to pass that they themselves were celebrating a feast, that they were dancing at the very same time and being merry.” From Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5723). The Greek citation τυχεῖν γάρ σφι εἶδον ὀρτὴν κλ (“as they chanced to be holding a festival, and so on”) is from Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, 1.191: “All this time they were dancing and making merry at a festival which chanced to be toward, till they learnt the truth but too well” (transl. *LCL* 117, p. 241).

²³⁴ From Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5724), a citation from the Chaldean priest and author of a history of Babylonia written in Greek, *Berosus* (Berossos, 4th cent. BCE): τῆς ἐνδον πόλεως – τῆς ἐξω (Jacoby, ed., *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 3C1, 680.139). Transl. from *Berosos and Manetho*: “He rebuilt the old city and added a new one outside the walls and fixed it so that those who intended to besiege the city could no longer divert the river’s course. He built a triple wall around the inner city and a triple wall around the outer city” (58).

²³⁵ From Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5724), who refers to Herodotus, *The Persian Wars* (1.178) and Pliny, *Natural History* (6.30.121). In Grotius’s rendition, Pliny’s description reads: “[Pliny relates that] they [sc. the walls] were fifty feet in breadth, adding to every foot three fingers beyond the measure of the Roman foot.”

²³⁶ From Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5724), a reference to Strabo, *Geography* (16.1.5), Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* (2.8.4–6), and Pliny, *Natural History* (6.30.121).

²³⁷ “He is called the prince of quiet and solace because he was always close to the king and relieved him from the pain of his soul with humorous conversations, or because the king spent his leisure time with him.” Münster in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5714).

Commotion, and this Prophecy the Occasion & Defence of them. The Quieting Waiting *Israelite* is the Cabinet, in which the Prophecy of *Babylons* Destruction is deposited; & he is the nearest to the Possession of this Mercy.” —²³⁸

[44r] |²³⁹

Q. Some Remarks upon the Methods, in which the final Destruction of *Babylon* was accomplished? v. 64.²⁴⁰

A. The Empire of Persia, being restored in *Darius*, the Son of *Hystaspes*, (who in Writings of the later *Persians* is called, *Gushtasph*, and his Father *Lorasph*, and under those Names they are celebrated in *Persia*, unto this day:) tho’ the Edict of the Usurper who was his Predecessor, prohibiting the Building of the Temple, was at an End, yett the Jews did not resume the Work as they should have done; for which Cause the failing of their *Harvest* and their *Vintage*, was by GOD inflicted on them for their Punishment. But in the second Year of *Darius*, the Messages they received from GOD by the Prophet *Haggai* awakened them.²⁴¹ In the Beginning of the next Year, their old Friends the *Samaritans*, renewed their Endeavours to procure a Stop unto the good Proceedings, & applied themselves unto *Tatnai*, whom *Darius* had made the Præfect of *Syria* and *Palæstine*, (one of the Twenty Præfectures, into which he had lately divided the Empire;) who came with *Setharboznai* (the Governour, as it should seem of *Samaria*,) unto *Jerusalem*, to take an account of what was adoining there. *Tatnai* being a Man of Temper & Justice, enquired fairly into the Jewish Proceedings; and made Report of the Pretence made unto a Grant from *Cyrus* for them. *Darius* found it among the Rolls in the Royal Palace at *Ecbatana*; and having married a couple of Ladies that were Daughters to *Cyrus*, he thought it might fortify his Title unto the Throne to do every thing that would support the Honour of that great Emperour, and so confirmed it. It was the Fourth Year of *Darius*, before this Decree of his, could reach unto *Jerusalem*; and the Publishing of it there, might be reckoned the Thorough Restoration of the Jewish State; and from the Thorough Desolation of it, in the Burning of the City and the Temple by the *Chaldeans*, it was now just *seventy Years*. Thus the celebrated *seventy Years*, had a

²³⁸ Mather quotes John Oxenbridge’s *A double Watch-Word, or the Duty of Watching; and Watching to Duty, both echoed from Revelations 16.5 and Jeremiah 50.4,5* (1661), p. 75. In Oxenbridge’s tract Jeremiah’s prophecy against Babylon is given an apocalyptic interpretation, in which Babylon signifies the church of the Antichrist and the people of Israel the true church of God. Oxenbridge (1608–1674) was an English Nonconformist divine who emigrated to New England after the Restoration and settled in Boston, where he became pastor of the First Church, succeeding John Davenport. He gained some fame for his jeremiad *New England Freemen warned and warmed* (1673), a call to guard traditional colonial liberties (*ANB*). The last two paragraphs of this entry were written in a different ink and probably added later.

