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THE CATHOLICITY OF POST-REFORMATION BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION

“See Poole’s *Synopsis*, in loc., place marked...” Thus Jonathan Edwards (1703-58) noted in his *Blank Bible* on Genesis 6:2.¹ Such annotation presents the modern reader not only with challenges but also provides a window into the world of biblical exegesis of the eighteenth-century preacher of New England.² Both the absence of Edwards’ copy of Matthew Poole’s (1624-1679) *Synopsis Criticorum aliorumque Sacrae Scripturae Interpretum*,³ and consequently an inability to identify a more precise location, as found elsewhere in Edwards’ writings,⁴ lead to questions about determining the extent of his interest and dependency of Poole’s interpretative comments.⁵ This is further complicated by the nature of Poole’s work—a massive

¹ WJE 24:145 [accessed between January 10 and March 30, 2011].

² WJE 24:134, (Gen. 2:17), 141 (Gen. 4:1, Gen. 4:4, and Gen. 4:7), 143 (Gen. 4:26), 144 (Gen. 5:21), 146 (Gen. 6:14, and Gen. 7:20), 149 (Gen. 8:7-8), 150 (Gen. 9:19), 884 (Matt.11:5), 955 (John 16:8-11), and 995 (Rom 4:19).

³ Matthew Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum aliorumque Sacrae Scripturae Interpretum*, 5 vols. (London: S. Flesher, 1669-76). On Edwards’s copy of the *Synopsis* see WJE 24:61. On Poole’s biographical details, see Gerald Bray, “Poole, Matthew (1624-1679),” *Dictionary of Major Biblical Interpreters*, ed. Donald K. McKim (Downers Grove: IVP Academic / Nottingham: Inter-Varsity Press, 2007), 840-42; Nicholas Keene, “Poole, Matthew (1624?-1679),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22518>, accessed 21 Jan 2011]; Thomas Harley, *Matthew Poole. His Life, His Times, His Contributions Along with His Argument against The Infallibility of the Roman Catholic Church* (New York, Bloomington: Universe, 2009), 1-84; WJE 5:59-61; WJE 24:60.

⁴ For example, WJE 24:1157: “See Poole’s *Synopsis*, in loc., p. 1358, right column, d, place marked in margin.”

⁵ Stein observes, WJE 24:61, “the precise location of his marks remains uncertain, though it is usually

synopsis and compilation of multiple sources of various faith traditions, offering an opportunity to appraise early modern biblical interpretation.

The importance of Edwards' exegetical engagement with Poole's *Synopsis* cannot be overlooked.⁶ He relied on this seventeenth-century Scripture commentary in writings such as *Original Sin*, "Types of the Messiah," "Notes on Scripture," the "Miscellanies," "Discourse on the Trinity," the sections on "Justification" in the "Controversies" notebook, "Defense of Pentateuch as a Work of Moses," and "Notes on Christianity."⁷ Moreover, the significance of the *Synopsis* is exceptionally shown in the *Blank Bible*, where Edwards refers 792 times to Poole's *magnus opus*,⁸ and particularly in Old Testament exegetical reflections⁹—more than all other references to the *Synopsis* in his *corpus* combined. Furthermore, these references, taken together, show Edwards' life-long occupation with exegetical issues as well his continuous reliance on Poole's *Synopsis* from late 1730 to early 1757.¹⁰ The extensive use of the *Synopsis* by Edwards warrants further examination of this five-volume, 9,000 page marshalling of Post-reformation Scripture commentary that attests to deep acquaintance with non-Christian sources, such as rabbinical

not difficult to identify the passage he intended." However, Poole comments most times at a particular word, phrase, or clause of the biblical text, and provide various sources of exegetical interpretations leaving open the question of precise dependency of Edwards on Poole's *Synopsis*, if any.

⁶ Edwards' use of Poole's *Synopsis* is acknowledged in general. See for example, WJE 26:199: "This massive compilation of biblical exegesis . . . would later become a favorite source for Edwards"; WJE 3:83-84, WJE 5:59-61, WJE 11:24-27, WJE 13:127, n. 3; WJE 15:6-7, WJE 21:330, WJE 24:60-62, WJE 26:83, 146; Robert E. Brown, *Jonathan Edwards and the Bible* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 9.

⁷ *Original Sin*, WJE 3:266; "Types of the Messiah," WJE 11:201, 212, 323; "Notes on Scripture": WJE 15:160 (no. 222, on II Kgs. 24:8), 162 (no. 223, on Lev. 27:2), 169 (no. 223, on Judg. 11), 469 (no. 416, on Numb. 21:14), 483 (no. 419, on Ex. 2:3), 514 (no. 432, on Ex. 12:12), 583 (no. 486, on Cant. 4:3; no. 484, on Cant. 4:4), 585 (no. 490, on Cant. 7:1; no. 491, on Cant. 8:2), 587 (no. 493, on Cant. 7:4); the "Miscellanies": WJE 18:264 (Ex. 12:16, no. 691, "On the Sabbath"); WJE 20:231 (II Pet. 3:7, no. 956, "On Traditions among Heathen Concerning the Conflagration"), 364 (Deut. 12:8, no. 1027, "Abolishing the Ceremonial Law by Christ"); WJE 23:112 (Ex. 7:12, no. 1190, "Christian Religion. Success of the Gospel in the Overthrow of Heathenism. Christ's Miracles"), 119 (Luke 18:22, no. 1198, "Christ's coming being spoken of as nigh at hand"), 176 (Deut. 4:7, no. 1243, "Trinity"), 387 (Gen. 49:27, no. 1347, "Prophecies of the Old Testament"), 417 (II Pet. 3:8, no. 1349, "The Divinity of Christ"), 482 (Lev. 1:4, 16:21, and 16:28, Is. 53, no. 1352, "Christ's Satisfaction or Atonement, etc."), 484 (Lev. 1:4, no. 1352), 615 (Ps. 50:1, no. 1358, "Divinity of Christ"), 637 (Ps. 45:6, entry "Concerning the Reasonableness of the Doctrine of Imputation of Merit"); WJEO 30 (Ps. 69, no. 1067 [pt. 2], "Prophecies of the Messiah," and Ps. 47:9, Deut. 10:16, no. 1068 [pt. 4], "The Fulfillment of the Prophecies of the Messiah"); "Discourse on the Trinity": WJE 21:127 (Lev. 1:14); "Controversies," On Justification: WJE 21:386 (Ps. 17:15); "Defense of Pentateuch as a Work of Moses," WJEO 28, n. 31; "Notes on Christianity," WJEO 28 (the Epistle to the Hebrews).

⁸ WJE 24.1:60.

⁹ WJE 24, 1:60, Table 2 (Pentateuch 211x, Historical Books 299x, Wisdom Literature 263x, Prophets 5x, Gospel and Acts 6x, Epistles 8x, and Apocalypse 0x).

¹⁰ The *Blank Bible* entries commenced in October 1730 though this should not be an immediate basis for Edwards' use of Poole's *Synopsis*. Cf. WJEO, "Chronology" (accessed January 18, 2011). The references to the *Synopsis* in the "Miscellanies" date from ca. late 1733 to 1743/44, and in the "Notes on Scripture" from ca. 1734 to 1754. The reference to the *Synopsis* in *Original Sin* dates from the summer of 1756 to early 1757. Cf. WJE 3:19, WJE 16:696.

interpretation, and non-Protestant sources, such as Roman Catholic exegesis.¹¹

Therefore, this paper will explore, first, the place and essence of Poole's *Synopsis* in the history of Post-reformation biblical exegesis. Secondly, I will assess interpretative trajectories in Edwards' use of the *Synopsis*, including, but not limited to, a review of the *Blank Bible* entry on Gen. 6:2.

