

ever the *Former* may be *more boisterous* for a time, yet *This* is of a *more consistent, spermatical and thriving nature*: For that proceeding indeed from nothing else but a Sensual and Fleshly apprehension of God and true Happiness, is but of a flitting and fading nature; and as the Sensible
 5 powers and faculties grow more languid, or the Sun of Divine light shines more brightly upon us, these earthly devotions like our Culinary fires will abate their heat and fervour. But a true Celestial warmth will never be extinguish'd, because it is of an Immortal nature; and being once seated vitally in the Souls of men, it will regulate and order all the motions of it
 10 in a due manner, as the natural Heat, radicated in the Hearts of living creatures hath the dominion and Oeconomy of the whole Body under it, and sends forth warm Bloud and Spirits and Vital nourishment to every part and member of it. True Religion is *no piece of artifice* ; it is no boiling up of our *Imaginative* powers nor the glowing heats of *Passion*; though
 15 these are too often mistaken for it, when in our juglings in Religion we cast a mist before our own eyes: But it is *a new Nature* informing the Souls of men: it is *a God-like frame of Spirit*, discovering it self most of all in *Serene and Clear Minds, in deep Humility, Meekness, Self-denial, Universal love of God and all true Goodness, without Partiality and without Hypocrisie*;
 20 whereby we are taught to *know* God, and knowing him to *love* him, and *conform* our selves as much as may be to all that Perfection which shines forth in him.

The Excellency and Nobleness of True Religion

The Excellency and Nobleness of True Religion.

Proverbs 15.24.

The Way of life is above to the wise, that he may depart from hell beneath.

10–13 as the natural Heat ... every part and member of it] alluding again to Cartesian physiology; cf. above page 464.

9 In this whole *Book of Proverbs* we find *Solomon*, one of the Eldest Sons of Wisdom, alwaies standing up and calling her blessed: his Heart was both enlarg'd and fill'd with the pure Influences of her beams, and therefore was perpetually adoring that Sun which gave him light. *Wisdom* 5 *is justified of all her Children*; though the brats of darkness and children of folly see no beauty nor comeliness in her, that they should desire her, as they say of Christ, *Esay 53*. τὴς σύνεσις γένοιτο τοῖς μὴ ἐφαπτομένο ; That Mind which is not touch'd with an inward sense of Divine Wisdom, cannot estimate the true Worth of it. But when Wisdom once displays its 10 own excellencies and glories in a purified Soul, it is entertained there with the greatest love and delight, and receives its own image reflected back to it self in sweetest returns of Love and Praise. We have a clear manifestation of this sacred Sympathy in *Solomon*, whom we may not unfitly call *Sapientiaē Organum*, an Instrument which Wisdom herself had tuned 15 to play her divine Lessons upon: his words were דְּבָרַי הֵפֵץ everywhere full

4–5 *Wisdom is justified of all her Children*] Luke 7, 35: “But wisdom is justified of all her children.”

7 τὴς σύνεσις γένοιτο τοῖς μὴ ἐφαπτομένο] “what knowledge could arise if we did not touch it”; adapted from *Enneads*, 3.7.7., where Armstrong translates, “For what understanding could there be [of eternity] if we were not in contact with it?” Plotinus, *Enneads*, III, p.319.

14 *Sapientiaē Organum*] “the implement or instrument of wisdom”

15 דְּבָרַי הֵפֵץ] “acceptable words”; from Ecclesiastes 12, 10: “The preacher sought to finde out acceptable words, and that which was written was vpright, euen wordes of trueth.”

1 9] This marks the start of Worthington’s *Ninth Discourse*.

1 *Solomon*] Solomon was still regarded as the author of *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes* and *The Song of Solomon*.

2 Sons of Wisdom] recalling, perhaps, the Douai Rheims translation of Ecclesiasticus 3, 1: “The sons of wisdom are the church of the just: and their generation, obedience and love.”

2 standing up and calling her blessed] like the “vertuous woman” in Proverbs 31, 28: “Her children arise vp, and call her blessed; her husband also, and he praiseth her.”

5 brats of darkness] see above ??; cf. Shaw’s use of the phrase in Shaw, *Immanuel, Or, A Discovery of True Religion: As it Imports a Living Principle in the Minds of Men. With a Discourse Concerning Communion with God*, p.180.

7 as they say of Christ, *Esay 53*.] recalling the Suffering Servant in Isaiah 53, 2: “For he shall grow vp before him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a drie ground: hee hath no forme nor comelinesse: and when wee shall see him, there is no beautie that we should desire him.”

15 Lessons] in the musical sense of a piece to be performed

of Divine sweetness match with strength and beauty, πολὺν νοῦν ἔχοντες ἔνδον· or, as himself phraseth it, *like apples of gold in pictures of Silver*. The mind of a Proverb is to utter Wisdom in a Mystery, as the Apostle sometimes speaks, and to wrap up Divine Truth in a kind of Ænigmatical way, though in vulgar expressions. Which method of delivering Divine doctrine (not to mention the Writings of the ancient Philosophers) we find frequently pursued in the Holy Scripture, thereby both opening and hiding at once the Truth which is offered to us. A Proverb or Parable being once unfolded, by reason of its affinity with the Phancy, the more sweetly insinuates it self into that, and is from thence with the greater advantage transmitted to the Understanding. In this state we are not able to behold Truth in its own Native beauty and lustre; but while we are vail'd with mortality, Truth must vail it self too, that it may the more freely converse

1–2 πολὺν νοῦν ἔχοντες ἔνδον·] “many bearing sense within”; perhaps recalling *Symposium*, 222a (where Plato uses the expression νοῦν ἔχοντας ἔνδον, in saying that Socrates’ arguments “are the only speeches which have any sense in them”).

2 *like apples of gold in pictures of Silver*] Proverbs 25, 11: “A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in pictures of silver.” Contemporary citations often focus on the timeliness of the words rather than the power of the words.

3–4 *to utter Wisdom in a Mystery*, as the Apostle sometimes speaks] 1 Corinthians 2, 7: “But wee speake the wisdom of God in a mysterie, euen the hidden wisdom which God ordeined before the world, vnto our glory.”

2 himself] i.e. Solomon

5 vulgar] “common, trivial” Blount, *Glossographia*.

9–11 by reason of its affinity with the Phancy ... Understanding] cf. John Favel’s *Pneumatologia*: “Truth is now forced in compliance with our weakness, and distance from the Fountain, to descend from Heaven under Vails, Shadows, and Umbrages, thereby to contract some kind of Affinity with out Fancies and exterior Senses first, that so it may with more advantage transmit itself to our Understandings. It must come under some vail or other to us, whilst we are veiled with Mortality, because the Soul cannot behold it in its native lustre, nor converse otherwise with it.” Flavel, *Pneumatologia: A Treatise of the Soul of Man: Wherein the Divine Original, Excellent and Immortal Nature of the Soul are Opened ...* p.197. On Flavel, see Cosby, *John Flavel: Puritan Life and Thought in Stuart England*.

10 insinuates] in the sense of “winding ones self in by degree” Blount, *Glossographia*, without a perjorative tone.

with us. S. *Austin* hath well assign'd the reason why we are so much delighted with *Metaphors, Allegories, &c.* because they are so much proportioned to our *Senses*, with which our *Reason* that contracted an intimacy and familiarity. And therefore God to accommodate his *Truth* to our weak capacities, does as it were *embody* it in *Earthly* expressions; according to that ancient Maxim of the Cabbalists, *Lumen Supernum nunquam descendit sine indumento*; agreeable to which is that of *Dionysius Areop.* not seldom quoted by the School-men. *Impossibile est nobis aliter lucere radium Divinum, nisi varietate sacrorum velaminum circumvelatum* His

6–7 *Lumen Supernum nunquam descendit sine indumento*] “The light from above never comes down without some covering.” For Smith’s earlier citation see above page 266, and note.

8–9 *Impossibile est nobis aliter lucere radium Divinum, nisi varietate sacrorum velaminum circumvelatum*] “It is impossible for the divine ray to shine upon us, unless it is enveloped by a variety of sacred coverings”; from Pseudo-Dionysius, *De coelesti hierarchia*, 1.2.; the formulation is indeed that cited by St Thomas Aquinas (e.g. *Summa Theologiae*, 1a.1.9; 1.12.13; 1.111.3 etc.) rather than the Latin of the editions of Pseudo-Dionysius by Ambrosius Traversarius (1546) or Peter Lansellius (1615).

1 S. *Austin* hath well assign'd the reason] Smith has in mind the view stated in St. Augustine’s *Letters*, 55.11.21, where he says: “All these things, however, that are presented to us in figures pertain somehow to nourishing and fanning the fire of love by which we are carried upward or inward to rest as if by a weight. For they arouse and kindle love more than if they were set forth bare without any likeness of the sacraments. The reason for this is difficult to state. But it is, nonetheless, a fact that something presented in allegorical meaning arouses more, delights more, and is appreciated more than if it were said in full openness with the proper terms. I believe that, as long as it is still involved with the things of earth, the feeling of the soul is set afire rather slowly, but if it is confronted with bodily likenesses and brought from there to spiritual realities that are symbolized by those likeness, it is strengthened by this passage, and is set aflame like the fire in a coal when stirred up, and is carried with a more ardent love toward rest.” Saint Augustine, Rotelle, and Teske, *Letters 1-99*, p.226.

1–4 why we are so much delighted ...an intimacy and familiarity] Flavel again: “And hence it was that *Augustin* made his rational Conjecture, Why Men us to be so much delighted with *Metaphors*, because they are so much proportioned to our Senses, with which our reason in this embodied state hath contracted such an Intimacy and Familiarity:” Flavel, *Pneumatologia: A Treatise of the Soul of Man: Wherein the Divine Original, Excellent and Immortal Nature of the Soul are Opened ...* p.197.

6–7 *Lumen Supernum nunquam descendit sine indumento*] also cited by Flavel, *Pneumatologia: A Treatise of the Soul of Man: Wherein the Divine Original, Excellent and Immortal Nature of the Soul are Opened ...* p.197.

words in the Greek are these,* οὐδὲ δυνατόν ἑτέρως ἡμῖν ἐπιλάμψαι τὴν θεαρχὴν ἀκτίνα, μὴ τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τῶν ἱερῶν παραπετασμάτων ἀναγωγικῶς περικεκαλυμμένην.

Thus much by way of Preface or Introduction to these words, being
 5 one of Solomon's excellent Proverbs, viz. *The way of life is above to the wise*. Without any mincing or mangling of the Words, or running out into any Critical curiosities about them, I shall from these Words take occasion to set forth *The Nobleness and Generous Spirit of True Religion*, which I suppose to be meant here by [*The way of life*.] The word ἡλῆλῆ here
 10 rendred [*above*] may signifie *that which is divine and heavenly, high and excellent*, as the word ἄνω does in the New Testament, τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως,

1–3 οὐδὲ δυνατόν ἑτέρως ἡμῖν ἐπιλάμψαι τὴν θεαρχὴν ἀκτίνα, μὴ τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τῶν ἱερῶν παραπετασμάτων ἀναγωγικῶς περικεκαλυμμένην.] “For it is not possible that the supremely Divine Ray should otherwise illuminate us, except so far as it is enveloped, for the purpose of instruction, in variegated sacred veils”; Lansellius, *Sancti Dionysii areopagitae opera omnia quae extant una cum ejusdem vitae scriptoribus nunc primum... edita. Accesserunt S. Maximi scholia... et Georgii Pachymerae paraphrasis in epistolas. Omnia studio et opera Petri Lansselii...* pp. 2-3.

9 ἡλῆλῆ] “above, upwards”

11 ἄνω] “above”

11 τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως] “of the upward calling”

1 these,*] Marginal note: “In lib. de *Cælest. Hierar.* cap.1.”

6 Without any mincing or mangling of the Words] Referring pejoratively to the word by word exegesis of a text, sometimes associated with higher Anglican preaching. The *locus classicus* is Herbert's observation in *A Priest to the Temple*: “The Parsons Method in handling of a Text, consists of two parts; first, a plain and evident declaration of the meaning of the text; and secondly, some choice Observations drawn out of the whole text, as it lies entire, and unbroken in the Scripture it self. This he thinks natural, and sweet, and grave. Whereas the other way of crumbling a text into small parts, as, the Person speaking, or spoken to, the subject, and object, and the like, hath neither in it sweetness, nor gravity, nor variety, since the words apart are not Scripture, but a dictionary, and may be considered alike in all the Scripture” Herbert and Oley, *A Priest to the Temple: The Country Parson His Character, and Rule of Holy Life*, pp. 22-3. Amongst many discussions, see C.A. Patrides, “The experience of Otherness: theology as a way of life” in Patrides and Waddington, *The Age of Milton: Backgrounds to Seventeenth-century Literature*, esp. pp.185-8; Wolberg, “All Possible Art”: *George Herbert's The Country Parson*, pp.43ff.; and Neuman, *Jeremiah's Scribes: Creating Sermon Literature in Puritan New England*, p.144ff.

Phil.3.14. τὰ ἄνω φρονεῖτε, Col.3.2. S *Austin* supposeth the things of Religion to be meant by τὰ ἄνω, *superna*, for this reason, *quòd merito excellentiæ longè superant res terrenas*. And in this sense I shall consider it, my purpose being from hence to discourse of *the Excellent and Noble spirit of true Religion*, (whether it be taken *in abstracto*, as it is in it self; 5 or *in concreto*, as it becomes an inward Form and Soul to the Minds and Spirits of Good men;) and this in opposition to that *low and base-born spirit of Irreligion*, which is perpetually sinking from God, till it couches to the very Centre of misery, שאול־מטה, *the lowermost Hell*.

- 10 In discoursing upon this Argument, I shall observe this Method; viz. I shall consider *the Excellency and Nobleness of true Religion*.
1. In its Rise and Original.
 2. In its Nature and Essence.
 3. In its Properties and Operations.
 - 15 4. In its Progress.
 5. In its Term and End.

We begin with the First, viz. *True Religion is a Noble thing in its Rise and Original, and in regard of its Descent*. True Religion derives its pedi- 20 gree from Heaven, is βλάστημα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, it comes from Heaven and constantly moves towards Heaven again: it's a Beam from God, as *every good and perfect gift is from above, and comes down from the Father of*

1 τὰ ἄνω φρονεῖτε] “set your minds on the things above”

2 *superna*,] “celestial or heavenly things”

2–3 *quòd merito excellentiæ longè superant res terrenas*] “because by the merit of their excellence they far surpass earthly things”; St. Augustine, *Letters* 245.1

5 *in abstracto*] “in an abstract sense”

6 *in concreto*] “in a concrete sense”

9 שאול־מטה] “from Sheol (or hell) beneath”; from Proverbs 15, 24.

20 βλάστημα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ] “the offspring of heaven”; unidentified.

484.21–485.2 every good and perfect gift ... as S. *James* speaks] James 1, 17: “Every

1 Phil.3.14.] Philippians 3, 14: “I presse toward the marke, for the price of the high calling of God in Christ Iesus.”

1 Col.3.2.] recalling Colossians 3, 2: “Set your affection on things aboue, not on things on the earth.”

1 S *Austin*] St Augustine

5 *in abstracto*] for an earlier use of the distinction, see above page 187.

lights, with whom is no variableness nor shadow of turning, as S. James speaks. God is the *First Truth* and *Primitive Goodness* : True Religion is a vigorous *Efflux* and *Emanation* of *Both* upon the Spirits of men, and therefore is called **a participation of the divine Nature* Indeed God hath
 5 copied out of himself in all created Being, having no other Pattern to frame any thing by but his own Essence; so that all created Being is *umbratilis similitudo entis increati*, and is, by some stamp or other of God upon it, at least remotely allied to him: But *True Religion* is such a Communication of the Divinity, as none but the Highest of created Being are
 10 capable of. On the other side *Sin* and *Wickedness* is of the *basest and lowest Original*, as being nothing else but a perfect degeneration from God and those *Eternal Rules of Goodness* which are derived from him. Religion is an *Heaven born* thing, *the seed of God* in the Spirits of men, whereby they are formed to a similitude and likeness of himself. A true
 15 Christian is every way of the most noble Extraction, of an heavenly and divine pedigree, being born *ἀνωθεν* or *from above*, as it express'd *Joh.3*. The line of all earthly Nobility, if it were followed to the beginning, would lead to *Adam*, where all the lines of descent meet in One; and the Root of all Extractions would be found planted in nothing else but **Adamah*

good gift, and euery perfect gift is from aboue, & commeth downe from the Father of lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning."

6–7 *umbratilis similitudo entis increati*] "the shadowy likeness of uncreated being"

16 *ἀνωθεν*] "from above, from a higher place", or "again".

2 *Primitive Goodness*] i.e. first or primal goodness;

4 **a participation of the divine Nature*] marginal note: "2 Peter 1."; 2 Peter 1, 4: "Whereby are giuen vnto vs exceeding great and precious promises, that by these you might bee partakers of the diuine nature, hauing escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust."

6–7 *umbratilis similitudo entis increati*] Although the terminology is scholastic, the phrase does not appear in Aquinas.

13 *the seed of God*] recalling, perhaps, 1 John 3, 9: "Whosoeuer is borne of God, doth not commit sinne: for his seede remaineth in him, and he cannot sinne, because he is borne of God." See also below, page 582.

16 *from above*, as it express'd *Joh.3*] Smith has in mind the phrase *ἀνωθεν γεννηθῆναι*, which occurs in John 3, 3 and 7, where KJV translates it as "borne againe".

19 **Adamah*] marginal note: "Genesis 2." referring to Genesis 2, 7: "And the LORD God formed man of the dust of the ground, & breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a liuing soule."

red Earth: But a Christian derives his line from Christ, who is the Only-begotten Son of God, *the shining forth of his glory, and the Character of his person*, as he is stiled *Heb.1*. We may truly say of Christ and Christians, as *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* said of *Gideon's* brethren, *As he is, so are they* (according to their capacity) *each one resembling the children of a king*. Titles of World honour in Heavens heraldry are but only *Tituli nominales*; but Titles of Divine dignity signifie some Real thing, some Real and Divine Communications to the Spirits and Minds of men. All Perfections and Excellencies in any kind are to be measured by their approach to that Primitive Perfection of all, God himself; and therefore Participation of the Divine nature cannot but entitle a Christian to the highest degree of dignity: *Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the Sons of God*, 1 Jo. 3.1.

Thus much for a more *general* discovery of *the Nobleness of Religion* as to its Fountain and Original; We may further and more *particularly* take notice of this in reference to that *Twofold fountain* in God, from whence

2–3 *the shining forth of his glory, and the Character of his person*, as he is stiled *Heb.1*.] KJV translates Hebrews 1, 3 as: “Who being the brightness of his glory, and the expresse image of his person, and vpholding all things by the word of his power, when hee had by himselfe purged our sinnes, sate down on the right hand of the Maiestie on high”; Smith’s rendering retains the literal meaning of ἀπαύγασμα (“shining forth”) and χαρακτήρ (“precise image”).

4 as *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* said] Judges 8, 18: “Then said he vnto *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, What maner of men were they whom ye slew at Tabor? And they answered, As thou art, so were they, ech one resembled the children of a king.”

6–7 *Tituli nominales*] “nominal titles”

12–13 *Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the Sons of God*, 1 Jo. 3.1.] 1 John 3, 1: “Beholde, what manner of loue the Father hath bestowed vpon vs, that wee should be called the sonnes of God: therefore the world knoweth vs not, because it knewe him not.”

1 red Earth] The word used for man is האָדָם (hā·'ā·dām), which commentators related to אַדמָה (adamah) or “earth”, and to אָדָם (adam) or “red”. So John Trapp can state unequivocally that “Man had his name *Adam* of the red earth, of which he was taken.” J. Trapp, *Solomonis panaretos: commentarie upon the books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs*, p.282. Smith may have known the roots from Guichart, *L'Harmonie Etimologique des Langues*, pp.30-34. His copy is still in Queens'. As Almond observes of the claim, “It was a commonplace in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.” Almond, *Adam and Eve in Seventeenth-Century Thought*, p.17.

4 *Gideon's* brethren] marginal note: Judges 8.

all true Religion flows and issues forth, viz. 1. *His Immutable Nature*. 2. *His Will*.

1. *The Immutable Nature of God*. From thence arise all those *Eternal Rules of Truth and Goodness* which are the Foundation of all Religion, and which God at the first Creation folded up in the Soul of man. These we
 5 may call the *Truths of Natural inscription*; understanding hereby either those *Fundamental principles* of Truth which Reason by a naked intuition may behold in God, or those necessary *Corollaries* and *Deductions* that
 10 may be drawn from thence. I cannot think it so proper to say, That God ought infinitely to be loved because he *commands* it, as because he is indeed an *Infinite and Unchangeable Goodness*: God hath stamp'd a Copy of his own Archetypall Loveliness upon the Soul, that man by reflecting
 into himself might behold there the glory of God, *intra se videre Deum*, see within his Soul all those Ideas of Truth which concern the Nature
 15 and Essence of God, by reason of its own resemblance of God; and so beget within himself the most free and generous motions of Love to God. Reason in man being *Lumen de Lumine*, a Light flowing from the Fountain and Father of Lights, and being, as *Tully* phraseth it, *participata similitudo Rationis æternæ* (as the Law of Nature, the νόμος γραπτός, the Law

13 *intra se videre Deum*] “see God within him”

17 *Lumen de Lumine*] “light from light”; from the Nicene Creed.

18 Father of Lights] as in James 1, 17: “Euery good gift, and euery perfect gift is from aboue, & commeth downe from the Father of lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning.”

18–19 *participata similitudo Rationis æternæ*] “a shared likeness of eternal reason”; for Smith’s earlier citation of this adaptation from Aquinas (not Cicero), see above, page 158

19 νόμος γραπτός] “written law”; as in Romans 2, 14–15: “For when the Gentiles which haue not the Law, doe by nature the things contained in the Law: these hauing not the Law, are a Law vnto themselues, Which shew the worke of the Law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witnesse, and their thoughts the meane while accusing, or else excusing one another:”

18 *Tully*] i.e. Cicero

18–19 *participata similitudo Rationis æternæ*] In view of the repeated misattribution of the phrase, it is tempting to suggest that “as *Tully* phraseth it” may be an intrusion from Worthington.

19 νόμος γραπτός] something on natural law

written in mans Heart, is *participatio Legis æternæ in Rationali creatura*.) it was to enable Man to work out of himself all those Notions of God which are the true Ground-work of Love and Obedience to God, and conformity to him: and in molding the inward into the greatest conformity to the
 5 Nature of God was the Perfection and Efficacy of the Religion of Nature. But since Mans fall from God, the inward virtue and vigour of Reason is much abated, the Soul having suffered a *περοπόρρησις*, as *Plato* speaks, a *defluvium pennarum*: those Principles of Divine Truth which were first engraven upon mans Heart with the finger of God are now, as the Char-
 10 acters of some ancient Monuments, less clear and legible then at first. And therefore besides the *Truth of Natural inscription*.

2. God hath provided *the Truth of Divine Revelation*, which issues forth from his own free *Will*, and clearly discovers the way of our return to God, from whom we are fallen. And this Truth, with the Effects and Productions
 15 of it in the Minds of men, the Scripture is wont to set forth under the name of *Grace*, as proceeding meerly from the free bounty and overflowings of the Divine Love. Of this Revealed *Will* is that of the Apostle to be

1 *participatio Legis æternæ in Rationali creatura*] “a participation of the eternal law in the rational creature”; from Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, II.1.91.2, where he says “lex naturalis dicitur” (“it is called the natural law”).

7 *περοπόρρησις*] “moulting”

8 *defluvium pennarum*] “falling off of wings”; the phrase may be from a Latin translation of Phaedrus. It is neither that of Ficino (1588), nor that of Jean de Serres (1578).

1 *participatio Legis æternæ in Rationali creatura*] cf. Culverwel: “For, as *Aquinas* does very well tell us, the Law of *Nature* is nothing but *participatio Legis æternæ in Rationali creatura*, the copying out of the eternal Law, and the imprinting it upon the breast of a Rational being, that eternal Law was in a manner incarnated in the Law of *Nature*” Culverwel, *An Elegant and Learned Discourse of the Light of Nature*, p.35., where his source is Suarez, *De Legibus* (1612).

7 as *Plato* speaks] alluding to Phaedrus 246c, where Socrates tells how a soul “that has shed its wings (ἡ δὲ περοπορρησασά) sinks down until it can fasten on something solid, and settling there it takes to itself an earthy body which seems by reason of the soul’s power to move it self.”

8 *defluvium pennarum*] cf. “You may hear them complaining of an ἀπτήρι & περοπόρρησις, a *defluvium pennarum*.” Culverwel, *An Elegant and Learned Discourse of the Light of Nature*, p.123.

understood, τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν, *None hath known the things of God*, could unlock the Breast of God, or search out the Counsels of his Will. But God out of the infinite riches of his Compassions toward mankind is pleas'd to unbosom his Secrets, and most clearly to manifest *the way into*
 5 *the Holiest of all*, and *bring to light life and immortality*, and in these last ages to send his Son, who lay in his bosom from all Eternity, to teach us his Will and declare his Mind to us. When we *look unto the Earth, then behold darkness and dimness of anguish*, that I may use those words of the Prophet *Esay*: But when we look towards Heaven, then behold light
 10 breaking forth upon us, like the Eye-lids of the Morning, and spreading its wings over the Horizon of mankind sitting in darkness and the shadow of death, *to guide our feet into the way of peace*.

But besides this *Outward revelation of God's will to men*, there is also an *Inward impression* of it on their Minds and Spirits, which is in a more
 15 special manner attributed to God. We cannot see divine things but in a divine light; God only, who is the true light, and in whom there is no darkness at all, can so shine out of himself upon our glassie Understandings, as to beget in them a picture of himself, his own Will and Pleasure, and

1 τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν] "no one knows the things of God"; Smith follows Stephanus' (1550) text of 1 Corinthians 2, 11.

1 *None hath known the things of God*] 1 Corinthians 2, 11, where KJV reads: "For what man knoweth the things of a man, saue the spirit of man which is in him? Euen so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God."

7-8 *look unto the Earth, then behold darkness and dimness of anguish*] Isaiah 8, 22: "And they shall looke vnto the earth: and behold trouble and darkenesse, dimnesse of anguish; and they shall be driuen to darkenesse."

11-12 sitting in darkness and the shadow of death, *to guide our feet into the way of peace*] Luke 1, 79 : "To giue light to them that sit in darknes, and in the shadow of death, to guide our feet into the way of peace."

