



BIBLIA AMERICANA

Cotton Mather

Volume 1: GENESIS

Edited, with an Introduction and Annotations, by Reiner Smolinski

Cotton Mather, Sr.

BIBLIA AMERICANA

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Volume 1

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Cotton Mather

BIBLIA AMERICANA

America's First Bible Commentary

A Synoptic Commentary on the
Old and New Testaments

Volume 1
GENESIS

Edited, with an Introduction and Annotations,
by
Reiner Smolinski

Mohr Siebeck
Baker Academic

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Distributors

for the United States and Canada

Baker Academic
P.O. Box 6287
Grand Rapids, Michigan 49516-6287
USA

for Europe

Mohr Siebeck
Wilhelmstr. 18, Postfach 20
40 D-72010 Tübingen
Germany

All other countries are served by both publishers.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is on file at the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.
ISBN 978-0-8010-3900-3

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data is available on the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.
ISBN 978-3-16-150190-6 / eISBN 978-3-16-163498-7 unchanged ebook edition 2024

Published by Mohr Siebeck Tübingen 2010.

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The book was typeset by Martin Fischer in Tübingen, printed by Gulde-Druck in Tübingen on non-aging paper and bound by Buchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier.

Printed in Germany.

For Tanya, Hannah, and Madeleine

My Advice to you is, That it be your Practice, to *Read* the *Sacred Scriptures* in the *PORISMATIC WAY*; Or, with a Labour to observe and educe, the *Doctrines of Godlineß*, which this inexhaustible *Store House of Truth*, will yield unto them that are seeking after it. Make a *Pause* upon every *Verse*, and see what *Lessons of Piety* are to be learnt from every *Clause*. Turn the *Lessons* into *Prayers*, and send up the *Prayers* unto the GOD, who is now Teaching of you.

Manuductio ad Ministerium (1726)

Acknowledgments

Cotton Mather's holograph manuscript "Biblia Americana" had a very long gestation period – considerably longer than the decade it took me to transcribe, edit, and annotate the first of ten-volumes, in which Mather's commentary is now going to be published for the first time. I have been frequently asked what possessed me to undertake this gargantuan project. A well-meaning friend, no doubt speaking from experience, pointed to several renowned compilers of Bible commentaries (let alone their editors) who did not live long enough to see the final volume through the press. With so much left to be done, the rumors of my premature elevation, I hope, are greatly exaggerated.

The origins of this project go back a good number of years. My friend and colleague Jesper Rosenmeier of Tufts University serendipitously bestowed upon me the content of several filing cabinets, which Kenneth B. Murdock had lovingly gathered for his splendid edition of Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1977). What Murdock had gathered here in the sixties and seventies – before word processors, the internet, and online databases became the tools of the academic trade – is a testimony to his labor of love, an obsession no less than a conviction that a scholarly edition of colonial America's most significant history was well worth the effort. Much the same motivation led me (in the early eighties) to work on Cotton Mather's "Trip paradisus" manuscript at the AAS, a book-length essay on eschatology, which subsequently appeared as *The Threefold Paradise of Cotton Mather: An Edition of "Trip paradisus"* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995). The initial transcription of this manuscript was undertaken, it is hard to believe, on one of the first home computers a poor student's budget could muster. The technological breakthroughs since then are mind-boggling. Without them, editing and annotating the "Biblia Americana" manuscript would hardly have been possible.

For support of my ongoing research on Cotton Mather's "Biblia Americana," I wish to thank the Department of English at Georgia State University for various research and travel grants, including a summer 2008 RIG grant, which allowed me to spend time writing rather than grading essays. I am grateful to my colleagues at the Massachusetts Historical Society for a W. B. H. Dowse Fellowship, to the Huntington Library for a Mayer's Fellowship, and to the American Antiquarian Society for a Kate B. and Hall J. Peterson fellowship. Moreover, I wish to thank Marcus A. McCorison Librarian and Curator of Manuscripts

Thomas G. Knoles; John B. Hench and Nancy Burkett (both retired); Caroline F. Sloat, Director of Book Publishing; and the many fine librarians on staff at the AAS for the collegial atmosphere and the stimulating lectures at the Society during my residence in Worcester. Every research library should have a Goddard-Daniel House to accommodate its fellows as royally as the AAS does! My heart goes out to Stephen T. Riley Librarian Peter Drummey and to Worthington C. Ford Editor Conrad E. Wright at the Massachusetts Historical Society for their professional support and the stimulating environment in one of the premier research libraries for colonial Americana materials. Thanks, Conrad, for the delicious food during the heady fellowship lunches! Thank you, Peter, for the many conversations and the coffee on those Saturdays when the library was undergoing renovation.

Apart from the quality time at the Huntington, the AAS, and the MHS, I had the privilege of accessing rare books at the Andover-Harvard Library, the Boston Public Library, the Harvard Divinity School Library, the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library and the Rare-Book Room of the Science and Engineering Library at UCLA, the university libraries of Tübingen, Mainz, and Berlin; and, closer to home, Pitts Theology and Woodruff Libraries at Emory, and Pullen Library at Georgia State University. Special thanks go to Margret A. Pitts Librarian Patrick Graham at Pitts Theology of Emory, and Margie Patterson (now retired) of Interlibrary Loans at Pullen Library. In this context, it is not remiss to praise Dean Lauren Adamson, Dean Nancy Seamans, and Provost Ron Henry (now retired) for their prescient investment in expensive online Humanities databases (EEBO and ECCO) – in the nick of time before the mortgage industry, AIG, and Wall Street took us to the cleaners on Sub-Prime Alley.

Over the innumerable hours during the vetting process, of collating the typescript against a digital version of the microfilm copy of the “Biblia Americana,” and during a marathon onsite vetting session of five weeks at the MHS, I benefited from the help of many kind individuals. Particular thanks go to Merit Kaschig, Florian Schwieger, Jan Saathoff and, especially, Damien Brian Schlarb, for their faithful support. Thank you Damien! And thank you Matthew Roudané and Randy Malamud for the gift of a graduate research assistant for the past several years. Without your and their help, the “Biblia” would still repose in a computer file. I am indebted to Heribert Dillmann of Niederbrechen (remember?), to Käthe Ristow of Mainz (on whatever cloud that good angel might now rest), to Jeffrey Walker of Oklahoma State University for the inspiring summer seminar on the *Magnalia*, to Mark Langley of Topeka for many valuable suggestions on the transcript and annotations, to my dear colleague Patricia Graves, who went the extra mile to make my writing more felicitous, to Ken Minkema and Adriaan Neele of the Jonathan Edwards Center at Yale Divinity School for their support, to H. Clark Maddux of Austin Peay University and, especially, to Robert E. Brown of James Madison University, and to Jan Stievermann of

the University of Tübingen, for reading portions of the manuscript and for suggesting improvements; to Bernd Engler, rector of Eberhard-Karls Universität Tübingen, and to Jan Stievermann, for hosting and organizing the first ever International Symposium on Cotton Mather's "Biblia Americana" (October 23–25, 2008) in the Hohentübingen Castle of the University (Mather could not have wished for a setting or audience more illustrious).

Jan Stievermann, Assistant Professor of American Studies at Tübingen, Executive Editor of Cotton Mather's "Biblia Americana," and dear friend, deserves my particular gratitude. It is through his hard work that the Mather Symposium in Tübingen was made possible. Jan was also instrumental in introducing me to Dr. Henning Ziebritzki, Editorial Direktor of Mohr Siebeck, the Tübingen publishing house, which is bringing out the "Biblia Americana" in collaboration with Baker Academic, a Division of Baker Publishing Group. It is through the vision of Henning Ziebritzki and James Ernest, Editor of Baker Academic, that Cotton Mather's magnum opus is now being made available. Indeed, there's a time and season for everything – even if it takes nearly three-hundred years to get there.

My deep appreciation also goes out to several scholars who have given their "thumbs up" for our Mather project: To Dale C. Allison, Jr., of Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, to Bernard Bailyn of Harvard University, to E. Brooks Holifield of Emory University, to David Lyle Jeffrey of Baylor University, to Donald K. McKim of Memphis Theological Seminary, to Robert Middlekauff of University of California, Berkeley; to Mark A. Noll of Notre Dame University, to Stephen J. Stein of Indiana University, to Harry S. Stout of Yale University for their sterling endorsements. I believe I can speak for all of my fellow editors – Jan Stievermann, Ken Minkema, Harry Clark Maddux, Rick Kennedy, Michael P. Clark, and Ava Chamberlain – when I extend our warmest thanks.

Two more paragraphs and we are done: I wish to thank the Massachusetts Historical Society for permission to edit and publish Cotton Mather's "Biblia Americana" manuscript, Linda Smith Rhoads, editor of the *New England Quarterly*, for permission to reprint major portions of my article "How to Go to Heaven or How Heaven Goes? Natural Science and Interpretation in Cotton Mather's 'Biblia Americana' (1693–1728), published in *The New England Quarterly* 81.2 (June 2008): 278–329; to Gaby van Rietschoten of Koninklijke Brill NV for permission to reprint a portion of my article "Authority and Interpretation: Cotton Mather's Response to the European Spinozists," which appeared in *Shaping the Stuart World, 1603–1714*. Eds. Alan I. Macinnes and Arthur H. Williamson. Leyden: Brill, 2006. 175–203. My special thanks go to Frau Anna Krüger of Mohr Siebeck for her expertise in all matters of the production.

Finally, my family: Tanya, dearest spice of my life. Thank you for generously giving of your heart and soul, for sharing your love of literature and history, for giving me feedback when all seemed muddled. I know how hard it was

on you, Hannah, and Madeleine, when I “disappeared” in my study and was lost to you and the children in the interminable Mather bog. I am ready to take up my badge of shame. Hannah Sophie, dearest Hannah Montana, daughter after my own heart: how many times did I want to get away from the computer and spend quality time with you on the playground before you grew up to become a young person? Madeleine Marie, dearest Maddie Chatterley: how you tugged on my shirtsleeves and pleaded with me “to come down” and play with you? Oh, sweet child of time. I promise to do better. My siblings Irene, Horst, Gudrun, and Ute: so much anguish, so little time. My beloved parents, Horst and Anneliese Smolinski: I wished you had lived long enough to share in the pleasure of seeing my Hannah and Maddie grow up, and to feel the warm embrace of your grandchildren. Doch es kam alles ganz anders.

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List of Abbreviations

AAS	American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . 6 vols.
ANF	<i>Ante-Nicene Fathers</i> . 10 vols.
“BA”	“Biblia Americana” (holograph manuscript). 6 vols. folio. The Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
BBH	<i>Biblisch-historisches Handwörterbuch</i>
BBK	<i>Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon</i> . 29 vols. <<www.bautz.de/bbkl>>
CBTEL	<i>Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature</i> .
CE	<i>Catholic Encyclopedia</i> . 16 vols.
DNSP	<i>Dictionnaire des Noms, Surnoms et Pseudonymes Latins De L'Histoire Littéraire du Moyen Age [1100 a 1530]</i>
DGRG	<i>Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography</i>
DGRBM	<i>A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology</i>
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> .
DUSE	<i>Dictionnaire Universel des Sciences Ecclésiastiques</i>
EJ	<i>Encyclopedia Judaica</i> . 26 vols.
ESTC	<i>English Short-Title Catalogue</i> (online).
HJP	<i>History of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ</i> . 5 vols.
JH	<i>James Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible</i> . 4 vols.
JPS	<i>Jewish Publication Society</i> (OT) 1917.
KJV	King James Version (1611)
KD	<i>Keil & Delitzsch, Commentary on the Old Testament</i> . 10 vols.
KP	<i>Der Kleine Pauly: Lexikon der Antike in fünf Bänden</i> .
LXX	Septuaginta
LCD	<i>Lemprière's Classical Dictionary</i>
MHS	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts
NJB	<i>The New Jerusalem Bible</i>
NPNFi	<i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers</i> . (First Series). 14 vols.
NPNFii	<i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers</i> . (Second Series). 14. vols.
NT	New Testament
OCD	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i>
ODCC	<i>Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church</i>
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
OT	Old Testament
PT	<i>Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society</i> , London.
SH	<i>The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge</i> . 12 vols.
SBD	<i>Smith's Bible Dictionary</i>
TJE	<i>The Jewish Encyclopedia</i> . 12 vols. <<www.jewishencyclopedia.com>>

PART 1

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Section 1

“Biblia Americana”: An American Commentary on the Bible

It may be, God our Saviour will in His Time, dispose the Minds of some eminent and opulent persons, to cast a benign Aspect upon a work [“Biblia Americana”] which may hand down their Names with lasting Acknowledgments unto posterity. Be it as it will, I do with the greatest Acquiescence of Mind in the holy Dispositions of His Providence Leave all in His glorious Hands. (Cotton Mather, 1715)

Cotton Mather’s “Biblia Americana” has waited nearly three hundred years to be published. By cooperative agency of Mohr Siebeck and Baker Academic, it is finally brought “into the Light,” as Mather once expressed his hope for publication (*Diary* 2:332), in a ten-volume scholarly edition. Written between 1693 and 1728, “Biblia Americana” is the oldest comprehensive commentary on all the canonical books of the Bible to have been composed in British North America. With its more than 4,500 folio pages bound in six volumes, Mather’s holograph manuscript, which has remained almost unstudied in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society, represents one of the great untapped resources in American religious and intellectual history. Combining extensive discussions of biblical scholarship with scientific speculations and advice for practical piety, Mather’s scriptural interpretations reflect the growing influence of Enlightenment thought in America as well as the rise of the transatlantic evangelical awakening. His commentary also marks the beginning of historical criticism of the Bible in New England theology, a solid one hundred years before German Higher Criticism gained a permanent foothold in American theological seminaries. In his annotations Mather engages a vast array of source-texts, from the Church Fathers, medieval and Reformation theologians, Rabbinic scholarship, ancient history and geography, to the cutting-edge philological and philosophical studies of his period. “Biblia Americana” thus represents the greatest achievement of an American theologian before Jonathan Edwards.

In this General Introduction, I will address a number of issues that are relevant to Mather’s commentary on Genesis and to the ten-volume edition as a whole. Examining the nature and significance of “Biblia Americana,” Section 1 provides a sketch of Mather’s life, surveys the history of the manuscript’s composition, and explains his failure to publish the opus he deemed “one of the greatest Works, that ever I undertook in my Life” (*Diary* 1:169). Section 2

appraises his biblical interpretations in the context of the scientific revolution of the early Enlightenment: Newtonianism, the miracles debate, and philosophical accommodationism. Section 3 examines Mather's changing understanding of the Bible, his hermeneutical approach to the scriptures and doctrinal position on key issues, and his response to the historical and philological criticism of the Bible as text in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Finally, section 4 assesses the physical condition of the manuscript and outlines the editorial principles governing the entire project.

Among the Bible commentaries of Mather's time, "Biblia Americana" is unique in more ways than one. Even a cursory comparison of Mather's commentary with those of his English peers – Matthew Poole (1624–79), Simon Patrick (1625–1707), Samuel Clarke (1626–1701), and Matthew Henry (1662–1714) – uncovers major conceptual differences.¹ Mather abandons the standard approach and instead devises rhetorical questions for each chapter-and-verse annotation. He assumes a skeptical reader, incorporates excerpts from opposing camps of the hermeneutical debate, and tries to harmonize the new philological methods and scientific discoveries of his age with the Reformed exegesis of the Bible. Unlike his peers who compiled conventional commentaries, Mather elects to concentrate on those chapters and verses he deemed most in need of updating. He also abandons the traditional chapter summaries and reprinting of each verse, and adopts, instead, a dialogic question-and-answer method of presentation. For each annotation he devises a rhetorical question that brings specific topics and interpretative problems into focus. His answers are digests of the most pertinent philological, scientific, and theological debates of his day, often incorporating excerpts from opposing camps and his own judgment on the issues. Through the persona of his rhetorical interlocutor, Mather also voices the concerns of the most radical biblical critics of his period – Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), Isaac La Peyrère (1596–1676), Benedict Spinoza (1632–77), and Richard Simon (1638–1712) – and engages their ideas in a surprisingly constructive manner (see Section 3). It is another distinguishing quality of "Biblia Americana" as a Bible commentary and of Mather as an intellectually open-minded theologian that he does not necessarily seek to refute those who destabilize the authority of the scriptures, but allocates ample space to each arbiter, as if to provide a forum for Enlightenment debate. In many places his observations show unmistakable traces of modern skepticism – a new form of Pyrrhonism that he valiantly seeks to redress by reconciling the Bible wherever possible with all available modern insights into the natural sciences. In the philosophical battle between skeptical rationalism and revealed religion,

¹ Matthew Poole, *Annotations Upon the Holy Bible* (London, 1683–85); Simon Patrick, *A Commentary Upon the Historical Books of the Bible* (London, 1695–1710); Samuel Clarke, *The Holy Bible, containing the Old Testament and the New, With Annotations and Parallel Scriptures* (London, 1690); Matthew Henry, *Exposition of the Old and New Testaments* (London, 1708–10).

Mather – like his contemporary Isaac Newton – merged facets of what Richard H. Popkin has defined as “empirical and rationalist thought with theosophic speculation and Millenarian interpretation of Scripture” to meet the intellectual challenges of his time.²

The range of subjects Mather engages in the “Biblia” is, quite simply, breathtaking. Beyond the more conventional concerns of biblical philology and academic theology, he ventures into the realm of natural philosophy and wrestles with the questions raised by the great scientific thinkers of his day such as René Descartes (1596–1650), Sir Isaac Newton (1643–1727), or William Whiston (1667–1752). (See Section 2). Moreover, Mather frequently includes asides on specifically American topics such as Native American religions, culture, and medicines, as well as discussions of the flora and fauna of the New World. Occasionally, Mather’s answers grew into independent essays of ten or twenty pages that far exceed the immediate concerns of the biblical chapters and verses under discussion. With its breadth of topics and essay-length discourses, “Biblia Americana” in more ways than one resembles works such as Johann Heinrich Alsted’s *Encyclopaedia Septem tomis distincta* (Herborn, 1630) or Pierre Bayle’s *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (Rotterdam, 1695–97, 1702) rather than such popular Bible commentaries as those by Matthew Henry or Matthew Poole. If “Biblia Americana” explodes the framework of conventional commentaries, it more than lives up to Robert Boyle’s call for a scholar-theologian to address the philosophic advances of his age in a biblical handbook: “I cannot but hope,” Mather quotes his friend and correspondent, “that when it shall please God, to stir up Persons of a Philosophical Genius, well furnished with Critical Learning, and the Principles of true Philosophy, and shall give them an Hearty concern for the Advance of His Truths, these men will make Explications, & Discoveries that shall be admirable.”³ How seriously Mather took the famous scientist’s call to arms is evident throughout “Biblia Americana.” In fact, in a missive to Dr. John Woodward of the Royal Society of London, Mather confesses his secret obsession. Referring to himself in the third person (ostensibly to appear as a disinterested observer), he explains that in spite of all his duties of composing sermons, ministering to the largest congregation in English America, and publishing more than two-hundred books, “neither these, nor *any* other obstructions could retund his passion for the Favourite Work of his, *Biblia Americana*.”⁴

Here, then, we find competing explanations of the Mosaic creation account and mechanistic theories of Noah’s flood; Cartesian rationalism and Newtonian science; miracles vs. natural causation; reason vs. revelation and verbal inspiration; problems of philological-textual transmission, lacunae, scribal errors, and

² R. H. Popkin, *Third Force* (90–91).

³ Cotton Mather, *Bonifacius* (200).

⁴ Mather’s “Letter to Dr. John Woodward, Nov. 17, 1712,” in David Levin, “Giants in the Earth” (760).

interpolations; Spinozism; the Calling of the Jews; millennialism; Trinitarianism vs. Unitarianism; African slavery, Native American conversion, and captivity narratives; the origin of fossils, religious rituals, dogmas, and idolatry; pietism and world missions, and many more topics difficult to summarize. As he put it in the "General Introduction" to his *Magnalia Christi Americana* (London, 1702),

I considered, That all sort of *Learning* might be made gloriously Subservient unto the *Illustration* of the *Sacred Scripture*; and that no *professed Commentaries* had hitherto given a thousandth part of so much *Illustration* unto it, as might be given. I considered, that Multitudes of *particular Texts*, had especially of later Years, been more notably *Illustrated* in the *Scattered Books* of Learned Men, than in any of the *Ordinary Commentators*. And I consider'd, That the *Treasures of Illustration* for the Bible, dispersed in many hundred Volumes, might be fetch'd all together by a Labour that would resolve to *Conquer all things*; and that all the *Improvements* which the *Later-ages* have made in the *Sciences*, might be also, with an inexpressible Pleasure, call'd in, to assist the *Illustration* of the *Holy Oracles*, at a Rate that hath not been attempted in the vulgar *Annotations*. (104)⁵

In short, "Biblia Americana" goes beyond the immediate concern of a commentary on the Holy Scriptures, because in digesting a whole library of ancient, classical, and Enlightenment research filtered through the screen of Reformed theology, Mather collects the most significant discoveries of the ages in *all* disciplines from literally hundreds of different tomes.⁶ Strongly invested in the traditional belief in a divinely organized universe of correspondences, hence the unity of all knowledge, he sought to bring together the combined learning of the different branches of human and divine knowledge.⁷ "Biblia Americana" was to become a clergyman's personal encyclopedia (in the absence of a college library), a one-stop shop where educated readers could interface with Pagan antiquity, Newtonian science, and Old-Time Religion.

As the most renowned member of a family dynasty of Puritan clergymen spanning four generations, Cotton Mather was the leading New England divine of his generation. He was one of the last Renaissance men who had the knowledge of the ages at his fingertips. Above all, he understood the need of his Reformed peers for a conservative guide to stir a safe course between the Scylla and Charybdis of the early Enlightenment. Mather intended his "Biblia Americana" to be this vademecum. If the effigy of Mather as America's "national gargoyle" is still railroaded through the popular press on occasions, there is little to support this grossly distorted caricature in his commentary on the Bible.⁸

⁵ Unless otherwise noted, all citation references to the *Magnalia* are to Kenneth B. Murdock's edition.

⁶ See "Bibliography of Primary Works" at the end of the present volume.

⁷ See J. Stievertmann, "Writing to Conquer All Things" (263–97).

⁸ See K. Silverman, *Life and Times* (425); and D. Levin, "Monster" (157–76).

Quite to the contrary, a completely different Mather emerges from the manuscript pages: an urbane, erudite scholar-theologian who had long transcended narrow partisan exegesis by incorporating in his commentary the landslide of philosophical innovations of his age. In doing so, he not only demonstrated that American scholarship easily matched that of his European peers but also created a unique record of the hermeneutical, philological, and scientific debate then raging in Europe. His "Biblia Americana" is the product of his lifelong endeavor to synthesize and – if possible – to reconcile this new, threatening scholarship with his abiding faith in the authority of the Bible.

Samuel Mather (1706–85), Cotton Mather's son and heir to the pulpit of Boston's Second Church (Old North), did not exaggerate when he described his father's huge *Biblia* manuscript as

a Work the writing of which is enough constantly to employ a Man, unless he be a *Miracle of Diligence* the *half* of the *Threescore Years & Ten* which is the Sum of Years allowed us. I mean, his *Illustrations of the sacred Scripture*. The Doctor, from an Hint given by that very great and learned Man my Lord BACON, begun this Work in his *thirty first* Year, tho' he had before *some* Materials for it by him; and in his *fifty first* Year so finish'd it, as to publish his PROPOSALS for printing it, intitled, *A new Offer to the Lovers of Religion and Learning*. Ever since that Time to his *Death*, he was adding to it; so that now it is judged to be *by far the greatest Amassment of Learning that has ever been bro't together to illustrate the Oracles of GOD*.⁹

Indeed, "Biblia Americana" is an immense resource for students, scholars, and pastors interested in American religious and intellectual history. Our scholarly edition will make this work accessible to a wide audience. Before we can appreciate Mather's magnum opus and begin to understand its full import, we should review some of the highlights of his life and times.¹⁰

9 Samuel Mather, *Life of... Cotton Mather* (1729) 73. For Cotton Mather's proposal "A New Offer" (1713/14), see below.

10 There are several well-known nineteenth- and twentieth-century biographies of Cotton Mather's life in addition to the most recent one by K. Silverman (mentioned above): Rev. William B. O. Peabody, *Life of Cotton Mather* (1836) was published in volume VI of the highly popular "The Library of American Biography" series, edited by the Unitarian Jared Sparks, and designed for school use ("School District Library"). The biography went through at least three editions and reprints in its lifetime (1836, 1840, 1856). Rev. Enoch Pond, *The Mather Family* (1844), a partisan biographical history of the Mathers which is as unabashedly apologetic as those of Pond's contemporaries are unashamedly disparaging. Rev. Chandler Robbins, *History of the Second Church, Or Old North* (1852) is intended as an encomium to the bicentennial of the Old North Church and its pastors. Barrett Wendell, *Cotton Mather: The Puritan Priest* (1891); Rev. Abijah Perkins Marvin, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (1892), and Ralph and Louise Boas, *Cotton Mather: Keeper of The Puritan Conscience* (1928). Wendell's biography, almost exclusively based on Mather's then unpublished diary, was written by the first professor of English and American literature at Harvard and reveals a remarkable sympathy for New England's roots and for Mather as a towering figure of the Puritan Priest; Marvin's *Life and Times* is a highly readable apologia by a Congregational minister in Winchendon, MA, and prolific author of American histories. Marvin views Mather's life through the lens of his pastorate. *Cotton Mather: Keeper of*

Cotton Mather (1663–1728)

The eldest son of New England's leading divine, Increase Mather (1639–1723) and grandson of the Massachusetts Bay Colony's spiritual founders Richard Mather (1596–1669) and John Cotton (1585–1652), Cotton Mather was born in Boston (12 Feb. 1663), educated at Harvard (B.A. 1678; M.A. 1681), and honored with a D.D. degree from the University of Glasgow (1710). As pastor of Boston's Second Church (Congregational), he stepped into the political limelight during the colonies' version of the Glorious Revolution, when Bostonians rose against the tyranny of James II and deposed their royal governor, Sir Edmund Andros (April 1689). During the witchcraft debacle (1691–93), Mather both warned the Salem judges against admitting "spectral evidence" as grounds for indictment and, instead, advocated prayer, fasting, and reassurance as antidotes to cure the afflicted, but he also wrote New England's official defense of the court's procedures, on which his modern reputation largely depends: *The Wonders of the Invisible World* (Boston, 1693). As the Lord's remembrancer and keeper of the Puritan conscience, he wrote the grandest of American jeremiads, his epic church history of New England *Magnalia Christi Americana* (London, 1702). Like his father a staunch defender of Puritan orthodoxy, Mather persuaded Elihu Yale, a Welsh merchant and practicing Anglican, to endow Yale University (1701, 1718) as the new nursery of Puritanism, when Harvard seemed to become too liberal under the influence of John Leverett and William and Thomas Brattle, Mather's erstwhile rivals. If such endeavors bespeak Mather's partisan politics on the one hand and his transcendent thinking on the other, it was his chiliastic credo that led him to champion Pietist ecumenism, his effort

the Puritan Conscience is one of the first psychoanalytic studies of Mather's life, written by the Boases, two professors of English at Wheaton College, Massachusetts. They translated for generalist readers the many controversies surrounding Mather's life into a highly readable journalistic account unencumbered by such traditional academic tools as a table of contents, footnotes, bibliography, or index. The fashionable psychoanalytic approach of the day, however, is not without its problems. Robert Middlekauff, *The Mathers: Three Generations of Puritan Intellectuals* (1971). This Bancroft-Prize winning biography of the Mather dynasty is one of the finest studies covering an entire century of Puritan hegemony in New England. David Levin, *Cotton Mather: The Young Life of the Lord's Remembrancer* (1978) – along with his collection of essays in *Forms of Uncertainty* (1992) – is a sympathetic, but forthright study of Mather's accomplishments and some of the controversies surrounding his life. Written as a college-level introduction, Babette M. Levy, *Cotton Mather* (1979) is a sympathetic discussion of Mather's life and principal works, still one of the best prologues for readers unfamiliar with his complex personality. Although not a biography per se, Richard F. Lovelace, *The American Pietism of Cotton Mather* (1979) is still unsurpassed as a study of Mather's theological impact on the development of American religion. Finally, Kenneth Silverman, *Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (1984) remains one of the most comprehensive studies of Mather's life. It is hoped that the appearance of the *Biblia Americana* in ten volumes over the next decade will inspire a new generation of scholars and biographers to reassess Mather's significance as scholar-theologian, an assessment that may well re-examine Jonathan Edwards's monolithic status as America's foremost theologian.

to unite not only all Christian denominations in New England, but also all Christians, Jews, and Moslems in the Orient and Occident, under the umbrella of his "Maxims of Piety" to hasten the Second Coming of Christ.

Likewise, his interest in the new sciences and in new medical theories distinguishes Mather from his American contemporaries. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of London (1713) for his physico-theological contributions to the Society, his "Curiosa Americana." He popularized in his *The Christian Philosopher* (London, 1720/21) the new scientific theories of William Derham, John Ray, John Woodward, Robert Boyle, Thomas Burnet, William Whiston, and Sir Isaac Newton, and staunchly advocated a new germ theory and inoculation against smallpox – in the face of the united opposition of Boston's physicians during the epidemic of 1721. Whereas Increase Mather never quite made the transition into the Enlightenment, Cotton was well on his way; he represents the best of early Enlightenment thinking in colonial America. His contributions to the literature of the New England "Errand" are as diverse as his publications are prolific and inexhaustible. In all, he published more than 450 works on all aspects of the contemporary debate: theological, historical, biographical, political, and scientific.¹¹ It is therefore deplorable that Mather's reputation is still largely overshadowed by the specter of Salem witchcraft.

No single work of Mather's gargantuan publication record does justice to his long, productive career in New England's foremost pulpit, but several representative types afford a glimpse of his interior life and overall achievement. *The Diary of Cotton Mather* (1911–12, 1964) provides a more comprehensive insight into his volatile nature than his autobiography *Paterna* (1976), which (by and large) is extracted from his diary.¹² Often called his "Reserved Memorials," his diary is a Puritan document par excellence.¹³ It focuses on his inner life and on Mather as an instrument of divine providence. If his public persona in his sermons is overbearing and pompous by modern standards, his private persona in his diary can be modest, even unostentatious, yet passionately confessional and soul-searching. No doubt, baring his breast to public inspection was a risky business – if his Reserved Memorials were to fall into unsympathetic hands.

¹¹ Cotton Mather's son Samuel estimated the number of his father's publications at 382 (*Life* 67). The bibliographer of the Mathers, Thomas J. Holmes, raised the number of Cotton Mather's "known printed works" to 444, in *Cotton Mather: Bibliography* (1:ix). Keith Arbour identifies additional works in his article "Additions" (81–130). Some of Mather's largest manuscripts he had intended for publication were not printed until the twentieth century: *Diaries* (1911–12, 1964), *Angel of Bethesda* (1972), *Paterna* (1976), "Problema Theologicum" (1994), "Trip paradisus" (1995). His largest manuscript, the tome he considered his most important work, is "Biblia Americana" (1693–1728).

¹² *The Diary of Cotton Mather* (1911–12), hereafter, *Diary* 1 and 2. *The Diary of Cotton Mather for the Year 1712* (1964), hereafter, *Diary* 3. *Paterna: The Autobiography of Cotton Mather* (1976).

¹³ D. Levin, "Misnamed Diary" (177–97) and L. A. Rosenwald, "Cotton Mather as Diarist" (129–61).

Revealing his most intimate thoughts, fears, and desires, Mather inadvertently invites modern readers to psychoanalyze and thus to misapprehend his record of meditation and introspection. For as he poured over his real and imagined sins, examined the promptings of his passions, and confided his musings to the privacy of his diary, Mather created a didactic ledger to measure his spiritual progress toward sanctification. Yet when read as a civic document intended for public consumption, his memoir becomes a goldmine for those who scour his confidential thoughts for hidden motives. Those not personally conversant with the nature of religious affections, with a Puritan's vulnerability in the process of introspection and self-humbling, with his psychological need to heighten his want of grace by deeming himself "the chief of sinners," – in short, those unaware of the psychological turmoil involved in the Puritan *ordo salutis* are likely to misjudge his acts of mortification and incessant confessions of vanity and pride as admissions of true character flaws: "*Proud Thoughts* fly-blow my best Performances!" (*Diary* 1:16), the young Mather early on confided to his diary as he consciously or unconsciously emulated St. Paul's confession (1 Tim. 1:15): "Christ came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am chief." The more he magnified his sin of pride and vanity, the greater his self-abasement; and the more intense his soul's agony, the more perfect his Augustinian *imitatio Christi*.¹⁴ Modern readers unacquainted with this quaint ritual are struck by this seemingly mechanical, if morbid, exercise. Unless read in small doses, Mather's private confessions may appear to be repetitious, formalistic, and ultimately insincere. Yet each of these exercises represents untold pangs of distress and breast-beating couched in the language of self-abnegation. Such, then, is his principal purpose of keeping a diary.¹⁵ The modern reception of his diaries is not the only source of his problematic reputation.

14 In his *Treatise Concerning Religious Affections*, Jonathan Edwards explained the psychological pitfall of one marooned in the cycle of religious introspection as follows: "[He] that is truly humble, and really sees his own vileness, and loathsomeness before God, the distance [from the sin of pride] appears the other way. When he is brought lowest of all, it does not appear to him, that he is brought below his proper station, but that he is not come to it; ... And this distance he calls pride. And therefore his pride appears great to him, and not his humility. ... The degree of humility is to be judged of by the degree of abasement, and the degree of the cause for abasement: but he that is truly and eminently humbled, never thinks his humility great, considering the cause. The cause why he should be abased appears so great, and the abasement of the frame of his heart so greatly short of it, that he takes much more notice of his pride than his humility" (*Religious Affections*, part 3, sec. 6, subsec. 3.2, in *Works* (2:333). Benjamin Franklin, it is well known, poked fun at this spiritual exercise in his autobiography. "In reality there is perhaps no one of our natural Passions so hard to subdue as *Pride*," Franklin commented facetiously. "Disguise it, struggle with it, beat it down, stifle it, mortify it as much as one pleases, it is still alive, and will every now and then peep out and show itself. ... For even if I could conceive that I had completely overcome it, I should probably be proud of my Humility" (*Autobiography* 76).

15 See D. Leverenz, *Language of Puritan Feeling* (esp. chs. 4, 6, and 7); P. Caldwell, *Puritan Conversion Narrative* (chs. 1–2); D. B. Shea, *Spiritual Autobiography* (chs. 3–6); J. O. King, *Iron of Melancholy* (1983), and J. H. Rubin, *Religious Melancholy* (1994).

Mather's mythic status still rests on his involvement in the Salem witchcraft debacle (1691–93) and on Robert Calef's unfounded allegation in *More Wonders of the Invisible World* (London, 1700) that the clergy incited the hysteria to recoup their political power in the colony. It is important to remember that the most educated theologians, philosophers, and scientists of the time believed in the existence of the demonic world as much as the common man did. Far from being the delusion of some gullible and superstitious few, the certainty of the invisible world was official dogma among all Christian denominations throughout the ages. The American colonies – Puritan or no – were no exception. Mather's most important publications on the supernatural include *Memorable Providences, Relating to Witchcraft and Possessions* (Boston, 1689) and *Wonders of the Invisible World* (Boston, 1693). *Memorable Providences* mostly recounts the possessions and antics of the Goodwin children, the eldest of whom Mather observed in his own home and eventually cured through a regimen of fasting, prayer, and patient reassurance. While to modern readers the narrative smacks of singular gullibility, Mather's practical tests, careful observations, and experimental procedure in restoring the girl's mental health are – for the time – innovative treatments of the case. His second work on the topic, *Wonders of the Invisible World*, aimed at several purposes. On the one hand, the book served as New England's official defense of the court's verdict, which was consistent with the English witchcraft statutes of the time; on the other, it is Mather's contribution to pneumatology, with John Gaul, Sir Matthew Hale, Henry More, Joseph Glanvill, and Richard Baxter serving as some of his principal sources.

Before Mather excerpts the six most notorious cases of Salem witchcraft, he tries to protect himself and his account with the official endorsement of Lt. Governor William Stoughton (one of the Salem judges), with a disquisition on the invisible world, with a previously delivered sermon on the subject, and with his own experimental observations. Mather's *Wonders*, however, does not end without express caution against the use of "spectral evidence," a warning he had repeatedly sounded even before the first person was tried and executed on June 10, 1692.¹⁶ While exposing "Satan's plot to overthrow" New England's churches,

¹⁶ *The Return of Several Ministers Consulted* (June 15, 1692) strongly cautioned the Salem judges and magistrates against convicting anyone on the basis of "spectral evidence," incriminating evidence collected from witches who were believed to assume the shape of innocent individuals and invisibly torture their victims. Cotton Mather's authorship of *The Return* is all but certain, as is evidenced in his letter (May 31, 1692) to Judge John Richards, who had requested guidance in the matter ten days before the first victim was executed: "I must humbly beg you that ... you do not lay more stress upon pure specter testimony than it will bear. ... It is very certain that the devils have some times represented the shapes of persons not only innocent, but also very virtuous. ... I would say this: if upon the bare supposal of a poor creature's being represented by a specter, too great a progress be made by the authority in ruining a poor neighbor so represented, it may be that a door may be thereby opened for the devils to obtain from the courts in the invisible world a license to proceed unto most hideous desolations upon the repute and repose" of innocent individuals. Mather's letter to Judge John

Mather also recommended his father's caveat *Cases of Conscience* (Boston, 1693). What ties the various parts of *Wonders* together is Mather's millenarian theme of Christ's imminent Second Coming, for which he found proof in the devil's assault on New England. Robert Calef's politically motivated smear has been discredited by modern scholars, but Calef's charge of Mather's ambidextrous disposition seems warranted. For while Mather defended the court's verdict and justified the government's procedure, he also reiterated his opposition to the use of spectral evidence as grounds for indictment. *Wonders* appeared in print just when the trials were halting, but it remains, in his own words, "that reviled Book."¹⁷

His most enduring and, at once, most famous legacy is his epic *Magnalia Christi Americana* (London, 1702), an ecclesiastical history of New England in the time-honored tradition of providence literature. In seven books of uneven length, Mather commemorated on an epic scale virtually every aspect of New England's formative period (1620–1698): the migration to and settlement of the colonies; their governors and ministers; the founding of Harvard; New England's Congregational church polity, synods and schisms; supernatural occurrences, providential rescues, exemplary deathbed confessions; Indian wars and captivities – all ostensibly demonstrating God's providential hand. From a literary point of view, Mather's Plutarchan biographies of New England's governors (book 2) and ministers (book 3) are of greatest value.¹⁸ Much of the information provided here cannot be found anywhere else. Puritan patriarchs are juxtaposed with heroes of biblical and classical antiquity, emulating their exemplary characteristics. Even though each life follows the pattern of a medieval hagiography, Mather does not fail to mention some of his heroes' shortcomings and how they overcame them. Since its appearance, *Magnalia Christi Americana* has been criticized for its lack of thematic unity, baroque flourishes, and uneven material. However flawed by modern standards, each of the seven books develops a specific interlocking thesis, unified by Mather's Virgilian theme of the mighty works of Christ in the Western hemisphere; Mather's baroque wordplay and rhetorical techniques – though outdated by the standards of his time – are entirely consistent with his own stylistic principles delineated in the *Magnalia* as well as in *Manuductio ad Ministerium* (Boston, 1726): to entertain with stylistic flourishes while instructing with nuggets of wisdom. Finally, Mather's consistent

Richards is reprinted in K. Silverman's *Selected Letters* (35–40). *The Return of Several Ministers Consulted* is reprinted in David Levin's *What Happened* (110–11).

17 The perennially popular subject of Salem witchcraft has been studied from many different theoretical approaches and angles. Among the best are the studies by G. A. Adams, P. Boyer and S. Nissenbaum, E. G. Breslaw, J. P. Demos, R. Godbeer, D. D. Hall (*Witch-Hunting*), C. Hansen, P. C. Hoffer, C. F. Karlson, G. L. Kittredge (*Witchcraft*), M. B. Norton, B. Rosenthal, M. L. Starkey, K. Thomas (*Religion*), R. Weisman.

18 See G. van Cromphout's "Plutarchan Biographer" and "Renaissance Humanist."

narrative voice and rhetorical intent unify his subject matter as the grandest of jeremiads that American Puritanism has brought forth.¹⁹

Out of Mather's Pietist impulse and scientific endeavor grew three strands of works, the best examples of which are his civic-minded *Bonifacius* (1710), his compendium of the new sciences *The Christian Philosopher* (1721), his medical handbook *The Angel of Bethesda* (wr. 1723/24, publ. 1972), his manual for the ministry *Manuductio ad Ministerium* (1726), and his definitive discussion of his eschatology in "Triparadisus" (wr. 1712, 1720–27; publ. 1995). Mather's *Bonifacius. An Essay Upon the Good, that is to be Devised and Designed, By Those Who Desire to Answer the Great End of Life, and to do Good While they Live* (Boston, 1710) represents the most comprehensive expression of his life's purpose: "Fructuosus," to be productive and serviceable to his fellow man.²⁰ A lifelong interest in the German Pietism of August Hermann Francke of Halle (Saxony) convinced Mather that specific practical advice rather than pious exhortations could engender social reform.²¹ Conceived as a manifesto for a benevolent society, *Bonifacius* outlines how each of society's classes – aristocracy, magistrates, ministers, physicians, lawyers, merchants, tradesmen, teachers, parents and children, servants, and slaves – can serve God by benefiting their fellow men. Far more than mere pious advice for doing good, yet never far from the Reformed tenet that works without grace are dead, *Bonifacius* is a manual for social reform, perhaps the best of the early self-help and reformist tracts that grandfathered the many benevolent and reforming societies of nineteenth-century America. *Bonifacius* was Mather's most popular book.²² Reprinted in many editions, *Bonifacius*, popularly known as *Essays to Do Good*, was the muse of young Ben Franklin's satiric *Dogood Papers* and yet his acknowledged guide and source of inspiration for the older Franklin's benevolent projects.²³

In typical Renaissance fashion, Mather was at home in virtually every discipline of human knowledge, ancient and modern. Though a theologian by vocation, he was a virtuoso of science by avocation, as his "Curiosa Americana" (1712–20) and his *Christian Philosopher* (London, 1720/21) attest. In the former, he describes in more than twenty-three separate epistles his pseudo-scientific observations of the American flora and fauna, ornithology, birth defects,

¹⁹ Mather is a highly self-conscious stylist, who defends his characteristic flair in *Magnalia Christi Americana*, Murdock ed. (100–02) and in his handbook for young clergymen, *Manuductio ad Ministerium* (1726) 44–47. For an analysis of Mather's style, see W. R. Manierre, "Cotton Mather and the Plain Style" (1958) and his "Verbal Patterns" (402–13). For a more recent study, see J. Stievermann, "Writing to Conquer All Things" (263–97).

²⁰ Samuel Mather, *The Life* (1729) 156.

²¹ See R. F. Lovelace, *American Pietism* (1979), O. Scheiding, "The World as Parish," and W. Splitter, "Fact and Fiction."