Poole's Synopsis in the History of Exegesis: Context and Content

The *Synopsis*, and its derived work, the *Annotations upon the Holy Bible*,¹² can be placed within the Post-reformation era (ca. 1565-1725), and specifically the high orthodoxy of the Post-reformation Reformed period (ca. 1640-1685).¹³ Although an examination of the method and practice of Post-reformation biblical interpretation, as with such inquiries in the Edwards *corpus*, awaits a much-needed appraisal,¹⁴ David C. Steinmetz, Richard A. Muller, and others demonstrate that the seventeenth century stands as

not only a continuation of the philological and interpretive development of the Renaissance and Reformation but also as the great era of Protestant linguistic study, whether in the biblical or in the cognate languages.¹⁵

The *loci* of the theological system arose directly out of meditation on specific

¹¹ Poole, *Synopsis*, Vol. I, Complectens libros à Genesi ad Jobum divisum in duas partes, Vol. II, Complectens libros Jobi, Psalmorum, Proverbiorum, Ecclesiastis, & Cantici Canticorum, divisum in duas partes, Vol. III, Complectens Prophetas omnes, tum Majores, tum Minores, nobis dictos, divisum in duas partes, Vol. IV, Complectens omnes libros Novi Testamenti, divisum in duas partes, Vol. IV.2 (V) pars posterior. Complectens Epistolas universas & Apocalypsin. Hereafter called *Synopsis*. The work is cited hereafter as Poole, *Synopsis*, vol. no.: page no.line no. For a helpful and partial English translation of the *Synopsis*, see *The Exegetical Labors of the Reverend Matthew*, transl. Steven Dilday, ed. R. Andrew Myers (Culpeper, VA: Master Poole Publishing 2007-10): Vol.1 (Gen. 1-9), Vol. 2 (Gen. 10-22), Vol. 3 (Gen. 23-50), Vol. 4 (Exod. 1-18), Vol. 5 (Exod. 19-40), Vol.80 (Rev. 1-7), Vol. 81 (Rev. 8-14), Vol. 82 (Rev. 15-22).

¹² Matthew Poole, *Annotations upon the Holy Bible: wherein the sacred text is inserted, and various readings annex'd, together with parallel scriptures, the more difficult terms in each verse are explained, seeming contradictions reconciled, questions and doubts resolved, and the whole text opened*, 2 vols. (London: Printed by John Richardson, 1683-85). Poole completed the work to Is. 58:1-14 before his death. *From Lives of Eminent and Illustrious Englishmen, from Alfred the Great to the Latest Times, on an Original Plan*, ed. George Cunningham, 3:175, "The remainder [of the Annotations, after Poole's death] was supplied by several other persons, viz. Mr Jackson, Dr Collins, Mr Hurst, Mr Cooper, Mr Vinke, Mr Mayo, Mr Veal, Mr Adams, Mr Barker, Mr Ob. Hughes, and Mr Howe."

¹³ Muller distinguishes the Post-reformation Reformed era in (1) early orthodoxy (ca. 1565-1618-1640), (2) high orthodoxy (ca 1640-1685-1725), and (3) late orthodoxy (after 1725-), Richard A. Muller, *Post-Reformed Reformed Dogmatics. The Rise and Developments of Reformed Orthodoxy, ca. 1520 to ca. 1725* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2003), I:30-32.

¹⁴ For Edwards studies, Stein and Kimnach excepted.

¹⁵ Richard A. Muller, "Biblical Interpretation in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Dictionary of Major Biblical Interpreters*, ed. McKim, 31.

texts,¹⁶ as is attested, for example, in the exegetical work of Johannes Piscator (1546-1625) on the Old Testament, which is typological and Christological in nature¹⁷—a commentary which was frequently used by Poole¹⁸ and not unknown to Edwards.¹⁹ Seventeenth-century exegetical works were by and large aimed at theological and practical ends, and resonated more with medieval and patristic exegesis than with the modern higher-critical interpretation of Scripture. As such, the hermeneutical, philological, and text-critical work of the post-Reformation period disagrees with so-called proof-text characterization—that is, biblical exegesis confined to confirm established doctrine.²⁰ Furthermore, this period can be characterized as an intensification of scholarly biblical exegesis and outgrowth of Renaissance ideals following the Reformation both by Roman Catholic and Protestant exegetes.²¹ Moreover, many Post-reformation exegetes, such as Henry Ainsworth (1571-

¹⁶ On sixteenth-century Protestant exegesis, see *The Bible in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. David C. Steinmetz (Durham, London: Duke University Press, 1990); *Calvin and the Bible*, ed. Donald K. McKim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); *Biblical Interpretation in the Era of Reformation, Essays Presented to David C. Steinmetz in Honor of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Richard A. Muller and John L. Thompson (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1996); I. D. Backus and F. M. Higman, *Théorie et pratique de l'exégèse: Actes du troisième Colloqui international sur l'histoire de l'exégèse biblique au XVI^e siècle* (Geneve: Droz, 1990); Gerald Bray, *Biblical Interpretation Past & Present* (Downers Grove: Intervarsity Press, 1996). For Calvin studies in particular, see H. Henry Meeter Center, *The John Calvin Bibliography*, <http://www.calvin.edu/meeter/publications/calvin-bibliography.htm> (accessed January 18, 2011). On seventeenth-century Reformed Protestant biblical interpretation, see Muller, "Biblical Interpretation in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," 31-44; W. Perkins, *A Commentary on Galatians*, ed. G. T. Sheppard with introductory essays by B. S. Child, G. T. Sheppard, and J. H. Augustine, *Pilgrim Classic Commentaries* (New York: Pilgrim, 1989), vol. II; David C. Steinmetz, "The Superiority of Pre-Critical Exegesis," *Theology Today* 37 (1980): 27-38, reprinted in *A Guide to Contemporary Hermeneutics*, ed. Donald K. McKim (Grand Rapids: Wm. Eerdmans, 1986), 65-77; Henry M. Knapp, "Understanding the Mind of God: John Owen and Seventeenth-Century Exegetical Methodology," Ph.D. diss., Calvin Theological Seminary, 2002; Brian Lee, "J. Cocceius's Exegesis of the Epistle of the Hebrews" (Ph.D. diss., Calvin Theological Seminary, 2002); and Adriaan C. Neele, *Petrus van Mastricht (1630-1706). Reformed Orthodoxy: Method and Piety* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009), 141-70.

¹⁷ Muller, "Biblical Interpretation in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," 35.

¹⁸ Poole, *Synopsis*, I:2.61, 3:62, 4.43, 7.25, 14.3-5, 23.37, 26.38, 29.46, 30.72, 34.46.

¹⁹ WJE 26:1192.

²⁰ L. Berkhof, *Principles of Biblical Interpretation* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1950), 29: "exegesis became the handmaid of dogmatics and degenerated into a mere search of proof-texts"; K. O'Dell Bullock, "Post-Reformation Protestant Hermeneutics," *Biblical Hermeneutics: A Comprehensive Introduction to Interpreting Scripture*, ed. Bruce Corley, Steve Lemke, Grant Lovejoy (2nd ed., Nashville: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 2002), 129: "the [post-reformation] Scholastics often superimposed their own sets of rationalistic guidelines upon its [the text of Holy Writ] pages, with the result that the simple message was often lost in the search for methodological and doctrinal correctness;" C. Graafland, "Schriftleer en Schriftverstaan in de Nadere Reformatie," *Theologische aspecten van de Nadere Reformatie*, ed. T. Brienen et al. (Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 1993), 35: "We krijgen niet zelden de indruk, dat de leer al lang vasttaait, en dat ze alleen nog maar achteraf uit de Schrift moet worden bevestigd. Dat secundaire karakter van het Schriftbewijs is bij Voetius opvallend;" Greijdanus argued that the development of exegesis in the period 1600-1750 was further hindered by the strong adherence to the confessions; S. Greijdanus, *Schrijfbeginselen ter Schriftoverklaring en Historisch overzicht over theorieën en wijzen van Schriftuitleggingen* (Kampen: Kok, 1946), 193.

²¹ Augustin Calmet, *Commentaire littéral sur tous les livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament* (Paris: Emery, Saugrain, Pierre Martin, 1707).

1622),²² Johannes Cocceius (1603-1669),²³ Johannes Drusius (1550-1616),²⁴ and John Lightfoot (1602-1675) showed intimate knowledge of sixteenth-century Renaissance scholars of Biblical Hebrew such as Paul Fagius (1504-1549) and Johannes Buxtorf Jr. (1599-1664),²⁵ and demonstrated a profound acquaintance with the rabbinic exegetical tradition—including the Targum and Midrash. Moreover, their works digested not only the writings of medieval Hebraist Nicolas of Lyra (c. 1270-1349),²⁶ but also included commentators such as R. Aben Ezra (1092-1167), R. Solomon Jarchi (Rashi) (1040-1105), and R. David Kimchi (1160-1240), Jewish exegetes with a primary interest in the literal meaning of the biblical text. In fact, the renowned Post-reformation interest in rabbinic interpretations was an integral part of Poole's *Synopsis*—though he obtained much rabbinic material from the works of Fagius, Munster, Ainsworth, and Drusius. In other words, these Post-reformation exegetes, whose works Poole cited,²⁷ mediated the inclusion of rab-

²² See for bibliographical information, Michael E. Moody, "Ainsworth, Henry (1569-1622)" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/240>, accessed January 21, 2011].