4-5 *the way into the Holiest of all*] recalling Hebrews 9,8: "The holy Ghost this signifying, that the way into the Holiest of all, was not yet made manifest, while as the first Tabernacle was yet standing:"

5 *bring to light life and immortality*] recalling 2 Timothy 1, 10: "But is now made manifest by the appearing of our Sauour Iesus Christ, who hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortalitie to light, through the Gospel:"

9 *Esay*] i.e. Isaiah

10 like the Eye-lids of the Morning] recalling Job 41, 18: "By his neesings a light doth shine, and his eyes are like the eye-liddes of the morning."

turn the Soul (as the phrase is in *Job* 38.) כְּתַמְרֵי חַמְרֵם like wax or *clay to the Seal* of his own light and love. He that made our Souls in his own image and likeness, can easily find a way into them. The Word that God speaks having found a way into the Soul, imprints it self there as with the point
 5 of a diamond, and becomes λόγος ἐγγεγραμμένος ἐν τῇ τοῦ μανθάνοντος ψυχῇ, that I may borrow *Plato's* expression. Men may teach the *Grammar* and *Rhetorick*, but God teaches the *Divinity*. Thus it is God alone that acquaints the Soul with the *Truths of Revelation*: and he also it is that does strengthen and raise the Soul to better apprehensions even of *Nat-*
 10 *ural Truth*: God being that in the *Intellectual* world which the Sun is in the Sensible, (ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ὁ ἥλιος, τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς νοηοῖς ὁ θεός) as some of the ancient Fathers love to speak, and the ancient Philosophers too, who meant God by their *Intellectus Agens*, whose proper work they supposed to be not so much to enlighten the *Object*, as the *Faculty*.

1 כְּתַמְרֵי חַמְרֵם] “as clay [to a] seal”; from *Job* 38, 14, where KJV reads “It is turned as clay to the seale, and they stand as a garment.”

5–6 λόγος ἐγγεγραμμένος ἐν τῇ τοῦ μανθάνοντος ψυχῇ] “a word engraved on the soul of the learner”; adapted slightly from *Phaedrus* 276a.; λόγος ἐγγεγραμμένος may be a recollection of *Phaedrus* 258a.

11 ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ὁ ἥλιος, τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς νοηοῖς ὁ θεός] “that which the sun is in the perceptible, the deity is in the intellectual world”; St John Damascene, *Fragmenta in Matthaëum*, Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus: seu bibliotheca universalis, integra, uniformis, commoda, oeconomica, omnium SS. Patrum, doctorum scriptorum-que ecclesiasticorum, sive latinorum, sive graecorum, qui ab aevo apostolico ad tempora Innocentii III (anno 1216) pro latinis et ad concilii Florentini tempora (ann. 1439) pro graecis floruerunt. Series graeca, in quo prodeunt patres, doctores scriptoresque ecclesiae graecae a S. Barnaba ad Bessarionem*, col.1409A.

13 *Intellectus Agens*] “active intellect”

11 ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ὁ ἥλιος, τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς νοηοῖς ὁ θεός] The Platonic analogy goes back ultimately to *The Republic*, VII, 509ff., but has very widespread currency. CAP cites an example from Philo, *Quis rerum divinarum haeres sit*, LIII, 263: “what the reasoning faculty is in us, the sun is in the world, since both of them are light-bringers, one sending forth to the whole world the light which our senses perceive, the other shedding mental rays upon ourselves through the medium of apprehension.”

13–14 whose proper work they supposed to be not so much to enlighten the *Object*, as the *Faculty*] As in Aristotle, *de anima*, III. 5. 430a, where he compares the “active intellect”: “For in a certain way, light makes colours existing in potentiality colours in actuality.” Perhaps Smith recalls St Thomas Aquinas: “Unde oportet dicere quod in ipsa sit aliqua virtus derivata a superiori intellectu, per quam possit phantasmata illustrare. ... Et ideo Aristoteles comparavit intellectum agentem lumini, quod est aliquid receptum in aere. Plato autem intellectum separatum imprimentem in animas nostras,

We have done with the first Head, and come now to discourse with the like brevity on another (our purpose being to insist most upon the third Particular, viz. *The Nobleness of Religion in its Properties*, after we have handled the Second) which is *The Excellency and Nobleness of Religion in regard of its Nature*, whether it be taken *in abstracto* or *in concreto*; which we shall treat of promiscuously, without any rigid tying of our selves to exact rules of Art: and so we shall glance at it in these following Notions, rising as it were step by step.

1. *A Good man, that is actuated by Religion, lives above the World and all Mundane delights and excellencies.* The Soul is a more vigorous and puissant thing, when it is once restored to the possession of its own Being, then to be bounded within the narrow Sphere of Mortality, or to be streightened within the narrow prison of Sensual and Corporeal delights; but it will break forth with the greatest vehemency, and ascend upwards towards Immortality: and when it converses more intimately with Religion, it can scarce look back upon its converses (though in a lawfull way) with Earthly things, without a being touch'd with an *holy Shame-fac'dness* and a *modest Blushing*; and, as *Porphyry* speaks of *Plotinus* ἐώκει μὲν αἰσχυνομένῳ ὅτι ἐν σώματι εἶη, it seems to be ashamed that it should be in the Body. It is only True Religion that teaches and enables men to dye to this world and to all Earthly things, and to rise above that vaporous Sphere of Sensual and Earthly pleasures, which darken the Mind and hinder it from

18–19 ἐώκει μὲν αἰσχυνομένῳ ὅτι ἐν σώματι εἶη] “seemed ashamed of being in the body”; from the opening sentence of Porphyry’s *Vita Plotini*; Plotinus, *Enneads*, I, p.3.

comparavit soli; ut Themistius dicit in commentario tertii de anima. Sed intellectus separatus, secundum nostrae fidei documenta, est ipse Deus, qui est creator animae, et in quo solo beatificatur, ut infra patebit. Unde ab ipso anima humana lumen intellectuale participat, secundum illud Psalmi IV, signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui, domine.” (“Wherefore we must say that in the soul is some power derived from a higher intellect, whereby it is able to light up the phantasms. ... For this reason Aristotle compared the active intellect to light, which is something received into the air: while Plato compared the separate intellect impressing the soul to the sun, as Themistius says in his commentary on De Anima iii. But the separate intellect, according to the teaching of our faith, is God Himself, Who is the soul’s Creator, and only beatitude; as will be shown later on. Wherefore the human soul derives its intellectual light from Him, according to Ps. 4:7, “The light of Thy countenance, O Lord, is signed upon us.”) *Summa Theologica*, I.79.4.

enjoying the brightness of Divine light; the proper motion of Religion is still upwards to its first Original. Whereas on the contrary the Souls of wicked men ὑποβρύχια συμπεριφέρονται, as *Plato* somewhere speaks, being moistened with the Exudations of their Sensual parts become heavy
 5 and sink down into Earthly things, and couch as near as may be to the Centre. Wicked men bury their Souls in their Bodies: all their projects and designs are bounded within the compasses of this Earth which they tread upon. The Fleshly mind never minds any thing but Flesh, and never rises above the Outward Matter, but always creeps up and down like Shadows
 10 upon the Surface of the Earth: and if it begins at any time to make any faint assays upwards, it presently finds it self laden with a weight of Sensuality which draws it down again. It was the Opinion of the *Academicks* that the Souls of wicked men after their death could not of a long season depart from the Graves and Sepulchres where their Mates were buried;
 15 but there wandered up and down in a desolate manner, as not being able to leave those Bodies which they were so much wedded to in this life.

2. *A Good man, one that is actuated by Religion, lives in converse with his own Reason; he lives at the height of his own Being. This a great Philosopher makes the Property of a Good man, μόνος ὁ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχων*
 20 *ἑαυτῶν συγγίνεσθαι δύναται, καὶ στέργειν ἑαυτόν*. He knows how to converse with himself, and truly to love and value himself: he measures not

3 ὑποβρύχια συμπεριφέρονται] “are carried around together below the surface”; from *Phaedrus* 248a where Socrates explains how the soul “which best follows after God and is most like him” is raised aloft whilst another “sometimes rises and sometimes sinks”, and how “other souls follow after, all yearning for the upper region but unable to reach it, and are *carried round beneath*” [my emphasis], scrambling unsuccessfully for a sight of truth: “and and after much toil they all go away without gaining a view of reality, and when they have gone away they feed upon opinion.”

19–20 μόνος ὁ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχων ἑαυτῶν συγγίνεσθαι δύναται, καὶ στέργειν ἑαυτόν] “only one who possesses virtue is strong enough to converse with and feel affection for himself”; adapted from Proclus, *Commentary on the “Timaeus”*, 173c; Proclus (1903), II, p.110.

12 *Academicks*] i.e. those who followed the teaching of Plato’s Academy.

13–16 the Souls of wicked men ... so much wedded to in this life] deriving ultimately from *Phaedo* 81. b–e, where Socrates explains that “the corporeal is heavy, oppressive, earthly and visible. So the soul which is tainted by its presence is weighed down and dragged back into the visible world, through fear, as they say, of Hades or the invisible, and hovers about tombs and graveyards.”

himself, like an Epicure, by his inferior and Earthly part, but by an Immortal Essence and that of him which is from above; and so does ἐπι τὴν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἀρχὴν ἀναβαίνειν, climb up to the height of that Immortal principle which is within him. The *Stoicks* thought no man a fit Auditor of their
 5 *Ethicks* till he were dispossess'd of that Opinion, That man was nothing but συμπλοχὴ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, as professing to teach men how to live only κατὰ λόγον, as they speak. Perhaps their Divinity was in some things too rigid; but I am sure a Good man acts the best of this their doctrine in the best sense, and knows better how *to reverence himself*, without any
 10 Self-flattery or admiration, then ever any *Stoick* did. He principally looks upon himself as being what he is rather by *his Soul* than by *his Body*: he values himself by *his Soul*, that Being which hath the greatest affinity with God; and so does not seek himself in the *fading Vanities* of this life, nor in those poor and *low delights* of his *Senses*, as wicked men doe; but as the
 15 Philosopher doth well express it, ὅση δύναμις φεύγειν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος βούλεται, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν σωματικῶν παθῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν συννεύειν, and when the Soul thus retires into it self, and views its own worth and Excellency, it presently finds a chaste and Virgin-love stirr'd up within it self towards it self, and is from within the more excited and obliged εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν

2–3 ἐπι τὴν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἀρχὴν ἀναβαίνειν] “mount up to the first principle in one’s self”; adapted slightly from Plotinus, *Enneads*, 6.9.3.

6 συμπλοχὴ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος] “a coming together of soul and body”

7 κατὰ λόγον] “according to reason”; cf. Diogenes Laertius’ *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, VII.86, where he reports the Stoic view that “when reason by way of a more perfect leadership has been bestowed on the beings we call rational, for them life according to reason (κατὰ λόγον) rightly becomes the natural life.”

15–16 ὅση δύναμις φεύγειν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος βούλεται, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν σωματικῶν παθῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν συννεύειν] “how much the faculty wishes to flee from the body, and to converge upon itself away from the the bodily passions”; Simplicius’ *Commentary on Epictetus*; H. Wolf, *Simplicii Commentarius In Enchiridion Epicteti: Ex Libris veteribus emendatus*, p.4.; cf. “such a person wants, in so far as possible, to flee from the body and from bodily emotions, and to withdraw into himself” Brittain and Brennan, *Simplicius: On Epictetus Handbook 1-26*, p.38.

493.19–494.1 εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ οἰκείου ἀξιώματος] “to begin guarding its own honour”; Simplicius’ *Commentary on Epictetus*; H. Wolf, *Simplicii Commentarius In Enchiridion Epicteti: Ex Libris veteribus emendatus*, p.3.; cf. “to the maintenance of its proper value” Brittain and Brennan, *Simplicius: On Epictetus Handbook 1-26*, p.38.

10–11 looks upon himself] marginal note: “κατὰ τὴν λογικὴν ζωὴν οὐσιωμένος, Simplic. in Epictet.”; the citation, “essentially according to the logical life”, is from Simplicius’ *Commentary on Epictetus*. See above page 117.

τοῦ οἰκείου ἀξιώματος, as *Simplicius* speaks, to mind the preserving of its own dignity and glory. To conclude this Particular, A Good man endeavours to walk by Eternal and Unchangeable Rules of Reason; *Reason* in a Good man sits in the Throne, and governs all the Powers of his Soul in
 5 a sweet harmony and agreement with it self: whereas Wicked men live only ζῶην δοξαστικὴν, being led up and down by the foolish fires of their own Sensual apprehensions. In wicked men there is a *Democracy* or wild *Lusts* and *Passions*, which violently hurry the Soul up and down with restless motions. All Sin and Wickedness is στάσις καὶ ὕβρις τῆς ψυχῆς, a
 10 Sedition stirred up in the Soul by the Sensitive Powers against Reason. It was one of the great Evils that *Solomon* saw under the Sun, *Servants on horseback and Princes going as servants upon the ground*. We may find the *Moral* of it in every wicked man, whose *Souls* are only as *Servants* to wait upon their *Senses*. In all such men the whole Course of Nature is
 15 turned upside down, and the Cardinal points of Motion in this little world are changed to contrary positions: But the Motions of a Good man are Methodical, Regular and Concentrical to Reason. It's a fond imagination that Religion should extinguish Reason; when as Religion makes it more illustrious and vigorous; and they that live most in the exercise of *Reli-*
 20 *gion*, shall find their *Reason* most enlarged. I might add, that *Reason* in relation to the capacitating of Man for converse with God was thought by some to be the *Formal Difference* of Man. *Plutarch* after a large debate whether *Brutes* had no *Reason* in them as well as *Man*, concludes it negatively upon this ground, Because they had no knowledge and sense of the
 25 Deity, οἷς οὐκ ἐγγίνεται θεοῦ νοήσις. In *Tully's* account *this Capableness*

6 ζῶην δοξαστικὴν] “a life of opinions”, i.e. of uncertain conjecture; cf. above page 117.

9 στάσις καὶ ὕβρις τῆς ψυχῆς] “sedition and wanton violence of the soul”

11–12 *Servants on horseback and Princes going as servants upon the ground.*] Ecclesiastes 10, 7: “ I haue seene seruants vpon horses, and princes walking as seruants vpon the earth.”

25 οἷς οὐκ ἐγγίνεται θεοῦ νοήσις] “they have no knowledge of God”; Plutarch, *Bruta animalia ratione uti*, 1.10.992e

14–17 In all such men ... Concentrical to Reason] The blend of scientific and astronomical language with the almost cabalistical (“this little world”) is characteristic of Smith. The ballad, “The World Turned Upside Down”, was published in April 1646.

22 *Formal Difference*] In the scholastic sense of the defining difference

494.25–495.1 In *Tully's* account *this Capableness of Religion* seem'd to be nothing different from *Rationality*] Perhaps Smith has in mind the discussion in *de legibus* 1, 24 -

of *Religion* seem'd to be nothing different from *Rationality*, and therefore he doubts not to give this for the most proper Characteristic of *Reason*, That it is *Vinculum Dei & Hominis*. And so with them (not to name others of the same apprehensions) *animal Rationale* & *animal capax Religionis* seem'd to be of the like importance; *Reason* as enabling and fitting Man to converse with God by knowing and loving him, being a character most unquestionably differencing *Man* from *Brute* creatures.

3. A Good man, one that is informed by True Religion, lives above himself, and is raised to an intimate Converse with the Divinity. He moves in a larger Sphere than his own Being, and cannot be content to enjoy himself, except he may enjoy God too, and himself in God.

3 *Vinculum Dei & Hominis*] "the bond between God and man"; as CAP comments, "The phrase is of course one of the great commonplaces of Western thought." The phrase is not to be found in Cicero, but Smith perhaps uses it to summarise Cicero's view that, "Est igitur, quoniam nihil est ratione melius, eaque <est> et in homine et in deo, prima homini cum deo rationis societas" ("There is, therefore, since nothing is better than reason, and it is in both man and god, a primary fellowship of reason between man and god"). *de legibus*, 1, 23.

4 *animal Rationale*] "a rational living being"

4 *animal capax Religionis*] "a living being capable of religion"

25, where Cicero says that "ex tot generibus nullum est animal praeter hominem quod habeat notitiam aliquam dei" ("of all the sorts of creatures, there is no animal except man who has the idea of some divinity"), and that "Est autem uirtus nihil aliud, nisi perfecta et ad summum perducta natura: est igitur homini cum deo similitudo" ("virtue is nothing else than a nature perfect in itself, and developed in all its excellence: there exists, therefore, a similitude between God and man").

4 *animal Rationale*] The definition of man as "animal rationale" goes back to Porphyry's *Commentary on the Categories of Aristotle*, VI, where we find, "nam hominem esse animal rationale, mortale, mentis & scientiae capax" ("for we say that man is a rational animal, mortal, capable of mind and knowledge") in Feliciano's translation Porphyry, *Porphyrii in Aristotelis praedicamenta per interrogationem et responsionem brevis explanatio, nunc primum in Latinam linguam conuersa, atque in lucem edita*, p.14. Perhaps Smith recalls St Thomas Aquinas' use of it in *Summa Theologica*, for example at 1.29.4.4.: "ut cum quaeritur, quid est homo? Et respondetur, animal rationale mortale" ("as when we ask, what is man? And we answer, a rational mortal animal").

4 *animal capax Religionis*] So characteristic of the Cambridge Platonists is the idea that man is an animal capable of religion, that Micheletti took it as the title of his book M. Micheletti, *Animal capax religionis: da Benjamin Whichcote a Shaftesbury*.

This we shall consider two ways.

1. In the *Self denial* of Good men; they are content and ready to deny themselves for God. I mean not that they should *deny* their own *Reason*, as some would have it; for that were to deny a Beam of Divine light, and so to deny God, in stead of denying our selves for him. It is better resolved by some Philosophers in this point, that ἔπεσθαι λόγῳ or *to follow Reason* is ἔπεσθαι θεῷ *to follow God*; and again, λόγῳ δὲ ὀρθῶ πείθεσθαι καὶ θεῷ, ταυτόν ἐστι. But by *Self-denial* I mean, the Soul's quitting all its own interest in it self, and an entire Resignation of it self to him as to all points of service and duty: and thus the Soul loves it self in God, and lives in the possession not so much of its own Being as of the Divinity; desiring only to be great in God, to glory in his Light, and spread it self in his Fulness; to be fill'd alwaies by him, and to empty it self again into him; to receive all from him, and to expend all for him; and so to live not as it own, but as God's. The highest ambition of a Good man is to serve the Will of God: he takes no pleasure in himself nor in any thing within himself further then he sees a stamp of God upon it. Whereas wicked men are imprisoned with the narrow circumference of their own Beings, and perpetually frozen into a cold *Self-love* which binds up all the Innate vigour of their Souls, that it cannot break forth or express it self in any noble way. The Soul in which Religion rules, saies as S. Paul did, *I live; and yet not I, but Christ liveth within me*. On the contrary, a Wicked man swells in his own thoughts, and pleaseth himself more or less with the imagination of a *Self-sufficiency*. The *Stoicks*, seeing they could not raise themselves up to God, endeavour to bring down God to their own Model,

6 ἔπεσθαι λόγῳ] "to follow reason, or the divine order"

7 ἔπεσθαι θεῷ] "to follow God"

7–8 λόγῳ δὲ ὀρθῶ πείθεσθαι καὶ θεῷ, ταυτόν ἐστι] "to obey sound Reason, and to obey God, are the same thing" Dacier and Rowe, *The life of Pythagoras: with his Symbols and Golden verses. Together with the life of Hierocles, and his commentaries upon the verses. Collected out of the choicest manuscripts, and tr. into French, with annotations*, p.284.; from Hierocles' *Commentarius in Aurea Carmina*, XIV. Hierocles of Alexandria (fl.430 AD) was a Greek Neoplatonist, whose only complete extant work is his commentary on the "Golden Verses" traditionally attributed to Pythagoras.

21–22 *I live; and yet not I, but Christ liveth within me*] Galatians 2, 20: "I am crucified with Christ. Neuertheles, I liue, yet not I, but Christ liueth in me, and the life which I now liue in the flesh, I liue by the faith of the sonne of God, who loued mee, and gaue himselfe for me."

imagining the Deity to be nothing else but some great kind of *Animal*, and a Wise man to be almost one of his* Peers. And this is more less the Genius of Wicked men, they will be something in themselves, they wrap up themselves in their own Being, move up and down in Sphere of *Self-love*, live a professed Independency upon God, and maintain a *Meum & Tuum* between God and themselves. It's the Character only of Good man to be able to deny and disown himself, and to make a full surrender of himself unto God; forgetting himself, and minding nothing but the Will of his Creator; triumphing in nothing more than in his own *Nothingness*, and in the *Allness* of the Divinity. But indeed this his being Nothing is the only way to be all things; this his having nothing the truest way of possessing all things.

2. As a Good man lives *above himself* in a way of *Self-denial*, so he lives also above himself as he lives in the *Enjoyment of God*: and this is the very Soul and Essence of True Religion, to unite the Soul in the nearest intimacy and conjunction with God, who is πηγὴ ζωῆς, πηγὴ νοῦ, ῥίζα ψυχῆς, as *Plotinus* speaks. Then indeed the Soul lives *most nobly*, when it feels itself to live and move and have its Being in God; which though the Law of Nature makes the Common condition of all ceated Being, yet it is onely True Religion that can give us a more feeling and comfortable sense of it. God is not present to Wicked men, when his

5–6 *Meum & Tuum*] “mine” and “thine”; cf. above page 462.

16–17 πηγὴ ζωῆς, πηγὴ νοῦ, ῥίζα ψυχῆς] “the spring of life, the spring of intellect, the root of the soul”; adapted from Plotinus, *Enneads* VI,9.9.

18 to live and move and have its Being] Acts 17, 28: “For in him we liue, and mooue, and haue our being, as certaine also of your owne Poets haue said, For we are also his offspring.” cf. above, page 253.

1 *Animal*] in the sense of “living being”, as used above.

2 his*] marginal comment: “*Sapiens cum Diis ex pari vivit, Deorum socius, non supplex*, Sen, in Ep.52, & 31.” (“the wise man lives as an equal with the God”, from Seneca, *Epistles*, 59,14; and “a partner of the God, not a suppliant” from 31,8.)

3 Genius] “a good or evil Angel; also a Man’s Nature, Fancy or Inclination” Blount, *Glossographia*, the latter sense being relevant here.

16–17 πηγὴ ζωῆς, πηγὴ νοῦ, ῥίζα ψυχῆς] cf. Cudworth’s view that “*the Spirit of God* is ... either the very self same thing with *Reason*, or else such a thing as *Aristotle* ... somewhere calls λόγου τι κρείττον *a certain Better and Diviner thing than Reason*, and *Plotinus* ῥίζαν λόγου *the Root of Reason*.” Cudworth, *The true intellectual system of the Universe*, p.134.

Almighty Essence supports them and maintains them in Being; ἀλλ' ἔστι τῷ δυναμένῳ θίγειν παρόν, *but he is present to him that can touch him*, hath an inward feeling knowledge of God, and is intimately united to him; τῷ δὲ ἀδυνατοῦντι οὐ πάρεστι, *but to him that cannot thus touch him he*
 5 *is not present.*

Religion is Life and Spirit, which flowing out from God who is that Αὐτοζωή, that hath life in himself, returns to him again as to its own Original, carrying the Souls of Good men up with it. The Spirit of Religion is alwaies ascending upwards, and spreading it self through the whole
 10 Essence of the Soul, loosens it from a Self-confinement and narrowness, and so renders it more capacious of Divine Enjoyment. God envies not his people any good, but being infinitely bountifull is pleased to impart himself to them in this life, so far as they are capable of his Communications: they stay not for all their happiness till they come to heaven. Religion alwaies
 15 carries it reward along with it, and when it acts most vigorously upon the Mind and Spirit of man, it then most of all fills it with an inward sense of Divine sweetness. To conclude *To walk with God* is in Scripture made the Character of a Good man, and its the highest perfection and priviledge of Created Nature to converse with the Divinity. Whereas on the contrary
 20 Wicked men converse with nothing but their *Lusts* and the *Vanities* of this fading life, which here flatter them for a while with unhallowed delights and a meer Shadow of Contentment; and when these are gone, they find both *Substance* and *Shadow* too to be lost Eternally. But true Goodness

1–2 ἀλλ' ἔστι τῷ δυναμένῳ θίγειν παρόν] “but is present to anyone who is able to touch it”; adapted slightly from Plotinus, *Enneads*, VI.9.7. Plotinus is speaking of “the Good”.

4 τῷ δὲ ἀδυνατοῦντι οὐ πάρεστι] “but is not present to the one who is unable”; following on directly from the previous citation.

7 Αὐτοζωή] “self-life”

7 Αὐτοζωή] CAP describes the term as “an adaptation of Plotinus’ adjective αὐτοζών, ‘self-living’” from Plotinus, *Enneads* III.8.8. But Smith would have met αὐτοζωή in Pseudo-Dionysius, *de divinis nominibus*, XI, “ Περὶ εἰρήνης, καὶ τί βούλεται αὐτῷ τὸ αὐτοεῖναι, τίς ἢ αὐτοζωή, τίς ἢ αὐτοδύναμις καὶ τὰ οὕτως λεγόμενα.” (“About peace, and what is by meant by self-being, self-life, self-power and similar terms”) and elsewhere.

17–18 *To walk with God* is in Scripture made the Character of a Good man] as, for a single example, at Micah 6, 8: “ Hee hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doeth the Lord require of thee, but to do iustly, and to loue mercy, and to walke humbly with thy God?”

brings in a constant revenue of solid and substantial Satisfaction to the Spirit of a good man, delighting alwaies to fit by those Eternal Springs that feed and maintain it: the Spirit of a Good man (as it is well expressed by the Philosopher) ἀκινέτως ἐνίδρυται ἐν οὐσίᾳ τῆς θείας ἀγαθότητος, and
 5 is alwaies drinking in Fountain-Goodness, and fills it self more and more, till it be filled with all the fulness of God.

Having discoursed *the Nobleness of Religion* in its *Original and Nature*; we come now to consider the *Excellency of Religion in its Properties*, its *proper Effects* and vital *Operations*. In treating of this Third Particular
 10 we shall, (as formerly we have done) without tying our selves precisely to an strict Rules of Art and Method, confound the Notions of Religion *in abstracto* and *in concreto* together, handling them promiscuously. As Religion is a *noble* thing, 1. in respect of its *Original*, 2. in respect of its *Nature*; so also 3. in respect of its *Properties* and *Effects*.

