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**ISAAC NEWTON'S 'OF THE CHURCH'  
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF  
BODMER MS. IN GENEVA**

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**Abstract**

In this essay, a manuscript description and analysis of Isaac Newton's manuscript 'Of the Church' (Bodmer Ms., Fondation Martin Bodmer, Geneva, Switzerland) is provided.

*Keywords:* Isaac Newton, anti-Trinitarianism, Bodmer manuscript, 'Of the Church', 17<sup>th</sup>-century natural philosophy

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*In rerum natura datur Deus quidam qui persona et ingenitus et generans et ↓non  
incarnatus↓. Datur etiam Deus qui genitus est et incarnatus, ut Deus qui  
procedens est non incarnitus. (Bodmer Ms., f. 402<sup>f</sup>)*

**1. Custodian history**

The entire lot, which contains the Bodmer Ms. ('Of the Church'; mainly in English, ca. 120,000 words, 427 folios; current location: *Bibliotheca Bodmeriana*, Fondation Martin Bodmer, Geneva, Switzerland; Sotheby Lot: part of SL249) was bought at the Sotheby sale in 1936 by Gabriel Wells for £ 120 and was later split into two major sections, one of which was acquired by Abraham S. Yahuda and is now Yahuda Var. 1 Ms. 15 (Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem, Israel). Babson Ms. 438 (Huntington Library, San Marino, California, U.S.A.) may also have formed part of this lot. Bodmer Ms. 'Of the Church' (ca. 1700s) contains the second section which was bought from Schab (New York) by Martin Bodmer in 1949. These details are provided on the web site of *The Newton Project*, <http://www.newtonproject.sussex.ac.uk>. *The Newton Project*, launched in 1998, seeks to make transcriptions of Newton's manuscripts available electronically. For the transcriptions of the Yahuda Collection I have relied on the transcriptions provided by *The Newton Project*.

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## **2. Brief summary**

The Bodmer Ms. contains later drafts of the material in Yahuda Var. 1 Ms. 15 *plus* several unique chapters (both will be described, hereafter). Matt Goldish notes that “MS Bodmer is a much more polished and edited version of the whole work, though it is often rough as well” [1]. Though the work is far from complete, and Newton clearly never hit on a satisfactory sequence of chapters, many of the individual sections form self-contained wholes [1]. The folios are for the most part unnumbered. Here, for the first time, a detailed manuscript description is provided. It was only recently that Newton’s ‘Of the Church’ drew scholarly attention [2-4]. The chapter headings are roughly as follows: (1) an *introduction* of 4 folios, followed by (2) 6 folios of *draft tables of contents* (one of them is in another hand), all varying from one another and containing different chapter arrangements from those occurring in Bodmer Ms. and Yahuda Var. 1 Ms. 15, (3) several *chapters or titles of chapters* which will be described in more detail in section 3 (some of the chapters are relatively polished, others were left unfinished), and, (4) some *miscellanea* near the end. In the following section, I shall indicate where the Bodmer Ms. corresponds to Yahuda Var. 1 Ms. 15. Unique chapters which occur only in the Bodmer Ms. are preceded by a ‘{†}’.

## **3. Analysis of ‘Of the Church’ and its significance in Newton’s theological thought**

### **3.1. The Ur-religion**

For Newton, the uncorrupted *Ur-religion* was the original Judaic religion, passed on by Noah to Abraham. Newton elaborated his views on the original faith as follows: “The true religion was propagated by Noah to his posterity [cf. Bodmer Ms. *Of the Church*, f. 357<sup>r</sup>, cf. Yahuda 15.3, f. 57<sup>r</sup>, 15.16, f. 112<sup>v</sup>], & when they revolted to the worship of their dead kings & thereby denied their God & ceased to be his people, it continued in Abraham & his posterity who revolted not.” [Bodmer Ms., f. 1<sup>r</sup>, cf. f. 21<sup>v</sup>] Moreover: “The God of the Jews & Gentiles was one and the same God the creator of heaven and earth & the Christian religion was one and the same with the Jewish till the calling of the Gentiles, (...)” [*ibid.*, f. 1<sup>r</sup>; cf. f. 357<sup>r</sup>; cf. Yahuda 15.2, f. 23<sup>r-v</sup>-24<sup>r</sup>, 15.3, f. 45<sup>r</sup>, f. 57<sup>r</sup>]