²³⁹ See Appendix B.

²⁴⁰ The following entry is a summary of Prideaux’s account in *The Old and New Testament connected* (1:180–90).

²⁴¹ See Hag. 1.

Double Commencement, and a Double Period. The *Babylonish* Captivity Begun in the Fourth Year of *Jehojakim*, and ended in the First of *Cyrus*, who allowed the Return of the Jews to Rebuild their Temple. The Captivity was not completed until the City was utterly destroy'd, in the eleventh Year of *Zedekiah*, which was eighteen Years after. And Deliverance was not finished, until the Edict of *Cyrus* was putt in full Vigour, by that of *Darius*, which was also just eighteen Years after. And now the Jews in *Babylon* send their Messengers, namely *Sharezer* and *Regem-Melek*, unto *Jerusalem*, to ask advice, whether they should keep the *Fasts*, which they had observed now seventy Years, for the Miseries which had been brought upon them.²⁴²

The fifth Year of *Darius* arriving, the *Babylonians* made a Revolt, which obliged him to employ Twenty Months in besieging of them. The City of *Babylon* having been for many Years the Mistress of the East, could not bear the Subjection, which it now suffered under the *Persians*, who removed the Imperial Seat unto *Shushan*. The *Babylonians* could think of no Retrieve, but by setting up for themselves against the *Persians*, under a King of their own, as they had formerly done under *Nabopolassar* against the *Assyrians*. Wherefore taking advantage of the late Revolutions in the *Persian* Empire, they began to lay in all Manner of Provisions for a War; and having done this covertly for Four Years together, they now made an open Revolt, which drew down *Darius*, with all his Forces upon them. When they saw themselves begirt with an Army which they could not encounter in the *Field*, they turned their Thoughts wholly to supporting themselves in the *Siege*; in Order to which they took up a Resolution, than which a more Desperate and Barbarous, was never practised by any Nation. For that | their Provisions might last the longer, they agreed upon cutting off all the unnecessary Mouths among them; and so, they strangled all the Women and Children, their Wives, their Sisters, their Daughters, and the young Children useless for the Wars; excepting only, that every Man saved one Wife, and a Maid-Servant for the Work of the House. How signally, how horribly, was now fulfilled the Prophecy of *Isaiah* upon them! [Ch. XLVII.9.] *That Two Things should come to them in a moment, in one day; the Loss of Children & Widowhood; and these should come upon them in their Perfection!* Oh! The *Perfection* of the Calamities, when they themselves must be the Executioners! The Prophets of GOD, often warned the *Jews*, to *come out of the Place*, before this Destruction, that they might not be involved in it. Especially, The Prophet *Zechariah*, Two Years before, sent them that Call from GOD; Zech. II.7. *Deliver thyself, O Zion, which dwellest with the Daughter of Babylon.* And when *Sharezer* and *Regem-Melek* returned unto *Babylon*, doubtless they carried with them from this Prophet a Repetition of the Call; to which tis probable they yielded Obedience,

[44v]

²⁴² This calculation provides an alternative to the one given in Mather's annotations on Jer. 29:10.

tho' we have no particular Account concerning it. At Length *Darius* took *Babylon*, by the well-known Stratagem of *Zopyrus*; which could never have been starved into a Surrender. He then took away their Hundred Gates; and beat down their Walls from Two Hundred Cubits unto Fifty; of which Walls only *Strabo*, and those who write after him, are to be understood.²⁴³ After he had given the Inhabitants for a Spoil unto the *Persians*, who had been their *Servants*: [which had been expressly foretold, *Zech. II.9.*] he Impaled Three Thousand, who had been most Guilty and Active in the Revolt; and pardoned the rest. But the Destruction made of the Women in the beginning of the Siege, caused him to send thither fifty thousand of that Sex from the other Provinces, without which the Place must soon have been depopulated, for Want of Propagation.

Behold, How the Punishment of *Babylon* kept Pace with the Restoration of *Jerusalem*, in several Essays of it! According to the Prophecies of *Jeremiah*; Ch. XXV.12, 13. That *when the seventy Years of Judahs Captivity should be accomplished, God would punish Babylon for their Iniquity, and make it a perpetual Desolation*. In the first Part of their Punishment, was their King slain, & their City taken, which ceased from thenceforth to be the *Lady of the Kingdoms*. And at the same time the Countrey was destroy'd by an Inundation; and *the Sea came up upon Babylon, and she was covered with the Multitude of the Waves thereof*. And now, in the second Part, there was a more finishing Devastation brought upon the Accursed City; from which it never could recover itself, but languished a While, and anon became a *perpetual Desolation*.