15 The First *Propertie* and *Effect* of True Religion whereby it expresseth its own *Nobleness* is this, *That it widens and enlarges all the Faculties of the Soul, and begets a true Ingenuity, Liberty and Amplitude, the most free and Generous spirit, in the Minds of Good men*. Those in whom Religion rules are בני הורים, there is a true Generous Spirit within them, which
 20 shews the Nobleness of their Extraction. The Jews have a good Maxim to this purpose, אין כן חו רין אלא מי שעוסק בתורה, Tully could see so much in his

4 ἀκινέτως ἐνίδρυται ἐν οὐσίᾳ τῆς θείας ἀγαθότητος] “settled immoveably in the immutable reality of the goodness of god”; adapted from Simplicius, *Commentary on Epictetus*, 1.1., which reads ἀκινήτως ἐνοθρυσθαι ἐν τῇ ὑπάρξει τῆς θείας ἀγαθότητος. Wolf, *Simplicii Commentarius In Enchiridion Epicteti: Ex Libris veteribus emendatus*, p.11. CAP translates the latter as “fixed in God’s essential goodness”;

19 בני הורים] “the sons of nobles”; adapted from Ecclesiastes 10, 17: “Blessed art thou, O land, when thy king is the sonne of nobles, and thy princes eate in due season, for strength, and not for drunkennesse.”

21 אין כן חו רין אלא מי שעוסק בתורה] “none is free but he who studies the Torah”; adapted from *Pirkei Avot*, 6.2. Daquin, *Sententiae et Proverbia Rabbiorum*, p.134.

4 ἀκινέτως ἐνίδρυται ἐν οὐσίᾳ τῆς θείας ἀγαθότητος] cf. “the first of the things produced by the First Good, because they are similar in nature to it, did not deviate from goodness. Unmovable and unchangeable, having their foundation in the same eternal blessedness, they are not deficient in goodness, because they are goodnesses-in-themselves.” Britain and Brennan, *Simplicius: On Epictetus Handbook 1-26*, p.43.

21 אין כן חו רין אלא מי שעוסק בתורה] marginal note: “Pirke Avoth cap.6.”

Natural Philosophy as made him say, *Scientia Naturæ ampliatur animum, & ad divina attollit*: But this is most true of Religion, that in an higher sense it does work the Soul into a true and divine *amplitude*. There is a living Soul of Religion in Good men, which, spreading it self through
 5 all their Faculties, spirits all the Wheels of motion, and enables them to dilate and extend themselves more fully upon God and all Divine things, without being pinched or streightned within themselves. Whereas wicked men are of most *narrow* and *confined* Spirits, they are so contracted by the *pinching Particularities* of Earthly and created things, so imprisoned
 10 in a dark dungeon of *Sensuality* and *Selfishness*, so streightned through their *Carnal* designs and *Ends*, that they cannot stretch themselves to look beyond the Horizon of *Time* and *Sense*.

The nearer any Being comes to God, who is that Infinite fulness that fills all in all, the more *vast* and *large* and *unbounded* it is; as the further
 15 it slides from him, the more it is *streightned* and *confined*: as *Plato* hath long since concluded concerning the condition of Sensual men, that they live ὀστρέου δίκην, *like a Shel-fish*, and can never move up and down but in their own prison, which they ever carry about with them. Were I to define *Sin*, I would call it *The sinking of a Mans Soul from God into a*
 20 *Sensual Selfishness*. All the *Freedom* that wicked men have, is but (like that of banished men) to wander up and down in the wilderness of this world from one and cave to another.

The more high and *Noble* any Being is, so much *the deeper radication* have all its *Innate virtues* and Properties within it, and are by so
 25 much the *more Universal* in their issues and actings upon other things: and such an inward living principle of vertue and activity further heightned and united and informed with *Light* and *Truth*, we may call *Liberty*. Of this

1–2 *Scientia Naturæ ampliatur animum, & ad divina attollit*] “the knowledge of nature extends the mind and raises it to the divine”; not to be found in Cicero.

17 ὀστρέου δίκην,] “in the manner of an oyster”; adapted from Phaedrus 250c, where Socrates speaks of a time when we were “not entombed in this which we carry about with us and call the body, in which we are imprisoned like an oyster in its shell.”

5 spirits all the Wheels of motion] recalling Ezekiel 1, 20: “Whithersoever the spirit was to goe, they went, thither was their spirit to goe, and the wheeles were lifted vp ouer against them: for the spirit of the liuing creature was in the wheeles.”

truly-noble and divine Liberty Religion is the Mother and Nurse, leading the Soul to God, and so impregnating that inward vital principle of *activity* and *vigour* that is embosom'd in it, that it is able without any inward disturbance and resistance from any controlling Lusts to exercise it self, and act with the greatest complacency in the most full and ample manner upon that *First, Universal* and *Unbounded* Essence which is God himself. The most generous Freedom can never be took in its full and just dimensions and proportion, but then when all the Powers of the Soul exercise and spend themselves in the most large and ample manner upon the Infinite and Essential Goodness, as upon their own most proper Object. If we should ask a Good man, when he finds himself best at ease, when he finds himself most free; his answer would be, When he is under the most powerfull constraints of divine Love. There are a sort of *Mechanical* Christians in the world, that not finding *Religion* acting live a *living form* within them, satisfie themselves only to make an *Art* of it, and rather *inform* and actuate *it*, then are *informed by it*; and setting it such bounds and limits as may not exceed the short and scant measures of their own home-born Principles, then they endeavour to fit the Notions of their own Minds as so many *Examples* to it: and it being a Circle of their own making, they can either ampliate or contract it accordingly as they can force their own Minds and Dispositions to agree and suit with it. But true Religion indeed is no *Art*, but an *inward Nature* that conteins all the laws and measures of its motion within it self. A Good man finds not his Religion *without* him, but as a living Principle *within* him; and all his Faculties are still endeavouring to unite themselves more and more in the nearest intimacy with it as with their proper Perfection. There is that amiableness in Religion, that strong Sympathy between the Soul and it, that it needs carry no Testimonials or Commendations along with it. If it could be supposed that God should plant a Religion in the Soul that had no affinity or alliance with it, it would grow there but as a strange slip. But God when he gives his Laws to men, does not by virtue of his *Absolute dominion* dictate any thing at randome, and in such an arbitrary way as some imagine; but he measures all by his own Eternal Goodness. Had God himself been any thing else then the *First and Greatest Good* of man, then to have loved him with the full

20 ampliate] *Ampliation* (Lat.) an Enlargement; Blount, *Glossographia*.

30 slip] in the horticultural sense.

32 arbitrary] cf. "*Arbitrary* (Lat.) that which is voluntary or left to our will" Blount, *Glossographia*.

strength of all our Faculties should not have been the *First and Greatest Commandment*, as our Saviour tells us it is. Some are apt to look upon God as some *Peevish* and *Self-will'd* thing, because themselves are such: and see that their own *Absolute* and naked *Wills* are for the most part the

5 *Rules* of all their actions and the impositions which they lay upon others; they think that Heaven's Monarch is such an *arbitrary* things too, as being govern'd by nothing else but by an *Almighty Absolute Will*. But the Soul that is acquainted most intimately with the *Divine Will*, would more certainly resolve us, that God's *Unchangeable Goodness* (which makes

10 the Divinity an Uniform thing and to settle together upon its own Centre, as I may speak with reverence) is also the *Unchangeable Rule of his Will*; neither can he any more swerve from it, then he can swerve from himself. Nor does he charge any Duty upon man without consulting first of all with his *Goodness*: which being the Original and adequate Object of a Good

15 man's Will and affections, it must needs be that all the issues and effluxes from it be entertain'd with an answerable complacency and cheerfulness. This is the hinge upon which all true Religion turns, the proper Centre about which it moves; which taking a fast and sure hold of an innate and correspondent Principle in the Soul of man, raiseth it up above the con-

20 fines of Mortality, and in the day of its mighty power makes it become the free-will-Offering unto God.

The *Second Property* or *Effect of Religion*, whereby it discovers its own *Nobleness* (and it somewhat a-kin to the former Particular, and will help further to illustrate and enforce it) is this, *That it restores a Good*

25 *man to a just power and dominion over himself and his own Will, enables him to overcome himself, his own Self-will and Passions, and to command himself and all his Powers for God.* 'Tis only Religion that restores that ἀυτεξούσιον which the Stoical Philosophy so impotently pretended to; it is

1–2 the *First and Greatest Commandment*, as our Saviour tells us it is] Matthew 22, 37-8: “Iesus sayd vnto him, Thou shalt loue the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soule, and with all thy minde. This is the first and great Commandement.”
 28 ἀυτεξούσιον] “free will” or “power of self-determination”

21 free-will-Offering] a spontaneous or voluntary sacrifice, as opposed to one which has been promised, or is to expiate some sin etc.; reflecting the the Hebrew term *nēdabāh*.

28 ἀυτεξούσιον] Smith would have met the characteristically Stoic term principally in

this only that enthrones man's deposed Reason, and establisheth within him a just Empire over those blind Powers and Passions which so impetuously rend a man from the possession and enjoyment of himself. Those turbulent and unruly, uncertain and unconstant Motions of *Pas-*
 5 *sion* and *Self-will* that dwell in degenerate Minds, *divide* them perpetually from themselves, and are alwaies molding several factions and tumultuous combinations within them against the dominion of *Reason*. And the only way to *unite* man firmly to himself is by uniting him to God, and establishing in him a firm amity and agreement with the First and Primitive
 10 Being.

There is nothing in the World so boisterous as a man's own *Self-will*, which is never guided by any fixt or stedy Rules, but is perpetually hurried to and fro by a blind and furious *impetus* of *Pride* and *passions* issuing from within it self. This is the true source and Spring of all that
 15 *Envy*, *Malice*, *Bitterness of Spirit*, *Malecontentedness* and *Impatency*, of all those *black and dark Passions*, those *inordinate desires and lusts*, that reign in the hearts and lives of wicked men. A man's own *Self-will* throws him out of all true enjoyment of his own Being: therefore it was our Sa-

13 *impetus*] in both the latin sense of an "attack or assault", and the scientific current at the time, akin to "momentum".

Epictetus and Simplicius (for example in *Commentary on Epictetus*, 13, where he praises it ἡ αὐτεξούσιος as a powerful force for good', H. Wolf, *Simplicii Commentarius In Enchiridion Epicteti: Ex Libris veteribus emendatus*, p.98.; for a list of occurrences, see Britain and Brennan, *Simplicius: On Epictetus Handbook 1-26*, p.155), but it is also used by Plotinus (*Enneads*, VI.8.3). For Cudworth's use of the term, and its relationship with τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, the "ruling principle" of Stoicism, see Cudworth, *A treatise of Freewill*, pp. 18, 32, 42, 46, 47, 63, 65, 77. See also Sellars, "Stoics Against Stoics In Cudworth's A Treatise of Freewill".

1-7 that enthrones ... the dominion of *Reason*] Once again Smith's language has a strong political resonance.

7 combinations] "*Combination* (Lat.) a joyning together, a Conspiracy" Blount, *Glossographia*.

13 *impetus*] the military association perhaps suggests "issuing from within"; but the scientific one recalls Smith's descriptions of the chaotic movement of atoms. He would have been familiar with the term from his reading of writers from Galileo to Nye.

15 *Malecontentedness*] "*Malecontent*, (Lat.) discontented, now often apply'd to Rebels, to factious or seditious People" Blount, *Glossographia*.

viours counsell to his disciples, *In patience possess your Souls*. We may say of that *Self-will* which is lodged in the heart of a wicked man, as the Jews speak of the הרע יצר *figmentum malum* so often mention'd in their Writings, that is is המות שר, the Prince of death and darkness which is at

5 continual enmity with Heaven, and הנחש זוהמא the filthiness and poison of the Serpent. This is the Seed of the Evil Spirit which is perpetually at enmity with the Seed of God and the Heaven-born Nature: It's design and scope is with a Giant-like pride to climb up into the Throne of the

10 Will of God, which is nothing else but the Issue and Efflux of his Eternal and Unbounded Goodness. This is the very Heart of the old *Adam* that is within men. This is the Hellish Spirit of *Self-will*: it would solely prescribe laws to all things; it would fain be the source and fountain of all affairs and events; it would judge all things at its own Tribunal. They in whose

15 Spirits this principle rules, would have their own Fancies and Opinions, their perverse and boisterous Wills to be the just Square and Measure of all *Good* and *Evil*; these are the Plumb-lines they apply to all things to find out their *Rectitude* or *Obliquity*. He that will not submit himself to, nor comply with *the Eternal and Uncreated Will*, but in stead of it endeavours

20 to set up his own will, makes himself *the most real Idol* in the world, and exalts himself against all that is call'd God and ought to be worshipp'd. To worship a graven image, or to make cakes and burn incense to the

1 *In patience possess your Souls*] Luke 21, 19: "In your patience possesse ye your soules."

3 הרע יצר ["evil impulse"

3 *figmentum malum*] "evil creation"

4 המות שר ["the minister of death"

5 הנחש זוהמא ["the foulness of the serpent"

3 הרע יצר [CAP points to *Baba Bathra*, 16a, which reads "Resh Lakish said: Satan, the evil prompter, and the Angel of Death are all one." The phrase "evil prompter" translates הרע. יצר

3 *figmentum malum*] see above page 353.

11 the old *Adam*] on this phrase see Hamlin, *The Bible in Shakespeare*, pp. 127-8.

16 Square and Measure] anticipating the metaphor of the plumb-line.

17 Plumb-lines] Perhaps recalling Amos 7, 7-8, the image obviously depends on the ambiguities of "rectitude" and "obliquity".

22 a graven image] Exodus 20, 4: "Thou shalt not make vnto thee any grauen Image, or any likenesse of any thing that is in heauen aboue, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water vnder the earth."

504.22–505.1 make cakes and burn incense to the Queen of heaven] recalling Jeremiah

Queen of heaven, is not a worse Idolatry then it is for a man to set up *Self-will*, to devote himself to the serving of it, and to give up himself to a compliance with his own will as contrary to the Divine and Eternal Will. When God made the World, he did not make it meerly for the exercise of his Almighty power, and then throw it out of his hands, and leave it alone to subsist by it self as a thing that had no further relation to him: But he derived himself through the whole Creation, so gathering and knitting up all the several pieces of it again; that as the first production and the continued Subsistence of all things is from himself, so the ultimate resolution and tendency of all things might be to him. Now that which first endeavoured a Divorce between God and Creation, and to make a Conquest of it, was that Diabolical *Arrogancy* and *Self-will* that crept up and wound it self Serpent-like into apostate Minds and Spirits. This is the true strain of that Hellish nature, to live independently of God, and to derive the *Principles* from *another Beginning*, and carry on the line of all motions and operations to *another End*, then God himself, by whom and to who and for whom all things subsist. From what hath been said concerning this powerfull and dangerous Enemy that wars against our Souls and against the Divine Will, may the Excellency and Noble Spirit of True Religion appear, in that it tames the impetuosity and turbulency of this *Self-will*. Then indeed does Religion perform the highest and bravest conquests, then does it display the greatness of its strength and the excellency of its power, when it overcomes this great *Arimanius*, that hath so firmly seated

7, 18: "The children gather wood, and the fathers kindle the fire, & the women knead their dough to make cakes to the Queene of heauen, and to powre out drinke offerings vnto other gods, that they may prouoke me to anger", and Jeremiah 44, 18: "But since we left off to burne incense to the queene of heauen, and to powre out drinke offrings vnto her, we haue wanted all things, and haue beene consumed by the sword, and by the famine."

4–8 When God made the world ... knitting up all the several pieces of it again] cf. above page 245 for another version of this assertion.

13 apostate Minds and Spirits] cf. above page 254, where Smith speaks of "Apostate Spirits that know not to return to the Originall of their Beings"

23 *Arimanius*] The name exists in several different forms. Cudworth uses this one when discussing Zoroasterianism: after relating Plutarch's testimony (*de Iside et Osiride*, 46) that "the ancient *Persians*" had "Two Gods, the *Good* and the *Evil*, or *Oromasdes* and *Arimanius*," he identifies "*the Evil Daemon of the Persians*, as being the very same with the Devil: all which was under the immediate Presidency or Government of that God, called by them *Arimanius*" Cudworth, *The true intellectual system of the Universe*, p.290-291. De Jong comments that "Whenever Ahreman is interpreted in terms of a

himself in the very Centre of the Soul.* גבור מ' *Who is the man of Courage and Valour?* יצר את הכובש, *it is he that subdues his Concupiscence*, his own Will; it is a Jewish Maxim attributed to *Ben Zoma*, and a most undoubted truth. This was the grand *Lesson* that our great Lord and Master
 5 came to teach us, viz. *To deny our own Wills*; neither was there anything that he endeavour'd to promote more by his own *Example*, as he tells us of himself, *I came down from heaven, not to doe mine own will, but the will of him that sent me*; and again, *Lo, I come (in the volume of the Book it is written of me) to do thy will, O God, yea thy Law is within my heart:*
 10 and in his greatest agonies, with a clear and chearfull submission to the Divine will, he often repeats it, *Not my will, but thy will be done*: and so he hath taught us to pray and so to live. This indeed is the true life and spirit of Religion, this is Religion in its Meridian altitude, its just dimen-

1 * גבור מ' ["who is a hero or courageous or strong man"

2 יצר את הכובש ["he that conquers his instinct or urges"; from *Pirke Avoth*, 4.1. For Smith's other citation of this, see above page 353.

7-8 *I came down from heaven, not to doe mine own will, but the will of him that sent me*] John 6, 38: "For I came downe from heauen, not to doe mine owne will, but the will of him that sent me."

8-9 *Lo, I come (in the volume of the Book it is written of me) to do thy will, O God, yea thy Law is within my heart*] Psalms 40, 7-8: "Then said I, Lo, I come: in the volume of the book it is written of me, I delight to do thy will, O my God: yea, thy law is within my heart." cf. Hebrews 10, 7 for Christ's reference to the verses.

11 *Not my will, but thy will be done*] Luke 22, 42: "Saying, Father, if thou be willing, remooue this cup from me: neuerthesse, not my will, but thine be done." and Mark 14, 36 "And he said, Abba, father, all things are possible vnto thee, take away this cup from me: Neuerthesse, not that I will, but what thou wilt."

Greek divinity, he is equated with Hades, lord of the underworld. In some passages he is introduced as 'the devil *daimon*', 'Satan', or 'the worst spirit.'" De Jong, *Traditions of the Magi: Zoroastrianism in Greek and Latin Literature*, pp.313-4. Smith's interest in Persia is well attested in his library.

1 * גבור מ' [marginal note: "Pirke Avoth cap.4."

3 *Ben Zoma*] Simeon ben Zoma was a teacher in the early second century, famous for his scholarship and exegesis of Genesis, to whom the saying is attributed in *Pirke Avoth*, 4.1.

11-12 so he hath taught us to pray] as in the Lord's prayer: Matthew 6, 10: "Thy kingdome come. Thy will be done, in earth, as it is in heauen." and Luke 11,2.

13 Meridian altitude] An astronomical term. Blount explains that the "*Meridian Altitude of the Sun or Star*, is the Altitude of of the *Sun or Star* when they are in the Meridian of the Place, or an Ark of the Meridian intercepted between the Horizon and the *Sun or Star*." Blount, *Glossographia*.

sions. A true Christian that hath power over his own Will, may live nobly and happily, and joy a perpetually-clear heaven within *the Serenity* of his own Mind. When the Sea of this World is most rough and tempestuous about him, then can he ride safely at Anchor within the haven, by a sweet compliance of his will with God's Will. He can look about him, and with an even and indifferent Mind behold the World either to smile or frown upon him; neither will he abate of the least of his *Contentment*, for all the ill and unkind usage he meets withall in this life. He that hath got Mastery over his own Will, feels no violence from without, finds no contests within; and like a strong man, keeping his house, he preserves all his Goods in safety: and when God calls for him out of this state of Mortality, he finds in himself a power to lay down his own life; neither is it so much taken from him, as quietly and freely surrendred up by him. This is the highest piece of prowess, the noblest atcheivement, by which a man becomes Lord over himself, and the Master of his own Thoughts, Motions and Purposes. This is the Royal prerogative, the high dignity conferred upon Good men by our Lord and Saviour, whereby they overcoming both His and their Enemy, their *Self-will* and *Passions*, are enabled to sit down with him in his Throne, as he overcoming in another way, is set down with his Father in his Throne; as the phrase is *Revelat.3*.

Religion begets the most *Heroick*, *Free* and *Generous motions* in the Minds of Good men. There is no where so much of a truly Magnanimous and raised Spirit as in those who are best acquainted with the power of Religion. Other men are Slaves and Captives to one Vanity or other: but the truly Religious is above them all, and able to command himself and all his Powers for God. That *bravery* and *gallantness* which seems to be in the great *Nimrods* of this world is nothing else but the *swelling* of their own unbounded *pride* and *vain-glory*. It hath been observed of the

20 *Revelat.3.*] Revelation 3, 21: "To him that ouercommeth, will I graunt to sit with mee in my throne, euen as I also ouercame, and am set downe with my Father in his throne."

6 an even and indifferent Mind] cf. above, page 253.

27 *Nimrods*] Nimrod was the "mighty one in the earth", the proverbial "mighty hunter before the Lord" of Genesis 10, 8-9. Traditionally, he is the instigator of the Tower of Babel. According to Josephus, "He persuaded them [the Hebrews] not to ascribe it to God, as if it were through his means they were happy, but to believe that it was their own courage which procured that happiness. He also gradually changed the government into tyranny, seeing no other way of turning men from the fear of God, but to bring them into

greatest Monarchs of the world, that in the midst of their *Triumphs* they themselves have been led *Captives* to one *Vice* or another. All the *Galantry* and *Puissance* which the Bravest Spirits of the world boast of, is but a poor *confined* thing, and extends it self only to some *Particular Cases* and Circumstances: But the *Valour* and *Puissance* of a Soul impregnated by Religion hath in a sort an *Universal Extent*, as S. *Paul* speaks of himself, *I can doe all things through Christ which strengtheneth me*; it is not determined to this or that Particular Object or Time or Place, but πάντα *all things* whatsoever belong to a Creature fall under the level thereof. Religion is by S. *Paul* described to be πνεῦμα δυνάμεθς *the Spirit of power* in opposition to *the Spirit of fear*. 2 Tim.1. as all *Sin* is by *Simplicius* well described to be ἀδυναμία *impotency & weakness*. Sin by its deadly infusions into the Soul of man wasts and eats out the innate vigour of the Soul, and casts it into such a deep Lethargy, as that it is not able to recover it self: But Religion, like that *Balsamum vitae*, being once conveyed into the Soul, awakens and enlivens it, and makes it renew its strength like an Eagle, and mount strongly upwards towards Heaven; and so uniting the Soul to God, the Centre of life and strength, it renders it undaunted and in-

7 *I can doe all things through Christ which strengtheneth me*] Philippians 4, 13: “3 I can do all things through Christ, which strengtheneth me.”

8 πάντα] “all things”; the first word of Philippians 4,13.

10 πνεῦμα δυνάμεθς] “spirit of power”; adapted from 2 Timothy 1, 7: πνεῦμα δειλίας ἀλλα δυνάμεως, “[not] a spirit of timidity, but of power”.

12 ἀδυναμία] “incapacity” or “lack of strength”; *Simplicius, Commentary on Epictetus*, 1.1.; H. Wolf, *Simplicii Commentarius In Enchiridion Epicteti: Ex Libris veteribus emendatus* p.28; cf. “For every sort of badness comes about through lack of power, given that power is a good thing” Brittain and Brennan, *Simplicius: On Epictetus Handbook 1-26*, p.52.

15 *Balsamum vitae*] “balm of life”; see above, page 427 and note.

16–17 makes it renew its strength like an Eagle, and mount strongly upwards towards Heaven] Isaiah 40, 31: “But they that waite vpon the Lord, shall renew their strength: they shall mount vp with wings as Eagles, they shal runne and not be weary, and they shall walke, and not faint.”

a constant dependence on his power. ” (*Histories*, 1.113). Cudworth also associated Nimrod with giant-like opposition to the divine will: “it is the pranck of a *Nimrod*, of a *mighty Hunter* thus rudely to deal with God, and to force heaven and happinesse before his face whether he will or no.” Cudworth, *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at Westminster March 21, 1647*, p.10. For some mid-century views of Nimrod, see Hill, *The English Bible and the seventeenth-century revolution*, pp.217ff. 10–11 *the Spirit of power* in opposition to *the Spirit of fear*] 2 Timothy 1, 7: “ For God hath not giuen vs the spirit of feare, but of power, of loue, and of a sound minde.”

vincible. Who can tell the inward life and vigour that the Soul may be fill'd with, when once it is in conjunction with an Almighty Essence? There is a latent and hidden virtue in the Soul of man which then begins to discover it self when the Divine Spirit spreads forth its influences upon it. Every
 5 thing the more Spiritual it is, and the higher and nobler it is in its Being, the more active and vigorous it is; as the more any thing falls and sinks into *Matter*, the more dull and sluggish and unwieldy it is. The *Platon-*
ists were wont to call all things that participated most of *Matter* ὄντως μὴ ὄντα. Now nothing doth more purifie, more sublimate and exalt the Soul
 10 then Religion, when the Soul suffers God *to sit* within it *as a refiner and purifier of Silver*, and when it *abides the day of his coming; for he is like a refiner's fire and like fuller's sope*, Mal.3. Thus the Soul being purified and spiritualiz'd, and changed more and more into the glorious Image of God,
 15 is *able to doe all things, out of weakness is made strong*, gives proof of its Divine vigour and activity, and shews itself to be a Noble and Puissant Spirit, such as God did at first create it.

8–9 ὄντως μὴ ὄντα] “beings without real existence”; Plotinus, *Enneads*, III.6.13.

10–11 *to sit* within it *as a refiner and purifier of Silver*,] Malachi 3, 3: “And he shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver: and he shall purifie the sonnes of Leui, and purge them as gold & siluer, that they may offer vnto the Lord an offering in righteousness.”

11–12 *abides the day of his coming; for he is like a refiner's fire and like fuller's sope*] Malachi 3, 2: “But who may abide the day of his coming? and who shall stand when he appeareth? for he is like a refiners fire, and like fullers sope.”

