



BIBLIA AMERICANA
Cotton Mather

Volume 10: HEBREWS – REVELATION

Edited, with an Introduction and Annotations, by Jan Stievernann

Cotton Mather, Sr.

BIBLIA AMERICANA

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Volume 10



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Cotton Mather

BIBLIA AMERICANA

America's First Bible Commentary

A Synoptic Commentary on the
Old and New Testaments

Volume 10
HEBREWS – REVELATION

Edited, with an Introduction and Annotations,

by

Jan Stievermann

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To my family

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

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	VII
List of Illustrations	XIII
List of Abbreviations	XV

PART 1: EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

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

PART 1: THE TEXT

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

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

Revelation. Chap. 3.	479
Revelation. Chap. 4.	482
Revelation. Chap. 5.	488
Revelation. Chap. 6.	495
Revelation. Chap. 7.	510
Revelation. Chap. 8.	519
Revelation. Chap. 9.	526
Revelation. Chap. 10.	550
Revelation. Chap. 11.	552
Revelation. Chap. 12.	581
Revelation. Chap. 13.	594
Revelation. Chap. 14.	613
Revelation. Chap. 15.	622
Revelation. Chap. 16.	624
Revelation. Chap. 17.	641
An Appendix.	690
Revelation. Chap. 18.	702
Revelation. Chap. 19.	707
Revelation. Chap. 20.	712
Revelation. Chap. 21.	728
Revelation. Chap. 22.	732
Postscript.	759
Coronis.	767

An Eſſay, for a further COMMENTARY, on the Sacred Scriptures. . . .	797
A Remark, upon the famous Philoſophers, their Eye towards <i>Chriſtianity</i> .	811
Some Remarks, relating to the <i>Inſpiration</i> , and the <i>Obſignation</i> , of the CANON.	813

An Appendix. Containing Some GENERAL STORES, of Illuſtration; and a Furniture which will richly Qualify a Perſon to be a READER of the BIBLE.	818
I. VATES. Or, ſome Remarks upon the SPIRIT of PROPHECY.	818
II. The SPIRIT, and PURPOSE, of the <i>Sacred Scriptures</i>	850
III. Tables	878
IV. <i>Ezra</i> , or, The Things done by <i>Ezra</i> , for the Reſtoring & Preſerving of the SACRED SCRIPTURES.	881
V. <i>Antiqua</i> . or, Our Sacred Scriptures illuſtrated, with ſome Accounts of the <i>Sabians</i> and the <i>Magians</i>	889
VI. <i>Patriarcha</i> , or, The Religion of NOAH, conſidered for the Illuſtration of many Paſſages in the Bible.	901

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

List of Illustrations

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

List of Abbreviations

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

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

PART 1

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Preface

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

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

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

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

to. Even as his body was giving out, Mather was driven forward by his voracious appetite for knowledge and his even greater love for God and His Word. This uncontainable intellectual curiosity and spiritual energy was not always matched by an equally great power to discriminate and critically scrutinize the things he gathered. Mather's wide-ranging interests are reflected in the appended essays and in the encyclopedic and ever-growing nature of the "Biblia Americana"-project as a whole, which he began at the age of thirty in 1693.³ In the "General Introduction" of his *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), Mather first publicly outlined and advertised the ambitious scheme of his "Biblia Americana." He aimed at nothing short of a comprehensive compilation of ancient and contemporary knowledge on the Bible "dispersed in many hundred volumes . . . fetched all together by a labour that would resolve to *conquer all things*" and bring in "all the *improvements* which the later-ages have made in sciences" for "the *illustration* of the holy oracles . . ." Although not for a lack of trying, Mather could never muster the necessary support to get the manuscript published after he first deemed it ready for print in 1706. In subsequent years, he also found himself unable to really finish the project to his full satisfaction, continuously reading more "*scattered* books of learned men" and accumulating more "*treasures of illustration.*"⁴ And thus Mather's great work followed the same cycle of repeated disappointments and indefinite deferral as his speculations on the Parousia. As will be explained below, he first set the date for Christ's return to 1697, then 1716 or maybe 1736, before, in old age, Mather finally contented himself with the conviction that the days until Christ's return "were not likely to extend beyond the present Century" (*BA* 10:963).

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

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

⁴ *Magnalia*, "General Introduction," vol. 1, p. 105.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Index of Biblical Passages

Old Testament

Genesis

1	463	17:2	826
1:2	236	18:5	300
1:26	716	18:15	346
2	909	19:16	441
2:2	246	19:30–37	912
2:3	908	19:30–38	916
3	677	21:8–21	912
3:1	585	22:1–2	823
3:8	823	22:11	822
3:15	677, 910	22:14	884
3:24	249	22:18	916
4:1–5	910	23:1–20	915
4:15	910	24:1–9	913
4:21	947	25:19–34	913
4:23–24	910, 951	25:23	913
4:25–26	910	29:27–28	908
4:26	381–2, 917	30:1–24	914
5:22	370	31:27	946
5:28–29	910	32:10	286
6:7	299	33:19	338–9
7:11	313	36:3	884
7:13	963	36:31	649
8:13–22	825	37	823
9:21–27	911	37:1–10	914
10:5	472	38:8–10	914
10:9	642	41	823
11:2	351	41:43	381
12	284	42:6	480
12:6	884, 919	47:29	913
13:17	550	47:31	285
14:14	885	48	284
14:18	260	48:19–21	918
14:20	257	49	488, 622
16:1–16	912	49:1	622
16:7–13	822	49:29	919
16:10–12	823	50:22–26	284
		50:25	919

<i>Exodus</i>		32	749
2:11–21	919	32:5	381
3:2–4	822	32:32	479
3:14	282, 446	34:1	957
4:16	597	34:33–35	848
4:22	401	39:10	694
5:5	909	40:34–38	825
7:1	597, 826	40:38	234
7:10–12	363		
7:22	363	<i>Leviticus</i>	
9:10	624	1:4	253
12	889	3:2	253
12:22	355	3:8	253
13:21	750	3:13	253
13:21–22	825	4:4	253
14:9	750	4:15	253
14:14	825	4:23–24	269
14:24	825	4:24	253
15:20	947–8	4:29	253
15:22	924	4:33	253
16	476	6:6	895
16:1–36	750	8	269
16:33	477	8:30	518
16:35	884	9:3	269
17:5–6	733	9:3–4	269
17:7	243	9:23–24	234
19	825	10:2	234
19:3–7	730	13:47	441
19:4	591	14:7	269
19:6	447	14:52	269
19:18	296	15:17	441
20	749	16:2	267
20:11	909	16:15	269
22:5–6	355	16:21	253
22:6	355	16:29	267
24:6	269	17:7	538
24:7	268	19:5	311
24:7–8	268	19:28	605
24:16	233	21:9	659
25:1–27:19	698	23:34–43	515
25:8	698	25	920
25:9	698	25:9	947
28:17	694	25:23	401
28:18	694	26:12	472
29:10	253	26:22	775
29:21	518	26:26	500
31:2–4	826		
31:18	957		

Numbers

1:16	510	12:10	246
3:40	479	12:18	300, 435
3:43	479	14:1	401
4:15	397	17:14	272
10:1–7	947	20:16–18	911
10:4	510	21:10–14	707
10:9–10	519	23:4	384
10:36	510	25:19	246
11	324	26:12	435
11:16–18	233	26:22	775
11:25	828	28:42	947
11:27–29	324	29:18	294
12:8	822	31:20–21	678
14:14	825	32:1–43	376, 952
14:17	313	32:6	376
15:37–41	923	32:17	538
16:28	374	32:24	775
21:29	911	32:33	584–5
22:5	933	32:34	495
22:18	374, 933	33:2	436
22:22	822	33:3	472
22:22–28	825	33:5	649
24:2	374	34	884
24:4	825–6	34:6	430
24:13	374		
24:17	916	<i>Joshua</i>	
24:19	639	1:5	299
25:1	917	6:4	678
25:3–5	913	6:23	903
25:4–5	476	7:21	643
28:3	490	12:7	356
31:5	510	12:21–22	632
35:3–5	879	17:11	632
		21:44	246
		22:4	246
		24	885
		24:26	927
		24:32	284

Deuteronomy

1:33	825
2:12	884
3:11	884
4:3	913
4:19	902
4:24	296
5	749
6:4–9	923
7:6	343
8:11	244
8:19	678
11:13–21	923

Judges

1:27	632
5:19	632
6:5	779
6:11–26	823
6:34	828
7	823
7:12	779
11:24	911

11:34	947	19:11	579
13:3	822	19:11–12	824
13:25	828	19:12	823
14–15	826	19:18	510, 579
14:6	828	21	920
21:21	945		
		<i>2 Kings</i>	
<i>Ruth</i>		1:10	579, 685
1:8	352	1:12	579
1:16	912	2:1–18	370
		2:11	579, 827, 961
<i>1 Samuel</i>		3:22	579
1:8	664	4:34–35	579
2:10	551	6:14–17	825
3:4–14	823	6:17	825
9:19	927	7:6	823
10:5	927, 946–7	10:6–7	469
10:10	374	10:19–25	911
18:6	945, 948	12:13	947
18:10	829	18:14	959
19:9–10	829	18:21	285
		19:4	677
<i>2 Samuel</i>		19:31	677
5:23–25	823	21:3	507
6:5	946–7	21:5	507
6:16	829	22:8	922
7:4	597	23:4–5	507
11:14	958	25:10	366
15:27	824		
17:10	488	<i>1 Chronicles</i>	
18:18	481	1:8	946
		2:1–2	513
<i>1 Kings</i>		6:33	948
1:40	945, 947	13:18	948
2:8	914	15	948
4:12	632	15:16	946
7:23–26	622	15:17–19	948
8:9	265, 267	15:20	944, 946, 948
8:15	597	15:21	944
8:24	597	25:1	946
10:5	946	25:6	946
11:7	911	25:5	948
17:1	579	29:18	698
17:21–22	579		
18:4	911	<i>2 Chronicles</i>	
18:13	911	4:2–5	622
18:19	477, 911	5:11–12	948
19:7–8	826	5:13	948

10–13	918	38:31	456
11:15	538	40:31	947
15:1	374	41:1–34	594
16:9	490		
17:7–9	922	<i>Psalms</i>	
20:14	829	1:2	227
24:20	374	2	288, 587
20:28	946	4:1	944
32:6	695	5:1	944
33:2	507	5:11	808
33:5	507	6:1	944
35:22	632	7	944
<i>Ezra</i>		8	463, 944
2:62–63	479	8:5	261
2:65	948	8:14	947
2:69	880	9	948
4:2	567	9:1	944
4:8–7:27	938	9:16	945
<i>Nehemiah</i>		11:11	944
1:3	677	15	313
4:12	664	16	481, 944
8	881, 922	16:6	879
8:1	881	17:14	357
12:27	946	18	288
13:2	384	18:13–14	484
<i>Esther</i>		19:14	945
4:11	731	20	288
5:2	731	21	288
6:11	503	22	942
8:4	731	22:1	945
9:10	958	24	623
<i>Job</i>		25	951
3:19	727	25:14	464
4:12–17	822	33:6	631
19:3	664	34	951
19:23–24	958	34:8	341
21:12	947	37	951
29:7	695	37:5	798
30:31	947	39:7	279
31:35–36	959	40	957
32:19	829	40:6	272–74
33:13	822	43:3	946
33:17	822	45	945
38:1	824	45:7	243
		46:2	523
		47:7	945
		48	623
		50	301, 340

56	945	110:1	491
57:1	945	110:4	259
67:6	754	111	951
65:2	308, 420	112	951
68:3	524	113:4–5	262
68:24	948	115:16	238
68:25	945	119	951
68:26	948	119:105	398
68:34–35	754	122	755
69	945	127:1	441
69:28	479	139	952
69:36	808	141:2	925
72:17	480	145	951
74:8	927	148:7	582
74:9	827	149:3	946
74:14	671	149:5	755
78:55	879	150:3	946
79:12	772	150:5	947
80	944		
81	623	<i>Proverbs</i>	
82	623	3:3	958
83	944	5:22	348
85:11	937	8:1	381
88:8	253	15:33	798
89:27	488	16:7	798
90:16	244	16:14	333
91:15	798	16:17	319
92	623	18:4	591
92:3	945	19:17	798
92:4	946	25–29	885
93	623	26:11	385
94	623	30:27	531
95	909	30:33	339
95:7	909	31:10–31	951
95:8–11	246, 338		
96:1	492	<i>Ecclesiastes</i>	
97	238	2:8	343
97:3	297	3:7	308
98:5	946	5:5	319
102:25	235	7:3	352
104:4	235	11:8	267–8
105	952	25:15	529
105:16–22	952	26:7	529
106:28	913	28:10	319
106:37	538		
107:34	254	<i>Song of Solomon (Canticles)</i>	
108:11	639	1:3	332
109	431	1:5	447

1:12	483	29	819
3:11	707	29:11	824
<i>Isaiah</i>		30:8	958
1:16	418	30:29	947
2:4	937	30:30	521
2:19	507	32:4	757
4:5–6	755	32:19	521
6:1	482, 698–9, 942	33:12	715
7:3	827	33:14–15	715
7:14	920	34:3	626
8:3	827	34:4	506
8:16–17	958	42:7	348
9:5	469	43:2	715
9:6	481	43:7	481
9:7	937	44:6	454
9:14–15	585	45:5–7	893
9:15	531	45:7	728, 893
11	744	48:12	454
11:4	603	49:2	249
11:6–8	937	49:9	348
11:10	488	49:12	563
11:10–11	740	50:5	823
12:3	517	50:17–18	394
13:19	463	51:23	705
13:19–22	706	53:11	253
14	381	54:1	423
14:12–13	572	55:1	517, 733
14:13	560	56:7	925
14:30	488	59:20	714
15	916	60	489
17:5	619	60:14	480
18:1	947	60:18–21	937
19:5	522	60:21	284
19:15	585	61:1	348
20:2–4	827	61:6	447
21:2–4	825	62:2	481
21:9	900	62:11	732–3
22:14	463	63	708
22:21–22	469	63:1	708
22:22	479	63:2	619
24:8	946	65	394, 753, 961
24:21–23	707	65–66	751
24:22	721	65:20	438
24:23	483	65:21	752
26	493	65:25	937
27:13	772	66:8	713, 847
28:2	521	66:16	713

Jeremiah

1	825
1:11–12	532
2:11	234
2:20	507
3:6	507
3:23	507
4:19	829
4:23	506
7:16	421
8:7–9	819
10:11	938
13:1	828
15:16	826
17:1	958
17:16	828
19:10	758, 765
20:9	828
22:24	456
23:5	709
23:16	374
23:26	374
25:26	358–9
27:1–7	827
27:9	462
29:11	958
31:25–26	822
31:31–33	268
31:32	263
36:18	959
36:28–29	959
48:46	911
49	427
49:14–15	823
50:2	900
50:13	706
50:26	706
51:13	641
51:25	541
51:33	619
51:36	522
51:41	358
51:44	522, 900
51:47	900
51:52	900

Lamentations

1–4	951
-----	-----

2:9	824
4:6–7	500
4:21	639

Ezekiel

1	337, 482
1:3	827
1:15–24?	774
1:15–26	698
1:26	483
1:27–28	232
2:6	529
2:9	959
3:1–3	959
3:3	826
3:12	824
3:14	825–6
3:23	826
5:17	775
8:14	825
8:16	894
9:4	510
13:17	374
13:18	328
14:15	775
14:21	775
20:10	447
20:49	827
21:8	355
24:2	253
28:13	694
31:4	522
32:6	626
32:26–27	721
35:2	708
36:25	418
36:35	283
37	573, 823
37:1	827
37:9	579
37:16	958
38:22	711–3
39:8–17	721
43:1–5	772
43:7	482
43:10–11	565
44:7	429

<i>Daniel</i>		12:1	699
1:20	664	12:1-3	618
2	822-3	12:2	743
2:4-7:28	938	12:3	756
2:31-45	748	12:4	495, 958
2:34-35	791	12:6	550
2:37	661	12:7	743, 772
2:39	661	12:9	825, 958
2:44	373, 661, 791	12:12	618, 963
2:45	616, 788		
3	354, 611	<i>Hosea</i>	
3:5	947	1:3	827
3:7	947	2:21	937
3:8-25	354	2:27	937
3:10	947	4:13	507
3:15	947	6:2	569
3:20	715	6:6	301
4:31	824	9:3	401
5:16	462	9:7	934
7	442, 594, 740-1	9:10	913
7:4	529, 680	10:8	507
7:5	680	11:1	287
7:6	680	11:10	551
7:7	741	12:10	827
7:8	790	14:2	301
7:9	698	14:2-3	301
7:9-10	297	14:3	312
7:12	791		
7:13	737, 740	<i>Joel</i>	
7:14	373, 595	1:4	768
7:17	661	2	527
7:23	661	2:1	947
7:24	652	2:8-11	506
7:25	768	2:28	822
8:13-14	789	3:13	619
8:14	783	3:14	711
8:17	826		
8:18	827	<i>Amos</i>	
9:24	600	1:2	484
10:5	550	6:9	664
10:7	825	8:2	532
10:9-10	827	8:14	514
10:13	699		
11:1	699	<i>Obadiah</i>	
11:40	533	1:1	823
11:44	563	18	711-2
11:45	571		
12	563, 963		

<i>Micah</i>		1:21	485
1:13–14	473	3:2	430
4	723	3:3	518
5:2	920	3:9	233
5:8	489	4:1	830
		4:10	490
<i>Nahum</i>		5:1–2	959
2:3–13	641	5:7–11	825
3	641	6:1–8	825
		8:23	664
<i>Habakkuk</i>		11:15	828
2:2	958	12–14	713
3:2	823	12:11	632
3:16	827	14:3	711–2
<i>Haggai</i>		<i>Malachi</i>	
2:6	699	2:7	459
2:23	232	2:15	912
2:24	456	3:10	798
		3:17	343
<i>Zechariah</i>		4	713
1–6	830	4:1	488
1:8	825		

New Testament

<i>Matthew</i>		7:11	800
1–2	823	7:15	801
1:20	799	8:29	380
2:1–11	825	9:2	801
2:11	799	9:16	801
2:15	287	9:37	619
2:23	532	10:17	311
3:4	799	10:19	801
3:7	349	10:28	352
3:11	335	10:30	801
3:16–17	413	10:41	801
3:17	824	11:5	837
4:1	799	11:12	270
4:11	327	11:18–19	801
6:2	947	11:30	802
6:4	800	12:24	802
6:5	925	12:31–32	825
6:6	800	12:36	825
6:24	800	13:3	402, 802
7:1	800	13:6	516

13:15	804	<i>Luke</i>	
13:21	516	1:3	245
13:30	619	1:9–10	925
14:26	802	1:63	959
15:33	802	1:70	597
16:16–19	342	2:36–38	832
16:18	341	4:6	598
16:25	803	4:16–30	942
17:4	803	4:20	926
17:6	824	6:12	927
17:11–12	446	8:41	925
17:27	803	8:49	926
18:3	819	9:54	685
19:17	347	13:14	925
21:13	925	14:13	435
22:7	394	16:9	698
22:14	725	16:12	428
22:29	962	16:16	428
22:32	401	16:23	458–9
23:23	473	17:5–10	397
24	500	18:9–14	925
24:6	323	19:14	764
24:6–7	667	19:46	925
24:24	335	21:23	774
24:29	739	21:24	563, 739
24:30	744	21:27	740
24:31	947	22:38	601
24:32–51	774	22:43	327
25	754, 961	22:53	729
25:6	963	23:38	532
26:26	435	24:27	296
26:64	737	24:44	881
27:19	822		
27:46	942	<i>John</i>	
28:19	413	1:1–18	412
		1:5	372
<i>Mark</i>		1:12	401
1:13	807	1:14	353, 410
1:23	827	1:51	823
5:2	827	2:6	880
5:22	926	3:2	381
5:35	925	3:5	335
6:13	828	3:8	340
11:17	925	3:31–32	296
13:26	740	4:35	619
13:35–37	394	4:38	619
15:34	942	4:52	663
		6:28–59	924

7:35	904	10:17	825
7:38–39	829	10:30	925
10:30	412–3	11:3	440
12:20	904	12:24	832
12:36	398	13:1	832
12:40	804	13:13–42	904
13:34	473	13:15	427, 881, 926
13:35	473	13:16	903
14:2	755	13:27	881
14:6	432	13:41	423
14:16	833	13:42	904
14:21	464	13:45	309
14:23	755	13:46	423
15:12	473	13:47	904
17:19	278	14:14	832
18:11	601	14:22	349
19:20	532	15:4	433
19:30	416	15:20	905
19:34	416, 418	15:22	245
19:35	416	15:29	467, 905
20:22	417	15:31	840
21:8	813	16:13	927
21:23	450	16:14	903
		16:16	927
<i>Acts</i>		17:4	903–4
1:9	741	17:5	309
1:11	741	17:17	903
1:14	832	18:4	904
2:2	823	18:7	433, 903
2:4	832	18:8	926
2:15–17	847	18:13	903
2:17	832	18:17	926
2:41	831	19:18–20	464
3:26	348	19:23	464
4:31	831	19:27	903
6:1	228	20:7	451
6:5	476	20:19	311
7:15–16	919	20:19–21	464
7:20	286	20:29–30	464, 473
7:38	353, 823	21:8–9	468
7:54–60	749	21:9	832
7:55	699	21:25	905
8:23	348	22:2	631
8:39	827	23:5	672
9:4	826	26:11	311
10	903	26:18	730
10:3	925	28:26	767
10:9	925		

Romans

		3:4	576
1:4	572	3:10	730
1:17	364	3:11	254
1:21	616	3:18	320
1:23	616	4:13	809
2:4	396	5:1	472
2:8	309	6:11	484
2:12–16	726	8:4–5	422
2:18	320	10:9	243
2:22	309	10:13	300
2:28–29	473	10:19–20	422
3:4	589	10:20	538, 729
4:13	919	11:1	347
5:5	427	11:5	831–2
5:8	420	11:24	465
6:6	369	11:30	469
6:7	369	12	814
6:10	369	12:7	838
6:12	369	12:12	287
7:17	370	12:28	833
7:23	369	13:1	947
7:24	369	14	817
7:25	369, 371	14:3	840
8:3	369	14:7	946
8:5	353	14:8	947
8:10	369	14:12	831
8:17	401	14:25	480
8:23	369	15:5	832
8:26	829	15:5–8	832
8:29	488	15:7	832
8:37	371	15:25	491
9:5	708	15:26	241
10:5	453	15:27	491
11	517	15:37	370
11:25–26	774	15:46	352
11:26	396, 714	15:47	296
11:32	396	15:52	947
12	814	15:54–55	371
12:1	341	16:2	451
14:10–11	745		
16	467		
16:23–24	433		

1 Corinthians

1:20	320
2:1–2	252
2:14–15	819
3:1–2	252

2 Corinthians

1:3	427
1:8	464
1:20	797
3:6–9	419
3:12–14	848
3:14–18	372
4:7–10	371

4:11	404	<i>Philippians</i>	
4:16	369	2:1	840
4:17	682	2:3	811
5:1	683	2:12–13	440
5:2	369	2:17	503
5:13	829	3:12	240
6:8	613	3:20	371
8:17	840	4:8	365
9:4	279		
11	832	<i>Colossians</i>	
11:4	254	1:11	371
11:17	279	1:16	383
11:20	377	2:11	369
12:2	699, 827	2:18	383
12:2–4	825	2:20	820
12:9	371	3:1	697
13:4	371	3:16	839
<i>Galatians</i>		<i>1 Thessalonians</i>	
2	817	1:1	832
2:12	440	2:6	832
3:16	287	2:7–8	359
3:26	401	2:14–16	465–6
3:28	962	4:4	299
4:13	404	4:13	757
4:25	423	4:16	947
5:17	326	4:17	961
6:16	510	5:4–5	398
		5:11	757
<i>Ephesians</i>		5:21	838
1:15–16	464	5:23	248
1:19	572		
1:21	383	<i>2 Thessalonians</i>	
2:2	378–9, 730	1:7–8	741
2:14	427	2	687, 710
2:17	348	2:1–12	660
2:18	414	2:3	710, 774
2:20	341	2:3–7	667
2:20–22	565	2:3–10	610, 960
4	814	2:8	714, 743
5:1	398	2:8–11	667
5:8	398		
5:11	398	<i>1 Timothy</i>	
5:19	839	1:18	839
5:25–27	613	1:20	472
6:12	378–9, 383, 729	3	832
6:17	681	4:1–3	538
		4:13	840

5:9–10	433	11:16	401
5:23	814	11:34	715
<i>2 Timothy</i>		12:16	309
1:10	241	12:19	947
2:12	238	12:27	699
2:19	495	13:2	433
2:26	348	<i>James</i>	
3	377	1:1	510
3:5	309	1:6	815
3:8	363	1:17	729
4:1	742	5:14	828
4:2	464	5:16	333, 829
4:5	464	5:17	579
4:6	503	<i>1 Peter</i>	
4:13	959	1	397
<i>Titus</i>		1:10–12	831
1	832	1:23	402
1:5	840	2:5	565
1:10–11	377	2:9	365
1:12	839	3:20	963
3:5	484	4:6	370
3:10	472	5:13	423
<i>Hebrews</i>		<i>2 Peter</i>	
1:3	231, 234	1:13–14	683
1:5	235	1:18	824
2:2	830	1:20	462
2:3	412	1:20–21	830
2:5	755	1:21	831
2:14	404	2:5	963
3:14	279	2:9	715
4:3–4	909	2:10	465
4:9	401	2:13–15	465
4:10	338, 962	3	960
5:7	404	3:3	439
8:2	600	3:5	412
8:3	697	3:7	412
9:11	600, 683	3:9	774
9:19	418	3:10–11	751
9:23	600	<i>1 John</i>	
9:23–24	697	1:5	729
9:28	714	2:8	669
10:20	600	2:18	774
10:22	484	2:18–22	610
11:5	370	2:18–24	667
11:13	401		

2:20	335	5:6	830
3:9	340	5:8	946
4:1	831, 838	6–8	775
4:1–5	667	6:8	775
4:4	371	7:4	961
4:9	275	8	776
5:6	268	8:4	925
		8:7	768
<i>2 John</i>		9	779, 782
10	472	10:2	769
		10:9–10	826
<i>Jude</i>		11	783
1:3	363	11:1–14	783, 837
1:14	749	11:3	963
4	378, 465	11:8	784
6:34	288	12:6	783
8	465	13:5	783
8–9	383	13:14–15	792
10	383–4	14:2	946
12	465	15:2	946
14–15	361–2	16	771
23	469	17	786, 792
		19:13	249
<i>Revelation</i>		19:15	249
1:16	249	19:21	249
1:17	826–7	20	960
1:20	825	20:7–10	963
2	926	21	282, 394
2:2	832	21:1	892
2:6	430	21:10	825
2:14	384	21:12	832
2:15	430	21:14	341, 832
2:16	249, 376	22:6	831
3	926		

Apocrypha

<i>Book of Wisdom</i>		28:13	319
7:17	396		
7:25–26	233	<i>1 Maccabees</i>	
18:15–16	249	3:46	928
<i>Ecclesiasticus / Sirach</i>		<i>2 Maccabees</i>	
8:4	319	5:11–14	569
22:12	908	6:18–31	289
28:10	319	8:11	705

