



BIBLIA AMERICANA

Cotton Mather

Volume 9: Romans – Philemon

Edited, with an Introduction and Annotations, by Robert E. Brown

Cotton Mather.

BIBLIA AMERICANA

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Volume 9



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Cotton Mather

BIBLIA AMERICANA

America's First Bible Commentary

A Synoptic Commentary on the
Old and New Testaments

Volume 9 ROMANS – PHILEMON

Edited, with an Introduction and Annotations,

by

Robert E. Brown

Mohr Siebeck

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*For Paul and Cathy Gutjahr,
who together embody the grace
and mystery of friendship*

*In Loving Memory
Marilynn J. Graham
William L. Graham
Robert D. Brown*

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List of Abbreviations

<i>ADB</i>	<i>Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie</i>
<i>ANF</i>	<i>Ante-Nicene Fathers</i>
<i>BA</i>	<i>Biblia Americana</i>
<i>CDSB</i>	<i>Complete Dictionary of Scientific Biography</i>
<i>CE</i>	<i>Catholic Encyclopedia</i>
<i>DBE</i>	<i>Dictionary of Biographical Reference</i>
<i>DGRBM</i>	<i>Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology</i>
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>EAG</i>	<i>Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece</i>
<i>EB</i>	<i>Encyclopedia Britannica</i>
<i>EGHT</i>	<i>Encyclopedia of Greece and the Hellenic Tradition</i>
<i>EJ</i>	<i>Encyclopedia Judaica</i>
<i>EP</i>	<i>Encyclopedia of Protestantism</i>
<i>ERE</i>	<i>Encyclopedia of the Roman Empire</i>
<i>GBD</i>	<i>General Biographical Dictionary</i>
<i>GND</i>	<i>Gemeinsame Normdatei</i>
<i>HDRC</i>	<i>Historical Dictionary of the Reformed Churches</i>
<i>IEP</i>	<i>Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy</i>
<i>JE</i>	<i>Jewish Encyclopedia</i>
<i>NCE</i>	<i>New Catholic Encyclopedia</i>
<i>NeDB</i>	<i>Neue Deutsche Biographie</i>
<i>NNbw</i>	<i>Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek</i>
<i>NPNF</i>	<i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers</i>
<i>NSHERK</i>	<i>New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge</i>
<i>OCCL</i>	<i>Oxford Companion to Classical Literature</i>
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>ODP</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of Popes</i>
<i>SEP</i>	<i>Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy</i>

Part 1

Editor's Introduction

Preface

The Pauline epistles have always held a central place in the theology of Protestantism. Beginning with Martin Luther's rediscovery of the doctrine of justification by grace in his 1515 lectures on the book of Romans, Protestants have used Paul's understanding of the gospel as the focal lens for reading out the Bible's teaching on salvation. Thus it comes as no surprise that Paul's writings should be of critical importance in Cotton Mather's biblical interpretation as well, although as we will see, they were important to Mather in ways that departed from the central soteriological orientation of the Reformation.

Mather approached the *Biblia Americana* in a way very different from his contemporaries in the world of biblical interpretation. Whereas they were given to schemes aimed at a comprehensive exposition of the texts before them, Mather sought to provide his anticipated readers with a resource for addressing what he saw as the more problematic passages in Scripture, or those offering particularly enlightening insights for Christian faith. In that sense the *Biblia* should be thought of as an encyclopedia of biblical interpretation more so than as a commentary proper. Mather leaves the easy or "obvious" passages to other commentaries and burrows in on those he believes are the more difficult to divine.

In this sense Mather's interpretive method has notable formal similarities to Jewish midrash, and perhaps can be appreciated as a kind of Christian midrash. Like Jewish rabbinic interpretation, Mather's selection process for the passages he elucidates is decidedly eclectic, determined by the interests of the interpreter and the present context, rather than by the desire for systematic exposition. Mather's method is also highly inter-textual: like midrash, it is often self-contained, even "circular" (from a modern critical perspective) in its argumentation. Mather understands the Bible as a collection of univocal texts, which transcend their respective historical contexts. Cross references can be free and far-ranging. Mather displays a keen interest in letting the parts of the canon illuminate each other, and the whole, often at the merely linguistic or symbolic level. Like midrash, Mather's method relies heavily on the appeal to authorities to substantiate interpretive conclusions, with little concern for a thorough and substantive investigation of the reasoning employed by those authoritative voices. True, Mather substitutes patristic and classical (and modern) voices in the place of rabbinic authorities, but the method still emulates the staccato pil-

ing up of short references in order to create the impression of a settled tradition of meaning.¹

There were plenty of interpretive issues for Mather to tackle. The early modern interpretation of the Bible, including the Pauline epistles, was fraught with controversy. Doctrinal disputes flew throughout every corner of Christendom; any sense of a settled orthodoxy even within the most orthodox bastions of the Church had disappeared by the middle of the 17th century, and only grew more intense during Mather's lifetime. Even more pressing was the growing chorus of critical skepticism about the origins and transmission of the text: about its rootedness in the world of fact, the authenticity of the received text, as well as the divine nature and authority of its theological and moral pronouncements. Mather's era was also a time of immense religious creativity and experimentation. An ever growing number of sects challenged the magisterial churches on the vitality of their religious practices, offering alternative ways of religious life that seemed to many to offer more direct experiences of God's presence. All of these issues – doctrinal, critical, and practical – called forth new and contested interpretations of the Bible for their adjudication. Mather's task was a full one indeed.

In many ways he rose to the challenge, though from the distance of three centuries, his choices of passages for commentary often appear idiosyncratic, or at least overly eclectic. Only as scholars become more familiar with the interpretive context in which he operated will the rationale for his choices become clear. But it is safe to say that, unlike the work of his many Reformed predecessors, Mather's *Biblia* – perhaps especially the Pauline commentary found in this volume – was no longer simply a platform for elaborating the finer points of Reformed theology. Rather, it was a venue for addressing the intellectual crises of early modernity, many of which were incapable of resolution within the parameters of post-Reformation Protestant scholasticism.

1 Recognizing these features as such helps to explain another feature of Mather's interpretation: its highly derivative nature. Contemporary readers of the *Biblia* may be tempted to think of Mather's commentary as superficial and uninventive, even plagiaristic, because of its copious and straightforward (and often unattributed) copying of sources. In reality Mather was participating in the establishment of a stable body of "received" Protestant tradition. Any survey of Protestant commentary from the early 17th to mid-19th centuries will readily reveal that the sources and citations employed by Mather were widely shared and largely unchanged during that period. Even a century and a half after Mather, Protestant commentaries were using exactly the same materials for exactly the same purposes. In the early modern period, when so much about the Bible's meaning and authority was being revisited and called into question, one way of understanding Mather's apparent lack of innovation is to see it as an attempt to create a new source of stable meaning, in much the same way that rabbinic interpretive method in the Talmud created a stable tradition of meaning for Judaism in the wake of the Diaspora.

Section 1

The Early Modern Interpretation of the Bible

Mather's career as a biblical interpreter coincided with the early phase of the intellectual revolution called modernity, a revolution which in many ways was premised upon skepticism about Christendom: about the union of the state with religion, about the hegemony of the Church over society, and about the sacred text invoked to substantiate these arrangements. In many ways the displacement of the Bible as a source of authoritative knowledge about the world, as well as a moral and societal authority, represents one of the most radical and fundamental changes that occurred in this period, without which 'modernity' as such is almost unimaginable. At its heart this intellectual transformation was spurred by a growing distrust of the authoritative past, a corresponding confidence in the achievements of the present, and the resulting desire to revisit every claim to know, to question everything.

The critical interpretation of the Bible was rooted in the kind of textual criticism emanating from the Renaissance quest to discover the intellectual foundations of Western culture. Great effort was made to determine the most reliable textual sources for classical thought. This desire to recover original sources extended to the Bible as well, most notably in Erasmus' new edition of the Greek New Testament (1516). Perhaps the most troubling and controversial development in biblical textual criticism was Elias Levita's conclusion (*Massoreth hamassoreth*, 1538) that the Hebrew vowel points in the Old Testament were not original to the text, but were inserted there by fifth-century rabbinic scholars in Palestine.¹ These sorts of developments in textual criticism alerted scholars (and

¹ See Reventlow, *History of Biblical Interpretation* (4:73–7). The matter of the vowel points became the locus of debate between Catholics and Protestants and among Protestants themselves. For example, the great Reformed Hebraist at Basel, Johannes Buxtorf, whose Hebrew lexicon and concordance would become standard works for centuries, took issue with Levita's conclusions in his *Tiberias, si de commentariis masoreticis* (1620). Louis Cappel, Buxtorf's theological opponent at Saumur, supported Levita's views in his anonymous (though hardly unattributed) *Arcanum punctuationis revelatum* (1624). Cappel defended his views in his *Diatribes de veris et antiquis ebraeorum literis* (1645) and *Critica sacra* (written in 1634 but published in 1650), in which he further argued that the consonantal Hebrew text had also become susceptible to corruption in transmission. Buxtorf's son and successor at Basel, the younger Johannes, responded to Cappel in his *Tractatus de punctorum origine, antiquitate, et autoritate* (1648) –

others) to the fact that the Bible had a history of its own, one that suggested its form and contents were not pristine reproductions of the originals. This was a particularly alarming realization for many, one intensified by the theological contests of the Reformation and the subsequent ideological contests of the Enlightenment.² It raised questions regarding the authenticity and infallibility of Christian scripture and of the ecclesial and doctrinal authority premised upon it.

The idea of “criticism” during this period was a relatively benign or innocent concept, and significantly different than its later technical usage in biblical studies in the 19th century.³ In Mather’s era, to be “critical” was akin to being judicious in one’s intellectual judgments; in the interpretation of the Bible, it was closely allied with standards of historical erudition. Its antithesis was credulity about assertions that could not be corroborated by evidence. It was not, as it would later become, a term that excluded traditional theological beliefs: nearly all of the great “Criticks” of the early modern period were figures with decided religious and theological commitments.⁴

This modest notion of criticism is illustrated in two works that significantly influenced Mather’s own biblical interpretation. The nine-volume *Critici sacri* was the collaborative work of several scholarly Anglican clerics, first published in 1660. It consisted of the collected biblical commentary of some 100 Catholic and Protestant interpreters from the 16th and 17th centuries, along with many rabbinic sources.⁵ Its expressed goal was to collate the insights of ingenious and judicious men in a way that combined piety and erudition. As such it focused on historical-grammatical exposition: to illuminate the times, persons, actions, issues, locations, manners, rites and laws that would help to explain the mysterious types, prophecies, and enigmatic parables of Scripture. The *Critici sacri* was subsumed by Matthew Poole’s *Synopsis criticorum* (1669–1676), which expanded the offerings of the *Critici sacri* to some 150 authors, mostly by adding more recent scholars.⁶ Poole’s design to capture the new critical interpretations had

but here the younger Buxtorf took a mediating position, arguing only for their early origin in the work of the post-exilic (and presumptively inspired) priest Ezra. See Saebø, *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament* (785–801). On Mather’s engagement with this issue, see n. 3–4 below, pp. 15–16.

2 See Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics* (4:63–119).

3 Modern biblical scholarship assumes a strong dichotomy between ‘critical’ and ‘pre-critical’ interpretations of the Bible, with critical interpretation premised upon a skepticism towards the surface narratives in the Bible. See Frei, *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative* (1–66).

4 On the meanings of ‘criticism’ in the early modern period, see Koselleck, *Critique and Crisis* (103–23); Bietenholz, *Historia and Fabula* (222–47); and Brown, *Jonathan Edwards and the Bible* (89–92).

5 These include the likes of Erasmus, Hugo Grotius, Louis Cappel, Joseph Scaliger, Johannes van den Driesche (Drusius), Sebastian Munster, Isaac Casaubon, David Kimchi, and Abraham ibn Ezra.

6 Including figures such as Johannes Buxtorf, John Lightfoot, Cornelius à Lapide, Samuel Bochart, Abraham Calov, and Franciscus Junius. Poole was essentially sued by the publisher of the *Critici sacri* for plagiarism, a charge which was resolved by Poole’s acknowledgement of the publisher in his *Synopsis*.

a decided advantage over its predecessor. Instead of simply collating excerpts from various exegetical and theological treatises, Poole structured his *Synopsis* as a close, verse-by-verse exposition, in which interpretations of relevant scholars were cited in a very specific and limited manner, relevant to specific passages. This gave the work a decidedly more even exposition, as well as a comprehensive and thorough treatment of each book in the Bible.

Criticism of this nature had a wide international following in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. In Germany, the intensive biblicism of the Pietist movement fostered a tradition of the close reading of Scripture. This meant that questions regarding the reliability of the text were of keen interest. August Hermann Francke, a founder of the movement (and a correspondent of Mather's), promoted a rigorous historical-grammatical method in his *Manuductio ad lectionem scripturae sacrae* (1693), arguing that a rational knowledge of the Bible's contents preceded the spiritual understanding so prized by Pietists. Johann Albrecht Bengel produced a new, authoritative edition of the New Testament (1734), marked by its innovative critical apparatus assessing the strength of variant readings.⁷ In France, Pierre-Daniel Huet (*Demonstratio evangelica*, 1679) and Augustin Calmet (*Commentaire littéral sur tous les livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament*, 1707–16; and *Dictionnaire historique, critique ... de la Bible*, 1720–21) engaged the broad range of critical issues for polemical purposes, as did figures such as Johann Hoornbeeck (*Summa controversiarum religionis*, 1653) and Johann Cloppenburg (*Disputationes theologicae*, 1684) in the Netherlands.⁸

Mediated or moderate criticism of this kind was vigorously developed in England. Cambridge professor John Lightfoot was arguably its most erudite practitioner. Lightfoot was probably the preeminent Hebraist of the mid-17th century, committed to allowing historical context and language to determine textual meaning. On critical issues such as authorship, historical reliability, and inspiration, Lightfoot followed a decidedly traditional or conservative line. His majors works centered on problems of critical interpretation: his *Harmony of the Four Evangelists* (1644–50), followed by his *Commentary upon the Acts of the Apostles: Chronicall and Criticall* (1645), *The Harmony of the Old Testament* (1647), *The Harmony of the New Testament* (1655), and his magnum opus, the *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae* (1658–78), a work that sought to contextualize the New Testament within first-century Judaism.⁹ A number of Anglican clerics were similarly involved in this apologetic project, including Edward Stillingfleet and Daniel Whitby. The latter, while doctrinally heterodox (Arminian, Arian), was one of the most conservative Anglican interpreters with regard to the integrity of

7 Baird, *History of New Testament Research* (58–80); Reventlow, *History of Biblical Interpretation* (4:123–44); and Saebo, *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament* (902–25).

8 See Saebo, *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament* (691–757); Baird, *New Testament Research* (155–65); Reventlow, *History of Biblical Interpretation* (4:110–22); and Muller, *Holy Scripture* (119–47).

9 Baird, *New Testament Research* (11–17).

the biblical texts. He rejected, for example, even the propriety of criticism in his attack on John Mill's edition of the New Testament (1707). Whitby's chief work of biblical interpretation, *A Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* (1702), was extremely popular in conservative circles.¹⁰ John Locke's *Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul* (1705–7) can also be considered as a part of this vein of mediating criticism. While garnering a somewhat deserved reputation as an unorthodox religious thinker, Locke is actually fairly unprovocative in his biblical commentary, and largely ignores critical issues of textual authenticity or authorship. Heavily reliant on Lightfoot's work, Locke strove to limit his interpretation to the historical and linguistic parameters of the first century, and not allow later theological debates to unduly direct his commentary.¹¹

Alongside this tempered form of criticism emerged criticism of a more radical nature. Rooted in a skepticism about features of the texts themselves, it proved to be disruptive to the established church.¹² Hugo Grotius' *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (1641–1650) served a mixed role in this regard. It was a work dedicated to textual criticism and philological analysis, and was widely cited by many orthodox or conservative scholars (it was included, for example, in Poole's *Synopsis*). At the same time, Grotius took unorthodox positions on a number of interpretive issues, rejecting the apostolic authorship of Jude and 2 Peter, suggesting a Gnostic context for other epistles (e.g. Galatians), and concluding that some passages (e.g. John 21) were later insertions. He eschewed any appeal to verbal inspiration to safeguard the authority and authenticity of Scripture, preferring instead to root these in historical probability. Doing so allowed him to consider whether the compositional process of some books (e.g. the Gospels) did not involve a measure of freedom as to their arrangement, making them less a straightforward history and more a reflection of the author's religious interests.¹³

Much more controversial were Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan* (1651) and Benedict de Spinoza's *Theologico-Political Treatise* (1670). Although they were

¹⁰ Preceded in 1700 by his *Paraphrase and Commentary upon all the Epistles of the New Testament*.

¹¹ On the character of Locke's interpretation, see Wainwright's Introduction to John Locke, *A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul* (28–59). On this vein of moderate Anglican biblical interpretation and Locke's part in it, see Spellman, *The Latitudinarians and the Church of England, 1660–1700* (72–88); Levine, "Deists and Anglicans: the Ancient Wisdom and the Idea of Progress," in Lund, *The Margins of Orthodoxy: Heterodox Writing and Cultural Response, 1660–1750* (219–39); Reventlow, *The Authority of the Bible and the Rise of the Modern World* (223–85).

¹² See Saebo, *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament* (802–50). Early instances of this sort of radical criticism emerged out of the ideological controversies between religious dissenters and the state church in the early 17th century, notably epitomized in the Quaker Samuel Fisher's *Rustick's Alarm to the Rabbies* (1660); see Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down* (209–15).

¹³ See Baird, *History of New Testament Research* (9–11); de Jonge, "Grotius' View of the Gospels and the Evangelists," in Nellen, *Hugo Grotius: Theologian* (65–74).

primarily works of political philosophy, both engaged in a serious critique of the Church that supported the state, and did so by calling into question the authenticity and authority of the sacred text that legitimated it. Both authors rejected the supernaturalism of the Bible as a form of irrationalism, particularly with regard to miracles, as well as the notion that the written text was a divine revelation (i. e. prophecy). They insisted instead that reason was the only reliable interpreter in matters of philosophy, nature, and history; given its supernaturalism, the Bible is generally unreliable in its natural and historical descriptions. Furthermore, the biblical authors wrote with political and religious agendas, and so cannot be trusted with their reportage, which must be subject to critique. They viewed the Old Testament as a largely post-exilic composition of editors, and so rejected the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, as well as the prophetic authorship of the rest of the Old Testament. To the extent that Bible retained any authority, it was restricted to moral considerations.¹⁴

These two works were widely disparaged for their overt ideological agendas; far more influential in the immediate context of Mather's career was the work of the Oratorian priest Richard Simon. Simon's *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (1678) was the most thorough-going critical work of its kind, an erudite work of textual criticism, philology, and historicism, one that rejected the antiquity of the Hebrew vowel points and the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. Simon also produced critical studies of the New Testament, an even more sensitive subject area. His *Histoire critique du texte du Nouveau Testament* (1689) dealt not only in textual criticism, but also in questions of provenance, authorship, and canonicity. The following year Simon published his study in textual criticism, the *Histoire critique des versions du Nouveau Testament*, and in 1693 his *Histoire critique des principaux commentateurs du Nouveau Testament*, a wide-ranging survey of patristic, medieval, and 16th-century interpreters.¹⁵ In just a few short years Simon managed to articulate many of the fundamental problems pertaining to the modern study of the New Testament, even though in print he was committed to a mostly traditional understanding of the origins and textual integrity of the apostolic writings.¹⁶

14 Hobbes seems to have had a less critical view of the New Testament, accepting its authorship as apostolic; Spinoza was similarly circumspect in his critique of the New Testament, declining to raise critical questions as to its composition or authorship, on the grounds that he did not know Greek. But he did argue that epistolary literature was by nature a rational exercise; thus the apostolic epistles of the New Testament did not require inspiration to be written, and so their authors did not (necessarily) possess it. See Reventlow, *History of Biblical Interpretation* (4:32–44); Reventlow, *Biblical Authority* (196–222); Preus, *Spinoza and the Irrelevance of Biblical Authority* (154–202).

15 A decade later, in an attempt to bring this critical learning to bear on the text of Scripture, Simon would produce his own translation of the New Testament (1702).

16 Bietenholz observes that significant criticism of the New Testament lagged well behind that of the Old Testament, not beginning in earnest until the late 18th century. The reasons for this were partly rooted in European anti-Semitism: while the Old Testament could ostensibly

One of the intellectual conundrums that biblical criticism required early modern interpreters to resolve was how to reconcile their discovery that the Bible was subject to the vagaries of historical process, both in its composition and in its compilation, with assumptions that the biblical texts were the product of divine inspiration, and thus presumably immune to the limitations of their human authors. The operative principle behind the traditional theological understanding of inspiration was that it was something like ecstatic possession, in which the subject lost control of his personal will and faculties. Such a passive state meant that the prophet-author was wholly directed by the Spirit of God, insuring that the final written product was divinely authored, and so infallible. The model for this was found in the Old Testament prophets, whose fantastic visions and cryptic language seemed to support such an understanding of inspiration. However, early modern interpreters noted that much of the Bible was comprised of other types of literary genres that did not accord well with this theory of inspiration. The authors of historical narratives, wisdom literature, and epistolary texts, for example, seemed to be in full possession of their rational faculties during composition. Lacking an ecstatic state meant they were not inspired in the traditional sense, and made it conceivable that an author's fallible human character shaped the substance of the text in significant ways. Such an authorial process would help to explain the presence of textual features that seemed to be the product of historical conditions rather than divine superintendence. The challenge for modern interpreters was to construct a theory of inspiration that allowed for the fallibilities of the human authors and compilers.¹⁷

The most systematic development of such a theory is found in Jean Le Clerc's *Sentimens de quelques théologiens de Hollande sur l'histoire critique du Vieux Testament composée par le P. Richard Simon* (1685), which included Le Clerc's essays on inspiration. These were published in English in 1690 as *Five Letters concerning the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures*. Le Clerc takes the position that only the prophets were inspired, in that they received direct communications from God. But their writings, which depended on their memories of those revelations, or the memories of their amanuenses in taking dictation, were not necessarily inspired, since memories are faulty. Furthermore, the role played by

be subjected to criticism because of its Jewish origins, criticism of the New was a much more sensitive subject and unlikely to gain a sympathetic hearing. Simon for example raised far fewer serious critical issues in his works on the New Testament than he did in his *Histoire critique de Vieux Testament*, although he did acknowledge the last chapter of Mark to be a later (but still authentic) addition, and argued on textual grounds that John 8 was a later, spurious addition. See Bietenholz, *Historia and Fabula: Myths and Legends in Historical Thought from Antiquity to the Modern Age* (311–16); also Steinmann, *Richard Simon et les origines de l'exegese biblique* (257–69).

17 For a full discussion of the debate over inspiration, see Smolinski's introduction to the first volume of the *Biblia Americana*, BA (1:149–57).

memory in composition means that the personality of the prophet shapes the message, such that inspiration pertains not to the words themselves (chosen by the human author), but only the substance of the ideas expressed.¹⁸

The historical narratives of the Old and New Testaments, on the other hand, are not in any way inspired according to Le Clerc, because such writing is an exercise of the deliberative mind, not of ecstatic possession. A historical narrative is not dictated by the Holy Spirit; neither the words nor the ideas are inspired. Instead, histories are credible when the authors are known to be honest and well-informed on ‘principle matters of fact’ (Le Clerc takes the opening of the Gospel of Luke as his justification for this view). Historians, even biblical historians, give ‘the truth of the history to the best of their knowledge.’ As such, the biblical histories are bound to have mistakes in them. The wisdom literature of the Old Testament is similarly uninspired, since it deals with questions of common morality, the answers to which can only attain a level of probability, not complete certainty.¹⁹

The epistles of the New Testament are susceptible to this analysis as well. It is clear from the Book of Acts, for example, that from time to time early Christians, even the apostles themselves, disagreed with each other about fundamental issues of teaching and practice. Thus whatever inspiration they may have had was episodic rather than continuous. Furthermore, the process of letter-writing is a mundane, rational exercise that does not require inspiration, and so inspiration is not an applicable category for the New Testament epistles. The imperfect process of canonization further complicates the matter: some epistles may even be forgeries, such as 2 Peter, a ‘fiction of some ancient Christian.’²⁰ Le Clerc argues, however, that his analysis does not undermine the authority of Scripture; the histories and general doctrines of both the Old and New Testaments can be taken to be inspired in their substance, so long as they agree with the teachings of Jesus and with reason.

Far less circumspect about the New Testament than Hobbes, Spinoza, or even Le Clerc had been, a group of Anglican churchmen who came to be collectively described as “Deists” aggressively brought the more radical currents of critical interpretation into the mainstream of public discourse for their own very specific ideological purposes. Although a somewhat nebulous term, as a species of religious activism Deism can be characterized by several central concerns. Foremost of these is the issue of epistemological authority. Unlike other rationalistic thinkers such as Locke or Descartes, Deists eschewed any sort of rapprochement between autonomous or ‘natural’ reason and revealed knowledge. Knowledge could only be acquired through deliberative reflection,

¹⁸ Jean Le Clerc, *Five Letters concerning the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures* (26ff).

¹⁹ Le Clerc, *Five Letters* (27, 93 *et passim*).

²⁰ Le Clerc, *Five Letters* (43, 112, 114 *et passim*). Le Clerc’s theory of inspiration is deeply indebted to Grotius and Spinoza; see Golden, *Jean Le Clerc* (134–7).

not by the assertions of religious authorities, including prophets and apostles, or the written authorities (texts) they left behind. In order to make their case for the superiority of reason to revelation, Deists exploited the findings of scholarly critics such as Simon in order to undermine the intellectual authority of the Bible. This included almost the entire spectrum of subjects that had been the object of critical speculation: prophecy, typology, and inspiration; authorship, provenance, and composition; canonicity, textual transmission and corruption; and historical contradictions and scientific errors, as well as issues such as miracles and mysteries.²¹

Deists accounted for few if any of the scholars making original contributions to biblical criticism; what made their critique of the Bible so controversial and potent was the challenge it represented to ecclesiastical authority. They accomplished this by disseminating their criticisms to the broader public, in effect popularizing it. They also offered an alternative religious vision, so-called 'natural religion,' which did not require oversight or direction by the institutional church. Deism's profoundly political program was aimed at "the perceived injustice of the distribution of authority in society," and sought to rectify this imbalance through an ideological attack on the Church and its sacred text.²² By asserting the autonomy and superior competence of human reason, Deists created an intellectual framework that would "permit escape from a political theology whose theoretical power ... walled in the dissident."²³ By attacking the intellectual coherence of the Bible, they sought to achieve the cultural disestablishment of England's founding political and religious text.

Deists showed a particular interest in the specter of "priestcraft," the manipulation of the credulity of the masses for religious and political gain. Charles Blount's *Great is Diana of the Ephesians* (1680) and *Oracles of Reason* (1693) laid out this case by drawing an analogy between Christianity and pagan religions. Everyone agreed that pagan religions were false superstitions and that the ritual actions of pagan priests were intended to deceive and captivate. Blount appealed to a growing body of work on the historical and pagan origins of biblical ritual to argue that Jewish and Christian rituals, as derivative of pagan religion, share the same superstitious and deceptive nature. Christian priests were no less culpable in their design to control the masses through fear and spectacle. The sacred text that perpetuated these superstitions, therefore, fell under the same umbrella of skepticism.²⁴

21 Saebo, *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament* (851–74); Bietenholz, *Historia and Fabula* (316ff); Reventlow, *Biblical Authority* (354ff).

22 Champion, *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken* (11–12); Israel, *Enlightenment Contested* (94–114).

23 Clark, *English Society 1688–1832* (277–82).

24 Blount's data is drawn chiefly from the jurist John Selden's *De diis Syris* (1617), a comparative examination of Near Eastern gods, and the Anglican cleric John Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), which argued that Jewish rituals were Egyptian in origin. See Reventlow,

One of the most significant figures in the Deistic critique of the Bible was John Toland, whose *Christianity Not Mysteriorious* (1695) made its appearance just as Mather was beginning his *Biblia* project. Toland used Locke's insistence on clear and distinct ideas as the only basis of knowledge to refute doctrines such as the Trinity, or more properly, to deny their place in primitive Christianity, and in any reasonable interpretation of the New Testament. Unlike many Deists, Toland accepted in principle that miracles might give evidence of Jesus' divine mission, but his skepticism about most biblical miracles is in keeping with Deist objection to the supernatural. In *Nazarenus* (1718) Toland argued that primitive Christianity most closely resembled the religion of Jewish Christians who later came to be known as Ebionites, whose practice was largely moralistic (Law-centered) and shorn of ceremony. Gentile Christianity, on the other hand, had corrupted this pure version of Jesus' religion by borrowing rituals from paganism, resulting in the sacramental, liturgical, and superstitious religion of Catholicism (and by extension, Anglicanism).

Toland's central critique of the New Testament paralleled his interest in recovering a primitive form of Christianity. He argued that the process of canon formation was compromised by the bias of the bishops, resulting in the exclusion of documents that represented an original, pre-Catholic Christian faith. Thus he called for reopening the canon. In both *Nazarenus* and in the earlier *Amyntor* (1699), Toland argued that the abundant apocryphal works of the patristic era gave a very different vision of Christianity than that held by the orthodox establishment, and that these ought to be given consideration as equally authentic works. The process of canonization itself was fraught with disagreement; the early churches had differing lists of approved books. And if, as critics argued, certain New Testament canonical texts such as 2 Peter, Jude, and James were later pseudepigrapha, then the canon could plausibly be reopened to include other texts of equal or better provenance.²⁵ Toland was particularly taken with the Gospel of Barnabas, a manuscript he had discovered in Amsterdam in 1709, which he took to have been written by the purer Ebionite community (which in turn had influenced the unadulterated monotheism of Islam).²⁶

Biblical Authority (290–4). On Mather's use of Spencer, see Smolinski, "Eager Imitators of the Egyptian Inventions": Cotton Mather's Engagement with John Spencer and the Debate about the Pagan Origin of the Mosaic Laws, Rites, and Customs," in Smolinski and Stievermann, *Cotton Mather* (295–336).

²⁵ Similar critical canonical work can be found in William Whiston's *Essay upon the Epistles of Ignatius* (1710) as well as his *Collection of Original Texts of Scripture, and Testimonies of Antiquity that relate to Christian Discipline* (1739).

²⁶ Contemporary scholars date the Gospel of Barnabas to a much later period, perhaps as late as the 14th or 15th century, though it may well have been based on 2nd-century Gnostic materials. It was clearly redacted at some point to make it conform to the Islamic doctrine of God (by making Jesus out to be no more than a prophet). See Champion, *Pillars of Priestcraft* (124–6). On Toland's work, see Reventlow, *Biblical Authority* (294–308).

The substance of the critical and ideological reappraisal of the New Testament, therefore, was in full flower during the course of Mather's production of the *Biblia*.²⁷ Critics had raised doubts about the composition of the New Testament. Were the traditional assignments of authorship reliable? Were forgeries or pseudepigrapha included? Did all of the "apostolic" texts originate in the first century? Were the criteria for canonization sufficient, and had that process excluded a diverse range of authentic if dissenting voices, in the form of apocryphal texts, from "orthodox" Christianity? Had apostolic texts been lost? Had the canonical texts been edited, intentionally or unintentionally, so as to change their meaning? Did the textual variants introduced through transmission substantively undermine the meaning, authenticity, and authority of the New Testament? Critics had also begun to raise doubts about the rational character of the New Testament regarding its historical credibility and comportment with modern science, particularly with regard to miracles. They raised doubts about the theological coherence of the New Testament, and the traditional methods used to impose a unitary meaning on its collection of texts: prophecy, typology, and inspiration. And they had begun to locate Christianity and its founding texts within a larger religious framework – primarily Judaism, but also Gentile or pagan religions. To what degree did the New Testament reflect the influences of outside religious elements, which would require the reconsideration of its uniqueness and authority as a divine revelation?

²⁷ See Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible* (27–92); Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650–1750* (447–76).

Section 2

Mather's Appropriation of Critical Interpretation

Mather's exposure to critical biblical interpretation was early and life-long.¹ His thesis at Harvard (1681), for example, waded into the controversy over the Hebrew vowel points: *An puncta hebraica sunt originis divinae? Affirmat respondens Cottonus Matherus*.² In affirming their originality he was following the lead of the Buxtorfs over against Levita and Cappel. But Mather eventually reversed himself on this issue. In an essay entitled "Ezra, or The Things done by Ezra, for the Restoring & Preserving of the Sacred Scriptures," he acknowledged his change of mind. "I confess, That when I took my degree of *Master of Arts*, I did publickly maintain the *Antiquity & Authority* of the *Points*, now used in our *Hebrew Bible*: and wholly went into the Buxtorfian Apprehensions. But I now find myself compelled, unto the Sentiments of Dr. Prideaux, upon this Controversy."³ But having made this admission, Mather was not about to concede that the late addition of the points materially affected the authenticity, authority, or meaning of the Old Testament texts. "Tho' the *Hebrew Bibles* had not been pointed, we need not be sent unto *Rome*, or any where else, to fix

1 For a full discussion of Mather's engagement with modern criticism, see Mather, *BA* (1:113–74).

2 "Whether the Hebrew points are of divine origin? Responding affirmatively, Cotton Mather." For a discussion of Mather's attempt to come to terms with the lateness of the Hebrew vowel points, see *BA* (1:71–3, 700–1, 703, 706–10).

3 See "Ezra, or, The Things done by Ezra, for the Restoring & Preserving of the SACRED SCRIPTURES" (ms p. 3). Those sentiments, as summarized by Mather, include the following reasons for accepting the lateness of the points: the use of unpointed Hebrew scrolls in synagogue worship and the absence of pointed Hebrew in the Talmud and other post-biblical rabbinic texts suggest a still later invention of the points. (Mather's essay on Ezra is among several dealing with specific problems of biblical interpretation. They are located at the end of the *Biblia*, after his commentary on the book of Revelation). Humphrey Prideaux (1648–1724) was an Anglican cleric and author of *The Old and New Testament Connected in the History of the Jews and Neighbouring Nations* (1715–17), a work covering the post-exilic history of Judaism. While Prideaux's book may have been the literary launch point for Mather's change of opinion, it seems unlikely that he had not already changed his mind on this issue in the intervening 35 years. See Mather, *BA* (1:125).

the Reading of it. The Letters alone with the Context, are sufficient, when we understand the Language, to determine us."⁴

This incident is highly illustrative of Mather's reception of critical interpretation. His instinctive position on interpretive problems was the traditional or conservative one. He was however open to the results of critical inquiry, upon further reflection. The conceptual bridge for Mather was the possibility of harmonizing new critical insights with a traditional, high view of the Bible's integrity and authority as an inspired text. So long as the Bible's divine origin and purpose could be articulated and safeguarded, Mather was willing to acknowledge the human element in the historical processes that led to its composition and transmission. Thus he is best identified with the moderate or tempered criticism described above. Perhaps the figure closest to Mather's approach was the Cambridge Hebraist John Lightfoot, whose interpretive inclinations and interests he closely mirrored. We must of course caution against a more definitive reading of Mather's conclusions about critical interpretation, at the very least until a reliable dating scheme for the whole of his entries in the *Biblia* can be established. Until it can be determined which entries are early, middle, and late, we can't be sure of what direction, if any, his thoughts on criticism took, whether they changed over time (and on what issues), or if he ever arrived at something like a mature consensus. What we see in the *Biblia* are vignettes, snapshots in time, windows into his thinking over nearly four decades, which make identifying a final, coherent approach on Mather's part elusive, at least for the time being.

Mather did understand the valuable role that criticism played in creating a dialectic for the discovery of new knowledge. He was aware that some were of the opinion that exposure to controversial ideas was undesirable; that as a result of their publication, "*Scepticism, hath grown up in the Garden of Criticism.*" This mélange of critical opinions, unfiltered for public consumption, created confusion. "*Some do by Accident promote this, when they propose the different Sentiments of the Learned, without Decision. ... For, what one builds, another destroyes, and the Opposition distracts the Mind, and leaves the Tender Conscience in Fluctuation, but fills the Cavillers Mouth with Arguments.*" The consequence of this situation for the perceived integrity of Scripture is dire: "*every Particle of*

⁴ "Ezra" (ms p. 4). Mather's son Samuel summarized his father's change of mind expressed in the essay, though he garbled this in part. His father "afterwards saw cause to change his Mind, and held the contrary Opinion to the last. He tho't, with the great PRIDEAUX and some others, that the *Points* were an *Invention* of the *Masorites*; and, because he could read and perfectly understand *Hebrew* without them; he imagined there was no need of them, unless for the Ignorant, as the *Jews* without question were, after the *Babylonish Captivity*, when the *Points* were contrived for their Instruction." While Cotton initially floated the idea that Ezra may have introduced the points after the Exile as a part of his efforts at reform, he concludes that the pointed (Masoretic) text is an early medieval creation rather than one created by Ezra. See Samuel Mather, *The Life of Cotton Mather* (5–6).

Sacred Writt [is] *dissolved into various Senses, by the Patronage of learned Criticks.*"⁵ But Mather seems to have been relatively at ease with this state of affairs. He conceived of the *Biblia* as something rather like an encyclopedia, and like any good encyclopedia, it was meant to inform readers of the current state of knowledge on a given subject, without undue regard for their sensitivities. Like Poole's *Synopsis*, the *Biblia* was designed to expose the reader to a diversity of opinions on the interpretation of biblical passages, even when these opinions were controversial. In offering them to his readers Mather intended to heighten their critical judgment, rather than invite facile appropriation. As a mediator of critical knowledge, he claimed the prerogative of procedural neutrality: "You must not expect, that I declare myself, how far *I* concur, with every Point, that shall bee offered. And I will also leave *you* to the same Liberty that I take *myself*."⁶

In comparison to other contemporary commentaries, Mather's opus operated from a different set of interpretive goals, comprising (as he saw it) a new method – one that brought together the collected scientific learning of the day as a means of deciphering the ancient texts, and of resolving their critical difficulties. Thus in his earliest descriptions of the work, he writes,

I considered, that all sort of *Learning*, might bee made gloriously subservient unto the *Illustration of the Sacred Scripture* ... that Multitudes of *particular Texts*, had, especially of later Years, been more notably *illustrated*, in the *scattered Books* of learned Men, than in any of the *ordinary Commentators*. And, I considered, that the *Treasures of Illustration* for the Bible, dispersed in many hundred Volumes, might bee fetched all together, by a *Labour*, that would resolve to *Conquer all Things*; and that all the *Improvements*, which the *later Ages* have made in the Sciences, might bee also, with an inexpressible Pleasure, call'd in, to assist the *Illustration* of the *Holy Oracles*, at a Rate that hath not been attempted in the *vulgar Annotations*; ... Certainly, it will not bee ungrateful unto good Men ... to have the delicious *Curiosities* of *Grotius*, and *Bochart*, and *Mede*, and *Lightfoot*, and *Selden*, and *Spencer*, and many more *Giants* in Knowledge, all sett upon *one Table*.⁷

5 See Mather, *BA* (1:703–4). Mather's penultimate source for these concerns was Walter Cross' *The Thagmical Arts, or the Art of Expounding Scripture by the Points* (1698); Cross is quoting the opinion of Valentin Thilo, an early 17th-century Lutheran rhetorician. On Cross and Thilo, see *BA* (1:699–711).

6 See Mather, *BA* (1:82, 338).

7 Mather, *Diary* (1:230ff) (entry dated August 1697). This excerpt of his later preface to the *Magnalia* substantially echoes his original description of the *Biblia* in his 1693 *Diary* entry (1:169–71). Samuel Bochart's *Geographia sacra* (1681) attempted to harmonize modern discipline of empirical geography with biblical descriptions of the world. Joseph Mede was an early 17th-century Cambridge mathematician and philologist whose *Clavis apocalyptica* (1627) was a great favorite of Mather's. John Selden's *De Diis Syris* (1617) marked him as a leading Orientalist; he also published on Egyptian and Jewish religion. John Spencer's *De legibus Hebraeorum* (1685) caused a sensation when it appeared, claiming as it did that the Mosaic legislation was derived from Egyptian culture.

As this passage reveals, Mather was comfortable subjecting the interpretation of Scripture to the rationalizing effects of modern empirical disciplines, because of his deeply held conviction that all truth, as God-given truth, could be brought into harmony with itself. All branches of knowledge could be reconciled with the Bible, when the latter was properly understood. While he never abandoned this core conviction, it was sorely tested by his encounter with biblical criticism; in time he would markedly revise his understanding of how to properly relate the assertions of the Bible to the assertions of modern learning.

His final and most elaborate conceptualization of the *Biblia*, a 16-page pamphlet entitled *A New Offer to Lovers of Religion and Learning* (1714), reiterates and expands on his vision for the work.⁸ Drawing his inspiration from the chemist and lay theologian Robert Boyle (1627–91), Mather offered a work balancing “*Critical Learning*, and the Principles of true *Philosophy*,” such that the meaning of the Bible would not so much be measured by “the Glosses and Systems of common Expositors” as by the insights of modern interpreters. Thus his would be a fully interdisciplinary work, one that “observed all the Solid Discoveries in *Philosophy*, all the Curious Researches of *Antiquity*, or [what] has occur’d in *Physick*, or in *Law*, relating to the *Sacred Scriptures*, and appl[y] it all with a signal *Dexterity* to the Illustration thereof.”⁹

Mather’s intention to bring together the collected wisdom of the age from so many fields of knowledge resulted in something not so much like a commentary as an encyclopedia, perhaps even a natural history, of the biblical canon. His twelve-point outline in the *New Offer* brings the interdisciplinary, encyclopedic nature of the *Biblia* into sharp relief. It would include:

- (1) the work of the “most Polite and Pious Masters in *Philology*,” (2) a “Rich Collection of ANTIQUITIES, which the studious Researches of Inquisitive and Judicious Men in the later Ages, have recovered; ... Especially those wherein the *Idolatry*, the *Oeconomicks*, the *Politicks*, the *Agriculture*, the *Architecture*, the *Art of War*, the *Music*, the *Habits*, and the *Diets* in the former Ages, may be referr’d unto;” (3) the “LAWS of the *Israelitish Nation* ... interpreted; and the *Original* and *Intention* thereof, rescued from the Mis-representations, that some famous Writers have put upon them;” (4) “*Golden Treasures*, and *more to be desired than such*, fetch’d out of those very *unpromising Heaps*, the TALMUDS, and other *Jewish Writings*,” (5) insights from “NATURAL PHILOSOPHY call’d in to serve *Scriptural Religion*. The fairest *Hypotheses* of those *Grand Revolutions*, the *Making*, the *Drowning*, and the *Burning* of the WORLD, offered. The *Astronomical Affairs*, the *Meteors*, the *Minerals*, the *Vegetables*, the *Animals*, the *Diseases*, the *Anatomical Curiosities*, and what

⁸ This pamphlet is reproduced in its entirety in Mather, *BA* (1:31–7).

⁹ “Not only the *Rare Thoughts* of the more Illustrious Literators, who are known for *Stars of the first Magnitude* in the Catalogue of them that have *handled the Pen of the Writer*, but also the *Hints* occurring in Books that have made no Profession of serving this Cause, and many of them very *unsuspected ones*, have been seized for it.” Mather, *A New Offer to the Lovers of Religion and Learning* (2, 3, 5).

relates to the *Invisible World* of Good or Evil Spirits, mention'd in these immortal Pages, represented with the *Best Thoughts of our Times* upon them;" (6) the "CHRONOLOGY of this admirable Book, every where cleared, from all its Difficulties; and the *Clock of Time* set right, in its whole Motion; ... Besides the most Accurate *Harmony of the Gospel*, that has yet been offered;" and (7) the "GEOGRAPHY of it *Survey'd*; the Scituation, especially of *Paradise*, & of *Palestine* laid out: With an Account how the *whole Earth* has been Peopled: And many Notable and Enlightening Things contributed unto this Work, by *Travellers* of unspotted Veracity."¹⁰

What is noticeably missing from his conceptualization is the topical, theological, and particularly, the soteriological structure so common to the tradition of Christian biblical commentary. Most theological categories are suppressed from this outline. In their place Mather suggests a plan for resolving interpretive problems by means of historical and scientific explanation.¹¹ Mather's authorial demeanor is relatively conciliatory, catholic, and cosmopolitan. Like any good encyclopedist, he is interested in presenting his readers with the most current views on subjects, regardless of their controversial nature or sources.

This cautious but open-mined approach put Mather at odds with a significant portion of the orthodox Protestant theological community. On the vowel points, for example, many Reformed divines had resisted the idea that the received text differed in any way from the original. The great divine François Turretin (1623–87) helped to engineer the *Helvetic Consensus* (1675), a confession that not only insisted on the originality of the vowel points, but also on the inviolability of the received text from errors of transmission.¹² The character of Mather's thinking can be seen as well in his approach to the other great question of the day: the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. Through his sources, Mather was fully apprised of the theories of Spinoza, Simon, and Le Clerc, and devoted much of his Genesis commentary to engaging all three. Unlike these critics, who at most would only allow for a small segment of laws to have been authored by Moses himself, Mather maintained his belief in Moses' essential authorship. But at the end of his career (again, in the "Ezra" essay), Mather was willing to concede that the Pentateuch had experienced significant editorial

¹⁰ Mather, *New Offer* (11–14). The full text can be found in *BA* (1:34–6).

¹¹ Mather's procedure in the notebooks of the *Biblia* bears out this conceptualization of his project in the *New Offer*. The first fifty pages lay out the original plan of his commentary. It is dominated by critical historical problems – from the origin of biblical versification and the Hebrew vowel points, Old Testament chronology, the harmonization of the gospels, and the dating of New Testament epistles to the historical correlation of Old Testament narratives with prophetic texts and the origin of the Psalm titles; see *BA* (1:213–76). On the shift from theological to historical explanation in Protestant interpretation, see Muller, *Reformed Dogmatics* (4:141–5).

¹² Mather, *BA* (1:121). Turretin's son, Jean Alphonse, who eventually succeeded him as a professor of theology in Geneva, was instrumental in having the *Consensus* abolished in 1706. J.A. Turretin occupied a place on the critical spectrum between Mather and Le Clerc but perhaps more closely to Le Clerc; see *NSHERK* (12:42–4).

revision. "He allowed that the scribal prophet Ezra interpolated [anachronistic] passages after the return from Babylonian captivity to 'render the Scriptures, as intelligible as possible unto the People' when the passage of time had made old place names, conditions, and customs incomprehensible to post-exilic Jews."¹³ Ezra was forced to transcribe the old Hebrew texts into Aramaic in order to make them intelligible, a process that represented a dramatic loss to the notion of a pristine text unchanged by centuries of transmission.¹⁴ What Mather concluded for the Pentateuch – later editing by public scribes, and variations through transmission – he also conceded for much if not most of the Old Testament, as well as much of the New Testament, particularly the four gospels.

Mather did not shy away from other great interpretive difficulties of the age either, and in each instance, shows evidence of modifying the received traditions of his theological heritage. For example, he maintained a strong view of biblical miracles as events that are supernatural, that is to say, events in which God's actions transcend natural law. As he writes in an entry on Romans 1.4:

*A Miracle, is a Work, above the known Power of Second Causes in that Order of Things wherein God has fixed the World: effected by God, as a Sign to some Holy and Useful Truth, declared to proceed from Him alone. When any Person asserting of any Doctrine do's perform a Work, beyond the Known Course and Force of Second Causes, ... the Truth of what is Asserted, is thereby confirmed.*¹⁵

Yet he also, and perhaps increasingly, sought to account for those miracles by softening the juxtaposition between divine actions and the system of nature, accepting that some of the most dramatic biblical miracles might be better understood as providential actions carried out *within* the bounds of natural law, albeit to spectacular, soteriological ends.¹⁶ Perhaps the most notable conceptual shift made by Mather on this score, and one that had enormous implications for his view of the Bible as a divine revelation, was his concession as to the kind of book that the Bible was. Faced with the great difficulties in reconciling biblical narrative descriptions with modern science, Mather suggests that these accounts were written phenomenologically; that is, as the events appeared to the eye rather than as they occurred in the system of nature. Even more telling, and quite in keeping with Spinoza's pragmatic theory of the function of the Bible,

¹³ Mather, *BA* (1:136).

¹⁴ Mather, *BA* (1:117–44).

¹⁵ This citation is strongly reminiscent of the definition given by Samuel Clarke in his 1704 Boyle lectures, *A Discourse Concerning the Being and Attributes of God*, and may have been drawn from him. As Clarke states it, "the true *Definition* of a *Miracle*, in the *Theological* Sense of the Word, is this; that it is a work effected in a manner *unusual*, or different from the common and regular Method of Providence, by the interposition either of God himself, or of some Intelligent Agent superiour to Man, for the Proof or Evidence of some particular Doctrine, or in attestation to the Authority of some particular Person." See Clarke, *Discourse* (316).

¹⁶ Mather, *BA* (1:105–12). On Mather's general accommodations to natural science, see *BA* (1:77–112).

Mather emphasizes the Bible's primary purposes as moral and religious, rather than scientific.

The Scriptures were not written with a Design to teach us Natural Philosophy ... but to shew us the way how to Live and Dy well. They might therefore use popular Forms of Speech, neither affirming nor denying the philosophical Truth of them. ... To have rectified the vulgar Conceptions of Men, concerning all the *Phænomena*, which upon Occasion are mentioned in the Scriptures, would have required a large System of Philosophy, & have rendered the Scriptures a Book unfit for common Capacities.¹⁷

Mather also reshaped his understanding of inspiration, emphasizing a more rationalistic understanding of the activity of the Holy Spirit.¹⁸ Another essay written as a coda to the *Biblia*, "Some Remarks, relating to the *Inspiration*, and the *Obsignation*, of the CANON," shows his readiness to embrace the idea that inspiration does not obliterate the mind or personality of the prophet-author:

The Inspiration which led the Writers of the Scriptures, did not exclude such *Humane Means*, as Information in *Matters of Fact*, from their *own Senses*, or from the *Testimony* of others; and in *Matters of Discourse and Reason*, to argue from their own Observations. ... Nor did this Inspiration of the Prophets, exclude their Use of their *own Words*, and of the *Style* that was most natural to them. And as they were permitted the Use of these, thus they were Permitted, yea, Directed sometimes to use the Words of others.¹⁹

17 Mather, *BA* (1:111). Mather also shared the Protestant disdain for the obsession with miracles in Catholicism, which might have predisposed him to a more rationalistic understanding of them, one that reduced their importance for an early modern understanding of Christianity: "The New Testament, foretells the *Miracles*, to be wrought by False-Teachers. 'Tis astonishing, That the Papists assign *Miracles*, for a Note of the True Church, when the Apostle expressly reckons them for a Mark of *Antichrist*. The Papists brag of nothing more than their *Miracles*. Their *Legends* are full of *Miracles*; their *Fables* of *Miracles* are infinite. They are called, *Lying Wonders*; because they were done (if ever done!) to confirm *Lying Doctrines*; as, *Transubstantiation*, and *Purgatory*, and the Worship of *Saints* and *Images*. And, for a great Part of them, they were meer *Lyes*, invented by Impudent Romancers; or, at best, the Illusions of a præstigious Divel, the *Father of Lyes*." (2 Thess. 2:7).

18 On his general theory of inspiration, see Mather, *BA* (1:149–61). It is also the case however that Mather embraces a supra-rationalistic understanding of inspiration, in which a biblical author can write about a circumstance at hand but also write prophetically about a future time; see the discussion below of the two-fold nature of New Testament prophecy, vis-à-vis the Catholic Church.

19 "Some Remarks, relating to the *Inspiration*, and the *Obsignation*, of the CANON" (ms p. 1). Mather's source here is Robert Jenkin, probably his *Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion* (1698). Jenkin (1656–1727) was a dissenting minister but, late in life, was made Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity at Cambridge; see *ODNB* (29: 942–3). On the element of personality in the authorship of the New Testament texts, see Mather's full comment on 2 Corinthians 5:1, which begins: "there are *Eight* Writers of the *New Testament*, they every one of them, in their Holy Writings, have Expressions, that carry some Character of their own former Circumstances, and show that they were not forgetful of what once they were."

Moreover, the inspiration of the Spirit does not necessarily mean the loss of self-control, as might be expected in ecstatic exercises:

Men that are divinely inspired, are not thrown into such a Rage. Tho' their *Inspirations* proceed not from or at their *Wills*, yett they can manage them as they *Will*, for the Circumstances of their producing them: They may take their own *Time*, and they may do what they *will*, for the observing of *good Order*, in speaking what they have to speak. The *Prophets* are not forced, by the *Spirits* which act them, to do any thing *unseasonable*: the *Spirits* will in this thing be *subject unto the Prophets* themselves, leaving them to use their own Holy Discretion, about the Circumstances of their uttering their *Prophecies*.²⁰

Mather also considers that there are many matters in Scripture pertaining to "*Humane Prudence*" that do not require dictation from the Spirit, but rather a more general "*Conducive Power*" in the use of their own rational faculties. This applies particularly to the writing of letters: "There is no Necessity of saying, That Paul sent for his *Cloak* and *Parchments*, by the Inspiration of the Holy Spirit; or that he had an Immediate Command for every *Salutation*, at the End of his Epistles." Perhaps most surprisingly, Mather is ready to acknowledge that apostolic inspiration was not perpetual, or universal; it came and went, as necessity dictated. Furthermore, the apostolic church often had to sort out differences of opinion, meaning that the inspiration of the Spirit was to be found in the process of deliberation, rather than in the prevenient judgments of individual leaders or apostles.

We may add; that the *Infallible Spirit*, which Inspired the Sacred Writers, was not Permanent & Habitual; or continually Residing in them; nor given for all Purposes and Occasions. Paul acquaints us in some things he had *not Received of the Lord* what he writes. In a Matter of great Importance to the whole Church, the Apostles mett together in *Council*, to decide the Controversy, both because according to our Saviours Promise to them, they might expect a more abundant Effusion of the Holy Spirit upon them, when they were for that End *Assembled in His Name*; and because the thing debated of, depended on a *Matter of Fact*; namely, That the *Holy Spirit* was given to the *Gentiles*: A Meeting of many was requisite; that it might be fully *Testified*.²¹

²⁰ See Mather, *BA* (9), on 1 Cor. 14:32. Curiously, Mather's understanding of the actual *experience* of inspiration minimized the rational component of the process in favor of the ecstatic. In another of his terminal *Biblia* essays entitled "VATES, or, Some Remarks upon the SPIRIT of PROPHECY" (ms. pp. 1–10), he argues that just as the processes of nature are incomprehensible, so too the process of inspiration may "use Methods, which are to us Inscrutable." But the process is largely non-rational, something that overwhelms the recipient and may involve angels, mysterious voices, dreams, trances, visions, and signs. Balaam may be thought of as a prototype of this experience of prophetic passivity, in that he could not prophesy as he desired but could only speak as God directed.

²¹ "Some Remarks, relating to the *Inspiration*, and the *Obsignation*, of the CANON" (ms p. 1).

Furthermore, Mather allows for the idea that the apostles' individual and corporate understanding of important doctrines show evidence of change over time, as they groped to gain a better understanding of these, and as they waited on the Spirit to reveal things more clearly. For example, with regard to the full doctrine of the resurrection, Mather points out, "we find the Apostolical Writings, before the Second Epistle to the *Thessalonians* cleared that Matter up, speaking as if it were possible to have been the Fate of some living in those Times."²² An even more intriguing example of Mather's belief that the New Testament contains within it the record of a progressive revelation can be found in his commentary on Phil. 3:11. In speaking about the order of the resurrection of the dead, Mather understands Paul to be speaking here of mysteries that were not yet to be revealed. Thus he could only speak of them cryptically, or indirectly:

What if this thing ... should be one of those *Secret Matters* ... which the Apostle was *Forbidden* at present, to publish unto the World as an *Article of Faith*, but he had Liberty to mention as his own Holy Opinion and Persuasion. It being reserved unto *John* more expressly to publish it first as an *Article of Faith*, in the proper Time and Place for it. Our Apostle seems to manage himself in this Point, as he does elsewhere, in things which he proposed only as *a Man*, so far as his Reason might go, and not as *an Apostle*, speaking authoritatively in the Name of God.

In many important ways Mather's theory of inspiration was nearly identical with that of Le Clerc, in terms of the relative influences of the divine and the human involved in the writing of Scripture. However, Mather's theory was different in one crucial regard. Le Clerc concluded that his theory of inspiration, which allowed for the free reign of human reason in the writing of Scripture, meant that human foibles would be introduced into its composition and content as a matter of course. Mather was willing to concede that that finite and fallible human personality and reason were at work in the writing of Scripture, but insisted that the Holy Spirit still superintended the overall outcome toward an infallible end. That is, the divine *telos* in producing compositions that were without defect was still accomplished. Thus, though divine inspiration may be somewhat less restrictive of individual human agency, it still encompasses the process as a whole and can be identified in the effect. The "Holy Spirit infallibly guided them in the use of those Means ... [so as to] supply them with suitable Apprehensions, & keep them in the use of their own Rational Judgment, within the Bounds of Infallible Truth, & of Expediency for the present Occasions." An author like Paul might have had full use of his rational judgments in writing, but

²² See Mather, *BA* (9), on 2 Cor. 5:3, which refers to the belief that the resurrection would occur during the apostolic era. This is a somewhat puzzling comment, since Mather dates 2 Thessalonians to 53 A. D., the second earliest epistle in the New Testament (see Table below). It may be that he is referring to the confusion about the resurrection that the apostles evidenced in the Gospels and the Book of Acts or simply the misunderstanding mentioned in passing in 2 Cor. 5:3.

his "Doctrine was Inspired by the Holy Spirit; and the Holy Spirit, who might suffer him to putt it into his own Words, yet never suffered him to express it otherwise, that in such a Manner, as was agreeable to *His* Intention." Thus, the Spirit preserved "that *Book* from Error, which was to be the *Standard of Truth* for all Ages."²³ Human authorship does not mask divine authorship any more than two breasts mask their common source of milk.²⁴ There are elements that "look like *Variations* and almost *Contradictions* in our Sacred Scriptures." But the Old Testament and the New Testament have a single divine author, and therefore are of the same substance, even though, like two breasts, "the Different Style of the Historiographers from the Prophets, of the Prophets from the Evangelists, of the Evangelists from the Apostles may make the Truths of Scripture seem of different Complexions, till one look narrowly into them, & taste them advisedly; then will the Identity both of Colour and Relish manifest itself."²⁵

With few exceptions, most of the specific early modern critical attention paid to the New Testament was focused on the four gospels. Along with the book of Acts, they represented the historical narrative of the early church, and were therefore open to the same sorts of questions directed towards the Old Testament regarding empirical corroboration. Did they contradict each other, and did they contradict external sources such as ancient pagan histories? Were their accounts of miracles similarly dubious, as violations of natural law? Were their interpretations of Old Testament texts true to the plain sense of those texts, or was the symbolic interpretation (e.g. typology) of the Old in the New Testament entirely subjective? Could the traditions of the apostolic authorship of these anonymous biographies be authenticated?

With the exception of the more radical Deists, most critics tended to treat the gospels as relatively credit-worthy. The more conservative scholars solved such problems by a method of harmonization, smoothing over questions of empirical dissonance. They also gravitated toward creating synoptic harmonies, in which the events of the four gospels were collated into a single historical framework – an approach that Mather takes as well in his Introduction to the New Testament, a unified history that he extends through the book of Acts.²⁶

²³ "Some Remarks, relating to the *Inspiration*, and the *Obsignation*, of the CANON" (ms. p. 1).

²⁴ See as well Mather's comment on 1 Corinthians 7:6.

²⁵ "Some Remarks, relating to the *Inspiration*, and the *Obsignation*, of the CANON" (ms. p. 2). Mather's source here is John Arrowsmith, likely his *Armilla catechetica* (1659), a posthumous collection of sermon excerpts, which Mather cites extensively in his commentary on 2 Corinthians. Arrowsmith (1602–59) was a member of the Westminster Assembly and, later, Regius Professor of Divinity and Master of Trinity College at Cambridge; see *ODNB* (2:526–57). His *Theanthropos, or God-man* (1660) appears in the Mather libraries; see Mather, *BA* (1:329).

²⁶ Mather, *BA* (1:242–69); Mather borrows his schema from Samuel Clark's *Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures* (1699). For a full reading of his attempts to deal with the "Synoptic

Some were also beginning to express doubts about other New Testament texts: Grotius, Le Clerc, and Simon, for example, questioned the apostolic authorship of 2 Peter and Jude. Many critics dismissed the Pauline authorship of the letter to the Hebrews; Erasmus had even raised questions about the authorship of Ephesians.

Mather was aware of doubts about Hebrews, 2 Peter, and Jude.²⁷ To a certain degree he equivocates on his own position about the authorship of Hebrews. On the one hand, when creating his chronology of the Pauline epistles, he typically describes these letters as being written by “our Apostle.” But his description of Hebrews is more general: “A. D. 62. Much about the same time we may suppose written the Incomparable Epistle to the *Hebrewes*.”²⁸ On the other hand, he also hints that he thinks Paul is the putative author. For example, he groups Hebrews with the Pauline epistles in his canonical listing of the epistles (located just before his commentary on Ephesians), apart from the epistles of James, Peter, John, and Jude. More directly, in his commentary on Hebrews he describes the author several times as “our Apostle” and describes the Jewish recipients of the letter as those “much obliged unto *Paul*, for obtaining of [monetary] Collections for them.” Furthermore, though subsequent Jewish polemicists often disparaged Paul as “an Ignorant Man, and Fallacious in his Disputations,” the letter to the Hebrews is evidently a work of great Jewish learning, which serves to refute this criticism – assuming that the author is in fact Paul. Even the skeptical Richard Simon cites the erudition of Hebrews as evidence of Paul’s authorship:

That famous Modern Critic, *Simon*, tells us ... That he gave to a *Jew*, the *Epistle to the Hebrewes*, to Read; and a *Jew*, who was greatly acquainted with their Ancient Authors. Upon the perusal of it, the *Jew* frankly avowed, that this *Epistle* could be writt by none but some great *Mekubal* (i. e. Man of Tradition) of his own Nation.

problem,” see his “Prolegomena to the Harmony of the Gospels,” which immediately precedes his commentary on the Gospel of Matthew.

27 In general, Mather reaches very conservative conclusions about the canon and the process of its formation. “Tho’ the Authority of Some Certain Books was for a while questioned by a few *private Men*, yet none of those Books which now stand in our *Canon*, were ever Rejected, by any *Council* of the Church; albeit, Such were frequently called in the First Ages of Christianity, & had this very thing, under consideration.” Some canonical councils were early enough that “the *Canon* of the Scripture, was vouched by those, who received it from *John* the Apostle.” In fact, according to Mather, John composed the earliest canonical list. The early church was quick to identify and censure apocryphal books; the canonical texts were widely translated and disseminated at an early date, insuring that no apostolic texts were lost. The canon was so well-established that even heterodox groups such as Catholics and Socinians accept it in whole, even though the teachings of the canonical texts refute their peculiar doctrines. See “Some Remarks, relating to the *Inspiration*, and the *Obsignation*, of the *CANON*” (ms. pp. 1–2).

28 Mather, *BA* (1:265–7).

He celebrated his profound Knowledge in the Sublime Sense of the Bible, and spake of the great *Mekubal* with Admiration.²⁹

Mather also defends the apostolic authenticity of 2 Peter and Jude, both of which he dates to 65 A. D. He dismisses Grotius' criticism of 2 Peter on stylistic grounds, the question of style being too speculative to be a decisive criterion and something that can be accounted for on the basis of differing subject matter.³⁰ The similarities of the two epistles can be explained, not by Jude's reliance on 2 Peter, but by their mutual reliance on "the same Original" of a third, unnamed, Christian text, perhaps in a manner similar to the way that the book of Obadiah shares material with the forty-ninth chapter of the book of Jeremiah.³¹ Much more problematic was the source of some of Jude's material, "that spurious Book of *Enoch*," nothing more than a "Romance, & full of Idle Inventions written by some Hellenistical Jew."³² Mather offers a simple solution to this, by dating Enoch later than Jude, thus making Enoch the derivative work.³³ Perhaps sensing that this solution was weak, or simplistic, Mather goes on to allow that even if Jude is citing Enoch, this need not call into question the inspired nature of the work, any more than Paul's quoting of pagan poetry for illustration calls his own inspiration into question.

For the most part the integrity of the Pauline corpus survived intact during Mather's lifetime, although the condition of that collection did raise numerous critical issues, of which Mather was aware. The authenticity and dating of the Pauline epistles first became a substantive issue in critical scholarship with the rise of the so-called "Tübingen School" led by the work of Ferdinand Christian Bauer, whose *Paulus, der Apostel Jesu Christi* (1845) rejected all but four letters (Romans, Galatians, and both Corinthian letters) as authentic. Bauer argued that the religious context for most of the pseudo-Pauline letters was Gnosticism, a theory proposed in the work of earlier critics such as Hugo Grotius and Henry Hammond. Hammond argued in his *Paraphrase and Annotations upon All the Books of the New Testament* (1653) that Gnosticism was the religious controversy informing most if not all of the New Testament literature, claiming that the roots of Gnosticism could be traced to the person of Simon Magus. While the

²⁹ See Mather's introductory discussion of Hebrews, which precedes his commentary on Ch. 1.

³⁰ Mather begins his commentary on 2 Peter with an essay, "Some Remarks on the Second Epistle of *Peter*, and the Epistle of *Jude*." It is extensive, and evident of Mather's concern for the issue; he cites Thomas Sherlock as his source, most likely the latter's *Use and Intent of Prophecy* (1725).

³¹ Contemporary scholars continue to debate the relative priority and dependence of these two works, inducing some to also propose a common third source for both; see Johnson, *Writings of the New Testament* (442ff).

³² See "Some Remarks on ... *Peter*, and ... *Jude*" (ms. p. 2).

³³ Contemporary scholarship dates Enoch's composition to approximately 100 BCE-100 CE; see Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (1:6-7).

theory of an early Gnosticism never gained serious traction prior to the 19th century, Bauer and others accepted Hammond's theory of Gnostic influence. On this basis they radically revised the dating of the New Testament, concluding that much if not most of the New Testament, and particularly the pseudo-Pauline epistles, must have originated in the second century, when Gnosticism first made its appearance.

Bauer's theories about a broad Gnostic context and 2nd-century origin for the New Testament eventually lost credibility, but his thesis about the disputed authorship of the Pauline epistles has survived largely intact. The list of 'undisputed' Pauline texts has grown to seven (additionally, 1 Thessalonians, Philippians, and Philemon); significant skepticism remains about Ephesians, Colossians, and 2 Thessalonians, which are usually dated to the late 1st century. The so-called pastoral epistles (1 and 2 Timothy, Titus) are understood by critical scholars to be 2nd-century documents.³⁴ Not surprisingly, Mather accepted the entire Pauline corpus as authentic.³⁵ He was interested however in the critical problem of locating them chronologically in the history of the early church, an exercise that appears in his Introduction to the New Testament.³⁶

Though Mather wasn't dealing with major critical issues in the Pauline epistles, they do crop up on occasion, providing a small window into his mind-set. And in Mather's typical fashion, he searches for solutions that will maintain the integrity of the text, while showing himself to be open to the results of critical study. As discussed previously, Mather acknowledged that the process of transmission inevitably introduced changes into the texts. For example, some early manuscripts place the doxology of Romans 16:24–27 at the end of chapter 14, and one places it at the end of chapter 15. Critics in his day argued that the final chapter of Romans (or perhaps the final two) was therefore added later, and perhaps represented a separate letter, possibly sent originally to the church at Ephesus. When it was appended to the end of Romans, the original doxology was moved to the end so as to create the form of a single letter.³⁷ Mather adopts the position taken by patristic writers (as well as some contemporary scholars) that the shorter recension was the result of Marcion's theologically-motivated excisions of the New Testament (Marcion's version did end with chapter fourteen). Mather adopts the position that, as indicated in the early manuscripts, the doxology was in fact original to the end of chapter fourteen, but that the

³⁴ See Johnson, *The Writings of the New Testament* (255ff).

³⁵ He was well acquainted with Hammond's Gnostic thesis and probably owned his *Annotations*. He rejects the theory, as did many of his contemporaries, for the lack of evidence of first-century Gnosticism. Mather's most considered refutation of Hammond can be found in his introductory remarks on Colossians 1.

³⁶ Mather, *BA* (1:265–8).

³⁷ Contemporary scholarship seems to be less enamored with the supposition of an original, shorter letter to the Romans; see Brown, *Introduction to the New Testament* (575–6); Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction* (400–13).

Dating of the Pauline Epistles³⁸

	Mather’s Dating	Present Conservative Dating	Present Consensus Dating
1 Thessalonians	52	51	51
2 Thessalonians	53	52–54	90+
Galatians	57	49	54–55
1 Corinthians	57	57	57
Titus	57	65+	90+
2 Corinthians	58	57	57
1 Timothy	58	65+	90+
Romans	58	57–59	57–59
Philemon	62	54/59/62	54/59/62
Philippians	62	54/59/62	54/59/62
Colossians	62	54/62	80+
Ephesians	62	62	90+
Hebrews	62	60–70	80+
2 Timothy	67	65+	90+

With few exceptions, Mather’s chronology closely aligns with dating schemes among current conservative biblical scholars, as well as the consensus among critical scholars regarding the undisputed epistles. The six disputed (pseudo-Pauline) epistles, as well as the letter to the Hebrews, are of course dated much later by critical scholars than Mather’s chronology allows. Mather considered Hebrews to be Pauline: conservative scholars continue to date Hebrews rather early, though like more critical scholars, they generally do not hold it to be Pauline.

“*Orthodox* in their Zeal to run down *Marcion*, took the *Doxology*, which look’d like the Conclusion of the Epistle, at the End of the *Fourteenth* Chapter, and that they might include all that *Marcion* would have shutt out, they placed it at the End of the *Sixteenth*.” Stylistic grounds suggest that it belongs at the end of chapter 14:

Our Apostle does not use to conclude an Epistle with a *Doxology*. Nay, the *Sign in Every Epistle*, was that Salutation, *The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all*. Nor is this *Doxology* here apposite unto the Conclusion of the Epistle; but it is wondrous Apposite and Cohærent, at the End of the *Fourteenth* Chapter, where the Apostle originally placed it.³⁹

38 See Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction* and Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament*.
39 See Mather, *BA* (9), on Rom. 16:25. Other instances of textual emendation appear as well. In Eph. 5:31, Paul, alluding to Genesis, describes the marriage bond as “two” becoming one flesh, a word not found in the Genesis text. It could be that supplying “two” is simply an inference by Paul, but Mather (following Ralph Cudworth) suggests that the original text actually contained the word “two,” as the Samaritan Pentateuch does, but that copyists removed it in order that the “Jewes might elude the Force of it against having of many Wives.” But his commentary here also reveals his resistance to this line of inquiry: “I now confess, that never

Mather also addresses the problem of lost and apocryphal texts pertaining to the Pauline corpus. In 1 Corinthians 5:9 Paul mentions a "previous letter" he had written, a fact that raised the question of whether some apostolic writings failed to be included in the canon. Such a prospect was unacceptable to many orthodox Reformed scholars.⁴⁰ Mather can be included in that group. Contrary to Calvin, Beza, Grotius, Cappel, and Le Clerc, all of whom allowed for the possibility of a lost letter, Mather adopts the position that Paul's Greek can support the notion that he is referring to his earlier instructions in 1 Corinthians itself, rather than an earlier, distinct letter. Paul is simply attempting to head off a potential misunderstanding on the part of the Corinthians of his earlier comments. Drawing on the authority of Lightfoot, Mather solves the conundrum in this way:

If wee should say, an *Epistle* that is now lost, the Exposition would hardly bee consented unto. Wee will understand it then, of this very *Epistle*; saies the Apostle, *I was writing to you, in this Epistle, not to company with Fornicators*; but now, hearing and weighing the Offence of the Incestuous Person, I sharpen my Style; I say, Don't so much as *eat* with them. . . . Yea, may wee not say, That the Apostle was not only *writing*, or going to *write*, such a Matter, but also, that hee *had* actually *written* it? It seems to have been the Sense of what hee had *written*, in that former Paragraph of this *Epistle*, Chap. 3.17.⁴¹

This entry is a prime example of how Mather embraced his role in the Republic of Letters, playing referee among the many critics. Defending the sufficiency of the canon, he rejects Johannes van den Driesche's advocacy of an open canon, such that were Paul's lost letter(s) or any other apostolic writings to be rediscovered, they should hold equal place and authority in the canon. Mather equally rejects Le Clerc's rather and unusually hidebound (and perhaps ironic) suggestion, that any newly discovered apostolic writings should be shredded and burned after being read, in order to demonstrate the sufficiency of the present canon. He also rejects what he sees as the rather tortured exegesis of the passage offered by Daniel Whitby, as "very precarious, and altogether groundless."⁴²

In Colossians 4:16 Paul refers to another "missing" letter mentioned by name, the "letter from Laodicea," which he would have the Colossians read. Mather, following Jeremiah Jones, suggests that this was a letter written *by*

till Now, had I so strong a Suspicion of a Corruption crept into the Hebrew Text; but tho' I do not yett absolutely grant one; however, you see what an one it is, one corrected by the Spirit of God Himself, and not left unto the Correction of Humane *Capricie* or *Curiositie*." For another example of Mather's text-critical interests, see his comment on 2 Corinthians 1:17.

⁴⁰ It could of course refer to 2 Corinthians; most early modern and contemporary biblical scholars reject the view of the priority of 2 Corinthians; see Brown, *Introduction* (541ff).

⁴¹ Mather also cites Jeremiah Jones's *A New and Full Method of Setting the Canonical Authority of the New Testament* (1726) as a source here, one indication of just how late into his life he continued to work on the *Biblia* and continued to be occupied with critical issues.

⁴² See Mather's commentary on 1 Cor. 5:9.

the Laodiceans, not *to* them. Perhaps sensing the difficulty with this answer, Mather goes on to cite Lightfoot, to the extent that the letter in question may have been 1 John, since John was known to have resided in Asia Minor. Thus Paul was simply commending John's letter to them.⁴³ In an entry on Galatians 1:7, Mather uses Paul's reference to "another gospel" circulating among them to speculate about the possibility of the existence of an apocryphal Ebionite gospel, the *Gospel of the Nazarenes*, the content of which would match the message of the Judaizing evangelists that Paul is confronting at Galatia.⁴⁴

⁴³ This citation is made curious by the fact that, in his Introduction to the New Testament, Mather dates the Johannine epistles to 96 CE, an oversight on his part, or perhaps evidence that he had not yet worked out his chronology of the New Testament texts. See Mather, *BA* (1:268).

⁴⁴ His source is once again Jones. This apocryphal gospel is not extant but is referred to by this title by Jerome, who wrote of several Jewish-Christian gospels (in addition to Matthew) in circulation in his day among the remnants of the Jewish-Christian community in Palestine. If it indeed existed, all that remains of it now are a few unattributed citations in various patristic texts whose connection to this particular gospel are largely speculative; see Brown, *Introduction* (209–10).

Section 3

The Principal Sources of Mather's Pauline Commentary

Mather cites over 150 sources in his Pauline commentary, some medieval, but most from the 17th and early 18th centuries.¹ He also cites hundreds of classical and patristic authors, as well as dozens of Jewish sources. On the surface this creates the impression of a broad commentarial erudition, which was undoubtedly Mather's intention. However, considerable caution must be exercised in drawing conclusions regarding possible interpretive influences. First, Mather's use of his sources comes largely in the form of proof texting, or illustrating. They are used primarily to bolster the points he is trying to make; very little on Mather's part is to be found in the way of an expansive, substantive engagement with the interpretive strategies of any particular author. Second, the vast majority of Mather's references are drawn from secondary sources, often silently, and are either simply repeated (or slightly refashioned) for his own purposes. (Many of his secondary sources employ a similar method, drawing their own

1 The study of Mather's reading habits will undoubtedly pay dividends in this regard, though to date no comprehensive survey of his library and literary citations exists. In addition to Buxtorf, Cappel, and Levita, Increase Mather's holdings included Edward Leigh's *Critica sacra*, Brian Walton's *Biblia sacra polyglotta*, John Edwards's *The Difficulties which Attend the Study of the Scriptures* (1714), Thomas Emlyn's *Original Authority of... 1 Jn. 5.7* (1715), as well as works by John Lightfoot, John Owen, and Theophilus Gale. Cotton's library included nearly all of these; the Mather library also included an English translation of Isaac La Peyrere's *Pre-Adamites* (1656). The most comprehensive survey of the collective Mather libraries, done by Julius Tuttle, probably includes no more than 5 % of the original holdings. Tuttle lists approximately 1000 titles from the combined libraries of Richard, Increase, Cotton, Samuel, and sundry other Mathers. Increase's library alone has been estimated at 6000+ volumes. Cotton's was nearing 3000 in 1700; his son Samuel estimated it at 7000 at his death. Cotton had ready access to his father's library throughout his career and inherited half of it in 1723. He also bought and married into the library of Samuel Lee, through the sale of Lee's books in 1693 and his marriage to Lydia Lee in 1716, works he used for the *Biblia*. See Tuttle, *The Libraries of the Mathers*; Rivers, "Cotton Mather's *Biblia Americana*" (30); and Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (262–3, 279ff). In Tuttle's catalog of Cotton's library, we find a number of the standard lexicons, concordances, grammars, and commentaries. Works on biblical interpretation are significantly under-represented. Most of the works that Mather cites in the *Biblia* do not appear in Tuttle's survey, an indication of the degree of loss in this area. One suspects that the relative absence of these works in Tuttle's catalog may be due to the inherent usefulness of such works to his heirs or prospective buyers when these libraries went into probate, making it more likely that they would be scattered to the winds, and the record of them lost.

citations from earlier, more substantive works of biblical interpretation.) This is particularly true for Mather's use of classical and patristic authors, as well as rabbinic texts. It is certainly the case that Mather's library contained a number of classical, patristic, and Jewish works, but not nearly enough to explain his profuse allusions to so many authors, many of them exceedingly obscure. So, it is very difficult to conclude that any particular author or school of interpretation exercised a profound influence on Mather's work. Nonetheless, to the degree that even these highly selective and secondary citations direct Mather's interpretation, it can be said that these streams of thought influenced his own. Finally, assessments of influences on Mather are further complicated by his frequent use of unattributed or silent citations. Further work will be needed to uncover the full range of his sources and their effect on his interpretive strategy.

It is probably worth noting that the four most important sources for Mather's Pauline commentary were all well-known critics of Reformed theology and ecclesiology. Nonetheless this did not prevent Mather from appreciating the value of their biblical interpretation. This is true of most of the authors that he employs, which include a wide range of Anglicans, Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, Dissenters, and Presbyterians, Arians, Arminians, and Socinians, scholastics, mystics, pietists, and Jews. While Mather often groused about their theological inadequacies in prefacing his citations of them, he was also willing to acknowledge the force of their insights. This cosmopolitanism is one of the marks of his participation in the Republic of Letters.

While the precise extent and nature of Mather's use of his sources will require considerable study, if we consider frequency of citation to be a key indicator of influence, his Pauline commentary was shaped primarily by the work of four authors: Daniel Whitby, John Locke, Thomas Pyle, and Hugo Grotius.

Daniel Whitby (1638–1726). Whitby was an Anglican cleric whose career flourished after the Restoration, which coincided with his graduation from Oxford. He was a prolific author, controversialist, and defender of the Anglican Church. Though an ardent anti-Catholic polemicist, he expressed a latitudinarian sentiment toward Protestant Dissenters (e.g. *Protestant reconciler*, 1683), which brought him much public and ecclesiastical abuse. In his later years he adopted (publicly) Arminian and (posthumously) Arian doctrinal positions, which resulted in his being a target for criticism even after his death. His *Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* appeared in full in 1703 and remained a popular work throughout the 18th century. For all of his doctrinal latitude, his approach to the Bible was quite conservative. In 1710, for example, he went so far as to publish an ill-advised diatribe against John Mill's new critical edition of the New Testament, essentially arguing that the acknowledgment of the presence of *any* textual variants undermined the theological integrity and authority of the New Testament. Mather cites the *Paraphrase* over 80 times, twice

as frequently as any other author. Furthermore, Mather's uncited use of Whitby is ubiquitous, no doubt running to several hundred additional citations, making his work easily the most important resource for Mather's Pauline interpretation. Whitby's method is quite different from Mather's, in that his *Paraphrase* contains an extensive, verse-by-verse exposition of the text. What Mather undoubtedly gained from Whitby was a cornucopia of sources to cite, from the classical and patristic to the early modern.²

John Locke (1632–1704). In some ways one might be justified in concluding that Locke's biblical commentary made a more substantive, if less frequent, contribution to Mather's interpretation than did that of Whitby, even though Locke is formally cited only half as many times. Locke wrote commentaries on only five Pauline epistles (Romans, 1 & 2 Corinthians, Galatians, and Ephesians), which accounts for some of the discrepancy in Mather's citations of these two authors. For these five texts, however, Mather quotes Locke almost as frequently as he does Whitby. More importantly, it is Locke's method that seems to have especially captivated Mather. While Whitby's commentary could be mined for its plethora of primary and scholarly sources, Locke's method offered a theoretical approach very much in keeping with Mather's own. The stated aim of Locke's commentary was to recover the historical context of Paul's writings, especially their Jewish and Greco-Roman cultural antecedents, in order to remove the patina of theological interpretation that many commentators imported into their work. Locke thus paid a great deal of attention to philology, trying to get at the unadorned 1st-century meaning of Paul's words.

Locke's *Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul* appeared posthumously (1705–07); he began writing his commentary at about the same time that Mather began the *Biblia*. It exerted a significant influence on early 18th-century biblical interpretation, inviting frequent imitation. What made Locke's method so compelling? In a word, his lack of an overt theological or doctrinal agenda in his interpretation, and a consistent appeal to historical context to determine questions of meaning. Locke's "objectivity" was certainly theologically motivated – he was at odds with leaders of the Anglican Church over the doctrine of the Trinity and other theological pillars of orthodoxy. He believed that such doctrines had been foisted upon the texts of the New Testament by the institutional church, and were views that the primitive church did not hold. The best way to demonstrate this was by fencing the meaning of the texts within their first-century semantic range and historical context. Whatever his theological motives, however, Locke's historical method was a widely shared interest, not the least by Mather. It can be rightly said that this obsession with original

2 On Whitby, see *ODNB* (58:530–2).

meaning and context is one of the principal interpretive concerns of the *Biblia*, certainly with regard to the Pauline epistles.³

Hugo Grotius (1583–1645). Grotius was one of the great intellectual figures of the 17th century, exerting his influence in the fields of law, politics, philosophy, history and religion. While in exile in Paris for his role in supporting the Arminians in the Dutch civil and ecclesiastical conflict, he wrote *De veritate religionis Christianae* (1627), a work which anticipated the coming conflicts in Christendom over history, reason, and religion. His considerable contribution to biblical interpretation appeared in his *Annotationes in Vetus Testamentum* (1642) and the *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (1641–50), early examples of the kind of historical-critical study that was to unleash itself in the late 17th century. Grotius' *Annotationes* influenced many of Mather's other interlocutors and sources, including Spinoza, Simon, Whitby, Pyle, and Locke. Mather cites Grotius some 40 times in his Pauline commentary; as with other sources, there are additional unattributed uses of Grotius.⁴

Thomas Pyle (1674–1756). Pyle was an Anglican cleric and an outspoken Arian, being a close associate of William Whiston. His *Paraphrase with some notes, on the Acts of the Apostles, and upon all the Epistles of the New Testament* appeared in full in 1715. In method it is similar to Whitby's *Paraphrase*, employing a close comprehensive exposition of the text, and relying heavily on classical and patristic sources. Mather cites it some 40 times in his illustrations on the Pauline epistles; there are also a significant number of silent or unattributed citations of the work.⁵

In addition to these key figures, there were several others who were important sources for Mather's Pauline interpretation:

John Lightfoot (1602–75). Lightfoot was an Anglican cleric of moderate Puritan sympathies who participated in the Westminster Assembly. He was also a prodigious scholar and began an academic career at Cambridge in 1650. His major area of expertise was biblical studies, and he was a major figure in the flourishing circle of Christian Hebraism, a colleague of Brian Walton, Edward Pococke, Matthew Poole, and the Buxtorf's. He was sufficiently moderate or politic to keep his appointment at Cambridge after the Restoration. His col-

3 In fact, Locke and Mather drew upon an almost identical range of sources, most importantly the Christian Hebraist John Lightfoot but also Whitby, Hugo Grotius, Jean Le Clerc, John Selden, Sir Norton Knatchbull, and Henry Hammond. Locke's critical sources were perhaps broader than Mather's but probably not significantly so. He had the benefit however of being personally acquainted with many of the great biblical critics of the 17th century. See John Locke, *A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul* (1:11–17).

4 On Grotius, see *NSHERK* (5:85–6).

5 On Pyle, see *ODNB* (45:622–3).

lected works appeared posthumously as his *Opera omnia* (1686). Among his most important biblical works were the *Miscellanies, Christian and Judaical* (1629), *Harmony of the Four Evangelists* (1644–50); *Harmony of the Old Testament* (1647), *Harmony of the New Testament* (1655), and perhaps most influentially, his *Horae hebraicae et talmudicae* (1658–74), a study of rabbinic sources as the backdrop to biblical interpretation. Mather cites Lightfoot close to 20 times in the Pauline epistles, but his influence on Mather's Hebraism is probably much greater than can be measured by direct citations.⁶ Further study will undoubtedly show his work, along with that of the Buxtorf's, to have been fundamental to Mather's biblical interpretation.⁷

Johannes Buxtorf the Elder (1564–1629) and *Johannes Buxtorf* the Younger (1599–1664). Father and son were successively professor of Hebrew at Basel for over seventy years, from 1591–1664. They were two of the preeminent Hebraists of the era. The father published two works on Hebrew, *Manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum* (1602) and *Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum* (1607), as well as the aforementioned *Tiberias* (1620) on the Hebrew vowel points. His most significant works were those on Jewish religious culture, *Synagoga judaica* (1603), and a paraphrase of the Bible, the *Biblia Hebraica* (1618), annotated with commentary from rabbinic texts. A second Hebrew lexicon and a concordance of his were published posthumously by the son. Johannes, the Younger, was a great Hebraist in his own right, publishing the *Florilegium Hebraicum* (1648), a collection of sayings taken out of rabbinic texts, and one cited frequently by Mather. He also produced translations of Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed*, Judah Ha-Levi's *Kitab al-Khazari* (*Liber Cosri*), and several essays on the work of Isaac Abrabanel, all figures and works cited by Mather in his Pauline commentary, as well as throughout the entire *Biblia Americana*.

Sir Norton Knatchbull (1602–85). Knatchbull was a member of Parliament with mixed political sympathies, who was forced into retirement during the Interregnum. During this sabbatical he turned his attention to biblical studies, publishing his *Animadversiones in libros novi testamenti* (1659), a critical historical study of the New Testament text. An English version, probably translated by Knatchbull, appeared posthumously (1693) as *Annotations upon some Difficult in All the Books of the New Testament*. The Latin version is listed in Increase Mather's 1664 Catalogue of his library; Mather frequently cites the English translation in his Pauline commentary.⁸

⁶ For a recent study of Lightfoot's work, see Broadhurst, *What is the Literal Sense? Considering the Hermeneutic of John Lightfoot*.

⁷ On Lightfoot, see *ODNB* (33:753–6).

⁸ On Knatchbull, see *ODNB* (31:871–2).

Matthew Poole (1624–79). Poole was a Presbyterian and held a parish in London during the Interregnum but was ejected after the Act of Uniformity (1662). His aforementioned *Synopsis criticorum* (1669–76) was a collation of the best biblical commentary of the period, comprising some 150 sources. His *English Annotations on the Holy Bible* was published posthumously (1683). Mather only cites Poole once in his Pauline commentary, but frequently cites Poole's sources directly, seemingly as a way to minimize his reliance on the *Synopsis*, which he clearly viewed as an impediment to the prospects of publication for the *Biblia*.⁹

Hermann Wits (1636–1708). Wits (or Witsius) was a Dutch Reformed professor of theology at Utrecht and Leiden. Among his works relating to biblical interpretation are his *Diatrise de septem epistolarum apocalypticarum sensu historico et prophetico* (1678) and the *Miscellanea sacra* (1692–1700), which engaged a number of critical problems on the Bible, including the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. He also published *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (1696) – a comparison of Egyptian and Israelite religious ceremonies – and *Meletemata Leidensia* (1703), which includes a study of Paul's life. Mather probably used the *Miscellanea sacra* as his source for Wits' biblical commentary, and possibly the *Meletemata*, both of which he cites throughout his commentary on the Pentateuch.

Jean Le Clerc (1657–1736). Le Clerc was a Swiss Reformed theologian and scholar who served as a professor at the Remonstrant (Arminian) seminary in Amsterdam. He wrote broadly in philosophy, theology, history, and biblical studies. An important conduit in the Republic of Letters, Le Clerc successively edited the *Bibliothèque universelle et historique*, the *Bibliothèque choisie*, and the *Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne*, in which he expressed his opinions on a variety of issues in biblical interpretation. His monographic works of biblical interpretation included *Sentimens de quelques théologiens de Hollande sur l'histoire du Vieux Testament* (1685), which included an series of essays eventually translated in excerpt as *Five Letters Concerning the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures* (1690), commentaries on each of the books of the Pentateuch (1693ff), *A Supplement to Dr. Hammond's Paraphrase and Annotations on the New Testament* (1698), and *Harmonia evangelica* (1700), which appeared in English a year later as *The Harmony of the Evangelists*. Mather cites Le Clerc begrudgingly, often as a foil,

⁹ Another of Mather's favorite sources for the *Biblia*, Matthew Henry's *Exposition of the Old and New Testaments* (1708–10), is not cited at all in his Pauline commentary. This is because the *Exposition* only covers the four gospels and the book of Acts; his notes on the rest of the New Testament were not published until 1811. Henry (1662–1714), a Dissenting cleric, was an important figure in pre-Awakening evangelical Protestantism; see *ODNB* (26:582–4). His *Exposition* was one of the works that made it difficult for Mather to find a publisher for the *Biblia*, as it commanded much of the market for a popularly accessible Bible commentary.

but also with admiration at times. His greatest influence on Mather's thought was probably on an issue of hermeneutics, namely inspiration, the subject of the *Five Letters* (see above).¹⁰

John Edwards (1637–1716). Edwards was an Anglican priest and an ardent controversialist in defense of classic Reformed doctrine. He authored several works of biblical interpretation, including *A Discourse on the Authority, Stile, and Perfection of the Books of the Old and New Testament* (1693) and *An Enquiry into Four Remarkable Texts of the New Testament* (1692). Mather cites him with regularity and with obvious appreciation.¹¹

James Ferguson (1621–67). Ferguson was a Scottish pastor; he was forced to decline the professorship in theology at Glasgow for political reasons. He wrote several homiletic commentaries on the Pauline epistles: *A Brief Exposition of the Epistles of Paul to the Philippians and Colossians* (1656); *A Brief Exposition of the Epistles of Paul to the Galatians and Ephesians* (1659); and *A Brief Exposition of the 1st and 2nd Epistle of Paul to the Thessalonians* (1674). Mather was evidently quite taken with Ferguson's work and appended extensive excerpts of his commentaries at the end of Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians in the *Biblia*. Thus while he is not frequently or promiscuously cited by Mather, the cumulative amount of citation is considerable.¹²

Jeremiah Jones (1693–1724). Jones was a Dissenting minister, textual scholar, and crypto-Arian. His *New and Full Method for settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament* (1726) surveyed the range of apocryphal Christian literature in the course of defending the traditional canon, in response to the arguments by William Whiston and John Toland in favor of expanding the canon so as to include such works. Though coming very late in Mather's work on the *Biblia*, he nonetheless cites it on several occasions.¹³

¹⁰ On Le Clerc, see Golden, *Jean Le Clerc*.

¹¹ On Edwards, see *ODNB* (17:937–8).

¹² On Ferguson, see *DNB* (18:342).

¹³ On Jones, see *ODNB* (30:541–2).

Section 4

Mather's Interpretive Interests

Mather wrote his commentary during a period of continuing and intense theological contest. Heresies from Christian antiquity had once again found life in the Church, even among the clergy, particularly those pertaining to the doctrine of the triune nature of the Godhead. Disputes between the Catholics and Protestants continued unabated, especially on matters of ecclesiology, doctrinal authority, and the sacraments. The ongoing political conflicts in Europe made eschatology a live-wire subject of interest for many, as they anticipated a coming cataclysm and the prospect of violent persecution. Protestants continued to disagree among themselves over the heritage of Augustine and Pelagius, as Calvinism and Arminianism battled for the soul of the movement. Deism challenged the entire edifice of Christianity, offering in its place a religion shorn of institutions, clergy, revelations, the supernatural, and doctrines of any particularity.¹ Mather's work on the Pauline epistles reflects this historical context, and often engages it in substantive ways.

In some ways, Mather's Pauline commentary is remarkable for its lack of attention to the classic points of Reformed theology, particularly its soteriology. To be sure, Mather's disquisitions on passages from Romans and Galatians certainly engage issues such as predestination, grace, and justification by faith, but these are in the main formulaic, to the degree that Mather is simply reaffirming the established confessions of Reformed orthodoxy over against the contrary positions of Arminianism, Socinianism, and Catholicism. It would probably be a fair estimate of Mather to say that his theological interests run toward the dogmatic and practical, over against the systematic or philosophical. One is unlikely to find in him the kind of theological innovation or speculation of the more systematic Reformed thinkers. And for the purposes of the *Biblia*, including the Pauline epistles, Mather's interests were especially epistemological in nature rather than classically theological.

¹ Mather recommends a rash of polemical works to prospective pastors aimed at Catholics, Anglicans, Arians, Socinians, Arminians, Baptists, and Quakers in his *Manuductio ad Ministerium* (86).

For Protestants, and certainly for Mather, understanding the Bible meant gaining access to the precise meaning, intent, and express will of God on religious matters, a possibility that both the great schism of Christendom and the rationalism of early modernity had called into question. The unresolved disputes stemming from the Reformation highlighted the problem of interpretive bias, which in turn fueled the critical examination of the historical sources of Christian doctrine. The turn to empiricism was one response to these problems, and by the late 17th century the historical and critical apparatus necessary for adjudicating the factual nature of the biblical past was significantly advanced. Lexicons and grammars of Greek, Hebrew, and related ancient languages were in abundance; new critical editions of the Bible appeared with regularity. New critical histories of the ancient world regularly rolled out from publishers, as did sacred geographies, chronologies, and works on antiquities. Studies of ancient pagan, Jewish, and Christian culture also flourished, especially the comparative study of the religious practices and beliefs of the biblical religions and their pagan counterparts.

All of these became aids to a singular focus in biblical interpretation: philology. Determining the original meaning of texts was foundational to the polemics of theological dispute. This meant finding and employing an interpretive approach shorn of theological presuppositions in order to avoid the appearance of preconceived bias. Philological study – discovering the meaning of words in their original context – became an obsession in biblical interpretation. Not surprisingly, philology is one of the most important tools used by Mather. “But how did the Ancients understand the Expressions?” he asks in Ephesians. It was a question that can be rightly described as the driving concern in his interpretive approach throughout his Pauline commentary.

To give one example: in the eighth chapter of Romans, Paul describes the freedom experienced in Christian redemption with allusions to slavery and adoption. Mather suggests that Paul is appealing to his Gentile-Jewish audience by drawing on examples from their respective legal traditions. How is it that one set free from sin can still be susceptible to its power? In the same way that Roman slaves can be freed by their masters, and yet still be liable to their superior status:

Among the *Romans*, to whom the Apostle wrote, there were Persons of Three Conditions; There were *Slaves*, and there were *Free*, and there were the *Enfranchised*. The *Slaves* had an absolute Sort of Dependence on other Men. The *Free* were altogether their own Men. The *Enfranchised* were such as had been *Slaves*, and were become *Free*, and yett partook of a middle Condition between both. The old *Patrooms* of those that were afterwards *enfranchised*, still retained some kind of Power over them. ... hee might sieze him; hee might strike him; tho' hee might not lay him

under Chains, much less, take away his Life. Tis the very Case of the Beleever; tis but thus farr that hee is *enfranchised*.²

How can those who have been slaves to sin now be recognized as the children of God? According to the Mather's sources, the idea of recognizing slaves as having social dignity and equality was not permitted in Jewish law (specifically, the Talmud):

It was lawful for a *Freeman*, in his Discourse with another *Freeman*, to Address him, with the Name, *Father*, & by such a charming Address complementarily to Invite his Friend, unto the Treating of him with all the Favour of *Adoption*. If the Gentleman thus complemented would own the Title, and use the Name, *Son*, unto him who thus courted it; this, being proved, a Right of *Succession*, and *Inheritance*, was thereby convey'd unto that Person. But Persons in a *servile* Condition might not præsume to use this Compellation, unto any one that was capable of bequeathing to them.³

As a demonstration of Christ's power, however, and of the spiritual freedom and dignity that Christian faith offered vis-à-vis Judaism, Paul argues that Christ has made it possible for the saints to be adopted into God's family in a way that the Law did not contemplate, by the power of the Holy Spirit.

Just as pressing as the philological challenge of determining the original meaning was the "philological" challenge of arriving at the modern linguistic equivalent. Scholars were aware of the hermeneutical gap that existed between past and present not only with regard to the meaning of the original languages, but also in terms of the changing meaning of the vernacular used to translate them. Discerning the original meaning was of little use unless it could be translated into felicitous English. As an extension of the philological enterprise, then, a plethora of paraphrases and new translations of the Bible appeared at the turn of the century.⁴ These represented a form of vernacular philology – a conclusion on the part of many that the English of the King James Version was unacceptably anachronistic, that it distorted the true meaning of Scripture in many cases. Concomitantly, Mather's method heavily employed the use of paraphrase and

² See Mather's commentary, *BA* (9), on Rom. 8:2.

³ See Mather's commentary, *BA* (9), on Rom. 8:15.

⁴ Among them, Henry Hammond's *New Testament, with a Paraphrase and Annotations* (1653); the *Dutch Annotations upon the whole Bible; together with, and according to their own Translation of all the Text, in English* (1657); Samuel Clark's *New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* (1683) and *Holy Bible ... with Annotations* (1690); Richard Baxter's *Paraphrase of the New Testament, with Notes* (1685); the *Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the Epistles of St. Paul, done by several eminent men at Oxford* (1702), the so-called "Oxford Paraphrase" of Obadiah Walker and Abraham Woodhead; Daniel Whitby's *Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* (1703); John Locke's *Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul* (1705–07); Thomas Pyle's *Paraphrase with some notes, on the Acts of the Apostles, and upon all the Epistles of the New Testament* (1715); and Edward Wells' *New Translation of the New Testament* (1718) and *Old Testament with a Paraphrase and Annotations* (1724). See Darlow and Moule, eds., *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture*.

relied greatly on many of the new paraphrases in circulation, Whitby, Locke, and Pyle being the most notable examples. Indeed, the *Biblia* can be thought of as an encyclopedic exercise in this two-fold task: discovering the meaning of Scripture by studying the linguistic context and discovering the most suitable modern English paraphrase to express it.⁵

One might see another significant interpretive interest of Mather's as an extension of his philological pursuits, though it represented more than that to him. Christian Hebraism had been an ongoing concern in European scholarship since the Renaissance, but it increased dramatically after the Reformation.⁶ The religious disputes and philosophical interests of the era made Hebrew a required study and made Jewish literature an object of real intellectual curiosity. Hebraica became a touchstone for a true and deeper understanding of primitive Christianity, and in some cases, an avenue for discovering the deeper significance of certain Christian mysteries. Mather cites some three dozen Jewish sources in his Pauline commentary, including Josephus, Philo, Judah Ha Levi, and Maimonides, the Talmud, Zohar, and Tobit, as well as numerous Targums, Sefers, Midrashim, and other rabbinic writings. With few exceptions these are derived from secondary sources, mostly from the Buxtorf's and John Lightfoot. Nonetheless Mather displays a lively interest in Jewish thought, believing it to be a key to understanding the mindset of the biblical authors, not the least the mind of the Rabbi Saul of Tarsus.⁷ He tends to equate later rabbinic thought with the biblical mindset, seeing the former as relatively unchanged from the latter. But this is not exceptional for Mather, nor for his contemporaries. He and they tended to treat pagan, Jewish, and Christian traditions as monolithic

5 Another indication of Mather's preference for the philological study of the Bible is the corresponding lack of expressed interest in typological interpretation, at least in the Pauline epistles. Mather resorts to typology only 18 times in the epistles, with 11 of those instances found in just two epistles (1 Corinthians and Ephesians); typological interpretation is not used at all in five epistles. Further study will be needed to judge whether this holds true for the *Biblia* as a whole, and how this might compare to his use of typology in his sermons.

6 For recent studies of Hebraism, see Burnett, *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era (1500–1660)* and Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies*; Ruderman, *Connecting the Covenants: Judaism and the Search for Christian Identity in Eighteenth-Century England*; Coudert and Shoulson, *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe*; and Glaser, *Judaism Without Jews: Philosemitism and Christian Polemic in Early Modern England*.

7 This is illustrated by his use of a Jewish midrash on Job 26:7 in his *Manuductio ad Ministerium*: "The Jews have a Fancy, that when our Almighty Creator, bespangled the Heavens with the *Stars of Light*, He left a Space near the *Northern Pole*, unfinished and unfurnished, that if any *After-God* should lay claim to *Deity*, a Challenge to fill up that space might Eternally confuse it." Mather uses this proverb to perform a midrash of his own, proclaiming that the 'empty space of the North' has been filled in by the theological "Stars" emanating from Scotland. His unattributed citation is drawn from *Pirke R. Eliezer*, an early 9th-century text. See *Manuductio ad Ministerium* (101).

entities irrespective of time, all of which could be used interchangeably to shed light on the meaning of a given biblical passage.

Mather's Hebraism is motivated in part by his primitivist heritage, which saw in Hebrew the mother tongue of all languages, in Israel the model of God's covenant relationship with humanity, and in the Old Testament the apex of religious, philosophical, and cultural achievement. Judaism and Christianity represented a seamless history, a seamless religion, and a seamless people (Mather uses the word "church" interchangeably to describe the Jewish and Christian dispensations). Thus there was a real measure of philo-semitism in his thought that naturally lent itself to an appreciation for the Hebraic and Judaic contributions to biblical interpretation. Of course Mather also shared the stereotypical biases against Jews common to his day, and these appear in his Pauline commentary as well. But his prejudice against Jews is relatively mollified for the period and is no more pronounced than his animus against those he views as defective Christians, and far less so than some – his diatribes against Catholicism being far more vitriolic.

His Hebraism was also motivated by his eschatological concerns. For most of his life, and thus for most of his writing of the *Biblia*, Mather embraced a dominant concern of English pre-millennialism, namely that Christ's return must be preceded by the mass conversion of the Jews and their return to the Holy Land. At times the restoration of the Jews may have seemed imminent to Mather; he was stimulated on two occasions to prepare pamphlets to aid in their conversion: *Faith of our Fathers* (1699) and *Faith Encouraged* (1718). Through the years he eagerly consumed news of Jewish conversions, some of which were close to home, such as Judah Monis' 1722 conversion and subsequent appointment to teach Hebrew at Harvard. In time, however, Mather became discouraged by the lack of evidence of Jewish renewal and the tension this created for his belief in the imminence of the Second Advent. Sometime around 1724 he radically revised his position and adopted an allegorical interpretation of the restoration of the Jews, one that held that this restoration was spiritual and was fulfilled in the initial conversion of the apostolic Jewish church. At this point he began to remove or revise entries in the *Biblia* to conform to his later views.⁸ The Pauline epistles appear to have emerged unscathed by this revisionary effort, probably because they do not speak to the issue per se. Even Mather's commentary on Romans chs. 10–11, which directly addresses the problem of Israel's rejection of Jesus as the Messiah, seems to be relatively untouched by this concern. Instead, it is focused primarily on the moral conundrum of election and reprobation with regard to Israel, rather than the restoration of Israel. This may explain why

⁸ See Smolinski's introduction to Cotton Mather, *The Threefold Paradise of Cotton Mather: an Edition of "Triparadisus"* (21–37).

Mather made no effort to revise it; it may also be that he simply wasn't able to return and revise all of the relevant passages in such a massive work.

Mather also held a theological inclination toward Jewish mysticism, which fueled his interest as a Christian Hebraist, namely Kabbalism. The Christian appropriation of Kabbalah had flourished since the Renaissance; it was believed to contain the *prisca theologia* that foreshadowed all of the world's ancient religions, a concept that Mather embraced through works such as Theophilus Gale's *Court of the Gentiles* (1669–1672) and Ralph Cudworth's *True Intellectual System of the Universe* (1678).⁹ Kabbalistic sources themselves offered to explain the mysteries of God's nature and the Creator-created relationship, and was a source of fascination for Christians on this level as well. Mather's *Diary* reveals him to have been prone to mysticism, not the least because of his visitation by an angel in 1693.¹⁰ This encounter was not an isolated instance, however; he regularly alludes in the *Diary* and elsewhere to rather dramatic visitations of the Holy Spirit. Mather also participated in ritual confrontations with the demonic, not only during the Salem trials, but also through ritual exorcism. Thus it should come as no surprise that he would show an interest in Kabbalah, particularly as it offered to reveal the wonders of the invisible world, the hidden world of the Divine, as well as the hidden meaning of the Hebrew Bible.

Kabbalah finds its way into Mather's Pauline commentary. Perhaps the most notable example of this is found in Eph. 5:22–32. In trying to account for why marriage should exemplify the relationship of Christ (bridegroom) with the Church (bride), Mather turns to Kabbalah:

Here lies the sounder Part of the Jewish *Cabala*; and hence an Hebrew Doctor, tells us, *The several Worlds were printed with the same Print, and sealed with the same Seal; and that which receiveth the Sigillation here below, is like to the Shape and Form of those things above, which did stamp the Signature upon them.* In Heaven, there is according to those Observers, *The World of Emanation*; and in the visible Creation, there are the Marks of things flowing from that World.

The universe described in the Kabbalah thus prefigures (and perhaps informs) Paul's employment of marriage as a type for the Messianic espousal of God's people:

The Marriage between *Tipheret* and *Malcuth* ... *The (male) Beauty*, and, *The (female) Kingdome* has been very notably handled by the Israelitish Doctors, who have handled, the Mysteries of the *Sephiroth* [or, Emanations of Light] in the *Messiah*. And

⁹ On the dimensions of Christian Kabbalism, see Coudert, *The Impact of the Kabbalah in the Seventeenth Century*.

¹⁰ Silverman dates the angelic visitation to the Fall of 1693, though Mather inserted his description of the encounter into his *Diary* for the year 1684–85. See Silverman, *Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (127–28); Mather, *Diary* (1:86–7).

it was their Opinion, That in the *Canticle of Solomon*, "He introduces the groom Tipheret and the maid Malcuth speaking in turns."¹¹

Mather's source for this reference comes by way of two prominent Christian Kabbalists, Johann Reuchlin and Francis Bacon. "Nor is there anything more obvious to a wise Contemplator, that that of *Reuchlin*, 'That God is accustomed to symbolize diverse things with one sign.'"¹² So too, there are "*parallel Signatures* imprinted by the God of Heaven, upon several Subjects, which render them not meer *Similitudes* of one another ... but are, as my Lord *Verulam* expresses it, 'One and the same mark of nature, impressed upon various materials and subjects.'"¹³ The extent of the influence of Kabbalah on Mather's biblical interpretation deserves further study.

Other eschatological concerns also find their way into Mather's Pauline commentary, beyond his concern for the restoration of the Jews. His conclusive work on eschatology was his *Trip Paradise*, begun in 1712 and likely finished in 1726/27, when he sought to have it published.¹⁴ This means that the *Biblia* was his longest running treatment of eschatological speculation and no doubt the place where many of his views on the end of the world were worked up and revised, or left in their unrevised state relative to the *Trip Paradise*. The evolution of his eschatology is discernible in its pages.¹⁵

One of the topics that generated significant attention on Mather's part was the nature of the resurrection. The plausibility of the idea of bodily resurrection was under duress in the early modern period, largely because it fell victim to the critique of miracles. As the pivotal miracle in the Christian narrative, it was

11 *Tiferet* is the sixth emanation of God in the Kabbalah, associated with both maleness and beauty (or spirituality). It is the counterpart to *Malkuth* (literally, "kingdom," but also understood as the Shekinah, or glory of God), the tenth emanation of God, associated with femaleness and with the earthly creation. In Christian Kabbalism these two figures are configured as Jesus Christ and the Kingdom of God (i.e. the Church), bridegroom and bride. See *EJ* (11: 631–35, 671–3); Blau, *The Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in the Renaissance* (15, 46, 51, 93, 105).

12 See Mather, *BA* (9), on Eph. 5:22–32. Reuchlin (1455–1522) taught Hebrew, Greek, and Latin at Heidelberg; he was deeply influenced by the Kabbalistic interests of Pico della Mirandola and published *De Arte Cabalistica* in 1517; see *EB* (23:206).

13 See Mather, *BA* (9), on Eph. 5:22–32. Bacon (1561–1626) was made the first Baron Verulam in 1618; his Kabbalism may have been mediated through his association with Rosicrucianism; see *EB* (3:144).

14 Mather, *Trip Paradise* (79). Mather also addressed eschatological issues in a second notebook, begun in 1703; see Mather, "Problema Theologicum," ed. Mares, *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 104.2 (1994): 330–440.

15 The study of the conceptual and substantive relationship between the *Biblia* and the *Trip Paradise* will certainly contribute to the interpretation of both. For an example of such, see Komline, "The Controversy of the Present Time: Arianism, William Whiston, and the Development of Cotton Mather's Late Eschatology," in Smolinski and Stievermann, *Cotton Mather and Biblia Americana* (439–59).

naturally defended with vigor by orthodox apologists.¹⁶ Mather too takes up this defense. In a very long disquisition on 1 Cor. 15:35–49, he draws heavily on rabbinic sources for analogies meant to illustrate that dying things (e.g. seeds) can bring forth new bodies, arguing that the idea of resurrection isn't conceptually implausible. Beyond that, however, Mather was aware that modern physical science had raised the problem of the exchange of matter between the dead and the living – rotting corpses become earth, which in due course becomes food for the living. How then to imagine that the flesh of the dead at the resurrection will not be so intermingled as to make a full reconstitution of every individual impossible? Mather offers the following solution: Bodies in their essential organization, or original plan (*stamina*), are self-contained; the nourishment they take in during the course of a lifetime serves to fill or “extend” them, but does not intermingle with their essence. Furthermore, there is an essential but occult and impenetrable body plan beneath the accidents of the visible body, and it is this substantive body that is the envisioned object of the resurrection: “So our present mortal and corruptible *Body*, may be but the outer covering as it were, of some Hidden, and at present Insensible, *Principle*, ... which at the *Resurrection* shall discover itself in its proper Form.”¹⁷

But Mather was perhaps more interested in how the resurrection was located within the progression of eschatological chronology than in the philosophical challenges to the possibility of resurrection. He radically revised his understanding of the resurrection after 1720, and part of that appeared in his distinction between two sorts of resurrections for Christian saints. Matthew 27:52 records that at Jesus' resurrection, some “saints” (according to Mather, eminent figures from the Old Testament dispensation) were raised from the dead. Analogously, Mather proposes that at Christ's Second Advent some especially worthy martyrs from the apostolic church would receive their resurrected bodies at the beginning of the millennium, rather than at the end (as described in Rev. 20:4–6, and 12). These Mather designates as Raised Saints; their role is to serve as mediators between the Heavenly Jerusalem and the Earthly Paradise during the millennium. Those believers alive at Christ's return would receive new, immortal bodies, in part to survive the expurgating conflagration that

16 A critique trenchantly laid out in Spinoza's *Theological-Political Treatise* (1670) and Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651) as well as a host of deistic imitators, such as William Wollaston's *Religion of Nature Delineated* (1722). Mather was familiar with numerous works defending miracles, some of which he cites in the *Biblia*, such as Robert Jenkin's *The Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion* (1696). For the history of this debate in England, see Burns, *The Great Debate on Miracles From Joseph Glanvill to David Hume*.

17 Mather, *BA* (9), on 1 Cor. 15:49. Mather draws this solution from Samuel Clarke's 1705 Boyle Lecture, *Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion*. Mather also has an extensive entry on the philosophical problems of resurrection in 2 Tim. 1:10, drawn from William Sherlock's *Discourse concerning the Happiness of Good Men, and the Punishment of the Wicked, in the Next World* (1704), subtitled *A Discourse of the Immortality of the Soul, and a Future State*.

would consume and purify the old heavens and earth, in part to repopulate the New Earth and establish the Kingdom of God. These Mather designates as Changed Saints. At the end of the millennium, these Changed Saints will receive their final resurrected bodies, along with all of the dead.¹⁸ Mather's revised eschatology is evident in his Pauline commentary, and evidence that the *Biblia* served an important role in his theological evolution. In Phil. 3:11 Mather discusses this Special Resurrection of saints prior to the millennium.

Briefly, The Apostle beleev'd, That there would be a SPECIAL RESURRECTION for the more *Eminent Servants of Christ*, long before the *General Resurrection of the Dead*. And such a *Special Resurrection* will carry in it, an admirable *Reward* of all their *Special Services* and *Sufferings*. Tis the *Resurrection*, which the REVELATION afterwards more fully determines, for the *Witnesses* of the Lord, at the Beginning of the *Millennium*. ... It is indeed now Rational to conclude, That the *more eminent Saints* of the New Testament, who Liv'd and Dy'd in *Sufferings*, for the Lord, should be rewarded in like Manner, by a *Special Resurrection* to Glory at the Time, when our Lord shall bring on the Revolution, which is to arrive at the Blessed *Thousand Years* of the Church upon Earth. It is at the End of that *Thousand Years*, that our *Fleming* expects the *Resurrection* of the *Dead Saints* who were not concerned in those Two Foregoing *Resurrections*, together with the *Immortalizing Change* that will pass on the Saints then *found Alive*.¹⁹

A second important eschatological theme in Mather's Pauline commentary is the role of the Catholic Church in general and the papacy in particular, as the manifestation of the Antichrist. Catholicism remained a potent specter for Protestants in the 18th century, particularly in British North America, which was surrounded by the colonial empires of France and Spain. Though Mather in time became rather conciliatory toward Protestant sects, and though he often used Catholic scholarship in the *Biblia* with real appreciation, he never wavered on the irreversible wickedness of the papacy.

Mather adopted an interpretive principle for the New Testament reminiscent of the way that Christians have historically understood the relationship

18 Mather, *Triparadisus* (33–4, 48–9).

19 The "Fleming" mentioned here is Robert Fleming (the younger), *The First Resurrection* (1708), in part a refutation of Daniel Whitby's eschatology. There were two Robert Flemings, father (1630–94) and son (1660–1716), both Scottish Presbyterian ministers; see *ODNB* (20:70–2). The elder published a number of topical works and sermons; his *Fulfilling of the Scripture* (1671) appears in Mather's library, with Increase's inscription. See Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (61). The younger Fleming also published *Apocalyptic Key: An Extraordinary Discourse on the Rise and Fall of the Papacy* (1701), outlining the chronology of the eschaton. In it he made two remarkable predictions: first, that the French monarchy would fall by 1794; second, that the papacy would be reduced in power around 1848 – both predictions that materialized within a year of the actual events, greatly enhancing the posthumous reputation of Fleming. See Mather's discussion of 1 Thess. 4:16 as well; here he attributes a view similar to Fleming's to Mauritius Boheme (*A Christian's Delight, or Scripture-Meditations*, 1654). Boheme was a German pastor who settled in England during the Interregnum, was ejected from his church after the Restoration, and subsequently returned to Germany.

between the Old and New Testaments, namely, that the prophetic texts of the Old speak both to the immediate context in which they were written, but also of the events surrounding the life and death of Jesus and the early church. Mather believed that the New Testament authors operated under the same prophetic influences; thus that their writings could speak to their present situation, but could also proleptically address events of later ages, in what Mather understands to be the dual purposes of the "spirit of prophecy." In his commentary on Rom. 10:6, for example, he writes that the entire epistle to the Romans, situated as that church was in the future capital of Christendom, is also a prophetic warning about the Catholic Church:

The Holy Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, who indicted the Epistle to the *Romans*, exactly foresaw, all the Points of the *Apostasy* which the Church of *Rome*, would fall into; and it is a Matter of great Curiosity, and Admiration, to see, how gloriously, throughout the whole Epistle, Hee hath laid in against that horrible *Apostasy*. The Instances are Numberless. Only carry this Thought in your Mind, *The Apostasy of the present Church of Rome, considered*; and you have a Key to open this Epistle with marvellous *Illustrations*, and lead you into unsuspected Senses.²⁰

Mather carries on this prophetic papal-Antichrist theme in 1 Tim. 4:1.²¹ Paul's description to Timothy of the apostasy of the eschaton mirrors perfectly the Roman church: forbidding (priests) to marry, forbidding the eating of meat (on Fridays), being seduced by evil spirits (mistakenly thought to be the mediation of saints) into apostasy (which in Judaism was a synonym for idolatry, in this case the veneration of images and relics). The whole ritual architecture of Catholicism is derived from pagan superstition, the very kind of false religion attributed to the Antichrist: "Now there is not one Article of the *Christian Faith*, against which the Papacy does not plant its Engines."²²

²⁰ See also the entry on Rom. 11:25. To be fair, this two-fold prophetic function could also be directed at Protestants, as Mather infers from Rom. 2:22: "Q. Might not the Spirit of Prophecy have some glorious Intention, in that Passage; *Thou that abhorrest Idols, dost thou commit Sacrilege?* v. 22. A. In the Reformation, wherein the Protestants have separated from the Church of *Rome*, an *Abhorrence of Idols* has been the Principle mainly insisted on: But it must be confessed, That *Sacrilege* ha's been the great Blemish and Scandal of the Reformation. Vast Revenues devoted unto God, & perverted unto Idolatry, have not been Restored unto God, but diverted into such Hands that *Calvin* said, *They took the Purse from Judas, and gave it unto the Devil.*"

²¹ Mather attributes his views on the subject to Pierre Jurieu (1637–1713), Huguenot theologian and professor and author of *Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies* (1687) as well as Joseph Mede (1586–1639), an influential millennialist who wrote the *Clavis apocalyptica* (1627) as well as other eschatological works.

²² He has a similar entry in 2 Thess. 2:3 on Paul's "Man of Sin," which Mather meticulously aligns with the attributes of the popes, as those who exalt themselves above God. His source here is John Hooke's *Catholicism without Popery* (1699). An Irish-born lawyer and judge (made a Serjeant-at-Law in 1700), Hooke (1655–1712) was one of the founders of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, an Anglican missionary agency. This book was an attempt

Mather's Pauline commentary is also full of entries relating to the wide range of doctrinal controversies reverberating throughout Christendom in the early modern period, too numerous to address in detail here. They include debates about ecclesiology (specifically, on episcopacy, and the Anglican threat to impose it in New England), the nature of the Eucharist (contra Catholicism), debates about the nature of the Godhead, and the person and work of Christ (Trinity, deity, incarnation, and atonement, contra Socinianism), predestination and election (contra Arminianism), hell (contra annihilationists such as William Whiston), and miracles and natural religion (contra Deism), as well as sharply aimed diatribes against Baptists, Quakers, Sabbaterians, and other undesirable sects. One of Mather's most prominent doctrinal interests concerned the person and work of the Holy Spirit, particularly the Spirit's active role in the life of the Church. No doubt some of this interest represents a reaction against the rationalism and materialism of the time; Mather is eager to insinuate the Spirit of God into nearly every facet of human existence. It is also a reflection of Mather's rather intense pietism and mysticism, the sense that a more direct experience of God is not only possible, but possibly normative.

Mather was interested in another type of spirit as well, a so-called Plastic Spirit. One of the enduring problems in early modern philosophy and science was the problem of mind-body, or more properly soul-body, interaction. How could an immaterial substance act on a material substance in order to direct its motions? This problem is perhaps even more acutely felt on a theological level: how can an immaterial God affect the operations of a material world? Mather was attracted to a solution found in Jean Baptiste van Helmont's *Oriatrike, or Physick Refined* (1622), as well as the work of Menasseh ben Israel, possibly his *Conciliator* (1632).²³ Van Helmont proposed the existence of an "Archaeus" or "inner air" that pervades and directs the motion of every living thing. Israel suggested that such a force was equivalent to the "breath of life" (*Nishmath Chajim*) that God used to vivify the first human.

In the *Trip paradisus*, Mather speculates that this Plastic Spirit possesses a "middle nature" such that it has qualities of both immaterial and material

to offer a plan of union for all Christians under the umbrella of the reformed catholicity of the Anglican Church.

²³ Israel's *Conciliator* was aimed at reconciling difficulties found in the Hebrew Bible; it was published in English in 1642. This work, or a portion of it, as well as his *Spes Israelis* (1650) are listed in Increase Mather's 1664 *Catalogue* of his library; see Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (16, 24). Israel (1604–57) was a Portuguese *converso*, a rabbi, scholar, and kabbalist who became an important figure in Dutch religious and intellectual life. His teaching influence extended to the likes of Baruch Spinoza; he also had an important presence in Christian intellectual circles, among figures such as Gerhard Vos and Hugo Grotius. He wrote in part to confute "atheistic" theories at the time which denied the immortality of the soul, which he accomplished in large part by marshalling case studies of demonology – a strategy not unlike Mather's in *Wonders of the Invisible World*; See Kaplan, *Menasseh ben Israel and His World*, and Chajes, *Between Worlds: Dybbuks, Exorcists, and Early Modern Judaism* (118–38).

substances, and yet is fully neither, making it the ideal medium for one to affect the other.²⁴ Since biblical anthropology describes the human as comprised by body, soul, and spirit, Mather surmises that the spirit in this triad is the Plastic Spirit, which would make soul-body interaction possible. In his commentary on Rom. 1:4, Mather extends this analysis to the problem of miracles. The Plastic Spirit pervades the entire universe. This makes it possible for God's Holy Spirit to act on material objects. "It is none but the Eternal *Spirit of God* having most intimately and immediately under His Dispose, that *Plastic Spirit* of the World, who gives, directs, and limits the *Power* of working *Miracles*."²⁵ In proposing this theory, Mather defends the possibility of miracles, by offering a plausible mechanism for them. As such, his theory is another instance of the dual nature of his intellectual project: to maintain the vitality of Christian supernaturalism while rationalizing it to the fullest extent possible.

The *Biblia* was naturally a venue for Mather to process contemporary life as he experienced it or read about it. This included the relationship between religion and more mundane matters, but matters that had important religious, moral, and social implications for him. For example, several entries reveal his estimation of women and his understanding of the male-female relationship. In many ways his views are thoroughly patriarchal. But at times he shows a real appreciation for the spiritual dignity of women. Both can be seen in his treatment of the issue of head-coverings for women in 1 Cor. 11. On the one hand, "*Women* in the Churches, were not to assume the Character of *Doctors*, or speak there, as *Teachers*. This was forbidden, because it carried with it an Appearance of *Superiority*. Nay, they were not so much as to ask any *Quæstions* there, or enter into any sort of Conference. This was forbidden, because it shew'd a Kind of *Equality*." But Mather also allows that women have a rightful, indeed extraordinary public speaking role in the context of worship. "Certainly, the *Praying* and *Prophesying* here spoken of, were particular public Actions, in the Assembly; ... Now the *Spirit* of God, and the Gift of *Prophecy*, was to be poured out upon *Women*, as well as *Men*, in the Time of the Gospel. And then, where could there be a fitter Place to utter their *Prophesies*, than in the *Assemblies*?" Does such behavior violate Paul's injunction against women speaking? No, because while their social or gender status might prevent their speaking in public, "Yett the Subordination which God had instituted in the World, hindred

²⁴ Mather, *Trip paradisus* (122–6).

²⁵ See also 1 Cor. 2:4. His speculations about this entity are brought to mature reflection in his medical treatise, *The Angel of Bethesda* (a work probably begun in 1711 and partly published in 1722). It provided both mechanistic and spiritual explanations of disease; these were brought together in his theory of the *Nishmath-Chajim*, proposing an epidemiological link between mind and body, spirit and matter. See Warner, "Vindicating the Minister's Medical Role: Cotton Mather's Concept of the *Nishmath-Chajim* and the Spiritualization of Medicine," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 36.3 (1981): 278–95; and Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (408–10).

not, but that the *Supernatural Gifts* of the Spirit, He might employ the weaker Sex upon extraordinary Services, as well as *Men*, whenever He should please to do so.”²⁶ In another instance, Mather takes the promise to women of salvation through child-bearing (1 Tim. 2:15) to be a reference to the religious instruction of children, an important teaching function given to women. And alternately, he offers that this reference may be an assertion of the dignity of marriage and procreation, in the face of ancient philosophies that denigrated all human sexual activity as an impure and unvirtuous behavior.²⁷ He also acknowledged that in extenuating circumstances, women stepped into roles that normally fell to men. In commenting on Paul's roster of saints in Rom. 16, he concludes:

Here, t'was impossible but *Women* must bee employ'd also. Hence wee now read about, *Phæbe, a Servant of the Church at Cenchreae, a Succourer of many*: And about, *Mary, who bestow'd much Labour on us*: And several other *Women* who, *laboured much for the Lord*. Concerning *Phæbe*, we read, *She was a Succourer of many, and of the Apostle himself also*. . . the Greek Word, *προστατις*, is of a magnificent Import, and signifies, *A Patron*.²⁸

Other subjects appear as well. Mather frequently takes the opportunity to integrate his medical expertise into his commentary, such as his long disquisition on Paul's advice to Timothy to drink wine instead of water (1 Tim. 5:23). The household codes found in letters such as Ephesians, Colossians, and 1 Timothy provide space for him to comment on the master-slave relationship. Mather was of course a slave-owner himself, but also one of the few clergy in Boston who defended their humanity and dignity. He acknowledges that the early Christians, influenced by Judaism, made a coordinated effort to buy the freedom of slaves who were their (spiritual) kinsmen, since both “thought it a wicked thing, because of their being related unto God, to acknowledge *Any Mortal Masters*.”²⁹ Slaves are also deserving of the fruits of their labors: “Such

²⁶ See also his comment on 1 Cor. 14:35. It should be noted, however, that Mather distinguishes prophecy from public edification and exhortation; since he did not believe that prophecy was a continuing gift, the actual role of women in the present church could be comfortably circumscribed within 18th-century patriarchal norms. On Mather's view of women in the *Biblia*, see Gelinas, “Regaining Paradise: Cotton Mather's ‘Biblia Americana’ and the Daughters of Eve,” in Smolinski and Stievermann, *Cotton Mather and Biblia Americana* (463–94).

²⁷ In this vein, he also calls for better treatment of wives by husbands: “You are not a master, but a husband; you have not acquired a maid-slave, but a wife; God wished you to be the governor of the inferior sex, not its tyrant.” *BA* (9), on Col. 3:19.

²⁸ He does not venture a comment on v. 7, in which Junia, along with Andronicus, are described as those “of note among the apostles” (KJV). He does however recognize that Junia was a woman (the wife of Andronicus, he assumes) and not a man, as the KJV implies as a way to avoid the prospect of a woman apostle.

²⁹ See 1 Tim. 6:2. Curiously, Mather makes no attempt to address slavery in his commentary on Philemon. On Mather's attitude towards slavery, see Stievermann, “The Genealogy of Races and the Problem of Slavery in Cotton Mather's ‘Biblia Americana,’” in Smolinski and Stievermann, *Cotton Mather and Biblia Americana* (515–76).

Things must not be reckoned *Gifts*. They are the *Dues* of *Servants*, and they have a *Right* unto them. Wherefor, I concur with him, who writes, The Negro's & Indians advocate, that the Word, *παρέχετε*, had better be rendred, *Allow*, than, *Give*" (Col. 4:1). In his comment on Paul's exhortation to obey rulers (Rom. 13), Mather quotes John Locke to the effect that while Christians must obey their rulers, Paul's injunction does not settle the question of whether said rulers had or exercised "a *Lawful Power*." Thus Paul, according to Locke, leaves open the question of whether subjects have the right to change their political system, an intimation of democracy: "who it was, to whom any of these, or any other Dues of Right, belonged, he decides not. For that he leaves them to be determined by the Lawes and Constitutions of their Countrey."

Mather's Pauline commentary also evidences his preoccupation with the wonders of the invisible world. In his entry on Gal. 5:20, Mather comments on the presence of witchcraft among early Christian sects, a discussion that reflects his deep concerns about its origins and effects:

Nor is it unlikely, that the Diavel might sometimes, in some unusual Manner enter into them, which they were thus engaged; And ... more violently agitate their Blood, and other Humours; in the Higher Ferments whereof, if by a more direct Influence from the great Enemy of Mankind, Quarrels and *Murders* also should sometimes ensue, it could not but heighten the Sports and the Triumphs of Hell.

Mather's also takes note of the importance of angels, a subject very near to his heart and personal experience. Holy angels continually attend to the spiritual formation of the faithful, and therefore constantly surround them. They "take Notice, how Men are inclined and employed for the Service of God, and gladly contribute their unknown Assistance unto that Service." While ordinarily preferring to "bee behind the *Curtain*" of nature, leaving their presence unobserved, on some occasions they consent to make their presence known.³⁰ In an extraordinary public admission of his angelic visitation confided previously only to his *Diary*, Mather announces,

for my Part, I dare not with such Freedome as you may expect I should, communicate unto you, what I may know of *certain Measures*, by the taking whereof a Man may come to a most undoubted and Amazing Acquaintance with the *Angelical Assistences*. Only one thing I'll venture to say; Do you give yourself unto the Methods of extraordinary Devotion, and then see what *Answers* you have to your Prayers, and *How* and *When* those Answers are bestowed. You will then *safely*, and it would bee *safe* that I should putt you in a Way to do so until *Then*, bee in a Way to comprehend glorious Things, about *The Ministration of Angels*, which were scarce *lawful to bee uttered*.³¹

³⁰ See Mather, *BA* (9) on 1 Cor. 11:10.

³¹ See Mather, *Diary* (1:86–7). On Mather's own angelic visitation, see Silverman, *Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (124ff).

One of the longest and most interesting exercises in social commentary in Mather's Pauline entries is to be found in 1 Cor. 11, on the subject of hair. Against the backdrop of a long debate about men's hair fashions going back to the founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, Mather enters the fray as a champion of liberality, specifically, in support of men wearing wigs. Long hair and wigs on men was a bitterly contested issue in his day. Men like John Eliot and Samuel Sewall proclaimed them to be abominations. Even Increase Mather fulminated against them in a jeremiad given in the aftermath of King Philip's War: "what shall we say when men are seen in the Streets with monstrous and horrid *Perriwigs* ... whereby the anger of the Lord is kindled against this sinfull Land!"³² The reason for such consternation among minders of Puritan social order was simple: long hair and wigs (which were made of women's hair) blurred the boundaries of socially recognized gender identity markers (as well as markers distinguishing civilized Europeans from barbarous natives). Just as importantly, these practices contributed to the physiological and psychological feminization of males; theories about sexual identity at the time held that such external transformations could actually affect the biological operations of the body.

Mather however rejected these concerns and embraced this modern fashion (his well-known portrait, done just before his death, shows him in a rather luxuriant wig). In his commentary on 1 Cor. 11, he works out the justification for his liberality. Historically speaking, hair customs have varied over time and between cultures, long and short hair at times symbolizing completely opposite things. Thus the length of hair in and of itself is culturally relative, to a degree. Second, though Paul appeals to the law of nature in condemning long hair on men, he is actually referring to the notion of customary practices that have the force of natural law, but because they are human customs, are susceptible to change. Finally, and most importantly perhaps for Mather, what matters most in such controversies is the intent of the behavior. In the case of long hair, but more pointedly wigs, if the wearer does not intend to confuse gender standards, or affect the mannerisms of the opposite sex, then no offense to them occurs. And since for Mather there was no possibility that men like him were crossing gender boundaries, the practice was permissible. His argument seems to have been persuasive in the Mather family. In a later jeremiad Increase Mather reversed his objections to wig-wearing, saying that it was "lawful for men to comply with any fashion ... once it is become the custom of the place where they live." Regarding wigs, "a man who has lost his Hair by Sickness, or by Age; or if his Health require it, may as lawfully make use of a modest Wig or Border, as of a Cap or Hat."³³

³² Mather, *An Earnest Exhortation to the Inhabitants of New-England* (1676), p. 7.

³³ With a bit of sophisticated casuistry, he reinterprets his remarks about wigs made some four decades earlier. "I have never said or thought otherwise: But I have said, and do say, That such *Monstrous* Periwiggs as some ... indulge themselves in the wearing of, are a Badge of Pride,

Mather's cosmopolitanism regarding wigs suggests another, psychologically therapeutic function that his commentary may have provided to him. Though the social mores of New England society (especially in urban centers such as Boston) were undergoing rapid changes by the early 18th century, there remained a strong and comprehensive ethos of taboos surrounding many social entertainments, as well as any social practices that were at odds with the strict Puritan understanding of a Christian commonwealth. Mather was in the main a supporter of those strictures, as his public fight against mixed dancing reveals.³⁴ His scrupulous defense of these puritanical sensibilities appears frequently in the *Biblia* as well.

At the same time, his entire professional and intellectual life is a testament to his yearning to break out of the parochial confines of colonial American society, and the *Biblia* seems to have provided a forum for those aspirations as well. Mather often provides long accounts (one might say unnecessarily so) of the cultural practices of ancient Greece and Rome, which may have allowed him a measure of vicarious enjoyment or participation in forbidden things, or at the very least, a measure of reassuring worldliness. For example, his comments on the power of sin (Rom. 6:13) provide an opportunity to discourse on puppetry:

The Ancient *Romans* commonly concluded their *Feasts*, with certain *Sports*, wherein they Introduced *Neurospasta*, or, *Poppets*, for their Diversion. The *Neurospasta*, or the Gamesters, that had the Management of these *Poppets*, would by certain Strings, pull the Members of the *Poppets* at their Pleasure, & make them in a very lively Manner seem to Nod their Heads, to shrink their Necks, to Roll their Eyes, to lift their Hands, & move their Feet, for the Entertainment of the Beholders. Well; *Original Sin* in the Unregenerate makes in like sort, meer *Poppets* of them; to give the Diabolical sport, it governs & Applies all their Members unto sinful Purposes; & by some hidden Strings, draws them to all the Actions of *Unrighteousness*.

On several occasions Mather delves into the practices of the ancient Greek and Roman games, discussing in lengthy detail various forms of racing, throwing, wrestling, and boxing, the nakedness and bloodletting involved, as well as the brutality of the gladiatorial contests. He does not do so, as one might expect, for the purposes of condemning the ungodliness associated with these entertainments, but rather simply as an observer of the human condition, and as a purveyor of cultural literacy.³⁵ Similarly, he seems to have enjoyed exploring in rich detail the military culture of Greece and Rome, their tactics, weapons, and

which make them resemble the Locusts that come out of the Bottomless Pit." See Increase Mather, *Burnings Bewailed* (1711), pp. 22–23. For a fuller examination of this topic, see Brown, "Hair Down to There: Nature, Culture, and Gender in Cotton Mather's Social Theology," in Smolinski and Stievermann, *Cotton Mather and Biblia Americana* (495–514).

³⁴ Mather and his father published tracts against dancing, *An Arrow against Profane and Promiscuous Dancing* (Increase, in 1684) and *A Cloud of Witnesses* (Cotton, in 1700). See Marks, *The Mathers on Dancing*.

³⁵ See, for example, his comments on 1 Cor. 4 and 9.

lifestyle, which he compares to the spiritual warfare of Christians.³⁶ He occasionally even commends some ancient entertainment practices. In commenting on Paul's remark that "bodily exercise profiteth little" (1 Tim. 4:8), Mather takes the opportunity to recommend exercise, by inverting the apostle's intent. A "little" profit means some profit, or benefit; exercise therefore has value for the Christian, even if small compared to the benefit of spiritual exercises.³⁷

However Mather may have processed his forays into foreign cultures and history, it never diverted him from what was his singular and perhaps primary interest in his biblical commentary: piety. Mather's pietism is well-known; his Pauline commentary naturally lends itself to such reflections. It intrudes onto every page; very few entries are not undertaken with a practical moral or spiritual end in sight. The pietistic ether that bathes his commentary in the present volume is perhaps best captured by a moment of exultation found in a passage from Philemon:

What may be offered for the Explaining of that Evangelical Mystery, Our *Doing in CHRIST*, all that we do? ... there may be some Occasion to entreat, [*Being Defamed*, we do so!] that it may not be look'd upon, as *Enthusiasm*, to consider the *Life of God in the Soul of Man*, and the *Mystery of Living to God by the Faith of the SON of God*. The Gospel is full of this *Mystery*; The *Bible* is not understood without it. Yea, my *Christian*, Thy Salvation turns upon thy Acquaintance with it. We lay hold on many Occasions in our *BIBLIA AMERICANA*, to touch upon it: Indeed it enriches us, with the most valuable *Illustrations*. ... Desirous to *DO all things* that God requires of me, and sensible of my being unable of myself to *DO anything* well, in *Living unto God*, I propose to be taken in a *Vital* as well as *Legal UNION* with the SON of God, becoming a MAN, in my Great REDEEMER. ... But I would also depend on Influences from CHRIST, or the *Head of the Mystical Body*, whereof the Consent of my Soul to be so, carries me to be a *Member for Strength* to do it. I would fain do it, so Influenced by CHRIST, that I may be able to say; *Tis no more I, but CHRIST living in me*.

³⁶ See, for example, his description of armor in Eph. 6.

³⁷ In *The Angel of Bethesda* (Ch. 6), Mather devotes an entire chapter to the benefits of exercise, and shows himself to be an enthusiastic proponent of "gymnastics" as a means both to prevent and to recover from illness, a kind of universal cure-all.

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Section 5

The Composition and Structure of the Text¹

The production of the *Biblia Americana* was a long and eventful affair.² Begun in 1693, Mather made several abortive attempts to publish it during his career, a failure that caused him no small amount of frustration. Nonetheless, he continued to add to the *Biblia* to the very end of his life, perhaps hoping or sensing that his efforts might have value for posterity. At his death it had grown to nearly 4,600 manuscript pages (folio); over 2,800 for the Old Testament, and over 1,700 for the New.³ Of these, 424 manuscript pages belong to the Pauline epistles. This probably represents about 5% of his *Biblia* commentary and roughly 20% of his New Testament commentary, given that half of these manuscript pages are smaller in size. Measured by this crude instrument, the Pauline corpus received a relatively commensurate share of attention from Mather.⁴

Table A.

Epistle	Manuscript Pages		
	Folio	Insert ⁵	Total
Romans	36	30	66
1 Corinthians	54	54	108
2 Corinthians	30	18	48
Galatians	14	16	30
Ephesians	22	26	48

¹ The text of the *Biblia* and its general condition and provenance are described by Smolinski in Mather, *BA* (1: 191–4).

² For the full accounting of this story, see Mather, *BA* (1:17–51). The substance of the present section represents a condensed version of Smolinski's description of the manuscript, adapted for the Pauline epistles; see *BA* (1:51–61). For a complete account of the editorial principles used here, see *BA* (1:203–10). Regarding Hebrew, Greek, and Latin citations, translations are provided, except in the case where the translation provided by Mather himself is correct, clear, and uncontroversial. This applies almost exclusively to a small number of single words or short phrases.

³ For the exact numbers, see Mather, *BA* (1:61). The entire manuscript exists as six bound volumes, located at the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston, MA. The Pauline epistles are included in the sixth volume.

⁴ For a point of comparison, the Pauline epistles comprise about 4% of Bible and about 18% of the New Testament in modern editions.

⁵ Generally, these are quarto in size, though many are also smaller inserts.

Epistle	Manuscript Pages		
	Folio	Insert	Total
Philippians	10	14	24
Colossians	10	11	22
1 Thessalonians	6	4	10
2 Thessalonians	10	6	16
1 Timothy	14	12	26
2 Timothy	6	8	14
Titus	0	8	8
Philemon	2	2	4
Total	214	210	424

As the table makes plain, roughly one half of the leaves for the Pauline epistles were later additions, not original to the initial fascicles that Mather bound together for the *Biblia* in Stage I, showing that much of his work on the epistles came after 1713.

Reiner Smolinski has identified four stages of composition for the *Biblia Americana*. The first stage (August 1693 to May 1706) represents Mather's initial and fulsome effort to create a complete set of commentary notes worthy of publication. He composed fascicles of blank folio-sized sheets for most books of the Bible, with presumably ample space for the chapter and verse entries he anticipated making. As these entries were made, he assigned a number to each one, such that he had a running total of how many entries he had made. These totaled about 5100 at the time he first sought to publish the *Biblia* in 1706. Confiding to his *Diary* that he had finished the work – "So finished it, that there is no Necessity of my casting in any more" – he proceeded to advertise and solicit potential subscribers and publishers.⁶

The second stage (May 1706 to the end of 1711) was a period in which Mather essentially let the *Biblia* lie fallow, as he waited for its eventual publication. This is not to say that he made no entries during this period, but unlike the other three stages, he saw no need to note his activity on the *Biblia* in his annual self-reviews recorded in his *Diary*, suggesting that any entries made were infrequent and few. Instead, this period was devoted to promoting the prospects for its publication.

During the third stage (1711 to February 1713/14, or perhaps 1716), Mather once again began to make entries in *Biblia* with great energy, with as many as a thousand or more a year noted in his *Diary* (compared to an average of about 400 per year during the first stage).⁷ He clearly thought that by expanding it he might attract the necessary interest for publication. However, he abandoned his numbering system and in many cases lined out the numbers of previous entries in order to extend them, because his constant revisions and excisions would

⁶ Mather, *BA* (1:52).

⁷ Mather, *BA* (1:54).

have required a renumbering of his entries. He also began to add new sheets of paper; in many cases these were smaller quarto-sized sheets. In the course of time he added smaller and smaller inserts throughout the *Biblia*, as he modified or embellished particular entries. During this stage he published an extensive pamphlet advertising the work, *A New Offer for the Lovers of Religion* (1713/14).⁸ This period of activity largely came to an end as his hopes were dashed once again. Confiding to his Diary (1716) “with the sweetest Acquiescence and Resignation,” he reconciled himself to the fact that “in the Case of the *Biblia Americana* ... [the] publication thereof, is to be despaired of.”⁹

While Mather never again sought to publish the *Biblia*, he nonetheless continued to expand its contents. The fourth stage (1713/14, or 1716, to 1728) may in fact have been his most prolific. There was considerable activity on Mather’s part in the restructuring of the work, by adding introductions, conceptual outlines, maps, and thematic essays to the work. His work in the *Biblia* also contributed substantively to the formation of some of his other great works in progress during this period such as the *Tripuradisu*s and the *Christian Philosopher*.

There are some 827 entries for the Pauline epistles. Of these, 297 are numbered, meaning that they were written during the first stage. They range in number from 106 to 4587. Approximately 36 % of Mather’s Pauline commentary was written during Stage I (13 years), and 64 % during the Stages III-IV (18 years).¹⁰ Mather averaged about 23 entries per year on the Pauline epistles during Stage I, and about 29 entries per year during Stages III-IV. The 297 entries represent about 6 % of the 5100 numbered entries from Stage I, suggesting that the number of entries for the Pauline epistles were commensurate with their cumulative size relative to the rest of the biblical canon.

As the following table makes clear, Mather did not attempt anything like a comprehensive, verse-by-verse exposition of the epistles; his coverage of the epistles by verse ranges from about 25 % to 60 %, with an average of somewhere around 35–40 %. Mather’s interest instead was to identify passages that were contested or difficult to interpret and focus on their resolution.¹¹

⁸ Mather, *BA* (1:30ff).

⁹ Mather, *BA* (1:27).

¹⁰ This assumes that his additions during Stage II were negligible.

¹¹ A procedure identical to that chosen by Hugo Grotius for his *Annotations*.

Table B.

<i>Epistle</i>	<i>No. of Verses</i>	<i>No. of Entries</i>	<i>Verses Commented Upon</i> ¹²
Romans	433	172	35–40 %
1 Corinthians	437	192	39–44 %
2 Corinthians	237	85	28–33 %
Galatians	149	63	37–42 %
Ephesians	155	81	47–52 %
Philippians	104	35	29–34 %
Colossians	95	41	38–43 %
1 Thessalonians	89	21	18–23 %
2 Thessalonians	47	17	31–36 %
1 Timothy	113	66	53–58 %
2 Timothy	83	33	35–40 %
Titus	46	15	28–33 %
Philemon	25	6	19–24 %
<i>Total</i>	2013	827	36–41 %

As the following table demonstrates, Mather's early work on the Pauline epistles was concentrated in entries numbering 4000 and above (137/297 entries, or 46 %). With the exception of Romans, the number of entries in the range of 4000+ is essentially equal to, and in many cases greater than, the combined entries numbering 001–3999. Thus much of Mather's early work on the Pauline epistles was likely completed toward the later part of Stage I, perhaps in the period from 1702–1706.

Table C.

<i>Epistle</i>	<i>Numbered Entries</i>	<i>0 –999</i>	<i>1000 –1999</i>	<i>2000 –2999</i>	<i>3000 –3999</i>	<i>4000 –4999</i>	<i>5000+</i>
Romans	47	3	12	17	4	11	0
1 Corinthians	82	14	8	14	4	43	0
2 Corinthians	37	3	5	9	2	18	0
Galatians	17	2	1	2	0	12	0
Ephesians	29	2	1	7	2	17	0
Philippians	13	0	2	4	1	6	0
Colossians	13	2	1	5	0	5	0
1 Thessalonians	12	2	0	1	1	8	0
2 Thessalonians	2	0	2	0	0	0	0
1 Timothy	28	3	9	3	3	10	0
2 Timothy	13	4	1	1	1	6	0
Titus	3	0	1	2	0	0	0
Philemon	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
<i>Total</i>	297	35	43	65	18	137	0

By comparing these two tables, one can see that the percentage of early (numbered) entries (Table C) compared to the total number of entries for each

¹² The range estimated here takes into account the fact that Mather frequently wrote multiple entries on a single passage.

epistle (Table B) is as follows: Romans: 27 %; 1 Corinthians: 43 %; 2 Corinthians: 44 %; Galatians: 27 %; Ephesians: 36 %; Philippians: 37 %; Colossians: 32 %; 1 Thessalonians: 57 %; 2 Thessalonians: 12 %; 1 Timothy: 42 %; 2 Timothy: 39 %; Titus: 20 %; Philemon: 17 %. Mather's work is greatest in the early period for 1 and 2 Corinthians, and 1 Thessalonians; it is greatest in the later periods for Romans and several of the minor epistles.

Table D.

<i>Range of Numbered Entries for Each Epistle</i>		
	<i>Range</i>	<i>Specific Numbers</i>
Romans	675–4372	675, 861, 900 1034, 1237, 1348, 1624, 1639, 1726, 1739, 1774, 1887, 1901, 1940, 1946 2448, 2263, 2269, 2273, 2362, 2535, 26xx, 2670, 2674, 2676, 2685, 2690, 2691, 2692, 2694, 2733, 2828 3115, 3149, 3271, 3346 4095, 4260, 4261, 4262, 4263, 4264, 4265, 4367, 4370, 4371, 4372
1 Corinthians	106–4160	106, 125, 200, 223, 247, 286, 294, 305, 370, 526, 605, 699, 867, 870 1316, 1403, 1627, 1713, 1771, 1844, 1947, 1949 2041, 2x94, 2265, 2267, 2266, 2268, 2272, 227x, 2337, 2350, 2706, 2707, 2721, 2782 3017, 3023, 3067, 3227 4093, 4121, 4124, 4184, 4373, 4374, 4375, 4376, 4378, 4379, 4380, 4381, 4382, 4383, 4384, 4385, 4386, 4387, 4388, 4389, 4390, 4391, 4392, 4393, 4395, 4398, 4399, 4400, 4401, 4402, 4404, 4405, 4406, 4407, 4408, 4410, 4411, 4412, 4413, 4414, 4415, 4459, 4160.
2 Corinthians	205–4437	205, 432, 826 1139, 1318, 1491, 1625, 1664 2122, 2297, 2323, 2450, 2714, 2715, 2716, 2718, 2913 3134, 3139 4410, 4417, 4418, 4421, 4422, 4424, 4425, 4427, 4428, 4429, 4430, 4431, 4432, 4433, 4434, 4435, 4436, 4437
Galatians	130–4447	130, 197 1872 2723, 2724 4114, 4340, 4437, 4438, 4439, 4440, 4441, 4442, 4443, 4444, 4445, 4447
Ephesians	340–4461	340, 808 1153 2430, 2730, 2732, 2733, 2735, 2736, 2820 3142, 3143 4089, 4302, 4366, 4410, 4448, 4450, 4451, 4452, 4453, 4454, 4455, 4456, 4457, 4458, 4459, 4460, 4461
Philippians	1632–4446	1632, 1883 2043, 2644, 2754, 2757 3324 4122, 4145, 4462, 4463, 4465, 4466

Range of Numbered Entries for Each Epistle

	<i>Range</i>	<i>Specific Numbers</i>
Colossians	337–4587	337, 439 1701 2306, 2310, 2436, 2477, 2776 4468, 4472, 4473, 4475, 4587
1 Thessalonians	500–4483	500, 509 2739 3279 4476, 4477, 4478, 4479, 4480, 4481, 4482, 4483
2 Thessalonians	1140–1336	1140, 1366
1 Timothy	166–4496	166, 461, 501 1075, 1187, 1252, 1380, 1385, 1796, 1871, 1892, 1950 2044, 2304, 2814 3075, 3300, 3307 4066, 4107, 4484, 4487, 4488, 4491, 4492, 4493, 4494, 4496
2 Timothy	315–4502	315, 570, 613, 694 1039 2349 3340 4158, 4254, 4495, 4496, 4497, 4502
Titus	1794–2484	1794 2347, 2484
Philemon	4500	4500

Further study will discover whether these numbered entries reveal particular subject interests on the part of Mather during Stage I. What is clear from the grouping of entries is that Mather's pattern was to compose clusters of entries in individual epistles, often on closely related passages, an efficient practice that he probably continued in later years, and in other parts of the *Biblia*.

There are a substantial number of entries in the *Biblia* written in a hand other than that of Cotton Mather, but all written in the same unidentified hand. It is of a relatively florid style. It seems reasonable to suppose that these represent exercises in penmanship, of possibly catechetical purpose, on the part of one of his children, perhaps his son Samuel, who followed his father into the ministry and inherited much of his professional legacy, such as his library and manuscripts. In the Pauline epistles there are five such entries: Gal. 6:17, Eph. 3:18, Phil. 4:22, Col. 4:16, and 1 Thess. 5:22.

The following images provide a point of comparison:

¶ 17. Of the offering up
sacrifice of your Faith
 Next unto y^e sacrifice of c^h
 himself upon y^e cross, y^e m^o
 -comable w^h God, of Christen
 who are brought w^h Judge &
 I am after a son slain
 y^e ministry of the word, as
 I now w^h lay hold by Paul
 y^e sacrifice of their saviour
 who offer up themselves w^h
 w^h be saved & walked in y^e

Sample of Cotton Mather's Handwriting

2. The Saints - that are of Cesar's House-
 hold. Ans. The Mention of Christianity in Ce-
 sar's Household, has nourished a Fancy of
Seneca was one of em. And this Fancy
 has at last produced a Forgery of the
 Epistles that passed between Paul & Seneca,
 who are published by Peter Senensis in his Pub-
liotheca & by several others in our Days. There
are all possible Marks of a Forgery
upon em; and the middle of the fourth Cen-
 tury seems to have bin the Time of their Concep-
 tion. they are not mentioned by Jerome, or any
 writer more ancient than Jerome. It is evident
 that the Author was a Latin who had not only
 ignorant of the Greek Language, but also of
 how could any of the Saints, who in

Sample of Handwriting of Unidentified Origin

Watermarks and Countersigns

The following tables provide an accounting of the page sizes used by Mather in his Pauline commentary, as well as the locations of watermarks and countersigns. The leaves used for the Pauline epistles offer relatively few examples of watermarks. Much of this is due to Mather's heavy use of inserts, which were often cut into very small segments that did not contain the marks. There are roughly 60 watermarks and 25 countermarks to be found, almost entirely among the 107 folio leaves used to make the text: slightly less than thirty percent of the 212 leaves used in total (though almost 60 percent of the folio leaves). A number of pages containing watermarks are of such an opaque quality that they are almost illegible under illumination, either because the marks have made such a slight impression, or because the ink has obscured them.¹³

Table of Paper Size and Watermarks¹⁴

Romans

[1r–2v]	[3r–4v]	[5r–6v]	[7r–8v]	[9r–10v]
H 300	H 135	H 190	H 185	H 295
W 195	W 80	W 240	W 105	W 180
G 12, 12	G 10, –	G 10, 5	G –, –	G 15, 10
WM: *	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –
[11r–12v]	[13r–14v]	[15r–16v]	[17r–18v]	[19r–20v]
H 150	H 190	H 310	H 290	H 200
W 95	W 150	W 95	W 170	W 145
G 10, 10	G 70, –	G 20, 20	G 10, 10	G 10, 70
WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: *	CM: –
[21r–22v]	[23r–30v]	[31r–32v]	[33r–40v]	[41r–44v]
H 195	H 310	H 175	H 300	H 190
W 155	W 195	W 65	W 190	W 145
G 15, 70	G 20, 15	G 15, –	G 20, 10	G 15, 15
WM: *	WM: *	WM: –	WM: *	WM: –
CM: –	CM: *	CM: –	CM: *	CM: –

¹³ For a fuller discussion of Mather's use of paper in the compilation of the *Biblia*, the nature of the watermarks, and of the general editorial principles used in compiling the text, please refer to the Introduction in Mather, *BA* (1: 196–210).

¹⁴ [H] = height/length of the MS page; [W] = width/depth of the MS page; [G] = gutter; [WM:] = watermark; [CM:] = countermark. An asterisk (*) indicates that a WM or CM is present; a dash (–) indicates that no watermark was identified. All measurements are given in millimeters.

[45r–48v]	[49r–50v]	[51r–54v]	[55r–56v]	[57r–58v]
H 310	H 150	H 310	H 160	H 310
W 195	W 75	W 195	W 105	W 195
G 20, 10	G 15, –	G 20, 15	G 20, –	G 20, 10
WM: *	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	CM: *	CM: –	CM: –
[59r–60v]	[61r–62v]	[63r–64v]	[65r–66v]	
H 195	H 310	H 140	H 160	
W 150	W 195	W 55	W 100	
G 20, 10	G 20, 10	G 10, –	G 15, –	
WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	
CM: –	CM: *	CM: –	CM: –	

1 Corinthians

[1r–4v]	[5r–6v]	[7r–12v]	[13r–14v]	[15r–16v]
H 310	H 105	H 310	H 215	H 300
W 195	W 85	W 195	W 160	W 190
G 20, 15	G 15, –	G 20, 20	G 15, –	G 25, 10
WM: *	WM: –	WM: *	WM: –	WM: *
CM: –	CM: –	CM: *	CM: –	CM: –
[17r–18v]	[19r–20v]	[21r–22v]	[23r–24v]	[25r–26v]
H 140	H 300	H 190	H 305	H 185
W 75	W 190	W 155	W 190	W 150
G 10, –	G 25, 20	G 20, –	G 20, 10	G 20, 70
WM: –	WM: *	WM: –	WM: *	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –
[27r–30v]	[31r–34v]	[35r–36v]	[37r–38v]	[39r–50v]
H 310	H 190	H 305	H 165	H 305
W 190	W 150	W 190	W 105	W 190
G 20, 15	G 15, 15	G 20, 20	G 15, –	G 20, 20
WM: *	WM: *	WM: *	WM: –	WM: *
CM: *	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: *
[51r–54v]	[55r–56v]	[57r–58v]	[59r–60v]	[61r–66v]
H 195	H 310	H 305	H 150	H 305
W 150	W 170	W 190	W 45	W 190
G 15, 15	G 15, 15	G 20, 15	G 5, –	G 15, 15
WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: *
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –
[67r–68v]	[69r–70v]	[71r–74v]	[75r–78v]	[79r–84v]
H 195	H 200	H 220	H 195	H 305
W 145	W 80	W 155	W 160	W 190
G 20, 75	G 10, 10	G 15, 15	G 10, 15	G 20, 15
WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: *
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: *

[85r–86v]	[87r–94v]	[95r–96v]	[97r–98v]	[99r–100v]
H 150	H 195	H 300	H 145	H 190
W 100	W 150	W 195	W 95	W 145
G 20, 5	G 15, 15	G 15, 15	G 10, –	G 15, 10
WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	CM: *	CM: –	CM: –
[101r–102v]	[103r–104v]	[105r–106v]	[107r–108v]	
H 120	H 185	H 110	H 310	
W 55	W 140	W 150	W 190	
G 10, –	G 15, 65	G 15, –	G 20, 15	
WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	
CM: –	CM: –	CM: *	CM: –	

2 Corinthians

[1r–2v]	[3r–4v]	[5r–10v]	[11r–14v]	[15r–18v]
H 310	H 185	H 215	H 305	H 215
W 190	W 150	W 160	W 190	W 160
G 20, 15	G 10, 5	G 15, 15	G 20, 20	G 10, 20
WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: *	WM: –
CM: *	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –
[19r–40v]	[41r–42v]	[43r–44v]	[45r–46v]	[47r–48v]
H 310	H 215	H 305	H 195	H 305
W 195	W 150	W 190	W 155	W 190
G 20, 20	G 15, 10	G 20, 15	G 20, 10	G 20, 10
WM: *	WM: –	WM: –	WM: *	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	CM: *	CM: –	CM: –

Galatians

[1r–2v]	[3r–4v]	[5r–6v]	[7r–8v]	[9r–12v]
H 305	H 195	H 300	H 155	H 195
W 190	W 150	W 190	W 65	W 150
G 20, 10	G 20, 5	G 15, 15	G 15, 5	G 10, 10
WM: *	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –
[13r–16v]	[17r–22v]	[23r–24v]	[25r–30v]	
H 305	H 190	H 150	H 290	
W 180	W 145	W 105	W 180	
G 20, 20	G 15, 15	G 10, –	G 15, 10	
WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: *	
CM: *	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	

Ephesians

[1r–2v]	[3r–4v]	[5r–6v]	[7r–8v]	[9r–14v]
H 300	H 190	H 305	H 100	H 190
W 190	W 155	W 185	W 75	W 140
G 65, –	G 15, 75	G 15, 10	G 15, –	G 15, 15
WM: *	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	CM: *	CM: –	CM: –
[15r–16v]	[17r–18v]	[19r–22v]	[23r–26v]	[27r–28v]
H 300	H 185	H 195	H 310	H 155
W 180	W 145	W 145	W 190	W 80
G 15, 5	G 20, 65	G 10, 10	G 15, 10	G 15, 5
WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: *	WM: –
CM: *	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –
[29r–30v]	[31r–32v]	[33r–34v]	[35r–36v]	[37r–38v]
H 150	H 300	H 150	H 305	H 190
W 60	W 180	W 70	W 190	W 140
G 15, –	G 20, 10	G 10, –	G 20, 85	G 10, 5
WM: –	WM: *	WM: –	WM: *	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –
[39r–40v]	[41r–42v]	[43r–48v]		
H 305	H 205	H 310		
W 180	W 150	W 190		
G 15, 10	G 10, 15	G 15, 10		
WM: –	WM: –	WM: *		
CM: –	CM: –	CM: *		

Philippians 5

[1r–6v]	[7r–8v]	[9r–12v]	[13r–14v]	[15r–22v]
H 195	H 305	H 195	H 125	H 310
W 145	W 190	W 145	W 70	W 190
G 10, 10	G 15, 15	G 10, –	G 10, –	G 15, 10
WM: –	WM: *	WM: –	WM: –	WM: *
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –
[23r–24v]				
H 295				
W 185				
G 15, 10				
WM: –				
CM: –				

Colossians

[1r–4v]	[5r–6v]	[7r–8v]	[9r–10v]	[11r–12v]
H 305	H 185	H 170	H 190	H 305
W 185	W 75	W 70	W 155	W 190
G 10, 10	G 10, –	G 10, –	G 20, –	G 15, 15
WM: *	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: *
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –

[13r–14v]	[15r–18v]	[19r–22v]	
H 190	H 215	H 305	
W 140	W 145	W 190	
G 65, –	G 10, 10	G 15, 10	
WM: –	WM: –	WM: *	
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	

1 Thessalonians

[1r–2v]	[3r–4v]	[5r–8v]	[9r–10v]
H 300	H 190	H 300	H 190
W 185	W 140	W 185	W 140
G 15, 5	G 15, 5	G 20, 15	G 15, 15
WM: *	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	CM: *	CM: –

2 Thessalonians

[1r–2v]	[3r–12v]	[13r–16v]
H 190	H 310	H 195
W 140	W 190	W 145
G –, 15	G 15, 15	G 15, 10
WM: *	WM: *	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –

1 Timothy

[1r–4v]	[5r–6v]	[7r–8v]	[9r–16v]	[17r–20v]
H 305	H 190	H 205	H 310	H 200
W 190	W 140	W 155	W 190	W 150
G 10, 15	G 15, 65	G 20, 10	G 15, 10	G 15, 5
WM: *	WM: –	WM: –	WM: *	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: *	CM: –

[21r–22v]	[23r–24v]	[25r–26v]	
H 180	H 150	H 310	
W 75	W 90	W 175	
G 15, –	G 15, 10	G 10, 10	
WM: –	WM: –	WM: *	
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	

2 Timothy

[1r–4v]	[5r–6v]	[7r–8v]	[9r–10v]	[11r–12v]
H 190	H 200	H 300	H 185	H 305
W 140	W 75	W 180	W 140	W 190
G 15, 15	G 10, –	G 10, 10	G 10, –	G 15, 10
WM: –	WM: –	WM: *	WM: –	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –
[13r–14v]				
H 295				
W 180				
G 15, 5				
WM: –				
CM: *				

Titus

[1r–4v]	[5r–8v]
H 180	H 195
W 140	W 140
G 10, 5	G 10, 10
WM: –	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –

Philemon

[1r–2v]	[3r–4v]
H 195	H 310
W 155	W 185
G 20, 70	G 10, 10
WM: –	WM: *
CM: –	CM: –

Watermark/Countersign Locations

Romans	WM: 1r, 21r, 25r, 29r, 33r, 47r CM: 9r, 17r, 23r, 27r, 35r, 53r, 61r
1 Corinthians	WM: 1r, 3r, 7r, 15r, 19r, 23r, 29r, 31r, 35r, 39r, 43r, 45r, 47, 49r, 61r, 65r, 79r CM: 11r, 27r, 41r, 83r, 95r, 105r
2 Corinthians	WM: 11r, 13r, 19r, 21r, 25r, 27r, 33r, 35r, 45 CM: 1r, 43r
Galatians	WM: 1r, 25r, 29r CM: 15r
Ephesians	WM: 1r, 25r, 31r, 35r, 45r, 47r CM: 5r, 15r, 43r

Philippians	WM: 7r, 15r, 17r CM: —
Colossians	WM: 1r, 3r, 11r, 19r, 21r CM: —
1 Thessalonians	WM: 1r CM: 5r
2 Thessalonians	WM: 1r, 3r, 5r, 7r, 9r CM: —
1 Timothy	WM: 1r, 11r, 25r CM: 9r, 13r, 15r
2 Timothy	WM: 7r CM: 13r
Titus	WM: — CM: —
Philemon	WM: 3r CM: —

Watermarks and countersigns that are found in the *Biblia* are discussed at length in *BA* (1:200–3). The following list is excerpted from that material. It represents the types of marks that are likely to be identified on the sheets comprising the Pauline commentary.

(*A, AA, Z, and ZA*): *London Coat-of-Arms*. The field of a double-framed, pointed shield is intersected by a triple-lined cross. A small dagger in the upper left or right-hand segment embellishes the design of this popular watermark. The crown of the shield is ornamented with a small *fleur-de-lis* or cloverleaf at the center, and crescent moons on both sides facing the flower ornament at the crown of the shield. Paper with this mark is known to have been sold in Boston since at least 1703.

(*B*): *Arms of England*. In the center of an elongated shield appear the bodies of three lions facing left. The shield is topped with an ornate double-lined crown with a *fleur-de-lis* in the center and cloverleaves on both sides of the flower. The counter mark bears the initials HD, the origin of which is unidentified.

(*BA*): *Unidentified*. A shield with a rounded bottom, divided in the middle with a horizontal band, with three circular designs on its crown, with garlands on the side.

(*C, F, W*): *Lilies*. These three watermarks share a similar design: a *fleur-de-lis* in the center of the shield, with a counter or mirror image of the flower.

(*D*): *Cross and Lions*. A cross in the center of an oval is supported on both sides by animals, perhaps lions. The oval rests on two globes, one on top of the other, with the initials P in the first and I in the second. A crown with a diamond-shaped design on its top garnishes the whole.

(*I*): *Globes*. Three globes resting one upon the other are ornamented with the design of a potent cross on the topmost globe.

- (K): *London Coat-of-Arms*. In the center of a shield is a large cross of a blade-like appearance. This bladelike design gives the cross a somewhat three-dimensional appearance because the left and lower sides of the crossing blades are darkened as if to accentuate a third dimension. The shield rests on an inverted *fleur-de-lis* and is surrounded by garlands.
- (L, X): *Horn*. A horn attached to a strap in the shape of a crossing loop is in the center of the mark, topped by an urn-like or diamond-shaped design resting like a crown on a heart-like shape of the shield. The heart is embraced by crescent circles facing the centerpiece at the top.

Countersigns:

CC, CS, EB, G, GG, GL, IV, H, HD, PC, PD, R, TM, VH, D/W, COMPANY, and ELLISTON & BASKET. Most of these countersigns are the initials of generally unidentified paper makers and mill owners. The countersign here rendered D/W presents the D resting on the W. The initials CS are associated with paper used in Dorchester, Massachusetts, in 1707. Elliston & Basket is associated with Dutch and French paper makers. Countersigns rarely appear in combination with their original watermark, generally appearing on opposite leaves in the *Biblia*.

PART 2

THE TEXT

Q. What special Allusion might the Apostle have, when he called himself, one *Separated unto the Gospel of Christ?* v. 1.

A. The Syriac here uses the Word, that carries *A Pharisee*, in the Signification of it. Our Apostle had been a *Pharisee*; which is as much as to say, *A Separated One*. But now he intimates, that he was become a *Pharisee* of a better Sort than he was before; not one for the Observation of ceremonious Punctilio's, but one for the Publication of Evangelical Mysteries.

Q. What is that *Power* with which our Lord Jesus Christ was *Declared, the Son of God?* v. 4.

A. A *Miracle*, is a *Work*, above the known *Power* of Second Causes in that *Order of Things* wherein God has fixed the World effected by God, as a {*Sign*}¹ to some Holy and Useful *Truth*, declared to proceed from *Him* alone: When any Person asserting of any Doctrine do's perform a *Work*, beyond the *known* Course & Force of Second Causes, and God hath clog'd that *Work* with no Circumstances which may not, unto an ordinary Caution discover a *Diabolical Original*, the *Truth* of what is Asserted, is thereby confirmed. The *Miracles* wrought by our Bl. Lord, were such *Works* as could not bee done, without an extraordinary *Power* over *Second Causes*, which could bee given by none but the *First Cause* of all. A late Jewish Writer [*Menasseh Ben Israel*] affirms that the *Miracles* wrought by *Moses* exceeded the Number of all that were done by all the Prophets together. For, whereas, all the Prophets for the Space of above Three Thousand Years wrought but *Seventy Four* Miracles, the Miracles of *Moses* alone, were *Seventy Six*.² But the Miracles of *Moses*, were neither for Number, nor, for several other glorious Qualities & Properties, to bee compared unto those of our *Jesus*. Now, These Miracles of our Lord, are in the New-Testament, called, for a Cause already given, by the Name of, Δυνάμεις, or, *Powers*. And it is with reference unto the *Miracles* wrought by our Lord, that it is here said, *Hee was declared the Son of God with Power*, ἐν δυνάμει. None but the *Son of God* could

¹ See Appendix A.

² Menasseh ben Israel (1604–57), a Portuguese rabbi, scholar, kabbalist, and converso who became an important figure in Dutch religious and intellectual life. His teaching influence extended to the likes of Baruch Spinoza; he also had an important presence in Christian intellectual circles, among figures such as Gerhard Vos and Hugo Grotius. The reference here may be to his *Conciliator sive De Convenientia Locorum Sacrae Scripturae* (1632; English translation 1642), a work aimed at reconciling difficulties found in the Hebrew Bible. This work, or a portion of it, as well as his *Spes Israelis* (1650), are listed in Increase Mather's 1664 *Catalogue* of his library; see Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (16, 24). On ben Israel, see Kaplan, *Menasseh ben Israel and His World*.

have a *Power* to work *Miracles*, that should bee circumstanced, like those of our Lord. It is none but the eternal *Spirit of God* having most intimately & immediately under His Dispose, that *Plastic Spirit* of the World, who Gives, Directs, & Limits the *Power* of working *Miracles*; yea, in some sort, Hee is Himself, *The Power*; & so Hee is called in the Book of God.³ Hence tis here added, our Lord was *Declared the Son of God with Power* [According to the Holy Spirit.] And thus may wee understand that Expression of the Apostle, in 1. Tim. 3.16. *Hee was Justify'd in the Spirit*; IN, that is, BY. *By the Spirit*, our Lord was cleared from False Accusations. It was ἐν πνεύματι, *By the Spirit* of God that the Divels, the *Evil Spirits*, were cast out, by our Bl. *Jesus*. His miraculous Works, did proceed from the *Spirit* of God; and Hee was *Justify'd* by that *Spirit*, when Hee wrought those *Miracles*: This Interpretation, is indeed as old, as old *Theodoret*, who upon the Place, gives the Gloss, *By the Divine Spirit, Hee wrought Miracles*.⁴

One Mr. *Pyle*, in his Paraphrase observes, That δύναμις κατὰ πνεῦμα, is, *The Power of the Spirit*.⁵ And so, what we render, *with Power according to the Spirit of Holiness*, is to be rendred, *By the Power of the Holy Spirit*.⁶

Q. On the Apostolical Salutation, *Grace be to you, and Peace from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ?* v. 7.

A. In the Amendment of the Translation pursued by Mr. {*Jessey*},⁷ it was offered unto Consideration which it might not be rendred, *Grace be to you, and*

3 Mather developed a theory of a “plastic spirit” or *Nishmath Chajim* (“breath of life”), a term used to describe the animation of Adam in the book of Genesis. Mather proposed it as a kind of “middle substance”: not pure spirit or pure matter but partly both. It interpenetrated the physical world and served as a causal link between the immaterial and the material (e.g. interactions of spirits and nature, mind and body) – one of the major philosophical problems of the day. Such ideas were mediated to Mather in part by figures such as Ralph Cudworth and Jean Baptiste van Helmont, although, perhaps significantly, Menasseh ben Israel authored a work on the nature of the soul by this name (*Nishmat Hayyim*, 1651) that espouses a similar theory. Mather uses the idea of the plastic spirit as an interpretive concept throughout the *Biblia*. It was brought to mature fruition in his medical treatise, *The Angel of Bethesda* (a work probably begun in 1711; a partial section, published in 1722, included his conjectures about the *Nishmath Chajim*). See Warner, “Vindicating the Minister’s Medical Role: Cotton Mather’s Concept of the *Nishmath-Chajim* and the Spiritualization of Medicine” (278–95).

4 Theodoret, *Commentary on the Letters of St. Paul* (1:45–6). Theodoret (393–457) was bishop of Cyrrhus, Syria, and author of a number of exegetical works; see *NCE* (13:878–9).

5 δυνάμει κατὰ πνεῦμα; “with power, according to the spirit” (KJV). PLEASE NOTE: As a general rule, translations of Hebrew, Greek and Latin are rendered in the footnotes; when these are not provided, it indicates that the translation Mather has provided in the text is correct.

6 Thomas Pyle, *Paraphrase upon all the Epistles of the New Testament*, (1:197). Pyle (1674–1756) was an Anglican priest and an outspoken Arian; see *ODNB* (45:622–3).

7 The English nonconformist minister and Fifth Monarchist Henry Jessey (1601–1663) drew on Robert Gell’s *An Essay towards an Amendment of this Last English-Translation of the Bible* (1659) and labored for many years on revising the KJV of the Bible. Although his radical activities during the English Civil War and under Cromwell are outlined in *ODNB*, the only mention of his work on a revision of the KJV appears in an anonymous “Article VII. – Notices

Peace, from God the Father of us, & of the Lord Jesus Christ. Both Versions have excellent Christianity in them.

Q. On the Term, *Called?* v. 7.

A. Mr. *Selden* observes, That for to be *Called*, was, to become a *Christian*; to have the Name of *A Christian*. As among the Jews, when they made a *Doctor of the Law*, they said, *He was called*.⁸

But, Good Syr, Lett us by an effectual Compliance with the *Call* of the Gospel, also *make our Calling sure*.

|
4260.

[2v]

Q. What may the Meaning of, *The Righteousness of God Revealed from Faith to Faith?* v. 17.

A. I will not load you, with the various Glosses of Expositors upon it; you may find them, I suppose, in the *Synopsis*.⁹ Much less will I offer you the vain Descant of *Le Clerc* upon it; *That from the Faith whereby the Jewes believed the Prophets, and the Gentiles their Ancestors, they might proceed unto another Faith*.¹⁰ I will accept and præfer, & now profer, *Whitby's* Interpretation; The Clause, *From Faith*, may be rendred, *By Faith*. Of, ἐκ, for, διὰ, there are frequent Instances.¹¹ It

of New Publications." In *Christian Review* 21. No. 83 (1856): 467–68. On Jessey, see also E. G. E. van der Wall's "A Philo-Semitic Millenarian" (161–84). (Notation courtesy of Reiner Smolinski). On the textual reading of "Jessey," see Appendix A.

⁸ John Selden (1584–1654), an English lawyer and student of Jewish law. His book *De diis Syriis* (1617) was an important early work in the history of the comparative study of religions; between 1631 and 1655 he published six major works on Jewish law; see *ODNB* (49:694–705).

⁹ Matthew Poole, *Synopsis criticorum* (1669–76) (5:16–17). Like the *Biblia*, Poole's *Synopsis* was a compilation of the best biblical commentary of the era. Poole (1624–79) was a Puritan and had a parish in London during the Interregnum but was ejected after the Act of Uniformity (1662); see *ODNB* (44:841–3).

¹⁰ Jean Le Clerc (1657–1736), Swiss Reformed cleric and scholar who served as a professor at the Remonstrant (Arminian) seminary in Amsterdam. Le Clerc wrote broadly in philosophy, theology, history, and biblical studies. An important conduit in the republic of letters, Le Clerc successively edited the *Bibliothèque universelle et historique*, the *Bibliothèque choisie*, and the *Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne*, in which he expressed his opinions on a variety of issues in biblical interpretation. His monographic works of biblical interpretation included *Sentimens de quelques theologiens de Hollande sur l'histoire du Vieux Testament* (1685), which included an essay englished as *Five Letters Concerning the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures* (1690), commentaries on each of the books of the Pentateuch (1693ff), *A Supplement to Dr. Hammond's Paraphrase and Annotations on the New Testament* (1698), and *Harmonia evangelica* (1700; English, *The Harmony of the Evangelists*, 1701). In general his interpretive method is rationalist, modernist, and text-critical. See Golden, *Jean Le Clerc*.

¹¹ Ἐκ (from) and διὰ (by) can be used interchangeably, depending on context.

is then, q.d. *The Righteousness of God, which is by Faith, is Revealed in the Gospel, to beget Faith to Men.*¹²

S^r Norton Knatchbul supposes a *Metathesis* of this Importance.

*Justitia Dei ex Fide in eo, revelatur in Fidem, i. e. at credatur.*¹³

Pyle in his Paraphrase, has this Gloss, Δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ ἐκ πίστεως.¹⁴ is *Gods Method of Justifying us by Faith, in Christ is reveled* εἰς πίστιν.¹⁵ *To bring in all, both Jews and Gentiles, to Beleeve, & embrace it.*¹⁶

1774.

Q. Who are they that, *Hold the Truth in Unrighteousness?* v. 18.

A. The Greek Word, κατέχεν,¹⁷ used here, carries an *Imprisonment*, in the Signification of it. There are Men that have the *Truth*, in their *Understandings*, in their *Consciences*, in their *Memories*; but there they *Hold* it; they do, by a Violence upon it, *Withhold* it, and *Fetter* it, from having that Impression, which it would Reasonably go on to have, upon their *Affections*, and *Conversations*. These, *Hold the Truth in Unrighteousness*.

Q. What Special Instance can you give of, *Idolaters becoming Vain in their Imaginations*, as the Apostle saies they do? v. 21.

A. I have seen that *Question* putt, *Why the more learned Nations of the World have yett had more pittiful and horrible Creatures for their Gods, than the more Barbarous?* And the very putting of *that* *Quæstion* gives an *Answer* to *yours*. The more Barbarous Nations have worshipped the *Sun*, the *Moon*, & the more specious Objects of Idolatry. But such learned Nations, as the *Egyptians*, worshipped a *Bull*; The *Grecians* adored *Fevers* and *Passions* for their Gods; and the *Romans*, the very *Furies* of Hell. The Justice of God has appeared in this Thing;

12 Daniel Whitby, *A Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* (2:4–5). Whitby (1638–1726) was an Anglican cleric and a prolific author; he engaged in anti-Catholic polemics but also argued for a latitudinarian treatment of Protestant Dissenters. In his later years, he adopted (publically) Arminian and (posthumously) Arian doctrinal positions. See *ODNB* (58:530–2).

13 “Let the justice of God, out of faith in Him, be revealed in faith, that is, let it be believed.” Sir Norton Knatchbull, *Animadversiones in libros novi testamenti* (74). Knatchbull (1602–85) was a member of Parliament with mixed political sympathies during the Civil War but absent from politics in the wake of Pride’s Purge (1648). He turned his attention during the Interregnum to biblical studies, publishing his *Animadversiones* (1659), a critical historical study of the New Testament text. An English version, probably translated by Knatchbull, appeared posthumously as *Annotations upon some Difficult Texts in All the Books of the New Testament* (1693). The Latin version is listed in Increase Mather’s 1664 *Catalogue* of his library, but Mather is clearly using the English version in his citations. See *ODNB* (13:871–2).

14 δικαιοσύνη γὰρ θεοῦ ... ἐκ πίστεως; “The righteousness of God ... from faith.”

15 εἰς πίστιν; “in(to) faith.”

16 Pyle, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (1:200).

17 “Hold back, restrain.”

The Nations which had most of *Light*, whereby to know God, yett *glorified Him not as God*; and they were left, for this, to become *Vain in their Imaginations*.

[▽Insert from 3r]

[▽3r]

{Q. What is, *the Glory of the Incorruptible God*,¹⁸ which the Idolaters changed into Images? v. 23.

A. Of God we are advised, 1. Tim. 1.16. *That He dwells in Light inaccessible*. He alwayes exhibited Himself unto Men in a mighty Splendor of *Light* and *Flame*, as a Visible Token of His Majestic Presence. Thus He appeared unto the Antediluvians. *Adam* saw Him in this Appearance. *Cain* and *Abel* brought their Sacrifices unto the Place of this Appearance. The Respect which God had unto *Abels* Offering, was (as *Theodotions* Translation intimates,) in *Setting it on Fire* with a Stream of Light, or Flame, from the *Shechinah*.¹⁹ After the Flood, *Noah* saw this Appearance; and so did *Abraham*. [Consider Act. 7.2.] How else is it said, *God went up from Abraham*? The Chaldee Paraphrase, and B. *Uzziel* renders it, *The Glory of the Lord ascended*.²⁰ *Moses* was entertained with it in the *Bush*; and the People on Mount *Sinai*, where *the Sight of the Glory of the Lord was like Fire*. This Visible Appearance of God in *Light*, is above Thirty Times in the Old Testament stiled, *The Glory of the Lord*. The *Shechinah* was not only given to the *Jewes* after the Law, but also to the *Gentiles* before the Law, as a Præservative from Idolatry, or, (as Dr. *Whitby* expresses it,) to Instruct them, to make no other Resemblance of Him, or Symbol of His Presence.²¹ But saies the Apostle, *They changed this into the Similitude of Men, & Birds, & Beasts, & Reptiles*. Thus of the *Jewes* making the *Golden Calf*, God saies, Ps. 106.20. *They changed their Glory into the Similitude of a Calf*. And of the *Jewes*, departing from God unto Idols, it is said, Jer. 2.11. *My People have changed their Glory, for that which cannot profit them*.

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 5r]

[▽5r]

Q. How is that Passage to be understood; *Their Dishonouring their own Bodies between themselves*? v. 24.

¹⁸ See Appendix A.

¹⁹ *Whitby*, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:6). *Theodotion* was a 2nd-century CE Hellenistic Jewish scholar who produced a Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, which was incorporated into Origen's *Hexapla*; see *JE* (3:187).

²⁰ The "Chaldee Paraphrase," more commonly known as the *Targum Jonathan*, is an Aramaic translation of the biblical prophets for use in liturgical settings, whose putative author was Jonathan ben Uzziel; he is mentioned in the Talmud as a first-century rabbi and student of Hillel. See *EJ* (11:398). This Targum was republished several times in the 16th and 17th century; Johannes Buxtorf's *Biblia Hebraica* (1618) is a prime example. As Mather indicates, his source here is *Whitby's Paraphrase*.

²¹ *Whitby*, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:6).

A. Ἐν αὐτοῖς, is to be rendred, *Alone by themselves*.²² Dr. *Goodwin* thinks, tis to be understood of such *Self-pollutions*, as were not only practised, but shamelessly defended, by such Wretches, as *Diogenes*.²³

Q. What is the Intention of adding that Clause, *Who is Blessed forever, Amen?* v. 25.

A. It was a Frequent Form of Speech among the Jewes: [Compare, Gen. 9.26. and, 14.20. and, 24.27, 31.] but as the Jewes tell us, and *Chrysostom* on this Place takes notice of it, it was then especially made use of, when there was related any thing Spoke or Done, against the Majesty of the Infinite God; that by the Addition of such a Passage, it may be signified, *Deo suam Majestatem nihilominus esse salvam*.²⁴

900.

Q. Can you guess, any particular, & notorious Transgressor, to whom the Apostle may refer, in his Reflections on the *unnatural Transgressions* committed among the pagan Romans? v. 26.

A. If you will please to Read *Suetonius's* Life of *Nero*, you'll see that there was a *Divel* at that very Time, Ruling the World, who was an Instance of those very Villanies, which the Apostle here describes, & who doubtless by his Example filled his *Court* also, and, as far as hee could, the *World*, with the like Villanies. Lett *Suetonius* bee the Commentator upon our Apostle.²⁵

3346.

Q. Where may one meet with a full Commentary, on Rom. 1.27?

A. Hear Mr. *Selden*. *Quid, quod nullus forsitan reperiatur commentarius, qui comena 27 capituli primi Epistolae ad Romanos aequè explicet, atque Petronii Satyri-*

²² ἐν αὐτοῖς; "between themselves" (KJV).

²³ Possibly Thomas Goodwin, D.D. (1600–80): given the subject matter, perhaps his *Aggravation of Sinne* (1637) or *The Tryall of a Christians Growth in Mortification* (1641). Goodwin's collected works, including several works of biblical interpretation, were published beginning in 1682. Goodwin was chaplain to Cromwell and made president of Magdalen College at Oxford in 1650, a post he lost after the Restoration; see *ODNB* (22:823–8). Diogenes of Synope (c. 412–323 BCE), whose writings exist only in fragments in other Greek authors. He is quoted by Diogenes Laertius as defending his right to masturbate in public; see "Diogenes of Synope," *IEP* (electronic).

²⁴ "God's majesty is uninjured nevertheless." John Chrysostom, *Homily III*, *NPNFi* (11:354). Chrysostom (347–407), archbishop of Constantinople, whose hundreds of extant sermons include a number on the Pauline epistles; see *NSHERK* (3:72–5).

²⁵ Suetonius, *Lives of the Twelve Caesars* (2:131 *et passim*). Suetonius (c. 69–122 CE) was a Roman historian; *ERE* (516).

con?²⁶ *Quod ipsissimos mores, ipsissimi ævi, ipsissima gentis, cui Apostolus exprobrat, aperit.*²⁶

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 7r]

[▽7r]

Q. You have quoted *Seutonius*, and *Petronius*, as horrid Commentators on the First to the *Romans*. You may carry on the dreadful Commentary? v. 27.

A. So I will, and call in *Plutarch*.²⁷ The most unnatural Abomination in the World; *Socrates* himself was reckoned guilty thereof, towards *Alcibiades*; as *Diogenes Laertius* reports from other Authors.²⁸ There are who have thought this,²⁹ the Reason of that Verse in *Juvenal*; *Inter Socraticos ----- cinedos*.³⁰ Tho' in this I am not of their Opinion. I believe the true Reading to be, not *Socraticos*, but, *Soladicus*; as referring to the cursed *Sotades*, an Infamous Apologist for such abominable Crimes.³¹ *Plato* talks very broadly in one of his *Dialogues*; and brings in something between *Socrates* and *Alcibiades*, to confirm that filthy Story of *Socrates*.³² Tho' *Ficino* would make a mystical Interpretation of this Discourse; yett, he confesses of his Master *Plato*, *Quòd tam crebram παιδεραστίας injiciat mentionem, abominanda est in ipso audacia; nisi eo consilio id fecisset, ut eam detestandam esse hominibus suis voluisset demonstrare*.³³ But, as Mr. *Sheffield* saies, in his *Moral Vertues Baptised Christian*; There needs abundance of Charity,

²⁶ "What does it matter that perhaps there is to be found no commentary that can equitably explain both the 27th verse of the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans and the *Satyricon* of Petronius? Because it reveals the unique character of a unique age of a unique people, which the Apostle condemns." On John Selden, see Mather's entry on 1:7 (above). Petronius (c. 27–66 CE) was a member of Nero's inner circle, described by contemporary historians such as Plutarch as something of a dissolute courtier; nonetheless he held the office of consul and was later a senator. He is the putative author of the *Satyricon*, a novel set in the time of Nero that satirizes court life and its sexual debauchery and whose central characters are the narrator, Encolpius, and his sixteen year-old male lover, Giton; see *EB* (21:335).

²⁷ Plutarch, *Lives* (1:259ff); *Moralia* (9:319ff).

²⁸ Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* (1:161).

²⁹ See Appendix A.

³⁰ This citation is from Juvenal's second satire, "Moralists without Morals," which enumerates in detail Roman sexual immoralities, particularly homosexual behavior. The full translation of the line cited reads: "And do you rebuke foul practices (*turpia*) when you are yourself the most notorious delving-ground among Socratic reprobates?" See *Juvenal and Persius* (18–19). Mather owned a 1716 edition of Juvenal's *Satires*; see Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (68).

³¹ Sotades was mid 3rd-century BCE Greek poet based in Alexandria whose poetry celebrated homosexual acts. Some of his verse is thought to appear in other authors under the name Sola; see *EB* (25:435).

³² *Alcibiades*, in *Plato* (12:99).

³³ "His boldness is to be deprecated, because he makes so frequent a mention of pederasty – unless he did it with the plan of showing his compatriots that it is detestable." Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) was a Neoplatonist philosopher and the first modern translator of Plato's works; see *EB* (10:319).

to make a Man believe he had this End.³⁴ Indeed it seems, it did so generally obtain among the *Platonists*, that so grave and sober a Man as *Plutarch*, who lived at least Four Hundred Years after *Plato*, [*De Lib. Educ.*] was in a great Doubt, whether to Affirm or Deny, the *Lawfulness* of the Fact. There is hardly such another Doubtful Passage, in all his *Morals*, as are those Words of his in this Case; where, he could almost find in his Heart to *Condemn* it, but the Authority of *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Æschines*, etc. incline him to *Allow* it.³⁵

Behold, a Wicked World *given up to Vile Affections!*

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽6v] [▽Insert from 6v]

2670.

Q. Why is it said, *They received in themselves, that Recompence of their Error; which was meet?* v. 27.

A. The Wretches took up vile Imaginations of their Gods, as doing such and such Villanous Things, and God in just Judgment gave up them to commit the like Villanies. Thus *Theophilus Antiochenus* notes; *They brought into use the Detestable Crime of Sodomy.* Καὶ πρῶτους γε τοὺς θεοὺς κηρύσσουσιν ἐν ἀρρήτοις μίξεσι συγγίνεσθαι. *Et primos quidem Deos infando hoc coitu usos docent.*³⁶

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽4v] [▽Insert from 4v]

Q. That Passage, *{They did not like to retain God in their Knowledge?}*³⁷ v. 28.

A. One proposes it rather to be read, *They did not Search, or Try.* Οὐκ ἐδοκίμασαν. The Greek Word signifies, *To Search* and find out by *Searching*.³⁸ [See Rom. 2.18. & 12.2. & 14.22. & Eph. 5.10.]³⁹

³⁴ The author is actually William Shelton, *Moral virtues baptised Christian, or The necessity of morality among Christians* (1650); Shelton was rector of St. James Church in London after the Restoration.

³⁵ In his essay “On the Education of Children” Plutarch (c. 46–120 CE) discusses the practice and relative permissibility of pederasty in Greek culture; see Plutarch, *Moralia* (1:53–7).

³⁶ Theophilus, *Ad Autolycum* (3.3, lines 13–15): καὶ πρῶτους γε τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῶν κηρύσσουσιν ἐν ἀρρήτοις μίξεσιν συγγίνεσθαι. “And they teach that the gods were the first to sleep together in these unspeakable unions.” (Both Greek and Latin). Theophilus of Antioch, a late 2nd-century bishop whose extant work is the anti-pagan polemic, *Apology to Autolycus*; see *ANF* (2:91–2, 113).

³⁷ See Appendix A.

³⁸ οὐκ ἐδοκίμασαν; “they did not like to retain” (KJV).

³⁹ See John Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:495–6).

Thus here, Νους αδοκιμος, *A Reprobate Mind*, is, *An unsearching Mind*.⁴⁰
Thus Αδοκιμος [2. Cor. 13.5.] is, *One Destitute of Proofs*.⁴¹

[△Insert ends]

[△]

*42

[▽Insert from 8v]

[▽8v]

Q. The, *Things which are not convenient?* v. 28.

A. The Meaning is, *Things no way agreeable to humane Nature*. The Catalogue of Crimes ensuing, shoves this much. Our Translation is too dry.

[△Insert ends, ▽Insert from 6v resumes]

[△]

4261.

Q. An exact Comment, on the Character of Men *Filled with all Unrighteousness*, would be acceptable? v. 29.

A. *Grotius* would help you to it, but then *Whitby* has particularly observed, out of the Greek Commentators.⁴³

That we must look for some *Species* of Injustice in them all.

That πονηρια signifies, that Wickedness, which causes Men to do mischief unto a Neighbor by *Treachery*; κακια, to do it out of *Malice*; κακοθηθεια, to make a *Custom* of doing it.⁴⁴

That ψιθυρισται are they that whisper things to the Damage of others, when they are *Present*: καταλαλοι, they that openly Defame them, when *Absent*.⁴⁵

That υπερηφανια, is the *Pride* that puffs us up, on the account of things we *enjoy*; and αλαζονεια, the *boasting* we make of things, which we *have not*.⁴⁶

Q. When the Apostle enumerates, the horrid Vices then Reigning in a wicked World, why do's he begin with this; *Being filled with all Unrighteousness?* v. 29.

A. This was the Vice, by the Display whereof, the *Romans* made themselves Masters of the World. In *Sallustius* you find *Mithridates* not *unrighteously* com-

⁴⁰ ἀδόκιμον νοῦν; “reprobate mind” (KJV).

⁴¹ ἀδόκιμοί; in 2 Cor. 13.5 Paul calls his readers to examine themselves and know that Christ is in them, “except ye be *reprobates*” (KJV).

⁴² See Appendix A.

⁴³ Whitby, *Paraphrase of the New Testament* (2:7). Hugo Grotius, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (6:31). Grotius (1583–1645), a Dutch lawyer and religious controversialist, wrote a number of works defending the Christian religion as well as biblical interpretation; see *NSHERK* (5:85–6).

⁴⁴ πονηρία (fornication); κακία (wickedness); κακοθήθεια (malignant character).

⁴⁵ ψιθυριστάς (whisperers); καταλάλους (slanderer, backbiter) (v. 30).

⁴⁶ ὑπερηφάνους (arrogant); αλαζόνες (boasters, pretenders) (v. 30).

plaining of it, *Romanos nihil nisi raptum habere, causam eis bellandi cupidinem profundam imperii ac divitiarum.*⁴⁷

And in *Tacitus* you find *Galgacus*, in like Manner calling the *Romans*, *Raptores orbis, quos non oriens, non occidens satiaverit.*⁴⁸ In an Epistle to the *Romans* now, t'was very proper to begin with the Mention of the *Unrighteousness, per quam* (saith *Grotius*) *Romani facti erant Orbis Domini, bella serendo sæpe injusta, et Societatem Vertendo in Dominatum.*⁴⁹

Q. A Remark upon the, *Haters of God*, mentioned by the Apostle? v. 30.

A. Θεοστυγείς, is emphatically, as much as to say, *Haters of God, with an Hellish Hatred*; or, *Hellish Haters of God*. Indeed, To *Hate God* is all over *Hellish*: the⁵⁰ Character & Quintessence of *Hell*.

[△] [△Insert ends, ▽Insert from 8v resumes]

Q. What is, *The Judgment of God*? v. 32.

A. One chuses rather to translate it, *The Rectitude of God*. That is, the Rule of *Rectitude* which God has given Mankind in giving *Reason* unto them.⁵¹

[△] [△Insert ends]

⁴⁷ “The Romans have nothing except what they have stolen: for them, the cause of making war is their deep desire for empire and wealth.” This is a loose but essentially faithful paraphrase from Sallust’s *Histories* (438–9). Gaius Sallustius Crispus (86–35 BCE) was an ally and co-belligerent of Julius Caesar and a historian of the early Roman state; see *EB* (24:81).

⁴⁸ “Romans, robbers of the world, who neither the east nor the west has been able to satisfy.” Tacitus, *Agricola* (81). Gnaeus Julius Agricola (40–03 CE) was a famed Roman general and Tactius’ father-in-law. The work is a laudatory account of Agricola’s subjugation and governance of Britain; at the same time, it is a caustic portrayal of Roman corruption and bellicosity, especially under the emperor Domitian who later disgraced Agricola. Galgacus (more often, Calgacus) appears in the work as the heroic British chieftain defeated by Agricola in 84 CE at *Mons Graupius*; his speech in Tacitus recounts the rapaciousness of Rome; see *EB* (1:387).

⁴⁹ “Through which (saith *Grotius*) the Romans had become lords of the world, often sowing wars that were unjust, perverting a commonwealth into a tyranny.” *Grotius, Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (6:32).

⁵⁰ See Appendix A.

⁵¹ Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:496).

Q. That Passage *Thou art inexcusable, O Man, whoever thou art, that Judgest:* what and where is the Emphasis of it? v. 1.

A. The Blessed Apostle having asserted, That the Crimes wherein Men generally indulged themselves, rendred them obnoxious to the Dreadful Wrath of God; he applies himself particularly to *Judges* and *Rulers*, (and by Consequence to all *Masters*,) who punished such Crimes in their Inferiours, as they themselves committed. He had just before proved the pagan *Philosophers* to be very criminal before God; and he now proves their *Magistrates* likewise to be so. It was very proper to direct this unto the *Romans*, inasmuch as the Governours of all the Provinces, were generally *Romans*. But the Histories of those Ages, do, take a very particular Notice, That tho' the Superiours then punished, Murder, Sodomy, Incest, Adultery, and Theft, in others, and executed the Lawes of the *Twelve Tables* upon Offenders, yett there were few of them free from the like Offences. The complaint of *Cyprian* was very commonly exemplified, *Qui sedet crimina vindicaturus, admittit*.⁵²

4262.

Q. But our Apostle here seems to pronounce⁵³ the *Jewes* guilty of the same Sins, whereof he had Accused the *Gentiles*. Can he be *Justified* in so severe a Charge? v. 1.

A. Call *Josephus*. *Josephus* assures us, That there was *not a more Wicked Nation under Heaven*. Saies he, *What have you done of all the good things required by our Lawgiver? What have you not done of all those things which he pronounced Accursed? So that had the Romans delay'd to come against these execrable Persons, I believe, (saith he) either the Earth would have swallowed up, or a Deluge would have swept away their City; or Fire from Heaven would have consumed it as it did Sodom; πολυ γαρ των ταυτα παθοντων ηνειγκε γενεαν αθιωτεραν. For it brought forth a Generation of Men far more wicked, than they who suffered such things.* [De Bello Jud. L. 6. c. 37.]⁵⁴ And there is not a Sin mentioned in the former Chapter, whereof he does not Accuse them. Of their *Zealots*, he saith [L. 5. c. 34.] *It was*

⁵² "He who sits in judgement to excuse crimes, permits more." Cyprian (c. 208–258 CE), bishop of Carthage. The "Law of the Twelve Tables" (extant only in very partial excerpts) was the founding legal code of the Roman republic, directed and enforced specifically against the plebes by the patrician class – a fact reflected in the description of its application here; see *NCE* (4:457–9).

⁵³ See Appendix A.

⁵⁴ Josephus Flavius, *De bellou Judaico* (5.566, lines 4–5): πολὺ γὰρ τῶν ταῦτα παθόντων ἤνεγκε γενεάν ἀθιωτέραν.

*a Sport unto them to force Women; They freely gave up themselves unto the Passions of Women, Committing & Requiring unnatural Lusts, & filling the whole City with Impurities. And again; [L. 7. c. 30.] They committed all kinds of Wickedness, omitting none which ever came to the Memory of Man, esteeming the worst of Evils to be good, and finding that Reward of their Iniquity which was meet, and a Judgment worthy of God.*⁵⁵

4263.

Q. Give us a Key to many Passages in this Chapter? v. 1.

A. The Jewish Religion, was at this time greatly corrupted. The Jewes held,

I. That their Descent from ABRAHAM would secure their Salvation [Mat. 3.8, 9.] The *Chaldee Paraphrasts* often mention, their being præserved for the Merits of their Forefathers, *Abraham* and *Isaac* and *Jacob*.⁵⁶ And their vain Writers add, That *Hell-Fire hath no Power over the Sinners* of Israel, *because Abraham and Isaac descended thither to fetch them from thence.*

II. That *Circumcision* was of sufficient Vertue, to render them Accepted with God. They teach, That *no circumcised Person goes to Hell*; that God will deliver them *for the Merit of Circumcision*, that He told *Abraham*, that when his Children *fell into Transgression & did wicked Works, He would Remember the Odor of their Foreskins, & be satisfied with their Piety.*

III. *That all Israelites had a Portion in the World to Come*; yea, tho' they were condemned here for their Wickedness. This is the first Sentence in the *Capitula Patrum*.⁵⁷ Whereas, of all the Gentiles, they pronounce, *That they are Fuel for Hell-Fire.*

IV. That to be employ'd in *Hearing* and *Studying* the Law, was a thing sufficient to make them Acceptable with God. {To}⁵⁸ this, the Apostle *James* may refer, in those Words, Jam. 1.22. *Be yee Doers of the Word, and not Hearers only, deceiving you own Souls.*

Now, the Apostle in this Chapter, & throughout this Epistle, does confute such Opinions.

The First; v. 9.

The Second; v. 25.

The Third; v. 2, to v. 9.

The Fourth; v. 13.

⁵⁵ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews* (570ff, 547ff, 589ff); see Whitby, *Paraphrase of the New Testament* (2:9–10).

⁵⁶ On the "Chaldee Paraphrase," see Mather's entry on 1:23 (above).

⁵⁷ See "Aboth," in *The Babylonian Talmud* (13:1). The *Pirke Avot* ("chapters of the fathers") is a collection of ethical maxims; of which there were several Latin editions in Mather's era, including Francis Taylor, *Pirke Avot: Capitula Patrum* (1651) and Johann Leusden, *Tractatus Talmudicus Pirke Abboth, sive Capitula Patrum* (1665).

⁵⁸ See Appendix A.

Q. What is the *Judging*, which our Apostle speaks of? v. 1.

A. It was that Aversion, which the Jewes generally had unto the *Gentiles*. The unconverted *Jewes*, could not in their *Judgment* allow of a *Messias* that would admit of the *Gentiles* into the same Kingdome with them. The *Judgment* of the converted *Jewes* was, that the *Gentiles* were not to be admitted into their Communion.

[▽Insert from 11r]

[▽11r]

Q. What may be meant by, *Glory*; what by, *Honour*? v. 7.

A. My excellent Friend, Mr. *William Antony Boehm*, in a Discourse of his, on, *A Faithful Steward*, has a clear & bright Thought upon it.⁵⁹

By *Glory*, may be meant, The *Original Dignity*, wherein Man was at first created, but from whence he is now degraded by Sin. The *Glory*, wherein Man was a most glorious Mirrour of God, and had His Image lively expressed on him. This is now fearfully defaced, & defiled: But it must be recovered. [See, Rom. III.23.]

Honour seems to relate unto such Persons and Matters, as have an Affinity with that *Glory*. So we read, He that *fears the Lord*, shall be *Honoured*. The Image of God shall be acknowledged in him. [See, Ps. XV.4.]

To render this *Glory* and *Honour* every way complete, an *Immortality* is added.

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 12v]

[▽12v]

Q. A Remark on that Passage, *Despisest thou the Riches of His Goodness, & Forbearance, & Long-suffering?* v 4.

A. Here is, as one cannot but observe, a *Rich Variety of admirable Words*.

⁵⁹ Anthony William Boehm (Anton Wilhelm Böhm), *The Faithful Steward* (16). This eulogy (1712) was preached at the funeral of Henry William Ludolph (1655–1710) who served in the Danish diplomatic corps in England. Ludolph's *Reliquiae* (or "Remains," a work Mather employs elsewhere in the *Biblia*), a collection of his reflections on religious piety, was published in 1712 and included Boehm's eulogy. Boehm (1673–1722) was a graduate from the University of Halle. He came to England in 1701 as a teacher to the children of German foreign nationals; though not ordained, he was made a chaplain to Prince George of Denmark in 1705, the husband of Queen Anne. He was an associate of August Hermann Francke and involved with the SPCK in England. Mather maintained a correspondence with Boehm (making his inversion of the given name here a bit curious). Several letters, dated between 1710 and 1718, appear in *The Diary of Cotton Mather* (2:332, 348, 364, 406, 411, 563, 582) and Silverman, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather* (92, 215, 260). Boehm served as one of Mather's links to London pietist circles. It was Boehm who disappointed Mather by suggesting that he deposit a manuscript copy of the *Biblia* in London, since its prospects for publication were minimal; see Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (258). On Boehm, see Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England: Anthony William Boehm and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*.

Criticks tell us, That the First Word, signifies the Infinite Goodness and Dignity of the Divine Nature, whereby God is inclined unto the Doing of Good unto His Creatures, the Pitying & Releiving of them. The Second Word expresses His Offers of Mercy upon Repentance, and the Notice & Warning He gives unto Sinners, to amend their Doings. The Third Word, refers to His bearing the Manners of bold Sinners, waiting long for the Reformation they are called unto, & from Year to Year deferring to give the Final Stroke of his Vengeance upon them.

In what an apt Opposition do the *Riches of Divine Goodness*, and the *Treasures of Wrath*, stand unto one another.

Q. On that, *Indignation & Wrath, Tribulation & Anguish*, threatened unto the Disobedient? v. 9.

A. The Apostle seems to have in his [Mind]⁶⁰ those Words of the Psalmist; Ps. LXXVIII.49. *He cast on them the Fierceness of His Anger, Wrath & Indignation & Trouble, by sending Evil Angels among them.* An Intimation, that *Evil Angels* will be very much employ'd in the *Indignation & Wrath, Tribulation & Anguish*, to be sent upon the Wicked.

[△] [△Insert ends, 9r resumes]

861.

Q. What special Intention may the Apostle *Paul* have, in that Expression, *According to my Gospel?* v. 16.⁶¹

A. I'll quote you the Words of *Jerom*, in his *Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers*; Do you Judge of them, as you please. His Words are; *Some suppose, as oft as Paul saies in his Epistles, According to my Gospel, hee understands it, of Lukes Volumn.* It seems, that *Luke* the Scholar, & Colleague of *Paul*, might write his *Gospel* with *Pauls* particular Concurrence; & so, *This* was peculiarly, *Pauls Gospel*.⁶²

[10v]

Q. On that; *Thou who teachest another, teachest thou not thyself?* v. 21.

A. *Buxtorf* will tell you, what a Sense our Apostles Countreyman had of such a Matter. Tis a Saying of theirs, *Qui alios docet, quod ipse non facit, similes est cæco, qui lucernam in manu habet, et præluet aliis, ipse autem in Tenebris ambulat.*⁶³ They have another Saying; *Pulchra sunt verba ex ore ea facientium.*⁶⁴ And they

⁶⁰ This word is absent from the text, though seemingly implied.

⁶¹ See Appendix A.

⁶² Jerome, *On Illustrious Men* (16); a catalog (c. 392 CE) of the lives and works of 135 early Christian authors, including the apostles.

⁶³ "He who teaches others what he does not do himself is like a blind man who holds a lantern in his hand and gives light to others, while he himself walks in darkness."

⁶⁴ "Beautiful are the words of those speaking them from (their own) mouth."

have a Proverb on this Occasion; *R. Azzan pulchrè concionatur, sed non pulchrè observat quæ dicit.*⁶⁵

4367.

Q. Might not the Spirit of Prophecy have some glorious Intention, in that Passage; *Thou that abhorrest Idols, dost thou commit Sacrilege?* v. 22.

A. In the Reformation, wherein the Protestants have separated from the Church of *Rome*, an *Abhorrence of Idols* has been the Principle mainly insisted on: But it must be confessed, That *Sacrilege* has been the great Blemish and Scandal of the Reformation. Vast Revenues devoted unto God, & perverted unto Idolatry, have not been Restored unto God, but diverted into such Hands, that *Calvin* said, *They took the Purse from Judas, and gave it unto the Devil.*⁶⁶ And the People of our Profession have too generally *witheld more than is meet*, from the Service of Religion, which calls for at least, a *Tenth* of our Interests.

It looks like a special Warning, from the *Spirit of Prophecy*, that the Apostle writing to the Church of *Rome*, should insert the Passage, that is now before us. It is intimated, That *Sacrilege* is not a lesser Sin than *Idolatry*. And in a nameless Author, I read these lines:

“*Quære*, whether it were not somewhat ominous & prophetic in *Paul*, thus to compare these Two Sins together; As it were, foretelling what After-ages have experienced, That some of the most professed Detesters of *Idolatry*, have greedily swallowed the sweet & gainful Sin of *Sacrilege*!”⁶⁷

Q. When the Apostle charges the Jewes, in these Articles; *Dost thou steal; Dost thou commit Adultery; Dost thou commit Sacrilege?* What special Reasons had he for these particular Charges? v. 21, 22.

A. The Jewes boasted in a *Law*, by them Received from Heaven, and from them conveyed unto all that had any Part in it. This Law, particularly forbid, *Stealing*, and *Adultery*, and *Sacrilege*. And yett these Crimes were known to be very common among the Jewes.

⁶⁵ “R. Azzan speaks beautifully in public, but does not beautifully observe what he says.” These citations are probably from Johannes Buxtorf (1599–1664), *Florilegium Hebraicum* (1648), a collection of aphorisms taken out of rabbinic texts; or perhaps Johannes Buxtorf the Elder (1564–1629), *Synagoga judaica* (1603), a more expansive work dealing with Jewish religious culture – the *Synagoga* was part of a gift of books made to the colony in 1629 (see Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers*, 6). Father and son served successively as professor of Hebrew at Basel from 1591 to 1664; see *NSHERK* (2:324–5). Several works by the Buxtorfs, though not these, appear in the Mather library catalogs.

⁶⁶ Calvin includes an extensive essay about Judas in his commentary on Mt. 27:1–10, which may be the ultimate source here; see Calvin, *Commentary on a Harmony of the Evangelists* (3:221–7).

⁶⁷ Mather frequently uses the epithet, “nameless writer,” as a *nomen* for John Locke; that is not the case here, nor is it a reference to his other stock commentaries, such as Pyle or Whitby.

For *Stealing*, the Apostle might remember not only the Intimations in the Old Testament, that many Jewes were much addicted unto it, [Psal. 50.18. and Prov. 29.24.] but also the fresh Instances of *Asineus*, and *Asileus*, the famous Highway Men, to whom resorted an huge Multitude of Jewes, mentioned by *Josephus*. And much about this Time, the greater *Priests* committed horrid *Thefts* upon the lesser ones; and Robberies were become the most frequent Things in the World. *Josephus* likewise upbraids unto his Countreymen, their κλοπὰς καὶ ἀρπαγὰς, *Thefts* and *Rapines*.⁶⁸

For *Adultery*, see Jer. 5.8. & Mal. 3.5. And the *Talmuds*, confess that many of the *Rabbis* among them, were addicted unto such Vices: which was the Effect of their placing all Religion in *Ceremonies*. *Josephus* also reproaches his Countreymen, for their, *Adulteries*.⁶⁹ And *Justin Martyr*, in his Dialogue with *Tryphon*, ha's a Touch upon the lascivious Character & Carriage of the Jewish Masters.⁷⁰

For *Sacrilege*, the Robbing of the True God, which was as bad as the Worship of a False One; the Practices rebuked in the First, & the Third Chapters of *Malachi*, were enough to bear out the Apostle, in his Charges.

Q. To what may the Apostle allude, when he saies, *Hee is a Jew, whose Praise is not of Men, but of God?* v. 29.

A. It is an Allusion to the Name of *Judah*, which signifies, *The Praise of God*; and in the *Blessing* of whose Tribe, it was said, *His Brethren shall praise him*.

⁶⁸ The account of these two men appears in *Josephus' Jewish Antiquities* (392–5). According to *Josephus*, *Asineus* and *Anileus* (Mather has miscited the second name as “*Asileus*”) were brothers and brigands in Babylonia in the early first century who were eventually bought off with territory by the sovereign, *Artabanus II*. *Anileus* married a pagan woman and followed her into idolatry; she in time poisoned *Asineus*. *Anileus* was eventually killed by *Mithridates*, the son-in-law of *Artabanus*.

⁶⁹ *Josephus's De bello Judaico* (5.402, line 2) and *Wars of the Jews* (570ff); see Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:13).

⁷⁰ *Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho*, *ANF* (1:200). *Trypho* is the Jewish interlocutor of this dialogue about the identity of the true religion.

Q. *Lett God bee true*; Wee readily consent unto those Words of the Apostle; but when hee adds, *Lett every Man bee a Lyar*, do's it not sound a little uncharitably? The Psalmist seems to have blamed himself, as being a little too Hasty, when hee said, *All Men are Lyars*?⁷¹ v. 4.

A. If you are uneasy, with the common Acceptation of the Words, which our *Original Sin*, ha's indeed given too much Occasion for; then take them with a Limitation, *Lett God bee True, and lett every Man bee reckoned a Lyar*, who denies or disputes His being *So*.

Q. On that, *I speak as a Man*? v. 5.

A. He speaks, *Ad hominem*: Agreeably to the Notions of Men with whom he is arguing.

Here, he putteth the Matter into the Language of some contentious Jews.

675.

Q. *God forbid; For how then shall God Judge the World*? What Passage had the Apostle in his Eye, when he wrote these Words? v. 6.

A. Turn to Gen. 18.25. and you'll see.⁷²

2535.

Q. What observable is there, in the Apostles Description of the *Natural Man*? v. 13.

A. Some have observed, That when the Apostle *Anatomizeth* the *Natural Man*, he insisteth longer on the *Organs of Speech*, than all the other Members.

And indeed, there was too much Cause for his doing so. One of the Ancients, namely *Nazianzen*, saies, *Half of our Sins are those of our Tongues*.⁷³ And another of them, namely, *Basil*, saies, *The Sins of our Tongues do fill up our Lives*.⁷⁴ Man is a *Little World*; his *Tongue* is a Little Part of the *Little World*; but it is, *A World of Iniquity*. No Member of the Body, is subject unto so many *Moral Diseases* as the *Tongue*. *Laurentius* reckons as many Sins of the *Tongue*, as there be Letters of the *Alphabet*.⁷⁵

⁷¹ See Ps. 116:11.

⁷² Gen. 18:25 recounts Abraham's pleading before God for the city of Sodom, appealing to God's justice so as not to destroy the righteous along with the wicked.

⁷³ Gregory Nazianzus (329–390), archbishop of Constantinople; see *NCE* (6:513–17).

⁷⁴ Basil the Great (330–379), bishop of Caesarea Mazaca; see *NCE* (2:135–9).

⁷⁵ Perhaps Laurentius of Rome (c. 225–258), given the patristic sources mentioned in this passage; see *CE* (9:89–90).

[16v]

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Q. *All the World become guilty before God?*] v. 19.

A. Even the Jews themselves will make this Confession. Our Apostle might extort the Confession from his Countrymen. In *Elle Shemoth Rabba*, Sect. 31, is that Passage; *Non est homo, qui non est obnoxius Deo, nisi quòd est clemens et misericors.*⁷⁶

Q. Whence do's the Apostle fetch that Assertion, *By the Deeds of the Law, there shall no Flesh bee Justified in His Sight?* v. 20.

A. The Apostle seems to quote that Scripture, in Psal. 143.2. *Enter not into Judgment with thy Servant, for in thy Sight shall no Man living bee justified.*⁷⁷

[▽13r]

[▽Insert from 13r]⁷⁸

1624.

Q. It is here said, That *Christ sett forth a Propitiation, thro' Faith in His Blood, to Declare the Righteousness of God, for the Passing over of Sins, that are past thro' the Forbearance of God; To Declare at this Time His Righteousness?* v. 25, 26.

A. I find this good Resemblance and Expression of this Matter, in a Treatise of one Mr. *Tomlyns*.⁷⁹

In *Davids Dayes*, a Pestilence being sent by God for Sin, first, God bid the Angel to *stay his Hand*; But, when a *Sacrifice* was offered, then God bid him to *putt up his Sword*. Thus, in the Times of the Law,⁸⁰ the Almighty did but, as it were, *stay His Hand*; Sins were then *passed by*, ἐν τῇ ἀνοχῇ τοῦ θεοῦ, *in the Forbearance of God*.⁸¹ This Time is called, *A Time of Forbearance*; God then did *stay His Hand*, from the Punishing of those, who did look for, & look to, a Christ to come. Yea, but now the great *Sacrifice* is offered; and now God ha's *putt up His Sword*; Hee can magnify His Grace; and thro' the Sacrifice and Satisfaction of Christ, it may *Reign in Righteousness*.

One observes, That *παρεσις* nowhere signifies, *Forgiveness*, but a, *Passing Over*.⁸² And thinks that it is here to be taken *Nationally*. The Jewes were a sinful Nation. Yett the Lord *passed by* all of it, & would not be hindred by their past Sinfulness, from His being *Just* unto His Promise, in exhibiting His *Christ* unto them. Tho' He would not *before* the Coming of *Christ*, be so provoked by their

⁷⁶ "There is no man who is not hateful to God, except insofar as he is clement and merciful." See *The Midrash* (3:378). The *Shemot Rabba* is one of the major Midrashic commentaries on the book of Exodus from the late medieval period (c. 1100 CE).

⁷⁷ See Appendix B.

⁷⁸ See Appendix B.

⁷⁹ Probably Samuel Tomlyns (1632–1700), perhaps his *Jehovah our Righteousness* (1696), given the subject matter here.

⁸⁰ See Appendix A.

⁸¹ Romans (3.26, line 1) and Clemens Alexandrinus (*Paedagogus* 1.8.73.2, line 6).

⁸² *παρεσις*, or *πράσσης*; "a letting go, a remission."

Sins, as to reject them from being His People, yett *after this*, He would no longer bear with their sinful Obstinacy.⁸³

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 14v] [blank] [16v resumes]

[▽14v△]

4264.

Q. *That He might be Just.* You know the Gentleman, whom so many *unjustly* make an Oracle, namely, *Hammond*, will have, *δικαιος*, to signify, *Merciful*?⁸⁴ v. 26.

A. Dr. *Whitby* asserts (against him,) That the Word, *δικαιος*, is used about *Eighty Times*, in the New Testament; and not once in that Sense of *Mercy*, in which Dr. *Hammond* saies, tis commonly taken. *Hammond* produces but one Place, Mat. 1.19. *Joseph, being a Just Man*, etc. But now, saies Dr. *Lightfoot*, *Here Men torment the Word, δικαιος, to make it signify Clement & Merciful, when it bears clearly the ordinary Sense, thus; Joseph being a Just Man would not cohabit with an Adulteress; & yett being not willing to make Mary a public Example, & no necessity lying upon him so to do, he was minded to putt her away privily.*⁸⁵

Q.⁸⁶ Where lies the Force of the Apostles Reasoning here; *Since God is One*? v. 30.

A. He that will see the Force of it, must look to, Zach. 14.9. *In that Day there shall be one Lord.* When the Time comes, that the *Lord shall be King over all the*

⁸³ This is drawn from Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:509).

⁸⁴ *δικαιον*; that He might be *just* ...” See Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:17). Henry Hammond (1605–60) was an Anglican priest and chaplain to Charles I and an ardent spokesman for the loyalist clergy during the Civil War and Interregnum, even though he had many close relatives involved in the Puritan cause, including one brother culpable of regicide. He spent the Interregnum under the patronage of various nobles after losing his clerical appointments. His collected works were published posthumously, including *A Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the Books of the New Testament* (1681). Hammond’s theory about the influence of Gnosticism on the primitive church and on the authors of the New Testament is frequently targeted by Mather in his Pauline commentary. On Hammond, see Packer, *The Transformation of Anglicanism 1643–1660* (88–103).

⁸⁵ John Lightfoot, possibly his *Harmony of the New Testament* (Whitby does not give a source for Lightfoot). Lightfoot (1602–75) was an Anglican cleric of moderate Puritan sympathies who participated in the Westminster Assembly. He was also a prodigious scholar and began an academic career at Cambridge in 1650. His major area of expertise was biblical studies, and he was a major figure in the flourishing movement of Christian Hebraism, which included Brian Walton, Edward Pocock, Matthew Poole, and the Buxtorfs. He was sufficiently moderate or politic to keep his appointment at Cambridge after the Restoration. His collected works appeared posthumously as his *Opera omnia* (1686). Among his most important biblical works were the *Miscellanies*, *Christian and Judaical* (1629), *Harmony of the Four Evangelists* (1644–50), *Harmony of the Old Testament* (1647), *Harmony of the New Testament* (1655), and *Horae hebraicae et talmudicae* (1658–74). On Lightfoot, see ODNB (33:753–6). “Lightfoot on Exod[us]” as well as the *Horae hebraicae* appear in Increase Mather’s 1664 *Catalogue* of his library; see Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (16, 21).

⁸⁶ See Appendix B.

Earth, and not barely over the little People shutt up in the Land of *Canaan*, Then God will be the God of the *Gentiles* as well as of the *Jewes*. This Prophecy the *Jewes* understood of the Times of the *Messiah*; & our Apostle here presses them with it.

[17r]

|

Q. The Doctrine of *A Sinners Justification*, taught in the Epistle to the *Romans*? v. 31.

A. O Church of *Rome*, In that Article, *How a Sinner may be Justified*, lies very much of that *Apostasy*, which the *Spirit of Prophecy* foresaw coming upon thee. Our God commanding us, *Come out of her, My People*, an Epistle to that Church, admirably furnishes us in our *Coming out*; and fortifies us for the Required *Reformation*. It is a Remark which we may make by the way, That there is no Fear of a *Relapse into Popery*, by those, whose Hearts once have the Doctrine of, *A Sinners Justification*, as it is taught in this Epistle, imparted on them.

The Thing proved by the Inspired Scribe of Heaven is, That the Sinful Children of Men, be they who or where they will, can do no other than Despair of being *Justified by the Works of the Law*; or, by their own Obedience to that *Law*, which God ha's given to Man, as the *Everlasting Rule* of Living unto Him. We are, by this Confession, unavoidably shutt up unto the *Faith of the Gospel*. We now can expect *Justification*, only thro' a lively *Faith*, in the Satisfaction, which the glorious JESUS ha's given to the Demands of the *Law* for us. An Admirable Saviour and Surety, entring into a *Covenant* with His eternal Father for that Purpose, ha's then undergone the *Penalty*, which the *Law* threatened unto the Sinner; and ha's yielded an exact and perfect Obedience to the *Præcept* of it, in the Room of His People, for whom His eternal Father allow'd Him to become Responsible. By *Faith* we are to plead this with God; renouncing all other Plea's and Hopes for our *Justification*: And so, the sovereign *Grace* of God Imputes to us, and Reckons to our Account, this *Justifying Righteousness* of our great Redeemer. None of our *good Works* are sett down in the Register of God, as a *Balance*, for the *Debts* contracted by our Sins. It is the *compleat Righteousness* of the Son of God, fully answering His *Law*, which is offered by the *Grace* of God unto us for that Purpose, and Received, and Applied by the *Faith*, which His *Grace* works in us; It is *This* that becomes the *Propitiation* for us. This is the *Pauline Doctrine of Justification*.

And this is the Doctrine that *Primitive Christianity* lived upon. As a Cogent and a Noble Testimony to this; I will call in one that was a Scholar unto our Apostle, to be a Commentator upon his Doctrine. There is an Epistle of *Clemens Romanus* unto the *Corinthians* which no one ever accounted spurious. Lett that Blessed *Romanus* there expound the grand Point, in the Epistle to the *Romans*. After he had praised the Holy Men of the Old Testament, particularly *Abraham*, and *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, he affirms, *That these Holy Men did not acquire eternal*

Happiness, either by themselves, or their Works, and good Actions, but by the Will of God. Whence he concludes, *That we also, who are called by the Will of Christ, are not Righteous, thro' our own Wisdome, or Knowledge, or Piety, or the Works we have performed with Uprightness of Heart; but thro' Faith, whereby the Almighty Justifies all those that ever have been Righteous.* The *Sacrifices* and the *Ceremonies* of the Law, are not the only Things that are here excluded. *Abraham* and *Isaac* and *Jacob*, never did pretend unto a Justification by *Them*. The Things concerned here, are, *Acts of Piety*, and *Works performed with Uprightness of Heart*. This *First-born* of the Fathers excludes *These*; To make our *Justification* entirely depend on the *Will of God*, and the *Faith* of that gracious *Will*.⁸⁷ And his Name-sake of *Alexandria*, speaks the same Language; He expressly saies, *The Beleever is made perfect only by Faith*.⁸⁸ Such is the *Wisdome* which (to speak in the Language of the Psalmist,) we *learn from the Ancients*, that we may *keep the Præcepts* of God. Indeed, Numberless Passages, which assert this Doctrine, might be quoted from the Writings of the *Ancients*. They are not a few Flowers of this Flavour, which our *Chamier* has gathered from the Gardens of Antiquity.⁸⁹ And our *Edwards* in his Book, *Of Faith*, ha's exhibited a plentiful Collection of them.⁹⁰ Yea, a *Thorndyke* himself will own to you, *The Fathers are free in acknowledging Justification by Faith alone*.⁹¹ The *Moderns* will more generally come into such Sentiments, when they take a Course, which an excellent Friend of Mine, [Mr. *Isaac Watts*] ha's in an Essay of his, from his own Experience commended unto us. His Words are worth transcribing. "If I might acquaint the World with my own Experience; After some Years spent in the | Perusal of controversial Authors, [18v] & finding them insufficient to settle my Judgment and Conscience, in some great Points of Religion, I resolved to seek a Determination of my Thoughts, from the Epistles of *Paul*; and especially in that weighty Doctrine of *Justification*. I perused his Letter to the *Romans* in the Original, with the most fixed Meditation, laborious Study, and Importunate Requests to God, for several Months

⁸⁷ Clement of Rome, *Epistle to the Corinthians*, ANF (1:13).

⁸⁸ Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–215 CE); see NCE (3:797–9).

⁸⁹ Daniel Chamier (1564–1621) was a French Reformed minister; he played an important role in the production of the Edict of Nantes (1598). He authored works on Roman law and *Panstratiæ catholice* (1601), a four-volume refutation of Robert Bellarmine, which is perhaps in view here. See NSHERK (3:1).

⁹⁰ The source for all of this material is John Edwards (1637–1716), *The Doctrine of Faith and Justification set in a True Light* (1708). Edwards was Irish Anglican priest and Calvinist controversialist; he authored several works of biblical interpretation, two of which Mather used extensively – *A Discourse on the Authority, Stile, and Perfection of the Books of the Old and New Testament* (1693) and *An Enquiry into Four Remarkable Texts of the New Testament* (1692). On Edwards, see ODNB (17:937–8).

⁹¹ Possibly Herbert Thorndike, perhaps his *De ratione ac jure finiendi controversias ecclesie disputatio* (1670). Thorndike (1598–1672) was an Anglican cleric and scholar at Cambridge and a defender of *status quo* Anglicanism against its critics in the 1640's and 1650's. See ODNB (54:595–8).

together. First, without consulting any Commentator; and afterwards calling in the Assistance of the best Criticks & Interpreters. I most heartily bless the Divine Goodness, that at last established my Judgment and Conscience in that Glorious and Forsaken Doctrine, of, *The Justification of a Sinner in the Sight of God, by the Imputation of a perfect Righteousness, which is not originally his own.*⁹²

But now, Our Apostle supposes an Objection against this Doctrine. *Then Good Works are not Necessary; Then a Care of Piety may be laid aside; Then we may live at a loose End; and yett we may enjoy the Consolations and Expectations of the Justified.* It is by the way, well observed, by one of the Acutest Men that have ever handled the Pen of the Writer, namely M. Basnage; That this is an Objection, which could never arise from such *Systems*, as are by some fathered on our Apostle.⁹³ If the *Sacrifices* and the *Ceremonies* of the *Law*, had been the *only* Things excluded from the Matter of our *Justification*, & not also all the *Good Works* of our *Piety*, it follows not by any Shadow of Consequence, that *Piety* is to be neglected. But then, if our Obedience to the *Moral Law* be excluded, this gives unto wicked Men, some Handle for a Cavil, That the Love of *Good Works* is now stifled; and since we are not *Justified* by *Good Works*, they are no longer to be insisted on. And, *as was the Master so was the Scholar*, in this important Matter. *Clemens Romanus* too, was afraid, some would conclude, *That Good Works may be neglected.* And that Servant of God thus went on to answer it; *What shall we do, Brethren? Shall we now leave off doing of Good, & neglect Charity? God forbid, On the contrary, lett us make Haste, to produce those Good Actions, with Zeal & Eagerness.* But, of what use can these *Good Actions* be, if they have no Share in our *Justification*? They shall not be lost, saies our *Clemens Romanus*; For, *God will take Delight in them.* And so, our Apostle here, extinguishes the Objection, against the Necessity of *Good Works* drawn from our *Justification* another way, with a, *God forbid!* And with a Declaration, That the *Law*, which requires our *Good Works*, is indeed so far from *evacuated*, that it is *established*, by the *Faith* of the *Gospel*, which retires to the *Righteousness* of our Blessed JESUS, & expects to be *Justified* only by that; *Making mention of thy Righteousness, O Lord, even of Thine only, O our Saviour!*

I have repeted these Thoughts, in my poor Treatise; *Adversus Libertinos.*⁹⁴

⁹² Isaac Watts (1674–1748), Dissenting clergyman, theologian, logician, and hymnodist. Doctrinally he appears to have been significantly less than a Trinitarian and inclined toward Arminianism as well; see *ODNB* (57:725–30).

⁹³ Jacques Basnage (1653–1723), French Reformed pastor who settled in Holland after the Edict of Nantes (1685). He is best known for his *History and Religion of the Jews* (1706), which may be in view here; see *NSHERK* (2:2).

⁹⁴ Cotton Mather, *Adversus libertinos, Or, Evangelical obedience described and demanded* (1713).

4370.

Q. What is the Meaning of that Expression, *As pertaining to the Flesh*? Κατὰ σαρκά; v. 1.⁹⁵

A. It means not, as *Le Clerc* interprets it, *In the Judgment of Man*, or, *According to Carnal Judgment*.⁹⁶ But as *Whitby* well maintains it, it means, *According to the Circumcision of the Flesh*. “Do we say as the Jewes, That *Abraham* found Justification, by that laborious Work of *Circumcision* performed on himself?”⁹⁷

Thus, *Israel according to the Flesh*, (1. Cor. 10.18.) is, *The Circumcised Israel*. And, *To know Christ according to the Flesh*, (2. Cor. 5.16.) is, to know Him as being of the *Circumcised Nation*, or of the Stock of *Abraham*.

Q. *Him, who Justifies the Ungodly.*] Who may be peculiarly meant by, *The Ungodly*? v. 5.

A. Some think, That it is *Abraham*, who is here called so; and who before God converted & Justified him, was an *Idolater*.⁹⁸

1940.

Q. The Apostles Discourse, about *Abrahams* being *Justified*, upon *Beleeving*, while yett *uncircumcised*: Is there any thing in the Writings of the *Jewes* to countenance it? v. 10, 11.

A. It is a memorable Passage, which you’l find, in the Book entituled, *Nitzachon*. Sect. לך לך §. 21.

*Qui non credit ut oportet, circumcisio ejus non facit eum Judeum. Qui verò credit, ut oportet, ille est Judæus, etiamsi non sit circumcisisus.*⁹⁹

⁹⁵ κατὰ σάρκα.

⁹⁶ *Le Clerc*, perhaps his *Paraphrase and Annotations on the New Testament*; on *Le Clerc*, see *Mather’s* entry on 1:17 (above).

⁹⁷ *Whitby*, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:19).

⁹⁸ *Locke*, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:513).

⁹⁹ “He who does not believe as he ought, his circumcision does not make him a Jew; but he who does believe as he ought, he is a Jew, even if he is not circumcised.” *Sepher ha-Nitzachon* (“Book of Triumph”), written by Yom-Tov ben Solomon Lipmann-Mülhausen as a summation of his defense of Judaism against charges of blasphemy and assertion of its superiority over against Christianity, heterodox Judaism, and atheism. In 1399 Mülhausen and other Jews in Prague were charged with blasphemy, and required to answer the charge at a public disputation. Rabbi Mülhausen was spared, but eighty Jews were put to death. The work was first printed in 1644. See “Lipmann-Mülhausen,” *JE* (electronic).

And whereas, *Abraham* is here called, *The Father of all them that Beleeve*: 'Tis no more, than what you'll find in *Michlal Joschi*, on Mal. 2.

*Abraham fuit pater omnium, qui eum secuti sunt in Fide.*¹⁰⁰

{2269.}¹⁰¹

Q. It is here said of *Abraham*, (as wee translate it,) *Hee received the Sign of Circumcision, a Seal of the Righteousness of Faith*, which hee had being *uncircumcised*. Wee carry it, and so do most Versions, That *Circumcision* was given to *Abraham*, for a *Sign* of that *Righteousness*, which hee had, while as yett hee was *uncircumcised*. But may it not look further than so? v. 11.

A. Yes. Why may it not bee rendred, *A Seal of the Righteousness of Faith, to bee in uncircumcision*? That is, to say, The *Righteousness* to bee hereafter enjoy'd, by the *uncircumcised* Seed of *Abraham*, even the *Gentiles* that should hereafter follow the *Faith* of *Abraham*.

Repair to the History, and you'll find this Promise made unto *Abraham*, *Thou shalt bee the Father of many Nations*, which is by the Apostle here explained, *The Father of all them that Beleeve*. To establish this thing, as there was a Change of the Name *Abram*, into *Abraham*; so, the Seal of *Circumcision* was introduced. The Natural Seed of *Abraham*, was indeed signed with *Circumcision*, for the Distinguishing of it from other Nations, which were not yett become the |
[▽20v] mystical Seed of *Abraham*; and yett it was a Seal of their *Justification* by *Faith*. *Circumcision* is now therefore of good Reason to cease, when the *Gentiles* are brought into the *Faith*, because now the End of it is obtained.

Q. How was *Abraham*, to be the *Heir of the World*? v. 13.

A. The Beleevers of *all Nations of the World*, are given to him for a Posterity. He is the *Father* of all that should Beleeve, *all over the World*.

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽21r] [▽Insert from 21r]

Q. On that, *He calls those things which be not, as tho' they were*? v. 17.

A. There is an elegant Saying of the Jewes, in *Midras Tillim*, which looks this Way.

*Dei S. B. Dicere est Facere.*¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ "Abraham was the father of all who followed him in faith." *Sefer Mikhlah Yofi* (1549), a kabbalistic commentary on the Hebrew Bible written by Elijah ben Moses of Loanz (1564–1636) and a commentary on the commentary of Rashi (1040–1105), *Perush al ha-Torah*; see *EJ* (13:152)

¹⁰¹ See Appendix A.

¹⁰² "For God (blessed be He), to speak, is, to do." The *Midrash Tehillim* is a haggadic commentary on the Psalms, dating from the 11th century; it was first published in 1512; see *EJ* (14:191–2).

Q. That Expression, *Before Him whom he believed?* v. 17.

A. The Greek Term, κατέναντι, is to be rendred, *Like*.¹⁰³

Abraham is a *Father of many Nations*, LIKE the glorious God on *whom he beleaved*; and who is the *Father* of the *Gentiles* as well as of the *Jews*.

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 22v]

[▽22v]

2674.

Q. What was written about *Abraham*, the Apostle saies, *It was not written for his Sake alone*. Is there no Observation made among the Ancients, of this Nature? v. 23.

A. Yes. It is noted by *Philo*, and it is a good Note; That the Histories of *Abraham*, and *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, and *Joseph*, were præfixed by *Moses*, unto his *Lawes*, that so by the Piety of their Exemple, all People might be præpared and excited unto the Observances of those Holy Lawes.¹⁰⁴

[△Insert ends]

[△]

¹⁰³ The adverb κατέναντι carries the connotation of before, over against, or near; Mather's suggestion here takes a certain liberty with the meaning.

¹⁰⁴ Philo of Alexandria (20 BC–50 CE), a Jewish Platonic philosopher who used an allegorical method of biblical interpretation; he wrote a several works on the patriarchs which posit them as moral *exempla* of the Mosaic Law; see *EJ* (16:59–64).

Q. Unto what may wee imagine an Allusion in that Passage, *Patience works Experience, & Experience Hope?* v. 4.

A. You shall hear a Story from *Jerom*, in his Commentary upon *Zachary*. Sais hee, *In Arce Atheniensium juxtà Simulachrum Minervæ, vidi Sphæram Æneam gravissimi ponderis, quam ego pro Imbecillitate Corpusculi movere vix potui. Cum quærerem, Quid sibi vellet? Responsum est ab urbis ejus cultoribus, Athletarum in illâ Massâ Fortitudinem comprobari, nec prius ad Agonem quenquam descendere, quàm ex levatione ponderis sciatur, quis cui debeat comparari.*¹⁰⁵ Truly before our God will call forth His People to any glorious Employments or Enjoyments, Hee will make an *Experiment* of their Abilities;

— *quid valeant Humeri, quid ferre recuset.*¹⁰⁶

Now tis in their *Patience* that Hee makes that *Experiment*. God sends this & that *Affliction* upon His People; by which Affliction they are Try'd, like the Champions by the *Brasen Ball* at *Athens*. If they can bear that Heavy Thing with a becoming *Patience*, there is an *Experiment* made of them, which may give them cause to *Hope*, that God ha's yett great Things to do by them & for them.