²³ G. Schrenk, *Gottesreich und Bund im Älteren Protestantismus vornehmlich bei Johannes Coccejus* (1923; rep. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967). See also the following publications by W. J. van Asselt: *The Federal Theology of Johannes Cocceius* (Leiden-New York: Brill, 2001); *Coccejus*, [Serie Inleidingen met Kernteksten] (Kampen: De Groot Goudriaan, 2008); "Hoop op betere tijden. Spirituele dimensies in de theologie van Johannes Coccejus (1603-1669)," *Kerk rond het heiligheim. Opstellen aangeboden aan prof. dr. A. de Reuver*, ed. H. J. Lam, P. J. Vergunst and L. Wüllschleger (Boekencentrum/Zoetermeer, 2007), 64-79; "Christus Sponsor. Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het coccejanisme," *Kerk en Theologie* 53 (2002); "Coccejus antischolasticus? Johannes Cocceius en de scholastieke traditie," *Theologia Reformata* 44 (2001): 31-48; "Structural Elements in the Eschatology of Johannes Cocceius," *Calvin Theological Journal* 35 (1999): 76-104; "Amicitia Dei as Ultimate Reality: An Outline of the Covenant Theology of Johannes Cocceius (1603-1669)," *Ultimate Reality and Meaning. Interdisciplinary Studies in the Philosophy of Understanding* 21 (1998): 35-47; "Ultimum tempus nobis imminet. Eschatologische structuren van de theologie van Johannes Coccejus," *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis/Dutch Review of Church History* 76 (1996): 189-226; *Amicitia Dei. Een onderzoek naar de structuur van de theologie van Johannes Coccejus (1603-1669)* (Ede, 1988).

²⁴ Peter Korteweg, *De Nieuwtestamentische commentaren van Johannes Drusius (1550-1616)* (Melissant, 2006).

²⁵ Robert M. M. Gerth, "The Interpretation of Genesis 6:6—And the Lord Repented—in Early Rabbinic and Patristic Tradition," Ph.D. diss., Hebrew Union College, 2002; W. J. van Asselt, "Hebraica Veritas: zeventiende-eeuwse motieven voor de bestudering van het Hebreeuws door predikanten," *Kerk en Theologie* 46 (1995): 309-24; P. T. van Rooden, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies in the Seventeenth Century: Constantijn L'Empereur (1591-1648) Professor of Hebrew and theology at Leiden* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989).

²⁶ Plassmann, Thomas. "Nicholas of Lyra," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 11 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911), <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11063a.htm> (accessed January 14, 2011); *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture*, ed. Philip D.W. Krey and Lesley Smith (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2000).

²⁷ The following is a review of Genesis 1-5, in Poole, *Synopsis*: I: 2.65, "K. & AE. in F.A."; 3.75, "K. in F."; 4.3, "Onk. in F."; 8.26, "R. S. in F."; 18.53, "K. in F., AE. in D."; 19.10, "AE. in F."; 19.48, "AE. in F."; 26.12, "R. S. in F."; 26.53, "AE. in F."; 27.48, "K. in F."; 28.75, "R. S. in F."; 29.23, "K. & alii in F."; 30.28, "AE. in F.," 57, "R. S. in F. A.; 33.26, "K. aliiq. He in F.," 44, "K. in F."; 35.1, "He. in F."; 45.9, "AE. & K. in Helv"; 46.48, "F. ex. K."; 47.3, "F. ex. AE.," 53, "Di. ex. R.S.," 70, "AE. in F."; 50.24, "K. in F."; 52.35, "R. Juda in D."; 53.46, "RR. in A."; 57.23, "Onk. in F"; 58.39, "AE. in F. M."; 60.71, F ex. K.;"

binical biblical commentary into the *Synopsis*.

A review of the preface of the *Synopsis* reveals the aim and essence of the work. Concerning his aim, Poole distinguishes two types of commentators of Scripture: those concerned with the meaning of the word(s), and commentators aiming for the matter of Scripture—the sense of the Word.²⁸ Meaning, Poole asserts, is the primary focus of the *Synopsis*²⁹—a compendium of selected, edited, and arranged collected material from multiple sources and diverse authors.³⁰ His aim, therefore, is twofold: a commentary of Scripture, “void of considerable amount of waste” he detected in other commentaries, and a source for effective use by “candidates of theology,”³¹ who had Poole’s particular interest.³² The aim of the *Synopsis* was moreover delineated by Poole’s account of the composition that included material of international and ecumenical allure: the London-published *Critici Sacri* of John Pearson (1660),³³ the Franciscan John de la Hay’s (1593-1661) Scripture commentary; the Spanish Dominican commentary of Thomas Malvenda (1566-1628) on the Bible books from Genesis to Ezekiel; the Roman Catholic scholar Andrew Masius (1516-1563) on the book of Joshua, whom Poole regarded as “an interpreter to whom you will not easily find an equal with respect to skill in matters

65.67, “R. S. in D.”; 66.26, “AE. in Mu.” This observation differs with Clyde A. Holbrook, in WJE 3:84: “Poole delved into Rabbinic and Roman Catholic sources as well as relatively obscure commentators”; and Stephen J. Stein, in WJE 5:59-60: “[Poole] incorporated studies by English Protestants, continental scholars, Roman Catholic commentators, and Jewish rabbis.”

²⁸ Poole, *Synopsis*, I, *præfatio* (I): “[...] si quis par negotio melioris notae Interpretes (cum Criticos, qui verba & phrases ac idiotismos sagaciùs indagant, tum alios, qui materias ac senses Scripturæ enucleatiùs tractant).”

²⁹ *Ibid.*, *præfatio* (III): “verba & phrases enucleant (in quibus præcipuè versatur Synopsis).”

³⁰ *Ibid.*, *præfatio* (I): “in compendium redacta, congruâ methodo digereret, additis insuper, ubi opus esset, ad supplendas ipsorum lacunas, doctis variorum Sacra Textû locorum Interpretationibus”; *ibid.*, A3, “Commentaria in Sacrum Codicem apud Illustres multos Authores late dissusa cum delectu colligere, & modicis voluminibus concludre, institui.”

³¹ *Ibid.*, I, A4: “Porrò, cùm multi Theologiæ candidati destituantur vel notiitiâ quâ optimos Interpretes dignoscant, vel iudicio quo seligant, vel censu quo emant, vel tempore, sive animo, quo illos diligenter ac fructuosà legant.”

³² Matthew Poole, *A model for the maintaining of students of choice abilities at the university, and principally in order to the ministry: together with a preface before it, and after it a recommendation from the university, and two serious exhortations recommended unto all the unfeigned lovers of piety and learning, and more particularly to those rich men who desire to honour the Lord with their substance* (1658). Cf. Harley, 39.

³³ *Critici sacri, sive, Doctissimorum vivorum in ss. Biblia annotationes, & tractatus: opus summâ curâ recognitum, & in novem tomos divisum, quid in hoc opere præstitum sit præfatio ad lectorem ostendit*, ed. John Pearson, Anthony Scattergood and Francis Gouldman, 9 vols. (London: Jacobus Flesher, 1660), v. 1, *Annotatores in pentateuchum*; v. 2, *Annotata ad libros historicos Veteris Testamenti, sive, Criticorum sacrorum*; v. 3, *Annotata ad libros hagiographos, sive, Criticorum sacrorum*; v. 4, *Annotata ad libros propheticos Veteris Testamenti, sive, Criticorum sacrorum*; v. 5, *Annotata ad libros apocryphos item Joannis Prici annotata ad nonnullos Novi Testamenti libros, & ad librum Psalmorum, sive, Criticorum sacrorum*; v. 6, *Annotata ad ss. Euangelia, sive, Criticorum sacrorum*; v. 7, *Annotata ad Actus Apostolicos, epistolas & apocalypsin, sive, Criticorum sacrorum*; v. 8, *Tractatum Biblicorum volumen prius, sive, Criticorum sacrorum*; v. 9, *Tractatum Biblicorum volumen posterius, sive, Criticorum sacrorum*. See also WJE 5:60.

of substance and languages";³⁴ Roman Catholic Bible commentator Francis Vatablus (ca. 1485-1547); Jesuits Lucas Brugensis (1549-1619), Jacobus Tirinus (1580-1636), and Johan Stephen Menochius (1576-1656), and the Flemish Jesuit Hebraist Cornelis à Lapide (1567-1637). In addition, Poole makes use of the *Annotations* of the Remonstrant Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), and the *Notes on Scripture* of the Reformed scholars Franciscus Junius (1545-1602) and Piscator, as well as the expositions of the Lutheran theologians Lukas Osiander (1534-1604) and Abraham Calov (1612-1686).³⁵ To these commentaries Poole added works of grammarians, sacred historians, and Hebraists such as Buxtorf, Lightfoot, and Ainsworth, as well as expositors of specific Bible books such as Andreas Rivetus (1572-1651) on Genesis and Exodus,³⁶ and Drusius' *Historia Ruth*,³⁷ alongside other renderings of Scripture as found in the *Polyglot Bible*.³⁸ Most of these works Edwards well may have been familiar with at the Yale College library,³⁹ and some were part of his own library.⁴⁰ Besides the account of authors and works Poole included in the *Synopsis*, he also gave specific reasons of exclusion or limited use of the Genevan Scripture commentator John Calvin (1509-1564).⁴¹ Calvin's work, Poole asserted, was

³⁴ Poole, *Synopsis I, præfatio*.