<i>4 Maccabees</i>		12:15	520
9:22	290	14:3-7	772
		14:4	772
<i>Tobit</i>			
10:11	705		

General Index

- A New System of the Apocalypse. See also*
Philipot, Jacques 37–8, 166, 524,
535, 581–2, 585–6, 588, 590–2, 598,
602, 604–5, 607–8, 614–5, 636, 642,
644–5, 648, 650
- Aaron 256, 265–7, 297, 515, 557, 566,
597, 784, 826, 926
- Aaron ben Asher 887
- Abdul Rahman Al Ghafiqi 780
- Abel. *See also* Blood 276, 280–1, 294–6,
910
- Abihu 566
- Abimelek 822
- Abraham 134–5, 138, 185, 191, 194,
241–2, 257–60, 298, 300, 315, 438,
464, 747, 756, 821–3, 826, 890,
896–7, 902, 904, 911–6, 919
- Abravanel, Judah (Abrabanel) 312
on Daniel 639
on Exodus 733
on Genesis 716
on Isaiah 708
on Kings 267
- Absalom 481
- Abstinence. *See also* Fasting 365–7,
656
- Abu Ma'shar 560
- Abu Sa'id 917
- Abulfaragius. *See* Bar Hebraeus
- Acts, Book of 59, 91, 122, 465, 473, 475,
815–6, 828, 835, 903
- Adam 35, 57, 132, 134, 136, 183, 238,
241, 258, 275, 281, 295, 409, 437–8,
577, 717, 755–6, 835, 896, 901–2,
910–1, 913–4, 955, 961
The Life of Adam and Eve. See also
Pseudepigrapha 100, 362
Second Adam. *See* Christ
- Adams, Hugh 622
- Adoption 306, 401, 774
- Adoptionism. *See also* Heresy 110–1, 230,
422
- Adrian of Tyre 812
- Adultery 299, 319, 324, 468, 613, 625,
644, 901
- Aelian (Claudius Aelianus) 583, 591,
774
- Aetius Amidenus (Aëtius of Amida) 582,
584
- Aetius, Flavius 545, 658, 664, 778–9
- Africa, African, Africans 195, 304, 468,
498, 500, 521, 525, 542–5, 584, 653,
655, 658, 663–4, 738, 774, 777–8,
787, 814, 842, 846
- Agatharchides of Cnidus 583
- Agrippa II, Herod 96, 304
- Ahab 510, 566, 579, 827, 911
- Ahasuerus 892
- Akiba (Rabbi) 308
- Alard, Lambert (Lampertus Alardus)
250, 298–300
- Alaric I (Alaricus) 520, 523, 544, 667,
777
- Albigensian(s). *See* Cathars
- Albo, Joseph 268, 312
- Alcasar, Ludovicus 736
- Alexander of Jerusalem 842
- Alexander the Great 477, 627, 680, 706,
892, 897
- Alexander the Phrygian 836
- Alexandria 46, 264, 330, 460, 511, 519,
583, 842–3, 927,
Library of 957
- Alleine, William 29, 306
- Allestree, Richard 95, 254
- Allix, Pierre 36, 48, 52–3, 132–4, 136,
149, 783–4, 804, 908–9
- Alphabet of ben Sirach* 320, 329
- Alsted, Johann Heinrich 4–5, 44, 145,
158, 169, 185, 232, 571, 760, 766

- Altar. *See also* Sacrifice 123, 267, 290, 336, 339, 482, 491, 503, 515, 556–7, 563–6, 581, 596, 608, 620–3, 626, 637, 656, 700, 703–4, 717, 825, 879, 889, 891, 893–5, 897–8, 924–5, 927
- Alting, Heinrich 266
- Alting, Jacob 18, 265–6, 738–9
- Ambrose (of Milan) 908
- Amillennialism. *See* Millennium
- Ammersbach, Heinrich 765–6
- Ammia of Philadelphia 835
- Ammianus Marcellinus 530, 543, 596–7, 908
- Ammonites 911, 913
- Ammonius 281
- Amphilochius of Iconium 95, 303
- Amram 915
- Amyrant, Moyses 766
- Analogy. *See* Interpretation; Rhetoric of Faith 63, 716
- Anastasius I (Emperor) 505
- Anastasius I of Antioch 524
- Anastasius Bibliothecarius 655–6, 780
- Andlau, Peter von 686
- Andrewes, Lancelot 307
- Angel(s), Angelical, Angelology 30, 50, 115, 117, 123, 139, 175, 178, 182–84, 229–31, 237, 239, 261, 284, 289, 297–8, 326–7, 334, 337, 382–83, 405, 430–2, 441, 447, 459, 464, 472, 475, 484, 511, 515, 520, 526, 531, 533, 536, 538, 549–50, 563, 595, 600, 615–8, 620–3, 626, 647, 660–3, 668, 676, 678, 680, 693, 699–700, 707, 713, 722, 730, 732, 740–1, 745, 747, 749–50, 753, 756, 771, 775, 792, 796, 807, 833, 842, 848, 926, 959, 961
- Agency of 821–5, 830–1
- Cherubim 232, 248–9, 698–9, 824–5 of Death. *See* Death
- Evil Angels, Fallen Angels. *See also* Demons 30, 236, 238, 241, 361–2, 378–81, 588, 671–2, 722, 729, 893
- Gabriel (Archangel) 537
- of Light and Darkness 139, 893
- Metatron 698
- Michael (Archangel) 361, 383, 430–2, 537, 584, 588, 671–2, 681, 699, 701
- Ministry of 117, 120, 235–6, 238, 847
- Samael (Archangel) 430, 515
- Anglicanism, Anglican 12–3, 20, 23, 25–6, 28–30, 33, 38, 41, 44, 51–4, 57, 64, 72, 80, 92, 105, 107, 110–4, 117, 120–2, 127, 146, 148–50, 155, 193, 228–9, 243, 249, 252, 254–5, 263, 276, 279, 281, 322, 338, 350–1, 368, 373, 380–1, 403, 406, 408, 427, 429, 432, 446, 450, 452, 461, 464, 504, 522, 564, 577, 648, 659, 710, 722, 769, 772, 816, 834, 838, 846, 878, 923, 955
- Animal(s). *See also* Revelation, Imagery in the Book of 51, 376, 384, 386, 389, 440, 482, 484–5, 490, 681, 726, 768, 774, 905, 917, 936, 957
- Dog 385, 747
- Dragon. *See also* Satan 161, 173, 466, 506, 512, 531, 582–90, 591, 595, 597, 601, 631–2, 669–77, 679, 681, 685, 737, 786–7
- Eagle 187, 485, 545, 591, 593, 633, 654, 669, 672–4, 676, 679, 755, 774, 786
- Frog 631, 633, 908
- Goat 268–9, 535, 578, 723, 829, 961
- Lamb. *See also* Christ 339, 490, 517–8, 589, 601, 622, 829, 943
- Lion. *See also* Christ 485, 488–93, 551, 594, 597, 680, 774, 934
- Scorpion 529, 531
- Serpent. *See also* Satan 128, 281, 370, 463, 466, 531, 536, 582, 584–6, 591–2, 672, 674–5, 760, 796
- Sheep 302, 344, 467, 470, 570, 578, 828, 961
- Swine 385, 467
- Anointing 235, 331–3, 400, 579, 600, 828–9
- Ansbertus, Ambrosius (Autpertus) 460
- Anselm of Canterbury 300
- Antediluvian 43, 295, 963
- Antichrist. *See also* Man of Sin; Gog and Magog; Revelation, Imagery in the Book of Battle against. *See* Armageddon

- Corruption of the Church by 143, 160, 175, 432, 485, 550, 563–5, 571–2, 577, 593, 637, 779, 784
- Fall of 38, 41, 49, 52, 102, 126, 144–5, 166–7, 171, 186, 394, 487, 490, 504, 510, 556, 558, 561, 616, 633, 638–9, 692, 718, 741–3, 746, 752–3, 762, 765, 788, 962–3
- Pope/Rome/Catholic Church as the 35, 40, 56, 143, 154, 162, 460–1, 526, 607–9, 617, 628, 646, 654, 667, 677, 689, 736–7, 790
- Reign of 37, 42, 105, 118–9, 122–3, 125–7, 158, 162–73, 179–80, 519, 551, 556–8, 566, 568, 585, 588, 590, 602–3, 605–6, 608–11, 618–20, 624–5, 631, 635, 641, 651–5, 658–60, 687, 700, 710–1, 717, 770, 773–4, 847
- Spirit of 403, 565, 594, 632
- Antioch 66, 264, 536, 592, 840, 940
- Antioch of Pisidia 904
- Antiochus IV Epiphanes 569–70, 881, 924
- Antipas 466–7
- Antiphates 339
- Anton, Paul 805
- Antoninus Florentinus 655, 980
- Antoninus Pius 836, 933
- Aphrodite 377
- Apocalypse, Apocalyptic, Apocalypticism. *See also* Eschatology; Millennialism 6, 8, 10, 36–9, 43, 46, 49, 56, 60–1, 65, 119, 124, 126, 128–9, 142, 144, 146–50, 152, 154, 156–7, 162–3, 167, 169, 195, 362, 393, 437, 446, 449, 461, 463, 511, 531, 540, 552–4, 636, 641, 667, 685, 689, 692, 720, 736–8, 765, 792, 818, 960
- Apocrypha. *See* Bible
- Apollinaris of Laodicea (Apollinarius) 126, 719, 764
- Apollo 282, 507, 532–3
- Temple of. *See* Temple
- Apollonius of Tyana 464–6, 583
- Apologetics 6, 10, 19, 27, 29–30, 32, 52, 61–2, 67, 72, 74, 78, 85, 95, 101, 115, 138–9, 227, 229, 233–4, 240, 249, 281, 373, 414–5, 474, 561, 593, 644–5, 722, 829, 835, 843
- Apostasy, Apostate(s) 41, 94–5, 98, 120–1, 135, 168–9, 174, 253, 277–8, 294, 335, 373, 385, 394, 421, 511–4, 543, 552–3, 557, 566, 570, 587, 590, 610–1, 645, 658, 671–2, 677–8, 680, 713, 749, 821
- Apostolic. *See also* Primitivism 58, 65, 69, 83–6, 88–92, 95–7, 99–101, 104, 107–8, 110, 112–3, 119–22, 145, 152, 158, 178, 194, 279, 305, 315, 317, 358, 368, 377, 427, 445, 479, 510, 553, 564, 616, 655, 670–1, 678, 720, 815–6, 834, 836, 847, 905
- Apostolic Constitutions. See also* Pseudepigrapha 86, 88, 91–2, 112–3, 305, 815–6
- Appian 931
- Apuleius Madaurensis, Lucius 298, 538
- Aquila of Sinope 939, 944–5
- Aquinas, Philipppus (Juda Mordechai) 602
- Aquinas, Thomas 722
- Arab, Arabia, Arabic 22, 66, 137, 160, 257, 263, 295, 308, 328–9, 382, 443, 448, 486, 506, 519, 526–33, 537, 539–42, 546, 548, 552, 560, 584, 703–4, 706, 779–81, 822, 887, 889, 892, 899, 916–7, 939–40, 95, 953
- Arcadius 505–6, 544, 653, 655
- Ares 365
- Arethas of Caesarea 466
- Argonautica* 406
- Arian, Arianism, Arius 10, 20–1, 24, 26–7, 30, 41, 62, 71–3, 75, 87, 91, 105, 111–9, 125, 142, 172, 187, 193, 230, 243, 251, 410, 412–3, 422, 468, 486, 537, 547, 558, 591–2, 596, 673, 676, 767
- Aristophanes 345
- Aristotle 31, 367, 446, 933
- Ark. *See also* Covenant 232, 265–7, 295, 349–50, 382, 430, 599, 698, 771, 829, 901, 908, 932, 946, 948, 958
- Arlotto of Prato 883
- Armageddon 165–6, 177–8, 631–2, 634, 748

- Armilus 43, 602–3, 700–1, 711–2, 923
 Arminian, Arminianism 18, 20–1, 29, 55,
 57, 59, 73, 106–9, 111, 156, 256, 348,
 415, 592, 792
 Arndt, Johann Gottfried 765
 Arnobius 495, 502
 Arnold, Gottfried 121, 758, 845, 847
 Arnold of Brescia 616
 Arrian of Nicomedia 811
 Arrowsmith, John 29, 231, 353, 442,
 497, 596, 817
 Artaxerxes 892
 Artemidorus 583
 Artemon 117, 230
 Asaph 948
 Asceticism 9, 365–6, 519, 552, 656,
 808
 Asclepius 466
 Asia 18, 46, 90, 98, 102, 131, 155, 157,
 159, 234, 264, 304, 335, 397, 449,
 461, 464, 466, 471–2, 475, 479, 481,
 521, 533–4, 554, 630, 738, 777, 814–5,
 833, 929, 934, 956
 Asia Minor 90, 155, 234, 264, 481, 519,
 533–4, 630, 814–5, 929, 934
 Assyrian(s) 532, 533, 680, 709, 918, 940
 Astell, Mary 408
 Astrology, Astronomy. *See also* Celestial
 Bodies; Cosmology 295, 307, 329,
 339, 396, 437, 446, 456, 560, 625,
 729, 738, 789, 792, 806, 890–1, 899,
 955
 Ataulphus (Athaulf) 544
 Athalaric 546
 Athanaric 544
 Athanasius of Alexandria 75, 91, 112, 412,
 755, 815
 Pseudo-Athanasius 755
 Atheism 20, 281, 606, 844
 Athenagoras of Athens 117, 119, 234,
 836
 Athens 777, 819, 904, 955
 Athias, Joseph 884
 Atilius Regulus, Marcus 930
 Atlantic World 129, 143, 156, 185, 561
 Atonement 25, 108, 273–4, 276, 332,
 336, 340, 368–70, 409, 414, 416, 418,
 773
 Attalus, Priscus 523
 Attila 545, 664, 778–9
 Augsburg, Peace of 555
 Augsburg Confession 127, 635
 Augustine 111, 120, 274, 503, 655, 736,
 761, 765, 805, 932
 on James 311
 on 1 John 397
 on Jude 436
 on 1 Peter 339
 on 2 Peter 377, 379, 385
 on Psalms 582
 on Revelation 446, 516, 520, 582–4,
 590, 653, 655, 660, 723, 736
 Augustus (Title) 293, 503–5, 686, 776,
 795
 Augustus, Caesar (Octavian) 583, 604,
 794, 929, 931, 935–6
 Augustus, Romulus (Augustulus) 169,
 523, 545, 595, 642, 658, 779
 Aurelian (Emperor) 501
 Aurelius Cleander, Marcus 499
 Aurelius Victor, Sextus 498
 Austria 549, 553, 555, 638, 788
 Avicenna. *See* Ibn Sina
 Avignon Papacy 628–30, 634
 Aziel 948
 Baal 476–7, 510, 566, 579, 911, 913
 Babylon (Babel), Babylonian. *See also*
 Chaldea; Rome 98, 167, 176, 180, 335,
 358–9, 607, 635, 641, 702, 704–6,
 732, 748, 789, 791, 900, 940
 Exile and Captivity 59, 77, 190, 335,
 394, 449, 510, 514, 557, 568, 574, 659,
 881, 885, 922, 927–8, 938, 962
 Fall of 541, 617–9
 Mystical Babylon 160, 162–3, 335,
 567, 614–6, 618, 621, 628, 642–4,
 680–1, 706
 Tower of 57, 258, 351, 932
 Whore of. *See* Whore(dom)
 Bacchus 604
 Baghdad 533, 706, 781
 Balaam 384, 432, 467, 475–6, 760,
 825–6, 830, 912, 916–7, 933
 Balak 384, 916
 Balsamon, Theodoros 815

- Baptism 94, 194, 253, 367, 410, 415, 418, 566, 592, 608, 693, 695, 730, 808, 841
of Christ. *See* Christ
of the Holy Spirit 831, 838, 840
Infant Baptism 616
Saving Efficacy of 349–50
Baptist(s) 38, 107, 114, 124, 126
Bar Hebraeus 527, 899
Bar Kokhba, Simon (bar Kochba) 154, 497, 667
Barak 288
Barnabas 83, 89, 228, 425, 814, 832
Barnabas, Epistle of 87, 93, 121, 305, 847
Barnabas, Gospel of. *See also* Pseudepigrapha 85
Baronio, Cesare (Caesar Baronius) 40, 443, 608, 625, 667, 718–9
Bartholin, Thomas 416, 478
Bartolucci, Giulio 944
Baruch 959
Basil the Great 462
Basilides 842
Bath Kol 824
Baxter, Richard 28, 34, 38, 150, 156, 161, 189, 430, 689
Bayezid I 630
Bayle, Pierre 35, 645
Beaumont, John 31, 405
Beausobre, Isaac de 46, 475–6
R. Bechai Ben Asher (Bahya ben Asher) 622, 698, 708–9, 923
Beck, Matthias Friedrich 941
Bede the Venerable (Beda Venerabilis) 736
Beelzebub 530, 802
Beg, Tuğrul (Tughril) 534, 548
Bellarmine, Robert
on Hebrews 239
on Revelation 605, 609, 615, 659, 661–2, 666–7, 682, 687
Belshazzar 789
Ben Sira. *See Alphabet of ben Sirach*;
Sirach, Book of
Benaja 949
Bereshith Rabbah. *See* Midrash
on Genesis
- Berthold of Chiemsee 765
Besold, Christoph 48, 806–9
Bethlehem 825, 899, 915, 919–20
Beveridge, William 92, 816
Beverley, Thomas 38, 64, 148–9, 166, 169, 495, 610, 636
Beza, Theodore 18, 68, 70, 905
on Hebrews 237, 261, 276–7, 290
on 1 John 410, 417–8
on 2 Peter 368
Bezalel 826
Bible, Scripture(s), Word of God. *See also* Pseudepigrapha; Index of Biblical Passages
Apocrypha, Apocryphal 22, 51, 83, 85–7, 89–90, 93, 98, 100, 249, 319, 362–3, 396, 772, 814–6, 899
Authority of, Divine Inspiration of 6, 8, 10–1, 23, 27, 55–65, 67–69, 73, 76–78, 82–84, 87–93, 104–5, 112, 127, 129, 132, 143, 228, 272, 360, 427, 437, 467, 592, 716, 735, 797, 813–7, 830, 884–6
Canon (Formation), Canonization, Canonicity 48, 58, 65, 82–95, 101, 108, 121, 127, 228, 303, 305, 314, 360, 362, 437, 442, 445, 473, 547, 735, 751, 764, 772, 814–7, 847, 881–8
Contradictions in 75–6, 79, 84, 97, 107–8, 263, 265, 272–3, 314–5, 817
Interpretation of. *See* Interpretation Proposals for Revised Translations of 231, 241, 243, 245, 251–2, 261, 265, 269, 276–7, 279, 292, 311, 317–8, 321, 326, 333, 336, 346, 350, 366, 372, 374–8, 380–2, 421, 426, 428–9, 446, 456, 458–9, 482, 597, 630, 632, Text (Variants, Corruptions) 59, 65–81, 76–8, 87–8, 112, 251, 273, 290, 397, 410–3, 884, 886–8
Transcriptions/Copying of Manuscripts 71–2, 74, 274, 290, 360–2, 397, 411, 437–8, 696, 708, 811, 885
Verified by Natural Science and Philosophy 60–1, 386–92, 446, 607–10
Verified by Pagan Sources 131, 136, 140–2, 256–258, 293, 298, 306, 343,

- 378, 380, 395, 434–5, 437, 530,
648–9, 728–9, 760–1, 811–2, 843,
929–37
- Bible, Versions or Translations of
Ancient Manuscripts 21, 23, 66–71,
74, 78, 87–8, 91, 96, 272, 308, 351,
368, 397, 410, 423, 452, 707, 815, 831,
882, 887
Biblia Polyglotta 23, 66, 71, 78, 80–1,
155, 279, 311, 316, 319, 365, 376, 410,
426, 480, 584, 603, 699, 769, 938
Codex Alexandrinus 70, 368
Codex Bezae 905
Complutensian Polyglott 69, 351
Douay-Rheims 269
English New Testament 71, 411
Ethiopic 80, 319, 906
French (*Bible de Genève*, 1535) 71, 81,
333, 411, 736
German (*Deutsche Bibel*, 1546) 81, 97,
314, 321, 571
King James Version 51, 68–71, 78,
80–1, 108, 231, 238, 263, 279, 350–1,
356, 411, 425, 444, 448, 456, 480,
538, 576, 705, 707–8, 775, 831, 878,
945
Masoretic Text 76, 78–9, 263, 273–4,
285, 886, 916
Mikraot Gedolot. *See* *Mikraot Gedolot*
Novum Instrumentum omne. *See*
Erasmus of Rotterdam
Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu
Christi. *See* Beza, Theodore
Novum testamentum ex bibliotheca regia.
See Estienne, Robert
Novum Testamentum graecum, cum
lectionibus variantibus MSS. *See* Mill,
John
Septuagint [LXX] 78–9, 81, 263, 266,
272–4, 279, 285, 290, 301, 339, 343,
356, 368, 381, 446, 624, 632, 652,
730, 772, 916, 934, 952, 958
Syriac (Peshitta) 66, 80, 87, 155, 290,
311, 318–9, 365, 426, 584, 769
Textus Receptus 65, 68–70, 76, 264,
351, 376, 410, 448, 707, 729, 831, 884
Vulgate [VUL] 70, 74, 81, 83, 85, 261,
269, 279, 285, 368, 375, 397, 405,
410, 426, 571, 576, 617, 643, 882, 884,
944–7
- Biblia Americana* [BA]
Condition and History of Manuscript
(vol. 10) 214–24,
General Characteristics 3–11, 55–65
Insertions by a Different Hand 215
Sources of 16–54
Stages of Composition 11–6
- Biondo, Flavio (Blondus) 598–9
- Birchensha, John 495
- Bisterfeld, Johannes Heinrich 232
- Bithynia 98, 335, 397, 543
- Blackwall, Anthony 31–2, 262, 427
- Blasphemy 110, 170, 383–4, 595–6,
599–601, 625, 629, 638, 642, 660,
662, 668, 680–3, 709, 790, 901
against the Holy Spirit. *See* Sin
- Blessing(s), Blessedness 8, 79, 151, 176,
178, 183, 190, 246, 259, 272, 285, 306,
324–5, 353, 369, 407, 444, 446–7,
453, 460, 467–8, 471, 493–4, 513,
617–8, 692, 718, 725, 729, 738, 748,
753, 759, 762–4, 798, 905, 908, 913,
916, 918, 927, 933, 953, 961–2
- Blood 268–9, 275–8, 292, 304, 335–6,
338–9, 489–90, 497, 504, 520–3, 534,
540–1, 544–5, 547, 557–8, 566, 579,
589, 619, 621, 625–7, 637–8, 672,
678, 726, 774, 777, 802, 835, 901,
905, 908, 918, 943
of Abel 294–6
of Christ. *See* Christ
of the Covenant 277–8, 302
as Requirement for Salvation 276, 281,
339, 518, 699
of the Saints 644, 646, 669, 677, 681
- Blount, Charles 255
- Blumberg, Christian Gotthelf 646
- Bochart, Samuel 130, 367, 437, 500,
529–30, 582–3, 585, 591, 643
- Body, Bodies
of Christ. *See* Christ
Death of 338, 368–371, 570, 717–8
Resurrection of 179–180, 184, 190,
282, 352, 369–70, 401, 405, 570, 579,
714, 717–8, 726, 746, 755, 820–1,
963

- and Soul 250, 313–4, 338, 352,
369–70, 408, 416, 459, 531, 538, 702,
705, 717, 809
- Boheme, Mauritius (Bohemus) 326
- Bohemia, Bohemian 119, 163, 552–5,
617, 634, 638, 691
- Böhme, Anton Wilhelm 47–8, 804, 847
- Böhme, Jakob 42, 806
- Bonaventure 683
- Book of the Covenant 772, 957
- Book of Life 479, 681, 726, 733, 850
- Book of Zohar. *See* Zohar
- Born Again. *See* New Birth
- Bossuet, Jacques-Bénigne 645–6
- Botany 46, 449, 704
- Boulducus 259
- Bourignon, Antoinette 748
- Boxhorn, Marcus Zuerius 577
- Boyer, Pierre (Peter) 36, 562, 783
- Boyle, Robert 5, 147, 446, 821
- Boyle Lectures 30, 41, 50, 240
- Bradbury, Thomas 429
- Bragge, Robert 577, 720
- Brahma 897
- Bread 275, 300, 461, 498–9, 750, 800,
802, 879, 917, 920
- Breath, Breathing 108, 314, 390, 405,
417, 509, 829, 895
- Brenius, Daniel 766
- Brerewood, Edward 738
- Bridge, Thomas 20, 799
- Bridge, William 19
- Brightman, Thomas 102, 145, 151, 181,
185, 461, 472, 479, 482, 484–5, 548,
568, 606, 641, 736
- Brisson, Barnabé (Barnabas Brissonius)
329
- Britain 542–5, 571, 635, 663, 690–1,
787–8
- Brochmand, Jesper Rasmussen 411
- Broughton, Hugh 259, 736
- Bucer, Martin 735–6
- Bull, George 30, 115, 316–7
- Bullinger, Heinrich 689
- Burchard of Ursperg (Burchard of
Biberach) 666
- Burgundian(s) 523, 544, 663, 690–1,
780, 787
- Burnet, Gilbert 30, 52, 117, 229, 508
- Burnet, Thomas 148, 395
- Burnet, William 45–6, 147–8, 172–3,
578–9, 640, 963
- Burroughs, Jeremiah 19, 39, 472, 485
- Buxtorf, Johannes (the Elder) 76–7, 259,
451, 883, 886, 942
- Buxtorf, Johannes (the Younger) 76–7,
246, 266–7, 299, 308, 321, 332–3,
351–2, 354–5, 455, 481, 516, 578, 602,
641, 733, 826, 828, 883, 886
- Byzantine Empire. *See* Empires
- Bzowski, Abraham (Bzovius) 608
- Cadmus 955
- Caelestius 655
- Caesar(s) 344, 503, 603, 686, 776, 779,
791–5
- Caesar, Julius 935, 957
- Caesarea 228, 249, 534, 536
- Cain 276, 280–1, 432, 438, 642, 910–1,
914
- Cainan 381
- Cajetan, Thomas (Thomas de Vio) 83,
259, 315
- Calamy, Edmund 30, 49–50, 118, 414,
449, 818–9
- Caleb 557, 885
- Caligula 154, 603, 667
- Caliphate, Caliph(s) 642, 780
- Abu Bakr 537
- Ali 537
- Omar 519, 537
- Osman 537
- Calmet, Augustin 53, 943–8, 950–4, 957
- Calvin, John 18, 68, 96, 237, 290,
347–8, 417–8, 454, 577, 884
- Calvinism, Calvinist 19–21, 27, 107, 109,
281, 373, 422, 511, 635
- Cambyses II 892
- Camerarius, Philipp 807
- Cameron, John 241, 459
- Camisards. *See* French Prophets
- Campanella, Tommaso 766
- Canaan, Canaanites. *See also* Millennium
133, 191, 283–6, 338, 401, 557, 613,
682, 750, 884, 909, 911–4, 916, 919
- Canon Law 601, 631–4, 656, 815