Explorant Adversa Viros; perque Aspera duro.

*Nititur ad Laudem Virtus interrita clivo.*¹⁰⁷

2676.

Q. What was the *Due Time*, wherein *Christ died for the Ungodly?* v. 6.

A. The Expiration of *Daniels Weeks*, the Vision whereof had foretold the *Time*.

And the Apostle here insinuates an Argument of our Lords being the true *Messiah*. Namely His Coming at the *Time* appointed & predicted for His *Coming*.

3271.

Q. The Distinction of Dying for a *Just Man*, for a *Good Man*, and for a *Sinner*; to what may the Apostle allude in it? v. 7.

¹⁰⁵ "In the Athenian acropolis, next to the statue of Minerva, I saw a bronze sphere of great weight which I could scarcely move because of the weakness of my body. When I asked what it meant, the inhabitants of the city replied that athletes tried their strength against that mass, nor could anyone go down to the competition before it was known, by the lifting of the weight, with whom each man was to be matched." Jerome, *Commentary on Zechariah* (c. 406 CE); see *NCE* (7:757–9).

¹⁰⁶ "As to what their shoulders can handle, what they refuse to bear." Horace, *Ars poetica* (453).

¹⁰⁷ "Adversity tries men; and vaour climbs unterrified the rocky path and difficult ascent that leads to glory." Silius Italicus, *Punica* (1:212–13).

A. There was a famous Distinction which the Jewes had, in the Dayes of the Apostle. There were the *Tzadikim*, or the *Just*; the *Chasidim*, or the *Good*; and the *Reshaguim*, or, the *Wicked*. The *Tzadikim* were careful to do nothing amiss, to live Innocently and Inoffensively. The *Chasidim* studied further than so, to be, exemplary for Usefulness. The *Reshaguim* were but bad enough. The *Tzadikim* would say, *What is mine, is mine; and what is thine, is thine own*. The *Chasidim* would say, *What is thine is thine own, and what is mine, is thine too*. The *Reshaguim* would say, *What is thine, is mine; and what is mine is mine own*. Such was the wondrous Grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, as to Dy even for the *Reshaguim*!

[24v]

I find in *Eucherius*, a very singular Thought upon the Text. Our JESUS died for the *Ungodly*: when you cannot find any Man willing to Dy for a *Just* One. Indeed, you may perhaps find a Man willing to Dy for a *Good* One. This *Good* One is the Blessed JESUS Himself. And the Apostle modestly insinuates, that he hopes he should be willing himself to Dy for that *Good* One.

He offers a further Gloss. Under the *Law*, when the *Præcepts* had the Severity of *Justice* more conspicuous in them, there were very few *Martyrs*. But under the *Gospel*, the *Præcepts* whereof *Goodness* more conspicuously shining in them, the *Martyrs* have been innumerable.¹⁰⁸

Q. When it is said, *Much more then being Justified by His Blood, wee shall be saved from Wrath thro' Him*: What may be meant by, *Wrath*? v. 9.

A. One observes, That what the Apostle calls *Wrath*, here, is the same that he calls, 1. Thess. 1.10. *Wrath to come*. And generally in the New Testament, *Wrath* is putt for the Punishment of the Wicked, at the *Day of Judgment*.¹⁰⁹

1034.

Q. When the Apostle saies, *As by one Man, Sin entred into the World*, there does not follow any, *SO*, to answer it? v. 12.

A. It was, a strange thing unto the carnal Jewes, of those Times, to hear of being *Justified by the Righteousness of another*; and therefore the Apostle clears it, & proves it, by that of Mens being, *condemned by the Unrighteousness of another*. To that *Purpose*, is this Passage Introduced; and as Dr. *Lightfoot* observes, Whereas, the *AS* hath no *SO* following of it, it is thus to bee thus construed; *Wherefore, It is as by one Man Sin entred into the World*. It is here, as it was in *Adam*; there is an Imputation in both.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Perhpas Eucherius of Orleans (687–743), whose study of the Pauline epistles led to his taking monastic vows; see *NCE* (5:438).

¹⁰⁹ Locke, *Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:520).

¹¹⁰ Lightfoot, *Harmony of the New Testament*, in *Works* (3:271–2).

Q. A Paraphrase, on that, *until the Law, Sin was in the World.* v. 13, 14.

A. We will accept, something of Mr. Pyles. "It is not the Breach of the *Jewish Law*, that alone deserved Death, or first brought it into the World; For all Mankind, from *Adam* down to *Moses*, died by the First Transgression; tho' they had no express Law, as he had against the Sin committed by him. They were all subject to Death, as the Natural Consequence of that First Sin. Now you allow the *First Adam* to be a Type & Resemblance of Christ, the *Second Adam*. But, pray, Where is the Proportion and Agreement, between the *Sin* of the One, and the *Redemption* of the Other, if you say, *All* Mankind, Jews and Gentiles, were involved in the Effect of the *Sin* of *Adam*, and but only yourselves to have a Right unto the *Redemption* of *Christ*."¹¹¹

Q. That Argument of the Apostle, *If thro' the Offence of one, many be Dead, much more, the Grace of God, & the Gift by Grace, which is by one Man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many:* can it be exemplified, and Illustrated from any of the Jewish Writings? v. 15.

A. There is a most Remarkable Passage, In *Libro Siphre*, to this Purpose.

"R. *Jose* of *Galilee* said; Go forth, and learn the Merit of the *Messiah*, and the Reward of the Righteous. The old *Adam*, who had but one Prohibition given him, and who transgressed it; See, how many Deaths are decreed for him, and for his Generations, and for, Generations of Generations, to the End of all Generations. Now, what Measure is multiplied. The Measure of *Mercy* or the Measure of *Vengeance*? Answer thou, The Measure of *Mercy* is multiplied; the Measure of *Vengeance* is diminished." [Which is as much as to say, we are punished below our Deserts, and Rewarded above them.] "The King *Messiah* is afflicted and abased with Fasting, and broken with Punishments: as it is written, Isa. 53.5. *He was wounded for our Faults, He was bruised for our Sins*; How much more shall He Justify all Generations, all and every one? For this is what is said, v. 6. *The Lord hath laid on Him, the Iniquity of us all.*"¹¹²

Wonderful Words to fall from the Pen of a *Jew*!

Q. A Remark on that, *One Mans Disobedience?* v. 19.

A. It ha's been remark'd, That the Antithesis, leaves out the Word *Man*. It is not said, *By the Obedience of one MAN, shall many be made Righteous*; But, *By the Obedience of One*. Because He by whose *Obedience many are made Righteous*, must be more than a *Man*; must be *God* as well as *Man*.

¹¹¹ Pyle, *Paraphrase of the New Testament* (1:226).

¹¹² *Sifre*, midrashic commentaries on the books of Numbers and Deuteronomy, the earliest strata of which go back to the second century CE; see *EJ* (18:562–4). Yose ha-Gelili was an early second-century rabbi who helped compile the Mishnah; see *EJ* (21:399–400). His son Eliezer ben Yose was also an important rabbinic scholar; see *EJ* (6:329–30).

- Q.** How is it said, *The Law entred, that the Offence might abound?* v. 20.
A. It should be rendred, *The Law entred in, so as that yett Sin abounded.*

Q. From the Text, of our being, *Buried with CHRIST, by Baptism into Death*, you know, how some of our godly Brethren argued for the Necessity of a *Total Immersion in Baptism?* v. 3.

A. It is not our *Baptism*; tis our *Mortification*, that is to Resemble the *Burial* of our SAVIOUR. We are by our *Baptism* obliged unto a *Conformity* to the *Death* of our *Buried* JESUS, & unto His *Rising* again; unto His *Death* in our *Dying* to Sin, unto His *Rising* again in our *Living* to God. Our *Baptism* is not our *Burial*, but our *Obligation* to that *Burial*. Yea, and our *Baptism* is the Sacrament that seals our Blessed *Resurrection* from our *Grave*: Wherein we are first *Buried* as CHRIST was, and then *Raised*, like Him. Here is not a Syllable to intimate, that in *Baptism*, our Bodies must be all under *Water*. When a Man is *Buried*, he does not walk into the *Grave* himself; nor is he in the least Measure Active to putt a Leg or a Foot into the Earth. Indeed, our Mode of *Baptising* is in This, more like to a *Burial*, than that of our Brethren. For this, *Throwing* of *Water* upon the Child, is more like the *Throwing* of *Earth*, upon the *Dead*. And hereupon, I will add this; If the *Washing* of the Body but *in part*, may suffice for the *Sacred Baptism*, then the *Washing* of the *Face*, that nobler & proper Part, may be sufficient. But our Brethren themselves, do in effect own, that the *Washing* of the Body but *in part*, will suffice for the *Sacred Baptism*. For the Administrator among *Them* never *washes* any more. The Action of the Person to be *Baptised*, is no part of the *Baptism*: And yett here, he goes into the *Water* himself, above the Waste. The Administrator does not *Baptise* all that Part of the Body, which the Person to be *Baptised*, carried into the *Water* himself.

I will conclude with the Words of Dr. Owen. "Our *Baptism* is a Pledge, of our being *Buried* with CHRIST, and *Rising* with Him; Nor in an outward Representation, as some imagine, of being *Dipped under Water*, & taken up again; which were to make one *Sign*, the *Sign* of another; but in a powerful Participation of the Virtue of the *Death* & *Life* of CHRIST in a *Death* unto Sin, & a Newness of *Life*."¹¹³

Q. On *Sin Reigning in the mortal Body?* v. 12.

¹¹³ John Owen (1616–83), a Puritan theologian, ecclesial congregationalist, and Calvinist polemicist. He spent the Interregnum teaching at Oxford but was forced out by the Act of Uniformity (1662); see *ODNB* (42:221–30). He wrote a number of treatises on classical Protestant themes, which may be the source here, including *The Death of Christ* (1650) and *The Doctrine of Justification by Faith* (1677). Mather owned a number of works by Owen.

A. The Jews have a Saying, in *Beresbith Rabba*, Sect. 9. *Quamdiù Justi vivunt, pugnant cum innata suâ concupiscentiâ; cum mortui sunt, tum Quiescunt.*¹¹⁴

Q. The *Reign of Sin*, mentioned so often by the Apostle; Do you know anything remarkable in the *Jewish Writings*, to Illustrate, that *Sin*, and that *Reign*? v. 12, 14, &c.

A. The Jewes, by a more proper Name, than that of *Original Sin*, do call that *Lust* which wee bring into the World with us, by the Name, of /יצר הרע/ *The Evil Figment*, of the Heart. [They fetch the Name, from Gen. 6.5.]¹¹⁵ In the Chaldee Tongue, the Rabbis Term it, /יצרא בישא/ which is the same thing. They mention it in Psal. 13.4. *That the* [Evil Figment] *say not, I have Ruled over him;* instead of, *The Enemy*; for it is indeed the cheef *Enemy* of Men. The *Targum* dos twice mention it, in Psal. 50. once v. 14. *Restrain the* [Evil Figment] *and it shall bee accounted before God, as a Sacrifice*; and again, in v. 23. to the like Purpose. And in Psal. 91.12. *That thy Foot stumble not at the* [Evil Figment,] *which is like a Stone*; that is, that it seduce thee not, nor cause thee, to offend. Compare Jam. 1.14. In Psal. 119.70. they call it absolutely, *The Figment of the Heart. The Figment of their Heart, is made gross, as with Fatness*; an Expression, usual in the Scripture, for Impænitency, & Security. [Isa. 6.10.] And in Isa. 62.10. they mention, *The Thought of the Figment*; which is the same that *James*, [Chap. 1.14.] calls, *The Conceiving of it.*¹¹⁶ Moreover, They Describe it, by that Propertie, in Eccl. 9.14. *The Evil Figment, is like unto a great King*; namely, because of its *Power*. And accordingly, here in the New Testament, it is said, βασιλεύειν and κυριεύειν, To *Reign*, & *have Dominion*.

[26v]

Q. What Allusion is there to illustrate that Caution, *Yield not your Members as Instruments of Unrighteousness, unto Sin*? v. 13.

A. The Ancient *Romans* commonly concluded their *Feasts*, with certain *Sports*, wherein they Introduced *Neurospasta*, or, *Poppets*, for their Diversion. The *Neurospastæ*, or the Gamesters, that had the Management of these *Poppets*, would by certain Strings, pull the Members of the *Poppets* at their Pleasure, & make them in a very lively Manner seem to Nod their Heads, to Shrink their Necks, to Roll their Eyes, to Lift their Hands, & Move their Feet, for the Entertainment of

¹¹⁴ "However long the just live, they always fight against their inborn lusts; when they are dead, they are at peace." The *B'resbith Rabba* is a rabbinic commentary on the book of Genesis dating from the 4th or 5th century CE, whose final form is attributed to the 11th-century rabbi Moses ha-Darshan; see *EJ* (7:449–50). For this citation, see *Midrash* (1:67).

¹¹⁵ יצר הרע (evil imagination).

¹¹⁶ *Targum on the Psalms*, an Aramaic translation of the Psalms developed for liturgical use after Hebrew had ceased to be the spoken language of Judaism. As it contains references to the two capitals of the Roman Empire, it probably dates from the late 4th or early 5th century; see "Targum," *JE* (electronic).

the Beholders. Well; *Original Sin* in the Unregenerate makes in like sort, meer *Poppets* of them; to give the Divil sport, it governs & Applies all their Members unto sinful Purposes; & by some hidden Strings, draws them to all the Actions of *Unrighteousness*.

Thus the Sinner,

*Servit miser, atque Ducitur ut Nervis alienis mobile lignum.*¹¹⁷

4265.

Q. How is that Clause to be taken here; *I speak after the Manner of Men?* v. 19.

A. The Sense which the Ancients putt upon the Clause was, q.d. Τῇ φύσει μετρώ την παραινέσιν. *I frame my Exhortation with a due Consideration of the Infirmary of our Flesh;*¹¹⁸ requiring that only which to Humane Reason appears Just and Fair; namely, That you should now do that Service to God, which formerly you have done to Sin.

Dr. *Whitby* thinks, the Apostle rather discourses to this Effect; “In this Discourse, of your being Servants formerly to *Sin*, & your Obligation to be now Servants of *Righteousness*, I speak that, which all Natural Men must have had Experience of, by reason of the Infirmary of the Flesh; and of which they may thence take a Just Idæa, requiring only, that as they have yeilded their Members Instruments of Sin, so they would yeield them Instruments of Righteousness.”¹¹⁹

Q. But a further Thought upon it?

A. It is, q.d. “I make use of this Metaphor, of the Passing of *Slaves* from one Master to another, well known to you *Romans*, the better to lett my Meaning into your Understandings, that are yett weak in these Matters, being more accustomed unto *Fleshly*, than *Spiritual* Things.”

The Nameless Author, who makes this Paraphrase, observes; That the Apostle had some Reason to make some little Kind of Apology, for a *Figure of Speech*, which he was resolved now to dwell upon, down to the End of the Chapter.

The same Author observes, That the Expression used in the Context here; εἰς ὃν παρεδόθητε.¹²⁰ *Unto which you were delivered;* is no Harsh, but elegant Expression; our Apostle speaking of *Sin*, and of the *Gospel*, as of *Two Masters*;

117 “Is miserably enslaved, and is easily led about like a stick by the strings of others.” Mather has crossed out the source, but the citation is from Horace, *Satires* (231). See Appendix A.

118 Theodoretus, *Interpretatio in xiv epistulas sancti Pauli* [PG 082. 0112, line 12]: Τῇ φύσει μετρώ τὴν παραινέσιν. Literally, “I measure my exhortation according to nature.” See *Whitby, Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:32).

119 *Whitby, Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:32).

120 εἰς ὃν παρεδόθητε; this is borrowed from v. 17: “you have obeyed from the heart that form of doctrine *which was delivered to you*” (KJV).

& those to whom he writes, were taken out of the hands of one, & *delivered* over to the other.¹²¹

Q. What is the *Wages of Sin*? v. 23.

A. Not meerly, the *Wages* paid for Sinning, but the *Wages* that Sin payes. For Sin is here considered as a *Master*. And mind the Opposition; *The Gift of God*.

Q. But the Word, *Wages*? v. 23.

A. *Gerhard* notes, That ὧνια properly are, *Cibaria quædam, et lauitiæ, quibus milites alliciebantur, qui ventris gulæque causâ vitam habebant venalem*;¹²² The *Diets*, and the *Dainties*, the Prospect whereof drew Souldiers to expose their Lives. The Apostle here, most elegantly calls us back, to consider the *First Sin* of our *First Parents*; the Fall of *Adam*. Sin invited them with an ὄψωνιον, a *Dish of Fruit*, a Delicate Entertainment; but they found nothing but a miserable *Death* in the *Dish*; while we were thus drawn to list under the Banner of the Divil, in a Rebellion against the Holy God.

¹²¹ See Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:536); these citations are borrowed from Locke's comments on v. 17.

¹²² ὄψωνια; "wages." (Latin) "Those foods and delights by which soldiers, who lived a venal life for the sake of their stomach and gullet, were attracted." Perhaps Johann Gerhard (1582–1637), Lutheran scholastic theologian and professor of theology at Jena from 1616. Gerhard wrote a number of works on biblical interpretation, including a harmony of the gospel narratives of the Passion (owned by Increase Mather) and commentaries on 1 Peter, Genesis, and Deuteronomy. His *Loci communes theologici* (1610–22) brought his doctrinal teaching to its fullest expression. See *NSHERK* (4:462–63).

Q. *Baptism into the Death of Christ?* v. 3.

A. Take the Baron *Pufendorf's* Paraphrase. [Compare, Col. II.11, 12.] "As CHRIST being *buried*, did bid adieu to this mortal Life, or putt off altogether His Mortality, & *Rose* from His Sepulchre, to live a *New Life*, and such as was not obnoxious unto any Infirmary or Corruption; so, he who is *Baptised*, renounces all Carnal Lusts, and Inclinations to Wickedness, & coming from his *Baptism*, he rises again from the *Death* under which he was *Dead in Sin*, to a *New Life*, which he now lives to God, by the Benefit & Guidance of the Holy Spirit."¹²³

Q. How is it said, *The Motions of Sins, which were by the Law?* v. 5.

A. There is one, who chuses thus to paraphrase it. *Our sinful Lusts, that remained in us, under the Law.*¹²⁴ Our own Translation, Rom. 4.11. makes, δι' ἀκροβυστίας· to signify, *During the State of Uncircumcision.*¹²⁵ Thus here, δια νομου, means, *During the Time of our being under the Law.*¹²⁶

The use of this Particle, δια, in such a Sense, occurs in other Places.

Thus, 1. Tim. 2.15. δια τεκνογονίας, means, *During the State of Child-bearing.* And my Author thinks, Eph. 3.6. δια του ευαγγελίου, may signify, *In the Time of the Gospel*, or, under the Gospel-Dispensation.¹²⁷

Q. Why does the Apostle chuse to carry on his Discourse in the First Person, *I was alive without the Law*, etc.? v. 9.

A. It is a modest Figure of Speaking, usual with our Blessed Apostle, to express *odious Matters* in the first Person. [Compare, 1. Cor. 6.12, 15. & 10.23, 29, 30. and 13.2. and Gal. 2.18.] It is *Chrysostomes* Observation upon him, Αἰ τὰ φορτικὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκείου προσώπου γυμνᾷ· *Semper de odiosie disserit suâ personâ.*¹²⁸

¹²³ Baron Samuel von Pufendorf (1632–94), perhaps his *Nature of the Christian Religion in Relation to Civil Society* (1687) or *The Divine Feudal Law, or, Covenants with Mankind* (1695). Pufendorf was professor of law at the University of Heidelberg and the University of Lund (Sweden); he also served in the Swedish and German courts. He was an important theorist on natural and international law, along with Hugo Grotius and Thomas Hobbes. He influenced the political thought of the English, French, and American Enlightenments. See *EB* (22:636).

¹²⁴ See Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:541).

¹²⁵ δι' ἀκροβυστίας; "though uncircumcised."

¹²⁶ διὰ τοῦ νόμου; "by the law."

¹²⁷ διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας; "through child-bearing"; διὰ τοῦ ευαγγελίου; "through the gospel." Mather appears to derive the specifics of this answer from Locke's *Paraphrase* (2:541–2).

¹²⁸ Chrysostom, *In epistula 1 ad Corinthios (homiliae 1–44)* [PG 061. 0297, lines 51–52]: "He always bears those burdens on his own person [Greek]; he always loads down his person with

And Jerom upon *Daniel*, ha's this Passage, *Peccata populi, quia unus è populo est, enumerat personâ suâ, quod et Apostolum in Epistola ad Romanos facere legimus.*¹²⁹

Q. To what may the Apostle allude, when he saies, *Sin taking Occasion by the Commandment, Deceived me?* v. 11.

A. He alludes to the Words of our Mother *Eve*. [Gen. 3.13.]

Q. What is the Meaning of *Sins becoming exceeding sinful?* v. 13.

A. One observes, That we are to Remember, that Sin is in this Chapter all along represented as a *Person*, whose very Nature it is, to seek our Destruction. Accordingly, *Sin becoming exceeding sinful*, is as much as to say, *Sin* strenuously exerting its *Sinful*, or *Destructive Nature*, with a mighty Efficacy.¹³⁰

1739.

Q. How and when, was our Apostle, *Sold under Sin?* v. 14.

A. In the wretched *Bargain* which our First Parents, made with the *Tempter*. They *Sold* their *Children*, for a Tast of the *Forbidden Fruit*. Wee are all *under Sin*, by reason of that Act, of Sin, wherein they so horribly *Sold* us all.

But our Apostle was not like *Ahab*, who *Sold himself*.

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[28v]

1946.

Q. *The Law in the Members, warring against the Law of the Mind;* Is there among the Jewes any Acknowledgment of it? v. 23.

A. The *Talmud*, in the Treatise, entituled, *Nedarim*, c. 3. ha's this Passage. /יצר טוב יעשה מלחמה עם יצר הרע/ *Figmentum Bonum* [sive, *Fomes Boni*] *pugnat cum Figmento malo*, [sive, *Fomite peccati*.]¹³¹

Q. Why is the *Body* here called, *The Body of Death?* v. 24.

A. Tho' *Grotius's* Annotations on the Epistle to the *Romans*, are all over fill'd with *vile Stuff*, yea, and on this very Context also; yett he ha's one Gloss here,

odious matters [Latin]." See Chrysostom, *Homily XII*, *NPNFi* (11:422), for his commentary on v. 9.

129 "He lists the sins of the people under his own person, because he is one of the people; we read that the Apostle, too, does this in the Epistle to the Romans." Jerome, *Commentary on Daniel* (c. 407 CE).

130 Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:544–5).

131 יצר טוב יעשה מלחמה עם יצר הרע: "The good nature (or, good desire) fights with the evil nature (or, sinful desire)." *The Babylonian Talmud* (3:98). The words *fomes* and *fomite*, meaning kindling or tinder, are being used for the *yetser tov* and *yetser hara*, the good and bad impulses or desires of the soul in traditional rabbinic thought. The *Nedarim* section of the Talmud deals with vows related to women and family life.

worth our taking out. It is called, *The Body of Death*, for this reason, *Quia ei mancipatis, adimit Spem Vitæ Æternæ*.¹³²

Q. That Clause; *I thank God, thro' Jesus Christ our Lord*: Is there not another Reading to be preferred? v. 25.

A. The *Clermont*, and other Greek Manuscripts, instead of, *ευχαριστω του*¹³³ *θεω*· read, *χαρις του θεου*, *The Grace of God*.¹³⁴ And this Reading is doubtless to be præferred. The Apostle makes it his business, to show, that the *Jewes* did need *Grace* for Salvation, as much as the *Gentiles*. And, *The Grace of God*, is a Direct Answer to that, *Who shall deliver me?* That Clause, *I thank God*, is not so clear & full an Answer.

¹³² “Because it snatches away hope of eternal life from those who have surrendered to it.” Hugo Grotius, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (6:138).

¹³³ Mather no doubt intended to write “*ευχαριστω τῷ θεῷ*” here, as this is a less attested variant reading to which he refers; *χαρις τοῦ θεοῦ* is also a less attested variant – the best attested is *χαρις δὲ τῷ θεῷ*; see Aland, *Greek New Testament* (547).

¹³⁴ The Codex Claromontanus was discovered in the monastery at Clermont-en-Beauvaisis in 1582 by Theodore Beza and probably dates from the sixth century CE; Beza used it to prepare his critical edition of the New Testament. See Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament* (51).

Q. What is that *Freedom* from the *Law of Sin & Death*, which is granted unto the Beleever; & how comes hee to *Sin & Dy*, after that *Freedom*? v. 2.

A. *Sin* and *Death* are two Sovereigns, entirely associated in the Designs of making *Sinful Mortals*, extremely miserable. The *Former* having done his Part, in fitting poor Man for Destruction, delivers him over into the hands of the *Latter*, to bee destroy'd. They have but *one Law*. And yett the Beleever delivered from this *Law*, still *Sins*, and still *Dyes*. What is then the true State of the Deliverance? Among the *Romans*, to whom the Apostle wrote, there were Persons of Three Conditions; There were *Slaves*, and there were *Free*, and there were the *Enfranchised*. The *Slaves* had an Absolute Sort of Dependence on other Men. The *Free* were altogether their own Men. The *Enfranchised* were such as had been *Slaves*, & were become *Free*, and yett partook of a middle Condition between both. The old *Patroons* of those that were afterwards *Enfranchised*, still retained some kind of Power over them. *Quintilian*, Lib. 2. ch. 1. sais, *The Patron might yett lay his Hand upon the enfranchised Man*; hee might sieze him; hee might strike him; tho' hee might not lay him under Chains, much less, take away his Life.¹³⁵ Tis the very Case of the Beleever; tis but thus farr that hee is *enfranchised*.

Q. How was *Sin condemned in the Flesh* of our Saviour? v. 3.

A. You will first observe, That the Particle, καὶ, *And*, here joins, *sending His own Son in the Likeness of sinful Flesh, and to be an Offering, for Sin*; which, περι ἁμαρτίας,¹³⁶ plainly signifies. Else the Grammar is not so clear.

But then, *Sin was condemned*, or putt to Death, *in the Flesh* of our Saviour. Part of the Meaning, is, That *Sin* was not suffered to have any Life, or Being, in the *Flesh* of our Saviour. He was *without Sin*. [Heb. 4.15.] By the Spirit of God, all Motions to Sin, were suppressed in Him.

Condemnation sometimes is used, for *putting to Death*. [see Rom. 5.16, 18.]

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Q. On that, *If ye live after the Flesh, ye shall Dy*? v. 13.

135 Marcus Quintilian (c. 35–100 CE) was a Roman rhetorician. His work influenced patristic writers, such as Augustine and Jerome, and experienced a renewed popularity during the Renaissance. His sole surviving work, *Institutio oratoria* (c. 95 CE), addresses the art of speaking; see *EB* (22:762). The citation here (Bk. 2, Ch. 1) in modern editions does not address the master-slave relation but is instead a study of rhetoric; se Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* (1:204–11).

136 περι ἁμαρτίας; “for sin.”

A. Our Apostles Assertion is confessed, by his ¹³⁷Countreymen, even still in their Infidelity.

Buxtorf in his *Florilegium*, quotes a Saying of theirs. *Quid faciet homo ut vivat? Mortificabit seipsum. Quid faciet homo ut moriatur? Vivificabit seipsum.*¹³⁸

1348.

Q. That Passage of, *Receiving the Spirit of Adoption, whereby wee cry, Abba, Father*, give an Illustration of it? v. 15.

A. They that have searched into Ancient *Lawes of Succession and Inheritance*, (the Incomparable *Selden* particularly,) have Reported unto us, That it was lawful for a *Freeman*, in his Discourse with another *Freeman*, to Address him, with the Name, *Father*, & by such a charming Address complementarily to Invite his Friend, unto the Treating of him with all the Favour of *Adoption*.¹³⁹ If the Gentleman thus complemented would own the Title, and use the Name, *Son*, unto him who thus courted it; this, being proved, a Right of *Succession*, and *Inheritance*, was thereby convey'd unto that Person. But Persons in a *Servile* Condition might not præsume to use this Compellation, unto any one that was capable of bequeathing to them; it affronted one of any Fashion, thus to offer the bringing a Mark of *Servility* upon his Family. Hence in the Babylonian *Gemara*, where the *Beracoth*, or, *Benedictions*, are treated of, there is this Passage. *Nec servi, nec Ancillæ compellationis, Appellationisue illo genere pater, seu, Abba, N. aut mater, seu, Imma N. utuntur.*¹⁴⁰ And *Selden* thinks himself much mistaken, if there bee not an Allusion hereunto, in the Words of the Apostle, now before us, as well as in Gal. 4.5, 6. *God sent forth His Son, made under the Law, to Redeem that were under the Law, that wee might Receive the Adoption of Sons*; And because *yee are Sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of His Son into your Hearts, crying, Abba, Father*. [Compare, Joh. 1.12.] They that were *Servants* under the Law, have been bought into *Liberty*, by our Lord Jesus Christ; Even into such *Liberty*, that, *ritè*

¹³⁷ See Appendix A.

¹³⁸ "What will a man do in order to live? Mortify himself. What will a man do so as to die? Live it up." Johannes Buxtorf, *Florilegium Hebraicum*; see Mather's entry on 2:21 (above).

¹³⁹ On John Selden, see Mather's entry on 1:7 (above).

¹⁴⁰ "Neither male nor female slaves employ that type of address or title, whether 'father,' or *Abba*, or 'mother,' or *Imma*." (*Abba* and *Imma* are Aramaic words for *father* and *mother*). The *Berakhot* section of the Talmud is composed of rules for ceremonial prayer. The passage that seems to be the source of this citation reads: "Male and female slaves are not called 'Father' or 'Mother.'" The context in this case is whether slaves, being property, can be ritually mourned in ways that seem to recognize their humanity – an issue on which, not surprisingly, the rabbis differed. In part the argument hinged on whether male and female slaves could be addressed in life as father (*Abba*) or mother (*Imma*). See *The Babylonian Talmud* (1:98). Mather's source here seems to be straining the meaning quite a bit, by suggesting that the denial of *Abba* or *Imma* as appellations for slaves was somehow related to Jewish laws of inheritance; nonetheless, the separation of servility and dignity in both instances is parallel.

possiut Invocare sibi, seu Adsciscere patrem,¹⁴¹ they might bespeak a *Father*, which a *Servant* might not lawfully do. Yea, the *Spirit* of the God, which also is the *Spirit* of the Lord Jesus Christ, the *Son* of God, acknowledged them to bee the *Children* of God: When Hee became a *Spirit* of *Prayer* in them, Hee did so.

One observes, that the Apostle here expresses our Filial Assurance, in the same Words, that our Saviour uses to his *Father*.¹⁴² [Mar. 14.36.] The *Oxford Paraphrase* ha's a Guess, That the Expression might be taken up in Imitation of our Saviour.¹⁴³

It is a Syriac Word, composed of the Two First Letters. And such an easy Word as Infants are apt first to speak.

It was an ordinary Compellation among the Jewes, of younger Men to any of their Elders.

Q. On That, *The Spirit bearing Witness with our Spirits?* v. 16.

A. It may be rendred, *He beareth witness To our Spirits*. The Syriac renders it so. The Vulgar Latin renders it so. And the same Greek Term is in Rom. IX.1. by us rendred so.

Q. Unto what may the Apostle allude in that Passage, *I reckon, that the Sufferings of this present Time, are not worthy to bee compared, with the Glory, which shall bee Reveled in us?* v. 18 [Or. Gr: *Into us*]

A. 'Tis an Allusion to the Return made by *Joshua* and *Caleb*, who had been sent *Spies* into the Land of *Canaan*. They brought this Report, That whatever Difficulties were to bee encountred, the Incomparable Delights of that *Promised Land*, would abundantly make a Compensation for all those Difficulties.

The Apostle uses a Term of the Mathematicks, when hee saies, *I Reckon*; hee speaks, as having like an Accurate Arithmetician *cast up the Account*. Hee intimates, that there is no *Comparison*, between these two; as if one had as much Evil & Misery, as the other ha's of Good & Blessedness. The *State* of that Man is not to bee complained of, who must undergo the *One*, while hee ha's an Interest

¹⁴¹ "He could rightly call or receive unto himself his father." On John Selden's treatises on the Jewish law, see Mather's entry on 1:7 (above).

¹⁴² Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:556).

¹⁴³ Abraham Woodhead, Obadiah Walker, and Richard Allestree, *A Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the Epistles of St. Paul, done by several eminent men at Oxford* (1702). The original work (1675) was only a partial paraphrase; the 1684 edition encompassed the entire Pauline corpus. The 1702 edition included the affixed subtitle, hence it became known as the "Oxford Paraphrase." Woodhead (1609–78) and Walker (1616–99) were Anglican clerics in teaching positions at Oxford; both converted to Catholicism (Woodhead in the 1640's, Walker in 1686); see *ODNB* (60:186–8) and (56:878–80), respectively. Richard Allestree (1619–81) was a royalist soldier and chaplain during the Civil War; in 1663, he was made a chaplain to the king and, in 1665, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. Unlike Woodhead and Walker, he remained a loyal Anglican cleric; see *ODNB* (1:842–4).

in the *Other*; nor can any Person with any *Reason*, to escape the *One*, hazard the Enjoyment of the *Other*.

It is to be noted, *That the Glory is to be Reveled* unto the whole World, and sett before the Eyes of the whole World, at our Admittance into it. All the World shall see it, *Reveled*, tho' it *be in us*, as the Subjects of it.

Q. What is the *Manifestation of the Sons of God*? v. 19.

A. The *Revelation to the Sons of God*. The genitive Case in the New Testament often denotes the Object. Or, The *Revelation* means that *Immortality*, which cannot be *Comprehended* until it be *Revealed*. [see 1. Pet. 1.4–7.]

Q. The *Expectation*? v. 19.

A. *Alardus* observes, The Similitude is fetch'd, *Ad iis qui in magnis periculis sunt constituti, utpote Igne, Aqua. {Illi excito vertice expetunt auxilium, et eam clamore petunt}*.¹⁴⁴

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[▽31r] [▽Insert from 31r]

Q. A Further Gloss upon this, *Αποκαρδοκία*? v. 19.

A. Mr. *Blackwal* observes, The Word signifies, *To lift up our Head, and stretch ourselves out as far as possible, to hear something agreeable & of great Importance; To gain the first Appearance & Glimpse of a Friend that has been long absent; to gain the Ken of a Vessel at Sea, that has some precious Freight that we have a Concern in, or carries some Passenger very dear to us.* He says, 'Tis hard, if not impossible, to track the Force of it, in any Language. *Xenophon* and *Herodotus* have something of the Word, for an *Eager and Impatient Waiting for the Event of a Battle*.¹⁴⁶

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽32v△] [▽Insert from 32v] [blank]

[33r]

¹⁴⁴ “As with those who have been placed in great dangers, such as in fire or water: They seek help shaking from head to foot, and they strive for it with shouting.” (On the second phrase, see Appendix A). Alard of Amsterdam (1494–1544) was a classicist and professor at Louvain; his treatise on rhetoric, *Descriptio ecclesiae sive concionatoris evangelici*, was influenced by the theoretical work of Rudolph Agricola whose collected works he published in 1539. See Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue* (96, 126).

¹⁴⁵ See Appendix A.

¹⁴⁶ *ἀποκαρδοκία*; “earnest expectation.” Anthony Blackwall (1672–1730), a graduate of Cambridge and a classicist who served as headmaster at a number of schools. He published his own Latin grammar and two introductions to classical literature: *An Introduction to the Classics* (1718) and *The Sacred Classics Defended and Illustrated* (1725) (the latter of which is probably in view here; see Mather’s entry on 12:21 (below). See *ODNB* (6:18–19).

Q. Who is it, that hath *subjected the Creature unto Vanity*? v. 20.

A. Is it not the *Diuel*? Compare the Third Chapter of *Genesis*, with Heb. 2.14, 15. and Col. 2.15.

That Word; *In hope*, should not stand at the End of the 20th Verse: which mightily obscures the Meaning of the Passage. But it should stand at the Beginning of the 21st Verse. All the Words, between, *God*, and, *In Hope*, are to be in a *Parenthesis*. Then all runs clear. And the next Word, *οτι*, will have its proper Signification, *That*, and not, *Because*.

Q. What is the *Bondage of Corruption*? v. 21.

A. The Fear of Death. See, Heb. 2.15.

Corruption signifies, *Death*, or *Destruction*.

Q. Why is the *Resurrection* called, *The Adoption*? v. 23.

A. There was (as Mr. *How* notes) a Twofold *Adoption* among the *Romans*. A *Private*, when such a Patron did design to *Adopt* such a Person for a *Son*, & express his Design to Such as were concerned. And then, a *Public*, when the Action became solemn, and *in Foro*, and was enrolled, and a Register kept of it. The Apostle here alludes to that latter *Adoption*. See 1 Joh. 3.2.¹⁴⁷

Q. What may be comprised in the *Groans which cannot be uttered*, wherewith tis said, *the Spirit makes Intercession*? v. 26.

A. *Grotius*, as great a Man as he was, I would as soon go to any Man under the Cope of Heaven, for a Commentary on the Epistle to the *Romans*, as to *him*: nevertheless he has now and then, in his Annotations on this Epistle, a Stroke not unworthy of our Notice. The *Στεναγμοὶ ἀλαλητοί*, here, are by *Grotius* taken to be *Suspiria etiam sine Voce*.¹⁴⁸ The *Jewes*, had an Opinion, he saies, That no *Prayers* were available, except the *Words* of the *Prayers*, were at least formed with a Motion of the *Lips*. But we *Christians* think, that the *Prayers*, which are only conceived in the *Mind*, have also their Efficacy, & are not utterly lost.¹⁴⁹ Tho' I don't offer you this, as the Meaning of the Text, yett it is to be considered.

¹⁴⁷ Possibly John Howe (1630–1705), a Puritan divine, a student of Ralph Cudworth and Henry More, and chaplain to Oliver Cromwell. After the Act of Uniformity (1662), he had a somewhat peripatetic career as a preacher among dissenting churches, eventually landing in Utrecht. Upon James II's issuing of the Act of Indulgence (1687) he returned to London. Howe published a number of topical treatises and sermons, often on the subject of piety – his best known work, *The Living Temple* (1702), was in this vein. See *ODNB* (28:471–4). Mather owned Howe's *Calm and Sober Enquiry concerning the Possibility of a Trinity in the Godhead* (1694); see Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (66).

¹⁴⁸ "Sighings without voice."

¹⁴⁹ Hugo Grotius, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (6:153–4).

Q. The *Spirits Helping our Infirmities*; what may be the Emphasis of the original Word, *Συναντιλαμβάνω*, which we render, *To Help*?¹⁵⁰ v. 26.

A. Upon the Word, *Infirmities*, the *Thirty fifth* Verse may give us a sufficient Commentary.

Of the Greek Word, which we render, *To Help*, I will give you the Account, which I find, in a late Composure of Mr. *Flemings*.¹⁵¹ It seems to present us in a short *Synopsis*, with the whole Way & Manner of the *Spirits* Working upon us, or Aiding our Souls in the Performance of Duty. It is a Compounded, or rather Decomposed Word, full of Matter, if duely Anatomized. There are Three Words joined in One, & all of them significant. The first is, the *Simple* or *Thematical* Word, *λαμβάνω*, which denotes, *To lay Hold upon*, such or such a thing.¹⁵² As soon as the Saints putt forth their Hand to their Work, the *Spirit* also *takes hold of the Same*, and comes in as a Joint-worker with them. This is hinted, not obscurely, in the Particles, *ὡσαύτως*, and, *καὶ*, *Likewise*, and, *Also*.¹⁵³ The *Second* is, *Ἀντιλαμβάνω* which intimates, that when the *Spirit* comes in to Help, He not only layes hold on the Work, as well as we, but *layes hold of it*, as it were, *over against us*.¹⁵⁴ As suppose a Man layes Hold upon a Burden at one End, to lift it up, and a Friend comes in immediately on the other side, & bears up the Load over against us. Thus, when we sett about *the Working out of our Salvation*, the *Spirit* comes and *helpeth* us, working in us, *both to will & to do, of His own good Pleasure*. The Third Word is, *Συλλαμβάνω* which denotes, *To take hold together with us*, as it were, or the very same Part of the Burden, that we lay hold upon.¹⁵⁵ The *Spirit* doth not only awake and stir us up, by setting on Work, the Grace of God in us; but He helps us also, by actuating and stirring up our Natural Powers and Faculties. Wherefore, the *Συναντιλήψις*, denotes not only *Assistance*, and *Joint Assistance*, but *Whole Assistance* also.¹⁵⁶

Q. The *Spirits* making *Intercession* for us, *according unto God*; give us upon it, a Commentary of the Ancients? v. 27.

A. Accept of *Origens*. *Velut si magister suscipiens ad rudimenta Discipulum, et ignorantem in penitus Literas, ut eum docere possit et instituere, necesse habet inclinare se ad Discipuli rudimenta et ipse prius dicere nomen Literæ, ut respondendo Discipulus discat, et sit quodam modo Magister incipienti Discipulo similis,*

¹⁵⁰ *συναντιλαμβάνεται*; “to help.”

¹⁵¹ There were two Robert Flemings, father (1630–94) and son (1660–1716), both Scottish Presbyterian ministers. The elder published a number of topical works and sermons. His *Fulfilling of the Scripture* (1671) appears in Mather’s library, with Increase’s inscription; see Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (61). See *ODNB* (20:70–2).

¹⁵² *λαμβάνω*; “take hold of.”

¹⁵³ *ὡσαύτως*; “in like manner.”

¹⁵⁴ *ἀντιλαμβάνω*; “to share in a thing.”

¹⁵⁵ *συλλαμβάνω*; “gather together.”

¹⁵⁶ *συναντιλήψις*; “receive together.”

*ea loquens, et ea meditans, quæ incipiens loqui debeat, ac meditari: Ità et Sanctus Spiritus, ubi oppugnationibus Carnis perturbari nostrum Spiritum viderit, et nescientem quid orare debeat secundum quod oportet, ipse velut Magister Orationem præmittit, quam noster Spiritus (si tamen Discipulus esse Sancti Spiritus desiderat) prosequatur ipse genitus offert, quibus noster Spiritus discat ingemiscere, ut repropitiæ sibi Deum.*¹⁵⁷ To the like Purpose, *Damascen*, L. 4. c. 3.¹⁵⁸ And *Austin* in sundry Places collected by *Beda*, in his Commentary on this.¹⁵⁹

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Q. That Clause, *Whom He did Foreknow, he did also Prædestinate*: May it not be Translated a little more to advantage? v. 29.

A. 'Tis very certain, That a *Special Fore-knowledge* is intended: Even such a *Fore-knowledge* as is common to no other Persons or Creatures; for *known to God are all His Works from the Beginning*.

Accordingly, it is not here said, οὐς προῆδε, *whom He fore-knew*, as but with a bare simple Act of Knowledge, for so he knowes all things; but, οὐς προέγνω, *whom He fore-acknowledged*; or approved, with a Knowledge of Love.¹⁶⁰

Indeed, this Text ha's been as one saies, *The principal Anchor-hold of Arminianism*.

¹⁵⁷ "Just as if a teacher, taking on a beginning student – a student deeply ignorant of his letters – in order to teach and instruct him, finds it necessary to focus on the student's rudimentary skills, and say the name of the letter first, so that the student might learn by responding, and so that the teacher will in some way be like a beginning student, saying and thinking those things that the beginner ought to say and think; even so the Holy Spirit, when it has seen our spirit disturbed by the assaults of the flesh and not knowing how to pray as it ought, like a teacher sends speech, which our spirit (if, that is, it wants to be a student of the Holy Spirit) might follow, and offers the rudiments through which our spirit might learn to repent (or groan), in order to make itself welcome again to God." Origen, on Rom. 8:27, as quoted in John Owen's *Pneumatologia*, ch. 5, pp. 285–86 (CCEL). Origen (c. 184–254 CE) was one of the great theological architects of early Christianity whose heterodox ideas on some subjects led to his posthumous branding as a heretic; see *NCE* (10:653–7).

¹⁵⁸ John of Damascus (676–749 CE), a Syrian who served the Umayyad caliphs before becoming a monk and resident at Mar Saba in the Holy Land, as quoted in Owen's *Pneumatologia* (ch. 5, p. 286) (CCEL); see *NCE* (7:951–53). Perhaps his *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* or his *Elementary Introduction to the Dogmas*.

¹⁵⁹ John Owen (*Pneumatologia*, ch. 5, p. 296) (CCEL). Bede (673–735) was an English monk and author of *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (731), the first major history of Christianity in England. Bede wrote a number of commentaries on the books of the Old and New Testament, including a commentary on the Pauline epistles which appears to be in view here. See *NCE* (2:195–97).

¹⁶⁰ οὐς προῆδε (προείδε); "whom he foresaw"; οὐς προέγνω; "whom he foreknew" (KJV).

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I will therefore more particularly employ Dr. *Edwards's* Thoughts, for the clearing of it.¹⁶¹

Tho' God from Eternity, did *Foreknow* who would *Beleeve*, & who not; yett that is not the *Foreknowledge* here intended. For God could not *Foreknow* that any would *Beleeve*, except that He *Decreed* that He would confer *Faith* upon them. The Divine *Foreknowledge* depends on the *Decree*. God *Foreknowes* all Futurities, because He *Appoints* them, either to effect them, or to permit them. He *Decrees* not things, because He *Foreknowes* them; but He *Foreknowes* them, because he *Decrees* them. Some *Socinians* are so sensible that this is Rational, that they Deny the Divine *Foreknowledge* of Contingencies, or such Actions as depend on the Freedom of our Wills. But, even a *Malebranche* himself confesses; *I confess, I cannot conceive, how God can discover the Consequences of Actions, which derive not their Infallibility from His Absolute Decree.*¹⁶² Wherefore here, by the *Foreknowledge* of God, we may understand the Divine *Decree in general*; and by His *Prædestination*, a *Particular, Peculiar, Special Act of His Decree*. [Compare, Rom. 11.2. and, 1. Pet. 1.2. & 1.20.]

The Apostle having just before mentioned, the *Purpose* of God, he proceeds to assert the Doctrine of the *Decree*. He saies, *whom He did Foreknow*. This refers to the *Purpose*, in the Words Foregoing, προθεσις and προγνωσις, are the same.¹⁶³ *Foreknowledge* comprehends the *whole Designation* of God, concerning *Persons & Matters*. But *Prædestination* is of a Narrower Compass. It respects only that *Gracious Part* of the Divine Decree, which is called, *Election*. God not only *Foreknew*, and predetermined, the *general State* of all Persons, but more signally Decreed, what should be the *Condition* of them whom He sett apart for everlasting Life. Or, To *Foreknow*, may signify the bare Act of *Election*; the Chusing out such Persons from the Rest of Mankind. But to *prædestinate*, this carries on the Matter further. This actually determines them, to be, *Called, Justified, Glorified*. *Foreknowledge* makes a Separation, between the *Elect*, and the *Reprobate*. *Prædestination* carries on the Distinction; and ordains them in the Circumstances, that shall befall them. The *General Purpose* of the Trinity,

161 John Edwards, possibly his *Arminian Doctrines condemn'd by the Holy Scriptures* (1711). A number of Edwards's theological works are listed in Mather's library (though not this one); Mather also uses Edwards's *Discourse concerning the Authority, Stile, and Perfection of the Books of the Old and New Testament* (1693) and his *Farther Enquiry into Several Remarkable Texts of the Old and New Testament* (1692) in the *Biblia*. On Edwards, see ODNB (17:937–8).

162 Nicolas Malebranche (1638–1715), French Oratorian priest and philosophic occasionalist who wrote works of philosophy, theology, history, and biblical interpretation. His major philosophical work, *The Search after Truth* (1674), a response to Cartesianism, posited a strongly theocentric metaphysics in which human cognition is rooted in God's vision of all things; see NCE (9:73–6).

163 κατὰ πρόθεσιν κλητοῖς οὖσιν. ὅτι οὗς προέγνω ... “being called according to his *purpose*. For whom he did *foreknow* ...” (v. 28–29).

and the *Special Act* accompanying that Resolve, our Apostle represents here, as *Distinct*, tho' they are *Inseparable*.

It cannot be inferr'd from this Text; That God was moved to *prædestinate* any unto *Glory*, because He did *Foreknow*, or Foresee, their Faith and Obedience.

Q. On that, *If God be for us, who can be against us?* v. 31.

A. What think you of this Paraphrase?

"If it appears that God has actually taken the *Gentiles* into His gracious Covenant, what has any *Zelous Jew*, to do to speak against it?"¹⁶⁴

Q. On that, *Who shall separate us from the Love of God?* v. 35.

A. The Jews in *Elle Shemoth Rabba*, Sect. 49. have a notable Passage of such an Aspect.

Aquæ multæ non possunt extinguere Amorem. Cant. VIII.7. *Aquæ multæ sunt Nationes Mundi; sicut dictum est.* Isa. XVII.12. *Qua sonitum {edum}*¹⁶⁵ *instar Sonitus Marium. Si omnes Nationes sese in unum congregaverint, ut irritum faciant Amorem Dei S. B. erga Israel, id efficere non possent.*¹⁶⁶

Q. Among the Things which endanger the Christian, wee find *Life* among the first enumerated? v. 38.

A. I confess I am pleased with the Words of Dr. *Goodwin* upon this Text.

"I confess I have been most pleased and comforted, with the putting in of *Life*, that it shall not *separate us*. I have feared *Life*, and the Snares of it, more than *Death*, or *Angels*, or *Divels*. As for *Death*, it dispatcheth a Mans Sins, & his Dangers in respect of them, at once; it, like *Sampson*, pulls down an old House, that kills all the *Philistines* together with himself; but it is *Life*, which a Christian is most apt to fear, knowing his own Weakness, & the Strength of Lusts, & Varieties of Temptations."¹⁶⁷

Q. What is meant by, *The Heighth*, and what by, *The Depth*, which shall not be able to *separate us from the Love of God?* v. 39.

¹⁶⁴ See Pyle, *Paraphrase upon the New Testament* (1:248).

¹⁶⁵ See Appendix A.

¹⁶⁶ "Much water cannot extinguish love: Canticles 8:7. The nations of the world are akin to many waters, as has been said in Isaiah 17:12: they make a noise like the roaring of the seas. If all the nations should gather themselves together to make vain the love of God (blessed be He) for Israel, they could not accomplish it." *The Midrash* (3:554). The *Shemot Rabba* is a midrashic commentary on the book of Exodus dating in its early form from the 9th century.

¹⁶⁷ Probably Thomas Goodwin (1600–80); see Mather's entry on 1:24 (above). Mather owned several of his works.

A. By *Heighth*, Grotius understands, *Honour*, & the *Hope* of it: Quoting, Job. 24.24, where for *Honour*, the LXX read, ὑψωμα.¹⁶⁸ By *Depth*, he understands, *Reproach*, and the *Fear* of it. And he adds, *Meritò postremo loco hæc posuit, quibus succumbunt sæpe etiam qui mortem contemnunt.*¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ “Height, exaltation.”

¹⁶⁹ “Fittingly in the lowest place he set these things, to which even those who despise death often succumb.” Hugo Grotius, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (6:160).

Q. Ought not the whole *Ninth Chapter* of the *Romans*, to be rescued from those Forced Glosses, wherewith many endeavour to carry it away from the true & main & plain Intention of it? v. 1.

A. Among many who have done excellently, for this Purpose, I would now particularly consult and employ a Performance of that excellent Person Dr. *Arrowsmith*, which leads me to some Thoughts of this Importance.¹⁷⁰

It is evident unto any one, who will without Præpossessions consider it, That our Apostle does in this Chapter, upon a great Occasion propound and pursue the Doctrine of PRÆDESTINATION. And that He plainly derives the Decree of *Præterition* in it, from the *Sovereignty* of the glorious God. But then we must observe, That our Apostle, from the Conclusion of the *Eighth* to the Beginning of the *Twelfth* Chapter, continues a Deep Discourse, and a very complicated one, about the Concernments of his Countreymen the Jews; And for the Enlightening of the *Ninth*, we have certain Passages in the *Tenth* and *Eleventh* Chapters, the Neglect whereof ha's caused the Miscarriages of so many Interpreters.

Our Apostle had continually preached, *Faith in CHRIST*, as the only way of Salvation. This was entertained by the *Gentiles*; but could find no Entertainment with the *Jews*. [Compare, Chap. IX.31, 32, 33. with, Chap. X.2, 3, 4.] Thus their *Stumbling* at CHRIST, caused a great *Stumble* in the Thoughts of considerate Men, who could not but stand amazed at it, that when God had appointed but one onely Way for the Attainment of Blessedness, His own & only People should universally decline from that, and venture their Souls upon another. Yett so it was! They who are so magnificently described, *Israelites, To whom there pertained, the Adoption, & the Glory, & the Service of God, & the Promises, & of whom as concerning the Flesh, CHRIST came*; these did reject the only Way of Life. Hereupon some cried out, "All is undone; *The Word of God itself ha's taken no effect*. The Promise to *Abraham* is come to nothing. All the Means of Grace, are but Rains upon the Rocks, that glide off, & leave no Impression."

Our Apostle, to recover them out of these Difficulties & Discouragements, by Degrees leads them into the Knowledge of the Divine *Præestination*, as lying at the Root of all this. He gives them to understand, That all who bore the Name of *Israelites*, and enjoy'd the Ordinances of God, were not really His Children,

¹⁷⁰ John Arrowsmith (1602–59); this long excerpt is taken from his *Armilla catechetica* (1659), a posthumous collection of sermon excerpts. Arrowsmith was a member of the Westminster Assembly and, later, Regius Professor of Divinity and Master of Trinity College at Cambridge; see *ODNB* (2:526–7). His *Theanthropos, or God-man* (1660) appears in the Mather libraries; see Cotton Mather, *BA* (1:329).

& really did not belong to the *Election of Grace*; and therefore, it must not be wondered at, if these did not close with a glorious CHRIST; as those Few did, on whom the Word of Grace was effectual, and in whom (as few as they were) the Promise of God unto *Abraham* was præserv'd. See Chap. IX.6, 7, 8. Here the *Elect* People of God, (who only are accounted the *Spiritual Seed*, & who only in the Conclusion will concur to constitute the mystical Body of our Saviour,) are styled, *Children of the Promise*; No doubt, in reference to that *Grace and Promise of eternal Life*, which was *given for them in CHRIST* before the World began: Yett with an Allusion to the Birth of *Isaac*, who was produced above the Power of Nature, by Vertue of a *Promise*, declaring the Will & Pleasure of God, that it should be so: For the *Elect* in the respective Hours of their Conversion, are Born in such a Manner. [See Joh. I.13. Jam. I.18.]

Having thus given a more obscure Intimation of some *Few Elect Ones* complying with the Gospel, when the most of the Jews continued in Unbeleef, he goes on to profess it more openly, in the Beginning of the XI Chapter: *God hath not cast away His People which He foreknew*. And this is the very same, that his *Beloved Brother Peter* speaks, when he addresses this very People, as, *Elect according to the Foreknowledge of God the Father*. [1 Pet. I.2.] Anon, he speaks it more plainly; *The Election hath obtained; the Rest were Blinded, according as it is writt'n*.

And now, who can advisedly read that Passage in the Discourse about *Jacob* and *Esau*; That *the Purpose of God according to Election might stand*; and consult the Circumstances of it; the *Childrens not being yett born, nor having done Good or Evil*; as also a Choice no way founded upon him that wisheth or upon him that runneth, but upon God alone, *who sheweth Mercy*: and not reflect upon that *Election*, which *Austin* and *Calvin* have so insisted on? Add hereto, the Apostolical Distributions of Men, into *Those, on whom the Lord will have Mercy*, and, *Those whom | He will harden*. Is not this to say, *Elect*, and, *Reprobate*? So tis, to say, what follows; *Vessels of Mercy* and, *Vessels of Wrath*. And it should be punctually observed, That the *Vessels of Wrath*, are said only to be *Fitted unto Destruction*, without naming by whom, God, or, Satan, or Themselves. Whereas on the other Side, GOD Himself is expressly said, for to have *prepared* His chosen *Vessels of Mercy unto Glory*. Tis may be purposely done, to intimate a remarkable Difference, between *Election* and *Præterition*. *Election* is a proper Cause, not only of Salvation itself, but also of all the Graces that have any Tendency unto it. Whereas *Præterition* is no proper Cause, either of Damnation itself, or of the Sin that brings unto it. This Difference being once rightly apprehended stops the Mouth of the greatest Calumny cast on our Doctrine of *Prædestination*; That *God made Creatures on purpose to damn them*; A Calumny which the Rhetoric of our Adversaries, blows up to the highest Pitch of Aggravation: But soon blown away, by those that will use unto them the Words of Dr. *Devenant*. "It is true, that the Elect are severally created to the End & Intent, that they might be glorified together with their Head CHRIST JESUS. But for the Non-elect,

we cannot truly say, that they are created to the End they may be tormented with the Diuel & his Angels. For we may then say, God maketh such a thing for such an End, when He gives the thing a Nature & Qualities fitted for such an End. Now, no Man is created by God, with a Nature & Qualities, fitting him to Damnation. Yea, neither in the State of his Innocency, nor in the State of the Fall & his Corruption, doth he receive any thing from God, which is a proper & fitt Means of bringing him to his Damnation. And therefore, Damnation is not the End of any Mans Creation.”¹⁷¹

Our Apostle having propounded the Doctrine of *Prædestination*, he prosecutes it more Wayes than one. As, First; *By producing certain Instances*. If the Persons Instanced by him, are not proper and solemn Examples, they are at least *Figures*, of *Election* and *Reprobation*. It is the grand Priviledge of the *Elect*, that they have a peculiar Share in the Covenant of God. We read, Dan. IX.27. *The Messiah shall confirm the Covenant with many*. The Word is, *Larabbim*,¹⁷² that is to say, with the *Excellent Ones*: By which, *Pescator* understands the *Elect*: the same whom the *Righteous One* [Isa. LIII.11.] does *Justify*.¹⁷³ And who more fitt now for a Type of these *Elect* than *Isaac*, of whom the Lord said, *I will establish my Covenant with him*? Again, *The Written in Heaven*, that is to say, the *Elect*, are Styled, Heb. XII.23. *The general Assembly, & Church of the First-born*. And who more fitt for a Type of the *Elect*, than *Jacob*; a Man most famous for procuring a *Primogeniture*, in an extraordinary Way? *Ishmael* might well yeeld us a Type of *Reprobation*; inasmuch as it was the Order concerning him, *cast him out*. *Esau* falls under Two Sad Characters. One is, *Esau have I hated*. The other is, *The Elder shall serve the Younger*. Hereupon Mr. Aynsworth ha's this Remark. “*Servitude came in with a Curse, & figureth Reprobation*. [Gen. IX.25. Joh. VIII.34, 35. Gal. IV.30, 31.] Therefore from hence, the Prophet teaches, that God *loved Jacob and hated Esau*; and the Apostle gathereth the Doctrine of *Election* and *Reprobation*.”¹⁷⁴

171 John Davenant, perhaps his *Determinationes questionum quarundam theologicarum* (1634). Davenant (1572–1641) was Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity at Cambridge (1609), president of Queen's College (1614–21), and subsequently bishop of Salisbury; see *ODNB* (15:252–4).

172 ל רבים (the many).

173 Johannes Piscator (1546–1625), German Reformed theologian and professor at several schools and universities, including Strasbourg and Neustadt (in the course of his career he moved from supralapsarian Calvinism to Arminianism). Piscator produced a German translation of the Bible and wrote commentaries on a number of books in the Old and New Testaments, including one on Romans; see *NSHERK* (9:73). A three-volume collection of his works appears in Increase Mather's 1664 *Catalogue* of his library; his exposition of a Christian catechism appears in Cotton Mather's library; see Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (14, 76).

174 Henry Ainsworth (1571–1622), a Puritan cleric who wrote a number of commentaries on the Old Testament. The Ainsworth Psalter made its way to New England with the Pilgrims and influenced the development of the Bay Psalm Book; see *ODNB* (1:501–4). His commentaries on Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, the Psalms, and the Song of Songs as well as a number of other works appear in the Mather libraries.

The main Exception is; That *Jacob* and *Esau*, are considerable in a Double Capacity; the one *personal*, as they were this and that Individual Member of Mankind; the other *patriarchal*, as they were Heads of several Nations. Tis now supposed, that the Oracle delivered unto *Rebeckah* cannot be applied unto their *Persons*, but unto their *Posterity*. Compare, Mal. I.2, 3.

But on this, Dr. *Arrowsmiths* Tho'ts are, That according unto their Double Capacity, the Answer of God unto *Rebeckah* about them, ha's a Double Aspect; One to their *Posterity*, regarding especially Temporal things; whereof *Malachi* speaketh: Another to their *Persons*, eying chiefly their spiritual Concernments, and of this *Paul* treats in the IX of the *Romans*. Nor can this be wondred at, by such as consider, how usual it has been with God, as to discover Himself by Degrees, [according to that, *The Lord came from Sinai, & rose up from Seir unto them; He shined forth from Mount Paran:*] so, to reserve more spiritual Discoveries for the Times of the Gospel.

But it is further excepted, That the Prophecy of *the Elder serving the Younger*, never was verified in the Person of *Esau*. Unto this, Besides the Difficulty of proving a *Negative*, Dr. *Arrowsmith* answers, That in Point of Right, *Esau* as having sold his Birthright, became a Servant unto him that Bought it: For it had long before been said unto the *Elder Brother* concerning the *Younger*, *Unto thee shall be his Desire, and Thou shalt rule over him*. Yea, in Point of Fact, there [37r] was a Time, when *Esau* | became a very humble Suppliant unto *Jacob*, for a little Food. And we know who saies, *The Borrower is a Servant unto the Lender*.¹⁷⁵ How much more, he that craves, to him that gives? And if the Word *serve*, may be taken in so large a Sense, we may say, That *Esau* served *Jacob*, well nigh all his Life; did him the *Service* of bringing him nearer to God, by vexing of him; as one saies, *Non observendo, sed persequendo*.¹⁷⁶ Moreover, The *patriarchal* Capacity does not exclude, but comprehend the *personal*. For *Jacob*, and his *Israelites*, *Edom* and his *Idumæans*, make the Nations. Compare, 2. Sam. VIII.14. And finally; suppose it so; yet how fitt is it, for the *Israelites* to Typify the *Election*, of whom God said, *Thou art an Holy People unto the Lord thy God; & the Lord hath chosen thee to be a peculiar People unto Himself, above all the Nations that are on the Earth!*¹⁷⁷ How fitly do the *Idumæans* typify the *Reprobation*, of whom we read, *They shall call them the Border of Wickedness, and the People against whom the Lord hath Indignation forever!*¹⁷⁸

Our Apostle proceeds in his undertaking; Secondly; *By Resolving certain Enquiries*. The First Quære is that; *What shall we say then? Is there any Unrighteousness with God? God forbid*. Had *Pauls* Doctrine of *Prædestination*, been the same that is held by some of our Moderns; *Gods electing upon foresight of Mens*

¹⁷⁵ Prov. 22:7.

¹⁷⁶ "Not attending to, but pursuing."

¹⁷⁷ Deut. 7:6.

¹⁷⁸ Mal. 1:4.

being in Christ by Faith, and Reprobating upon foresight of their final Unbelief; there would have been little Occasion for that Quære. Reason, how corrupt soever, would have closed with such Decrees to render, *par pari*.¹⁷⁹ It is Gods awarding, *Paribus Imparia*,¹⁸⁰ unlike Destinies to Men of like Conditions, considered in the same Lump; and his doing this Arbitrarily, according to His good Pleasure, & the Counsel of His own Will, that sett's Reason upon crying out of Iniquity in the Proceedings. But what is Paul's Answer? *God forbid!* He abhors the Thought of such a Thing. Austin ha's truly said, [De Civit. Dei. L.2. c.23.] *Dei Judicia, nemo planè comprehendit, nemo Justè Reprehendit*.¹⁸¹ Isaac Junius has bestow'd a very Agreeable Rebuke on those Remonstrants. "*Calceat eum aditis*,¹⁸² – You draw near with Shoes on your Feet, unto him who dwells in a Light unaccessible; *Freti Axiomatibus Rationis oblique et diptoræ*, – *Revocatis omnia Dei consilia sub humanam Incudem*,¹⁸³ – præsuming upon certain Axioms of crooked & perverse Reason, you pass sentence on the Decrees of God. We blame you in this regard especially for intruding yourselves into things which you have not seen, and giving Answers about the Secrets of Heaven, with as much Confidence as if you satt at Gods Council-Table. You examine His Counsels, by the Rules of Humane Proceedings; and if any thing occur, that suits not with your præconceived Opinions about Free Will, you expunge it quite out of the Number of Gods Designs, as unworthy of Him."¹⁸⁴ Yett, our Apostle goes on to clear the Decrees of God from Iniquity, each by itself. *Election*; Because it is an Act of meer Grace, where it is impossible to be unjust: God cannot but be at absolute Liberty, to say, *I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy*.¹⁸⁵ *Reprobation*; Because all Creatures must be subservient unto the Glory of their Maker; and if any be Rejected by Him, it is that He may be exalted; as when *Pharaoh was raised up*.

The next Quære is that; *Why doth He yett find fault? For who hath resisted His Will?* It looks like a Cruelty, to *Will* it in some Sense, that Reprobates be *Hardened*; & yett *find fault* with them for it, yea, Damn them in the Conclusion; tho' His *Will* be Irresistible. Paul is provoked at this Malapertness of Men, who tho' conscious to themselves, of their own Hardening themselves, will be laying the Blame on God. He checks it & smites it with an Apostolical Authority.

179 "Without partiality, or like for like."

180 "Equally, or on equal footing."

181 "No one understands the justice of God entirely, and no one can justly hold it back." Augustine, *The City of God* (1:237).

182 "You approach him with shoes."

183 Literally, "Relying upon axioms of crooked and perverse reason – you bring back all of God's counsels to the human anvil" [a colloquialism for revisting something repeatedly]. See Arrowsmith, *Armilla* (258), who draws it from Isaac Junius' *Antapologia* (see following note).

184 Isaac Junius, *Antapologia, sive animadversiones ... apologiae remonstratum* (1640), which attacked the Arminian position. Junius (1586–1636) was a Reformed minister at Delft.

185 Rom. 9:15.

Nay, but, O Man, who art thou that repliest against God? Beza well renders it, *Qui ex adverso responsas Deo*.¹⁸⁶ Tis, what our English Proverb calls, *A chopping Logick with God*. A Vice, which our very being MEN, should sufficiently wean us from. The Word, *O Man*, carries an Emphasis in it, which *Austin* long ago observed. *Quis sit ille, attende: Quis sis tu, attende. Ille Deus, Tu Homo*.¹⁸⁷ Saies he; “Ask me not an Account of Divine Dispensations, why things are carried so & so, towards this and that Person. I am a MAN, of whom thou enquirest; Thou that enquirest, art a MAN. Lett us both attend to the Man, that said, *O MAN, who art thou that repliest against God?* Lett *Man* hear, *ne pereat Homo propter quem Deus factus est Homo*.” Again. *Queris tu Rationem, ego expavescam Altitudinem. Tu Ratiocinare, ego Miror. Tu Disputa, ego Credam. Altitudinem video, ad profundum non pervenio*.¹⁸⁸

Our Apostle ha’s not yett finished. He pursues what he undertook, Thirdly, *By alledging certain Testimonies out of Moses and the Prophets*. These he so Interprets, that we need seek no further Interpretation.

[38v] Having thus discussed the illustrious Point, he then declares, That the Fountain of all is, in the SOVEREIGNTY of the glorious GOD. *Hath not the Potter | Power over the Clay?* His Discourse is a Direct Allusion, to Isa. XLV.9. The Holy Spirit infers the Submission of the *Clay*, from its Relation to the *Potter*. Much more, ought Cavils against the *Præterition* of some in the *Prædestination* of God, to be silenced: Tho’ the Reason of the Divine Proceedings be not fully discerned. They that will yett fly in the face of *Sovereignty* for further Satisfaction, may be sent unto *Gregory*, to learn better Manners. [Expost. Moral. in Job. 9.] *Semetipsum homo considerans tacet, et divina Judicia excutere metuit, qui esse se pulverem agnoscit. Rationem de occulto Dei consilio querere, nihil est aliud quam contrà ejus consilium superbire. Cum ergò factorum causa non deprehenditur, restat ut sub factis illius cum humilitate taceatur, quia nunquam sufficit sensus carnis, ut secreta penetret majestatis. Qui in Factis Dei Rationem non videt, Infirmitatem suam considerans, cur non videat, Rationem videt*.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ “You who responded to God with hostility.” Theodore Beza (1519–1605), French Reformed theologian and protégé of Calvin at Geneva. Beza began his professional life in the law and as an accomplished classicist. He was also deeply involved in Protestant debates about predestination, represented in his *Summa totius christianismi* (1555); see *NSHERK* (2:78–81). Arrowsmith (p. 261) cites Beza without attribution.

¹⁸⁷ “Learn who He is: learn who you are. He is God, you are a man.” See Arrowsmith, *Armilla* (261).

¹⁸⁸ Lett *Man* hear, “so that man would not perish, because of which God became man.” [Again.] “You ask for a reason, I will fear the depth. You deliberate, I admire. You argue, I will believe. I see the depth, but I do not arrive at the bottom.” See Arrowsmith, *Armilla* (261).

¹⁸⁹ “Man, considering himself, falls silent, and he who recognizes that he is dust fears to shake off the divine laws. To seek the reason for God’s hidden counsel is nothing other than to be haughty against His will. Since therefore the reason for His works is not understood, one should keep silent in the presence of His works in humility, because the faculties of the flesh are never able to penetrate the secrets of His majesty. He that does not see the reason for

And yett there will be Cavilling as long as *carnal Minds* have to do with these Points. There will be *great Masters of Reason*, (as they would be accounted,) who will allow the most Arbitrary Sovereignty to their clay Monarchs, (as *Dion Cassius* tells us, the Roman Senate once unto *Augustus Caesar*, *The Senate* (saies he) *freed him from all the Necessity of Law, so as he might do, or not do, what he list, as having both himself, & the Law, at his Disposal*,) yett out of their Enmity, & Malignity and Rebellion against the Infinite God, will deny Him this Prærogative.¹⁹⁰ From hence tis, that Men labour, that the *Decrees* of God should be wholly silenced, either not studied, or if studied, not Beleeved, or if Beleeved, not preached of. Some such there were in *Austins* Time: against whom he employes his Discourse, for Three Chapters, in his Treatise, *De Bono Perseverantia*.¹⁹¹ And some at this day, reckon *Prædestination*, a Needless and Useless Speculation. Holy *Bucer* did not reckon it so. In one of his First Lectures at *Cambridge*, on the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, ha's this Passage: *Si hujus electionis memoria et meditatio nobis auferretur, Bone Deus! Quomodo resisteremus Diabolo?*¹⁹² He asserts it, as a Principle, not only of solid Comfort, but also of solid Piety, & by all Means would have it preached, *in Cætu Fidelium*.¹⁹³

For the sake of some *Universities* in the World, I will add the Words, which *Dr. Arrowsmith* has concerning that at *Cambridge*. "This famous University, is likely to continue famous, as long as it continueth orthodox. We may expect to share in the *Apostles Benediction*, and hope, That *the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Love of God, and the Fellowship of the Holy Spirit*, will be with us, as long as we Teach, to the Praise of the Glory of Free-grace, the *Love of God*, in electing freely what Persons He will; the *Grace of Christ* in dying freely, & with a special Intention for those whom the Father hath elected; and the *Communion of the Holy Spirit*, in freely converting & finally preserving those, whom the Father hath so chosen, & the Son hath so died for."¹⁹⁴

At Last, I will bring my Doctors Words for the Conclusion of all. "I confess, that the *Book of Life*, like the *Tree of Life* in Paradise, hath a *Tree of Knowledge* growing hard by, which cannot with Safety be tasted of. There are some nice & needless Quæstions started about it, that might be spared, & should be

God's works, let him consider his own weakness: he will see the reason why he does not see." Pope Gregory I (540–604), *Moralia, sive expositio in Job*, a 35-volume work on a broad range of moral questions, written between 578 and 595; see Arrowsmith, *Armilla* (264).

190 Cassius Dio, *Roman History* (6:235–7).

191 Augustine, *Responses to Miscellaneous Questions* (173).

192 "If the memory and contemplation of this election should be snatched away from us, good God! How should we be able to resist the Devil?" Arrowsmith (p. 266) cites Bucer's commentary on Ephesians (1527) as his source. Martin Bucer (1491–1551), a collaborator with Luther in the German Reformation, exiled in England for the last two years of his life under the patronage of Thomas Cranmer; see *NSHERK* (2:322–4).

193 "In the assembly of the faithful."

194 Arrowsmith, *Armilla Catechetica* (266).

foreborn. But these *High Walls*, and Sons of *Anak*, should by no means prevail with us, to play the unworthy Spies, & bring up a *bad Report*, or give way to any brought up by others, upon a *Land* that so much *flowes with Milk & Honey*; as the Doctrine of *Prædestination* doth. Surely, for Men to silence it, would be to stop up those Wells, which the Prophets & Apostles, especially *Paul*, have digged, in their Writings, for the refreshing of Thirsty Souls; yea, to endeavour the Cancelling of that First & Great Charter of our Salvation.”¹⁹⁵

[39r]

Q. The *Truth in Christ*? v. 1.

A. That is as much as to say, *Christian Truth*. As, οἱ ἐν Ἀδὰμ,¹⁹⁶ is, *All Men*.

Q. Why does our Apostle here declare such a great Concern of Spirit for his *Countrymen*? v. 2.

A. It was observed, That the Apostle was generally very ill treated by his *Countrymen*, but was had in high Estimation among the *Christian Gentiles*. Now that Men might see his heart was not alienated from his *Countrymen* by all the Ill treats he received from them, he declares a mighty Affection for them. And he begins with the Words of Psal. 13.2. *How long shall I take Counsel in my Soul, having Sorrow in my Heart daily?*

Q. Whence that Expression of the Apostle, *I could wish myself, were Accursed from Christ for my Brethren*? v. 3.

A. When a Jew, would express the Sincerity, and Extremity, of his *Brotherly-kindness* towards any of his Brethren, hee did by a Kind of *Devotion* entitle himself, to all the Mischance & Evil that should befall his Brother, wishing upon himself the *Patience* of it all.

The Form of their Expressions usually was, *Sim ego expiatio ejus*, or, *Ecce me in expiationem*.¹⁹⁷ Thus all the People said unto the High-priest, *Bee wee thy Expiation*; that is, as the Gloss expounds it; *Bee wee in thy Stead for whatever is to happen unto thee*.

So Rabbi Samuel said, אֲנִי כִפְרֶתָן בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל/ *The Sons of Israel, Bee I their Expiation*;¹⁹⁸ which Rambam tells us was a Form of Speech to show the *Greatness of his Love*.¹⁹⁹

It is with some reference to this customary Devotion, That our Apostle here is ready to take upon himself the unhappy Condition of his People. The Word, *Anathema*, here used, hath respect unto the *Herem*, which was the second

¹⁹⁵ Arrowsmith, *Armillæ Catechetica* (267).

¹⁹⁶ “Those in Adam.”

¹⁹⁷ “I am his expiation” or “Behold me in expiation.”

¹⁹⁸ אֲנִי כִפְרֶתָן בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (Let me be the mercy seat for the sons of Israel).

¹⁹⁹ Rambam, i. e. Maimonides; see *EJ* (13:381–97).

Degree of the Jewish Excommunication, whereof the first was *Niddui*, the third *Shammatha*. Now the Condition of a Man lying under the Censure of *Herem*, is thus delivered by the Hebrew Doctors.

The Muchram [or, Excommunication] by *Herem*, *neither may Teach, nor bee taught, neither may Hire nor bee hired; but hee may study alone, that he forgett not his Learning; & hee may make himself a little Cottage for his Necessaries.*

They tell us, *Hee is not permitted any Conversation with any Man; only hee may buy Victuals for himself; but no Man may Eat or Drink with him.* From whence, that of the Apostle 1. Cor. 5.11. *With Such an one, no, not to eat.*

If the Apostle were willing, that by the Providence of the Lord Jesus Christ, hee should bee cast into all such *external Inconveniencies* of an *Excommunicate* for the Transferring of like and worse Calamities, from his People; great his *Love* in being *so willing!* as was before said, of his Name-sake, R. *Samuel*. But if his Expressions carry an higher Signification in them, and are of a more spiritual & eternal Importance, they are then to bee understood, as having the Condition, in them. *If it were lawful, or useful for mee to bee willing unto such a thing!*

Compare what wee have written on Exod. 32.33. and on 2. Sam. 1.21. and you'll see this Matter elucidated with a full Exposition.²⁰⁰

A late Nameless Author of *A Paraphrase With Notes on the Epistle to the Romans*, observes, *Ἀνάθεμα*, *חֵרֵם*, which the LXX render, *Anathema*, signifies Persons or Things devoted unto Destruction, & Extermination.²⁰¹ The Jewish Nation were now an *Anathema*, or Destined to Destruction. *Paul*, to express his Affection to them, saies, he could wish to save them from it, to become an *Anathema*, and be Destroy'd himself.²⁰²

²⁰⁰ Exod. 32:33 records Mose's mediation between God and the Israelites, in which he offers himself as an atonement for the sins of the people. Mather's treatment of Moses's wish to be blotted out of God's "book" has three components. Mather denies, on the grounds of predestination, that anyone whose name is written in the Book of Life could be removed from that book and be denied eternal life. He rejects the idea, drawn from Jewish commentary, that the "book" in question is the Pentateuch, making Moses's request out to be a willingness to bear the shame of being removed from Jewish historical narrative. Mather does allow for the likelihood that Moses's request has to do with the immediate threat of the plagues: Moses was willing to become the sole victim of the plague and thus be blotted out of the "*Book of Life Temporal*," i. e. simply to die a martyr's death. Mather appears to have made a mistake in his second citation (2 Samuel 1:21), which is not remotely related to the issues here, nor is his commentary on that verse relevant to the present discussion.

²⁰¹ *Ἀνάθεμα*; *חֵרֵם*.

²⁰² John Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:564). Locke's *Paraphrase* was published anonymously, though his authorship was no secret. Mather often (though not exclusively) refers to Locke as that "nameless writer" even though his appreciation for Locke's biblical interpretation is obvious. Mather also refers to other writers as "nameless" on occasion, so this may simply be a convention – perhaps a show of possessing esoteric knowledge, or of discretionary humility. On the other hand, Mather specifically states that he does not recommend Locke to budding student theologians in his *Manuductio ad Ministerium* (1726), so perhaps this convention is also meant to convey his reservations about Locke. (Observation courtesy of Reiner Smolinski).

[▽41r] [▽Insert from 41r]

4095.

Q. The *Votivum Anathema*, of our Apostle *Paul*, remains yett so wonderful, that some further Illustrations upon it, would be very Acceptable? v. 3.

A. We will proceed then.

The Difference between *Ἀνάθεμα* and *Ἀνάθημα*,²⁰³ confidently asserted by *Budaus*, and *Salmasius*, and *Heinsius*, but as much denied by *Calvin*, and *Beza*, and *Musculus*, and others we will not insist upon.²⁰⁴ It is very certain, that old *Theodoret* reckon'd them Synonymous.²⁰⁵ If there were a Difference, and *Ἀνάθημα* signified, A Gift consecrated unto the Service and Honour of God; but *Ἀνάθεμα* signified, a Man or Thing devoted unto Destruction, yett it is not always observed in the Writings of the Ancients.

It is very sure, The Men, like those whom of old, they sett apart for Sacrifices, to turn away epidemical Plagues, & pointed out all Manner of Execrations upon them at their Executions, (called *καθαρμοὶ*,²⁰⁶ by the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*,²⁰⁷ and *περιψήματα*,²⁰⁸ in *Suidas*,]²⁰⁹ these were *Ἀνάθεματα*.²¹⁰ And into the same Denominations, come those Nobler Persons, mention'd by *Clemens Romanus*, who upon the Raging of any Pestilence, *παρεδωκαν εαντους εις θανατον, ινα ρυσωνται δια του εαυτων αιματος τους πολιτας*. *Seipsos morti tradider-*

²⁰³ *Ἀνάθεμα*; *Ἀνάθημα*. Both terms refer to a temple offering; the first came to have a negative connotation (as something cursed or a guilt offering), while the second maintained a more neutral meaning as an offering to God.

²⁰⁴ Guillaume Budé (1467–1540), French Catholic classicist with private Protestant sympathies and author of *Commentarii linguae Graecae* (1529); see *NSHERK* (2:295). Claudius Salmasius (1588–1653), Protestant classicist and professor at Leiden and author of *De Hellenistica Commentarius* (1643); see *NSHERK* (10:177–8). Nicholaes Heinsius (the Elder), a Dutch classical scholar and peripatetic bibliophile. Under the patronage of various nobles and royal courts, Heinsius (1620–81) spent over thirty years traveling through Europe (as far as Sweden and Russia), collecting books and manuscripts: at his death his library held over 13,000 volumes. He published editions of several classical authors; see *EB* (13:216). On Beza, see Mather's entry on 9:1 (above). Wolfgang Musculus (1497–1563), German Reformed theologian at Bern and author of a number of biblical commentaries; see *NSHERK* (8:60–1).

²⁰⁵ Theodoret, *Commentary on the Letters of St. Paul* (1:98–9). Theodoret (393–457) was bishop of Cyrrhus, Syria, and author of a number of exegetical works; see *NCE* (13:878–9).

²⁰⁶ *καθάρματα*; “the refuse of a sacrifice.”

²⁰⁷ Aristophanes (257–180 BC) was an important Greek playwright. “Scholia” originated as marginal explanatory notes to classical literature; they became especially prominent in Christian scholarship beginning in the 5th century. Over time the aggregate notes became works in their own right and came to be known as “the Scholiast on” a particular work of classical literature or author. See Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship* (18–20).

²⁰⁸ *περιψήματα*; “off-scouring.”

²⁰⁹ “Suidas” was taken to be the putative author of a Greek reference work known as the *Souda* (Σοῦδα), in an apparent confusion of the title with the author. The *Souda* contains some 30,000 entries on Greek language, literature, and history and was compiled in the 10th century, largely under Constantine VII (912–959). See “Suidas,” *OCCL* (electronic).

²¹⁰ *Ἀνάθεματα*; “cursed.”

unt, ut cives suo sanguine liberarent: Such as *Menæceus* and *Codrus*, and *Curtius*, and the *Decii*, and others.²¹¹

The Apostle *Paul*, and the Companions of his Travels, and Labours, exposed themselves unto a Condition that was not unlike to this, for the Conversion of the *Gentiles*. [1. Cor. 4.13.]

But if we repair to the Hebrew Monuments, we find an *Αναθεμα*, the same with a */חרם/ Cherem*; and nothing less, than a total *Destruction* entail'd upon it, with a *Separation* from the People and Favour of God.

It is not improbable, that the Apostle *Paul*, took *Αναθεμα*, in the Highest Sense imaginable. Yea, He supposes an *Αναθεμα* from *Christ*; one pronounced by *Christ*; not a *Brutum Fulmen*²¹² of the Jewes, or of any Men, that can *DO* nothing but speak their Vengeance, but one Inflicted by *Christ*, την τιμωρον αφιεντος ψηφον, (as *Photius* has it,) *Sententiam pronuntiante punitivam*.²¹³ The same that is in the *Targums* called, *The Anathema of the God of Israel*.²¹⁴

And one Banishing from *Christ*; both from the *Church* which is the *Body* of *Christ*, and from the *Person* of *Christ*, who is the *Head* of that *Body*: Not only to be in the Abject and shameful State, of an *Αλλοτριος του κοινου σωματος της εκκλησιας*,²¹⁵ as *Theodoret* expresses it, which had, as *Ignatius* intimates, *κακας κο-*

211 Clemens Romanus, *Epistula 1 ad Corinthios* (55.1, lines 3–4): παρέδωκαν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς θάνατον, ἵνα ῥύσωνται διὰ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν αἵματος τοὺς πολίτας. “They gave themselves to death in order to free the citizens by means of their blood.” [Both Greek and Latin citations]. Clement of Rome, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, ANF (1:19). In Greek mythology, Menoeceus sacrificed his life during a Theban civil war to give one side the victory, a story recounted in Aeschylus’ play *Seven against Thebes* (467 BCE). Codrus was the king of Athens – dated to the late second millennium BCE in Lycurgus’ *Against Leocrates* (330 BCE) – who, upon learning that the Delphic Oracle had prophesied the fall of the city to the Dorians should he not come to harm, provokes the Dorians to kill him; *EB* (6:637). In Roman mythology, the equestrian Marcus Curtius saves the city of Rome from a widening sinkhole (subsequently known as the *Lacus curtius*) by driving himself and his horse into the hole, which closes over them as a kind of chthonic sacrifice; *EB* (7:653). The Decii were father and son, both named Publius Decius Mus, who, while Proconsuls, sacrificed themselves in battle to give the Roman army victories over the Latins and the Samnites (c. 300 BCE); *DGRBM* (1123).

212 Not a “striking blindly,” i. e. an empty, intemperate threat.

213 But one inflicted by *Christ*, “who casts the vengeful vote,” [τὴν τιμωρὸν ἀφιέντος ψήφον] (as *Photius* has it) “who announces the decision of punishment” [Latin]. The Greek passage appears in *Photius’s Epistulae et Amphilochia* (Ep. Epistle 216, line 109). *Photius I* was Patriarch of Constantinople on two occasions in the late 9th century; perhaps the reference is to his *Amphilochia*, a treatise on difficult passages of Scripture; see *NCE* (11:309–13).

214 See Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum, et Rabbinicum* (1648). This work was begun by Johannes Buxtorf the Elder, but finished by his son; on the Buxtorf’s, see Mather’s entry on 2:21 (above).

215 Theodoretus, *Interpretatio in xiv epistulas sancti Pauli* [PG 082. 0373, lines 25–26]: Ἀλλότριος τοῦ κοινού σώματος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. “An alien from the common body of the Church.”

λασεις του διαβολου,²¹⁶ attending of it; but also to be αλλοτριος απο του χριστου,²¹⁷ as tis in *Chrysostom*, even in the State of *Damnation* itself; which we find *Gregory Nazianzen*, in one of his Flourishes, ready to suffer for his *Macedonian* Friends, provided it might not be | *perpetual*.²¹⁸

The Passion of our Apostle here for his Countrey-men, seems to be involved in so many Difficulties, that Interpreters are putt upon a *Trial of their Skill*, to find a good Solution for them. We find several of the Ancients, as *Ambrose*, and *Primasius*, and *Jerom*, and *Eusebius*, will have our Apostle here, only declaring his Disposition while he was yett a *Pharisee*.²¹⁹ He would prove, That his present Conduct arose not from any Hatred of his Countrey-men; and he does therefore show how intensely he had loved them, and how much he would have undergone, to defend their Jewish Priviledges.

This will not satisfy my Incomparable *Witsius*; And the Opinion, that the Apostle intended a præmature *Death*, in his *Anathema*, he refutes out of *Chrysostom*; who saies, *This would but have hastened his Happiness*.²²⁰ *Martinus* carries it for *Annihilation*; but a proper ανυπαρξια²²¹ befalls nothing in the World.²²² *Selden* and *Grotius*, will have it mean, the miserable Plight of an *Excommunicate* from the Church.²²³ It is true, This could not be inflicted on the Apostle, without some great *Iniquity*, either in himself, or others. But yett the Consideration of

216 Ignatius, *Epistula vii genuinae (recension media)*, Epistle 4, ch. 5, sec. 3, lines 5–6: κακάς κολάσεις τοῦ διαβόλου; “the evil chastisements of the Devil.”

217 Adapted from Chrysostom’s *De paenitentia (homiliae 1–9)* [PG 049. 0282, line 3]: αλλότριος ἀπο τοῦ χριστοῦ; “an alien from Christ.”

218 On Chrysostom, see Mather’s entry on 1:25 (above); on Gregory Nazianzus, see Mather’s entry on 2:13 (above).

219 Ambrose (c. 340–397), bishop of Milan, defender of Nicene orthodoxy, and mentor to Augustine; see *NCE* (1:337–39). Primasius (d. 560 CE) was the putative author of a commentary on the Pauline epistles, since shown to be spurious; see *NSHERK* (9:255). Jerome (c. 347–420) wrote a number of commentaries on the Bible; see *NCE* (7:757–9). Eusebius (c. 260–340), bishop of Caesarea; his most fully developed work on Christology is the *Praeparatio evangelica*; see *NCE* (5:541–3).

220 Hermann Wits (1636–1708), Dutch Reformed professor of theology at Utrecht and Leiden. Among his works are *De oeconomia foederum Dei cum hominibus* (1677), *Miscellanea sacra* (1692), *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (1696) – a comparison of Egyptian and Israelite religious ceremonies, and *Meletemata Leidensia* (1703), which includes a study of Paul’s life. See *NSHERK* (12:396).

221 ανυπαρξια; “non-existence.”

222 Since the word under consideration here (anathema) is Aramaic, the reference here may be Pierre Martin (1530–94), a Reformed professor at La Rochelle, a center of Huguenot activity. Martin was a student of Peter Ramus and the Hebraist Jean Mercier; he produced a Hebrew and Aramaic grammar (1591), one of the first in the early modern period. It was later revised by Johannes Buxtorf the Elder; an English translation (*Key of the Holy Tongue*) by the Puritan John Udall appeared in 1648. Both versions (Buxtorf, Udall) were used in the Harvard curriculum; both appear in Increase Mather’s 1664 *Catalogue* (Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers*, 22–23). See Pfeiffer, “The Teaching of Hebrew in Colonial America” (363–73).

223 On John Selden, see Mather’s entry on 1:7. Grotius, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (6:162–3); on Hugo Grotius, see Mather’s entry on 1:29 (above).

the *Calamity*, might alone appear before his Mind, without his taking in that of the *Iniquity*; as when our Saviour submitted unto the Cross for us. *Gomarus*, the more he thinks on it, the more he likes it, that the Apostles *Anathema*, should mean a *Separation from Christ*, but not, *Simpliciter & in perpetuum*.²²⁴ *Chrysostom* will have nothing less than *Damnation*, even *Eternal*, intended in it; Only then, with *Alting*, the *Sin* cleaving to the *Damned*, must not be included.²²⁵ There are Hard Things in this Interpretation: But lett *Martin Bucer* unfold them: *Votum hoc non nisi ex incomparabili Dolore de Ruina et perditione Israelis existere potuit*.²²⁶ The Apostle saies, *Optabam*;²²⁷ He does not say, That this *Wish* was always in him; but when the Pang of his Grief about the Perdition of his Countreymen was upon him. And, *Rapitur ad Impossibilia Animus tantis aestibus agitatus*.²²⁸ There was a certain sacred *Ecstasy* upon our Apostle, (as once upon *Moses*;) wherein he could think of nothing but whether there could be no Way to deliver his Countreymen from the Damnation coming upon them. In this *Ecstasy* of Soul and Thought, there occur'd nothing to his Mind, but the terrible *Idæa* of a Commutation to God, and his own Confusion substituted for that of the *Israelitish* People. *Isti excessus sunt Charitatis verè flagrantis, qui Deo displicere non possunt, quum ex Charitate proveniant, quæ Deum delectat unice*.²²⁹ The Apostle saies, *ἠυχῶ*; and not *εὐχῶ*. *Significavet hanc orationem fuisse nec perpetuam, nec animi in Deo tranquilli, sed extrà se rapti, et jam ex consideratione perditionis hujus tot sæculis sancti populi, quique ex omnibus populis orbis, solus Dei populus fuisset, summis afflicti et perturbati*.²³⁰ I will now conclude with the

224 "Simply and in perpetuity." Franciscus Gomarus (1563–1641), Dutch Reformed theologian. Gomarus was a graduate of Cambridge; while professor at Leiden, he was the primary disputant with his colleague there, Jacob Arminius, over the latter's views on the freedom of the will. In 1618 he was appointed professor of Hebrew at Gronigen; see *NSHERK* (5:16).

225 Chrysostom, *Homily XVI*, *NPNFi* (11:459–60). Jacob Alting (1618–79), Dutch theologian and philologist; he was professor of Hebrew at Gronigen and, later, professor of theology there. He published several works on Oriental languages, including Aramaic, Persian, Arabic, Syriac, and Ethiopic; see *NSHERK* (1:143).

226 "This prayer could not come into existence except from incomparable suffering at the ruin and loss of Israel." On Bucer, see Mather's entry on 9:1 (above).

227 "I was desiring it."

228 "The soul, agitated by such burning desires, is moved toward the impossible."

229 "Those 'flights of the senses' are truly caused by a burning love; they cannot displease God, since they come from love, which alone is pleasing to God."

230 The Apostles saies "I have wished (or could wish) [*ἠυχόμεν*]," and not, "I do wish [*εὐχῶ*]." "It means that this prayer was neither ongoing, nor coming from a soul at peace with God, but one beside itself, and indeed from consideration of the perdition of a people holy for so many ages; and which, of all the peoples of the world, would have been God's only people, though afflicted and disturbed by the gravest events." Mather's grammar is here is somewhat in question: the verb for "wishing" (*εὐχόμεναι*) is typically found in the deponent. Mather's use of the indicative (*εὐχῶ*) is something of a neologism. In any case, the point is made: Paul's use of the imperfect (*ἠυχόμεν*) signifies a hypothetical desire, one that cannot be fulfilled. The sense here then is that Paul's concern for Israel is so strong that he wishes for something, while losing sight of its impossibility in the moment of his wishing for it. (My thanks to Dr. Alan

Words of my *Witsius*. *Temperare mihi non possum, quin profitear, vehementer me lectione et excriptione horum verborum affectum fuisse.*²³¹

[△] [△Insert ends]

[40v] |
[27]33.²³²

Q. What might the Apostle intend by, *The Glory*, when he reckons it up, among the peculiar Privileges pertaining to the *Israelites*? v. 4.

A. The *Glorious Presence* of the Divine Majesty, in a *Sensible & External Manner* among His People, was called, *The Glory*. The *Divine Presence*, visibly *dwelling* among the People of God, (as in the *Cloud* vouchsafed unto *Israel*,) was by Jewish Masters called, The *Shekinah*, from *Shakan*, to *Dwell*. The *Israelites* were favoured with such an Enjoyment; and this was, *The Glory*.

1237.

Q. A Remark occasion'd by the Distress, which the *Ninth* to the *Romans* & the *Fifth*, gives to the Enemies of our SAVIOUR? v. 5.

A. That we may beware of trusting those Men too far, and relying on their Fidelity & Authority, I will here insert a Remark made by the learned Author of, *Historical & Critical Reflections on Mahometanism & Socinianism*. He says, "*Grotius*, as well as the *Racovian Catechism*, advanced, That the Word God was not to be found in the *Syriac Version*, at Rom. IX.5. Altho' tis to be found in all the Copies both printed & Manuscript of that Version, without excepting so much as one."²³³

Q. In that Passage, *Christ, who is over all, God Blessed forever, Amen*; do you observe the Deity of our Lord Jesus Christ, any further asserted, than is commonly observed? v. 5.

A. *Yes*. You know the proper Character of the True God, is that which Hee of old proposed unto *Moses*, To bee *Hee that IS*; the LXX render Exod. 3.13. 'Εγώ

Kirk of James Madison University for his help with the interpretive implications of Mather's grammatical analysis.)

231 "I cannot keep myself from admitting that I was strongly affected by the reading and copying of these words." On Wits, see Mather's entry on 9:3 (above).

232 See Appendix A.

233 This work is the fourth section of *Four Treatises concerning the Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship of the Mahometans* (1712), pp. 161–244, which is the English translation of *De religione Mohammedica* (1705) by Adriaan Reland (1676–1718), Dutch professor of Oriental languages at the University of Utrecht. Reland's work represented the first scholarly European attempt to characterize Islam on its own terms, chiefly by offering translations of primary documents from Arabic and Latin. The fourth section in view here is a translation of an unsourced work in French that was not authored by Reland, and which is accompanied by a reponse by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz. See *NSHERK* (9:451).

ἐγώ ὁ ΩΝ.²³⁴ Tis His Essence to BEE, and it is Impossible for Him not to BEE. Hee *Himself IS*, deriving of nothing from any other; and from Him all other *Beings* have their *Being*. The same Notion, the Heathens also had, of the supreme God; *Aristotle* calls him, "Ὁν ὄντων. And *Plato*, Ἄυτο "Ὁν.²³⁵

Well, this Character is here emphatically given to our Lord Jesus Christ. What wee render, *Who is*, in the Greek tis not ὃς ἐστὶ, but ὁ ΩΝ.²³⁶ It may bee rendred, *Christ, The BEING One*; whereto there is added, *over all*, for Hee is, *The Supreme Being*. And whereas tis further annexed, *God Blessed forever*, wee may note, That, *The Blessed* [ὁ ἐυλογητος] was an usual Title, by which the True God was designed. Compare, Mark. 14.53. But for the Name, of, ὁ ΩΝ, you find it used in Rev. 1.5. τεκνικῶς, as the Grammarians express it, even as an *undeclined Substantive*.

The Enemies of the eternal Son of God, who would fain debase him into the Rank of *Creatures*, find this Text extremely troublesome unto them. They tell us hereupon a fine Story of *Erasmus* making here a full Stop at, *Flesh*; & putting us indeed into a Way, to make a *New Gospel*, without altering a Word of the Gospel. But it is plain, the Words ought to be read, as we read them. The Context requires it. The Apostle having mentioned the Humane Nature of our Saviour, (as Dr. *Sherlock* observes) in such Terms, as did necessarily suppose, that He had a superiour Nature, & was more than a Man; it was very proper to give the Full Character of His Person.²³⁷ That He, who *according to the Flesh* was of *Israel*, is that Divine Person, *who is over all, God Blessed forever*. It is evident, the Apostles Intention was to distinguish the Two Natures in our Saviour. And our Apostle intending also to advance the Glory of *Israel*, there could nothing more glorious be said of them, than that the Son of God, who is *God Blessed forever*, took Humane Nature from them. Add this, *The Relative, WHO*, ought in grammatical Construction, to refer unto *Christ*, which is the Immediate Antecedent; not unto *God*, which follows.

It is true; The Title of, *Blessed*, is frequently given to God the Father. But the Title, in the original Use of it, is not appropriated unto the Person of his Father, but is peculiar unto *God* considered as *God*; & therefore must be common to all the Divine Persons.

Our Apostle, having mentioned the Humane Nature of our Saviour, was concerned now to tell us, That He was more than a Man; That He is GOD. And that we may not suspect that he means only a Titular God, a God by Office, &

²³⁴ "I am that I am." The citation is actually from Exod. 3:14.

²³⁵ "Being that is" and "being itself."

²³⁶ "Not 'the one who is' but 'the being one.'"

²³⁷ William Sherlock (1641–1707), Anglican minister and Master of the Temple Church in London; in 1690 he published *A Vindication of the holy and ever blessed Trinity* against the Socinians, a work which was attacked by his fellow Anglican cleric Robert South as inept, and a "vindication" of tri-theism instead; see *ODNB* (50:324–5).

not by Nature, he gives Him the known Title of the supreme God; God, whose Name is, *The Blessed*.

It is observable, Tho' we prove many Incommunicable Attributes of GOD, applied unto our Blessed Saviour, yett the *Arians* will not be satisfied, except we prove the Title of, *The MOST HIGH*, given to the *Son of God*. But, why must bold Mortals, who fully know nothing, dictate unto the Infinite God, the Terms of His Revelation to us? However, you have here a Text, in which our Saviour is called, *The Most High God*. More than this; Tis evident, that the Son of God was He, who made His Descent, for the Confounding of the Tongues, at the Building of *Babel*. Now tis anon said; Deut. XXXII.8. *The Most High divided to the Nations their Inheritance*. *Novatian* himself, proves this to be spoken of the *Son of God*, when it was so, Gen. XI.7. *Lett us go down*; we may say, *He that descended is the same also that ascended*.²³⁸ It is well observed by Dr. Woodward. They who rightly distinguish betwixt Christ, as the *Word*, & *Shechinah* of God, in the Covenants of the Old Testament, and the *Mediator & Incarnate Son of God*, under the Gospel, will best understand the Scriptures that speak of His *Præ-existence*, and those that speak of His Coming in the Fulness of Time.²³⁹

[▽43r] [▽Insert from 43r]

Q. That Passage; *It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth*. To what may it allude? v. 16.

A. Some have thought, It alludes unto the Purpose of *Isaac*, who *Willed* the Blessing for *Esau*, and *Willed* him to præpare for it, and, the Action of *Esau*, who *Ran* a hunting, that he might obtain it. [Gen. 27.3, 4, 5, 28, 29.]

But then, if something Allusive that way, may be here supposed, yett the *Willing* and the *Running* here spoken of, must be expounded of somewhat else; even of our own *Willing*, and *Acting*, in the Matters of our eternal Salvation.

Of such Expositions, as that of *Whitby's*; whose Gloss upon this Text is, "*Abraham* willed, that God should show His Mercy to *Ishmael*; And *Esau* ran to fetch Venison, that he might have the Blessing."²⁴⁰ One saies, very justly,

*True sunt, apineque, aut si quid vilius istis.*²⁴¹

[△] [△Insert ends]

²³⁸ See Novatian, *On the Trinity*, ANF (5:621). Novatian (c 200–258) was a Roman priest and, briefly (251 CE), antipope; see NCE (10:464–5).

²³⁹ Josiah Woodward (1657–1712), D.D., Anglican cleric and Boyle lecturer (1710). His lectures were subsequently published as *The Divine Original and Incomparable Excellency of the Christian Religion* (1712); two of the lectures are devoted to refuting Arianism and Socinianism. See ODNB (60:243).

²⁴⁰ Daniel Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:54–55).

²⁴¹ "[These contributions of mine] are trifles and follies and, if anything, worse than that." Martial, *Epigrams* 14.1 (2: 441).

[▽Insert from 44v]

[▽44v]

2448.

Q. What was, the Lords *Finishing the Account*, (for so λογος may be rendred) or *the Work, and cutting it short in Righteousness*, when He makes a *short Work upon the Earth*? v. 29.²⁴²

A. By consulting the Context, & the Place in *Isaiah*, whence tis taken, you will see, tis meant of the *Gospel*.²⁴³ This is the λογος συντετμημενος,²⁴⁴ that *Abbreviated Word*, or, *Short Account*, or, (because *Word* and *Thing* are convertible in the Hebrew) *Short Work*, which God made upon *the Earth*. The *Law* was tedious, with its Multiplicity of Observances; but our Lord Jesus Christ comes more compendiously, and requires none of those long Undertakings. *Theophylact* sais, The *Short Word* here means, the brief Words of *Faith*; *Beleeve in the Lord Jesus Christ, & thou shalt be saved*.²⁴⁵ This is the concise Way of the *Gospel*.

Quære, whether this be not one thing intended, by the *gathering together in one all things in Christ*, in the evangelical Dispensation. [Eph. 1.10.] *Jerom* thinks, this ἀνακεφαλαιωσις,²⁴⁶ refers to the way of *Orators* and *Pleaders*, who in the Close of their Speeches, briefly *Recapitulate* all the foregoing Particulars, & represent the whole Cause in short. What had been spun out in the foregoing Dispensations, is now briefly summed up in the Gospel. This is Dr. *Templars* Account of the Matter.²⁴⁷

But then, others observe, That λογος συντετμημενος, may signify, A contracted or lessened Account; or an *Overplus*. And it may be a Metaphor taken from an Account wherein the Matter is so ordered, that the *Overplus*, or the Remainder standing still upon the Account, is very little.²⁴⁸

[△Insert ends]

[△]

242 The reference cited here is actually v. 28, not v. 29, but Mather's answer employs v. 29.

243 See Isaiah 1:9.

244 The *textus receptus* for v. 28 reads "λόγον ... συντέμνων" (he will cut short the work). Some manuscript traditions read "συντετμημένον" instead; see the note on Locke that follows.

245 Theophylact (1050–1107), Orthodox archbishop of Achrida (Bulgaria); he wrote several biblical commentaries, including one on the Pauline epistles; see *NCE* (13:934).

246 "Summary."

247 Perhaps Dr. John Templer (d. 1693), Anglican minister at Balsham (near Cambridge, England) from 1657–93. He graduated from Cambridge in 1644 and received his D.D. in 1666. He published only a handful of works: a sermon, *The Saints Duty in contending for the Faith* (1659), *A Treatise relating to the Worship of God* (1694), and, perhaps most significantly, *Idea theologiae Leviathanis* (1673), an attack on Hobbes and a defense of the biblical canon and Christian doctrine. Interestingly, he appears in Increase Mather's *Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences* (1684) as someone who managed to bring local Quakers back into the orthodox fold (in a chapter that describes Quakerism as a form of demonic possession).

248 Mather is following Locke's suggestion here, that the term συντετμημένον is drawn from business accounting, in which the the overage nearly matches the projected total, i. e. a "short account." See Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:569).

Q. That Passage, *My Hearts Desire and Prayer to God for Israel is, that they may be saved*: Is the Translation full enough? v. 1.

A. Dr. *Edwards* observes, Our Translation is too low; According to the Greek, *εὐδοκία τῆς ἐμῆς καρδίας*.²⁴⁹ It was the *Pleasure*, the *Delight* of the Apostles Heart, to promote the *Salvation* of his Brethren.²⁵⁰

Q. A Remark on the Apostles Commentary upon the Words of *Moses*? v. 6.

A. *Say not in thine Heart, who shall ascend into Heaven?* [That is, to bring down CHRIST from Above.] This is a clear Declaration, that the SON of GOD was greater than *Man*, and existed in Heaven before His Incarnation; and He descended from thence to be made Flesh. Or, *who shall descend into the Deep?* [That is, to bring up CHRIST from the Dead.] A like Declaration, that the SON of GOD became a *Man*; since He could not have died, & risen from the Dead, if He had not assumed a Body of Flesh.

The Word of GOD, appearing in Flesh, is now *Nigh us, in our Mouth, & in our Hearts*; so very *Nigh us*, that it waits at the Door of our *Mouth*, & our *Heart*, that the One, may *Confess* it, & the other *Beleeve* it.

Q. On that; *The Word is nigh thee, even in thy Mouth, and in thy Heart*? v. 8.

A. *Pyle* gives this Paraphrase; “So essentially good, clear, & plain to be understood, as if it were written in our Hearts; and so easy to be professed & practised, as if we had been already familiarly acquainted with it.”²⁵¹

Q. *The Righteousness which is of Faith, speaks on this wise; Say not in thy Heart, who shall Ascend unto Heaven, (that is, to bring Christ down from Above?) or, who shall Descend into the Deep, (that is, to bring Christ up again from Dead?) But what saith it? The Word is nigh thee, in thy Mouth, and in the Heart; that is, the Word of Faith which wee preach.* I pray, some Illustration upon this obscure Paragraph? v. 6, 7, 8.

A. The Holy Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, who indicted the Epistle to the *Romans*, exactly foresaw, all the Points of the *Apostasy* which the Church of *Rome*, would fall into; and it is a Matter of great Curiositie, and Admiration, to

²⁴⁹ εὐδοκία τῆς ἐμῆς καρδίας; “my heart’s desire” (KJV).

²⁵⁰ John Edwards, possibly his *Discourse concerning the Authority ... of the Old and New Testament* or his *Farther Enquiry into Several Remarkable Texts of the Old and New Testament*. On Edwards, see Mather’s entry on 3:31.

²⁵¹ Thomas Pyle, *Paraphrase upon the New Testament* (1:260).

see, how gloriously, throughout the whole Epistle, Hee hath laid in against that horrible *Apostasy*.

The Instances are Numberless. Only carry this Thought in your Mind, *The Apostasy of the present Church of Rome, considered*; and you have a Key to open this Epistle with marvellous *Illustrations*, and lead you into unsuspected Senses.

Wee will Instance in the Paragraph now before us. The Enquiry is, How wee may bee made Partakers of the Lord Jesus Christ, & of *Righteousness* by Him? How wee may come to have an Interest in the Lord Jesus Christ, & have Him to bee *present* with us? The Apostle saies, This is obtained by the *Word of the Gospel* preached, which is *Nigh* unto us, in our *Mouths*, and in our *Hearts*. No, saies the *Romanist*; wee don't understand, how it should bee so; wee don't find it so, that the Lord Jesus Christ, is made *Nigh* unto us, and even *Present* with us, by this *Word*. It is only the *Word of the Gospel*, that gives a Representation of the Lord Jesus Christ unto the Minds of Men, & proposes Him, as a fitt Object for their Faith, Love, Delight. But the Church of *Rome* ha's lost the *Experience* of any Efficacy in the pure Preaching of the Gospel, unto these Purposes; and therefore, like the *Israelites* contriving a *Calf*, to Repræsent the Deity so visibly Nigh unto them, that they might bee affected with it, this False Church, ha's Invented *Images* of the Lord Jesus Christ, while they have, at the same Time driven People, from the Reading of the *Scriptures*, which *testify of Him*. In their seeking of these *Images*, they *Ascend unto Heaven*, and from thence they fetch *Images* of Christ sitting on the *Throne of His Glory*: they *Descend into the Deep*, and by making, first *Crucifixes* and then *Pictures*²⁵² of His glorious *Resurrection*, they fetch *Images* of Christ *from the Dead*. This they do in the room of the *Gospel*, where, thro' their horrid Sottishness and Wickedness, they see no Repræsentations of the Lord Jesus Christ that they can bee suitably affected withal.

But there is one who gives this Account of the Passage now before us.

The Apostle had said unto the *Romans*, That the End of the Law, was to bring them unto Life, by Faith in Christ. To convince them of this, he brings *Three Verses* out of the | Book of the *Law* itself, declaring, That the Way to Life was, by Harkening to that *Word*, which was ready in their *Mouth*, and in their *Heart*. And therefore, they had no Reason to Reject Jesus the Christ, because he Died, and was now Ascended into Heaven, & was *Remote* from them. Their very *Law* proposed Life to them, by something *Nigh* to them, that might lead them to their Deliverer; Even, by *Words* and *Doctrines*, that might alwayes be at hand, in their *Mouthes* and in their *Hearts*; & so lead them to that Faith in Christ, which the Apostle preached.²⁵³ [46v]

The Expectation of the Jews was, That the *Messiah* was to be their Deliverer. The *Obscurity* wherein our Jesus appeared, & His denouncing a Ruine to come

²⁵² See Appendix A.

²⁵³ Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:570).

on their *Temple* and *City*, sett the Rulers against Him, & held the Body of the Jewes in Suspense, until His Crucifixion. This gave a full Turn of their Minds against Him. He was gone; they saw Him no more; & it was past Doubt, a *Dead Man* could not be their *Messiah*, or the Deliverer, even of those who believed in Him. Against these Prejudices, our Apostle proceeds to direct his Discourse. He tells them, There was no need to fetch the *Messiah* out of *Heaven*, or out of the *Grave*, & bring Him to be personally among them. The Salvation He was to work for them, was a Salvation from *Sin*, & from Condemnation for that. And this was to be had, barely by *Beleeving*, or by owning Him to be the *Messiah* their King; and that He was *Raised from the Dead*. By this they would be saved, without His *personal Presence* among them. The Doctrine of our Saviours *Resurrection from the Dead*, is here particularly insisted on. It is most certainly, one of the most Fundamental Articles of the Christian Religion. But one special Reason, why *Salvation* is here annexed unto the Beleeif of it, is, because he had been teaching, That it was not necessary for their *Salvation*, that they should have Christ out of His *Grave personally present* among them. If they did but own Him for their Lord, & beleeve Him to be *Raised*, this would be sufficient, they should be saved. Our Apostle observes, That it was not for nothing, that in the Place quoted from *Moses*, there was Mention both of the *Heart* & of the *Mouth*; For there was use of both in the Case. With the *Heart* Man is to *Beleeve*, & with the *Mouth* he is to *Confess*. Compare, Mar. 16.16.

Q. Favour us with some Illustration upon that, *How shall they call on Him, in whom they have not Beleeved?* and the following Passages? v. 14.

A. *Grotius* apprehends this Discourse, to be an Objection made against the Discourse of the Apostle. The Objection is of this Importance; “The Apostles never yett *came* into all Places, where the Jewes are scattered, as particularly into the Remote Places of *Syria* and *Egypt*; Where they never *came*, they never *preach’d* the Gospel; where the Gospel was never *preach’d*, it was never *Heard*; where the Gospel was never *Heard*, there could be no *Faith* upon it. But now, the Reason why the Apostles never yett *came* unto these Places, turns purely upon the Direction of God; they went no whither, but where Hee sent them. [Act. 13.2. and 16.6, 7, 8, 9. and 20.22. and 22.21.] And therefore it should seem, That in God is the only Cause, why many of the Jewes do perish in their Unbeleef, Strangers to His Righteousness. [Compare, Joh. 15.22.] It is æqual, saies the Objector, that according to the Prophecy, *The Feet of them that preach the Gospel of Peace*, should arrive to all Places, where any of the Jewish Nation are scattered: whereas now wee see not this actually accomplished; and therefore, that which you pretend so to be, is not really the *Gospel of Peace*.”²⁵⁴

²⁵⁴ Hugo Grotius, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (6:192–3).

To this the Apostle returns Two Answers. One Answer, is, That the Unbelievers who lived in those Places, where the Apostles had preached, could not make this Objection. And yett there were very many Such; *They have not all obeyed the Gospel*. The other Answer, is, That even they who had not heard the Apostles preach, yett were inexcusable, for these Ministers of God had made Sermons, & wrought Wonders, in the principal Cities, and from thence, the Fame thereof had been spread into all Places, where any Jewes were sojourning, who should have been excited thereby to enquire further after this Way of Salvation: *Their Sound went into all the Earth*. [Compare, Act. 26.26. and Rom. 1.8. and Act. 7.6. and Col. 1.6.] *Clemens* accordingly affirms of *Paul*, δικαιοσύνην διδάξαι ὅλον τὸν κόσμον. That he *Taught Righteousness to all the World*.²⁵⁵

Q. What may be the Intent of that Passage; *How shall they preach, except they be sent?* v. 15.

A. The Apostle had shew'd, That both *Jewes* and *Gentiles* were so saved, only by receiving the Gospel of Christ. And if so, it was necessary, that somebody should be *sent to preach* it unto them; and therefore the *Jewes* had no Reason to be angry with any that were *sent* on that Employment.

Q. How is *Hearing by the Word of God?* v. 17.

A. 'Tis by the *Appointment* of God. [Compare, Luk. 4.4.] God has appointed *Hearing* to be the Means of Faith.

Q. What may be the Intent of that Passage; *Did not Israel know?* v. 19.

A. The Apostle seems to suppose a Reasoning of the *Jewes* to this Purpose; That they did not Deserve to be *cast off*, because they did not know that the *Gentiles* were to be Admitted, and so they might be excused, tho' they did not embrace a Religion, wherein they were to mix with the *Gentiles*. To this the Apostle answers in the following Verses.

Q. *Their Sound*. In the Hebrew, tis, *Their Line?* v. 18.

A. And what must we now say, That the LXX read, /קולם/ *Their Voice*;²⁵⁶ and that the Apostle followed them? No. Dr. *Pocock* has assured us, That the Hebrew Word used in the Psalm, signifies, *A Loud Voice*, as well as, *A Line*.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁵ Clement of Rome, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, ANF (1:18).

²⁵⁶ Psalm 19:4 reads: "Their line (קֶלֶם) has gone out ..." The KJV follows the the Septuagint in this verse, selecting the word "voice" (קֵל) instead; Rom. 10:18 translates the LXX as "sound" (φθόγγος).

²⁵⁷ Edward Pococke (1604–91), Orientalist and biblical scholar, professor of Arabic (1636), and professor of Hebrew (1648) at Oxford; see *ODNB* (44:662–6).

Q. *They have Digged down thine Altars; What Altars?* v. 3.

A. *Kimchi* saies, That the godly Men in the Ten Tribes, built *Altars* to God, after the Time of their being forbidden to go up unto the *Temple* at *Jerusalem*; For, the Law which forbad the making of private *Altars* then ceased. These then were *They*.²⁵⁸

2263.

Q. When the Lord saies, *I have Reserved unto Myself Seven Thousand Men, that have not bow'd the Knee to the Image of Baal*; what may bee understood by, *the Image of Baal*? v. 4.

A. The Seventy Interpreters, have, τῷ Βάαλ; whereas in *Paul*, tis, τῇ Βάαλ.²⁵⁹

Ahab had Introduced *Baal*, the Idol of the *Tyrians* among the *Israelites*. But instead of *Seven Thousand*, wee have reason to Beleeve, there were many times *Seventy Thousand*, who did not worship that *Baal*. Nay, consider the Story in 2. King. 10.21. and you'l Beleeve, that the Worshippers of that *Baal*, were not many *Thousands*. But what avail'd it, if they worshipp'd not *Ahabs Baal*, while they worshipp'd *Jeroboams*? *Jehu*, that Rooted out the Worshippers of the former *Baal*, was himself, among the Worshippers of the Latter. *Elijah* himself had slain the Worshippers of that *Baal*, before hee had this Answer from God; and it was a poor thing, if all *Israel* yett remained Worshippers of This.

By Τῇ Βάαλ, therefore, with the fæmenine Article, the Apostle teacheth us, that it must not bee understood, Τῇ εἰκόνι Βάαλ, *The Image of Baal*, but Τῇ δαμάλει Βάαλ, *The Calf of Baal*. All will own, that *Baal* was a Name common to all Idols. And the Passage, which followes, in 1. King. 19.18. *Every Mouth which ha's not kissed him*, is Illustrated from that in Hos. 13.2. *Lett them kiss the Calves. Jeroboams* Idols are δαμάλεις, of the fæmenine Gender, as well in the LXX, as in *Josephus*. And the Words in *Tobit* 1.5. are notable, ἐμον τῇ Βάαλ τῇ δαμάλει. *They sacrificed to Baal the Calf*.²⁶⁰ So then, there were 7000 not involved in the common Apostasy of the Nation.

²⁵⁸ Rabbi David Kimchi (1160–1235) came from a notable family of rabbis in Narbonne (France). His Hebrew grammar (*Michlol*) and biblical commentary greatly influenced Christian Hebraism from the Renaissance onward, including the translation of the Old Testament in the KJV; see *EJ* (12:155–6).

²⁵⁹ The articles here are in the neuter (τῷ) and feminine (τῇ) singular datives.

²⁶⁰ "All the tribes that joined in apostasy used to sacrifice to the calf Baal, and so did the house of Naphtali my forefather." *Tobit* 1:5 (RSV).

1639.

Q. *The Spirit of Slumber*, to what alludes it? v. 8.

A. The Apostle may Allude unto those, who are Bitten with an *Asp*; on which venomous Bite, they are stupified; they slumber, they doze, they dy away.

2684.

Q. How was the *Fall*²⁶¹ of the *Jewes*, the *Salvation*²⁶² of the *Gentiles*? v. 11.

A. *Grotius* ha's a Touch of this Importance upon it. Not only was it now made evident, That God, had been far from doing any *Injury* to the *Jewes*, in the *Vocation* of the *Gentiles*, inasmuch as the *Jewes* had Refused what was now offered unto the *Gentiles*. But there was this further Notable, That if the bigger Part of the *Jewes* had beleaved on the Lord Jesus Christ, they would not have consented unto the receiving of the *Gentiles* into the Church, unless they would have been *circumcised*, and with *Circumcision* have received the other Lawes of *Moses*. [Compare, Act. 15.1. and 21.20.] Whereas so small a Part of the *Jewes* coming unto the *Faith*, in Comparison of the *Gentiles*, they could have no Pretence to give Law unto them. Tis certain, this was a most Remarkable Thing!²⁶³

Q. Why that Caution, *Be not high-minded*? v. 25.

A. The *Roman Church* pretends to be infallible and unfaileable. The Spirit of Prophecy foresaw this Pride in her.

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[48v]

Q. Lett us consider, how admirably the Doctrine of *Husbandry*, is answered in the Expressions of the Apostle; *For it thou wert cutt out of the Olive-tree, which is wild by nature, and wert grafted contrary to nature into a good Olive-tree, how much more shall these, which be the natural Branches, be grafted into their own Olive-tree?* v. 24.²⁶⁴

A. It is *contrary to Nature*; To make use of *Cyons* more ignoble than the *Stock*; Or to graft *wild Plants* upon *good ones*. *Theophrastus* of Old, observed this; and instancing in the *Olive*, he left this Direction; *Urbanum Sylvestribus, ut satis oleastris inserere. Nam si e contrario sylvestrem in urbanos severis, etsi differentia quædam erit, tamen bonæ frugis arbor nunquam profectò reddetur.*²⁶⁵ This is also

²⁶¹ See Appendix A.

²⁶² See Appendix A.

²⁶³ Hugo Grotius, *Annotaciones in Novum Testamentum* (6:204–5).

²⁶⁴ The use of agriculture as a metaphor for religious verities is a common Christian trope, most notably found in the English milieu in John Flavel's *Husbandry Spiritualised* (1669). Mather wrote his own treatise of this kind, *Agricola, or the religious husbandman* (1727), a work inspired by Flavel.

²⁶⁵ "Graft a cultivated plant onto wild ones, such as perhaps a wild olive. On the other hand, if you graft a wild one onto the cultivated, even if it is superior, a tree producing good fruit will assuredly never result." Theophrastus, *De Causis Plantarum* (1:53), and Thomas Browne,

agreeable to our present Practice; who graft *Pears* on *Thorns*, and *Apples* on *Crabpocks*, and we don't use the *contrary Insition*.

And when it is said, *How much more shall these which are the Natural Branches, be grafted into their own Natural Olive-tree?* This is agreeable unto the Rule of the same Author: *εστι δε βελτιων εγκεντρισμος, ομοιων εις ομοια. Insitio melior est similibus.*²⁶⁶ The nearer Consanguinity, there is between the *Cyons* and the *Stock*, the readier Comprehension is made & the nobler Fructification. According also to the later Caution of, *Laurenbergius, Arbores Domestica, insitioni destinatae, semper anteponenda Sylvestribus.*²⁶⁷ And tho' the Success be good, and may suffice upon Stock of the same Denomination, yett, to be grafted on their own Mother-stock, is the nearest *Insition*; which way, tho' less practised of old, is now much embraced, and found a notable Way for the Melioration of Fruit; and much the rather, if the Tree to be grafted on, be a good and generous Plant; a good and fair *Olive*, a *καλλιελαιον*,²⁶⁸ a peculiar Word used by our Apostle here; hardly any where else to be mett withal.

It must also be considered (I am using the Words of S^r *Tho. Brown*,) that the *Oleaster*, or, *Wild-olive*, by Cutting, Transplanting and the best Managery of Art, can be made, but to produce those *Olives*, as *Theophrastus* tells us, that were particularly called, *Phaulia*, that is, but *Bad Olives*.²⁶⁹ And it was reckoned a Prodigy, for the *Oleaster* to become an *Olive-tree*. Moreover, when *Grafting* is, in the Text before us, applied unto the *Olive-tree*, tis very emphatical. For *that Tree* is best propagated *this Way*, and not at all by *Surculation*, as *Theophrastus* observes; nor very well by *Seed*, as it ha's been observed, *Omne semen simile genus perficit præter oleastra; oleastrum enim generat hoc est sylvestrem oleam, et non oleam veram.*²⁷⁰

S^r *Tho. Brown* gives us this Paraphrase. "If thou *Roman* and *Gentile Branch*, art now, by the signal Mercy of God, beyond the ordinary & commonly expected Way, grafted into the *True Olive*, the Church of God; if thou, which

Observations on Plants Mentioned in Scripture, in *Works* (4:148). Theophrastus (371–287 BCE), a student of Plato and Aristotle and successor to the latter at the Lyceum. He wrote broadly on topics of natural philosophy, including the treatises *Enquiry into Plants* and *On the Causes of Plants*; see *EB* (26:787).

²⁶⁶ *εστι δε βελτιων εγκεντρισμος, ομοιων εις ομοια*. "A better method of grafting is from like to like." [Greek and Latin].

²⁶⁷ "Domestic trees, for the purposes of grafting, are always to be preferred to wild ones." Peter Laurenberg (1585–1639), professor of poetry, mathematics, and medicine at the University of Rostock; see *ADB* (18:59). This citation is from his *Horticultura* (1632); see Browne, *Observations on Plants Mentioned in Scripture*, in *Works* (4:149).

²⁶⁸ "Garden olive."

²⁶⁹ From the Greek, *φauλία*, or "coarse olive."

²⁷⁰ "Every tree produces a similar species except for the olive; for it produces *oleastrum*, that is, wild olive, not the true olive." Browne, *Observations on Plants Mentioned in Scripture*, in *Works* (4:149). Mather uses much the same metaphoric explication of how the gentiles had been grafted on the olive-tree of the Jews in his *Trip Paradise* (307–308).

neither naturally, nor by Humane Art, canst be made to produce any good Fruit, &, next to a Miracle, to be made a true Olive, art now by the Benignity of God, grafted into the *proper Olive*; how much more shall the *Jew*, the Natural Branch, be grafted into its genuine and mother Tree, wherein Propinquity of Nature is like, so readily and prosperously to effect a Coalition? And this more especially by the expressed Way of *Insition*, or Implantation, the *Olive* being not successfully propagable by *Seed*, nor at all by *Surculation*.²⁷¹

2273.

Q. How do you understand that Passage, *Blindness in part is happened unto Israel?* v. 25.

A. Ἀπὸ μέρους, is to bee rendred, *By parts*, or, Separately, and Severally.²⁷² First, the *Ten Tribes* were *Blinded*. Then, the *Two Tribes*.

Q. The *Gifts of God without Repentance.*] v. 29.

A. The Jews have such a Saying, in *Cosri*, quoted by Buxtorf. *Deus Benedictus, posteaquam largitus est Donum, non aufert illud iterum ab eo qui recepit.*²⁷³

1726.

Q. The Lords *Rejecting* and then *Restoring* of the Jewish Nation, have the Jewes themselves any Apprehension of it?

A. In *Massechet Sanhedrin*, there is a Gloss of R. *Solomons*, that setts this Matter off, with a notable Similitude.

The Ox of a certain Man, fell in Running. They then stabled an Horse in his Place. The Master both of the Ox, & of the Horse, loved the Ox at such a rate, that hee never did such a Thing before. When the Ox was Recovered, it yett seem'd a grievous Thing unto the Master to expel the Horse, and Restore the Ox unto his Place. Thus the Holy & Blessed God, when Israel fell, gave their Grandeurs to the Gentiles;

²⁷¹ Browne, *Observations on Plants Mentioned in Scripture*, in *Works* (4:149). Sir Thomas Browne's (1605–82) studies of plants were intended to debunk popular or vulgar myths about the natural world and replace them with interpretations based on (Browne's) empirical observations. Browne had an extensive interest in botany (his domestic garden was renowned) as well as in the natural history of America. Browne was an Oxford graduate and physician whose literary interests included, like Mather's, the integration of science and religion. His *Religio medici* (1643) affirmed the existence of witches; his participation in a 1662 witchcraft case helped to convict the two women on trial (the record of which was used to justify the appeal to spectral evidence in the Salem trials). See *ODNB* (8:206–17).

²⁷² "... blinded in part ..." (KJV); μέρος is singular, not plural.

²⁷³ "God be blessed; after He has bestowed a gift, he does not take it back from the recipient." Johannes Buxtorf's *Liber Cosri* (1660), a translation of Judah ha-Levi's Arabic-language philosophical treatise, *Kitab al-Khazari* (*The Book of the Khazars*; translated into Hebrew by Judah ibn Tibbon as *Sefer ha-Kuzari*). In this work (c. 1140), the Spanish physician and poet ha-Levi (1075–1141) argues that true religion (Judaism) is best authenticated by revelation rather than by rational argument; see *EJ* (11:492–500).

*but when Israel shall afterwards Return by Repentance, it will seem an hard Thing in Him, to destroy them.*²⁷⁴

Q. What may be the Import of that Passage: *God hath concluded them all in Unbeleef, that He might have Mercy upon all?* v. 32.

A. One makes this Paraphrase upon it.

“God hath *putt up* together in a State of Revolt from their Allegiance to Him, as it were in *One Fold*, all Men, both *Jewes* and *Gentiles*; that thro’ His Mercy they might all, both *Jewes* and *Gentiles*, come to be His People. He hath suffered both *Jewes* and *Gentiles* in their Turns, not to be His People, that He might bring the whole Body, both of *Jewes* and *Gentiles*, to be His People.”²⁷⁵

28{2}8.²⁷⁶

Q. The Apostle treating upon that wonderful Subject, *The Vocation of the Gentiles*, used these Words, *who hath first given to Him, and it shall be Recompensed unto Him again?* v. 35.

A. It seems to be a Citation from Job. 41.11: *Who hath prevented me, that I should repay him?* You know, *Job* was a *Gentile*. When *Satan*, travelling over the face of the whole Earth, could scarce find one Just Man, yet *Job*, a *Gentile*, was then eminent for his Justice. God thus calling a *Gentile* to the Knowledge & Service of the *Messiah*, a Book was written of it. It was most agreeably and admirably done of our Apostle, to quote a Sentence out of that Book, when he is treating on the Vocation of the *Gentiles*.

²⁷⁴ The *Sanhedrin* is a section of the Talmud that deals with civil and criminal law as well as rules for kings.

²⁷⁵ Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:579–80).

²⁷⁶ See Appendix A.

Q. How is our *Body* to be made a *Sacrifice*? v. 1.

A. Father *Chrysostom* shall give us a Commentary upon it, worth reciting. Μηδεν οφθαλμος πονηρον βλέπω, και γεγоне θυσια κλ.²⁷⁷ *Lett the Eye behold no evil thing, & it is made a Sacrifice: Lett the Tongue speak no Filthy Word, & it becomes an Oblation: Lett the Hand do no unlawful Action, and you render it an Holocaust.*²⁷⁸

“Yett, it is not enough thus to restrain them from Evil; but they must also be employed and exercised in doing that which is good.”

1. Cor. VI.20. Rom. VI.13, 19.

[△Insert ends]

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[▽50v△]

[51r]

Q. What is the Reason of each Article, in the well-known Scription of the Christian *Sacrifice*, which the Apostle calleth for? v. 1.

A. According to the stricter Notion of a *Sacrifice*, its more general Distinction, is into *propitiatory*, or *eucharistical*. Christianitie in that Notion admits but *one*; & this of the *former* Sort; by which *One*, even *that of Himself*, our Lord hath *perfected* forever them *that are sanctified*. Wee ourselves, or any Services of ours, are only capable of being *Sacrifices*, by Way of *Analogy*; and that chiefly to the *latter* Sort. [1. Pet. 2.5.] We are to present unto the Lord, a *Sacrifice*; but a *Sacrifice* here, signifies no more, than a thing, that is *Devoted* to God.

But what are wee to *Devote*? Our *Bodies*. Hereby wee are to understand our *whole Selves*; [1. Cor. 6.20.] which is expressed by *Bodies*, for Distinction-sake; the *Bodies of Beasts* were heretofore offered, and *now* wee are to offer up *our own*. This is called, a *living Sacrifice*; partly by Way of *Allusion*; for a *Morticinum*, any thing Dead of itself, the *Israelites* might not *Eat* themselves, much less might they *Bring* it unto the Lord; the Sacrifice must come *Alive* unto the Altar. And yet the *Victim* was to bee *slain* in *Sacrificing*; to which here is also an *Opposition*. *Living*, here, may signify, *continuing to live*. A *Sacrifice* was to bee *Destroyed*; but when wee offer ourselves, our *Lives* will not bee at all *Impair'd*; they'l bee *Improv'd* by a wonderful Sacredness added thereunto. Our *Bodies* are to bee an *unbloody Sacrifice*. But, not *Inanimate Bodies*. No, the *Bodily Life* also is but

²⁷⁷ Chrysostom, *In epistulam ad Romans (homiliae 1–32)* [PG 060. 0595, lines 55–56]: Μηδεν ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρὸν βλέπω, καὶ γέγονε θυσία. “Lett the Eye behold no evil thing, & it is made a Sacrifice, etc.” Mather has cut the Greek citation off in mid-sentence but provided the full English translation (κλ is the abbreviation of κατὰ λοιπά, “and so forth”).

²⁷⁸ Chrysostom, *Homily XX, NPNFi* (11:496–7).

Alluded unto; tis a further, higher, nobler *Living* that is here called for. [Rom. 6.11, 13. and Gal. 2.19, 20.]

Holy, is added, without any Tautology; for tho' it bee in the Word, *Sacrifice*, tis not in the Word *θυσία*.²⁷⁹ Besides, a *Real Holiness*, or, a Rectitude of Heart & Life, is required, as well as a *Relative*. This will bee *Acceptable*. The *Sacrifice* becomes not Acceptable *By This*; and yett is not acceptable *without it*. However, *Holiness*, in the Nature of the Thing itself, is *well-pleasing* unto God, as the Word *εὐαρεστον* imports. In this, there is a *Reasonable Service*: which is declared, as intimating the Transcendency of this *Christian Sacrifice*; they are not *Brutes* but *Men*, that are to bee offered unto the Lord; and the highest Acts of *Reason*, too, are to bee the Ingredients of the Offering. The *Right* of God hereunto, is likewise implied; there is *nothing* so *Reasonable*, as that wee should offer ourselves unto Him.

Tis to bee done, with a *Præsentation*; Wee are to sett ourselves before God, as they did, *Sistere ad Altare*,²⁸⁰ the Destined Sacrifices, making them stand ready there, for Immolation.

Q. The Design & Meaning of the Apostles Direction, about Mens exercising the Gifts, which God ha's bestow'd upon them? v. 3.

A. Every Man ought to *Think of himself soberly*. Dr. *Goodwin* observes, it should be, Translated, *soberly to keep himself within his Calling & his Duty*. By the *Measures of Faith*, is meant the Measure of Supernatural Gifts, wherewith God furnished the Faithful, for their several Offices.

A *Sobriety of Heart*, keeping a Man within his Compass, is the thing here commended. And the Spirit of Prophecy, remarkably strikes at the very Sin, working in the Church of *Rome*, which brought in the Apostasy. The Officers of the Church came to affect, & assert, Præheminencies, that belong'd not unto them. To anticipate that Corruption, the Church which afterwards became the *Mother of Abominations*, here is now given unto that Church, an exact *Platform* of Church-officers.²⁸¹

Accordingly, the Words of Supply, here inserted by the Translators, ought rather to be fetch'd from the *Third Verse*. *Whether Prophecy*, lett us soberly mind our Duty therein, *according to the Proportion of Faith, or Ministry*, lett us soberly mind our Duty therein, & keep *to Ministering*. He exhorts every one to Diligence, in his particular Office; & he dehorts from meddling with what belongs not unto him. He sends us to our Natural *Body*, that we may learn these Lessons of *Sobriety*.

²⁷⁹ *θυσία*; "burnt offering, or sacrifice."

²⁸⁰ "Placed at the altar."

²⁸¹ Probably Thomas Goodwin (1600–80); see Mather's entry on 1:12 (above). Mather owned several of his works.

2685.

Q. Give us a Key to come at once, unto the Sense, of many Passages, in the twelfth Chapter to the *Romans*, & them that follow? v. 4.

A. The Apostle would give a Demonstration, that the *Law* receives no Injury, by the *Gospel*. Having therefore first asserted, the Doctrine of *Justification*, by the Obedience which the Lord Jesus Christ yeilded unto the *Law*, wherein the *Law* is forever *magnified*, & made most *Honourable*, hee proceeds to propose the *Duties*, to which all the *Justified* are forever, both obliged and inclined. These *Duties*, are such as do not fall short of any thing required in the *Law*. The *Law* of *Moses* was Threefold; the *Ritual*, the *Judicial*, and the *Moral*. The Apostle in præscribing the Duties of Christianity, successively alludes to each of these. And First, in this Chapter, he ha's his Eye upon the *Law* of *Rites* and *Caremonies*.

With an Eye to the *Sacrifices*, he teaches us (v. 1.), To present our *living Bodies*, a *Sacrifice*; and when he urges it, by the *Mercies of God*, he alludes to Exod. 34.6, 7.

The *Head* was first laid upon the *Altar*; and alluding hereto, the Apostle begins with (v. 2.) *The Renewing of the Mind*. And the not being *conformed unto the World*, here pressed, (v. 2.) alludes to the *Washings* of the *Levites*. But, our *proving the good, & acceptable, & perfect Will of God*, (v. 2.) alludes to the ancient Examination of the *Sacrifices*. The Three Terms, refer to those of the *Approved Sacrifices*; the τέλειον, to the /תמיים/ [Lev. 1. and Exod. 12.5.] the ἐνάρεστον, to the /לרצון/ [Lev. 22.21. Mal. 2.13.] the καλόν, to the /טוב/ or *Fatt*, [Lev. 27.10.]²⁸²

When tis said, (v. 3) *Lett no Man think more highly of himself, than he ought to think*, it alludes, to the Modesty required, of the *Levites*, who might not præsume to meddle with the Office of the *Priests*; and of the *Priests*, who might not assume that of the *High-priests*.

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[52v]

When tis said, (v. 9.) *cleave to that which is good*, it alludes, to the *Levites*, who with a Just Hatred of Idolatry, *cleaved* unto *Moses*, and unto *Phinehas*.

When tis said, (v. 10.) *In Honour præferring one another*, it alludes to the Respects, which the *lesser Levites*, were to show unto the *greater*.

Not slothful in Business, (v. 11) alludes to the girding of the *Levites*. Compare Ezek. 44.18.

Fervent in Spirit; alludes to the *Boiling Potts* of the *Levites*. [Mic. 3.3. 1. Sam. 2.13. Ezek. 24.4.]

Serving the Lord; was the peculiar Character of the *Levites*.

Rejoicing in Hope, (v. 12.) is as much as to say, Not in *Hope of Tythes*, and Revenues, and Salaries, as the *Levites* did; but in *Hope* of eternal Blessedness.

²⁸² Both τέλειον and תמיים mean "without defect"; ἐνάρεστον and רצון mean "acceptable," i. e. without blemish or wellpleasing; καλόν and טוב mean "good," in the modern sense of fair or acceptable.

Patient in Tribulation; many be paraphrased, as it is by *Grotius*; *Sicut Levitarum munus fuerat ferre Tabernaculum, ita vos Ecclesiae causà quiduis supinete.*²⁸³

Instant in Prayer, was what belong'd unto the *Levites*. Compare, Neh. 9.5. & 11.17.

The *Levites* were to *Distribute unto the Necessity* of others, especially, *cum de Tertiis Decimis epulabantur.*²⁸⁴ But Christians are to do it, out of all that they have of their own. (v. 13.)

Bless, & curse not. (v. 14.) It was the Office of the *Levites*, To *Bless*: [Deut. 10.8. and 27.2.]

Rejoice with them that Rejoice, weep with them that weep. (v. 15.) It may allude unto the *Two Gates* of the *Temple*; whereof one was for *Bridegrooms*, the other for *Mourners*.

Condescend to Men of low Estate. (v. 16.) The *Levites*, were to help the *Poor-est*, as well as the *Richest*, in the Affairs of their *Sacifices*.

Be not wise in your own Conceits; Like those learned *Levites*, who contemptuously called others, *Populum Terræ.*²⁸⁵

Provide things Honest in the Sight of all Men. (v. 17.) It is fetched from Prov. 3.4. The *Levites* in the *Temple*, performed the Commands of God, *in the Sight of all* the People.

4371.

Q. What is meant by, *The Proportion of Faith?* v. 6.

A. Some take it, for those *Principles of Faith*, which are known among the People of God. But surely, They who *prophecied* by a Gift of the *Spirit*, could not proceed otherwise. Others therefore take it, for the *Measure of miraculous Faith* imparted unto the Man, enabling him *now* to Reveal Mysteries, *now* to foretel things to come, *now* to disclose things hidden, according as God shall upon his Faith, grant him Ability to do it. *Chrysostom*, and *Oecumenius* and *Theophylact* say, This Gift flow'd in upon Men, as their *Faith* rendred them Vessels fitt for the receiving of it.²⁸⁶

A Nameless Writer, said to be Dr. *Lock*, thus notes upon it. The *New Converts* were, as we find, apt to be puff'd up, with the several *Gifts* that were bestow'd on them: And every one as is usual in such Cases, forward to magnify

²⁸³ "Just as it had been the office of the Levites to carry the Tabernacle, even so should you lay everything aside for the sake of the Church." Hugo Grotius, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (6:222).

²⁸⁴ "Having feasted on a thirteenth (of the offering)."

²⁸⁵ "People of the earth (or soil)" (i. e. peasants).

²⁸⁶ Chrysostom, *Homily XXI, NPNFi* (11:501). Oecumenius, 10th-century bishop in Thessaly and putative author of a number of biblical commentaries, including one on the Pauline epistles; see *NSHERK* (8:226). Theophylact (1055–1107), a Bulgarian archbishop whose commentaries, including one on the Pauline epistles, are largely derivative of Oecumenius's work; see *NCE* (13:934).

his own, and to carry it *farther* than in reality it extended. The Design of the Apostle here is to regulate such a *Disorder* and to keep every one, in the Exercise of his *particular Gift*, within its due Bounds. He exhorts them to a *sober Use* of their Gifts. And the *Measure* of that *Sobriety*; he makes to be, that *Measure of Faith*, or spiritual *Gift*, which every one in particular enjoy'd by the Favour of God; That is, That no one should go beyond that which was given him, and he really had.²⁸⁷

It is observable that our Apostle going to Restrain them in the Exercise of their Distinct spiritual Gifts, begins with the Expression; v. 3. *I say, thro' the Grace that is given unto me*. He could not introduce what he was going to say, with a more persuasive Argument, than his own Example. q.d. "I myself, in giving you this Exhortation, do it by *the Grace that is given unto me*, by the Power given me God, and beyond that I do not go."

After all, I embrace the Proposal of Mr. *James Peirce*; That, *The Measure of Faith*, be rendred, *The Measure of the Trust*. And, *The Proportion of Faith*, be rendred, *The Proportion of the Trust*. Lett Men serve God, according to the *Gifts* He has committed unto their *Trust*.²⁸⁸

Q. *Abhor that which is evil*: With what Manner or Measure of *Abhorrence*? v. 9.

A. The Greek Word, Ἀποστρυγόντες,²⁸⁹ is very emphatical, if the Origination of it bee considered. If wee derive the Word, from *Styx*, a River in *Arcadia*, whose Waters were Poison, & would kill with their extreme Cold, & which thence was used by the Poets, as the Name of a River or Lake in *Hell*: it expresses thus much to us, That Sin is to bee *Abhorred* and Avoided, as you would Hate *Poison*, *Death*, or *Hell* itself.

To πονηρον.²⁹⁰ some think here especially means, *A malicious Turn* upon what the Neighbour does, To αγαθον.²⁹¹ *A Kind Action*, towards him.

Q.²⁹² A Remark on that, *given to Hospitality*? v. 13.

A. The Original signifies, more strongly; *Follow after*, or, *pursue Hospitality*. Imitate the SAVIOUR of the World. *Go about* still doing of Good. Seek out Opportunities of obliging Mankind. Stay not until Occasions of Beneficence offer themselves. Not only receive poor Visitants, and weary & Needy Travel-

²⁸⁷ Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:584).

²⁸⁸ James Peirce, undoubtedly one of his paraphrases "after the manner of Mr. Locke": *A Paraphrase, and Notes on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Philippians* (1725), *A Paraphrase, and Notes on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Colossians* (1725), or *A Paraphrase, and Notes on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Hebrews* (1727). Peirce (1674–1726) was a Dissenting minister who was ejected from his church late in life (1719) for an insufficiently Nicene Christology; see *ODNB* (43:449–52).

²⁸⁹ "Abhorring."

²⁹⁰ "Evil" (generally of the worst kind).

²⁹¹ "Good."

²⁹² See Appendix B.

lers, with a generous Hospitality, but *follow after* those who have passed by your House: Bring them back and surprise them with unexpected Bounties.

Q. On that, *Bless & curse not?* v. 14.

A. Even the unbelieving Jews, have subscribed unto this Dictate of Christianity. In *Sanhedrin*, fol. 49.1. is this Maxim; *Sis maledictus, et ne sis maledicens.*²⁹³
R. *Solomon* upon it saies; *Satius est ut sis, ex eis qui sunt maledicti; quàm ex eis qui maledicunt. Quia maledictio injusta {autem} revertetur ad eum qui maledicit.*²⁹⁴

Q. What may be the Intent of that Clause; *Thou shalt heap Coals of Fire on his head?* v. 20.

A. Thou shalt effectually and thoroughly *melt* him. It is an allusion to them who are concerned with the *Melting of Metals*. The *Metals* which will not be *melted* by Fire putt under them, are *melted* when *Coals of Fire* are *heaped* upon them, are laid over them.

Q. A Remark on that glorious Maxim? v. 21.

A. I think it worth while to transcribe the Words of Mr. *Blackwal*, in his *Sacred Classics*.

“Can any shew me a Precept among the most solid & celebrated Masters of Morality, so useful & Divine as to the Sense, so cleanly compact and beautifully turn’d, as to the Expression, as that sacred Direction; *Be not overcome of Evil, but overcome Evil with Good*. A Noble Strain of Christian Courage, Providence, and Goodness, that nothing in *Epictetus*, *Plutarch*, or *Antonine* vyz withal.”²⁹⁵

²⁹³ “Be cursed, but do not curse.”

²⁹⁴ “It is better that you be one of those who are cursed than one of those who curse, because an unjust curse will turn back against him who says the curse.” [The word *autem* is mostly illegible and so is somewhat conjectural here.] See *The Babylonian Talmud* (3:721). The *Sanhedrin* section of the Talmud deals with civil and criminal law within the Jewish community.

²⁹⁵ Anthony Blackwall, *The Sacred Classics Defended and Illustrated* (1725); see Mather’s entry on 8:19 (above). “Vyz” or viz. (videlicet) – “as may be seen.”

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Q. What Remark upon that Passage; *Lett every Soul be subject unto the Higher Powers?* v. 1.

A. It is well Remark'd by *Fernandius*; *Apertè significat, non esse hominem, qui non habeat super se sublimiorem potestatem.*²⁹⁶ There are *Higher Powers*, whereto the *Magistrates* themselves are to bee *subject*. The *Highest* on Earth, must bee *subject* unto the *Most High God* of, *Heaven*.

Compare, Eccl. 5.7.

Q. The Intent of the Exhortation; *Lett every Soul be subject unto the Higher Powers?* v. 1.

A. These Rules are given to *Christians*, that were Members of an *Heathen Commonwealth*; to shew them, that by being made *Christians*, and Subjects of Christs Kingdome, they were not by the Gospel exempt from any Ties of Duty, or Subjection, which by the Lawes of their Countrey, they ought to observe, to the Government of it, and more than any Heathen Subjects.

Dr. *Lock*, (if it were he) proceeds; "*Christians*, by Vertue of being *Christians*, are not any way exempt from Obedience to the Civil Magistrates nor ought by any Means to *Resist* them. Indeed, by what is said in the Third Verse, it seems, as if the Apostle meant here, Magistrates having and exercising a *lawful Power*. But whether the Magistrates in being were or were not Such, & consequently were or were not to be obey'd, *Christianity* gave them no peculiar Power to examine. They had the *Common Right* of others, their Fellow-citizens; but had no *Distinct Right* as *Christians*. Anon he enjoins, *Render to all their Dues*; But who it was, to whom any of these, or any other Dues of Right, belonged, he decides not. For that he leaves them to be determined by the Lawes and Constitutions of their Countrey."²⁹⁷

I will further transcribe a Passage of another Nameless Author.

"What if the Clergy of *England* in the Book of *Homilies*, did strain a Text a little too far, in shewing of their extraordinary Respect unto King *Edward VI.* and Queen *Elizabeth*?²⁹⁸ Why should we keep it still upon the Strain, and not suffer it to come to itself, by its own elastick Motion? And what if the Sense of

²⁹⁶ "Clearly, it means that he is not human who does not have a higher power over him." Antonius Fernandius (1570–1642), *Commentarii in visiones veteris Testamenti* (1617). Fernandes was a Portuguese Jesuit missionary; see *CE* (6:44). In the *Magnalia Christi Americana* (24), Mather mentions Fernandes' authorship of this commentary while on a trip to the West Indies.

²⁹⁷ Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:588).

²⁹⁸ Edward VI (r. 1547–1553); Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603).

the XIII to the *Romans*, should be no more than this? *Lett all Christians know, that the Christian Institution does not free them from their Subjection to the Temporal Powers, under which they happen to live; For tis the Will of God that Government should be maintain'd in Societies: So that Rebellion in a Christian, is no less a Damnable Sin, than in another Man. And since the Design of Civil Government, is the Security and Peace of all its Subjects, the Christians can have no Cause to exempt themselves from Civil Establishments.*"²⁹⁹

Q. On that, *There is no Power, but of God*, old Eucherius raises a Quæstion, *How comes it then, that so few employ their Power for God?* v. 1.

A. He answers, *Life is from GOD. But all Men do not alike live unto GOD.*³⁰⁰

[54v]

Q. *The Night far spent; the Day at hand?* v. 12.

A. The Hebrews call this World, *Night*; and the World to come, *Day*. In *Midras Ruth*; is that Passage. *Mundus hic totus est Nox.*³⁰¹ On the other side; In *Bereschith Rabba*; is that Passage; *Mundus futurus est totus Dies.*³⁰² There is a Speech in the *Talmudic* Treatise, *Chagiga*. *Quisquis operam dat Legi, in hoc mundo, qui similes est Nocti, Deus S. B. super eum extendit funem misericordiæ in mundo future, qui similis est Diei.*³⁰³

Q. *The Works of Darkness, and the Armour of Light?* v. 12.

A. The sound Comparison is found among the Hebrew Writers. In *Bereschith Rabba*, sect. 3. is that Passage. ET VOCAVIT DEUS LUCEM, DIEM; *Ista sunt opera Justorum*. ET TENEBRAS VOCAVIT NOCTEM; *Ista sunt opera Impiorum*. Et fuit vespera; *Ista sunt opera Impiorum*. Et fuit manè; *Ista sunt opera Justorum.*³⁰⁴

²⁹⁹ This "nameless author" is not Locke or any of Mather's other stock commentaries; the "Book of *Homilies*" to which the author refers was a collection of Anglican sermons dating from the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth, entitled *Certain Sermons or Homilies Appointed to be Read in the Churches* (1547, 1562, 1571). As the title implies, it was aimed at providing a theological and hortatorial compass for the Church.

³⁰⁰ Probably Eucherius, bishop of Orleans; see Mather's entry on 5:9 (above).

³⁰¹ "This whole world is night." See *The Midrash* (3:13). *Midrash Ruth*, or *Ruth Rabba*, a commentary on the book of Ruth (c. 800 CE); see *EJ* (14:184–5).

³⁰² "The whole world to come is day." See *The Midrash* (1:19). The *B'reschith Rabba* is a rabbinic commentary on the book of Genesis dating from the 4th or 5th century CE whose final form is attributed to the 11th-century rabbi Moses ha-Darshan; see *EJ* (7:449–50).

³⁰³ "Whoever gives his effort to the Law in this world, which is like night, God (Blessed be He) extends over him a blanket of mercy in the world to come, which is like day." *The Babylonian Talmud* (5:70). The *Hagiga* section of the Talmud deals with the ritual observances associated with the feasts of Passover, Pentecost, and Booths.

³⁰⁴ "'And God called the light, day'; those are the works of the just. 'And He called the darkness, night'; those are the works of the wicked. 'And there was evening'; those are the works of the wicked. 'And there was morning'; those are the works of the just." See *The Midrash* (1:24–5).

Q. The Exhortation, which begins, *Knowing the Time*. A Paraphrase upon it? v. 11, 12.

A. Dr. *Lock*³⁰⁵ ha's given one.

"All this do, considering that it is now *High Time*, that we rouse ourselves up, shake off Sleep, & betake ourselves with Vigilancy and Vigour, to the Duties of a Christian Life. For the Time of your Removal out of this Place of Exercise and Probationership, is nearer than when you first entred into the Profession of Christianity. The *Night*, the Dark State of this World; wherein the Good and the Bad can scarce by distinguished, is far spent. The *Day*, that will shew every one in his own Dress and Contours, is at hand. Lett us therefore putt away the *Works*, that we should be ashamed of, but in *the Dark*; and lett us putt on the Dress and Ornaments, that we should be willing to appear in, in the *Light*."³⁰⁶

Ὀπλά; *Armour*.³⁰⁷ The Greek Word, is often used for the Apparel, Clothing, and Accoutrements of the *Body*.

Another Paraphrase at this rate. "These essential Duties of your Christian Profession, ought to be your first & immediate Care; Especially when you consider, that from the Time of your first Conversion, every day will lessen & diminish the Obstacles you meet withal, & bring you nearer to your expected Happiness."³⁰⁸

Q. What is the *Rioting*, forbidden by the Apostle, among the *Works of Darkness*? v. 13.

A. 'Tis the same, that in 1. Pet. 4.3. is translated, *Revelling*. The learned *Aretius* tells us, By κῶμος,³⁰⁹ the Apostle intends, *wanton Dancing*; and so, tis very fitly Joined here with, *excessive Drinking*; because t'was customary with the Gentiles, after they had been *Drinking*, so fall to *Dancing*, & *Singing*; and commonly they were profane & obscene Songs, which they sang.³¹⁰ Thus also, *Ravanellus* and *Voetius*, have well observed, That the Word, κῶμος, is by the most Learned in the Greek Tongue, Judged to mean *Dancing*.³¹¹ Thus *Hesychius* saith, That it

³⁰⁵ See Appendix A.

³⁰⁶ Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:590).

³⁰⁷ Ὀπλά.

³⁰⁸ Pyle, *Paraphrase upon the New Testament* (1:280).

³⁰⁹ κῶμος; "village festival," intimating singing, dancing, drinking, and merry-making.

³¹⁰ Benedictius Aretius (1522–74), professor of Greek, Hebrew, and, eventually, theology at Bern. His commentary on the New Testament was published posthumously in 1580; see *NSHERK* (1:277).

³¹¹ Κῶμος; "revelry, carousing." Petrus Ravanellus (d. 1680) wrote an encyclopedia of the Bible (*Bibliotheca sacra*, 1650), a work that Increase Mather received as a gift from Bridget Hoar Usher; see Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (25). Gisbert Voet (1589–1676) was a Dutch Reformed theologian and professor at Utrecht; see *NSHERK* (12:220–1).

is εἶδος ὀρχήσεως;³¹² and it is evident that *Pindar* so uses the Word, κώμαζε σὺν ὕμνῳ. i. e. *Salta cum Hymno*.³¹³

Behold then, As the Faithful in all Ages of Christianity, have testify'd against petulant & promiscuous *Dances*: *Fathers* have done it, *Churches* have done it, *Synods* have done it; So, they have *Scripture* for their doing of it.³¹⁴

One observes, that κωμος, was the same with *Chemosh*, the God of the *Moabites*. The Scholiast on *Aristophanes* tells us, It was a *Tavern-Deity*, & wont to be worshipped with *Drinking* after Supper.³¹⁵

4372.

Q. What is, *To putt on the Lord Jesus Christ?* v. 14.

A. To Imitate Him. *Chrysostom* saies, it was a common Phrase, ο δεινα τον δεινα ενεδυσατο. *Such an one hath putt on such an one*; That is, he is an Imitator of him.³¹⁶

[▽55r] [▽Insert from 55r]

Q. On that of, *putting on the Lord JESUS CHRIST?* v. 14.

A. As often as the *Priests* appeared in a civil Capacity, they wore no other Garments, but such as were used by the other Jews; neither did they wear their sacerdotal Vestments, but in the Week which they attended the Service. Then they laid aside their ordinary Cloaths, and after washing themselves, they putt on their priestly Garments. Monsr. *Jurieu* thinks, That the Apostle *Paul* alludes here unto these things, when he bids those who art *washed*, and have *putt on CHRIST*, then to lay aside the *old Man*.³¹⁷

I will annex a Remark of the Honourable Mr. *Boyl*, upon this Passage.

312 “Comely dancing.” There are a number of early Christian figures by the name of Hesychius. The most likely candidate here is Hesychius of Alexandria, a fifth-century lexicographer whose treatise, *Alphabetical Collection of all Words*, contains over 50,000 entries on the Greek language (the single surviving copy of the work was first printed in Venice in 1514). See *NSHERK* (5:258).

313 The Greek passage is adapted from *Scholia in Pindaram (scholia veterus)*, Ode 17, scholion 27b, lines 1–2. “Reveling with song, i. e. dancing with song.” Pindar (518–438 BCE) was a Greek poet; he wrote two books of songs for dancing, of a type used in the cult of Apollo; *EGHT* (2:1322–3). Mather’s cited source is illegible; see Appendix A.

314 Increase and Cotton Mather were vociferous opponents of (mixed) dancing, which was becoming popular in the Boston in their day. Increase published *An Arrow against profane and promiscuous dancing* (1686), and Cotton similarly wrote *A Cloud of Witnesses* (1700). See Marks, *The Mathers on Dancing*.

315 On the “Scholiast on Aristophanes,” see Mather’s entry on 9:3.

316 Chrysostomus *In Epistula ad Romanos (homiliae 1–32)* [PG 060. 0627, line 26]: ‘Ο δεινα τὸν δεινα ἐνεδύσατο. See Chrysostom, *Homily XXIV*, *NPNFi* (11:518ff).

317 Pierre Jurieu (1637–1713), perhaps his *Traite de la nature et de la grace* (1687). Jurieu was a French Reformed pastor and professor of theology and Hebrew at Sedan; in 1681 he was forced to flee to Holland; see *NSHERK* (6:267).

When our Apostle has dispatched the *Romans* from various Vices, instead of exhorting them to the contrary Virtues in particular, he only desires them in general, *To putt on the Lord JESUS CHRIST*.³¹⁸

A most comprehensive Duty, which contains in it, all the Virtues that can be thought of!

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 56v] [blank]

[▽56v△]

318 Robert Boyle (1627–91), chemist and lay theologian. Boyle wrote a number of substantive theological works, including *The Christian Virtuoso* (1690), *Some Considerations touching upon the Style of the Holy Scriptures* (1661), and *The Reconcilableness of Reason and Religion* (1675). *The Christian Virtuoso* provided the model for Mather's own *Christian Philosopher*. See ODNB (7:100–8).

Q. Who is meant by, *Him that eateth*, and, *Him that eateth not*? v. 4.

A. The *Gentile*, and the *Jew*.

Q. The Force of that Passage; *Yea, he shall be holden up; for God is able to make him stand*? v. 4.

A. If they offend in no greater Points than these, God will hold them up from falling from their Profession.

Q. That Passage; *He that Regardeth the Day, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth not the Day, to the Lord he doth not regard it*. Paraphrase it? v. 6.

A. "He that observeth a *Day*, observeth it as the *Lords Servant*, in Obedience unto Him. And he that observes it not, passes by that Observance as the *Lords Servant*, in Obedience also to the Lord."³¹⁹

On the Clauses that follow about *Eating*, take the Paraphrase of another Author.

"You that eat all Foods indifferently, do it, out of a full Perswasion that God has given you the Liberty, and are Thankful to God for such a Liberty. And you that are so nice in your

Distinctions of them, do it, because you think that Obligation is not yett taken off, and you are Thankful for those you think are allowed you. And then, where is the Harm in all this?"³²⁰

Q. It is said, *Wee shall ALL stand before the Judgment-seat of Christ*. I have heard the Objection made; *Where will there be Room for such a vast Multitude as Adam, with all his Children? The whole Surface of the Earth could not hold them all!* What would you say to this Objection? v. 10.

A. What would I say? I would say, that they who make this Objection, are no great Masters, either of *Arithmetick*, or of *Geography*. For I'll make you larger Allowances than you can fairly ask for; I will Allow, That *This World* last no less than *Ten Thousand Years*; which it *will not*: I will Allow, That there bee at once alive, a *Thousand Millions* of Men, which there *are not*: I will Allow, That all of these march off, every *Fifty Years*, with a New Generation Rising up in their Stead: And I will Allow each of these Individuals a Place *Five Foot Square* to stand upon. I think these are Fair *Allowances*! Now, lett the Objector compute,

³¹⁹ Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:594).

³²⁰ Pyle, *Paraphrase upon the New Testament* (1:282).

whether a Spot of Ground, much less than *England*, which contains, perhaps about Thirty Millions of Acres, but about a *Thousandth Part* of the Terraqueous Globe, and about the *Three Hundred and Thirty Third Part* of the Habitable Earth, would not hold them all.

Q. *If thy Brother be grieved by thy Meat.* What is meant by, *grieved*? v. 15.

A. It signifies not simply, made *sorrowful* by what thou dost. But it signifies, receiving an *Hurt*, or *Wound*, as every one does, who by anothers Exemple is drawn to do, what he supposes to be unlawful.

Q. In what Sense are those Words to be taken, *The Kingdome of God is not Meat and drink, but Righteousness, & Peace, & Joy in the Holy Ghost*? v. 17.

A. What if you should so take it? A Right unto the *Kingdome of God*, is not obtained, by superstitious Abstinences, from these or those Kinds of *Meats* or *Drinks*; No, but by pursuing of *Righteousness*, and by promoting of *Peace*, and by Endeavours to comfort and Refresh all that are about us, with the *Gifts* of the *Holy Ghost*, and not making ourselves Troublesome unto them.

Q. *Destroy not the Work of God.*] What is meant by, *The Work of God*? v. 20.

A. A *Man* that is the *Work of God*, and a very exquisite Peece of *Workmanship*.

Q. Upon that, *The God of Patience & of Comfort?* v. 5.

A. My excellent Friend, Mr. *Boehm*, in his Funeral Sermon on the pious & precious Mr. *Ludolf*, has this Passage, of his.

“One Time he expressed unto me, a lively Sense, upon, Rom. XV.5. The same God, said he, who is by the Apostle termed, *A God of Patience*, is also termed, *A God of Comfort*. The same God who gives *Comfort*, gives also *Patience*. But then, He is first a *God of Patience* before He is a *God of Comfort*; and He does manifest Himself as a *God of Patience*, when we stand in most need of *Patience* and Resignation. But there will bee a Time, when we shall no more know Him as a *God of Patience*, but as a *God of Comfort* only.”³²¹

Q. The *Offering up of the Gentiles?* v. 16.

A. The presenting of them unto God, as Converts unto His Religion, was a much more Acceptable *Sacrifice*, than ever was offered in the *Temple*. They were not indeed seasoned with *Salt*, nor purified by *Fire*, but *sanctified* with the Influences of the Holy Spirit.

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽60v] [▽Insert from 60v]

Q. What meant the Apostle, by, *coming in the Fulness of the Blessing of the Gospel of Christ?* v. 29.

A. Dr. *Lock* thus paraphrases it. “I shall bring with me to you, full Satisfaction concerning the *Blessedness* which you receive by the Gospel of Christ.”³²²

He should be able to satisfy them, that by the *Gospel*, the *Forgiveness of Sins* was to be obtained. Compare, Rom. 4.6–9. They had as much Title to it, as the *Jewes* themselves; which was the thing he had been making out unto them, in this Epistle.

Q. The Apostle appears very solicitous, *That the Service which he had for Jerusalem, might be accepted of the Saints*. What special Design, might he have in that *Service*, and in this Desire? v. 31.

A. Our Apostle *Paul* was eminently an Apostle of the *Gentiles*. He knew that the *Jewes*, even the Christianized *Jewes*, laboured under unhappy Prejudices against the *Gentiles*; and that they were particularly prejudiced against *him*, with the Reports which they had of his Ministry among the *Gentiles*. When he had

³²¹ Anthony William Boehm, *The Faithful Steward* (76); see Mather's entry on 2:7 (above).

³²² Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:600).

procured a *liberal Collection* from the Churches of the *Gentiles*, for the Releef of the persecuted and Impoverished *Jewes*, he hoped, as well he might, that this Bounty & Goodness of the *Gentiles*, would engage the Hearts of the *Jewes* unto them. He is therefore very solicitous, that for this End particularly, the *Service* might be *accepted of the Saints at Jerusalem*; Even, that the *Saints* there might have their Spirits better affected unto the *Gentiles*, & unto his Ministry among them.

[△Insert ends]

[△]

Q. Some Illustrations upon the *Names* occurring in the *Salutations*, to the *Romans*, would bee acceptable. v. 1.

A. The most of the Saluted, appear to bee of the Jewish Nation, & tho' now at *Rome*, yett formerly to have been of the Apostles Company & Acquaintance in some other Place.

You know, that the Jewes, had been, by a Decree of *Claudias*, expelled out of *Rome*.³²³ And behold, the wonderful Providence of the Lord Jesus Christ! Hereby many of them came into the Way of the Gospel, and were converted unto the Christian Faith, Return'd Christians unto *Rome*, upon the Death of that Emperour.

It is possible, as Dr. *Lightfoot*, thinks, That the *Faith of the Roman Church spoken of throughout the World*, might refer, to the scattered Jewes, returning thither *Christians*, from all Parts *of the World*, after the Decree of *Claudius*.³²⁴

Lucius, here saluting, seems to bee *Luke*; now called by a Latin Name, in an Epistle to the Latines. For hee was with *Paul* in *Corinth*, at the Writing of this Epistle.

Jason, seems to bee the same that is called elsewhere, *Secundus*: [Act. 20.4.] The one was his Hebrew Name, the other the same in Latin. *Secundus* was a *Thessalonian*, & so was *Jason*. [Act. 17.7.]

Sosipater, seems the same, that is elsewhere called, *Sopater of Beræa*.

Tertius, that wrote out the Epistle; Why might it not be *Silas*? In Hebrew Letters, that Name would bee /שלש/ or, *The Third*.³²⁵ And Hebrew Names, to the *Romans*, may bee sometimes rendred in the *Roman* Idiom.

Gaius, is the same with *Caius*. The Jewes, had near their Synagogues, a public *Xenodochium*, or, a Receptacle for Strangers, where Travellers were hospitably entertained, at the Charges of the Congregation. This laudable Custome was transplanted into the Christian Churches of the primitive Times. [Compare Heb. 13.2. Act. 15.4.] Now, *Gaius was the Host of the whole Church*, as being the Officer, or Overseer, employed by the *Corinthian* Church, for these Entertainments.

Here, t'was impossible but *Women* must bee employ'd also. Hence wee now read about, *Phæbe, a Servant of the Church at Cenchræa, a Succourer of many*: And about, *Mary, who bestow'd much Labour on us*: And several other Women who, *laboured much for the Lord*.

³²³ See Acts 18.2; this event is usually dated c. 49 CE.

³²⁴ John Lightfoot, possibly his *Harmony of the New Testament*; on Lightfoot, see Mather's entry on 3:26.

³²⁵ שליש (third).

Concerning *Phæbe*, we read, *She was a Succourer of many, and of the Apostle himself also*. Mr. *Gale* observes, That the Greek Word, προστάτις,³²⁶ is of a magnificent Import, and signifies, *A Patron*.³²⁷ He has it from *Grotius*.³²⁸ The *Defenders of Strangers*, were called by this Name among the *Athenians*. *Plutarch* renders the Latin Word, *Patron*, by, προστάτις.

Q. How long might *Andronicus* be in *Christ*, before *Paul*? v. 7.

A. It is probable, he might be one of the three thousand converted by the³²⁹ Sermon of the Apostle *Peter*. This was about Six Years before the Conversion of *Paul*; and it was now, about Twenty Years ago.

2690.

Q. *Andronicus* was a *Jew*, because *Pauls* Kinsman. His Name is Greek, what might it be in his own Language? v. 7.

A. *Grotius* thinks it might be /מצא נצח/ *Masinissa*. And *Junia*, that seems to be the Wife of *Andronicus*, might be /נערה/ *Nahara*.³³⁰

2691.

Q. *Paul* speaks of his *Fellow-prisoners*; How often might he be in *Prison*? v. 7.

A. Often, be sure. 2. Cor. 6.5. But *Clemens* in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, has this Passage concerning *Paul*: ἐπτάκις δεσµα φορέσας, *In vincula septies con-jectus*.³³¹

2692.

Q. What was the true & full Name of *Amplias*? v. 8.

A. *Ampliatius*. Thus *Origen*, and the Latin Version, read it. The Name is a Latine one; like, *Donatus*, *Amatus*, *Benedictus*, *Præpolatus*, and the like.

³²⁶ προστάτις; "person of high rank."

³²⁷ Theophilus Gale (1628–78), probably his *Court of the Gentiles* (1669), a work of *prisca theologia* that attempts to root all philosophical and theological knowledge in ancient Judaism (inspired in part by Grotius' *True Religion*, and Ralph Cudworth's *True Intellectual System of the Universe*). Gale received his B. A. and M. A. at Oxford and lectured there during the 1650's while also pastor of Winchester Cathedral. He was ejected from both after the Restoration, after which he had a somewhat peripatetic career as a preacher and teacher. Increase Mather owned this work; see *ODNB* (21:301–3). Cotton owned two other works by Gale, his *Anatomie of Infidelity* (1672) and *True Idea of Janenisme* (1669); see Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (16, 62).

³²⁸ Grotius, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (6:263–64).

³²⁹ See Appendix A.

³³⁰ Grotius, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (6:266).

³³¹ "Having born chains seven times." [Greek] "Cast into chains seven times." [Latin] Clement of Rome, *Epistle to the Corinthians*, *ANF* (1:6).

1887.

Q. The *Apelles* here saluted, is called, *one Approved in Christ*; How would one gloss upon it? v. 10.

A. Δόκιμος ἐν χριστῷ,³³² is as much as to say, *A currant Christian*; One Accepted, and Allowed; No Counterfeit, but of the Right Stamp.

3115.

Q. What may be one special Occasion of directing Salutations to particular *Persons*, as well as to *Churches*? v. 10.

A. A learned Writer, thinks, That these *Persons* were many of them, those whose *Families* were distinguished from other *Families* in the Churches, by their more than ordinary Care to instruct their *Families*. Behold, An Encouragement unto Parents, to use more than ordinary Endeavours for the *Well-catechising* of their *Families*. *Well-catechised Families* are worthy to be saluted from Heaven, if any are so!

26{00}.³³³

Q. Who was *Hermas*? v. 14.

A. The Name is contracted of *Hermodorus*. And it is, *Nomen libertini Hominis*.³³⁴ It is thought, That this is he, who was Author of the ancient Book, entituled, *The Pastor*.³³⁵

[▽63r] [▽Insert from 63r]

Q. *Narcissus*, who? v. 11.

A. Dr. *Reinolds*, in a Sermon on, *The Rich Mans Charge*, observes, That *Calvin*, & *Martyr*, & *Pareus*, & *Grotius*, & others, take this *Narcissus*, to be that vast Rich Man, who was worth Ten Millions of Pounds, in the Days of *Claudius*, the Emperor. Tho' *Baronius* thinks, he was dead, when this Epistle was written.³³⁶

He takes Notice of *Pudens*, mention'd among the Saints in the Scripture; who was a Man of Senatorian Order, married unto *Claudia*, a Lady of *Britain*; of which Marriage we read in *Martials* Epigrams.

³³² "Acceptable in Christ."

³³³ See Appendix A.

³³⁴ "The name of a free-man."

³³⁵ That is, *The Shepherd of Hermas*, a semi-canonical second-century Greek text originating in Rome. The 'Hermas' in view here is identified as the author of *The Shepherd* by Origen; in the Muratorian Fragment (c. 170 CE), an early canonical list of the New Testament that includes this work, the author is identified as the brother of Pope Pius I (c. 150 CE); see *NCE* (6:785).

³³⁶ Cardinal Caesar Baronius (1538–1607), whose history of the church (*Annales Ecclesiastici*, 1588–1607) was a response to Protestant historiography; see *NCE* (2:105–6).

He adds; “We read of Saints, that were of *Cæsars* Houshold. If any Place in the World were like *Hell*, certainly *Neros Court* was the Place; yett, even there, we meet with some that belong’d to Heaven.”³³⁷

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 64v]

[▽64v]

Q. The *Salutations* at the End of the Epistles; of what use were they?

A. They might be of mighty Consideration & Consequence, to those who were concerned in them. To be saluted by an Apostle in so solemn a Manner, might Revive their Spirits, and encourage them to Perseverance under their Temptations & Afflictions. For the Salutations included Apostolical Benedictions. They might be directed by God, for the special Encouragement of their Faith.

Besides, the Salutations at the Ends of the Epistles, would confirm the Authority of them. The Persons therein mentioned would be Witnesses, to attest that they were genuine. These would particularly take a Cognisance of them, & of all Circumstances relating to them.

[△Insert ends]

[△]

|
2694.

[62v]

Q. What and whence, the Name *Philologus*? v. 15.

A.³³⁸ It seems the Name of one made a *Free-man*, but by his Lord first called, *Philologus*, with an Eye to a learned Education, & Institution, bestow’d upon him. *Suetonius* mentions a *Philologus*, whom *Atteius Capito* sett at Liberty, with this remark on his Name, *Philologi appellationem assumpsisse videtur, quia sicut Aristophanes, qui primus hoc cognomen sibi vindicavit, multiplici variaque Doctrina censebatur.*³³⁹

It may not be amiss to refresh you, with telling you, that I have mett with an Ingenious Fancy upon the *Names* of the Persons, whom the Apostle here

³³⁷ Edward Reynolds (1599–1676), *The Rich Mans Charge* (1658) (11). Reynolds was a Presbyterian member of the Westminster Assembly and, briefly, dean and vice-chancellor at Oxford, until he ran afoul of Cromwell. He was a moderating voice on religious tolerance, such that he was made chaplain to Charles II and bishop of Norwich in 1660; see *ODNB* (46:529–31). Two works by Reynolds, though not this one, are listed in Mather’s library; see Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (80).

³³⁸ See Appendix A.

³³⁹ “He seems to have assumed the title *Philologus*, because like Aristophanes, who was first to lay claim to that surname, he regarded himself as a man of wide and varied learning.” *On Grammarians*, in *Suetonius* (2:412–13). Mather, or his source, has misquoted the name as “Aristophanes” here; the correct reference in Suetonius is to “Eratosthenes.” Gaius Ateius Capito (34 BCE–22 CE) was a Roman jurist during the reign of Augustus. He wrote a number of works on Roman law; see *ERE* (93).

salutes? Dr. Fuller tells us, Dr. Collens, the Kings Professor in *Cambridge*, & the Oracle of Eloquence, once founded his Speech, made for the Entertainment of the Strangers at the Commencement, on the Words of the Apostle, *Salute Philologus and Olympas*. Under the former, hee comprised, all the Persons present, that were eminent for *Humane Learning*; under the latter, hee comprised all that were skilful in *Heavenly Divinity*.³⁴⁰

1901.

Q. What is to be Remark'd upon that Passage; *The Churches of Christ salute you?* v. 16.

A. The *Communion* that is to be mentained among the particular *Churches of Christ*, is here intimated. The *Churches of Christ*, are mutually concern'd in, and should be concern'd for, one another.

Calvin has a Remark to this Purpose;

*Salutem ab Ecclesiis ascribens, quantum in se est, mutuo amoris nexu, devincire inter se studet, omnia Christi membra.*³⁴¹

Q. The Emphasis in, *MARK them that cause Divisions?* v. 17.

A. Alardus observes, That it is a *Military Term*, derived from the *Speculatores* or *Excubitores* placed in a *Watch-tower*, that they may observe the Motions & Approaches of an Enemy, & give a Timely Notice of them.³⁴²

Q. It is said, *Mark them which cause Divisions and Offences, contrary to the Doctrine which yee have learned*. Have we any Criticism on the Particle, *Contrary?* v. 17.

A. It is well noted by *Faius*, that *παρά* here signifies, not only, *Contrary*, but also *Beside*.³⁴³

³⁴⁰ Thomas Fuller (1608–61), Anglican clergyman and supporter of Charles I. Though he lost his appointments during the Interregnum, he managed to maintain himself as a sought-after itinerant preacher. After the restoration he was made a Doctor of Divinity (Cambridge) and chaplain to Charles II. Among many other works, he published *The Church-history of Britain* (1655) that includes a history of Cambridge University, which seems to be in view here; see *ODNB* (21:159–63). “Dr. Collens” is Samuel Collins (1576–1651), Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge from 1617 to 1651, despite his royalist sympathies; see *ODNB* (12:729–30).

³⁴¹ “By sending greetings from the Churches, he was doing all that he could to bind together all the members of Christ by the bond of love.” John Calvin, *Calvin's New Testament Commentaries (Romans)* (323).

³⁴² “Look-outs” or “sentinels” placed in the Watch-tower, etc. Alard of Amsterdam (1494–1544) was a classicist and professor at Louvain; his treatise on rhetoric, *Descriptio ecclesiastae sive concionatoris evangelici*, was influenced by the theoretical work of Rudolph Agricola whose collected works he published in 1539. See Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue* (96, 126).

³⁴³ Antoine de La Faye, French Reformed minister, chaplain to Henri of Navarre, and professor of theology and philosophy at Geneva (d. 1616); he produced a commentary on Romans in

Yea, there is a little Fellow, one *Forde*, who, tho' on all other Accounts, he be unworthy of Notice, yett he obliged me this Morning, with one Hint in his *Familiar Letters*, which I thought worth Noting. "I am mis-informed, if the same Word, which we read, *Contrary*, doth not also import, *Near*. There are no Opinions so dangerously *Contrary* to the Truth, as they that seem very *Near* it."³⁴⁴

Q. The Apostle saies, of the Men who sett themselves to *cause Divisions & Offences* among the Christians, namely by going to impose the *Mosaic Yoke* upon the *Gentiles*, *That they served not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own Belly*. How? v. 18.

A. These Men were not *Jewes* themselves, and yett they did go to impose the *Jewish Yoke*, on a Double Consideration. First, The *Jewes* were permitted the Liberty and Exercise of their Religion, by the Roman Empire; but the *Christians* were not so. Wherefore, That they might free themselves, & other *Christians* from the *Cross* of Persecution, they would putt on as *Jewish* a Face as they could. Secondly, By this Compliance with the *Jewish Law*, these mercenary *Christians* accommodated themselves unto the *Jewes*. And they obtained no little Friendship and Kindness, from that Nation, by so complying with them.

Compare, Phil. 3.18, 19.

Q. What special Intention might the Apostle have, in that Expression, *My Gospel?* v. 25.

A. He refers to a distinguishing Article, and Mystery of the *Gospel*, preached by him, which was not so much preached by others. This was plainly Gods Purpose of taking in the *Gentiles* to be His People under the *Messiah*, and that without subjecting them to Circumcision, or the Law of *Moses*.

This had been *kept secret since the World began*. *Χρόνοις αἰώνις*.³⁴⁵ In the *secular Times*; or, In the Times under the Law. These were called, *χρόνοι αἰώνιοι*, because they were *Times* measured by *Jubilees*; which were so many, *Αἰῶνες*, *Secula*, *Ages*.³⁴⁶ *Αἰῶνες*, are putt for the *Times of the Law*; or *Jubilees*. [Luk. 1.70. Act. 3.21. 1. Cor. 10.2. Eph. 3.9. Col. 1.26. Heb. 9.26.]

Thus may be one Reason, why God is called, *The Rock of Ages*. [Isa. 26.4.] Even as He is called, *The Rock of Ages*, That is, the Support of the Jewish State.

1608. See Clark, "The Authority of Reason in the Later Reformation: Scholasticism in Casper Olevian and Antoine de La Faye" (111–26).

³⁴⁴ Thomas Forde (fl. 1660), *Theatre of Wits Ancient and Modern* (1661); the first section is subtitled "*Faenestre en pectore*, or, A century in familiar letters."

³⁴⁵ *χρόνοις αἰώνις*; "eternal ages."

³⁴⁶ *χρόνοι αἰώνιοι*; "eternal seasons (times)"; *αἰῶνες*; "ages."

[▽65r] [▽Insert from 65r]

Q. Something Remarkable concerning the Doxology, which concludes the Epistle to the *Romans*? v. 25.

A. It is Remark'd by S^r Norton Knatchbul. This Doxology, in all the Ancient Copies, is found at the End of the *Fourteenth Chapter*; and the Writings of the Greek Fathers, do take Notice of it, as being there. Only one *Alexandrian Book* reads it in both Places, to be sure of it.

It was a common Opinion among the Ancients, wherein *Jerom* confirmed them; That *Marcion* cutt off the Two last Chapters of this Epistle, because of the Contradiction and Condemnation, which he there found for his own Opinions. The *Orthodox* in their Zeal to run down *Marcion*, took the *Doxology*, which look'd like the Conclusion of the Epistle, at the End of the *Fourteenth Chapter*, and that they might include all that *Marcion* would have shutt out, they placed it at the End of the *Sixteenth*.

Our Apostle does not use to conclude an Epistle with a *Doxology*. Nay, the *Sign in every Epistle*, was that Salutation, *The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all*. Nor is this *Doxology* here apposite unto the Conclusion of the Epistle; but it is wondrous Apposite and Cohærent, at the End of the *Fourteenth Chapter*, where the Apostle originally placed it. *Chrysostom* and others of old observed, That, εθος αει τω παύλω.³⁴⁷ *It was a Custome with Paul to conclude an Exhortation, with a Supplication and a Doxology.*³⁴⁸ Here he had been speaking about the Danger of Falling into Sin. How agreeable does it follow; *Now to Him that is of Power to stablish you!*³⁴⁹

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽66v△] [▽Insert from 66v]³⁵⁰ [blank]

³⁴⁷ εθος αει τω παύλω; (It was) “always the custom with Paul ...”

³⁴⁸ Chrysostom, *Homily XXXII*, *NPNFi* (11:561).

³⁴⁹ Sir Norton Knatchbull, *Animadversiones in libros novi testamenti* (85–86). Minor but early recensions of Romans (some predating the text used for the Vulgate) do place the doxology of v. 25–27 at the end of the 14th chapter. This has led some scholars to suggest that Ch. 16 (and perhaps Ch. 15) was originally an independent letter, sent to the church at Ephesus, and only later attached to Romans. Others have concluded that the shorter text of Romans likely reflects Marcion's truncated version. Contemporary scholarship seems to be less enamoured with the supposition of an original, shorter letter to the Romans; see Brown, *Introduction to the New Testament* (575–6); Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction* (400–13). This entry does reveal Mather's appreciation for the historical vicissitudes involved in the transmission and canonical development of the New Testament, and his willingness to acknowledge the less than pristine history and nature of the received text.

³⁵⁰ See Appendix B.

Q. Is there any more particular Observation, which may furnish us, with a *Key*, for the Illustration of what the Apostle has written to the *Corinthians*?

A. A Nameless Writer of, *A Paraphrase with Notes*, on this Epistle,¹ ha's Illustrated many Passages in this Epistle; and this especially from one or two Observations.²

Corinth was a rich Town, and the People, who were of Quick Parts, were naturally conceited of themselves.

Paul having left them Two or Three Years, in this Interval, there was gott in among them, a New Instructor, a JEW by Nation, who rais'd a strong Faction against our Apostle. It seems the Opposition made unto the Apostle, was by *One Party* under ONE LEADER.

The Design of the Apostle, is to support his own Authority, with that Part of the Church that stuck to him; & offer his own Vindication against the Aspersions of the opposite Party; & break the Faction by drawing them from an undue Esteem of their Leader. It is all managed with admirable Insinuation.

We shall take Notice of several Passages, in which we may find some Reference to this *Jewish Instructor*.

We read, Ch. 1.28. *God hath chosen the Things which are not, to bring to nought things that are.* That is to say; He would Abolish the *Jewish Church* by the *Christian*. Instead of the Rejected *Jewes*, He took in the *Gentiles* to be His People. This our Apostle mentions, not by Chance; but pursuant unto his main design, to stay their glorying in their New Apostle, who was a *Jew*; & valued himself upon being so.

We read, Chap. 2.7. about, *The Principles of this World*. Probably the Apostle means the Rulers and great Men of the Jewish Nation. This is very pertinent, unto the Design of taking off the People from their Fondness for their New Apostle, who had raised a Faction against *Paul*. For it appears, [from, 2. Cor. 11.22.] that he was a *Jew*: And, [from, 2. Cor. 5.16, 17.] that he valued

¹ See Appendix A.

² John Locke, *A Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (1:163–4 *et passim*). This entire introductory passage by Mather is drawn from Locke. On Locke, see *ODNB* (34:216–28). Locke's *Paraphrase* was published anonymously, though his authorship was no secret. Mather often (though not exclusively) refers to Locke as that "nameless writer" even though his appreciation for Locke's biblical interpretation is obvious. Mather also refers to other writers as "nameless" on occasion, so this may simply be a convention – perhaps a show of possessing esoteric knowledge, or of discretionary humility. On the other hand, Mather specifically states that he does not recommend Locke to budding student theologians in his *Manuductio ad Ministerium* (1726), so perhaps this convention is meant to convey his reservations about Locke. (Observation courtesy of Reiner Smolinski).

himself, on that account. The Apostle tells them the Wisdome and Learning of the *Jewish Nation*, led them not into the Knowledge of the *Wisdome of God*; or, of the Gospel reveled in the Old Testament. This is evident, in that their great Rulers and Rabbis, crucified the Lord of Glory.

We read, Ch. 3.7. *One saith, I am of Paul, another saith, I am of Apollos.* Compare, Ch. 4.6. It seems by this; The Church was divided only into Two opposite Parties. One adhæred unto *Paul*. Another adhæred unto a False Apostle, who sett up in Opposition unto *Paul*. When *Paul* had planted a Church here, an *Apollos* gott into it; & pretended further to instruct them; and boasted of his Performances among them. Now, our Apostle tells us, he only borrows the Name of *Apollos* on this Occasion; he intends another Person under that Borrow'd Name. Indeed, he speaks of his Opposers often in the plural Number; But it is to be remembred, he so speaks of himself too: And as this was the less Invidious Way, in regard of himself, so it was the softer Way towards his Adversary.

Wee read, Ch. 3.18. *Lett no Man deceive himself*; that is to say, by his Success in carrying his Point. Wherein the Craftiness of the Person here mention'd might appear, it was not necessary for the Apostle to particularize unto the *Corinthians*, who knew the whole Matter; possibly it might be, the keeping of the Fornicator from the Censure that belong'd unto him.

It may be suspected, That the opposite Party, to stop the Censure of the Church, pretended, that the Matter was to be Judg'd by the civil Magistrates; Nay, probably, they had actually brought it before the Heathen Judge. For the *Sixth* Chapter, is but a further Continuation and Prosecution of what is discoursed in the *Fifth*. From that, Ch. 6.12. *All things are lawful unto me*; it may be supposed, that some alledg'd in favour of the Fornicator, that what he did was *lawful*, & might be Justified by the *Lawes* of the Countrey. It cannot be thought, that the Man took his *Fathers Wife*, while by the Lawes of the Countrey, she was actually his *Fathers Wife*: It had then been *Μοιχεία*, *Adultery*, and so the Apostle would have called it. This was a Crime in *Greece*; nor would it have been tolerated in any civil Countrey. But the Case here seems to be this. The *Woman* had parted from her *Husband*; which it is plain, (from, Ch. 7.10, 11, 13.) the *Corinthian* Women might do. A *Woman* at *Corinth* might give a *Divorce* to her Husband. Now, tho' this might be an Allow'd Practice among the *Corinthians*; yett this was the *First-Time* it was ever known, that her Husbands own Son should marry her.

[2v]

This is what the Apostle intends, when he speaks of such a *Fornication as is not named among the Gentiles*. Whatever the *Corinthian* Law might allow or forbid concerning such a thing, yett the Law of Christ forbad such doings. And therefore a Christian Church, ought to have censured it within themselves; it being an Offence against the Rule of the Gospel, which is the *Law* of their Society. They should have expelled this *Fornicator* out of their Society, for not

submitting to the *Law* of it; tho' the pagan Magistrate might acquitt him. It is remarkable, That all the Arguments used by the Apostle, to prove that *Fornication* is a Sin, are drawn wholly from the Christian Institution.

Tho' the Marrying of a Son-in-Law and a Mother-in-Law, was not prohibited by the *Laws* of the *Roman Empire*, as may be seen in *Tully*; yett it was look'd on as Infamous and Scandalous, and was not by any Practice countenanced. His Words, in his Oration, *Pro Cluentio*, §. 4. are agreeable to the present Case: *Nubit genero socrus, nullis auspiciis, nullis auctoribus. O scelus incredibile, et præter hanc unam in omni vitâ inauditum!*³

The Apostles Argument, well minded, gives a notable Key to his Discourse. *Yee have a Power to Judge those, who are of your Church*; Therefore putt away from among you that Fornicator; you do Ill to lett it come before an *Heathen Magistrate*. Are you, who are to Judge the World, and Angels, not worthy to Judge such a Matter as this?

That Passage; Ch. 6.4. *Sett them to Judge, who are least esteemed in the Church*; is not well translated. The Intention is, Lett contending Parties, chuse *Arbitrators*, from among the Members of the Church. These *Arbitrators* are called, ἐξουθενημενοι.⁴ It means only, *Judices non Authentici*.⁵ Among the Jewes, there was *Consensus Triumviralis Authenticus*;⁶ who had Authority, and could hear and determine Cases, *ex officio*. There was another *Consensus Triumviralis*, which were only chosen by the Parties. These, tho' they were not *Authentic*, yett they could hear and determine Cases referr'd unto them. These were those whom the Apostle here calls, ἐξουθενημενους. *Non Authenticos*; That is, Referees chosen by the Parties. The next Verse makes it plain, that he does not mean, *Those who are least esteemed*.⁷

We read, Ch. 15.12. *How say some among you, that there is no Resurrection of the Dead?* This may well be understood, of the Head of the Faction at *Corinth*,

3 "The mother-in-law marries the son-in-law, without the proper rites, with no authority. An incredible, wicked deed, unheard of before in anyone's life except for this one woman." The citation, a paraphrase identified here as Sect. 4, actually comes from the end of Sect. 5 and the beginning of Sect. 6; see Cicero, (*Pro Cluentio* 5.14–6.15), in *The Speeches* (236–7). Cicero (106–43 BCE) was a broadly important figure in the early Roman republic as a politician, philosopher, and rhetorician; *ERE* (117–18).

4 ἐξουθενημένους; "contemptible, disdained, of no account." PLEASE NOTE: As a general rule, translations of Hebrew, Greek and Latin are rendered in the footnotes; when these are not provided, it indicates that the translation Mather has provided in the text is correct.

5 "Unofficial or uncertified judges."

6 "Genuine (recognized) triumviral (superintending) assembly."

7 See Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (1:193, 432). Locke's source on Jewish legal practice here is Louis de Dieu, *Critica sacra, sive Animadversiones in loca quaedam difficiliora Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (1693). De Dieu (1590–1642) was a Reformed minister in Leiden and a scholar of Oriental languages. He published a Hebrew grammar (1626) and a grammar of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac (1628). He authored several commentaries on the Bible during his lifetime, most notably on Acts, Romans, and the Old Testament, which were collected and published together as the *Critica sacra*; see *NSHERK* (3:431).

and some of his Followers. For the Apostle introduces the Confutation, by asserting his *Mission*, which was the thing which the Faction would have brought in Quaestion. And he is very careful to lett them see, that he maintained not the Doctrine of the *Resurrection*, in Opposition to these their new Leaders; for it was the Doctrine he had preached to them, at their First Conversion; before any such False Apostle appear'd among them to mislead them about the *Resurrection*. Their *False Apostle* was a *Jew*, and one that mightily *Judaized*. May he not also be suspected of *Saducism*? Tis plain, he opposed *Paul* with all his Might; and there was doubtless a main Difference of Opinion at the bottom; for there are no Footsteps of any personal Provocation.

I have chosen, to lay these Illustrations here, together in *one Place*, because they mainly refer to *one Thing*.⁸

There are a few other Illustrations, for which I am endebted unto the Author aforesaid. But I will enter them, at the several Texts, which they more immediately belong unto.

⁸ That is, they are indicative of the identity of Paul's antagonist and of the nature of his heretical teachings.

Q. Those that *call upon the Name of JESUS CHRIST?* v. 2.

A. *Ἐπικαλουμένοι.*⁹ It is observed by *Alardus*, that the Word signifies, not only *Religiosa Invocatione Nomen alicujus et opem implorare*; but also, *Profani Nomen alicujus*.¹⁰

Q. We read of being *enriched in all Utterance, & in all Knowledge?* v. 5.

A. I find some so carry it, *In all the Word, and in all Knowledge of it*. One saies, This agrees best with the *Series* of the Context, and with the frequent Acceptation of *λογος* in Scripture, which signifies the *Word*, or *Doctrine* of Christ.¹¹ There seems no reason to render it, *Utterance*, here; for tho' *γνώσις* follow, yett it is usual to join synonymous Words together. Nay, look down to Ch. 12.8. and we shall find, that both of these are putt for one. Wherefore, *λόγος* and *γνώσις* here, are no more than *λόγος γνώσεως*, *The Word of Knowledge*, there. In this Sense also may be rendred, 2. Cor. 8.7. where we render it also, *Utterance*.

Q. The Gifts enjoy'd by the *Corinthians*, are joined with, *waiting for the Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ?* v. 7.

A. These extraordinary Endowments of the Holy Spirit, were so many Pledges to assure them, how Acceptable they should be to God, at the Great Day of our Lords Appearance.

Tis *Pyle's* Paraphrase.¹²

Q. On, *Blameless?* v. 8.

A. *Ἀνεγκλήτους.*¹³ *Alardus* observes, out of *Plato*, That the Word may signify,

⁹ *ἐπικαλουμένοις*; “calling upon or invoking.”

¹⁰ “That someone calls for help in religious prayers;” but also “someone impious.” Alard of Amsterdam (1494–1544) was a rhetorician and professor at Louvain who wrote a treatise on Christian rhetoric, *Descriptio ecclesiae sive concionatoris evangelici*, based on the work of his mentor, Rudolph Agricola, whose collected works he published in 1539. See Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue* (96, 126).

¹¹ See Daniel Whitby, *A Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* (2:115). Whitby (1638–1726) was an Anglican cleric and a prolific author; he engaged in anti-Catholic polemics but also argued for a latitudinarian treatment of Protestant Dissenters. In his later years, he adopted (publically) Arminian and (posthumously) Arian doctrinal positions; see *ODNB* (58:530–2).

¹² Thomas Pyle, *A Paraphrase upon all the Epistles of the New Testament* (1:300). Pyle (1674–1756) was an Anglican cleric and an outspoken Arian; see *ODNB* (45:622–3).

¹³ *ἀνεγκλήτους*; “blameless, without reproach.”

*Certus, non controversos.*¹⁴ The *Corinthians* were full of *Controversies*, CHRIST being our Teacher, putts an End unto them.

Q. Why is it said, *I beseech you by the NAME of our Lord Jesus Christ?* v. 10.

A. Tis, as *Pyle* observes, emphatically sett in Opposition, to those, under whose *Names* the *Corinthians* ranked themselves, into Parties & Divisions.¹⁵

1316.

Q. In the *Corinthian* Jars, wherein *Every one said, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas*, how came in that, *And I of Christ?* v. 12.

A. Old *Chrysostom* thinks, that the Apostle brings in this Clause, οὐκ ὁθεν,¹⁶ and putts in his own Voice: q.d. *You indeed are for Paul, and Apollos, & Peter; Εγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ.*¹⁷ *But for my Part, I am for none but Christ.*¹⁸

Perhaps these pretended their Doctrines to be immediately learnt from *Christ* Himself. Or, Being Zealous for *Circumcision*, they alledged the Exemple of *Christ*, who was Himself circumcised.

2265.

Q. How comes there to have been in *Corinth*, a Sect of *Peters* Name? v. 12.

A. Those of the *Circumcision*, were for him, who was the *Minister of the Circumcision*, rather than *Paul*, whose Mission was chiefly to the *Gentiles*.

You find *Mark*, (the Disciple of *Peter*, 1. Pet. 5.13.) when chosen by *Paul* and *Barnabas*, for their Companion in their Travail among the *Gentiles*, hee suddenly Departed from them, & Returned unto *Jerusalem*: (Act. 13.13.) The most likely Reason of his doing so, was, That hee cleaving before to *Peter*, who was the *Minister of the Circumcision*, liked not what these Ministers of the *Uncircumcision*, did among the *Gentiles*: but being better informed afterwards, hee returned unto *Paul* again.

Thus the *Corinthians* that still too far *Judaized*, would rather præfer the Name of him that was a *Minister of the Circumcision*.

And, the *Gaius* mentioned in this Context, being probably the same, that *John* wrote his *Third Epistle* unto, there is great Cause to suppose *Diotrephes*, to have no little hand in these Disturbances.¹⁹

¹⁴ "Settled, not in dispute." On Alard, see Mather's entry on 1:7 (above).

¹⁵ *Pyle*, *Paraphrase upon the New Testament* (1:300).

¹⁶ "Personally" (literally, "from one's own household").

¹⁷ ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ; "I am of (for) Christ."

¹⁸ John Chrysostom, *Homily III, Homilies on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians* (29). Chrysostom (347–407 CE), archbishop of Constantinople, whose hundreds of extant sermons include a number on the Pauline epistles; see *NCE* (13:934).

¹⁹ Diotrephes is singled out in 3 John as a source of dissension in the church, one opposed to apostolic teaching and authority.

4373.

Q. But that Clause, *I am of Christ*, a further Illustration upon it? v. 12.

A. *Epiphanius* observes of the *Ebionites*, That they pleaded for the Circumcision of *Christians*, from the Exemple of *Christ*, who was circumcised; Because the *Disciple* was to be as his *Master*.²⁰ And so, Dr. *Whitby* proposes, whether the Import of these Words may not be this; “Others say, I am for the *Circumcising* of the *Gentiles*, that they may be like to *Christ*.”²¹

Q. On that; *Is Christ divided?* v. 13.

A. q.d. Did Christ institute more than one Religion; or preach Different & Contrary Doctrines?

Q. *To them that perish?* v. 18.

A. The Particle, *Indeed*, should be putt in, *To them Indeed that perish*. And so, v. 27. *To the Jews Indeed a Stumbling-block*. For the Want of that Particle, our Translation drops the Sense of the Antithesis.

|
4{3}74.²²

[4v]

Q. Who may be meant, by, *The Wise*, who by, *The Scribe*; who by, *The Disputer of this World?* v. 20.

A. *The Wise* here, does not refer unto the *Chochamim*, of the *Jewes*, but unto the *Philosophers* of the *Gentiles*.²³ The Context clears it, That the *Wisdom* of the *Wise*, is the *Wisdom* of the Heathen World, which *knew not God*. (Compare, Rom. 1.14.) *Chrysostom*, and *Theodoret*, and *Oecumenius*, and *Theophylact*, upon the Place, tell us, That by, *The Wise*, the Apostle means the Man accomplished with the Verbosity and Eloquence of the *Greeks*.²⁴

The Scribe, is the Interpreter of the *Law*, or the Teacher of *Traditions*, among the *Jewes*.

²⁰ Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis (c. 310–403 CE), was the author of the *Panarion* (c. 374 CE), or “Medicine-chest,” a work directed against heresies; see *NCE* (5:292–3). Whitby (116) lists it as “Haer. 30, Sect. 30.”

²¹ Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:116).

²² See Appendix A.

²³ *Chacham* (“wise student”) was an honorific title given to scholars of the Torah.

²⁴ Theodoret (393–457), bishop of Cyrrhus, Syria, and author of a number of exegetical works, including one on the Pauline epistles; see *NCE* (13:878–9). Oecumenius, 10th-century bishop in Thessaly and putative author of a number of biblical commentaries, including one on the Pauline epistles; see *NSHERK* (8:226). Theophylact (1055–1107) was a Bulgarian archbishop whose commentaries, including one on the Pauline epistles, are largely derivative of Oecumenius’s work; see *NCE* (13:934).

The Disputer of this World, is by Jerom rendred, *Causarum Naturalium scrutator*.²⁵ The Naturalists are styled by the Jewes, *Sapientes scrutationis*.²⁶ Whitby thinks, That rather the *Midrashim*, or the *Disputers*, in the Jewish Academies, touching their Traditions, are here intended.²⁷

Q.²⁸ Who may in a singular Manner be called, *The Disputer of this World*? v. 20.

A. None more than he, whom I am going to describe. One who is always *Disputing* and *Cavilling*, on the behalf of those Ill Maxims, which this corrupt *World* goes upon, and whereby *this World* maintains its Corruptions. And one who makes his Cavils against the Faith of *Another World*, and against those Ways of Piety, by which a good State is to be secured in *that World*.

[▽5r] [▽Insert from 5r]

Q. A Remark of Piety, on, *The Disputer of this World*? v. 20.

A. I have somewhere mett with a Remark of this Importance.

It is *This World*, which is the Place of *Disputes*. There are no *Disputes* in the *Heavenly World*. Perfect *Light* and *Love* reign in *That World*.

And a Man of a good Spirit, ha's given an Advice of this Importance upon it; That good Men would not engage too eagerly in *Disputations*; nor suffer their Time to be too much engrossed in them; lest their *Death* surprise them, in a Work and a Frame, too disagreeable unto *That World* which good Men are going to.

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽6v△] [▽Insert from 6v] [blank] [4v resumes]

Q.²⁹ A Further Thought, on, *The Disputer of this World*? v. 20.

A. It may be rendred, *The Disputer of this Age*. It was a Philosophical and a Disputatious Age. The Philosophers, who (as one *Smith* expresses it) would exactly weigh and sell Money after their Father, would not lett the Apostolical *Shekel* pass as Current, without bringing it unto the Talley.³⁰ With their *Ergo*³¹ they turn'd out of their Creed, the *Amen* of their Progenitors. The Apostle durst not have challenged these Men to a *Dispute*, with a, *Where is the Disputer of this Age?* if he had not been well assured of his being furnished with Irresistible Demonstration.

²⁵ "An examiner or investigator of natural causes," i. e. a philosopher. Whitby cites Jerome's commentary on Galatians as his source; see *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:117).

²⁶ "Wise investigators."

²⁷ Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:117).

²⁸ See Appendix B.

²⁹ See Appendix B.

³⁰ Perhaps John Smith, *Christian Religion's Appeal from the Groundless Prejudices of the Sceptick* ... (1675).

³¹ "Therefore."

Q. How are we to take those Words of the Apostle; *In the Wisdome of God, the World by Wisdome knew not God?* v. 21.

A. Thus; By the *Wise*, Governing, Wonderful Providence of God, it came to pass, that the Men, who pretended most unto *Wisdome* & Knowledge, arrived not unto the Right Knowledge of God, by their knowing more than others; For, they had their Understandings darkened by attending to the corrupt Notions, which their Philosophy furnished them withal, & which ran counter to the Doctrines of the Gospel. This is Dr. *Edwards* his Gloss upon the Text.³²

3017.

Q. Which was the Special Account, whereupon *Christ crucified*, was, *unto the Jewes a Stumbling-block?* v. 23.

A. Not meerly; and perhaps, not cheefly (as it ha's been commonly taken) for the *Disgrace* of His being a *Crucified* One: but there was a further *Scandal* at which they *stumbled*. The *Death* of our Lord Jesus Christ upon the *Cross*, did infer a Period unto all the *Judaic* Sacrifices and Cæremonies. The Rites of *Judaism*, did as it were suffer *Death* upon the *Cross* of our Lord Jesus Christ. The Hearts of the Jewes were infinitely sett upon those things; and their Prejudice against Christ, for the Abolition of those things was insuperable.

Q. Wee read, *Yee see your Calling, Brethren, How that not many Wise, Mighty, Noble, are called?* Those Words, *Are Called*, are Words of Supply, added by the Translators. Have you any thing to offer, for altering those Words of Supply? v. 26

A. Yes: I would Humbly offer, that instead of Reading the Text thus, *Are Called*, it may rather bee supplied thus, *Are employ'd to call you*. I am sure, this agrees better with the plain Scope of the Context.

Q. But suppose the common Sense of the Text. What notable Passages, and Exemples, have you in Antiquity, to illustrate, that Passage, *God ha's chosen the Foolish, and the Weak things of the World?* v. 27.

A. *Julian* L. 6. upbraids His Christians, That most of them were but *Serving-men* and *Servant-maids*.³³ And by the Report of *Pliny*, there were poor Wenches

³² John Edwards (1637–1716), Irish Anglican priest and Calvinist controversialist. Edwards authored several works of biblical interpretation, including *A Discourse on the Authority, Stile, and Perfection of the Books of the Old and New Testament* (1693) and *An Enquiry into Four Remarkable Texts of the New Testament* (1692); see ODNB (17:937–8).

³³ Julian the Apostate, Roman emperor (r. 355–363 CE), Neoplatonist, pagan, and opponent of Christianity. He wrote several short works defending Roman religion and the way of life that it rested upon and one work (*Against the Galilaeans*) that attacked Christianity; see NCE (8:51–2).

employ'd in the Service of the Church.³⁴ *Chrysostom*, on 1. Cor. 2. confesses, It was objected unto the Christians, That the bigger Part of them were *Nurses*, and *Midwives* and *Eunuchs*.³⁵

Q. *The Things that are not?* v. 28.

A. The *Gentiles*, whom the Insulting *Jews* despised, as absolutely unfitt for any Divine Favours.

Q. *He that glorieth, lett him glory in the Lord.* How? v. 31.

A. If any Man thinks, he ha's or does any thing, that may be esteemed a *Glory*, lett him ascribe the *Glory* of it all unto *the Lord*.

³⁴ Pliny the Younger (61–112 CE) held a number of offices in the Roman empire and left behind a large body of epistles, one of which (addressed to the emperor Trajan) seeks direction on how to punish members of the sect of Christians; see *ERE* (436). Pliny makes it quite clear that Christianity has penetrated even the upper classes; Mather's ascription of "poor wenches" employed by the Church is based on Pliny's mention that he had tortured "two female slaves, who were styled deaconesses" for information, without avail. See Pliny, *Letters* (2:401–7).

³⁵ Chrysostom, *Homily VII, Homilies on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians* (81).

Q. When the Apostle speaks, of his not Resolving to know, or bring, any thing among the *Corinthians*, but Jesus Christ; why does he add, *And Him crucified?* v. 2.

A. Not only because the Mystery, and the Glory and Sweetness of the Gospel, does ly very much in a *Crucified Christ*; but also, for a Reason expressed in the Gloss of *Grotius* upon this Clause, *id est, cujus exemplum in omnibus malis evangelij causà perferendis scirem mihi esse sequendum*.³⁷

S^r Norton Knatchbul takes the εν υμιν in this Verse, to be elleiptical, q.d. *I have not judged it necessary for those among you, (that is, for you,) to know any thing, but Jesus Christ, and Him crucified.* The Apostle speaks not of the Knowledge designed for himself, but for his *Corinthians*.³⁸

Q. What was the *Demonstration of the Spirit & of Power*, which attended the Apostles Ministry? v. 4.

A. Here is an *Hendyadis*; The *Spirit with His Power*,³⁹ enabled the Apostle, in an extraordinary Manner, to *demonstrate* the Truth of the Gospel.

But, more exactly yett; I have elsewhere told you, That, *Power*, is in the New Testament, a Name for, *Miracle*. The Holy *Spirit of God*, most intimately possessing, & employing, & commanding, the *Plastic Spirit* of the World, was the *Power* which appeared in the Working of *Miracles*; & *Miracles* are therefore called *Powers*, very often in the Sacred Pages.⁴⁰

Well then: When the Apostle wrought *Miracles*, to confirm what hee preached, his *Preaching* was, *In Demonstration of the Spirit & of Power*. You have the same, in Rom. 15.19. *The Power of the Spirit of God*, with which, *mighty Signs*

³⁶ See Appendix A.

³⁷ "That is, whose example I knew I should follow, for the sake of the Gospel, in the endurance of all evils." Hugo Grotius, *Annotiones in Novum Testamentum* (6:289). Grotius (1583–1645), a Dutch lawyer and religious controversialist, wrote a number of works on the Christian religion; see *NSHERK* (5:85–6).

³⁸ Sir Norton Knatchbull, *Animadversiones in libros novi testamenti* (87). Knatchbull (1602–85), a member of Parliament with mixed political sympathies during the Civil War; he absented himself from Parliament in the wake of Pride's Purge (1648). He then turned his attention to biblical studies, publishing his *Animadversiones* in 1659, a critical historical study of the New Testament text. An English version, probably translated by Knatchbull, appeared posthumously (1693) as *Annotations upon some Difficult Texts in All the Books of the New Testament*; see *ODNB* (31:871–2). The Latin version is listed in Increase Mather's 1664 Catalogue of his library; see Tuttle, *The Libraries of the Mathers* (21).

³⁹ See Appendix A.

⁴⁰ On Mather's equation of the Holy Spirit with a "plastic spirit" that animates creation, see his commentary on Rom. 1:4.

& Wonders were effected. The like Mode of Speech, you have in 1. Thess. 1.5. *Our Gospel came unto you, in Power, & in the Holy Ghost*; that is, the *Holy Ghost* made *Miracles* to accompany the *Gospel*.

Tho' I suppose, our good Ministers, have some other Sense, in their Minds, when they so often pray, that what they deliver, may bee, *with the Demonstration of the Spirit and of Power*.

Q. A further Thought concerning, *Spirit*, and, *Power*? v. 4.

A. A Nameless Writer of a *Paraphrase with Notes*, on this Epistle; observes, There were two Sorts of Arguments, wherewith our Apostle confirmed the Gospel; The one was, the *Revelations* made concerning our Saviour, in the Types, and Figures, and Prophecies of the *Law*: The other was, from the *Miracles* and miraculous Gifts, accompanying the First Preachers of the *Gospel*, in their Publishing of it; The Former he calls, *Spirit*, the Latter he calls, *Power*.⁴¹

Q. *Faith* not standing in *the Wisdome of Men*, but in the *Power of God*? v. 5.

A. *Pyle* thus paraphrases.

"Your Faith in the Christian Religion, is not grounded upon the slender and uncertain Foundation of Humane Learning, but upon the solid & Infallible Proofs of *Divine Miracles*."⁴²

Q. How is it said, *We speak Wisdome among them that are perfect*? v. 6.

A. ἐν τελείοις;⁴³ 'Tis judg'd by S^r Norton Knatchbul, that this Word refers unto *Matters*, and not unto *Persons*, whom he represents in this Chapter as *Infants*, and far from, *Perfection*.⁴⁴

He renders it therefore, *In sacred Matters*. In *Hesychius*, Τελεία, are, Ἱερά.⁴⁵ *Budeus* will tell you, the Word signifies, *Eximia*, or, *Sanctora*.⁴⁶

⁴¹ See Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (1:172).

⁴² Pyle, *Paraphrase upon the New Testament* (1:307).

⁴³ ἐν τοῖς τελείοις; "for those who are perfect."

⁴⁴ Knatchbull, *Animadversiones in libros novi testamenti* (87–8).

⁴⁵ Hesychius, *Lexicon Π–Ω* (alphab. letter tau entry 401, line 1): Τελεία (perfect things) are Ἱερά (holy). Hesychius of Alexandria, a 5th-century CE Greek lexicographer whose *Synagogue* documents the meanings of some 50,000 Greek words; see *NSHERK* (5:258).

⁴⁶ "Uncommon things" or "sacred things." Guillaume Budé (1467–1540), *Commentarii linguae Graecae* (1529). Budé, a French lawyer, diplomat, and Greek scholar, was a professed Catholic, though he was suspected of having deep sympathies for Calvinism; see *NSHERK* (2:295).

|
699.

Q. Why {does the Apostle *speake not the Wisdome of this World, nor of the*⁴⁷
Princes of this World, that they *come to nought*? v. 6.

A. Doubtless the Apostle alludes to the second Chapter of *Daniel*. See Dan. 2.44.

Q. *The Hidden Wisdome, which God ordained before the World, unto our Glory*:
A Paraphrase upon it? v. 7.

A. It was in the Purpose of God, before the Jewish Constitution, unto the
Glory of us, who now receive it and publish it.

A Nameless Writer on this Epistle, observes, That it may be doubted,
whether *Before the World*, so exactly renders the Sense of *πρὸ των αιωνιων*.⁴⁸ Or,
whether, *Αἰων*, and, *Αἰωνες*, should be translated, *The World*, as they are in many
Places.⁴⁹ Compare, Eph. 3.9. with, Col.1.26. The Text in the *Colossians* we ren-
der, *which has been hidden from Ages*. The Text in the *Ephesians*, we render, *which*
has from the Beginning of the World been hid. It is plain, that Text in the *Colos-*
sians does not signify the Commencement of the Concealment, but those from
whom the *Mystery* was concealed. And it is plain, that in the Verse præceding,
& the Verse Following, that which we have now before us, the Apostle speaks
of the *Jewes*. And therefore this Clause may very well be understood, *Before the*
Ages of the Jewes; And in the other Places, *From the Ages of the Jewes*.⁵⁰

The Reason why *Αἰωνες*, in these, and in other Places; (as Luk. 1.70. and,
Act. 3.21.) should be appropriated unto the *Ages of the Jewes*, may be owing, to
their counting by, *Ages* or, *Jubilees*.

Q. What Emphasis in that Expression, *It hath not entred into the Heart of Man,*
to conceive? v. 9.

A. In a Sermon of one Mr. *Mossom's* I find this Note upon it. *οὐκ ἀνέβη*.⁵¹ It
hath not *gone up* into the Heart of Man to conceive. And so the Vulgar; *Non*
Ascendit.⁵² “The Word is *Emphatical*; to intimate, that they who have had the
most *Lofty* Conceptions, the most *Raised* Devotions, the most *Elevated* Af-
fections; even they have not been sufficient to comprise in their Thoughts, or

47 See Appendix A.

48 *πρὸ των αιωνων*; “before the world.”

49 *Αἰων* and *Αἰωνες* mean “ages” and stand as a metaphor for “this present world.”

50 Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (1:175–6).

51 *οὐκ ἀνέβη*; “not gone up into, entered.”

52 “It has not arisen.” The Vulgate (v. 9) reads: ... *nec in cor hominis ascendit* (nor has it arisen in the heart of man).

comprehend in their Desires, the good Things *God has prepared for them which love Him.*⁵³

Q. What may be meant, by the *Comparing of Spiritual Things with Spiritual?* v. 13.

A. A Suiting Divine and *Spiritual Matters*, with *Language* that is most Agreeable and Answerable to them. So *Castalio* interprets the Place.⁵⁴ And I find the Interpretation applauded by a learned Man of our own.

Or, what if we should say, *The Spiritual Things* here spoken of are, *The Revelations of Christ*, in the Old Testament? The Deep Counsels of God about His *Christ*, therein exhibited, which would never have been Discovered by the Natural Faculties of Men, or, if God had not *Reveled* them. A Man, who ha's no other Help, except his own Natural Faculties, tho' improved by Sciences, cannot receive, cannot relish, these Truths of the *Gospel*. *Humane Reason* does not come at them. It is the Study of Divine Revelation alone, that will bring us to the Knowledge of them. In that Study, we must *compare Spiritual Things with Spiritual*; that is, compare one Part of the *Scriptural Revelation* with another.

2041.

{**Q.** But the Natural Man receiveth not the Things of the Spirit of God, for they are *Foolishness* to him. v. 14}⁵⁵

A. The *Ανηρψυχικός*, *Natural*, or Animal Man, is expounded by *Chrysostom*, to bee, *ὁ κατὰ σάρκα ζῶν*, One that *lives according to the Flesh*, and hath not his Mind yett enlightened by the *Spirit*. But hee adds This to the Character, That *hee is one who hath only that ἐμφυτον καὶ ἀνθρωπίνην συνεσιν*,⁵⁶ *Inbred and Humane Knowledge, which the Creator furnishes all Mens Minds withal.*⁵⁷ And other Ancient Writers do so Interpret it.

Yea, lett the *Socinian Idolaters* of Mans unenlightened Reason, brag that *Grotius* is *Theirs*, if they please: but lett them Remember that according to him,

⁵³ Robert Mossom (c. 1617–79), perhaps his funeral sermon, *A Plant of Paradise* (1660), which is listed in Mather's library; see Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (73). Mossom was a graduate of Cambridge (1635) and a Royalist. After the Restoration he was appointed dean of Christ Church, Dublin (1660), and then bishop of Derry (1666), in which capacity he enforced strict discipline on Dissenters; see *ODNB* (39:485–6).

⁵⁴ Sebastian Castellio (1515–63), a French Reformed preacher and theologian and a confederate of Calvin's in Geneva until 1544, when his outspoken opposition against religious persecution and violence, as well as theocracy, led to the loss of Calvin's patronage. He was a scholar of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin and was appointed professor at the University of Basel in 1553. His Latin commentary, *Biblia sacra latina* (1551), was often excerpted in 17th-century anthologies, such as the *Critici sacri* (1698); see *NSHERK* (2:437–8).

⁵⁵ See Appendix A.

⁵⁶ "Inborn and human comprehension."

⁵⁷ Chrysostom, *Homily VII, Homilies on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians* (74–5). On Chrysostom, see Mather's entry on 1:12 (above).

ψυχικός⁵⁸ is not the same with σαρκικός,⁵⁹ not one that is governed by the Affections of his Fleshly Part, but hee that is led only by the Light of Humane Reason, hee that hath no other Light but that of Nature.⁶⁰

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Q. Let us pursue this Matter a little further? v. 14.

A. It is the express Assertion, as of *Chrysostom*, so, of *Theodoret*, and *Photius*, and *Oecumenius* and *Theophylact*, That the *Natural Man* here, is the Man who Rejects Revelation, and admitts of no higher Principle to Judge of Things, but Philosophy, and Demonstration from the Principles of *Natural Reason*; or in the Words of *Porphyrie*, της κατὰ λογισμὸν πειθούς ευρισκομένης.⁶¹ of *Persuasion to be found out by a Rational Deduction*.⁶² It is plain, the *Natural Man* is the same, that is before called, The *Greek*, the *Wise Man*, the *Disputer*, the *Philosopher*. This is he, who Receives not the Things, taught by the *Revelation* of the Holy Ghost, in the Apostles.

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Q. Who then is the *Spiritual Man*? v. 14.

A. *Whitby* argues, That it is not the Man, who is adorned with the Fruits of the good Spirit in Sanctification, but as *Theodoret* expresses it, ο της του πνευματος χαριτος ηξιωμενος,⁶³ *The Man who is endued with a spiritual Afflatus*, and ha's those Gifts of the *Spirit*, which are styled, *The Word of Wisdome & of Knowledge*.⁶⁴ For he is the Man, *who speaks in Demonstration of the Spirit; the Wisdome of God in a Mystery, to whom God hath Revealed it by the Holy Spirit, & who speaks them in Words taught by the Holy Spirit*. Such were the *Prophets* in the First age of the Church, who by this afflatus performed all sacred Services in the Church, until they had more stated Officers. [Compare, 1. Cor. 14.32, 37. and Gal. 6.1.] This is the constant Notion of, *The Spiritual Man*, in *Irenaeus*, who speaking of those

⁵⁸ "Spiritual, soulish."

⁵⁹ σαρκικός; "fleshly, sensual."

⁶⁰ Grotius, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (6:294–5).

⁶¹ Porphyrius, *De abstinentia* (1.1, line 12): της κατὰ λογισμὸν πειθούς ευρισκομένης; see Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:121). Porphyry (c. 234–305) was a Neoplatonic philosopher who criticized Christianity in works such as *Philosophy from Oracles* and *Against the Christians*. His most important work, *Isagoge*, was an introduction to philosophy that was widely used in medieval Christianity. *De Abstinentia* was a work that argued against the value of the animal sacrifices used in pagan religions; see *NCE* (11:520–1). On the other authors mentioned, see Mather's entry on 1:12 (above).

⁶² Photius I (c. 810–893), Patriarch of Constantinople and author of the *Amphilochia*, a commentary on difficult points of Scriptural interpretation; see *NCE* (11:309–13).

⁶³ Theodoretus, *Interpretatio in xiv epistulas sancti Pauli* [PG 82. 0245, line 9]: ὁ της του πνευματος χαριτος ηξιωμενος; "the one worthy of a spiritual gift."

⁶⁴ Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:122).

Men, that had prophetical Gifts, for the Edification of the Church, saies, *They are the Men styled by the Apostle, Spiritual.*⁶⁵

Q. *Who hath known the Mind of the Lord, that he may instruct him?* Instruct whom? v. 16.

A. Αὐτον,⁶⁶ refers unto, *The Spiritual Man*, in the former Verse; and not unto, *The Lord*. The Apostle is not saying, a *Natural Man*, or a meer Philosopher, could not instruct *Christ*. No Christian could imagine such a thing. But a Man, by his bare Natural Parts, not knowing the *Mind of the Lord*, could not instruct a Preacher of the Gospel, who builds of *Revelation*, & therein has the *Mind of Christ*.

⁶⁵ Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, ANF (1:533). Irenaeus (d. c. 202 CE) was a bishop in Gaul and an outspoken opponent of Christian Gnostics; see *NCE* (7:570–1).

⁶⁶ Αὐτόν; “him.”

Q. *Are yee not carnal?* Any Emphasis there? v. 3.

A. Don't you seem to bee all *Body*, to have nothing of a *Soul* in you, while you that Judge only by *outward Appearances*? Perhaps, they valued their Ministers only by their *Delivery*.⁶⁷

Ἀνὴρ σαρκικός may bee a Degree below ψυχικός as Mr. *Culverwel* saies, and yett *Hee* savours not of the Things of God.⁶⁸

But the Force of the Original reaches further; Even to this, *Nonne cadaverosi estis?*⁶⁹ *Carnal Men* are *Dead in Trespasses*, and as *Lucian* calls *Old Men*, they are τάφοι ἐμψυχοι.⁷⁰

Q. How is it said, *We are Labourers together with God?* v. 9.

A. I rather chuse to read it, *of God*.

Q. On that, *Other Foundation can no Man lay, than what is laid?* v. 11.

A. The Progenitor of the Messiah, being born, the Name of *Seth* was putt upon him. That Name signifies, *A Foundation*. Our First Parents beholding the Son born, after their Disappointed Expectations, now saw, a *Foundation* for their Hope of a Restitution from the Miseries which the Fall had brought upon Mankind. Here, *Deus posuit salutis Fundamentum*.⁷¹ Is it not possible our Apostle might allude unto That?

⁶⁷ Perhaps there is an oblique reference here to Mather's own struggles in the pulpit, owing to his stutter. See Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (15–17, 33–5).

⁶⁸ Ἀνὴρ σαρκικός (fleshly man) ... ψυχικός (spiritual man). Nathaniel Culverwell, perhaps his *Spiritual Optricks, or A glasse discovering the weaknesse and imperfection of a Christians knowledge in this life* (1651) but quite possibly his most popular work *An Elegant and Learned Discourse of the Light of Nature* (1652). Culverwell (c. 1619–51) was a fellow at Emmanuel College (Cambridge) and an associate of the so-called Cambridge Platonists. He was an irenic Puritan and Calvinist and one who affirmed the positive contributions of reason to religious and other kinds of knowledge; see *ODNB* (14:612–13).

⁶⁹ "Are you not corpses?"

⁷⁰ "The living dead." Lucian of Samosata (125–180 CE), a Syrian rhetorician, satirist, and novelist; see *ERE* (330). His satire, *The Passing of Peregrinus*, uses Christians as foils for the machinations of Peregrinus, the protagonist of the story. They are also classed among the impious in Lucian's *Alexander the False Prophet*.

⁷¹ "God has set down a foundation of salvation."

2{2}66.⁷²

Q. What may bee meant by, *The Day*, and *The Fire*, that was to Discover the *Wood*, & *Hay*, & *Stubble*, in the Doctrine of some *Corinthian* Teachers? v. 13.

A. The Teachers were they, who built *Judaism* on the Foundation of the *Gospel*. They did it out of Ignorance. But there was *A Day*, and, *A Fire*, coming on the City, & the Temple, & the Nation of the *Jewes*. And it would then bee effectually Discovered from Heaven, that God would have *Judaism* to bee Abolished.

[10v]

Q. *Saved, yett so as by Fire*; What is the Meaning, what the Import, of that Expression? v. 15.

A. Nothing of the Popish *Purgatory*, I assure you. *Bellarmino* himself confesses, that the Text is rendred very Difficult, by a continual *Allegory*; and yett this *Allegory*, is the Cheef and Best Foundation, whereon they build such *Hay & Stubble*, as the Doctrine of *Purgatory*.⁷³

By the Context, the Scope of the Place appears, To exhort, as well the *Disciples*,⁷⁴ that they should not glory of those *Pastors*, by whose Ministry they were added unto the Church, as the *Pastors*, that they should not glory in the Multitude of their *Disciples*, but consider *How* they built up the Church; whether with such *good* Persons, and such *pure* Doctrines, as would endure the *Fire* of Tribulation, & Persecutions, & the *Examen*⁷⁵ of the Holy Spirit of God.

Now, for that Expression. Dr. *Tillotson* hath observed, It is a proverbial Phrase, used not only in *sacred*, but in *profane* Authors, to signify, *A narrow Escape out of an extreme Danger*.⁷⁶ Thus, *Amos*. 4.11. *I have plucked them, as a Firebrand out of the Fire*. Thus, *Jude*. 23. *Others save with Fear, pulling them out of the Fire*. So the *Roman* Orator, who doubtless never dreamt of *Purgatory*, uses the same Phrase: *Quo ex Judicio, velut ex Incendio, nudus effugit*;⁷⁷ that is, *Hee*

⁷² See Appendix A.

⁷³ Cardinal Robert Bellarmine, possibly his *Disputations on the Controversies of the Christian Faith* (1581–93), a polemical work aimed at Protestants. Bellarmine (1542–1621) was a Jesuit and inquisitor of Giordano Bruno and Galileo Galilei. He was an effective controversialist with Protestants (*Disputationes*, 1581); see *NCE* (2:226–8).

⁷⁴ See Appendix A.

⁷⁵ “Examination, or judgment.”

⁷⁶ John Tillotson (1630–94), Archbishop of Canterbury; born into a Puritan family, Tillotson graduated from Cambridge and moved in the circles of Oliver Cromwell. He submitted, however, to the *Act of Uniformity* (1662) and was sufficiently politic to ingratiate himself with Charles II and William and Mary. He also worked to resolve the ecclesiastical tensions with the Dissenters and promoted toleration. Tillotson was a student of the Bible and of patristic theologians and a moderate rationalist in his theology, the latter trait resulting in his being suspected of Socinianism. His collected works were published 1695–1704; see *ODNB* (54:791–801).

⁷⁷ “From which judgement he escaped naked, as from a fire.”

*scaped naked from the Sentence, as it were out of a Burning.*⁷⁸ And one of the old Greek Orators, tell us, *To save a Man out of the Fire, was a proverbial Speech.* Yea, Thus *Chrysostom* interprets this very Place: *Hee shall escape, as one that escapes out of the Fire; that is, quoth hee, As one, who when his House at Midnight is sett on Fire, wakes, & leaps out of his Bed, & runs Naked out of the Doors; taking nothing that is within, along with him; but employing his whole Care, to save his Body from the Flames.*⁷⁹

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Q. Give us, if you please, a further Gloss from Antiquity, upon being, *Saved, yet so as by Fire?*

A. 'Tis a very awful one, that I find in *Athanasius*. If a Mans Work is *burnt*, he shall suffer the *Loss* of the *Kingdome of Heaven*. And yett only *his Work*, not he *himself* shall be consumed. No; *He* shall remain *Sound* in the eternal *Fire* of Hell; He shall never Dye in that *horrible Fire*: Ακεραιος μὲνει εἰς αἰῶνα αἰῶνος κολαζόμενος καὶ οὐ διαλυθήσεται. *Hee shall remain whole, enduring his Punishment forever & ever, & be preserved from Dissolution, in the Fire intended for him.*⁸¹

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|

[10v resumes]

Q. The whole Allegory, of *every Mans Work being declared by Fire*; Afford it, if you please, a little further Illustration?

A. The Apostle supposes a stately *Edifice*; the *Walls*, whereof are of *Marble* and *precious Stones*; the *Pillars*, are partly of *Gold*, and partly of *Silver*; the *Boards*, are of choice *Wood*. Now tho' the *Roof* of such an *Edifice* do not use to bee Thatch'd

⁷⁸ An excerpt attributed to Cicero in his speech against Publius Clodius. It is no longer extant but recorded in Marcus Fabius Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* (3:257). Quintilian (35–95 CE) was a leading teacher and practitioner of rhetoric in his day, with a school in Rome; see *EB* (22:762). In this instance, he is using Cicero's characterization of Clodius: "He fled from the court like a man escaping naked from a fire," as an example of a simile. Cicero (106–43 BCE) was a broadly important figure in the early Roman republic as a politician, philosopher, and, especially, as a rhetorician; *ERE* (117–118). As tribune, Clodius (93–52 BCE) confiscated Cicero's property, burned his house, exiled him, and tried unsuccessfully to prevent his restoration; see *EB* (6:554). His sister Clodia accused her lover Caelius with theft and attempted murder, charges Cicero successfully refuted, in part by condemning her lasciviousness; see Cicero, *Pro Caelio* (443ff, 467ff).

⁷⁹ Chrysostom, *Homily IX, Homilies on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians* (98–99). On Chrysostom, see Mather's entry on 1:12 (above).

⁸⁰ See Appendix A.

⁸¹ Athanasius, *Quaestiones in scripturam sacram* [PG 28. 757, lines 3–4]: ἀκέραιος μένει εἰς αἰῶνα αἰῶνος κολαζόμενος, καὶ οὐ διαλυθήσεται; "He will be preserved from Dissolution forever and ever and not be released." Athanasius of Alexandria (c. 293–373) was the foremost proponent of Nicene Trinitarian orthodoxy; see *NCE* (1:817–20).

⁸² See Appendix A.

with *Hay & Stubble*, yett such may be the Fault of the *Teachers* in the Churches, as to make it so.

Now, the *Work* that Men have thus been doing, about the Doctrine of Christianity, *The Day shall declare it*: As the Poet saies,

Οὐκ ἐστὶν μείζων βίαςανος χρόνου οὐδενός ἐργου.

*Tempus cuncta docet, quo non est certior ignis.*⁸³

And *it shall be Reveled by Fire*. Houses in Length of Time, used to be seized by *Fire*, either thro' *Chance*, or *War*, or *Lightning* from Heaven.⁸⁴ And then the *Gold* that is about those Houses, is unconquerable; the other Materials do more or less resist the Fire; but the *Hay & Stubble* is presently burnt up. A *Fire* shall come upon the Doctrine of Christianity, that ha's been taught in the Churches. What *Fire*? Tis a Gloss of *Grotius* upon it; *Incendio respondet Lux quae ab Ecclesiis omnibus uni Ecclesiae laboranti allucet.*⁸⁵ God will *one Day* stir up His Churches, to examine the Doctrine of Christianity, that ha's been taught among them. If where *Teachers* have taught things agreeable to the Lord Jesus Christ, they shall *Receive a Reward*, and be Honoured in all the Churches of the Lord. Where *Teachers* have taught such things, as they did at *Corinth*, That *Incest is lawful*, That *there is no Resurrection of the Dead*, That they might *with Scandal eat in the Temples of Idols*, or, That they might *Quarrel before Heathen Magistrates*; they shall be censured in the Churches of the Lord; and it will be with Difficulty, if ever they arrive unto the eternal Salvation of their Souls.⁸⁶

[11r]

Q. Lett us have a further Discourse on the Meaning of that obscure Scripture; *Saved, yett so as by Fire?* v. 15.

A. Dr. *Edwards* ha's an Exercitation upon it; which offers us diverse things, well worthy to be considered. I shall bring some of his Thoughts, and add some of my own.⁸⁷

⁸³ οὐκ ἐστὶν μείζων βίαςανος χρόνου οὐδενός ἐργου, ὅς καὶ ὑπὸ στέρνοις ἀνδρὸς ἔδειξε νόον; "There is no greater test of a work than time" [Greek]. "Time proves all things; compared to which, fire is not more certain" [Latin]. *Elegiaca Adespota* (IEG) *Fragmenta* (fragm. 22, lines 1–2). See Grotius, *Annotiones in Novum Testamentum* (6:302).

⁸⁴ Mather of course had experienced the trauma of a house fire when he was just fourteen, when the family home burned in 1676. See Silverman, *Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (20–21). Increase Mather also preached on the subject in his jeremiad, *Burnings Bewailed* (1711).

⁸⁵ "The light which shines from all the churches on one afflicted church is like a conflagration." Grotius, *Annotiones in Novum Testamentum* (6:303).

⁸⁶ Mather most likely meant to write "*without Scandal*" here as it most appropriately fits the context. See also Appendix B.

⁸⁷ This entire entry is taken from John Edwards, *Exercitations critical, philosophical, theological. On several important places in the writings of the Old and New Testament* (1:325–44). Edwards's tract, *Brief Remarks on the Difficulties which attend the Study of Scriptures* (1714) appears in Mather's library; see Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (59). He also uses Edwards's *Enquiry into Four Remarkable Texts of the New Testament* in his Corinthian commentary.

The Gloss upon the Words, fetch'd from a proverbial Way of Speaking; *So as by fire*, that is, as they say, *with Difficulty and Hazard*, or not without some *Scorching*: [As, Amos. 4.11. and, Zech. 3.2.] tho it be supported by Authors of good Note, yett it ha's no solid Foundation to support it. The Words refer to the *Fire*, which is mention'd a little before; *It shall be reveled by Fire*; and, *The Fire shall try every Mans Work*. And it is harsh to assert, That a *being saved by Fire*, is the same with, a *being saved out of the Fire*.

The *Romanists* do generally alledge this Place, for *Purgatory*. But, first, *Austin*, whom they quote for founding the *Fire of Purgatory* on these Words, confess'd the Text a very obscure one; & therefore so important a Doctrine cannot with certainty be built upon it. And then, the *Fire* here, is a *Fire* that shall *try every Mans Work*. Now the Pontificiants themselves confess, That *good Works* will not be tried by this *Fire*; nor do they hold that *every Man* shall enter *Purgatory*. Moreover, we do not read of being, *saved by Fire*, but, *saved so as by Fire*. The *Fire of Purgatory* is according to them, a *Real Fire*. The *Fire* now before us, is one so only by Way of Comparison and Similitude; which the Papist will not own concerning *Purgatory*.

Our English Rabbi, *Lightfoot*, will understand it, concerning the Rescue of many Beleeving *Jewes*, at the Destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Roman Armies*.⁸⁸ But the Apostle is now writing of quite another Matter: He writes about the Fate of them that advance erroneous Doctrines in the Church of God. That learned Mans *Darling Notion* strangely tinctures his Mind on this, as well as on many other Occasions.