2–4 There is a latent and hidden virtue in the Soul of man which then begins to discover it self when the Divine Spirit spreads forth its influences upon it] The phrasing may be suggestive of Smith's reading of Samuel Ward's *Magnetis redvctorivm theologicvm tropologicvm: in quo ejus novvs, vervs et svpremvvs vsvs indicatvr* (1640), in which Ward drew upon magnetism as a source of spiritual analogies. Smith's copy is still in Queens'.
 6–7 as the more any thing falls and sinks into *Matter*, the more dull and sluggish and unwieldy it is] cf. “*Matter* being the most sluggish, inert and unwieldy thing that may be, having no power from it self nor over it self”, above page 230.

9 more purifie, more sublimate and exalt] the chemical terminology anticipates the references to Malachi.

13 changed more and more into the glorious Image of God] perhaps recalling 2 Corinthians 3, 18: “But we all, with open face beholding as in a glasse the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image, from glorie to glorie, euen as by the spirit of the Lord.”

14 *able to doe all things*] cf. the reference to Phiippians 4,13 above.

14 *out of weakness is made strong*] echoing Hebrews 11, 34 where righteous figures in the Old Testament are said to have: “Quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakenesse were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens.”

The Third *Property* or *Effect* whereby *Religion* discovers its own *Excellency*, is this, *That it directs and enables a man to propound to himself the Best End and Scope of life, viz. The Glory of God the Highest Being, and his own assimilation or becoming like unto God.*

5 That Christian in whom Religion rules powerfully, is not so low in his ambitions as to pursue any of the things of this world as his *Ultimate End*: his Soul is too big for earthly designs and interests; but understanding himself to come from God, he is continually returning to him again. It is not worth the while for the Mind of Man to pursue any Perfection lower
10 then its own, or to aim at any *End* more ignoble than it self is. There is nothing that more *streightens* and *confines* the free born Soul than the *particularity, indigency* and *penury* of that *End* which it pursues: when it complies most of all with this lower world, τότε μάλιστα τὸ αὐτεξουσιον ἀμφισβητήσιμον ἔχει, as is well observed by an excellent Philosopher,
15 the true *Nobleness* and *Freedom* of it is then *most disputable*, and the Title it holds to true *Liberty*, becomes most litigious. It never more slides and degenerates from it self, than when it becomes enthral'd to some *Particular interest*: as on the other side it never acts more *freely* or *fully*, then when it extends it self upon the most *Universal End*. Every thing is
20 so much the more Noble, *quò longiores habet fines*, as was well observ'd by *Tully*. As *low Ends* *debase* a mans spirit, supplant & rob it of its birth-right; so the *Highest* and *Last End* raises and *ennobles* it, and *enlarges* it into a more Universal and comprehensive Capacity of enjoying that one

13–14 τότε μάλιστα τὸ αὐτεξουσιον ἀμφισβητήσιμον ἔχει] “then most of all the freedom of the will turns out to be in question”; adapted from Simplicius, *Commentary on Epic-tetus*, 1.1. H. Wolf, *Simplicii Commentarius In Enchiridion Epicteti: Ex Libris veteribus emendatus*, p.20.

20 *quò longiores habet fines*] “the more distant the ends it has”; “fines” may mean limits or boundaries, or ends in the sense of aims or purposes, as Smith uses it here.

13–14 τότε μάλιστα τὸ αὐτεξουσιον ἀμφισβητήσιμον ἔχει] cf. “When it surrenders itself to bodies, and to the irrational lives of the body, it believes that their deficiency is its own, and it desires along with them as though necessitated. This is the desire of the soul in which its self-determination is a matter of dispute.” Brittain and Brennan, *Simplicius: On Epictetus Handbook 1-26*, p.48.

16 litigious] in the sense of “open to dispute, or question.”

20–21 as was well observ'd by *Tully*] I have been unable to find where.

Unbounded Goodness which is God himself: it makes it spread and dilate it self in the Infinite Sphere of the Divine Being and Blessedness, it makes it live in the Fulness of Him that fills all in all.

Every thing is most properly such as the *End* is which is aim'd at: the
 5 Mind of man is alwaies shaping it self into a conformity as much as may be
 to that which is his *End*; and the nearer it draws to it in the atchievement
 thereof, the greater likeness it bears to it. There is a Plastick Vertue, a
 Secret Energy issuing forth from that which the Mind propounds to it self
 as it *End*, to mold and fashion it according to its own Model. The Soul
 10 is alwaies stamp'd with the same Characters that are engraven upon the
End it aims at; and while it converses with it, and sets it self before it,
it is turned as wax to the Seal, to use that phrase in *Job*. Man's Soul
 conceives all its Thoughts and Imaginations before *End*, as *Laban's Ewe*
 15 did their young before the Rods in the watering troughs. He that pursues
 any *worldly* interest or *earthly* thing as his *End*, becomes himself also
 γεώδης *Earthly*: and the more the Soul directs it self to God, the more
 it becomes θεοειδής *God-like*, deriving a print of that glory and beauty
 upon it self which it converseth with, as it is excellently set forth by the
 Apostle, *But we all with open face, beholding as in a glass the glory of the*
 20 *Lord are changed into the same image, from glory to glory*. That Spirit of
Ambition and Popularity that so violently transports the Minds of men into
 a pursuit of *Vain-glory*, makes them as *vain* as that *Popular air* they live

12 *it is turned as wax to the Seal*] *Job* 38, 14: "It is turned as clay to the seale, and they stand as a garment."

16 γεώδης] "earth-like"; perhaps recalling Plato's use of the word in *Phaedo* 81c, referred to above page 492.

17 θεοειδής] "god-like"; perhaps recalling Plotinus' assertion that "You must become first all godlike (θεοειδής) and all beautiful if you intend to see God and beauty" in *Enneads*, 1,6,9.; cf. Pseudo-Dionysius' *On the Divine Names*, IV.11.708D where he speaks of "our intelligent powers, which, when the soul becomes god-like, concentrate sightlessly and through an unknowing union on the rays of 'unapproachable light'." See above page 95.

19–20 *But we all ... from glory to glory*] *2 Corinthians* 3, 18: "But we all, with open face beholding as in a glasse the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image, from glorie to glorie, euen as by the spirit of the Lord."

13–14 *Laban's Ewe did their young before the Rods in the watering troughs*] The story of how "the flockes conceiued before the rods, and brought forth cattell ringstraked, speckled and spotted," to Jacob's benefit, is told in *Genesis* 30, 25-43.

upon: the Spirit of this world that draws forth a mans designs after worldly interests, makes him as unstable, unconstant, tumultuous and perplex'd a thing as the world is. On the contrary, the Spirit of true Religion steering and directing the Mind and Life to God, makes it an Uniform, Stable and
 5 quiet thing, as God himself is: it is only true Goodness in the Soul of man guiding it steddily and uniformly towards God, directing at and all its actions to the one Last End and Chief Good, that can give it a true consistency and composedness within it self.

All *Self-seeking* and *Self-love* do but *imprison* the Soul, and *confine* it
 10 to its own home: the Mind of Good man is too Noble, too Big for such a *Particular* life; he hath learn'd to despise his own Being in comparison of that Uncreated Beauty and Goodness which is so infinitely transcendent to himself or any created thing; he reckons upon his choice and best affections and designs as too choice and precious and treasure to be spent
 15 upon such a poor sorry thing as himself, or upon any thing else but God himself.

This was the life of Christ, and is in some degree the life of every one that partakes of the Spirit of Christ. Such Christians seek not their own glory, but the glory of him that sent them into this world: they know
 20 they were brought forth into this world not to set up or drive a trade for themselves, but to serve the will and pleasure of him that made them, and to finish that work which he hath appointed them. It were not worth the while to have been born or to live, had it been only for such a *penurious End* as our selves are: it is most God-like and best suits with the Spirit of
 25 Religion, for a Christian to live wholly to God, to live the life of God, *having his own life hid with Christ in God*; and thus in a sober sense he becomes

25–26 *having his own life hid with Christ in God*] Colossians 3, 3: “For yee are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God.” For Smith’s allusion to the preceding verse, see above page 484.

Deified. This indeed is such a Θέωσις *Deification* as is not transacted merely upon the Stage of *Fancy* by Arrogance and Presumption, but in the highest powers of the Soul by a living and quickning Spirit of true Religion there uniting God and the Soul together in *the Unity of Affections, Will and*
 5 *End*.

I should now pass from this to another Particular; but because many are apt to misapprehend the Notion of *God's glory*, and flatter themselves with their pretended and imaginary *aiming at the Glory of God*, I think it may be of good use, a little further and more distinctly to unfold *the Design*
 10 that a Religious mind drives on *in directing it self and all its actions to God*. We are therefore to consider, that this doth not consist in some

1 Θέωσις] "making divine".

1 *Deification*] CAP commented that "The deification of man is one of the most thoroughly Greek ideas espoused by the Cambridge Platonists" Patrides, *The Cambridge Platonists*, p.19. Smith would have met the term in Plato and Plotinus, as well Origen, Gregory of Nyssa and Pseudo-Dionysius, with a range of meanings, from a mystical union with the divine to likeness of God. Writing of how Christ "doth repair the ruined nature of man", Whichcote clarified his use of the term: "Now, let us look for the explication of this, *in ourselves; in our nativity from above; in mental transformation, and deification*. Do not stumble at the use of *the word*. For, we have authority for the use of it, in scripture, *2 Pet.i.4. Being made partakers of the divine nature; which is in effect our deification*." Whichcote, *Works*, IV, p.188. Cudworth made a direct connection between the verse and Athanasius' declaration that (in Cudworth's words) "*God was therefore incarnated and made man, that he might Deifie us*" Cudworth, *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at Westminster March 21, 1647*, p.26. See further Patrides, *The Cambridge Platonists*, pp.19-21, and Collins, *Partaking in Divine Nature: Deification and Communion*, esp. pp.154-7; also, amongst a wide literature, Newey, "The Form of Reason: Participation in the Work of Richard Hooker, Benjamin Whichcote, Ralph Cudworth and Jeremy Taylor", Bartos and Ware, *Deification in Eastern Orthodox Theology*, Finlan and Kharlamov, *Theosis: Deification in Christian Theology*.
 1–2 transacted merely upon the Stage of *Fancy* by Arrogance and Presumption] see above page 326 and page 473.

6–7 many are apt to misapprehend the Notion of *God's glory*] CAP: "For an argument parallel to Smith's here, see Whichcote, *Discourses*, III, 303ff. (reiterated in IV, 31)." cf. Whichcote's assertions that "The proper work and use of religion, is this, to sanctify a man's soul in this state, and to save his soul in the future; and by these two, to glorify God. ... we serve God best, the more effectual course we take to bring ourselves to happiness; we do the greatest honour and service to God, when we purify our minds, when we save our souls: for then we are most subservient to his bring about his gracious intention." Whichcote, *Works*, IV, pp.368-9

Transient thoughts of God, and his *Glory* as the *End* we propound to our selves in any Undertakings: a man does not direct all his actions to *the Glory of God* by forming a Conception in his Mind, or stirring up a strong Imagination upon any Action, That that must be *for the Glory of God*:
 5 it is not the thinking of God's glory that is *glorifying* of him. As all other parts of Religion may be *apishly* acted over by *Fancy and Imagination*, so also may the Internal parts of Religion many times be acted over without much seeming grace by our *Fancy and Passions*; these often love to be drawing the pictures of Religion, and use their best arts to render them
 10 more beautifull and pleasing. But though true Practical Religion derives its force and beauty through all *the Lower Powers* of a mans Soul, yet it hath not its rise nor throne there: as Religion consists not in a *Form of Words* which signifie nothing, so neither doth it consist in a *Set of Fancies* or *Internal Apprehensions*. Our *Saviour hath best taught us what it is to
 15 love to God's glory, or to glorifie God, viz. to be fruitfull in all holiness, and to live so as that our lives may shine with his grace spreading it self through our whole man.

We rather *glorifie* God by entertaining the Impressions of his Glory upon us; then by communicating any kind of Glory to him. Then does a
 20 Good man become the Tabernacle of God wherein the Divine *Shechinah* does rest, and which the Divine glory fills, when the frame of his Mind and Life is wholly according to that idea and *Pattern which he receives from the Mount. We best glorifie him when we grow most like to him: and we then act most for his glory, when a true Spirit of *Sanctity, Justice,*
 25 *Meekness, &c.* runs through all our actions; when we so live in the World as becomes those that converse with the great Mind and Wisdom of the whole World, with that Almighty Spirit that made, supports and governs all

20 *Shechinah*] "the divine presence"; see also discourse 6, passim.

21 which the Divine glory fills] recalling Exodus 40, 35: "And Moses was not able to enter into the tent of the congregation, because the cloud abode thereon, and the glory of the LORD filled the tabernacle."

14 *Saviour] marginal note: Joh. 15.8. *Herein is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit.* John 15, 8: "Herein is my Father glorified, that ye beare much fruit, so shall ye bee my Disciples."

22 *Pattern] marginal note: "As it is said of the Material Tabernacle, *Exodus 25.*" Exodus 25, 9: "According to all that I shew thee, after the patterne of the Tabernacle, and the patterne of all the instruments thereof, euen so shall ye make it."

things, with that Being from whence all good flows, and in which there is no Spot, Stain or Shadow of Evil; and being so captivated and overcome by the sense of the Divine loveliness and goodness, endeavour to be like him, and conform our selves as much as may be to him.

5 When God *seeks his own Glory*, he does not so much endeavour any thing *without himself*. He did not bring this stately fabrick of the Universe into Being, that he might for such a Monument of his mighty Power and Beneficence gain some *Panegyricks* or Applause from a little of that fading breath which he had made. Neither was that gracious contrivance of
10 restoring lapsed men to himself *a Plot* to get himself some Eternal *Hallelujahs*, as if he had so ardently thirsted after the layes of glorified spirits, or desired a Quire of Souls to sing forth his praises. Neither was it to let the World see how *Magnificent* he was. No, it is his own *Internal Glory* that he most loves, and the Communication thereof which he seeks: as
15 *Plato* sometimes speaks of the Divine love, it arises not out of *Indigency*, as created love does, but out of *Fulness* and Redundancy; it is an overflowing fountain, and that love which descends upon created Being is free Efflux from the Almighty Source of love: and it is well pleasing to him that those Creatures which he hath made should partake of it. Though
20 God cannot *seek his own Glory* so as if he might acquire any addition to himself, yet he may *seek it* so as to communicate it out of himself. It was good Maxim of *Plato*, τῷ Θεῷ οὐδεὶς φθόνος. which is better stated

22 τῷ Θεῷ οὐδεὶς φθόνος] “in god is no jealousy or grudging”; adapted from *Phaedrus*,

13–14 it is his own *Internal Glory* that he most loves, and the Communication thereof which he seeks] see above page 241.

15 *Plato* sometimes speaks of the Divine love] CAP appositely quotes Cornford’s observation that there is “not the slightest warrant in Greek though of the pre-Christian centuries for the notion of ‘over-flowing love’, or love of any kind, prompting a god to make a world” Patrides, *The Cambridge Platonists*, p. 169.

15–16 it arises not out of *Indigency*, as created love does, but out of *Fulness* and Redundancy] In *Symposium* 203b ff, Diotima tells Socrates how Πενία (“Need” or “Penury”) conceives Ἔρως (“Love”) from Πορὸς (“Resource”); the myth has a long history of Neoplatonic and Christian interpretation, especially when combined with the water imagery of *Phaedrus* 255c, and the assertion that “the creator made this world of generation” because he “was good, and the good can never have jealousy of any thing. And being free from jealousy, he desired that all things should be as like himself as they could be” in *Timaeus*, 29e. The line runs through Plotinus, Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, Pseudo-Dionysius and Ficino, amongst many.

by S. James, *God giveth to all men liberally, and upraideth not*. And by that Glory of his which he loves to impart to his Creatures, I understand those stamps and impressions of *Wisdom, Justice, Patience, Mercy, Love, Peace, Joy*, and other Divine gifts which he bestows freely upon the Minds
 5 of men. And thus God triumphs in his own Glory, and takes pleasure in the Communication of it.

As God's seeking his own Glory in respect of us, is most properly the flowing forth of his Goodness upon us: so our seeking the Glory of God is more properly our endeavouring a Participation of his Goodness, and
 10 an earnest pursuing after Divine perfection. When God becomes to great in our eyes, and all created thing so little, that we reckon upon nothing as worthy of our aims or ambitions but a serious participation of the Divine Nature, and the Exercise of divine Vertues, *Love, Joy, Peace, Long-suffering, Kindness, Goodness*, and the like; When the Soul beholding the
 15 Infinite beauty and loveliness of the Divinity, and then looking down and beholding all created Perfection mantled over with darkness, is ravish'd into love and admiration of that never-setting brightness, and endeavours after the greatest resemblance of God in *Justice, Love and Goodness*; When conversing with him ἐν ἡσυχῳ ἐπαφῇ, by a secret feeling of the ver-
 20 tue, sweetness and power of his *Goodness*, we endeavour to assimilate our selves to him: Then we may be said to *glorifie* him indeed. God seeks no glory but his own; and we have none of our own to give him. God in all things seeks himself and his own glory, as finding nothing *Better* then himself; and when we love him above all things, and endeavour to be
 25 most like him, we *declare plainly* that we count nothing *Better* then He is.

247a, φθόνος γὰρ ἔξω θείου χοροῦ (“for jealousy has no place in the choir of the divine”); cf. Plotinus’ allusion to it in *Enneads*, 2.9.17.

1 *God giveth to all men liberally, and upraideth not*] James 1, 5: “If any of you lacke wisdom, let him aske of God, that giueth to all men liberally, and vpbraideth not: and it shalbe giuen him.”

19 ἐν ἡσυχῳ ἐπαφῇ] “in quiet understanding” or “in gentle contact”; recalling Plotinus, *Enneads*, 6.9.9.: “life in that realm is the active actuality of Intellect; and the active actuality generates gods in quiet contact (ἐν ἡσυχῳ ... ἐπαφῇ) with that Good, and generates beauty, and generates righteousness, and generates virtue. It is these the soul conceives when filled with God, and this is its beginning and end; its beginning because it comes from thence, and its end because its good is there”.

25 *we declare plainly*] recalling those who “died in faith” and “confessed that they were

I doubt we are too nice Logicians sometimes in distinguishing between *the Glory of God* and *our own Salvation*. We cannot in a true sense seek *our own Salvation* more then *the Glory of God*, which triumphs most and discovers it self most effectually in *the Salvation* of Souls; for indeed *this*

5 *Salvation* is nothing else but a true Participation of the Divine Nature. *Heaven* is nothing *without us*, nor is Happiness any thing distinct from a true Conjunction of the Mind with God in a secret feeling of his Goodness and reciprocation of affection to him, wherein the Divine Glory most unfolds it self. And there is nothing that a Soul touch'd with any serious

10 sense of God can more earnestly thirst after or seek with more strength of affection then This. Then shall we be happy, when God comes to be all in all in us. To love God *above our selves* is not indeed so properly to love him *above the Salvation of our Souls*, as if they were distinct things; but it is to love him *above all our own sinfull affections*, and *above our*

15 *particular Beings*, and to conform our selves to him. And as that which is **Good relatively, and in order to us*, is so much the Better, by how much the more it is commensurate and conformed to us: So on the other side, that which is *good absolutely and essentially*, requires that our Minds and Affections should, as far as may be, be commensurate and conform'd to it: and herein is God most glorious, and we made Happy. As we cannot truly love the First and Highest Good while we serve a design upon it, and subordinate it to our selves: so neither is our own Salvation consistent with any such sordid, pinching and particular love. We cannot be compleatly blessed, till the *idea Boni*, or the *Ipsium Bonum*, which is God

20 exercise its Sovereignty over all the Faculties of our Souls, rendring them as like to it self as may consist with their proper Capacity.

25

24 *idea Boni*] "the idea of the good"

24 *Ipsium Bonum*] "the good itself"

strangers and pilgrims on earth", in Hebrews 11, 14: "For they that say such things, declare plainly that they seeke a country."

12 all in all] cf. 1 Corinthians 15, 28: "And when all things shall bee subdued vnto him, then shal the Sonne also himselfe bee subiect vnto him that put all things vnder him, that God may be all in all."

16 **Good relatively, and in order to us*] marginal note: "See the Discourse *Of the Existence and Nature of God*. Chap.9." (here, page 255 ff.)

24 the *idea Boni*, or the *Ipsium Bonum*] More or less synonymous terms extensively used in Platonic and Neoplatonic thought, and beyond.

[See more of this in the Discourse *Of the Existence and Nature of God*, Chap.4.]

The Fourth *Property and Effect of True Religion* wherein it expresseth its own *Nobleness* is this, *That it begets the greatest Serenity, Constancy*
 5 *and Composedness of Mind, and brings the truest Contentment, the most satisfying Joy and Pleasure, the purest and most divine Sweetness and Pleasure to the Spirits of Good men.* Every Good man, in whom Religion rules, is at *peace and Unity* with himself, is as a City compacted together. Grace doth more and more reduce all the Faculties of the Soul into a per-
 10 fect Subjection and Subordination to it self. The Union and Conjunction of the Soul with God, that *Primitive Unity*, is that which is the alone Original and Fountain of all *Peace*, and the Centre of *Rest*: as the further any Being slides from God, the more it breaks into discords within it self, as not having any Centre within it self which might collect and unite all
 15 the Faculties thereof to it self, and so knit them up together in a sweet confederacy amongst themselves. God only is such an *Almighty Goodness* as can *attract* all the Powers in a man's Soul to it self, as being an Object transcendently adequate to the largest capacities of any created Being, and so unite man perfectly to him self in the true enjoyment of *one*
 20 *Uniform and Simple Good.*

It must be *one Last End and Supream Good* that can *fix* Man's Mind, which otherwise will be tossed up and down in perpetual uncertainties, and become as many several things as those poor *Particularities* are
 25 which it meets with. A wicked man's life is so distracted by a *Multiplicity of Ends and Objects*, that it is never nor can be consistent to it self, nor continue in any composed, settled frame: it is the most intricate, irregular and confused thing in the world, no one part of it agreeing with another, because the whole is not firmly knit together by the power of

8 a City compacted together] Psalms 122, 3: "Jerusalem is builded as a city that is compact together:"

1-2 See more of this ...] Worthington's note; here, see page 240 ff.

9 reduce] perhaps suggested by the military sense applied to "city", but also, more literally, "lead back".

26 intricate] "intangled, perplexed, difficult" Blount, *Glossographia*.

some *One Last End* running through all. Whereas the life of a Good man is under the sweet command of *one Supream Goodness and Last End*. This alone is that living Form and Soul, which, running through all the Powers of the Mind and Actions of Life, collects all together into one fair and beautifull System, making all that Variety conspire into perfect Unity; 5 whereas else all would fall asunder like the Members of a dead Body when once the Spirit is gone, every little particle flitting each from other. It was a good Maxim of *Pythagoras* quoted by *Clemens Alexandrinus* Δεῖ καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἓνα γενέσθαι *Oportet etiam hominem unum fieri*. A *divided Mind* and a *Multiform Life* speaks the greatest disparagement that may be: it is only the intermediation of *One Last End* that can reconcile a man perfectly to himself and his own happiness. This is the best temper and composedness of the Soul, ὅταν εἰς ἓν καὶ εἰς μίαν ὁμολογίαν ἐνωθῆ, as *Plotinus* speaks, when by a Conjunction with *One Chief Good and Last End*, it is drawn up into an Unity and Consent with it self; when 15 all the Faculties of the Soul with their several issues and motions, though never so many in themselves, like so many lines meet together in one and the same Centre It is not one and the same Goodness that alwaies acts the Faculties of a Wicked man; but as many several images and pictures of Goodness as a quick and working Fancy can represent to him; 20 which so divide his affections, that he is no *One thing* within himself, but tossed hither and thither by the most independent Principles & Imaginations that may be. But a Good man hath singled out the Supream Goodness which by an Omnipotent sweetness draws all his affections after it,

8 It was a good Maxim of *Pythagoras* quoted by *Clemens Alexandrinus*] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, IV, 23: μουσικῶς οὖν ἐφ’ ἡμῶν καὶ τὸ Πυθαγόρειον ἐλέγετο ἓνα γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον δεῖν (“Accordingly that Pythagorean saying was mystically uttered respecting us, ‘that man ought to become one’.”)

8–9 Δεῖ καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἓνα γενέσθαι] “there is a need for man to become a single unit”

9 *Oportet etiam hominem unum fieri*] “for it behoves man to become one”; recalling Victorius’ translation: “oportere hominem quoque fieri unum” (“to behove man also to become one”). Alexandrinus, *Opera praece et latine, quae extant. Daniel Heinsius textum graecum recensuit (etc.)* p.390.

13–14 ὅταν εἰς ἓν καὶ εἰς μίαν ὁμολογίαν ἐνωθῆ] “[the soul has virtue] when it is unified into one thing and one agreement”; Plotinus, *Enneads*, 6.1.9.

15–18 when all the Faculties ... meet together in one and the same Centre] for Smith’s use of this image from Plotinus, *Enneads*, IV.7.6., see above page 183.

and so makes them all with the greatest complacency conspire together in the pursuit and embraces of it. Were there not some *Infinite and Self-sufficient Goodness*, and that *perfectly One*, ἀρχική μονάς, (as *Simplicius* doth phrase it) Man would be a most miserably-distracted creature. As
 5 the restless appetite within Man after some Infinite and Sovereign Good (without the enjoyment of which it could never be satisfied) does commend unto us the Notion of a Deity: so the perpetual distractions and divisions would arise in the Soul upon a Plurality of Deities, may seem no less to evince the *Unity* of that Deity. Were not this Chief Good perfectly
 10 *One*, were there any other equal to it; man's Soul would hang *in æquilibrio*, equally poised, equally desiring the enjoyment of both, but moving to neither; like a piece of Iron between two Loadstones of equal vertue. But when Religion enters into the Soul, it charms all its restless rage and violent appetite, by discovering to it the Universal Fountain-fulness of One
 15 Supream Almighty Goodness; and leading it out of it self into a conjunction therewith, it lulls it into the most undisturbed rest and quietness in the lap of Divine enjoyment; where it meets with full contentment, and rests adequately satisfied in the fruition of the Infinite, Uniform and Essential

3 ἀρχική μονάς] “primal monad” or “original One”
 10–11 *in æquilibrio*] “in balance”

1 complacency] “*Complacency*, (Lat.), a taking Delight in a thing” Blount, *Glossographia*. 3–4 (as *Simplicius* doth phrase it)] cf. *Simplicius’ Commentary on Epictetus*, 27, where he says that “there is necessarily an originative monad” Brittain and Brennan, *Simplicius: On Epictetus Handbook 27-53*, p.37; the original reads εἰ ἀνάγκη πρὸ πάσης ιδιότητος ἀρχικὴν εἶναι μονάδα H. Wolf, *Simplicii Commentarius In Enchiridion Epicteti: Ex Libris veteribus emendatus*, p. 163. cf. Cudworth: “For the Supreme Deity was by these Ancient Philosophers styled, First τὸ ἓν and μονάς a *Unity and Monad*, because they conceived, that the First and most Perfect being and the beginning of all things, must needs be the *most Simple*. Thus *Eudorus* in *Simplicius* declares their sense ... *These Ancients affirmed, that the One or Unity, was the first Principle of All, Matter it self as well as other things being derived from it, they meaning by this One, that Highest or Supreme God, who is over all.*” Cudworth, *The true intellectual system of the Universe*, p. 385 (citing *Simplicius, Commentary on Aristotle’s Physics*, 1).