²² One of the best introductions to this work is D. Levin's edition of *Bonifacius* ("Introduction" vii–xxxii).

²³ See B. Franklin, *Autobiography* (9).

rattlesnakes, earthquakes, Indian customs, and many other American curiosities – natural and supernatural. Perfectly consistent with the European standards of the time, “Curiosa” also pioneers theories of psychogenic causes of disease and of plant hybridization, the earliest known account, which became the basis for the Linnaean system of botany.²⁴ The Royal Society of London bestowed upon Mather the prestigious title of F. R. S. (1713). He was only the eighth colonial American to be elected a Fellow. Like Increase Mather’s *Illustrious Providences* (Boston, 1684), Cotton Mather’s *The Christian Philosopher: A Collection of the Best Discoveries in Nature, with Religious Improvements* attempts to reconcile Scripture revelation with natural science and the teleological arguments of the day. But unlike his father’s earlier work, *Christian Philosopher* moves with ease between scientific explanations and theological justifications. In thirty-two essays ranging in subject from astronomy, meteorology, geology, mineralogy, botany, zoology, to biology, the book ends on human physiology, his longest chapter.²⁵ A work of his mature years and originally an integral part of “Biblia Americana,” *Christian Philosopher* reveals Mather’s enthusiastic embrace of Newtonian science which, though barely distinguishable from the arguments of early Deists, demonstrates the adaptability of Reformed theology to the philosophy of the early Enlightenment.

As an experimenter in medicine, Mather was as qualified as any medical practitioner in the Old and New World; he had turned to the study of medicine when his adolescent stammer seemed to render him unsuitable for the ministry. His lifelong interest and solid foundation in medicine is apparent in this single, most comprehensive medical handbook in colonial America, *The Angel of Bethesda* (wr. 1723/24, publ. 1972).²⁶ Its threefold purpose – religious, medical, scientific – is an outgrowth of his practical Pietism: to provide the indigent with medical advice in the absence of a physician. In sixty-six chapters (or Capsules, as he wittily calls them), Mather quotes from more than 250 of the best medical authorities and borrows remedies from the Galenical, chemical, and occult schools of medicine. Here loom large such worthies as Hippocrates, Galen, Paracelsus, Zoroaster, Plato, but also van Helmont, Boyle, van Leeuwenhoek, Malpighi, Harvey, and Sydenham. Each capsule follows the same pattern: (1) Mather’s pious improvement on the disease, followed by (2) its clear description and interpretation, and (3) the best-known remedies and dosages for the possible cure of the ailment. Yet Mather’s *Angel* is remarkable not for the singular medical lore characteristic for its time, but for its advanced

²⁴ See G. L. Kittredge, “Cotton Mather’s Scientific Communications” (18–57), C. Zirkle, “Plant Hybridization” (25–38); and O. T. Beall, Jr. and R. H. Shryock, *Cotton Mather: First Significant Figure in American Medicine* (48).

²⁵ Winton U. Solberg’s splendid introduction and annotations have made *The Christian Philosopher* (1994) accessible for modern readers.

²⁶ *The Angels of Bethesda*, ed. Gordon W. Jones (1972).

theories that are of continuing interest to modern medicine. Among still valuable recommendations are his prophylactic rules of temperate diet, physical exercise, and discouragement of smoking. His most enduring legacy, however, is his method of overcoming stammering, his benevolent treatment of psychiatric cases, his discussion of psychosomatic causes of illness, his immunological recommendations on inoculation against smallpox (eighty years before Edward Jenner developed his vaccine), and his disquisition on germ theory (animalcules) – long before Lister and Pasteur discovered their bacteriological approaches to preventive medicine in the nineteenth century. The warm, comforting, and understanding tone of Mather's *Angel*, its clear structure and consistent narrative voice, are characteristically embellished by his entertaining wit, nuggets of wisdom, and occasional metaphors and puns.

In light of his scientific achievements, one almost forgets that Cotton Mather was a pastor and minister first and foremost. Emphasizing the nearness of the Second Coming, he hastened to write his *Manuductio ad Ministerium. Directions for a Candidate of the Ministry* (Boston, 1726), a handbook for the young minister.²⁷ Short on sectarian ideology, Mather emphasizes religious tolerance and ecumenism under the auspices of his Maxims of Piety, the reconciliation of Independents, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Antipedobaptists, Lutherans, and Calvinists – all united at the Lord's Table (127). *Manuductio* also embodies Mather's educational principles for the gentleman minister: After the traditional classical languages, he recommends such modern languages as French and Spanish; he devalues the customary Aristotelian curriculum of rhetoric, logic, and metaphysics in favor of the new Cartesian logic implemented at Harvard, and advises students to spend their time on the study of the Bible, German Pietism, medicine, mathematics, astronomy, the new science, geography, ancient and modern history and biography, as well as music for refreshment and poetry for recreation.²⁸ His revealing recommendations on style (not an end in itself but a means to an end), composition of sermons, and polished oratory, evince just how far Mather had come in his old age: the minister of the future was to be above all a humane, liberal, erudite gentleman pastor, whose reformed Calvinism, humanistic scholarship, and polished grace did not neglect such practical matters as a balanced diet and physical exercise to offset the stress of his duties. Complete with a "must have" of the best books for a young theology student's personal library, *Manuductio* recommends such works as Thomas Lewis's *Origines Hebraeae: or, the Antiquities of the Hebrew Republic* (London, 1724–25), Edward Wells's *An Historical Geography of the Old and New Testament*

²⁷ Perry Miller's assessment of *Manuductio* remains as useful as ever, in Thomas J. Holmes, *Cotton Mather: A Bibliography* (2:630–36). Informative annotations and translations are provided in K.M. Woody, "Cotton Mather's 'Manuductio ad Ministerium'" (3–48) and in Woody, "Supplement" (1–98).

²⁸ See R. Kennedy, *Aristotelian & Cartesian Logic at Harvard* (1995).

(London, 1708, 1711–12), William Whiston's *A Short View of the Chronology of the Old Testament, and of the Harmony of the Four Evangelists* (Cambridge, 1702), Thomas Fuller's *History of the Worthies of England* (London, 1662), Edward Leigh's *Critica Sacra: Containing Observations on all the Radices of the Hebrew Words of the Old and the Greek of the New Testament* (London, 1639), Matthew Poole's *Annotations on the Holy Bible* (London, 1683–85), and Johannes Arndt's pious mainstay translated into Latin, *De Vero Christianismo* (London, 1708).

Cotton Mather's lifelong preoccupation with millennialism and its significance to his thought and work have only recently attracted full-scale attention. Beginning with *Things to be Look'd for* (Boston, 1691), he published more than fifty works in which eschatology played a major role. In fact, it is hard to read any of his writings without finding some reference to the imminence of Christ's Second Coming. Of his major works on that topic, three stand out: "Problema Theologicum" (wr. 1695–1703; publ. 1994), a 95-page manuscript reflecting the principal issues in Mather's early millennialism; "*Trip paradisu*," his definitive treatment of his millenarian theories (wr. 1712, 1720–27; publ. 1995) in response to the hermeneutical debate in Europe; and his "Biblia Americana," an unfinished critical commentary on the Bible, fortified with synopses of the best hermeneutical scholarship of the day. Unlike his earlier "Problema Theologicum" in which Mather advances an inchoate system of pre- and postmillennialist theories, his *Threefold Paradise* ("*Trip paradisu*") is his most comprehensive study of chiliasm.²⁹ As a hermeneutical defense of revealed religion, Mather's discourse seeks to negotiate between orthodox exegesis of the prophecies and the new philological and historical-contextual challenges to the Scriptures by such European scholars as Grotius, Hobbes, Spinoza, Whiston, and Collins. *Threefold Paradise* marks Mather's decisive break from the hermeneutical positions he had inherited from his intellectual forebears but also represents the culmination of his lifelong interest in eschatology, which lay at the core of his cosmology and which was the fundamental mainspring of his ministerial and theological office. Late in his life, Mather's exegesis underwent a radical shift from a futurist interpretation of the prophecies to a preterit position – from arguing that several signs of Christ's return were yet to be fulfilled to asserting that all signs had been given several times over. Part I of Mather's *Threefold Paradise* delineates the history and location of the Garden of Eden as evidenced in the Pentateuch, ancient histories, patristic literature, and contemporary travel accounts. Part II is largely a refutation of psychopannychism, that is, a rebuttal of the idea that the soul is dormant after the body's death and a defense of the soul's immortality. Part III is by far the longest and most valuable discussion and covers in twelve subsections

²⁹ See J. S. Mares, "Cotton Mather's 'Problema Theologicum'" (330–440), and R. Smolinski, *The Threefold Paradise of Cotton Mather: An Edition of "Trip paradisu"* (1995) and <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/etas/48/>

a variety of topics affected by the hermeneutical revisionism then taking shape in Europe: the tradition of a literal conflagration of the Earth, his defense of a literal New Heaven and New Earth during the millennium, his allegorization of the conversion of the Jewish people, and his prophetic timetables calculating the millennial reign of Christ. “*Trip paradisu*” is Mather’s last word on the prophecies and rejects the old notion that New England represented the culmination of prophetic history in an American New Jerusalem.

“*Biblia Americana*”: Origin, Growth, and Significance

Like modern believers who live during a time of tremendous intellectual and religious turmoil, Mather lived during the early Enlightenment (1660s–1730s) when cosmological, scientific, and philological challenges had begun to destabilize the authority of the Bible as the Word of God: the Copernican cosmology and its heliocentric universe had just begun to displace the Ptolemaic geo-centrism that had governed the cosmology of Judeo-Christian believers since ancient times; Cartesianism laying the foundation of the modern empirical sciences had rejected the weight and authority of tradition as proof for all natural and supernatural phenomena described in the Bible; the new philological, historical, and contextual criticism of the Bible had begun to question the textual accuracy, transmission, and verbal inspiration of the Bible; and the new theories about the nature of light, gravity, and atomism posed tremendous problems to literalist readings of the Mosaic creation account – these new ideas required harmonization with orthodox interpretation if theologians were to survive this age of revolutionary uncertainty. Hence Mather’s predicament was not unlike that of modern believers whose faith in God and the inerrancy of the Bible is buffeted from all sides: creationism vs. evolutionism; divine revelation vs. human wisdom; verbal inspiration vs. philological and historical criticism; patriarchal authority vs. feminist and liberation theology; moral and ethic standards vs. philosophical relativism. Mather courageously faced these challenges head-on and invested more than thirty years of his life in devising ways to reconcile this new knowledge with the teachings of the Bible.

What makes this enormous “*Amassment of Learning*” commentary so compelling to modern scholars and believers is that he furnishes his readers with verbatim excerpts from both proponents and opponents on many controversial issues, allows them to present their case, withholds his own opinion until the end of each excerpt, and finally – after due consideration of all evidence – harmonizes old and new in his own synthesis generally delivered at the end of each annotation. “*Biblia Americana*” is therefore more than just another commentary on God’s Word. Unlike some of the most respected commentaries of the seventeenth through the early eighteenth centuries (Henry Ainsworth, Hugo Grotius,

Matthew Poole, Henry Hammond, Matthew Henry, Simon Patrick, William Burkitt, Augustine Calmet, Daniel Whitby, Philip Doddridge), Mather's "Biblia Americana" is a record of the historical debate in the marketplace of ideas. When compared with Jonathan Edwards's private "Notes on Scripture," "Miscellanies," or with his "Blank Bible," "Biblia Americana" pursues different strategies because Mather intended his commentary for public consumption – to provide generations of readers with up-to-date summaries of the critical debates and with means to reconcile their differences.³⁰ The plan for "Biblia Americana" was conceived in the late summer of 1693, the same year that Mather outlined his plans for his *Magnalia Christi Americana* (*Diary* 1:166). He aimed to gather into two folio volumes the most significant discoveries of the ages, scattered across the various disciplines, and appearing in hundreds of different tomes, but rarely accessible in a single location: "I considered, that Multitudes of particular Texts, had, especially of later years, been most notably *illustrated*, in the scattered Books of learned Men, than in any of the ordinary Commentators; and I considered, that the Treasures of *Illustrations* for the Bible, dispersed in the Volumes of this Age, might bee fetch'd all together by a laborious Ingenuitie" (*Diary* 1:170).

At the "Rate of *one Illustration*" per day, Mather intended over a period of seven years (an auspicious number signifying perfection) to fetch from the dispersed volumes of his peers "all the *Improvements*, which the *later Ages* have made in the Sciences," to include the "innumerable *Antiquities*, Jewish, Chaldee, Græcian, and Roman," to amass "in *one Heap*, Thousands of those *remarkable Discoveries of the deep Thing[s] of the Spirit of God*," and to incorporate "the delicious *Curiosities* of *Grotius*, and *Bochart*, and *Mede*, and *Lightfoot*, and *Selden*, and *Spencer*, and many more *Giants* in Knowledge, all sett upon *one Table*" (*Diary* 1:170, 231).³¹ By 1698, Mather hoped to entice potential buyers with a whole library of innovative research in an easily accessed digest form and with discoveries that had not yet found their way into the standard Bible commentaries of the time. He was sufficiently familiar with the exigencies of the marketplace when he advertised his American offering as complementing – not competing with – those of his English peers Matthew Poole and Matthew Henry, promising all along not to duplicate or undercut their commentaries (*Bonifacius* 202; *New Offer* 6). Yet Mather also made sure to point out in his *Magnalia Christi* that Poole "*left many better Things behind him than he found*," because Poole had lacked the resources to incorporate in his *Annotations* (1683–85) the "*many miscellaneous Criticisms, occasionally scattered in other Au-*

³⁰ One of the few studies to compare Mather and Edwards as biblical scholars is Stephen J. Stein, "Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards on the Number of the Beast" (293–315) and Stein, "Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards on the Epistle of James."

³¹ Nearly identical announcements appear in his *Magnalia Christi Americana* (London, 1702), ed. Kenneth B. Murdock (102–06); *Diary* (1:169–70, 229–31); *Bonifacius* (220–06), "Advertisement"; and, of course in his *A New Offer* (1714), see below.

thors" (*Magnalia* 105). Mather's "Biblia Americana" was therefore to supply that deficiency. In Feb. 1706, having added "very many Thousands" of illustrations, he took pride in his "Amassment," which he hoped "one day to send out" for publication (*Diary* 1:545). Yet three months later, Mather was worried that his failing strength might put an end to his plans. Exerting himself beyond measure ("doubtless a Disadvantage to my Health"), he added to his "Biblia" as many illustrations "in three Weeks" as he might have added in "so many Months." His exertions during these weeks of illness must have been exceedingly productive, for he recorded on May 28, 1706,

I finished my BIBLIA AMERICANA. So finished it, that there is no Necessity of my casting in any more, to my vast amassment of *Illustrations* upon the Divine Oracles; Tho' doubtless, I may be occasionally and continually adding thereunto, till the Manuscripts are dismiss'd out of my Hands for Publication. T'wil be two large Volumes in *Folio*; and I am now to wait upon the Lord, for His Direction, how to obtain a conveyance of the Manuscripts, into those Hands, that may publish them for the Service of His Churches. (*Diary* 1:563–64)

If Mather thought his optimistic appraisal was warranted after thirteen years (1693–1706) of scouring for fresh material and things left out of Matthew Poole's *Annotations*, he was quick to learn that his "Biblia Americana," in two volumes folio, was even harder to get published than his *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), which was long mired in disputes with his agents and publishers.³² Things would turn out far different than expected for his Bible commentary.

On August 26, 1706, Mather petitioned his God in prayer to direct him "how and when" to ship the bulky manuscript over to England and to "raise up Encouragement for the Publication of it" (*Diary* 1:567). To those ends, Mather composed less than four weeks later an advertisement "as *Prodromous* and *Engaging* for that work" with the descriptive subtitle "AN AMERICAN OFFER to serve the Great Interests of Learning and Religion in Europe" (*Diary* 1:570). Nothing came of the matter. Nearly five years later, on his forty-eighth birthday (February 12, 1710/11), he again petitioned his God that "some, eminent and opulent Persons may be raised up; to forward the Publication of my *Biblia Americana*" (*Diary* 2:40), but a year later – again reviewing on his birthday

³² It took more than four years to see his *Magnalia* in print after Mather thought he had finished the manuscript. In March 1698, he recorded in his diary that he had received assurances in his prayers that his "*Church-History*" and his "*Confirmed Christian*" (now lost) "shall bee carried safe to *England*." But neither manuscript left his library until sometime after June 8, 1700, and he did not receive a printed copy of the *Magnalia* until Oct. 29, 1702 (*Diary* 1:254–55, 353, 445). On the *Magnalia*'s complex publication history and the book's reception, see T. J. Holmes (2:582–96), and K. B. Murdock, "The *Magnalia*" (26–47). On the controversies surrounding Mather's London agent John Quick, Parkhurst (his publisher), quality of paper, typesetting, and proofreading, see C. Greenough, "John Dunton's *Letters*" (20–58) and "A Letter Relating" (134–47); and, more recently, D. N. Deluna, "Cotton Mather Published Abroad" (esp. 153–56); and D. D. Hall, *Ways of Writing* (143–45).

the desiderata of the bygone year – he took stock of the “many more than a thousand” illustrations he had added to the existing store of annotations in the previous year, and promised himself “To write some Illustrations for the most part every Day” (*Diary* 2:162). Later that same year (Nov. 17, 1712), Mather decided to take matters in his own hands. He sent a missive to the English geologist Dr. John Woodward (1665–1728), erstwhile council member of the Royal Society of London, whose distinguished *Essay Toward a Natural History of the Earth, And Terrestrial Bodies* (London, 1695), Mather would subsequently put to good use in his “Biblia” (*BA* 1:490–91) and elsewhere. The first of several letters to Woodward, Mather tried to arouse the great geologist’s interest in the giant fossils of Claverack, which Dutch settlers had unearthed in 1705. Mather enclosed a detailed description of the bones for potential publication in the Society’s *Transactions*, but the main purpose of his letter was to recruit Woodward’s help to publish “Biblia Americana.”³³ Incorrigible punster that he was, Mather explained that the account of the giant fossils was “fetched from an amassment of treasures” (his “Biblia Americana”) which, he hoped, would not remain buried “like the subterraneous ones; and that the library in which they lodge may not be so like the horrid cellars of Indoustan, where your silver and gold, after they have been brought out of their subterraneous condition, and circulated thro’ the business of the world, again return into it, and are again buried by the covetous Mogols, and have no more to do on the face of the earth.” Perhaps concerned that Woodward might mistake his meaning, Mather became more explicit: “My meaning is, tho’ I need not explain what I mean, I wish they [the treasures in his “Biblia”] had the publication which they are waiting for, and that your presses would return to print something else besides your politics, and serve to better purposes than to vent the ill humors of your nation.” What follows next is an example of Mather’s torturous panegyric on his own importance from the perspective of a humble, third-person advocate:

There is an American friend of yours who, tho’ he never traveled out of America, has had the honor to be related unto one of your European universities, and has been desirous to oblige a number of the best people in Europe with a composure which now arises to two considerable volumes in folio, wearing the title of *Biblia Americana*. He had long since been of your excellent Boyle’s opinion, that *you should no more measure the wisdom of God couched in the Bible by the glosses and systems of common expositors, than estimate the wisdom He has expressed in the contrivance of the world by Magnus’s or Eustuchius’s Physics*; and agreed with him in hopes that

³³ Richard Waller, secretary of the Royal Society, published a synopsis of Mather’s disquisition on the giant bones of Claverack, in *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* 29 (1714–16) 62–63. Mather incorporated the full account along with his discussion of the giant Nephilim in his “Biblia Americana” (*BA* 1:582–99). See also D. E. Stanford’s contemporaneous accounts of the excavation of the mastodon bones in his “The Giant Bones of Claverack, New York, 1705” (47–61) and D. Levin’s reprint, in “Giants in the Earth” (762–70). See also my discussion in the next chapter.

learned men would go on to make more admirable explications and discoveries in that wonderful Book than what usually occurred in the vulgar (tho' very useful) *Annotations*. (Silverman, *Selected Letters* 110, 111)

Before giving Woodward an example of just the kind of scientific material he would find in the "Biblia Americana," Mather summarized the distinguishing qualities of this magnum opus. They included "the fairest hypotheses (and yours, my most honored Doctor!) of those grand revolutions, the making, and the drowning, and the burning of the world, are offered" along with "the meteors, the minerals, the plants, the animals, the diseases, the astronomical affairs, and the powers of the invisible world" – all conforming to the best theories of natural philosophy of the day (*Selected Letters* 112).³⁴ If that did not make the heart of a physico-theologian beat faster, then surely nothing would. For his scientific communications ("Curiosa Americana"), the Royal Society of London would, within a year's time, honor Mather by electing him a member of its distinguished body. It would even publish his celebrated *Christian Philosopher* (London, 1720/21). Yet helping him find a publisher for "Biblia Americana" the Society evidently did not.

The year following his letter to Woodward, Mather took pride in the "considerable Accession to our *Biblia Americana*," and having yet again added "many more Illustrations than Dayes in the Year" – in addition to the "Seventeen Books [he had] prepared for publication, and most of them actually published" during 1712 (*Diary* 2:178). Over the next year, Mather kept adding hundreds of new illustrations to his ever-growing collection, and just before turning fifty, he felt it was "now high time" and "to come into Action" that his "*Biblia Americana*, may be brought forth into the World." Mather therefore resolved to circulate "a Sheet, entituled, *A New Offer, to the Lovers of Religion and Learning*" (Boston, 1713/14) and thus to garner support through subscriptions from contributors at home and abroad (*Diary* 2:283).³⁵ Not to let things languish any longer, Mather set out to solicit support from several of his European friends and acquaintances. The first of several letters – all written between May, 1714, and November, 1715 – was addressed to the Rev. Thomas Reynolds (1667–1727), a Presbyterian minister at Weigh-House, Little Eastcheap (London), whose *Practical Religion Exemplify'd in the Lives of Mrs. Mary Terry and Mrs. Clissold* (London, 1712) Mather had been instrumental in reprinting in Boston (*Diary* 2:309).³⁶ Mather welcomed Reynolds's gift of £30 in support of the Society for Promoting Chris-

³⁴ See also K. Silverman, *Life and Times* (247–54).

³⁵ Mather's *A New Offer* (1713/14) is reprinted in full (below).

³⁶ W.C. Ford, the editor of Mather's *Diaries*, states that Mather's letter to Reynolds was "written in the spring of 1715" (*Diary* 2:309n2), but given Mather repeated worries about not receiving any response from Reynolds, Silverman's date of "c. May, 1714" (*Selected Letters* 147) is more likely. For historical background on Reynolds, see W. Wilson, *History and Antiquities* (1:157–69), D.L. Wykes, "Reynolds, Thomas (c. 1667–1727)."

tian Knowledge in America as well as his charity work in Southwark, which had much in common with Mather's Pietist *Orphanotrophium* (Boston, 1711). With such obliging connections, Mather could be fairly certain of a sympathetic ear with regard to his "Biblia Americana." His letter to Reynolds (c. May, 1714) suggests that Mather hoped to interest in his project London's Presbyterian clergy who, for a brief period, had joined with their English and American confreres, the Congregationalists, to form the United Brethren.³⁷ Emphasizing that the Puritan congregations of New England were ambitious "to be acknowledged as your *United Brethren*" and "to be bound up in one Bundle, of Life and of Love," Mather more than hinted that the gracious performances offered to God in the American hemisphere deserved nothing less than the loving support of the Brethren in the other: "Behold, now laid before you, *A New offer to the Lovers of Religion and Learning*, made by one of yours, at a Thousand Leagues distant from you." Mather evidently did not shy away from arousing ecclesiastical jealousies between Anglicans and Dissenters as a means to rally the United Brethren behind publishing Mather's Bible commentary: "Some eminent Persons in the Church to the Rites whereof we are Non conformists," Mather alluded to their Anglican rival, "have given me such a Prospect of Encouragement from them, for our, *Biblia Americana*, that if you should wholly cast it off, it may happen by their Means to make its way into the World. But, I think my Duty to you, obliges me to chuse, that it should rather be by yours" (*Diary* 2:312). There is no telling the mixed emotions of the Rev. Thomas Reynolds upon receiving Mather's imposing request, especially since Reynolds was expected to drum up support for the project and to find a bookseller willing to lay out his capital for the massive commentary. Reynolds did not respond until more than a year later.

As was usual with grand projects like the one Mather proposed, publishers were wary of committing resources when a reasonable return was not assured. And so, Mather set out to generate interest in advance by including a handbill in his letter to Reynolds to be circulated among his friends and correspondents. The Bible commentary was to be made available in two volumes, at the rate of "five Pounds of our Money, to the Subscribers." Booksellers might expect "Subscriptions for many more than one hundred setts of the Work; to be paid in upon their Arrival here [Boston]; if they will run the Risque thereof" (*Diary* 2: 310, 312). No doubt, the risk was all on the side of venture capital. Years earlier, Mather had also promoted "Biblia Americana" in his ecclesiastical history *Magnalia Christi Americana* (London, 1702), in his do-good essay, *Bonifacius* (Boston, 1710), and then again in *A New Offer To the Lovers of Religion and Learning* (probably printed in early 1714). Through the latter circular, he tried to strike a bargain with reticent booksellers, by promising one set gratis to all

³⁷ See W. Walker, "The 'Heads of Agreement'" (4:29–52), and his *Creeks and Platforms* (440–52).

those who "procure and send in *Subscriptions* for *Nine Sets* of this Work" (15). Mather asked Reynolds to approach his own publisher, the Presbyterian bookseller John Lawrence (c. 1684–c. 1714), at the Angel in the Poultry, to publish the "Biblia." However, Mather's clerical correspondent informed him in a long delayed missive of June 9, 1715, that Lawrence, in whom Reynolds "had Interest sufficient to entrust a Matter of such a Nature" had recently passed away. Worse yet, Reynolds in whose hands Mather's project was entrusted was "not yet able to get Subscriptions that might answer yours or the Booksellers Expectations." Besides quarrels among the United Brethren, the political unrest in Europe after the Peace of Utrecht (1713), and the turmoil of the Hanovarian succession upon the death of Queen Anne on August 1, 1714 – all betokened that Mather should wait for a more opportune time to publish his commentary (*Diary* 2:318).³⁸

Never putting all his eggs in one basket, Mather had also written to his Scottish friend and colleague the Rev. Robert Wodrow (1679–1734), minister of Eastwood and author of the esteemed *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1721–22), with whom Mather maintained a long and productive correspondence until the end of his own life. From this letter of May 17, 1714 (which may well have crossed the Atlantic in the same ship with the missive to Reynolds), we learn that Mather had "sent unto Mr. Thomas Reinolds [sic], with two other ministers in London, and Mr. John Laurence, a bookseller at the Angel, in the Poultry there, my new offer of our *Biblia Americana*, and am waiting for their direction."³⁹ Wodrow's response was quick – considering the unreliable and frequently circuitous ways of transporting mail. From his answer, dated Dec. 11, 1714, we learn that "Your new offer, or *Biblia Americana*, I have endeavoured to spread up and down this country, that ministers may be acquainted with the noble design; and I am persuaded your undertakers at London will not want encouragement, if they shall, as I hope they will, engage" (Wodrow, *Correspondence* 1:628). Wodrow's long letter, however, also reported about the political and religious anxieties in the United Kingdom, the death of Queen Anne and accession of the Hanovarian George I, and the all-too-cozy relations between the Roman Catholic Houses of Habsburg and Bourbon on the Continent even while the Ottoman Turk was "ready to fall upon the Venetians" and stir up war again after their devastating defeat and the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699) which, everyone had hoped, would put a stop to their aggression (Wodrow 1:630). It is to these political uncertainties that Reynolds would later allude

³⁸ *The London Topographical Record* (1907) lists the dates for the bookseller John Lawrence as "1684–1704" (4:65). According to H. R. Plomer's *Dictionary*, John Lawrence, who frequently collaborated with the London printer John Dunton, "was still in business in 1711" (184). However, if the missive of the Rev. Thomas Reynolds to Cotton Mather (June 9, 1715) is correct, the bookseller John Lawrence "died several months ago" (*Diary* 2:318).

³⁹ "Letter CLXXXVI" (Wodrow 1:626–27).

in his overdue letter to explain why there were no takers for "Biblia Americana" among the London printers and booksellers.

Meanwhile, impatient that his request had miscarried in one way or the other, Mather wrote to Sir William Ashurst (1647–1720), former Lord Mayor of London (1693–94) and subsequent governor of the New England Company (1696–1720). Mather's letter (Nov. 17, 1714) included a copy of his *New Offer* advertising his "Biblia" along with the news that he had solicited many other subscribers "in these plantations" including "three Governors who are all of them uncommon literators." Yet Mather also worried about his growing manuscript "ever getting without the walls of a private library" while the esteem for the New English colonials – Nonconformists to boot – was running low in Anglican England. His concern seemed especially warranted now that Mather had lost his influential friend and supporter in "the death of Mr. Matthew Henry, who diverse times offered me his best assistance for the publication of the work." Unless some benefactors "of a moderate and catholic (and your) spirit in the Established Church" were to sponsor its publication, Mather broadly gestured toward Sir William, "Biblia Americana" would "remain where it is." The only option left, Mather acknowledged, was to submit to the will of God and to await His pleasure (Silverman, *Selected Letters* 155). However, Mather did not bide his time, but tweaked providence as much as he could. This time (May 4, 1715), he wrote to Jeremiah Dummer (1681–1739), a prominent Harvard graduate with a doctorate from the University of Utrecht (1703), and New England's colonial agent in London.

Asking Dummer not to hold against him the disagreeable squabbles they had had in the past, Mather tried to mollify "my *Pamphilius*" and cajole him into looking into the little matter of his "Biblia Americana" which was going nowhere among English Dissenters in London. Mather reports that he is "some what sure of having above an hundred Setts taken off" by subscribers among his countrymen at the rate of £ 5.00 "of our Money." Yet he has "laid aside all Expectations of the Work Meeting with any Countenance, where according to common Sense ... [he] might most justly have expected it" since his esteemed friend the Rev. Thomas Reynolds deigned to disregard Mather's repeated requests to secure a publisher for the commentary (*Diary* 2:313, 314). Again Mather was prepared to resign matters into the hands of God and therefore told Dummer that "you will not in the least Measure disoblige me, if you never take one Thought more about this Work," while Dummer was busy with more important things. Lest "*Pamphilius*" take him at his word, Mather closes his letter by inviting Dummer to "bestow some Study on the Characters of true Love" and Christian charity (1 Cor. 13), according to which Mather endeavors "as a dying Man" to serve God by serving his fellow man (*Diary* 2:313, 315, 315).

Cotton Mather also wrote to Daniel Williams, D.D. (c. 1643–1716), an English Presbyterian clergyman, benefactor of Harvard, of the University of

Glasgow, of St. Thomas's Hospital, of a library in his name in London, and of various religious establishments in Scotland and New England.⁴⁰ The two clergymen shared many interests and had previously exchanged letters and books to strengthen their common ties. Given his largess, Williams was a likely promoter of the "Biblia." Mather's letter to Williams is of uncertain date, but the content suggests that it was written before Mather received Thomas Reynolds's negative response (dated June 9, 1715) about finding a publisher for the commentary. The series of letters Mather had sent to his friends in England and Scotland during the past twelve months had not yielded any positive news, and his urgency (if not impatience) in the matter comes to the fore in this rather formal missive: "You will pardon me," Mather wrote to Dr. Williams, "if I repeat my humble Wishes, that my Brethren, the Dissenters, would please to take into their consideration, whether it may conduce unto the best Interest, and their own, for our *Biblia Americana*, to meet with some countenance among them. I have diverse times addressed my excellent Friend Mr. *Reynolds*, for his Advice on that Head; and I have waited a Year and half, without the least Word of Return; which has held me in a little suspense, as to some Applications" (*Diary* 2:316). Mather's technique of pressuring Reynolds into responding seemed to have yielded some results since Reynolds's regrets arrived in Boston not too long thereafter. Reynolds's reply (June 9, 1715) indicates that an earlier missive in response to Mather's original request had miscarried. At any rate, he informed his Boston colleague that the Schism Bill (May 1714) outlawing Dissenters from serving as schoolmasters or educators in any capacity (unless they receive an Episcopal license) had stirred up considerable discontent and that "the publick Affairs are in such Distraction" at present, "that we scarce know where we are, and how matters are like to issue."⁴¹ The conflict between Whigs and Tories had reached such a high pitch, Reynolds reported, that "the City and [People] are obliged to be in Arms." Any hope to attract subscribers during this state of uncertainties was therefore to be despaired of, at least for now. When things improve, Reynolds promised, "I shall be ready to contribute what I can with the Rest of my Brethren to recommend your book that the publick may be obliged with the Benefit of it" (*Diary* 2:318). Nothing came of the matter as we learn from a missive nearly ten years later (April 22, 1724), in which Mather registers his disappointment that Reynolds no longer took "any further Notice of me (as for some years before indeed, he took very Little,)" no doubt alluding to the abortive attempt to enlist Reynolds's support of the "Biblia" (*Diary* 2:798).

But the story is not yet finished. In response to Sir William Ashurst's epistle (no longer extant), Mather felt encouraged to raise the issue once again (Oct. 18, 1715). He thought he had discovered between the lines "some Intimations" that

⁴⁰ D. L. Wykes, "Williams, Daniel (c. 1643–1716)."

⁴¹ On the vicissitudes of the "Schism Bill," see Novak (448–51).

Sir William desired more information about the commentary. "In obedience to your command," Mather gladly complied: "I have enclosed, a, *New offer*, which exhibits a brief Account of the Work." What follows is Mather's longest letter yet on the state of his "Biblia Americana." Here we learn that although he had published to date (1715) "more than 250 Books" of all sizes, on all manner of issues, and "in diverse Languages," yet nothing he had done so far came even close to his masterpiece. If potential subscribers only understood what a king's bargain "Biblia Americana" represented; if only they knew that his treasures had been distilled from "many copious and costly volumes," stripped of their "Superfluities," and amassed in his commentary, subscribers would surely welcome his labor of love and all the savings into the bargain. Lamenting the indifference and neglect with which his English brethren were treating their American confreres was almost too much for Mather:

I did not know, but that a Composure, which may pretend without Vanity to be the richest collection of the most valuable Treasures, in so little a Room, that ever the Ch[urch] of God was entertained withal, might hope for a favorable Reception, with people of Religion and Ingenuity. ... Indeed the good-spirited Mr. [Matthew] Henry, several times, in his Letter to me express'd his Good-will to this undertaking; but, he is dead. The Surviving seem to be of the opinion, that a poor *American* must never be allow'd capable of doing any thing worth any ones regarding; or to have ever look'd on a Book. ... Had not the work been in the English Tongue, my Correspondents in the most illustrious Frederician University [Halle, Germany] who have putt great Marks of their Favor upon me, would soon bring it into the Light. ... It may be, God our Saviour will in His Time, dispose the Minds of some eminent and opulent persons, to cast a benign Aspect upon a work which may hand down their Names with lasting Acknowledgments unto posterity (*Diary* 2:331, 332).

Indeed, a dark tone of disappointment and a touch of resentment resonate in these lines, no matter how much he tried to sound upbeat and hopeful. Even his appeal to Ashurst's vanity that the names on the list of subscribers would adorn the pages of the "Biblia" and thus bestow lasting fame on its benefactors sound a bit half-hearted.

Mather explored other venues for potential publication as well. There was no telling if his long-standing ties with his Lutheran Pietist friends in Germany might not yield some unexpected patronage. To these ends he wrote a long letter to Rev. Anthony William Boehm (1673–1722), Lutheran chaplain to Prince George of Denmark (royal consort of England's Queen Anne), member of the London-based Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and Mather's principal channel of contact with his Frederician colleagues in Halle (Germany).⁴²

⁴² For biographical information on Boehm, see A. Mielke and S. Yelton, "Böhme, Anton Wilhelm" (31:159–74). For Mather's communications with his German Pietist friends in Halle (usually via Boehm), see K. Francke, "Cotton Mather" (57–67), "Further Documents" (31–66), and "Beginning of Cotton Mather's Correspondence" (193–95). More recently, O. Scheiding,

In this letter to Boehm (Aug. 6, 1716), Mather acknowledged his happiness that his *Magnalia Christi Americana* appealed to Boehm, asking him to forward the copy to their mutual friends in Halle. Mather made sure to draw his attention to the Pietist focus of "Biblia Americana" and to the indifference with which English Dissenters had treated his proposals for its publication. Among "the most valuable Things" in the "Biblia," Mather assured Boehm, "are those which such men as your [Johann] Arndt, and [August Hermann] Franck[e], and others of the like truest Erudition, have led into."⁴³ But book publishers in England had cold feet about "Biblia." Besides, Mather did not expect much more than indifference from men of "narrow Spirits" (London Dissenters) among whom, he wished, "learning were more esteemed and exemplified." Perhaps thinking of Francke's famous printing house in Halle, Mather added, "If this work ever see the Light, I expect, it will be from the Countenance and Contribution, of men of our *Universal Religion*; who will every way appear more and more in the several Forms of Christianity. And among such I entreat of you, that my, *new offer*, may be communicated" (*Diary* 2: 413). Indeed, Mather left out no contact, at home and abroad, no venue unexplored, no stone unturned to garner support for his brainchild. It would be devastating if it remained stillborn.

And now the rest of the story: Two months later, on a day set aside for fasting and prayer (Oct. 6, 1716), Mather appeared resigned to accept the inevitable: "I glorified the Lord this day, with the sweetest Acquiescence and Resignation, in the Case of the *Biblia Americana*, whereof I receive Advice this day, that the publication thereof, is to be despaired of" (*Diary* 2:376). The origin of this "Advice" is unclear, but may well have been given him – if not in a letter from Europe – then through the conduit of prayerful communication with heaven. Sometimes, however, acceptance and resignation are cold comfort, especially in this case. Less than two weeks later, he meditated on that sore once again. Searching for answers why God seemed pleased to reject the "elaborate Preparations of my Pen, to serve the Cause of Piety in the World," Mather appeared downcast: "Strange Frowns of Heaven have defeated the Publication of those things, which it cost me a World of hard Study, to gett ready for the Church of GOD. Now, what shall I do on these Occasions?" God knows best when to accept and when to bring forth the "Biblia" to be most useful to the interest of the Kingdom of God, Mather mused. He added,

And I would satisfy myself in my Oblations ... and consider my sweet Acquiescence in His holy Pleasure to reject them, as a sweet Addition to my Oblations, and His Delight in them; and give a Demonstration, that the acquiring of a Name to myself (a Vile Idolatry!) is no End of my Oblations, in my patient and easy Bearing of it, and that they should be lost as to this World, and known unto Him alone. And I

"The World as Parish" and Wolfgang Splitter, "Fact and Fiction," come to different conclusions about the significance of the correspondence between Mather and August Hermann Francke.
 43 Mather's Pietist focus is highlighted in his *New Offer* (14, # XII).

would go on with all possible Industry to present as many Oblations to the Work of God, as I can; and cheerfully leaving to Him the Disposal of them. (*Diary* 2:378)

Although Mather did not succeed in placing his “Biblia” with a publisher at this time, he knew only too well that nothing was impossible for Him, who in His own time, would “dispose the Minds of some eminent and opulent persons” to come forward and publish Mather’s oblations. Such, then, appears to be his resolution to “go on with all possible Industry” and to continue to make his pen subservient to the interest of God.

Mather’s letter (Oct. 31, 1716) to Rev. Henry Walrond (d. 1724), a close friend in London and fellow millenarian, contains one of the few remaining references to Mather’s endeavor to find a publisher for his magnum opus. After updating Walrond on the growth of Boston’s seven churches of United Brethren – besides an Anglican, a Baptist, and a French church – Mather introduced the familiar subject. Mather is delighted to learn that a previous package of forty of his works had safely arrived for Walford’s personal use (or distribution) among his friends. “But indeed there are above two hundred more,” Mather pointed out, half-jesting about the matter close to his heart: “Altho’ some which are longer than any of these, (except the *Magnalia*,) and the *Biblia Americana* also (which are more than three times as big as the *Magnalia*,) and have cost me exquisite Elaborations, ly by unpublished.” Promising to send Walrond more care-packages of Mather sermons “from Time to Time,” he again shared his unhappiness about the state of his big commentary: “Tho’ I am, from very many parts of the world, solicited for the *Biblia Americana*, yet, I have no Prospect of its being undertaken by the *London-Booksellers*, until the present Storms are over; which, I am so far from expecting, that I beleeve, the Times must grow yet more tempestuous” (*Diary* 2:416). The storms and tempests to which Mather refers appear to be the political turmoil in the wake of the demise of Louis XIV (d. 1 Sept. 1715), who occupied a not so minor place in Mather’s eschatological speculations about the Second Coming.⁴⁴ The work he forwarded to Walrond in that package was Mather’s freshly published *Lapis e Monte Excisus. Atque Regnum Dei*, his bilingual *Stone Cut out of the Mountain* (Boston, 1716), presaging the apocalyptic scenario of Christ’s Second Coming looming on the horizon.⁴⁵

The *annus mirabilis* came and went, but the world kept turning as it had done from the beginning. Two days after his fifty-fourth birthday (Feb. 15, 1716/17), he tried once again to interest men in high places in his heart’s project. This time he singled out the newly appointed Governor Samuel Shute (1716–23),

⁴⁴ See Mather’s *Shaking Dispensations* (Boston, 1715) and his millenarian “*Triparadisus*” (*Threefold Paradise*), 336.

⁴⁵ Mather also includes a copy of *Lapis e Monte Excisus* (1716) in his “An Appendix. Containing Some General Stores, of Illustration; and a Furniture which will richly Qualify a Person to be a Reader of the Bible,” a collection of twelve separate essays that Mather included at the end of “*Biblia Americana*,” following his commentary on Revelation.

through whom Mather hoped to curry favor with the governor’s famous brother John Shute (1678–1734), the later Viscount Barrington, who (earlier in the century) had become instrumental in swaying Scotland’s Presbyterians to support the union between the two kingdoms. The diary remains silent about Mather’s success in the matter. We know of one more attempt – three weeks later (March 5, 1716/17) – in which Mather approached Sir William Ashurst once again on the subject of his “Biblia.” This time around, Mather is much more direct if not forceful. The letter reiterates the main points of the missive Mather had sent more than a year earlier (Oct. 18, 1715), but also stresses the urgency of it: “I now grow so much in my encroaching Boldness upon you,” he sounded his apologies, “as to add this unto it. The *Opus Ecclesiae*, which is now waiting for the Light, is a Work wherein all sorts of Persons will find themselves accommodated with Entertainments, which, if they have been agreeable and acceptable in a separate Exhibition, how much more will common sense tell any man, they must be so in a refining Amassment of them! In these Varieties, none of all the Readers, will be more gratified, and edified, then the more curious Philosopher, who is on all Occasions here treated with such Things as would be fore the Palats of a *Christian Virtuoso*.” If Sir William were somehow able to “prevail with two or three Persons of Quality, to appear as Patrons and Favourers of a Work, so evidently Calculated for the Service of the Interests” of the Church, they would “thereby obtain the Monuments and Memorials of their generous Goodness which would be therefore due to them, and rais’d for them; the things desired, would be soon accomplished” (*Diary* 2:511). This is the last we hear of the matter.