S^t Norton Knatchbul goes this Way to work. He *himself shall be saved*, yett *so as by Fire*; that is, *so as he shall pass thro' the Fire of Persecution with Constancy to the Faith*. Indeed *Austin*, by *Fire*, here understands *Temporal Affliction*; which is elsewhere called, *A Fiery Trial*. But the *Fire* here, is one that shall *Try every Mans Work*. Now *Persecution* is not *every Mans Lott*. Some who have built *Hay and Stubble* on the *Foundation*, yett never undergo this *Fiery Trial*.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ John Lightfoot, possibly his *Harmony of the New Testament* (1655). Lightfoot (1602–75) was an Anglican cleric of moderate Puritan sympathies who participated in the Westminster Assembly. He was also a prodigious scholar and began an academic career at Cambridge in 1650. His major area of expertise was biblical studies, and he was a major figure in the flourishing circle of Christian Hebraism, a colleague of Brian Walton, Edward Pocock, Matthew Poole, and the Buxtorf's. He was sufficiently moderate or politic to keep his appointment at Cambridge after the Restoration. His collected works appeared posthumously as his *Opera omnia* (1686). Among his most important biblical works were the *Miscellanies*, *Christian and Judaical* (1629), *Harmony of the Four Evangelists* (1644–50), *Harmony of the Old Testament* (1647), *Harmony of the New Testament* (1655), and *Horae hebraicae et talmudicae* (1658–74). See ODNB (33:753–6).

⁸⁹ Knatchbull, *Animadversiones in libros novi testamenti* (88).

Some think, that, *saved so as by Fire*, may refer to the *Last Conflagration*; when, *The Earth & the Works that are therein shall be burnt up*. But it seems not likely, That Men should then be *saved*, by the same *Fire*, that *burns their Works*.

Lett us rather observe the Design of the Apostle, and all will appear plain immediately.

The *Foundation* which we have to Build upon, is a glorious CHRIST, and the Doctrine of Salvation by Him alone. When the Ministers and Instructors of the Church, deliver none but *sound Doctrine*, they build *Gold*, and *Silver*, and *precious Stones* on the *Foundation*; The *Superstructure* is agreeable to the *Foundation*. On the other hand, they that advance any *Doctrine* that is *vain*, and *light* and *worthless*, these do but encumber the Building, with *Wood*, and *Hay*, and *Stubble*. If a Fire befall an Edifice, it will soon be Reveled; which are the *Incombustible Materials*; and which are the things that will be *soon consumed*. Accordingly, there will a Time of *Trial* come; It will be *Tried*, which are the Sound & the True Doctrines of Christianity; & which are the Vain & the False Doctrines, no longer to be endured.

The *Manner* of the Discovery is this; *The Day shall declare it; it shall be Reveled by Fire; the Fire shall try every Mans Work*.⁹⁰ By the *Day*, is meant, the *Light*; For as it is elsewhere said, *Whatsoever does make manifest, is Light*. All Doctrines are to be brought into the *Light*; They are to be *Tried* by the *Light*. This *Light* now is, The WORD of GOD, with which all Doctrines are to be compared; that they may be sett and seen in a *True Light*. And in comparing of them, there is also a great Use to be made of *Conscience*, that *Candle of the Lord*. The Terms are of the same Signification; when being *Declared by the Day*, is presently called, a being *Reveled by the Fire*. *Light* and *Fire*, are the same. The promiscuous Use of these Words, φως and πυρ,⁹¹ is not unusual; and that even in the Inspired Writings. [Consider, Mar. 14.54. and, Luk. 22.56. and Rev. 4.5. and Heb. 1.7.] It is in Imitation of the *Hebrewes*, who by אור/⁹² understood, both *Light* and *Fire*. Moreover, *Fire*, as it ha's the Property of *Light*, for *Discovering*, so it ha's the Power of *Examining* too. An *Examination* is here foretold by the Apostle. Doctrines will be brought unto the *Test*, and under a strict *Examination*.

[12v]

Well; But what will be the *Event* of the Discovery?

If the *Doctrines*, which have been taught, prove Sound and True and Good, the Teacher shall receive the *Reward* of his Faithfulness. But if the *Doctrines* are found Vain, and False, & Sleight; like things that are *easily burnt*: the Teacher then *loses* his *Labour*; he ha's no such *Reward* as he expected.

⁹⁰ 1 Cor. 3:13.

⁹¹ φως; "light" and πυρ; "fire."

⁹² אור (light).

However, the *unskillful* Teacher may be a *well-meaning* Man. A godly Man may pester the Church of God, with very erroneous Opinions. We have seen more than one famous Instance in the English Nation, of godly Men grievously Darkening and Perverting the Gospel. And what? If the *Labour* be *lost*, must the *Person* also be *lost*? No; *He shall be saved*. But how? *Yett so as by Fire*.

The *Work* of the Man, yea, and the *Man* too, shall be Tried, by the *Light* of the *Word of God*. That *Fire* cannot be escaped. The watchful and wondrous Care of God over His Church in this World, will order a *Trial* of what is Taught in the Church. Men *valiant for the Truth on the Earth*, will be Raised up; & by their Studies every *Truth* will at some Time or other be cleared up. *Heresies* will be confuted, and *Seducers* confounded. If any of them that have held *Fundamental Errors* come to be *saved*, they shall be brought by that *Fire*, to renounce their Errors before they dy. But, *We must all appear before the Judgment-seat of God*, in the World to come. Every *Work* shall be *tried* at that awful Bar. Even they that *shall be saved*, must be *saved, so as by that Fire*; they must come under a *Trial*. And the Things that have been maintained, preached & written as *Truths* in the Church of God, they shall then be sett in their *True Light*; it shall be pronounced, whether they were such or no. *The Day*, even that GREAT DAY, *shall declare it*.

But then, here is a further and a solemn Intimation, That if a Man would be *saved*, he must bring himself unto the *Fire*, or, *Try himself* by the *Light* of the Word of God. *Yett so as by Fire*; That is to say: "Lett him not only know, that he shall one day be *Tried* by the *Word of God*, but also, Lett him *Try himself* by that Word, that so he may come off well in the Trial of the Lord."

Q. On that Passage; *Ye are the Temple of God?* v. 16⁹³

A. The Chaldee Paraphrase, on Cant. 1.17. runs thus. *Dixit Salomon propheta, Quàm pulchra est Domus Sanctuarii Domini, quæ meâ operâ ædificata est ex lignis cedrinis. Sed pulchrior erit Domus Sanctuarii quæ ædificabitur in Diebus Regis Messiæ, cujus Trabes erunt ex cedris quæ sunt in Horto Edenis, et Tigna ejus erunt ex Abietibus varijs et pinis.*⁹⁴ But then, L' Empereur on *Middoth*, relates, That R. Alshek much inculcated, A *Spiritual Temple* to be expected; *Templum /רוחני/ Spirituale*; and */רוחניים כותלים/, Parietes Spirituales*.⁹⁵ And, That pious Men were

⁹³ See Appendix A.

⁹⁴ "Solomon the Prophet said: 'How beautiful is the house of the sanctuary of God, which was built out of cedar wood by my labor!' But more beautiful will be the house of the sanctuary which will be built in the days of King Messiah; its planks will be of the cedar which is in the Garden of Eden, and its building materials will be variouis fir and pine." The "Chaldee Paraphrase" (commonly known as the *Targum Jonathan*) is a lectionary paraphrase of the Prophets in Aramaic used in post-exilic synagogue worship, when Aramaic had become the common language of Judaism; see *EJ* (11:398).

⁹⁵ "A spiritual (רוחני) Temple" and "spiritual walls" (רוח כְּתִל) [Hebrew and Latin]. Constantine L'Empereur, *Hoc est Talmudis Babylonici codex Middoth* (1630). (The *Middot* section of the

the principal Temple. It was a frequent Observation with R. *Alshek*, *Israelitas esse et dici Templum*.⁹⁶

[▽13r] [▽Insert from 13r]⁹⁷

Q. Some further Thoughts on our being, *The Temple of God?* v. 16.

A. There has been much Cavil made by some, on some of the orthodox Fathers, being so Reserved, about the *Deity* of the Holy SPIRIT. Among other Things uttered by the Cavillers, they tell us, That *Basil*, who ventured as far as he durst, was yett afraid of allowing the Name of God, unto the Holy SPIRIT, for fear of Expulsion from the Bishoprick; and for this, they quote *Gregory Nazianzens* Funeral Oration upon him.⁹⁸

Now, for the Satisfaction of these People, we will here introduce a Passage of *Basil*, in what he writes to the *Cesareans*; in Epist. 141. & one or two Places more; *Ἀκούσωμεν δὲ τοῦ ἀρπαγέντος ἐν τριτῷ οὐρανοῦ κλ.*⁹⁹ *Let us hear him, who was caught into the Third Heaven. What says he? Because you are the Temple of the Holy SPIRIT, which is in you. Now every Temple is GODS Temple. If then we are the Temple of the Holy SPIRIT, the Holy SPIRIT is GOD.*

But, *Basil's* Treatise of the Holy SPIRIT sufficiently declares his Faith. And if he were cautious on the prevailing of *Arianism*, lest he should be deprived of an Opportunity to instruct his Flock; it might be an Instance of Humane Weakness.

[△] [△Insert ends, 10v resumes]

Q. How and when was that Word fulfilled, *He taketh the Wise in their own Craftiness?* v. 19.

Talmud is concerned with the dimensions of the Second Temple.) L'Empereur (d. 1648) was a Reformed theologian and professor of Hebrew at Leyden. A scholar of Arabic, Syriac, and Aramaic as well, he was a colleague of other Christian Hebraists such as Louis de Dieu, Daniel Heinsius, and the Buxtorfs. He published a number of works on the Talmud and other rabbinic commentaries; see *GBD* (13:203–4).

⁹⁶ “Israelites are said to be the Temple.” Rabbi Moses Alshekh (1508–93) was a native of Turkey who subsequently lived in Palestine under the Ottomans. He wrote a number of commentaries on the Bible and on rabbinic literature; see *EJ* (2:10–11).

⁹⁷ See Appendix B.

⁹⁸ See Gregory Nazianzen, *Panegyric on St. Basil*, *NPNFii* (7:395–422). Gregory Nazianzus (329–390 CE) was archbishop of Constantinople and the theological confederate of Basil over Nicene orthodoxy; see *NCE* (6:513–17).

⁹⁹ Ἀκούσωμεν δὲ πάλιν τοῦ ἀρπαγέντος ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ. “Let us hear him who was caught up into the third heaven, etc.” The abbreviation κλ stands for *κατα λοιπα*, meaning “and so forth.” (Mather has cut off the Greek citation in mid-sentence but has given the translation of the full phrase in Basil). Basil of Caesarea, *Epistulae* (Epistle 8, sec. 11, line 23). Basil the Great (330–379), bishop of Caesarea; see *NCE* (2:135–9). Mather or his source has mistaken the reference in Basil: his *Letter to Eusebius*, *bishop of Samasota* (Epistle 141) does not contain the citation given here; it is rather a discussion of Basil’s ill health and its effects on his travel.

A. It is a good Note of *Grotius* upon it; *Fecit hoc Deus egregiè, cum philosophos inter se commisit, ut nihil alter pro certo affirmaverit, quod non alter æque ingeniosus eversum eat.*¹⁰⁰ Among the Philosophers, if any Sect or Man, advanced any Point of Wisdome, another presently & craftily overthrew it, by advancing another Scheme as probable, into the room of it.

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Q.¹⁰² The Psalmist saies, *The Lord knowes the Thoughts of Man, that they are Vanity.*¹⁰³ The Apostle renders it, *The Lord knowes the Thoughts of the Wise, that they are vain.* What may we learn from that Variation in the Version? v. 20.

A. *Faithful Teate*, saies, “The Variation in the Version speaks thus much; Amongst all the vain Children of Men, there is not one so wise enough, to hide his Thoughts from being known to God, and himself by them.”¹⁰⁴

[▽Insert from 13r resumes]

[▽13r resumes]

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Q. Upon what accounts does the Apostle say, *All things are yours?* v. 21.

A. The *Jewes* beleeved, that the World was made for *Them*; and that God despised the *Gentiles*, and look'd on them as nothing, when He made it. [2. Esdr. 6.55, 59.]¹⁰⁵ The Apostle, on the contrary, affirms, That the *World* was as well made for the *Gentiles* converted unto the Christian Faith. He adds, That the Apostles had received their Gifts, Commissions, and Authority, for their Sakes.

100 “God did this splendidly: he made the philosophers engage with each other such that one would not affirm anything certain that another equally brilliant one did not strive to overturn.” *Grotius, Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (6:305).

101 See Appendix A.

102 See Appendix B.

103 Psalm 94:11.

104 Faithful Teate the Younger (c. 1621–66) was an Anglican minister of Puritan inclinations whose father, Faithful Teate the Elder (1600?–60), was an Anglican cleric in Ireland. The elder Teate was driven to England in the mid-1640's by Irish Catholic hostilities. Teate the Younger graduated from Cambridge (B.A., 1646; M.A., 1650) and settled into the ministry. He published a number of religious poems in the 1650's and '60's, which were popular at the time. He lost his parish after the Act of Conformity (1662) and returned to Ireland. He was the father of the celebrated poet Nahum Tate (as well as a third Faithful Teate). See Golden, “The Three Faithful Teates” (374–80).

105 2 Esdras 6:55, 56, 59: “All this I have spoken before thee, O Lord, because thou hast said that it was for us that thou didst create this world. ... As for the other nations which have descended from Adam, thou hast said that they are nothing, and that they are like spittle, and thou hast compared their abundance to a drop from a bucket. ... If the world has indeed been created for us, why do we not possess our world as an inheritance? How long will this be so?” 2 Esdras (also known as 4 Ezra, or the Apocalypse of Ezra), an apocryphal work attributed to the priest Ezra, possibly dating from the late 1st to early 2nd centuries CE. Scholarship is inclined to see it as a theological response to the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE; see *EB* (10:108).

If *Life* were continued unto the Apostles, under their continual Perils, it was for their *Furtherance and Joy in the Faith*. Or, if the Apostles were given up unto *Death*, it was that *Life might work in them*. The *Things present*, or the Pressures now suffered by the Apostles, were for their Sakes; and so were the *Things to come*, or the Adversary or Prosperity which might afterwards come upon them. See, 2. Cor. 1.6.

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽14v△] [▽Insert from 14v] [blank]

Q. What means our Apostle, when he saies, *Tho' I know nothing by myself, yett am I not hereby Justified?* v. 4.

A. “Not justified to *You*: But the Lord, whose Steward I am, will at the Last Day pronounce a Sentence on my Behaviour in my Stewardship; and then you will know, what to think of me.”

Q. That Passage, wherein we are cautioned against, *Thinking above what is written & being puffed up for one against another*: To what may it refer? v. 6.

A. Something it seems there is *written*, in the Old Testament, for to retund the Vanity of setting up one Man above another. *Grotius* thinks it refers to the Admonition, that is *written*, Deut. 17.20. concerning the *King* among the People of God, *That his Heart be not lifted up above his Brethren*. The thing to be learnt is This: *Si Regi praeceptum ne suprà alios fastuosè efferat, quantò magis alijs?*¹⁰⁶

4379.

Q. What means the Apostle, when he saies, *These things I have in a Figure transferred unto myself and Apollos, for your Sakes?* v. 6.

A. He had been saying *These Things*; That neither *Paul* nor *Apollo* were to be look'd on, as any thing; For they did nothing but by the Grace given them from God, unto whom the whole Praise was due for the Success of their Labours.

Now, saies he, such a *Scheme* of Speech I have used about *myself and Apollo*, to instruct you; that you should not think too highly of other Doctors among you, who have done less for promoting your Good than we have done.

Q. That Sarcasm, *Now you are full, Now you are Rich, You have reigned as Kings*: May there not be some very latent Sting in it? v. 8.

A. I will confess to you; that I have a Suspicion of a very pungent one. I suspect our Apostle had in his Eye, those Words, Prov. XXX.21, 22.¹⁰⁷

4380.

Q. Unto what may the Apostle allude, when he speaks of the Apostles, as being, *Sett forth last, as Men appointed unto Death?* v. 9.

¹⁰⁶ “If the rule of the king is not to exalt himself arrogantly above others, how much more [is he exalted over] others?” *Grotius, Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (6:310) reads: “*Nam si Regi praeceptum, ne se supra alios fastuose efferat, quanto magis alijs?*”

¹⁰⁷ Prov. 30:21–22: “For three things the earth is disquieted, and for four which it cannot bear: for a servant when he reigneth; and a fool when he is filled with meat” (KJV). Mather’s source for this answer is Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:128–9).

A. He seems to allude unto the *Roman Spectacles*; particularly, Τῆς τῶν θηριόμαχων καὶ μονομαχίας ἀνδροφόνου.¹⁰⁸ whereof *Irenæus* makes mention; That of the *Bestiarii* and the *Gladiators*, where in the Morning Men were brought upon the *Theatre*, to fight with Wild-beasts, and to them was allowed Armour to defend themselves & smite the Beasts that assail'd them. But in the *Meridian Spectacle*, the *Gladiators* were brought forth Naked; and without any thing to defend them from the Sword of the *Assailant*; and he who then escaped was only reserved for slaughter to another Day.¹⁰⁹ These Men might well be called, ἐπιθανάτιοι, *Men appointed for Death*; and this being the *last Appearance* on the *Theater* for that Day, they are said here to be sett forth ἐσχατοί, *The Last*.¹¹⁰ Of these two *Spectacles* we find *Seneca* speaking thus; *In the Morning Men are exposed unto Lions and unto Bears; At Mid-day to their Spectators, those that kill are exposed unto one another: The Victor is detained for another Slaughter; The Conclusion of this Fight is Death. The former Fighting, compared to this, was Mercy; Here is only Butchery; They have nothing to cover them; Their whole Body is exposed unto every Stroke*.¹¹¹ *Tertullian* so cites this Text; *Puto nos Deus Apostolus novissimus elegit velut Bestiarios*.¹¹² *Tertullian* | his *Apologetic* mentions, *Meridianorum crudelitates*.¹¹³ Yett read of them in *Suetonius*'s Life of *Claudius*.¹¹⁴ And *Seneca* contrasting the Morning with the Meridian Combates, he saies, *Quicquid antea pugnatum est, misericordia fuit*.¹¹⁵

Saies the Apostle, God hath sett us forth: The Word, ἀπέδειξεν, is properly, *Ostendit*.¹¹⁶

2782.

Q. Some Illustration upon those Words, *WE are made as the Filth of the World, and are the Offscouring of all things unto this Day?* v. 13.

A. The *Græcians* of old, used a yearly *Expiation* of their Cities, which was performed in this Manner. Certain condemned Persons, were brought forth with Garlands on their Heads in Manner of Sacrifices; and these they tumbled

108 τῆς τῶν θηριόμαχων καὶ μονομαχίας ἀνδροφόνου; "That of animal fights, and of men fighting single combat to the death." *Irenæus, Adversus hæreses (libri 1–2)*, book 1, ch. 1, sec. 12, line 8.

109 See *Irenæus, Against Heresies, ANF* (1:324). *Irenæus* (d. c. 202 CE) was bishop of Lyon in Gaul, a major center for gladiatorial combats and site of a gruesome mass Christian martyrdom in 177 CE.

110 ἐπιθανάτιοι; ἐσχατοί.

111 See *Seneca, On the Crowds*, in *Moral Essays* (1:28–37).

112 "I think that God selected us apostles last, to be *bestiarii* (gladiators who fight wild beasts)." *Tertullian, On Modesty, ANF* (3:88). *Tertullian* also wrote an essay condemning the gladiatorial games, *De Spectaculis*.

113 "Mid-day cruelties." See *Tertullian, De Spectaculis, ANF* (3:79–91).

114 See *Suetonius, Lives of the Twelve Caesars* (2:40–5).

115 "There was mercy in whatever fighting took place before." *Seneca, On the Crowds*, in *Moral Essays* (1:28–37).

116 The word ἀπέδειξεν, "put [us] on display," is properly "exposed [us] to view" [Latin].

from a *Præcipice*, into the Sea, offering them up to *Neptune*, with such a Form of Words: *Περίλημα ἡμῶν γενου*. *Be thou a Propitiation for us.*¹¹⁷ The like *Expiation* was used among them, in a Time of any *Pestilence*, for the Removal of it: And the Men so sacrificed, were called, *καθαρματα*.¹¹⁸ These two Words are here used by the Apostle. Indeed the Words, may properly signify, *The Dirt or Filth scraped off the Shoes of Men, or from the Pavement of the Ground*. But in *Budæus's* Opinion, the Apostle alludes unto the *Expiations* used among the Heathen: As if he had said, We are as Despised, & as odious in the Sight of the People, and as much loaded with the Cursings of the Multitude, as those condemned Persons, who were offered up, by way of public Expiation.¹¹⁹

Phavorinus tells us, The Athenians nourished some very base & refuse People, and when any Calamity or Plague befell them, they sacrificed them for this Purgation of the City, and these they called, *καθαρματα*.¹²⁰

Q. The Meaning of that Passage: *The Kingdome of God, is not in Word, but in Power?* v. 20.

A. One thing intended in it, may be this; Our Interest in the Kingdome of God, is neither obtained, nor attested, only by our Discoursing and Professing of the Truth, but our careful & conscionable Performance of the Things which we are commanded; wherein we shall shew the Power which the Truth ha's over us. This is honest Mr. *Matons* Gloss upon it.¹²¹

Q. What was the *Apostolical Rod*? *Shall I come unto you with a Rod?* v. 21.

A. The Ancient Prophets had from God sometimes a Power over the Bodies of Men; to smite them with *Plagues*, with *Deaths*, with various *Calamities*. Thus *Elisha* smote *Gehazi*, with *Naamans* Leprosy; & sent Bears upon the ungodly Children; and *Elijah* commanded Fire from Heaven upon the Souldiers, that came to have Arrested him. So *Peter* slew *Ananias* & *Sapphira*, and *Paul* blinded *Elymas*. I suppose this might bee the *Apostolical Rod*, wherewith *Paul*, threatens the *Corinthians*. One of the Ancients, gives this Exposition of it: *Quali Virgâ Petrus venit ad Ananiaus et Sapphiram, et Paulus ad Magum*.¹²² This Power may bee meant, in 2. Cor. 16.6. *Having in a Readiness to Revenge all Disobedience*. A

117 *περίλημα ἡμῶν γενου*. Photius, *Lexicon* (N-Φ), alphabetic letter *pi*, entry 800, line 3.

118 *καθαρματα*; literally, the “refuse or animal parts left over from a sacrifice”; metaphorically, men who are outcasts.

119 Guillaume Budé, *Commentarii linguae Graecae*; on Budé, see Mather's entry on 2:6 (above).

120 Favorinus of Arelata (80–160 CE), a Skeptic who taught at Rome; see *ERE* (209).

121 Robert Maton, perhaps his *Israel's Redemption* (1642). Maton (1607–53?) was a Puritan clergyman who published at length on millenarian themes during the Civil War; see *ODNB* (37:334).

122 “The sort of rod that Peter used upon Ananias and Sapphira, and Paul used upon [Simon] Magus.”

Power whereof tis said in v. 8. *The Lord hath given it us for Edification, not for your Destruction.* And of that very Power, are those Passages, in 2. Cor. 13.10. *Lest, I should use sharpness, according to the Power which the Lord ha's given mee.* The Instances of this Power executed were but Rare; yett sometimes the Apostles exercised it.

867.

Upon this Occasion, I would Remark it; That in the Bible wee read of no more than *Three Saints*, that ever exercised the *miraculous Power of Death*; namely, *Elijah, Elisha*, and *Peter*. Now tis also Remarkable, that each of those Three Persons were signalized with bringing of the *Dead unto Life*, by *Miracle*. There was the Wisdome and Goodness of God, preached in this Observation.

As the First of all the Titles, which wee find the God of Heaven taking to express His Kindness to us was (just after the *First War* that wee read of, in the World) That of a, *Buckler*: and Hee is never but once called, our *Sword*; which is when Hee is also called our *Buckler*: Deut. 33.29. So, the Lord will not have his Children forward in *Hurting* of others; tis enough if Hee enable them to *Defend* themselves.

1. Corinthians. Chap. 5.

[▽17r]

Q. The Mother-in-Law married by the Incestuary *Corinthian*, was one who it seems, divorced her Husband, for her Pleasure? v. 1.

A. Among the Pagans, both *Græcians* & *Romans*, the Right of a *Divorce* was Reciprocal. *Joseph Scaliger* sais, *Among the Romans & Græcians the Wife as well as the Husband might say*, *Res tuas tibi habeto*; ¹²³ *which was the Formular of the Divorce*. ¹²⁴ In *Apuleius*, we find, There were peculiar Terms for the *Divorce* made by either of both Sexes. If a Wife quitted her Husband, it was called, *Απολειψις*, a *Desertion*; If an Husband quitted his Wife, it was called, *Αποποπη*, a *Dismission*. ¹²⁵ *Juvenal* satirizes the frequent Instances of Wives quitting their Husbands, in his Time,

Sic crescit numerus, sic fiunt octo mariti.

Quinque per autumnos Titulo res digna sepulchri. ¹²⁶

Seneca complains of the *Illustres et Nobiles Fæminæ*, ¹²⁷ who computed their Years, not by the *Consuls*, but by their *Husbands*, and, *Exeunt matrimonii causa, nubunt Repudii*. ¹²⁸

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 18v]

[▽18v]

Martial sais, That since *Domitian* revived the *Julian Law* against *Adultery*, the *Roman Ladies* divorced themselves, in order to marry their Lovers; and when they became weary of one, they quitted him, to marry another: And so they indulged their Pleasures without incurring the Penalties of the Law. The Poet speaks of one who thus changed Husbands Ten Times in the Space of a Month. ¹²⁹

[△Insert ends]

[△]

¹²³ "Take your things."

¹²⁴ *Joseph Scaliger* (1540–1609) was a French Protestant classicist and historian who also mastered several Oriental languages. He spent his career as a kind of travelling scholarly companion to nobility, settled briefly in Geneva, before finally taking a position at the University of Leiden; see *NSHERK* (10:221).

¹²⁵ *Απόλειψις*; *Αποπόπη* (from *αποποίηση*). *Apuleius* (125–180 CE), most likely the novel *Metamorphoses* (*The Golden Ass*) or *Florida*, a collection of essays; see *ERE* (28).

¹²⁶ "The number increases: there are eight husbands within five years, a deed worth being written on her tombstone." *Juvenal*, *The Satires* (100–1).

¹²⁷ "Aristocratic and noble ladies."

¹²⁸ "They divorce for the sake of marriage, and marry for the sake of divorce." *Seneca*, *On Benefits*, in *Moral Essays* (3:154–5).

¹²⁹ A broad generalization from a specific instance: *Martial's* epigram (Bk. 6.7) actually reads: "Since the *Julian law*, *Faustinus*, was re-enacted for the people, and Chastity was commanded

[19r]

Q. What was the *Crime* of the Incestuous *Corinthian*; and what was the *puffing up* among the other *Corinthians* on this Occasion? v. 1, 2.

A. One of the Church, had married his *Fathers Wife*, yea, as it seems, [2. Cor. 7.12.] while his *Father* was yett living. It was their own Law, as the *Talmuds* tell us, *That hee that went into his Fathers Wife, was Doubly liable to bee stoned; both because shee was his Fathers Wife, & because shee was Another Mans Wife, whether hee lay with her in his Fathers Life-time, or after his Death.*¹³⁰ And yett, such was the Heat & Height of their Contestations, That this Wretch gott a Party to abett him in his Wickedness. Hence, instead of *Mourning*, they were *puffed up*: His own Party Triumph'd, that they could bear him out against the rest; The other Party Rejoiced that in the contrary Faction, there had happened such an horrid Scandal: And perhaps, both were too ready, to take this licentious Libertinism as a *new Liberty* of the *Gospel*. Perhaps the *Father* was yett an Unbeleever, the *Wife* and the *Son* might bee both Christians; and now, they might *Brag*, that the *Gospel* had so far prevailed, as to separate a *Wife* from her unbelieving Husband. A scandalous *Brag* truly!

4381.

Q. Why is it said of such an Incest, It was not so much *as Named among the Gentiles*? v. 1.

A. It was not countenanced among the civilized Pagans; but prohibited by their Lawes; by the Lawes of the *Græcians*, as we are told by *Ocellus Lucanus* and by *Jamblycus*; and by the Lawes of the *Romans*, with whom *Cicero* tells us, it was, *Scelus inauditum*, An *unheard of Wickedness*; of which the *Persians* only are accused, by *Philo*, and by *Tertullian*, and by *Minutius Felix*.¹³¹ This therefore was one of the Three Great Infamies with which the Pagans loaded the primi-

to enter our homes, 'tis the thirtieth day – perhaps less, at least no more – and Telesilla is now marrying her tenth husband.” See Martial (c. 41–104 CE), *Epigrams* (1:360–1).

130 This reference is drawn from the seventh chapter of the tractate *Sanhedrin* in the Talmud, which addresses various forms of capital punishment. Its summary here is somewhat garbled: the double indemnity actually lies in the fact that the offender has slept with his father's wife and, thus, with his “mother.” See *The Babylonian Talmud* (12:359–66).

131 Ocellus Lucanus, a 5th-century BCE Pythagorean philosopher whose only extant work is *On the Nature of the Universe*; see “Pythagoreanism,” *SEP* (electronic). Jamblicus, or Iamblicus, (c. 245–325 CE), a Neoplatonist philosopher of Syrian origin, *The Pythagorean Way of Life*; see *ERE* (268). Cicero addresses incest in the thirteenth chapter of *Pro Caelio*, in which he intimates such a relationship existed between the accusers of Caelius, Publius Clodius and his sister Clodia; *Pro Caelio* (449). Philo treats incest in *The Special Laws*; see *Philo* (7:481–7). Tertullian, *Apology*, *ANF* (3:24–6). Minucius Felix was a late 2nd-early 3rd century Christian apologist. His surviving work, *Octavius*, is a dialogue between a Christian and a pagan about the Christian religion – the incestuous dissolution of pagans during their feasts is discussed in the ninth chapter; see *ANF* (4:177–8).

tive Christians, That they had *Incesta Convivia*¹³² among them, & practised the Crime here censured by the Apostle. Yea, as *Whitby* thinks, the ὅλως ἀκούεται here, [*It is every where heard of*,]¹³³ renders it not improbable, that this very thing, might give the Rise to that vile Objection against Christianity. Especially, if the *Corinthians* had the Foundation of this Practice from the *Jewes*, from whom the *Christians* were not for some Time distinguished.¹³⁴

Q. What was the Mourning which the Apostle expected from the *Corinthians*? v. 2.

A. An Excommunication of the Sinner with *Tears*. For among the primitive Christians the shedding of Tears, was one Action which attended an Excommunication. And the Pattern for it was in *Judg.* 20.23.

Q. What was the *Delivering to Satan for the Destruction of the Flesh*, whereof the Incestuous *Corinthian* was to be censured? v. 5.

A. Inasmuch as by the *Spirit* in that Verse, is meant the *Soul*, tis plain, that by the *Flesh*, is meant the *Body*. By the *Flesh* is not meant *carnal Concupiscence*; but the Apostle would have the Offender delivered unto Satan, that his *Body* might be afflicted and corrected with such Dolours, as might awaken him to Repentance. Compare, 1 Tim. 1.20.

This Power of thus chastising the Bodies of Sinners, was that extraordinary, *Virga Apostolica*,¹³⁵ whereof see 1. Cor. 4.21.

Thus *Chrysostom* expounds it, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰὼβ γεγρονε,¹³⁶ as *Job* was delivered unto Satan, for the Vexation of his Body: and, as *Chrysostom* goes on, ἵνα μαστίξῃ αὐτὸν ἔλκει πονήρου ἢ νόσῳ ἑτέρα.¹³⁷

Ambrose, de Pænetentia, has the like, *Nempè sicut Dominus in Animam Sancti Job potestatem non dedit, sed in carnem ejus permisit licentiam, ità et hic traditur Satanae*.¹³⁸ So *Jerom*, --- per Jejunia et egrotationes.¹³⁹

Thus *Pacianus*, by the *Destruction of the Flesh*, understands, *Carnis Angustias et Detrimenta membrorum*.¹⁴⁰

132 "Incestuous banquets."

133 ὅλως ἀκούεται.

134 This answer is derived from *Whitby*, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:130–1).

135 "Apostolic power."

136 Ὡσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰὼβ γέγονεν; "Just as Job was in the presence of the blessed." *Chrysostom*, *In epistolam I ad Corinthios (homiliae 1–44)* [PG 61. 124, line 3].

137 ἵνα μαστίξῃ αὐτὸν ἔλκει πονηρῷ ἢ νόσῳ ἑτέρα; "to chastise him with the pain of dishonor, rather than with some other affliction." *Ibid.*, [lines 6–7]. See also *Chrysostom*, *Commentary on Job* (27).

138 "Undoubtedly therefore the Lord did not give power to Satan over the soul of holy Job, but allowed him to afflict his flesh." *Ambrose*, *On Repentance*, in *NPNFii* (10:339).

139 "By hunger and diseases."

140 "The difficulties of the flesh, and the pains of the limbs." *Pacian*, *On Penitents*, in *Iberian*

It is more Agreeable unto a Gospel-ministry, to deliver Souls *from* the Divil, than *To* him. Yea, the Delivering *To* the Divil, here mentioned by the Apostle, is mentioned as a Means for the Soul to be Delivered *From* him. Were the *Souls* of Men Delivered unto the Divil, they would not under such a Master *learn not to Blaspheme*. (See 1. Tim. 1.20.) but bee Instigated thereunto.

They are mistaken, who think that *Paul* means Excommunication, by this *Delivering to Satan*. Tis true, hee directed the Excommunication to the Incestuous; but that you have in v. 13. *Tollite illum sceleratum de medio vestrum*.¹⁴¹ and here, the ordinary Ministry of the Church was enough. But when hee speaks of this *Traditio Satanae*,¹⁴² hee do's it by Apostolical Authority; & with an, *Ego Decrevi*,¹⁴³ without staying for the Consent of the Church at *Corinth*. So, in the Case of *Hymeneus & Alexander*.¹⁴⁴

Wherefore, the primitive Church, in their Censures, always abstained from this Form of Speaking; & ordinary Pastors, durst not præsume to insert this Clause in their *Anathemas*.

Hence also, the National Synod of *Ales*, in *France*, entered a particular Caution, against the Use of this Form in *Excommunication*.¹⁴⁵

1947.

Q. The Apostle applies to the Case of *Uncleanness*, this Observation; *Know yee not, that a little Leaven, leaveneth the whole Lump?* Have you elsewhere mett with such an Application of it? v. 6.

A. The *Jewes* have a Notable Saying, mention'd particularly by the Author of *Neue Schalom*. L. 11. c. 2. *Quemadmodum paululum Fermenti magnam massam fermentat, et corrumpit, sic concupiscentia corrumpit Hominem*.¹⁴⁶

4382.

Q. But what was the *old Leaven*, which the Apostle would have to be *purged out*?

Fathers (80). Pacian (c. 310–391 CE) was bishop of Barcelona; this work is one of only two extant among his many treatises. See *CE* (2:289).

141 "Remove the defiled one from your midst."

142 "Hand over to Satan."

143 "I command."

144 These two figures were opponents of Paul in the Ephesian church, whom he "delivered unto Satan" for their chastisement (1 Tim. 1:20).

145 Protestant interests were addressed at the national synod at Alès in 1620; see W. B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (193–4).

146 "Just as a little bit of yeast causes much fermentation, and corrupts, even so does concupiscence corrupt a man." Abraham ben Isaac Shalom, *Neve Schalom, seu habitaculum pacis* (1539). Shalom (d. 1492) was an Iberian rabbi and philosopher; the *Neve* is a philosophically-oriented commentary on the Talmud, an attempt to harmonize philosophy with Jewish belief; see *EJ* (18:376–7).

A. It was a Saying of the Jewes, *As a little Leaven leaveneth the whole Lump, so Concupiscence corrupts the whole Man*. They say also, By the Command to *abstain from Leaven, Adultery is forbidden*. The Apostle alludes to this Metaphor. And this Impurity, he calls, *The old Leaven to be purged out*, because the *Corinthians* were, to a Proverb, infamous for it; as we learn from *Phavorinus* and *Hesychius*, and *Erasmus*.¹⁴⁷ He alludes also, to the Command of, *putting away Leaven out of the House*, in commanding to putt away the evil Person; & to the *Paschal Feast* in the Reason given for it. We Christians must ever keep this Feast, by being always a *New Lump*, and pure from *Hypocrisy*, [Luk. 12.1.] and *False Doctrine*, [Mat. 16.6, 12.] and *Wickedness* and *Wicked Men*; According to those Words, Psal. 71.4. *Deliver me out of the Hands of the Wicked, and from the Hands of the Cruel, and the Leavened*; i. e. the sowre, morose, angry Man, who depraves others, and corrupts them.

|

[20v]

4383.

Q. Well, but furnished from Dr. *Whitby's* Annotations, Lett us Resume the Case of the *Incestuous Corinthian*?¹⁴⁸ v. 6.

A. Dr. *Lightfoot* saies, What was done on this Crime, was agreeable to the Jewish Doctrine concerning *Proselytes*; That they were *as Persons New born, & had lost all the Kindred they had before*; so that by the Law, as the Rabbins expounded it, they might marry their *Mother* and *Sister*.¹⁴⁹ [See *Selden's Uxor Hebraica*.]¹⁵⁰ To this may *Tacitus* refer in his Account of the Jewes, *Concessa apud illos quae nobis Incesta*;¹⁵¹ and that they were first of all taught, *Parentes, Liberos, Fratres, Vilia habere*.¹⁵² But, as *Whitby* notes, considering that *Corinth* abounded with *Philosophers*; and *Chrysippus* the Stoick, reckons the Enjoyment of a *Mother*, a *Sister*, or a *Daughter* as a thing blamed without Reason;¹⁵³ And

147 Favorinus of Arelata (80–160 CE), a Skeptic who taught at Rome; see *ERE* (209). Hesychius of Alexandria, a 5th-century CE Greek lexicographer whose *Synagogue* documents some 50,000 words; see *NSHERK* (5:258). Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536), Dutch Catholic priest and humanist; see his *Paraphrase on the Corinthian Letters* (1519) in *The Collected Works of Erasmus* (43:71–2).

148 Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:132).

149 On Lightfoot, see Mather's fourth entry on 3:15 (above).

150 John Selden (1584–1654), English lawyer and student of Jewish law. His book *De diis Syriis* (1617) was an important early work in the history of the comparative study of religions. Between 1631 and 1655, he published six major works on Jewish law. *Uxor Hebraica* (written in the 1640's and published in 1673) treats Jewish marriage laws; see *ODNB* (49:694–705).

151 "Permitting things which are unclean to us." Tacitus, *Histories* (5:178–9).

152 "To hold parents, children, (and) brothers, as nothing." See Tacitus, *The Histories* (3:179, 183); [*Historiarum Libri supersunt* (5.4, 5)].

153 Chrysippus (279–206 BCE), a Stoic philosopher. According to Diogenes Laertius, he defended incest in his commentary on Plato (entitled *On the Republic*, a work that is no longer extant). See Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* (2:287ff).

hence the *Nicolaitans* and *Carpocratians* had their Doctrine of the Community of Women, without excepting such nearest Relatives; Is it not unlikely, that this Corruption might have had its Rise from them.¹⁵⁴ Upon one or other of these Accounts, they so tamely suffered the Man, who had committed this Infamous Thing. Yea, the *Greek Interpreters* tell us, They were *puffed up*, on the Account of the Eloquence, the Learning, the Wisdome, of this very Man.

They should have rather mourned.] The ancient Custome was to cutt off a scandalous Member from the Church, with *Fasting*, and *Sorrow*, and *Humiliation*. Saies *Origen*, *The School of Pythagoras*, putt coffins in the Room of them who deserted his Society, looking upon them as Dead Men; and the Christians lament them, who have been guilty of Lasciviousness, or any other absurd Action, as Persons Dead and Lost unto God. Among the Apostolical Constitutions, this is one: With Sorrow and Mourning cutt off from the Church, the Incureable Person.¹⁵⁵

Compare, 2. Cor. 2.1, 3. and, 12.21.

[▽21r] [▽Insert from 21r]¹⁵⁶

Q. On that, *I wrote unto you in an Epistle, not to accompany with Fornicators?* v. 9.

A. Many of the Learned, not only *Romanists*, but also *Protestants*, take Occasion from this Passage, to perswade themselves, that *Paul* wrote other *Epistles* to the Christian Churches, besides those that we have in our hands. *Calvin* and *Beza*, and *Grotius*, and *Capellus*, and many others have uttered this Perswasion; and so far has *Drusius* carried the Matter, as to say, *That if these Peeces were now extant, they ought to be esteemed as much canonical as any others of that Apostles Writing*; yea, so extravagant is *Leclerc* on this head, as to say, *There might be good Reason for tearing & burning of them after they were read; and that we should not have been at all the less Disciples of Christ if several of those Epistles, which we now have, were lost.*¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ The Nicolaitans and the Carpocratians were 2nd-century Gnostic sects; see *NCE* (10:383) and (3:174), respectively.

¹⁵⁵ *Apostolic Constitutions*, *ANF* (7:415). The *Constitutions* purport to be apostolic directives on Christian faith and life and dates from the late 4th century; see *NCE* (1:581).

¹⁵⁶ See Appendix B.

¹⁵⁷ So John Calvin: "The epistle of which he speaks is not at this day extant. Nor is there any doubt that many others are lost. It is enough, however, that those that have been preserved to us which the Lord foresaw would suffice." See Calvin, *Commentaries on the Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians* (190). Theodore Beza (1519–1605) was a French Reformed theologian and professor of Greek at Geneva who produced an annotated critical edition and translation of the Greek New Testament (1565); see *NSHERK* (2:78–81). Louis Cappel (1585–1658) was a leading force in textual criticism of the New Testament in the early 17th century, most famously for arguing against the originality of Hebrew vowel points in his *Arcaenum punctationis revelatum* (1624) and *Critica sacra* (written in 1634, but published in 1650); see *EP* (1:351). Johannes van den Driesche (Drusius) (1550–1616) was a professor of Hebrew at the University of Franeker and wrote a number of works on Hebrew; his work also appears in the *Critici sacri* (1698), a compilation of scholarly commentary on both the Old and New

Mr. *Jeremiah Jones*, in his excellent Performance, entituled, *A New & Full Method of Settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament*; has canvassed this Matter.¹⁵⁸ He shews, That not one of the ancient Christian Writers have ever mentioned any such Epistle; nor is there to be found in all Antiquity, any Citation out of it, or the least Shadow of a Reference to it. Yea, That many Circumstances prove, that this was the *First Epistle* of his Writing to the Church of the *Corinthians*. And indeed, a Passage in *Clemens Romanus*, may intimate so much.¹⁵⁹

But he shews, the True State of the Case to be this. In the Beginning of the Chapter, he had *written* it as their Duty to avoid the Society of such Persons as *Fornicators*. But apprehending Danger that they might mistake his Meaning, as if he had prohibited their Commerce with the *whole Gentile World*, which were generally such, he now repeats what he had *written*, and informs them, that it was to be understood, only with *relation to the Professors of Christianity*, that should be guilty of such Enormities.

And thus, the Old *Syriac* Translator, who lived near the Apostles Time, well knowing that there was no former Epistle of his to the Church at *Corinth*, he so reads the Eleventh Verse; *This is what I have written to you*; or, *the Meaning of what I have written*.¹⁶⁰

The Construction of *Lightfoot*, espoused by *Whitby*, as if it had meant, *I was about to write* in this Epistle, that you should not accompany with *Fornicators*; but now, hearing this high Offence, I sharpen my Style, and forbid,

Testament; see *NSHERK* (4:14). Seven of Drusius's works appear in Increase Mather's library; see Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (16). Jean Le Clerc (1657–1736) was a Swiss Reformed cleric and scholar who served as a professor at the Remonstrant (Arminian) seminary in Amsterdam. His monographic works of biblical interpretation included *Sentimens de quelques theologiens de Hollande sur l'histoire du Vieux Testament* (1685), which included an essay englished as *Five Letters Concerning the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures* (1690), commentaries on each of the books of the Pentateuch (1693ff), *A Supplement to Dr. Hammond's Paraphrase and Annotations on the New Testament* (1698), and *Harmonia evangelica* (1700; English, *The Harmony of the Evangelists*, 1701). In general his interpretive method is rationalist, modernist, and text-critical. See Golden, *Jean Le Clerc*.

158 Jeremiah Jones, *A New and Full Method for settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament* (1:136ff). Jones (1693–1724) was a Dissenting minister, textual scholar, and crypto-Arian; this treatise surveyed the range of apocryphal Christian literature in the course of defending the traditional canon, in response to the arguments by William Whiston and John Toland in favor of expanding the canon so as to include such works. Jones's *Method* (1726) exercised a significant influence on the biblical studies of later German scholars, such as Johann Michaelis and Johann Semler; see *ONDB* (30:541–2). Mather's use of it shows just how late into his life he continued to mine new sources for his work on the *Biblia*.

159 Clement of Rome, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, *ANF* (1:18).

160 The Syriac translation of the New Testament (*Peshitta*) was probably written early; references in Eusebius's *Church History* place it in the early 2nd century; see *NCE* (11:168).

not only Associating with such, but even common Fellowship. This Judicious Author, proves to be very precarious, & altogether groundless.¹⁶¹

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽22v△] [▽Insert from 22v] [blank] [20v resumes]

¹⁶²But yett wee will hear Dr. *Lightfoot*. The whole Matter, has a Relation, & Allusion to the Jewish Usages. Among the *Jewes*, besides their *sacred* Communion, there was a twofold *civil* Communion. There was a Communion of *Eating* together at the same common Table: which the *Jewes* would not have with Heathens, nor the stricter Sort of *Jewes* with Publicans. But then there was a closer Communion of Association, or Conjunction in Partnership in Enjoyment, in Deputation, in Cohabitation, or common Interest. The Apostle, first forbids this Latter and Nearer Communion, of any *Brother* or Christian with *Fornicators*, that is to say, with *Idolaters*, for with their *Idolatries* they usually joined *Fornications*. But upon the horrid Instance of the Incestuous Person, hee heightens the Prohibition, and will not allow so much as any *Table-society* with them; hee would sett them at as far a distance, as the *Jewes* were from the Pagans. Compare Math. 18.17.

Well; but what was the *Epistle*, wherein the Apostle had *written* thus? If wee should say, an *Epistle* that is now lost, the Exposition would hardly bee consented unto. Wee will understand it then, of this very *Epistle*; saies the Apostle, *I was writing to you, in this Epistle, not to company with Fornicators*; but now, hearing and weighing the Offence of the Incestuous Person, I sharpen my Style; I say, Don't so much as *eat* with them. This is Dr. *Lightfoot's* Opinion.¹⁶³

Yea, may wee not say, That the Apostle was not only *writing*, or going to *write*, such a Matter, but also, that hee *had* actually *written* it? It seems to have been the Sense of what hee had *written*, in that former Paragraph of this Epistle, Chap. 3.17. *If any Man Defile the Temple of God, him shall God destroy; For the Temple of God is Holy, which Temple yee are.*

226{7.}¹⁶⁴

Q. How comes the Apostle to say, *What have I to do, to Judge them that are without?* Was not *Elymas* one *without*, when the Apostle *Judged* him? And were not *Hymenæus* and *Philetus*, by their *Apostasy*, come to bee *without*?¹⁶⁵ v. 12.

A. Why may not the Words bee rendred, *Why is it given unto mee, to Judge even those that are without also?* From whence hee argues, Doubtless, you may

¹⁶¹ Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:133).

¹⁶² See Appendix A.

¹⁶³ On *Lightfoot*, see Mather's fourth entry on 3:15 (above).

¹⁶⁴ See Appendix A.

¹⁶⁵ In Acts 13 Paul curses Elymas the sorcerer with blindness; in 2 Tim. 2:17 Paul identifies Hymenæus and Philetus as profane talkers.

allow then my *Judgment* concerning those that are *within*, and why don't you yourselves likewise pass a *Judgment* upon those that are among yourselves.

Q. Lett us resume the Consideration of the *Prohibition*, against Conversation with *Fornicators*? v. 12.

A. I will chuse to do it, in the Words of Mr. John *Hales*. In his Discourse, *Of Dealing with Erring Christians*, he ha's these Words.

"St. *Paul* having forbidden them formerly all Manner of Conversing with *Fornicators*, and *Infamous* Persons, & Men subject to grievous Crimes; And considering at length, how impossible this was, because of the Gentiles with whom they lived, and among whom necessarily they were to converse & trade, he distinguishes between the *Fornicators of this World*, and the *Fornicators* which were *Brethren*. I meant not (saith the Blessed Apostle, expounding himself,) that ye should not admitt of the *Fornicators of this World*, that is, such as were Gentiles; for then ye must have sought a New World. So great & general a Liberty at that time, had the World assumed, for the Practice of that Sin of *Fornication*, that strictly to have forbidden them the Company of *Fornicators* had almost been to have excluded them the Society of Mankind. But, saith he, *If a Brother, be a Fornicator, or a Thief, or a Ranter, with such an one partake not, no, not so much as to eat.*"¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶ John Hales, *Of Dealing with Erring Christians* (1659). Hales (1584–1656) was an Anglican cleric and Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford from 1615–49, until he was deprived of the appointment by Parliament; see *ODNB* (24:551–2).

{2_9}4.¹⁶⁷

Q. What the Apostle speaks against, *going to Law before the Unjust*, unto what may it be allusive? v. 1.

A. The Apostle seems to have some Regard unto the laudable Institutions of the *Synagogue*; which were much eyed in the primitive Christian Churches; and whereof this was one; *Qui adducit Israelitam ad Tribunal Gentium, is profanat Nomen Dei; Occasionem enim dant qui id faciunt, extraneis dicendi, ecce quàm concordēs sunt illi qui unum Deum colunt!*¹⁶⁸

R. *Bechai* has this Passage; in *Kad Hakkemah*. *Qui it, et disceptat coràm Tribunalibus Gentilium, Ecce is profanat Nomen Dei Benedicti, et honorat Nomen Idoli.*¹⁶⁹

Q. *Do yee not know, that the Saints shall Judge the World?* How and whence, did they *know* it? v. 2.

A. They *knew* it, from Dan. 7.18, 27. *The Saints of the Most High shall take the Kingdome.*

Tis probable, the Case of the Incestuous *Corinthian* had been brought before the Heathen Courts of Justice.

2268.

Q. What may bee the Intention of the Apostle, in that Expression, *Sett them to Judge, who are least esteemed in the Church?* v. 4.

A. The *Corinthian* Christians, were a great Part of them, *Jewes*; and in this Passage hee may allude unto the *Jewish Customes*. As they had their *Great Sanhedrim*, of Seventy One Elders; and in Cities of greater Note, their *Sanhedrim* of Twenty Three: So they had a *Bench of Three*, in every Synagogue. And besides the *Bench of Three*, which were Elders, with Imposition of Hands preferred unto their *Eldership*, there was likewise, *The Authorized Bench*, which often was of

¹⁶⁷ See Appendix A.

¹⁶⁸ "He who drags an Israelite before a pagan tribunal profanes the name of God, for they who do this give occasion for outsiders to say, 'See how harmonious those people are who worship only one god!'" Grotius, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (6:325).

¹⁶⁹ "He who goes and takes a case before the tribunals of the pagans, lo, he blasphemes the name of the Blessed God and honors the name of an idol." Rabbi Bachya ben Asher, *Kad Ha-Kemah* (1515). Bachya (d. 1340) was a Spanish scholar who wrote commentaries on the Torah, biblical interpretation, and Kabbalah. *Kad ha-Kemah* ("Receptacle of the Flour") is a broad treatment of Jewish faith, morality, and ritual; see "Bahya ben Asher ben Halawa," *JE* (electronic).

unordained Men, receiving Authority to Judge in such and such Matters, by a Patten from the *Sanhedrim*. Now, besides, *The Authorized Bench*, there was also, *The Bench not Authentic*; so called, because it received not its Authority for the *Sanhedrim*, but was chosen by those Persons, between whom the Controversy depended. R. *Nachman* thus distinguishes between, *The Bench of the Authorized*, and, *The Bench of Ideots*, or, of private Men.¹⁷⁰ One might call the Former, τοὺς ἀσθεντημένους, *Those who were Deputed by Authority*: And the Latter, (as here) ἐξουθεντημένους, not, *Contemptible*, but, *Such as were not Authorized*. Thus the Apostle here directs in a *Jewish Phrase*, the *Corinthians*, to choose *Arbitrators* among themselves, for the Ending of their Differences; hee præscribes, a Way common, & easy, & void of Charges.¹⁷¹

3227.

Q. And yett, if you look upon this Matter again, You will count it strange, that the Apostle should require the *Corinthians*, *To sett them to Judge, who were least esteemed in the Church*. Especially, if you consider the Quæstion, which he putts in the following Verse: *Is it so, that there is not a wise Man among you, to Judge between his Brethren?*

A. I do therefore propose, that we no longer look upon this Passage, as a *Command*, but as a *Question*: *Do you sett them to Judge, who are least esteemed in the Church?* And so the *Question* that followes, does agree admirably with it.

Q. Upon that Clause, *And Such were some of you?* v. 11.

A. There are seven several *Dialects*, used in the Greek Language of the New Testament; of these the *Attick* is the principal. Tis full of *Atticisms*.

Now, tis noted, that, καὶ ταῦτα, is *Attically* putt for, *And especially*.¹⁷² Thus it should here be read, *And especially Such were some of you*. q.d. “O *Corinthians*, These Impieties did in an especial Manner rage & reign in your City; where you have a Temple sacred unto *Venus*; a Brothel-House, in which a thousand Harlots are nourished.” Compare 1. Cor. VI.8. and Heb. XI.12.

1627.

Q. *Yee are Justified, in the Name of the Lord Jesus*. May not the Apostle refer to some special *Name* of the Lord Jesus, considere{d}¹⁷³ in our *Justification?* v. 11.

A. Doubtless to That, in Jer. 33.16. *This is the Name, --- The Lord our Righteousness*. And the Mention of that famous Text, invites mee to quote a wonderful

170 Moses ben Nachman (1194–1270), aka Ramban, was a Spanish rabbi, physician, philosopher, biblical scholar, and Kabbalist; see *EJ* (14:739–47).

171 Mather's source here is evidently Locke; see his *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (1:193). Locke cites Louis de Dieu as his source.

172 καὶ ταῦτά.

173 See Appendix A.

Passage, of the *Jewes*, [from *Them*, tis wonderful!] in their, *Sepher Ikkarim*, L. 2. c. 28. *Vocat Scriptura Messiam, Deum Justitiam nostram; quia est Mediator Dei, per quem Justitiam à Deo consequimur.*¹⁷⁴

[▽25r] [▽Insert from 25r]

Q. A further Thought upon the Interweaving of the Terms here, *Sanctified and Justified, in the Name of our Lord Jesus, & by the Spirit of our God?* v. 11.

A. It is true, All the *gracious Habits* of a New Creature, are *Identified* in the *Grace of Regeneration*, as to the *Principle* of them. A *Principle* which may be called, *The Love of God*, is the *Root* of all. They are all *Rooted in Love*.

The *first Sprout* of that Heavenly *Root*, is the *Faith*, with which the Quickened Sinner flies to the *Name of our Lord Jesus*, and His Blood, that so he may be *Justified*. And the Result and Effect of this Act, is the *Justification* of the Sinner.

But then, a sensible Tendency of Soul, for the Serving of God, and the Keeping of His Law, or, a Power to bring the *Love of God* in the various Aspects of it into Exercise; This is a *Gift of God*, always bestow'd by Him, as a *Sign* of a *Pardon*, where He *Justifies* a Sinner, & bestows a *Pardon*. Indeed, we must not make *Justification* to be the same with *Sanctification*. To *Justify* a Sinner, is a Term to be taken in a *Forensic* Sense, for a Judicial Absolution; It is almost the *Shibboleth* of a true *Protestant* for to take it so. It is, To *Acquit*; and what is opposed unto it, is, To *Condemn*. Yett, one would consider, what *Act* it is, by which, the *Justificatory Sentence*, on the pardoned Sinner, is *Declared*. There is indeed the *Voice* of the *Law of Faith* Declaring, *That all that Beleeve are Justified*. But, *Quære*; Is there not a *Voice* of the *Judge*, to be distinguished from this, in His proceeding according to His *Constitution* in this *Law*, and making an *Authoritative Application* of it? Methinks, we may very agreeably say, That a *Vital Influence* of God, Sanctifying, Rectifying, Invigorating the Soul, to *Resolve* upon an Holy Life; or, a *Flame of Love to God* raised by Him in the Soul; This is a most *Speaking Act* of God; An *Act* in which He most gloriously *speaks* the Sinner to be *Justified*. There is a *Relative Signification*, in the Grant of such a *Quickening Efficacy*, as draws the *Love of God* into Exercise; and is admirably *signifies*, That the Subject of it is *passed from Death to Life*, and is received into that *Favour of God* which is *Better than Life*. Antiquity is no Stranger to the Custom, of having the *Sentence* of the Government intimated by a *Symbolical Action*: Famous the Use of a *White Stone*; for a *Sentence* of *Absolution*. To express a *Sentence* by an *Action*, well becomes the Majesty of our God, with whom, To *Say*, is, To *Do*. And in such an *Action* as this, it is testified, That the *Guilt* of Sin is removed, by the Removal of its

¹⁷⁴ “The Scriptures call the Messiah, ‘God our Justice,’ because he is the mediator of God, through whom we pursue the justice of God.” *Sefer Ikkarim* (“Book of Principles”) [here, Bk. 2, Ch. 28] is the work of Rabbi Joseph Albo (c. 1380–c. 1444), a philosophical treatment of the breadth of Jewish faith and practice; see *EJ* (1:593–5).

most *exquisite Punishment*; which is the *Dominion of Sin* over the Soul. When God *Justifies the Ungodly*, at *that Moment* He bestows a *godly Heart* upon him.
[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 26v]

[▽26v]

He does not lett the *Regenerating Principle* stop at *Faith* in the Blood of the Saviour. He blesses the *Principle* with a Power further to *Fructify*; He fills the Soul with a *full Purpose of Heart* for all Obedience; and then saies, *Here, Take my Love into thy Heart; Love my Law, & make it thy Meditation; & love to do the Things commanded in my Law; Take this as a Token, that I have loved thee, and that my pardoning Love has reached thee.*

And here, I cannot but consider the excellent Elegancy in the sweet Intermixture, which our Apostle makes of these Things. *But ye are washed, But ye are sanctified, But ye are Justified, in the Name of our Lord Jesus, & by the Spirit of our God.* The *Spirit of God* hath something to do; There is a *sanctifying Work* of His, in declaring & pronouncing a Sinner to be *Justified*. Where *Transgression is forgiven*, and *Sin is covered*, and *Iniquity is no more imputed*; a *Spirit without Guile* is there communicated, as a *Token* of it; and such a *purified Spirit*, is valued, is pursued, as much as the very *Pardon*.

|

[24v]

Q. Where lies the Scope and Force of the Apostles Arguing against *Fornication*? v. 13.

A. Some had argued on the behalf of the *Fornicator*; That all Sorts of *Meats* were lawful to Christians; and why may they not with as much of Liberty, make use of any *Woman*, which were at their own Disposal? Our Apostle convinces them, that suppose *Fornication* were an *Indifferent Thing*, & were not condemned in that Countrey, any more than eating any sorts of *Meats*; yett there might be Reasons, why a *Christian Society* might punish it in their own Members, by Church-censures, and Expulsion of the Guilty. Accordingly, tis observed by a *Nameless Writer* on this Epistle, That all the Arguments used by our Apostle against *Fornication*, are brought from the Incongruity it ha's with the *State of a Christian as a Christian*.¹⁷⁵

He tells the *Christians*, That as *Christ* was *Raised up into the Power of God*, so shall *they* be. And as they shall then *Judge the World*, so they might more *Judge* in the Church concerning the *Things of this Life*. It was a *Lessening* unto them, not to exercise this *Power*. Having mentioned the Dignity, that shall be putt on our *Bodies*, by the Resurrection, he proceeds to make it an Argument against the *Fornication*, which had been the *Case of Trouble* among the *Corinthians*. This Dignity putt on our Bodies, is Reason enough, why we should not so debase

¹⁷⁵ See Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (1:194–5).

them, as to make them the Members of an *Harlot*. And saies he, *I will not be brought under the Power of any thing* (v. 13.) q.d. Shall I, whose *Body* is a Member of *Christ*, and shall be Raised unto the *Power* He ha's now in Heaven, suffer my *Body* to be a Member, & under the *Power* of an *Harlot*? Were *Fornication* in itself never so lawful, yett I will never do such a thing!

The *Body* shall subsist, when the *Belly*, and the Food and Use of it shall be destroy'd.

This Quæstion, *Know yee not?* Repeated six times in this one Chapter, may carry with it, a just Reproach to the *Corinthians*, who had gott a New and Brave Instructor, it seems; and were very conceited of their *Knowledge*. It may sett on the *Irony*, Ch. 4.10. *Yee are Wise!*

Q. Why does the Apostle, writing to the *Corinthians*, insist with such Vehemency & Variety of Discourse, upon *Fleeing Fornication*?

A. *Corinth* was a City infamous for *Fornication*. The *Corinthians* Indulged, yea, maintained *Whores*, with all the Openness imaginable. They would not only carry their *Whores* with them, to their publick *Prayers*, but also make it one Article of their public *Prayers*, *ut auferent dii Numerum proventumque meretricum*:¹⁷⁶ and sometimes they thought it a fitt Matter for their *Vowes*, (as we are informed by *Athenæus* and by *Ælian*) That they would oblige the City, by bringing of *New Whores* into it.¹⁷⁷ Here it was, that the horrid Strumpet *Lais*, had all *Greece* paying their filthy Tributes unto her, & made no less than Ten Thousand Drachma the Price of her Prostitution, and was at her Death celebrated by the Verses of all the Poets then in play.¹⁷⁸ Hence, *κορινθιάζεσθι*,¹⁷⁹ was, *To play the Whore*; *κορινθία κορά*,¹⁸⁰ was, *A Whore*; and *Suidas* mentions a Proverb, about, *making of Corinthian Gain*, to signify, *gaining by Whoredome*.¹⁸¹ The Scholiast also on

176 "That the gods increase the number and supply of whores." Grotius, *Annotaciones in Novum Testamentum* (6:275).

177 Athanaeus of Naucratis (Egypt) was a 3rd century CE Greek grammarian and author of the *Deipnosophistae*, a collection of "dinner-conversations" about Greco-Roman culture and mores; see *EB* (2:830). Claudius Ælianus (c. 175–235 CE) was a Roman rhetorician and author of the *Varia historia*, a similar commentary on the cultural practices of the Roman world, including those of Corinth; see *ERE* (7).

178 *Lais* of Corinth was a famous courtesan of the 5th century BCE; stories about her are often conflated with a later courtesan of the same name, *Lais of Hyccara* (in Sicily), who was settled in Corinth (d. c. 340 BCE). Both are mentioned by a number of Greek authors. This particular account is attributed to *Lais of Hyccara* and found in Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* (1:43–5). As recorded there, the orator Demosthenes is reported to have offered her 1000 drachmas for her services, to which she responded with a counter-offer of 10,000 drachmas, which he good-naturedly declined.

179 *κορινθιάζεσθι*; "to Corinthianize."

180 *κορινθία κόρα*; "a Corinthian girl."

181 "*Suidas*" was taken to be the putative author of a Greek reference work known as the *Souda* (Σουδα), in an apparent confusion of the title with the author. The *Souda* contains some

the first Oration of *Nazianzen* against *Julian*, observes, That there were alwayes famous *Whores* at *Corinth*.¹⁸²

And now, no wonder, that our Apostle does with so much Fervency, caution the Christians of *Corinth* against *Fornication*. It was the Vice of the Town; and it was an hard thing, to make a *Corinthian* grant, That *Fornication* had any thing vitious in it.

30,000 entries on Greek language, literature, and history and was compiled in the 10th century, largely under Constantine VII (912–959); see “Suidas,” *OCCL* (electronic).

182 *Scholia* originated as marginal explanatory notes to ancient (classical) literature; they became especially prominent in Christian scholarship beginning in the 5th century. Over time the aggregate notes became works in their own right and came to be known as “the Scholiast on” a particular work of literature or author; see Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship* (18–20). In this case it is upon Gregory Nanzianzus’s *Oration against Julian* (c. 365 CE).

4384.

Q. The *Corinthian* Quæstion, *Whether it be good for a Man not to touch a Woman?* What might be the Occasion of it? v. 1.

A. It was, as Dr. *Whitby* notes, an old philosophical Quæstion, *An uxor ducenda?*¹⁸³ Many of the Philosophers held the Negative; and hence that of *Menander*, οὐ γαμεις εανγε νουν εχεις.¹⁸⁴ *If thou art wise, thou wilt not marry.*¹⁸⁵ This was held, out of Different Sentiments. There were some who had a Kindness for the Doctrine of *Plato*, κοινας μεν γυναικας, κοινους δε ειναι παιδας, *That Women and Children should be common.*¹⁸⁶ And this Doctrine was improved by the *Nicolaitans* into all Manner of Impurity; who therefore did αναιδην εκ πορνευειν· *committ Whoredome without Shame.*¹⁸⁷ Others, who belonged unto the School of *Pythagoras*, did refuse to *Touch a Woman*, as being an Impediment unto Philosophy, and that which defiled the Purity they aimed at.¹⁸⁸ Hence *Apollonius* the Magician, was represented as a Man of so great Chastity, γυναικειας οτι καθαρων εαυτον μιξεως δια τελος ηγαγε· *That he ever lived free from Converse with Women.*¹⁸⁹ And *Porphyrie* saies, *That a Philosopher*¹⁹⁰ *must not marry*; and that to live an Intellectual Life, we must *Abstain from Women.*¹⁹¹

¹⁸³ “Should one take a wife?” See *Whitby*, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:139).

¹⁸⁴ In *Athenaeus*, the text reads: οὐ γαμείς, ἂν νοῦν ἔχῃς.

¹⁸⁵ In his *Deipnophistae* (bk. 13, Kaibel paragr. 8, line 29) *Athenaeus* cites *Menander*’s play *The Flute Player* as his source for this aphorism. See *Athenaeus*, *Books* (6:246–7).

¹⁸⁶ κοινὰς μὲν γυναῖκας, κοινούς δὲ εἶναι παῖδας; *Plato*, *Laws* (1:363).

¹⁸⁷ ἀναίδην ἐκ πορνευεῖν. The *Nicolaitans* are mentioned in *Rev.* 2:6, 15 as an odious group of Christians in *Ephesus*, though without specification beyond their “deeds and doctrines.” *Rev.* 2:14 mentions those who engage in the sins of *Balaam* (*Num.* 22–24), namely idolatry and fornication; those these seem to be distinguished from the *Nicolaitans*, in Christian heresiology they are often conflated, and conflated with the sexual antinomianism of *1 Cor.* 6. In the second century several patristic authors also make reference to them, but without much elaboration beyond the charges of *Rev.* 2:14.

¹⁸⁸ See *Whitby*, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:139).

¹⁸⁹ γυναικειας οτι καθαρὸν ἑαυτὸν μιξεως διὰ τέλους, ὡς ὁ λόγος φησὶν, ἡγαγε; adapted from *Eusebius*, *Contra Hieroclem* (p. 381, line 26–28). The reference here is to *Apollonius* of *Tyana*, a 1st-century CE Greek philosopher, to whose legend were ascribed miraculous (magical) powers and an assumption into heaven at his death; see *EB* 2 (188). These accounts clearly echo the traditions about *Jesus* and so were the object of Christian polemic. The work *Against Hierocles*, traditionally attributed to *Eusebius*, criticizes the Roman governor *Hierocles* for making this connection in his work, *Philalethes*, by critiquing *Philostratus*’s *Life of Apollonius*. The authorship of *Against Hierocles* is now questioned; see *Aaron Johnson*, “The Author of the *Against Hierocles*: A Response to Borzì and Jones,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 64: 574–94.

¹⁹⁰ See Appendix A.

¹⁹¹ *Porphyry*, *De Abstinencia*; on *Porphyry*, see *Mather*’s second entry on 2:14 (above).

The Word, γυνή, which in this Chapter still signifies, *A Wife*, seems to refer this Quæstion, to the Former Opinion.¹⁹² But the Phrase, γυναικος μη απτεσθαι,¹⁹³ would incline us to refer it unto the Latter. The First Quæstion, was too gross to be propounded by the *Corinthians* unto the Apostle: The Second Quæstion was then in vogue, on the Account of which, the *Pythagoreans* retained a great Reputation.

We may add; The *Judaic* Lawes laid *Marriage* on the Jewes, as a Commandment most necessary to be observed. They reckoned it, the first Commandment of their *Six hundred & Thirteen*. Their Canons imposed it so strictly, that they say, *He that lives to such an Age without marrying, does transgress a Præcept*. But in this Case, the Apostle saies, *Præceptum non habeo*:¹⁹⁴ He counted every one at Liberty, as he could, or as he could not, contain.

After all, as the Judicious Mr. *Jeremiah Jones* observes; Those Words, *It is good for a Man not to touch a Woman*; They are not the Words of the Apostle, as our Translation makes them to be, & most People think they are; But they are the Words of them to him, of whom, then were great Numbers in the very Infancy of Christianity, who asserted it unlawful to *marry*.¹⁹⁵ Our Apostle writes against these. In his first Epistle to *Timothy*, he more plainly mentions them as *Departing from the Faith, & giving heed unto seducing Spirits*.¹⁹⁶ And in his Epistle to the *Colossians*, he blames them for hearkening to the *Doctrines*, which commanded them to *Touch not, Taste not, Handle not*; that is to say, Not to touch a *Woman*, but abstain from Marriage; and from some sorts of *Meats*. Thus those who lived near the Apostles Time, & while these foolish hearts were yett in esteem, understood him. So *Clemens of Alexandria*, interprets, both those last Passages, of *Paul*, περι των βδελυσσομενων γαμον, *concerning those who abhorred Matrimony*.¹⁹⁷ And so *Tertullian*.¹⁹⁸

Q. When the Apostle saies, *I speak by Permission, & not of Commandment*, it could seem, as if there were something in his Epistles, that were not divinely dictated. Thus, v. 12. *To the rest, speak I, not the Lord*: And v. 25. *I have no Commandment of the Lord, yett I give my Judgment*. And 2. Cor. 8.8. *I speak not by Commandment*. And Chap. 11.17. *I speak not, after the Lord*. What shall wee say to these Passages? v. 6.

¹⁹² γυνή.

¹⁹³ γυναικος μη απτεσθαι; “not to kindle a fire for [i. e. touch] a woman” (see KJV).

¹⁹⁴ “I have no rule.”

¹⁹⁵ *Jeremiah Jones*, *A New and Full Method for ... the New Testament*; on *Jones*, see *Mather's* entry on 5:9 (above).

¹⁹⁶ 1 Tim. 4:1.

¹⁹⁷ περι των βδελυσσομενων τον γαμον. *Clement of Alexandria*, *Stromata*, ANF (2:388–91).

¹⁹⁸ *Tertullian*, *On Monogamy*, ANF (4:64).

A. First, for what the Apostle speaks, of the conjugal *ὀφειλομένη ἔννοια*,¹⁹⁹ the Apostle only saies, *I permit you to do, as you shall see Occasion*. When hee saies, *I speak not of Commandment*, κατ' ἐπιταγὴν, hee means, I do not in a peremptory Way oblige you, & Require you; I lay no absolute Injunction upon you, but leave you, to your Liberty.

Secondly, for that Passage, *I speak, not the Lord*, it is no more than saying, Our Lord Jesus Christ left no Absolute & Positive Præcept concerning it. And this is the Meaning of the Third Passage, *I have no Commandment of the Lord*; our Lord Jesus Christ plainly Determined, what was to be done, in the Case of the Divorce, of the Married; but Hee had not expressly given any Charge concerning Virgins. All that the Apostle here excludes, is, Any Decision made by the Word of our Lord Jesus Christ, when conversing in Flesh on Earth. But hee does, by no means Deny, his own being Inspired by the Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ, for the Deciding of the Matters now before him. Hee adds therefore, *I think, I have the Spirit of God*, it is not from Uncertainty, but from Humility, that hee utters, *I think*, upon it.

[28v] The Fourth Passage, is, of the same Importance with the First. And {*I speak not, after the Lord*}²⁰⁰ q.d. That | "*which I speak thus, I speak it not after the Lord*: No, by no means; I cannot either do or say, any thing, that is wise or good; I am, in the Esteem of some of you, a Fool of no Consideration." And indeed, this is not the only Irony, that the Apostle Address'd the *Corinthians* withal.

Q. What Remark is there to be made upon that Passage, *I say unto the Unmarried & Widowes, It is good for them, if they abide, even as I* v. 8.

A. The *Unmarried* here, is not so much he, *qui nunquam in conjugio fuit*, as he, *cui perijt conjugium*.²⁰¹ The Addition of, *Widowes*, and the Subject of Discourse which the Apostle was now fallen upon, leads us to this Opinion.

Well; *Grotius* offers it, as a probable Conjecture upon this Place, That our Apostle had once been *married*, but was now a *Widower*; and he brings the Authority of *Clemens Alexandrinus* for the Conjecture.²⁰²

Q. Something for the Illustration of that Expression; *It is better to marry, than to Burn?* v. 9.

A. Honest *Munster* upon *Matthew*, ha's a Remarkable Passage.

The *Jewes* object against the *Christians* that they really Retain and practise, the worst of all *Idolatries*. They *Burn their Sons and their Daughters*. That is, They make *Monks* and *Nuns* of them. *Qui combūrentur fornicatione; Fervent enim et*

¹⁹⁹ "Kindly obligation." The KJV (v. 3) translates this as a reference to conjugal relations: "due benevolence."

²⁰⁰ See Appendix A.

²⁰¹ Not so much he "who has never married" as he "whose marriage has perished."

²⁰² *Grotius, Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (6:338).

*flagrant Desiderio Fornicandi, et non possunt exequi.*²⁰³ This *Combustio*, is, *An Abomination to God*.

They go on, *Fornicatio ipsa vocatur apud Minores Prophetas, combustio, quemadmodum Scriptum est, Adulteri quasi Fornax Ignis, Flamma in Medio eorum. Sed et scriptum habent in Libro suo errore, quomodo Paulus dixerit, melius est nuberi mulieri, quam uri post eam. Tu, habes Demonstrationem quòd Fornicatio sit quadam combustio.*²⁰⁴

|
{5}26.²⁰⁵

[29r]

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Q. To what may our Apostle allude, when he speaks of *Consorts*, being *sanctified* unto one another, & their *Children* thereby becoming *Holy*? v. 14.

A. It is probable, that the Apostle has Respect unto what was practised in the Church of *Israel*. There, if either Parent were a *Gentile*, the Offspring was look'd upon as *unclean*, or as not having a Part in the Covenant of God. Hence in the Reformation made by *Ezra*, & *Nehemiah*, the Jews who had married *strange Wives*, were obliged to dismiss their *Children* with them. Our Apostle would not have *Christian Consorts* to entertain any Scruple of that Importance. He saies, That if either of them had embraced the *Christian Faith*, the Unbelief of the other would not hinder their *Children*, from a Part in *Holy Covenant* of everlasting Life by our Saviour; They would yett be *Children of the Promise*. This *Federal*, and *Relative Holiness*, is that which is ascribed unto the *Children*. I will employ the Words of two famous Authors, for the Describing of it. The first is *Amyraldus*, whose Words are, [De pædobapt. Thes. XIV.] *Nimirum veluti sanctitas personarum in populo Israelitico duplex fuit una communis, secundum quam populus ille universus secretus erat à reliquis omnibus populis, ut esset Dei federatus et consecratus. Atque ea de causa appellabatur Gens Sancta, quum reliqui populi profani essent. Altera magis specialis, et eorum propria, qui ex munere aliquo Cultui Divino in Tabernaculo vacabant; quam ob rem sancti peculiari quadam ratione nominabantur, quemadmodum et sancta erant omnia vasa quæ sacris usibus inserviebant. Omnino autem ad alterutram specierum istarum sanctitatis respexit*

²⁰³ "Who burn with fornication; for they are eager and on fire with the desire of fornicating, but they cannot pursue it."

²⁰⁴ "Fornication itself is called a 'combustion' in the Minor Prophets; as it is written, 'Adulterers are like flaming ovens: there is a flame in their midst.' But they also have written erroneously in their book, as Paul said, 'It is better to marry a woman than to burn after her.' You have your demonstration that fornication is a kind of combustion." Sebastian Münster, *Evangelium secundum Matthæum in lingua Hebraica* (1537), a reproduction of a rabbinic commentary on the gospel of Matthew attributed to Shem tov ben Isaac ibn Shaprut (mid-14th century). Münster (1488–1552) was a professor of Hebrew at the University of Basel; see *EB* (19:11).

²⁰⁵ See Appendix A.

²⁰⁶ See Appendix A.

*Apostolus, ut significaret, vel sepositos esse liberos Fidelium à Deo in eum finem, ut sint olim veluti vasa quædam ipsius cultui destinata; vel secretos à communi conditione reliquorum infantium, ut faciant partem populi Dei federati.*²⁰⁷ But the excellent Witsius thinks, there is yett somewhat more in it; which is well expressed by Cocceius, [Ad Quæst. LXXIV. *Catecheseos Palatinae*.] *Significatur, non solum externa sanctitæ, quòd non sint concepti et nati ut Filii Gentilium, de quibus certa præsumptio est, eos cum lacte materno impretatem ad exitium esse bibituros; sed etiam quòd jure sperare possimus, eos à teneris sanctificatum iri, ità ut, quum cæperint Judicare, sint Judicaturi verum, et id amaturi, Spiritu Dei benedicente parentum Institutioni. Quòd si autem in Infantia moriantur, ut Sancti et Membra Christi, salvi futuri sint. Quod ut credamus facit promissio, quæ ut Abrahamo, ità omnibus credentibus, est data, Jehovaham, non tantum ipsi, sed et semini ipsius, velle esse Deum; hoc est, sanctificationem et Justificationem.*²⁰⁸

²⁰⁷ “Doubtless just as the holiness of persons among the people of Israel, the one community was two-fold: according to which the whole people was set apart from all the other peoples, so that they might be the covenanted and consecrated people of God. And for that reason they were called the Holy Race, when the other nations were profane. And also, a more special division, and one proper to themselves, were those who by a certain gift were exempt from divine worship in the Tabernacle; because of which the holy men were nominated, by some particular method, just as all the utensils which serve holy purposes were sacred. But in the end, the Apostle examined each of those kinds of holiness in order to determine, whether the children of those faithful should be set apart from God in order to be like the utensils destined for His worship, or whether they should be set apart from the common condition of the rest of the children, in order to make them part of the chosen people of God.” Moses Amyraut, perhaps drawn from his *Syntagma thesium theologicarum* (1664), since he is not known to have written a separate treatise on infant baptism (listed here as “Thesis 14” by Mather); he also published a *Paraphrase of the First Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Corinthians* (1646). Amyraut (1596–1664) was a French Protestant theologian and professor at Saumur who was attacked for his modifications of the stricter Calvinist interpretations of predestination, atonement, and divine sovereignty; see NSHERK (1:160–1).

²⁰⁸ “It is signified, not only by external holiness, that they are not conceived and born like the children of pagans, of whom we may safely assume that, along with their mothers’ milk, they drink in the curse of damnation; but also we can rightly hope, that they will be consecrated from their youth such that, when they begin to discern, they will discern the truth, and they will love it, for the Spirit of God will bless the education given by their parents. But if they die in infancy, they will be saved, being holy and members of Christ. That we may believe He makes good this promise, which is given to Abraham and to all who believe, that He wishes not only (Abraham) himself, but also his seed, to be with Jehovah God – that is, sanctified and justified.” Hermann Wits (1636–1708) was Dutch Reformed professor of theology at Utrecht and Leiden; see NSHERK (12:396). Among his works are *De oeconomia foederum Dei cum hominibus* (1677), *Miscellanea sacra* (1692), *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (1696) – a comparison of Egyptian and Israelite religious ceremonies – and *Meletemata Leidensia* (1703), which includes a study of Paul’s life. Wits’s citation is of Johannes Cocceius (1603–69), professor of theology at Leiden; see NSHERK (7:149–50). Wits may be citing his *Summa doctrinae de foedere et testamento Dei* (1648) but more likely from his treatise on the Heidelberg catechism (here as the “Palatinate Catechism,” Question 74), *Heydelbergensis catechesis religionis Christianae* (1671).

223.

Q. That Passage, *The unbelieving Husband is sanctify'd by the Wife; & the unbelieving Wife is sanctify'd by the Husband; else were your Children unclean*: Tis the *Divine Law*, that pronounces the Child *Holy*, if either of the *Parents* were so; can you recite any Passage of *Humane Law*, that would Illustrate it? v. 14.

A. Yes; T'was a Passage in the *Civil Law* of the Roman Empire; You have it in the Institutes of the Emperour *Justinian*, in Tit. 2. about *Freemen*; That if the *Mother* were *Free*, the *Child* should bee so too, tho' the *Father* were a *Slave*.²⁰⁹

Moreover, this Phrase, of the Childrens being *Holy*, is the very Phrase that the Jewes used about the Children of *Proselytes*, born after the Parents were *proselyted*: They were said to bee born / בקרושה / *In Holiness*.²¹⁰

[30v]

Q. What may {be} the Intention of the Apostle, in that Injunction; *Lett every Man abide in the same Calling, wherein he was called*? v. 20.

A. A *Nameless Writer* on this Epistle, well observes; It only signifies, that a Man should not think himself discharged, by the Priviledge of the Christian State, and the Franchises of the Kingdome of Christ, from any Obligations he was in before, as a Member of the Civil Society. The Christians were apt to run into the Fault, of imagining themselves freed by Christianity, from the Ties of Civil Society and Government. Our Apostle warns them against this, *Three Times* in the Compass of *Seven Verses*, directly forbidding them to change their Condition of Life. He only intends, That they should not *change*, upon Præsumption that Christianity gave them a peculiar Liberty to do so. It was yett lawful for them, as well as others, to *change*, where it was lawful for them to change before or without their coming under the Law of Christianity.²¹¹

2706.

Q. To what special Period may the Apostle have an Eye, when he said, *This I say, Brethren, the Time is short*? v. 29.

A. The Apostle is advising the Christians, That they should not encumber themselves any more than they found it necessary with the Things of this World, & especially with the Encumbrances of a married Life.

The more effectually to sett home this Advice upon them, he does, as a Prophet of the Lord assure them, That the *Time was now but short*, ere an horrible Storm of Persecution, would be Raised, by *Nero* against the Church of God: And when that *Storm* should arise, They that had *Wives*, would *be as tho' they*

²⁰⁹ The law code of Emperor Justinian, *Corpus Iurus Civilis* (1:93), which dates from 529 CE.

²¹⁰ קדש (holiness).

²¹¹ Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of Paul* (1:201).

had none; for they would be violently torn from one another. Compare Ezek. 7.12, 13. *They that wept*, would be as *tho' they wept not*: for they would have no Liberty for a *formal Mourning*; and indeed, they rather might be glad that their Friends were snatch'd out of the Way of such Calamities. Compare Ezek. 24.16, 22. and Jer. 16.4. and 22.10, 18. *They that Rejoiced* would be as *tho' they Rejoiced not*: for *Brides and Bridegrooms* themselves would have a sensible Share in the general Sorrowes. Compare Joel. 2.16. *They that purchased*, would be as *tho' they possessed not*: for they that made the Best Bargains would not be in any better Case, than they that had made none at all. Compare Ezek. 7.12, 13. Isa. 24.2. And *they that used this World*, would be, as *tho' they did not in using spend it*: for they that spent abundance formerly, would now have nothing to spend. What we read, *It remains that* – may be read, *Hereafter, when* –

And the whole Prophecy seems allusive to the twenty fourth Chapter of *Isaiah*.

8{7}0.²¹²

Q. The Apostle, pressing Indifferences of Mind about earthly Matters, from that Argument, *The Time is short*; unto what may he further allude? v. 29.

A. If you consult the Twenty fifth Chapter of *Leviticus*, you'll find, That the nearer the Jewes were unto the Year of *Jubilee*, the less Price would their Lands bear, which were all to Return at that Year. Now, saies the Apostle, Wee are near to our great *Jubilee*, &c lett us therefore sett a little *Price* upon all things here below.

Q. The Greek Word, καταχρωμενος, which we render, *Abusing*, how should it be rendred?²¹³ v. 31.

A. Not, *Abusing*, in our English Sense of the Word; but, *Intently Using*.²¹⁴

Q. May there not be a further *Parenthesis* and *Trajection*, observed in the Translation of this Passage?

A. S^r Norton Knatchbul so laies it:

*This I say Brethren (because what remains is but a short Time) that they who have Wives, be as tho' they had none.*²¹⁵

The, το λοιπόν, is, *Residuum Vitæ*.²¹⁶

²¹² See Appendix A.

²¹³ καταχρώμενος.

²¹⁴ See Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of Paul* (1:203).

²¹⁵ Knatchbull, *Animadversiones in libros novi testamenti* (94).

²¹⁶ τὸ λοιπόν; "the rest" is, "what remains of life" [Latin].

17{1}3.²¹⁷

Q. The Apostles Discourse, *That it was good for a Man to bee a Virgin*: and, *That hee that is married careth for the things of the World*; how are they to bee understood? v. 33.

A. *Distingue Tempora, et solues difficultatem.*²¹⁸ The Apostle speaks, of, the present Distress.

It was a Blessing, Ps. 128.4. *Thy Wife shall bee as a Fruitful Vine*. And yett the Dayes come, that our Saviour saies, Luk. 21.23. *Wo to them that are with Child, in those Dayes*. Thus, tho' tis here for once, *good for a Man not to touch a Woman*; yett once, *God said, it is not good for the Man to bee alone.*²¹⁹

As for the *Caring for the Things of the World*, one saies well, *These things are Vitia Mariti*,²²⁰ not Matrimony; *Uxoris, not Uxoratus*,²²¹ not flowing from the Exercise of Marriage, but the Depraved Use thereof; which by Gods Assistance may bee rectified.

Enoch, walked with God, & begat Sons and Daughters: hee made not a Prayer the less, for having a *Child* the more.²²²

One wittily saies; "Lett us bee Holy, like *Enoch*; and not like *Dunstan*, who opposed the *Marriage* of the Clergy, here in *England*. They say, *Hee took the Divel by the Nose*; How true that is, I know not; but in this Point, *Forbidding to Marry*, tis true enough, That the *Divel led him by the Nose.*"²²³

[▽Insert from 31r]

[▽31r]

2707.

Q. That Clause, *If any Man think, that he behaves himself uncomelily towards his Virgin*: What may be the Meaning of it? v. 36.

A. *If any Man think*, that any *Disgrace* be like to be suffered, by his *Daughters* continuing *too long unmarried*. The Disposition of the *Corinthian* Damsels, may be herein considered. And thus the Masters among the Jewes, considered the Disposition of their Damsels, when they passed that Sentence; *Si Filia tua sit super-adulta, manumitte servum tuum ut ipsi eum facias maritum.*²²⁴ And for this Cause, *Justinian* would not permitt a Daughter to be Disinherited, if she fell

²¹⁷ See Appendix A.

²¹⁸ "Make distinctions of the times, and you will solve the difficulty."

²¹⁹ Gen. 2:18.

²²⁰ "The defects or imperfections of marriage."

²²¹ [The defects] "of a spouse," not "of being married."

²²² Gen. 5:21–24.

²²³ Dunstan (909–988) was archbishop of Canterbury; he used his inherited wealth to advance the state of monasticism in England. A well-known English folk-tale describes an incident in which Dunstan grabbed a pair of tongs and held the Devil by the nose; see *NCE* (4:940–1).

²²⁴ "If your daughter is beyond marriageable age, free your slave and make him her husband."

into *Fornication*, after she was Twenty Five Years Old, & her Parents delay'd her being disposed in *Marriage*.

Lett them marry; that is, the Maid, and the Man who desires her.

4385.

Q. But may we not rather choose another Meaning? v. 36.

A. Dr. *Whitby* observes, τηρεῖν εαυτοῦ παρθενον,²²⁵ is not, to keep his Daughters, but *his own Virginity*, or rather, his Purpose of *Virginity*: for, as *Phavorinus* informs us, *He is called, A Virgin, who freely gives up himself to the Lord, renouncing Matrimony, and præferring a Life spent in Continency.*²²⁶

[▽32v] You find the Matter here depending upon the *Purpose of his own Heart*, and the *Power of his own Will*, and *no necessity* arising from himself to change his Purpose; whereas the Keeping of a *Daughter unmarried*, depends not on these Conditions on her Fathers Part, but on her own. For, Lett *her* have a *Necessity*, surely, the Apostle would not advise the *Father*, to keep her a *Virgin*, because he hath determined | so to do: nor could there be any Doubt, whether the Father had *Power over his own Will*, or not, when there lay *no necessity* upon him to betroth his Virgin. The Greek runs to such a Sense as this; *If he hath stood already firm in his Heart, finding no Necessity*; to witt, to change his Purpose: And *hath Power over his own Will*, not to marry, finding himself able to persist in the Resolution he hath made, to keep his Virginity, he *doth well* to continue a *Virgin*. And then, the Phrase, *If any Man thinks, he behaves himself unseemly towards his Virgin, if it be over-aged, & thinks he ought rather to join in Marriage*, refers to the Opinions of both *Jew* and *Gentile*, That all ought to marry at such an Age. If any think thus, saith the Apostle, Lett them do what they will; Lett them marry; for in so doing, they do not *sin*.

Q. On that; *I think that I have the Spirit of God*? v. 40.

A. Δοκῶ εχειν, is to be rendred, *I have*.²²⁷ Or, *Surely, I have*. Compare; Luk. VIII.19. Matth. XIII.12. 1. Cor. X.12. XI.16. XIV.37.

[△] [△Insert ends]

²²⁵ τηρεῖν εαυτοῦ παρθενον; “to watch over his virgin (young woman).”

²²⁶ Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:144); On Favorinus, see Mather’s entry on 4:13 (above).

²²⁷ δοκῶ εχειν; “I expect to have,” i. e. “I expect that I have.”

Q. On that, *If any Man think, that he knowes any thing, he knowes nothing?* v. 2.

A. The Hebrews have a notable Saying, mention'd by *Buxtorf*. But as our *Cartwright*, saies, He knowes not whence t'was fetch'd, I will propose our Apostle as their Author. Tis, *Qui nihil scit, et putat se aliquid scire, illius Ignorantia dupla est.*²²⁸

Take *Pyle's* Paraphrase.

"A Christian, that knowes his own Principles never so perfectly; and yett in such Cases as these, practises upon them without any Regard unto the Good or Hurt of others, uses his Knowledge to a very Ill Purpose."²²⁹

Q. What is the Meaning of that Passage; *If any Man love God, the Same is known of Him?* v. 3.

A. A Nameless Writer on this Epistle, observes; That *εγνωσται*, is, *made to know*, or, *Taught*.²³⁰

The Apostle, tho' writing in Greek, yett sometimes uses the Greek Verbs, according to the Hebrew Conjugations. Thus, Chap. 13.12. *επιγνωσμαι*.²³¹ which according to the Greek Propriety signifies, *I shall be known*, is used for, *I shall be made to know*. And so, Gal. 4.9. *γνωσθεντες*, is putt to signify, *Being taught*.²³² Here, *is known of Him*, is as much as to say, *He's gotten true Knowledge from God Himself*.

22{7_} ²³³

Q. It is here said, *Wee know, that an Idol is nothing?* v. 4.

A. Dr. *Lightfoot* chooses to render it, *Wee know that there is no Idol in the World*. "Εἰδωλον, *An Idol*, as the Lexicographers teach, is, ὁμιδιωμα, εἰκὼν, σημεῖον, κλ.²³⁴ A Likeness, an Image, a Sign, a Character, a Shadow. But tho' there bee

²²⁸ "He who knows nothing, but thinks he knows something, his ignorance is double." Thomas Cartwright (1535–1603), an early Puritan spokesman and professor of theology at Cambridge (1569) before being deprived; he subsequently spent many years pastoring congregations in the Netherlands and France; see *ODNB* (10:409–413). This would seem to indicate that the Johannes Buxtorf in mind here is the Elder (1564–1629), perhaps his *Synagoga judaica* (1603), an expansive work dealing with Jewish religious culture; see *NSHERK* (2:324–5). Several works by both of the Buxtorfs appear in the Mather library catalogs.

²²⁹ Pyle, *Paraphrase upon the New Testament* (1:339).

²³⁰ ἔγνωσται; "is known." Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of Paul* (1:206).

²³¹ An omission by Mather; the word in 13:12 (and in Locke) is ἐπιγνώσσομαι.

²³² γνωσθέντες.

²³³ See Appendix A.

²³⁴ "A likeness, an image, a sign, etc." Κλ, or κατὰ λoίπα, means "and so forth," and is used to terminate the length of the Greek citation; Mather has given the fuller citation in English.

Wood, and *Stone*, & *Metal*, yett there is no *Idol*; for there is no *Figure* of God, and indeed there can bee none.²³⁵

And this was the Pretence of those, that would eat Meat in the Temple of an *Idol*. There is nothing sacred in an *Idol*, tis a meer Figment & Fancy. But they ill-applied this Truth; and, *all had not this Knowledge*. The *Oxford Paraphrase*, ha's a Conjecture, that here may be an Allusion to the Hebrew Word, /לֵלִי/ (from whence, the Word, *Elilim*, for *Idols*, in that Language, is derived:) which signifies, *Nothing*, or, that which has no Existence.²³⁶

Q. *Gods in Heaven, or in Earth; Gods many, and Lords many.*] What sorts of them? v. 5.

A. The Heathen had superiour *Gods*, whom they supposed eternal, remaining alwayes *in Heaven*. These were called, θεοι, *Gods*. They had another Order of *Inferiour Gods*; who by the Direction of those *in Heaven*, governed things *in Earth*, and were the Mediators between the *Gods* and *Men*. These were in the Scripture called, *Baalim*, and by the Greeks, Δαίμονες.²³⁷ Our Apostle refers to these.

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽34v] [▽Insert from 34v]

Q. Can any Man *perish*, for whom *Christ died*? v. 11.

A. Yes; a Man for whose Liberty in the Enjoyment of evangelical Priviledge, *Christ died*.

The Apostle here means not, That a *Person*, whose Redemption from everlasting Death, was intended in the *Death* of Christ, can perish. But Christ *Died*, that the Consciences of all Christian People, may bee sett at Liberty, from the Yokes of the *Law*; Every Professor of the Christian Religion, ha's this Benefit by the *Death* of Christ: And yett such a Man may forever *perish* after all.

[△] [△Insert ends]

²³⁵ On Lightfoot, see Mather's fourth entry on 3:15 (above).

²³⁶ The Hebrew word for God is El (לֵלִי). The word *elil* (לֵלִי) means "worthless," hence, its use in the Hebrew Bible for idols, *elilim* (לֵלִים); see Lev. 26:1. Abraham Woodhead, Obadiah Walker, and Richard Allestree, *A Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the Epistles of St. Paul, done by several eminent men at Oxford* (1702). The original work by Walker (1675) was only a partial paraphrase; his 1684 edition encompassed the entire Pauline corpus. The 1702 edition by Woodhead included the affixed subtitle, hence, it is known as the "Oxford Paraphrase." Woodhead (1609–78) and Walker (1616–99) were Anglican clerics in teaching positions at Oxford; both converted to Catholicism (Woodhead in the 1640's, Walker in 1686); see *ODNB* (60:186–8) and (56:878–80) respectively. Richard Allestree (1619–81) was a royalist soldier and chaplain during the Civil War; in 1663 he was made a chaplain to the king and in 1665 Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. Unlike Woodhead and Walker, he remained a loyal Anglican cleric; see *ODNB* (1:842–4).

²³⁷ Δαίμονες; "daimones" in Greek parlance were the external spirits that attended individual persons.

4386.

Q. That Passage, *Have we not Power to carry about, a Sister, a Wife?* What may we apprehend of it? v. 5.

A. *Theodoret* mentions, but approves not, the Exposition, That some Rich Women converted by the Apostles, followed them, to provide their Diet, and other Necessaries for them. It seems to have had its Rise from *Tertullian*, when he was *Montanizing*.²³⁸

Clemens of Alexandria, not only saies, That he who marries, *εικονας εχει τους αποστόλους*, *ha's the Apostles for Exemples*;²³⁹ and that *Peter* carried his *Wife* with him, until her Martyrdome: But he also confutes the Enemies of Matrimony from these very Words, *Have we not Power to lead about a Sister, a Wife, as well as other Apostles?* He adds, *ουχ ως γαμετας, αλλ' ως αδελφας, περιηγον τας γυναικας*. *They carried their Wives about, not as Wives, but as Sisters, to minister unto those that were Mistresses of Families, that so the Doctrine of the Lord, might without any Reprehension or evil Suspicion, enter into the Apartments of the Women*.²⁴⁰

This is agreeable to the Language of the Jewes, who called their *Wives*, by the Title of *Sisters*. Thus *Tobit* saies to his *Wife*, Tob. 5.20. *με λογον εχε αδελφη*. *Take no Care, my Sister*.²⁴¹ And the Apostles could not, without evil Suspicion, carry about with them single Women, or the Wives of other Men.

The *Oxford Paraphrase*, notes, That *Paul*, resolving to live a single Person, probably would speak rather of his carrying about a *Sister in Christ*, than a *Wife*.²⁴² He also had a *Sister*, Act. 23.16.

Mr. *Turner*, in his Discourse on the pretended *Apostolical Constitutions*, observes, That in the primitive times all *Christian Women* were called, *Sorores*:²⁴³

²³⁸ Theodoret (393–457 CE), bishop of Cyrrhus, Syria, and author of a number of exegetical works, including one on the Pauline epistles; see *NCE* (13:878–79). Tertullian (c. 160–220) became a follower of Montanism, a charismatic (prophetic) Christian movement, later in life; see *EB* (26:663).

²³⁹ *εικονας εχει τους αποστόλους*.

²⁴⁰ *ουχ ως γαμετας, αλλ' ως αδελφας, περιηγον τας γυναικας*; “not as wives, but as sisters, did they travel with their wives.” See Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* (288–289). Clement (c. 150–215 CE) was a philosopher and theologian in the school of Alexandria, and teacher to Origen; see *EB* (6:490).

²⁴¹ *με λογον εχε αδελφη*; The apocryphal Book of Tobit (2nd century BCE) was a part of the KJV. Ch. 5:20 records Tobit consoling his wife Anna over their son's departure: “Then said Tobit to her, ‘Take no care, my sister; he shall return in safety, and thine eyes shall see him.’”

²⁴² On the *Oxford Paraphrase*, see Mather's entry on 8:4 (above).

²⁴³ “Sisters.”

And that accordingly, Ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα περιάγειν· ought to be translated, *To lead about a Christian Woman, or Wife.*²⁴⁴

4387.

Q. Upon that Passage, *Who goes a Warfare, at his own Charge?* What observable? v. 7.

A. In both Testaments, the *Ministry* is represented as a *Warfare*. [Num. 4.3. and, 1. Tim. 1.18.] The Church is also represented, as, *A Vineyard*, and, *A Flock*.

But then it is a neat Observation of *Chrysostom* and *Theophylact*.

“The Apostle saies not, *who goes a Warfare, and is not Rich?* He saies not, *who plants a Vineyard, and heaps not up Gold of the Fruits of it?* He saies not, *who feeds a Flock, and makes not a Merchandise of the Sheep?* Teaching us, That the spiritual Pastor should be content with little, & seek only what is *Necessary*, not, what is *Superfluous*.”²⁴⁵

Q. That Expression, *Wait at the Altar?* v. 13.

A. The original Word προσεδρεύειν, signifies, *Residing*;²⁴⁶ And it is urged by no meaner Persons than *Chrysostom*, and his great Imitator *Theophylact*, unto this Purpose; That the Ministers of Gods Word should not be absent from their Flocks, but with constant Care attend upon them.

125.

Q. The Apostle, comparing Ministers of the Gospel, unto, *Oxen Treading out the Corn*, adds, *They which preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel*. What was there among the ancient Jewes to countenance this *Præcept?* v. 14.

A. Their careful & constant *Practice*. And hence there was this Lesson among them, *In Capitulis Patrum*, Cap. 3. §. 5. *Quicunque recipit super se Jugum Legis, tollunt ab eo Jugum Regni, et Jugum Viæ Terræ*. Which was as much as to say, *Quicunque studio Legis vacat, is absolvitur onere querendi cibum.*²⁴⁷ The Study

²⁴⁴ ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα περιάγειν; “to lead about a sister, a wife” (KJV). Robert Turner, *A Discourse of the pretended Apostolical Constitutions* (1715), ch. 6, p. 57. An Anglican cleric and fellow at Cambridge, Turner offered this work as a refutation of William Whiston’s *Primitive Christianity Revived* (1711). Whiston made the argument (based on the authenticity of the *Constitutions*) that Arianism was the earliest and, thus, normative, Christology of the Church. The *Constitutions* actually date from the late 4th century.

²⁴⁵ Chrysostom, *Homily XXII, Homilies on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians* (238–39). On Theophylact, see Matchr’s entry on 1:20 (above).

²⁴⁶ προσεδρεύειν; “to sit near, wait.”

²⁴⁷ “Those who place upon themselves the yoke of the Law, take from it the yoke of rule, and the yoke of the road of life.” Which was as much to say, “Whoever frees himself for the study of the Law, is absolved from the burden of seeking food.” *The Babylonian Talmud* (13:29–30). *Capitulis Patrum*, that is, *Pirkei Avot* (“Chapters of the Fathers”), a section of the Talmud dealing with ethical issues.

of the Word of God, they called, *Jugum*.²⁴⁸ Thus in Math. 11.29, 30. *Take my YOKE upon you, & LEARN of Mee*. See also, Math. 23.4. and Act. 15.10. And in the Writings of the Hebrewes, *The Yoke of the Kingdome of Heaven*, is often mentioned. Hence the Comparison of *Oxen*, here in our Context. And hence the Expressions of *Binding* and *Loosing* in the Scriptures; To *Bind*, is to *Teach* Doctrines; to *Loose*, is to forbear this *Teaching*.

370.

Q. What is alluded, in *living of the Gospel*; ἐκ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου; v. 14.

A. The Word *Εὐαγγέλιον*, is taken in Heathen Authors, for the *Gift* which was given to Men that brought *good Newes*; and Mr. *Mede* thinks, it should bee so taken here.²⁴⁹

|
4388.

[36v]

Q. The Præcept, of the *Ox*, with which the Apostle presses this Matter, may be little Illustrated? v. 14.

A. *Maimonides*, having cited those Words, *Thou shalt not take the Dam with the Young*, adds upon it; *If God took such Care for Beasts and Birds, how much more for Men*.²⁵⁰ *R. Menachem* saies upon those Words; *Propter homines hoc dicit*.²⁵¹ He saies this, to teach *Men*, Mildness and Commiseration.²⁵² And *Philo*, in the Beginning of his Discourse, *περι θυοντων*.²⁵³ *Of those who offer Sacrifices*, he saies; *The Law took not care of Bruities, but of Reasonable Creatures*, οὐ τῶν θυομένων ἀλλὰ τῶν θυόντων.²⁵⁴ By its Præscriptions that the *Sacrifice* should be perfect, and without Blemish; That he who offered them should be free from vile Passions, or evil Dispositions.

It is not intended, That God utterly takes no Care for the Beasts; for, [Ps. 36.6.] *He saveth Man and Beast*. And, [Psal. 147.9.] *He giveth unto Beasts their Food*. But the Commands He gives us, to show Mercy and Kindness to our *Beasts*, are designed especially to teach us greater Kindness unto our Brother,

²⁴⁸ "A yoke."

²⁴⁹ Joseph Mede (1586–1639), a biblical scholar and fellow at Cambridge, is best known for his millenarian speculations on the book of Revelation; see *ODNB* (37:683–5). Mather owned a two-volume collection of his works, dated 1664; see Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (72).

²⁵⁰ See Moses ben Maimonides, *Guide for the Perplexed* (371).

²⁵¹ "He says this here for the sake of men."

²⁵² Likely Rabbi Menachem Meiri (1249–1310), whose commentary on the Talmud, *Beit ha Bechirah* ("The House of Choice"), was influenced by Maimonides; see *EJ* (13:785–8).

²⁵³ *περί θυόντων*; "concerning sacrifices."

²⁵⁴ "Not of the burnt offerings, but of those who offer them." Full citation: οὐ τῶν θυομένων [φροντίς ἐστίν,] [ἵνα μηδεμίαν ἔχη λώβην,] ἀλλὰ τῶν θυόντων; "[It cares] not that the burnt offerings [should be without flaw,] but that those who offer them" (should not suffer from any corroding passion). Philo, *The Special Laws* (7:250–1).

Man. Thus the High Priest *Eleazar*, said unto *Aristeas*; That *all the Precepts of this nature delivered by Moses, had λογον βαθυν, a profound Sense; and that God did not make them, as being concerned about Mice, or Weasils, or such like Beasts, but that all these Lawes were made for Righteousness Sake, and the Information of our Manners.*²⁵⁵

Q. The Remarkable Prudence of our Apostle? v. 14.

A. The *Jewish* Zelots, were of Opinion, That no Christian Apostle ought to receive Maintinance from *uncircumcised* Converts, and the *Gentiles* took it ill, that he did not. To satisfy the *former*, he *wrought* for his Maintinance. To content the *latter*, he claimed it as his *Due*, tho' he did not actually make use of it. Thus *Pyle* in his Paraphrase.²⁵⁶

Q. When the Apostle saies, *It were better for me to Die, than that any Man should make my Glorying void.* What is it, that he intends by, *his Glorying*? v. 15.

A. It is, q.d. "I had rather perish, for want, than be deprived of what I glory in;" viz. preaching the Gospel freely.

To Die,] that is, as the *Oxford* Paraphrase has it; Be famished almost for want of Sustenance.²⁵⁷

That in v. 18. should be rendred, *So as not use my Priviledge.* *Pyle* in his Paraphrase urges for this Translation.²⁵⁸

Q. The Conduct of the Apostle, of which he could say, *To the Jews I became as a Jew?* v. 20.

A. *Gregory III.* in his, *Pastoralis Cura*, ha's a very good Illustration on it; *Non amittendo Fidem, sed extendendo pietatem; ut in se personam infidelium transfigurans, ex semet ipso disceret qualiter alijs misereri debuisset; quatenus hoc illis impenderet quod sibi ipse si ita esset, impendi recta voluisset.*²⁵⁹ He did not pretend himself to be of the same Opinion, with the *Jew*, or any other, upon Occasion. But his Compassion towards a miserable Jew, was as if he supposed himself that Jew, & in those Miseries: what he would in that Case have asked for.

²⁵⁵ Eleazar was high priest in the early 3rd-century BCE; Aristeas of Alexandria was a contemporary who wrote a history of Judaism. This story however comes from the *Letter of Aristeas*, which describes Aristeas's visit with Eleazar in order to secure a Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible for his city's library (i. e. the Septuagint). Some scholars date the *Letter* to the late 2nd-century BCE, which would make it pseudepigraphic; see *EJ* (2:456).

²⁵⁶ *Pyle, Paraphrase upon the New Testament* (1:345).

²⁵⁷ On the *Oxford Paraphrase*, see Mather's entry on 8:4 (above).

²⁵⁸ *Pyle, Paraphrase upon the New Testament* (1:345–6).

²⁵⁹ "Not by losing faith, but by extending piety, so that by putting himself in the place of the unfaithful person, one might learn how much he ought to pity others: so that to the degree that this was hanging over them, if it were the same in one's own case, he would wish it were hanging over him in truth." *Gregory the Great, Pastoralis cura, NPNFii* (12:13) (not *Gregory III*, as noted).

4389.

Q. Some Remarks upon the *Agonistical Phrases* used here? v. 24.

A. The *Isthmian Games* were celebrated among the *Corinthians*.²⁶⁰ Therefore the Apostle saies, *Know ye not?*

Of the *Five Games* used there, the Apostle alludes only to Two or Three; *Running* and *Wrestling* and *Cuffing*.

He who won the Race, by *Running*, was to observe the Lawes of *Racing*, and keep within the *White Line*, which marked out the Compass wherein they were to Run: and he was to come first at the Goal. Else he *Ran uncertainly*; and was, ἀδόκιμος,²⁶¹ One to whom the Prize would not be adjudged, by the Βραβεύται, or, *Judges of the Games*.

The *Athletæ*, Combatants, or Wrestlers, observed a *sett Diet*, for the Quantity and Quality of their Meat, & carefully abstained from every thing that might render them less able for the Combats; They were *Temperate in all things*.

He who *cuff'd*, præpared himself for the Exercise, with a σκιομαχία,²⁶² *A Thrusting out his Arms into the Air*. This is here called, *So Fighting as to beat the Air*. But when he came to the Combats, then with his Fist, he strove to hitt the Face, and Eyes of his Adversary. This is here called, ὑπωπιάζειν, *To strike under the Eye*; or to give the Adversary a *Blue Eye*; which is here applied unto *keeping under the Body*.²⁶³

Finally; The Reward of all these Exercises, was only a *Crown* made of the *Leaves* of a *Plant*, or the *Boughs* of a *Tree*; Olive, or, Laurel; which is therefore here called, *A corruptible Crown*.²⁶⁴

1{8}44.²⁶⁵

Q. Saies the Apostle, *I Beat down my Body*; Is there any notable Passage to this Purpose, in the Jewish Writings? v. 24.

A. In the Book, *Zohar*, there is this Passage.

*Castiga Corpus, ut dominetur Anima dum enim Anima Corpori adhæret non potest illi dominari: sed quum castigatur Corpus, dominatur Anima.*²⁶⁶

²⁶⁰ The Isthmian Games were held the years before and after the Olympic Games in Greece on the Corinthian isthmus.

²⁶¹ ἀδόκιμος; "disqualified."

²⁶² σκιομαχία; "shadow boxing."

²⁶³ ὑπωπιάζειν.

²⁶⁴ Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:152–53); Whitby identifies Henry Hammond as his source.

²⁶⁵ See Appendix A.

²⁶⁶ "Chastise the body, so that the soul might rule; for while the soul cleaves to the body, it cannot rule, but when the body is chastised, the soul rules." See *Soncino Zohar*, Bereshith, sec. 1 (226a) and Shemoth, sec. 2 (199b). The *Zohar* is a Kabbalistic work dating from the 13th century and attributed by scholars to Moses de Leon (c. 1250–1305); see *EJ* (21:647–63).

But, Is there no Passage in the Writings of the Pagans, agreeable to the Expressions here used by the Apostle?²⁶⁷

There arose now and then in the pagan World, some Wise and Brave Men, who made it their Business to study and practise the Duties of Natural Religion *themselves*, and exhort others unto the like Study and Practice. They seem to have been Raised by Providence, as Instruments, to putt a Check unto the extreme Wickedness of the Nations wherein they lived. But, as Mr. *S. Clark* observes, None of them had any considerable Success in Reforming the World.²⁶⁸

Plato was one of these. And it is marvelous to see, how the *Spirit* of God, owned some Things written by that Philospher. We will here Quote one Passage from him. [De Legib. Lib. 8.] *They who in the Games hope to obtain a Victory in such poor Matters, as Wrestling, Running, & the Like, do not think much to prepare themselves, for the Contest, by the greatest Temperance and Abstinence. And shall our Scholars in the Study of Virtue, not have Courage enough, to take a little Pains to overcome themselves for a far nobler Prize?*²⁶⁹

How very like are these to the Words of our Inspired Apostle, about this very Matter?

[▽37r] [▽Insert from 37r]

Q. We may take a little further Notice, of, *The Beating of the Air*, and some other Expressions used here? v. 26.

A. May not our Apostle here allude, unto the *Lusoria*, and the *Decretoria Tela*, of the *Romans*? The former were *Wands*, or *Sticks*, to Toss the one, or Fence with the other, & shew various Feats of Activity: All but præparatory to the more *Dangerous Fight* that was to follow. Then came the *Decretoria Tela*, with which the Combatants encountred each other for Life or Death. And therefore they were sometimes called, *Pugnatoria*.²⁷⁰ Tis plain, how the Apostle might have these in his View. He did not *beat the Air*, or flourish with his *Lusorious Weapons*. No, He fought his to such a Wounding of them, as entirely subdued them. ὤπωπια,²⁷¹ signifies, *putrified Wounds*.

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽38v △] [▽Insert from 38v] [blank]

²⁶⁷ See Appendix A.

²⁶⁸ Samuel Clarke (1675–1729), an Anglican cleric and philosopher best known for his rationalizing interpretations of theological doctrine; perhaps his Boyle lectures are in view here, published as *A Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God* (1705); see *ODNB* (11:912–17).

²⁶⁹ See *Plato, Laws* (2:125ff).

²⁷⁰ *Lusoria* were non-lethal wooden weapons used for training; the *decretoria tela* were lethal weapons, especially of a missile nature – hence, the synonymous use of *pugnatoria*, or spears.

²⁷¹ ὤπωπια; literally a black eye; but it can carry the sense of a more destructive wounding.

[39r]

Q. Wee find in the Apostolical Writings, very frequent and pungent *Allusions*, unto the *Græcian Exercises*. Give mee once for all, an Account of those *Exercises*, & of the *Allusions* that are so often made unto them? v. 27.

A. Great was the Antiquitie of the *Olympic Games*; for after their first Institution by *Hercules*, they had a Restitution by *Iphitus*; & from thence began the famous Epoch of the Greeks; about A. M. 3173 in the Time of *Uzziah*, King of *Judah*.²⁷² They had their Name, from *Olympia*, a City of *Achaia*, near to *Elis*, on the Plains whereof these Exercises were celebrated, in Honour of *Jupiter Olympius*. Tis true, there were Sports of the like Nature, in other Parts of *Greece*; as the *Isthmian*, begun in the *Corinthian Isthmus*; for which Cause, the *Corinthians* addressed by *Paul* with so many *Agonistic* Phrases, knew them well enough: but all, in Imitation of the more Ancient *Olympick*; & sometimes going by that Name. Great Numbers of People flock'd unto these Diversions, and probably, the Apostle *Paul* before his Conversion, had been present at them. There were Five Sorts of *Gymnastic Entertainments*, used hereat: which *Eustathius* thus reckons, Ἀλμα, πάλην, δίσκουμα, ακοντιον, και δρομον:²⁷³ and *Simonides* comprehends in this Verse, Ἀλμα, ποδοκειν δισκον, ακοντα παλην:²⁷⁴ that is, 1. *Leaping*. 2. *Running*. 3. *Coyting* or *Hurling the Bar*. 4. *Casting the Dart* or *Throwing the Spear*. 5. *Wrestling*; To which was afterwards added πυγμη, or, *Fisty-Cuffs*;²⁷⁵ and after that they struck with *Battoons*, and *Leaden Pellets*. These five *Græcian Exercises* were called, πενταθλον: and the Person, who was an Artist at them all, or won the Prizes in them all, was called πενταθλος.²⁷⁶

Of these Conflicts, the most Renowned was that of *Running*, for which the *Græcians* excelled others; and therefore *Paul* principally borrows his Metaphors from this manly Sport; but yett *Wrestling* is another Enterprize which hee alludes very much unto. Terms proper to these Undertakings are much in use with him. [Act. 24.16. 2. Tim. 2.5. Heb. 10.32. 1. Tim. 6.12. 2. Tim. 4.7. Heb. 12.11. 1. Tim. 4.7. Rom. 9.30, 31. Phil. 3.12. to 17.]

Tis Time, now to take a particular Notice of the *Lawes* observ'd in the *Agonistics*: [mentioned 2. Tim. 2.5.] Whereof there was a κυρυξ,²⁷⁷ whose Office

272 Iphitus (Greek: Ιφίτος), legendary king of Elis who is reputed to have established the Olympic games around 776 BCE; see Pausanias, *Description of Greece* (1:247). Uzziah reigned in Judah c. 783–742 BCE.

273 Ἀλμα, πάλην, δίσκουμα, ακόντιον, και δρόμον; “Jumping, wrestling, discus, javelin, and running.” Eustathius of Thessalonica (c. 1115–95), Orthodox archbishop and a Greek classics scholar who wrote commentaries on Homer. His commentary on Pindar, no longer extant, contained a description of the Olympic Games; see *EB* (9:957).

274 Ἀλμα, ποδοκειν δισκον, ακοντα παλην; “Jumping, throwing the discus [and] javelin, [and] wrestling.” Simonides of Ceos (c. 556–469 BCE) was a poet whose fame rested on, among other things, his verse celebrating various Greek athletic competitions; see *EB* (25:133).

275 πυγμή.

276 πένταθλον; “pentathalon” and πένταθλος; “winner of the pentathalon.”

277 κήρυξ; “a herald.”

t'was, to acquaint the Combatants. Analogous whereto, wee have the *Lawes* of our great *Agonotheta*, in the Sacred Oracles.²⁷⁸

First. Before the Combates, *Epictetus*, who compares the Life of a good Man hereunto, sais, *The Olympic Gamester, for his Diet, Labour, & Seasons, delivered up himself unto the Fence-master, as to a Physician.*²⁷⁹ *Hippocrates*, and *Galen*, do both of them describe this *Abstinence* of the *Athleticks*.²⁸⁰ *Tertullian* also gives a short Account of their Austerities, *Athletæ degregantur ad strictiorem Disciplinam, ut Robori edificando vacent: continentur à Luxuriâ, cibus Lautioribus, à potu Jucundiore.*²⁸¹ The Apostle contracts all into this [1. Cor. 9.24.] *Hee is Temperate in all Things*. Thus must a Christian suffer himself to bee Disciplined; hee must observe the *Lawes* of *Temperance*, and *abstain from fleshly Lusts*. But when the Apostle sais, *I keep under my Body*, the *υπωπιάζειν*,²⁸² there, is to mortify it with such Blowes as the *Cuffers* kept under their fallen *Antagonists* withal; hee treated *his own Body*, as they did the Bodies of their *Antagonists*. Moreover, stripping themselves of all Incumbrances, they generally came, after a sort, *Naked*, unto their Combates. Whence they were called *Gymnastæ*.²⁸³ Hereto refers that Advice of the Apostle [Heb. 12.1.] *Lay aside every Weight, & Run*. Wee must throw off, all that will hinder us, in our *Christian Course*. And it is to bee observed, that the Word, *ογκος*,²⁸⁴ here used, is applied by *Galen*, & other Greek Authors, to the *Corpulency*, the *Weight of Flesh*, which the *Olympic Strivers* were to macerate.

But then, for our Conduct *in the Time* of our Spiritual Conflicts.

First; As the Combatants were to Act, Strive, & Labour unto the utmost: *Coguntur, cruciantur, fatigantur, quantò plus in Exercitationibus laboraverint, tantò plus de victoriâ sperant.*²⁸⁵ so there must bee a *Following on*, (*διώκειν*,²⁸⁶ is to bee so Translated, & not a *Following after*, which is a bad Word in a *Race*) a *Reaching Forth*, and a *Pressing on* [Phil. 3.12.] that is, a laborious and the extremest Industry. Tis possible, the Apostles δι' υπομονης τρέχειν²⁸⁷ [Heb. 12.1.] may import indeed the Hardship, hee underwent in his *Christian Race*; for υπομονη is a Word applied unto the *Athletæ* (as *Peter Fabera* observes) expres-

278 The Agonotheta were the superintendents of Greek public games.

279 Epictetus, *Enchiridion*, in *Epictetus* (2:507).

280 On the medical advice of Hippocrates and Galen for athletes, see Mattern, *Galen and the Rhetoric of Healing* (129–31).

281 "Athletes are kept apart for a stricter training, so that they might see to the building up of their strength; they were restrained from luxury, from sumptuous foods, from too-pleasant drink." See Tertullian, *De Spectaculis*, in *ANF* (3:79ff).

282 "To strike the eye"; that is, to discipline or mortify.

283 "Naked."

284 ὄγκος; "heavy in body."

285 "They are compelled, tortured, exhausted: the more they labor in training, the more they hope for victory."

286 διώκειν; "pursue."

287 δι' ὑπομονῆς τρέχωμεν "run with patience or endurance" (see Heb. 12:1).

sive of all the Fatigues in their Exercises.²⁸⁸ But, when the Apostle sais [1. Cor. 9.26.] *So fight I, not as one that beats the Air*; hee means, that hee did not like the Combatants, Brandishing or Exerting their Arms as was usual, before they fell on, in good Earnest; as *Virgil* sais of *Dares*, a great Fencer:

*Alternaque Jactat Brachia protendens, et verberat ictibus Auras.*²⁸⁹

But hee behaved himself, as one actually entred into the Combates.

Herein, they threw *Dust* upon one another, that they might so take the surer Hold; and the *Place* was also strew'd with *Sand*, that they might *stand* the more steadily to their Work. This was called, *στάσις*, their *Station*;²⁹⁰ and | the *Athleta*, are by some Authors called *ἀτρεπτοι* and *ἀκίνητοι*;²⁹¹ they never would flinch from the Ground, they first stood upon. Probably the Apostle alludes hereto when hee exhorts us, *To Stand* [Eph. 6.13, 14. and 1. Cor. 16.13. and Phil. 1.27.] And it was Agreed among them, never to leave the Encounters, until they *Drew Blood* of one another. Whence that [Heb. 12.4.] of *Resisting unto Blood, striving against Sin*; both *ἀντικαθίστημι* and *ἀνταγωνίζομαι*,²⁹² are Words belonging to the Athletic Exercises. [40v]

Again. In *Running*, they minded the *Mark* sett before them, with all their Attention. Thus wee are to gaze, not upon the Enjoyments of this World, but upon *The End of our Faith*. [See Phil. 3.14. and Heb. 12.1, 2. allusive hereunto.]

Further, The *Runners* were exactly to observe their *Limits*. There was a *Stadium*, that was marked out with a *Line*, at both Ends, for them. [See 1. Cor. 9.24.] This is diverse Times mentioned by the Apostle, when speaking of the more particular Service, which God had assign'd unto him. [2. Cor. 10.13. &c. *κάνον*,²⁹³ was an Athletic Word, as you'l see in *Pausanias*, and *Linea*²⁹⁴ is a Term in that Sense used by *Statius*.²⁹⁵ Compare also, Phil. 3.16. and Heb. 12.12.] Moreover, The *Racers* and *Wrestlers* were to continue exercising *to the End*, else they had no Advantage of what they did. Whereto the Dying Apostle has respect, when hee sais, *I have finished my Course*. [2. Tim. 4.7. see also 1. Cor. 9.24.]

²⁸⁸ Possibly Peter Faber (Favre, or Lefevre) (1506–46), one of Loyola's founding priests in the Jesuit order. His chief writing was the spiritual journal he kept, the *Memoriale*; see *NSHERK* (4:286–7).

²⁸⁹ “He throws forward each arm alternately, and beats the wind with his blows.” *Virgil, Aeneid* (1:470–1).

²⁹⁰ *στάσις*; “place, setting, station.”

²⁹¹ “The unmoved” (*ἀτρεπτοι*) and “the motionless” (*ἀκίνητοι*).

²⁹² “To resist” (*ἀντικαθίστημι*) and “to strive against” (*ἀνταγωνίζομαι*).

²⁹³ *κάνον*; “measuring rod, or rule, or straight line.”

²⁹⁴ “Line.”

²⁹⁵ *Pausanias* was a 2nd-century CE Greek traveler whose *Description of Greece* provided a compendium of Greco-Roman cultural practices; see *ERE* (418). *Publius Statius* (c. 45–96 CE) was a Roman poet whose epic work *Thebaid* recounts the myth of the battle of the sons of Oedipus for the throne of Thebes; see *ERE* (514).

To proceed; In these Games there were *Judges*, called Ἐλληνοδίκαι and Ἀγωνοθέται, and sometimes Βραβεύται, whose Business t'was to Determine, whether the *Agonists* had observed the *Lawes*, but especially to Order and Appoint the *Rewards* of the *Agonists*.²⁹⁶ This is most Religiously Considered and Applied in the Apostolical Meditations. [2. Tim. 4.8.]

Lastly, There was a *Prize* propounded, in these Combates. [called Βραβεῖον, 1. Cor. 9.24. Phil. 3.14.]²⁹⁷ This is called a *Crown*; [2. Tim. 2.5.] because the Conquerors, in the Olympicks, received *Crowns*, or *Garlands*, made of the Leaves of *Laurel*, or sometimes of *Flowers*. Indeed, generally they had Leaves of *Olive*, in the *Olympian*, but of *Pine*, in the *Isthmian*, Games; and of *Palm-branches*, or, *Oaken Boughs*, or some other sorry Thing in other Places. And yett, as *Tully* observes; they reckoned one of those Prizes, as honourable as a *Roman Consulship*.²⁹⁸ Thus the Apostle tells us, of a *corruptible Crown*; [1. Cor. 9.25.] opposed with *one that fadeth not away*; [1. Pet. 5.4.]

And the *Crown of Righteousness*. [2. Tim. 4.8.] For this *Prize*, *Paul* presses towards the *Mark*: [Phil. 3.14.] the *Garland* hung over the *Mark*, and was given by the Judges to the *Victor*. It is called, *The Prize of the High Calling of God, in Christ Jesus*; The Judges of these Exercises, were placed on an *High-seat*, that they might thence behold the Performance; and then by a *Crier*, or an *Herald*; they called the Exercises to appear before them that *they* might Receive the Sentence. When the *Prize* was adjudged unto them, they did use to *snatch* at it, and so take it from the Place where it hung with their own Hands, as *Ælian*, *Pollux*, and *Cassiodorus*, do inform us.²⁹⁹ Which Illustrates, the *Laying Hold on Eternal Life*. [1. Tim. 6.12. Compare 1. Cor. 9.24. and Phil. 3.12.]

To say no more. Ἀδοκιμος, was a Word used on this Occasion: [see 1. Cor. 9.27.]³⁰⁰ for one who lost the *Prize*, was called, *A Rejected Man*. And the Apostle *James* opposes Δοκιμος hereunto: [Jam. 1.12.] *The Tried Man*; hee receives a *Crown*, like the Winner of an *Olympic Prize*.

And when the Apostle wishes [2. Thess. 3.1.] *That the Word of the Lord may Run, & bee glorified*; My *Edwards*, who hath well summed up the Things that I have given you thinks, that hee hath Respect, unto the *Acclamation*, which was Part of the Recompence, bestowed on them that gott the Victory in the *Olympic*

²⁹⁶ Ἐλληνοδίκαι; Ἀγωνοθέται; Βραβεύται. These three terms are essentially synonymous, meaning "judges of games."

²⁹⁷ Βραβεῖον.

²⁹⁸ Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BCE), elected Consul in 63 BCE.

²⁹⁹ Aelian Tacticus was a 2nd-century CE author who wrote on the military tactics of the Greeks and the Romans; Julius Pollux was a 2nd-century CE rhetorician from Alexandria; Flavius Cassiodorus was a 6th-century Roman political officer who served the Ostrogothic king Theodoric and published several treatises on literature, education, and history. See *EB* (1:256), (22:7), and (5:460), respectively.

³⁰⁰ Ἀδοκιμος; "failing the test, rejected, reprobate."

Exercises.³⁰¹ Δοξαζέσθαι, as well as Τρέχειν is a *gymnastic* Word.³⁰² *Lucian* uses Δοξα,³⁰³ to express the Applause of these Victors; and, *Gloria*, is to the same Sense used by *Tertullian*. The Gospel *Runs*, when it ha's a *Free* Passage; and it is *Glorified*, when it proves *Victorious*, in the Hearts and Lives of Men.

But so much for our *Olympicks*: I shall *outrun* my own *Limits*, if I pass any further at this Time.

³⁰¹ On Edwards, see Mather's entry on 1:21 (above).

³⁰² "To magnify, extoll" (Δοξαζέσθαι) as well as "to run [away with the victory]" (Τρέχειν).

³⁰³ Δόξα; "honor, glory."

4390.

Q. How were the Israelites, *under the Cloud*? v. 1.

A. The Jewish Tradition tells us, *The Cloud of Glory expresses the careful Providence of God over His People, and His Presence with them; and it compassed their Camp, as a Wall does a City.* The *Feast of Tabernacles*, which is in the Hebrew, *The Feast of Coverings*, the Jewes tells us, it was appointed especially to Remember them of the Divine Protection, which they had under the *Cloud*. The *Chaldee Paraphrast* saies, This *Feast* was instituted, That their *Posterity might know, that I made the Children of Israel, to dwell under the Shadow of the Cloud.*³⁰⁴ *Philo* therefore styles it, σκεπαστηριον, *A Covering.*³⁰⁵ And so the Psalmist represents it; Psal. 105.39. *He spread out the Cloud for a Covering to them, and a Fire to enlighten them by Night.* And so the Prophet, [Isa. 4.5, 6.] Tho' in their Journeyes, the Cloud went before them, as a mighty *Pillar*, yett it was also a *Covering* over them, to præsserve them from the heat of the Sun, by the *Shadow* of it. [Wisd. 19.7.]³⁰⁶ And it was a *Defence* unto them, casting a Darkness and a Terror, on the Side of their approaching Enemies. [Exod. 14.20.]

But it is here said, They were *Baptised unto Moses*, that is, into the Doctrine taught by *Moses, in the Cloud & in the Sea.* Tis a Curiosity remark'd by *Whitby* on this Occasion; That the *Cloud* had a Bright, Splendid, Shining Side. Accordingly, their *Baptism in the Sea*, answered unto that of *Water*; and their *Baptism in the Cloud* answered unto *Baptism with Fire*, or by the *Holy Ghost*; which the Jewes tell us, was represented by the *Shechinah*, or the *Cloud of Glory.*³⁰⁷

Q. On, *Those things our Exemples*? v. 6.

A. The Jewes have a Saying. Tis in the Writings of the Rabbi, whom with Abbreviation we call, *Rambam.* *Quicquid accidit Patribus signum est Filijs.*³⁰⁸

605.

Q. The Apostle speaking of the *Israelites* destroy'd in the Desart, saith, *There fell in one Day three and twenty thousand.* But if you turn to the History of that

³⁰⁴ On the "Chaldee Paraphrase," see Mather's entry on 3:16 (above).

³⁰⁵ Philo, *Who is the Heir of Divine Things*, in *Philo* (4:285ff).

³⁰⁶ Wisdom 19:7: "As namely, a cloud shadowing the camp; and where water stood before, dry land appeared; and out of the Red sea a way without impediment; and out of the violent stream a green field."

³⁰⁷ Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:155).

³⁰⁸ "Whatever happens to the fathers is a sign for the sons." "Rambam" is the Jewish acronym for Moses ben Maimonides.

very Thing, in the Pentateuch, you'll find [Num. 25.9.] *Those that Died in the Plague, were Twenty and Four Thousand.* What Agreement between these? v. 8.

A. There were then *Two Different Judgments* on the People at the *same Time*. The Apostle only Numbers those that were killed with the Plague from *Heaven*; but *Moses* reckons those also, who were kill'd with the Sword, & Hang'd up by the *Levites*.

Or else, *Paul* may speak only of what was done in *one Day*; the Emphasis may be *There*: and so, here is not excluded, the other Thousand, which fell before, or after, that *one Day*.

4391.

Q. *They were Destroy'd of the Destroyer.*] Who is meant by, *The Destroyer*? v. 10.

A. Take Dr. *Whitby's* Annotation. A *Plague* sent by the Hand of *Samael*, the Angel of Death, called, ὁλοθρευων, *The Destroyer*. [Heb. 11.28. Wisd. 18.25.]³⁰⁹ And, *Him that had the Power of Death*. [Heb. 2.14.]³¹⁰

4392.

Q. But what Occasions for *Murmurings* among the *Corinthians*?

A. *Theodore*t saies, Because that some of them had received only Inferiour Gifts.³¹¹ Others say; By reason of the Persecutions they suffered for the Christian Faith.

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[42v]

2337.

Q. The Apostle mentioning several Actions, in the History of the Old Testament, *These Things happened unto them for Types; & they are written for our Admonition, on whom the Ends of the World are come?* v. 11.

A. The οἱ τύποι³¹² of the former Ages, are opposed unto the τὰ τέλη,³¹³ of the Apostolic Age. Wherefore I choose, to read this Clause, after this Manner; *On whom have lighted the* [Completions, or] *Fulfilments* of those *Ages*. The Ages of the *Old Testament*, were the *Typical* Ages: In those of the *New Testament*, there are the *Antitypes*. The Apostolic Age is therefore called, Gal. 4.4. πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου, *The Fulfilling of Time*; or, why mayn't wee say, *The Time of Fulfilment*?

309 ὁλοθρεύων.

310 Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:158). Samael means "wrath of God." He is an important archangel in the Talmud; see *EJ* (17:714–15). Wisdom 18:25 reads: "Unto these the destroyer gave place, and was afraid of them: for it was enough that they only tasted of the wrath."

311 On Theodore, see Mather's entry on 1:20 (above).

312 "Types."

313 "Fulfillments."

The Gospel we find called, Eph. 1.10. *οικονομίαν τοῦ πληρώματος τῶν καιρῶν*,³¹⁴ *The Dispensation of Completion*, or, *Fulfilling of Times*, wherein ther is a *Recapitulation of all things*, that is to say, of all the Remarkable Things done in former Times, now coming to Centre, in the Lord Jesus Christ, is being all *fulfilled* in Him. So *Chrysostome* explains it.³¹⁵

It is possible, as one Dr. *Nichols* observes, That certain Passages of the Old Testament, brought in with that Clause, *That the Scripture might be fulfilled*, may yett bee quoted, only by Way of Allusion. Wee may not think, That the Jewes alwayes when they used this Phrase in quoting a Text of Scripture, thought the Text was a *Prophecy* of what it was applied unto. It seems to bee sometimes only a Religious Way of Speaking, which the Jewes above all Nations used. It was used first in quoting Real *Prophecies*, but (like other Honourable Expressions) by long use, it sunk in its Value, & was more vulgarly applied; so that at last it was given to Scripture only accommodated.³¹⁶

Nevertheless, the Holy Scriptures being Indited by the great God Himself, Hee, by His infinite Fore-knowledge, had more of an Eye, to the Circumstances of future Ages, than any Humane Writer could. And by the help of His Good Spirit, our Eye may come to see the *Fulfilments*, of the Things thus intended.

Q. Then we are not satisfied, in translating, *τὰ τέλη των αἰωνων*, *The End of the World*?³¹⁷ v. 11.

A. A Nameless Writer on this Epistle, chuses to render it, *The Ends of the Ages*. He saies, It were worth while to consider, whether, *Αἰων*, in the New Testament signify not ordinarily; *A considerable Length of Time, passing under some one Remarkable Dispensation*.³¹⁸

Pyle in his Paraphrase, urges that we take it for the Last Age, or *Dispensation*.³¹⁹

Some say, The Completion of the Types & Figures of the former Ages.

Q. A Remark on that Passage; *For we being many are one Bread, & one Body; for we all are Partakers of that one Bread?* v. 17.

A. Mr. *William Harris* has obliged me, with observing, That the Words of the Apostle, are mistaken by all the Criticks he has yett mett withal. *Οτι εις αρτος, εν*

314 “The dispensation of the fullness of times” (KJV).

315 Chrysostom, *Homily XXIII, Homilies on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians* (253–54).

316 Perhaps William Nicholls (1664–1712), D. D. Oxford (1695); his chief work was *A Commentary on the Book of Common-Prayer* (1710). He also published *A Conference with a Theist* (1696), an apologetic work directed at Deism, which may be in view here, given the trenchant Deist critique of prophecy; see *ODNB* (40:787–8).

317 τὰ τέλη των αἰώνων.

318 Locke, *Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of Paul* (1:215).

319 Pyle, *Paraphrase upon the New Testament* (1:352).

σώμα οἱ πολλοὶ ἐσμεν.³²⁰ It should be rendered, *Because there is one Bread, we who are many, are one Body*. We are not the *one Bread*, but the *one Body*. And therefore we are *one*, tho' *many*, because the *Bread* is one, of which we all partake. Οἱ γὰρ πάντες ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἄρτου μετέχομεν.³²¹ We partake of CHRIST the True *Bread*, on sacramental Eating, and become all *one Body*, whereof CHRIST is the common Head.³²²

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[43r]

4093.

Q. On the Occasion of what our Apostle here offers about, *The Lords Supper*, it may not be amiss to bring in something Remarkable concerning the Nature, and the Design of that Holy Institution? v. 33.

A. And we will be particularly beholden to Dr. *Cudworth*, for some Remarks, not unworthy to be Inserted among our Illustrations.³²³

Why may not the Right Notion of that Christian Feast, called, THE LORDS SUPPER, be derived from some Analogy to that ancient Rite which the Jewes had among them, To *Feast upon the Things that had been sacrificed*, or, Eat of what had been offered unto God?

Among the Jewes, there were, some *Sacrifices* which were wholly offered up to God, & burnt upon the Altar; *Holocausts*, or *Burnt-offerings*.

And some *Sacrifices*, wherein beside something offered unto God, upon the Altar, the *Priests* had a Part also to eat of: Such were the *Sin-offerings* and the *Trespass-offerings*.

And, Thirdly, some *Sacrifices*, in which, beside something offered unto God, & a Portion bestowed upon the *Priests*, the *Owners* themselves had likewise a Share. These were called שלמים, or, *Peace-offerings*.³²⁴ The Jewish Doctors use thus to assign the *Etymon* of the Name *Shelamim*; Inasmuch as the *Sacrifices* brought *Peace* to the Altar, the *Priests* & the *Owners*; every one having a Share in them.

320 ὅτι εἷς ἄρτος, ἐν σώμα οἱ πολλοὶ ἐσμεν; “For we being many are one bread, and one body” (KJV).

321 οἱ γὰρ πάντες ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἄρτου μετέχομεν; “For we are all partaking of one loaf of bread.”

322 William Harris (1675–1740) was a Presbyterian minister and advocate for the dissenting churches. He received honorary doctorates from both Edinburgh and King’s College (Aberdeen) in 1728; see *ODNB* (25:475–6). Mather owned two of Harris’ sermons; see Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (64).

323 Ralph Cudworth, *A Discourse concerning the True Notion of the Lords Supper* (1642). Cudworth (1617–88) was Regius professor of Hebrew and one of the so-called Cambridge Platonists. His *True Intellectual System of the Universe* (1678) was directed against Hobbesian atheism; in it he discusses the *prisca theologia*, or “pagan theology” of the ancients of the kind advanced elsewhere in the *Biblia* by Mather. See *ODNB* (14:562–5).

324 שְׁלָמִים (peace).

The *Burnt-offerings*, when they were not *Offerings for the whole Congregation*, but for particular Persons, always had *Peace-offerings* regularly annexed unto them; that so the *Owners*, when they offered unto God might at the same Time also feast upon the Sacrifices.

The *Owners* did not eat of the *Sin-offerings* & the *Trespass-offerings*, because they were not yett perfectly Reconciled unto God. Yett they did it, by the *Priests*, as Mediators.

The *Peace-offerings* were brought by such as were perfectly Reconciled unto God, & in Covenant with Him; & therefore they were in their own Persons, to eat of the Sacrifices, which they had offered unto God; and this as a Fæderal Rite between God & them.

We shall find in Scripture, that *Eating* of the Sacrifices, is continually brought as a Rite belonging to *Sacrifice* in general. [Consider with attention those Passages; Exod. 18.12. and Exod. 34.15. and Num. 25.2. and Exod. 32.6. with 1. Cor. 10.7. and 1. Sam. 1.4. and 1. Sam. 9.13.]³²⁵

So we may understand that of the *Sichemites*, according to the Jewish Doctors: (Judg. 9.27.) *They went into the House of their God, and did EAT and DRINK, & cursed Abimelek*; That is, They went into the House of their God, that they might *Sacrifice* there, & *Eat* and *Drink* of the *Sacrifice*. And this might be the Reason, why they called the Name of their God, *Berith*, which signifies, *A Covenant*; because he was worshipped by the Fæderal Rite of *Eating* & *Drinking* his *Sacrifices*. Thus [Judg. 16.23.] The *Philistines*, we read, *mett together to offer a great Sacrifice unto Dagon their God, & to Rejoice*. That is (as the Hebrew Scholiasts tell us,) in *Feasting* upon the Sacrifices.³²⁶

The *Idolatri* of the Jewes, in worshipping their *False-gods*, is often described synecdochically, under the Notion of, *A Feast*. Thus Isa. 57.7. *Upon a lofty & an high Mountain hast thou sett thy BED, & thither wentest thou up to offer Sacrifice*. At a *Feast* they lay down on a *Bed*. [Compare Ezek. 23.10, 11.] Thus Amos. 2.8. *They laid themselves down upon Clothes laid to pledge by every Altar*; That is, They laid themselves down to eat of the *Sacrifice* that was offered on the *Altar*. And thus, Ezek. 18.11. *He hath eaten upon the Mountains*. The *Targum* renders it, He hath worshipped *Idols* upon the Mountains. Finally, the Apostle *Paul* makes, *Eating* of the *Sacrifice*, a general Appendix of the *Altar*: Heb. 13.10. *We have an Altar, whereof they have no Right to eat, who serve the Tabernacle*.³²⁷

It is to be observed by the way, That all the while, the Jewes were in the *Wilderness*, they were to eat no Meat at all at their Tables, but that whereof they had first sacrificed unto God at the *Tabernacle*. This is the Meaning of that; Lev. 17.4, 5. *Whatsoever Man there be in the House of Israel, that killeth a Lamb*

325 Cudworth, *True Notion* (3–5).

326 Cudworth, *True Notion* (7).

327 Cudworth, *True Notion* (8).

or a Goat or an Oxe, within the Camp, or without the Camp, & bringeth it not unto the Door of the Tabernacle, to offer an Offering unto the Lord, Blood shall be imputed unto him. The Gloss of Nachmanides upon it, from the ancient Rabbins, is; Behold God commanded, at first, that all which the Israelites did eate, should be Peace-offerings.³²⁸ This Command was dispensed withal, when they came into the Land, where their Dwellings were Remote from the Tabernacle. [Deut. 12.20, 21.] Only now, instead thereof, there were Three Times in the Year appointed, for all the Males to | come up and see God, at His Tabernacle; & Eat and Drink before Him; and the Sacrifice then offered, was called by them, עולה [44v] /ראייה A Sacrifice of Seeing.³²⁹

The Custome to Join *Feasting* with *Sacrificing*, was greatly Imitated among the Pagans. Isaac Abravanel, a learned Jew, takes Notice, *Diebus antiquis quisquis Idolis sacrificabat, statim convivium instruebat de Sacrificijs*.³³⁰ Indeed, so ancient was the Original of it, that their own Authors ascribe it unto *Prometheus*, as tis noted by *Salmasius*, in his *Exercitationes Solino-Pliniane*.³³¹ And this *Prometheus*, (tho' there is no great Heed to be given unto the Chronology of Humane Writers, concerning that Age of the World, that *Censorinus* from *Varro*, calls, Μυθικόν.)³³² we may with learned *Vossius*, take to be no other than our Father *Noah* himself.³³³ *Homer* furnishes us with Instances enough of this Custom; very particularly in the Sacrifices offered by *Agamemnon*, once and again.³³⁴ *Plato* acknowledges these Feasts, under the Name of Εορται μετα θειον, *Feasts after*

328 Cudworth, *True Notion* (9). On Nachmanides, or Rabbi Moses ben Nachman, see Mather's entry on 6:4 (above).

329 עולה ראייה.

330 "In the ancient days, anyone who sacrificed to idols immediately made a feast of the sacrificial victims." Isaac Abravanel (1437–1508), a Portuguese political figure and writer who produced works on philosophy and biblical commentary; see *EJ* (1:276–9). Cudworth (p. 9) attributes this citation to Abravanel's *Perush ha-Torah*.

331 Claude Saumaise, *Pliniane exertationes in Caii Iulii Solini Polyhistora* (1629). Saumaise (1588–1653) was a French Protestant theologian and professor at Leiden. He was a broad-ranging and controversial author over a range of subjects, including classical literature, politics, and theology; see *NSHERK* (10:177–8).

332 Μυθικόν; "mythical."

333 Marcus Varro (116–127 BCE), a Roman general, historian, and philosopher; see *EB* (27:924). Censorinus was a 3rd-century CE Roman scholar whose *De Die Natali* (238 CE) was a compendium of classical culture and subject matter; see *EB* (5:662). Gerrit Vos (1577–1649) was a Dutch Reformed scholar of Arminian leanings and professor of Greek at Leiden. Vos's scholarly interests ran to classical literature and he published works on Latin, rhetoric, grammar, Greek and Latin historians, and on classical poets. His *De Theologia Gentili* (1642) was a study of pagan religion; see *NSHERK* (12:227–8). As with Cudworth, from whom Mather is borrowing here, Vos's work was part of a body of literature promoting the notion of a *prisca theologia*, the idea that pagan religions were corrupted versions of the biblical religion of the patriarchs. See Walker, *The Ancient Theology: Studies in Christian Platonism from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century*.

334 See Cudworth, *True Notion* (10–11).

Divine Worship.³³⁵ The Passages in *Plautus*, to this Purpose, are well known.³³⁶ And thus, *Virgil* invites his Friend,

*Cum faciam vitula pro frugibus, ipse venito.*³³⁷

And thus *Æneas* is entertained;

Tum lecti juvenes certatim, aræque sacerdos,

*Viscera tosta ferunt Taurorum.*³³⁸

And *Plutarch* looks on it, as an uncouth Rite, in the Worship of *Hecate*; That they which offered Sacrifices unto her, did not partake of it.³³⁹ The same Writer tells us, That *Cataline* and his Conspirators, having sacrificed a Man, ἐγεύσαντο τῶν σαρκῶν, *Tasted of his Flesh*; which was a Bond for to confirm them in their Treachery.³⁴⁰ *Strabo* tells us, of a Worship used by the *Persians*, in their Sacrifices, where no part of the *Flesh* was offered up to the Gods, but all eaten by those that brought it, and their Guests; they supposing, that which they themselves did eat the *Flesh*, the God whom they worshipped, had the *Soul* of the *Sacrifice* which they offered.³⁴¹

From hence arose that famous Controversy among the Christians in the primitive Times; *Whether it were lawful* ΕΣΘΙΕΙΝ ΕΙΔΟΛΟΘΥΤΑ, *To eat Things that were sacrificed unto Idols*!³⁴²

The Feasts of the *Gentiles*, on their *Sacrifices*, were usually kept in the *Temple* where the *Sacrifices* were offered. Not only *Herodotus*, but our Apostle *Paul*, [1. Cor. 8.] ha's cleared this Matter to us.³⁴³ If any thing were left, when these *Feasts* were ended, they carried Portions thereof home unto their Friends; as we find by the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*.³⁴⁴

Hence *Petite*, in his Collection of *Attick Lawes*, inserts this for one; *That they who go home from a Sacrifice should carry Part of it unto their Friends*.³⁴⁵ Besides what *Theocritus* has of this, in his *Bucoliastes*, we have it intimated by *Plautus* in his *Miles*:

335 Ἑορταί μετὰ θεῶν. Cudworth (p. 11) attributes this to Plato's second Dialogue.

336 Cudworth (p. 11) cites *Plautus's Paenulus* as his source.

337 "Do come: for I will be making a sacrifice at the festival." *Virgil, Eclogue*, in *Virgil* (1:23).

338 "Then the chosen youths and the altar-priest eagerly bear the roasted organs of the bulls." Aeneas, one of the heroes of Troy, an important figure in the *Iliad* and the central figure of *Virgil's Aeneid*; see *Virgil* (2:73). See Cudworth, *True Notion* (11).

339 Hecate was a Greek goddess associated with protection and the earth; she was an object of domestic veneration. See *Plutarch, Moralia* (9:66–7) and (4:164–5).

340 ἐγεύσαντο τῶν σαρκῶν. On Lucius Catiline and human sacrifice, see *Plutarch's Lives* (7:106–7).

341 *Strabo* (64 BCE–24 CE), *Geography* (7:175). See Cudworth, *True Notion* (12).

342 ΕΣΘΙΕΙΝ ΕΙΔΟΛΟΘΥΤΑ.

343 See Cudworth, *True Notion* (13).

344 Cudworth, *True Notion* (13); on the Scholiastic literature, see Mather's entry on 6:13 (above).

345 Samuel Petit (1594–1643), *Leges Attica* (1635); see Cudworth, *True Notion* (13).

*Sacrificant? Dant indè partem majorem mihi quam sibi.*³⁴⁶

These Portions, thus carried home, were called commonly by the Greeks, Μερίδες,³⁴⁷ and as *Festus* tells us, in the *Umbrian* Language, *Strobula*.³⁴⁸ *Theophrastus* uses the Term, τομοί, for them.³⁴⁹ And because they thought this Entertainment convey'd unto them a Blessing from the Gods, we find in *Hesychius*, That the Name of υγιαία was putt thereupon.³⁵⁰

But otherwise, what remained of the *Sacrifices*, belonged unto the *Priests*. The Scholiast saies, Νομός ἦν.³⁵¹ *It was a Law among the Athenians, that the Priests should have the Remainder*. This was understood, not only of the Skin, & in appurtenances; but also of the *Flesh*, of the Sacrifice itself, the Reliques whereof, *Austin* tells us, They sold in the Market; whence that Speech of the Apostle, *Whatsoever is sold in the Shambles, eat; asking no Question for Conscience Sake*.³⁵²

Yea, the Pagans did use to sacrifice before all their *Feasts*. *Athenæus* therefore observes, That *Feasts* were ever counted *Religious Things* amongst them.³⁵³ [See 1. Cor. 10.27.] Nay, it was accounted a profane Thing among them, to *eate* any Meat at their private Tables, whereof they had not first sacrificed unto the Gods. Αθυτὰ εσθιειν, is used by *Anacreon* and others as a Brand of Notorious Profanity.³⁵⁴

Well then; Why should we not conceive, That the Christian Feast under the Gospel, called, THE LORDS SUPPER, bears the same Notion, in respect of the great *Christian Sacrifice*, even CHRIST upon the Cross, that the *Feasts* did of old unto the *Sacrifices* whereto they were annexed? Why may we not account it, *Epulum Sacrificiale*? A Feast upon an Sacrifice? or, *Epulum ex oblatis*? A Feast upon things offered up unto God? Only, as the *Legal Sacrifices* were but Shadowes of the true *Christian Sacrifice*, they were often *Repeated* and *Renewed*, as well as the *Feasts* which were made thereupon; But the true *Christian Sacrifice* is offered up *once for all*, never to be Repeated; | and accordingly, we have no

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346 "Are they sacrificing? They give me a larger share of it than they give themselves." Titus Plautus (254–184 BCE), *Miles Gloriosus*, a military-themed comedic play. Theocritus was a 3rd-century BCE Greek poet, author of the *Bucolics*; see *EB* (21:830) and (26:762), respectively. See Cudworth, *True Notion* (13–14).

347 "A portion."

348 Umbrian is an extinct Italic language dating from the 7th century BCE: since it shared an alphabet with ancient Greek, *strobula* may be derived from στρόβυλος, a piece or portion (of wood). Sextus Festus was a 2nd-century CE grammarian who produced an edited version of the lexicon of Verrius Flaccus (55 BCE–20 CE), *De verborum significatu*; see *ERE* (211, 213).

349 "Pieces, or slices." Theophrastus (371–287 BCE) was a Greek philosopher with an encyclopedic range of interests, and a student of both Plato and Aristotle; see *EB* (26:787).

350 "Healthiness." Hesychius of Alexandria, a 5th-century CE Greek lexicographer whose *Synagogue* documents some 50,000 words; see *NSHERK* (5:258).

351 Νόμος ἦν; "It was the law."

352 Cudworth, *True Notion* (14).

353 Cudworth, *True Notion* (15).

354 "To eat unoffered (food)." Anacreon (582–485 BCE) was a Greek lyric poet noted for his songs of debauchery; see *EB* (1:907). See Cudworth, *True Notion* (15).

more Typical *Sacrifices* among us; but only our *Feasts* upon the true *Christian Sacrifice* are continued, in reference to that one SACRIFICE, which is always as present in the Sight of God, and efficacious as if it were but now offered up.

It may be objected, That the *Lords Supper* comes in the room of the ancient *Passeover*; and the *Passeover* was only a *Feast* & not a *Sacrifice*; not a *Feast upon a Sacrifice*.

But there is most certainly a Mistake in this Assertion. For the *Passeover* was a real and proper *Sacrifice*. Besides the *Four General Kinds* of Sacrifices among the Jewes, The *Burnt-offering*, The *Sin-offering*, The *Trespass-offering*, and the *Peace-offering*; there were, as the Masters tell us, *Three Peculiar Kinds* of Sacrifices; The *Firstlings of Cattel*, The *Tythes*, and the *Passeover*; which are so distinguished, because, as *Maimonides* ha's it, *They were peculiarly Restrained unto some one Case or Time*.³⁵⁵ These *Three Peculiar Sacrifices* were nearest akin to the *Peace-offerings*, and are called by the Jewish Doctors therefore /רומים לשלמים/ *like to Peace-offerings*;³⁵⁶ especially in that Part of them were to be eaten by the Owners. Yea, the Talmudists putt many Cases, in which a *Lamb* that had been sett apart for a *Passeover*, but could not be offered in that Notion, was to be turned into a *Peace-offering*.

First, The *Passeover* was always brought unto the *Tabernacle* or *Temple*, and there offered by the *Priests*. Indeed the *Priests* were not bound always to kill the *Passeover*. That the *People* did use to kill their own *Passeovers*, is affirmed in the *Talmuds*; in which there is this Passage. [*Massech. Zebach. C. 5. §. 6.*] *All Israel killed the Passover, and the Priests received the Blood.* [Alluding to *Exod. 12.6.*]³⁵⁷ We read concerning *Hezekiahs Passeover*, 2. Chron. 30.17. *There were many of the Congregation that were not sanctified; therefore the Levites had the Charge of killing the Passeover, for every one that was not cleane, to sanctify it unto the Lord.* On which R. Solomon writes thus; *Wonder not why the Owners themselves did not kill them, for it followes, That many in the Congregation had not sanctified themselves, therefore the Levites were appointed in their Place to sanctify the Work unto the Lord.*³⁵⁸ And R. D. Kimchi writes to the like Purpose. *Tho' many of them did eat the Passeover in Uncleanness, it being a Case of Necessity, in that, they had no Time to purify themselves, yett for them to come into the Court, and kill the Passeover, this was not Needful, when it might be done as well by the Levites.*³⁵⁹ The same is to be thought of the *Levites* killing the *Passeover* in the sixth Chapter of *Ezra*, because the *People* newly returning from Captivity, were not purified for

355 See Cudworth, *True Notion* (18); he attributes his citation to Maimonides's *Mishneh Torah* (*Masechet Zevachim*, Ch. 6).

356 תְּרֻמָּה שְׁלָמִים; see Lev. 3:1–5.

357 See Cudworth, *True Notion* (19), citing Ch. 5, Sect. 6 of the *Masechet Zevachim*.

358 See Cudworth, *True Notion* (20).

359 *Ibid.* Rabbi David Kimchi (1160–1235) came from a notable family of rabbis in Narbonne (France) and wrote extensive commentaries on the Bible as well as a Hebrew grammar; see *EJ* (12:155–6).

such a Service. But this does not hinder the *Passeover* being a *Sacrifice*. For it is a great Mistake in most of our learned Writers, to think, that the *Killing* of every *Sacrifice*, was proper to the *Priest*. As the *People* commonly kill'd their own *Passeovers*, they did the very same to any of the other *Sacrifices*. [Consider, Lev. 1.4, 5. and Chap. 3.2. and Chap. 4.24. Words cannot be more express!] *Maimonides* took this for granted, when he wrote, [in *Biath. Hammik.*] *The Killing of the Holy Things may lawfully be done by Strangers, yea, of the most Holy Things, whether they be the Holy Things of a private Person, or of the whole Congregation; as it is said, And HE shall kill the Bullock, and the Priests, Aarons Sons, shall take the Blood.*³⁶⁰ But what were then the Actions of the *Priest*, which might not lawfully be done by a *Stranger*? The Jewish Authors have a Trite Rule concerning it; *The Receiving of the Blood, and the other Parts that were to be offered up, and all that followeth after that, belongeth to the Priests Office.* But *Isaac Abrabanel* will teach us more particularly; That there were *Five Things* to be done by the *Owner* of the *Sacrifice*, and *Five Things* to be done by the *Priest* that offered it. The first *Five*, were, The *Laying on of Hands*, the *Killing*, the *Flaying*, the *Cutting up*, & the *Washing* of the *Inwards*. The other *Five* were, The *Receiving* of the *Blood* in a *Vessel*, the *Sprinkling* of it on the *Altar*, the putting *Fire* on the *Altar*, the *Ordering* of the *Wood* upon the *Fire*, and the *Ordering* of the *Pieces* upon the *Wood*.³⁶¹ *R. Obadiah* of *Bartenora* saies therefore, *The People of Israel might all kill the Passeovers themselves, if they pleased, because the Killing of any Sacrifice might lawfully be done by Strangers, but the Priests received the Blood.*³⁶²

Now, that the *Passeover* was always brought unto the *Tabernacle* | or *Temple*; and there offered unto God, as the *other Sacrifices*, is evident from those Words: [Deut. 16.5, 6.] *Thou mayest not sacrifice the Passeover within any of thy Gates, which the Lord thy God giveth thee; but at the Place which the Lord thy God shall choose, to place His Name there.* [That this is to be understood of the *Tabernacle*, or *Temple*, is clear, from Deut. 12.5, 6, 11, 14.] Among the *Jewes*, what was not killed at the Door of the *Tabernacle*, might be killed indifferently in any Part of the Land. *Maimonides* tells us, that even when *High-places* were permitted, yett the *Passeovers* might not be killed in any of them; they were more precise about the *Passeovers*, than about any other *Sacrifices*.³⁶³ They must be killed nowhere but in the *Court of the Temple*; else the *unclean People*, which might not

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³⁶⁰ *Hilchot Beit ha-Mikdash* is a section of *Maimonides' Mishneh Torah*, dealing with the ritual operations of the Second Temple. See Cudworth, *True Notion* (21).

³⁶¹ Cudworth, *True Notion* (22). On Isaac Abravanel, see Mather's first entry on 10:33 (above).

³⁶² Rabbi Obadiah ben Abraham of Bertinoro (Italy), a late 15th-century figure, leader of the émigré Jewish community in Jerusalem after the Spanish expulsion of 1492, and author of commentaries on the Mishnah; see "Obadiah ben Abraham of Bertinoro," *JE* (electronic).

³⁶³ See Cudworth, *True Notion* (23); citing *Maimonides, Mishneh Torah* (Halacha Pesach, Ch. 1).

enter there, might (in *Hezekiahs* Time) have *killed* them, as well as have *eaten* them. [Compare Num. 9.7, 13.]

Moreover, The *Blood* of the *Passeover*, was to be *sprinkled* by the *Priest*, and the *Fatt* was to be *Burned*, on the *Altar*. It was enjoined, Exod. 23.18. *Thou shalt not offer the Blood of any Sacrifice with leavened Bread; Neither shall the Fatt of my Feast remain until the Morning*. By general Consent, this Place is to be understood only of the *Passeover*. *Onkelos* makes no read it so; *The Blood of my Passeover*.³⁶⁴ Bones to It is putt beyond all Doubt, by the parallel Place [Exod. 34.23, 25, 26.] Nay, *Leaven* which is here forbidden so expressly; was commanded in some other *Sacrifices*. [Lev. 7.13.] The *Sprinkling of the Blood* of the *Passeover*, is also most particularly remembred in *Hezekiahs Passeover*. [2. Chron. 30.16.] and in *Josiahs*. [2. Chron. 35.11.] Now, the *Sprinkling of Blood*, belonged unto the very *Essence* of a *Sacrifice*.

We will describe, the whole Manner of the *Paschal Sacrifice*, from the *Mishna* of the *Talmud*.³⁶⁵

The *Evening-sacrifice* was usually killed, between the *Eighth* and *Ninth* Hour, and offered between the *Ninth* and *Tenth*. But in the *Evening* of the *Passeover*, the *Daily Sacrifice* was killed an Hour sooner; and after that, began the Killing of the *Passeover*, which was to be done *between the Two Evenings*, whereof the First began at Noon, from the Suns Declination toward the West, the Second at Sun-sett. Yett the *Passeover* might be killed, before the *Daily Sacrifice*, if there were but one to stir the *Blood*, & keep it from coagulating, till the Blood of the *Daily Sacrifice* were sprinkled, for *that* was alwayes to be sprinkled *first*. The *Passeovers* were alwayes killed by *Three* Several Companies. When the Court was once full, they shutt the Doors, and the Priests all stood in their Several Ranks, with Round Vessels in their Hands to receive the Blood. And they killed the *Passeovers*, like the *Peace-offerings* in any Part of the Court; because they were, *The Less Holy Things*; as *The Most Holy Things*, were alwayes to be killed at the North-side of the Altar. The Priests then took the Blood, and gave it from one to another, till it came to him that stood next the Altar, and he sprinkled it all at once toward the Bottom of the Altar; which was a Square of Thirty Two Cubits: (only the South-east Horn, had no Bottom.) After the *Sprinkling of the Blood*, the Lamb was flayed, and cutt up; and the *Imurim*, or *Inwards*, were taken out, and laid on the Altar.³⁶⁶ Then the Owner took up the Lamb, with the Skin of it, and carried it unto his own Home. The *First* Company having ended, then the

³⁶⁴ See Cudworth, *True Notion* (24–25). “Onkelos,” according to the Talmud, was a Roman convert to Judaism and the putative author of the Aramaic translation of the Bible, the *Targum Onkelos* (c. 110 CE), a work also attributed to Aquila of Sinope (where “Onkelos” may be a transliteration of Aquila); see *EJ* (15:433–4).

³⁶⁵ See Cudworth, *True Notion* (28ff). The Passover is the subject of the Pesachim section of the Talmud; see *The Babylonian Talmud* (3:1ff).

³⁶⁶ Cudworth, *True Notion* (29).

Second came in, and afterward the *Third*; and for every Company they began anew the *Hallel*, and sang all the while the *Passeovers* were killing, but it was never known, that they had sung out the *Hallel* quite, or came any further than, /אהבתִי/ ³⁶⁷ before the *Priests* had finished.

The *Karraitish* as well as the *Talmudistic* Jewes, bear their Testimony to the Killing of the *Passeover* in the Court called, HESRA, ³⁶⁸ & the Pouring of the Blood, towards the Bottom of the Altar, and the Burning of the *Imurim* on the Altar. Accordingly, the *Priests* were able to tell *Cestius*, how many *Lambs* and *Kids*, were sacrificed at the *Passeover*; Namely, *Twenty five Myriads, five thousand, & six hundred.* ³⁶⁹

It is very sure, in the Killing of the *Passeover*, there was a notable Type of the Death of our Lord Jesus Christ, our great *Sacrifice*. Tis, by the way, a suprising Passage, that *Justin Martyr* ha's in his Dialogue with *Trypho*: That in the ancient Hebrew Copies of the Bible, there was in the Book of *Ezra*, a Speech of his, which he made before the *Passeover*, which because it favoured the Christians, was expunged by the Jewes. The Speech was this; | και ειπεν Εσδρας τω λαω κλ. [47r] *Et dixit Esdras populo, Hoc pascha salvator noster, et perfugium nostrum. Et si in animum induxeritis, et in cor vestrum ascenderit, quòd humiliaturi eum simus in signo, et postea speraturi in eum, non desolabitur locus iste in omne Tempus, dicit Deus exercituum. Sin in eum non credideritis, neque audieritis Annunciationem ejus, deridiculum eritis Gentibus.* ³⁷⁰ This would be strange, if it should be True; and the Author deserves the more Credit, for being a *Samaritan*, & therefore the better skill'd in the Jewish Writings. However, for the Notion of a *Feast upon a Sacrifice*, whereto we are led on this Occasion, what can be plainer than the Words of the Apostle? 1. Cor. 5.7. *Christ our Passeover is sacrificed for us: Therefore lett us keep the Feast.*

And now, ere we are aware, we find ourselves involved in the knotty and famous Controversy, concerning the Time of our Lords keeping His last *Pas-*

³⁶⁷ From אָהַב (love).

³⁶⁸ Cudworth, *True Notion* (30). The Azarah was the main courtyard of the temple. It is described in the *Yoma* section of the Talmud; see *The Babylonian Talmud* (4:72–3). The Kairites were a Jewish sect that emerged in the Middle East (c. 7th century CE) in opposition to Rabbinic Judaism over matters of interpretation and observance. Kairites reject the Talmud and other rabbinic elaborations of the Law and the tradition, claiming a more original interpretation and observance of the Torah and Jewish ritual. See *EJ* (11:785–802).

³⁶⁹ See Cudworth, *True Notion* (31). Gaius Cestius Gallus (d. 67 CE), Roman legate in Syria; he marched upon Jerusalem at the start of the revolt and was ambushed on his withdrawal; he escaped but died soon after. The incident mentioned here is recorded in Josephus' *Jewish Wars* (588).

³⁷⁰ See Cudworth, *True Notion* (32). “And Esdras said to the people, etc.” [και ειπεν Εσδρας τω λαω κλ] “And Esdras said to the people: This Passover is our salvation and our refuge. If you will draw it into your soul, and if it settles in your hearts, that we will humble ourselves before Him in this sign, and afterwards will hope in Him, then this land will never be desolate, says the Lord of hosts. But if you do not believe in Him, neither will you hear His proclamation; you will be a laughing-stock among the nations.” Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, ANF (1:234).

soever. Now tho' I shall recite you Dr. *Cudworth's* free Sentiments on it, yett I do not acquiesce in them. You will find this Problem elsewhere handled [on Joh. XVIII.] much more to Satisfaction. The general Opinion is, that He kept it, a Day before the Rest of the People kept *theirs*. But if He did so, How could it be *first sacrificed* at the *Temple*? This was the Opinion of the *Greek Church*; wherein the *Latin Church* differed from them; and our best Authors have generally fallen in with the *Greek Apprehensions* of the Matter.

We must yeeld ourselves Captives to the Truth, on which Side soever it presents itself; tho' it be εἰς καθαίρεσιν τῶν ἰδίων (as *Aristotle* saies,) *to the Destruction of our own Phænomena*.³⁷¹

The Places which they bring to prove, that the Jewes kept their *Passeover*, the Day after that our Saviour kept His, do seem unanswerable. [Joh. 19.14 and Joh. 18.28.]³⁷² Indeed, they tell us, that by Eating of the *Passeover* may be meant, the Eating of the *Chagigah*, which was killed the Day before, with the *Passeover*, whereof something perhaps remained until the Day following.³⁷³ They appeal unto a Text³⁷⁴ in Deuteronomy [Chap. 16.2.] to prove, that the *Chagigah* sometimes was called by the Name of the *Passeover*. Our English Translation indeed makes a little for them; *Thou shalt sacrifice the Passeover unto the Lord thy God, of the Flock & the Heard*; as if there had been a *Passeover* of *Beeves* as well as of *Sheep*? *Onkelos* in his Paraphrase, (which hardly merits that Name; it being a rigid Version,) reads it thus; *Thou shalt sacrifice the Passeover before the Lord thy God, of The Sons of the Flock; and the Peace-offerings* (thereof) *of Oxen*.³⁷⁵ This Interpretation is followed by R. *Solomon*, and *Aben Ezra*: *Sheep* for the *Passeover*, and *Oxen* for the *Chagigah*.³⁷⁶ Thus, 2. Chron. 35.7. *Josiah gave to the People, of the Flock, Lambs, and Kids, all for the Passeover-offerings, to the Number of Thirty Thousand, and Three Thousand Bullocks*. The *Bullocks* or the *Heard*, are divided from the *Passeover Offerings*, because they served for the *Peace-offerings*, or the *Chagigah*. They Roasted the *Passeovers* with Fire, according to the Ordinance, but the *other Holy Offerings*, (that is, the *Peace-offerings*, or, *Chagigah*) they boild in Potts, and Cauldrons, and Pans. *Nachmanides* hath another Interpretation of it; *He commands here the Passeover, which was a Lamb, as He had said before*; (making the Pause there:) *and, The Flock and the Heard, or, the Sheep and the Kids and the young Bullocks for the Chagigah*.³⁷⁷ This Interpretation is favoured by

371 εἰς καθαίρεσιν τῶν ἰδίων; "to the destruction of their own."

372 See *Cudworth, True Notion* (35ff).

373 See *Cudworth, True Notion* (38). Two lambs were sacrificed at the Passover, the Passover (Pesach) lamb and the Holiday (Hagigah) lamb.

374 See Appendix A.

375 On the *Targum Onkelos*, see Mather's entry on 10:33 (above).

376 See *Cudworth, True Notion* (38). There are many Rabbi Solomon's in Jewish rabbinic tradition. Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra (1089–1164) wrote a number of biblical commentaries, including one on the Pentateuch; see "Abraham ibn Ezra," *JE* (electronic).

377 On *Nachmanides*, see Mather's entry on 6:4 (above).

other learned Rabbis; who would have the Word, *Thou shalt sacrifice*, repeated *απο κοινου*,³⁷⁸ before, *The Flock and the Heards*: thus, *Thou shalt sacrifice the Passeover to the Lord thy God, and thou shalt sacrifice the Flock & the Heards* (or Sheep and Beeves.)

We have another observable Passage: Joh. 19.31. *For that Sabbath day was a great Day*. Μεγάλη ημέρα,³⁷⁹ is used for the *First* or the *Last* Day, of every solemn Feast, in which there was an Holy Convocation to the Lord. Thus, Isa. 1.13. *The Calling of Assemblies* (which was the *First* and the *Last* Day of the Feast.) *I cannot away with*. The LXX renders it, μεγάλας ημερας, *Your great Days*. [Compare Joh. 7.37.] It is plain then, that the Jewes did not eat their *Passeover*, till the Night before, which was the Night that our Saviour was crucified.

We may add; That if the Jewes had celebrated the *Passeover*, the same Night with our Saviour, they would never have gone about immediately the same Day to have apprehended Him, arraigned Him, crucified Him; For the *First Day* of unleavened Bread, was by Law, an *Holy Convocation* to the Lord, on which it was not lawful to do any Work.

If then, our Saviour, with His Disciples, kept the *Passeover*, the Night before the vulgar Jewes did celebrate it, how may it be probable, that our Saviours *Passeover* was first sacrificed at the Temple?

We will not run for Shelter to the Story in *Suidas*, upon the Word, ΙΗΣΟΥΣ.³⁸⁰ A Story, not only Fabulous, but Impious. Nor will we take up the Opinion of the *Greeks*, that our Saviour kept not a True, Real, and Legal *Passeover*, but a *Feast of unleavened Bread* in | Imitation of it; or as *Grotius* ha's it, not, *πάσχα θυσιον*, but, *μνημονευτικον*, such as the Jewes keep at this Day, tho' their *Temple* be demolished, & all *Sacrifices* abolished with it.³⁸¹

[48v]

The Common Opinion, is, That the Jewes, in our Saviours Time, translated their Festivals from one *Feria* to another, on several Occasions.³⁸² In their Calenders, the Rule for the *Passeover*, they give in the Word /בָּדוּ/ *Badu*,³⁸³ wherein each Letter is a *Numeral*; intimating, That it should not be kept on the Second, Fourth, or Sixth *Feria*. Wherefore, to avoid the Concurrence of *Two Sabbaths* together, the *Passeover* now falling on the *Sixth* *Feria*, or Friday, was translated,

378 ἀπο κοινου; “before the crowds, publicly.”

379 Μεγάλη ημέρα; “the great day.”

380 ΙΗΣΟΥΣ; “Joshua.” On “*Suidas*,” see Mather’s second entry on 6:13 (above). The story there, as elaborated by Cudworth, is this. “Christ was enrolled into the number of the two and twenty Legall Priests that served at the Altar; from the pretended Confession of an ancient Jew in Justinians time; and then he might possibly Sacrifice his owne *Passeover* at the Temple, though the Jewes had not solemnized theirs till the day after.” See Cudworth, *True Notion* (41).

381 Not, a “Passover fit for sacrifice” (πάσχα θύσιμον) but a “memorial [symbolic] Passover” (μνημονευτικόν). Cudworth cites *Grotius’s Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* on Matthew Ch. 26; see *True Notion* (41).

382 *Feria* are festivals kept out of season rather than on the day assigned for them.

383 This is a numerical acronym, composed of the second, fourth, and sixth letters in the Hebrew alphabet.

& kept on the Saturday. But our Saviour not regarding those Traditions, observed the Day precisely commanded in the Law. [Luk. 22.7.] ἐν ἣ εἶδει θύεσθαι τὸ πάσχα,³⁸⁴ *on which the Passeeover OUGHT to have been killed.*

But, notwithstanding the Confidence of *Scaliger*, these Decrees were not known in our Saviours Time.³⁸⁵ The *Talmuds* themselves, do often tell us, of a *Feast going immediately before, or coming immediately after, the Sabbath*; and they give us diverse Instances of *Passeovers kept in BADU*.³⁸⁶ It is very certain, these Translations were not in use, when the Doctors of the *Misna*, and *Gemara*, lived. Indeed, the Jewes evermore, while the Temple stood, observed their Feasts, according to the φάσις,³⁸⁷ or, Appearance of the MOON; and therefore, they had no Calender to determine their Feasts, but they were (as the *Misna* tells us) regulated, and sanctified *by the Heavens*. *Maimonides* informs us, that after, (and never until,) the Destruction of the Temple, they have used a Calender, calculated according to the *Middle Motion* of the Moon.³⁸⁸ And accordingly, the *Karraites*, who have rejected the vain Traditions of the Pharisees, retain still (as tis confessed by *Scaliger*,) the Custome of Reckoning their, *New Moons*, ἀπο τῆς φάσεως;³⁸⁹ Indeed, this is one of the great Controversies managed at this Day between the *Karraei* and the *Rabbanæi*.³⁹⁰

The true Occasion of our Saviours observing the *Passeeover*, at a Time different from the vulgar Jewes, must be derived from the Way of Reckoning & Beginning the Months, used in the Time of our Saviour.

In the outer Court of the Temple, there was an House called, *Beth-Jazek*, where the Senate sate all the Thirtieth Day of every Month, to receive the Witnesses of the Moons Appearance. And here they alwayes had a Table provided for the Entertainment of those that came to encourage them the more willingly to come. Of old they did admitt of Strangers, and receive their Testimony, if it were approved upon Examination. But when the *Hereticks*, (that is to say, *Christians*,) grew up, they tell us, they were sometimes Deluded; and therefore they would afterwards admitt none but Such as were of the Jewish Religion. If upon the *Thirtieth Day*, there came approved Witnesses, that the *Phasis* of the *Moon* had been seen, the Chief Man of the Senate stood up, & pronounced,

384 ἐν ἣ εἶδει θύεσθαι τὸ πάσχα; “on which the Passover must be killed” (KJV).

385 See Cudworth, *True Notion* (43). Though Cudworth does not give a source for Scaliger here, he cites his *De Emendatione temporum* on p. 46.

386 נָדָה (to devise or invent); in this case, “an adjustment of” (i. e. invention to) the festival calendar.

387 φάσις; “appearance on the horizon.”

388 See Cudworth, *True Notion* (44), citing Maimonides’s *Mishneh Torah* (Kiddush Ha Chodesh).

389 ἀπο τῆς φάσεως; “from the appearance,” i. e. by visual judgment.

390 See Cudworth, *True Notion* (46). Karaite Judaism had its origins in 7th-century CE Egypt and was rooted in the rejection of Rabbinic Judaism’s elevation of the Oral Torah (Talmud) to a place of divine authority. Karaites accept only the written Torah as divine law; see *EJ* (11:785–802).

MEKUDDASH, *It is sanctified*;³⁹¹ and the People standing by, caught the Word from him, & cried out, MEKUDDASH, MEKUDDASH. Whereupon there was Notice presently given to all the Countrey; which was done at first by Torches from Mountain to Mountain; & afterwards, by swift Messengers dispatch'd all over the Land.

But if, when the Consistory had sat all the Thirtieth Day, there came no Approved Witnesses of the *φασίς*, then they made an Intercalation of one Day in the former Month, and they decreed the following One and Thirtieth Day to be the *Calends*.

There might come in undoubted Witnesses three or four Dayes after, to correct the Determinations of the Senate: And yett we find a Canon among them: *That whatsoever Time the Senate should conclude for the Calends of the Months, altho' it were certain they were in the wrong, yett all were bound for to order their Feasts according to it.* Our Saviour doubtless, and the more pious Jewes, approved not such a Canon. Wherefore we may conceive, that our Saviour now followed the true *φασίς* confirmed by Sufficient & Assured Witnesses; but the other Jewes pertinaciously observed the Decree of the *Sanhedrin* for the Day ensuing. Yea, not only our Saviour, with His Apostles, but also diverse others of the most Religious Jewes, kept the *Passeover* upon the Fifteenth Day from the true *φασίς* of the Moon, & not from the Decree of the *Sanhedrin*. Accordingly, there is a Report in *Epiphanius*, that there was at this Time *θόρυβος*, a *Tumult*, and *Quarrel*, among the Jewes about the *Passeover*.³⁹² However, it was a Custom among the Jewes, in such Doubtful Cases as those, (which fell out often,) to permitt the Killing of the *Passeover* on two several Dayes together. *Maimonides* affirms that in the remoter Parts of the Land of *Israel*, | they ever solemnized [49r] the Feast of the *New Moons*, two Dayes together: Nay, in *Jerusalem* itself, where the Senate sate, they kept the *New Moon* of *Tisri*, which was the Beginning of the Year, twice, lest they should be mistaken in it.³⁹³ In the *Talmud*, we have an Instance, of keeping the *Passeover* two Dayes together, because the *New Moon* was doubtful. [*Gemara, Rosh Hashanah*, cap. 1.]³⁹⁴ Hence the *Karrites*, who still keep the ancient Custome of observing the *φασίς* of the Moon, retain it as a Rule to this Day, *observare duos Dies propter Dubium*.³⁹⁵ Nay, the *Rabbinis* themselves, tho' they have changed the *φασίς*, for the *Synod* of the Moon, in the Middle Motion, still keep the *Passeover* two Dayes together, *ijsdem ceremonijs*,³⁹⁶ as tis re-

391 מְקַדְּשׁ (it is sanctified).

392 θόρυβος; "noise." Cudworth, *True Notion* (50). Cudworth cites the *Panarion*, or "Medicine-chest," a work directed against heresies by Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis (c. 310–403 CE); see Mather's entry on 1:12 (above).

393 See Cudworth, *True Notion* (50–1).

394 See *The Babylonian Talmud* (5:73ff).

395 "To observe two days, in case of doubt."

396 "The same ceremonies."

ported by the learned Author of the *Jewish Synagogue*;³⁹⁷ and Scaliger too reports the same; not only of that, but of every other Festival. *Judaei post Institutionem hodierni computi, eandem solemnitate celebrant biduò; propterea quòd mensem incipiant à medio motu Lunæ; itaque propter Dubium conjunctionis luminarium, Pascha celebrant; 15 et 16 Nisan; Pentecosten 6, et 7. Sivan: Scenopagiam, 15 et 16 Tisri: idque vocant /יום טוב שני שלגליות/ Festum Secundum Exiliorum.*³⁹⁸

So then, we see nothing to hinder the *Passeovers* being a *Sacrifice*.

Lett us now resume the Purpose we were at first upon.

Our Apostle is discoursing & discussing the memorable Controversy, about, *Eating of things that had been sacrificed unto Idols*. The Pagans, haveing offered a *Sacrifice* unto their Idols, would consume a Part in the Flames, and make a *Feast* upon the rest; unto which Feast, their particular Friends also were often invited. The Case now before the Apostle, was, whether *Christians* invited by *Pagans* to such Entertainments, could innocently be present at them? He answers; *No, they could not*. He asserts, That the Eating of those *Idolothytes* in the *Idols Temple* was to involve themselves in the Guilt of the *Idolatry* there committed; He Illustrates and he Demonstrates this Assertion, from the *parallel Rites*, both in the *Jewish Religion*, and in the *Christian Religion*.

In the *Jewish Religion*, they who did *eat of the Sacrifices*, were accounted *Partakers of the Altar*: that is to say, The *Sacrifices* offered on the *Altar* were look'd upon as offered for them. And then, in the *Christian Religion*, they who took the *Bread* and the *Cup* in the LORDS SUPPER did it in Token of their Communion with the great Christian SACRIFICE, even that of our Lord JESUS CHRIST Himself. Well then, saies our Apostle; If you eat of Things which were *sacrificed unto Idols*, you putt in for a Share in the *Sacrifices*. Those *Idols* were *Divels*; And he adds this pungent Admonition; With what Face can you go to the *Table* of a *Divel*, after you have been at the *Table* of your *Saviour*? The Apostles Argument supposes an *Analogy* between these Three; or, that in some great Regards they run parallel with one another.

So then, upon the whole, we may maintain;

That the SUPPER of the LORD is appointed by Him, who ha's been *sacrificed* for us, to be observed by Christians as a *Feast upon the great Sacrifice of Christianity*. The Controversy, which has cost so many Disputes, *whether the Lords Supper be a Sacrifice?* is now decided. It is not a *Sacrifice*, but, EPULUM

³⁹⁷ Likely Maimonides; see Cudworth, *True Notion* (51).

³⁹⁸ "The Jews, after the start of the day's reckoning, observe the same solemnities over two days; besides which, they begin the month in the middle of the lunar cycle, and so, because of the doubt about the overlap of moons, they celebrate the Passover on the 15th and 16th of Nisan; Pentecost on the 6th and 7th of Sivan; the Feast of Tabernacles on the 15th and 16th of Tisri, which they call *יום טוב שני שלגליות*, or the second festival of the exiles." Joseph Scaliger, *Opus de emendatione temporum* (1629), lib. 7, p. 649A. See Cudworth, *True Notion* (51); on Scaliger, see Mather's entry on 5:1 (above).

ἐκ τῆς θυσίας,³⁹⁹ *A Feast upon the great Sacrifice*. It is not, *oblato sacrificij*, but as *Tertullian* excellently speaks, *participatio sacrificij*.⁴⁰⁰ It is not the *Offering of something up to God upon an Altar*, but the *Eating of something that comes from Gods Altar*, to our Table. We cannot find, that of old, the *Tables* upon which they did eat their *Sacrifices*, were ever called, *Altars*. The Context now before us, is enough to satisfy us, in that Observation.

We will not now insist upon all the Significations of a *Feast upon a Sacrifice*, which may be considered in the *Supper of the Lord*. They will soon be obvious to every Understanding: We will only pitch upon one, that is not so commonly regarded.

The *Feeding and Feasting* on the *Sacrifice*, was a *Federal Rite*, between God and those that offered it. It was the Custome of the Ancients, especially an Oriental Custome, to ratify a *Covenant* by Eating and Drinking with one another. We find it, when *Isaac* made a *Covenant* with *Abimelek*, and *Jacob* with *Laban*. *Abrabanel* as well as *Ramban*, tell us, It was anciently practised, that they who did *eat Bread together* on the *same Table*, should be accounted afterwards as *entire Brethren*.⁴⁰¹ So they understand that; Lam. 5.6. *We have given the Hand, to the Egyptians and the Assyrians by Fulness of Bread*; that is to say, we made a *Covenant* with them. We read concerning the *Gibeonites*; Josh. 9.14. *The Men of Israel took of their Victuals*; *Kimchi* well expounds it, *Comederunt eum illis per modum Fæderis*;⁴⁰² They made a *Covenant* with them. [Compare, Obad. 7.]⁴⁰³ It was said, Psal. 41.10. *My own Familiar Friend, who did eat of my Bread, hath lift up the Heel against me*. It was a Prophecy of *Judas*, under the Type of *Ahitophel*.⁴⁰⁴ *Celsus* carped at the History of *Judas*, as an incredible thing; but made a rare comment on the Prophecy, when he little thought of it; οτι ἀνθρώπων μεν ο κοινωνήσας τραπέζης κλ. *Si homini nemo insidiaretur, ejusdem mensæ particeps, multo minus Deo*.⁴⁰⁵ *Origen* replies, That there had been Instances of it; and he mentions an *Iambic* of *Parius* on such an Occasion,

Ορκον δε ενοσφισθης μεγαν, αλας τε και τραπέζαν.
Sacramentum irritasti magnum, salem atque mensam.⁴⁰⁶

399 ἐκ τῆς θυσίας; literally, “a feast [Latin] upon a sacrifice [Greek].”

400 Not “a sacrificial offering” but a “sacrificial participation.” See Cudworth, *True Notion* (55).

401 “Ramban” is the acronym for Rabbi Moses ben Nachman; see Mather’s entry on 6:4 (above). On Isaac Abravanel, see Mather’s first entry on 10:33 (above).

402 Literally, “they ate with them in the manner of a covenant.” See Josh. 9:14–15.

403 On David Kimchi, see Mather’s entry on 10:33 (above).

404 Ahitophel, a counselor to King David who, after supporting the failed rebellion of Absalom, hanged himself (see 2 Sam. 15–17).

405 ὅτι ἀνθρώπων μεν ὁ κοινωνήσας τραπέζης; “That he would partake of the table of a human, etc.” [Greek]. “If no one would plot against a man if he shared in his table, so much less [would one lay a trap for] God [if he shared in His table]” [Latin]. Origenes, *Contra Celsum* (2.21, lines 2–3). See Cudworth, *True Notion* (58–59).

406 Ὅρκον δ’ ἐνοσφισθης μέγαν ἄλας τε καὶ τράπεζαν. “You have insulted a great sacrament,

Indeed, the Hebrew Word /ברית/ *A Covenant*, comes doubtless, of /ברה/ *Comedere*.⁴⁰⁷

The *Pagans* as well as the *Jewes*, did thus Ratify a *Covenant*. You know what *Lucian* reports of the *Scythians*.⁴⁰⁸ Read *Erasmus's* *Adagies*, on that Proverb. *Ἐπὶ βύρσης ἐκαθέζετο*, *In tergore Bovis desedit*.⁴⁰⁹ *Herodotus* reports, both of the *Persians*, and of the *Libyans*, That at *Feasts* they made their *Leagues*.⁴¹⁰ *Alexander ab Alexandro* reports, both of the *Thracians* and of the *Egyptians*, That, *e carnis Boum (quæ veteribus poculorum loco erant,) vina sibi invocent propinantes, id firmissimum contracti federis vinculum esse putabant*.⁴¹¹ *Curtius* reports of the *Macedonians*, *Quod patrio ritu fœdus quod sanctissimum vellent haberi, sic inibant, ut panem gladio divisum uterque libaret*.⁴¹² *Alexander* and *Roxana*, tasting together of the *Bread*, which he then divided with his *Sword*, she became his *Wife*.⁴¹³ At *Weddings* in many *Countreys*, the *Bridegroom* and the *Bride*; have a *Cake* brought them, which he does *Taste* first, and then she, in token of a *Covenant* between them. The *Germans* conclude their *Bargains*, by *Drinking* together. The *Emperour of Russia*, expresses a singular *Favour* to any one, by sending *Bread* and *Salt* unto them, from his *Table*. It is an *Axiom* in the *Civil Law*. If a *Man* *Drink* to one, against whom he hath an *Accusation* of *Slander* or other verbal *Injury*, he loses his *Action*; it being supposed, that he is now *Reconciled* unto him.

Indeed, it was apprehended, That the *Altar* was *Gods Table*, and the *Sacrifice* was *Gods Meat*. This was mystically to be understood. This yett further strengthened the *Intention* of a *Covenant* with *God*, in feeding on what remained of the *Sacrifice*. Thus the *Salt* cast upon every *Sacrifice*, is called, *Lev. 2.13. The Salt of the Covenant*; *Salt* is a necessary *Appendix* of the *Table*. And it is a *Jewish*

salt and the shared table" [Greek and Latin]. The citation is of the poet Archilochus, a native of the Greek island of Paros; see Origen, *Against Celsus*, in *ANF* (4:441).

407 ברית, possibly signifying "to bind" or "to cut" and understood to be the root of the Hebrew word for covenant, *berith*. בָּרָה, meaning "to eat," but a word that is phonetically connected to *berith* and is an act associated with covenants, since eating often occurred at their commencement; thus Mather connects it to the Latin word *comedo*, "to eat."

408 Lucian, *Toxaris*, in *Lucian* (5:103–21). See Cudworth, *True Notion* (60).

409 Ἐπὶ βύρσης ἐκαθέζετο; "He sat on the hide of a bull" [Greek and Latin]. Desiderius Erasmus, *Adages*, a collection of classical proverbs.

410 *Ibid.*

411 "From the skins of cattle (which supplied the place of drinking vessels for their ancestors), they invoke themselves while toasting with wine: they considered this the firmest bond of a legal agreement or covenant." Alexander ab Alexandro (1461–1523) was a Neapolitan lawyer who wrote works on jurisprudence, miracles in Italy, and paranormal spiritual events, the most popular being his *Genialium dierum*; see *GBD* (1:411).

412 "The covenant which they considered the most sacred according to the ancient rite: they entered into it, by dividing bread with a sword, and each taking a small piece." Quintus Curtius Rufus, a 1st-century CE Roman historian who wrote a history of Alexander the Great, probably the source here; see *ERE* (481). See Cudworth, *True Notion* (60).

413 Roxana was the wife of Alexander the Great, gained from his conquest of Persia.

Proverb, *Omne convivium in quo non est Salitum, non est convivium.*⁴¹⁴ Feeding at the same Table, being a *Federal Rite*, therefore Salt was among the Ancients, *Amitice Symbolum.*⁴¹⁵ Thus what we read, Ezr. 4.14. *Because we have Maintainance from the Kings Palace*; the Words in the Chaldee are, *Because we have eaten of the Kings Salt*, [that is, we have engaged ourselves unto him in a Covenant, with the Ceremony of eating his Meat.] *therefore it is not meet for us to see the Kings Dishonour.*

Upon that Paragraph to the *Corinthians* now before us, what can more Harmonize with our foregoing Observations, or be more expressive than the Commentary of *Chrysostome*? *Εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπων κλ.* *If among Men, to communicate of Bread and Salt, be a Token and Symbol of Friendship, it must carry the same Notion between Men and Divels in the Idol-Feasts.*⁴¹⁶ We may then conclude, that if to eate the *Sacrifice of Divels*, be to have a *Federal Communion* with those Divels, to whom it was offered, then, to eat of the *Sacrifice of CHRIST* once offered up to God, & now Remembred in the LORDS SUPPER, is to have a *Federal Communion* with God.

We will not now trouble ourselves, with the Stories in *Maimonides*, How the old *Zabians*, did in a *Federal Way* Feast with their Gods:⁴¹⁷ But we will break off, with our Wishes that these Communications from Dr. *Cudworth*, and other learned Men, might be more effectually improved, than yett they have been, to illustrate and inculcate the true Notion of the EUCHARIST among the People of God.

[▽Insert from 51r]

[▽51r]

Q. Upon the Apostles Decision of the Case; whether it be a Crime to eat the Flesh of the Victims offered unto *Idols*? v. 33.

A. As Monsr. *Saurin* observes; He distinguishes Three Cases.⁴¹⁸ First; The Gentiles having offered their *Sacrifices*, did in the very *Temples* of the *Idols* eat the Flesh of the *Victims*, and make Revels there.

⁴¹⁴ “Any meal at which there is no salt, is not a meal.” Cudworth (p. 67) attributes this proverb to the Berakhot (Benedictions) section of the Talmud.

⁴¹⁵ “A sign of friendship.”

⁴¹⁶ *Εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπων κλ.*; “For if among men, etc.” *Κλ.*, or *κατὰ λόγια*, means “and so forth,” and is used to terminate the length of the Greek citation; Mather has given the fuller citation in English. Chrysostom, *Homily XXV, Homilies on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians* (270ff); see Mather’s entry on 1:12 (above).

⁴¹⁷ The Sabians were practioners of a monotheistic Abrahamic religion and were located in Mesopotamia, Syria, and Anatolia. Cudworth (p. 71) cites Maimonides’s *Mishneh Torah* (Moreh Nevochim) as his source.

⁴¹⁸ Jacques Saurin, *Dissertations historical, critical, theological, and moral, on the most memorable events of the Old and New Testaments* (1723), pp. 613–614, 615. [This work was first published in French in 1720]. Saurin (1677–1730) was a French Protestant minister who served refugees after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in Holland, London, and the Hague; see *NSHERK* (10:213).

Secondly; After the *Victims* were sacrificed, many of the Gentiles carried the Remaining Flesh home with them, and ask'd their Friends to join with them in Feasting upon it.

Thirdly. They some of them eat a Food of this Kind in their own Houses, which they bought in the Shambles, as exposed unto Sale there. *Julian*, we read, ordered, there should no Flesh be sold publickly for a time, that had not been offered unto the False Gods, that so the Christian being under a Necessity to buy it, might be involved in Communion with their Idols.

On these Three Cases, was *Paul* consulted by the Christians, who were divided upon the Subject. The Christians converted from *Judaism*, were too scrupulous. It was a Canon (as we learn of *Maimonides*) among the Jews returned from their Captivity; *That if a Gentile made a Sacrifice for a Son or for a Daughter, it was not lawful for a Jew, to eat Flesh of the Thing sacrificed*. But some Christians were not strict enough; who indifferently eat of these *Victims*. We Allow the Account *Irenæus* gives of the *Nicolaitans*, and the *Valentinians*.

The Apostle decides after this Manner.

In the Two Last Cases, we might eat of those Meats, unless the Weak should be thereby scandalized. *Whatsoever is sett before you, eat, asking no Questions for Conscience Sake*. This, for the Second Case.

Whatsoever is sold in the Shambles, that eat. This, for the Third Case.

But his Answer to the First Case. This appears at first Ambiguous.

In the Eighth Chapter, he seems to affirm, that the Matter is Indifferent in itself, and that it can't be evil, but when it gives offence. *-An Idol is nothing.* –
 [▽52v] And he seems to conclude, That it is no Crime to eat | in the Temples; no, not of the Victims offered there; unless the Weak should be offended at it. But in the Tenth Chapter, he seems to declare it, an Act of *Idolatry*. For, the Sacrifices of Gentiles were to *Devils*. And as the *Jews* in eating the Flesh of the Victims which they offered unto the True God, communicated with the True God; and as the *Christians*, who eat of the Bread of the Eucharist, communicated with the JESUS, the Sacrifice of whose Body is represented by that Bread; so, those who did in the Temples of the False Gods, eat of the Victims offered unto them, did communicate with the False Gods; that is to say, with *Devils*.

Now one Cause of some Obscurity in the Epistles of this Apostle, is, that they are filled with certain *Dialogues*, abruptly introduced, in which the Interlocutors are not by Interpreters attentively enough distinguished. What the loose Christians objected unto our Apostle, is here taken for the very Answer of the Apostle himself; and People don't observe, that what he himself seems to say was only the Prætext with which the *Corinthians* were willing to cloak their *Idolatry*. Their Prætext was, *That an Idol was nothing; that eating or not eating did not render us more agreeable to God*. The Apostle grants them their Position, in the Eighth Chapter, for a Moment; and he tells them, That tho' he should allow what they did advance, yett the *Scandal* it gave to the Weak, should hinder Men

from going into the Temples of the False Gods. Whereas, in the Tenth Chapter, he attacks the very Position, or Principle; which he had before granted only for Argument Sake; and there shows, that a Man cannot assist at those Feasts in the Temples of *Idols*, without sharing in the *Idolatry* thereof.

2272.

Q. What was the Occasion of the Apostles Directing Men, to *pray with their Heads uncovered*? v. 4.

A. It was the Custome of the *Jewes*, to pray with a *Vail upon their Heads*. This they did, that by such a Rite, they might express Reverence, Devotion, & their own Unworthiness, with *open Face* to behold the Lord. The *Corinthians* yett *Judaized* in this Rite; and the Apostle bestowes his Correction upon their *Judaism*.

The *Women* among the *Jewes*, on the other side, tho' *vailed* in the Streets, yett *unvaild* their *Faces* in Religious Exercises. The Apostle præscribes a *Vail* to these; Dr. *Lightfoot* thinks, not as a Token of Subjection to their *Husbands*; for hee treats not of *Wives* alone, but even *Virgins*, and *Widdowes*, & all *Women* in general. Besides, their Subjection every where attended them, in the House, & in the Field, & not meerly when they were employ'd in the Worship of God. Hee thinks therefore, That the *Veiling* of *Women* here, is to bee of the same Importance and Intention, with the *Veiling* of *Men*: And hee quæstions, whether the *Veiling* of *Women*, bee so much Required, by the Apostle, as the *Veiling* of *Men* Reproved. q.d. How Ridiculous is it, that *Men* should use a *Veil*, when they pray, out of Reverence & Abasement before God and *Women* at the same time not use it, when their *Glory* is less considerable?⁴¹⁹

The *Dishonouring of the Head* here, hee carries to such a Sense as this. A *Man* that prayes *covered*, as Ashamed of his Face before God, therein disgraceth his *Head*; namely, *Christ*, who Himself carried the like *Face* of a *Man*, and by whom wee have Access to God with Confidence. And a *Woman* that prayes *uncovered*, as if shee were not Ashamed of her Face, disgraceth *Man*, her *Head*, while shee would pretend thus to bee more glorious than *hee*: when as indeed shee is but the *Glory* of the *Man*; but the *Man* is the *Glory* of *God*.

And whereas wee read about the *Womans having a Power on her Head*, this Interpreter Disputes the common Opinion, That a *Power*, means a *Veil*, in token of her being under the *Power* of her *Husband*. Hee asks, whether ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν,⁴²⁰ is not alwayes, to denote a *Power* in ones own Hand, and not a *Power* of another *over* one. q.d. The *Woman* hath not the *Power* of her own Head in her own Hand, διὰ τὸν θεόν, *In respect of God*, but is to bee veiled in Reverence towards God; but shee hath the *Power* of her own Head, in her own Hand, of

⁴¹⁹ John Lightfoot, possibly his *Harmony of the New Testament* (1655) or *Horae hebraicae et talmudicae* (1658–74). On Lightfoot, see Mather's fourth entry on 3:15 (above).

⁴²⁰ "To have power."

not *Veiling* herself, διὰ τοὺς Ἀγγέλους, *In respect of the Angels*; for shee owes not such a sacred Reverence unto them.

And then hee proceeds rather to Interpret *Angels*, concerning, *The Messengers of Espousale*. The *Woman*, having *Power*, or being at Liberty, to be *veiled* or *unveiled* before them, that came to espouse her, or doing what shee might honestly to promote her own *Espousals*, is an acknowledgment, that shee was created for the *Man*. But I fear wee have now gone too far out of the Way.

[▽Insert from 56v]⁴²¹

[▽56v]

Q. The Case about *Women*, and about *Praying and Prophesying uncovered*, here handled by the Apostle, may yett need a little further Clearing? v. 4.

A. For this Purpose, I will call in the Thoughts of a late, *Nameless Writer*, on this Epistle.⁴²²

It is evident, that it was the Custome of *Women* who appeared in Public, to be veiled. [v. 13–16.] Wherefore, it could be no Quæstion, whether they ought to be *veiled*, when they assisted at the Prayers and Praises, in the public Assemblies.

The *Covering of the Head* for *Women* is restrained unto certain particular Actions done in the public Assemblies; which Actions are here called, *Praying*, and, *Prophesying*. Now, by *Praying* and, *Prophesying*, is not meant, A being present in the Congregation, where those Exercises are performed. The Hearing of *Preaching*, or *Prophesying*, was never yett called, *Preaching* or, *Prophesying*.

The Case in short seems to be this. The Men *prayed* and *prophesied* in the Assemblies; and they did it with their *Heads uncovered*. The *Women* also sometimes *prayed* and *prophesied* in the Assemblies; which when they did, they thought, during the Performance of that Action, they might be excused from their *Veil*, and be Bare-headed, & open-faced, as well as the *Men*. Unto this, the Apostle applies his Direction, that tho' they *pray'd* and *prophesy'd*, yett still they were to be *veiled*.

Certainly, the *Praying* and *Prophesying* here spoken of, were particular public Actions, in the Assembly, done by some one Person, and peculiar for the time to that Person; and while it lasted, the rest of the Assembly continued silent. It is evident, the Actions were performed, with *public Speaking* in the Assembly. When any one *pray'd* or *prophesied*, they did it alone; the rest attended with Silence. And so it was, when extraordinary *Praises* were sung unto God, by such as were under the Motion and Impulse of the Holy Spirit, They sung *Alone*. And indeed, how could it be otherwise?

Every *Speaking unto others to Edification, & Exhortation, and Consolation*, was not *Prophesying*. It was only when such a *Speaking* was a spiritual Gift,

⁴²¹ See Appendix B.

⁴²² See Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (1:220–2).

performed by the Immediate and Extraordinary Motion of the Holy Spirit. *Prophesying* is never taken for any Action, Impulse, and Assistance, from the Spirit of God.

Now the *Spirit* of God, and the Gift of *Prophecy*, was to be poured out upon *Women*, as well as *Men*, in the Time of the Gospel. [Act. 11.17.] And then, where could there be a fitter Place to utter their *Prophesies*, than in the *Assemblies*?

Mr. *Mede* has a Notion; That the *Christian Women*, might out of a Vanity incident unto that Sex, propose to themselves and affect an Imitation, of the *Priestesses* and *Prophetesses* among the Gentiles, who had their Faces uncovered, when they uttered their *Oracles*, or officiated in their *Sacrifices*.⁴²³ But, what Pretence could a bare being in the Assembly, give unto any *Christian Woman*, to use that Freedom? None of the *Bacchæ*, or, *Pythiæ*, quitted their ordinary modest Guise; but when she was, as the Poets express it, *Rapta*, or, *Plena Deo*;⁴²⁴ possess'd and hurried by the Spirit whom she served. And so possibly, a *Christian Woman*, when she found the *Spirit of God poured out upon her*, as *Joel* expresses it, exciting her to Prayers, or Praises, or to discover any Truth immediately Reveled unto her, might think it convenient, for her better uttering thereof, to be *uncovered*; or to be restrained no further from shewing herself, than the *Priestesses*, or the *Prophetesses* were, among the *Gentiles*. But yett, even in these Actions, the Apostle forbids the *Women*, to *unveil* themselves.

But will not all this be overthrown, by our Apostles, *Forbidding Women to speak in the Assemblies*? [1. Cor. 14.34, 35. and, 1. Tim. 2.11, 12.] Not at all. The *Silence* injoin'd on the *Women*, in the Two Texts for that Purpose, is for a Mark of their Subjection, to the Male-sex. The *Women* in the Churches, were not to assume the Character of *Doctors*, or speak there, as *Teachers*. This was forbidden, because it carried with it an Appearance of *Superiority*. Nay, they were not so much as to ask any Quæstions there, or enter into any sort of Conference. This was forbidden, because it shew'd a Kind of *Equality*. But tho' they were not Raised by the Franchises of Christianity, to the Liberty of doing any thing in the Church, *by their own Abilities*; A Præsumption of their own Abilities, might not embolden them to do any thing, that might have too great an Air, of their standing on even Ground with *Men*: Yett the Subordination which God had Instituted in the World, hindred not, but that by the | *Supernatural Gifts* of the Spirit, He might employ the weaker Sex upon extraordinary Services, as well as *Men*, whenever He should please to do so. However, when they thus *pray'd*

[▽55r]

⁴²³ Joseph Mede (1586–1639), Fellow and Lecturer at Cambridge, most well-known for his writings of biblical interpretation, particularly his eschatological work (e.g. *Clavis apocalyptica*, 1627); see Mather's second entry on 11:4 (above). Locke (*Paraphrase*, p. 221) lists "Discourse 16" as his source for Mede. A two-volume edition of Mede's *Works* (1664) appears in the Mather library; see Tuttle, *The Libraries of the Mathers* (72).

⁴²⁴ "Carried away" or "in the fullness of God."

or *prophecy'd*, by the Impulse of the Holy Spirit, care was taken, that while they were obeying the glorious Lord, who sett them a speaking, their *Subjection of their Sex*, might not be forgotten, but be præserv'd by their being covered. The Christian Religion was not to give offence, by any Appearance or Suspicion, that it took away the Subordination of Sexes, and sett the Women at Liberty, from their Natural Subjection to the *Man*. The Aim was, to maintain and secure, the confessed Superiority of the *Man*, and not permit his Dominion to be invaded, so much as in Appearance. The Arguments, in the one Case of, *Covering*, and in the other Case of, *Silence*, are all drawn from the *Natural Superiority of the Man*; & the *Subjection of the Woman*. In the one, the *Woman*, without an *extraordinary Call*, was to keep *silent*, as a Mark of her Subjection. In the other, where she was to *speak*, by an extraordinary Call and Commission from God, yett she was to continue the Profession of her Subjection by her keeping herself *covered*. [△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 53r]⁴²⁵

[▽53r]

4124.

Q. Some *Witsian* Thoughts upon that of *praying with the Head uncovered*?⁴²⁶ v. 4.

A. *Macrobius* tells us, That it was the Greek Rite. [Saturn. Lib. VIII.] *Illic Græco Ritu, capite aperto, res Divina sit*.⁴²⁷ For so *Grotius* ha's taught us to read it.⁴²⁸ *Plutarch* saies of the *Saturnalia*, That they were performed, ἀπαρκαλύπτω κεφαλῇ.⁴²⁹ *Festus* tells us, that the Expression used for it, was, *Lucem facere*.⁴³⁰

Our Apostle writing to the *Corinthians*, who were *Græcians*, prefers this Rite, of *praying with the Head uncovered*, before that of the *Jewes*, To *pray covered*. He præscribes not a Rule necessary every where to be observed; but accommodates himself, unto the Custome, then observed among the *Corinthians*. It is

⁴²⁵ See Appendix B.

⁴²⁶ On Hermann Wits and his works, see Mather's first entry on 7:14 (above). What follows is the longest single treatment of any issue or passage in Mather's Pauline commentary, an issue that was quite controversial in colonial American life at the time. See Brown, "Hair Down to There: Nature, Culture, and Gender in Cotton Mather's Social Theology," in Smolinski, *Cotton Mather and Biblia Americana* (495–514). At least one title on the subject of long hair appeared in Increase Mather's 1664 catalog: Thomas Hall's *Loathsomeness of Long Hair* (1654), a work that Cotton shows himself to be familiar with; see Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (23).

⁴²⁷ "With the Greek rite, the head uncovered, is a divine matter." Ambrosius Macrobius was a Roman philosopher and philologist in the early 5th-century CE; see *EB* (17:269). His *Saturnalia* is comprised of only seven books, not eight; the Greek manner of sacrifice is discussed in Books I and III. See Macrobius, *Saturnalia* (1:87) and (2:53), respectively.

⁴²⁸ Grotius, *Annotiones in Novum Testamentum* (6:388).

⁴²⁹ ἀπαρκαλύπτω κεφαλῇ; "with head uncovered." The Eleventh of "The Roman Questions" is "Why do they sacrifice to Saturn with the head uncovered?" See Plutarch, *Moralia* (4:22–5).

⁴³⁰ "What is done in public." On Sextus Festus, see Mather's entry on 10:33 (above).

admirably expounded by *Alting*.⁴³¹ The Græcians performed their Worship with their *Heads uncovered*, when they worshipped their *Idols*. When they were upon any,⁴³² that they took to be a *Dirty Business*, they *covered their Heads*; but when they did what they took to be an *Honest Business*, they did it with their *Heads uncovered*. The proverbial Expression, γυμνη κεφαλή, was take up for them *Qui palam ac citrà pudorem quicquam agerent*.⁴³³ And because there was nothing, so *Honest*, and *Worthy*, and *Noble*, as *Religion*, they thought, *uncovered Heads*, were highly agreeable to the sacred Exercise of it. Many *Græcians* being turned from *Idolatry* to *Christianity*, left off the Practice of having *uncovered Heads*, in their Devotions; either to imitate the *Jewes*, or out of Hatred unto the ancient Customes, which they had used in their Paganism. This gave a Scandal to the other *Græcians*, that were yett *Pagans*. They thought that *Christianity* brought in with it, nothing but *Profanity*, and all Irreverence towards the *Deity*. The Apostle advises the Christianized *Græcians*, to give no such Occasion of Censure, but by *uncovered Heads* proclame to all the World, that they were as little ashamed of their *New Religion*, as their Neighbours were of their *Old*.

Unto this of *Alting*, we may add that of L. *Cappellus*; That both among the *Græcians* and among the *Romans*, all People of any Breeding walk'd with *uncovered Heads*; and *covered* not their *Heads*, except when *Sorrow*, or *Sickness* obliged them, or *Effæminacy* disposed them.⁴³⁴ Our Apostle thought, That for them upon their Conversion, to take up the Practice of *covering their Heads* in the Worship of God, would appear a froward and a needless Imitation of *Judaism*, or, declare a morose, and servile, Superstition, and a Want of that *Holy Freedome*, wherewith Christians may approach unto their God: Nor would he have Christians expose themselves | to be Ridiculed, as the *Trimalcions* of the Time, who were so delicate, that the least Air must not blow upon them.⁴³⁵

It is probable, That our Apostle would not have written thus to the *Jewes* in their own Land, or to the *Egyptians* and *Arabians*, who had been otherwise accustomed.

Almost all Christians have observed the Canon of the Apostle. Not because, the *Uncovering of the Head*, is counted a *Token of Reverence*; For, with a

431 Jacob Alting (1618–79), Dutch Reformed theologian and Orientalist and professor at Groningen. His collected works were published posthumously (1686); among those of possible relevance here are his *Hebraeorum republica scholastica* (1652), *Compendium grammaticae hebraicae* (1714), *Fundamenta punctuationis linguae sacrae* (1717), and the *Synopsis institutionum chaldaearum et syrarum* (1691); see *NNbw* (1:96–97).

432 Originally written as “were upon any *Dirty Business*, they covered” etc.

433 “A bare head,” was taken up for them “who did something publicly and without shame.”

434 Louis Cappel, perhaps his *Critica sacra* (1650); see Mather’s entry on 5:9 (above).

435 The *Satyricon* is a 1st-century CE Roman novella attributed by scholars to Gaius Petronius; it includes the decadent character Trimalchio who hosts a dinner for the protagonist Encolpius; see *EB* (21:335). It seems likely that Mather’s source here has garbled the tradition or interpreted Trimalchio’s foppery as an extreme form of delicateness.

very great Part of the World, it is not so to this Day. But as my *Witsius* thinks, *Videtur potius pertinere ad Libertatem Novi Testamenti*.⁴³⁶ According to *Tertulians* Words; *Capite nudo quia non erubescimus*.⁴³⁷
[△Insert ends]

[△]

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[58v]

200.

Q. The Apostle recommending an orderly *Carriage*, & more particularly, an orderly *Habit*, unto People; & most particularly, in the *Worship* of God, the Motive used by him, is, *Because of the Angels*. Will you please to lett mee understand, what Motives to *Watchfulness*, the Consideration of *Angels*, may give unto mee; for, I reckon it a great Wrong unto the *Angelical Orders*, to expound this Text, of I know not what *Messengers*, or indeed, of any but *Angelical Spirits*? Much less can I consent unto the Reading, which *Gothofred* would give us, διὰ τοῦς ἀγγέλους, or, ἀγγέλαιους, i. e. *Because of the Young Men*.⁴³⁸ v. 10.

A. The *Curious*, but *Scriptural*, Intimations, which I intend you about this Matter, I may not yett fully offer you; but I'll now sett before you, some Observations, to the making whereof, I have had the Countenance of no less a Man, than the Incomparable S^r *Matthew Hale*, the Lord Chief Justice, of *England*.⁴³⁹

I say then, The Children of Men, are like *Plants in a Nursery*, whereof when they are come to a due Growth, Such as prove worth any thing are Transplanted into Orchards, but Such as prove unuseful, being pull'd up are thrown into the Fire: And the *Angels* have a particular Agency, about the Improving & the Disposing of these *Plants*: which the Parable of the *Tares* do's, as I remember, intimate.

I add, could wee, like the Servant of *Elisha*, in the Mount, see the Invisible Regiment of the World, by the subordinate Government of *Angels*, wee should have other Apprehensions of things, than what commonly do move us.⁴⁴⁰ Wee have *Reason*, because wee have *Scripture*, to Beleeve, That there are prodigious

⁴³⁶ "This seems to pertain instead to the liberty [characteristic] of the New Testament."

⁴³⁷ "With bare head, because we do not blush." Tertullian, *Liber Apologeticus* (30.4). On Tertullian, see *EB* (26:663).

⁴³⁸ "Because of the herds," or "the common herds." There are any number of medieval and early modern "Gothofred's" as candidates here, especially in light of the fact that the name can serve as either a surname or a given name and is an alternative rendering for "Gottfried."

⁴³⁹ Sir Mathew Hale (1609–76), a Puritan in religion but less rigorously Calvinist and sufficiently politic to retain his judicial position after the Restoration, which he used to lessen the legal prosecutions of Dissenters. He wrote several religious works, including *The Primitive Origination of Mankind* (1677), *A Discourse of the Knowledge of God* (1688), and *A Collection of Modern Relations ... concerning Witches and Witchcraft ... in preserving us from the malice and power of evil angels* (1693), which may be in view here, given the subject matter; see *ODNB* (24:533–40).

⁴⁴⁰ See 2 Kings 5:20–27.

Numbers of both good and evil *Angels* which pass to and fro, & have their Negotiations among the *Children of Men*, as well as among themselves. As for the Holy *Angels*, (who, by the way, are mention'd above Two hundred and Sixty times, in the Scripture, as little as *wee* consider them!) they Take Notice, how Men are Inclined and Employed for the Service of God, and gladly contribute their unknown Assistance unto that Service. Neverthelss, those Blessed *Spirits*, are so desirous of our overlooking *Them* to ascribe ALL unto the great God, *whose* they most Intimately Are, that they love ordinarily to bee *behind the Curtain*, of more visible Causes in what they do: and for my Part, I dare not with such Freedome as you may expect I should, communicate unto you, what I may know of *certain Measures*, by the taking whereof a Man may come to a most undoubted and Amazing Acquaintance with the *Angelical Assistences*. Only one thing I'll venture to say; Do you give yourself unto the Methods of extraordinary Devotion, and then see what *Answers* you have to your Prayers, and *How* and *When* those Answers are bestowed. You will then *safely*, and it would bee *safe* that I should putt you in a Way to do so until *Then*, bee in a Way to comprehend glorious Things, about *The Ministration of Angels*, which were scarce *lawful to bee uttered*.⁴⁴¹ But as for the *Evil Angels*, just as the unclean Birds of Prey, do haunt Carrion, and as Vermine are swarming and busy about Putrefaction, or, as debauch'd Ruffians will hang about a Dissolute Heir, until they have suck'd away all his Wealth from him; so those Impure *Spirits*, do flock about a Man, that is given over to Vice, until they see the Soul of him Irrecoverably Buried, in all Corruption. And as for a godly Man, whom these *Divels* cannot win over to them, they persecute him, with all the Envy and Malice imaginable; they raise use external Mischiefs against him; they watch all Opportunities to Ensnare & Blemish him; and if they can get any Claw against him, they Importune the Majesty of Heaven, for a Permission to do him some Notable Harm; only the Mediation of our *Advocate* JESUS in Heaven, procures him, the Releefs of an *Angelical Guard* for his Præservation.

Upon the whole, I take these things for granted; and there is the Word of God, for them.

First. It cannot choose but bee a Grief unto the *Holy Angels*, to bee Spectators of Enormities, in those, for whose Welfare they are concerned. If they have *Joy* over a *Penitent*, they must needs have *Grief* over a *Transgressor*. Yea, In all Probability the Miscarriages of such Offenders, work in them a sort of Distast, which disposes them in many Accounts to withdraw from the Offender, until they have washed themselves, by new Applications *to the Fountain sett open for Sin & for Uncleaness*.

⁴⁴¹ Mather of course had a personal and very dramatic experience with angels; see Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (124ff).

Secondly. It cannot but bee a most grateful Spectacle, unto those malignant Wretches, the *Evil Angels*, to see the *Falls* of a Christian; who upon the Discovery of such a Fall, tis likely, may call their Filthy Company together, and make woful Pastime about such an Object, as Boyes do about a Drunken Man, saying as it were, *Look, here is your Professor! Come, see where hee is, and what hee does!* Yea, such a Man is hereby laid open to the Power of these mischievous *Destroyers*: the noysome Contagion of Sin [in] him, drawes them about him, and they have a manifold Advantage against him, to distress him, in all his Interests, if God in sovereign Mercy Restrain them not.

When you have taken time to consider exactly of these things, you'l see a surprising Interpretation, of this Caution in the Word of God, *Bee watchful, because of the Angels.*

But, it is possible, I may explain it a little further to you, when⁴⁴² I write an *Illustration* upon Eccl. 5.6. *Neither say thou before the Angel, that it was an Error.*⁴⁴³

You'l say, All these things are too general; you must see something that shall affect the *particular Case* by the Apostle here spoken unto. Well then; what think you of this? The *Woman* in the Church, must have a *Covering* on her Head in token of Subjection, to her Husband. This now is to bee διὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων.⁴⁴⁴ Why, if you read the Beginning in the sixth Chapter of *Isaiah*, you'l find the *Angels* before their Superiour, the Lord Jesus Christ in the *Temple* assuming of a *Covering*, out of the Reverence which they pay unto Him. Hence then, saies the Apostle, in the *Temple*, it becomes *Women* to take Exemple by the Angels, who are employ'd with their Lord, about the same thing, of Reveling His Will to His Church; Lett them consider how the *Angels* behave themselves in the Presence of the Son of God, who is the grand Representative of the *Image* & the *Glory* of God, and lett them in their Habit show some Analogy, or Proportion, to the Habit of the *Angels*, betokening their Subjection to the *Man*, who is under the L. Jesus Christ, the *Image* & *Glory* of God, while *They*, the *Women*, are so, of the *Man*.

[▽Insert from 59r]

[▽59r]

Q. A further Gloss, on that Passage, about *the Womans having Power on her Head, because of the Angels.* v. 10.

A. S^t Norton Knatchbul takes it thus.

Lett a Woman have, that is, Lett her own, Power in her Head; that is, in her Husband.

⁴⁴² See Appendix A.

⁴⁴³ In his commentary on the verse quoted here, Ecclesiastes 5:6, Mather discusses the role of angels as witnesses and reporters of human actions and words.

⁴⁴⁴ "Because of the angels."

The Reason given, for it, is *Because of the Angels*. We have the Law for it, promulgated, Gen. 3.16. *He shall Rule over thee*. Now, S^r Norton thinks, That this Law was given or utter'd, by the Ministration of *Angels*; as well as the *Mosaic Law* afterwards. [Act. 7.53. Gal. 3.19. Heb. 2.2.]⁴⁴⁵

But the truest Gloss is given, in the *Remarks on the Spirit of Prophecy*, which make the First Article in the *Appendix* to our BIBLIA AMERICANA.⁴⁴⁶

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽60v△] [▽Insert from 60v] [blank]

[61r]

Q. What is the Meaning of, *The Womans having Power on her Head?* v. 10.

A. ⁴⁴⁷Some will urge, Lett it no more be translated so. The Apostle would have a *Woman* to be covered in the Church. He saies, *Because of the Angels, she ought to have Power over her Head*. That is, Tho' her Husband had Power over her Person, and much more, here Habit, on all other Occasions; yett here, his Authority was to be void.

4393.

Q. Well, but yett once more look upon it, thro' Dr. *Whitbyes* Glasses?⁴⁴⁸ v. 10.

A. He saies, All the Ancient Interpreters agree in this; That εξουσία,⁴⁴⁹ which we render, *Power*, signifies, *A Veil*, or, *Covering*, which being putt over her Head, compels her to hang down her Ey-lids; and it is here called, *Power*, as being, της του ανδρος εξουσίας και κυριότητος ενδεικτικον. *The Token of the Power and Dominion of the Man over her*.⁴⁵⁰ He saies, The *Evil Angels* are absolutely styled, *Angels*, in many Places. [1. Cor. 6.3. and, 2 Pet. 2.4. and Jude. 6.] And among the Nine Maledictions of the *Women*, which the Jewes reckon up, this is one; That *She is to have*, caput velatum instar lugentis, *her Head covered like one that mourneth*; and this, not so much a Token of *Subjection*, as of *Shame*.⁴⁵¹ Whence *Philo* calls, the το επικρανον, *Cover of the Womans Head*, the, το της αιδους σύμβολον, *The Symbol of her Shame*.⁴⁵² The *Shame*, they say, is due to her, *because she brought the First Sin into the World*. Saies *Tertullian*, *By her Habit she ought to*

⁴⁴⁵ Knatchbull, *Animadversiones in libros novi testamenti* (96–8).

⁴⁴⁶ Following his commentary on the book of Revelation in the *Biblia*, Mather adds 13 appendices, the first of which is “*Vates*, the Spirit of Prophecy”; see Mather, *BA* (1:62).

⁴⁴⁷ See Appendix A.

⁴⁴⁸ Daniel Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:165).

⁴⁴⁹ εξουσία.

⁴⁵⁰ τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρός ἐξουσίας καὶ κυριότητος ἐνδεικτικόν.

⁴⁵¹ Drawn by Whitby from *Pirke Rabbi Eliezer*, an 8th-century aggadic midrash on the Pentateuch attributed to Eliezer ben Hyrcanus; see *EJ* (16:182–3).

⁴⁵² τὸ ἐπικρανον; τὸ τῆς αἰδοῦς σύμβολον. Attributed in Whitby to Philo's *Special Laws*; see *Philo* (7:510–11).

resemble Eve, a Mourner & a Penitent; ob ignominiam primi delicti.⁴⁵³ Hence, he often interprets this Text, of, *Evil Angels*.⁴⁵⁴ Tis the Judgment both of *Jewes* and *Christians*, that the *Serpent* which deceived *Eve*, was acted by the *Divel*, or by *Samael*.⁴⁵⁵ Wherefore the Text is thus to be taken. “Because the Woman, being tempted by the *Evil Angels*, did that which is a Cause of perpetual *Shame* unto her, & increased her Subjection to Man, she ought therefore to use a Token of *Shamefacedness* and *Subjection*.”

Consider a parallel Text. 1. Tim. 2.11, 12, 13.

Q. That Passage, *Doth not even Nature itself Teach you, that if a Man have long Hair, it is a Shame unto him*: I beseech you, Help us to understand it.⁴⁵⁶ What shall wee count, *long Hair*, and what is meant by, *Nature*. Wee know, that all Ages, and all Nations, have used *long Hair*, and *Nature* seems to have taught them *so*, or at least, not to have taught them *otherwise*, as a Sign of *Liberty*. With *long Hair*, a Man is incommoded for the doing of *servile Works*. *Long Hair* therefore hath been generally affected, by Persons of Education, as a Token that they are not *Servants*, but *Freemen*. *Varro* tells us that *Barbers* were never seen in *Italy*, till *Ticinius Mæna* brought them out of *Sicily*, more than Four hundred and Fifty Years after the Building of *Rome*.⁴⁵⁷ And the Statues of the ancient *Romans* declare as much; *Ovid* therefore mentions the, *Intonsos Avos*.⁴⁵⁸ The *Lycians* valued their *Hair* so much, that they paid enormous *Fines*, to bee exempted from the Law, that required the Cutting of it; a Law made by *Condalus*, the Prefect, that hee might gett an, ἐπικεφάλαιον⁴⁵⁹ from them. *Aristotle* mentions it in his *Oeconomics*.⁴⁶⁰ *Alexander* in his Book, *de Genialibus Diebus*, with the Annotations of *Tiraquellus*, will satisfy you, that the ancient *Portuguese*, and *Gauls*,

453 “Because of the shame of the first sin.” Tertullian, *On the Apparel of Women*, ANF (4:14).

454 See Tertullian, *On the Veiling of Virgins*, ANF (4:32).

455 Also attributed in Whitby to *Pirke Rabbi Eliezer*. On *Samael*, see Mather’s entry on 10:10 (above).

456 The following lengthy discursion on the religious and moral meaning of long hair is wholly derived from John Edwards’s *Enquiry into Four Remarkable Texts* (27–136); it was also evidently used by Daniel Whitby, leading to a significant overlap in Mather’s two chief sources for this passage. On Edwards, see Mather’s entry on 1:21 (above).

457 The occasion of Publius Titinius Mena introducing shaving to the Romans (c. 300 BCE) is recounted in Marcus Varro’s *De Re Rustica*; see *The Three Books of . . . Varro concerning Agriculture* (190). Varro (116–27 BCE) was a man of letters, a politician, and an officer in the early Roman republic with close associations with Pompey and Julius Caesar; see *EB* (27:924).

458 “Unshorn ancestors.” See Ovid, *Fasti* (58–9).

459 “Head tax.”

460 Condalus was a Persian officer with authority over Lycia, who reputedly feigned letters from his sovereign demanding shorn hair as tribute from the Lycians and then arranged for payment of a tax in lieu of hair; see Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, *Oeconomica*, and *Magna Moralia* (362–3).

and *Persians*, and *Indians*, nourished their *Hair*;⁴⁶¹ and that the *Parthians*, and *Germans*, and *Scythians*, were very fond of their *Hair*; and among the *Lacedemonians*, you are informed by *Aristotle*, κομᾶν καλὸν, ἐλευθερίας γὰρ σημείον.⁴⁶² And *Plutarch* reports the Apophthegm of *K. Charillus*, when hee was asked, Why his People kept their *Hair* so much; *Because it was the cheapest Ornament they could think of*.⁴⁶³ *Martinius* relates, that when the *Tartars*, upon their Conquest of *China*, required the *Chinese* to cutt their *Hair*, it made a *Revolution* among them; the conquered *Chinese* took up Arms, with a greater Vigour and Fury, than had ever yett inspired them, and obtained a wondrous Victory. The Edict of the *Tartars*, requiring them to cutt their *Hair*, caused the *Refugees* of the *Chinese* to be so many upon the Desolate Island of *Cheuxa*, that Seventy Cities were immediately erected upon that Island.⁴⁶⁴ And the *Coreans*,⁴⁶⁵ pay an Annual Tribute unto the *Tartars*, on this Condition, that they shall not oblige them to cutt their *Hair*. *Acosta* represents the *Hair* of the *Mexican Priests*, as being of a prodigious Length.⁴⁶⁶

I might quote you *Lucians* Words; *Majoribus nostris decorum videbatur, senes Comâ luxuriare, religantes crobylum aureâ cicadâ exceptum*.⁴⁶⁷ I might quote you, what *Virgil* saies, *Comptos de more capillos*:⁴⁶⁸ whereon *Servius* writes, *Antiquo more quo Viri sicut Mulieres componebant capillos*.⁴⁶⁹ I might quote you,

461 On Alexander ab Alexandro and his *Genialium dierum*, see Mather's entry on 10:33 (above). Andreas Tiraquellus (1488–1558), *Semestria in genialium dierum libri sex* (1586), a commentary on Alexander's work.

462 "They considered it a noble thing to dress their hair, for it was a mark of their freedom." *Aristoteles et Corpus Aristotelicum, Rhetorica* (Bekker page 1367a, lines 30–31).

463 Apophthegms are collected sayings excerpted from classical sources; they were quite popular in early modern Europe. Charillus, or Charilaus, was a king of Sparta in the mid 8th-century BCE.

464 Martino Martini, *Bellum Tartaricum* (1654). Martini (1614–1661) was a Jesuit missionary in China from 1642–51, during which time he witnessed the fall of the Ming dynasty to the Manchus. He returned to Rome and published his account of the war before returning to China in 1658; see *NCE* (9:225). "Cheuxa" is the island of Hainan, once known in Chinese as the Pearl Cliffs (Zhuya) or the Fine Jade Cliffs (Qiongya). The Mongols pushed their way into China at the beginning of the 13th century; Kublai Khan established the Yuan dynasty in China (1271–1368). The Han Chinese on the island managed to maintain their independence before being incorporated under the Ming dynasty (1370).

465 I.e. Koreans.

466 Jose de Acosta (1539–1600), Jesuit missionary to Peru, also spending time in Mexico; see *NCE* (1:70). His ethnographic *Natural and Moral History of the Indies* (1590) is perhaps in view here.

467 "It seemed honorable to our ancestors that old men take good care of their hair, tying it into a knot bound with a golden cicada." See Lucian, "The Ship or the Wishes," in *Works* (6:432–3).

468 "Hair bound according to custom." See Virgil, *Aeneid*, in *Virgil* (2:227).

469 "According to the ancient manner by which men bound their hair like women." Marcus Servius Honoratus, a 4th-centuryCE linguist who published a lengthy commentary on Virgil; see *EB* (24:699). Whitby cites Honoratus elsewhere (p. 164) on 1 Cor. 11, though not in this case.

what *Strabo* reports, concerning the *Moors*; *Ornare se satagunt Comæ implexu, et Barbâ*.⁴⁷⁰ But I am weary with Quoting.

I remember that Mr. *Sharrock*, in his learned Book, *De Officijs Secundum Naturæ Jus*, propounds this Quæstion; *Nunquid de hoc Habitu, Natura peculiariter Jubeat?* And his Answer is; *Nihil peculiariter Jubere, sed perindè se habere circà hunc atque alios vestiendi Ritus; velle scilicet ne cui eo noxa aut offensa fiat, sed ut sanitati Corporis exindè consulatur, et deindè ut quàm gratiosissimos nos reddat ejusmodi personis, quarum Amicitij et Benevolentia uti nostrâ intersit plurimum*.⁴⁷¹

[Q.]⁴⁷² Now, what can you say to us, about the Words of the Apostle? v. 14.

A. I must refer you, to those that have professedly handled the Subject. All that I shall at present offer is This.

|

[62v]

It may bee, the Apostle speaks not of *long Hair* in general, but of *long Hair* worn with such a Custome, and on such a Design, as it was among the *Corinthians*, unto whom hee speaks.

You will smile, perhaps, if I tell you, that *Horace* may bee a good Expositor, upon the Words of *Paul* to the *Corinthians*. But, I remember that *Horace*, in Epod. 11. has this Passage.

Sed alius ardor, aut puellæ candidæ,

Aut teretis pueri

Longam renodantis comam.⁴⁷³

And I remember, that *John Viccars*, in his *Decapla*, on Psal. 32. ha's this Passage upon it; *More mulierum; Hunc morem puerorum concubinatorum; videtur prohibere S. Paulus*, 1. Cor. 11. ἕαν κομᾶ.⁴⁷⁴ The same, *John Viccars*, on Ps. 68. cit-

⁴⁷⁰ "They strive to ornament themselves with a knot of hair and with a beard." *Strabo*, *Geography*.

⁴⁷¹ "Whether nature demands particular requirements for this habit?" "It does not, but holds itself in the same manner regarding this and other styles of dress and ornament; it certainly ordains that the habit should not be annoying or offensive to anyone, but that it be mindful of the health of the body, and that it might render us to people of this sort, so that the greatest concern be their friendship and our benevolence." Robert Sharrock, *Hypothesis ethike* (1660), a treatise on natural morality. Sharrock (1630–84) was an Anglican cleric, a botanist, and a collaborator with Robert Boyle in his scientific experiments; see *ODNB* (50:64–5).

⁴⁷² See Appendix A.

⁴⁷³ "Another desire, either for a fair-skinned girl, or for a slender boy who ties his hair back in a knot." See Horace, Epode 11, in *Odes and Epodes* (394–5).

⁴⁷⁴ "According to the custom of women; St. Paul seems to prohibit this custom of boys [being used] as concubines: 1 Cor. 11 – 'if one [does something to] one's hair.'" John Viccars, *Decapla in Psalmos* (1639). Viccars (c. 1604–60) was a Puritan graduate of Cambridge who later allied himself with William Laud. His *Decapla* compared ancient manuscript versions of the Psalms as well as their translations in several Oriental languages; see *ODNB* (56:413).

ing that of *Horace*, L. 4. od. 10. *Et quæ nunc humeris involitant deciderint comæ*; adds upon it; *Juvenis concubinos reprehendit, ut S. Paulus*. 1. Cor. 11.⁴⁷⁵

Briefly, *Nature itself taught* all the World, that it was a *Shame* for Men to wear such *long Hair*, as the young Villians of *Corinth*, some of them more, in token of their being devoted unto Purposes filthily and horribly *Sodomitical*. And this Consideration is here very properly introduced, in Pursuance of what the Apostle had newly said, *The Woman was created for the Man*; Yea, and that by some Circumstances on the *Head*, the Difference of *Nature*, or Sex, between the *Man* and *Woman*, ought to bee præserted and proclaimed.

If this Illustration content you not, I must Retreat unto the Speech, of a Reverend Old Gentleman of my Acquaintance, who was very zealous for *short Hair*. Urging this Text, *Nature teaches, that it is a Shame for a Man to wear long Hair*; It was answered, You see all Nations in all Ages have counted their *long Hair* their *Glory*; and therefore the Text here, of what *Nature teaches*, must bee taken in another Sense, than what you putt upon it. Hee replied; *Nature taught those People this Lesson, but their Ears were so covered with their Locks, that they could not hear it.*⁴⁷⁶

But if it were, as Dr. *Lightfoot* thinks, That among the *Judaizing* Professors of the Christian Religion in *Corinth*, there were some that professed *Nazaritism*, I know not whether, that will not give you some further Illustration of this Passage. For, when the *Nazarites* lett their Hair grow, it was a Sign of Humility, & Self-denial, & a Religious Kind of Slovenliness, & Contempt of themselves. And therefore, they are much deceived, who think, that *Absalom* lett his *Hair grow*, out of *Pride*, when hee did it, from a *Vow of Nazariteship*.⁴⁷⁷

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Q. However, the Case is not yett so cleared, but that it may be worthy of a *Review*?

A. The Word, κοῦαν,⁴⁷⁸ used here, both to *Nourish long Hair*, and also to Dress, Trim, *Adorn the Hair*, and to ty it up.

Concerning *Long-Hair* in general, we may consider, first, what *Custome teaches*; for *Custome* is a *second Nature*; and *Calvin* and *Grotius* think, that *Cus-*

⁴⁷⁵ "The hair which now floats down over the shoulders shall fall," (adds upon it) "he condemns youthful male concubines, as does St. Paul."

⁴⁷⁶ It seems likely that Mather is referring to John Eliot here; at least, it is consistent with his account of Eliot's objections to long hair recounted in his *Magnalia* (1702): "he would express himself continually with a boiling zeal concerning it ..." Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1:540–1). A possible, if less likely, candidate would be Samuel Sewall, with whom Mather had personal confrontations over wigs; see Brown, "Hair Down to There" (509–10).

⁴⁷⁷ In his commentary on 2 Sam. 14:26, which addresses Absalom's long hair, Mather explains the prince's apparent vanity with regard to his hair as either a temporary religious (Nazarite) vow or as a requisite adornment of the palace guard.

⁴⁷⁸ "To grow hair long."

tome is meant by φύσις here, which is a verbal Noun from, πεφύκε· *solet*.⁴⁷⁹ The *Custom* of the *Priests* among the *Jewes*, was to cutt their *Hair*, at a *moderate Length*. [Ezek. 44.20.] And probably, the *People* went like their *Priests*: (tho' we find by their Pictures, that some of them afterward swerv'd from that Rule.) The *Nazarites* were peculiar Devotionists among them, distinguished by the Length of their *Hair*: who yett, it is probable all of them took their Liberty to Time their *Vow*, as they pleased, & at the End of the Time disposed of their *Hair*, as they pleased.