- Capitolinus, Iulius 812
 Cappadocia 98, 335, 397, 428, 536, 889
 Cappel, Jacques 140
 Cappel, Louis (Capellus) 55, 76–8, 258,
 273, 324, 886, 952–3
 Captivity. *See* Babylon
 Caracalla 466, 843
 Carpocrates, Carpocratians 384, 435,
 468
 Carpvov, Johann Benedict 339, 474
 Carthage, Carthaginians 234, 257, 435,
 500, 596, 626, 787, 842
 Cartwright, Christopher 28
 on Hebrews 237, 244, 246, 271, 299,
 302
 on James 308–9, 313, 318, 333
 on 1 John 398
 on Revelation 731
 Cartwright, Thomas 736–7
 Cassiodorus 546
 Cassius Dio 497, 583, 587
 Castellio, Sebastian 140, 765, 929, 932
 Cathars, Catharism 165, 552–3, 593,
 615–6, 626, 688, 779, 784
 Albigensian Crusade 552
 Catholicism, Catholic, Catholic Church.
 See also Papacy 13, 33, 36, 40, 48, 51,
 53, 58, 64, 67, 70, 84–6, 98, 105, 123,
 143, 146, 149, 154, 161, 164–6, 171, 181,
 193, 254, 259, 265, 274, 285, 322, 335,
 342, 368, 381, 442, 460, 467, 511,
 540, 546, 553, 559, 561, 565, 569–70,
 575, 593, 595, 602, 604–6, 609,
 617–8, 623, 625, 628, 632, 634–5,
 637–8, 644–5, 648, 653, 665–7,
 683–4, 689, 710, 719, 736, 739, 742,
 769, 772, 785, 806, 817–8, 884, 895,
 897, 943
 Analogy to the Roman Empire 166,
 174, 522, 561, 579, 582, 585, 589, 591,
 594–6, 598–9, 602–4, 611–2, 617, 619,
 621, 625, 632, 634, 642–7, 652, 672,
 674, 686, 689–92, 702
 Corruption and Idolatry of 143, 161,
 540, 547, 552, 565, 599, 613–7, 651,
 668, 677, 683, 704, 784
 Judgment of 125, 442, 539, 547,
 600–1, 629, 637–8
 Latter-day Fall of the Roman Church
 125, 149, 156, 160, 163, 165, 171, 174,
 620, 654, 689, 704, 710, 741, 743,
 746, 789–90, 792, 796, 960
 Unity of 193, 601, 615, 846
 as Whore of Babylon 667, 669–70,
 674–6
 Cave, William 92, 115, 816, 838, 845
 Celestial Bodies. *See also* Astronomy
 138, 307, 396, 446, 505, 806,
 889
 Moon 506–7, 512, 525, 541, 545, 581,
 669, 695, 731, 744, 776, 779, 889–90,
 928
 Star(s) 137, 307, 372–3, 375, 396,
 436, 446, 456, 469, 506–7, 523–6,
 541, 545, 560, 581, 585, 587, 669–71,
 756, 776, 778–9, 825, 890–1, 899,
 916
 Sun 51, 116, 138, 161, 233, 306–7,
 378, 389, 392, 409, 506–7, 516, 525,
 532, 541, 545, 550, 581, 627–9, 633,
 638, 669, 695, 730–2, 746, 775, 779,
 890–1, 894, 956
 Ceremony, Ceremonies 85, 124, 130,
 134–5, 139, 143, 253, 295, 300, 336,
 418, 463, 515, 537, 644, 669, 906,
 911, 943
 Cerinthus, Cerinthians 464, 473, 765
 Cessationism 120–1, 829, 834, 836, 838,
 843, 846–7
 Cevennes 36, 49, 783, 819
 Chaldea, Chaldeans. *See also* Babylon 52,
 77, 135, 137–8, 140, 358, 381, 506,
 642, 706, 768, 789, 828, 889–90, 911,
 938–42, 955, 962
 Chalkokondyles, Laonikos 535, 595
 Chandler, Edward 53, 139–41, 934–7
 Chanina ben Dosa 643
 Charity. *See* Virtues
 Charlemagne 497
 Charles I of England 23
 Charles II of England 489, 575
 Charles V (Holy Roman Emperor) 555,
 631
 Charles Emmanuel II (Duke of Savoy)
 559
 Charles Martel 667, 780

- Charm(s). *See* Magic
- Chemosh 911
- Children, Childhood 36, 101, 109, 134, 280, 286, 293, 349, 384, 399, 423, 439, 442, 469, 477–9, 483, 499, 512–3, 516, 527, 551, 603, 669, 673, 677, 700, 717, 749–50, 770, 772, 786, 800, 819–20, 822, 826, 839, 841, 847, 902, 910–2, 914, 916–7, 919–20, 935, 948
of God 107, 121, 238, 370, 401, 600, 620, 692–3, 753, 821, 844, 932
- Chiliasm. *See* Millennialism
- China, Chinese 142, 443, 529
- Christ, Jesus, Lord, Messiah, Redeemer, Savior. *See also* Atonement; Judgment; Salvation; Second Coming; Trinity
as Advocate 399, 420
as Alpha and Omega 448–9
Ascension of 50, 158, 234, 348, 485–6, 560, 569, 574, 639, 697, 762, 773, 786, 833, 843, 931
Baptism of 118, 409, 413–5, 418
Birth of 43, 116, 128–9, 133, 141–2, 586, 639, 711, 716, 736, 760, 823, 899, 914–5, 917, 919–20, 930, 932–3, 935–6
Blood of 268, 277, 294–6, 335–6, 338–9, 370, 414, 447, 484, 518, 589, 672
Body of 151, 275, 369–70, 416, 432, 570, 683, 700
as Bridegroom 106, 599, 692, 789
Brothers of 240, 488
Burial of 235, 414
Crucifixion of, Death of 239, 251–2, 260, 268, 275, 280–1, 295, 368–71, 376, 404, 409, 414, 416–8, 456, 492, 532, 569, 575, 614, 704, 709, 736, 739, 807, 809, 812, 939, 942
Divinity of 26, 30, 75, 112, 115–8, 136, 138, 229–30, 231, 243, 341, 412–4, 419–20, 422, 449, 465, 533, 593, 683, 707, 762, 817, 842
Dominion of 126, 151, 175, 238, 323, 406
Genealogy of 439, 912, 914
Generation of 25, 235, 340
as High-Priest, Priesthood of 107, 247, 250, 252, 256, 258–9, 261–2, 271, 274–5, 307, 418, 432, 455, 477, 490, 599, 700, 731
Human Nature of, Incarnation of 101, 112, 115–6, 118, 136, 177, 243, 259, 275, 309, 403–4, 521, 706, 708, 892
Innocence of, Sinlessness of 250, 271, 409, 415, 418, 620
Intercession of 261–2, 700
as Judge. *See also* Judgment 189, 379, 436, 493, 516, 722–3, 726, 742, 744, 754–5, 762
Kingdom of, Reign of. *See also* Millennium 33, 65, 127–8, 139, 142, 144–6, 158–60, 162, 167, 170, 174–5, 178, 190, 192, 289, 297, 338, 439, 474, 485–7, 489, 493, 519, 522, 532, 551, 572, 577, 586–7, 589, 594, 613–4, 720, 734, 741–2, 746, 757, 760, 762, 764–5, 771, 783, 960–2
Kingly Office of 432, 490
as Lamb 175, 188, 338–9, 483, 489–94, 508, 517–8, 567, 589, 601, 613, 622, 672, 679, 684–5, 687–8, 693, 695, 707, 710, 730, 754, 779
as Lion 488–93, 551,
as Logos 112, 230, 233, 247–8, 412
as Mediator 138, 490, 890
Miracles of 341, 372, 409, 414, 439, 709, 802, 811
Obedience of 108, 112, 252, 273, 314–5
Prophetic Office of 432
Resurrection of 86, 235, 275, 337, 341, 350, 372, 414, 453–4, 470, 713, 762, 832
Sacrifice of. *See also* Sacrifice 78, 107, 248, 253–4, 259, 261, 270, 273–7, 295, 300, 414, 418, 817
as Second Adam 239, 577
Second Coming of. *See* Second Coming
as Servant 79, 272, 344
as Son of David 488
as Son of God 115–8, 230, 234–5, 238, 247, 250, 353, 277, 283, 296,

- 309, 402, 407, 413–4, 418–20, 422, 454, 488, 702, 761, 836, 932–3
 as Son of Man 238, 463, 586, 620, 737, 739–43, 801
 Spirit of 236, 288, 325, 336, 349, 587
 Suffering of 239, 251, 315, 341, 409, 414, 418, 456, 470, 489, 575, 586, 639, 773, 800
 as Sun of Righteousness 51, 581, 669
 as Surety 108, 261, 314
 Temptation of 243, 326–7, 799, 807–8
 Transfiguration of 118, 372–3, 413, 753, 824
 Wounds of 344, 416–7, 608
 Chrysippus of Soli 532
 Chrysostom, John 8, 295–6, 418, 436, 445, 460, 516, 655, 832, 943
 Church. *See also* People of God; Schism(s)
 as Bride of Christ 106, 692, 788–9
 Clergy. *See* Clergy
 Corruption of. *See* Antichrist
 Eastern church. *See* Eastern Orthodoxy
 Elders 19, 126, 233, 331–2, 482–4, 491–2, 719, 828, 840, 923, 925–6
 of England. *See* Anglicanism
 False Teachers in. *See* False Teachers
 Happy State of. *See* Millennium
 Idolatry of 120–1, 168–9, 511, 552, 554, 556, 573, 587, 590, 615, 617, 658, 677, 686
 of Jerusalem. *See* Jerusalem; Christian Church of
 Jewish Church. *See* Jews
 Latin Church. *See* Catholicism
 Primitive Church, Early Church. *See also* Apostolic; Primitivism 3, 8–10, 41, 43, 51, 62, 64, 82, 85, 89, 95–6, 104–29, 136, 143, 151, 154–5, 159–61, 165, 194, 360, 445, 451, 475, 556, 590, 658–9, 718, 730, 764, 774, 783–4, 833, 835, 838, 845, 926
 Relation to the State 601, 686
 of Rome, Roman Church. *See* Catholicism
 True Church 42, 123, 145, 161, 168, 188, 514, 540, 563, 565, 567, 581, 608, 613–14, 642, 809
 Universal Church 106, 159, 485
 Church Fathers 13, 21–2, 31, 75, 83, 85, 100–1, 105, 111, 115–6, 119–20, 124, 126–7, 140, 233, 241, 264, 305, 322, 360, 378–9, 383, 385, 413, 418, 430, 445, 458, 516, 609, 719, 739, 758, 764, 834, 908, 929, 941
 Chytraeus, David (Kochhaffe) 735–6
 Cicero, Marcus Tullius 304–5, 761, 813, 900, 932–3, 934–5
 Cinnamus, Johannes 527
 Circumcision 94, 193, 229, 309, 335, 349, 369, 424, 426, 440, 474, 902–3, 905, 913, 918
 Clarendon Code 574–5
 Clarke, Samuel 21, 26, 72–3, 85, 111, 113, 337
 Claude, Jean 28, 325
 Claudian (Claudius Claudianus) 520, 595, 670
 Claudius 84, 768
 Cleander, Marcus Aurelius 499
 Cleansing, Washing. *See also* Purification 253, 268–9, 277, 327, 349, 414, 418, 435, 445, 447, 458, 482, 484, 518, 667, 762, 783, 789, 796, 837, 930
 Clement of Alexandria (Clemens Alexandrinus) 91–2, 127, 264, 290, 343, 345, 377, 384, 435, 445, 453, 457, 476, 520, 762–3, 816, 932
 Clement of Rome (Clemens Romanus, Saint Clement I) 83, 85–6, 91, 121, 228, 305–6, 816, 834, 847
 Clement V 632–4
 Clement VII 628–9
 Clergy (pastors, ministers). *See also* False Teachers 294, 300, 309, 316–7, 333, 335, 356, 400, 421, 425–6, 456, 459, 503, 508–9, 524, 531, 560, 565–6, 570, 577, 588, 600, 603, 605, 613, 615–6, 631–2, 643, 655, 671–2, 676–9, 685, 687, 693, 699, 784, 814, 816, 832–5, 838–40, 843, 897–8, 922–3, 925–6
 Cloppenburg, Johann 259
 Cloud(s) 233–4, 337, 378, 387, 436, 517, 555, 560, 579, 638, 675–6, 749–50, 754–5, 796, 824

- of the Second Coming 174, 449–50,
620, 737, 739–42, 960
of Witnesses 120, 292
- Cocceius, Johannes 18, 102, 145, 266,
461, 463
- Colbatch, John 648
- Columella, Lucius Junius Moderatus 385
- Comenius, John Amos (Jan Amos
Komenský) 4–5, 43–4, 127–8, 553,
758, 760–6
- Commandments. *See also* Law; Sin 119,
133–5, 244, 249, 261, 269, 305, 312,
347, 363, 409, 473, 492, 678, 647,
677–8, 749, 810, 901–3, 909, 957,
960
- Commodus 499
- Conflagration. *See also* Eschatology;
Rapture; Second Coming 7, 44,
61, 99, 126, 144, 153–4, 156, 173–5,
177–83, 192, 194, 338, 379, 382, 386,
392–3, 395–6, 438, 450, 520, 620–1,
640, 712–6, 718, 724, 730, 748, 751–5,
762, 771, 773, 775, 809, 912, 931,
960–1, 963
Global Reach of 179, 194, 753–4
Preservation of the Saints at the 179,
190, 712, 714–5
- Congregationalism 19, 27, 35, 39, 44,
114, 122–4, 165, 261, 564, 573, 598
- Conscience 126, 315, 345, 350, 354, 403,
453, 473, 512, 519, 566, 570, 572, 665,
705, 726
Freedom of 41, 125, 429, 547–8,
575–7, 637
- Constans, Flavius Julius 542–4
- Constantine (Pope) 666
- Constantine I (Constantine the Great)
39, 125, 127, 155–6, 475, 503–5, 508,
520, 503–5, 508, 520, 522, 542–3,
547, 568, 585–6, 588, 590, 593, 595,
643, 650–1, 653, 662, 671–2, 709,
736–7, 764, 776, 786, 795, 834, 838,
845, 929, 932–3
Conversion of 161, 504, 588, 590,
650, 736–7
Donation of 590, 643
- Constantine II (Constantinus) 505,
542–4
- Constantinople 46, 377, 466–7, 511–2,
521–2, 526, 528, 592, 595, 606, 655,
662, 666, 781, 787, 795, 815
Fall of 160, 519, 534–6, 548, 555, 630,
639, 781
- Constantius Chlorus 503
- Constantius II (Flavius Julius) 505,
542–3, 596
- Conversion, Converts 109, 122, 134,
229, 331, 334, 348, 426, 476, 500,
560, 614, 669–70, 692, 717, 725, 814,
824, 838, 840, 842, 898, 902–6, 939
of Constantine. *See* Constantine I
of the Jews. *See* Jews
- Corinth, Corinthians 101, 370, 422,
425–6, 433, 520, 817, 832, 840
- Cornelius (the Centurion) 903, 905
- Corpus Juris Canonici*. *See* Canon Law
- Cosmology. *See also* Astronomy 138, 728,
748, 891, 893, 896
- Cotelier, Jean-Baptiste (Johannes Baptista
Cotelierus) 377
- Coton, Pierre 747
- Cotton, John 33, 143, 145, 149, 151, 337,
399, 598, 717
- Council(s) 85, 87, 89–92, 119, 125, 453,
524, 547, 592, 655, 657, 719, 814–7,
846
of Antioch 92, 591–2, 816
of Ariminum 591–2
of Basel 552–3, 634
of Carthage 435
of Chalcedon 170, 665
of Constance 553, 619–20, 628–9,
634
of Constantinople 592
of Ephesus 275
of Florence 634
of Jerusalem 903, 905–6
of Laodicea 82, 90–2, 435, 815–6
of the Lateran I 612
of the Lateran III 688
of the Lateran V 634
of Nicaea I. 75, 91, 112, 116, 120, 127,
233, 412, 665, 709, 764, 816
of Nicaea II 611, 614
of Pisa 634
of Rome 127, 764

- of Seleucia 591–2
 of Sirmium 591–2
 of Trent 239, 592, 609, 614
 of Trullo 435
 of Tyre 591–2
 Covenant 18–9, 109, 134, 190–1, 261,
 263, 265–6, 336, 401, 588, 678, 693,
 721–2, 825, 901, 913, 915, 957
 Blood of the 277–8, 295, 302, 336,
 418
 New and Old Covenant 190–1, 264,
 278, 295, 302, 370, 418, 453, 721–2,
 816
 Crabbe, Pierre 655
 Crassus, Marcus Licinius 257
 Crates of Mallus 378
 Creation 60–1, 79, 113, 129, 132–3, 179,
 191, 236, 246, 272, 406, 453, 463,
 492, 623, 908–9
 Creed(s) 72, 107, 110–4, 293, 417, 511,
 593, 609, 844
 Crell, Johannes 24–5, 110, 232, 235, 251
 Cressener, Drue 33, 38–9, 125, 149, 160,
 166, 169, 504, 539–49, 577, 636–9,
 744–5, 770, 776, 786, 791
 Crete 451, 511, 781, 840
 Critics. *See* Interpretation
 Croesus 479
 Cromwell, Oliver 19, 29, 39, 44, 227,
 347, 573
 Crops 254, 313, 319, 355, 370, 498–500,
 619, 718, 937
 Cross. *See* Christ
 Cross, Walter 19, 78, 249
 Crull, Jodocus 782, 790
 Crusades 166, 529, 552, 561, 604, 615,
 617, 626, 630, 633–4, 781
 Culverwell, Nathaniel 70, 367–8
 Cumberland, Richard 51–2, 878
 Cunaeus, Petrus (Peter van der Kun) 258
 Curse 183, 254, 320, 492, 514, 566, 629,
 632, 668, 696, 728, 754, 835, 913,
 916, 957
 of Noah 911
 Cyprian the Carthage (Thascius Caecilius
 Cyprianus) 75, 410, 412, 445, 495,
 502, 820, 844, 906
 Cyprus 259, 497
 Cyriacus II of Constantinople 526
 Cyril of Alexandria (Cyrillus Alexan-
 drinus) 275, 418
 Cyril of Jerusalem 91, 445, 730, 815
 Cyrus (the Great) 335, 568, 576, 749,
 789, 892
 Dacia 521
 Dacier, André 32, 381
 Dacier, Anne Le Fèvre 381
 Damnation 194, 353, 370, 723, 748
 Dan, Tribe of 188, 513, 514, 885
 Daniel (Book of) 45, 168, 373, 639, 652,
 720, 740, 748, 789, 938–42
 Daniel (Prophet) 8, 139, 449, 454, 522,
 535, 571, 574, 585, 594, 642, 652,
 698, 701, 702, 713, 720, 737, 741, 756,
 760, 768, 773, 783, 789, 791, 823,
 825, 826, 830, 881, 892, 925, 958, 963
 Visions of 8, 128, 141, 154, 156, 172,
 176, 297, 373, 449, 522, 535, 571, 574,
 585, 594, 642, 652, 708–9, 713, 737,
 741, 748, 760, 773, 783, 789, 791, 823,
 825, 826, 830, 933, 939, 958
 Darius I (Darius the Great) 138, 880,
 892, 895, 898
 Daughter(s). *See* Children
 Davenport, John 44, 181, 573, 641, 758
 David (King) 191, 235, 243, 246, 272–3,
 288, 338, 469, 483, 488, 492, 613,
 698, 750, 757, 764, 808, 823, 824,
 829, 909, 914, 918, 925, 943, 944–5,
 948, 953, 958
 as Type of Christ 243, 246, 272–3,
 469, 479–80, 488, 757
 Days
 Day of Atonement 274, 332, 336
 Day of Judgment, Day of God, Day of
 the Lord. *See* Judgment
 Day of Pentecost 454, 823, 830–1, 847
 The Lords Day. *See* Sabbath
 De Dieu, Ludovicus 469, 906
 De Luzancy, Hippolyte du Chastelet 322
 Death, Dying 160, 163, 165, 270, 286–7,
 289, 415, 420–1, 438, 500–1, 512, 541,
 547, 558–9, 561, 647, 671–3, 681,
 784–6, 809, 895, 931
 Angel(s) of. *See also* Satan 515, 730

- of the Body. *See* Body
of Jesus. *See* Christ
of Moses 59, 884–5
Overcoming of 175, 190, 192, 241,
338, 368–71, 456, 459, 491, 693,
717–8, 752, 756, 961–2
as a Result of Sin 175, 183, 193,
239–41, 368, 371
Deborah (prophetess) 830
Decius 249, 843
Deism, Deist(s) 30, 52–3, 61, 67, 85,
130–1, 134, 142, 193, 255, 410, 828
Demon(s). *See also* Angel(s) 30, 51, 177,
183, 261, 315, 369, 378–80, 430, 456,
466–7, 507, 537–8, 589–90, 631, 684,
729–30, 748, 763, 802, 806, 809, 837,
841, 848, 896, 933
Demosthenes 813
Denmark 619, 635, 691, 788
D'Espagne, Jean 46, 518
Devil. *See* Satan
Diana (goddess) 464, 899
Dickinson, Edmund 130, 901
Dieterich, Johann Conrad 686
Diocletian 443, 475, 496, 503–4,
507–8, 570, 595, 604, 795
Diodorus Siculus 583, 955
Diogenes (the Cynic) 811
Diogenes Laertius 378
Dionysius of Alexandria (Dionysius the
Great) 8, 445, 460, 734–5, 842–3
Dionysius the Carthusian (Denis the
Carthusian) 585
Dionysius Exiguus 443
Dionysius of Halicarnassus 930, 933
Diotrephes 425–6
Diphilus 457
Discipleship, Disciples 286, 292, 337,
341, 345–7, 372, 399, 403, 407, 414,
417–8, 435, 557, 574, 602, 656, 762,
802, 823, 831–2, 835–6, 893
Dispensations, Dispensationalism 102,
178, 183, 243, 394, 450, 461, 467, 489,
640, 697–8, 722, 798, 802
Dissent, Dissenters 18–20, 29, 35, 39, 44,
53–4, 65, 72, 86–7, 105, 107, 113–4,
121–2, 125, 146, 148–50, 156, 193, 282,
437, 544, 547, 577, 923
Dod, John 336–7
Dodwell, Henry 820, 837–44
Domitian 92, 102, 157, 400, 449, 464,
689, 746, 769, 774, 792
Doubt(s) 93, 142, 157, 163, 173, 305–6,
360, 420, 802, 837–8
Doujat, Jean (Doujatius) 794
Dragon(s). *See* Animals, Satan
Dream(s) 50, 59, 88, 429–30, 462, 466,
475, 513, 560, 611, 822–3, 843, 914,
918
Druids (Gallic) 395, 709
Drusius, Johannes (Jan van den
Driessche) 266, 316, 343, 378–9, 398,
645
Du Fresne, Charles 527
Du Perron, Jacques Davy 644
Du Pin, Louis Ellies 86, 274
Dualism. *See also* Zoroastrianism 138–9,
408, 728, 890, 893
Dunton, John 514
Ear(s) 78–9, 272–4, 420, 429, 455, 464,
683–4, 823, 892
Earinus 466
Earthquakes 153, 164, 390–2, 469,
470–1, 479, 499, 504, 520, 555, 558,
560, 562, 569, 571–2, 576–7, 579,
634–5, 776, 796, 930
Eastern Orthodoxy 46, 296, 377, 510–2,
533, 536, 555, 592, 631
Ebion, Ebionites 85, 93, 422, 464
Echard, Laurence 657
Eden (Garden of) 129, 132–3, 136, 142,
283, 585
Edict
of Fontainebleau 36, 52
of Nantes 36, 163, 325, 508, 559–61,
568, 579, 908
of Milan 503–6
of Speyer 555
of Worms 555
Edom, Edomites 506, 603, 611, 700,
708–9, 903, 913
Edward IV 765
Edwards, John 20–1, 71, 73, 107, 110,
139, 281, 309–10, 348, 382, 415–20
Edwards, Jonathan 62, 82, 130, 149

- Egypt, Egyptian 131, 135, 142, 233, 257, 286–7, 342, 358, 363, 376, 381, 447, 480, 497, 503, 507, 511, 519, 527, 534, 539–40, 542, 553–4, 557, 566, 573, 577, 617, 620, 622, 624, 636–7, 670–1, 706, 734, 747, 763, 770, 779, 789, 799, 827, 879, 890, 908, 914–7, 919, 929, 938, 955, 957, 959
- Eldad 324–5
- Elder(s). *See* Church
- Eleazar 289–90
- Elect Lady 101, 423
- Election, Elect 69–70, 108, 133, 189–90, 192, 194, 314, 242, 335, 338, 367–8, 371, 385, 513, 618, 725, 727, 736, 740, 809, 916, 919
- Eliakim 469, 479
- Eliezer (Rabbi) 244, 939
- Elihu 829
- Elijah 288, 370, 430, 448, 515–6, 557, 566, 579, 590, 685, 701, 713, 715, 784, 823–6, 830, 961
- Elisha 289, 439, 557, 566, 579, 784, 825, 839
- Elizabeth I 145, 165, 637
- Elmacin, George (Georgius Elmacinus, Giris Al-Makin, Ibn-Amid) 382
- Emes, Thomas 50, 837
- Empire(s)
- Achaemenid 892–3, 898, 900
 - of Antichrist. *See* Antichrist
 - Babylonian. *See* Babylon
 - Byzantine, Eastern Empire 160, 166–7, 180, 228, 255, 486, 503, 505, 519, 528, 534–6, 546, 548, 555, 591, 606, 611, 627–8, 630–1, 639, 642, 653, 663–6, 650, 653, 665, 673, 680, 691, 730–1, 741, 779, 781–2, 786–7, 790–1, 794
 - German (Holy Roman) 555, 559, 571, 579, 594, 619, 629, 638, 686, 689–90, 788, 791–2
 - Habsburg 549, 559
 - Mughal 443, 529
 - Ottoman 156, 158, 160, 164, 166, 180, 511, 519, 533–7, 548–9, 630, 653, 781–2
 - Papal. *See* Catholicism, Papacy
 - Parthian 100, 397, 706, 935
 - Persian 167, 180, 431–3, 443, 529, 533, 680, 709, 791, 891–2
 - Roman. *See* Rome
 - Seljuk 519, 533–4, 548
- Enemies. *See* Judgment
- England. *See also* Anglicanism 410, 489, 568, 574–7, 579, 594, 617, 619, 627, 637, 691, 788, 899
- Enlightenment 5–7, 55, 59–62, 82, 107, 130–1, 144, 150, 152
- Enoch. *See also* Pseudepigrapha 362, 370, 381, 430, 437–9, 756, 913
- Prophecies of 100, 361–2, 436–7, 749
- Rapture of 370, 430, 756
- Enos 381–2, 917
- Enthusiasm, Ecstatic Practices. *See also* French Prophets; Montanism; Supernatural Experiences 6, 9, 36, 49–50, 65, 120–1, 146, 150, 154, 364, 818–9, 825–6, 829, 837, 839, 846, 946
- Epaminondas 293
- Ephesus, Ephesian(s) 100–2, 275, 396, 403, 425, 430, 449, 452, 464–6, 471–4, 832, 899
- Ephraim, Tribe of 188, 513–4, 700, 918
- Epictetus 811
- Epicurus, Epicurean(s), Epicureanism 395, 809, 811, 844–5
- Epimenides 839
- Epiphanes (Gnostic) 384
- Epiphanius of Salamis 259, 383–4, 435, 587, 768, 833, 836, 907, 919, 927, 941
- Episcopius, Simon 348, 415
- Erasmus of Rotterdam 65–6, 68, 70–1, 73, 83–4, 93, 228, 290, 315–6, 410–1, 437, 685, 707–8, 884
- Ertuğrul 534
- Esau 294, 611, 711, 913–6
- Eschatology. *See* Conflagration; Eternal Life; Heaven; Interpretation (Preterist); Jews; Judgment; Millennium; New Heaven and New Earth; Resurrection of Cotton Mather 4, 8, 10, 14–5, 28–9, 33–9, 42–5, 50, 54, 60, 64–5, 102, 104–6, 113, 122–3, 126–8, 133, 143–57, 162–3, 166–95, 282–3, 960–3
- Essenes 458