³⁵ Poole, *Synopsis I, præfatio* (II): "Hi autem sunt Libri & Authores ex quibus præcipuè hanc Synopsin composui. 1. Novem Criticorum in S. Scripturam Interpretum, nuper Londini excusorum . . . 2. Biblia Maxima novedecim voluminibus distincta, Parisiis An.D. 1660. Edita, concinnante Joanne de la Haye . . . 3. Commentaria in S. Scripturam à Genesi ad Ezechielem Thomæ Malvendæ . . . 4. Francisci Junii Scholalia . . . [præfatio (III)] 5. Joannis Piscatoris Scholia Critica. . . 6. Joannis Marianæ Scholia . . . 7. Lucæ Osiandri Explicationes . . . 8. Corn. à Lapide . . . 9. Tostati ingentia volumina." The *Advertisement concerning the Fourth and Last Part of Mr. Poole's Synopsis* Poole mentions the sources used for the New Testament commentary, that include, besides those mentioned in the *Catalogus Auctorum*, Valla, Revius, Erasmus, Zegurus, Camero. Cf. Matthew Poole, *An advertisement concerning the fourth and last part of Mr. Poole's Synopsis criticorum aliorumque S. Scripturæ Interpretum* (London: s.n., 1676)]. See for the biographical information, Thomas Plassmann, "Jean de La Haye," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 8; Ewan Macpherson, "Thomas Malvenda," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 9; Michael Plathow, "Junius Franciscus" *Biographisch-Bibliographische Kirchenlexikon* (T. Bautz, Hamm, 1992), 3:885-86; Friedrich W. Cuno "Piscator, Johannes," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (Duncker, Humblot: Leipzig 1888), 26:180-81; Theodor Schott, "Osiander, Lucas (Professor der Theologie in Tübingen)," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (1886), 24:495-96; John P. van Kasteren, "Cornelius Cornelii à Lapide," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 4; Florentine Bechtel, "Alonso Tostado," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 14.

³⁶ Andras Rivetus, *Commentarii in librum secundum Mosis, qui Exodus apud Graecos inscribitur: in quibus praeter scholia, analysim, explicationem et observationes doctrinarum . . . variae quaestiones theoreticae et practicae discutuntur et solvuntur* (Leiden: Franciscum Hegerum, 1634).

³⁷ Johannes Drusius, *Historia Ruth. Ex Ebraeo Latine conversa, & commentario explicata. Ejusdem historiae translatio Graeca ad exemplar Complutense, & notae in eandem* (Amsterdami: Joannem Janssonium, 1632).

³⁸ Poole could mean the London Polyglot Bible, *Biblia sacra polyglotta, complectentia textus originales, Hebraicum, cum Pentateucho Samaritano, Chaldaicum, Graecum, Arabicae, Aethiopiae, Persicae* (London: Thomas Roycroft, 1657), the Paris Polyglot Bible (1645) or Antwerp Polyglot. See also Edwards's copy of the Antwerp Polyglot, referred to in WJE 5:9, 24:598 and 26:95.

³⁹ *A catalogue of the library of Yale-College in New-Haven* [N[e]w] London: T Green, 1743), 4 (Buxtorf, *Biblia Polygotto*), 23 (Ainsworth, Rivetus), and 25 (Lightfoot).

⁴⁰ For example, WJE 26:131 (Lightfoot), and 323-24, 424 (Buxtorf).

⁴¹ Poole, *Synopsis*, I:32.53; I:80.26, I:215.17, I:231.63, I:321.21 (Calv. in Riv.), I:227.24, I:389. (Riv[etus]).

more theological and practical than a critically oriented commentary, in particular in regard to etymology. Furthermore, Poole continued, Calvin's commentary was widely used in other commentaries and consulted by many.⁴² Here, Poole may have represented the thought of many of the Post-reformation era: Calvin was not unknown but not often mentioned in the works of such commentators as Cocceius and Campegius Vitringa (1659-1722), or theologians such as Petrus van Mastricht (1630-1706) and Francis Turretin (1623-1687).⁴³ This tendency also resonates strongly in the Edwards *corpus*, where reference to Calvin's commentary is absent.⁴⁴ Finally, Poole discussed the use of Jerome, the Septuagint (LXX), and Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, and Samaritan versions of Scripture in order to supply deficiencies in translating the biblical text,⁴⁵ and in particular, according to Poole, where doubtful and ambiguous language required great discernment.⁴⁶

In summary, the *Synopsis* is a composition of a vast number and variety of authors of various faith traditions, though mediated and appropriated into the framework of the *Synopsis*: a delta of philological and etymological exposition of the texts of Scripture in the service of biblical exegesis—an observation that cannot be neglected when examining Edwards' use of Poole's *magnum opus*. Poole's *Synopsis*, then, is a distinct genre from another Post-reformation Scripture commentary, and also frequently used by Edwards, that of Matthew Henry (1662-1714).⁴⁷ This well-known work belonged to Poole's second group of commentary,⁴⁸ in which the sense of Scripture was given along with "practical remarks and

ex Calv.), I:385.68, I:490.64 (Calv. in Wil[let]), I:537.65 (Calv. in Wil[let]), I:709.12, I:764.26, I:806.60, I:862.38, I:889.28 (Calv. *Inst.*), I:929.56, I:950.67, I:958.19, I:1023.51; I (pars posterior): 32.42, I (pars posterior): 82.53, I (pars posterior): 68.20, I:208.23.

⁴² Poole, *Synopsis*, *præfatio* (III): "Mirentur forsannonnulli, in Auctorum catalogo non comparere Joannem Calvinum, Interpretem...1. Ex eo nonnulla, ubi opus suerat, subindè delibavi...2. Calvini Commentaria non tam Critici sunt...quàm materias Theologicas solidè tractant, & ad praxin accommodant. 3. Ex Calvino pleraque decerpserunt qui post eum scripserunt...4. Calvinum sere omnes in minibus & bibliothecis habent..."

⁴³ On the use of Calvin's work by Mastricht, see Adriaan C. Neele, "The Reception of John Calvin's Work by Petrus van Mastricht (1630-1706)," in *The Reception of Calvin and his Theology in Reformed Orthodoxy*, ed. Andreas Beck, William de Boer (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011).

⁴⁴ See WJE 26:57: "Conspicuously absent from the 'Catalogue' and the 'Account Book' is any mention of Calvin himself. This does not mean that Edwards never read Calvin: he cites the *Institutes* three times in *Religious Affections*, and we may assume that in many matters, Calvin's authority was simply taken for granted in New England."

⁴⁵ Poole, *Synopsis*, *præfatio* (IV).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, *præfatio* (V): "in verbis tantùm & phrasibus vel dubiis, vel obscuris, vel quæ semel aut rarò occurrunt; vel ubi rei momentum curiosiorem indaginem postuler."

⁴⁷ On Henry's biographical information see H.O. Old, "Henry, Matthew (1622-1714)," *Dictionary of Major Biblical Interpreters*, ed. McKim, 520-24; David L. Wykes, "Henry, Matthew (1662-1714)" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12975>, accessed January 21, 2011]; WJE 5:61-63, 24:62-64.