²⁴³ From Prideaux, a reference to *Strabo, Geography* (16.1.5).

Q. How comes the Fifty second Chapter to be added unto *Jeremiahs* Prophecies?

A. 'Tis very certain, That it was not of his own Addition; For in his *Thirty fifth* and *Fortieth* Chapters, hee had given us the History of this Matter once before: And the History here proceeds unto the Reign of *Evilmerodach*, & the End of *Jechonias*, which was after the Times of this Prophet. It is therefore probable, that those *Chieftians* of the *Captives* in *Babylon*, whom they called / ראשי גלות / αιχμαλωταρχας,²⁴⁴ might here Insert these Things, as a Sort of *Introduction*, containing the *Argument* & *Occasion* of the *Lamentations*, which were annexed hereunto.²⁴⁵

1065.

Q. Wee read here, *That in the Fifth Month, in the Tenth Day of the Month, Nebuzaradan came into Jerusalem, & Burnt the House of the Lord.* But wee read in 2. King. 25.8. *In the Fifth Month, on the Seventh Day of the Month, came Nebuzaradan unto Jerusalem, & hee burnt the House of the Lord.* How will you Reconcile them? v. 12.

A. I'll Recite unto you the Words of the *Gemarists*, in the *Babylon-Talmud*.²⁴⁶

*It cannot bee said, on the Seventh Day, because it is said, on the Tenth. Nor can it bee said, on the Tenth Day, because it is said, on the Seventh. How is it then? On the Seventh Day, the Aliens came into the Temple, & eat there, and defiled it, the seventh, eight, & ninth Dayes; And on that Day, towards Night, they sett it on fire; and it burnt all the Tenth Day; & this was the Case also of the Second Temple.*²⁴⁷

So say the *Gemarists*. And since they invite us to reflect on the *Case of the Second Temple*, lett us here call to Mind, That *Josephus*, a Spectator, tells us, *It was on the Tenth Day of the Month Lous*, on which very Day, the Temple had been formerly burnt by the *Babylonians*.²⁴⁸ Whereas, his Countrymen, that write in the Hebrew Tongue, fix both of these Fatalities to the *Ninth Day*, of the Month

²⁴⁴ "Leaders of the captives." From Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5728). Grotius does not provide his source. Both the Hebrew and the Greek here are extra biblical neologisms.

²⁴⁵ Mather here follows Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (4:5727–28), who argues that for the reasons cited by Mather that Jer. 52 must be a later addition. Lowth (*A Commentary upon ... Jeremiah* 428) also agrees with Grotius and argues that the additions must have been made by Ezra.

²⁴⁶ The following entry, including the citation from the Talmud, is derived from John Lightfoot's *Parergon concerning the Fall of Jerusalem and the Condition of the Jews in that Land after*, in *Works* (1:362).

²⁴⁷ Lightfoot translates the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Taanith 29a (Soncino, pp. 153–54).

²⁴⁸ From Lightfoot, a reference to Josephus, *Jewish War* (6.249).

Ab. And they add, *on the Ninth Day of the Month Ab, the Decree came out against Israel in the Wilderness, that they should not enter into the Land. And on it, the City Bitter was taken, where there were Thousands & Ten Thousands of Israel, who had a great King over them* [that is, Barchocheba] *whom all Israel, even their greatest wise Men, thought to have been Messias; but hee fell into the Hands of the Heathen, and there was great Affliction, as there was, at the Destruction of the Sanctuary. And on that Day, a Day allotted for Vengeance, the wicked Turnus Rufus* [that is, Terentius Rufus] *plowed up the Place of the Temple, & the Places about it; to accomplish what is said, Sion shall become a ploughed Field.*²⁴⁹

Now the discrepancy between these Authors, will bee taken away, when you have considered, That the *Porches of the Temple* were fired on the *Eighth Day*, & were burning on the *Ninth*; but then *Titus* called a Council of War, and carried by Three Voices, that the *Temple* should bee spared: but a New bussle among the Jewes caused it, against his Will, to bee sett on Fire, the Day following. Fire was in the Evening putt unto it, & it burnt until Sunsett the Next Day.