The *Egyptians*, letting their *Hair* grow long in the Times of Sorrow, (as *Herodotus* affirms) it should seem, that at other Times, their *Hair* was not so long: however, at the same sorrowful Times, they also shaved their *Beards*; and in their *Hieroglyphicks*, the *Hair* cutt off, signified *Grief*.⁴⁸⁰ The *Græcians* indeed were καρηκομώντες.⁴⁸¹ But the most ancient *Græcians* were of another Fashion; especially the *Lacedæmonians*. When they took up long *Hair*, as the *Philosophers* did first, out of affected Gravity, (tho' the *Cynicks* and *Stoicks* were all shaved close) the *Poets*, who described their *Gods* with long *Hair*, might have some Influence upon them. And they took it up, (which is intimated by what *Xenophon* saies of *Lycurgus*.) to strike the more *Terror* into their *Enemies*.⁴⁸² It was, (as *Eustathius* upon *Homer* saies,) not only, εἰς κάλλος, but also, διὰ το φοβερόν.⁴⁸³ And yett the Scholiast on *Aristophanes*, recites it as an *Athenian* Law, That the *Souldiers* might not wear long *Hair*.⁴⁸⁴ Afterwards they therefore cutt off the *Hair* before, being only ὀπίθεν κομώντες,⁴⁸⁵ that the *Enemies* might not lay Hold on them. This *Plutarch* relates of the *Macedonian* Souldiers.⁴⁸⁶ Long *Hair* finally, was affected among them, as a Badge of *Liberty*. The *Romans* as well as the *Græcians*, expressed *Grief*, by cutting off their *Hair*. And they did it in Times of *Danger* also. It is evident from Numberless Instances, That they look'd on it, as

479 Φύσις (nature); Πέφυκε (by nature); *solet* (to be accustomed). See Grotius, *Annotaciones in Novum Testamentum* (6:392). Calvin writes: "He again sets forth nature as the mistress of decorum, and what was at that time in common use by universal consent and custom – even among the Greeks – he speaks of as being natural, for it was not always reckoned a disgrace for men to have long hair. Historical records bear, that in all countries an ancient times, that is, in the first ages, men wore long hair. ... At the time when Paul wrote these things, the practice of having the hair shorn had not yet come into use in the provinces of Gaul or in Germany ... but as in Greece it was reckoned an unbecoming thing for a man to allow his hair to grow long ... he reckons as nature a custom that had come to be confirmed." See Calvin, *Commentary on the Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians* (361–2).

480 See Edwards, *Enquiry into Four Remarkable Texts* (56).

481 καρηκομώντες; "long-haired."

482 See Xenophon (c. 428–354 BCE), *Constitution of the Lacedæmonians*, in *Scripta Minora* (171, 183).

483 Not only "for beauty" (εἰς κάλλος) but also "to strike fear" (διὰ το φοβερόν). On Eustathius of Thessalonica, see Mather's entry on 9:27 (above).

484 On the Scholiast literature, see Mather's entry on 6:13 (above).

485 ὀπίθεν κομώντες; "long hair worn in the back."

486 Plutarch, *Lives* (1:13).

a Disgrace to be deprived of *Hair*; *Shaving* was a Mockery and a Punishment. The *Damnati ad Metalla*, were so disgraced, as we read in *Cyprian*; and we read in *Tacitus*, that the *Romans* thus used their Servants.⁴⁸⁷ The more genteel *Romans* were excessive in the *Length* of their *Hair*; their old Statues intimate it. But when their Manners were better cultivated, they cutt their *Hair*, as we see in the Images of the *Emperours*.

[63r] Our Apostle might then refer us to the *Custom* of the Nations; among whom tis plain, that the less *Barbarous* they were, the more they affected an *Hair* but of a *moderate Growth*. Accordingly, among the *primitive Christians*, we find, *Hair* of a *moderate Growth*, was look'd upon as commendable. *Aged Ministers* used it, according to the Words of *Ambrose*, *Quam reverenda Casaries in Senibus; quàm veneranda in Sacerdotibus?*⁴⁸⁸ But after this, the contemplative Christians, who retired unto a *Monastic Life*, lett their | *Hair* grow to an extravagant *Length*. *Austin* inveighs against the *Crinitas Fratres*⁴⁸⁹ of his Time, who indeed lett their *Hair* grow down to their *Feet*, as a Sign of their Mortification: and were not *shaved*, as the *Monks* are at this Day, and as the *Nuns* now also are, tho' the Council of *Gangra* pass'd a Decree; *If a Woman under pretence of Religion, shear her Hair which God gave her for a Remembrance of her Subjection, lett her be Accursed.*⁴⁹⁰ Indeed the ancient Pænitents, did use to cutt their *Hair* and *Beards*, upon their being received again into the Church; and probably, the Lopping of the *Monks*, was of that Original.

The *primitive Custom*, of *moderate Hair*, was extremely altered, by the Irruption of the Barbarous Nations, upon the *Roman Empire*. The Descent of the *Long-Hair'd Barbarians* upon the *Roman Empire*, was the true *Epoch*, of the *Altered Custom* among the Christians; which alone, may be Disparagement enough unto it. And yett it was a long while, before *long Hair* grew modish with our Christian Ancestors, in *England*. When it began to be the Mode, a Synod in King *Henry* the I.^s Reign Decreed against it; and the King Himself, & by his Exemple all his Knights, did submitt unto the *Decree*. The Excess was thereupon generally laid aside, until about Sixty or Seventy Years ago, we borrowed this evil Practice from *France*, as well as many others.⁴⁹¹

From the *second Nature*, lett us now, secondly, pass to *Nature* itself; or the *Dictates* of *Reason*, in the Breast of Man, which are called, *Nature*, because they

487 *Damnati ad Metalla* ("condemned to metal") were slaves and prisoners consigned to work in the ore mines of the Roman Empire. Cyprian wrote a letter (257 CE) to Christians who were enslaved in the mines; see his *Letters* (313–318, 405). Edwards (p. 58) gives no source for Tacitus.

488 "How much is a beautiful head of hair to be revered in old men and priests?" Ambrose, *Hexameron* (269).

489 "Hairy brothers." Augustine, *On the Work of Monks* (388–90).

490 The Synod of Gangra (340 CE) condemned the Manichaeans for, among other things, encouraging women to shave their heads; see *NCE* (6:88–9).

491 On these developments, see Brown, "Hair Down to There" (498–9).

are *Born* with him. Some Dutch Writers, have been very sharp upon *long Hair*, from this Quarter of the *Inward Law of Nature*.⁴⁹² Indeed *Nature* ha's given *long Hair* to Men, as well as to *Women*; and it is not *Intrinsically Evil*. The soberest Part of the World, have generally been against *long Hair*; but, an Extreme on the other side; even, *supercilio brevior coma*,⁴⁹³ seem'd more eligible to them, a Sign of Modesty and Chastity. The Disciples of the best Philosophers, have therefore been, (as we read in *Persius*,) *Detonsa Juventus*.⁴⁹⁴ This intimates, what *Nature* teacheth. But more than so, *long Hair* seems contrary to *the Lawes of Natural Decency*. The Apostle concluding his Discourse upon this with the other Miscarriages of the *Corinthians*, ha's that Passage, *Lett all things be done Decently*. That *Clause* is a *Key* to the Text before us, and shoves that *Natural Decency* is to be understood by *Nature*. Hence also in the Words immediately præceding this, he saies, *Is it comely?* Πρέπειν⁴⁹⁵ is, to follow the *Order of Nature* in every thing. *Moderate Hair* is *convenient* in Men; the Contrary is uncomely, unseemly, & Incongruous; not suitable to the Character of serious Wisdome, which in Men ought alwayes to be mentained. Nor is it of *good Report*, but a thing more agreeable to *Ruffians*, than to grave, solid, serious Christians. It becomes a Point of *Effæminacy*, especially, when the *Hair* is borrowed, which is the Mode of our Times. Borrowed Hair (or, a *Peruke*) may be lawful for them, whose Occasions call for it. But without any Honest Cause, to clap on a False Head of *Hair*, as if *Hair were given to Women for a Covering*, not for themselves (as the Apostle meant it,) but for Men; and much more, to have this *Hair* of an *extravagant Length*; tis truly a Fruit of *unmanly Vanity*. This effeminate Garb, shoves a Want of better *Head-Furniture*. Men become luxurious & womanish under it. These are none of *Sampsons* Breed; their *Strength* lies not in their *Locks*; yea, they are enfeebled by them. These *wanton Labels* are generally (as tis express'd by Mr. *Edwards*, whom I do little other than Transcribe, in all this Discourse) as noted Marks of Disgrace, as a *Fillet* in *Heraldry* is of Effæminacy, & as *Gussetts* and a *Goar Sinister* are Signs there of Cowardise.⁴⁹⁶ Once more, so far as *long Hair* may be cumbersome and an Hindrance to Business, the *Troublesome Tackle*, is therein *against Nature* also, as much as it is *against Business*. If Men were not Resolved upon Vanity, they would certainly complain of their *Ell-Wigs*, as impeding at least their Eating and Drinking, which they make the greatest Business of their

⁴⁹² The Dutch theologian Godefrid Udemans (*aka* Poimenander), in his treatise *Absalom's Hair* (1643), argued that to "wear the hair below the ears is a sin, which deserves eternal death." See Brown, "Hair Down to There" (499).

⁴⁹³ "Hair above the eyebrow."

⁴⁹⁴ "Shorn as young men." Aulus Persius Flaccus, a 1st-century CE Roman poet and satirist; *ERE* (213).

⁴⁹⁵ Πρέπειν; "to be proper, distinguished."

⁴⁹⁶ A goar (or gore) sinister is a heraldic symbol, considered to be a sign of effeminacy or weakness. John Edwards, *An Enquiry into Four Remarkable Texts* (77). On Edwards, see Mather's entry on 1:21 (above).

Lives. Or, if it were possible for these *Hairy* things to be *Warriours*, they must certainly leave these *Horse-tails* to the Enemy, as the Trophies of their Folly. Finally, The Word which we render, *Shame*, here, [Ατιμία] should be rendred rather, *Dishonour*. In *long Hair*, a Man *Dishonours* himself, in wearing that which is unworthy of his peculiar *Sex*.

And so we pass to the Third Signification of *Nature*; which is, That particular *Law* of Nature, which teaches that there must be a *Difference between Sexes*. This is the Sense espoused by *Revius* and *Salmasius*;⁴⁹⁷ and we shall from ancient Authors, find, φύσις, to be *Sexus*,⁴⁹⁸ in *Lexicons* and *Glossaries*, as well as in the First Chapter to the *Romans*. Now first, for the *Hair of the Face*, they who have pull'd this up by the Roots, or shaved it close, as the *Greeks* and *Romans* usually did, until the Dayes of *Adrian*, who first brought up the Fashion of *Beards* among the *Romans*, this may seem against *Nature*, as it intends the *Distinction of Sexes*.⁴⁹⁹ Hence the Lord forbad His People, [Lev. 19.27.] not only to *Round* (or shave all round) *the Corners of their Heads*, but also to *mar the Corners of their Beards*, by cutting all off Round. There is nothing to excuse our *smooth Chins*, but this, that several People in the World, have no *Beards* by *Nature*. And this *Beardless Fashion* is the more tolerable, so long as the *Distinction of Sexes* is maintained by a Difference of *Hair* upon the *Head*. But then, the Way of Wearing the *Hair* on the | *Head*, being thro' Custome agreed upon, among all Nations, to be one *Distinction of Sexes*, it is *Natural* to follow it. Now if a *Man* wear his *Hair* as *Long* as a *Woman*, the Sexes are not so well discerned, but confounded; and that is against *Nature*. The very Summ of our Context is, That *Women* must not be Forgetful of their *Sex*; tho' they should be endued with *Supernatural Gifts*, yett they must humbly Remember their *Sex*. If a *Man* have his *Hair* of the same *Length* with a *Woman*, he is truly *Travestie*, (or Dressed in anothers Clothes,) and for it he may be justly *Ridiculed*. Alas, that in our Dayes, the Apostles Words may be Transposed; *If a Man hath short Hair, it is a Shame to him; but if a Woman hath short Hair, nay, if she hath None, it is a Glory to her*. The *Distinction of Sexes* is præserted indeed, but by *Badges* very contrary to the *Primitive*.

Upon the whole; On the one Side, it is wrong in *Salmasius*, to declare that *Length of Hair* in Men, is free from all Fault; & their longest Locks are not against the Apostles κοῦαν. On the other Side, it is wrong in *Poimenander*, to forbid a Mans *Hair* from reaching any further than his Ears, or covering any more than the Skull; & to tell us, That to wear the *Hair* below the *Ears* is a Sin,

⁴⁹⁷ Jakob Reefsens (1586–1658), a Reformed theologian at Leyden whose *Libertas, Christiana circa usum capillitii defensione* (1647) defended more broad-minded attitudes about men's hair; see *NSHERK* (10:8–9). Claude Saumaise defended long hair and wigs in his *Epistola ad Andreame Colvium* (1644); see Mather's first entry on 10:33 (above).

⁴⁹⁸ "Nature" to be "sex."

⁴⁹⁹ Hadrian was emperor from 117–138 CE; he was the first known emperor to wear a full beard.

which deserves Eternal Death. As a Man should not go like a *Nazarite*, or a *Greek Philosopher*, or a *Nebuchadnezzar at Grass*; thus neither should he appear, like an *Affrighted Jew* in his Days of Mourning, or like a *Cropt Cynick*, or a *Shaven Monk*. The Matter might easily be decided by sober Minds; tho' some have made so great a Controversy of it, that it hath been called, *Bellum capillare*.⁵⁰⁰

But then lett us consider the other Signification of κοῤῃν, To *Adorn* the *Hair*, and to Dispose it after the Manner of *Women*. The *Women* did not wear their *Hair at length*; for they tied it up in Fillets, Laces and Ribbons; & they ordered it into several Divisions. They gathered it sometimes with a *Knott* on the *Top* of their Heads; And this Fantastick *Top-knott* of their own Hair, is what the Apostle reproves, [1. Tim. 2.9.] in Christian Women. The Word, πλεγμα,⁵⁰¹ signified, the *Curled Lock*, or *Tower*, which the Women wore on the Top of their Heads, & which was by the Latins called, *Corymbus*.⁵⁰² But it may take in, all the Foolish Excesses of the Women, in Dressing their *Hair* and the whole /מקשה מקשה/ *Calamistri opus*,⁵⁰³ [Isa. 3.24.] Trimming wherein there was a deal of *Workmanship*. Thus, *Coma*, say the Masters of Grammar and Criticism, is, *Capillus aliquâ curâ compositus*.⁵⁰⁴ And, inasmuch as the *Long Hair*, is here called, *The Glory of the Woman*, which would rather be a Squalid & Horrid Uncomeliness, if it were only Disheveled, it seems, that not meer *long Hair*, but *long Hair* Ordered and Fashion'd according to the Use of *Women*, is also intended. Neatly *Gathered Hair*, was the *Natural Covering* of the Women, to which they were to add an *Artificial* one, in the *Church-Assemblies*. But such a *Covering* is *unlawful*, and indeed *unnatural*, in the *Masculine Sex*. Many of the Gentiles, were degenerated into this Effæminacy; & very particularly, the *Corinthians*. These, and the *Athenians*, as it should seem, had particularly a *Knott* of *Hair* tied up, & standing upright on their Crowns; which was called, πλεγμα, & κωβυλος, and σκορπιος,⁵⁰⁵ a *Scorpion*, because perhaps, it was twirled and curled, in the figure of a *Serpent*; and such a Lock of *Hair* is called, *A Worm*, in our Modern Style. Among the *Romans* as well as the *Græcians*, these Vanities were too epidemical. *Ovid* himself Jerks them; *Quisque suas ponunt in statione comas*.⁵⁰⁶ *Juvenal* corrects this Pride in the *Roman Gallants*; and *Horace* lashes it.⁵⁰⁷ The grave Moralists also (and *Seneca* for one,) as well as the Jeering Poets, animadverted on it.⁵⁰⁸ That it was creeping in among the Christians is evident, from those which go under the Name of, *The Apostolical Constitutions*;

500 "The hairy war."

501 πλέγμα; "plaiting."

502 A "cluster" or "mound."

503 מקשה מקשה (a work of well-set hair) [Is. 3:24]; "A work of the curling iron" [Latin].

504 "Hair ordered with some care."

505 κωβυλος; "tufted hair"; σκορπιος.

506 "Who put their hair in its proper place." Ovid, *The Art of Love*, in Ovid (2:149).

507 See Edwards, *Enquiry into Four Remarkable Texts* (95).

508 Edwards, *Enquiry* (96).

where tis said, *It is not lawful to nourish the Hair, & to tie it up in a Knott, nor to curl it, & crisp it, seeing the Law forbids it.*⁵⁰⁹ (There is also an ancient Canon, the Fourth Council of Carthage, *Clericus nec Coman nutirat, nec Barbam.*)⁵¹⁰ However, tis plain, it was no *general Custome*. And for the *Manly Sex* thus to go after the Manner of the *Female Sex*, is indeed very Indecent, and of no good Report. *Forma viros neglecta decet.*⁵¹¹ The *Distinction of Sexes* does also require, that the *Man* should not approach too near unto the Habit of the *Woman*, that there may not *be the least Shadowe of Effeminacy, to disparage the masculine Kind*; which *Philo* gives as the Reason of the Law concerning *Distinct Vestments*, in the Book of *Deuteronomy*.⁵¹² *Aristotle* therefore, seeing a young *Beau* finely trick'd up, said, *Art not thou Ashamed, when Nature made thou a Man, to make thyself a Woman?*⁵¹³

It may not be amiss, to lay all these things together, that we may come at the full Meaning of the Text before us; in reciting whereof, (as I told you before, I have done little, but make an Extract of Mr. *Edward's* Lucubrations.)

[65r]

2350.

Q. *There must bee Hæresies among you*; what special Remark is to bee made on this Passage? v. 19.

A. Make this; That a Spirit of *Division*, is a Fore-runner of Apostasy and Corruption in Religion. Saies the Apostle; *I hear that there are Divisions amongst you, & I partly Beleeve it*. Now mark his Reason; *For there must bee also Hæresies among you*. A Spirit of *Division* is a Prognostick of a Spirit of *Hæresy*. Therefore, saies hee, inasmuch as there must bee *Hæresies*, I am apt to think, the Report of your *Divisions* is true. And thus, I find *Fernandius* particularly, noting, That the *Necessity* for *Hæresies* at *Corinth* lay in the Proclivity of the People to *Divisions*.⁵¹⁴ *Chrysostom* also has an hint unto this Purpose.⁵¹⁵

⁵⁰⁹ *Apostolic Constitutions*, ANF (7:392); see Mather's third entry on 5:6 (above).

⁵¹⁰ "A priest shall grow out neither his hair nor his beard." Over a dozen councils or synods were held in Carthage from the mid-3rd to early 5th centuries; the Council of 397 CE ruled on clerical hair; see *NCE* (3:188–89).

⁵¹¹ "An indifferent appearance is fitting for men."

⁵¹² Philo describes the priestly vestments in his *Life of Moses* and *Questions on Exodus*; see *Philo*, Vol. VI and Supplement II, respectively.

⁵¹³ See Edwards, *Enquiry into Four Remarkable Texts* (103); he cites Joannes Stobaeus, a 5th-century compiler of Greek texts as his source for Aristotle.

⁵¹⁴ Probably Antonius Fernandius, whose *Commentarii in visiones veteris Testamenti* (1617) Mather uses elsewhere in the *Biblia*; see *BA* (1:1088). Fernandius (1558–1628), a Jesuit, was professor of theology at the university in Coimbra (Portugal); see *CE* (6:44).

⁵¹⁵ Chrysostom, *Homily XXVII, Homilies on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians* (297–8).

|
106.

Q. What were those Abuses, with which the *Corinthians* profaned the sacred *Supper* of our Lord Jesus Christ? v. 20.

A. Hear Dr. *Lightfoots* Account of the Matter.⁵¹⁶ That sacred *Supper* was among them too much Discomposed, by means of another *Supper* which they unwarrantably annexed or præfixed thereunto. There were indeed certain charitable *Feasts*, which in some of the primitive *Ages* and *Places*, were used among Beleevers, together with the *Eucharist*. But I do not think, *These* to bee those *Agapæ*,⁵¹⁷ whereof the Apostolical Writings make mention; those *Agapæ* I rather take to bee the Entertainments provided for *Strangers* at the Cost of the *Churches*, in or near their usual Meeting-places; which are be some Judged, a laudable Imitation of the *Hospitals* adjoined unto the *Synagogues* of the Jewes; and thus wee find *Gaius* deputed & employed by a *Church*, for their *Host* of old. Much less do I look upon the Banquettings of the *Corinthians* before the *Eucharist*, which are blamed here, to bee those *Agapæ*. But the Disorders of *Corinth* were these; There was a Jewish Party in the Church of *Corinth*, which would not come unto the *Supper* of the Lord, without a *Paschal Ante-Supper*, wherein they Ate & Drank freely enough; thus they retained a Shadow of their *Passeover*, & mentained a Relique of their *Judaism*. The *Gentile* Party of the Church Disallowed these Proceedings, and would come *Hungry*, when the others came *Filled*, if not also well-nigh *Drunken*, unto the *Eucharist*: upon which ensued a Confusion in their *Church-Assemblies*, too Disorderly for any Time, but much more so, for a Time when they were to attend such a *Tremendous Mystery*.

⁵¹⁸This is *one Doctors Opinion*.

But then comes Dr. *Whitby*, and opposes, and as far as he can, overthrowes, all Dr. *Lightfoots* Conjectures. He contends for the Old *Agapæ*; and propounds, That since the *Agapæ* are mentioned, Jude. 12. and by *Ignatius*, and by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and by *Tertullian*, and by the *Apostolical Constitutions*, it is very unreasonable to call this Custome in Quæstion. He thinks, The *Corinthian* Abuses lay in the *Agapæ*, or *Feasts of Charity*, which was a sort of Banquet that they had by Way of Præface to the *Lords Supper*, and yett in Imitation of the *Paschal Supper* eaten by our Lord.⁵¹⁹

516 John Lightfoot, possibly his *Harmony of the New Testament* (1655) or *Horæ hebraicae et talmudicae* (1658–74).

517 “Love feasts.”

518 See Appendix A.

519 Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:166–7).

[▽67r] [▽Insert from 67r]

Q. On those Words, *Despise ye the Church of God*; there arises a Quæstion about, the Antiquity of *Churches*, or Houses consecrated unto the public Worship of God, & employ'd for other Uses? v. 22.

A. *Baronius* and *Fuller*, maintain that there were such *Houses*, as we now call *Churches*, in the more early Days of Christianity.⁵²⁰ And they bring this Text for it. But Mr. *Moyle*, in his Letters, discovers the Vanity of the Assertion. He shows, that the *Εκκλησια του θεου*⁵²¹ here plainly imports, the *Assembly* of Christians, & not the *Place* they mett in. Our Apostle rebukes the Contempt cast upon the *Congregation of God*, when the *Rich* feasted unto Excess, while the *Poor* were *fasting*, that brought nothing with them.⁵²²

We find, our SAVIOUR and His Apostles, held their Meetings in the upper Rooms of private Houses. [Mar. XIV.15. Luk. XXII.12.] The Apostles continued afterwards to hold their Meetings in such Places. [Act. I.13. Act. IX.39. Act. XX.8, 9.] Yea, Tis plain, they administred the *Eucharist*, in private Houses. [Act. II.46.]

As to the following Ages, none of *Baronius's* Arguments prove any thing. But most certainly, public Edifices for Divine Worship, were not agreeable, to the Poverty, & the Simplicity, & the Persecution of the Christians in the first Ages. Their Calamities came thick upon them, from *Nero's* Reign to near the End of the second Century. Such Buildings would have been too Invidious, and exposed them too much unto the Malice of their Adversaries. The Writers of those Ages, are also wholly silent about them.

And it is remarkable, that in the first Eight Persecutions, there is not one Instance to be produced, that their Churches were ever siez'd on, or destroy'd by the Government: Tho' after that Period, in which every body allows the Christians had *Churches*, the Storm still fell first on their *Churches*. They were demolished by *Dioclesian*, as we are told by *Eusebius*; and by *Lactantius*: And so they were by *Licinius*.⁵²³ And tho' *Julian* destroy'd them not, yett we understand

⁵²⁰ Cardinal Caesar Baronius (1538–1607), whose history of the church (*Annales Ecclesiastici*, 1588–1607) was a response to Protestant historiography; see *NCE* (2:105–6). Thomas Fuller (1608–61), Anglican clergyman and supporter of Charles I who after the Restoration was made a Doctor of Divinity (Cambridge), and chaplain to Charles II; see *ODNB* (21:159–63). Among many other works, he published *The Church-history of Britain* (1655).

⁵²¹ *Εκκλησίας τοῦ θεοῦ*; “church of God.”

⁵²² Walter Moyle (1672–1721), an English politician who wrote widely on science, medicine, politics, church history, *belle lettres* and classical authors. Collections of his works were published posthumously; see *ODNB* (39:612–14).

⁵²³ The emperor Diocletian instituted a legal persecution of Christians in 303 CE; Licinius was initially an ally in Constantine's rise to power, co-emperor (308–324), and brother-in-law but later defeated in battle and executed when Constantine consolidated the emperorship. See Eusebius, *Church History*, *NPNFii* (1:324); Lactantius, *Of the Manner in which the Persecutors Died*, *ANF* (7:303, 314–24).

by *Sozomen*, he stript them of their Ornaments.⁵²⁴ We know from *Eusebius*, That the Christian *Cæmeteries* were seized by *Valerian*; but he makes no Mention of their *Churches*. Nor does *Gallienus* in his Edict for the Restitution of their *Cæmeteries*, take the least Notice of returning them their *Churches*; which plainly shews they were not siezed.⁵²⁵ Now, will any Man believe, since their *Cæmeteries* were siezed by the Government, that their *Churches*, if they had any, would have escaped? The Epistle of *Barnabas*, tho' a Forgery, was written before the End of the Second Century; and he that reads that Epistle, will think, the Christians had no *Churches* when that was written.⁵²⁶ *Minutius* wrote in the Time of *Antonius*. In him *Cæcilius* objects to the Christians, their want of *Churches*; and *Octavius* owns the Charge.⁵²⁷ *Celsus* about the same Time does make the same Objections, and *Origen* confesses it & Justifies it.⁵²⁸

It is upon the whole evident, That the Christians had no *Churches*, till after the Middle of the *Third Century*. Tis truly | towards the End of the Third Century under *Dioclesian*, when their Numbers were vastly increased by the long Peace they had enjoy'd, from the End of *Valerian*, A. C. 259. to the Rage of *Dioclesian*, A. C. 303. they erected large & stately *Churches*, as appears from *Lactantius*, as well as from *Eusebius*. What those *παλαια οικοδομηματα* were in which they sometimes mett before, is not very certain.⁵²⁹ *Fuller* supposes, they might be *Oratories*; and *Moyle* allows it not improbable: which were first erected about A. C. 260. under *Gallienus*.

[▽68v]

[△Insert ends, 66v resumes]

[△]

Q. How often does the Apostle call the *Bread* of the *Eucharist*, *Bread* still, after the Consecration? v. 28.

A. Tis remarkable, That in the Figment of the *Carnal Presence*, the Church of *Rome* will not Beleeve the Report of *Three Senses*. For, as the Apostle calls it, *This Bread*, *This Bread*, *This Bread*, three Times, after the Consecration: [v. 26, 27, 28.] So, the *Eye*, the *Touch*, the *Taste*, all Three say, Tis *Bread*; Wee *See* it, Wee *Feel* it, Wee *Tast* it. But yett, the Apostate, Bewitched, Church of *Rome*, does beleeve, there is no *Bread* there. The Madness of this Delusion, did so scandalize

524 Salminius Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, *NPNFii* (2:66). Sozomen (c. 400–450 CE), a lawyer and historian whose church history carries into the early 5th century, though some parts are no longer extant; see *NCE* (13:372).

525 On Valerius and Gallienus, see Eusebius, *Church History*, *NPNFii* (1:300, 302).

526 The pseudepigraphic *Letter of Barnabas* is generally dated to 70–131 CE; see *ANF* (1:133–49).

527 Marcus Minucius Felix, a 3rd-century Latin apologist for Christianity; Marcus Antonius Gordianus I, II, and III ruled for most of the first half of the 3rd century. In Minucius' dialogue, *Octavius*, Caelicius Natalis is the pagan counterweight to the Christian protagonist, Octavius Januarius; see *ANF* (4:169–98).

528 Origen, *Against Celsus*, *ANF* (4:397).

529 *παλαιά οικοδομηματα*; “ancient buildings” – perhaps those that were obsolete or abandoned.

Averroes, the *Arabian* Philosopher, that when they asked him, on his Death-bed, *What Religion hee dyed in?* hee gave this Answer. *Quia Christiani manducant Deum suum, et adorant quod comedunt; Sit Anima mea cum philosophis.*⁵³⁰

4395.

Q. What is meant by *Eating and Drinking unworthily?* v. 29.

A. It is added, *Not discerning the Lords Body*. The Meaning then is, q.d. Behaving themselves as if they had not considered, that the Sacrament was instituted, as a Thankful and Practical Remembrance of our Lords Dying for us; & Ratifying by His Blood the Covenant, in which He promised to be *merciful to their Iniquities, & remember their Sins no more*; and as a *Feast of Love* designed æqually for the Benefit of all His Members, & to unite them in the closest Bonds of Unity.

In the *Talmud*, saies Doctor *Pocock*, there is a Distinction, between a Man who eats the *Passeover* /לֶשֶׁם מִצְוָה/⁵³¹ *In Obedience to the Command*, which was to do it as a Memorial of their glorious Redemption; [Exod. 12.13, 14.] And he who did thus eat it, was, *The Just Man that walketh in the Wayes of the Lord*: [Hos. 14.9.] And another, who did eat it only as *common Food*, without Respect unto the Commandment, or the Ends of its Institution; And hee is compared unto, *The Transgressor, that shall fall therein.*⁵³²

Thus here; He that eats of the *Sacrament*, as a Memorial of the Benefits conferred on us; thro' the Death of our Lord Jesus Christ, the true *Paschal Lamb*; he eats it *worthily*. But he that partakes of it only as *common Bread and Wine*, & ponders not the Ends for which it is designed, he *Discerns not the Lords Body*.

The *Damnation* here assigned for the Punishment of this Fault, imports *Temporal Judgments*. [Compare, 1. Pet. 4.17.] They were such that were here inflicted on the *Corinthians*; and the Reason of the Infliction was, that they might escape eternal *Damnation*.

Compare the *Thirty Second Verse* of this Context, & it will be plain, κριμα⁵³³ signifies here *eternal Damnation*.

530 "Since the Christians chew their god, and they adore what they eat, let my soul then be with the philosophers." Averroes, or Ibn Rushd (1126–98), Spanish Muslim philosopher and legal scholar; see *EB* (3:59).

531 לֶשֶׁם מִצְוָה (in the name of the command).

532 Edward Pococke (1604–91), Orientalist and biblical scholar and one of the contributors to Brian Walton's Polyglot Bible (1655). He was professor of Arabic (1636) and later professor of Hebrew (1648) at Oxford. Pococke published a number of commentaries on various biblical texts; see *ODNB* (44:662–6).

533 κριμα; "judgment."

Q. That Passage, *No Man speaking by the Spirit of God, calleth Jesus Accursed?* Lett it be a little illustrated? v. 3.

A. The Jewes did this; as we are informed, not only from the Words of *Justin Martyr*, Ἀδιαλείπτως καταρασθε καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.⁵³⁴ [Dial. cum Tryph. p. 363.] But also, from their Nineteenth Prayer, *Against Hereticks*. [*In quā æternum exitium illis imprecantur, qui à Lege Judaicā deficiunt ad Christianos*, as *Buxtorf* observes in his *Lexicon*,] made by *Samuel the Younger*, (whom some take to have been *Paul* himself) in the *Dayes of Gamaliel*.⁵³⁵ Their Diviners and Exorcists therefore, tho' they pretend unto the *Spirit* of God, yett, saies the Apostle, they cannot be acted by it.

And they who by *Miracles*, maintain that *Jesus is the Lord*, cannot be acted by any other than the Spirit of God; For no evil Spirit would assist them to confirm a Doctrine so opposite, and so destructive, unto the Kingdome of Satan.

Our Apostle here plainly has an Eye to the *Jewish* Exorcists.

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 69r]⁵³⁶

[▽69r]

Q. On that, *No Man speaking by the Spirit of God, calleth JESUS Accursed?* v. 3.

A. The Unbelievers of those Days, acted by the *Spirit* which led them to serve *Dumb Idols*, blasphemously said, That *JESUS* was *Accursed*. They look'd on Him as a Person to be detested, & made the common Odium of Heaven and Earth. On the Mention of Him, they would say, *JESUS Anathema*, or, *JESUS be Accursed*. In this Blasphemy do the Jews continue to this Day: hiding their cursed Sentiments under a corrupt Pronunciation of His Name. Instead of /ישוע/ they write and call Him, /ישן/, the initial Letters of, /ימה שמו וזכרון/, *Lett His Name & Memory be blotted out*; the same with, *JESUS Anathema*.⁵³⁷ And this Blasphemy of pronouncing *JESUS Accursed*, was that wherewith the First Persecutors of

534 Ἀδιαλείπτως δὲ καταρᾶσθε αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ; "You continually call down curses upon him and his descendants." Justin Martyr (103–165 CE), *Dialogus cum Tryphone* (133.6, lines 5–6).

535 "In which they pray for the eternal death of those who defect to Christianity from the Law of the Jews." Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629), *Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum* (1607). The *Birkat ha-minim* (Benediction against Heretics), attributed to Shmuel ha-Katan and composed in the 1st (or possibly early 2nd) century CE. It was aimed in general at the enemies of post-Second Temple Judaism, including Messianic Jews, and, as it was meant to be recited in the synagogue, it was intended to exclude them from the liturgy. Buxtorf was professor of Hebrew at Basel and the foremost Christian Hebraist of his day; see *NSHERK* (2:324–5).

536 See Appendix A.

537 יֵשׁוּעַ (Jeshua); יֵשָׁן (one who sleeps, or smolders). Mather's translation of the third phrase is correct. On the treatment of Jesus in the Talmud, see Schäfer, *Jesus in the Talmud*.

the Church tried the Faith of Christians; as tis declared by *Pliny* in his Epistle to *Trajan*, by *Justin Martyr*, & the other *Apologists*. Our Apostle here intends, That they who did this, did it by the Instigation of the *Devil*; the evil Spirit, who *works in the Children of Disobedience*.

On the other side, the Beleevers called Jesus LORD; professed Him to be *Their Lord*, and avowed Obedience to Him. One considerable Thing implied in it, is, That they owned Him to be JEHOVAH, the Lord, who is *over all*, *GOD Blessed forever*. For the Name יהוה/ is every where in the N.T. expressed by κύριος, the Term that is used here.⁵³⁸

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽70v] [▽Insert from 70v]

But may it not be objected, That some acted by the *unclean Spirit*, confessed JESUS to be, *The Lord*? [See Mar. I.23. & V.7. & Act. XVI.17.] To this, Dr. *Owen* answers, That our Apostle speaks of such an Acknowledgment of JESUS to be the LORD, as is accompanied with a Faith in Him, & a Subjection of the Soul unto Him; which is from none but the Holy Spirit of God. But the Confessions in the Objection, were either merely wrested & forced from the Devils, & no small Part of their Punishment; or designed by them as a Prejudice to the Glory of our SAVIOUR, by the Testimony of one known to be a *Liar from the Beginning*.⁵³⁹

[▽71r resumes] [▽Insert from 71r resumes]⁵⁴⁰

[▽73r] [▽Insert from 73r]

Q. A Remark on that; *There are Diversities of Gifts, but the same Spirit; and there are Differences of Administrations, but the same Lord; and there are Diversities of Operations, but it is the same God, which worketh all in all?* v. 4, 5, 6.

A. Behold, an Illustrious Proof of the Trinity: even of the Three Persons in the *same God*. Unto the *Spirit* are attributed, χαρίσματα.⁵⁴¹ Unto the *Lord*, διακονίαι.⁵⁴² Unto *God*, ἐνεργήματα.⁵⁴³ *God* the Father cannot be solely understood by these Three Terms, of *Spirit*, and *Lord*, and *God*: Because the *Spirit* is presently said, to be the *Giver*, the *Divider*, the *Worker* of these things. Now, tho' *God* be said to be, a *Spirit*, yett it appears not that the Term, *Spirit*, simply used by itself, did ever signify the *Father*, in the New Testament; & therefore it cannot be granted to signify Him here. For the same Reason, *God* the *Son* cannot be

538 יהוה (Jehovah, Yahweh); κύριος; "Lord."

539 John Owen (1616–83), Puritan divine at Oxford during the Interregnum, and voluminous theological author; see *ODNB* (42:221–30). Mather owned several of his works; see Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (74–5).

540 See Appendix B.

541 χαρίσματα; "gifts."

542 διακονίαι; "ministrations."

543 ἐνεργήματα; "operations or actions."

the sole Person meant by those Three Terms. It must then either be the *Holy Spirit* alone, or the *Trinity*. Its observed, by one, whose Thoughts relevee us, on this Occasion; If it be the *Holy Spirit*, then is He the *Lord God*, or *Jehovah Elohim*; and by consequence *one God* with the *Father*; for there is but one *Lord God*. [Deut. VI.4.] If the *Trinity*, then, as there is a Triple Fountain of the Blessings of the Church, so will those Three Persons appear to be but *one God*. If the *Adminstrations* attributed unto the *Son*, & the *Operations* attributed unto the *Father*, are comprehended under the *Manifestation of the Spirit*; and the ενεργηματα attributed unto the *Father* do also belong unto the *Spirit*, and He works them, not barely as an Actor of the *Fathers Will*, but also, *severally as He will*, yett in Subordination to the *Father*; Then it will follow, that the *Father* and the *Son*, must be in the *Spirit working*, and *one* with Him.

[△Insert ends, ▽Insert from 71r resumes]

[△]

Q. The *Gifts of the Spirit*, bestowed on every one, *To profit withal*? v. 7.

A. Προς το συμφερον.⁵⁴⁴ Some think, the Greek Word is a Metaphor taken from the *Bees*, who bring all the *Honey* they can get, into the common Hive.

4397.

Q. It would be a considerable Satisfaction, to fix the true Meaning of the several *Gifts*, which the Apostle mentions, as flourishing in the primitive Churches? v. 8, 9, 10, etc.

A. It is a Point of considerable Difficulty. But wee will employ Dr. *Whitby's* Conjectures, as the best Essay at present upon it.⁵⁴⁵

The Word of Wisdome.] We will understand by it, the *Wisdome* given the Apostles, to Reveal the Gospel unto the World; the *Gospel*, which is called, *The Hidden Wisdome of God*; and, *The Manifol Wisdome of God*; and, *The Wisdome of God in a Mystery*: As *Christ*, the main Subject of the *Gospel*, is called, *The Wisdome of God*; and in Him, are, *All Treasures of Wisdome*. [Compare, 2. Pet. 3.15.] The *Gift* of discovering the exquisite System, of, *Redemption by Christ*, seems to be, *The Word of Wisdome*.

The Word of Knowledge.] It seems to be the *Gift* of understanding certain special Mysteries; as, that Mystery of, *The Calling of the Gentiles*; That of, *The Recalling of the Jewes*; That of, *The Mystery of Iniquity*, working in the *Antichrist*; But more especially the Gift of understanding the *Mystical Sense* of the Scriptures of the Old Testament. [Compare 1. Cor. 13.2.] It agrees with the *Gift*, which was called, προγνωσις,⁵⁴⁶ by the Ancients; as we read in *Irenæus*, *There are some who have, προγνωσιν, the Knowledge of Things to come, and Visions, and ρησις προφη-*

⁵⁴⁴ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον; "for the benefit."

⁵⁴⁵ Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:171–2).

⁵⁴⁶ πρόγνωσις; "foreknowledge."

τικας, *Prophetical Sayings*.⁵⁴⁷ And the Man thus *gifted*, is called by *Romanus*, ο δυνατός γνωσιν ἐξεπεῖν. *The powerful Man to utter Knowledge*.⁵⁴⁸

[Faith.] It means, a miraculous *Faith*. [Compare, 1. Cor. 13.2.] But it may chiefly intend, A peculiar Impulse, that came upon the Saints, when any Difficult Matter was to be performed, inwardly assuring them, that the Power of God would assist them in the Performance of it. It is often mentioned, as a præparatory Disposition to the Working of Miracles, & is called, *The Faith of God*. [Mar. 11.22. See also Mat. 21.21. & 17.20.] This may be the Reason, why the *Gift* | of *Healing*, is here added in the Enumeration.

[The Working of Miracles.] The Fathers referr'd this, unto the Powers in the Apostles, to inflict Diseases, and even *Death* itself, upon Offenders; As in the Case of *Ananias* and *Saphira*, and of *Elymas*, and of the Incestuous *Corinthians*: [1. Cor. 5.4.] where the Apostle mentions the Word, which is here translated *Miracles*; namely, τῆς δυνάμεως χριστοῦ, *The Power of Christ*.⁵⁴⁹ And his *Rod*, he calls, *The Power that God had given him*. We find the Word used, for, *Miracles*, in very many Places, throughout the New Testament. Here it is distinguished from, *The Gift of Healing*; And elsewhere it is distinguishing from the *Power of casting out Devils*. [Mar. 7.22.] In this Place therefore, it seems to be Restrained unto *Miracles* which have a more transcendent *Power* display'd in them. Such as, the *Raising of the Dead*. Thus, to the First Successors of the Apostles, *Eusebius* ascribes, *Many strange Powers of the Holy Spirit*.⁵⁵⁰ And *Justin Martyr* speaks of, τῶν ἀπο τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ νῦν γινομένων δυνάμεων. *Powers* in his Time, *done in the Name of Christ*.⁵⁵¹

Prophecy.] This is evidently distinguished from Teaching. [Rom. 12.6, 7.] It imports, The Fore-knowledge or Prædiction of things to come; and this, in order to an Exhortation to some Duty. Thus *Agabus*, foretold a Dearth to come; that other Christians might be moved from thence, to send their Charity, unto *Judea*. [Act. 11.28.] This Gift was also exercised, in foretelling, who would be fitt Persons, to do good Service in the Church. [See, 1. Tim. 1.18. and 4.14.] And *Irenæus* tells us, The Prophets did also, τα κρυφία ἀνθρώπων εἰς φανερόν ἀγειν ἐπὶ τῷ συμφερόντι. *Manifest the Secrets of Men, when it was needful or useful for the*

547 ῥήσις προφητικὰς. Irenæus, *Against Heresies*, ANF (1:412–13).

548 ὁ δυνατός γνώσιν ἐξεπεῖν. There are a number of Christian figures named Romanus in the history of the church, most of whom left no significant literary remains. Perhaps the most likely here is Aegidius Romanus (Giles of Rome) (c. 1243–1316), student of Thomas Aquinas and archbishop of Bourges who wrote several biblical commentaries, including one on Paul's letter to the Romans; see "Giles of Rome," SEP (electronic).

549 τῆς δυνάμεως χριστοῦ.

550 Eusebius, *Church History*, NPNFii (1:169).

551 τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ καὶ νῦν γινομένων δυνάμεων; "powers now being exercised in his own name." Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone* (35.8, lines 4–5). See Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:171).

Church.⁵⁵² [Consider, 1. Cor. 14.24.] The Fathers argued with the Jewes, that God had left their Church, & own'd the Societies of Christians, because this *Prophecy* had left them, & was come to us.

Discerning of Spirits.] This was not only the Faculty of *Discerning* betwixt the Impulse of *True* and *False* Prophets, which he that had, was called by *Clemens*, ο σοφός ἐν διακρίσει τῶν λόγων. *A wise Man in discerning of Words*.⁵⁵³ And betwixt the magical Operations of evil Spirits, and the Powers of the Holy Spirit: [1. Cor. 14.29. 1. Thess. 5.20. and 1. Joh. 4.1.] But also a Judgement of *Discerning* the Spirits of other Men, whether they were Qualified for such an Office in the Church, and accordingly chusing them out for that Work. [See Act. 13.2, 3.] Thus we read of the *Holy Spirit* constituting *Bishops in the Churches*: Because, as *Clemens R.* expresses it, *They constituted Bishops and Deacons*, δοκιμασαντες τῷ πνεύματι. *making Trial of them by the Holy Spirit*.⁵⁵⁴ And *Clemens A.* saies, That *John* ordained to be of the *Clergy*, τοὺς ἀπο τοῦ πνεύματος σημαινόμενους. *Such as were by the Spirit signified unto him*.⁵⁵⁵ *Cyprian* saies, They were constituted, not only by the *Consent of the People*, and the *Suffrage of their Fellow-Bishops*, but also, *Judicio Divino et Dei Testimonio*; By the Judgment and the Witness of God.⁵⁵⁶ And finally; This Gift seems to imply, the Discovering of what was done Inwardly, in the *Spirits* of Men. So *Peter* discerned the Heart of *Ananias* and *Saphira*; & of *Simon Magus*. And *Paul*, the Heart of the *lame Man*, seeing he had *Faith to be Healed*. [Act. 14.9.] And *Ignatius* speaks of the Spirit in him, which did, τὰ κρυπτά ἐλέγκειν, *Reprove secret things*.⁵⁵⁷

[△Insert ends, ▽Insert from 73r resumes]]

[△]

4398.

Q. We read, of, *A more Abundant Honour* bestow'd on our more uncomely Parts. What may illustrate that Expression? v. 23.

A. The Cloathes which God made for *Adam* and *Eve*, to cover their Nakedness. *Onkelos* calls them, *Cloathes of Honour*.⁵⁵⁸

552 τὰ κρύφια τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς φανερόν ἀγόντων ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι; “make manifest the secrets of men when it was expedient for them.” Adapted from Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* (liber 5), fragm. 7, lines 3–4. See Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:172).

553 ὁ σοφός ἐν διακρίσει τῶν λόγων.

554 δοκιμασαντες τῷ πνεύματι. Clement of Rome, *Epistula I ad Corinthios* (ch. 42, sec. 4, lines 2–3).

555 τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος σημαινόμενους. Clement of Alexandria, *Who is the Rich Man that Shall be Saved?*, ANF (2:603).

556 Whitby (p. 172) attributes this passage to Cyprian of Carthage (d. 258 CE), but his footnote actually cites Ignatius's letter to the Ephesians; see ANF (1:50–1).

557 τὰ κρυπτά ἐλέγκειν. Ignatius, *Letter to the Philadelphians*, ANF (1:83).

558 On Onkelos, see Mather's entry on 10:33 (above).

And the Word here, which we render, *Honour*, is used by the Septuagint, to signify, *A Covering*. Thus, Gen. 20.16. *A Covering of thine Eye*, is by the LXX rendered, εἰς τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ προσώπου σου. *For an Honour of thy Face*.⁵⁵⁹

4399.

Q. The Comparison between the *Body Natural*, and the *Body Mystical*, may be a little Illustrated? v. 27.

A. Of the *Schism* of the *Members* against the *Body*, there was a famous Apologue of *Menenius*; which you have in *Livy*. [L. 2. c. 32.]⁵⁶⁰

But the Comparison used by the Apostle here, was much considered among the *Jewes*. They taught, as *Fagius* tells us (in Lev. 3.7.) that such Order ought to be observed between the *Priesthood* & the *People*, as in the Humane *Body*, in which there are superior Members, and others that serve the rest; but all of them serve the *Heart*, from whence Life proceeds.⁵⁶¹ Thus it was meet, the *Levites* should serve the *Priests*, and the *People* the *Levites*.

The Points of the Comparison used by the Apostle here, are obvious. They expire in this, which has not been so much observed. The Members that seem the weakest & the meanest are as necessary & serviceable to the Body, as the other. Thus in | the Mystical Body, they that are employ'd in Works of Com-
[▽74v] passion to the Poor and the Sick, & those that *serve Tables*, are as necessary as other Members of the Church, and had their χαρίσματα, or *spiritual Gifts*, as well as others.

And, Nature ha's taught us to employ our Care, in *Covering* and Adorning our less Honourable Parts; Thus, with regard unto the less Honourable Members of the Ecclesiastical Body, there were *Helps*, or Ministers approved particularly to take some care of them; to *cover* their Nakedness, & supply their Wants; & Promises were made unto those, who employ'd themselves in such Works of Charity.

And God ha's ordered, That there should be no *separate Interests*.

4400.

Q. The *Offices* which have been sett by God in the Church, some Illustration upon the Apostles Ennumeration of them? v. 28.

A. You shall have Dr. *Whitby's*.⁵⁶²

⁵⁵⁹ Gen. 20:16: ταῦτα ἔσται σοι εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ προσώπου σου (LXX).

⁵⁶⁰ Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, consul of Rome in the 6th century BCE; his metaphor of the society as a body can be found in Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* (1:322–5).

⁵⁶¹ Paul Fagius (1504–49), Hebrew scholar who promoted the Reformation as professor of Old Testament at Strasbourg and Heidelberg; he translated a number of rabbinic works into Latin; see *NSHERK* (4:265).

⁵⁶² Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:174).

To the *Prophets* may be ascribed the Gift of Knowledge & of Prophecy; [Compare, 1. Cor. 13.2.] As the *Word of Wisdom*, to the *Apostles*.

The *Teachers*, do seem to be Men, who having received the Doctrine of Faith from the Apostles, preached it unto others, for their Conversion to the Faith. They are the Men who *laboured in the Word & Doctrine*. [1. Tim. 5.17.] They were, saies *Eusebius*, Ἀποστόλων μαθηταί.⁵⁶³ *The Disciples of the Apostles, who built up the Churches in the Faith, which the Apostles had preached, promoting the Preaching of the Gospel, more & more, & spreading among them the salutary Seed of the Heavenly Kingdome.*⁵⁶⁴ And, they of them, who preached the Gospel unto those who had not heard it, were called, *Evangelists*, and sometimes *Apostles*. Thus, *Andronicus* and *Junia*, are called, [Rom. 16.7.] *Men of Esteem among the Apostles*. [Compare, 3. Joh. 7.8.]

The *Helps*, do seem to be the *Deacons*. As Dr. *Lightfoot* observes, The *Talmudists* called the *Levites*, *The Helps of the Priests*; thus, the Apostle may call the *Deacons*, *The Helps of the Apostles & Bishops*.

Governments are generally supposed, to denote the *Rulers* of the *Churches*; who are called, *Bishops*; [Act. 20.28.] *Rulers*; [Heb. 13.7, 7.] *Præsidents*; [Rom. 12.8., 1. Thess. 5.12.] I will not bring all Dr. *Lightfoot's* Conjecture; but only from him observe, that κυβερνήσεις,⁵⁶⁵ which we render, *Governments*, signifies in the Old Testament, *Wise Counsels*, and Skill in giving Judgment of things. [Prov. 1.5. and Prov. 11.14. and Prov. 14.6.]⁵⁶⁶

[△Insert ends]

[△]

⁵⁶³ Ἀποστόλων μαθηταί; “disciples of the apostles.”

⁵⁶⁴ Eusebius, *Church History*, NPNFii (1:169).

⁵⁶⁵ κυβερνήσεις. The root means “to steer”; thus it serves as a metaphor for governance and, as Mather argues here, for giving guidance.

⁵⁶⁶ John Lightfoot, probably his *Horae hebraicae et talmudicae*. On Lightfoot, see Mather’s fourth entry on 3:15 (above).

Q. What, the *Tongue of Men & Angels*? v. 1.

A. The *Tongue* of Men inspired and possessed by *Angels*. The Operations of the *prophetic Spirit*, had usually the Ministry of *Angels* in them.

Q. The Occasion, & Invention of that Expression, *Sounding Brass*? v. 1.

A. Tis, q.d. You may make a mighty Noise of the Persecutions you have suffered; make a Cry & a Boast of your mighty Sufferings.

Q. Does the English Word, *Charity*, do well in this Chapter? v. 1.

A. Some do, without any breach of *Charity* to that Word, complain of it. For the Greek Word, Ἀγάπη, is of a larger Signification, than, *Charity*, in our Language. *Charity* now, is only used, either to denote our candid & courteous and *favourable Construction*, of what is Thought or Done, by other Men; or else our *Liberality* towards the Poor. Whereas, tis plain, this Word is of a vastly larger Signification in the Original. And therefore tis improperly translated *Charity*. We have no Word, but that of *Love*, as it relates to *God* and *Man*, (which is the *fulfilling of the Law*,) to express it withal.

Q. What was a *Cymbal*? v. 1.

A. A *Cymbal* consisted of Two large hollow'd *Plates of Brass*, with Broad *Brim*s, which were struck one against another to fill up the Symphony in great Consorts of *Musick*. They made a great & a deep Sound, but had scarce any Variety of Musical Notes.

4401.

Q. In the Enumeration of the Things compared with *Love*, what might the Apostle have his Eye upon? v. 1, 2, 3.

A. The Apostle enumerates the things which were of highest Value among the Jewes, and which procured their *Wise Men* to be most highly celebrated.

Thus, of R. *Jochanan ben Zacchai*, they say, That he understood the *Language of Angels*; And of R. *Azai*, That there was not in his Dayes a *Rooter up of Mountains* like to him; or one that could do so great things as he did.⁵⁶⁷ They said, The Man on whom the Spirit of *Prophecy* rested, must be a *Wise Man*, a

⁵⁶⁷ Jonathan ben Zakkai, a 1st-century Pharisee identified in the Talmud as a central figure in the reconstitution of Judaism after the destruction of the Temple; see "Johanan be Zakkai," *JE* (electronic). Shimon ben Azzai, an early 2nd-century CE Talmudic rabbi; see "Ben Azzai," *JE* (electronic). Whitby (p. 175) lists the Bava Batra section of the Talmud as the source for Zakkai and Buxtorf's *Lexicon* as the source for Azzai.

Religious Man, a Temperate Man, & one endued with all Probity of Manners. Of Alms, they say, That *whosoever diminisheth any thing of his Substance, to bestow in Alms, shall be delivered from Hell.* And as for *Martyrdome* for the Law, they thought it sufficient to expiate, not only for their own Sins, but even for the Sins of the whole Nation. Hence *Josephus* brings in *Eleazar* praying thus for the Jewes; *Lett my Blood be an Expiation for them, & receive my Life for their Lives.* And he saies of the Martyrs that suffered under *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *That the Divine Providence saved all Israel from the Evils they suffered, by the Blood and propitiatory Death of those pious Men.*⁵⁶⁸

Q. *Sounding Brass?* v. 3.

A. Well called so, as my *Boehm* observes; A Thing altogether destitute of an Inward Principle of Life, & making no Noise, but when struck upon. I may add, They make a mighty Noise, of their Persecutions, if any Blows have been given them.⁵⁶⁹

1771.

Q. It is here said of Charity, *It Beareth all Things*, and yett it is added, *It endureth all things.* Are not these the same? v. 7.

A. Some would therefore have it, [στέγει]⁵⁷⁰ read so, *It covereth all things*; for so that Word also signifies.

But you'l see as great an Elegancy in our Translation, as you | would ask for, when you have considered, the Force of it. Holy Mr. *Burroughs* thus glosseth it; "It is like the Cross, Main, Beam in an House supporting the whole Building. And were it not for some, who have the *Love* of God, and His Truth, and the

[▽76v]

⁵⁶⁸ Antiochus Epiphanes (c. 215–164 BCE) was the Seleucid king who persecuted the Jews and provoked the Maccabean War (167–160 BCE). Whitby (p. 175) refers to Josephus's unsourced citation of 2 Maccabees 6 (v. 18–31), although the quotations here are really more of a paraphrastic summary of 2 Maccabees 6.

⁵⁶⁹ Anthony William Boehm (Anton Wilhelm Böhm), *The Faithful Steward*. This eulogy was preached at the funeral of Henry William Ludolph (1655–1710) who served in the Danish diplomatic corps in England. Ludolph's *Reliquiae* (or "Remains"), which included a collection of his reflections on religious piety, was published in 1712 and included this sermon. Boehm (1673–1722) was a graduate from the University of Halle. He came to England in 1701 as a teacher to the children of German foreign nationals; in 1705, though not ordained, he was made a chaplain to Prince George of Denmark, husband to Queen Anne. He was an associate of August Hermann Francke, the influential German pietist, and involved with the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge in England. Several letters, dated between 1710 and 1718, appear in *The Diary of Cotton Mather* (2:332, 348, 364, 406, 411, 563, 582) and Silverman, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather* (92, 215, 260). Boehm served as one of Mather's links to London pietist circles. It was Boehm who disappointed Mather by suggesting that he deposit a manuscript copy of the *Biblia* in London, since its prospects for publication were minimal; see Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (258). On Boehm, see Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England: Anthony William Boehm and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*.

⁵⁷⁰ "To cover, be watertight, as a roof."

Good of the Publick, enabling them to undergo what they doe, more than any Encouragement from Men, all things in Church and State, would bee ready to fall into Confusion, to bee nothing but an Heap of Rubbish: but this *Love*, enables to *bear all things*. They see, that tho' they hazard themselves never so much, bee of never so great Use, do the greatest Services that can bee expected from Men, yett when Mens Turns are served, they are little Regarded, but envyed, and narrowly watched, to spy out any thing, that may have some Shew of excepting against them, & left to shift for themselves as well as they can; when they might justly expect a great Reward of their Services, they are Disappointed, and their Hearts are grieved. But yett, because they are acted, by a Principle of Love to God, His Cause, the Publick, they therefore still hold out, go on in their Way, labour to bee as Instrumental as they can for Good, and *bear all things*.”⁵⁷¹

Q. But, it also *Beleeveeth all things*?

A. A Person of Quality, writing a Book which he entitles, *A View of the Soul*, ha's this Gloss upon it.

“Surely, there is no more meant by that, than concerns the *Fidelity* of the Messenger, or The Relator; That is, we are thereby inclined to think, that the Man verily beleeves the *Truth* of those things, which he would perswade my Reason to accept for *True*.”⁵⁷²

Q. How does Apostle mean when he says, *I shall know, as I am known*? v. 12.

A. It means not, as *known* of the Infinite God. There is no Comparison to be made, of the *Knowledge* which the Glorious God has of us, & what we shall have of Him.

It means, as *known* by, the created Inhabitants and Intelligents, of the Heavenly World. We shall have, an *Intuitive Knowledge*, like to Them; A clear, Quick, penetrative *Knowledge*, wherein we shall know who and what is in the Heavens, as the Angels & the rest, know us at their first Looking on us.

If I don't misremember, Mr. *Baxter* somewhere glosses to this Purpose.⁵⁷³

[△] [△Insert ends]

⁵⁷¹ Jeremiah Burroughes, perhaps his *Difference between the Spots of the Godly and of the Wicked* (1668) or *Rare Jewel of Christian Contentment* (1651) or his collected sermons, *The Saints Treasury* (1654). Burroughes (1599–1646) was a Puritan pastor and Congregationalist, active in the Westminster Assembly; see *ODNB* (8:1010–11).

⁵⁷² Richard Saunders, *A View of the Soul* (1682). Saunders (1613–1675) was an English physician and astrologer (*Astrological Judgment*, 1677); see *ODNB* (49:47–8).

⁵⁷³ Richard Baxter, possibly his *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (1685). Baxter (1615–91), an essentially self-taught clergyman, joined the Puritan cause but resisted its more extreme tendencies. He helped to bring about the Restoration but failed to gain acceptance for dissenting clergymen (a process known as “comprehension”) and so lost his clerical appointment after the Act of Uniformity (1662). He objected to the stricter forms of Calvinism and argued in favor of universal atonement. His greatest influence came through his numerous writings on practical theology and piety. See *ODNB* (4:418–33).

[▽Insert from 77r]

[▽77r]

Q. Lett us reflect on the glorious Properties of *Love*, exhibited in the Chapter before us? v. 13.

A. An uncertain Author; *De Amore Dei*, in the Works of *Bernard*, has a Gloss not unworthy to be recited.

*Sola Charitas est, quæ in adversis non deficit; quia patiens est. Quæ Iniurias non rependit; quia Benigna est. Quam felicitas aliena non cruciat; quia non æmulatur. Quam conscientia mala non pungit; quia non agit perperam. Quæ in Honore non extollitur; quia non inflatur. Quæ in Abjectione non confunditur; quia non est Ambitiosa. Quam Cupiditas non coarctat; quia non quærit quæ sua sunt. Quam contumeliæ non provocant; quia non irritatur. Quam sinistrae suspiciones non fœdant; quia non cogitat malum. Quam aliena mala non letificant; quia non gaudent super Iniquitate. Quam errores non cæcant; quia congaudet Veritati. Quam persecutiones non frangunt; quia omnia suffert. Quam perfidia non indurat; quia omnia credit. Quam desperatio non absorbet; quia omnia sperat. Quam mors et separatio non intercidit; quia non excitat.*⁵⁷⁴

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 78v] [blank]

[▽78v△]

⁵⁷⁴ “That alone is charity, which does not fail in adversity, for it is patient; which does not weigh injuries, for it is kind; which the happiness of another does not torture, for it does not enviously strive; which the conscience of evil does not penetrate, for it does no wicked deed; which is not raised by honors, for it is not puffed up; which is not overwhelmed in humble circumstances, for it is not ambitious; which desire does not constrict, for it does not seek what is its own; which insults do not provoke, for it is not annoyed; which foul suspicions do not dirty, for it does not think of evil; which does not rejoice in the pain of others, for it does not exult unjustly; which is not blinded by error, for it rejoices in truth; which persecutions do not break, for it endures all things; which perfidy does not harden, for it believes everything; which desperation does not destroy, for it hopes for everything; which death and separation do not destroy, because it does not perish.” (Mather has “excitat” here [awaken], but other versions have “excidit” here, [perish], which makes more sense.) Bernard of Siena, *De excellentia divini Amoris, Opera Omnia* (2:19). Bernard (1380–1444) was a Franciscan priest and missionary in Italy; see *EB* (3:799).

4402.

Q. Something towards the Explication of the whole Discourse, about the *spiritual Gifts* in the primitive Church, may be profitably offered, before we go any further? v. 1.

A. Lett these two things be noted. (*Whitby* ha's noted them.)

First. The Gift of *Tongues*, and *Prophecy*, in their original Donation, did still go together. They who *spake with Tongues*, did still *speak the great Things of God*. [Act. 2.11. and, 10.46.] *They spake with Tongues and prophesied*. [Act. 19.6.] And the Reason seems plain; Because the Gift of *Tongues*, was given as an Help to *Prophecy*. Now these two things thus joined by God, should not by these *gifted Men* have been used separately. Yea, the Gift of *Tongues* was only to be used, when they were to speak unto the *Gentiles* in their own Language; which was one main Intention of it. Nor should they have used the Gift of *Tongues*, when an *Afflatus*⁵⁷⁵ came upon them, and a *Mystery* was imparted unto them, whereby the Church was to be edified; unless they knew there was one present, who had the Gift of *Interpretation of Tongues*. This therefore was a great Abuse of this *Gift*; that when they had a *Great Thing* Revealed unto them, they did not utter it in a Language understood by the Assembly, but only by themselves; and so, they did not *edify* the Church by it, tho' it was given, as every Gift was, for *Edification*.

Secondly; The Gift of *Tongues* being imparted, *per modum habitus*, as a permanent *Gift*, like an *Habit*, they who received this *Gift*, could alwayes use it at Pleasure; and so they could use it, when a propheticall *Afflatus* came upon them. Whereas, the *Gift of Prophecy*, being an *Afflatus*, in Manner of a Revelation, could be only used, when the *Afflatus* came upon them; so that the *first Gift* might be used at any time, without a fresh Operation of the Holy Spirit; but the *second Gift* alwayes required a New *Afflatus*.⁵⁷⁶

4121.

Q. What may be the Meaning of those Passages, *I will pray with the Spirit, and I will pray with the Understanding also*? v. 15.

A. We first read of, *praying in a Tongue*; That is to say, An unknown Tongue, the Knowledge whereof was obtained by a special Gift of the Holy Spirit. It is probable, that the *Corinthians* which had the *Gift of Tongues*, placed a singular Value upon the *Hebrew*, and would love sometimes to recite their *Prayers* in it, among the People, who understood it not. The Excellence and Usefulness of the

⁵⁷⁵ "Spirit of inspiration."

⁵⁷⁶ *Whitby, A Paraphrase on the New Testament (2:179).*

Tongue allured them; and perhaps a little Touch of an Opinion, then prevailing, That *Prayers* made in it, were of more Account with Heaven. *Cappellus* and *Lightfoot* find this Opinion among the *Hebrewes*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus* finds the like among other Nations. He who spoke thus in a strange Tongue, did not *speak unto Men, but unto God*: None but God was a Witness of what he spoke.

To *pray with the Spirit*, was to pray under an extraordinary Motion and Rapture from the Holy Spirit, & with such an Extasy upon the Man, *ut neque ipse ad modum percipiat quid dicat, neque alij intelligant quid velit*.⁵⁷⁷

Understanding, here seems to be taken Transitively; noting what we tender to the *Understanding* of another. *With the Understanding* is, q.d. so that others may understand. Thus Prov. 5.1. *My Understanding*, is, What I give thee to understand. *Mente orare* (saies *Witsius*) *est ità orare, ut vota, que sedata mente concipis, ità exponas, ut ab alijs quoque concipi atque intelligi queant*.⁵⁷⁸

Exemplary the Resolution of our Apostle. *I will pray with the Spirit*: “I won’t refuse, to entertain an extraordinary Excitation from the *Spirit* unto this Duty. *But I will also pray with the Understanding*: I will so manage the Matter, as to manifest, that I am a Master of my Reason, & endeavour that others also may be edified.”

{H}403.⁵⁷⁹

Q. May we not suppose, That they who had the *Gift of Tongues*, did sometimes utter what they did not themselves understand? v. 15.

A. By no means. For we find, He that had the *Gift of Tongues*, [v. 4.] did *edify himself*; and, [v. 28.] *speak to himself*. And as Dr. *Whitby* saies: He could not be said, to have the *Gift of Tongues*, who only had the Gift of Talking, he knew not what; as the *Phanatic*⁵⁸⁰ did among the Heathens.⁵⁸¹ Nor can it be supposed, the Spirit of God should assist Men in that useless Manner. When it is said, *Lett him pray, that he may Interpret*, the Meaning is, Lett him (so) pray (*with his Gift, as*) that he may (by the Words in his Prayer, or by explaining it in a known Language,) interpret and impart unto others, what the *Afflatus* hath imparted unto him, & not out of a vain Ostentation utter if in a *Tongue* unknown. *Budæus*

⁵⁷⁷ “That neither does he fully understand what he says, nor do others understand what he wishes.”

⁵⁷⁸ “To pray with the mind is to pray such that you set forth prayers, which you undertake with a sedate and calm mind, that they could be undertaken and understood by others also.” Hermann Wits, *Exercitatio De Oratione* (Exercitatio I, secs. XXXIX–XL, pp. 23–4). On Wits, see Mather’s first entry on 7:14 (above).

⁵⁷⁹ See Appendix A.

⁵⁸⁰ “Those possessed by spirits.”

⁵⁸¹ Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:182).

observes, That οὕτως,⁵⁸² is sometimes elegantly deficient.⁵⁸³ And, *Noldius*, and, *Pasor*, observe, that ὡς⁵⁸⁴ signifies, *Adeo ut*, or, *So as that*.⁵⁸⁵

[80v]

4404.

Q. How was that Passage to be understood as Fulfilled: *In the Law it is written, With Men of other Tongues will I speak unto this People; And yett for all that, they will not hear Me?* v. 21.

A. 'Tis in Isa. 28.11. All Interpreters generally tell us, It is there mentioned as a *Miracle* show'd unto the People, that God would *send Prophets* unto them, in a *Language they understood not*. But *Whitby* notes, That he finds no *Miracle* mention'd there; but in the *Law* properly so called, among the *Curses* threatened, for a *Sign & a Wonder*, this is one; That the *Lord will bring against them a Nation, whose Tongue they understood not*. And then, tis intimated, that yett *they would not hear*. He saies, The Apostle may refer to both of these Places.⁵⁸⁶

Q. *Lett the First hold his Peace?*] v. 30.

A. Lett him *Finish* before the *New Prophet Begin*.

2721.

Q. What may be the Intent of that Passage; *The Spirits of the Prophets, are subject to the Prophets?* v. 32.

A. The Apostle is advising the Christians, to avoid all Confusions in their Exercises: And he particularly advises them, That when Divine Inspirations came upon them, in the Assemblies of the Faithful, they would not confusedly Interrupt one another in the uttering thereof; but, *prophesie one by one*. A Prophet might object, *But I am so strongly urged, by the force of the Inspirations upon me, that I cannot forbear, or delay, I must bring them forth immediately*. In answer to this Objection, the Apostle saies, That it is true, such as were inspired from the *Pythonic Spirit*, were acted with so much *Raging Fury*, that they could not keep in their *Enthusiasms*.

At phæbi nondum patiens immanis in antro Bacchatur Vates, magnum si pectore possit excussisse Deum, tanto magis ille fatigat, os rabidum, fera corda domans.

⁵⁸² οὕτως; "in this manner."

⁵⁸³ On Budé, see Mather's entry on 2:6 (above).

⁵⁸⁴ "In order that."

⁵⁸⁵ Or, "as far as that, in that place." Christianus Noldius (1626–83), philosopher, theologian, and Hebrew scholar, professor of theology at Copenhagen; Georg Pasor (1570–1637), theologian and philologist, professor at Franeker, and author of a lexicon of the Greek New Testament (1619). See *GBD* (23:208) and *ADB* (25:194), respectively.

⁵⁸⁶ Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:182).

Saith *Virgil* of the *Sybyl*.⁵⁸⁷

But now, saies the Apostle, Men that are divinely inspired, are not thrown into such a Rage. Tho' their *Inspirations* proceed not from or at their *Wills*, yett they can manage them as they *Will*, for the Circumstances of their producing them: They may take their own *Time*, and they may do what they *will*, for the observing of *good Order*, in speaking what they have to speak. The *Prophets* are not forced, by the *Spirits* which act them, to do any thing *unseasonable*: the *Spirits* will in this thing be *subject unto the Prophets* themselves, leaving them to use their own Holy Discretion, about the Circumstances of their uttering their *Prophecies*.

Whether this Gloss be pleasing or no, I have mett with many an one in *Grotius*, that has worse pleased me.⁵⁸⁸

4405.

Q. The Apostle saies, *It is a Shame for Women to speak in the Church?* v. 35.

A. Yea. And the *Hebrew Canon* too saies, A Woman must not Read in the Synagogue, for the Honour due to that Assembly.

But here, *To Speak*, more strictly signifies, *To Discourse* and *Debate* with *Men*, publickly, about the Points then agitated. In the *Synagogue*, it was usual for any Man that had a Mind, to demand of the Teacher, a further Explication of what he had said. This was not permitted unto the *Women*. But still, as Dr. *Lock* observes, They had a Liberty to speak, when they had an Immediate Impulse and Revelation from the Spirit of God.⁵⁸⁹

Q. Humane Inventions and Impositions, in the Worship of God, have sometimes encouraged themselves, from that Scripture, *Lett all things bee done, Decently and in order?* v. 40.

A. With very little Reason!

The True Translation of the Text, is, not, *In order*, but, *According to order*, or, Command. Then are things done in the Worship of God, *εὐσχημόνως*,⁵⁹⁰ *Decently*, Handsomely, Honestly, when they are done, *κατὰ τὰξιν*,⁵⁹¹ *According* to his *Appointment*.

⁵⁸⁷ "No longer able to endure the power of great Apollo, the priestess rages madly throughout the cave, if she might be able to throw the god from her breast; so much the more does he exhaust her, controlling her rabid face and heart." Virgil discusses the Sibylline Oracles in the *Aeneid* (6.77–80).

⁵⁸⁸ Grotius, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (6:426–7).

⁵⁸⁹ Locke, *A Paraphrase on the Epistles of Paul* (1:245).

⁵⁹⁰ "Elegantly, gracefully."

⁵⁹¹ "According to order."

Q. *First of all?*] v. 3.

A. ἐν πρώτοις.⁵⁹² *As the chief & principal Points.*

Q. How was our Lords Resurrection, *On the Third Day, according to the Scriptures?* v. 4.

A. Besides the Prophecy, which there was, that our Lord should not ly so long in His Grave as to *putrefy*; for which, compare Joh. 11.39. with Act. 2.27, 31. There were several notable *Types* of our Lord in the Scripture to this Purpose. *Isaac* was a famous Type of our Lord, when hee was by his own Father given up to Death, & when hee bore the Wood that was to bear him. The *Bereshith Rabboth* [which is Wonderful!] expresseth his carrying the *Wood*, by his carrying his *Cross upon his Shoulder*.⁵⁹³ Well, but you have the *Third Day*, in *Isaacs* Deliverance; and the same Author, upon those Words, reckons up a great many Places of Scripture, which mention the *Third Day*, as Remarkable; as, *The Giving of the Law*, & the like. And then hee tells us, it was Remarkable for, *The Resurrection of the Dead*; unto which End, hee cites those very Words of the Prophet, which wee *Christians* alledge to this very Matter; those in Hos. 6.2. *After Two Dayes Hee wil Revive us; In the Third Day will Hee Raise us up, & wee shall live in His Sight*. The same Author there also mentions the *Third Day*, as Remarkable upon the Score of *Jonas*, who was *Three Dayes & Three Nights in the Belly of the Whale*: than which there could bee nothing more Apposite, unto what wee are upon, for here was (Math. 12.38, 39.) an express Figure of our *Messiah*.

It is indeed commonly concluded, That there could bee but *one whole Day*, & *Two Nights*, between the Death of our Lord, & His Resurrection. Yett our Lord Foretold, That Hee should bee *Three Dayes & Three Nights in the Heart of the Earth*, and, That *after Three Dayes Hee should Rise again*, and, That *after Three Dayes Hee would Raise up the Temple of His Body*. Now, The Day on which Hee dyed, is to bee reckoned for *one Νυχθήμερον*,⁵⁹⁴ or Natural Day; and that, on which Hee Rose, for *Another*. Thus the Hebrew Writers commonly reckon in other Cases. A Child was to bee circumcised on the *Eighth Day*; but then the Day of its *Nativity*, and of its *Circumcision*, were both counted. The *Pentecost*, as the *Fiftieth Day*, from the *Wave-offering*: but then, both the one & the other go into the Account. This is but a Phrase of the *Old Testament*. See a Remarkable

⁵⁹² ἐν πρώτοις; "first of all" (KJV).

⁵⁹³ The *B'reshith Rabba* is a rabbinic commentary on the book of Genesis dating from the 4th or 5th century CE whose final form is attributed to the 11th-century rabbi Moses ha-Darshan; see *EJ* (7:449–50).

⁵⁹⁴ "Day and night" i. e. a 24 hour period.

Instance to this Purpose, in 1. King. 18. 9. where you have something said to be done at the *End of Three Years*, which from its *Beginning* was no more than *Two Whole Years* Distant. Again, 'Tis well known, that the *Priests* in their Courses, were to Minister *one Week*; and yett *Josephus* tells us, they were to Minister, ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ὀκτώ ἀπὸ σαββάτου ἐπὶ σάββατον, i. e. *Eight Dayes from one Sabbath to another*.⁵⁹⁵ This will Justify us, when wee say, that the Appearance of our Lord, mention'd in Joh. 20. 26. happened on the *First Day* of the Week, or on that Day *Sennight*,⁵⁹⁶ after His first Appearance, on the Day of His Resurrection; tho' it be thus expressed, *After Eight Dayes*. And this will help us, with ease, to Reconcile *Luke*, with *Matthew & Mark*; when hee saies, *That happened about Eight Dayes after*, which the other Express, by, *After Six Dayes*. [Math. 17. 1. Mark. 9. 2. with Luc. 9. 27.]

See *Kidder's Demonstration*.⁵⁹⁷

[82v]

Q. The first Appearances of our Lord Risen from the Dead, our Apostle thus relates; *He was seen of Caphas; then of the Twelve*. Why no mention of the *Women*, to whom our Lord first appeared? v. 5.

A. *Nic. Gurtler* assigns this Reason for it. Our Apostle writes to & for the Nations, that belonged unto the *Roman Empire*; according to the Laws & Customs whereof, the Testimony of *Women*, was of little Significancy. *Fæminarum Testimonium aut nullius aut levis erat ponderis. Itaque silet, JESUM mulieribus apparuisse*.⁵⁹⁸

Q. In what regard is it that the Apostle compares himself, unto, *One born out of due time*, when he saies, *Last of all He was seen of me also*? v. 8.

A. The Allusion is not so much, to represent the *Time* of the Apostles Conversion; for they that are *Born out of due Time*, are not they that are *Born too late*, or make it *too long* e're they are *Born*: *Abortives* are born *too soon*, and not *too late*. But it is to represent and reproach, his own horrible *Blindness*. We read concerning *Abortives*, Job. 3. 16. They are *Infants which never saw Light*; and, Eccl. 6. 3, 4, 5. *An untimely Birth, departeth in Darkness, & hath not seen the Sun, nor known any thing*. Our Apostle complains of himself, That the *Light of*

⁵⁹⁵ Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* (168).

⁵⁹⁶ "Seven nights."

⁵⁹⁷ Richard Kidder, *Demonstration of the Messiah* (1726), part 1, ch. 8, p. 104. [The *Demonstration* was published in three parts, between 1684 and 1700]. Kidder (1633–1703) was bishop of Bath and Wells; see *ODNB* (31:531–4).

⁵⁹⁸ "The testimony of women was of little or no weight. And so he was silent about the fact that Jesus appeared to women." Nicolas Gurtler, perhaps his *Institutiones theologicae* (1696) or *Dissertationes de Jesu Christo in gloriam evecto* (1711). Gurtler (1654–1711) was a Swiss Reformed theologian and professor at a number of universities before settling at Franeker; see *GBD* (16:473).

the Sun of Righteousness had been shining in the World; but he, like an *untimely Birth*, was under such *Blindness*, & such *Darkness*, as to see nothing of it. Thus it was, until by a miraculous Exhibition from Heaven, *He was seen of him* also.

[83r]

4406.

Q. *How say some among you, that there is no Resurrection of the Dead?* Who were they that said it? v. 12.

A. Doubtless, they must be the *Gnosticks*? A sort of Hereticks, which appeared not until a long while after Death of the Apostle. But its no Matter for that! When a Man has gott a Notion of *Gnosticks* in his Head, the New-Testament can't be interpreted without them. Or, at least, some Stories of *Gnosticks* will make an Ostentation of some uncommon *Knowledge*. And they may help us also to dissuade the Protestant Religion, in some of our Remotations.

No, No; There is no need, Syr, of your *Gnosticks*. We can here do well enough without *Them*, or *Marcionites* either.⁵⁹⁹

Chrysostom finds among the *Philosophers* at *Corinth*, with much more likelihood, these Denyers of the *Resurrection*.⁶⁰⁰ *Corinth* was an eminent City of *Achaia*, where the *Philosophers* and the Wise Men of the World abounded. These look'd upon the *Resurrection of the Flesh*, as both an Impossibility and an Absurdity. They placed their future Happiness, in their Exemption from the Clog, and Prison of the *Body*. They might therefore putt a New Construction on the Doctrine of the *Resurrection*, and say; It only did import a Renovation of our Manners, or a Resurrection from the Death of Sin, unto a Life of Righteousness; and so it was already performed in that *Baptism*, in which we are with Christ, *Raised from the Dead*.

4407.

Q. How is it said, *If in this Life only we have Hope, we are of all Men most miserable?* v. 19.

A. The Apostle does not here say, That if there should be no *Resurrection of the Body*, the Christian could have only *Hope in this Life*. If the *Soul* be *Immortal*,

⁵⁹⁹ Henry Hammond (1605–60), an Anglican priest and chaplain to Charles I. His collected works were published posthumously, including *A Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the Books of the New Testament* (1653). Hammond's theory about the influence of Gnosticism on the primitive church and on the authors of the New Testament is a frequent target of Mather's in his Pauline commentary. He was attacked by John Owen for being too skeptical and by Jean Le Clerc for being too conservative. Hammond was unpopular with Puritans because he used the *Paraphrase* to attack their views of episcopacy and eschatology. His collected works were published posthumously, though the *Paraphrase* was published in 1653. On Hammond, see Packer, *The Transformation of Anglicanism 1643–1660* (88–103).

⁶⁰⁰ Chrysostom, *Homily XXXIX, Homilies on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians* (433).

and may be Happy after a Separation from the *Body*, this does not seem to follow. But he argues thus. If Christ is not *Risen* for our *Justification*, we are yett under the *Guilt of Sin*. And if so, both *Soul* and *Body* must perish or be miserable after Death. And then the *Hope* of Christians must needs terminate with *this Life*: which being more especially unto them a Life of Misery, by reason of the Sufferings, to which their Faith does here expose them, they would be *of all Men the most miserable*.

4408.

Q. *In Christ shall all*, [Partakers of His Nature and Spirit, as *Whitby* well paraphrases it.] *be made alive*. What was the Opinion of the Jewes about it? v. 22.

A. The Opinion of the Jewes was, That the *Messiah* is to be the *Second Adam*, who *shall Raise the Dead*. His Name, they say, is called, *Jinnon*;⁶⁰¹ [Psal. 72.17.] *For He shall Raise them that sleep in the Dust*. And the Last Man, or *Adam*, is the *Messiah*, who [as *Neve Shalom*, L. 9. c. 5, 8. expresses it,]⁶⁰² shall be *above Moses*, and *above the ministring Angels*. *He shall take away the old Sin, from whence Death came, and in His Dayes shall be the Resurrection of the Dead*. And this God intended in the Creation of *Adam*, that he should be *Immortal*, but *Sin* brought *Death* upon him; Therefore, the *Divine Intention* which was not fulfilled in the *First Adam*, is to be fulfilled in the *King Messiah*.⁶⁰³

And thus is the Doctrine of the Church delivered by *Irenæus*, That Christ in our Nature suffered Death, *ut quemadmodum per Hominem victum descendit in mortem genus Humanum, sic etiam per Hominem victorem ascendamus in vitam*. [Cap. 11.]⁶⁰⁴

[▽Insert from 85r]

[▽85r]

Q. What might be the Reason of our Apostles putting in an Exception, which there might seem so little Occasion for; *It is manifest, that he is excepted, who did putt all things under Him*? v. 27.

A. I find myself by my valuable Friend Mr. *Lorimer*, well referred unto the Answer of *Theodore*t, who advises us to remember & consider, that *Paul* was writing to the *Corinthians*, who lived among *Heathens*, and had lately been *Heathens* themselves, & had been addicted unto the Fables of the *Greek Poets*, whereof one was, that their God *Jupiter* had dethroned his Father *Saturn*; and some Heathen Spirits, might now mock the Christians, telling them, that they ascribed such Power & Dominion to the Man *Jesus*, whom they worshipped as

⁶⁰¹ Ps. 72:17 (LXX) reads: "May (his name) continue [יִי] [jinnon] as long as the sun," etc.

⁶⁰² Abraham ben Isaac Shalom (d. 1492), *Sefer Neveh Shalom* (1538) (here, Bk. 9, Ch. 5, 8).

⁶⁰³ Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:188).

⁶⁰⁴ "That, just as the race of man descended into death because one man was conquered, so also may we ascend into life because one man was the victor." Irenæus, *Against Heresies*, ANF (1:526–7).

God, and the *Son of God*, that they made another *Jupiter* of Him, who turned his Father *Saturn* out of his Kingdome, & assumed the Supremacy unto himself.⁶⁰⁵

That this pagan Scoff might make no Impression on the weaker Christians, our Apostle informs them, that there is no Ground for it at all; For it was His Eternal Father, who had freely given to our Jesus, the Dominion of a Mediator; & tho' He had given Him this Dominion over the whole | Church, & over the World for the Sake of the Church; yett He had not given Him a Dominion over Himself.

[△] [△Insert ends, 83r resumes]⁶⁰⁶

[▽89r] [▽Insert from 89r]

Q. That wonderful Text, *When all Things shall bee subject unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him, that putt all Things under Him, that God may bee All in All*: oblige us with some Thoughts upon it? v. 28.

A. Show mee, if you can, in all the Bible, another Text, so much beyond all Humane Powers of Interpretation. Certainly, This is one of those Things, in *Pauls* Epistles, that are *Hard to bee understood*.

Nevertheless, wee may profitably employ some of our Dark, and Poor Conjectures hereupon. And it is my Purpose, to treat you, if I have any further Opportunities, with some further Illustrations, besides that, which I am now going to offer you.

Austin reports it, as an Explication of this Text, given by some, in his Time; That our Lord having Reigned, until in the Day of Judgment, Hee had subjected all Men unto *God*, His *Humanity*, should bee converted, & Absorbed into His *Divinity*; and this Conversion, will bee the *Subjection* of Him, to His Father.⁶⁰⁷

Now, Lett not the Religion of the Author, hinder you from considering of it, when I tell you, what *Fernandius* writes upon it: in his Commentaries on the Visions of the Old Testament. Hee reflects upon the Opinion mentioned by *Austin*, as both Irrational, and Hæretical. And hee further confutes it, by, the Text in *Daniel*, now handled by him, which asserts for our Lord, *An Eternal Kingdome*: Adding, That the Son cannot become *subject unto the Father*, without the Conservation of the Nature, in which Hee becomes at all *subject*; and that is, His *Humane Nature*. Upon which hee ha's these Words; "And as to what *Paul* saies, *Then shall the Son also Himself be subject*, it means not any *New Subjection*, but the Meaning is, *Quòd Christus expleto omni ministerio circa Regnum suum*,

⁶⁰⁵ William Lorimer, *A Plain Explication of the first eighteen verses of the first chapter of the Gospel written by St. John* (1713), p. 39. Lorimer (d. 1721) also published a "body of divinity" based on the Westminster Catechism and a defense of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.

⁶⁰⁶ See Appendix B.

⁶⁰⁷ Augustine, probably his *De Trinitate*.

*perfectè in Patrem feretur.*⁶⁰⁸ That our Lord, having Finished all His Ministry, in the Management, & for the Perfection of His Kingdome, shall now entirely Turn towards His Father, as the Eternal Object, that Hee ha's to converse withal. At present our Lord is, *occupied* (as wee may say) and employed, in cherishing & Releiving His Church, converting His Chosen, & confirming them, and Administering to them in their Necessities, the Supplies necessary to bring them unto God & Life. But now, this Employment of our Lord, will bee at an End; Hee, the Head, with all His Members, will wholly and solely attend unto the Father, and with a *Subjection* to Him; find *All* in Him, & Hee shall bee *All in All*.⁶⁰⁹

And for the clearer Apprehension of this last Passage, you may do well to consider the Words of Gregory Nyssen, in his Book, *De Anima et Resurrectione*.

*Cum vita, quam in presenti transigimus, variè à nobis exigatur, multæ res sunt, quarum participes sumus, ut Aeris, cibi, potus, et aliarum Rerum, quarum nulla est Deus, Beatitudo verò quæ expectatur, nullius quidem harum rerum egena est. Omnia autem nobis, locoque omnium erit divina Natura, ad omnem usum ac Necessitatem illius vitæ, sese convenienter et aptè impartiens.*⁶¹⁰

[▽Insert from 90v] [blank]

[▽90v△]

[▽Insert from 91r]

[▽91r]

Q. That very difficult Scripture, about, *The End*, when our Lord *shall deliver up the Kingdome to God, even the Father*, and the *Son also Himself shall be subject unto Him*, that *God may be all in all*: Besides what Thoughts we have already had, what if we should call in those of the excellent *Witsius* upon it?⁶¹¹ v. 28.

A. It will do well.

Wee must in the first Place, Assert; *That* the Divine, Essential, Natural Kingdome of the *Messiah* is nothing short of *Eternal*. [Dan. 4.34.] That the *Manhood* of the *Messiah*, will forever be personally united unto His *Godhead*, and therein enjoy a Glory far above all the Creatures of God. [Phil. 2.8.] *That* the *Messiah* will forever be the *Head* of the Church, and Considered, Acknowledged, Celebrated by it, as the most Illustrious Member of that Body. And, Fi-

⁶⁰⁸ "That Christ, having fulfilled every office in His kingdom, shall finally be born up to the Father."

⁶⁰⁹ On Fernandius, see Mather's entry on 11:19 (above).

⁶¹⁰ "Though the life, which we are now passing through, is lived in various ways by us, there are many things of which we have a share – air, food, drink, and other things – none of which is God; yet that blessedness that we await is in need of none of these things. We will have everything, and the divine nature will be in place of everything, communicating itself harmoniously and fittingly to every need and necessity of that life." Gregory of Nyssa, *On the Soul and Resurrection*, NPNFii (5:430ff). On Gregory, see *NCE* (6:517–20).

⁶¹¹ Herman Wits, *Exercitationes Sacrae in symbolum quod Apostolorum dicitur* (1681), "Exercitatio X: De Nomne Christi," secs. XL-XLI, pp. 174–175.

nally, *That* there will be everlasting *Effects* of the Messiahs *Mediatorial Kingdome*; such as, The Effulgency of the Divine Majesty in the Person of the *God-Man*; & the full deliverance of the Elect from all their Enemies, & Afflictions, and especially, the full Abolition of all their Sins. This Blessedness of the Elect, will be forever acknowledged, as obtained by the *Messiah*; and the Spirit inhabiting of the Faithful, and communicating this Blessedness to them, will be forever acknowledged as His Holy Spirit. [Gal. 4.6.] Our Apostle *Paul* does no where *contradict* these things: He makes it His Design every where to *establish* them.

Nevertheless, after the Day of Judgment, and *at the End*, the *Mediatorial Kingdome* of our Lord, will come into other Circumstances, than are now upon it.

For, First; The præsent *Oeconomy* will be at *an End*; The Church will not be served by such a *Ministry*, or be under such an *Ecclesiastical Government*, as is now employ'd upon it. We read, *All Rule shall by putt down*.

Secondly; our Lord will give up an Account unto His Father, concerning the Consummation of His whole *Mediatorial Undertaking*, to Obtain & Apply the Salvation of His Church, & *Present* it unto Him, without any Defect upon it. Which may be meant, by, *Delivering up the Kingdome to God*.

Thirdly; All Sin, with all the Consequences of it, being thus removed, there appears not that Need of a *Mediator*, which there was *till then*. Wherefore it seems, that the Godhead will now more *immediately* communicate Himself unto the *Blessed*, even as unto the *Angels*: only the *Blessed* must forever own, that they owe this favour to the Merits of their Saviour. Thus, God will be *All in All*.

Fourthly; our *Lord-Messiah* in His Humanity, thus ceasing from the *Mediatorial Function* He had formerly discharged, shall be *subject unto God*, with the rest of His Brethren, and as one of them, in most excellent Glory, and without any Diminution of the Glory which He now enjoys. I will give | you *Witsius's* Comparison for it; *Sicuti Filius aliquis Regis qui à Patre, cum summâ Potestate, ad Rebelles domandos, civesque a Tyrannicâ quorundam usurpatione vindicandos, missus, ad lubitum Patris omnibus feliciter peractis, laboriosoque imperio cujus nullus nunc amplius usus est, defunctus, in honesto otio, Aulæque Regiæ delitijs, secure vivit*. And thus, the *Son Himself also will become subject*.⁶¹²

The *Mediatorial Kingdome* of our Lord, supposing some Imperfection in His Church, this *End* of it makes not for His *Disgrace*, but for His *Glory*. It is, Τέλος τελειότητος, τέλος ουκ εχον.⁶¹³

612 "Like the son of some king, who has been sent by his father, with the greatest power, to chastise rebels or to free citizens from the usurpation of some tyrant; and when he has fulfilled everything with success according to the will of his father, and has performed that toilsome command than which there is now none greater, he is discharged in honorable leisure, and lives peacefully in the delights of the royal halls." Hermann Wits, *Exercitationes Sacrae in symbolum quod Apostolorum dicitur* (1681), "Exercitatio X: De Nomne Christi," sec. XLI, p. 175. On Wits, see Mather's first entry on 7:14 (above).

613 Τέλος τελειότητος, τέλος ουκ εχον. "The end of ends, which has no end."

To carry on the Illustration, wherein we have proceeded so far, I will transcribe some Words of the Baron *Pufendorf*.⁶¹⁴

“If we may be allow’d to compare Divine Things with Humane, the Matter I think, may be thus conceived of. Lett us suppose *Three Princes* jointly exercising a Dominion belonging to them all. Their Subjects rise in Rebellion against their Government. One of these, with the Consent of the Rest, takes it upon him, to Reduce those Rebels into Subjection, with this Condition, that those who shall submit themselves, and embrace the Favour and Reconciliation, which He shall publish, shall constitute a Kingdome peculiar to Himself, and become His particular Subjects. And when the Term of this particular Kingdome is finished, He also shall putt off that Function or Office which hitherto He had from that Time sustained. So, if among Three such Princes one would undertake to make War, he would do this in his own Right, it being a *Prærogative* belonging to Government, in which he is Partaker; together with his Collegues. And yett, if this were assign’d to him, by Agreement, to be managed by him alone, it would not be absurd to say, That the Power of making War, were in a *peculiar Manner conferr’d upon him*. So altho’ God the Son, did from all Eternity enjoy all the Perfection of the Deity, in so much that nothing can be added to Him, yett, when the same Person, by *Covenant*, ha’s obtained the Office of a *Mediator*, that He might procure Himself a *peculiar Dominion* over Mankind, who were to be Redeem’d by Him, it would not be absurd to say, That *those Things were conferr’d on Him, even as God*, which belong to the Dominion to be exercised by Him, in a certain peculiar Manner of Propriety, by the *Father* and the *Holy Spirit*; but yett so, as that the *Humane Nature* is by no means to be excluded from the Participation of all those things. *The Father is greater than the Son*; not only with Respect unto the *Humane Nature*, which the *Son* assumed, but also by the *Quality* and the *State* of the *Covenant* between them. He who by *Covenant* commits any thing to be executed, unto him, who is in other Respects his Equal, he is accounted for to have something of *Prærogative*, by Vertue of this *Covenant* before him, to whom that is committed.”

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 93r]

[▽93r]

Q. That Quæstion, In what Meaning and Manner the *Son* shall become *subject* unto the *Father*, after He has *delivered up the Kingdome to God even the Father?*

⁶¹⁴ Baron Samuel von Pufendorf (1632–94), perhaps his *Nature of the Christian Religion in Relation to Civil Society* (1687), or *The Divine Feudal Law, or, Covenants with Mankind* (1695). Pufendorf was professor of law at the University of Heidelberg and the University of Lund (Sweden); he also served in the Swedish and German courts. He was an important theorist on natural and international law, along with Hugo Grotius and Thomas Hobbes. He influenced the political thought of the English, French, and American Enlightenments; see *NSHERK* (9:360–1).

How wondrously has it perplexed Interpreters? What a vile Use, do the Arian Idolaters make of it? What Pains has your own Pen taken to collect & insert Illustrations upon it? But after all, must it remain Insoluble? v. 28.

A. Far from it! No; The very Subject of the Quæstion shall be taken away. There is no such Thing affirmed, That the *Son* shall become *subject* unto the *Father*, after He has *delivered up the Kingdome unto God*: But just the Contrary, That at that Period, He shall acknowledge, that He *has been subject* until *Then*.

Briefly; Our SAVIOUR, before his Entrance on His Mediatorial Kingdome, was *not subject* unto the *Father*; He was very GOD, and it was *no Robbery* for Him to be *equal with GOD*. Yett when He became a *Mediator*, and assuming the Man JESUS into His own Person, in *the Fulness of Time died for our Sins*, & *Rose again for our Justification*, He was invested with a Commission; He received an Office; He had the Administration of a *Mediatorial Kingdome* committed unto Him. In this Administration, He makes Himself a *Subject*; He acts by a *Delegated Power*. This will at the last appear, when He comes to make a *Surrender* of the *Kingdome unto Him, who putt all things under Him*. That *Surrender* will be a *Confession* of the *Subjection*; It will be a *Confession*, and an Argument, that He had until *then* managed a Kingdome, which He had received by a *Delegation*, and so in a *Subjection* unto the *Father*. Tho' *all things* will then be *subdued*, by this Glorious *King*, the *Son* of God, yett it will then be manifest, that He Himself had in His *Mediatorial Kingdome* acted as a *Subject* unto His Father, & in the Character of a *God-Man*.

If by that Expression, *Then shall the Son Himself be subject*, it be intended, That *After* His *delivering up of the Kingdome* He shall be so; it would imply, That our SAVIOUR is not *Now*, even at *this* Time, *subject* unto His *Father*: which is contrary to all the Scriptures. Yea, the Apostle in this very Context maintains the Contrary; and appears very singularly careful, to have it asserted & understood.

But, *Then shall the Son Himself be subject*; That is, He shall give up His Dispensatory Kingdome: and thereby *Declare*, and *Express*, the *Subjection* of a *Mediator*, with which He had all this while carried it on. And now GOD [Mark, It is not said, *The Father!*] shall be *All in All*; The *Father* & the *Son* & the *Holy Spirit*, as the *Universal Monarch*, by a Necessity of Nature, with *equal Majesty*, shall Reign in and over all, to all Eternity. What need of a *Mediator*, now GOD and His Chosen are brought into such a perfect Union with one another?

The acute Pen of Mr. *Joseph Pyke*, leads us into these Meditations. But I find others also in them.⁶¹⁵

⁶¹⁵ Joseph Pyke, *An impartial view of the principal difficulties that affect the Trinitarian scheme* (1721).

[▽Insert from 94v]

[▽94v]

And yett, that I may not *withhold Corn*; or leave unmentioned any thing that I have mett withal, that may be of consequence to the Explaining of a Text, which has appeared so very mysterious, I will offer you the Sentiments of an Honest Man, one Mr. *John Seager*, who in the Year, 1650. published an Honest Book, entituled, *A Discovery of the World to Come*; wherein there is a Passage to this Purpose.⁶¹⁶

In that Apartment of the Heavenly World, where our Blessed JESUS is now *Received*, he *sitts at the Right Hand of God*; He *sitts with the FATHER on His Throne*; He Reigns there with Him, *until the FATHER has putt all His Enemies under His Feet*. This will be at the *Second Coming* of the Lord, which is *the Time of the End*, when *Death* shall have no more to do in the World.

At THIS TIME, our Lord will *deliver up the Kingdome*, He has hitherto enjoyed & managed with His FATHER on *His Throne*. He leaves it unto the sole Possession, the sole Disposal, the more Immediate Administration of His FATHER, that HE may be *All in All* in it, as He was before our Lords Ascension thither. But our Lord will now have that which He calls, *His own Throne*, in the *New Jerusalem* which *comes down from GOD out of Heaven*; and *Here*, even in the *New Heaven* He will *Reign with His Holy Ones*, forever and ever. At present, we don't consider our Lord, as being *subject* unto His FATHER; His FATHER has placed HIM on HIS THRONE. But, Then He shall act as a *Subject* unto His FATHER, while He will also be a *Sovereign*, on HIS OWN THRONE: and administer a *Kingdome*, here, which His FATHER will make over to Him.

Tis truly, a notable Contemplation. *Valeat quantum valere potest.*⁶¹⁷

|

[84v]

294.

Q. That Clause, *Baptised for the Dead*; You know, how the Jesuites fetch *Fire* out of *Water*, & prove their *Purgatory* by this *Baptisation*; expounding the Place, *De Baptismo lachrymarum et pœnitentiæ*,⁶¹⁸ in the *Living* for the Releef of the Faithful that are *Deceased*: You also know how perplexed a Clause this is unto Interpreters, who have gone to explicate it by some superstitious *Rites*, crept in among the Ancients, as, that of being *Baptised* in the Name and Stead of a *Dead Friend*, or, that of being *Baptised*, when *Clinical & Bedridden*, or, that of being *Baptised* on the *Tombs* of the *Martyrs*: in the Midst of these Confusions, what have you to offer? v. 29.

A. Unto what Purpose is it, for mee, to offer *any thing*, if this Text, must not bee understood among the People of God, until that *Resurrection from the Dead*,

⁶¹⁶ John Seager (d. 1656), *A Discovery of the World to Come* (1650).

⁶¹⁷ "Let him have what power he is able to have."

⁶¹⁸ "From the baptism of tears and penitence."

which the Apostle is arguing from this *Baptism*: as wee have been sometimes by learned Men discouraged? However, *Something* I will offer. First, as to the Pretences of the *Jesuites*, I say, that *Baptism* is but Improperly used for *Affliction*, and indeed it is in the Scripture, never so used, without some Explication adjoined; except in one Place; & then the Sufferings of *Death* itself are thereby intended. Besides, not they who *do Baptise* themselves, but they who *are Baptised*, are here spoken of. Next, as to the Notions of the *Ancients*, I say, the Apostle would never have mentioned any of their unwarranted Usages in *Baptism*, without confuting them; hee would have *Rebuked* the sinful *Will-worship* in the Brethren, & not have *suffered Sin upon them*. Add this, that tho' they did in early Times *Baptise*, with some Irregular Circumstances, yett wee may justly quæstion whether any were generally *Baptised* with such quæstionable Circumstances and Vanities, and Corruptions of the sacred Ordinance, in Dayes as early as the Apostles.

But I have now Three more probable *Illustrations* of this Text, which I lay before you, for you to take your Choice of them.

First, What say you to this? To bee *Baptised for the Dead*, is to bee understood for the common, Christian, *Baptism*. Wee are, *Baptised for the Dead*; that is, that so *Death* might bee extinguished, or, yett more significantly, Into the Beleeof of the *Resurrection of the Dead*, the Symbol & Shadow whereof, there is in *Baptism*. Thus the Apostle argues, If there bee no *Resurrection* of our *Bodies*, then in vain do wee Receive *Baptism*, in our *Bodies*; which is to seal this Benefit unto us, That thro' the *Resurrection* of the Lord Jesus Christ, our *Bodies* which are now *Baptised*, shall also most certainly, Rise again. Compare, Rom. 6.3. and Col. 2.12. Moreover, the *Baptised*, professed their Assent unto the Creed, wherein this future Condition of the *Dead*, is one Important Article. Consider exactly, Heb. 6.2. The *Resurrection of the Dead*, was one thing in the *Doctrine of Baptisms*, & *Laying on of Hands*, that is, in the *Doctrine*, which Persons learn'd & own'd, when *Hands were laid* upon them in their *Baptism*.

If this do not satisfy you, take another. There were among the *Jewes*, every Day, such as were *Baptised for the Dead*, and a great Part of the Church in *Corinth* being of a *Judaizing* Temper, as well as of a *Judaical* Extract, the *Corinthians* might well enough bee treated, with a *Jewish* Custom. When a Man had newly touched a *Dead Body*, then by Divine Appointment, hee was to bee *Baptised*, and so to bee *Purify'd*; whereupon, hee went into the *Temple*, and unto the *Worship*, of the great God. This was ordered as a Repræsentation of the *Resurrection*, wherein, after wee have been Defiled, first among *Dead Works* and then among *Dead Men*, wee shall come forth gloriously *Purified*, & go dwell in the House of our God forever.

If this also satisfy you not, I'l subjoin a Third. What if the *Baptism of Infants*, bee designed & mentained in these Words? A Beleeving *Father* dyes, while his Wife is with Child: tho' the *Father* bee Dead, yett the Child, when Born, is upon his Account *Baptised*: Why so? Because God is yett in *Covenant* with the

Deceased Father; & that *Covenant* infers his *Resurrection*. So that the Argument of the Apostle here is like what our Saviour brought for the *Resurrection* against the *Sadducees*; an Argument founded in the *Covenant of Grace*, whereof *Baptism* is the *Sacrament*.

But if none of these *Three* will do, you shall have *one more* than I have promised you. The Particle ὑπερ here used, wee know, signifies, not only *Super* but *Ultra* and *Præter*.⁶¹⁹ q.d. There are many Saints who have already *Dy'd*; yea, have been after a sort *Baptised* with Affliction and Matyrdome in giving their Testimony to the *Resurrection*; and now, what shall wee think will become of them, who *Besides* and *After* those that are thus already *Dead* still every Day Dy, with the like Expectation.

[▽Insert from 87r]

[▽87r]

Q. The last Exposition, that you gave us, of being *Baptised for the Dead*, may invite you, to give us the Summ of Mr. *Edwards's* Conjecture upon it; which we may enquire after, because he ha's taken particular Pains about it, in his late Book entituled, *An Enquiry into Four Remarkable Texts*?⁶²⁰ v. 29.

A. You shall have it.

It is to be taken for granted, That the *sacramental Baptism*, and not the *metaphorical Baptism* only, is here intended. We may without needing *Austins* Advice for it, (in his Book, *De Doctrinam Christianam*.) Resolve, that we will not interpret *Allegorically*, Things that are *properly* spoken.⁶²¹

And now, we may observe, That the Præposition, ὑπερ, which we render, *For*, is as much as to say, *Because of*, or, *By reason of*, or, *For the Sake of*. This is the usual Sense of it, in Writers of all sorts. The Heretick *Socinus*, is faulty in his *Grammar*, as well as his *Divinity*, when he maintains, that, this Præposition, ὑπερ, denotes by no means an *Impulsive Cause*. An *Impulsive Cause* is denoted, by that Præposition, here as well as in many other Places. [Thus, Rom. 15.9 Eph. 1.16. Phil. 1.29. 2. Thess. 1.5. 2. Cor. 12.10.] It answers exactly to the Hebrew /על/⁶²² in many Places of the Old Testament.

⁶¹⁹ ὑπερ means "over," "above" or, typically in this verse, "for." Ultra (beyond, past); præter (beyond, aside from).

⁶²⁰ John Edwards, *Enquiry into Four Remarkable Texts* (137ff). On Edwards, see Mather's entry on 1:21 (above).

⁶²¹ Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana* (106ff).

⁶²² The Hebrew preposition על means "upon."

Wee may then pass on to observe, That the Clause here is not barely ὑπὲρ νεκρῶν, without an Article.⁶²³ (which is also noted by *Scaliger*.)⁶²⁴ The præpositive Article, Ο, is frequently of the like Force, with the Hebrew וְ/ and the English, *That*.⁶²⁵ It is probable, That not *all* the *Dead*, but *some* certain *Dead*, are here intended; *Baptised, for the Sake of Those Dead*. The Doctrine of the *Resurrection* is here established, from the *Resurrection* of the Lord Jesus Christ Himself; which was attested by more than *Five Hundred Witnesses*, whereof *some* (saith the Apostle) *are fallen asleep*: which, by the way, is the Phrase used about *Stephen*, by the Evangelist *Luke*; and of *James*, the first Martyr of all the Apostles. *Clemens* tells us, That the Person who carried *James* unto the Place of Judgment & heard his Testimony for the Lord, was thereby converted, and professing himself a Christian, they were both together executed. There was likewise the *other James*, called, *James the Just*; who was barbarously murdered by the Jewes, in the Dayes of *Nero*, as tis reported by *Eusebius*.⁶²⁶ And *Philip* the Apostle, was murdered with him. However, tis unquæstionable, that *John the Baptist*, before these, *Fell Asleep*, even in the first Year of our Saviours Preaching. Our Apostle also speaks, [Act. 26.10.] as if there were *many Others* crowned with Martyrdome. They who, having sacrificed their Lives for the Gospel, were now *fallen Asleep*, these are, *The Dead*, here spoken of.

This affords another Argument, for the *Resurrection*; *Then they also which are fallen Asleep in Christ are perished*. An Absurdity, that may not be once imagined. [Compare, 1. Thess. 4.14.] Now these were, *The Dead*, because of whom, [▽88v] so many in the Apostles Dayes became | Converts, and were *Baptised*. These had undone *Themselves and Others* too, if there be no *Resurrection*.

The, *Else*, which begins this Verse, does not make any Connection between This, and the immediately foregoing ones.⁶²⁷ The *Syriac* therefore leaves it out; and it should indeed be rendred, *Moreover*, as in many Places of *Herodotus*, and *Plutarch*, and other profane Authors, where εἰ is as much as εἰπειτα.⁶²⁸ Here comes in a New Reason to prove the *Resurrection*. Why do New Converts come in every Day, requesting to be *Baptized* into the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ? Is it not *Because* of what they heard from, & saw in, those that are now *fallen*

623 The text reads ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν, “for the dead.” Thus Mather is arguing that the meaning here is not simply “on behalf of dead people” generally (ὑπὲρ νεκρῶν) but rather “on behalf of [specific] dead people” (ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν). Whitby (p. 190) cites John Edwards’s *A Discourse concerning the Authority, Stile, and Perfection of the Books of the Old and New Testament* (1695) as his source here.

624 On Scaliger, see Mather’s entry on 5:1 (above).

625 The Greek and Hebrew particles here typically mean “the.”

626 Eusebius cites Clement of Alexandria’s *Hypotyposes* (no longer extant) as his source for stories about the deaths of the apostolic James’s (one of the Twelve, as well as his brother, James the Just), though these particular details come from his citation of Hegesippus; see *Church History*, NPNFii (1:104, 125–7).

627 See Locke, *A Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (1:251).

628 “Since,” or “because” (ἐπεὶ) is as much as “and then” (εἰπειτα).

Asleep, and were Martyrs for their Beleeif of the *Resurrection*? The *Blood* of those *Dead Saints* ha's been the *Seed of the Church*. The Sufferings of the *Martyrs*, who are now *Dead*, are so far from Discouraging others from the *Baptism* of Christianity, that vast Numbers are animated thereby to be *Baptized*. They cannot but Reverence a Religion, that inspires the Professors of it, with so much Courage & Comfort, in the Jawes of *Death* itself. How does it come to pass, that so many are *Baptized*, & so great Shoals come in to the *Baptismal Waters*, upon the Encouragement of what they have beheld in the *Martyrs*, who dyed in & for the Faith of *Resurrection*? Ceratinly these *Proselytes* are thoroughly convinced of the Truth whereto those *Martyrs* have born their Testimony. *These* have beheld enough to convince them of the *Resurrection*, if *you* have not, O yee Disputatious *Corinthians*: I may refer you to *Them* for Satisfaction.

There are but one or two at most, before our *Edwards*, who seem to approach towards this Exposition; to wit, *Cloppenburg*, and *Spanheim*; and yett it looks very agreeably.⁶²⁹

⁶³⁰But after all in my Opinion, Dr. *Whitby* ha's offered us, as good an Interpretation as any of them? Tis this.

According to the Doctrine of them who denied the Resurrection, *Jesus Christ* must be *still Dead*. But *Jesus Christ* is not *still Dead*. This is the Argument, which the Apostle is now prosecuting. We may note concerning it.

First. It is very certain, That all who received *Baptism*, were *Baptised* into the Name of *Jesus*.

Secondly. The Expostulation is very cogent; If we beleeve *Jesus* to be still *Dead*, why are we *Baptized* into His Name? Shall we own a *Dead Man* as our Lord and Saviour? The Institution of our *Baptism* was after His *Resurrection*; and all the Intention of it, implies His *Resurrection*.

Thirdly. The Præposition *ὑπέρ*, commonly signifies, *In gratiam*,⁶³¹ or, *For the Sake*. The Instances are numberless. You have a Number of them, in *Schmideus*, on the Place.⁶³²

Fourthly. *The Dead*, οἱ νεκροί,⁶³³ in the plural Number, is often used in the Scripture, when speaking of one single Person. Tis thus in this Context. v. 12.

⁶²⁹ Johannes Cloppenburg, a copy of whose works (*Opuscula*, 1652) appears in Mather's library; see Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (55). Cloppenburg (1592–1652) was a Dutch Calvinist professor of theology at Franeker and a controversialist against Arminians, Socinians, and Anabaptists; see *ADB* (4:339). Friedrich Spanheim the Elder (1600–49) and the Younger (1632–1701), father and son and both professors of theology at Leiden; see *NSHERK* (11:35–6).

⁶³⁰ See Appendix A.

⁶³¹ ὑπέρ; “over, above, beyond.” It can also bear the sense of “in defence of” or “for the sake of” a person, as Mather takes it hear. “In grace, or favor” [Latin].

⁶³² Erasmus Schmidt (1560–1637), who published a concordance to the Greek New Testament in 1638 and a commentary on the New Testament in 1650; see *GBD* (27:243).

⁶³³ οἱ νεκροί.

If there be no *Ἀναστασις νεκρῶν*,⁶³⁴ *Resurrection* of one single Person from the Dead, then Christ is not Risen. Yea, The *Resurrection* of Christ alone, is by this very Apostle *Paul*, thrice called, A *Resurrection of the Dead*, *νεκρῶν*, in the plural Number. [Act. 17.30, 31. and, 23.7. and, 24.21.] Compare Rom. 1.4. and, Luk. 7.15, 22.⁶³⁵

I think, we have now at last, so hitt the Matter, that I will take no more Pains about it.

[△] [△Insert ends]

[95r]

Q. What was the Apostles *Fight with Beasts*, at *Ephesus*? v. 32.

A. *Damnatio ad Bestias*,⁶³⁶ was a frequent Punishment among the Romans; and those that suffered the Punishment were called, *Bestiarii*.⁶³⁷ Tis the Opinion of some learned Men, that *Paul* was cast unto the proper *wild Beasts*, and literally *Fought* with them; who yett had not the Power to Destroy him. Allow this Interpretation, and you leave the Apostle under the Consolation of a very strong Argument for the *Resurrection* for which hee is in the Context pleading. Hee saw, that tho' hee lost his Life, yett hee should Receive it again; & therefore hee would now more than ever hazard the Loss of his Life in mentaining the Doctrine of the *Resurrection*. But if by *Beasts*, you will have the *Brutish Gainsayers* of the Apostle in the Uproars at *Ephesus* understood, & so make the *Fight* but metaphorical, I shall not *contend* with you about it. And yett upon further Thought, I will. For this Epistle was written, before the Tumults at *Ephesus*. I therefore insist upon it, That *Paul* was really cast unto the *Wild-beasts*, upon the Theatre, at *Ephesus*. *Lukes* Omission of this Matter in his History, is no Proof that it never happened. In the Insurrection of *Demetrius*, you find much Friendship expressed unto *Paul*, by the *Asiarchae*,⁶³⁸ or, the Priests whose Office it was, to publish the Playes of the Theatre.⁶³⁹ Whence came this to pass? It could not bee, because they had embraced the Gospel: For how then could they continue *Asiarchs*? But it seems rather, That *Paul*, in his Combate with the Beasts, was præserted in some wonderful & stupendous Manner; & the *Asiarchs*, beholding the Miracle with Astonishment, bore a great Respect unto *Paul* upon it. *Paul*

634 *ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν* (v. 12). The form of *νεκρῶν* is the genitive plural (i. e. the dead in general), but it is also the nominative singular of "grave," which seems to be the basis of the interpretive choice ("one single person") that Mather is making here.

635 Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:188ff).

636 "Condemned to the wild beasts."

637 "Those who fight with wild beasts."

638 Asiarchs were priests who oversaw the Roman games.

639 In Acts 19:24ff Demetrius the silversmith rallies opposition to Paul's mission in Ephesus, as a threat to the image-making business for the Temple of Diana. Paul is protected by the "certain of the chief of Asia (*Ἀσιάρχων*), who were his friends" (v. 31). These may well have been those in charge of the amphitheater, where Paul's life was in jeopardy.

fought 'em, *κατὰ ἀνθρώπων*,⁶⁴⁰ *In that Manner, as Men fight with Beasts*, or, if you will, *In this very Humane Body*. Behold, an Emphasis in the Expression! Hee that could miraculously enable an *Humane* Body, to conquer the Lions, may as well *Raise an Humane Body* from the *Dead*, & give it a Conquest over the Grave.

According to Dr. *Whitby*, *κατ' ἀνθρώπων*, is as much as to say, After the usual Manner of *Heathens*.⁶⁴¹ *Nicephorus* relates, That *Paul* was thrown to the *Beasts*, but they would not meddle with him.⁶⁴² *Theodoret* hints the same thing, *In Humane Opinion I was made the Food of Beasts, but I was wonderfully preserved from them*.⁶⁴³ It can't refer to the Tumult caused at *Ephesus* by *Demetrius*; For the Apostle was no great Sufferer in that. Had he intended a Combate only with *savage Men*, that at *Lystra*, where they stoned him, & left him for Dead, might have been more properly mentioned. Elsewhere, [2. Cor. 1.8, 9, 10.] he speaks of such Troubles befalling him in *Asia*, as made him to *Despair even of Life*. Tho' we read nothing in the *Acts*, about this *Combate with Beasts*, no more do we of that *Asiatic* Trouble. Tis no Objection, that *Luke* mentions it not; Nor is it, that *Paul* speaks not expressly of it, in his Catalogue of Afflictions. [2. Cor. 11.] It is enough that he tells us there, he was *in Deaths often*. They who will have the *Beasts* here, to be still no other than *Metaphorical Beasts*, do quote *Paul* calling *Nero*, *A Lion*; and *Ignatius* calling the Ten Souldiers that guarded him, *Leopards*.⁶⁴⁴ And they commend that French Translation, *Si j'ai combattu contre des bêtes, combatant contre des hommes*: *κατ' ἀνθρώπων*.⁶⁴⁵ *Κατὰ* signifies *Against*.

Q. That *Epicurean* Passage, which the Apostle Reprehends; *Lett us eat & Drink, for to morrow wee Dy*; Where did hee meet with it? v. 32.

A. That Infamous and Effeminate Monarch, *Sardanapalus*, the Assyrian Emperour, had his Tomb, at *Auchialus*, where, as *Aristobulus* reports, his Statue was carved, as if his Hands had given a Phillip, & his Mouth had spoken these Words; *Sardanapalus, Anacydraxi Filius, Tarsum et Auchialum eodem die condidit. Ede, Bibe, Lude, nam cetera omnia nec hujus sunt*.⁶⁴⁶ The like Epitaph was inscribed

⁶⁴⁰ *κατὰ ἀνθρώπων*; "like a man."

⁶⁴¹ *Whitby, A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:190).

⁶⁴² *Ibid.*

⁶⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴⁵ "If I fought against beasts, (I was) a combatant against men." The "French translation" was the product of two French Protestants. Isaac de Beausobre (1659–1738), a Protestant chaplain to royalty, wrote the *Histoire Critique de Manichee* (1734); see *EB* (3:599). Jacques L'enfant (1661–1728), like Beausobre an expatriate French Protestant pastor, was an author on subjects of conflict between Protestants and Catholics; see *EB* (16:418).

⁶⁴⁶ "Sardanapalus, son of Anacydraxus, who founded Tarsus and Auchialus on the same day. Eat, drink, and be merry, for all other things are not his." *Aristobulus* of Cassandria (c. 375–301 BCE) was a confederate of Alexander the Great and author of his biography, which is extant only as fragments in later authors. Sardanapalus was a 7th-century Assyrian king whose mostly legendary exploits are recorded in various Greek authors. In Greek and Roman literature

on a stately Monument at *Ninive*, in the *Chaldean* Tongue, which the Greek Poet *Cherilus* has translated.⁶⁴⁷ And there was the like in *Tarsus* also, where our Apostle *Paul* was born; and the Apostle doubtless refers hereunto, in the Passage now before us.

Q. On that, *Awake to Righteousness & sin not?* v. 34.

A. One Mr. *Pyle* observes, *Δικαιῶς*,⁶⁴⁸ here, is very handly to be construed, *To Righteousness*. And tho' *μη ἀμαρτανετε*,⁶⁴⁹ may be rendred, *sin not*, that is but the secondary Sense of that Word. The most Natural Construction seems to be, *Awake to Reason, & do not mistake*.⁶⁵⁰

[▽97r] [▽Insert from 97r]

Q. On that Exhortation, *Awake unto Righteousness, & sin not?* v. 34.

A. They were *Hereticks*, or whom & to whom we have the Apostle speaking here. And I will now chuse to transcribe some emphatical Words of Dr. *Arrowsmiths* upon it.⁶⁵¹

“The Word, *ἐκνήψατε*,⁶⁵² there used by the Apostle, is very emphatical, and properly signifies, *An Awakening out of such a Sleep as hath been occasioned by too much Drink*. Thus, *Noah Awoke from his Wine*; And, *Awake, you Drunkards*, saith *Joel*. Neither will it be difficult to discern in a sensual *Opinionist* the Symptoms of a *Drunken Man*. You may see him *Reeling* to & fro; now entertaining this odd Conceit, to morrow that; and the next Day a third; *unstable* in all; well if not *vomiting* too, and *casting* out scornful Reproaches upon all that are of a contrary Judgment, as upon dark & low-spirited Men. You may perceive him full of *Tongue*, as Drunkards commonly use to be; *prating* and venting his own Apprehensions every where; yea, perhaps boasting of himself, and his Party, as too many, too hard, for all their Opposi{tes}.⁶⁵³ So, *one Drunkard*, our Proverb saith, *is forty Men strong*. Whoso attempts to Reason with him, will easily find him as incapable of Conviction as *Nabal* was of *Abigails* Narration, till his Wine was gone out of him.⁶⁵⁴ The Cause is manifest; why such | Men have a Charge given them *not to sin*. For the desperate Opinion they had embraced,

[▽98v]

he became a trope for decadence, including transvestism and bi-sexuality. See *EB* (2:497) and (24:209), respectively.

647 Choerilus of Iasus, another confederate of Alexander and a poet, to whom this citation is attributed by Athenaeus in his *Deipnosophistae*; see *EB* (6:261).

648 δικαίως.

649 μη ἀμαρτανετε.

650 Pyle, *Paraphrase upon the New Testament* (1:380).

651 John Arrowsmith, *Armilla catechetica* (83), a posthumous (1659) collection of sermon excerpts. Arrowsmith (1602–59) was a member of the Westminster Assembly and, later, Regius Professor of Divinity and Master of Trinity College at Cambridge; see *ODNB* (2:526–7).

652 ἐκνήψατε.

653 See Appendix A.

654 On the story of Nabal and Abigail, see 1 Sam. 25.

was an high-way to abominable Courses. The Denial of a Resurrection, hath a Natural Tendency to Looseness of Life. And the more licentious any Man is, the more willing to close with such an Opinion. Among the Jews, the Gentry & such as gave themselves most unto Voluptuousness, became Followers of the *Sadducees*, who *denied the Resurrection*. Such Men (saith *Theophylact*) are not so easily perswaded of a Resurrection, because they are afraid of *Punishments in another Life*.⁶⁵⁵ Οἱ γὰρ ἑαυτοῖς συνειδότες κακά, οὐ πείθονται εἶναι ἀνάστασιν διὰ τῶν κολάσεων.⁶⁵⁶ In 1. Cor. XV.

Here I will only add. They who denied the *Resurrection*, are charged with not having the *Knowledge of God*. If Men *knew* GOD, and CHRIST, who is GOD, they would have no Doubt of the *Resurrection*. This, our Saviour once intimated.

[△Insert ends, 95r resumes]

[△]

4410.

Q. *Some Men will say, with what Kind of Body?* Who were the Men that said so? v. 35.

A. This was the Quæstion of the Philosophers: *Utrum sine corpore, an cum corporibus et corporibus quibus, ipsi sui an innovati resurgatur?* [*Cecil. apud Minut.*]⁶⁵⁷ Their chief Objection against the Resurrection of the *Flesh*, and of the *Body*, was this; That the Body was, [το μὲν σῶμα ἐστὶν ἡμῶν σημεῖον.]⁶⁵⁸ *The Prison and Sepulchre of the Soul*; and that it was *her Punishment* to be tied unto it; and that the Body was the *great Hindrance to the Knowledge of the Truth*, and that we *could not be truly Happy, till by Death we are delivered from it*. It was therefore judged by them, not only an impossible, but also an unrighteous and unworthy thing, for God to Raise these *Bodies*, & Unite them unto Souls, whose Happiness it was to be delivered from them. This, they cavilled, was not so much to *Live again*, as to *Dy again*. *Celsus* therefore saies, *The Hope of the Resurrection of the Flesh, is the Hope of Worms, a Filthy, an abominable, and impossible thing, which God, neither will, nor can do.*⁶⁵⁹ Hence probably t'was, that the *Valentinians* and other primitive Hereticks, denied so stiffly τῆς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν.⁶⁶⁰ *The*

⁶⁵⁵ On Theophylact, see Mather's entry on 1:20.

⁶⁵⁶ Οἱ γὰρ ἑαυτοῖς συνειδότες κακά, οὐ πείθονται εἶναι ἀνάστασιν διὰ τῶν κολάσεων. "Those who are aware of their own sins do not believe there is a resurrection, because of their punishments."

⁶⁵⁷ "Whether it is without a body, or with bodies and particular bodies, that they rise; whether they rise in their own forms, or in renewed forms." Cecilius is one of the interlocutors in Marcus Minucius Felix's apologetic work, the dialogue *Octavius*; see Mather's third entry on 5:1 (above).

⁶⁵⁸ τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἐστὶν ἡμῶν σημεῖον. "The body is indeed our grave." See Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:191).

⁶⁵⁹ Origen, *Against Celsus* (Bk. 5), *ANF* (4:543ff); see Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:191).

⁶⁶⁰ τῆς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν.

Resurrection of the Flesh, as we find, in *Justin Martyr*; and asserted, as *Irenæus* tells us, *Non esse capacem carnem vitæ*.⁶⁶¹ Our Apostle returns a full Answer, by shewing the happy *Change*, that shall pass on the *Raised Body*.

[96v] |
[305.]⁶⁶²

Q. 'Tis the Illustration, which the Apostle gives of the Resurrection, *Thou Fool; that which thou sowest, is not quickened, except it Dy*. Whence might hee fetch this Illustration? v. 36.

A. I am ready to think, This Instance of the *Corn*, was one of the things, which *Paul* was taught at the Feet of *Gamaliel*. And I'll tell you, why I think so. [The *Talmud* in *Sanhedrin*. C. 11. fol. 90. b. informs us.] There was a Discourse concerning the Resurrection, held before *Julius Cæsar* the Emperour, at which *Rabban Gamaliel* by Name, wee find particularly present. The Story is this: *Cleopatra, the Queen, asked R. Meir, and said, Wee know that they that ly down [the Dead] shall live; because it is written, And they shall spring up out of the City, like the Herb of the Ground; but when they stand up, from the Dead, shall they Rise up Naked, or in their Cloathes? Hee said unto her, What of the Wheat? Which is buried Naked, and yett Riseth up very well clad; How much more the Just Men, who are buried in their Clothes?* Then *Cæsar* spake unto *Rabban Gamaliel*.⁶⁶³

Accordingly the Greek Church have observed a Practice, not yett out of Use among them. *To sett Boiled Corn, before the Singers of those Holy Hymns, which use to bee said, at the Commemorations of those that are Asleep in Christ.* And very elegant the Discourses on this Point, quoted by Mr. *Gregory*, from a Manuscript [of the] Greek Author *Matthæus Blastares*, in the Archives of the *Bodleian Library*. Among other things, quoth hee, ποῦς οὖν ἄπασι τούτοις ἐξ ἐνὸς κοκκου φθαρέντος ἢ γένεσις; *How should all these things grow up from one Grain, as good as Dead? The Wonder of this, is far above that of the Resurrection of our Bodies, for then the Earth gives up her Dead, but one for one; whereas in the Case of the Corn, shee gives up many Living ones, for one Dead one. O the Intolerable Madness of unbeleeving Men! They see, that the Earth gives up to the Husbandman that which it receiveth not, and should it bee accounted among the Impossible things, that the same Earth should surrender up, (to the Creator too!) that which shee hath Received in Pawn.*⁶⁶⁴

⁶⁶¹ "The flesh is not fit for life." Irenæus, *Against Heresies*; see Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:191).

⁶⁶² See Appendix A.

⁶⁶³ See *The Babylonian Talmud* (12:607).

⁶⁶⁴ *Matthæus Blastares* was a Greek monk and scholar of the 14th century whose *Syntagma alphabeticum* (1335) helped to systematize Byzantine canon law; see *NCE* 2 (435). It was republished at Oxford in 1672, under the patronage of Bp. William Beveridge.

It is very certain; The *Jewish Rabbins* use the Similitude of *Grain*, in the Affair of the *Resurrection*, and speak also of a *Cloathing of the Body Raised*.

4184.

Q. The Apostolical Similitude, for the, *Resurrection of the Dead*, fetch'd from the *Seed* sown in the Ground; have you mett with the Curiosity of a good *poetical* Paraphrase upon it? v. 36.

A. Yes; Tis (in the Opinion of *Gerhard*) a sweet one, that *Strigelius* has upon it.⁶⁶⁵

*Corporis hæ segetes decus immortale loquuntur,
Quæ vivum exanguî corpore germen agunt.
Sicca sub immersas conduntur semina glebas,
In quibus effectus dixeris esse nihil.
Hæc tamen arcano surgunt crescentia motu,
Et robur tacitis viribus aucta gerunt.
Sic quoque nostra cavis illata cadavera tumbis
Accipient vivum glorificata Deum.
Mersa prius letho, mox vera insignia vitæ
Ante Deum æternæ tempora lucis agent.*⁶⁶⁶

1949.

Q. *One Star differs from another Star in Glory; so also is the Resurrection of the Dead*: Have you mett with any Passage in the Jewish Writings, to Illustrate this? v. 40.

A. R. *Bechai*, in *Schulchan arbang*. C. 4. ha's this Passage.

*Quemadmodum Stellæ diversi gradus sunt; aliæ alijs majori Luce præditæ sunt; aliæ Inferiores alias habent, aliæ Superiores. Sic in Luce futuri Sæculi, justus gradum sortietur alius alio superiorem.*⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶⁵ Victorinus Strigelius (1524–69) was a German Protestant theologian. His *Loci theologici* were published in 1681; see *NSHERK* (11:113–14). The source is probably Johann Gerhard (1582–1637), Lutheran scholastic theologian and professor of theology at Jena from 1616. Gerhard wrote a number of works on biblical interpretation, including a harmony of the gospel narratives of the Passion; see *NSHERK* (4:462–2). Mather owned these as well as commentaries on 1 Peter, Genesis, and Deuteronomy; see Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (63). His *Loci communes theologici* (1610–22) brought his doctrinal teaching to its fullest expression.

⁶⁶⁶ “These crops of the body indicate an undying glory, these which produce a living sprout from their bloodless bodies. The dry seed is drawn beneath the tilled soil, in which you might say there was no effect. But they rise up, growing by secret motion; and they rise up in strength, increased by silent power. So also will our corpses, carried into hollow tombs, be glorified and receive the living God. First submerged in destruction, soon the true signs of life will set in motion the times of eternal light before God.”

⁶⁶⁷ “Just as the stars are of diverse rank, and some are given to shine with greater light than others – some have others as inferiors, others as superiors; just so in the light of the future age – the just will obtain a rank, each greater than another.” Rabbi Bahya ben Joseph ibn Paquda.

[97r]

4411.

Q. That Passage, *It is Sown a Natural Body, it is Rais'd a Spiritual Body*; may have some Illustration? v. 44.

A. *Whitby* thinks, The Word, *sown*, here, does not relate unto the Bodies being laid in the Earth, but rather unto its Production into the World. For when it is interr'd, it is not Σωμα ψυχικόν.⁶⁶⁸ *An Animal Body*, but a Body void of Life: And not only a weak Body, but a Body utterly Destitute of all Power. It is further evident from the following Proof of its being, *sown an Animal Body*; For so it is written, *The first Man Adam, was made a living Soul*. The Apostle does indeed speak of *Seed* sown in the *Earth*; but then he speaks of it, as being still *Alive*, and having the Seminal Vertue, and Animal Spirit, in it, and afterwards Dying there: whereas our *Bodies* Dye first, and are then cast into the Earth.

By an *Animal Body*, may be meant a Body, which has a Multiplicity of Organs, Muscles, Tendons, Arteries, Veins, Nerves, by which, with the Assistance of the Animal and Vital Spirits, it perceives, moves, & conveys Nourishment unto all its Parts, & so wanting a continual Recruit of Aliment.

By a *Spiritual Body* may be meant, a Body possessed and acted by the Holy Spirit, and advanced so far towards the Perfection of Spirits, as to be free from Grossness, Ponderosity, a need of Rest, Sleep, or other Sustenance.

Or, *Whitby* offers this Paraphrase. "There is an *Animal Body*, or a Body fitted for this lower, sensible State, in which we live at present. And there is a *Spiritual Body*, or a Body fitted for our spiritual and cælestial State. In the present State, we are forced to serve our Bodies, and attend their Liesure, & mightily depend upon them in the Operations of the Mind. In the other State, our Bodies shall wholly serve our Spirits, and minister unto them, & depend upon them."⁶⁶⁹

Both *Chrysostom* and *Theophylact* on the Place, allow the Raised *Body*, to be somewhat *Aerial*.⁶⁷⁰ The Opinion was not peculiar to the Followers of *Origen*.⁶⁷¹ *Isidore of Pelusium*, saies; The Bodies, are by the Apostle called, *Spiritual*, διὰ τὸ κοῦφα καὶ αἰθερία μέλλειν εἶσεσθαι, *Because they shall hereafter be light and ethereal*.⁶⁷²

Paquda was an 11th-century Spanish philosopher; his chief work was his *Guide to the Duties of the Heart*; see "Bahya ben Joseph ibn Paquda," *JE* (electronic).

⁶⁶⁸ Σωμα ψυχικόν.

⁶⁶⁹ *Whitby*, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:191–2).

⁶⁷⁰ *Ibid*.

⁶⁷¹ *Ibid*.

⁶⁷² διὰ τὸ κοῦφα καὶ αἰθερία μέλλειν εἶσεσθαι. "Because they are destined to be light and ethereal." *Isidore of Pelusium* was a 5th-century eremite in Egypt who maintained an active correspondence with Christian bishops; see *NCE* (7:601–2). See *Whitby*, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:192).

The *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists*, had their Notions, which much harmonize with the Doctrine of our Apostle, about a Σῶμα αὐγοειδὲς καὶ αἰδιον, as *Herocles* expresses it;⁶⁷³ a Σῶμα οὐράνιον, according to *Philoponus*,⁶⁷⁴ and a πνευματοκον σῶμα,⁶⁷⁵ to be enjoyed by an Holy Soul, after its Departure from this Earthly Body. But, it is a very good Conjecture of *Whitby's*, That since there is nothing of this, in the Life of *Pythagoras*, written by *Laertius*, nor in the Life of *Plato*, but only in those Writers, who lived since the Coming of our Saviour, & were professed Enemies of Christianity, (such as *Herocles*, *Porphyrie*, *Proclus*, and *Jamblicus*,) it is likely, That as in other things, they apparently dressed up their Philosophy and Morality anew, to accommodate it the better unto the *Christian Religion*, that so there might seem the less Need of *Christianity*; and they particularly made the Fælicity of Souls hereafter much like the Christian Doctrine, that so they might render needless the Doctrine of the Resurrection. Thus, they gave to the Departed Souls of good Men, ὄχημα ψυχῆς,⁶⁷⁶ A *Vehicle* of a *Spiritual, Immortal, Shining, Heavenly Body*, from the Christian Notion of the Change our *Raised Bodies* are to undergo.⁶⁷⁷

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{4412.}⁶⁷⁸

[98v]

Q. What did the Ancients understand, by, *A Spiritual Body*? v. 44.

A. All the Ancients, till *Austin*, by a *Spiritual Body*, seem to understand a Body Possessed, Filled, Acted by the Holy Spirit, as the *Natural Body*, is by the Animal and Vital *Spirits*. And they say, That Christ is made a *Quickening Spirit*, by the *Seed of the Holy Spirit*, which unites Him, to *all His Members*. *Irenæus* is very express and copious in this Matter.⁶⁷⁹ *Tertullian* saies, *It is called Spiritual, as {Spiritem,} putting on the Spirit.*⁶⁸¹ And *Methodius* has it thus; πνευματικὸν λέγεται το χωρὸν πασαν του αμου πνευματος ενεργειαν και κοινωνιαν. *It is called Spiritual, as receiving the whole Energy & Communion of the Spirit.*⁶⁸²

⁶⁷³ Σῶμα αὐγοειδὲς καὶ αἰδιον. "An eternal body, and the substance of light." *Whitby, A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:192).

⁶⁷⁴ Σῶμα οὐράνιον "heavenly body." *Ibid.* John Philoponus (c. 490–570), aka John the Grammarian, was a Christian philosopher and author of several commentaries on the works of Aristotle; see *NCE* (7:1008–9).

⁶⁷⁵ πνευματικὸν σῶμα; "spiritual body."

⁶⁷⁶ ὄχημα ψυχῆς; "spiritual vehicle."

⁶⁷⁷ *Whitby, A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:192).

⁶⁷⁸ See Appendix A.

⁶⁷⁹ *Whitby, A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:192).

⁶⁸⁰ See Appendix A.

⁶⁸¹ *Whitby, A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:192).

⁶⁸² πνευματικὸν λέγεται τό χωροῦν πασαν τοῦ ἀμου πνεύματος ἐνεργειαν καὶ κοινωνίαν. There are several early Christians by the name of Methodius; likely the bishop of Olympus (d. 311 CE) is in mind here. *Whitby* (p. 192) cites Oecumenius as his source for Methodius.

[▽99r] [▽Insert from 99r]⁶⁸³

Yea, the Words of *Austin* too, shall be of use to us, on this Occasion. *Sicut spiritus carni serviens non incongrue carnalis, ita caro Spiritui inserviens recta appellatur spiritualis.*⁶⁸⁴

[△] [△Insert ends, 98v resumes]

Indeed, That the Resurrection of the Just shall be effected by the *Spirit* of God, is plainly taught by the Apostle. [Rom. 8.10.] And it agrees with the Opinion of the *Jewes*, who ascribe the *Resurrection*, to the *Spirit*: [from Ezek. 37.10.] and in particular, to the *Spirit* of the *Messiah*.

[▽99r resumes] [▽Insert from 99r resumes]

Q. A Remark, on That; The *First Man Adam, was made a Living Soul; the Last Adam is a Quickening Spirit?* v. 45.

A. It is a noble Thought of PIETY, which I find some from this Passage led unto; and there is in the very *Soul* of PIETY in it. CHRIST is to the *Soul*, what the *Soul* is to the *Body*. Our *Living Soul*, is but a *Dead Carcase*, until CHRIST become a *Quickening Spirit* unto it. We are *Dead Things*, and all our Works are *Dead Works*, until CHRIST please to *unite* Himself unto us. We can do nothing in *Living to GOD*, until CHRIST shall please to *Animate* us. Our Life is owing to Influences derived from CHRIST unto us. We *Live* by conversing with Him, & being influenced by Him. Accept and value this Thought, as an Ingot of Gold.

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽100v△] [▽Insert from 100v] [blank] [98v resumes]

4413.

Q. How is Christ, the *Lord from Heaven?* v. 47.

A. Not because the *Body* of Christ was *from Heaven*, and not from the Virgin *Mary*. The Scripture expressly teaches us otherwise; [Mat. 1.16. Luk. 1.35. Luk. 1.42. Rom. 9.5.] And had His *Body* been so derived from Heaven, it would have been *Immortal*, as ours will be, when we bear the Image of the *Heavenly Adam*. Wherefore, Dr. *Whitby* gives this Paraphrase to the Place; *The Second Man, is the Lord* [descending] *from Heaven* [to Raise our Bodies, and advance them to that Place.]⁶⁸⁵

⁶⁸³ See Appendix B.

⁶⁸⁴ "Just as a spirit serving the flesh is fittingly called carnal, so flesh serving the Spirit is rightly called spiritual." Augustine, *City of God* (4:213).

⁶⁸⁵ Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:193).

[▽Insert from 103r]

[▽103r]

Q. Among the Objections wherewith vain Men have cavilled against the *Resurrection*, the most plausible one, ha's been, that of a Supposition, That *one Body* ha's been turned in to the *Nourishment* of another, and become a *Part* of the *Substance* of it; A Thing that frequently happens among the *Cannibals*? v. 49.

A. Among others, there is one Mr. *Samuel Clark*, who in his, *Evidences of Natural and Reveled Religion*, ha's considered this *great Difficulty*; and he observes, That is is really but a *great Trifle*.⁶⁸⁶

He saies, That for the *Resurrection*, if there be a Necessity for the Restitution of *All*, and only *the same Parts*, yett there is no Need of supposing, (as *Grotius* and others have done,) that God by a *miraculous Providence* always interposes, to prevent the Parts of one *Humane Body* from Incorporating with another, or yeelding a *Nourishment* unto it.

But I will chuse to give what he saies, in his own Words.

"First, No Man can say it is *Improbable*, (and they who have been most and best versed in *microscopical* Observations, think it, *more than probable*;) That the *original Stamina*, which contain all, and every one of the solid *Parts* and *Vessels* of the *Body*, not excepting even the minutest *Nerves* and *Fibres*; are themselves the *entire Body*: And that all the extraneous Matter, which, coming in by Way of Nourishment, fills up the minute and insensible Vessels, of which all the visible & sensible Vessels are composed, is not strictly, and properly, *Part* of the *Body*. Consequently, while all this *extraneous Matter*, which serves only to swell the *Body* to its just Magnitude, is in *continual Flux*, the *original Stamina*, may continue unchanged; and so, no *Confusion of Bodies*, will be possible in Nature. There may be made many very considerable Observations, concerning the *Determinate Figure*, into which every Respective *Body* unfolds itself by Growth, concerning the Impossibility of the *Bodies* extending itself by any Nourishment whatsoever, beyond that *certain Magnitude*, to which the original Vessels are capable, of being unfolded; and concerning the Impossibility of Restoring by any Nourishment, the smallest Vessel, or solid *Part* of the *Body*, that has at any time happened to be mutilated by any Accident. All which Observations often and carefully made, will seem very much to favour some such Speculation as this.

Secondly, It may also be supposed otherwise, | not without good Probability, that in like Manner, as in every *Grain of Corn*, there is contained a minute, insensible, seminal *Principle*, which is itself the entire future *Blade*, and *Ear*, and in due Season, when all the rest of the *Grain* is corrupted, evolves, and unfolds itself visibly into that Form: So our present mortal and corruptible *Body*, may be but the *Exuvia*,⁶⁸⁷ as it were, of some Hidden, and at present Insensible,

[▽104v]

⁶⁸⁶ Samuel Clarke, *Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion* (1705); on Clarke, see Mather's second entry on 9:24 (above).

⁶⁸⁷ "Outer covering."

Principle, (possibly the present *Seat* of the *Soul*), which at the *Resurrection* shall discover itself in its proper Form. This Way also, there can be no *Confusion of Bodies* possible in Nature. And it is not without some Weight, that the Ancientest Writers of the Church, have alwayes made use of this very Similitude; that St. *Paul* himself alledges the same Comparison; and that the *Jewish* Writers seem to have had some obscure Glimpses of this Notion, when they talked of a certain *Incorruptible Part* of the Body: Tho' these latter indeed, explained themselves very weakly and unphilosophically.

Many other Wayes perhaps may be imagined, by which the same thing may be explained intelligibly."

[△] [△Insert ends, 98v resumes]

4414.

Q. What is the *Flesh and Blood, that cannot inherit the Kingdome of God?* v. 50.

A. Most of the Ancients took it, not *Naturally*, but *Morally*, for the corrupt Affections of the *Flesh*. But *Flesh* and *Blood* jointly never have that import in Scripture. And the Apostle is not here speaking of the Requisites to make our *Souls* meet for the Kingdome, but of the Manner of the Resurrection of the Body. It must therefore be said, (as by *Whitby*), That tho' the same *Flesh & Blood* may Rise from the Grave, it will then receive such a Change, as will render it, *Spiritual*, and *Incorruptible*; and if it do not cease to be *Flesh* and *Blood* after its coming to Heaven, yett it will have such an Heavenly Cloathing, as will keep it from *Corruption*. The Import of the Words then may be, *Flesh and Blood unchanged & unclothed with its Heavenly Body, cannot inherit the Kingdome of God*.⁶⁸⁸

[▽101r] [▽Insert from 101r]

4415.

Q. We read about, *putting on Incorruption?* Perhaps, that Phrase of *putting on*, may lead us to the discovery of a very Remarkable Mystery, concerning the Heavenly World? v. 54.

A. Behold, a Matter that calls for a great Attention! The Scriptures, and all the Ancients, do speak of a *Cloathing*, which will be *putt on* the *Raised Bodies*. You will find a rare Passage in *Psellus's* Commentary on the *Chaldaic Oracles*: He saies, The *Chaldees gave the Soul Two Cloathings; One, of the Spiritual Body, weaved out of that which is subject to Sense; The other, a Thinner, but Shining Body, not subject unto the Touch; which they call, The Superficies*.⁶⁸⁹ And the Conjecture of the Jewes, is this; That it shall be a *Cloathing of Light*, or of a *Pure Flame*. So

⁶⁸⁸ Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:193).

⁶⁸⁹ Michael Psellus (b. 1018, d. unknown) was one of the most prodigious philosophers and theologians in Constantinople in his day but was also a controversial figure and thus

the old Book *Zohar* saies, *The Bodies of the Just, shall be cloathed with the Light of Glory*.⁶⁹⁰ Tis a Saying of R. *Phineas*, The Blessed God will give to the Bodies of the Just, /יפיות/⁶⁹¹ *An Ornament*; According to that, Isa. 58.11. *He shall satisfy thy Soul* /בצהצחות/⁶⁹² *with white, or splendid Things*. Tis a Saying of R. *Levi*, That the *Soul, in the State of its Glory, sustains itself by the superiour Light*; and when it returns to the Body, it shall *come with this Light, & then the Body shall shine, as with the Brightness of the Heavens*.⁶⁹³ This agrees well enough, with the Transfiguration of our Lords Body, and His Appearance to *Paul* and *John*; and the Descriptions made in the Old Testament, of the Just Rising from their Graves, and then *shining, as the Brightness of the Firmament, & the Stars forever*; and in the New, that they shall *shine as the Sun in the Kingdome of the Father*. And thus, (as Dr. *Whitby*, from whom I take it, ha's it,) thus they may be *salted*, & præserv'd from Corruption, by *Fire*. [Mar. 9.49.]⁶⁹⁴

Every Line of this Illustration is, to me, worth an Ingott of Gold!

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 102v] [blank] [98v resumes]

[▽102v△]

Q. What is meant by, *Abounding alwayes in the Work of the Lord?* v. 58.

A. It means, Doing *something extraordinary* in the Service of the Lord Jesus Christ, even something beyond what our Neighbours could *oblige* us to, or might *expect* from us. *Etiā plus quā quisquam exigere audeat*,⁶⁹⁵ is the Gloss of *Grotius* upon it; and he instances in *Pauls* bearing his own Expences, when he preached the Gospel.⁶⁹⁶

marginalized by the Church; see *NSHERK* (9:333). See Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:194).

⁶⁹⁰ See Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:194).

⁶⁹¹ From יָפִיּוּת (ornament, adornment).

⁶⁹² בְּצִהְצְחוֹת (in the sun-scorch'd places, i. e. during drought; see Is. 58:11). Mather's source is taking this in the sense of something bathed in the sun's light, i. e. brilliant, glorious.

⁶⁹³ See Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:194).

⁶⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹⁵ "Even more than anyone might dare to demand."

⁶⁹⁶ Grotius, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (6:451).

{4459.}⁶⁹⁷

Q. *The Collections, on the First Day of the Week*, præscribed unto the primitive Churches; What Remark may be made upon them? v. 2.

A. The Jewes in every City where they dwelt, had their *Collectors of Alms*, who in the Week-Dayes went about the City, collecting *Alms*, according to the Quality & Wealth of every Jew; And in the *Evening of the Sabbath*, distributed unto the *Poor* among the *Jewes*, as much as they thought needful for the following Week. The Apostle seems to have some Eye unto this Exemple, in directing, that Christians make provision for the *Poor*, on the *Lords-Day*.⁶⁹⁸

The Compliance of the Christians with this Direction is reproved by *Justin Martyr*: οἱ ευποροῦντες, καὶ οἱ βουλομένοι, κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἑκάστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, οὐ βούλεται δίδωσι. *Then they that are able and willing, do give what they think fitt, and what is thus collected is laid up in the Hands of the Præsident, who distributes it to Orphans and Widowes, and other Christians, as their Wants require.* [Apol. 2.]⁶⁹⁹

We may observe, that no good Reason can be given, why the Apostle should limit the *Collections* of the Churches, to the *First Day of the Week*, but this; That this was the Day appointed for the Worship of our Lord; & so more fitt for the Performance of those Duties, which concerned the Releef of His Distressed Members. Indeed, the *Day* itself contains in it, a special Motive, to Quicken and enlarge the Charity of Beleevers; it being the Day *in which they are begotten to a lively Hope, thro' the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the Dead, of an Incorruptible Inheritance.*

I will add a Passage out of Monsr. *Basnage*.⁷⁰⁰

We find in *Philo*, that *Augustus*, having ordered a *Distribution of Corn*, every *Saturday*, had the Indulgence, to Defer it one Day for the *Jewes*, who could neither *Give* nor *Receive*, on that Day. *Leo Modena* observes, That the *Jewes* touch not *Money* on *Saturday*; and the *Talmuds* would make one think, the Nicety were very ancient.⁷⁰¹ If they were so Nice, of old, yett *Basnage* thinks,

⁶⁹⁷ See Appendix A.

⁶⁹⁸ See Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:196).

⁶⁹⁹ οἱ εὐποροῦντες δὲ καὶ βουλόμενοι κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἑκάστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ οὐ βούλεται δίδωσι. Justin Martyr, *Apologia* (67.6, lines 1–3); see Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:196).

⁷⁰⁰ Jacques Basnage, *The History of the Jews, from Jesus Christ to the present times* (461). Basnage (1653–1723) was a French Reformed minister; he removed to Holland after the Edict of Nantes (1685), where he pastored for the next thirty years before returning to France. He authored of a number of historical works, most famously his *History of the Jews* (French, 1706; English, 1708); see *NSHERK* (2:2).

⁷⁰¹ Leon of Modena (1571–1648), rabbi and rationalist philosopher who served as a conduit of Jewish learning to the European Christian world; see *EJ* (14:108–10).

There is no Reason to look on the Apostles Direction unto the *Corinthians*, (who might observe the *Sabbath* after the Manner of the *Jewes*) as any Complaisance unto that Jewish Squeamishness. On the contrary, he referr'd the Collections to the *First Day of the Week*, because that was the Day of the Christian Assemblies, and, *The Lords Day*. And if the *Jewes* gave Nothing on *their Sabbath*, he would have the *Christians* to give their Alms on *Theirs*, to teach them, that Acts of Charity are very agreeable to such a Day.

Q. On that, *A Door opened, & many Adversaries?* v. 9.

A. The Apostle seems to allude unto the *Ostia Circus Maximi*,⁷⁰² from whence the Race-horses and Chariots were wont to be started. This is very much countenanced, by the Phrase, *Ἀντικείμενοι*.⁷⁰³ These *Adversaries* answering to the *Antagonists*, in the Races; against whom the Apostle was to outrun, & prove that he might outdo them. This is explained by *Jacobus Lydius* in his *Agonistica Sacra*.⁷⁰⁴

4160.

Q. Our Apostle saise of *Apollos*, *I greatly desired him to come unto you, with the Brethren, but his Will was not at all to come at this Time*. Why would not he come at this Time? v. 12.

A. Doubtless, If you look back to the First Chapter of this Epistle, you will see the Reason of it.

Witsius has well observed it; *Ne videretur favere factioni nomen suum venditanti*.⁷⁰⁵ He would not any way cherish the Faction of the *Corinthians*, who made his Name, an Engine to serve their Factious Dispositions.

|

[106v]

3023.

Q. Some Illustration, if you please, upon the *Anathema?* v. 22.

A. Why, then in the first Place, we must observe, That there is commonly a great Mistake in Authors, confounding these two Words, *Ἀνάθεμα*, and, *Ἀνάθημα*, which are of different Significations.⁷⁰⁶ The former is always taken in a

⁷⁰² "Doors or entrances to the Roman Coliseum"

⁷⁰³ *ἀντικείμενοι*; "to lie opposite to, or be set over against."

⁷⁰⁴ Jacob Lydius (1610–79), *Agonistica sacra* (1657). Lydius (1610–79) was a Dutch pastor who authored works in church history and exegesis; see *NSHERK* (7:97). The work in view here is a study of patristic uses of the Pauline epistles.

⁷⁰⁵ "Lest he appear to favor the faction trading on his name." Hermann Wits, perhaps his *Miscellanea sacra* (1692); see Mather's first entry on 7:14 (above).

⁷⁰⁶ *Ἀνάθεμα* and *Ἀνάθημα* are essentially synonymous for something cursed. In his commentary on Romans 9:3, Mather gives an extended analysis of the two terms. Interestingly, he is much more non-committal there, accepting of the idea of their equivalent meaning.

Bad Sense; the latter is mostly taken in a *Good* one, for any thing sett apart for the Honour of God.

Αναθημα, is *Donarium*, A Gift consecrated unto God. Αναθελναι, or ανατιθεναι, is *Reponere*, *Attollere*, *Suspendere*,⁷⁰⁷ and so tis proper unto sacred *Gifts*, which were *Laid up*, or, *Hung up* in the *Temples*. No doubt, the *Gracians* borrow'd it, from the *Sacred Book*, & the Usage in the Worship of the True God, wherein that sort of Gifts were called, *Terumah*,⁷⁰⁸ an *Heave-offering*, which was *Heaved*, or *Lifted up* before the Lord. Αναθημα is *Donum Elevatum*:⁷⁰⁹ And it is observed by *Salmasius*, That *not all those Gifts which were dedicated unto the Gods were by the Gracians called, Αναθηματα, but those only which could be hung up, or sett upon some High and Conspicuous Place*.⁷¹⁰

But now, Αναθεμα, is a thing that is *cursed* of God and Man, and with a Curse, destined unto Destruction.

Justin Martyr confounds the Words; and so doth *Chrysostom*: Nor do *Theodoret*, or, *Oecumenius* distinguish them. And *Balsamon* and *Zonaras* often confound them in their Comments on the Councils.⁷¹¹ The same is done, by modern Commentators; as *Cotterius*, and *Gomarus*, and others.⁷¹² But the exact Masters of Criticism do discriminate between these two. *Hesychius* does it; *Suidas* does it; *Pollux* does it; *Budeus* (a sufficient Judge) does it; *Estius* does it; and *Heinsius* wonders at them who do it not. *Salmasius* concurs with him. And so does *Hoffman*, in his excellent *Lexicon*.⁷¹³

One Ground of the Mistake, ha's been, because *Gifts* have been sometimes consecrated unto God, with the Addition of a *Curse*. [As *Ezr.* 6.12.] A *Curse* laid

707 "To have dedicated" (ἀναθεῖναι) or "to dedicate" (ἀνατιθέναι) is "to place upon," "to lift up," "to hang up (i. e. to consecrate)" [Latin].

708 תְּרומָה (heave-offering).

709 "A gift raised up."

710 Claude Saumaise (1588–1653), a French classicist at Leyden; see Mather's first entry on 10:33 (above).

711 Theodore Balsamon (d. c. 1196), patriarch of Antioch and author of a number of works on church institutional life, including the Orthodox-Catholic schism; see *NCE* (2:33). John Zonaras, a 12th-century Orthodox historian and theologian and secretary to emperor Alexios I Komnenos; his *Extracts of History* carries church history up to the 12th century; see *NCE* (14:934).

712 Matthieu Cotti re (1581–1656), a French Protestant cleric and, later, professor at Leiden who participated in the debates between Jacob Arminius and Francis Gomarus; see Stelling-Michaud, *Le Livre du Recteur de l'Academie du Geneve* (5:1331). Gomarus (1563–1641) was a Dutch Calvinist theologian, professor at Leiden, Saumur, and, finally, Gronigen. He was deeply involved in the Arminian controversies; see *NSHERK* (5:16).

713 Hesychius of Alexandria, a 5th-century CE Greek lexicographer whose *Synagogue* documents some 50,000 words; *NSHERK* (5:258). Julius Pollux, a 2nd-century Greek grammarian at Alexandria; *EB* (22:7). Guillaume Bud  (1467–1540), a scholar of Greek and Latin who was sympathetic to the Reformation; *NSHERK* (2:295). Willem Estius (1542–1613), Catholic professor of theology at Leuven and author of a commentary on the Pauline epistles; *NCE* (5:375). Nicholaes Heinsius (1620–81), a Dutch classical scholar and peripatetic bibliophile; *EB* (13:216). Johann Hofmann (1635–1706), *Lexicon universale* (1677).

(not upon it, but) upon him, that should meddle with it. Hence might arise the promiscuous Use of the Words. But with the Help of our Friend, Mr. *Edwards*, we have now restored each of the Words, unto its proper Signification.⁷¹⁴

Αναθεμα then, tho' it have the same Greek Word for its Original, that *Αναθημα* hath, yett the Greek Word, *Αναθεσθαι*,⁷¹⁵ signifies, To *Remove*, and *Reject*, and *Take away*: for which, consult *Constantines Lexicon*, which it seems in many Places outdoes all others.⁷¹⁶

And it is exceeding probable, that our Apostle in using this Word, refers to a noted Word of the Old Testament: And what Word, but, *חֶרֶם* / *Cherem*,⁷¹⁷ which exactly answers it. The Word, *Cherem*, is by the LXX constantly rendred, *Αναθεμα*. Now, *Cherem* signified, A *Separation* from the Communion of the People of God, with a *Curse*, both Temporal and Eternal, upon the Person so *separated*; yea, no less than an *utter Destruction* in it. [See Lev. 27.28, 29.]

Q. What is that Meaning of that *Anathema Maranatha*, denounced by the Apostle, on them that *love not the Lord Jesus Christ*? v. 22.

A. They are not so much, the *Pagans* who never Heard of the Lord Jesus Christ, and so properly neither *Love* Him, nor *Hate* Him, that are intended here, as the *Jewes*, who tho' they have had the Tidings & the Offers of the Lord Jesus Christ, continue in their Malignity against Him. For which Cause, (as the Prophet threatens the *Chaldean* Idolatry in Chaldee, Jer. 10.) tho' the Apostle had hitherto spoken in the *Græcian* Language, hee now speaks in the *Syriac*, which was then the *Jewish*; and the *Jewes* are the only Mortals, that call Jesus *Accursed*. Now, An *Anathema*, is the same with the *Cherem*, in the twenty seventh Chapter of *Leviticus*, as you will see, by comparing of the Seventy Interpreters. It notes an *Accursed* Thing; and it originally signified, The Destining of a Malefactor, to certain Death, Destruction, and Perdition. But then, for the Words, *Maran-atha*; They who assert it, a Form of *Excommunication* among the Jewes, give us an Assertion but Conjectural and very Arbitrary: For there is not one Hebrew Author hitherto known in the World, by whom a *Maran-atha*, is once mentioned. And whereas ours do say, that it is the same, with the Hebrew *שְׁמַתָּא* / *Schammatha*, which they interpret, *God cometh*, as, *Maran-atha* also signifies. This is their Mistake. For the *Talmuds* have sufficiently taught us, that the Signification of their *Schammatha* is, *There is Death*, or, *Lett Death bee there*.⁷¹⁸

714 On Edwards, see Mather's entry on 1:21 (above).

715 *Ἀναθέσθαι*; "to have dedicated (an offering)."

716 The *Souda* contains some 30,000 entries on Greek language, literature, and history and was compiled in the 10th century, largely under Constantine VII (912–959). See "Suidas," *OCCL* (electronic).

717 *חֶרֶם* (accursed).

718 Mather's translation of the term is correct. The *Shamta* prayer is a rebuke and condemnation of Christianity in rabbinic sources; see Yaacov Deutsch, *Judaism in Christian Eyes: Ethno-*

Wherefore, I conclude, with Dr. *Lightfoot*, That the Apostle doth here in a Manner quote the last Words of the *Old Testament*. You Remember that the *Old Testament* ends, with a Terrible Threatning against the unbelieving *Jewes*, in Mal. 4.6. *Lest I come & smite the Earth with a Curse*. Now the Apostle saies thus much, If any Man *love not the Lord Jesus Christ*, lett him expect the *Curse*, which the Lord will *come* to inflict upon Unbelievers, in the Day when hee fulfils that Word of His, *I come & smite with Curse!*⁷¹⁹

graphic Descriptions of Jews and Judaism in Early Modern Europe (80). Mather is locking into this tradition and referring to a debate about the etymology of the term; see Thomas Godwyn, *Moses and Aaron: Civil and Ecclesiastical Rites* (1685), p. 183. (This note courtesy of Paul S. Peterson).
 719 Lightfoot, perhaps his *Harmony of the New Testament* (1655) or *Horae hebraicae et talmudicae* (1658–74).

Q. An Emphasis in this Title of our God; *The Father of Mercies?* v. 3.

A. It implies, not only that He is a most *merciful Father*, but also that He is the *Father*, & *Author* of all the *merciful* Dispositions, which are working among the Children of Men.

This is the Gloss of our excellent *Arndt* upon it; *Origo aeterna omnis paterni affectus et benivolentiae, in tot millems patrum cordibus diffusæ.*¹

4417.

Q. *Do I purpose according to the Flesh?* What might be the Occasion of this Passage? v. 17.

A. Perhaps (as *Whitby* expresses it,) the *Judaizers* might object this; Because being in *Greece*, [Act. 20.2.] and so near to *Corinth*, and having passed thro' *Macedonia*, he came not to go by them into *Syria*, because the *Jewes* laid wait for him by the Way, but returned back to *Macedonia*, without seeing them. This they might interpret, a Consulting of his *carnal Interests*.²

Mills would have the True Reading here, to be, τὸ ναὶ καὶ τὸ οὐ; *Yea and Nay*.³ According to the Ancient Copy of *Beza*.⁴ The Truth is; To double the Terms may seem rather directly contrary to the Scope of the Apostle.

1 “[This is] the eternal origin of all paternal affection and benevolence, instilled in the hearts of so many thousands of fathers.” (Typically the word “thousands” would be rendered by the indeclinable adjective *milia*; Mather seems to be using a kind of corrupted accusative case in this instance.) Johann Arndt (1555–1621) was a Lutheran pastor and theologian and the inspiration for later Continental Pietism through books such as *True Christianity* (1605); see NSHERK (1:299). PLEASE NOTE: As a general rule, translations of Hebrew, Greek and Latin are rendered in the footnotes; when these are not provided, it indicates that the translation Mather has provided in the text is correct.

2 Daniel Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:202). Whitby (1638–1726) was an Anglican cleric and a prolific author; he engaged in anti-Catholic polemics but also argued for a latitudinarian treatment of Protestant Dissenters. In his later years, he adopted (publically) Arminian and (posthumously) Arian doctrinal positions, although he did publish a treatise against the latter in 1691; see ODNB (58:530–2).

3 τὸ ναὶ καὶ τὸ οὐ. The received text reads: τὸ ναὶ καὶ καὶ τὸ οὐ οὐ; “(that with me there should be) nay, nay, and yea, yea.” (KJV). Paul is addressing the Corinthian accusation that his failure to visit them was a result of fickleness on his part. John Mill, *Novum testamentum graecum* (1707). Mill (1645–1707) was an Anglican cleric whose edition of the New Testament represented a significant advance in assessing the number of manuscript families and variants in the text, for which he was vigorously attacked; see ODNB (38:153–5).

4 Theodore Beza (1519–1605) was a French Reformed theologian and professor of Greek at Geneva who produced an annotated critical edition and translation of the Greek New Testament (1565); see NSHERK (2:78–81).

Q. On that, *Our Word was not Yea and Nay?* v. 18.

A. There is a Noted Saying of the Hebrews, mention'd both by *Buxtorf* and *Mercer*. *Iustorum Etiam est Etiam, et eorum Non est Non.*⁵

[2v]

1664.

Q. Tis here said, *The Promises of God*, are in Christ, *Yea*, and in Him, *Amen*. Behold here, Two Particles of Asseveration; the one in *Greek*, the other in *Hebrew*; both of the same Signification, as I take it; q.d. The *Promises* are all *True*. But why this Duplication? v. 20.

A. It may bee partly to express the *Undoubtedness* of the Thing; q.d. The *Promises* are *True*, yea, I again Declare, that they are *True*.

But it may bee also, to denote the *universal Experience*, which all Men, both *Jewes* and *Gentiles*, have of it. q.d. The *Gentiles*, they find the Truth of the *Promises*, and the *Jewes* do so too. Perhaps likewise, the *Promises* of both Testaments, the *New*, written in *Greek*, & the *Old*, written in *Hebrew*, may be herein refer'd unto.

4418.

Q. The Apostle is diverse times in this Epistle, at such a Stroke as that, *I call God to Record upon my Soul*. What might be the Reason of it? v. 23.

A. *Assertory Oaths* are the only ones used by him. Wherefore, with Dr. *Whitby* here, we will consider the End of such *Oaths*.⁶

First. There must be some *Αντιλογία*; some Opposition to, or Contradiction of, the Thing Asserted.⁷ There needs no confirming in this Manner, what no body doubts of. [Heb. 6.16.] Now in the Church of *Corinth*, the Authority and Sincerity of the Apostle, was much doubted of. He was among them acknowledged *but in part*. [2. Cor. 1.14.] Some still sought a *Proof of Christ speaking by him*. [Chap. 13.3.] Others look'd on him, as one that *walked after the Flesh*. [Chap. 10.2.] This gave Occasion, to the Repeated *Oaths* in this Epistle.

5 "The 'Yes' of the just is 'Yes,' and their 'No' is 'No.'" Probably Johannes Buxtorf (1599–1664), *Florilegium Hebraicum* (1648), a collection of sayings taken out of rabbinic texts; possibly his father, Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629), *Synagoga judaica* (1603), a more expansive work dealing with Jewish religious culture. Together father and son served as professor of Hebrew at Basel from 1591 to 1664; see *NSHERK* (2:324–5). Several works by the Buxtorfs, though not these, appear in the Mather library catalogs. Jean Mercier (1525–1570), professor of Hebrew at the College Royal; he authored an Aramaic grammar and translated several rabbinic works, sections of the Talmud, the *Targum Jonathan*, and a critical edition of Santes Pagnini's Hebrew lexicon, *Thesaurus linguae sanctae* (1575). See *EJ* (14:62).

6 Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:203).

7 *Αντιλογία*; "contradiction, controversy."

Secondly. An *Oath* is *for Confirmation* of a thing asserted. And if it be thought necessary in *Civil* Matters, it may much more be so in *Sacred* Matters, which concern the Truth of the Gospel, & the Salvation of Souls.

Thirdly. The Thing thus confirmed by an *Oath*, must be Such, as could not be sufficiently confirmed by other Witnesses of the Fact; only *he* being privy to them, who does thus confirm them.

These things concurred in the Case of the Apostle.

Q. What means the Apostle, in that Passage, *If any hath caused Grief, he hath not grieved me, but in part?* v. 5.

A. *If any*, that is to say, *If any Church*; and he particularly intends the Church of *Corinth*. It is, *but in part*; that is to say, It is not the *whole Church*, but only *Some* that are in it.

3134.

Q. That Passage, *Thanks be to God, who causeth us alwayes to Triumph in Christ*. How may it be understood? v. 14.

A. *Witsius* thinks it should be understood, and translated, *Who leads us in Triumph*. He thus expresses it, *Qui semper nos Triumphat, sive in Triumphum abducit*;⁸ He shewes, That the Word, θριαμβευειν,⁹ is thus taken, both in profane and sacred Writers.

Our Ascended Lord, ha's conquered Rebellious Enemies, & led them in Triumph. *Paul* himself was carried in this Triumph, *tanquam castrorum hosticorum non modò insigne spoliū, sed et fortissimū Antesignanum*.¹⁰

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽4v] [▽Insert from 4v]

2297.

Q. What special Thing may bee implied in that Passage, *Wee are unto God, a sweet Savour of Christ?* v. 15.

A. 'Tis Dr. *Templars* Observation. Those who preach *Christ*, who is the *Brightness of His Fathers Glory*, must necessarily by the same Action give *Glory* & Worship to God. Tho' *preaching the Gospel*, as it imports *Teaching*, is a Religious Duty that looks down upon *Men* only, yett as it proclames before Men the inæstimable Goodness of Heaven, it looks upwards to *God*, & may challenge a Place among the Parts of His Worship. Upon this account, Ministers are said to bee a *Sweet Savour unto God*, whether their Hearers do Admitt, or do Refuse their Instructions. The Word ἐὼδία, alludes to the *perfumed Offerings* under the Law; intimating that God is as really worshipped, by the Preaching of the Gos-

⁸ "Who always triumphs in us, or leads us in triumphal procession." Hermann Wits (1636–1708), Dutch Reformed professor of theology at Utrecht and Leiden. Among his works are *De oeconomia foederum Dei cum hominibus* (1677), *Miscellanea sacra* (1692), *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (1696) – a comparison of Egyptian and Israelite religious ceremonies, and *Meletemata Leidensia* (1703), which includes a study of Paul's life; see *NSHERK* (12:396).

⁹ θριαμβεύοντι; "triumph."

¹⁰ "As not only the visible spoil, but also the bravest vanguard-fighter, of the enemy camp."

pel, as Hee was by those Oblations. Upon this account, the Apostle represents himself as one that *sacrifices the Gospel*. [Rom. 15.16.] *Chrysostom* therefore calls a Preacher, θυμιατήριον βασιλικὸν, *A Royal Censer*; upon which, this spiritual Oblation is offered.¹¹ This is part of the *pure Offering*, which *Malachi* foretold should bee in every Place, as well among the *Gentiles* as the *Jewes*, tendered unto God. It is a *Sacrifice*, like the *Peace-offering*, whereof some was given to *God*, and some to the *People*. It is called, θυσία πιστεως, [Phil. 2.17.] *The Sacrifice of Faith*. The *Faith* of the Gospel is of so excellent a Nature, that the ministerial Publishing of it, implies a solemn *Oblation of Praise* to Him who is the Fountain of it.¹²

¹³Old *Anselm* has this Gloss upon it. Some did love *Paul*; others envied him. They who lov'd him, lived by the *sweet Odor*, of the Grace exemplified & celebrated in him. They by whom he was envied, perished by the same *sweet Odor*. *Ideò pereuntibus, non malus odor, sed Bonus erat; Indè enim magis Incedebant quia tam bona gratia praevalerat.*¹⁴

We may add, That here is an Allusion to the Phraseology of the *Jewes*; who from the Prophets do speak of /סם המות/ *A mortal Savour*: [See Est. 1.21. and Jer. 11.19.]¹⁵ And, /סם החיים/ *A Savour of Life*, or a *vital Unguant*.¹⁶ They say, *The Law is to Israel, a Savour of Life, but to the Nations of the World, a Savour of Death*. We have here the Reverse of it.

2122.

Q. Some further Thoughts, if you please, upon that Passage. *We are a sweet Savour of Christ, in them that are saved, and in them that perish?* v. 15.

A. By *Savour*, here may be meant the *Report* and *Esteem*, which the faithful Ministers of the Gospel have in the World. *Grotius* therefore thinks, That whereas tis said, *We are* [εὐωδια] *a sweet Savour of Christ in them that are saved*, in the other Clause, there is to be implied & supplied, [κακωδια] *An Ill Savour*:

¹¹ John Chrysostom, *Homily V, Homilies on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians* (547). Chrysostom (347–407) was archbishop of Constantinople whose hundreds of extant sermons include a number on the Pauline epistles; see *NSHERK* (3:72–5).

¹² Perhaps Dr. John Templer (d. 1693), minister at Balsham (near Cambridge, England) 1657–93; D. D. Cambridge in 1666. Templer appears in Increase Mather's *Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences* (1684) as one who dealt with Quakers in his parish as possessed persons. His works include *The Saints Duty in contending for the Faith* (1659); *Idea theologiae Leviathanis* (1673), an attack on Hobbes and a defense of biblical canon and Christian doctrine; and *A Treatise relating to the Worship of God* (1694).

¹³ See Appendix B.

¹⁴ “To the perishing, it is not an evil odor, but a good one; all the more so did they progress [in the faith] because it was distinguished with such good grace.” Anselm of Canterbury (c. 1033–1109); see *NCE* (1:495–7).

¹⁵ סם המות.

¹⁶ סם החיים.

Wee are the Contrary *in them that perish*.¹⁷ [Examples of such an *Ellipsis*, we have, in 1. Cor. 14.34. and 1. Tim. 2.12. and 1. Tim. 4.3.] They that are to be *saved*, will speak *well* of the Gospel, & of its faithful Ministers; They that are to *perish*, will *speak the Contrary*. This is *unto God*, that is to say, For the Glory of *God* in the issue. All *Ill Report* of the Gospel, & its faithful Ministers, is a *deadly* Thing, it is *unto Death*, it brings eternal *Death* on the Souls of Men: but a *good Report* of them is & does the Contrary. It followes; *And who is sufficient for these things?* The Gloss of *Grotius* upon it, is, *Quàm difficile est hoc quod nos prestamus, qui et tot adversa, et pessimos de nobis Rumores, Christi causâ contemnimus?*¹⁸ See the Answer, Ch. 3.5.

Q. *Who sufficient for these things?* v. 16.

A. Besides the common Glosses, consider this; None can answer all the desired Ends & Effects of his Preaching.

4410.

Q. To what alludes that Passage, *Who corrupt the Word?* v. 17.

A. Tis an Allusion to those cheating Hucksters; Isa. 1.22. οι καπηλαιοι σου μισγουσι τον οινον υδατι. *Thy Vintners mix Wine with Water*.¹⁹ Who these *Corrupters* of the Gospel were, we find intimated, 2. Cor. 11.22. That they were the *Gnosticks*, cannot be asserted, without much Ignorance in Antiquity; as Dr. *Whitby* has demonstrated.²⁰

[△] [△Insert ends]

¹⁷ εὐωδία; κακωδία. Hugo Grotius, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (6:471). Grotius (1583–1645) was a Dutch jurist and lay theologian and a critic of orthodox theology and biblical interpretation; see *NSHERK* (5:85–6).

¹⁸ “How difficult is this in which we distinguish ourselves, we who despise so many misfortunes, and even the worst rumors about ourselves, for the sake of Christ.” Hugo Grotius, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum*, (6:471).

¹⁹ οἱ κάπηλαιοί σου μίσγουν τὸν οἶνον ὕδατι (LXX).

²⁰ Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:206).

Q. That Clause, *Need we as some others, Epistles of Commendation?* v. 1.

A. It seems to intimate, That their False Apostle, had gott himself Recommended by Letters unto them, and so had Introduced himself into that Church.

The Conversion of the *Corinthians* and the Gospel written, not with Ink, but by the Spirit of God, not on *Tables of Stone*, but on the Table of their Hearts, by his Ministry; This was as clear an Evidence in them, of his Mission from Christ, as the Law written on Tables of Stone, were an Evidence of *Moses's* Mission.

Q. On the *Epistle*, written on *Fleshly Tables?* v. 2.

A. *Austin* observes, That this is no other, than what had been foretold by the Prophets; Ezek. XI.19. XXXVI.26.²¹

Q. *Ye are our Epistle, written in our Hearts;* The Import of that Expression? v. 2.

A. The Phrase is frequent in the *Old Testament*, and among the *Jewish Doctors*: Importing, the *Perspicuity* of what is written; and the *Perpetuity* of its Continuance in our Minds. [See Deut. 30.11, 14, 15. Rom. 10.8, 9. And, Deut. 6.6. Prov. 3.3. & 7.2.]

And thus; the Phrase is used in profane Authors, both *Greek* and *Latin*. *Antisthenes*, to one who had lost his Note-book, said, *Thou shouldest*, ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ ἐν ταῖς χαρταῖς γραφεῖν. *Write these things, in thy Soul, and not in thy Papers.*²² *Seneca* saies of *Portius Latro*, who made use of no Books, nor Notes, *Aiebat se scribere Animo.*²³ So *Terence* ha's it, *Scripta illa dicta sunt in Animo;*²⁴ which in *Pindar* is, ποθὶ φρενὸς ἐμᾶς γέγραπται, *Tis written in my Mind.*²⁵

Wherefore, Dr. *Whitby* thus paraphrases the Words of the Apostle; “We need no Letters of Commendation to you; for we well know, and have in continual Remembrance how powerfully God wrought with us for your Conversion.

²¹ Austin is Augustine of Hippo (354–430 CE).

²² ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ ἐν ταῖς χαρταῖς γράφειν. Antisthenes (c. 445–365 BCE) was a student of Socrates. Only fragments of his works survive; see “Antisthenes,” *IEP* (electronic). Whitby cites Diogenes Laertius as his source here; see *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:208).

²³ “He says that he wrote with his soul.” Seneca the Elder, *Controversiae* (1:19). Mather, following Whitby, translates this phrase as an equivalent to Paul’s notion of something ‘written on the heart.’ The original context of Seneca’s observation suggests that Porcius “wrote in his mind,” thereby making the use of books superfluous.

²⁴ “Those words are written in the soul.” Terence, *The Lady of Andros* (1:30–1).

²⁵ Pindar’s *Olympia* (Ode 10, lines 2–3) ποθὶ φ’ρενὸς ἐμᾶς γέγραπται; see *The Odes of Pindar* (110–11).

[1. Cor. 9.2. & 2. Cor. 12.12.] So that you are our best Letters commendatory to yourselves. Nor need we Letters of Commendation from you to others; the Fame of your Conversion, by us, & of the Gifts we with the Gospel have imparted unto you, being spread throughout the World.”²⁶

Mr. *James Pierce*, glosses it well enough. When the Apostle calls the *Corinthians*, upon the Account of their Conversion, *The Epistle of Christ*; he means, that *Christ* had thereby made some *Declaration* of His Mind. We consider an *Epistle*, as a Signification of the Mind of the Writer.²⁷

Q. A Paraphrase on, *The Letter kills?* v. 6.

A. Take what *Pyle* has offered.

“While our Breaches of the *Moral*, and the Natural Insufficiency of the *Ceremonial Law*, leaves us still Sinners, & obnoxious to Death & Punishment: the *spiritual* and powerful Religion of the Gospel, restores us to Divine Favour, Life, & Happiness.”²⁸

4421.

Q. What is the *Letter*, that *killeth?* v. 6.

A. *Whitby* is doubtless in the right of it. Vain are the Imaginations of those, who by the *Killing Letter*, understand the Literal and Historical Sense of the Scriptures, and by the *Life-giving Spirit*, understand, the Mystical & Spiritual Sense of them. It is evident from the whole Chapter, That by *the Letter*, the Apostle understands, the Law engraved in *Stones*, and as delivered by *Moses*, & as at first delivered with an Appearance of the *Glory* of the Lord. And by *the Spirit*, he understands, the Spirit of Christ, or the *Holy Spirit* given to the Apostles, to enable them to preach the Gospel, & conferr’d on those that beleieve it.²⁹

The Letter kills; That is, It pronounces *Death*, it leaves all Transgressors under an irrevocable Sentence of *Death*.

[△] [△Insert ends]

²⁶ Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:208).

²⁷ James Peirce, undoubtedly one of his paraphrases “after the manner of Mr. Locke”: *A Paraphrase, and Notes on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Philippians* (1725), *A Paraphrase, and Notes on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Colossians* (1725), or *A Paraphrase, and Notes on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Hebrews* (1727). Peirce (1674–1726) was a Dissenting minister who was ejected from his church late in life (1719) for an insufficiently Nicene Christology; see *ODNB* (43:449–52).

²⁸ Thomas Pyle, *A Paraphrase upon the New Testament* (1:411). Pyle (1674–1756) was an Anglican cleric and an outspoken Arian; see *ODNB* (45:622–3).

²⁹ Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:209).

[▽Insert from 6v]

[▽6v]

4422.

Q. The Comparison between the *Law* and the *Gospel* here made by the Apostle, being in the several Articles of it well Illustrated, would be an acceptable Entertainment? v. 7.

A. Out of Dr. *Whitby* we will fetch our Illustrations.³⁰

I. *The Glory of the Lord*, in the Old Testament, imports a Bright *Light* or *Flame*, included in a *Cloud*, styled, *The Cloud of Glory*. And because this was a Symbol of Gods glorious Presence, it was by the Jewes called, The *Shechinah*, or, the *Habitation*.

II. After the Covenant made with God at Mount *Sinai* was broken, & the Law given on Mount *Sinai* was violated by the Idolatry of *the Golden Calf*, *Moses* is again called up, to Renew it, and God there descends to him again in the *Cloud of Glory*; and then the *Skin of his Face did shine*, unto the Terror of those who saw him; so that he was forced to putt a *Veil over his Face*. The Allusion here is chiefly to this *Glory*, or *Splendor*, on the Face of *Moses*.

III. As the *Glory* of the Lord made a Descent on the Mount, at the Delivery of the Law, so, to enable the Apostles to be *Able Ministers of the New Testament*, the *Spirit* of God made His Descent on the Apostles at the Day of *Pentecost*, in the Likeness of *Fiery Tongues*. And as the *Tabernacle* and the *Temple* were filled with the *Glory* of God, so they were all filled with the *Holy Spirit*. And as the *Shining of Moses's Face* did signify the *Glory* of the *Law*, which he delivered unto the *Israelites*, thus the *Gifts* of the *Holy Spirit*, shining forth in these Ambassadors of the Lord, signified the *Glory* of the *Gospel*.

Now saies the Apostle; This *Glory* is more excellent. Because

First; The *Glory* appearing on Mount *Sinai*, made the People afraid of *Death*. [Exod. 20.19. Deut. 18.16.] And when the Face of *Moses* did *shine*, the People were afraid of coming near him: [Exod. 34.30.] it left a Fear of Death, upon their Spirits. Thus, they received the *Spirit of Bondage unto Fear*: [Rom. 8.15.] But we have given to us *the Spirit of Power*, and *Love*: [2. Tim. 1.7.] and of *Adoption*. To this difference alludes the Apostle to the *Hebrewes*. [Ch. 12.18–24.]

Secondly. *Moses*, with all his *Glory*, was only the *Minister* of the *Law*, written in *Tables of Stone*. The Apostles were of the *Gospel*, written in the *Hearts of Believers*.

Thirdly. The *Glory* which *Moses* received, at the Giving of the Law, did more and more diminish, because his Law was to vanish away. But the *Glory* which they received from Christ, increased *from Glory to Glory*, the Doctrine they delivered by it, being to remain forever.

Fourthly. The *Law* was veiled under Types and Shadowes; but the *Gospel* was delivered with great Perspicuity & Plainness of Speech.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

Fifthly. The *Israelites* only saw the *Shining* of *Moses's* Face thro' a Veil; but we behold the *Glory* of the *Gospel* of Christ in the Person of *Christ* our Lawgiver, with *open Face*.

Sixthly. They saw it thro' a *Veil* which hindred the Reflexion, or Shining, of it upon them; and so, this *Glory* shone only in the *Face* of *Moses*, but not at all upon them. Whereas the *Glory* of God in the *Face* of Jesus Christ, shines as in a Glass which reflects the Image upon us Christians, so that we are *Transformed* into *the same Image*, deriving the glorious Gifts and Graces of the Spirit, with the *Gospel*, from Christ the Lord & great Distributer of them; and so, the *Glory* which the *Father* gave to Him, *He has given to us*. [Joh. 17.22.] It is rather with us, as it was with *Moses* himself: As he saw the *Glory of the Lord* apparently, so we with *open Face* behold the *Glory of the Lord*. As he, by seeing of this *Glory*, was changed into the Likeness of it, and his *Face* shone, or was, *δεδοξασμένη*,³¹ *made glorious*, thus we, *Beholding the Glory of God in the Face of Jesus Christ, are changed into the same Glory*.

Tho' this may in a Measure be enlarged unto the Church in general, in which these Gifts were exercised, it more eminently refers to the *Apostles*. [v. 12.]

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽7r] [▽Insert from 7r]

Q. How is it said, *The Lord is that Spirit?* v. 17.

A. Our Lord Jesus Christ, is the True Messiah foretold by the Prophets; and He, and His Religion, is the *Spirit*, the full Accomplishment, the last Signification, of the ceremonial Law. Such a *spiritual Religion* setteth the Ministers of it, above the vain Flourishes of *Gentile* Orators, above the dark Traditions of *Jewish* Doctors; & makes them to preach it, (as *Pyle* in his Paraphrase expresses it,) with a noble *Freedom*, and an undisguised Plainness of Speech.³²

Q. That Passage; *Beholding as in a Glass the Glory of the Lord?* v. 18.

A. The Apostle defends himself, on the Score of his being made by God, a Minister of the *Gospel*; which is a *more glorious* Ministry, than that of *Moses*, in promulgating of the *Law*. He proceeds then to maintain, that, as a Minister of the *Gospel*, being Illuminated with greater and brighter Rayes of Light, than *Moses*, he might speak with more Freedom and Clearness, than *Moses* had done.

Wherefore, as a late *Nameless Writer* on this Epistle, observes; All from those Words, v. 13. *who putt a Vail upon his Face*; to the End of v. 17. *there is Liberty*: is a Parenthesis. Laying aside this Parenthesis, the Comparison between the Ministers of the Gospel, and *Moses*, is very conspicuous. "*Moses* with a *Vail* covered the Brightness and Glory of God, that shone in his Countenance; but

³¹ *δεδοξασμένη*; "To be magnified."

³² *Pyle, Paraphrase upon the New Testament* (1:414).

we the Ministers of the Gospel, with open Countenance reflect as Mirrors the Glory of the Lord.”³³

The Word, κατοπτριζόμενοι,³⁴ must signify here, not, *Beholding as in a Mirror*. For the Comparison is between the Ministers of the Gospel and *Moses*; and not between the Ministers of the Gospel, and the Children of *Israel*. The Action of *Beholding*, was the Action of the Children of *Israel*; but the Action of *Reflecting the Glory* received in the Mount, was the Action of *Moses*. It must be something answering to *that*, in the Ministers of the Gospel, which the Comparison must run upon. This is further manifest, from another express Part of the Comparison; The *veiled Face* of *Moses*, and the *open Face* of the Ministers of the Gospel. [△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 8v]

[▽8v]

The Face of *Moses* was *veiled*, that the *Brightness* and *Glory* of God, reflected from it, might not be seen; and the *Face* of the Ministers of the Gospel is *open*, they discourse and manage the Affairs of the Gospel with such *Openness*, that the Shining of the Gospel, and the *Glory of Christ* in it, may plainly be seen. Thus the Comparison stands fair, and the Sense is easy. Tis hard to be made out, if the κατοπτριζόμενοι, be translated, *Beholding as in a Glass*.

Doing this, we are *changed* into the very *Image* of the Lord, by a continued Succession of *Glory*, as it were streaming upon us from the Lord, who is the *Spirit* that gives this Clearness and Freedom unto us.

It had newly been said, *The Lord is that Spirit*. And here, ἀπο κυρίου πνεύματος, may be rendred, *By the Lord, who is the Spirit*.³⁵

[△Insert ends]

[△]

³³ See John Locke, *A Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (1:281). Locke’s *Paraphrase* was published anonymously, though his authorship was no secret. Mather often (though not exclusively) refers to Locke as that “nameless writer” even though his appreciation for Locke’s biblical interpretation is obvious. Mather also refers to other writers as “nameless” on occasion, so this may simply be a convention – perhaps a show of possessing esoteric knowledge, or of discretionary humility. On the other hand, Mather specifically states that he does not recommend Locke to budding student theologians in his *Manuductio ad Ministerium* (1726), so perhaps this convention is meant to convey his reservations about Locke. (Observation courtesy of Reiner Smolinski).

³⁴ κατοπτριζόμενοι; “show in a mirror.”

³⁵ ἀπό κυρίου πνεύματος.

Q. What were the *Hidden Things of Dishonesty*, renounced by the Apostles? v. 2.

A. The Apostle often speaks of some *Deceivers* crept into the Church, whose *Glory was their Shame* [Phil. 3.19.] and whose *Exhortation was attended with Uncleaness, Deceit, & Guile*; [1. Thess. 3.3.] and here, who did the *Hidden Things of Shame*. All the Greek Expositors tell us, That these were the *False Apostles*, τη του νομου επιμιξια το θειον κηρυγμα διφθειροντες;³⁶ *who corrupted the Gospel, by mixing it with the Law*.³⁷ The Apostle himself saies, They were *Hebrewes*, and *Israelites*. [2. Cor. 11.20.] That the Jewish Doctors, were very prone to the Sins of *Unchastity*, is intimated by those Words of the Apostle; Rom. 2.22. *Thou that saiest, a Man should not commit Adultery, dost thou commit Adultery?* Their *Josephus* confesses, concerning their Zealots, That they lived in *Theft*, in *Treachery*, in *Adultery*, {&c;}³⁸ *the Hidden Things of Sin*.³⁹ [Compare Heb. 12.16. and Heb. 13.4.] But more especially among these *Corinthians*, the *False Teachers* had taught, that *Fornication* was a lawful Thing. Here were the *Hidden Things of Shame*.

Q. Who may be, *The Lost*, here spoken of? v. 3.

A. You know, the Devil is called [Rev. IX.11.] Απολλων.⁴⁰ And now, they that fall as a Prey to him, are here, how agreeably called Απολλυμενοι.⁴¹

4424.

Q. *Satan* is here called, *The God of this World*? v. 4.

A. Compare, Eph. 6.12. This was agreeable, both to the *Jewish* Notion, and the *Christian*. The *Jewes* ascribed unto *Satan*, a Dominion over all that were not of their Religion; and introduced God so speaking to the *Angel of Death*; *Tho' I have made thee κοσμοκράτορα*,⁴² *a Ruler among the Creatures of the Nations, thou shalt have nothing to do with this People, because they are my Sons*: Where also it presently followes, *This is the Angel of Death, which is called Darkness*.⁴³

³⁶ τῇ τοῦ νομοῦ ἐπιμιξίᾳ τὸ θεῖον κήρυγμα διφθείροντες; “who corrupted the divine proclamation by mixing it with the Law.”

³⁷ See Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:212).

³⁸ See Appendix A.

³⁹ See Josephus, *The Jewish Wars* (530–38); Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:212).

⁴⁰ Paul uses ἀπολλυμένοις for “those that are lost” here, which is etymologically connected to Ἀπολλύων, “the destroyer”; the root of both contains the idea of loosening or pulling away.

⁴¹ Ἀπολλύμενοι; “Those who are being destroyed.”

⁴² κοσμοκράτορα; “Lord of the world.”

⁴³ Whitby cites Buxtorf’s *Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum* as his source here; see *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:213).

The *Christians* declared *Satan* to be Ruler over all that *were not* converted unto Christianity; & spoke of that, as a Dispensation which *delivered them from the Power of Darkness*. [Col. 1.13. and 1. Pet. 2.9. and Act. 26.15. and Eph. 2.2.] Had the Fathers considered this, they would not have contended so stiffly, against the *Marcionites*, and *Manichees*, that the *God of this World* here mentioned, was the True God.

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 10v]

[▽10v]

Q. How, *For Jesus Sake*? v 5.

A. Διὰ Ἰησοῦν. *By, or Thro' JESUS.* That is, By His Commission.

Q. *How, Perplexed, but not in Despair*? v. 8.

A. Both *Ambrose*, and *Budeus*, render it; *Egentes*, [or, *Inopiam passi*,] *sed egestati non succumbentes*.⁴⁴ In *Aristotle*, Απορία, signifies, *Poverty*.

4425.

Q. How was the *Life of Jesus made manifest* in the Apostles Body? v. 10.

A. Q.D. It is a certain Demonstration, That *Jesus* is Risen from the Dead, and *lives* forever, that we who perswade others to Believe this are enabled to do such Wonders in His Name; and by His Grace patiently and constantly to suffer such Fiery Trials.

Moreover, as *Pyle* adds in his Paraphrase; The marvelous Protections & Deliverances received by the Apostles, were both a Resemblance of our Saviours *Resurrection*, and a clear Proof, that a *Saviour* who can thus raise us from Dangers & Death is Himself risen to an endless *Life & Power*.⁴⁵

Q. What is the Reason, That the *Resurrection* of our Lord is ascribed so frequently unto God the *Father*? You know what Advantage the *Socinians* take from it? v. 14.

A. The Reason of the Christian Dispensation requires (as Dr. *Whitby* well observes,) That it should be so. For this was a Demonstration that God the *Father*, was well satisfied, with what our Saviour performed and suffered for us; and that God the *Father* owned Him, as His Beloved Son. This does not exclude our Lord Himself, wholly from the same Action. For He said concerning the

⁴⁴ “The poor [or, those who have endured need], but those who have not succumbed to poverty.” Ambrose (c. 340–397), bishop of Milan; Guillaume Budé (1467–1540), French Catholic classicist with private Protestant sympathies and author of *Commentarii linguae Graecae* (1529); see *NSHERK* (2:295).

⁴⁵ Pyle, *Paraphrase upon the New Testament* (1:417).

Temple of His Body, Joh. 2.19. I will Raise it up. And we read, That after His Resurrection, *the Disciples beleaved that Word.*⁴⁶

Q. The *Inward Man*, how *Renewed*? v. 16.

A. Hear *Chrysostom*.

Τῇ πιστεῖ, τῇ ἐλπίδι, τῇ προθυμίᾳ. With *Faith*, and *Hope*, and *Courage*.⁴⁷

[△] [△Insert ends]

⁴⁶ Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:214).

⁴⁷ Τῇ πίστει, τῇ ἐλπίδι, τῇ προθυμίᾳ. Chrysostom, *Homily IX, Homilies on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians* (583). On Chrysostom, see Mather's entry on 1:15 (above).

Q. For wee know, that if our earthly House, of this Tabernacle dissolved, wee have an House of God, an House not made with Hands, eternal in the Heavens. Methinks, the Apostle, who sometimes employ'd himself in *Tent-making*, speaks like a *Tent-maker* in these Words, & makes an Allusion to, or a Reflection on, his own Employment? v. 1.

A. 'Tis very true. And I will now further observe to you; That whereas there are *Eight* Writers of the *New Testament*, they every one of them, in their Holy Writings, have Expressions, that carry some Character of their own former Circumstances, and show that they were not Forgetful of what once they were. *Matthew*, had been a *Publican*, who could not but sometimes use *Violence*, for the Goods of this World; In Opposition hereunto, hee takes notice of, *The Violent, who take the Kingdom of Heaven by Force*. *Mark*, had been a *Messenger* sent abroad, for confirming the Faith of the Churches, planted by his Apostle; Well, hee begins his Gospel with that Passage, quoted by some of the Rest, *Behold, I send my Messenger*. *Luke* seems mindful of his own Profession, as well when hee mentioned that Proverb, *Physician, Heal thyself*; as when [he] recites the Business of the *compassionate Samaritan*.⁴⁸ Doubtless, *John* thought of his old Usage to ly in the *Bosome* of the Lord when hee spake so much of *Dwelling in God*. *Paul*, had not only been a *Tent-maker*, which hee applies in the Text now before us; but hee had been a *Souldier* too; hee had bore *Arms*; & so at last, sais hee, *I have fought the good Fight*. *James* had been the *Præsident* of a Council, & the *Moderator* of the Speeches in that Council. Hence hee decries the Affectation of *Cheef Places*, & prescribes for the *Moderation of the Tongue*. *Peter* was hee to whom our Lord had said, *Thou art a Stone*; and it is hee who now sais the like to all Beleevers, *Yee are living Stones*. *Jude*, they say, had *Healed* many sick People in the Court of *Agbarus*, for which hee had been highly entertained among them; and *Jude* now treats of them, who have *Mens Persons in Admiration, because of Advantage*.⁴⁹

2913.

Q. What is the Meaning of that Passage, *If so be, that being clothed, we shall not be found Naked*? v. 3.

⁴⁸ Luke 4:23–24; 10:25–37.

⁴⁹ Eusebius, *Church History*, *NPNFii* (1:100–2), records the legend of the apostle Jude (in Luke-Acts; possibly to be identified with the Thaddeus of the apostolic lists in Matthew and Mark) visiting the court of the Syrian king Abgar V of Edessa in the first century; his miraculous works of healing led to the king's conversion (a story possibly derived from the historical conversion of Abgar IX in the second century).

A. The Apostle is here declaring the Disposition of Holy Men, living in the *Mortal Body*, to *groan*, & long for that *Immortal One*, which they shall Receive, at the *Resurrection*; This *Immortal Body* is called, *Our House which is from Heaven*. And there are two Conditions wherein it will be expected. First, some are *Naked*, and have already putt off their *Mortal Body* by *Death*. Of these, the Apostle speaks in the first Verse; *If our earthly House of this Tabernacle were dissolved, we have an House of God*; there is an *Immortal Body* waiting for us. And then some will be found *not Naked*, but be still in their *Mortal Body*, not having undergone *Death*, at the Second Coming of our Lord. (Of which, we find the Apostolical Writings, before the Second Epistle to the *Thessalonians* cleared that Matter up, speaking as if it were possible to have been the Fate of some living in those Times.) Now of these, the Apostle here speaks in the Third Verse: Which we may read so, *Yea, and tho' that being to be cloathed, wee shall not bee found naked*; [q.d. Tho' our *earthly House* have not undergone a *Dissolution* by *Death*, yett, we shall not miss of the Blessedness of the *Immortal Body*, inasmuch as we shall have a *Change*, æquivalent unto *Death*, passed then upon us.]

[12v]

Q. Where lies the Argument in that Assertion, *Hee that hath wrought us, for the self-same Thing, is God*. v. 5.

A. The Thing here supposed & affirmed, is, *That the Spirits of Beleevers, enter into a State of Glory, at their Departure from their Bodies*. The Evidence here brought for the Demonstration of it, is, *The Work of Grace produced by God, upon the Spirits of Beleevers in this Life*. The Blessed God is by His Ordinances and His Providences here continually Transforming of our Souls, and Inspiring of them with New Abilities and Inclinations: and the Design of God, in this notable *Work* of His, is to præpare the Soul, for a cælestial State of Blessedness.

Now in this Text, it is not said, *God hath wrought us for this self-same Thing*, but *Hee that hath wrought us for this self-same thing is God*. There, in *That* lies the Emphasis of it. If it bee *God*, by whom this *Work* is effected in the *Soul*, then the *Soul* may bee sure, that it shall not miss of the *self-same Thing*. Briefly, To bestow a *State of Glory* upon a Soul that hath on it a *Work of Grace*, and this just upon us going hence, is a *Dispensation* very much becoming the God of Heaven; there is an admirable *Congruity* in such a Dispensation. Give mee leave on this Occasion to sett before my Friend, the Considerations which may bee the *Strength of his Heart*, when his *Flesh doth fail*.

It is GOD. Now first, our GOD, is as tis said in Jude. 25. *The only wise God*. But the *Wisdom* of an Artist, will not lett him loose his *Workmanship*: and think you, that God will suffer to bee lost, *His Workmanship created unto good Works*? The Word used in the Text now before us [κατεργασάμενος]⁵⁰ is the

50 κατεργασάμενος; "having wrought."

same with what the LXX have in Exod. 35.33. for the *Carvings of Bezaleel*. Well, suppose *Bezaleel* had neatly *wrought* a Board to bee sett up in the silver Sockets of the *Tabernacle*, would hee then have thrown it away among his Rubbish? No: nor shall our *well-wrought Souls* miss of the *Service*, which they are made Ready for.

Again, our GOD is, as wee are told in Psal. 86.15. *A God full of Compassion & gracious*. Now, the *Goodness* of God, makes it exceeding proper, that a Devout Soul, coming Stripped and Naked into His awful Presence, bee not *sent empty away*. It is a famous Expression, of the Apostle, in Heb. 11.16. *God is not Ashamed to bee called Their God, for hee hath prepared for them a City*. If after all the *Hope* and all the *Self-Denial*, and all the *Religion*, of the old Patriarchs, God had not provided an Heavenly *Canaan* for them, at their Death, Hee had therein dealt so unkindly with them as that Hee would have been *Ashamed*, in a Manner to bee called, *Their God*. Where are our *Wonderments*, duely to magnify such a Word as this? You see what is to bee expected from such a merciful God.

Well, There is a Third Thing to bee beleaved concerning our GOD; even that in Lam. 3.23. *Great is His Faithfulness*. Now, The *Faithfulness* of God will oblige Him, to gratify the *Faith*, which His own *Promises* have caused in well-affected Souls, & vouchsafe unto them, the *End of their Faith, the Salvation of their Souls*. Most pertinent is the Advice which *Peter* gave unto the primitive *Martyrs*, in 1. Pet. 4.19. *Lett them commit the Keeping of their Souls unto God, as unto a faithful Creator*. Tis probable, that the *New Creation*, which *Renewed Souls* have in them, is herein referr'd unto. And if God have *wrought* such a thing in us, wee may depend upon it, that His *Truth*, will not at our *Death*, withhold from us the Welfare after which this *Work* has filled us with many & Holy *Aspirings* of Soul.

Once more. There is one Thing more to bee beleaved; and that is, what wee have in Eccl. 12.7. *When the Dust returns to the Earth as it was, then the Spirit returns unto God*. Yea, it falls right upon the Almighty God. But for what *returns* it? The Chaldee Paraphrase has well added, לְמַקָּם בְּרִינָא קְרַמִּי; *That it may stand in Judgment before the Lord*.⁵¹ Now the *Soul* of a godly Man at his *Death* ha's finished all the *Work*, which God had ordered it here to do. And shall not the *Saeculum Mercedis* dawn as soon as ever the *Saeculum Operis* is done?⁵² It was an Appointment of God in *Israel* of old. *The Wages of a Labourer shall not abide with thee all Night, until the Morning*. And is it not a most *Harmonious* Thing, that the *Judge of all the Earth* now, should not at the *Evening* of *Death*, defer the *Recompences* of a Beleeving Soul, until the *Morning* of the Resurrection? For this

51 לְמַקָּם בְּרִינָא קְרַמִּי. The Chaldee Paraphrase, more commonly known as the *Targum Jonathan* (c. 4th century CE), was a lectionary paraphrase of the Prophets in Aramaic used in post-exilic synagogue worship when Aramaic had become the common language of Judaism. This Targum was republished several times in the 16th and 17th centuries; see *EJ* (11:398).

52 "Age of wages"; "age of works."

Cause, I surmise it is, that in Heb. 12.23. as soon as wee are informed about, *God the Judge of all*, the very next thing which wee hear of is, *That there are Spirits of Just Men made perfect*.

Accept this *Illustration* of the Apostles Argument; & if it seem too long, impute it unto the Agony, which the Importance of the Thing ha's often caused in the Soul of the Writer.

[13r]

Q. On that, *We walk by Faith, and not by Sight?* v. 7.

A. By *Sight*, is, *κατά ειδους*.⁵³ According to an *Idea* we can form of things. The most illustrious Mysteries of the Gospel are denied among many that call themselves Christians. And the Pretence which these arrogant Idolizers of their own *Reason* make for their Infidelity is; Tis an Age of *Idea*s: an Age of *Idea*s: And People won't Beleeve any thing except they can form an *Idea* of it; and except they can clearly apprehend the *Modus* of it. Thus, the Faith of, *Three Persons* in the One Infinite & Eternal *Godhead* is what many make Shipwreck of. They can't forsooth, form an *Idea*, of such a *Trinity*. And, I pray, what *Idea*, can they form of, *Infinite*, and, *Eternal*? No; Our *Faith* does acquiesce in the *Divine Revelation*, which the Gospel has brought unto us. And tho' we cannot form any clear *Idea*, of many Things Reveled unto us, yett we have a strong *Faith* of the Things, and it has as much an Influence on our *Walk*, as if we could.

4427.

Q. In what Sense did the Ancients take this Confidence of Christianity, *That when we Travel out of the Body, we shall be present with the Lord?* v. 8.

A. According to the Doctrine of all the Ancients (as Dr. *Whitby* observes,) the *Souls* of pious Men are not assumed into the Highest Heavens, or the Immediate Presence of God and Christ, instantly upon their Departure hence: For thus only we shall be *ever present with the Lord*, [1. Thess. 4.16, 17.] when we shall at the Resurrection be taken up to *meet Him in the Air*. And the Lord promises at His Second Coming, to receive His Disciples unto Himself, that *where He is, they may be also*. [Joh. 14.3.] But yet, according to all Antiquity, the *Souls* of pious Men, in the meantime, are *in the Place appointed for them* *παρα κυρίῳ with the Lord*;⁵⁴ That is, with Him in *Paradise*, where they enjoy the Sight and Conversation of their Saviour by Way of Vision. *Polycarp* saies, *The Apostles εἰς τὸ ὀφειλόμενον αὐτοῖς τόπον εἰσὶ παρά τῷ κυρίῳ are in the Place appointed for them with the Lord*.⁵⁵ *Irenæus* thus expresses it; *Not only in Heaven, but in Paradise also*

⁵³ κατά ειδους.

⁵⁴ παρά κυρίῳ.

⁵⁵ Polycarp, *Epistula ad Philippenses* (ch. 9, sec. 2, lines 2–3): εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον αὐτοῖς τόπον εἰσὶ παρά τῷ κυρίῳ. Polycarp, *Letter to the Philippians*, ANF (1:35). Polycarp (80–167 CE) was

our Saviour shall be seen, as Men are worthy to behold Him.⁵⁶ And the Questions and Answers which go under the Name of Justin, tell us, from this very Text; *That the Souls of the Just go to Paradise, & converse there with Christ by Vision.*⁵⁷

1139.

Q. That Passage, *Wee must all appear before the Judgment Seat of Christ, that every one may receive the Things done in his Body, according to that hee hath done, whether Good or Bad:* Is there not a further Intimation in it, & Illustration of it, than what appears at first View unto us? v. 10.

A. The Expectation of the Blessed *Things not seen, but eternal*, which carried the Apostles cheerfully thro' their Afflictions, hee does cast into the Times of the *Resurrection*. And of that *Resurrection* hee speaks in the Passage now before us; where that Clause, τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος,⁵⁸ may bee thus rendred, *That hee may Receive such Things [By, or Thro'] the Body, according to what hee hath done.* The *Body* is not brought in, as the *Instrument* of the *Things Done*, as our English Translation carries it; but for that *State* of Man, wherein hee shall *Receive* his full Reward, whether of *Good*, or *Bad*; which is when the *Body* shall bee Reunited unto the *Soul*, at the *Resurrection*.

We will Illustrate this Matter, with a Story, in *Sanhedrin*, fol. 91.1, 2. *Antoninus* argued with *R. Judah*, how both *Body* and *Soul* may deliver themselves from the *Judgment* of God. The *Body* may plead, It was the *Soul* that sinn'd; for when that was gone, I lay but as a Stone in the Grave. The *Soul* may say, It was the *Body* that sinn'd; for ever since my Separation from it, I fly about, like an Innocent Bird in the Air. But now, *R. Judah's* Answer. "There was a *King of Flesh & Blood*, (i. e. a mortal one,) who had a fair Orchard, in which were Fruits that were very desirable; and he placed here two Keepers, whereof the one was *Lame*, the other was *Blind*. The *Lame* Man said unto the *Blind*, I see rare Fruits in the Orchard; carry me on thy Shoulders, & wee'l soon be Masters of them. The *Lame* rode on the Shoulders of the *Blind* Man, and they gathered the Fruits, & devoured them. Anon, the Lord of the Orchard enquires, Where are the *Fruits* which I sett such a Value on? The *Lame* Man answered, I have not the *Feet* that could carry me to them. The *Blind* Man answered, I have not the *Eyes* that could show me where they were. And what now did the Lord of the Orchard? He placed the *Lame* Man on the *Blind* Man, and sentenced and punished both

bishop of Smyrna and a martyr; he is linked in patristic sources to John the Apostle; see *NCE* (11:464–5).

⁵⁶ Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, *ANF* (1:566–7). Irenaeus (d. c. 202 CE) was a bishop in Gaul and an outspoken opponent of Christian Gnostics; see *NCE* (7:570–1).

⁵⁷ *Exhortation to the Greeks*, an anonymous 4th-century work traditionally attributed to Justin Martyr, the authorship of which is now typically assigned as Pseudo-Justin; see *ANF* (1:273–89). The work attempts to connect traditions of Greek learning to the Bible by positing Moses as their ultimate source. See Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:217).

⁵⁸ "These things through the body."

of them together.”⁵⁹ Then follows our Appreciation of the Parable. *Etiam Deus S. B. afferet Animam, eamque corpori infundet, et ea tamquam unum Judicabit.*⁶⁰

Q. The *Terror of the Lord?* v. 11.

A. In *Bereschith Rabba*, the *Terror* of the Day of Judgment, is thus expressed.

R. *Eliezer* the Son of *Azariah* said; *Væ nobis ob Diem Judicii. Si enim cum Justus Joseph, qui fuit caro et sanguis, increpaverit Fratres suos, coram eo consistere non potuerit; quantò minus consistere poterit quisquam mortalis coram Deo S. B. qui est Judex, et Judicium exercet sedens super Thronum Judicii, et unumquemque Judicabit.*⁶¹

[14v]

2714.

Q. Unto what may the Apostle refer, in that Passage, *Whether we be besides ourselves, it is unto God?* v. 13.

A. The Blessed Apostle had been subject unto Divine *Extasies*; and these *Extasies* were improved by his Enemies, into Calumnies against him, as if he had been *Animi non semper sui compotis.*⁶² The Apostle denies not his *Extasies*, but he affirms, that for the Honour & Service of God, & the Advantage of his Ministry, they had befallen him. Whereas, hee adds, *When we be sober*, or act free from *Extasies*, as we do in *preaching* and *writing* to you, you have the Benefit of our Conduct.

But a *Nameless Writer* on this Epistle, so paraphrases this Passage.

“If I am *besides myself*, in speaking as I do, of myself, it is between *God* and myself; *He* must judge; Men are not concern’d in it, or Damag’d by it. Or, if I do it *soberly*, and on good Ground; if what I profess of myself be in reality true, it is for *your Sake* and advantage.”⁶³

⁵⁹ Judah ha-Nasi (aka Judah the Prince) was a second century (c. 135-c. 220) rabbi who was instrumental in the composition of the Mishnah; see *EJ* (11:501–5). The Talmud records instances of the emperor Antoninus Pius (86–161 CE) consulting with him on various religious questions. This parable is found in Sanhedrin; see *The Babylonian Talmud* (12:610–11).

⁶⁰ “And God, blessed be He, will bring the soul and pour it into the body, and He will judge those two as though they were one.”

⁶¹ “Woe to us, because of the Day of Judgment! For if Joseph, certainly a just man, who was flesh and blood, because he upbraided his brothers, could not stand openly before Him, how much less will any mortal be able to stand openly before God, blessed be He, who is the judge, and who exercises judgment sitting upon the throne of judgment, and who will judge every single person?” *The Midrash* (2:868). The *B’reshith Rabba* is a rabbinic commentary on the book of Genesis, dating from the 4th or 5th century CE, whose final form is attributed to the 11th-century rabbi Moses ha-Darshan; see *EJ* (7:449–50).

⁶² “One who did not always have possession of his soul.”

⁶³ Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:285–6).

Q. *The Love of Christ?*] v. 14.

A. *His Love* to us, as well as, *ours to Him*. His *Love* in dying for us.

Q. The Import of that, *If one died for all, then were all Dead?* v. 14.

A. Monsr. Pictet moves, that it be understood of the *Death*, to which the *Death* of our SAVIOUR does engage us & oblige us. Inasmuch as the Love of our SAVIOUR towards us, ha's been so great, that He was willing to *Dy* for us, it is but Just and Reasonable, that we should be willing, even to *Dy* for Him.⁶⁴

2715.

Q. What is the Intent of that Passage, *Yea, tho' we have known Christ after the Flesh, yett now henceforth we know Him no more?* v. 16.

A. Tho' we might have had a familiar Acquaintance, with our Lord Jesus Christ, while He was yett conversing in the State of Mortality among us, yett we now no longer so consider Him, as *Then* we did: No, we now consider Him, as the King of Heaven and Earth, & as the Judge of the whole World. We have an Higher Esteem of Him, than we had, when we saw Him *in Flesh*, walking among us.

The Apostle speaks this, to refund the Vanity of those, who, coming out of *Judæa* to *Corinth*, præferred themselves before other Teachers, because they had *Heard* and *Seen* Christ Himself teaching before His Death, & perhaps, might have been some of them, some way related by Kindred unto our Lord.

The Name of *Δεσπόσυνοι*, was putt upon them.⁶⁵

4428.

Q. Is there not a further Illustration to be given of this Passage?

A. Dr. *Whitby* gives a good one.

We now acknowledge no Man, *according to the Flesh*, that is, according to his being *circumcised* or not; or according to what Nation he is of; as being an *Israelite*, or of the Stock of *Abraham*; as knowing that *in Christ Jesus neither Circumcision availeth any thing, but a New Creature*. And tho' we *Jewes* at first (saies the Apostle) *knew Christ according to the Flesh*, adhæring to Circumcision, and the Law, even after Faith in Christ, yett now we do not so: but all *these old Things are now passed away*.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Benedict Pictet (1655–1724), Swiss Reformed pastor and professor of theology at Geneva: possibly his *Huit sermons sur l'examen religions* (1716); more likely his *Medulla theologiae christianae* (1711). Other possibilities would include his *Medulla ethicae christianae* (1711) or *An Antidote against a Careless Indifferency in Matters of Religion* (1694); see NSHERK (9:51–2).

⁶⁵ "Those who belong to the Lord."

⁶⁶ Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:217).

Q. That Passage, *old things are past away?* v. 17.

A. A *Nameless Writer* on this Epistle, that glosses upon it.

Our Apostle would have them, that since they were *in Christ*, and in the *New Creation*, they should, like him, not *know any Man in the Flesh*, nor glory in their *False Apostle*, because he might pretend perhaps to have seen our Saviour *in the Flesh*, or to have heard Him, or the like:

The *old Things* here, may perhaps mean, the *Jewish Oeconomie*. The False Apostle among the *Corinthians* was a *Jew*, and probably asserted unto himself some Authority, by Right of Blood, & the Priviledge of this Nation. [2. Cor. 11.21, 22.] But our Apostle here tells them, now under the *Gospel*, tis all *anti-quated*, & quite out of doors.⁶⁷

Agreeable is, *Pyle's* Paraphrase. "The *old Notion* of being the Seed of *Abraham*, is not now the Case: But a *New Faith*, and a *New Life*."⁶⁸

Q. The Apostle using to the *Corinthians*, that Metaphor, *We are Ambassadors for CHRIST?* v. 20.

A. Who can tell, but he may design to have them call to Mind, what once befell the City of *Corinth*, for an Ill Treatment given to the *Roman Ambassadors*? Our Apostle demands & expects to have the Message which he brings to the *Corinthians* well received. Indignities offered unto *Ambassadors* are offered unto the sovereign Powers, whom they personate & Repræsent in their *Ambassies*. Remember, O *Corinthians*, what you suffered, when your City was made a Desolation for a Contempt cast upon the *Roman Ambassadors*! And lett the *Ambassadors* of Heaven find now some Reception with you!

⁶⁷ Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:286).

⁶⁸ Pyle, *Paraphrase upon the New Testament* (1:423).

Q. On that, *Behold, now is the Accepted Time?* v. 2.

A. The Apostle quotes a Prophecy, [Isa. XLIX.8.] *That God the Father would accept the Gentile World, as His Church, in Christ the Messiah.* And he now tells them, This Promise is *Now* fulfilled, in His Preaching of the Christian Faith, & their Turning to it. *Now* the Time for their Acceptance with Him.

2716.

Q. What may be the Intention, of that Passage; *By the Armour of Righteousness, on the Right Hand, & on the Left?* v. 7.

A. Souldiers carried their *Spear* in the *Right Hand*, their *Shield* on the *Left*. When they were *Successful*, they used the *Right Hand*, when they were *Assaulted*, they used their *Left*. God furnished His Ministers accordingly, with Armour, and Strength and Grace in their Souls, to *fulfil all Righteousness*, and particularly to Behave themselves well, both in *Prosperity*, and in *Adversity*.

It is a proverbial Expression in *Homer*;

οἷδ' ἐπὶ δεξιά, οἷδ' ἐπ' ἀριστερά νωμῆσαι βῶν.

*Sum gnarus scuti, dextra levaque movendi.*⁶⁹

When the Apostle adds, *As chastened, & not killed*, he quotes, Psal. 118.18.

In some unaccountable Inspirations, I find an Hint, That the *Armour on the Right Hand, & on the Left*, may mean, the extraordinary Power to pronounce *Blessings*, and *Curses*, on the proper Subjects. I much incline to this Exposition (whatever Quarter it may come from:) The Use of the *Right Hand*, & of the *Left*, in the Scripture, very much countenances it.

2323.

Q. What Note will the Ancients give you, on that Passage, *As having nothing, & yett possessing all things?* v. 10.

A. There is a Note of *Anselms*, upon the, *Tanquam*, here. The Apostle saies, *As having nothing*; hee saies not, *As possessing all things*. For this Cause, *Quoniam ad speciem solum apparent pauperes, re autem vera omnia absolutè possident.*⁷⁰

[△Insert ends]

[△]

⁶⁹ Homer (*Ilias* 7.238): οἷδ' ἐπὶ δεξιά, οἷδ' ἐπ' ἀριστερά νωμῆσαι βῶν; "I understand how to wield my shield of hide to the right, and to the left." [Greek and Latin] See Homer, *Iliad* (1:318–19).

⁷⁰ "Though in appearance they are only paupers, in truth they hold everything freely." On Anselm, see Mather's entry on 1:15 (above).

[▽16v] [▽Insert from 16v]

Q. On that, *As sorrowful, yett always Rejoicing?* v. 10.

A. Pious Dr. Spener, in his golden Book, *De Natura et Gratia*, treating on *Patience*, observes, That the highest Degree of it is, when a Man so conquers the Repugnance of his Nature unto Calamities, that beholding them with the Eye, not of *Sense*, but of *Faith*, *Verum gaudium ex ijs in anima præcipiat, easque in summis Beneficijs ponat.*⁷¹ he finds a certain, secret, sacred Joy in them, or the Score of the Benefits which he knows they will bring unto him. And unto this Purpose, he expounds & applies the Text before us; *As Sorrowful*; tis, q.d. We suffer many things that would fill other People full of *Sorrows*, & they who are Strangers to the Efficacy of the Holy Spirit on us will conclude that we also must be full of *Sorrows*; yea, we ourselves were somewhat sorrowful, until after some Struggle we obtained our Victory: But yett we are *always Rejoicing*; our Joy quickly & evergetts the Victory.

Q. On that, *Be not unequally yoked?* v. 14.

A. Ἑτεροζυγουντες. *Yoked with those of another Kind.*⁷² It seems an Allusion to the Law, which forbad *ploughing with an Ox and Ass* together.

4429.

Q. That Passage, *Touch not the unclean thing, and I will be a Father unto you, & yee shall be my Sons & my Daughters, saith the Lord Almighty*: unto what may it allude? v. 17, 18.

A. Those Words, *I will be a Father to you* – are not found in the Prophecies of *Jeremiah*. But (as Dr. *Whitby* notes) they are the Words of God unto *Solomon*, the Ruler of His People; [Δικαστην υων σου και θυγατερων, *A Judge over His Sons & His Daughters*, *Wisd.* 9.7.]⁷³ And they begin thus: το λεγει κυριος παντοκρατως, *Thus saith the Lord Almighty*; [2. Sam. 7.8, 14.]⁷⁴ *I will be to him a Father, & he shall be to me a Son*. These Words are by the Apostle elsewhere ascribed unto Christ; [Heb. 1.4, 5.] And here unto Christians, as being Members of His Body, and Joint-Heirs with Him.⁷⁵

The Jewes boasted, *That the Divine Majesty dwelt among them*. The Book *Cosri* saies, *After the Dayes of Jacob, Holy Men increased into a great Assembly*;

⁷¹ “Let him take true joy in his soul from those things, and let him count them as the greatest of benefits.” The Latin quote is from Philipp Jakob Spener, *De Natura et Gratia* (1715, 1718), sectio LXXII: Patientia, § 5, p. 222. Spener (1635–1705) was the founding figure of Lutheran Pietism and of the University of Halle; see *NSHERK* (9:53–8). See Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers*, (83).

⁷² ἑτεροζυγουντες.

⁷³ Δικαστήν υἱῶν σου καὶ θυγατέρων.

⁷⁴ τό λεγει κύριος παντοκράτως (Zech. 5:4, LXX).

⁷⁵ Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:221).

and the Shechinah, or Divine Majesty rested upon them by Love, to be their God.⁷⁶ This Favour God here promises to pious Christians, as being the true *Israelites*.

They also thought that Purity from *Uncleanness*, was necessary to obtain this Presence of God. *For God, say they, doth not appropriate His Name unto Israel, to be called, Their God, but when their Camps are Holy: But at that very Moment, that they are so, He makes His Presence to dwell among them, and He becomes their God.* These things, the Apostle, according to the Scripture-language, here applies to the Society of Christians.

[△Insert ends]

[△]

⁷⁶ Johannes Buxtorf's *Liber Cosri* (1660), a translation of Judah ha-Levi's Arabic-language philosophical treatise, *Kitab al-Khazari* (*The Book of the Khazars*; translated into Hebrew by Judah ibn Tibbon as *Sefer ha-Kuzari*). In this work (c. 1140) the Spanish physician and poet ha-Levi (1075–1141) argues that true religion (Judaism) is best authenticated by revelation rather than by rational argument; see *EJ* (11:492–500).

[▽17r]

2. Corinthians. Chap. 7.

Q. *Godly Sorrow working Repentance not to be Repented of?* v. 10.

A. Buxtorf quotes out of *Mibchar*, a Passage of the Hebrewes, which mightily agrees with this of the Apostle.

*Sapiens quidam vidit hominem tristem, dixitque ei, si tristitia tua est propter hunc mundum, Deus eam tibi auferet. Sed si tristitia tua est propter mundum futurum, Deus eam tibi augeat.*⁷⁷

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽18v△] [▽Insert from 18v] [blank]

⁷⁷ “A certain wise man saw a sad man, and he said to him, ‘If your sadness is because of this world, God will remove it from you; but if your sadness is because of the world to come, God may increase it!’” Probably Johannes Buxtorf’s *Florilegium Hebraicum* (1648), a collection of sayings taken out of rabbinic texts. The *Mivchar ha-Peninim* is a book of collected sayings traditionally attributed to Solomon ibn Gabirol (c. 1021-c. 1050/1070); see *EJ* (7:321–6).

Q. The *willing Mind accepted?* v. 12.

A. The Hebrewes have many Passages of such a Tendency.

In *Bammidbar Rabba*, sect. 12, *Dixit Deus S. B. Non populo (ab eis) secundum potentiam meam, sed secundum potentiam ipsorum.*⁷⁸

In *Midras Tillim*, in the Title of the XXX Psalm, which they apply to the Temple, the Building whereto was in the Desire, & in the Design of *David*; they bring in the Almighty saying; *Qui cogitavit in corde suo mandatum facerè, et non fecit ego ei imputo ut si fecisset.*⁷⁹

It is a well-known Saying cited by *Buxtorf. Accinctus praeceptum, est quasi faciens praeceptum.*⁸⁰

In *Kiddushin*, tis a Sentence; *Cogitationem bonam Deus operi associat, i. e. pro opere habet.*⁸¹

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[20v]

Q. Whom does the Apostle mean, by, *The Brother whose Praise was in the Gospel, throughout all the Churches?* v. 18.

A. Many have thought, that it must bee *Luke*. But it is apparent from the Words of *Luke* himself, that hee did neither go before *Paul* to *Corinth*, as this *Brother* did; nor did hee go before *Paul* to *Troas*, as the rest named by him, did; but hee went in *Pauls* Company. Hee saies, *Those tarried for US at Troas*; and, *WEE sailed away from Philippi*; where the Words *US*, and, *WEE*, plainly associate the Penman himself, with *Paul*, at the setting out.

It was one *chosen by the Churches* to travel with the Apostle; and therefore also it could not bee *Silas*, who was chosen by the Apostle only. He was one *chosen*, saies the Apostle, *of the Churches, to Travel with US*. Now, as Dr. *Lightfoot* observes, the Words *with US*, do evidently join *Paul* and *Barnabas* together in their Travel.⁸² And the Third Man, who was chosen to Travel with them, was

⁷⁸ "God, blessed be He, said, 'Not to my people (from them) according to my power, but according to their power.'" *Bamidbar Rabba* is a midrashic text on the book of Numbers dating from the 12th century; see *EJ* (14:184).

⁷⁹ "The one who planned in his heart to do part of the Law but did not do it, for him I account it as though he did do it." *Midrash tehillim*, a rabbinic commentary on the Psalms, composed from materials dating from the 3rd to 13th centuries; see *EJ* (14:191–2).

⁸⁰ "To be prepared to do the precept is the same as doing the precept." On *Buxtorf*, see note above.

⁸¹ "God associates good intention to the work, that is, He counts it for the work." The *Kiddushin* is a section of the Talmud dealing with laws of marriage and descent; see *The Babylonian Talmud* (9:198–9, 213).

⁸² John *Lightfoot*, possibly his *Horae hebraicae et talmudicae* (1658–74); see *Whitby, Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:226). *Lightfoot* (1602–75) was an Anglican cleric of moderate

none but MARK. *Hee* was chosen by the Church at *Jerusalem* for that Purpose: [Act. 12.25.] and by the Church at *Antioch*: [Act. 13.5.] which Passages you may compare with the Text now before us. Indeed, *Paul* had formerly taken a bitter Distast, at *Mark* [Act. 15.39.] but *hee* was afterwards fully Reconciled unto him, and they were happily joined in Amity & Employment. Now, the *Gospel*, which *Mark* had written, might with some *Emphasis* procure him this *Eulogy*, whose *Praise is in the Gospel*.

Puritan sympathies who participated in the Westminster Assembly. He was also a prodigious scholar and began an academic career at Cambridge in 1650. His major area of expertise was biblical studies, and he was a major figure in the flourishing circle of Christian Hebraism, a colleague of Brian Walton, Edward Pocock, Matthew Poole, and the Buxtorf's. He was sufficiently moderate or politic to keep his appointment at Cambridge after the Restoration. His collected works appeared posthumously as his *Opera omnia* (1686). Among his most important biblical works were the *Miscellanies*, *Christian and Judaical* (1629), *Harmony of the Four Evangelists* (1644–50), *Harmony of the Old Testament* (1647), and *Harmony of the New Testament* (1655). See *ODNB* (33:753–6).

2. Corinthians. Chap. 10.

[21r]

Q. The Meaning of that, *We walk in the Flesh?* v. 3.

A. I am but a Man.

4430.

Q. How could it be said of *Paul*, *His Bodily Presence was Weak, & his Speech contemptible?* v. 10.

A. That of his *Bodily Presence*, may seem to refer unto what *Chrysostom*, and *Nicephorus* and *Lucian*, relate of *Paul*: That *his Stature was Low, his Body Crooked, & his Head Bald*. And so he was literally, *κατα προσωπον ταπεινος*,⁸³ *Low in Person*.

That of his *Speech*, cannot be understood, as if he wanted Eloquence of Style; for that would have been as much wanting in his *Letters* (if it were at all wanting,) as in his *Speech*, or Sermons. It seems therefore to refer, unto some *Natural Infirmary* of Speech, which he had in his Discourses.

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[22v]

432.

Q. The Apostle speaks of a *Rule*, a *Line*, a *Measure*, given to him, beyond which hee stretched not *himself*: What the Meaning of it? v. 13, 14, 15.

A. Tho' the Holy Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, were sent forth, with a Largeness and Fulness of *Power*, and a Commission extending itself as far as every *Creature*, that is, (for tis an Hebraism) every *Man*; yett it is evident from the Holy Scriptures as well as from those who wrote the Travels of the Apostles, that by *mutual Consent*, they Divided the World among themselves, *Each* taking a *several Part* thereof, as his more *special Charge*. This was that *Rule*, that *Line*, that *Measure*, here spoken of. One had *This*, another had *That*, Portion of the World, measured out, as his more peculiar *Allotment*, for him to labour in. *Johns* more peculiar Lot, was in the Lesser *Asia*; *Paul* takes the *Gentile*, & *Peter* the *Jewish*, World before him. Accordingly, wee find them not only by *Preaching*, but also by *Writing*, especially endeavouring the Good of their more Appropriated Charge.

⁸³ Joannes Chrysostomus, *In epistulam ii ad Corinthios (homiliae 1–30)* [PG 061. 0542, lines 12–13]: *κατά προσωπον ταπεινός*; “low in countenance” (typically in terms of social stature, but it could be taken literally, indicating physical stature). Nicephorus I, patriarch of Constantinople (d. 811); see *NCE* (10:354–5). Lucian of Antioch (c. 240–313), a presbyter with scholarly interests in the Greek-language Bible; see *NCE* (8:844). See Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:229).

Q. What might be the Meaning of the Apostle in that Passage; *Having Hope, when your Faith is increased, that we shall be enlarged by you, according to our Rule abundantly?* v. 15.

A. It seems to be explain'd in the next Words, *To preach the Gospel in the Regions beyond you.*

The *Rule* here spoken of, means the more special *Bound*, that each Apostle had sett unto him, in the *Success* of his Apostleship. Wherever any Apostle had his Ministry, made successful, by the Providence & Influence of Heaven, to gather *Churches*, the *Churches* thus gather'd by his Means, ow'd unto this Apostle, a peculiar Subjection as unto a *Father*; and they were peculiarly within his *Rule* and *Line*.

Well; At *Corinth* were many *Merchants*, and *Marriners*; and it was the *Hope* of *Paul*, that when *their Faith was increased*, the Fame of his Ministry & Miracles, would by that sort of People be carried unto other Countreyes, & those Countreyes would be thereby prepared for *Pauls* coming with his evangelical Ministry to them also, and his having his *Line enlarged*.

Q. Unto what alludes the Apostle, in that Expression, *That I may present you, as a chast Virgin to Christ?* v. 2.

A. The pure Qualities of the Faithful are here designed. But the more particular Allusion is to that Levitic Law, in Lev. 21.14. *The High Priest shall not take a Widow; But Hee shall take a Virgin of his own People to Wife.* The Apostle then, in this Expression considers the Lord Jesus Christ, as the glorious *High-Priest* of the New Covenant. The Union of the Church to Him, is repræsented under the Notion of a *Mystical Marriage*. But there is this Remarkable in it, contrary to other *Marriages*: that the Souls of Beleevers are made and kept *Virgins* by means of their being thus espoused.

Q. How could the Apostle say, to the *Corinthians*, *If he that cometh, preacheth another Jesus or Gospel, yee might bear with him:* when he saies to the *Galatians*, That such an one were to be *Accursed*, tho' he were *an Angel from Heaven?* v. 4.

A. The Apostle does not *Allow* that Conduct of the *Corinthians* in this Case, but only *Upbraid[s]* it; saies he, *I fear ---- your Minds should be corrupted. ---- For if one should come & preach another Jesus, ---- you would ridiculously bear with him.* They were likely to do so, and he sharply reproaches them for it.

1318.

Q. *I was not a Whit behind the very chieftest Apostles.* Whom, and How? v. 5.

A. When the Apostle, in his former Epistle, reprehends the factious Applause of Preachers among the *Corinthians*, hee does, under the Names of, *Paul*, and *Apollos*, and *Peter*, wisely couch those *False Apostles* that were among them: the Men, whom here hee calls, τοὺς ὑπερλίαν ἀποστόλους.⁸⁴ Words, these are so big with *Emphasis*, they hardly admit of a Translation. Hee does not here speak, in respect of Such as were *True Apostles*; hee acknowledgeth himself, *less than the Least of Those*. But hee challenges a Preheminence, about all those Ambitious Teachers, who had nothing to sett them out, but their own lofty Words; & who were in their own Conceits ὑπερλίαν ἀποστόλους.

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[24v]

4431.

Q. What may be the Import of that Passage; *That I may cutt off Occasion from them, that wherein they Glory, they may appear even as we?* v. 12.

⁸⁴ "The very highest apostles."

A. Interpreters commonly thus gloss it; That whereas the False Apostles *glory* in preaching the Gospel *freely*, they may be found therein only to do what we have still done among you. And it is true, (as Dr. *Whitby* observes,) the Jewish Writers tell us, That their wise Men of old would not be nourished from the *Church*, but rather chose to get their Living by their own Labour; and therefore they would use to say; *It is better to skin Dead Beasts, than to say to the People, I am a wise Man, or a Priest, therefore nourish me.* They tell us, The most excellent among them clave Wood, & carried Timber, & Drew Water, & wrought in Iron and Coals, & neither asked, nor would receive any thing of the *Church*.⁸⁵ And therefore, to make himself æqual with the best of these *wise Men* among the Jewes, *Paul* might refuse Maintainance from the Churches of *Achaia*. See *Vitringa de Synagoga*.⁸⁶

But this Exposition seems encumbered with that Objection; That the Apostle speaking of the *False Apostles*, could say, *Yee suffer, if a Man Devour you, if a Man take of you:* [see, 1. Cor. 9.20. and Phil. 3.19. and 1. Tim. 6.5. and 2. Tim. 3.2. and Tit. 1.11.] Others therefore thus interpret the Words; *This I will do, that I may cutt off Occasion of Glory, from them, who seek Occasion, that they may be found even as us.* In which thing, they would glory, but now they cannot do it, because they are known to Receive of you.

2718.

Q. In what regards, on what accounts, is the Name of, *Deceitful Workers*, putt upon the *False Apostles*? v. 13.

A. *Grotius* takes them for a sort of *Deceitful* Fellowes, who made a Living of their pretended *Apostleship*; not by coming at the *public Treasury* of the Churches, but by *privately* applying themselves here & there unto such as were troubled in Conscience for their Sins, who would ask & hope to be releevd by the *Prayers* of these Pretenders to more than ordinary Devotion, and in hopes thereof, would make extraordinary Presents unto them.⁸⁷ Compare 2. Tim. 3.6. and Mat. 23.14.

2450.

Q. The Case of *Satans* Appearing as an *Angel of Light*; Is there any thing in pagan Antiquity, that may help to give us any *Light* about it? v. 14.

A. Even the Vassals of *Satan*, have now & then written us an instructive Passage about it. What think you of that, of *Porphyrie*, in his Second Book, *de Abſtinentia*, quoted by *Cyriſl*, *Contrà Julianum*. ὡς περ ὑποδύντες τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν

⁸⁵ Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:232).

⁸⁶ Campegius Vitringa, *De Synagoga Vetere* (1685); Whitby locates the citation in Bk. 3, Ch. 1, Pt. 18. Vitringa (1669–1722) was professor of Oriental languages at Franeker; see *NSHERK* (12:218–19).

⁸⁷ Grotius, *Annotaciones in Novum Testamentum* (6:528).

πρόσωπα τι ἡμετέρας ἀβουλίας ἀπολάουσι. The *Divels putting on the Faces of other Gods, do play upon our Imprudence*.⁸⁸

Read also *Jamblichus, de Mysteriis Egyptiorum*. L. 3. c. 32. L. 4. c. 17.⁸⁹

And thus *Arnobius*, who was one well delivered from these *Devices of Satan*, observes, *Antitheos sæpe obrepere pro veris*.⁹⁰

[▽Insert from 25r]⁹¹

[▽25r]

4432.

Q. May we not learn, from some Words of our Apostle, who were the *False Apostles* & the *Deceitful Workers*, which troubled the Churches of *Corinth*, and *Galatia*, and *Philippi*? v. 22.