Goodness and Loveliness, the true Αὐτόκαλον, that is not πῆ μὲν καλὸν, πῆ δὲ οὐ καλὸν, ἀλλ' ὅλον δι' ὅλου καλὸν, as a noble Philosopher doth well express it.

5 *The Peace* which a Religious Soul is possessed of is such *a Peace as passeth all Understanding*: the Joy that it meets with in the ways of Holiness is *unspeakable and full of glory*. The Delights and Sweetnesses that accompany a Religious life are of a purer and more excellent Nature than the Pleasures of Worldly men. The Spirit of a Good man is a more pure and refined thing than to delight it self in the thick mire of Earthly
10 and Sensual Pleasures, which Carnal men rowl and tumble themselves in with so much greediness: *Non admittit ad volatum Accipitrem suum in*

1 Αὐτόκαλον] “ideal or absolute beauty”, “the beautiful itself”; Simplicius, *Commentary on Epictetus*, 38; H. Wolf, *Simplicii Commentarius In Enchiridion Epicteti: Ex Libris veteribus emendatus*, p.229.

1–2 πῆ μὲν καλὸν, πῆ δὲ οὐ καλὸν, ἀλλ' ὅλον δι' ὅλου καλὸν] “beautiful in one way, and not beautiful in another, but wholly beautiful as a whole”; Brittain and Brennan, *Simplicius: On Epictetus Handbook 27-53*, p.71. cf. H. Wolf, *Simplicii Commentarius In Enchiridion Epicteti: Ex Libris veteribus emendatus*, p.229.

4–5 *a Peace as passeth all Understanding*] Philippians 4, 7: “And the peace of God which passeth all vnderstanding, shall keepe your hearts & minds through Christ Iesus.” 521.11–522.1 *Non admittit ad volatum Accipitrem suum in terra pulverulenta*] “he does not allow his swift hawk on the dust-covered earth”; adapted from “Ne admitte ad volatum accipitrem tuum in puluerulenta. *Id est*, Ne proicias sapientiam coram stultis & impiis.” (“Do not let your swift (or flying) hawk in the dust. That is, Do not throw down wisdom in the face of the foolish and impious”); in *Kitab al-'amtal, seu proverbiorum arabicorum*

1 Αὐτόκαλον] Worthington also uses it as another term for God, speaking of “the Love of Him who is *Beauty it self*, **the Original Beauty*; the *First-Fair*, as well as the *First-Good* (margin: *Αὐτόκαλον)” in Worthington, *Select Discourses*, p.91. cf. Plotinus’ use of the term in *Enneads*, 1.8.13: “We said that virtue was not absolute beauty (αὐτοκαλὸν) or absolute good because absolute beauty (αὐτοκαλὸν) and absolute good are prior to it and transcend it; it is good and beautiful by some kind of participation.”

1–2 πῆ μὲν καλὸν, πῆ δὲ οὐ καλὸν, ἀλλ' ὅλον δι' ὅλου καλὸν] The context is: “The beauty in the soul, however, is a pure reason, since it is freed from all of these material things; it is no longer an image of beauty but the beautiful itself: not beautiful in one way, and not beautiful in another, but wholly beautiful as a whole.” Brittain and Brennan, *Simplicius: On Epictetus Handbook 27-53*, p.71.

2 noble Philosopher] Obviously, Simplicius.

6 *unspeakable and full of glory*] recalling 1 Peter 4, 8: “Whom hauing not seene, yee loue, in whom though now ye see him not, yet beleeuing, ye reioyce with ioy vnspeakeable, and full of glory,”

terra pulverulenta, as the Arabick Proverb hath it. It speaks the degeneration of any Soul whatsoever, that it should desire to incorporate it self with any of the gross, dreggy, sensual delights here below. But a Soul purified by Religion from all Earthly dregs, delight to mingle it self only with things that are most Divine and Spiritual. There is nothing that can beget any pleasure or sweetness but in some harmonical Faculty which hath some kindred and acquaintance with it. As it is in the *Senses*, so in every other Faculty there is such a *Natural kind of Science* as whereby it can single out its own proper Object from every thing else, and is better able to define it to it self then the exactest Artist in the world can; and when once it hath found it out, it presently feels it self so perfectly fitted and matched by it, that it dissolves into secret joy and pleasure in the entertainment of it. True *Delight* and *Joy* is begotten by the conjunction of some discerning faculty with its proper object. The proper Objects for a Mind and Spirit are *Divine* and *Immaterial* things with which it hath the greatest affinity, and therefore triumphs most in its converse with them; as it is well observed by **Seneca, Hoc habet argumentum divinitatis suæ, quod illum divina de-*

centuriae duae, I.XLV, Erpenius and Scaliger, *Kitab al-'amta, seu proverbiorum arabicorum centuriae duae ... cum interpretatione latina et scholiis Josephi Scaligeri et editoris*. - *Leidae, Officina Raphelengiana 1614*, p. 34. Smith's copy is still in Queen's. 522.17–523.1 *Hoc habet argumentum divinitatis suæ, quod illum divina delectant; nec ut alienis interest, sed ut suis:*] "It [the soul] has this proof of its divinity, that divine things delight it; nor is it present to them as another's things, but as its own"; Seneca et al.,

1–2 degeneration] For Blount, to degenerate is "to grow out of kind, to forsake the vertuous Steps of our Ancestours" Blount, *Glossographia*.

3–5 a Soul purified by Religion from all Earthly dregs, delight to mingle it self only with things that are most Divine and Spiritual] cf. "Now mind and spirit are of so pure a complexion that they cannot mingle, save only with unbodied and immaterial things" Whichcote, *Works*, IV, p.313

7–13 so in every other Faculty ... in the entertainment of it] cf. "In every faculty there is a kind of natural science in respect of its own proper object; whereby it singles out its own proper objects and can better define it than any artist; and in conjunction with it, hath satiety and delight:" Whichcote, *Works*, IV, p. 313.

13–14 True *Delight* and *Joy* is begotten by the conjunction of some discerning faculty with its proper object.] cf. "And all true delight and joy is begotten by a conjunction of some discerning faculty with its proper object: I say, all true joy and delight arises from a conjunction with it proper object" Whichcote, *Works*, IV, p.313.

14–15 The proper Objects for a Mind and Spirit are *Divine* and *Immaterial* things] for God as the "proper object" of the mind, see Whichcote, *Works*, IV, pp. 72-3, 140-1, 196, 263, 312, 353, 365, and 418.

522.17–523.1 *Hoc habet argumentum divinitatis suæ, quod illum divina delectant; nec*

lectant; nec ut alienis interest, sed ut suis: and when it converseth most with these high and noblest Objects, it behaves it self most gracefully, and lives most becoming it self; and it lives almost deliciously, nor can it any where else be better provided for, or indeed fare so well. A Good
 5 man disdains to be beholding to the Wit or Art or Industry of any Creature to find him out and bring him in a constant revenue and maintenance for his Joy and Pleasure: the language of his Heart is that of the Psalmist, *Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon me.* Religion alwaies carries a sufficient Provision of *Joy and Sweetness* along with it to maintain
 10 it self withall; *All the ways of Wisdom are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace.* Religion is no sullen *Stoicism* or oppressing *Melancholy*, it is no enthralling tyranny excercised over those noble and vivacious affections of Love and Delight, as those men that were never acquainted with the life of it may imagine; but it is full of a vigorous and masculine
 15 delight and joy, and such as advanceth and ennobles the Soul, and does not weaken or dispirit the life and power of it, as Sensual and Earthly joys doe, when the Soul, unacquainted with Religion, is enforc'd to give entertainment to these gross and earthly things, for the want of enjoyment of some better Good. The Spirit of a Good man may justly behave it self with
 20 a noble disdain to all Terrene pleasures, because it knows where to mend its fare; it is the same Almighty and Eternal Goodness which is the Happiness of God and of all Good men. The truly-religious Soul affects nothing primarily and findamentally but God himself; his contentment even in the

L. Annaei Senecae M. F. Philosophi Opera, p.253. Smith's copy of the 1613 edition is in Queen's.

8 *Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon me*] Psalms 4, 6: "There be many that say, Who wil shew vs any good? Lord lift thou vp the light of thy countenance vpon vs."

10–11 *All the ways of Wisdom are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace*] Proverbs 3, 17: "Her wayes are wayes of plesantnesse: and all her pathes are peace."

ut alienis interest, sed ut suis:] Whichcote's use of the same reference provides a gloss: "It is an admirable saying of *Seneca*; this argument the mind of man hath of its divine original and off-spring, and of its cognation and kind to God, that it delights in divine and immaterial things; and doth not converse with them as things that are foreign, but as things that are proper, things that are its own. This argument the mind of man hath of its divinity, its divine original, that it is remarkably from God himself, that the things of God delight it, and take with it; and spiritual things it converse withal, not as things that are foreign and strange, but as things that are natural to it." Whichcote, *Works*, IV, pp.312-3.
 11 sullen *Stoicism* or oppressing *Melancholy*] cf. above page 466.

midst of his Worldly employments is in the Sun of the Divine favour that shines upon him: this is as the *Manna* that lies upon the top of all outward blessing which his Spirit gathers up and feeds upon with delight. Religion consists not in a toilsome drudgery about some Bodily exercises and External performances; nor is it onely the spending of our selves in such attendances upon God and services to him as are onely accommodated to this life, (though every employment for God is both amiable and honourable:) But there is something of our Religion that interests us in a present possession of that *joy which is unspeakable and glorious*;
 5 which leads us into the Porch of heaven, and to the confines of Eternity. It sometimes carries up the Soul into a mount of Transfiguration, or to the top of *Pisgah*, where it may take a prospect of the promised land; and gives it a Map or Scheme of its future inheritance: it gives it sometimes some anticipations of Blessedness, some foretasts of those joys, those
 10 rivers of pleasure which run at God's right hand for evermore.

I might further add as a *Mantissa* to this present Argument, *the Tranquillity and Composedness* of a Good man's spirit in reference to all *External* molestations. Religion have made a through-pacification of the Soul within it self, renders it impregnable to all outward assaults: So that it
 20 is at rest and lives securely in the midst of all those boisterous Storms and Tempests that make such violent impressions upon the spirits of wicked men. Here the *Stoicks* have stated the case aright, that all *Perturbations of the Mind* arise not properly from an *Outward* but an *Inward* cause: it is not any *outward* Evil but an *inward Imagination* bred in the womb of the

14–15 those joys, those rivers of pleasure which run at God's right hand for evermore] Psalms 16, 11: "Thou wilt shewe me the path of life: in thy presence is fulnesse of ioy, at thy right hand there are pleasures for euermore."

2 *Manna*] The story is told in Exodus 16, 14ff. See above, page 110.

9 *joy which is unspeakable and glorious*] alluding again to 1 Peter 4, 8.

11 a mount of Transfiguration] Christ's transfiguration on "an high mountaine apart" is related in Matthew 17, 1-9, Mark 9, 2-8 and Luke 9, 28-36

11–12 the top of *Pisgah*] The high point from which Moses was to be shown the promised land in Deuteronomy 3, 27 and 34, 1.

16 *Mantissa*] see above page 258.

20 securely] in the root sense of "without care or worry"

524.24–525.1 the womb of the Soul] a phrase perhaps suggested by Origen, *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, Prologue 1 (Origen, *The Song of Songs: Commentary and Homilies*, p.28) or Philo, *On the Migration of Abraham*, 34.

Soul it self that molests and grieves it. The more that the Soul is restored to it self, and lives at the height of its own Being, the more easily may it disdain and despise any design or combination against it by the most blustering Giants in the world. A Christian that enjoys himself in God, will
 5 not be beholding to the worlds fair and gentle usage for the *composedness* of his mind; No, he enjoys that *Peace and Tranquillity within himself* which no creature can bestow upon him, or take from him.

But the *Stoicks* were not so happy in their notions about *the way to true Rest and composedness of Spirit*. It is not (by their leave) the Souls
 10 collecting and gathering up it self within the Circumference of it's own Essence, nor is it a rigid restraining and keeping in its own issues and motions within the confines of its own natural endowments, which is able to confer upon it that ἀταραξία and *Composedness of mind* which they so much idolize as the supream and onely bliss of man, and render it
 15 free from all kind of perturbations: (For by what we find in *Seneca* and others, it appears, that the *Stoicks* seeking an *Autarchy* within themselves, and being loth to be beholden to God for their Happiness, but that each of them might be as God, self-sufficient and happy in the enjoyment of himself, endeavoured by their sowre doctrine and rigid discipline over the
 20 Souls, their severities against Passions and all those restless motions in the Soul after some Higher Good, to attain a compleat ἀταραξία and a full contentment within themselves.) But herein they mist of the true method of finding Rest to themselves, it being the Union of the Soul with God, that Uniform, Simple and unbounded Good, which is the sole Original of
 25 all true inward Peace. Neither were it an Happiness worth the having for

13 ἀταραξία] "impassivity, calmness"; see above page 236.

16 *Autarchy*] rendering the Greek αὐτάρκεια, "self-sufficiency, independence"; see above page 236.

21 ἀταραξία] "impassivity, calmness"

9–12 It is not ... own natural endowments] cf. Whichcote: "That composedness of mind, which is essential to happiness and a main ingredient in it; it arises not from the soul's collecting and gathering itself within the circumference of its own essence, and living upon its own issues and motions, improvement of its own natural endowments and possibilities: but it depends upon its union with the first and primitive unity, which is the center of rest" Whichcote, *Works*, IV, p.302-3.

525.25–526.4 Neither were it ... be to it self] cf. Whichcote: "It would be a happiness too scant and narrow for the mind to be separate from all things else by a recession into

a Mind, like an Hermit sequestred from all things else, by a recession into it self, to spend an Eternity in self converse and the enjoyment of such a Diminutive superficial Nothing as it self is and must necessarily be to it self. It is onely peculiar to God to be happy in himself alone; and God
 5 who has been more liberal in his provisions for man, hath created in man such a spring of restless motion, that with the greatest impatency forceth him out of himself, and violently tosseth him to and fro, till he come to fix himself upon some solid and Self-subsistent Goodness. Could a man find himself withdrawn from all terrene and Material things, and perfectly
 10 retired into himself; were the whole World so quiet and calm about him, as not to offer to make the least attempt upon the composedness and constancy of his Mind; might he be so well entertain'd at his own home, as to find no frowns, no sowre looks from his own Conscience; might he have that security from Heaven, that God would not disquiet his fancied
 15 Tranquillity by embittering his thoughts with any dreadful apprehensions; yet he should find something within him that would not let him be at rest, but would rend him from himself, and toss him from his own foundation

itself, so to spend itself to all eternity in self-converse without enjoyment of God: a diminutive, narrow superficial nothing it is, and must necessarily be so in itself." Whichcote, *Works*, IV, p.303.

5–8 hath created in man ... Self-subsistent Goodness] cf. Whichcote: "This we find in ourselves (if we know ourselves and are acquainted with our own desires,) that God hath planted in man a spring of constant motion, which with invincible impatience forces a man out of himself, violently tossing him to and fro till he fix upon some solid and self-substantial good." Whichcote, *Works* IV, p.303.

10–12 were the whole World so quiet and calm about him, as not to offer to make the least attempt upon the composedness and constancy of his Mind] cf. Whichcote: "Were the whole world so quiet, as not in the least to attempt upon the composure or consistency of man's mind, he could not be at rest;" Whichcote, *Works* IV, p. 304

13–15 might he have that security from Heaven, that God would not disquiet his fancied Tranquillity by embittering his thoughts with any dreadful apprehensions] cf. Whichcote: "Had a man even security from *heaven*, that God would not disturb him, by imbittering his thoughts, or raising in him horrid and dreadful apprehensions; he could not be at rest;" Whichcote, *Works* IV, pp. 304-5

526.16–527.1 yet he should find something within him that would not let him be at rest, but would rend him from himself, and toss him from his own foundation and consistency] cf. Whichcote: "If a man were privileged in all these ways, and secure from these dangers, yet a man would find something within himself that will rend and tear him from himself and toss him from his own foundation; *viz.* an unsatiable desire in man's soul, not satisfied in himself or any thing that is founded in his own goodness:" Whichcote, *Works*, p.305.

and consistency. There is an insatiable appetite in the Soul of man, like a greedy Lion hunting after his prey that would render him impatient of his own pinching penury, and could never satisfie it self with such a thin and spare diet as he finds at home. There are Two principall faculties
 5 in the Soul which, like the two daughters of the Horsleach, are always crying, *Give, Give*: these are those hungry Vultures which, if they cannot find their prey abroad, return and gnaw the Soul it self: where the carkass is, there will the Eagles be gathered together. By this we may see how unavailable to attaining of true Rest and Peace that conceit of the *Stoicks*
 10 was, who supposed the onely way and method hereto was this, To confine the Soul thus Monastically to its own home. We read in the Gospel of such a Question of our Saviours, *What went you out into the wilderness to see?* we may invert it, What do you return within, to see? A Soul confined within the private and narrow cell of its own particular Being?
 15 Such a Soul deprives it self of all that Almighty and Essential Glory and Goodness which shines round about it, which spreads it self through the whole universe; I say it deprives it self of all this, for the enjoying of such a poor petty and diminutive thing as it self is, which yet it can never enjoy truly in such a retiredness.

1–2 like a greedy Lion hunting after his prey] perhaps recalling Psalms 17, 12: “Like as a lyon that is greedie of his pray, and as it were a yong lyon lurking in secret places.”

5–6 like the two daughters of the Horsleach, are always crying, *Give, Give*] Proverbs 30, 15: “The horse-leach hath two daughters, crying, Giue, giue. There are three things that are neuer satisfied, yea foure things say not, It is enough:”

7–8 where the carkass is, there will the Eagles be gathered together] Matthew 24, 28: “For wheresoeuer the carkeise is, there will the Eagles bee gathered together.”

12–13 *What went you out into the wilderness to see?*] Matthew 11, 7: “And as they departed, Iesus began to say vnto the multitudes concerning Iohn, what went ye out into the wilderness to see? a reede shaken with the winde?”

6 hungry Vultures] cf. Pliny’s view of “*Percnopterus* ... fashioned like to a Geire or Vulture ... she hath a greedie and hungrie worm alwaies in her gorge and craw, and never is is content, but whining and grumbling” (*Historia Naturalis*, 10.3.).

17–19 I say it deprives ... such a retiredness.] cf. Whichcote: “It would be a happiness too scant and narrow for the mind to be separate from all things else by a recession into it self, so to spend it self to all eternity in self-converse without enjoyment of God: a diminutive, narrow, superficial nothing it is, and must necessarily be so in it self.” Whichcote, *Works*, IV, p.303.

We have seen the Peacefull and Happy state of the truly-religious: But it is otherwise with wicked and irreligious men. *There is no peace to the wicked; but they are like the troubled Sea, when it cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt;* as it is expresst by the Prophet *Esay*. The mind
 5 of a wicked man is like the Sea when it roars and rages through the striving of severall contrary winds upon it. Furious lusts and wild passions within, as they warr against Heaven and the more noble and divine part of the Soul, so they warr amongst themselves, maintaining perpetual contests and contending which shall be the greatest: *Scelera dissident* These indeed are the *Cadmus*-brood rising out of the Serpent's teeth, ready arm'd
 10 one against another: whence it is that the Soul of a wicked man becomes a very uninhabitable and incommodious place to it self, full of disquietness and trouble through the many contests and civil commotions maintained within it. The minds of wicked men are like those disconsolate and desolate spirits which our Saviour speaks of *Matth.* 12. which being cast out
 15 of their habitation, wander up and down through dry and desert places, seeking rest but finding none. The Soul that finds not some solid and self-sufficient Good to centre it self upon, is a boisterous and restless thing: and being without God, it wanders up and down the world, destitute, afflicted, tormented with vehement hunger and thirst after some satisfying
 20 Good: and as any one shall bring it tidings, *Lo here, or Lo there is Good*, it presently goes out towards it, and with a swift and speedy flight hastens

2–4 There is no peace ... mire and dirt] combining Isaiah 57, 21 and 20: “But the wicked are like the troubled sea, when it cannot rest, whose waters cast vp myre and dirt. There is no peace, sayth my God, to the wicked.” For Whichcote’s use of the same verses, cf. Whichcote, *Works*, IV, pp. 262, 403.

9 *Scelera dissident*] “vices are at war with one another”; adapted from Seneca, *de beata vita*, VIII: “vitia dissident” (“vices are at oddes amongst themselves” in Lodge’s translation); Seneca et al., *L. Annaei Senecae M. F. Philosophi Opera*, p. 204, where it appears near the start of Chapter IX.

16–17 wander up and down through dry and desert places, seeking rest but finding none] Matthew 12, 43: “When the vnclene spirit is gone out of a man, hee walketh thorow dry places, seeking rest, and findeth none.”

4–5 The mind of a wicked man is like the Sea] cf. above page 507.

10–11 the *Cadmus*-brood rising out of the Serpent’s teeth, ready arm’d one against another] The legend of how Cadmus killed the Drakon sacred to Ares, the war god, and sowed its teeth, which grew into men and fought each other, is told to explain the origins of the Spartans (“seed-grown”) by a number of sources, including Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, III, 101ff..

after it. The sense of an *inward* indigency doth stimulate and enforce it to seek its contentment *without* it self, and so it wanders up and down from one creature to another; and this becomes distracted by a *multiplicity of Objects*. And while it cannot find some One and Onely object upon which, as being perfectly adequate to its capacities, it may wholly bestow it self; while it is tossed with restless and vehement motions of *Desire* and *Love* through a world of painted beauties, false glozing Excellencies; courting all, but matching no where; violently hurried every whither, but finding nowhere *objectum par amoris*; while it converseth onely with these *pinching Particularities* here below, and is not yet acquainted with the *Universal Goodness*; it is certainly far from true rest and Satisfaction, from a fixt, composed temper of spirit: but being distracted by *multiplicity of Objects* and *Ends*, there can never be any firm and stable peace or friendship at home amongst all its Powers and Faculties: nor can there be a firm amity and friendship abroad betwixt wicked men themselves, as *Aristotle* in his *Ethicks* does conclude, because all *Vice* is so *Multiform* and inconsistent a thing, and there can be no true concatenation of *Affections* and *Ends* between them. Whereas in all Good men Vertue and Goodness is one Form and Soul to them all, that unites them together, and there is the One, Simple and Uniform Good, that guides and governs them all. They are not as a Ship tossed in the tumultuous Ocean of this

9 *objectum par amoris*] “an object equal to love”; perhaps recalling Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* IIa, q.27, where he says: “Amoris autem proprium obiectum est bonum, quia, ut dictum est, amor importat quandam connaturalitatem vel complacentiam amantis ad amatum; unicuique autem est bonum id quod est sibi connaturale et proportionatum. Unde relinquitur quod bonum sit propria causa amoris.” (“Now the proper object of love is the good; because, as stated above, love implies a certain connaturalness or complacency of the lover for the thing beloved, and to everything, that thing is a good, which is akin and proportionate to it. It follows, therefore, that good is the proper cause of love.”)

16 *Aristotle* in his *Ethicks* does conclude] Aristotle says that “wicked men have no steadfastness (for they do not remain even like to themselves), but become friends for a short time because they delight in each other’s wickedness” in *Nichomachean Ethics*, VIII, 8. For his view that “Goodness is simple, badness manifold”, see *Nichomachean Ethics*, II, 6.

529.21–530.1 They are not as a Ship tossed in the tumultuous Ocean of this world without any *Compass* at all to stear by] Smith’s interest in navigation and seamanship is reflected in his library, which included John Blagrave’s “The Mathematical Jewel” (1585), Edward Wright’s “Certain Errours in Navigation” (1610), Edmund Gunter’s “The Description and Use of the Sector, Crosse-Staff, and other Instruments” (1636), Samuel Foster’s

world without any *Compass* at all to steer by; but they direct their course by the certain guidance of the *One Last End*, as the true *Pole-star* of all their motion. But while the Soul lies benighted in a thick Ignorance (as it is with wicked men,) and beholds not some *Stable* and *Eternal Good* to
 5 move toward; though it may, by the strength of that Principle of *Activeness* within it self, spend it self perpetually with swift and giddy motions; yet it will be always contesting with secret disturbances, and cannot act but with many reluctancies, as not finding an object equall to the force and strength of its vast affections to act upon.

10 By what hath been said may appear the vast difference between the ways of *Sin* and of *Holiness*. Inward distractions and disturbances, *tribulation and anguish upon every Soul that doth evil: But to every man that worketh good, glory, honour and peace*, inward composedness and tranquillity of spirit, pure and divine joys far excelling all sensual pleasures;
 15 in a word, true Contentment of spirit and full satisfaction in God, whom the pious Soul loves above all things, and longs still after a nearer enjoyment of him. I shall conclude this Particular with what *Plotinus* concludes his Book, That the life of holy and divine men is βίος ἀνήδονος τῶν τῆδε, φυγή μόνον πρὸς μόνον, a life not toucht with these vanishing delights of
 20 Time, but a flight of the Soul alone to God alone.

11–13 *tribulation and anguish upon every Soul that doth evil: But to every man that worketh good, glory, honour and peace*] Romans 2, 9-10: “Tribulation, and anguish vpon euery soule of man that doeth euill, of the lew first, and also of the Gentile. But glory, honour, and peace, to euery man that worketh good, to the lew first, and also to the Gentile.”