Did Cotton Mather ever give up hope that his mighty commentary, “one of the greatest Works, that ever I undertook in my Life,” would ever get published? (*Diary* 1:169). Evidently, the last time he mentioned his unpublished work in an extant letter to a European correspondent is dated Nov. 12, 1719. Congratulating his old friend Robert Wodrow on having found a publisher for the *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1721–22), Mather glances with some noticeable envy at other colleagues whose works seem to prosper, while his own “Biblia” is languishing. Even his “dear Frankius” in Halle, Germany, Mather tells his Scottish friend, was singularly blessed in publishing his edition of the Greek New Testament “(for the publishing whereof our glorious Lord strangely supplied his expenses).” More often than not, God’s inscrutable will was hard to accept, let alone penetrate: “While the glorious Lord has accepted me more than two hundred and ninety times to serve his kingdom with my mean pen, in publishing composures, many of which have cost me very little thought, and been the fruits of no long projection, he seems to pass a sentence of death on several preparations that have cost me much more study than those that have come abroad; especially the *Biblia Americana*. And if he will have them to lie for ever buried, I am entirely satisfied in his will, and wisdom, and justice; and his grace, in what has been already done, will be sufficient for me. However,

I will wait upon Him, with hopes that he who raises the dead will, in his own time and way, bring into the service of his kingdom what it has no occasion for" (Wodrow, *Correspondence* 2:502–03). If the thousands of additions, excisions, and revisions in the six hefty manuscript volumes are telling indications, Mather never allowed his "Biblia" to be buried in oblivion. Nor did he ever lay the work aside completely. His many disappointments notwithstanding, he kept adding ever more material until the end of his life. Some of the very last entries in "Biblia Americana" for which a date can be estimated were made in 1727, less than a year before his death, the day after his sixty-fifth birthday (Feb. 12, 1727/28). By 1728, "Biblia Americana" had swelled to its present size of more than 4,500 double-columned manuscript pages in six volumes folio – too costly an undertaking to charm even his most dedicated patrons in Britain.

A New Offer To the Lovers of Religion and Learning: Publishing by Subscription

It is high time to examine Cotton Mather's advertisement, which plays such a prominent part in his effort to publish "Biblia Americana." Printed in c. 1713/14, Mather's pamphlet *A New Offer* – like many of his other works – went through an extended gestation period and multiple incarnations. As previously mentioned, Mather conceived his "Biblia Americana" as early as 1693 and began promoting his commentary in his church history *Magnalia Christi Americana* (105–06), in his essay to do good *Bonifacius* (200–06), and then again in his millenarian "*Tripuradisu*" (94). The substance and whole paragraphs of his pamphlet thus evolved over a long time period of nearly twenty years. With some significant variations, it appeared for the first time in its complete form as an advertisement appended to his popular *Bonifacius* (1710). As a separate pamphlet, however, *A New Offer* was probably not printed until shortly after Feb. 7, 1713/14, when Mather resolved to publish "a Sheet, entitled, *A New Offer, to the Lovers of Religion and Learning*" and to send copies throughout the American colonies and to Europe (*Diary* 2:383).

[1]

A
New OFFER
To the Lovers of
Religion and Learning.

IT is *Agreed* by all true Christians, and most *Certain* to them, That we are *highly Favoured* of Heaven, with a Divine *Storehouse of Truth* in our SACRED SCRIPTURES.

The World has nothing in it comparable to this BOOK of GOD, and of Life. A Book, which all the Learning under Heaven may be well employ'd, for the *Illustration* of; and is never so well employ'd, as when so employ'd. The *Illustration* of it, is indeed the most *Serviceable* and the most *Entertaining* Thing, that can be offered unto them that have any Value, and Relish or Concern for that Knowledge, which is of all the most valuable, and that would be *Wise unto the best of Purposes*. [2]

It is a Passage of the Celebrated BOYL; "When I Consider, how much more to the Advantage of the Sacred Writings, and of Christian Theology in general, diverse Texts have been Explained, and Discours'd of, by the Excellent *Grotius*, *Masius*, *Mede*, and Sir *Francis Bacon*, and some other late great Wits (to name now no Living ones,) in their several Kinds, than the same Places have been handled by *Vulgar Expositors*, and other Divines; And when I Consider, that none of these Worthies, was at once a great *Philosopher* and a great *Critick*; I cannot but hope, that when it shall please God, to stir up Persons of a *Philosophical* Genius, well furnished with *Critical Learning*, and the Principles of true *Philosophy*, and shall give them an hearty Concern for the Advance of His Truths, these Men will make *Explications* and *Discoveries* that shall be Admirable. You shall no more measure the Wisdom of God couched in the Bible by the Glosses and Systems of common Expositors, than æstimate the Wisdom He has express'd in the Contrivance of the World, by *Magirus's* or *Eustachius's* Physicks."

This *Wise Man* was a *Prophet*, when he wrote those Lines. An Age of *Light* comes on; *Explications* and *Discoveries* are continually growing; which all that will but *shew themselves* Men cannot but imbibe with Satisfaction. The *Path of the just One*, in His gracious Approaches to-[3]wards us, causes the *Light* which opens His Oracles unto us, to *shine more and more towards the perfect Day*. Doubtless the Pagan *Longinus* pleas'd his Jewish Empress, the brave *Zenobia*, when she read him admiring the *High Style* of *Moses* in that stately Stroke of the Creation; *God said, Let there be Light; And there was Light!* But how Admirable is that great Work of the *most High God*, which has given effectual Order for His Church in our Day; *Let there be Light in it, and let my Oracles be Illustrated!* And, *Lo, there is Light, and the Illustrations of the Sacred Scriptures are carried on to Wonderment!* The Instruments by whom this *Light* is brought down unto us, have of late been greatly Multiplied: *God has given His Word* of it, and *Great has been the Army of those that have published it*.

Anon, We have the Admirable WITSIUS Comforting of us, with his Report, of this Importance. *Neg: profecto Officio his suo defuerunt Illustres Animæ.* – "There have not been wanting those Illustrious Men," [And Thou, my dear Witsius, not the least of them!] "who have observed all the Solid Discoveries in *Philosophy*, all the Curious Researches of *Antiquity*, or that has occur'd in *Physick*, or in *Law*, relating to the *Sacred Scriptures*, and have applied it all with a signal *Dexterity* to the Illustration thereof: And so 'tis come to pass, that *Theology*, which had vast Riches of its own before, is now also enriched with foreign *Spoils*, and [4] appears with those Ornaments, which extort, even from them that are most of all disaffected unto it, a Confession of its most Charming Majesty."

The noble Service to Mankind, thus proposed, having been so far pursued, it is easy to imagine, that a Person of but common Abilities, [for He who now Writes may pretend unto no more;] applying himself unto it, may accomplish a very *Rich Collection of Illustrations upon the Sacred Scriptures*. An ADVERTISEMENT now comes forth, to Inform the Friends of Learning and Religion, that it is in some degree accomplished. An, *Opus Ecclesiæ*, is ready when it shall be call'd for.

No little Part of what has been Written on the great Intention of *Illustrating the Divine Oracles* has been perused. Some Hundreds of the *Latest* as well as the *Oldest* Writ-

ers that have had any thing looking that way, have been Consulted: If not for Number enough to have built an *Egyptian Pyramid*, yet so many, as to render the *Extract* alone which is now made from them, a sort of a *Library*.

Where small *Pamphlets*, as well as large *Volumns*, have made any valuable *Offerings* to the Service of the Sanctuary, they have not been wholly neglected. The *Names* of them, whose grateful *Stores* have been brought into this *Common Hive*, whether they be Dead or Living, are with all decent Ingenuity acknow-[5] ledged and eternized. Not only the *Rare Thoughts* of the more Illustrious Literators, who are known for *Stars of the first Magnitude* in the Catalogue of them that have *handled the Pen of the Writer*, but also the *Hints* occurring in Books that have made no Profession of serving this Cause, and many of them very *unsuspected ones*, have been seized for it. Many Thousands of those *Fine Thoughts*, whereof sometimes *One* or *Two*, or a very *Few*, have enabled the Writer to find some Acceptance in setting up for *Authorism*, are here together set upon the Table, in order to a Feast of *Fat Things full of Marrow, of Wines in the Lees well refined*. It cannot be presumed that the *Eye* of the poor Industry, which has laboured on this Design, has yet *seen every precious Thing*, yet, in the more than three Lustres of Years, which have run since it began the Undertaking, it has often *visited the Place of Sapphires*, and *found the Dust of Gold*, which is here to be exposed unto the more Sensible and Ingenuous part of Mankind, when it shall be thought a time for it. And it may be easily supposed, that one of no more than a *Common Reach*, Conversing so much with such Things, may now and then also make a feeble Flight towards an *Illustration* of his own, that may deserve Attention. There is an *American Plant*, which alone, as *Hernandez* will with some Demonstration tell us, *Quicquid vitæ esse potest Necessarium, facile prestare potest*; it will answer [6] all the *Necessities* of Humane Life, yea, and supply the *Delicacies* of it also. It is possible, this *American Work*, may with as Universal an Accommodation, afford what may be *Necessary*, yea, and what may be likewise *Delectable* to them, who in acquainting themselves with the *Best of Books*, and Things, would have their Studies well accommodated. The *Collection* makes Two FOLIO'S, of some considerable Dimensions, which now lye ready for Publication: Hoping that *Vossius's* Complaint of another Country, will not always be true of *Ours*, That one can hardly get any thing Printed, but either *Quarrels* or *Trifles*; *Eristica et Nugalia, quibus nihil vendibilis, ut ipsi non dissimulant Typographi*.

It has been studied, that this Work might not interfere with the Large *Annotations*, begun by the Excellent POOL, and finished by some of his Brethren.⁴⁶ Those *Polan Annotations* have been left almost wholly unconsulted, in the Composing of this Work, that their Value and Vending may not suffer the least measure of Depreciation from it. Nor will the inestimable Performances of such as Mr. *Matthew Henry* lose the least Grain of their Esteem with the Faithful, by having this Work to wait, (if the Public please to have it so) as an *Appendix* upon them. These Composures will be singularly Useful to one another.

The Work is attempted by a Person so strictly adhering to the Principles of the *Christian* [7] *Religion*, professed in the *Reformed Churches*, that the Reader is perfectly released

⁴⁶ In his *Magnalia Christi Americana* (105), Mather makes the following pitch for his "Biblia Americana": "When the excellent Mr. Pool had finished his Laborious and Immortal Task, it was noted by some considerable Persons, That wanting Assistance to Collect for him many miscellaneous Criticisms, occasionally scattered in other Authors, he left many better Things behind him than he found." K. B. Murdock ("End Notes" 381) points out that Mather's italicized passage is quoted from Matthew Poole's posthumously published *Annotations upon the Holy Bible*, 2 vols. (1683–85) 1:A6v.

and secured from all Fear of his finding here, any dangerous *Innovations* in, or *Deviations* from, the *Faith once delivered unto the Saints*. Instead of that, he will very frequently find, that the most important Articles of our *most Holy Faith*, are here defended with a *New Force*, by setting in a *Clear Light* such Texts, as have not been observed heretofore to carry such Assertions in them, or have been encumbered with the Glosses which *Men of Corrupt Minds* have put upon them. Nevertheless, the *Attempt* is carried on, with such a *Catholick Spirit*, that it may be hoped no *Good Man*, will have any matter of just Offence given unto him. It is not a Work animated with the *Spirit of a Party*; and it may be hoped, that nothing but that ungenerous and contemptible Spirit, will cast the disdainful Eye of the *Scorner* upon it. Accordingly it is already come to pass, that very Eminent Persons, Divines of great Note, in the *Church by Law Established*, having been apprised of the Work, have generously offered their best Encouragements unto it. Numbers of the best Men among the *Dissenters* have expressed their Wishes, not without some Impatience for it. *Scotland* also invites it, expects it, requires it. In *America*, 'tis asked for, and waited for. And there may be some hope, That all *Impartial Christians*, of whatever Denomination or Subdivision in Christianity, will [8] reckon it, *An useful Work*. For indeed *Common Sense* will say, it must needs be so, if the *Books*, from which the *Best Things* are fetch'd, and laid here together, were so. And yet, there is more than *this*, to argue for it. Briefly, Men of *every Religion*, yea, and some of *no Religion* at all, have had *Spoils* taken from them, for the Enriching of this Work; And, why should not all good Men, who embrace the *True Religion*, tho' of different Perswasions in some lesser Points of it, Unite in the Enjoyment of the Riches?

To bestow the Censure of *Pride* and *Vanity*, on the proposing of such a Work for Publication, would be therewith to Censure and Reproach all Attempts in such a way to serve the Public. Most certainly 'tis no Trespass against the Rules of *Modesty*, to give the Public a Report and a Tender, of what has been thus prepared for it; but it would look like one against the Rules of *Equity*, to call it so. Most certainly, it is a *Modest Thing*, a *Sober*, a *Proper*, and a very *Lawful One*, for an *Honest Man* to desire, that so much of a short Life, as has been spent in such a Preparation, should not be *spent in Vain*.

The Pen, which all along this Work, pays all due Acknowledgments unto those, whom the Sovereign GOD furnished and honoured with the Treasures, which are thro' their Hands come into it, *seeks not its own Honour*; And if even the small Reputation of a little *Diligence* [9] and *Contrivance* be denied unto it, in this also it will Propound all imaginable Satisfaction. It would, if that had been possible, have kept the Authors Name under such a Reservation, that it must have been only a Retainer to *Placcius's Treatise, De Scriptoris Anonymis*. It is content, that the Writer be Clouded with all possible *Obscurity*; and that it be left wholly unconsidered, whether he has ever given any Testimony of a tolerable Capacity for such a Work as this, by any *other Performances*; or, whether any considerable *Societies* in the World, have ever thought him Worthy of being *Theirs*. It has nothing to object against as many *Diminutions* and *Annihilations*, as the superiour Part of Mankind may think agreeable for him. He only desires, that the Oblations which he brings from those that may be accounted *Better than himself*, (and which he might, if he had pleased, have made in the most *common Methods*, to pass for, *His own*,) may find Acceptance with the Church, to which we all owe our *All*: And that AMERICA may at length, with a Benign and Smiling Aspect of her Lady-Mother upon her, come in to do something, for an Interest that must *have these uttermost Parts of the Earth for its Possession*.

Sometimes very mean Things, have on the score of their being *Far-fetcht*, had a Value set upon them, and not been look'd upon as too *Dear-bought*, when a great Price

has been given [10] for them. If a Work, which is a *Tree*, that grew on the Western side of the *Atlantic*, may on *that score* hope to be valued by good Men, in the *other Hemisphere*, there will be an accession of *this peculiar Circumstance*, that, *Gentlemen*, the *Fruits* upon it, or at least, the *Seeds* that produced them, were most of them, Originally *Your own*: And it cannot but be a *Pleasure*, if not a *Surprize* unto you, to find that so many of your *Best Things*, have passed over *the great and wide Sea* unto the *American Strand*. Nor will it be New or Strange, if some Things happened to be *Meliorated*, and made more *Sweet* and *Fine*, by passing over this mighty Ocean. Or, to address you under *another Figure*; The Writers whom you made much of, while you had them *at Home* with you in a more *separate Condition*, certainly, will not lose your Favour, for having *Travelled Abroad*, and now *Returned Home* in *Company*; tho' with their *Habit* and *Language* having something of an *American Change* upon it.

But, what brings this *Promiser*; that may be worthy of so much Expectation?

THIS is the *TITLE* of it. These Promises may be made in the *Title-Page* of it. Behold here, a *Communi Fax*, unto it. [11]

BIBLIA AMERICANA.⁴⁷

The SACRED SCRIPTURES of the OLD and NEW Testament; Exhibited, in the *Order of Time*, wherein the several and successive Occurrences, may direct the Placing and Reading of them: which Exhibition alone, will do the Service of a *Valuable Commentary*. With,

- I. A proper Notice taken of those Instances, wherein the most Polite and Pious Masters in *Philology*, have expressed their Wishes to see the *Common Translation* Amended and Refined.⁴⁸
- II. A Rich Collection of ANTIQUITIES, which the studies Researches of Inquisitive and Judicious Men in the later Ages, have recovered; for a sweet Reflection of *Light* from thence upon the Heavenly *Oracles*: Especially those wherein the *Idolatry*, the

⁴⁷ The substantive differences between Cotton Mather's *New Offer* (1713/14), reprinted here, and his advertisement of the "Biblia" in *Bonifacius* (1710) reveal that he made several significant changes in his "Biblia" manuscript during the four intervening years. Fifteen years later, Samuel Mather's "Advertisement," appended to his biography of his father, *The Life* (1729), suggests additional revisions during the last dozen years of Cotton Mather's life, especially in items I and II (*The Life* 185–86).

⁴⁸ In *Bonifacius* (203), item I reads, "The common *Translation*, with all due Modesty, Amended and Refined in those many Instances, where an Army of Learned and Pious Men in our Days, have with great *Reason*, Proposed it." In Samuel Mather's *Life* (184), item I reads, "THE sacred Scriptures of the Old and New-Testament exhibited, *In the Order of Time*, wherein the several and successive Occurrences may direct to the lacing and Reading of them: which Exhibition alone will greatly enlighten them, and do the Service of a valuable Commentary." Samuel Mather's emphasis suggests that the whole section on "The OLD TESTAMENT in the Order of the History," followed by "The NEW TESTAMENT, in the true Order of the History," at the beginning of "Biblia Americana," which appears in the present edition in *BA* (1:213–68) was added sometime *after* Mather began circulating his *New Offer* (1713/14). Also see the following note.

*Oeconomicks, the Politicks, the Agriculture, the Architecture, the Art of War, the Music, the Habits, and the Diets in the former Ages, may be referr'd unto.*⁴⁹

- III. The LAWS of the *Israelitish Nation* in these *Pandects of Heaven*, interpreted; and the *Original* and *Intention* thereof, rescued from the Mis-representations, that some famous Writers have put upon them. With a particular History of the City JERUSALEM, under its wondrous Vicissitudes, from the Days of *Melchizedeck*, down to Ours; and a Relation of [12] the present & wretched Condition, in which it waits, the *Time to favour the set Time to come on.*⁵⁰
- IV. The TYPES of the Bible, accommodated with their *Antitypes*: And this Glorious Book of God, now appearing a Field, that yields a marvellous Mixture of Holy *Profit* and *Pleasure*, in those Paragraphs of it, which have sometimes appeared the least Fruitful with Instruction.
- V. *Golden Treasures*, and *more to be desired than such*, fetch'd out of those very *unpromising Heaps*, the TALMUDS, and other *Jewish Writings*; not only to Illustrate the *Oracles* once committed unto the *distinguished Nation*; but also to demonstrate the Truths of *Christianity*.
- VI. NATURAL PHILOSOPHY call'd in to serve *Scriptural Religion*. The fairest *Hypotheses* of those *Grand Revolutions*, the *Making*, the *Drowning*, and the *Burning* of the WORLD, offered. The *Astronomical* Affairs, the *Meteors*, the *Minerals*, the *Vegetables*, the *Animals*, the *Diseases*, the *Anatomical* Curiosities, and what relates to the *Invisible World* of Good or Evil Spirits, mention'd in these immortal Pages, represented with the *Best Thoughts of our Times* upon them. To all which there is added, *The Christian Virtuoso*,⁵¹ with the Commentary of the more Modern and Certain Philosophy on, *His Work which Men behold*; Embellished with the Discoveries which *our Days at Length* have made of Things wherein the Glorious GOD of Nature calls for our *Wonders* & our *Praises*. [13]
- VII. The CHRONOLOGY of this admirable Book, every where cleared, from all its Difficulties; and the *Clock of Time* set right, in its whole Motion, from the Beginning which *He that Inhabits Eternity* gave unto it. Besides the most Accurate *Harmony of the Gospel*, that has yet been offered among them that *know the Joyful Sound*.⁵²

49 In Samuel Mather's biography, item II reads, "An *Emendation* of our present Version; from the Discoveries of the most learned Philologists from the earliest Ages of sacred Literature down to *Bochart*, *Calmet* and *Parker*: and a particular notice of those many Instances wherein our greatest Masters of the Original Languages have express'd their wishes to see the common Translation amended and refined" (*The Life* 1984). This item is an expansion of item I as it appears both in *Bonifacius* (203) and in *New Offer* (11).

50 In *Bonifacius* (204), items II and III appear in inverse order.

51 In *Bonifacius* (204), item VI does not mention "*The Christian Virtuoso*" or its contents. Item VI reads as follows: "*Natural Philosophy* call'd in, to Serve *Scriptural Religion*. The Fairest *Hypotheses* of those *Grand Revolutions*, the *Making*, and the *Drowning*, and the *Burning* of the *World*, Offered. The *Plants*, the *Minerals*, the *Meteors*, the *Animals*, the *Diseases*, the *Astronomical* Affairs, and the *Powers* of the *Invisible World*, mention'd in the *book* of GOD, represented with the *Best Thoughts of our Times* upon them." Since Mather specifically advertises *The Christian Virtuoso* in his *New Offer* (see above), he evidently designed *The Christian Virtuoso* – later published separately as *The Christian Philosopher* (London, 1720/21) – to be an integral part of "Biblia Americana."

52 This last sentence (the reference to the *Harmony of the Gospel*) is absent from the advertisement in *Bonifacius* (205). This difference may well suggest that between 1710 and 1713/14, Mather interleaved the long section "PROLEGOMENA to the HARMONY of the Gospels"

- VIII. The GEOGRAPHY of it *Survey'd*; the Scituation, especially of *Paradise*, & of *Palestine* laid out: With an Account how the *whole Earth* has been Peopled: And many Notable and Enlightening Things contributed unto this Work, by *Travellers* of unspotted Veracity, by whose *Running to and fro Knowledge has been increased*.
- IX. A sort of *Twenty-ninth Chapter of the ACTS*; Or, An elaborate and entertaining History, of what has befallen the *Israelitish Nation*, in every Place, from the Birth of our great REDEEMER to *this very Day*: And the present Condition of that Nation, the Reliques of the *Ten*, as well as of the *Two Tribes*, (and of their Ancient *Sects*,) yet existing in the several parts of the World, where they are now dispersed, at *this Time*, when their approaching Recovery from their sad and long Dispersion is hoped for.
- X. The HISTORIES of all Ages, brought in, to show how the *Prophecies* of this Invaluable Book, have had their most punctual Accom-[14] plishment, and strongly established *Conjectures*, (yet made with all due Modesty,) on such as yet *remain to be Accomplished*: In the Prosecution whereof, the Reader finds an entire *Body of Church-History*, brought into his Possession.⁵³
- XI. The true Doctrine of the CHILIAD, which more opens & breaks in upon the more considerate Enquirers, *as the Day approaches*, brought in as a *Key* to very much of the Wealth, which the Church of God enjoys in this *Book of the Kingdom*. Whereto are added, the most *unexceptionable Thoughts* of the ablest Writers on the *Apocalypse*; defecated from the more Arbitrary and less Defensible Conceits, of *overdoing Students* in the Prophecies.⁵⁴
- XII. Some *Essays* to Illustrate the *Scripture* from EXPERIMENTAL PIETY, or the Observations of *Christian Experience*. With many of the *Excellent Things*, observed in and extracted from the *Holy Scriptures that make Wise unto Salvation*, especially by the *North-British Expositors*, who with a penetrating and peculiar Search after Hints for *Christian Practice*, have been found worthy to *Open* many *Books* of the Bible.
- And many Thousands of curious Notes, found scattered and shining, in the Writings both of the *Ancients* and the *Moderns*, laid here together, in a grateful Amassment of them.
- All done with a most Religious & Inviolable and Perpetual Regard unto the *Principles of Religion*, which are the Life of the *Reformed Churches*. [15]

between the section on "The New Testament" and "The Four Gospels" at the opening of his commentary on the New Testament ("Biblia Americana," vol. 6).

⁵³ In *Bonifacius* (205), item X reads "All *Appearances of Contradiction*, in the Pages fill'd from Inspiration, for ever taken away." This item probably refers to Mather's essay "Some Remarks, relating to the *Inspiration*, and *Obsignation*, of the CANON" and "I. VATES. Or, Some Remarks upon the SPIRIT of PROPHECY." Both of these sections are part of a series of essays entitled "Coronis" and "An Appendix. Containing Some GENERAL STORES, of Illustration," which Mather appends to his commentary on Revelation.

⁵⁴ Items X and XI in *New Offer* (13–14) appear as a single combined item (item XI) in *Bonifacius* (205). The separation of "The true Doctrine of the CHILIAD" (item XI) from "The HISTORIES" (item X) and his additional references to the "*overdoing Students* in the Prophecies" in (*New Offer*, item XI) suggest that Mather was in the process of rethinking his eschatology. Compare Mather's "Problema Theologicum" (1703) with his "*Trip paradisus*" (1712, 1720–27).

By the Blessing of CHRIST, on the Labours
of an *American*.

In Two Volumns.

¶ The usual Method for the Publication of such a Work, has been, first of all to Publish PROPOSALS for SUBSCRIPTIONS: For who can Dream, that such *Bulky & Costly Things*, can unassisted, make their own way into the World? But in the present Case, the Distance of the Author from *Europe*, & the Abode of the Work in *America* till it may be sent over with some hopeful Encouragement, and the uncertainty of what may be the *precise Number of Sheets* which will be needful on the Occasion, will oblige to something a little *Unusual* in the way of Proceeding.

Understanding that the Work will make *Two Volumns* in FOLIO, it is proposed, That it shall be afforded unto Subscribers, at the same Rate, that *such Books*, of the *Quantity*, and in the same *Character*, have usually been afforded at: Which is a Rate so generally *Agreed* (and very seldom or little *Varied*), that the venture of a more *Indefinite Subscribing* for it, need not be much scrupled at.⁵⁵

It shall also be insisted on, with the Booksellers, that whoever shall procure & send in *Subscriptions* for *Nine Sets* of this Work, shall have a *Tenth Gratis*. [16]

It is therefore PROPOSED, That the Persons who are Well-wishers to a Work of this Intention and Usefulness, would send in their *Names*, affixed unto the following Declaration.

When it shall please GOD, that the Work Entituled, BIBLIA AMERICANA, whereof the Public has been Advertised, in the New Offer to the Lovers of Religion and Learning; shall be Published, (and if it be done without unnecessary Delays,) the Subscriber will take off a Sett, (namely, The Two Volumns) at the Price assign'd by the Booksellers, with the Advice of Three unexceptionable Ministers of the City of London, within the general Rate which for a Work so Circumstanced has been formerly declared Reasonable.

Mather's *New Offer* employs most of the same advertising techniques found in the standard subscription announcements of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.⁵⁶ It differs, however, in several major points: the absence of endorsements by well-known English Dissenters, Anglican bishops, or scholars with academic affiliation in Oxford, Cambridge, or Edinburgh; the want of a list of distinguished subscribers appended to his advertisement; the lack of a representative sample page of his commentary to vouch for print and paper quality; and (most of all) the nonexistence of an experienced and effective London agent with leverage among influential churchmen.

As is well known, financing costly publications by subscription became the preferred means of sponsorship in seventeenth and eighteenth-century

⁵⁵ Samuel Mather advertised his father's "Biblia" in "*Three Volumns* in FOLIO" for "between *Three & Four Pounds Sterling*; and in *New-England Money* according as the Exchange shall then be" (*Life* 186).

⁵⁶ See especially D. Farren, "Subscription" (93–154).

Britain and its American colonies.⁵⁷ Subscription – a form of advance payment of a share of the publisher's expense – began to replace the traditional mode of bankrolling publications through outright grants or gifts by well-heeled benefactors or aristocratic patrons whose largess was commemorated in sumptuous panegyrics of one sort or another. In its eighteenth-century context, Ephraim Chambers's *Cyclopædia* (London, 1728) defined the new meaning of *subscription* as follows: "Subscription, in the Commerce of Books, particularly signifies an Engagement a Person enters, to take a certain Number of Copies of a Book going to be printed; and the reciprocal Obligation of a Bookseller or Publisher, to deliver the said Copies on certain Terms."⁵⁸ The English lexicographer John Minsheu (1560–1627) is generally credited to be the first author to employ subscription as means to pay for the publication of his *Ductor in Linguas, The Guide Into Tongues* (London: John Browne, 1617), a polyglot dictionary in eleven languages.⁵⁹ This is not the place to rehearse the familiar history of subscription publication. It may suffice to single out some aspects of this relatively new form of commercial patronage to help us appreciate why Cotton Mather ultimately failed to publish his "Biblia Americana." As we learn from his "Secunda Epistola Lectori" (*Ductor* A3r-A5r) and from his separately published "Catalogue" (1617), John Minsheu went about charming subscribers like an expert. He first obtained official affidavits from Oxford and Cambridge scholars and testimonials from vice-chancellors of the university – all affirming the expert quality and usefulness of his polyglot dictionary. With these letters of support and "*His Maesties Letters Patents*" in hand, he approached the highest orders in the Church of England, Britain's escutcheoned nobility, judges and barristers at London's "*honourable Societies of the Innes of Court*" (A4v), physicians, merchants, and other moneyed aristocrats up and down the kingdom – more than four hundred subscribers whose names, titles, or occupations were neatly printed in his "CATALOGUE and true note of the *Names* of such *Persons* which ... have received the *Etymologicall Dictionarie* of XI. *Languages*" (London, 1617). The impressive list of subscribers is headed by "The KING. The QUEENE. The PRINCE" followed by a long train of subjects from the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, bishops, earls, barons, knights, lords and ladies, esquires, all the way down to mere commoners of mercantile renown.

If Minsheu's formula of success found eager imitators by such theologians, lexicographers, and natural philosophers of note as Brian Walton, Matthew Poole, William Turner, John Tillotson, Nehemiah Grew, and many many oth-

⁵⁷ See especially the studies by S. L. C. Clapp, R. G. Silver, R. H. Carnie, and D. Farren (esp. 42–92).

⁵⁸ Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopædia* (2:141, second pagination).

⁵⁹ See S. L. C. Clapp (205–16).

ers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,⁶⁰ then Cotton Mather's *New Offer, To the Lovers of Religion and Learning* was stillborn: not a single armorial appellation, worshipful vice-chancellor or rector – let alone archbishop or maecenas – appears in his advertisement for "Biblia Americana" to endorse or subscribe to Mather's commentary. Not that he was insincere in emphasizing that "very Eminent Persons, Divines of great Note, in the *Church by Law Established* ... have generously offered their best Encouragements unto it. Numbers of the best Men among the *Dissenters* have expressed their Wishes, not without some Impatience for it. *Scotland* also invites it, expects it, requires it. In *America*, 'tis asked for, and waited for" (*New Offer* 7). However, no names of these well-wishers or patrons appear anywhere in his advertisement. Even the honor that would induce others to have their name associated with respected patrons on subscription lists – as illustrated in Minsheu's "Catalogue" (1617), Brian Walton's "Proposition" (1652/53), or Matthew Poole's "Advertisement" (1676) – is missing for want of takers.

Effective advertisement methods of the period also included specimen pages to illustrate the quality of print, paper, and content – provided in William Turner's proposal for publishing by subscription his *Remarkable Providences* (1695), in Abel Swall's "Proposal for Printing by Subscription *Cambden's Britannia*" (1693), in John Hudson's "Proposals For Subscription to Thucydides" (1695), a bilingual Greek and Latin edition; in Andrew Burrell's "Proposals for Printing by Subscription" (1738), his Hebrew and Chaldaic dictionary; or in Daniel Bellamy's "Proposal for Printing by Subscription, *A Paraphrase On the Books of the New Testament*" (1747). Mather was unable to supply specimen pages simply because he had not yet secured a London publisher. From the viewpoint of subscribers, yet another useful measure well illustrated in Brian Walton's "Proposition" was to identify and name treasurers to ensure orderly collection and disbursement of down-payments by subscribers, proofreaders to correct errors in typesetting and printing, and agents or "undertakers" who would supervise the entire project from beginning to end – none of these crucial abettors were available to Mather while he was still scouting for an experienced London agent willing and eager to see to it that a sufficient number of subscriptions would entice a reliable publisher to take on "Biblia Americana." Finally, without a printer-publisher, Mather was not able to pinpoint in his *New Offer*

⁶⁰ Several examples of successful subscription advertisement stand out: Brian Walton's advertisements for the six-volume London Polyglot, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1653–57) in "A Brief Description" (1652/53) and "Propositions" (1652/53); Matthew Poole, "Brief Description" (1667) and "An Advertisement" (1676) along with Cornelius Bee's countersuit in "Mr. Bee's Answer to Mr. Poole's Second Vindication" (1668); William Turner's proposal for his *Remarkable Providences* (1695); John Tillotson, "Proposals For the ... Works of ... Isaac Barrow" (1682); Nehemiah Grew's proposal to republish "*Musaeum Regalis Societatis*" (1679/80).

the necessary representatives in London, Oxbridge, and Edinburgh with whom subscribers could place their orders or pay their first installment.⁶¹

How much friends in high places and personal contact mattered can be seen in the case of Brian Walton's magnificent *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (London: Thomas Roycroft, 1653–57), which reprinted in parallel columns the Bible in Hebrew, Samaritan, Greek (Septuagint), Latin (Vulgate), Chaldaean (Aramaic), Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic, Persian, along with the Targums Onkelos, Jerusalem, and Jonathan Ben Uzziel – from the best manuscript copies yet. His biographer reports that the renowned diarist and botanist John Evelyn (1620–1706), well connected with John Pearson (principal editor of the nine-volume *Critici Sacri* [London, 1660]), started promoting Walton's polyglot Bible sometime in late November 1652. "Before the close of that year [Feb. 1652/53], subscriptions to the value of near 4000*l.* were obtained; and, soon afterwards, were more than doubled." The most famous linguists and theologians of the day – John Worthington, John Selden, James Ussher, Edward Pococke, Henry Hammond, John Lightfoot, Thomas Gataker – were all involved in one way or the other in the supervision of the project and their approbation virtually guaranteed success of the huge project.⁶² No such illustrious promoters were at hand for Mather's "Biblia Americana."

How then did Mather succeed in finding a London agent and publisher for his *Magnalia Christi Americana*? At the distance of 3,300 miles (5,300 km), Mather turned to the Rev. John Quick (1636–1706), minister in Bartholomew Close, Smithfield, whose pious tract *Young Man's Claim unto the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper* (Boston, 1700) Mather had been instrumental in reprinting in Boston. Perhaps, Mather hoped thus to oblige his Presbyterian colleague in London to see the manuscript of the *Magnalia* through the press (*Diary* 1:364). The story is well known.⁶³ A personal friend of Increase Mather from his London days, John Quick – as it turned out – was neither a man of influence with London publishers nor a man of persuasive powers among London Dissenters. Cotton selected him because of his father's obliging relationship with Quick.⁶⁴ As is apparent from his letter to Cotton Mather (Oct. 10, 1701), Quick tried hard to negotiate with London bookseller-publishers for the best conditions he could get for the *Magnalia*:

⁶¹ See Brian Walton, "Propositions" (83r). When Samuel Mather advertised his father's "Biblia" in 1729, he included the following: "SUBSCRIPTIONS will be taken by *Samuel Gerrish, Daniel Henchman* and *Thomas Hancock* Booksellers, in *Boston*; and as soon as there shall appear sufficient Encouragement, the *Manuscripts* will be sent to *London* to be Printed there, with all convenient Expedition, and Care will be taken of the Paper, Printing and Binding, that it be suitable to such a Work" (*Life* 186).

⁶² Henry John Todd, *Memoirs* (ch. 2, esp. pp. 31 and 44–65)

⁶³ See Greenough, "A Letter" (134–47); Murdock, "The *Magnalia*" (27–29, 35); Silverman, *Life* (152, 157–58); Deluna (154–56).

⁶⁴ See Murdock, *Increase Mather* (198, 323).

1. 100 Guineas or so many Books well-bound. 2. Six of ye larger Paper richly bound for your Patrons. 3. To be put into ye Presse immediately. 4. Every sheet to be brought to me hot from ye Presse to be revised & corrected. 5. The Paper & character to be ye same with my printed Proposals. 6. not one to be sold off till all your Books were first delivered to me. 7. The best chart of New Engl. The best Topographical Delineation of Boston, & your effigies' in mezzotinto to be præfix'd to ye whole work.⁶⁵

Whether or not Quick was an effective agent or too concerned with negotiating the best deal he could get for his Boston colleague is anyone's guess. At least Mather, in time, thought not (*Diary* 1:400, 427). Nonetheless, Quick's letter demonstrates that Mather had difficulty controlling the transactions from afar – events that would ultimately lead Robert Hackshaw (the owner of reams of inferior paper) to strike a deal with Thomas Parkhurst (the London publisher) and Parkhurst to print the *Magnalia* on low-quality paper and without proofreading the printed sheets. Mather apparently never received a farthing for his pains.

Did he learn from his mistakes when a dozen years later he began to circulate his *New Offer* to drum up subscribers and publishers for his "Biblia Americana"? Unfortunately not. Mather proceeded in the same manner he was want to do along. As mentioned earlier, he wrote to the London divine John Reynolds, whose *Practical Religion Exemplify'd* Mather had previously republished in Boston (1713), and overwhelmed him with letters and messages at second and third hand to orchestrate the little matter for him (*Diary* 2: 206, 309–12). That Mather was a more proficient preacher and author than businessman is readily apparent from how he went about publishing his works abroad. As one recent critic put it, "All evidence suggests that Mather never cultivated any sustained direct relations with London publishers but, instead, relied on friends and relatives to secure connections and negotiate for him" (Deluna 151). Indeed, the publication history of Mather's *Magnalia* well anticipates how he would later go about trying to find patrons for his "Biblia Americana." Still, the main problems were the size of his Bible commentary and the conditions of the publishing market.

The Root of All Evil

One of Mather's most sympathetic biographers, the Rev. Abijah Perkins Marvin (1813–89) estimated the comparative size of "Biblia Americana," in his posthumously published *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (1892). Marvin approached the subject by beginning on familiar ground. The first ever published folio volume on a New England press was *A Compleat Body of Divinity*

⁶⁵ Greenough ("A Letter relating" 141). For John Dunton's rare "Proposal" to publish the *Magnalia*, see Greenough, "A Letter relating" (287–88, note 296).

(Boston: Printed by B. Green and S. Kneeland for B. Eliot and D. Henchman, 1736), a collection of 250 sermons on the Westminster Catechism, by Samuel Willard (1640–1707), revered pastor of the Old South Church in Boston, and acting president of Harvard (1701–07). This mighty volume consists of 914 folio pages in double columns, 134 lines per page, and “about 8.4 words” per line. According to these averages, Marvin calculates that “this gives 1,028,798 words” in Willard’s *Compleat Body* – “short lines and breaks in the pages and headlines are not counted.” This relatively large size was not unusual for the time, Marvin argues, as can be seen by comparing Willard’s folio volume with Mather’s own *Magnalia Christ Americana* (1702), which at that time was too large for any of the New England presses and had to be published in London: “In the *Magnalia*, there are 661,848 words, more or less, or nearly seven tenths as many as in” Willard’s sermon collection (Marvin 500).⁶⁶ From another source we learn that Willard’s *Compleat Body* was published by subscription, “the earliest work of learning to be financed in this manner” in New England, “by a coalition of Boston booksellers” and “some 630” subscribers.⁶⁷ If it took that many subscribers and several publishers and printers to issue Willard’s single-volume folio of 914 pages and a little over one million words, how much would it have taken to publish Cotton Mather’s “Biblia Americana,” which Abijah Marvin estimates at “2,888,000 words”? (Marvin 500). Modern computer technology allows us to refine Marvin’s estimate somewhat. From the current transcriptions of the manuscript, we can gather the following numbers: 4,583 holograph manuscript pages in double columns, folio (half or quarter pages, including snippets, counted as such), averaging 635 words per manuscript page, totaling 2,910,205 words more or less. Marvin’s estimate is right on target. Put in another way, “Biblia Americana” is nearly three times larger than Willard’s *Compleat Body* and four-and-one-third times bigger than Mather’s *Magnalia*. In terms of cost, if Mather’s agent is correct and the *Magnalia* “will cost about 600 *lb.*” in 1701 Pound Sterling (*Diary* 1:400), then his “Biblia,” considerably more than 4 ½ times larger and costlier thirty years later, would have run to at least £2,600 – a sizable fortune for a Boston clergyman. Put in yet another way, the retail-price index (purchasing power) for £600 in 1701 had risen to £756, 3s, 11d, by 1728, the year of Mather’s death; for £2,600 in 1701 money, the retail-price index had

⁶⁶ Marvin’s calculation here does not quite measure up. The *Magnalia* is about six (not seven) tenths the size of Willard’s *Compleat Body*.

⁶⁷ D.D. Hall, “Learned Culture” (1:427); S.A. Green points out that “the number of subscribers’ names in the ‘Body of Divinity’ is about 450,” but many individuals took 4, 6, 7, even 18 copies of the work (“Books Published” 20, 21). Likewise, according to Green (21), Thomas Prince’s *Chronological History of New England* (1736) was published the same year as Willard’s, but was considerably smaller (only 400 pages) and took its author and publisher eight years to gather 750 subscribers to publish the work in 1736 (21). Also see the studies by D. Farren (53) and R. G. Silver (163–78).

risen to £3,276, 16s, 11d.⁶⁸ In July, 1728, Mather's entire estate – without his prized library – was appraised at only "£245, 5s, 10d" (Silvermann, *Life* 428).⁶⁹ Clearly, Mather's personal resources fell far short of covering on his own the expense of publishing his beloved "Biblia" even if he had wanted to.

Drawing on the North American Imprints Program (NAIP), Hugh Amory has compiled a useful table of data of leading authors, an index that illustrates how Mather dominated the Boston publishing market for nearly three decades.⁷⁰ During the period of 1701–1710, Mather tops the record with 95 titles, which represent 26.91 % of all works of a personal authorship published in English North America (WPA), or 15.83 % of all North American imprints (NAIP). The figures for Increase Mather, who is second in line, amount to only one-third of those of his son: 29 titles, or 8.22 % (WPA), and 4.83 % (NAIP). During the same decade, the five most productive authors – after the two Mathers – published only from 5 to 12 titles. In the next decade (1711–1720), Cotton Mather again tops the list with 129 titles, or 23.33 % (WPA), representing 15.23 % (NAIP). Second in line is his colleague Benjamin Wadsworth with 42 titles, or 7.59 % (WPA), representing 4.96 % (NAIP). Increase Mather comes in third with 36 titles, 7.59 % (WPA), or 4.25 % (NAIP). Finally, during the decade of 1721–1730, Cotton Mather heads the list for a last time with 96 titles, or 12.77 % (WPA), amounting to 7.95 % (NAIP). Benjamin Colman, Mather's colleague at the Brattle-Street Church, comes in a distant second with 26 titles, which represents 3.46 % (WPA) and 2.15 % (NAIP).⁷¹ These numbers are revealing in several ways. Although Cotton Mather dominated the Boston book publishing market for thirty years with the largest number of works by an individual author, his books represent a decreasing percentage of the total number of publications of all National American Imprints (NAIP) over the same period. This overall decline does not come as a surprise. During the first three decades of the eighteenth century, an ever increasing number of book publishers and printers set up shop in English North America to meet the diversifying needs of the population. The demand for newspapers, broadsides, almanacs, works of a political nature, and government printing competed in the publishing market in ever larger proportion with such genres as sermons, poetry, schoolbooks, academic

⁶⁸ This calculation is based on L. H. Officer, "Purchasing Power of British Pounds from 1264 to Present" (Feb. 2, 2010).