The difference between Judaism and Christianity lies only in the ceremonial part, for Newton stressed that “The law of the Jews & Christians except the ceremonial part, was one & y<sup>e</sup> same law.” [Bodmer Ms., f. 4<sup>r</sup>, cf. f. 358<sup>r</sup>, cf. Yahuda 15.2, f. 24<sup>r</sup>, 15.3, f. 58<sup>r</sup>]. Their religion could remain uncorrupted because it was transmitted orally: “the first Christian delivered this faith down, to the Churches by *oral tradition* that the heathens might not know it.” [Bodmer Ms., f. 36<sup>r</sup> (author’s emphasis); cf. “this unwritten tradition” [*ibid.*, f. 53<sup>r</sup>]; cf. Yahuda, 15.6, f. 103<sup>v</sup>]. The ancient Jews kept their religion free from

corruption by reading and teaching the sacred books in the synagogues: “The ancient Jews distinguished the sacred books into ↓the↓ Law, [illegible] the Prophets & the Hagiographa & read only the Law & the Prophets in their synagogues. (...) By reading the law & the Prophets in the synagogues those books have been kept freer from corruption then [sic] the [illegible] Hagiographa.” [Bodmer Ms., f. ii<sup>r</sup>]

Correspondingly Judaic religious training was thus separated: “Synagogues ‘were governed by a Coucil [sic] of Elders, called the Rulers of the Synagogue”, on the one hand, and a “Doctor for instructing & catechizing youth in a school adjoining to the place of worship”, on the other [*ibid.*, f. 269<sup>v</sup>].

### 3.2. *The corruption of Religion*

The true Christian faith was corrupted by confounding the milk for babes for the strong meat for men of full age: “The Principles the Apostle compares to milk given to babes, the other truths to strong meat w<sup>ch</sup> belongeth to men of full age.” [*ibid.*, f. 28<sup>t</sup>; cf. f. 53<sup>t</sup>; cf. Yahuda 15.3, f. 43<sup>t</sup>; cf. Yahuda 15.4, f. 67<sup>t</sup>]

The strong meats referred to the deeper fundamental truths about religion and comprised an understanding of God’s nature and his absolute dominion over Christ. Christianity was corrupted as men “worshipped the creature more than the creator” [Bodmer Ms., f. 166<sup>r</sup>]. Newton noted that “The idolatry is nothing else then [sic] the veneration of an Object real or feigned for some vertue power tends to idolatry”. [*ibid.*, cf. f. 332<sup>t</sup>] Newton then listed several examples of idolatry: (i) the worship of Ghosts or Deamons, (ii) the veneration of image or dead men, (iii) divination by Oracles, (iv) the sacrifice of animals or stars (or Intelligences seated in them), (v) charms, spells, inchantments [sic] or invocations of the dead, (vi) the attribution of supernatural powers or operations to substances, and, finally, (vii) submitting to “the carnal desires of the flesh” (unless for “the lawful procreation of children”) [*ibid.*, f. 29<sup>t</sup>].

Exogenous factors also contributed to corruption. Ancient metaphysical heretics started with the Cabbalists Simon Nico Magus [*ibid.*, f. 116<sup>t</sup>, f. 117<sup>t</sup>; cf. Yahuda 15.16, f. 83<sup>t</sup>] & Cerinthus Menander [Bodmer Ms., f. 399<sup>t</sup>; cf. Yahuda 15.5, f. 84<sup>v</sup>], the Montanists [Bodmer Ms., f. 116<sup>t</sup>, cf. f. 147<sup>t</sup>], who introduced *Ennoia* [*ibid.*, f. 410<sup>t</sup>], the first emitted substance [cf. Yahuda 15.1, f. 7<sup>t</sup>, Yahuda 15.5, f. 87<sup>v</sup>], Platonist Philosophy [Bodmer Ms., f. 147<sup>t</sup>] and Gnosticks [*ibid.*, f. 116<sup>t</sup>, f. 400<sup>t</sup>, f. 410<sup>t</sup>; cf. Yahuda 15.6-7, f. 83<sup>v</sup>, f. 88<sup>t</sup>, f. 108<sup>t</sup>, f. 111<sup>v</sup>]. (See especially Yahuda 15.7, where this is discussed in detail.) By contrast, Newton sought to avoid the introduction of metaphysics in Theology “I avoid entring [sic] into metaphysical disputes above ~ human understanding & ↓here consider Jesus Christ only as the Messiah or Prince.↓” [Bodmer Ms., f. 16<sup>t</sup>; cf. f. 163<sup>t</sup>; cf. Yahuda 15.3, f. 47<sup>t</sup>; cf. Yahuda 15.4, f. 98<sup>t</sup>]. God, Newton noted, is “able to revive the dead & reward men according to their works & will judge the World by Jesus Christ whom he hath raised from the dead & ↓who is gone↓ into the heavens ↓to prepare a place for us↓ to receive a kingdom & return &