⁴⁸ WJE 5:61-63, 24:62-64, 26:136; *A catalogue of the library of Yale-College in New-Haven*, 23.

observations."⁴⁹ Furthermore, the *Synopsis*, as a pivotal work of Post-reformation biblical exegesis, found its way throughout England,⁵⁰ the European continent from London⁵¹

⁴⁹ Matthew Henry, *An exposition of all the books of the Old and New Testament: wherein the chapters are summ'd up in contents; the sacred text inserted at large, in Paragraphs, or Verses; and each Paragraph, or Verse, reduc'd to its proper Heads; the Sense given, and largely illustrated with Practical Remarks and Observations*, 6 vols. (London: Printed for J. Clark et. al, 3rd edition, 1721-25). Thus, the use of both Poole's *Synopsis* and Henry's *Exposition* by Edwards may be understood as a complementary use—and parallels Poole's identification of two categories of interpreters.

⁵⁰ *Catalogus variorum & insignium librorum instructissimae bibliothecae clarissimi doctissimiq; Viri Thomae Manton, S.T.D. Quorum auctio habebitur Londini in in aedibus defuncti in vico regio prope Covent-Garden, Martis 25. Per Gulielmum Cooper, bibliopolam*, [London: s.n.], *Catalogi Gratis distribuentur ad insigne pellicani in Vico Vulgo dicto Little-Britain, 1678, 2*, "Math. Poli Criticorum, Sacrorum *Synopsis*, 5 vol. Charta Regia Ibid. 1669"; *The library of the late Reverend and learned Mr. Samuel Lee. Containing a choice variety of books upon all subjects; particularly, comentaries on the Bible; bodies of divinity. The works as well of the ancient, as of the modern divines; treatises on the mathematicks, in all parts: history, antiquities; natural philosophy physick, and chymistry; with grammar and school-books. With many more choice books not mentioned in this catalogue. Exposed at the most easy rates, to sale* (Duncan Cambell, bookseller at the dock-head over-against the Conduit, 1693), 1, "Pools *Synopsis* Critic. 5 vol."; *Bibliotheca selecta, sive, Catalogus variorum librorum tum in theologia tum & coeteris facultatibus miscellaneis insignium : ex variisq; nuperrime bibliothecis selectorum : quorum auctio habebitur Londini ad insigne cervi albi ex adverso ecclesiae D. Augustini, prope australem coemeterii Paulini plagam, 21 die mensis Maij, a.d. 1688* (Catalogues are distributed gratis at Mr. Nott's . . . [and 3 others] and at the place of sale, [London] 1688), 1.13.

⁵¹ Samuel Annesley, *The morning exercises at Cripple-gate, St. Giles in the Fields, and in Southwark: being divers sermons, preached A.D. MDCLIX-MDCLXXXIX. By several ministers of the Gospel in or near London* (London: Thomas Cockerill, 1674), 616: "thus our learned Mr. Poole in his *Synopsis*. The same author observes, that 'some take the word *blessed* in the Hebrew to be an interjection, or adverb; and so make this to be a rhetorical, though abrupt, exclamation, or a joyful acclamation, at the happiness of such.'"; Richard Gilpin, *Demonologia sacra, or, A treatise of Satan's temptations in three parts* (London: Printed by J.D. for Richard Randal and Peter Maplasden, 1677), 10, 30, 49, 62, 75, 155; Sir Matthew Hale, *The primitive origination of mankind, considered and examined according to the light of nature* (London: Printed by William Godbid for William Shrowsbery, 1677), 189: "And if any shall doubt of the Capacity of the Ark of Noah for the Reception of Brutes, Birds, and the Family of Noah, with the necessary Provisions of Livelihood for them; let him but consult Mr. Poole's *Synopsis*, and he will find that which may reasonably satisfie him touching it;" John Williams, *A vindication of the sermons of His Grace John Archbishop of Canterbury concerning the divinity and incarnation of our B. Saviour : and of the Lord Bishop of Worcester's sermon on the mysteries of the Christian faith, from the exceptions of a late book, entituled, Considerations on the explications of the doctrine of the Trinity : to which is annexed, a letter from the Lord Bishop of Sarum to the author of the said vindication, on the same subject* (London: Printed for Ric. Chiswell, 1695), 35: "I hope he will admit those to be Criticks that are in the *Critici Sacri*, or those whom Mr. Pool has inserted into his *Synopsis*; but if we may pass a judgment upon the Learned Interpreters;" John Edwards, *A preservative against Socinianism: Shewing the direct and plain opposition between it, and the religion revealed by God in the Holy Scriptures* (Oxford: Printed at the Theater for Henry Clements, 1698), 60: "you may peruse what Mr. Poole in his *Synopsis* hath quoted out of Gerhard"; John Adamson, *The duty of daily frequenting the publick service of the church recommended in a sermon preached in a chapel at Wragby in Lincoln-shire erected to that purpose by Sir Edmond Turnor, Kt., and consecrated by the Lord Bishop of Lincoln the 18th day of July, 1697* (London: Printed by Ben. Griffin for Sam Keble, 1698), 2: "Godwyn's Jewish Antiq. l. 6. c. 10. And Pool's *Synopsis* in loc.;" *ibid.*, 10: "Pool's *Synopsis* on Exod.>"; Thomas Edwards, *The paraselene dismantled of her cloud, or, Baxterianism barefac'd drawn from a literal transcript of Mr. Baxter's, and the judgment of others, in the most radical doctrines of faith, compar'd with those of the Orthodox, both conformist and nonconformist, and transferr'd over by way of test, unto the Papist and Quaker* (London: Printed, and sold by Will. Marshal, and John Marshal, 1699), 94: "There was nothing in him, Joh. 14. 13. and (as you read) he always did those things which pleased him: It remains therefore that that cause of his Displeasure, and of Christ's Death, was our Sin laid upon him, and our Peace to be procured by him. Rom. 4. 25. Who was delivered (viz. unto Death) for our Offences; not only upon occasion of our Sins (as the Socinians

to Leipzig,⁵² and the New World. In America, it was found in the private libraries of many New England ministers,⁵³ as well as the college libraries of Harvard, Yale and New Jersey.⁵⁴ In contrast, Cotton Mather's (1663-1728) *Biblia Americana*, written between 1693-1728—America's first Bible commentary—remained in manuscript form for nearly three hundred years.⁵⁵ Increase Mather (1639-1723) asserted that the *Synopsis* made Poole "famous in the World,"⁵⁶ and the favorable reception of the *Synopsis* continued through the Connecticut River Valley and the Middle Colonies far into the eighteenth century.⁵⁷ Edwards' use of the *Synopsis*, then, was

[and the Baxterians] gloss it) but for the Merit of our Sins—Gal. 3. 13. he underwent that Curse due to us, that Curse from which we are freed, that Curse which others who receive not Jesus Christ, shall undergo. *Ibid.* Mr. Pool, p. 203, 322, 323, 326."

⁵² Johann Olearius, *De stylo Novi Testamenti dissertatio philologico-theologica*, d. 17. Sept. anno 1668. *pro licentia consequendi supremum in theologia gradum habita* (Schwabach: Christoph. E. Buchtae, 1690), 54: "Consulantur interea Philologi ac Critici Sacri in Synopsi r̄ Matthaeo Polo edita Londini anno 1674"; August Pfeiffer, *Thesaurus hermeneuticus sive de legitima scripturae sacrae interpretatione tractatio luculenta, pridem editam hermeneuticam sacram, quae & integra hic repetitur, notis, quaestionibus & canonibus, adiectisque praxeos exemplis illustrans* (Leipzig: Godofredi Leschii, 1726), 435: "ex Corn. a Lapide atque Polo, enodationem dubiorum textualium petere e Synopsi Poli (cui *Biblia Critica Anglorum* iungere consultum erit."