The Ninth & the Tenth Dayes of *Ab*, answer to the twenty second, & the twenty third, of our *July*.

[45v]

|

[illeg.]

Q. There are certain Difficulties, in *Jeremiahs* Enumeration of the Captives, which I cannot presently solve. Look on the Place, and you'll presently *state* them, & perhaps as presently *solve* them. v. 24.²⁵⁰

A. 'Tis remarkable, that *Nebuzaradan*, returning with his Captives to his Master at *Riblah*, *Nebuchadnezzar* slew *Seventy Two* of them. When you read this, then reflect on the Number of *Seventy Two* first chosen to Represent *Israel*, in the Wilderness. [Num. II.26, 27.] To make us the more observe this, there is a difference in the Account, between the Book of *Kings*, & the Book of *Jeremiah*. In the Book of *Kings*, you find five Men taken out of the Temple, Two out of the City, *Five* out of the Court, & sixty out of the Countrey, all slain by the King of *Babel*, at *Riblah*. In the Book of *Jeremiah*, tis all the same; only hee saies, there were taken *Seven* Men that were near the King; which is true, but only

²⁴⁹ Lightfoot translates Maimonides's *Mishneh Torah*, Tractate *T'aniyot* ("Fast days"), ch. 5, Halachah 3. See Touger's transl., pp. 78–80. Compare also the Mishnah in the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Taanith 26b (Soncino, p. 139) and the Gemarah in the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Taanith 29a (Soncino, p. 154). The reference is to Quintus Tineius Rufus (c. 90–after 131 CE), consular and provincial governor of Judaea during the Bar Kokhba revolt in 132 CE. After the suppression of the insurrection he is said to have ordered the ploughing of the Temple Mount as a sign of ultimate Jewish defeat. The city Bitter is the fortress Bet(h)ar, Beitar or Bit(t)ir, southwest of Jerusalem. Its fall marked the end of the Bar Kokhba revolt.

²⁵⁰ The following entry is based on John Lightfoot's *A Chronicle of the Times*, in *Works* (1:129–30).

Five of them were slain, for the other Two, *Ebedmelek*, and *Jeremiah* himself were delivered.

Besides this; *Jeremiah* mentions, as carried away, by *Nebuchadnezzar*,

In his 7th Year, 3023.

In his 18th Year 3032.

Whereas, first, in the Reckoning, there is no Mention of the Captivité in the 4th Year of *Jehojakim*, which was the first; nor the Captivité of *Jechoniah*, when the most were transported.

Secondly, There is no Mention elsewhere of any Captivité in the 7th Year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, or his 18th Year; but in his 8th Year, [2. King. 24.12.] and in his 19th Year. [Jer. 25.12.] Unto the First of these Difficulties, the Answer is, That the Prophet speaks not of such as were simply Captives, but of Captives that were putt to Death. In the fourth of *Jehojakim*, when *Daniel* & his Friends were captivated, & in the Captivité of *Jechoniah*, there was no Rebellion introducing of it, & so there was no such Slaughter attending it. But the other Captivities, in *Jehojakims* and *Zedekiahs* Time, were the Effect of an open Rebellion; and abundance of Captives were then therefore slaughtered in cold Blood.

Unto the Second, the Answer is, *Nebuchadnezzars* first Year, was properly *Jehojakims* Third; and accordingly then you have the First Newes of him. [Dan. 1.1.] But yett, his First Year is counted with *Jehojakims* Fourth, in which the Seventy Years Captivité began; for Then, hee took *Jerusalem*. Accordingly the Scripture does reckon, by both of those Dates; and what was the 7th Year according to one, was the 8th according to t'other.²⁵¹

Q. The Occasion of *Evil-Merodach's* Kindness to *Jehojachin*? v. 31.

A. *Jerom* tells us, The Jews have a Tradition, That *Evil-Merodach* having had the Government of the *Babylonish* Empire during his Fathers Distraction, administred it so ill, that as soon as the old King returned unto his Right Mind, he putt him in Prison for it; and the Place of his Imprisonment, happening to be the same, where *Jehojachin* had long been confined, he there entred into a particular Acquaintance & Friendship with him, and this was the Cause of the great Kindness, which afterwards he shew'd unto him.²⁵²

This *Evil-Merodach*, after a Reign of Two Years, did by his Wickedness make himself so intolerable, that his own Relatives killed him; and *Neriglissar*,

²⁵¹ Compare Mather's solution for this problem in the account of scriptural chronology with which he prefaced the "Biblia" (BA 1:297–98); there Mather draws on Whiston, *A short View*, pp. 51–52.