[...] must reign over us till he hath ~~raised~~ ↓raised up↓ & judged all the dead; & then ↓he↓ must give up this kingdom to his father & carry us to the ~~place~~ ↓place & mansion↓ w<sup>ch</sup> he is now preparing for us. ffor in Gods house are many mansions suited to the merits of the inhabitants, & he governs them by Agents which he can pass through the heavens from one mansion to another.” [CUL Add. Ms. 3965: f. 368<sup>v</sup>].

On Bodmer Ms., f. 62<sup>f</sup>, Newton wrote a passage similar to the content of Yahuda: “But men of corrupt minds, not attending to the relation w<sup>ch</sup> the names of Christ have to the prophesies concerning him, [illegible] & w<sup>ch</sup> the several parts of scripture have to one another; but taking things in a litteral [*sic*] & ~~philosophical~~ ↓natural↓ sense w<sup>ch</sup> were spoken allegorically & w<sup>th</sup> ~~re~~ ↓morally↓ with relation to piety & virtue, & wresting the expressions of scripture to the opinions of philosophers, have brought into the Christian religion many philosophical opinions to w<sup>ch</sup> the first Christians were strangers. So where Christ saith This is my body, meaning a type of his body, the Romanists Catholicks understand it litterally as if the bread was ~~transubstantiated~~ changed into Christs body in a litteral sense. Where Christ saith, The father is greater then I, meaning in power, some have thence inferred that the Son is a part of the father.” [Yahuda 15.3, f. 47<sup>r</sup>]

Further corruptions were: the invocation of Martyrs and Saints [Bodmer Ms., f. 341<sup>r</sup>], worshipping “saints and martyrs as mediators of our prayers” [*ibid.*, f. 343<sup>r</sup>] and the false worship of “the wood of the cross & ascribing to them & to signe of the cross a supernatural power” [*ibid.*, f. 352<sup>r</sup>]. Others included the following: “The ancient hereticks besides their metaphysical errors [*cf.* Yahuda, 15.5, f. 79<sup>r-v</sup>] in the faith, were addicted some to uncleanness & and the common uses of weomen as the Nicolaitans, [illegible and crossed out] Gnosticks, & some to the superstitious use of ceremonies, mystical initiations, lustrations ↓incantations↓ & magic as Simon magus Menander ↓Basilides Carpocrates↓ & Marcus.” [Bodmer Ms., f. 411<sup>r</sup>] Newton considered such corruptions as expressions of a hypothetical religion: “the *hypothetical part* of the Christians were ready to comply w<sup>th</sup> the inclination of the new converts, being inclined to superstition [i.e. to the worship of dead man]. [*ibid.*, f. 332<sup>r</sup> (author’s italics); *cf.* Yahuda 15.4, f. 78<sup>v</sup>]

As we know, Newton dreaded hypotheses [5]. The *prisca sapientia* could only be reconstructed by setting aside hypotheses. In natural philosophy this meant setting aside speculations about *vortices*, in theology setting aside corrupted hypotheses on the nature of God and Christology.