⁶⁹ J. H. Tuttle, in "Libraries of the Mathers" (296), quotes the value of the estate as £235. 10s. 10d.—£10 less than Silverman does.

⁷⁰ See H. Amory, "A Note on Statistics" (1:504–18). The North American Imprints Program (NAIP), a database accessible through the American Antiquarian Society (Worcester), provides more accurate data on early American imprints than the hitherto standard bibliography, C. K. Shipton and J. E. Mooney, *National Index of American Imprints through 1800* (1969). See also S. E. Morison's discussion of printing and bookselling, in *Intellectual Life* (112–32).

⁷¹ Amory, "A Note on Statistics" (1:517).

dissertations, hymnals, and Psalmbooks.⁷² Furthermore, the number of books exported from London to English North America also showed a steady increase throughout the eighteenth century. During the fifty-year period (1701–50), the total is 73,202 books. Of this total, nearly one third (29.4 %) or 21,498 books went to the New England colonies alone.⁷³

Given these market conditions, how did Mather manage to publish more than 450 works that could have kept at least one Boston book publisher in business for several years without taking on projects by any other author? That he was one of the most popular preachers in Boston is well known; he and his father presided over a congregation of more than 1,500 members – the largest in the American colonies. Preaching at least three sermons per week potentially supplied the publishing market with plentiful homiletic discourses, and many of Mather's sermons were printed by popular demand. Covering the expense of printing trendy sermons was generally handled in several different ways. Occasional sermons on such topics as executions of criminals, natural disasters, Indian attacks, epidemics, funerals, or annual elections of governors and magistrates, were sought-after reading materials. For instance, Boston printer-publishers like Timothy Green or Daniel Henchman would frequently have someone take shorthand notes or request from a clergyman copies of the sermons that particularly resonated with their parishioners and print them at their own expense.⁷⁴ Public discourses on the executions of murderers or pirates, homilies on Boston fires, Indian raids, and on Indian or Barbary captivities were subjects in great demand, and publishers could count on tidy profits by venturing into print on their own. The expense for funeral sermons was generally underwritten by family members or friends of the deceased. The last sermon of a dead minister or a selection of his best discourses was customarily paid for by the clergyman's parishioners. Several incidents in Mather's diary offer interesting insights into how many of his works were published at no expense to the author. His *Parental Wishes and Charges* (Boston: Timothy Green, 1705) is a case in point: "I knew not presently how to procure the Publication of this little Book," he confessed in his diary in June 1705; "for the Method wherein I expected it, mett with some odd Obstructions. But I committed it unto the Lord; and entreated, that He would accept my Endeavour to serve Him. Immediately the Obstruction vanished; and I gave the Book unto the Printer." Prayer and providence – rather

72 On these genres, Amory's figures represent a period of 150 years, 1640–1790 ("Note" 1:511).

73 Amory, "Note" (1:514). See also S. Botein, "The Anglo-American Book Trade before 1776" (48–82).

74 Isaiah Thomas, the famous printer and president of the American Antiquarian Society, relates that Timothy Green was not always successful in recouping the expense of speculating in the publishing market: "Large quantities of these sermons lay on hand as dead stock; and, after his decease, they were put into baskets, appraised by the bushel, and sold under the value of common waste paper," in *The History of Printing in America* (1:185).

than firm knowledge of publishing exigencies – appear to be Mather's principal means of publishing his discourses.⁷⁵ His trust in supernatural agency, however, does not mean that he did not incur any expense or that he would sit idly by. It was his habit to purchase copies of his own sermons from the printer and to give them away to his parishioners in his weekly pastoral visits. "I hope, to make special Use of it, in my pastoral Visits; in which usually I give away half a dozen Books, more or less, every Day that I make them" (*Diary* 1:517–18).⁷⁶ Several other such cases can be cited to illustrate how Mather relied on his faith in divine providence to sponsor the publication of his sermons: His diary for Sept. 1713 records that he was at a loss what to preach on at the Thursday lecture. What he could not generate in a state of wakefulness was revealed to him in a dream, and the sermon and its delivery were well received by the congregants: "Some of my Neighbours desired a copy of the Sermon, that they might give it unto the Public. The Subject is the most important in the World; and the Sermon will be an agreeable Engine for me to employ on many Occasions, when Books of Piety are to be dispensed. So I fitt the Discourse for the Press; and give it unto the Bookseller" (*Diary* 2:241). *What should be most of all thought upon* (Boston: T. Green, for D. Henchman, 1713), the title of the sermon in question, instructed his readers how to prepare for death and the state of the soul in the hereafter. It was in much demand, and he gave away many copies during his pastoral visits.

Mather's biographers and historians of the period have frequently commented on his immoderate desire to get published, an obsessive compulsive addiction, they argue, that is of a kind with his inordinate vanity.⁷⁷ However accurate their diagnoses, they fail to consider that publishing homilies was the best available means at the time of reaching out to an audience beyond his immediate parish. Churches today rely on TV shows, radio stations, phone-a-thons, dial-a-prayer, mass-mailings, and the internet to spread their message far and wide, but the most efficient medium in seventeenth and eighteenth-century New England was the printed sermon.⁷⁸ Mather's two-part discourse *Family*

75 On this issue, see D. N. Deluna, "Cotton Mather Published Abroad" (145–72).

76 Mather also resolved that when his *Cares about the Nurseries* (Boston, 1702) was published, he would "take off two or three every Week, and scatter them in the Families where I make my Visits in the Neighbourhood" (*Diary* 1:421). Similarly, he decided "to purchase forty-shillings worth" of his *The Cure of Sorrow* (Boston, 1709) to be given away to those who suffer from "sorrowful Circumstances of Affliction" (*Diary* 2:20, 21). See also (*Diary* 2:685).

77 See S. E. Morison, *Intellectual Life* (195–97); P. Gay, *Loss of Mastery* (58–60); Silverman, *Life and Times* (37–38, 197–201, 402–03); W. C. Ford, "Preface" (xv–xvi); D. N. Deluna (145–50).

78 H. Amory's "Note on Statistics" reveals that for the period of 1640–1790, the sermon was the most popular genre in New England, averaging 2705 different titles, second only to the number after government imprints of 3372 titles (511). In "Religious publishing in England, 1650–1695," Ian Green and Kate Peter point out that "in the 1690s as much as the 1650s, work on 'divinity' comprised half of the output of English presses" (4:67). See also G. Parry,

Religion (Boston, 1705), a discussion of practical piety and the benefit of family prayer, illustrates his purpose:

And I printed a thousand of them. These I bound up in Bundles that had convenient Parcels in them; and printed a short Letter to be added unto each of the Bundles; entreating the Person, whose Name I inserted with my Pen, to find out what *prayerless Families* there may be in the Town where he lives, and to lodge these Essayes of Piety in them. So I concerted with some of my Friends a way to convey a Bundle to every Town in all these Colonies, and unto some other Places. Lord, accept my poor Endeavour, and lett there be good and great Effects of it; I pray thee! I pray thee! Thus I see the Lord employing me in *Services for Him, not in one or two Congregations only but in all His Congregations, from one end of the Countrey to the other.* (Diary 1:520)⁷⁹

If his mass-distribution bespeaks his farsightedness as a clergyman for whom the world is his parish, then the common criticism of Mather's alleged vanity to see his name in print ought to be re-assessed in light of how a great communicator availed himself of the standard mass-media of his day. Or, if Benjamin Franklin be here allowed to speak from experience, the once deadly sin of vanity (*o felix culpa!*) may be productive of good: "I scare ever heard or saw the introductory Words, *Without Vanity I may say*, etc. but some vain thing immediately follow'd," Franklin told his son William in 1771. "Most People dislike Vanity in others whatever Share they have of it themselves, but I give it fair Quarter wherever I meet with it, being persuaded that it is often productive of Good to the Possessor and to others that are within his Sphere of Action: And therefore in many Cases it would not be quite absurd if a Man where to thank God for his Vanity among the other Comforts of Life."⁸⁰ Be that as it may, Franklin – like Mather before him – knew best how to turn a vice into a virtue.⁸¹

Mather's effectiveness as an admired preacher can be seen in several other instances in which his homily was published by popular demand. During his Thursday lecture (April 6, 1699), he preached a sermon on one of his favorite subjects: how children and parents can do good by their mutual love and respect. The discourse was well liked by the "great Assembly of people," he remembered. "And, behold, as I come out of the Meeting-house, the Book-sellers come to mee, entreating that they may have a Copy of these two Sermons, when the next

"Patronage and printing" (4:174–88) and C. J. Sommerville, "Distribution of Religious and Occult Literature" (220–25).

⁷⁹ T. J. Holmes (1:368–75) shows that Mather's *Family Religion* and several of its variants went through at least three editions and eight different impressions. The sermon was published in London (1707, 1709, 1713), translated into the Algonquian tongue by the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew (1673–1758), missionary to the Wampanoags on Martha's Vineyard, and reprinted the last time in 1747.

⁸⁰ Franklin, *Autobiography* (1–2).

⁸¹ For a comparative study of the two New Englanders, see M. R. Breitwieser, *Cotton Mather and Benjamin Franklin* (1984).

shall bee delivered, for to bee published unto the Countrey. Thus mercifully and wonderfully does my Lord Jesus Christ, continue to employ mee the vilest of Men, in precious Opportunities of serving Him!" (*Diary* 1:296–97). His *FAMILY WELL ORDERED; or An Essay to render Parents and Children happy in one another* (Boston, 1699) was published by Benjamin Green and John Allen. In this case as in many others, Mather's sermons were sought-after by publishers and parishioners alike, perhaps lulling him into a false sense of security that the productions of his pen would always find a ready market. The popularity of execution sermons such as *The Valley of Hinnom* (Boston: J. Allen, for Robert Starke, 1717) and its sequel *Febrifugium: An Essay for the Cure of Ungoverned Anger* (Boston: J. Allen, for Benjamin Gray, 1717) again illustrate how he did not have to exert himself to find a willing publisher at home. Mather relates that his execution sermon on Jeremiah Fenwick, who had killed his neighbor with an axe, was in such high demand that in five days "the Bookseller sells off an Impression of near a thousand which he printed of the former essay, and now he comes to me for the Latter," even though the bookseller-publisher had at first turned down his *Febrifugium* (*Diary* 2:462). Surprising success stories like this one or like that of his *Words of Understanding* (Boston: S. Kneeland, for J. Edwards, 1724), a collection of several memorial sermons he preached on the death of his renegade son Increase ("Cressy"), lately drowned in the West Indies, proved to Mather time and again that he could trust in providence to intervene in his behalf. For when he gave to the bookseller Cressy's memorials "and with a considerable Expence enabled the Bookseller to publish them," his efforts "to do some good at his Death" were blessed with surprising success. "A strange Hand of Providence made such an Accession from others, to my Disbursements," Mather reported, "that I could add a third Sermon, to the Book, wherein I may yett more notably serve the Designs of Piety" (*Diary* 2:776–77). Clearly, then, Mather could rest assured that his sermons, tracts, and books – if placed in the service of his God – would always be in high demand. Boston's booksellers and publishers always appeared to be on the lookout for the productions of his pen. And if the press did not always recognize a winner from the start, Mather, apparently, could count on the collective good will of his congregation, or the generosity of one of his well-to-do parishioners, whom providence would stir up to foot the bill.⁸² More importantly, his ease of finding sponsors in New England may explain (in part) why he failed to secure subscribers for his magnum opus, "Biblia Americana," in Old England.

His fame in New England as a soul-searching preacher – though by no means acquired without tremendous effort – accounted in great measure for his publishing success at home. Here he had the kind of groundswell support

⁸² R. G. Silver ("Financing" 163–78) provides a useful list of forty-eight Mather sermons and the names of their sponsors, who covered the expense of publishing his homilies.

necessary to get things in the press – none of that existed in England. He may well have been a household name among his many European correspondents and among those of the Royal Society who sponsored the publication of his *Christian Philosopher*;⁸³ he may well have found ready sponsors for his reprints in England of *Memorable Providences* (London: Thomas Parkhurst, 1691) and of *Wonders of the Invisible World* (London: John Dunton, 1693), his books on witchcraft, a subject notoriously popular on both sides of the Atlantic;⁸⁴ he may well have found patrons of sorts for his *Magnalia Christi Americana* (London: Thomas Parkhurst, 1702) in John Hackshaw and Thomas Parkhurst, both of whom took advantage of Mather's desperation: the former by ridding himself of reams of cheap paper in exchange for one hundred copies of the *Magnalia* he would sell in America; the latter by printing the manuscript of the first full-fledged church history of New England for which a sufficiently large market existed in Old and New England, Scotland, and Northern Ireland – no matter who the author.⁸⁵ John Oldmixon's old gibe that Cotton Mather was "a Man of Fame in his Country," but (by implication) unknown in England, may well explain the rest of the story.⁸⁶ In depending on Rev. John Reynolds to orchestrate the publication of his "Biblia Americana," Mather in essence trusted in the good will and business skill of his London colleague. Gaining the confidence of hundreds of subscribers on behalf of someone who lived in faraway America was no easy task. There was no telling if a clean copy of the manuscript would be ready in time or what might happen to it when shipped across the Atlantic. Success of the whole business transaction was built on personal trust and a strong relationship among the author, agent, subscriber, and (ultimately) publisher. Mather's request therefore posed no inconsiderable burden for Reynolds. No wonder Reynolds discontinued his correspondence with his American colleague after telling Mather that times were too uncertain for such publishing ventures (*Diary* 2:309–12, 317–19, 798).

All of these impediments contributed to Mather's failure to publish his "Biblia" during his lifetime. What may well have been the deciding factor in the whole matter was the competition from rivaling Bible commentaries by lead-

⁸³ See K. Silverman, "Mather's Foreign Correspondence" (172–85); Silverman's introduction to his *Selected Letters* (1971); and T. Prince, "Preface," in Samuel Mather, *Life* (1).

⁸⁴ See Deluna (156–60).

⁸⁵ See Greenough ("Letter relating" 134–47).

⁸⁶ John Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America* (London, 1708) 1:108. See also K. B. Murdock, "The Magnalia" (30). In contrast to Oldmixon's view is that of the Rev. Thomas Prince of Boston, who relates that Mather's "vast Correspondence, and the continual Reports of Travellers who had conversed with Him, had spread his Reputation into other Countries: And when about Fourteen Years ago I travelled abroad, I cou'd not but admire to what Extent his Fame had reached, and how inquisitive were Gentlemen of Letters to hear and know of the most particular and lively Manner both of his private Conversation and publick Performances among us" ("The Preface," in S. Mather, *Life* 1).

ing divines, whose works were published and republished in Mather's lifetime. There were just too many worthy commentaries on the English publishing market. For instance, the prized nine-volume commentary *Critici Sacri, sive Doctissimorum Virorum in SS. Biblia Annotationes & Tractatus*, edited by John Pearson et al. (London, 1660), contained the annotations by such giants as Münster, Fagius, Vatablus, Castalio, Clarius, Drusius, Grotius, Masius, L. and J. Cappellus, Scaliger, Casaubon, and many more. *Critici Sacri* was republished in Frankfurt (1695) and Amsterdam (1698), and was conceived as a companion to Brian Walton's London Polyglot *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1653–57). The huge London edition of *Critici Sacri* sold for £13, 16s, and was probably unaffordable for the average clergyman of Mather's time. Matthew Poole's labor of love to synopsize the *Critici Sacri* and issue a more affordable five-volume work, his *Synopsis Criticorum Aliorumque S. Scripturae Interpretum* (London, 1669–76), was therefore a splendid idea. It sold for £ 5, 10s – less than half the price of the *Critici Sacri* – and 3,800 sets of Poole's *Synopsis* (vols. 1–4) were sold even before volume five appeared in print.⁸⁷ Poole's brazen performance promptly resulted in a lawsuit by Cornelius Bee, the principal undertaker of the *Critici Sacri*. It was settled in Matthew Poole's favor.⁸⁸ Yet providence restored justice in its own way, and five pirated editions of Poole's *Synopsis* appeared in Frankfurt (1678), Utrecht (1684), and again in Frankfurt (1694, 1709, and 1712).

Likewise, Matthew Poole's *Annotations upon the Holy Bible* (London: John Richardson for Thomas Parkhurst, 1683–85), a two-volume commentary in English for the common reader, had gone through its fourth edition by century's end (Edinburgh, 1700–01) and is still reprinted today. Matthew Henry's acclaimed *An Exposition of All the Books of the Old and New Testaments* (London: Thomas Parkhurst, 1708–10) had attained its 10th edition by the end of the eighteenth century and remains as popular as ever. Simon Patrick's *A Critical Commentary Upon the Historical Books of the Old Testament* (London: 1694–1727) and its expanded version, *A Critical Commentary and Paraphrase of the Old and New Testaments* (London: 1727–60), included the commentaries by William Lowth, Daniel Whitby, and Richard Arnald. In its final version, Patrick's commentary (which went through at least five editions before 1800) was, perhaps, the only rival to Matthew Henry's popular *Exposition*. Lesser-known commentaries on the whole Bible, still reprinted in Mather's lifetime, included John Mayer's five-volume *A Commentary upon the Bible* (London, 1653), John Trapp's five-volume *Annotations upon the Old and New Testament*

⁸⁷ See S.A. Allibon, *Critical Dictionary* (2:1622). The Rev. Dr. Steven Dilday deserves our gratitude for currently translating into English and publishing Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (2007–).

⁸⁸ See Matthew Poole, "Just Vindication" (1667), and Cornelius Bee, "Mr. Bee's Answer to Mr. Poole's Second Vindication" (1668). For a discussion of the issue, see "Poole, Matthew," in S.A. Allibon's *Critical Dictionary* (2:1621–23).

(London, 1654–1662), and Samuel Clarke's *The Holy Bible, containing the Old Testament and the New, With Annotations and Parallel Scriptures* (London, 1690).

Cotton Mather's "Biblia Americana" also faced stiff competition from commentaries on the New Testament. By the end of the eighteenth century, Henry Hammond's *A Paraphrase and Annotations Upon all the Books of the New Testament* (London, 1653) had gone through seven editions, William Burkitt's *Explanatory Notes, with Practical Observations on the Four Evangelists* (London, 1700) through seventeen (!) editions,⁸⁹ Samuel Clarke's *Paraphrase on the Four Evangelists* (London, 1702) through ten editions, and Daniel Whitby's *A Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* (London, 1703) through seven editions.⁹⁰ The London book market was simply not ready to take on yet another huge Bible commentary – British or no.⁹¹

Biblia Americana: Composition, Structure, and Sources

Anyone who merely glances at the holograph manuscript of the "Biblia Americana" at the Massachusetts Historical Society will be startled by the sheer bulk of the six folio volumes and the seemingly endless reams of double-columned sheets, interleaved with hundreds of half- or quarter sheets – even snippets of paper – pasted in the margins, and interpolated with thousands of textual revisions, erasures, excisions, and emendations. And yet, there is method to this seeming madness. To be sure, the bulky manuscript that Mather left behind at his death looks more like a rough draft than the cleanly edited copy he would have sent to his London publisher sometime after 1715 or 1716 had he succeeded in garnering the necessary subscriptions from hundreds of individuals or outright gifts from wealthy patrons. Perplexing to newcomers, the holograph manuscript is a revelation to those who discover Mather in the process of drafting, rethinking, and reshaping his ideas over a period of thirty-five years. Four recognizable stages or phases of Mather's composition and revision process,

⁸⁹ Advertising "Biblia Americana" for publication after his father's death, Samuel Mather added that his father's would "not interfere with the Works of the Excellent POOL, BURKIT, or HENRY: It being the constant study of the Author to avoid it" (S. Mather, *Life* 186).

⁹⁰ For the various editions of the Bible commentaries listed here, see Thomas H. Horne, *Manual* (253–67, 297–307), and Thomas R. Preston, "Biblical Criticism" (99–107).

⁹¹ T. J. Holmes (2:735) points to the saturation of the London market as the principal reason for Mather's failure to attract a London publisher: "It is clear that the Biblia Americana failed of publication not through defects in its literary or scholarly qualities, for the manuscript never left Boston, and was not viewed by any London publisher. The great work called for a large outlay of capital, which was not forthcoming. Matthew Henry's Exposition of the Old and New Testament ... had already advanced far in its publication. ... That work being in course of publication ... may have been a factor in discouraging new heavy undertakings of capital for what seemed to be another work of similar nature."

each with its own characteristic features, can be identified and assigned to four distinct periods:

- Stage I: Aug. 1693 to May 1706
- Stage II: May 1706 to the end of 1711
- Stage III: 1711 to Feb. 1713/14, 1716
- Stage IV: Feb. 1713/14, 1716 to end of 1728

Stage I: During this first stage of development (beginning sometime in the Fall of 1693 and most likely ending in May of 1706), Mather extracted from hundreds of books, sermons, treatises, and pamphlets whatever appeared to be serviceable to his purpose of compiling a Bible commentary, a digest of old and new and a whole library of innovative research and discoveries that had not yet found their way into the standard commentaries of the time. He recorded his findings on blank folio leaves of imported paper, creased them vertically in the middle to create a bi-columnar division, and creased them yet again on the right- and left-hand side to create margins, one to one-and-one-half inches wide. He gathered these blank leaves into fascicles of different sizes, partitioned them according to the division of books, chapters, and verses in the Authorized Version (without Apocrypha), and jotted down his annotations in the approximate location for every chapter and verse of every Bible book. Mather assigned ordinal numbers to each new gloss to track the sequence and order in which he recorded every notation. These Arabic numerals can be traced throughout the holograph manuscript. They appear in the left- and right-hand margins of the leaves depending on the respective column or location in which the annotation of the biblical verse occurs. For the most part, these numerals are recorded vertically and occur at the beginning of each new gloss. However, these figures are given only in about one third of all manuscript entries.

Mather’s sequential enumeration of every new gloss in the first stage of composition is an important key to gauging the relative time period in which the entry was made. One of the lowest extant numbers is 33 and distinguishes Gen. 4:23, 24 (*BA* 1:518) as one of the earliest extant annotations he recorded in “*Biblia*,” perhaps as early as the Fall of 1693 when he began his opus. Significantly, a much higher number, 4849, introduces an extract from William Whiston’s *A Short View of the Chronology of the Old Testament* (London, 1702) and appears early on in the “*Biblia*” in the section entitled “The Old Testament” (*BA* 1:277), preceding his commentary on Genesis. The publication date of Whiston’s book – assuming that Mather received the copy shortly after its appearance in London – accords with the end of the first composition stage: May 1706 (*see below*). One of the highest numbers in all of “*Biblia*” is 5096 and appears in one of Mather’s annotations on Deuteronomy. This figure comes close to the upper limit, because Mather discontinued the practice of numbering his annotations in the spring of 1706, when he stitched up the fascicles into larger

batches to be shipped to England (*see* below). To be sure the final tally cannot be ascertained until all volumes of the “Biblia” have been edited. However, an exact count may never be known with absolute certainty because many of the numerals governing the sequence of his glosses were recorded in the manuscript’s gutter, were lost in the binding through perforation and defacement, or were eliminated altogether when Mather excised whole sheets and fascicles of older commentary that had been removed to be published separately or superseded by more up-to-date material.

A preliminary examination of the six bound folios at the Massachusetts Historical Society has established that Mather’s numerals range from 1 to not much above 5,100 and are, with slight variations, more or less evenly distributed throughout the whole set. The predominant numbers for Mather’s annotations on the Pentateuch, for instance, are distributed in the 2,000, 3,000, and low to mid-4,000 range, but many numerals are below 1,000 as well. The same holds true for his commentaries on all the other OT books. Even in his glosses on the NT (vols. 5–6), all numbers are evenly distributed – except, perhaps for his annotations on Revelation in which the numbers in the 4,000 range predominate. The wide dispersion of these numerals therefore indicates that Mather did not concentrate his annotations on any one part or book of the Bible before moving on to others, but jotted them down as he distilled them during his wide reading. However, it is well to remember that only about one third of all glosses in the entire “Biblia” manuscript is designated with such figures, a fact that limits their entry to the period between 1693 to 1706.⁹²

This first stage of composition appears to have come to an end in May, 1706, when Mather recorded in his diary, “I finished my BIBLIA AMERICANA. So finished it, that there is no Necessity of my casting in any more . . . Tho’ doubtless, I may be occasionally and continually adding thereunto, till the Manuscripts are dismiss’d out of my Hands for Publication” (*Diary* 1:563, 564). In September of the same year, he composed a prospectus of the “Biblia” entitled “AN AMERICAN OFFER *to serve the Great Interests of Learning and Religion in Europe*” (*Diary* 1:570), which Mather intended to send to London “by the Fleet now going for *England*” (*Diary* 1:570). Thereafter, he appears to have laid his commentary aside for nearly five years, for his diary mentions neither his prospectus nor any additions to his stock of annotations until his forty-ninth birthday (Feb. 12, 1711–12). This silence does not mean that he did not add to his collection when he came across useful material during his reading. What it does suggest is that while he was waiting for his prospectus to arouse interest among potential subscribers and publishers in England, his additions during

⁹² In the introduction to his edition of *The Christian Philosopher* (xxxvi–xxxix), Professor Solberg presents a substantially different rationale for the development and sequence of Mather’s annotations throughout “Biblia.” However, since Solberg does not appear to examine the function of Mather’s ordinal numbers, Professor Solberg’s conclusion seems unreliable.



Courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society

this five-year period may have been minimal – or at least not large enough to be included in his annual review of achievements, which Mather was in the habit of recording in his diary on or just before the day of his birthday.

Furthermore, physical evidence demonstrates that Mather (or his amanuensis) stitched the contiguous leaves of his manuscripts into fascicles of coherent segments or bundles to safeguard their orderly arrangement and to send them off the moment his London publisher would call for their delivery shortly after 1706. This stitching process was done rather haphazardly. After all, the fascicles and bundles were intended to stay in place only until the London typesetter would take them apart during the typesetting process. Remnants of the fine thread that held the sheets and fascicles in place and most stitching perforations are still visible in the gutter and on the spine of the holograph manuscript. Unfortunately, this stitching and binding process defaced the notations of many ordinal numbers Mather had recorded in the gutter of the recto and verso pages. They were perforated in such a fashion that their mutilation rendered many figures illegible. To make matters worse, a second (or rebinding) process – occurring in the early nineteenth century – obliterated many more of the ordinal numbers in the gutter because the coarse twine and thick needle used during that occasion perforated many figures and rendered many more indecipherable.⁹³

Stage II: The second stage of Mather's composition process appears to have begun in earnest after a hiatus of about five years (May 1706 to the end of 1711). His diary entry for February 10, 1711–12 records that he had added "some Illustrations for the most part every Day" amounting to "many more than a thousand" during the course of the previous year (*Diary* 2:162). Significantly, Mather did not dismantle the bound fascicles he had intended to send to London by the fleet going to England (Sept. 1706). He was therefore unable to resume the sequential numbering of his glosses because many of these numerals were lost or covered up in the tightly stitched gutter of the fascicles. Since these numerals were now inaccessible without taking the binding apart, Mather elected to discontinue his practice of tracking his entries. Besides, excisions and erasures of older numerical entries or removal and replacement of existing leaves during the revision process necessitated constant renumbering, a procedure that would have been ever more impractical as the number of his entries increased exponentially over time. Mather responded to this challenge as follows: Whenever a new entry was recorded on an existing leaf, he overwrote the ordinal number of the old entry with thick inky loops to render the numeral illegible. However, he was able to do so only with those numerals that were not covered up in the gutter of the binding. (Those that were covered up in the

⁹³ See my description of the holograph manuscript in *Note on the Text*.

binding – unless perforated and defaced by the thread or twine – are completely legible in those places where the thread and twine fell apart and unraveled the binding.) Moreover, he interleaved additional sheets or half-sheets as needed to accommodate longer supplementary entries for which no room was left on the original leaf. It is for these reasons that the second stage of composition can be safely distinguished from the first.

Additional evidence to identify the stages of composition can be found in Mather's advertisements of the "Biblia." These ads appear in three separate places and were composed during three different time periods: in *Bonifacius* (1710), in *A New Offer* (1713/14), and in Samuel Mather's biography *The Life* (1729). Items VII in *New Offer* (13) and item VIII in Samuel Mather's *Life* (185) differ from their counterpart (item VII) in *Bonifacius* (205) in one important phrase that is absent from the "Advertisement" in *Bonifacius*: Mather adds, "the most accurate *Harmony of the Gospel* that has yet been offered." This added phrase refers to "PROLEGOMENA to the HARMONY of the Gospels," a gathering of 10 folio pages which Mather interpolates between the sections on "The New Testament" and "The Four Gospels" at the opening of his commentary on the New Testament (vol. 5 of the bound folios). A digest of William Whiston's *A Short View of the Chronology of the Old Testament, and of the Harmony of the Four Evangelists* (1702), the Prolegomena helps Mather explain the intertextual relationship of the synoptic gospels, and was inserted in the "Biblia" sometime after 1710 (the publication date of his "Advertisement in *Bonifacius*") but before the spring of 1713/14, when he published his handbill *A New Offer* to be sent to potential subscribers and publishers. No doubt many other additions – not otherwise specified – were made during this period.

Stage III: The third stage is much more difficult to determine. It probably commenced sometime in 1711, when he again added "many more than a thousand" illustrations, paused for a while after he published his handbill *A New Offer To the Lovers of Religion and Learning* (after Feb. 1713/1714), and ended in October, 1716, when heavy-hearted, he came to accept the inevitable: publication of the "Biblia Americana" "is to be despaired of" (*Diary* 2:376). Evidence for this third stage, which drastically impacted the content of the "Biblia" manuscript, can be allocated in several ways. A comparison of the *Advertisement* for the "Biblia" in *Bonifacius* (200–06), published in 1710, and of Mather's handbill *New Offer* (1–16), published in the Spring of 1713/14, reveals several clues in the list of twelve items, which Mather highlights as the most notable features of his Bible commentary as it existed at that time. Most of the twelve items are identical (with some minor variation) in syntax and content in both documents – except for some curious differences in items I and II, VII and VIII, and X and XI. These differences may well explain the major changes which Mather made in the holograph manuscript during this period (1711–1714, 1716).

Let me begin in inverse order: Items X and XI in *New Offer* (13–14) appear as a single, combined item (item XI) in *Bonifacius* (205–06). The two items differ from each other in that “The true Doctrine of the CHILIAD,” originally part of item X, “The *Histories* of all Ages” (*Bonifacius* 205), constitutes a completely separate item, item XI, in the *New Offer* (13–14). Furthermore, the added reference in this item to “more Arbitrary and less Defensible Conceits, of *overdoing Students* in the Prophecies” (*New Offer*, item XI) suggests that Mather was in the process of rethinking his eschatological system. He appears to gesture toward the revisions of his millennialist interpretations which, by 1713, were evolving from his earlier inchoate system he had outlined in “*Problema Theologicum*” (1703) and were moving toward a revision that did not become fully enunciated until he arrived at his final pre-millennialist system he discusses in sections 1–8 of his “*Trip paradisus*” (1720–27).⁹⁴ Dealing with such diverse topics as a single (rather than double) conflagration at Christ’s Second Coming at the beginning of the thousand-year reign, a naturalist description of the conflagration, and a “Golden Key to open the Sacred Prophecies,” Mather revised these exegetical issues in his Bible commentary on Daniel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Matthew 24, 2 Peter 3, and on Revelation. These topics became the basis of “*Trip paradisus*” (part III) which (by and large) he extracted from the “*Biblia Americana*” and intended as a separate publication. It is during this stage that he probably added his *Lapis e Monte Excisus. Atque Regnum Dei* (Boston, 1716), a millenarian interpretation of Dan. 2:45, the stone cut out of the mountain that fills the whole earth. Mather inserted a published copy of this bilingual treatise on the Second Coming into an appendix of thirteen essays attached to the end of his commentary on the Revelation. This appendix is entitled “Appendix. Containing some GENERAL STORES, of Illustration, and a Furniture which will richly Qualify a Person to be a READER of the BIBLE.” His *Lapis e Monte Excisus* thus forms the second essay under the heading “II. The SPIRIT, and PURPOSE, of the *Sacred Scriptures*.”

Stage IV: Comparing Mather’s “Biblia” advertisement in *Bonifacius* (1710) with the one in *A New Offer* (1713/14) and the one in Samuel Mather’s *The Life* (1729) reveals that Cotton Mather undertook several significant changes in the “Biblia Americana” in the last dozen or so years of his life (1715–28). This is especially the case for items I, II, and VI. The substance of items I in *Bonifacius* (203) and in *New Offer* (11) is quite similar and suggests little more than stylistic changes. However, in Samuel Mather’s *Life*, composed fifteen years after the *New Offer*, the following supplement to item I identifies a major addition to the “Biblia” manuscript: “THE sacred Scriptures of the Old and New-Testament exhibited, *In the Order of Time*, wherein the several and successive Occurrences

⁹⁴ See J.S. Mares, “Problema Theologicum” (333–58) and R. Smolinski, *Threefold Paradise* (21–59).

may direct to the lacing and Reading of them: which Exhibition alone will greatly enlighten them, and do the Service of a valuable Commentary” (*The Life* 184). This completely new item refers to the two-part section “The OLD TESTAMENT, in the Order of the History,” followed by “The NEW TESTAMENT, in the true Order of the History,” a separate fascicle which Mather added to the commentary as a prolegomena to “Biblia Americana” (BA 1:213–68). This new section of nearly thirty nine manuscript pages (folio) contains a unique chronology of all historical acts mentioned in the OT and NT. Since the biblical authors generally do not narrate the historical episodes in their chronological order, Mather hopes to furnish his readers with a basic key to the sequence of unfolding events, to identify parallel events occurring during the same period yet related sequentially (or in other parts of the Bible), and to supplement the incomplete detail given by one author with the fuller (or alternate) version given by another. The two-part section of “the Order of the History” was added sometime after the spring of 1713/14 and now precedes “The Introduction” (BA 1:269) and consists of a sheaf of paper of identical size and watermarks.⁹⁵

Additional changes in the “*Advertisement*” in Samuel Mather’s 1729 biography (item II) appear significant. Item II reads, “An *Emendation* of our present Version; from the Discoveries of the most learned Philologists from the earliest Ages of sacred Literature down to *Bochart*, *Calmet* and *Parker*: and a particular notice of those many Instances wherein our greatest Masters of the Original Languages have express’d their wishes to see the common Translation amended and refined” (*The Life* 184). This description is an expansion of item I in *Bonifacius* (203) and in *New Offer* (11), but appears as item II in the biography (184). It emphasizes Mather’s increasing concern with philological and textual challenges to the Bible as the Word of God, with the dogma of verbal inspiration and its problems, and with textual transmission emerging from his study of the London Polyglot.⁹⁶ Discussions of these topical issues are interspersed throughout the “Biblia”⁹⁷ and are based in part on Samuel Bochart’s *Opera Omnia. Hoc Est Phaleg, Chanaan, et Hierozoicon* (1675), on Dom Augustin Calmet’s *Commentaire littéral sur tous les livres de l’Ancien et du Nouveau Testament* (1707–16) and his *Dictionnaire Historique, Critique, Chronologique, Géographique, et Littéral de la Bible* (1722), and last but not least – a work much after Mather’s own mind – on Bishop Samuel Parker’s *Bibliotheca Biblica* (1720–35).

Of the innumerable emendations, interpolations, interlineations, erasures, and excisions to which Mather subjected the holograph manuscript of the “Biblia” during its long gestation period, the final substantive changes appear among the most significant. These alterations were made sometime after 1715 and

⁹⁵ See my “Note on the Text.”

⁹⁶ See Section 3: “Cotton Mather: Theologian, Exegete, Controversialist” in the introduction to the present edition.

⁹⁷ See my discussion in Section 3.

in the years following 1724. Again, let me begin in inverse order. A comparison between item IX in both *Bonifacius* (205) and *New Offer* (14) and item X in Samuel Mather's *Life* (185) demonstrates that Samuel Mather's 1729 advertisement of the "Biblia" reflects the modifications his father made during the final decade of his life. The history of the Jews of the Diaspora, their conversion, and ultimate return to the Holy Land was as much a mainstay in the pre-millennialist eschatology of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as was the quest to discover the Ten Lost Tribes and their expected return to Palestine. The occurrence of these events just prior to the Second Coming was a crucial element of Cotton Mather's unfolding literalist scheme and alluded to in item IX in the advertisements of both *Bonifacius* and *A New Offer*. Significantly, the concluding phrase "when their [the dispersed Jews] speedy Recovery from their Sad and Long Dispersion is hoped for" is absent from Samuel Mather's 1729 "Advertisement" (*Life* 185, item X) and reflects that Mather abandoned this millennialist tenet. Mather's diary for 1712, 1724, 1725/26 and his "*Trip paradisus*" provide important clues to what happened during one of his mystical communications with heaven, on 21 June 1724, while he wrestled with his God for more privileged knowledge about the state of Christ's millennial kingdom:

The glorious Lord has led me into fuller Views than I have ever yett had, and such as I have exceedingly longed for and asked for, of what shall be the true State of Things in His Kingdome. And I am now satisfied, that there is nothing to hinder the immediate Coming of our Saviour, in these Flames, that shall bring an horrible Destruction on this present and wicked World, and bring on the new Heaven, and the new Earth, wherein shall dwell Righteousness. I purpose quickly to write on these things. In the mean time, I would in all holy Conversation and Godliness, mightily endeavour to maintain such a Disposition of Mind, as the tremendous Descent of my glorious Lord, is to be entertained withal. (*Diary* 2: 733)

The work that Mather promised himself to write on these new insights turned out to be "*Trip paradisus*," his mature eschatological theories, which he also recorded in "Biblia" (1724–1727), but from which he never fully got around to expunging his old, discarded conjectures.⁹⁸ "*Trip paradisus*" was not completed until the winter of 1725/26 or even as late as 1727 (*Diary* 3:91n, 2:811, "*Trip paradisus*" 326).⁹⁹ The hermeneutic changes he undertook during this final revision process include a single, universal conflagration of the earth at Christ's Second Coming, a full restoration of the earth during Christ's thousand-year reign, the repopulation of the millennial earth by the offspring of the "Changed Saints,"

⁹⁸ Mather's eschatology, his changing views on the conflagration, the conversion of the Jewish nation, and the state of the New Heavens and New Earth during the millennium appear in *Threefold Paradise* (1995).

⁹⁹ A letter to Thomas Prince (Feb. 11, 1726/27) shows that Mather was now ready to have the holograph manuscript of "*Trip paradisus*" copied by a scribe to be sent to London for publication (Silverman, *Selected Letters* 415–16).

and a literal cubic New Jerusalem of gigantic proportions visibly floating in the heavens. Curious as his new conjectures are, perhaps the most significant changes in his eschatology of his late years are his abandonment of the literal conversion of the world's Jewry and of the expectation of their return to the Holy Land. In his old age, Mather became an allegorist (much to the dismay of Increase Mather, Samuel Sewall, and Thomas Prince) on this eschatological crux of the period. Henceforth he argued that spiritual Israel (Christ's Redeemed) – not carnal Jewry – was intended by the Apostle (Rom. 11). Interestingly, Mather's old, literalist scheme is still in place in "Biblia" (BA, Rom. 11) but his new allegorist interpretation is fully developed in "*Trip paradisu*" (295–318). A related change, though not yet fully expunged from all places in his commentary in "Biblia," is his reconfiguration of the state of the New Heavens and the New Earth and the nature of their occupants. This emendation is also indicated in Samuel Mather's 1729 advertisement and promises subscribers of the "Biblia" a fresh discussion of "the State of the Church and World in future Ages to the End of Time," the world *during* Christ's thousand-year reign (*Life* 185, item XI). This announcement is completely absent from the advertisements published years earlier in *Bonifacius* (205–06) and in *New Offer* (14). Mather's new theories on the millennial New Heavens and New Earth are fully formulated in "*Trip paradisu*" (244–94), but were mostly based on his new annotations in "Biblia" (BA, Isa. 17–30, 60, 65, Dan. 7, Acts 3, Rev. 19, 21–22).

Perhaps of greatest interest is that Cotton Mather's celebrated *Christian Philosopher* (London, 1720/21), his thirty-two essays on natural science, published by the Royal Society of London, originally constituted an integral part of "Biblia Americana" – probably as an appendix rather than as dispersed essays. This assertion has been made several times before. Perry Miller's claim that "*The Christian Philosopher* was culled out of the *Biblia*," though dismissed by Winton Solberg, may be correct after all – although neither historian supplies conclusive evidence for their respective positions.¹⁰⁰ Much new evidence of Mather's initial intent can be gleaned from his advertisements in *Bonifacius* (204, item VI), *A New Offer* (12, item VI), and in Samuel Mather's *Life* (184–85, item VII). First the evidence from Mather's correspondence: In a missive (c. Aug. / Sept. 1715) to his brother, the Rev. Samuel Mather at Whitney (Oxfordshire), Cotton Mather requests that he "would not lett my *Christian Virtuoso* be lost" and that he forward it to "Dr. Woodward's hand, into the Repository of the Royal Society" in case Samuel could

¹⁰⁰ P. Miller, *New England Mind* (441) and W. U. Solberg, "Introduction" (xxxvi–xl). T. Hornberger appears to be the first to argue that "there is some evidence that it [*The Christian Philosopher*] was originally a part of Mather's vast collection of materials of the ill-fated *Biblia Americana*" ("Notes 134). Hornberger's evidence is based on Mather's letter (Oct. 18, 1715) to Sir William Ashurst (*Diary* 2: 332). Much more conclusive documentation can be found in Beall and Shryock, *Cotton Mather* (40–42); in Beall, "Early 'Curiosa Americana'" (367–68, 371), and in R. P. Stearns, *Science* (412).

not find a publisher for it himself (*Diary* 2:324). Similarly, Cotton specifically praises his "*Christian Virtuoso*" in a letter written to Sir William Ashurst a few weeks later (Oct. 15, 1715), in which Cotton hopes to enlist Sir William's patronage for the "Biblia Americana." Cotton points out that his "Biblia" deserved to be published all the more because "one considerable Article in the work, namely *The Christian Virtuoso*, one would think, might procure some subscribers to it, among the members of the Royal Society, which have allowed my Relation to them" (*Diary* 2:332). If Mather's letters to his brother (Aug. / Sept.) and to Ashurst (Oct. 15) are correctly dated, then Mather had already sent the manuscript of *The Christian Virtuoso* (the title before *The Christian Philosopher* was published by the Society) to England while he still advertised his *Christian Virtuoso* as "one considerable Article" in his Bible commentary. The publication of the "Biblia" was all the more called for, Mather thought, because it included *The Christian Virtuoso*, his treatise on natural science, which would be particularly appealing to Sir William and the members of the Royal Society.