²⁵² This entry is based on Prideaux's account in *The Old and New Testament connected* (1:106). Prideaux refers to Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, lib. 5, at Isa. 14:19 [PL 24. 162; CCSL 73]. This legend about Evil-Merodach is found in *Midrash Rabbah*, *Leviticus*, p. 229, on Lev. 15:2 in connection with Hab. 1:7. A variety of legends about Evil-Merodach and his opposition to Nebuchadnezzar are found in aggadic literature. See Rashi and a summary of Kimchi (Radak) in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *The Book of Kings* 2, p. 439 and p. 452, on 2 Kings 25:27.

his Sisters Husband, who was the Head of the Conspiracy, Reigned in his room. The Text intimates, That *Jehojachin* did not outlive him; and it is probable enough, that as a Favourite he might be slain with him. A *Man* that must *not prosper in his Days!*

[▽46r] [▽Insert from 46r]

Q. A Remark on the Advancement of *Jehojachin*? v. 31.

A. It is a Remark made by Colonel *Burnet*, in his, *Essay on Scripture-Prophecy*.²⁵³

“The Beginning of the *Babylonish* Captivity of LXX Years, was not a Total Captivity; but for the first eighteen Years, *Jerusalem* still subsisted with her own Government, tho’ many were led away captive from her. And this resembles the Rise of the *Papacy*, and the Beginning of the *Captivity* in *spiritual Babylon*, which was far from Total or Severe. In *Zedekiah’s* Time, the *old Captivity* became Total; And this resembles the Greatness of the *Papacy*, and the Severity of the *mystical Captivity*. And as before the *old Captivity* ended, *Jehojachin* was taken out of Captivity, and treated as a King, this perhaps may allude to the Deliverance of some of the *People and Kindreds*, at the *Reformation*, out of Persecution in *spiritual Babylon*, long before its fall.”

A Thought highly worthy to be prosecuted.

[△] [△Insert ends]

²⁵³ Mather quotes William Burnet (1688–1729), *An Essay on Scripture-Prophecy, wherein it is endeavoured to explain the three Periods contain’d in the XIIth chapter of the Prophet Daniel. With some Arguments to make it possible, that the first of the Periods did expire in the year 1715* (1724), p. 148. The colonial governor of New York and New Jersey (1720–1728) and of Massachusetts and New Hampshire (1728–1729), Burnet was also a man of many intellectual interests, including the natural sciences (he was a fellow of the Royal Society) and theology. Like his teacher Isaac Newton, Burnet was a millennialist, and in his *An Essay* he argued that Christ would return to earth in 1790 (*ANB*). Initially, the work was published anonymously, but Mather obviously knew who the author was. There survives a draft letter to Burnet from November 1723 in which Mather praises Burnet’s interpretive scheme (presumably on the basis of a manuscript copy of *An Essay* that the governor sent to him) and shares his thoughts on whether “the coming of our Saviour at the beginning of the Millennium can be any other than personal and literal.” We also have a draft letter from August 1724, presumably addressed to governor Saltonstall, in which Mather writes: “I look upon Colonel Burnet’s late *Essay on the Scripture Prophecies* as the most penetrating, judicious, decisive essay that has ever been made upon that noble subject What that excellent person who led him to these happy studies (our late President, Sir Isaac Newton) has been to the world in philosophy, this must his honorable scholar now be in prophecy, and be acknowledged as a dictator above all contradiction. There is indeed no little proof of our being arrived onto the *Time of the End* (and that he has calculated right) in our having Daniel so admirably opened unto us.” See Mather, *Selected Letters*, pp. 377 and 389. While he did not fully accept Burnet’s eschatological time table, Mather made good use of *An Essay* for the purpose of finessing his millennial calculations after the disappointment of 1716 both in his annotations on Daniel and Revelations for the “Biblia” and in his *Tripuradisis*, where he also explicitly praises the author (318).

Q. What Remarkable is there, in the *Time*, of the Captivity coming upon the Jewish Nation and the Destruction of their City & their Temple? v. 34.²⁵⁴

A. It was 390 Years, after the Death of Solomon, and the Rent of the Kingdome, which the Prophet *Ezekiel* represented, by lying {for} many Nights on his left Side. Add {hereto} the Two Years, wherein the Captivity {was} completed, at the Death of *Gedaliah*; {and} *Eight Jubilies* are therein contained.