A. We may learn, That they were *Israelites*; & therefore they were not originally *Samaritans*, which *Simon Magus*, and *Dositheus*, and their Followers were.⁹² We may also learn, That they were Jews that own'd and preach'd the Faith of Christ; they were *Ministers of Christ*. *Whitby* therefore concurs with them, who think these must be of the Sect of *Cerinthus*, that great Stickler against our *Paul*, for the necessity of Circumcising the Gentiles, & of their observing the Law of *Moses*, or, if you please, the *Nazarens* or *Ebionites*, who were *Jewes* believing in Jesus, & yett zealous for the Observation of the Law of *Moses*.⁹³

These *Jewes*, before they beleaved, were of Two Sorts. There were such as admitted other *Nations*, to live quietly among them, & even to embrace their Religion, *without Circumcision*. And there were such as would by no means permit them to do so. Thus, when *Izates* the Son of *Helen* Queen of *Adiabene*, embraced the Jewish Religion, *Ananias* declared, he might do it without *Circumcision*: [Joseph. Antiq. L. 20. c. 2.] but *Eleazar* maintained, that it was *ασεβεια*, *great Impiety* to remain *uncircumcised*. And when two eminent Persons

⁸⁸ Mather's second-hand Latin passage is adapted from Porphyrius (*De abstinentia* 2.40. lines 15–16) and reads: ὥσπερ ὑποδύντες τὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν πρόσωπα, τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀβουλίας ἀπολάουσι. It does not appear in Cyril's text. Literally, "as though assuming the faces of other gods, they enjoy our ignorance." Cyril of Alexandria, *Against Julian*. Cyril (c. 376–444 CE) was Patriarch from 412 to the end of his life; *Against Julian* was an apologetic against paganism, using the instance of the pagan emperor Julian (c. 363) as a foil. See *CE* (4:465–9).

⁸⁹ Iamblicus, *On the Mysteries* (195–201, 223–5). Iamblicus, or Jamblicus (c. 245–325 CE), was a Neoplatonist philosopher of Syrian origin; see *ERE* (268).

⁹⁰ The Latin passages is adapted from Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes* (4.12.2): "That false gods often steal upon us instead of true (gods)." Arnobius of Sicca (Tunisia), an early 4th-century Christian apologist; see *NCE* (1:717–18). His only surviving work is *Against the Pagans*; see *ANF* (6:413ff).

⁹¹ See Appendix B.

⁹² Although the legendary material relating to Dositheus varies widely, he is generally portrayed as one of the founders of Gnostic sects among the Samaritans and the teacher of Simon Magus; see *NSHERK* (3:495).

⁹³ Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:233). Cerinthus was a founding figure in Christian Gnosticism; the Nazarenes and Ebionites were 2nd-century Jewish-Christian sects; see *NSHERK* (2:496–7), *EB* (19:319), and *NCE* (5:31–2), respectively.

of *Traconitis* fled unto Josephus, the Zealots among the Jewes, were urgent for their Circumcision, if they would abide with them; but *Josephus* perswaded the Multitude against it.⁹⁴ This Controversy continued after they embraced *Christianity*. Some allowed them to embrace *Christianity*, without submitting to *Circumcision* & the Jewish Law. Others contended, that without *Circumcision*, & the Observance of the Law, they could not be saved. These were the *Deceivers*, who troubled the Churches, & from whom our *Paul* suffered more Vexation than can be imagined.

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽26v] [▽Insert from 26v]

1491.

Q. What was, *The Deep*, wherein the Apostle Paul once was, *a night & a day*? v. 25.

A. In the Ancient Prisons, there was usually a *Dungeon*, [Jer. 38.6.] or, a *Pitt*, as the Hebrew Word, *Bor*, is rendred in other Places, when it hath reference to a *Prison*. [As in Isa. 24.22. and Zech. 9.11.] From this Word, wee gather, what was the Nature of the *Dungeon*; that it was a Place Dug deep in the Ground, so as to lett in *Water*, (for that is imported by *Bor*, *Puteus*, *Fovea*,)⁹⁵ whereby the Place became very *Miry*; and accordingly, wee read, that *Jeremiah*, who was cast into the worst Part of the Prison, *sunk in Mire*. [Jer. 32.6.] It is no Wonder therefore, that the Hebrew Word, as translated by the LXX, λάκκος, [whence, *Lacus*] a *Ditch*, a *Pitt*, a *Lake*. Among the *Egyptians*, there was in their Prisons, the Kind of *Tullianum*,⁹⁶ or *Dungeon*; [Gen. 41.14.] for, *Bor*, is the Name of that lowest Place in the Prison, whereinto *Joseph* was cast. And this is afterwards, called, *The House of the Pitt*, [Exod. 12.29.] for so tis, in the Hebrew called.

Those Authors, who have given us an Account of these subterraneous *Dungeons*, have informed us, that they were *Deep*: And thence, Βυθός, was the Name of a Deep, Noisome Durance, in *Cyzicum*, in the *Propoulis*, as *Beda* relates, out of *Theodorus* of *Tarsus*, into which, it is likely the Apostle *Paul* was cast, when hee passed from *Troas* to that City: which may bee the Meaning of his being, *a night & a day*, ἐν τῷ Βυθῷ, *in the Deep*.⁹⁷ It is probable that Βυθός, may bee synonymous with בור/ *Fovea*, a *Pitt*, a *Well*, the Name in the Old Testament,

⁹⁴ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* (415–16).

⁹⁵ “Pit, well, pit.”

⁹⁶ “Tullianus” was a dungeon built in Rome by Servius Tullius, a legendary king of Rome (c. 578–537 BCE).

⁹⁷ Cyzicus was a town in Asia Minor on the Sea of Marmara (Propoulis). Theodore of Tarsus served briefly as the Archbishop of Canterbury (668–690 CE) and, hence, one of the subjects for the Venerable Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*; see CE (14:577) and NCE (2:195–6), respectively.

for a *Dungeon*.⁹⁸ Hence, *Puteus*,⁹⁹ is the Word used by *Plautus*, for the muddy Vault, into which, the vilest Offenders were detruded.¹⁰⁰

Whitby objects, That it could not be the *Prison* at *Cyzicum*; inasmuch as we do not read, that ever *Paul* preached there; and yet, that it could not be the *Shipwreck* in the *Acts*; for that happened after the Writing of this Epistle. He will therefore have it another *Shipwreck*, & one of those that are here mentioned.¹⁰¹

Q. The *Scouring* of the Apostle, calls to be considered? v. 24, 25.

A. We read, That *Five Times* he received *Forty Stripes save one*. We are told, That *Moses* at first ordered *Forty Stripes*, but the Jewes reduced them to *Thirty Nine*; because the Executioner held a *Scourge* composed of *Three Brass Wires*, & by *Striking Thirteen Times*, he fill'd up the Number of *Thirty Nine*.¹⁰² Monsr. *Basnage* observes, That this is a subtil Invention.¹⁰³ But the Jewish *Rabbins* make not this the Reason of the Custome. The Authors of the *Misnah* say, That *Moses* uses an Expression signifying, *About Forty*. And if they should fill up the Number *Forty*, there might be Hazard of the Executioners going beyond the Number, thro' some Inadvertency. Lastly, the Invention of the *Thirteen Stripes* with a *Three String'd Scourge*, is built on a Bad Foundation. For the *Misnah* orders the Lash to be composed of *Two* or *Four* Scourges. Tis more probable, that they alluded unto the *Thirty Nine Curses* written in the Law. This, *Aben-Ezra* saies, is a *constant Tradition*.¹⁰⁴

Our Apostle adds, he was *Thrice Beaten with Rods*. He distinguishes this Punishment, from the *Stripes*. At first, it seems that it must have been inflicted by the *Romans*; among whom, *Virga magis in tormento quàm supplicio*.¹⁰⁵ But it is not probable, that *Paul*, a Citizen of *Rome*, had been so often putt to the Quæstion by the *Romans*. Wherefore to explain this Complaint of the Apostle, we are to distinguish, the different Customes of the *Synagogue*. Those that were in *Judea*, ordered *Scourging*, as aforesaid. But the others, dispersed in the *Roman* Empire, had Adopted the Punishment of their Masters, & caused the Criminals to be *Basinado'd*, or beaten with *Rods*. The Number of Strokes was not fixed;

98 בור.

99 "Well."

100 Titus Plautus (c. 254–184 BCE), a Roman dramatist; see *The Complete Roman Drama* (1:xiff).

101 Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:233).

102 Mather's extract is from Jacques Basnage's *History of the Jews* (1708), cap. 18, sec. 12, p. 467. The reference to the Mishnah, tractate Makkoth (3.10–11).

103 Jacques Basnage (1653–1723), French Reformed minister and author of a number of historical works, most famously his *History of the Jews* (1708): see NSHERK (2:2).

104 Scourging is discussed in the *Makkot* section of the *Mishnah*; see the *Babylonian Talmud* (13:90ff). Rabbi Abraham ibn Ezra (c. 1089–1167) wrote a number of works of biblical commentary, including the *Sefer ha-Yashar* on the Torah, probably in view here. See "Abraham ibn Ezra," *JE* (electronic).

105 "Flogging was more for torture than for punishment."

but proportion'd unto the Greatness of the Crime. Our Apostle did not content himself, to teach in *Judea*; but he ran thro' all the Provinces of the Empire, to carry the Gospel into them. He underwent several Persecutions in those *foreign Synagogues*, and among others, he had been *Beaten with Rods*.

The *Gemarists* do speak of this, as a Different Punishment from *Scourging*.¹⁰⁶ The *Evangelists* do so too. They relate, That the Officers did strike our Saviour with *Rods*, and He was afterward *scourged* by *Pilates* Order.

This is Monsr. *Basnages* Thoughts upon the Matter.¹⁰⁷

[△] [△Insert ends, 24v resumes]

Q. The Meaning of that; *Who is offended, and I burn not?* v. 29.

A. Take *Pyle's* Paraphrase.

“Not a Soul is perverted, prejudic'd, or misled in his Christian Principles, but my Heart is all on Fire with Zeal, to strengthen & recover him.”¹⁰⁸

Q. The Occasion & Emphasis of Mentioning the Affair of *Damascus*? v. 33.

A. The Apostle would have them sensible, that his very Entrance upon his Apostolical Ministry, was an Entrance into a State of *Suffering*.

¹⁰⁶ The Gemara is the commentary on the Mishnah in the Talmud.

¹⁰⁷ Basnage, *History of the Jews* (1708), chap. 18, sec. 12, 14, pp. 466, 467.

¹⁰⁸ Pyle, *Paraphrase upon the New Testament* (1:448–9).

Q. Lett us look upon our Apostles Rapture into PARADISE, and entertain ourselves with some Apprehensions of PARADISE, which have not been commonly of later time, received. v. 4.

A. I have mett with a Discourse, at the Funeral of a Knight in *Cumberland*, made by a Doctor, who ha's obliged us with no more than the first Letters of his Name, J. T.¹⁰⁹ And in this Discourse, I find several Passages, which for certain Reasons, I chuse to transcribe in the Words of the Author himself, rather than to putt them into my own Style. When you have read them, you may Receive them or may reject them, as you may see Reason for it.

“Altho’ God was pleased in all Times to communicate unto Mankind Notices of the other World, sufficient to encourage Vertue, and to contest against the rencounters of the World; yett He was ever sparing in telling the Secrets of it; And when St. *Paul* had his Rapture into Heaven, he saw fine Things and heard strange Words; but they were ἀρρητα ρήματα,¹¹⁰ Words that he could not speak, and Secrets that he could not understand, and Secrets that he might not communicate. For, as a *Man staring upon* the Broad Eye of the Sun, at his Noon of Solstice, feels his Heat, and dwells in Light, & loses the Sight of his Eyes, & perceives nothing distinctly; but the Organ is confounded, and the Faculty amazed with too big a Beauty; so was St. *Paul* in his Extasy; he saw, that he could see nothing to be told below, and he perceived the Glories were too big for Flesh and Blood, and that the Beauties of separate Souls were not to be understood by the Soul in Conjunction; and therefore after all the things that he saw, we only know what we knew before, *viz.* That the *Soul* can live when the *Body* is dead; That it can *subsist* without the *Body*; That there are very great Glories reserved for them that love God; That they who Dy in Christ shall live with Him; That the Body is a Prison, & the Soul is in Fetters while we are alive; And, that when the Body dies, the Soul springs & leaps from her Prison, and enters into the First Liberty of the Sons of God.

“Now, much of this did rely upon the same Argument, upon which the wise Gentiles of old, concluded, *The Immortality of the Soul*: Even, because here we are very miserable; poor, sick, and afflicted: We do well, and are disgraced; we speak well, and are derided: but the Proud are exalted, the Wicked are delivered,

¹⁰⁹ Jeremy Taylor, *A Sermon preached at the Funerall of that worthy Knight Sr. George Dalston of Cumberland* (1658), pp. 5–22. Taylor (1613–67) was a chaplain to William Laud and to Charles I and was imprisoned for a time by Parliament. A staunch polemicist for episcopacy, he was made a bishop in Ireland after the Restoration. His spiritual classics, *Holy Living* (1650) and *Holy Dying* (1651), had a significant influence in Pietistic circles; see *ODNB* (53:921–8).

¹¹⁰ ἀρρητα ρήματα; “unspoken words.”

evil Men reign over us, and the Covetous snatch our little Bundles of Money from us. Because it is thus, and thus it is not well, we hope for some great good thing hereafter.¹¹¹

“Well then; *In this Life*, we see plainly that our Portion is not. Here we have *Hopes*; but not here only; we shall go into another Place, where we shall have *more Hopes*; our Hopes shall be of more Certainty and Perspicuity, & next to Possession.”

“So does our Author take that; 1. Cor. 15.19. *If in this Life only, we have Hope in Christ, we are of all Men most miserable*; not only *metonymically*, taking *Hope*, for the Things we *hope* for; but *properly*, and for the Acts, Objects and Causes of Hope. “In the State of Separation,” *says he*, “the Godly shall have the vast Joyes of a certain Intuitive *Hope*, according to their several Proportions and Capacities. The Consumation of their Fælicity, when all their Miseries shall be turned into Glories, is in the World to come, after the *Resurrection of the Dead*, which is the main thing that S. *Paul* here intends.”

He goes on.¹¹² “The Servants of God *in this Life*, are calamitous and Afflicted; they must live under the Cross. --- From this it was, that the very Heathen, *Plutarch* and *Cicero*, *Pythagoras* and *Hierocles*, *Plato* and many others, did argue and conclude, That there must be a *Day of Recompences*, to come hereafter, which would sett all right again.¹¹³ And from hence also our B. Saviour Himself, did convince the *Sadducees* in their fond and pertinacious Denying of the *Resurrection*. For, that is the Meaning of that Argument, which our B. Lord did choose as being clearly and infallibly, the aptest of any in the *Old Testament* to prove the *Resurrection*: and tho’ the Deduction is not at first so plain and evident, yett upon a neerer Intuition, the Interpretation is easy, and the Argument is excellent and proper.

“For it is observed by the Learned among the Jewes, that when God is by Way of particular Relation, and especial Benediction, appropriated unto any one, it is intended, that God is to him, a *Rewarder* and *Benefactor*: θεος ενεργητης, θεος μισθαποδοτης.¹¹⁴ For that is the First Thing, and the Last; that every Man Beleeves and Feels of God; and therefore S. *Paul* summs up the *Gentiles Creed* in this Compendium; [Heb. 11.6.] *He that cometh to God, must beleeve that God is, and that He is a Rewarder of them | that diligently seek Him*. And as it is in the

[28v]

¹¹¹ Jeremy Taylor, *Sermon Preached* (5ff).

¹¹² Taylor (6ff).

¹¹³ Plutarch (c. 46–120 CE) was a Greek historian and moral philosopher; see *ERE* (437). Cicero (106–43 BCE) was a broadly important figure in the early Roman republic, as a politician, philosopher, and rhetorician; *ERE* (117–18). Pythagoras (c. 570–495 BCE) was a Greek philosopher, mathematician, and esoteric religionist; see “Pythagoras,” *SEP* (electronic). Hierocles (2nd century CE), was a Stoic philosopher, author of *Elements of Ethics*; see “Stoicism,” *SEP* (electronic).

¹¹⁴ Taylor, *Sermon Preached* (9ff): θεός ενεργήτης, θεός μισθαποδότης; “God the benefactor, God the rewarder.”

Indefinite Expression, so it is in the *Limited*; as it is in the *Absolute*, so also in the *Relative*. God is *The Rewarder*; and to be *Their God* is to be *Their Rewarder*, and *their* gracious Lord. *Ego ero Deus vester*;¹¹⁵ that is, I will do you good, saies *Aben-Ezra*;¹¹⁶ And *Philo*, το δε θεος αιωνιος, *The Everlasting God*, that is, as if it had been said, ο χαριζόμενος,¹¹⁷ *One that will do you good; and this not sometimes some, and sometimes none at all, αιει δε και συνεχως*,¹¹⁸ *but frequently and forever*.¹¹⁹ And this we find also observed by *S. Paul*, [Heb. 11.16.] *Wherefore God is not Ashamed to be called, Their God; for He hath provided for them a City*.

“The Argument of our *B. Saviour* is thus. *God is the God of Abraham & Isaac & Jacob*; that is, the *gracious* God, the *Benefactor*, the *Rewarder*; and therefore *Abraham* is not *Dead*, but is *Fallen Asleep*; and he shall be *Restored* in the *Resurrection*, to receive those Blessings and Rewards, by the Title of which God was called, *The God of Abraham*. For in this World, *Abraham* had not that Harvest of Blessings, which is consigned by that glorious Appellative; He was an Exile from his Countrey; he stood far off from the Possession of his Hopes; he lived an ambulatory Life; he spent most of his Dayes without an Heir; he had a constant Piety; and at the latter End of his Life, one great Blessing was given him; and because that was allay’d by the Anger of his Wife, and the Expulsion of his Handmaid, and the Ejection of *Ishmael*, and the Danger of the Lad; and his great Calamity about the Matter of *Isaacs* Sacrifice: And all his Faith and Patience and Piety was rewarded with nothing but Promises of things a great way off; and before the Possession of them, he went out of the World. It is undeniably certain, that God, who after the Departure of the Patriarchs, did still love to be called, [*Their God*] did intend to signify, That they should be Restored unto a State of Life, and a Capacity of those greatest Blessings, which were the Foundation of that Title and Relation. *God is not the God of the Dead, but of the Living*; but God is the God of *Abraham*, and the other Patriarchs. Therefore they are not *Dead*; *Dead* they are to this World, but *Alive unto God*; that is, tho’ this Life be lost, yett they shall have another and a better; a *Life* in which God shall manifest Himself to be their God, to all the Purposes of Benefit, and eternal Blessings.

“It is remarkable in the Parable of *Dives* and *Lazarus*; That the poor Man, the afflicted Saint, died first; *Dives* being permitted to his *purple, and fine Linen*, to his *delicious Fare*, and (which he most of all needed) to a Space of Repentance: but in the mean time, the poor Man was rescued from his sad Portion of this Life, and came into *Abrahams* Bosom; where, he who was denied in this World, to be feasted even with the Portion of Dogs, was placed in the *Bosom of*

115 “I will be your God.”

116 On ibn Ezra, see Mather’s entry on 11:24–25 (above).

117 Both Greek quotations are from Philo Judaeus, *De plantatione* (sec. 89, lines 2, 3): ο χαριζόμενος; “the favoring one.”

118 αιει δε και συνεχως; “Continuously and forever.”

119 Philo of Alexandria, a Jewish Hellenistic philosopher; see *EJ* (16:59–64).

the Patriarch; that is, in the highest Room; for so it was, in their *Discubitus*,¹²⁰ or lying down to Meat, the chief Guest, the most beloved Person did lean upon the *Bosom* of the Master of the Feast; so S. John did lean upon the Breast of Jesus; and so did Lazarus upon the Breast of Abraham, or, else, *κόλπος Αβραάμ*, *Sinus Abrahamæ*,¹²¹ may be rendred, *The Bay of Abraham*, alluding to the Place of Rest, where Ships putt in after a Tempestuous and Dangerous Navigation. The Storm was quickly over with the poor Man, and the Angel of God brought the good Mans Soul to a safe Port, where he should be disturbed no more. And so saith the Spirit; *Blessed are the Dead, which dy in the Lord; for they Rest from their Labours*.¹²²

“But *what other Place* is there, where we shall be *Blessed* in our *Hope*; where we shall *rest from our Labour*, and have our *Hope* in Perfection?

“I must first remove an Objection. S. Paul intends these Words, as an Argument, to prove the *Resurrection*. We shall Rise again with our Bodies; for, if *in this Life only we had Hopes, then were we of all Men most miserable*¹²³. If they that Dy in the Lord were Happy before the *Resurrection*, then we were not of all Men most miserable tho’ there were to be no *Resurrection*; for the Godly are presently happy. One must fail; either the *Resurrection*, or the *Intermedial Happiness*. To this I answer; That if the Godly, instantly upon their Dissolution had the *Vision Beatifical*, it is very true, that they were not *most miserable*, tho’ there be no *Resurrection*, tho’ the Body were turned into its original *Nothing*, for, the Joyes of the Sight of God would, in the *Soul* alone, make them infinite
 [29r] Recompence for all | the Sufferings of this World. But that which the Saints have after their Dissolution, being only the *Comforts of an Holy Hope*, the Argument remains good. For these *Intermedial Hopes*, being nothing at all, but in relation to the *Resurrection*, these Hopes do not *Destroy*, but *Confirm* it rather; and if the *Resurrection* were not to be, we should neither have any *Hopes* here, nor *Hopes* hereafter. And therefore, the Apostles Word is, [*If here only we had Hopes*,] that is, If our Hopes only related to this Life; but because our Hopes only relate unto the Life to come, and even after this Life, we are still but in the Regions of an enlarged Hope, *this Life*, and, *that Interval*, are both but the same Argument, to infer a *Resurrection*; for they are the *Hopes* of that State, and the *Joyes* of those Hopes, which make those Blessed, who Dy in the Love of God, & the Faith and Obedience of the Lord Jesus.

“In the *State of Separation*, the Souls departed, perceive the Blessing and Comfort of their Labours; they are Alive after Death; and after Death immediately they find great Refreshments. *Justorum Animæ in Manu Dei sunt, et non*

120 “Lying down at table.”

121 *κόλπος Αβραάμ*; “the bosom of Abraham” [Greek and Latin].

122 Rev. 14:13.

123 1 Cor. 15:19.

*tangent illos tormentum Mortis.*¹²⁴ All the Saints immediately after Death, are, *præsentes apud Dominum*; they are present with the Lord; And to be so, is not a State of Death; and yett of this it is, that S. *Paul* affirms it to be much better than to be Alive.

“And this was the undoubted Sentence of the Jewes, before Christ, and since; and therefore our Bl. Saviour told the converted Thief, that he should *that Day be with Him in Paradise*. Without peradventure, He spake so as He was to be understood; meaning by *Paradise*, that which the Schools of the Rabbins did usually speak of. By *Paradise*, till the Time of *Esdra*s, the Jewes only meant, that Blessed Garden, in which God once placed *Adam* and *Eve*. But in the Time of *Esdra*s, and so downward, when they spake Distinctly of things to happen after this Life, they called, the State of *Souls* expecting the *Resurrection* of their *Bodies*, by the Name of, *גן עדן* / *The Garden of Eden*.¹²⁵ Hence came that Form of Comprecation and Blessing, to the Soul of an *Israelite*, *Sit Anima ejus in Horto Eden*.¹²⁶ And in their solemn Prayers, at the Time of their Death, they were wont to say; [*Lett his Soul rest, & lett his Sleep be in Peace, until the Comforter shall come; Open the Gates of Paradise unto him;*] expressly distinguishing *Paradise*, from the State of the *Resurrection*. And so, it is evident in the Intercourse on the Cross, between Christ and the converted Thief; *That Day* both were to be *in Paradise*. But Christ Himself was not then Ascended into Heaven; and therefore *Paradise* was no Part of that Region, where Christ now, and hereafter the Saints shall reign in Glory. For *Παράδεισος*, did by Use and Custome signify any Place of Beauty and Pleasure.¹²⁷ So the LXX read, Eccl. 2.5. *I made me Gardens and Orchards*: I made me a *Paradise*; so it is in the Greek. And *Cicero* having found this strange Word in *Xenophon*, renders it, [*Agrum conseptum ac diligenter consitum.*]¹²⁸ *Gellius* renders it, *Vivarium*;¹²⁹ a Place to keep Birds and Beasts *Alive* for Pleasure. *Pollux* saies, This Word was *Persian*, by its Original; yett because by Traduction it became *Hebrew*, we may best learn the Meaning of it from the *Jewes*, who

124 “The souls of the just are in the hand of God, and the torment of death will not touch them.” See the apocryphal book of *Wisdom* (3:1).

125 *גן עדן*.

126 “May his soul be in the garden of Eden.” Taylor cites the book of Deuteronomy from the Peshitta, a 2nd-century Syriac translation of the Bible, as his source; see Taylor, *Sermon Preached* (553).

127 *Παράδεισος*; “enclosed garden.”

128 “A field completely fenced in and diligently planted.” Cicero, *Cato Maior de Senectute* (17.59) (80).

129 “An enclosed park.” Taylor (p. 553) simply cites Gell as “Book 2, Ch. 20;” possibly his posthumous *Remaines* (1676), a select commentary on the New Testament, or his *Essay toward the Amendment of the Last English Translation of the Bible* (1659). Robert Gell (1595–1665) was an Anglican cleric with a reputation for decidedly heterodox views who nonetheless managed to maintain his appointment unmolested both during the Interregnum and after the Restoration; see *ODNB* (21:732–5).

used it most often, and whose Sense we better understand.¹³⁰ Their Meaning therefore was this; That as *Paradise*, or the *Garden of Eden*, was a Place of great Beauty, Pleasure, & Tranquillity; so the *State of separate Souls* was a State of Peace & Excellent Delights. So *Philo* does Allegorically expound *Paradise*; *The Trees that grow in Paradise, are μηδεν εοικота τοις παρ' ημιν*,¹³¹ *not like ours, but they bring forth Knowledge, & Life, & Immortality*.¹³² It is therefore more than probable, that when the converted Thief, heard our Blessed Saviour speak of *Paradise*, or, *Gan Eden*,¹³³ he who was a Jew, and heard, that on *that Day* he should be there, understood the Meaning to be, that he should be there, where all the good Jewes, did beleve the Souls of *Abraham*, and *Isaac* and *Jacob* to be placed. As if Christ had said; Tho' you only ask to be *Remembred, when I come in my Kingdome*, not only that shall be performed in Time, but *even To Day*, thou shalt have *great Refreshment*. And this the Hellenist Jewes called, *Αναπαυσιν του παραδεισου*. *The Rest of Paradise*;¹³⁴ and, *παρακλησιν*. *The Comfort*, of it:¹³⁵ The Word being also warranted from that concerning *Lazarus*, *παρακαλειται*, *He is comforted*.¹³⁶

[30v] “But this we learn more perfectly from the Raptures of *S. Paul*. He *knew a Man* (meaning himself) *rapt up into the Third Heaven*; And *I knew such a Man, how that he was caught up into Paradise*. [2. Cor. 12.3.] The Raptures and Visions were distinct; for *S. Paul* being a Jew, and speaking after the Manner of his Nation, makes *Paradise*, a distinct thing from {the Third Heaven}.¹³⁷ | By *Paradise*; his Countreymen never understood the *Third Heaven*: But there also it was, that he heard, *τα αρρητα ρηματα*. *unspeakable Words*, great Glorifications of God, huge Excellencies, such which he might not or could not utter here below. The Effect of these Considerations is this, that altho' the Saints are not yett admitted unto the Blessings consequent unto an happy Resurrection, yett they have intermedial Entertainments of a present and a great Joy. To this Purpose are those Words to be understood; [Rev. 2.7.] *To him that overcomes, will I give to eat of the Tree of Life, which is in the midst of the Paradise of God*. That is, if I may have leave to expound these Words, to mean what the Jewes did about that Time understand by such Words: *Δενδρον της ζωης*, *The Tree of Life*, signifies the Principle of Peace and Holiness, of Wisdome & Comfort.¹³⁸ *Philo* expounding

130 Julius Pollux was a 2nd-century Greek grammarian at Alexandria and author of the *Onomasticon*, a Greek thesaurus, no longer extant; see *EB* (22:7).

131 Philo Judaeus, *De plantatione* (sec. 36, line 4), *μηδεν εοικота τοις παρ' ημιν*; “Not like ours.”

132 Philo, *Noah's Work as a Planter*, in *Philo* (3:231).

133 A transliteration of the Hebrew word גַּן (garden).

134 *Ανάπαυσιν του παραδείσου*.

135 *παρακλησιν*.

136 Taylor, *Sermon Preached* (15): *παρακαλείται*.

137 See Appendix A.

138 *Δένδρον της ζωής*.

it calls it, τὴν μεγίστην τῶν ἀρετῶν θεοσεβειαν.¹³⁹ *The Worship of God, the greatest of all Vertues, by which the Soul is made to live forever.*¹⁴⁰ As if, by, *Eating of this Tree of Life in the Paradise of God*, they did mean, that they who Dy well, shall immediately be feasted with the Deliciousness of an holy Conscience: Which the Spirit of God expresses by saying, *They shall walk up & down in white Garments*; and, *Their Works shall follow them*; Their *Tree of Life* shall germinate; they shall then feel the Comforts of having done good Works; a sweet Remembrance, and an holy Peace, shall caresse and feast them; and there they shall *walk up and down in white*, that is, as *Candidates of the Resurrection, to Immortality*.

“This Allegory of the *Garden of Eden* and *Paradise*, was so heartily pursued by the Jewes, to repræsent the *State of Separation*, that the *Essens* described that State, by the Circumstances and Ornaments of a Blessed *Garden*: χωρον ουτε ομβροις, ουτε νιφετοις, ουτε καυμασι βαρυνομενον.¹⁴¹ *A Region that is not Troubled with Clouds, or Showres, or Storms, or Blasts*; but, *a Place which is perpetually refreshed with delicious breathes*. This is it, which the Heathen did dream concerning the *Elysian Fields*; For all the Notices, περι αδου,¹⁴² *concerning the Regions of separate Souls*, came into Greece from the *Barbarians*, saies *Diodorus Siculus*.¹⁴³ *Tertullian* saies, *The Elysian Fields*, have already possessed the Faith and Opinion of Men.¹⁴⁴ All comes from the same Fountain; the *Doctrine* of the old *Synagogue* confirmed by the Words of Christ, and the Commentaries of the Apostles: viz. *That after Death, before the Day of Judgment, there is a Paradise for Gods Servants, a Region of Rest, of Comfort & holy Expectations*.

“And therefore, it is remarkable, that these Words of the Psalmist; *Ne rapias me in medio dierum meorum*, [Psal. 102.25.] *Snatch me not away in the midst of my Dayes*; in the Hebrew it is, *Ne facias me ascendere*; make me not to *Ascend*, or *go upwards*; meaning, to the supernatural Regions of *separate Souls*, who after Death, are in their Beginnings of Exaltation. For to them that Dy in the Lord, Death is a *Præferment*; Death ha's not only lost the Sting, but it shall bring a *Coronet* in its Hand, which shall invest and adorn the Heads of the Saints, till that Day comes, in which the *Crown of Righteousness* shall be brought forth, to give them the Investiture of an everlasting Kingdome.

“This Place of Separation, was called *Paradise* by the Jewes, and by Christians, and after Christs Ascension, by S. *John*, because it signifies a Place of Rest and Pleasure. Because *Abraham* was the *Father of the Faithful*, therefore, *To be with Abraham*, or, *To sitt down with Abraham*, signified the same thing, as to

139 Philo Judæus, *De opificio mundi* (sec. 154, lines 5–6): τὴν μεγίστην τῶν ἀρετῶν θεοσεβειαν; “the greatest service to God.”

140 Taylor, *Sermon Preached* (16ff).

141 The Essenes were a first-century ascetic Jewish sect. Josephus Flavius, *De Bello Judaico libri vii* (2.155, lines 4–5): χωρον ουτε ομβροις ουτε νιφετοις ουτε καυμασι βαρυνόμενον.

142 περι ᾗδου; “concerning the (nether) region, i. e. Hades.”

143 Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* (1:329–33).

144 Tertullian, *Apology*, ANF (3:52).

be in *Paradise*, in the Time of the Old Testament. But the Spirits of good Men are not now said, *To be with Abraham*, but, *To be with Christ*: As, being with *Abraham*, was the Specification of the more general Word of *Paradise*, in the *Old Testament*, so, being with *Christ*, is the Specification of it under the *New*. So S. *Stephen* prayed, *Lord Jesus, Receive my Spirit*, and S. *Paul* said, *I desire to be dissolved, & to be with Christ*; which Expression S. *Polycarp* also used, in his Epistle to the *Philippians*; That some are in the Place due to them, *παρα κυρίῳ with the Lord*; that is, in the Hands, in the Custody of the Lord JESUS.¹⁴⁵ So S. *Jerom*; *Scimus Nepotianum nostrum esse cum Christo, et sanctorum mixtum choris*;¹⁴⁶ upon this account, (and it is not at all unreasonable,) the Church hath conjectured, That the State of *separate Souls*, since the Glorification | of our Lord, is much bettered and advanced, and their Comforts greater: Because, as before Christs Coming, the Expectation of the Saints that slept, was fixed upon the Revelation of the *Messias* in His *First Coming*; so now it is upon His *Second Coming* unto Judgment and in His Glory. This Improvement of their Condition is well intimated, by their being said to be *under the Altar*; that is, under the Protection of Christ, under the Powers and Benefits of His *Priesthood*, by which He makes continual Intercession, both for them and us.¹⁴⁷

“Lett us remain content, without curious Enquiries, & labour with Faith and Patience, with Hope and Charity, to be made worthy to partake of those Comforts, afterwhich when we have long enquired, when at last we come to Try what they are, we shall find them much better, and much otherwise than we imagined.

“Alltho’ our Blessed Saviour is in the *Creed*, said, to *Descend*, εἰς ἄδου, *into Hell* (so we render it) yett this does not at all prejudice His other Words, [*This Day shalt thou be with me in Paradise*;] For the Word, εἰς ἄδου,¹⁴⁸ signifies indefinitely, the *State of Separation*, whether blessed or cursed; it means only, the *Invisible Place*, or the Region of Darkness, whither whoso descends shall be no more seen. For as among the Heathens, the *Elysian Fields* and *Tartara*, are both ἐν ἄδου.¹⁴⁹ So among the Jewes and Christians, *Paradisus* and *Gehenna* are the Distinct States of *Hades*. Of the *First*, we have a plain Testimony in *Diphilus*; καὶ γὰρ καθ’ ἀδὴν δυν τριβους νομιζομεν μιαν δικαίων καὶ τεραν ἀσεβων οδον. In *Hades* there are Two Ways, One for *Just Men*, and another for the *Impious*.¹⁵⁰ Of the

145 παρά κυρίῳ; Polycarp, *Letter to the Philippians*, ANF (1:35); see Mather’s entry on 2 Cor 5:8.

146 “We know that our friend Nepotianus is with Christ, and joined with the choir of the saints.” See Jerome, *Letter 60*, NPNFii (6:123). Nepotian was a correspondent of Jerome’s; Jerome mentions his death in a letter to Nepotian’s uncle, the bishop Heliodorus, in 396 CE.

147 Taylor, *Sermon Preached* (18ff).

148 εἰς ἄδου; “into Hades.”

149 ἐν ἄδου; “in Hades.”

150 The adapted Greek passage from Diphilus is extant in Clemens of Alexandria’s *Stromata* (5.14.121, subs. 1, lines 7–8): καὶ γὰρ καθ’ Ἀδὴν δύο τριβους νομιζομεν· μιαν δικαίων, [ἐτέραν δὲ] ἀσεβων [εἶναι] ὁδόν. However, Mather’s second-hand quote from Jeremy Taylor (19) is closest

Second, we have the Testimony of *Josephus*, who speaking of the *Sadducees*, saies, τὰς καθ' ἁδου τιμωρίας καὶ τιμὰς ἀναιρουσιν.¹⁵¹ *They take away, or deny the Rewards and Punishments respectively, which are in Hades, or in the State of Separation.*¹⁵² So that if Christ's Soul was in *Paradise*, He was in *Hades*. In vain therefore doth *S. Augustine* torment himself to tell, *how* Christ could be in both Places at once; when it is no harder than to tell, how a Man may be in *England* and at *London* at the same Time.¹⁵³

"In the *State of Separation*, the Spirits of good Men shall be Blessed and Happy Souls; they have an Antepast, or Taste of their Reward; but their great Reward itself, their *Crown of Righteousness*, shall not be yett; that shall not be until the Day of Judgment, ἐν παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ, *At His Coming*. So *S. John* expresses the Time. See 1. Joh. 2.28. & 1. Joh. 3.4. For the Interval, *Tertullian* affirms, *Puniri et foveri animam interim, sub expectatione utriusque Judicii.*¹⁵⁴ *S. Ambrose* saith, *Habitacula illa, Animarum promptuaria nominavit Scriptura: [De Bono Mortis. cap. 10.]*¹⁵⁵ There is *Comfort*, but not the full *Reward*; A certain *Expectation* supported with excellent Intervals of Joy. *Refrigerium*,¹⁵⁶ the Latins call it. *Donec consummatio rerum Resurrectione omnium plenitudine mercedis, expungat hunc apparitura caelesti promissione;* saith *Tertullian.*¹⁵⁷ So the Author of the *Quæstions, Ad Orthodoxos*, [quæst. 75.] Immediately after Death, presently there is a *Separation* of the *Just* from the *Unjust*: for they are born by Angels εἰς ἀξιους αὐτῶν τοποῦς. *into the Places they have deserved;*¹⁵⁸ and they are in those Places φυλαττομεναι εὓς τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναστασεως καὶ ἀνταποδοσεως. *Kept unto the Day of Resurrection and Retribution.*¹⁵⁹ But what do they in the meantime? How is it with them? Θανμασιαν τινα ἡδονῇν ἡδεταὶ καὶ ἀγαλλεταὶ.

to the version that appears in a fragment by Philemon, the comic poet of Syracuse: καὶ γὰρ καθ' Ἄιδην δύο τρίβους νομίζομεν, μίαν δικαίων χάτέραν ἀσεβῶν ὁδόν. Literally, "We believe that there are two paths ..." Diphilus was a 4th-century BCE Greek poet whose works exist only as fragments in other authors; see *EB* (8:290).

151 Josephus Flavius (*De bello Judaico* 2.166, line 1): τὰς καθ' ἁδου τιμωρίας καὶ τιμὰς ἀναιρουσιν. "They take away the punishments and rewards of the underworld."

152 Josephus, *Wars of the Jews* (478).

153 Taylor, *Sermon Preached* (19, 20).

154 Taylor (20–21). "The soul meanwhile is both punished and encouraged by the expectation of the judgment it will receive." Tertullian, *On the Soul*, and *Against Marcion*, *ANF* (3:215 and 406, respectively).

155 "The Scriptures have called their habitations, the storehouses of souls." Ambrose, *De bono mortis* (103).

156 "A cooling."

157 "Until the end of all things, which is to appear according to the divine promise, [and] shall absolve this man by means of the resurrection, with the fullness of mercy." Tertullian, *On the Soul*, *ANF* (3:215).

158 Pseudo-Justinus Martyr, *Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos* (Morel page 436, sec. D, lines 8–9): εἰς ἀξιους αὐτῶν τόπους.

159 Pseudo-Justinus Martyr, *Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos* (Morel page 437, sec. A, lines 4–5):

saies Nazianzen, [*Orat. Funebr. Caesar. Fratris.*] *They Rejoice, and are delighted in a wonderful Joy.*¹⁶⁰ Justin Martyr so expresses it; *They see Angels and Archangels, they converse with them, and see our B. Saviour Jesus in His glorified Humanity.*¹⁶¹ But in these great Joyes, they look for greater. They are now, *In Paradise*; but they long that the Body and Soul may be in Heaven together; but this is the Glory of the Day of Judgment, the Fruit of the Resurrection. And this whole affair is agreeable to Reason, and the Analogy of the whole Dispensation, as it is generally & particularly described in Scripture.

[32v] “For when the greatest Effect of the Divine Power, the mightiest *Promise*, the *Hardest Thing* to Christian Faith, that *Impossible Thing* to Gentile Philosophy, the Expectation of the whole World, the *New Creation*, shall come to pass, viz. that the *Souls* shall be reinvested with their *Bodies*, | when the Ashes of Dissolved Bones, shall stand up a New and Living Frame, to suppose, that then there shall be nothing done in order to Eternity, but to publish the Salvation of Saints of which they were possessed before, is to make a great Solemnity for nothing, to do great Things for no great End; and therefore it is not Reasonable to suppose it.

“If it were a good Argument of the Apostle, that the Patriarchs and Saints of the Old Testament, received not the Promises signified by *Canaan*, and the *Land of Promise*, because *God had provided some better thing for us, that without us they should not be made perfect*; it must also conclude of all alike; That they who died since Christ, must stay till the Last Day, that they and we and all may be *made perfect together*. And this very thing was told unto the Spirits of the Martyrs, who under the Altar cried, *How long, O Lord!* That they should Rest yett for *a little Season*, until their Fellow-servants also shall be fulfilled.

“Upon this Account it is, that the *Day of Judgment* is a *Day of Recompence*. See Luk. 14.14. and, 2. Tim. 4.8. The Summ is this. In the World we walk and live by *Faith*: In the State of Separation we live by *Hope*; And in the Resurrection we shall live by an eternal *Charity*. Here we see God *as in a Glass Darkly*: In the Separation we shall Behold Him; but it is *afar off*; And after the Resurrection we shall *see Him Face to Face*, in the everlasting Comprehensions of an *Intuitive Beatitude*. In this Life we are *Warriors*; In the Separation we are *Conquerors*: But we shall not *Triumph*, until after the Resurrection.

“And in Proportion to this is also the State of *Divels* and *Damned Spirits*. *Art thou come to torment us before the Time?* said the *Divels* to our Bl. Saviour.

φυλαττόμενοι ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀνταποδόσεως. *Questiones et responsiones ad Orthodoxos* was a work once attributed to Justin Martyr, but now is attributed to a Syrian source, “Pseudo-Justin,” dating from the 4th or 5th century. See *NCE* (8:93–5).

160 Gregorius Nazianzenus, θαυμασίαν τινὰ ἡδονὴν ἥδεται καὶ ἀγάλλεται, in *Funebris in laudem Caesarii fratris oratio* (orat. 7), cap. 21, sec. 2, lines 1–2). Nazianzus (329–390) was archbishop of Constantinople; see *NCE* (6:513–17).

161 See Taylor, *Sermon Preached* (21).

There is for them also an *Appointed Time*; And when that is, we learn from Jud. 6. *They are reserved in Chains under Darkness unto the Judgment of the Great Day.* Well therefore did S. James affirm, *That the Devils beleeve and Tremble*; And so do the Damned Souls, with an insupportable Amazement, fearing the Revelation of that Day.

“This Doctrine, tho’ of late it hath been laid aside, upon the interest of the Church of *Rome*, and for Compliance with some other Schools, yett it was universally the Doctrine of the primitive Church; as appears out of *Justin Martyr*, who in his Dialogues with *Tryphon*, reckons this among the *ετεροδοξίαι*.¹⁶² Errors of some, who say, There shall be no Resurrection of the Dead, but that as soon as good Men are dead, *τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν*. *Their Souls are taken up immediately into Heaven.*¹⁶³ And the Writer of the Quæstions *Ad Orthodoxos* asks [q. 76. q. 60. q. 75.] whether before the Resurrection there shall be a Reward of Works;¹⁶⁴ Because to the Thief, *Paradise* was promised *That Day*. He answers, ‘It was fitt the Thief should go to *Paradise*, and there perceive what things should be given to the Works of Faith: But there he is kept, *εὼς τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀνταποδόσεως*. *until the Day of Resurrection and Reward.*’¹⁶⁵

“Concerning which I shall not need to heap up Testimonies; This only. It is the Doctrine of the *Greek Church* unto this Day; and it was the Opinion of the greatest Part of the Ancient Church, both Latin and Greek, and by Degrees was in the West eaten out by the Doctrine of *Purgatory*, and *Invocation of Saints*; and Rejected a little above Two Hundred Years ago in the Council of *Florence*.¹⁶⁶ And since that Time, it ha’s been more generally taught, that the Souls of good Men enjoy the *Beatific Vision* before the *Resurrection*, even presently upon the *Dissolution*. According to this New Opinion, it will be impossible to understand diverse Places of Scripture; or at all to perceive the Oeconomy and the Dispensation of, *The Day of Judgment*. It can only serve the Ends of the Church of *Rome*; who can no way better be confuted in their *Invocation of Saints*, than by this Truth; *That the Saints do not yett enjoy the Beatific Vision*; and tho’ they are in a State of Ease and Comfort, yett they are not in a State of Power and Glory and Kingdome, till the *Day of Judgment*. This also does perfectly overthrow the Doctrine of *Purgatory*. For as the Saints departed are not perfect, and therefore certainly not to be Invoked, not to be made Patrons and Advocates; so neither are they in such a Condition as to be in Torment; *Blessed are the Dead which dy in the Lord*. If they can *Rest* in Beds of Fire, and *Sing Hymns* of Glory in the

162 *ετεροδοξίαι*; “heterodoxies.”

163 Justinus Martyr (*Dialogus cum Tryphone* 80.4. lines 5–6): *τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν*; translated in Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, ANF (1:196–7).

164 Pseudo-Justin, *Quæstiones* . . . *ad orthodoxos*; see Mather’s entry on 12:4 (above).

165 Taylor, *Sermon Preached* (23–24); Pseudo-Justin Martyr, *Quæstiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos* (Morel page 437, sec. A, line 4–5): *εὼς τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀνταποδόσεως*.

166 Among other things, the Council of Florence (1439–42) affirmed the doctrine of purgatory and the beatific vision; see *NCE* (4:301).

Torments of the Damned; if their *Labours* are done, when their *Pains* are almost infinite; then these Words of the Spirit of God and the Doctrine of *Purgatory* can be Reconciled; else, never to Eternal Ages.”

Thus that Author.¹⁶⁷

[33r]

Now to accompany the Meditation of this Author, I will introduce a few Passages from the Annotations of Dr. *Whitby*, on 2. Tim. 4.8.¹⁶⁸

“The Council of *Florence* has defined, *That pure and cleansed Souls, when they quitt the Body, are presently received into Heaven, and there have a clear Vision of the Holy Trinity.* And the *Trent-Council*, Sess. 25. hath laid this, as the Foundation of the *Invocation of Saints* departed, That they do now, *cum Christo regnare, et aeterna felicitate in celo frui.*¹⁶⁹ But in this they seem to derogate from *Scripture*, and the *primitive Antiquity*.

“See Luk. 14.14.

“To those who *suffer* for the name of Christ, our Lord hath promised a *great Reward in Heaven*. But this *Reward* will be conferred upon them, *At the Revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ from Heaven, with His mighty Angels*: 2. Thess. 1.7. Compare, 1. Pet. 1.17. and, 1. Pet. 4.13.

“To those who *Feed* the Flock of Christ, a great *Reward* is promised, even a never-fading *Crown of Glory*: but it is to be Received, *when the great Shepherd doth appear*. 1. Pet. 5.4. A *Reward* is to be rendred unto the Servants of God; but it is to be rendred *when the Time comes that the Dead shall be Judged*. Rev. 11.18. The Apostles are to have their *Mansions* in Heaven with Christ; but not till he comes again from Heaven: For then, saith He, *I will receive you to myself, that where I am, you may be also*. Joh. 14.2, 3.

“Compare, Matth. 16.27. and, Matth. 13.40, 43. and, 1. Joh. 3.2. and, Tit. 2.14. and, 1. Pet. 1.13.

“Now, Lett it be observed, That the *Body* compared to the *Soul*, is the vilest and least considerable Part of Man; and therefore the *Hope*, the *Glory*, the *Reward*, the *Inheritance*, *Adoption*, and *Happiness*, reserved to the Time of the *Resurrection*, cannot respect the *Body* only. Moreover we read, of, *The Soul saved in the Day of the Lord Jesus*. 1. Cor. 5.5. Which shewes, that the compleat *Salvation of the Soul* is then to be expected.

“As to the Judgment of *primitive Antiquity*; They ascribe this Opinion, of the *Souls immediate Ascent to Heaven*, & its Enjoyment of Gods Immediate Presence after Death, to the *Hereticks* of those Times; Representing it as proper to the Followers of *Valentinus*, *Basilides*, and, *Marcion*; and after them, as a Part

¹⁶⁷ Here ends Mather’s long extract from Jeremy Taylor’s *A Sermon Preached at the Funerall of that worthy Knight Sr. George Dalston* (1658), pp. 5–25.

¹⁶⁸ Whitby has an extended commentary on the subject of this verse; see *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:16–18).

¹⁶⁹ That they do now “reign with Christ, and enjoy eternal happiness in heaven.”

of the Heresy of the *Manichees*.¹⁷⁰ Thus *Justin Martyr*, speaking of those, who were called *Christians*, but Blasphemed the God of *Abraham, Isaac, & Jacob*, he saith, in his *Dialogue with Trypho*, *They denied the Resurrection, and held, ἀμα το αποθνήσκουν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. That as soon as they died their Souls were received into Heaven.*¹⁷¹ *Irenæus* saith in like Manner, That the *Hereticks despised the Formation of God*, i.e. the Body formed by Him, and not receiving [the Doctrine of] the *Salvation of the Flesh*, Simul atque mortui fuerint, dicunt se supergredi cælos et Demiurgum, et ire ad matrem, vel ad eum qui ipsis affingitur patrem;¹⁷² *That as soon as they are dead, they ascend above the Heavens, and go to Him, whom they call their Father.* And having said, *That our Lords Soul went not to Heaven, but continued in the Place of the Dead till the Resurrection*, he saies, *This is sufficient to confound those Men, Qui dicunt interiorem Hominum ipsorum derelinquentem hoc corpus, in supercælestem ascendere locum*; who say, that their Inward Man leaving the Body here ascends to the supercælestial Mansions. And then he gives the *Orthodox Opinion* thus; *It is manifest, that the Souls of the Disciples of our Lord, shall go into the Invisible Place, appointed for them by God, expecting the Resurrection, and then Receiving their Bodies and Rising with them as our Lord did, shall come into the Presence of God.*¹⁷³ *Tertullian* in his Fourth Book against *Marcion* saies, *The Bosom of Abraham, which is higher than the Inferi, but not so high as Heaven, is that which gives Refreshment unto the Souls of the Just, until the Consummation of all things produce the Resurrection of all, with a full Reward.*¹⁷⁴ The *Manichees*, who denied the *Resurrection of the Body*, contended, That good Souls had their *whole Reward immediately after Death*, because Christ promised unto the Thief, that he should be *that Day with Him in Paradise*. To which Objection, *St Chrysostom* answers, by Concession, That the Thief was indeed admitted to *Paradise*; But then he adds, That *Paradise* was not the same with *Heaven*; μη γὰρ ταῦτα ἐστὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἀπερ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῖν ἐπαγγέλλεται. *For it contains not the good Things which God has promised unto us.*¹⁷⁵

170 Valentinus, Basilides, and Marcion were all 2nd-century Gnostic heretics; see *NCE* (14:373–74), (2:148–9), and (9:142–3), respectively. Manichæism was a late 3rd-century Persian variant of Gnosticism, which was a serious competitor to Christian orthodoxy for several hundred years, continuing in some form until the 14th century; see *NCE* (9:106–15).

171 Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone* (80.4, lines 4–6): ἀμα τῷ ἀποθνήσκειν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. Translated in Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, *ANF* (1:196–7).

172 “As soon as they had died, they say they ascended unto Heaven and the Demiurge, and that they came either to their mother, or to him who they believed to be their father.”

173 Irenæus, *Against Heresies*, *ANF* (1:560). Irenæus (d. c. 202 CE) was a bishop in Gaul and an outspoken opponent of Christian Gnostics; see *NCE* (7:570–1).

174 Mather has actually mis-cited Whitby here, who cites Tertullian’s *On the Soul*; see *ANF* (3:231).

175 Joannes Chrysostomus, *In Genesim (sermons 1–9)* [PG 054. 0614, lines 24–25]: μη γὰρ ταῦτα ἐστὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ, ἀπερ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῖν ἐπαγγέλλεται. Translated in Chrysostom, *Homily XXVI, Homilies on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians* (715–16).

[34v] “They expressly teach, That the Souls of good Men remain till the Day of Judgment in a certain Place, *Extrà Cælum Beatorum*,¹⁷⁶ expecting the Day of Judgment, | and Retribution. Thus *Justin Martyr* saies, That no Souls Die, but the *Souls of Good Men remain in a better Place, the Souls of Bad Men in a worse, expecting the Day of Judgment*.¹⁷⁷ *Irenæus* gives us the Tradition of the Church, touching this Matter, thus; *The Presbyters who were the Disciples of the Apostles, say, Those that were Translated, were carried into Paradise: for that Place is prepared for Just Men, and such as have the Spirit, and there they remain, till the Consummation, Expecting, or Beginning, Immortality*. And that there shall be *New Heavens and a New Earth*, and then, οἱ μὲν κατὰξιωθέντες τῆς ἐν οὐρανῷ διατριβῆς ἐκεῖσε χωρήσουσιν. *They that are worthy of the celestial Mansions shall go thither*.¹⁷⁸ *Tertullian* having cited the Words of the Apostle, 1. Thess. 5.23. saies thus, *Habes omnem substantiam Hominis saluti destinatam, nec alio tempore quam in Adventu Domini, qui clavis est Resurrectionis*.¹⁷⁹ *Novatian* saies, There is a Place, *quo piorum Animæ, Impiorumque ducuntur, Futuri Judicia præjudicia sentientes*.¹⁸⁰ And *Caius*, a Presbyter of the Church of *Rome*, saies, That *Just Souls* have *Angels* placed over them, and are led by them, εἰς χωρίον φωτεινόν.¹⁸¹ *Into a Place of Light*, called, *Abrahams Bosom*, where the *Just* from the Beginning have been, where they are delighted with the Vision of the *Just Fathers, expecting after this Place, their Rest and Habitation in Heaven*.¹⁸² Sais *Lactantius*, *Lett no Man think, Animas post mortem protinus judicari; that Souls are forthwith judged after Death*.¹⁸³

But these two Essayes may suffice for the Cultivation of this Noble Subject, & for the Illustration of the many Scriptures which refer unto it.

I will only take Occasion in this Place, to add; That these Words, 1. Cor. 15.19. *If in this Life only we have Hope in Christ, we are of all Men most miserable*; may probably refer to the Resurrection of Christ, & be brought in as a Proof of That. If we have no other *Hope*, than that of a *Christ*, who after He had been

¹⁷⁶ “Outside the Heaven of the Blessed.”

¹⁷⁷ Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, ANF (1:196–7).

¹⁷⁸ Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses (liber 5)*, (fragm. 30, lines 5–6): οἱ μὲν κατὰξιωθέντες τῆς ἐν οὐρανῷ διατριβῆς ἐκεῖσε χωρήσουσιν. See Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, ANF (1:560).

¹⁷⁹ “You have the whole substance of man destined for salvation, not in any other time except in the coming of the Lord, who is the key of the resurrection.” Tertullian, *On the Resurrection of the Flesh*, ANF (3:581).

¹⁸⁰ “Where the souls of the pious and impious are led, to learn their judgments and sentences.” Novatian, *On the Trinity*, ANF (5:612). Novatian (c 200–258) was a Roman priest and, briefly (251 CE), antipope; see NCE (10:464–5).

¹⁸¹ εἰς χωρίον φωτεινόν.

¹⁸² Caius, Presbyter of Rome, an early 3rd century figure whose works exist only in fragmentary form; see ANF (5:601–4). See Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:18).

¹⁸³ Lactantius (c. 240–320 CE), perhaps his *Divine Institutions*; see NCE (8:274). See Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:18).

with us in the Circumstances of *this Life* a while, then *Dy'd*, & *Rose not* again, we are the most miserably Deluded Creatures in the World.

|

[35r]

3139.

Q. Our Apostle in his Rapture heard *unspeakable Words*, whereof it followes, *It is not lawful for a Man to utter them*. An Illustration may clear this Passage, from an Imputation of a Tautology? v. 4.

A. *Witsius* thinks, that the Exposition of *Cocceius*, is far from despicable.¹⁸⁴ Namely, That this Passage, *It is not lawful for a Man* to utter those Words, refers to Him who did utter them; They were *Words* of such *Majesty*, as it was not fitt that any but one who is very *God*, should utter them. There are *Words*, *Quæ Deo ita sunt propria ut transferri in creaturas, nullâ ratione queant*.¹⁸⁵ *Paul* would intimate, That the *Words* which he heard, were from the Mouth of our Lord JESUS CHRIST Himself; and that our Lord Jesus Christ is very GOD.

Such an extraordinary Consolation was needful, to carry our Apostle thro' his great Labours and Sorrowes. And thus the Things then uttered, are not communicated unto the Church; yet, it is for the Consolation of the Church, to know, from one who had been there, That our Lord JESUS CHRIST has a blessed *Paradise*, for His Faithful People; and that the Enjoyments of that *Paradise*, are too glorious to be express'd in our Language; and that our Lord is more than a *Man*.

Q. What was the Apostles, *Thorn in the Flesh*? v. 7.

A. T'were a long Business, to recite the various Opinions of Interpreters. *Austin*, on Psal. 130. and *Jerom* on Gal. 4. say, That it was a grievous *Headache*. *Tertullian* also expounds it, of a Pain, either in the *Head*, or *Ear*. *Thomas*, will have it bee the, *Iliaca passio*.¹⁸⁶ Others conceive it, the Fury and Mischief of Adversaries; & some, (as *Bellarmino*) the Rage of *Lust*.¹⁸⁷ The most Received Sentence is, That by the *Thorn in the Flesh*, & the *Messenger of Satan*, is meant,

¹⁸⁴ Hermann Wits (1636–1708), Dutch Reformed professor of theology at Utrecht and Leiden. Among his works are *De oeconomia foederum Dei cum hominibus* (1677), *Miscellanea sacra* (1692), *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (1696) – a comparison of Egyptian and Israelite religious ceremonies, and *Meletemata Leidensia* (1703), which includes a study of Paul's life; see *NSHERK* (12:396).

¹⁸⁵ "Which are so proper to God that they can on no account be applied to His creatures." Johannes Cocceius (1603–69) was professor of Hebrew at Franeker and later professor of theology at Leiden; his *Summa theologiae ex sacris scripturis* appeared in 1662; see *NSHERK* (3:149–50).

¹⁸⁶ "A pain in the bowels."

¹⁸⁷ Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621), Jesuit and cardinal and inquisitor of Giordano Bruno and Galileo Galilei. Bellarmine was an effective controversialist with Protestants (*Disputationes*, 1581); he was also an accomplished biblical scholar; see *NCE* (2:226–8).

the Remainder of Concupiscence, or Original Sin; especially, *Pride*, which like a *Thorn* inflamed with Vexation the Holy Soul of the Apostle.

But stay; Wee cannot hereby understand *Persecutions*; for this *Thorn* was given the Apostle after his Rapture; whereas hee had *Persecutions* enow before; nor would hee have been so importunate for Deliverance from an Evil, which hee knew so unavoidable.

Nor can *Lascivious Inclinations* hereby bee understood; for the Apostle declared that hee had Received, the Gift of *Continence*; & if hee had found that Gift fail him, hee remembred what Remedy had been by himself præscribed for *Burning*. The *Thorn* was a *Gift*. This excellent Man led a Life sorrowful and laborious enough to retund the Point of the *Thorn*.¹⁸⁸ Besides, hee was now an old Man, about *Sixty*; and such Men as *Baronius* are guilty of a great Affront unto this Aged Man of God, when they suppose him now libidinous.¹⁸⁹ Nor would hee have stop'd, at *Thrice Beseeking*, if this had been the Case.

Nor is it good Sense, to understand the Stings of Natural Corruption, by this, *Thorn in the Flesh*. For this *Thorn*, was neither *given by God* unto the Apostle; nor had hee more of it after his Heavenly *Ecstasy* than formerly. And the Lord would never have taken him off, praying for a Rescue from such a *Thorn*. The *Flesh* itself would then also have been the *Thorn*; wee should not have read of a *Thorn in the Flesh*. Be sure; *Pride* could not bee this *Thorn*; for, t'was evidently & peculiarly, for the *Cure* of his *Pride*.

What then? Then, By the *Flesh* of the Apostle, understand, his *Body*; and by the *Thorn* in that *Flesh*, understand some *Disease*, which at certain Times vexed the *Body* of that Holy Man; *Sunt u. morbi coporis ad inhibendam animi superbiam accommodatissimi*.¹⁹⁰ Whether it were the *Epilepsy* or the *Ephialtes*, or the *Vertigo*, or the *Stone*, or the *Gout*, or some other Distemper, I meddle not.¹⁹¹ Hee begs to bee sett at Liberty from his Infirmary; but God would use a *sickly Man*, for the Service of His Gospel; & promised such an *Assistance*, that neither his *Labour*, nor *Success* therein, should hereby bee hindred.

When the Apostle was afflicted with this Distemper, the Efficacy and Molestation of the *Divel* insinuated thereinto did very much increase it. As wee

¹⁸⁸ See Appendix A.

¹⁸⁹ Caesar Baronius (1538–1607), cardinal, Vatican librarian, and author of the *Annales Ecclesiastici* (1588–1607), a massive twelve-volume church history in defense of Catholicism; see NCE (2:105–6).

¹⁹⁰ “These diseases of the body are most well-suited to inhibit the soul’s arrogance.” See Pierre du Moulin, *Vates, seu De Praecognitione futurorum* (5:75). Du Moulin (1568–1658) was a French Anglican pastor, scholar, and anti-Catholic controversialist; see ODNB (17:189–94). See Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mather* (59).

¹⁹¹ Ephialtes (Greek: ἐφιάλτης) is a nightmare caused by a demon (or *incubus*) of the same name. Mather devotes a chapter (XXXI) to the ephialtes in his medical text, *The Angel of Bethesda* (see pp. 153–54), as he does with several of the other diseases mentioned here. It was a malady that incapacitated his father Increase for some months in 1670, leading the father to fear for his sanity. See Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (12).

find, that in Distempers, which have Natural Causes, the *Divels* take their Advantages, to augment the Circumstances. Thus, in *Matthew*, the *σεληνιαζόμενοι*, were, *δαιμονιζόμενοι* too.¹⁹² Satan is in Scripture sometimes mentioned as Gods Executioner, even in Trying His own Children: Into his Hand, *Job* was putt; *Hurting* Work is fittest for an *Evil* Angel.

|

[36v]

826.

Q. Is there any Passage in the Old Testament, where the Apostles *Messenger of Satan* to buffet him, has an Illustration? v. 7.

A. If you'l consult the Twenty second Chapter in the First Book of *Kings*, you'l find a Passage whereto the Apostle may allude in this Account of his own Calamity, and perhaps, from that Passage our Thoughts may bee help'd a little further, in comprehending the Meaning of the Calamitie.

There you have a Prophet, admitted unto a *Vision of God*, in *Heaven*; he had a Rapture into Heaven, where hee had a Vision of wonderful Things. After this *Abundance of Revelations*, the Prophet was *Buffeted* by a *Messenger of Satan*; Wee read, that *Zedekiah*, a false Prophet, *smote him on the Cheek*; The *Messenger of Satan*, was a *wicked Man*, whom *Satan* had Permission (according to the Prophets Vision) to possess, to Inspire, to employ, for the Deceiving of other Men; T'was a *Seducer*. Consider this Matter.¹⁹³

[▽Insert from 37r]

[▽37r]

Q. Wee have considered, what you have already offered, concerning our Apostles, *Thorn in the Flesh*, the *Messenger of Satan*, *given him to Buffēt him*, lest he should be exalted above Measure. But if you find in a late Theological Dissertation of Dr. *Peter Santvoort*, *De Angelo Satan Colaphizante*, any more agreeable Entertainments, lett those be added unto the rest?¹⁹⁴ v. 7.

A. That Gentleman entertains us with some Thoughts, that seem worthy of a Room among our *Illustrations*.

I will, in my own poor Style, give you the Cheef of *them*, reserving to myself the Liberty, which you know, I still take, of adding what I think fitt of my own.

The Condition of our Apostle, had in it, a notable Conformity, to that of our Saviour, who upon His having of *Heaven* opened unto Him, immediately entred into His *Temptations*. The Hebrew Name of *Satan*, our Apostles *Adversary*, signifies, *An Adversary*; But the Greeks generally, with *Suidas*, have made it

¹⁹² The "moon-struck" (epileptics) were the "demon-possessed" too. These terms or concepts are merged in the healing story of Mt. 17:14 ff.

¹⁹³ See Appendix B.

¹⁹⁴ Peter Santvoort, *Dissertatio theologica inauguralis de Angelo Satan colaphizante Paulum* (1709).

signify, *An Apostate*.¹⁹⁵ Yea, *Justin Martyr*, allowing, *Satan*, to be a *simple* Name, will have *Satanas*, to be a *compound*. *Sata*, he saies, in the Jewish & Syriac Tongue, signifies, *A Fugitive*; and *Nas* (probably he means /שָׁנַן/ *Nahash*,) *A Serpent*.¹⁹⁶

The Quæstion is whether here *Satan* be the *Nominative* Case, or the *Genitive*. *Beza* will by all means have it the *Nominative*.¹⁹⁷ And it may seem for our Apostles Honour, That the *Prince of Divels* himself in Person, and not an underling Messenger, & Officer, should be employ'd for his Vexation. But the most of Interpreters, both Ancient and modern, take it in the *Genitive*. And what we read about, *The Divel and his Angels*, does countenance it.

The *Buffeting* inflicted on the Apostle, is a Term used for *Vexation* in general. [see 2. Cor. 11.20.] The Church of *Smyrna* writing to the Churches of *Pontus*, reports of the primitive Martyrs, They were ποικίλαις βασάνοις κολαφίζόμενοι. *Diversis cruciatibus colaphizati*.¹⁹⁸ Both *Calvin* and *Grotius* carry the Word here, to mean, the *Vexing* and *Humbling* of the Apostle;¹⁹⁹ and *Amyraldus* gives this good Paraphrase upon it; *Pour me harceler et m'outrager continuellement*.²⁰⁰

Nor should it pass without Remark, that the Word here is, κολαφίζω in the *Present Tense*, not κολάφισι, in the *Aorist*; which intimates the *Continuance* & the *Duration* of the *Buffeting*. This Remark is as old as *Oecumenius* himself; tho' it slipt the Acute *Erasmus*.²⁰¹ The Gloss of *John Clerc* upon it, is ingenious; Imagine the Apostle, in the Case of *Regulus*, whom the *Carthaginians* (as *Ap-pian* expresses it) καθείρξαντες ἐν γαλεάγρα κέντρα πάντοτεν ἐχούση διέφθειραν. *Clausum in Cavea stimulos undecumque habente occiderunt*.²⁰² The Apostle, if

195 "Suidas" was taken to be the putative author of a Greek reference work known as the *Souda* (Σοῦδα), in an apparent confusion of the title with the author. The *Souda* contains some 30,000 entries on Greek language, literature, and history and was compiled in the 10th century, largely under Constantine VII (912–959). See "Suidas," *OCCL* (electronic).

196 שָׁנַן. Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, ANF (1:251).

197 Theodore Beza (1519–1605) was a French Reformed theologian and professor of Greek at Geneva who produced an annotated critical edition and translation of the Greek New Testament (1565). On Beza, see *NSHERK* (2:78–81).

198 "Stricken with many types of blows." [Greek and Latin] See Eusebius, *Church History*, *NPNFii* (1:188ff, 212ff).

199 Hugo Grotius, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (6:536–7). John Calvin, *Commentary on the Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians* (158–60).

200 "In order to harass and injure me continually." Moses Amyraut, perhaps drawn from his *Paraphrase of the First Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Corinthians* (1646). Amyraut (1596–1664) was a French Protestant theologian and professor at Saumur who was attacked for his modifications of the stricter Calvinist interpretations of predestination, atonement, and divine sovereignty; see *NSHERK* (1:160–1).

201 Oecumenius, 10th-century bishop in Thessaly and putative author of a number of biblical commentaries, including one on the Pauline epistles; see *NSHERK* (8:226). Desiderius Erasmus, *Paraphrases on the Epistles to the Corinthians* (274). Erasmus (1466–1536) was a Dutch Catholic priest, humanist, and a critic of both the Church and of Protestantism; see *NCE* (5:314–17).

202 Appianus (*Libyca* 15, lines 7–8): "They killed him by shutting him up in a cave that had spikes everywhere." [Greek and Latin] Jean Le Clerc (1657–1736), Swiss Reformed cleric and

he did but stir, with the least Elation of Pride, on the Account of his Heavenly Revelations, a *Dæmon* was *Ready at Hand*, like a *Nail* in the Vessel, to prick him. Nevertheless, the Gloss reaches not the Case. The *Divel* was more than *Ready at Hand*, for this Mischief; and he did it, whether the Pride of the Apostle stirr'd or no.

An Affliction described by the Term of *Buffeting*, was very proper for the Intention of *Humbling*. A vile Fellow, in *Terence* cries out of one, *Homini misero plus quingentos Colaphos infregit mihi*; whereupon *Donatus*, *Contumeliose cades Colaphus, et digna lenone*.²⁰³ [See, 1. Pet. 2.20.] The Apostles *Thorn in the Flesh*, and *Buffeting* then, may receive some Light from Ezek. 28.24. *There shall no more be a pricking Briar unto the House of Israel, nor any grieving Thorn*: where, saies *Hammond*, the *pricking Briar*, and *grieving Thorn*, is sett to signify sore Affliction, to wound & torment from the Despisers, as it there followes, or the Persecutors of *Israel*.²⁰⁴ And he brings *Irenæus* and *Theodoret*, and *Theophylact*, intimating, as if our Apostles Affliction were from some of the *Gnosticks*; It were much indeed if *Hammond* should not hale in his *Gnosticks*, on such an Occasion.²⁰⁵ Our Author saies too justly of him, *Ille cum perpetuò Gnosticos crepet, merito mundo literato ludibrium debet*.²⁰⁶ *Beza* too ha's an Hint; *Omne*

scholar who served as a professor at the Remonstrant (Arminian) seminary in Amsterdam. Le Clerc wrote broadly in philosophy, theology, history, and biblical studies. His monographic works of biblical interpretation included *Sentimens de quelques theologiens de Hollande sur l'histoire du Vieux Testament* (1685), which included an essay englished as *Five Letters Concerning the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures* (1690), commentaries on each of the books of the Pentateuch (1693ff), *A Supplement to Dr. Hammond's Paraphrase and Annotations on the New Testament* (1698), and *Harmonia evangelica* (1700), which was translated into English as *The Harmony of the Evangelists* (1701). In general his interpretive method is rationalist, modernist, and text-critical. See Golden, *Jean Le Clerc*.

²⁰³ "Alas, he has hit a miserable creature with thousands of *colaphi*" [strikes using the fist]. "Whereupon *Donatus* [said]: 'A *colaphus* is a shameful blow, worthy of a pimp.'" See *Terence, Adelphoe*, in *Terence* (2:236–237). *Terence* (c. 195–159 BCE) was a Roman playwright; *Aelius Donatus* was a 4th-century CE Roman rhetorician and author of a commentary on *Terence*; see *ERE* (185).

²⁰⁴ Henry Hammond, *A Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the Books of the New Testament* (625). Hammond (1605–60) was an Anglican priest and chaplain to Charles I and ardent spokesman for the loyalist clergy during the Civil War and Interregnum, even though he had many close relatives involved in the Puritan cause, including one brother culpable of regicide. His collected works were published posthumously, though the *Paraphrase* was published in 1653. Hammond's theory about the influence of Gnosticism on the primitive church and on the authors of the New Testament is frequently targeted by Mather in the *Biblia*. On Hammond, see Packer, *The Transformation of Anglicanism 1643–1660* (88–103).

²⁰⁵ *Theodoret* (393–457), bishop of Cyrrhus, Syria, and author of a number of exegetical works, including one on the Pauline epistles; see *NCE* (13:878–79). *Theophylact* (1055–1107), a Bulgarian archbishop whose commentaries, including one on the Pauline epistles, are largely derivative of *Oecumenius's* work; see *NCE* (13:934).

²⁰⁶ "While he keeps making noise about the Gnostics, he naturally makes a mockery of the literate world."

*contumeliæ genus Apostolus vocat Colaphos, quod præcipuè injuriæ genus censetur esse maximè probrosum.*²⁰⁷

[▽38v] Now *Satan*, being thus limited unto this Point, that he should no more than *Buffet* the Apostle, [A Limitation which may be a little Illustrated from the Case of *Job*!] we are invited unto a singular Consideration. The Jewes had a Tradition and an Assertion among them, That the *Angel of Death* had a Power particularly to kill the *Uncircumcised* among them, or those who neglected the *Circumcision* of them that were | committed unto their Charge. [They gather it from Exod. 4.24.] Wherefore our Apostle, whom the Jewes reckoned an Apostate from *Circumcision*, & a Patron and Leader of the *Uncircumcised*, that he might give them to understand, that there was no Controversy of Heaven with him, on that account, he tells them, that the *Angel of Death* had no Power to kill him, or to do any more than *Buffet* him. And whereas in the *Excommunications* of the primitive Church, there was a *Delivering to Satan, for the Destruction of the Flesh*, our Apostle saies not, that *he was given to Satan*, but that an *Angel of Satan was given to him*; and not, that is was *for Destruction*, but that is was only for *Buffeting*. And yett by the way, Behold with a profitable Astonishment, *Satan lett loose*, to Humble an eminent Servant of God, who had miraculously *Delivered up unto Satan*, some Enemies of the Gospel.

It is an Ignorant or Malignant Action in some, to plead, That the Expressions of, *Satan*, and, *An Angel of Satan*, used here, are but metaphorical. Both the *Jewes*, and the converted *Gentiles*, at the Time of the Apostles Writing, took, *Satan*, and, *An Angel of Satan*, to be no other than a *Wicked Spirit*, an *Evil Angel*, an *Hellish Demon*. [see Mat. 12.24, 26, 27, 28.] It was a Constant, and Ancient Opinion among the Jewes, That *Evil Angels* were the usual Inflicters of Mischiefs upon Mankind. Their *Mischna* itself, which was written about an Hundred Years after the Second Epistle to the *Corinthians*, ha's a Sentence, *Qui extinguît lucernam ob spiritum malum, solutus est.*²⁰⁸ They supposed such a Multitude of *Evil Angels* fluttering among the Children of Men, that there was hazard, lest the Lighting up of a *Candle* might irritate them; & for that Cause, the putting out of a *Candle* on the *Sabbath* might be dispensed with. Yea, the very Pagans were not altogether without Jewish Apprehensions, about the Numbers of the *Angels*; whence *Theognis*,

οὐδεις ἀνθρώπων, οὐδ' ὄλβιος, οὔτε πενιχρός,
οὔτε κακός, νόσφιν Δαίμονος, οὔτε ἀγαθός.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁷ "The Apostle calls every sort of insult a *colaphus*, because that type of injury is considered especially wicked." On Beza, see Mather's entry on 1:17.

²⁰⁸ "He who extinguishes a lantern because of an evil spirit, is released [from any obligations he incurs to the Law]." The Talmud has a significant demonology scattered throughout its various sections.

²⁰⁹ Theognis, *Elegiae* (1.164–65): οὐδείς ἀνθρώπων, οὐδ' ὄλβιος, οὔτε πενιχρός, / οὔτε κακός, νόσφιν δαίμονος, οὔτε ἀγαθός.

*Nemo Hominum, neque dives, neque pauper,
Neque malus, absque Dæmone, neque bonus.*²¹⁰

A Messenger of Satan here, is by many Interpreters taken for an *Instrument* of Satan; But it may be, none of them do more agreeably interpret, than Beza; who saies, *Apostolum puncturas illas tribuere Satanae, cujus instinctu tot undique incitabantur, ad omne contumeliæ genus ipsi inferendum.*²¹¹

As for those, that exclude Satan properly taken, from having an hand in the Troubles of our Apostle, they are no other than those whom the excellent Voetius calls, *Absurdos philosophos, qui ferè omnes operationes Diabolicas explodunt, quia scil[icet] ipsi non capiunt vel experti sunt.*²¹² They have all received Confusion, from the Renowned Markius, in his Treatise, *De Dæmoniacis.*²¹³

How to make the *Buffeting of Satan* a *Gift of God*, or to reconcile *Gods* Part, with *Satans*, in this Matter, seems to some a Difficulty. But the French Annotations do it, with an elegant Similitude fetch'd from the different Intentions of the *Physician*, and of the *Horseleech*, in the same Application.²¹⁴

But that we may arrive at length unto the Right Meaning of the *Thorn in the Flesh*, which as Camero well observes, is exegetically called, *The Angel of Satan buffeting*, of the Apostle. We may lay down certain κριτήρια, or, Notes, and Rules, by which we are to Judge what it was.²¹⁵

First, It must be a *Trial*, in which the *Divel* himself was the principal Agent. Satan sent it.

Secondly, It must be one which was not really *shameful* to the Apostle; but yett such as his Enemies might upbraid him withal, as a Matter of *Shame*.

210 “No man, neither rich nor poor, neither evil nor good, is without a *daimon*.” [Greek and Latin] Theognis in *Elegy and Iambus* (1:249). Theognis of Megara was a 6th-century BCE Greek poet, whose writings are extant only as fragments. The word δαίμων here carries a dual meaning, as the personal accompanying spirit (“demon”) that each individual has, which contributes to their destiny, or “fortune.” Thus this phrase can read: “No man living is rich or poor, bad or good, without fortune.”

211 “The Apostle attributed those pricks to Satan, at whose instigation so many people everywhere were incited to bear every sort of insult against him.” On Beza, see Mather’s entry on 1:17.

212 “Absurd philosophers, who reject all the actions of devils, because, perhaps, they do not suffer or experience them.” Gisbert Voet (1589–1676), Dutch Reformed professor of theology and Oriental languages at Utrecht and strident anti-Cartesian; his major work was *Disputationes theologicæ* (1648); see NSHERK (12:220–1).

213 John de la Marck (1655–1731), *De Dæmoniacis*; see DBE (625).

214 Isaac de Beausobre (1659–1738), French Protestant chaplain to royalty who wrote *Histoire Critique de Manichée* (1734); see EB (3:599). Jacques L’enfant (1661–1728), like Beausobre, an expatriate French Protestant pastor and an author on subjects of conflict between Protestants and Catholics; see EB (16:418). Beausobre and L’enfant collaborated on a new annotated French translation of the Bible (1718), likely the source of Mather’s commentary here.

215 Κριτήρια. Perhaps John Cameron’s *Myrothecium evangelicum* (1632), a commentary on the New Testament. Cameron (1579–1623), a Scottish theologian, was a moderate Calvinist who taught at Saumur; see NSHERK (2:367–8).

Thirdly; And yett it must be a Matter of no small *Grief* to the Apostle; as *grievous* as a *Thorn in the Flesh*.

Fourthly; It must be one, that the Apostle thought it worth using all possible *Prayers* to be delivered from it; and which without the Help of special *Grace* from Heaven would have been Insupportable.

Fifthly; It must be one, that was in some Respects *peculiar* to this Apostle, whose Condition and Priviledge, in his *Rapture into the Third Heaven*, had been *peculiar*.

Sixthly; It must be one, that stuck by the Apostle, if not from the *Time* of his *First Conversion*, yett a very *Long Time*; *Fourteen Years* at least. *Capellus* thinks, that the *Fourteen Years* ran out at the Writing of this Epistle, bring us back, to the Time of the Apostles *First Conversion*, and the Three Dayes *Blindness* and *Fasting*, which attended it.²¹⁶ If so, behold here a Trial, which befel him from the very Beginning of his Ministry; and from which he had no hopes of a Total Freedom, to the very End of his Life.

Many of the Ancients, expound our Apostles *Thorn in the Flesh*, as being some *Disease* upon his Body. *Jerom* will tell you of some, who make it, *An Head-ache*.²¹⁷ *Oecumenius* writes, | Τινες μὲν οὖν κεφαλᾶλγίαν τινα ἔφεσαν, ἀπο τοῦ Διαβόλου γινομένην.²¹⁸ And *Primasius*, to the like Purpose; *Quidam nempe dicunt eum frequenti dolore capitis laborasse*.²¹⁹ This Report is mention'd by many of the Moderns. *Tertullian* makes it, *A Pain in the Ear*.²²⁰ *Aquinas* makes it, *The Iliac Passion*.²²¹ *Cornelius à Lapide* makes it, *The Heart-burn*; or, *The Gout*.²²² *Friedlibius* tells of, I know not what, *Noise in the Ears*.²²³ But *Cyprian* speaks more generally, *Carnis et corporis, multa et gravia tormenta*.²²⁴ And *Austin* in *Psal. 130*. (tho' elsewhere he seems to incline otherwise,) *Dolore quodam corporis*

216 Louis Cappel (1585–1658), perhaps his *Critica sacra* (1650) or his *Historia apostolica illustrata* (1634); see *EP* (1:351).

217 Look at Jerome, Letter 22, *NPNFii* (6:22–41).

218 Joannes Chrysostomus, *In epistulam ii ad Corinthios (homiliae 1–30)* [PG 061. 0577, lines 51–53]. “And there are some who say that headaches come from the Devil.”

219 “Some, indeed, say that he endured a frequent pain in the head.” Primasius (d. c. 560 CE), bishop of Hadrumetum (Tunisia). The Pauline commentaries traditionally attributed to Primasius are now thought to be spurious; see *NSHERK* (9:255).

220 Tertullian, *On Modesty*, *ANF* (4:87). On Tertullian's interpretation, see M. E. Thrall, 2 *Corinthians* 8–13 (814).

221 Thomas Aquinas, *Super Epistolas S. Pauli Lectura* (2:124).

222 Cornelius à Lapide (1567–1637), a Flemish Jesuit scholar and professor of Holy Scripture at Leuven and Rome. He wrote commentaries on nearly all of the books of the Bible; his *Commentary on the Epistles of Paul* appeared in 1614. See *NCE* (8:332–3).

223 Presumably tinnitus, a chronic ringing in the ears. Philipp Heinrich Friedlieb (1603–1663), professor of philosophy and theology at Rostock; see “Friedlieb,” *GND* (electronic).

224 “Many and grievous are the pains of flesh and body.” Cyprian, *On Mortality*, *ANF* (5:472).

*traditus exagitandus vehementer; dolores autem corporis immittuntur plerunque ab Angelis Satanae.*²²⁵

But it was no Blemish, no Disgrace unto our Apostle, it could not be improved by his Adversaries against him, as any Infamy, that a *Bodily Disease* happened unto him. Nor would *Paul* have been less courageous, than *Epicurus* or *Antoninus*, under such a Calamity.²²⁶ Nor would such a Calamity have been singular to him, above the rest of the Faithful. We also find, That he was a Man of an healthy Constitution; and without a strong State of Health, he could never have undergone such Travels and Fatigues, as he did.

It may be wondred, that *Cameron* and *Lightfoot*, should carry it for a more Immediate Vexation from *Satan*; and (as the Latter saies) the Terrors of his *visible Apparition*.²²⁷ Our Apostle would have Triumphed over *Satan*, without any Consternation; and not have been less disturbed than *Ignatius*, who going to his Execution said, *κολάσεις τοῦ διαβόλου ἐς ἐμὲ ἐρχέσθωσαν μόνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω*. *That I may win Christ, I am willing to be punished even by Devils themselves.*²²⁸

There are, who suppose our Apostles *Buffeting*, to have been Suggestions (or, *Injections*, as *Tertullian* calls them) of *Satan*, disturbing his Mind: perhaps, as tis thought by *Strigelius*, to batter his *Faith* in God: or, as *Calvin*, following *Theodoret*, *All sorts of Temptations*.²²⁹ The *French Annotations*, think this *less probable*.²³⁰ And as little probable, is that Conjecture mention'd by *Friedlibius*, & followed by *Sclater*, That it was more particularly, the *Horror of his Mind arising on the Remembrance of his having a Share in shedding the Blood of the Martyrs*.²³¹

But this agrees not so well, with the Joyful Assurance, and that Joy of Faith, whereof we find the Apostle elsewhere, & every where making Profession; and particularly his *obtaining Mercy*, tho' he had been a *Persecutor*.

²²⁵ "He is said to have suffered grievously a certain pain of the body; but pains of the body are often sent by the messengers of Satan." Augustine, *Expositions of the Psalms* (3:145).

²²⁶ Epicurus (342–270 BCE), a Greek philosopher, suffered from a prolonged case of kidney stones, which eventually led to his death; see *EB* (9:686). Antoninus Pius (86–161 CE), emperor of Rome, suffered the infirmities of age for several years prior to his death, requiring the use of stiff corsets to remain upright. The last word he is reputed to have uttered was "equanimity." See *EB* (2:149).

²²⁷ On Cameron, see Mather's entry on 12:7; perhaps Lightfoot's *Harmony of the New Testament*.

²²⁸ Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* (3.36.9, lines 6–7) translates, "Let the punishments of the Devil come to be, as long as I win for myself Jesus Christ." Ignatius, *Letter to the Romans*, *ANF* (1:75–6).

²²⁹ Victorinus Strigelius (1524–69), Lutheran professor of theology at Jena, Leipzig, and Heidelberg; see *NSHERK* (11:113–14). Calvin, *Commentary on . . . 2 Corinthians* (158–60).

²³⁰ On the French translation, see Mather's entry on 12:7 (above).

²³¹ There were four theological Sclater's in 17th-century England: William (1575–1626), William (1609–61), Edward (1623–99), and William (1638–1717). The eldest William published a commentary on Paul's letters to the Corinthians (1633) as well as Romans and 1 & 2 Thesalonians; see *ODNB* (49:307–8).

Mellinus, in his *Life of Paul*, saies, That it was an *Hindrance* by *Satan* laid in his Way, to obstruct his Journey, unto a Place, whither he would fain have gone.²³² See 1. Thess. 2.18. But this would not have been *Reproachful*, nor *Perpetual* nor so very *Intolerable*. Nor did our Apostle ever want a Place, to employ his holy Zeal for God.

Very many Expositors, make the *Thorn in the Flesh* to be Stimulations of the Flesh, towards Impurity and Unchastity. Thus in *Primasius*, *Alii dicunt eum titillatione carnis stimulatam*.²³³ Nevertheless, he adds upon it, *sed magis credendum est iuges Tribulationes*.²³⁴ *Estius* therefore should not have mention'd *Primasius*, among the Gentlemen of this Opinion.²³⁵ There is an old Story, of *Thecla*, a beautiful young Virgin, waiting upon *Paul*; from which Object, they will have him to suffer some Inamorations.²³⁶ And *Junius* thus gives his Opinion; *Concupiscentiam intelligit, quae teli instar nobis inhaeret, ut cogat etiam Regeneratum Paulum exclamare, Non facio bonum quod volo*.²³⁷ The Papists do generally run this Way; *Estius*, *Bellarmino*, *Menochius*, *A Lapide*, *Tirinus*, opening for it, the lesser ones fall in with a full Cry.²³⁸ *Rivet* thinks, 'Tis that so they may harden themselves, in their Notion, *That the Motions of Concupiscence in the Regenerate are not Mortal Sins*.²³⁹ And perhaps it may be, to praefere *Calibatam cum καυματι*,²⁴⁰ before Marriage, which you know, is their usual Impiety. We will not spend the Time, to retell the little Reasons, which they bring for this Interpretation. On the contrary, we will not insist upon the Age of the Apostle

232 Possibly Abraham Mellin (1581–1622), a anti-Catholic controversialist and author of the first Dutch Protestant martyrology, the *Christen Martelaers-Boeck*, in 1619.

233 "Some say he was goaded by a (sexual) titillation of the body."

234 "But it is more believable that there was continual anguish." On *Primasius*, see Mather's entry on 12:7 (above).

235 Willem Hessels van Est, *In omnes Divi Pauli et Catholicas Epistolas Commentarii* (1614–15). Van Est (1542–1613) was a Catholic professor of theology at Leuven; see *NCE* (5:375).

236 The apocryphal *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, a late 2nd-century Christian work, tells the story of Thecla, a convert and travelling companion of the Apostle, who miraculously survives several attempts to compromise her virginity as well as attempts to martyr her. The *Acts* portray Paul as an ascetic who nonetheless is the object of desire for many women, raising the question of the nature of his relationship with Thecla. See *NCE* (13:859).

237 "He understands the nature of concupiscence, which sticks to us like a weapon, so that it compels even the regenerate Paul to exclaim, 'I do not do the good that I wish.'" Probably Francisus Junius (1545–1602) who served as professor of the theology at Heidelberg and Leiden; a number of his theological and exegetical works were translated in English; see *NSHERK* (6:266–7).

238 On van Est, see note above. On Bellarmine, see Mather's entry on 12:7 (above). Giovanni Menochio (1575–1655) was a Jesuit priest and biblical scholar; see *NCE* (9:496–7). Cornelius à Lapide (1567–1637), Jesuit professor of Hebrew at Leuven who wrote a commentary on the Pauline epistles (1614); see *NCE* (8:332–3). Jacob Tirinus (1580–1636), Jesuit and author of a comprehensive biblical commentary, *Commentarius in Sacram Scripturam* (1632).

239 André Rivet (1572–1651), French Reformed professor of theology at Leiden; he produced dozens of anti-Catholic works; see *NSHERK* (10:55).

240 "Celibacy with burning (lust)."

at this Time; which *Baronius* will have to be, about *Fifty Seven*, for some are lewd enough at that Age.²⁴¹ We will not argue, That the *Thorn* was *given* to him, which, they say, is an Expression hardly to be used of such a thing as Lust; for it may be said, that *giving*, (in Hebrew, and so in the N. T. Greek) may signify no more than an *efficacious Permission*. We will not affirm that our Apostle was a married Man; tho' *Clemens Alexandrinus* do affirm it.²⁴² I rather think, with some of the Ancients, that he was a *Widower*. It is enough, That the most Judicious in all Ages have rejected this Interpretation; There is enough in those two Texts, 1. Cor. 9.27. and 1. Cor. 7.7. to confute it.

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 40v]

[▽40v]

I will therefore conclude with *Erasmus*; *Nonnulli stimulum hunc interpretantur motus et affectus libidinis; quod demiror ulli docto Theologo placere.*²⁴³

Great is the Number of Commentators, who take the *Thorn in the Flesh*, to mean *Afflictions and Enemies*, (especially *Afflictions* from *Enemies*) which he found every where endeavouring to prejudice our Apostle in his Ministry. *Chrysostom* give us this Exposition; so does *Theodore*; so does *Oecumenius*; and so do a thousand of the Moderns. *Ambrose* ha's this Passage, which in short expresses the Sense of the rest; *Hoc Remedium datum est. Apostolo, ut injuriis Adversarioum pressus non posset extolli.*²⁴⁴

However, *Persecutions* in general, (or *Indignities* in particular,) could not be any mighty *Humiliations* unto our Apostle; where they would render him rather Honourable among all other Christians; who thought it no *Reproach* to be *Reproached*, or *Crucified*. *Lucian* describing the *Genius* of the primitive Christians, mentions a Doctor among them, as *cast into Prison*, ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸ οὐ μικρὸν αὐτῷ ἀξίωμα περιποίησε. *Quod etiam ipsi non exiguam auctoritatem conciliavit.*²⁴⁵ Nor is it likely, that our Apostle would have so importunately deprecated all *Persecutions*; nor were they *peculiar* to him.

²⁴¹ On *Baronius*, see Mather's entry on 12:7 (above).

²⁴² Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–215 CE); see *NCE* (3:797–9).

²⁴³ "Some interpret this stimulus as the movements and feelings of desire. I am shocked that this idea satisfies any doctor of theology at all." On *Erasmus*, see Mather's entry on 12:7 (above).

²⁴⁴ "This remedy was given to the Apostle, so that, though he is oppressed by the injuries of his enemies, he would not be able to be removed [from the greatness of his revelations]." (*Magnitudine revelationum* is missing from this phrase.) On *Ambrose*, see Mather's entry on 4:8 (above).

²⁴⁵ *Lucianus*, *De morte Peregrini* (sec. 12, lines 2–3), translates, "Which very thing girded him with no little worthiness." [Greek; in the Latin, "authority" is substituted for worthiness.] *Lucian* of Samosata (125–180 CE), a Syrian rhetorician, satirist, and novelist. His satire, *The Passing of Peregrinus*, uses Christians as foils for the machinations of *Peregrinus*, the protagonist of the story. They are also classed among the impious in *Lucian's Alexander the False Prophet*; see *ERE* (330).

Our Author finally, gives us his own Judgment, upon this Calamity of the Apostle; That is *was the Hatred of the Jewes, and of the Judaizing Christians against him, for his Abandoning of Circumcision & the other Mosaic Ceremonies, and proselyting the Gentiles into the Covenant of God; for which Cause they sett themselves to clog the Success of his Ministry, all the Wayes imaginable.*²⁴⁶

It is very sure, That the *Jewes* persecuted our Apostle, with the bitterest *Hatred* in the World. *Alting* thinks, That *Paul*, was the same with, *Samuel the Little*, mention'd in the *Talmuds*; who upon the Advice of *Gamaliel*, composed, *The Prayer against the Christians*.²⁴⁷ His Countreymen, were as fierce as he then was, against all *Christians*, (which is noted by *Tacitus*;) ²⁴⁸ and especially against *Apostates*: (whereof read *Buxtorf*, in his *Talmudic Lexicon*;) ²⁴⁹ and they now look'd on *Paul*, as one of *Them*. The Sacred Scriptures mentions, very Tragical Sufferings of our Apostle from his Countreymen. [see Act. 20.3., 2. Cor. 11.24., Act. 18.13. and 21.28. and 25.7, 8. and 23.12. and 22.22.]

There was nothing of Prodigy in this. But it was one, that the *Jewes converted unto Christianity*, should *Hate* an Ap{ostle}²⁵⁰ which deserved so well at their Hands. {But}²⁵¹ yett this *They* also did, unto an Extremity! *These* readily took up any Reports against him. [Act. 21.21.] These probably were the *False-Brethren*, of whom he complained. [2. Cor. 11.26.] *Peter* stood in such Awe of them, that he fell under *Blame*. Our *Paul* was not so much awed by them; and they proved a sore *Scourge* unto him all his Days.

The *Mosaic Ceremonies* were not imposed on the *Christian Gentiles*. But the least Essay towards the Abrogation of the *Ceremonies*, enraged the whole *Jewish Nation*, into the greatest fierceness and fury of Indignation. The *Ninth Article*

²⁴⁶ On Santvoort, see Mather's entry on 12:7 (above).

²⁴⁷ After the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE, Jewish religious leaders repaired to the coastal city of Jabneh (aka Jamnia), where they were able to establish a school. The eventual leader, Gamaliel II (died c. 116 CE), is credited with commissioning or codifying the regular ritual prayers for Judaism (amidah), recorded in the Berakhot section of the Talmud. The twelfth of these, the Birkat ha-Minim, is a malediction against the enemies of Judaism, including Christians ('Nazarenes'). Its credited author was Samuel ha-Katan (Samuel "the Little," fl. c. 80–100 CE). The existence of this curse in the Talmud helped fuel later Christian anti-Semitism. See *EJ* (3:711–12; 14:263–4; 17:775–6). Jacob Alting (1618–79) was a Dutch Reformed theologian and Orientalist and professor at Groningen. His collected works were published posthumously (1686); among those of possible relevance here are his *Hebraeorum republica scholastica* (1652), *Compendium grammaticae hebraicae* (1714), *Fundamenta punctuationis linguae sacrae* (1717), and the *Synopsis institutionum chaldaearum et syrarum* (1691). See *NSHERK* (1:143).

²⁴⁸ Tacitus was a Roman senator, one of its most important historians (*Annals*, and *Histories*), and one of the few early external sources to mention Christ; *ERE* (521).

²⁴⁹ On Buxtorf the Elder, see Mather's entry on 1:18 (above); this is his *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum, et Rabbinicum*, published posthumously (1639) by his son.

²⁵⁰ See Appendix A.

²⁵¹ See Appendix A.

of their *Creed*, pronounces them *unalterable*.²⁵² To propose their *Alteration* was the Mark of a *False Prophet*, among them, & capitally punished. [see *Jarchi* on Deut. 18.22.]²⁵³ The *Jewes* which embraced *Christianity*, yett retained an incredible Fondness, for their old *Ceremonies*. [see Act. 21.20.] An *uncircumcised Bishop* was never Admitted in the Church of *Jerusalem* until *Mark*, in the *Dayes*, & by the Means, of the Emperour *Adrian*.²⁵⁴ Yea, and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, flying to *Jerusalem*, found Cause in his Time there to write a Book, πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίζοντας. *Contra Judaizantes*.²⁵⁵ The Disposition of these People, proved a sore Calamity to *Paul*, and Obstruction to the Success of his Ministry. None can doubt, that *Satan* instigated them. And for our Apostle to be so maligned by his own *Countrymen*, yea, and perhaps by *godly Men* too, & his Brethren in Christ, it carried much of *Dishonour* in it. [see Act. 28.22.] It might well be called, *A Thorn*, [compare, Num. 33.35. and Josh. 23.13. and Ezek. 2.6.] Σκόλοψ in Homer, means, *A Stake*, by which the Incursion of Enemies, was kept off.²⁵⁶ Our Apostle would have made many an Excursion to Do good, but here was a *Stake*, that unhappily Repell'd him. This was a Trial Intolerable to him; he cried unto God (like him, [in] 1. Chron. 4.10.)²⁵⁷ that he might be rescued from this *Hatred* of his Nation against him. The rest of the Apostles, being more moderate than he, in the Matter of the *Ceremonies*, found not the Nation so desperately sett against *them*. And the *False Apostles* urging the Necessity of the *Ceremonies*, did but the more exasperate the *Jewes* against *Paul*, who was more faithful to the Liberties and Interests of the *Gentiles*. Hence *Paul* was putt upon earnest Prayers, not only to be delivered from the Malice and Fury of the unconverted *Jewes*, but also, that when he carried Alms unto the Christianized *Jewes*, (whom it may be, hee hoped, a little that Way to mollify,) he might not be *unacceptable* to them.

252 The ninth of Maimonides' thirteen principles in the *Mishneh Torah* (tractate Sanhedrin) declares the immutable nature of the Torah; on Maimonides, see *EJ* (13:381–99).

253 Solomon ben Jarchi (1104–80), better known as Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac (aka “Rashi”), was a French Jewish scholar who published commentaries on the Talmud and the Hebrew Bible, some of which were translated into Latin for Christian consumption; he is an important source on Jewish rites for Johannes Buxtorf's *Synagoga Judaica* (1603). See *EJ* (17:101–6).

254 In the *Historia Augusta* the emperor Hadrian is said to have banned circumcision throughout the empire (which if true, may have contributed to the Jewish revolt in 132 CE), which would have allowed Christians in the city to cease from circumcising their babies; see *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (1:45). [The *Historia* is a mid to late 4th-century work, however, and there is no corroborating historical evidence of the ban.] Given the reference to Mark, however, Mather or his source may be conflating this incident with first Jewish revolt (66–70 CE), during which the Temple was destroyed (Mark is traditionally thought to have been martyred in 68 CE).

255 Clement of Alexandria, *Against the Judaizers*, which exists only in fragments.

256 Σκόλοψ.

257 This verse includes the prayer of Jabez – that God would bless him, and enlarge his territory.

However the Trial must continue; and *Paul* must count the other *Graces* and *Favours* which Heaven had bestow'd upon him, to be *sufficient*.

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽41r] [▽Insert from 41r]²⁵⁸
{44}33.²⁵⁹

Q. ²⁶⁰We will enquire, whether the Rapture of our Apostle *Paul*, was indeed a *Real Rapture*, or only a *Visionary Thing*? v. 7.

A. Doubtless, a *Real Rapture*: And somewhat beyond what was granted unto *Ezekiel* and unto *John*. He cannot tell, whether he was then *in the Body*, or *out of the Body*. Whereas in such visionary Entertainments, as were granted unto those other Servants of God, the *Soul* continues *in the Body*.

4434.

Q. We will again enquire, whether the Apostle speaks of *one Rapture* only, or of more? v. 7.

A. Dr. *Whitby* remarks, It was the Opinion of the Ancients, That the Apostle was Rapt at several *Times*, & into several *Places*, and consequently that more than *one Rapture* is here spoken of.²⁶¹ *Irenæus* thus expresses it; *Usque ad Tertium Cælum Raptum se esse significans, et rursum, delatum esse in Paradisum*. He was, *caught up into the Third Heavens, and again he was carried into Paradise*. [L. 2. c. 54.]²⁶² *Tertullian*, and *Pseud-Ambrosius*, do speak unto the like Purpose.²⁶³ And *Epiphanius* complains of *Origen* for placing *Paradise* in the *Third Heaven*.²⁶⁴ Our Apostle here saies, *I will proceed unto Visions & Revelations of the Lord*. This intimates, That he would speak of more than one. Yea, he speaks anon, of *this Multitude of Revelations*. *Methodius* of old, well inferred this, from the Repetition of those Words, *whether in the Body, or out of the Body, I cannot tell*. What need of that Repetition, if there had been but *one Vision*? Saies *Methodius*, *He intimates, that he had seen Two Great Visions, being twice assumed, first into the Third Heaven, & then into Paradise*.²⁶⁵

²⁵⁸ See Appendix B.

²⁵⁹ See Appendix A.

²⁶⁰ See Appendix A.

²⁶¹ *Whitby, A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:235–6).

²⁶² *Irenæus, Against Heresies, ANF* (1:405).

²⁶³ *Tertullian, Prescription against the Heretics, ANF* (3:254). Pseudo-Ambrose (Ambrosiaster), the author of a commentary on the Pauline epistles dating from the late 4th century; see *EB* (1:801).

²⁶⁴ *Epiphanius, Letter to John, Bishop of Jerusalem*; see Jerome, "Letter 51," *NPNFii* (6:83–9). *Epiphanius* (c. 310–403) was bishop of Salamis and author of the *Panarion* (c. 374), or "Medicine-chest," against heresies; see *NCE* (5:292–3).

²⁶⁵ *Methodius, bishop of Olympus* (d. 311 CE), perhaps his *On the Resurrection*. *Whitby*

The Words of Dr. *Bull*, in his Discourse on, *The Middle State*, have something in them worth considering.

“The Glories of the *Third Heaven*, and of *Paradise* too, seem to be by an extraordinary Revelation opened and discovered unto St. *Paul*, not only for his own Support under the heavy Pressure of his Afflictions, but also that he might be able to speak of them, with greater Assurance to others. And the Order is observable. First, he had represented to him the most perfect Joye of the Third and Highest Heaven, of which we hope to be Partakers after the Resurrection. And then, lest so long an Expectation should discourage us, he saw also the Intermediate Joyes of *Paradise*, wherewith the Souls of the Faithful are refreshed until the Resurrection. And for our Comfort he tells us, that even these also are inexpressible.”²⁶⁶

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 42v]

[▽42v]

4435.

Q. Some further Thoughts, if you please, on, *The Thorn in the Flesh?* v. 7.

A. They shall be Dr. *Whitby's*.

The *Thorn in the Flesh* was doubtless an Infirmary in the *Flesh*, that is to say, in the *Body*, of the Apostle; and such an one as rendred him in his Preaching obnoxious to great Contempt, & made him despicable in the Eyes of others.²⁶⁷

Compare Gal. 4.14.

Theodoret explains it by, πολλήν ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀτιμίαν. *Great Ignominy in his Body*.²⁶⁸

It was what rendred his Ministry less Acceptable; and it was what the *Corinthians* and the *False Apostles* objected, unto his Disparagement. And it is very certain, such an Objection with them was, his being ἰδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ, *Rude in Speech*.²⁶⁹ We also read, That, ὁ λόγος ἐξουθενημένος,²⁷⁰ was a particular Calamity of our Apostle; *A Speech* that rendred him *contemptible*.

[Compare, 2. Cor. 10.1. with Gal. 4.14.]

identifies his source for Methodius as Epiphanius' *Panarion*; see *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:236).

²⁶⁶ George Bull (1634–1710), Anglican bishop and theologian; his essay “On the Middle State” appeared in his collected works (1703), which were translated into English in 1725; see *ODNB* (8:583–6).

²⁶⁷ Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:236–7).

²⁶⁸ Theodoretus, *Interpretatio in xiv epistulas sancti Pauli* [PG 082. 0488, line 48]: πολλήν ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀτιμίαν. On Theodoret, see Mather's entry on 12:7 (above).

²⁶⁹ Theodoretus. *Historia religiosa* (= *Philotheus*). *Vita* (8, sec. 32, line 14): ἰδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ.

²⁷⁰ Theodoretus. *Interpretatio in xiv epistulas sancti Pauli* [PG 082. 0436, lines 43–44]: ὁ λόγος ἐξουθενημένος; “contemptible speech.” This can also have the connotation of debilitated or impaired speech.

Now, it cannot be denied, that an ἰχνοφωνία,²⁷¹ *A Stammering in Speech*, or some such Infirmary there, especially if joined with a low Stature, or some Deformity in that, ha's a natural Tendency to render a Man contemptible in his Preaching. And therefore *Moses* declines the Message whereupon God sent him unto *Pharaoh*. [Exod. 4.10.]²⁷²

Our Apostle was buffeted by Satan, when he was by these False Apostles, (the true *Ministers of Satan*) derided and contemned, and made the Object of their Laughter, by the *Infirmary in his Speech*. The Words may be rendred, *There was given me a Thorn in the Flesh, that the Angel of Satan might buffet me.*

[△] [△Insert ends, 36v resumes]

Q. Why does our Apostle gladly entertain Infirmities and Afflictions, *That the Power of Christ might rest upon him?* v. 9.

A. I have seen it thus glossed; He had a Fear, lest worldly Accommodations and Flatteries, should have abated the *Power* of the Holy Spirit in him. He therefore gladly entertain'd, that which serv'd to keep him in a Sense of his Weakness, & Want of continual Recourse to God. It is in that Way, that we enjoy the Holy Spirit of Christ, exerting His *Power* in us, & for us.

1625.

Q. That Passage, *That the Power of Christ may Rest upon mee*; Favour mee, with an emphatical Gloss upon it. v. 9.

A. ἐπισκηνώση.²⁷³ Wee seem like the Souldiers of the Lord Jesus Christ lying in the *open Field*; There wee are exposed unto many Hardships and Suffrings, from the Fury of the World; but the *Power of Christ*, is then spread, *like a Tent* over us, for our Security.

Q. The ordinary Interpretation of that Sentence, *My Grace is sufficient for thee*, is well-known. But will not Antiquity afford us another? v. 9.

A. Yes. *Athanasius* has a notable Hint, as if it were to be taken for an Admonition unto *Paul*, to be *content* with what the Lord had already done for him. q.d. "*Paul*, *My Grace* has already done great Things for thee; Thou doest Heal the *Blind*, and Raise the *Dead*, καὶ ἄλλα τῶν σημειῶν ποιεῖς,²⁷⁴ and thou dost *other Miracles*; and art employ'd in great Services for me. Now, lett this *Grace* be suf-

²⁷¹ ἰχνοφωνί. Literally, "foot-voice," or foot-in-mouth, i. e. a speech impediment.

²⁷² Mather was plagued by a stutter in his youth, a problem he struggled to master in adulthood; see Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (15–17, 33–5).

²⁷³ "A soldier's quartering (i. e. tent)."

²⁷⁴ Athanasius Alexandrinus. *Quaestiones in scripturam sacram* [PG 028. 0761, lines 29–30]: καὶ ἄλλα τῶν σημειῶν ποιεῖς; "and all the (other) signs that you have done."

ficient for thee; lett it suffice thee, that I thus far Favour thee, tho' thou do not also receive the Favour of a Deliverance from the Thorn in the Flesh."²⁷⁵

Q. The Rapture of *Paul* to Heaven, does pagan Antiquitie make any Mention of it? v. 9.

A. Yes. Tis mentioned in the *Dialogues* of the scoffing *Lucian*: Where, one *Triphon* professing himself to bee a Disciple of *Paul*, pretends to endeavour the Conversion of one *Critias* to bee so too. *Paul* is there thus described; Γαλιλαῖος ἀναφαλαντίας, ἐπίρρνος ἐς τρίτον οὐρανὸν ἀεροβαινήσας, καὶ τὰ καλλίστα ἐκμεμασθηκώς. That *Bald-pate, that Hawk-nosed Galilæan, who mounts up thro' the Skies into the Third Heaven, & thence fetches those goodly Notions, which hee preaches to the World.*²⁷⁶ Behold, a plain Reference to 2. Cor. 12.4. *Pauls* Hearing *unspeakable Words* in the *Third Heaven, which it is not possible for any Man to utter.*

In the same Dialogue, *Lucian* scoffingly brings in a *Catechumen* asking this Quæstion. *By whom would you have mee to swear unto you?* and his Instructor answers, *By that God, who Reigneth on high, who is Great, Immortal, Cæstial; by the Son of the Father; by the Spirit proceeding from the Father; One of Three, and Three of One.* So that pagan Scoffer tells us, the True Doctrine, professed by the primitive Christians; the Doctrine of the New Testament.²⁷⁷

[▽Insert from 42v resumes]

[▽42v resumes]

Q. Those Words, *Nevertheless being crafty, I caught you with Guile*; what is the Intent of them? v. 16.

A. They are not the Apostles Confession of himself, but the Suspicion which his Adversaries intimated concerning him.

A *Nameless Writer* thus paraphrases.

"Be it so, as some suggest, that I was not burdensome to you, but it was in truth out of Cunning, with a Design to catch you with that trick, drawing from you by others, what I refused, in Person. In Answer to this, I ask, did I by any of those I sent unto you, make a Gain of you?"²⁷⁸

[△Insert ends]

[△]

²⁷⁵ Athanasius, "Letter XI," *NPNFii* (4:532ff). Athanasius (c. 293–373) was bishop of Alexandria and the foremost patristic proponent of Nicene Trinitarian orthodoxy; he also wrote some commentaries on the Old Testaments, extant in fragments. See *NCE* (1:817–20).

²⁷⁶ Pseudo-Lucianus, *Philopatris* (sec. 12, lines 15–17) translates: "bald and hawk-nosed, who swiftly ascends up into the Third Heaven and becomes learned of the most splendid things."

²⁷⁷ Lucian of Samosata (c. 125–180 CE), Greco-Syrian rhetorician and satirist. The reference here is to his dialogue *Philopatris* (*The Patriot*) whose chief interlocutors are Critias and Trypho. See *Lucian* (8:436–7); on Lucian, see Mather's entry on 12:7 (above).

²⁷⁸ Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:309).

4436.

Q. Saies the Apostle, *This is the Third Time that I am coming to you; In the Mouth of Two or Three Witnesses every Word shall be established.* What were these *Witnesses*? v. 1.

A. Dr. *Lightfoot* saies, They were *Stephanus* and *Fortunatus*, and *Achaicus*, who were sent to assure them of his Coming.²⁷⁹

It may be also said, That his *Third Attempt* of coming to them, was a *Third Witness* or *Token* of his Concern for them.

Q. How is it said, *Know yee not your own selves, that Jesus Christ is in you, except yee bee Reprobates*? v. 5.

A. The Apostle is asserting, that his Ministry among the *Corinthians*, was accompanied with a special and powerful *Presence* of the Lord Jesus Christ. Hee confirms his Assertion, with a Demonstration, from the *miraculous Gifts and Works*, which they had seen therewith produced among them. And now, saies hee, *Know yee not your own selves*? Don't yee know, whence proceed those *miraculous Gifts and Works*, which have been among yourselves, ever since I preached the Gospel among you? You must see, that *Jesus Christ is among you*, in these Illustrious Effects; except yee bee very *Injudicious* and *Undiscerning* People, & unable to *Try* whether any Thing bee of God, or no?

Now; do you make a *Trial*, how far this *Exposition*, may escape a Sentence of *Reprobation* with you?

Or suppose, the Greek Word, ἀδόκιμοι,²⁸⁰ which wee disadvantageously translate, *Reprobate*, should signify, *Adulterine*, and that which upon *Trial*, will bee found a *Cheat*. The Speech of the Apostle here, is, an Appeal to the *miraculous Gifts and Works*, then produced among that People, at and by his Preaching of the Gospel among them. q.d. "Don't you *know your own selves*? You can yourselves tell, whether these *Gifts and Works* do really appear among you. *Christ* is in these things among you, if you been't so many *Cheats*, and if these things, that seem so *miraculous* among you, are not *Shams*, that will not bear the *Trial*."

²⁷⁹ John Lightfoot, possibly his *Harmony of the New Testament* (1655). On Lightfoot, see Mather's entry on 9:18.

²⁸⁰ "Disreputable."

4437.

²⁸¹For a little further Illustration, I would offer this.

The Words may be an Allusion to those that were spoken by the contumacious *Israelites*, in their *Tempting* of God. After all the Wonders which the Lord had wrought among them, they remained still Doubtful of His Presence with them; enquiring, *εἰ ὁ κυριος ἐν ἡμιν*, [Exod. 17.7.] *Is the Lord among us, or not?* So saies our Apostle; “Seeing after all the Miracles done among you, & the miraculous Gifts received by you, you still seek a Proof of Christ speaking in, or by me, Ask your own selves. Know yee not, by what you find among yourselves, That Jesus Christ is *among* you? Tis thus, if you be not Rejected of God.”

Q. The Import of those Words, *We are glad when we are weak?* v. 9.

A. A *Nameless Writer*, said to be Dr. *Lock*; thus paraphrases the Context.

“I hope you shall know, that I am not *unable to give Proofs* of Christ in me. [The Meaning of the Word, *Ἀδοκιμος*.]²⁸² But I pray to God, that you may do no Evil, wishing not for an Opportunity to shew my *Proofs*; but that you doing what is Right, I may be as if I had *no Proofs*; no *supernatural Power*. For tho’ I have the *Power of punishing supernaturally*, I cannot shew this *Power* upon any of you, unless it be, that you are Offenders, and your Punishment be for the Advantage of the Gospel. I am therefore *glad when I am weak*, and can inflict no Punishment upon you, and you are so *strong*, or, so clear of Fault, that yee cannot be touched. All the *Power* I have, is only for promoting the Truth of the Gospel; whoever are obedient unto that, I can do nothing to them; I could make no Exemples of them, by all the *supernatural Power* I have, if I would.”²⁸³

|

[44v]

205.

Q. The Clauses of the Apostolical Benediction here, invite mee to make some Enquiry of you, about the Mystery of the *Trinity*: Say then, Whether you can give mee any Rational *Demonstration* or *Illustration* of that Mystery? v. 14.

A. Truly tis not for you or mee, to fathom so profound an *Abyss*; but wee may cry out, *O Luminosissimæ Tenebræ!*²⁸⁴ Our God, Hee dwells in *Light*, for His *Excellency*; & yett in *Darkness*, for His *Incomprehensibleness*. What wee know of this Mystery is by *Scriptural Revelation*; but if any one would thence attempt (tho’ I should scarce approve the attempt) a *Rational Demonstration*, of the *Trinity*, hee may proceed after this Manner.

²⁸¹ See Appendix A.

²⁸² Paul uses the word *δοκιμῶν* (proofs) in v. 3 thus *ἀδόκιμος* (unproven).

²⁸³ Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:312–13).

²⁸⁴ “O most brilliant darkness!”

There being but *one God*, who also is Immeasurably *Perfect*, wee must not Admit any *Multiplicity* in Him, except what is for the Discovery of His *Perfection*, or yett Reject any *Multiplicity* which does make for that consummate *Perfection*: all consistent still, with the Unity of the Divine Substance. One would then say, That God cannot bee Infinitely and Absolutely *Perfect*, without the *Perception of Himself*; and an Immense *Joy* and *Love* resulting therefrom, in finding Himself, *The Alsufficient Good*; and this *Perception*, and this *Joy* and *Love* must also bee of the most *perfect Kind*. One would now say, That *essential* Perception, and *essential* Joy and Love, is far more excellent, than that which is *modal*, such as Creatures have: whose Perceptions and Operations, are with *Images*, which are not the Soul itself. This is the Prærogative of the *Deity*; God had a *substantial* Repræsentation of Himself, within Himself, and a *substantial* Satisfaction thereupon. The *Father* is the *Fountain* in the Deity; the *Son* is the *Express Image* of the Fathers Person, that is, God essentially Repræsenting of God, or the *Eradiation* of His glorious Riches and Fulness; therefore also from all Eternity containing in Him the *Idea* of all that was to bee made in Time: the *Holy Ghost* is that wonderful *Joy* and *Love*, which God has in Himself, by the grateful *Perception*, which the Father and Son eternally have of one another. I say, a *Working Head* might reach after some such Conceptions; but I would rather chide a *Daring Heart* into a Quiet and Silent Adoration.

However, you may apply these Thoughts, to expound that Passage in the Prayer of our Saviour, Joh. 17.21. *That they all may bee one, as Thou, Father, art in Mee, and I in Thee; that they also may bee one in us*. This is the *Unity* that should bee among the People of God! Our *Unity* must give us a near *Perception* of one anothers Cases; and our *Unity* must fill us, with *Joy* in & *Love* to, one another. Wee must after a sort, find in one another our very *Selves*, and call & count each other, another *Self*. Wee must bee concern'd for one another, as if our very *Self* were bound up, in one another.

Q. How shall we treat with a *Jew*, who objects unto us, our Doctrine of the *Trinity*, as a *Polytheism*? v. 14.

A. Insist upon it, That we profess to worship none, but that one only God, who spoke to their Fathers in *Horeb*. Our *Messiah* has taught us this, as the grand Lesson of His Religion; *The Lord our God, the Lord is One*. All Expressions of the *Trinity* or Inferences from it, that interfere with this, we condemn as erroneous & Impious. But then, what if wee conceive, that this one, pure, uncompounded Nature of God, may be communicated unto Three Eternal Persons, without either *Division* of the Substance, or *Confusion* of the Persons? Tell them, that we fetch our Proofs from the Scriptures of the *Old Testament*; and that their own *Cabalists* Distinguish GOD into *Three Lights*; and some of them call these by the same Name, that we Christians use; *The Father*, and the *Word*, and the *Holy Spirit*. And yett, this does not break the *Unity* of God. Their

famous *Philo*, expresses the same in many Places. Upon the *Sacrifices* of *Cain* and *Abel*, he saies, That *God was accompanied with His Two Supreme Virtues, of Power and Goodness; And that God being One, did produce out of His clear Mind, Three Operations, of which each is Infinite.*²⁸⁵ And in his Second Book of the *Husbandry* of *Noah*, he distinguishes these into Three; *Being*, and *Power*, and *Goodness*. In his *Allegories*, he adds, The *Word*, the *Name* of God, and the *Maker* of the World, or the great *Instrument* of God, whereby He made the World. [Compare Joh. I.3.] And in his Book of *Husbandry*, he calls the *Word*, by the Name, of, *χαρακτης*;²⁸⁶ the *Express Image* of God.²⁸⁷ [Compare, Heb. I.3.] *Rambam* calls him, *The Angel, the Redeemer*, who is called, the *Face* of God; that is (he adds) *God Himself*; the same that appeared unto *Jacob*, & unto *Moses*; and, *The Lord that should come into His Temple.*²⁸⁸ [Mal. III.1.] *Maimonides*, in his Book of *Foundations*, and after him, *Joseph Albo*, distinguish in God, 1. That which *Knowes*, 2. That which is *Known*, 3. The *Knowledge* itself.²⁸⁹ Our *Eusebius*, in his Book of *Preparation*, tells the *Jewes*; That all their *Rabbis*, after the *God* of all, and His Firstborn *Wisdom*, do join into the same Divine Nature, a *Third*, whom they call, *The Holy Spirit*, by whom their Inspired Persons were enlightened.²⁹⁰ Indeed, they all generally agree, that this *Holy Spirit*, was not any thing that was created. And yett they distinguish it, from Him that sent it. They also speak of Three Degrees in *Elohim*, each *Distinct*, and yett all *One*. And as they make the *Holy Spirit*, not a Creature, so they make what they call the *Shechinah*, a Divine Thing; but at the same Time, they distinguish it, not only from God, but also from the *Holy Spirit*. See the *Babylonish Gemara*, tit. *Joma* c. 1.²⁹¹ *R. Jonathan*, in the Præface of *Eckah Rabthi*, saies, That the *Shechinah* waited Three Years & an Half upon Mount *Olivet*, expecting the Conversion of the *Jews*; How admirably fulfilled in our Saviour!²⁹²

[▽Insert from 45r]

[▽45r]

- Q.** Some further Thoughts about illustrating the Doctrine of the *Trinity*? v. 14.
A. Dr. *Arrowsmith* in his *Chain of Principles*, expresses himself so pertinently

285 Philo, *On the Sacrifices of Abel and Cain*, in *Philo* (2:95ff).

286 *χαρακτης*; literally, the notion of being stamped, as in coinage.

287 Philo, *Noah's Work as a Planter*, in *Philo* (3:213ff).

288 "Rambam" is the acronym for Rabbi Moses ben Maimonides.

289 Maimonides; the "Thirteen Foundations" are found in the tenth chapter of the tractate Sanhedrin in Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*. Joseph Albo (c. 1380–1444) was a Spanish rabbi and philosopher; his major work was the *Sefer ha-Ikkarim* (*Book of Principles*); see *EJ* (1:593–5).

290 Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* (1:352).

291 See the *Babylonian Talmud* (4:1ff). The *Yoma* section of the Talmud addresses the observance of Yom Kippur.

292 This extended answer is drawn from Hugo Grotius's *Truth of the Christian Religion* (221–3). R. Jonathan, in his preface to *Rabba Juda Echa Rabthi* (on Lamentations).

& elegantly, that I shall keep near to his Expressions, in the Remarks I am now to offer.²⁹³

As to the Divine Subsistence, JEHOVAH ELOHIM, *Father* and *Son* and *Holy Spirit*, Three Persons, but One God, or in *Leo's* Terms, *Deus indivisus unus in Trinitate et inconfuse Trinus in Unitate*;²⁹⁴ It is a Discovery altogether supernatural; yea, so far is *Nature* from finding it out, that now when *Scripture* hath reveled it, she cannot by all the help of Art, comprehend it or exhibit it, as she does other things; *Grammar* wants Words for it; *Rhetorick* Similitudes, and *Logick* Demonstrations. The Terms of *Essence*, and *Persons*, and *Trinity*, and *Generation* and *Procession*, and the like, which are commonly used for want of Better, will be caviled at, as not fully reaching the Dimensions of the Mystery. Of the best *Similitudes*, what *Hilary* saies, is very true; *Omnis comparatio homini potius utilis habeatur, quam Deo apta*.²⁹⁵ For Example; Not that of a *Root*, and a *Trunk*, and a *Branch*; The *Trunk* issuing from the *Root*, the *Branch* from both, yett but one Tree: Because a *Root* may be for sometime without a *Trunk*, and a *Trunk* without a *Branch*; but God the Father never was without His Son, nor the Father & Son without their coeternal Spirit. Neither that of a *Chrystal-Ball* held in a *River*, on a *Sun-shiny* Day; in which Case, there would be a *Sun* in the Firmament, begetting another *Sun*, upon the Chrystal Ball, and a Third *Sun* proceeding from both appearing in the Surface of the Water; For in this Comparison, Two of the *Suns* are but *Imaginary*; none *Real*, save, that in the Heaven; whereas the Father & the Son and the Holy Spirit, are distinct Persons; Really so, & equally God. Well therefore may the *Rhetoricians* say, *It is not in us*, to clear so high a Point. And the *Logicians* must in like Manner say, *It is not in us*, fully to prove it. For tho' Reason be able from the Creatures, to infer an *Eternal Power and Godhead*, yett it cannot from thence a *Trinity*; no more than he that looks on a curious Picture, can tell, whether it was drawn by an *Englishman* or an *Italian*. The Doctrine hereof, is like a Temple filled with *Smoke*; such Smoke as not only hinders the View of the Quickest Eye, but hurts the Sight of such as dare with undue Curiosity pry into it. Whilest others run themselves on Ground, & *Dispute* it until their Understandings be Non-plust, may I be enabled to *beleeve*, what the Scripture | testifieth, concerning an *Unbegotten Father*, an *Only-begotten Son*, and an *Holy Spirit proceeding from Both: Three*, yett but

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²⁹³ John Arrowsmith, *Armilla catechetica* (1659), Aph. 3, Exercise 3, § 4, p. 134. This long excerpt is taken from his *Armilla catechetica* (1659), a posthumous collection of sermon excerpts. Arrowsmith (1602–1659) was a member of the Westminster Assembly and, later, Regius Professor of Divinity and Master of Trinity College at Cambridge; see *ODNB* (2:526–7). His *Theanthropos, or God-man* (1660) appears in the Mather libraries; see Cotton Mather, *BA* (1:329).

²⁹⁴ “One undivided God in Trinity, and an unconfused threeness in unity.” Pope Leo I (c. 400–461) whose *Tome* reasserted Nicene Christology; see *NCE* (8:474–8). The Latin citation appears in the margin of Arrowsmith's *Armilla* (134).

²⁹⁵ Arrowsmith, *Armilla* (135). “Every comparison should be considered useful for man rather than applicable to God.” Hilary of Poitiers, *De Trinitate*, *NPNFii* (9:40–51).

One: And therein to acquiesce, without enquiring as *Mary* did, when the Angel foretold her miraculous Conception, *How can this thing be?* To which Quæstion my Return should be no other, but that of *Austin*, who notwithstanding his Fifteen Books concerning the *Trinity*, modestly said, *Askest thou me, how there can be Three in One, and One in Three? I do not know, and am freely willing to profess my Ignorance.* [Nescio, et libenter nescire profiteor.]²⁹⁶ Verily, this Light is dazzling, & our Eyes are weak. It is a Case, wherein the wisest Clerks are Punies, & the ablest Orators are Infants.

Yett is the Mystery written in the *Scripture*, as it were with the Sun-beame. I reject not as *Invalid*, (saies the Doctor) but only forbear as *less Evident*, the Places commonly cited out of *Moses* & the Prophets, clinging rather to insist upon the *Discoveries of the New Testament*, when the Veil which formerly hid the Holy of Holies from the Sight of Men was rent in Pieces, and the Secrets of Heaven were exposed unto more open View; than while the Church was in her Minority. At our *Saviours Baptism*, there was a clearer Manifestation of the *Trinity* than ever before; as if God had reserved this Discovery on purpose to add the greater Honour unto His only Sons solemn Inauguration into the Office of *Mediator-ship*, which was then most visibly undertaken. The *Catholics* were wont, in the Times of *Athanasius*, to send the misbelieving *Arians* to *Jordan* there to learn the Knowledge of a *Trinity*. Behold, after this, a clear Nomination, of the *Three Coessential Persons*, in that Commission, which Christ our Lord sealed unto the Apostles before His Ascension; when He sent them out, to *make Disciples in all Nations, Baptising them.* *Basil* saies well; [Epist. 78.] *It becomes us to be Baptised as we have been taught; to Beleeve as we have been Baptized; and to glorify as we have Beleeved, the Father, & the Son, & the Holy Spirit.* Add hereto that impregnable Place; 1. Joh. V.7. where a *Trinity* is proclaimed, but in *Numero numeranto*;²⁹⁷ that there are *Three*; and in *Numero numerato*,²⁹⁸ telling us plainly, who they are.²⁹⁹

But there is arisen a Generation, under the Name of *Socinians*; who tho' they maintain against Atheists, the *Personalitie & Eternitie* of God the Father, have confounded the Christian Religion, by denying the *Eternitie* of the *Son*, whose *Personalitie* they acknowledge, and the *Personalitie* of the *Spirit*, whose *Eternitie* they confess. It fares with these Blessed Persons, as with the Three noted Wells, of which we read in the XXVI of *Genesis*. Two of them, the Servants of *Isaac* were forced to strive with the Herdmen of *Gerar* for; which made him call them, *Esek* and *Sitnah*. A Third, they gott the quiet Possession of; and he called it, *Rehoboth*. Dr. *Arrowsmith* concludes, Lett the Judgment of Charity have its

²⁹⁶ See Arrowsmith, *Armilla* (138).

²⁹⁷ "Enumerating by number."

²⁹⁸ "Having been enumerated by number."

²⁹⁹ Arrowsmith, *Armilla* (138–41).

due Latitude: but for my Part, I would not for a thousand Worlds have a *Socinians* Account to give at the End of this.

[△] [△Insert ends]

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Q. This may be an agreeable Place, for us to consider the Doctrine of the Sacred Scripture, and examine the Judgment of primitive Christianity, concerning the *Godhead* of the *Holy Spirit*, and whether He were Invoked in the Prayers of the Ancients? v. 14.

A. A learned Person in some late *Considerations*, ha's bestow'd some Thoughts on this Matter, which may give some Quickening unto our own.

It is plain, that *Philo* asserts the *Divine Spirit*, as *All-wise*, and *Eternal*, and *Omnipresent*; and communicable to others without less to itself; which he saies, no *created Spirit* can be; & therefore *is no* Creature at all. [Lib. de gigant.]³⁰⁰ He ha's also this Passage; *If thou honourest thy Father, who made the World, and Wisdome thy Mother, by whom the Universe was perfected, the Advantage will redound to thyself. For neither does the Alsufficient God, nor Supreme & All-perfect Knowledge* [οὔτε ἡ ἀκρὰ καὶ παντέλης ἐπιστήμη·] *stand in need of any thing.*³⁰¹ Here the *Divine Spirit*, (or, *Knowledge*) is called, *our Mother*. This is agreeable, to the Style of the Gospel, which saies, *We are Born of the Holy Spirit*. Again, the Terms, *Father*, and, *Mother*, import an Equality of Essence, between *God* and the *Spirit*; such as is between a Natural *Father* and *Mother*: And for the same Reason, an Equality of *Honour* is due to both of them, from the Faithful, their Children. Finally, *Knowledge* (or, the *Divine Spirit*) is, *All-perfect*. From all this, tis plain, the Author beleev'd the *Divine Spirit*, to be nothing less than True God. Unto *Philo's* Testimony, we may subjoin that of *Eusebius*; [Præp. Evang. Lib. 7. c. 15.] who saies, *That all Jewish Doctors, after the God over all, and after Wisdome His First-begotten, Deify, or hold for God, a Third and Holy Power, which they call, The Holy Spirit.*³⁰²

From the *Jews*, lett us pass to *Christians*. In *Hermas*, [Mandat, 10. S. 2.] the, *Virtus Divini Spiritus*, and the, *Virtus Divinitatis*, are the same.³⁰³ And the *Questions*, with which the *Holy Spirit*, is consulted, are called, *Questiones Divinitatis*.³⁰⁴ *Athenagoras*, [Evit. Oxen. p. 41.]³⁰⁵ ha's these Words; *We also say, that the*

³⁰⁰ Philo, *On the Giants*, in *Philo* (2:457–9), an allegorical commentary on Gen. 6.

³⁰¹ Philo Judæus, *Quod deterius potiori insidiari soleat* (sec. 54, line 6): οὔτε ἡ ἀκρὰ καὶ παντέλης ἐπιστήμη.

³⁰² Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* (1:353).

³⁰³ The “power of the divine spirit” and the “power of divinity” are the same. *Shepherd of Hermas*, ANF (2:26–7). The *Shepherd of Hermas* was a 2nd-century text of instruction in the Christian faith consisting of five visions, ten parables, and twelve mandates.

³⁰⁴ “Questions of divinity.” *Divinitas* can also refer to the godhead.

³⁰⁵ Mather refers to the edition of Athenagoras's *Tou en agiois matros imon Athenagorou* (1682).

Holy Spirit itself, which moves the Prophets, is an Efflux from God, flowing forth, & returning to Him, as a Ray of the Sun. And so, we suppose Him, to partake of the Divine Nature, as much as the *Son* Himself. If it flow from God, as a Ray from the Sun, then it must be *Consubstantial*, or of the same Essence with God, as the Ray is with the Sun. And since it ha's *personal* Attributes given to it, in the Scripture, it must be a *Consubstantial Person*, that is, *True God*.³⁰⁶ The Apologist had been wiping off, a wicked Imputation falsely laid upon the Christians, That they were *Atheists*; which He does by shewing, That they held *One God the Father, God the Son, and the Holy Spirit*; and then he infers, That it was a Matter of Wonder, that they, who held *these*, ever should be counted *Atheists*. If the *Holy Spirit* were not *God* in their Opinion, but an Inferiour Being, how could they prove themselves to be no *Atheists*, by acknowledging a Being that was *no God*. Since they purged themselves from the Imputation of *Atheism*, by confessing these Three Persons, it followes, that, if they acted sincerely, they beleaved, Each and All of them, to be *True God*. And since this Confession was made in the Name of the Church, as being an Account of their *Faith*, in an Apology made for them to the *Roman* Emperours, it must be look'd upon, as a glorious & public Declaration of the Faith of the Church in those Times, concerning the *Deity of the Holy Spirit*. The same Author, justifying his Distinction between *God* and *Matter*, [pag. 110.] proceeds to tell, First, what they taught of *God*: Secondly, what they taught of *Matter*. Under the first Article, of, *God*, he comprehends, *Father*, and *Son*, and *Holy Spirit*. This would have been foreign unto the Design of the Article, if the *Holy Spirit*, had not been beleaved to be *God*. We go on, to call in another Witness; who shall be *Tertullian*. He, [Lib. adv. prax. c. 13.] denies a Plurality of *Gods*; yett would have it understood, *Non quasi non et Pater Deus, et Filius Deus, et Spiritus Sanctus Deus, et Deus Unusquisque*.³⁰⁷ A little after, he affirms, *Dei Nomen et Domini, et Patri et Filio et Spiritui convenire*.³⁰⁸ The Holy Spirit he calls, *Tertium Nomen Divinitatis*;³⁰⁹ and makes Him *Consubstantial* with the Father; [cap. 24.] Anon he tells us, It is the Prærogative of the Evangelical above the Jewish | Oeconomy, to bring us unto the Knowledge and Beleef, of Three Persons, *Father and Son and Holy Spirit, and One God*. This Father expressly affirms, [cap. 2.] The *Father*, and *Son*, and *Holy Spirit*, for to be of *One Substance*. And, [cap. 12.] he declares himself, to *hold every where, One*

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³⁰⁶ Athenagoras of Athens (c. 133–190), an early Christian theologian; his works are not extant, but he is credited in Eusebius and elsewhere with two major treatises: an apology, *Plea for the Christians*, and the theological work, *On the Resurrection*; see NCE (1:828). It is unclear what source is referenced here; perhaps the abbreviated title of a secondary, early modern compendium.

³⁰⁷ “Not as if it were untrue that the Father is God, and the Son is God, and the Holy Spirit is God, and each one is God.” Tertullian, *Against Praxeas*, ANF (3:607–8).

³⁰⁸ “The name of God and Lord, and Father and Son and Spirit unite together.” Tertullian, *Against Praxeas*, ANF (3:620–1).

³⁰⁹ “The third name of divinity.” Tertullian, *Against Praxeas*, ANF (3:598).

*Substance, in Three Persons, united together.*³¹⁰ And, [cap. 25.] he acknowledges the *Three Persons* to be *One*, with a *Substantial Unity*.³¹¹ The Authorities of these Two Writers, for the *Consubstantiality* of the *Holy Spirit*, would make one wonder at those, who have asserted, That no Christian ever heard of such Doctrine or Language, till a long while after the Council of *Nice*.³¹² Every body knowes, that these flourished a long while before.

From hence will appear an Evidence for the Truth of the Rule given by *Austin*; [L. 6. de Trinit. c. 9.] *Quoties in Scripturis Deus absolutè et indefinitè nominatur, tres simul Divinas personas toties significari*.³¹³ Wherefore also the *Holy Spirit* must have a Share of the Temple-worship under the First *Oeconomy*. And it was no childish Comment of the Fathers, who understood the Term *Holy*, to be Thrice Repeated by the *Seraphim*, in Honour of the *Trinity*, which tho' so much concealed from the Jews, & reserved for the Light of the Christian Dispensation, yett could not be unknown unto the Blessed Spirits, who constantly attended on the awful Throne of God.

There is an Expression in *Tertullian*, that sounds a little strangely in his Book against *Praxeas*, *Neither is the Church our Mother neglected*, [in the Invocation.] *for the Mother is acknowledged in the Father & the Son, because it is owing to the Mother, that there is such Names as Father & Son*. [cap. 25.] It is evident, that the *Church*, or *Mother*, invoked with the Father and Son, cannot be the Body of the *Saints* Triumphant or Militant; for that would introduce the Worship of the *Creature*. Neither can it be the *Angels*; for the same Reason. But yett it is distinct from *Father* and the *Son*. What can it be then, but the *Holy Spirit*? This may very agreeably, be called, our *Mother*; inasmuch as we are *Born* thereof. We read of a *Jerusalem, which is Above, & is the Mother of us all*. [Gal. IV.26.] In this Character of the *Heavenly Jerusalem*, the *Holy Spirit* seems to be mentioned: Rev. III.12. where, with the Name of the *Father*, and the *Son*, the Overcomer ha's written upon him, not that of the *Holy Spirit*, but that of the *New Jerusalem*, as one with it, & as the Third in the *Holy Trinity*. Thus in the Apocalyptical Description of the *City*, *God* and the *Lamb* only, & not the *Holy Spirit*, are said to be in it. The *City* itself seems to be on some Account, the Divine *Spirit*. Be sure; He will fill the Inhabitants thereof. They will all be His *Temples*, and an *Habitation of God thro' the Spirit*. He is therefore also called by *Synesius*, The *Rest* (or Center) of the *Father*, & of the *Son*.³¹⁴ And when the *Holy Spirit of God*, ha's thus taken a full Possession of His Church, & in doing so, ha's

³¹⁰ Tertullian, *Against Praxeas*, ANF (3:606–7).

³¹¹ Tertullian, *Against Praxeas*, ANF (3:621).

³¹² I.e. the Council of Nicea (325 CE).

³¹³ “Whenever God in the Scriptures is named absolutely and without any qualification, the three divine persons are signified at the same time.” Augustine, *On the Trinity*, bk. 6, ch. 9 (210–12).

³¹⁴ Synesius (373–414 CE), a Greek bishop in Libya and a Neoplatonist philosopher; see *EB* (26:294).

formed the Heavenly City, it shall be, what was long since foretold, *As one whom his Mother comforteth*. And if the *Holy Spirit* be called also, *The Church*, you shall from *Irenæus* have a Reason for it. *Ubi enim Ecclesia, ibi est Spiritus Dei, et ubi Spiritus Dei, illic et Ecclesia*. [L. 3. c. 40.]³¹⁵

We will conclude with some Remarks upon, Act. XIII.1–5. *As they ministered unto the Lord, & fasted, the Holy Spirit said, Separate me Barnabas & Saul, for the Work whereunto I have called them. So they were sent forth by the Holy Spirit*.

The Word *separate*, seems a liturgical Word, borrowed from the Old Testament, and signifies, *Waving*. Compare, Num. VIII.11. LXX. *Aaron shall separate the Levites*. ἀφορμῇ.³¹⁶ The Object to whom the Act of *Waving* was performed in the Old Testament, was, JEHOVAH, the God of the Jews, and no other. It was a solemn Act of Temple-worship, and therefore due to Him alone. For this Reason, it must be proper to Him under the New Testament. If the Typical *Waving*, might be given unto none but *Jehovah*, we cannot believe, that the Real and Spiritual Kind of Worship, which is præfigured by it, could be given to any Inferiour Being. This would be to putt the *Substance* in a worse Condition than the *Shadow*. But the *Holy Spirit* is the Object unto whom the Evangelical *Waving* is commanded to be performed. The *Separation* is to *Him*. It followes, That the *Holy Spirit* must be *Jehovah*; the True *God*, and the Object of our Worship.

³¹⁵ “Where the Church is, there is the Spirit of God, and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church.” Irenæus, *Against Heresies*, ANF (1:535ff).

³¹⁶ παρὰ κυρίῳ; “Separate.”

Q. A Remark on That; *Not of Men; neither by Man, but by JESUS CHRIST?* v. 1.

A. 'Tis Monsr. *Martins* Remark; Then JESUS CHRIST must be more than a *Meer Man*. Here is an Assertion of His Godhead.¹

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Q. The Apostle writes here, not only in his own Name, but *of all the Brethren with him*. Who are meant by those *Brethren*? v. 2.

A. Some think, They were those who accompanied *Paul* in his Travels, and assisted him in preaching the Gospel. So, *Sosthenes* is called, A *Brother*. [1 Cor. 1.1.] So is *Apollo*. [1. Cor. 16.12.] And so is *Timothy*. [2. Cor. 1.1.] And so is *Titus*. [1. Cor. 2.12.] *Tychicus*. [Eph. 6.23.] *Epaphroditus*. [Phil. 2.25.] *Onesimus*. [Col. 4.9.] *Sylvanus*. [1. Pet. 5.12.] And *Paul* himself [2. Pet. 3.15.] Thus the Name of *Brethren*, seems distinguished from that of *Saints*.

Or else, Dr. *Whitby* thinks; The Apostle here does, as was usual in those Days: *Bishops* wrote in the Names of the Churches with whom they Resided. *Clemens* begins his Epistle: *The Church of God in Rome, to the Church of God at Corinth*.² And so, this Epistle being written at *Rome*, shoves the Consent of the Church, with the Apostle in his Doctrine.³

Q. What were, *The Churches of Galatia*? v. 3.

A. There were Churches now, at *Ancyra*, at *Tavium*, at *Pessinus*, and perhaps at some other Places. It is remarkable, That the Apostle does not call them, *Saints*, as he does other Churches, when he writes unto them; It seems to be, a Rebuke upon them, for their beginning to decline from the Gospel. Indeed, their being *so soon removed unto another Gospel*, is but agreeable to the Natural Temper and Genius of the People. The *Galatians* were originally a *French Colony*: And of the

¹ Perhaps Pierre Martin (1530–94), a Reformed professor at La Rochelle, a center of Huguenot activity. Martin was a student of Peter Ramus and the Hebraist Jean Mercier; he produced a Hebrew and Aramaic grammar (1591), one of the first in the early modern period. It was later revised by Johannes Buxtorf the Elder; an English translation (*Key of the Holy Tongue*) by the Puritan John Udall appeared in 1648. Both versions (Buxtorf, Udall) were used in the Harvard curriculum; both appear in Increase Mather's 1664 *Catalogue* (Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers*, 22–3). See Pfeiffer, "The Teaching of Hebrew in Colonial America" (363–73).

² Clement of Rome, "Epistle to the Corinthians," in *The Apostolic Fathers* (57).

³ Daniel Whitby, *A Paraphrase Upon the New Testament* (2:267). Whitby (1638–1726) was an Anglican cleric and a prolific author; he engaged in anti-Catholic polemics but also argued for a latitudinarian treatment of Protestant Dissenters. In his later years, he adopted (publically) Arminian and (posthumously) Arian doctrinal positions. See *ODNB* (58:530–2).

Gauls, tis noted by *Cæsar*, *In consilijs capiendis fuisse mobiles, et novis plerumque rebus studuisse*.⁴

Q. What may be meant by, *This present evil World?* v. 4.

A. Christians are not immediately to be removed into the other World. One observes, That *ἐνεστώς αἰών*, must signify something else, than *present World*, in the ordinary Import of those Words in English.⁵ We find, That *Αἰών οὗτος* [1. Cor. 2.6, 8.]⁶ plainly signifies, *The Jewish Nation*, under the Mosaical Constitution. And it suits very well, with the Design of the Apostle in this Epistle, that it should do so here. It may be meant of our Saviours setting them free from the *Mosaical Constitutions*. We may take in the *Jewish Nation* too, as it was now become. And then it may well be called an *Evil One*. The Apostle, out of Tenderness to his Countreymen, might use a Doubtful Expression.

Q. It is observable, that the Churches of *Galatia* (as well as that of *Corinth*) were miserably troubled with *False Teachers*; what Special Reason may be given for it? v. 7.

A. It is observable, that the Churches of *Galatia* (as well as that of *Corinth*) were miserably negligent of their *Faithful Teachers*; they did not honourably Support, but basely Neglect and almost Famish, their truly Faithful Ministers; for which Cause, God punished them with *Seducers*. [Compare 2. Thess. 2.11, 12.] As, when the Jewes would not Receive the *True Messiah*, how many *False Messiahs* did they afterwards Receive, and Beleeve, and Follow, to their own Ruine? It after, comes to pass in such Places, that as *Luther* speaks; After the faithful Servants of God, have been labouring Ten Years together, in preaching the Gospel, and planting of Churches, a Wretched, Silly, Sorry Seducer, *et Fanaticus quidam Idiota*,⁷ shall do more hurt in *One Year*, than the other did good in *Ten*.

Q. The Apostle wonders here, at their *being, so soon Removed*. How soon? v. 6, 7.

⁴ "They were fickle in taking counsel, and were most of them eager for new things." See Julius Caesar, *The Gallic Wars* (90–1). This is a rather loose paraphrase of Caesar's description of certain of the Gauls who, in the face of the Roman invasion, saw an opportunity to muster a change in their own leadership: "who for sheer fickleness and inconstancy were set upon a change of rule" (*qui mobilitate et levitate animi novis imperiis studebant*). PLEASE NOTE: As a general rule, translations of Hebrew, Greek and Latin are rendered in the footnotes; when these are not provided, it indicates that the translation Mather has provided in the text is correct.

⁵ *ἐνεστώς αἰών*; "present age."

⁶ *αἰώνος τούτου*; "of this age." In 1 Cor. 2 Paul speak of "the princes of this age"; while unlikely, this could be an oblique reference to the religious powers that be, including his Jewish opposition.

⁷ "And a certain fanatical idiot." See Martin Luther, *Commentary on Galatians* (22–5).

A. This Letter, seems to be written, within Two or Three Years, from the Time that he was last with them, and had left them confirmed in the Doctrine, to and with which *he had called* them.⁸

Q. What means that Clause, *Which is not another?* v. 7.

A. One takes it to signify, *Which is not any thing else.*⁹ q.d. Tis owing to nothing else but this, that you are troubled by certain sort of Men, who would overturn the Gospel.

Q. What may be more particularly meant by, *Another Gospel?* v. 7.

A. The learned Mr. *Jeremiah Jones*, is very suspicious, that here may be a more Special Reference to a *Supposititious Gospel*, which many of the Christianized Jews, were then for Jewish Reasons fond of; that *Apocryphal Gospel*, which went under the Title of, *The Gospel of the Nazarenes*.¹⁰

Q. What means the Repetition of the *Anathema* here? v. 9.

A. It adds Force to what the Apostle saies. But we may observe, as one saies, that by joining himself with an *Angel*, he insinuates to the *Galatians*, That they might as well suspect an *Angel* might preach to them a False Gospel, as that he himself should. And then he goes on, to lay the *Anathema* wholly & soley upon the Judaizing Seducers.

4438.

Q. What Remarkable in the Apostles *Anathema?* v. 9.

A. Tis Remarkable, That a Man may err Fundamentally, not only by Rejecting a Fundamental Article of Faith, but also by holding & by Teaching in the Name of Christ, things unnecessary to be Necessary, so as to say, Salvation cannot be obtained without them. And herein (as Dr. *Whitby* observes) does consist the great Guilt of the Church of *Rome*; & particularly of the *Trent-Council*. So they are plainly fallen under the *Anathema* of the Apostle *Paul*, which is more dreadful than all the vain *Anathema's* they have Thundred out against the Protestants.¹¹

⁸ See Appendix A.

⁹ The "one" cited here seems to echo the comments of John Locke, *A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul* (1:126). On Locke, see *ODNB* (34:216–28).

¹⁰ Jeremiah Jones, *A New and Full Method for settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament* (1:332). Jones (1693–1724) was a Dissenting minister, textual scholar, and crypto-Arian. This treatise (1726) surveyed the range of apocryphal Christian literature in the course of defending the traditional canon, in response to the arguments by William Whiston and John Toland in favor of expanding the canon to incorporate such works. The *Gospel of the Nazarenes* is a 2nd-century Jewish Christian work. Jones's work exercised a significant influence on the biblical studies of later German scholars, such as Johann Michaelis and Johann Semler. See *ODNB* (30:541–2).

¹¹ Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:268–9).

4439.

Q. *Do I now perswade Men, or God? What the Import of the Word, perswade?* v. 10.

A. Dr. *Whitby* brings many Instances, where it signifies, either to *Appease* one incensed against us, or to *Obeys* one commanding of us.¹² This will soon lead us into the Sense of the Apostle. Πείθω indeed is, to apply to reform a Friendship.¹³ Act. 12.20.

|

[2v]

4440.

Q. What may be the Special Intentions of the Apostle, when he saies, *If I yett pleased Men, I should not be the Servant of the Christ?* v. 10.

A. I should not have left *Judaism*, to embrace Christianity: I should not have quitted Honour and Kindred, for Persecutions, which I continually suffer for the Cause of Christ.

4441.

Q. What Inference did the Ancients make from what the Apostle saies of his Gospel, *I received it not by Man?* v. 12.

A. Hence *Chrysostom*; and *Theodoret*, and *Jerom*, and *Oecumenius*, and *Theophylact*, conclude, That our Lord Jesus Christ is not only *Man*, but *God* also.¹⁴ And thus, *Novatian* argued before the *Nicene Council*, *If Paul was not considered an Apostle of, or by Man, and yett was considered such, by Jesus Christ, Meritò Christus est Deus, Christ must be God.*¹⁵ For tho' the Scripture sometimes calls *Rulers*, by the Name of *Gods*, as *Crellius* here notes, yett, it never saies, that what was done by them, was not done by *Man*.¹⁶

12 *Whitby, Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:269–70).

13 Πείθω; “I persuade.”

14 John Chrysostom (347–407), archbishop of Constantinople, whose hundreds of extant sermons include a number on the Pauline epistles; *NSHERK* (3:72–5). Theodoret (393–457), bishop of Cyrrhus, Syria, and author of a number of exegetical works, including one on the Pauline epistles; *NCE* (13:878–9). Jerome (c. 347–420), author of numerous biblical commentaries and theological essays, including those on the Incarnation and the Trinity; *NCE* (7:757–9). Oecumenius, 10th-century bishop in Thessaly and putative author of a number of biblical commentaries, including one on the Pauline epistles; *NSHERK* (8:226). Theophylact (1055–1107), a Bulgarian archbishop whose commentaries on the Pauline epistles are largely derivative of Oecumenius's work; *NCE* (13:934).

15 “Christ is entitled to be God.” Mather source here is Whitby (p. 270). Novatian (c. 200–258) was a priest, briefly a self-proclaimed pope, and author of a treatise on the Trinity, from which this citation is taken; see *ANF* (5:622). While he obviously was not present at the Council of Nicea (325 CE), his treatise exercised an important influence on its deliberations; see *NCE* (10:464–5).

16 Likely Johannes Crellius, or Jan Krell (1590–1633), German-Polish partriarch of several generations of Socinian theologians and pastors. [Mather's source is Whitby, who provides

130.

Q. What is implied in the Apostles being, *Separated from his Mothers Womb*, to *preach* the the Lord Jesus Christ *among the Gentiles*? v. 15.

A. Bee sure, the eternal *Predestination* of God, is here to bee Considered, & Acknowledged. But I conceive that one thing here intended, may bee *This*; The Apostle had, *from his Mothers Womb*, an Hardy Constitution of *Body*, which fitted him for all the Travel & the Trouble, necessary to bee undergone, by one, that was to carry the *Gospel* of our Lord among the *Gentiles*.

Q. That Phrase, *Flesh & Blood*? v. 16.

A. Our Dr. *James Alting*, beleeves, that the Jews did not begin to make use of this Phrase, until after the Times of the Prophets, when Philosophy began to be brought in among them. Finding Philosophy to consider Man, as a Compound of *Body* and *Soul*, they sought for Familiar Terms to answer it. Wherefore unto the Word, *Basar*,¹⁷ (or, *Flesh*,) by which the Scripture denotes Man, they added the Term, *Dam*¹⁸ (or *Blood*) whereof they read, That the *Soul* of the Creature, was in it. In the Sacred Writers, *Blood* and *Soul*, are synonymous. *Flesh and Blood*, then is, MAN.¹⁹

1872.

Q. The Apostle *Paul* immediately after his First Conversion Retires and Sojourns, Three Years in *Arabia*. What Special Remark is to bee made upon it? v. 17.

A. Dr. *Usher* well conjectures, That this was the Time, wherein the Spirit of Christ by Degrees made known the whole Gospel unto him, in all the Truths and Parts of it, with the Cohærence of one unto another.²⁰

neither a first name nor a source for his citation of Crellius; see Whitby, *Paraphrase* (270)]. Krell's exegetical works include the *Commentarius in Epistolas Pauli apostolic ad Thessolonicensis* (1633). His grandson Samuel Crell (1660–1747) was an important conduit of Socinian thought and literature to England and had personal relationships with many of its leading proponents, such as John Locke, Isaac Newton, and William Whiston. See McLachlan, *Socinianism in Seventeenth-Century England* (118ff).

¹⁷ בָּשָׂר (flesh).

¹⁸ דָּם (blood).

¹⁹ Jacob Alting (1618–79), Dutch Reformed theologian and Orientalist and professor at Groningen. In 1640 he travelled to England and became associated with Orientalists like Edward Pococke. His collected works were published posthumously (1686); among those of possible relevance here are his *Hebraeorum republica scholastica* (1652), *Compendium grammaticae hebraicae* (1714), *Fundamenta punctuationis linguae sacrae* (1717), and the *Synopsis institutionum chaldaearum et syrarum* (1691); see *NNbw* (1:96–7).

²⁰ James Ussher (1581–1656), Protestant archbishop of Ireland in 1625 and author of a two-part biblical chronology of the world, the *Annales veteris testament* (1650) and its supplementation, the *Annalium pars posterior* (1654); see *ODNB* (56:6–14). The *Annales veteris testament* appears in Mather library. See Tuttle, *The Libraries of the Mathers* (44).

Now, behold, a Remarkable Harmony between the *Old Testament* & the *New*. *Moses*, the greatest Instrument of erecting the Church of the *Old Testament*, must Retire and Sojourn in *Arabia*, & in *Arabia* too, must hee receive his Illuminations. Thus, *Paul*, the greatest Instrument of erecting the Church of the *New Testament*, must repair to *Arabia*, and there spend some Time,²¹ & there bee Instructed, before hee come abroad unto his more publick Services.

Q. Why does the Apostle insert that Passage, *I was unknown by face, unto the Churches of Judæa?* v. 22.

A. He may insert this, on purpose, to take off a Scandal, which was raised upon him, That when he was among the Churches of *Judæa*, he preached that necessity of observing the *Jewish Rites*, which he decried among the *Gentiles*. No, saies the Apostle; I never did it; for indeed²² they never saw me.

²¹ See Appendix A.

²² See Appendix A.

4340.

Q. The Apostle saies, *I went up unto Jerusalem*, κατ' ἀποκάλυψιν, *According to Revelation*.²³ What Revelation? v. 2.

A. Fetch an Answer from Act. 15.2. The *Prophets*, at *Antioch* had separated *Paul* and *Barnabas*, by *Revelation*, to preach unto some of the Gentiles; and they, having fulfilled that Work, returned unto *Antioch*; [Act. 14.26.] Tis probable, that now by another *Revelation* made unto those *Prophets*, they were sent up unto *Jerusalem*, as being the fittest Persons, to convince those of the contrary Perswasion, by Declaring *what God had wrought by them among the uncircumcised Gentiles*, and His Acceptance of them without Circumcision, or the Observances of the Law of *Moses*.

This is Dr. *Whitby's* Gloss upon it.

He ha's also this further Gloss. The Apostle had said, He received his Gospel, not by Men, or of Men, but *by the Revelation of Jesus Christ*. And here he may be supposed to add, That in his Journey he acted suitably to the *Revelation*, which constituted him the *Apostle* of the *Gentiles*; telling the Church of *Jerusalem* what things he had done among the Gentiles, in pursuance of it; not enquiring what they did, but Declaring what God did by them.²⁴

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽4v] [▽Insert from 4v]

Q. We find here a Mention of the Apostle *Peter*? v. 11.

A. And this is the *Last Time*, that he is mention'd in the Sacred History. This is the *Last Thing*, that is mention'd of him. Alas, that the History should expire with that Article; *He was to be blamed*.

Nevertheless, I will observe one thing. *Luke* wrote his Gospel, tis thought, with a Special Concurrence of the Apostle *Paul*. And it is to be observed, That *Luke* makes the most honourable Mention of the Apostle *Peter*, of any of the Evangelists.

Q. On that Clause, *Why compellest thou the Gentiles?* v. 14.

A. To withdraw Communion from the Christians with whom we are dealing, except they comply with the Duty demanded of them, is the most powerful Way of *Compelling* them to their Duty; and indeed it is the only *Compulsion*, allowable to be used in the Churches of God.

²³ κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν; "according to revelation."

²⁴ Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:273).

Q. On that, *If we ourselves are found Sinners?* v. 17.

A. One Mr. Pyle gives the Verse this Paraphrase. “A Christian that relies still on the *Jewish Law* for his Justification, must allow himself to be still in a State of Guilt and Sin, (for the Law leaves us all so) which is as much as to say, That Christ our Redeemer has given us a Dispensation that leaves us but where we were; viz. in an unpardoned and unjustified Condition.”²⁵

Q. What might the Apostle intend, when hee saies, *I am crucified with Christ?* v. 20.

A. The common and obvious Interpretation of this Passage, you know so well, that you need not any Repetition of it. I only offer you, a Gloss, which I just now Received from a Reverend, Eminent, Aged Servant of Christ.

The good old Man, whom in a Journey I paid a Visit of Respect unto, took his Leave of mee, in such Terms as these.²⁶

“Syr, I am every Day expecting my Death. But I desire to Dy like the *Thief* crying to the crucified Jesus for Mercy. I am nothing, I have nothing, I can do nothing, except what is *unworthy*. My Eye, & Hope, & Faith, is to Christ on His Cross. I bring an Unworthiness like that of the poor dying *Thief* unto Him, and have no more to plead than Hee. Like the poor *Thief*, crucified with Him, I am waiting to bee Received by the infinite Grace of my Lord, into His Kingdome. Sir, pray tell me, Did not Aged *Paul* mean something of This, when hee said, *I am crucified with Christ?*”

[△Insert ends]

[△]

²⁵ Thomas Pyle, *A Paraphrase upon all the Epistles of the New Testament* (2:18). Pyle (1674–1756) was an Anglican cleric and an outspoken Arian; see *ODNB* (45:622–3).

²⁶ Mather may have Increase Mather in mind; he frequently avoids mention of his own family, employing such vague references instead. The paragraph that follows appears to be a deathbed confession of sorts, in which a true Calvinist is to reject any self-merit by emphasizing the need for mercy. (Observation courtesy of Reiner Smolinski).

Q. That Passage, *They which are of the Faith, the Same are the Children of Abraham*: It were well worth the while, if one could find in the Writings of the *Jewes*, those Expressions and Concessions, which would countenance this Assertion? v. 2.

A. That I can do immediately.

The Jewish Talmuds, [in *Massechet Bikkurim*] allow, a *Proselyte*, from among the *Gentiles*, bringing his *First-fruits*, to use the Words præscribed in Deut. 26.3. *I am come unto the Countrey, which the Lord sware unto our Fathers, for to give us*. Upon which allowance, there followes this Passage. *Quæ est hujus Rei probatio? Scilicet, quòd proselytus sit Filius Abraham*. Gen. 17.5. Non erit ultra Nomen tuum Abram, sed erit Nomen Tuum Abraham, quia patrem multitudinis gentium dedi Te. *In principio fuit pater Aram*, (i. e. Syrorum) *et ideò vocatus est Abram, finaliter verò pater totius Sæculi, et nomen ejus fuit Abraham*.²⁷

Again, In *Bereschith Rabba*, tis thus written, on Gen. 21.12. *In Isaac shall thy Seed bee called. Dixit R. Juden Filius Rabi Sallum, scriptum est, Psal. 105.5. Mementote mirabilium ejus quæ fecit; prodigia ejus et Judicia oris ejus; semen Abrahæ servi ejus; Filii Jacob electi ejus. Dixit Deus Sanctus, & Benedictus, omnis qui confessus fuerit duo Sæcula, vocabitur tibi Semen; et omnis qui non confitebitur duo Sæcula, non vocabitur tibi Semen*.²⁸

4442.

Q. And it may be, the Writings of the *Jewes* will also Justify another Passage or two, in this Chapter?

A. As particularly that Passage; v. 16. *God saith not, And to Seeds, as of many; but as of one. And to thy Seed*, which is Christ. This Interpretation is owned by

²⁷ “Why is this allowed? Clearly, because the proselyte is the son of Abraham. Gen. 17:5: ‘No longer your name be Abram, but Abraham, because I have made you the father of a multitude of nations.’ In the beginning, the father was an Aramean (i. e. a Syrian), and so he was called Abram; in the end, he became the father of the whole world, and his name became Abraham.” The Mishnah, tractate *Bikkurim* (1.4), on Gen. 17:5 reads: “Abram the same is Abraham. At first he became a father of Aram [Ab-Aram] only, but in the end he became a father of the whole world.”

²⁸ “Rabbi Juden, son of Rabbi Sallum, said, It is written in Ps. 105:5, ‘Remember the miracles He did, His wonders and the judgments of His mouth. The seed of Abraham are His servants, the sons of Jacob are His chosen ones.’ The Holy and Blessed God said, ‘Everyone who confesses the two worlds will be called your seed; no one who does not confess the two worlds will be called your seed.’” See *Midrash Rabbah* (1:471); a passage which refers to the separation of Isaac and Ishmael as representative of the separation between Jews and Gentiles. The *B’rechith Rabba* is a rabbinic commentary on the book of Genesis dating from the 4th or 5th century CE whose final form is attributed to the 11th-century rabbi Moses ha-Darshan; see *EJ* (7:449–50).

the Jewes; (particularly by *Moses Haddarsain*) who observe, *That it is not written here, Thy Son, but, Thy Seed, which is, the King Messiah.*²⁹ And as *Theodoret* observes, The Words are capable of no other Sense; For by *Christ* only, was the Promise fulfilled; And in Him alone did the *Gentiles* receive this *Blessing*. The Apostle *Peter* assisted by the Holy Spirit, so interprets these Words; That when God said, *In thy Seed shall all the Families of the Earth be blessed*; By that Seed, He meant *His Child Jesus*.³⁰

| **Q.** What was there in the Condition of those that were *Hanged on a Tree*, to represent unto us the Circumstances of our crucified Redeemer? v. 13. Compare, Deut. 21:22, 23.

A. It was the Jewish Custome, to *Hang up* their Capital Malefactors, but not until after they were Dead, either by Strangling or by Stoning; and this to exhibit the Malefactors, as under a Remarkable Malediction of God, for the Crimes which they had committed. Whereupon the Burial of the *Hanged Man* before *Sun-sett* intimated the Release of the Land from the *Curse* of God, which the executed Offender had brought upon it. The People of *Israel*, præserving themselves from grosser Crimes, were maintained, as *pure* before God, by their daily Sacrifices. But when any *Israelite* fell into Enormities for which no Sacrifices were Appointed, the whole People, whereof hee was a Member, were accounted, Impure before the Lord. Satisfaction was now to be made, by *Sacrificing* of the Sinner himself; which was declared, as Accepted when the *Suspension* of the Wretch, was in the Sight of the *Sun* performed.

Now, in all this Business there was to be considered, as intended by God, a *Shadow* of our Deliverance from the *Curse*, by the Lord Jesus Christ.

Both the *Suspended* and the *Crucified*, were exposed upon a ξύλον διδυμὸν,³¹ and were both with *Ropes* Ty'd thereunto; and for both, the same Name of *Talui*,³² is used among the Jewes.

Both Punishments also agreed, in their being רסומל,³³ *Paradeigmatical* and *Exemplary*. And whereas the Jewes did not hang, but for two Crimes, *Blasphemy*

²⁹ Moses ha-Darshan, an 11th-century rabbi and chief of the yeshiva in Narbonne (France). His works are not extant, but citations of them can be found in other rabbinic commentaries, including his *Genesis Rabba*, cited here by Whitby (p. 270) as “ad Gen. 19:34”. See *EJ* (14:556–67).

³⁰ Theodoret of Cyrus, *Commentary on the Letters of St. Paul* (2:12); on Theodoret, see Mather’s entry on 1:12 (above).

³¹ “Cross of wood.” This Greek phrase, “the gallows,” or literally, “twin timber” is drawn from the Greek translation of Joshua 8:29 (LXX): καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Γαι ἐκρέμασεν ἐπὶ ξύλου διδύμου (“and he hanged the king of Gai on a gallows”). (These observations are courtesy of Paul S. Peterson).

³² See Deut. 21:23: תְּלוּי אֶלֶהִים תְּלוּי; “for a hanged man (תְּלוּי) is cursed by God.”

³³ Here Mather refers to a compound construction לְמוֹסֵר; “for correction, chastisement.”

and *Idolatry*, our Lord was by them accused of *both*. For *Blasphemy*, read the twenty sixth Chapter of *Matthew*. For *Idolatry*, the Report in the *Talmud* is, *Quia Magiam Exercuit atque Seduxit, et ad profanos Cultus impulit Israellem*.³⁴ Add, *Hanging* was used only upon an *Israelite*; and such an one was our Lord. *Hanging* was for *Offences* which called so hard for the *Curse* of God, that without some Signal Demonstration of Gods Justice in the Death of the *Offender*, that *Curse* could not be avoided. Say, whether our Lord was not accordingly Treated! *Hanging* was followed with *Burying* toward *Sunsett*, with a Confession, that now, all was *Finished*. Say whether our Lord had not this Fate also! But if one Sinner were *Hanged*, there might by new *Transgressions*, arise Occasion for the *Hanging* of another. It was not so, in the Case of our Lord; In Him was fulfilled that in *Zech. 3.9. The Removing of the Iniquity of the Land, in One Day.*

4113.

Q. But what saies our excellent *Witsius*, concerning the Intention of that Passage; *Cursed is every one that hangeth on a Tree*? I am alwayes willing to hear the Sense of so Learned, so Modest, & so Judicious a Writer!

A. *Witsius* thinks, That the Punishment of being *Hanged on a Tree*, carries with it, a peculiar Signature of a *Curse* from God, especially on this Account. The *First Sin* of our *First Father*, which brought in the *Curse*, lay in Eating of the *Forbidden Tree*. For a Symbol, a Token, a Remembrance of that *Curse*, that Punishment of being *Hanged on a Tree*, ha's been singled out. This with an admirable Aptness calls to Mind, the *first Original* of all that *Curse*, that ha's come upon the World. Unless the *Surety* for Fallen Men, resigned Himself to be *Hanged on a Tree*, there could by no Deliverance from the *Curse*. The Design of the Law-giver is not, that all who are *Hanged on a Tree*, are excluded from the *Grace of God*: But, that for any one to be *Hanged on a Tree*, was to exhibit a Monument of that *Curse*, that the *First Sin* brought upon the world; And that until the *Messiah* was *Hanged on a Tree* that *Curse* could not be taken away.³⁵

While this construction is found in the Old Testament, the usage here may be of rabbinic origin.

³⁴ "Because he practiced magic, and seduced and impelled Israel to pagan worship." See the *Sandhedrin* section of the *Talmud* (3:281). On early rabbinic references to Jesus, see Schäfer, *Jesus in the Talmud*.

³⁵ Hermann Wits (1636–1708), Dutch Reformed professor of theology at Utrecht and Leiden. Relevant here among his works are his *De oeconomia foederum Dei cum hominibus* (1677), *Miscellanea sacra* (1692), *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (1696) – a comparison of Egyptian and Israelite religious ceremonies – and *Meletemata Leidensia* (1703), which includes a study of Paul's life. See *NSHERK* (12:396).

4443.³⁶

Q.³⁷ Where may ly the Force of that Passage; *But God is One?* v. 20.

A. This *Mediator*, namely *Moses*, was only the *Mediator* of the *Jewes*, who are but *one Party*, to whom there belonged the Blessing of *Abraham*. But God, who made the Promise, That *in one should all the Families of the Earth be blessed*, is *One*, and the God of the *one Party* as well as the *other*; & so as ready to Justify the one as the other. [Rom. 3.30.]

To strengthen this Exposition, Dr. *Whitby* notes, That the Ancient *Jewes* thought, in those Words, Deut. 6.4. *The Lord, our God, the Lord is One*; there was contained this Mystery; That God should be own'd & serv'd, not by the *Jewes* only, but by all the *Gentiles*. Thus *Jarchius*, on the Words; "It is intimated, That *Jehovah*, who is now *our God*, & not the God of the *Gentiles*, will hereafter be *One God*; as it is written, Zech. 14.9. *The Lord shall be King over all the Earth, and in that Day, shall the Lord be One, & His Name One.*"³⁸

[▽Insert from 7r]

[▽7r]

Q. Some further Thoughts on that Passage; *God is One?* v. 20.

A. A Paraphrase with Notes, on the Epistle to the *Galatians*, ascribed unto Dr. *Lock*; observes, That the Apostle is here proving, that the *Law* could not disanul the *Promise*. And he does it upon this known Rule, that a *Covenant* or *Promise* once ratified, cannot be altered or annulled, by any, without both the Parties concerned. Now saies he, *God is but One*, of the Parties concerned in the Promise. The *Gentiles* and *Israelites* together made up the other. But *Moses* at the Giving of the *Law*, was a *Mediator* between God, and only the *Israelites*. He did not appear or transact for the *Gentiles* as well as the *Israelites*. What was done at Mount *Sinai*, by the Mediation of *Moses*, could not affect a Covenant made between Parties, whereof *One* only was there. Without this Consideration, the Apostles Argument of 430 Years Distance, would have been Deficient and hardly conclusive. If both the Parties concerned in the Covenant had transacted by *Moses* the Mediator (as they might, if none but the *Israelites* had been concerned in the Promise made by God unto *Abraham*) they might by mutual Consent have altered, or sett | aside the Promise, as well four hundred Years as four Dayes after. That which hindred it, was, that at *Moses's* Mediation

[▽8v]

³⁶ See Appendix A.

³⁷ See Appendix B.

³⁸ *Whitby*, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:279–80). *Whitby* cites *Campegius Vitringa's De Synagoga Vetere* (1685) as his source (to be found in Bk. 3, Pt. 2, Ch. 17, p. 1084 of that work). *Vitringa* (1659–1722) was a Dutch Reformed theologian and Hebraist, and professor of Oriental languages at the university in Franeker; see *NSHERK* (12:218–19). *Solomon ben Jarchi* (1104–1180), better known as *Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac* (aka "Rashi"), was a French Jewish scholar who published commentaries on the Talmud and the Hebrew Bible, some of which were translated into Latin for Christian consumption; he is an important source on Jewish rites for *Johannes Buxtorf's Synagoga Judaica* (1603). See *EJ* (17:101–6).

at Mount *Sinai*, *God* who was *but One* of the Parties to the Promise was present. But the other Party, *Abrahams Seed*, consisting of *Israelites* and *Gentiles* together, was not there. *Moses* transacted for the Nation of the *Israelites* alone. The other Nations were not concerned in the Covenant made at Mount *Sinai*, as they were in the Promise made unto *Abraham* and his Seed; which therefore could not be annull'd without their Consent.³⁹

Momma takes it thus. The *Law* was a *Partition Wall* between *Jews* and *Gentiles*. Our glorious Christ is the *Mediator*, who ha's *made both one*. [Eph. II.14.] But *Moses* was a *Mediator*, who was *not one*; by his Ministry no such *Union* was accomplished; his *Law* did not bring *Jews* and *Gentiles* to be *one Body*. But *God is One*. See Rom. III.30. – And *One* in His *Grace*, both to *Jews* and *Gentiles*.⁴⁰

This Passage, *The Law added because of Transgressions*, is illustrated, by a Saying of *Kimchi*. *Si non peccasset Israel in deserto, non dedisset illi Deus praecepta de oblationibus*.⁴¹

We may say also; It was given to preserve the *Israelites* from such *Transgressions* as the idolatrous Nations wallowed in.

[△] [△Insert ends]

[6v]

Q. Tis said, *The Scripture hath concluded All under Sin*. All what? v. 22.

A. Τὰ πάντα. Not only *All Men*, but also *All Things*, done by the unregenerate Man; *All* that flowes from him; *All* the Contrivances, Intentions, Affections, Thoughts, Words, & Actions of such a Man.

³⁹ Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (1:139–40).

⁴⁰ Wilhelm Momma (1642–77), Reformed theologian and professor at several universities in German and Dutch lands and author of a number of theological treatises, including *Meditationes posthumae in Epistolas ad Romanos et Galatas* (1678), likely in view here. See *ADB* (2:158).

⁴¹ “If Israel had not sinned in the desert, God would not have given it the laws of sacrifices.” David Kimchi (1160–1235) came from a notable family of rabbis in Narbonne (France) and wrote extensive commentaries on the Bible and a Hebrew grammar; see *EJ* (12:155–6).

Q. Why are the *Elements*, whereto the Jewes, in the more *puerile State* of the Church were in Bondage, called, *The Elements of the World*? v. 3.

A. You are not insensible, That the *Father* of the Child here under *Tutors*, is to be supposed, one taking a long Journey from his Family: *Tali patri* (saith *Grotius*) *comparatur Deus, multa humana facta dissimulans.*⁴² [Compare, Mat. 21.33.] The *Elements*, (or the *Rudiments*) or first Lessons, imposed on the Church of *Israel* thus in its Childhood, were in its *Temples*, its *Altars*, its *Offerings*, its *New-moons*, and other such Rites as these. And they are called, *The Elements of the World*, (*Grotius* thinks) *Quia Judeis cum mundo sunt communia*;⁴³ because *the World* for the most Part used such Kinds of Things: Most Nations of *the World* had such sorts of Things in use among them.

Or, may not this Expression be used, because the Observances of the Law, led them not beyond the Things of *this World*, into the Possession of their Spiritual and Heavenly Inheritance.

1575.

Q. When the World was about *Four Thousand Years Old*, then came our Lord Jesus Christ into it. The Apostle calls This, *The Fulness of the Time*. Why so? v. 4.

A. The *Time* foretold for it, was now *Fulfill'd*.

But, I know, you expect something of Curiosity. Observe then, That the whole *Time* of the World being 7000 Years, the Number 4000, is very fitly called, *The Fulness of Time*. For, the Number 3 is the exact Arithmetical Mean, between 1 and 4, and between 4 and 7. For as 4 exceeds 1 by 3, so 7 exceeds 4 by 3.

Divide the whole *Time* of *Man*, to wit, 70 years, into 7 æqual Parts; Allow the first 10 Years to his Childhood, the second 10 Years to his Youth, the Third 10 Years to his Manhood, which was our Saviours Age, when Hee began His Ministry, & was Baptised; the Fourth 10 Years | to his Maturity, or *Fulness of Age*, for in the Fifth his Vigour begins to Decline. Thus, 4000 Years, of the Worlds

[▽10v]

⁴² "To such a father is God compared, disguising [Himself] in many human actions." In Mt. 21.33, Jesus tells the parable of the vineyard own who goes on a journey, and sends his servants to the vineyard workers for the harvest. The servants (as representatives, or "in the disguise" of the owner) are beaten. Mather seems to arguing here that similarly, God was "disguised" in the Law (as an element of the world) until he should be fully revealed in the Son. Hugo Grotius, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (6:576). Grotius (1583–1645), Dutch jurist and Arminian lay theologian, wrote a number of works defending the Christian religion as well as works on biblical interpretation. His *Annotationes* appeared in 1641. See *NSHERK* (5:85–6).

⁴³ "Because they are common to Jews and the world together." Grotius, *Annotationes* (6:577).

Time, is most properly called, *The Fulness of Time*, in the like Proportion. And God accordingly ha's dealt with the World, in communicating Himself unto it.

Q. To *Receive the Adoption*? v. 5.

A. The Greek Word carries a *Snatch at an Offer*, in the Signification of it. *Alardus* observes, Ἀπολαμβάνειν.⁴⁴ is an emphatical Word, *Quia notat ad se tantum derivare ex communi Thesauro quantum sufficit; imo quasi vi rapere.*⁴⁵

Q. The *Spirit of Adoption* teaches [us] to cry, *Abba, Father*. Any thing Remarkable in the Ingemination? v. 6.

A. *Luther* thinks, first, *per hoc voluisse Vim et Intentionem hujus sanctæ Vociferationis indicare.*⁴⁶

But then he propounds another Thought, which is indeed mighty agreeable.

Our Apostle first uses, a foreign Term; *Abba*; a Term in a Strange Language; Then he proceeds to a more Familiar Term; a Vernacular One. This was to signify, *Initium tantæ ergà Deum Fiduciæ, hominibus esse insolitum, ac planè peregrinum. At ubi hanc mens aliquantum exercuerit, in eàque licet pulsa Tentationibus, perseveraverit, fore eam planè Familiarem ac propemodum Naturalem; ut jam Deo non secus ac domestico patre fruamur, ac qualibet in re fidemissime ipsum invocemus.*⁴⁷ Briefly, It seems at first, more strange for us, to call on God as our *Father*; but afterwards it growes more Natural unto us.

4445.

Q. What Remark upon that Passage; *Yee did service to them, which by Nature are no Gods*? v. 8.

A. How criminal are the *Socinians*? They own, that Christians are to Honour *Jesus Christ*, with the same Worship which they give to Him who is *by Nature*

⁴⁴ Ἀπολαμβάνειν; "to receive back."

⁴⁵ "Because it signified that he takes for himself out of the common store only so much as is sufficient, rather than taking as though by force." Alard of Amsterdam (1494–1544) was a rhetorician and professor at Louvain who wrote treatise on Christian rhetoric, *Descriptio ecclesiastæ sive concionatoris evangelici*, based on the work of Rudolph Agricola (whose collected works he published in 1539). See Walter Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue* (96, 126).

⁴⁶ "That, through this, he wished to indicate the power and intention of this blessed calling."

⁴⁷ "That the beginning of such faith towards God was not customary, but clearly foreign, in humans. But when the mind has practiced this [faith] somewhat, and has persevered in it though buffeted by temptations, it will be more familiar and even natural; such that we no longer delight in God differently than our own father, but call upon Him in our affairs, whatever they be, with the utmost trust." These two citations of *Luther* are not direct quotations, though they do capture in a summary manner the train of his commentary on these verses. See *Luther, Commentary on Galatians* (238–50).

God; and yett they Deny that Jesus Christ is *by Nature God*. Must that be a Part of *Christianity*, which was a great Crime in the Heathen World?

It is wonderful to see, how the *Socinians* concur with the *Pagans*, in their Sentiments about the Worship of an Inferior Deity.

Say the Socinians.

Qui Divinitatem habet ab illo uno Deo acceptam. Crell.⁴⁸

Say the Heathens.

Dii minores ab uno illo facti, et sublimiter collocati. Apud August. de Civ. Dei. L. 6. c. 1.⁴⁹

Say the Socinians.

Christum pro ratione Imperii quod à Deo accepit colendum sentiunt. Crell.⁵⁰

Say the Heathens.

Τουτον ουν, τον εκειθεν εξουσιας τετυχηκοτα, ου θεραπευει δικαιως ο σεβων τον θεον. Cels. apud Orig. L. 7.⁵¹

Say the Socinians.

*Eum sic colere, pium et necessarium est.*⁵² Crell. *Christi enim honor et adoratio spectat ad gloriam Dei patris.* Wolf.⁵³

Say the Heathens.

Τον θεραπευοντα θεους πλειονας τω εν τι των του μεγαλου θεραπευειν φιλον και εν τούτω εκεινω ποιειν.⁵⁴ Cels. Ibid. L. 8.

There is hardly any Plea they use for the Worship of *Jesus Christ*, as a *Made God*, which (as *Whitby* observes) was not before used by the Philosophers for the Worship of their *Inferiour Deities*.⁵⁵

[△Insert ends]

[△]

48 “Who has received divinity from the one God.” On Crellius, see Mather’s entry on 1:12 (above).

49 “The lesser gods were made by the One, and raised together on high by him.” Augustine, *The City of God* (1:184).

50 “They think that Christ is to be worshiped because of the power which he received from God.” On Crellius, see Mather’s entry on 1:12 (above).

51 Τούτον ούν τον εκείθεν εξουσίας τετυχηκότα ου θεραπεύσει δικαίως ό σέβων τόν θεόν; “The man who worships this man, who received his power thence, as a god, does not do right service to God.” Origenes, *Contra Celsum* (PG 7.6.68, lines 11–13; 7.70, lines 30–31). Origen (c. 184–254 CE) was one of the great theological architects of early Christianity; *Against Celsus* (c. 248 CE) is one of the most trenchant early Christian apologetic works. His heterodox ideas on some subjects (e.g. the Trinity) led to his posthumous branding as a heretic; see NCE (10:653–7).

52 “To worship him thus is pious and necessary.” On Crellius, see Mather’s entry on 1:12 (above).

53 “For the honor and worship of Christ have in view the glory of God the Father.” Probably Christian Wolff (1679–1754), a German philosopher who began his career at the University of Halle, the center of Pietism. His extreme rationalism led to his forced departure from there in 1723 and his settlement at the University of Marburg. See “Christian Wolff,” *SEP* (electronic).

54 Τόν θεραπεύοντα θεούς πλείονας τώ εν τι των του μεγαλου θεραπεύειν φιλον και έν τούτω εκείνω ποιείν; “He who serves many gods does that which is pleasing to the Most High, because he honors that which belongs to Him.” Origen, *Against Celsus*, ANF (4:640).

55 Mather’s list here is drawn from Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:285–6).

[▽11r] [▽Insert from 11r]

Q. When tis said, *How Turn yee again to the Weak & Beggarly Elements? Ye observe Dayes, Months, and Times and Years*: What may bee meant by *Dayes*; and why are they called, *Beggarly Elements*? v. 9, 10.

A. The *Old Sabbath*, was in particular by the *Ebionites* earnestly contended for.⁵⁶ The Apostle tells the Christian *Galatians*, Hee was afraid of them, on the account of their Adhæring to the *Old Sabbath*, which as now antiquated. Here are Words enough, besides, *Dayes*, to import all other Seasons, which were sett apart by the Law; as, *Months, Times, Years. Months*, their New Moons. *Times*, their Passover, Pentecost, Feast of Tabernacles, with other Solemnities. *Years*, the Year of Release, & the Year of Jubilee. Nothing is left, for, *Dayes*, to signify, but their weekly *Sabbaths*. These *Dayes* are styled, πῶχα στοιχεῖα, *Beggarly Elements*, with some Relation, as Dr. *Templar* thinks, to the Name of *Ebion*;⁵⁷ which signifies, πῶχος, *A Beggar*;⁵⁸ Thus, as *Eusebius* notes, ὁ πῶχος παρ' ἐβραίοις ὀνομάζεται.⁵⁹ So then, πῶχα στοιχεῖα, are as much as, *Elements* formerly belonging to the Church in her Minority, and now by *Ebion* taken up. In the Number of those things, which hee, and his Complices mentained, wee find the *Jewish Sabbath* to bee *One*; τὸ μὲν σάββατον παρεφύλαττον, saies the Historian, *They observed the Sabbath*.⁶⁰

The *Dayes* here mentioned, being putt Indefinitely, must bee interpreted of the choicest of *Dayes* in the Jewish Account; and among them, none were comparable to the *Weekly Sabbaths*. It was a common Saying among them: *Hee who denies the Sabbath, is like him who denies the whole Law; and hee who observes the Sabbath, tho' hee should worship Idols, his Sins would bee forgiven*. Instances of their Applauses given to this *Queen of Dayes*, (as *Philo* calls it) are Numberless.

Dayes also, do here signify such as the *Jewes* were formerly in *Bondage* unto. Compare v. 9. They were not so much in *Bondage* to any *Dayes*, as the *Saturday-Sabbaths*. They were under such a Degree of *Servitude*, that they durst not use the Liberty Nature allowes every Man in his own Defence. They and their City, were taken, as *Dion* saies, ἐν τῇ τοῦ χρόνου ἡμέρα, μηδὲν ἀμυνόμενοι, on the Day of *Saturn*, making no Resistance.⁶¹ They were *bound* by their Su-

⁵⁶ The Ebionites were a first and second-century Jewish Christian (non-Pauline) community that maintained many of the Jewish customs of the Law. See "Ebionites," *EB* (electronic).

⁵⁷ The Hebrew word *ebionim* can be translated as "the poor ones."

⁵⁸ Perhaps Dr. John Templar (d. 1693), minister at Balsham (near Cambridge, England) 1657–93; D. D. Cambridge in 1666. Templar appears in Increase Mather's *Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences* (1684) as one who dealt with Quakers in his parish as possessed persons. His works include *The Saints Duty in contending for the Faith* (1659); *Idea theologiae Leviathanis* (1673), an attack on Hobbes and a defense of biblical canon and Christian doctrine; and *A Treatise relating to the Worship of God* (1694).

⁵⁹ "(They) are called 'beggar' by the Hebrews."

⁶⁰ These two Greek citations are from Eusebius, *Church History*, *NPNFii* (1:159–60).

⁶¹ Lucius Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae* (4.17.3, line 2); see also his *Roman History* (8:271). Dio (c. 155–230 CE) was a Roman consul and historian of Greek descent. His *History* (c. 207–

perstitutions, (as *Plutarch* expresses it) ὥσπερ ἐν σαγῆνῃ, *As if they had been in a Nett.*⁶² The Five Radical Precepts, which *Maimonides* recites, as necessary to be submitted unto, in order to a due Celebration of the *Sabbath*, they did beat out, into an infinite Number of *Niceties*; and unto each of them, they were so much in Bondage, that they Beleeved, the not observing them had hitherto hindred the Coming of the *Messias*.⁶³

Or, *Weak & Beggarly Elements*.] *Weak*, because not able to deliver a Man from Bondage and Death, into the glorious Liberty of the Sons of God. *Beggarly*, because Men were thereby kept as Pupils, from the full Possession and Enjoyment of the Inheritance.

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 12v]

[▽12v]

4444.

Q. Why should the Apostle be so much *Afraid* of having *Laboured in Vain* among the *Galatians*, if they observed *Dayes*, and *Months*; v. 10, 11.

A. The whole drift of the Epistle, shewes, That the Apostle here intends the *Jewish Festivals*, as far as they could be observed out of *Judea*. We learn from *Philo's* Oration against *Flaccus*, That the Jewes did εορτάτειν, *Keep their Feasts*, in *Egypt*, and *Alexandria*, and wherever they were settled among the Heathen.⁶⁴ And they were very numerous in *Asia Minor*, whereof *Galatia* was a Part. *Josephus* also testifies, That they there converted many unto their Jewish Worship.⁶⁵ This might make many Christians in *Galatia*, ready to Relapse unto the Rites of *Judaism*. Well might be the Apostle, be *Afraid* of these *Relapses*. For by this Practice they must Revolt unto the Jewish *Synagogues*; inasmuch as it belonged only unto the Great *Sanhedrim*, to state the certain Times of their *New Moons* & other *Festivals*; their entire Dependence was on the Jewish *Sanhedrim*.

[△Insert ends]

[△]

|

[13r]

Q. What may be the import here of being, *Zealously affected in a good Thing*? v. 18.

229) ran to 80 volumes, not all of which are extant. The 65th volume, which is fragmentary, chronicles the first Jewish revolt and is the source for this citation.

62 Plutarch, *De superstitione* (Stephanus, p. 169, sec. C, line 13).

63 Moses ben Maimonides (1135–1204); Maimonides wrote a number of treatises on Jewish law; see *EJ* (13:381–97). The Five Precepts of the Sabbath are articulated in his *Mishneh Torah*, in the section entitled *Hilchot Shabbat*.

64 εορτάτειν. Philo, *Oration against Flaccus*, in *Philo* (9:303ff). Philo (20 BC–50 CE) provides an account of the persecution of the Jews in Alexandria by the prefect Flaccus during the reign of Caligula (37–41 CE).

65 Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* (16.6.2) (344–5).

A. Dr. *Lock*⁶⁶ paraphrases it; *To be well and warmly affected towards a good Man*. He thinks; That by, *καλῶ*,⁶⁷ here, the Apostle means, a Person, and, *himself*. In the six præceding Verses, he speaks only of *himself*, and the Change of their Affections to him since he left them. There is no other Thing mentioned as peculiarly deserving their Affections, to which this Rule could refer. He had said, *ζηλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς*, *They affect you*; and, *ἵνα αὐτοὺς ζηλοῦτε*, *That you might affect them*.⁶⁸ This is only of *Persons*. Therefore what followes, *ζηλοῦσθαι ἐν καλῶ* may well be understood of a Person too.⁶⁹ q.d. “If I am the *good Man* you took me to be, you will do well to continue the Warmth of your Affection to me, tho’ I am absent from you.”⁷⁰

197.

Q. After what Manner would you Illustrate the *Allegory* of the Two Covenants in *Sara* & in *Agar*, the Two Consorts of *Abraham*? v. 24, 25.

A. This Type may bee Remarkably extended. As now; *Sarah* was the first espoused unto *Abraham*.

Thus, The Promise of the *Gospel*, was the first Stroke in the Dispensations of God unto His People; you have it in the *Head of the Book*, the Beginning of the Book about the Beginning of the World.

The Espousal of *Sarah*, is in the Sacred Scripture, but obscurely mentioned without any memorable Circumstances, like those of *Rebeckahs*, & of *Rachels*. There is but one little Verse that speaks of it; and this also, divided between her and *Milcah*, the wife of *Nahor*.

So, The Promise of the *Gospel* is at first, but obscurely Reported. It is but one little Part of a Verse, that offers it, and there too tis formed with the Mal-ediction of the Serpent.

Hagar at length becomes a sort of Mistress, much considered, by *Abraham*, while *Sarah* is almost thrown by, despised, & neglected very much.

In like sort, The *Law* had putt upon it, the great Regards of a most pompous Publication, upon a Mountain; and it made the *Gospel*, as it were truckle unto it: It became the Reigning Covenant; while the *Gospel*, conformable to its less Apparent Original, was too much forgotten.

Abraham seeing *Hagar* grow both Ambitious & Vexatious, when yett shee had brought forth no better than a *Slave* & one that had much of a *Wild Ass* in him, hee banished | both of them, from his House, and so *Sarah* resumed the Dominion, which at first belonged unto her.

[14v]

⁶⁶ See Appendix A.

⁶⁷ *καλῶ*; “good.”

⁶⁸ *ζηλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς*; *ἵνα αὐτοὺς ζηλοῦτε* (both in v. 17).

⁶⁹ *ζηλοῦσθαι ἐν καλῶ*; “zealously affected in a good thing” (KJV) (v. 18).

⁷⁰ See Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of Paul* (1:145–6).

Agreeably, The Almighty saw, that the Legal Administration of Things in His Church, was become Insupportable; that *Threatnings* wherewith it abounded, made it grievous; & that it raised not Men above a *Servile* Disposition of Soul: Wherefore Hee chased it out of His Church; and made way for the Coming & the Kingdome of His own *Son*, the Lord of the more Evangelical Administration.

In fine, the Angel finding Banished *Hagar*, under some Abatement of her Fury, hee bad her to *Return, & Humble herself unto her Mistress*.⁷¹

Accordingly, The Son of God, the *great Angel of the Covenant*, having stript the *Law*, of its cursing Power, and having obliged it, to give way, Hee permits the Re-entrance of it, unto some Place and Use, in the Kingdome of *Heaven*, & of *Grace*. Hee keeps under the *Legal Spirit*; but yett Hee makes the *Spirit*, and the *Tenour* of the *Law*, serviceable unto the Designs of *Grace*, in the Souls of Men. *Hagar* is not slaughtered, but subdued; and the *Law* ha's its Consideration, tho' a low one, in the Serving the Designs of the Evangelical Covenant.

Q. On that Expression, *It Answereth to Jerusalem that now is?* v. 25.

A. Συστοιχεί.⁷² *Alardus* observes, That στοιχεῖα⁷³ are the Shadows of a *Sun-dial*, *Quia ex umbris velut elementis, Horarum Ratio, Temporisque momenta observatione deprehenduntur*.⁷⁴ Pursue this Thought and you find a notable Elegancy.

{2723.}⁷⁵

Q. What singular Circumstance, had the Apostle in his Eye, to countenance him in saying, *This Agar is Mount Sinai in Arabia?* v. 25.

A. That the Covenant given at Mount *Sinai*, should be called, *Agar*, or compared unto the Condition of her that was called so, falls out very agreeably: For, thereabouts was the Town, which is by *Pliny* called, *Agra*, and by *Dion* called, *Agara*; and the People which inhabited those Parts of *Arabia*, are by *Strabo*, and *Stephanus*, called, Ἀγῤῃοι, *Agræi*; whom the latter *Greeks* called by the Name of *Hagarens*.⁷⁶

⁷¹ Gen. 16:19.

⁷² συστοιχεί; "stands in a row"; in Gal. 4:25 this verb is translated as "corresponds to (i. e. is aligned with) Jerusalem."

⁷³ στοιχεῖα; "shadows."

⁷⁴ "Because from the shadows, as from the elements, the calculation of the hours, and the movements of time, are understood by observation." On Alard of Amsterdam, see Mather's entry on 4:5 (above).

⁷⁵ See Appendix A.

⁷⁶ In Jewish and Christian literature, the term "Hagarenes" is used for certain tribes in Arabia, thought to be descendants of Hagar-Ishmael. Pliny, *Natural History* (2:455); Lucius Cassius Dio, *Roman History*; Strabo, *Geography* (16.4.2); Stephen of Byzantium, *Ethnica*. The *Ethnica* (6th century CE) exists only in fragmentary form.

Q. What means the Apostle, by *Jerusalem, which is Above?* v. 25.

A. The Apostle is opposing the *Sterility* of the Old Testament, & the *Fertility* of the New. The Church of the *Old* Testament hee exhibits under the Figure of Mount *Sinai*; in the wide & wild Wilderness of *Arabia*. What Figure, shall hee now take to repræsent the Church of the *New* Testament? It were convenient, that it bee a *Mount*; and what other, what better *Mount*, than that of *Zion*? Which even in the Days of the Old Testament, was considered as a *Type* of the Church under the *New*; yea, and as very *Fruitful* for the Converts therein brought home unto God? See the *Eighty Seventh* Psalm, and ponder it. Accordingly, you find this Opposition expressly made, in Heb. 12.18, 19, 20. Well, when the Apostle would say *Zion*, hee calls it by the Name of, *The Upper Jerusalem*; for in his Days, this was the very Name of *Sion*. *Josephus* a thousand times calls *Sion*, Τὴν ἄνω πόλιν,⁷⁷ which is no other than what the Apostle calls here, Τὴν ἄνω Ἱερουσαλὲμ.⁷⁸

Q. A Remark on the Apostles Way of Arguing here? v. 26.

A. There is one Mr. *Sykes*, who thus exhibits it.

The Quæstion under Debate, is whether the *Gentiles* are capable of being admitted unto the Favour of God, without becoming subject unto the Law of *Moses*. The Principle which he reasoned from, and which was acknowledged by the Jews, because written in their Law, was this Matter of Fact. *Abraham* had Two Sons, whereof the one, born of the Bond-woman, was cast out; the other was the Son of the Promise, and God made good His Promise unto him. Why God should chuse *Isaac*, to make him & his Seed, the Object of His peculiar Favour, and not *Ishmael*, is to us unknown; But so it is in Fact. Thus, in relation of Gods Admitting the *Gentiles* into Favour, and casting out the *Jews*, *Why* He should so do, tis a Secret. But it is no more unreasonable than His rejecting *Ishmael*, and conferring the Promise upon *Isaac*. *Two Covenants* has the glorious God made with Mankind. The *one* with the *Jews*, by which they became His People. The *Other* with *all* that are willing to embrace JESUS as His CHRIST & their Saviour. The former of those, may be considered under the Circumstances of *Hagar*. And this will justly represent the *Jews* of the *Jerusalem* that *now is*. The Latter, may be considered under the Circumstances of *Sarah*, and will answer to all that Beleeve in JESUS, who belong to the *Jerusalem* that is *Above*. Now, as *Isaac* was the Child of the *Promise*, thus are all that Beleeve in JESUS. And as *Ishmael* persecuted *Isaac*, so now the *Jews* persecute the *Christians*. But yett, as *Hagar* was cast out, and her Child, so may the *Jews* be justly cast out by God, and the *Gentiles* received into His Favour.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ "The heavenly city." Josephus, *Wars of the Jews* (5.4.1–4) (552–4).

⁷⁸ "The heavenly Jerusalem."

⁷⁹ Arthur Ashley Sykes, *Essay on the Truth of the Christian Religion, wherein its real foundation upon the Old Testament is shown* (1725), ch. 12, p. 198–99. Sykes (1683–1756) was an Anglican

Thus he dispenses with the Jews, upon things which they themselves conceded & confessed. So rational a Proceeding, how unreasonably cavilled at!

| [15r]
Q. Some of the learned *Witsius's* Illustrations upon the Apostolical Allegory of *Hagar* and *Sarah*, would be acceptable?⁸⁰ v. 21–26.

A. You shall have them.

In that Passage, with which the Apostle begins; *Tell me, yee that desire to be under the Law; do yee not Hear the Law?* There is an *Antanaclassis*; a Figure wherein the same Word is elegantly Represented⁸¹ with another Signification upon it; a Figure wherein he seems delighted, by the frequent use he makes of it. As 2. Cor. 5.21. *He that knew no Sin, is made Sin for us*; where *Sin* in the first Mention, means *Transgression*, in the Second, a *Sacrifice* for the *Transgression*. Thus here, the Intention is; yee that would be under the Yoke of the *Law*, with Expectation to come at Righteousness by your Obedience to it; Hear you some things that are elsewhere intimated in the Mosaic History, which we call the *Law*!

It need not seem Hard unto us, tho' it seem so, unto *Beza*, that it should be said of a *Covenant*, *It generates*.⁸² For a *Covenant* may well enough be compared unto a *Mother*; and as *Calvin* well observes, *Sicut in domo Abrahamæ duæ Matres, ità etiam in Ecclesiâ Dei; Doctrina enim Mater est, ex quâ nos Deus generat. Ea est duplex, legalis et evangelica*.⁸³ Nor is there any Occasion to wonder, that an Article of the Neuter Gender, [To] is præfixed unto the Name of [Ἀγάπ].⁸⁴ For as *Heinsius* observes, *To, sumitur τεχνικῶς, quomodo, qui glossas, hoc est peregrinas interpretantur voces, uti eo solent*.⁸⁵

But how comes *Hagar* immediately to be turned into a *Mountain*, & this *Mountain* to be termed *Sinai*! It throwes Interpreters into a Sweat. Some, with

priest (D.D. Cambridge, 1726) and theological controversialist. His treatise on demons in the New Testament denied their status as spiritual beings, interpreting them instead as forms of mental illness; he was also involved in pamphlet skirmishes over Arianism and episcopal authority. See *ODNB* (53:547–8).

⁸⁰ Hermann Wits, possibly his *Miscellanea sacra* (1692). See *NSHERK* (12:396).

⁸¹ Mather has written “repented” here but clearly meant “represented.”

⁸² Theodore Beza (1519–1605) was a French Reformed theologian and professor of Greek at Geneva who produced an annotated critical edition and translation of the Greek New Testament (1565); see *NSHERK* (2:78–81).

⁸³ “As in the house of Abraham there were two mothers, so there are also [two] in the Church of God. Doctrine is the mother of whom we are born. It is two-fold, legal and evangelical.” John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Epistles of Paul to the Galatians and the Ephesians* (137).

⁸⁴ τὸ δὲ Ἀγάπ; “for this Agar” (v. 25).

⁸⁵ “το is used in a technical sense: those who interpret *glossae* – that is, foreign or obsolete words – are accustomed to use it.” Nicholaes Heinsius (the Elder), a Dutch classical scholar and peripatetic bibliophile. Under the patronage of various nobles and royal courts, Heinsius (1620–81) spent over thirty years traveling through Europe (as far as Sweden and Russia) collecting books and manuscripts: at his death his library held over 13,000 volumes. He published editions of several classical authors. See *EB* (13:216).

Chrysostom, are of the Opinion, that the *Arabians* called *Sinai*, by the Name of *Agar*.⁸⁶ *Grotius* thinks Mount *Sinai*, when considered as a *Covenant*, is called *Agar*, under this Advantage, that the Town called *Agra* by *Pliny*, and *Agara* by *Dion*, was thereabouts; and the Inhabitants are called, *Αγάραιοι* by *Strabo* and *Stephanus*; but by the latter *Græcians* called, *Αγάρηνοι*, *Hagarens*.⁸⁷ *Cappellus* thinks, that here is an Allusion unto the Name of *Petra*, the Metropolis of *Arabia Petrea*, which in the Arabic is called *Hagar*.⁸⁸ *Bochart* observes, That the same City was called, *Sela*, by the Hebrewes: [2. King 14.7, and Jer. 16.1.] which is by the *Nubian Geographer* called, *Hagar*; and that both are the same that is called, *πέτρα*, by the *Græcians*.⁸⁹ The *Stony Mountains* that hang over the City, occasion'd the Name. The *Arabian Geographer* saies of it, *Agar distat à torrente Kora (Cory fluvio Herodoti) statione una, estque Arx pulchrè sita inter montes, in quibus commorabatur Filia Tamud, suntque ibi Domus excisæ in Petrà*.⁹⁰

However, all the Pains of these learned Men, only find a *City* called, *Agar*; not a *Mountain*, or a *City* on a *Mountain*. But lett us be liberal, and grant a *Mountain* in *Arabia*, yea, more than one, called, *Agar*, all this will not bring Mount *Sinai* to be called so.

Some are so puzzled here, that they come to say with *Zegerus*, *Præstaret, ne dicam deberet, illud Agar abesse*.⁹¹ And, *A Lapide* cries up his *Vulgar Latin*, for

⁸⁶ John Chrysostom, *Commentary on Galatians*, NPNFi (13:34). On Chrysostom, see Mather's entry on 1:12 (above).

⁸⁷ *Αγάρηνοι*. Hugo Grotius, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (6:584). On Pliny, Strabo, Dio, and Stephen of Byzantium, see Mather's entry on 4:25 (above).

⁸⁸ Louis Cappel (1585–1658), a French Protestant scholar and professor of Hebrew at Saumur; perhaps his *Critica sacra* (1650) or his *Historia apostolica illustrata* (1634), the latter of which was owned by Increase Mather. See *EP* (1:351).

⁸⁹ *πέτρα*; "Petra," the city carved into stone, dating from c. 300 BCE (in present-day Jordan). Samuel Bochart (1599–1667) was a French Protestant pastor, biblical scholar, and polyglot Orientalist whose interests extended to Arabic literature. His *Geographica sacra* (1646) exerted enormous influence on Protestant biblical interpretation for over a century; see *EB* (3:106). The "Nubian geographer" here is Muhammad al-Idrisi (1099–1165), a Moroccan scholar and geographer, resident in the court of Roger II of Sicily (1095–1154), for whom he produced a global geography; see "Al-Idrisi" in *CDSB* (electronic). Idrisi (Abu Abdullah Mohammed Ibn al-Sharif al-Idrisi). *Geographia Nubiensis id est Accuratissima Totius Orbis in Septem Climata Divisi Descriptio, Continens præsertim exactam universæ Asiae, & Africae, rerumque* (1619).

⁹⁰ "Agar is distant from roaring Kora (the Korys river of Herodotus), near a military outpost. There is a citadel beautifully positioned amidst the mountains, in which the daughter of Tamud stayed; and their houses there are cut into the rock." The "Arabian Geographer" here is also al-Idrisi. In his *Histories* (Bk. III.9), Herodotus spoke of a river in Arabia called the Korys, which he described as quite large and emptying into the Red Sea. Though the river does not exist, his description is perhaps based on the phenomenon of *wadis*, dry stream beds which can become torrential after rains.

⁹¹ "It is better that that Agar is left out, lest I should say that he ought to be." Nicholas Zegers (c. 1495–1559) was a Belgian Franciscan scholar who produced a number of works of biblical exegesis; see *CE* (15:753).

leaving *Agar* out.⁹² But *Beza*, who at first followed *Austin* and *Origen*, in omitting the Name of *Agar*, yett found his Omission so displeasing to good and wise Men, that in his latter Editions, he took *Agar* in again.⁹³ One *Bentley* indeed, who is in *Witsius's* esteem, *Græcanicæ eruditionis callidissimus*,⁹⁴ contrives that whole Clause, Σινὰ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ to have been a marginal Note of some Transcriber, at last crept into the Page.⁹⁵ But our *Witsius* very well corrects, the bold Correctors of our *Original Bibles*; who handle them as if they had no other than a *Plautus*, or an *Ovid* in their Hands; and he concludes with a Sentence worthy of so learned a Man; *Equidem centies Ignorantiam et Stuporem meum, confiteri mallet, quàm ex nescio qua conjectandi audacia receptam ac constantem Divinarum Literarum Lectionem temerare*.⁹⁶

In the Text before us, why may not we take the Word, IS, to be of the same import with, SIGNIFIETH? *Agar signifies the same that Mount Sinai does*; or, as *Heinsius* carries it, *Vox Agar, | Sinæ respondet*.⁹⁷ Briefly, a *Person*, *Hagar*, and a [16v] *Mountain*, *Sinai*, are compared, as agreeing in one mystical Signification.

If this will not satisfy; our *Witsius* proposes a New Penetration made into the Words of the Apostle, by his learned Friend. The Word ὄρος,⁹⁸ or, *Mountain*, is to be Repeated; (as there are frequent Instances in the Scripture, of such a Repetition to be understood) and we are to Read it, *This Mountain of Agar is Mount Sinai*. Now, what was the *Mountain of Agar*? Verily, it was Mount *Paran*,

92 Cornelius à Lapide (1567–1637), a Flemish Jesuit scholar and professor of Holy Scripture at Leuven and Rome. He wrote commentaries on nearly all of the books of the Bible; his *Commentary on the Epistles of Paul* appeared in 1614. See *NCE* (8:332–3).

93 Theodore Beza (1519–1605) was a French Reformed theologian and professor of Greek at Geneva who produced an annotated critical edition and translation of the Greek New Testament (1565); see *NSHERK* (2:78–81).

94 “Most expertly knowledgeable in matters of Greek.”

95 Σινὰ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ; “is Mt. Sinai in Arabia” (v. 25). Richard Bentley (1662–1742) was a classical scholar, textual critic, and later, an Anglican priest and theologian and Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. Bentley was considered the finest classicist in England and was the first Boyle lecturer. His *Epistola ad Johannem Millium* (1691), probably in view here (given that the citation is from Witsius), was a response to John Mill’s critical textual work on New Testament, which recorded some 30,000 variant readings in the text (Mill’s *Novum Testamentum* appeared in 1707). Bentley’s essay attempts to identify and restore the most reliable variants, while defending the overall integrity of the text. He later published *Proposals for Printing a New Edition of the Greek New Testament* (1721) as a further response to the skepticism generated by Mill’s edition. See *ODNB* (5:291–8).

96 “Yes, I would wish to confess my ignorance and stupidity a hundred times over; how greatly, from I know not what audacious love of guess-work, have I profaned the received and consistent reading of the divine letters.” Hermann Wits, possibly his *Miscellanea sacra* (1692); on Wits see Mather’s second entry on 3:13 (above). Plautus (c. 254–184 BCE) was a Roman playwright; see Arthur Bates, *The Drama: Its History, Literature, and Influence on Civilization* (2:159–65). Ovid (c. 45 BCE–17 CE) was a Roman poet, and author of *Metamorphosis*; see *ERE* (403–4).

97 “Hagar’s voice, Sinai answers to.” On Heinsius, see Mather’s entry on 4:21–26 (above).

98 ὄρος.

where *Hagar* when ejected by *Abraham*, settled with her Son *Ishmael*: [Gen. 21.21.] She was not only the *Mother*, but also the *Mistress* of her Son, at this Time; and his Offspring were called, *Hagarens*. Here *Ishmael*, having his Hand against every Man, became terrible to the People in the adjacent Valleys. And Mount *Paran* might therefore well be resembled unto Mount *Sinai*, that struck such a Terror into the Jewish Nation.

But after all, our *Witsius* himself chooses to understand it, as if, το γαρ Ἀγαρ,⁹⁹ were of the same Sense, with, τουτο γαρ της Ἀγαρ; q.d. *This is Agars Part*, or, *This belongs to Agar*. What? This, To generate unto Bondage. And indeed this Gloss runs along admirably well. The Particle γαρ showing how this Clause proves the Præceding. It had been said, That the *Old Covenant*, that genders unto Bondage, was figured by *Agar*. For, saies the Apostle now, *This belongs unto Agar*. He goes on, Attend unto Mount *Sinai*, where this *Old Covenant* was delivered; Is it not in *Arabia*, which is without the Bounds of the *Land of Promise*?

But now, How could Mount *Sinai* be said to answer unto *Jerusalem* which now is? To imagine, That Mount *Sinai*, with a long Tract of Hills depending upon it, reached as far as *Jerusalem*, is a very gross Mistake in *Geography*, which if it were pardonable in *Chrysostom*, it could not be so in *Genebrard*, who pretended unto no little Skill in *Hebrew Affayrs*.¹⁰⁰ The Matter is much better expressed by *Erasmus*; *Paulus non metitur Spacium intervalli, sed confert similitudinem Allegoriae*.¹⁰¹ They agreed on the mystical Accommodation which is now prosecuting.

Jerusalem that NOW is, doubtless means *Jerusalem*, as it was in the Days of *Paul*, while the Jewish Temple, and its Worship, was yett standing. *Jerusalem which is above*, intends the Church of the *New Testament*, which is of a more *Cælestial* Character.

The two *Covenants* here opposed, seem not the *Covenant of Works*, and the *Covenant of Grace*. They seem rather to intend the *Two Dispensations*; the *Mosaic* and the *Christian*.

Sinai, was horrid, for the *Bushes* growing, & the *Thunders* uttered, on it; and seated in a terrible *Desart*. *Sion* was a pleasant Hill, the Habitation of God, and in the Heart of the Land of Promise.

You know, how Divines carry on the Allegory.

⁹⁹ "For this Agar ... etc." The Greek text (v. 25) reads τὸ δὲ Ἀγὰρ ("for this Agar"), with a variant reading of τὸ γὰρ Ἀγὰρ. Mather's source would extend the latter to τοῦτο γὰρ τῆς Ἀγὰρ, "this belongs to Agar," without textual warrant.

¹⁰⁰ Gilbert Genebrard (1535–1597), a French Benedictine scholar and professor of Hebrew and exegesis at the College Royal in Paris, later made archbishop. Genebrard translated a number of rabbinic works into Latin; see *NCE* (6:127).

¹⁰¹ "Paul does not measure the intervening distance, but he draws together the similarity of an allegory." See Erasmus, *Paraphrases on Romans and Galatians* (120).

Q. *Faith which worketh by Love.*] Why is *Love* mentioned? v. 6.

A. One reason may be, the Animosities raised among them, on the Controversy about Circumcision.

Q. What may be intimated from that; *A little Leaven, leaveneth the whole Lump?* v. 9.

A. Dr. *Lock* observes, That by this and the next Verse, it looks, as if all the Disorder among the *Galatians* arose from *one Man*. Opposed unto *him that called them*, that is, unto the Apostle.¹⁰²

4446.

Q. What was the *Cutting off*, which the Apostle wished for the *Troublers* of the *Galatians*? v. 12.

A. The Interpretation of all the *Greek Fathers*, and of *Ambrose* and *Austin* and *Jerom*, is, *Utinam non solum circumcidantur, sed {etiam} abscindantur*;¹⁰³ I wish, they were not only *circumcised*, but even made like the *Priests of the Mother of the Gods*, worshipped formerly by you of *Galatia*.

But this Interpretation seems to carry too much Levity in it. We should rather chuse that Exposition, which makes it signify, *Excommunication*. Compare, 1. Cor. 5.6, 7. But our Apostle, would not proceed here alone to *cutt off* these Men. He saw his Authority much impaired among them; and he might apprehend, that the Distemper would rather be exasperated than remedied, by such a Proceeding.

Q. What might be the Occasion of those Words, *If yee bite and devour one another?* v. 15.

A. *Theodoret* thinks it was, from the Contention which arose between those who stood firm to the Gospel, and them who warped unto the Jewish Observances. We may add; As the Zealots among the Jewes would not lett an uncircumcised Person live among them, so it might be with the Zealous Judaizers.¹⁰⁴
[△Insert ends]

[△]

¹⁰² Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (1:151).

¹⁰³ "That they might not merely be circumcised, but even emasculated." The word *etiam* is obscured by adhesive wax but is called for by the syntax and is in fact found in Whitby's *Paraphrase* (p. 291), from which this passage is taken. Whitby gives no text for the citation or authors mentioned here.

¹⁰⁴ Theodoret, *Commentary on the Letters of Saint Paul* (2:20–21). On Theodoret, see Mather's entry on 1:12 (above).

[▽19r] [▽Insert from 19r]

Q. How come, *Witchcrafts*, to be mentioned among, *The Works of the Flesh?* v. 20.

A. There was a Sect of *Impure Christians*, that made a very early Appearance, in the primitive Churches.

They that afterwards went under the Name of *Gnosticks*, were the Spawn of these: and mightily answer the Character given of them in the *Apostolical Epistles*. Yea, and not only the oldest *Christian Writers*, but one that was a *Pagan*, do agreeably characterize them. The Person I mean, is *Plotinus*, whose Interpreter and Admirer *Marsilius Ficinus*, would fain have to pass for a *Christian*, because living in a Time when the Controversy between *Paganism* and *Christianity* was at the Height, he saies nothing against *Christianity* itself, but speaks very much against those wretched *Pseudo-Christians*; and this his Translator presumes to insert the Name of *Gnosticks* for him.¹⁰⁵

They were partly a *Judaizing*, and partly a *Paganizing* sort of *Christians*. And they held it lawful for *Christians* to join with *Pagans*, in the Solemnities of their Worship, celebrated in the Temples of their Idols. Tis well known, that horrid *Impurities*, *Unchastities*, and *Immoralities*, were incorporated into the *Pagan Worship*: such as justly bespoke the Term, *Abominable Idolatries*.

The Addition of, *Witchcraft*, is (as Mr. *How* well observes,) not at all unaccountable. The *Sacra* of the *Pagans* were full of *Sorceries*; had many Diabolical *Superstitions* and *Incantations* in them; the *Magical Rites* in them were numberless & horrible. The *Idolaters* particularly drank the *Blood* of the Sacrifices, and ate of the *Strangulates* with the *Blood* in them; upon an Imagination, that in so doing, they did partake of the very Spirit of their Gods whom they worshipped.

Nor is it unlikely, that the Divil might sometimes, in some unusual Manner enter into them, when they were thus engaged; And (as Mr. *How* expresses it) more violently agitate their Blood, and other Humours; in the Higher Ferments whereof, if by a more direct Influence from the great Enemy of Mankind, Quarrels and *Murders* also should sometimes ensue, it could not but heighten the Sports and the Triumphs of Hell.¹⁰⁶

[△] [△Insert ends]

¹⁰⁵ Plotinus (c. 204–270 CE) was the founding figure in Neoplatonism; his cosmology bears certain parallels to that of the Gnostics, against whom he wrote a treatise. His work had a major influence on the Church Fathers, including Augustine; see “Plotinus,” *SEP* (electronic). Marsilio Ficino (1433–99) was a principle reviver of Plotinus’s work and of Neoplatonism during the Renaissance and the first modern translator of Plato’s works; His major work is the *Theologia platonica* (1482). See “Marsilio Ficino,” *SEP* (electronic).

¹⁰⁶ John Howe (1630–1705), a Puritan divine and a student of the Neoplatonists Ralph Cudworth and Henry More. After the Act of Uniformity (1662), he had a somewhat varied career as a preacher among dissenting churches, eventually landing in Utrecht. Upon James II’s issuing of the Act of Indulgence (1687), he returned to London. Howe published a number of topical treatises and sermons, often on the subject of piety: his best known work *The Living*

[▽Insert from 20v]

[▽20v]

Q. Who are, *They which do such things?* v. 21.

A. *Alardus* observes, That the Word, *πράσσειν*, which (and not the word, *πραττειν*)¹⁰⁷ is used here; signifies, not simply, *To Do*, but, *Summo nisu, studio, conatu, et indesinenter facere*.¹⁰⁸ The condemnatory Sentence of the Apostle, he observes, does belong, *non ad eos qui infirmitate carnis preoccupati, istarum aliquid perpetrant, sed qui carnis studio dediti sunt, operumque carnis ζηλωται existunt, talesque perseverant*.¹⁰⁹

It is also observable, That it is in the present Tense.

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 18v]

[▽18v]

2724.

Q. Perhaps, t'wil help one to penetrate a little into the Meaning of each particular *Fruit of the Spirit*, if we observe what particular *Work of the Flesh*, tis opposed unto? v. 22, 23.

A. *Love* is opposed unto *Hatred, Murdere*.

Joy, unto *Envyings*; they who have *Joy* in the Welfare of other Men, shall be rewarded with *Joy*.

Peace, unto *Variance*, or Quarrelsome Words that break our *Peace*.

Long-suffering, (or, an Hopeful Waiting for the amendment of the Fallen.) unto *Emulations*.

Gentleness, (or, a sweet, courteous, affable Conversation.) unto *Strife*.

Goodness, (or, a disposition to take every thing in the best Part, & not easily to condemn, or contemn any one.) unto, *Seditions*, (or *Dissensions*.) which are, *Dissidia quæ sine Opinionum diversitate Ecclesiam scindunt*.¹¹⁰

Temple (1702) was in this vein. Mather owned Howe's *Calm and Sober Enquiry concerning the Possibility of a Trinity in the Godhead* (1694). See *ODNB* (28:471–5).

¹⁰⁷ The verb *πράσσειν* (to act or do) is used in v. 21: “they which do such things, etc.” It is often used in the New Testament in association with the committing of evil acts; it can have the connotation of “busyness” in such an activity – so interpreted by Alard (see Mather's entry on 4:5 above). The verb *πράττειν* is simply an Attic variant of this verb and is essentially synonymous, though perhaps without the intensity of action.

¹⁰⁸ “To do with the greatest striving, eagerness, and effort, and to do it without ceasing.”

¹⁰⁹ “Not to those who, preoccupied with the weakness of the body, do some of those things, but those who are given over to the desire of the flesh, and who seek the work of the flesh (*ζηλωται*): they live for this, and continue in it.” On Alard of Amsterdam, see Mather's entry on 4:5 (above).

¹¹⁰ “Divisions which, without diversity of opinions, tear apart the Church.” Grotius, *Annotiones* (6:595–6).

Faith, (or, a sincere & cordial Profession of the Christian *Faith*) unto *Hæresies*: [which are *Sectae quae ex placitis humanis vehementius defensis trahunt originem*].¹¹¹

Meekness, unto *Wrath*.

Temperance, unto *Adultery*, *Fornication*, *Uncleanness*, *Lasciviousness*, *Drunkenness*, *Revellings*, & such like.

Saies the Apostle, *Against such Fruits of the Spirit, There is no Law*. If Men were universally filled with these things, there would be no need of any *Penal Lawes* in the World.

The *Græcians* had a good Saying.

Δικαιος εαν ης, τω τροπω χρηση νομου· *Si sis probus, pro lege erit tibi probitas*.¹¹²

Q. On the *Spirit lusting against the Flesh*, in these things? v. 23.

A. Even the Jews themselves acknowledge this Point of *practical Christianity*.

In *Beracoth* fol. 5.1, it is reported as a Speech of R. Simeon Ben Zakishi; *Semper homo excitet concupiscentiam bonam, contrâ concupiscentiam malam*.¹¹³

R. Salomon saies upon it; *Excitet concupiscentiam bonam, ut Bellum gerat cum concupiscentiâ malâ*.¹¹⁴

Of, The *Spirit which is lusteth against the Flesh*, we may say; 'Tis the *Spirit* of Christianity.

[△] [△Insert ends]

¹¹¹ "Sects which derive their origin from the passionate defense of things pleasing to men." *Ibid.*

¹¹² Δικαιος εαν ης, τω τροπω χρηση νομου. "If you are just, you will use your habits as your law" [Greek]; "if you are honest, your honesty will be your law" [Latin]. *Ibid.* From Menander's *Sententiae* (Sententia Mono, sec. 1, line 135).

¹¹³ "Let a man always rouse his good desire against his evil desire." *Soncino Babylonian Talmud*, tractate Beracoth (5a); R. Simeon ben Lakish.

¹¹⁴ "Let him rouse his good desire in order to wage war with his evil desire." The *Berakhot* section of the Talmud discusses the use of prayers and blessings, particularly those related to holy days.

Q. A Remark on the Style of our Apostle? v. 1.

A. *Jerom* is highly offended, with our Apostle, for passing from *υμεις* to *και συ*.¹¹⁵ *Ye that are spiritual – considering thyself, lest thou also*; And he gathers from hence, that when *Paul* said, *He was rude in speech*, it must have no other Sense than This, That he was a *Solécist*, and unacquainted with the Greek Language. But, with the Leave of the old Man, the Passage is as pure Greek as ever was written; and such Transitions are to be found very often in the most unquæstionable Classics. In the mean time, lett us consider what *Erasmus* (as fitt a Person as any to be opposed unto *Jerom*) as well as other Criticks, have said upon this Passage; *This Change is in the Nature of the thing here, most Judicious, most Pertinent, & most Pressing*. It is less harsh than to say, *Lest ye also be tempted*. It presses the Advice more close to home upon their Conscience, and gives every Individual Christian a Concern in the Danger & the Duty.

Q. *Bear ye one anothers Burdens, and so fulfil the Law of Christ?* v. 2.

A. Elegantly expressed. **Q.** *D.* Instead of imposing the Drudgery of the *Jewish* Law.

Q. On him, who *Thinks himself to be something, when he is nothing*. v. 3.

A. The Jews express this Matter in yett harder Terms. In *Midras Kohemoth* tis thus expressed. *Qui nihil est, et putat se esse aliquid, melius ei esset, si natus non fuisset*.¹¹⁶

Q. What might be the special Occasion of the Apostles laying that Injunction, *Lett him that is taught in the Word, communicate unto him that teacheth, in all good things?* v. 6.

A. It seems, the *New Teachers* among the *Galatians*, that sett up their *Jewish* Notions, took the Wages of their Ministry, from none but the more *Jewish* Christians. The *Gentiles* perceiving *This*, e'en fell in with these *False Teachers*, out of Covetousness; and would embrace their *Doctrines*, from the Temptation of

¹¹⁵ *υμεις ... και συ*; v. 1 reads “you who are spiritual ... lest you also ...” In his letter to Pam-machius (Letter LVII), Jerome comments on the problems presented by the New Testament authors’ use of common (koine) (i. e. substandard) Greek, of which this is an example. Their use of inferior Greek was thought to raise doubts regarding their inspiration. (Observation courtesy of Reiner Smolinski). See *NPNFii* (6:112–19).

¹¹⁶ “He who is nothing but thinks he is something, it would be better for him if he had not even been born.” The *Midrash Kohemoth* is a commentary on the book of Ecclesiastes included in the *Midrash Rabba*, a collection of rabbinic commentaries on a number of biblical texts frequently used in Jewish liturgy, dating from the early medieval period; see *EJ* (6:90).

being thereby freed from *Charges*. Now the Apostle, to remove this Temptation, shewes, That none of them should on any Pretence whatever, look on themselves as excused from the Duty of supporting their *Teachers*.

Q. *Especially to the Household of Faith*; who may be especially intended? v. 10.

A. By no means lett the common Gloss be disturbed, which takes in *all the Faithful*.

But it will be pleasing enough unto some, if a Gloss which I find offered by one Mr. *Squire*, be received. That by the *Domesticks of the Faith* may be more strictly designed, the *Teachers*, which the *Sixth Verse* refers unto.¹¹⁷

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽22v] [▽Insert from 22v]

4447.

Q. Why do we translate, πελικοις¹¹⁸ γραμμασιν εγραψα, *How large a Letter I have written?*¹¹⁹ v. 11.

A. The Apostle *Paul* no less than Seventeen Times, uses the Word, επιστολαι, but never once the Word, γραμματα, when he speaks of his *Epistles*.¹²⁰ It is true, That *Paul* wrote his other *Epistles*, by an *Amanuensis*; [Rom. 16.22.] adding only in the Close of them, the Salutation, with his own Hand, as an Indication that he Indited them. [2. Thess. 3.17.] Whereas he wrote this whole Epistle with his own Hand, as a Testimony of his greater Affection & Concernment for the *Galatians*. But, πηλικά γραμματα,¹²¹ *What Kind of Letters?* may refer, as the *Greek Scholiast* conceives, unto the Shape, suppose the Largeness, or Badness, of the Characters, in which it was written.¹²² It was probably, a Regard unto Accuracy in Writing, or the Formation of the Greek Characters, that was the Reason of the Apostles employing other Hands, to write his other Epistles.

Q. Why does the Apostle say, *Neither they themselves, who are circumcised, keep the Law?* v. 13.

117 Perhaps William Squire (c. 1677), Anglican priest and author of several anti-Catholic works; see *ODNB* (52:20); alternately, Francis Squire, *A Brief Exhortation to Protestant Liberty* (1716) or Anglican cleric John Squire (d. 1653).

118 See Appendix A.

119 πηλικοις ὑμῖν γράμμασιν.

120 επιστολαι, “letters”; γραμματα, “writings.”

121 πηλικά γραμματα; “large writings.”

122 See Daniel Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:295). *Scholia* originated as marginal explanatory notes to classical literature; they became especially prominent in Christian scholarship beginning in the 5th century. Over time the aggregate notes became works in their own right; they came to be known as “the Scholiast on” a particular work of classical literature or author; see *NCE* (12:779). The most important Greek scholiast was the commentary on Homer, which may be in view here; see Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship* (18–20).

A. All that the *False Teachers of Galatia* aimed at, was, For the *Romans* to esteem them *Jewes*. The Lawes of the *Roman Empire*, had forbidden the Introducing of any *New Religions*; By those Lawes, *Judaism* was tolerated, but *Christianity* prohibited & persecuted. Now these *False Teachers*, thought that *Circumcision*, and perhaps one or two more Jewish Ceremonies, was enough to make them esteemed *Jewes*; [Arrianus in *Epictetus*, intimates, That *Circumcision* was then counted enough to discover a *Jew*; & so did *Martial*].¹²³ And if they could but gain this Point, and therewith Freedom from the Cross, This was all that they cared for. If the Observation of the *Mosaic Law*, were necessary to Salvation, as they pretended, why did they not keep *all* of it? Whereas they kept no more of it, than would just serve their Sæcular Interest. They cutt the *Fore-skin*, only that they might otherwise sleep in a *whole Skin*; and from the *Flesh* of their Disciples also, afford unto the *Jewes* a Matter of *Glory*.

Q. *Glorying in the Cross?* v. 14.

A. 'Tis well observed, in the *Religionæ Ludolfianæ*; That it notes, first, the lively *Joy* a pious Soul reaps from the Consideration of that great *Love*, which brought our Saviour to the Cross; And then, in a Sense of the *Peace*, which was made & purchased by the Death of our Saviour on the Cross. And lastly; That *Power of Life* which is derived from the Cross of our Saviour upon us, for subduing the Corruptions of our Nature.¹²⁴

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 24v]¹²⁵

[▽24v]

Q. That Passage; of nothing availing but a *New Creature?* v. 15.

A. While the poor *Jews* forgett the *Messiah* of God, & His great *Sacrifice*, to what miserable Shifts are they putt, that they may *attain unto Righteousness*? One of their Shifts for *Justification*, is, To *change their Name*; to take a *New Name*. As if the *Sins* committed by the Man under his *former Name*, and the *Punishments* which then belong'd unto him, could not now lay hold on him! Indeed, there seems to have been also intended by them, an Intimation and Admonition, that the Man with the *New Name* should lead a *New Life*; and become really *Another Man*. *Maimonides* tells us, He who *changes his Name*, does as if he said, *אני אחר*, *ani acher*.

¹²³ The teachings of the Greek Stoic philosopher Epictetus (55–135 CE) were recorded by his disciple Arrianus (c. 86–160) in the latter's *Discourses of Epictetus* (c. 108 CE); see *ERE* (197). Martial (c. 40–103 CE) is the author of the *Epigrams*, a work of poetry; see *ERE* (353–4).

¹²⁴ Henry William Ludolph (1655–1710), an expatriate German civil servant who settled in London and was active in Pietist circles. The *Reliquiae* (or “Remains”), a collection of his reflections on various subjects pertaining to religious devotion, was translated into English and published as *Reliquiae Ludolfianae: The Pious Remains of Mr. Hen[ry]. Will[iam]. Ludolf* (London, 1712). See “Ludolf,” *NeDB* (electronic).

¹²⁵ See Appendix B.

*Ego nunc Alius sum, neque ille Vir amplius, qui fecit opera ista.*¹²⁶ R. Alphen adds; *Mutatio Nominis causam ipsi præbet agendi penitentiam, dum in Corde suo dicit, ego non sum amplius ille qui fui prius, ac proinde emendandæ sunt Actiones meae.*¹²⁷ Hence tis that if a Jew be dangerously sick, he has his recourse to this Method, for escaping the Blowes of Divine Justice. Buxtorf has given us the Prayer used on this Occasion; [Synag. C. XXXV.] Part of it is this; *Sit, quaeso, Beneplacitum tuum, O Deus, ut mutatio Nominis ipsius faciat ad abolendum ab eo omni Decreta dura, ac mala, et ad lacerandam sententiam contra ipsum latam.*¹²⁸

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽23r] [▽Insert from 23r]

They plead, That if Death were decreed for one whose Name, suppose, was *Reuben*, yett, there is no such Decree for one whose Name is *Joseph*. *Et, hac horâ est quasi Vir alius, sicut Creatura Nova, et sicut parvulus recenter natus ad Vitam bonam, et ad longitudinem Dierum.*¹²⁹ Upon the Recitation of these Passages, the Judicious & Excellent Witsius, observes, That it is not improbable, that this Opinion and Vanity was among the Jews, as long ago as the Dayes of the Apostles.¹³⁰ And that therefore, tis worth enquiring, whether what we read in the New Testament, about a *New Creature*, and a *New Name*, have no Allusion hereunto. So, Syr, I leave it unto your Enquiry.

[△] [△Insert ends]

[22v]

Q. In the Appreciation of *Peace on them that walk according to Rule*; Why then is it added, *And on the Israel of God?* v. 16.

A. Q.D. I don't so wish Peace unto the *Gentiles*, [Paul was alwayes very solicitous in this Point, because of the continual Clamours of his Countreymen

¹²⁶ אֲנִי אֲחֵר means "I am another." The Latin: "I am now someone else, and that man who did those things is no more." Moses Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah: Hilchot Teshuvah* (28). Maimonides (1135–1204) was the most influential Jewish legal theorist and theologian of the medieval period; see *EJ* (13:381–99).

¹²⁷ "The change of name provides him with a cause for performing penance, since he says in his heart, 'I am no longer he who I was before, and henceforward my actions should be better.'" Isaac ben Jacob al-Fasi (1013–1103), i.e. Isaac of Fez (Morocco), was a celebrated Talmudic scholar and author of the legal treatise *Sefer Ha-halachot*; see *JE* (1:375–7).

¹²⁸ "May it be your will, O God, that the change of that name cause the abolition of all those harsh decrees and evil things, and cause the destruction of that sentence of punishment brought against him." Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629), *Synagoga judaica* (1603) [here, Ch. 35], an expansive work dealing with Jewish religious culture. Buxtorf served as professor of Hebrew at Basel; several of his works, though not this one, appear in the Mather library. See *NSHERK* (2:324–5).

¹²⁹ "And at this hour he is like another man, like a new creature, like a child recently born to a good life, and to length of days." A citation likely drawn from Buxtorf, or possibly Hermann Wits.

¹³⁰ On Hermann Wits, see Mather's second entry on 3:13 (above).

against him!] as to exclude the *Israelites*; provided they be the True *Israel of God*, the genuine Children of *Jacob*. Compare, Joh. 1.47.

Both the *Ordinary*, and *Interlineary* Glosses understand it of the Jews. q.d. As many as walk according to this *Rule*, Peace is on those *Gentiles*, Peace and Mercy on those *Jews*.

Q. Why does the Apostle insist upon this, *I bear in my Body the Marks of the Lord Jesus?* v. 17.

A. **Q.** D. If our new Teachers, brag of their having on their *Body*, the *Mark of Circumcision*. Lett them know, I am *Circumcised*, as well as they. But I more value myself upon the *Marks* in my *Body*, produced by my being *Scourged* for my Lord *Jesus*, than upon my *Circumcision*. However, I beseech you that are called *Christians*, to forbear Troubling of me (particularly about *Circumcision*. You know I have Trouble enough from another Quarter).

[▽Insert from 23r resumes]¹³¹

[▽23r resumes]

Q. A further Remark on *the Marks* our Apostle *bore*, v. 17.¹³²

A. It was not permitted among the *Greeks* for any Person to absent himself from military Service, except in Cases wherein the Law allowed it; and whoever was found to have transgressed was at *Athens* deprived of his Voice in public Affairs, might not go into the public Temples and lost all the Rights of Citizens: And lest any of the Persons appointed to serve should make their Escape, we find they were branded in the *Hand*, with certain *Marks*, called *στιγματα*, to which Custome the Apostle here alludes, where speaking of the Wounds he had received in his *Christian Warfare*.¹³³ He says, He bore in his Body the *στιγματα*, or *Marks* of our LORD.

¹³¹ See Appendix B.

¹³² This entry is in a hand other than Mather's and is the same as other entries (Eph. 3:18 [24v], Phil. 4:22 [22v], Col. 4:16 [20v], I Thess. 5:22 [7r]); perhaps that of his son Samuel, who may have been practicing his penmanship.

¹³³ *στιγματα*; "(tattoo) mark, wound."

The Sacred Scriptures are illustrated unto very good Purpose, when doctrinal Observations are made upon them; Such Observations particularly as advise us on the Matters of our Christian Morality; and such Observations as may perhaps not ly very obvious to our first, & more cursory View; but are found out by a Rational & Diligent Search, & then incontestably appear to have been very notably Insinuations of the Divine Will unto us. I know not whether the *Profit* or the *Pleasure*, be greater, in making these *Observations*. But some Divines of the *Scotch Nation*, have done valuable things in this Way. And among these, Mr. *James Ferguson* is considerable.¹³⁴ I will go thro' his Expositions, and from his Notes, I will single out some, which appeared unto me, the *Magis Curiosa*,¹³⁵ in the Reading of them. They will gratify a Devout Mind, & they will also leave a Sensible Tincture of Holiness, on the Mind of the Reader, who will make them his Meditation.

Ch. I. v.1. *Not of Men, neither by Man, but by JESUS CHRIST.*

JESUS CHRIST is not a *Meer Man*. He is *God* as well as *Man*; else He could not have been opposed unto *Man*.

v. 2. *And all the Brethren, that are with me.*

The more they are, whom God makes use of, to declare the Beauty of Truth & Holiness, or the Danger of Error & Wickedness, unto us, the greater Obligation lies upon us, to Embrace the one, & Reject the other; as knowing, there will be the more to witness against us, if we are not obedient. Therefore the Apostle joins the *Consent of all the Brethren that were with him*, unto what he writeth.

Ditto. *The Churches of Galatia*. There may be great Failings, yea, gross Corruptions and Enormities, in Churches, and yett we may not unchurch them, or utterly withdraw from all Communion with them. The Churches of *Galatia* had made a grievous Revolt from the Truth, but still our Apostle owns them.

v. 3. *Grace be to you & Peace.*

Peace without Grace, is no Peace.

Ditto. *From our Lord Jesus Christ.*

They to whom Grace and Peace belong, are such as acknowledge CHRIST for the LORD. Such as in Heart & Life yield Subjection unto that Glorious One.