- van Est, Willem Hessels (Estius) 374, 426
- Estienne, Robert (Étienne; Robertus Stephanus) 66–7, 71, 73–4, 351, 410–1, 884
- Eternal Life. *See also* Heaven; New Heaven and New Earth; Resurrection 178, 184, 239, 246, 300, 306, 370, 467, 627, 903
- Ethiopia, Ethiopian(s) 66, 257, 362, 501, 527, 529, 583
- Eucharist 336, 415, 418, 435, 553, 592, 683, 839–40
- Euclid 328–9
- Eugene of Savoy 782
- Eugenius 520
- Euphrates 100, 403, 431, 533–4, 536, 540, 548, 630–1, 638, 641, 706, 775–6, 781
- Europe 6, 64, 71, 105–6, 130, 143, 167, 172, 180–2, 304, 444, 511, 521, 542, 549–50, 560, 562–3, 571–5, 577, 579, 594, 602–3, 619, 626–9, 635, 638, 648, 652–3, 563, 704, 744, 776–8, 781–2, 788
- Eusebius of Caesarea (Eusebius Pamphili) 51, 95–8, 127, 762, 769, 786, 793, 795, 833–6, 841–3, 846, 886, 932, 952
 on Hebrews 275, 290
 on James 303, 314
 on 1 Peter 358
 on 2 Peter 360, 376, 396
 on Revelation 445, 460, 465–6, 475, 586–7, 609, 720, 734–5, 751
- Eutropius, Flavius 498, 795
- Eutychius (exarch) 650
- Eve 132, 136, 183, 755, 896, 910, 955, 961
- Evil
 Origin of 139, 292–3, 307, 728–9, 893
- Excommunication(s) 629, 632, 634, 655, 685, 688, 696, 757
- Exegesis. *See* Interpretation
- Ezekiel (Prophet) 8, 126, 177, 232, 283–4, 297, 337, 449, 454, 482, 600, 699, 712–3, 719, 725, 750, 755, 759, 774, 783, 823–8, 830, 894, 958–9
- Ezra 52, 59, 76–7, 138–9, 215, 826, 881–8, 922, 938, 940–2, 948
- Fabricius, Johann Albert 362
- Faith 279–85, 288, 336, 364–6, 397, 413, 416, 457, 492, 497, 547, 557, 592–3, 669, 676, 730, 762, 802–3, 819, 909, 916
 Fruits of 108, 313–4, 368
 Justification by 7, 27, 95, 97, 105, 107–9, 300, 309, 313–5, 468, 748, 817, 833
 Lukewarm 104, 305, 461, 464
- Faithfulness, Faithful 238, 240, 252, 303, 358, 370–3, 399–401, 407, 418, 420, 447, 462, 557–8, 567, 577, 589, 618, 620, 633, 641, 678, 684, 718, 724–5, 744, 765, 797, 800, 821, 829, 840–1, 906, 917, 943, 961, 963
- Fall (of Adam) 281, 717, 835
- False
 Apostles 464, 473, 822,
 Messiahs 101, 404, 497
 Prophets 161, 328, 360–2, 374, 406, 579, 585, 597, 628, 631–2, 689, 710, 738, 792, 827, 831,
 Teachers 52, 99, 317, 360–1, 363, 376, 406, 426, 433, 436, 531, 537, 615, 617, 675
- Famine(s) 159, 488, 499–502, 703, 775
- Fasting 366, 499, 519, 537, 656, 808, 925
- da Favera, Guarino (Guarinus Phavorinus) 432
- Favorino, Varino 374, 378
- Fear 245, 326, 345, 379, 383, 394, 403, 407, 441, 490, 570, 632, 750, 802–3, 812, 823
 of God. *See* God
- Feast(s), Feasting 233–5, 300, 327, 351–2, 384, 432–5, 467, 469, 481, 581, 569, 581, 649, 695, 707, 733, 749, 892, 904, 908, 918, 925, 947, 951
 of Tabernacles (Sukkot) 188, 514–7
- Felicity (martyr) 842
- Ferguson, Robert 365
- Feuardent, François (Franciscus Fevardentius) 719

- Ficino, Marsilio 448
 Flavel, John 396
 Fleming, Robert (the Younger) 19–20,
 163, 364, 374–5, 552–6
 Flesh. *See also* Body
 Sinfulness of 326, 349, 352–3,
 369–71, 399, 802, 820
 Fleury, Claude 53, 950, 952
 Flood 131–3, 295, 313, 348–50, 370,
 382, 437, 591–2, 675–7, 825, 896, 911,
 917, 932, 955, 963
 Florus 953
 Food 252, 270, 300, 366, 389, 591, 656,
 798–9, 903, 918
 sacrificed to Idols 430, 473, 905
 Forbes, Patrick 102, 461, 511
 Forgery, Forgeries. *See also*
 Pseudepigrapha 24, 91, 100, 112,
 251–2, 362, 424, 452, 931
 France. *See also* French Prophets and
 Protestants 17, 36, 49, 52, 146, 163–4,
 171, 524, 542, 552–5, 559–62, 568,
 579, 594, 605, 615, 629, 635–8, 688,
 715, 765–6, 777–9, 787–8, 836
 Francke, August Hermann 9, 47–8,
 803–5, 848
 Freher, Marquard 686
 Freinsheim, Johann 794
 French Prophets 9, 36, 49–51, 65, 120–1,
 818–9, 829, 837, 846–7
 French Protestants 28, 35–7, 39, 43, 46,
 49–50, 52, 149, 163–4, 171, 258, 325,
 367, 381, 431, 443, 446, 452, 476,
 508, 518, 524, 560–2, 568, 579, 635,
 709, 783, 818, 908
 Fruit(s). *See also* Faith 183, 254, 301, 310,
 514–5, 522, 619–20, 695, 714, 752,
 802, 937, 961
 Forbidden 239, 241
 of Righteousness 322
 Fuller, Nicholas 176, 721
 Fuller, Thomas 427

 Gainas 544
 Gaius (of Ephesus) 101, 425, 433
 Galatia 98, 335, 426, 428
 Galatians (Epistle) 24–5, 97, 108, 314,
 396, 817
 Galerius 503, 795
 Gallienus 501
 Gamaliel 308
 Garrett, Walter 13, 44, 148, 170, 659–88,
 786
 Gataker, Thomas 68, 290, 324, 402
 Gaul, Gauls 234, 521, 523, 542–5,
 627, 630, 658, 663–4, 780
 Gaumāta 892
 Gelasius of Cyzicus (Anonymous of
 Cyzicus) 764
 Gell, Robert 80–1, 279, 352, 356
 Gellius, Aulus 930
 Génébrard, Gilbert 609–10
 Genesis (Book of) 8, 38, 40, 60, 94, 132,
 260, 285, 386, 437, 767, 816, 885,
 909, 915
 Geneva. *See also* Bible 397, 511, 784–5,
 787,
 Gennadius Massiliensis 655–6
 Genseric (Gaiseric) 169–71, 525, 658–9,
 783
 Gentiles(s) 35, 69, 123, 128, 168, 191,
 323, 343, 348, 351, 434, 442, 465,
 487, 563–65, 571, 658, 678, 789,
 796
 Conversion of 133, 141–2, 162, 186,
 188, 309, 327–8, 330–1, 425–6, 510,
 514, 725, 814, 840, 903–6, 915–6, 919,
 935, 962
 Geology 386–92
 Geōrgarinēs, Iōsēph 450
 George I 30, 240
 George of Denmark 47, 804
 German Empire. *See* Empire
 Germanic Peoples and Kingdoms 160–1,
 167, 169–72, 519, 653
 Alans 169, 519–20, 525, 544, 663,
 690–1, 783
 Allemanni 521, 690–1
 Burgundians 523, 544, 663, 690, 787
 Franks 171, 544, 663, 690, 780, 787,
 790
 Goths 443, 486, 519–21, 523, 541,
 544–6, 595, 598, 658, 665, 777
 Heruli 520, 541, 779
 Lombards 650–1, 780, 790
 Marcomanni 520

- Ostrogoths 595, 654, 663, 690–1, 787
 Saxons 22, 295, 496–7, 544–5, 663, 654, 690–1, 787
 Suebi 521, 544, 654, 663, 690–1, 787
 Vandals 169, 519–21, 523, 525, 544, 598, 654, 658, 663–4, 690–1, 777–8, 783, 787
 Visigoths 520, 654, 663, 690–1, 779, 787
 Germany 521, 555, 559, 571, 579, 594, 619, 629, 631, 635, 637–8, 766, 788
 Gibeon, Gibeonites 750
 Gideon 288, 822–3, 828
 Gifts. *See* Holy Spirit, Prophesy
 Giovio, Paolo (Paulus Jovius) 583
 Glorious Revolution 37–40, 51, 71, 110–1, 146, 149, 165, 255, 342, 539, 576, 659
 Gnostic, Gnosticism 42, 99, 234, 430, 435, 765, 953
 God. *See also* Trinity
 as Ancient of Days 185, 741
 as Creator 132, 410, 524, 683
 Essence of 73, 112, 119, 184, 282, 364, 406, 420, 696
 as Father 112–3, 115–8, 229–30, 234–6, 240, 249, 252, 293, 306–7, 340, 353, 376, 401, 412–4, 420, 427, 449, 491, 572, 697, 699, 761–2, 773–5, 800, 826
 Fear of 122, 297, 306, 565, 616, 760, 772, 903–4
 Friendship with 250, 468, 798
 Glory of 115–6, 175, 232, 305, 369, 371, 599, 637, 693, 754, 802, 894
 Goodness of 249, 313, 396, 405–6
 Grace of, Mercy of 107, 138, 234, 241, 294–5, 300–1, 307, 313, 321, 324–5, 329, 369, 376, 414, 420, 427, 452, 655, 677–8, 750, 788, 835, 905, 912
 Hand of 277, 357, 442, 491, 493, 507, 572, 628, 638, 733
 as the Holy One 295, 400, 481, 789, 824
 Infinity of 115, 420, 449, 696, 822, 847
 as Jehovah 185, 234, 328, 341, 709
 Judgement of. *See* Judgment
 Justice of 307, 313, 339, 357, 369, 371, 381, 421, 533, 664, 776
 Kingdom of 50, 151, 174, 186, 188, 193, 349, 371, 515, 589, 716, 762, 775, 962
 Love of 167, 184, 250, 252, 306, 406, 408, 420, 427, 442, 473, 801, 803, 810
 Name of 271, 328, 448, 599, 627, 683, 697, 808, 822, 901
 Omnipotence of, Sovereignty of 94, 107–8, 119, 307, 357, 464, 707
 People of. *See* People of God
 Power of 234, 247–8, 250, 281, 306, 338, 367, 420, 835, 905
 Presence of 271, 401, 696, 825, 841
 Providence of 76, 135, 142, 156, 160, 171, 176, 181, 187, 257, 265, 442, 467, 490, 493, 576, 611, 633, 665, 691, 727, 748, 759, 767–8, 771, 777, 779, 802–3, 821
 Vengeance of. *See* Vengeance
 Voice of, Mouth of 191, 243, 246, 249, 551, 560, 589–90, 700, 749, 796, 823–4
 Will of 172, 183, 247, 272–3, 420, 461, 654, 695, 766, 819, 821–2, 826–7, 830, 839
 Wrath of, Anger of 247, 293, 295–6, 299, 349, 416, 491–2, 533, 570, 617, 623, 635, 637, 674, 771
 Gog and Magog. *See also* Armageddon
 29, 175–8, 183, 712, 720–6, 746–8, 750, 963
 Gold 265–7, 305, 330, 336, 338, 345, 455, 467–8, 482–3, 491–2, 514, 529, 540, 570, 584, 620, 643–4, 668, 693–5, 699–700, 730, 749, 810, 880, 925, 930
 Gomarus, Franciscus 766, 952–3
 Goodwin, Thomas 18–9, 32, 34–5, 37, 39, 123, 125, 147, 149, 158, 164–5
 on Hebrews 261
 on James 327
 on 1 John 397
 on 1 Peter 344, 349–50
 on Revelation 482–93, 495, 499–500, 502–3, 506–8, 510–11, 519, 563–73, 605–7, 622–3

- Gospel 21, 108, 134, 138, 140, 142, 151, 155, 163, 172, 175, 243–5, 251, 270, 277, 300, 309–10, 314, 325, 363, 371–2, 393–4, 415, 419, 429, 492, 497, 563–4, 602, 631, 669, 676, 809, 847–8, 933
 Preaching of, Spreading of 97, 187, 322, 340, 352–3, 356, 425, 469, 550, 615–6, 618, 672, 678, 720, 722, 724–5, 731, 748, 796, 814, 831, 835, 841, 905
- Gospel of the Nazarenes. *See also* Pseudepigrapha 93
- Goths. *See* Germanic Peoples and Kingdoms
- Gouge, William 27, 228, 276
- Governance, Government 125, 161, 173, 175, 187, 231, 237, 243, 247, 249, 263, 330–1, 344, 354, 356, 382–3, 429, 431, 466, 469, 480, 488, 542, 545–7, 554, 569, 573, 575, 594, 598, 628, 649–50, 655, 662–3, 665, 699, 702, 725, 729, 747, 750, 755, 776, 779, 792–5, 897, 927, 931, 936
- Grabe, John Ernest (Johannes Ernst) 70, 368, 835
- Graserus, Cunradus (the Younger) 571
- Gratian (emperor) 505,
- Gratian (jurist) 632–3, 656–7
- Greece 46, 90, 129, 137, 176, 434, 449, 511, 520, 553, 630–1, 690, 748, 777, 813, 815, 889–90, 900, 955
- Greek, Greeks 229, 329, 356, 361, 434–5, 446, 468, 471, 474, 479, 497, 522, 528, 532–3, 535, 555, 651, 584, 606, 666, 690, 813, 891–2, 904, 906, 914, 933–5, 953, 955, 958–9
 Empire. *See* Empire(s): Byzantine
 Language 21, 83, 94, 100, 116, 141, 227–8, 237, 241–2, 245, 260, 272–3, 290, 294, 298–9, 317, 339–41, 348, 351, 382, 396, 440, 448, 473, 475, 481, 501, 508, 531–2, 592, 602, 609, 624, 725, 934–5, 940, 942, 952
 New Testament. *See* Bible
 Orthodox Church. *See* Eastern
 Orthodoxy
 Philosophy. *See* Philosophy
- Poet(s). *See* Poetry
- Gregory, John 22, 295, 328–9
- Gregory the Great (Gregory I, Gregorius Magnus) 322, 366–7, 468–9, 524, 526, 690, 723
- Gregory of Nazianzus 303, 418, 445
- Gregory of Nyssa 843
- Gregory Thaumaturgus 843
- Grelotus, Antonius (Anton Grelot) 43, 129, 446–8, 450, 453–6, 474, 476–8, 480–5, 489, 501, 515–7, 520, 577, 589, 591, 601, 603, 609, 622, 639, 641, 643, 647, 703–4, 708–9, 711, 715–6, 730–1, 733
- Grew, Nehemiah 256
- Grotius, Hugo 22–3, 27, 34, 48, 56, 58, 66, 68, 71, 75, 84, 87, 93, 96, 98–102, 108, 140–1, 154–7, 161, 188–90, 769, 806, 885, 935, 948
 on Hebrews 228, 245, 252, 267, 275, 285, 290
 on James 307, 310–1, 314, 317–20, 333
 on 1 John 397, 399, 403–4, 412, 415, 418
 on 2 John 423
 on Jude 435
 on 1 Peter 352
 on 2 Peter 360, 365, 393–5
 on Revelation 448, 458–9, 473, 514, 643, 667, 689, 708, 733, 737, 745, 758
- Gunther (archbishop of Cologne) 628
- Guysel, John 30, 422
- Habakkuk 823, 826, 958
- Hades 386, 456–9, 721
- Hadrian 99, 140, 348, 394, 497, 931
- Hagar 463, 823, 912–3
- Haggai 296
- Hail 387, 389, 520–1, 541, 543–4, 635, 776–7
- Hales, John 276–7, 421
- Halle. *See* Pietism
- Ham (Son of Noah) 259, 911
- Haman (the Agagite) 709
- Hammond, Henry 23, 34, 56, 69, 71, 93–4, 96, 98–9, 101–2, 155–7, 161, 178, 189

- on Hebrews 228, 240, 285, 289–90,
 292, 299, 769
 on James 307
 on 1 John 407, 412, 415
 on 2 John 423
 on Jude 431
 on 1 Peter 335
 on 2 Peter 365, 374, 382, 393
 on Revelation 491, 587, 589, 618, 667,
 689, 745, 752
 Hannah (Mother of Samuel) 551
 Hanneman, Johann Ludwig 646
 Happiness. *See also* Millennium 109,
 245, 284, 353, 414, 427, 515, 724,
 729, 751, 903
 Hardy, Nathaniel 399
 Harris, John 738
 Harvest 21, 322, 615, 618–21, 635, 917
 Healing. *See also* Medicine 50, 120, 332,
 819, 828, 837, 841
 Heart(s) 106, 109, 243, 247–8, 292, 300,
 305, 324, 347, 372–5, 405, 415, 417,
 474, 488, 494, 557, 564, 567, 606,
 694, 757, 762, 798, 800–2, 806, 809,
 826, 838, 896, 943, 951
 of Christianity 75, 118
 Heathen(s). *See also* Paganism 130, 141,
 143, 178, 281, 308, 321, 327, 331, 353,
 354, 362, 406, 422, 429, 488, 500,
 505, 507–8, 520, 524, 533, 547, 590,
 604, 644, 662, 664, 669–70, 672–3,
 675, 677, 681, 684, 686, 697, 730,
 759, 768–9, 786, 811–2, 836, 841, 902,
 933
 Heaven. *See also* Eternal Life, Millen-
 nium, New Jerusalem, New Heaven
 and New Earth 43, 50, 70, 75, 118,
 152, 161–2, 174–5, 177–80, 182–4, 192,
 235, 238, 249, 258, 261–2, 270–1, 296,
 306, 313, 319, 325, 327, 334, 337–8,
 342, 347, 369, 378–82, 386, 393–4,
 401, 405, 407, 409, 412–5, 419–21,
 432, 440, 457–8, 467–8, 486–7, 489,
 493, 502, 505–7, 520, 523–6, 537,
 541, 550–1, 555, 557–8, 560, 563, 566,
 568–9, 571–2, 574, 579, 585, 588–9,
 599–602, 611, 614, 618, 620–1, 627,
 634–5, 665, 669–73, 676, 682–3, 65,
 691, 694, 696–702, 707, 710, 712–3,
 724, 737, 740–1, 746, 749–56, 759,
 761, 766, 771, 796, 798, 807, 818–9,
 821, 823–4, 830, 835, 842, 848, 915,
 920, 936–7, 939, 961–2
 in the Book of Zohar 482–3
 Promise of 133
 Third Heaven 275, 282, 699
 Hebraism, Hebraists 25, 28, 42–3, 57,
 76–7, 124, 135, 227, 234, 237–8,
 246, 257–9, 266–8, 339, 438, 445–8,
 474, 733, 736, 884, 886, 923, 938,
 952
 Hebrew(s). *See also* Israel, Jews 53,
 142–3, 191, 266, 270, 299, 301–2,
 308, 313, 318, 351, 404, 450, 578,
 585, 698, 708, 710, 824, 828, 886,
 909
 Bible. *See* Bible
 Language 22, 35, 76–80, 116, 137,
 263, 272–3, 285–6, 300–1, 317,
 338–9, 343, 361, 423, 446–8, 462,
 475, 480, 520, 530–2, 578, 609,
 631–2, 639, 693, 729, 772, 826,
 829–30, 881, 886–8, 903, 914, 926,
 934, 942, 957–9
 Music and Poetry of the Ancient
 Hebrews. *See also* Poetry 943–54
 Vowel Points 76–8, 886–7
 Hebrews (Epistle) 7, 10, 14–20, 22, 29,
 33, 79, 82–4, 107, 110, 115, 117, 303,
 817
 Authorship of 89, 93–4
 Target Audience 228–9, 248, 287
 Heidegger, Johann Heinrich 18, 100,
 258–60, 436–7
 Heinsius, Daniel (Heins) 260, 307, 318
 Heliodorus of Emesa 584
 Hell. *See also* Eschatology 30, 131, 152,
 176–8, 183, 253–4, 261, 320, 370,
 378–9, 380, 386, 439, 456–9, 467,
 500, 502, 530–1, 590, 612, 647, 702,
 721, 727, 747–8, 809
 Gehenna 458, 467, 590
 Hades. *See* Hades
 as Place of Torment 178, 240, 254,
 379, 386, 456–8, 502
 Tartarus 378, 386

- Hellenism, Hellenists 94, 100, 141,
228–9, 242, 257, 264, 356, 362, 385,
544, 569, 884, 889, 904, 929
- Heman 948
- Henry, Matthew 11, 21, 704–5
- Henry IV (Holy Roman Emperor) 612,
627, 747
- Henry VIII 444
- Henry of Lausanne 616
- Hercules (of Tyre) 256–7, 507, 630
- Heresy, Heretics. *See also* Arianism;
Ebionites; False; Gnosticism;
Montanism; Nicolaitans; Socinianism
20, 24, 41, 75, 90, 107, 113, 119, 121,
126–7, 137, 140, 160, 193, 234, 377,
382, 384, 410, 413, 424, 426, 429,
464, 468, 473, 537, 552–3, 558,
592–3, 600, 615–7, 633, 673, 675–6,
680, 688, 718–9, 723, 764, 844–5,
890
- Herle, Charles 432
- Hermes, Hermeticism, Hermetic. *See also*
Kabbalah; Platonism; Sibylline Oracles
63, 140, 448, 458
- Herod (the Great) 345, 586, 809,
936
- Herodes Atticus 812
- Herodian 466, 499
- Herodotus 31, 342, 533, 892, 955
- Hesiod 31, 406, 953, 955
- Hesychius of Miletus 934
- Heylin, Peter 664, 790
- Hezekiah 637, 885, 959
- Hickes, George 846
- Hierocles 406
- Hilkiah 922
- Hillel the Elder (Rabbi) 244, 939
- Hilton, Walter 404–5
- Historia Augusta* 498–9, 501, 812
- History
Church History 86, 102, 120–1, 123–4,
127, 129, 143–5, 148, 155, 157–78, 376,
431, 453, 461, 464, 612, 736, 764, 792,
833, 845
of Religion(s) 10, 128–43
- Hobbes, Thomas 227, 255, 885
- Holiness 371, 395, 414, 418, 645, 713,
718, 775, 797, 803, 814, 943
- Holy of Holies. *See also* Tabernacle 262,
264, 267, 275, 482, 600, 698–9, 772,
804, 894
- Holy Land. *See also* Palestine, Promise
94, 166, 172, 175, 177, 184–6, 192,
229, 616, 626, 712, 754, 903, 912
- Holy Roman Empire. *See* Empire(s)
- Holy Spirit, Holy Ghost
as Author of Scripture 88–9, 93, 104,
373–4, 569, 607, 813–4, 831
Effusion of 122, 400, 814, 831, 837,
847
Gifts of 3, 48–50, 65, 89, 120–2, 324,
454, 814, 826, 831–49, 933
as Mother of Christianity 120
Sin against 277, 420–1
as Third Person of the Trinity 73, 75,
112, 115, 118–22, 136, 413–4, 427
- Homer 31, 262, 298, 366, 378, 380–1,
457, 584, 704, 880, 953
- Homes, Nathanael 438
- Honorius, Flavius 506, 523, 544, 653,
658, 665, 667, 931
- Hooke, John 710
- Hooke, William 44, 573–4, 576
- Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus) 31,
255, 604, 643, 648, 953
- Hosea 312
- Hottinger, Johann Heinrich 301, 313,
527, 554, 889
- Howe, John 39–40, 347, 456–9
- Howel, Laurence 787
- Huetius, Petrus Daniel (Pierre Daniel
Huet) 98–9, 360, 901
- Hugh of Flavigny (Hugo Flaviniacensis)
643
- Hugh of Saint-Cher (Hugo de Sancto
Charo) 882–3
- Huguenot. *See* France; French Protestants
- Hulsius, Antonius (Anton Hüls) 701,
711, 828
- Hungary 43, 511, 549, 553, 559–60, 594,
631, 635, 637–8, 691, 705, 782, 788
- Huns 523, 664, 778–9
- Hus, Jan. *See also* Hussites 163, 552–3,
604, 617
- Husband(s) 254, 263, 346, 435, 658,
912