There is other external evidence to suggest that the essays in *The Christian Philosopher* were designed to be an integral part of "Biblia Americana." As previously noted, the substantive changes in "Biblia Americana" in the last decade of Mather's life are also reflected in his advertisements of the commentary. The description of Item VI in *Bonifacius* (1710) and that in *A New Offer* (1713/14) suggests that Mather began to work on the essays of the *Christian Virtuoso* sometime after 1710 and probably finished them before the spring of 1714, for they are not mentioned in *Bonifacius* (204), but appear in *A New Offer* (12): "To all which there is added," Mather complements item VI on natural philosophy, "*The Christian Virtuoso*, with a Commentary on the more Modern and Certain Philosophy on, *His Work which Men Behold*; Embellished with the Discoveries which *our Days at Length* have made of Things wherein the Glorious GOD of Nature calls for our *Wonders & our Praises*." However, this supplement to *New Offer* (1713/14) is again removed from the 1729 advertisement in Samuel Mather's *Life* (184, item VII). This external evidence indicates that henceforth he elected to publish "Biblia" without his essays he had gathered into his *Christian Virtuoso*. The decision made good sense. The thirty-two essays forming this collection had just been published under the title *The Christian Philosopher* (1720/21) by the most prestigious body of scientists Mather could imagine. Clearly, he tried everything in his power to promote the publication of the "Biblia" from afar. He approached every potential subscriber, patron, and potentate; he left no stone unturned. When his pleas with heaven remained unanswered, when providence seemed to consign his commentary to oblivion (an unacceptable fate, no doubt), Cotton Mather tried to salvage what he could by publishing his labor of love piecemeal – still hoping against hope that "God our Saviour will in His Time, dispose the Minds of some eminent and opulent persons, to cast a benign Aspect

upon a work [“*Biblia Americana*”] which may hand down their Names with lasting Acknowledgments unto posterity.”

The main divisions of the extant holograph manuscript as they appear today:

“*Biblia Americana*”

Old Testament: c. 2,853 ms. pages (folio)

New Testament: c. 1,730 ms. pages (folio)

Total: c. 4,583 ms. pages (folio)

Old Testament:

Chronology	
OT: in the Order of History	c. 22 ms pp.
NT: in the Order of History	c. 15 ms pp.
Introduction	c. 3 ms pp.
Chronology of the OT	c. 16 ms pp.
Genesis	c. 405 ms pp.
Exodus	c. 154 ms pp.
Leviticus	c. 153 ms pp.
Numbers	c. 110 ms pp.
Deuteronomy	c. 118 ms pp.
Joshua [MAP: Holy Land]	c. 46 ms pp.
Judges	c. 50 ms pp.
Ruth	c. 7 ms pp.
1–2 Samuel	c. 111 ms pp.
1–2 Kings	c. 162 ms pp.
1–2 Chronicles	c. 125 ms pp.
Ezra	c. 24 ms pp.
Nehemiah	c. 24 ms pp.
Job	c. 100 ms pp.
Psalms	c. 309 ms pp.
Proverbs	c. 115 ms pp.
Ecclesiastes	c. 69 ms pp.
Canticles	c. 44 ms pp.
The Messiah	c. 15 ms pp.
Isaiah	c. 163 ms pp.
Jeremiah	c. 61 ms pp.
Lamentations	c. 32 ms pp.
Ezekiel	c. 90 ms pp.
Some further Thoughts	c. 2 ms pp.
Daniel	c. 80 ms pp.
Hosea	c. 25 ms pp.
Hutchinsonian Hints	c. 4 ms pp.
Joel	c. 10 ms pp.
Hutchinsonian Hints	c. 1 ms p.
Amos	c. 18 ms pp.
Hutchinsonian Hints	c. 2 ms pp.
Obadiah	c. 3 ms pp.
Hutchinsonian Hints	c. 1 ms p.

New Testament:

On the NT	c. 1 ms pp.
MAP of Countries & Places in NT	
The NT (Introduction)	c. 6 ms pp.
Prolegomena, to the Harmony of the Gospels	c. 10 ms pp.
The Four Gospels	c. 10 ms pp.
Matthew	c. 244 ms pp.
Mark	c. 58 ms pp.
Luke	c. 130 ms pp.
John	c. 143 ms pp.
MAP: Apostles' Travels	
Case of Conscience conc. Blood	c. [8 pp.]
Historia Apostolica	c. 34 ms pp.
Acts	c. 122 ms pp.
Appendix to Acts	c. 104 ms pp.
Romans	c. 65 ms pp.
1–2 Corinthians	c. 156 ms pp.
Galatians	c. 30 ms pp.
Appendix to the Galatians	c. 6 ms pp.
Ephesians	c. 40 ms pp.
Appendix to the Ephesians	c. 6 ms pp.
Philippians	c. 22 ms pp.
Appendix to the Philippians	c. 2 ms pp.
Colossians	c. 20 ms pp.
Appendix to the Colossians	c. 2 ms pp.
1–2 Thessalonians	c. 21 ms pp.
1–2 Timothy	c. 39 ms pp.
Titus	c. 7 ms pp.
Philemon	c. 5 ms pp.
Hebrews	c. 51 ms pp.
James	c. 20 ms pp.
1–3 Peter	c. 32 ms pp.
1–3 John	c. 24 ms pp.
Jude	c. 7 ms pp.
Revelation	c. 191 ms pp.
Coronis	c. 16 ms pp.
An Essay for a further Commentary, on the Sacred Scriptures	c. 6 ms pp.

Jonah	c. 11 ms pp.	Some Remarks, relating to the	
Hutchinsonian Hints	c. 1 ms p.	Inspiration of the Canon	c. 2 ms pp.
Micah	c. 13 ms pp.	Appendix	
Hutchinsonian Hints	c. 2 ms pp.	I. <i>Vates</i> , the Spirit of Prophecy	c. 16 ms pp.
Nahum	c. 4 ms pp.	II. The Spirit, and Purpose of	
Hutchinsonian Hints	c. 2 ms pp.	the Sacred Scriptures	c. [26 pp.]
Habakkuk	c. 7 ms pp.	III. Measures, Weights, Coins	c. 2 ms pp.
Hutchinsonian Hints	c. 1 ms p.	IV. Things done by Ezra for the	
Zephaniah	c. 8 ms pp.	Restoring of the Scriptures	c. 4 ms pp.
Hutchinsonian Hints	c. 1 ms p.	V. <i>Antiqua</i> , Sabians, Magians	c. 7 ms pp.
Haggai	c. 5 ms pp.	VI. <i>Patriarcha</i> , the Religion	
Hutchinsonian Hints	c. 1 ms p.	of Noah, considered	c. 4 ms pp.
Zechariah	c. 26 ms pp.	VII. <i>Scripturae Nucleus</i>	c. 8 ms pp.
Hutchinsonian Hints	c. 3 ms pp.	VIII. <i>Synagoga</i>	c. 4 ms pp.
Malachi	c. 16 ms pp.	IX. <i>Sibyllina</i>	c. 4 ms pp.
Hutchinsonian Hints	c. 1 ms pp.	X. <i>Chaldeus</i> , Targums	c. 3 ms pp.
Paraphrase, or the		XI. <i>Psaltes</i> , Music, Poetry	
Condition of the Jews	c. 62 ms pp.	of the Hebrews	c. 5 ms pp.
		XII. <i>Kiriath-Sepher</i> , Manner	
		of Writing	c. 3 ms pp.
		XIII. <i>Expectanda</i> , State of Things	
		in the Kingdom	c. 4 ms pp.
OT Total	c. 2.853 ms pp.	NT Total	c. 1.730 ms pp.

This table of contents not only lists the major subdivisions that follow the order of books in the King James Version but also references Mather's individual essays in the prolegomena and appendixes of the "Biblia" and may thus serve as a preliminary guide to the entire collection.

Apart from the four identifiable stages of composition that shaped the growth of the "Biblia," the extant manuscript is also distinguished by a didactic Q-&A technique, which allowed Mather to cast his commentary into the form of a dialogue. This ancient method of debate, in which an interlocutor poses rhetorical questions to be answered by a wise respondent, was still popular in Mather's time and can be found in works as ideological disparate as Francis Turretin's *Institutio Theologiae Elencticae* (Geneva, 1679–85) and Matthew Tindal's *Christianity as Old as the Creation* (London, 1730).¹⁰¹ No doubt, Mather was familiar with this didactic teaching device as much as any of his college-educated peers trained in the classics of Greece and Rome. If anything, he had put it to good use in the several catechisms he wrote for children as well as for adults. For instance, in *The Man of God Furnished. The Way of Truth, Laid out;*

¹⁰¹ Tindal explained his *modus operandi* as follows: "The Manner of debating a subject Dialogue-wise, (as this between *A.* & *B.*) was esteem'd by the Ancients the most proper, as well as most prudent, Way of exposing prevailing Absurdities; & *Tully's* two *Discourses, de Naturâ Deorum*, and *de Divinatione*, both levell'd against the Superstition of his Countrey-men; are living Monuments of the Expediency, and Usefulness of this way of Writing. And certainly, the Reader may be better entertain'd thus, than by that dry way of Objection and Answer, with which Controversies are usually manag'd" ("Preface" 1v).

with a *Threefold Catechism* (Boston, 1708), he insisted that instructors should betimes implant in children the principles of religion, but “the way of instilling the *Christian Religion*, by Catechising, or a conference carried on with *Question* and *Answer*, is very Necessary, and highly Agreeable to awaken the *Attention*, and Enlighten the *Understanding* of the *Catechumens*; this also is the confession of all, who have considered, but how *Mankind* is to be dealt withal” (1). Mather was particularly fond of this method of engaging his audience, as his son Samuel well knew from experience. In fact, Samuel’s father deemed it such an efficacious tool that “he tho’t the *Spirit of Grace* might fall upon them [the catechumens] in this Action” of acquiring divine knowledge through Q & A that “they might be seiz’d by HIM and held as His Temple thro’ Eternal Ages” (*The Life* 18). Little wonder then that Mather put it to good use throughout his Bible commentary: every gloss is introduced by a rhetorical question that allows the author to supply the answer.

Mather’s Q-&-A method was also advantageous in several other ways: It allowed him to break away from the rigid framework of traditional Bible commentaries, enabled him to explore specific philological, historical, and cultural issues that transcended the immediate context of a given chapter and verse he glossed, and it helped him to turn individual annotations into separate essays which – though anchored in the particular biblical locus – could be transferred at will and fitted to suit other forms of discourse. The “Biblia Americana” thus became his database, an encyclopedia of universal knowledge that could be consulted for diverse purposes. Mather embraced this expedient more or less self-consciously in, for instance, his commentary on Gen. 21:1 on the birth of the Patriarch Isaac:

Q. Our learned *Heidegger* supplies us, with many rich *Illustrations* upon the Matters of the *Patriarchs*. To Translate or Transcribe the whole of his *Exercitationes*, would not answer the Design of the Work, we are upon; which is, To make a Collection of the *Finer Thoughts*, wherewith Men of Erudition, have Illustrated the Sacred Scriptures. And yett, rather than scatter them asunder, to be lodg’d at their several Texts, we would chuse to have the *Finer Thoughts* of our *Heidegger* as much together, as a *Particular Subject* will allow. Wherefore, what you find more observable in him, concerning the affairs of ISAAC, and his Two Sons; Lett us have all here together, if you please, in one Entertainment?

A. It shall be so.

Mather’s lengthy “Answer” (see *BA* 1:965–84) is digested from Johann Heinrich Heidegger’s אֲבֹתֵינוּ רַאשֵׁי דֵּי אֲבֹתֵינוּ *De Historia Sacra Patriarcharum Exercitationes Selectae* (Amsterdam, 1667–71), a two-volume analysis of Rabbi Shlomo Yitzchaki’s celebrated commentary on the Chumash and Talmud. Mather’s lengthy gloss (“Answer”) forms an independent essay of nearly ten pages folio in which he examines Rashi’s cabalistic readings of Isaac’s name, Sarah at age ninety nursing her son, Isaac’s weaning, growth, travels, and the story of his

offspring, along with many related issues that rupture the tight framework of conventional commentaries. Indeed, this approach allowed Mather to explore his topic from diverse angles and to add extrinsic material as needed without scattering his energies. Better yet, he did not have to break up his sources into fragments or individual references and disperse them across the more than 4,500 pages of the “Biblia.”

This approach is even more efficient than it appears at first glance. As previously noted, Mather compiled his commentary over a period of more than thirty five years. During this long gestation period, the “Biblia” grew from approximately 5,100 individual annotations (1693–1706) to more than three times this number by the end of 1728. Mather added new material from hundreds of different sources, excised superseded glosses, and replaced them with more trenchant and up-to-date annotations. If he had intended a conventional commentary, then he would have had to recast periodically every chapter-and-verse annotation to accommodate these changes and to streamline them into a single coherent narrative for each chapter as new data became available. No doubt, this time-consuming effort would have generated multiple versions of nearly identical glosses along the lines of what can be found in some of the religious writings of Sir Isaac Newton.¹⁰² Instead, Mather could add new annotations on the same verse by simply formulating yet another Q & A, and by adding them to the existing gloss. That is why multiple (but dissimilar) explanations on the same chapter and verse can be found side by side or appended to the end of the chapter. This procedure was also advantageous from yet another perspective. It allowed readers to select the desired material or to skip unwanted portions without having to read through a continuous narrative from beginning to end. Furthermore, it saved reams of expensive paper, which otherwise would have been discarded.

A note of caution may here be in order lest we judge Mather's method of digesting and extracting his source material as intellectual dishonesty or plagiarism – proprietary conventions that were not nearly as narrowly defined in his day as they are today. In his effort to reconcile the new discoveries in the natural sciences and philosophy with the standards of Reformed exegesis, Mather is less concerned with the identity of the authors of his sources than with the significance of their discoveries: not *who* they are, but *what* they have to say. In this respect, Mather's “Biblia Americana” has much in common with the centuries-old tradition of compiling catenae, florilegia, or anthologies of biblical commentaries much prized by scholars throughout the ages. The invaluable *Εὐαγγελικὴ Προπαρασκευή*, or *Preparation for the Gospel* (4th c. CE), by Eusebius

¹⁰² See for instance Newton's exposition on 2 Kings 17:15–16 (Yahuda MSS Iand 21, Ms. 437, HRC 130) or his “Three bundles of notes ... related to ‘Theologiae Gentilis Origines Philosophicae,’” dating to c. 1680s and early 1690s (Yahuda Ms. 17). They are made available through the magnificent AHRC Newton Papers Project, by R. Iliffe and S. Mandelbrote <http://www.newtonproject.sussex.ac.uk/prism.php?id=44>

Pamphili (c. 260–c. 340), bishop of Caesarea, or the *Catena Aurea* (Golden Chain), by St. Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225–74), or the nine-volume catena *Critici Sacri, sive, Doctissimorum Virorum in SS. Biblia Annotationes & Tractatus*, edited by John Pearson et al. (London, 1660) and subsequently digested by Matthew Poole in his *Synopsis Criticorum Aliorumque S. Scripturae Interpretum* (London, 1669–76), are some of the best-known compilations in Mather's time. Indeed, this genre allowed him to distill the "*Finer Thoughts*" into his commentary and nurture his penchant for philological problems of the Bible as text, for scientific discoveries, for social and cultural matters such as food, clothing, monuments, and customs of the ancients, and for pagan gods, rituals, heroes, myths, and peoples (including Native Americans) not commonly found in the conventional Bible commentaries of his time.

Not unusual for the time, verbatim extracts and close paraphrases were integrated with merely passing references to authors or works. This indiscriminate handling of intellectual property occurred in virtually all works of this genre. An example or two from the "Biblia" may suffice here to illustrate my point. In one instance, an exposition of the Psalms, Mather quotes a long passage from Basil Kennet's English translation of *Pensées de M. Pascal sur la religion, et sur quelques autres sujets* (1670) to serve as an annotation on the Psalms. After duly acknowledging the French philosopher and scientist Blaise Pascal (1623–62) and the title of his work, Mather comments, "It were easy for me in the way of Reading to make myself such a Master of these, and many more the like *Thoughts*, that my Reader should consider them, as no other than *Mine*, in the Proposing thereof. But I am not seeking & serving *my own* esteem in the World; it is the Service of *Religion* that I aim at; and I am desirous, that every one, whom God ha's employ'd as an Instrument of Good in that Service, may be duely acknowledged & remembred" (*BA*, Ps. 2:12).¹⁰³

Perhaps more to the point, Mather makes the following self-conscious acknowledgement at the conclusion of his commentary on Job:

Tho' I have chosen to putt these Observations, very much into my own Expressions, (and if I had imitated a great Part of those who sett up for *Authorism*, I might easily have made them to pass for *my own*;) yett I must own my honoured Master [*George*] *Hutcheson*, as the author of the Hints, which have afforded them. If any Acknowledgments at all belong to me, they are only those of a little *Industry*. But indeed we, both of us desire, *He* in the *Paradisian World*, and I hastening (as I hope) unto it, that instead of any Acknowledgments paid unto us, we may be *Nothing*, and they be all paid unto the Glorious Lord, from whom we have *Received*, all that we have *Offered* unto *Him*, & unto His People.

It is possible that sometimes in our *Illustrations* on this, & on other Parts of the Sacred Scripture, when I have been enriched with many good Thoughts together,

¹⁰³ Mather's long extract is from Basil Kennet's translation of Pascal, *Thoughts on Religion, and Other Subjects* (London, 1704) 87–92.

from one Man, I have not remembred always to *Quote* him, every Time I have *Us'd* him. Yett, I hope, no *such Writer* ha's gone without Proper Acknowledgments; nor indeed, any one been left wholly unmentioned, that ha's been useful to me. (*BA* Job, at the end)

Readers of the post-romantic era do not take lightly to the loose handling of conventions dear to our own age. After all, intellectual property and its commodification are protected by international copyright-laws and patents. But we must not forget that catenae and Bible commentaries throughout the ages were not shaped by romantic notions of originality or novelty, than by the compiler's purpose to place his productions in the service of God. Erudition, not originality, was in vogue; research, not invention, was considered proof of intelligence. Thus biblical commentaries then and now contain layers of paraphrases and citations at second, third, even fourth remove in which the wisdom of the ages becomes – without attribution – the common property of all, the collective heritage of mankind.

“Biblia Americana” Volume 1: Genesis and its Main Sources

Since each of the ten volumes of the forthcoming edition of “Biblia Americana” contains an analysis of Mather’s main source material synopsized in the respective volume, a basic summary of his principal works digested in his commentary on Genesis (volume 1) will suffice here. The “Bibliography of Primary Works” at the end of the present volume provides the best overview of *all* sources abstracted, digested, cited, referred to, or otherwise mentioned in Mather’s gloss on Genesis. The majority of these works – it is important to realize – are quoted at second or third hand, whether or not they were part of the Mather family libraries or otherwise accessible to him at nearby Harvard. Borrowing books from private collections of relatives, colleagues, friends, and neighbors was yet another important means of enhancing the availability of sources for “Biblia Americana.” The works in the “Bibliography” identified with a bullet • were (at one time or the other) part of the Mather family libraries.¹⁰⁴ Those marked with a diamond ♦ were available at the Harvard College library as established in *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Collegij Harvardini Quod est Cantabrigiae in*

¹⁰⁴ See “Catalogue of Dr. Cotton Mather’s Library Purchased by Isaiah Thomas” and “Remains of Mathers’ [*sic*] Library Folio & 4to. Purchased by I. Thomas” (MS copies at the AAS). J. H. Tuttle’s bibliography “Libraries of the Mathers” (1910) is still the best (albeit incomplete) source for the remains of the Mather family Libraries. Since its first publication a century ago, this bibliography of works in Cotton Mather’s personal library has been updated (by hand) with more than five hundred additional titles, the updated copy has not yet been published but is accessible at the AAS in Worcester. See also H. J. Cadbury’s fine analysis “Harvard College Library and the Libraries of the Mathers” (1941).

Nova Anglia (1723) and *Supplementum* (1725).¹⁰⁵ The origin, growth, dispersion, and loss of the huge collection of books and manuscripts in the Mather family libraries are well known; Julius H. Tuttle published his findings more than a century ago and traced the descent of the family libraries from the small collection brought to Massachusetts in 1635, by the Rev. Richard Mather (1596–1669), Cotton Mather's paternal grandfather, to the dispersal of the whole family's collection after the death of the Rev. Samuel Mather (1706–85), Cotton Mather's only surviving son, at the end of the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁶

A word or two about the size of Cotton Mather's private library is in order before we can appreciate the significance of the works he digested in "Biblia Americana." No complete account of Mather's library exists because no inventory of its holdings or value was made at his death in 1728 – ostensibly to keep the prized collection from falling into the hands of his creditors.¹⁰⁷ However, John Dunton (1659–1733), a London printer and bookseller who visited Boston in 1686, went into raptures at the sight of Cotton Mather's library, which Dunton extolled as "the Glory of New-England, if not of all America" and "the best sight I had in Boston."¹⁰⁸ If the accumulated hoard of books merited such praise when young Mather was barely twenty-three, there is no telling what Dunton's ecstasy would have been like on seeing "between two and three thousand" volumes, the estimated size of Mather's private collection in 1700 (*Diary* 1:368). This estimate rose to "many more than Thirty Hundred Books" some years later, Cotton related in his autobiography (*Paterna* 42). Roughly one hundred years after Dunton's enthusiastic appraisal, Samuel Mather (1736–1813), Cotton Mather's Tory grandson who had inherited the huge libraries his father and grandfather left behind, had this to say about the prized collection:

My Father's Library was by far the most valuable Part of the family Property. It consisted of 7000 or 8000 Volumes of the most curious and chosen Authors, and a prodigious Number of valuable Manuscripts, which had been collected by my Ancestors for five Generations.

According to Samuel G. Drake, former president of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, Cotton Mather's grandson believed that the

¹⁰⁵ Both of these catalogues are reprinted in the edition by W. H. Bond and H. Amory, *The Printed Catalogues of Harvard* (1996): 3–118.

¹⁰⁶ T. J. Tuttle, "Mather Libraries" (269–312).

¹⁰⁷ Mather inadvertently inherited considerable debts through his third wife, Lydia Lee George, a wealthy widow whom he married in 1715. Their prenuptial agreement may well have protected Mather's library from the auction block when his wife's ostensible wealth turned out to be encumbered by her deceased husband's creditors (*Diary* 2: 708, 745; Silverman, *Life and Times* 287, 383, 427–28).

¹⁰⁸ John Dunton, "Letter to George Larkin" (March 25, 1686), in *Letters written from New-England* (75). The untrustworthiness of Dunton's *Letters* is discussed in C. N. Greenough, "John Dunton's *Letters*" and "John Dunton Again."

value of the library amounted to “at least *eight thousand pounds sterling*.”¹⁰⁹ No doubt a sizable fortune in its day, this tidy sum, however, does not represent the true value Cotton himself put open “the Darling of my little Enjoyments ... so very dear to me above all temporal Possessions” (*Diary* 2: 708, 745). For when he contemplated the conflagration he expected at Christ’s return, his bibliolatriy almost got the better of him: “In the Midst of the *Desolations*, there has been scarce any thing, that some whom I know, would more beg to be spared, than the *Libraries*. Their most Pathetic Cry would be, *Oh! Spare the Libraries!*” The destruction of the 700,000 thousand volumes in the Alexandrian library, the loss of the library of Pergamus, the fire that destroyed more than 120,000 volumes in the library of Constantinople, and the transference of the famous Heidelberg library to the Vatican, “Tis as bad as *burnt*.” But that collection, too, “is quickly to be *Burnt* in a *Fire* more desolating than that which laid waste the Tower of *Shechem*” (“*Trip paradisus*” 241, 242). Indeed, the ravages of fire – so detrimental to the wooden edifices of the day – had decimated his father’s own collection once before. As Cotton Mather remembered the great fire of Boston, Nov. 1676, his father’s “own House also took a part in the Ruines: But by the Gracious Providence of God, he lost little of his Beloved Library: Not an Hundred Books from above a Thousand; Of those also he had an immediate Recruit, by a Generous Offer which the Honourable Mrs. Bridget Hoar made him, to take what he Pleased from the Library of her Deceased Husband” (*Parentator* 127). Books were treasured possessions to those who knew their value and rarity. No greater gift could be bestowed on either of the two Mathers than to supply their libraries with vellum-bound tomes of theology, history, or sacred geography – even bundles of sermon notes and manuscripts of unpublished scholarship.¹¹⁰ These became heirlooms, lovingly preserved and prized by generations of descendants. In more ways than one, the treasures of his family libraries are represented in Mather’s commentary on Genesis – the first of the ten-volume collection.

Only representative examples need here be treated. The “General Index” at the end of the present volume itemizes every reference to the authors and their works Mather relied on, along with the location of their citation references. Among the principal sources in Mather’s annotations on Genesis are works old and new. They are here classified according to their genre, because their use is (by and large) determined by the specific nature of the Book of Genesis: the *Primeval Story*: the Hexaemeral tradition, the garden, the genealogies, the flood, and the table of nations. The *Patriarchal Story*: the cycles of Abraham, Jacob, Esau, and God’s dealings with the patriarchs. The *Joseph Story*: the story of Jacob’s family, their travels, and Joseph’s rise to prominence in Egypt. In

¹⁰⁹ S. G. Drake, “Introductory,” *History of King Philip’s War* (1862) xxiii.

¹¹⁰ See especially *Diary* (1:214, 343, 368, 447, 532, and 2:2).

terms of genre, Mather's commentary on Genesis is dominated by works on chronology, natural science, geography, history and travel, Reformation and Post-Reformation literature, Patristic literature and Judaica. Given the nature of Genesis, these genres share many of the same concerns and frequently intersect and overlap with related works.

Chronology

The principal work of chronology Mather relies on in Genesis is William Whiston's *A Short View of the Chronology of the Old Testament, and of the Harmony of the Four Evangelists* (Cambridge, 1702), a state-of-the-art chronology based on the Masoretic texts, and a revision of Archbishop James Ussher's *Annales Veteris Testamenti, À Prima Mundi Origine Deducti* (London, 1650). For many of the faithful, Ussher's chronology was tantamount to holy writ; it not only identified the exact day and time when God created the universe and thus provided a fixed point from which all other dates could be firmly established, but also determined the calculations for generations thereafter, when Ussher's chronology became an integral part of the King James Version until the end of the nineteenth century.¹¹¹ Successor to Sir Isaac Newton's Lucasian chair of mathematics at Cambridge, Whiston (1667–1752) attempted to reconcile the many chronological and genealogical difficulties in the Septuagint, Masoretic, and Samaritan texts of the Bible. Mather and his peers were well familiar with these difficulties, and Whiston's astronomical calculations, based on the "Mathematical Canon" of Claudius Ptolemy's *Amalgest*, appeared to offer the best solution to this problem. What makes Whiston's *Short View* so attractive to theologians of the period is that Whiston also draws on the chronologies of Martino Martini (*Sinicae Historiae Decas Prima* [1659]), of Sir John Marsham (*Chronicus Canon Aegyptiacus Ebraicus Graecus* [1672]), of Philippe Couplet (*Tabula Chronologica Monarchiae Sinicae* [1686]), and of Simon de la Loubère (*Du Royaume de Siam* [1691]) – ponderous tomes which aimed at reconciling the ancient chronologies of the Chinese, Egyptians, Phoenicians, and Chaldeans with those of the Hebrews. Mather digested the more than five hundred pages of Whiston's *Short View* into twelve compacted folio pages and was truly grateful for "such a Treasure of Good Thoughts" because Whiston's work had "putt an End unto Thousands of Disputations" (BA 1:277, 300–01).

¹¹¹ As the venerable archbishop put it, "In the beginning God created Heaven and Earth, Gen. 1. v. 1. Which beginning of time, according to our Chronologie, fell upon the entrance of the night preceding the twenty third day of *Octob.* in the year of the Julian Calendar, 710," or 4004 BCE (Ussher, *Annals* 1).

Science

Mather's commentary on the Mosaic creation account is one of the longest sections in the "Biblia" on Genesis and draws on the following works: Thomas Pyle's *Paraphrase with Short and Useful Notes on the Books of the Old Testament* (London, 1717); William Whiston's *New Theory of the Earth, From its Original, to the Consummation of all Things* (London, 1696), which responds to Thomas Burnet's Cartesian *Telluris Theoria Sacra* (1681) and its later incarnation *The Sacred Theory of the Earth* (London, 1691); Erasmus Warren's *Geologia: Or, A Discourse Concerning the Earth before the Deluge* (London, 1690); Richard Bentley's *A Confutation of Atheism From the Origin and Frame of the World* (London, 1693); Nehemiah Grew's *Cosmologia Sacra* (London, 1701); John Edwards' *Discourse concerning the Authority, Stile, and Perfection of the Old and New Testament* (London, 1693–95); Edmund Dickinson's *Physica Vetus & Vera* (London, 1702), and Robert Hooke's *Lectures and Discourses of Earthquakes and Subterraneous Eruptions*, in *Posthumous Works* (London, 1705). Mather digests the relevant portions of these works and incorporates them in his commentary on Genesis 1 and 2. In doing so, he presents his readers with a spectrum of explications, which ranges from the more traditional accounts of Thomas Pyle, Robert Hooke, Erasmus Warren, and John Edwards to the cutting-edge explications of Thomas Burnet, William Whiston, Richard Bentley, Nehemiah Grew, and Edmund Dickinson. Mather clearly favors the Newtonian expositions of Whiston, Bentley, and Grew, in part because they leave ample room for miracles to offset the laws of nature. But he is also fascinated with the atomistic approach of Dickinson, who valiantly struggles to reconcile Gassendi's atomism and Descartes' vortices with Burnet's mechanism and to keep the whole from surrendering to pure Deism. The philosophic positions of these authors (and Mather's response) are the subject of a detailed analysis in Section 2: "Biblia Americana" in the Context of Early Enlightenment Science.

Geography

Samuel Bochart's learned *Geographia Sacra. Phaleg De Dispersione gentium & terrarum divisione facta in edificatione turris Babel; Pars Posterior: Chanaan De Colonijs & sermone Phoenicum* (Caen, 1646) was the standard work on the geography of OT at least until the end of the eighteenth century. This magnificent work and its companion, *Hierozoicon Sive bipertitum opus De Animalibus Sacrae Scripturae* (London, 1663), an interpretative handbook on all the animals of the scriptures, were prized possessions by theologians and natural philosophers of all stripes who turned to the Bible for explanations on the dispersion of peoples and nations after Noah's flood and on the multitude of new species they discovered

in hitherto unexplored regions. An eminent Huguenot scholar, theologian, and Orientalist, Bochart (1599–1667) was the foremost authority on biblical geography and zoology of his time. He had read and incorporated every conceivable source and quoted lengthy excerpts to document his analyses. His *Phaleg*, *Chanaan*, and *Hierozaicon* went through at least five editions until the end of the eighteenth century. Cotton Mather's own copy of Bochart's *Geographia Sacra* came from the collection of the Rev. Samuel Lee (1625–91), a short-time resident of New England, whose library was advertised in "The Library of The Late Reverend and Learned Mr. Samuel Lee" (Boston, 1693) after Lee had perished in a dungeon of a French privateer, waiting to be ransomed.¹¹² Although greatly indebted to Bochart's *Geographia Sacra*, Lee was put off by his French colleague's pompous erudition: He "is certainly a learned author," Mather quoted Lee's Latin inscription, "but not one of the best judgment, and too verbose in the least necessary trifles. Also, he often shows off how much he has read, when it is hardly necessary. He could even have reduced his lengthy work to a tenth of the size" (BA 1:804). If this critique bespeaks the kind of professional jealousy that even men of the cloth were known to harbor, then Lee, Mather, and most of their contemporaries relied on Bochart without compunction. Mather's commentary on Genesis, ch. 10 (BA 1:711–804) is a good case in point. It is greatly indebted to Bochart's folio volumes, as is Samuel Lee's geography of Eden, a lost manuscript, which Mather had digested and incorporated in his commentary on Genesis, ch. 2 (BA 1:444–64) and in "Trip paradisi" (93–106). Mather's extracts from the geographies of Bochart and Lee were supplemented with summaries from Pierre-Daniel Huet's *Traité de la Situation du Paradis Terrestre* (Paris, 1691), which appeared in an English translation under the title *A Treatise of the Situation of Paradise* (London, 1694), and from Edward Well's *An Historical Geography of the Old Testament* (London, 1711–12). If these standard geographies did not supply his wants, Mather resorted to André Thevet's *Cosmographie de Levant* (Paris, 1556), Adriaan Reland's "De situ Paradisi terrestris" (1706–08) and Joseph Pitton de Tournefort's popular *Voyage du Levant* (1717), translated into English and appearing under the title *A Voyage into the Levant* (London, 1718). These post-Reformation geographies, it goes without saying, relied as much on each other as on the medieval and ancient geographies and histories by Stephanus Byzantius, Abu Abdullah Mohammed Ibn al-Sharif Idrisi (Nubian Geographer), Ammianus Marcellinus, Pomponius Mela, Claudius Ptolemaeus, Dionysius Periegetes, Strabo, Josephus Flavius, Pliny, Diodorus Siculus, Herodotus, Hesiod, Homer, Manetho, and Berosus whose works were known to reach beyond pre-history into the age of myth.

¹¹² See S.A. Green, "An Early Book-catalogue" (542), and T. Hornberger, "Samuel Lee" (341–55).

Medieval, Reformation, and Post-Reformation Theologians

Because of the specific nature of the first book of the Pentateuch, the category of medieval, Reformation, and Post-Reformation theologians is sparsely represented in Mather's commentary on Genesis. Among the major theologians of the medieval period – Aquinas, Bernard of Clairvaux, Rupert of Deutz, Denys the Carthusian, Jean Gerson, Hugh of St. Victor, Nicholas of Lyra – only Aquinas, Denys, Hugh, Rupert, and Lyra are referred to in the “Biblia” on Genesis. Thomas Aquinas and Lyranus have the largest number of hits – Aquinas's *Summa Theologica* and Lyranus's *Postilla* are here represented with second-hand comments on social and historical matters. Much the same is true for the great Renaissance Humanists and Reformers: Marsilio Ficino, Johannes Reuchlin, Jean Calvin, Martin Luther, Heinrich Bullinger, Peter Martyr (Vermigli), Philipp Melanchthon, Huldrych Zwingli, Theodor Beza, Wolfgang Musculus – in declining order – receive only some attention, usually in terms of secondary references to historical matters. Post-Reformation theologians and their spiritual offspring in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries do much better in this respect. They are here listed in alphabetical order, but the frequency of their appearance in Mather's commentary on Genesis differs widely: Henry Ainsworth, Pierre Allix, Roberto Bellarmine, Jacques Bonfrerius, Johannes Buxtorf (father and son), George Calixtus, Dom Augustin Calmet, Jacobus and Louis Capellus, Hieronymus Cardano, Isaac and Meric Casaubon, Johannes Cocceius, Ludovicus De Dieu, Joannes Drusius, Pierre Du Moulin, Louis Ellies Du Pin, John Edwards, Paulus Fagius, Robert Fleming, Wolfgang Franzius, Nicholas and Thomas Fuller, Johannes Glasius, Hugo Grotius, Theodor Hackspan, Johann Heinrich Heidegger, Pierre-Daniel Huet, Johann Heinrich Hottinger, Jeremiah Jones, Francis Junius, Pierre Jurieu, Isaac La Peyrère, Joachim Langius, Cornelius à Lapide, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étables, Jean LeClerc, Johannes Leusden, John Lightfoot, Hiob Ludolphus, Andreas Masius, Joseph Mede, Giovanni Stefano Menochius, Joannes Mercerus, Arias Montanus, Sebastian Münster, Paulus Orosius, Simon Patrick, Conradus Pellicanus, Valentinius Benedictus Pererius, Dionysius Petavius, August Pfeiffer, Johannes Piscator, Edward Pococke, Matthew Poole, Humphrey, John, and Matthew Prideaux, Claudius Salmasius, Jacques Saurin, Joseph Justus Scaliger, Valentin Schindler, John Selden, Thomas and William Sherlock, John Spencer, Richard Simon, Joannes Temporarius, Agostino Tornielli, Alfonso Tostado, Immanuel Tremellius, Francis Turretin, Gerardus Johannes Vossius, Ludovicus Vartomannus, Franciscus Vatablus, Compegius Vitranga, William Henry Vorstius, Dionysius and Gerard Joannes, and Isaac Vossius, Johann Christoph Wagenseil, and William Whiston. This list only represents a cross-section of the most significant authorities cited, referred to, or otherwise mentioned in Mather's commentary on Genesis. But even at this stage it is clear that Cot-

ton Mather's Reformed position did not keep him from citing the works of Roman Catholics, Jesuits, Lutherans, even from well-known heretics, without hesitation. The old gibe that he refused to quote from Roman Catholic authors may thus be laid to rest.

Of the many authors mentioned here, the Swiss Reformed theologian and Hebraist Johann Heinrich Heidegger (1633–98) deserves to be singled out. As a close associate of the Dutch Reformed theologian Johannes Cocceius (1603–69), perhaps the leading proponent of covenant theology of his day, Heidegger was entrusted with composing the *Formula Consensus Helvetica* (1675), designed to unite the Reformed churches of the Swiss cantons. Mather's interest in Heidegger mainly centered on the two-volume *De Historia Sacra Patriarcharum Exercitationes Selectae* (Amsterdam 1667–71), a study of Rashi's *Aboth* and of his commentary on the Pentateuch by the renowned philosopher Rabbi Shlomo Yitzchaki (1040–1105). Heidegger's polyglot study of every conceivable aspect of the Patriarchal economy is one of Mather's principal sources. It supplied him with choice glosses from Rashi, Nachmanides, Maimonides, Ibn Ezra, and many other Talmudic commentators, which Heidegger fortified with citations from the Church Fathers and from his contemporaries. Mather digested Heidegger's thousand-page *Historia Sacra Patriarcharum* into little less than seventy pages and dispersed them throughout his commentary on Genesis.

Patristic Literature

The Ante-Nicene, Nicene, and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Church are well represented in Mather's commentary on Genesis. Their names are listed according to the frequency of their occurrence, with St. Augustine at the top of the list with 114 and St. Gregory of Nyssa with 3 references at the bottom. The numerals in parentheses signify the number of times they are cited or referred to: St. Augustine of Hippo (114), Eusebius of Caesarea (100), St. Jerome (77), St. Chrysostom of Constantinople (35) Origen of Alexandria (34), St. Epiphanius of Constantinople (26), Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullian (26), Theodoret of Cyrrhus (24), St. Ambrose of Milan (25), St. Clement of Alexandria (25), St. Cyril of Alexandria (22), St. Athanasius of Alexandria (21), St. Irenaeus of Lyon (12), Lactantius (11), St. Justin Martyr (11), St. Eustathius of Antioch (9), St. Cyprian of Carthage (7), St. Gregory I, the Great (7), St. Basil of Caesarea (6), St. Gregory of Nazianzus (6), St. Gregory of Nyssa (3). The majority of the ancient Fathers are quoted at second hand, even though editions of their main works were generally accessible at Harvard during Mather's lifetime.

Judaica

Perhaps most revealing are Cotton Mather's many citations (at first and second hand) from Jewish historians and Rabbinic commentators. The large number of references to the Talmud, Mishnah, Midrash, Zohar, and Targums, along with citations from medieval Jewish travelers, indicates that Mather's commentary on Genesis covers the whole range of available resources to enrich his "Biblia Americana." Of the most important Jewish commentators on the Pentateuch, Mather cites or refers to Rashi's commentary on the Chumash and Talmud 71 times, to Maimonides' *Moreh Nebuchim* and *Mishneh Torah* 60, to Abraham Ibn Ezra's classic commentary on the OT 78 times, to Nachmanides 26 times, to David Kimchi's extant commentary on Genesis 20 times, to Isaac Abarbanel's huge commentary on the Hebrew Bible 19 times, to Bachya (Bechai) ben Asher 8 times, to Yaakov's *Baal HaTurim*, a commentary on the Pentateuch, 6 times; and to *Midrash Tanchuma*, an Aggadic midrash on the Pentateuch, attributed to R. Tanchuma bar Abba, 6 times. The Aggadic *Midrash Rabbah* occupies a significant place with 114 references; the *Pirke de R. Eliezer*, by R. Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, is mentioned nearly 50 times; such standard commentaries and histories by Philo Judaeus and Flavius Josephus 61 and 120 times respectively;¹¹³ individual tractates from the Babylonian Talmud are cited 59 times; the *Zohar*, or *Book of Splendor*, appears on 10 separate occasions; and the *Targums Hierosolymitanus*, *Jonathan ben Uzziel*, and *Onkelos* – almost exclusively based on Brian Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (London, 1653–57) – are cited or referred to 26, 44, and 30 times respectively. Finally, Rabbi Benjamin Tudela's valuable *Itinerarium*, a twelfth-century travelogue of the Middle East and Mediterranean world, is represented with 18 references. In short, Cotton Mather's keen interest in the classic works of Jewish commentators and in those of Christian Hebraists – whether quoted a first or second hand – is a testimony to his extraordinary erudition as an American theologian. His participation in the transatlantic community of scholars and in the transference of their philosophic ideas – whether ancient or modern – has largely gone unrecognized. And yet, the diverse sources Mather relied on in his commentary on Genesis represent only a sampling of his interests and of his vast learning. The full extent of what he amassed in his commentary on the whole Bible will be better known only after the remaining nine of our ten-volume edition of the *Biblia Americana* have been published.

With this promise of things to come, why did Mather choose to give his life's work the provocative title *Biblia Americana*? This choice is all the more momentous if we remember that the term "American" (at least until the

¹¹³ On this topic, see L. H. Feldman, "The Influence of Josephus on Cotton Mather's *Biblia Americana*" (122–55).

mid-1750s) signified "Native American," rather than "American of European descent." Until less than a century ago, the designation "Native American" was anything but flattering. It pejoratively signified "Indian" or "savage," as the indigenous populations were labeled by European explorers from the moment of first contact. Cotton Mather, to be sure, was no exception. It is therefore all the more noteworthy that Mather appears to be the first descendent of European colonists to designate himself an "American."¹¹⁴ The issue is an interesting one in terms of American identity formation, when European colonists and their descendents began to embrace their New World identity as more than a purely geographic signifier. Certainly, the Puritan origins of the American Self are well known – even long before Sacvan Bercovitch underscored these origins in his study which appeared a year before the bicentennial celebration commemorated America's political independence from Britain. In Mather's case, more than mere pride of place in the hierarchy of spiritual elites (the elect) appears to be involved. In his millennialist tract "Problema Theologicum" (c. late 1690s–1703), Mather protested against Joseph Mede's exclusion of the American hemisphere from the blessings of Christ's millennial kingdom, at a time when many chiliasts believed that the Messiah's rule would be limited (for most of his thousand-year reign) to the realm of the Mediterranean and Middle Eastern regions as they were known to the apostles. This geographic limitation excluded not only most of Asia but also all of America and the as yet undiscovered islands of the world. Mather was vehemently opposed to this curtailment: "I that am an *American*," he countered in his tract, "must needs be Lothe to allow all *America* still unto the *Devils* Possession, when our Lord shall possess all the rest of the World" (412). "It was never intended that the Church of our Lord, should be confined always within the Dimensions of *Strabo's* Cloak; and that, *All the World* [Matth. 24:14] should always be no more, than it was, when *Augustus* taxed it" (*Theopolis Americana* 46).¹¹⁵ Mather insisted that at the Second Coming, Christ's kingdom would also extend to the New World – no matter what Joseph Mede conjectured.