It was 490 Years from the Beginning of *Saul*; so that the Kingdome of *Judah* continued for the Space of *Ten Jubilies*; or 70 Weeks of Years: The very Space which *Daniel* gives to the Commonwealth of the Jewes, {from} its Restitution, to the *Messiah*.

It was 420 Years from the Building of the Temple; which therefore stood sixty Weeks of Years.

T'was, according to *Cappellus*, 1007 Years, from the Departure out of *Egypt*; *Satan* therefore was as it were *Bound* in the Opinion of such as hee, and the People of God were Free. *Quære*, whether then, there bee no Allusion to This, in the 20th Chapter of the *Revelation*.

[the entries from 46r were inserted into their designated place on 45v]

| [blank]

[46v]

²⁵⁴ The following entry is based on the work of Louis Cappel (Ludovicus Cappelus, 1585–1658), *Chronologia sacra a condito mundo ad eundem reconditum per Dominum N. I. Christum* (1655), pp. 206–16. Cappel was a French Reformed theologian and professor of Hebrew and divinity at Saumur who is mostly remembered for his debate with the Buxtorfs about the divine inspiration of the vowel points, a debate which Mather followed with great interest (BA 1:440).

Appendix A

The holograph MS reveals literally thousands of smaller cancellations and emendations. In accordance with the editorial principles, this appendix only records those cancellations and excisions that substantively impact Mather's commentary. The vast majority of Mather's textual emendations consists of false starts or minor orthographic or stylistic revisions.

Prov. 10.17r–18v

208 293. Before the entry on Prov. 10:13 Mather cancelled: "Q. How is it said,?} *Violence covereth the Mouth of the Wicked?* {q.d. see the 7.}A."

212 316. Before the entry on Prov. 10:19 Mather cancelled: "Q. How is, *the Way of the Lord, Strength to the Upright?* v. 29."

Prov. 13.24r

229 404. Here Mather cancelled: "Lett us pass over to the *Hindoos*, or the *Heathen*."

Prov. 15.30v

248 492 Mather here crossed out an entry that was written in a different hand: "v. 16. 17. *The little with the Fear of the Lord, & the {Meal} of Herbs than the Stalled Ox*; some more satisfactory Gloss upon it. Rabbi *Samuel* of *Morocco* in his Letter to Rabbi *Isaac*, speaking of this Texts, says, certainly the *Jewish Sacrifices* & Oblations now are the *Stalled Ox with Enmity*; & the Services of *the Christians* are the *little with the Fear of G & a Dinner of Herbs with Love*. A very lovely Thought, for one who was a Jew & afterwards turn'd Christian."

The reference is to *Epistola Rabbi Samuelis*, cap. 23 [PL 149. 335–368]; Engl. transl.: Samuel (Maroccanus), *The Epistle of Rabbi Samuel the Israelite, To Rabbi Isaac*, ch. 23, p. 39.

Prov. 25.48v

313 839. Mather here cancelled the following entry:

“**Q.** That Passage of, *A soft Tongue breaking the Bone*; For what may it be allusive? v. 15.

A. Why not, unto some *Oyle* (which are very soft things,) that pierce to the *Bone*?”

Prov. 26.49v

320 881. Mather here cancelled: “Dr. *Patrick* Paraphrase is this; provoking Language quickly passes into Quarrels, as dead Coals do into Burning, or Wood into Fire, when they are laid upon them.”

Prov. 27.51r

321 888. At the very end of the entry Mather cancelled: “WHAT IS ABLE TO STAND BEFORE ZEAL?”

Eccles. 7.16r

405 216. Mather originally wrote: “(sais my excellent Friend Mr. [*]).” He later crossed out the phrase, making the name illegible.

Eccles. 7.16v

417 280. Mather here cancelled: “because there are more *Women* in the World than *Men*, but this is not *All* the Reason.”

Eccles. 10.27v

439 388. Mather here crossed out an entry that was written in a different hand and marked with little stars:

“Upon these *Two Translations**

Reason shall shutt my Eyes against the Sun, Nor whilst I’v Motion, prove mee Motionless:

But where both *Sense & Reason* meet in *One*,
 I'll Hugg the Lovely *Child*, in *Love's Excess*;
 Strong Reason to the First Checks All Pretence{;}
 Your *Second* Rears its Head on Common Sense;
 And who dares yet against your Translation boast,
 I'll Huff, for [*Reckoning without his Host*]."