Corruptions were also embraced by Newton’s contemporaries. On one folio, Newton rails at the latitudinarians: “And if charity is greater then faith (as the Apostle tells us it is) then schism w<sup>ch</sup> is a transgression against charity, is a greater crime then faith then [*sic*] heresy w<sup>ch</sup> is a transgression against the Rule of faith.” [*ibid.*, f. 50<sup>r</sup>] A crossed out section on the same folio, written vertically in the right margin, reads as follows: “(...) those men as latitudinarians, who endeavour to throw off huma[n] impositions whereby the Christian world ↓is divided &↓ disturbed, is railing at Charity [illegible and

crossed out] ↓committing↓ schism [illegible and crossed out] in the heart & ↓becoming↓ guilty of the disturbances w<sup>ch</sup> shall follow upon continuing the impositions.”

This casts serious doubts on Margaret C. Jacobs' and Barbara J. Shapiro's studies on the presumed harmonious relation between Newton and the latitudinarians [1, 7, 8].

### 3.3. Newton's Christology

At the heart of Newton's theology stood the conception of the Lord of Dominion [2, 9-11]. Newton addresses the fundamental ineffability of God's essence and his absolute dominion: “My worship is incommunicable & you shall not give is to any pretense [*sic*] what ever [crossed-out text]”. [Bodmer Ms., f. 389<sup>r</sup>] As Newton noted in the *General Scholium* God is a relative word: “God is a relative word & signifies much the same thing with Lord, but in a higher sense. For a God & his servants are not related to one another much after the same manner [crossed out and illegible] as a Lord & his servants”. [*ibid.*, f. 390<sup>r</sup>; cf. Yahuda 15.5, ff. 98<sup>r</sup>] This resonates nicely with Yahuda, 15.5, f. 98<sup>r</sup>: “The word [illegible] God is relative & signifies y<sup>e</sup> same thing thing [*sic*] with Lord & King, but in a higher degree. As we say my Lord our Lord your Lord, the ~~Lord ou~~ King of Kings, & Lord of Lords the suprem Lord, ~~serva the~~ ↓the Lord of the earth↓ the servants of the Lord, ~~the Lord of the earth~~, ↓serve other Lords, ↓ so we may say my God our God, your God, the God of Gods, the supreme God, ~~the servants of God~~, the God of the earth ↓the servants of God serve other Gods↓: but we do not say my infinite our infinite your infinite, the infinite of infinites, ~~the servants of ↓the↓ infinite~~, the infinite of the earth, ~~serve other infinites~~ the servants of the infinite serve other infinites.”] [cf. Yahuda Var. 1 Ms. 21, f. 2<sup>r</sup>: “To celebrate God for his eternity ~~infinity omnie~~ immensity omniscieny & omnipotency is indeed a very ↓pious↓ ~~lofty & seraphick worship [but]~~ ↓& the duty of every creature to do it according to his capacity, but yet this part of Gods glory, as it --- ↓ ~~these as they~~ almost transcends y<sup>e</sup> comprehension of man so ~~they~~ ↓it↓ springs not from y<sup>e</sup> ~~necessity of~~ freedom of Gods ↓Gods↓ will but from y<sup>e</sup> necessity of his nature.”]

Though, “others may be called Gods, but thou shall not worship them as Gods” [Bodmer Ms., f. 390<sup>v</sup>; cf. Yahuda 15.3, f. 44<sup>r</sup>: “We are forbidden to worship two Gods but are not forbidden to worship one God, & one Lord in our worship: one God for creating all things & one Lord for redeeming us with his blood.”] This explicitly referred to the worship of Christ: Christ was but the visible Prince begotten by the invisible “God of Gods”. He is “the image of the invisible God” [Bodmer Ms., f. 16<sup>r</sup>]. Newton then formulates his conception of the Biblical Pantokrator “ο παντοκράτωρ” [*ibid.*, f. 17<sup>r</sup>, cf. f. 50<sup>r</sup>, cf. f. 72<sup>r</sup>]. Its phrasing is similar to that on Yahuda 15.3, f. 45<sup>r</sup>: “We must beleive [*sic*] that he is παντοκράτωρ Lord of all things with an [illegible] irresistible & boundless ↓power &↓ dominion that we may not hope to escape if we rebell & set up other Gods or transgress the laws of his monarchy & ↓that we may↓ expect ↓great↓

rewards if we do his will. We me [*sic*] must beleive [*sic*] that he is the ↓is the [illegible] is the God of the Jews who↓ created the heaven & earth all things therein as is exprest [*sic*] in the ten commandments that we may thank him for our being & for all the blessings of this life, & forbear to take his name in vain or worship images or other Gods. We are not forbidden to give the name of Gods to Angels & Kings, but we are forbidden to have them as ~~gods~~ ↓as Gods↓ in our worship.