¹³⁴ James Ferguson, *A Brief Exposition of the Epistles of Paul to the Galatians and Ephesians* (1659). Ferguson (1621–67) was a Scottish pastor; his political leanings prevented him from accepting the professorship in theology at the University of Glasgow; see *DNB* (18:342). Mather's lengthy introduction of Ferguson here is meant to suffice for his subsequent "appendices" of Ferguson's commentary for Ephesians, Colossians, and Philippians.

¹³⁵ "More diligent, or devoted, or notable."

v. 6. *Yee are Removed.*

In Reproofs, tis good to begin with Gentleness, & own any Circumstances that may truly extenuate the Sin that is Reproved, or furnish with any Ground of Hope for the Amendment of the Person that is Reproved. Our Apostle does not say, *You Remove yourselves to another Gospel*, but he saies, *You are Removed*. He laies the Blame on others; and he speaks of them in the present Tense, as now being but *Removing*, & their Case not become desperate.

Ditto. *Removed from God, who hath called you into the Grace of Christ.*

There are some Errors in Doctrine, which do separate a Person from God, & from Interest in the Free Grace of Christ, as much as Profanity in Conversation. *Justification by our own Works*, is one of those Errors.

v. 7. *Some that trouble you.*

[The Word is borrowed from the *Troubling of Waters*, which usually comes to pass by *great Winds*, – compare, Eph. 4.14.] Whatever *Peace* is offered or pretended by False-Teachers, is but a *False Peace*, & will end in *Trouble*.

v. 9. *As we said before, so say I now again.*

Tho' Zeal for God and Truth, with Fervency in the Delivery of Truth, chiefly in Reproof of Sin, be required of a Minister, yett he is carefully to guard, lest under Pretence of Zeal, he give Occasion unto any to censure him, of Rash, Weak, & Carnal, & Inconsiderate Ebullitions. Our Apostle, would say nothing but what he might upon Deliberation Repeat and Stand to.

v. 10. *Do I now perswade Men, or God?*

No Doctrine is to be received in the Church, but what is grounded upon Divine Testimony. Our Apostle proves his Gospel to be true, because he did therein *perswade God*; that is, *perswade* that *God* only should be hearken'd to; the Authority of *God* only relied upon. To *perswade*, he brought nothing but *God*.

v. 17. *I went into Arabia.*

There may be more Ground of hope, to bring the Wildest Salvages to the saving Knowledge of Jesus Christ, | than a People hardened under Ordinances, the having a Form of Godliness without the Power of it. Our Apostle must *make Haste out of Jerusalem*, [Act. 22.18.] and go among the Barbarous *Arabians*.

[26v]

v. 18. *After Three Years I went up to Jerusalem, & abode fifteen Dayes.*

We ought so to spend our Time, with such Diligence and Faithfulness, that we may give a good Account how we have spent it; the *Years*, yea, the very *Dayes* of it.

Ditto. *I went up to Jerusalem.*

God so directs the Steps of them, who acknowledge Him in all their Wayes, that His Glory, & their own Good, oftentimes is eminently brought about, by some of the ordinary Passages in their Life, and this much beyond their own Intention. Our Apostles deferring *for three Years* to go up unto *Jerusalem*, Abiding there only *Fifteen Dayes*, & seeing only *Peter* and *James* there, do serve to refute

a Calumny of his Adversaries against his Doctrine & Office; tho' at the Time, he was not aware of serving any such Intention.

v. 20. *I lie not.*

Some suspected him for a Liar! And yett he does not cease to take Pains upon them!

Ditto. *Behold, before God!*

We ought to swear, with Reverence, Attention, and Preparation. Our Apostle præfixes to his Oath, a Word of that Importance; *Behold!*

Ch. II. v. 2. — *to them which were of Reputation.*

There are some who have deservedly more *Reputation* than others in the Church of God; Christian Prudence will teach a Man, to be far from striving against the common and current Esteem of such Men; But it will also teach him, to obtain, if it may be an Approbation from them, that he may be in a better Capacity to do Good unto others, by being well-approved with such Men as these.

v. 10. *Only they would, that we should Remember the Poor.*

The Care of the Poor, (an Employment which is not unworthy of the best of Men,) is a thing that Ministers ought to make much Conscience of.

v. 11. *I withstood him to his Face.*

Lett a Man be never so Eminent & Esteemed, yett when he meets (as he may) with a just Reproof; he should stoup to it, & with Silence correct the Error that ha's been reproved. We don't find, that *Peter* contended with his Reprover; we find nothing but Silence; no Reply at all.

v. 12. *When they were come, he withdrew.*

Circumstances have a great Influence on our Actions. Actions, which otherwise would not be sinful, yett by accompanying Circumstances may be rendred exceeding sinful. *Peters* Action, and the Sinfulness of it, consisted not in the meer Abstinence from certain Meals, to avoid the Offence of the Weak. *Paul* himself did as much [Act. XVI.3. XXI.26.] But it lay in some unhappy Circumstances. To mention them will be a valuable Illustration of the Text before us. First, He withdrew from the *Gentiles*, if they were not Members of the Church, with whom an entire Fellowship was to be maintained. Secondly, It was not at *Jerusalem* that he did this, but at *Antioch*, where a little before, he did *eat with the Gentiles*, and use his Christian Liberty. Thirdly. He withdrew, not, as if it had been an Indifferent Thing, to have done so, or otherwise, & therefore to be done only for a Time that the Jews might be gained, but as if it had been a thing that would perpetually have been a Fault, to eat with the Gentiles. And this, after an *Heavenly Vision* had informed him to the contrary. Fourthly. His Abstinence was not for gaining of the Weak Jews, whom he might afterwards have instructed in the Abrogation of the *Mosaic* Ordinances, but from fear of losing the Esteem, & getting the Hatred of those, who were spying out their Liberty, and would make a bad Use of what they now saw, to draw others into Errors. Fifthly. By his Example, he did hurt unto other Jews, who began to be informed concerning

the Observation of the Ceremonial Law; & in Evidence thereof had been eating with the Gentiles. These now, drunk in again their former Opinion; and these *other Jews dissembled likewise*. Sixthly. This Practice of his, had a Tendency, to force the *Gentiles*, to take on the Yoke of the Ceremonial Law, if they would not be debarred from the Fellowship of *Peter* and the Church; which would have been a very sinful thing in them. Seventh. He raised a Prejudice against the Doctrine of the Apostle *Paul*; & against the Doctrine of the Gospel; concerning our *Christian Liberty*, & the Abrogation of the Law of Ceremonies.

[27r]

Ditto. *Fearing them that were of the Circumcision.*

It is of great Concernment unto Men of Grace and Parts, & who are in public Place, and enjoy the Applause of many, to be Men of Courage, Resolution, & Self-denial; and even when they enjoy very much Reputation, to be Dead unto it all; else the Fear of losing it, may make them venture upon the Dishonour of God. *Peter* fear'd the Loss of his Esteem among the Jews.

v. 18. *I make myself a Transgressor.*

The unsuitable Lives, of those who profess the true Doctrine of Justification by Faith in Christ, do not really reflect on the Doctrine, as giving Encouragement thereunto, but upon themselves; who *Abuse* the Doctrine which they profess. Our Apostle saies, In such a Case, *I make myself a Transgressor*; the Fault is not in the Doctrine, but in myself.

Ch. III. v. 1. *O Foolish Galatians.*

A Minister, clearing up of Truths, either positively showing what is Reveled in the Scripture concerning them, or polemically refuting the contrary Errors, will do well to mix occasional Words of Exhortation, or of Reprehension; that may have a Tendency to excite the dull Affections of the Hearers.

Ditto. *Who hath Bewitched you?*

Seducers are a sort of Sorcerers. They cast a Mist before People, & make them think they see, what really they do not see. And they are strangely Assisted by the Divil, in drawing Multitudes after them. When Sorcerers practise Diabolical Ceremonies, the Divil comes in at the Watchword; the Divil does what is done upon it. The Sermons of Seducers, are but the Watchword, for the Divil.

v. 2. *It is evident.*

The Spirit of Error, when Men once give way to it, so far blinds the Understanding, & so engages the Affections to the Maintaining of it, that the erroneous Person will not see what the Scripture saith against his Error, tho' it be never so *Evident*. The Maintainers of *Justification by good Works*, would not or could not see it; and yett it was clearly *Evident* from the Scriptures of the Old Testament, that they were in an *Error*.

v. 17. *The Law, which was Four Hundred & Thirty Years after.*

The Knowledge of *Scripture-chronology*, which tells us not only the *Things* occurring in the Sacred History, but also the *Times* when they occurred, is very

profitable, yea, sometimes Necessary, to them that would understand the Mind of God. The great Stress of our Apostles Argument here is, the *Chronology* of the Matter. The *Law*, was given *Four hundred Years* after the unalterable *Covenant of Grace*; & therefore could not be superiour to it.

v. 19. *Wherefore then serveth the Law?*

So bent are Men upon the Abuse of Things good in themselves, that they are apt to conclude, the things are of no use unto them, if they may not Abuse them, to gratify some Lust or other. The Seducers concluded, the *Law* was of no use at all, if we might not look to be Justified by it.

v. 21. *God forbid.*

There are some Sins, (especially such as more directly reproach any of the Divine Perfections) the very first Motions whereof ought to be rejected with a Singular Detestation and Abhorrence. And this either, when a Temptation to such Sins is offered; or when the Guilt of them is charged upon us. When the Adversaries of *Paul*, would have charged him, with making the *Law* to contradict the Promise, & so God Himself to be changeable, his Rejection of it, is with a swift Indignation. *God forbid!*

Ditto. *If there had been a Law given, which could have given Life, verily Righteousness should have been by the Law.*

The Absurdities, with which the Adversaries of Truth are unjustly ready to load the Truth, do oftentimes by a very just Consequence, directly follow upon that Error which they themselves do maintain. Our Apostle arguing against *Justification by Works*, charges it with the very same Absurdity, which the Adversaries charged on *Justification by Faith* only. That is, The Promise would thereby have been rendred useless.

Ch. IV.1. *The Heir, as long as he is a Child, differeth nothing from a Servant.* So licentious is Youth, it must be Restrained! It is an Approved Custome, that a *Child* should be under the Restraint of a *Servant*.

v. 2. *Until the Time appointed of the Father.*

Trust and Power, had need be limited. Them that have it, are willing to part with it. It is dangerous for any to have it without Bounds onto it.

v. 3. *In Bondage under the Elements.*

To multiply significant Rites in the Worship of God, is to bring the Church under Bondage.

[28v]

v. 8. *When yee know not God.*

The fewer Engagements to any Error or Evil, that ly upon People, by their Education, or otherwise, the more inexcusable are they when they fall into it. Our Apostle aggravates the Sin of the *Galatians*, in hankering after the *Jewish* Ceremonies, from this; That *Then*, while the Church, yett in its Minority, was under such things, these *Galatians* were not under any Instruction to adhære unto them. No; they *then knew not God*, & served them which by Nature were no Gods.

v. 9. *Or rather are known of God.*

So tender ought we to be of the Honour of God, in the Work of Mans Conversion, that we must affirm nothing, which may so much as but seem to describe the Praise of that Work, in whole or in part; unto Humane Free-Will or Industry, or withdraw any of it, from the Power and Grace of God. Our Apostle speaking of their Coming to *know God*, at their Conversion, lest any thing should seem to be ascribed unto themselves, he so corrects it, *Or rather are known of God*; it is all ascribed unto the preventing Grace of God.

v. 11. *I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in Vain.*

It is to be feared, whether the Men who maintain, the Doctrine of *Justification by Works*, can be saved. Our Apostle was *afraid*, he had *laboured in Vain*, upon a People who were carried away with such a Doctrine, & consequently, whether they would not miss of Salvation.

v. 12. *Yee have not injured me at all.*

It is an Ill thing, for the Zeal of a Minister against a Sin, to be sharpened & uttered, from any Spirit of Spiteful Revenge against the Persons of any Sinners, on the Score of any Real or Supposed Injury done by them unto him. Our Apostle was very solicitous, to wipe off the Suspicion of any such thing, in the Reproof, by him dispensed unto the *Galatians*.

v. 16. *Am I therefore become your Enemy, because I tell you the Truth?*

When Men are engaged in a way of any Error or Evil, they are so enchanted with it, that they can putt no Difference between *That* and *Themselves*. Whoever is an *Enemy* to *That*, they look upon him as an Enemy to *Themselves*.

v. 17. *They zealously affect you.*

Some against whom we have just cause of Indignation, are not worth mentioning by Name. We express more Indignation, by leaving them un-named, than if we Name them with never so much of Designation.

v. 24. *Which things are an Allegory.*

Hagar, the Bondmaid of *Sarai*, fitly represented the Covenant of Grace, as it was delivered on Mount *Sinai*, (not only for the Reasons contained in the Text, but also) because as *Hagar* was once a second Wife to *Abraham*, and *Ishmael* was for a while, the præsumed Heir of *Abraham*, yett after she began to contest with her Mistress, *Sarah*, and her Son to persecute *Isaac*, the Child of the Promise, both Mother & Son, were cast out of *Abrahams* Family, & had no hope of Inheritance in the Land of Promise. Thus, the Law of *Moses*, or the Covenant given by God on Mount *Sinai*; while it was rightly used as a Pædagogues leading to Christ, it brought forth Children to God, Heirs of the Heavenly Inheritance; such were all sincere Beleevers under the Old Testament. But when it was abused, & sett up as a Covenant of Works, in Opposition to the Covenant of Grace, it then gendred (or brought forth Children) unto *Bondage*; and those who did adhære unto it, were detained under Damnable Slavery, & cutt off from Christ.

v. 25. *Jerusalem which now is.*

No People have Religion so firmly established, but they may in process of Time, horribly Apostasise. There is an Emphasis upon *Jerusalem which Now is*. It was a foul Change for the worse. *Jerusalem* once *Was* otherwise. Psal. LXXVI.1, 2.

v. 29. *He that was born after the Flesh persecuted.*

The sorest Persecutions and Molestations of the Godly, frequently come from their nearest Relations. Thus there is by Satan, infused the more of Gall into their Sufferings. *Isaac* is persecuted by his Brother *Ishmael*.

v. 30. *The Son of the Bondwoman shall not be Heir.*

The Doctrine of *Justification by Works*, not only Doctrinally maintained, but also practically walked in, will exclude the Maintainer of it, from having any Part in the Kingdome of Heaven.

[29r]

Ch. V.1. *Be not entangled again.*

A Multitude of Ceremonies imposed in the Worship of God, is not only a Yoke on the Conscience, but also such an Infatuating Yoke, especially when People come to place much Religion in them, that when once the Conscience has taken it on, tis hardly again to be shaken off. T'was thus in the Case of the *Galatians*.

v. 2. *If yee be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing.*

Here, it means not simple *Circumcision*, which to the weak Jews at this very time was tolerated; yea, and unto strong ones, when there was a Necessity of some *Occasional Conformity* to the Weak: But it refers to Circumcision, as it was pressed by the False Apostles, for Justification before God. Compare v. 4.

And our Apostle here excludes from Justification, not only *Works* flowing from the Strength of Mans Free Will, without Grace, but also those which flow from a gracious Root, wrought in the Heart by Christ. Those against whom he disputes, did profess *Faith in Christ*; else this Argument would have had no Cogency with them; *Christ shall profit you nothing*.

v. 3. *I testify again to every Man.*

They who are engaged in an evil Course, are so hardly Reclaimed from it, that Ministers ought frequently to Review and Repeat their Testimonies, & give the Guilty no Ease in their Evil Ways.

v. 8. *This Perswasion.*

The foulest Errors may be held to no small Degree of Perswasion and Confidence, by those who are tainted with them.

v. 9. *A little Leaven.*

When they who are guilty of an Evil, cannot any longer defend themselves in it, it is ordinary for them then to extenuate the Matter, and make but a *Little* Matter of it.

v. 11. *If I yett preach Circumcision.*

Seducers, among their other wicked Wayes of Management, will spread Reports of their greatest Opposers, as if they were secretly of the same Opinion

with themselves, & had sometimes to that Purpose declared themselves. They reported of *Paul*, that he had *preached Circumcision*.

v. 16. *Ye shall not fulfill the Lust of the Flesh.*

Be a Child of God never so Diligent & Vigilant, the Lust of the Flesh will not be utterly extinguished in him. Our Apostle does not say, That if we *walk in the Spirit*, we shall not have the *Lust of the Flesh* in us, but we shall *not Fulfil* it.

v. 18. *Yee are not under the Law.*

The Unregenerate, (who are *under the Law* as a *Covenant*) are such Slaves to their Lust, that the very things appointed by God for the Curbing of it, & even the *Law* itself, do but enrage their *Lust*, & make it the more violent. Our Apostle having said, *Yee shall not fulfill the Lust of the Flesh*, brings this Proof of it; *Yee are not under the Law*. They that are under the *Law*, will fulfill their *Lust*.

v. 20. *Lett us not be desirous of Vainglory, provoking one another, envying one another.*

In setting against any Sin, we should not only look upon that Sin alone, but upon other & baser Sins, & less pleasant ones, which of Necessity do accompany it; That so, from the Sight of such a Train of Attendants, our Indignation against the Sin may be heightened.

Ch. VI.1. *Restore him.*

A cruel Severity towards others under their sinful Failings, tho' it pretend unto *Zeal*, yett ha's its Rise from Pride and Ambition. The lofty Censurer does not so much seek the Amendment of his Brother, as to beget in others an High Opinion of his own Holiness, & of an Hatred of Sin in him above what is in other Men. The last Words of our Apostle were; *Be not desirous of Vainglory*. And he proceeds to caution them against that Way of treating Offenders, which *Vainglory* would lead them to.

Ditto. *Brethren.*

A Minister should so digest his Exhortations to Duties, that all his Expressions may carry Force, & Forceable Perswasions in them. Here, *Meekness* in Essayes to recover the *Fallen*, is exhorted to. Our Apostle first calls them, *Brethren*; This not only expresses his own *Love* to them, but also minds them of the *Love* they owe to one another. The Person to be Restored, he designs by the Name of, *A Man*; Thereby he points at the common Frailty of Mankind, & shoves the Fall of this Person to call for Pity rather than Wonder. Once more; he transfers much of the Guilt unto Satan; & the Subtilty & Violence of the Satanic Temptation, which he was overtaken withal.

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Ditto. *The Spirit of Meekness.*

The Grace of Meekness, which moderates our inordinate Anger, & suppresses our Passions before they rise too high, is the Work of the Holy *Spirit* of God; But if we have it, it will singularly shine, in Seasoning the Means of Reclaiming

a Fallen Brother; That we do it, not in a Fury, but with Zeal for Gods Love to our Brother, and all Exercise of sanctified Reason.

v. 3. *He Deceiveth himself.*

Error in Judgment, often proceeds from some unmortified Lust in the Heart. Of a proud Man, tis here said, *He maketh himself to err.* His Pride leads him into Error.

v. 5. *His own Burden.*

How light soever the Sins of Men may seem, when they are committed, yett they will be found Heavy when God comes to a Reckoning with them. Guilt, will then be a terrible *Burden.*

v. 8. *He that soweth to his Flesh.*

It may be frequently observed, that they who have not an Heart to spend of their Interests of pious Uses, but plead Poverty felt or feared, yett are most profuse and lavish in spending their Means to make Provision for the Flesh, and serve their brutal Appetites. He that *Soweth not to the Spirit*, yett *soweth to the Flesh.*

v. 12. *As many as desire to make a fair Shew in the Flesh.*

It is ordinarily observed, That the Zeal of those, who are carried away with the Spirit of Error, & are zealous to seduce others, does most run out upon the Externals of Religion; wherein they affect a *fair Shew*, to be reputed as Men of singular Devotion and Piety.

v. 14. *I am crucified unto the World.*

From the gracious Effects of the Sufferings of Christ, in the Graces of His Holy Servants, it comes to pass, that they are unsavoury to, and vilipended by, the World, & wicked Men, in the World. Wicked Men dislike them, abhor them, take no Pleasure in them; as if they were the Dead Carcases of some notorious Malefactors, putt to a shameful Death by the Hand of Justice. *By whom*, saies the Apostle, *I am crucified unto the World.*

v. 16. *Peace be upon them.*

The Encouragement of pious People to a Life of Piety, are not from the World, but from Heaven, from Above. The Word, *upon them*, is emphatical; it notes a Descent from thence.

v. 17. *From henceforth lett no Man trouble me.*

Tho' the Servants of God may be putt upon defending themselves from Calumnies, yett the Spending of much time in eristic Debates, ought to be very grievous unto them, as diverting them from far sweeter Work, and what would be more profitable to themselves & others.

Illustrations
upon the Epistles,
to the
Ephesians,
Philippians.
Colossians,
Thessalonians. 1.
Thessalonians. 2.
to
Timothy, 1.
Timothy, 2.
Titus,
Philemon,
The Hebrewes,
of,
James.
Peter. 1.
Peter. 2.
John. 1. 2. 3.
Jude.

[1r]

| [blank]

[2v]

An Ingenious Enquirer into the Design of this, and some other of the *Pauline* Epistles, observes, That it is very likely the rest of the Apostles, had not so clearly & fully Reveled unto them, the Release which *Christianity* brought unto the Professors of it, from all Obligation to observe the *Mosaic* Ceremonies.¹ We see, they had not instructed their Disciples of the Circumcision, concerning their being sett at Liberty from that Yoke. [Act. XXI.20.] Yea, their Observation of those Rites, they called, *A Walking Orderly*. The Truth is, The Sending of them to the Jews, with this Message, That the Ritual Law of *Moses* was abolished, would have crossed the very Design of Sending them. Whereas our Apostle *Paul*, receiving his whole Knowledge of the Gospel immediately from Heaven by Revelation, had this Instruction added, that he might be fitted for the Mission to which he was chosen; That all Beleevers in the Messiah, Jews as well as Gentiles, were absolved from the Law of *Moses*, and that the Observation of the *Mosaic* Ceremonies, was no longer necessary to the People of GOD, in the New Kingdome, which was now to be erected.

Be sure, Notice was taken that our Apostle *Paul* preached this Doctrine, more than the rest of the Apostles. From hence arose the Troubles which he mett withal; and the Troubles which disturbed the Churches collected by him among the Gentiles. They were assaulted with such as brought this Doctrine to them; That except the Converts from the pagan Idolatry, subjected themselves to the Law of *Moses*, they could have no Benefit by the Gospel. When our Apostle therefore heard that the *Ephesians* kept firm in their Faith, & in their Confidence of their Title to the Benefits of the Gospel, without a Submission to the Law, he thanks GOD for them; and setting forth the gracious & glorious Design of GOD concerning them, He prays that they may be enlightened more & more to see their Advantages. He displayes the admirable State of the Kingdome of God, in this New Exhibition of it, not in the ordinary Way of Argumentation, but as all along in a Rapture, he couches all that he would instill into their Minds in Prayers and Praises, which give a greater Flight unto his Thoughts, & so he utters them in the most noble and sublime Expressions.

The Epistle to the *Colossians*, may be written much about the same time with the Epistle to the *Ephesians*; and in the same Run & Warmth of Thoughts; for which Cause, the very same Expressions, yett fresh in his Mind, are often repeated. The Epistle to [the] | *Philippians*, ha's the same Aim with the other

¹ The "Ingenious Enquirer" here is John Locke, *A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:607–10); his "Synopsis" of the epistle to the Ephesians addresses these issues in the same order that Mather raises them here.

Two; So that in these Three Epistles taken together, we may see the *Design* of the *Gospel*, and the *Glory* of it above the *Law*; and it is insisted on, that they were Opposers, and Promoters of the Kingdome of GOD, under the Messiah, would confine it unto the *Beggarly Elements of this World*, as our Apostle calls, the positive Ordinances of the *Mosaic* Institution.

I will take this Place to insert a Passage, which M. *Tournefort* has in his *Travels in the Levant*.²

“Tis a melancholy thing to see *Ephesus*, a City formerly so famous that *Stephanus Byzantinus* calls it, *Epiphanestate*,³ at present reduced unto a miserable Village, inhabited by Thirty or Forty Greek Families, which certainly, as Mr. *Spon* observes, *are not capable of understanding the Epistle of St. Paul unto them*.”⁴

[△Insert ends]

[△]

² Joseph de Pitton Tournefort, *Voyage into the Levant* (2:387) (1718); translated from *Relation d'un voyage du Levant* (1717). Tournefort (1656–1708) studied for the priesthood with the Jesuits but went on to become a professor of botany and a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences. He toured the Middle East from 1700–02, collecting plant specimens and writing a natural history of the region. See St. John, *The Lives of Celebrated Travelers* (1–14).

³ “Most illustrious.” PLEASE NOTE: As a general rule, translations of Hebrew, Greek and Latin are rendered in the footnotes; when these are not provided, it indicates that the translation Mather has provided in the text is correct.

⁴ Stephen of Byzantium was the 6th-century author of the *Ethnica*, a geography of the Greek world, extant only in fragments. Jacques Spon (1647–85) was a French Protestant physician and antiquarian; he toured the Levant in 1675 and published his account of that trip in 1678, *Voyage d'Italie ... de Grece, et du Levant* (cited by Tournefort, above); see *EB* (25:715).

Q. What is there that appears especially Remarkable, in the Epistle to the *Ephesians*? v. 1.

A. Never any meer Man upon Earth, had a more clear & full *Revelation* of evangelical Mysteries from Heaven, made unto him, than the great Apostle *Paul*, who indeed had been made Partaker of the most heavenly Raptures and Visions. But this eminent Apostle appealed unto the *Two First Chapters* of his Epistle to the *Ephesians*, as the most clear and full Demonstration, of his having the most Illustrious Things in the World, by *Revelation*, made known unto him. [Ch. 3.2.] And there was this Remarkable in it. The Christianized *Ephesians*, had once so much dived in the *Depths of Satan* by their *unlawful Arts*. At their Conversion to Christianity, they did, with some Self-denial, Burn the Manuscripts, wherein those *unlawful Arts* had been taught unto them. And now, behold, how the Providence of the Lord Jesus Christ requited them! He orders for them, a Portion of Divine Writt, wherein the *Deep Things of God* are discovered, with a matchless Exhibition. But on this, we will touch again, in our Next Illustration.

I will only add a Note of one Mr. *Pyle*, upon the Epistles to the *Ephesians*, and the *Philippians*, and the *Colossians*.

“One cannot attend unto the main Drift of these Three Writings, without observing what it was that lay nearest the Apostles Heart, while He Indited them. The Confirmation of these *Christians*, against that Doctrine of the Absolute Necessity of the *Ceremonial Law*, in order to the Salvation of a *Christian Convert*: The Effect of that proud Conceit the *Jewish Zealots* had of themselves, as the Ancient People of God, in derogation to all the rest of Mankind, whom they would hardly at all grant to have been design’d any Share in the Blessings of *Christ*, the *Messiah*; but especially not without their first *Embracing* the *Jewish Religion*. A Principle that more or less {go’s}⁵ thro’, and is attack’d in, all the Apostolic Epistles!”⁶

Q. What singular Emphasis may bee intended by the Apostle in those Expressions, *Blessed bee the God & Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has Blessed us with all Spiritual Blessings in Christ*?⁷ v. 3.

A. You know there was an horrid Uproar among the *Ephesians*, who concerned for their Goddess *Diana*, & for the *Temple* of the Goddess, & for their *Gain* by

⁵ See Appendix A.

⁶ Thomas Pyle, *A Paraphrase upon all the Epistles of the New Testament* (2:43). Pyle (1674–1756) was an Anglican cleric and an outspoken Arian; he is one of Mather’s chief paraphrastic resources for the Pauline epistles; see *ODNB* (45:622–3).

⁷ See Appendix A.

the Temple, kept crying out, *Great is Diana of the Ephesians*. The Apostle *Paul*, upon whose Occasion this Uprore was made, would fain have stilled it; but the Danger of his Life caused him to withdraw. However, hee that could not then oppose that Uproar with his *Voice*, now confutes it with his *Pen*, to the *Ephesians* that had been by his Ministry brought home to God. To a *False Divinity*, hee now opposes the *True God*; saying, *Blessed be God*. To a Goddess, the *Daughter of Jupiter*, hee opposes *God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ*. To the *Gains* which they gott by the Worship of *Diana*, hee opposes, *All Spiritual Blessings*. To the Famous Temple of *Diana*, hee opposes, *Heavenly Places*. And, to the Ministers of *Diana*, hee opposes, *Christ*.

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But this is not all; You may here also observe the *Spiritual* and *Heavenly* Recompence, which the *Ephesians* had upon their leaving off a Conversation with the *Evil Spirits* of *Hell*. Consult, Act. 19.19. They now abandoned and sacrificed all their acquaintance with the *Mysteries* of the Divil; there is now sent unto them, an Epistle, wherein the *Mysteries* of the Lord Jesus Christ, & of Salvation by *Him*, are so notably display'd, that the Apostle refers himself elsewhere unto the Sublimity of this very Epistle, for the Proof of his Apostleship. The *Ephesians* had once a Communion with such things, as are called, *Spiritual Wickednesses in High Places*; and having now quitted that Communion, they are made Partakers of, *Spiritual Blessings in Heavenly Places*. They once employ'd the *Black Spirit*, for the *Cursing* & Hurting of others; and they now had the *Good Spirit*, gloriously *Blessing* and Saving of them.

Q. We read of our Saviour, *The Church is to be Holy and Blameless BEFORE HIM*. Is there any Passage of the Old Testament which the Holy Spirit may here have an Eye upon? v. 4.

A. When the *First Woman* was made, she was given unto the Man, to be, *As before him*. [Gen. II.18.] That Woman was a Type of the Church. And for that Cause called, *The Mother of all the Living*. This κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ, answers to that /כנגדו/.⁸

And so, by the way; we read, *God Built the Woman*. [Gen. II.22. Hebr.] And it may be, with some Eye thereto, that we so often read of His *Building* the *Church*.

Q. A Gloss upon, these Verses? v. 6.

A. Mr. *Locks* is this. That there can be nothing imagined of greater Force, to raise the Minds of the *Ephesians* above the Jewish Rituals, and keep them steady

⁸ This “before him” (κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ) answers to that “suitable (to him)” (כנגדו). The Hebrew word is found in Gen. 2:18, where Eve is described as the companion “suitable” to Adam.

to the Freedom of the Gospel, than this; That God before the Foundation of the World freely determined within Himself, to admit the Gentiles into His Kingdome, to be His People, for the Manifestation of His Free Grace all over the World, that all Nations might glorify Him; And that for the Sake of His Son Jesus Christ, who was his Beloved, and so was chiefly regarded in all of this.⁹

[6v]

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3142.

Q. What is that *Wisdom* & *Prudence*, wherein God abounds towards His People? v. 8.

A. You have a Key to this Text, in 1. Tim. 1.14. *The Grace of our Lord was exceeding abundant, with Faith and Love.* There are two things produced in & for our Conversion to God; First there is *Faith*, and then there is *Holiness* or *Obedience*, which is called, *Love*. Wonder not, that *Faith* is here called *Wisdom*. [Some think *Faith* meant by the *Wisdom*, in 1. Cor. 1.30.] There can be no *Faith* without some *Knowledge*. The Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ hath astonishing Treasures of *Wisdom* laid up in it. All the Gospel turns upon our Lord JESUS CHRIST, who is, The *Wisdom* of God. What is the *Gospel*, but a System of infinite *Wisdom*? The Divine *Wisdom* display'd in the Works of *Creation* and *Providence*, ha's yett a more admirable Display in the Works of *Redemption*, which are in the Gospel Reveled unto us. Now *Faith* lies in a Receiving of, and a *Relying* on that *Wisdom* of God, whereof we have this Revelation; and well may it then be called, *Wisdom*.

In short, The *Christian Religion*, has two Sorts of *Articles*; there are the *Credenda*, of Christianity, and there are the *Agenda* of Christianity.¹⁰ That we may be acquainted with the Things that are to be *Beleeved*, God bestowes *Wisdom* upon us: That we may be acquainted with the Things that are to be *Practised*, God bestowes *Prudence* upon us. But when God makes His chosen People *Acquainted* with such things, He makes them *Disposed* also to them. Wherefore in and with *Wisdom*, we have saving *Faith*, & our *Prudence* is manifested in *Holiness* & *Obedience*. Wonder not, that this is called, *Prudence*. For *Prudence* is conversant, as the Philosopher saies: περι τα πρακτα, and it is, *Recta Ratio Agibilium*.¹¹ It is the *Cardinal Vertue* (or, general Affection of all Vertue), by which the Rational Faculties are Enabled & Applied for the finding & using of all the *Right Wayes* in *Well-doing*. It is the Skill of Well-ordering all our Actions, that we may *do well* in all that we do. Now, *Prudence* is no where so demonstrated, as in the Actions of a godly Life. [See Psal. iii.10. and Eph. 5.15.]

⁹ Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:615).

¹⁰ "Things to be believed" and "things to be done."

¹¹ Prudence is conversant ... "with practical things" (περί τὰ πρακτά) and it is "right reason in action" [Latin]; this appears several times in Aristotle's *Ethica Nicomachea* (Bekker, page 1143a) and elsewhere.

3143.

Q. Why is this *Wisdom* and *Prudence*, called, *ALL Wisdom and Prudence*?

A. It were a foolish Imagination to think, that *ALL Wisdom & Prudence* absolutely taken, is given to the People of God. But, first, The Mystery of the Gospel, is now in the *New Testament* *All* declared unto us; and we are thereupon comparatively enriched with *ALL Wisdom & Prudence*; whereas there was but a *Little* of it made known unto the Saints of the *Old Testament*. The Lord was more strait-handed, as we may say, towards His People in the former Ages; He dropt a *Little Wisdom & Prudence* into the Souls of His People, as He judged it proper to proportion it. But upon the Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, He *gives liberally*; He opens all the Stores of evangelical *Wisdom* and *Prudence*. We have *ALL* the Mystery of our Salvation, sett before us, and *All the Wisdom & Prudence*, that ever shall be dispensed, until the *Second Coming* {of our Lord Jesus Christ.}¹²

Again, The *Wisdom and Prudence* granted unto the People of God, is the *Seed of ALL Wisdom & Prudence*. For the Nature of our *Wisdom & Prudence*, is to increase forever, & will never be at any Stop or Stand, until it reach to *ALL Wisdom and Prudence*.

In the mean Time, The People of God have *ALL* that *Wisdom* and *Prudence*, that the All-wise God sees needful for them. Whatever *Wisdom* and *Prudence* is indispensably necessary to Salvation, *ALL* this does God confer upon His People. *ALL* that *Wisdom* and *Prudence*, which is necessary to serve the Occasions of an Immortal Soul, every godly Man ha's received it *ALL*.

And, the People of God have that *Wisdom & Prudence*, which is *ALL* that is, worthy to be esteemed Real *Wisdom* and *Prudence*. The *Ephesians* were a knowing sort of People; they valued themselves upon their *Wisdom* and *Prudence*. Now, saies our Apostle, tis we Beleevers on the Lord Jesus Christ, that have *ALL Wisdom & Prudence*. All that others have is not worthy of the Name. [See Phil. 3.7.] Where lies *ALL Wisdom & Prudence*? Behold, the *Fear* of the Lord, that is *Wisdom*; to depart from Evil is *Prudence*. All other *Wisdom & Prudence* is to be accounted nothing at all, when laid in the Balances with what the Christian ha's. There may be *Some Wisdom* in other things; but it is *ALL Wisdom* to know God & Jesus Christ. There may be *Some Prudence* in other things; but it is *ALL Prudence* to be *Wise unto Salvation*.

[▽Insert from 9r]¹³

[▽9r]

Q. But that illustrious Mystery of, *The Gathering together in One all things in Christ*, is well worthy of our looking back upon it? v. 10.

¹² See Appendix A.

¹³ See Appendix B.

A. It is indeed so. And it calls for Attention. The *Ἀνακεφαλαιώσεις*¹⁴ here spoken of, is an Allusion, which Interpreters fetch from various Objects and Actions. But the best of them all seems to be, that which we find in several of the Ancients. It alludes unto a *political* *Uniting* of several Nations or Peoples under one Prince, becoming an *Head* unto them; *q.d.* *μίαν κεφαλὴν ἅπασιν ἐπέθηκεν*. *Hee hath appointed one Head over all things*.¹⁵ Our Lord Jesus Christ hath *united* all things unto God, & unto one another; and it is by being appointed their *Head*, that this blessed *Union* is accomplished.

More Particularly. —

The Blessed God ha's from all Eternity purposed, That He will bring His Elect, into a most marvellous and intimate *Union* with Himself to all Eternity. There is an inconceivable *Union* and *Communion*, between the *Three Persons* in *God Blessed forever*. And such is the inconceivable *Grace* of God, that He will bring certain Creatures into the Heavenly Delights of that *Union* and *Communion*, as far as tis possible for *Creatures* to be made Partakers thereof. [See Joh. 17.20.] Here is the Original, Here the Foundation, Here the Intention, and the utmost End of Gods Electing Love unto us. Indeed, the Elect of God shall continue Distinct Beings forever; when they become *One* with God, it must not be imagined, that they become the *Same* with God. But yett, the Elect of God, shall be brought so near to God, that God will become *All in All* unto them, and they shall be *filled with all the Fulness of God*, and so filled, as a Peece of Iron thrown into the glowing Furnace is filled with the Fire: God will Penetrate and Replenish His Elect, and wondrously Possess them, and Swallow them up in Thoughts of Him & for Him, & communicate a *Fulness of Joy* unto them, and *Pleasures forevermore*.

But what are the, *All Things*, that shall be thus *Gathered* and *United* unto God? By, *All Things*, are meant, as one of the Ancients tells us, *παντὰ τὰ νοερα*, *All Intellectual Beings*, all *Rational Creatures*, that come under the Election of God. And they are here distinguished, by the several Countreyes whereto they belong; *Heaven*, and *Earth*. [Compare Phil. 2.10.] Mind, by the way, what a Reckoning, the God, who ha's made *All things*, does putt upon *All things*. God calls His Elect, *All Things*; He looks upon *All things* else, as *Nothing*; they are of no Esteem with Him, He ha's no Value for them.

Now, *All things* are, as it were, summed up in our Lord Jesus Christ; so as to render Him a most proper *Head*, for the *Uniting* of all Things unto God. Where shall we find an Agreeable *Corner-Stone*, whereby God may most Efficaciously and Harmoniously accomplish the intended *Union* between Himself, and all things in both Worlds? Where, but in our Lord Jesus Christ; who is not only

¹⁴ ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι; "to sum up."

¹⁵ *μίαν κεφαλὴν ἅπασιν ἐπέθηκεν*. John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Epistle to the Ephesians*, in *NPNFi* (13:54).

the *Center*, but¹⁶ the *Compound* of all the Things | that are to be united. The Word for, *Gathering together, in one*, may be allusive to the casting up of diverse Numbers into one *Total Sum*. The first general Division of *All Things*, is into *God* and the *Creature*. To bring these Two into *One Sum*, is the hardest Peece of *Arithmetick* that ever was. Tis done in our Lord Jesus Christ; where there is God & Man in One Person. Without This, we could never have come into Union with God. Again, come to Creatures, and there is another Division of *All Things*, into *Angels* and *Men*, for which God ha's made the Two Worlds. Now, tho' our Lord *took not on Him the Nature of Angels*, yett in taking the *Nature of Men*, there was Both. For *Both Worlds* are summed up in the Nature of *Man*. Man ha's a *Spirit*, which is like the Angels; and Man ha's a *Body*, which all the Elements conspire to give Consistence unto. Thus the whole Creation q. mett in our Lord Jesus Christ, & was married unto God. None of the Creatures can say, of our Lord Jesus Christ, *We have a King, that we have no Share in!* Men may say, *He is our Kinsman!* And Angels may say, *He is our Countreyman!* Well, come to *Things on Earth*; Among them there is a famous Division of *Jewes* and *Gentiles*. Now tis true, *of the Jewes, Christ came, as concerning the Flesh*. Nevertheless there were *Gentiles* among the Ancestors of our Lord; *Rahab* and *Ruth* were among His Grandmothers. He had the Blood of *Gentiles* as well as of *Jewes*, running in His Veins, & He shed His *Blood* for both. Yea, *Eve* the *Mother of all the Living*, was the Mother of our Lord; and after the Flood, there were Ten Patriarchs among the Ancestors of our Lord, before *Abraham*, & his Offspring became Gods Peculiar. So we have both *Jew* and *Gentile* summed up in Him.

In the *Recapitulation* of *All Things* now before us, our Lord Jesus Christ, as an Head brings both *Angels* and *Men*, and all Sorts of both, into *One Society*. [See Rev. 5.9, 11, 12.] And more than This; The Emphasis of the Præposition, *Ανα*, here, must not be lost; it is of infinite Importance, tho' our Translation take no notice of it.¹⁷ God not only *gathers together in One all things in our Lord*, but He does *gather them AGAIN together in One*. There was an *Union* which ha's been shattered; but our *Union* with God & one another is Renewed, is Revived, is Recruited in our Lord Jesus Christ. *Elect Angels* never did fall away from God; yett there was a Possibility of their Fall. The State wherein they were only by Creation, would not have secured them from Falling and Sinning. How came they to be confirmed in Grace? Truly, They are beholden to the Lord Jesus Christ for their *Confirmation*. Tis the Lord Jesus Christ, ha's *Recovered* the *Angels* out of that *Slipperiness*, wherein they stood by their *first Creation*. It is by a Relation to that Rock of Ages, our Lord Jesus Christ, that the *Angels* are fixed in all their

¹⁶ See Appendix B.

¹⁷ The prefix *ἀνα* is an intensifying particle, meaning "again." Here it is found in *ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι*, "to sum up" or "add together." Since the verb *κεφαλαιῶ* also means to sum up, Mather is taking the presence of the prefix as indicating a repetition of the action, though commonly these two verbs are synonymous.

Heavenly Circumstances. There was that immutability in the *Angels*, and that Possibility of their Falling into *Folly*, that God had not yett the Contentment in them, which was to be desired. Hence there was a Kind of *Reconciliation* to God, which the *Elect Angels* themselves did want. Tho' they had not sinned, yett they needed a *Reconciliation* preventive of their Aptness to Sin. It was needful, that they should be rais'd into a State, wherein God might be more *sure* of them, and so more *pleas'd* with them, than in the meer State of Creation. [See Col. 1.20.] Many *Legions of Angels* did fall away from God, and they would all have dropped away, one after another, if the Lord Jesus Christ had not stepped in to stop them. Yea, and there is now a greater Degree of Glory, a greater Nearness to God, than they could otherwise have had, which the *Angels* obtain by our Lord Jesus Christ. The *Angels* by the bare Law of their *Creation* had | not a Claim unto such Heavenly Priviledges, as they may now claim, since the Lord Jesus Christ ha's *Headed* them. *Oh! Yee Blessed Angels of God! Bless God for our Lord Jesus Christ. You as well as we, are infinitely beholden to our Lord Jesus Christ! Oh, join with us in praising of Him.*

And then, *Elect Men* are yett more sensibly *Gathered Again* unto God, by the Lord Jesus Christ. All Men are fallen into Sin; Sin ha's made an horrible *Separation* between God & the Sinner. The *Friendship* that was once between God & Man, is dissolved by Sin; They mutually *Depart* from each other, yea, they bid each other Depart. But now the Lord Jesus Christ, is the *Good Shepherd*, who *Seeks and Saves that which was lost*.¹⁸ He *Gathers* us back unto God, from the Dispersion, wherein we were wandring from Him.

It followes hereupon, That *Angels* and *Men* are united by our Lord Jesus Christ. We had by our Sins, made ourselves loathsome to the Holy *Angels*. But our Lord Jesus Christ, ha's now brought us into *one Family* with the *Angels*. The *Angels* now Associate with us in the Service of our Lord Jesus Christ. Yea, we never come together to worship our Lord, but they gladly fly into our Congregations. They love us as their Fellow-servants; The good *Angels*, now do numberless good Offices for us, and they love to do them. They take the Charge of us; & they will never lett go their Charge, till they have gott us to be with them in the *New Jerusalem*; where we shall be in the *Innumerable Company of Angels*, & *equal* to them.¹⁹

And *Men* are *united* one unto another, by the Lord Jesus Christ. Sinful Men are fallen out among themselves; one Man is a *Wolf* unto another. There is an horrid *Variance* among the Children of Men. The Alienation is cured by the Lord Jesus Christ. When once Men are Turned unto the Lord Jesus Christ; then they love one another. They that meet in the Lord Jesus Christ the *Head*, have an Honour for one another, and are very loathe to Hurt one another.

¹⁸ See Luke 19:10 and John 10:11.

¹⁹ See Mather's *Tripuraditus* (49, 50, 51, 262–263, 286).

It is for the *Sake* of the Lord Jesus Christ, that this *Recollection of all things to God & one another*, is accomplished: It is from the *Complacency* of God, in our Lord Jesus Christ, even because God is *well-pleased* with Him, and in Him, that He takes any Pleasure in all the Things that He ha's made; But all things had begun to scatter away from God, & from one another: And that they come to be *Gathered Again together* after they began to *Scatter*, tis owing to the Sufferings of the Lord Jesus Christ, which bought off the Wretchedness unto which, the Holy God was leaving us. [Joh. 11.51, 52.] And there was a most Curious and Charming Harmony in this Transaction. Our Lord Himself suffered a fatal *Scattering*, that so He might *Gather us together*. First, the Disciples of our Lord, were all *Scattered* from Him. [See Mat. 26.31.] And then, What is *Death*, but an horrid *Scattering*? In the *Death* of our Lord, the *Temple* of God, was taken all to Pieces. Yea, There was a further & a more fearful *Scattering*, whereof our Lord was apprehensive, when, being in His Agonies, He cried out, *My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?* Indeed the Union of the Two Natures, in His Person, was never broken; but still, His Father, did, as to | sensible Manifestations, withdraw from Him. The *Angels* at the same Time, seem to be all *Scattered* from our Lord, by the special Injunction of Heaven; It seems, as if not one of all the *Angels*, durst come nigh Him, to comfort Him. *Why didst thou suffer all this horrible Scattering, O our Blessed Saviour?* Why, It was to bring about our *Gathering again together in one*, when Sin had horribly *Scattered* us. [▽12v]

And then, the Accomplishment of it is, by the *Hand* of our Glorious Lord. The Foundation upon which all proceeds, in our *Gathering again together*, is the *Covenant of Redemption*; by which *Covenant* our Lord Jesus Christ, is made the Mediator, between God and *All things*. Our Lord Jesus Christ ha's the Government of the World: and He so governs the World, as to bring back all unto God, and into that *Agreement* and *Consistence*, which is most for the Honour of God. It is the Lord Jesus Christ, who does by His Almighty *Providence* and *Spirit*, reduce all things into Order, when Sin was disordering of them. *Lord, Thou art He, who doest build up Jerusalem, & Gather together the Out-casts.*

But that we may not shutt out of this *Recapitulation of all Things in Christ*, any thing, that belongs unto it, wee may add, That in Him the whole Frame of Nature [*Tota Fabrica Machinae Caelestis ac Terrestris*]²⁰ does recover an Happy Constitution. The whole *Creation* of God, is indebted unto the Lord Jesus Christ, for its Existence; and its Continuance in its Existence [Col. 1.16.] *All Things* in Heaven & on Earth, have a *Relation* to, yea, a *Reliance* on, our Lord Jesus Christ. The Son of God, undertaking to become a Man, in the Foreknowledge and Assurance of that Undertaking, did proceed unto the *Creation* of *All Things* in Heaven & on Earth; And without the Intuition of This, or the

²⁰ "The whole fabric of the celestial and terrestrial machine." This is possibly a reference to James Cheyne's *De Sphaerae seu Globi Coelestis Fabrica Brevis Preceptio* (1575).

having of This in His Eye, he would have created, none of all those things. This is a Contemplation well worthy of our *Christianity*; That such is the *Purity* of the infinite God, He would not have taken Delight in any of His Creatures, nor could they stand a Moment before His flaming Eyes, without His Beholding them in the Face of a *Mediator*, which [he] Himself provided. Nor would God have descended unto the Making of *any* Creatures, if it had not been for *That*, which He Assumed into the Person of His own Son; which is the true *Ladder*, whereby He Descends unto them, and They Ascend unto Him. And if the Lord Jesus Christ should please to say of any thing in Heaven or on Earth, *I care not for it, I have no use of it!* that this would by Omnipotency be immediately Annihilated. Yea, and the *Creation* shall by our Lord Jesus Christ, arrive to a glorious *Renovation, Restoration, Restitution*. Ανακεφαλαιωσασθαι is Ανανεωσασθαι.²¹ And the Hebrew /שׂאֵר/²² notes not only an *Head*, but a *Beginning*. Our Lord Jesus Christ will bring back *All Things* in Heaven & on Earth, unto their *Beginning*; that is | to say, unto their primitive Perfection. Sin hath *unhinged* the World, and putt out of sorts *ALL things* in Heaven & on Earth. But our Lord Jesus Christ will *Restore* the World unto its primitive Condition, and putt the World into as good a State, as it was in, before Sin entred into it. The *World* was very *Beautiful*, as it first came out of the Hands of God; but *Sin* ha's defaced it; *Sin* was no sooner committed, but the World had a *Blast* presently sent upon the *Beauty* of it. Now the *Second Adam* will one day Restore the World from all the Vanity and Ugliness, which the *First Adam* ha's brought upon it. [Rom. 8.20.] At the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, there will be a *Restitution of all things*. The *Conflagration*, at the Second Coming of our Lord, will purify the World, and only bring forth *New Heavens & a New Earth*, wherein shall dwell none but *Righteous Ones*. [Rev. 21.5.] *All Things* in Heaven & on Earth, all but the Damned in *Hell*, will then be rescued out of their evil Circumstances.

Finally, To dispatch this noble Subject; In our Lord Jesus Christ, all the Transactions of God with His People in the *Old Testament*, are brought all together *in One*. There were many & wondrous Things Transacted among the People of God, under the Old Testament. The *Will*, & the *Grace* of God, was then diverse Ways discovered unto His People. But, as an Orator, that ha's been with much Variety handling a Case; at last in a *Recapitulation* gives the *Summ* of all that had been spoken; Thus we have in our Lord Jesus Christ, a *Recapitulation*, giving us, the *Summ* of all things that God had been speaking to, or doing for, His People in the Days of the *Old Testament*. There were notable *Figures* and *Shadowes* of the *Messiah* in the *Old Testament*, both *Typical Men*, and *Typical Things*: But in our Lord Jesus Christ we have the *Summ* of them all; He is the *Antitype* of

21 Ανακεφαλαιωσασθαι (to sum up) is Ανανεωσασθαι (to renew).

22 שׂאֵר (head).

all those things. And there were notable *Prophecies* of the *Messiah* in the *Old Testament*; but in our Lord Jesus Christ we have the *Summ* of them all; All those things are fulfilled in Him.

And this is the *Summ* of what I was desirous to offer you, on this most Illustrious *Mystery*. Only I would herewithal invite you, to consider this Curiosity. When the great God ha's any great Work to do, tis often the Pleasure of His infinite *Sovereignty*, that it shall not be fully done in the *First Essay* of it. It is no rare thing, for a great Work to be dash'd all in Peeces; and then the All-wise God *Resumes* it, & *Revives* it, & *Renewes* it, & at the *Second Essay* He carries all before Him. God usually goes over His Works with a *Second Essay*; and then, Oh, how perfect are they! [See Act. 15.16.]

[△Insert ends, 6v resumes]

[△]

Q. *Wee have obtained an Inheritance.* How? v. 11.

A. ἐκληρώθημεν.²³ Wee obtained it by *Lot*. Wee never deserved a Portion, in Christ & in Heaven: it becomes ours by a *Lot* of Grace falling upon us.

The Passage is an Allusion, to the Way of Dividing the Land of *Canaan* among the *Israelites*. This was by *Lot*, and that Land is here considered as a Type of the *Rest which remains for the People of God*.

This brings to mind a Passage, not improper to bee now mentioned; The Souldiers took the *Coat* of Christ, & four of them did cast *Lots* for it; but only *One* of the *Four* did obtain it. So saies a Divine, scarce *One* in *Four* of, those that are called Christians, do obtain that Spiritual & Illustrious Garment, the *Righteousness* of Christ, for their own. It is an Expression of *Austins*, *Ego sorte perveni ad Tunicam Christi*.²⁴ Happy Souls, on whom that *Lot* falls!

Q. The Lord's *Working all things after the Counsel of His own Will?* v. 11.

A. On that, Gen. I.27. *Lett us make Man*, there is an Exposition of R. *Ami* recited in *Bereshith Rabba*, which notably looks this Way. *Cum quo consultavit?* R. *Ami ait, cum corde suo consultavit*.²⁵

[▽Insert from 7r]

[▽7r]

Q. A further Gloss on, *We have obtained in Inheritance?* v. 11.

A. Mr. *Lock* paraphrases it; *We became His Possession*.

²³ "To appoint by lot."

²⁴ "I come upon the cloak of Christ by lot." Augustine, *Tractates on the Gospel of John* 112–124 (39–44).

²⁵ "With whom did He consult? R. *Ami* says, 'He deliberated within His own heart.'" See *Midrash Rabba* (1:56–7). The *B'reshith Rabba* is a rabbinic commentary on the book of Genesis dating from the 4th or 5th century CE whose final form is attributed to the 11th-century rabbi Moses ha-Darshan; see *EJ* (7:449–50).

The Greek, ἐκληρωθημεν may well be taken in the passive Voice.²⁶ q.d. We Gentiles, who were formerly in the Possession of the Diavel, are now by Christ, brought into the *Possession* of God again, & are under His Dominion.²⁷

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽8v△] [▽Insert from 8v] [blank]

[▽14v] [▽Insert from 14v]

4448.

Q. What is that, which we render, *The Redemption of the purchased Possession?* v. 14.

A. There is a twofold, Απολυτρωσις,²⁸ mentioned in the New Testament. The first is, A *Redemption* from the Guilt of Sin, in a Remission of it. [See Eph. 1.7. and Rom. 3.24. and, Col. 1.14.] The second is, A *Redemption* of the Body from Corruption, that it may be made Partaker of everlasting Life. [See Rom. 8.21, 23. and, 1. Cor. 1.30. and, Eph. 4.30.]

Now, Περιποιησις, is, A *Præservation*, or being *Saved Alive*. Περιποιειν is, To *Save Alive*. [Heb. 9.15. Thus the LXX still use the Word. Gen. 12.12. and, Num. 22.33. and Josh. 6.17. and, 1. Sam. 15. 3, 9, 15. And, 2. Chron. 14.13. and, Psal. 79.11. & Exod. 1.16.] Thus in *Phavorinus*; περιποιήσαντες ἀντί του διασώσαντες.²⁹ Wherefore *Whitby* renders the Clause before us, *The Redemption of Life*; or, The Redemption of those that are to be præserted from Death.³⁰

Q. *The Seal of the Holy Spirit*, is called, *The Earnest of our Inheritance?* v. 14.

A. The *Oxford Paraphrase* observes, That the Apostle continues the Metaphor, but with some Augmentation.³¹ It was the Custome, not only of the *Heathen*,

²⁶ ἐκληρώθημεν; “to obtain by lot” (i. e. an inheritance), or, as Locke would have it, to *become* a possession.

²⁷ Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:617).

²⁸ ἀπολύτρωσιν; “an act of ransoming.”

²⁹ περιποιήσαντες ἀντί του διασώσαντες; “a salvation (or redemption) rather than a preservation.” Probably a conflated quoted from Favorinus, *Fragmenta* (fragm. 96, 4, line 4), in *Favorino di Arelate. Opere*. Favorinus of Arelata (Gaul) (c. 80–160 CE), a Skeptic who taught at Rome; see *ERE* (209).

³⁰ Daniel Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:312–13). Whitby (1638–1726) was an Anglican cleric and a prolific author; he engaged in anti-Catholic polemics but also argued for a latitudinarian treatment of Protestant Dissenters. In his later years, he adopted (publically) Arminian and (posthumously) Arian doctrinal positions. See *ODNB* (58:530–2).

³¹ Abraham Woodhead, Obadiah Walker, and Richard Allestree, *A Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the Epistles of St. Paul, done by several eminent men at Oxford* (1702). The original work (1675) was only a partial paraphrase; the 1684 edition encompassed the entire Pauline corpus. The 1702 edition included the affixed subtitle; hence, it became known as the “Oxford Paraphrase.” Woodhead (1609–78) and Walker (1616–99) were Anglican clerics in teaching positions at Oxford; both converted to Catholicism (Woodhead in the 1640’s, Walker in 1686); see *ODNB* (60:186–8) and (56:878–80), respectively. Richard Allestree (1619–81) was a royalist

but also of the *Hebrewes*, to leave their *Seal-Rings* as a *Pledge*, till the Price covenanted was paid. But our Apostle is not content with calling the Holy Spirit, *Pignus*; he calls it also, *Arrham*, which is Part of the Payment itself.³² The *Heavenly Life* is but a Continuing & a Perfecting of the *Spiritual*.

Q. What the *Faith* of the *Ephesians*, which here the Apostle refers to? v. 15.

A. Mr. *Lock* urges, 'Tis not largely their Beleeving in CHRIST, which *Paul* who converted them, could be no Stranger to. But he had instructed them in the *Faith* of their Freedom from the *Mosaic Law*; and for this very thing he was now a Sufferer. He now rejoices, [Chap. III.13.] *That they fainted not at his Tribulations for them*. They stood stedfast in that *Faith*, and in their *Love to all the Saints*; that is, as well to the *Gentile Converts*, who did not, as to the *Jewish Converts* who did, conform to the Rites of the *Mosaic Law*.³³

Q. On that, *The Fulness of Him that filleth all in all*? v. 23.

A. It is much the same Expression with that; Joh. 1.16. *Of His Fulness have we all received* [Fulness:] *and Grace for* [ἀντι, in Proportion to His] *Grace*.³⁴

[△Insert ends]

[△]

soldier and chaplain during the Civil War; in 1663 he was made a chaplain to the king and in 1665 Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. Unlike Woodhead and Walker, he remained a loyal Anglican cleric; see *ODNB* (1:842–4).

³² *Pignus*, a pledge or security, but one that is returned to the giver once the contract has been executed. *Arrham* (archaic Latin) is also a pledge, but it is earnest money (usually a token coin) that is counted towards the final payment of the purchase price. *Arrham* is derived from the Greek word ἀρραβών, which is itself derived from the Hebrew, עֲרָבֹן, to pledge; Paul uses ἀρραβών in Eph. 1:14 and 2 Cor. 1:22 in this sense: the Holy Spirit is the earnest or pledge of salvation. Mather's analysis here is derivative of that of Kaspar von Barth (1587–1658), a German classical scholar (*EB* 3:447), who derives the distinction between *pignus* and *arrham* from the *Attic Nights*, which, among other things, comments on the use and misuse of Latin by important classical authors; see Aulus Gellius, *The Attic Nights* (3:208–9). By the early Middle Ages this notion had become part of Christian devotional theology and material culture. The poet and bishop Venantius Fortunatus (c. 530–609) described the death of Christ as the *arrham salutis*, the “penny-earnest” of salvation. The *Gottspenning*, or “God’s-penny,” was a small coin that was used as a means for praying the rosary and was inscribed with biblical verses promising God’s salvation; see *NCE* (5:823).

³³ Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:621–2).

³⁴ John 1:16 reads χάρις ἀντὶ χάριτος, “grace for grace” (KJV).

Q. *Hath He quickened;*] are Words of Supply; They are not in the Original? v. 1.

A. I find it well proposed, by some, That the Construction of this Verse, is to be taken from the Twentieth Verse of the Foregoing Chapter. *And you hath He Raised*, – which is confirmed by the *εν χριστω*, in the fifth Verse of this Chapter.³⁵

Q. That Clause, *lest any Man boast?* v. 9.

A. *ἵνα μη τις καυχησηται*, should be rendred, *so that none can boast*.³⁶

Q. A Remark on, the *Workmanship of God?* v. 10.

A. The Words of Mr. *Lock* shall be transcribed.

“Tis not by Vertue of any Works of the Law, nor in Consideration of our Submitting to the Mosaical Institution, or having any Alliance with the Jewish Nation, that we Gentiles are brought into the Kingdome of CHRIST. We are in this entirely the *Workmanship of GOD*, and are, as it were, created therein, framed & fitted by Him, to the Performance of those *Good Works* which we were from thence, to live in; And so, we owe nothing of this our New Being, in this New State, to any Præparation or Fitting we received from the Jewish Church, or any Relation we stood in thereunto.

“That this is the Meaning of the *New Creation* under the Gospel is Evident from St. *Pauls* own Explaining of it himself; 2. Cor. V.16–18. That being *in Christ*, was all one, as if he were in a *New Creation*; and therefore, from henceforth he *knew no body after the Flesh*, i. e. he pretended unto no Priviledge, for being of a Jewish Race, or an Observer of their Rites. All those *old Things* were *done away*; *all things* under the Gospel are *New*, and of God alone.”³⁷

|

Q. Why, *Covenants?* v. 12.

A. GOD more than once Renewed His Promise to *Abraham*, and *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, and the Children of *Israel*; that upon the Conditions proposed, He would be their GOD, & they should be His People.

³⁵ Eph. 1:20 reads “Ἦν ἐνήργησεν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ, “which He wrought in Christ ...”

³⁶ ἵνα μή τις καυχησηται; “lest any man should boast” (KJV).

³⁷ Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:630–1).

2430.

Q. To what may allude that Passage, of Christs *breaking down the Middle Wall of Partition, between us, Jewes & Gentiles?* v. 14.

A. Belonging to the *Temple*, there was an *Outward Court*, called, *The Court of the Gentiles*, or, uncircumcised Proselytes. Tis called, *The House of Prayer for all Nations*; because the *Gentiles* might come, and *Pray*, in this part of the *Temple*. But they might not come into the *Inner Court* of the *Temple*. And therefore *Paul* had like to have been kill'd, for bringing of some *Greeks* there into. This *Partition* was divided from *That*, where the *Jewes*, & circumcised Proselytes were, by a little *Stone Wall*, but Three Cubits High, with this Inscription on Pillars, *Lett no Alien enter into the Holy Place*. To this *Wall* the Apostle alludes, when hee saies, *Christ hath broken down the Middle Wall of Partition between us*.

Q. Your Sense of that Passage; *Having abolished in His Flesh, the Enmity, even the Law of Commandments, contained in Ordinances?* v. 15.

A. The *Enmity*, or Estrangement between *Jewes* and *Gentiles*, is taken away, by our Lords *Dying* for both *Jewes* and *Gentiles*. *Friendship* was of old expressed, produced, & maintained, by *Feeding* and *Feasting* on the same *Dish*: especially, of the *Sacrifices*. But the *Dish* which our Lord entertains us withal, is, that of His own *Flesh*, which ha's been sacrificed for us. How powerfully does this Bespeak a *Friendship*, now between those that are invited unto *Feasting* together upon this glorious *Dish*!

But, as by the *Cross* of our Lord, so, by another Method relating to, & depending on the *Cross*, our Lord ha's further cured the Estrangement between the *Jewes* & *Gentiles*. One great Point that estranged the *Jewes* from the *Gentiles*, was the *Law of Commandments*; that is to say, the *Law* of Things that had no *Goodness* intrinsic in themselves, but were *Good* for no other Cause, but that they were *Commanded*: namely, the *Law* about *Holy-dayes*, and *Forbidden Meats*, and the Like. This *Law*, saies the Apostle, our Lord ha's *Abolished*. How? 'Εν δόγμασι, *By Decrees*, that is to say, By His own Decrees: And so the *Syriac*, and *Chrysostom*, and *Oecumenius*, and *Theophylact* understood it.³⁸ Our so translating & supplying the Clause *contained in Ordinances*, rather clouds it. Among the *Philosophers* of old, the Term, Δόγμα, signified, *The Doctrine*, taught by any of them.³⁹ And *Paul* now wrote unto such as were well versed in the Writings of

³⁸ John Chrysostom (347–407 CE), archbishop of Constantinople, whose hundreds of extant sermons include a number on the Pauline epistles; see *NSHERK* (3:72–5). Oecumenius, 10th-century bishop in Thessaly and putative author of a number of biblical commentaries, including one on the Pauline epistles; see *NSHERK* (8:226). Theophylact (1055–1107), a Bulgarian archbishop whose commentaries, including one on the Pauline epistles, are largely derivative of Oecumenius's work; see *NCE* (13:934).

³⁹ Δόγμα; “doctrine, opinion, decree.”

the *Philosophers*. Now the *Doctrine* of the Lord, & His Apostles was, That the Old *Law of Commandments* was abolished.

[▽17r] [▽Insert from 17r]

Q. Remarks on the *Abolition* of the *Mosaic Law*? v. 15.

A. Mr. *Lock*, ha's offered some, which furnish us with a *Key* to very much of the *New Testament*.

After the general Revolt of Mankind from the Service and Worship of the only True GOD, the Children of Israel, by a voluntary Submission to Him and Acknowledgment of Him, as their GOD and Supreme Lord, became His People, and He, by a peculiar Covenant, became their King. And thus He erected unto Himself a Kingdome in this World, out of that People; to whom He gave a Law by *Moses*, which was to be the Law of the *Israelites*, His People. This was with a Purpose at the same Time, that He would in due Season, transfer this His Kingdome in this World, into the Hands of the *Messiah*, whom He intended for to send into the World, as the *Prince*, who was to be the *Ruler* of His People; of which, He had given the Jews many Promises & Prædictions. Into this Kingdome of the *Messiah*, He also purpos'd and foretold, that he would Incorporate the other Nations of the Earth, as well as the Posterity of *Jacob*; who were to come into His Kingdome, on the New Terms that He should then propose; and that only those who did so, should from henceforth be His People. And thus, tho' the Law given by *Moses* to the *Israelites*, were not expressly Repeled, yett it ceased to be the Law for the People and Kingdome of GOD in this World. And the Jews, not receiving Him to be their King, whom GOD had sent to be the King & Ruler of His Kingdome, they ceased now to be the People of GOD, and they were no longer the Subjects of His Kingdome.

Our SAVIOUR, entring upon His Kingdome, after He had fulfilled all that was required of Him for the Obtaining of it, putt an End unto the Law of *Moses*; and opened another Way for all People both Jews and Gentiles, to come into the Kingdome of GOD, which was different from the *Law of Ordinances* given by *Moses*; Namely, FAITH in JESUS CHRIST; whereby alone, every one that would, had now Admittance, into the Kingdome of GOD, with the one, plain, easy Ceremony of *Baptism*.

This, the Jews understood not, tho' it had been declared unto them; having a great Opinion of themselves, & of their Law; and concluding, that they were to remain the People of GOD forever, & their Law unaltered. The Ceasing of their Law, and the Admittance of the Gentiles on the same Terms with | them, into the Kingdome of the *Messiah*, was what our Apostle calls over and over again, *A Mystery*, and, *The Mystery hidden from Ages*.

[▽18v]

Into the Kingdome of GOD, under both Dispensations, are Men recalled out of their general Apostasy from their Maker; and thus returning to their Allegiance, they are brought into the Way of being restored unto that Happy State

of Eternal Life, which we lost in *Adam*, & which it is impossible they should recover, while they remained Vassals of the Divel, & Outlaws & Enemies to GOD. The most Biass'd and Partial Inclination of an Intelligent Being, never could expect that GOD should Reward Apostasy and Rebellion, with Everlasting Happiness; and fetch up the Actual Vassals of Satan immediately to the Enjoyment of the *Fulness of Joy in His Presence*, & the *Pleasures at His Right Hand forevermore*. The Kingdome of God in this World, is the Entrance to the Kingdome of GOD in the other World, and the Receptacle and the Place of Præparation for those who aim at a Share in that Eternal Inheritance.⁴⁰

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 19r]

[▽19r]

4302.

Q. It is here said, *He preached Peace unto them that were afar off, and unto them that were nigh*. Why are they that *were afar off*, mentioned before them that *were Nigh*? Why, the *Gentiles*, before the *Jewes*? v. 17.

A. It may be, there is this thing hinted in it: That the Priviledge of having the *Gospel preached* unto them, does now belong as much unto the *Gentiles* as unto the *Jewes*: it is not of any Moment, which of these are first mentioned.

Lett the Hint go a little further. The *Gentiles* are now as welcome to *Peace with God* as the *Jewes*. The Seed of *Cham* himself, are as earnestly called upon, to come into *Peace with God*, as the Seed of *Abraham*.

Lett the Hint go yett a little further. The first main Success of the Gospel, was, and still is, among the *Gentiles*; the *Jewes* are not yett brought into *Peace with God*, by any general Success of the Gospel among them. Tis the great *Zanchies* Observation here: The *Gentiles* received the *Gospel of Peace*, when the *Jewes* rejected it, and for doing so, were themselves Rejected of God.⁴¹ The *God of Peace* is known, and the *Prince of Peace* is serv'd, among the *Gentiles*; while the *Jewes* have cast Him off, and are cast off. This is what our Lord ha's intimated; *The Last shall be first, & the first shall be Last*. The *Gentiles*, who *Last* had the Tender of the Gospel, are the *First* that are brought unto *Peace*; the *Jewes*, who *First* had the Gospel, are the *Last*, that God brings into *Peace*.

I will dismiss it, with a solemn Admonition, which I read in a worthy Scotch Expositor, Mr. *James Ferguson*. We read, | *He preached Peace unto them that were Nigh*.⁴² Even they that are *Nigh to God*, as to an external Church-state, and the Enjoyment of all the Divine Ordinances, may yett be unreconciled unto God. Alas, Persons may be the Children of pious Parents, and admitted

[▽20v]

⁴⁰ Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:633–5).

⁴¹ Girolamo Zanchi (1516–90), an Italian monastic converted to the Protestant cause by Peter Martyr Vermigli; he served as a professor of Hebrew and theology at Strasbourg, Heidelberg, and Neustadt. See *NSHERK* (12:496–7).

⁴² See Eph. 2:17.

nigh unto God in all His Ordinances, and yett there may be need of *preaching Peace* unto them.⁴³

Q. On the, *Holy Temple*? v. 21.

A. The *Temple* of *Diana* at *Ephesus* was one of the most Illustrious *Buildings* in the World; one of its *Wonders*. The Splendors and the Beauties of this peerless *Temple*, mightily struck the Minds of all *Ephesians*; No *Ideas* were so powerful in the Minds of all *Ephesians*, as those of their matchless Temple.

It is Remarkable, how wisely our Apostle accommodates his *Ephesians*, by writing to them in the Style of *Architecture*; and with almost perpetual Allusion to *Building*, and that Order & Grandeur of a stately Edifice, of which their *Temple* was a Master-peece. Ch. II.20, 21, 22. III.17, 18. IV.16, 29.

Q. On that, *An Habitation of God*? v. 22.

A. The Sons of *Japhet* were now become, συμπολιται, *Fellow-citizens* with the Sons of *Shem*.⁴⁴ And in Conjunction with them, they become an *Habitation* of God. It is apprehended by Dr. *Franckius*, That our Apostle might now have in his Eye, that Passage, in Gen. IX.27. which is by the LXX rendred; κατοικησάτω εν τοις οίκοις του Σημ.⁴⁵

[△] [△Insert ends]

⁴³ James Ferguson, *A Brief Exposition of the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians and Ephesians* (1659). Ferguson (1621–67) was a Scottish pastor; he declined the professorship in theology at Glasgow due to political opposition; see *DNB* (18:342). Mather has an Appendix of citations from Ferguson at the end of his Ephesians commentary. Mather perhaps alludes here to the Half-Way Covenant introduced in 1662, allowing children of full communicants to receive baptism but not the right to partake of the Lord's Supper.

⁴⁴ συμπολίται.

⁴⁵ Gen. 9:27 (LXX): κατοικησάτω εν τοις οίκοις του Σημ; “He will dwell in the tents of Shem.” August Hermann Francke (1663–1727), leader of Halle Pietism and a correspondent of Mather's; see *NSHERK* (4:367–8).

Q. *Paul*, in preaching the Gospel, preaches, *The unsearcheable Riches of Christ*; can you *search out*, any curious Gloss for the Word *unsearcheable*? v. 8.

A. Πλούτος ἀνεξιχνίαστος.⁴⁶ The *Mystery of Christ*, cannot bee fully comprehended by them that *Have the Gospel*; much less is it Investigable, by those that have not the Divine *Revelation* of the *Gospel* made unto them.

The Term here used, is a Metaphor borrowed from *Quickscented Hounds*, that have neither *Scent*, nor *Track*, of their Game left unto them. If it were not for the Gospel, wee should have neither *Scent* nor *Track*, to assist our Enquiries, after the Way of Salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ.⁴⁷

[▽Insert from 21r]⁴⁸

[▽21r]

*49

2730.

Q. Give us, if you please, a Touch upon that *manifold Wisdome of God*, which appears in His *Dispensations* towards His Church in the World? v. 10.

A. This is a most noble, and sublime, & charming Subject, and indeed well worthy of the Angelical Contemplation.

I will partly out of *Grotius* on this Text, recite a few general Strokes, to suggest how this Contemplation may be pursued, unto incredible Satisfaction.⁵⁰

What *Lawes* were given by God, in His Dispensation to *Adam*, we know, & how *Adam* transgressed those *Lawes* and how Vice prevailed among the Children of *Adam*, till God swept them away with a *Flood*. The Conduct of Heaven, in this whole Dispensation, variously & marvelously, displayes the *manifold Wisdome of God*.

After the *Flood*, the worst Vices, & especially *Idolatry*, the Chief and Source of all, soon overwhelmed the World. God then Raised up one Man above the rest, even *Abraham*, who restored the Worship of the True God. And God would have the Offspring of *Abraham*, to make the Experiment, what a Difference

⁴⁶ "Unsearchable riches."

⁴⁷ See Appendix B.

⁴⁸ See Appendix B.

⁴⁹ See Appendix A.

⁵⁰ Hugo Grotius, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (7:32–4). Grotius (1583–1645), Dutch lawyer and religious controversialist, wrote a number of works defending the Christian religion as well as biblical interpretation, including his *Annotationes* (1641); see *NSHERK* (5:85–6).

[▽ 22v]

there was between His Institutions, & those of the wisest Nations, that had not Him for their Teacher. They generally fell into the Contagion, & Corruption of *Idolatry*, with the other Nations, but God brought them out of that Corruption, and by His Dealings with them in a Wilderness for forty Years together, He Reformed them, into a glorious Generation. He then carried them into the *Land of Promise* and favoured them with Rulers, and Judges endued with His Holy Spirit, that they might see the Blessedness of being under the Government of God. When they would have Kings, He lett them have 'em; | only, being for the most part evil ones, they followed the evil Exemple of their Kings; especially in *Idolatry*, but consequently in the Offspring of it, all other Impiety. God Admonished them of their Folly, and their Danger, and first He divided their Kingdome; then He Distressed both Divisions, with forreign Enemies; then He utterly cast off the *Ten Tribes*; and then, the *Two Tribes* not well taking Warning, He sent them also into Captivity. Here, for Seventy Years together, they had Opportunity to see & feel the Disposition of *Idolaters*; and the Physic, which was very strong, wrought so powerfully, that afterwards, the Jewes would relapse into any Crime sooner than that of *Idolatry*. In this Exile of the *Jewes*, many of the *Gentiles* were brought, by Acquaintance with Them, to be acquainted with the True God, & His Religion. God then, by the Hand of *Cyrus*, who, as *Grotius* tells us, was no *Idolater*, delivered them; and now being Restored unto their own Land, the Lord would no longer lett them enjoy perfect Liberty, that so they might by Degrees be more accustomed, unto the Contempt of this World, and of all worldly Enjoyments, and a Prospect of that more *Heavenly Felicity*, which the *Messiah* shortly to appear, was to purchase and bestow. Many *Gentiles* were in this Period, brought into the Knowledge of the True God, and unto a Fellowship with the *Jewes*, in the Hope of the Resurrection from the Dead. The People of God, now degenerating into many Disorders, He Humbled them, first by the *Gracians*, and then by the *Romans*. But things yett remaining much amiss, the Lord sent first *John Baptist* as another *Elias*, to correct what was amiss; and then He sent the *Messias* Himself, who for above Three Years together, by a Ministry, by a Sanctity, & by Miracles exceeding those of all the Prophets, endeavoured the Recovery of the Nation. Hee, and His Apostles after Him, had not the Success, that was to have been desired: And now, it being found by long Experience that the *Mosaic Rites*, (which were intended partly as a *Yoke* upon the People to Restrain them from Running away unto Idolatrous Extravagances, and partly as a Glass to show them Higher Mysteries of the Gospel) would be no longer useful, the Lord plainly Abrogated them, and he made it evident, that *Gentiles* who came in unto the *Faith of His Christ*, tho' they were not *Jewish Proselytes*, were as acceptable to Him, as the *Jewes* themselves. Multitudes of *Gentiles* were here-upon; especially by the *hand* of the Lord with His Apostle *Paul*, were brought in unto the *Faith*, and made Partakers of the *Holy Spirit*; And God so sanctified it, that many of the *Jewes* also became *Christians*, at the Sight of it: who became

such Examples of a Mortified, Holy, Devout, Gracious, and Heavenly Disposition, as had rarely, if ever been exemplified, in the former Ages.

These are but a few rude Strokes, upon as excellent a Subject, as ever was handled. I invite you to prosecute it, with the closest Meditations that are possible, and I promise you, that you will there find vast Heaps of *Golden Keys* to the Oracles of God, & numberless Passages occurring in them.

[△Insert ends, 23r resumes]

[△]

Q. How may we understand that Passage; *That now unto Principalities & Powers in Heavenly Places, might be known by the Church, the manifold Wisdome of God?* v. 10.

A. Sir Norton *Knatchbul* with an easy and proper Trajection, gives us a very likely Translation.

He supposes, That by the *Heavenlies* here, may be meant, *Heavenly Matters*, as well as *Heavenly Places*. *Chrysostom* tells us, That some things are, *επουράνια*, *Heavenlies*, και εν τη γη επιτελεται. *Etiam si in Terrâ peraguntur*.⁵¹

He supposes, That the *Principalities* and *Powers* here, are not *Angels*; *Paul* preached not unto such; But the *Governours* of the Nations; even Such as *Titus* was to preach Subjection unto; (the Names are the same.) Such as *Herod*, and *Felix*, and *Festus* and *Agrippa*, and the Magistrates of *Athens*, and other Places.

He thus reads it; *That now might be made known unto Principalities & Powers, the manifold Wisdome of God by the Church, in Heavenly things*.⁵²

|

[24v]

Q. That Expression, *The whole Family in Heaven & Earth?* v. 15.

A. It is frequent with the *Jewes*, to make mention of the *Angels*, as the *Family in Heaven*; and of the *Faithful*, as the *Family on Earth*. Hence they say: *God does nothing, but He consults with His Family Above*; that is, with the *Angels*. And they say, *He that addict himself to the Study of the Divine Law, for the Sake of the Law, conciliates to himself Peace with the Family Above & with the Family Below*.

The *Angels* are called, *The Sons of God*. [Job. 1.6.] And so are all the *Faithful* [Joh. 1.12.] Consider, Luk. 20.36.

51 That some things are, *Heavenlies*, και επουράνια, και εν τη γη επιτελεται.; “even if they are accomplished on earth” [Greek and Latin]. John Chrysostom, *In Genesis (homiliae 1–67)*, [Patrologia Graeca 63, p. 125, lines 40–41].

52 Norton Knatchbull, *Animadversiones in libros novi testamenti* (116). Knatchbull (1602–85) was a member of Parliament with mixed political sympathies during the Civil War; he absented himself from Parliament in the wake of Pride’s Purge (1648). He then turned his attention to biblical studies, publishing his *Animadversiones* (1659), a critical historical study of the New Testament text. An English version, probably translated by Knatchbull, appeared posthumously (1693) as *Annotations upon some Difficult in All the Books of the New Testament*. See *ODNB* (31:871–2). The Latin version is listed in Increase Mather’s 1664 Catalogue of his library; Cotton uses the English translation as well. See Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (21).

Q. What the Import of that Passage; *That yee may be able to comprehend, what is the Breadth & Length, & Depth, & Heighth, and to know the Love of Christ?* v. 18.

A. Turn to Job. 11.7, 8, 9. and you'll see the Passage of Scripture, which the Apostle now had in his Eye.

The Goodness of God is *Broad*, for it extends to *all Persons*; tis *Long*, for it extends to *all Ages*: Tis *Deep*, for it extends to such as are in the lowest *Depths* of Misery, & it is *High*, in regard of the Condition to which it *Raises* them.

To the Acknowledgement hereof perhaps was the *Elevation* and *Agitation*, of the ancient Offerings, (the *Wave-offerings*) among the People of God.⁵³

4410.

But how did the Ancients understand the Expressions?⁵⁴

By the *Breadth* of this Love, the Fathers understand the great Extent of the Affection of our Saviour, who Designed His Death for the Benefit of all Nations, in all Places, and thro' all Ages.

By the *Depth* of it, they understand, the Greatness of His Humiliation; His *Love* brought Him from the Highest Heaven to the Lowest Hell.

By the *Length* of it, they understand its Duration; we being chosen in Him from the Beginning.

The *Heighth* of it, they say, is manifested, in that being exalted unto the Right Hand of Majesty, He is ever there employ'd in Acts of Kindness for us.

Bellarmino says, The Apostle here, *Satis aperte describit Figuram Crucis, quae quatuor habet Extrema &c. Praef. ad Lib. De Septem Verbis Dom.*⁵⁵

⁵³ The wave-offerings are described in Exodus 29 and Leviticus 7 as an act of thanksgiving to God for the harvest, with a waving of a sample of the produce of the crop by the priests.

⁵⁴ See Appendix A.

⁵⁵ "He describes the figure of the cross quite openly, which has four arms" etc. Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621), Jesuit and cardinal and inquisitor of Giordano Bruno and Galileo Galilei. He was an effective controversialist with Protestants (e. g. *Disputationes*, 1581). The work cited here, *On the Seven Words of Christ*, was published in 1618. Bellarmine was also an accomplished biblical scholar; see *NCE* (2:226–28). This sentence on Bellarmine is in a hand other than Mather's and consistent with other entries (Gal. 6:17 [23r], Col. 4:16 [20v], Phil. 4:22 [22v], and I Thess. 5:22 [7r]). It is perhaps that of his son Samuel, done as an exercise in penmanship.

Q. What is that *Bond of Peace*, in which we are to keep the *Unity of the Spirit*? v. 3.

A. Some Divines, who embrace the *Congregational Church-Discipline*, which is indeed the scriptural and primitive, do with much Probability maintain, That the *Bond of Peace* is the CHURCH-COVENANT. Every *Church* in due Order, ha's a *Covenant*; that *Covenant* is a *Bond* which engages the Brethren one unto another; By this *Bond*, they are obliged unto *Peace* among themselves; and an *Unity of Heart* is necessary to maintain that *Peace*.⁵⁶

Q. In the Book of R. *Isaac*, which he calls, *Chizuck Emunah*, written to furnish the *Jewes*, with Cavils against Christianity, tis objected, That the Apostle writing, *He gave Gifts to Men*, ha's perverted the Words quoted by him from the Psalmist, which are, *Thou hast Received Gifts for Men*? v. 8.⁵⁷

A. The Apostle had no Occasion under Heaven, for the Perverting of the Words, to serve his Cause. The Jew might have Remembred, That his own *Chaldee* Paraphrast, here uses a Word that signifies *Giving*; and what Cause had he to serve?⁵⁸ The *Syriac*, the *Ethiopic*, and the *Arabic* versions do the like.⁵⁹ He that *Receives Gifts for Men*, must be supposed also to *Give* them, unto those for whom he *Receives* them: And he that *Gives* them, did also *Receive* them, that they might be *Given*. Yea, there is an Emphasis in the Apostles Translation. He wrote after the Prædiction of the Psalmist was Accomplished, and when the *Gifts* were not only *Received*, but actually *Given* out among the Children of Men. And it is highly probable, That, as the same *Arabic* Word (which is Dr. *Pococks* Observation) signifies both to *Receive* and to *Give*, the Hebrew Word, /לקח/, may do so too.⁶⁰ The frequent Variety of Significations for the same Word, in the Hebrew

⁵⁶ See Cotton Mather, *Ratio Disciplinae Fratrum Nov-Anglorum. A Faithful Account of the Discipline Professed and Practised; in the Churches of New-England* (1726).

⁵⁷ Isaac ben Abraham of Troki (c. 1533–94), a Karaite rabbi and author of *Chizzuk emunah* (*Strengthening the Faith*), a Jewish polemic against Christianity, particularly the New Testament's interpretation of the Hebrew Bible. It was popular during Mather's lifetime among Deists and other anti-ecclesiastical figures for its critique of Christianity; see *EJ* (20:155). The work was translated into Latin for a Christian audience, along with a refutation, by Johannes Christopher Wagenseil, *Tela Ignea Satanae* (1681), englished as *The Fiery Darts of Satan*.

⁵⁸ The reference here (*Chaldee Paraphrast*) is the *Targum Jonathan* (c. 4th century CE), a lectionary paraphrase of the Pentateuch in Aramaic used in post-exilic synagogue worship, when Aramaic had become the common language of Judaism; see *EJ* (11:398).

⁵⁹ All of these versions are printed with parallel Latin translations in Brian Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1653–57).

⁶⁰ לקח can mean "receive" and "bring." Edward Pocock, likely his *Specimen historiae Arabum*

Tongue may countenance this Conjecture. Yea, the Word is rendred, Exod. 25.2, *Bring me*; and 1. King. 17.10. *Fetch me*.

Q. How is our Lord Jesus Christ, *Ascended up, far above all Heavens*? v. 10.

A. *Heavens*, by a Metonymie, may signify, all the things in the *Heavens*. The Superlative Exaltation of our Lord Jesus Christ, is *far Above all created Beings*. *Angels*, particularly, are called, *Heavens*.

Q. How does our Lord *Fill all things*? v. 10.

A. With the Works of His Power, He ha's fill'd *Earth*, which He sanctified; *Hell*, which He vanquished; *Heaven*, where He Reigneth. So the *Oxford Paraphrase*.⁶¹

4451.

Q. We find here, *Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, Teachers*, endued with supernatural Gifts, for the *Edifying of the Body of Christ into a perfect Man*?⁶²

A. I will offer Dr. *Whitby's* Observation to be considered. He saies, That these doing none of these things in Person since their Death, & yett being given for the accomplishing of these Ends, it must be acknowledged, they have done all these things as far as they were needful some other Way; and this Way must be the *Writings* which they have left behind them as a Rule of Faith, wherein *they being Dead, yett speak*. Hence it followes, These Writings duely attended unto, must be sufficient for those Ends; & sufficiently instruct us both for our Beleef & our Practice. *Chrysostom* therefore informs us; *They wrote the Gospel, for the Perfecting of the Saints, for the Work of the Ministry, for the Edifying of the Body of Christ*. And that the Lord ha's given them to all future Ages, as well as the Primitive.⁶³

2732.

Q. What is meant by, *The Measure of the Stature of the Fulness of Christ*? v. 13.

A. In my Opinion *Grotius* glosses well upon it; *Ad eum stature modum, qui plenus sit Christi; id est, cognitionis de Christo*.⁶⁴

And I would now offer you a Thought upon it, which may be improved unto more than ordinary Consequence. It is this in short; That the more Full

(1650). Pocock (also Pococke) (1604–91) was an Orientalist and biblical scholar, professor of Arabic (1636), and later professor of Hebrew (1648) at Oxford; *ODNB* (44:662–6).

⁶¹ On the "Oxford Paraphrase," see Mather's second entry on 1:14.

⁶² See Appendix A.

⁶³ Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:317). On Chrysostom, see Mather's first entry on 2:15.

⁶⁴ "To that measurement of stature which is the fullness of Christ; that is, according to the knowledge of Christ." Hugo Grotius, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (7:42–3).

and Grown and Perfect State of the Church, will have a glorious Advancement in, *The Knowledge of Christ*, for the special Character of it. And the more there is of, *A Fulness of Christ*, in any Man or Church, the nearer they come unto Perfection.

Q. *Carried about with every Wind of Doctrine, by the Sleight of Men.* What may be meant by, *The Sleight of Men?* v. 14.

A. Κυβεία, signifies *A Ship*.⁶⁵ *Cubosa*, is used by *Cicero*, for the greater Kind of *Ships*, which were then built *Square*. *Beza* saies, it may here be read, *The Ship of Men*. Wicked Men, if learned, would have driven the *Ship*, whither they pleased. For the Prevention of this, the Apostles were made *Pilots*; who left both *Writings*, and other *Pastors* who should be well skilled in their *Writings*, for the Steering of the Vessel.

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4366.

[26v]

Q. Upon that Word, *past Feeling?* v. 19.

A. The Greek Word used here, *απαλγεω*, signifies, To *cease from Grief*.⁶⁶ It intimates, a Mind, which thro' Custome of Sinning, hath waxed so stiff & hard, that now it feels no remorse & sorrow, for it.

[▽Insert from 27r]
4452.

[▽27r]

Q. What may be the Reason, why the *Holiness* insisted on, must be styled, *True Holiness?* v. 24.

A. It is called, *Holiness of Truth*, in Opposition to the External and Ceremonial *Holiness*, which the *Jewes* valued themselves upon.

⁶⁵ Κυβεία actually means “dice-playing” or “gambling”; thus it serves as a synonym for deceitfulness, as it is being used here. The Greek κύβος, a loan word from the Latin *cubus*, means “cube,” usually a referent to dice as well (although according to Mather’s unnamed source, used as a synonym for ‘ship’ by Cicero; *navis* is the typical Latin word for ship, and *quadra* is Latin for square). The slightly homonymic Greek word κυβερνάω means “to pilot a ship,” yet it does not have an etymological connection to κυβεία. Mather’s interpretation appears to conflate these two, on the grounds that being ‘carried about with every wind’ of doctrine fits readily with a nautical metaphor. [My thanks to Alan Kirk of James Madison University for his help in sorting this out.]

⁶⁶ “Who being *past feeling* (ἀπηλγηγότες) have given themselves over ...” (KJV). The word’s principle meaning is to put away sorrow.

It is remarkable; *Plato* in his *Theat.* saies, ομοιωσις θεω δικαιον και οσιον μεταφρονησεως γινεται.⁶⁷ The *Likeness* of God, is to be *Righteous*, & *Holy*, with *Wisdom* or *Prudence*.⁶⁸

4453.

Q. Some true Remark upon the *Lying* that Christians are to *putt away*? v. 25.
A. The Heathen Philosophers held *Lying* to be lawful, when it was profitable for them. They owned the Rule of *Menander*; κρείττον δε ελεως ψευδος, η αληθες κακον. *A Ly is better than an Hurtful Truth*.⁶⁹ And that of *Proclus*; το γαρ αγαθον κρείττον εστι της αληθειας. *Good is better than Truth*.⁷⁰ And that of *Darius* in *Herodotus*; ευθα γαρ τι δει και ψευδος λεγεσθαι, λεγεσθω. *When a Ly will profit, lett it be used*.⁷¹ And that of *Plato*; *He may lye, who knowes how to do it*, εν δεοντι καιρω. *in a fitt Season*.⁷² For, *There is nothing decorous in Truth*, saies *Maximus Tyrius*, *but when it is profitable*. *Yea, sometimes*, he saies, και ψευδος ωνησεν ανθρωπους, και τ' αληθες εβλαψεν. *Truth hurts men, and a Lye profits them*.⁷³ And | to countenance Lying, both *Plato* and the *Stoicks*, framed a Jesuitical Distinction, between Lying in Words, and with Assent unto an Untruth; which they called, *Lying in the Soul*. The first they allowed unto an *Enemy*, in *Prospect of Advantage*; and for many other *Dispensations of this Life*. That is, A wise Man may tell a Ly, when it is for Advantage. But a Man might not assent unto an Untruth.

[▽28v]

⁶⁷ “To become like God is to become righteous and holy and wise.”

⁶⁸ Plato, *Theaetetus*, in *Plato* (7:128–9). Plato, *Theaetetus* (Stephanus, page 176, sec. *b*, lines 2–3), reads: ομοιωσις δε δικαιον και οσιον μετα φρονήσεως γενέσθαι.

⁶⁹ Menander, *Fragmenta* (777) line 1, has: κρείττον δ' ἐλέσθαι ψεύδος ἢ ἀληθὲς κακόν. Menander (342–291 BCE), a Greek dramatist whose works survive largely in fragmentary form; see *EB* (18:110).

⁷⁰ Proclus, *In Platonis rem publicam commentarii* (vol. 1, p. 166, lines 7–8) reads: τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἀγαθὸν κρείττον ἐστὶν τῆς ἀληθείας. Proclus (412–485 CE), a Neoplatonic philosopher; see “Proclus,” SEP (electronic). Both Menander and Proclus are cited without sources in Whitby, *Paraphrase* (2:319).

⁷¹ More literally, “When it is necessary to tell a lie, tell it.” Herodotus (c. 484–425 BCE), *The Histories* (2:94–95). *Historia* 3.72, lines 15–16 reads: “Ἐνθα γὰρ τι δεῖ ψεύδος λέγεσθαι, λεγέσθω. Darius I (550–487 BCE) was king of Persia.

⁷² Probably adapted from Plato's *Spuria* (Stephanus p. 375, sec. *a*, line 2): ἐν μὲν τῷ δεόντι καὶ τῷ καιρῷ.

Whitby's unsourced citation for Plato here (p. 319) is Joannes Stobaeus, a 5th-century CE Greek author who compiled two digests of classical writers, the *Extracts* and the *Anthology*; see *EB* (25:929).

⁷³ Maximus Tyrius, a 2nd-century CE Greek philosopher and author of the *Dissertations*; see *ERE* (361). Whitby identifies the third dissertation as the source of this citation, but it is not to be found there. See Maximus Tyrius, *Dissertationes* (Diss. 13, sec. 3, line 17): καὶ ψεύδος ὠνησεν ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὰ ληθὲς ἐβλάψεν.

Our Apostle, in his Prohibition of *Lying*, touches upon the true Reason, why *Lying* is prohibited. *For we are one of another.* *Lying* tends to dissolve Societies, & hurt the *Body* whereof we are the *Members*.

[△Insert ends, 26v resumes]

[△]

2733.

Q. How do you like this Version, *Be yee Angry, and Sin not?* v. 26.

A. I can't say, I am *Angry* at it. But my Opinion is, it may run better so. *Are yee Angry? Yett do not sin.*

4450.

Q. This Præcept, *Lett not the Sun go down upon thy Wrath.* Was there, any thing among the Pagans to countenance it? v. 26.

A. *Plutarch* saies, The Scholars of *Pythagoras* observed this Præcept, who when they had been angry, & reproached one another, πρὶν ἢ τὸν ἥλιον δύναι.⁷⁴ *Before the Sun went down, they shook hands, & embraced one another.*⁷⁵

808.

Q. Unto what may bee the Allusion of the Apostle in that Expression, *Lett not the Sun go down upon your Wrath?* v. 26.

A. It seems an Allusion to that Passage, in Deut. 21.22, 23. *If a Man have committed a Sin worthy of Death, & hee bee put to Death, & thou hang him on a Tree: His Body shall not Remain all Night upon the Tree, but thou shalt in any wise Bury him that Day.* Even so, If a Man have committed a Sin worthy of thy Wrath, yett the Resentments thereof must not remain all Night, thou must bury them in any wise that Day.

Yea, shall wee say it, There is a *cursed Carcase* hanging in thy Soul, as long as *Anger* is working there.

[▽Insert from 29r]

[▽29r]

Q. A further Thought upon that, *Lett not the Sun go down upon your Wrath?* v. 26.

A. In a Sermon lately preached by Mr. *Nath: Hodges*, I meet with a good Hint; "That this Expression may refer to the Custome of the Jews, at their Evening-sacrifices, which use to be offered near the Going down of the Sun. By it, the Apostle intimates, that we are not fitt to offer the Christian Sacrifices of Prayers & Thanksgivings to God, if we retain Anger in our Minds. We must not *lett the*

⁷⁴ πρὶν ἢ τὸν ἥλιον δύναι; "before the sun goes down." *Plutarch, De fraterno amore* (487a–492d). (Stephanus, p. 488, sec. C, line 2).

⁷⁵ *Plutarch, On Brotherly Love, in Moralia* (6:303).

Sun go down upon our Resentments, or keep them till the Time of Offering up our *Evening-sacrifices*.⁷⁶

Compare, 1. Tim. II.18.

Buxtorf out of an Hebrew Treatise entitled, MOREH CHATTAIM BADDEREC. 1.8. *Docens peccatores in viâ*;⁷⁷ cites this Passage; *Semper homo monitus sit ne irascatur; nam quisquis irascitur, omnes species Gehennæ ei dominantur*.⁷⁸ Behold, a Jewish Gloss, on, *giving Place to the Divel*.

[△] [△Insert ends, 26v resumes]

Q. How do you understand that Passage, *give not Place to the Divel*? v. 27.

A. As tis commonly understood. But, Why may not one thing more emphatically intended, bee, q.d. *give not Place to a Slanderer*? Slanderers, Accusers, Backbiters, are the Divels *Name-sakes*, and singular Instruments of the Divel. To entertain the *Whisperings* of such Calumniators, is to lett the *Divel* have his Design upon us. Tis remarkable, That the Apostle gives this *Command*, as a *Counsel* to assist the Observing of what hee had immediately said, *Lett not the Sun go down upon your Wrath*. Now *Slanderers* are those *Kindle-coals*, who make Men gratify the *Divel*, by sleeping in their enflamed Wrath.⁷⁹

[▽30v] [▽Insert from 30v]

Q. On, *giving Place to the Divel*? v. 27.

A. If Anger do ripen into Revenge & Reproach & Slander; very much of the Image of the *Divel* is contracted; whose very Name signifies, a *Railer* and *Blasphemer*.

[△] [△Insert ends, 26v resumes]

Q. When the Apostle commands those that *stole*, *To steal no more, but rather to labour with their Hands, that they may have to give to him that needeth*: Is there any remarkable Insinuation in it? v. 28

⁷⁶ Nathaniel Hodges, *A Sermon ... upon the Occasion of a Fast* (1710), p. 15.

⁷⁷ See Johannes Buxtorf, *De Abbreviaturis Hebraicis* (88); Buxtorf lists the 13th-century rabbi Eliezer Miggarmissa as the author. The Hebrew title is drawn from Ps. 25:8, *yoreh chattaïm badderekh* (יֹרֵה חַטָּאִים בְּדֶרֶךְ) “teaching sinners in the way [of righteousness]”; so too the Latin here. Mather’s second-hand extract is from Christopher Cartwright’s *Mellificium Hebraicum, seu Observationes Diversimodæ ex Hebraeorum* (lib. 3), on Eph. 4:26, in col. 1340. In *Criticorum Sacrorum* (1698). Vol. 8, col. 1340 (second series of pagination).

⁷⁸ “A man should always be admonished not to grow angry, for whoever becomes angry, all the elements of Gehenna master him.” Perhaps Johannes Buxtorf (1599–1664) whose *Florilegium Hebraicum* (1648) is a collection of sayings taken out of rabbinic texts; possibly his father, Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629) whose *Synagoga judaica* (1603) is a more expansive work dealing with Jewish religious culture. Several works by the Buxtorfs, though not these, appear in the Mather library catalogs. On the Buxtorfs, see NSHERK (2:324–5).

⁷⁹ See Appendix B.

A. Yes. The Apostle counts him that was a *Theef*, to be so, still, & not to have left the Trade; if he do not labour, but live upon the Bounty of others, when by his Labour he might putt himself into a Condition to live without their Bounty, yea, and be able to contribute unto the Necessities of others. The lusty Beggar, is guilty of a complicated *Theft* in every *Alms*, that he receives. He Robs God, of all that he begs & takes for Gods Sake. He Robs himself of the Profit he might make, & the Credit he might have in an honest Livelihood. He Robs the truly Poor by defrauding them of the Subsistence they should have out of his Earnings, & diverting to himself the Charity which belongs to them.

Q. What is meant by the *Corrupt Communication* here forbidden to the *Ephesians*? v. 29.

A. *Obscene Communication*. And, if *Xenophons Ephesiaca* were now extant, we should unquæstionably have it there enough exemplified.⁸⁰

The Hebrews have a Saying; *Propter obscenitates oris, multæ Afflictiones & graves Calamitates oriuntur*.⁸¹

Q. What is that *Sealing of the Spirit*, whereof Beleevers are Partakers? v. 30.

A. Wee are to Remember, That the Use of a *Seal*, is to *Assure*. [See Jer. 32.10.] Now, wee read Three Things about the *Sealing* of the Spirit, which being laid all together, will suggest the Meaning of it.

First, The *Sealing* of the *Holy Spirit*, is on the Persons of Beleevers. It is here said, [*Yee*] *are sealed*. Hence the *Sealing of the Spirit*, is to *Assure* us, of our own Interest, in that which wee are sealed unto. It is not said, That *our Day of Redemption* is sealed unto us, but that *Wee* are *sealed* unto it; That is, wee are made *sure* of it, by the *Holy Spirit* of God.

Secondly, The *Sealing* of the *Holy Spirit*, is *After our Beleeving* too. [See Eph. 1.13.] Hence it signifies more than the Impressions, which Hee makes upon the Soul, in the *Sanctification* of it. *Justifying Faith*, includes a Principle of *Repentance*, in the Nature thereof, altho' it *Justify* not the Soul, *As* thus Qualified, or Accompanied. Albeit all Acts of *Sanctification*, depend and follow on Acts of *Faith*, yet the *Principles* of *Both* are together infused into the Soul. Now, tis *After* wee are brought Home to God in Christ, that wee are *Sealed* by the *Spirit*. *Sanctification* is indeed the *Stroke* or *Ink* of the Spirit; it is the *Writing of the Law in the Heart*, as the Prophet speaks; or, as the Apostle speaks, it is the *Writing of the Epistle of Christ with the Spirit of the Living God*. But the *Seal* of the *Spirit*, has in it a further thing. Wherefore

⁸⁰ Xenophon of Ephesus, a Greek writer of the 2nd–3rd century CE whose romantic novel *Ephesiaca* or *Ephesian Tale of Anthia and Habrocomes*, serves in part as an elegy to the goddess Diana. Mather's assertion to the contrary, the work is extant. See Reardon, *Collected Ancient Greek Novels* (125–69).

⁸¹ "Many afflictions and great calamities arise because of the obscenities of the mouth."

Thirdly; The *Sealing* of the *Holy Spirit*, is a Solid, Wonderful, and Powerful *Persuasion*, by Him Raised in us, That wee are *Elect*, and shall bee *Happy* forever: Compare, 2. Cor. 1.21, 22. *God stablisheth us, who hath also sealed us, and given the Earnest of the Spirit, in our Hearts*. Then are wee *Sealed*, when the *Spirit*, like an *Earnest* gives us *Assurance* of our eternal Blessedness, and do's *Establish* us in that *Assurance*, causing our Minds to bee *Settled*, and no more *Wavering* thereabout. Wee are *Sealed* by the *Spirit*, when Hee brings Home the *Electing Love* of God unto our Souls, and this with such an *Immediate Efficacy*, as cannot bee described; *No Man knows it but hee that has it*. There is a twofold *Assurance* of *Pardon* and *Glory*, that God favours us withal. There is a *Discursive Assurance*; this is drawn from *Signs*. Herein, a Man from the *Image* of God on him, concludes the *Good-will* of God to him. There is also an *Intuitive Assurance*; this is given with *Seals*. Herein the Soul is marvellously moved and melted, and overpowered, with such a Thought as this; *God is thine and thou art His; and Hee hath loved thee with an everlasting Love*. Tho' *David* had been told, *The Lord hath putt away thy Sin*, yet hee cries out, Psal. 51.13. *O Restore mee, the Joy of thy Salvation, and establish mee, with thy Free Spirit*. Herein, the *Spirit* of God, with a mighty Light, gives unto us a *Satisfaction* about our Title to the *Kingdome* of God; & like a great King, Hee *Seals* us with a, *Teste me ipso*.⁸² Hee strangely *Tells* the Beleever, *Bee of good Cheer, thy Sins are forgiven thee*. And now, according to that in Rom. 15.13, *Wee abound in Hope, by the Power of the Holy Spirit*. The Miscarriages of Beleevers unfit them, for this Enjoyment. Unto this Purpose our Dr. *Goodwin*.⁸³ But if we may be more particular, *Heinsius* takes part of the Meaning of, *grieve not the Holy Spirit*, for to be; Don't give way to excessive *Grief*. We should maintain an *Holy Cheerfulness*, *ne quis Maerore Magnum illum Hospitem offendat*.⁸⁴ The Jews have a Saying, *Spiritus S. non residet super hominem maestum*.⁸⁵

⁸² "Witness within me."

⁸³ Probably Thomas Goodwin, D.D. (1600–80); his collected works, including works of biblical interpretation, began to be published in 1682. Goodwin, a Puritan, was made president of Magdalen College at Oxford in 1650; a post he lost at the Restoration; see *ODNB* (22:823–8).

⁸⁴ "Lest anyone offend that great guest by his sadness." Nicholaes Heinsius (the Elder), a Dutch classical scholar and peripatetic bibliophile. Under the patronage of various nobles and royal courts, Heinsius (1620–81) spent over thirty years traveling through Europe (as far as Sweden and Russia), collecting books and manuscripts: at his death his library held over 13,000 volumes. He published editions of several classical authors. See *EB* (13:216).

⁸⁵ "The Holy Spirit does not reside with a sad person."

Q. May not we have at once given unto us, a *Key* to those Lessons, which are given here, and in several other Epistles, concerning *Relative Duties*? v. 1.

A. One whose name is *Pyle*, has in his *Paraphrase* on the *Epistles*, a little helped us.

The *Key* is to be found, in the contemptuous Notion, which the Jewish Zealots had, of an *uncircumcised* Person. Such was their Contempt of such an one, that they thought the Duties flowing from the nearest Relations, were scarce owing to them.

The Admonition to *Relatives*, are often so occasionally introduced, that we may plainly perceive them levelled in that Principle. The ⁸⁶Exhortations to *Husbands* and *Wives*, usually refer to such *Pairs*, whereof, the one was an *Heathen*, the other a *Christian*; or perhaps, the one a *Gentile* and *uncircumcised*; the other a *Jewish* Convert; the latter of which by a *Jewish* Præjudice, might think themselves excusable from any further Obedience, or Duty to the former.⁸⁷

Q. Why is our Lord Jesus Christ, giving Himself for us, called, *An Offering & a Sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling Savour*? v. 2.

A. It is not enough, in general, to mention its *Agreeableness* unto God, as the Reason of this Expression. But lett us penetrate a little further, into the Significancy of it.

Observe then, That there were Two Sorts of *Offerings*⁸⁸ under the Law. There were some *Offerings* accompanied with the *Perfumes of Incense*, therewith Burned before the Lord; these were called, *Offerings of a sweet Savour unto the Lord*. [Lev. 2.2., 9.] But there were other *Offerings*, which, tho' approved by the Law, yett were not so styled; inasmuch as no *Perfumes* did accompany them. [Lev. 2.12.] And it was Remarkable, That a *Sin-offering* might not have any *Perfumes* burned with it: so ungrateful the Memory of *Sin*, that the Sacrifice for it, must not bee one *of a sweet Savour*: For indeed those legal *Offerings*, took not away the Infection of the Sins, therein repræsented.

But now in Opposition hereunto, our Lord Jesus Christ was a *Sin-offering*, and yett one *of a sweet-smelling Savour*: which intimates unto us, how much the *Sacrifice* of the Lord Jesus Christ, in its Efficacy surmounted all the *Expiatory Sacrifices* of the Law.

⁸⁶ See Appendix A.

⁸⁷ *Pyle, Paraphrase upon the New Testament* (2:62–3).

⁸⁸ See Appendix A.

2735.

Q. Whence that Expression of, *A sweet smelling Savour*, applied unto the *Offering* and *Sacrifice*, of our Saviour? v. 2.

A. The first Use of this Expression was upon the Sacrifice of *Noah*; [Gen. 8.21.] And there was an Allusion to the Name of *Noah* in the Expression. [רִיחַ הַנִּיחָח]⁸⁹ Here is an Intimation, That our Lord Jesus Christ, is the great *Noah*, who saves His People, from the *Flood* of *Sin* & *Wrath*, which comes upon the World, & who is, *The Father of the World to come*.

Q. That Phrase, *Not convenient*? v. 4.

A. Some urge to have, τα μη ἀνήκοντα, rendred, *That are most disagreeable*.⁹⁰

4089.

Q. The Apostle forbids, *Foolish Talking*; what may be more particularly meant, by, *Foolish Talking*? v. 4.

A. The Apostle speaks in the Language of the Hebrewes, and means, whatever is *Impure* and *Obscene*.

That the Words μωρολογία and εὐτραπεία,⁹¹ are to be Interpreted unto an Impure Sense, may be probably gathered from the Words joined with them, *Fornication*, *Uncleanness*, *Filthiness*; and more probably, from the Reason rendred for the abandoning of them all; *That no Fornicator, or unclean Person, hath any Inheritance in the Kingdome of God*, or, of Christ. Μωρολογία is in the Rabbinical Phrase /נבול פה/, *Turpitude Oris*;⁹² of which they proverbially say, *Quicunque fœdè loquitur perindè est, ac si introduceret porcum in Sanctuarium*.⁹³ To commit *Folly* in Israel, is to committ *Whoredome*.

Εὐτραπεία, is by *Suidas* rendred, *Scurriley*, and by Βωμολυχία. Now, Βωμολυχος, is a *Filthy*, *Scurrilous Man*.⁹⁴

⁸⁹ רִיחַ הַנִּיחָח, the “pleasant aroma” that God smelled from Noah’s sacrifices after the Flood (Gen. 8:21).

⁹⁰ Eph. 5:4 reads ἃ οὐκ ἀνήκον, “which are not convenient” (KJV). The rendering τὰ μὴ ἀνήκοντα, “things that are not proper,” is found in John Chrysostom’s *In epistula ad Ephesios* (*homiliae* 1–24) [*Patrologia graeca* 62, page 118, lines 15, 32].

⁹¹ μωρολογία, “foolish talking” and εὐτραπεία, “jesting, or ribaldry.”

⁹² From נִבּוּל פֶּה, “dryness [Hebrew] or foulness [Latin] of the mouth.”

⁹³ “Whoever speaks foully, it is just as if he had introduced a pig into the Sanctuary.” Whitby cites Johannes Buxtorf’s *Lexicon Hebraicum* as his source; see Whitby, *Paraphrase* (2:322).

⁹⁴ The Greek word is actually βωμολοχία, which means “buffoonery.” A βωμολόχος is a beggar, a buffoon, a man sunk into the gutter. *Suda*, *Lexicon* (alphabetic letter *epsilon*, entry 3771, line 1), and (alphabetic letter *beta*, entry 488, line 7). “Suidas” was taken to be the putative author of a Greek reference work known as the *Souda* (Σουδα), in an apparent confusion of the title with the author. The *Souda* contains some 30,000 entries on Greek language, literature, and history and was compiled in the 10th century, largely under Constantine VII (912–959). See “Suidas,” *OCCL* (electronic).

Oecumenius and *Theophylact*, reckon both, as *οχηματα της πορνειας*, The *Fore-runners, or Incentives to Fornication*.⁹⁵

[▽Insert from 33r]

[▽33r]

4454.

Q. What special Need had the *Ephesians* of the Apostolical Instructions against Impurities? v. 4.

A. This we may learn from *Democritus Ephesius*; who speaking of the Temple of the *Ephesian Diana*, hath much, *περι της χλιδης αυτων*.⁹⁶ of the *Softness and Luxury of the Ephesians*.⁹⁷ And from *Eualces*, in his Book, *De Ephesiaciis*, who saies, *εν εφεσω ιερα ιδρυσασθαι εταιρα Αφροδιτη*.⁹⁸ *In Ephesus, they built Temples to Venus, the Mistress of the Whores*.⁹⁹ And from *Strabo*, who informs us, *That in their ancient Temples there were old Images, but in their New, σκολια εργα*,¹⁰⁰ *Vile Works were perpetrated*.

Q. *Nor covetous Man who is an Idolater?* v. 5.

A. Some carry it so; A Man of such Inordinate Desires, – *as an Idolater is and must be*.

4455.

Q. What Occasion for that Caution here; *Lett no Man Deceive you?* v. 6.

A. Among the Heathen, simple *Fornication* was held a thing Indifferent. The Lawes allowed and provided for it, in many Nations. Whence the grave *Epictetus* counsils his Scholars, only *to whore*, *ως νομιμον εστι*, *According to Law*.¹⁰¹ And in all Places they contrived at it. *Cicero* saies, (*Orat. pro Caelio*) *He that blames young Men for their meretricious Amours, does what is repugnant unto the Customes*

⁹⁵ *οχηματα της πορνειας*; literally, the “purveyors of sexual immorality.” See *Oecumenius, Fragmenta in epistulam 1 ad Corinthios (in catenis)*, page 434, lines 21, 27.

⁹⁶ *περι της χλιδης αυτων*; “on account of their softness.”

⁹⁷ *Democritus of Ephesus, On the Temple of Ephesus* (c. 5th century BCE), a work extant only in the citations of later Greek authors. The source of this reference is *Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae* (5:369). See *Democritus, Fragmentum* (Fragm. 1, line 6).

⁹⁸ *εν Εφεσω φησιν ιερα ιδρυσθαι Εταιρα Αφροδιτη*; “In Ephesus, they dedicate temples to Aphrodite, the priestess of whores.” Aphrodite is the Greek goddess of love, equivalent to the Roman goddess Venus.

⁹⁹ *Eualces's book, On the Ephesians*, is mentioned in *Xenophon's Hellenica* (c. 350 BCE); see *Whitby, Paraphrase* (2:323). Adapted from *Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae* (Book 13, Kaibel paragraph 31, lines 29–30).

¹⁰⁰ *σκολια εργα*; “unrighteous works.” *Mather's source, Whitby* (p. 323), has misquoted *Strabo*. The term is actually *Σκοπα εργα* or “the works of Scopas.” *Scopas* (c. 395–350 BCE) was a noted Greek sculptor and architect. See *Strabo, Geography* (14.1.20).

¹⁰¹ *ως νομιμον εστι*. *Epictetus* (55–135 CE), a Greek Stoic philosopher based in Rome; his two major works are the *Discourses* and the *Enchiridion*; see “*Epictetus*,” *SEP* (electronic). See *Epictetus, Enchiridion* (ch. 33, sec. 8, line 2).

⌈▽34v⌋ & Concessions of our Ancestors; For when was not this done? When was not this permitted?¹⁰² This was agreeable both to the Principles & Practices of their gravest Philosophers; especially the *Stoicks*; who held it *Lawful to use Whores, & for them to get their Living by being Such*.

Hence even in the Church of *Corinth*, some taught such Doctrine.

⌈△⌋ [△Insert ends]

⌈32v⌋

Q. *Unfruitful Works?* v. 11.

A. In *Midras Tillim*, ad Ps. 62. tis quoted as a Saying of R. *Juda*; *Peccatum sterile est, nec ullum facit Fructum*.¹⁰³

2736.

Q. With what Force, come in those Clauses, *It is a Shame even to speak of those things, which are done of them in secret?* And those that follow? v. 12.

A. The Apostle had just before said, *Reprove them*. And he seems now to bring this as a Reason for it, By *Speaking* of what they do, you'l make them *Ashamed*; They'l go on without *Shame*, if you don't *Reprove* them.

He adds, All things that are *Reproved*, when a Man Full of Divine *Light* comes to *speak* of them, tis then made *manifest* how bad & how base they are. And whereas it followes, *Whatsoever doth make manifest is Light*, here *Grotius* takes *πᾶν* to be of the Accusative Case, & would have it read, *The Light is that which does make every thing manifest*.¹⁰⁴

4456.

Q. Yett one may in general *speak*, what Things they were, that were *done of them in secret?*

A. They were the things, which were done in their sacred Mysteries; which were therefore styled, *ἀπορρητα μυστήρια*.¹⁰⁵ and which none were to divulge upon Pain of Death. *Μυστήριον*, say the Grammarians, is, from, *μυεῖν το στόμα*, *To stop the Mouth*.¹⁰⁶ The *Eleusinia Sacra*, were performed in the Night, agreeably (as *Whitby* observes) to the *Deeds of Darkness* committed in them. So were

102 Cicero, *Pro Caelio*, in *Speeches* (417–27). This work was a successful defense of Marcus Caelius Rufus, accused of the murder of the philosopher Dio; Caelius was rumored to have been sexually intimate with Catiline, one of the conspirators.

103 “It is a sterile sin, that does not produce any fruit.” *Midrash tehillim*, a rabbinic commentary on the Psalms, composed from materials dating from the 3rd to 13th centuries; see *EJ* (14:191–2).

104 Grotius, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (7:55); see his comments on verse 13.

105 ἀπορρητα μυστήρια; “forbidden secrets.”

106 “‘Mystery’ (μυστήριον) is (derived) from ‘stop the mouth’ (μυεῖν τό στόμα).” Μυεῖν however can also mean “initiate into the mysteries”; in this phrase, “by word of mouth.”

the *Bacchanalia*; and hence called, *Nyctelia*.¹⁰⁷ They were both full of detestable Iniquity and Impurity; And upon that Account, saies *Livy*, they were banished by the Senate, out of *Rome*, & *Italy*.¹⁰⁸

1153.

Q. The Apostle *Paul* seems to quote a Passage out of the Scripture; *Wherefore Hee saith, Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the Dead, and Christ shall give thee Light*. In the Scripture, where will you find this Passage? v. 14.

A. Some have made *Maimonides*, an Expositor, on the Apostle. Wee will Recite therefore a Custom among the Jewes, reported by *Maimonides*, with his Paraphrase thereupon. “It was the Custome (saies hee) to sound a *Trumpet*, the First Day of the Year; after which, the public Cryer pronounced these Words, *Awake thou that sleepest*. Altho’ this Custome of sounding a *Trumpet*, was commanded by the *Law*; Lev. 23.24, another thing may bee observed, from these Words of the public Cryer; Tis as much, as if hee had said, *Thou who sleepest, awake*, from thy Security, Examine thy Works, Return to thy Duty by Repentance, and Remember Him who hath created thee.”¹⁰⁹

Quæry, whether our Apostle may not intend, an Allusion to this Custome. If not, lett Isa. 60.1, 2. bee your Meditation, & your Satisfaction.

But, *Grotius* thinks, here is no Allusion to any other Text at all; but the Apostle putts into the Mouth of a Person replenished with Divine *Light*, the Words properly to be used by such a Person. *Hee saith*, i. e. This is the Language of a Man full of *Light*.¹¹⁰

But after all, Sr *Norton Knatchbull* comes, with the fairest Thought upon it. *He saith*.] This, HE, is, *The Spirit* spoken of in the *Ninth* Verse.¹¹¹

Compare, 1. Tim. 4.1.

Mr. *Pyles* Paraphrase clears up the Intention of the Apostle in this Passage.

“Accordingly, the Prophet *Isaiah* [LX.1.] has expressed the happy Condition of the *Gentile* Part of the *Christian Church*, *Arise, Shine*, – etc. signifying, the former dark & ignorant State of the Heathen World, & the glorious Light

¹⁰⁷ “Things done at night.” Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:323). The Eleusinian Mysteries were initiation ceremonies related to the cult of Demeter and Persephone; the Bacchanalia were festivals held in honor of Bacchus-Dionysius, the god of wine – both date back to the 2nd millennium BC. Both cults were associated with fertility and were secret; thus their activities were regarded with suspicion and associated with sexual licentiousness. See Hugh Bowden, *Mystery Cults of the Ancient World* (26–48).

¹⁰⁸ *Livy*, *Ab Urbe Condita* (11:257); as *Livy* relates it, the Roman senate banned the practice of the Greek Bacchanalia (186 BCE) due to their orgiastic practices as well as the fear that such meetings were being used to plot against the empire.

¹⁰⁹ Mose Maimonides (1135–1204) was the most influential Jewish legal theorist and theologian of the medieval period; see *EJ* (13:381–99). Maimonides treats this subject in the *Mishneh Torah*, in the section entitled *Zemanim* (“Book of Seasons”).

¹¹⁰ *Grotius*, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (7:55).

¹¹¹ *Knatchbull*, *Animadversiones in libros novi testamenti* (119).

& Knowledge it should attain by the Religion of Christ the Messiah; & their great Obligation to live suitably to the Advantages of it.”¹¹²

Q. See that yee walk circumspectly. What special Import may there be, in the Word, *circumspectly*? v. 15.

A. Ἀκριβῶς,¹¹³ is the Word. Now Ἀκριβής,¹¹⁴ *An Accurate Man*, comes from ἄκρον,¹¹⁵ and βᾶω,¹¹⁶ *gradior; quòd ad summam summita{tem} scandat.*¹¹⁷

It is then q.d. See that yee walk to the very *Top* of Christianity; be Christians of an *High* Elevation in Religion.

Q. The Import of that Passage, *Be not Drunk with Wine, wherein is Excess*? v. 18.

A. Methinks, instead of the Word *Excess* here, the very Sound of the *Greek* Word, may putt us in Mind of an *English* one, much more agreeable; Why should not Ασωτια,¹¹⁸ be rendred, *Sottishness*? But now, to be *filled with the Spirit* of God, produces no *Sottishness*; it brings Men to right and good and clear Understandings.

4457.

Q. But what special Occasion for this Admonition?

A. The Pagans, who look'd on *Drunkenness* as unlawful at other Times thought it a Duty, at the Solemnity of *Bacchus* & of *other Gods*. *Plato* saies, That *no Man should be allow'd to be Drunk, but at the Solemnities of the God that gave them Wine*. When *Megillus the Lacedenionian*, told the *Athenians*, That he saw their whole Cities Drunk, at the Solemnities of *Bacchus*; *Marvel not at it*, said, the *Athenians, for the Law with us requires it.*¹¹⁹ And *Plutarch* saies, when they celebrated their sacred Mysteries, they allowed themselves to be merry, μέχρι μηθης, *even to Drunkenness.*¹²⁰ *Athenaeus* tells us, They thought it even a Duty, in

112 Pyle, *Paraphrase upon the New Testament* (2:65). Contemporary scholarship speculates that this is a broadly paraphrastic allusion to Isa. 60:1, possibly from a baptismal hymn; see Fowl, *Ephesians: A Commentary* (172).

113 “Precisely, or carefully”; thus the KJV: “See that ye walk *circumspectly*.”

114 An “exact, or strict, or frugal” man.

115 “Highest or farthest.”

116 From the Greek verb for “go” (βαίνω).

117 “To take a step; because he ascends to the very highest point.” The word “*summitatem*” is buried deeply within the bound spine and therefore is not completely legible; the end of the word is inferred from the grammar. It also comports with Mather’s ensuing gloss.

118 “Debauchery, profligacy.” Mather is playing on the homonymic qualities of the Greek and English words and their shared connection to the excesses associated with drunkenness.

119 Megillus the Lacedaemonian appears as one of three interlocutors in Plato’s *Laws*; see Plato, *Laws* (1:43–5).

120 μέχρι μηθης. Plutarch, *That Epicurus Makes a Pleasant Life Impossible*, in *Moralia* (14:89–93).

the Service of their Gods.¹²¹ Aristotle & others, tell us, *Drunkenness* had its Name from {Distemperance}¹²² after *Sacrifices*.

|

[35r]

4458.

Q. A further Illustration upon the Ασωτία, which we render, *Excess*?¹²³ v. 18.

A. It signifies, *Luxury*, in the Parable of the Prodigal: (Luk. 15.13.) which is interpreted, by, *Devouring his Living with Harlots*. Hesychius interprets, ασώτως, by the Word, αischρως, *Filthily*.¹²⁴ Phavorinus tells us, Ασωτος,¹²⁵ is the *lustful* and *unchast* Person.¹²⁶ And hence Ασωτιον signifies, *A Brothel-house*. *Drunkenness* does produce and inflame *Lasciviousness*. The *Poets* teach us this; The *Pagans* found it so. Their Comportations ended in the Introduction of lewd Women into them. Their *Bacchanalia* ended with Impurities. [See, Prov. 20.1. ἀκολαστον οἶνος.]¹²⁷

And so Mr. *Lock* observes on the Place. Ασωτία, signifies, *Dissoluteness*.¹²⁸ Drinking is no friend unto Continence and Chastity.

Or, it may signify, *Disorder*, which is Opposite unto the prudent and sober Demeanour, advised in *Redeeming the Time*.

Q. On this, *That He might present it?* v. 27.

A. The Alexandrine Copy reads it, Αυτος, not, Αυτην.¹²⁹ which, as Mr. *Lock* observes, is most suitable unto the Apostles Meaning here. To sett off the Affection of our SAVIOUR unto His Church. Other Brides take much care to sett off themselves with all Manner of Neatness, that they may be recommended unto their Bridegroom. But our SAVIOUR, at an infinite Expense, does *Himself* præpare His Church, to be a Spouse, presented unto Himself.¹³⁰

121 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* (1:153ff); Book 2 of the *Deipnosophistae* is a paean to the value of drinking wine and its religious uses.

122 See Appendix A.

123 ασωτία.

124 ασώτως and αischρως are synonymous, meaning “shameful, dishonoring.” Hesychius, *Lexicon*, alphabetic letter *alpha*, entry 7988.

125 Ἄσωτος; “profligate.”

126 See Whitby, *Paraphrase* (2:324), who does not give a source for either Hesychius or Favorinus. Hesychius of Alexandria was a 5th-century CE lexicographer whose *Synagogue* (extant in a single 15th-century manuscript) preserves a treasury of the Greek language; see *EB* (13:415). Favorinus of Arelata (80–160 CE) was a Skeptic who taught at Rome; see *ERE* (209).

127 ἀκολαστον οἶνος; “Wine leads to intemperance”; or “Wine is a mocker; strong drink leads to raging” (KJV).

128 Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:654–5).

129 Αὐτός “he himself,” not Αὐτήν “to himself”; see Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:657). The Codex Alexandria is a 5th-century Greek Bible manuscript, which was given to Charles I in the 17th century by the Patriarch of Constantinople.

130 *Ibid*.

4459.

Q. *Men ought to love their Wives as their own Bodies?* v. 28.

A. The Jewes have a Saying, *He that loves his Wife as his own Body, and honours her more than his own Body, of him the Scripture saies, Peace shall be in his Tabernacle, and he shall visit his Tabernacle & shall not Sin.* [Talm. Sanh. F. 76.2].¹³¹

4460.

Q. *The Mystery in the Marriage of Adam and Eve?* v. 32.

A. Dr. *Alix* notes, That as the first Mark between *Adam* and *Eve*, was a Type of that between *Christ* and His *Church*,¹³² So, in this, the Apostle had the Jewish Notion to concur with him; For the *Jewes* tell us, according to *Voisin*, *And the Mystery of Adam, is the Mystery of the Messiah*, who is the Bridegroom of the Church.¹³³ It was the Observation of *Munster*, That *the Creation of the Woman from the Rib of the Man, was made by the Jewes, to signify the Marriage of the celestial Man, who is blessed, (or, of the Messiah) with the Church.*¹³⁴ Hence the Apostle applies the very Words, which *Adam* uttered, concerning *Eve*, his Spouse, unto those Christians, who are the Spouse of Christ; *We are Members of His Body, & of His Flesh, & of His Bones.*

Q. Why should Persons in a *Married Estate*, consider so Attentively, as the Apostle doth advise them, the *Union* between the Lord Jesus Christ, and His Church, as a Mystery instructive to them in their Marriage? v. 22.–32.

A. Tis a true and a deep Speculation of the *Platonists*, Τὰ ἀισθητὰ τῶν νοητῶν μιμήματα,¹³⁵ *Material Things* are but *Ectypal Resemblances* and *Imitations* of *Spiritual Things*, which are the Archetypal, Original, and Primitive Beings of all.¹³⁶ Nor is there any thing more obvious to a wise Contemplator, than that of *Reuchlin*, *Deum solere uno Sigillo Varias Materias signare.*¹³⁷ There are *parallel Signatures* imprinted by the God of Heaven, upon several Subjects, which render

¹³¹ See “Sanhedrin,” in *Talmud* (12:517).

¹³² Pierre Allix, *The Judgment of the Jewish Church Against the Unitarians* (1699); see Whitby, *Paraphrase* (2:325). Allix (1641–1717) was pastor of the Huguenot church in Charenton, France. He removed to England after the Edict of Nantes (1685) and was ordained an Anglican priest; see *ODNB* (1:869–71).

¹³³ A Catholic priest and Orientalist, Joseph de Voisin (d. 1685) authored several works on rabbinic thought, including his *Theologia Iudaeorum* (1647), perhaps in view here; see *GBD* (30:414).

¹³⁴ Sebastian Munster, *Hebraica Biblia planeq.* See Whitby, *Paraphrase* (2:325).

¹³⁵ “Visible things are imitations of thoughts.”

¹³⁶ Mather’s entire annotation in the following paragraphs is extracted from Ralph Cudworth’s typological sermon, *The Union of Christ and the Church in a Shadow* (1642), pp. 3–7, 29, 33–34.

¹³⁷ “That God is accustomed to symbolize diverse things with one sign.” Johann Reuchlin (1455–1522), German lawyer and scholar of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, who taught languages at Heidelberg, though without an appointment as professor. He was deeply influenced by the

them not meer *Similitudes* of one another, as the *Kingdome of Heaven*, may bee likened unto a *Grain of Mustard-seed*; but are, as my Lord Verulam expresses it, *Una eademque Naturæ Vestigia, diversis Materijs et Subjectis Impressa*.¹³⁸

Here lies the sounder Part of the Jewish *Cabala*; and hence an Hebrew Doctor, tells us, *The severall Worlds were printed with the same Print, and sealed with the same Seal; and that which receiveth the Sigillation here below, is like to the Shape & Form of those things above, which did stamp the Signature upon them.*

In *Heaven*, there is according to those Observers, *The World of Emanation*; and in the visible Creation, there are the Marks of things flowing from that World.

So say those *Poets*; And, THIS WITNESS IS TRUE. –

Well then; I say, That the Lord Jesus Christ, and His Church, are, *Sponsus et Sponsa Archetypi*;¹³⁹ a Man and his Wife, are, *Sponsus et Sponsa Ectypi*.¹⁴⁰

God from all Eternity purposed and promised, a *Church* unto the Lord *Jesus Christ*. As well in this Eternal *Idea*, as in the Actual *Fulfilment*, the Lord *Jesus Christ*, Loves, Pitties, and Supplies His Church; the Church, Loves, Honours, and Obeyes the Lord *Jesus Christ*; and the *Union* between them is most gloriously Intimate, they are most nearly concerned in one anothers Interests. Now, in the right Order of things, pursuant unto, and consequent upon, the Establishment of this Design, a *Man* and a *Woman* is made; and they are given unto each other with a particular Instruction, that in their Affection, Relation, & Behaviour towards each other, they consider the *Union* between the Lord *Jesus Christ*, and His Church, as the grand *Exemplar*, whereto they are to conform themselves.

The Marriage between *Tipheret* and *Malcuth* [in English, *The (male) Beauty*, and, *The (female) Kingdome*] ha's been very notably handled by the Israelitish Doctors, who have | handled, the Mysteries of the *Sephiroth* [or, Emanations of Light] in the *Messiah*. And it was their Opinion, That in the *Canticle of Solomon*, *Sponsum Tipheret et Sponsam Malcuth, introducit ad invicem loquentes*.¹⁴¹ [36v]

I will at this time carry you, no further, lest I confound you. But you shall now learn from hence, why the Notion of *Man* and *Wife*, the whole Bible

Kabbalistic interests of Pico della Mirandola and published *De Arte Cabbalistica* in 1517; see *EB* (23:206).

138 "One and the same mark of nature, impressed upon various materials and subjects." Francis Bacon (1561–1626), made the first Baron Verulam in 1618.

139 "Archetypal husband and wife."

140 "Ectypal husband and wife."

141 "He introduces the groom Tipheret and the bride Malcuth speaking in turns." *Tiferet* is the sixth emanation of God in the Kabbalah, associated with both maleness and beauty or spirituality. It is the counterpart to *Malkuth* (literally, "kingdom" but also understood as the Shekinah), the tenth emanation of God, associated with femaleness and with the earthly creation. In Christian Kabbalism these two figures are configured as *Jesus Christ* and the Kingdom of God (i. e. the Church), bridegroom and bride. See *EJ* (11:631–5, 671–3); Joseph Blau, *The Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in the Renaissance* (15, 46, 51, 93, 105).

over, is employ'd, to describe the *Union* between the Lord Jesus Christ, and His Church; and so, why *False Worship* is described as a *Fornication*. Our Lord led, an otherwise *unmarried* Life; but you see, to whom Hee is truly *married*. And indeed, as *Eve* was fetched out of the Side of sleeping *Adam*, so *Jerom* tells us, *Eva in Typo Ecclesiæ, de costâ Viri dificata est*.¹⁴² Yea, the dull School Men, at last hitt upon it, *Ecclesia facta est de Latere Christi dormientis in cruce*.¹⁴³

Here then is that *Mystery*; which aggravates all our Miscarriages in a *Married State*; but above all, *Polygamy* and *Adultery*.

And on this Occasion, I must confess one thing, which I never could from any other Instance bee driven to confess.

Not only our Apostle here, but our Saviour, in Math. 19.5. declares, *Have yee not Read? – They TWAIN shall bee one Flesh*. What if it should bee reply'd, *Glorious Lord, Wee have NOT expressly Read it!* For in Gen. 2.24. That Word upon which the Stress of all does ly; namely, *TWO*, is not there to bee found. Unto this it might bee answered, that the Word may bee understood, & borrowed from the Context. But, the famous Dr. *Cudworth* beleeves, That this Word was in the Ancient Copies of the Bible, not only because the Jewes might else elude the Force of it against having of many Wives; as they do to this Day; but because this is found several Times in the New Testament quoted after this Manner, *Ἔσονται ὁι ΔΥΟ*,¹⁴⁴ and *So* sometimes, that the cheef Stress lies upon the Word.¹⁴⁵ Yea, and in the *Samaritan Pentateuch* also, that Word is yett retained.

I now confess, that never till Now, had I so strong a Suspicion of a Corruption crept into the Hebrew Text; but tho' I do not yett absolutely grant one, however, you see what an one it is, one corrected by the Spirit of God Himself, and not left unto the Correction of Humane *Capricie* or *Curiositie*.

142 "Eve, in image of the Church, is made out of the rib of a man." Jerome (347–420 CE) wrote commentaries on Genesis and Ephesians, among others; see *NCE* (7:757–9).

143 "The Church is made from the side of Christ, dying on the cross."

144 "Two shall be one." The reference is to Eph. 5:31.

145 Ralph Cudworth (1617–88), Regius professor of Hebrew at Cambridge and leader of a group of scholars there known as the Cambridge Platonists. His philosophical treatise, *The True Intellectual System of the World* (1678), defends the reality of the metaphysical (ideal) world against Hobbesean materialism. See *ODNB* (14:562–5).

Q. Why is the *Fifth Commandment*, called, *The First Commandment with Promise*? There is a *Promise* annexed unto the *Second Commandment*! v. 2.

A. *Johannes Marckius* ha's an Exercitation upon this Point; in which he comes to this Conclusion, That the Clause, *with Promise*, must be joined, not with, *First*, but with, *Commandment*. It should be read, *which is the First Commandment*, and *with a Promise*. Now, it may be called, *The First Commandment*; because tis not only a principal one, but also the very *First* in that Table of the Law, which requires the Duties the Apostle was now inculcating.¹⁴⁶

Q. On that, *Provoke not your Children*? v. 4.

A. *Chrysostom* ha's a critical Gloss upon it; – “As many People do, αποκληρονομους εργαζόμενοι, και αποκληρυκτους ποιουντες.¹⁴⁷ By their Ill Usage discouraging them, from coming into the Christian Church, and from hearkening to the Gospel-Doctrine.”

Our Apostle would not have Parents, by harsh Usage to discourage their Children from the Christian Religion.

4461.

Q. How are *Masters* to *Forbear Threatnings*? v. 9.

A. Gr. Ανιεντες,¹⁴⁸ *Remitting* often the Evils, which they have threatened.

Q. The *Wiles* of the Divel? v. 11.

A. *Alardus* observes, That μεθοδεια,¹⁴⁹ signifies, *Hominum Stratagemata, quibus Adversarios aggrediuntur, ex eâ parte, quâ minimi pertimescendum erat.*¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ *Johannes a Marck* (1656–1731), perhaps his *Textuales exertationes* (1694), a commentary on select passages of the Old and New Testaments (republished under slightly different titles in 1697 and 1707). Mark was a professor of theology at Franeker and an Orientalist. See “Johann Markius,” in Johann Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon Aller Wissenschafften und Künste* (19:1266).

¹⁴⁷ αποκληρονόμους εργαζόμενοι, και αποκληρύκτους ποιούντες. “Working to disinherit them, and taking their inheritance away.” John Chrysostom, *In epistulam ad Ephesios (homiliae 1–24)* [PG 62.150, lines 24–25].

¹⁴⁸ Ανιέντες; “leave unpunished.”

¹⁴⁹ μεθοδείας; the “wiles” (methods) of the devil (KJV).

¹⁵⁰ “The stratagems of men, with which they attack their adversaries on that side where there is the least to fear.” Alard of Amsterdam (1494–1544) was rhetorician and professor at Louvain who wrote treatise on Christian rhetoric, *Descriptio ecclesiastae sive concionatoris evangelici*, based on the work of Rudolph Agricola whose collected works he published in 1539. See Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue* (96, 126).

The Divil is, Δαίμων, *Callidus, Astutus.*

*Mille opifex fraudum, scelerisque Magister et Author.*¹⁵¹

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽38v] [▽Insert from 38v]

2820.

Q. It is here said, *We wrestle against Spiritual Wickedness, in Heavenly Places*; How can it be said, that *Wicked Spirits* are in *Heavenly Places*? v. 12.

A. Why not? Since the *Wicked Spirits* possess the upper Quarters of our Atmosphære. Compare Eph. 2.2.

But then, it is objected by some, That the *Aërial Regions* cannot with any Propriety of Speech, be called, ἐπουράνιοι, which Word properly signifies, not only *Cælestial*, but also, *Supercælestial*.

Chrysostom therefore, and others of the Ancients, understand it of, *Heavenly Things*; & this they take of the Sense of the Apostle; “We wrestle with *Wicked Spirits*, about *Spiritual Things*, *Heavenly Good Things*, which they would wrest from us, not about Carnal or Terrene Things.”¹⁵²

Dr. *Goodwin* glosses it therefore to this Purpose; We *wrestle* not only with *Flesh and Blood*, but also with the *Princes of Darkness*, about our Interest in *Heavenly Priviledges*.¹⁵³

Q. Besides, What you say, about *Fiery Darts*, in the Discourse upon the spiritual Armour, may if you please, add from *Antiquity*, further *Illustration* upon them? v. 16.

A. In the old Roman Arms, one sort of *Dart* used was, The *Saguntine Dart*, which was called, *Falarica*.¹⁵⁴ *Livy* thus describes it in his Twenty First Book.¹⁵⁵ *Falarica* was a kind of Dart used by the *Saguntines*, when *Hannibal* besieged their City, (perhaps it was first Invented at that Siege;) It had a long Shaft, round & even every where, except toward the End of it. And that was Headed with Iron, three foot long, Tow being wrapped about it, smeared with Pitch; this *Tow* they *fired*, when they were to lance the Dart; & the violent Motion so increased the *Fire*, that when it could not pierce the Body, it forced the Souldier

151 The Divil is Δαίμων (experienced), clever, cunning (Latin).” “He is the perpetrator of a thousand frauds, the master and author of wickedness.”

152 Chrysostom, *Homily XXII on Ephesians*, NPNFi (13:160).

153 Thomas Goodwin, *An Exposition of the Epistle to the Ephesians* (on. Eph. 6:12), in *Sermon XXXII* (Ephes. 1:21–22) and *Sermon III* (Ephes. 2:2.) *The Works of Thomas Goodwin* (1681–1704) (1:422, 1:36). Goodwin, a Puritan, was made president of Magdalen College at Oxford in 1650, a post he lost at the Restoration; see *ODNB* (22:823–8).

154 “Firebrand.”

155 Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* (21.9), in (5:25).

to cast away his Shield, or, Corslet, & so exposed him disarm'd unto the Darts or Arrowes which were shott afterward.

[△Insert ends]

[△]

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[39f]

Q. You have never yett given, any *Illustration*, of the Christian *Panoply*, recommended by the Apostle to the *Ephesians*? v. 18.

A. I'll do it Now. You shall go with mee, into the *Tower of Solomon*. I'll show you four or five short Verses, which you may call; *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*.¹⁵⁶

In this *Magazine*, from whence wee may bee *cap à pè*¹⁵⁷ accoutred, wee have no Armour for the *Back*; because (as the lame *Androclid*, excused his Going into the Wars) wee must Resolve to *Fight* and not *Flie*.¹⁵⁸

Now, first, a *Belt* is to bee procured. Of what Sort? Our *Loins are to bee girt about with Truth*. Some think, that this is the same with, *Holding fast the Form of sound Words*, or, an Adhærence to the *Truths* of the Gospel. But this may seem to confound the *Belt*, with the *Sword* afterwards mentioned. Wherefore, *Truth* here may rather mean [according to 1. Cor. 5.8.] *Sincerity*, and *Integrity*, in Opposition to *Hypocrisy*, which enervates and unsettles the Minds of Men.

This *Truth*, or Faithfulness, or Uprightness, do's make Men steady in the Exercise of all other Graces. This Passage alludes to that, in Isa. 11.5. *Faithfulness shall bee the Girdle of His Reins*. And so there is Fortitude, and Constancy likewise implied in it. Among the Warriours, the *Military Girdle*, was an Indispensable Thing. *Cinctus*, was as much as to say, *Miles*, in their common Language.¹⁵⁹ And it was a Punishment upon Delinquent Souldiers, to make them stand *ungirt* in some observable Place. Yea, so significant was the Ζώνη¹⁶⁰ of old, that it signified all Sorts of warlike Weapons; *Homer* often hath such a *Synecdoche*; and Ζώνυθαι,¹⁶¹ is as much as to bee *completely Armed*.

The next thing to bee taken care for is a *Breastplate*. Of what Kind? The *Breast-plate of Righteousness*; which will render us conformable to our Commander, our Saviour, of whom tis said in Isa. 59.17. *Hee putt on Righteousness as a*

¹⁵⁶ "Handbook of the Christian Soldier." Erasmus of Rotterdam published his Latin edition of *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* in 1503. A French translation was published in Anvers (1529). Since Mather uses a French phrase here (*cap à pè*), he might have had access to a French copy (Mather taught himself French and also wrote and published two sermons in French). (This note courtesy of Reiner Smolinski).

¹⁵⁷ "From head to foot"; from the Middle French, *de cap à pè*.

¹⁵⁸ Androcles, one of the sons of Codrus, a semi-mythical Greek king from the 2nd millennium BCE whose lameness eventually shamed him into battle; he is also associated with the colonization of Asia Minor and with the city of Ephesus. See Charles Rollin, *The Ancient History of the Egyptians ... and Grecians* (219).

¹⁵⁹ "Girdle" was as much as to say, "Soldier" etc.

¹⁶⁰ Ζώνη; "belt, or girdle."

¹⁶¹ "To be girdled."

Breast-plate. An Impartial and Universal Obedience to the Lawes of the Gospel; or a *Conscience* kept void of *Offence towards God & Man*; this Innocency, will bee a Defence that will ease our *Hearts*, against the malicious *Calumnies* of the World [compare 2. Cor. 1.12.] But before all, after all, over all, the True *Breast-plate* for us, is the perfect and complete *Righteousness*, of the Lord Jesus Christ, our Surety: *This* only, will secure our Vitals, and shelter us from all Wounds in our Souls. This will bee, *Circà pectus, Robur; et Æs Triplex*.¹⁶²

But a sufficient Pair of *Shoes* are now to bee provided. Of what Fashion? Wee are to bee *shod with the Preparation of the Gospel of Peace*. This is an Allusion to the Provision made for the Infantrie, in the Ancient Armies. It was usual for the *Short-stakes* to bee fixt, or *Gall-Traps* cast, in the Way before the Enemy, to hurt their Feet, & make them Fall. Wherefore they harnessed their *Legs* and *Feet*, with a *Boot* particularly accommodated unto this Inconvenience. Moreover, Among the Romans there were *Fighters* that were called, *Provocatores* and *Probatores*,¹⁶³ who wore *Boots* on their Legs; The Sword-fighters used *Boots* for the Safeguard of those Parts. These *Boots* were *Iron*; and so common among the Graecians that their whole *Armour* is often expressed by *Homer*, [by]¹⁶⁴ the Term of *Ευκνήμιδες*,¹⁶⁵ or, *Well-booted Græcians*. Tho' the Apostles Expression here more strictly seems to point at what is *putt under the Feet*, yett the Legs also may be taken in; else there is no Armour for them. Now, the *Gospel* of God, is the *Gospel of Peace*; it Reports, it Offers, it Settles, a *Peace* between God and Man. Having Received the *Counsils* and the *Comforts* of this *Gospel*, this will bee a good *Preparatio*¹⁶⁶ unto us, against the Worst that can befall us. By the Helps of the *Gospel*, wee may *make our Way* through all the Distresses, and Hindrances which ly in our Way to Heaven; and keep off many *Wounds* that may be attempted upon our *Walk* with our God.

But what shall wee do for a *Shield*? Especially, since the *Darts* to bee shott at us, like those among the *Scythians* dipt in the venomous Gall of *Vipers*, will horribly *inflame*, & cruelly *torment*, the Souls which are smitten with them. They did use Broad *Shields* of *Raw Neats Leather*, to quench the Violence of these Darts. Indeed all the *Temptations* of Satan, may bee compared unto *Darts*; which, of any sort, are called *Fiery*, not only for the *Heat* which *Darts* acquired by their swift Flying, but also for the *Fight* wherein they had their Flight [inasmuch as *δαίς*, is both *Teda* and *Pugna*; *δαίος*, is both *Ardens* and *Pugnax*; and among the Latines, *Ardere* is applied unto Battel; *Ardet in Arma magis*, and

162 "Oak, and triple bronze, girding the breast." This phrase is borrowed from Horace, who in the *Odes* describes the bravery of a sailor: "Oak and triple bronze encompassed the breast of him who first entrusted his frail craft to the wild sea." See Horace, *The Odes and Epodes* (12–13).

163 "A challenger to combat" and "an approver of combat" (both are types of gladiator, though the latter was more strictly an administrator of gladiatorial games).

164 See Appendix A.

165 *Ευκνήμιδες*; "well-greaved," referring to leg armor. Homer, *Ilias* (1.17, 2.331, 3.86 etc.).

166 "Preparations."

Instant Ardentes Tyrii];.¹⁶⁷ But especially, those *Temptations*, which inject into us, *Terribilia de Deo*, and, *Horribilia de Fide*, are so fitly compared unto *Fiery Darts*, that any one who is Troubled with such Injections, can with incredible anguish, explain the Comparison.¹⁶⁸ A lively Faith now conveying unto us, *the Substance of things hoped for, the Evidence of things not seen*; and putting us, under the Conduct of the Lord Jesus Christ, who ha's overcome the Tempter, and who is alwayes able & ready, to *succour the Tempted*, This Faith, will bee a *Shield* to us, to keep off more than as many *Darts*, (two hundred & twenty) as were stuck in the *Shield* of *Scaeva*, at the Siege of *Dyrrachium*.¹⁶⁹ A *Shield* was of old so Necessary & Remarkable a Peece of Armour, that a Souldier who lost it in a Battel, could not escape an | exemplary Punishment. But Faith much more! [40v]

Thus the *Body* is Defended. But what shall bee done for the *Head*? Lo, an *Helmet*, which is called, *The Helmet of Salvation*; or, as the Apostle elsewhere expresses it, *The Hope of Salvation*. Wee are to have a grounded & a certain Expectation, of the Blessednesses promised in the *New Covenant*, & lively *Hope* for the fulfilment of all the *Promises* unto us. This will guard our *Heads*, against all *Hard Thoughts* of God, in the Midst of the most affrighting Dispensations. Yea, covered with such an *Helmet*, wee shall not shrink, for the Batteries of our fiercest Enemies. The Expression here, seems borrowed, from Isa. 59.17. *Hee putt on an Helmet of Salvation on His Head*.

All these Weapons are only Φυλακτήρια,¹⁷⁰ *Defensive*; have wee none, Αμυντήρια, *Offensive*?¹⁷¹ Yes; wee are to *withstand*, as well as to *stand*. Where then is our *Sword*? Here; *Take the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God*. Wee are blessed, with the free Use of a *Bible*, which is a *Spiritual Sword*, shaped, by the Inspiration of the *Eternal Spirit*; and I may say of it, as *David* said of *Goliaths*, *There is none like it*. Our Lord in His Combates, became Victorious, with an, *It Is Written*. Thus, Wee may conquer our Adversary, *Solâ unius Syllabæ pronunciatione*.¹⁷² These, *Writtens*, will bee more fearful things unto the Enemies of our Souls, than the *Handwriting* upon the Wall, was to the *Babylonian* Monarch. Here are *Swords*, that will bee more fatal to the Divil, than the *Sword of Ehud*

167 "Inasmuch as δαίς [a firebrand] is both *taeda* [torch] and *pugna* [fight]; δάιος [hostile] is both *ardens* [burning] and *pugnax* [combative]; and among the Latines, *ardere* [to burn] is applied unto Battel; *ardet in arma magis* [he fights with great weapons], and *instant ardentes Tyrii* [he threatens the burning of Tyre]."

168 "The terrors of God" and "horrors of faith" – i. e. a sense of fear and estrangement from the faith.

169 The centurion Cassius Scaeva, even after being gravely wounded in the battle of Dyrrachium (48 BCE), is said to have continued to use his shield as a weapon, having 120 arrows imbedded in it (Mather or his source has inflated the number). See Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars* (1:90–1).

170 Φυλακτήρια; "protection." Homer, *Ilias* (9.66, 9.80; 24.444).

171 Αμυντήρια; "weapons." Homer, *Odysseas* (16.256, 261, 326). These two terms both refer to weapons and are not necessarily as distinct as Mather makes them out to be.

172 "By the pronouncement of just one syllable."

was to the *Moabitish* Tyrant; hee dares not stand, when *These*, against which hee ha's a peculiar *Antipathy*, are brandished against him. [Compare, Heb. 4.12.]

But last of all, when the Apostle had completely Armed his *Christian Souldier*, hee concludes, *pray alwayes and watch thereunto* [A Military Order; Gr. Take not a Wink of Sleep.] *with all Perseverance*. Wee must *cry mightily* to God; for the *Weapons of our Warfare*, are *mighty thro' God*, alone. The best Posture, wherein to fight against our *Invisible Adversaries*, is that, wherein a wounded Souldier, that lay for Dead, once gave a mortal Stab, unto a proud Conqueror, that was pleasing himself with a View of them that hee had slain; even, *upon our Knees*. If any Assault from the *World*, the *Flesh*, the *Divel*, be furious upon us, wee are to do like those Warriors in 1. Chron. 5.20. *Cry to God in the Battel*; as *Theodosius* did in his Extremities; and as *Jehoshaphat* before him.¹⁷³

The *Sententious* Poet ha's told us,
Numquam Bella Bonis, numquam certamina desunt,
Et cum quo certet, Mens pia semper habet.

Prosper, in *Sentent*.¹⁷⁴

But another, [h]as truly encouraged us,

Est Deus, est Ether, precium certaminis hujus;
Hec faciunt pugnam præmia tanta levem.
Mantuan.¹⁷⁵

And I have now laid before you, how *Armed*, as a Third Speaks;

Militat omnis Homo, qui dat sua Nomina Christo.
Quique Deo fidet, militat omnis Homo.¹⁷⁶

Q. Have you no further Notes to make upon any Part of this Armour?

A. Yes. And lett this bee one.

¹⁷³ Perhaps a reference to Theodosius I's pacification of the western part of the Roman empire after the elevation of Eugenius to co-emperor, who had partly revived the political power of pagan Roman senators. Theodosius defeated Eugenius at the Battle of the Frigidus in 394 CE, thereby uniting both parts of the empire under one ruler and under the banner of Christianity; see *EB* (26:771). Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. 20) prays to God in the face of battle with the Moabites.

¹⁷⁴ "Never are wars in want of the good, never is strife wanting of the good, and whatever it contends with, the mind always remains devout." Prosper of Aquitaine (c. 390–455 CE) whose *Sententia* [*Patrologia Latina* 51. 528A] is a collection of religious maxims advancing the Augustinian view of doctrine and the Christian life; see *NCE* (11:771–2).

¹⁷⁵ "God, and Heaven, are the reward of this battle; such rewards as these make the conflict light." The lines are from Battista Mantova, *De Contemnenda Morte* (1506; o.d. 1497), sec. 1, lines 160–161. Mantova (1447–1516) was an Italian Carmelite monk and author of a number of poetical works; see *NCE* (2:73–4). Mather's citation is buried in the bound spine of the *Biblia* manuscript and is not retrievable by visual inspection.

¹⁷⁶ "Every man who gives his name to Christ is a soldier, and whoever has faith in God, that man is a soldier." Mather uses the same quotation in his election sermon, *Military Duties, Recommended to an Artillery Company; At their Election of Officers, In Charls-town* (1687), p. 78.

Wee need the *Righteousness* of our Lord Jesus Christ, for to cover the Defects of all our Graces. Our *Faith*, is that by which wee Apprehend, Receive, and Apply, the *Righteousness* of our Lord Jesus Christ. Now wee are here bidden, ἐπιπάσιν, *over all*, or, *upon all*, to take the *Shield of Faith*.

[▽Insert from 41r]

[▽41r]

Q. The *Praying in the Spirit*, mention'd by the Apostles. Was it not a miraculous, and an extraordinary Gift of the Apostolical Times; even like that of *Healing*, that of *Tongues*, that of *Prophecy*? v. 18.

A. So say the Friends of *Leiturgies*. But *Wee* say, That the *Gift of Prayer*, is not reckon'd among those that were miraculous, where wee have a particular Account of them [Marc. ult. ult. 1. Cor. 12.8, 9, 10. 1. Cor. 14.] As all extraordinary Gifts, were not conferred upon any one Person, (except the Apostles,) thus, no one Gift was conferred upon all [This is plain, in 1. Cor. 12.8, 9, 10, 11.] But all the Beleeving *Hebrewes*, are commanded, by *Jude*, That they exercise this *Gift of Prayer*; and all the Beleeving *Gentiles*, are exhorted, by *Paul*, here to exercise it: (and so, are all Christians in them.) Now, it could not bee their Duty to exercise it, if they had it not: and if they *All* had it, it was an ordinary Gift, and one to bee continued into the Church in all Ages.

Q. Upon *Praying Always*? v. 18.

A. In a Treatise entituled, *Bonifacius*, encouraging Rich Men to *Do Good*, I lett fall this among other Hints unto them.

“When you dispense your *Alms* unto the *Poor*, who know what it is to *pray*, you may oblige them to *pray* for *you* by Name every day. Tis an excellent thing, to have, *The Blessing of them that have been ready to perish*, thus *coming upon you*. Behold, a surprising Sense, in which you may be *praying Always*. You are so, even while you are *sleeping*, if those whom you have *so* obliged, are thus *praying* for you.”¹⁷⁷

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 42v]

[▽42v]

Q. An, *Ambassador in Bonds*? v. 20.

A. Some render it, *I grow old in Bonds*.

He had been a Prisoner Two Years in *Judea*; and now Two more at *Rome*. Compare Philem. 9.

Q. On the Benediction, in the Conclusion? v. 24.

A. What we render, *In Sincerity*, is in the Greek, *In Incorruption*.

¹⁷⁷ Cotton Mather, *Bonifacius* (114).

Our Apostle closes all his Epistles, with this Benediction, *Grace be with you*. But why this Addition here?

Mr. *Lock* observes, The main Business of this Epistle, is, to sett forth the *Gospel*, as a Dispensation so much in every thing superiour to the *Law*, that it was to *Corrupt*, to *Debase*, to *Destroy* the *Gospel*, to join Circumcision, and the Observance of the *Law*, as necessary to it.¹⁷⁸

He ha's now, the same Thought still upon his Mind; and pronounces Favour, on all those who *Love our Lord Jesus Christ in Incorruption*; that is, without mixing or joining any thing with Him, in the Work of our Salvation, which may render the Gospel useless & ineffectual.

[△] [△Insert ends]

¹⁷⁸ Locke, *Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul* (2:661).

An Appendix
to the Illustrations on the Epistle to the *Ephesians*.

[43r]

The *Magis Curiosa*¹⁷⁹ in the excellent *James Fergusons* Exposition of this Epistle.¹⁸⁰
Chap. I.1. *Saints at Ephesus*.

The Power of God, not only can, but frequently does, gather and præserve a Church, to Himself, where Satan ha's a Throne, and all sort of Wickedness abounds. [Psal. 110.2.] A Church of *Saints at Ephesus*; a City famous for Idolatry, and abounding in Witchcrafts.

v. 3. *Blessed be God*.

An Holy Soul, sensible of its lost Estate by Nature, & of the Divine Mercy in Delivering us from that Estate, can't seriously Think or Speak of that Subject, but he will be inflamed with Love to God, & be Transported into His Praises.

v. 4. *The Adoption of Children by Jesus Christ*.

Behold one Difference, between Mans Adoption, and Gods! Men Adopt Children, because they have none of their own. God not so; He ha's a Natural Son of His own; even JESUS CHRIST, in whom His Soul delights.

v. 4. *Prædestinated us in Himself*.

All was in God Himself; Nothing without Himself, which moved Him to elect those whom He sett His Love upon. All other Causes moving the sovereign God unto this Act, are excluded.

v. 5. *To the Praise of the Glory of His Grace*.

There ought to be a sweet Harmony, between the Doctrine of a Minister, & his Practice. Our Apostle, was himself actually praising the *glorious Grace of God*, when he is pointing the Pressing the Elect unto the Duty.

v. 11. *The Counsel of His Will*.

The Will of God alone, is instead of all Counsel; His most Holy Will, ha's all Wisdome & Justice in it; There is nothing requisite, unto any things being well done, but that God hath willed it. *Counsel* does not go before *Will*, in the Glorious One.

v. 14. *Which is the Earnest of our Inheritance*.

The Spirit of God is a subsisting Person. The Word, *Spirit*, is the Neuter Gender. But then followes a Masculine Relative; which ought rather to be rendered, *who*, than, *which*. [I remember Dr. *Goodwin* somewhere blameth it, in

179 "More notable things."

180 James Ferguson, *A Brief Exposition of the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians and the Ephesians* (1659). On Ferguson, see Mather's entry on 2:17 (above).

the Language of Preachers, that they use not the Term, *who*, but, *which*, when speaking of the Holy Spirit.¹⁸¹

v. 15. *I also, – cease not.*

It is a great Encouragement unto us, in our Praising and Praying for others, that it is for those who make conscience at the same time, of doing those Duties for themselves. While the Apostle saies, *I also*, – he supposes, they were doing the Like; This encouraged him.

v. 16. *Making mention of you in my Prayers.*

The more concerned and laborious others are for our Good, the more excited ought we to be unto Diligence about the same thing ourselves. God will terribly plague those, whom every one would do good unto, and they will do nothing for themselves. The Apostle tells the People, of his Praying for them, that he might engage them to pray & seek for themselves.

v. 19. *Toward us, who Beleeve.*

Those only are fitt Persons, to speak about the powerful and gracious Working of God in the Hearts of His People, who have had some Experience of His Works in themselves. The Apostle does not say, *Toward Those who Beleeve*; but, *Toward Us who Beleeve*.

Chap. II.9. *Not of Works.*

Tho' in the Scripture, the Word, *Grace*, be sometimes taken for the saving Vertues, with which the Spirit of God endowes His People; yett when *Salvation* is ascribed unto the *Grace* of God, we are alwayes to understand *Grace* in God, that is, His Favour and Goodwill; not *Grace* inhærent in us, or the good Works wherein tis exercised. Saies the Apostle, *By Grace, not of Works*.

v. 11. *Circumcision in the Flesh, made with Hands.*

Many times, those Men have Really the least Religion, who are most puff'd up with the Conceit of their own Religion, & make the greatest Noise about the things that are least necessary in Religion. They who boasted in their Religion, because of a *Circumcision* which distinguish'd them from the uncircumcised Gentiles, were the *Circumcision in the Flesh made with Hands*, had only the outward Form of Religion; had not the Life & Power of it.

v. 14. *The Wall of Partition.*

A Similitude, which will instruct us in diverse things, relating to the ceremonial Law. A Wall is built by the Owner of the Inclosure. The Law was appointed by God, who chose what Place He pleased, that He might inclose His People there. A Wall is made of Rough, Hard, Unpolished Stones. This is answered in the Difficulty of the things required in the Law. A Wall separates a Peece of Ground, for the special Use of the Owner. The Law made a Separation

¹⁸¹ Mather paraphrases Thomas Goodwin's argument on the neuter gender applied to the Holy Ghost, in Goodwin's sermon *An Exposition of the Epistle to the Ephesians* (Sermon XVII) in *Works* (1681) (2:220). On Goodwin, see Mather's entry on 4:30 (above).

of *Israel*, as a Vineyard for the Service of the Lord. Finally, such a Wall is not built with Cement, or Mortar; tis weak, & comes to Ruine. The ceremonial Law was not to last forever; but only for a Time; till the Lord should come to take in the Gentiles, which till now lay as an open Field.

| v. 15. *The Law of Commandments contained in Ordinances.*

[44v]

The Moral Law contained in the Ten Commandments, was no Part of the Wall of Partition between Jew & Gentile: some Lineaments of that Law are on the Hearts of all Men by Nature. There was no need of Abrogating that Law, to unite Jew & Gentile. The Law abolished, was not *the Law* simply, but the Law of such *Commandments*, as were contained in the *Ordinances* of the Ceremonies.

v. 15. *To make of Two, One New Man.*

Union in the Church of Christ, is a thing to be highly prized; There is nothing in our Power, but what we ought to dispense withal, for the Acquiring and Maintaining of it. Our Saviour gave His own Life to procure it, & beat down His *own Ordinances*, that stood in the Way of it.

v. 15. *In Himself.*

The essential Unity of the Invisible Church, flows from the Union which every particular Member ha's with Christ as the Head. And the more our Union with Christ is improved in Communion with Him, the more Harmoniously we shall walk among ourselves. Our Apostle makes the Conjunction of Jews and Gentiles in One Church, to depend on Christs uniting them to Himself.

v. 17. *To you which were afar off, & to them which were nigh.*

The Privilege of having the Gospel preached, now under the New Testament, belongs æqually to Jews and Gentiles. Our Apostle mentions the *Gentiles* here before the *Jews*.

v. 19. *Yee are no more Strangers & Foreigners.*

So apt are even good Men, to be exalted above Measure, with the excellent Things of God bestow'd upon them, that it is not safe to think on those things, except our former Vileness & Misery be also thought upon, to keep us Humble. Our Apostle here presents to their View, their former Misery.

v. 20. *Built on the Foundation of the Apostles & Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the Chief Corner-stone.*

There is no Closing with Christ, no Building on Him as our Foundation, except He be Received as He is Reveled, and Offered, in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. When a *Christ* is proposed for our Foundation, He is proposed as the *Foundation of the Apostles & Prophets*; that is, as He is exhibited for such, in the Writings of the Apostles and Prophets.

Ch. III.1. *A Prisoner of Jesus Christ.*

A Prisoner for Christ & His Truth, has this Advantage above Others; He is a Prisoner not so much to those that persecute him, as to his own General. He not only suffers in His Quarrel, but also is in His Custody, and at His Disposal.

He so over-rules the Rage of Enemies, that they shall do a Servant of His no Hurt, any further than He shall see Good.

v. 2. *The Dispensation – which is given, me to you-ward.*

When a Minister is call'd and sent by God unto a People, not only the Sermons, but also the Actions, yea, and the Sufferings of that Minister, in the Discharge of his Ministry, are Bless'd of God, for their Edification.

v. 8. *Less than the Least of all Saints.*

Sense of Sin, & of sinful Unworthiness, tho' it should exceedingly humble a Child of God, yett it should not make him quæstion, much less Deny, a saving Work that God ha's wrought upon him. Our Apostle abases himself; yett still insinuates, his being one of the *Saints*.

v. 9. *The Mystery, which from the Beginning of the World, hath been hid in God.*

Such a Depth is the Written Word of God, that the Sharpest & Quickest Witts, cannot find the Bottom of it. There are many things contained, at least by Consequence, in it, which even they who have their Senses exercised in it, cannot plainly & presently discern. This Mystery, that the *Gentiles* were to have a Fellowship with the Church, without entring by the Door of Circumcision, was Reveled, tho' obscurely, in the Scriptures of the Old Testament. *Paul* gathered it by Consequence from the Time of the Circumcision of *Abraham*; [Rom. 4.10, 11.] and from the Priesthood of *Melchizedek*; [Heb. 7.11.] Yett he saies, It was *a Mystery, which from the Beginning of the World, had been hid in God.*

v. 9. *Who created all things by Jesus Christ.*

Tho' there be many *Created*, whom God will not save; yett, Gods æqual Interest in all by *Creation*, does abundantly plead His Liberty, to save whom he pleaseth; and to save one as well as another; whatever the Spirit of Envy in any may say to the Contrary. The Scope of our Apostle, in saying, That God *created all things by Jesus Christ*, is to shew, that none could justly stand at Gods Mercy in saving the *Gentiles* as well as the *Jews*. He had an æqual Interest in both, by Creation.

[45r] | v. 21. *In the Church, throughout all Ages.*

As God will always have Glory from His Church, so there shall always be a Church in all Ages, to give Glory unto Him; neither shall the Church in any Ages, be they never so dark or sad, be without Matter for which to praise Him. Tis a Prophecy.

Ch. IV.2. *With all Lowliness, & Meekness, & Longsuffering.*

Humility is necessary in the Exercise of Meekness and Longsuffering. Those only are able to restrain the Inundations of their Impetuous Passions, when provoked by Injuries, who being very conscious of their own Infirmities, do judge but meanly of themselves, & judge themselves worthy of such an abasing Dispensation from the Lord, as His Permission of an Injurious Carriage, from others unto them.

v. 3. *The Unity of the Spirit, in the Bond of Peace.*

So many Temptations arise from the Corruptions of those among whom we live, to make us neglect the Duty of keeping up *Unity*, that except we be of *Peaceable* Dispositions, and can digest many things in one another, which else our Corruptions would make a mighty Stir about, we shall soon fall at odds, & rent asunder, like so many Disjointed Members, & on every Occasion, involve ourselves and the Church, in dangerous Ruptures. *Peace*, or a peaceable Disposition, is the *Bond*, and Ligament, by which the Members of the Church are knitt one to another.

v. 7. *But unto every one of us is Grace given.*

Diversity of Gifts in the Church, is an ordinary Occasion of Division and Contention: Contempt, Envy, Discouragement, from hence take Occasion. Our Apostle entring on this Argument for Union, with a, *But*, implies that on this Occasion, there was often a Disturbance of Union.

But, whatever Inclinations Men may have to Divide on this Occasion, yett this Diversity well considered, would be found one of the strongest Bonds of Union. For now, not the most eminently gifted Person can say, He hath no need of others. We all need one another; the meanest may be helpful to the greatest. The Scope of our Apostle, is to enforce Union from this Consideration.

v. 8. *He saith, when He ascended on High.*

There was much of CHRIST Revealed in the Scriptures of the Old Testament; but still, He was Revealed as True GOD, and JEHOVAH. Turn to the *Sixty Eighth* Psalm, and the *Fourth* Verse there will tell you, That *God*, even *Jehovah*, is He whom the Clause now quoted, speaketh of.

v. 13. *Till we all come.*

The most eminent Saints upon Earth, are not above the Ordinance and Benefit of the Ministry. Even Ministers themselves are to Attend upon it, and expect Edification from it. Even *Paul* reckons himself among those whom the Ministry was to have its Effects upon.

v. 13. *The Knowledge of the Son of God.*

As Faith in Christ can't be without the Knowledge of Him, & such as brings to the Acknowledgment of Him; so Faith can't find a sure Foundation in Him, till it comes to confess His Godhead, His Equality with the Father, and His having therefore sufficient Worth and Strength for all those things, for which Faith employs Him. *Faith* is here described, as, *The Knowledge of the Son of God*.

v. 15. *Grow up into Him.*

Then do Christians grow, as they ought, when they are in a perpetual Motion towards a glorious CHRIST; Communion with *Him*; and Conformity to *Him*.

v. 16. *It makes Increase, to the Edifying of itself in Love.*

The more a Man finds himself Inclined and even Constrained, in his Station, to improve all his Receipts, Abilities, & Capacities, unto the spiritual Ad-

vantage of others, & chiefly for the Good of the whole Body, the more certainly he may conclude, that he ha's the Grace of *Love* in his Heart, and is acted by it. Our Apostle makes *Love* the Impulsive Cause, why the several Members of the Church, improve their All, for the Good of the Whole.

v. 17. *As other Gentiles walk.*

Such is the Vileness of Sin, that it can't be sufficiently expressed. It is profitable sometimes to take a View of it, in its Vileness, as it manifesteth itself in the Lives of ungodly Men, who are Slaves unto it. Our Apostle holds forth a Map of the Wickedness from which he dehorts, as expressed most hideously, & beyond all Expression, in the *Walk of the Gentiles*.

v. 20. *Ye have not so learned Christ.*

There is no Cure of our Natural Corruption, & of the Filthy Wounds and Sores that follow upon it, but in a glorious CHRIST, Known, Embraced, Improved, as He is exhibited in the Gospel.

v. 25. *Wherefore, putting away Lying.*

There is no Sin more unseemly in a Christian, and more Inconsistent with Grace, or indeed, that makes a Man more like the Divel, than the Sin of *Lying*. This is implied in the, *Wherefore*, here. Our Apostle speaks of their *putting on the New Man*, and then adds; *wherefore putting away Lying*.

[46v] | v. 30. *Sealed unto the Day of Redemption.*

Upon whomsoever the Holy Spirit imprints the *Seal* and Stamp of true Holiness and Peace and Joy, all such will be præserv'd by the Power of God, as His peculiar Treasure, for a glorious Redemption to be at the last Day, bestow'd upon them.

v. 31. *Be kind one to another.*

The Exercise of *Kindness* in a sweet Carriage of People to one another, is a Remedy against sinful *Anger*, & all the Branches thereof. It avoids giving Occasion of Anger to others, & it keeps it under in ourselves.

[v. 32.] Ditto, *Tender-hearted.*

The Exercise of *Tender-heartedness* is a sovereign Remedy against Anger, & the Effects thereof; For it causes us to look on the Fooleries and Weaknesses of others, yea, and on the Injuries they have done to us, with more of Compassion, than of Passion. We shall pity their Infirmities.

Ch. V. v.4. *But rather giving of Thanks.*

A choice Remedy against Filthy Speaking and Foolish Talking, & other Sins too common in ordinary Communication, is, To have our Hearts kept sensible of the Goodness of God, and Desirous to express our Sense thereof; that so, whenever Occasion offers, we may gladly lay hold on that Subject rather than on any others, & thereby provoke others to do the Like. Thus we shall not fall into Idle & Sinful Communication, for want of Better Matter.

v. 5. *This yee know.*

So strong is the Interest of Sin, even in the best of Men, and so violent are our Temptations to Sin, especially in the Lusts of the Flesh; that tho' a Man be convinced of the great Evil in it, & of the Loss of Heaven that will follow upon living in it; yett there is no small Hazard of yeelding to the Temptations, when they are presented. Tho' *yee know*, yett there is need of Awakening you to be upon your Guard.

v. 10. *Proving what is Acceptable unto the Lord.*

To find out what is *Acceptable* unto the Lord, especially in some Difficult and Intricate Cases, is not easily attained. There must not only be an Accurate Search after it, but also, an Exercise of ourselves in the Practice of those things, which we already know to be *Acceptable*; that so we may experimentally know them to be such, and gett our Knowledge bettered, in the things whereof we are yett Ignorant. The Word *Proving*, signifies, A *Proof*, not so much by *Argument*, as by *Experience*.

v. 15. *See then that yee walk circumspectly.*

So many are the Wayes, by which we become accessory to the Sins of other People, and so many are the Snares that Satan & his Instruments lay for us, that if we do not *walk circumspectly*, we cannot avoid partaking with them in the *Works of Darkness*. This Counsil, *See then that yee walk circumspectly*, is an Inference from, *Have no Fellowship with the unfruitful Works of Darkness*.

Ditto. Those only, can Reprove Sin in others unto good Purpose, who do themselves *walk circumspectly*. Even the very *Walk* itself of such, is a powerful *Reproof* of Sin in others. And what they *Speak*, will also carry Power with it. This Exhortation is likewise an Inference from, *Rather Reprove them*.

v. 18. *But be filled with the Spirit.*

Whatever sensual Pleasure, any Man finds, or dreams that he finds, in any sinful Course, there is an æquivalent, & much more, of a spiritual Importance, to be found in a Way of Grace. More particularly: A copious and plentiful Measure of the Spirit of Grace, which it spiritually works the same Effects, that Wine does Bodily. It fills the Soul with *Gladness*. It makes a Man *forgett his Former Miseries*. It sett's his Tongue at Liberty.

v. 19. *Speaking to yourselves in Psalms & Hymns & Spiritual Songs.*

We had need be *filled with the Spirit* or be assisted by his precious Influences, in singing the *Scriptural Songs*; that we may chuse the finest for the present Occasion, & sing them with such a Frame of an Heart, as is in such an Heavenly Worship called for. Our Apostle speaks of the *Scriptural Songs*, and in order to the Singing thereof, saies, *Be filled with the Spirit*.

v. 20. *Giving Thanks alwayes for all things.*

The more the Heart of a Man, is disposed, for to *give Thanks unto God alwayes for all things*, even for those things, wherein the Divine Dispensations may go cross to His Inclinations, the more certainly he may conclude that he

ha's a saving Work of the Holy Spirit on him; yea, a copious & plentiful Measure of it. And the more apt we are to mistake & murmur, at the Dealings of God, & waste our own Spirits in heartless Complaints; the less Evidence we have of a gracious Work of the Holy Spirit on us. *Give of Thanks always for all things*, is mentioned as an Effect of being *Filled with the Spirit*.

[47r] *Ditto*. So firm, & so calm, is the State and Frame of the Man, who ha's a Soul replenished with a rich Measure of the Spirit of God | that there can fall out unto him nothing so cross, but he may see the Hand of God working for Good unto him in it; & be kept joyfully *giving Thanks* unto God, in all. A Man *filled with the Spirit*, attains to this.

Ditto. Spiritual Exercises of Piety, especially that of *giving Thanks*, are such, that when rightly performed, *Frequency* in them does not begett *Satiety*; but rather a greater Delight of continuing in them. The more we are acquainted with them, the more we Delight in them.

v. 21. *Submitting yourselves one to another.*

The conscientious Discharge of Relative Duties, & the Duties we owe to our Neighbours according to their & our several Stations, in a Way acceptable to God, calls for, and argues, very much of the *Spirit of God*. This Depends on that; *Be filled with the Spirit – submitting yourselves one to another.*

v. 22. *Wives, submitt yourselves.*

When we are to deal with Persons of Several Conditions, & press Respective Duties upon them; we are to begin with Inferiours rather than Superiours. Their Duties are more Difficult, and their Conscience of their Duties, will be a strong Motive unto the Superiours, to be conscientious in theirs.

v. 23. *Even as Christ is the Head of the Church.*

Christians ought to be of such an Heavenly Frame of Spirit, as to take Occasion from Natural and Civil Things, occurring in our ordinary Employments, to ascend unto Heavenly Contemplations of Spiritual Things, which have a Resemblance unto the Things that are before them. Our Apostle carries the *Husband and Wife*, from the Consideration of what passes between them, to consider what passes between Christ and His Church. –

v. 27. *Not having Spott, or Wrinkle.*

The glorious & perfect State, wherein the Church will be forever with Christ their Lord, will be such, that our Knowledge thereof does consist more in Negatives, than in Positives; we rather know, what it is not, than what it is. Our Apostle sett it out here by Four Negatives, & but One Affirmative.

Chap. VI. v. 6. *Not with Eye-service, as Men-pleasers.*

A Man may so walk, as to content the Eye of those *who* behold him, and please Men to the full, who can see no further than the Out-side, and yett his Way be highly displeasing to God. Men may be *pleased*, with the *Eye-service*, whereas God is *Displeased*.

Not as Men-pleasers, but as the Servants of Christ.

To propose unto ourselves the Pleasing of Men, and the being Approved and Applauded by them, is Inconsistent with the Work of Grace in our Souls, & with the Subjection we owe to our Saviour. *Men-pleasers* are opposed unto the *Servants of Christ*.

v. 7. *Doing Service as unto the Lord.*

Men are for the most part so ungrateful, that a Man can scarce heartily and with *good Will*, do any Service for the most of Men, except he look beyond Men unto God, & consider himself *as doing Service unto the Lord*.

v. 8. *Knowing.*

Ignorance, & Unbelief of the Divine Truths, is a great Cause of the Neglect of Duty, in all Ranks of Men.

v. 9. *Knowing that your Master also is in Heaven.*

It is usual for Powers on Earth, sinfully, to overlook, & not punish, the unjust & cruel Dealings of Masters towards their Servants; But the Sins by Men most connived at, will by God have a most severe Notice taken of them. God will call *Masters* to an Account, how they carry towards their *Servants*.

v. 12. *We Wrestle.*

Our grand spiritual malicious Adversary, is not only bent against the Saints in general, but he setteth upon each one in particular, with as much fierceness & fury, as if he had none but that *One Alone* to deal withal. A *Wrestling* is a Combat between *Two*, hand to hand.

Principalities, Powers, Spiritual Wickedness.

Natural Greatness, Dignity, Excellence, is oftentimes found stained, with the greatest moral Deformity. Yea, the most Illustrious Creatures, degenerating to Wickedness, do prove of all the most Abominable. *Principalities* and *Powers*, falling from God, become *Wicked Spirits*.

Spiritual Wickedness.

Spiritual Sins, are they, to which the Temptations of Satan on the Saints are managed with most of Dexterity, & of Efficacy. Gr. The *Spirituals* of *Wickedness*.

v. 15. *Feet Shod, with the Preparation of the Gospel of Peace.*

Where the Gospel is Blessed of God, for the Settling of our *Peace* and Friendship with Him, it will be attended with a Firm Resolution, to follow God in a Way of Duty, notwithstanding all occurring Difficulties. This *prepared* Frame of Heart, is the Result of *Peace* with God, by means of the Gospel.

| v. 23. *That he might comfort your hearts.*

[48v]

It is the Duty of Christians, to propose this End, in their Visits to their Acquaintance; but especially of Ministers, in their Conferences with their People; not to trifle away precious Hours, but to furnish Matter of Edification to their Inner Man. To *Better their Hearts*.

Q. Here being mention'd a Plurality of *Bishops*, in one little Church at *Philippi*, it is thought a powerful Confirmation of the *Diocesan Prelacy*; and an Argument that there is no Difference between a *Bishop* and a *Presbyter*? v. 1.

A. On this Occasion, I will transcribe and offer unto Consideration the Words of the famous Mr. *William Jameson*. To see a Gentleman, who never saw a Book in his Life, but was born Blind, write so many, so learned, so noble Books, & in diverse Languages, & abounding with so much Quotation & so much Criticism; tis a thing little short of miraculous; & it proclames the great Power & Goodness of God our Saviour. The Words of so remarkable an Instrument in the Service of the Church, may even for the Sake of the Author, demand some Regard. A few of them, in his Treatise entituled, *The Sum of the Episcopal Controversy*, are these.¹

“The Word *Bishop* is indeed in Scripture, but is as far from signifying a *Diocesan Prelate*, as the *East* is from the *West*, or the *Heavens* from the *Earth*. And therefore the more sensible among the Prelacies Defenders, never adventure to use that, to prove their Doctrine; yea, on the contrary, from all those Places of Scripture, where the Word *Bishop* is found, they fly as from *Fire* and *Sword*, and they have Reason to do so, for every one of those Places stare them in the Face, & upbraid them with their violent and ungodly renting asunder, things that God ha's joined together. The Word, *Bishop*, *Bishoprick*, or, *Exercising the Office of a Bishop*, is seven times found in the New Testament. And FIRST OF ALL, it is found, Act. I.20. *His Bishoprick lett another take*; where the Discourse is of *Judas*, that had been an *Apostle*. But lest the Prelasists had made this an Argument for *Diocesan Episcopacy*, Divine Wisdome hath so ordered, that Two *Apostles*, *Peter*, [1. Epist. V.1.] and *John* [II. Epist. 1. III. Epist. 1.] call themselves expressly *Presbyters* or *Elders*. So that if we compare the Words of *Luke*, *Peter*, & *John* together, it will be evident enough, that *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, are altogether one and the same. Secondly, CHRIST has the Name of *Bishop*; [1. Pet. II.25.] But He ha's also the Name of *Minister*, or, *Deacon* [Rom. XV.8.] Thirdly; Act. XX.28. *Take heed unto yourselves & unto all the Flock, over which the Holy Spirit ha's made you Overseers*. So the *English* ha's translated it; whereas it ought to have been rendred, *over which the Holy Spirit ha's made you Bishops*. But all those

¹ William Jameson, *The Summ of the Episcopal Controversy* (1712). Mather owned four works by Jameson, including his *Nazianzeni querela et votum justum, or the Fundamentals of the Hierarchy Examin'd and Disprov'd* (1697), a similar defense of presbyterian polity over episcopacy; see Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (41, 67). Jameson (dates unknown) taught history at Glasgow University from 1690–1720. Mather also praises Jameson in his *Diary* (2:205) and *Threefold Paradise* (177). On Jameson, see *ODNB* (29:765).

Translators, save one, being Prelasists, saw, that if they had translated it *Bishops*, then every Reader that had cause to compare this Verse with the *Seventeenth*, could not miss to see, that *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, or *Elder*, in Scripture, are to an Hair, one & the same; and so those two Verses would really have destroy'd *Prelacy*. They thought therefore, it was their Interest to dissemble, that many honest and conscientious People, might not see their Sense of this Scripture. Fourthly, The Word, *Bishop*, is found. Phil. I.1. *With the Bishops & Deacons*, saith the Apostle; where it is clear, that *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, or *Elder*, are entirely one and the same. For according to the prelatical Way, the Apostle | should have said, *With the Bishops, Presbyters, & Deacons*. Fifthly. 1. Tim. III.2. *A Bishop then must be Blameless*. And having described the *Bishops* Office, the Apostle straightway comes to the *Deacons*. Which is a clear Demonstration, that there are only *Bishops* and *Deacons* in the Kirk; and therefore that *Bishop* and *Presbyter* are entirely one & the same. Sixthly. Tit. I.5, 6, 7. *Ordain Elders in every City; If any be Blameless – For a Bishop must be Blameless*. Which Place is so bright & clear for this Truth, to witt, That *Bishop* and *Presbyter* are entirely one & the same; that it will certainly convince, or else confound every Reader, if he beleve the Scripture, and seriously think on what he is Reading. Seventhly. 1. Pet. V.1, 2. *The Elders I exhort, Feed the Flock of God which is among you, taking the Oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly*. And here again, the *Scotish* Reader is wronged by those prelatical Translators, & yett perceives not the Injury; for the Greek word, *Επισκοπούντες*, which they have rendred, *Taking the Oversight*, properly signifies, *Exercising the Office of a Bishop*.² And so, this Text is as clear as Day-light, that *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, *Elder*, or Dispenser of the Word and Sacraments, are to an Hair one & the same. It is fitt to observe, yea, and adore the Wise and Merciful Providence of God, who has so provided & ordered, that wherever the Word, *Bishop*, is found in the New Testament, its Meaning is as contrary to the Meaning that corrupt Men have putt upon it, as Sweet is to Bitter, or Light is to Darkness. Every Place, where the Word, *Bishop*, is found, every Context fells and confounds the Assertors of *Prelacy*, compels them to blunder, falter, and utter that which is no better than Gibberish; and that their Confusion may be completed, they are forced every one to contradict his Fellow, & mutually to fly in the faces of one another. They are at times aware of this; and therefore when they come to answer our Arguments, they are just like Souldiers, ready to give way, who trust only to their Heels, not to their Hands, or like barefoot Persons on burning Coals, who make all possible Haste to be off. So does, Phil. I.1. *with the Bishops and Deacons*, gall them, & putt them all in Confusion, and Contradiction to one another. *These Bishops*, (say some) *were*

2 *Επισκοπούντες*; “exercising oversight.” PLEASE NOTE: As a general rule, translations of Hebrew, Greek and Latin are rendered in the footnotes; when these are not provided, it indicates that the translation Mather has provided in the text is correct.

the Bishops of the Neighbouring Cities, mett for some Consultation at Philippi. This is false, say their Fellowes: *These Bishop and Deacons were not at Philippi, but with Paul.* Neither is this true, saies a third Party of them; *These Bishops were simple Presbyters, for the Name, Bishop, was then common to both Ranks.* This is False, saies a Fourth Faction, *for all Bishops were then called Apostles.* After the same Manner is their Cause gored by the other Scriptures, wherein the Word, *Bishop,* is found, and the same Self-repugnancy and Confusion appears in their Answers unto them. Blessed be the God of Truth, who makes His Truth triumph, maugres all the Learning, Cunning, and Malice of its Adversaries.”³

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽3r] [▽Insert from 3r]

Q. That Passage; *I have you in my Heart?* v. 7.

A. Δια το εχειν με εν τη καρδια υμας. may be rendred, *Because you have me at Heart.*⁴

So Mr. Pyle paraphrases. “Nor can I but thus esteem & pray for you, that have thus distinguished your Respects to me.”⁵

2043.

Q. The Apostle speaks of his *Bonds for Christ.* What have you mett withal remarkable, concerning those *Bonds?* v. 13.

A. I have mett with this Observation. God Raises the Spirits of His People, to a *Divine Pitch*, by their Sufferings. The Epistles of *Paul*, to the *Ephesians*, the *Philippians*, & the *Colossians*, wrote by him, while in the Chains of *Nero*, seem to have an higher Strain, than some of those hee wrote, when hee was at Liberty.

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽4v] [▽Insert from 4v]

Q. On that, *To me to live is Christ?* v. 21.

A. The common Glosses upon it, are so well known, that they need not be repeated here.

I will only offer you a Thought upon it, not so commonly entertained. Behold, The admirable Presence of our Saviour with *Holy Livers!* If there be an *Holy Life*, be sure, CHRIST is here.

³ “Maugre” means to defy, oppose, or master.

⁴ διὰ τὸ εἶχεν με ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν. Mather seems to be working off the fact that both pronouns here, I (με) and you (υμῶν), are in the accusative form and thus potential objects of the verb εἶχεν (to have, or having).

⁵ Thomas Pyle, *A Paraphrase upon all the Epistles of the New Testament* (2:76). Pyle (1674–1756) was an Anglican cleric and an outspoken Arian; see *ODNB* (45:622–3).

Q. Was there, any particular Passage in the Gospel, which the Apostle might think upon, when he spoke of *Desiring to Depart, and be with Christ?* v. 23.

A. 'Tis the Opinion of *Grotius*, That the Apostle refers & alludes, to the Words of our Lord unto the pænitent Theef. Luk. 23.43. *This Day thou shalt be with me in Paradise.*⁶

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 5r]

[▽5r]

3324.

Q. What may there be remarkable, in that Passage; *In nothing being Terrified by your Adversaries; which is to them an evident Token of Perdition, but to you of Salvation, and that of God?* v. 28.

A. Dr. *Goodwin* in a Judicious Discourse of his, about the *Punishment of Sin in Hell, by Immediate Impressions from the Wrath of God upon the Soul*, has diverse weighty Hints upon this Passage.⁷

If you mind it, the two contrary Effects run parallel, as *Tokens*; The *Courage* in the Minds of Confessors, & Sufferers, for Christ; and the *Terror* at the same Time, in the Minds of Persecutors; they are both of them *Tokens*; the one of *Salvation* to us; the other of *Perdition* to them. The *Joyes* in the Hearts of the Faithful, are the *First-fruits of Glory*, an *Initial Glory* to them; the *Frights* in the Hearts of the Adversaries, are the *First Fruits of Hell* to them, & the *Shadow of Death*.

It is also to be minded, That both of those Extraordinary Effects are produced by the *same Hand*, in the Hearts of those that feel them; they are *Impressions from God*; God is the *Immediate Author* of the one as well as the other. And the Reason, why God often takes the Occasion to putt forth His *Immediate Power* in the Consciences of either, at such a Time, is because His Honour is most Highly Engaged, when both His *Truth*, & His *Children* are at once brought unto the Bar.

Have they no Fear (saies the Psalmist), *that eat up my People as Bread?* One would think so, they look so big, and fall on so heartily. | Yes (saies the Psalmist,) *There were in great Fear.* [There!] That is, *Then!* Even upon such an Occasion. And yett the Psalmist saies, *There was no Cause of Fear;* [compare, Psal. 14.4. with Psal. 54.4.]

[▽6v]

That is, not from Creatures. What was the Matter then? Or, whence comes this *great Fear?* *God is in the Generation of the Righteous*, saith he; Thence was

⁶ Hugo Grotius, *Annotiones in Novum Testamentum* (7:81). Grotius (1583–1645), a Dutch jurist and lay theologian, wrote a number of works defending the Christian religion as well as biblical interpretation; see *NSHERK* (5:85–6).

⁷ Thomas Goodwin, *A Discourse of the Punishment of Sin in Hell* (1680). Goodwin (1600–80), a Puritan, was made president of Magdalen College at Oxford in 1650, a post he lost at the Restoration; see *ODNB* (22:823–8).

their *Fear*; The Same that our Apostle saies, [*And that of God!*] God wonderfully takes part with His People, bearing their Testimonies for Him; And while He *immediately* dispenses *Comforts* into their Souls, He as *immediately* dispenses *Horrors* into the Souls of their Oppressors. This is to them, an *evident Token*, the first *Baptism*, Washing, or Sprinkling of that *Perdition* wherein (as the Apostle elsewhere expresses it,) their Souls are to be *drowned* forever.

Q. Who were, *The Adversaries*? v. 28.

A. Mr. *Lock* observes, That the Party who appeared most in Opposition to the Gospel which *Paul* preached, [and the Word here should be rendred, *Who are Opposers*:] and with whom the Gentile Converts had any Dispute, were the Contenders for *Judaism*.⁸

The Freedom from the Yoke of the *Mosaic Rites*, which the Kingdome of the Messiah now appearing among the *Gentiles* brought with it, was a considerable Article in that, *Mystery of CHRIST*, which our Apostle does insist on, as now Reveled unto the World. And his Concern to maintain this against all Opposers, is a *Key* to a great Part of his Epistles.

Once for all; carry this in your Mind, and you have a *Thousand Illustrations*.

[△] [△Insert ends]

⁸ This posthumous work of Locke's (d. 1704) does not contain a separate treatment of the letter to the Philippians; this general observation can be found in Locke's comments on Galatians. See John Locke, *A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul* (1:119ff). Locke's *Paraphrase* is one of the most important sources of Mather's Pauline commentary, perhaps second only to Daniel Whitby. On Locke, see *ODNB* (34:216–28).

Q. On that; *If there be any Consolation in Christ?* v. 1.

A. Mr. Pyle's Paraphrase may be a good one. "If there be any Force in beseeching you, in the Name of CHRIST."⁹

4462.

Q. How is *each esteem another better than himself?* v. 3.

A. It refers not so much unto *Judgment*; it not being in our Power always thus to esteem of others; as unto *Practice*; q.d. Be ready to assist others, as if you were their Subjects Inferiour. This the Battery¹⁰ of Christ requires; & thus the Praecept runs, *That he who is the greatest should be as a Servant* unto others.

Q. 'Tis said of our Lord, *Being in the Form of God, Hee thought it not Robbery to bee equal with God*; what is here call'd unto our Mind? v. 6.

A. The first Sin of Man. There was a *Robbery*, a *Sacriledge*, committed by our First Parents; Their Attempt was, *To bee equal with God*. The *Son of God*, appears in the *Form of a Servant*, and undergoes the *Death of a Slave* to make Satisfaction, for this our Sin.

Q. Give us, if you please, a further thought upon it, from Antiquity? v. 6.

A. You shall have one from *Athanasius*. When the *Son of God*, would become Incarnate, He was not afraid of losing the Dignity of His *Divinity*.¹¹ He did not come at His *Divinity* by *Robbery*; ὥσπερ τις ἐχει ἐξ ἀρπαγῆς, καὶ φοβεῖται ἀπολεσαι αὐτό.¹² And so, He had no *fear* of losing it again, as *Robbers* use to fear the Loss of what they have gott.

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 9r]

[▽9r]

4122.

Q. Some *Witsian* Strokes, (if you please,) upon that of our Lords being, *In the Form of God*, & thinking it *no Robbery to bee equal with God*?¹³ v. 6.

⁹ Pyle, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:81).

¹⁰ See Appendix A.

¹¹ Athanasius, perhaps his *De Incarnatione Verbi Dei* (c. 318 CE). Athanasius (c. 293–373) was the foremost patristic proponent of Nicene Trinitarian orthodoxy; see *NCE* (1:817–20).

¹² Athanasius, *Quaestiones in scripturam sacram* [PG 028. 0764, lines 51–53]: ὥσπερ τις ἐχει ἐξ ἀρπαγῆς, καὶ φοβεῖται ἀπολεσαι αὐτό; "Like a thief who holds something and is afraid to lose it."

¹³ Hermann Witsius (1636–1708), Dutch Reformed professor of theology at Utrecht and Leiden. Among his works is the *Miscellanea sacra* (1692); see *NSHERK* (12:396).

A. For, *The Form of God*, what it means, We must learn from none but the Word of God. Learn it from, Num. 12.8. *The Similitude of the Lord shall be beheld*; And from, Psal. 17.15. *I shall be satisfied with thy Likeness*. Here, the *Form of God*, notes the *Godhead*, as manifesting itself, in the most Illustrious Discoveries of *Grace* and *Glory*. Yea, It may be enquired, whether the *Form of God*, may not mean, that very Demonstration of the Divine *Majesty*, wherein the *Son of God* ha's exhibited Himself. It was peculiar unto *Moses*, to have the Vision of *This*; other Prophets, beheld, *Illustria Divinae Majestatis Indicia*;¹⁴ But the *Son of God* appear'd unto *Moses* with peculiar Exhibitions; probably in an *Humane Form*, like that which He putt on at His Incarnation; and wherein at His Transfiguration, His *Glory* was beheld, *The Glory of the only Begotten of the Father*. In short, *The Form of God*, is, *Ipsa Divinitas, illustribus se indicijis prodens*.¹⁵ And it is here intimated, That our Lord appeared, as very God, or in that Form, in which there was, *Luculentissimum presentis Deitatis Symbolum*.¹⁶ Then, for being *Equal with God*, it is acutely observed, by a very learned Interpreter; That we are to distinguish between those two Phrases, εἶναι ἴσον θεῷ, and, εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ.¹⁷ The former [Joh. 5.18.] notes, *A Parity with God*; The latter notes, *A Doing as becomes God*, in discovering an Infinite Majesty. Our Lord thought it no sacrilegious thing, for him to *DO* such Things, as it is proper for *God*, and God alone, to do.

The Summ is, our Lord appeared as very *God*, in the Sight which He had granted of Himself unto His Church, and judged it no *Sacrilege* for Him, in His *Words*, and His *Works*, to putt on that *Majesty*, which belonged unto none but God. However, in His *Humiliation*, he did for some Cause, & for some while, forbear to do what He had formerly done.

But this infers the *Godhead* of our Lord, and asserts a Divine Worship to be due unto Him.

¹⁴ "A noble discovery of the divine majesty."

¹⁵ "The divine being, revealing itself with a noble discovery."

¹⁶ "The brightest representation of the presence of the Deity."

¹⁷ John 5:18 (τὸν θεὸν ἴσον ἑαυτὸν ποιῶν) is translated in the KJV as "making himself equal with God," and the latter phrase from Phil. 2:6 (τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ) is translated as "to be equal with God." The point hinges on the declension (likely, neuter plural) of the noun ἴσος (equal). In John's gospel, Jesus claims to be doing the work of God the Father, thus making himself out to be equal with God in the eyes of his opponents. The hymn in Phil. 2 contemplates Jesus' divine kenosis, a "doing" characteristic of divine compassion. As Mather continues the argument below, he claims that ἴσα is being used adverbally here so that the meaning is more properly 'to be just like God' or perhaps 'to be one who acts just like God.' This seems to be an instance on Mather's part of an exaggeration of the significance of the syntax, since neither the form of the Greek nor the context of the two passages would seem to suggest substantially different meanings for ἴσα in John and Philippians; they are essentially synonymous. (My thanks to Dr. Alan Kirk of James Madison University for his assessment of the interpretive issues here).

The *Name above every Name*, which belongs unto our Saviour, the Apostle intimates, That it is to be look'd for, in the Forty-fifth Chapter of *Isaiah*, and the latter End.

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 10v]

[▽10v]

4463.

Q. Lett this Matter be further prosecuted, if you please, from Dr. *Whitbys* Illustrations? ¹⁸ v. 6.

A. Tho' it be certainly true, That the Lord Jesus Christ is *Essentially* God, yett the *Form of God* means not the *Essence* of God; as the *Form of a Servant* here means, not the *Essence* but the *Estate*, of a *Servant*. And our Saviour¹⁹ did not *empty Himself* of His Godhead, tho' He concealed it. *Form* in both Testaments, we find signifying, an *External Shape*. [Dan. 6.10. Dan. 7.28. Dan. 4.36. Mark. 10.12. Mat. 17.2.]

Wherefore, by this *Form of God*, we may understand, that glorious *Form*, in which God on His Throne is repræsented; and that *Majesty* in which He appeared according to the Scriptures, & in which the λογος; or, *the Word*, exhibited Himself unto the Patriarchs.

The *Appearance of God*, was in a Bright *Cloud*, fill'd with *Light* and *Flame*, attended by an Host of *Angels*. [Consider, Dan. 7.9, 10. and Psal. 68.18. and Exod. 24.16, 17. and Deut. 5.22, 24. and Hab. 3.3, 4. and Gen. 28.17.] This was called, *The Glory of the Lord*.

In this *Form of God*, our Lord appeared, before His Incarnation. Even before He *purged our Sins*, He was the *Brightness of His Fathers Glory*. [Heb. 1.3.] And at the Conclusion of His Humiliation, He pray'd, That *God would glorify Him, with the Glory which He had with Him, before the Foundation of the World*. [Joh. 17.13.] It was the Opinion of the Ancients, both Jewes and Christians, That it was the λογος, or the *Messiah*, who appeared in that Splendor unto the Patriarchs. They had the Scriptures to Justify their Opinion. We read of the *Israelites, They Tempted God, Saying, Is the Lord among us, or not?* [Exod. 17.7. and Num. 21.6.] But we read, *They Tempted Christ, & were Destroyed of Serpents*.

¹⁸ Daniel Whitby, *A Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* (2:335–9). Whitby (1638–1726) was an Anglican cleric and a prolific author; he engaged in anti-Catholic polemics but also argued for a latitudinarian treatment of Protestant Dissenters. In his later years, he adopted (publically) Arminian and (posthumously) Arian doctrinal positions; see *ODNB* (58:530–2). His treatment of Phil. 2:6 acknowledges the orthodox (Trinitarian) interpretation of the passage, yet Whitby tries to distinguish the term “form of God” from the term “essence of God” in order to argue that the passage is primarily concerned with Jesus’ humility rather than his divinity. Mather seems to have belatedly realized the potentially unorthodox implications of Whitby’s exegesis, for he inserts a later citation from John Edwards (below) which asserts the synonymous meaning of the terms form and essence.

¹⁹ See Appendix A.

[1 Cor. 10.9.] When God threatened, that He would send only an *Angel* before the *Israelites*, they mourned at it, and *Moses* begs, that they might have the *Shechinah* with them. [Exod. 33.15.]

Our Lord Jesus Christ, after His *Ascension* to the Right Hand of God, Re-assumed this *Form*. *Stephen* saw Him in it. [Act. 7.55.] And so did *Saul* [Act. 26.13.] And so did *John*. [Rev. 1.14, 16.] And in this *Form*, He will come to the Judgment of the World. But in this *Form*, He did *not covet* to appear, at His Humiliation; He laid it aside, & appeared *in Fashion as an ordinary Man*.

²⁰And Now for that; *He thought it no Robbery to be equal with God?*

²¹Dr. *Whitby* proposes, That the import of the Phrase, ἀρπαγμα ηγείσθαι,²² is, To *Covet Earnestly*, or look on a thing, as much to be Desired, and Searched at. *Schmidius* determines it, *Rem optatum persequi, et Studiosissime occupare*.²³ And then, το εἶναι ἰσα θεῷ is, *To be in the Likeness of God*. The Word, ἰσα, adverbally used in such a Sense, is very frequent in the *Septuagint*; answering to the Hebrew, *Caph*.²⁴ It meant, That tho' our Lord, in His Former Appearances, exhibited Himself in the *Form of God*, yett now coming to save the World, He did not *Covet*, or Desire, to appear in that Majestick Splendor; he chose to come in the *Form* of a Man, & of a Servant. *Whitby* urges, This Exposition gives no Advantage to the *Socinians*; it confutes their Heresy, with better Answers than the usual Exposition affords. We see, the *Præexistence* of our Saviour, to His Incarnation. We see Two Natures in our Saviour; one that conversed with the Patriarchs, another conceived in the Virgin. We see, the former of these Natures must be Divine; For, what other could appear in the *Form of God*, & challenge the *Glory* which is called, *The Glory of the Father*? And have the Incommunicable Name, *Jehovah*, ascribed unto Him?

[△] [△Insert ends]

[11r]

Q. But shall we do well to adhere unto that Illustration of Dr. *Whitbies*? v. 6.

A. Dr. *Edwards* has brought in very Just Exceptions unto it.²⁵

²⁰ See Appendix A.

²¹ See Appendix A.

²² The phrase οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο in v. 6 is translated as “thought it not robbery” etc. So ἀρπαγμα ηγείσθαι, “to believe it to be robbery” denotes the desire for an illicit object (ἀρπαγμα can also mean booty or prey, i. e. an object acquired by means of theft).

²³ “To pursue the thing desired, and to possess it most zealously.” *Whitby* cites a *Schmidius* for this passage in the *Paraphrase* (p. 338) but offers nothing beyond the surname. There were a number of theological writers in the 17th and early 18th centuries named *Schmidius*, including *Johannes*, *Sebastian*, and *Silvester*; but perhaps the reference here is to *George Schmidius*, *Disputatio metaphysica de incorporeitate Dei* (1663).

²⁴ The Greek word ἰσα (equal to, like, just as) corresponds to the Hebrew letter כ (Caph), the latter of which is used as an inseparable prefix for comparative purposes, meaning “as” or “like.”

²⁵ John *Edwards*, possibly his *Socinianism Unmask'd* (1693), an attack on the latitudinarian views of doctrine by John *Locke* and others. *Edwards* (1637–1716) was an Irish Anglican priest

It is very certain; By, *The Form of God*, the Ancients understood the *Nature* and *Essence* of God. *Gregory Nyssen* is very positive in it; and argues it from this, That our Saviours being in the *Form of a Servant*, was His being in the very *Nature & Essence* of a *Servant*.²⁶ *Theodoret* expressly affirms it, Ἡ μορφή του θεου, φύσις νοείται θεου.²⁷ The *Nature* of God is meant, by His *Form*; And He explains it by, οὐσία του θεου, The *Essence* of God.²⁸ We are assured by *Damascen*; [Isag. C. 1.] That *Essence*, *Nature*, and *Form*, are the same with the primitive Writers.²⁹ *Theophylact* on the Place, agrees with them. Μορφή θεου η οὐσία λεγεται.³⁰

To Interpret this Text, as if it meant, That when our Saviour came into the World, there was nothing of the *Shechinah*, to distinguish Him from others, is to contradict a plain Matter of Fact. See Luk. II.9. Matth. XVII.2, 5. with 2 Pet. I.17. Joh. XII.28, 29. But especially consider, Joh. I.14. *We beheld His Glory, the Glory of the only Begotten Son of the Father*.

This Passage, *He thought it not Robbery to be Equal with God*, was used by *Athanasius*, and *Hilary*, and *Chrysostom*, and *Augustin*, and other Fathers, against the Arians.³¹ Tho' *Whitby*, after *Grotius*, try to explain it from a Phrase in the *Syriac* Liturgy, or in *Plutarch*, or in *Heliodorus*, and make it mean, *He would not be thought to be like God*; they have but abused the Sense of the Phrase in their own Authors.³² After all, The Text is very Intelligible, and the most Judicious

and a staunch Calvinist controversialist; see *ODNB* (17:937–8). He also wrote *A Discourse concerning the Authority, Stile, and Perfection of the Books of the Old and New Testament* (1693) and *A Farther Enquiry into Several Remarkable Texts of the Old and New Testament* (1692), both of which Mather uses in the *Biblia*.

26 Gregory of Nyssa (c. 335–395 CE), bishop of Nyssa and a strong proponent of Nicene orthodoxy; see *NCE* (6:517–20).

27 Theodoretus, *Eranistes* (90, line 30): Ἡ μορφή τοῦ θεοῦ, φύσις νοείται θεοῦ; “Let the form of God, be thought of as the nature of God.” Theodoret, *Commentary on the Letters of St. Paul* (2:70). Theodoret (393–457), bishop of Cyrus, Syria, and author of a number of exegetical works, including the Pauline epistles; see *NCE* (13:878–9).

28 Theodoretus, *Interpretatio in xiv epistulas sancti Pauli* [PG 082. 0572, lines 51–52]: οὐσία τοῦ θεοῦ.

29 John of Damascus (c. 676–760 CE), Syrian monk and civil servant to the Muslim caliph who was anathematized for his opposition to Leo the Isaurian's iconoclasm. He wrote a number of works on Christology; see the Introduction to his *Writings* (v–xxx). The work in view here is his *Fountain of Wisdom*, the first section of which is on philosophy and draws heavily upon the *Isagogue* of Porphyry for its substance; see *Writings* (8–10).

30 μορφή θεοῦ ἢ οὐσία λέγεται; “The form of God, is to say, the essence.” Theophylact (1055–1107), a Bulgarian archbishop whose commentaries, including those on the Pauline epistles, are largely derivative of Oecumenius; see *NCE* (13:934).

31 Athanasius (c. 293–373), bishop of Alexandria, was the foremost proponent of Nicene Trinitarian orthodoxy; see *NCE* (1:817–20). Hilary, bishop of Poitiers (c. 300–367), was a doctrinal confederate of Athanasius, suffering a similar imperial banishment over his attack on Arianism, summarized in his *De Trinitate*; see *NCE* (6:828–9). John Chrysostom (347–407), archbishop of Constantinople, whose hundreds of extant sermons include a number on the Pauline epistles; *NSHERK* (3:72–5).

32 See Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:337). Whitby, citing Grotius, gives no sources for the latter's citations of Plutarch or Heliodorus. Plutarch (c. 46–120 CE) was a Greek

Expositors, have with much of Reason and Unanimity, kept unto the Sense, which our Translation gives us of it; *He thought it no Injury*, no *Encroachment*, no *Usurpation*, to claim an *Equality* with God. Indeed, an *ἡγεσθαι*,³³ introduced as here, was a most frequent Way of Speaking with our Apostle. Compare, Phil. III.7, 8, 25. 2 Thess. III.15. 1 Tim. I.12. Heb. XI.11, 26.

Moreover, Dr. *Burnet*, in his *Exposition of the XXXIX Articles*, very well observes; Our Apostle is recommending *Humility* to us, from the Example of our SAVIOUR.³⁴

Now, to be *Next unto God*, seems to be the Highest Ambition, that any Creature can possibly arise unto; It was the *Condemnation of Devil*. But if our SAVIOUR were a meer Creature, what a poor Persuasive to Humility is this; we ought to have such a Mind as was in Him, who was not Ambitious to be *Equal with God*? A Fine Argument! The very Repeting of such an Exposition, will be but a Refuting & an Exposing of it.

[12v]

I will take leave to add yett another Passage, which *Posselius* in his Præface to his Greek Grammar, entertains me withal.

*Hic, Homo non assuefactus ad Graecam constructionem nihil intelligit, et insulitate commentariorum multo magis offenditur.*³⁵

But, says he, the Meaning of the Apostle is This:

Tho' CHRIST were *in the Form of God*, or in Wisdome & Power æqual to His Eternal Father, nevertheless in the Time of His Humiliation, when He came to be a Sacrifice for us, *Non rapuit Æqualitatum Dei*,³⁶ that is to say, He did not make use of His Power, to putt by the Humbling Circumstances He was call'd unto; *Non exercuit suae vires*,³⁷ No, but He Humbled Himself, and putt on the *Form of a Servant*. Thus lett all Christians humbly conform their Circumstances, & not affect greater than what they are called unto; Lett them not be Despisers of others, nor be acted by the Principles of *Pride*, *Strife*, & *Envy*, and sinful

historian and moral philosopher; Heliodorus was a philosopher and rhetorician and confidant of the emperor Hadrian. See *ERE* (437 and 254, respectively).

33 From the verb *ἡγέομαι* (to think), which appears in the form *ἡγήσατο* in Phil. 2:6.

34 Gilbert Burnet, *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England* (1699). Burnet (1643–1715) was professor of theology at Glasgow and later bishop of Salisbury. He was a defender of the English Reformation and was charged with treason by James II for his close association with William and Mary prior to 1688. See *ODNB* (8:908–23).

35 “Here, a man is not accustomed to the Greek grammatical construction understands nothing, and he is much more offended by the ignorance of the commentators.” Johannes Posselius, *Syntaxis græca* (1565). Posselius (1528–91) was professor of Greek at the University of Rostock; see *ADB* (26:460–1).

36 “He did not grasp equality with God.”

37 “He did not use his power.”

*emulation. Hanc esse veram et genitam Verborum Pauli sententiam, Graecus Textus plane ostendit.*³⁸

Another Gentleman, who is Nameless, offers a very Just Thought on this Matter.

When we read of our SAVIOURS *Being in the Form of God*, the Word, *υπαρχων*, which we render, *Being*, is as much as to say, *Subsistius*, or having a *Subsistence*. Now our SAVIOUR, having before He was made *Man*, a *Subsistence* in the Godhead, it will necessarily infer His Eternal Generation, and His being another Person than the FATHER. One who is *equal* with another, must be a Person *Distinct* from Him, whom he is *equal* to.

By the *Form of God*, here must be meant the very *Nature* and *Essence* of God. Herein our SAVIOUR did *υπαρχειν*,³⁹ or, *had a Subsistence*, before He did *λαβειν*,⁴⁰ or, *Assume* the Form of a *Servant*, an Exterior and Accidental *Form*, superadded unto that wherein He subsisted before. But the *Form of a Servant*, carries in it also the *Nature* and *Essence* of a *Servant*.

There is a Passage of *Daneus* on *Lombard*, worthy to be considered on this Occasion; That tho' the *Terms* of *Essence*, and *Nature*, and *Form* of God, signify the same Thing among the Fathers, as *Damascene* in his *Isagoge* assures us, yett there is a Reason why the Apostle should præfer the last of these Terms before the other Two.⁴¹ *Essence* denotes more simply, what constitutes a Thing, & makes it be what it is, and no more. The *Essence* of *Man*, is what makes him a Rational Animal. *Nature* denotes a little more, and adds diverse Natural Properties. It belongs unto the *Nature* of *Man*, to have other Qualities, besides being merely Rational. But *Form* implies yett other things, besides the *Essence* and the *Nature*, even the *Line{a}ments*⁴² under which the Thing appears unto us. Thus, our SAVIOUR subsisting in the *Form of God*, was not only *Essentially* and *Naturally* God, but also possessed all the Divine Attributes that belonged unto Him.

[▽Insert from 13r]

[▽13r]

As to that Expression of our SAVIOURS being *Equal with God*, it is to be further observed; It intends, that He fully possesses the same Titles & Glories with His Eternal FATHER, and is *Co-equal* with Him in ALL of THEM.

It is therefore, what some have took Notice of; That this Term in the Original, *ειναι ισα*, imports not only that CHRIST is *Equal with God*, as it is barely translated, but also that *All the things* which belong to Him are *Equal with*

³⁸ "The Greek text clearly shows that this is the true and natural meaning of Paul's words."

³⁹ *υπαρχειν*; "to come into being."

⁴⁰ *λαβειν*; "to take hold of, sieze."

⁴¹ Lambert Daneau, *In Petri Lombardi librum primum Sententiarum* (1580). Daneau (1535–90) was a student of Calvin's who later became a professor of theology at Leiden; see NSHERK (3:346–7). On John of Damascus, see Mather's fifth entry on 2:6 (above).

⁴² See Appendix A.

God; or, that *in all things* He is *Equal with HIM*; that is to say, All Things which relate unto His Divinity. For, as *Camero* observes, we may understand here, τα εαυτου.⁴³ by an *Ellipsis*, which is a Figure very common among the Græcians.⁴⁴

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽14v△] [▽Insert from 14v] [blank] [7r resumes]

Q. What are, *The Things under the Earth*, which are to bow in the Name of Jesus? v. 10.

A. I know not whether the Opinion of Mr. *Thorowgood*, bee *so* or no; When by *Things under the Earth*, hee understands, the *Americans*, which are under the other Hæmisphere, as *Antipodes* to the Inhabitants of that Hæmisphere. The *Inferi*, are not alwayes, *The Damned*, but the *Regions* under us, or opposite unto us. Consider to this Purpose the Words of *Lactantius*, about the *Antipodes*. Thus the Indians told the first Planters of *America*, *Wee seek your Destruction, because wee hear you are a People come from under the World, to take our World from us.*⁴⁵ If this Exposition will do; t'wil give us good Hopes of our seeing the Kingdome of God gloriously established, in the *American* Regions.

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⁴⁷But lett us think of another!

⁴⁸I'll tell you, what *Grotius* thinks of it. The *καταχθονιοι*, or, *Things under the Earth*, are, *The Dead*. The *Greeks* use to call them so. The *Dead*, that are now *under the Earth*, shall one day acknowledge the Lord Jesus Christ, with all the Signs of Adoration; That is to say, When *He* shall *Raise* them for the *Dead*.⁴⁹

⁴³ "His things," i.e. those (divine) things pertaining to him, thought by Mather to be an ellipsis (i.e. the term is implied here, though absent).

⁴⁴ John Cameron, perhaps his *Myrothecium evangelicum* (1632), a commentary on the New Testament. Cameron (1579–1623) began his professional life as a professor of Greek at Glasgow, but his demurral from the strictest formulations of Calvinism led him to become a professor of theology at Saumur in France, the leading Reformed institution of the Remonstrants. See *ODNB* (9:649–51).

⁴⁵ Thomas Thorowgood, *Jewes in America* (1650) (or possibly, his 1652 sequel, *Digitus Dei, or nevv discoveries ... to prove that the Jews ... inhabite now in America*). See also Mather's *Threefold Paradise: Trip Paradise* (298). Thorowgood (d. 1669), an Anglican cleric at Arnhem, sent John Eliot a manuscript copy of the former, leading to Eliot's conviction about the Israelitish origins of North American natives. Eliot's letter on the subject (1652) to Thorowgood was included as the preface to the 1660 edition of *Jewes in America*; see Michael P. Clark, *The Eliot Tracts* (5, 26–27, 409–27).

⁴⁶ See Appendix A.

⁴⁷ See Appendix A.

⁴⁸ See Appendix A.

⁴⁹ Hugo Grotius, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (7:87).

Thus *Whitby* carries it in his Paraphrase; *The Dead*; who being Raised by the Lord Jesus Christ, shall acknowledge His Power. To them does the Apostle apply these very Words of the Prophet *Isaiah* [Rom. 14.11, 12. Rev. 5.13. Isa. 45.23.]⁵⁰

|

[8v]

Q. In what regard are wee to, *Work out our own Salvation with Fear & Trembling?* v. 12.

A. It refers to the Means of *Grace*, wherein wee are to attend upon God, for the Aids of His *Grace*. *Camero* well translates it; *Work about your own Salvation*.⁵¹ Wait upon the Ordinances of God, until *HEE* thereby effectually work upon you. *HEE* does it *of His own good Pleasure*, where & when *HEE* will. Wherefore, Lett *Fear & Trembling* accompany our Attendance thereupon, lest wee miss the Gale of that *Wind*, which *blowes where it lists*.

Q. *Shining as Lights in the World?* v. 15.

A. In *Midras Tillim*, on Psal. LXXII. there is a Passage, not improper to be quoted on this Occasion.

*Quemadmodum Sol ac Luna illuminant hoc Sæculum; ita futurum est ut Justi illuminent Sæculum futurum.*⁵² To confirm this, they bring, Isa. LX.3. *The Gentiles shall come to thy Light*. And this they give as the Reason why the People of God are called, Jer. XI.15. *A Green Olive-tree*. They say, *Propterea Israelitæ appellantur Oliva Virens, quia illi omnibus prælucent.*⁵³

I will add an Hint from a Paraphrase of Dr. *Franckius* on this Passage. *Prout decet veram ac spiritualem Abrahami subolem.*⁵⁴ It is, q.d., Approve yourselves the True Children of *Abraham*. It was said unto *Abraham*, Gen. XV.5. *Tell the Stars, so shall thy Seed be*. The *Lights of the World* are the *Stars*.

Q. To what alludes that Passage of the Apostle, *If I be offered upon the Sacrifice & Service of your Faith?* v. 17.

A. Some thus interpret it. The Apostle had Consecrated and Dedicated them as a *Sacrifice* to God, by Beleeving. In their *Faith* it was, that they were themselves become a *Sacrifice* unto God. And now, as the *Drink-offering* was anciently

⁵⁰ Daniel Whitby, *A Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* (2:339).

⁵¹ On *Camero*, see note from Mather's fifth entry on 2:6 (above).

⁵² "Just as the sun and moon illuminate this world, so it will be that the just illuminate the world to come."

⁵³ "On which account the Israelites are called a green olive-tree, because they cast their light ahead of everyone." (That is, they foreshadow the world to come, just as the olive tree foreshadows the harvest to come.) The *Midrash tehillim* is a rabbinic commentary on the Psalms, composed of materials dating from the 3rd to 13th centuries; see *EJ* (14:191–2).

⁵⁴ "As befits the true and spiritual offspring of Abraham." August Hermann Francke (1663–1727), professor of Greek at the University of Halle, a leading Pietist, and correspondent with Mather; see *NSHERK* (4:367–8).

joined with the *Meat-offering*, so the Apostle, drawing nigh to his *Martyrdom*, was to have his *Blood* spilt upon their *Faith*. Hee was thus *offered* upon that *Sacrifice*.

4145.

Q. Such *Universal Enunciations*, as, *All seek their own*; what is the Rule, to understand them? v. 21.

A. Methinks, The Rule of the Law, [De Div. Regij. Juris § CIX.] will mighty well fitt the Case; *Refertur ad universos, quòd publicè fit, per majorem partem*.⁵⁵

Q. Some would fain make our *Epaphroditus*, to be a considerable Person of that Name, in the Court of *Nero*; and the Person to whom *Josephus* dedicates!⁵⁶ v. 25.

A. *Berkelius* and *Saldenus* advanced this Fancy.⁵⁷ But our most accurate & accomplish'd Mr. *Moyle*, as well as *Albertus Fabricius*, has notably confuted it.⁵⁸

Can any beleeve, That *Nero's* Master of Requests was employ'd as a Messenger, to carry Letters backward & forward, between *Paul* and the *Philippians*? Or, that the Bishop of *Philippi*, as *Theodoret* says he was, would accept on Office in the Court, which obliged him to a constant Absence from his pastoral Charge?⁵⁹

55 "What is done publicly by the majority is considered the will of everyone collectively." A citation attributed to the Roman jurist Ulpian (c. 170–223 CE) in his work, *Ad Edictum*, which is found in the "Digest," one of four parts to Justinian's *Corpus Juris Civilis* (529–534 CE), in a section entitled "De Diversis Regulis Juris Antiqui."

56 Josephus dedicates his *Antiquities* to one Epaphroditus, who was possibly a freedman of Emperor Trajan; see Whiston, *The Works of Josephus* (23).

57 Abraham van Berkel (1639–86) began life as a student of theology but eventually received a degree in medicine. He was a teacher and transcriber of early modern editions of classical works as well as Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan*, for which he received scrutiny from state authorities. See Cornelis Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Anglo-Dutch Translation* (130–1). Willem Salden (1627–94), a professor of theology at Utrecht; he published of collection of essay on biblical passages in his *Otia theologica* (1684). See Sari Kivisto, *The Vices of Learning: Morality and Knowledge at Early Modern Universities* (68).

58 Walter Moyle, *Letters Concerning the Thundering Legion*, in Moyle's *Works* (1726) (2:197–9). Moyle (1672–1721) was an English politician who, in his retirement, wrote a number of works on science, medicine, politics, and history, all collected and published posthumously; see *ODNB* (39:612–14). Johann Albert Fabricius (1668–1736), German classical scholar and a professor at Hamburg, was author of a number of bibliographical works, including three codices of biblical apocrypha and pseudepigrapha; see *NSHERK* (4:264–65). The work in question here (from Moyle) is Fabricius's *Bibliotheca Graeca* (1705–28), a compendium of classical Greek writers; but it is in his *Scriptorum recentiorum decas* (1688) that Fabricius criticizes the work of both van Berkel and Salden.

59 Theodoret, *Commentary on the Letters of St. Paul* (2:73–4); see Mather's fourth entry on 2:6 (above).

Q. Why does the Apostle call the Hæretical and unbelieving *Jewes*, by the Name of *Dogs*? v. 2.

A. The *Jewes* had formerly putt that Name upon the *Gentiles*; but the *Gentiles* being brought into the Service of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Name is now transferred unto the *Jewes* themselves.

It is remarkable, that the *Jewish Talmuds* giving as evil Characters of the Generation, in which the *Messias* would come, as the *Sacred Scriptures* themselves, do use this very Expression; *When the Son of David comes, the Synagogues shall become Stewes, Galilee shall bee destroy'd, Gablah shall bee desolate and the Men of the Border of Israel, shall go from City to City, and the Wisdome of the Scribes shall bee abominated, and Religious Persons shall bee scorned; And the faces of that Generation, shall bee as DOGS.*⁶⁰

Compare the Character of them that crucified our Lord Jesus Christ, in Ps. 22.16.⁶¹ *Dogs*.

Q. Why are the *Jewes* called, *The Concision*?

A. The Word, *κατατομή*, is used for the Vain, Superstitious, Idolatrous, *Cuttings in the Flesh*, used by the Heathen.⁶² [Compare 1 Kings 18.28.] The LXX, have the Word, in Lev. 21.5. It is here intimated, that *Circumcision* was now become of no more account.

One observes, *κατατομή*, is the same Natural Act with *περιτομή*.⁶³ But it imports no more than a *Modo Insignificans*,⁶⁴ cutting of the *Flesh*; To intimate, that the *Religion of Circumcision* was now abolished.

2644.

Q. I take Notice, that the Apostle *Paul*, sett's a special Remark, upon his being, *of the Tribe of Benjamin*? v. 5.

A. Yes; And I take notice, That *Benjamin* among the Twelve Patriarchs, was in many Points, a remarkable Type of this our Apostle. Nor am I the first, that have observed the Curiosities of this *Parallel*. The Apostle himself seems in many Passages to take Notice of it. And among the Ancients, I find *Prosper* especially

⁶⁰ See *The Babylonian Talmud* (12:655).

⁶¹ Ps. 22:16: "For dogs have compassed me; the assembly of the wicked have inclosed me; they pierced my hands and my feet" (KJV).

⁶² *κατατομή*; "incision."

⁶³ *περιτομή*; "circumcision."

⁶⁴ An "insignificant manner of" cutting of the *Flesh*, etc.

enlarging upon this Argument. I will only touch upon a few of the more obvious Resemblances.

As *Joseph* would not be satisfied, without having *Benjamin*, the *Least of his Bretheren* brought unto him, so neither would our Lord, without this Apostle, who calls himself, *The Least of the Apostles*. The sensible Touch upon the Heart of *Joseph*, at the Sight of *Benjamin*, seems answered, in our Lords Resentments upon the Actions of this Apostle, upon which He said, *Why persecutest thou me?* The *Birth of Benjamin* seems alluded unto, when our Apostle speaks of himself, as, *one born out of due Time*. And the Fate of the Jewish Church, upon the Doctrine and Preaching of this Apostle, seems a little adumbrated, in what befell the Mother of *Benjamin*. Greater Gifts were dispensed unto this Apostle, than unto others; and he *laboured more abundantly than all*; as *Josephs* Gifts unto *Benjamin* were the greatest. *Prosper* adds, *Poculum suum Joseph in sacco Benjamin clam jussit immitti. Calix passionis Christi, datus oculte per gratiam in corpore Pauli cognoscitur, quem praedicans, cum omnem Synagogum perturbaret in dictis, inventum etiam in suo sacco ipse fatetur, cum dicit, ego stigmata D. N. Jesu Christi in corpore meo {porto}*.⁶⁵

[16v]

2754.

Q. What is the Emphasis of that Clause, *An Hebrew of the Hebrewes?* v. 5.

A. As the Son of a *Proselyte-Father*, was called, *Ben-gar*; the Son of a *Proselyte-Mother*, was called, *Ben-gara*; and the Son of both Father and Mother *Proselytes*, was called, *Bagbag*; so the Son of a *Hebrew*, whether Father or Mother, was called, *An Hebrew*: But if both Father and Mother were *Hebrewes*, then the Son was called, *An Hebrew of the Hebrewes*. And this was the Parentage of our Apostle!

1632.

Q. The Apostles Desire, *To bee found in Christ*, unto what alludes it? v. 9.

A. The *City of Refuge*.

⁶⁵ The Latin appears in Sancti Prosperi Aquitani, *De Promissionibus et Praedictionibus Dei Incerti Auctoris Liber*, pars 1, cap. 31, col. 113c, in *Opera Omnia* (1711). Prosper of Aquitaine: "Joseph ordered his drinking vessel to be hidden in Benjamin's satchel. The cup of the suffering of Christ, given secretly, is recognized by grace in the body of Paul. He himself admits that he had found it in his satchel when, disturbing the entire synagogue with his indictments, he said, 'I bear the marks of our Lord Jesus Christ in my body.'" (The last word is unclear due to fraying, but appears correct in this context.) Perhaps Prosper of Aquitaine (c. 390–463), an associate and theological confederate of Augustine and Jerome; see *NCE* (11:771–2). His *De vocatione omnium gentium* (c. 450 CE) considers the universal extension of God's grace to the Gentiles.

Or, why not unto the Condition of the *Israelite*, safe into his House having the Blood of the Passeover sprinkled on it?⁶⁶

[▽Insert from 17r]⁶⁷

[▽17r]

Q. There seems much Obscurity in those Words, *If, by any Means, I may attain to the Resurrection of the Dead; – Not as tho' I had already attained; – but I follow after, if that I may apprehend?* v. 11.

A. A Dissertation upon this Text ha's been published by Mr. *Robert Fleming*; and unto this Dissertation I am obliged for several Thoughts, which I will offer on this Occasion.⁶⁸ If I mistake not, we shall presently have a golden Key to many of the Sacred Oracles, which ha's hitherto lain by, not understood, & so not Regarded.

Our Apostle ha's a *Prize* before him; in Allusion to the Βραβειον, the *Prize*, hung up, upon a σκοπος,⁶⁹ a *Mark*, at the End of a *Race* in the *Græcian* Exercises; which *Mark*, was conspicuous at a Distance, but came in View more and more unto the *Racers*, the nearer they drew unto it, until the *Prize* itself came to be seen, which was bestowed upon him that first reach'd the *Mark*.

By the *Mark* here, our Apostle means *Happiness*, or *Perfection* in general: And therefore by the *Prize*, he must mean a *Peculiar* and *Appropriate Reward*, which many, tho' they run well to the *Mark*, yett missed of. That which increases the Difficulty is, that our Apostle plainly tells us, he had no particular *Certainty*, or *Assurance* of his own obtaining this *Prize*; but unless he were very careful, he might possibly fall short of it. And yett so vast is his *Idea* of this *Prize*, that he thinks, all the *Services* and all the *Sufferings* he could go thorough, in promoting of Christianity, were all too little, in Comparison of this *Reward*, which belong'd unto none but more eminent Witnesses of the Lord.

The Difficulty yet growes upon us, in that our Apostle, tho' he were himself certain of such a *Reward* being attainable, yett he did not look upon it, as an Article, the Beleef whereof was necessary to Salvation. Tho' he had mentioned it unto the *Philippians*, as his own Opinion, which he had yett no Charge from the Lord, to deliver unto the Church, yett some of them remained *Otherwise-minded*; Whom he does not Rebuke, but prophetically tells them, That *God would afterwards Himself Reveal this to the Church*. It seems the Publication hereof as a Truth enjoined to be Beleaved in the Church, was reserved, unto the

⁶⁶ See Appendix B.

⁶⁷ Mather has mistakenly marked this long passage on v.11 to be inserted between his commentary on v. 15 and v. 19; I have preserved the proper order of the verses instead.

⁶⁸ There were two Robert Flemings, father (1630–94) and son (1660–1716), both Scottish Presbyterian ministers. The elder published a number of topical works and sermons; his *Fulfilling of the Scripture* (1671) appears in Mather's library, with Increase's inscription. See Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (61). In view here is the younger's *The First Resurrection* (1708), pp. 20–2, in part a refutation of Whitby's eschatology. On the Flemings, see *ODNB* (20:70–2).

⁶⁹ σκοπός.

Time, when our Saviour made the *Revelation* thereof unto the Apostle *John*. In the mean time our Apostle desires, that seeing both he and they were Agreed in the Beleef of a *Resurrection* both for the *Just* and the *Unjust*, they might *walk accordingly*, with a due Regard unto that *whereto they had already attained*. And with a Repetition of that Article therefore, the Chapter is concluded.

Briefly, The Apostle beleeveth, That there would be a SPECIAL RESURRECTION for the more *Eminent Servants of Christ*, long before the *General Resurrection of the Dead*. And such a *Special Resurrection* will carry in it, an admirable *Reward* of all their *Special Services and Sufferings*. Tis the *Resurrection*, which the REVELATION afterwards more fully determines, for the *Witnesses* of the Lord, at the Beginning of the *Millennium*.

When our Apostle speaks of his *not having already attained the Resurrection of the Dead*, it can't be taken in so lean and lank a Sense, as if he had said, he was *not yett Raised* from the Dead. Nor was he under any Doubt, of a *Resurrection for the Dead* in general. And the Beginning of this very Epistle tells us, that he had no Doubt of his own Part in a *Resurrection unto Blessedness*. Yea, when he wrote unto the *Romans*, of being *more than a Conqueror*, he seems to have had in his Eye, some fair Prospect of a Part in the more SPECIAL RESURRECTION. But here he propounds this, as one of the Means, by which he had hopes to reach that End; The Dying of a *Violent Death*, in Conformity to the Death of our Lord; which he calls, *A Knowing of Christ, as to the Fellowship of His Sufferings, by being made conformable unto His Death*.

[▽18v] What if this thing, should be one of those *Αρρητα ρηματα*, *Secret Matters*, [2 Cor. 12.4.] which the Apostle was *Forbidden* at present, to publish unto the World as an *Article of Faith*, but he had Liberty to mention as his own Holy Opinion and Perswasion; It being reserved unto *John* more expressly to publish it first as an *Article of Faith*, in the proper Time and Place for it. Our Apostle seems to manage himself in this Point, as he does elsewhere, in things which he | proposed only as a *Man*, so far as his Reason might go, and not as an *Apostle*, speaking Authoritatively in the Name of God. [See, 1 Cor. 7.25.] Hence the *Philippians*, who like the *Bereans*, would beleve the Apostles themselves, no further than they saw Demonstration, remained some of them *Otherwise-minded*, while others more Illuminated fell in entirely with him. He wisely accommodates himself to both: and setts an Example, which our Imposing Church-men have not followed.

We now know, That at the *Resurrection* of our Saviour, there was a SPECIAL RESURRECTION of the more eminent Saints, who died under the *Old Testament*. Ponder, Matth. 27.50, 51, 52, 53.

Just as our Saviour breathed out His Holy Soul, with a loud Voice, all Nature echo'd it, & His Conquest over *Death* was own'd by the Dormitories of the Dead of all Sorts, which were now thrown wide open. Yett none of the *Dead* then arose; For it was necessary that our Saviour should first of all take

Possession of *Hades*, the State and Place of *Separate Souls*. When this was done, He manifested His entire Power over the Dead both as to their *Souls* and *Bodies*; first by Raising Himself; next by raising a Number, whom He thought proper to distinguish on this great Occasion. There were *many* of the *Saints*, who were admitted unto the Favour of this Distinction; and these *Appeared* unto *many Select Witnesses*, to assure them of the Reality of our Saviours *Resurrection*, & of their own. These Attended on our Saviour, and Ascended with Him, as his Train, when He went up into the Heavens; and There they continue Monuments & Witnesses of His Conquest over Death, & of His taking upon Him, the Sovereignty over *Hades*.

And here, I am surprised, and extremely satisfied, with a most literal Accomplishment of that Prophecy; Isa. 26.19. *Thy Dead Men shall live; Together with my Dead Body shall they arise. Awake & sing, yee that dwell in the Dust; for thy Dew is as the Dew of Herbs, & the Earth shall cast out the Dead.* The very same Thing was predicted by our Saviour Himself, just before He Died; Joh. 5.25. *The Hour is coming, & now is, (tis just now arriving,) that the Dead shall hear the Voice of the Son of God, & they that hear it shall live.* As the *Jewes* beleaved, that the eminent *Saints* of the Old Testament, were to be *Raised* by the *Messiah* at His coming, so, tis no wonder, that the *Christians* had an early Beleef, that the *Resurrection* mentioned by *Matthew*, was a *Resurrection* tho' not of all the Dead *Saints*, yett of all the most eminent ones, that lived before the Coming of our Saviour. *Ignatius* in his Epistle to the *Magnesians* writes, *They were the Holy Prophets, who were His Disciples, & expected Him thro' the Spirit* and who are said, *to enter into the Kingdome with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob.*⁷⁰ It may be, our Saviour would insinuate, That *many eminent Saints* from all Quarters under the Gospel, should be Raised from the Dead, in like Manner, as those Patriarchs were, before the Rest of the Dead.

It is indeed now Rational to conclude, That the *more eminent Saints* of the New Testament, who Liv'd and Dy'd in Sufferings, for the Lord, should be rewarded in like Manner, by a *Special Resurrection* to Glory at the Time, when our Lord shall bring on the Revolution, which is to arrive at the Blessed *Thousand Years* of the Church upon Earth.

It is at the End of that *Thousand Years*, that our *Fleming* expects the *Resurrection* of the *Dead Saints* who were not concerned in those Two Foregoing *Resurrections*, together with the *Immortalizing Change* that will pass on the *Saints* then *found Alive*. And then after some Time, the *Resurrection* of the *Wicked*; perhaps as long a Time, as passed between our Saviours First Public Appearance, & the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, which was about Forty Years. To the Trial of these we may well allow another *Thousand Years*. But these Conjectures, I only

⁷⁰ Ignatius, *Letter to the Magnesians*, ANF (1:62). Ignatius (d. c. 177 CE) was bishop of Antioch and an early Christian martyr; see NCE (7:310–11).

mention by the way, for the Judicious Reader, to pass what Censure he please upon them.