Cant. 2.4v

477 67. Mather here cancelled the repetition of the question "On that, *He cometh leaping on the Mountains?* v. 8," leaving only the "A." for "Answer" to introduce the additional gloss from Patrick. The "A." has been deleted.

Cant. 4.8r

492 127. At the beginning of this entry Mather cancelled: "Dr. *Patrick* thinks, this left."

Canticles. 22r

530 20. Mather cancelled "prefers," replacing it with "admires."

Canticles. 24r

537 30. Mather here cancelled "perfumed with."

Isa. 34.53v

736 682. Mather here cancelled "Babylon," replacing it with "*Idumæa*."

Isa. 36.55r

742 699. At the end of the paragraph Mather cancelled "... as well as a Souldier; not inferior in Eloquence to *Julius Cæsar*."

Isa. 53.75v

816 977. Mather here cancelled the following entry:

“4176

Q. You are satisfied then, that the Fifty Third Chapter of Isaiah, refers to the Messiah? v. 12.

A. Yea; And the Modern Jewes confess that the Ancient Ones, did so understand the Chapter. We will content ourselves with the Words of R. Moses Alsheesch, instead of the rest. *Ecce omnes Doctores nostri piæ Memoræ uno ore {staturent} et tradunt Prophetam de Messiâ loqui.*”

Jer. 8.8v

882 57. Mather here cancelled: “*The Waters above the Firmament*; about”

Jer. 44.38v

936 205. Mather here cancelled: “*Herodotus* remarks on this *Aporis*, that he”

Appendix B: Silent MS Deletions

Prov. 1.2r–3v

- 144 20. Before the insert from [3r] Mather noted: “[see the Next Leaf.]”
147 31. Before the insert from [3r] Mather noted: “[see the Next Leaf.]”
149 41. Before the insert from [3v] Mather noted: “[see the Next Leaf.]”

Prov. 3.5r

- 157 74. Before the entry on Prov. 3:11 Mather noted: “To be inserted lower”
158 76. As instructions for the insertion of the entry on Prov. 3:16 Mather noted: “Here insert the Illustration on v. 16”

Prov. 11.19r–21r

- 216 330. As instructions for the insertion of the entry on Prov. 11:8 Mather noted: “[Here insert the Illustration, on, v. 8 ###]” and “[Insert this at ###]”
219 356. Before the entry on Prov. 11:22 Mather noted: “To be inserted at, [OOO]”
220 366. Before the insert from [21r] Mather noted: “To be inserted, at [###]”

Prov. 13.23v

- 229 404. As instructions for the insertion of the entries on Prov. 13:15 from [24r–25v] Mather noted: “[See the next Leaf [0000]]” and “[To be inserted at, [000]]”

Prov. 14.26r

234 427. As instructions for the insertion of the entries from [28r] Mather noted: “[See the next Leaf but one.]” and “[To be inserted at [aaa]]”

Prov. 25.47r

306 807. As instructions for the insertion of the entry on Prov. 25:13 from [48r] Mather noted: “Here insert the Illustration on the Next Leaf on v. 13”

Prov. 25.47v

310 828. As instructions for the insertion of the entry on Prov. 25:26 from [48v] Mather noted: “Here, insert the Illustration in the next Leaf on v. 26”

Prov. 26.50r

315 847. As instructions for the insertion of the entry on Prov. 26:5 Mather noted: “To be inserted at, [000]”

Prov. 30.55r

335 968. As instructions for the insertion of the entry on Prov. 30:15 from [56r] Mather noted: “Here Insert the Illustration, on v. 15”

Prov. 30.56v

338 983. As instructions for the insertion of the entry on Prov. 30:17 from [57r] Mather noted: “Here insert [000]”

Eccles. 2.4r

368 43. As instructions for the insertion of the entry on Eccles. 2:3 from [5r] Mather noted: “[See the next Leaf.]”

371 53. As instructions for the insertion of the entry on Eccles. 2:8 from [5r]
Mather noted: “[See the next Leaf.]”

372 57. As instructions for the insertion of the entry on Eccles. 2:9 from [5v]
Mather noted: “[See the next Leaf.]”

Eccles. 2.5r

371. 53 Mather’s running title “Ecclesiastes. Chap. 2.” at the top of [5r] was
deleted.

Eccles. 5.11r

390 147. As instructions for the insertion of the entry on Eccles. 5:2 from [12r]
Mather noted: “[See the next Leaf.]”

Eccles. 5. 12r–13v

399 185. Mather’s running title “Ecclesiastes. Chap. 5.” at the top of [12r] and
[13r] was deleted.