- Hussey, Joseph 704
 Hussites 553, 617, 634
 Taborites 553–4
 Hutchinson, Samuel 732
 Hyde, Edward 574–5
 Hyde, Thomas 137–9, 889–90, 896, 899
 Hymn(s) 406, 493, 648, 839–40, 896,
 948, 950, 953
- Iamblichus 345
 Ibn Ezra, Abraham 352, 447, 708
 Ibn Sina 582
 Ibn Sirin, Muhammad 560
 Iconoclasm 611, 650
 Idolatry, Idol(s) 51, 104, 112, 117, 119,
 125, 132–8, 142–3, 160–1, 188, 199,
 288, 327, 358, 373, 376, 394, 420,
 422, 430, 465–8, 471, 473, 476, 505,
 507–8, 513–4, 536, 538, 540, 547,
 554, 556, 563, 566, 586, 588, 593,
 598, 600, 604, 609, 611, 613–8, 621,
 624, 628–9, 631, 633, 642–4, 651,
 656, 662, 668, 671, 673–4, 677–88,
 702, 722, 738, 749–50, 772, 779, 783,
 795, 889–90, 894, 899–905, 913–4,
 918, 927–8, 933, 943
 al-Idrisi, Ash-Sharif 329
 Ignatius of Antioch, Pseudo-Ignatius,
 86, 101–2, 120, 377–8, 452–3, 464–5,
 469–70, 648
 Ignatius of Loyola 648
 Immortality 133, 180, 235, 238, 241, 281,
 290, 353, 430, 732, 842, 896
 Incarnation. *See* Christ
 Incense 257, 267, 358, 491, 596, 629,
 651, 668, 700, 704
 India, Indian 138, 533, 583, 646–7, 704,
 841, 891, 893, 895, 897–9
 Inheritance 122, 161, 189, 191–2, 260,
 284, 338, 356, 371, 401, 487–8, 514,
 764, 768, 879
 Interpretation, Methods of. *See also*
 Revelation, Imagery and Prophecies
 Allegorical, Analogical, Typological.
 See also Type(s) 32–3, 57, 61–4, 116,
 127, 143, 150–1, 153–4, 156, 162–3,
 178, 188–91, 195, 233, 243, 249, 375,
 393–4, 411, 461–3, 517, 532, 577, 613,
 643, 692, 692, 707, 716–7, 719, 734,
 737, 741, 745, 752, 763, 785
 Contextual 247, 258, 292, 300, 311,
 318, 375, 583–4, 887–8
 Etymological 242, 263, 277, 286–7,
 428, 434, 457, 530, 532, 603, 681,
 826, 934
 Experiential 8–9, 47, 75, 106, 118,
 803, 806, 850
 Historical-Contextual Criticism 10,
 22–3, 55–64, 72, 83–5, 102, 150,
 154–7, 360, 394, 410
 Historicist. *See also* Preterist 50, 62–3,
 86, 102, 104, 111, 156–8, 167, 416,
 461–2, 469–70, 752, 787
 Jewish, Rabbinic 13, 22, 28, 43, 58,
 76–7, 79–80, 94, 105, 124, 129–30,
 134, 142, 154, 184–5, 227, 231, 233,
 241, 248, 255, 258–9, 264–7, 274,
 284, 294, 299, 301, 312, 331, 337,
 360–3, 374, 376, 398, 430, 433,
 437, 446–8, 450, 453, 456–7, 474,
 477–9, 481–2, 484, 489, 513–5, 517,
 578, 602–3, 622, 639, 641, 643. 667,
 700–1, 708–9, 711, 715–6, 730, 741,
 747, 755, 824, 881–8, 909, 912, 917,
 922–3, 929, 935, 938–42, 951
 Key(s) to 155, 243, 256, 292, 303–4,
 354, 377–8, 442–3, 516, 531, 668,
 776, 909
 Literal 24, 61–3, 112, 150–1, 283, 447,
 640, 716, 765
 Preterist (of Prophecies). *See also*
 Grotius; Hammond; Thorndike 34,
 56, 84, 102, 127, 145, 150, 154–6, 174,
 189–90, 393–4, 461, 643, 689, 736,
 769, 792
 Spiritual, Mystical. *See also* Mysticism
 22, 28, 33, 48, 61–4, 104, 145, 150,
 154–5, 174, 177–8, 186, 189, 243, 284,
 394, 416–7, 516, 624, 707, 717, 736–7,
 765, 804
 Investiture Controversy 612, 627
 Irenaeus of Lyon 89–90, 92, 116, 120,
 126–7, 234, 305, 362, 268, 377–8,
 383–5, 438, 440, 445, 453, 475–6,
 609, 719–20, 735, 762, 768, 791,
 815–7, 836–8

- Isaac 438, 823, 828, 912–3, 915,
 Isaiah (Prophet) 8, 53, 126, 139, 154–6,
 178, 180–4, 249, 290, 340, 381, 394,
 490, 698, 708, 719, 744–5, 751, 755,
 771, 819, 823, 825–7, 900, 916, 925,
 939, 952–3, 958
 Ishmael 823, 912–4, 916
 Isidore of Seville (Isidorus Hispalensis)
 584, 589–90, 681, 723
 Isidorus Mercator 424
 Islam, Islamic 52, 85, 136, 142, 160, 328,
 510–1, 531, 533, 536–7, 550, 560, 642,
 738, 780, 889–90, 894, 899
 Muslims 130, 160, 328–9, 511–2, 519,
 526, 531, 533, 537, 550, 593, 617, 626,
 642, 653, 683, 781, 897–9, 915
 Isma'il, Sultan of Morocco 489
 Israel, Israelites. *See also* Dan, Ephraim,
 Holy Land, Jews Simeon 79, 110, 133,
 181, 228, 243, 245, 247, 259, 267,
 271–2, 284–8, 313, 339, 384, 396,
 435, 447, 477, 479, 515, 519, 573, 587,
 591, 642, 670–1, 675, 687, 693, 700,
 711–5, 730, 732, 749, 754–5, 760,
 772–4, 823–5, 828, 833, 884, 903–4,
 909, 915–19, 924–6, 928, 944, 948
 Conversion and Restoration of Old
 Israel. *See* Jews
 Idolatry of 135, 188, 476, 513–4, 538,
 671, 678, 749–50, 822, 911–3
 New Israel 176–7, 186–92, 194–5,
 337–8, 510, 514–7, 725, 739, 962
 Tribes of 188, 309, 483, 510, 513–7,
 587, 687, 693, 739, 885, 920
 Italy. *See also* Rome 133, 169, 305, 451,
 520, 522–3, 525, 528–9, 541, 543–6,
 554, 571, 578, 592, 594–5, 616, 625,
 629, 631, 651, 653, 664–7, 690–1, 705,
 753, 777, 779, 781, 790, 930
 Ivo of Chartres (Ivo Carnutensis) 656–7
 Ivory 704, 956–7
 Jacob 134, 284–6, 338, 475, 639, 714,
 821–3, 902, 908, 913–6, 918–9, 953
 Jacob bar Addai (Baradaeus) 537
 Jahaziel 829
 James (Apostle) 82, 304, 335, 352, 685
 James (Epistle) 7, 14–7, 29, 82, 91, 816
 Authorship and Canonicity of 84–5,
 89, 93, 95–7, 108, 303
 Dating of 323
 Target Audience of 95–7, 303–5, 309
 James II of England 37–8, 110, 575, 659,
 908
 Jannes and Jambres. *See also*
 Pseudepigrapha 363, 437
 Japheth 133, 176–7, 227, 471–2,
 Jeconiah 568
 Jeduthun 948
 Jehoshaphat 722, 922
 Jehovah. *See* God
 Jenkin, Robert 29, 86–92, 255, 590,
 811–7
 Jenkyn, William 19, 437, 439, 441
 Jephtha 288
 Jeremiah 290, 329, 358, 541, 823,
 825–7, 829, 900, 939, 951, 953, 957–9
 Jericho 280, 541, 636, 771, 962
 Jeroboam 513–4, 918
 Jerome, Pseudo-Jerome 8, 71, 79, 82–3,
 95–7, 111, 127, 762–3, 765, 778,
 886–7, 914, 945, 951–2, 986
 on Hebrews 274
 on James 303, 314
 on 1 John 400, 410, 421
 on 1 Peter 343, 358–9
 on 2 Peter 379–80, 384, 396
 on Revelation 444, 460, 462–3,
 467–8, 516, 530, 544, 584, 596, 656,
 719, 723, 735, 741, 758
 Jerome of Prague 553, 604
 Jerusalem. *See also* New Jerusalem 86,
 96, 101, 181, 305, 363, 366, 423–4,
 466, 474, 476, 515, 532, 534, 563,
 569, 587, 616–7, 659, 701, 707,
 772–3, 842, 885–6, 903, 905, 922–3,
 940–1, 948, 960
 Destruction of 60, 84, 98–100, 154,
 156–7, 178, 330, 335, 355, 358, 360,
 392–5, 404, 496, 587, 736, 752,
 768–9, 833, 936
 Temple of 123, 282, 563, 565, 658,
 698–9, 894
 Jeshua (the High Priest) 557
 Jesus of Nazareth. *See* Christ
 Jesus Pandira 332

- Jethro 902
- Jewel(s), Gems 282, 310, 314, 343, 345, 456, 643, 694, 731
- Jews, Jewish, Judaism. *See also* Israel; Restoration 9–10, 28, 43, 60, 85, 99–101, 124, 128–41, 143, 162, 183, 194, 229, 234, 236, 257, 274, 276, 304–5, 311–2, 317, 320–1, 323, 327–35, 340, 343, 348–9, 353–6, 362, 376, 382, 401, 406, 426, 431–6, 440, 442, 448, 452, 459, 465–6, 470–1, 473, 496–7, 500, 532, 537, 539, 547–8, 563, 569, 587, 593, 697–9, 712–3, 723, 738, 762, 768, 772, 789, 811, 834–5, 890, 892, 895, 897, 901–7, 918–9, 921, 923–4, 926, 928–9, 933–6, 939, 958–9 (Eschatological) Conversion and Restoration of 10, 14, 33–4, 39, 43, 52–3, 124, 132, 136, 143–4, 150, 154, 157, 165–6, 172–73, 178, 184–95, 246–7, 283, 338, 394, 461, 482–3, 510–7, 572–4, 576, 712, 725–6, 738–40, 765, 771–3, 796, 847, 96–2
Interpretation, Tradition, Writings. *See* Interpretation. *See also* Midrash, Talmud
- Jezebel 468, 477–8, 579, 590, 911, 958
- Joab 958
- Job 131, 325, 437, 727, 816, 824, 941, 950, 953, 958–9
- Joel 65, 122, 454, 711, 768, 842
- Johannine Comma (*Comma Johanneum*) 7, 26, 30, 68, 70–3, 112, 117, 409–12
- John (Apostle, Evangelist) 8, 18, 33, 40, 46, 75, 82–4, 90, 92, 100–2, 104, 123–4, 126–7, 154–5, 157–61, 177, 183, 314, 335, 394, 444–5, 448–50, 452–3, 461, 463–5, 471, 541, 563–4, 567, 609–10, 644, 649–50, 653, 660, 668–9, 679, 685, 696–7, 710, 712–3, 719, 734–5, 752, 755, 759, 752, 768–70, 776, 783, 792, 815, 817, 823–7, 833–4, 844, 958
- John, First Epistle of 7, 10, 14–7, 74, Authorship of 100, 403–4
Target Audience of 100, 397, 403–4
- John, Second Epistle of 7, 14–6, 87, 89, 303, 816
Authorship of 82–4, 93, 95, 100–1, 423
Target Audience of 303, 423
- John, Third Epistle of 7, 14–7, 87, 89–90, 303, 816
Authorship of 82–4, 93, 95, 100–1, 425
- John, Gospel of 7, 66, 75, 84, 100–2, 412, 423, 445, 452, 723, 817, 904
- John I of Antioch 537
- John IV of Constantinople 526
- John of Antioch (historian) 514
- John the Baptist 345, 415, 799, 801, 829, 838, 959
- John of Damascus (John Damascene) 377
- John Hyrcanus 903
- John the Presbyter 83, 445
- Johnston, John 544
- Jonathan ben Uzziel. *See* Targum (Pseudo-)Jonathan
- Jones, Jeremiah 69, 86–7, 89, 93, 351
- Jordan 230, 413, 587, 833
- Jordanes 665
- Josaphat, Valley of 722
- Joseph 284–6, 437, 513–4, 823, 896, 908, 913–6, 952, 958
- Joseph of Arimathea 570
- Joseph ben Ephraim Karo (Yosef Caro, Qaro) 639, 711
- Joseph of Nazareth 799
- Josephus, Flavius 22, 31, 96, 264, 275, 282, 290, 304, 321, 323, 327, 330–1, 343, 354, 364, 434–5, 587, 881, 903, 928, 932, 952, 955
- Joshua 246, 280, 299–300, 324, 356, 431, 488, 518, 557, 566–7, 784, 927, 939
- Joshua, Book of 356, 816, 885, 939
- Joshua (Rabbi) 337, 939
- Joy 289, 300, 306, 313, 324, 370, 401, 467, 497, 511, 517, 569, 575, 589, 604, 614, 732, 738, 772–3, 904, 913, 922, 932–3, 945, 948
- Jubilee 609, 788, 920
- Judah, Tribe of 261, 488–9, 701, 731, 917–20, 958
- Judaism. *See* Jews

- Judas of Galilee 323, 431
 Judas Iscariot 709–10, 808
 Judas Maccabeus 946
 Jude (Apostle) 97–8, 383, 746
 Jude (Epistle) 7, 14, 16–7, 19, 82–5, 87, 90–1, 93, 214, 303, 360–3, 376, 383, 816
 Authorship and Target Audience of 97–100, 361
 Judea 94, 96, 101, 186, 227–9, 303–4, 323, 330, 404, 569, 712, 759, 881
 Judges, Book of 527, 816, 939
 Judgment. *See also* Eschatology; Vengeance
 Day of Judgment, Final Judgment, Last Judgment 139, 151, 155, 158, 173–5, 178–9, 181, 183, 189–90, 192, 238, 253, 338, 349, 373, 379–80, 393, 395, 407, 436, 439, 449–50, 485, 489, 504, 572, 616, 631, 633–4, 660, 710, 714–5, 718–9, 722–4, 726–7, 736–7, 742, 744–5, 751, 753, 762, 770, 773–4, 789, 792, 893, 899, 929, 961
 of the Dead 352–3, 744–5
 on the Enemies of God and the Church 162, 174–5, 179, 429, 450, 467, 487–8, 519, 539–41, 547, 563, 569–76, 579, 606, 618, 620, 623, 637–8, 641, 683–4, 712–3, 747, 754, 762, 771, 784, 900, 919
 of God 49, 104, 154, 234, 247–8, 254, 270, 276–7, 281, 299, 313, 354–5, 369–70, 379, 382, 393, 431, 438, 484, 493, 495, 509, 523, 544, 557, 624, 626, 632, 636, 678, 749, 754–5, 771, 776, 819
 Julian (emperor) 385, 543, 569–70, 575, 590, 672
 Julian Calendar 630, 789
 Junius, Franciscus (the Elder) 68, 290, 324, 428, 736, 970
 Jupiter 262, 298, 306, 507, 604, 929–30, 937
 Juriou, Pierre 33, 35–7, 39, 52, 131, 134–5, 149, 163–4, 166, 170, 783, 901–7
 on Revelation 442–3, 496–8, 501–7, 521–31, 534–5, 550–1, 556–61, 579, 595, 598–603, 605, 607, 618–21, 624, 628, 635–6, 640, 642–7, 649, 657–9
 Jurin, James 583
 Justice. *See* God
 Justification. *See* Faith. *See also* Salvation
 Justin II (Emperor) 534
 Justin (Marcus Junianus Justinus) 257
 Justin Martyr, Pseudo-Justin 92, 116, 120, 126–7, 140, 233, 320, 331, 368, 380–1, 384, 396, 435, 445, 453, 457, 466, 719, 762, 816–7, 820, 834–6, 892, 930–2
 Justinian I (Emperor) 255, 424, 545, 597, 956
 Juvenal 927
 Kabbalah, Kabbalistic 19, 28, 42–3, 63, 284, 445, 448, 482, 698
 Karlowitz, Treaty of 548, 782
 Karlstadt, Andreas 554
 Kempis, Thomas à 808
 Kidder, Richard 29, 249, 268–9, 274, 278, 513
 Kimchi, David 312, 447, 450, 480, 484–5, 517, 708, 756, 903
 Kingdom
 of Christ. *See* Christ. *See also* Millennium
 of God. *See* God
 of Heaven. *See* Heaven
 Knatchbull, Sir Norton 27, 81, 260, 265, 279, 283, 295–6, 353, 366, 375
 Knight, James 119, 296, 341, 472
 Knorr von Rosenroth, Christian. *See also* Kabbalah 12, 42–3, 63, 149, 184, 445, 448, 455–6, 473, 475, 480, 488, 505–7, 532–3, 537, 689–700
 König, Samuel Heinrich 242, 368
 Konrad of Halberstadt the Older 883
 Korah (son of Izhar) 432, 442, 566, 722
 Krag, Niels (Nicholaum Cragium) 434
 Lactantius, Lucius Caecilius Firmianus 127, 308, 508–9, 646–7, 722, 763–4, 775, 793, 795, 930–1
 Lacy, John 9, 49–51, 120–1, 818–47
 Lamech 381, 910, 914, 951, 953
 Lampridus, Ælius 498

- Language(s)
- Arabic 22, 66, 137, 263, 295, 308, 328, 382, 560, 584, 822, 887, 892, 899, 917
 - Aramaic 320, 381–2, 448, 462, 474, 589, 772, 883, 927, 938–9, 941–2
 - Chaldee 77, 381, 589, 632, 772, 881, 885–6, 926, 934, 938, 940–1
 - Ethiopic 22, 66, 100, 295, 362 529
 - Greek. *See* Greek
 - Hebrew. *See* Hebrew
 - Latin 25, 43, 48, 71, 77, 100, 106, 140–1, 147, 227, 269, 279, 339, 382, 426, 501, 522, 532, 536, 609, 882, 887, 896, 902, 927, 935, 938, 940, 952,
 - Persian 137, 328–9, 887, 889, 895–6, 940
 - Syriac 22, 290, 295, 311, 316, 365, 426, 584, 631–2, 887, 940, 953
- Laodicea 461, 464, 470, 472, 481
- Council of. *See* Council(s)
- Lapide, Cornelius à (Cornelius van den Steen) 467, 564, 719, 766
- Larenus, Daniel 766
- Launay, Pierre De 37, 598, 607, 766
- Law. *See also* Commandments; Canon
- Law 57, 85–6, 110, 125, 137, 163, 165, 175, 257, 421, 493, 506, 547, 556, 575, 686, 705, 711, 895,
 - Ceremonial Law 135, 300, 336, 514, 518, 581, 731
 - Fulfillment through Jesus Christ 267–8, 314–5, 409, 418–9, 516, 630, 715
 - and Gospel 622, 726
 - Mosaic Law 79, 89, 97, 135, 227–8, 243, 257, 260–1, 267–9, 273, 275, 277–8, 296, 312, 327–8, 353, 426, 436, 473, 697, 749, 824, 881–2, 886, 897, 901–6, 908–9, 915, 917–8, 920, 922–8, 938, 958–9
 - Natural Law 60–1, 132, 134, 265,
 - Roman Law 254–5, 793–4, 931, 956
- Lazarus 371
- Le Clerc, Jean 57–9, 62, 71, 84, 285, 294, 431
- Le Fèvre, Tanneguy 760
- Le Moine, Stephanus (Étienne Le Moyne, Monachus) 709
- Lead, Jane 846
- Lee, Francis 119–20, 846
- Lee, Samuel 37, 148–9, 170, 172, 342, 651–5, 657
- Lemuel 885
- Lenfant, Jacques 46, 476
- Leo I (Leo the Great). *See* Pope(s)
- Leo III the Isaurian (Emperor) 611, 650–1, 666
- Leo Africanus 584
- Leo of Juda 884
- Leopold I (Holy Roman Emperor) 559, 705
- Leprosy 336, 441, 920
- Leslie, Charles 373
- Lessius, Leonardus 645
- Leti, Gregorius 702
- Leunclavius, Johannes (Löwenklau) 534, 560
- Leusden, Johannes 884
- Levant 46, 449, 471, 534, 617
- Levi, Levites, Levitical. *See also* Priesthood; Sacrifice 253, 256, 259–60, 301, 349, 397, 409, 418, 435, 459, 483, 491, 513–4, 516, 731, 879, 916, 920, 922, 926, 928, 946, 948, 957
- Levi ben Josua (Rabbi) 244
- Leviathan 594
- Levita, Elias 76–7, 883, 886, 939–40
- Leviticus 253, 267, 514, 604, 816
- Lewis, Thomas 53–4, 955, 957
- Liberty of Conscience and Religion. *See* Conscience
- Licinius 504, 508–9, 786, 795
- Lightfoot, John 22, 34, 42, 94, 98, 178, 189–90, 192–3, 824, 840, 885, 923
- on Hebrews 227–9, 277, 287
 - on James 331–2
 - on 1 John 418
 - on Jude 433–4
 - on 1 Peter 335, 337, 349
 - on 2 Peter 376, 393
 - on Revelation 623
- Lightning 153, 235, 392, 484, 520, 589, 634, 685, 776
- Limborch, Philipp van 256, 348, 792

- Lipsius, Justus 501, 608
 Lister, Martin 549
 Liutprand (King of the Lombards) 650
 Livy (Titus Livius) 255, 627, 793–4
 Locke, John 8, 21, 72, 107, 111, 113,
 255–6, 408
 Locusts. *See* Revelation
 Logos. *See* Christ
 Lombardy, Lombards 593, 650–1,
 777–8, 780, 940
 Lord's Supper. *See* Eucharist
 Lot 298, 441, 714, 911–3, 916–7
 Louis IX (Saint Louis) 626–7
 Louis XIV 35, 49, 163–4, 171, 508, 559,
 638, 818
 Louis William (of Baden) 782
 Love 100, 321, 398–9, 401, 404–5, 425,
 433–5, 694–6, 784, 808, 847, 896, 914
 of God. *See* God
 Lucan 584, 953, 955
 Lucaris, Cyril (Loukaris) 46, 511
 Lucian of Samosata 911
 Lucretius 385, 395
 Ludolf, Hiob (Leutholf, Job Ludolphus)
 529
 Luke of Prague (Lukáš Pražský) 554
 Lust. *See* Vices
 Luther, Martin 17, 81, 84, 94, 127, 154,
 554–5, 577, 617, 667
 on Daniel 571
 on Hebrews 239
 on James 84, 96–7, 108, 314–5, 321
 on 1 John 411, 415
 on the Psalms 805
 Lutheranism, Lutheran(s) 25, 33, 42,
 47–8, 64, 107, 122, 127–8, 135, 150,
 193, 250, 339, 359, 368, 411, 474, 555,
 635, 645–6, 736, 757, 765, 804, 845,
 923
 Lycurgus 434
 Lydius, Jacobus 292

 Maccabees (people) 290, 569,
 Maccabees, Books of. *See also* Bible
 (Apocrypha); Index of Biblical Passages
 816, 927
 Macedonia 520, 631, 655
 Machpelah, Cave of 915, 919

 Macrobius 532–3
 Magians, Magianism 52, 137–9, 728,
 889–95, 897–900, 933
 Magic, Magicians 137, 323, 363, 448,
 625, 709, 931
 Maimonides (Moses ben Maimon) 135,
 137, 267, 284, 309, 311, 313, 318, 433,
 447, 454–5, 478, 506, 516–7, 519,
 733, 824, 889–90, 902, 922
 Maldonado, Juan (Ioannes Maldonatus)
 380, 742
 Malta 451
 Malvenda, Tomas 742
 Manasseh ben Israel (Menasseh) 268,
 451, 708, 902–3
 Manichaeism, Manichaeen(s) 139, 728,
 784
 Manna 265–7, 313, 467–8, 476–7, 884,
 909
 Manton, Thomas 27, 97, 243, 311–2,
 314, 328, 345, 427–8
 Mantuanus, Alphonsus Conradus 766
 Mantuanus, Baptista (Johannes Baptista
 Spagnolo) 704
 Mar Zutra 302
 Marcian 505, 655
 Marcion 89, 234, 468, 759
 Marckius, Johannes (Johannes a Marck,
 van der Mark) 28, 317–8
 Marcus Aurelius Antoninus 462, 499,
 812
 Maresius, Samuel (Jacon van Meurs) 44,
 127, 738–9, 760–1
 Marius, Gaius 930
 Mark (Gospel of) 91, 394, 816
 Mark (Evangelist) 101, 229, 425
 Maronite Church 938
 Marriage 57, 258, 280, 298–9, 346, 384,
 408, 537, 707, 710, 827, 897, 912–4,
 919–20
 between Christ and Church. *See* Christ
 Marital Duties 329, 346
 in the New Heaven 182–3, 753, 961
 Prohibition of 473, 656
 Mars 507, 582, 604, 703, 807
 Marsham, John 789
 Martialis, Marcus Valerius (Martial) 466,
 596, 710

- Martini, Raymond 474, 716
 Martinius, Matthias 459
 Martyrs. *See also* Stephen 89–90, 92, 96,
 98–102, 105, 116, 120, 127, 140, 233–4,
 265, 292, 305, 320, 331, 360, 362,
 368, 377–8, 381, 383–6, 435, 438,
 440, 445, 452–3, 466, 475–6, 519,
 548, 553–4, 556, 568, 609, 614, 644,
 672, 684, 720, 735, 758, 765, 768,
 775, 779, 791, 812, 815–7, 820, 834–8,
 842, 844, 905–6, 930–2
 Resurrection of 126, 173–5, 289, 692,
 714, 717–9, 724, 756, 762–3
 Suffering of 68, 125, 415, 444, 465,
 503–4, 512, 540, 547, 554, 570, 841
 of Thyatira 756–7
 Two Witnesses of Revelation 35, 37,
 46, 123, 157, 160, 162–66, 168, 171,
 552–63, 565–79, 591, 638, 678, 770,
 783–7, 795–6
 Mary, mother of Jesus 258, 683, 920
 Veneration of 614
 Mary Magdalene 574
 Masoretes 76–7, 882, 887–8
 Mathematics 5, 41, 51, 124, 147–8, 152,
 167–8, 173, 411, 539, 640, 767
 Mather, Cotton
*American Tears upon the Ruines of the
 Greek Churches* 46, 511–2, 536
Angel of Bethesda 332
 Autobiographical References 561–2,
 797–8
Benedictus 47, 799
Biblia Americana. See Biblia Americana
Bonifacius 258
The Christian Philosopher 14, 60, 821
Diary of Cotton Mather 18, 47, 77, 113,
 122, 187, 193–4, 886
Eleutheria 593
Everlasting Gospel 493, 576, 616
Expectanda: Or, Things to be Look'd for
 163, 169, 960
Faith at work 108, 314
Faith of the Fathers 136
Free Grace 107
Hades Look'd Into 456
Johannes in eremo 758
Magnalia Christi Americana 4, 44, 176,
 327, 337, 342, 747, 758
Malachi 106, 136, 847–9
Manuductio ad ministerium 106, 381,
 848
Midnight Cry 163, 169, 783
A New Offer 64, 128
Parentator 334
Paterna 47, 334, 797
 “*Problema Theologicum*” 39, 126, 144,
 169, 173, 175–6, 180, 188–9, 214, 597,
 716–9, 734–5, 737–9, 741–51, 753–4,
 756–7, 759
Ratio Disciplinae 122, 923
A Seasonable Testimony 107
Selected Letters 45, 51
Stone cut out of the Mountain 103, 106,
 108–9, 115, 122, 125, 128, 171–2, 616,
 848, 850–77
The Temple Opening 622
Theopolis Americana 176, 186
Things to be more thought Upon 106,
 113–4, 848
Thoughts for the Day of Rain 297
Three Letters from New-England 106,
 115, 848
Triparadisus 14, 38, 45, 142, 144–5,
 153, 155, 163, 165, 167–73, 176–8,
 180–7, 189–95, 283–4, 338, 360, 393,
 395, 438, 443, 562, 608, 621, 651, 712,
 721, 741, 747, 749, 752–3, 756, 759,
 948, 960–1
Wonders of the Invisible World 357,
 422, 444, 561
 Mather, Increase 20, 30, 33–4, 38, 140,
 143, 146, 148–9, 151, 156, 182, 236,
 242, 327, 923
 Mather, Nathaniel 20, 253, 409
 Mather, Samuel (CM’s brother) 30, 74–5,
 86, 114, 410–3, 449
 Mather, Samuel (CM’s son) 77, 113, 215,
 422, 886
 Mather, Samuel (CM’s uncle) 336, 341
 Maton, Robert 29, 63, 283, 517, 716–7
 Matthew (Evangelist) 918
 Maurice of Saxony 555
 Maxentius 504, 508, 795
 Maximian 503, 595