What, then, is specifically "American" about "Biblia Americana"? One of Mather's principal aims in his commentary is to demonstrate that theologians in the English colonies of North America fully participated in the European debate. He corresponded with a large number of English and continental theologians – even as far as India and Ceylon (Sri Lanka).¹¹⁶ His own private

114 See his biography of John Eliot, *The Triumphs of the Reformed Religion, in America* (Boston, 1691), "Dedication" (sign. A6r) and *Magnalia Christi Americana* (105)

115 See R. Smolinski, "Israel Redivivus" (372). The passage from Mather's manuscript "Problema Theologicum" (68) appears in J. S. Mares, "Edition" (412).

116 See Mather's *India Christiana* (Boston, 1721), a letter in Latin which Mather had sent (in 1717) to the German Pietist Bartholomew Ziegenbalg (1683–1719), who had translated the scriptures into Tamil and served as a missionary in the Danish settlement of Tranquebar (SE India). K. Silverman has examined Mather's foreign correspondence and other missives in *Selected Letters*.

library and that of Harvard furnished him with up-to-date publications. More significantly, Mather incorporated in his "American" commentary specifically American subjects, which he later gathered in his "Curiosa Americana," his scientific communications with the Royal Society of London, some of which were published (in excerpts) in the Society's *Proceedings*. In "Biblia Americana" Mather brings to bear on biblical exegesis his knowledge of Native American religious practices and beliefs, their origin, methods of time-keeping, Indian creation stories and accounts of the Flood, and Indian medicine; American flora and fauna, ornithology (esp. the Passenger Pigeons) and entomology; rattlesnakes, earthquakes, and volcanoes; and his collection of American fossils, experimental observations about plant hybridization, and thoughts on African slavery. Significantly, Mather rejected the age-old belief in Noah's curse of Ham as the cause of his dark-skinned African descendents. Instead, he embraced a theory of skin pigmentation and climatic influences as the origin of the different skin colors of mankind (*BA* 1:672, 674–75, 698–99; *BA* 2, Exod. 21:16).¹¹⁷ If this enlightened view suggests that he was well ahead of his time, then Mather's opposition to the slave trade and to the crime of "man stealing" deserves equal credit. In short, Cotton Mather's "Biblia Americana" is a unique record of scholarship in the English colonies which is only now becoming available to a community wider than that of academics with access to microfilms or to the holograph manuscript at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

117 See J. Stievermann, "Genealogy of Races."

Section 2

“Biblia Americana” in the Context of Early Enlightenment Science: How to Go to Heaven, or How Heaven Goes?

Cotton Mather, Puritan New England’s eminent theologian, historian, and virtuoso of natural philosophy, took a leading role in introducing what is now called the new science to colonial North America. Mather, historians have established, not only popularized Newtonian science from his Boston pulpit but also embraced much of the early Enlightenment scholarship of the day.¹ Of a decidedly empirical bent, he studied the works of his European peers, supplied the Royal Society of London with his own American offerings (his “Curiosa Americana”), and hailed scientific affirmations that traced God’s providential hand in the physical universe.² In his much admired *The Christian Philosopher*, published for the Royal Society of London (1720/21), he set out to establish “that *Philosophy* [i.e., natural science] is no *Enemy*, but a mighty and wondrous *Incentive to Religion*” and “that PHILOSOPHICAL RELIGION” exhibits “a most sensible *Character*, and victorious *Evidence of a reasonable Service*.” Let us be thankful, for “Behold, a *Religion*, which will be found *without Controversy*; a

1 Among the most important discussions are G. L. Kittredge, “Scientific Communications”; T. Hornberger, “The Date, the Source,” “Cotton Mather’s Annotations,” “Notes,” and “Samuel Lee” (esp. 352–53); P. Miller, *New England Mind* (1953); O. T. Beall and R. H. Shryock, *Cotton Mather* (1954); R. P. Stearns, *Science* (150–61, 403–26); G. W. Jones, “Introduction,” *Cotton Mather: The Angel of Bethesda* (xii–xl); P. Vartanian, “Cotton Mather”; J. Jeske, “Cotton Mather: Physico-Theologian”; W. U. Solberg, “Science and Religion in Early America” and “Introduction” to *The Christian Philosopher* (xix–cxxxiv); M. P. Winship, *Seers of God* (1996); and, of course, the assessments of Mather’s interest in natural science by R. Middlekauff, *The Mather* (1971) 279–304; D. Levin, *Cotton Mather* (91–94); and K. Silverman, *The Life and Times* (243–54, 405–10).

2 Of the several collections of “Curiosa Americana” that Mather sent to London, only a small handful were abstracted in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*. Mather’s First Series (1712), synopsis in “An Extract of several Letters from Cotton Mather” (62–71), include his description of giant bones found at Claverack, his disquisition on the “*Shittim Wood*” used for Noah’s Ark, Indian medicines, on American turkeys and Passenger Pigeons, on the psychosomatic power of the imagination, monstrous births, miraculous cures, Indian calendars, rainbows and parhelia, earthquakes, hurricanes, hieroglyphics, and many other curiosa that he ultimately incorporated into his “Biblia Americana.” The value of Mather’s “Curiosa Americana” is assessed by Beall and Shryock (42–50), Stearns (405–25), and Silverman (*Life and Times* 244–49).

Religion, which will challenge all possible Regards from the *High*, as well as the *Low*, among the People." God be praised for "a PHILOSOPHICAL RELIGION: And yet how *Evangelical*!" (7, 9).³

Mather's words of wonder convinced Raymond Phineas Stearns to conclude that in colonial New England, "there was no conflict between science and religion, nor were there any controversies of this nature either in colonial America or in the homeland."⁴ Likewise, in his superb edition of *The Christian Philosopher*, Winton U. Solberg asserts that "Mather always saw harmony rather than conflict between science and religion" (xxxiii). Mather's *Christian Philosopher* has thus become the hallmark of a widely accepted concord between faith and fact in early America. Such a consensus is not surprising, for Mather self-consciously sought to emulate natural theology's design argument as expressed in the works of Robert Boyle, John Ray, John Harris, George Cheyne, and William Derham – all of which Mather mined and copied into his American text. In fact, these five authors alone account for nearly fifty percent of Mather's *Christian Philosopher*.⁵ Invariably, their voluntarist belief in nature's divine order imposed by an all-wise God who can rescind nature's laws at will shapes the writers' selection of evidence as much as it colors the logic of their inferences. There is simply no room for blind chance in the Great Chain of Being, no species to which God had not assigned its particular place and purpose, no survival of the fittest or extinction, no natural catastrophe that God had not ordained at the beginning of time to accomplish His eternal plan. No wonder, then, the circular reasoning driving their teleology precluded any conflict between science and faith.⁶

But Mather's celebration of natural theology, however emphatic in the works he intended for public consumption, is much less certain and forthcoming in the unexpurgated record of his evolving thought. His massive commentary on the Bible, "Biblia Americana," thus becomes the litmus test for determining the degree to which Mather was committed to reinterpreting scripture in the light of early Enlightenment science. Otho T. Beall and Richard H. Shryock are not altogether off the mark when they suggest that "in the 'Biblia [Americana]' Mather had examined the Scriptures in terms of science, whereas

3 All page references to this work are to the Solberg edition. Hornberg's article "The Date of Mather's Interest in Science" (413–20) proves that that interest was not confined to the minister's old age.

4 Stearns (160) comes to the same conclusion as Perry Miller does in his *New England Mind* (437–38).

5 In his "Recapitulation of Mather's Sources," Solberg tabulates the number of lines Mather culls from his principal sources (*Christian Philosopher* 465).

6 R. Westfall details the pitfalls of circular reasoning among the physico-theologians of the day in his *Science and Religion* (49–69). T. Hornberger, in *Scientific Thought* (82); R. Middlekauff (*Mathers* 284); and more recently M. P. Winship, in "Prodigies" (93n, 105), are distrustful of this display of surface harmony in early Enlightenment America.

in *The Christian Philosopher* he reversed this by surveying science from a religious perspective” (*American Medicine* 50). If the theologian in Mather is at odds with Mather the natural philosopher, if his belief in God’s capacity to suspend nature’s laws clashes with the Cartesian view that these laws and matter operate autonomously, then the most productive way to examine those contradictions, I would suggest, is to turn to those passages in his exegetical commentary in which Mather was at greatest pains to collate Scripture and Nature into one seamless volume. In “*Biblia Americana*,” as he weighed in on a number of hotly contested issues of his day – the creation story, Noah’s flood, and such miraculous events as the confusion of tongues at Babel, the ten plagues of Egypt, the parting of the Red Sea, and Joshua’s arrest of the sun – Mather wavered between public affirmations and personal misgivings. After all, it is one thing to welcome the breath-taking discoveries of the age, yet quite another to reconcile them with the traditional interpretations that are directly affected by these breakthroughs.

Science and the Six Days of Creation

Mather’s commentary on the Book of Genesis alone consists of nearly 430 folio pages, arranged in double columns. Its bulkiness is not really surprising; the early Enlightenment’s revolutionary discoveries posed significant challenges to theologians and believers of all stripes who sought to harmonize the old with the new. In his commentary on the Mosaic creation account (Hexaemeron), Mather draws on a vast variety of ancient and modern sources and cites creation myths from Chaldea, Egypt, Greece, and Rome in the same space as typological and mystical readings from the Talmud, Targums, the early Church Fathers, and Renaissance and Reformation commentators. He incorporates up-to-date pre-Newtonian and Newtonian explanations from such contemporaries as Lord Chief Justice Sir Matthew Hale; from conservative and Latitudinarian divines such as Robert Fleming, Pierre Jurieu, and Thomas Pyle; and from physico-theologians and natural philosophers such as Robert Hooke, Edmund Dickinson, Nehemiah Grew, Richard Bentley, William Whiston, and Sir Isaac Newton. Over a period of more than thirty years, Mather gathered serviceable excerpts from their writings, but he seemingly had no intent to order the selections by chronology or significance. The sequential arrangement of Mather’s source material should therefore not be read as his endorsement of one account above another but as his delight in the richness of the Mosaic Hexaemeron and in the multiplicity of explanations it called for.

Unfortunately, dating his various entries is fraught with difficulty. Identifying the publication dates for his countless sources is easy enough, but they only allow one to approximate the relative date for each entry in the bound manuscript volumes. Mather initially numbered each new entry in sequential order.

Yet he was forced to abandon this counting method long before he had filled his six volumes. Renumbering thousands of entries was therefore an inefficient and never-ending process.⁷ Only in rare cases did Mather juxtapose old with new entry, for he intended a state-of-the-art commentary that would rival those of his English peers. Nonetheless, Mather's evolving intellectual position can be gauged from his frequent asides and his dissatisfaction with those neoteric philosophers who, in his opinion, crossed the line.

Mather's scientific explanations excerpted in his "Biblia Americana" demarcate the periphery of legitimacy he allows his commentators to probe from the center of conventional interpretations. The range of authors he included is as revealing as his critique of their theories, for the spectrum of views he considered suggests the degree to which he was willing to allow biblical authority to be questioned as he explored early Enlightenment science in the work he thought the crowning achievement of his life. In treating the Mosaic Hexaemeron – in more than seventy folio pages in double columns (BA 1:302–476) – Mather sampled ancient cosmogonies, early Enlightenment science, and philological and textual disputes about the authorship of the Pentateuch.⁸ During his lifetime, the biblical creation story was experiencing unprecedented challenges, with Peripatetics pitting their theory of the eternity of the universe against those of conservative physico-theologians who insisted that God had created the universe out of nothing, with Copernican heliocentrism replacing the ancient Ptolemaic geocentric cosmogonies, and with Cartesian mechanism and the immutable laws of nature contesting the venerable miracles and providentialist views of conventional literalists. The sudden explosion of knowledge and the formation of new fields of inquiry – physics, chemistry, botany, geology – disrupted the usual progress of biblical exegesis and demanded the attention of the brightest and the best.⁹

Mather's first extract concerning the Creation (BA 1:303–06), written in a hand different from that of the remainder of his holograph manuscript, is from Thomas Pyle (1674-c. 1756), an Anglican clergyman and prebendary of Salisbury, whose two-volume *Paraphrase with Short and Useful Notes on the Books of the Old Testament* (London, 1717) was accessible to Mather at the Harvard College library.¹⁰ In his preface, Pyle announces, "*I have had all just Regard to those Modern Discoveries, and vast Improvements in Philosophical Knowledge ... yet*

7 See my discussion of this issue in Section 1.

8 Mather does not paginate his "Biblia Americana" holograph manuscript; all recto and verso paginations refer to those permanently established in the present edition.

9 See Mather, *Christian Philosopher* (18–19); A. D. White, *History of the Warfare* (1:171–208); I. B. Cohen, *Birth of a New Physics* (1985); A. R. Hall, *From Galileo to Newton* (1963); G. McCollay, "The Ross-Wilkins Controversy" (153–89); R. Westfall, *Science and Religion* (70–145); M. C. Jacob, *Newtonians* (143–200). F. C. Haber, *Age of the World* (1959); P. Rossi, *Dark Abyss of Time* (1984) and *Birth of Modern Science* (2007); C. C. Albritton, Jr., *Abyss of Time* (1980).

10 *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Collegij Harvardini* (1723) and *Supplementum* (1725) 111.

have I endeavoured so to express every Circumstance, as not (directly and explicitly) to clash with any one particular Hypothesis or Opinion."¹¹ Pyle's distinctly Newtonian bent never seriously compromises conservative exegesis of the Mosaic creation story, and his determination to keep the Battle of the Books out of his commentary appeals to Mather. With Pyle at his elbow, Mather predictably rejects the ancient Peripatetic heresy of a universe that was not created by God but had always been in existence; frowns upon such Necessitarians as Thales and Cicero who, while conceding that an Efficient Cause had formed the universe, asserted that its matter was preexisting and eternal; and decries the modern Cartesian disciples of Democritus and Epicurus, who insisted that an infinite number of imperishable atoms coalesced through blind chance or immanent mechanical laws to form countless worlds in a vacuum of immeasurable proportion. Mather quotes Pyle's disclaimer:

The World did not exist from all Eternity, by Necessity of Nature, nor did it, or any Part of it, come into being by chance and Fortune, but all things whatever, whether Visible or Invisible, Material, or Immaterial were in the beginning created, by the Power of that infinitely Wise, Good, and Alsufficient being whom we call GOD. (BA 1:303)¹²

Adding no commentary of his own, Mather allows Pyle's voluntarist cosmogony to uphold the flag and staff for conformist theologians. The harmony between science and religion so carefully controlled in Pyle's excerpt foreshadows much of what Mather would later do in his *Christian Philosopher*.¹³

11 Pyle, *Paraphrase* (1:A6v). Pyle situates his commentary between the radical scholarship of the French Oratorian Richard Simon (1638–1712) and the Dutch Arminian theologian Jean LeClerc (1657–1736) on the one hand and, on the other, the conservative commentaries of the celebrated Nonconformist Henry Ainsworth (c. 1571–1622), of the Bishop of Ely Simon Patrick (1625–1707), of the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells Richard Kidder (1633–1703), and of Presbyterian minister Matthew Henry (1662–1714). In his *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (1678), Richard Simon denied the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch and postulated that groups of public writers periodically recast and updated much of the OT to accommodate their specific historical exigencies. Likewise, in his anonymous *Sentimens de quelques Théologiens* (1685), appearing in a partial English translation as *Five Letters* (1690); and in his *Genesis* (1693), translated as *Twelve Dissertations* (1696), LeClerc questioned the verbatim inspiration of the prophets and argued that Moses authored only parts of the Pentateuch. For detail, see section 3 of this introduction.

12 Pyle, *Paraphrase* (1:2). Years later, Mather refutes Aristotle's argument about the eternity of the universe with a counterargument from George Cheyne's *Philosophical Principles* (1705) 95–98: "That the Quantity of *Light* and *Heat* in the *Sun* is daily decreasing. It is perpetually emitting Millions of *Rays*, which do not return into it. ... 'Tis true, the Decrease of the *Sun* is very inconsiderable. It shews that the Particles of *Light* are extremely small, since the *Sun* for so many Ages has been constantly emitting Oceans of *Rays*, without any very sensible Diminution. However, 'tis from hence evident, that the *Sun* had a Beginning; it could not have been from *Eternity*; *Eternity* must have wasted it: It had long ere now been reduced unto less than the *Light of a Candle*" (*Christian Philosopher* 40).

13 See Mather's *Christian Philosopher* (18–42, 89–95).

With the old familiar story of the Creation thus firmly in place, Mather felt reassured to tackle the controversial *New Theory of the Earth, From its Original, to the Consummation of all Things* (London, 1696), by Anglican polymath William Whiston, Isaac Newton's fellow Arian and successor to the Lucasian Chair of Mathematics at Cambridge. Whiston's *New Theory* – like the avalanche of refutations that followed in its wake – was spawned by Thomas Burnet's popular *Telluris Theoria Sacra* (1681) and its later incarnation in English, *The Sacred Theory of the Earth* (London, 1691).¹⁴ Mather had repeatedly mocked Burnet's thesis that the earth's surface was, in their day, the mere ruins of the antediluvian crust that had collapsed in upon vast subterranean caverns filled with the ocean's waters.¹⁵ If this “Burnettian Romance” could be drowned in ridicule, Whiston's *New Theory* was not so easily dismissed: “Learned Men of late used several *Essayes*, all not with *equal Success*, to rescue the Inspired Writings of *Moses*, from the *Hardships* that have been put upon them,” Mather guardedly prefaces Whiston's abstract. “You must not expect, that I declare myself, how far *I* concur, with every Point, that shall bee offered. And I will also leave *you*, to the same Liberty that I take *myself*” (BA 1:337–38). Mather's half-hearted disclaimer and hedged praise for Whiston's *New Theory*, however, barely conceal the dilemma of New England's foremost virtuoso: his interest in the new natural sciences conflicts with the received exegesis of the Mosaic Hexaemeron.

Whiston had postulated that the great Chaos of the First Day, as described by Moses (Gen. 1:1–5), refers to the creation of our sublunary earth alone; the foundation of the universe, Whiston argued, was the product of an antecedent event, one not covered by Moses. In pondering the possibilities, Mather finds some logic in Whiston's position. How could the celestial bodies proceeding from a single center traverse such “Immense Distances” as to arrive at their “vastly *Remote Seats*” in outer space in so short a time as “a *few Hours*” of the First Day, he asks as he critiques the standard creation story, especially if the centripetal force of universal gravitation (Newton's Second Law of Motion) pulls all moving bodies toward “the common Center of *Gravity*”? Even if a thousand years were allowed for each of the six days of Creation, the magnetic property of matter would countermand the velocity of bodies wafting across space. Mather muses,

Now, if instead of the, *Vis Centripeta*, a *Vis Centrifuga*; instead of *Mutual Attraction*, a *Mutual Repulsion* or *Avoidance* were found to bee [a neat summary of our era's big-bang theory], the standing unchang'd Law of *Nature*, and Property of *Matter*,

¹⁴ See K. Collier, *Cosmogonies* (68–91), and M. H. Nicholson, *Mountain Gloom* (184–270). By 1755, Whiston's *New Theory* had gone through at least six editions, with Burnet's *Sacred Theory* through at least seven by 1759. James E. Force argues that “By 1700,” Burnet's *Theory* “had stimulated thirty replies,” in *William Whiston* (35).

¹⁵ See my *Threefold Paradise* (94) and Mather's commentary on Noah's Flood (Gen. 8:19), in BA 1:662–63.

this might have look'd like possible. But, when the contrary Force of *Gravitation* obtains, and that, as far as wee have any Means of knowing, *Universally*, there is now no *Room* for such an Imagination. ... In fine, This Fancy, that the *Heavenly Bodies* proceeded originally from the *Terrestrial Chaos*, and cast themselves off from it every Way, supposes the *Earth* to bee the *Center* of the World, or of all that *System* of Bodies, and them to bee placed in a kind of Circumference every Way about it. But this *Prolemaic* System of the World, must not hope, at this Time of Day, to bee entertained with considerate Men. (*BA* 1:342, 343).¹⁶

Suddenly, the tidy arrangement of the Mosaic Hexaemeron, no doubt pleasing in its poetic simplicity, seemed strangely outmoded and inadequate when examined within the context of the new theories. Though sacrosanct among the faithful for millennia, the old Mosaic order strained the credulity of physico-theologians like Mather as they wrestled with the problem of squaring religion and science according to one common denominator.

In the early Enlightenment, then, the hoary model of the cosmos began to lose force as the new science developed alternative concepts of space and time, hitherto the purview of theology. Mather grappled with the implications of Whiston's *New Theory*: To allot to Almighty God the "disproportionate" five out of six days to create the earth alone, yet "crouding into *One single Day*" the formation of our sun, moon, stars, and the rest of the vast cosmos – this disorderly arrangement is not only against reason but also disrespectful of God's sublime wisdom, he reasoned. If anyone were to propose such a flawed cosmogony, it would "bee look'd on as Marks of *Unskilfulness, Foolishness, & Imprudence*, in parallel Cases; & for which *Meer Men*, could not escape the most severe and Indecorous Imputations" (*BA* 1:344).¹⁷ If the lopsided allocation of activities during the first five days of Creation failed to prompt discerning minds to question the perfection of the Grand Scheme, Mather went on, then God's labors recorded for the sixth day, plainly "too Numerous for so short a Space," should certainly do

¹⁶ Whiston, *New Theory* (pt. 1, sec 4, pp. 37, 38); See also Mather's *Christian Philosopher* (89–90). On 23 December 1714, Judge Samuel Sewall recorded the following comment in his diary: "Dr. C. Mather preaches excellently from Ps. 37. Trust in the Lord &c. only spake of the Sun being in the centre of our System. I think it inconvenient to assert such Problems" (*Diary* 2:779); I wish to thank Kenneth P. Minkema for drawing my attention to Sewall's remarks. Whether Sewall persuaded his old friend Cotton Mather to abandon his acknowledgment of Copernicus' heliocentrism is not known, but the published version of Mather's Thursday lecture, *Pascentius* (1714), omits all references to the topic. Sewall's disapproving remark illustrates that Copernicus was not universally embraced in New England, even among the educated elite. Grant McColley (153–89) traces the conquest of Copernican heliocentrism in Britain from the late Renaissance to the end of the seventeenth century; Dorothy Stimson's still useful *Gradual Acceptance of the Copernican Theory* (85–106) does so for continental Europe; and Donald Fleming's "Judgment upon Copernicus" (2:160–75) does so for New England. Fleming's article especially demonstrates that although Copernican heliocentrism was readily discussed in almanacs and at Harvard in the last three decades of the seventeenth century, Copernicus and Kepler did not triumph over Ptolemy's geocentrism until the early eighteenth century.

¹⁷ Whiston, *New Theory* (pt. 1, sec. 5, p. 45).

so. In that brief period, God had supposedly fashioned earth's animals, including Adam; given Adam's latitude to exercise his dominion over other animals by naming each species by virtue of its nature; dropped Adam into a "*Deep Sleep*" (which must have lasted "more than a *Few Minutes*") during which God shaped the protoplast's rib into Eve and healed the wound, then giving the pair time enough to "know" each other, identify their food, and learn God's Law; and, finally, permitted the arch marplot of Eden to wriggle himself into the couple's confidence and precipitate their Fall and expulsion – all in a single day of twenty-four hours, according to "the vulgar *Hypothesis*" of things! (*BA* 1:347, 343).¹⁸

"Now, tho' *God* Almighty can do all things in what Portions of *Time* Hee pleases," Mather readily concedes, "*Man* cannot. Hee must have *Time* allow'd him, in Proportion to the *Business*, that is to bee done. But behold here, Business enough allotted into the *Sixth Day*, to require no small Part of a *Year*, for the Dispatch of it!" (*BA* 1:347).¹⁹ Even if Adam were created in a state of maturity and with full knowledge and understanding of his assigned tasks, their sheer number would encompass a lifetime, not a day.²⁰ How, then, can a rational solution be devised if God's creation is constrained by his own physical laws? "It is an Indecent Thing to Recurr unto *Pure Miracle*, for the *Acceleration* of them, into the Space of *Twenty Four Hours*," Mather affirms with reference to Whiston, violates "the Lawes of *Motion*, [which] were now already Stated and Fixed in the World" (*BA* 1:347).²¹ In this Cartesian vortex, no elbow room seems left for God's special providence to arbitrate between inherent necessity and temporal exigency.

If Mather's digest of Whiston's *New Theory* is correct, Whiston did not wholly subscribe to Newton's theological voluntarism, which held that the Creator may contravene the course of nature at any time (though he rarely does).²² Although Whiston does not yet confine the omnipotent God or his

¹⁸ Whiston, *New Theory* (pt. 2, bk. 2, ch. 3, pp. 88, 89, 90).

¹⁹ Whiston, *New Theory* (pt. 2, bk. 2, ch. 3, p. 90). This rationalist explication was not original to Mather (or Whiston, his source) either. For Simon Patrick, bishop of Ely, in his introductory commentary on Gen. 3, raised the same issue: "All which could not be performed so speedily as some have imagined: for tho God can do as he pleases in an instant, yet man cannot; and God did not in one Day create the World. And, besides that some time was necessary for the transacting all these things; it is not likely the Devil would immediately set upon *Eve*, as soon as the Command was laid upon them; but rather let it be a little forgotten. And if the time be observed when he assaulted her, it will much confirm this Opinion, which was in the absence of her Husband; for that we cannot easily believe to have been upon the same Day they were created," in *Commentary upon the First Book of Moses, called Genesis* (London, 1695) 59.

²⁰ Whiston, *New Theory* (pt. 2, bk. 4, ch. 1, pp. 227–28).

²¹ Whiston, *New Theory* (pt. 2, bk. 2, ch. 3, pp. 89, 90).

²² In his classic *Adventures of Ideas* (140–59), A. N. Whitehead describes two contrasting views of nature's laws as they obtained in much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: (1) *Theological voluntarism* is the metaphysical idea that an omnipotent God endowed matter and nature with principles of motion that are passive and therefore completely dependent on God's volition; that since the properties of matter (atoms) are extension, impenetrability, and

immutable will to the immanent laws of nature, as Descartes had been wont to do, the protoplast – the crown of God's creation – is ostensibly subject to the limitations of his humanity. Whiston's reasoning thus implies that matter or atoms (though indivisible and having extension) are *not* inert substances, as Isaac Newton insisted they were, but are instead endowed with active, self-sufficient principles (energy) that are inherent in nature and governed by mechanical laws whose sole constraint is that of their own constitution.²³ Immutable and mutually interdependent, these laws comprise reality to the seeming exclusion of any interference by an external agency that might suspend their integrity. Mather's illustration about God's omnipotence and Adam's impotence therefore identifies a fissure in the texture of Newtonianism, which in the works of such Enlightenment philosophers as Blount, Toland, Leibniz, Hume, Reid, Priestley, and Hutton widened into an unbridgeable gap.²⁴

The Abyss of Time and the Limits of Newtonianism

Quaint yet faintly modern as Whiston's conjecture may appear from the safe distance of hindsight, it caused havoc among theologians of all persuasions, for in it they witnessed the Mosaic Hexaemeron crumble before their very eyes. Granted, Whiston was not the first physico-theologian to take issue with the

inertia, the motion of matter originates in God, the prime mover; that an active principle sustains motion and activity in nature by counteracting resistance; that this active principle is the source of gravity; finally, that the causes or laws of nature are therefore superimposed from the outside and are completely dependent on an omnipotent deity, who can abrogate or suspend these natural laws at will (miracles) to modify their course. (2) *Immanence* is the view that activity and motion are inherent principles in matter and nature, that all movement in nature is governed by autonomous laws that constitute the interdependence of all activity in nature; that these immanent laws are so embedded in the structure of nature that they cannot be disrupted, that any disruption of the laws of nature (miracles) is impossible because it contradicts the principles of reason, order, and perfection – the attributes of God. Essentially voluntaristic, Newtonianism gave way in the eighteenth century to the view of immanent activity in nature that was essentially mechanistic, which is to say Cartesian. For according to René Descartes, the laws of nature were decreed by God and are – like his volition – immutable and universally efficient. That is why miracles contradicted God's immutable will – unless (perhaps) they were embedded in God's grand scheme from the beginning. Helpful analyses of these Enlightenment transformations appear in F. Oakley's "Christian Theology and the Newtonian Science" (433–57), J. E. McGuire's "Neoplatonism" (95–133), H. Guerlac's "Theological Voluntarism" (219–28), P. M. Heimann's "Voluntarism and Immanence" (271–83), and in E. B. Davis' "God, Man and Nature" (325–48).

²³ See n. 32.

²⁴ See J. D. Collins' *Descartes' Philosophy* (48–52), E. B. Davis ("God, Man" 332–34), and Heimann ("Voluntarism" 275–83). I agree with Force (*Whiston* 32–53), that Whiston's broadly defined principles of biblical exegesis are Newtonian in spirit; however, I argue that Whiston frequently bends or disregards his avowed principles to facilitate his own views of natural theology.

Bible's uneven distribution of activity during the six creative days, even if those days were (as they were for him) each a thousand years long. Many of the ancient and medieval Church Fathers and Protestant Reformers disputed the issue as well. They posited either an instantaneous creation or a creation occurring over six literal days. Among those who insisted on an instantaneous creation are Philo Judaeus (*De opificio mundi* 3.13–14), Origen (*Contra Celsum* 6.60–61), St. Athanasius (*Orationes tres contra Arianos* 2.19.48–49), St. Hilary (*De Trinitate* 12.40), and St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summa Theologica* 1:355–57, Q 74, A 1–2).²⁵

The views of St. Augustine (354–430), bishop of Hippo, seem to have been unsettled during his lifetime. For instance, in *De genesi contra Manichaeos* (1.10.16; 1.14.20–21), he appears to uphold a creation of six literal days (of twenty-four hours each), but in *De Genesi ad litteram* (4.33.52; 4.34.54; 5.3.6; 5.17.35) and in *Liber imperfectus de genesi ad litteram* (7.28; 9.31), referencing the apocryphal Sirach 18:1, he affirms a simultaneous creation of all things at once. “Creation,” Augustine explained in *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, “did not take place slowly in order that a slow development be implanted in those things that are slow by nature; nor were the ages established at the plodding pace at which they now pass. Time brings about the development of these creatures according to the laws of their numbers, but there was no passage of time when they received these laws at creation” (4.33.52, 141–42). Besides, since all natural processes – germinating seeds, cultivating roots, hatching eggs, growing feathers, learning to fly – take considerably longer than a single day and are dependent each on the other, the hexaemeral division must be seen as merely a didactic structuring device: “Thus we might say that the creation of things took place all at once and also that there was a ‘before’ and ‘after,’ but it is more readily understood as happening all at once than in sequence” (4.34.54, 143). If St. Augustine’s muddled explication did not encourage one unified theory in the Christian Church, another, earlier variant seemed to have resolved the matter for many latter-day theologians. Perhaps drawing on the Talmudic tradition of Elias the Prophet, St. Irenaeus (c. 130–200), ancient bishop of Lyon, insists that the world was made in six days and will terminate (according to Ps. 90:4 and 2 Pet. 3:8) in as many thousand years (*Adversus haereses* 5.28.3). The latter supposition seemed particularly persuasive, for it not only confirmed the tradition of the Prophet Elias but also clearly circumscribed the time limit God had set for man’s history on earth from Creation to Judgment Day.²⁶

²⁵ The reference to the Alexandrian exegete Philo Judaeus (c. 20 BCE–c. 50 CE) appears in *Works of Philo* (4); the respective references to the Alexandrian Church Father Origen (c. 185–c. 254) appear in *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (4:600–01), hereafter *ANF*; and in J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Graecae* [PG 012]; to the bishop of Alexandria St. Athanasius (c. 296–373), in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (4:374–75), hereafter *NPNFii*; to St. Hilary of Poitiers (c. 315–67), in *NPNFii* (9:228); and to St. Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225–74), in *Summa Theologica* (1:355–57).

²⁶ St. Augustine, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* (*Fathers of the Church* [hereafter *FOC*] 84:45–141); *De Genesi ad litteram* [PL 34]. *The Literal Meaning of Genesis* (41:141–42, 143);

Controversy about the true nature of the Hexaemeron flared up periodically, notably during the Reformation. Perhaps to control excessive individualism among those now guided by faith alone, Protestant Reformers were given to greater literal-mindedness than St. Augustine. They insisted that God created the universe in six literal days. Martin Luther, in *Lectures on Genesis* (Gen. 1:27), avowed "six natural days," which his Swiss colleague John Calvin (*Institutes* 1.14.2, 22) confirmed, adding, "it would have been no more difficult for him [God] to have completed in one moment the whole work together in all its details than to arrive at its completion gradually by a progression of this sort." Calvin clearly wanted to have it both ways, for in his *Commentary on Genesis* (Gen. 1:5, 2:3), he called out the "error of those ... who maintain that the world was made in a moment" yet reminding himself that to God "one moment is as a thousand years." Speaking for the Reformed of Puritan New England, *The Westminster Confession of Faith* (1646) and its successor *The Savoy Declaration* (1658), opted for "the space of six days," presumably intending a literal period of twenty-four hours each.²⁷

In Mather's generation, even the great Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727) struggled with the problem of creation chronometry. In an extant fragment dating back to 24 December 1680, he debated this issue with Thomas Burnet, his old friend in Cambridge, just months before Burnet published his divisive *Telluris Theoria Sacra* (1681). Though Mather had no way of knowing, Newton wrote to Burnet that the six days of creation were not each merely twenty-four hours in duration but considerably longer because the earth's diurnal revolution at that time could "have been very slow, soe yt ye first 6 revolutions or days might containe time enough for ye whole Creation."²⁸ Burnet had penetrated the underlying logic of his friend's self-serving argument but pretended to be puzzled by Newton's intriguing solution – introducing shifting concepts of time before time began. In his letter of 13 January 1680/81, Burnet rejoined, "I infer

Liber imperfectus de genesi ad litteram [PL 034], *On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis* (FOC 84:143–88). For St. Irenaeus (*Adversus haereses* 5.28.3), in *ANF* 1:557. For the Talmudic tradition of Elias the Prophet and its many proponents, see (Soncino) Babylonian Talmud, Sanhedrin 97a, Avodah Zarah 9a, and Rosh HaShana 31a. According to this ancient tradition, here expounded by Tanna debe Eliyyahu [Elias], "The world is to exist six thousand years. In the first two thousand there was desolation, two thousand years the Torah flourished, and the next two thousand years is the Messianic era." How widespread this belief had become in Mather's time can be seen in Archbishop James Ussher's famous *Annales Veteris Testamenti* (1). According to Ussher's calculations, God created the world on the night preceding Sunday "Octob. 23." 4004 (BCE) before the birth of Christ. Ussher's chronology was incorporated into most editions of the *King James Version* at least until the late nineteenth century. For Mather's six-thousand-year timetable, see my *Threefold Paradise* (60–78, 319–47).

27 Martin Luther, *Lectures on Genesis* (ch. 1, on Gen. 1:27), in *Luther's Works* (1:5, 69). For John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1:161, 182); for *Commentary on Genesis*, see *Calvin's Commentaries* (1:78, 105). For *The Westminster Confession of Faith* and *The Savoy Declaration* (ch. 4), see W. Walker (*Creeds* 372).

28 Newton to Burnet, 24 December 1690, letter 244, in Newton (*Correspondence* 2:319, 322).

from this, yt as ye distinction of 6 dayes is noe physical reality soe neither is this draught of the creation [Moses' Hexaemeron] physical but Ideal, or if you will, morall. Seeing it is not physically true yt ye Sun Moon & Stars were made at yt time, viz. 5 or 6000 yeares since when ye Earth was form'd. And if it bee Ideal in one part, it may in some proportion bee ideal in every part."²⁹ Sir Isaac, Burnet was quick to underscore, had thereby allegorized the creation, thus snatching it out of the realm of scientific consideration.

Newton, however, could not concede that he had offered a wax-nosed interpretation. In responding to Burnet, he reclaimed his scientific credentials: "You may make ye first day as long as you please," he patiently explained, "& ye second day too if there was no diurnal motion till there was a terraqueous globe, that is till towards ye end of that days work. And then if you will suppose ye earth put in motion by an eaven force applied to it, & that ye first revolution was done in one of our years," the earth could have achieved 365 revolutions in "the 183d year." Despite his best attempts, however, Newton was clearly becoming mired in the quicksand of his own mechanistic conjecture and felt compelled to return to the safe ground of divine teleology. Natural causation alone could not sufficiently account for the earth's diurnal motion, he emphasized, for none but "God gave the earth it's [*sic*] motion by such degrees & at such times as was most suitable to ye creatures."³⁰ Paradoxically, by resorting to supernatural agency when the going got rough, Sir Isaac appears to be disavowing the Enlightenment cosmogony that dares to speak his name: Newtonianism, a concept that among his Deist disciples came to signify a rationalist and mechanistic universe devoid of miracles.³¹

Justifiably apprehensive of ecclesiastical backlash, Newton does not rush in where angels fear to tread. Deeply religious, he desperately clung to the Bible as God's revealed Word. But to resort to dogmatism was out of the question; to miracles, only in extraordinary cases. It was much easier for him to sacrifice the letter as long as the spirit of the Hexaemeron was preserved.³² Newton's response to Burnet's epistle is highly revealing and deserves to be quoted at length:

²⁹ Burnet to Newton, 13 January 1680/81, letter 246, in Newton (*Correspondence* 2:324). More than ten years after his correspondence with Newton, Burnet publicly recapitulated his objection to Newton in his *Archaeologiae Philosophicae* (1692) 277–329. Charles Blount was only too glad to oblige Burnet by translating into English those parts of Burnet's Latin work that were most serviceable to his Deist argument; see Blount's *The Oracles of Reason* (1693) 52–76.

³⁰ Newton to Burnet, January 1680/81, letter 247, in Newton (*Correspondence* 2:333–34).

³¹ In his article "Newton's Rejection of the 'Newtonian Worldview'" (3:89), Edward B. Davis perceptively argues that Sir Isaac's adherence to voluntarism and to miracles that "correct" the course of nature disqualifies him from being a "Newtonian" and relegates him to the status of a theist or precursor to the Enlightenment.

³² In his *Principia* (1686; 3rd ed. 1729), Newton asserts an omnipotent and omniscient God whose absolute freedom of will can contravene nature's laws at any moment (*Sir Isaac Newton's* 2:544–46). So, too, in his *Opticks* (1704; 4th ed. 1730), Newton outspokenly defends God's

As to Moses I do not think his description of ye creation either Philosophical or feigned, but that he described realities in a language artificially adapted to ye sense of ye vulgar. Thus where he speaks of two great lights [Gen. 1:16] I suppose he means their apparent, not real greatness. So when he tells us God placed those lights in ye firmament, he speaks I suppose of their apparent not of their real place. ... So when he tells us of two great lights & the stars made ye 4th day, I do not think their creation from beginning to end was done ye fourth day nor in any one day of ye creation nor that Moses mentions their creation as they were physcally bodies in themselves some of them greater then [*sic*] this earth & perhaps habitable worlds, but only as they were lights to this earth.³³

Newton thus ingeniously saves the day by distinguishing between the "real" (literal) creation outside time and ken of man, and its "apparent" (visible) manifestation as it might appear to an eyewitness on earth "if he had then lived & were now describing what he saw."³⁴ The formation of the two great lights spoken of in Gen. 1:16 therefore did *not* take place on the fourth day; instead, at that time, they simply became visible to the naked eye through the mist of the earth's hazy atmosphere. The Mosaic creation of the fourth day was thus no more than an optical illusion.

Newton's phenomenological solution thus amounts to a "middle way" between the grammatical and allegorical sense of Scripture, a didactic narrative of events that Moses adapted to the needs of the uneducated masses recently freed from Egyptian slavery. Newton explains,

Omit them he [Moses] could not without rendering his description of ye creation imperfect in ye judgment of ye vulgar. To describe them distinctly as they were in them selves would have made ye narration tedious & confused, amused ye vulgar & become a Philosopher more then a Prophet. He mentions them therefore only so far as ye vulgar had a notion of them, that is as they were phænomena in our firmament, & describes their making only so far & at such a time as they were made such phænomena."³⁵

Sir Isaac's strategy of accommodation, then, is at once philosophically plausible and theologically sound, yet it also discloses how he wrestled with angels to make the Mosaic Hexaemeron safe for the early Enlightenment's new science.

William Whiston sought his own way out of Newton's bind. He speculated that the earth had not set into its diurnal rotation until the conclusion of the

ability to "vary the Laws of Nature, and make Worlds of several sorts in several Parts of the Universe" (*Opticks*, bk. 3, part 1, Quest. 31, esp., p. 404). See also H. G. Alexander's *Leibniz-Clarke Correspondence* (xvi–xviii, 11–12, 17–19, 29–30, 42–43, 87–89). For discussions of Newton's theology, see F. E. Manuel, *Religion of Isaac Newton* (1974); Richard H. Popkin, "Newton as Bible Scholar" (103–18); E. B. Davis, "Rationalism" (3:135–54); and R. Smolinski, "Logic of Millennial Thought" (259–89).

33 Newton to Burnet, January 1680/81 (*Correspondence* 2:331).

34 Newton to Burnet, January 1680/81 (*Correspondence* 2:333).

35 Newton to Burnet, January 1680/81 (*Correspondence* 2:333).

sixth day: "That tho' the *Annual Motion* of the *Earth*, commenced at the Beginning of the *Mosaic Creation*; yett its *Diurnal Rotation* did not, until the *Fall* of Man" (BA 1:346). Whiston's scheme, then, does not begin the twenty-four-hour day until the end of the sixth day, and thus God had world enough and time to enact the foundation of the whole universe. Like Newton, Whiston lambastes the pious for allowing their blind zeal to outpace their reason. "Suppositions ten thousand times more disproportionate and unaccountable, when ascrib'd to God Almighty, are easily believ'd," he cautions. "So far can Ignorance, Prejudice, and a misunderstanding of the Sacred Volumes carry the Faith, nay, the Zeal of Men!" In sum, "The Vulgar Scheme of the *Mosaick Creation*, besides the disproportion as to time, represents all things from first to last so disorderly, confusedly, and unphilosophical, that 'tis intirely disagreeable to the Wisdom and Perfection of God."³⁶ Mather must have deemed such radical criticism grist for the mills of his Deist contemporaries, who championed purely mechanical laws, and therefore he silently passed over this part of Whiston's critique.