Eccles. 7.16r

405 218. As instructions for the insertion of the entry on Eccles. 7:7 from [19r]
Mather noted: “[See the next Leaf.]”

Eccles. 7.16v

406 227. As instructions for the insertion of the following entries from [19r]
and [19v] Mather noted: “[Here Insert from the next Leaf]”

Eccles. 7. 17r–20r

418 286. Mather’s running title “Ecclesiastes. Chap. 7.” at the top of [17r],
[18r], [19r], and [20r] was deleted.

Eccles. 8.22r

421 296. As instructions for the insertion of the entry on Eccles. 8:8 from [23r] Mather noted: “[See (aaa) the next Leaf.]”
Mather’s running title “Ecclesiastes. Chap. 8.” at the top of [23r] was deleted.

Eccles. 10.27r

435 367. Mather’s running title “Ecclesiastes. Chap. 10.” at the top of [27r] was deleted.

Eccles. 12.33r–34r

455 444. As instructions for the insertion of the entry on Eccles. 12:7 from [34r] Mather noted: “[See the next Leaf.]”
Mather’s running title “Ecclesiastes. Chap. 12.” at the top of [34r] was deleted.

Cant. 1r

461 1. The title “Canticles” appears twice on this page; one was deleted.

Cant. 1.3r

474 48. Mather’s running title “Canticles. Chap. 1.” at the top of [3r] was deleted.

Cant. 2.5r

478 74. Mather’s running title “Canticles. Chap. 2.” at the top of [5r] was deleted.

Cant. 4.7v

492 127. As instructions for the insertion of the following entries from [8r–9v] Mather noted: “Here insert the two next Leaves”

Cant. 4.8r–9r

496 149. Mather's running title "Canticles. Chap. 4." at the top of [8r] and [9r] was deleted.

Cant. 5.11r

498 155. Mather's running title "Canticles. Chap. 5." at the top of [11r] was deleted.

Cant. 5.12r

501 176. Mather's running title "Canticles. Chap. 5." at the top of [12r] was deleted.

Cant. 5.13r

504 191. Mather's running title "Canticles. Chap. 5." at the top of [13r] was deleted.

Cant. 6.15r

508 216. Mather's running title "Canticles. Chap. 6." at the top of [15r] was deleted.

Cant. 7.16r–17r

510 221. As instructions for the insertion of the entry on Cant. 7:1 from [17r] Mather noted: "[See the next Leaf.]"

510 222. Mather's running title "Canticle. Chap. 7." at the top of [17r] was deleted.

Cant. 7.17r

511 229. As instructions for the insertion of the entry on Cant. 7:2 from [16v] Mather noted: “[See the foregoing Page.]”

Cant. 7.16r

514 236. As instruction for the following insertions from [17v] and [18r] Mather noted: “[See the Two next Leaves]”

Cant. 7.18r

515 241. Mather’s running title “Canticles. Chap. 7.” at the top of [18r] was deleted.

Cant. 8.20r

521 275. Mather’s running title “Canticles. Chap. 8.” at the top of [20r] was deleted.

Isa. 1r–2r

567 7. As instruction for the insertion of the following entries from [2r] Mather noted: “[[aa] the next Leaf]”
Mather’s running title “Isaiah. Chap. 1.” at the top of [2r] was deleted.

Isa. 11.21v

633 237. Following the entry on Isa. 11:11 Mather had “Q. The Meaning of their Flying upon the Shoulders of,” obviously intending to comment on Isa. 11:14. Subsequently he wrote a full entry on Isa. 11:14 on the next page. The original fragment was thus deleted.

Isa. 19.35v

677 422. Mather here noted: “[At the End of the Next.]”

Isa. 30.48r

721 618. As instruction for the insertion of the following entries from [49v] Mather noted: “[see the next Page.]”

Isa. 38.57r

Mather here noted: “[The Ill. on the 7. & 8. Verses are misplaced.]”

Isa. 48.68r

786 860. As instruction for the insertion of the following entries Mather noted: “Here insert the Next Illustration but one.”

Jer. 8.9r

883 60. Mather’s running title “Jeremiah. Chap. 8.” at the top of [9r] was deleted.

Jer. 35.33r

927 184. Mather’s running title “Jeremiah. Chap. 35.” at the top of [33r] was deleted.

Jer. 51.44r

946 239. Mather’s running title “Jeremiah. Chap. 51.” at the top of [44r] was deleted.

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