- Maximilian II 555
 Maximilian Emanuel (of Bavaria) 782
 Maximinus Daza 503–4, 508 795
 Maximinus Thrax 501, 509
 Meat 252, 300, 656, 798–9, 903, 905, 918
 Mecca 527, 894, 898
 Medad 3274–5
 Mede, Joseph 34–5, 42, 45, 49, 154, 185, 238, 283, 461, 472, 482, 586, 721, 766, 792
 on 2 Peter 393, 396
 on Revelation 37, 40–1, 123, 145, 147–9, 151, 158–63, 165–70, 172, 175–6, 498–9, 506, 522, 528–30, 537, 548, 556–7, 560, 572, 621, 658, 739–40, 748, 769–70, 773
 Medes 893
 Medicine. *See also* Healing 6, 42, 308, 332–3, 386, 704, 836
 Mediterranean Sea 181, 451, 534, 781
 Mehmed II (Mehmed the Conqueror) 535–6, 548, 630
 Melanchthon, Philip 370
 Melchizedek
 Genealogy and Priesthood of 18, 255–6, 259–60
 as Shem 258–9
 as Type of Messiah 255, 259–60
 Melito of Sardis 762, 835
 Menahem Recanati (Rabbi) 284
 Menasseh Ben Israel (Manasseh) 268, 451, 708, 902–3
 Menochio, Giovanni Stefano 948
 Mercier, Jean (Mercerus) 952
 Mercy. *See also* God 125, 138, 234, 241, 294–5, 301, 307, 313, 321, 333, 355, 396, 427, 620, 772, 800, 808, 890, 961
 Mercy Seat 482, 696, 699, 842, 879, 894
 Mesopotamia 497, 938
 Messiah. *See* Christ
 Messiah ben David 700–1
 Messiah ben Joseph 700–1
 Metal. *See also* Gold; Silver 282, 337, 810, 817, 947
 Methuselah 437, 914
 Meursius, Johannes 934
 Micah 514, 919
 Micaiah 825
 Michael (Archangel). *See* Angel
 Midian, Midianites 527, 919
 Midrash
 on Ecclesiastes 268, 308
 on Exodus 446–7, 729–30
 on Genesis 236, 299, 351, 731, 939
 on Isaiah 489
 on Kohelet 733
 on Numbers 313, 731
 on Psalms 227, 244, 313
 on Ruth 271
 on the Song of Songs 447
 on Tobit 772
 Mikkotsi, Moses (Moses ben Jacob of Coucy) 267
Mikraot Gedolot 80, 447–8
 on Daniel 756
 on Exodus 733
 on Isaiah 517
 on Joshua 903
 on 1 Kings 267
 on the Twelve Prophets 312, 485, 708
 Milan 230, 595, 779, 785
 Milk 252, 341, 817, 937
 Mill, John 67–9, 73–4, 351
 Millennialism, Millenarianism. *See also* Apocalypse; Eschatology 4–6, 8, 10, 14–5, 19–20, 33–4, 36–8, 40–2, 44–5, 48, 60, 65, 113, 122–3, 126–8, 143–57, 162–3, 167–9, 171–9, 183–7, 189–93, 238, 246, 261, 282–3, 306, 338, 373, 393, 460–1, 482, 499, 517, 522, 526, 541, 561, 578, 588, 597, 610, 640, 659, 704, 711, 716–9, 721, 734–7, 748, 751, 754, 756, 758, 762–3, 765–6, 769, 792, 806, 846–7
 Postmillennialism 33, 150, 717
 Premillennialism 33, 39–40, 50, 65, 106, 113, 150, 460, 541, 597, 712, 716, 734
 Millennium. *See also* Conflagration; Eschatology; New Heaven and New Earth; New Jerusalem 5, 8, 10, 33, 39, 43, 64, 83, 105, 128, 133–4, 144, 146, 150–2, 157–8, 173–9, 181, 184–5, 188, 190–5, 237–8, 245–7, 265, 283–5,

- 289, 301, 338, 401, 438–9, 461, 469, 483, 514–5, 692, 713, 718, 725, 727, 732, 724, 734–46, 750–2, 754–5, 756–7, 760, 762, 771, 902–3, 909, 962
 and Conversion of the Jews. *See* Jews
 Date of Beginning. *See also* Second Coming 144–5, 148, 166–9, 172, 539, 549, 960, 963
 Imminence of 3, 35, 41, 64–5, 106, 125, 147, 166, 168, 193, 195, 283, 737, 783
 Spiritual Understanding of. *See also* Preterism 156, 736, 763
- Milton, John 85, 109, 748
- Minister(s). *See* Clergy
- Ministry 96, 120, 235, 238, 356, 406, 415, 565, 614, 785, 822, 824, 827, 831–2, 838, 841, 847, 913
- Minucius Felix, Marcus (Minutius Felix) 728, 843
- Miracle(s), Miraculous. 6, 49–51, 120–1, 235, 341, 372, 400, 409, 414–5, 438–9, 466, 520, 561, 602, 631, 633, 656, 685–7, 709–10, 747, 750, 802, 811–2, 823, 828, 837–8, 841, 843–4, 847–8, 939
- Miriam 319
- Misson, François Maximilien 49, 819
- Mithra, Mithras, Mithraism. *See also* Zoroastrianism 894–5
- Moab(ites) 911–4, 916–7
- Molinaeus, Petrus (Pierre Du Moulin) 258
- Momma, Wilhelm 733
- Monarchianism. *See also* Heresy 230
- Money 339–40, 356, 803, 808, 880, 930
- Monks 608, 630, 657, 702, 882
- Montagu, Richard 57, 257
- Montanism, Montanus 89–90, 119–21, 234, 468, 814, 816, 844–7
- Montfort, Simon de 552
- Morality. *See* Virtue(s)
- Moravia 43, 553, 559
- Mordecai 709
- More, Henry 42, 147–8, 552, 704
- Moréri, Louis 781
- Mortality, Immortality. *See also* Heaven; Resurrection 133, 180, 235, 238, 241, 258–60, 281, 290, 353, 369, 430, 469, 538, 596, 662, 671, 732, 842
- Moses, Books of. *See* Pentateuch
- Moses, Mosaic 79, 110, 130–6, 227, 230, 232–3, 247, 266, 268–9, 272, 282, 285–7, 296, 313, 324–5, 336, 386, 430, 437–9, 442, 463, 473, 479, 490, 496, 510, 513, 557, 566, 581, 622, 624, 631, 671, 678, 696–8, 713, 749–50, 756, 770, 784, 822–6, 848, 879, 881, 884–5, 896–7, 901–3, 905–6, 908–9, 912, 915–7, 919, 923, 928, 939, 953, 957
 Authorship of the Torah 58–60, 60, 259, 294, 885
 Burial of 227, 430
 Law of. *See* Law
 as Symbol of the Law and Jewish Church 227, 432
 Song of 34, 376, 622–3, 636
- Moses de León (Moses ben Shem-Tov) 448
- Mosque(s) 471, 894
- Mother(s) 255–6, 442, 488, 592, 614, 709, 807, 849, 897, 912–4
- Mount(ain) 619, 648–9, 661, 668, 674, 697–8, 749, 793
- Athos 512
- Calvary 613
- Ida 262
- Moriah 884
- Sinai. *See also* Law 133, 135, 296, 436–7, 729–30, 749, 830
- Tabor 613
- Zion. *See* Zion
- Mughal Empire. *See* Empire
- Muhammad 139, 526–7, 531–2, 536–7, 609, 738, 779, 892, 894, 896, 898, 953
- Murder, Murderer(s) 327, 354, 657–8, 812, 905, 958
- Music. *See also* Worship 53, 491–3, 614, 618, 830, 839–40, 943–53
 Musical Directions in Psalms 944–5
 Musical Instruments of the Bible 3, 9, 53, 491–2, 943–9

- Muslim. *See* Islam
- Musso, Cornelio 592
- Mustafa II. *See also* Zenta, Battle of 782
- Mystery, Mysteries 8, 118, 135, 252, 265, 268, 309, 359, 373, 378, 413–4, 418, 444, 463, 468, 471, 512, 519, 528, 607, 610, 614, 644–7, 668, 680, 695, 698, 715, 721–3, 745, 773, 806, 808, 816, 832, 932–3
- Mysticism, Mystic 6, 9, 22, 28, 42–3, 48, 63–4, 154, 160, 163, 243, 337, 342, 375, 377, 416–7, 448, 469, 515, 531, 536, 567, 584, 608, 613, 618, 628, 680, 698, 707, 742, 744, 791, 806, 895, 924
- Naaman (the Syrian) 903
- Nabonidus 789
- Naboth 920, 958
- Nachmanides (Rabbi Mosheh ben Nahman) 476, 885
- Nadab (and Abihu) 566
- Nahum 641
- Nantes, Edict of. *See* Edict
- Naomi 912
- Napier, John 145, 792
- Narcissus of Jerusalem 842
- Nasir al-Din al-Tusi 328–9
- Natalius (Antipope) 842
- Nathan (Prophet) 597
- Nathan, Isaac 883–4
- Nathan ben Jehiel 578
- Nathan, Mordecai 883–4
- Native Americans 142, 176–7, 195, 738, 748
- Natural Philosophy, Natural Science. *See* Bible
- Nazareth 941
- Nazarite 80, 352
- Nebuchadnezzar (II) 568, 611, 642, 658, 680, 822–4
- Nehemiah 881, 922
- Nepos of Arsinoe 127, 734–5, 762–3
- Nero 96, 98–9, 323, 330, 357, 360, 395, 475, 587, 946
- Nestorian Church 938
- Netherlands, Dutch 17–9, 22, 24, 28, 34–7, 39, 42–3, 55, 106, 145, 223, 256, 283, 325, 446, 476, 482, 518, 524, 559, 637, 758
- New Birth 120, 190, 239, 340–1
- New England 568, 573, 712
- New Heaven and New Earth. *See also* Millennium 126, 151, 157, 173–5, 178–9, 182–4, 186–7, 190, 192–4, 283, 338, 393–4, 438, 516, 572, 692, 718–9, 750–6, 764, 835, 960–2
- New Jerusalem. *See also* Millennium 43, 126, 152, 162, 175, 178, 183–4, 186, 188, 195, 284, 394, 438, 474, 477, 479–80, 487, 492, 510, 516, 519, 563, 572, 607–8, 692, 713, 719, 725, 731, 747–8, 752, 754–6, 759, 825
in the Book of Ezekiel vs. Revelation 713, 755
as Heavenly City 162, 175, 178, 183–4, 192, 394, 487, 492, 516, 563, 722, 730–1, 752
Rebuilt on Earth 152, 188, 516
Saints of 175, 337, 438, 516, 747–8, 756
- New Testament. *See also* Bible 248, 256, 273, 288, 294, 365, 383, 397, 404, 419, 429, 437, 442, 451, 462, 483, 565, 671, 725, 744, 816, 819, 826, 828–9, 832, 839, 884, 904–5, 921, 925, 940, 962
- Newton, Isaac 5, 41, 45, 49, 72, 111, 126, 132, 136, 152, 411, 578, 767
on the Seven Vials and Trumpets 147–8, 640
- Nicaea *See* Council
- Nicander 584
- Nicanor 453
- Nicholas of Cusa (of Kues, Cusanus) 788–9
- Nicholas of Lyra 765, 948
- Nicolaitans 376–7, 383–4, 429–30, 440, 465, 467–9, 473, 475–6
- Nicolas of Antioch. *See* Nicolaitans
- Nicomedia 595
- Nile 342, 499, 956
- Nineveh 641
- Noah. *See also* Flood 3, 43, 57, 128, 142, 179, 258, 295, 347–50, 361, 381–2, 714–5, 913–5, 953

- Ark of 295, 349–50, 901, 908
 Religion of 9, 35, 52, 129, 132, 134, 136, 138, 142, 890, 901–7
 Seven Laws of 134, 901–3, 905–6
 Sons of 131, 133, 138, 177, 349–50, 715, 910–1, 919, 932
 Noldius, Christianus 266–7
 Norris, John 408
 Noyes, Nicholas 38–9, 44, 144, 150, 169, 597, 612, 716
 Numantine War 583
- Oath(s) 254, 285, 546, 605
 Obadiah 427, 708, 823
 Obedience, Disobedience 108, 112, 244, 246–7, 251–2, 273, 281, 314–5, 347–9, 431, 601, 617, 629, 631, 648, 666, 678, 725, 785, 821, 830, 899
 Odo the Great (Eudes, Eudo) 780
 Odoacer, Flavius 169, 545, 595, 779
 Oecumenius of Tricca (Oecumenius Episcopus) 264, 303, 346, 358, 377, 379, 465
 Offering(s). *See also* Sacrifice 246, 276, 295, 301, 339, 763, 822–3, 898, 925, 943, Peace Offering 251, 269, 300 Sin Offering 269, 271
 Oil. *See also* Anointing 331–3, 335–6, 400, 428, 498–9, 567, 703, 828 of Gladness 235
 Old Testament. *See also* Bible 34, 38, 58, 77–8, 89, 116, 136, 139, 156, 185, 191–2, 232–3, 243, 246, 263, 273, 280, 288, 295–6, 319, 381, 439, 442, 448, 463, 477, 483, 490, 506, 557, 566, 575, 641–2, 693, 704, 708, 727, 732, 771–2, 774, 830–1, 838, 887, 918, 922, 927, 936, 938, 942, 962
 Onan 914
 Oppression 466, 484, 510, 512, 532, 558, 560, 576, 737, 899
 Oribasius 367
 Orient, Oriental(s) 329, 351, 506, 511, 537, 655–6, 710, 887, 898–9, 950, 953
 Origen 95, 98, 249–50, 290, 303, 362, 379–80, 438, 445, 453, 462, 500, 841, 843, 888, 934, 941, 945, 952
 Orosius, Paulus 503, 578
 Orphan 310, 833
 Orpheus. *See also* Argonautica 406, 445
 Orthodox, Orthodoxy (doctrinal) 18, 20, 22–3, 26, 44, 55, 60, 62, 67, 71, 75–7, 85, 89, 93, 107, 110, 112, 114, 121, 150, 160–1, 301, 386, 395, 412, 426, 448, 606, 665, 673, 676–7, 716, 718–20, 746, 762, 846
 Osiander, Lucas (the Elder) 765–6
 Osiris myth (Isis and Osiris) 728
 Osman (Othman) 537
 Osman I (Osman Ghazi) 534–5, 782
 Ostanes 899
 Otto III (Holy Roman Emperor) 444, 781
 Otto of Freising 666
 Ottoman Empire. *See* Empire
 Owen, John 23, 26–7, 79, 93, 115–6, 178, 191, 228, 231, 235, 240, 245–8, 252–3, 267, 273–4, 285, 288, 292, 294, 296, 300
 Ovid 31, 298, 375, 395, 434, 584, 649, 661, 751
- Paganism, Pagan(s) 9, 32, 57, 125, 129, 131, 133–4, 136, 139–43, 155, 159, 161, 256, 293, 298, 306, 359, 378, 380, 395, 437, 455, 475, 486, 495, 497, 499, 502, 504–8, 520, 524, 530, 540, 547, 570, 576, 582, 586, 588–91, 596, 598, 602, 642, 646–7, 650, 652, 669, 672, 674, 689, 722–3, 726, 728–9, 812, 843, 889, 902–6, 929, 931–3, 935
 Paggitt, Ephraim 738
 Pain 298, 348, 394, 509, 581, 587, 608, 628–9, 659, 669, 682, 694, 752, 784, 923, 931
 Palestine. *See also* Holy Land 184, 249, 497, 519, 554, 639, 938
 Paliwka, Andreas 553–4
 Palm(s). *See* Plant(s)
 Palmoni 789
 Palsy 801
 Panciroli, Guido 544
 Pannonia 523, 663, 787
 Pantaenus 841
 Panvinius, Onuphrius (Onofrio Panvinio) 608, 651, 666, 930

- Papacy. *See also* Catholicism; Canon Law;
 Pope(s) 40, 58, 109, 127, 149, 156, 161,
 165, 167–8, 170, 172, 322, 524, 526,
 546, 552–4, 556, 558–61, 563, 565–6,
 574, 590, 595, 597–9, 601–2, 605–6,
 609, 612, 615–7, 620, 624, 627–9,
 631–5, 637–9, 645–7, 650, 654–6,
 665, 667, 673, 684–7, 702, 705, 738,
 741, 764, 766, 780, 783, 789, 842,
 895, 960
 as Antichrist. *See* Antichrist
 Universal Bishop, Papal Primacy 169,
 172, 526, 546, 665, 783, 790
- Papias of Hierapolis 127, 358, 364, 445,
 720, 762, 835
- Papinian 500
- Papists. *See* Papacy; Catholicism
- Parable(s) 256, 284, 700, 827, 925
 of the Samaritan 321
- Paradise. *See also* Millennium; New
 Heaven and New Earth 37, 128–9,
 132–4, 136, 142, 152, 178, 183–4, 338,
 448, 453, 458, 503, 516, 614, 755, 760,
 823, 901, 961
- Paraeus, David (Wängler) 517, 736
- Parents. *See also* Mother(s) 136, 260, 286,
 293, 349, 406, 582, 585, 823, 896,
 902, 909, 920
- Paris, Matthew (Matthæus Parisiensis)
 529, 627
- Parthia, Parthian Empire 100, 397, 403,
 706, 935
- Passau Anonymous* 593
- Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*
 842
- Passover 135, 286, 336, 447, 569
- Pastor(s). *See* Clergy
- Patience. *See* Virtue(s)
- Patin, Charles 397
- Patmos (Island) 92, 101–2, 400, 449, 452,
 465, 768–9
- Patriarchs 100, 131–7, 142–3, 183–4,
 191–2, 259, 275, 283–4, 286, 362, 438,
 460, 569, 608, 693, 700, 713, 754,
 825, 891, 897, 901, 906, 908–9, 915,
 919, 962
- Patrick, Simon 12, 21, 71, 107, 148, 415,
 418
- Paul (Apostle) 7, 17, 20, 26–7, 33, 78–9,
 83–4, 88–91, 93–4, 97–8, 100–1,
 107–8, 116–7, 122, 185, 228–9, 269,
 274, 285, 290, 314–5, 337–8, 342,
 358, 362–3, 379, 383, 396, 425, 437,
 451, 464, 473, 610, 656, 658, 660,
 665, 697, 699, 708, 725, 729, 740,
 813–6, 824–5, 827, 829, 832, 837–40,
 904–6, 918, 927, 932, 959
- Paulinus (Bishop of Nola) 83, 444
- Paulus Diaconus (Warnefridus,
 Barnefridus) 780
- Pausanias Periegetes 458, 583
- Pearson, John 11–2, 22, 28, 71, 96, 101,
 108, 228, 237, 245–6, 252, 266–7,
 271, 275, 285, 299, 302, 307–10,
 313–4, 316–20, 333, 352, 365, 378,
 397, 404, 417–8, 423, 448, 452, 459,
 473, 514, 733, 769
- Pedro de Luna 619
- Pelagius, Pelagianism 655
- Pella 587, 833
- Pentecost 454, 823, 830–1, 847
- People of God, The Faithful. *See also*
 Church; Martyrs 75, 95, 104, 119,
 174, 179–81, 191, 238, 240, 245–6,
 252, 271–3, 280, 292, 303, 361, 370,
 372–3, 393–4, 400–1, 418, 420, 429,
 437–9, 447, 462, 480, 510, 549, 551,
 553, 557–8, 561, 567, 589, 611, 617–8,
 620, 633–4, 641–2, 646, 678, 715,
 718, 724–5, 734, 737, 743, 752, 765,
 785, 797, 809, 821, 824, 826, 829,
 833, 840–1, 906, 909, 917, 943, 963
 Preservation of 160–1, 179, 185, 187,
 190, 349, 389, 470, 486–7, 510, 512,
 539, 615, 618, 677, 712, 714–5, 779
- Pereyra, Benito (Benedict Pereira) 736
- Pergamum 430, 466–7, 471, 477, 957,
 959
- Perkins, William 18, 280, 284
- Perpetua 842
- Persecution. *See also* French Protestants;
 Martyrs 35, 37, 60, 92, 98, 100, 125,
 149, 155, 158, 161, 163–4, 168, 335,
 354, 358, 442–3, 449, 465–7, 469,
 475, 486, 488, 496, 502–4, 507–8,
 524, 547–8, 553, 555–6, 558–9, 562,

- 568, 570, 573, 581, 586–8, 590, 604, 615, 617–8, 670–1, 673–6, 681, 718, 736–7, 769, 779, 838, 881
- Persia, Persian 3, 137–8, 167, 176, 180, 431–3, 443, 529, 533, 535, 680, 709, 768, 791, 887, 889, 891–3, 895–9, 940, 959
- Pesikta Rabbati* 489
- Pétau, Denis (Dionysius Petavius) 40, 379, 504, 637, 666, 780
- Peter (Apostle) 83, 96–7, 98, 100, 178, 180, 229, 303, 314, 335, 341–3, 358–9, 360–3, 372, 379, 383, 392, 394–5, 397, 465, 599, 603, 608, 621, 625, 640, 644, 656, 665, 678, 703, 751–2, 754, 774, 824–5, 831, 847, 903
as Rock 342, 526, 657
- Peter, First Epistle of 7, 14–7, 91, 97, 816
Dating and target audience of 335
- Peter, Second Epistle of 7, 14–7, 60–1, 91, 104, 153–4, 156, 178, 427, 735, 816
Authenticity and Canonicity of 56, 82–5, 87, 89–90, 93, 95, 97–100, 127, 303, 360–3
Main Teachings of 372
- Peter of Bruys (Pierre De Bruys, Peter de Bruis) 616
- Petronius Maximus 658
- Pfeiffer, August 950
- Pharaoh 462, 587, 624, 637, 671, 770, 823, 909
Daughter of 442
- Pharisees 286–7, 349, 569–70, 575, 802, 806, 809, 904–6, 925
- Phelpes, Lynn Charles 472
- Philadelphia, Philadelphians, Philadelphia Society 119, 323, 461, 464, 469, 471, 479–80, 835, 845–6
- Philemon 7, 90, 457
- Philip (the Evangelist) 826, 830, 834–5
- Philip II of Spain 462
- Philipot, Jacques. *See also A New System of the Apocalypse* 33, 37–8, 164, 524, 592, 636, 650
- Philo of Alexandria (Philo Judaeus) 22, 233, 248–9, 274, 304, 364, 374, 430, 435, 582, 585, 695–6, 829–30, 927
- Philology. *See also Interpretation* 10, 13–4, 21–2, 55, 57, 60, 68, 70–2, 76, 79, 81–3, 85, 98, 140, 235, 258, 286, 295, 339, 360, 374, 381, 428, 461, 734, 740, 760, 794, 929
- Philosophy, Philosophers. *See also* Epicurus; Platonic; Sophism; Stoic(s) 6, 13, 31–2, 37, 45, 48, 51, 60–3, 107, 111, 131, 280, 337, 365, 381, 386, 392, 395, 442, 448, 588, 617, 646, 728, 763–4, 811–2, 819–20, 899
Greek 111, 233, 249, 457, 811–2
- Philostorgius 583
- Philostratus, Flavius (the Athenian) 464, 583, 812
- Philpot, Thomas 524
- Phineas Ben Chamas (Rabbi) 332
- Phocas. *See also Pope Boniface III* 169, 526, 546, 790
- Phoebe (of Cenchrea) 433
- Phoenicia, Phoenician 51, 514, 530, 885, 934, 955
- Photinus 117, 230
- Photios I 795
- Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni. *See also Kabbalah* 448
- Piedmont. *See also French Protestants* 163, 171, 553, 558–9, 562, 593, 615, 779, 781, 784
- Pietism 5, 9, 42, 47–8, 63, 121, 149, 185, 758, 804–6, 808–9, 845–6
- Piety, Impiety 4–5, 9, 48, 50–1, 106, 125, 128, 134, 192, 245, 293, 306, 317–8, 432, 435, 536, 547, 557, 593, 616, 618, 655, 677, 680, 693, 734, 750, 803, 806, 845–50, 910, 926, 933, 952, 962
- Pigge, Stephan Winand (Stephanus Winandus Pighius) 794–5
- Pilgrim(s) 283, 286, 298, 754, 898
- Pirke Aboth* 237, 244, 287, 308, 378–9
- Piscator, Johannes 324, 717, 745, 760, 765–6
- Plague(s). *See also Famine; Judgment* 159, 299, 500–2, 509, 530, 535–6, 539–40, 542, 547–8, 557, 566, 623–4, 626–8, 631, 637–9, 678, 771–2, 775, 777, 784, 796

- of Egypt 539–40, 557, 624, 636, 779, 908
- Planets. *See also* Astronomy 307, 396, 446, 806
- Plant(s). *See also* Fruit 254, 309–10, 319, 355, 498–500, 506, 619, 823, 917–8, 937, 956
- Flower(s) 340, 658
- Grass 340, 520, 528, 777
- Myrtle Tree 514–5
- Olive Tree 566–7, 927
- Palm Tree 514–6, 956
- Thorns 254, 355, 715
- Thuja 704
- Willow 514–5
- Wormwood 523, 541, 778
- Plato 31, 347, 406, 457–8, 538, 933, 953
- Platonic, Neoplatonic, Platonism. *See also* Hermeticism; Philosophy 42, 45, 72, 112, 116, 131, 233, 249, 368, 445, 448, 458, 538, 763
- Pleasure 139, 245, 265, 286, 462, 465, 543, 618, 641, 756, 839, 893, 916
- Pliny the Elder (Plinius) 3, 31, 257, 385, 428, 455, 477, 527, 530, 533, 582, 584, 694, 890, 956, 959
- Pliny the Younger 293, 435, 468
- Plumptre, Henry 577
- Plutarch 31, 257, 281–2, 382, 434, 458, 728–9, 794–5, 812, 890, 895, 931, 956
- Pluto 530
- Pocock, Edward 52, 263, 301, 312, 447, 459, 527, 551, 889
- Poetry, Poet(s) 31–2, 139, 262, 362, 458, 530, 604, 648, 661, 703, 732, 839, 927
- Acrostic 644, 932–3, 935, 951
- Hebrew 53, 950–4
- Greek 141, 457
- Poiret, Pierre 747–8
- Poison 509, 529, 531, 585, 590–1, 596, 625, 644, 937
- Poland 24–5, 558–9, 594, 615, 788
- Polybius 382
- Polycarp 90, 92, 101, 452–3, 465–6, 609, 720, 735, 815, 835
- Polycrates of Ephesus 396
- Polygamy 910, 914
- Pompey 656, 936
- Pomponius Mela 533
- Pontius Pilate 5 69, 809, 822
- Pontus (region) 98, 335, 397
- Pope(s) 40, 56, 118, 154, 161, 169–70, 460, 486, 522, 524, 563, 566, 594–6, 598, 603, 605–7, 616, 619–20, 624–9, 631–4, 638, 642–3, 645–6, 648–55, 667, 670, 680, 684–6, 689, 702, 736–7, 789–90, 792, 796, 897
- Pope Alexander III 688
- (Anti)Pope Benedict XII. *See* Pedro de Luna
- Pope Boniface III 606 169, 172, 526, 546, 690, 790
- Pope Boniface VIII 601, 632
- Pope Clement I. *See* Clement of Rome
- Pope Clement V 628, 632–4
- (Anti)Pope Clement VII 628–9
- Pope Damasus I 127, 524, 655, 719, 764–5
- Pope Fabian (Fabianus) 842
- Pope Gregory I. *See* Gregory the Great
- Pope Gregory II 650–1, 666
- Pope Gregory VII (Hildebrand of Sovana) 597, 612, 627
- Pope Gregory IX 632–3
- Pope Gregory XI 628
- Pope Hormisdas 424
- Pope Innocent I 170, 655–7
- Pope Innocent III 552
- Pope John XXII 632, 634
- Pope Julius II 645
- Pope Leo I 170, 657, 664–5, 783
- Pope Leo III 651
- Pope Leo X 342
- Pope Liberius 673
- Pope Martin V 604, 619, 634
- Pope Miltiades 846
- Pope Nicholas III 601
- Pope Pius IV 609
- Pope Sixtus V 702
- Pope Sylvester 593, 643, 703, 709
- Pope Urban VI 628–9
- Pope, Alexander 31, 380–1
- Portugal 594, 648, 663, 691, 777, 787–8
- Poseidon (Neptune) 390–1
- Possession, Possessed 748
- by the Devil 51, 177, 333, 748, 827