18–19 βίος ἀνήδονος τῶν τῆδε, φυγή μόνον πρὸς μόνον] “a life which takes no delight in the things of this world, escape in solitude to the solitary”; Plotinus, *Enneads*, 6.9.11.

“The Art of Dialling” (1638), “The Sea-Man’s Kalender” by John Tapp and Henry Bond (1647).

2–3 as the true *Pole-star* of all their motion] cf. “And in this, our love resembles the point of the *needle* in the Sea-mans Card ... which, though it be ever moving, and as it were, casting about to severall parts, yet it still returns, and retains its whole settled course to the true pole star ... God” Fonseca, *Theion Enōtikon, a Discourse of Holy Love: By which the Soul is United Unto God. Containing the Various Acts of Love ...* p.55

18 his Book] The *Enneads*, which concludes “This is the life of gods and of godlike and blessed men, deliverance from the things of this world, a life which takes no delight in the things of this world, escape in solitude to the solitary”. Smith’s application is, of course, far from any that may have been intended by Plotinus.

The Fifth *Property* or *Effect* whereby *Truel Religion* discovers its own *Nobleness and Excellency* it this, *That it advanceth the Soul to an holy boldness and humble familiarity with God, as also to a well-grounded Hope and comfortable Confidence concerning the Love of God toward it,*
 5 *and its own Salvation.* The truly religious Soul maintains an humble and sweet *familiarity* with God; and with great alacrity of spirit, without any *Consternation* and *Servility* of spirit, is enabled to look upon the Glory and Majesty of the most High; But *Sin* and *Wickedness* is pregnant with *fearfulness* and *horror*. That *Trembling* and *Consternation* of Mind which
 10 possesses wicked men, is nothing else but a brat of darkness, an *Empusa* begotten in corrupt and irreligious Hearts. While man *walk in darkness,* and *are of the night,* (as the Apostle speaks,) then it is onely that they are vext with those ugly and gastly *Mormos* that terrifie and torment them. But when once the Day breaks, and true Religion opens her self upon the
 15 Soul like the Eye-lids of the Morning, then all those shadows and frightfull Apparitions flee away. As all *Light and Love and Joy* descend from above from the Father of Lights: so all *Darkness and Fearfulness and Despair* are from below; they arise from corrupt and earthly minds, and are like

11 *walk in darkness*] recalling John 8, 12: "Then spake Jesus again unto them, saying, I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life."; 1 John 1, 6: "If we say that we have fellowship with him, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth: "; and 1 John 2, 11: "But he that hateth his brother, is in darknesse, and walketh in darknesse, and knoweth not whither hee goeth, because that darknesse hath blinded his eyes."

12 *are of the night*] 1 Thessalonians 5, 5: "Yee are all the children of light, and the children of the day: we are not of the night, nor of darknesse."

16–17 descend from above from the Father of Lights] James 1, 17: "Every good gift, and every perfect gift is from above, & cometh downe from the Father of lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning."

10 a brat of darkness] see above page 232.

10 *Empusa*] see above, page 131.

12 the Apostle] if, as usually is the case, this is St Paul, it can refer only to the latter allusion.

13 *Mormos*] see above page 131.

14–16 when once the Day breaks .. and frightfull Apparitions flee away] see above page 432.

531.18–532.1 arise from corrupt and earthly minds, and are like those gross Vapors arising from this Earthly globe] see above, page 148.

those gross Vapors arising from this Earthly globe, that not being able to get up towards Heaven, spread themselves about the circumference of that Body where they were first begotten, infesting it with darkness and generating into Thunder and Lightning, Clouds and Tempests. But the
 5 higher a Christian ascends ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου above this dark dungeon of the Body, the more that Religion prevails within him, the more then shall he find himself as it were in a clear heaven, in a Region that is calm and Serene; and the more will those black and dark affections of *Fear and Despair* vanish away, and those clear and bright affections of *Love and*
 10 *Joy and Hope* break forth in their strength and lustre.

The Devil, who is the Prince of darkness and the great Tyrant, delights to be served with gastly affections and the most dismal deportments of *trembling* and *astonishment*; as having nothing at all of amiableness or excellency in him to commend himself to his worshippers. Slavery and
 15 servility (that γλωπτόκομον τῆς φυχῆς, as *Longinus* truly calls it) is the badge and livery of the Devil's religion: hence those φρικτὰ μυστήρια of the Heathens perform'd with much trembling and horror. But God, who is the supream *Goodness* and Essential both *Love and Loveliness*, takes most pleasure in those *sweet and delightful affections* of the Soul, viz.
 20 *Love, Joy and Hope*, which are most correspondent to his own nature. The ancient superstition of the Heathens was always very nice and curious in honouring every one of their Gods with Sacrifices and Rites most agreeable to their natures: I am sure there is no Incense, no offering we can present God with, is so sweet, so acceptable to him as our *Love*
 25 and *Delight and Confidence in him*; and when he comes into the Souls of men, he makes these his Throne, his place of rest, as finding the greatest agreeableness therein to his own Essence. A Good man that finds himself made partaker of the Divine nature, and transform'd into the image

5 ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου] "out of the cave"; see above page 108.

15 γλωπτόκομον τῆς φυχῆς] "cage of the soul"; Longinus, *On the Sublime*, XLIV, 5

16 φρικτὰ μυστήρια] "awful mysteries", "mysteries to be shuddered at"; CAP glosses, "i.e., the Orphic and other sacred religious rites".

15 Longinus truly calls it] Longinus says that "all servitude (though it be most righteous) the cage of the soul and a public prison-house."

17 trembling and horror.] marginal note: "The words for *false Gods and Idols*, עצבים and אַימים import *Trouble and Terrour* and Frightful passions in their worshippers."

of God, infinitely takes pleasure in God, as being altogether Lovely, according to that in *Cant.5.* מְחַמְדִּים כָּלוֹ *Totus ipse est desideria*; and his Meditation of God is sweet unto him, *Ps.104.* S. John that lay in the bosome of Christ who came from the bosome of the Father, and perfectly
 5 understood his Eternal Essence, hath given us the fullest description that he could make of him, when he tells us that *God is love*, and he that dwells in God, dwells in love; and reposing himself in the bosome of an Almighty Goodness, where he finds nothing but Love and Loveliness, he now displays all the strength and beauty of those his choicest and most precious
 10 affections of *Love and Joy and Confidence*; his Soul is now at ease, and rests in peace, neither is there any thing to make afraid: He is got beyond all those powers of darkness which give such continual alarms in this lower world, and are always troubling the Earth: He is got above all fears and despairs; he is in a bright clear region, above Clouds and Tempests,
 15 *infra se despicit nubes.* There is no frightfull terribleness in the supream

2 מְחַמְדִּים כָּלוֹ [“he is altogether lovely”; Song of Solomon, 5, 16. “His mouth is most sweet: yea, he is altogether lovely. This is my beloved, and this is my friend, O daughters of Jerusalem.”

2 *Totus ipse est desideria*] Perhaps recalling the Vulgate translation of Song of Solomon, 5, 16: “Guttur illius suavissimum, et totus desiderabilis.” (“His throat most sweet, and he is all lovely”). The same wording is found in Buxtorf’s entry for מְחַמְדִּים “m. *desiderium*, 1 Reg.XX.6. plur. מְחַמְדִּים כָּלוֹ *totus ipse est desideria*, id est *desideratissimus*, Cant. V.16 (*object of longing* 1 Kings 20, 6, plural, he altogether [is] lovely, *he himself is entirely things to be desired*, that is, *most desirable*, Song of Solomon, 5,16.”). See J. Buxtorf, *Joannis Buxtorfi Lexicon hebraicum et chaldaicum complectens voces omnimodas quae in Sacris Bibliis exstant ...* p.138.

2–3 his Meditation of God is sweet unto him, *Ps.104.*] Psalms 104, 34: “My meditation of him shall be sweete: I will be glad in the Lord.”

6 *God is love*] 1 John 4, 8: “Hee that loueth not, knoweth not God: for God is loue.”

6–7 he that dwells in God, dwells in love] 1 John 4, 16: “And we haue knowen and beleueed the loue that God hath to vs. God is loue, and hee that dwelleth in loue, dwelleth in God, and God in him.”

15 *infra se despicit nubes*] “he looked down on the clouds beneath him”; from the commentary by Lactantius Placidus (a fourth century grammarian) on Statius’ *Thebaid*, II, 35–6, describing a peak which “looks down serene on winds and rain” (“stat sublimis apex uentosque imbresque serenus /despicit”). Placidus, *Lactantii Placidi in Statii Thebaida commentum: Anonymi in Statii Achilleida commentum [u.a.]* p.98.

3–4 S. John that lay in the bosome of Christ] John 13, 23: “Now there was leaning on Iesus bosome one of his disciples, whom Iesus loued.”

4 the bosome of the Father] John 1, 18: “No man hath seene God at any time: the onely begotten Sonne, which is in the bosome of the Father, he hath declared him.”

Majesty. That men apprehend God at any time in such a dismayed manner, it must not at all be made argument of his nature, but of our *sinfulness and weakness*. The Sun in the heavens always was and will be a Globe of Light and brightness, howsoever a purblind Eye is rather dazled then
 5 enlightened by it. There is an Inward sense in Mans Soul, which, were it once awaken'd and excited with an inward tast and relish of the Divinity, could better define God to him then all the world else. It is the sincere Christian that so tastes and sees how good and sweet the Lord is, as none else does: *The God of hope fills him with all joy and peace in believing,*
 10 so that he *abounds in hope*, as the Apostle speaks *Rom.15*. He quietly reposes himself in God; *his heart is fixed, trusting in the Lord*; he is for a more solid peace and settled calm of spirit, then for high Raptures and feelings of Joy or Extraordinary Manifestations of God to him: he does not passionately desire nor importunately expect such things; he rather
 15 looks after the Manifestations of the Goodness and Power of God within him, in subduing his Soul that is unlike and contrary to God, and forming him into his image and likeness.

Though I think it worthy of a Christian to endeavour *the Assurance of his own Salvation*; yet perhaps it might be the safest way to moderate his
 20 curiosity of prying into God's *Book of life*, and to stay a while untill he sees himself with the confines of *Salvation* itself. Should a man hear a *Voice* from Heaven or see a *Vision* from the Almighty, to testifie unto him the Love of God towards him, yet methinks it were more desireable to find a Revelation of all *from within*, arising up from the Bottome and Centre
 25 of a mans own Soul, in the Reall and Internal impressions of a *Godlike nature* upon his own spirit; and thus to find *the Foundation and Beginning of Heaven and Happiness within himself*: it were more desirable to see the crucifying of our own Will, the mortifying of the meer Animal life, and to see

9–10 The God of hope ... *Rom. 15.*] Romans 15, 13: "Nowe the God of hope fill you with all ioy and peace in beleeuing, that yee may abound in hope through the power of the holy Ghost."

11 *his heart is fixed, trusting in the Lord*] Psalms 112, 7: "He shall not be afraid of euill tidings: his heart is fixed, trusting in the Lord."

4 purblind] "defective or partially blind"

8 tastes and sees how good and sweet the Lord is] recalling Psalms 34,8: "O taste and see that the LORD is good: blessed is the man that trusteth in him." cf. above page 97.

a Divine life rising up in the room of it, as a sure Pledge and Inchoation of Immortality and *Happiness*, the very Essence of which consists in a perfect conformity and chearfull compliance of all the Powers of our Souls with the Will of God.

5 The best way of gaining *a well-grounded assurance of the Divine love*
is this, for a man *to overcome himself and his own Will*: To him that over-
comes shall be given that white stone, and in it the new name written,
which no man knoweth but he that he receives it. He that beholds the
Sun of righteousness arising upon the Horizon of his Soul with healing in
10 its wings, and chasing away all that misty darkness of his own *Self-will*
and *Passions*; such a one desires not now the Star-light to know whether
it be Day or not, nor cares he to pry into Heaven's secrets and to search

6–8 To him that overcomes ... but he that receives it] Revelation 2, 17: "Hee that hath an eare, let him heare what the Spirit saith vnto the Churches. To him that ouercommeth will I giue to eate of the hidden Manna, and will giue him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth, sauing hee that receiueth it."

9–10 with healing in its wings] Malachi 4, 2: "But vnto you that feare my Name, shall the Sunne of righteousnesse arise with healing in his wings, and shall goe forth and grow vp as calues of the staule." cf. above, page 440.

1 Inchoation] "a beginning any Work" Blount, *Glossographia*.

6–8 To him that overcomes ... but he that receives it] marginal note: "Revel.1." The "white stone" is a token of the assurance of a believer's salvation. cf. Culverwell's *The White Stone*, a chapel exercise, in Culverwel, *An Elegant and Learned Discourse of the Light of Nature*, pp. 97 - 172.

8–11 He that beholds ... and *Passions*] see above page 389 and page 440.

11 the Star-light] Star-light was often associated with the weakness of human reason; so Hooker said that the church should "follow the direction of Scripture onely, and not any star light of mans reason" (*Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie*, Hooker, *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie: Suivi de Certain Divine Tractates; Puis de Two Sermons Upon Part of S. Judes Epistle*, p.122; whilst Samuel Rutherford claimed that "we dispute from diversity of star-light, and day-light" Rutherford, *The Due Right of Presbyteries: Or, A Peaceable Plea for the Government of the Church of Scotland*, "To the Reader"; and Culverwel pointed out that even "*Angelical Starlight is but Lumen Aristocraticum; it borrows and derives its glory from a more vast, and majestic Light ... Yet 'tis far above ... that Light which appears unto the Sons of men, 'tis above their ... poor, and contemptible Lights*" Culverwel, *An Elegant and Learned Discourse of the Light of Nature*, p.158.

535.12–536.2 nor cares he ... plot of his Salvation] cf. "We have no warrant in Scripture, to peep into these hidden Rolls and Volumes of Eternity, and to make it our first things that we do when we come to Christ, to spell out our names in the starres, and to

into the hidden rolls of Eternity, there to see the whole plot of his Salvation; for he views it transacted upon the inward stage of his own Soul, and reflecting upon himself he may behold a Heaven opened from within, and a Throne set up in his Soul, and an Almighty Saviour sitting upon
 5 it, and reigning within him: he now finds the Kingdom of Heaven within him, and sees that it is not a thing meerly reserved for him without him, being already made partaker of the sweetness and efficacy of it. What the Jews say of *the Spirit of Propheſie*, may not unfitly be applyed to the Holy Ghost, the true Comforter dwelling in the minds of good men as a
 10 ſure Earnest of their Eternal inheritance, גיכור, על אלא שורה נכואה אין *The Spirit resides not but upon a man of Fortitude*, one that gives proof of this *Fortitude* in ſubduing his own Self-will and his Affections. We read of *Eliſha*, that he was fain to call for a Muſical inſtrument and one to play before him to allay the heat of his Paſſions, before he would con-
 15 verſe with the Prophetical Spirit. The Holy Spirit is too pure and gentle a thing to dwell in a Mind muddied and diſturb'd by thoſe impure dreggs, thoſe thick fogs and miſts that ariſe from our Self-will and Paſſions, our prevailing over theſe is the beſt way to cherish the Holy Spirit, by which we may be ſealed unto the day of redemption.

10 גיכור, על אלא שורה נכואה אין [translate and locate

12–14 We read of *Eliſha*, that he was fain to call for a Muſical inſtrument and one to play before him] 2 Kings 3, 15: “But now bring me a minſtrell. And it came to paſſe when the minſtrell played, that the hand of the Lord came vpon him.”

perswade our ſelves that we are certainly elected to everlaſting happineſs: before we ſee the *image of God*, in righteousneſſe and true holineſſe, ſhaped in our hearts.” Cudworth, *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable Houſe of Commons, at Weſtmiſter March 21, 1647*, pp. 8-9.

1 plot] anticipating the dramatic metaphors to come.

2–4 for he views it transacted upon the inward stage of his own Soul, and reflecting upon himself he may behold a Heaven opened from within, and a Throne set up in his Soul] perhaps as in a masque; see above page 326 and page 473.

10 גיכור, על אלא שורה נכואה אין [see above, page 352.

11–12 one that gives proof of this *Fortitude* in ſubduing his own Self-will and his Affections] see above page 353.

12–14 We read of *Eliſha*, that he was fain to call for a Muſical inſtrument and one to play before him] For the diſcuſſion, ſee above, page 357.

15–17 The Holy Spirit is too pure and gentle a thing to dwell in a Mind muddied and diſturb'd by thoſe impure dreggs, thoſe thick fogs and miſts that ariſe from our Self-will and Paſſions] For the Rabbinical maxim behind this idea, ſee above, page 354.

To conclude this Particular: It is a venturous and rugged guess and conceit which some men have, That in a perfect resignation of our Wills to the Divine will a man should be content with his own damnation, and to be the Subject of Eternal Wrath in Hell, if it should please God. Which is as
 5 impossible as it is for him that infinitely thirsts after a true Participation of the Divine Nature, and most earnestly endeavours a most inward Union with God in Spirit, by a denial of himself and his own will, to swell up in Self-love, Pride and Arrogancy against God; the one whereof is the most *substantial Heaven*, the other the most *real Hell*: whereas indeed
 10 by conquering our selves we are translated from Death to Life, and the kingdom of God and Heaven is already come to us.

The Sixth *Property* or *Effect* wherein *Religion* discovers its own *Excellency* is this, *That it Spiritualizes Material things, and so carries up the Souls of Good men from Earthly things to things Divine, from this Sensible*
 15 *World to the Intellectual.*

God made the Universe and all the Creatures contained therein as so many Glasses wherein he might reflect his own Glory: Hath copied forth himself in the Creation; and in this Outward World we may read the lovely characters of the Divine Goodness, Power and Wisdom. In some
 20 Creatures there are darker representations of God, there are the Prints and Footsteps of God; but in others there are clearer and fuller represent-

1-4 It is a venturous and rugged guess ... if it should please God] cf. Henry More's conclusion whilst a boy at Eton: "If I am one of those that are predestinated unto Hell, where all Things are full of nothing but Cursing and Blasphemy, yet will I behave my self there patiently and submissively towards God; and if there be any one Thing more than another, that is acceptable to him, that will I set my self to do with a sincere Heart, and to the utmost of my Power." R. Ward, *The life of the learned and pious Dr. Henry More, late fellow of Christ's college in Cambridge: To which are annex'd divers of his useful and excellent letters*, p.6.

8-9 the one whereof is the most *substantial Heaven*, the other the most *real Hell*:] cf. Whichcote: "For, *heaven*, and *hell*, are not so much a *place*, as a *state*. They that are reconciled to God, in the frame and temper of their minds, and that live according to the law of heaven, the everlasting and immutable rules of goodness, righteousness, and truth; may truly be said to *have begun heaven while they are upon earth*. But, they who confound the difference of good and evil; and who care not to approve themselves to God; but *do* without difference of distinction: these are *partakers of the devilish nature*; and are *in the hellish state*". Whichcote, *Works*, IV, pp.238-9.

ations of Divinity, the Face and Image of God; according to that known saying of the Schoolmen, *Remotiores Similitudines Creaturæ ad Deum dicuntur Vestigium; propinquiores verò Imago* But how to find God here and feelingly to converse with him, and in being affected with the sense
 5 of the Divine Glory shining out upon the Creation, how to pass out of the *Sensible World* into the *Intellectual*, is not so effectually taught by that Philosophy which profess'd it most, as by true Religion: that which knits and unites God and the Soul together, can best teach it how to ascend and descend upon those golden links that unite as it were the World to God.
 10 That Divine *Wisdom* that contrived and beautified this glorious Structure, can best explain her Art, and carry up the Soul back again in these reflected Beams to him who is the Fountain of them. Though Good men, all of them, are not acquainted with all those Philosophical notions touching the relation between Created and the Uncreated Being; yet may they
 15 easily find every Creature pointing out to that Being whose image and superscription it bears, and climb up from those darker resemblances of the Divine Wisdom and Goodness shining out in different degrees upon several Creatures, ὡσπερ ἀναβάθμοις τισι that , as the Antients speak,

2–3 *Remotiores Similitudines Creaturæ ad Deum dicuntur Vestigium; propinquiores verò Imago*] “the more remote resemblances of creatures to God are called ‘vestigies’; the closer ones the true ‘Image’”; the wording can be found in Abraham Calov, *Systema locorum Theologicorum*, IV, p.594. (NOT PUBLISHED UNTIL 1655; check *Theologia Naturalis et Revelata*, 1646, in Queens’.) cf. Schubert, *Das Ende der Sünde: Anthropologie und Erbsünde zwischen Reformation und Aufklärung*, p.118.

18 ὡσπερ ἀναβάθμοις τισι] “as if by some steps”; probably recalling Plotinus, *Enneads*, 6.7.36, where he says that we learn about the Good through “knowledge of the things that come from it, and certain methods of ascent by degrees” Plotinus, *Enneads*, VII, p. 199. cf. “the philosopher tells us, that by the creatures, the mind of man doth climb up to God as by so many steps or stairs”, Whichcote, *Works*, IV, p. 306.

9 those golden links that unite as it were the World to God] The “golden chain” linking earth and heaven derives ultimately from *Iliad*, VIII, 19, but was the subject of much Neoplatonic re-interpretation throughout antiquity and the middle ages, often conflated with the “chain of being” and Jacob’s ladder (in Genesis 28, 12); “Variations on this idea in the Renaissance are legion” Wells, *Elizabethan Mythologies: Studies in Poetry, Drama and Music* p.92. See, for example, “Aurea Catena Homeri”, in *Notes and Queries*, *Notes and Queries*, pp. 63-5 and 81-4; and Edelstein, *Selected philosophical papers*, pp. 42ff. 15–16 whose image and superscription it bears] recalling Mark 12, 16 (“And they brought it: and he saith vnto them, Whose is this image and superscription? And they said vnto him, Cesars.”) and Luke 20, 24 (“Shew me a peny: whose image and superscription hath it? They answered, and said, Cesars.”).

- till they sweetly repose themselves in the bosom of the Divinity: and while they are thus conversing with this lower World, and are viewing *the invisible things of God in the things that are made*, in this visible and outward creation, they find God many times secretly flowing into their Souls, and
- 5 leading them silently out of the Court of the Temple into the Holy Place. But it is otherwise with Wicked men; they dwell perpetually upon the dark side of the Creatures, and converse with these things only in a gross, sensual, earthly and unspiritual manner; they are so encompass'd with the thick and foggy mists of their own Corruptions, that they cannot see
- 10 God there where he is most visible: *the Light shineth in darkness, but darkness comprehends it not*: their Souls are so deeply sunk into that House of Clay which they carry about with them, that were there nothing of *Body* or bulky *Matter* before them, they could find nothing to exercise themselves about.
- 15 But Religion, where it is in truth and in power, renews the very Spirit of our Minds, and doth in a manner *Spiritualize* this outward Creation to us, and doth in a more excellent way perform that which the *Peripateticks*

2–3 *the invisible things of God in the things that are made*] Romans 1, 20: “For the invisible things of him from the Creation of the world, are clearly seene, being vnderstood by the things that are made, euen his eternall Power and Godhead, so that they are without excuse.”

10–11 *the Light shineth in darkness, but darkness comprehends it not*] John 1, 5: “And the light shineth in darknesse, and the darknesse comprehended it not.”

1 the bosom of the Divinity] cf. John 1, 18: “No man hath seene God at any time: the onely begotten Sonne, which is in the bosome of the Father, he hath declared him.”

2–3 *the invisible things of God in the things that are made*] For Whichcote’s preaching on this text, see Whichcote, *Works*, III, p.159ff.

4 secretly flowing into their Souls] cf. “They who are in any degree spiritual or intellectual, and are not altogether sunk down into a brutish spirit and sensual affection, find and feel within themselves divine suggestions, motions and inspirations, that there are foreign suggestions and whispers, that do direct him better, and carry him beyond his own mind and resolves.” Whichcote, *Works*, III, p.180.

5 the Court of the Temple into the Holy Place] The metaphor is based on the temple at Jerusalem, in which outer courts surrounded a sanctuary containing the “holy place” (היכל or “great house”) and the “holy of holies”.

11–12 that House of Clay which they carry about with them] perhaps recalling Job 4, 19: “Howe much lesse on them that dwell in houses of clay, whose foundation is in the dust, which are crushed before the moth.”

are wont to affirm of their *Intellectus agens*, in purging Bodily and Material things from the feculency and dregs of *Matters*, and separating them from those circumstantiating and streightning conditions of *Time* and *Place*, and the like; and teaches the Soul to look at those *Perfections* which it finds
 5 here below, not so much as the Perfections of *This* or *That* Body, as they adorn *This* or *That* particular Being, but as they are so many Rays issuing forth from that First and Essential Perfection, in which they all meet and embrace one another in the most close Friendship. Every Particular Good is a Blossom of the First Goodness; every created Excellency is a
 10 Beam descending from the Father of lights: and should we separate all these *Particularities* from God, all affection spent on them would be unchast, and their embraces adulterous. We should love all things in God, and God in all things, because he is All in all, the Beginning and Original of Being, the perfect Idea of their Goodness, and the End of their Motion.
 15 It is nothing but a thick mist of Pride and Self-love that hinders mens eyes from beholding that Sun which both enlightens them and all things else: But when true Religion begins once to dawn upon mens Souls, and with its shining light chases away their black Souls, and with its shining light chases away the their black Night of Ignorance; then they behold themselves and all things else enlightned (though in a different way) by one
 20 and the same Sun, and all the Powers of their Souls fall down before God

1 *Intellectus agens*] “active intellect”; cf. above

1 *Intellectus agens*] Aristotelean scholasticism regarded the “active intellect” as the instrument of abstract thought; cf. Aquinas: “nihil prohibet unam et eandem animam, in quantum est immaterialis in actu, habere aliquam virtutem per quam faciat immaterialia in actu abstrahendo a conditionibus individualis materiae, quae quidem virtus dicitur intellectus agens;” (“nothing prevents one and the same soul, inasmuch as it is actually immaterial, having one power by which it makes things actually immaterial, by abstraction from the conditions of individual matter: which power is called the ‘active intellect’;”) *Summa Theologica*, I, q.79, art.4.resp.4.

2 feculency] “*Feculent*, full of dregs” Blount, *Glossographia*; cf. Culverwel, *An Elegant and Learned Discourse of the Light of Nature*, p. 153 and More’s “the Soul of man had quite forgot his Creatour, being fully plunged and immersed into the very feculency of the Material world” More, *The Grand Mystery of Godliness*, p. 56.