Newton then developed the consequences of this credo: “There is one body, one spirit, one hope, one Lord, one faith, one baptism [on baptism see Yahuda, 15.5, f. 86<sup>f</sup>], one God & father of all (...). [*Eph.* iv.1] [Bodmer Ms., f. 32<sup>f</sup>; cf. Yahuda 15.6, f. 109<sup>f</sup>: “He is simple not compound. He is all like & equal to himself, all sense all spirit, all perception all Ennoea, all λόγος all ear, all eye, all light. He is all sense w<sup>ch</sup> cannot be separated from it self, nor is there any thing in him w<sup>ch</sup> can be emitted from any thing else.”]

Christ could only be a servant of God and it is him exclusively that we should worship. Newton followed Cerinthus in his thesis that “Christ is a mere men assisted by certain virtues intermitted to him by the father” [Bodmer Ms., f. 408<sup>bis</sup>].

#### 4. Manuscript Description

Henceforth, the author’s foliation of Bodmer Ms.

[1] OF THE CHURCH. THE INTRODUCTION [ff. i-viii].

[2] CHAP. 1. OF THE HOST OF HEAVEN & THE PRINCE OF THE HOST [ff. 1<sup>f</sup>-20<sup>v</sup> + 16<sup>bis</sup> (related to Chapter 1, f. 9<sup>f</sup>), f. 16<sup>bis</sup>: scrap paper between ff. 16-17].

Cf. Chap. 2 in Yahuda 15.1, ff. 23<sup>f</sup>-48<sup>f</sup>: “Chap. 2 ~~Of the Christian religion ↓Messiah and the calling of the Gentiles↓, and the difference between the Christians of the circumcison & uncircumeision.~~ [cf. Yahuda, 15.5, f. 85<sup>f</sup>, ff. 91<sup>f-v</sup>] ↓Of the Prince of the host or Messiah the Prince & of the his host composed of Jews & Gentiles & united by charity.↓”

In Yahuda 15.2, this section is expanded with several unfinished chapters: (1) “Chap. Of the Theology of the Heathens Cabbalists & ancient Hereticks.”, (2) “Upon Agnes.”, (3) “Upon Agatha.”, (4) “Upon Euty chius.”, (5) “Upon Felix”, (6) “Upon a Greek Martyr”, (7) “~~Upon a sepuleher of martyrs.~~”, (8) “Chap. IX Of the corruption of the Christian religion in discipline and morality.”, (9) “~~Chap. 5 Of the corruption of the Church ↓Christian religion↓ by the Theology of the heathens, Cabbalists and hereticks.~~”, and (10) “Chap. XIV Of the Host of Heaven & the corruptions which crept into” [cf. Yahuda, 15.16, f. 104<sup>f</sup>].

[3] CHAP. [ILLEGIBLE] IX. OF THE PRINCE OF THE HOST OR MESSIAH Y<sup>E</sup> PRINCE AND OF HIS HOST COMPOSED OF JEWS & GENTILES UNITED BY CHARITY [ff. 21<sup>f</sup>-24<sup>v</sup>; cf. Yahuda 15.1, ff. 1<sup>f</sup>-22<sup>v</sup>].

[4] **CHAP. II. OF THE HOLY COVENANT** [ff. 25<sup>r</sup>-52<sup>v</sup>; cover sheet (in Pellet's hand)].

Folios 35<sup>r</sup>-50<sup>r</sup> mainly deals with several ecclesiastical counsels. Newton's treatment of these counsels is less detailed than the material in Yahuda 15, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-22<sup>v</sup>, ff. 48<sup>r</sup>-56<sup>v</sup>, ff. 62<sup>r</sup>-63<sup>v</sup>, f. 82<sup>r</sup> and especially Yahuda 15.7, where Newton provided ample detail on the counsels of Nicea (325), Tyre (335), Antioch (340), Serdica (343), Seleucia (353), Sirmium (359), and Constantinople (381).