- by the Holy Spirit 50, 65, 324, 333–4, 454, 835, 847, 929
- Potamia (Potamiaena) 842
- Potitus, Lucius Valerius 794
- Potter, Francis 38, 607, 688
- Poverty, Poor, the Poor 301–2, 310–2, 356, 434–5, 465, 473, 488, 512, 565, 590, 593, 798
- Praise. *See* Worship
- Prayer(s) 81, 106, 124, 251–2, 294–5, 305, 327, 332–4, 346, 373, 419–21, 427, 460, 465, 484, 492, 519, 538, 614, 620, 668, 684, 695, 700, 704, 711, 784, 797–8, 800–1, 805, 807, 812, 823, 829, 836, 839, 841, 848, 894–5, 923–7
- Preacher(s), Preaching 101, 227, 243, 245–6, 308, 322, 336, 340–1, 347–9, 352–3, 381–2, 400, 404, 415, 425, 464, 466, 468, 470, 516, 554, 556–7, 561, 569, 592, 615–8, 622, 631, 634–5, 671–2, 675, 772, 808, 831–2, 835, 840, 842, 848, 904, 924, 927, 932
- Preterism, Preterist. *See* Interpretation.
- Prideaux, Humphrey 52, 59, 76–7, 124, 137–41, 881–92, 895, 899–900, 922–4, 926–32, 934, 938–42
- Priest, Priesthood. *See also* Levi: Sacrifice 57, 96, 124, 188, 247–8, 239–40, 250, 252, 256–62, 264, 267, 271, 274–5, 277–8, 294, 297, 307, 336–7, 429, 431, 447, 455, 459, 469, 477, 479, 483, 492–3, 503, 505–6, 508, 512, 515–6, 518, 526, 531, 563, 565, 566, 581, 588, 592, 595–6, 599, 622, 625, 643, 645, 656, 659, 678–80, 698, 700, 702, 710, 731, 809, 824, 828, 881, 889, 892, 894–8, 904, 911, 913, 916–7, 926–7, 931, 959
- of Christ. *See* Christ
- of Melchizedek. *See* Melchizedek
- Priestly Office 107, 316, 418, 432, 490, 678, 692,
- Urim and Thummim 307, 824
- Primitivism (Christian). *See also* Apostolic; Church 9–10, 41, 43, 62, 64, 72, 85–6, 89, 104–6, 108–9, 111–3, 115–6, 118–22, 124–6, 128–9, 136, 143, 151, 160–1, 165, 174, 253, 273, 275, 358, 395, 413, 433, 435, 437, 475, 485, 512, 556, 590, 658–9, 670, 673, 718–9, 734, 741, 746, 762–3, 764, 774, 783–5, 816, 820, 832–3, 835, 837–8, 845, 847–8, 932, 943
- Prince(s). *See also* Satan 48, 164, 166, 231, 259, 323, 335, 406, 444, 459, 496, 498, 533, 547, 555, 560, 567, 575–6, 596, 599, 604, 629, 631, 633, 638–9, 648, 651, 666, 684, 695, 699, 702, 709, 780, 899, 937, 958
- Prince, Thomas 44, 173, 712
- Printing 74, 411, 883
- Prisca theologia* 9, 130, 140, 142, 901
- Prison 175, 347–8, 370, 386, 502, 651, 707, 760, 763, 784
- Probus, Marcus Valerius 702–3
- Proculus 843
- Promise(s) 126, 156, 179, 181–2, 190, 194, 245, 281, 286, 299, 326, 394, 421, 447, 714–5, 774, 793, 797, 811, 814, Land of. *See also* Holy Land 246, 283, 587
- of Redemption 132–4, 142–3, 157, 284, 352, 467, 702, 735, 751–3, 910–21
- Propertius, Sextus 649
- Prophecy. *See also* False Prophets
- Fulfillments of 5, 46, 49, 84, 102, 104, 122, 142, 152, 154, 156, 160, 163, 165, 174, 178, 181, 185, 190–2, 194–5, 235, 277, 330, 393, 436, 531, 539, 576, 586, 600, 604, 611, 616, 623, 688, 747, 754, 757, 765, 767, 769, 771, 773, 776, 783, 786, 962
- Gift of, Spirit of. *See also* Holy Spirit 9, 34, 49–50, 120–1, 364, 415, 468, 551, 556, 605, 641, 676, 768, 782, 818–49, 933
- Propitiation. *See also* Atonement; Sacrifice 273, 276, 280–1, 300, 336, 339, 418, 470, 695, 773, 934
- Prosper of Aquitaine 596
- Prosperity. *See also* Wealth 175, 193, 293, 306, 496, 590, 620, 718, 754
- Protestantism, Protestants. *See also* Reformation, French Protestants 9, 46,

- 64, 104, 106–7, 121, 143, 149, 152, 163, 165, 184, 247, 255, 374, 452, 460, 508, 511, 526, 552, 555, 559, 562, 564, 568, 570, 575–7, 579–80, 635, 637, 689, 736–8, 743, 772–3, 784, 845, 848
- Prudentius 584, 729
- Prussia 36, 559, 788
- Psalmist, Psalms 52, 91, 187, 238, 243, 259–60, 262, 272–4, 288, 296, 301, 313, 325, 340, 431, 441, 450, 463, 480–1, 587, 623, 631, 683, 747, 754–5, 815–6, 839–40, 881–2, 896, 927, 941, 944–5, 948, 950–2, 957
- Pseudepigrapha. *See also* Bible (Apocrypha)
- Apocryphal Book in the Name of Seth 100, 362, 891
- Book of Enoch 83, 100, 362, 437–8
- Book of Jannes and Jambres 363, 437
- Book of Zerubbabel. *See* Zerubbabel
- Disputatio contra Arium 75, 412
- Epistle of Barnabas. *See* Barnabas
- Epistles of St. Clement and St. Ignatius 86
- Gospel of Barnabas. *See* Barnabas
- Gospel of the Nazarenes 93
- Shepherd of Hermas. *See* Shepherd of Hermas
- The Life of Adam and Eve 100, 362
- Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs 100, 362
- Pseudo-Ignatius 377–8, 465
- Ptolemies, Ptolemaic dynasty 706
- Ptolemy, Claudius 527, 789
- Ptolemy I (Soter) 957
- Ptolemy II (Philadelphus) 583, 957
- Pufendorf, Samuel Freiherr von 705, 790
- Pumbedita 335
- Punishment. *See also* God 60, 125, 139, 159, 178, 247, 250, 254, 281, 286, 289, 291, 293, 313, 355, 368, 379–80, 421, 501–3, 531, 563, 585, 696, 721–2, 775, 893, 910, 917, 930
- Purgatory 524, 618, 704
- Purification. *See also* Cleansing; Sacrifice 104, 107, 270, 336, 370, 418, 457, 581, 600, 730, 897
- Puteanus, Erycius (Hendrick van den Putte) 528
- Pyle, Thomas 26, 97, 101, 243, 245, 255, 268, 274, 280, 288, 292, 294, 304, 306, 310, 312, 317, 333, 340–1, 353, 355, 358, 367, 382, 409, 421, 425–6, 429, 432, 436, 439
- Pythagoras 345, 895, 899
- Quadratus (of Athens) 834–5
- Quaker(s) 126, 373,
- Quintilian 953
- Quodvultdes 596
- Qu'ran 100, 328, 537, 896
- Rabbis. *See also* Interpretation 134–5, 318, 741, 824, 828, 883, 888, 942, 944
- Rabeinu Machir 701
- Rabshakeh 959
- Rachel 914–5
- Radagaisus 544, 777
- Rahab 750, 903
- Rainolds, John 444
- Rallius, Andreas 766
- Ramban. *See* Nachmanides
- Raphael (Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino) 342
- Rapture. *See also* Conflagration; Second Coming 180, 190, 194, 560, 712, 827, 839
- of Elijah 370, 430
- of Enoch 370, 430, 439
- of Moses 430
- Rashi (Shlomo Yitzchaki; Salomon ben Isaac; Jarchi) 715
- Rationalism. *See also* Bible; Interpretation 6, 21, 29, 88, 107, 150, 156, 255, 281, 341, 406, 522, 529, 694, 722, 813, 819–20, 829, 963
- Ravenna 523, 595, 650, 665–7, 787, 790
- Ray, John 393, 395
- Raynaud, Théophile (Théophile) 809
- Rechabites 902
- Redemption. *See* Atonement; Salvation
- Reeves, William 256
- Reformation 13, 17, 24, 35, 38, 56, 65, 72, 76–8, 80, 83–4, 104–6, 109, 119, 123, 125, 127, 139, 143–4, 158, 161, 163–6, 171–2, 185, 194, 267, 288, 314,

- 381, 435, 479, 485, 550, 552, 554, 556, 559–60, 563–4, 566, 569, 571, 573–4, 577, 593, 604, 606, 615, 619–20, 631–2, 634–8, 710, 737–8, 765, 784, 845, 886, 892–3, 895–6, 922
- Reformed. *See also* Lutheranism;
Calvinism 18, 20, 36, 39, 43, 46, 61, 70, 102, 106–7, 123–4, 127, 129, 135, 143, 145, 152, 158, 163, 165, 167, 193, 228, 232, 259, 374, 461, 511, 554, 558–60, 563, 571, 588, 606, 635, 637
- Reformers 97, 127, 171, 555, 571, 607, 617, 635, 765
- Religion. *See* Chaldeans; Christianity; Greek; History; Islam; Judaism; Magians; Noah; Paganism; *Prisca theologia*; Roman; Sabians; Zoroastrianism
- Remonstrants. *See also* Arminianism 792, 846
- Repentance 94–5, 244, 253–4, 270, 276, 382, 396, 421, 502, 536, 540, 542, 627–9, 727, 750, 776, 842
- Rest
Heavenly Rest. *See* Millennium
Temporal Rest. *See* Sabbath
- Restoration.
of Jewish People. *See* Jews
of Spiritual Gifts. *See also* Holy Spirit 65
Stuart 19–20, 27, 29, 37, 110, 146, 148, 154, 165, 227
- Resurrection. *See also* Immortality;
Judgment; Millennium; New Heaven and New Earth 241, 253, 289, 401, 598, 899, 963
of Christ. *See* Christ
Corporality of 43, 190, 352, 369–70, 570, 714, 716–8, 745, 755, 820
General Resurrection (Second Resurrection) 139, 173–4, 177, 181, 692, 714, 719, 721, 724–6, 746, 893
of the Saints (First Resurrection) 43–4, 126, 150–1, 162, 173–4, 180, 191, 459, 618, 692, 707, 712–4, 716–20, 724–6, 742–3, 745–7, 753, 755–6, 759, 788
Third Resurrection 177, 724, 726
of the Two Witnesses 35, 160, 162–6, 561–2, 568, 571–3, 576–7, 579, 638, 737, 783–5
- Reuchlin, Johannes. *See also* Kabbalah 448
- Revelation(s) 5, 51, 62, 64, 88, 93, 118, 120–1, 129, 131–3, 138–9, 142, 187, 257, 305, 340, 353, 405, 450–1, 468, 485, 491, 495–7, 590, 636, 697–8, 723, 738, 819–20, 823–5, 827, 831, 833, 837, 839, 841–2, 846–7, 890, 895, 958
- Revelation (Book of). *See also* Interpretation; Revelation; Imagery and Prophecies 3–4, 8, 14–6, 18–20, 23, 29, 32–46, 60, 64, 104, 106, 113, 118–9, 121, 123, 125–6, 129, 144–51, 153, 155–9, 162, 167–8, 170, 177–8, 188, 195, 762, 773, 775–6, 813, 815–6, 958
Authorship and Canonicity of 82–4, 87, 90, 100, 102, 444–5, 762, 768–9
Dating of 100, 444
Key to 442–4
Obscurities of 8, 460
- Revelation, Imagery and Prophecies (Interpretations of)
Beast 161–3, 167–8, 170, 174, 486, 495, 526, 539–40, 547, 553, 555, 563, 569, 571, 594–5, 597–611, 613, 615–7, 628–9, 631–2, 636, 642–3, 646–9, 651–4, 657, 660–70, 675, 679–90, 709–10, 738, 741, 770–1, 775, 781, 787, 789–93, 796
Binding of the Dragon. *See also* Millennium 173, 601, 736–9
Dating of the Reign of Antichrist (1260) 444, 461, 555–8, 568, 587, 599, 619, 651–4, 658, 663–4, 671, 690, 741, 743, 772, 783–9, 796
Earthquake(s) 469–71, 479, 504–5, 520, 558, 562, 569, 571–2, 576–7, 579, 634–5, 796
False Prophet 161, 597, 628, 631–2, 689, 710, 738, 792
Four Creatures (Lion, Ox, Man, Eagle) 167, 442, 482, 484–5, 490, 747–8, 768, 774, 786, 791

- Four Horsemen 159, 496–501, 511, 535
 Frogs 631–3
 Gog and Magog. *See* Gog and Magog
 Golden Candlesticks 455, 482, 566–7, 570, 699
 Great Star 523–4, 541, 545
 Great White Throne 722–3
 Image of the Beast 603–4, 611, 615, 617, 628, 636, 646, 685–90, 770, 791–2
 Lamb 188, 483, 489–94, 508, 517–8, 567, 589, 613, 622, 672, 679, 684–5, 687–8
 Locusts 511, 526–31, 536, 779, 781, 799
 Man-Child 45, 161, 168, 581, 586–8, 670–2
 Mark of the Beast 539, 604, 687
 Number of the Beast (666) 38, 162, 165, 569, 571, 597, 604, 607–12, 687–8, 791
 Red Dragon. *See* Satan
 Remnant (144 000) 119, 160–1, 185, 188–90, 194, 486–7, 510–1, 539, 573, 592–3, 613, 618, 674, 677–9, 721, 740, 779, 796
 Sea 482, 484, 522, 541, 544–5, 594, 622, 624–6, 637, 673, 679, 775
 Seven Churches. *See also* Golden Candlesticks 460–82.
 Seven Seals 104, 147, 159–60, 462, 486, 490–1, 495–6, 502–5, 508–9, 519–20, 540, 769, 774–5,
 Seven Trumpets 104, 123, 125, 147, 152, 159–60, 162–7, 462, 486, 490–1, 495, 504, 511, 515, 519–26, 533, 536, 538–48, 552, 563–4, 568, 575, 579, 630, 635–6, 640, 678, 701, 740, 744, 749, 753, 769–85, 796, 824, 836, 904, 947
 Seven Vials/Bowls 37, 46, 104, 147, 152, 159–67, 173, 462, 487, 490–2, 539, 623–40, 678, 769–72, 775–6, 784, 796
 Storm of Hail 521, 541, 543–4, 777
 Three Woes 147, 160, 163, 540, 546–7, 770–1
 Two Witnesses. *See* Martyrs. *See also* Resurrection
 Whore of Babylon. *See* Whore(dom)
 Woman 161, 168, 581, 584, 587, 590–3, 613, 642–4, 646, 648, 660–1, 668–79, 682, 770, 786, 793, 796
 Revenge 247–8, 322, 417, 491, 502, 536, 540, 558, 638, 658, 721, 898
 Revenue. *See also* Tithes 258, 468, 505, 702, 898
 Reverence. *See* Worship
 Revolt. *See* Obedience
 Reward(s) 139, 240, 244–5, 261, 282, 286–7, 313, 322, 324, 334, 367, 384, 432, 474, 732–3, 744, 800, 893, 960
 Rhetoric, Figures of Speech
 Analogy 264, 431, 785
 Ellipsis 348
 Metaphor 233, 250, 479, 518, 570, 589, 685, 717, 746, 951
 Metonymy 518, 564
 Synecdoche 567
 Rhodiginus, Coelius (Lodovico Ricchieri) 458
 de Ribera, Francisco 40, 460–1, 517, 541
 Riccobaldo of Ferrara 656
 Richard I (King of England) 529
 Right(s) 97, 238, 258, 265, 270, 301, 315, 354, 408, 434, 625, 667, 670, 910–2, 917, 919, 934
 Righteousness, Righteous 51, 70, 79, 81, 84, 108, 122, 175, 187, 272, 276, 288, 295, 298, 314–5, 322, 333, 350, 355, 364, 371, 381–2, 394, 396, 438, 453, 457, 476, 481, 581, 626–7, 669, 677, 693, 718, 745, 751, 753, 756, 763, 772–3, 809, 896, 899, 902, 933, 943, 950
 River(s) 230, 342, 777–8
 Danube 653, 777–8
 Euphrates 100, 166, 403, 431, 533–4, 536, 540, 548, 630–1, 638, 641, 706, 775–6, 781, 828
 Oxus 533
 Po 621, 777
 Rhine 653, 777–8
 Rhône 523, 777

- Tanais 521
 Tigris 706
 Rocca, Angelo 608
 Roger I (of Sicily) 781
 Roman Catholic. *See* Catholicism
 Romanists. *See* Catholicism
 Romans (Epistle) 7, 24, 97, 108, 186, 314, 467, 517, 962
 Rome, Roman *See also* Catholicism 98, 100–1, 127, 129, 161–2, 305, 332, 342, 360, 403, 443, 445, 451, 467–8, 498–9, 511, 521, 565, 569, 571, 578, 582–3, 586, 588–9, 593–602, 608, 612, 617, 621, 625–30, 641, 648–52, 657–8, 661–2, 666–74, 679, 686–90, 700, 702–3, 708, 738, 776–7, 781, 785, 787, 793, 795, 813, 842, 888, 895, 929–31, 933–6, 946, 956, 958
 as Antichrist. *See* Antichrist
 as Babylon 98, 154, 160, 162–3, 167, 335, 358, 541, 614–7, 621, 628, 642–4, 667–8, 680–1, 702, 789, 791
 Church. *See* Catholicism
 Council of. *See* Council
 Destruction of. 38, 144, 165, 169–71, 174, 179, 519–25, 528, 532–4, 537, 539–48, 607, 625, 636, 639, 665, 702, 744, 779, 783, 787, 960
 Empire 60, 84, 100–1, 105, 124–5, 141–2, 154–6, 159–61, 163, 167–70, 174, 176, 255, 257, 305, 322–3, 330–1, 344, 359, 425, 431, 434, 442–3, 475, 486, 495–500, 502–3, 505, 507–8, 555, 561, 578, 582, 586, 589, 595–6, 598–603, 627–8, 630, 642–54, 657–90, 709–12, 736–8, 741–2, 748, 752, 768, 773–9, 786–95, 843
 Law. *See* Law
 Rosicrucianism 48, 806
 Rosinus, Johannes (Johann Roßfeld) 359, 643
 Rubeus, Hieronymus 666
 Rudolf II 555
 Rupert of Deutz (Rupertus Tuitiensis) 379
 Russia 521, 554
 Ruth 816, 912, 914, 940–1
 Rutilius Naumatianus 561
 Rycaut, Paul 46, 512
 Ryswick, Peace of 164, 193, 562
 Sabbath. *See also* Millennium 124, 132–3, 191, 245–6, 270, 313, 331–2, 424, 433, 438–9, 451–4, 623, 716, 735, 750, 753, 756, 807, 881, 902, 904, 908–9, 923–5, 928
 Sabians, Sabianism. *See also* Heresy, Religion 52, 135, 137–8, 728, 889–91, 893, 897–900
 Sacchi, Bartolomeo (Platina) 590, 656
 Sacconi, Rainer 593
 Sacraments. 91, 105, 122, 418, 553, 574, 614, 625, 683, 693, 816, 838–40
 Baptism. *See* Baptism
 Eucharist. *See* Eucharist
 Sacrifice(s). *See also* Christ 57, 124–5, 135, 248, 253–4, 258–9, 261, 270, 273–7, 280–1, 295, 300–1, 313, 336, 340, 391, 414, 418, 430, 434, 473, 481, 490, 494, 503, 506, 538, 547, 557, 565, 581, 588, 596, 604, 613, 615, 621–2, 656, 683, 704, 731, 789, 817, 889, 910, 917, 924–5, 933–4, 943, 955
 Sadducee(s) 96, 287, 827
 Saints. *See* Resurrection
 Salah ad-Din (Saladin) 617
 Salem Witchcraft Crisis. *See also* Demons 164, 561
 Salmeron, Alfonso 687
 Salomon/Solomon 193, 235, 265–6, 442, 462, 484, 488, 696, 698, 816, 822–3, 885, 896, 911, 925, 948, 950–1, 958
 Salvation. *See also* Christ 26, 59, 84, 95, 108, 114–5, 118, 131, 134, 175, 186–7, 188–9, 239, 243, 254, 261, 271, 315, 338, 348–50, 363, 372, 396, 414, 421, 491, 513, 517, 589, 599, 601, 639, 712, 714, 723–6, 733, 745, 747, 750, 806, 823, 902, 906, 915, 962
 Salvian 664
 Samael (Archangel). *See* Angel
 Samaritans, Samaria 22, 195, 321, 331, 567, 569, 823, 831, 881, 885–6, 916–7
 Samosatenus, Paulus (Paul of Samosata) 117, 230
 Sampson 288, 826, 828

- Samuel (Prophet) 288, 823–4, 829, 939, 948
- Sanctification 70, 108–9, 190, 277–8, 299, 315, 369–70, 410, 417, 427, 588, 717, 826
- Sanctuary. *See also* Tabernacle 264–5, 270, 347, 397, 519, 623, 698, 783, 789, 796, 915, 927
- Sanhedrin. *See* Talmud
- Saracen(s). *See* Arab(s)
- Sarah 346, 463, 912–5
- Sardis 469, 471–2, 479
- Sarrau, Claude (Claudius Saravius) 707–8
- Sarson, Laurance 731
- Satan, Devil, Lucifer 133, 151, 159, 175–8, 183, 240–1, 293, 326–7, 333, 351, 369, 371, 379, 383, 405, 421–2, 430–2, 465–9, 474, 486, 490, 506–7, 514, 526, 531, 538, 573, 582, 585–6, 588–90, 598, 626, 632, 638, 658, 672, 674, 682, 714, 721–2, 724–5, 729, 732, 738–9, 743, 746, 748–50, 765, 786, 790, 799, 802, 807–8, 827, 829, 847, 891, 898, 909
- Angel of Death. *See* Angel(s)
- as Dragon 506, 531, 582, 585, 631–2, 670
- as Prince 236, 293, 379, 421, 430, 530, 729, 754, 763, 802
- as Serpent 182, 370, 463, 531, 582, 584–6, 591–2, 672, 674–5, 760, 796
- Satisfaction. *See* Atonement
- Saturn 761
- Saubertus, Johannes 923
- Saul 319, 826, 829, 948
- Saurin, Jacques 28, 431–2
- Savonarola, Girolamo 554
- Savoy, Duchy of. *See also* Charles Emmanuel II; Eugene of Savoy; Victor Amadeus II 559, 579, 782, 784–5, 788
- Saxons. *See* Germanic Peoples and Kingdoms
- Saxony 663, 803
- Scaliger, Joseph Justus 55–6, 91, 140, 438, 474, 504, 583–4, 886, 952–3, 956
- Scapula 500, 843
- Schickard, Wilhelm 339
- Schism(s) 112, 429, 439, 513, 619, 628–9, 631, 734, 927
- Schlichting, Jonas 24–5, 66, 110, 232, 235, 251
- Scholem, Gershom 448
- Schott, André (Andreas Schottus) 385
- Scotland 19, 461, 552, 594, 637, 788
- Scribonia 935
- Scripture. *See* Bible
- Scythia, Scythian(s) 176–7, 443, 521, 534–5, 748, 777, 898
- Sea(s)
- Adriatic 571, 777, 788
- Aegean 630
- Baltic 571
- Black Sea 630
- Bosphorus 630–1, 634
- Tyrrhenian Sea 571
- Seager, John 178–9, 192, 338
- Second Coming, Parousia. *See also* Conflagration; Christ; Eschatology; Millennium; Rapture 3–4, 8, 33, 38, 41, 45, 52, 61, 64–5, 102, 106, 126, 147, 153, 157, 164, 167, 174–5, 179–81, 185–9, 192–5, 238, 283, 338, 393, 438, 450, 461, 551, 616, 620, 712–4, 734, 736–7, 739–45, 747–8, 751–2, 755–6, 783, 790, 796, 835, 847, 960
- Date of 4, 38, 42, 52, 147, 169–72, 238, 588, 762, 783, 786–90
- Signs of 164, 185, 195, 960
- Seidenbecher, Georg Laurentius 757–8, 765–6
- Selden, John 22, 56–7, 130, 257, 295, 507, 532–3, 901,
- Seleucia 592, 706
- Seleucus I Nicator 477, 706
- Seneca, Lucius Annaeus 31, 255, 395, 811–2
- Sennacherib 959
- Septimius Severus 498–500, 503, 657, 774, 795, 842
- Septuagint [LXX]. *See* Bible
- Serarius, Petrus 766
- Sermon(s) 14, 19, 28–9, 34, 47, 97, 111, 146, 227, 241, 245, 314, 357, 367, 393,