This, then, was the state of the debate in Mather's time when he synopsized Whiston in "Biblia Americana." A good deal of the discussion took place in private correspondence and among groups of adepts and did not emerge in the published treatises of the day; that is, until William Whiston, Newton's protégé and frequent confidant, stood exposed in the limelight of his *New Theory of the Earth*. No doubt, the Christian virtuoso in Mather felt attracted to Whiston's daring theory, even as his theological self felt alarmed and overwhelmed by the plethora of its dangerous implications. "As for a *Judgment* upon this Description of the *Creation*," Mather puns uneasily at the conclusion of his summary, "I will præsume to make *None*, at all; I leave it unto *Men of Judgment*." And yet, his better judgment as a Puritan theologian finally gains the upper hand as he pronounces his verdict: "The *Theories* of the *Creation*, (particularly what I last offered you), invented by our Modern Philosophers, do certainly make too bold with the *Mosaic*, and *Inspired History* thereof. It were a Noble, and a Worthy Work; to Illustrate that History, and rescue it from the præsumptuous Glosses, that many *Neotericks* have made upon it" (BA 1:357). Although Mather welcomes Whiston's theory insofar as it furnishes new methods of updating time-worn explanations, he cannot accept the end to which Whiston's logic finally carries him: the collapse of the Mosaic Hexaemeron as he knew it.³⁷

³⁶ Whiston, *New Theory* (pt. 2, bk. 2, ch. 3, pp. 79–104; pt. 1, sec. 5, pp. 56, 57; sec. 6, p. 64).

³⁷ Middlekauff (*The Mathers* 285–86, 298–304) aptly describes Mather's fascination with Whiston's *New Theory* but also shows how Mather's enthusiasm for "Reasonable Christianity" waned when he realized that the elevation of human reason was less productive of making disciples for Jesus Christ than for John Toland and his Deist disciples.

Atomism and Allegory in a Clockwork Universe

Two or three additional extracts in Mather's commentary on the first chapter of Genesis deserve brief mention; they bring to light how he tried to blunt the radical attacks on the Hexaemeron with more congenial assessments by likeminded physico-theologians. Richard Bentley's *A Confutation of Atheism From the Origin and Frame of the World* (London, 1693) is next in chronological appearance.³⁸ Mather condenses this Boylean lecture, delivered on December 5, 1692, into little more than seven tightly packed folio pages (*BA* 1:384–99). True to the spirit and intent of Robert Boyle's endowment, Bentley applies a design argument to a construct that could still arouse hostility among English and continental theologians, the Copernican universe.³⁹ According to Mather, Bentley's teleology had fully absorbed Sir Isaac Newton's voluntarist theory of the planets' gravitational rotation:

The concentric Revolutions of the Planets about the *Sun*, proceed from a *Compound Motion*; a *Gravitation* towards the *Sun*, which is a constant Energy infused into Matter, by the Author of all Things; and a Projected, Transverse Impulse, in *Tangents* to their several *Orbs*, that was also Imprinted at first by the Divine Arm upon them, & will carry them around, until the End of all Things. (*BA* 1:385)

For Newton and Bentley, as for Mather, God's invisible arm was most discernible in "the constant Property of *Gravitation*, That the *Weight* of all Bodies around the *Earth*, is ever proportional to the Quantity of their *Matter*." Newton's theory, Mather asserts, was now mathematically proven "beyond all Controversy," primarily because Newton did not enervate, but fortify Mather's teleology (*BA* 1:393). To Mather, Bentley's *Confutation* was perhaps the most valuable of the modern theses, for it reinterpreted Descartes' mechanistic principles of natural law in terms of gravitational properties inherent in matter (though Newton was loath to call it immanent) but explains this universal force in terms of active principles whose power to attract and repulse is necessarily sustained by God's volition, which upholds cosmic harmony through secondary causes.⁴⁰ Bentley did have it both ways.

That our planetary system could never have formed out of Chaos simply through blind chance or accidental concretions of atoms seems all too obvious to virtuosi of Mather's caste. Bentley's nautical trope, which Mather heaves on board of his "Biblia Americana," makes this supposition abundantly clear. Like

³⁸ Although Bentley's eight Boylean lectures were published separately (sermons 1–6, in 1692, and 7–8, in 1693), collected and revised editions appeared in 1699, 1724, and 1735.

³⁹ See G. McColey ("Ross-Wilkins" 153–89), D. Stimson (*Gradual Acceptance* 85–206), D. Fleming ("Judgment" 160–75); J. B. Rogers et al., *Authority and Interpretation of the Bible* (165–71); A. R. Hall, *From Galileo To Newton* (1963); A. D. White (*History* 1:134–209).

⁴⁰ For a helpful discussion of Newton's theist position on the properties of matter, see E. McMullin, *Newton on Matter and Activity* (1978).

widely dispersed atoms in limitless space, two ships placed at “opposite *Poles*” drift rudderless on the world’s oceans. How many “thousands of Years” would it take for these vessels to collide, for inert particles to coalesce? Besides, “the Atoms may not only fly side-ways, but over likewise, and under each other; which makes it many Million times more Improbable, that they should interfere, than the *Ships* in our Supposition ... so that the Concourse of our Atoms to produce a Regular World, is vainly expected, even in an endless Duration” (*BA* 1:397).⁴¹

Bentley’s Newtonian cosmogony, as digested by Mather, rests on divine volition, which directs and sustains a finely tuned system that could never have evolved by chance. Even if it had, Mather knowingly relates, the planets could never have attained their elliptic motion around the sun; even if they had, their orbit would have rapidly deteriorated if merely self-sustained.⁴² Contrary to what Ralph Cudworth and his fellow “Epicureans” opine about principles that are active and immanent in corporeal substances, “*Gravitation* is not Essential, and Inherent unto *Matter*.” For if gravity and “Reciprocal Attraction” were inherent properties, Mather continues, our planetary system could never have arisen, because the atoms dispersed the world over would have compacted into “one huge sphærical Mass, which would bee the only Body in the Universe” (*BA* 1:398).⁴³ Clearly, then, the old familiar story of an all-powerful God maintaining control at the center was infinitely more reasonable than the alternative, but now it could be retold in updated versions made fashionable in language acceptable to the Royal Society. Thus Mather took infinite satisfaction that “the Power of *Gravity* perpetually acting in the present Constitution of the System of the Universe, is an Invincible Argument for the Being of a *GOD*” (*BA* 1:398).⁴⁴

⁴¹ Bentley, *Confutation* (bk. 7, ch. 2, pp. 18, 22, 23).

⁴² In his *Christian Philosopher* (46), Mather cites William Molineux’s *Dioptrica Nova* (1709) 273, in affirmation that “*Chance*, or dull *Matter*, could never produce such an harmonious *Regularity* in the Motion of Bodies so vastly distant [as Jupiter is from the sun]: This shews a Design and Intention in the *First Mover*.”

⁴³ Bentley, *Confutation* (bk. 7, ch. 2, pp. 20, 21).

⁴⁴ Bentley, *Confutation* (bk. 7, ch. 2, pp. 29–31); Bentley himself relies on Newton’s “System of the World” (bk. 3) of *Principia Mathematica* (*Sir Isaac Newton’s* 2:397–626). The debate between the Newtonian voluntarists and Cartesian mechanists carried over into the eighteenth century and is the main focus of the famous Clarke-Leibniz correspondence, *A Collection of Papers* (1715). For instance, in his first letter (November 1715) to Caroline, Princess of Wales, the German philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz charged the Newtonians with subverting the foundation of natural religion: “According to their doctrine, God Almighty wants to wind up his watch from time to time: otherwise it would cease to move. He [God] had not, it seems, sufficient foresight to make it a perpetual motion. Nay, the machine of God’s making, is so imperfect, according to these gentlemen; that he is obliged to clean it now and then by an extraordinary concourse, and even to mend it, as a clockmaker mends his work; who must consequently be so much the more unskilful a workman, as he is oftener obliged to mend his work and to set it right. ... [But] I hold, that when God works miracles, he does not do it in order to supply the wants of nature, but those of grace. Whoever thinks otherwise, must needs

But it is high time to move to Mather's next digest on the first chapter of Genesis. The oldest of his seventeenth-century cosmographies – though not the first – copied into Mather's folio manuscript is an excerpt from Lord Chief Justice Matthew Hale (1609–76), whose *The Primitive Origination of Mankind, considered and examined according to the Light of Nature* (London, 1677) supplied Mather with a witty allegory about the philosophical controversy of the time. A great artist hides an intricately designed clockwork mechanism that had been configured to show "the various Phases of the *Moon*, the motion & place of the Sun in the *Ecliptick*, and diverse other curious Indications of *Cœlestial Motions*" (BA 1:401). One by one, natural philosophers of various schools of thought come forward to theorize the origin of this marvelous automaton, the likes of which they had never seen before.

The Epicurean atomist predictably hypothesizes, "*That this was nothing but an accidental Concretion of Atoms, that happily fallen together, had made up the Index, the Wheels & the Ballance; and that being happily fallen into this Posture, they were put into Motion.*" A Cartesian, with his focus on vortices in motion, speaks next, charging his predecessor with having insufficiently accounted for the engine's self-propulsion: "*there is a certain Materia Subtilis,*" he insists, "*that pervades that Engine and the moveable Parts, consisting of certain globular Atoms apt for Motion; they are thereby, & by the Mobility of the globular Atoms put into Motion.*" The Stoic philosopher objects that the regular motions of the clockwork, which reflect the movement of time and of the celestial bodies "*was wrought by some admirable Conjunction of the Heavenly Bodies, which formed this Instrument and its Motions, in such an admirable Correspondency to its own Existence.*" The fourth, true to his Platonic philosophy, swears that "*the Universal Soul, or Spirit of Nature ... hath formed and set into Motion this Admirable Automaton, and regulated & ordered it with all these Congruities we see in it.*" Finally, an Aristotelian, who favors self-existence and eternity of the universe, dismisses the new-fangled theories of his fellow contestants as preconceived fancies: "*The Short of the Business is,*" he contends, "*this Machina is eternal, & so are all the Motions of it, & inasmuch as a Circular Motion hath no Beginning nor End, this Motion that you see both in the Wheels & Index, & the successive Indications of the Cœlestial Motions is eternal and without Beginning*" (BA 1:401).⁴⁵

When all is said and done, Mather's watchmaker comes forward, reveals to his skeptical philosophers the origin and intricate motions of his machine, and derides his "Philosophical *Enthusiasts*" for their "fancied Explications, & unintelligible *Hypotheses*." Sounding faintly like a seventeenth-century Deist, Mather's clockwork mechanist turned theist has the last laugh: He celebrates

have a very mean notion of the wisdom and power of God" (H. G. Alexander, *Leibniz-Clarke Correspondence* (11–12). Mather admired Leibniz as "*One of the greatest Wits of Europe*" (BA 1:596).

45 Matthew Hale, *Primitive Origination of Mankind* (bk. 4, ch. 6, pp. 340–42).

the congruity and reasonableness of the Mosaic narrative, which “renders all the Essays of the Generality of Heathen Philosophers to be vain, inevident, & indeed inexplicable Theories, the Creatures of Fancy & Imagination, & nothing else” (*BA* 1:402).⁴⁶ This popular story encapsulates for Mather the theoretical confusion of contemporary skeptics who are not satisfied with the literal and grammatical sense of Genesis 1. More significantly, the story discloses Mather’s conservative position, for when natural philosophy conflicts with theology and tradition, he clearly privileges divinity, the crown of all disciplines. But the final verdict is not in yet.

John Edwards’ three-volume *Discourse concerning the Authority, Stile, and Perfection of the Old and New Testament* (London, 1693–95), Nehemiah Grew’s *Cosmologia Sacra* (London, 1701), Edmund Dickinson’s atomist *Physica Vetus & Vera* (London, 1702), and Robert Hooke’s posthumous *Lectures and Discourses of Earthquakes and Subterraneous Eruptions*, in *Posthumous Works* (London, 1705), supply Mather with additional proof of how ancient and modern science was consistent with the Mosaic creation account. Mather distills Edwards into one (101r), Grew into two (67r–68v), Dickinson into eleven (77r–87v), and Hooke’s into two (105r–106v) manuscript pages – authors appearing in Mather’s annotations as their works fell into his hands. Mather treasured Edwards, Grew, Dickinson, and Hooke for their deft use of pagan lore and their defense of the authority of tradition even as René Descartes had dismissed the ancients for lacking empirical proof. Of the four mentioned here, Dickinson’s Latin treatise, closely argued and densely documented, is perhaps the most interesting. He adopts the popular Renaissance stance of attributing the atomic philosophy of the ancient Greeks to none other than Moses who, having inherited it from Adam through an uninterrupted line of oral tradition via Methuselah, Noah, Heber, and Abraham, taught it to the Egyptians and, via the later Democritus, to the Greeks. They added their own admixture, Dickinson argues, and thus gravely corrupted Moses’s original account (*BA* 1:357–83).

According to Dickinson’s curious *Physica Vetus & Vera*, the Creator instructed our protoplast in paradise in the principles of the corpuscular philosophy and taught him that miniscule corpuscles, or atoms, are the building blocks of all matter and the “keyes of Nature” (*BA* 1:362). Although invisible to the naked eye, these atoms are neither “*Absolutely Indivisible*” nor all of the same shape or size, for when God formed universal matter out of nothing, these particles were totally disordered, unformed, and separated by “empty Spaces” between them. God’s spirit imprinted on these particles a concourse of motion, “that *Force* which we call *Nature*” (*BA* 1:368), and directed atoms of the same agreeable size and figure “to join, and stick together, in *Bodies*” and gradually cohere into a vast mass of molecules. Through a centrifugal motion that sepa-

⁴⁶ Hale (*Primitive* 341, 342).

rated atoms of diverging shape from one another, God allowed these "*Pilulae*," "*Globuli*," "*Bracteolae*," and a forth element difficult to name, to form the elements of fire, water, air, and earth (perhaps even a fifth that became part of the vast firmament). Fire and light came into existence when the *Pilulae* (small, round, subtle, and swiftly flying) separated from the other molecules; water was formed when the *Globuli* (less subtle and larger in size) separated from the grosser molecules of different contours; air took shape when molecules shaped like sticks (*Bracteolae*) were allowed to move freely with plenty of space between them; finally, the element earth, by its very constitution denser, heavier, and amorphous, was different from all the others. From these elements compounding into different molecules, God shaped the whole universe.

But if atoms are the building blocks of the universe, Mather wondered with Dickinson's *Physica Vetus* at his side, how come they are not mentioned in the Hexaemeron? And if the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Babylonians, and Greeks received their philosophy directly from Moses, how come theirs differs from that in Genesis? Easy: The word *atom* was known by different names to different peoples, Mather argued. For what Democritus calls *atoms*, some called *waters*, *sand*, *dust*, or *particles*. What Thales called *water*, Pherecydes called *earth*; Pythagoras called *monads*; Aristotle *minute corpuscles*; Anaximander *hyle*. Adding to the confusion, these terms were not the only ones used by the ancients to describe the prima materia of the universe. For what some called *the many*, Anaximander also called *the infinite*, Heraclitus *smallest fragments*, *motes*, or *dusty particles*; Empedocles *fragments*, Asclepiades, *molecules*; Xenocrates *invisible magnitude*, and so on and so on – until the divine philosophy substantially preserved for the first thirty-five centuries was utterly garbled among the pagans. What about the original among the Hebrews?

If we should particularly instance in, *Hyle*, as the *Egyptians* called it, or, *Ile*, as the *Phoenicians*: Tis true, we don't plainly find the Original of it, in the Writings of *Moses*; but we must not imagine that the Sacred Writers have all the *Terms of Art* used among their Philosophers. And yett it is very probably, That *Hyle*, or *Ile*, may be found in the Hebrew חֵיל / *Hhiul*, which signifies, *The Sand*; and *Philo* countenances this Conjecture: which is confirmed by the *Hiule*, wherein *Hyle* is rendered in the *Arabic* Tongue, which is the Daughter of the Hebrew. How agreeably indeed, are *Atoms* called *Sands*, as well for their *Exility*, as for their *Fluidity*? And how agreeable is it, for the same to be called, *Waters*? The oldest of all the *Egyptian* Philosophers, namely *Taausus* (whom the *Greeks* called *Hermes*) affirmed all things to be formed, ἐκ τοῦ ἁμμου, *out of Sand*, which was as much as to say, out of *minute Particles*. ... The Ancient Hebrewes applied also, the Name of *Dust*, unto this *First Matter*. A Fitt Name for any *Multitude*! (BA 1:365)⁴⁷

47 For a useful summary of Dickinson's argument about Moses as an atomist, see Collier (149–65); D. B. Sailor, "Moses and Atomism" (3–16), supplies the historical background.

But here's enough to demonstrate the origin of all philosophy. This plethora of theories and explanations was still useful to defend the Mosaic creation account at the turn of the century. And Dickinson's *Physica Vetus & Vera* allowed Mather to demonstrate how the wisdom of God, preserved in various states of corruption, passed through the dispersal of Noah's sons to all the nations of the earth. Rightly understood, then, what were the wise men among the ancient Greeks? But Moses dressed in Attic garb.⁴⁸

If Mather the Christian virtuoso felt comfortable mentioning Thales, Anaximander, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, and Diodorus Siculus, in the same breath as Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, Descartes, and Newton, he emerges as an early Enlightenment theologian who, like the Cambridge Platonists, stands with one foot in each camp, the ancients and moderns. But to call Mather a "transitional figure," worse, "unoriginal," as some Whiggish historians are prone to do, is to impose expectations that are clearly ours, not his. He was a pastor by vocation and, at best, a natural philosopher by avocation. He did not bow to romantic notions of originality but made novelty subservient to tradition. Yet in scanning the heavens, he manifestly struggled to maintain a theocentric orbit even as he gravitated toward the trajectory of new cosmogonies rising in the Northern hemisphere.

"How Did the Giant Find the Way Hither?"

Signs of storm and stress become visible all over "Biblia Americana" when Mather moves beyond the grand outline of the Mosaic creation story, which (he reluctantly admits) is not intended to be a scientifically accurate explanation in the first place, but merely an account of what an eyewitnesses might have seen or what Moses or any other prophet might have adapted to the simple understanding of an illiterate people (*BA* 1:344). If Burnet and Whiston could be trusted, Moses did not intend to impart a philosophically precise description but, rather, to instill awe and piety in a fractious people: "the *Mosaic Creation* is not a Nice and Philosophical Account of the *Origin of All Things*," Mather cites William Whiston's *New Theory* affirmatively, "but an Historical and True Repræsentation of the Formation of our single Earth, out of a confused *Chaos*, and of the successive & visible Changes thereof, each day, till it became the Habitation of Mankind" (*BA* 1:338, *see also* 340, 358).⁴⁹ In this and similar passages from

⁴⁸ Dickinson's excavations among the ancient Greeks are heavily indebted to Ralph Cudworth's *True Intellectual System of the Universe* (1678) and to Theophilus Gale's four-volume *Court of the Gentiles* (1669–78). *See also* J. R. Jacob, "Boyle's Atomism" (211–33); C. A. Patrides, "Introduction," *Cambridge Platonists* (1–42); and S. Hutton, "Decline of *Moses Atticus*" (68–84).

⁴⁹ Whiston, *New Theory*, pt. 1, p. 3.

Whiston, Mather more or less consciously echoes the much maligned Baruch Spinoza, whose *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (Amsterdam, 1670) postulated that the Bible "has nothing in common with philosophy [i.e., natural science], in fact, that Revelation and Philosophy stand on totally different footings."⁵⁰ Mather, differing from Spinoza and the Hobbsean materialists, is not yet ready to designate natural philosophy and theology as wholly autonomous disciplines. Still, like the rationalist theists, he concedes that attributing all natural phenomena – however awe-inspiring they might appear on the surface – to God testifies more to a writer's piousness than to his knowledge of natural philosophy. And for this reason, he gave scientific explications full consideration. His commentary on the Noachic Flood is a good case in point.

As mentioned above, Thomas Burnet's *Sacred Theory of the Earth* (London, 1686) was among the most controversial explanations of the flood in Mather's day. To account for the massive quantity of water necessary to inundate the entire globe, Burnet posited that the antediluvian earth was entirely "smooth, regular, and uniform; without Mountains, and without a Sea," for the entire body of water was kept in subterraneous caverns. There was nothing miraculous about the Noachic Flood, the Cartesian Burnet proudly pointed out, because the pillars supporting the earth's crust were eroded by the subterraneous oceans and thus caused the earth's surface to collapse into the great abyss of which Noah spoke. Our present mountains and islands are therefore nothing but the remnants of the antediluvian crust now jutting out of the deep.⁵¹ Mather and most of his colleagues on both sides of the watery abyss ridiculed this "Romance" for its lack of scriptural support. Burnet's "Abyssinian" hypothesis was not original either, Mather wittily puns, because Burnet had dug it up from the Italian Franciscus Patritius, whose *Della retorica dieci dialoghi* (Venice, 1562) had attributed the original version to "an Abyssinian Philosopher in Spain; who quoted the Annals of *Ethiopia* for it" (BA 1:625). The ancients still held sway over Mather and most of his peers – even if the modern Cartesians developed empirical proof to the contrary – and natural philosophers of his era were still relying on layers upon layers of source citations at second, third, or even forth remove.

Mather also rejects William Whiston's explanation of the Flood in *The New Theory of the Earth* (London, 1696), because Whiston's deus-ex-machina of a comet passing too close to the earth and thus causing the inundation described in Genesis 7 is, Mather insists, "altogether *Arbitrary*" and unsatisfactory (BA 1:626).⁵² Moreover, again with no scriptural support, Whiston had attributed

⁵⁰ Benedict Spinoza, *Theologico-Political Treatise* (1883) 9. For Mather's view of Spinoza, see Section 3 in the present introduction.

⁵¹ My citations are from the second edition (1691) of Burnet's *Sacred Theory* (bk. 1, ch. 5, p. 51, and ch. 6, pp. 66–77).

⁵² *New Theory* (1696), pt. 2, bk. 4, chs. 4–5, pp. 300–82, and "Appendix, Containing a New Theory of the Deluge," *New Theory* (1737) 459–78.

the cataclysmic flood of fire at the Second Coming (2 Peter 3) to the same comet. Dr. Robert St. Clair's alchemical theory, in *The Abyssinian Philosopher Confuted* (London, 1697), which sounds faintly like Burnet's, does not fully satisfy Mather either. Noah's deluge, St. Clair had hypothesized, was caused by "a Conflict of contrary Salts, *Acid* and *Alkali*, in the bowels of the Earth": tremendous volumes of acidic gases had forced out all the waters from Burnet's subterranean caverns and, reacting with the air, had precipitated the great rains that, before they ceased, had covered the "top of the Highest Mountains." Mather effortlessly extracts St. Clair's explanation but adds no comments of his own, perhaps because the vast amounts of water necessary to cover the highest mountains on earth by fifteen cubits (Gen. 7:19–20) were still left unaccounted for (*BA* 1:627).⁵³

John Ray's *Miscellaneous Discourses concerning the Dissolution and Changes of the World* (London, 1693) was much more serviceable in this respect. Written by a highly respected English botanist, the popular work went through at least three editions; its erudition supplied Mather with a good deal of information he would otherwise have had to dig up on his own. Citing at second hand Athanasius Kircher's famous *Arca Noë, in tres libros digesta* (Amstelodami, 1675), Mather wonders if a transmutation of one element into another, of air into water, might "make a Bulk of *Water*, of æqual Quantity" sufficient to inundate the entire globe.⁵⁴ This "Peripatetical Condensation and Rarefaction," however, was as old as Aristotle, had been resurrected by Descartes, and was then affirmed by the Jesuit Kircher, whose Latin citation Mather deliberately leaves untranslated to shield the untutored. "But the Sacred Scripture mentions not the *Conversion of the Air into Water*," and therefore, "we will rather consider the Causes of the *Flood*, which are there more expressly mentioned." Mather, however, does agree with Ray to disagree with Edmund Halley's hypothesis that all the water the rivers combined discharge into the seven seas amounts to "Half an *Ocean of Waters*" annually (*BA* 1:630, 631).⁵⁵ But this idea, previously postulated by the Italian mathematician Giovanni Battista Riccioli and disputed by Sir Isaac Newton, is considerably less satisfying than those put forward by Robert Hooke, John Ray, Thomas Burnet, and by the great Sir Isaac himself: that God might have displaced the gravitational center of the earth and moved

⁵³ Mather cites St. Clair's "To the Reader," *Abyssinian Philosopher Confuted* (C6r–C7r, pts. 2, 3, 5). Thomas Jefferson, too, rejected the idea that the Noachic Flood could have covered the highest mountains of the earth, in *Notes on the State of Virginia* (Query 6, p. 31). The Renaissance debate about the flood is aptly treated in D. C. Allen's distinguished *Legend of Noah* (1963) and in N. Cohn's *Noah's Flood* (1996).

⁵⁴ Ray's *Miscellaneous Discourses* (64–65); Ray had cited Athanasius Kircher's *Arca Noë* (1675), bk. 2, ch. 5, p. 132, on the air-into-water hypothesis.

⁵⁵ Edmund Halley's hypothesis is discussed in *A Discourse concerning Gravity, and its Properties*, in *Miscellanea Curiosa* (1705) 1:304–25.

it closer to the middle of the then populated hemisphere.⁵⁶ "And a Change of its Place, but the two Thousandth Part of the *Radius* of this *Globe*, were sufficient to bury the Tops of the Highest Hills under Water" (*BA* 1:633).

With such weighty proponents on its side, the theory of the earth's gravitational shift seemed so much more respectable than that of the Yorkshire antiquarian Abraham de la Pryme or that of the Dutch theologian Petrus Serarius, who had revived the Stoic notion of "a mighty *Flood* once foretold from a Conjunction of the *Planets* in *Pisces*," a speculation that was as unworthy as that of the heretic Isaac de la Peyrère, whose *Prae-Adamitae* (Amsterdam, 1655) claimed that Noah's Flood was not universal at all but merely local and confined "unto *Palestine*," that is, the horizon the patriarch then deemed the extent of the world (*BA* 1:638–40, 646–48, 651).⁵⁷ Still, this idea enjoyed considerable currency among such moderns as Isaac Vossius, Georg Kirchmaier, Edward Stillingfleet, Baruch Spinoza, Thomas Burnet, Erasmus Warren, John Ray, and William Whiston, while the famous Father Marin Mersenne and Johann Adam Osiander, his Lutheran colleague in Germany, would allow the waters to rise no more than 150 feet or just enough to set the ark afloat.⁵⁸ Not even the traditions

56 See Giovanni Battista Riccioli, *Geographiae et hydrographiae reformatae* (1661); Newton dismisses Halley's theory in *A Treatise* (1728) 10–28; Hooke's discussion appears in his "Discourse V," in *Posthumous Works* (1705) 321–22, 346–50, 411–12; Burnet's appears in *Sacred Theory* (1691), bk. 2, ch. 3, p. 195; Ray's argument appears in *Miscellaneous Discourses* (98–99); and Newton's theory of the gravitational shift of the globe appears in *A Treatise* (10–28).

57 Mather here draws on Letter VI (14 September 1700) by Abraham de la Pryme (1671–1704), a Yorkshire antiquarian and minister at Hull, in "A Letter of the Reverend Mr. Abr. De la Pryme to the Publisher" (1700): 683–85. Isaac de la Peyrère, *Prae-Adamitae* (1655); my reference is to the English translation, *Men before Adam* (1656), bk. 4, chs. 7, pp. 239–44.

58 Among the seventeenth-century physico-theologians who excluded America from Noah's flood or rejected its universality are Isaac de La Peyrère, in *Men Before Adam* (bk. 4, chs. 7–9, pp. 239–58); Isaac Vossius, *Dissertatio de vera aetate mundi* (1659) 53; Georg C. Kirchmaier, *De diluvii universalitate* (1667) 3–60; Edward Stillingfleet, *Origines Sacrae*, 3rd ed. (1666), bk. 3, ch. 4, pp. 542–43; Spinoza, *Theologico-Political Treatise* (35), rejected the global Flood, because "Noah thought that beyond the limits of Palestine the world was not inhabited"; Thomas Burnet, *Sacred Theory* (bk. 2, ch. 8, pp. 272–73), argues "that there was a stock [of survivors] providentially reserv'd there [America], as well as here [Old World], out of which they [postdiluvians] sprung again." Erasmus Warren, in *Geologia* (1690) 292–96, and in his *A Defence of the Discourse* (1691) 165–69, 172–75, 190–97, 209, limits the Flood to the height of 15 cubits from the ground up but not surpassing the high mountains. John Ray, *Miscellaneous Discourses* (99–100), excludes America from the Noachic flood because it was "in all probability unpeopled at the time." Ray repeats this assertion in his *Three Physico-Theological Discourses* (1693) 122, but rephrases this paragraph in the third edition (1713) 118–19, where he argues that confining Noah's Flood to the Old World would be so much more reasonable "and delivers us from that great and insuperable Difficulty of finding eight, nay, twenty two Oceans of Water to effect it: For no less is requisite to cover the whole Terraqueous Globe with Water, to the Height of fifteen Cubits above the Tops of the highest Mountains." William Whiston, *New Theory of the Earth* (1737) 138, 405, argues that both China and America were excluded from Noah's flood because they were not part of the known world in Noah's day. Earlier in the seventeenth century, the French philosopher Marin Mersenne (1588–1648), in his *Les preliques* (1634) 1–135, 210–28, and in his *Quaestiones* (1623), pt. 1, cols. 799–920, 1007, 1013, 1513–72,

of the flood found among the Indians of North, South, and Central America, or those among the faraway Chinese, could entirely drown Noah's critics, who downgraded the deluge to a purely local event. "We attempt several Wayes to solve the *Phenomena of the Flood*," Mather confesses in his "Biblia Americana," "and provided our *Hypotheses* have no *unscriptural Extravagancies* in them, tis not amiss to produce them" (BA 1:658). After all, a bit of truth may lie at the bottom of each supposition. Thus armed with his selection criteria, Mather kept scouting for other discussions of the Noachic flood that might yet elucidate the mysterious origins of the massive amounts of water that were supposed to have covered the highest mountains the world over by more than fifteen cubits. Perhaps if the flood could be confined to the Old World, or if the Mosaic story merely intended an inundation of the lower parts but not of the tops of the mountains, the biblical account might yet be saved from the province of the miraculous and harmonized with the researches of the natural philosophers. Mather seemed to have found just the right sort of model in Erasmus Warren's *Geologia: Or, A Discourse concerning the Earth before the Deluge* (London, 1690).

Rector of Worlington, in Suffolk, England, Erasmus Warren (fl. 1680–1714) tried to rescue Noah's global Flood out of the hands of critics who sought to confine it to a merely local event in Palestine. Biblical commentators, Warren argued, are grossly mistaken in supposing the highest mountains on earth were covered by water upward of fifteen cubits (Gen. 7:19–20): "They were indeed but *Fifteen Cubits* high in all, above the Surface of the Earth," Warren insisted. "Not, that they were no where Higher, than just *Fifteen Cubits*, above the Ground; they might in most Places, be Thirty, Forty, Fifty Cubits High, or more." The mountains were indeed covered "*Fifteen Cubits upwards*," but only "on their *Sides*, not above their *Tops*: the Bottoms of them stood so deep in the Waters" (BA 1:659). Although disallowing any Mosaic hyperboles in this account, Warren asserted "that in the Holy Style, to *Cover*, does not always mean, To *Surmount*, and *Over-top*, and *Over-whelm*," but "Sometimes, it means, only to *Surround* the Object, or to be *About* it in great Abundance" (BA 1:690). Moreover, Warren posited that stores of water were hidden in the sides of the

1607–1712, and pt. 2, col. 3, clung to the old notion of supercelestial waters crashing in upon the earth. Mersenne still embraced Ptolemy's geocentric universe and asserted that vast quantities of waters – even to the edge of the universe – lay beyond the solid sphere of the firmament nearly 14,000 terrestrial semi-diameters distant from the earth. This ancient idea continued to enjoy a certain degree of popularity in updated fashion, for even John Ray maintains in his third edition of *Three Physico* (1713), Discourse 2, ch. 2, pp. 114–18, that the watery vapors in the lower parts of the air amounted to eight oceans of water. A displacement of the earth's center of gravity pressing on the subterraneous caverns filled with water could have easily triggered the biblical flood. Finally, Johann Adam Osiander (1626–97), distinguished German Lutheran theologian, explores whether Noah's flood was universal, whether it covered the mountains, and whether America was populated before the flood, in his highly respected *Commentarius* (1676–78) 1:186, 192–95, quaestio 2, 3–4. For much helpful background, see D. C. Allen, *Legend* (chs. 4–5) and N. Cohn, *Noah's Flood* (ch. 4).

mountains and would burst open to drown anyone trying to climb their peaks. "And in this Way," Warren congratulated himself, "we are supplied with *Waters* enough, without a Recourse, either to the *Burnettian Romance*; or, to a *New Creation of Waters*; or to *Super-Cæstrial Waters*; or to a Change of the greatest Part of the *Mass of Air* into *Water*; a Change, which it seems, is hardly yett justified by *Experiment*; tho' the Lord *Verulam* allowes of it; *Descartes* subscribes to it; and our Admirable *Boyl* himself, leaves it undetermined" (BA 1:663).⁵⁹

No matter what its merits, Warren's linguistic retrenchment did not entirely satisfy Mather as he hoped to find other theories more in harmony with the biblical account. Whether or not Mather fully subscribed to Warren's theory, along with that of Mersenne, that Noah's Flood did *not* cover the tops of mountains – some of which were higher than 15,000 feet – he decidedly shared his conviction that the inundation was universal in its extent. Too much irrefutable fossil evidence discovered almost daily – even in America – spoke in its favor. The bones of the antediluvian Nephilim, a race of giants who, the offspring of fallen angels, consorted with the daughters of men (Gen. 6:4), were found the world over, Mather insisted. These "Antediluvian Giants" were no mere political tyrants, thugs, or highwaymen – "*Giants for Quality* only, and not for *Quantity*" – as Becanus had argued in his *De Gigantomachia* (1569), Temporarius in his *Chronologicarum demonstrationum* (1596), and the ancient Alexandrian Philo Judaeus in his *De Gigantibus* (c. 30–50 CE) – but giants of tremendous size (BA 1:585).⁶⁰ David's Goliath was puny in comparison to the gargantua whose

⁵⁹ Mather's source is Warren's *Geologia* (300–301, 325–26, 332–33). Mather (via Warren) also brushed aside the old notion that the flood was caused by the transmutation of one element into another, of air into water, as the ancients had believed: Aristotle, *De mundo* (1.392b, lines 5–12; 5.396b, line 25–397a, line 5); Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* (1.11, lines 4–5); Plato, *Timaeus* (49c, lines 4–5); Philo Judaeus, *De Somniis* (1.20, lines 4–5) and *De aeternitate mundi* (19.103, lines 5–6), in *Works* (366, 718–19); and Heraclitus, *Allegoriae* (40.12–13). In the late Renaissance, Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam (1561–1626), still maintained this ancient philosophical mainstay, that the element air can turn into water, as his experiments seemed to confirm several times over, in his oft-reprinted *Sylva Sylvarum* (1627), century 1, experiments 27, 76–82, pp. 8, 24–26. The great René Descartes (1596–1650) agreed with his colleague across the English Channel and affirmed that the particles of air can change into water, in his *Principia Philosophiae* (1644), pt. 4, art. 48, pp. 218–19. Finally, the admirable Robert Boyle (1627–91) felt his experiments were inconclusive, in *Nova Experimenta* (1661), experimentum 22, pp. 103–20, esp. pp. 108–10. Even our New England Muse, Anne Bradstreet (1612–72), weighed the question in her *Quaternions* (1650), whether the element air could be transmuted into water. See Bradstreet's "The Four Elements" (ll. 437–38), *The Works* (30–31).

⁶⁰ Mather was particularly incensed at his colleague, Jean LeClerc, who argued in his *Twelve Dissertations* (1696), diss. 2, p. 78, that the word "*Nephilim* seems to import Robbers They that after the Septuagint and vulgar Translation have translated it *Giants*, have indeed own'd themselves to be of their Opinion, but have brought no Arguments to prove it." Mather alludes to the well-known accounts of the Flemish physician and antiquarian Joannes Goropius Becanus (1519–72), who in his "De Gigantomachia" (lib. 2), in *Origines Antwerpianae* (1569) 207–12, describes several young men and a woman nine and ten feet tall. The work by Joannes Temporarius, also known as Jean du Temps (born c. 1535), French jurist, mathematician, and

bones were lately dug up near Albany, New York, Mather proudly announces in his "Biblia Americana." A "prodigious *Tooth*" weighing "*Four Pounds and Three Quarters*" and a thighbone "*Seventeen Foot long*," judged by anatomists to be of human origin, unmistakably corroborated the existence of these biblical giants no less than it testified to the inundation of the American hemisphere, which John Ray had excluded because no-one lived there: "For, I beseech you," Mather queried his doubting Thomases, "How did the *Giant* find the Way hither?" What Dutch settlers had unearthed at Claverack, New York, in 1705 were, we now know, the fossilized bones of a mastodon – a species of antediluvians nowhere mentioned in the Bible (*BA* 1:586, 590–94).⁶¹

That Mather and all the other eyewitnesses mistook the remains as proof of the biblical Nephilim is really not to the point – for virtually all authorities of his time agreed that the bones were of nonhuman origin and belonged to the giant race of the Emims, Anakims, Rephaims, or of Og. The Claverack bones were too big to be those of an elephant – well-known in Mather's time – and too far away from the Atlantic shore to be the bones of whales, so he argued.⁶² That Mather and his compeers interpreted fossil evidence through the prism of their biblical beliefs may strike modern readers as quaint, if not amusing; however, the "mistake" is not Mather's but ours. Not developed until the early nineteenth century, the science of paleontology had yet to classify such giant fossils of

geographer, is *Chronologicarum* (1596), in which the author traces the word "Nephilim" to Scythian origin. Finally, Philo Judaeus strips these giants of their tall stature and allegorizes them as "men ... born of the earth" – hedonists who hunt after carnal pleasure (*De gigantibus* 13.60), in *Works* (156).

⁶¹ Mather's transcribed Governor Joseph Dudley's letter (10 July 1706) and his own thoughts on the giant bones of Claverack into "Biblia Americana" (1:582–99) and mailed a copy of the missive, along with his disquisitions on giants in his first package of "*Curiosa Americana*" (1712), to Richard Waller, secretary of the Royal Society, who published a synopsis in *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* 29 (1714–16) 62–63. D.E. Stanford reprints various contemporaneous accounts of the excavation of the mastodon bones in his "Giant Bones" (47–61); and D. Levin reprints Mather's commentary on Gen. 6:4, in "Giants in the Earth" (762–70).

⁶² For the race of giants, see Gen. 6:4, Num. 13:33, Deut. 2:10–11; 3:11; Josh. 12:4. Robert Plot (1640–96), keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, professor of chemistry at Oxford, and celebrated comparative anatomist, employs the same method that Mather would use thirty years later. When a large "*thigh-bone* (supposed to be of a *Woman*)" and several large molars were dug up in a London churchyard and elsewhere, he surmised that these fossils might be the remains of an elephant brought to London in Roman times. Yet providence decreed that while he was composing his *Natural History of Oxford-shire* (London, 1676), Plot had the opportunity to compare his fossils' anatomy with that of a young live elephant then publicly displayed in Oxford. Much to his surprise the elephant's bones were "not only of a different shape, but also incomparably bigger than *ours* [Nephilim fossils] ... If then they [fossils] are neither the bones of *Horses*, *Oxen*, nor *Elephants*, as I am strongly perswaded they are not, upon comparison, and from their like found in *Churches*: It remains, that (notwithstanding their extravagant magnitude) they must have been the bones of *Men* or *Women*" – like those of the "*Sons of Anak*" or of the "*Titans*, and of high *Giants*" as those mentioned in the apocryphal "Judith 16.v.7" and "Baruch 3.v.26" (*Natural History*, ch. 5, pp. 135–36, sec. 164, 167, 168).

extinct species or even coin the term *dinosaurus*, though their bones had been found since classical times.⁶³ Perhaps more revealing than lacking the benefit of our hindsight is Mather's strategy of employing empirical proof to validate the more perplexing phenomena of the Bible without resorting to supernatural causality. For when threatened by evidence to the contrary, he did not become dogmatic or abusive by dismissing his critics as blaspheming atheists, as some lesser lights were prone to do; nor did he resort to metaphor and allegory until clear evidence to the contrary ruled out any literal reading of the Bible.

Just how much science and religion made common cause during much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is evident in the assiduousness with which Mather pursued a rational and natural explanation of these giant Nephilim. The discovery in the 1660s of microscopic organisms (*animalculae*) in a drop of water prompted Robert Hooke, Anton van Leeuwenhoek, Marcello Malpighi, Francesco Redi, William Harvey, and other natural philosophers of note to develop germ theory, that microorganisms in fluids are responsible for causing disease. This new theory dealt a mortal blow to the Platonic concept of the earth's plastic nature, that primitive life forms generated spontaneously from the putrefaction of organic matter or from an inherent spiritual power.⁶⁴ Mather, with his training in the medical arts, applied the new germ theory to his consideration of the Mosaic Hexameron. Speculating that the giant's tremendous size might be explained through natural causation, he formed a postulate akin to a rudimentary understanding of modern generation: "The *Microscopical Inquisitions*, have made it more than probable; That the *True Seeds of Animals*, floating in their *Suitable Vehicle* [seminal fluid], have, lying in a *Space* much less than the Naked Eye can discern, the whole *Bodies* of the *Animals*, even to all their *Nerves* and *Fibres*: which afterward *Grow* as aforesaid, until their original *Stamina* can be no further carried out" (BA 1:595). God may have implanted in the seed of our first protoplast an "original *Stamina* ... much larger than others, and capable of being drawn forth, to the most *Gigantic Extension*." Or God may have "some of these *Gigantaeae Stamina*" enter man's body through the food chain and there slumber until God ordered them to grow. Or God, from

63 Mather also drew on the accounts of his Hispanic and Dutch colleagues such as Agostin de Zárate's *Historia del descubrimiento y Conquista del Perú* (1555), bk. 1, ch. 5, that giants lived among the ancient Peruvians; José de Acosta's *Naturall & Morall Historie* (1604), bk. 1, ch. 19, pp. 62–63; bk. 7, ch. 3, pp. 501–02; and on Joannes de Laet's *Notae ad dissertationem* (1643) 83. How the ancients in the Old and New World interpreted giant fossils is explored in A. Mayor's *First Fossil Hunters* (2000) and in her *Fossil Legends* (2005). See also P. Semonin's *American Monster* (15–61, 362–91).