⁵³ *The library of the late Reverend and learned Mr. Samuel Lee. Containing a choice variety of books upon all subjects; particularly, comentaries on the Bible; bodies of divinity. The works as well of the ancient, as of the modern divines; treatises on the mathemeticks, in all parts: history, antiquities; natural philosophy physick, and chymistry; with grammar and school-books. With many more choice books not mentioned in this catalogue. Exposed at the most easy rates, to sale (Duncan Cambell, bookseller at the dock-head over-against the Conduit, 1693), 1: "Pools Synopsis Critic. 5 vol."; *A catalogue of curious and valuable books, belonging to the late reverend & learned, Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton, consisting of divinity, philosophy, history, poetry, &c. Generally well bound, to be sold by auction, at the Crown Coffee-House in Boston, the second day of July 1717. Beginning at three a clock afternoon, and so, de die in diem, until the whole be sold. Also a valuable collection of pamphlets will then be exposed to sale. The books may be viewed from the 25th day of June, until the day of sale, at the house of the late Reverend Mr. Pemberton, where attendance will be give* (Boston: B. Green, 1717), [1]: "Poli Synopsis 5 vol." Timothy Edwards's library included Ebenezer Pemberton, *A funeral sermon on the death of that learned & excellent divine the Reverend Mr. Samuel Willard* (Boston, 1707). See further on Pemberton, WJE 7:39-42, 16:113-15.*

⁵⁴ *Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae Collegij Harvardini quod est Cantabrigiae in Nova Anglia* (Boston: B. Green, 1723), 25: "Poli (Matth) Synopsis Criticorum Tom 1-5"; *A catalogue of the library of Yale-College in New-Haven*, 23: "V. Annotations on the Bible, Poli Synopsis 5. Vol."; *Catalogue of books in the library of the College of New-Jersey, January 29, 1760. Published by order of the trustees* (Woodbridge: James Parker, 1760), 25: "540. Poole, Synopsis Criticorum 5 vols."

⁵⁵ Cotton Mather, *Biblia Americana, vol. I: Genesis*, ed. Reiner Smolinski (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck / Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2010).

⁵⁶ Mather Increase, *An essay for the recording of illustrious providences wherein an account is given of many remarkable and very memorable events which have hapned this last age, especially in New-England* (Boston: Samuel Green, 1684), preface: "About six and twenty years ago, Design for the Recording of illustrious Providences, was under serious consideration among some eminent Ministers in England and in Ireland. That motion was principally set on foot by the Learned Mr. Matthew Pool, whose *Synopsis Criticorum*, and other Books by him emitted, have made him famous in the World."

⁵⁷ Joseph Fish, *Angels ministering to the people of God, for their safety and comfort in times of danger and distress. A sermon preached at Westerly, in the colony of Rhode-Island, Aug. 27. 1755* (Newport: J. Franklin, n.d.), 18; Timothy Stone, *The nature and evil of selfishness, considered and illustrated, in a sermon, preached in the Second Society of Norwich, September 21, 1777* (Norwich: J. Trumbull, 1778), 5; Thomas-Wells Bray, *A dissertation on the sixth vial; in five parts. With an introduction upon the design of prophecy in general, and the book of Revelation in particular. Pastor of a church in Guilford* (Hartford: Hudson & Goodwin, 1780), 55;

not an exception—though the degree to which he used it surpassed many before and after him.

Edwards and Poole's Synopsis : Trajectories of Interpretation

One aspect of Poole's work concerns its broad incorporation of various faith traditions, and raises the question of how the use of Poole's work by Edwards reflected his understanding of himself as standing in a Protestant reformed tradition.⁵⁸ One way to get at this question is by looking at Edwards' annotations on the book of Genesis in the *Blank Bible* referring to Poole—30% of the entries

Charles Inglis, *An essay on infant baptism: in which the right of infants to the sacrament of baptism, is proved from Scripture, vindicated from the usual objections, and confirmed by the practice of the four first centuries* (New York: H. Gaine, 1768), 153 (Gen. 17:14); James Blake, *Six sermons on divers subjects, preach'd at Weymouth* (Boston: J. Kneeland, for J. Edwards in Corn-Hill, 1772), 40 (Eph. 2:8); *Divine glory, brought to view, in the condemnation of the ungodly: or The doctrine of future punishment, illustrated and vindicated, as rational and true. In reply to a late pamphlet, entitled, Salvation for all men. By a friend to truth* (Boston: Robert Hodge, 1782), Appendix, 5: "But after all this proposed cause, it happen that the book is much nearer to what many Divines is called Calvinism than is suggested. Among the authors of this class, which the writer of it has at present by him, he can produce Poole, Burkitt, Henry and Edwards, the last of whom is a well known American, and New England defender of the Calvinistic doctrines, who in the very article in which this pamphlet is declared by the letter writer to have departed from Calvinism, are each of the same opinion, and professedly believed that the atonement of Christ Jesus was completely answerable to the universal offer of mercy which has been made from heaven, and yet that some men would perish for ever." In addition, Poole's *Annotations* were also widely used by revivalist Gilbert Tennent (1703-1764). See the following works by Tennent: *Twenty three sermons upon the chief end of man. The divine authority of the sacred Scriptures, the being and attributes of God, and the doctrine of the Trinity, preach'd at Philadelphia Anno Dom. 1743* (Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1744), sermon XI (Gen. 17:1), 213; *Discourses, on several important subjects* (Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1745), 100; *The danger of spiritual pride represented. A sermon preach'd at Philadelphia, December the 30th, 1744. On Romans XII. 3. With some enlargements* (Philadelphia: William Bradford, n.d), 7; *The late association for defence farther encouraged: or, Defensive war defended; and its consistency with true Christianity represented. In a reply to some exceptions against war, in a late composure, intituled, The doctrine of Christianity, as held by the people called Quakers, vindicated* (Philadelphia: Benjamin Franklin, David Hall, 1748), 4. See also John Smith, *The doctrine of Christianity, as held by the people called Quakers, vindicated: in answer to Gilbert Tennent's sermon on the lawfulness of war* (Philadelphia: Benjamin Franklin, David Hall, 1748), 27 (it is not clear whether the reference is to the *Annotations* or *Synopsis*); Sophia Hume, *An exhortation to the inhabitants of the province of South-Carolina, to bring their deeds to the light of Christ, in their own consciences. In which is inserted, some account of the author's experience in the important business of religion* (Philadelphia: Benjamin Franklin, David Hall, 1748), 10, 54; Abel Morgan, *Anti-Paedo-Rantism defended: a reply to Mr. Samuel Finley's Vindication of the Charitable plea for the speechless. Wherein his repeated objections against the baptism of believers only, and the mode of it by immersion, are again examined and refuted, at Middletown, in East-Jersey* (Philadelphia: Benjamin Franklin, David Hall, 1748), 105; *A catalogue of a very large assortment of the most esteemed books in every branch of polite literature, arts and sciences. . . . N.B. All new books of merit, magazines and reviews, imported by every opportunity from London* (Cox & Berry at their store in King-Street, Boston), 22; Edward Young, *The complaint; or Night-thoughts on life, death, and immortality* (Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1777), back page advertisement of William Young's catalogue for 1787 (Philadelphia: Young and McCulloch, 1786) 4: "Annotations on the Bible by Poole folio." This poem is noted in the "Account Book" of Jonathan Edwards; see WJE 26:356. The *Annotations* of Poole were also part of the inventory of Timothy Edwards' estate; see WJE 26:382 [B1].

⁵⁸ WJE 1:131: "I should not take it at all amiss, to be called a Calvinist, for distinction's sake: though I utterly disclaim a dependence on Calvin, or believing the doctrines which I hold, because he believed and taught them."

on Genesis in the *Blank Bible* reveal a use of the *Synopsis*.⁵⁹ Some of Edwards' references to the *Synopsis* simply concern the meaning of words, underscoring Poole's aim for the work, rendering the biblical text as offered by Poole and not as found in the King James Version.⁶⁰ In other cases, where Poole offers various interpretations on a specific text, Edwards usually chooses one interpretative option. On Gen. 11:1, for example, Edwards notes, "the first language was the Hebrew language; see Poole, *Synopsis*, in *locum*, and on Gen. 11:5, places marked." There, Poole offers reasons from Augustine, R. Salomon, R. Ibn Ezra, Junius, Piscator, and Ainsworth that Hebrew was the primeval language, but also presents his own alternative interpretation that the Hebrew language is closer to the Canaanite language, "whereby Moses rendered names in the Hebrew language for the sake of the Jews." Edwards, then, follows the interpretation that is shared in the Jewish, Protestant reformed, and Puritan separatist tradition—an interpretation that also may have been enforced by Edwards' reading of Andrew Wilson's *The Creation the Ground-work of Revelation, and Revelation the Language of Nature*.⁶¹

Another way of seeing Edwards' interpretive choices can be observed in a concurrent reading of the "Blank Bible" and his "Notes on Scripture."⁶² Consider, for example, Poole's commentary on Gen. 4:7. Here, the author of the *Criticorum* breaks down the text into various grammatical parts, but Edwards chooses to con-

⁵⁹ In his 156 entries on Genesis, Edwards refers to Poole in fifty-two of them.