I keep to my Theme. And I am now furnished with a notable Gloss on the affair of the *Souls under the Altar*, at the Opening of the *First Seal*, in the *Revelation*.

[▽19r] The *Eminent Saints* departed, understanding, by those Martyrs, which were every Day, going up from the Earth to the *Paradisical State*, thro' the horrible Persecutions of *Dioclesian* and his Collegines, the desparate State of Christianity; but at the same Time understanding by Revelation from our Saviour, that there was a glorious Deliverance at the Door, & that the Church on Earth as going to be gloriously exalted by the *Constantinian* Revolution. They having also a general *Idea* | of this, that there was to be a SPECIAL RESURRECTION of Saints and Martyrs, at the Exaltation of the Church on Earth; Hereupon they entertained some Hope, That this might prove the Period of Time, in which they should be *Raised from the Dead*.⁷¹ But not being perfectly informed of the Matter, and wondering, that tho' they were Advised of the *Revival* going to be given unto the Church, they had no Advice of their own Resurrection; It was agreed among them, to putt up this Petition; *How Long, O Lord Holy & True, dost thou not Judge, and Avenge our Blood on them who dwell on the Earth, & Raise us from the Dead, as a Proof of thy detesting those who murdered us, & of thy bestowing on us that Honour and Reward, whereof thou hast encouraged our Expectation!* In the Answer to this Petition, they are told, That they must wait with Patience, till the Church which had now waded thro' all the *Pagan*, should also have waded thro' all the *Popish* Persecutions. In the mean Time, there is dispensed unto them, something to compensate the Delay of the Thing petition'd for. *White Robes* are ordered for them; *Luminous Garments*, as a *Badge* of some higher Exaltation from the *Shechinah*.⁷²

Whereas, the good Man, whose work *shall be burnt*, or adjudged fitt to be Rejected, they shall *suffer Loss*, by being excluded from a Share in the SPECIAL RESURRECTION. But Rising from the *Dead*, at the Time when the *Grand Conflagration* is to come on, tho' they be *Saved* yett they shall for a while be kept under fearful Apprehensions from that *Great Conflagration*.

⁷¹ Mather had a very particular understanding of the resurrection, not as a singular event at the end of the age but rather as a sequential series of events spread out over salvation history. Some (Old Testament) saints might be raised at Christ's resurrection, while other, later, heroic saints like Paul might expect a resurrection at the beginning of the millennium. Finally, the rest of humanity would be raised at the Final Judgment. This view was influenced by the work of various English millenarians, such as Fleming's *The First Resurrection* (see. n. 68). See Cotton Mather, *Trip Paradise* (33–4, 48–9); see also David Koline, "The Controversy of the Present Time: Arianism, William Whiston, and the Development of Cotton Mather's Late Eschatology," in Smolinski and Stievertmann, *Cotton Mather and Biblia Americana* (439–59).

⁷² On the "*Luminous Garments*" of the Raised Saints, see Mather's *Threefold Paradise: Trip Paradise* (135–6).

It is remarkable, That the Word here used by our Apostle, for, *The Resurrection*, is not, *Αναστασις*, but, *Εξανάστασις*.⁷³ Critics tell us, The Word is not found again, in all the New Testament. However our *Fleming* suspects, that it is once used; and this too, with an Eye to a SPECIAL RESURRECTION. Tis true, the After-scribes write the Word with a *Disjunction*; but the Apostle might write it, *Conjunctively*. Tis in Rom. 1.4. *He was declared the Son of God with Power, according to the Spirit of Holiness, ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν*.⁷⁴ which we render, *By the Resurrection of the Dead*. One that compares this and the Original, is non-plust, to find no Mention at all, of what followes in the Greek; *of Jesus Christ our Lord*. And it surprises one to find, that our Translators have carried back those Words, to the Beginning of the *Third* Verse, instead of letting them stand, where they should, in the Conclusion of the *Fourth*.

According to the *Greek*, the Context runs thus; *Paul – separated unto the Gospel of God; (which He had promised before, by His Prophets, in the Holy Scriptures;) concerning His own Son, (who was made of the Seed of David according to the Flesh,) even Him that was declared the Son of God, in the Power (by the Spirit of Holiness) of the Resurrection of the Dead, of Jesus Christ our Lord*. What could be more proper, than for the Apostle, after he had mentioned Christ as *Promised* by the Prophets, to add, He was *Actually declared* to be the *Son of God*, by the *Spirit of Holiness*; He goes on to shewe How He was Declared so to be; namely, in or by the *Power of the Resurrection of the Dead of Jesus Christ our Lord*. The Saints who *Rose from the Dead*, at the *Resurrection* of our Lord, were peculiarly, *His Dead*. The Prophet *Isaiah*, had long before called them so. The *Spirit of Holiness* now fulfill'd, what the Prophet had foretold, when he called them so. The *Spirit of Holiness* now made it evident, that He was the *Son of God*, by that *Power*, by which not only He Himself, but *His Dead* were also *Raised from the Dead*. It is likely that the Apostle wrote it, not, *ἐξ ἀναστάσεως*, but, *ἐξ ἀναστάσεως*, which is the Word in the Text now before us.⁷⁵ It seems to lead us unto a Thought of a

⁷³ Ἀναστάσις; Ἐξανάστασις. These are synonymous terms meaning resurrection; see following note.

⁷⁴ ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν; “By the resurrection from the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord” (KJV). The phrase “Jesus Christ our Lord” is located at the end of v. 4 in the Greek text, though it is usually placed syntactically at the beginning of v. 3 (for example, in the KJV) so as to read “Concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, who was” etc. In what follows, Mather argues for a textual corruption here, such that the term ἐξ ἀναστάσεως found in Rom. 1:4 was originally written as ἐξ ἀναστάσεως. Thus the structure of v. 4 might not simply refer to Christ’s resurrection but also to the resurrection of other dead with him (assuming that this is the special meaning of ἐξ ἀναστάσεως as it is found in Philippians; but see following note).

⁷⁵ This is the only use of ἐξ ἀναστάσεως in the New Testament. Ἀναστάσεως is the common term in the New Testament for resurrection, which makes Paul’s usage here of potential interpretive interest (there is no textual variant for this word in the Greek text). The word may have been used to emphasize the dramatic nature of Christian salvation – resurrection *from among* the dead – or as a reference to Christian resurrection, as opposed to the general resurrection

Resurrection wherein some of the *Dead* are *fetch'd out* from among the rest of the *Dead*, or, a SPECIAL RESURRECTION.

It is very possible, That when we find an Article employ'd, as when we come upon such an Expression as that, *Ἀναστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν*.⁷⁶ the Spirit of God may have some Eye, to the more SPECIAL RESURRECTION of eminent Saints. Consider, Luk. 20.35, 36. It should seem, as if this were intended; Act. 4.2. *The Sadducees were grieved, that they taught the People, and preached thro' Jesus, the Resurrection of the Dead*; namely, That a great many had been *Raised* by Jesus from the *Dead*, as well as that He Rose Himself. The Thing was then Fresh, and there were *many Witnesses* ready to confirm the Truth of it. This vexed the *Sadducees*, not only, because it established Christianity, but also because it gave the *Pharisees*, a vast Advantage against them.

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽20v] [▽Insert from 20v]

Quere, whether old *Simeon* might not refer to this Matter. When he said, Luk. 2.34. *Behold, This Child is sett for the Fall, καὶ Ἀναστασιν πολλῶν, and the Resurrection of many in Israel*.⁷⁷ He foresaw, that many of the *Jewes* would be Ruined by their Infidelity; tho' our Lord would evidence His Character and Commission, by this Miracle; *His Raising* of many Holy *Israelites* from the *Dead*.

And is not this the thing that the Apostle saies; Act. 26.23. *Christ should be, πρῶτος ἐξαναστασεως νεκρῶν*,⁷⁸ *the First of the SPECIAL RESURRECTION of the Dead*.⁷⁹

Moreover, when we read of those who are, 1 Cor. 15.29. *Baptized for the Dead*; our Apostle has his Eye upon a *Dead Jesus*. What shall Christians do, that are *Baptised for a Dead Man*; for such our *Jesus* is, if there be no *Resurrection*. It is true, *The Dead*, is the plural Number. But one Reason of it, may be; Because the *Resurrection* of our *Jesus*, was accompanied with the *Resurrection* of many more. *Many Saints* Rose with Him, and by Him. And the *Baptised* then did beleve such a comprehensive Resurrection. We Christians are *Baptised* with a Firm Beleeif, that as *Jesus Rose* from the *Dead*, so there are *many others Raised* by Him, as a certain Proof that *we* shall in God's Time also be *Raised*.

of the dead. Beyond that, there is no general agreement among scholars as to what specifically Paul intended with the use of this word, and the two forms of the word may simply be synonymous. Mather exploits this *hapax legomenon* to support his particular doctrinal theory about a two-fold resurrection of Christians (above). See Gordon D. Fee, *Paul's Letter to the Philippians* (326ff).

⁷⁶ Ἀνάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν; "resurrection from the dead."

⁷⁷ καὶ ἀνάστασιν πολλῶν; "and the resurrection of many."

⁷⁸ πρῶτος ἐξαναστάσεως νεκρῶν; "The first of the resurrection of the dead."

⁷⁹ On Mather's distinction between the First and Second Resurrection, see his *Threefold Paradise: Triparadisus* (221–250).

About the ensuing Circumstances of the Saints, who are to have a Part in the SPECIAL RESURRECTION, our Minds need a little further Illumination. Our *Fleming* follows *Piscator*, and *Peganius*, (tho' he does not see cause to mention them,) in their Opinion, That these *Raised Saints*, will have little or nothing to do on the *Earth*, during the *Thousand Years*, but be transported unto the Remote Heaven, where our Saviour is now enthroned.⁸⁰ However, tis allow'd, That before their total Withdraw, they may, like those who Rose with our Saviour, *appear unto many*, and thereby mightily præpare and strengthen the Church, for that Advancement of Christianity, which it is to see in the *Thousand Years*. And they grant at least so much *Appearing* of our Saviour, at the Beginning of the *Millennium*, as there was on Mount-Sinai of old. But these Gentlemen have not considered the Condition of the *New Heavens*, to take place at the Beginning of the *Millennium*, & I suppose, they assign a *Lower State* of Things, to the *Kingdome of God*, then to take place, than we shall find at the Appearing of it. [△Insert ends, 16v resumes]

[△]

Q. *If in any thing yee bee otherwise minded, God shall Reveal even this unto you.* What Remark is to bee made upon this Passage? v. 15.

A. *Zanchy* saies, that *Austin* would repeat this Rule a Thousand Times.⁸¹ And *Chrysostom* ha's a good Note upon it. οὐκ εἶπεν ἐνάξει ἀλλ' ἀπακαλύψει, ἵνα δόξη μᾶλλον ἀγνοίας εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα.⁸² Hee does not say, *God will Bring them to it, if they bee otherwise minded*; but, *God will Reveal it*. Noting the Goodness of God, unto those who are *otherwise-minded*, excusing them, that it was not thro' *Wickedness*, but for want of *Knowledge*.

S^r *Norton Knatchbul* thus reads the Clause. *Et si quid aliter sentiris, et hoc quoque revelet vobis Deus (praeter ad quod pervasimus) eadem incedere Regula, idem sentire.*⁸³ The *Future* is putt for the *Imperative*. And, the, *Incedamus*, and,

⁸⁰ Johannes Piscator (1546–1625), a German Reformed theologian who taught at a number of schools and universities. He wrote commentaries on both the Old and New Testaments and produced a new German translation of the Bible; see *NSHERK* (9:73). “Peganius” is the pseudonym for Christian Knorr von Rosenroth (1636–89) who wrote *A Genuine Explication of the Visions of the Book of Revelation* (1670); he was a Hebraist and Orientalist with particular interests in the Kabbalah. See “Baron von Rosenroth,” *JE* (electronic).

⁸¹ Girolamo Zanchi (1516–90), an Italian monastic converted to the Reformed Protestant cause by Peter Martyr Vermigli; he served as a professor at Strasbourg, Heidelberg, and Neustadt. See *NSHERK* (12:496–7).

⁸² Joannes Chrysostomus, *In epistulam ad Philippenses (homiliae 1–15)* [PG 062. 0772, lines 54–55]: Καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν, Ἐνάξει, ἀλλ', Ἀποκαλύψει, ἵνα δόξη μᾶλλον ἀγνοίας εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα. “He didn't say, [God] will lead him on, but [said] ‘He will reveal,’ so that the matter appears to be rather on of ignorance.” Chrysostom, *Homily XII on Philippians*, in *NPNFi* (13:240).

⁸³ “And if you discern something differently, but God also reveals it to you (other than what we have arrived at together), you will (continue to) walk by the same rules and believe in the same thing.” Norton Knatchbull, *Animadversiones in libros novi testamenti* (120). Knatchbull (1602–85) was a member of Parliament with mixed political sympathies during the Civil War and absent from Parliament in the wake of Pride's Purge (1648). He then turned his

Sentiamus,⁸⁴ which is the common Translation here, he saies, *Est neque sensui nec Syntaxi consonum*.⁸⁵

4465.

Q. It is here said, *Their Glory is in their Shame*. What might be the Meaning of it? v. 19.

A. I will tell you how the Ancients did generally take it. Their *Glory* was in the *Circumcision* of their *Shameful Member*.

[▽ 20v resumes]

[▽ Insert from 20v resumes]

Q. On that Passage, *Our Conversation is in Heaven?* v. 20.

A. There are many fine Glosses on this Passage, in the Devout Sermons which are in every bodies hands.

I refer you to them, and will only offer you one Observation, which has in it something of Curiosities.

The Word, *Conversation*, may be rendred, *Citizen-ship*.⁸⁶ Now, you know, That *Philippi* was the Place where our Apostle had insisted upon his *Roman Citizenship*. His Action terrified the Magistrates of the Town; and it was doubtless a Subject of much Discussion among the *Philippians*. But our Apostle now writing to the *Philippians*, tells them no more of his *Roman Citizenship*. Tis the *Heavenly Citizenship*, which is all that he cares for, and which he infinitely præfers before it.

[△]

[△ Insert ends]

attention to biblical studies, publishing his *Animadversiones* 1659), a critical historical study of the New Testament text. An English version, probably translated by Knatchbull, appeared posthumously (1693) as *Annotations upon some Difficult in All the Books of the New Testament*. On Knatchbull, see *ODNB* (31:871–2). The Latin version is listed in Increase Mather's 1664 *Catalogue* of his library; Cotton uses the English translation as well in the *Biblia*. See Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (21).

⁸⁴ “Let us walk” and “let us believe.”

⁸⁵ “It fits neither the sense nor the syntax.” Knatchbull, *Animadversiones* (120).

⁸⁶ The Greek word here, *πολίτευμα*, can also refer to things pertaining to government, i. e. citizenship.

4466.

Q. Unto what refers and alludes, that Expression, of, *Names in the Book of Life*? v. 3.

A. Among the profound *Mysteries*, whereof our merciful God, hath mercifully advised us, one is, *That Everlasting and Immutable Counsel of His, whereby HEE has chosen a Certain & Special Number of Men, to bee Vessels for the Glory of his Grace forever, with an Eternal Reprobation passing over others.* Now the Emblem or Shadow, under which our God would give us Notice of this glorious *Mystery*, and the *Clothing*, wherein HEE sends this *Beam of Light* unto us from the other World; is that of a BOOK, wherein wee may Imagine entred the *Names* of such, as are to bee saved by the Lord Jesus Christ. Suppose, a *Daniel*, a *Paul*, a *John*, might on this side [of] the Third Heaven, have enjoy'd a *Vision* of the eternal *Election*, passing upon the Heirs of *Life*, that *Election* would not have been otherwise, than under the Shape and Form of a BOOK, repræsented unto them. And the Mention of a BOOK, in this Case, may bee supposed an Allusion to the public *Registers*, used in Cities, Countreyes, Kingdomes, and with almost all the Civilized Nations of this World; When the *Names* of such, as might have any Claim to future Priviledges, are usually enrolled. The Ancient *Israel* of God, had most particularly their *BOOKS*, wherein, they that could not find their *Names* inserted, were debarred from such Advantages, as they which were therein Recorded, might pretend unto.

The *BOOK of Life*, is Gods Decree of *Election*, wherein these and those Men, are from all Eternity, with a most particular Designation, sett apart for the obtaining of *Life* eternal. Wee read, in Act. 18.48. about, *As many as are ordained unto eternal Life.* Now, the eternal *Choice* of God, is that *Book*, wherein the *Names* of all that are thus *Ordained*, are most particularly noted. The *Decree* of God, which hath all that are to live Happily forever, as particularly, as if by *Name*, remembred in it, this is the *Book of Life*.

Q. Who might be the *True Yokefellow*, here spoken of? v. 3.

A. This *Yokefellow* cannot be the Apostles Wife; because he declares himself an unmarried Man; and because a Woman cannot be styled, γνήσιε, of the *Masculine* Gender, but γνήσια, of the *Feminine*.⁸⁷ And it is unlikely, that it should be *Epaphroditus*, for he was not then at *Philippi*; but with the Apostle at *Rome*. It

⁸⁷ γνήσιε; γνήσια; "true, lawful, legitimate."

may be therefore (as Dr. *Whitby* thinks,) one of the Rulers of the Church, whom he saluted in the Front of this Epistle.⁸⁸

[22v] |⁸⁹

1883.

Q. What is there observable in the Connexion between those Two Passages, *Bee careful for Nothing*, and, *The Peace of God shall keep your Hearts?* v. 6, 7.

A. There is a sweet Intimation in it; That *Contentation* will bee Rewarded with *Consolation*. Lett a Christian bring his Heart to bee well satisfied with his present Condition, and God will Recompence him with such Inward Irradiations of Peace & Joy, as will bee of more account, than all the Riches in the World.

Q. *The Saints that are of Cæsar's Household?* v. 22.

Ans. The Mention of Christianity in *Caesar's Household*, has nourished a Fancy yt,⁹⁰ ⁹¹*Seneca* was one of em. And this Fancy has at last produced a Forgery of the Epistles that passed between *Paul* and *Seneca*, which are published by *Sixtus Senensis* in his *Bibliotheca* and by several others in our Days.⁹² There are all possible Marks of a Forgery upon 'em: and the Middle of the fourth Century seems to have bin the Time of their Conception; they are not mentioned by *Eusebius*, or any Writer more ancient than *Jerom*.⁹³ It is evident that the Author was a Latin, who was not only ignorant of the Greek Language, but also did not so much as know that *Paul* wrote his genuine Epistles to the Churches in yt Language.⁹⁴

Q. How could any of the Saints, live in *Cæsars Household*, when such *Idolatri* was imposed as a *Test*, upon all that were in any Offices? v. 22.

⁸⁸ Whitby, *A Paraphrase up on the New Testament* (2:346).

⁸⁹ See Appendix A.

⁹⁰ "Yt" is an old English signifier for "that."

⁹¹ See Appendix A.

⁹² Fourteen very short letters purporting to have been exchanged between the Apostle Paul and the 1st-century Stoic philosopher and *litteratus* Seneca (the Younger), which probably were composed in the 4th century. Sixtus of Siena's *Bibliotheca sancta* (1566) was an encyclopedic work on biblical interpretation and its history. Sixtus (1520–69) was a Jewish convert who eventually became a theologian in the Dominican order; see *NCE* (13:199).

⁹³ Eusebius (c. 260–340), bishop of Caesarea and author of the *Ecclesiastical History* (c. 323 CE), one of the earliest and most comprehensive attempts to document the development of early Christianity; see *NCE* (5:541–3). Jerome (c. 347–420) was author of the *Chronicon* (380 CE), a supplement to Eusebius's *History*, covering the period from 325–379 CE; see *NCE* (7:757–59).

⁹⁴ This entire entry is written in a hand other than Mather's but is the same as entries on Gal. 6:17 [23r], Eph. 3:18 [24v], Col. 4:16 [20v], and I Thess. 5:22 [7r]. It may be the work of his son Samuel, who may have been given such exercises to develop his penmanship.

A. Mr. Moyle thinks, That these of *Cæsars* Household, were neither civil Magistrates, nor considerable Persons.⁹⁵ But οἰκία καίσαρος,⁹⁶ is to be taken in the same Sense, as *Familia Cæsaris* in *Lactantius*; for the Emperours Domesticks, that is, the Slaves and manumitted Servants of the Palace. Thus we may interpret the *Fideles in aula regulis* mentioned by *Irenaeus* under *Commodus*.⁹⁷ *Vossius* affirms indeed, that the greatest Part of the primitive Christians were *Slaves*.⁹⁸ This was urged by *Julian* as an Objection against the Honour of Christianity: which is in good Part owned & justified by *Cyril*, who exposes it very handsomely, for a weak, silly, trifling Argument.⁹⁹ These *Slaves* and *Liberti* were employ'd in the low and servile Offices of the Palace, and were in too mean a Station to have any Oaths or Tests imposed upon them, or have any Enquiry made after what Religion they might be of; and consequently they might live clear of Idolatry. For tis plain from *Tacitus* [Ann. 14.44.] That the *Roman Servants* under *Nero*, were allowed for to be of what Religion they pleased; *Quibus externa sacra aut nulla*;¹⁰⁰ By *Externa Sacra*, he means, the *Christian* and *Jewish* Religions.

Q. We find, *Saints of Cæsars Houshold*. Is it not a little surprising? v. 22.

A. *Suetonius* reckons *Nero's* making *Edicts* for the Suppressing of the *Christian Religion*, among those Reformations he made, at his coming to the Throne.¹⁰¹

⁹⁵ Walter Moyle, *Works* (2:197–9). On Moyle, see Mather's entry on 2:21 (above).

⁹⁶ οἰκία καίσαρος; "household of Caesar."

⁹⁷ "The faithful in the court of the prince." Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* (4.30.1), in *ANF* (1:503). Irenaeus (d. c. 202 CE) was a bishop in Gaul and an outspoken opponent of Christian Gnostics; see *NCE* (7:570–1). Commodus was emperor from 180–192 CE; see *ERE* (139–40).

⁹⁸ Gerrit Vos (1577–1649), Dutch Reformed scholar of Arminian leanings and professor of Greek at Leiden. Vos's scholarly interests ran to classical literature, and he published works on Latin, rhetoric, grammar, Greek and Latin historians, and on classical poets; see *NSHERK* (12:227).

⁹⁹ Julian (the Apostate) was emperor from 361–363 CE, during which he tried to revive Roman pagan religion; see *NCE* (8:51–2). Cyril, bishop of Alexandria from 412–444, wrote several works on the Incarnation and the Trinity and an apologetic work, *Against Julian the Apostate*; see *NCE* (4:465–9).

¹⁰⁰ "Who were of a foreign religion or none at all"; Tacitus, *The Annals* (14.44) (178–9). The full quotation reads: "Postquam vero nationes in familiis habemus, quibus diversi ritus, externa sacra aut nulla sunt, conluviem istam non nisi metu coercueris." (But now that our households comprise nations, with customs the reverse of our own, with foreign cults or with none, you will never coerce such a medley of humanity, except by terror.) In the context, Tacitus is not discussing the imperial domestic arrangement but simply commenting on the danger that slaves posed for their masters since they outnumbered them. Tacitus observes that there was some measured security when slaves shared ethnic bonds with their masters, but, now that slaves are largely foreign born, belonging to non-Roman religions, and, presumably, possessing sub-Roman scruples, the danger to masters is increased. Christianity might be included among these foreign religions, but the context does not suggest it is specifically in view.

¹⁰¹ See *The Lives of the Caesars* in *Suetonius* (2:110–11). Suetonius (c. 69–122 CE) was a historian of imperial Rome; see *ERE* (516–17).

But that the Scepticks may be delivered from their Apprehension of any Unlikelihood in it; that the Gospel had gott footing in the Family of *Nero*, and the Grain of *Mustard-seed* sprung up in such a barren Soyl; we will inform him, of what happened a little after this, in the Court of *Aurelian*.

Christianity had so thriven, even in the Court of that Emperour, that he suspects the *Christian Party* even among the *Senators* themselves, to have impeded the Decree, for consulting the *Sibylline* Books, when the *Marcomanni* invaded the Empire, by that handsome Evasion, *That the Valour of the Emperour himself was enough to supersede all Consultation of the Gods*.¹⁰² Tho' *Vopiscus* interprets this as a Peece of meer Flattery, yett the Emperour himself made another & a truer Construction of it. In the Letter he sent unto the Senate, he had these Words, *Miror vos (sancti patres) tamdiu de aperiendis Sibyllinis, dubitasse libris, perindè quasi in Christianorum Ecclesia, non in Templo Deorum omnium tractaretis*.¹⁰³

¹⁰² The Marcomanni were Germanic peoples who fought the Roman army under Marcus Aurelius, invading parts of Italy; *EB* (17:693).

¹⁰³ "I wonder at you, august fathers, that you have hesitated so long in opening the Sibylline books, as though you were conducting affairs in a Christian church, and not in a temple of the all the gods." Citing a letter from Marcus Aurelius (r. 161–180 CE), the reference to "Vopiscus" here would be to Flavius Vopiscus, one of the six putative authors of the *Historia Augusta*, a late 4th-century biography of the later emperors and a continuation of Suetonius's *Lives*.

The *Magis Curiosa*, in Mr. *James Fergusons* Exposition on that Epistle.¹⁰⁴

Ch. I.5. *From the First Day until now.*

It is not convenient, that any Person, especially a Minister, should boast much of the Real Grace, in any newly taking up a Profession; but stay, till upon Trial it be found, how the Man holds his Profession, & how he walks in the Various Duties, & the Various Cases, of Christianity.

v. 14. *to speak the Word.*

The Gospel of Salvation thro' our Lord Jesus Christ, is the most *Excellent Word*, that was ever spoken among the Children of Men. It is called, *The Word*, by Way of Excellency; as if there were no other Word besides, worthy of the Name.

v. 19. *through your Prayer.*

They who pray the best, are least conceited of their own Prayers. *Paul* pray'd as well as the *Philippians*; but he ascribes more to *their* Prayers, than to his own.

v. 27. *striving together for the Faith of the Gospel.*

This is one Part of a *Conversation becoming the Gospel of Christ*; Zealously to stand for the *Defence* of the Gospel, against prevailing Errors. Thus our Apostle explains that *Conversation*.

v. 29. *To you it is given, in the behalf of Christ – to Believe.*

All the Graces of God, are purchased for us, by the Merit of Christ, & applied to us by Vertue of His Intercession. *Faith* is given, *in the behalf of Christ*. This is an irresistible Demonstration of Special Redemption.

Ch. II.2 *Fulfil yee my Joy.*

Whatever personal Respect or Interest, we have with any People, we should improve it, for perswading of them, to things that will be for their own Spiritual Advantage. Our Apostle urges the People, by the Respect which they ow'd and had unto him.

Ditto. *Having the same Love, being of one Accord, of one Mind.*

That Concord may be lasting, there should be, first an Union of *Affections*, then an Union of *Endeavours*, and finally, an Union of *Opinions*, the Foundation of the other two. This is the Import of those Three Expressions.

v. 3. *Vain-glory.*

So ordinarily does the Holy God plague self-seeking Spirits with Disappointment, so Inconstant is popular Applause; And so little then is in any Man, for

¹⁰⁴ James Ferguson (1621–67), *A Brief Exposition of the Epistles of Paul to the Philippians and Colossians* (1656). Ferguson was a Scottish pastor; his political liabilities forced him to decline the professorship in theology at Glasgow. See *DNB* (18:342).

himself to be puffed up withal; that all the *Glory* which proud Men reach after, is but *Vain-glory*. The Word here, is, *Empty Glory*.

v. 12. *Wherefore, work out your own Salvation.*

In times of Division, tis ordinary for People to be taken up with Trifles, & neglect the things wherein their Salvation is concerned.

And again, If People were more concerned about the Salvation of their Souls, there would be less Division & Contention carried on.

This Meditation, the Context leads us to.

v. 15. *That you may be Blameless & Harmless.*

When a Spirit of Strife is gott among any People, it will be hard for any who are engaged in the Strife, so to carry themselves as to be free from all *Blame* in their Conduct; Or to walk so tenderly & watchfully, but that they will do some unjust *Harm* unto some that are about them. Our Apostle presses us to live peaceably, that we may be *Blameless* and *Harmless*. Yea, it is intimated in the next Words, that the sinful Effects of *Strife*, will so darken Mens Evidences, that they will not be able to see themselves, the *Sons of God*.

v. 16. *That I may Rejoice in the Day of Christ.*

The Glory that shall be putt upon the Saints at the Day of Judgment, will add unto the Glory, & the glorious Joy of those Ministers, by whose Labours they were gained unto God.

v. 17. *If I be offered upon the Sacrifice of your Faith.*

[24v] Next unto the Sacrifice of Christ Himself upon the Cross, the most acceptable to God, is that of Christians, who are brought to Judge themselves, & are after a sort slain by the Ministry of the Word, and so driven to lay hold by Faith on the Sacrifice of their Saviour, & then offer up themselves wholly to be spent & wasted in the Service of the glorious Lord. Our Apostle, makes the Faith of the Christians, by which they gave themselves up to God in Christ, a *Sacrifice*. His own Ministry, (or *Service*) he makes the *Sacrificing Knife*, | which brought them to Dy unto Sin & Self. His own being *offered* upon it, is an Allusion to the *Libation of Wine* and *Oyl*, which was poured out upon the *Offering*, that it might be entire & compleat. The *Shedding of His Blood*, would perfect the *Sacrifice of their Faith*, or be a mighty Confirmation to it.

Ch. III.2. *Beware of the Concision.*

It is not unbelieving Piety, to use witty and pleasant Allusions; merry Words, & piercing Taunts, on proper Occasions. Thus, when the *Circumcision* is alluded unto, the Term of *Concision* is used allusively, but much to the Disadvantage of those concerned.

v. 15. *As many as are perfect, be thus minded.*

The greatest Perfection, to which we attain in this Life, is, To Renounce all Confidence in ourselves, & Rely wholly on our Saviour, & from a Sense of our own imperfection in Grace, to be constantly aspiring after a greater Measure. To be *thus minded* is the thing here præscribed unto the choicest Christians.

Ch. IV.5. *Lett your Moderation be known unto all Men; the Lord is at hand.*
We should remitt, what we may in exact Justice and Rigour lay claim to; And that from this Encouragement; *God is at hand*, & present in His powerful and merciful Providence, to Repair whatever Prejudice they may suffer, by their Christian Condescensions.

v. 6. *Lett your Requests be made known unto God.*

We should have no *Request*, or Desire, but what we are willing should be *known unto God*; none but what we may think, that God will approve of.

v. 7. *Keep your Hearts & Minds.*

All that is in Man, especially all the Faculties of the Soul, are so many Ports, to lett in dangerous Temptations. There needs a *Guard*, for the Defence of every Passage. Here is a Metaphor, from the Guards of Souldiers, at the Ports of Cities or Castles.

v. 15. *No Church communicated with me.*

A Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, who is taken up with a Desire after the Gaining of Souls, will digest many Unkindnesses.

v. 19. *My God shall supply all your need.*

The Promises of old made in the Scripture, are still in force. Our Apostle applies the Promise of the *Forty first Psalm*, unto the Charitable, made in *Davids* time.

v. 21. *Salute every Saint.*

Religion is no Enemy to Civility, but enjoins the Civility, by what Love among Men may be maintained.

Q. Saies Dr. *Hammond*, on certain Passages in this Chapter, (and many others in the Apostolical Writings,) *The Apostle refers to the Theology of the Gnosticks.*¹ He is ever now and then referring to the *Gnosticks*; His Expositions are mightily tintured with Conceits about the *Gnosticks*; The Inspired Epistles are supposed by him, to have a notable *Key* for the Sense and Scope of them, in the Hæresies of the *Gnosticks*; And indeed, he seems *Determined to know nothing so much as the Gnosticks*, and them as the Adversaries which above all were combated by the Apostles.² But shall we think of the Matter?

A. Think; That it is a Vanity incident unto some Learned Men, who have been at great Pains, in finding & finding of one useful Notion, to think it not useful enough unless almost all the Affairs of the Scriptures receive some Elucidations from it. The Scholars of the *Talmud*, and they that have waded into the *Zabian* Rites, are Instances, to confirm this Observation; and so is Hammond with the *Gnosticks*.³

But, after all, Tis very Quæstionable, whether the *Gnosticks* were a *Sect* of Men, that appeared in the World, until after the Writing of the *Pauline* Epistles, which our Doctor will have to refer unto them, as then existent, & infesting & infecting the Church of God: It is beyond all Quæstion, that the Name of *Gnosticks* was never taken up, till the *Second Century*; and therefore no Passages

1 Henry Hammond, *A Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the Books of the New Testament* (1653) (685ff). Hammond (1605–60) was an Anglican priest and chaplain to Charles I and ardent spokesman for the loyalist clergy during the Civil War and Interregnum, even though he had many close relatives involved in the Puritan cause, including one brother culpable of regicide. His collected works were published posthumously, including his *Paraphrase*. Hammond's theory about the influence of Gnosticism on the primitive church and on the authors of the New Testament is frequently targeted by Mather in the *Biblia*. On Hammond, see Packer, *The Transformation of Anglicanism 1643–1660* (88–103).

2 Although there is considerable debate about "Gnosticism" in contemporary scholarship and whether such an entity can be said to have existed as a coherent tradition or constellation of religious communities, the movement has been characterized as an esoteric form of religion relying on a secret wisdom or knowledge (*gnosis*) as the basis of salvation. Christian Gnosticism posited that Jesus had relayed a secret knowledge to certain followers, not to be found in the public teaching of orthodox churches, which centered around the idea that the material world had been created by an evil demiurge as a way to imprison souls and separate them from the true god. Only this secret knowledge, available to select initiates, could free the soul from its material bondage. See Rudolph, *Gnosis: the Nature and History of Gnosticism*.

3 The Sabians appear in medieval Islamic and Jewish literature as a Syro-Mesopotamian people whose religion has close mythic and ritual ties to Judaism and Christianity, though their precise historical and religious origins have not been clearly identified. The reference here is to John Spencer's *De legibus Hebraeorum*; on Spencer, and on Mather's own treatment of the Sabians, see Smolinski, *Mather and Biblia Americana* (295–335); and *BA* (1:878–9).

in the Epistles, could have any Glances and Censures upon the *Name*, as then used by any in the World.

Epiphanius himself, who gives the *Gnosticks* as early a Date, as any body, yett saies, That *Carpocrates* was the first, who invented & assumed, this Denomination for his Followers; and that he composed his Filthy System of Hæresies from the Dictates of no one particular *Hæresiarch*, but from a Number of them; such as *Nicolas*, and *Simon*, and *Menander*, and *Basilides*, and others. Now *Carpocrates* was a Spark, that appears not, until the *Second Century*, & in the Reign of the Emperour *Adrian*.⁴

If you consult *Augustin*, in his Book, *De Hæresibus*, c 6. you will find, That *Carpocrates* was then look'd upon, as the Father of the *Gnosticks*; the same then look'd on them as the Offspring of the *Nicolaitans*.⁵ And if you consult *Ireneus*, in L. I. *Adversus Hæreses*, you shall find, the *Gnosticks* to be counted the Disciples of *Carpocrates*; and *Marcellina*, who came to *Rome* in the Dayes of *Anicetus*, in the Second Century, was one of the First, who infected that City with their *Hæresies*.⁶

It was with very good Reason therefore, that Dr. *Cave* entitles the *Second Age*, the GHOSTICK AGE. We have *Tertullian* also on our Side; That the *Gnosticks*, as a Distinct Sect, began to have Notice taken of them, about A. C. 160.⁷

But if we should allow, That the *Gnosticks*, under some other Appellations, appeared about the Latter End of the Apostle *John's* Time, and that his First Epistle was written against them, as well as against *Ebion* and *Cerinthus*; yett this will hardly allow, That the Apostle *Paul* should mention them in his Epistles; for he was putt to death about the Thirteenth Year of *Nero's* Reign; A. C. 69. which was before the said Hæreticks could make any Figure in the world.⁸

4 Epiphanius of Salamis (c. 320–403 CE), author of the *Panarion* or “Medicine Chest” (377 CE) against heresies; see *ERE* (198). Carpocrates is thought to date from the first half of the second century; see *NCE* (3:174). The “Nicolas” mentioned in Acts 6:5 as one of the first deacons in the early church is often identified by patristic writers as the founder of the Nicolaitans, a heretical sect first mentioned in Rev. 2:6, 14–15. Simon (Magus) appears in Acts 8:9ff as a converted magician who tries to purchase the Holy Spirit from Peter; he too is identified by the church fathers as a founder of Gnosticism. Menander was thought to be the successor to Simon Magus; see *NSHERK* (7:296). Basilides was an early second century Egyptian Gnostic active during Hadrian's reign; see *NCE* (2:148–9).

5 Carpocrates is actually the subject of the 7th chapter of Augustine's *De hæresibus* (c. 429 CE); see Augustine, *Works* I.18 (35).

6 See Ireneus, *Against Heresies*, *ANF* (1:350–1). Ireneus was a 2nd-century bishop of Lyon and anti-Gnostic polemicist; see *NCE* (7:570–1).

7 William Cave (1637–1713), Anglican priest and patristic scholar. He published *Apostolici* (1662), a history of the lives of church fathers; this was expanded into *Antiquitates Apostolici* (1676), which included the lives of the apostles and apostolic martyrs. Cave also published *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia literæ* (1688). On Cave, see *ODNB* (10:604–5).

8 Cerinthus (c. 100 CE) is identified in patristic literature as one of the earliest heresiarchs, one who was partial to the Mosaic law; Ebion was his reputed successor and the eponymic

The Highest Antiquity, that even Dr. *Hammond* himself, can pretend for his *Gnosticks*, is, That *Simon Magus* was the Father and Founder of the Sect. But then, methinks, the Annotator does a little confute himself, and his own Annotations. For, he tells us, The *Man of Sin* FORETOLD, 2. Thess. 2.3, intends no other, than *Simon* and his *Gnosticks*. If *Simon* was the *Antichrist foretold*, certainly, he was not yett come, so as to broach his Hæresies, and use his Sorceries. Our Doctor finds the *Gnosticks* ever now and then, before their first Father appeared. It is true, *Simon* was in the Apostles' Time; and if we should own that the *Gnosticks* began then to show themselves, yet their Contagion could not be then spread so far, that the Apostle should have Occasion in almost every Chapter of his Epistles, to take notice of them.

However, to *Me* it seems as proper to fetch the *Gnosticks* from the *Old Serpent*, as from *Old Simon*. And I beleeve another Sect, very rife in our Dayes, (and among the Clergy too) have more of Relation to *Simon*, than the *Gnosticks*.⁹ I am the more dull, at receiving all the Stories, which the Fathers have told us, about *Simon*, because of | the palpable Mistakes, which I find in some of them. You have often heard the Tradition, of a Statue erected unto *Simon* at *Rome*, with this Inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*.¹⁰ The Original of this Tradition, was doubtless a Misapplication which those good Men made, of quite another Matter. The ancient Romans worshipped a God, called, SEMON; whom you find mention'd by *Livy*, L. VIII. in these Terms; *Bona Semoni Sango censuerunt consecranda*.¹¹ And *Sangus* is mention'd as a God of the *Sabines*, by both *Lactantius*, and *Augustin*. There stood by the *Tyber*, a Statue erected unto that God, with this Inscription, SEMONI DEO SANCTO; which *Baronius* affirms, was found in the *Tyber*, under the Pontificate of *Gregory XIII*. The Christians ignorantly took advantage from SEMON, to make SIMON a God among the *Romans*.¹²

founder of the Ebionites, a second-century Jewish Christian group – both figures are placed by sources well after Nero's reign (54–68 CE). See *NSHERK* (2:496–7).

9 Mather may have in mind here the Quakers, who were anathematized by other Protestants as, among other things, modern-day Gnostics. See, for example, Herbert Thorndike's *Discourse of the Forbearance or Penalties which a due Reformation requires* (1670), p. 188.

10 "To Simon the sacred god." PLEASE NOTE: As a general rule, translations of Hebrew, Greek and Latin are rendered in the footnotes; when these are not provided, it indicates that the translation Mather has provided in the text is correct.

11 "They thought [his] property should be consecrated to holy Semon." This passage from *Livy* describes the revolt of the city of Privernum (330 BCE); having defeated the city, the Romans elected to destroy the house of the ringleader, Vitruvius Vaccus, and see "his goods dedicated to Semo Sangus" (the god of oaths, at times identified with Hercules). See *Livy, Ab Urbe Condita* (8.20.10–12). *Livy* (64 BCE–17 CE) was one of Rome's greatest historians and a personal advisor to the imperial family; see *ERE* (327–8).

12 *Lactantius, Divine Institutes, ANF* (7:9ff). *Lactantius* (c. 240–320 CE) was a Roman rhetorician who survived the Diocletian persecutions and became a confidant of Constantine; see *NCE* (8:274). Cardinal Caesar Baronius (1538–1607), whose history of the church (*Annales Ecclesiastici*, 1588–1607) was a response to Protestant historiography; see *NCE* (2:105–6). Justin Martyr mentions this statue as standing beside the Tiber River; see his *First Apology*,

You have also heard the Tradition, of *Simons* pretending to fly, supported by Two *Dæmons*, who at the Prayers of *Peter* and *Paul* unto Heaven, deported him; whereupon he fell down, and broke his Neck before all the People. *Sulpicius Severus* tells it, with much Punctuality.¹³ But *Augustin* confesses, that many of the *Romans* took it for no other than a Fable. Doubtless you have the first Rise of the Fable, in *Suetonius's* Twelfth Chapter of *Nero*; where describing the *Sports*, ordered by *Nero*, he relates this particularly; That he would have the Fable of *Icarus* repræsented; *Cæterum Icarus primo statim conatu, iuxta cubiculum ejus decedit, ipsumque cruore respersit.*¹⁴ The Christians on this Occasion would have *Icarus* to be *SIMON*, who, poor Man, was a Stranger to the whole business. And yett, he may be as much akin to *Simon*, or *Icarus*; as ever he was unto the *Gnosticks*.

Upon the whole; I will maintain the Opinion of *Daneus*; That the *Gnosticks* were a Sect of Hæreticks, distinct both from the *Nicolaitans*, and from their Successors, the *Carpocratians*; tho' the *River* of their Wickedness, running unto the *Dead Sea* of Perdition, might (as I may say,) like another *Jordan*, arise from those two Fountains.¹⁵ The Sect began, about the Beginning of the Reign of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, the Philosopher; & *L. Verus*; which was about 130 Years after the Resurrection of our Saviour: and the *Pauline* Epistles by Consequence, had no Relation unto them, any more than unto the *Quakers*.¹⁶

I will, by the way, observe to you, That the Impious Attempts, of *Grotius* to find the *Man of Sin*, in *C. Caligula*, and of *Le Clerc*, to find him in *Simon of Giora*; and of *Hammond*, to find him, in *Simon Magus*, and his *Gnosticks*, are no other, than wretched Essayes, to prosecute the Plott of a Conciliation with the *Church* (distinguished from the *Court*), of *Rome*, of later time carried on among some spurious *Protestants*. These Gentlemen see, That we shall never conciliate

ANF (1:171) (its base was retrieved from the river in 1574). Martyr was an important patristic apologist for Christianity; see *NCE* (8:93–5).

¹³ *Sulpicius Severus* (c. 363–425), *Chronica, sive historia sacra* (403 CE), in *NPNFii* (11:110). *Severus* was a Gallic scholar and presbyter from Tours; see *ERE* (502).

¹⁴ “Icarus, on the first attempt, fell by the emperor’s viewing-box and spattered the emperor with his blood.” See *Suetonius, Lives of the Caesars* (6.12.1–3). *Suetonius* (c. 69–122 CE) was a Roman historian; see *ERE* (516).

¹⁵ *Lambert Daneau* (1535–1590); *Daneau* was a student of Calvin’s, who spent most of his career as a pastor, although he was professor of theology at *Leiden* for one year; see *HDRC* (133). *Mather* owned three of *Daneau’s* works. If one of these is the source here, it is most likely *In Pauli priorem Epistolam ad Timotheum* (1577). See *Tuttle, Libraries of the Mathers* (57). Other possibilities (not listed in *Mather’s* library holdings) would include *Paratitla* (1578), which examines a number of Christian heresies, and *Methodus sacrae scripturae* (1579), an exegetical work.

¹⁶ *Marcus Aurelius* (121–180 CE), emperor and Stoic and author of *Meditations*; see *ERE* (349–51). *Lucius Verus* (130–169 CE), co-emperor with *Aurelius* from 161–169 CE; see *ERE* (573–4).

with *Rome*, while we see *Antichrist* there; and therefore they have used so many, so shameful, & so profane Attempts, to fabricate another *Antichrist*.¹⁷

And now, since we have thus far animadverted on Dr. *Hammond*, I will take the Leave to bestow one Animadversion more; which may serve indeed, but as a Continuation of the former. The Gentleman ha's his Mind so fixed on, The *Destruction of Jerusalem*, that he will strangely force many Texts, to look that way which most certainly, were not (or, at least, not mainly) so intended by the Spirit of God. Thus according to him, The *Great Salvation*, [Heb. 2.3.] is, the *Saving* of the Christian Converts, from their Enemies, the Jewes, by the Destruction of them in *Jerusalem*, when the City was taken. Yea, according to him, *Receiving the End of your Faith, the Salvation of your Souls*; [1 Pet. 1.9.] is meant of this Temporal Deliverance. *Judes common Salvation*, is of the same Import with him. Nay, he will scarcely admitt the Word, *σωτηρια*, and, *σωζεσθαι*, in the New Testament any where to be meant of *Spiritual & Eternal Salvation*.¹⁸ Thus, with him, *The Election of Grace*, [Rom. 11.5.] means, The few Jewes, that escaped the common Destruction of *Jerusalem*. And, *Make your Election sure*, [2 Pet. 1.10.] was, to make sure of being rescued from the *General Slaughter*, at the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. The Deliverance from thence, is, with him, *The Day dawning, & the Day-star arising in their Hearts*. [2 Pet. 1.19.] And, *The Coming of Christ*, he interprets concerning this Deliverance.

But here is enough, of so *Ungrateful* a Subject. You know how to treat it,¹⁹ so that it shall not be an *Unuseful* one.²⁰

17 Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), Dutch lawyer and religious controversialist, wrote a number of works defending the Christian religion as well as biblical interpretation, including his *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (1641); see *NSHERK* (5:85–86). Jean Le Clerc (1657–1736), Swiss Reformed cleric and scholar who served as a professor at the Remonstrant seminary in Amsterdam. Le Clerc wrote broadly in philosophy, theology, history, and biblical studies. His monographic works of biblical interpretation included *Sentimens de quelques theologiens de Hollande sur l'histoire du Vieux Testament* (1685), which included an essay englished as *Five Letters Concerning the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures* (1690); commentaries on each of the books of the Pentateuch (1693ff); and *Harmonia evangelica* (1700; English, *The Harmony of the Evangelists*, 1701). In 1698 he published *A Supplement to Dr. Hammond's Paraphrase and Annotations on the New Testament* (1698). In general his interpretive method is rationalist, modernist, and text-critical; see Golden, *Jean Le Clerc*. Simon bar Giora appears in Josephus' *Jewish Wars* (2.19.2) as a commoner who led a faction of Jewish fighters against the Romans; he also plundered the citizens of Jerusalem before eventually becoming one of the leaders during the siege of 70 CE. Thus he was revered in quasi-messianic terms, while simultaneously hated for his rapacious cruelty against fellow Jews, making him a potential type for the Antichrist.

18 Literally, "salvation" (σωτηρια) and "save from death" (σωζεσθαι). Mather's criticism of Hammond here is that the latter is taking such terms exclusively in their secular meaning, rather than allowing that the New Testament authors used them as theological (i. e. spiritual) terms.

19 See Appendix A.

20 Mather takes issue with Hugo Grotius (defended and followed by Hammond), who argues that there is no future conflagration of the Earth to be expected, for the destruction here foretold refers solely to the destruction of Jerusalem in 69/70 CE by the Romans. Both Grotius

Q. Mention, if you please, one special Reason besides those commonly given, why the *Inheritance of the Saints*, is said to be, *In Light?* v. 12.

A. It is the singular Property of the *Heavenly Inheritance*, That *multitudo possessorum non imminuit hereditarem singulorum*.²¹ The Saints do All of them *Inherit all things*; and no One has the *Less*, because *Another* does *Inherit All*. The Expression of *Light*, is an admirable Illustration of this comfortable Observation. *Every One* enjoys the whole Noon-day *Light*; and, the *Light* enjoy'd by *Any One*, is not one Jott the less, because it is enjoy'd by *Every One*; *Lucem meridianam quivis totam usurpat*.²²

Q. Some *Jewish Thoughts* upon it?

A. The Jewes have a Tradition, concerning the *Light* created on the *First Day*; That because of the Corruption of Men, tis *hidden* from the World. According to that, Job. XXXVIII.15. *From the Wicked, their Light is withholden*. They say, Tis lodged in the Garden of *Eden*; and for that they quote; Psal. XCVII.11. *Light is sown for the Righteous*.

In *Midras Koboeth*, or Eccl. XI. 7., *The Light is Sweet*; there is brought a Saying of R. Akiba. *Dulcis est lux mundi futuri; Beatus est qui dignus habebitur, ut Lucem istam videat*.²³

It is plain, That God is praised there, for granting unto *Gentile Christians*, the Promise of *Inheriting* the Happiness of the Heavenly World, with the Glorified Saints; as the Jews formerly had for the Promised Land of *Canaan*.

How proper the Mention of, *A Father*, when an *Inheritance* is to be spoken of!

and Hammond thus historicize the prophecy of a future conflagration (at the beginning of the millennium). They argue that this prophecy was fulfilled long ago. Mather also raises the same issue in his *Trip Paradise*, where he argues for a future conflagration – even though the one in 69/70 CE may have been a “smaller” fulfillment (or type) of it. Mather thus introduces a double fulfillment of certain prophecies (see his “Key to the Prophecies” in the *Trip Paradise*). In effect, Mather’s double fulfillment attempts to preserve this prophecy by modifying the use of typology, so as to turn what would otherwise have been an allegorical fulfillment into a literal one. (This note courtesy of Reiner Smolinski). Mather’s eschatological views, here and elsewhere in the *Biblia*, receive a systematic and comprehensive treatment in his *Trip Paradise* (1726).

21 “The multitude of possessors does not decrease the inheritance of any individual.”

22 “Everyone enjoys the whole mid-day light.” See Jacob Alting, *Opera Omnia theologia analytica, Tomus Tertius ... ad Romanus* (80) on Rom. 8:17, from which these Latin citations are drawn. (My thanks to Reiner Smolinski for identifying this citation.)

23 “Sweet is the light of the world to come, and blessed is he who will be considered worthy to see that light.” The *Midrash Kobolet* is a rabbinic commentary on Ecclesiastes dating from the 6th century CE. Rabbi Akiva (c. 50–133 CE) was a major source of the content of the *Mishna*; see *EJ* (1:562–3).

3187.

Q. How is our Lord called, *The First-born of every Creature?* v. 15.

A. There is one Mr. *Fleming*, who reads it, *The First-producer of every Creature*. And that he may satisfy the World, he gives this Account of it.

“It is plain, here is a twofold Account of *Christ*. The *first* is of Christ, as *God*, or the eternal *λογος* (which the Chaldee Paraphrase seem to call frequently, the *Shekinah*, or *Memrah Jehovah*,) in the 15, 16, and 17 Verses.²⁴ The *Second* is of Christ as *Mediator*, v. 18, 19. In both these respects, He is called, *πρωτοτοκος*,²⁵ and hence some explain the *First* of these Accounts, by the *Second*. But this is such a Force on the Words, that even *Le Clerc* deserts and contradicts *Grotius* and Dr. *Hammond* on this Head. And had he observed the true import of *πρωτοτοκος* in this Place, he had further confirmed what he saies. I shall not debate here, what the Antiquity of the *Greek Accents* is; but it is sufficiently known, That our Ancient Copies of the New Testament, are without either Accents, or other Points: And therefore, we are left at Liberty, as the Sense leads us, to putt the *Accent* here, either upon the first, or the last *Omikron*. The word *πρωτοτοκος* tho’ often taken in a *Passive* Sense, is also sometimes taken in an *Active* one. [He brings an Instance, from *Homer*, Il. 17. L. 5.]²⁶ And that therefore we take the Word in this Sense here, the Scope of the Apostle constrains us. For pray, what Argument is this? *Christ is the First-born of Creatures; for He made them all*. Besides that, to be the *First-born* of Creatures, seems to import no more than this, That Christ is a Creature, tho’ the *first produced* of them. But this is strong Sense; *Christ is the first Producer, Bringer-forth, or Original of every Creature*; or, He is, as it were, the *Womb and Source* of all things; *For by Him were all things created*. If *Athanasius*, and the *Nicene Council*, had not understood the Apostle in this Sense, with what face could they have urged this Scripture against the *Arians*, as I find they did? See *Athan. Narrat. De Con. Nic.* Tom. 1.²⁷ And if *Origen* had not also understood this Word so, to what Purpose had he made use of it, to prove that Christ was the Beginning and Original of the World? When he saies, *Quod est omnium principium, nisi Dominus noster Iesus Christus*,

²⁴ *λογος*; “word.” The “Chaldee Paraphrase” (known in Judaism as the *Targum Jonathan*) was an Aramaic translation of the biblical prophets intended for use in liturgical settings; see *EJ* (11:398). The *memrah Jehovah*, or “word of God,” is a term found in the *Targum Jonathan* describing God’s self-revelation.

²⁵ *πρωτότοκος*; “first-born.”

²⁶ See *Homer, Iliad* 17.5 (2:230).

²⁷ *Athanasius, Decrees of the Council of Nicaea* (c. 353 CE), *NPNFii* (4:161). Athanasius was bishop of Alexandria and chief proponent of Nicene orthodoxy against the Arians; see *NCE* (1:817–20).

πρωτοτοκος *omnis creaturae*?²⁸ Orig. Hom. i in Gen. The Word therefore should be rendred, *primipara*, and not *primogenitus*.²⁹

Thus Mr. Fleming wrote, in a lesser Treatise called, *Theocratia*. He some Years after confirmed it, in a larger Treatise, called, *Christologia*; having then found the Authority of *Isidorus Pelusiota*, for this Interpretation.³⁰

1701.

Q. When the Apostle calls our Lord Jesus Christ, *The First-born of every Creature*, is there any Passage of the Old Testament, which may bee therein alluded unto? v. 15.

A. Yes. Doubtless that in Psal. 89.27. *I will make Him, my First-born, Higher than the Kings of the Earth*. Now take your Time, to consult that Psalm, for a further *Illustration* of our Context.

This we may take for granted. If we keep the Word, *First-born*; still, He that is the *First-born* of the Creation, because He created all things, cannot Himself be any *Part* of the Creation. *But, The First-born of every Creature*, may | be the same that the Apostle elsewhere styles, *The Heir of all things*. According [4v] to *Justinian, Pro Hærede se gerere, est pro Domino gerere; veteres enim Hæredes pro Dominis appellabant*. Justit. L.2. Tit. 19, §. 6.³¹

[▽Insert from 5r]

[▽5r]

Q. Some further Sentiments on our SAVIOUR, as the *First-born of every Creature*? v. 15.

A. One who writes well upon it, observes; First, If we refer it unto the *Seniority* of a *First-born*, as most of the Fathers do, we may say, that our Apostle calls our SAVIOUR, *The First-born of every Creature*, because the FATHER Begat Him, before He had made any Creature, that is to say, from all Eternity. [See Prov. VIII.22.] And therefore our Apostle does not say, That He was *Created* before all things, as He would have done, if he had looked on Him as a *Creature*: But, that He is the *First-born*, or the *First-begotten of every Creature*, because he considers

28 “What could be the beginning of all things except our Lord Jesus Christ, the first-born, the original of every creature?” Origen, *Homilies on Genesis and Exodus* (47). Origen (c. 184–254 CE) was one of the great theological architects of early Christianity whose heterodox ideas on some subjects (e.g. the Trinity) led to his posthumous branding as a heretic; see *NCE* (10:653–7).

29 “‘One who has brought forth,’ and not ‘first born.’” *Ibid*.

30 Robert Fleming (c. 1660–1716), *Theokratia, or the Divine Government of Nations* (1699); and *Christology* (1705). His father Robert (1630–94) was also a Scottish Presbyterian minister; his *Fulfilling of the Scripture* (1671) appears in Mather’s library, with Increase Mather’s inscription. See Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (61). On the Flemings, see *ODNB* (20:70–2). Isidorus Pelusiota was a 5th-century monk and hermit from Alexandria; see *NSHERK* (6:46–7).

31 “To act as heir is to act as owner, for the ancients designated ‘heirs’ as ‘owners.’” From the *Corpus juris civilis: Enactments of Justinian* (2.19.6) (“Concerning the Different Kinds of Heirs”) of emperor Justinian I (r. 527–565).

Him as æqual to His Eternal FATHER; *Begotten*, in respect of His Nature; first, upon the Account of His *Eternity*, in regard of which, He infinitely excells all Creatures; inasmuch as they all had a Beginning. Such a Sense as this is very good; but it seems not well to stand with what is anon added; That He is *before all things*; and would force in something like a Tautology.

And therefore, Secondly, Lett us rather say, That the Apostle here has more peculiarly a respect unto the *Dignity* of the *First-born*. So this Title, *The First-born of every Creature*, intends the Sovereign *Authority*, which our SAVIOUR has over *every Creature* | in Allusion to the *Power* which the *First-born*, according to the Practice of the Patriarchs, had over his younger Brethren. As the *First-born* had a *Dominion* over His Brethren, so has JESUS CHRIST over *all the Creatures*. The Term of, *The First-born*, is in the Scripture putt often, to signify, a *Lord*, or, *Master*. [See Psal. LXXXIX.27.] So, Job. XVIII.13. *The First-born of Death*, denotes him who has the Empire of Death. So then, *The First-born of every Creature*, is as much as to say, The Lord and Master of every Creature. Compare, Heb. I.2.

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽7r] [▽Insert from 7r]

Q. A Remark on this Passage, *All things created By Him, and For Him?* v. 16.

A. It is an Observation of our incomparable *Boyl*, That the Almighty in some Texts of the Scripture ha's express'd Himself in such a Manner, as the most Sagacious Readers could give no Account for, until the arising of some *Hæresy* or other, in the Succeeding Ages, which discovered that those Expressions were designed by the Divine Providence, on purpose to overthrow those Hæresies. He gives an Instance, in those Words of our Saviour on the *Cup* in the Holy Supper, *Drink ye ALL of it*; purposely levelled against the Sacriledge of the Church of *Rome*, which denies the *Cup* unto the *Laiety*.³²

Behold, Another Instance. The *Arians* arise, and maintain, that our Saviour acted no otherwise than as the *Minister* of His Father in the *Creating* of the World. This is the Sense they putt on what is here said, *BY Him, were all things created*: Tho' the *Creator* of the World expressly says, *He stretched out the Heavens ALONE, & spread abroad the Earth BY HIMSELF*; There was no *Instrument* used in it. But now observe the surprising Addition of that Clause; *And FOR HIM*. [▽8v] A *Minister* | may do an Act; but then he does it not *For himself*; no, but for Him that commissions him. When a Person acts *for himself*, he ceases to be a *Minister*,

³² Robert Boyle (1627–91), founder of modern chemistry and an important lay theologian. Boyle wrote a number of substantive theological works, including *The Christian Virtuoso* (1690), *Some Considerations touching upon the Style of the Holy Scriptures* (1661), and *The Reconcilableness of Reason and Religion* (1675). The *Christian Virtuoso* provided the model for Mather's own *Christian Philosopher*. On Boyle, see ODNB (7:100–8).

or a Substitute. Our Saviour acted *For Himself*, in the Creating of the World; and this declares Him to be the very GOD, who is the *Last-End* of all.

[△Insert ends, 4v resumes]

[△]

Q. *Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, Powers.* v. 16.

A. In Humane Polity, there are THRONES, *Quales sunt Regum et Monarcharum.* DOMINIONS, *Quales sunt Regulorum.* PRINCIPALITIES, *Quales sunt qui a Regibus et Regulis, præficiuntur provinciis.* POWERS, *Quales sunt Magistratus infimo loco constituti.*³³

Q. *The First-born from the Dead?* v. 18.

A. What if it be taken so? Declared and Confirmed the *Lord* and *Governour* of the Church, by the Resurrection from *the Dead*.

[▽Insert from 9r]

[▽9r]

Q. On that, *It has pleased the Father, that in Him should all Fulness dwell?* v. 19.

A. That Word, *The Father*, is a Word of Supply, inserted by our Translators. And, Mr. *John Reynolds*, in his *Enquiries Concerning the State of the Angelical Worlds*, observes, That it may appear both Pity and Præsumption to decline a Supplement that hath so much to say for itself, & hath so good Authority of excellent Interpreters to support it. Be sure, the Supplement here proposed has in it, nothing but what is agreeable to the Sacred Scriptures. But yett this Gentleman candidly enquires, Whether the Current of the Apostles Discourse will not run smooth without it.³⁴

Is there not a Person immediately mentioned in the Context unto whom this *ευδοκία* may very properly agree? May we not suppose that One & the Same Person is admired in the Context for his Great Intentions and Achievements; from the Fourteenth Verse to the Twenty-fifth? Is not His Dignity, and Amplitude of Power and Goodness & Glory celebrated, in the Passage to which the Supplement is desired? There it is He, who *is the Head of the Body*, which will anon be found a very Illustrious One, the Church; who in the *Beginning*, & in His Humane Nature, the Principal One of the *Creation*; and in His Divine Nature gave a *Beginning* to the Creation; who is *the First-born from the Dead*, and so the Lord of them; That *in all things* & over all States & Masters & Persons *He may have the Preheminence*. Can it now be unsuitable to say, [or, will not the Current of the Discourse appear a little unsmooth, if Another Person be inserted

³³ THRONES, “such as kings and monarchs”; DOMINIONS, “such as petty kings”; PRINCIPALITIES, “such as those that are made masters of provinces by kings or petty kings”; and POWERS, “such as the magistrates assigned to the lowest station.”

³⁴ Mather’s extract is from John Reynolds, *Inquiries concerning the State and Oeconomy of the Angelical Worlds* (1723) (78–9), a work which appears in Mather’s library; see Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (80). Reynolds (1667–1727) was a Dissenting minister; see *ODNB* (46:544–5).

in the next Clause?] that in the next Place it should follow, *And He was pleased, that all Fulness should dwell in Him?*

Tis plain, That the Syntax will admitt, that it should be the Son, who has *made the Peace*, which is next immediately spoken of. If, *The Father*, be inserted, we must presently change the Person again. For, who is it, that *Reconciles* us, & *by the Body of His own Flesh, does present us Holy?*

2477.

Q. How can it be said, That *God has by Christ (& by the Blood of His Cross) Reconciled ALL THINGS unto Himself? The Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, and Powers*, comprehended expressly in this, *ALL Things*, how can they be *Reconciled?* v. 20.

A. The Word used here, ἀποκαταλλάξαι,³⁵ is admirably accommodable. It doth not always præsuppose *Enmity*, but more generally signify; upon a sort of Commutation, or valuable Consideration, to procure, or make a Thing *more firmly* ones own, or *assure it unto himself*.

{xxx} ³⁶

Q. A little further?

A. The word, Ἀποκαταλλάξαι, say *Hesychius*, and *Suidas*, and, *Phavorinus*, it signifies φιλοποιῆσαι. *To make Friends*, or to Reduce Persons unto their former Amity.³⁷

When *Men* became Disobedient unto their Sovereign Lord, the *Angels* conceived an Aversion for them. God being Reconciled unto us by the Death of our Lord Jesus Christ, the *Angels* became our Friends, & minister now our Good, & we become of the same Church & Body with them, under the Same Head, our Lord Jesus Christ. See Eph. 1.10.

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽10v△] [▽Insert from 10v] [blank] [4v resumes]

Q. How are we *Enemies to God in our Minds by Wicked Works?* v. 21.

A. This is a very observable thing; and, oh! how sadly experimented!

³⁵ "To reconcile."

³⁶ See Appendix A.

³⁷ Ἀποκαταλλάξαι and φιλοποιῆσαι both signify "to make peace, or reconcile" (Col. 1:20). *Hesychius Lexicon A–Ω* (Alphabetic letter *alpha* entry 6374 line 1); the same appears in *Suda, Lexicon* [Alphabetic letter *alpha* entry 3338 line 1]. *Hesychius of Alexandria*, a 5th-century CE lexicographer, whose *Synagogue* compiled a list of some 50,000 words in the Greek language; see *NSHERK* (5:258). "Suidas" was taken to be the putative author of a Greek reference work known as the *Souda* (Σοῦδα), an apparent conflation of the title with the author. The *Souda* contains some 30,000 entries on Greek language, literature, and history, and was compiled in the 10th century, largely under Constantine VII (912–959). See "Suidas," *OCCL* (electronic). *Favorinus of Arelata* (80–160 CE) was a Skeptic who taught at Rome; see *ERE* (209).

Man becomes *an Enemy* to God in his *Mind*. If it be asked, How and whence this *Enmity* arises? It is answered, Thro' *Wicked Works*. As if the Apostle had said, so Mr. *Tho. Blackwel*, in his *Ratio sacra*, paraphrases, That Man by his Natural Love to Sin, and in daily Practising of it, thereby makes first his Conscience guilty; & then his guilty Conscience, causes a Wise, Holy, Just and Powerful God, to become terrible unto him, upon which, the Issue of all is, Man seeing God an Enemy to him, he thereupon becomes an Enemy to God.³⁸

4468.

Q. What may be meant, by, *The Afflictions of Christ?* v. 24.

A. Our Lord has told us, That what is done unto His Members is done unto Him. [See Mat. 25.40, 45. with Act. 9.15.]

The *Jewes* do speak much about the *Afflictions of Christ*, & His Disciples, comprehending both under the Name of /חבלי משיח/, *The Afflictions of the Messiah*.³⁹ They divide them into Three Parts; of which, they say, The *Fathers* and the preceding Generation, suffered One Part. Another Part was suffered by the *Generation of Destruction*; that is to say, by the *Jewes* whom *Titus* destroy'd. A Third Part, is to be suffered by the *Generation of the Messiah*, or by His Disciples.

Now, saies the Apostle; of these *Afflictions of the Messiah*, I have already had a Share, & am going on to have more, in the Discharge of my Ministry.

Take the Exposition of *Lyranus*. *Passiones Christi dupliciter accipiuntur; uno modo, pro illis, quas sustinuit in Corpore Proprio; et sic nihil ibi restat adimplendum: Alio modo, quas in finem usque Seculi patietur in Corpore Mystico; et sic restant multarum passionum reliquæ adimplendæ.*⁴⁰

Q. But is not here an Intimation, That the *Merits* of the *Sufferings* of the *Martyrs*, are added unto the *Merits* of the *Sufferings* of our *Saviour* for the Church? v. 24.

A. No. The *Hysteremata*, which we render, *That which is behind*, signifies, the *Empty Spaces* of a *Seal*, which the *Wax* filling up, receives the Impression thereof. As one that writes, *A Præparation for Martyrdom*, observes, it imports no more

³⁸ Thomas Blackwell, *Ratio sacra, or an Appeal unto the Rational World, about the Reasonableness of Revealed Religion* (1710). Blackwell (c. 1660–1728) was a Scottish Presbyterian minister and later a professor of divinity at the University of Aberdeen. On Blackwell, see *ODNB* (6:30–1).

³⁹ חבלי משיח (afflictions of the Messiah).

⁴⁰ “The sufferings of Christ are understood in two ways: in one way, as those which he sustained in his own body on behalf of others, and thus nothing there remains to be fulfilled; in another way, those he will endure unto the end of the world in his mystical body, and thus what remains of many sufferings are yet to be fulfilled.” Nicholas of Lyra (1270–1349), a Franciscan biblical scholar at Sorbonne and an early proponent of Christian Hebraism, utilizing rabbinic sources in his exegesis. His major interpretive work is *Postillæ perpetuæ in universam Sacra Scripturam*; see *NSHERK* (7:99).

than our Apostles being conformed unto the Sufferings of Christ, as the Impress of the *Wax*, to the Carving of the *Seal*.⁴¹

2436.

Q. What Remarks have you to make upon that Word, *The Dispensation of God?* v. 25.

A. It is Remarkable, That the *Incarnation* of the Son of God, is peculiarly called, by the Name of *οικονομία*, or, *The Dispensation*, in the New Testament. And it is yett more singularly applied, unto the Declaring and Publishing that *Mystery*, by the Apostle. [compare Eph. 1.10. and Eph. 3.2. and 1 Cor. 9.17.]

It is worth observing, how the ancient Christians accordingly, called, The Appearing of the *Messiah* in *Flesh*, by the Name of, *The Dispensation*. Sometimes tis barely called, *οικονομία*, by *Eusebius*, by *Theodoret*, by *Chrysostome*, & by *Epiphanius*. And sometimes with some Additions; Thus by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, tis called, *ἡ κατὰ σάρκα οἰκονομία*, *The Dispensation according to the Flesh*. By *Athanasius* tis called, *ἡ κατὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον οἰκονομία τοῦ λόγου*, *The Dispensation of the Word, according to Man*; and *ἄνθρωπινη οἰκονομία*, *The Humane Dispensation*. By *Basil* tis called, *οἰκονομία τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως*, *The Dispensation of the Manhood*. And {*Chrysostom*}⁴² calls it, *The Dispensation of the Mediator*,⁴³ and *The Glorious Saving Dispensation*. The whole *Mystery of Redemption*, is indeed by the *Greek Fathers* called, *οικονομία*. And some of the *Latin Fathers* also, use the Word *Oeconomia*, in this Emphatical Way. Thus did *Hilary*; And *Jerom* complaining of *Apollinaris*, for Denying the Assumption of the Humane Nature in our Lord, saies, *Dimidiatam Christi introduxit oeconomiam*.⁴⁴

⁴¹ See Appendix B. Zachary Cawdrey, *A Preparation for Martyrdom* (1681). Cawdrey (1616–84) was an Anglican cleric but one who adopted an irenic attitude towards Dissenters after the Restoration. On Cawdrey, see *ODNB* (10:683–4).

⁴² See Appendix A.

⁴³ See Appendix A.

⁴⁴ “He introduced the halved division of Christ.” Jerome (347–420), author of the Latin Vulgate as well as many works on biblical interpretation; also a strong proponent of Nicene Christology, the subject in view here; see *NCE* (7:757–59). Eusebius (c. 260–340), bishop of Caesarea; his most fully developed work on Christology is the *Praeparatio evangelica*; see *NCE* (5:541–3). Theodoret (c. 393–457), bishop in Syria and an early defender of Nestorius on Christ’s two natures; see *NCE* (13:878–79). John Chrysostom (347–407), archbishop of Constantinople, whose hundreds of extant sermons include a number on the Pauline epistles; see *NSHERK* (3:72–5). This reference is from the *Fourth Homily on Colossians*; see *NPNFi* (13:275–9). On Epiphanius, see Mather’s first entry on Col. 1 (above). Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–215), whose *Paedagogus* treats Christology; see *NCE* (3:797–9). On Athanasius, see Mather’s entry on 1:15 (above). Basil (330–379), bishop in Asia Minor and author of several anti-Arian works; see *NCE* (2:135–9). Hilary (c. 300–368), bishop of Poitiers, author of *De Trinitate*; see *NCE* (6:828–9).

Q. Your *Order*? v. 5.

A. Ταξις, is a Military Term.⁴⁵ Tis the Order of Souldiers in a Band, keeping Rank & File, where Every One keeps his Place, follows his Leader, observes the Word of Command, & his Right hand Man. On which, Mr. *Chauncey* observes, There is nothing more comely than a Church thus walking in *Order*.⁴⁶

Q. What might be the *Vain Philosophy*, whereof the Apostle advises, *Beware lest any Man spoil you through it*? v. 8.

A. I snatch at an Occasion, of introducing into our *Biblia Americana*, the Mention of one of the most wonderful Authors in the World. It is Mr. *John Troughton*. A Gentleman, who was *Blind* from his Infancy; and yett the astonishing Author of Several Treatises, full of exquisite Learning, Reason, and Reading, & Piety. This *Illuminated* Person, in a Discourse, *Touching the Providence of God about Sinful Actions*, has this Passage.⁴⁷

“The *Platonists* seem there to be intended, who were most in repute with the *Græcians*, & who did philosophize most, about *God*, and the *Angels*; tho’ they had nothing to guide them, in their Search of them, but the weak, dim, Lamp of Corrupted Reason, and the Rotten Clew of Tradition; which was so often broken, & so ill tied together again, that it could seldome guide them to Truth, & then but uncertainly. It was *Platonic Philosophy*, that first corrupted *Christian Divinity*; & was the Root, whence sprang all the Ill Weeds of *Pelagianism*. And I cannot think, but they are more or less addicted to *Pelagius*, who in these Dayes, would fain have *Plato* Baptised, & made a good Christian; yea, and examine some of the most abstruse Points of Christianity, by *Plato’s* Principles. Of this kind is that of *Gods seeing infinite Congruities in things, which inclines Him to act thus & thus*. And hence they measure *God*, by the Nature of *Man*.”

Q. Why does the Apostle, decrying the *Vain Philosophy*, in his Dayes, join it with, *The Elements of the World*? v. 8.

⁴⁵ Ταξις is a “military cohort.”

⁴⁶ Possibly Isaac Chauncy, whose *Divine Institution of Congregational Churches* (1697) appears in Mather’s library; see Tuttle, *The Libraries of the Mathers* (54). Chauncy (1632–1712) was a Dissenting minister after 1662. His family was a part of the early immigration to New England; he matriculated at Harvard before returning to England and finishing his degree at Oxford. On Chauncy, see *ODNB* (11:266–7).

⁴⁷ Mather’s subsequent excerpt is from *A Letter to a Friend, touching Gods Providence* (1678) (sec. I, pp. 1–2), by John Troughton (c. 1637–81), a Dissenting minister made blind as a child by small pox. On Troughton, see *ODNB* (55:444).

A. An excellent *Man of God* [see *De Dieu*, on this Text] gives this Reason for it. *Quia Doctores Hebræorum, Universum Tabernaculum, seu Templum Ceremoniasque eo pertinentes ad philosophiam referebant.*⁴⁸

You must know, That the Doctors of those Times Enquired and Asserted *Philosophical Mysteries* as lying hid under all the *Mosaic Institutions*. *Josephus* tells us, Τὴν διαμέτρῃσιν τῆς σκηνῆς πρὸς μίμησιν τῆς των ὄλων φύσεως συνέβαινεν εἶναι. *Commensurationem Tabernaculi, at imitationem Naturæ esse contigit.*⁴⁹ And *Philo* tells us, that the *Seven Lamps* of the *Golden Candlestick*, were to repræsent the *Seven Planets* in the Sky; Where *Grotius* adds, the *Fixed Stars* were exhibited by the other Parts of that *Candlestick*.⁵⁰ And *Plutarch* reflecting on the Jewish Constitutions as, otherwise very Ridiculous, yett comes off with such a Clause as this; *Nisi quòd serias quasdam, et philosophicas Rationes habeant quæ in Vulgus non efferunt.*⁵¹ Now, by this *Philosophical Accommodation* of the *Mosaic Matters* to the *Elements of the World*, the Minds of Men were drawn away, from that *Evangelical Accommodation* of these Matters, which would have strengthened their Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, *After whom* all those things in Truth were. By this *Vanity*, they missed the *Right End* of the whole *Mosaic Pædagogy*.

4587.

Q. You have already declared your Opinion, about the Reference which *Hammond* thinks the Apostle here ha's unto the *Gnosticks*. It may not be amiss, over again to confirm your Opinion, with the Concurrence of some learned Expositor? v. 8.

48 "Because the Doctors of the Hebrews interpreted the entire Tabernacle, the Temple and all the ceremonies relating to it, in terms of philosophy." Louis de Dieu, *Critica Sacra* (724), on Col. 2:8. Louis de Dieu (1590–1642), a Reformed minister in Leiden and scholar of Oriental languages. He published a Hebrew grammar (1626) and a grammar of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac (1628). His study of the received Greek text of the New Testament, *Critica Sacra*, appeared in 1693. He also mastered Arabic and Persian and published a 'Life of Christ' in Persian; see *NSHERK* (3:431).

49 "The measurement of the tent was in accordance with the imitation of the system of nature." [both Greek and Latin]. *Josephus*, *Antiquities of the Jews* (3.6.4); on *Josephus*, see *EJ* (11:435–42).

50 *Philo* of Alexandria, *Questions and Answers on Exodus*, in *Philo, Supplement II* (127–28); *Philo* (c. 25 BCE–50 CE) was a Hellenistic Jewish philosopher who sought to harmonize Platonism with Judaism; see *EJ* (16:59–64). *Grotius*, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (7:124). On *Grotius*, see *Mather's* first entry on Col. 1 (above).

51 "Except that they have some grave and philosophical doctrines that they do not bring forth unto the uneducated populace." In the original context, it comes from a discussion between Polycrates and Callistratus on the Jewish abstention from pork and whether it arises out of religious devotion or a visceral aversion to pigs. Polycrates surmises that, while the Jews' religious justifications for abstention "sound like pure myth," they perhaps "have some serious reasons [λογους σπουδαιους] which they do not publish." See *Plutarch, Moralia* (4.5). *Plutarch* (c. 46–120 CE) was a Greek historian and moral philosopher; *ERE* (437).

A. I will then employ the Words of Mr. *Cawdrey*; in his *Account audited*; which are to this Purpose.

“Dr. *Hammond* saies, The Seducers here spoken of, were the *Gnostick* Hereticks. But the *Gnosticks* were not then hatched, when *Paul* wrote this Epistle. No Newes of them, till the time of *Basilides*, *Carpocrates*, and *Valentinian*, who lived, all in the Second Century; about *Anno*, 120, or 130. They were the first that called themselves *Gnosticks*, as Men of greater *Knowledge* than others. If it be said, The *Name* indeed began then; but the *Doctrines* were the same with those of *Nicolas*, and *Simon*, &c, who lived in the Apostles time; as *Estius* glosseth on 1 Tim. 6.20.⁵² This is but an Evasion, to say, The *Gnosticks* were in that time, and meant here by the Apostle; because they sucked some of their Poison from those Hereticks. In that Sense, the *Gnosticks* may be said, to have their Original from the ancient *Baalites*, and *Heathens*, who were as abominable in their Filthy Worship of their Gods, as the *Gnosticks* could lightly be. But the best Commentators say, The Apostle here opposes himself against Two Sects, then troubling the Church. First, some *Philosophers* turn’d *Christians*, who brought in philosophical Speculations. Secondly, some *Judaizing Christians*, who would keep up the *Ceremonial Law* with the *Gospel*.⁵³

Q. *Blotting out*, and *Nailing*. v. 14.

A. An Allusion to the Two Ancient Wayes of cancelling a Bond; either by *Crossing* the Writing, or by Striking it thro’ with a *Nail*.

Q. How did our Saviour *Spoil* Principalities? v. 15.

A. The Greek Word, ἀπεκδυσάμενος, carries a *Divesting*, a *Disrobing*, an *Uncasing* in the first Signification of it.⁵⁴ The *Evil Spirits* carried on their Kingdome with *Showes* of Piety. They *Clothed* themselves with it, & fitted themselves with a *Garb* suitable to those whom they were to deceive. As did the *Serpent*, when he tempted *Eve*. Our Saviour *Discovers* the Enemy, & *Exposes* him, & makes him known to be what he is.

⁵² Willem Hessels van Est (1542–1613), a Flemish Catholic professor of philosophy at Leuven and later of theology at Douai. He was also involved in controversies surrounding scriptural interpretation; his commentary on the Pauline epistles was published in 1614. See *CE* (5:547–8).

⁵³ Mather’s quotation is from Daniel Cawdrey, *The Account Audited and Discounted* (1658) (Exercit. 2, sec. 3, pp. 157–8). Cawdrey (1588–1644) was a Puritan cleric and a leading participant in the Westminster Assembly, ejected in 1662. A Presbyterian, he was active in polemics against both Anglicans and Independents. The present work was a response to Henry Hammond’s 1655 critique of Cawdrey’s *Diatribes triplex* (1654), which itself was a critique of Hammond’s high church Anglicanism. On Cawdrey, see *ODNB* (10:681–3).

⁵⁴ ἀπεκδυσάμενος; “disrobing.”

[12v]

337.

Q. The Apostle commands the Christian Gentiles, That they should lett none *Judge them*, or Impose upon them, *In respect of the Sabbath-Dayes*. I pray, what *Sabbath-Day* is here intended? v. 16.

A. None but the *Jewish Sabbath*, even their *Weekly Sabbath*, can bee intended. As for the other, & Annual Festivities, or, more Cæremonial *Sabbaths* among the Jewes, They cannot bee meant in this Place. For, about the Observation of These, the *Colossians* would have no Occasion for Disputation. The Jewes were not obliged unto These, but only in their own Land. The Law, in the Sixteenth Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, is express enough to this Purpose. Indeed the *Paschal-Lamb* was to bee *Eaten* in private Houses, but still, the *Passover* was to bee sacrificed only in the *Temple*. Nor is the Name, *Sabbath*, any where in all the New Testament putt upon those Festivals. It is used above Sixty Times in the New Testament; and in Fifty Six of those Places, it unquæstionably signifies, *The Jewish Weekly Sabbaths*; and in the other, the *Whole Week*. Besides, in the Text now before us, tis plainly putt in a Contradistinction to them; to the *Holidays*, & the *New Moons*. Remember, the Apostle does not say, That *No Sabbath* is now to bee kept; but only that our Obligation to *That Sabbath*, is at an End.

Some *Sature-Day Men*, contend, That *σάββατα* in the Plural Number, signifies *Weeks*; if so, lett them again seriously reckon, what the *Sature-Day Men* will gett by that. It is true *σαββατα* ha's been sometimes putt for, *A Week*, (tho' not for *Weeks*) as when wee read of *μία σαββάτων*, the *First Day of the Week*, which may indeed as well bee rendered, the *First Day after the Sabbath*. And so indeed is the Singular Number, *σαββατον*, in Luc. 18.12. *I fast, δις τοῦ σαββάτου*, *twice a Week*; not, *I fast twice in one Sabbath*. But rather so, *I keep two Fasts to one Sabbath*. As the *Olympiad*, may bee taken, either for the particular Year, on which the Games were, namely, the fifth Year Inclusively, or for the Interval of the four Years, from the End of one, to the End of the next. So, *Σαββατον*, may bee taken, either for the *Sabbath-Day*, or for the whole *Septiduum* from Sabbath to Sabbath. And here, by the way, is an Admonition unto the faithful, to keep the Impressions of the *Sabbath* lively all the Week upon them.

However, *Σαββατα*, is also taken for the *Sabbath-Day*. [Not only here, but in Math. 28.1. with Marc. 16.1. In Math. 12.1. Marc. 2.27. with Luc. 6.1., And the LXX commonly].

Finally, the Apostle, would not have the Christian Gentiles, yoked under the Jewish *Seventh-Day*, as if it were unchangeable; but, inasmuch as our Lord had pointed them unto another *Seventh-Day*, they might count themselves at liberty from the Yoke of keeping Two together.

The Apostle adds, *which things are a Shadow of things to come, but the Body is of Christ*, or, 'Tis the *Body*, the Substance, that Christ looks at; not so much at the *Circumstantials*.

2310.

Q. But that Phrase, *In Respect*, may there not bee some Special Sense in That? v. 16.

A. Hear Dr. *Templar*.⁵⁵

Ἐν μέρει. It is believed that μέρος answers to פֶּרֶק/ in the *Talmud*.⁵⁶ פֶּרֶקִים/ are the Lesser Sections, into which the *Talmudical Treatises* are divided. From hence, the Doctors which did expound them, were called φερεκιδται, that is, μερισται.⁵⁷

In the Second *Seder* of the *Mishna*, there are Several Treatises. One is entituled, /יום טוב/. Another is entituled /ראש השנה/. And a third /שבת/.⁵⁸ All these have their μέρος or Sections. The Words of the Text before us are exactly agreeable to these Titles; ἑορτή⁵⁹ to /יום טוב/, *A Feast Day*; Νουμηνία to /ראש השנה/, *The Beginning of the Year*, which was always in *Novi-Lunio*.⁶⁰ Σάββατα,⁶¹ to /שבת/. So that when the Apostle saies, *Lett no Man judge you*, ἐν μέρει τῆς ἑορτῆς etc.,⁶² his Meaning may bee, give no Occasion for any to condemn you, for the Observation of what is contained in any Section of the Treatise, called *Jom Tob*, or, that called *Rosh Hashanah*, or that called, *Shabbath*. Note, the Treatise called /שבת/ expressly treats of the *Jewish Day*, and enjoins the Celebration of it. Wherefore in the Phrase ἐν μέρει τῶν σαββάτων, the Jewish Weekly Sabbath must bee intended. That which lies against this Conjecture is, That the *Mishna* was not so early, as *Pauls* Epistles, and therefore hee could not have Respect unto

55 Possibly Dr. John Templar (also Templer), minister at Balsham (near Cambridge, England) 1657–93; D. D. Cambridge (1666). Templer appears in Increase Mather's *Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences* (1684) as a minister who successfully dealt with Quakers in his parish by treating them as possessed persons. Templer published *Idea theologiae Leviathanis* (1673) – an attack on Hobbes and a defense of the biblical canon and Christian doctrine. Additional works include *The Saints Duty in contending for the Faith* (1659) and *A Treatise relating to the Worship of God* (1694).

56 Μέρος means “part” or “portion”; פֶּרֶק means “fragment.”

57 “The dividers” (φερεκιδται, a Greek transliteration from פֶּרֶק), that is, “the dividers” (μερισται).

58 The *Yom Tov* (יום טוב) is the seventh tractate of the second order (*Moed*) of the *Mishnah*, which deals with festivals and holy days. *Rosh Hashanah* (ראש השנה) and *Shabbat* (שבת) are likewise sections of the *Moed*.

59 “Festival.”

60 Νουμηνία and *Novi-Lunio* both mean “new moon” or beginning of the month. *Rosh Hashanah*, or “head of the year,” is the Jewish New Year.

61 “Sabbath.”

62 “In respect of any holy day” (KJV) or, as Mather is suggesting here, “with respect to the (Talmudic) section regarding the festival, etc.”

the *Sections* in it.⁶³ It may be replied; *Maimonides* tells us, That the Head of the *Sanhedrim* had a private Copy of the Traditions, as they were delivered from the Mouth of those, who were Doctors in *Israel*, long before the Times of Rabbi *Jehuda*, the Compiler of the *Mishna*, & the Author of *Halicoth Olam*;⁶⁴ And that the Disciples, for Memory-Sake wrote the *Oral Law* in Characters. The Book written by them, they might not openly divulge, & therefore, they called it, *The Book of Secrets*. Our Apostle *Paul*, being trained up at the Feet of *Gamaliel*, & in the deepest Mysteries of the Jewish Religion had no doubt, the Perusal of it, might very well have an Eye to the μέρη, or *Sections* of it, in these Words. That which R. *Jehuda* did, was to join together, what lay scattered in private Hands, and make a Publication of it, in one entire Volumn.

[▽13r] [▽Insert from 13r]

Q. What was, *The Worshipping of Angels*, here forbidden? v. 18.

A. ⁶⁵There is one Mr. *Pierce*, whom I find thus expressing himself upon it.

“I can’t certainly say, What is meant by the θρησκεία των αγγέλων. *The Worship, or Religion of Angels*.⁶⁶ But if the *Angels* are here spoken of, not as the *Objects*, but as the *Authors*, of the Worship, *Tertullians* Interpretation will not be amiss, when he saies, [*Adv. Marc.* L. 5.] That the Apostle here speaks against those, who from *Angelical Visions*, pretended, they must *Abstain from Meats*.⁶⁷ With whom also agrees a Commentator, to be mett with among *Jeroms* Works. Perhaps this may well agree with those Stories that Dr. *Lightfoot* speaks of, as frequent in *Jewish* Writings, about their *Bath Kol*; and the Appearance of *Elias* to their Wise Men.⁶⁸ And it may be from some Such Kind of Opinion, that the

⁶³ Though much of the material in the Mishnah must have existed in oral form during Paul’s lifetime, it was not consolidated in written form until the late second century.

⁶⁴ Moses Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah* (c. 1170–80). Maimonides (1135–1204) was the most influential Jewish legal theorist and theologian of the medieval period; see *EJ* (13:381–99). *Halicth Olam*, or *Ways of Eternity*; R. Judah bar Ilai is credited as the author or compiler of much of the Mishnah.

⁶⁵ See Appendix A.

⁶⁶ θρησκεία των αγγέλων.

⁶⁷ Tertullian, *Against Marcion*, *ANF* (3:472). Tertullian was an early anti-Gnostic apologist and Trinitarian; see *ERE* (527–8).

⁶⁸ John Lightfoot (1602–75), possibly his *Horae hebraicae et talmudicae* (1658–74). The “bat kol” is a “heavenly voice,” usually from an unseen figure (divine, or angelic). Lightfoot was an Anglican cleric of moderate Puritan sympathies who participated in the Westminster Assembly. He was also a prodigious scholar and began an academic career at Cambridge in 1650. His major area of expertise was biblical studies, and he was a major figure in the flourishing circle of Christian Hebraism, a colleague of Brian Walton, Edward Pocock, Matthew Poole, and the Buxtorf’s. He was sufficiently moderate or politic to keep his appointment at Cambridge after the Restoration. His collected works appeared posthumously as his *Opera omnia* (1686). Among his most important biblical works were the *Miscellanies*, *Christian and Judaical* (1629), *Harmony of the Four Evangelists* (1644–50), *Harmony of the Old Testament* (1647), and *Harmony of the New Testament* (1655). On Lightfoot, see *ODNB* (33:753–6).

Pharisees chuse to express themselves so; Act. 23.9. *But if a Spirit or an Angel hath spoken to him, Lett us not fight against God.*"⁶⁹ Compare, Gal. 1.8.⁷⁰

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 15r]

[▽15r]

Some further Thoughts.

Q. What was the *Voluntary Humility*, [or, Affected Humility,] of them, that *Worshipped Angels, intruding* [or Searching] *into those things, which they had not seen?* v. 18.

A. It is generally affirmed by the Greek Expositors here, That the Apostle opposes himself to some False Christians, who held δειν συναγεσθαι ημας προς τον πατερα δια των αγιων Αγγελων. *That we ought to address to the Father by the Holy Angels.*⁷¹ But then some of them add, That the Pretence of Humility was this; *That is was too much for us to come to God immediately by Christ, this thing being above our Infirmary.*

Oecumenius complains of them, That they did, τας νομικας παρατηρησεις τω ευαγγελιω επιμιγνυειν. *Mix legal Observances with the Gospel.*⁷² Theodoret more fully explains it; *They who were zealous for the Law, perswaded Men to worship Angels; because, say they, the Law was given by them: This they advised Men to do, pretending Humility, and saying, That the God of all things was Invisible, & inaccessible, & incomprehensible, and that it was fitt we should procure the Divine Favour, by the Means of Angels.*⁷³ Hence this Passage cannot so well agree to Simon Magus & his Followers. But it may agree well enough, with Cerinthus, and other false Apostles of the Jewes. Epiphanius tells us, that he said, *The Law & the Prophets came from the Angels, and that he who gave the Law, was one of the Angels that made the World.*⁷⁴ They had imbibed Plato's Philosophy; *That the Demons are of a Middle Nature betwixt Gods and Mortals; that they brought our Prayers & Offerings to them, & their Commands to us, & were to be worshipped and invoked upon that account; that God had no immediate Converse with Men, but all His Converse with us, was by their Mediation.* Suitably to this Philosophy, we find the Angel, Tobit. 12.12, 15. Saying, That he was one of the Seven Angels, οι προσαναφερουσι τας

⁶⁹ James Peirce, *A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Colossians* (1725) (36–7). Peirce (1674–1726) was a Dissenting minister who was eventually ejected from the Independents for his refusal to subscribe to a full-bodied Trinitarianism. On Peirce, see *ODNB* (43:449–52).

⁷⁰ See Appendix B.

⁷¹ δειν συναγεσθαι ημας προς τον πατερα δια των αγιων Αγγελων.

⁷² τας νομικας παρατηρησεις τω ευαγγελιω επιμιγνυειν; Oecumenius, 10th-century bishop in Thessaly and putative author of a number of biblical commentaries, including one on the Pauline epistles; see *NSHERK* (8:226).

⁷³ Theodoret (393–457 CE), bishop of Cyrrhus, Syria, and author of a number of exegetical works, including one on the Pauline epistles; see *NCE* (13:878–9).

⁷⁴ On Epiphanius, see Mather's first entry on Col. 1 (above).

προσευχας των αγιων· *who offered up the Prayers of the Saints*.⁷⁵ And that, when *Tobit* and *Sarah* prayed, *He brought the Memorial of their Prayer before the Holy One*. *Philo* has a Deal of this Importance. He saies, That as the *Philosophers* did the *Demons* and *Heroes*, thus *Moses* himself introduced the *Angels*, as *Embassadors*; *The Messengers of Good Things from God unto His Subjects*, & *he carriers back of their Needs unto God*. And in his Book, *De Somnijs*, he represents them as the *Ears and Eyes of the Great King*; for, saies he, *they bring the Commands of the Father to his Children, and the Needs of the Children to the Father: It is needful & useful for us frail Men, to have such Mediators, as being unable, not only to receive the Chastisements of God, but even His very Benefits, if He should immediately confer them on us, by Himself*. Behold a Foundation, for introducing the Worship of those *Angels*, which gave the Law, under Pretence of Humility; *Philo* declaring, that when the Law was first given, the *People desired those Mediators, and said, Lett not God speak to us*.⁷⁶

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽16v] [▽Insert from 16v]

Theodoret and *Oecumenius* observe, That this Worship of *Angels* continued long in *Pisidia*, *Phrygia*, and *Laodicea*, near to *Colosse*, where they had ευκτηρια του αγιου Μιχαηλ· *Oratories of St. Michael*,⁷⁷ who is called, *Josh. 5.14. The Captain of the Host of the Lord*. This last Clause, as *Dr. Whitby* notes, leads us to the very Rise of this Worship, among both *Jewes* and *Christians*.⁷⁸ For the *Jewes* held, that he, who is called, *The Captain of the Lord's Host*, was the Angel *Michael*. According to *Origen*, his Office is, *Mortalium preces, supplicationesque curare*; To present the Prayers of Men. And in the Book of, *The Pastor*, hee saies, we read, That *Christians*, αμα το πιστευειν υπο τω Μιχαηλ γινονται· *As soon as they Beleeve, are under the Government of Michael*.⁷⁹ Yea, saith *Hermes*, *The Good Messenger is Michael; Qui populi hujus habet potestatem, et gubernat eos*.⁸⁰ He is by *Nicephorus*

75 οί προσαναφέρουσι τάς προσευχάς τῶν ἀγίων.

76 Philo of Alexandria, *De Somnijs* (1.22.141–2).

77 ευκτηρία τοῦ ἁγίου Μιχαήλ; “observances (i. e. liturgies, from τηρέω) of the holy Michael.” Prescribed prayers to various angels such as Michael can be found in ancient Christian prayer books.

78 Daniel Whitby, *A Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* (2:362–4). Whitby (1638–1726) was an Anglican cleric and a prolific author; he engaged in anti-Catholic polemics but also argued for a latitudinarian treatment of Protestant Dissenters. In his later years, he adopted (publically) Arminian and (posthumously) Arian doctrinal positions. On Whitby, see *ODNB* (58:530–2).

79 ἅμα τό πιστεύειν ὑπό τῷ Μιχαήλ γίνονται.

80 “Who has power over his people, and governs them.” *The Shepherd of Hermas* is a 2nd-century Christian work that addresses ecclesiastical issues; see *ANF* (2:40).

therefore styled, ο της χριστιανων πιστεως εφορος. *The President, or Overseer, of the Christian Faith.*⁸¹

[△Insert ends]

[△]

|⁸²

[14v]

2776.

Q. Unto whom or what, may the Apostle refer, in his Rebuke of *Ordinances*? v. 20.

A. The *Essenes*, were One of the Three Sects, famous among the Jewes, who probably had their Name from the *Syriac* /ܚܕܢ/ *Asa*, To *heal*;⁸³ because they studied *Physic*, tho' they gave themselves chiefly to the Study of *Scripture*. *Philo* gives us an Account of them: tho' when they began, we have no Account. They seem to have been a sort of Jewish *Pythagoreans*; and a Fraternity of a particular Discipline, full of Exactness and of Charity.

There is no express Mention of them in the New Testament, tho' they were existing in the Days of our Saviour. Their Number might be so small, that they deserved little Notice to be taken of them. For in *Philo's* and *Josephus's* Time, they were but about Four Thousand, & these dispersed in many Cities. And they lived every where so very Quietly and Peaceably, that no body received any Disturbance from them.

Nevertheless, there are in the *Pauline* Epistles, diverse things Reproved, which were taught in the Schole of the *Essenes*.

As, 1 Tim. 5.23, *Drink no longer Water, but use a little Wine.*

But especially, in the Second Chapter to the *Colossians*.

v. 16. *Lett no Man condemn you in Meat & Drink.*

v. 18. *Humbleness of Mind and Worshipping of Angels.*

And, v. 20. *Why are yee subject to Ordinances?* The Name, Δογματα, was applied by the *Essenes*, to denote their *Ordinances* and *Constitutions*.⁸⁴

Hee seems to instance, when he saies, *Touch not, Taste not, Handle not.* The *Juniors* among the *Essenes*, might not so much as *Touch* the *Seniors*. In their *Diet*, they might not so much as *Taste*, a thing but *Bread, Salt, Water, and Hyssop.*

Philo saies, They undertook their Orders, δια ποθον σοφιας. *For the Love of Wisdom.*⁸⁵ The Apostle saies, These Orders had only, λογον σοφιας, *A Show of Wisdom.*⁸⁶ The Religion of these People, is called by *Philo*, θρησκεια, *Religious*

81 ο της χριστιανων πιστεως εφορος. There are a number of Byzantine emperors, scholars, and church authorities named Nicephorus, including Partriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria.

82 See Appendix B.

83 ܚܕܢ.

84 Δόγματα can mean "a public decree or ordinance."

85 διά πόθον σοφίας.

86 λόγον σοφίας.

Worship.⁸⁷ By the Apostle 'tis called, ἐθελοθηρησκεια, *Will-Worship*.⁸⁸ Philo styles their Doctrine πατριαν φιλοσοφίαν.⁸⁹ The Apostle bids them to *Beware of Philosophy*.

That Clause, *Which Things perish in the Using*: is usually translated so; *Which Things tend to Corruption, by the Abuse of them, according to the Commandments and Doctrines of Men*.

Be sure, they did *Corrupt* the Christian Faith.

[▽16v] [▽Insert from 16v]

Q. The Meaning of that Clause, *Not in any Honour to the Satisfying of the Flesh?* v. 23.

A. The Greek, τιμη, signifies, *A Care to relieve Wants*. [Matth. 15.6]⁹⁰ Not using any *Care, to relieve the Wants of the Flesh*.

Q. Who were they that affected the *Things that have indeed a Shew of Wisdome, in Will-Worship and Humility, and neglecting the Body, and not in [giving] any Honour to the Satisfying of the Flesh?* v. 23.

A. It would be strange, if they should be the *Gnosticks*; who, as *Irenaeus* tells us, *Indulged the Flesh, and Corrupted the Women, whom they taught*; and as *Epiphanius* adds, *They Indulged Drunkenness & Venery, & Execrated them that were used unto Fastings*.

Dr. *Whitby*, with much more Probability, thinks them to have been partly the *Essens*, and partly the *Pythagorean Philosophers*.⁹¹

Of the *Essens*, we are informed by *Josephus*, They would neither have *Wives* nor *Servants*.⁹² Philo saies, All the *Women* they had among them, were either *Old Women* or *Virgins*. He adds, *They eat nothing that is Delicate, they have only Mean Bread and Salt for their Meat; & river-water for their Drink*. They used no *Wine* in their Feasts; οἶνος μὲν γὰρ ἀφροσύνης φαρμακόν. *For Wine is the Incentive to Madness*.⁹³ He goes on; Their *Table* was pure from all things that have *Blood* in them, or from the *Flesh* of living Creatures; *For such things*, they said, *Irritate Concupiscence*; yea, there were some things they might not so much a *Touch*; They look'd on *Oyl*, as a Defilement and wash'd it off their Bodies, if they happened to have a *Touch* of it. The *Elders* also washed themselves, if they had

⁸⁷ θρησκεία; "worship."

⁸⁸ ἐθελοθηρησκεια.

⁸⁹ πατριαν φιλοσοφίαν; "the philosophy of the fathers." Philo's discussion of the Essenes is to be found in his *Every Good Man is Free* (12.83–5).

⁹⁰ τιμή; "honor, reverence." What the KJV translates as "honour" here probably has the connotation of a craving ('reverence') or "care," as Mather puts it, to relieve the want (desire) of the flesh.

⁹¹ See Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:345–6).

⁹² Josephus, *Wars of the Jews* (2.8.2).

⁹³ οἶνός μὲν γὰρ ἀφροσύνης φαρμακόν.

been *Touched* by the *Younger*. They likewise had certain *Names of Angels*, which *they held in Veneration*. And they had their proper *Δογματα*, *Decrees, Doctrines, Opinions*, which they swore *never to deliver unto others, otherwise than as they had Received them*. All this was, the Effect, as *Philo* saies, *της περι φιλοσοφίας ορμης*· of *their Passion for Philosophy*.⁹⁴ These things were, *The Rudiments of the World*. The Followers of *Pythagoras* and *Empedocles* taught this Abstinence; *Porphyrus* with a Variety of Learning defended it. What the Apostle speaks about the Deceit of Philosophy, exactly agrees with the Sentiments of those Men. *Paul* saies, *Τις κατὰ παράδοσιν ἀνθρώπων*· *According to the Tradition of Men*.⁹⁵ In *Porphyrus* tis called, *Νόμος ἀγραφος και θειος*· *An Unwritten, but a Divine Law*.⁹⁶ *Paul* saies of them, *Δογματίζονται*· *They make Decrees & Ordinances*.⁹⁷ In *Porphyrus*, tis, *Δόγμα παλαιον και θειος φίλον*· *An ancient Decree, and acceptable to the Gods*.⁹⁸ According to *Paul*, *Τις ἐθελοθρησκεια*· *Will-Worship*. According to *Heraclides Ponticus* himself, tis, *Δεισιδαιμονεια*, *Superstition*.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ *της περι φιλοσοφίας ορμης*; on *Philo*, see Mather's entry on 2:8 (above).

⁹⁵ *κατὰ παράδοσιν ἀνθρώπων*.

⁹⁶ *Νόμος ἀγραφος και θειος*.

⁹⁷ From *δογματίζω*, "to lay down an opinion."

⁹⁸ *Δόγμα παλαιον και θειος φίλον*.

⁹⁹ *Porphyrus* of Tyre (234–305 CE) was a Neoplatonic philosopher who defended paganism against Christianity in works such as *Philosophy from Oracles* and *Against the Christians*; see *ERE* (441). *Heraclides Ponticus* (c. 390–310 BCE) was a Pythagorean philosopher and astronomer; see *EGHT* (1:733).

Q. What Evidences, or Præsumptions have we, that the *Colossians* once Walked in the Lusts, whereof the Apostle Remembers them? v. 7.

A. The *Colossians*, dwelling in *Phrygia*, celebrated the *Sacra* of *Bacchus*, (whereof Read *Strabo* L. 10.) and of the *Mother of the Gods*, who was therefore called, *Phrygia Mater*.¹⁰⁰ And they doubtless complied with all the Luxury of *Asia Minor*, whereof they were a Part.

4472.

Q. What is meant by, *Filthy Communication*? v. 8.

A. This *Αἰσχρολογία*, is usually referred unto Obscene and Impure Words.¹⁰¹ But *Hesychius*, and *Phavorinus*, and *J. Pollux*, have informed us, that the Word signifies, *Reproachful Terms*, or such as putt a Man into *Shame*.¹⁰² And indeed, the Words preceding would intimate such a Sense unto us; *Wrath*, *Anger*, *Malice*, are those Dispositions, which render us prone to do Evil unto others. And Opprobrious, Contentious Speeches, which have a Tendency to render others Infamous, are the usual Effects of these evil Dispositions.

Q. The, *Old Man*?

A. Tis well expressed in the *Reliquiæ Ludolfianæ*.

“It seems, the Apostle does not reckon the *Body* to be the *Man*, but the *Soul*, when it is moved and acted by the Principle of *Corruption*, which delights in the Things that perish.”¹⁰³

Q. On that, *CHRIST All in All*? v. 11.

A. A Principle of *Piety*, Living and Reigning in the Soul, will be an admirable Expositor on very much of the Sacred Scripture. A Mind sanctified by the Holy Spirit, who indicted these Oracles, will see wondrously into the Meaning of them.

The pious *Boehm*, in his Devout, *Enchiridion precum*, even before he is aware sometimes falls into a Noble Illustration.

¹⁰⁰ “Mother of Phrygia.” See Strabo (c. 64 BCE–24 CE), *Geographica* (10.3.12).

¹⁰¹ *αἰσχρολογίαν*; foul language.

¹⁰² The Greek lexicographer Hesychius of Alexandria defines the term in his *Lexicon (A-O)*, alpha. letter epsiloun, entry 7246, line 1. On Favorinus of Arelata; see Mather’s second entry on 1:20. The Greek grammarian, rhetorician, and lexicographer Julius Pollux (2nd c. CE) defines the term in his *Onomasticon* (bk. 4, sec. 105, lines 3–9); see “Pollux,” *EB* (electronic).

¹⁰³ Henry William Ludolph (1655–1710), an expatriate German civil servant who settled in London. The *Reliquiæ* (or “Remains”), a collection of his reflections on various subjects pertaining to religious piety, was published in 1712. See “Ludolf,” *NeDB* (electronic).

Such an one I take this to be. *Dilecte JESU, sis mihi OMNIA in OMNIBUS; est ego ipse nihil sim, nihil velim, nihil Agam; omnia vero te Volente et Agente, in me et per me fiant.*¹⁰⁴

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 18v]

[▽18v]

4473.

Q. *Lett the Peace of God Rule; How must it Rule?* v. 15.

A. Βραβεύετω.¹⁰⁵ That is, according to *Phavorinus*, Μεσιτευετω.¹⁰⁶ q.d. Lett the *Peaceable Disposition* which God requires of all Christians, be the *Umpire*, and the *Director*, to compose all Differences among you.

In *Josephus*, the Word signifies, *To have the chief Place*. [Arch. L.9, c. 1.]¹⁰⁷

One old Gentleman of my Acquaintance, rendred it so; *Lett it Brave it* there.

Mr. *Pyle's* Paraphrase does well.

“Lett that perfect Spirit of Peace, by which God intends to cement you all into one Christian Society, be the Rule and Umpire, to decide all Controversies among you. And instead of envying one another, look all up with a Thankful Heart to Him, for His Universal Mercies toward you.”¹⁰⁸

Q. How is the *Word of Christ*, to *Dwell in us Richly?* v. 16.

A. We should not only endeavour to be *Richly* stored with the Treasures of the Word, and count ourselves *Enriched*, by Acquaintance with it; but we should give a *Rich* Entertainment unto it, in the *Best Room* of our Souls.

Chytraeus, in his Oration, *De Studio Theologiae*, ha's also a pretty expressive Gloss, upon the Words *Dwelling* with us. *Non sit ignotus aut rarus Hospes, Doct-*

¹⁰⁴ The Latin quotation is from the second edition of Anton Wilhelm Böhm's *Enchiridion Precum, ad Promovendum solidioris Pietatis stadium collectum* (1715) (sec. I, p. 100), and translates, “Beloved Jesus, be for me everything in everything, but let me be nothing, will nothing, do nothing, by myself; but let everything in me and through me happen by your will and action.” Anthony William Boehm (Anton Wilhelm Böhm) (1673–1722) was a graduate from the University of Halle. He came to England in 1701 as a teacher to the children of German foreign nationals; in 1705, though not ordained, he was made a chaplain to Prince George of Denmark, husband to Queen Anne. He was an associate of August Hermann Francke, the influential German pietist, and involved with the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge in England; see *DNB* (2:762–3). Mather maintained a correspondence with Boehm, several letters of which (dated between 1710–18) appear in *The Diary of Cotton Mather* (2:332, 406, 411) and Kenneth Silverman, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather* (92, 215, 260).

¹⁰⁵ Βραβεύετω; “rule, control.”

¹⁰⁶ “Mediate, make peace.” Both of the Greek terms appear in Hesychius's *Lexicon* (A-O) [alphabetic letter beta, entry 1023, line 1]. Mather's “Phavorinus,” or rather Favorinus Arelatensis (80–160 CE), was a Roman philosopher whose works are extant only in fragments.

¹⁰⁷ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* (17.9.1).

¹⁰⁸ Thomas Pyle, *A Paraphrase upon all the Epistles of the New Testament* (2:113). Pyle (1674–1756) was an Anglican cleric and an outspoken Arian. On Pyle, see *ODNB* (45:622–3).

*rina Christi in Vobis, sed sit Familiaris Convictor. Ac ut in Domo tua, Familiarissimè tibi noti sunt, Conjux, Liberi, et alij, quos præcipuè amas, et cum quibus quotidie et suavissimè Colloqueris, et omnes curas et Cogitationes tuas communicare soles; ità familiariter et integrè tibi perspecti, et cogniti sint ut Libri Doctrinam Christi continentes.*¹⁰⁹

Q. The Apostle forbids *Husbands* to be *Bitter unto their Wives?* v. 19.

A. *Plutarch* tells us, That they who sacrificed unto *Juno Nuptialis*, did separate the *Gall* from the Sacrifice, & throw it away, signifying, το μηδεποτε δειν χολην μηδε οργην γαμω παρειναι. *That there should be no Bitterness or Wrath, betwixt those that are married.*¹¹⁰

Tho' our Apostle would not countenance the pagan Superstitions, yett he might argue upon the Concessions and Confessions, which they themselves made, in their own Superstitions.

What saies *Ambrose*? *Non es Dominus, sed Maritus; Non Ancillam Sortitus es, sed Uxorem; gubernatorem voluit te esse Deus Sexus inferioris, non tyrannum.*¹¹¹

[△] [△Insert ends]

¹⁰⁹ "Let the teaching of Christ in you not be an unknown or occasional house-guest, but a familiar table-companion. Just as in your house those known most intimately by you are your wife, children, and others that you love exceedingly, and with whom you speak most pleasantly every day, and to whom you are accustomed to communicate all your cares and thoughts; so intimately and completely known by you, as should be the books that contain the teaching of Christ." David Chytraeus (Kochhaffe), *De Studio theologiae* (1562). Chytraeus (1530–1600) was a German Lutheran theologian, professor at Rostock, and one of the authors of the Formula of Concord (1577); see *NSHERK* (3:116–17).

¹¹⁰ τό μηδέποτε δειν χολήν μηδέ όργήν γαμώ παρειναι. *Plutarch, Advice to Bride and Groom, in Moralia* (2:141, sec. F, lines 3–4).

¹¹¹ "You are not a master, but a husband; you have not acquired a maid-slave, but a wife; God wished you to be the governor of the inferior sex, not its tyrant." *Ambrose, Hexameron* (174–175). *Ambrose* (c. 340–397), bishop of Milan, defender of Nicene orthodoxy, and mentor to Augustine; see *NCE* (1:337–9).

Q. Do you *Allow* the Translation? *Master, give unto your Servants, that which is Just & Equal?* v. 1.

A. No. Such Things must not be reckoned, *Gifts*; They are the *Dues* of *Servants*, and they have a *Right* unto them. Wherefore, I concur with him, who writes, *The Negro's & Indians Advocate*, that the Word, παρέχετε, had better be rendred, *Allow*, than, *Give*.

2306.

Q. The Apostle saies unto *Masters of Families, continue in Prayer*, – and then adds, *Withal praying also for us?* v. 2, 3.

A. The Apostle, to make it evident, that it is not meer *Solitary Prayer*, that hee requires of *Masters*, hee adds, προσευχόμενοι ἅμα, that is to say, *praying together*. “Ἄμα answers to the Hebrew /יחד/ and is an Adverb of *Place*.”¹¹² [See 1 Thess. 5.10.]

Behold, a plain Institution for *Family-prayer*.

43{9.}¹¹³

Q. What is the True and Next, Import of that Exhortation,¹¹⁴ *Redeem the Time?* v. 5.

A. Tis very probable, that besides the *Wisdom* of Employing our *Time* unto the best Purpose, in *Doing* of Good, & in *Getting* of Good, at all Times; the Apostle here, hath a Special reference, to *Persecutions*, which good Men were then exposed unto. To, *Redeem the Time*, was a proverbial Phrase, of old, signifying, *To keep out of Trouble, as long as one can*. And such a Sense of this Exhortation,¹¹⁵ is confirmed by the Concomitant Advice, *Walk in Wisdom towards them that are without*; that is, use a good Prudence and Caution, in your Carriage towards them that keep an Evil Eye upon you. The *Chaldean* Soothsayers, were told, in their Distress, Dan. 2.8. *I know, that yee would gain the Time*. This was the Counsil of the Apostle, *By a Prudent, Holy, Careful, and Inoffensive Behaviour, towards them that would Interrupt you, in the Quiet Worship of the Lord Jesus Christ, gain Time, what you can for the quiet Practice of it*. But if it bee *Wisdom* to *Gain Time* For the Service of God, Surely, tis *Wisdom* also to *Spend Time* In that Service.

¹¹² “Ἄμα means “together with” or “simultaneously”; יחד means “united.”

¹¹³ See Appendix A.

¹¹⁴ See Appendix A.

¹¹⁵ See Appendix A.

[20v]

Q. 16. *The Epistle from Laodicea* Wt?¹¹⁶

A. Mr. Jones proves, that the Apostle only means an Epistle written by the *Laodiceans*, which he sent perhaps together with his own Epistle to the *Colossians*, as what might be useful to be read among ‘em.¹¹⁷

This gave Occasion to the Forgery of an Epistle under his Name to the *Laodiceans*.

Q. What was the *Epistle, from Laodicea*, which the Apostle directs to bee read by the *Colossians*? v. 16.

A. Dr. *Lightfoot* offers Two Answers.¹¹⁸

First, The *Laodiceans* had sent an Epistle to *Paul*, as the *Corinthians* also did. Hee never had written any Epistle from thence himself inasmuch as hee had never been there: but the *Laodiceans* having sent an Epistle to him, hee would have the *Colossians* to Read it, as being, in Certain Points, a good Exemple for them. If this do not satisfy, then, Secondly, The *first Epistle of John*, was written by him, from *Laodicea*; and *Paul* recommends that Holy Epistle unto the Consideration of the *Colossians*.

4475.¹¹⁹

But lett us hear Dr. *Whitby*’s Opinion of it?¹²⁰

He does acquiesce in their Opinion, who understand this, of the Epistle to the *Ephesians*. *Ephesus* was the *Metropolis*, whereto *Laodicea* was subject. And so the Epistles to the Church of *Corinth* belonged unto all the Churches of *Achaia*. [2. Cor. 1.1.] *Tertullian* testifies, That the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, was by *Marcion* styled, The Epistle to the *Laodiceans*. And the Place which *Marcion* cites in *Epiphanius*, as from the Epistle to the *Laodiceans*, is in the Epistle to the

116 “Wt” means “What?” or “What is it?” This entry (Question and Answer) is written in a hand other than Mather’s and in the same hand as those found elsewhere (Gal. 6:17 [23r], Eph. 3:18 [24v], Phil. 4:22 [22v], and I Thess. 5:22 [7r]). It seems likely that it is the hand of his son Samuel, who may have used such occasions to improve his penmanship. This probably accounts for why the verse number, 16, is written after the Q. and not at the end of the sentence, as per the elder Mather’s practice.

117 Jeremiah Jones, *A New and Full Method for settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament* (1726), clarifies this issue in vol. 2, part 3, ch. 7. Jones (1693–1724) was a Dissenting minister, textual scholar, and crypto-Arian. His canonical study surveyed the range of apocryphal Christian literature in the course of defending the traditional canon, in response to the arguments of William Whiston and John Toland in favor of expanding the canon so as to include such works. Jones’s work exercised a significant influence on the biblical studies of later German scholars such Johann Michaelis and Johann Semler. On Jones, see *ODNB* (30:541–2).

118 Mather’s paraphrase is from John Lightfoot, *The Harmony, Chronicle and Order of the New-Testament*; “The Epistle to the Colossians,” and “The Three Epistles of John” (136–7 and 153, respectively).

119 See Appendix A.

120 See Appendix A. Daniel Whitby, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:373).

Ephesians. [Ch. 4.5, 6.] Moreover, as *Theodoret* notes, the Epistle to the *Colossians* was written soon after that unto the *Ephesians*, and sent unto both by the Hands of *Tychicus*; and there is a great Resemblance observable between them; not only in the *Matter*, but also in the very *Language*.¹²¹ It is not to be wondred, that the Apostle would have that Epistle also read unto the *Colossians*, to lett them see, that he gave the same Instructions unto the other Churches.

¹²¹ Tychichus was a companion of Paul and is mentioned in Col. 4:7 (as well as Acts 20:4, 2 Tim. 4:12, Eph. 6:21, and Tit. 3:12).

The *Magis Curiosa*, in the Exposition of Mr. *James Ferguson*, on that Epistle.¹²²

Ch. I.1. *Paul, an Apostle of Jesus Christ.*

How Free, how Powerful, the Grace of God. This *Paul* had been a Persecutor.

v. 2. *Grace be to you, and Peace.*

Where the Favour of God is obtained, all Blessings will follow upon it. If *Grace*, then *Peace*, & all Prosperity.

v. 6. *Which is come to you.*

God brings the Gospel to a People, before they send for it!

v. 7. *Epaphras, our dear Fellow-Servant.*

Whoever loves the Success of the Gospel, will endeavour a good Understanding, between a faithful Pastor & his People. So our Apostle does between *Epaphras*, & his *Colossians*.

Ditto. *Who is a Faithful Minister.*

Ministers ought to be so far from Envy that the more Faithful, and Painful, & Useful any of them are, the more dear they ought to be unto one another. This endeared *Epaphras* to our Apostle.

v. 11. *All Patience & Longsuffering, with Joyfulness.*

God is honoured by, & well-pleased with, such as are patient & cheerful under whatever Cross He orders for them. What is *Walking worthy of the Lord unto all well-pleasing*? Tis, *Patience & Longsuffering.*

v. 12. *The Inheritance of the Saints.*

They that come to Heaven, do not arrive thither, by any Merit of their own. They come to it by *Inheritance*. It falls to them, as a *Lott* of old unto an *Israelite*, in the Land of Promise.

v. 14. *Redemption, the Forgiveness of Sins.*

Our Sin is the Cause of our Slavery.

v. 18. *That in all things He might have the Preheminence.*

An holy Soul, zealous for the Glory of Christ, will gather Matter for extolling Him, even from those things, which most of all seem to obscure His Glory. Our Apostle here, is not content to have Him advanced in the Works of Creation and Providence, and His Headship over the Church, but will have His Death also brought in to honour Him.

¹²² James Ferguson, *A Brief Exposition of the Epistles of Paul to the Philippians and Colossians* (1656). Ferguson (1621–67) was a Scottish pastor; his political posture prevented him from taking the professorship in theology at Glasgow. On Ferguson, see *ODNB* (19:354–5).

v. 28. *Warning every Man, Teaching every Man.*

In all the *Warnings*, and *Counsils*, and *Reproofs*, that Ministers give to Men, they should beware of leaving them to make a Righteousness for themselves, but still join a *Teaching*, that shall show them the Way of Coming to their only Saviour.

Again. Our *Understandings* are so dark, that we need much *Teaching*; our *Affections* are so perverse, that as much *Warning* is needful for us.

Ch. II.3. *Treasures of Wisdome & Knowledge.*

The Knowledge of Christ, is a most enriching thing to them that have it.

v. 8. *Lest any Man spoil you.*

Seducers, who make a Prey of Souls, Rejoice as much, in drawing People away from Truth, as Robbers do, when they carry away the *Spoils* of our Goods. Tis a Metaphor, from Theeves, who carry away stray Cattel.

v. 13. *Quickened, together with Him.*

Whenever a Man Beleeves in Christ, he is, from that Moment united unto Him; so that all that He did or suffered as sustaining the Person of His Elect, or, that He procured for their behalf as their Head; in His Death, Grave, and Resurrection, it is, imputed by God unto the Man, & a Right thereto is derived unto him, even as if he had been personally present with our Saviour, all those Times, & given Consent unto Him, to do those things in His Name, & for his behalf.

v. 14. *Blotting out the Handwriting, He took it out of the Way, nailing it to His Cross.*

There is an Obligation on every Man, thro' Vertue of the Curse of the Law, binding him over to undergo the Wrath of God for Sin; subscribed by the Conscience of every Man. The Practice of the Law of Circumcision, was a Confession of this Obligation. And it is no small Difficulty, to quiet the Conscience of an Awakened Sinner; & get his Heart perswaded, that the Obligation is removed. Therefore tis, that the Holy Spirit useth a Variety of Expressions, to assure this Matter. It is *Blotted out*, by Strokes drawn thro' it. But lest the Heart suspect it may still be legible, it is *Taken out of the Way*. And lest it should be found again, tis *Nailed unto the Cross*, & so torn as to be no longer of use, as a Witness against the Beleever.

v. 15. *Having spoiled Principalities & Powers.*

The Power of Satan over the Souls of Men, doth flow from the Sentence | of [22v]
Condemnation for Sin, passed by the Law of God upon them. It was the *Blotting out of the Handwriting*, that *Spoiled* Satan.

But in a Way how unlikely to carnal Sense, does our Saviour bring about His glorious Works! When the Murderers were *Spoiling Him*, & parting His Garments, He then, even by being *Spoiled*, was all the while *Spoiling Principalities & Powers*. When they were putting Him to Disgrace, He was then *making a Shew* of Satan openly & casting Disgrace upon him. When they were Triumphing over Him, He was Triumphing over Devils.

v. 18. *Lett no Man Beguile you of your Reward.*

Idolatry, is a fearful Sin; depriving those who are Bewitched with it, of the Reward of Heaven & Happiness.

And, such is, the Mad Zeal of the Idolaters, that they press their Idolatrous Opinions and Prejudices on People with such Authority, as to adjudge them unto Condemnation if they receive them not: The Word here used signifies; *Lett no Man play the Judge over you, defrauding you of your Reward.* It is taken from the Dealing of unjust Judges and Umpires, in Races, who would by their Authority, press Men to run out of the Way, as they would not lose the Prize, and in the mean time, they make them to lose it.

v. 19. *From which the Body having Nourishment, is Knitt together.*

The more of Spiritual Influence, Belevers do draw from Christ, they will *Knitt* the better among themselves.

v. 21. *Touch not, Taste not, Handle not.*

The Authors of Superstition, are very Diligent, to have their Superstitious Fooleries punctually practiced, & their Commands for them exactly obey'd. The *Rabbi's* here deliver their Injunctions to every Man in particular; in the Singular Number.

Add; There is no End of Superstitious Injunctions, when once they are given way to; They multiply; & the strictness of them growes! First, they forbid, to *Eat*; then to *Taste*; by and by to so much as *Handle*.

v. 23. *Not in any Honour, to the Satisfying of the Flesh.*

As there is an Excessive & Forbidden Pampering of the *Flesh*, so there is a necessary Care of the *Flesh*; or the Body, that it may comfortably discharge the Duties of our Calling. And they who deny this *Honour* to it, tho' even on a Religious Pretence, do sin against God. The Superstitious are here condemned, because many of them, did bring a Neglect of due Care for the *Body* with them.

Ch. III. 8. *Blasphemy.*

Disgraceful Speaking of our Neighbours, as it is a Result of Anger and Malice, is a thing to be mortified; it becomes not Christians; whether it be Railing, or Jeering, or Evil-wishing. Since the other Evils here mentioned, refer to our Neighbour as the Immediate Object, it is probable that, *Blasphemy* may so too.

v. 15. *and be ye Thankful.*

Gratitude for Favours received from others, is a Vertue necessary for Christians; and particularly necessary that Peace may be kept up among them. *Peace* is broken, as for Injuries received, so for Favours not recompensed, unto the Exhortation to *Peace*, our Apostle subjoins, *And be ye Thankful.*

v. 24. *Knowing that of the Lord, yee shall receive the Reward of the Inheritance.*

So poor is the *Reward*, that *Servants* have to expect from their *Masters*, and what is promised, is often so slightly paid, that for their Encouragement, they should often cast their Ey, on the *Heavenly Reward*, wherein God will consider them as His children.

Ch. IV.9. *Onesimus, a Faithful & Beloved Brother.*

True Grace will bring a Man to Esteem & Credit, with the truly Gracious; yea, they will testify their Affection to such a Man, whatever has been his Carriage formerly. This *Onesimus* was probably *Philemons* Fugitive Servant. Yett now, with what a Character commended! with what a Commission honoured!

v. 10. *Marcus, Sisters Son to Barnabas.*

Tho' a Man ha's fallen into an Error to the Trouble, and Scandal of others, yett after Evidence of Amendment, he should be received, esteemed, conversed withal, as formerly. *Mark* formerly deserted *Paul*. [Act. 13.13. & 15.37.]. But upon Proof of his Remorse, he is recommended unto the *Colossians*.

v. 12. *Epaphras saluteth you.*

A Minister ought not to omitt any Duty of Civility necessary to keep a good Understanding between him and his Flock. *Epaphras* was Minister to the *Colossians*.

Ditto. *Compleat in all the Will of God.*

Our Obedience to the Willing of God, must be hearty, and the Command of God must even *Fill* our Affections. *Compleat*, or Filled, is a Metaphor taken from Sails filled with Wind.

v. 13. *He hath a great Zeal, for them that are in Laodicea, & them in Hierapolis.*

The Zeal of a Minister, should be extended unto others, besides those of his proper Charge; especially the Churches that ly nearest unto him; as being in a nearer Capacity, by many Circumstances to advance or hinder the Work of God in his own.

v. 14. *Luke the Beloved Physician.*

Eminent Men should lay out their Love, Respect so wisely that it may tend unto the Commendation of a Man, to be Respected by them.

4476.

Q. Unto whom does the Apostle oppose the true Ministers of the Gospel, when he saies; *Our Exhortation was not of Deceit, nor of Uncleanness, nor in Guile?* v. 3.

A. The *Philosophers* of those times, did συλαγωγειν *make a Prey of Men by Philosophy, & Vain Deceit.*¹ [Col. 2.8.] They were, as the Poet in *Athenæus* tells us, Μειρακιεξαπαται· *Deceivers of young Men;*² and, Δοξοματαιοσοφοι,³ *Desirous of Vainglory.*⁴ Their Business was, Χαριτογλωσσειν, *To speak to please Men;*⁵ They taught only for their *Stipends*; or, εργολαβιας ενεκεν,⁶ as *Diodorus Siculus* saies of the *Græcian Philosophers*. As *Plato* tells us, They were, του κατα την εργολαβιαν κερδους σοχαζομενοι· *Such as philosophized out of Love to gain.*⁷ They are every where cried out upon, as *given to Impurity*, as we read in *Plutarch*, and exercising the vilest Practices, with such as they instructed in their Vain Philosophy. *Athenæus* informs us, They were sometimes banished from the Places of their Abodes, ως διαφθειροντες τους νεους· *As Corrupters of the Youth;*⁸ and they did, κυνικως ζην, *lead the Lives of Cynicks*, shall we say; or, *live like Dogs.*⁹ *Plato* con-

1 συλαγωγειν; “to carry off as spoil.” See Photius, *Bibliotheca* (Codex 230, Bekker page 274a, line 9). PLEASE NOTE: As a general rule, translations of Hebrew, Greek and Latin are rendered in the footnotes; when these are not provided, it indicates that the translation Mather has provided in the text is correct.

2 Μειρακιεξαπαται. Athenæus, *Deipnosophistae* (bk. 4, Kaibel par. 53, line 33).

3 δοξοματαιοσοφοι; “one who aspires or pretends to philosophy.” Athenæus, *Deipnosophistae* (bk. 4, Kaibel par. 53, line 34).

4 Athenæus, a Greek rhetorician and grammarian who flourished in the 2nd–3rd century CE in Egypt. His *Deipnosophistae* (“dinner-table philosophers”) represents a dialogue among dinner guests about a wide range of topics relating to Greek culture; Book 13 discusses Greek sexual mores and the opinions of philosophers about them. See *EAG* (109–11).

5 χαριτογλωσσειν. Athenæus, *Deipnosophistae* (bk. 4, Kaibel par. 57, line 10).

6 εργολαβιας ενεκεν; “for the sake of profit-making.” Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* (lib. 1–20) 2.29.51, line 5. Diodorus of Sicily, Greek historian of the late 1st century BCE. The *Bibliotheca historica* is a universal history; see *EAG* (223–4).

7 του κατα την εργολαβιαν κερδους σοχαζομενοι. This quotation is not from Plato, but from Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* (2.29.6, lines 4–5).

8 ως διαφθειροντας τους νεους. Athenæus, *Deipnosophistae* (bk. 13, Kaibel par. 92, lines 20–21).

9 κυνικως ζην; “to live like dogs.” The word κυνικός serves as the proper name for “Cynics,” but it also means “like dogs,” thus the play on words by Mather. The Cynics were a philosophical school with roots in the thought of Antisthenes (c. 445–365 BCE), which continued into the early 5th century CE. Living according to reason, virtue, and nature were the ideals of this movement, which meant that many also rejected social conventions. For some this meant living on the street, “like dogs.” See “Ancient Skepticism,” in *SEP* (electronic).

fesses, that one Reason, why they were so generally decried, was this; That most of them were, *παμπόνηροι*, *The Worst of Men*.¹⁰

Tis much easier to conceive these Teachers intended here, than the *Gnosticks*.

500.

Q. Wee might have been *Burthensome*, as the *Apostles of Christ*, saith our Apostle. How do you understand that Expression? v. 6.

A. You know, the Apostle speaks elsewhere, about, *A Weight of Glory*. *Βαρος* answers the Hebrew *כבוד* / a *Weight* which is yett rendred *Glory*.¹¹ The Verb signifies, to bee both, *Weighty*, and, *Glorious*. And so does the Word, *Jakar*.¹² Thus, tis not improbable, that what wee render here, *Burdensome*, should bee, *Honourable*, or, in *Dignitie* or *Authoritie*. In the LXX, still *Βαρυς* imports, *Glory* or *Grandeur*. So *ογκος*, a *Weight*, is in one of *Chrysostoms* Homilies, *Honour* or *Splendour*.¹³ *Ἄνδρς*, *Gravis*, and *Ἄνθος*, *Gloria*, differ but in Accents. *Honos* and *Onus*, are not much unlike.¹⁴ *Vir Gravis*, is used by the Latin Orator, for a Person of *Place*, and *Worth*. *Graves Viri*, in the old Roman Way of Speaking, are Men of *Eminency*. *Baro*, which comes from, *Βαρυς*, is used by *Tully*, as a Name of *Dignitie* & *Authoritie*, and it is as much as, *Patricius*, a Nobleman.¹⁵ Hence, our Word, *Baron*, for a *Lord*. And *Grave*, answers to *Baron*; whence, *Palsgrave*, *Landgrave*, *Margrave*, *Burgrave*; *Grave*, among the *Germans* is, a Magistrate. In *England* heretofore, *Port-greve*, was the Name of the Chief Magistrate of the City of *London*, until the Time of King *John*, who turn'd it into that of *Mayor*.

|
4477.

[2v]

Q. Of the *Jewes*, it is here said, They were *contrary to all Men*? v. 15.

A. Tis what also *Tacitus* affirms concerning them. *Apud ipsos Fides obstinata, Misericordia in promptu, sed adversus omnes alios Hostile odium*.¹⁶

¹⁰ *παμπόνηροι*; “thoroughly depraved.”

¹¹ *כבוד* (glory).

¹² *יָקָר* (precious or magnificent).

¹³ *Βαρύς*; *ογκος*. John Chrysostom, *Third Homily on 1 Thessalonians*, *NPNFi* (13:332). Chrysostom (347–407 CE) was archbishop of Constantinople, whose hundreds of extant sermons include a number on the Pauline epistles; see *NSHERK* (3:72–5).

¹⁴ “Honor” and “burden.”

¹⁵ Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BCE), Rome’s greatest rhetorician (hence, “the Latin Orator”) and the greatest influence on the development of literary Latin in the West; see *ERE* (117–18).

¹⁶ “Among those of that obstinate faith, they are manifestly compassionate, but against all others they exhibit a hostile enmity.” See Tacitus, *The Histories* (5.4–5). Tacitus (56–117 CE) was a Roman senator, one of its most important historians (*Annals*, and *Histories*), and one of the few early external sources to mention Christ; *ERE* (521).

But that which the Apostle mainly intends, is, their fond Imagination, that God would not grant Salvation unto the Gentiles on any other Terms, than their being Circumcised, and Obedient unto the Law of *Moses*.

Q. Why does the Apostle, writing to the *Thessalonians*, insist so much on the *Wickedness* and *Wretchedness*, of the unbelieving *Jewes*? v. 15.

A. Look into Act. 17.5 – and you'll see the Reason.¹⁷

¹⁷ Acts 17:5 relates the story of Paul being attacked by the Jews in Thessalonica after preaching at the synagogue.

4478.

Q. What Special Occasion was there for the Apostle to insist upon it, unto the *Thessalonians*; That *every one should know, how* [much it is his Duty] *to possess his* [Body, which is the] *Vessel*, [of the Holy Spirit,] *in Sanctification and Honour*; [free from those Lusts which are παθη ατιμιας, Rom. 1.26. Dishonourable Passions?] v. 4.

A. *Socrates* tells us, Εκει γαρ πλειστη αταξια και ακαθαρσια. For there was *all Manner of Disorder and Impurity*.¹⁸ And *Athenæus* informs us, Την τουτων τρυφήν,¹⁹ That *their Luxury invited the Persians into Greece*; and it was their Custome in their Banquetts, to bring in their *Wenches Dancing Naked*, and afterwards they *enjoy'd them at their Pleasure*.

4479.

Q. *As the Gentiles* do? How did the *Gentiles* do? v. 5.

A. *Origen* gives us to know, That *Whoredome* was no Crime among them; They taught, μη παντως παρα το καθηκον τουτο γινεσθαι.²⁰ The *Orator* saies, about a Whoring of Young Men; *Quando Reprehensum? Quando non permissum? Quando denique fuit ut quod Licet, non Liceret?*²¹ *Epictetus* himself advises them to whore only, ως νομικον εστι, *As the Lawes allowed it*.²² Now that, saith *Plato*, was, των ελευθερων γυναικων μη εραν.²³ *Not to meddle with Fine Women, but only*

18 ἐκεῖ γὰρ δὴ πλείστη ἀταξία καὶ ἀκολασία. *Socrates*, in *Plato's Crito* (*Stephanus*, page 53, sec. d, line 3–4).

19 τὴν τούτων τρυφήν; “this very softness (self-indulgence).” *Athenaeus*, *Deipnosophistae* (*Kaibel*, bk. 14, par. 83, lines 14–15). On *Athenaeus*, see *Mather's* entry on 2:3.

20 μή πάντως παρὰ τὸ καθήκον τοῦτο γίνεσθαι; “In no way is it contrary to what is proper, that this take place.” *Origen*, *Contra Celsum* (4.26, lines 39–40). *Mather's* source here is *Daniel Whitby's Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* (2:383). *Whitby* (1638–1726) was an Anglican cleric and a prolific author; he engaged in anti-Catholic polemics, but also argued for a latitudinarian treatment of Protestant Dissenters. In his later years, he adopted (publically) *Arminian* and (posthumously) *Arian* doctrinal positions. See *ODNB* (58:530–2).

21 “When is it reprehensible? When is it impermissible? When has what is lawful, ever been unlawful?” *Cicero*, *Pro Caelio* (48.1, lines 5–7), via *Whitby*, *Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* (2:383). On *Cicero*, see *Mather's* entry on 2:6.

22 ὡς νομικὸν ἐστί. *Epictetus* (55–135 CE), a Greek Stoic philosopher based in Rome until *Domitian* banished philosophers from the city (93 CE). His major work, *The Discourses*, was compiled by his student *Arrian*; see *ERE* (197).

23 τῶν ἐλευθέρων γυναικῶν; “not to love free women.” Adapted from *Plato's Symposium* (*Stephanus*, pages 181–2, sec. E-A, lines 6). *Whitby*, *Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* (2:383), cites *Plato's Laws* as the source here.

*Libertines & Servants, & those that sold themselves to it. Demosthenes declares of all the Grecians, τὰς μὲν ἐταίρας ἡδονῆς ἐνεκα ἔχομεν.*²⁴

The το παρὰ φύσιν τὸ λῆμμα, obtained in Greece, without Blame, saith Bardesanes;²⁵ Among all the Grecians, & many Barbarians, saith Plato; and among the Cretians, and Lacedemonians. Plautus, and Petronius and Aristophanes, and Athenæus, tell us, How prone the Romans were to it, & especially the Philosophers.²⁶

2739.

Q. Why does the Apostle particularly insist upon this Caution, to the *Thessalonians*; *That no Man go beyond, or Defraud his Brother?* v. 6.

A. Such a Caution he also gave to the *Ephesians*, (Ch. 4.19.) *Grotius* observes, that both the *Thessalonians* and the *Ephesians*, had many eminent *Merchants* among them, and Persons of Traffick & Business: which rendred this Caution exceeding proper for them. Ὑπερβαίνειν, is, *Violare pacta*.²⁷ Πλεονεκτεῖν, is, *In Contractibus plus sibi Sumere quàm patitur rei cum re, aut pretii cum re æqualitas*.²⁸

4480.

Q. But what was the Opinion of the Ancients upon it?

A. All the Greek Scholiasts look on it, as a Prohibition of *Adultery*. God hath putt Bounds to our Appetite, say *Oecumenius* and *Theophylact*, by tying us to *One Wife*; so that to be Familiar with another, is, παραβασίς καὶ πλεονεξία.²⁹ *Jerom* also, observes this to be intimated, by the Connexion of the Words, with them that went just before.³⁰

²⁴ τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἐταίρας ἡδονῆς ἕνεκ' ἔχομεν; "They have prostitutes for the sake of pleasure." Demosthenes, *Against Neaera*, in *Orations* (6:347ff). Demosthenes (384–322 BCE), Greek orator and politician who supported a failed effort by Athens to resist Alexander's hegemony; see *EAG* (217–19).

²⁵ τὸ παρὰ φύσιν τὸ λῆμμα; the "adventure contrary to nature" obtained in Greece, etc. Whitby cites Eusebius's *Preparatio evangelica* (6.10) as his source. Eusebius cites Porphyry's *On the Philosophy derived from Oracles* at length, in which Bardesanes is one of the interlocutors.

²⁶ See Whitby, *Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* (2:383). Plautus (254–184 BCE), a Roman playwright; see "Plautus," *OCCL* (electronic). Petronius, a 1st-century courtier of Nero and author of the *Satyricon*; see *ERE* (423). Aristophanes (446–386 BCE), a Greek playwright; *EAG* (96–8). On Athenæus, see Mather's entry on 2:3.

²⁷ "To go beyond" is "to violate agreements."

²⁸ "To be greedy" is "in contracts, to assume to oneself more than equity allows, either in kind or in money." Grotius, *Annotiones in Novum Testamentum* (7:662). Grotius (1583–1645), a Dutch Reformed (Arminian) legal theorist and religious controversialist, wrote a number of works defending the Christian religion as well as on biblical interpretation; see *NSHERK* (5:85–6).

²⁹ παραβασίς καὶ πλεονεξία; "transgression and greediness."

³⁰ See Whitby, *Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* (2:383). Oecumenius, 10th-century bishop in Thessaly and putative author of a number of biblical commentaries, including one on the Pauline epistles; see *NSHERK* (8:226). Theophylact (1055–1107), a

This is certain; The Words υπερβαινειν and, επιβαινειν, bear such a Sense in other Authors.³¹ Thus in *Philo*, and in *Plutarch*. And the Hebrew /אורב/ whence באינן, is derived. And so does πλεονεξία.³²

What we render, *In any Matter*, may be rendred, *In the Matter*, or, *In this Matter*.

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 4v]

[▽4v]

Q. On that, *In any Matter?* v. 6.

A. It may be translated, *In such a Wicked Act*; πραγμα, in a bad Sense, is the same with *Facinus* in the Latin.³³

Q. A Paraphrase on, *I would not have you to be ignorant?* v. 13.

A. Take Mr. Pyle's.

"I must particularly arm you, against the proud Suggestions and Pretences of the *Jewish Zealots*, who would fright you into a Beleef, *That no uncircumcised Person, or any that forsake the Jewish Religion, can partake of the Future Happiness, any more than an Heathen, that ha's no Hope or Prospect of it.*"³⁴

Q. We find a certain *Order* observed in the *Resurrection of the Dead*. *The Dead in Christ Rise first*; and, *Then* [or, *Afterwards*,] the *Living that remain are caught up*. Is it not possible, that there may be some further Points of an *Orderly* and *Liesurely* Proceeding in that illustrious Matter? v. 16, 17.

A. There is a pious Gentleman, one *Mauritius Bohemus*, Author of a little Book entituled, *Stillicidium Fontis Sacri*; who propounds a Notion, which I thought worth præserving.³⁵

He thinks, That the Saints themselves will not *Rise* all of them together, at once; but according to the *Successive Generations* wherein they lived.

And, he thinks, That the Sight of this wonderful Transaction so successively carried on, will have a notable Tendency, to prepare the Church, for a Meeting with our Saviour, in the glorious Translation intended for it.

Bulgarian archbishop whose commentaries, including one on the Pauline epistles, are largely derivative of Oecumenius's work; see *NCE* (13:934). Whitby cites Jerome's commentary on Ephesians (4:19) as his source.

31 υπερβαινειν; "to transgress" and επιβαινειν; "to tread upon (or mount)."

32 The Hebrew word בֵּיֵא means "to go in, or enter" and can have sexual connotations, as does באינן, which means "to walk" or "to sexually mount"; πλεονεξία means "to take advantage of."

33 "Act" (πραγμα); "crime" (facinus).

34 Thomas Pyle, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:134). Pyle (1674–1756) was an Anglican cleric and an outspoken Arian; see *ODNB* (45:622–3).

35 Mauritius Boheme, *Stillicidium Fontis Sacri, vel Observationum Practicarum ex SS. Scripturis Centuria* (1663).

I conclude with my Pious and Modest Author; *Hanc tamen opinionem non ità Mordicus tuemur, ut pro eà Contendamus*.³⁶

I find *Ambrose* using Expressions that lean this Way. In his Treatise, *De Fide Resurrectionis*, he ha's these Words. *Licet in Momenta resuscitentur omnes, omnes tamen Meritorum ordine Suscitantur*.³⁷

But I find, this Notion will not agree, with what, is indeed the Truth of the Matter.³⁸

[△] [△Insert ends]

³⁶ “Nevertheless we do not hold fast to this conjecture, though we contend for it.” This work was published in English as *A Christian's Delight, or Scripture-Meditations* (1654). Mauritius Boheme (fl. 1646–63) was a German pastor who settled in England during the Interregnum, was ejected from his church after Restoration, and subsequently returned to Germany. On Boheme, see *ODNB* (6:436–7).

³⁷ “It is possible for all to be raised in one motion, while all are raised nevertheless in order of merit.” Ambrose (c. 340–397 CE), *De Fide Resurrectionis*, *NPNFii* (10:194).

³⁸ Mather was committed to the idea of a double resurrection, hence his juxtaposition of Boheme's views (which coincide with his own) and those of Ambrose. See Mather, *The Threefold Paradise of Cotton Mather* (33–4, 48–9). See also his commentary in the present volume on Philippians 3:11.

509.

Q. Unto what may that Passage allude, *When they shall say, Peace and Safety, then Sudden Destruction cometh upon them?* v.3.

A. *Josiah*, the best Man and the best King; but the most unhappy *Father* in the World, not having so much as *One Good Son*; God killed him speedily, that hee might bring a speedy Wrath upon the Nation. His next Successor, was his Son *Jehoahaz*; and this *Jehoahaz*, was called, *Shallum*; which you know, signifies *Peace*. The Jewes now had nothing but *Shallum*, in their mouths; their Dream, their Talk, was of *Peace* confirmed unto them. While they thus pleased themselves, God in Three Months time, cast the Net of *Egypt* over that *Lions Whelp*; and a *Sudden Destruction* quickly followed, upon all the Land.³⁹

|
4481.

[6v]

Q. What may be intended by that Passage, *That whether we wake or sleep, we may live together with Him*, [at his Coming?] v. 10.

A. 'Tis generally taken; *Whether we Live or Dy*. But because in all the Places where *Dying* is called *Sleeping*, the Word is never *καθευδω*, but always *κοιμάομαι*,⁴⁰ Dr. *Whitby* præfers this Paraphrase: "Whether the Lord come in the *Night*, and find us taking our Natural Rest; or in the *Day*, when we are Waking."⁴¹

Q. On that, *Support the Weak?* v. 14.

A. Confirm and Restore such as Labour under any Doubts and Prejudices against our Holy Religion.

This is *Pyle's* Paraphrase.⁴²

|
4482.

[7r]

Q. What may be the Meaning of, *Quench not the Spirit?* v. 19.

A. Take the ancient Paraphrase; *Χαρισμα μη εκφρασσετε και κωλυετε, τω αποστρεφθαι και μη εαν λαλειν. Hinder not the Gifts of the Spirit, by turning away from*

³⁹ On *Josiah*, see 2 Kings 23.

⁴⁰ Never "sleep" (*καθευδω*) but always "put to sleep" (*κοιμάομαι*).

⁴¹ *Whitby, Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:388).

⁴² *Pyle, Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:134).

them that have them, and not suffering them to speak.⁴³ These Gifts, as *Whitby* observes, were Quenched by Strife, Emulation, Schisms, & Contentions about them. And by a Disorderly Use of them, for Ostentation, more than Edification. And neglecting, or forbidding, the Exercise of them. [Consider, 1. Cor. 3.1, 3. and, chap. 14. and 1. Cor. 15.39. and 1. Tim. 4.14.]⁴⁴

Q. On, *Abstaining from all Appearances of Evil?* v. 22.

A. In *Bamidbar Rabba*, tis a Præcept of the Hebrewes. *Longè sis a Feditate, et ab eo quod Simile est Feditati.*⁴⁵

Here, this Paraphrase has been given; “Renounce every thing that upon due Examination appears to be False and Ill-designed.”⁴⁶

Good Dr. *Mayer* says, We must not look on any *Lascivious Pictures*, which have *The Appearance of Evil.*⁴⁷

4483.

Q. What may be the Distinction, of, *Spirit*, and *Soul*, and *Body?* v. 23.

A. Dr. *Whitby* observes, That the Apostle here justifies the *Old* and the *True*, Philosophy; That Man is, as *Nemesius* calls him, Τριμερης υποστασις.⁴⁸ *A Compound of Three Differing Parts.*⁴⁹

Jamblicus gives us the Doctrine of the *Pythagoreans*; That *Man* does consist of *Soul* and *Body*: but, that the *Soul* does consist of *Two Parts*, one endued with Reason, and one without Reason.⁵⁰ This also was the Philosophy of the *Platonists*; as not only *Nemesius*, but also *Salust*, informs us, That there is in *Man* a *Soul Irrational*, which follows the Affections of the *Body*, and a *Mind* which uses the *Body*

43 Χάρισμα μὴ ἐκφράσσετε καὶ κολύετε, τῷ ἀποστρέφεισθαι καὶ μὴ εἶναι λαλεῖν.

44 *Whitby, Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:389).

45 “May you be distant from filthiness, from that which is similar to filthiness.” Perhaps an adaptation of *Bamidbar Rabba* (7.4): “How long will this people despise Me? And how long will they not believe in Me, for all the signs which I have wrought with them” (Numb. 14:11). *Bamidbar Rabbah* is a midrashic text on the book of Numbers dating from the 12th century; see *EJ* (14:184).

46 This echoes *Whitby’s* comment on the verse; see his *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:390).

47 John Mayer (1583–1664), *English Catechisme, Explained* (1623), p. 356, an edition of which (d. 1635) appears in the greater Mather library; on Mayer, see *ODNB* (37:573). This line citing Mayer is written in a hand other than that of Cotton Mather, quite possibly that of his son, Samuel, who may have been practicing his penmanship while studying the catechism. The hand writing is identical to entries on Gal. 6:17 [23r], Eph. 3:18 [24v], Col. 4:16 [20v], and Phil. 4:22 [22v].

48 Τριμερής ὑπόστασις; “A three-fold substance.”

49 See *Whitby, Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* (2:383). *Nemesius* was a late 4th-century Christian philosopher and author of *De Natura Hominis*; see *NCE* (10:232).

50 *Jamblicus*, or *Iamblicus* (c. 245–325 CE), a Neoplatonist philosopher of Syrian origin; see *ERE* (268). *Whitby, Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* (2:383) cites *Iamblicus’s Protrepticus* as the source.

as its Instrument, & fights against it.⁵¹ It was the Philosophy of the *Stoicks* too; Whence *Antoninus* tells us, The *Three Constituent Parts* of Man are, σῶμα, ψυχή, νοῦς· the *Body*, the *Soul*, and the *Mind*.⁵² *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, and *Origen*, give us the same Opinion.⁵³ *Gassendus* and *Willis* have established this Doctrine, something beyond Contradiction; and *Le Clerc*, they think, is unable to confute them.⁵⁴ The Conflict between the *Spirit* and the *Flesh*, mentioned in the Scriptures, is much explained by this Doctrine. The Το Ἀρχικόν⁵⁵ also, or the *Ruling Principle* in us, cannot well be understood, nor can we well apprehend, what it is to govern, without admitting this Inferiour Soul, as the Fountain of our Sensual Appetites. Tis for his following the Motions and Appetites of this Inferiour Soul, that | a Man is called, ψυχικός.⁵⁶ The *Animal Man*. By conveying of this ψυχή, [8v] or Inferiour Soul, unto his Posterity, *Adam* is said to be made εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν.⁵⁷

The Annotators upon *Homer*, find, That in his Notion of the Soul after Death, he followed the Philosophy of the *Egyptians*; who supposed Man to be compounded of Three Parts; An Intelligent Mind; and, A Vehicle for that Mind; and, A Body.⁵⁸ The *Mind*, they call φρήν, or ψυχή· The *Vehicle*, εἰδωλον, *Image*, or *Soul*; And the Gross Body, Σῶμα.⁵⁹ The *Soul*, in which the *Mind* is lodged, they supposed exactly agreeable to the *Body*, in Shape, & Bulk, & Features. This being in the Body, as the Statue in the Mould, so soon as it goes forth, is the *Image*, of that *Body* in which it is incased.

[▽Insert from 10v]⁶⁰

[▽10v]

Q. But this Notion ought to come under a further Consideration; because you know how much it has *animated* the *Arian* and *Apollinarian* Hæresy; That our

51 Sallust (85–36 BCE), a Roman historian and supporter of Julius Caesar; see *ERE* (485). Whitby, *Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* (2:383) cites Sallust's *De Diis* as the source.

52 σῶμα, ψυχή, νοῦς. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (121–180 CE), emperor of Rome and author of *Meditations*, a work of Stoic moral philosophy; see *ERE* (349–51).

53 Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–215 CE), *Stromata*, *ANF* (2:381–402). The *Philocalia* of Origen (184–253 CE), an anthology of extracts of various works composed about a century after his death, many of which are now lost.

54 Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655), *Syntagma philosophicum* (“Physica”) (1658). Gassendi was a French Catholic priest, philosopher, and scientist; see “Gassendi,” *SEP* (electronic). Thomas Willis (1621–75), *De Anima brutorum* (1672). Willis was a physician, an important theorist on the body, and a member of the Royal Society; see *ODNB* (59:392–4). Jean Le Clerc (1657–1736), a Swiss Reformed cleric and scholar who wrote broadly in philosophy, theology, history, and biblical studies; see *NSHERK* (3:145).

55 Ἀρχικόν; “that which rules.”

56 ψυχικός; “having to do with the soul” (Latin: animus); hence, the “animal (soulish) man.”

57 εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν; “into a living soul.” This whole section is taken almost verbatim from Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:390–1).

58 The scholastic and early Renaissance commentators on classical literature were often collectively referred to as the “Annotators.”

59 φρήν; εἰδωλον.

60 See Appendix B.

Saviour had not the *Rational Soul* of Humanity, but that the *Logos* did at His Incarnation supply the Room of such a Soul? v. 23.

A. ⁶¹A Learned Author of certain *Considerations*, has offered such things as these to be considered.⁶²

Justin Martyr, in a Fragment of his, *De Resurrectione*, saies, *What is Man, but, τὸ ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος συνεστὸς ζῶον λογικόν. A Rational Animal consisting of Soul & Body?*⁶³ And he adds; *That which arises from the Union of both, is called Man.* And in the following Paragraphs; *If God ha's called Man, to the Resurrection of Life, He ha's not called a Part, but the whole Man, which is Soul & Body.* Here *ψυχή* stands for the Rational Soul. Hence, when he makes the entire Person of our Saviour, to consist of *Body*, and *Soul*, and *Word*, he means a *Rational Soul*, besides the *Word*.⁶⁴

But what then is, the *Spirit*, in the famous Trichotomy now before us? According to this Father, The *Spirit* belongs only to the Faithful. It is therefore an Additional Accomplishment; and the *Spiritual Principle*, superadded unto the *Rational*, which distinguishes a Beleever from the rest of Mankind in a State of Infidelity. It is the enlightening and enlivening Operation & Manifestation of the Divine *Spirit*, in the Soul of a Beleever, leading it unto Perfection and Happiness, & communicated unto it, in a Degree & Measure adapted unto its Condition, and

Capacity, & so appropriated unto it, as to be alwayes with it, & be numerically different from the like Manifestations of the Divine Spirit, in the Souls of others. The Intent of the Apostolical Prayer, here is: "May the Union between *Body* and *Soul* and *Spirit*, be so præserted, that no *Blame* may ly upon the *Bodily* and *Rational* Part, for the withdraw of the *Spiritual*." This is that whereof we read; Gal. V.16, 17. and, Rom. VIII.9. The Philosophy of the Refined Pagans, confirms this Notion, of a *Spiritual* Principle superadded unto the *Rational*. *Hierocles* calls it; *The Mind*; placing the *Rational Soul* in the *Middle*, between the *Mind*, & the *Irrational Part*; and he makes it the *Fountain of Truth* and *Vertue* to the Soul.⁶⁵ *Irenæus* also expressly excludes, the *Wicked*, from the *Spirit*. [Lib. 2. c. 26.] and the Bulk of Mankind: [Lib. 2. c.12.] when he attributes the *Spirit*,

⁶¹ See Appendix A.

⁶² This "learned author" does not appear to be any of Mather's stock commentators.

⁶³ τὸ ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος συνεστὸς ζῶον λογικόν. Justin Martyr, *De resurrectione* (Morel, p. 593, sec. D, line 3).

⁶⁴ Justin Martyr (103–165 CE), *On the Resurrection*, ANF (1:297). Martyr was an important patristic apologist for Christianity; see NCE (8:93–95).

⁶⁵ There are a number of figures named Hierocles in the patristic period; this may be a reference to the 2nd-century Stoic philosopher, or to Hierocles of Alexandria's work, *The Vehicle of the Soul*.

unto those *only*, who keep under their Appetites; but the Breath of Life, or the Rational Soul, to all Mankind in general.⁶⁶

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 9r]⁶⁷

[▽9r]

Nay, he makes *Adam* himself to have nothing superior unto a *Rational Soul*, before his Fall; as not having yett attained by the Conquest, of his Appetites, to the *Quickening Spirit*; which *Spirit* he calls, a *Portion of the Spirit of God*: [cap. 8.] And the *Spirit* poured forth in the Latter Times on the Children of Adoption. [cap. 12]⁶⁸ Of the same Opinion, is *Tatian*, [*Orat. ad Graecos*, § 22.25.] who calls, the *Spirit* in Man superadded unto the *Soul*, the *Divine Spirit*, & the *Spirit of God*; and denies it to be in all Men, & attributes it unto the Obedient only.⁶⁹

To bestow in this Place, a Touch upon the *Apollinarian* Hæresy; we will go on with our *Considerations*.⁷⁰ It was the Will of the Father, [1. Cor. XV.21.] *That as by Man came Death, so by Man also should come the Resurrection of the Dead*. And, [Gen. III.15.] *That the Soul of the Woman should bruise the Serpents Head*. Now, to know what the *Son* of God, or *Word*, assumed, that He might become a *Man*, we must enquire into the *Nature* and *Constituent* Parts of the *First Man*. These were; [Gen. II.7.] A *Body* out of the Dust, and the *Breath of Life* to Quicken it. The like Principles we have in *Ezekiels* Visional *Resurrection*. The only Difference is; That what is at the Creation called, A *Breath*, is at the Resurrection called, A *Spirit*; possibly, to shew, that the Life of this Quickening Principle, will be as much exalted in the Resurrection, above what it was in the Creation, as the Force of a *Wind* is above that of a *Breath*. The Quæstion then is, What is that *Breath* or *Spirit*, that Quickens the *Body*? The Answer is easy; The *Rational Soul*, as containing a Vital Power in it. Nothing else was added unto the first Created Body of *Adam*, or to the Reformed Bodies of the Dead. Neither could we have a just History of the Creation of *Adam*, beyond that of the Brutes, if, the Rational Soul were excluded [from] the Account. As then the First *Man*, who brought in Death, did consist of a Body and a Rational Soul, so *Man*, who was to cause the Resurrection of the Dead, must be of the same

⁶⁶ Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* (2.26; 2.12).

⁶⁷ See Appendix B.

⁶⁸ Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, ANF (1:397–8, 371–3, 368–9). Irenaeus was a 2nd-century bishop of Lyon and anti-Gnostic polemicist; see NCE (7:570–1).

⁶⁹ Tatian (c. 120–180 CE), *Oratio ad Graecos*, ANF (2:70). Tatian was an active apologist against Roman paganism and author of the *Diatessaron*, the earliest harmony of the four canonical gospels; see NCE (13:764–5).

⁷⁰ Apollinaris (d.390 CE), bishop of Laodicea, best known for his anti-Arian Christology, which emphasized his divinity to the diminution of his humanity. Apollinarians held that the incarnate Son of God assumed a human body but lacked a human soul (νοῦς). From the orthodox (Nicene) perspective, this was a denial of Christ's full humanity. After his death, his followers merged with Monophysite churches whose Christology was most akin to their own. See NCE (1:559–60).

Principles; otherwise he would not be a *Man*, but of a different Species. It was the Free-Will of the Rational Soul in *Adam*, that sinned unto Death, and the Free-Will of the Rational Soul in our Saviour, [that] must obey unto Life. What could be done by, *The Word*, for the Redemption of Man, being itself of a Different Nature from the Soul of Man? See Math. XXVI.38. See also Luk. XXIII.46. Compared with Math. XXVII.50. and, Joh. XIX.30.

Irenæus accordingly saies, [L. 5. c. 1.] *Christ gave His Soul for our Souls, & His Flesh for our Flesh*. And elsewhere explains his Notion of *Soul*, to mean the *Rational Soul*.⁷¹

Thus *Tertullian* saies of our Saviour, *Animam subiit*;⁷² the Son of God entered into a *Soul*.⁷³

Origen also speaks of such a Rational Soul in our Jesus, as was in the Prophets.

[8v resumes] [8v resumes]
3279.⁷⁴

Q. Should it be read, *That your whole Spirit, and Soul, and Body, might be preserved Blameless?* v. 23.

A. No. 'Tis noted by Dr. *Grew*, that the Apostle speaks more properly and philosophically; *That your whole Selves, Spirit, and Soul, and Body*.⁷⁵

Q. How, *To the Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ?* v. 23.

A. It is well observed in the, *Reliquiæ Ludolfianæ*; That it may be rendred, *In the Presence of our Lord*. That is, as my Holy *Ludolf* expresses it; That CHRIST, “after He is once formed within you, [Gal. IV.19.] may præside over all the Faculties of *Spirit*, and *Soul*, and *Body*; and by His Constant and Immediate Presence direct and influence, all the Actions resulting from it.”⁷⁶

Q. The Effects of *Sanctification*, are by the Apostle wished for our *Spirit*, and *Soul*, and *Body*: What understand you, by *Spirit*, in this Distribution? v. 23.

A. The Same that almost every one *Understands*; and, if you will, that *by which* every one *Understands*.

⁷¹ Irenæus, *Against Heresies*, ANF (1:526–7).

⁷² “He has submitted to having a soul.” Tertullian, *De Carne Christi* (ch. 12, line 29).

⁷³ Tertullian wrote two treatises in this vein: *On the Soul*, and *On the Flesh of Christ*.

⁷⁴ See Appendix A.

⁷⁵ Likely Obadiah Grew (1607–89), D.D. Oxford; possibly his *Sinner's Justification* (1669). Grew was an Anglican minister but, as a non-Conformist, was ejected from his parish in 1662; see ODNB (23:799–800).

⁷⁶ Henry William Ludolph (1655–1710), a German civil servant who settled in London and served in the court of Prince George of Denmark, the husband of Queen Anne. The *Reliquiæ* (or “Remains”), a collection of his reflections on various subjects pertaining to religious piety, was published in 1712. See “Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf,” *NeDB* (electronic).

But there are, who judge that by *Spirit* here, is meant our *Humour*, or our *Temper*; which is that *Air* of our Complexion, that results from some Circumstances of the *Union* between our *Soul* and our *Body*. Every Man, is born with some Spirit which we call, the *Genius* of the Man; and a good Man, would gladly have his *Humour*, his *Temper*, his *Genius*, cured of all that may bee distasteful in it. When a Man, is thoroughly acquainted with his own Disposition, and both *Limits* it, & *Applies* it so, as that it may serve him, like *Sails* to a Ship, or like *Wings* to a Bird, in the Glorifying of God, then is the *Spirit* of that Person sanctified.

One good Man, is like, *Abraham*, of a *free, noble, spending* Disposition; Lett him now take advantage from this, to supply & nourish the Distressed Members of the Lord. Another good Man, is like *Sampson*, of a *Pleasant* and *Merry* Disposition: Lett him from this, take advantage to bee most in Thanksgiving to God; & in the Consolations of Christianitie. Here you shall see a good Man, like *Elijah*, of a *Choleric* Disposition: From hence lett him take occasion, to testify with more Warmth and Zeal, against the Sins in his Neighbourhood. There you shall see a good Man, like *Jeremiah*, of a *Melancholy* Disposition: Lett him now turn this, into the Channel of Mourning over his own Sins & the Sufferings of others. A good Man sometimes is of a Disposition, like *Peters*, very *Forward*: Lett him from hence bee ready, to undertake any Testimony that must bee born for the Truths and Wayes of God. A Good Man, sometimes, is of a Disposition, like *John*, very *Loving*: Lett him then sett himself to enkindle *Charity*, & extinguish Contention, in those that are about him. One while a good Man, is like *Moses*, of a Disposition very *Composed*; Lett him then keep up an even Walk with God, from whatever Points of the Compass the Winds may blow upon him. Otherwhiles, a good Man is like *Heman*, of a *Suspicious* Disposition; Lett him then ever suspect, lest a Lying Divel, a False Heart, bee putting some Cheat upon him.⁷⁷ Perhaps, a good Man is like *David*, of a *Courageous* Disposition; Lett him then bee valiant for the *Truth upon the Earth*, or, perhaps hee is like *Barak*, of a *Cowardly* Disposition; Lett him then, by the *Fear of Death*, bee driven to the utmost Præparation for it. I was going to touch upon a *Revengeful*, and upon a *Penurious* Disposition;

⁷⁷ Heman (meaning “faithful”) is mentioned several times in I Chronicles; he was a Levite appointed by King David as a Temple singer and is also described as a seer (see 6:33ff, 25:1–7). In view here no doubt is Ps. 88, a song of spiritual affliction and despair, attributed to a Heman. Perhaps the “suspicious” aspect of Heman’s character in view here is his despair – initially “suspicious” or mistrusting of God’s deliverance – although this is an anomalous usage of the word (a word incidentally that does not appear in the KJV translation of Ps. 88). Mather’s exposition of Psalm 88 in the *Biblia* remarks on Heman’s pious character but nothing beyond this – for Mather, Ps. 88 is a Christological psalm. Heman seems to have a kind of Puritan trope for the troubled soul; see, for example, Charles Chauncy’s anti-New Light sermon, *The New Creature Describ’d* (1741), p. 27, or Thomas Prince’s funeral sermon, *The Case of Heman Considered* (1756). See also Pettit, *The Heart Prepared* (110).

but, I can't remember any good Man, in all the Bible, so disposed. I only Add;
I wish wee could reduce our Disposition, to the *Law of Christ*; Wee should bee
most excellent, that Way that our *Disposition* goes.

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 2v]

[▽2v]

1140.

Q. When the Apostle speaks, of our Lord Jesus Christ, being *Reveled from Heaven, with His Mighty Angels, in flaming Fire*; is there any Passage in the Old Testament, from whence hee takes what hee speaks? v. 7, 8.

A. Yes. Tis evidently taken from, that Passage, in Dan. 7.9. *I beheld, until the Thrones were pitched down, & the ancient of Dayes did sitt, whose Garment was white as Snow. His Throne was like the Fiery Flames, his Wheels as burning Fire; A Fiery Stream issued & came forth from before Him; Thousands of Thousands ministred unto Him, and Ten thousand times Ten thousand stood before Him.*

Compare 'em diligently, and the Comparison, will suggest some Singular Thoughts unto you.

And that which here quickly followes, *And from the Glory of His Power*; tis fetched, from Isa. 2.19, 21.

I will carry on this Matter, with a Remark of Dr. *Knight* upon it.² The Words of the Prophet are to be rendred so. *They shall go into the Holes of the Rocks, & into the Caves of the Earth, from the Presence of the Fear of the Lord; from the Glory of His Majesty, when He ariseth to shake terribly the Earth.* The Term *Fear*, sometimes is used, for the *Object* of our *Fear*, not for the *Passion* of it. [see Gen. XXXI.42, 53.] The LXX render it; *From the Presence of the Fear of the Lord, and from the Glory of His Power*; The very Terms that are used by the Apostle; but with only this Difference, that *The Fear of the Lord*, is constricted into, *The Lord*. Now, by the Way, *the Lord* means in the Prophet *Isaiah*, is the Lord JEHOVAH: And the Time for the Fulfilling of the Prophecy, is according to the *Jews*; in the Days of the *Messiah*, and at the Day of Judgment. *The Lord*, means the Epistle of *Paul*, is the Lord JESUS; as is evident from the Context. It

¹ See Appendix B.

² Mather's following extracts are from Dr. James Knight's sermon on Luke 24:17, *Christ's Divinity Proved from Redemption* (preached on May 2, 1721, and collected in *Eight Sermons Preached at the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, In Defence of the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, And of the Holy Spirit; at the Lecture founded by the Honoured Lady Moyer* (1721), Seventh Sermon, pp. 254, 255, 256, 257. Knight also published *A Discourse on the Conflagration and Renovation of the World*, which also fits this context, but this work did not appear until 1736. Knight (1672–1735) was an Anglican cleric, a fellow at Oxford. An inveterate opponent of Arianism in the Church of England, he sparred in print with William Whiston.

will then follow, that the SON of GOD is JEHOVAH, or one with JEHOVAH, the GOD of the Jews.

The following Words, *When He shall come to be glorified in His Saints, & admired in all them that Believe*; is the very Style wherein the Psalmist expresses the Majesty of the Infinite GOD: [Psal. LXXXIX.7.] *GOD is greatly to be Feared*, or, *GLORIFIED, in the Assembly of the Saints; and to be had in Reverence*, or, *ADMIRED, of all them that are round about Him*.³

[△] [△Insert ends]

[3r]

Q. It is asserted, That the *Wicked* shall be *punished with everlasting Destruction*; and this Punishment is resolved into the, *δικαιοκρισία*, or, *Just Judgment* of God.⁴ It is objected, That an

Eternity of Punishment for Temporary Crimes, is hardly consistent with the *Justice* of God, much less, with His *Goodness*. Dr. *Whitby* having a Discourse upon this Matter, lett us have some Extract of his Discourse, which, I beleeeve, you will for some Reasons, rather choose to offer than one of your own? v. 9.

A. The Doctor thinks, That the Common Solutions of this Difficulty, are not Satisfactory.⁵

Some thus make out the Proportion; *Sin being Infinite in respect of the Object against which it is committed, the Demerit of it, must be an Infinite Punishment; and because a Creature cannot suffer a Punishment Infinite as to Intention, therefore he suffers that which is Infinite as to Extension or Duration*.

But will not this make all Sins to be æqual for Demerit? And how can God lay upon the Sinner the Punishment of any more than one Sin, since there cannot be a Punishment which is more than Infinite? *How can He render unto every Man according to his Works?* This is *Whitbyes* Exception.

However, I do myself apprehend, That this Consideration is not wholly to be Rejected, or Despised.

Others go this way to work; *If wicked Men liv'd forever in this World, they would sin forever, and therefore they deserve to be punished forever*.

3 Knight, *Christ's Divinity Proved*, in *Eight Sermons*, Sermon 7, p. 257.

4 *δικαιοκρισία*; "righteous judgment." PLEASE NOTE: As a general rule, translations of Hebrew, Greek and Latin are rendered in the footnotes; when these are not provided, it indicates that the translation Mather has provided in the text is correct.

5 Daniel Whitby, *Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* (2:418ff); Whitby added an Appendix (418–28) to his commentary on 2 Thessalonians addressing the question of the punishment of the wicked in the afterlife. Whitby defended the divine justice of eternal punishment. This subject was vigorously debated in early modern England; see Philip Almond, *Heaven and Hell in Enlightenment England* (64–5). Whitby (1638–1726) was an Anglican cleric and a prolific author; he engaged in anti-Catholic polemics but also argued for a latitudinarian treatment of Protestant Dissenters. In his later years, he adopted (publically) Arminian and (posthumously) Arian doctrinal positions; see *ODNB* (58:530–2).

But God has declared, That Men shall be Judged hereafter, not according to what *they would have done* had they lived longer, but according to what they actually *have done*; according to their Works done in the Body.

Others argue thus; *God has expressly forewarned Men, what would be the Consequence of their Iniquity, and yett after all Warnings, they will Venture and Incur such a Punishment.*

Indeed this may stop the Sinners Mouth; and yett it will hardly stop the Mouth of such as have not heard the Gospel, or of such as will yett insist upon the Disproportion between the Fault and the Punishment.

But *Whitby*, comes to this, as nearer the Solution of the Matter; *Macula peccati est aeterna*: He who *Dies Filthy*, will be *Filthy Still*; perpetual will be the *Stain of Sin* on the Soul of the Impænitent. It seems æqual, That, *is qui nunquam desinit esse malus, numquam desineret esse miser*.⁶ He thinks, That the Sinner becomes forever miserable, not so much by a *positive Act* of God, perpetually loading him with Fresh Torments, as from his own *Sin*, which renders him incapable of enjoying an Holy God, and perpetually excludes him from his Blissful Presence, which to a Soul that is Immortal, must needs be the Source of Everlasting Torments, and from the Natural Workings of its Faculties, will necessarily subject it unto the *Worm that never dies*.

Whitby owns, That positive Torments, called *pœna sensus*,⁷ by the Schools, will be inflicted on the *Body*. But these *positive Torments* will not be inflicted until the *Raising of the Body*; when it shall be Doom'd unto Devouring Flames. *Whitby* thinks, That this *Fire* may be called, *Eternal*; not because the *Bodies* of the Wicked shall be forever burning in it, & never be consumed; For this cannot be done without a constant Miracle. But because it shall so entirely consume their *Bodies*, that they shall never subsist again, but perish and be Destroy'd forever by it. In that Sense, we read of *Sodom and Gomorrah sett forth for an Exemple, and Suffering the Vengeance of Eternal Fire*.

These conjectures, Dr. *Whitby* calls only his own *private Sentiments*. But then he advances it, as a Matter of Faith; That the *Soul*, from the Time of its Leaving the Body, in its Impænitency, finds itself in a *Dismal State*, which fills it with *Perpetual Horror*, and Expectation of *Punishment*. [Compare, Jam. 2.19. and, Matth. 8.29.] And that when the *Final Sentence* is passed on the Wicked, & they are forever separated from the Presence of the Lord, their *Souls* will be perpetually subject unto the Height of Misery, which will be but the *Natural and Perpetual Result* of such a Separation.⁸

⁶ "The stain of sin is eternal." and "He who never ceases to be evil, never ceases to be unhappy." *Whitby, Paraphrase* (2:422).

⁷ "Sensual punishment." *Whitby, Paraphrase* (2:422).

⁸ *Whitby, Paraphrase* (2:423)

There is hardly any thing, wherein the *Heathen Moralists* do so universally accord, as in this Fixed Rule; μη καθαρω καθαρου επαπτεους μη ου θεμιτον η.⁹ That an *Impure Soul can have no Commerce with a Pure God*; And, *That it is not congruous unto His Nature, to admitt such a Soul into His Presence*. This Assertion is built upon a Sure, and Incontestable Foundation; The Absolute *Holiness* of God.

[4v] And then, the *Souls* of Wicked Men being *Immortal*, they must Abide forever. God is not obliged to Annihilate them; He is not | obliged unto any such Act of Grace, as in this way to putt them out of the Wretchedness, which they have brought upon themselves by their own Rebellions. Nor ha's God any where Declared, That He will Annihilate them. Even *Crellius* himself, the Socinian *Crellius*, expressly saies, *Animas impiorum Deum post Judicium annihilaturum, nec Scriptura asserit, nec Ratio evincit*.¹⁰

Add hereto; Such are the *Passions* of the Soul, that when we are in a State, wherein we cannot possibly *Enjoy* the Good, which we want above all things, and which we naturally *Desire*, we must forever ly under the Torment of *Despairing Dissatisfaction*. And Lying under the worst of Evils, without any Prospect of *Deliverance*, Men must be swallowed up with *Grief*; and when the Guilt of Men has rendred them obnoxious to the Divine Displeasure, Eternal *Fear* must needs ly upon them.¹¹

The proper Action of the Soul, is *Thought*. When the Soul ha's nothing to employ its *Thought* upon, but the Misery to which its own sinful Folly ha's confined it, it must needs become an endless Torment unto itself.¹²

Were the Damned obnoxious to no other Punishment, this would begett in them such a *Worm* of Conscience, as would subject them to inconceivable Misery.¹³

An Impetuous Desire of Happiness, is rooted in the very Nature of Man; And yett it is impossible this Desire should be gratified, as long as a Man is condemned unto an eternal Separation from the Object of all our Happiness.

9 μη καθαρω καθαρου επαπτεους μη ου θεμιτον η; "I will not make clean the one who does not observe the laws of God and men." The Greek passage is adapted from Plutarch's *Consolatio ad Apollonium* (Stephanus p. 108, sec. D, lines 5–6). Whitby, *Paraphrase* (2:423).

10 "That God will annihilate the impious souls after the Judgment, Scripture does not assert, nor does reason evince, that it will be so." Whitby (*ibid*) identifies the source as "Solut. Problem. Tom. 4, p. 533." It seems likely that this is a work of Johannes Crellius, or Jan Krell (1590–1633), German-Polish patriarch of several generations of Socinian theologians and pastors. Krell's treatise is identified as *Problemata N. cum solutionibus* (n.d.) in Christopher Sand's *Bibliotheca antitrinitariorum* (Freistadin: 1684) (115, 120). Krell's exegetical works include the *Commentarius in Epistolas Pauli apostolic ad Thessolonicensenses* (1633). His grandson Samuel Crell (1660–1747) was an important conduit of Socinian thought and literature to England and had personal relationships with many of its leading proponents, such as John Locke, Isaac Newton, and William Whiston. See McLachlan, *Socinianism in Seventeenth-Century England* (118ff).

11 Whitby (2:425).

12 Whitby (2:425).

13 Whitby (2:425).

Hope forever frustrated, must make the *Heart* more than *Sick*. A *Cain* himself, chased from the *Face of God*, counts the Calamity insupportable.¹⁴

The Terrors and Gripings of an Awakened *Conscience*, will then have no Amusements, as they have here, from the Things of this Life, to allay them, or divert them. And the *Memory* of the Sinner, when Reflecting on all his former Circumstances, will create a never-ceasing Anguish unto him. The Heathen Orator could say, *Statuae aliquem Confectum tantis animi Corporis que doloribus, quami in hominem maximi possunt, nulla spe proposita fore levius aliquandò, nulla præterita, nec præsentì, nec expectata Voluptate, quid eo miserius dici aut fingi potest?* [Torquat. apud Cic. de Finibus.]¹⁵

Briefly: The *Punishments* of Sin in the World to come, will be the Natural and Necessary *Consequences* of it. They are the *Natural Results* of an Impure Souls, being separated from God in an unsanctified Condition. And what a poor Consolation is it unto a Sinner now to laugh at a *Lake of Fire*, as an unphilosophical Notion? Here are Tormenting Evils, which are, as the Heathen ha's observed, πυρος και σιδηρου βεβαιωτερα.¹⁶ *More Violent, and Intolerable than Fire and Sword.*¹⁷

But why does not the Divine Goodness and Mercy leave the Wicked still in a Capacity of Repentance, and so of Salvation?

Both Christians and Heathens all agree in this; That eternal Punishments are inflicted on, επι τους καταλαμβανομενους εν τη ανιατω κακια, (as tis in *Origen*), *Those that are Incureably Wicked.*¹⁸ *Plato* and his Friends, give those up unto endless Torments, who are found thus confirmed in Wickedness. Yea, *Celsus* himself, saies, οι αδικοι παντα αιωνιοις κακοις συνεζονται. *The Unjust shall be every way subject unto eternal Evils.*¹⁹

Their *Day of Grace* is past, and turn'd into a *Day of Wrath*. The Resisted Motions of the Holy Spirit are now ceased; and even the Pagans themselves, (Ask *Jamblichus* also,) confess, There is an absolute Need of a Divine *Afflatus*,

14 Whitby (2:426).

15 "Suppose on the other hand a person crushed beneath the heaviest load of mental and bodily anguish to which humanity is liable. Grant him no hope of ultimate relief in view; also give him no pleasure either present or in prospect. Can anyone describe or imagine a more pitiable state?" See Cicero, *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, (1.12.41). Lucius Manlius Torquatus, who appears in *De Finibus* as a spokesman for the Epicurean philosophy, was a Roman politician and associate of Cicero.

16 πυρος και σιδηρου βεβαιωτερα; "More certain (i. e. destructive) than fire and sword."

17 Whitby (2:427).

18 επι τους καταλαμβανομενους εν τη ανιατω κακια, in Origenes, *Contra Celsum* (8.39, lines 19–20).

19 οι αδικοι παντα αιωνιοις κακοις συνεζονται, in Celsus (*Αληθής λογος*, ch. 8, sec. 49, line 13). Celsus, a 2nd-century Greek philosopher, produced the earliest known anti-Christian polemic, *The True Discourse*. Though the work itself is now lost, it is largely reproduced in Origen's *Contra Celsum*, written almost a century later (248 CE); see *ANF* (3:395ff). On Celsus, see *NCE* (3:329–30).

or an Helpful *Genius*, (δαίμονι ἡγεμόνι)²⁰ to preserve Men from Sin, and advance them to a Vertuous Life.²¹

And how can it be *Unjust* with God, to *appoint a Day in which He will Judge the World in Righteousness, & render to Men according to their Works?* Tis a Contradiction in the very Terms!

And the *Place*, and *Company*, to which the Damned shall be sentenced, adds yett more unto their Incapacities of growing any better. Where are they, but in *Chains of Darkness?* With whom are they, but with Divels, the constant *Enemies of God?*

But so much, for an Extract of Dr. *Whitby's* Thoughts, on this important Subject.

It is possible, I may elsewhere give you some further Accession of my own. But God help us, to fly unto His Christ, with all possible Agony, for a Deliverance from this *Everlasting Destruction!*

Q. Who are the *Saints*, that shall have the *Glory* of the Divine Wisdome, Justice & Mercy, in the Dispensation of the Gospel, displayed to them, and admired by them? v. 10.

A. Some observe, Tis not clear whether *Saints* be the same with *Beleevers*, or may signify the *Heavenly Spirits*.

²⁰ δαίμονι ἡγεμόνι; “guiding spirit.”

²¹ Whitby (2:428); Iamblicus, or Iamblicus (c. 245–325 CE), a Neoplatonist philosopher of Syrian origin; see *ERE* (268). Whitby, *Paraphrase* (2:427), cites Iamblicus’s *De vita pythagorica* as the source.

Q. Methinks that Obtestation of the Apostle, *We beseech you BY the Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ*, seems in the Weight of it, a little to exceed the Weight of the following Matter; nor is the Expression otherwise Agreeable. What think You of it? v. 1.

A. Flacius Illyricus helps the Business, by saying, *Omnes h[oc]. l[oco]. vertunt illud Græcum ὑπερ prepositione PER; Cum potius in Suâ Nativâ Significatione vertendum esset DE; Sicut solus Lutherus in Vulgari Convertit. Indicat enim ibi Apostolus Materiam aut Argumentum, de quâ RE Thessalonicenses orare aut Monere Velit; nempe, DE Extremo Iudicio, ne id putent prorsus Instare, eoque temerè Tumultuentur.*²²

Q. A Thought about, *The Man of Sin*? v. 3.

A. Tho' I intend it not for much of an Illustration, yett I am willing here to introduce a notable & instructive Passage, of Serjeant *Hook*, in his *Catholicism without Popery*: And it shall be done in his own Words.

"I must own, that till I read *Irenæus*, that best Piece of primitive Antiquity, I never understood the Meaning of that Name, Ο Ανθρωπος αμαρτίας.²³ But that primitive Father acquaints us, that the primitive Hereticks, invented a New Sort of Gods, called, *Æons*; of whom they imagined originally but Four; but they were still adding New Ones till they came to be, Four Thousand, three hundred and eighty; according to the Number of the Hours of the Days of the Year. And to carry on this Generation, they began betimes to couple their *Æons*, as Man & Wife: And one of the First Couples, were *Anthropos* and *Ecclesia*, (*Vera et Sancta Ecclesia*);²⁴ so they called this same Goddess, the Wife of *Anthropos*. And this *Anthropos* they held to be *Above God*; which exactly agrees with the *Anthropos* mentioned by the Apostle *Paul*. And hence also we may gather, who

²² "In this passage everyone converts the Greek preposition ὑπερ into [the Latin preposition] *Per*, which in its proper signification should be translated as *De*, as only Luther does in his popular translation. The Apostle there indicates the material or subject *about which* he wishes the Thessalonians to pray and teach; *about* the Last Judgment, lest they think that it was imminently at hand, and be greatly terrified." Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1520–75), professor of Hebrew at Wittenberg until he had a falling out with Melancthon over his extreme Augustinianism regarding human depravity. His views resulted in a peripatetic career at a half-dozen universities. Illyricus wrote two works of biblical interpretation, the *Clavis Scripturæ Sacræ* (1567), and the *Glossa Compendiaria in Novum Testamentum* (1570). See *NSHERK* (4:321–3).

²³ Ο Ανθρωπος αμαρτίας; "The man of sin" (KJV). The better attested Greek text reads: ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας; "man of lawlessness." Irenæus (d. c. 202 CE) was a bishop in Gaul and an outspoken opponent of Christian Gnostics; see *NCE* (7:570–1). His *Adversus Haereses* (c. 180 CE) discusses the "man of sin" in 2 Thessalonians as well as the Gnostic *Aeons*; see *ANF* (1:553).

²⁴ "Man" and "Church" ("The True and Holy Church").

that *Whore* is, that we read of in the *REVELATIONS*; even this same Wife of *Anthropos*. Which seems to me, to be the Reason, why in that whole Book, after the *Third Chapter*, you never meet with the Word, *Church*, till after the End of the Prophecy. And this perhaps is also the Reason, why the Reformed Christian Church of the Latter Days, is called, *The Bride, The Lambs Wife: A Bride*, in opposition to the *Whore*; and, *The Bride, the Lambs Wife*, in opposition to the Wife of *Anthropos*. Take Notice, that *Irenæus*, in his Thirty third Chapter of his *First Book*, observes, That Ignorance and Impudence, False Zeal, Fury, Envy, and Lust, were said to be born at the same Time with this Blessed Couple.²⁵ If I find any thing putt upon me, as part of Revealed Religion, which appears to be begot by *Anthropos* or *Ecclesia*, I should still Remember, *To the Law, & to the Testimony*.

I could wish, that none but the *Great Whore* were concerned with *Anthropos*; But some Churches that are not *Whores*, are a little guilty of Jilting now & then, and are too apt to paint, & to take some Parts of the Attire of an Harlott; And therefore I wish all Honest Churches would consider, what it is that will be done, when it shall be said, *The Marriage of the Lamb is come, and his Wife has made herself Ready*.²⁶

Q. How is it said of Antichrist, *He exalteth himself above all that is called GOD?* v. 4.

A. The word *Σεβασμα*,²⁷ used here, may signify, the Imperial Style; The Emperour who in the Latin was called, *Augustus*, was called in the Greek, *Σεβαστος*.²⁸ Antichrist would advance

himself above all *Princes*, & the very *Emperours*.

1366.

Q. Tis here said of *Antichrist*, *Hee sitteth in the Temple of God?* v. 4.

A. That is to say, *In what was once the Church of God*. As *Abigail* is called the Wife of *Nabal*, tho' hee were *Dead*. [1. Sam. 30.5.] And *Simon, the Leper*, tho' hee were *Healed*. [Math. 26.6.] But, read *Jerom* in *Quaest. ad Algesiam*;²⁹ and *August. de Civit. Dei*, c.19. Hee saies, *Rectius dici, sessurum in Templum Dei* (ἐἰς

²⁵ Irenæus, *Against Heresies* (1.30) ANF (1:354–8).

²⁶ John Hooke, *Catholicism without Popery* (1699). An Irish-born lawyer and judge (made a Serjeant-at-Law in 1700), Hooke (1655–1712) was one of the founders of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, an Anglican missionary agency. This book was an attempt to offer a plan of union for all Christians, under the umbrella of the reformed catholicity of the Anglican Church; see ODNB (27:948).

²⁷ *σεβασμα*; “an object of awe.”

²⁸ *σεβαστός*; “august” or “venerable.”

²⁹ Jerome, *Letter to Algasia* (406 CE), NPNFii (6:224). Algasia, a woman from Gaul, submitted questions about 11 passages of Scripture to Jerome, including 2 Thess. 2:3. Jerome states that the Antichrist will only appear when the Roman Empire has been destroyed and will subsequently rule in the Church. See Hughes, *Constructing the Antichrist: Paul, Biblical Commentary, and the Development of Doctrine in the Early Middle Ages* (75–7).

τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ·) *tanquam ipse sit Templum Dei quod est Ecclesia*: As wee say, *In Amicum*, i. e. *Velut Amicus*.³⁰ The Pope has all the Clergy united to & comprised in himself, settis up himself, as, *The Church of God*.

|

[6v]

Q. Wherein did the *Mystery of Iniquity*, *begin to Work*, even before the Time of *Pauls* Writing to the *Thessalonians*? v. 7.

A. One thing was this; The Doctrine of *Merit*, was already begun: and no other Error could have such a fair Appearance. The Church of *Rome* was then particularly Tainted with it, for which Cause the *Apostle* then did, what is now done by every true *Protestant*. The Church of *Thessalonica* was Free from this Error, and indeed none but this Church was free from it; for which Cause, perhaps, this *Mystery of Iniquity* was, more clearly Reveled unto this Church, than unto any other.

Q. What was the, ὁ κατέχων,³¹ by us rendred, *Hee who Letteth*, or, *Hindred*, whose being *taken out of the Way*, was necessary that the *Wicked ANTICHRIST*, *might bee Revealed*? v. 7.

A. The *Roman Empire* in the West. There is a great Consent of the Ancients, to this Interpretation. So confident of it was *Jerom*, that when hee heard of *Romes* being taken by *Alaricus*, hee presently cried out, *Antichrist is at hand*. Consult, *Tertul. L. 4. De Resur. c. 24. Ambrose in Commen. in Ezek. Chrysost. Comment. in Loc. August. L. 19 de Civit. Dei c. 20*.³² Among the Ancients, they were so confident of it, that they made it their Daily Prayer, *That the Roman Empire might stand long*, because the Coming of *Antichrist*, would bee thereby kept off. *Tert. Apol.* Tis very sure, The *Papal Power* grew out of the *Ruines* of the *Imperial*.

But let it bee Remembred, That the English of κατέχων, is, *The Possessor*. [Thus tis Englished in 1 Cor. 7.30.]

Others understand it, of the *Roman Emperour* himself: Inasmuch as the *Roman Emperour* yett stands on those Two Legs, the *Turkish* and the *German*.

³⁰ "It is more correctly said, 'he sits as the temple of God,' as if he were himself the temple of God, that is, the Church. Thus we say, '(he sits) as a friend,' that is, 'like a friend.'" Augustine, *The City of God* (20.19). Augustine's speculation on the passage here entertains the notion that Paul refers to the Antichrist and his entire host as those who represent themselves as the temple (i. e. church) of God rather than simply setting themselves up in residence in the Temple (many patristic writers speculated that the Antichrist might reside in the Temple, rebuilt in Jerusalem). Thus Mather draws his parallel from claims made that the Catholic pope and clergy effectively embody the church.

³¹ "One who restrains."

³² See Tertullian, *The Resurrection of the Flesh*, ANF (3:563). Tertullian (c. 160–225 CE) was an early anti-Gnostic apologist and Trinitarian; see *ERE* (527–8). Ambrose of Milan (c. 340–397 CE) wrote several homiletic commentaries on the Old Testament, though none specifically on Ezekiel; see *NCE* (1:337–9). John Chrysostom, *Fourth Homily on Second Thessalonians*, NPNFi (13:389); Augustine, *City of God* (19.20).

When the *Emperour* himself, namely *Constantine*, removed unto *Constantinople*, then was the τὸ κατέχον, *taken away*. The *Emperour* had no sooner departed, but *Antichrist* began to show himself. The Bishop of *Rome* would not come to the Council of *Nice*; and *Bellarmino* saies, it was because the *Head*, would not follow the *Members*, & lest the *Emperour*, should there sitt above him.³³

The Reason why *Paul* would speak no more plainly here, was lest hee should expose himself, or the Church, to Persecution. *Jerom. ad Algasium*. q. 11.³⁴

³⁵But I find an Ingenious Writer about *Prophecy*, expressing himself in these Terms.

“Until it shall be made to appear otherwise, I cannot but conceive from 2. Thess. II.3, 12. That he who *Witheld* or *Letted*, the Usurpation of the *Man of Sin*, was, *The Spirit of Prophecy*, subsisting in the Church of Christ: which, when it was *taken away*, by reason that Men *received not the Love of the Truth; for that very Cause, God sent them Strong Delusion*, that they who would not receive the Truth, should *beleeve a Lye*; that is, they who would not suffer the *Burden* of True Prophecy, should be given up to give Credit unto the Working of Satan.”³⁶

[7r]

Q. The Apostolical Prædictions, about the Great ANTICHRIST, if you will bestow some *Illustrations* upon them, in the general *Idea* thereof, you may have Leisure afterwards to answer particular Quæstions, & carry on the Exposition with further Observations. v. 7.

A. The Apostle is here satisfying the *Thessalonians*, that the *Second Coming* of our Lord Jesus Christ was not so near, as was by some of them Imagined. For, before the *Second Coming* of our Lord, there must a *Man of Sin*, or, one supereminently Sinful, arise, out of the Fall of the *Roman Empire*, to do wonderful Things. And this *Man of Sin*, who is also a *Son of Perdition*, or, one Destined for *Perdition*, can bee no other than the *Bishop of Rome*.

Lett us now run over the Characters here assigned unto the *Man of Sin*, and see what an Astonishing Accomplishment, they have in the *Romish Apostasy*! [Assisted, by *P. Du Moulin*, in his *Dates*.]³⁷

³³ Cardinal Robert Bellarmine, perhaps his polemical *Disputations on the Controversies of the Christian Faith* (1581–93). Bellarmine (1542–1621) was a formidable opponent of Protestantism; see *NCE* (2:226–8).

³⁴ Jerome, *Letter to Algasia*; see Mather’s entry on 2:4.

³⁵ See Appendix B.

³⁶ Mather’s “ingenious writer” does not appear to be any of his stock commentarial sources.

³⁷ Pierre du Moulin (1568–1658) was a French Anglican pastor, scholar, and anti-Catholic controversialist; see *NSHERK* (4:22–3). The work referred to here as du Moulin’s “Dates” is his *Accomplissement des Propheties* (1611), translated into English as the *Accomplishment of the Prophecies* (1613). It was intended to ingratiate him with James I (which it did), as it attempts to vindicate James’ own efforts at eschatological interpretation. Du Moulin’s treatise links New Testament passages on the Antichrist to the historical development of the papacy. The second chapter is an exposition of 2 Thess. Ch. 2. Mather draws some of his material, particularly his

I. He shows himself, that hee is God.³⁸

Sylvester Petra Sancta, published a Book, to prove, That the Pope is deservedly called God.³⁹ Numen,⁴⁰ is the Style, which the Papists often, treat their Pope withal; Yea, saith Stapleton, *Supremum in Terris, Numen*.⁴¹ The Legates of Sicily, falling at the Feet of the Pope, called him, *The Lamb of God, which takes away the Sin of the World*. Baronius commends the Saracen Prince, who kissing the Feet of the Pope, Adored him, as the God of the Christians: quoth the Cardinal, *Vides, Lector, Dei opera*.⁴² Sigonius ha's this Passage; *Deus dixit Christo suo Innocentio, pisam inhabita*.⁴³ Pope Gregory, in his Letter to Isaurus the Emperour, swaggers, *Denuntias Te Imaginem Petri Eversurum, quem omnia occidentis Regna, velut Deum Terrestrum habent*.⁴⁴ In the Gloss, of the Extravagants: tis required, *Credere Dominum Deum nostrum papam Conditorem dictæ Decretalis, sic non potuisse statuere ut Statunt; Hereticum censeretur*.⁴⁵ The Popes Bulls have sometimes declared him, to be *Potestate Petrum, unctione Christum*.⁴⁶ The Book of Sacred Ceremonies, calls the Apostolical See, *Sedem Dei*.⁴⁷ Steuchus, the Popes Library-keeper, in his Book, of the Donation of Constantine, ha's these Words, *Audis Summum Pontificem, à Constantino Deum appellatum, et habitum pro Deo; Hoc videlicet, factum est, quandò eum præclaro illo Edicto decoravit, Adoravit uti Deum*.⁴⁸ Thus

first two points here, from du Moulin, though it is evident that Mather is also utilizing other unnamed sources as well.

38 See du Moulin, *Accomplishment of the Prophecies* (88–98); du Moulin's work does not source his citations.

39 Sylvester Petra Sancta (1590–1647), Catholic polemicist who directly attacked du Moulin's work in his *Theologi Notae in Epistolam Petri Molinaei* (1634).

40 "Divine majesty, i. e., god."

41 "The most supreme God on earth." Thomas Stapleton (1535–98), an English Catholic divine expatriated to France after being deprived by the Church of England; he authored numerous anti-Protestant works, including *The Fortress of Faith* (1565). See *ODNB* (52:283–5).

42 "Behold, reader, the work of God." Cardinal Caesar Baronius (1538–1607) whose history of the church (*Annales Ecclesiastici*, 1588–1607) was a response to Protestant historiography; see *NCE* (2:105–6).

43 "God said to his Christ [or possibly, his anointed one], Innocent, go inhabit Pisa." Carolus Sigonius (1524–84), a professor of classics at Venice, Padua, and Bologna who authored works on the history of the Roman Empire as well as on Italian antiquarian subjects. See "Classical Scholarship," *EB* (electronic).

44 "You threaten to tear down the image of Peter, whom all the lands of the West revere as God on earth." Pope Gregory II (r. 715–731), who denounced the Byzantine emperor Leo III's policy of iconoclasm. See *NCE* (6:484–6).

45 "To believe that our Lord God the Pope, the author of the aforesaid decretal, had no power to decree as he has decreed, would be judged a heresy." 'Extravagants' are papal decrees not typically found as a part of canon law.

46 "The power of Peter, the unction of Christ."

47 "Seat of God." There were numerous ritual manuals in the Catholic Church collectively termed in English as "sacramentaries," i. e. sacred ceremonies.

48 "You hear that the supreme Pope, was called a god by Constantine, and worshipped as a god; this perhaps happened, when he decorated him with that famous Edict, and adored him like a god." Agostino Steuco (1497–1548), Italian scholar and monk who was a vigorous

the *Decretum Romanum* saies, *Satis Evidenter ostenditur, à Seculari potestate, nec Ligari prorsus, nec Solvi posse pontificem, quem constat a piu principe Constantino. Deum esse appellatum, cum nec posse Deum ab Hominibus Iudicari manifestum sit.*⁴⁹ And what saies Bellarmine? *Ecclesia, secluso etiam Christo, unum Caput habere debet.*⁵⁰

Add hereunto, the numberless other Exaltations, which the wretched *Romanists* have given to their Idol, when they have Addressed him, with Stuff like that in the *Lateran Synod*, *Divinae majestatis tuae Conspectus*.⁵¹ And when they have Adored him, as they do at every Election, placing him on the *High Altar*, a Place, where nothing less than a *Latria*⁵² is to be expected.

Wee know, that *Matrimonia nonadmittunt Vicarios*, yett the Pope calls himself, the *Spousus Ecclesiae*.⁵³

Nor are the Blasphemies of *Bellarmino* much Inferiour to the rest; Hee saies, That the *Pope* is the *Corner-stone laid in Zion, elect & precious*; by *Isaias* mentioned.

And in the *Decretal of Innocent 3*, you have a great Heap of these Blasphemies where he affirmed, That the *Pope* hath *Celeste Arbitrium, et de Nullo posse facere aliquid, et mutare Rerum Naturam, et de Injustitia facere Justitiam.*⁵⁴

II. *Hee opposeth himself unto God and above Him; and exalts himself above all that is called God.*⁵⁵

Nothing is more frequent, than for the *Pope*, to claim the *Power*, of *Dispensing with the Lawes of God*. The Gloss of the Canon, allowes him this: *Dispensat in Euangelio*; and *Aquinas* tells us, there pertains to his Authority, *Nova Editio*

apologist against Luther and the Reformers. In 1538 he was made bishop and Vatican librarian by Pope Paul III. The "edict" in view here is the *Donation of Constantine*, a forged document (perhaps dating from as early as the 8th century but possibly much later) purporting to show that the emperor Constantine had assigned Rome and the western empire to the pope's authority. See *CE* (14:292–3).

49 "It is sufficiently proved that a pope can neither be bound nor loosed by the secular authority, not since the time of the pious emperor Constantine. He was called a god, and it is manifest that a god cannot be judged by men." Gratian's *Decretum*, written in the early 12th century, was an authoritative collection of Canon Law. See *NCE* (6:420–2).

50 "The Church ought to have one head, even if Christ is removed." On Bellarmine, see Mather's entry on 2:7.

51 "The vision of your divine majesty." There were five Lateran synods of most import; the fourth, in 1215, issued strong assertions of papal supremacy; these were reasserted at the fifth synod (1512–17); see *NCE* (8:350–5).

52 "Service," or more likely, "worship."

53 "Priests are not allowed to marry;" yet the pope calls himself, "the husband of the church."

54 "The Pope has heavenly authority, to make something from nothing, and to change the nature of things, and to make justice from injustice." This could be derived from either the *Compilatio tertia* (1210) or *Compilatio quarta* (1216), which together encompass the decretals of Innocent III (r. 1198–1216). See *NCE* (7:470–3).

55 See du Moulin, *Accomplishment of the Prophecies* (98–109).

Symboli.⁵⁶ Cardinal Perron has a Chapter, whose Title is, *De Autoritate Ecclesiae in Mutatione Rerum quae Continentur in Scripturâ*.⁵⁷ And speaking of the Cup in the Eucharist, whereof the Command of our Saviour is, *Drink yee all of it*, hee saies, *Ecclesiam Iudicasse hoc præceptum esse Dispensabile, et in quo posset afferri mutatio*.⁵⁸ And Vasquez, treating about that Command of our Saviour, saies, *Nihilomium Ecclesia et Summus Pontifex patuerunt illud Justis de Causis abrogare: Nam potestas Apostolorum in Condendis Legibus, non fuit Major quam Ecclesiae et Papæ*.⁵⁹ Andradius, defending the Council of Trent, saies, *Majores nostros Religione et Pietate excellentes, Apostolorum Decreta plurima refixisse*.⁶⁰ and hee saies, Tis no Errour in any to think, that the Bishop of Rome can do so. Bellarmine gives | us an Instance; That the Popes *Indulgences*, Release us, *ut non teneamur* [8v] *præcepto illo de faciendis Dignis pænitentiae fructibus*.⁶¹ Yea, That Jesuite, proceeds to such a Degree of sottish Impiety, as to say; *Si papa erraret, præcipiendo Vitia, vel prohibendo Virtutes, teneretur Ecclesia credere, Vitia esse bona, et Virtutes Malas, nisi vellet contrâ conscientiam peccare*.⁶² And hee challenges of his Peter, *potestatem faciendi de peccato, non-peccatum, et de non-peccato, peccatum*.⁶³ And Salmeron gives us the Cause of this Power, *Quia Autoritas Ecclesiae antiquior est, et dignior Autoritate Scripturæ*.⁶⁴ Yea, hee pretends, That the Scripture must bee Subject

56 “He dispenses the Gospel”; and Aquinas tells us, there pertains his authority, (to issue) “a new edition of the creed.” On Thomas Aquinas (1225–74), see *NCE* (14:13–28).

57 “The authority of the Church to change things that are contained in Scripture.”

58 “That the Church has judged this precept to be dispensable, even in which change is able to be imparted.” Jacques-Davy Duperron (1556–1618), son of a French Reformed minister who abjured that faith and became an ardent apologist for the Catholic Church, including papal infallibility and transubstantiation. Having been instrumental in the conversion of Henri IV, he was made bishop of Evreux (1591) at the king’s behest; he was made cardinal under Paul V (1604). See *NCE* (4:943).

59 “Nonetheless, the Church and the Supreme Pontiff have made clear that they abolish *that* for just reasons; for the power of the Apostles in legislating was not greater than that of the Church and the Pope.” Gabriel Vasquez (1549–1604), Spanish Jesuit and professor of theology at Alcalá. Among his works are numerous theological disputations of a scholastic nature as well as a paraphrase and commentary on the Pauline epistles (1612), though the latter is probably not in view here. See *CE* (15:275).

60 “That our ancestors, renowned for religion and piety, fixed firm many apostolic decrees.” Jacobus Payva Andradius (Diego Andrada de Payva), probably his *Defensio Tridentinae fidei* (1578) but perhaps his *Orthodoxarum explicationum* (1564). Andradius (1528–75) was a Portuguese theologian and representative for the king at the Council of Trent. See “Diego Andrada de Payva,” *CE* (1:469).

61 “So that we might not be constrained by that precept of producing fruits worthy of repentance.”

62 “If the Pope errs, either mandating vices or prohibiting virtues, the Church would be obligated to believe that vices were good and virtues evil, unless it wished to sin against conscience.”

63 “The power of making sin, non-sin, and of making non-sin, sin.” On Bellarmine, see Mather’s entry on 2:7.

64 “Because the authority of the Church is more ancient and more worthy than the authority of Scripture.” Alfonso Salmeron (1515–85), Spanish Jesuit and one of Loyola’s original compan-

unto the *Church*. It would be tedious to recite the Names, of half the Romish Writers, who mention this Damnable Doctrine.

Hence, that these Wretches, may advance the *Church*, that is to say, the *Pope*, above *God*, speaking in the Scriptures, they Reproach the Scriptures, with a Thousand Expressions of Contempt, as being, *Obscure, Imperfect, Uncertain, a Nose of Wax, a Mute Rule, a Stone of Stumbling*, and what not?

The Pope exemplifies his Arrogant Power, of Altering the Lawes of God, particularly, in his Requiring the *Worship of Images*, against the Second Commandment; *Swearing* by Creatures, against the Third, Keeping of *Holidayes*, against the Fourth; In his Rescuing of Children from their Subjection to their Parents; when they will embrace a Monastic Life, against the *Fifth* Commandment; in his permitting *Brothel-houses*, and *Uncleannesses* of all sorts, against the *Seventh*; and in his taking away the *Chalice* in the *Sacrament*, and his forbidding the *Marriage* of the *Clergy*, & his Ordering *Divine Service*, to be in an *Unknown Tongue*; and his making a Difference of *Meats*.

The Diabolical Council of *Trent*, speaking of *Concupiscence*, ha's these Words, *Hanc Concupiscentiam, quam, aliquandò Apostolus peccatum appellat, Sancta Synodis, declarat Ecclesiam Catholicam numquam intellexisse peccatum appellari, quod verè et propriè in Renatis peccatum sit.*⁶⁵

By granting, that the Interpretation of the Law of God, is with the *Popes*, they deny him, to be a Subject of God. They make the *Church* to be above the *Scripture*, & the *Pope* to be above the *Church*; that is, Two Degrees, above God Himself, speaking in the Scripture. Hence, how horribly does the *Pope* often dispense with *Oathes*, and *Vowes*? *Papa potest dispensare in Votis et Iuramentis, quæ Deus ipse Iussit reddi, et quorum solutio est de Jure Divino*, quoth *Bellarmino*.⁶⁶

Among the Papists, there are diverse Classes of *Sins*; there are some, from which the *Clergy* may absolve the *Pænitent*; but there are *Casus Reservati*; wherein *Absolution* can be had from the *Pope* alone. Well; These *Reserved Cases*, are not the more horrid Impieties of *Blasphemy, Sodomy, Atheism*, & the like.

ions. He served as a papal theologian at the Council of Trent. He wrote sixteen volumes of biblical commentary, including four volumes on the Pauline epistles (c. 1597); see *NCE* (12:620).

⁶⁵ "The Holy Synod declares that this concupiscence, which the Apostle sometimes calls a sin, has never been understood by the Catholic Church as a sin that those who have been reborn are truly and properly capable of committing." This statement comes from the first decree of the Council of Trent (1546), the fifth declaration. Here a distinction is drawn between original sin, which is removed by baptism, and concupiscence, a term applied to the inclination to sin that remains in the soul after baptism. The Council's statement, while acknowledging that the word "sin" is used in Scripture to describe concupiscence, attempts to limit the meaning of "sin" to original sin and therefore does not want to confuse or conflate the two. This obviously is far from the meaning that Mather and his source are imputing to the decree, which is to say, that the Catholic Church doesn't believe that concupiscence is a sin and therefore is not forbidden to its followers.

⁶⁶ "The Pope can distribute, in prayers and sacraments, those things that God Himself ordered to be given, and whose giving back is the province of divine law."

No, but Injuries done to such as are Travelling to *Rome*, or Pyracies on Coasts more immediately belonging to the Pope, or Intrusions into a Benefice, or Compulsions on the Clergy to pay Tolls, or some Dilapidations on the Goods of the Church. It is a lighter thing, it seems, among them, to offend *God*, than to offend the *Pope*: so, tis easy to say, unto which they ascribe the greater Dignity. The *Tax*, & *Price*, for Absolution among them does proclame this abundantly.

The *Cross*, which is worshipped with a Divine *Latria* among them, this Wretch wears on, (& casts at) his *Feet*. And at his *Feet* are laid the *Gospels*, on which his Officials do swear unto him.

When Bishops are inaugurated, they swear Allegiance, & Obedience, to the *Pope*, & many Duties to him: they swear nothing at all, unto God.

Thus, the pretended, *Servus Servorum*, in reality affects to be, *Major Deo*.⁶⁷

Yea, t'was added. *Hee exalts himself above all that is called God*.

The Church of *Rome*, worships, not only the *True God*, but other things that they call so. The, *Host* is one thing, that is *called God*, among them. Now, the *Host* is carried on an *Horse*, before a New-made *Pope*, who follows carried on the Shoulders of the Best Men in the City.

When the *Pope* himself, will stoop to celebrate *Mass*, there is all the while more Homage paid unto *him*, than unto *Christ*. But what wonder, when à *Lapide* in his Comment on Heb. 7.7. saies, of every pittiful Priest among them; *Adde, Sacerdotem, quatenus gerit personam Christi Sacrificantis, quodam Modo Majorem esse ipso Christo Sacrificato. In omni enim Sacrificio, Sacerdos major est Victimâ quam offert*.⁶⁸ And saies *Gabriel Biel, Super utrumque Corpus Christi, Sacerdos insignes habet potestates; i. e. Super Ecclesiam, et Hostiam Sacramenti*.⁶⁹ Yea, saies that Spark; *Quis huic Rei Vidit Similia? Qui creavit me (si fas ea dicere) dedit mihi creare se. Et qui creavit me sine me, creatur mediante me*.⁷⁰

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⁶⁷ The "servant of servants" affects to be "greater than God."

⁶⁸ "Also the priest: in so far as he acts under the person of Christ the sacrifice, [he] is in some way greater than Christ the sacrifice. For in every sacrifice the priest is greater than the victim he offers." Cornelius à Lapide (1567–1637), Flemish Jesuit and professor at Leuven who at various times taught philosophy, theology, Holy Scripture, and Hebrew. He wrote extensive commentaries on all of the books of the Bible except the Psalms and Job; his commentary on the Pauline epistles (including Hebrews) was published in 1614. See *NCE* (8:332).

⁶⁹ "The priest has magnificent powers over either Body of Christ; i. e. over the Church, and over the Sacramental Host."

⁷⁰ "Who has ever seen anything like this? He who created me (if it is proper so to say) permits me to create him: he who created me without me, is created through my mediation." Gabriel Biel (1425–95), founding professor of theology at the University of Tübingen and a scholar of Peter Lombard and William Ockham. The work in view here is likely his *Sacri canonis missae expositio* (1488). See *NCE* (2:391).

III. *One who then Hindred, afterwards was taken out of the Way.*

As long as the Emperors were Masters of *Rome*; the Bishops of *Rome* could not attain their Ambitious Designs of Mastership. *Constantius*, the Son of *Constantine* the Great, Removed *Liberius* the Bishop of *Rome*, from his Bishoprick, and Advanced *Felix* into his Room. Only hee gave *Liberius*, five hundred Peeces of Gold, that hee might not perish by Famine, at *Berea*, whither hee banished him.⁷¹

Damasus & *Ursicinus*, contended with a bloody Rivalship, for the Bishoprick of *Rome*, supported by contrary Factions among the *People*, who had hitherto claimed the Rite of choosing the Bishops of the City.⁷² This was A. C. 367. It was not long after this, that *Bonifacius*, and *Eulalius*, quarrelled for the Bishoprick; and the Emperour, that hee might quiet their Quarrels, made that Law; *Si duo forte, contrà fas temeritate Concertantium fuerint Ordinati, nullum ex eis futurum Sacerdotem permittimus*.⁷³ *Bonifacius*, by the favour of the Emperour, carrying the Day, thus humbly writes his Thanks unto the Emperour; *precamur Sacre Causa Religionis, ut in Urbe Vestrae Mansuetudinis, (meaning Rome) hoc Animo quo Postulatis et Statuitis, in perpetuum Statui universali Ecclesiae consulatis*.⁷⁴ The Contention still remaining hott, *Honorius* the Emperour expell'd both of them out of the City.

Theodorick, the King of the *Goths*, having subdued *Italy*; succeeded unto the Rights of the Emperours, & had the Bishop of *Rome* under him. Hee made *Symmachus* and *Laurentius*, who contended for the Bishoprick, to plead their Cause before his Tribunal, & sent *Peter*, the Bishop of *Altinum*, a Visitor, to govern the Church of *Rome*. All Chronologers, about A. C. 496. confess the

71 *Constantius* was emperor from 337–361 CE; his Arian sympathies led him to exile *Athanasius* twice (339–346, 356–362). *Liberius* was pope from 352–366; he resisted *Constantius*, demanding submission to Nicene orthodoxy. *Constantius* arrested and then banished him (355–358); *Liberius* eventually capitulated and signed an Arian creedal statement. He was allowed to return to *Rome*, where his archdeacon *Felix*, who had been made the bishop of *Rome* in his absence, was maintained by *Constantius* as co-bishop with *Liberius*. Upon *Constantius*'s death, *Liberius* re-asserted his role as bishop and as defender and enforcer of Nicene orthodoxy. *Felix* continued to assert his papal status until his death in 365. See *ODP* (30–2).

72 Upon *Liberius*'s death, a contest between clergy loyal to him and to *Felix* broke out over his rightful successor. *Ursinus* was elected by *Liberius*'s party; *Damasus* by the party of *Felix*. *Damasus* prevailed and banished *Ursinus* and his followers from *Rome*. These continued to hound *Damasus* until the death of *Ursinus* c. 385. See *ODP* (32–5).

73 “If two, perhaps, have been ordained contrary to what is proper by the temerity of those committing faction and strife, we will permit no more priests to be made by them.” Both *Boniface I* and *Eulalius* were elected as pope by rival factions in *Rome* in 418, following the death of *Zosimus*. The emperor *Honorius* (r. 384–423) convened a synod of bishops to decide the issue. When this proved inconclusive, he deferred the issue to a subsequent synod, meanwhile forbidding both claimants from residing in *Rome*. *Eulalius* refused to comply with this edict; *Honorius* then chose *Boniface* without convening a second synod. See *ODP* (39–41).

74 “We pray, for the sake of the holy religion, that you will always look after the welfare of the Universal Church in the city of your clemency (*Rome*) with the same spirit with which you have ordained and established it.”

Truth of this.⁷⁵ *Athalaricus* the Successor of *Theodorick*, issued out Orders for the Government of the City, without any Regard unto the Bishops then Residing there; And complaining bitterly, of the Indirect Methods used by many, to obtain the Bishoprick, hee required, the Amendment thereof.⁷⁶ *Theodatus*, the successor of *Athalaricus*, made *Agapetus*, the Bishop of *Rome*, his Envoy unto *Justinian*, the Emperour, at *Constantinople*.⁷⁷ *Justinian*, recovering *Italy*, & overturning the Kingdome of the *Goths*; made the Bishop of *Rome*, to pay a fine for his Advancement; and expelled *Sylverius*, advancing *Vigilius* into his Place.⁷⁸

Gregory, the first, in the Year 595. tho' the Emperour *Mauritius*, called him a *Fool*, yett writes with great Submission to the Emperour; subscribing himself, {*Indignum*}⁷⁹ *Famulum*.⁸⁰ And the Emperour commanding him to publish at *Rome*, a Law, which hee thought unjust, yett hee durst not Refuse it; hee did it, and made this Return, *Ego quæ debui, exolvi*.⁸¹

A.C. 654. *Constans* the Emperour, clapt *Martin*, the Bishop of *Rome*, in Chains, and sent him away to *Chersona*.⁸²

75 Symmachus and Lawrence were both elected pope in 498; Theodoric (r. 493–526) initially favored the former but then tried him on various charges put forth by Lawrence's party. Theodoric appointed Peter, bishop of Altinum, to celebrate Easter in Rome in 502; that same year a synod absolved Symmachus of all charges and made him sole pope. Still claiming the papacy, Lawrence occupied part of Rome from 501–506; he was forced to withdraw when Theodoric finally accepted Symmachus as sole pope. See *ODP* (50–2).

76 Athalaric (r. 516–534), the grandson of Theodoric, assumed the throne in 526 with his mother Amalasuntha as governing regent. The extreme forms of politicking that took place during the elections of Boniface II (r. 530–532) and John II (r. 533–535) resulted in an imperial decree banning or limiting certain abusive electoral practices. See *ODP* (56–8).

77 Upon Athalaric's death, Theodahad murdered his mother Amalasuntha in 535 but not before she had appealed to Justinian I for protection. Justinian used this as a justification for invading Italy; Theodahad sent Algapitus I (r. 535–536) as an envoy to sue for peace, a mission that was unsuccessful. See *ODP* (59).

78 Silverius (r. 536–537) was chosen by Theodahad to succeed Algapitus who had died in Constantinople. Upon his conquest of Rome, Justinian replaced Silverius with Vigilius (r. 537–55), a candidate favored by his wife Theodora. See *ODP* (59–61).

79 See Appendix A.

80 "Unworthy servant."

81 "I ought to be free from these things." Necessity required Gregory the Great (r. 590–604) to act as the temporal as well as spiritual head of Rome, and, in this capacity, he was forced to buy off the Lombard duke Ariulf from invasion of the city. Emperor Maurice chided Gregory for his naiveté and credulity in this matter; Gregory reprimanded him in a responding letter. See *ODP* (66).

82 Martin I (r. 649–653) became embroiled in the Monothelite controversy, a doctrinal position with strong support in the Eastern churches but anathematized by the pope. Martin even went so far as to appoint loyal clergy in monothelite regions under the control of Emperor Constans II. The emperor had previously issued a decree banning even the discussion of the controversy and took umbrage at Martin's interference. Constans managed to arrest the sickly Martin in 653 and try him for treason in Constantinople. He commuted his death sentence and banished him to Crimea, where he died in 655. See *ODP* (74).

A.C. 676. *Constantine*, I.V. the Emperour, made *Donus*, the Bishop of *Rome*, stoop to acknowledge, *pro obedientiâ quam debuimus. Flexo mentis poplite, Clementiam Vestram deprecamur.*⁸³

Anastasius, the Popes Library-keeper, owns, the Obedience of the Pope to the Emperour in these Times; And, *Bellarmino* himself owns, *Tunc Papa Dominum suum Temporalem Imperatorem agnoscebat.*⁸⁴

But when the Roman Empire sunk in *Italy*, a great Change of things followed thereupon. The Bishops of *Rome*, had been Trying, in the Fifth, Sixth, & Seventh Ages, to advance their Spiritual Power, over all the other Bishops in the Empire. But hitherto, they could not obtain, so much as they would, of a *Worldly Principality*. Crowns, and Courts, and Tents, and Armies, were not yett their Furniture. At last, *Spain* fell into the Hands of the *Goths*; *Gaul* fell into the Hands of the *Franks*, the *Longobards* took the biggest Part of *Italy*: Thus the Western Empire, was breaking to Peeces. In the East, the *Saracens* distressed the Emperors with bloody Wars; *Egypt* was lost; *Syria*, *Africa*, *Cappadocia*, was hardly defended. That Part of the Italian *Exarchate* which remained, with the City of *Rome*, was almost abandoned. And here the Bishop of *Rome*, found his Occasions of arriving to what hee is come to.

In the year 712. *Philippicus* the Emperour, began his Reign, with Endeavours, to extinguish *Images*, which were now advanced in Churches every where, with a very offensive Superstition & Adoration. *Constantine*, the Pope, hereupon excited the People of *Rome*, and a wicked Rebellion, and in an Assembly Decreed, That such an Heretick as *Philippicus*, must no longer bee acknowledged. In the Tumult, which extended itself over *Italy*, the *Exarch* was killed; but the Emperour, quelling this Tumult, repaired unto *Rome*, & recovered for a while, his Command over it.⁸⁵ *Gregory* the Second, on the same Quarrel of *Image-worship*, solicited the *Italians* to Rebel against the Successor of *Philippicus*,

⁸³ "How much we owed our obedience; with the knee of the mind bent, we beg your mercy." Constantine IV approved the elevation of Donus (r. 676–678) to the papacy; this citation probably reflects Donus's letter of gratitude rather than a response to any effort by the emperor to humiliate him. Donus was actually the recipient of the emperor's overtures at reconciliation between the two offices, but Constantine's letter to the pope did not arrive until after Donus's death. See *ODP* (77).

⁸⁴ "Then the Pope recognized the temporal Emperor as his master." Anastasius Bibliothecarius ("the Librarian") (c. 810–878), served in that capacity under Adrian II (r. 867–872) and John VIII (r. 872–882); see "Anastasius Bibliothecarius," in *CE* (electronic). On Bellarmine, see Mather's entry on 2:7.

⁸⁵ The emperor Philippicus Bardanes (r. 711–713), whose "iconoclastic" efforts consisted initially in his removing the picture of the Third Council of Constantinople (680) from the palace, in effect denouncing its edict condemning Monothelitism. He then deposed the Patriarch, Cyrus, and replaced him with the Monothelite deacon John in 712. Philippicus demanded that Pope Constantine (r. 708–715) adhere to this doctrine; the latter naturally refused and also refused to recognize him as emperor. The emperor's name and image were removed from public and religious venues in Rome; violence broke out and the Byzantine imperial representative in Italy, the Exarch, was killed. At the pope's direction, Catholic clergy prevailed upon the mobs

then sorely embarrassed, with the Invading *Saracens*; A.C. 727.⁸⁶ But still the *Exarch*, a little kept them under *Gregory* the Third, when *Luitprand*, the King of the *Lombards*, laid an hard Siege unto *Rome*, fled unto *Charles Martel*, who wanted nothing but the Name, to be King of the *Franks*; & by his Means, the Besieger desisted.⁸⁷

[10v]

When *Stephen*, the Second, gott into the Chair, *Aistulphus*, the King of the *Lombards*, quite mortified the Roman *Exarchate*, & besieged *Rome* itself. *Stephen*, in these Distresses, implored the Help of *Pipin*, the King of the *Franks*; who compelled *Aistulphus*, unto Conditions of Peace, & extorted from him, what hee had Ravished from the Emperour; bestowing that whole Region upon the Bishop of *Rome*, according to the Agreement aforehand made between him & *Stephen*.⁸⁸ *Baronius*, at A.C. 755. gives us, the Sham of a Letter, from the Apostle *Peter*, in Heaven, unto King *Pipin*, conceived by the Pope, to stimulate that Prince, (who whether hee were a great *Souldier* or *Bigot*, it is not easy, to say!) unto his Expedition.⁸⁹ This Favour and Bounty of K. *Pipin*, unto the Bishop of *Rome*, was afterwards augmented by *Charlemain*, A.C 774. when the Kingdome of *Desiderius*, the *Lombard*, was by him extinguished; & *Lewis*, the Son of *Charlemain*, went on with the Madness.⁹⁰ The Popes at last perswaded, the Bewitched Princes of *France*, and *Germany*, that they had the Kingdomes of the Princes of *Europe*, at their Disposal. So they became in Reality, the Emperours of the West, & having their Throne at *Rome*, usurped all the Grandeurs, of the ancient *Roman Emperours*. *Lipsius* and *Sigonius*, will confess these things to

to desist, and Byzantine authority was restored, aided by the emperor's overthrow the following year. See *ODP* (86).

⁸⁶ Constantine's successor, Gregory II (r. 715–731), led the resistance to unpopular taxes levied by Emperor Leo III who tried to have him assassinated. The two clashed again, beginning in 726, over the emperor's iconoclastic edicts. Leo was repeatedly besieged by Muslim Umayyad attempts to conquer Constantinople during his reign. See *ODP* (86–7).

⁸⁷ Gregory III (r. 731–741) also confronted Leo III over his iconoclasm, which led to the revolt of the citizens of Ravenna, a Byzantine exarchate. Liutprand invaded the duchy of Rome (728), and Gregory was forced to appeal to Charles Martel for help, having lost the support of Leo III. Martel refused, having allied himself with Liutprand in making common cause against the Umayyads. Liutprand was met and bought off by Gregory II outside the city. See *ODP* (88).

⁸⁸ Threatened by Aistulf, Stephen II (r. 752–757) travelled to the Frankish kingdom in 754 to seek an audience with Pepin III, before whom he prostrated himself. Pepin defeated Aistulf in 754, and again in 756, and returned a number of territories to the papacy, including the Byzantine exarchate Ravenna. See *ODP* (91–2).

⁸⁹ Having been defeated by Pepin III in 754, Aistulf revolted in 755 and once again threatened Rome. Stephen II sent Pepin a letter in the guise of St. Peter, promising the saint's aid from heaven if he should return to subordinate the Lombard king. See *ODP* (92). On Baronius, see Mather's entry on 2:7.

⁹⁰ Charlemagne entered Italy in 773 and defeated Desiderius during the reign of Pope Hadrian I (r. 772–795). Charlemagne's son Louis (the Pious) exercised an even more patronizing influence over five succeeding popes. See *ODP* (96–102).

you; and these are the Words of *Baronius* himself, at A. C. 766. *Ope Francorum Ecclesia Romana Jura Imperii in Italiâ est consecuta*.⁹¹

The Ancients agree, That by the *Hindrer* (or *Holder*,) which the Apostle mentions, the Roman Emperour is intended. Thus *Tertullian*, in L.4. *de Resur.* c. 24. *Tantum qui nunc tenet, teneat, donec de medio fiat; quis nisi Romanus Status, cuius Abscessio in decem Reges dispersa, Antichristum superducat? Et tunc revelabitur Iniquus*.⁹² Thus *Chrysostom*, in *Homil.* 4 in 2. *Thess.* *Quid igitur est, quod prohibet eum manifestari? Quidam dicunt esse Spiritus gratiam; οἱ ἡ τὴν ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀρχὴν, οἷς ἐγώ γε μάλιστα τίθεμαι; Alii Romanum Imperium, quibus ego maxime me adjungo*.⁹³ Thus *Austin*, *De Civ.* L. 20. c. 19. *Illud quod ait Apostolus, tantum qui modo tenet, teneat donec de medio fiat, non absurdè de Romano Imperio Creditur dictum: tanquam dictum sit, Tantum qui nunc Imperat, Imperet donec de medio fiat*.⁹⁴

IV. *This {Mystery of Iniquity}*,⁹⁵ did in the Apostolical Times already begin to work.

First, *John* complains, that *Affectation of Praeheminence*, began in his Time to be discovered. And *Paul* complains, of the *Emulations*, that Christians fell into while one said, *I am of This*, & another, *I am of That*.

Secondly, The *Worship of Angels*, was then sett afoot. The Epistle to the *Colossians* rebukes it.

Thirdly, *Difference of Meats*, was then a Matter of much Contestation. The Epistle to the *Romans*, as well as that unto the *Colossians*, mentions it.

Fourthly, *Justification by Works*, was a Point, which procured the Apostles, abundance of Disputation.

⁹¹ "With the aid of the Franks, the Roman church pursued, in Italy, the commands of the empire." Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), a Flemish professor and classical scholar and a Protestant who later reconciled to the Catholic Church; "Lipsius," *CE* (9:280–1). Carolus Sigonius (1524–84), professor and classical scholar at Padua and historian of the Roman Empire; *EB* 25 (electronic). On Baronius, see Mather's entry on 2:7.

⁹² "What each now holds, let him hold, until he be removed from the midst of the world; what, if not the Roman state, whose disruption, divided among ten kings, will prepare the way for the Anti-Christ? And thus iniquity will be revealed." Tertullian, *On the Resurrection of the Flesh*, *ANF* (3:563).

⁹³ Joannes Chrysostomus, *In epistulam ii ad Thessalonicenses (homiliae 1–5)*: οἱ δὲ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀρχὴν οἷς ἐγώ γε μάλιστα τίθεμαι [PG 062. 0485, lines 43–44]: "What is it, then, that keeps him from being manifest? [Latin] Some say it is the grace of the Spirit; some say it is the Roman state, whose opinion I most agree with [Greek and Latin]." John Chrysostom, *Fourth Homily on 2 Thessalonians*, *NPNFi* (13:388–9). Chrysostom (347–407 CE) was archbishop of Constantinople; his hundreds of extant sermons include a number on the Pauline epistles. See *NSHERK* (3:72–5).

⁹⁴ "That which the Apostle says – 'Who now holds so much, let him hold it until he be removed from our midst' – is not unfittingly believed to have been said about the Roman empire, as though it was said, 'Who now rules so much, let him rule it until he be removed from our midst.'" Augustine, *City of God* (20.19).

⁹⁵ See Appendix A.

Fifthly, The *Nicolaitans*, then made a Figure, and they who pleaded for such Libidinous Practices, as are now allowed in the Church of *Rome*.

V. *A Mystery of Iniquity was hereby Introduced.*

Or, a Mysterious Wickedness, or, a Wicked Mystery. Behold a Little of the Divellish *Artifice*!

First, The *Scriptures*, which always cutt the Throat of Popery, must bee taken from the *Common People*; *Images* must bee substituted in the Room thereof; and, *dum dantur Lapides pro Doctoribus Homines penè versi sunt in Lapides*.⁹⁶

A *Liturgy* must bee Imposed; but in an *Unknown Tongue*; and the *Devotion* of the *Common People*, must bee the Daughter of their *Ignorance*. Thus the Pope getts the upper hand, of his greatest Ending, *The Bible*.

The *Images* of *God the Father*, they commonly fitt, with Circumstances as like those of the *Pope*, as they can, to make People Beleewe a Similitude.

The *Arts* of the Pope, & Clergy at *Rome*, to make themselves Masters of all the *Riches* in the World, are Numberless, Exquisite, & Prodigious.

By making *Matrimony*, a *Sacrament*, they have hook'd into their own Hands, the Judgment of all Matrimonial Causes. And unto Princes, they permitt *Incestuous Marriages*, by which they fasten them unto the Interest of the See of *Rome*. With the Engine of *Auricular Confession*, they hold the guilty World in Slavery, and Instill what Principles they will into whom they will. By their *Absolution*, they further mentain their Hellish *Tyranny*.

Their *Festivals*, are Tricks to aggrandize their Empire yett more: the Churches Treasure of *Merits*, is a Figment that still adds unto their Empire. Their taking the *Cup* from the Laity in the *Eucharist*, is to depress them. *Canonizations* are gainful Knaveries. Finally, the Popish Religion, fitts all the Dispositions of the Whole World.

| [11r]
VI. *The Coming of the Wicked One, is after the Working of Satan, with all Power & Signs, & Lying Wonders.*

Tertullian (de Præscript: c. 44.) saies, That the *Hereticks* in his Dayes wrought more *Miracles* than the *Orthodox*.⁹⁷ And (adv. Maricon. L. 3. c. 3) that *Miracles* were then, *Res apud pseudo-Christianos facillimas*.⁹⁸ Thus, the *Author*

⁹⁶ "As long as stones are given instead of teachers, men are almost transformed into stones."

⁹⁷ *Tertullian, Prescription against Heretics, ANF (3:265).*

⁹⁸ "The easiest thing to do among the pseudo-Christians." *Tertullian, Against Marcion, ANF (3:322–3).*

operie Imperfecti in Matthæum. Ser. 49.⁹⁹ And a Canon of a Council at *Laodicea*, tells us, That the *Orthodox* visited the Graves of the *Hereticks*, for Cures.¹⁰⁰

Wonderful are the Words of *Austin*, (in L. 2. contra Literas Petiliani c. 55.) *Nam de exclusione Dæmonum, et de potentiâ miraculorum, quoniam plerique talia non faciunt, et tamen ad Regnum Dei pertinent, plerique autem faciunt et non pertinent, nec vestri, nec nostri, debent gloriari.*¹⁰¹ The same great Man, in his Epistle to the Clergy of *Hippo*, denies that any *Miracles* were then done in *Africa*.¹⁰² And the same hee saies, in his Book, *De Utilitate Credendi*.¹⁰³ And in his Book, *Of True Religion*, c. 24. hee saies, That God permitted not *Miracles* to continue until *then*, lest the Minds of Men should bee too much taken up with *Visible Matters*. But how shall wee Reconcile this, with what hee reports in his Book, *De Civitate Dei*, L. 22. where hee Reports *Miracles* done in his Time, at the Reliques of St. *Stephen* in *Africa*?¹⁰⁴ *Du Moulin* saies, *Hic Locus Suspectus est Falsi, et videtur ab aliquo Intrusus.*¹⁰⁵

The New Testament, foretels the *Miracles*, to bee wrought by False-Teachers. [Mark. 13.22. Math. 7.22. Rev. 13.13.] Tis astonishing, That the Papists assign *Miracles*, for a Note of the True Church, when the Apostle expressly reck-

⁹⁹ Thus, the "Author of the *Imperfect Work on Matthew*." *Du Moulin's* treatise (p. 172) reads: "the author of the commentary on S. Matthew (commonly fathered upon Chrysostome) saith in the 49. sermon 'We do not now acknowledge anie to be the ministers of Christ because they do profitable miracles, but because they do none of these miracles. It is an evill and adulterous generation that seeketh signes, saith Christ in the 12. of Matthew.'" The reference is to the so-called *Opus imperfectum in Mattheum*, a 5th-century Arian work long attributed to Chrysostom and widely used in the church until Erasmus demonstrated its historical origins. See Kellerman, *Incomplete Commentary on Matthew* (xix).

¹⁰⁰ The Council of *Laodicea* (363 CE) was convened in the wake of the neo-pagan emperor Julian's death in battle at the hands of the Persians. The chief concern of the council, other than the liturgy and the modesty of clerics, was to regulate the religious commerce of Christians with "heretics" (lapsed Christians) and to regulate the (re)admission of heretics into the church. The Ninth Canon forbids meeting at the graves of heretics ("martyrs") for prayers, though it does not specify the reason for this rule. See *NPNFii* (14:129).

¹⁰¹ "While many people do not make much of the casting out of demons or the power of miracles, yet they come to the kingdom of God; yet many also do make much of them, but do not come to the kingdom of God: neither you nor we ought to boast." Augustine, *Against the Letters of Petilian* (2.55.126) (c. 400 CE). Petilian was the Donatist bishop of Cirta, in Numidia (modern-day Algeria).

¹⁰² Augustine, "Letter to the Church of Hippo" (Letter 78). The letter actually reads: "For I myself knew how, at Milan, at the tomb of the saints, where demons are brought in ... to confess their deeds; ... and is not Africa also full of the bodies of holy martyrs? Yet we do not know of such things being done in any place here. Even as the gift of healing and the gift of discerning of spirits are not given to all the saints ... so it is not at all the tombs of the saints that it has pleased Him ... to cause such miracles to be wrought." See Augustine, *Letters 1-82* (375-84).

¹⁰³ Augustine, *On the Advantage of Believing*, in *Works of St. Augustine* (8:145).

¹⁰⁴ Augustine, *On True Religion*, in *Works of St. Augustine* 8 (60); *City of God* (22.8).

¹⁰⁵ "This place is of false esteem, and it seems to have been intruded upon by someone." On *Du Moulin*, see Mather's entry on 2:7.

ons them for a Mark of *Antichrist*. The Papists brag of nothing more than their *Miracles*. Their *Legends* are full of *Miracles*; their *Fables* of *Miracles* are infinite.

They are called, *Lying Wonders*; because they were done (if ever done!) to confirm *Lying Doctrines*; as, *Transubstantiation*, and *Purgatory*, and the Worship of *Saints & Images*. And, for a great Part of them, they were meer *Lyes*, invented by Impudent Romancers; or, at best, the Illusions of a præstigious Divil, the *Father of Lyes*.