- 422, 429, 456, 465, 482, 561, 592,
616, 622, 665, 689, 704, 740, 797,
799, 904
- Servant(s) 230, 247, 287, 339, 344, 433,
461, 604–5, 842, 892, 909, 912–3,
of God 79, 97, 175, 245, 272, 274,
369, 396, 432, 480, 510, 513, 519, 539,
565, 575, 590, 613, 672, 683, 686,
707–8, 747, 754–5, 757, 773, 800–3,
808, 825, 943, 961
- Servius (Maurus Servius Honoratus) 455,
930
- Seth 295, 891, 910, 916–7
Book of. *See* Pseudepigrapha
- Severus II (Flavius Valerius Severus) 503,
795, 843
- Severus Alexander 498–9
- Sextus Pomponius 956
- de Seyssel, Claude (Claudius Sesselius)
593
- al-Shahraṣṭānī, Muhammad 899
- Shammai (Rabbi) 299
- Sharrock, Robert 403
- Shekhinah 116, 136, 233, 692, 696, 740,
825, 894
- Shem 131, 138, 227, 258–9, 471, 911–2,
915, 919
- Shemiramoth 948
- Shepherd(s) 302, 479, 570, 828, 937,
952
- Shepherd of Hermas. *See also* Pseudo-
epigrapha 85–6, 89, 90, 93, 121, 305,
814–6, 847
- Sherlock, Thomas 30, 98–100, 148, 276,
360–3, 372,
- Sherlock, William 110, 380
- Sherwin, William 29, 282
- Shiloh 916
- Shimei 914
- Sibylline Oracles 52–3, 128–9, 137,
139–42, 760–1, 929–37
- Sibyls 140–1, 761, 929–30, 932–6
- Sicily 329, 704, 781
- Sickness, Sick 183, 285, 298, 331–3, 356,
421, 469, 757, 801, 804, 828, 837
- Sidonius Apollinaris 584
- Sigebert of Gembloux (Sigebertus
Gemblacensis) 666
- Sigismund (Holy Roman Emperor) 553,
634
- Sigonio, Carlo (Carolus Sigonius) 40,
595, 651, 666, 778
- Silas (Silvanus) 832
- Silver 330, 338, 514, 540, 781, 880, 947
- Simeon, Tribe of 513
- Simeon (Bishop of Jerusalem) 99, 360
- Simeon Metaphrastes 468
- Simeon ben Yohai (Shimon bar Yochai)
448
- Simon, Richard 57–60, 66–7, 71, 94,
140, 229, 885
- Simon the Just 881
- Simon Magus 154, 468, 667
- Simony 616, 629–30
- Sin. *See also* Atonement, Death, Vices 25,
75, 107–9, 115, 125–6, 153, 174–5, 179,
186, 192–3, 239–41, 247, 250, 253,
269–71, 274, 276–7, 281, 286, 292–3,
296, 300, 311–2, 316, 318, 328, 333–4,
338, 342, 344, 353, 361, 367–71, 380,
398–9, 402, 409–10, 412, 419–21, 441,
447, 489, 492, 553, 577, 664, 717,
720, 722, 754, 764, 801–2, 809, 835,
889, 910, 912, 914, 958, 962–3
Against the Holy Spirit 277, 420–1
Man of Sin 162, 174, 181, 359, 600,
610, 611–2, 714, 734, 960
- Sinlessness
of Adam 180, 183, 409, 577, 755
of Christ. *See* Christ
- Sinner 95, 108, 177, 254, 276, 301, 314,
334, 420, 429, 438, 614, 950
- Sirach (Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom of Sirach).
See also Bible (Apocrypha), Index of
Biblical Passages 816, 908
- Slaughter 157, 163–5, 173, 290, 330,
476, 497–8, 522–3, 531, 534, 552, 558,
562, 567–9, 571, 573–6, 626, 647, 711,
779–80, 783–4, 892, 898
- Slave(s). *See also* Servant(s) 79, 272, 305,
344, 471, 524, 569, 626, 629, 705,
778, 784, 827–8, 903
Slave Trade 705
- Smith, John (1618–1652) 312–3,
Smith, John (fl. 1675–1711) 29, 721–3
Smith, Thomas 46, 471

- Smyrna 465, 471, 474–5
 Socinians, Socinianism, Unitarianism.
See also Arianism, Heresy 20–1, 24–7,
 66, 71, 73, 86, 105, 109–11, 115, 117,
 230, 232, 235, 251, 410–1, 413, 558–9,
 817, 837
 Socrates 458
 Socrates Scholasticus (Socrates of Con-
 stantinople) 435, 544, 786
 Sodom, Sodomite 361, 441, 577, 625,
 753, 842, 912
 Soldier(s) 36, 254, 501, 530, 559, 578,
 641
 Sophism, Sophist(s) 464, 812
 Sophocles 375
 Soul(s). *See also* Conscience 108–9, 118,
 120, 231, 241, 246, 248, 250, 270, 301,
 308–9, 314, 326, 328, 338–9, 348–50,
 352, 357, 364, 366, 369–71, 405, 420,
 425, 440, 450–1, 456–9, 493, 503,
 509, 512, 531, 538, 557, 582, 613, 625,
 637, 692, 694–5, 702, 704–5, 717,
 734, 801, 809, 829, 835, 848, 890,
 943, 953
 Sozomen 655, 953
 Spain 146, 164, 308, 448, 462, 497,
 521, 523, 542–4, 579, 594, 619, 637,
 663–4, 691, 774, 777, 780, 787–8
 Sparta 397, 520
 Spartianus, Aelius. *See Historia Augusta*
 Spencer, John 57, 132, 135, 137, 257,
 605, 889, 893
 Spener, Philipp Jakob 9, 757, 805, 845
 Spinoza, Benedict 885
 Spon, Jacob 481
 Stalham, John 373
 Stars. *See also* Celestial Bodies; Sun 137,
 307, 372–3, 375, 396, 436, 446, 456,
 469, 506–7, 523–6, 541, 545, 560,
 581, 585, 669–71, 756, 776, 778–9,
 825, 890–1, 899, 916
 Statius, Publius Papinius 466
 Staynoe, Thomas 29, 339–40, 723–6
 Stephanus of Byzantium (Stephanus
 Byzantinus) 378, 477
 Stephanus Pannonius of Belgrade 748
 Stephen (Martyr) 352–3, 699, 749–50,
 919
 Stephens, Nathaniel 789–90
 Stephens, Robert 73, 410, 884
 Steuco, Agostino (Agostinus Steuchus)
 599, 952
 Stilicho, Flavius 777, 931
 Stillingfleet, Edward 901
 Stobaeus, Johannes 339
 Stoic(s), Stoicism. *See also* Philosophy
 255, 378, 395, 501, 532, 655, 811–2
 Stoning 68, 289–90, 658, 748–9
 Strabo (Historian) 31, 304, 395, 470,
 479, 578, 583, 889
 Stranger(s) 228, 259, 286, 298, 322,
 397, 401, 433, 595, 606, 725, 895,
 903, 940
 Strong, William 320, 739–40
 Stucki, Johann Wilhelm (Stuck, Stuckius)
 434
 Suarez, Cajetanus 259
 Suetonius Tranquillus, Gaius 583, 933,
 935
 Suffering(s). *See also* Punishment 126,
 354–5, 379, 386, 625, 627–9, 631–2,
 648, 660, 675, 720, 755, 762, 812,
 893, 916
 of Christ. *See* Christ. *See also*
 Atonement
 For Christianity. *See also* Martyrs 35,
 97, 161, 239–40, 250–1, 304, 322,
 326, 352, 407, 432, 465, 503, 556,
 561, 570, 581, 588, 606, 618, 718, 746,
 961
 Suidas 374, 378
 Sulla 257, 930, 934, 936
 Sulpicius Severus 127, 762–3
 Sun 116, 138, 161, 233, 306–7, 378, 389,
 392, 409, 506–7, 516, 525, 532, 541,
 545, 550, 581, 627–9, 633, 638, 669,
 695, 730–2, 746, 775, 779, 890–1,
 894, 956
 Supernatural Experiences. *See also* Angels;
 Demons; Enthusiasm; French Pro-
 phets; Holy Spirit; Miracles
 Automatic Writing 49, 88, 819
 Ecstasy 826, 828–9
 Glossolalia 49, 120–1, 814, 819, 829,
 837,
 Healing 50, 120, 819, 828, 841

- Prophecy. *See* Prophecy
 Trance 50, 827
 Superstition, Superstitious. *See also* Magic
 5, 125, 137, 139, 280, 465, 471, 507,
 519, 547, 552, 554, 556, 573, 585,
 615–6, 626, 630, 644, 669, 673, 686,
 688, 812, 814, 891, 895, 899, 943
 Sura 335
 Sweden, Swedish 24, 43, 521, 553, 619,
 635, 638, 691, 788
 Switzerland 17, 36, 461, 554, 637, 784
 Sword(s) 68, 168, 175, 247–50, 276, 290,
 348, 467, 489, 496–7, 500, 537, 601,
 665, 681, 684, 686, 702–3, 710, 713,
 721, 785, 919
 Sykes, Arthur Ashley 30, 350
 Symmachus 944–5
 Synagogue(s) 77, 124, 194, 311, 320,
 433, 447, 465, 474, 637, 881–2, 904,
 922–8, 938, 941, 959
 Syria, Syrians 66, 92, 116, 227, 233, 323,
 330, 377, 511, 519, 583, 617, 638, 816,
 880, 889, 903, 911, 936, 938, 940
 Syriac. *See* Bible
 Tabernacle 184, 233, 264, 266–8,
 270–1, 282, 336, 477, 566, 571, 581,
 599–600, 614, 622, 637, 643, 678,
 682–3, 692, 696–700, 879, 890, 920,
 927
 Feast of. *See* Feast
 Tacitus, Publius Cornelius 321, 470, 931,
 933, 936
 Talmud, Talmudic 22, 27, 43, 76–7,
 227–8, 267, 332, 474, 476, 481, 517,
 698, 709, 882, 886–8, 901, 940–2
 Gemarah, Gemarists 227, 940
 Mishnah 237, 313, 349, 447, 940–1
 Tractate Abodah Zarah (Avodah Zarah)
 332, 901
 Tractate Baba Bathra (Bava Batra) 318,
 332–3, 481, 731, 882
 Tractate Baba Kamma 355
 Tractate Berakoth 474
 Tractate Chagigah 698
 Tractate Eruvin 244
 Tractate Gittin 302
 Tractate Hagigah 337
 Tractate Kelim 578
 Tractate Ma'aser Sheni 332, 474–5
 Tractate Megillah 227, 308, 882, 939,
 959
 Tractate Nedarim 882
 Tractate Sanhedrin 284, 311, 313, 349,
 398, 447, 715–6, 886, 901
 Tractate Shabbath 313, 331–2, 433,
 730, 924
 Tractate Sotah 227
 Tractate Yoma 313, 332
 Tamar 914
 Tanchuma bar Abba 917
 Targum(s) 52, 448, 938–42
 on Chronicles 941, 948
 on Deuteronomy 585
 on Exodus 447
 on Ezekiel 328
 on Isaiah 517, 603, 699, 942
 on Numbers 639
 on Psalms 480, 639
Targum Jerusalem 259, 940
Targum (Pseudo-)Jonathan 258–9, 514,
 517, 699, 939, 942
Targum Onkelos 447, 938–42
 Tarquinius Superbus 930
 Tarsus (Cilicia) 509, 703, 812
 Tatars 443, 529, 533, 535
 Tatian the Assyrian 116, 233, 379
 Teaching, Teacher(s) 89, 175, 183, 294,
 309, 316–7, 400, 456, 570, 615–6, 719,
 733, 747, 764, 814, 832–3, 835, 840,
 922, 961
 False Teachers. *See* False Teacher(s)
 Tears 46, 251, 390, 437, 509, 647
 Temperance. *See* Abstinence
 Temple(s) 104, 123, 160, 163, 172, 175,
 187, 233, 243, 409–10, 434, 467, 475,
 482, 491, 503, 505–8, 510, 513, 515–6,
 518, 547–8, 556–7, 563–9, 575, 589,
 596, 600, 622–3, 634, 637, 658, 678,
 694–700, 709, 730, 755, 770–3, 783,
 789, 796, 824, 881, 884, 886, 889,
 891–900, 903–4, 911, 920, 922, 925–7,
 943–4, 947–9, 955
 of Apollo 929, 931, 936
 of Asclepius 466
 of Delphi 281

- of Jerusalem 123–4, 175, 282, 331, 496, 563, 565, 658, 698–9, 772, 886, 894
of Jupiter 929–30
of Leto 342
Templer, John 381
Temptation(s), 113, 179, 183, 242, 289–90, 300, 305, 326–7, 371, 430, 469–70, 511, 585, 694, 715, 724, 782, 800, 848, 919
of Jesus. *See Christ*
Tertullian 75, 89–90, 92, 117, 119, 127, 234, 256–7, 275, 290, 358, 377, 379–80, 383, 400, 407, 412–3, 435, 438, 445, 453, 467, 495, 499–500, 502, 588, 659–60, 759, 762, 812, 814–7, 843, 932
Thanksgiving 301, 575, 839, 943
Theatre 158, 292, 482, 485, 634
Theodoret of Cyrus 264, 943
Theodoric the Great 546, 595, 779
Theodosius I 505–6, 520–1, 544, 592, 653, 673
Theodosius II 665
Theophanes the Confessor 666
Theophilus of Antioch 396, 840–1, 843
Theophylact of Ohrid (Theophylactus of Ochrida) 265–6, 303, 346, 914
Theosophy 42, 48, 766, 806
Thessalonians 660, 743
Thief, Thieves 354, 531, 631, 633, 642, 906
Thirty Years' War 43, 165, 553, 638
Thorndike, Herbert 155, 157, 769
Thrace, Thracian 501, 520–1, 554, 595, 630, 775, 777
Thyatira 468, 471, 477, 479, 756–7
Tiberius 434, 931, 936
Tillotson, John 364
Timothy (of Ephesus) 101, 425, 832
Timothy, First Epistle of 832–3
Timothy, Second Epistle of 100, 362–3, 832–3
Timothy of Constantinople (Timotheus Presbyterus) 377
Timothy of Miletus 946
Timur (Tamerlane) 630
Tithes, Tithing 56–7, 256–60, 313, 798, 897–8
Titus (Apostle, Epistle) 832–3, 840
Titus (Roman emperor) 496, 774, 789
Tobit, Book of. *See also Bible* (Apocrypha); Index of Biblical Passages 705, 720, 772
Toledot Yeshu 709
Torrey, William 44–5, 173–4, 177, 179, 186, 712–5
Torture. *See also Martyrs* 68, 249, 289–90, 380, 509, 528, 682
Tostado, Alonso (Alphonsus Tostatus) 948
Tostaius 259
Tournefort, Joseph Pitton de 46, 449, 471
Tours, Battle of 780
Trade 471, 481, 577, 604, 688, 695, 703–5, 917
Trajan 102, 435, 452, 469, 497, 774
Transgression. *See Sin*
Transubstantiation 616–7, 683
Transylvania 232, 549, 559, 637–8
Trapp, John 441
Trench, Edmund 357
Trial(s) 41, 113, 164, 239, 354, 403, 558, 722, 730, 757, 838
of Faith 284, 336, 355
Trinity, Trinitarianism. *See also God; Christ; Holy Spirit* 7, 10, 21, 24–7, 30, 41, 60, 62, 66–7, 70–5, 87, 104–5, 109–22, 136, 142, 250, 409–19, 427, 533, 677
Troas 469
Trojan War 457
Trullo 435
Tudor, Mary 568
Turmair, Johann Georg (Aventinus) 628, 686–7
Turner, John 30, 240, 280–1
Turniellus 259
Turks, Turkish. *See also Empire(s)* 156, 160, 163, 165–6, 185–6, 443, 461, 471, 479, 486, 512, 519, 529, 531, 533–7, 540, 548–9, 555, 568, 630–1, 634, 638, 653, 712–3, 744, 781–2, 887, 944
Tyndale, William 71, 73, 411

- Type(s). *See also* David; Interpretation;
 Melchizedek 135, 191–2, 246, 255–6,
 260, 272, 280, 284, 287, 295, 336,
 349–50, 394, 401, 418, 432, 462–3,
 479–80, 488, 513, 566, 579, 582, 587,
 594, 642, 670, 676, 695, 706
 Tyre 249, 592, 703–4
- Ulpian 428, 500
 Unitarianism. *See* Heresy, Socinianism
 Uriah 958
 Ursinus, Zacharias 18, 265–6
 Ussher, James 101–2, 141, 452, 458, 557,
 688, 935
 Utrecht, Peace of 164, 193, 562
- Valens 486, 505, 543, 777
 Valentinian I 505, 543, 673
 Valentinian III (Placidus Valentinianus)
 443, 525, 541, 545, 650, 657–8, 665,
 783
 Valentinians 377, 505
 Valerius Maximus 434
 Valla, Lorenzo 365
 Vandals (Vandal Kingdom). *See* Germanic
 Peoples and Kingdoms
 Varro, Marcus Terentius 385, 578, 649,
 933
 Vatable, François (Franciscus Vatablus)
 356, 884
 Vengeance 525, 619, 712
 of God. *See also* Judgment 194, 254,
 286, 294–5, 349–50, 382, 469, 502,
 519–20, 633, 664, 751, 912
 Venice, Venetian 511, 535, 645, 691, 788,
 883, 940
 Verus, Lucius 812
 Vespasian, Titus Flavius 496, 774, 789
 Vices
 Arrogance 345, 429, 837
 Carnality, Lust, Sensuality 287, 320,
 324, 353, 399, 563–4, 367, 439, 465,
 476, 713, 764, 806–7, 848, 906, 910,
 917
 Covetousness, Envy 293, 299, 310,
 323–6, 330, 377–8, 399, 524, 593,
 633, 676–7, 902, 910
 Disobedience. *See* Obedience
 Fornication 309, 376, 467, 473,
 613–4, 644, 668–9, 680, 710, 901,
 905–6
 Gluttony 366, 809
 Greed, Luxury 331, 356, 435, 470,
 669, 673
 Incest 139, 435, 897, 901, 911–12, 914
 Infidelity 96, 193, 304, 354–5, 394,
 404, 429, 498, 642, 644, 692, 711,
 722, 820, 838, 841, 843, 899, 942
 Lasciviousness 345, 376–7, 384
 Malice 322, 326, 343–4, 369, 395,
 421, 436, 465, 468, 615, 671–2, 798
 Pride 318, 325, 346, 371, 385, 399,
 538, 630, 633, 643, 669, 806, 811,
 827–8
 Rashness 164, 316, 757, 800, 806
 Seduction 241, 369, 440, 467, 582,
 585, 674, 724–5, 750
 Unbelief 179, 185
 Victor Amadeus II (Duke of Savoy) 559,
 784
 Victorinus of Pettau 127, 656, 762–3
 Vienna 166, 511, 549, 575, 631, 705,
 782, 787
 Vignier, Nicholas 651
 Vintage 166, 615, 618–21, 635
 Violence 49, 153, 160, 163, 179, 270,
 279–80, 298, 321, 369, 378, 390, 501,
 509, 521, 533, 545, 552–3, 559, 568,
 613, 615, 632, 673, 675, 678, 685,
 715, 717, 781–2, 818, 828, 845–6, 898,
 910, 912
 Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro) 129, 141,
 359, 455, 501, 530, 648, 761, 930–7
 Virgin(s), Virginity 161, 258, 487, 613–4,
 683, 732, 844, 920
 Virtue(s), Virtuous. *See also* Faith, God
 (Fear of), Wisdom 139, 308, 310, 322,
 336, 357, 364–6, 405, 432, 499, 593,
 694, 734, 810, 812, 951
 Charity 229, 302, 317, 334, 353, 365,
 367, 421, 433–4, 700, 798, 800, 847
 Chastity 613, 695, 912
 Compassion 252, 295, 329, 417, 615
 Courage 403, 407, 491, 512, 671, 831
 Diligence 294, 356, 367, 760
 Fortitude 365, 812

- Godliness 139, 297, 365, 570–1, 607, 672, 695, 715, 773, 893
 Gentleness 309, 341, 367, 425, 470, 615, 684, 800
 Humility 293, 325, 357–8, 373, 396, 405, 524, 604, 734, 764, 798, 807, 819, 836, 944
 Patience 81, 237, 252, 279, 348, 365–7, 432, 464, 491, 588, 602, 615, 617–8, 690, 755, 786, 802, 806–7, 912
 Trust 76, 240, 285, 305, 405
 Vitringa, Campegius (the Elder) 28, 145, 368–71
 Vives, Juan Luis 128–9, 760–1
 de Voisin, Joseph 454, 474
 Volcano 390–1, 621
 Vorstius, G. H. 259, 455
 Vossius, Gerardus Joannes (Gerhard Voss) 130, 507
 Vossius, Isaac 141, 708, 739–40, 935
 Vulgat(e). *See Bible*
- Wadsworth, Benjamin 47, 799
 Wake, William 120, 834
 Waldensians, Vaudois. *See also* French
 Prophets 119, 163–5, 171, 552–4, 559, 561–2, 593, 615–7, 626, 688, 779, 783–4, 796, 845
 Waldo, Peter 552, 616
 Walker, Obadiah 95, 254, 588
 Wallis, John 74, 102, 110, 124, 411, 451–3
 Walton, Brian 23, 66, 71, 81, 155, 279, 311, 316, 319, 365, 376, 410, 426, 480, 584, 603, 699, 769, 938
 Waple, Edward 41–2, 148, 450, 454, 459, 472–5, 477, 479–81, 483, 500–1, 519–23, 526–34, 536, 550–1, 586, 588–90, 595, 600, 607, 613–4, 618, 640, 706–7, 720, 731,
- War(s) 36, 43, 49, 128, 146, 158, 161, 163–5, 171, 175, 177, 257, 288, 321, 323, 330, 365, 457, 497, 501–3, 529, 541, 548–9, 552–3, 558–9, 562, 568–9, 578, 584, 587–8, 592, 600, 616, 629, 634–5, 638–9, 672, 674, 677, 679–81, 684, 711–2, 728, 741, 760, 781–2, 784, 796, 818–9, 833, 919, 930, 936
- Wealth 306, 311–2, 330–1, 339–40, 343, 470, 480, 674, 704, 900
 Wedelius, Georg Wolfgang 704
 Wells, Edward 338–9
 Westphalia, Treaty of 638
 Wheeler, George 481
 Whigs 26, 30, 41, 148–9, 575
 Whiston, William 5, 21, 26, 40–1, 45, 49–51, 60, 62–3, 72–3, 79, 86, 91, 111–3, 117–20, 126, 140, 147–9, 152, 166–7, 170–2, 185, 187, 193
 on Hebrews 243, 255
 on 1 John 419
 on Revelation 767–73, 775–6, 778–96
 Whitby, Daniel 12, 17, 20–2, 33, 63, 67–70, 73, 79, 93–6, 98–9, 101, 107, 116–7, 151
 on Hebrews 228, 231, 233–4, 240–1, 243, 246, 251, 264, 266–8, 272, 274–5, 284, 288–91, 301
 on James 303–6, 308–9, 312–3, 319–23, 327–328, 330–1, 334
 on 1 John 397, 400–2, 405–6
 on 2 John 423–4
 on 3 John 426
 on Jude 428, 430, 432–3, 440
 on 1 Peter 335, 341, 343, 345–6, 349, 351, 354, 356–9
 on 2 Peter 360, 364, 367, 373–4, 376–80, 382–5, 393–4, 396
 White, Samuel 155, 394
 White, Thomas 367
 Whore(dom) 161, 299, 319, 345, 465, 596, 659
 of Babylon 34, 154, 161, 487, 579, 641–3, 653, 659, 667–70, 674–6, 689, 710
 Widow(s) 310, 673, 702, 914
 Wife, Wives 299, 346, 377, 435, 656, 707, 710, 911, 914–15, 932, 935
 Willet, Andrew 736, 739–40
 William III of England (William of Orange) 164, 429, 539, 562, 576
 Wine 331–2, 498–9, 585, 613–5, 617, 621, 635, 644, 704, 814, 822, 880
 Winthrop, Wait 456
 Wisdom 32, 80, 125, 135, 230, 235, 274, 284, 307–9, 317–8, 321–2, 352–3, 355,

- 357–8, 364, 371, 414, 460–1, 463, 493,
516–7, 564, 607, 610, 728, 733, 747,
801–2, 804, 806, 814, 819–20, 899,
904, 920, 923, 945
Wise Men, Sage(s) 174, 241, 308–9,
318, 320–2, 329, 333, 405–6, 639,
825, 960
Wisdom, Book of. *See also* Bible (Apocry-
pha), Index of Biblical Passages 59,
233, 249, 396
Withrow, Abraham 837
Witness, Witnesses. *See* Martyrs, Reve-
lation
Witsius, Hermann 18, 102, 104, 116, 232,
323–5, 343, 428, 434–6, 460–70, 739
Wittekind (Widukind) 497
Wolseley, Charles 29, 227
Woman, Women 121, 139, 141, 289,
313, 330, 345–6, 370, 384, 408, 433,
468–9, 530–1, 613, 625, 644, 700,
786, 825, 831–5, 839, 842, 911, 920,
925, 929, 944–5, 948–9, 951
in Ministry 433, 468, 831–5, 839
Woodhead, Abraham 95, 254
Woodward, John 153, 386–92
World
Invisible World 298, 326, 507, 538,
820
Old World 150, 174, 176, 179, 265,
348–9, 381, 399, 427, 625, 715, 718,
732, 737, 748, 755, 891, 893, 910
World to Come, New World. *See*
Heaven; Millennium
Worldly 109, 124, 127, 190, 264–5, 324,
406, 439, 526, 563, 601, 613, 673–4,
677, 687, 764, 800
Worship 122–5, 132–3, 135, 137–8, 149,
174, 229, 238, 243, 251, 265, 285, 311,
328, 341, 422, 435, 464, 466, 480,
484, 496, 504–7, 513–4, 533, 537–8,
547, 556–7, 563–7, 574, 588–9, 599,
602–4, 606, 611, 614–5, 623, 628,
636, 642, 656, 658, 668, 672, 678,
680–1, 683–5, 688, 699–700, 707–8,
722, 738, 769, 773, 779, 783, 811–2,
823, 825, 839–40, 889–91, 894–5,
897–9, 901–4, 908–9, 911, 913, 920,
923, 943
Worthington, John 45, 586, 728–30
Wrath. *See* God
Wycliffe, John 165, 552–3, 604, 617,
735–6
Xanthopulus, Nicephorus Callistus 655
Xenodochion 433
Xenophon 749, 789
Xerxes I (Xerxes the Great) 899–900
Yitzchak bar Avraham of Troki 513
Zadok 824
Zealots 309, 321, 323, 327, 330–1, 343,
353–4, 382, 426, 440, 565
Zechariah 290, 431, 484, 567–8, 713,
825, 828, 830, 948, 957, 959
Zedekiah 568
Zenta, Battle of 548, 782
Zerubbabel 557, 566–7, 784, 886
Zerubbabel, Book of. *See also* Pseudo-
epigrapha 641
Zeus 380, 458
Zion (Mount) 571, 613, 707, 714, 733,
755
Žižka, Jan (John Zizka) 634
Zohar, Book of (Sefer ha-Zohar) 28,
236, 246, 448, 476, 482, 698, 716
Zonaras, Johannes 666, 815
Zoroaster, Zoroastrianism. *See also*
Religion 137–9, 728–9, 889–900
Zosimus 505, 656
Zwingli, Ulrich 554