[5] **[CHAP.] OF THE ~~RENDING OF THE CHURCH CATHOLICK~~ ↓ FAITH W<sup>CH</sup> WAS ONCE DELIVERED TO THE ~~INTO PARTIES.~~ ↓ SAINTS. ↓** [ff. 53<sup>r</sup>-77<sup>v</sup>; text breaks off on f. 76<sup>r</sup> cf. Yahuda, 15.5, ff. 92<sup>r</sup>-99<sup>r</sup>]. Note in Thomas Pellet's hand: "This is Perfect & should be published." Written vertically: "N<sup>o</sup> 1."

Cf. f. 78<sup>v</sup>: "Chap. VII Of those who do wickedly against the holy covenant ~~in departing from the true faith and worship~~ ↓ [in the worship of God. ↓]". The cover sheet [f. 53<sup>r</sup>] written in Pellet's hand one reads: "Of the Faith once delivered to the Saints" [cf. Yahuda, 15.5, ff. 92<sup>r</sup>-99<sup>r</sup>]. According to Newton, the word "ἰουσοῦσιος", was wrongly translated as "*unius substantiae*" at the Counsel of Nicea (Bodmer Ms., f. 113<sup>r</sup>, f. 120<sup>r</sup>; cf. Yahuda 15.1, f. 8<sup>r</sup>).

[6] **CHAP. 4 OF THE THEOLOGY OF THE HEATHENS CABBALISTS AND ANCIENT HERETICKS** [ff. 78<sup>r</sup>-79<sup>r</sup>; Pellet adds: "N<sup>o</sup> 36"]. Draft version of ff. 80<sup>r</sup>-85<sup>r</sup>.

[7] **CHAP. 4 OF THE THEOLOGY OF THE HEATHENS CABBALISTS AND ANCIENT HERETICKS** [ff. 80<sup>r</sup>-85<sup>r</sup>, cf. f. 89<sup>r</sup>, cf. Yahuda, 15.2, f. 32<sup>v</sup>].

[8] **CHAP. OF THE WORKING OF THE MYSTERY OF INIQUITY** [ff. 86<sup>r</sup>-113<sup>r</sup>]. Cf. Yahuda, 15.6, f. 115<sup>r</sup>. Note by Pellet (f. 86<sup>r</sup>): "this appears to be an early draft of parts of the foregoing chapters [2-5] and of that on the rise of the Roman Catholic Church."

[9] **CHAP. OF THE WORKING OF THE MYSTERY OF INIQUITY** [ff. 114<sup>r</sup>-123<sup>v</sup>]. Altered from: "Of the breaking of the primitive Church into parties & the rise of Popery." [Cf. Yahuda, 15.3, f. 55<sup>r</sup>] Note by Pellet: "N<sup>o</sup> 35. This is all almost verbatim in Chap. of Theology of Heathens." Most likely this is a draft version of the preceding chapter.

[10] **CHAP. OF THE WORKING OF THE MYSTERY OF INIQUITY** [ff. 124<sup>r</sup>-139<sup>v</sup>].

Heading added in another hand [Pellet's?], with the (incorrect) note: "All this transcribed out of the Theology of Heathen Cabbalist [*sic*] & Heretics". This appears to be a variant draft of the foregoing chapter [ff. 86<sup>r</sup>-113<sup>r</sup>].

[11] **CHAP. IV. OF THE HOST OF HEAVEN, AND THE CORRUPTIONS WHICH CREPT INTO IT.** [ff. 141<sup>r</sup>-155<sup>v</sup>]. This is followed [f. 156<sup>r</sup>] by a folios with three headings but no accompanying text [f. 156<sup>r</sup>]:

- **CHAP. IV. OF THE HOST OF HEAVEN, & THE OPINIONS WHICH CREPT INTO IT** (cf. the title of this chapter occurs in Yahuda 15.2, f. 36<sup>r</sup>).
- **OF THE DISPUTABLE OPINIONS W<sup>CH</sup> CREPT INTO THE RELIGION OF THE HOST OF HEAVEN, CHAP. IV** [cf. Yahuda 15.2, f. 36<sup>r</sup>].
- **OF THE DISPUTABLE OPINIONS OF THOSE WHICH CREPT INTO THE RELIGION OF THE PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANS.**

[12] Newt follows an untitled chapter [ff. 157-172] on the good relations between Jewish converts and other early Christians, on disputes about the nature of Christ and on the rise of the papacy. Finally, two fragmentary sheets in Latin apparently detached from another work follow [f. 172<sup>bis</sup>].