⁶⁰ WJE 24:142, on Gen. 4:23: "But this man he had slain 'in' or 'for' his wounding (as the words are interpreted by some learned men)"; cf. Poole, *Synopsis*, I:65.28-66.3. Here, the "learned men" mentioned are Rivet, Piscator, Fagius, R. Salomon in Dieu, and Lightfoot. WJE 24:150, on Gen. 9:25 (Canaan is Mercury); cf. Poole, *Synopsis*, I:112.26, on Gen 9:11, "Canaan idem qui Mercurius." See also WJE 24:152, on Gen. 10:6; 153, on Gen. 10:15; 154, on Gen. 11:31, and cf. Poole, *Synopsis*, I:145.38, "qui & Chasdim dicti, à Chesed, Gen. 22:22." WJE 23:387: "Jacob's prophecy concerning Dan, his being as an adder in the path, etc., Gen. 49:17, was fulfilled in Samson and in the Danites that took Laish (Judg. 18:27)"; cf. Poole, *Synopsis*, I:306 61-63, "Sensus loci est, Danites potius astu quam aperto Mare rem gesturos. Exemplum habemus Jud. 18:27." WJE 24:178, on Gen. 30:39. See also WJE 24:61n: "In the margin adjacent to verse 39 is 'v 39 SSS.' This notation signals an intention to consult Poole on Genesis 30:39." Cf. Poole, *Synopsis*, I:221.56-222.37. WJE 24:195, on Gen. 44:5: "He divineth," and on 44:15. cf. Poole, *Synopsis*, I:272.43. Poole offers various options (and refers to Zaphnath-paaneah I:273.55), but these are not further found in Edwards' corpus. See also WJE 24:197, on Gen. 47:21, cf. Poole, *Synopsis*, I:282.32-33; on Gen. 47:22, cf. Poole, *Synopsis*, I:282.58-76; on Gen. 48:7, cf. Poole, *Synopsis*, I:284.56-74, on world created in September (24:124); on Gen. 46:26, cf. Poole, *Synopsis*, I:278-79. WJE 15:596: "They are often used for proceeding from a father by generation . . . I Kgs. 8:19, 'Thy son that cometh forth out of thy loins'; so II Chron. 6:9, the same words; Gen. 46:26, 'that came out of his loins.' . . . The generation of mankind, their proceeding from their fathers, or ancestor, or of a particular stock and family, is often compared in the Old Testament" (597). The latter may resonate with Poole, *Synopsis*, I:278.21-34, citing Rivet "ex more castissemè Scripturarum locutionis."

⁶¹ Andrew Wilson, *The Creation the Ground-work of Revelation, and Revelation the Language of Nature. Or, a brief attempt to demonstrate that the Hebrew Language is founded upon Natural Ideas, and that the Hebrew Writings transfer them to Spiritual Objects* (Edinburgh: n.p, 1750). Cf. WJE 11:152; 24:110, 797.

⁶² See on this issue WJE 24:81-99, for example, p. 92: "The 'Blank Bible' is patently complementary to the 'Notes on Scripture.' See also WJE 24:137, where Gen. 3:14-15 is cross referenced to "Notes on Scripture" (WJE 15:537).

centrates just on the words “be accepted” (*recipies*).⁶³ On the meaning of these words, however, Poole offers no less than six exegetical options: receiving a gift (Menochius, Piscator), remission of sin (Targum Jerusalem, Kimchi, Junius and Tremellius), lifting up (Grotius), acceptance (Vatablus, Pagninus), being superior (Fagius), and exaltation (Malvenda).⁶⁴ These interpretive comments attest to an ecumenical exegetical enterprise, i.e. a blended rabbinic, Roman Catholic, Protestant Reformed and Remonstrant understanding of Scripture.

In the entry of the *Blank Bible* on this text Edwards refers to the “Notes on Scripture,” no. 344, where he writes:

Cain was not accepted in his offering, because he did not well. . . But Abel brought a sacrifice of atonement, the blood whereof was shed in order to remission, thereby owning himself a sinner.

Edwards, then, includes the second and fourth exegetical interpretation offered by Poole, “remission of sin” and “acceptance,” originating from Jewish and Roman Catholic and Protestant Christian exegetical sources, respectively.⁶⁵ In

⁶³ Poole, *Synopsis*, I:56.11-58.35: “Nonne . . . Si bene egeris . . . Recipies . . . In foribus peccatum aderit . . . Ad fores . . . Sub te appetitus . . .”

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, I:56.32-55: “1. Nónne recipies, scil. præmium . . . 2. Nónne remissio erit peccati? . . . 3. Nónne elevatio erit? . . . 4. Nónne acceptatio erit? . . . 5. Nónne superior eris . . . 6. Exaltatio erit, vel gloria . . .” Edwards pays attention to three parts of this biblical text in “Notes on Scripture” (WJE 15:326-27).

⁶⁵ A joined reading of the “Blank Bible” and “Notes on Scripture” concerning the use of the *Synopsis* is also helpful for Edwards’ understanding of Gen. 43:11, on nuts and almonds. Poole offers various interpretations but leans toward the rendering of “pistachios nut,” following the rabbinic interpretations of D. Kimchi, R. Macci, R. Salomon, and Maimonides as found in the Talmudic treatise. Cf. Poole, *Synopsis*, I:270.22-68: “Varič reddunt, Nuces . . . avellanas . . . pineas . . . juglandes . . . nuces terebinthinus . . . pistacia.” Edwards makes use of this interpretation in “Notes on Scripture” (WJE 15:495): “pistachios, a sort of nut that grew in the country,” which reading may also be enforced by Poole’s *Annotations*, where the interpretation is restricted to pistachios only. Cf. Poole, *Annotations*, on Gen. 43:11, b: “That kind of nuts which we call pistachios, as some Hebrew and other expositors render the word.” WJE 24:166, on Gen.24:2, and Poole, *Synopsis*, I:194.18-36. Poole offers the following interpretations: an accepted custom of swearing at the time (Josephus); a sign of homage to place one’s hand under one sitting (Ibn Ezra); “to master” is derived from *sedendo*, “sitting” (Grotius); power of the superior (Ibn Ezra in Munster, Fagius, Vatablus); a reference to future posterity (Munster, Fagius); a sign of covenant (R. Salomon in Munster); place of the sword (Grotius); applying to Christ coming from Abraham (Ainsworth, Jerome, Augustine, Bernard); and an acknowledgment of the Messiah (Tirinus, Targum Jonathan rendering of the text). Edwards follows Grotius in the “Blank Bible,” WJE 24:166, “Abraham might sit on his hand,” which exegetical understanding is also seen in “Notes on Scripture” (WJE 15:352): “The servants of the householder can be interpreted of nothing better than ministers, who were represented by Abraham’s servant.” See also WJE 24:149, on Gen.8:7-8. Cf. WJE 15:328: “346. Genesis 8:7-11. Concerning the raven and the dove that Noah sent forth. The dove is an emblem of a gracious soul that, finding no rest for its foot, no solid peace or satisfaction in this world, this deluged defiling world, returns to Christ, as to its ark, as to its Noah. The carnal heart, like the raven, takes up with the world, and feeds on the carrions it finds there . . . The olive branch, which was an emblem of peace.” Cf. Poole, *Synopsis*, I:103.54: “Olivč folium pacis . . . symbolum.” See, for another example, WJE 24:157, on Gen.15:10; cf. Poole, *Synopsis*, I:159.78-160.47: “Divisi per medium] . . . Divisit] . . . Et utrasque partes contra se altrinsecus posuit] . . . Aves non divisit].” Where Poole comments on “He

summary, Edwards carefully delineated and discerned Poole's commentary on the text. His understanding of the text—sometimes fully revealed by reading the "Blank Bible" and the "Notes of Scripture" side by side—resonates with long-standing Christian and non-Christian exegetical trajectories.

Edwards' use of the *Synopsis* can be seen in other of his writings. Let us look, for instance, at his reflection on Gen. 49:18. In the "Blank Bible" annotation Edwards points to the immediate context of the biblical text, its promise, and appropriation to Christ, as he writes:

[“I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord.”] Jacob says this here because the event foretold in the immediately preceding words, viz., Sampson's slaying the Philistines, and destroying the temple of Dagon at his death, was a remarkable type of that great salvation by Christ so often promised in the blessing God gave to Abraham, Isaac, and to him, and that he had been so supported by through the many troubles of his wearisome pilgrimage.

However, in the other writings, such as *An Humble Attempt* and “Types of the Messiah,” and the notebooks on “History of Redemption,” “Controversies,” and “Faith,” he provides an eschatological understanding of this biblical passage, in the sense of trusting and waiting for the fulfillment of divine promises to the “church of God.”⁶⁶ This exegetical understanding in multiple ways—contextual and eschatological—is grounded in Poole. He offers various interpretations of

divided them in the midst . . . This custom was preserved,” Edwards refers to Gen. 15:10 in “Notes on Scripture,” commenting on Job 8:8 concerning the preservation of primeval knowledge through traditions of the fathers.