In fine, our good old Mr. *Eliot* had a Remark, which may be well enough introduced here.

The glorious CHRIST whom we adore & obey, as our SAVIOUR, must be God *Incarnate*. His Adversary *Antichrist* must be the Reverse; *A Devil Incarnate*. Christian, look back on the Description of the Monster, and say, whether thou dost not see, *A Devil Incarnate*!¹⁰⁶

Q. What may be meant by our Lords Consuming of *Antichrist*, by the *Breath of His Mouth*? v. 8.

A. An Ingenious Gentleman, has hinted unto me, a very Notable Thought upon it.

Of our SAVIOUR we read in Joh. XXI.12. *He breathed on His Disciples, and said, Receive ye the Holy Spirit*. Our Lord will employ the *Breath of His Mouth*, so as to send His *Holy Spirit* down among His People. The glorious Gifts of the *Holy Spirit* will be dispensed unto the People of God; There will be a mighty Effusion of them. By the Means hereof there will be a wonderful *Consumption* brought upon the Kingdome of *Antichrist*.¹⁰⁷

But the Gloss does not satisfy.

|

[12v]

Q. A general Key, to what our Apostle warns to the *Thessalonians*, about the *Coming of our Lord*, and what is to go before it? v. 12.

A. Our Apostle, (as one whose Name is *Pyle*,¹⁰⁸ has among others, well observed,) He seems plainly to include, both the Day of the *Final Judgment*, and that of the Destruction of the *Jewish Nation*, under one and the same Phrase of, *The Day of the Lord*; As our Saviour had before done, under that of, *The Day*, or, *The Coming of the Son of Man*. Thus keeping to the general Terms of the prophetic Scripture, without giving such open and Distinct Notices of that previous Judgment which was to come upon the *City* and the *Temple* of the *Jewish Nation*,

¹⁰⁶ John Eliot (1604–90), Puritan missionary to the Massachusetts Indians of New England and a close associate of the Mather clan; see *ODNB* (18:63–5).

¹⁰⁷ As is often the case with one of Mather's "ingenious" sources, the identity of the author here is not apparent.

¹⁰⁸ See Thomas Pyle, *A Paraphrase upon all the Epistles of the New Testament* (2:148). Pyle (1674–1756) was an Anglican cleric and an outspoken Arian; see *ODNB* (45:622–3).

there was less Exasperation given, than otherwise there would have been, unto the Infidel Part of that prejudiced People, to break forth into untimely, Violent, incurable Degrees of Rage & Bitterness. But tho' the Apostles Account of these Matters, was providently couched in Expressions of a Latitude adapted unto the Times & Persons, with which he was now concerned, yett unto them who knew his Mind, and unto us that have seen the subsequent Events, the Sum of what he saies in these Two Epistles, is clearly reducible to this; That indeed there was a Day of dreadful *Judgment*, and of wondrous Revolutions a coming, as had been foretold, both in the Scriptures, and by our Saviour. But neither the Day of universal *Judgment* was near at hand; nor was even that of the Destruction on the *Jewish Nation* to happen, until certain particular Occurrences had first arrived. Before the Final *Judgment* of the whole World, there would be great Corruptions, from the Impositions of Temporal Power, even by such as would in several Ages, be Governours of Christian Churches. This is the *grand Apostasy*, the *Falling away*, and the *Man of Sin*, in the Writings of *Paul*; and, *The Antichrist*, in the most eminent Sense of the Phrase, with *John*.

But terrible Wrath of God would fall upon those Corruptions. However, the *Jews* were not to feel the fatal Effects of the Divine Wrath, on their City, & their Temple, till by their last & utmost Rage against the Christian Faith, persecuting the Professors of it, & by their Seditious Revolt from the *Roman* Government, they had begun the Work of the *great Antichrist*, and might in the primary Sense, come under his Title and Character. By the way, how Just the *Judgment* of God, in ordering that poor Nation to suffer such grievous Oppositions under the Dominion of the *Romish Antichrist*.

As the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, is generally allowed to be described, in Expressions common to that of the *Final Judgment*, and to be, a Type and Emblem of it, so, the *Jews* and *Hereticks* that were spawned from them, surely might be the, *Antichrist already come*, the Forerunners of the *great Antichrist*, unto all whose Characters, the Church at *Rome* hath so undoubted a Title.

But now if you will compare any further, after any thing in this Illustrious Prophecy, I am willing to be particularly asked over again.¹⁰⁹

109 See Appendix A.

2. Thessalonians. Chap. 3.

[▽13r]

Q. The Apostle would have *Prayer* made, *That the Word of the Lord might run and bee glorified*. How? v. 1.

A. Our Illustrations, on the *Olympic Exercises*, (at 1 Cor. 9.24.) will give you, the Elegance of the Allusion here. But, upon that Stroke, *That the Word of the Lord might bee glorified*, I am well pleased with the Gloss of *Lyranus* – *per miracula, veritatem ejus declarantia*.¹¹⁰

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 14v] [blank]

[▽14v△]

[▽Insert from 15r]

[▽15r]

Q. Why are Wicked Men called, *unreasonable*? v. 2.

A. No doubt, you have read various and elegant Glosses, on the Word, Ἀτοποὶ, which is here Translated, *unreasonable*. Give mee leave, to add one unto all the rest; *Men that are out of their Place*. And now descant upon it, as you please.

I have somewhere seen this Gloss upon it. Ἀτοποὶ.¹¹¹ Persons of *Dislocated Minds*; whose Intellects are putt out of joint, by being precipitated from the *Pinacle* of the Head, unto the *Baser Parts*.

Q. The *Patient Waiting for Christ*? v. 5.

A. Ὑπομονή Χριστοῦ,¹¹² may signify, either the same Kind of *Patience* where-with CHRIST suffered. Or, the *patient Expectation* of CHRIST'S Coming.

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 16v]

[▽16v]

Q. *Neither should he eat*? v. 10.

A. Nor be maintained by the public Charity.

¹¹⁰ “Through miracles disclosing his truth.” Probably Nicholas Lyranus (Nicholas de Lyre) (1270–1349), a French Franciscan biblical scholar whose exegetical work is found in his *Postillae perpetuae in universam Sacra Scripturam*; see *NSHERK* (7:99).

¹¹¹ ἄτοποι; “Out of place, strange, eccentric.”

¹¹² ὑπομονήν τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Q. That Passage, *God our Saviour, and our Lord Jesus Christ?* v. 1.

A. And should be rendred, *Even. God* here, means but, *God the Father*, but our Lord Jesus Christ, whose Apostle the Writer was, & made so by His immediate Constitution.

Q. The Apprecation for Timothy, is, *Grace, Mercy, and Peace*: what is there observable in it? v. 2.

A. One observes; 'Twas not without great Cause, that the Apostle putts an Additional Petition, into his Prayer for *Timothy* and *Titus*, beyond all the Petitions, for all the Churches, hee wrote unto. T'was only, *Grace*, and *Peace*, for *others*; t'was *Grace*, and, *MERCY*, and, *Peace*, for *Ministers*; plainly showing, That they want, *Mercy*, more than many others in the World.

Q. A Main Design of the Epistle? v. 2.

A. *Pauls* Epistle to the *Ephesians*, three or four Years ago, shoves the Jewish Zelots, to be the principal Authors of the Disputations & Irregularities there.¹ By this time they had gott such Ground as to call for a more vigorous Opposition.

Tis remarkable to see how the Directions in this Epistle, are levell'd at the Prejudices of a *Jewish* Doctor, or a Christian still tainted with *Jewish* Prejudices.

Q. What were the *Fables*, and the *Endless Genealogies*, which the Apostle would not have *Timothy* give heed unto? v. 4.

A. Principally, *Jewish* Ones; & most of all, Such as carried in them the Curiosities & Obligations of the *Ceremonial Law*. So Dr. *Lightfoot* supposes. Their *Fables* might bee, the strange *Legends* about, the Sanctity, the Devotion, the Actions, & Miracles of some Pharisaically Righteous Persons among them; and perhaps of the sensual Delights, and Grandeurs, to bee expected in the Days of the *Messiah*.²

¹ Interestingly, in his chronological account of the New Testament documents placed at the beginning of the *Biblia*, Mather dates 1 Timothy to 58 CE and Ephesians to 62 CE, a near reversal of the order here. See *BA* (1:266–7). Mather briefly touches on the influence of the Zealots at Ephesus in his commentary on Eph. 1:1.

² John Lightfoot, *Harmony of the New Testament* (115). Lightfoot (1602–75) was an Anglican cleric of moderate Puritan sympathies who participated in the Westminster Assembly. He was also a prodigious scholar and began an academic career at Cambridge in 1650. His major area of expertise was biblical studies and he was a major figure in the flourishing circle of Christian Hebraism, a colleague of Brian Walton, Edward Pocock, Matthew Poole, and the Buxtorfs. He was sufficiently moderate or politic to keep his appointment at Cambridge after the Res-

Their *Endless Genealogies*, Were not the Divine and Holy Ones of the *Scriptures*; But the Long, Intricate, Perplexed Pedigrees, which they stood upon to prove themselves *Jewes*, *Levites*, or *Priests*, & the like; & thereby impress themselves in a Claim to all the brave Things, which they persuaded themselves did on that Account belong unto them. And the *Traditions*, which they derived, by a long Succession, from, thro' the Hands, of who can say, how many Doctors, may go into the Heap of these *Endless Genealogies*.

The *Talmuds* are now full of these Impertinences.

The Matter cannot relate unto the *Æones* of the *Gnosticks*; which were not then hatched; But rather, to their trifling and endless Disputes (as one paraphrases,) about their Pedigrees & Descent from the Patriarchs.³

Q. What particular Elegancy may there be, in the Apostles Mentioning, *Charity, out of a pure Heart, & a good Conscience, & Faith unfeigned?* v. 5.

A. The Apostle is casting of Contempt on their *Endless Genealogies*; And now, saies hee, I'll give you a *Genealogy*, worth ten thousand of them. From *Faith unfeigned* proceeds a *good Conscience*, from a *good Conscience* proceeds a *pure Heart*; from a *pure Heart* proceeds *Charity* towards all that are about us.

Q. Note on the Particle [δε] which we render, *Now?* v. 5.

A. Dr. *Gell*, chusing to render it [But] has this Note upon it. "This [δε] tho' it be a very signall Word, yett it is of very great Power, which suspends the Understanding as the little *Remum* stayes the Course of a Ship, saith *Ælian*.⁴ Yea, and sometimes it is no less than, *Totius Negotii Cardo*, as the learned Logician knowes.⁵ And therefore, it should no[t] be rendred, *Copulatively*, as yett our Translators have done in the N. T. I beleeve, more than one hundred Times."⁶

toration. His collected works appeared posthumously as his *Opera omnia* (1686). Among his most important biblical works were the *Miscellanies*, *Christian and Judaical* (1629), *Harmony of the Four Evangelists* (1644–50), *Harmony of the Old Testament* (1647), *Harmony of the New Testament* (1655), and *Horae hebraicae et talmudicae* (1658–74). On Lightfoot, see *ODNB* (33:753–6).

³ The Gnostics' Aeon were the emanations of God in this world. See Thomas Pyle, *A Paraphrase upon all the Epistles of the New Testament* (2:156). Pyle (1674–1756), an Anglican cleric and an outspoken Arian, was one of Mather's most important sources for his New Testament commentary. On Pyle, see *ODNB* (45:622–3).

⁴ *Remum* means "oar"; given the citation here, "*Ælian*" is probably Aelianus Tacitus, a 2nd-century CE Greek military writer resident in Rome. His work, *On the Tactical Arrays of the Greeks* (c. 106 CE) discusses the military maneuvers of post-Alexandrian Greek armies. It was only first translated into Latin in 1487 and subsequently became an important military manual in 16th-century Europe; see *DGRBM* (1:29).

⁵ "The hinge (pivot) of the whole business." PLEASE NOTE: As a general rule, translations of Hebrew, Greek and Latin are rendered in the footnotes; when these are not provided, it indicates that the translation Mather has provided in the text is correct.

⁶ Mather extracts this paragraph from Dr. Robert Gell's gloss on 1 Tim. 1:5, in his *Essay toward the Amendment of the Last English Translation of the Bible* (1659), Sermon 14 [15],

Q. What can *you* gather from the Apostles Enumeration of those *Trangressors* for whom the *Law* is made? v. 9, 10.

A. Among other things, I learn what especially some of those *Trangressors* are in the Account of that Holy God, who gave the *Law*. It is Evident, That the Apostle observes the Order of the *Ten Commandments*, in his Enumeration. Accordingly, the Transgressors of the *Fourth* Commandment hee distinguishes with the Title of, *Unholy and Profane*. Behold, What *Sabbath-breakers* are in the Reckoning of God! But the Transgressors of the *Fifth* Commandment, hee styles, *Murderers of Fathers & Murderers of Mothers*. Why so? Because undutiful Children, do grieve, and vex their *Parents*, and thereby shorten their *Dayes*, which is a *Murder* in the Account of God. The *Ungodly*, here, are Trangressors of the *First* Commandment. And *Sinners* [the Name for the idolatrous Gentiles; Gal. 2.15.] are Transgressors of the *Second*.

3300.

Q. How can it be said, That *the Law is not made for a Righteous Man*? v. 9.

A. The *First Reformers*, were putt upon a deal of Trouble, with nice Distinctions, to præserve these Words of the Apostle from the False Glosses, and Base Uses, of those *Libertines*, who were called *Antinomians*. But after all, the best Way seems to be, that we should have Recourse to *Beza's* Observation; That the Writers of the *New Testament* employ the *Dative Case* often times, unto Such Purposes as the *Hebrewes* employ the Præposition *Lamed*; and that it signifies, *Against*.⁷

One so paraphrases, “The *Law* does in no Instance condemn a good Christian, because it is made against those using Vices which the Religion of [the] *Gospel*, severely condemns & punishes.”⁸

But when is the *Law used Lawfully*? When tis used according to the Nature & the Design of the *Jewish Law* of Ceremonies. This must not be used as of the Same, Necessary, and Everlasting Obligation which the *Moral Law*. The *Typical Use* of it, is also to be considerd.

2044.

Q. The *Gospel* when tis here called, *The Gospel*, is called, *The Gospel of the Blessed God*? v. 11.

A. Our greatest Occasion to *Bless God*, is given us by the *Gospel*. But this is not all. You know, The *Redemption* of Man, is the Thing, by the *Gospel* Revealed unto

p. 682(D). Gell (1595–1665) was an Anglican minister whose clerical appointments remained during both the Interregnum and after the Restoration; see *ODNB* (21:732–3).

⁷ Theodore Beza (1519–1605), French Reformed theologian and protégé of Calvin; his annotated edition of the Greek New Testament (1565) is probably in view here. On Beza, see *NSHERK* (2:78–81).

⁸ Thomas Pyle, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:157).

us. Now this is the *Gospel* of a God, abounding in His own *Blessedness*, which received no Addition by Mans *Redemption*. Tis to Teach us, That God *Redeemed* not Man, because Hee needed him.

Q. How is it said, *Grace was abundant with Faith & Love?* v. 14.

A. I approve this Paraphrase of our Mr. *Pyle*. “Which eminent Degree of the Divine Favour I have endeavoured to improve into a effect Faith in Jesus Christ, and a zealous Love, for the Promotion of His True Religion.”⁹

Q. Is there any Passage of the Old Testament, which the Apostle might have in his Eye, when he speaks of, *A Faithful Saying, & Worthy of all Acceptation?* v. 15.

A. Probably that; Eccl. XII.10. *The Preacher sought to find out acceptable Words, even Words of Truth.* Pursue the Hint.

|

[2v]

461.

Q. Why dos the Apostle *Paul* mention, the *Mercy* of God, in Converting of him, as a *Pattern to them that should hereafter Believe?* v. 16.

A. There are shrewd Probabilites, that the Conversion of *Paul*, was exemplary for the Manner of it; and that the future Conversion of his Country-men, will bee produced as his own was, by a Visible Apparition of the Lord Jesus Christ. Accordingly, our Lord saies of the Repenting *Jewes*, in Zech. 12.10. *They shall look on mee, whom they have pierced.* A *Corporal* as well as a *Spiritual* View may bee intended in that Prophecy; for by the way, very true is *Hottingers* observation, *peissime Christianismo Consuluerunt illi qui Justâ et gravi sine Causâ, Literales*

*Scripturae Expositiones repudiarunt.*¹⁰ Besides, the Apostle *John*, in Joh. 19.37. dos literally apply this very Passage; and again, Speaking of our Lords personal Appearance in Rev. 1.7. hee dos from this very Passage fetch his Expressions. Briefly, The *Vision*, mentioned in *Zachary*, is the Same that is mentioned by *John*; but, This *Vision*, is a *Corporal* one. Again, They were the Words of our Lord in Math. 23.39. *Yee shall not see mee hence forth, [or, after this Passover] till yee shall say, Blessed is Hee that comes in the Name of the Lord.* On which I will only give you the Gloss of the great *Alsted*; *Istis Verbis Christus indicat, Judæos Ipsum tandem aliquandò Visuros; non Equidem, in ultimo Judicio sed antè Illud; quia non in Ultimo Judicio acclamabunt ipsi, Benedictus qui Venit; tum enim trepidabunt, qui non fuerint conversi ad ipsum; sed Illo Tempore quo se Ipsi Osten-*

⁹ *Pyle, Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:157).

¹⁰ “They have inadequately consulted the doctrine of Christianity who, without a just and serious reason, have repudiated the literal interpretation of Scripture.” Johann Hottinger’s *Analecta Historico-Theologica* (1652) appears in the Mather library; see Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (41). Hottinger (1620–67), a Swiss Reformed theologian who taught at Heidelberg, was a biblical scholar and an important early Orientalist; see *NSHERK* (5:377).

*det, ut Convertat ipsos ad Veram Fidem.*¹¹ Once, more, We are told, that when *All Israel, shall bee Saved, and Ungodliness bee turned away from Jacob*, in Rom. 11.26. Then, *There shall come out of Zion, the Deliverer*: From Zion, that is, from Heaven. Moreover, At the Sounding of the Seventh Trumpett, on which *Israel* shall Return in Rev. 11.19. The *Ark of the Covenant* is seen: now the Lord Jesus Christ Himself, in whom are *Hid all the Treasures of God*, is that *Ark*. [Ponder also, Psal. 102.16, 17. and Zech. 9.14. with Math. 24.30.] And it is very plain, that *Immediately* upon the Period, of the Sad and Long *Tribulation* of the Jewish Nation, which you know ends in their Conversion, then according to Math. 24.30. *Then shall appear the Sign of the Son of Man, in Heaven; and then shall all the Tribes of the Land* [for so Israel is] *mourn*; [that is, Turn;] *And they shall See the Son of Man coming in the Clouds of Heaven, with Power & great Glory*.

But after all; There is no Text more emphatical unto this Purpose than this of the Apostle *Paul* before us. Why should hee not only declare himself, an ὑποτυπωσις,¹² for such as were *hereafter to Beleeeve*, but also Say, *In mee FIRST; Jesus Christ shewes forth, all Long-Suffering*. There were others Converted unto Christianity, before *Paul*, both among the *Jewes*, and among the *Gentiles*; who experienced the *Longsuffering* of the Lord. Hee was not *the First*, of great Sinners converted! But now, if you expound this FIRST, concerning the *Manner* of his Conversion; you Illustrate the *Matter* wonderfully. And indeed, the marvellous Relation of *Such a Conversion*, given to a *Considerable Number* of the *Jewish Nation*, which you have, in the credible Narrative of the Disputation between *Gregentius* and *Herbanus*, is well worthy to bee considered on this Occasion.¹³ The Story is well worth your Perusal.

Q. The *King Eternal?* v. 17.

A. βασιλει των αιωνων. *The Ruler of the Ages, or, Dispensations.*¹⁴

¹¹ “By these words Christ indicates that the Jews will see him at length – not in the final judgment, but before it, because in the final judgment they will not call out, ‘Blessed is he who comes,’ for then all those who have not turned towards him will tremble; but at that time when he will reveal himself to them, to convert them to the true faith.” Eight of Johann Alsted’s works appear in the Mather libraries, including the first two volumes of his massive seven-volume *Encyclopaedia* (1630), although the entry in Increase’s 1664 *Catalogue* could refer as well to Alsted’s *Encyclopaedia biblica* (1625). It also includes his *Method of Sacred Theology* (1619), which was inscribed by Cotton in 1682. See Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (16, 35, 47–8). Alsted (1588–1638), a Calvinist, was a professor of philosophy and theology at the university in Herborn, Germany; see *NSHERK* (1:138).

¹² “Pattern.”

¹³ The *Disputatio cum Herbario Iudaeo* (an early modern edition of which was published in 1586) represents a debate between St. Gregentius (d. 552), Bishop of Taphar (Dhafar) in southern Arabia, and Herban (Ervan), a rabbi. As represented there, Gregentius proved victorious, leading to a mass conversion of Arabian Jews. See Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (2:327).

¹⁴ βασιλεί των αιώνων.

4484.

Q. What were the *Foregoing Prophecies* concerning *Timothy*? v. 18

A. Compare, Chap. 4.14.

Among the Gifts of *Prophecy*, there was a *Discerning of Spirits*, [1 Cor. 12.10.] particularly, to Foretell, and Elect, Persons meet to Do Special Service for God in the Ministry. Consider, Act. 20.28.

Clemens Romanus tells us, The Apostles chose *Bishops* and *Deacons*, with full Assurance of the Holy Spirit, προγνωσιν ειληφοτες τελειαν.¹⁵ Having a perfect Knowledge of them, & making Trial of them by the Spirit.¹⁶

Thus it was in the case of *Timothy*, as all the Greek Interpreters on the Place, tell us. *Chrysostom* saies, He was chosen by Prophecy; that is, by the Spirit of God. And *Oecumenius*, That he was chosen by Paul, by the Revelation of the Spirit.¹⁷

Compare, Act. 13.2, 3, 4.¹⁸

¹⁵ Clemens Romanus, *Epistula 1 ad Corinthios* (cap. 33, sec. 2, line 2): προγνωσιν ειληφότες τελείαν; "having a perfect knowledge."

¹⁶ Clement of Rome, *First Epistle to the Corinthians* (c. 96 CE), ANF (1:16).

¹⁷ John Chrysostom, *Fifth Homily on 1 Timothy*, NPNFi (13:423). Chrysostom (347–407), archbishop of Constantinople, whose hundreds of extant sermons include a number on the Pauline epistles; see NSHERK (3:72–5). Oecumenius, 10th-century bishop in Thessaly and putative author of a number of biblical commentaries, including one on the Pauline epistles; see NSHERK (8:226).

¹⁸ This passage refers to the selection of Paul and Barnabbas for missionary service by the Holy Spirit.

Q.¹⁹ Upon, the *Thanksgivings* here joined, with *Prayers*, what Remark? v. 1.

A. Εὐχαριστιαί, were were anciently understood of the Eucharist, joined with προσευχαί.²⁰ Compare, Heb. 13.15.²¹

4496.

Q. What may be the Distinctions of, *Prayers, Supplications, Intercessions*? v. 1.

A. Δεήσεις,²² are Deprecations for the Pardon of Sin, & the averting & avoiding of Divine Judgments. Προσευχαί, are Prayers for the obtaining of Positive, Temporal and Spiritual Blessings. In this we have the Suffrage of all the Greek *Scholiasts* and *Lexicographers*. But the Word, Εντεύξεις,²³ they almost unanimously say, means Complaints made unto God against those who deal Injuriouly, with Designs to have the Injuries avenged. One can scarce think, the Apostle would exhort them unto this. Lett us then perform another Import of the Word given by *Phavorinus*: Τίς, παρακλήσις υπό ἀναξ, περί σότηριας ἑτέρων. *An Address presented unto God, for the Salvation of others.*²⁴

Q. After what Manner do you find in primitive Antiquity, the Christians observing the Apostolical Injunction, *To pray for Kings, and all that are in Authority*? v. 1, 2.

A. Take an Account from *Tertullian*. *Illuc* (i. e. in Cælum) *Suspicientes Christiani, manibus Expansis, quia innocui, capite nudo, quia non erubescimus, denique sine monitore, quia de pectore, Oramus pro omnibus Imperatoribus, Vitam illis prolixam, imperium Securum, domum tutam, Exercitus fortes, Senatum fidelem, populum probum, Orbem quietum, et quaecunque hominis et Caesaris Vota Sunt.*²⁵

Take a further Account from *Lactantius*, who thus addresses the Emperour; *Erat Congruens, ut in firmando humani generis Statu, te Auctore ac Ministro Di-*

¹⁹ See Appendix B.

²⁰ εὐχαριστίας ... προσευχάς; “thanksgivings” ... joined with “prayers.”

²¹ Heb. 13:10: “We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle.” (KJV)

²² δεήσεις; “entreaties.”

²³ ἐντεύξεις; “intercessions, petitions.”

²⁴ παράκλησις υπό ἀναξ, περί σότηριας ἑτέρων; “an entreaty to a master, for the deliverance of others.” Favorinus of Arelata (c. 80–160 CE), a Roman philosopher; see *ERE* (209).

²⁵ “Christians, looking to that place (ie. Heaven), with open hands (because we are innocent) and uncovered heads (because we are not ashamed), and without a prompter, because we pray from the heart for all emperors, asking for a long life for them, a secure empire, a safe household, strong armies, a faithful senate, an honest people, a peaceful world, and whatever else are the prayers of man and of Caesar.” [A *monitor* (prompter) is one who feeds lines to actors during a play, or reminds an orator of his argument.] Tertullian (c. 160–220), *Apology*, *ANF* (3:42).

*vinitas uteretur: Cui nos quotidianis precibus Supplicamus, ut te imprimis, quem rerum custodem voluit esse, custodiat, deinde inspiret tibi voluntatem, quæ Semper in amore Divini Numinis perseveret; quod est omnibus Salutate, tibi ad felicitatem, et Cæteris ad Quietem.*²⁶

Thus *Dionysius* in *Eusebius*; καὶ, τουτῷ διηγεκῶς, υπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας χυτῶν, ὅπως ἀσάλευτος διαμείνῃ, προσευχόμεθα. *Ideòque jugiter pro ipsorum imperio, ut inconcussum permaneat, precamur.*²⁷

Oecumenius gives this Account, Ἐν καιρῷ μυστηρίων μεμνηται βασιλεως πολλாகις, καὶ ἀπιστου ὄντος.²⁸ *Polycarp* thus called upon the Christians, *Orate pro Regibus, et Potestatibus, et Principibus.*²⁹

Compare, Jer. 29.7 and Ezr. 6.10.³⁰

Q. That Passage, *There is one Mediator between God and Man, the Man Christ Jesus*; May the Translation of it, bee altered, with any Advantage to our Faith? v. 5.

A. I find one, thus offering his Thoughts upon it.

“It ought to have been thus translated from the Original; *There is One God, and One Mediator of God, and of Man*; It is another thing to bee a *Mediator between God and Man*. For to bee a *Mediator of God and of Man*, is to bee both *God and Man*: To bee a *Mediator between God and Man*, describes rather a Third Person Interposing.”³¹

You may consider of it.

²⁶ “It was fitting, that in strengthening the position of the human race, the Divinity should have used you as its agent and minister; to whom we offer our daily prayers, that He might protect you first of all, whom he wished to be the guardian of the world; then that He might inspire in you the will which always perseveres in the love of the Divine Power; which is for the salvation of all, for your happiness, and the peace of others.” Lactantius (c. 250–325 CE), probably his *Divine Institutes*, in which the emperor Constantine is the running addressee; see *ANF* (7:9–223).

²⁷ Eusebius Pamphilus, in *Historia ecclesiastica* (7.11.8, lines 5–7): “Therefore we pray continually for their empire, that it would endure unshaken.” [Greek and Latin] Eusebius (263–339 CE), bishop of Caesarea; drawn from a citation of Dionysius, 3rd-century Patriarch of Alexandria, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, *NPNFii* (1:300).

²⁸ Ἐν καιρῷ μυστηρίων μεμνηται βασιλέως πολλάκις, καὶ ἀπίστου ὄντος; “In the time of mysteries, we often remember the emperor, even if he is faithless.” [“Mysteries” here being the church liturgy, or sacraments.] On Oecumenius, see Mather’s entry on 1:18.

²⁹ “Pray on behalf of kings, and those in power, and principalities.” Polycarp (69–155 CE), bishop of Smyrna and, according to tradition, a disciple of the Apostle John. This citation is drawn from his letter to the Philippians, an epistle that draws heavily on the Pauline corpus; see *ANF* (1:36).

³⁰ Jeremiah 29:7 enjoins the Israelite captives to “seek the peace of the city” where they dwell in Babylon. Ezra 6:10 asks the exiles to “pray for the life of the king.”

³¹ This seems to be drawn from Daniel Whitby’s extended commentary on this verse, made against the Socinians. See Daniel Whitby, *Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* (2:437–8). Whitby (1638–1726) was an Anglican cleric and a prolific author; he engaged in anti-Catholic polemics but also argued for a latitudinarian treatment of Protestant Dissenters.

But there is a further Emendation of this Translation, which is proposed by the Learned *Bisterfeld*. The Greek is Word for Word, thus. *The one God, the one who is also Mediator of God & of Men, is the Man Christ Jesus*. And this admirably suits with the Design of the Context.³²

4066.

Q. A Remark, if you please, upon those Words, *I will that Men pray every where?* v. 8.

A. One observes, that the Emphasis in this Passage, is upon the Word, *Men*, or, *Males*, [Τους Ἄνδρας].³³ The Meaning is, That *Males*, and not *Females*, are to lead the *Prayer*, wherever it shall be made, in the *Family* as well as in the *Church*. Where now, (saies my Author,) that the Apostle takes it for granted that Christians will *Pray*, (and *Teach*) in their *Families*. An Answer to them, who require a Warrant for *Family-prayer*.

4487.

Q. That Passage of, *Lifting up Holy Hands*, to what may it be Allusive? v. 8.

A. It was the Custome of all Nations, to *Wash*, at least their *Hands*, before they came unto their *Temples*, to pay their Homage unto their Gods. They had for this Purpose, their Χειρνιβία or Χειρονιπτρα, Basons or Lavers, placed before the *Temples*, which they used before they sacrificed.³⁴ They thought it a great Crime, [4v] *Illotis Manibus Libare*.³⁵ And as | for the Jewes, Dr. *Pocock* mentions it as a Law among them, That *every one must wash his Hands, when he Rises from his Bed, that he may be pure, when he offers up his Prayers to God*: Not thinking any Man, טהר [σσιος, Prov. 22.11.] *pure*, till he hath washed his hands.³⁶ This they were to do, say the Rabbins, *Lest God seeing his Creature Defiled, should be Displeased*. The Priest might not touch the Sacrifices, until he had washed his Hands. [Exod. 30.27, 28.] And Prayer succeeded the Sacrifices. Hence they thought the *Washing of Hands*, to have relation unto that also. It was to Signify, That the *Hands* were to be *Pure* from all Impiety and Impurity. [See Psal. 26.6.] *Philo* saies, the *Essens* elevated *Pure Hands* to Heaven, on this Account. And much more, That the *Hearts* are to be *Purified* from all the Filthy Lusts of Sin. [See Psal. 24.4.] For *tis a*

In his later years, he adopted (publically) Arminian and (posthumously) Arian doctrinal positions; see *ODNB* (58:530–2).

³² Most likely Johann Heinrich Bisterfeld (also Biesterfeld) (1605–55), a German Ramist philosopher who studied under Johann Alsted. His works were published posthumously as *Bisterfeldius redivivus* (1661); see *ADB* (2:682–3).

³³ τοὺς ἄνδρας.

³⁴ Χέρνιβια; Χειρονιπήτρας (both mean washing basins).

³⁵ “To offer libations with unclean hands.”

³⁶ טָהָר (purity); שְׁשִׁיּוֹס (holiness). Edward Pocock (also Pococke) (1604–91), Orientalist and biblical scholar, professor of Arabic (1636), and, later, professor of Hebrew (1648), at Oxford; see *ODNB* (44:662–6).

Folly, saies *Philo*, to think that we may not come to the Temple, till we have washed the Body, and yett that we may come, with a Defiled Mind. And, thirdly, that our Minds are to be clear of all worldly Encumbrances, & we are to bring unto God, as *Philo* saies, *A Soul eased of all the Weight of the Senses, & Sensible Objects*.³⁷

These are the Things which the Apostle enjoins, when he commands us to *Lift up Holy Hands*. Not that we should wash them with *Water*; which *Tertullian* reckons among Things, *Vacuae observationis*.³⁸

4488.

Q. What is the *Doubting* forbidden?

A. The Greek, Διαλογισμος, never once in the N. T. bears the Sense of *Doubting*; but it alwayes means Inward Reasonings, or Thoughts full of Trouble & of Tumult, and of Murmuring.³⁹ [See Mat. 15.19. Luk. 2.35. Rom. 1.21. Luk. 9.46. Phil. 2.14.] Things contrary to the Sedateness of Spirit, we should have in our Devotions.⁴⁰

Q.⁴¹ Why does the Apostle insist upon the, *Not suffering a Woman to teach*? v. 12.

A. Among the Pagans, it was a common thing (as Mr. *Pictet* observes) for a Woman to be a Priestess, for Women to be taken into the Exercise of the Priesthood. It was thus particularly at *Ephesus*.⁴²

3307.

Q. How do some understand that Passage, *She shall be saved in Child-bearing*? v. 15.

A. I will not here take the Trouble to recite the many Speculations, which Interpreters have had upon this Matter.

The Late, *Essay for a New Translation*, ha's this Notion of it. The Apostle would say, That tho' Women have not a Liberty to Teach publicly, yett they are not excluded from the Hope of Salvation, if they do their Duty, Teach their Children. The Word in the Original, signifies, The Education of Children. To bring up Children, as well as to bring forth Children. This is *Chrysotoms* Ob-

37 Mather's source here, Whitby's *Paraphrase* (2:438), names *Philo's De Vita Contemplativa* as the source here.

38 "Empty observances." *Tertullian, On Prayer, ANF* (3:681–91).

39 Διαλογισμός; "inward deliberation, hesitation, doubt."

40 Though absent from the text, Mather probably intended "we should not have in our Devotions."

41 See Appendix B.

42 Benedict Pictet, possibly his *Huit sermons sur l'examen religions* (1716) [republished as *True and False Religion Examined* (1797)], more likely his *Medulla theologiae christianae* (1711). Other possibilities would include his *Medulla ethicae christianae* (1711) or *An Antidote against a Careless Indifferency in Matters of Religion* (1694). Pictet (1655–1724) was a professor of Reformed theology in Geneva; see *NSHERK* (9:51–2).

servation. And it is confirmed by the Version of the LXX. Gen. 50.23. Ruth. 4.17. 2. Sam. 21.8., where they translate the *Hebrew Word*, *Jalad*, by the *Greek Word*, *Teknogonia*; tho' those Places refer only to the Education of those, unto whom this Word is applied.⁴³ [*Michal* particularly, was not the Wife of *Adriel*, but *Merab*; and she had no Children, but she brought up those that *Merab* had brought forth to *Adriel*.] The Jewes observe, That whoever brings up a Pupil in his House, is in Scripture, said to have *Begotten him*. Thus *Aholibamah* is called, *the Daughter of Ana*, *the Daughter of Zibeon*, *the Hivite*; (Gen. 36.2.) She being the proper Daughter of *Ana*, (tis thought) but the Daughter of *Zibeon*, by Adoption or Education. The *Essay* further observes, that in our Version, what is rendered, *She*, should be rendered, *They*, so that the Apostles Words are to be taken thus; *Nevertheless she shall be saved in bringing up Children, so as that they shall Continue in Faith, in Charity, in Holiness, and Modesty*.⁴⁴

To this Purpose Dr. *Edwards*, in his *Whole Concern of Man*, *Child-bearing* may be here putt for the whole Discharge of the Office required of a Married Woman, in her Domestic Capacity. By *Childbearing* is meant, the *Education* of Children; because, in Vain are they *Born*, if not *Educated*. The Mother may expect *Salvation* for herself, in the faithful Discharge of this Duty. Yea, and the *Salvation* of her *Children* too; if *They continue*, (for to them does that *They* refer,) *in Faith, Charity, and Holiness with Sobriety*.⁴⁵

Q. But how do some others understand that Passage, of the Teeming Woman, *She shall bee saved in Childbearing*? v. 15

A. Be sure, not as if *Child-bearing* were the Condition of her *Salvation*; that would bee a poor Comfort for the Barren. But, this Expression here, Διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας, or, *Thorough Childbearing*, intimates, That the Woman shall bee Saved, by the Saviour who was, *Born of a Woman*, & who is, *The Promised Seed*. This is a Marvelous Exaltation, & Consolation for the female Sex, after the De-basing Circumstances which their *First Fall* ha's brought upon them. That which followes, *If They continue, in Faith*, & the rest, only intimates, the Condition of the Assurance of that *Salvation* on the *Womans* Part. And whereas, tis said in the plural Number, *They Continue*; it intimates that something is necessary in this Case, on the *Husbands* Part, as well as the *Womans*.

⁴³ From תָּלַד and τεκνογονία (child-bearing).

⁴⁴ Charles Le Cene, *Essay for a New Translation of the Bible* (1701), a translation of his *Projet d'un nouvelle version francaise de la Bible* (1696). Le Cene (1647–1703), a French Protestant clergyman, removed to London in 1685 after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; his new translation appeared in 1741; see *DNB* (11:774–5).

⁴⁵ John Edwards (1637–1716), *The Whole Concern of Man* (n.d.), a devotional work. Edwards was an Irish Anglican priest and Calvinist controversialist; he authored several works of biblical interpretation, including *A Discourse on the Authority, Stile, and Perfection of the Books of the Old and New Testament* (1693) and *An Enquiry into Four Remarkable Texts of the New Testament* (1692), both of which Mather uses in the *Biblia*. See *ODNB* (17:937–8).

I will add a Paraphrase of one *Pyle* upon it, which setts all in the truest Light.

“Whereas some of the *New Teachers* endeavour to decry the State of *Matrimony* and *Child-bearing*, as an Impure Thing, inconsistent with true Religion; Lett not that frighten the most Vertuous Woman from it: *Marriage* and *Child-bearing* are perfectly consistent with the Gospel-terms of Salvation, and no breach of Christian Purity.”⁴⁶

⁴⁶ See Pyle, *A Paraphrase of the New Testament* (2:163).

Q. Upon that Passage, *He that desires the Office of a Bishop, desires a good Work*, help us to a *good Note* from one of the Ancients? v. 1.

A. Take the words of *Jerom*, which are worth noting.

*Si quis Episcopatum desiderat, bonum opus desiderat; Opus, non Dignitatem; Laborem, non Delicias; Opus per quod Humilitate decrescat, non intumescat Fastidio.*⁴⁷

Q. Upon the *Desire to the Office* which here seems countenanced? v. 1.

A. *Gregory* in his *Cura pastoralis*, observes upon it. *Notandum quod illo in Tempore hoc dicitur, quo quisquis plebibus praeerat primus ad martyrii tormenta ducebatur. Tunc ergo Laudabile fuit Episcopatum querere quando per hunc quemque dubium non erat ad Supplicia graviora pervenire.*⁴⁸

1796.

Q. May the Apostle have any Special Allusion in that Passage, *A Bishop is to bee no Striker?* v. 3.

A. As in the Passage immediately præceding, *Not given to Wine*, hee may allude unto the Story of *Nadab* and *Abihu*; so, in this Passage, hee may allude, unto some other things which of old happened among *Israel* in the Wilderness.

You know, what befel *Moses* and *Aaron*, for a Miscarriage in an Act of *Striking*. They were the *Bishops* of *Israel*.

And you know, That *Aarons* Rod in the Tabernacle, brought forth *Buds*, and bloomed *Blossoms*, and yielded *Almonds*. These Appurtenances rendred it an Instrument unfit for *Striking*!

[△] [△Insert ends]

[9r] |

⁴⁷ “If someone desires to be a bishop, he desires a good work; a work, not an honor; toil, not luxuries; a work through which he might in humility be diminished, not swell up in pride.” *Jerome* (c. 347–420) wrote extensive commentaries on the Bible, including several of the Pauline epistles. The Latin quote is adapted from *Jerome’s Commentariorum in Sophoniam Prophetam Liber Unus*, on 1 Tim. 3:1, [PL 025. 1377B].

⁴⁸ The Latin quote from Pope Gregory I, is from *Pastoralis Regulae Liber, Ad Joannem Episcopum Civitatis Ravennae*, pars 1, cap. 8 [PL 077. 0021B–0021C]. “We should note that it was said at the time, that whoever held preeminence over the people was the first to be led to the torments of martyrdom. It was praiseworthy to seek to be a bishop, since because of this, there was no doubt that such a person would be led to more serious prayers.” See also Pope Gregory I, *Regula pastoralis* (c. 590 CE), in *NPNFii* (12:6).

Q. What may be meant by the, *good Behaviour*, which is required of, *Bishops*? v. 2.

A. Dr. *Goodwin* makes one thing in it, to be, That he must not be *Slovenly*; nor of Such an unmannerly Carriage, as to bring his Calling into Contempt. He must not be Rude, either thro' *Ill Nature*, or thro' *Ill Nurture*. They must be Men of Such a *Comely Behaviour*, as to be fitt for the Company of any Gentlemen, Indeed, they should not be too Complemental, or full of Gesticulations; this does not suit Men of *Gravity*. But their Behaviour must have no Indecencies, no Incivilities, attending of it.⁴⁹

Q. In what Regard is the Bishop to be, *The Husband of One Wife*? v. 2.

A. The *Oxford Paraphrase* will tell you, That it cannot mean the Husband of no more than *One Wife* at *One Time*; for the *Romans Lawes*, under which they were at this time, forbad their having any more.⁵⁰ But by the Constant Practice of the Church, *Bigamus* was he who married a *Second Wife* after the Death of the First. [Compare, 1 Tim. 5.9, 11.]

I think, this Matter calls for further Consideration.⁵¹ And others besides *Tertullian*, are to be consulted, for the due Interpretation of it.⁵²

[▽Insert from 6v]⁵³

[▽6v]

Mr. *Pyle* in his Paraphrase, ha's given us the true Notion of the Matter.

⁴⁹ Probably Thomas Goodwin, D.D. (1600–80), possibly his *On the Constitution, Right, Order, and Government of the Churches of Christ* (1696), although his collected works, including works of biblical interpretation, began to be published in 1682. Goodwin, a Puritan, was made president of Magdalen College at Oxford in 1650, a post he lost at the Restoration; see *ODNB* (22:823–8).

⁵⁰ Abraham Woodhead, Obadiah Walker, and Richard Allestree, *A Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the Epistles of St. Paul, done by several eminent men at Oxford* (1702). The original work (1675) was only a partial paraphrase; the 1684 edition encompassed the entire Pauline corpus. The 1702 edition included the affixed subtitle hence, it became known as the “Oxford Paraphrase.” Woodhead (1609–78) and Walker (1616–99) were Anglican clerics in teaching positions at Oxford; both converted to Catholicism (Woodhead in the 1640's, Walker in 1686); see *ODNB* (60:186–88) and (56:878–80) respectively. Richard Allestree (1619–81) was a royalist soldier and chaplain during the Civil War; in 1663 he was made a chaplain to the king and in 1665 Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. Unlike Woodhead and Walker, he remained a loyal Anglican cleric; see *ODNB* (1:842–4).

⁵¹ Mather's seeming endorsement of the first comment, that the early church considered marriage after widowhood a form of bigamy, is a surprisingly forceful one, given his own marriage history; it may have been made before he was first widowed. This second comment (a later addition) indicates his intent to revisit the issue; the subsequent citation of Pyle on the matter excludes widowed remarriage from consideration and may reflect his own changed marital situation. Mather's second marriage was a very troubled one; see Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (279ff). See Appendix B.

⁵² Tertullian's treatise, *On Monogamy*, takes a strong stand against remarriage, even in the case of a deceased spouse (see Ch. 13–15).

⁵³ See Appendix B.

“One that is neither guilty of the *Polygamy* of the Heathens, nor of *Divorcing* one Wife to marry another, out of Lustful or Humoursome Reasons, as is too Customary among the *Jews*; but one that has had but one Wife at a time, & kept constant to her.”⁵⁴

Doubtless, the *One Wife*, may have Relation to the Jewish Levity of changing *Wives*. They were *Judaizers*, that most infested the Church of *Ephesus*.

[△] [△Insert ends, 9r resumes]

1871.

Q. Why is there such Care taken, that the *Wives* of the *Deacons*, must bee *Grave*, not *Slanderers*, *Sober*, *Faithful in all things*? v. 11.

A. Some say, Tis a Mistake: Here is nothing at all said, about the *Deacons Wives*; Tis only said, *The Women must bee so*; Those *Women*, γυναικες, are, the *Deaconesses*.

2814.

Q. What is the *much Boldness in the Faith*, which the *Deacons* are to gett? v. 13.

A. I find one Mr. *Chauncey*, thus carrying of it: “As it is the Business of the *Deacons*, to inspect the Necessities of the Church, so its their Duty to speak Plainly and *Boldly*, on the behalf of Christ, & His Church, to Such as they find too narrow-Spirited, & Strait-handed, towards the Church; not contributing proportionably to their Ability. I suppose this is the *Boldness* in the *Faith* which the Apostle speaks of. Being truly Ambitious to promote the Well-being of the Church, they gain *Boldness* and *Courage*, in the Execution of their Office; and *Beleeving*, that this Well-being of the Church, as to Externals, is the Mind of Christ, they take to themselves thro’ the Supply of the Spirit, *great Boldness in this Faith*, and are not Ashamed to tell the Greatest and Richest in the Church, of their Duties, and to Speak *Boldly* unto them. Many Rich and Great Men, professing Godliness, instead of being Promoters of the Interest of Christ in Churches, by their Backwardness they are exemplary Hinderers thereof. These had need to have some, that have more than ordinary *Boldness in the Faith*, to tell them plainly, how much they Dishonour that Name they profess.”⁵⁵

1187.

Q. What is the *good Degree*, which they that use *the Office of a Deacon well*, do *purchase unto themselves*? v. 13.

⁵⁴ Pyle, *Paraphrase of the New Testament* (2:164).

⁵⁵ Possibly Isaac Chauncy (1632–1712), *Divine Institution of Congregational Churches* (1697). This work appears in Cotton’s library; see Tuttle, *The Libraries of the Mathers* (54). Chauncy (1632–1712) was a Dissenting minister after 1662. His family was a part of the early immigration to New England. He matriculated at Harvard before returning to England and finishing his degree at Oxford; see *ODNB* (11:266–7).

A. Some will have it, the *Office of Presbytery*, q.d. of *Deacons* they shall bee made *Elders*. But wee may except against this Interpretation, That the Difference between a *Deacon* and a *Presbyter*, is not in *Degree* but in *Order*. A *Deacon* made a *Presbyter* is not advanced unto a further *Degree* in his own *Order*; but leaves it for *Another*. Nor does a *Deacon*, by a diligent Discharge of his Office, prępare himself at all, for the Office of a *Presbyter*; the Office of a *Deacon* is wholly about the Providing & the Disposing of Earthly Things; whereas a Pręparation for the Ministry does consist in a Mans giving himself to Prayer, Study, Meditation.⁵⁶

Wherefore, Dr. *Owens* conjecture upon the Word is; That the Apostle here hath Respect unto a certain *Orderly Decency* | observed in Church-Assemblies. [10v] Βαθμος, is of the same Signification with Βαθμῖς, which is a *Seat Raised* in an Assembly, to Hear or Speak.⁵⁷ So saies the Scholiast upon *Sophocles*; *The Place where the Assembly* [ἐκκλησία] *met, was divided round about, with Seats in Degrees*, [Βαθμισιν ἤν κυκλω διελημμηνος, ἀλλαις ἐπ' ἀλλαις] *Some above others*.⁵⁸ And Countenance is hereto given, by the Custom of sitting in the *Jewish Synagogues*; whereof *Ambrose* tells us, *Traditio est Synagoga, ut Sedentes disputarent Seniores Dignitate, in Cathedris, Subsequentis in Subsellijs, Novissimi in Pavimento*.⁵⁹ And so speaks *Philo* before him; *When wee meet in Sacred Places, the younger sort, according to their Quality, sitt in Orders, under the Elders*: [καθ' ἡλικίας ἐν τάξεσιν ὑποπρεσβυτεροῖς νέοι καθίζονται].⁶⁰ The Apostle *James*, hath an Eye to this Custome, in the primitive Assemblies of the *Christian Jewes*: for when hee reproves their Partiality in pręferring the *Rich* immoderately before the *Poor*, hee instances, in their Disposing of them unto *Seats* in their *Assemblies*, without Respect unto the other Qualifications whereby they were to bee distinguished; there was a Βαθμος καλός allow'd unto one, & not unto the other.⁶¹ Wherefore, in the Text now before us, That which the Apostle intends by a Βαθμος καλός, may bee a *Place of*

⁵⁶ This and the following paragraphs are extracted from John Owen's *The True Nature of the Gosepl Church and its Government* (1689), chap. 9: "Of Deacons," p. 187.

⁵⁷ Βαθμός; Βαθμῖς; both Greek terms literally mean "a step" (i. e. raised platform), which can also be taken as a metaphor for reputation (as perhaps Paul intends here). Mather is extending that metaphor to the notion of a church office.

⁵⁸ Scholia in Sophoclem, *Scholia in Sophoclis Oedipum Tyrannum* (sch thom scholion 142, lines 2–3): Βαθμίσιν ἤν κύκλω διελημμημένος, ἀλλαις ἐπ' ἀλλαις; "in ranks, distributed round about, some above others." "Scholia" originated as marginal explanatory notes to classical literature; they became especially prominent in Christian scholarship beginning in the 5th century. Over time the aggregate notes became works in their own right and came to be known as "the Scholiast on" a particular work of classical literature or author. See "Classical Scholarship," in *EB* (electronic).

⁵⁹ "The tradition of the synagogue is, for the elders to be arranged in seating by honor in chairs, their subordinates on benches, and the youngest on the floor." On Ambrose (c. 340–397), bishop of Milan; see *NCE* (1:337–9).

⁶⁰ Philo Judaeus, *Quod omnis probus liber sit* (sec. 81, line 4): καθ' ἡλικίας ἐν τάξεσιν ὑποπρεσβυτεροῖς νέοι καθίζονται; "The young men seated in orders under the elders, according to their stature." On Philo of Alexandria, see *EJ* (16:59–64).

⁶¹ Βαθμός καλός; "good seat"; see James 2:3.

some *Eminency in the Church-Assemblies*, which is due unto such *Deacons*, where they may with *Boldness* assist in the Management of the Affairs of the Church; which belongs unto the Profession of the *Faith, which is in Christ Jesus*. But, if any shall rather think, that both of the Expressions, do signify an *Increase in Gifts and Grace* which is a certain Consequence of Mens faithful Discharge of their Office in the Church, wherein many *Deacons* of old, were eminent, unto Martydom, wee shall not contend against it.⁶²

And yett after all; I return to what was first proposed; & offer the Gloss of that Rare Man, Mr. *William Jameson*, upon the Text. “They are then justly reputed to be fit for Promotion to the Sacred Ministry of the Word. In my Mind, we may learn from this Place; the *Pastors* for the most part were chosen from among the *Deacons*. And this was most Reasonble.”⁶³

2304.

Q. To what may the Apostle allude, when hee speaks of, *The Pillar of Truth?* v. 15

A. If it bee the *Church*, that hee honours with such a Title, hee means most particularly, the Church at *Ephesus*. This Church, held forth, the True Doctrine of the Gospel, in its public Profession; as *Pillars*, upon which *Edicts* are hung forth to the View of all Men. The Expression alludes to the Temple of *Diana*, at *Ephesus*, much celebrated for its magnificent *Pillars*, upon which the Rules of the Religion of that Goddess were Inscribed. The Apostle intimates, that those were the *Pillars of Falsehood*; but the Church of Christ in that City, was, *The Pillar of Truth*. This *Pillar* began to decay in *Domitians* Time; [Rev. 2.5.] {and}⁶⁴ is at this day utterly demolished.

⁶⁵Lett this Thought come in for a Share of our Attention. *Calvin* gathers from Hab. II.2. That the Speeches of the Inspired Prophets, were usually hung up in Writing for a while, on a Pillar of the Temple, for a thorough Publication, where every Eye might read them; and afterwards laid up in the Arches there. Some think, Here is an Allusion to That.⁶⁶

⁶² Owen (*True Nature of the Gospel Church* (1689), ch. 9, p. 187. Mather owned several works by John Owen (1616–83), including his *Brief Instruction in the Worship of God* (1667). See Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (74–5). Owen (1616–83) was an Anglican cleric and a professor at Oxford; his non-conformity led to early retirement in 1660. He was a cause célèbre in New England and was invited to pastor in Boston in 1663. See *ODNB* (42:221–30).

⁶³ Mather’s owned four works by William Jameson, a Scottish Presbyterian (born blind) who taught at Glasgow University from roughly 1690 to 1720; Mather quotes from Jameson’s gloss on 1 Tim. 3:13 in his *Summ of the Episcopal Controversy* (1713), ch. 3, p. 94. Mather also owned copies of Jameson’s *Nazianzeni querela et votum justum, or the Fundamentals of the Hierarchy Examind and Disprov’d* (1697) and *Roma racoviana et racovia Romana* (1702). See Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (41, 67). On Jameson, see *ODNB* (29:765).

⁶⁴ See Appendix A.

⁶⁵ See Appendix B.

⁶⁶ See John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Twelve Minor Prophets* (63–64).

⁶⁷But Mr. *Baxter* has taught us, that it is *Timothy*, and not the *Church*, which is thus called. Such Able, Holy, and Faithfull Ministers as *Timothy*, are the great Proclaimers and Præservers of *Truth* for the Church of God.⁶⁸ As the *Edicts* of Princes use to bee hung out upon *Pillars*, to bee seen & known by all the World, and as the best Fabricks would fall down unsupported, if there were no *Bottoms* to uphold them, thus true *Timothæan* Ministers are they, without whom the Truths of God would never bee Divulged or Mentained.

But, I remember *Cameron*, makes this Passage, the Præface unto the following Doctrine, *without Controversy, great is the Mystery of Godliness*; and hee proves out of *Maimonides*, that this way was an usual Form of Speech, in the Writings of the Jewes, to Introduce any Special Doctrine of Religion, *This is the Pillar and Ground of Truth*.⁶⁹

To countenance Mr. *Baxters* offer, I will tell you; There is nothing more common in the Language of the Writers of the Church, than to style any eminent Assertors of the Faith, *The Pillar & Ground of Faith*. *Basil* gives this Title to *Musonius*, Bishop of *Cæsarea*; and to *Athanasius*; and to the Orthodox Bishops, banished for the Truth. *Nazianzen* gives this Title to *Basil*, and to *Athanasius*, and to *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Samosota*. *Lanfranc* and *Rupertus* give this Title to *Austin*.⁷⁰

Compare, Gal. II.9. Rev. III.12.⁷¹

Q. Unto what may the Apostle allude, when hee mentions, *The great Mystery of Godliness*? v. 16.

⁶⁷ See Appendix A.

⁶⁸ Richard Baxter, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (1685) (comment on 1 Tim. 3.15; no text pagination). Baxter (1615–91), an essentially self-taught clergyman, joined the Puritan cause but resisted its more extreme tendencies. He helped to bring about the Restoration but failed to gain acceptance for dissenting clergymen (“comprehension”) and so lost his clerical appointment after the Act of Uniformity (1662). He objected to stricter forms of Calvinism and argued in favor of universal atonement. His greatest influence came through his numerous writings on practical theology and piety. See *ODNB* (4:418–33).

⁶⁹ Perhaps John Cameron’s *Myrothecium evangelicum* (1632), a commentary on the New Testament. Cameron (1579–1623), a Scottish theologian, was a moderate Calvinist who taught at Saumur; see *NSHERK* (2:367–8).

⁷⁰ Basil (c. 329–379), bishop of Caesarea and opponent of Arianism; see *NCE* (2:135–9). Musonius (d. 371), bishop of Neocaesarea and colleague of Basil in the Arian conflict; see Fedwick, *The Church and the Charisma of Leadership in Basil of Caesarea* (51–2). Athanasius (c. 296–373), bishop of Alexandria and foremost proponent of the Nicene Christology; see *NCE* (1:817–20). Gregory Nazianzus (c. 329–389), archbishop of Constantinople, an accomplished rhetorician and philosopher and one of the great Trinitarian theologians of the early church; see *NCE* (6:513–17). Eusebius (d. 379), bishop of Samosota and a staunch anti-Arian; see *NCE* (5:545). Lanfranc (1010–1089), archbishop of Canterbury; see *NCE* (8:323–4). Rupert of Deutz (c. 1075–1129), Benedictine monk and Eucharistic theologian; see *NCE* (12:412).

⁷¹ In Gal. 2:9 Paul speaks of Peter, James, and John as pillars; Rev. 3:12 speaks of Christian martyrs being made pillars in the temple of God in the New Jerusalem.

A. The *Eleusinian Mysteries* have been sufficiently talk'd. The *pagan Religion* pretended mightily unto *Mysteries*; They putt the Name of *Mysteries* upon the Diabolical Opinions & Usages, which the they would not profane, by exposing them to Vulgar Notice. In opposition hereunto, the Holy Spirit of God asserts the Greater, Better, Truer, *Mysteries*, to bee found in the *Christian Religion*: And Hee does not *Conceal* these *Mysteries*, as the very Name of *Mysteries*, coming from a Word, that signifies, *To keep Silence*, would bespeak for them; no, Hee Invites all the World unto the Contemplation thereof. It is by a *Metonymie* of the *Effect*, that the *Gospel* is here called, *A Mystery of Godliness*. The *Mysteries of Paganism*, were contrived for the Overthrow of all *Piety & Purity*; but there is a glorious Tendency to *Godliness* in the *Mysteries of Christianitie*.

[▽7r] [▽Insert from 7r]

1385.

Q. How many *Articles* do you suppose offered, by the Apostle in the *great Mystery of Godliness*? v. 16.

A. Why not *Six*?

But it is by some supposed, That there is but *one Article* of that *great Mystery* here offered. That is to say, *God manifest in the Flesh*; or, the Incarnation of the Son of God, & the personal Union of the *Divine Person* with the *Humane Nature*, in Him: And that all the following Passages, are but so many *Mysterious*, or Marvellous Confirmations of the Mystery, or, the Evidences, by which our Faith may bee confirmed in it. The first Evidence to the Truth of this Mystery, is, from the *Spirit* of God. The *Incarnation* of the *Son* of God, is proved, by the *Justification*, which the *Spirit* of God, hath many Wayes given hereunto. But then, the *Created Spirits* of God, as well as His *Eternal Spirit*, bring in a second Evidence to the Truth of this Mystery. The Blessed *Angels*, are *Spirits*, which the Almighty *Spirit* of God, wonderfully does Fill and Use, for His Glory: And these come in, as Testimonies, to the *Verity of the Christian Religion*. So, thirdly, did the *Apostles*, that preached Christ unto the *Gentiles*. Thus, fourthly, did the whole *Beleeving World*, that felt the Efficacy of Christ preach'd unto them. And, thus, fifthly, did they especially that saw Christ, at His being *taken up to Glory*.

Monsr. *Martin* very well observes, That if our glorious CHRIST was not very God, there would be no such *great Mystery*, in what is here exhibited, *God manifest in Flesh*.

It is observed by Another, *That God manifest in Flesh*, in the Language of the Apostle, signifies, all that He performed, & all that He suffered, *in Flesh*. God obeying His own Law, *in Flesh*; and God enduring the Penalty of his

violated Law, *in Flesh*. For, *Justified in Spirit*, which follows next, intends His *Resurrection*.⁷²

1380.

Q. How was our L. Jesus Christ, *Justified in the Spirit*?

A. By, *The Spirit*, here, is meant, the Third Sacred Person in the God-head. And our Lords being *Justified, in*, (or, by) that *Spirit*, implies, all that Hee did, for the Asserting & Mentaining of the Divine Character, which our Lord laid claim unto.

Now, First, the *Immaculate Conception* of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the *Power* of the Holy Spirit, gloriously cleared Him, from the Defilements of that *Sin* wherein all other Men are conceived. Our Lord fetching His *Flesh*, from Depraved Mankind, [Rom. 8.3.] it look'd very suspiciously, as if Hee Himself, must needs have some sinful Depravation cleaving unto Him. His Mother was a *Sinner*, and all the Ancestors, in the Line of his Genealogy were *Sinners*, yea some in that line were *First-rate Sinners*. [Now see Job. 14.4.] Yett was our Lord Jesus Christ, *Born perfectly Righteous*, without the least Iniquitation of any *Sin* upon Him. Whence came this to pass? That original Righteousness of Nature, which our Lord, as Man, was Born withal, it was from, the Immediate Operation of the *Holy Spirit* upon that Nature. [Whereof see Luk. 1.35.]

Secondly, There being in our Lord Jesus Christ, an exact *Fulfilment*, of the ancient *Oracles*, a[nd] *Prophecies*, and Promises, which the *Holy Spirit* uttered concerning Him. This gloriously *Justifies* our Lords Claim, to bee the *Messiah* so promised unto the World.

Thirdly, the *Miracles*, which our Lord Jesus Christ wrought by the *Holy Spirit*, gloriously *Justify* the Divinity, and so the *Messiah-ship* of our Lord.

Lastly, the *Acquittance* which our Lord Jesus Christ had from the *Holy Spirit* of God, *Raising Him from the Dead*, when Hee had made *Satisfaction* for our Sins. This gloriously *Justifies* our Lord, and His People too, from all Obligation to make any further *Satisfaction*.

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 8v]

[▽8v]

166.

Q. How comes this Article in the *great Mystery* of Godliness, Hee was *Received up into Glory*, to bee mentioned after His *being preached unto the Gentiles* and *Beleeved on in the World*; What things did not occur, till after our Lords being *Received up into Glory*?

⁷² Perhaps Pierre Martin de La Martiniere (1634–90), *The Lama Sabacthani, or, Cry of the Son of God, set forth in all his agonies* (1700).

A. Yes; There was a little Beginning, Foretast, & Earnest, & Essay, of those Things before our Lords being *Received up*.

However, wee may rather insist on this; That not the *Order*, but the *Reason* of things is here pointed at. The *Reason* why our Lord, when *preached unto the Gentiles*, was *Beleeved on in the World*, is here added; It is because, they saw, Hee was *Received up into Glory*.

But besides all this; I behold, a notable Connexion of this Clause, with what, immediately follows. The very next Passage, foretells the *Apostasy* of the Christian Church into *Idolatry*. Now, as when *Moses* was *Received up* into the Mount, the Church of *Israel* presently fell into *Idolatry*. So when our Blessed *Jesus* is *Received up* into Heaven, the *Idolatry* of *Antichrist* soon succeeds upon it.

Yea, This very *Apostasy*, is a Proof of that Article; our Lords being *Received up into Glory*. Our Lord from His *Glory* did prædict this *Apostasy*; the Accomplishment of the Prædiction, is an Incontrovertible Proof of His being in that *Glory*.

[△] [△Insert ends]

Q. The Holy Spirit of Prophecy, is going to give us, a most admirable Description and Discovery of, *The Antichrist*. Lett us proceed unto some Illustrations upon it? v. 1. 2. 3.

A. We will begin with a true Translation of the Text.

1. *Now the Spirit saith expressly, that in the latter times, some shall revolt from the Faith, giving themselves up to Deceiving Spirits, and Doctrines of Dæmons.*

2. *And this thro' the Fictions of Lyars, Men whose Consciences are seared with an hott Iron.*

3. *Forbidding to marry, commanding to abstain from Meats, which God hath created to be received with Thanksgiving by [the] faithful, & by them who know the Truth.*

Monsr. *Jurieu*, & Mr. *Mede*, shall now conduct me. The Text represents unto us, first the Antichristian *Apostasy*; and then, the Men that are the Promoters of it. We plainly find them in the Papacy.⁷³

The Apostle describing to the *Thessalonians*, the Empire of *Antichrist*, saies, It is introduced with an *Apostasy*. But how can an *Apostasy* be charged on the Church of *Rome*, while it retains the *Christian Faith*, the Creed of the Apostles, the *Nicene*, and the *Athanasian*?

It is however plain; That the Prince, & the Subjects, in the Empire of *Antichrist*, must be *Apostates* from *Christianity*; and therefore the *Antichrist* of the *Romish Doctors*, Namely, A *Jew* styling himself the *Messiah*, and making *War* upon the *Christians*, must needs be a meer *Chymæra*. But, *Apostasy* signifies, *A Departure*; tis, To depart from the Obedience which is due to any one. Tis to *Refuse* him, the whole, or a part of the Homage, that is due to him. It answers to the Hebrew Word, *Mered*, which signifies, *Rebellion*.⁷⁴ The LXX render that Word, *Apostasy*. To be an *Apostate*, it is not necessary, that a Man abandon the True God entirely. There may be a *Revolting* from the Faith, without a formal and total Renunciation of it. Now there is not one Article of the *Christian Faith*, against which the Papacy does not plant its Engines. The huge Libraries of Books written in Defence of the *Protestant Religion*, have sufficiently illustrated & demonstrated this Assertion. Yea, When the *Reubenites* built their *Altar*, the Expostulation with them was, Josh. 22.18. [LXX.] *You are become Apostates from*

⁷³ Pierre Jurieu, likely his *Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies* (1687) (trans. from *L'Accomplissement des Prophetes*, 1686). Jurieu (1637–1713) was a Huegenot theologian and professor; see *NSHERK* (6:267). Joseph Mede (1586–1639), an influential millennialist, wrote the *Clavis apocalyptica* (1627) as well as other eschatological works; see *ODNB* (37:83–5). Mather owned Mede's collected *Works* (1664, 2 vol.); see Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (72).

⁷⁴ מֶרֶד (rebellion).

the Lord. Do not apostasize in building an Altar besides the {Altar of the Lord our God}.⁷⁵ One may be an *Apostate*, not only by bringing things into *Religion*, which are directly *Against Religion*, but also things which are *Beside Religion*. *Popery* introduces, Objects of Worship, and Mediators, and Sacrifices, and Sacraments, *Besides* the true ones: And that's enough, to charge it with *Apostasy*. Briefly, Do but look on *Popery*, not as it is compounded with the Opinions and Practices of Christianity, which it ha's retained, but look on it, as alone, by itself, separated from the *Christian Religion*; look on a Troop of *Second Gods*, of *Pilgrimages*, *Indulgences*, *Protectors*, *Intercessors*, *Images*, *Reliques*, a Peece of *Bread* worshipped as a *God*; This is a true *Paganism*; an horrible *Apostasy* from *Christianity*.

Finally; The Term of *Apostasy*, for *Popery*, is not at all too high; for it most peculiarly & emphatically signifies, *Idolatry*. The *Idolatry* of the ancient *Israelites*, which the Hebrew calls, *Rebellion*, is by the LXX rendred, *Idolatry*. Now the *Idolatry* in the Church of *Rome* is most notorious and scandalous. The Protestant Writers fill whole Volumns, with Proofs of it, that are Irrefragable.

The *Apostasy* must be joined with a *Spirit of Seduction*. Men shall give themselves up to *Seducing Spirits*. Tis probable enough, that the *Deceiving Spirits* here, may be *Divels*, or *Evil Spirits*; who were the First Authors of the *Worship of Reliques*, afterwards of the *Invocation of Saints*, and lastly, of the *Adoration of their Images*. These wretched *Superstitions* were established by *Visions*, whereby *Reliques* were discovered. The Bodies of the Martyrs *Gervais* and *Protais*, were discovered unto *Ambrose* by a *Dream*, which was look'd upon as *Divine*; and what a World of *Superstitions* followed thereupon?⁷⁶ The *Dream* was doubtless *Diabolical*. The *Miracles* wrought by *Reliques*, were either the Fables of *Imposters*, or the Productions of him who is the *Father of Lyes*. *Austin* tells us, That they who were *Possessed*, were *Delivered* by them. Such Pranks did the *Divels* play, to establish the *Idolatry* that was coming on! A *Blind Man* received *Sight*, by putting to his Eyes a Clothe, which had touched the Coffin of a *Martyr*. Credulity multiplied the *Miracles*. *Austin* himself had a good Share of the Credulity. God with a dreadful Display of His Justice against a wicked World, lett loose the Reins to the *Spirit of Illusion*. Read the *Legends of the Saints*, and you'l see, *Divels* and *Priests* and *Monks*, conspiring to delude the World abominably.

[12v]

But now the Religion of *Antichrist*, has another most famous Character assign'd unto it; That is, *A Doctrine of Dæmons*. By *Dæmons* are not meant, the *Wicked*

⁷⁵ Mather is actually citing Josh. 22:28, not 22:18. See Appendix A.

⁷⁶ St. Gervasius and Protasius, 1st-century Christians said to have been martyred by Nero; they are the patron saints of Milan, invoked to discover theft. In 386 CE Ambrose is said to have been shown the location of their relics in a dream, relics which were later used to consecrate a new basilica. This event is attested to by Augustine in his *Confessions* (9.7) and in *The City of God* (22.8). See *NCE* (6:194).

Spirits, that are lodged in Hell; but such *Spirits* as Pagans worshipped under the Notion of *Mediators* between God and Men; The *Pagan Theology* called them, *Dæmons*; The Word was taken in a good Sense, for a sort of *Secondary Gods*. The Religion of *Antichrist*, must Renew this *Theology*, & the Worship of *Mediatory Spirits*; it must establish a *Second Order* of *Divinities*, besides the Three Adorable Persons of the *Trinity*. *Dead Hero's* are to be invoked, in this *New Paganism*, as well as in the *Old*; the *Reliques* of them are to be honoured; *Statues* are to be erected unto them; *Images* are to be consecrated for them; *Temples* to be built; and *Sacrifices* offered unto their Honour; the old *Apotheoses* are to be Renewed in their *Canonizations*; and Miracles are to be feign'd as done by these *Demi-Gods*. It is very certain, That *Popery* is a *Doctrine of Divels*, as *Divels* are the Authors of it; it is a *Doctrine* all over *Diabolical*; it could be Inspired by none but *Divels*. But this is not all the Meaning of the Passage we have now before us. When we say, *The Knowledge of Bodies*, we mean, that *Bodies* are the *Objects* of the Knowledge. *Dæmons* are the *Objects*, & not meerly the *Authors*, of the *Doctrine*, in Vogue thro the Kingdome of *Antichrist*. We read, Act. 13.12. concerning, *The Doctrine of the Lord*; that is, the *Doctrine* treating of the *Lord*. Moreover, the Design of the *Holy Spirit* here, is to mention and stigmatize, the *Idolatry* of *Antichrist*. And what more significant could be mentioned, than the *Dæmons* of *Paganism* thus revived in *Popery*?

The *Pagan Theology* held, That besides the great Gods, there were inferior Divinities that received all their Power from the Superior Gods. There were the *Dei superi*, which the Pagans placed in the Stars; and only these will *Plato* have to be by Nature *Immortal*. The *Inferiour Gods*, the *Distinction* whereof was ascribed unto *Zoroaster*, were called by the name of *Dæmons*. And *Plutarch* saies, That mighty Difficulties are solved by this *Distinction*; and that these *Dæmons* are a *Species between Gods & Men*; and that these *Dæmons* do unite us unto the great Gods, and conciliate their Favour for us.

Popery makes the very same *Distinction*. Tho' it owns but *One Supreme God*, yett it looks on the *Saints* as *Inferiour Divinities*; *Divus*, and, *Diva*, is that Style for them. He that would see the *Pagan Theology* about this Matter more at large, may read it, in the *Symposiacks* of *Plato*; in *Plutarch's* Discourse, *Of the Ceasing Oracles*; in *Apuleius*, *De Deo Socratis*; in *Jamblichus*, *De Mysteriis*; above all, in *Austins* Book, *De Civitate Dei*, with L. *Vive's* Notes.⁷⁷ *Popery* is as like it, as one Drop of Water is like another; It saies, That *God*, and *Jesus Christ*, are great Gods, too sublime for us to address ourselves directly to them. We must have

⁷⁷ Juan Luis Vives (1493–1540), Spanish Renaissance scholar; his “Notes” refer to his annotated edition of Augustine’s *City of God* (1522), which served as an encyclopedic reference work on late classical Roman culture; see *CE* (15:492–3). Plato’s *Symposium* (c. 385 BCE) treats the subject of love, as illustrated by the actions of the gods; Plutarch’s essay on divine oracles is found in his *Moralia* (5.29); Apuleius’s *On the God of Socrates* (c. 160 CE) discusses Greek daemons.

Mediators, that may be more of our own Rank; *Saints* and *Angels* are to do this Office for us. They must be the *Interpreters* of our Thoughts and Wants before God; they receive *Commission* from God to do us Good. We must make our Addresses to them, and putt ourselves under their Protection.

In the *Pagan Theology* the *Mediatory Spirits* were of Two Sorts; one were Humane Souls; the other were a more Angelical Sort of *Intelligences*. The most ancient of the *Greeks*, in which we see this Deification of Souls expressly mentioned, is, *Hesiod*; who represents them, as constituted by *Jupiter*, the *Guardians and Patrons of Mortal Men*.⁷⁸ These therefore were afterwards called, *The Gods of Hesiod*. *Plato* adopted the Notion; and from him *Eusebius* quotes these Words concerning the *Hero's*; *We will for the future, serve & adore their Sepulchres, as of the Dæmons, following the Advice of the Oracle*.⁷⁹ That this was no Secret among them, we see by *Plutarch*. The Lawes of ancient *Rome* upon it are very Remarkable; *Divos, et illos qui cælestes semper beati habiti sunt colunto; et eos, quos in cælum merita vocaverint*. And again: *Deorum manium jura Sancta Sunt; hos letho divos Divos habento*.⁸⁰ Now, that New *Rome*, should re-establish the very same Lawes, almost in the very same Terms, truly, tis admirable!

But the Monuments of *Paganism* are also full, of what we find in *Apuleius*; *There is another Sort of Dæmons, that are superiour, and more august, who being free from the Bonds, and disengaged from the Chains of the Body, have each of them received a certain particular Strength and Power. Tis from this Rank of superiour Dæmons, that Plato has taken these Dæmons, of which he beleeves every man hath one all his Life-time; for a Witness of his Actions, & a Guardian*.⁸¹ How it is possible, that one should not see a perfect Conformity, between the | *Pagan Theology*, and the *Popish*. The *Papists* make *Two Orders of Spirits*, that are the *Mediators* and *Protectors* of Men. Humane Souls, become glorified *Saints*; and *Angels* who are naturally incorporeal. They assign to every Man a *Guardian-Angel*, & every Man recommends himself unto it.

The Pagans, to render their *Demigods* favourable to them, erected their *Pictures*, and made *Images* for them. They *Consecrated* these *Images*, and persuaded themselves, that by vertue of that *Consecration*, the spiritual Gods came to dwell in that Matter to which they had given a Figure. It is distinctly expressed in a Dialogue entitled *Asclepius*, attributed unto *Hermes Trismegistus*, which was of some Antiquity & Veneration, or else *Apuleius* had not been at the Pains to

⁷⁸ The Greek poet Hesiod (c. 750–650 BCE) addresses the nature of the gods in his *Theogony*.

⁷⁹ Eusebius cites Hesiod and Plato's *Republic* on the transformation of heroes into gods; see *Preparation for the Gospel* (13.11), p. 717.

⁸⁰ "Worship the gods: both those who are believed to have always been divine and blessed, and also those whose merits called them into heaven [that is, the ascended Heroes]." And again: "May the laws of the divine dead be holy: consider them divine from the time of their death." [Mather has inadvertently repeated *divos*.]

⁸¹ Apuleius, *De Deo Socratis*; see Apuleius, *Rhetorical Works* (200–9).

translate it into Latin.⁸² Conformably to this, in Popery, an *Image* that has not been *Consecrated* according to the *Ritual*, cannot be exposed unto the publick *Devotion* of the People. But being once *Consecrated*, it works *Miracles*; which until then, it could not. But that which most comes up to the Doctrine of the *Pagans*, is *Transubstantiation*, and the *Real Presence*. By the *Consecration* the Priest draws down *God*, into a Morsel of Bread, and there fast encloses him. The *Ancient Pagans* defended themselves in this Idolatry, just like the *Modern Ones*. *We don't worship the Image*, they said, *but by the Image we worship the God for whom it is intended*.

Lastly; The *Pagans* did adore the *Reliques* of *Dead Men*, and their *Demons*. They made *Feasts*, in honour of them, which were called, *Inferiae*, *Parentalia*, *Parentationes*, and *Novemdialia*;⁸³ And an hundred other things they did, in which you will find a most punctual Conformity, between *Paganism* & *Popery*. We find in *Plato*, the Sepulchres of the *Hero's* worshipped. *Clemens Alex.* and *Arnobius* and *Eusebius*, tell us, The *Temples* of the Gods, were nothing else but the *Tombs* of the *Heroes*.⁸⁴ *Popery* most exactly imitates it. Its *Temples* and its *Altars* are garnished with *Reliques*. If the *Bones* of some *Saint* are not there, an essential Point is wanting.

Thus you have the *Doctrine of Demons*. It is objected by Some, That the Name of a *Demon*, is never taken in a *good Sense* in the Holy Scriptures. Our *Mede* answers; The Usage of the Name *Demon*, in the Sense of the *Pagans*, for Gods of the Second Rank, was not unknown to the Writers of the New Testament. *Luke* introduces the *Athenians*, complaining of *Paul*, as, *A Setter forth of Strange Demons*; and *Paul* complains, of the *Athenians*, as too much addicted unto the *Worship of Demons*. And in the *Apocalypse*, the horrible Plague of the *Turks* upon *Christendom*, does not *hinder Men from the Worship of Demons*; It refers to the very *Papists*, among whom we here find, *The Doctrine of Demons*; the *Papists*, who worship *Saints* and *Angels*. Again; Tho' the *Pagans* first, and now the *Papists*, have pretended the Service of good *Genius's*, yett in Reality they have served none but *Wicked Demons*. The Holy and Happy *Spirits*, are not pleased

⁸² In Homer, Asclepius appears as an adept physician; by the 2nd century CE, he had been elevated to the status of (healing) deity; see *ERE* (49). Hermes Trimegistus ("thrice great"), a figure characterized in Greek legend at times as a god, at other times as a patriarch of humanity, and the putative author of a body of sacre texts known as the *Hermetica*. In patristic Christian authors, he is identified as a source of the *prisca theologia*, a body of pagan wisdom that preserved a true knowledge of God in the world and as a figure whose writings anticipated Christianity; see *ERE* (256).

⁸³ These are all terms referring to kinds of sacrifices offered to honor the dead.

⁸⁴ Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–215), bishop and mentor of Origen; likely his *Protrepticus*, an apologetic work that analyzes Greek religion and mythology. See *NCE* (3:797–9). Arnobius of Sicca (d. 330), author of the apologetic work *Adversus gentes*, which defends Christianity against paganism; see *NCE* (1:717–18).

with their Worship; Desire none of it; Refuse it with Abhorrence; It really goes to *Divels*; it increases their cursed Empire.

The Holy Spirit is wonderfully favourable to us, in proceeding to give us the Character of the *Men*, who cause this *Apostasy*, & who teach this *Doctrine of Demons*. It stops the Subjects of *Antichrist*, from finding, we know not what Subterfuges in Ambiguities, in saying, That every *Heresy* is an *Apostasy*, and, every *Ly* is a *Doctrine of Divels*. But now, it is plainly & clearly Declared, That the Subjects of *Antichrist*, are *Hypocrites*, and Enemies to *Marriage*, and such as Forbid the Use of *Meats*. Can any thing be more particular, more Admirable? The Character of the *Apostates*, is, That they greatly attach a Show of *Austerity*, in Forbearing *Marriage*, and in Depriving themselves of ordinary *Meats*. The Means by which they establish that great Point of their *Apostasy*, the *Worship of Demons*, is *Hypocrisy*, *Fiction*, and *Lying*.

It is very surprizing, That *Idolatry* began in the Church, precisely at the very same *Time*, and which is more, by the very same *Men*, with the *Lawes of Calibacy*, and the *Monastick Life*. *Paul* the *Theban*, and *Anthony*, the Two Patriarchs of the *Monks*, lived pretty late in the *Fourth Age*.⁸⁵ Then the *Reliques* of the *Martyrs* began to be cried up, and *Miracles* to be ascrib'd unto them. Soon after this, the *Monks* which had been hid in the Desarts of *Thebais* and *Syria*, began to spread themselves every where. St. *Basil* in the East, & St. *Ambrose* in the West, were mighty Zealots for the *Monastick* | Life. In the same Age, *Lents* and *Fasts*, that consist in the Distinction of *Meats*, began to be established. And the very Men, who were the Authors of these things, were they that introduced, the *Adoration of Creatures*. Indeed, the *Monks* in all Ages have been the Promoters of *Idolatry* and *Superstition*. *Eunapius*, a Pagan, who lived in the Dayes of *Theodosius*, informs us, That the *Monks*, were the Original of *Idolatry*, and the Guardians of *Reliques*. He complains, that upon the Affronts which they gave to the *Temples* of the *Pagan Gods* in *Egypt*, they introduced the *Worship of Slaves*, (meaning the *Martyrs*,) & made *Gods* of the *Heads & Bones* of *Persons condemned to Death for their Crimes*.⁸⁶ What they did in *Austins* Time, you may learn from those Words of his, in his Book, *De Opere Monachorum*. Saies he; *Satan spread abroad a great Number of HYPOCRITES who, in the Habit of Monks, run over all the Provinces, without being sent; never staid long in one Place, never stood, never sat; they sold the Members of a Martyr, False or True. They addressed themselves to all the World, and required a Reward of Rich Poverty, or of a false & appearing Holiness*.⁸⁷ *Gregory of Tours*, who lived in the following Age, saies, *That the Monks came to Rome, and in the Night they digged up the Bodies near the Church of St.*

⁸⁵ Paul of Thebes (aka Paul the Hermit) and St. Anthony were early ("founding") figures in the Christian monastic movement; see *CE* (11:590–1) and *NCE* (1:505–6), respectively.

⁸⁶ Eunapius (346–414) was a Greek philosopher and historian and a pagan critic of Christianity; see *ERE* (202).

⁸⁷ Augustine, *The Work of Monks* (c. 400 CE), in *The Fathers of the Church* (14:384).

Paul, and that when they were gone, they confessed, they intended to carry them into Greece, & there make them to pass for the Reliques of the Martyrs. He adds, that there were many the like Cheats, in his Time, who did not cease to endeavour to seduce the Ignorant.⁸⁸ These Monks were still the furious Defenders of Images, in all the following Ages. The Emperours that were the Image-breakers, could not crush that Generation of Vipers, by all the Severities they used upon them. And by them was the Figment of Transubstantiation brought into the World. It was one Paschasius, a Monk of Corbia, which first lick'd this Monster into Shape.⁸⁹ They are the Mendicant Friars above others, who have carried Creature-worship to such extravagant Heighths, which are at this Day abhorr'd, even among the more sober Papists themselves.

But by what Means must these Wretches establish this Idolatry? By the Hypocrisy of Lyars, seared in their Consciences. These are the very Wayes & Means, which the Priests and Monks, as well those of the East, as of the West, have taken, to sett up their Impiety. False Visions, and False Miracles, and Fabulous Legends, and Lyes that could be obtruded on the World, by none but Men of seared Consciences, with a monstrous Operation of Hypocrisy, were the Things that Introduced the popish Idolatry. The Reign of these things, and of that Idolatry began together. The Lives of the old Monks, were compiled by Jerom, without Judgment or Honesty.⁹⁰ From this very Time, the History of the Church begins to be all Romance. For near 350 Years no mighty Thing wrought by Reliques was ever heard of. The first that we can find, was, when Apollo of Daphne, pretended unto Julian, that he must be silent, because the Bones of the Martyr Babylas, were buried near his Temple.⁹¹ It was not long before other Reliques began to exert their Efficacy; & were found proper Engines to batter down the Remainers of Heathenism. And it is remarkable, That in this Fourth Age the Authors who report these Wonders of Reliques as True, do also confess them to be New, and Such as had not been till now since the Dayes of the Apostles. Chrysostom, and Ambrose, and Austin, particularly do so. The Divel abused the good Men, with his Impostures. The Spirit of Lying, increased and advanced as Idolatry grew upon the World. In the Sixth Age, the Two Gregories, he of Rome, and he of Tours,

⁸⁸ Gregory (538–594), bishop of Tours, probably from his hagiographical works, *Life of the Fathers*, *Glory of the Confessors*, or *Glory of the Martyrs*; see NCE (6:522–3).

⁸⁹ Paschasius Radbertus (785–865), a Benedictine monk and abbot of Corbie in France. His treatise on the Eucharist, *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini* (c. 833), which emphasized the real physical presence of Christ's flesh and blood to an uncomfortable extreme even for the time, is seen as a reaction against the recent iconoclasm in the Byzantine church; see CE (11:518).

⁹⁰ Jerome wrote a number of hagiographies on monks; see NPNFii (6:299ff).

⁹¹ As written, Mather or his source has somewhat garbled this legend. In his *Homily on St. Babylas*, Chrysostom relates the story of Babylas, the patriarch of Antioch, who was martyred in 253 CE. His body was buried in the church at Daphne (near Antioch). Later, when the pagan emperor Julian sought an oracle from the god Apollo at the temple near the church, no answer was forthcoming, because the nearby presence of the saint prevented it. Julian then disinterred Babylas's body, soon after which the temple of Apollo burned to the ground.

filled their Books, with *Fables*, to make us Invoke the Saints as our Patrons.⁹² The *Fables* go to the very Height of Impudence, and make the Martyrs desire of God, (so *Simeon Metaphrastes* reports,) that Men should pray to them & have their Prayers heard on that Account.⁹³ And that the Adoration of the *Sacrament* particularly may be established, the *Fables*, which the *Hypocrites* have topp'd upon us, are Numberless.

To compleat the Character of these *Impostors*, it is here said, That *Their Consciences are seared*. The Authors that have writt *Legends* for us, have lost all Sense; They are become stupid and senseless. *Canus* the Bishop of the *Canaries* affirms concerning them, *They have an Heart of Lead, & a Mouth of Iron*. The grossest *Fables* of *Heathenism*, are not more Filthy, nor more Shameful, nor more Absurd than *Theirs*.⁹⁴

I hope, we shall not be at a loss after these *Illustrations*, to find where the Prophecies of the *Antichristian Apostasy* are accomplished.

[15r]

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Q. On *Receiving every Creature with Thanksgiving?* v. 4.

A. Buxtorf in his *Florilegium*, cites this good Sentence of the Hebrews.

*Quisquis aliquid gustat, et non gratias agit, vocatur Raptor; juxtà illud, Psal. XXIV.1. Domini est Terra, et plenitudo ejus.*⁹⁵

1075.

Q. The Apostle directing the Faithful, to make no *Distinction of Meats*, tells us, *Every Creature is sanctified by the Word of God, & Prayer*. Was there any particular Passage among the Faithful, in the primitive Times, Illustrating this Passage? v. 5.

A. The primitive Christians, had among them, a Custome, of Reading the *Holy Scriptures*, during their *Meals*; and there was both a Good, and an Ill Custome, among the Heathen of any Quality, encouraging them hereunto. The

⁹² Pope Gregory I (†. 590–604); his *Dialogues* relate the miracles performed by various monks; see *NCE* (6:479–84). On Gregory of Tours, see note above.

⁹³ Symeon the Metaphrast, late 10th-century hagiographer and author of the *Menologion*, on the lives of saints; see *CE* (10:225–6).

⁹⁴ Melchior Cano (1509–60), professor of theology at Salamanca and a member of the Council of Trent. He was temporarily “banished” from the council by being made bishop of the Canary Islands. He returned and subsequently advised Philip II of Spain to resist papal hegemony. His *Loci theologicis* (1562) advocates a critical historical approach to dogma and religion and is possibly the source of this citation. See *NCE* (3:19–20).

⁹⁵ “Whoever eats something, and does not give thanks, is called a robber, as it says in Ps. 24:1: “The earth is the Lord’s, and its fullness.” Mather’s citation is Johannes Buxtorf’s *Florilegium hebraicum* (1648), p. 107. Buxtorf’s work is a collection of sayings taken out of rabbinic texts. Buxtorf (1599–1664) served as professor of Hebrew at Basel from 1629 to 1664; see *NSHERK* (2:324–5).

Debauchees among the Heathen, during their *Meals*, had, as *Pliny* the Younger tells us, their *Moriones*, and their *Cinaedos*, *qui inerrabant Mensis*, to pass away the Time, & please the Company.⁹⁶ But the more Serious and Composed Persons among the Heathen, such as *Cicero*, *Cratippus*, *Seneca*, *Pliny* the Elder, *Euphrates*, and *Spurinna*, had their *Anagnostes*, who then Read unto them the *Golden Sentences* of *Pythagoras*, & the other Sages of *Greece*.⁹⁷

1950.

Q. *All Creatures* now allowed unto the Use of Man. You know the *Abridgments* under which the *Jewes* are now fettered: Have they any Expectation, that ever it will bee otherwise, which may Illustrate the Text of *Christian Liberty* now before us? v. 5.

A. The *Jewes* have a Memorable Passage, in their Book, *Ikkarim*. L.3. c. 16.

*Quid nos vetat asserere, venturam Legem Divinam, quæ pleraque Vetita faciat Licita? Haec est Sententia plurimorum Doctorum nostrorum f.m. qui in Medrasch Jellammedena, sive, Tanchuma, explicant illud, Psal. 146.7. Dominus Licita facit quæ erant Vetita.*⁹⁸

I'll give you the Paraphrase of one Mr. *Pyle* upon the Text.

"The Christain Religion renders all Meats æqually Lawful unto us, to feed upon; and requires nothing of us, but to Beg Gods Blessing upon them, and return Him Thanks for our Refreshment from them."⁹⁹

Q. The Apostle speaking of *Godliness* found *profitable in all things*, by them that exercise themselves unto it; Is there any Passage of the *Old Testament*, which he might now have in his Eye? v. 8.

A. What think you, of Eccl. II.11.¹⁰⁰

The Jews have a Saying in *Pirke Aboth*. *Magna est Lex, quæ ipsam observantibus dat Vitam in hoc mundo et in futuro.*¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ *Moriones* were jesters, or "fools." *Cinaedos* (sodomites), "who wandered about the tables," etc.

⁹⁷ *Anagnostes* (usually educated slaves) read out loud to their patrons during dinners.

⁹⁸ "What prevents us from asserting that Divine Law shall come, which for the most part makes lawful what is forbidden? This is the judgment of many of our doctors, who in the *Midrash Jellam-medenu*, or *Tanhuma*, explain that passage, Psalm 146:7: 'The Lord permits that which is forbidden.'" *Sepher ha-Ikkarim* (1485) [here, Bk. 3, ch. 16], a work of R. Joseph Albo (1380–1444); see *EJ* (1:593–5). Like Maimonides' *Guide to the Perplexed*, it is a statement of the essential principles of Judaism. The *Midrash Jellam-medenu* (*Yelemmedenu*) cited in this passage is attributed to Rabbi Tanhuma bar Abba and is one of a trilogy of haggadic interpretations of the Pentateuch dating from the 4th century CE; see *EJ* (19:502–3).

⁹⁹ *Pyle*, *Paraphrase of the New Testament* (2:170).

¹⁰⁰ Eccl. 2:11 passes judgment on the vanity of secular occupations.

¹⁰¹ "The Law is great, and gives life to those who observe it, in this world and the next." *Pirke Avot*, a section of the *Talmud* dealing with ethical issues.

[16v]

|

501.

Q. What is that, *Bodily Exercise*, which the Apostle saies, *Profiteth little?* v. 8.

A. The Advice of the Apostle, in the Words immediately præceding, was *exercise thyself unto Godliness*; γυμναζε σεαυτον.¹⁰² Indeed, I very much despise the attempts which I have seen of Some, to find allusions unto the *Olympic Exercises*, in the Apostolical Writings, when, perhaps, there are no such Allusions. But here I must confess, that I beleieve, the Apostle do's recommend an Eagerness, & Earnestness, in the Pursuit of *Godliness*, like that in the *Exercises* of those, who were trained up for the famous Games of *Olympus*. Now, of those *Games*, there is an Ingenious Writer, who so understands these next Words, *Bodily Exercise profiteth little*. Having in the former Passage, alluded unto the Combates of the *Olympicks*, hee concedes, *Bodily Exercise profiteth a little*, (for so wee'l take it:) the Athletic Exercises of their Bodies were useful to *Some Ends*; they thereby gained some Advantage of Health, & Strength, & Courage, & Credit, & the Winning of the Prize. But, saies hee, All these things are Inconsiderable, in comparison of the Solid Profit, which arises from *Real Godliness*.

However, those Interpreters, which look upon these Words, as declaring, That meer *Bodily Religion*, does profit but a little, and that external Austerities & Superstitions are of small account, have given us, a certain *Truth*, whether it bee the *true Sense* of this Place, or no.¹⁰³

Q. With an Eye to what is it said, That *Godliness* has the *Promise, both of the Life that now is, & of that which is to come?* v. 8.

A. Honest Mr. *Lukin* thinks, That the Apostle might have a particular Respect unto that Promise; Psal. 84.11. *God will be a Sun and a Shield; He will give Grace & give Glory; & will withhold no good thing from them that walk uprightly.*¹⁰⁴

Q. Upon that Word, *These Things command?* v. 11.

A. Some have noted, The Word, παραγγελλε, [used, Act. V.40.]¹⁰⁵ is a Metaphor, taken from a Judge, giving Charge unto others, to do what he commands, or not to do it at their Peril.

¹⁰² γυμναζε σεαυτον; "exercise yourself."

¹⁰³ In his medical treatise, *The Angel of Bethesda*, Mather devotes an entire chapter (Ch. 6) to the benefits of exercise and shows himself to be an enthusiastic proponent of "gymnastics" as a means both to prevent and to recover from illness, a kind of universal cure-all.

¹⁰⁴ Henry Lukin (1628–1719), perhaps his *Introduction to the Holy Scripture* (1669); quite possibly his *Practice of Godlines* (1658) or *Chief Interest of Man* (1665). Lukin was nonconforming minister who lost his livings at the Restoration but became a Congregational pastor after the 1672 Act of Indulgence; see *ODNB* (34:737–8).

¹⁰⁵ Παράγγελλε.

4107.

Q. *Timothy* is advised, That he should *Lett no Man Despise his Youth*. What might be the Age of *Timothy*, at his Entering upon his Ministry? v. 12.

A. *Timothy* was doubtless, one *ante annos animumque gerens, curasque Vir-iles*.¹⁰⁶

Indeed the Hebrew /בַּחֹרֶה/ and the Greek Νεότης, is, *Ætas militaris*.¹⁰⁷ And as *Grotius* notes, it is opposed unto nothing but *Old Age*.¹⁰⁸

The Ancients did not confine *Youth* unto the *Years*, that we do now in our *Dayes*. When *Cicero* pleaded on behalf of *Roscius*, he called himself, *Adolescentulum*; and yet *A. Gellius* proves, That he was then *Twenty Seven Years* old.¹⁰⁹ *Josephus* calls the Son of *Aristobulus*, when his Destruction came upon him, Νεανισκον, tho' he were above *Twenty Years* old.¹¹⁰ *Polybius* calls *Hieron*, κομιδὴ νεον, *Admodum Juvenem*,¹¹¹ who as *Casaubon* demonstrates, was above *Thirty years* old.¹¹² The same Writer saies about *Flaminius*, καὶ το νεου ἦν κομιδὴ πλείω γὰρ των τριακοντα ετων οὐκ εἶχε. *Oppido juvenis erat; plures emin Triginta Annis non habebat*.¹¹³ But more than this, *Chrysostom*, in his Oration, upon his own Ordination to the Office of *Presbyter*, wonders at it, Μειρακίσκος εὐτέλης καὶ ἀπερριμένος, *Adolescentulus vilis atque abjectus*,¹¹⁴ should be elevated unto such a Dignity: And yett he was then above Two and Thirty Years of Age.

Nevertheless, the Learned *Witsius* thinks it probable, That our *Timothy* was made an *Evangelist*, before he was *Thirty Years* of Age.¹¹⁵ *Daneus* makes the the Age of *Youth* to ly between *Seventeen* and *Twenty five*. And within this Term, *Witsius* thinks, lay the Age of *Timothy*.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁶ "Bearing a spirit, and manly cares, in advance of his age."

¹⁰⁷ "Military age." The Hebrew בַּחֹרֶה and the Greek νέότης both mean "young man."

¹⁰⁸ Hugo Grotius, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (7:247). Grotius (1583–1645) was a Dutch jurist and lay theologian and one of Mather's most frequent sources in his *Biblia com-mentary*; see *NSHERK* (5:85–6).

¹⁰⁹ Cicero, *Pro Sex. Roscio Amerino Oratio* (39). Aulus Gellius (c. 125–180 CE), Roman Latinist and author of the *Attic Nights*, a compilation of observations on Roman life and intellectual culture; see *ERE* (237).

¹¹⁰ νεανίσκον; "young man." Josephus, *The Jewish Wars* (1.22.2).

¹¹¹ κομιδὴν νέον "just a young man" (Greek); "very much a young man" (Latin). Polybius, *Histories* (1.8). Hiero II (270–215 BCE) was a tyrant in Syracuse; see *ERE* (439).

¹¹² Probably Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614), a French Protestant classicist and professor of Greek at Geneva (possibly his son Meric, also a classical scholar); see *NSHERK* (2:433).

¹¹³ καὶ τό νεοῦ ἦν κομιδὴ πλείω γὰρ των τριάκοντα ετων οὐκ εἶχε; "He was very much a youth, for he was no more than thirty years old." [Greek and Latin] Like his patronymic father, Gaius Flaminius was a Roman consul during the Punic Wars; see "Gaius Flaminius," *EB* (electronic).

¹¹⁴ John Chrysostom, *Sermo cum presbyter fuit ordinatus* (line 5): Μειρακίσκος εὐτέλης καὶ ἀπερριμένος; (for he was) "a vile and abject youth." [Greek and Latin] John Chrysostom, *On the Priesthood*, *NPNFi* (9:44). On Chrysostom, see Mather's entry on 1:18.

¹¹⁵ Hermann Witsius (1636–1708), Dutch Reformed professor of theology at Utrecht and Leiden; perhaps his *Miscellanea sacra* (1692); see *NSHERK* (12:396).

¹¹⁶ Lambert Daneau (1535–90), a student of Calvin who later became a professor of theology at Leiden; see *NSHERK* (3:346–7).

Q. *Timothy* must be an *Example* to the Faithful, in Several Articles; particularly, in *Spirit*? v. 12.

A. I find, some understand it, of a *Sprightful Zeal* and Activity, for the Glory of God, & the Good of Souls.

[▽17r△] [▽Insert from 17r]¹¹⁷ [blank]

[▽18v] [▽Insert from 18v]

Q. A Remark on, *Take heed unto thyself, & unto thy Doctrine*? v. 16.

A. It is a Remark, which the *Ordinary Gloss* makes upon it; He doth not say, *Attend unto thy Doctrine, & unto thyself*; But first, *unto thyself*; Then, *unto thy Doctrine*. Take heed, first, how thou *Livest*; Then, how thou *Teachest*. *Calvins* Note is a Just one; *Doctrine* will do little Good, if *Practice* be not answerable.¹¹⁸ What Provision was made in the Law, against the *Priests* that had *Blemishes*? Yea, it was a Maxim among the Pagans, *Lett them that come to God, use Piety; if they do otherwise God Himself will Revenge it*. People will say to us, as they of old said unto our SAVIOUR; *What dost thou work? That we may see it, & beleeve thee*. It was indeed said of our SAVIOUR, *He was mighty*, first, in *DEED*; and then, in *Word*. Compare, *Ezr. VII.10*.¹¹⁹

It is noted of *John Baptist*, He was a *Voice*. Glossators upon it, remark, He not only *had* a well-sounding *Voice*, but also *was* a *Voice*. All that he was & all that he did; his food, his habit, his dwelling, & his whole conversation; had a *Voice* in it, that cried, *Repentance*. His *Life* cried, before his *Preaching*.

Bernard instructs *Eugenius*; That a Minister should be, *A form of Righteousness; a Mirror of Holiness; and a Pattern of Piety*.¹²⁰

[△] [△Insert ends]

¹¹⁷ See Appendix B.

¹¹⁸ See John Calvin, *Commentary on the Epistles of Paul to Timothy* (117).

¹¹⁹ Ezra 7:10: "Ezra had prepared his heart to seek the law of the Lord, and to do it ..." (KJV).

¹²⁰ Bernard of Clairvaux, French Cistercian monk, to Pope Eugenius III, one of his Cistercian disciples; see *NCE* (5:443–4).

Q. The *Elder* to be *intreated as a Father*? v. 1.

A. The *Hebrews* have a Note, how a Son is to Reprove his Father. In *Kiddushin*, fol. 32.1. *Si alicuius pater transgressus fuerit Verba Legis, ne dicat ei, pater, Transgressus es Verba Legis; sed dicat ei, pater, sic Scriptum est in Lege.*¹²¹

4489.

Q. He that *provides not for his own House*, is here called, one *worse than an Infidel*. How does that appear? v. 8.

A. The *Infidels* have putt this among the First and most indissoluble Principles of Nature; *πρῶτα θεοὺς τιμᾶν, μετὰπειτα τοκῆας*. *First to Honour the Gods, and then our Parents*: as *Hierocles on Pythagoras* will tell us.¹²² And among the things in which they are to be honoured, they placed, *Χρημάτων χορηγίαν καὶ σώματος ὑπηρεσίαν*. *The making Provisions for them, & serving them with our Bodies.*¹²³ Thus *Aristotle* saies, We must rather make Provisions for them, than for ourselves, and yeeld them, *τιμὴν καθάπερ θεοῖς*. *Honour as they do unto the Gods.*¹²⁴ *Plutarch* saies, *That all Men, say, that Nature, and the Law of Nature requires, that Parents should have the Highest Honour next [to] the Gods: That Men can do nothing more acceptable to the Gods, than by readily heaping Favours on their Parents: And thus nothing is a greater Evidence of Atheism or Impiety, than to Despise them.*¹²⁵

Q. What may be meant, by, *The Wife of one Husband*? v. 9.

A. Why not, one who had not Divorced herself from one Husband, and Married herself to another? For this Exposition, Dr. *Whitby* pleads, That such Divorces were then common on the side of the *Wife*, both among the *Jewes*, & the *Gentiles*.¹²⁶ It is complained by *Seneca*, That none blushed at it in his Time; *Postquam illustres quedam ac nobiles feminae non Consulum numero, sed*

121 In Babylonian Talmud, tractate Kiddushin (32a), Rabbi Samuel said to Rabbi Judah: "If anyone's father should transgress the words of the Law, he should not say to him, 'Father, you have transgressed the words of the Law,' but instead should say to him, 'Father, it is so written in the Law.'" The *Kiddushin* is a section of the Talmud that deals with Jewish marital law.

122 *πρῶτα θεοὺς τιμᾶν, μετὰπειτα τοκῆας*. Whitby cites Hierocles's "*in haec verba Pythagoras*" as his source here, no doubt drawn from the Neoplatonist philosopher's *Golden Verses of Pythagoras*; see *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:454).

123 Hierocles, *In aureum carmen* (5.5, lines 4–5): *Χρημάτων χορηγίαν καὶ σώματος ὑπηρεσίαν*.

124 Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea* (Bekker, page 1165a, line 124): *τιμὴν καθάπερ θεοῖς*. Whitby (ibid) cites Aristotle's "*de Moral.*" (9.2) as his source here, likely drawn from the *Magna Moralia*.

125 Plutarch, *On Brotherly Love*, in *Moralia* (6:257).

126 Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:454).

[▽20v] *Maritorum Annos computant; et exeunt Matrimonii Causâ, nubunt Repudii.*¹²⁷ Cicero complains of it, as a thing very frequent. *Plutarch* mentions it, as a thing that was commonly done, by Women that were Jealous; | and he saies, the Law of the *Athenians* allow'd it.¹²⁸ We have Instances of it, in *Justin Martyr* and in *Tertullian*.¹²⁹ The Rabbis tell us, how frequent it was among the *Jewes*.

It is to be confessed, That *Univira*, in *Livy*, is, *Quæ uni Viro accepta fuisset, ad quem Virgo deducta sit*.¹³⁰ And that *Univira Sacerdos* bears the same sense in *Trebellius Pollio*.¹³¹ This *Monogamy* was counted honourable among the *Heathens*; & they who were content with it, as *Val. Maximus* tells us, were *pudicitie coronam*.¹³² Whereas they who proceeded unto a second Marriage, *Sacerdotio arcebantur*, as we find in *Servius* on *Virgil*.¹³³ The *Flamines* among the *Romans*, were to be *Husbands of one Wife*, and the *Flaminica* to be the *Wives of one Husband*, as we read in *Cælius Rhodiginus*.¹³⁴

Quære, How far it was the Intention of the Apostle, That the Servants of the Churches of Christ should in this point be nothing inferiour to the *Heathens*?

Q.¹³⁵ How, *Wax wanton against Christ?* v. 11.

A. Growing weary of the Grave and Retired Life of Church Widowes, they will be tempted to marry into *Heathen Families* and renounce their *Christianity*.

[△] [△Insert ends]

127 "Sometime later, noble and aristocratic ladies would count the years, not by the number of consuls [in their family], but by the number of their husbands: they divorce for the sake of marriage and marry for the sake of divorce." Seneca, *De Beneficiis* (3.16.2). Seneca (c. 4–65 CE), tutor to Nero, Stoic philosopher, and moral essayist; see *ERE* (496–7).

128 Cicero, *Letters to His Friends* (2:127); Plutarch, *Advice to Bride and Groom*, in *Moralia* (2:331).

129 Whiby cites Justin Martyr's *First Apology* and Tertullian's *Apology* (Ch. 39) as his sources here; see Whitby, *Paraphrase* (2:455–6).

130 "One who had been taken by only one man, to whom she had been given as a virgin." Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* (10.23.5).

131 A "monogamous priestess." Trebellius Pollio, one of the putative authors of the *Historia Augusta*, biographical accounts of the later Roman emperors, a work probably dating from the late 4th century. See *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (1:105).

132 "A crown of chastity"; Valerius Maximus was a 1st-century CE rhetorician and author of *Facta et dicta memorabilia*; Whitby locates his citation in Bk. 2, ch. 1; see Whiby, *Paraphrase* (2:455).

133 "Were shut out of the priesthood." Whitby cites Maurus Servius Honoratus's commentary on Virgil's *Aeneid* (Bk. 4, v. 19) as his source.

134 *Flamines* and *flaminicae* were Roman priests and priestesses. "Cælus Rhodiginus" was the *nom de plume* of the Venetian classicist, Lodovico Ricchieri (1469–1525). His work, *Antiquarium lectionum libri* (1516), was a commentary on classical literature (the 1666 edition was published in 30 volumes; this appears to be Whitby's source). See Bietenholz, *Contemporaries of Erasmus* (3:155).

135 See Appendix B.

[▽Insert from 21r]

[▽21r]

Q. What the *Double Honour* of the *Faithful Elder*? v. 17.

A. Every Body knows the common Glosses: And I have no Design upon them. I will only observe, that I have also seen this Account of the *Double Honour*; To be *Beloved* while they *Live*; and be *Lamented* when they *Dy*.

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 22v]

[▽22v]

Q. On that, *Against an Elder receive not an Accusation but before Two or Three Witnesses*? v. 19.

A. *Theodore*t observes, There is great Reason for such a Law; Because it often happens, that a Pastor offends those who are Offenders; who growing in an Hatred of him, will not {shil}¹³⁶ to load him with Lyes and Slanders.¹³⁷

The Experience of this, in the former Ages, has therefore caused many Laws and Constitutions, against the common Accusation of Ministers, & for the Disabling of Witnesses, requiring a good Number of sufficient ones when they were accused.

Eutychianus, a good Man that lived about the Year 270. admonishes the *Sicillan* Brethren, that a Minister should not be presently condemned, lest *Innocency* should suffer by unjust *Suspitions*. And he gives that Reason; Because all *that will live godlily must suffer Persecution*.

But now, how scandalously this Caution was afterwards improved in many *Councils*, tis doubtless become every where the Banter of those which we call, the *Laiety*. In a Synod held pretty early at *Rome* (as *Binnius* will tell you, it was about the Time of *Constantine*.)¹³⁸ it was ordained, That no *Bishop*, should be condemned under Seventy Two Witnesses, no *Priest* | under *Fourty four*; no *Deacon* under *Thirty six*, and no Inferiour Officer under *Seven*. Some later Councils have confirmed these Constitutions. When afterwards Testimonies of a lesser Number were accepted, yett there were *Twenty*, or *Sixteen*, at the least required.

[21r]

This Advantage has a corrupt Clergy taken, of a Caution that was originally one that was highly Reasonable.

Accusations against Ministers, whose Faithfulness and Usefulness cannot but procure many Adversaries to them, ought to be well supported, before they be Received.

¹³⁶ See Appendix A.

¹³⁷ Theodore (393–457), bishop of Cyrrhus, Syria, and author of a number of exegetical works, including one on the Pauline epistles; see *NCE* (13:878–9).

¹³⁸ Severin Binius (1573–1641), a German Catholic priest and historian; see *NCE* (2:399).

[▽20v] [▽Insert from 20v]

1892.

Q. What is the *Partiality*, forbidden by the Apostle? v. 21.

A. The Greek Word, *προσκλισις*,¹³⁹ properly notes, *A Taking the Ballance on one Side*. The Allusion is full of elegant Illustration, which you may prosecute in your own Thoughts, at Liesure.

Q. On that of, *Laying Hands suddenly?* v. 22.

A. Some think, it may refer not only to the *Ordination of Ministers*, but also to the *Restoration of Pœnitents*.

The Apostle adds; There are Some that have the Art to conceal & varnish over their Crimes for the Present, & appear fair. But due Time & Care will detect 'em, & prevent their imposing on you.

Q. Some Illustrations upon the Passage, *Use a little Wine?* v. 23.

A. In the Expositions of one *Lawson*, I find several odd Things. But some Things, he ha's not altogether unworthy to be observed. Perhaps this may be one.

Use a little Wine; That is, use, *But a little Wine*. It seems to allude unto Lev. 10.9. where, upon the Destruction of *Nadab* and *Abihu*, God provided, that the Priest should not *drink Wine*, when he was about to meddle with the Holy Things, lest he should not discern aright between the Holy and Profane. Probably, *Nadab* and *Abihu* had exceeded in *Wine*, when they so præsumptuously *mocked God* with *strange Fire*. For, *Wine is a Mock*er.

Timothy, and other Church Officers must not be Drinkers of *much Wine*, lest they Elect or Reject, whom they should not, for Offices in the Church. One Drinker, will favour another.

Thus, as *Lawson* observes, there will be a fair Dependence of this, on the Verses before & after, which otherwise do seem Independent.¹⁴⁰

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽23r] [▽Insert from 23r]

Q. A Remark on this Passage, *Drink no longer Water, but use a little Wine?* v. 23.

A. It is Remarkable, that *Chrysostom* finds no less than *Eight* very *Considerable Truths*, in this Text, that at first View seems to have but little in it.¹⁴¹ They are to this Purpose.

1. Godly Men, will neglect their *Body*, from a Concern that they may not neglect their *Duty*.

¹³⁹ *προσκλισις*; "an inclination, or partiality."

¹⁴⁰ Perhaps George Lawson (1598–1678), whose *Magna Charta ecclesiae universalis* (1686) appears in Mather's library; he also wrote a work of divinity, *Theo-politica* (1659); see ODNB (32:887–88).

¹⁴¹ Chrysostom, *Sixteenth Homily on 1 Timothy*, in NPNFi (13:464–5).

2. Godly men will be *Vigilant* & *Moderate* in their use of the Creatures: have *Water* with their *Wine*; & but a *little Wine*.

3. *Bodily Weakness* will not wholly Release us from *Spiritual Service*; we will mind our Charges, tho' we have *Infirmities* upon us.

4. Good Men in the *Neglect* of their *Body*, may carry the Matter *too far*; and render the Advice necessary for them, to do otherwise than they do.

5. All the *Creatures* of God are good in the Season thereof; even those may be used, which (*Wine*) have been most *Abused*.

6. Good Men may be subject unto *Bodily Infirmities*; yea, *often* the Best & the Most Useful Men are so; when Useless & Wicked Men, may be *Healthy* enough.

7. In the *Decay of Nature*, the | Creatures are to be used for the Repair of it: [▽24v]
But it should be done according to the Proportion of the *Necessity*.

8. When Creatures are used for *Necessity*, even then it must be done with *Moderation*.

The Inference to be made from hence, is, That we may do well to *pass by nothing* in the Word of God; but even in those Portions of it that seem to be most *Barren* of Matter, enquire after such Matter as may afford anon a surprising Entertainment unto us. Digging in the Mines of these *Holy Mountains*, we may find such Things as we could never have imagined.

[△Insert ends]

[△]

4491.

Q. *Servants* are exhorted unto Patience under their *Masters*, *Because they are Faithful & Beloved, Partakers of the Benefit?* v. 2.

A. Dr. *Whitby* observes, that the Words are best rendred thus; *Because they who partake of the Benefit* (of Service,) *are Faithful & Beloved*; (& therefore more worthy of their Service.)

In the Epistle of *Ignatius to Polycarp*, we find these words; *Despise not Men and Maid-Servants, nor lett them be puffed up, but lett them serve the more for the Glory of God, that they may obtain a better Liberty; Lett them not covet to be free from their Masters*. Probably, he had then in his Eye this very Passage of our Apostle. That Clause, *μη ερατωσαν απο του κοινου ελευθερουσθαι* were best rendred, *Lett them not importunately desire, to be made free, by the the Church or the Common Stock of the Church*.¹⁴² Το κοινον της εκκλησιας,¹⁴³ in *Eusebius*, is, the Community, or the Body of the Church; and so it is, in *Lucian*.¹⁴⁴ Τα κοινα, in *Aristophanes*, in *Demosthenes*, and in *Lucian*, signifies, *The Common Stock*.¹⁴⁵ It is evident from *Justin Martyr* and *Tertullian*, that the *Common Stock* of the Christians, was employ'd, to buy their Brethren out of Bonds & Servitude.¹⁴⁶ Probably, the *Jewes* introduced it into Christianity. For, as *Josephus* tells, They thought it a wicked thing, because of their being related unto God, to acknowledge θνητους δεσποτας. *Any Mortal Masters*.¹⁴⁷

Q. The Words to be preached, (even, the Words of our Lord Jesus Christ,) are called, *whole-some Words?* v. 3.

A. We may read it, *Healing*, or *Healthful Words*. We must not vent our own Passions in our Sermons, nor preach in such a provoking Manner, that by Irritation, they lose their Success.

¹⁴² μη ερατωσαν απο του κοινου ελευθερουσθαι. *Ignatius, Letter to Polycarp, ANF* (1:94).

¹⁴³ κοινόν της εκκλησιας; "community of the church."

¹⁴⁴ *Whitby* cites *Eusebius's Church History* (2.1) and *Lucian's satire, The Passing of Peregrinus*, in which the protagonist takes advantage of gullible Christians, as his sources; see *Whitby, Paraphrase* (2:458–9).

¹⁴⁵ Τα κοινα. *Aristophanes* (c. 446–386 BCE), an Athenian playwright; see *EAG* (96–98); *Demosthenes* (c. 382–323 BCE), a prominent Athenian politician and orator; see *EAG* (217–19); *Lucian* (c. 125–180 CE), a Syrian rhetorician and satirist; see *EGHT* (2:960–61).

¹⁴⁶ *Whitby, Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:459).

¹⁴⁷ θνητους δεσποτας; *Josephus Flavius, De bello Judaico* (2.118, line 4).

4492.

Q. Might the Apostle have a particular Eye, unto any *Words of our Lord Jesus Christ*, when he blames them who did not *consent unto wholesome Words*?

A. Why not unto those? Mat. 20.27. *He that would be first among you, lett him be your Servant.* Mar. 10.44. For this Phrase is often used of the Words which were spoken by our Lord Jesus Christ Himself. But if it mean only the Doctrine taught by our Apostle, we have then this useful Observation; That Words written by *Paul* in his Epistles, are the Words of our Lord Jesus Christ.

3075.

Q. A Remark, if you please, upon the *perverse Disputings*, rebuked by the Apostle? v. 5.

A. The Apostle had just before complained about the Philosophers of his Time, That they were *Doting about Questions*. The Greek, νοσοῦντες, is as much as to say, *Sick*.¹⁴⁸ They were never *Well*, but when they were *Disputing*. Their *Disputes* are called hereupon, παραδιατριβαι.¹⁴⁹ You must know, Διατριβαι, was the Word, by which they expressed their *philosophical Exercitations*.¹⁵⁰ The perverse Use of those Exercises, is by the Præposition, περι, signified. They had unworthy Conflicts and Scuffles, among their *Dissertations*; and the Apostle gives them their own Word for it, with a little Altering.

1252.

Q. What is the Sense of this, That *Some suppose Gain to bee Godliness*? v. 5.

A. They suppose, that Religion may bee made a *Trade for outward Advantage*. Now, consider the Methods of thousands of Ecclesiasticks, you know where, in the World, that have interwoven their own Sæcular Interest and Advantage, into the *Church-State*, which they have adapted unto the Promotion thereof, and you may see an horrible Illustration of this Character. And I make no Quæstion, but the Apostle now writing to the Minister of *Ephesus*, might have an Eye to what hee had formerly himself seen at *Ephesus*; in *Demetrius* and the rest of the Goldsmiths there.

|

[26v]

Q. *Content with Food and Rainment*? v. 8.

A. The *Love* to the *Stranger* is expressed so; Deut. X.18. *He giveth him Food & Rainment.* He that is, but a *Stranger* in the World, should count himself well used with these. But now, in *Elle Shemoth Rabba*, we find *Aquila* asking the

¹⁴⁸ The Greek verb, νοσέω, is used in v. 4, and translated is “doting” (KJV) on questions (i. e. obsessed, or delirious, or ‘sick’ with them).

¹⁴⁹ “The text reads: παραδιατριβαι.” “Perverse disputings” (KJV); it can also have the sense of “useless activities.”

¹⁵⁰ Διατριβαι can carry the negative connotation of an amusement or waste of time.

Rabbins, whether this be *All*, that Love is to do for the *Stranger*? The Answer, this is all that their Father *Jacob*, whose Name was also *Israel*, desired of the Holy & Blessed God. [Gen. XXVIII.20.] *And will not that be sufficient for thee, that sufficed Israel, who was the First-born Son of the Holy & Blessed God?*¹⁵¹

4493.

Q. What Sense had Antiquity of this: *They that will be Rich, fall into many foolish & hurtful Lusts?* v. 9.

A. *Plutarch* tells us, of the Men who resolve to be Rich, They are, μηδενος εις χρηματισμον συντελουντες αισχρου μηδ' ανιερου φειδομενοι. *Such as abstain from nothing sordid and wicked, that may tend to enrich them.*¹⁵²

The Ancients, agreeably to the Apostle here, *Avaritiam omnia Vitia habere putabant*, as *A. Gellius*, from *Cato*, and *Cicero* in his Oration, *Pro Roscio Amerino* have observed. And it is noted by *Cicero*; *Nullum esse officium tam Sanctum atque solenne, quod non Avaritia committere atque violare soleat.*¹⁵³

Q. On that, *Charge them that are Rich in this World?* v. 17.

A. *Gregorius M.* in his *Pastoralis cura*, has this Note upon it;

*Notandum valdè est, quòd Humilitatis Doctor Memoriam Divitum faciens, non ait, Roga, sed, Præcipe: Quia etsi impendenda est pietas infirmitati, Honor tamen non debetur elationi. Talibus ergò Rectum quod dicitur, tanto rectius Jubetur, quantò et in rebus transitoriis altitudine cogitationis intumescunt.*¹⁵⁴

The Truth is, The more *High-minded* Men are with their Advancements, the less Respect is due unto them.

151 In Soncino Midrash Rabbah: (Shemos) Exodus XIX:4 (*Midrash Rabbah Shemos* 2:232), the proselyte Aquilas (best known for his translation of the Torah into Greek), raises this question. The *Shemot Rabbah* is a midrashic commentary on the book of Exodus, dating from the 11th century.

152 *Plutarch*, *De cupiditate divitiarum* (Stephanus p. 524, sec. D, lines 9–10): μηδενος εις χρηματισμον συντελουντες αισχρου μηδ' ανιερου φειδομενοι; literally, “Those who forbear no shameful or base course that results in profit.” Whitby cites *Plutarch’s On the Love of Wealth (Moralia 7.4)* as his source here; see Whitby, *Paraphrase* (2:459).

153 “They thought that avarice included all the vices.” Aulus Gellius (125–180 CE), *Attic Nights* (2:302–3). “There is no duty so holy and undefiled, that avarice is not wont to expose and violate.” Cicero (106–43 BCE), *In Defense of Roscius of Amerino* (109), in *Cicero* (6:218–19). The wording, meaning, and context used by Mather’s source (Whitby) on Cicero differs, to the degree of paraphrase, from the Loeb edition.

154 “It should be especially noted that the teacher of humility, in speaking with regard to the rich, does not say ‘Entreat,’ but ‘Admonish’; because, though compassion is to be bestowed on weakness, yet no honor is owed to exaltation. To such, therefore, the right thing (to be) said is more rightly (to be) commanded, accordingly as they are inflated with high thoughts of transitory things.” See Pope Gregory I, *Regula pastoralis*, pars 3, cap. 2, admonitio 3 (c. 590 CE), in *NPNFii* (12:6).

4494.

Q. What may be meant by, *A good Foundation?* v. 19.

A. The Greek Expositors tell us; Τῶν μελλοντῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαυσιν θεμελίον κέκλεκεν ἀκίνητον. *The Enjoyment of good Things to come, he calls an Immoveable Foundation.*¹⁵⁵ Thus, Dr. *Whitby* thinks, the Doctrine of the *Resurrection* is called, *The Foundation of God*. [2 Tim. 2.19.] Thus, the Heavenly *Jerusalem*, is called, *A City that hath Foundations*. [Heb. 11.10.] The *Good Foundation* here, being in the Words following, *Eternal Life*, it confirms the Interpretation.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ Probably an adaptation of Joannes Chrysostomus's *In Epistulam ad Philippenses (homiliae I–15)* [PG 062. 0198, line 27]: Τῶν μελλοντῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπόλαυσιν θεμέλιον κέκλεκεν ἀκίνητον.

¹⁵⁶ *Whitby, Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:460).

Q. What means, *The Spirit of Power, & of Love, & of a Sound Mind?* v. 9.¹

A. The *Spirit* of God, endowes His People, with a Disposition for Filial Obedience: He removes the *Fear*, the *Dread*, which holds them in *Bondage*, who are under the Efficacy of the Law. He does not fill us with such terrible Considerations of God, as would keep us at a Distance from Him.

He gives us *Power*, we have Him *Strengthening* and *Enabling* of us, to behave ourselves, as becomes Children in the Family of God.

He therewithal works *Love* in us; that *Love* to God, such a *Delight* in God; and this as a Principle of our Obedience of Him, which becomes the *Children* of such an Heavenly *Father*.

Lastly; A Σωφρονισμού, a *Sober* and a *Modest* Mind is produced by Him.² Even *Children* are prone to wax wanton, and curious, and proud, in a *Fathers* House. But the *Spirit* of God helps them to behave themselves with that *Sobriety*, and *Modesty*, and *Humility*, which becomes the Family of God.

In these three things does consist the whole Deportment of the Children of God in His Family.

One gives us this Paraphrase.

“The Spiritual Powers & Endowments God bestows on the Gospel-ministers, are sufficient to sett us above all slavish Fear and Cowardise, & fix us in an immovable Love to Him and His true Religion, and in a prudent & discreet Exercise of our Ministry.”³

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽2v] [▽Insert from 2v]

4502.

Q. How can it be said, That *Christ hath brought Life & Immortality to Light, thro’ the Gospel?* Wee know, That especially after the People of God, began to encounter *Persecution*, in the Dayes of the *Old Testament*, and their *Prosperity* in this World was interrupted by Trials, wherein if they did not Renounce their Holy Religion, they incurr’d all sorts of Calamities, the Doctrine of the *Resurrection from the Dead*, began to be more clearly Reveled, and the Beleef of Life with *Immortality* in the *Resurrection-world*, began to be more illustriously

¹ This citation is actually from v. 7.

² σωφρονισμού. PLEASE NOTE: As a general rule, translations of Hebrew, Greek and Latin are rendered in the footnotes; when these are not provided, it indicates that the translation Mather has provided in the text is correct.

³ See Thomas Pyle, *A Paraphrase upon all the Epistles of the New Testament* (2:185). Pyle (1674–1756) was an Anglican cleric and an outspoken Arian; see *ODNB* (45:622–3).

exemplified. Then *Daniel*, and then *Ezekiel*, began in plainer Terms to proclaim the *Resurrection*. Hence the Writer of the *Parænesis ad Græcos*, among the Works of *Justin*, saies, That what *Plato* teaches of a *Judgment* after this Life, he borrow'd from the *Hebrew Prophets*.⁴ *Tacitus* hence gives this account of the *Jewes*, *Animas prælio, aut Suppliciiis peremptorum æternas putant. Hinc moriendi contemptus*.⁵ *Numenius* hence mentions the *Jewes*, yea, & the *Egyptians*, as receiving the Doctrine of *Plato*, about, *The Immortality of the Soul*.⁶ Yea, the *Eleventh Chapter* to the *Hebrewes*, [with Act. 23.8.] make it most manifest, That the Doctrine of the *Resurrection* was known & held, in the old Church of *Israel*. And if you read the Story of the *Maccabees*, there you will find the *Martyrs*, comforting themselves with the Expectation of a glorious *Resurrection*. The *Chaldee Paraphrast*, on *Genesis*, who seems to have written before the Dayes of our Saviour, mentions the *Judgment after this Life*, and very particularly in the *History of Abel*.⁷ Now in what Sense are wee to take the Words of our Apostle? v. 10.

A. Truly, as among the *Greek Philosophers*, there were some who *Asserted* the *Immortality of the Soul*, & some who *Denied* it, but *Socrates* left it, as a Doubtful Matter, and *Aristotle* seems to follow him in his Doubts about it, and *Cicero* and *Seneca* among the *Latins* did the Like:⁸ So this *Article*, of as great Consequence to Piety as it is, was among the *Jewes* themselves, one of their *Τὰ ἀμφισβητουμένα*. One of their *Controversies*. The *Pharisees* held it; but so did not the *Sadducees*, because *Moses* had not in so many express Words declared it. The *Pharisees* themselves pleaded for it, [on] little but the *Authority of Tradition*; and the Contentions of the Schools about it, confounded the Minds of the Auditors. The State of the *Impious* after Death, whether they should *Rise* or no, was a Matter wholly uncertain to the *Jewes*, as it is at this Day. Now our Lord Jesus Christ, ha's by His own peremptory *Definitions* given *Light* unto all these *Controversies*, & putt an End unto them. The *Eternal Rewards*, both of the *Good* and *Bad*, in the World to come, have been affirmed by Him, and wherein those *Rewards* will consist, ha's

4 See Justin Martyr, *Hortatory Address to the Greeks*, ANF (1:284). Justin's *Works* appear in Increase Mather's "Catalogue" of his personal library. See Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (14).

5 "They believe that the souls of those who are killed in battle or by the executioner are immortal; hence their scorn for death." See Tacitus, *The Histories IV-V* (182–3).

6 Numenius of Apamea, a minor, late second-century Platonic philosopher from Syria whose writings are only extant as fragments preserved in Christian writers such as Eusebius and Origen; see "Numenius of Apamea," EB (electronic).

7 The reference here (*Chaldee Paraphrast*) is to the *Targum Jonathan* (c. 4th century CE), a lectionary paraphrase of the Pentateuch in Aramaic used in post-exilic synagogue worship, when Aramaic had become the common language of Judaism; see EJ (11:398).

8 Mather's source here, Daniel Whitby's *Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* (2:463ff) summarizes a number of opinions of Greek and Roman philosophers on this point. Whitby (1638–1726) was an Anglican cleric and a prolific author; he engaged in anti-Catholic polemics but also argued for a latitudinarian treatment of Protestant Dissenters. In his later years, he adopted (publically) Arminian and (posthumously) Arian doctrinal positions. See ODNB (58:530–2).

been Reveled. That Hee might confirm His Doctrine, Hee actually *Raised the Dead unto Life*, and showed Himself unto the *Living* after His own *Resurrection*; yea, and enabled His *Apostles* to *Raise the Dead* in several Instances. Thus the Faith of *Life and Immortality*, in the *Resurrection-world*, is now confirmed, as it never was before; no longer does it now remain a *Controversy*.

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽3r] [▽Insert from 3r]

Q. A little more, on, *Life and Immortality brought to Light, thro' the Gospel?* v. 10.

A. The Heathen had from the Light of Nature, & Tradition, some Hope of good Things to be received after this Life; But this Hope was very Feeble; Their Philosophers hardly Beleaved it. It is called by *Cicero*, *Futurorum quoddam Augurium Sæculorum*.⁹ *Seneca* saies, of it, *Credebam opinionibus magnorum Virorum rem gratissimam promittentium magis quàm probantium*.¹⁰ *Socrates* at his Death said, *I hope to go hence to good Men, but of that I am not very confident, nor doth it become any wise Man to be positive, that it will be so*. Both he, and *Cebes*, confess, That these things relating to the Soul, τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀπιστίαν παρέχει. *Were Disbeleaved by the greatest Part of Mankind*.¹¹ *Aristotle* saies, *Tis absurd to say, that any Man can be happy after Death, since Happiness does consist in Operation*.¹² *Atticus* reckons him therefore among those, who held, that Souls could not remain after their *Bodies*.¹³ And *Origen* saies, He did τοῦ περι τῆς ἀθανασίας τῆς ψυχῆς λόγου κατηγορηκεναι. *Condemn the Doctrine of the Souls Immortality*.¹⁴ *Lipsius* confesses, That this was a controverted Point among the *Stoicks*, & not received by them, with any full Consent.¹⁵ They were still at their, *If's*, and, *And's*; &

9 "There is in men's minds a sort of deeply rooted 'presentiment of future ages.'" See *Cicero*, *Tusculan Disputations* (1.15.33).

10 Whitby translates this citation as "that which our wise men promise, but they do not prove." (*Paraphrase* 2:464). In the Loeb edition it is rendered: "I was ready to lend an ear to the opinions of the great authors, who not only approve but promise this most pleasing condition." See *Seneca*, *Moral Letters to Lucilius* (168–9).

11 *Cebes* is quoted in *Plato's Phædo* (69e, line 3): τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀπιστίαν παρέχει. *Cebes* of *Thebes*, a fifth-century Greek philosopher, appears as an important interlocutor in *Plato's Phædo*, in which *Socrates* discusses the immortality of the soul, in the face of his own death. See *The Works of Plato* (109ff).

12 See *Aristotle*, *On the Soul* (49ff).

13 *Atticus* (c. 175 CE), a Platonic philosopher whose work is preserved only in *Eusebius's Preparatio evangelica*. See *Eusebius*, *Preparation for the Gospel* (2:855–9).

14 *Origenes*, *Contra Celsum* (2.12., lines 16–17): κατηγορηκεναι μὲν τοῦ περι τῆς ἀθανασίας τῆς ψυχῆς λόγου; see *Origen*, *Against Celsus*, in *ANF* (4:436).

15 *Justus Lipsius* (*Joose Lips*) (1547–1606), a Flemish classicist who specialized in the study of *Stoicism*. Educated by *Jesuits*, he was sufficiently complaisant in religion and theology that he was able to divide his career between *Lutheran* (*Jena*), *Reformed* (*Leiden*), and *Catholic* universities; see *CE* (9:280–1). Whitby cites *Lipsius's Manuductionis ad Stoicam Philosophiam* (1604) (Bk. 3, Diss. 11) as the source.

fluctuating in Distinctives, ἤτοι σβέσις, ἢ μετασταςις. Between *Extinction* and *Translation*;¹⁶ a *Deep Sleep*, a *Long Walk*, or an *Utter Dissolution*. *Cæsar* speaking of *Death*, saies, *Ultrà neque curæ neque gaudio locum esse*.¹⁷ And *Pliny* saies, *Omnibus à supremâ Die, eadem quæ ante primam nec magis à Morte Sensus ullus aut Corpori, aut Animæ, quam antè natalem*.¹⁸ *Cicero* begins his Discourse on it, with a Profession, That he intended to deliver nothing as *Fixed* and *Certain*, but only as *Probable*: And having reckoned up the Different Sentiments of the Philosophers, he concludes, *Which of these Opinions is true, SOME GOD* [*Deus aliquis viderit*];¹⁹ *must inform us; which is most like to Truth is a great Question*. And after he had argued for the *Immortality* of the Soul, he confesses, *Cætervæ veniunt contra dicentium*,²⁰ not only of *Epicureans*, but the most learned of other Sects also.²¹ *Plutarch* saies, That if Men will be restrained from evil Courses by *Fear*, they must be *kept under the Superstition of the Dread of Hades*; but unto them who have cast off that *Fear*, there must be propounded, ἡ περὶ τοῦ μῦθῳδες τῆς αἰδιότητος ἐλπίς. *The Fabulous Hope of Immortality*.²²

As for the *Immortality* which the *Body* shall obtain at the *Resurrection*, the Heathen Beleaved nothing of it, they meerly derided it.

Behold, the Necessity of the *Gospel*! Behold, our Obligation to our Lord JESUS CHRIST!

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 5r]

[▽5r]

Q. Lett us think yett a little further, on, the *Life and Immortality brought to Light by the Gospel*? v. 10.

A. The Gospel Notion of *Life and Immortality*, does not meerly signify, the Life of *Separate Souls*, but the *Resurrection of the Dead unto Immortal Life*; a *Resurrection to Live* forever in *Immortal and Incorruptible Bodies*. The Heathen World knew nothing of this; their wisest Philosophers laugh'd at it. Indeed, good Men both Before and under the Law, had some Faith of it; whereof we have Instances in *Job*, and in *David*. And in our Saviours time, it was a Received

16 Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (*Τὰ εἰς ἑαυτὸν*, bk. 7, ch. 32, sec. 1, line 1): ἤτοι σβέσις, ἢ μετάσταςις. Literally, between “quenching” and “migration.”

17 “Leaving no further place for trouble or delight.” Attributed to Julius Caesar in Sallust’s *Conspiracy of Catiline*; see Sallust (89–99).

18 “All men are in the same state from their last day onward as they were before their first day, and neither body nor mind possesses any sensation after death, any more than it did before birth.” See Pliny, *Natural History* (7.55) (632–3).

19 “Some god will have to provide.”

20 “The crowd is against this teaching.”

21 The first of Cicero’s *Tusculan Disputations* (Whitby’s source) centers on the problem of death and the afterlife.

22 Adapted from Plutarch’s *Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum* (Stephanus page 1104, sec. C, line 1): ἡ περὶ τοῦ μῦθῳδες τῆς αἰδιότητος ἐλπίς. For views of the afterlife in antiquity, see Segal, *Life After Death* (204–47).

Opinion. The *Jewes* could not conceive, how they could enjoy a Share in the *promised Kingdome* of the *Messias*, without a *Resurrection from the Dead*. But now, this *Immortal Life* was never *brought to Light*, or made Visible, until the Appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The *Separation* of Soul and Body is a *State of Death*. While Men are in it, they are called, *The Dead*. The *Immortal Life* begins at the *Resurrection of the Dead*. Our Lord has *Abolished Death* and so *brought Life & Immortality to Light*. Now, to *Abolish Death*, is to putt an End to *Death*; and nothing putts an End to *Death*, but *Rising from the Dead*. This our Lord has done in His own Person; and thereby destroy'd the Power of *Death*, and given a *Visible Demonstration* of *Life & Immortality*, to all His Disciples; That they also shall *Rise and Live* in *Immortal Bodies*, as He now does Himself. What we render, *Immortality*, | Αφθαρσία, signifies, *Incorruption*; which relates wholly to the *Body*, that sees *Corruption* in the Grave, but is raised in *Incorruption*.

There is not any one Text in the New Testament, where *Immortal Life* signifies any thing else, but the State of the *Resurrection*. To prove the *Natural Immortality* of the *Soul*, (tho' tis most certain, the *Soul* is *Immortal*,) does not prove the *Gospel-Immortality*, which our Lord has promised. And yett the Gospel-promise of *Immortality*, is our best Proof, that the *Soul* is *Immortal*. There is all the Reason imaginable, to think, that the *Soul* is by *Nature Immortal*, when God has promised, that He will clothe it, with an *Immortal Body*.

In the mean time; Tho' the *Soul* do live and act in a *Separate State*, this is a *State of Death*. To live in a *State of Death*, never can be thought a *Compleat Happiness*; nor the proper Reward of good Men. There is a Natural Sympathy & Congruity between the *Soul* and *Body*; the *State of Separation* is a *Curse* and a *Punishment*; and cannot be a *State of Reward*. The *Platonists* talk'd very contemptibly of the *Body*; as the *Prison*, the *Dungeon* of the *Soul*. And since the Fall of Man, these *Bodies of Sin & Death*, deserve these Characters. But the *Original State* of Humane Souls, was, to live Happy in Union with these *Bodies*; And they don't live as *Humane Souls* should live, until they be Reunited unto these *Bodies*, and these *Bodies* are transformed into *Immortal Ones*, and *Incorruptible*.

These Thoughts are fetch'd from Dr. *Sherlock*; on the *Immortality of the Soul*.²³

[△] [△Insert ends, 3r resumes]

²³ William Sherlock (1641–1707), *A Discourse concerning the Happiness of Good Men, and the Punishment of the Wicked, in the Next World* (1704); subtitled as *A Discourse of the Immortality of the Soul, and a Future State*. See ODNB (50:324–5).

4495.

Q. *What I have committed to Him.* τὴν παρακαταθήκην μου;²⁴ v. 12.

A. My SOUL.²⁵

Josephus [De Bel. Jud. L.3.] saies, “The Immortal SOUL, which hath its Original from God, dwells in the Body. Now if any one Embezzles or Abuses what is by Man committed unto him, he is accounted a Wicked & Perfidious Man. If therefore any one does cast, τὴν παρακαταθήκην του θεου, The *Depositum* of God,²⁶ out of his Body, by Self-murder, can he hope to conceal himself from him that is Injured?”²⁷ Philo praises the wise Man, who keeps the Sacred | *Depositum* of the Soul, Purely, & without Deceit, not to himself, but only to Him, who committed it to him. And he saies, No wise Man is offended, that any one calls for τὴν παρακαταθήκην, his *Depositum*; why therefore should he be offended, that God call for that which He has entrusted with us?²⁸ [▽4v]

The *Jewes* make mention of two *Depositums* of God; The *Lamp*, which is in us, or, The *Soul*; and, The *Lamp* without us, which is the *Law*. And they introduce God speaking thus; *My Light, or Lamp, is in thy Hand; and thy Lamp, which is thy Soul, is in mine. If thou shalt diligently keep my Lamp, I will keep thine; If thou extinguishest mine, I will putt out thine.* This *Depositum*, they Dying did committ unto the Hands of God; as we see in their *Sepher Tephilloth*.²⁹

The Apostle seems to have Respect unto both of these *Deposita*, in his Epistles to *Timothy*. The *Lamp* without us, v. 14. and here, to the *Lamp* within us.

Q.³⁰ On, *Holding fast the Form of sound Words?* v. 13.

A. Mr. *Weems* observes, That the *Syriac* here uses the Word, *Chora*; a Term that is borrowed of Merchants, with whom it is, *Capsula*, or; the *Little Boxes*, wherein, *Singula Monstarum genera, ordine certo desponunt, ut in promptu Singula habeant, cum opus fuerit*.³¹

24 τὴν παραθήκην μου; “that which I have committed.” (KJV)

25 This answer in its entirety is also derived from Whitby’s *Paraphrase* (2:465).

26 Flavius Josephus, *De bello Judaico* (3.372, line 6): τὴν παραθήκην τοῦ θεοῦ. Both the Greek and the Latin terms here refer to something entrusted to another’s care.

27 See Josephus, *The Jewish Wars* (3.8.5), in *The Works of Josephus* (515).

28 Whitby (*Paraphrase* 2:466) cites Philo’s *Quis rerum divinarum heres sit* (sec. 104, line 2) as the source of this comment.

29 Whitby (*ibid*) identifies it as the *Sepher Tephilloth Lusitanorum*; probably the *Sepher Tephilloth*, a commentary on the Psalms by the medieval Iberian scholar Abraham ibn Ezra (1089–1164); see *EJ* (9:665–72). The biblical allusion here is to Psalm 119:105.

30 See Appendix B.

31 “They place the individual types of curiosities in a specified arrangement, so that they might promptly have them should the need arise.” [The word Mather uses here, *monstarum* (translated as “curiosities”), is perhaps a corruption of *monstrorum* or *monstra* (wonders). In any case, the word stands for the items or goods of merchants.] John Weemes (also Weemse) (1579–1636), a Scottish Presbyterian who eventually turned to Anglicanism; possibly from his *Christian Synagogue* (1623) or *Exercitationes Divine* (1632), both early examples of Christian

One Improvement he makes of it, is, That it will do well for Divines, to have proper *Places of Reference*, whereto they may *Refer* the Truths & Things which they are enriched withal.

4254.

Q. The Apostle having been visited and comforted in his Prison by *Onesiphorus*, he wishes, That *he may find Mercy of the Lord in that Day*. What might the Apostle have in his Eye, at his writing of these Words? v. 18.

A. Doubtless, the Eye of his Faith was upon those Words of our Saviour; Mat. 25.35, 36. *Come yee Blessed, inherit the Kingdome; For I was Sick, and yee visited me, I was in Prison, & yee came unto me.*

[△] [△Insert ends]

Hebraism; see *ODNB* (57:940). An entry for “Weems, Vol. 1, 2” appears in Increase Mather’s 1664 “Catalogue;” see Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (17).

Q. *No man that wars, entangles himself, with the Affayrs of this Life?* v. 4.

A. You'l find *Vegetius*, de Re Militari, L.2. giving an Undesigned, but a Sufficient, Commentary, on this Passage;

*Milites instituti, obsequiis non deputabantur; nec privata ijsdem Negotia mandabantur; Siquidem incongruum videbatur, Imperatoris Militem, qui veste et Annonâ publicâ pascebatur, utilitatibus vacare privatis.*³²

Q. *The Husbandman that laboureth*, how is it said, *He must be first Partaker of the Fruits?* v. 6.

A. Κοπιωντα δει πρωτος· *Must first labour.*³³ The word πρωτον is placed with a *Metathesis*, pretty usual in the New Testament.

570.

Q. How do you understand those Words, *If we Beleeve not, yett Hee Abideth Faithful*; What? Shall Unbeleevers have the Promises of God faithfully fulfilled unto them, as well as Beleevers? v. 13.

A. This Clause, more peculiarly belongs to the Clause that went immediately before it. It is there Threatned; *If wee Deny Him, hee will also Deny us*. Now the next Words are, *If wee Beleeve not, yett Hee Abideth faithful*; q.d. Whether wee Beleeve this or no, tis true, and if wee won't Beleeve it, wee shall by our own unhappy Experience find it so. For tis added, *Hee cannot Deny Himself*; Hee must bee true to His Word.

This is the most obvious Meaning of the Text; but when I look upon it again, I Find that Επιστομεν, which wee Translate, *If wee beleeve not*, may also bee rendred: *If wee are unfaithful*. The Apostle had been speaking about *Fidelitee*, in our Suffering for our Confessing, of the Lord Jesus Christ; which *Fidelitee*, hee saies, will bee Rewarded by our Participations in His Kingdome. Whereas, hee adds, If wee are so *Unfaithful* unto our Lord, as to *Deny* Him, and not suffer stedfastly & courageously for Him, His *Faithfulness* to Himself, will oblige Him, to take notice of His own Engagements.

³² “Established soldiers were not assigned to any special services, nor was private business delegated to them. It seemed incongruous that a soldier of the emperor, maintained in uniform and rations at public expense, should have time to serve private interests.” Publius Flavius Vegetius Renatus, a late 4th-century CE author on military strategy; the reference here is to his *Epitoma rei militaris* (2.19). See Milner, *Vegetius* (51–2) and Reeve, *Vegetius: Epitoma Rei Militaris* (53).

³³ τὸν κοπιῶντα γεωργὸν δεῖ πρῶτον τῶν καρπῶν μεταλαμβάνειν; “The husbandman that labors must be first partaker of the fruits.” (KJV). Mather is suggesting that πρῶτον (first) should actually qualify “labors” – “must first labor (in order to) partake of the fruits.”

[8v]

|

694.

Q. *Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth*; What is it so to do? v. 15.

A. Some conceive it spoken, in way of Allusion to the Priests *Cutting Abroad*, or, *Dividing* of the *Sacrifices*, wherein they were very exact & curious.

Others conceive, that it hath Respect unto the *Sections*, whereinto the *Law* was *Divided* by the *Jewes*, for the Reading of it in their Synagogues.

Others think the Metaphor taken, from either *Mothers*, or *Nurses*, who cutt into such Pieces, the Meat which they give unto their Children, that they may the more easily Receive it.

But ha's not the Vulgar Latin well expressed it, *Rectè Tractantem* – Rightly Handling *The Word of Truth*.³⁴

Lett us, compare two or three Scriptures, for the better Apprehending of the Matter.

Ministers are styled, *Stewards of the Mysteries of God*. [1 Cor. 4.1.] And our Saviour assigns this, as one Propertie of a good *Steward*, That hee *give to every one their Portion*, in due Season: [Luc. 12.42.] Distributing to every one, their proper Allotment, [as Exod. 16.16.] *Every Man according to his Eating*. So then, a Minister must accommodate every one, with a *proper Portion* of the Word, in the *fittest Season* for it; *Milk for Babes*, and *Strong Meat for them that are of full Age*: [Heb. 5.13, 14.] suiting the Necessities, & Capacities, of his Hearers. Thus our Lord gave us, an Example: for, *Hee spake the Word, as the People were able to Hear*. [Mar. 4.33.] Wee are, with the *Tongue of the Learned*, to Speak a *Word in Season*: a Word in *Season* to the *Sorrowful*, (as my worthy Friend, Mr. Geo. Hammond paraphrases it) that they may bee comforted; a Word to the *Doubting*, that they may bee established; a Word to the *Secure*, that they may bee Awakened; & so to others, as their Condition may require. Thus is the *Word of Truth rightly Divided*!³⁵

4496.

Dr. *Whitby's* Interpretation, is this. The Word, ὀρθοτομεῖν,³⁶ he observes, is a *Sacrificial Word*: relating to the right Dividing of the *Sacrifice*, which was to be laid on the Altar, by cutting off, and laying aside, those Parts, which were not to be offered, and severing them from those that were. To such a Sense do *Chrysostom*, and *Oecumenius*, and *Theophylact*, refer the Word here; Saying, That the Apostle requires *Timothy*, to separate from the Preaching of the Word, all

³⁴ The Vulgate (2 Tim. 2:15) reads: *recte tractantem verbum veritatis*: “rightly handling the word of truth.”

³⁵ George Hamond, perhaps his *Good Minister of Jesus Christ* (1693). Hamond (1619–1705) was a non-conforming Presbyterian minister; his *Family Worship* (1694) was a popular work. See ODNB (24:973–4).

³⁶ ὀρθοτομοῦντα; literally, “cutting a straight path.”

Noxious & Idle Quæstions, πάντα τα περιττα· *All Superfluous Things*; and give his Hearers only the *Sincere Milk of the Word*.³⁷ This a Sense that agrees mightly well, both with the præceding & following Words.

Others think, it refers to the cutting out of a *Streight Path* to walk in; and so it is an Admonition, saies *Theodoret*, to keep close unto the Truth of the Gospel, in all his Exhortations, τῷ κανόνι τῶν θείων λόγων ἐποµενός.³⁸ *Following the Canon of the Holy Scriptures*.³⁹

[▽Insert from 9r]

[▽9r]

Q. What really was, the *Heresy* of *Hymenæus* and *Philetus*? v. 18.

A. Different Ways has it been explained by the Fathers.

Theodoret imagines, That it was nothing but a Quibble & that their Meaning after all was, That Men *daily revived in their Posterity*. *Pelagius* putts the same Sense upon it, in his Commentary on this Passage; But he adds, that perhaps they took the Vision of *Ezekiel*, concerning the *Dry Bones*, for a *Resurrection* that had actually happened. Others imagined, they understood it of the Transmigration of Souls; which was a Doctrine very common in those Days. Others have asserted, That these Men confined the Promises of the *Resurrection*, to those who came out of their Graves, at the Rising of our SAVIOUR.

But our *Beausobre* and *Lenfant*, apprehend very justly, that Austin has dived the best of any into their Meaning; [Epist. 55.] *Some Persons, finding it frequently mentioned by the Apostle*, That we are Dead & Risen again with CHRIST, & not well apprehending the Meaning of these Expressions, have imagined, That the *Resurrection was already past*, & that there was to be no other at the End of the World. Such were, as the same Apostle tells us, *Hymenæus and Philetus*. That is, They acknowledged no Resurrection, but the *Spiritual One*, to wit, *Regeneration*, or a Change from a Vicious to a Virtuous Course of Life.⁴⁰

37 πάντα τὰ περιττά. John Chrysostom (347–407) archbishop of Constantinople whose hundreds of extant sermons include a number on the Pauline epistles; *NSHERK* (3:72–5). Oecumenius, 10th-century bishop in Thessaly and putative author of a number of biblical commentaries, including one on the Pauline epistles; *NSHERK* (8:226). Theophylact (1055–1107), a Bulgarian archbishop whose commentaries on the Pauline epistles are largely derivative of Oecumenius's work; *NCE* (13:934).

38 Theodoretus, *Interpretatio in xiv epistulas sancti Pauli* [PG 082. 0841, line 38]: τῷ κανόνι τῶν θείων λόγων ἐποµενός; “following the canon of the words of God.” Theodoret (393–457), bishop of Cyrrhus, Syria, and author of a number of exegetical works, including one on the Pauline epistles; see *NCE* (13:878–9).

39 Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:466).

40 Isaac de Beausobre (1659–1738), French Protestant chaplain to various royal families (Holland, Germany) and author of *Histoire Critique du Manichéisme* (1734); see *EB* (3:599). Jacques Lenfant (1661–1728), like Beausobre, an expatriate French Protestant pastor and an author on subjects of conflict between Protestants and Catholics. Beausobre and Lenfant collaborated on a new annotated French translation of the Bible (1718), the source of Mather's commentary here. See *NSHERK* (6:447–8).

Q. What may be meant, by *The Foundation of God, that standeth sure?* v. 19.

A. The Learned will tell you, That the Word, θεμελιος, which we render, *Foundation*, is used in this, and several other Places of the New Testament; for, *A Contract*; or, *A Covenant*.⁴¹ And this Interpretation is countenanced, by the Mention of, *The Seal*; which is affixed unto this *Foundation*.

The Foundation, here, may signify, the *Fundamental Articles*, of the Divine *Covenant*, which God ha's made with our Lord-Redeemer, and thro' Him with His People. If the *Church* be, *Gods House*, and, *Gods Building*, as tis frequently called in the Scripture; that *Covenant* whereon it is founded, may very properly be called, *A Foundation*. It is a *Covenant*, that never shall be altered; God sett's a *Seal* to it, that gives it an Irreversible Confirmation.

Q. A further Thought? v. 19.

A. It is a good Hint among the, *Reliquiæ Ludolfianæ*.

[▽10v] “Herein the Apostle laies down the Terms of the *Covenant of Grace*, betwixt God and the Soul. On *Gods Side*, it is thus expressed; *The Lord knowes them that are His*; that is, He carefully looks after them, He protects them & maintains | them; He healeth them and feedeth them; He loveth and leadeth them; The Knowledge God hath of Men, being altogether an *Affectionate & Paternal Knowledge*. But then ought we to answer the Kindness of the Lord, by a suitable Return of Love and Obedience, thus expressed: *Lett every one depart from Iniquity*.”⁴²

Q. A Paraphrase on, *Flee youthful Lusts?* v. 22.

A. Take Mr. Pyle's.

“Be you especially careful to avoid all those Passions and Irregularities, to which their frivolous & violent Disputes, may hazard to draw such a young Person as you are: And keep close to the Substantial Duties of True Faith towards God, of perfect Justice in your Words & Behaviour towards all Men, of a charitable & peaceful Temper towards all sincere Christians.”⁴³

Q. On that, *If peradventure God may give them Repentance?* v. 25.

A. In *Joma*, C. 8. §. 9. the Hebrewes have a Saying; *Qui dicit, peccabo, et Resipiscam; peccabo et Resipiscam; non conceditur ei ut Resipiscat*.⁴⁴

⁴¹ θεμελιος.

⁴² Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf (1655–1710), an expatriate German civil servant who settled in London and served as a secretary to Prince George of Denmark, husband of Queen Anne. The *Reliquiæ* (or “Remains”), a collection of his reflections on various subjects pertaining to religious piety, were published in 1712; see “Ludolf,” *NeDB* (electronic).

⁴³ Thomas Pyle, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:192–3). Pyle (1674–1756) was an Anglican cleric and an outspoken Arian; see *ODNB* (45:622–3).

⁴⁴ “Whoever says, ‘I shall sin, and repent; sin, and repent,’ – no opportunity will be given

Buxtorf in his *Florilegium*, has another Saying of the Hebrewes; *Resipiscantia opius habet Auxilio superno*.⁴⁵

On *Instruction* dispensed with *Meekness*, the Hebrews have a Saying, *Verecundus non discit, nec Iracundus docet*.⁴⁶

4158.

Q. *That they may Recover themselves*: The true Emphasis of the Word, *Recover?* v. 26

A. It signifies, *To Recover from Madness*. *Ανανήφω*.⁴⁷ Tis easy to form some Sober Thoughts upon it.

Or, to Recover from *Sleep* caused by *Intoxication*.

Q. We read of some, *Taken captive by the Divil at his Will*: How may we understand it? v. 26.

A. The French Translation seems very Agreeable. *Ils ont este pris pour faire sa volonte*.⁴⁸ They are *captive by him, to do his Will*.

But *Grotius* will have, the *Will of God* here to be understood; *If God will give them Repentance, That they may recover* [*Ανανήφειν* is, *A vino ad se redire*]⁴⁹ *out of the Snare of the Divil by whom they are taken captive, for His Will*; that is, for to Do His Will; namely, to Do the Will of God, which is the Design and Effect of *Repentance*.⁵⁰

[△Insert ends]

[△]

him to repent." From the second section (Festivals) of the Mishna, regarding Yom Kippur (*Joma*) [Ch. 8, Sect. 9, in Mather's source]. See *The Babylonian Talmud* (3:423).

45 "The work of repentance requires help from above." Johannes Buxtorf, *Florilegium Hebraicum* (1648), a collection of rabbinic sayings. Buxtorf (1599–1664) served as professor of Hebrew at Basel from 1629–64. He translated a number of important rabbinic works into Latin; see *NSHERK* (2:324–5).

46 "He who does not learn to be ashamed, is taught to be irascible."

47 *ἀνανήφω*; "to come to one's senses, to sober up."

48 "They are enslaved to do his will." Probably the Beausobre-L'enfant translation noted previously; but Tuttle lists a "French Bible" that was "given by Queen Anne (r. 1702–14) to the French Protestant Church in School Street, Boston," which was listed in the sale of the library of Mather's nephew, Mather Byles, in 1790 (Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers*, 40). If this ascription is correct, perhaps it is a Bible to which Mather had access, if not one of his own. The Huguenots, a congregation in Boston since 1687, erected a building in 1716. Their patriarch and teacher Pierre Daille (d. 1715) bequeathed his 'French and Latin' books to the church (the church ceased to function in 1748). French appears to have been a fairly well-known language among New England elites, and Boston presses regularly printed works in French. See Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America* (2:221–45); and Jones, "Notes on the Knowledge of French in Eighteenth Century America" (426–37).

49 *ἀνανήφειν* is, "to turn away from wine."

50 Hugo Grotius, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (7:296).

Q. A Remark on that; *Having a Form of Godliness?* v. 5.

A. It is remarkable to see how all the horrible, foregoing, eighteen Abominations, all the abominable Characters of ungodly Men, are formed in high Pretenders for, *The Church*.

A country Man of mine ha's this expressive Doctrine upon it; *A Form of Godliness may consist with a whole Litter of Lusts*.⁵¹

315.

Q. *Jannes* and *Jambres* withstanding *Moses*, Who were they, what said they, & whence had the Apostle his Tradition concerning them? v. 8.

A. If wee will not say, that the Apostle might learn those things at the feet of *Gamaliel*, why may wee not suppose him take a Passage from *Numenius Apamensis* as well as elsewhere from *Aratus*, or from *Epimenides*? For that *Pythagorean* Philosopher quoted by *Aristobulus* in the Book Dedicated unto *Ptolomy Philometer*, ha's this Passage, Τὰ δε ἐξῆς Ἰαννῆς καὶ Ἰαμβρῆς Αἰγύπτιοι ἱερογραμματεῖς κλ [see for the Rest *Euseb. Pamphilus Euangel. Præparat.* L.9. p. 241.]⁵² The Summ of the Tradition is this; That *Jannes* and *Jambres*, the famous Magicians of *Egypt*, were accounted worthy to contend with, & thought to come not far behind, the great *Moses*, in the Matter of the Plagues.

In the *Talmud* you have some things that passed in the Constestation; particularly, That they said unto *Moses*, *Thou bringest Straw to Aphraim*. *Aphraim* was a Place in *Egypt*, abounding with *Corn*, & so with *Straw*; now for *Moses* to do magical Things in *Egypt*, where the feats of Black Arts were every day so many they said, was, *To bring Straw to Aphraim*: or, as wee say, To carry Coals to *Newcastle*. Whereto *Moses* reply'd, *Men use to bring Herbs to Jarak*. *Jarak* was a Place abounding with Herbs, and yett | all Men carried their *Herbs* hither. [See *Buxtorf. Lex. Tit. in ירח*]⁵³

[12v]

⁵¹ The phrase "litter of lusts" seems to have been a commonplace in Protestant works; see, for example, Richard Baxter's *Christian Directory* (1673), p. 498, and John Owen's sermon, *Perilous Times* (1675), p. 543. Mather's "country man" is otherwise unidentified.

⁵² Eusebius Pamphilus, *Præparatio evangelica* (9.8.1, line 3): Τὰ δ' ἐξῆς Ἰαννῆς καὶ Ἰαμβρῆς Αἰγύπτιοι ἱερογραμματεῖς, Mather breaks off the Greek citation in mid-sentence. The full citation from Eusebius is: "And next in order came Jannes and Jambres, Egyptian sacred scribes, men judged to have no superiors in the practice of magic." See Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* (442–3). Eusebius draws the references to Numenius Apamensis, Aratus, Epimenides, as well as Aristobulus from Clement of Alexandria's *Stromata*.

⁵³ Johannes Buxtorf, *Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum* (1607). The elder Buxtorf (1564–1629) was professor of Hebrew at Basel and the preeminent Christian Hebraist of his day; see *NSHERK* (2:324–5).

But I do not listen to the Fables of the *Talmud*; nor do entertain those Accounts, any otherwise then I do their Assertion, That *Jannes & Jambres* were Two Sons of *Balaam*; & that they were drowned with *Pharaoh* in the Red Sea. Or, will you count it worth mentioning that *Gedaliah* in the *Shalshelet* saies, Their Native Names were *John* and *Ambrose*!⁵⁴

All I will add is, That the Tradition seems not altogether unknown to *Pliny*; by whom [*Nat. Hist. L. 30.7.1.*] the Contestation is called, *Magices factio a Mose, Janne, et Jotape, Judeis pendent*.⁵⁵

[Further Illustrations of this Matter, from *Arabian* Traditions, you may see, in the Notes of J. *Gregory*.]⁵⁶

Q. When tis said, *All Scripture is profitable, for Doctrine, for Reproof, for Correction, for Instruction in Righteousness*, what is the Difference, between *Reproof* and *Correction*? v. 16.

A. *Doctrine* refers to the Understanding, *Reproof* and *Instruction in Righteousness*, refer to the Will, the Life, & the Manners; And then ἐπανόρθωσις, a *Restoring*, a *Rectifying*, a *Setting all Straight again*, as the Word imports, this implies that *Comfort*, with which the Word of God cheers the Sorrowful.

⁵⁴ Gedaliah ben Joseph (c. 1515–87), an Italian Talmudic scholar who authored the *Sefer Shalshelet*, a commentary on various historical and theological subjects; see *EJ* (9:698).

⁵⁵ “Magic derived from Moses, Jannes, and Jehovah, and descending from the Jews.” See *Pliny, Natural History* (8:284–5).

⁵⁶ The substance of Mather’s entire comment here is drawn from John Gregory, *Notes and Observations upon some Passages of Scripture* (1650), pp. 61–62. Gregory (1607–46) was a renowned Oxford Orientalist; see *ODNB* (23:675–6).

2349.

Q. What Special Elegance may there be in those Words of the Apostle, *Reprove, Rebuke, Exhort?* v. 2.

A. There is an Elegance in the *Order* of them, which is thus observed by *Theodoret*. *Hoc solent facere docti medici; occultam Vitium primum Secant, tum acerbioribus utuntur Medicamentis, denique lenia applicant. Est igitur Redargutio Similis Sectioni. Increpatio predicamentis acrioribus; lenibus verò exhortatio.*⁵⁷

Q. On that, *I am now ready to be offered?* v. 6.

A. The Word *Σπένδομαι*,⁵⁸ is an Allusion to that universal Custome thro' the World; of pouring *Wine* or *Oil*, on the Head of the Victim immediately before the Slaying of it.

It is, q.d., "*Wine* or *Oil*, is just now pouring on my Head; I am just going to be sacrificed unto pagan Rage & Superstition."

1039.

Q. *Demas hath forsaken mee, having loved this present World.* What was this Fall of *Demas*? v. 10.

A. The Danger, wherein hee saw the Apostle, with the other Christians at *Rome*, affrighted him. And, whether, hee returned unto his worldly Employment, or unto his former Judaism, the Fall of *Demas*, was, as Dr. *Lightfoot* thinks, but like the Fall of *Peter*; for the next Year, wee find him happily returned unto *Paul*, in his pristine Station.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ "Learned physicians are accustomed to do this: first, they perform surgery on the hidden illness, then they use stronger medicines, and finally they apply mild medicines. Reproof, then, is like surgery; rebuking is like the stronger medicines; but exhortation is like the mild." On *Theodoret*, see Mather's entry on 2:15.

⁵⁸ *σπένδομαι*; "to pour out a drink-offering."

⁵⁹ John Lightfoot (1602–75) was an Anglican cleric of moderate Puritan sympathies who participated in the Westminster Assembly. He was also a prodigious scholar and began an academic career at Cambridge in 1650. His major area of expertise was biblical studies, and he was a major figure in the flourishing circle of Christian Hebraism, a colleague of Brian Walton, Edward Pocock, Matthew Poole, and the Buxtorf's. He was sufficiently moderate or politic to keep his appointment at Cambridge after the Restoration. His collected works appeared posthumously as his *Opera omnia* (1686). Among his most important biblical works were the *Miscellanies*, *Christian and Judaical* (1629), *Harmony of the Four Evangelists* (1644–50), *Harmony of the Old Testament* (1647), *Harmony of the New Testament* (1655), and *Horae hebraicae et talmudicae* (1658–74). See *ODNB* (33:753–6).

2743.

Q. But what is there, that may encourage one to hope, That this *Demas* was recovered from his Apostasy? v. 10.

A. He went unto *Thessalonica*, as it should seem, and there turned *Merchant*. But *Grotius* thinks, his Recovery may be gathered, from *Philem.* 24. and *Col.* 4.14. And *Beza*, is of the same charitable Opinion. Yea, whereas *Demas* is but the same Name with *Demetrius* (abbreviated) it may be enquired, whether he may not be the same with him, in 3 *Joh.* 12.⁶⁰ *Demetrius hath good Report of all Men.*

1655.

Q. What Observation is to bee made upon the *Cloak*, for which the Apostle sends to *Timothy*? v.13.

A. Observe the wonderful *Poverty*, which the Lord of Heaven try'd the *Faith* of His Ministers withal. *Paul* gott but little earthly Wages among his Converts, or else hee would never have sent, as far as from *Rome* unto *Troas*, Four Hundred Miles for an *Old Cloak*; and this, to keep him from starving in the *Winter* too; as may bee gathered from the following Passage; *Do thy Diligence to come before Winter!*

613.

Q. What were the *Parchments*, which *Paul* orders to bee brought him from *Troas*? v. 13.

A. It will be, too ludicrous a Thing, for mee to tell you, of the famous Doctor of the New Church of *England*, who went about preaching up the *Common-prayer*, the whole *Rubric* and *Office* whereof, hee found in these *Parchments*.

There is another and hee, I think, a Learned & a Worthy Man, who ha's lately offered an Illustration of these *Parchments*, which, in my Opinion, deserves to bee considered at least, if not entertained.⁶¹

By these *Μεμβράναι*, *Paul* means the *Skins*, which hee used in the Trade of *Tentmaking*.⁶² According to the Usage in the Eastern Countreys, hee was brought up unto a *Trade*; and [Act. 18.3.] unto *This* particularly. The Employment was rendred *gainful*, by the great Use of *Tents* and *Booths*, in those Hot Regions; and especially, they that were employ'd in the *Fields*, greedily bought them up. Now, the great Materials, used in this Occupation, were the *Skins*,

⁶⁰ Theodore Beza (1519–1605) was a French Reformed theologian and professor of Greek at Geneva who produced an annotated critical edition and translation of the Greek New Testament (1565); see *NSHERK* (2:78–81).

⁶¹ Mather's "Learned and Worthy Man" is not one of his stock commentaries (Whitby, Pyle, Locke, *et al*) and is otherwise unidentified.

⁶² *Μεμβράναι*.

or *Hides*, of Beasts, dressed. [Compare, Exod. 35.23. yea, *Skins* putt for *Tents*, 2. Sam. 7.2, 1.Chron.17.1, Cant. 1.5, Hab. 3.7, Jer. 10.2.]

[14v]

The making of *Tents*, or *Pavilions*, hereof, is abundantly intimated by *Q. Curtius*, who tells us of such *Membranous Tents*, used in the Camp of *Alexander* the Great: And by *Arrianus*, who expressly saies, *Tentoria militum errant ex pellibus*.⁶³ Yea, the *Romans* as well as the *Greeks*, used these *Tents* of *Skins*; and both *Livy* [Dec. 1. Lib. 5.] and *Florus* [Lib. 1. cap.12.] assign the Date of them.⁶⁴ *Cæsar* mentions them: [*De Bell. Gall.* L.3. c.4.] and *Valerius Maximus* mentions this among the Punishments of Delinquent Souldiers; *Ne Tentorium ex pellibus haberent*.⁶⁵ Hence in *Tully*, *sub pellibus esse*, is to lie safely entrenched in *Tents*.⁶⁶

Paul sends unto *Timothy*, to convey unto him, the *Skins* whereof hee made his *Tents*; and this *especially*, when hee was in Bonds, at *Rome*, having no other Way to gett a Livelihood, but by exercising himself in his Calling; those hee did *especially* want at this Time, as being unwilling to bee Burdensome & Rely wholly on the *Charity* of the Christian Brethren. These were a choicer sort of *Skins*, which hee left in *Troas*, when hee wrought there; and the Conveyance of them, was as easy, as of other Things.

This Notion is the more probable, when wee consider, that *Paul* was, in Way of Contempt, by the Pagans called, Σκυτοτομος, and, *Coriarius*;⁶⁷ because hee *cutt out Skins* in order to the Making of *Tents*. Yea, some of the Christian Writers, give him those Titles, thereby to magnify the *Grace* of God unto him. Hee is often called Σκυτοτομος, by *Theodoret* & by *Chrysostom*;⁶⁸ *Coriarius Cilix* is the Name that *Jerom* gives him.⁶⁹

Tho' it bee granted, That one Signification of *Membrane*, is *Parchment*; yett it also signifies, the *uppermost Skin* of any Creature; as appears from that of *Lucretius*.

63 "The tents of soldiers were made from skin." Arrian of Nicomedia (aka Flavius Arrianus) (c. 86–160 AD), a Roman military commander and historian of Greek extraction. His *Anabasis of Alexander* chronicled the campaign against Persia is in view here; see *ERE* (40). Quintus Curtius Rufus was a 1st-century CE Roman historian who wrote a biography of Alexander, *History of Alexander the Great*; see *ERE* (481).

64 Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*. Publius Florus was a 2nd-century Roman historian whose work, *Epitome of the Histories of Titus Livy*, is an extraction of Livy.

65 "Indeed they carried tents of skin." Julius Caesar, *The Gallic Wars* (3.4). Valerius Maximus was a 1st-century Roman author and rhetorician and author of *Nine Books of Memorable Deeds and Sayings*; see *ERE* (358–9).

66 "To be under skins" is to lie safely, etc. Tully, i. e. Cicero.

67 Σκυτοτόμος; "leather tanner." [Greek and Latin]

68 "Leather worker."

69 "Cilician tanner."

*Membranas mittunt, Vituli de Corpore summo.*⁷⁰

And *Priscian* saies, tis thus denominated from *Membrum*; inasmuch as it covers the *Limbs*, & *Members*.⁷¹ Nay this is the *First*, Native, Proper Signification of the Word, *Membrana*, in *Tully*, *Pliny*, and other Authors; whereas, afterwards in a *Secondary* Sense, it came to signify *Parchment*.

But lett us now *fold* it up.

3340.

Q. A further *Touch*, if you please, upon the *Cloak*?

A. Some observe, That most of the Greek Copies here have a Word, that signifies, *A Chest of Books*. Books were then very rare, especially good Copies of the Bible; which probably was one of the Books kept in that Chest. The *Syriack* Version, ha's two Words in this Place, which do signify, *The House of Books*; which is the common Phrase of the Eastern Peoples for, *A Chest of Books*. And the great Etymologist *Suidas*, does not render the Word which is in the Original, otherwise.⁷²

Q. At my *First Answer*, saies the Apostle, *no Man stood with mee, but all Men forsook mee*. What ailed them? v. 16

A. *Tacitus* mentions a Case, not unlike to *Pauls*, tried at *Rome*, Two Years before; namely, of *Pomponia Græcina*, a Noble Lady of *Rome*. *Superstitionis externae Rea, Mariti Judicio permissa. Isque prisco Instituto, propinquis coram de Capite, Famaque Conjugis Cognovit, et Insontem nunciavit.*⁷³ The, *Externa Superstitio*, which brought her thus in Danger of her Life, could well bee no other, but *Christianitie*. This, for one, might bee a terrible Exemple, unto the Christians at *Rome*, to make them, shrink from the Apostle, in the Danger now impending.

Q. Whom does *Paul* mean, when he saies, *I was delivered out of the Mouth of the Lion*? v. 17.

⁷⁰ "They send for parchments (skins), made from the best bull-calf." *Lucretius* (c. 99–55 BCE), *De rerum natura*.

⁷¹ *Priscian* of Caesarea (c. 500 CE), author of *Institutiones grammaticae*, a Latin grammar.

⁷² "*Suidas*" was taken to be the putative author of a Greek reference work known as the *Souda* (Σοῦδα), in an apparent confusion of the title with the author. The *Souda* contains some 30,000 entries on Greek language, literature, and history and was compiled in the 10th century, largely under Constantine VII (912–59); see *CE* (14:328).

⁷³ "Arraigned for alien superstition, she was left to the jurisdiction of her husband. Following the ancient custom, he held the inquiry, which was to determine the fate and fame of his wife, before a family council, and announced her innocent." See *Tacitus, Annals* (4:52–3). Christian tradition holds *Pomponia* to have been a convert, as *Tacitus's* use of the term "alien superstition" may well indicate.

A. Nero; that fierce Divel, whom *Seneca* also called, *A Lion*, as is noted by the *Scholiast* upon *Juvenal*.⁷⁴ *Jacchiades* upon *Daniel*, notes that Princes, who were Idolaters & Persecutors, are in the Scriptures called *Wild-beasts*.⁷⁵ The *Chaldean* Monarchs, have by *Daniel*, the Name of a *Lion* putt upon them. And the Jewes think that *Nebuchadnezzar* is meant, when we read, Amos. 5.19. of, *A Man fleeing from a Lion*. See Jer. 2.30. and Joel. 1.6 and Nah. 2.12. and Rev. 13.2. *Josephus* has this Expression upon *Tiberius*, Τεθνηκεν ὁ λέων. *The Lion is dead*.⁷⁶

Our Apostle here alludes to Dan. 6.22. See Est. 14.13; *Putt a Word into my Mouth*, Ενωπιον του λεοντος, *before the Lion*.⁷⁷

4497.

Q.⁷⁸ *And will Deliver me*. If he will Deliver him, saith *Chrysostom*, why saith he, *I am now offered?* v. 18.

A. He proceeds; Mark therefore his Words. “He saith not, *He will again deliver me out of the Mouth of the Lion*; but only, *He will præserved me from every Evil Work, and to His Heavenly Kingdome*.”⁷⁹

Q. Why does the Apostle mention this Matter unto *Timothy*, *Erastus* abode at *Corinth*, but *Trophimus* I left at *Miletum* sick. *Timothy* could not but know this, without *Pauls* Advice from *Rome*; for *Miletum* and *Ephesus* were very near together; yea, *Timothy* was himself left with *Trophimus* at *Miletum*? v. 20.⁸⁰

A. Yett the Mention of this Matter made for the Apostles Purpose. Hee had sent for *Timothy* and *Mark*, to come away unto him, to *Rome*; & that hee might forward them in that Journey, hee shewes, first, How all his Company had been scattered from him; and, then, How a Supply might bee made in their Places, tho’ they came away; tho’ *Mark* should come from *Corinth*, yett *Erastus* might bee a Supply; for *Erastus* abode at *Corinth*: tho’ *Timothy* should come from *Ephesus*, yett there is *Trophimus*, ready there for a Supply; for, *Trophimus*, I left at *Miletum* sick.⁸¹

74 “Scholia” originated as marginal explanatory notes to classical literature; they became especially prominent in Christian scholarship beginning in the 5th century. Over time the aggregate notes became works in their own right and came to be known as “the Scholiast on” a particular work of classical literature or author; see *NCE* (12:779).

75 Joseph ben David ibn Jachia (1494–1539), *Paraphrase on Daniel* (Latin trans. 1633).

76 Josephus, *The Antiquities of the Jews* (18.6.10), p. 388.

77 LXX: ἐνωπιον του λεοντος. The substance of this answer is drawn from Whitby, *Paraphrase on the New Testament* (2:479). The reference is to the apocryphal version of the book of Esther, which offers several additional passages to the canonical book.

78 See Appendix B.

79 Chrysostom, *Tenth Homily on 2 Timothy*, *NPNFi* (13:514–15).

80 See Appendix A.

81 Mather’s answer here echoes that of Lighfoot, *Harmony of the New Testament* (134).

Q. *Pudens* and *Claudia*? v. 21.

A. They were Husband and Wife; And *Claudia* was a Britaness; If they be those mentioned, by *Martial*, in several of his Epigrams.⁸²

⁸² Marcus Valerius Martialis (c. 38–102 CE), an Iberian poet whose satirical *Epigrams* were published beginning in 86 CE. Aulus Pudens was a Roman centurion and friend of Martial. He (and his wife) were identified with the persons mentioned by Paul by William Camden in his *Britannia* (1586), though the tradition is much older; see *NCE* (11:811–12).

2437.

Q. In what regard are they called, *The Due Times*, wherein tis said, God *Manifested His Word*? v. 3.

A. It should bee rendred, *His own Times*.

This was *Austins* Answer to those, who asked, Why Christ came not before? *Quia nondum venerat plenitudo Temporis, moderante illo per quem facta sunt Tempora. Sciebat enim quando venire deberet.* Tract. 31. in Johan.² And again, *Novit quidem dominus, quid quando faciat, qui in Mensurà, et numero, et pondere cuncta disponit.* In Psal. 118.³

Q. That of, *Ordaining Elders in Every City*? v. 5.

A. Then there were at least an *Hundred Bishops* in that little Island. Surely, Those *Bishops*, were not like our *Diocesan Bishops*!

One Mr. *Simon Brown* in an *Ordination Sermon*, further pursues this Matter: saying, “I am apt to think, the Original will allow us to interpret the Apostles Advice to *Titus*, thus; That he should ordain Elders, according to the Magnitude of the Cities of *Crete*, [κατὰ πόλιν]⁴ in some more, in some fewer, according as there was Work for them.”⁵

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽2v] [▽Insert from 2v]

2484.

Q. The Apostle quotes concerning the *Cretians*, a *Poet of their own*, who said, κρητες αι ψευσται, κακα θηρια, γαστερες αργαι.⁶
Who was this, *Poet of their own*? v. 12.

¹ See Appendix B.

² “Because the fullness of time had not yet come, as planned by the One through whom times were made. For he knew when he ought to come.” In Augustine, *Homilies on the Gospel of John* (507). PLEASE NOTE: As a general rule, translations of Hebrew, Greek and Latin are rendered in the footnotes; when these are not provided, it indicates that the translation Mather has provided in the text is correct.

³ “But the Lord knows what he wishes to do and when to do it, for he disposes all things by measure, and number, and weight.” In Augustine, *Expositions of the Psalms* (436); the psalm in question is Ps. 118:82–8.

⁴ κατὰ πόλιν; “according to the city.”

⁵ Simon Browne, *An Ordination Sermon Preach'd at Chichester* (1707). Browne (1680–1732) was a dissenting clergyman; the death of his wife and child in 1723 led to his mental breakdown. See Bogue and Bennett, *The History of Dissenters* (369–72).

⁶ This label appears in numerous Greek authors, including Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata* (1.14.59.2, line 4) and in Epiphanius, *Panarion* (= *Adversus haereses*) (2:169, line 11): Κρητες

A. Dr. *Cave* observes, that *Chrysostom* supposes that the Apostle took this Verse, from *Callimachus*, who makes use indeed of the first Part of it, charging the *Cretians* to be *Notorious Lyars*, in pretending that *Jupiter* not only was born, but also Dyed among them, and that they had his Tomb, with the Inscription, ΕΝΤΑΥΘΑ ΖΑΝ ΚΕΙΤΑΙ, *Here Lies JUPITER*, whenas the Deity is *Immortal*. And *Chrysostom* hereupon perplexes himself with many needless Difficulties in Reconciling it.⁷

Whereas the Apostle did not fetch it from *Callimachus*, but *Epimenides*, a native of *Crete*, famous for his enthusiastic Divinations; θεοφίλης καὶ σοφὸς περὶ τὰ Θεῖα, τὴν ἐνθουσιαστικὴν καὶ τελεστικὴν σοφίαν, as *Plutarch* saies of him.⁸

Callimachus from him cites part of the verse, applying it unto his Purpose.

Κρητες αει ψευσαι· και γαρ ταφον, ω ανα, σειο

Κρητες ετεκτηναντο· συ δ' ου θανεις; εσσι γαρ αει.⁹

But *Paul* quotes the Verse entire, from the Author himself: and adds, *This Witness is True*. Indeed the Heathen Writers do generally charge the same Things upon the *Cretians*. They were so famous for *Lying*, κρητίζειν, and κρητίζειν πρόσ κρητα,¹⁰ were Proverbs, *To Ly Like a Cretian*, and *Cosen a Cheat*; and not more obvious than *mendax Creta*.¹¹ *Polybius* tells us of them, That no where could be found more *deceitful Wits*, & more *pernicious Counsils*; and that their Manners were so very sordid, that of all the Men in the World, the *Cretians* were the only Persons, who counted nothing Dishonest, that was but Advantageous.¹² They were also Impatient of Labour, Gluttonous, Intemperate; and as to the Effect

ἀεὶ ψεύσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί. “The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies” (KJV).

⁷ Callimachus (c. 310–240 BCE) was a well-known poet in antiquity whose writings have largely failed to survive; his *Hymn to Zeus* was often cited in patristic literature. Some early Christian figures, such as Clement of Alexandria and Jerome, attributed Paul’s citation to the largely legendary 6th-century BCE figure Epimenides of Knossos (Crete), a conclusion echoed in contemporary scholarship. Epimenides’s poem *Cretica* more closely follows Paul’s wording, though this work is only known by way of a 9th-century CE commentary written in Syriac. See Dibelius and Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles* (136–7). John Chrysostom (347–407 CE), archbishop of Constantinople, whose hundreds of extant sermons include a number on the Pauline epistles; see NSHERK (3:72–5). This citation is from his *Third Homily on Titus*; see NPNFi (13:528).

⁸ “Beloved of the gods, and endowed with a mystical and heaven-sent wisdom in religious matters.” See Plutarch, *Life of Solon* (12.4), in *Lives* (433). Plutarch (c. 46–120 CE) was a Greek historian and moral philosopher; ERE (437).

⁹ Callimachus, *In Jovem* (*hymn. 1*), lines 8–9: Κρήτες αὖ ψεύσται· καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἀνα, σείο; Κρήτες ἐτεκτῆναντο· σὺ δ' οὐ θάνεις; ἐσσι γὰρ αἰεὶ; “Cretans are always liars. For a tomb, O Lord, Cretans build for you; but you did not die, for you are forever.” Callimachus, *Hymn to Zeus*, in Dibelius and Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles* (136).

¹⁰ Both mean essentially “to act like a Cretan” – that is, to habitually lie.

¹¹ “A lying Cretan.”

¹² Polybius, *Histories* (6.46). Polybius (c. 200–118 BCE) was a Greek historian of the rise of the Roman Empire; ERE (439).

of Idleness, very Lascivious and prone even (as *Athenæus* tells us) unto *Sodomy* itself.¹³

No wonder, if Paul bids *Titus*, *Reprove them sharply*.¹⁴

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽3r] [▽Insert from 3r]

Q. Why is *Epimenides* called, *A Prophet*? v. 12.

A. *Cicero* in his Book, *De Divinatione*, numbers *Epimenides* among them, *Vaticinantes per Furorem*.¹⁵ *Dio Prusiensis* expressly calls him, *A Prophet*. The Title of his Book, is, *Oracles*.¹⁶ And *Clinias* in *Plato de Legibus*, mentions him, as Ἀνὴρ θεῖος, a *Divine Man*, who foretold unto the *Athenians*, the *Time* & the *End* of the *Persian Expedition* against them, Ten Years before it came to pass.¹⁷ *Diodorus Siculus* calls him, Θεόλογον.¹⁸ And *Plutarch* saies of him, ἐδόκε δὲ τις εἶναι θεοφιλῆς καὶ σοφὸς περὶ τὰ θεῖά, τὴν ἐνθουσιαστικὴν καὶ τελεστικὴν σοφίαν. *Habebatur is Vir Deo apprimè acceptus, in rebusque Sacris Sapientiâ præcellens fanaticâ et mysticâ*.¹⁹ *Laertius* calls him, Γνωστικώτατον,²⁰ and *Apuleius* calls him, *Fatidicum*.²¹ *Maximus Tyrius* reports, That *Epimenides of Crete* coming to *Athens*, would give no Account of any Master, that had ever instructed him in the Skill

13 *Athenæus*, *The Deipnosophiste* (13.601). *Athenæus* was a Greek rhetorician and grammarian who flourished in the 2nd–3rd century CE in Egypt. His *Deipnosophistae* (“dinner-table philosophers”) represents a dialogue among dinner guests about a wide range of topics relating to Greek culture. See *EAG* (109–11).

14 This entire passage is excerpted almost verbatim from William Cave, *Apostolici* (1677), pp. 59–60. Cave (1637–1713) received his doctorate from Cambridge and served as a priest in the post-Restoration Anglican church, eventually serving as a chaplain to Charles II. He was a respected patristic scholar and an apologist for the church fathers against critics like Jean Le Clerc. On Cave, see *ODNB* (10:604–5).

15 Those “who prophesy while in a frenzy.” See *Cicero*, *De Divinatione* (1.18.34). *Cicero* (106–143 BCE) was a broadly important figure in the early Roman republic, as a politician, philosopher, and rhetorician; *ERE* (117–18).

16 *Dio Prusiensis*, possibly *Asclepiades of Prusa* (124–40 BCE), a rhetorician, philosopher, and physician, and an acquaintance of *Cicero*. His works do not survive. See Robert Polito, “On the Life of *Asclepiades of Bithynia*,” *Journal of Hellenistic Studies* 119 (48–66).

17 See *Plato*, *Laws* (1.642.D).

18 “One who speaks with the gods.” *Diodorus Siculus*, *Library of History* (5.80.4). *Siculus* was a 1st-century BCE Greek historian; less than half of his universal history is extant; *EAG* (223–4).

19 “He was reputed to be a man exceedingly beloved of the gods, and endowed with a mystical and heaven-sent wisdom in religious matters.” [Greek and Latin] See *Plutarch*, *Life of Solon* (12.4), in *Lives* (433).

20 Literally, “extraordinary foresight,” i. e. “prophetic.” See *Diogenes Laertius*, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* (1:114). *Laertius* was a 3rd-century CE historian, about whom little is known beyond the *Lives*; see *EAG* (224–5).

21 *Mather’s* unnamed source here appears to have mis-cited *Apuleius*. *Fatidicum* – prophetic – does not appear in the *Apologia*; rather, it appears (in the form of *fatiloquum*) in *Apuleius’s Florida*. See *Apuleius*, *Rhetorical Works*, (52, 157). *Apuleius* (c. 125–180 CE) was a Roman essayist and author of the well-known novel *Metamorphoses*; *ERE* (28).

that he possessed, nevertheless he was, δεινὸς τὰ θεῖα, so skilful in Divine Matters, that he delivered *Athens* from both *Pestilence* and *Sedition*, by his Expiations.²²

The Apostle might call him a *Prophet*, as the *Prophets* of *Baal*, were of old called so. Nevertheless, as *Grotius* adds, the things told by *Epimenides*, were Such as the *Demons* might easily tell to him; if it were as *Aristotle* reports of him, *Rhet.* III.17. Περὶ τῶν ἐσομένων οὐκ ἔμαντευτο κλ. *He did not foretel future things, but only told things already done, but such as were unknown to any but himself.*²³

Q. A Remark on those two Characters, *Evil Beasts*, and *Slow Bellies*? v. 13.

A. I have seen them remarkably Exemplified, in some *Envious Drones*. They are *Slow Bellies*, at the doing of any good Works themselves, they are Slothful, and Useless Wretches: meer *good-for-nothings*. But this is not all their Character; this will not content them. They do the Part of *Evil Beasts*, on the Men that are Industrious, & Serviceable, & that by their exemplary Diligence, condemn the Slothfulness of these Wretches. They Abuse and Reproach these Diligent Men; and they do what they can to tear them in Peeeces.

Take *Pyle's* Paraphrase. "When the Poet, *Epimenides*, a Native of their own, described the *Cretians*, as a False, Mischievous, and Luxurious People, he said [insert from 4v] what was as true of these Jewish Inhabitants, as it could be of the Original Natives of the Place."²⁴

I will add a Line or two, of M. *Tournefort*, in his Travels to *Candia*.

"*Polybius* writes that of all Mankind the *Cretans* were the only People, that counted no Lucre Sordid. St. *Paul* passes no Compliment on them, any more than *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*. Καπαδοκία, Κρήτη, Κίλικία, τρία Καππα κακίστα.²⁵ *Suidas* and *Callimachus* give 'em the character of *Lyars & Imposters*.²⁶

²² Epimenides, *Testimonia* (Jacoby), Volume-Jacoby#-T (3b, 457, T fragm. 4f, line 6). See Taylor, *The Dissertations of Maximus Tyrius* (17). Maximus of Tyre was a late 2nd-century CE Greek philosopher; see *ERE* (361).

²³ Aristoteles et Corpus Aristotelicum, *Rhetorica* (Bekker page. 1418a, line 25); Hugo Grotius, *Annotaciones in Novum Testamentum* (7:321). Mather has broken off the Greek citation of Aristotle in mid-sentence (κλ stands for κατὰ λοιπά, "and the rest") while giving the full English translation. Grotius (1583–1645), Dutch legal theorist and religious controversialist, wrote a number of works defending the Christian religion as well as on biblical interpretation; *NSHERK* (5:85–6). See Aristotle, *Rhetoric* (3.17.10).

²⁴ Thomas Pyle, *A Paraphrase on the Epistles of the New Testament* (2:204–5). Pyle was an Anglican cleric and an outspoken Arian; see *ODNB* (45:622–3).

²⁵ Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus. *De thematibus* (Asia-Europe Asia, ch. 2, lines 69–70): Καπαδοκία, Κρήτη, Κίλικία, τρία Κάππα κάκιστα; "Kappadocia, Krete, Kilicia – three evil K's."

²⁶ On Callimachus, see Mather's first entry on Titus 1:12 (above). "Suidas" was taken to be the putative author of a Greek reference work known as the *Souda* (Σουδα), in an apparent confusion of the title with the author. The *Souda* contains some 30,000 entries on Greek language, literature, and history and was compiled in the 10th century, largely under Constantine VII (912–959). See "Suidas," *OCCL* (electronic).

The Impurity of their Amours are but too notorious; witness the Account given us of them by *Strabo* and *Servius*, and *Athenæus*.”²⁷

Finally, I will annex a Passage of *Baumgarten*, in his Travels. Chap. XI. Coming to *Crete*, he says: “The Excellency and Fruitfulness of the Soil, emasculates the Inhabitants; and that saying of the Apostle, which he borrowed from *Epimenides*, holds true still; *The Cretians are ----*”²⁸

[△] [△Insert ends]

²⁷ Strabo, *Geographica* (10.4.12). Strabo’s *Geography* continued to be an important source on ancient cultures well into the early modern period; see *ERE* (515). Servius is likely Maurus Servius Honoratus, a late 5th-century grammarian and classicist; see “Honoratus,” *EB* (electronic). On Athenæus, see Mather’s first entry on Titus 1:12 (above). Joseph de Pitton Tournefort (1656–1708), *Relation d’un voyage du Levant* (Lyon: 1717; English translation 1718). This phrase is attributed to “Porphyrogenitus,” i.e. the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII (905–959). See Tournefort, *Voyage into the Levant* (90–1). Tournefort studied for the priesthood with the Jesuits but went on to become a professor of botany and a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences. He toured the Middle East from 1700–02, collecting plant specimens and writing a natural history of the region. See St. John, *The Lives of Celebrated Travelers* (1–14).

²⁸ Martin von Baumgarten (1473–1535), *The Travels of Martin Baumgarten* (1704); originally extracted from Baumgarten’s diaries by Christoph Donauer in 1594, as his *Peregrinatio*.

Q. Tis said, *The Aged Women, that they bee in Behaviour, as becometh Holiness?* v. 3.

A. Ἐν καταστήματι, may bee rendred, *In Habit*. Tho' Excess in *Habit*, bee blameable in *Youth*, tis much worse in *Age*.

Q. Why is not our *Titus* commanded, *himself* to teach the *Younger Women*; but the Apostle advises, That the *Aged Women* teach them? v. 4.

A. Mr. *Capel* saies, It was for fear of what might happen. He observes, That Religious People will do well to take heed one of another, lest *Beginning in the Spirit*, they *End in the Flesh*; and chiefly such as have done Good unto the Souls of one another.

He takes Notice therefore of such a Caveat in *Paul* to *Timothy*; 1 Tim. v.2. *Rebuke the younger Women as Sisters, with all Purity*. So mortified a Person as *Timothy*, when he ha's Occasion to converse with *younger Women*; & those pious ones too; yett he is to do it *With All Purity*, & Chastity; for fear of the Work.²⁹
[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 6v]

[▽6v]

Q. Upon, *Denying of Ungodliness & Worldly Lusts*, and living well in *this present World?* v. 12.

A. I take Notice of Two Strokes in a Paraphrase of Dr. *Arrowsmiths* upon it, which I will sieze upon.

First. "All Partakers of *Grace* should not only deny that gross *ungodliness* of Conversation, which the very Sons of meer Morality decry & abhor, but also *worldly Lusts*, which others are secretly indulgent to."

Again. "They should not content themselves with a *Negative Purity*, such as that of the *Pharisee*: but also practise *Positive Holiness*. And that too, in *this present World*: Not putting on a Vizard of this, as the Manner of Some is, on a Sick-bed or Death-bed, when they can look on themselves as no longer *Men of This World*, but of another."³⁰

²⁹ Louis Cappel (1585–1658), perhaps his *Critica sacra* (1650) or his *Historia apostolica illustrata* (1634). Cappel was a Protestant biblical scholar at Saumur who entered into controversy by promoting the idea that the Hebrew vowel points were not original to the text, a position the young Mather argued against in his master's thesis at Harvard but came to accept later on in his career; see *EP* (1:351).

³⁰ John Arrowsmith (1602–59), possibly from his *Armilla catechetica* (1659), a posthumous collection of sermons. Smith was a member of the Westminster Assembly and later Regius Professor of Divinity and Master of Trinity College at Cambridge. On Arrowsmith, see *ODNB* (2:526–7).

Q. A Remark upon those Three Lessons: *Living Soberly, & Righteously, and Godlily?* v. 12.

A. Some have called this, The *Motto*, or, the *Symbol*, of a Christian; Tis the Sum of his Duty. It ha's been well directed;

Hæc Tria Perpetuò Meditare Adverbia Pauli;

*Hæc Tria Sint Vitæ Regula Sancta Tuæ.*³¹

Christian, think oft on *Pauls* Three Glorious Words;

There he the Christians *Golden Rule* affords.

But what I have to Remark, is this; That so Reasonable, so agreeable to Reason, is the Proposal, that the People, who have had only the Light of Reason, have subscribed unto it. I Remember *Diodorus Siculus* reports, That when the *Egyptians* praised their Deceased Friends, they made those *Three Things* the Matter of their Praises; Their

*Godliness, and Righteousness, and Sobriety.*³²

Q. *The Great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ.* Whether One & the Same Person is to be understood? v. 13.

A. Yes; One and the Same Person, even our Blessed JESUS.

Dr. *Edwards* offers Two Reasons to confirm it.

First, here is but one Article in the Greek; του μεγάλου θεου, και σωτηρος ημων.³³ Had there been two Different Persons, there ought to have been Two Articles, to show the Difference.

We have the same Expression used, 2. Pet. I.1: which ought to be thus translated, *The Righteousness of our God & Saviour*; which yett further shewes that *God & our Saviour*, is One & the Same Person.

The Conjunctive Particle, και, often signifies no more than, *Even*.

Secondly. In the Scriptures of the New Testament, God the *Father*, is never said to *Appear*. Whereas the *Appearance* of our Saviour JESUS CHRIST is often mentioned. But here we have, *The Appearing of the Great God.*³⁴

Q. A Remark on the, *Redemption of the peculiar People?* v. 14.

A. Compare it with Exod. XIX.4, 5. and you will see, that the *Redeemer* can be no other than JEHOVAH.

[△] [△Insert ends]

³¹ Literally, "Meditate continually on these three adverbs of Paul; these three are the holy rule of your life."

³² On *Siculus*, see Mather's second entry on Titus 1:12 (above).

³³ Clemens Alexandrinus. *Protrepticus* (1.7.2, lines 6–7): του μεγάλου θεού και σωτήρος ημών; "the great God, and our Savior."

³⁴ John Edwards (1637–1716), possibly his *Discourse concerning the Authority, Stile, and Perfection of the Books of the Old and New Testament* (1693) or his *Farther Enquiry into Several Remarkable Texts of the Old and New Testament* (1692) both of which are used by Mather in his Pauline commentary. On Edwards, see *ODNB* (17:937–8).

Q. A Remark on the, *Faithful Saying?* v. 8.

A. There has been abundance of Labour used in the Enquiries of Men, how to Reconcile the Two Apostles, *Paul* and *James*, in the Doctrine of *Justification*; And verily, some have *not enquired wisely concerning this Matter*.

But behold, a particular Case taken by the Holy Spirit³⁵ here, gloriously to Reconcile them!

Here you see, *First*, We are to Beleeve in God; Even in the CHRIST who is God, & who if He were not God could not be with any Reason or any Safety Beleeved in. And, *Then*, we must *be careful to maintain in good Works*, or Things every way *good* and *profitable* to us. We must *first*, be True *Beleevors*, and by consequence, be *Justified*, before we have *maintained good Works*. And *then* it must be *Affirmed Constantly*, That *good Works* must follow, as on many Accounts *good* and *profitable* to us. Nay, our *Faith* itself will not be found *good & profitable*, if *good Works* do not follow upon it.

These Things do seem to be written before the Epistle of *James*. And may be used as a *Golden Key* unto it.

Q. How, *To maintain good Works?* v. 8.

A. Προϊστασθαι.³⁶ The Greek Word, is a Military Term, taken from those who sett themselves forward in the Front of the Army, & march before for the Encouragement of the Followers. Wherefore some read it so: *To go before others in good Works*.

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 8v]

[▽8v]

1794.

Q. To what might the Apostle allude, in that Passage, *A Man that is an Heretick, after the First & Second Admonition, Reject?* v. 10.

A. In the *Law* about the *Leper*, the *Priest* was to look on him *Once*; and after Seven Dayes, hee was to look on him *Again*: [Lev. 13.6.] and then, if there appeared Cause for it, hee was to pronounce the *Leper*, *Utterly Unclean*.

The Apostle here, seems to allude unto that *Law*; and therewith allow *Heresy* to be accounted a *Leprosy*. Pursue the Comparison in your Meditations.

³⁵ See Appendix A.

³⁶ προϊστασθαι; "to set before."

But on this Occasion, I cannot but call to mind, the notable Gloss of a popish Priest, upon this Text in favour of the Cruelties, which the Papists use towards Hæreticks.

Hæreticum Hominem devita, that is, quoth hee, *De vitâ tollite*.³⁷

And yett, when I have mentioned this Passage, I cannot but give my Reader, this *Admonition*. I would have him neither to *Tell*, nor to *Hear*, any *profane Jest*, that has been made upon a Text of Scripture. For hee will sensibly find this Corruption in his Mind, that whenever the *Text* is afterwards mention'd, tho' it bee in the most Serious & Solemn Exercise of Devotion, hee will presently call to mind, that *profane Jest*, unto the Disturbance of the Devout Frame that should bee mentained with him. However, I hope, the Gloss of my popish Priest, will do us no Hurt.³⁸

Q. How does the Admonished Heretick, *Sin, being condemned of himself*? v. 11.

A. Not because he maintains, what he himself thinks to be False; but because he inflicts on himself, that Punishment and Condemnation, which the Church uses to inflict on Malefactors; he pertinaciously *separates himself* from the Communion of the Faithful; he *excommunicates* himself. To this Purpose, the *Oxford Paraphrase*.³⁹

³⁷ "Shun heretical men; destroy their life."

³⁸ The "jest" here is the play on words, *devita* vs. *de vita*. This is a somewhat curious criticism on Mather's part, given his own penchant for puns and other forms of humorous word-play in the *Biblia*, although in the present case, the "humor" involved is certainly dark and not of the sort that Mather is given too.

³⁹ Abraham Woodhead, Obadiah Walker, and Richard Allestree, *A Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the Epistles of St. Paul, done by several eminent men at Oxford* (1702). The original work (1675) was only a partial paraphrase; the 1684 edition encompassed the entire Pauline corpus. The 1702 edition included the affixed subtitle, hence it became known as the "Oxford Paraphrase." Woodhead (1609–78) and Walker (1616–99) were Anglican clerics in teaching positions at Oxford; both converted to Catholicism (Woodhead in the 1640's, Walker in 1686); see *ODNB* (60:186–8) and (56:878–80) respectively. Richard Allestree (1619–81) was a royalist soldier and chaplain during the Civil War; in 1663 he was made a chaplain to the king and in 1665 Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. Unlike Woodhead and Walker, he remained a loyal Anglican cleric; see *ODNB* (1:842–4).

4500.

Q. *Philemon*, Who was hee? v. 1.

A. A Minister, among the *Colossians*: For *Onesimus*, the Servant of this Worthy Man, was one of *them*. [Col. 4.9.] And *Archippus*, a Minister at *Colosse*, Dr. *Lightfoot* judges, to have been the Son of this *Philemon*, or, to have sojourned, at least, in his House. [Philem. 2.]¹

Q. What Special Design, may the Holy Spirit have, in ordering the Epistle unto *Philemon*, to occur among the Sacred Writings? v. 1.

A. This among the rest. In the Instance of *Onesimus*, there is exemplified a Fulfilment of that Prophecy, in Joel. 2.29. *Upon the Servants in those Dayes, will I pour out my Spirit.*²

Q. Who was *Apphia*? v. 2.

A. Many suppose her, to have been Wife to *Philemon*.

In the *Martyrology*, Nov. 22. *Philemon* and *Appia*, are said to have been stoned to Death, at *Colosse*, under *Nero*, for their Christianity.³

[▽Insert from 1r]⁴

[▽1r]

Q. On the Occasion of that Passage: *That the Communication of Thy Faith, may become Effectual, by the acknowledging of Every Good Thing which is in you*

¹ See John Lightfoot, *Harmony of the New Testament* (137). Lightfoot (1602–75) was an Anglican cleric of moderate Puritan sympathies who participated in the Westminster Assembly. He was also a prodigious scholar and began an academic career at Cambridge in 1650. His major area of expertise was biblical studies, and he was a major figure in the flourishing circle of Christian Hebraism, a colleague of Brian Walton, Edward Pocock, Matthew Poole, and the Buxtorfs. He was sufficiently moderate or politic to keep his appointment at Cambridge after the Restoration. His collected works appeared posthumously as his *Opera omnia* (1686). Among his most important biblical works were the *Miscellanies*, *Christian and Judaical* (1629), *Harmony of the Four Evangelists* (1644–50), *Harmony of the Old Testament* (1647), *Harmony of the New Testament* (1655), and *Horae hebraicae et talmudicae* (1658–74). On Lightfoot, see *ODNB* (33:753–6).

² In spite of the incident that provoked this letter – a run-away slave – Mather has nothing to say in his *Philemon* commentary about the issue of slavery itself, although his comment here about Onesimus's spiritual potential reveals Mather's recognition of the humanity of slaves. For a more thorough consideration of Mather's views on slavery, see Stievermann, "The Genealogy of Races" (515–76).

³ See the November 22nd entry in *The Roman Martyrology* (336). See Appendix B.

⁴ See Appendix B.

in *CHRIST JESUS*; What may be offered for the Explaining of that Evangelical Mystery, Our *Doing in CHRIST*, all that we do? v. 6.

A. It may hardly [be] worth our while, to take Notice, that in this Passage, the Superstitious and Impertinent Folly of *Quakerism*, that scruples the using of the Term, YOU, to a Single Person, is here confuted.⁵ Here, *THY Faith*, is a, *Good Thing in YOU*. But there may be some Occasion to entreat, [*Being Defamed*, we do so!] that it may not be look'd upon, as *Enthusiasm*, to consider the *Life of God in the Soul of Man*, and the *Mystery of Living to God by the Faith of the SON of God*. The Gospel is full of this *Mystery*; The *Bible* is not understood without it. Yea, my *Christian*, Thy Salvation turns upon thy Acquaintance with it. We lay hold on many Occasions in our BIBLIA AMERICANA, to touch upon it; Indeed it enriches us, with the most valuable *Illustrations*.

I will take this Place, to transcribe a Paragraph of Some Things, entituled, VITALIA, written by one whom I sometimes converse withal.⁶

"ALL, *In the Lord!* All, *In CHRIST!* This is what I would now come to clear Apprehensions of.

Desirous to *DO all things* that God requires of me, and sensible of my being unable of myself to *DO anything* well, in *Living unto God*, I propose to be taken in a *Vital* as well as *Legal* UNION with the SON of God, becoming a MAN, in my Great REDEEMER.

What I propose to DO [as I would *Every Thing!*] in obedience to God, I would now do it IN CHRIST.

I would not only do it in Compliance with the *Command* of CHRIST; and with a Design for the *Service* of CHRIST: Aiming that CHRIST may be glorified and gratified in the doing of it; [All, IN the LORD, and FOR the Lord!] But I would also depend on Influences from CHRIST, or the *Head* of the *Mystical Body*, whereof the Consent of my Soul to be so, carries me to be a *Member* for *Strength* to do it. I would fain do it, so Influenced by CHRIST, that I may be able to say; *Tis no more I, but CHRIST living in me*. And therefore, in a *Despair* of otherwise doing any thing to good Purpose, I would look up to CHRIST, for the Grace to do it as it should be done: All my *Hope* of Well-doing, is upon HIM *Living in me*, and *Working that which is*

[△] [△Insert ends]

[▽2v] [▽Insert from 2v]
Well-pleasing in the Sight of God.

At the same time, I would consider, HOW CHRIST *once did* such an Action, or would *NOW do* it, if He were now to do it: And I would study all

⁵ See also Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), bk. 7. Art. 29, pp. 96–101.

⁶ Mather quotes the same text at length – but also without attribution – in his *Agricola, or The Religious Husbandman* (51–3).

possible Conformity to the *Heavenly Pattern*: I would fain have the *Virtues* and the *Praises* of CHRIST seen in the Regular Doing of it. And the Work of His GOOD SPIRIT therein manifested and magnified.

I would still Remember the *Sacrifice* of CHRIST, as purchasing the Pardon of the Deficiencies & Miscarriages, which defile what I do. And I would still Remember the *Righteousness* of CHRIST, who did This and Every Right Thing, in the Perfection of it, as all I have to Justify me, after the *Best* that HE helps me to do.

Finally, I consider myself as *United* with a glorious CHRIST, [*Separate from whom I can do nothing,*] in Every Step of my *Walk with God*.

Now I feel the Meaning of, Philem. 6. *Every Good Thing which is in you in CHRIST JESUS*. Compare, v. 16.

1 Cor. IV.17. *My Ways, which are IN CHRIST*.

1 Cor. IX.1. *My Work IN THE LORD*.

Rom. XVI.22. *Salute you IN THE LORD*.

Eph. VI.1. *Obey Your Parents IN THE LORD*."

And very many more such Passages in the Sacred Oracles.

[△Insert ends]

[△]

|

[3r resumes]

Q. This Epistle was written at farthest, but Twenty Eight Years after the Conversion of *Paul*, when he was called Νεανίας, *A Young Man*; [Act. 7.58.] And how could he now be, Πρεσβυτης· *Paul the Aged*?⁷ v. 9.

A. Dr. *Whitby* answers; Both the Words Νεανισκος, *Young*, and, Πρεσβυτης, *Aged*, are of that Large Signification, as is Sufficient to remove this seeming Difficulty. *Phavorinus*, from *Hippocrates*, tells us, a Man is called, Νεανισκος, *A Young Man*, till *Twenty Eight*: And, Πρεσβυτης, *Aged*, from *Forty Nine to Fifty Six*; making only Twenty One Years Difference between them. Elsewhere, he saies, *Old Age* begins απ' ετων εξηκοντα εννεα, *From Sixty Nine Years*; But then he saies, A Man is Νεανισκος, *Young*, from *Twenty Three*, εως ετων τεσσαρακοντα ενος, *Till Forty One Years*; making the Difference, *Twenty Eight*.⁸ *Varro* in *Cælus Rhodiginus*, saies, A Man is *Juvenis*, *Young*, till *Forty Five*; and *Aged* at *Sixty*.⁹

⁷ Νεανίας, Πρεσβύτης, Νεανίσκος. PLEASE NOTE: As a general rule, translations of Hebrew, Greek and Latin are rendered in the footnotes; when these are not provided, it indicates that the translation Mather has provided in the text is correct.

⁸ απ' ετών εξήκοντα έννεα; έως ετών τεσσαράκοντα ενός.

⁹ This paragraph is essentially a direct citation of Daniel Whitby's *Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* (2:468). Whitby (1638–1726) was an Anglican cleric, and a prolific author; he engaged in anti-Catholic polemics but also argued for a latitudinarian treatment of Protestant Dissenters. In his later years, he adopted (publically) Arminian and (posthumously) Arian doctrinal positions, although he did publish a treatise against the latter in 1691. On Whitby, see *ODNB* (58:530–2). Favorinus of Arelata (80–160 CE) was a Skeptic who taught at Rome; *ERE* (209). "Cælus Rhodiginus" was the *nom de plume* of the Venetian

Thus our *Paul*, according to *Chrysostomes* Computation, might *Be a Young Man of Thirty five*, at his Conversion, and an *Old Man, of Sixty three*, at the Writing of {this Letter}.¹⁰

[4v]

Q. It was but lately that *Epaphrus* came from *Colosse*; how comes hee to gett into Prison already? v. 23.

A. Lett us a Little tell the Story of *Nero*, and it will Illustrate this Matter notably.

Suetonius mentioning the good Conduct of *Nero*, in the Beginning of his Reign, tells us of a Strange Reformation by him Endeavoured & Accomplished: *Multa sub eo, et Animadversa severè, et Coercita, nec minus Instituta; Adhibitibus Sumptibus Modus; publicæ Cænæ ad Sportulas redactæ: Interdictum, ne quid in popinis Cocti præter Legumina, aut Olera, veniret, cùm antea nullum non opsonii genus proponeretur.* But hear One Article of Reformation more, *Afflicti Suppliciis Christiani, genus Hominum Superstitionis Novæ et Maleficæ.*¹¹ This was in the Beginning of *Nero's* Reign, but then *Tacitus* tells us, that in the Tenth year of this Tyrant, a dreadful Fire happened in *Rome*, which the Common Rumour charged him with kindling. And, *Abolendo Rumori Nero subdidit reos et quæsitissimis pœnis affectit, quos per flagitia Invisos, Vulgus Christianos appellat.* Hee adds, *Repressaue in præsens Exitiabilis Superstitio rursus Erumpebat, non modo per Judæam originem, ejus Mali, sed per urbem etiam; quo cuncta undique atrocita, aut pudenda confluunt, celebrantur.*¹² It seems by these Words of *Tacitus*, that the former Persecution, reported by *Suetonius*, had produced some Suppression of Christianitie. And in this Persecution it was, that *Epaphras*, with *Aristarchus*, & others, here spoken of, underwent their Imprisonment. Yea, Christianitie, was then suppressed, as you may gather from the Narrative, not only in *Rome* itself,

classicist, Lodovico Ricchieri (1469–1525). His work *Antiquarium lectionum libri* (1516) was a commentary on classical literature (the 1666 edition was published in 30 volumes; this appears to be Whitby's source). See Bietenholz, *Contemporaries of Erasmus* (p. 155).

¹⁰ See Appendix A. John Chrysostom, *Second Homily on Philemon*, in *NPNFi* (13:551).

¹¹ “During his reign many abuses were severely punished and put down, and no fewer new laws were made: a limit was set to expenditures; the public banquets were confined to a distribution of food; the sale of any kind of cooked viands in the taverns was forbidden, with the exception of pulse and vegetables, whereas before every sort of dainty was exposed for sale.” [But hear one Article of Reformation more,] “Punishment was inflicted on the Christians, a class of men given to a new and mischievous superstition.” *Suetonius, Lives of the Caesars* (6.16.2). *Suetonius* (c. 69–122 CE) was a Roman historian; *ERE* (516).

¹² “To scotch the rumour, Nero substituted as culprits, and punished with the utmost refinements of cruelty, a class of men, loathed for their vices, whom the crowd styled Christians.” [Hee adds,] “The pernicious superstition was checked for a moment, only to break out once more, not merely in Judea, the home of the disease, but in the capital itself, where all things horrible or shameful in the world collect and find a vogue.” *Tacitus* (c. 56–117 CE), *Annals* (15.44). *Tacitus* was a Roman senator, one of its most important historians (*Annals*, and *Histories*), and one of the few early external sources to mention Christ; *ERE* (521).

but thro' *Judæa* also. And this, by the way, assigns a Reason, for the Defection of the *Christian Churches*, unto *Judaism*, in the Apostolical Epistles complained of: in as much as, by Hiding their Christianitie under the Rites of *Moses*, the *Edict* of *Nero*, which did not concern the *Jewes*, would not affect them. It seems to have been this *Edict* of *Nero*, which gave Advantage, unto the Enemies of *Paul*, to preach *Christ* of *Envy*, supposing to add *Affliction* unto his *Bonds*, as *Paul* tells the *Philippians*. They made the chief Preachers of the Gospel, whereof *Paul* was the very chief, to bee the more narrowly enquired after.

Appendix A: Cancellations

As outlined by Reiner Smolinski, *BA* (1:1157ff), Mather's *Biblia* has thousands of editorial cancellations and corrections; this Appendix includes only those that substantively affect his commentary. For a complete record, readers should consult the microfilm copies or examine Mather's holograph manuscript at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The enumeration at the left below signifies the page/footnote in the edited volume where the cancellation occurs. The enumeration in the center indicates the chapter of the epistle followed by the editorial enumeration of the manuscript page (recto/verso).

Rom. 1.1r–8v

79 1. The word here is illegible due to damage created by the margin's binding, but is suggested by the context.

81 7. The name here is unclear in the manuscript; it is not a reference to be found in Mather's usual commentary resources, such as Matthew Poole's *Synopsis*, Thomas Pyle's *Paraphrase*, or Daniel Whitby's *Paraphrase*. It may be a reference to one Henry Jessey (1603–1663), an Anglican priest whose Puritan leanings led to his ejection in 1634. Jessey published a number of "Scripture almanackes" in the mid-17th century, as well as several theologically topical sermons; his *Miscellanea sacra, or diverse necessary truths* appeared in 1658. His *Cases of Conscience* (1650) was among the books given to Increase Mather from the estate of Bridget Hoar Usher in 1676, after the loss of much of his library when his house burned. See Tuttle, *Libraries of the Mathers* (26).

83 18. The top edge of the page has been worn off. This phrase has been inferred from the KJV, v. 23.

85 29. Originally written as: "This probably is" the Reason, etc., which has been cancelled.

86 37. The top of this page is worn off; the phrase is supplied from the KJV, v. 28.

87 42. The bottom of this insert has a phrase (inverse to the writing above it) that has been cancelled: “Q. How is that Passage to be understood, *They Dishonoured ...*”

88 50. The words “Image and Essential” Character, etc. have been cancelled.

Rom. 2.9r–14v

89 53. The word “pronounce” replaces “charge,” which is cancelled.

90 58. This word is obscured by wax used to affix an insert (on v. 7) to the page, and is inferred.

92 61. Although Mather gives no editorial indication that this entry should be removed from its initial position (directly following the final entry on Rom. 2.1), it clearly belongs here.

Rom. 3.15r–18v

96 80. “God did” etc. is cancelled.

Rom. 4.19r–22v

102 101. The number has been cancelled and is somewhat illegible; “2269” seems the most likely reading.

Rom. 6.25r–26v

110 117. The source for the final Latin citation in the Answer for Rom. 6.13 has been cancelled, but appears to read “Harat. (or possibly, Harar.)] L. 2. Sec. 1.7.”

Rom. 8.29r–34v

116 137. The adjective “Infidel” Countreymen, etc. has been cancelled.

118 144. The second sentence is frayed at the bottom of the page, and the lettering is quite small, so its reconstruction here is provisional, though also probable.

118 145. Mather has a small, three-line marginal gloss marked here marked by the sign ^, which he has cancelled, making it illegible; it is also covered by a wax-affixed insert.

123 165. This word is illegible; it may be *esum* (from *edo*, to consume or destroy), or possibly a corrupted version of *edo*, as in *edum*, but neither makes much sense here.

Rom. 9.35r–44v

138 232. The number has been cancelled; the first two numbers appear to be “27.”

Rom. 10.45r–46v

143 252. The word “images” has been replaced by “pictures.”

Rom. 11.47r–48v

147 261. Used in Rom. 11.11; Mather has cancelled “Diminishing,” a word used in Rom. 11.12 (KJV).

147 262. Used in Rom. 11.11; Mather has cancelled “Riches,” a word used in Rom. 11.12.

150 276. The third number is partly obscured by the binding thread.

Rom. 13.49r–52v

159 305. The parenthetical “(if it were he)” has been cancelled.

160 313. A citation here in the margin has been crossed out: “V. {Suinger.} *Theatr.* Vol. 2. L. 5. P. 389.” The attributed author’s name is unclear.

Rom. 16.61r–66v

167 329. “Ministry of the” Sermon, etc. has been cancelled.

168 333. The number is frayed on edge of page; it appears to read “2600.”

169 338. Mather cancelled the original answer here which reads: “A. Yes. And among the many significant *Illustrations*, which I have given you of the Sacred Scriptures, you shall permit mee to refresh you with, one *Ingenious Fancy*, which indeed illustrates nothing but the Ingenuity of its Author.” Mather subsequently moved Dr. Fuller’s comments to the end of the entry, to serve as a foil for his commentary.

1 Cor. 1.1r–6v

173 1. The parenthetical words “(said to be Mr. *Lock*)” have been cancelled.

179 22. The ink on the second number has bled somewhat, making it difficult to read.

1 Cor. 2.7r–8v

183 36. The top of the page has frayed the upper portion of the title.

183 39. The “*Power of the Spirit*” enabled the Apostle, etc. has been cancelled.

185 47. The top line of this page has frayed off; the phrase is supplied from the KJV.

186 55. The Question section here has completely frayed off at the top of the right column; it refers to v. 14, which is supplied from the KJV by the editor.

1 Cor. 3.9r–14v

190 72. The number has frayed at the edge of page; it may read “2766.”

190 74. “*Disciples*” replaces “*Faithful*,” which has been cancelled.

191 80. This number has almost completely frayed at edge of page, and its reading is speculative; it may also read “2147.”

191 82. An entry here has been cancelled, including the insertion mark. It reads [13r]: “[ooo] Q. How will Sr. *Norton Knatchbul* carry the Sense of *Saved, yet so as by Fire?* V. 15. A. *He shall be saved, but so as that he pass thro’ the Fire of Persecution with Constancy in the Faith.* Dr. *Whitby* thinks, this accords well enough with the Words of our Saviour; Mat. 24.13. But he quæstions, whether it agrees well with the proverbial Use of the Expression.”

195 93. An alternate phrase has been cancelled: “*Whose Temple yee are?* V. 17”

197 101. The first number has badly frayed at edge of page; it may also read “186.”

1 Cor. 5.17r–22v

210 162. A Question here has been cancelled, and the answer (A.) to it given has been integrated into the preceding section. The question reads: “Q. There seems a considerable Obscurity in that Passage of the Apostle. *I wrote unto you, in an Epistle not to company with Fornicators: And then, hee adds a further Prohibition; With such an one, no not to eat?* V. 11.”

210 164. The number may read 2262.

1 Cor. 6.23r–26v

212 167. The number is obscured by the binding stitching.

213 173. The last letter is obscured by wax.

1 Cor. 7.27r–32v

218 190. The following line has been crossed out at this location: “Q. *Do you know, That the Saints shall judge the World?* How, and when, did they know it? V. 2. A. They knew it, from Dan. 7.18, 27. *The Saints of the Most High shall take the Kingdom – The greatness of the Kingdom under the whole Heaven, shall be given to the People of the Saints of the Most High.*” It is a commentary on the second verse of chapter 6.

220 200. A short phrase here has frayed, and is supplied from the KJV of the verse in question.

221 205. The number has been damaged by the stitching used in binding.

221 206. Mather has cancelled an entry here. He integrated the material from the cancelled entry into the preceding treatment of verse one. The cancellation reads: “Q. What was the Occasion of the Quæstion, sent by the *Corinthians*, to *Paul*, about *Marriage?* V. 1. A. The *Judaic* Lawes had laid *Marriage* upon them, as a Commandment necessary to bee observed. They reckoned it the First Commandment of their *Six Hundred and Thirteen*. And their Canon impressed it so strictly, that they say, *Hee that lives to Such an Age, without Marrying, does transgress a Præcept.* But in this Case the Apostle now saies, *Præceptum no habeo;* hee counted every one at Liberty, as hee could, or could not, *contain.*”

224 212. The second number has been damaged by the binding stitching.

225 217. The third number has been damaged by the binding stitching.

1 Cor. 8.33r–34v

227 233. The last two numbers are obscured by the binding stitching; they may read “75” or “70,” or possibly “25” or “20.”

1 Cor. 9.35r–40v

233 265. Possibly “1944”; the second number is simply unclear.

234 267. This entry was originally written as a separate Question/Answer: “Q. Is there no Passage ... etc.; A. There arose now and then ...” It has instead been incorporated into the preceding entry.

1 Cor. 10.47r–56v

252 374. The word “Place” has been crossed out and replaced by “Text.”

1 Cor. 11.57r–70v

269 442. Mather has crossed out a phrase here between “when” and “I,” which is illegible.

270 441. “Some will urge” replaces “I beseech you,” which has been cancelled.

273 472. Mather omitted the “Q.” mark here, undoubtedly an oversight on his part.

281 518. The Question and Answer format of this entry has been cancelled so that it serves as an extension of the preceding entry.

1 Cor. 12.71r–74v

285 536. Mather has not included an insertion mark for this small insert entry [69r–70v], but since it is a commentary on Ch. 12, v. 3, it must go here in order to precede the following marked insertion on v. 4–6.

1 Cor. 14.79r–80v

291 529. The number has been cancelled; it may read “7403.”

1 Cor. 15.81r–104vv

313 630. Originally, this entry was made as a separate Question and Answer: “Q. But in my Opinion, Dr. *Whitby* has offered us, as good an Interpretation as any of them? A. You shall then have *his* Interpretion. ‘Tis this, etc.”

316 653. The ink here has bled and is not legible.

318 662. The number has faded, though this reading seems likely.

321 628. The number has been cancelled and is difficult to read.

321 680. This word, an insertion by Mather, is unclear.

1 Cor. 16.105r–v

326 691. The number is largely obscured by a wax seal.

2 Cor. 4.9r–10v

342 38. This sign is obscured by ink.

2 Cor. 12.27r–42v

372 137. The parenthetical phrase is inferred. Mather seems to have left this sentence incomplete; it does not appear to have frayed off the bottom of this page or off the top of the next page.

382 188. This is a marginal gloss; [Add] and [And] are Mather’s editorial directions.

392 250. Obscured by wax.

392 251. Obscured by wax.

394 259. The first two numbers are illegible; but it probably reads 4433, since the subsequent entry is numbered 4434.

294 260. A line, at the beginning of this question, has been cancelled: “If you please, we will again call over several Passages of the Chapter, with some additional Strokes of Illustration. Particularly,” we will enquire, etc.

2 Cor. 13.43r–48v

399 281. This passage was originally written as a separate Q & A entry: “Q. A little further Illustration, if you please? V. 5. A. The words may” etc. Mather has integrated them into the previous entry.

Gal. 1.1r–2v

410 8. A word is scratched out after this entry, apparently beginning a new entry. It is illegible, but appears to be “Galatian.”

413 21. A dependent clause which is illegible has been crossed out here.

413 22. A phrase is crossed out here; it appears to be “I was never with them.”

Gal. 3.5r–7v

419 36. This number may have been inadvertently marred, or intentionally cancelled, but in either case, very lightly.

Gal. 4.9r–16v

426 66. The parenthetical “(if it be he)” has been crossed out.

427 75. This number is obscured by an affixed insert.

Gal. 6.21r–24v

438 118. The word in the Greek text here is actually *πηλικοις*; Mather correctly spells it later in the entry.

Eph. 1.5r–14v

454 5. The word “go’s” is obscured by ink.

454 7. A short concluding question, of three to four words, has been cancelled here, making it illegible.

457 12. This phrase is inferred from the context, and from physical indications on the page; the last word or phrase has frayed off at the bottom of the page.

Eph. 3.21r–24v

471 49. The following entry, placed here, has been crossed out: “Q. What is the *Bond of Peace*, in which we are to *keep the unity of the spirit*? V. 3. A. Some Divines, who embrace the *Congregational Church Discipline*, which was the *primitive*, do with much probability maintain, That this *Bond of Peace*, is the *Church Covenant*. Every Church in due *Order*, has a *Covenant*; that *Covenant* is a *Bond*, which ties them together; by this *Bond*, they are obliged unto *Peace* among themselves; and an *Unity of Heart*, is necessary to maintain that *Peace*.” It is re-entered, verbatim, in Mather’s commentary on Eph. 4.3 that follows.

474 54. This section was originally a separate Question & Answer entry; the “Q” and “A” have been cancelled, and the material has been integrated into the preceding entry.

Eph. 4.25r–30v

476 62. The citation is of Eph. 4.11, and therefore this entry belongs before the following entry on v. 13, even though the v. 13 entry precedes it in the manuscript.

Eph. 5.31r–36v

483 86. The word “Jewish” Exhortations, etc. has been cancelled.

483 88. This word has replaced “sacrifices,” which has been cancelled.

489 122. The word “distemperance” has frayed at the bottom of the page but appears to be the correct reading.

Eph. 6.37r–42v

496 164. This word is frayed on edge of page.

Phil. 2.7r–14v

515 10. The word “Exemple” has been replaced with “Battery.”

517 19. “Saviour” replaces the word “Lord.”

518 20. The letter “Q” has been cancelled here so that this entry is integrated into the previous answer.

518 21. The letter “A” has been cancelled for like reasons.

521 42. The edge of the page is frayed, making this word somewhat unclear.

522 46. This number has been crossed out; the reading is probable but still somewhat speculative.

522 47. “Q” has been cancelled here so as to integrate this entry into the preceding answer.

522 48. “A” has been cancelled here for like reasons.

Phil. 4.21r–22v

536 89. The following has been cancelled at the beginning of the page: “Q. On that, *Lett your Moderation be known unto all Men?* V. 5. A.”

536 91. The word “Seneca” replaces “Caesar,” which has been cancelled.

Col. 1.1r–10v

546 19. The phrase originally written as: “You know how to make a good Use of what has been laid before you,” etc.

552 36. The number affixed to this entry has been cancelled; it is also obscured by the wax used to secure an insert to the page, making it illegible.

554 42. The name is missing due to a tear in the page. “Chrysostom” is a possible but speculative reading.

554 43. The page is torn at this point, but the reading seems highly probable.

Col. 2.11r–16v

560 65. “A worthy Person,” one Mr. Pierce, etc. has been crossed out.

Col. 4.19r–20v

569 113. This number has frayed off the edge of the page; it might also read 434, or something else.

569 114. Originally written as follows: “*Walk in Wisdome towards them that are without, redeeming the Time.*”

569 115. Replaces the word “text,” which has been cancelled.

570 119. The number has been cancelled; though difficult to read, it appears to be 4475.

570 120. This entry was originally written in Q & A form. These have been cancelled, making it an extension of the previous entry.

1 Thess. 5.7r–10v

586 61. This sentence has been heavily edited. It was originally written as follows: “I am aware, with what Confidence, it has been by some asserted, That *the Ancient Christians even esteemed Man made up directly of Body, Soul, and Spirit.* But there is” a Learned Author, etc.

588 74. The number is hidden beneath an overlying insert.

2 Thess. 2.5r–12v

607 79. The word is unclear due to fraying at the top of the page: *indignum famulum* (“unprofitable servant”) is a common term of subordination in Latin Christian literature, and seems likely here, given the context.

610 95. Mather cancelled the original phrase, “Mystery of Apostasy,” but the words he has inserted to replace them have been lost due to the fraying of the top of the page. “Mystery of Iniquity” is used in this verse (2 Thess. 2.7) in the KJV, and seems likely to have been the correction.

614 109. This phrase has been cancelled.

1 Tim. 3.5r–10v

632 64. The bottom of the page is worn; “and” is inferred.

633 67. This passage was originally written as a new question: “Q. How, or why, is the *Church* called, *The Pillar and Ground of Truth*? V. 15. A. I don’t know that it is called so. My most hounoured *Baxter*, etc.” Mather has crossed this out, and integrated the passage into the previous answer.

1 Tim. 4.11r–18v

638 75. The conclusion of this phrase is obscured by the curling of the page bottom, which is brittle; it is supplied from the conclusion of Josh. 22.29 in the KJV.

1 Tim. 5.19r–24v

651 136. The word here is made unclear by an ink blotch; the meaning must be something like “hesitate” or “refrain,” or perhaps “shy.” The word “shil” does not appear in the OED.

2 Tim. 4.13r–14v

626 80. There is a short marginal gloss at the end of this question which has been sewn into the binding, and thus is not retrievable.

Titus 3.7r–8v

685 35. “Holy Spirit” has been substituted for “Apostle,” which has been cancelled.

Philemon 1r–4v

690 10. The writing is frayed at the bottom of the page: the word “this” can be partially made out, while the word “letter” is wholly inferred.

Appendix B: Silent Deletions

The enumeration at the left below signifies page/footnote in the edited volume where the cancellation occurs. The enumeration in the center indicates the chapter of the epistle followed by the editorial enumeration of the manuscript page (recto/verso).

Rom. 3.13r–18v

96 77. Mather has used the editorial mark [ooo] to indicate the location here of the following inserted material. Though this insert is in the correct position, Mather has marked it as “[misplaced]” followed by the insertion mark “[ooo],” without any corresponding mark for where it should be placed.

96 78. Mather clearly marked this insert for its correct placement here, but left this parenthetical remark intact, perhaps indicating its original, incorrect position, until he later corrected it with the markings [ooo].

97 86. Mather has indicated the repositioning of this material from 16v to this location with the mark ^^^.

Rom. 12.49r–52v

155 292. Mather has indicated that this material be placed here, using the mark ^^^.

Rom. 16.61r–v

172 350. The back of this leaf [65r–66v] is a blank page.

1 Cor. 1.1r–6v

180 28. Written at the bottom of the page [4v], Mather marked this entry for insertion here with the symbol ++ ++ ++.

180 29. This entry, written vertically in the right margin, is marked for insertion here by the symbol ^^^.

1 Cor. 3.9r–14v

192 86. The following folio pages [11r/12v] are marked for insertion here by Mather using the symbol ++ ++.

196 97. The initial entry from the insert [13r] has been cancelled (see Appendix A.) The rest of this insert is placed here by sequence of verses.

197 102. This entry is marked for insertion here by the symbol ^^^.

1 Cor. 5.17r–22v

208 156. This insert is marked for inclusion here by the indicator [a. a. a.].

1 Cor. 11.53r–68v

263 421. The material from the following two inserts goes in this order: 56v, 55r, 53r, 54v.

265 425. Though Mather does not provide editorial marks, this inserted material belongs here, as it provides additional commentary to the “further clearing” of Ch. 11 offered by the material from inserts [56v/55r].

1 Cor. 12.69r–74v

286 540. Mather indicates at this point on insert [71r] to insert material from [73r], with the directions: See the next Leaf. ++ ++ ++

1 Cor. 15.81r–104v

304 606. On folio page [83r], Mather has marked at this point the insertion of [89r] with the directions: [Here insert the Illustrations, on, v. 28. [o.o.o.]

322 683. Material from insert [99r], marked for inclusion here by Mather with the sign ^^^.

2 Cor. 2.3r–4v

335 13. This entry (Old *Anselm* ...) is written in the left margin, and marked for insertion here with the sign ^^^.

2 Cor. 11.23r–26v

363 91. Mather has indicated the insertion of the material from [25r] here with the direction: “Here insert all the next Leaf.”

2 Cor. 12.27r–42v

383 193. Mather directs the insertion of material here from the following six manuscript leaves, four folio size (37r, 38v, 39r, 40v) and two quarto size (41r, 42v) with the note: “[Here insert the next Sheet. ++ ++ ++]” followed by “And the following Quarter of a Sheet. [a a a]”

394 258. This quarto insert is marked “a. a. a.” by Mather.

Gal. 3.5r–8v

419 37. Mather has directed that this entry, from the bottom right column of [6v], be moved here, with the mark: [ooo].

Gal. 6.21r–24v

439 125. Material from the back a small flap insert [24v], indicated to be inserted here by Mather with the mark ^^^, into the material from insert [22v].

441 131. Material from the remainder of insert [23r], marked for insert here with the sign: [a.a.a.].

Eph. 1.5r–14v

457 13. Mather marks the insertion of several pages of material at this point on folio [6v] with the direction: “See the next leaves [ooo].”

459 16. Mather appears to have inadvertently written the letter “q.” between the words “but” and “the.”

Eph. 3.21r–24v

471 47. Mather directs the insertion of the subsequent material with: “Here insert the foregoing Leaf. ++ ++ ++”

471 48. Mather marks the top of this insert: “++ ++ ++ [To be inserted in the next Leaf.]”

Eph. 4.25r–30v

480 79. Mather initially marked his entry on Eph. 4.28, written in the right column of [26v], for insert here with the mark ^^^. However, he subsequently attached a small insert [30v] with commentary on v. 27 as an intervening entry, without adjusting his editorial directions.

Phil. 3.15r–20v

527 66. Mather has marked four pages of inserts (17r, 18v, 19r, 20v) for entry here with directions: ^^^ [Here insert the next sheet]. However, part of the commentary on insert [20v] must be interwoven with subsequent commentary on [16v], in order to preserve the order of the verses.

Col. 1.1r–10v

554 41. After this entry, Mather has marked a gloss on v. 25, in the lower left column of the page, for insertion here with the direction: “^^^ Insert this Illustration after those on V. 24.”

Col. 2.11r–16v

561 70. Mather has marked the insertion of the subsequent leaf here with the direction: [Here insert the First Quæstion of the Next Leaf.]

563 82. Material from folio 14v continues, as per Mather’s directions, to maintain verse order.

1 Thess. 5.5r–10v

585 60. This insert belongs here, based on content; Mather has marked the insert ++ ++ ++, but did not make a corresponding mark as to where it should be placed.

587 67. This material [9r] comes from the front side of the preceding insert [10v].

2 Thess. 1.1r–4v

591 1. Mather’s commentary on 2 Thessalonians begins with this quarto-sized insert preceding the folio page, which is blank, except for the chapter heading.

2 Thess. 2.5r–12v

600 35. Mather has marked the insertion of the following paragraph here with ^^^.

1 Tim. 2.3r–4v

622 19. This two-line entry on Ch. 2, v. 1 is written vertically in the margin, and is marked for insertion here by the symbol ^^.

625 41. The entry for v. 12 is written vertically in the margin, and is marked for insertion here by the symbol ^^^.

1 Tim. 3.5r–10v

629 51. After this entry, Mather has made a mark for the following insertion: [See back of the former leaf.]

629 53. This material is drawn from the back side of the preceding insert [5r], and has been marked for insertion here: [To be inserted, at V. 2. in the next leaf.]

632 65. This short entry is written vertically in the margin, and is marked for insertion here with the symbol ^^^.

1 Tim. 4.11r–18v

648 117. This insert [17r] is blank, except for the chapter heading.

1 Tim. 5.19r–24v

650 135. This entry is written vertically in the margin; while Mather did not mark the point for its insertion, it belongs here.

2 Tim. 1.1r–6v

663 30. This entry is written vertically in the margin, and while Mather did not mark for its insertion, it belongs here.

2 Tim. 4.13r–14v

676 78. A marginal gloss on v. 18, written at the bottom of the page [14v], is marked for insert here with the symbol ^^^^.

Titus 1.1r–4v

678 1. All four manuscript leaves of Titus are quarto-sized inserts.

Philemon 1r–4v

687 3. Mather follows this entry with directions for an insertion: “[The foregoing Leaf, a.a.a.]”

687 4. The material from [1r] is inserted here as per Mather’s directions: “[To be inserted, at, a.a.a.]”

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