4–7 those *Perfections* which it finds here ... that First and Essential Perfection] “*These* several distinct excellencies and perfections, are the ornaments and endowments of human nature ... *They* are so many *rays* and *beams* of the infiniteness of the divine knowledge and wisdom; the flourishes of God’s liberal and bountiful creation.” Whichcote, *Works*, IV, p. 127.

and ascribe all glory to him. Now it is that a Good man is no more solicitous whether *This* or *That* good thing be *Mine*, or whether *My* perfections exceed the measure of *This* or *That* particular Creature; for whatsoever *Good* he beholds any where, he enjoys and delights in as much as if it
 5 were his own, and whatever he beholds in himself, he looks not upon it as his *Property* but as a *Common* good; for all these Beams come from one and the same Fountain and Ocean of light in whom he loves them all with an Universal love: when his affections run along the stream of any created excellencies, whether his own or any one elses, yet they stay not
 10 here, but run on till they fall into the Ocean; they do not settle into a fond love and admiration either of himself or any others Excellencies, but he owns them as so many Pure Effluxes and Emanations from God, and in a *Particular* Being loves the *Universal* Goodness. *Si sciretur à me Veritas, sciretur etiam me illud non esse, aut illud non esse meum, nec à me.*

15 Thus may a Good man walk up and down the World as in a Garden of Spices, and suck a Divine Sweetness out of every flower. There is a Twofold meaning in every Creature, as the Jews speak of the Law, a *Literal* and a *Mystical*, and the one is but the ground of the other: and as they say of divers pieces of their Law, למעלה דמו למטה דבר, so a Good

13–14 *Si sciretur à me Veritas, sciretur etiam me illud non esse, aut illud non esse meum, nec à me.*] “if the truth were known by me, it also would be known that I am not it, or at least that it is not mine, or from me”; slightly adapted from *Theologia Germanica*, V, Castellion, *Theologia Germanica...* p. 9. The anonymous *Theologia Germanica* was first published by Luther in 1516 and became more widely known through the editions of Sebastien Castellio. Suspect in the eyes of both Calvinists and Catholics, it put forward the view that union with God was possible by following a path of perfection. From the latter half of the 1630s it had a profound influence on Henry More; for his comments on “that *Golden little book*”, see R. Ward, *The life of the learned and pious Dr. Henry More, late fellow of Christ’s college in Cambridge: To which are annex’d divers of his useful and excellent letters*, p.12ff.; see also S. Hutton and Crocker, *Henry More (1614–1687) Tercentenary Studies: With a Biography and Bibliography by Robert Crocker*, p.140ff. and R.M. Jones, *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, 1914, Chapter XIII. 19 למעלה דמו למטה דבר [“what is here below is a hint of what is above”; CAP comments that, “The idea is a cabbalistic commonplace”. cf. Nahmanides’ “Know that in a true

15–16 a Garden of Spices] Perhaps recalling the imagery of Song of Solomon 5, 13: “His cheekes are as a bed of spices, as sweete flowers: his lippes like lillies, dropping sweete smelling myrrhe.” and 6, 2: “My beloued is gone downe into his garden, to the beds of spices, to feede in the gardens, and to gather lillies.”

man sayes of every thing that his Senses offer to him, *it speaks to his lower part, but it points out something above to his Mind and Spirit.* It is the drowsie and muddy spirit of Superstition which, being lull'd asleep in the lap of worldly delights, is fain to set some Idol at its elbow, something
 5 that may jogg it and put it in mind of God. Whereas true Religion never finds it self out of the Infinite Sphere of the Divinity, and whereever it finds *Beauty, Harmony, Goodness, Love, Ingenuity, Wisdom, Holiness, Justice,* and the like, it is ready to say *Here and There is God:* wheresover any such Perfections shine out, an holy Mind climbs up by these Sun beams
 10 and raises it self up to God.

And seeing God hath never thrown the World from himself, but runs through all created Essence, containing the Archetypal Ideas of all things in himself, and from thence deriving and imparting several prints of Beauty and Excellency all the world over; a Soul that is truly θεοειδής God-like,
 15 a Mind that is enlightned from the same Fountain, and hath its inward Senses affected by the sweetest relishes of Divine Goodness, cannot but every where behold it self in the midst of that Glorious Unbounded Being who is indivisibly every where. A Good man finds every place he treads upon *Holy ground;* to him the World is God's Temple; he is ready to say
 20 with *Jacob, Gen.28. How dreadfull is this place! this is none other but the House of God.*

To conclude, It was a degenerous and unworthy Spirit in this Philosophy which first separated and made such distance between *Metaphysical Truths* and the Truth of *Nature;* whereas the First and most ancient
 25 Wisdom amongst the Heathens was indeed a Philosophical Divinity, or

sense Scripture speaks of lower matters and alludes to supernal matters" (*Commentary on Genesis, 1,5.*)

14 θεοειδής] "godlike"; see above page 95.

20 Gen.28.] Genesis 28, 17: "And he was afraid, and said, How dreadful is this place? this is none other, but the house of God, and this is the gate of heauen."

11–14 And seeing God hath ... all the world over] This needs a commentary
 22 degenerous] "*Degenerous, Degenerated, Base, Vile, Infamous*" Blount, *Glossographia*.
 22–24 this Philosophy which first separated and made such distance between *Metaphysical Truths* and the Truth of *Nature;*] CAP sees this as a possible reference to Bacon.

542.25–543.1 a Philosophical Divinity, or a Divine Philosophy] i.e. a prisca theologia.

a Divine Philosophy; which continued for divers ages, but as men grew worse, their queazy stomachs began to loath it: which made the truly-wise *Socrates* complain of the Sophisters of that Age which began now to corrupt and debase it; whereas heretofore the Spirit of Philosophy was
 5 more generous and divine, and did more purifie and ennoble the Souls of men, commending Intellectual things to them, and taking them off from settling upon Sensible and Material things here below, and still exciting them to endeavour after the nearest resemblance of God the Supream Goodness and Loveliness, and an intimate Conjunction with him; which,
 10 according to the strain of that Philosophy, was the true Happiness of Immortal Souls.

The Seventh and last *Property* or *Effect* wherein True Religion expresseth its own *Nobleness and Excellency* is that, *That it raiseth the Minds of Good men to a due observance of and attendance upon Divine Providence, and enables them to serve the Will of God, and to acquiesce in it.*
 15 Wheresoever God hath a Tongue to speak, there they have Ears to hear it; and being attentive to God in the soft and still motions of *Providence*, they are ready to obey his call, and to say with *Esay, Behold, here am I,*

16–17 they have Ears to hear it] recalling the many variations in the New Testament on Matthew 11, 15: “Hee that hath eares to heare, let him heare.” Perhaps suggested by the context of Isaiah 6, 10; “lest they see with their eyes, and heare with their eares, and vnderstand with their heart, and conuert and be healed.”

543.18–544.1 to say with *Esay, Behold, here am I, send me*] Isaiah 6, 8: “Also I heard the voyce of the Lord, saying; Whom shall I send, and who will goe for vs? Then I saide; Heere am I, send me.”

2–3 the truly-wise *Socrates* complain] “that gallant philosopher and martyr” as Whichcote called him Whichcote, *Works*, II, p.110. cf. Cudworth, *The true intellectual system of the Universe*, p.398.

3–4 the Sophisters of that Age which began now to corrupt and debase it] Sophists were professional teachers of rhetoric and philosophy. Socrates himself was charged with sophism and corrupting the young. At the end of *Sophist*, the Aleatic Stranger says that “The art of contradiction making, descended from an insincere kind of conceited mimicry, of the semblance-making breed, derived form image making, distinguished as a portion, not divine but human, of production, that presents a shadow play of words - such are the blood and lineage which can, with perfect truth, be assigned to the authentic Sophist” (268d).

17 soft and still motions of *Providence*] perhaps recalling 1 Kings 19, 12: “ And after the earthquake, a fire, but the Lord was not in the fire: and after the fire, a still small voice.”

send me. They endeavour to copy forth that Lesson which Christ hath sets Christians, seriously considering how that they came into this world by God's appointment, not to doe their own Wills but the Will of him that sent them.

5 As this Consideration quiets the Spirit of a Good man who is no idle Spectator of *Providence*, and keeps him in a calm and sober temper in the midst of all Storms and Tempests; so it makes him most freely to engage himself in the service of *Providence*, without any inward reluctancy or disturbance. He cannot be content that *Providence* should serve it self of him
10 as it doth even of those things that understand it least; but it is his holy ambition to serve it. 'Tis nothing else but Hellish pride and Self-love that makes men serve themselves, and to set up themselves as Idols against God: But it is indeed an argument of true Nobleness of Spirit for a man to view himself (not in the narrow Point of his own Being, but) in the Un-
15 bounded essence of the First Cause, so as to be ὅλως τοῦ κρείττονος, and to live only as an Instrument in the hands of God who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will. *Optarem id me esse Deo quod est mihi manus mea*, was the expression of an holy Soul.

To a Good man *to serve the Will of God*, it is in the truest and best
20 sense *to serve himself*, who knows himself to be nothing without or in opposition to God; *Quò minùs quid sibi arrogat homo, eò evadit nobilior, clarior, divinior.* This is the most divine life that can be, for a man to act

15 ὅλως τοῦ κρείττονος] “wholly belonging to the almighty”; adapted from Simplicius cf. H. Wolf, *Simplicii Commentarius In Enchiridion Epicteti: Ex Libris veteribus emendatus*, p.4; Brittain and Brennan, *Simplicius: On Epictetus Handbook 1-26*, p.38; cited above page 119.

17–18 *Optarem id me esse Deo quod est mihi manus mea*] “I should wish to be to God what my hand is to me”; adapted from *Theologia Germanica*, X: “Optarem me aeterno bono id esse, quod homini sua manus est” (“I should wish to be to the eternal good, what a man’s hand is to him”) Castellion, *Theologia Germanica...* p.14.

21–22 *Quò minùs quid sibi arrogat homo, eò evadit nobilior, clarior, divinior*] “the less a man appropriates to himself, by that the more noble, glorious and divine he comes to be”; adapted from *Theologia Germanica*, V: “Nam quò minùs haec sibi arrogat homo, eò evadit nobilior, clarior, ac divinior: & quò magis ea sibi arrogat, eò sit stupidior, vilior

3–4 not to doe their own Wills but the Will of him that sent them] recalling John 6, 38: “For I came downe from heauen, not to doe mine owne will, but the will of him that sent me.”

in the world upon Eternal designs, and to be so wholly devoted to the Will of God, as to serve it most faithfully and entirely. This indeed bestows a kind of *Immortality* upon these flitting and *Transient* acts of ours, which in themselves are but the Off-spring of a moment. A *Pillar* or *Verse* is a
 5 poor sorry Monument of any Exploit, which yet may well enough become the highest of the worlds bravery. But Good men, while they work with God and endeavour to bring themselves and all their actions to a unity with God, his Ends and Designs, enroll themselves in Eternity. This is the proper Character of holy souls; Their Wills are so fully resolv'd into
 10 the Divine Will, that they in all things subscribe to it without any murmurings or debates; they rest well satisfied with, and take complacency in, any passages of Divine dispensation, *ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς ἀριστῆς γνώμης ἐπιτελουμένοις , as being ordered and disposed by a Mind and Wisdom above according to the highest rules of *Goodness*.

15 The best way for a man rightly to enjoy himself, is to maintain an universal, ready and chearfull compliance with the Divine and Uncreated Will in all things; as knowing that nothing can issue and flow forth from the fountain of *Goodness* but that which is good: and therefore a Good man is never offended with any piece of Divine dispensation, nor hath
 20 he any reluctancy against that Will that dictates and determines all things by an Eternal rule of *Goodness*; as knowing, That here is an unbounded and Almighty *Love*, that without any disdain or envy freely communicates it self to every thing he made; that feeds even the young Ravens that call upon him; that makes his Sun to shine, and his Rain to fall, both upon

& imperfectior.” (“For the less a man appropriates these things to him, the more noble, glorious and divine he comes to be by that; and the more he appropriates those things to himself, by that he is the more stupid, worthless and imperfect.”) Castellion, *Theologia Germanica...* p.9.

12–13 *ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς ἀριστῆς γνώμης ἐπιτελουμένοις] “as if governed by the best will or intelligence”; adapted from Epictetus, *Encheiridion*, 31; chapter 38 in old texts; cf. H. Wolf, *Simplicii Commentarius In Enchiridion Epicteti: Ex Libris veteribus emendatus*, pp. 212-3.

12–13 *ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς ἀριστῆς γνώμης ἐπιτελουμένοις] marginal note: “Epictet. cap.38.”
 23–24 that feeds even the young Ravens that call upon him] cf. Luke 12, 24: “Consider the rauens, for they neither sow nor reape, which neither haue storehouse nor barne, and God feedeth them: How much more are yee better then the foules?”

545.24–546.1 that makes his Sun to shine, and his Rain to fall, both upon the just and

the just and the unjust; that always enfolds those in his everlasting arms who made partakers of his own Image, perpetually nourishing and cherishing them with the fresh and vital influences of his Grace; as knowing also, That there is an All-seeing Eye, an unbounded Mind and Understanding, that derives it self through the whole Universe, and sitting in all
 5 the wheels of motion, guides them all and powerfully governs the most excentrical motions of Creatures, and carries them all most harmoniously in their several orbes to one Last End. Who then shall give Law to God? *Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world?*
 10 Where is he that would climb up in to that המעלה של דין בית, the great Consistory in heaven, and sitting in consultation with the Almighty, instruct the Infinite and Incomprehensible Wisdom? Shall the vain man be wiser then his maker? This is the hellish temper of wicked men, they examine and judge of all things by the line and measure of their own Self-will, their own
 15 Opinions and Designs; and measuring all things by a crooked rule, they think nothing to be strait; and therefore they fall out with God, and with restless impatience fret and vex themselves: and this fretfulness and impatency in wicked men argues a breach in the just and due constitution of their Minds and Spirits.

9 *Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world?*] 1 Corinthians 1, 20: "Where is the wise? where is the Scribe? where is the disputer of this world? Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world?"

10 המעלה של דין בית ["excellent house of law or judgement"; the "heavenly court" of Rabbinical Judaism; see Missouri, *Tree of Souls : The Mythology of Judaism: The Mythology of Judaism*, pp.208-9.

the unjust] cf. Matthew 5, 45: "That yee may be the children of your father which is in heauen: for he maketh his sunne to rise on the euill and on the good, and sendeth raine on the iust, and on the vniust."

10–11 Consistory] "*Consistory*, the Court Christian, or Spiritual Court, held formerly in the Nave of the Cathedral Church, or in some Chappel, Isle or Portico belonging to it, in which the Bishop presided, and had soe of his Clergy for Assessors and Assistants" Blount, *Glossographia*.

11–12 instruct the Infinite and Incomprehensible Wisdom?] the questions recalls, perhaps, 1 Corinthians 2, 16: "For who hath knowen the mind of the Lord that he may instruct him? But we haue the mind of Christ." and Job 40, 2: "Shall hee that contendeth with the Almighty, instruct him? he that reproueth God, let him answere it."

18 constitution] One of Whichcote's favourite terms, as in "Holiness, it was the constitution of our natures; and it is the true complexion of grace" Whichcote, *Works*, IV, p. 77.

But a Good man, whose Soul is restored to that frame and constitution it should be, has better apprehensions of the ways and works of God, and is better affected under the various disposals of *Providence*. Indeed to a superficial observer of *Divine Providence* many things there are that seem
 5 to be nothing else but *Digressions* from the main End of all, and to come to pass by a fortuitous concourse of Circumstances; that come in so abruptly and without any concatenation or dependance one upon another, as if they were without any Mind or Understanding to guide them. But a wise man that looks from the Beginning to the End of things, beholds them
 10 all in their due place and method acting that part which the Supreme Mind and Wisdom that governs all things hath appointed them, and to carry on one and the same Eternal design, while they move according to their own proper inclinations and measures, and aim at their own particular Ends. It were not worth the while to live in the world $\kappa\epsilon\nu\omega\ \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\iota\alpha\varsigma$
 15 *devoid of God and Providence*, as it was well observed by the Stoick: And to be subservient unto Providence is the holy ambition and great endeavour of a Good man, who is so perfectly overpower'd with the love of the Universal and Infinite Goodness, that he would not serve any Particular Good whatsoever, no not himself, so as to set up in the world and trade for
 20 himself, as the men of this world doe who are *lovers of their own selves, and lovers of pleasures more then lovers of God*.

We have consider'd *the Excellency* of True Religion, 1. in regard of its *Descent & Original*; 2. in regard of its *Nature*; 3. in regard of its *Properties and Effects*. We now proceed to a Fourth Particular, and shall shew

14 $\kappa\epsilon\nu\omega\ \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\iota\alpha\varsigma$] "without god and providence"; adapted from Marcus Aurelius, *de seipso*, 2.11.1. For Smith's other citation, see above page 153.

20 *lovers of their own selves*] 2 Timothy 3, 2: "For men shall bee louers of their owne selues, couetous, boasters, proude, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, vnthankfull, vnholly,"

21 *lovers of pleasures more then lovers of God*] 2 Timothy 3, 4: "Traitours, heady, high minded, louers of pleasures more then louers of God,"

1–2 that frame and constitution it should be] cf. Whichcote's language again: "man bears the image of God in the goodness and purity of his mind; and this lies in his temper, constitution and frame of spirit" Whichcote, *Works*, IV, p.58.

6 fortuitous concourse of Circumstances] like so many atoms; cf. above page 167.

15 the Stoick] Again, Marcus Aurelius.

That Religion is a generous and noble thing in regards of its Progress: it is perpetually carrying on that Mind in which it is once seated toward *Perfection*. Though the First appearance of it upon the Souls of good men may be but as the Wings of the Morning spreading themselves upon
 5 the Mountains, yet it is still rising higher and higher upon them, chasing away all the filthy mists and vapours of Sin and Wickedness before it, till it arrives to its Meridian altitude There is the strength and force of the Divinity in it; and though when it first enters into the Minds of men, it may seem to be *sowen in weakness*, yet it will raise it self in *power*. As
 10 Christ was in his *Bodily appearance*, he was still increasing in wisdom and knowledge and favour with God and man, untill he was perfected in glory: so is he also in his *Spiritual appearance* in the Souls of man; and accordingly the New Testament does more then once distinguish of Christ in his several ages and degrees of growth in the Souls of all true
 15 Christians. Good men are always walking on from strength to strength, till at last they see God in Zion. Religion though it hath its infancy, yet it hath no old age: while it is in its Minority, it is always *in motu*; but when it comes to its Maturity and full age, it will always be *in quiete*, it is then always the same, and its years fail not, but it shall endure for ever. Holy
 20 and religious Souls being once toucht with an inward sense of Divine Beauty and Goodness, by a strong impress upon them are moved swiftly

9 *sowen in weakness*, yet it will raise it self in *power*] 1 Corinthians 15, 43: "It is sowen in dishonour, it is rayed in glorie: it is sowen in weakenesse, it is rayed in power."
 15–16 from strength to strength, till at last they see God in Zion] Psalms 84, 7: "They goe from strength to strength: euery one of them in Zion appeareth before God."
 17 *in motu*] "always in motion"
 18 *in quiete*] "at rest"
 19 its years fail not] Hebrew 1, 12: "And as a vesture shalt thou fold them up, and they shall be changed: but thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail."

4 Wings of the Morning] recalling Psalms 139, 9: "If I take the wings of the morning: and dwell in the vttermost parts of the Sea:"

7 Meridian altitude] marginal note: "Prov.4.18. *The path of the just is as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.*"

17 *in motu*] for Aquinas' use of the opposition between "in motu" and "in quiete" when discussing the soul's discursive understanding, see *Quaestiones Disputata de Anima*, 7.3.

19 shall endure for ever] perhaps recalling occurances of the phrase through the Psalms.

20 toucht with an inward sense] See above page 96.

after God, and (as the Apostle expresses himself) *forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, they press towards the Mark, for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus; that so they may attain to the resurrection of the dead.*

5 Where a Spirit of Religion is, there is *the Central force of Heaven* it self quickening and enlivening those that are informed by it in their motions toward Heaven. As on the other side all unhallowed and defiled minds are within *the attractive power of Hell*, and are continually hastening their course thither, being strongly pressed down by the weight of their Wicked-

10 ness. ἀεί τινας ἔχει κινήσεις ἢ φύσις, as *Plutarch* hath well observ'd, Every nature in this world hath some proper Centre which it is always hastening to. *Sin* and *Wickedness* does not hover a little over *the bottomless pit* of Hell, and onely flutter about it; but it's continually sinking lower and lower into it. Neither does true *Grace* make some feeble assaies toward

15 Heaven, but by a mighty Energy within it self it's always soaring up higher and higher into heaven. A good Christian does not onely court his Happiness, and cast now and then a smile upon it, or satisfie himself meerly to be contracted to it; but with the greatest ardours of Love and Desire he pursues the solemnity of the just Nuptials, that he may be wedded to it

20 and made one with it. It is not an aiery speculation of *Heaven* as a thing (though never so undoubtedly) *to come*, that can satisfie his hungry desires, but the real* possession of it even in this life. Such an Happiness

1–4 *forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, they press towards the Mark, for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus*] Philippians 3, 13-14: “Brethren, I count not my selfe to haue apprehended: but this one thing I doe, forgetting those things which are behinde, and reaching forth vnto those things which are before, I presse toward the marke, for the price of the high calling of God in Christ Iesus.”

4 *attain to the resurrection of the dead*] Philippians 3, 11: “If by any meanes I might attaine vnto the resurrection of the dead.”

10 ἀεί τινας ἔχει κινήσεις ἢ φύσις] “things always flow back to their origin”; unidentified; check translation.

1 the Apostle] St Paul

22 real*] marginal note: “So we read Joh.6.54. *hath eternal life*; & 1 Ep.Joh. ch.5.11, 15.” John 6, 54: “Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day.” and 1 John 5, 11, 15: “And this is the record, that God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in his Son. ... And if we know that he hear us, whatsoever we ask, we know that we have the petitions that we desired of him.”

would be less in the esteem of Good men, that were onely good to be enjoyed at the end of this life when all other enjoyments fail him.

I wish there be not among some such a light and poor esteem of *Heaven*, as makes them more to see after *Assurance of Heaven*, onely
 5 in the *Idea* of it *a thing to come*, then after *Heaven it self*; which indeed we can never well be assured of, untill we find it rising up within our selves and glorifying our own Souls. When true *Assurance* comes, *Heaven* it self will appear upon the Horizon of our Souls, like a morning light chasing away all our dark and gloomy doubtings before it. We shall not need then
 10 to light up our Candles to seek for it in corners; no, it will display its own lustre and brightness so before us, that we may see it in its own light, and our selves the true possessours of it. We may be too nice and vain in seeking for *signs and tokens* of Christ's *Spiritual appearances* in the Souls of men, as well as the Scribes and Pharisees were in seeking for
 15 them at his *First appearance* in the World. When he comes into us, let us expect till the works that shall doe within us may testifie of him; and be no over-credulous, till we find that he doth those works there which none other could doe. As for a true well-grounded *Assurance*, say not so much, *Who will ascend up into heaven*, to fetch it down from thence? or
 20 *who shall descend into the deep*, to fetch it up from beneath? for in *the Growth* of true internal Goodness and in *the Progress* of true Religion it will freely unfold it self within us. Stay till the grain of Mustard-seed it self breaks forth from among the clods that buried it, till through the descent of the heavenly dew it sprouts up and discovers it self openly. This holy
 25 *Assurance* is indeed the budding and blossoming of Felicity in our own Souls; it is the inward sense and feeling of the true life, spirit, sweetness and beauty of Grace powerfully expressing its own Energy within us.

19 *Who will ascend up into heaven*] Romans 10, 6: "But the righteousnesse which is of faith, speaketh on this wise: Say not in thine heart, Who shall ascend into heauen? That is to bring Christ down from aboue."

20 *who shall descend into the deep*] Romans 10, 7: "Or, Who shall descend into the deepe? That is to bring vp Christ againe from the dead."

22 the grain of Mustard-seed] For the parable of the mustard seed, see Mark 4, 2ff; Mathew 13, 31-2; Luke 13, 18-19.

26 it is the inward sense and feeling] as Whichcote observed, "states are not known by *notion* and *description*, but by *sense* and *feeling*, and by being in the very state it self" Whichcote, *Works*, IV, p.253.

Briefly, True Religion in *the Progress* of it transforms those Minds in which it reigns from glory to glory; it goes on and prospers in bringing all enemies in subjection under their feet, in reconciling the Minds of men fully to God; and it instates them in a firm possession of the Supream
 5 Good. This is *the Seed of God* within Holy Souls, which is always warring against *the Seed of the Serpent*, till it prevail over it through the Divine strength and influence. Though *Hell* may open her mouth wide and without measure, yet a true Christian in whom the seed of God remaineth,
 10 is in a good and safe condition; he finds himself born up by an Almighty arm, and carried upwards as upon Eagles wings; and the Evil one hath no power over him, or, as *S. John* expresseth it, ὁ Πονηρὸς οὐχ ἅπτεται αὐτοῦ, *the Evil one toucheth him not*, 1. Ep. chap.5.v.18.

We come now to the Fifth and Last Particular, viz. The Excellency of Religion in *the Term and End of it*, which is nothing else but *Blessedness it*
 15 *self in its full maturity*. Which yet I may not here undertake to explain, for

11–12 ὁ Πονηρὸς οὐχ ἅπτεται αὐτοῦ] “the evil [one] does not touch him”; 1 John 5, 18. 12 *the Evil one toucheth him not*, 1. Ep. chap.5.v.18.] 1 John 5, 18: “We know that whosoever is borne of God, sinneth not: but hee that is begotten of God, keepeth himselfe, and that wicked one toucheth him not.” “1 Ep.” abbreviates “First Epistle.”

2 from glory to glory] recalling 2 Corinthians 3, 18: “But we all, with open face beholding as in a glasse the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image, from glorie to glorie, euen as by the spirit of the Lord.”

3 in subjection under their feet] recalling Hebrews 2, 8: “Thou hast put all things in subiection vnder his feete. For in that he put all in subiection vnder him, hee left nothing that is not put vnder him. But now wee see not yet all things put vnder him.”

5–6 This is *the Seed of God* within Holy Souls, which is always warring against *the Seed of the Serpent*] based on Genesis 3, 15: “And I will put enmitie betweene thee and the woman, and betweene thy seed and her seed: it shal bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heele.” For the metaphor and its connection with deformity, see Patrides, *The Cambridge Platonists*, p.20 and notes.