[13] **CHAP. A FURTHER ACCOUNT OF THE HOST OF HEAVEN & THE CORRUPTIONS WHICH CREPT INTO IT** [ff. 174<sup>r</sup>- 201<sup>v</sup>]. (Related to the ecclesiastic counsels [cf. title of “Chap. XV.” in Yahuda 15.6, f. 104<sup>r</sup>]).

[14] **CHAP. OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION AND ITS CORRUPTION IN MORALS** [ff. 202<sup>r</sup>-210<sup>v</sup>]. [cf. title on Yahuda 15.2, f. 32<sup>v</sup>]

[15] **CHAP. OF THE CORRUPTION OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION IN DISCIPLINE & MORALITY** [ff. 211<sup>v</sup>-215<sup>v</sup> + 214<sup>bis</sup> + 214<sup>bis</sup>]. 214<sup>bis</sup> + 214<sup>bis</sup> are two separate draft scraps of “Two Notable Corruptions” (New College, Oxford, Ms. 361(4)).

[16] **CHAP. OF THE CORRUPTION OF THE CHURCH IN LANGUAGE & OPINIONS** [ff. 216<sup>r</sup>- 236<sup>v</sup>]. Note by Pellet: “N<sup>o</sup> 29. This is all in the former sheets”.

[17] **CHAP. THE REVELATION OF THE MAN OF SIN** [ff. 237<sup>r</sup>- 246<sup>v</sup>]. Note by Pellet: “This is all in the foregoing sheets” (f. 237<sup>r</sup>).

{†} [18] **CHAP. X. OF THE SANCTUARY OF STRENGTH, OR OF THE TEMPLE & SYNAGOGUE OF THE IEWS & CHURCHES OF THE CHRISTIANS.** [ff. 247<sup>r</sup>- 266<sup>v</sup> + f. 265<sup>bis</sup>].

{†} [19] **CHAP. VIII. OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN RELATION TO ECCLESIASTICAL DOMINION & THE POWER OF CHANGING TIMES & LAWS IN MATTERS OF RELIGION** (2 drafts) [267<sup>r</sup>-294<sup>v</sup>].

Folio 268<sup>r-v</sup> is related to the ecclesiastic counsels. Folios 269<sup>r</sup>-293<sup>v</sup> contain material related to the previous chapter (the Jewish Temple and the ecclesiastic counsels).

[20] **CHAP. OF THE RISE OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICK CHURCH** [ff. 295<sup>r</sup>- 331<sup>r</sup>; mainly on the ecclesiastical counsels]. Cf. Chap. 8, Yahuda 15.3, f. 60<sup>r</sup>, 15.6, f. 104<sup>r</sup>.



This contains three draft versions: n° 1: ff. 295<sup>r</sup>-319<sup>v</sup>, n° 2: ff. 320<sup>r</sup>-329<sup>v</sup>, and, n° 3: ff. 330<sup>r</sup>-331<sup>v</sup>; f. 294<sup>r</sup>. On Yahuda, 15.6, f. 104<sup>r</sup>, the title of a separate chapter is written down: “Chap. XIV. Of the host ~~which was~~ given to the last horn of the Goat ↓by transgression [sic]↓ against the daily worship for trampling the sanctuary & the host of heaven under foot.”

{†} [21] **CHAP. VII. OF THE ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION** [ff. 332<sup>r</sup>- 355<sup>v</sup>; on false worship and ecclesiastic counsels].

[22] **CHAP. I. OF THE CHURCH OF GOD AND OF HER LAWS SANCTUARY GOVERNMENT** [ff. 356<sup>r</sup>-363<sup>v</sup>]. [cf. Yahuda, 15.3, f. 57<sup>r</sup>]

On f. 360<sup>r</sup>, Newton notes that circumcision signifies nothing to salvation.