⁶⁶ WJE 5:344-347: “The ‘whole creation’ is, as it were, earnestly waiting for that day, and constantly groaning and travailing in pain to bring forth the felicity and glory of it . . . ‘Tis the language of the church of God, and the breathing of the soul of every true saint . . . Gen. 49:18, ‘I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord’ ”; WJE 11:279: “So the church is often represented as waiting for the fulfillment of God's promises with respect to the benefits of the Messiah's kingdom (Gen. 49:18 . . .)”; WJE 21:400-401: “It is not credible that there should be so much revealed to the church of God from the beginning of the world about the Messiah for the comfort of the church, so that he seems to have been all along the main subject of divine promises and promises given to his people . . . It was earnestly desired and waited for by Jacob. Gen. 49:18, ‘I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord.’ The same was the language of the hearts of God's church in all times of the old testament.” Cf. WJEO 27, “Controversies Notebook,” pt. 2a. WJE 21:449: “They that seek God are spoken of as those that LOVE GOD'S SALVATION . . . and hoping in God's salvation . . . and waiting for God's salvation. Gen. 49:18, ‘I have waited for thy salvation, O God’ ”; WJE 21:451: “[113.] WAITING on the Lord, waiting for his salvation, and the like are terms used as being equivalent to trusting in God in the Scripture . . . Gen. 49:18, ‘I have waited for thy salvation, O God.’ ” WJEO 31, “History of Redemption, Book I,” pt. I, n.p: “[I]f he reflected upon it, [it] must needs be a Confirmation of the promise made that in his seed all nations should be blessed, which Jacob bore much in his mind and set his Heart upon, as appears by those words, ‘I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord.’ [A] more particular Revelation was made to Jacob concerning this seed, that it should come from Judah.”

the text by placing in its immediate context, and asserts that the text may permit a spectrum of meanings: an imploring of divine help (Rivet); or a reference to Samson (Grotius), who defends and vindicates his people (Castalio); or a reference to Dan, for whom Jacob asked God salvation of his posterity (Rivet); or that Jacob foresaw calamities, and so entrusted himself to the Lord who promised to be his protector through the Messiah (Vatablus, Rivet); or that this tribe would be preserved by divine salvation when they would encounter oppression (Ainsworth, Junius, Piscator); or that it concerns Christ, so that all may be fulfilled through the Messiah (Oleaster),⁶⁷ the true and eternal Savior of the world (Lapide), as Christ is called the salvation of God (Ainsworth), far more than Samson (Fagius).⁶⁸ Edwards, then, used the various understandings of the text offered by Poole discriminately: the literal sense of the text in its immediate context—shared by Protestant Reformed and Remonstrant commentaries—and a Christological and promise-fulfillment motive, propounded by Roman Catholic and Protestant exegetes.

Finally, Edwards' annotations in the "Blank Bible," referring to Poole's *Synopsis*, have to be considered in relationship to his sermons. For this we turn our attention to Gen. 6:2, where Edwards commented, "See Poole's *Synopsis*, loc., place marked," in which Poole presents four interpretations of "the sons of God." Following a patristic reading (Lanctantius, ca. 240-ca. 320) and a Franciscan medieval understanding (Nicolas of Lyra) these words may refer, respectively, to good or bad "angels."⁶⁹ The Targum Jerusalem and other Jewish sources, as well as the Chaldean, Syrian, and Arabic readings, render the text as the "sons of judges or powerful," and Fagius takes it to be "giants." But these text words can also be understood as "sons of the pious, professing true religion"⁷⁰—an interpretation shared, according to Poole, by Rivet, Junius and Tremmelius, as well as Menochius, Lapide, and Vatablus.

In the 1731 sermon series *Christians a Chosen Generation*, on I Pet. 2:9, Edwards explicitly refers to the words of Gen. 6:2, proclaiming to the congregation of Northampton:

⁶⁷ Hieronymus Oleastro, *Commentaria in Pentateuchum Mosi: hoc est, in quinque primos Bibliorum libros: quibus iuxta M. Sanctis Pagnini Lucensis . . . interpretationem, Hebraica veritas cum ad genuinum literarum sensum, tum ad mores informandos, ad vnguem enucleatur* (Lyon: Petrum Landry, 1588).

⁶⁸ Poole, *Synopsis*, I:306.64-307.27: "anhelans auxilium Divinium implorat . . . Alii referunt ad Samsonem . . . servaturus populum i.e. defensurus & vindicarus . . . Alii dicta volunt ad Dan . . . Indicat se non fidere his artibus, u tab iis exspectaret posterum suorum salutem; sed ema à Deo expetere . . . etc."

⁶⁹ Poole also incorporates the dissenting view of Drusius and others, that evil angels are not called the sons of God.

⁷⁰ Poole, *Synopsis*, I:77.26-73: "1. Angeli . . . 2. Filii iudicum vel potentum . . . 3. Gigantes . . . 4. Filii piorum, sive profitentes veram religionem."

The church is a distinct race that originally came from God . . . the church is the posterity of God. Thus 'tis said, in *Genesis 6:2* . . . The sons of God were the children of the church, of the posterity of Seth . . . Those that were the first founders of the church, they were of God and were called by way of specialty, the sons of God.

In his sermon, Edwards employed the fourth interpretation offered by Poole, which found its origin in Roman Catholic and Reformed interpreters of Scripture.⁷¹

In conclusion, Edwards' selective use of the *Synopsis* shows that Poole's exegetical materials of Jewish and Christian origin (Roman Catholic, Reformed and Remonstrant) found its way in the various writings of the preacher of Northampton, in particular the "Blank Bible." Poole channeled the many streams of seventeenth-century exegesis, including patristic, medieval and Post-reformation sources, and his labors provided a valuable influential treasury for Edwards' understanding of Scripture. In fact, the Christian and Jewish sources gathered by Poole offered an ecumenical character for Post-reformation biblical interpretation, as the Protestant and Roman Catholic interpreters demonstrated a catholicity of exegetical trajectories. This observation may be pleasing to the post-modern reader—though such must be tempered by two final considerations. First, the sources of biblical exegesis used by Poole shaped the nature of the *Synopsis*: his philologically and etymologically oriented commentary refrained from theological and practical comments. A preliminary foray by scholars such as Doug Sweeney, David Barshinger, and Mark Noll suggests that Edwards seems to have used the *Synopsis* for this particular way, looking for practical content elsewhere.⁷² Secondly, the overwhelming number of sources of Protestant-reformed origin in the *Synopsis*, many of which were familiar to Edwards, provided him with acceptable exegetical choices, even when other faith traditions shared the same interpretation.

⁷¹ WJE 24:141, on Gen. 4:4. Edwards notes in a 1729 sermon, *The Sacrifice of Christ Acceptable*, WJE 14:446: "So we read (Gen. 4:4) that God had respect to Abel and his offering. Therefore I answer: *First Ans.* The sacrifices of the Old Testament were acceptable to God as they were done in obedience." Cf. Poole, *Synopsis*, I:55.57-59: "Nota quod persona prius respicitur deinde sacrificium. Opportet ergo nos per fidem ante justificatos, quam opera Deo gratia sint."

⁷² Mark Noll, "Jonathan Edwards's Use of the Bible: A Case Study with Comparisons," Lecture at the Jonathan Edwards Center, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Nov. 11, 2011; David P. Barshinger, "Making the Psalter One's 'Own Language': Jonathan Edwards Engages the Psalms," *Jonathan Edwards Studies*, no. 1 (2012):3-29.

A b s t r a c t

The examination of the method and practice of biblical interpretation of the Post-reformation era (ca. 1565-1725) awaits a much-needed appraisal. Protestant exegetical works, in particular, aimed not only at theological and practical ends, but also continued philological and etymological aspects of biblical interpretation. Furthermore, these works attest to deep acquaintance with non-Christian sources, such as rabbinical interpretation, and non-Protestant sources, such as Roman Catholic exegesis. The paper explores the text and trajectories of the *Synopsis Criticorum* of Matthew Poole (1624-1679). This massive Post-reformation running Scripture commentary (five volumes in folio of approx. 9,000 pages) was deeply influential in the early modern history of exegesis, and formative to the biblical interpretation of Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758).