8 a true Christian in whom the seed of God remaineth] recalling 1 John 3, 9: “Whosoever is borne of God, doth not commit sinne: for his seede remaineth in him, and he cannot sinne, because he is borne of God.”

9–10 he finds himself born up by an Almighty arm, and carried upwards as upon Eagles wings] recalling Exodus 19,4: “Ye haue seene what I did vnto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on Eagles wings, and brought you vnto my selfe.”

it is altogether ἄρρητόν τι, nor can it descend so low as to accommodate it self to any humane style. Accordingly *S. John* tells us, *it does not yet appear what we shall be*; and yet that he may give us some glimpse of it, he points us out to God, and tells us, ὅμοιοι αὐτῷ ἐσόμεθα, *we shall be*
 5 *like him, for we shall see him as he is* Indeed the best way to get a discovery of it, is to endeavour as much as may be to be *Godlike*, to live in a feeling converse with God and in a powerfull exercise and expression of all Godlike dispositions: So shall our inner man be best enabled *to know the breadth and length, the depth and height* of that Love and Goodness
 10 *which yet passeth all knowledge*. There is a *State of Perfection* in the life to come so far transcendent to any in this life, as that we are not able from hence to take the just proportions of it, or to form a full and comprehensive notion of it. We are unable to comprehend the vastness and fulness of that Happiness which the most purified Souls may be raised
 15 to, or to apprehend how far the might power and strength of the Divinity deriving it self into created Being, may communicate a more Transcendent life and blessedness to it. We know not what latent powers our Souls

1 ἄρρητόν τι] “something inexpressible”; not necessarily a quotation, but perhaps recalling 2 Corinthians 12, 4: “How that he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words [ἄρρητα ῥήματα], which it is not lawful for a man to utter.”

4 ὅμοιοι αὐτῷ ἐσόμεθα] “we will be like him”; 1 John 3, 2.

4–5 *we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is*] 1 John 3, 2: “Beloved, now are we the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be: but we know that, when he shall appear, we shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is.”

8–9 *to know the breadth and length, the depth and height*] Ephesians 3, 18: “May be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height;”

10 *which yet passeth all knowledge*] Ephesians 3, 19: “And to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fulness of God.”

7 converse with God] cf. “in converse there is a communion, *per quam omnes transeunt in unitatem quandam*, whereby all pass into a kind of union, communion and mutual participation of converse.” Whichcote, *Works*, IV, p.413.

552.17–553.2 We know not what latent powers our Souls may here contain within themselves, which then may begin to open and dilate themselves] cf. “And in this state we ourselves do not know, what latent powers our souls may have in themselves, which may open and unfold themselves we come nearly and intimately to converse with God. We do not know in this state, till we make a nearer approach to God, but that there may be new powers that are now latent, that may explicate themselves at a nearer approach of God to us.” Whichcote, *Works*, IV, p. 312. and “I am apt to think, that in the heavenly state hereafter, when God shall otherwise declare himself unto us, than now he doth;

may here contain within themselves, which then may begin to open and dilate themselves to let in the full streams of the Divine Goodness when they come nearly and intimately to converse with it; or how *Blessedness* may act upon those Faculties of our Minds which we now have. We know
 5 not what illapses and irradiations there may be from God upon Souls in Glory, that may raise them into a state of Perfection surpassing all our imaginations.

As for *Corporeal* Happiness, there cannot be any further added to the
 10 *Pleasure* of our *Bodies* or Animal part, then a restoring it from disturbing Passion and Pain to its just and natural constitution; and therefore some Philosophers have well disputed against the opinion of the *Epicureans* that make *Happiness* to consist in *Bodily pleasure*, ὅτι πολλαπλάσιον ἔχει τὸ λυπηρὸν προηγούμενον' and when the *molestation* is gone, and the just constitution of Nature recovered, *Pleasure* ceaseth. But the highest *Pleasure*
 15 of *Minds* and *Spirits* does not onely consist in the relieving of them from any antecedent pains or grief, or in a relaxation from some former molesting Passion: neither is their Happiness a meer Stoical ἀταραξία' as the Happiness of the Deity is not a meer *Negative* thing, rendring it free from all disturbance or molestation; it does not so much consist *in Quiete*
 20 as *in Actu & vigore*. A Mind and Spirit is too full of activity and energy, is

12–13 ὅτι πολλαπλάσιον ἔχει τὸ λυπηρὸν προηγούμενον'] "that it contains many times as much pain" Brittain and Brennan, *Simplicius: On Epictetus Handbook 1-26*, p.44 ; Simplicius, *Commentary on the Encheiridion of Epictetus*, 1; H. Wolf, *Simplicii Commentarius In Enchiridion Epicteti: Ex Libris veteribus emendatus*, p.14.

17 ἀταραξία] "impassivity, calmness"; see above page 236.

19 *in Quiete*] "in repose"

20 *in Actu & vigore*] "in doing and strength"

those latent powers which *now* we have, may open and unfold themselves; and thereby we may be made able to act in a far higher way, then we are at present." Whichcote, *Works*, IV, p. 196.

5 illapses] According to Nathan Bailey, "a gentle falling, or sliding in or upon" (*An Universal Etymological English Dictionary*, London 1675); usually used of the infusion of the divine spirit. It was one of the terms used by Parker in his censure of the Platonists: "And if we will be reflect upon our own Thoughts, we must confess that we cannot perceive the Ideas of Beings that are not placed with the Horizon of Sense, and those that pretend to a discovery of them, had better pretend to Oracles, Prophetesies, Illapses and Divinations, then to the sober and steady Maximes of Philosophie." Parker, *A Free and Impartial Censure of the Platonick Philosophie*, pp.82-3.

5 irradiations] "*Irradiation*, (Lat.) an enlightening" Blount, *Glossographia*.

too quick and potent a thing to enjoy a full and compleat Happiness in *a meer Cessation*; this were to make *Happiness* an heavy Spiritless thing. The Philosopher hath well observed, that τῷ ἀληθινῷ ἀγαθῷ συνέστιν ἡ ἀληθινή ἡδονή, there is infinite power and strength in Divine joy, pleasure and happiness commensurate to that Almighty Being and Goodness which is the Eternal source of it.

As Created Being, that are capable of conversing with God, stand nearer to God or further off from him, and as they partake more or less of his *likeness*; so they partake more or less of that *Happiness* which flows forth from him, and God communicates himself in different degrees to them. There may be as many degrees of *Sanctity* and *Perfection*, as there are of States and Conditions of Creatures: and that is properly *Sanctity* which guides and orders all the Faculties and Actions of any Creature in a way sutable and correspondent to that rank and state which God hath placed it in: and while it doth so, it admits no sin or defilement to it self, though yet it may be elevated and advanced higher; and accordingly true Positive *Sanctity* comes to be advanced higher and higher, as any Creature comes more to partake of the life of God, and to be brought into a nearer conjunction with God: and so the *Sanctity* and *Happiness* of Innocency it self might have been perfected.

Thus we see how True Religion carries up the Souls of Good men above the black regions of *Hell* and Death. This indeed is the great ἀποκατάστασις of Souls, it is *Religion* it self, or a real participation of God and his Holiness, which is their true *restitution* and advancement. All that *Happiness* which Good men shall be made partakers of, as it cannot be born up upon any other foundation then *true Goodness and a Godlike*

3–4 τῷ ἀληθινῷ ἀγαθῷ συνέστιν ἡ ἀληθινή ἡδονή] “the true pleasure accompanies the true good” Brittain and Brennan, *Simplicius: On Epictetus Handbook 1-26*, p.44 ; Simplicius, *Commentary on the Encheiridion of Epictetus*, 1; H. Wolf, *Simplicii Commentarius In Enchiridion Epicteti: Ex Libris veteribus emendatus*, p.13.

23 ἀποκατάστασις] “restoration”; cf. Acts 3, 21, which speaks of “the times of restitution [ἀποκαταστάσεως] of all things”. Smith’s use of the term carries resonances of Clement of Alexandria, Origen and the Greek fathers. See further Ramelli, *The Christian Doctrine of Apokatastasis: A Critical Assessment from the New Testament to Eriugena*, esp. Chapter 1.

3 The Philosopher] Simplicius, again.

nature within them; so neither is it distinct from it. *Sin* and *Hell* are so twined and twisted up together, that if the power of *sin* be once dissolv'd, the bonds of Death and Hell will also fall asunder. *Sin* and *Hell* are of the same kind, of the same lineage and descent: as on the other side True
 5 *Holiness* or Religion and True *Happiness* are but two several Notions of one thing, rather than distinct in themselves. *Religion* delivers us from *Hell* by instating us in a possession of True Life and Bliss. *Hell* is *rather a Nature* than *a Place*: and *Heaven* cannot be so truly defined by any thing *without* us, as by something that is *within* us.

10 Thus we have done with those Particulars wherein we considered *the Excellency and Nobleness of Religion*, which is here exprest by אֲרֶתְחַיִּים *The way of life*, and elsewhere is stiled by Solomon עֵץ חַיִּים *A tree of life*: true Religion being an inward Principle of life, of a Divine life, the best life, that which is *Life* most properly so called: accordingly in the Holy Scripture a
 15 life of Religion is stiled *Life*, as a life of Sin and Wickedness is stiled *Death*. In the ancient Academical Philosophy it was much disputed whether that *Corporeal and Animal life*, which was always drawing down the Soul in to Terrene and Material things, was not more properly to be Stiled *Death* than *Life*. What sense hereof the *Pythagoreans* had may appear by this
 20 practise of theirs, They were wont to set up κενοτάφια Empty coffins in

11 אֲרֶתְחַיִּים] “the way of life”; Proverbs 15, 24.

12 עֵץ חַיִּים] “a tree of life”; Proverbs 3, 18: “She [wisdom] is a tree of life, to them that lay hold vpon her: and happy is euery one that retaineth her.”

20 κενοτάφια] “empty tombs”

7–8 *Hell is rather a Nature than a Place*] see above page 537.

11 here] i.e. in Proverbs 15, 24

16 Academical Philosophy] i.e. that of Plato’s Academy.

16–19 it was much disputed ... Stiled *Death* then *Life*] cf. Cudworth’s citation of Plato’s *Gorgias* 492e: “Moreover the same Philosopher [Plato] acquaints us, that some of those Ancients were not without suspicion, that what is now called Death, was to Men more properly a Nativity or Birth into Life, and what is called Generation in Life, was comparatively rather to be accounted a sinking into Death; the former being the Soul’s Ascent out of these Gross Terrestrial Bodies, to a Body more Thin and Subtil, and the Latter its Descent from a purer Body to that which is more Crass and Terrestrial. τίς οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῶν μὲν ἴσθι καταναεῖν, τὸ καταναεῖν καὶ ζῶν *Who knows whether that which is called Living be not indeed rather Dying, and that which is called Dying, Living?*” Cudworth, *The true intellectual system of the Universe*, p.42

555.20–556.4 They were wont to set up ... reckoned among *the dead*] See, for example, Iamblichus, *de vita Pythagorica*, XVII, or Origen, *Contra Celsum*, III.51: “Now

the places of those that had forsaken their School and degenerated from their Philosophy and good Precepts, as Apostates from life it self, and dead to Vertue and a good life, which is *the true life* and therefore fit only to be reckoned among *the dead*.

5 For a Conclusion of this Discourse; The *Use* which we shall make of all shall be this, To awaken and exhort every one to a serious minding of Religion: as *Solomon* doth earnestly exhort every one to seek after true *Wisdom*, which is the same with *Religion* and Holiness, as *Sin* is with *Folly*; *Prov.4.5. Get Wisdom, get understanding*; and v.7. *Get Wisdom, and with*
 10 *all thy getting get understanding. Wisdom is the principal thing*. This is the sum of all, *the Conclusion of the whole matter, Fear God, and keep his Commandments; for this is the whole* (duty, business and concernment) *of man*. Let us not trifle away our time and opportunities which God hath given us, wherein we may lay hold upon Life and Immortality, in doing
 15 nothing, or else pursuing Hell and Death. Let us awake out of our vain dreams; *Wisdom* calls upon us, and offers us the hidden treasures of Life and Blessedness: Let us not perpetually deliver over our lives to laziness and slumbering. Say not, *There is a lion in the way*; say not, Though Religion be good, yet it is unattainable: No, but let us intend all our Powers
 20 in a serious resolv'd pursuance of it, and depend upon the assistance of Heaven which never fails those that soberly seek for it. It is indeed the

9 *Get Wisdom, get understanding*] Proverbs 4, 5: "Get wisdom, get understanding: forget it not, neither decline from the words of my mouth."

9–10 *Get Wisdom, and with all thy getting get understanding. Wisdom is the principal thing*] Proverbs 4, 7: "Wisdom is the principall thing, therefore get wisdom: and with all thy getting, get vnderstanding."

11–13 *the Conclusion of the whole matter, Fear God, and keep his Commandments; for this is the whole* (duty, business and concernment) *of man*] Ecclesiastes 12, 13: "Let vs heare the conclusion of the whole matter: Feare God, and keepe his commandements, for this is the whole duetie of man."

18 *There is a lion in the way*] Proverbs 26, 13: "The slothfull man sayth, There is a lion in the way, a lion is in the streets."

the venerable school of the Pythagoreans used to erect a cenotaph to those who had apostatized from their system of philosophy, treating them as dead; but the Christians lament as dead those who have been vanquished by licentiousness or any other sin, because they are lost and dead to God."

8 *Wisdom*, which is the same with *Religion*] As Whichcote observed of Solomon, "wisdom is religion in his sense" Whichcote, *Works*, IV, p. 148.

Levity of mens spirits, their heedlessness and regardlessness of their own lives, that betrays them to Sin and Death. It is the general practice of men, αὐτοσχεδιάζειν τὸν βίον, *extempore vivere*, as the Satyrist speaks, they ordinarily ponderate and deliberate upon every thing more then how it becomes them to live, they so live as if their Bodies had swallowed up their Souls: their lives are but a kind of Lottery: the Principles by which they are guided are nothing else but a confused multitude of Fancies rudely jumbled together. Such is the life of most men, it is but a meer *Casual* thing acted over at peradventure, without any fair and calm debates held either with Religion, or with Reason which in it self, as it is not distorted and depraved by corrupt men, is a true Friend to Religion, and directs men to God and to things good and just, pure, lovely and praise-worthy; and the directions of this Inward guide we are not to neglect. Unreasonableness or the smothering and extinguishing *the Candle of the Lord* within us is no piece of Religion, not advantageous to it: That certainly will not raise men up to God, which sinks them below men. There had never been such an

3 αὐτοσχεδιάζειν τὸν βίον] “to act out their life unadvisedly”;

3 *extempore vivere*] “to live on the spur of the moment”; adapted from Persius, *Satires* III, 61-2: “an passim sequeris corvos testaque lutoque, / securus quo pest ferat, atque ex tempore vivis” (“Or are you just taking random shots at crows with clods and potsherds, not caring whither your feet are taking in, and living from one moment to the next?”) Meric Casaubon’s note on the line begins: “*Atque ex tempore vivis?*] quod Græci dicunt αὐτοσχεδιάζειν τὸν βίον, *vivere ex tempore*, heic est vivere sine propositio, & ultimo fine,” (“And are you living from one moment the next?] which the Greeks call αὐτοσχεδιάζειν τὸν βίον, to live on the spur of the moment, this is to live without a purpose, and final end”), in Casaubon, *Satyræ cum scholiis... et commentariis... fere omnium eruditorum ut I. Grangæi, J. Britannici, N. Rigaltii... Accedit A. Persii Flacci satirarum liber. Isaacus Casaubonus recensuit... Editio novissima... cura et opera M. Casauboni... [N. Rigaltii de Sat, p.122.*

14 *the Candle of the Lord*] Proverbs 20, 27: “The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord, searching all the inward parts of the belly.”

3 the Satyrist] Persius; for Smith’s earlier citation from *Satires* III, see above page 164.
 12 to things good and just, pure, lovely and praise-worthy] recalling Philippians 4, 8: “Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are iust, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report: if there bee any vertue, and if there bee any praise, thinke on these things”; for his extensive preaching on the text, see Whichcote, *Works*, IV.

14 *the Candle of the Lord*] One of Whichcote’s favourite texts, cited throughout his sermons.

Apostasie from Religion nor had such a Mystery of iniquity (full of deceiveableness and imposture) been revealed and wrought so powerfully in the Souls of men, had there not first come an *Apostasie from sober Reason*, had there not first been a falling away and departure from Natural Truth.

- 5 It is to be feared our nice speculations about a τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν in Theology have tended more to exercise mens Wits then to reform their lives, and that they have too much descended into their practice, and have tended rather to take men off from minding Religion, then to quicken them up to a diligent seeking after it. Though the Powers of Nature may now be
10 weakened, and though we cannot now produce a living form of Religion in our own Souls; yet we are not surely resolved so into a sluggish *Passiveness*, as that we cannot, or were not in any kind of manner of way to seek after it. Certainly a man may as well read *the Scriptures* as study a piece of *Aristotle*, or of Natural Philosophy or Mathematicks. He that can
15 observe any thing comely and commendable, or unworthy and base, in another man, may also reflect upon himself, and see how *face answers to face*, as *Solomon* speaks *Proverbs* 27.19. If men would seriously commune with their hearts, their own Consciences would tell them plainly, that they might avoid and omit more evil then they doe, and that they might

5 τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν] “something in our power”; for the distinction fundamental to Epictetus’ thought, see above page 156 and page 190.

16–17 *face answers to face*] *Proverbs* 27, 19: “As in water face answereth to face: so the heart of man to man.”

1 a Mystery of iniquity] recalling 2 Thessalonians 2, 7: “For the mysterie of iniquitie doth alreadie worke: onely he who now letteth, will let, vntill he be taken out of the way.”
5 our nice speculations] As always, “speculation” is a pejorative term for Smith: ratiocination without experience.

13–14 Certainly a man may as well read *the Scriptures* as study a piece of *Aristotle*, or of Natural Philosophy or Mathematicks.] Might this reflect Smith’s reading of *Theologia Germanica*? cf. “Nemo se putet ad hanc veram lucem, veramque scientiam, aut ad Christi vitam pervenire posse, multis quaestionibus, aut auditionibus, aut legendo, aut studendo, aut excellentibus arduisque scientiis, et eruditione, aut excellenti naturala ratione.” (“No one should think himself able to come to this true light and true knowledge, or to the life of Christ, through much questioning, or listening, or reading, or studying, or by excellent and difficult knowledge, and learning, or by excellent natural reasoning.”) *Theologia Germanica*, XVII in Castellion, *Theologia Germanica...* p.22.

17–18 commune with their hearts] As Whicote observed, “*The heart* is the principle of action” Whicote, *Works*, IV. p. 220.

doe more good then they doe: and that they do not put forth that power which God hath given them, nor faithfully use those Talents nor improve the advantages and means afforded them.

I fear the ground of most mens Misery will prove to be *a Second fall, and a Lapse upon a Lapse*. I doubt God will not allow that Proverb, *The Fathers have eaten sowre grapes, and the childrens teeth are set on edge*, as not in respect of *Temporal misery*, much less will he allow it in respect of *Eternal*. It will not be so much because our First parents incurred God's displeasure, as because we have neglected what might have been done by us afterwards in order to the seeking of God, his face and favour, while he might be found.

Up then and be doing; and the Lord will be with us. He will not leave us nor forsake us, if we seriously set our selves about his work. Let us

5–6 *The Fathers have eaten sowre grapes, and the childrens teeth are set on edge*] Ezekiel 18, 2-4: "What meane ye that yee vse this prouerbe concerning the land of Israel, saying, The fathers haue eaten sowre grapes, and the childrens teeth are set on edge? As I liue, saith the Lord God, yee shall not haue occasion any more to vse this prouerbe in Israel. Behold, all soules are mine, as the soule of the father, so also the soule of the sonne is mine: the soule that sinneth, it shall die." cf. Jeremiah 31, 29-30. 12 Up then and be doing; and the Lord will be with us] 1 Chronicles 22, 16: "Of the gold, the siluer, and the brasse, and the yron, there is no number. Arise therefore, and be doing, and the Lord be with thee."

2 nor faithfully use those Talents] recalling the parable of the talents, Matthew 25, 14ff. 4–5 *a Second fall, and a Lapse upon a Lapse*] cf. "The ground of man's Misery is not the *first* Fall, but the *second* Fault; a Lapse upon a Lapse: for the second Sin, is not only *Another* of the same kind; but a consummation of the First." Whichcote, *Moral and religious aphorisms*, no. 525.

5–6 *The Fathers have eaten sowre grapes, and the childrens teeth are set on edge*] Whichcote noted of it, "how amply and abundantly, and in several particulars, doth God answer and disprove this proverbial saying." Whichcote, *Works*, IV, p. 428-9.

12 Up then and be doing; and the Lord will be with us] A verse much quoted in the 1640s on both sides of the conflict. It was often associated with a more muscular attitude than that of the Cambridge Platonists. cf. John Preston, Master of Emmanuel from 1622 to 1628: "As it was said of *Gideon*, *up and be doing, and the Lord will be with thee*: so I say to everyone, up and be doing, and the Lord shall be with you; that is, though perhaps you doe not find that vigour, that seruency and livelynesse of spirit, yet be doing notwithstanding, it is your wisest way, for that doing will increase the graces within you. Exercise increaseth health, as well as health enables to exercise; so the use of grace will will increase grace and other abilities: motion causeth heat, as well as all motion cometh

endeavour to acquaint our selves with our own lives, and the true Rules of life, with this which *Solomon* here calls *the Way of Life*: let us inform our Minds as much as may be in the Excellency and Loveliness of Practicial Religion; that beholding it in its own beauty and amiableness, we may the
 5 more sincerely close with it. As there would need nothing else to deter and affright men from *Sin* but its own ugliness and deformity, were it presented to a naked view and seen as it is: so nothing would more effectually commend Religion to the Minds of men, then the displaying and unfolding the Excellencies of its Nature, then the true Native beauty and inward lustre
 10 of Religion it self: οὐθ' ἔσπερος , οὐθ' ἔως οὕτω θαυμαστός. neither the Evening nor the Morning-Star could so sensibly commend themselves to our bodily Eyes and delight them with their shining beauties, as True Religion, which is an undefiled Beam of the uncreated light, would to a mind capable of conversing with it. *Religion*, which is the true *Wisdom*, is (as
 15 *the Author of the Book of Wisdom speaks of *Wisdom*,) *a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty, the brightness of the Everlasting light, the unspotted mirrour of the the power of God, and the image of his Goodness: she is more beautifull then the Sun, and above all order of Stars; being compared with the light, she is found before it.*

10 οὐθ' ἔσπερος , οὐθ' ἔως οὕτω θαυμαστός] “neither evening nor morning star is so wonderful”; Aristotle, *Ethica Nichomacea*, 5.5 (1129b), quoting Euripides’ lost play *Melanippe*, fragment 486.

15–18 *a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty, the brightness of the Everlasting light, the unspotted mirrour of the the power of God, and the image of his Goodness:*] Wisdom of Solomon 7, 25 -6: “For she is the breath of the power of God, and a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty: therefore can no defiled thing fall into her. For she is the brightness of the everlasting light, the unspotted mirror of the power of God, and the image of his goodness.”

18–19 *she is more beautifull then the Sun, and above all order of Stars; being compared with the light, she is found before it*] Wisdom of Solomon, 7, 29: “For she is more beautiful than the sun, and above all the order of stars: being compared with the light, she is found before it.”

from heat; so every good action proceedeth from grace, and good actions intend grace, and therefore still be acting, and judge of your selves by that; for what is grace, what is that you call Christianity else, but to do that which another man cannot doe?” Preston, *The breast-plate of faith and love*. pp. 229 - 230.

2 here] i.e. Proverbs 15, 24.

15 *the Author of the Book of Wisdom] marginal note: “Chap.7.” The traditional attribution of the apocryphal Book of Wisdom (perhaps written in Alexandria in the 1st century AD) to Solomon was questioned by writers as early as St. Jerome.

Religion is no such austere, sowre and rigid thing as to affright men away from it: No, but those that are acquainted with the power of it, find it to be altogether sweet and amiable. An holy Soul sees so much of the glory of Religion in the lively impressions which it bears upon it self
 5 as both wooes and winns it. We may truly say concerning Religion to such Souls as *S. Paul* spake to the Corinthians, *Needs it any Epistles of Commendation to you?* Needs it any thing to court your affections? *Ye are indeed its Epistle, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God.*

10 Religion is not like the Prophet's roll, sweet as honey when it was in his mouth, but as bitter as gall in his belly. Religion is no sullen *Stoicisme*, no sowre *Pharisaism*; it does not consist in a few Melancholy passions, in some dejected looks or depressions of Mind: but it consists in *Freedom, Love, Peace, Life and Power*; the more it comes to be digested into our
 15 lives, the more sweet and lovely we shall find it to be. The spots and wrinkles which corrupt Minds think they see in the face of Religion, are indeed no where else but in their own deformed and misshapen apprehensions. It is no wonder when a defiled Fancy comes to be the Glass, if you have an unlovely reflection. Let us therefore labour to purge our own
 20 Souls from all worldly pollutions; let us breath after the aid and assistance of the Divine Spirit, that it may irradiate and inlighten our Minds, that we may be able to see Divine things in a Divine light: let us endeavour to live more in a real practice of those Rules of Religious and Holy living commended to us by our ever-Blessed Lord and Saviour: So shall we

6–7 *Needs it any Epistles of Commendation to you?*] 2 Corinthians 3, 1: “Doe wee begin againe to commend our selues? or need wee, as some others, Epistles of commendation to you, or letters of commendation from you?”

7–9 *Ye are indeed its Epistle, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God*] 2 Corinthians 3, 3: “Forasmuch as yee are manifestly declared to be the Epistle of Christ ministred by vs, written not with inke, but with the spirit of the liuing God, not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart.”

10–11 the Prophet's roll, sweet as honey when it was in his mouth, but as bitter as gall in his belly] Revelations 10, 9: “And I went vnto the Angel, and said vnto him, Giue me the little booke. And he sayd vnto me, Take it, and eat it vp, and it shall make thy belly bitter, but it shall bee in thy mouth sweete as hony.” cf. above page 309.

11 sullen *Stoicism*] cf. above, page 466.

know Religion better, and knowing love it, and loving it be still be more and more ambitiously pursuing after it, till we come to the full attainment of it, and therein of our own Perfection and Everlasting Bliss.