[23] **CHAP. OF THE APOSTACY & REVELATION OF THE MAN OF SIN** [ff. 364<sup>r</sup>-367<sup>v</sup>, cf. Yahuda 15.3, f. 65<sup>v</sup>].

{†} [24] **CHAP. OF THE FIRST [ALTERED FROM: “FUNDAMENTAL”] PRINCIPLES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION** [ff. 368<sup>r</sup>-369<sup>v</sup> + [ff. 370<sup>r</sup>-373<sup>v</sup>]; unrelated material pertaining to the ecclesiastic counsels].

[25] {†} **CHAP. 1. OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLYTY, OR THE ANCIENT FORM OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT** [ff. 374<sup>r</sup>-375<sup>v</sup>].

{†} [26] **CHAP. OF THE UNION OF CHRISTIANS ↓IN ONE BODY↓ AND THE BREACH OF THAT UNION** [ff. 376<sup>r</sup>-378<sup>v</sup>].

{†} [27] **CHAP. OF THE MYSTICAL BODY OF CHRIST** [ff. 379<sup>r</sup>-380<sup>v</sup>; half a page, left incomplete].

{†} [28] **CHAP. OF THE ↓CHURCH OR↓ MYSTICAL BODY ↓OF↓ THE MESSIAH** [ff. 381<sup>r</sup>-388<sup>v</sup>; most of the text is cancelled].

{†} [29] **THE EVERLASTING GOSPEL TO BE PREACHED IN ALL NATIONS** [ff. 389<sup>r</sup>-390<sup>v</sup>].

[30] **CHAP. 3. OF THE RULE OF FAITH & SCHISM OF THE CHRISTIAN ROMAN EMPIRE** [ff. 391<sup>r</sup>-400<sup>v</sup>, cf. Yahuda 15.3, f. 63<sup>v</sup>].

{†} [31] **[SKETCHES NOTES AND OUTLINES FOR “OF THE CHURCH”]** [ff. 401<sup>r</sup>-427<sup>r</sup>].

These contain the following sections:

{†} **OF THE SANCTUARY CORRUPTION IN DISCIPLINE & MORALITY** [ff. 402<sup>r</sup>-419<sup>v</sup>; with a note by Pellet: “All Imperfect”; ff. 415<sup>r-v</sup>-416<sup>v</sup> are turned upside down; f. 408<sub>bis</sub> contains an extra folio].

Folio 412<sup>r-v</sup> contains, in a somewhat different style of writing (but still Newton's, the following sentence: "Gold Monies coined in her Majesties Mint from the last of December 1701 (probably the *post quem* date of this section) to the [text breaks off]". (Newton started composing this letter and re-used it later during his composition of 'Of the Church'. It is therefore quite safe to say that this part of 'Of the Church' is post-1701.)

On ff. 418<sup>r-v</sup>, there are two small pieces: one on the 'Genealogies of the Hebrews' [f. 219<sup>r</sup>]; the other on Solomon's Temple ("Totum 40 + 282 + 49+ 12 + 40 + 3 = 426").

{†} **A PERFECT DESCRIPTION OF Y<sup>E</sup> TEMPLE THE SYNAGOGUES & CHURCHES** [Pellet's hand; folded as a cover but empty and probably referring to f. 219<sup>r</sup>].

{†} **[MISCELLANEA]** [ff. 420<sup>r</sup>-427<sup>r</sup>].

## 5. In conclusion

Newton began 'Of the Church' by pointing to how Christianity was derived from the *Ur*-religion which worshipped the Judaic, Biblical God. He then pointed to the causes of its corruption and ended with his anti-Trinitarian Christology [12]. As we have seen, these last parts are unique and of invaluable importance to our understanding of Newton's theology (especially his anti-Trinitarianism).

This description confirms Goldish's findings: the Bodmer Ms. was a more elaborate version of Yahuda 15. Newton added several new chapters of chapter titles which never occurred in Yahuda 15 and was more explicit on Christ's relationship to God. The content of Bodmer Ms. 'Of the Church' is now made less mysterious but surely awaits further probing.

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