64 For the changing fortune of the concept of plastic nature in Mather's time, see Collier (428–47); W.B. Hunter, "Doctrine of Plastic Nature" (197–213); and R. Rappaport, *When Geologists were Historians* (105–35). Useful historical background on the evolution of germ theory is found in C. Dobell's *Anthony Leeuwenhoek* (1932) and in J. Farley's *Spontaneous Generation* (1977).

the beginning of the world, may have embedded in the seminal fluid of man microscopically small, yet fully formed, animalcules of these giants that upon penetration of the female ovum might grow to colossal proportions though fathered by parents of common size (*BA* 1:597).⁶⁵ Conjectures of this nature were indeed commonplace among the physico-theologians of the period, and Mather drew on the most respected authorities he could muster to harmonize biblical exegesis and scientific inquiry.⁶⁶

That he did not become complacent in his quest for collating the Book of Scripture with that of Nature becomes apparent just a few tightly packed, folio-sized columns later. Coming across a chapter on animal generation of hybrids in Dr. James Drake's *Anthropologia Nova* (London, 1707), Mather was forced to toss out what had seemed to be the key to unlocking the mystery of the giant Nephilim: "But, oh! the palpable *Darkness*, under which we are languishing!" Mather bewailed his losses. "After I have given you, so fair an *Hypothesis*, as at first I thought it, about the *Generations* carried on in the *Animal* World, I must now run the Hazard of destroying it all again." Leeuwenhoek's conjecture that fully formed yet microscopically small replicas of man or beast were lodged in the seminal fluids of every animal species somehow did not mesh with Drake's discussion of hybrids and their inability to procreate:

[T]he most common of all these Animals, of mix'd Breeds, is the *Mule*, begotten by an *Ass*, upon the *Mare*. If this *Hypothesis* be true, the *Sperm* of an *Ass*, is full of *little Asses*, and the being nurs'd by a *Mare* should never make *Mules* of them; because the Species is praedetermined, and the Creature is not only form'd, but living. ... I know some Endeavour, to get over this Objection, by fancying that the different *Matrix* may have so much Effect, as to alter the Figure of the Animal so far, as may account for these *Mixt Appearances*. But this is so poor, so unphilosophical a shift, that it is not worth an Answer; and they might with as good Authority perswade me, that an *Orange-tree* translated from *Sevil* to *England*, would bear *Apples*; and so vice versa. (*BA* 1:598, 599)⁶⁷

With such empirical evidence to the contrary, Mather and his peers had only two choices: suspend their judgment until new discoveries would set the record straight, or fall back on the outmoded notion that God had endowed

⁶⁵ See also *BA* 1:349–52. For information on how the seeds of plants and animals contain miniscule replicas of each species' complete body, Mather relies in part on Whiston's *New Theory* (1696), bk. 4, ch. 1, pp. 224–25, 228, which in itself is an extract from Richard Bentley's fourth Boylean lecture (June 6, 1692), published in *A Confutation of Atheism* (pt. 2, pp. 3–36).

⁶⁶ See also Mather's annotation on Gen. 3:15 (*BA* 1:485), where he digests George Garden's *Miscellanea Curiosa* (1705–07) 1:143–49, in affirmation of how the female ovum is inseminated. Garden's authorities include such noteworthy contemporaries as Harvey, Malpighi, Perrault, R. de Grael, Leeuwenhoek, Swammerdam, and others.

⁶⁷ Mather's extracts are from *Anthropologia Nova* (1707), vol. 1, bk. 1, ch. 25, pp. 334–36 (misnumbered 352), by James Drake, MD (1667–1707), fellow of the College of Physicians of the Royal Society, whose work explores (among other things) new theories of generation and hybridization.

matter with a generative plastic power that blindly formed various types of organisms.⁶⁸ "However old and exploded, the Opinion of a *Plastick Power* be," Mather laments with Drake at his elbow, "I must however embrace it; even tho' I know not exactly wherein it lies: at least, till I meet with somewhat more sufficient to Resolve my Doubts, than hitherto I have done" (BA 1:599).⁶⁹ Mather, it is clear, was not afraid to examine scripture in light of contemporary empirical evidence and, as necessary, to renegotiate his interpretative stance if time-rooted tradition did not square with the natural philosophy of his day. Those who went before him were his guides, not his masters. Yet if errors were uncovered, they must be attributed to his guides, not to the Bible or its holy prophets.

Biblical Miracles, Natural Phenomena, or Poetic Hyperbole?

Through a number of exemplary cases, we can gauge the extent to which Mather has crossed the threshold into the Enlightenment. He clearly vacillates between miraculous explanations and purely natural causation in treating wondrous biblical events, generally juxtaposing old and new paradigms in an effort to arrive at the most intellectually compelling opinion to present to the educated men he expected to form the core audience for his sustained scholarly effort. With few exceptions, however, his conservative affirmations of biblical miracles generally outnumber – though they do not necessarily outweigh – the critiques he excerpts from Cartesian materialists. Such is the case with his commentary on the confusion of tongues at Babel, the ten plagues of Egypt, and the parting of the Red Sea. Mather was well aware of the controversy these stories prompted, and he commonly alludes to, or names, the primary contestants in the contemporary debate about them. The principal target of his guarded defense of miracles appears to be Jean LeClerc's *Twelve Dissertations out of Monsieur Le Clerc's Genesis* (London, 1696), an English translation and synopsis of the most controversial revisionism of his colleague's Latin commentary on the Pentateuch (1693–95).

⁶⁸ The idea of the "*Plastick Power*" of nature is derived from Plato's concept of *anima mundi* (*Timaeus*), the theory that nature is endowed with a spiritual power that orders and shapes the size and growth of all biological life forms. Revived by the Cambridge Platonists to combat Cartesian materialism, the vitalist theory made a brief comeback but was largely discredited by the end of the seventeenth century. In Mather's time the English botanist John Ray (1627–1705) was one of its principal proponents in his popular *Wisdom of God Manifested in the Works of the Creation* (1691), esp. pp. 31–40; Mather employs Ray's vitalist argument at some length in his *Christian Philosopher* (essay 26). For a helpful sketch of the concept's short-lived resurgence in the seventeenth century, see W. Hunter (200–03) and R. Rappaport's "Geology and Orthodoxy" (1–18).

⁶⁹ Drake, *Anthropologia* (1:352).

Mather had long admired LeClerc's scholarship but was frequently put off by his denial of miracles and radical demythologizing of the Bible. Although not the first to do so, LeClerc had rejected the traditional reading that the confusion of tongues at Babel "was all transacted on the sudden." The Mosaic account does not detail the events, LeClerc argued, but conflates "the Occurrences of several Ages ... in a few lines." Interpreters therefore wrongly assume an instantaneous alteration of the original language. "Discord and Dissention" among the people – not the miracle of new languages – are here meant (Gen. 11:7); their disagreements led to their separation and isolation from one another and thus "their Languages came to be changed" over a long period of time.⁷⁰ Mather is clearly ill at ease with the spread of such trenchant rationalism among Europe's leading theologians who eschew miracles for measured changes over myriads of generations; yet his defense of this venerable miracle is tepid, or hollow, at best: "Father *Simon*, and *Leclerc*, have embraced this [new] opinion," Mather comments ruefully, "but ... tis better to own the *Miracle*." So, too, after condensing into two paragraphs another critic's rationalist dismissal of miracles, Mather halfheartedly remarks, "I don't acquiesce in [Compegius] *Vitringa's* Notion" (*BA* 1:808, 807).⁷¹ If Mather here speaks out of both sides of his mouth, he perhaps unwittingly finds himself in bed with such notorious Deists as Charles Blount and Thomas Browne, whose anonymously published *Miracles, No Violations of the Laws of Nature* (London, 1683) and, respectively, *Miracles, Work's* [sic] *Above and Contrary to Nature* (London, 1683) ostensibly defend biblical miracles, but do more to spread the ideas of Hobbes and Spinoza than to refute them.

Much the same unintended effect occurs in Mather's commentary on the ten plagues of Egypt and the parting of the seas in the Exodus saga. Again he appears to target the likes of Jean LeClerc, who bring to bear purely naturalist explanations on the Israelites' passing through the Red Sea.⁷² Sly Moses, LeClerc

⁷⁰ Jean LeClerc, *Twelve Dissertations*, diss. 6, sec. 5, pp. 177–79. Richard Simon offers much the same rationalist interpretations on this text in his *Critical History of the OT* (1682), bk. 1, chs. 14–15 pp. 97–107; however, Mather's trusted friend, Simon Patrick, bishop of Ely, is unwilling to go as far as his continental colleagues and offers a more conservative middle ground. God did not give the people new languages, Patrick maintained, but merely confused their memory of the "Original Language which they spake before, as made them speak it very differently: So that by the various Inflections, and Terminations, and Pronunciations of divers Dialects, they could no more understand one another, than they who understand *Latin*, *Italian*, or *Spanish*; tho these Languages arise out of it" (*Commentary upon ... Genesis* [1695] 227).

⁷¹ Mather draws on Compegius Vitringa (1659–1722), the famous Dutch Hebraist, professor of Oriental languages and theology at Franeker, who argues in *Observationum sacrarum* (1683–1708) that "one language" (Gen. 11:1) is a figure of speech suggesting "unison" or "harmony." In defense of God performing a miracle, Mather cites Louis Ellies Du Pin (1647–1719), the ecclesiastical historian and doctor at the Sorbonne, whose *Dissertationes Historiques* (1711), vol. 1, diss. 3, ch. 2, p. 240, asserts that nothing is impossible for God, who can (if he pleases) form new tongues in people's brains and extinguish all traces of their former one.

⁷² Jean LeClerc decries the fondness of the vulgar for prodigies as positively harmful to the Holy Scripture: "To believe often without any Reason, that God alter'd the ordinary Course

alleged, had carefully studied the ebb and tide of the Red Sea so that "he might easily go from one Shoar to another upon the dry ground; and that being a Cunning Man, he vented among the ignorant Multitude, as a Prodigy what happened according to the ordinary Laws of Nature."⁷³ To rebut such Deist claims, Mather draws on *Cosmologia Sacra: Or a Discourse of the Universe* (London, 1701), by Dr. Nehemiah Grew (1642–1712), an English botanist, physician, and member of the Royal Society with decidedly Cartesian leanings. He derives from Grew a definition of miracles broad enough, ironically, to accommodate Jean LeClerc: "Unto a *Miracle*, it is requisite, that the *Cause* be *unknown* to us, either in *itself*, or as to the Manner of its *Operation*. The *Effect* also must be extraordinary, for the Limitation of *Time*, and *Place*, and other Circumstances. And the Design of it, must be something that is *Good*, and *Great*, and *Necessary*."⁷⁴

In framing a construct broad enough to allow for the possibility that the parting of the seas was an ordinary side effect of seasonal or inter-tidal changes, Mather (via Grew) paradoxically demystifies his own definition of miracles, rendering it nearly null and void. God maintains the "perfect Order" of his great machine through the Laws of Nature ("Second Causes"), Mather concedes; it would therefore be "not becoming His Divine Wisdome and Majesty, to do any thing, [I will add, *Ordinarily*,] without some Use of these Causes."⁷⁵ Mather's bracketed insertion is revealing; he clearly feels the need to reinforce Grew's demarcation between extraordinary and ordinary events, between genuine miracles and mere environmental conditions whose causes (though perfectly natural) are not easily discernable to awestruck believers – especially to those in climes far different from that of ancient Egypt. But in dwelling on secondary causes, Mather rationalizes these miracle stories and deprives them of their power to inspire faith in the supernatural.

This much is evident as Mather goes on to discuss Grew's explanations for the ten plagues of Egypt. Aaron's rods "were not converted into *Real Serpents*" in his contest with Pharaoh's magicians but "only invested with the phantastic Image of a Serpent." God would not be so wasteful as to create an authentic snake, endow it with a brain and organs digestive and procreative, only to transmute it "into its former [wooden] State again." Likewise, the plagues that infected the land started in the water, struck all marine animals – including "the *Hippopotamus*, and *Crocodile*" and amphibians – "with a *Dysenteric Murrain*," and so contaminated the waters with their bloody excrements that all turned

of Nature" is detrimental "because it fills the Minds of Men with a superstitious Credulity, exposes the Sacred History to the Contempt and Laughter of Prophane Men, and makes them disbelieve true Miracles and Prodigies" (*Twelve Dissertations*, diss. 13, p. 320).

⁷³ Jean LeClerc, *Twelve Dissertations*, diss. 13, p. 321.

⁷⁴ BA 16r (on Ex. 7:1). Nehemiah Grew, *Cosmologia Sacra*, bk. 4, ch. 5, pp. 194, 195, 196. Mather is similarly intrigued by John Locke's definition of miracles in *A Discourse of Miracles* (1706) 217–29, which Mather excerpts for inclusion in his annotation on Matth. 4:25.

⁷⁵ BA 16r (on Ex. 7:1). Grew (194–95).

red. Likewise, tiny eggs of lice mixed with dust, swarms of pesky flies, locusts, hail, and darkness – not wanting “their Natural Causes” – were carried into Egypt by a “Hot *African Wind*” and accompanied by “a *Shower of Dust*, such as often happens in such Countreys,” during the hot season of the year. Finally, reproaching Josephus Flavius for daring to compare Moses’ crossing the Red Sea to Alexander’s wading through the Pamphylian Straits at Phaselis, Grew opts for a “strong *East-Wind*” dividing the Red Sea and freezing the waters “with so Thick an Ice, as to bound them like a Stone Wall on both sides of the Way” and a warm “*Western Wind*” miraculously melting the ice and drowning Pharaoh’s pursuing armies. Mather’s sole remark on Grew’s rationalist explication speaks volumes: “This brings too much Nature into the Matter.”⁷⁶ In spite of Grew’s loud plea for the admissibility of miracles (and of Mather’s effort to tone down Grew’s naturalist explications), the outer wall has been breached, the momentum toward a paradigm shift, toward the gradual demystification of the Bible, is clearly irreversible – even as Mather tries to recover the purity of miracles by supplying an array of annotations ranging from conventional miracles to time-honored typology in his subsequent commentary on Exodus (chs. 7–9). Clearly, like Newton before him, Mather navigates a safe middle passage between the Scylla and Charybdis of natural philosophy and conservative exegesis. Yet Mather’s halfhearted disapproval lays bare his ambidextrous approach, one that looks forward and backward but one that can never again admit of pure miracles without substantial qualification.

Perhaps one final example may be sufficient to gauge Mather’s commitment to the natural philosophy of his time and its impact on the miracles of the Bible. Could science and religion really be harmonized? A case in point is the hotly debated miracle that facilitates Joshua’s victory over the five kings of the Amorites in their clash with Joshua’s army near the Valley of Ajalon (Joshua 10:1–14). Though the Jehovah of Armies had already decimated many of the Amorite warriors by hurling great hailstones on them (so the story goes), survivors beat a hasty retreat as the sun began to set. At this moment, Joshua petitions God to arrest the progress of the sun and moon so that he might vanquish his foes. “And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed, until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies. *Is not this written in the book of Jasher?* So the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day. And there was no day like that before it or after it, that the Lord harkened unto the voice of a man: for the Lord fought for Israel” (Joshua 10:13–14 KJV). In Mather’s time, few scriptures elicited as much controversy as the miraculous arrest of the sun and moon in Joshua’s day. Both ancients and moderns were equally divided about this extraordinary phenomenon.

⁷⁶ BA 16r, 17v (on Exod. 7:1) and Grew (195); see also Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 2.16.4–5), in *Antiquities of the Jews*, trans. William Whiston (1733), *Complete Works* (64–65).

As an aid to appreciating Mather's views on the topic, a quick review of the controversy is in order. Significantly, there was no unanimity among Jewish interpreters, whom Mather could have consulted in his own copies of Daniel Bomberg's famous edition *Biblia Rabbinica* (Venitiae, 1516–17, 2nd ed., 1547), or Sebastian Münster's *Hebraica Biblia, Latina Planeq. Sebast. Munsteri Tralatione* (2nd ed., Basileae, 1546), or Matthew Poole's invaluable *Synopsis Criticorum Aliorumque S. Scripturae Interpretum* (Londini, 1669–76) – all of which Mather relied on extensively throughout "Biblia Americana." Whereas Rabbi Solomon Jarchi (Rashi), Rabbi David Kimchi, Rabbi Ibn Ezra, and the Babylonian Talmud (Avodah Zarah 25a) insisted on a miracle that testified as much to their Ptolemaic cosmogony as to God's power to suspend the laws of nature, the twelfth-century Rabbi Moses ben Maimon – highly esteemed by Jews and Christians alike – opted for a metaphoric explanation in his *Liber [More Nevochim] Doctor Perplexorum* (Basileae, 1629). The sun did *not* stand still, because the Hebrew expression *tamim* means *perfect* and signifies the "longest day in the summer" or the summer solstice. The supposed miracle in Joshua's day is therefore simply "*ka-jom tamim*," or what people perceived to be "the longest possible day."⁷⁷

Christian interpreters similarly divided into camps of literalists and metaphorists. John Calvin, for instance, acknowledged the debate in his commentary on Joshua yet upheld the literal miracle even in light of Maimonides's linguistic accommodation. In Mather's generation, Archbishop James Ussher, Matthew Poole, Matthew Henry, and Simon Patrick, and many others besides William Derham, insisted that nothing short of a miracle had taken place in Joshua's day.⁷⁸ Even though the universe was governed by natural laws, they argued, the creator was not bound by them and could suspend them at any time. The list of early Enlightenment authorities who spurned the letter of Joshua's purported miracle is significantly shorter and includes such famous authorities as the Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius, founder of historical-contextual criticism of the Bible, the philosopher Baruch Spinoza, and a few lesser lights.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Those who upheld Joshua's miracle are digested in *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Joshua* (72–74); the Rabbinic apocrypha *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (ch. 52, pp. 423–24), even proposes a duration of "thirty-six hours" for this miracle; Maimonides was available to Mather in Johannes Buxtorf's Latin translation, *Rabbi Mosi Majemonidis Liber מורה נבוכים Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), pt. 2, ch. 35, p. 292; *Guide for the Perplexed* (224).

⁷⁸ John Calvin, *Commentaries on Joshua* (152–55); James Ussher, *Annals of the World* (London, 1660) 28 [26]; Matthew Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (1669–76) 3:964–68, and his *Annotations* (1683–85) 2:428–29; Matthew Henry, *Commentary on the Bible* (1689) 2:47–48; Simon Patrick, *Commentary on the Historical Books of the OT* (1727) 2:36–37; William Derham, *Physico-Theology: Or, a Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God* (1713), 4th ed. (1716), bk. 2, ch. 3, p. 43.

⁷⁹ Hugo Grotius, *Annotiones in Vetus Testamentum* (1646) 1:106, and Spinoza, *Theologico-Political Treatise* (33–34).

Mather's annotations on Joshua 10:12–14 testify to his philosophical torment: he is clearly torn between the letter and the spirit, the authority of tradition and Newtonian science. Among his earliest comments on the miracle of the sun's arrest is his dismissal of Hugo Grotius' linguistic accommodation in *Annotationes in Vetus Testamentum* (Paris, 1646), which Mather leaves untranslated from his Latin original. Halting the course of the sun and moon in mid-heaven is not a miraculous contravention of the natural order, Grotius insisted, echoing Maimonides, but a Hebrew metaphor for the longest day in summer. If Mather did not like this argument at first, he was intrigued by the solution offered by Stephen Nye, whose *Discourse concerning Natural and Revealed Religion* (London, 1696) distinguished between historical verity and poetic license: "The Criticks and Rabbins, take notice, that it is not said by the *Historian*, that *Joshua* commanded the *Sun* and *Moon* to *stand still*, but hee recites the Words of a certain Book (supposed to bee a *Poem*) written by one *Jasher*; in which the *Poet* ... introduces *Joshua*, as requiring the *Sun* & *Moon* to stand still, while hee destroy'd the Enemies of the Lord: which indeed was an elegant Fiction, & very proper in a *Poem*, that was written on such an Occasion." The poet's explanation, Mather agreed with Nye, "should not bee strained further than it will naturally bear; that is, not be Understood as a real matter of Fact."⁸⁰ And yet, perhaps to wrench this miracle out of the grip of modern atheists, Mather interpolates the testimony of pagan poets: for if the Greek poet Callimachus (285–246 BCE) allows the sun to stop its chariot to observe "a *Chorus* of Nymphs"; if Herodotus's *Euterpe* cites the ancient Egyptians as proof for the sun's changing her course; if the Rabbis in the Talmud, the Geneva-born diplomat and classical scholar Ezechiel Spanheim, the French Bishop of Avranches Pierre-Daniel Huet, and Dr. William Jackson, president of Corpus Christi College (Oxford), confirm its historicity, and if Archbishop James Ussher "thinks he can demonstrate, that this Remarkable *Phaenomenon* of the Sun, fell out in the Year, 2555" Anno Mundi (c. 1450 BCE), then these weighty authorities simply cannot be ignored.⁸¹

⁸⁰ BA 18r–20r (on Josh. 10:12). Stephen Nye, *A Discourse concerning Natural and Revealed Religion* (1696), pt. 2, sec. 12, pp. 202–03.

⁸¹ BA 18r–20r (on Josh. 10:12, 13). Mather here leans on Simon Patrick's commentary on Joshua 10:12–14 (*Commentary* [1727] 2:36–37). Callimachus, *In Dianam* (ll. 181–82), *Callimachus* (2:9–18); Herodotus (2.142) reports of the Egyptians that "there were four times when the sun rose out of his wonted place – twice rising where now he sets, and twice setting where now he rises – and, say the priests, nothing became different among the Egyptians" (*History* 193–94); Ezechiel Spanheim's commentary on his edition of Callimachus, *In Callimachi Hymnos observationes* (1697); Pierre-Daniel Huet's anti-Cartesian *Alnetanae Quaestiones de Concordia Rationis et Fidei* (1690), bk. 2, ch. 12, sec. 27; Thomas Jackson's *Collection of the Works* (1653), vol. 1, bk. 1, ch. 15, p. 48; Ussher's *Annals* (1660) 28 [26]. The page number in brackets is a misnumbering for p. 28.

Mather wrestled with this miracle for quite some time. If the author of Joshua cites the heroic book of Jasher as evidence for Joshua's miracle, then the celestial event is not a history of what had actually happened but a poetic celebration of Joshua's military victory, not a philosophic account, but poetic hyperbole. "The Scriptures were not written with a Design to teach us Natural Philosophy," Mather concedes, "but to shew us the way how to Live and Dy well. They might therefore use popular Forms of Speech, neither affirming nor denying the philosophical Truth of them To have rectified the vulgar Conceptions of Men, concerning all the *Phænomena*, which upon Occasion are mentioned in the Scriptures, would have required a large System of Philosophy, & have rendred the Scriptures a Book unfitt for common Capacities. And the New Theory of Nature [Copernicus, Kepler], would have seemed as incredible to most men, as Miracles themselves. How Incredible does the Rest of the *Sun*, with the Motion of the *Earth*, seem to all Men but Philosophers?" Mather's final concession – here cribbed from Robert Jenkin's third edition of his popular *Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion* (London, 1708) – echoes the dicta of Galileo, Hobbes, Spinoza, Burnet, Whiston, and Newton and illustrates that Enlightenment science and the inerrancy of the Bible were increasingly difficult to reconcile.⁸²

Although Mather is supremely unwilling to sever the ties between natural philosophy and theology, as Spinoza recommended in 1670, his commentary in "Biblia Americana" not infrequently moves in that direction. For Mather, the debate is not about whether the Bible is right or wrong but whether the biblical message and linguistic vehicle are in agreement. The Hebrew prophets used the language and concepts of the vulgar to instruct the people – or as Galileo has it, the Bible teaches people how to go to heaven, not how heaven goes.⁸³ Theologians of Mather's time therefore had to learn the art of distinguishing between intended meaning and the ancients' prejudices, between language and scientific verity, between the form in which a truth was expressed and the intended truth itself. In this manner, then, Mather is able to reconcile the venerable tradition of the Bible with Newtonianism, yet he does so frequently at the cost of separating the letter of the Word from its spirit. If Mather's interest in science inevitably affects the way he interprets Scripture, his theological purview determines even more so how he marshals his empirical evidence. Conservative in his theology yet welcoming of all manner of new learning, he is – perhaps not surprisingly – more audacious in employing the new sciences as an exegetical

⁸² BA 18r–19v (on Josh. 10:12); Robert Jenkin's *Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion*. (1708) 2:211–12.

⁸³ In his "Letter to the Grand Duchess Christina" (1615), Galileo Galilei defends his own orthodoxy by attributing this radical accommodationism to Cardinal Baronius, whom he quotes as saying "that the intention of the Holy Spirit is to teach us how one goes to heaven and not how heaven goes" (*Galileo Affair* 96).

tool than most of his peers who supplied American pulpits until the Revolution. So, too, few (if any) traces can here be found in “Biblia Americana” to validate the popular caricature of Mather as an old witch doctor and diehard bigot; instead, his grand project allows him to reclaim his rightful place in the early Enlightenment in America and in the transference of European scholarship to the colonies.

Section 3

Cotton Mather: Theologian, Exegete, Controversialist

During the early modern era, the cosmological and philosophical revolutions precipitated by Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, Descartes, Hobbes, and Spinoza not only challenged the traditional biblical cosmology, but also called into question the integrity of the scriptural texts and the harmony of the two testaments. Of course, for the majority of ordinary believers, the Good Book remained the Word of God. In the Protestant camp, the scientific revolution caused many academic theologians to reappraise the Bible in terms of a new hyper-literalism, as a quasi-scientific source of knowledge and storehouse of literal facts that could be held to the new standards of empiricism. The more radical minds of the period, however, began to push for a separation of science and religion as two distinct fields of human inquiry, because the Bible seemed to address moral, not mathematical truths. For them, Galileo's famous observation that the Bible taught believers about divine redemption, not about the laws of physics, rang all too true. This dramatic qualification of the Bible's mandate, however, could not but impact other claims that were equally invested in the authenticity of the Bible, in textual transmission, and verbal inspiration.

To those who believed that every word in the Holy Scriptures was divinely dictated, the very idea of research into such matters was shocking. If the seal of God's imprimatur were broken, how was Truth to be certified? If the Word turned out to be more human than divine, what was to become of faith in a transcendent God? The rise of biblical criticism in the seventeenth century thus contributed to eroding the authority of the Bible. In turn, the subversion of divine authority went hand in hand with the elevation of human reason, with confidence in man's judgment, and with his emancipation from dependence on tradition. Biblical criticism therefore lies at the root of what is called the Enlightenment and the evolution of modernity in Western culture. It is still widely believed that modern biblical criticism was an invention of radical German theologians of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Johann David Michaelis (1717–91), Johann Salomo Semler (1725–91), Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (1752–1827), Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834), Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792–1860), David Friedrich Strauss (1808–74), and Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918) are generally cited as the main representatives of German "Higher

Criticism" which, in the second half of the nineteenth century, would seep into English and American seminaries and lead to the great division between theological liberalism and a programmatically anti-modernist literalism. While German Higher Criticism certainly took the philosophical and historical analysis of the Bible to a whole new level of sophistication and radicalism, the origins of this method lie in seventeenth-century England, France, and the Netherlands – long before the German rationalists began to dominate the discipline.¹

When James I acceded to the throne of England in 1603, no one seriously doubted (or dared to question) the authority of the Bible as the Word of God, the divine inspiration of its prophets, their supernatural visions, dreams, and voices. When the last of the reigning Stuarts was laid to rest in 1714, the Good Book, in the eyes of a growing number of fair-minded scholars, had irrevocably lost its epistemological infallibility. Textual variants, lacunae, repetitions, interpolations, and anachronisms signified to the foremost scholars of the age that textual origin and transmission was anything but certain or trustworthy, that the Bible's verbatim inspiration and divine dictation were simply pious myth, that revelation's exclusive object was obedience to God, not disclosure of rational knowledge about nature. The Mosaic Hexameron, once believed to be a scientifically unassailable account of what had happened a mere six thousand years ago, by the beginning of the eighteenth century seemed little more than an abridged allegory adapted to the needs of an ignorant audience best managed by tales of wonder and miracles that aimed at enforcing law and order on a fractious people. If at the beginning of the seventeenth century, Moses was still held to be the author of the Pentateuch, by century's end, the Mosaic authorship could no longer be maintained without serious qualification. The followers of Spinoza now argued that the Hebrew lawgiver wrote little more than the tables of the law and ordinances; remainder of the Pentateuch was of considerably later origin.² The credibility of the New Testament fared hardly better. At the beginning of James I's reign, theologians were still convinced that the Holy Spirit had dictated every word of the New Testament to the Apostles and Evangelists. By the time Queen Anne was laid to rest, radical Deists claimed that the New Testament texts had been manipulated by competing sects and that the canon was the result of factional strife, which by the time of the Council of Nicaea (325 AD) had barred from canonization more books than it actually retained.³

¹ See especially K. Scholder's *Birth of Modern Critical Theology* (17–85), H. Frei's *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative* (17–154), H. G. Reventlow's *Authority of the Bible* (194–334), G. Reedy, S. J., *The Bible and Reason* (1985), R. E. Brown's *Jonathan Edwards and the Bible* (esp. chs. 2, 4–5), J. Sheehan's *The Enlightenment Bible* (27–117), and D. Sorkin's *Religious Enlightenment* (1–22).

² The scribe Ezra (5th-c. BCE) either rewrote the lost books from memory after the Babylonian captivity (2 Esdras 14:21–22) or compiled and adapted the surviving fragments to be edited and updated by later generations of public writers.

³ Among the principal seventeenth-century skeptics are the English philosopher Thomas Hobbes, (*Leviathan* [London, 1651], part III, chs. 33, 37); the French critic Isaac La Peyrère

It is safe to say that the hermeneutical revolution in the wake of Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan* (1651), of Isaac La Peyrère's *Prae-Adamitae* (1655), and especially of Benedict Spinoza's *Tractatus Philosophico-Politicus* (1670) seriously ruptured the Bible's hitherto impregnable status as the Divine Oracle of God.⁴ Theologians on both sides of the English Channel lashed out in pious rage at these latest manifestations of atheism; yet try as they might, no individual or concerted effort could impede the subversive critique of the scriptures once the followers of Hobbes, of La Peyrère, and of Spinoza had begun to infiltrate the marketplace of ideas. Terms of derision became the favorite smear by which orthodox clergymen tried to rein in their colleagues who followed Hobbes, Spinoza, and Deism. Even the French Oratorian priest Richard Simon (1638–1712), best known for his classic *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (1678), and the Dutch Arminian professor of ecclesiastical history Jean LeClerc (1657–1736), notorious for his assault on the divine inspiration of the Holy Scriptures in his *Sentimens de quelques Théologiens de Hollande* (1685), branded each other “Spinozists.” Through this mutual defamation, both clergymen tried to render themselves immune to the charge of heresy. In debating these unprecedented challenges to the authority of the Bible, physico-theologians and natural philosophers re-examined their evidence, pored over timeworn dogmas, and launched in the process the beginnings of modern biblical criticism.⁵ What

(*Prae-Adamitae* [n.p. 1655], translated as *A Theological Systeme* [London, 1655] and *Men before Adam* [London, 1656], bk. III, chs. 1–5, pp. 129–163; bk. IV, chs. 1–2, pp. 200–18); the English Quaker Samuel Fisher (*The Rustick's Alarm to the Rabbies* [London, 1660], esp. Exercitation II, chs. 2–3, pp. 11–105); the Jewish philosopher Benedict Baruch Spinoza (*Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* [1670], esp. chs. 1–2, 6–8); the French Oratorian Richard Simon (*Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* [Paris, 1678], English transl. *A Critical History of the Old Testament, in Three Books* [London, 1682], esp. bk. I, chs. 1–8, 16–23); the Dutch Arminian Jean LeClerc (*Sentimens de quelques Théologiens de Hollande sur l'Histoire du Vieux Testament* [Amsterdam, 1685], partially translated as *Five Letters Concerning the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures* [n.p. 1690], esp. Letters 1–2, pp. 9–150; and LeClerc's more moderate *Genesis, sive, Mosis prophetae liber primus* [Amstelodami, 1693], excerpted and translated as *Twelve Dissertations Out of LeClerc's* [sic] *Genesis* [London, 1696], Dissert. 3, pp. 105–141); and the English Deist John Toland (*Amyntor: Or, A Defence of Milton's Life* [London, 1699], esp. pp. 18–81). See also R. H. Popkin's *Third Force* (1992), *Scepticism and Irreligion* (1993), and *The History of Scepticism* (2003), and L. M. McDonald and J. A. Sanders, eds. *The Canon Debate* (2002), esp. part 3.

⁴ To be sure, neither Hobbes, nor La Peyrère, nor Spinoza was the first to challenge the Bible's sacrosanct status. Their textual criticism and rejection of Moses as author of the Pentateuch, and their argument that most of the Pentateuch and many of the other OT texts were compilations and redactions of older (but lost) manuscripts rested on the daring investigations of such predecessors as the German theologian Andreas Karlstadt (1486–1541), the Flemish Priest Andreas Masius (1514–73), the Portuguese Jesuit Bento Pereira (1535–1610), the Flemish Jesuit Jacques Bonfrère (1673–1642), the Dutch Oratorian Johannes Morinus (1591–1659), the Huguenot scholar Louis Cappellus (1585–1658), and the Dutch Jurist Hugo Grotius (1583–1645). See H.-J. Kraus, *Geschichte der historisch-kritischen Erforschung* (28–53).

⁵ See Jean LeClerc's anonymous *Sentimens de quelque Théologiens Hollande* (1685). Unless otherwise noted, my references are to the translated abstract *Five Letters Concerning the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures* (1690). LeClerc's charges against Simon's Spinozism appear in *Five Letters*

is less understood is how the historical-contextual critique of the Bible as generated by Hobbes, Spinoza, Simon, and LeClerc quickly caught on – even among their greatest detractors. Ironically, the seeds of Spinozism germinated especially in the theological treatises and commentaries of those who most sought to uproot them. In fact, many ostensible refutations did more to proliferate Spinoza's views than to impede their spread.⁶

Even faraway New England was not immune to Spinozist influence; Cotton Mather had synthesized the hermeneutical and philological critique in his "Biblia Americana" manuscript long before anyone else would grapple with it in the North American colonies.⁷ The purpose of this chapter is to sketch some of these transatlantic connections that hitherto have escaped critical attention. Mather is intellectually situated between the Reformed dogmatism of the Post-Reformation era and the higher critics of the late eighteenth century. He confronted head-on some of the most important hermeneutic and philological controversies during the early Enlightenment: the authorship of the Pentateuch, anachronistic interpolations, the problem of textual transmission, divine communication, and verbal inspiration. This confrontation led to a surprising rapprochement, an accommodation which demonstrates that once the heat of passion had subsided, the intellectual roots of the Enlightenment began to sprout in late seventeenth-century Boston.⁸

(Third Letter, esp. pp. 124–27). Richard Simon's countercharges appeared in hot pursuit in his *Réponse au Livre intitulé Sentimens* (1685). The mudslinging and mutual incrimination between Simon and LeClerc are examined in J. D. Woodbridge, "Richard Simon's Reaction to Spinoza's 'Tractatus'" (201–26). The single most important studies on Jean LeClerc's significance as a biblical critic are Friedrich Stummer's inaugural dissertation *Die Bedeutung Richard Simons für die Pentateuchkritik* (esp. 1–6, 22–105); and more recently Sascha Müller's magnificent *Kritik und Theologie* (2004).

⁶ W. van Bunge and W. Klever (eds.), *Disguised and Overt Spinozism* (1996). Spinozism never formed a school, they argue, but "traces appear of loosely organised groups in which Spinoza's works were studied and discussed." Moreover, "several of the so-called 'refutations' of Spinozism that were published 'around 1700', were actually highly skillful efforts at propagating Spinoza's views." Supporters of his ideas were forced "to resort to silence, secrecy, or the use of 'double language'" (p. viii). See also, R. L. Colie's "Spinoza in England" (183–219). Among the most useful studies of Spinoza's impact on the authority of the Bible are L. Strauss's *Spinoza's Critique of Religion* (1930, 1965, 1997); J. S. Preuss's *Spinoza and the Irrelevance of Biblical Authority* (2001); S. Hampshire's *Spinoza and Spinozism* (2005); G. Hunter's *Radical-Protestantism in Spinoza's Thought* (2005); T. L. Frampton's *Spinoza And the Rise of Historical Criticism* (2006). Useful background information on the history of biblical criticism can be found in N. Sykes, "The Religion of the Protestants" (175–98); W. Neil, "The Criticism and Theological Use of the Bible" (238–93); and A. Richardson, "The Rise of Modern Biblical Scholarship and Recent Discussion of the Authority of the Bible" (294–338).

⁷ R. E. Brown's fine study *Jonathan Edwards and the Bible* (2002) shows that Jonathan Edwards wrestled with many of the same issues of the critical historical debate in the middle of the eighteenth century.

⁸ Traditionally, historians have dated the beginning of the Enlightenment in British North America from the middle of the eighteenth century and pointed to Benjamin Franklin as the first representative figure, before turning to the Founding Fathers and the ideology of the

The Integrity of the Bible's Histories: Who was the Author of the Five Books of Moses?

Long before the French physician Jean Astruc (1684–1766) published his *Conjectures sur les Mémoires Originaux* (1753) and surprised the Republic of Letters with the idea that Genesis was compiled of two major and nine minor parallel memoirs distinguishable through their use of God's appellation "Élohim" and "Jéhovah" (131–48), Hobbes, La Peyrère, Samuel Fisher, Spinoza, Simon, LeClerc, John Toland, William Whiston, Sir Isaac Newton – and Cotton Mather – debated how much if any of the Pentateuch had actually been composed by Moses.⁹ In examining the textual evidence, they were guided by essentially the same principles of philological research that Renaissance scholars had put to good use in freeing Greek and Roman classics from layers upon layers of textual accretions, interpolations, and outright forgeries, which centuries of copyists and emendators had injected into their editions.¹⁰ The Holy Scriptures – according to one famous critic – had to be subjected to the same philological principles of investigation as any other book, for only then could it be liberated from the fetters of dogmatic assumptions, credulity, and tradition that glossed over distinctions between universal truths and principles of purely temporal significance. In the best Cartesian manner of his age, the Dutch philosopher Spinoza laid bare his ground-rule of interpretation: "I determined to examine the bible afresh in a careful, impartial, and unfettered spirit, making no assumptions concerning it, and attributing to it no doctrines, which I do

American Revolution. *Enlightenment* in America primarily signified a political phenomenon. Representative studies of this traditional approach include such mainstays as P. Gay's *The Enlightenment* (1969), H. F. May's *The Enlightenment in America* (1976), H. S. Commager's *The Empire of Reason* (1977), and R. A. Ferguson's *The American Enlightenment* (1997). More recently, scholars have begun to reexamine the American Enlightenment as a much more multifaceted transatlantic phenomenon. See, for instance, J. G. West, Jr.'s *The Politics of Revelation & Reason* (1996); J. E. Smith's "Puritanism and Enlightenment: Edwards and Franklin" (195–227); Frank Kelleter's *Amerikanische Aufklärung* (2002); C. Beneke, *Beyond Toleration* (2006); S. Manning, et al. eds. *The Atlantic Enlightenment* (2008); R. M. Calhoun's *Political Moderation in America* (2009).

⁹ Jean Astruc, *Conjectures sur les Mémoires Originaux dont il paraît que Moïse s'est servi pour composer le Livre de la Genèse* (Buxelles, 1753), edited, introduced, and annotated by P. Gibert (1999). Citation references are to Gibert's edition. For the significance of Astruc's documentary hypothesis (Quellen), see F. Stummer's *Bedeutung* (105–10) and H.-J. Kraus' *Geschichte* (96–98, 140–43, 152–55). A recent discussions is A. M. Acosta's "Conjectures and Speculations: Jean Astruc, Obstetrics, and Biblical Criticism in Eighteenth-Century France" (256–66).

¹⁰ See, for instance, the philological innovations of the French scholar Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), whose restored editions of Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius (1577) were followed by his superb reconstruction of ancient chronology, in *Opus de emendatione Temporum* (1583), and of Eusebius Pamphili's chronicle, in *Thesaurus Temporum* (1606). For Scaliger's contributions to textual criticism and biblical chronology, see A. Grafton's magnificent *Joseph Scaliger* (1983–93).

not find clearly set down."¹¹ Doing so was no easy task. It involved evaluating the integrity of the biblical texts according to their time, place, and circumstances of composition; it entailed establishing the texts' literary forms, didactic purposes, contradictory opinions, and intertextual citations to determine their authenticity; it required scrutinizing the texts as an organic whole, their original languages, their stylistic consistency, and anachronistic interpolations to discern if one or more authors or compilers had been at work during different time periods.¹² For Spinoza and those who followed in his steps, the methods and principles of scriptural interpretation were not unlike those employed in the study of nature. Clear definitions must be derived from empirical data, just as much as these data must be deduced from clearly established axioms. The history of each book of the Bible should therefore be established on the basis of all available information, for the identity, conduct, occasion, and purpose of the author determine the meaning of his book just as much as the time period in which he lived, the language and metaphors he used, and the demands of his benefactors for whom the book was written. To determine its authenticity, Spinoza demanded, we must uncover "the fate of each book: how it was first received, into whose hands it fell, how many different versions there were of it, by whose advice was it received into the Bible, and lastly, how all the books now universally accepted as sacred, were united into a single whole." Most of all, we must ascertain if it has been "tampered with by sacrilegious hands, or whether errors can have crept in, and, if so, whether they have been corrected by men sufficiently skilled and worthy of credence" (*TTP* 103).

Given these tools, what specific evidence did textual critics muster to substantiate the claim that the Pentateuch was *not* authentic and Moses *not* its author or, at best, authored no more than the laws, statutes, and ordinances of the Torah? Among the most conspicuous types of evidence cited by seventeenth-century commentators (and their many latter-day emulators) are anachronistic interpolations and lacunae, narrative repetitions, stylistic variance, and shifts in point of view.¹³ It is worth recalling the principal points of departure from the orthodox claim that the Holy Spirit dictated every word to his amanuenses

11 The first English translation of the entire *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (1670) appeared as *A Treatise Partly Theological, And Partly Political, Containing some few Discourses, To prove the Liberty of Philosophizing* (1689). My citations are from Spinoza's "The Preface," in *A Theological-Political Treatise*, translated by R. H. M. Elwes (8). All references are to the Elwes edition; hereafter *TTP*.

12 The most detailed description of these philological guidelines appears in chapter 7 of Spinoza's *TTP*. They are more or less tacitly maintained or implied in Hobbes' *Leviathan* (1651), edited by R. Tuck (261–68); Samuel Fisher's *Rusticus Ad Academicos* (esp. Exercitation I and II); in Richard Simon's *Critical History of the OT* (1682), bk. I, chs. 2–4 (esp. pp. 20–22, 24–28, 29–34); and in LeClerc's *Five Letters* (Letter 1, esp. pp. 15–20, 33–40 and Letter 2, pp. 57–93).

13 Hobbes presented his most trenchant evidence in *Leviathan* (ch. 33); Spinoza, in *TTP* (chs. 8–10); Simon, in *Critical History of the OT* (chs. 2–5); LeClerc, in *Twelve Dissertations* (Dissert. 3), and in *Five Letters* (esp. Letter 1–2).

Moses, the prophets, and apostles, who faithfully and accurately wrote them down and shaped the various books of the Holy Scriptures. The degree to which Cotton Mather's exegesis was informed by this critical debate and – more significantly – how much of it he embraced and integrated in his “Biblia Americana” can then be determined. Internal evidence suggests that many passages in the books of Moses are of considerably later origin than the purported period in which the divine Lawgiver is to have lived. For instance, the third-person narrator in the Pentateuch frequently recounts historical events that did not take place till long after Moses' death. Since the narrator does not earmark them as prophetic utterances or fulfillments, some other explanation needed to be found.¹⁴ The selection of the following passages is almost always cited by those who refused to toe the dogmatic line of verbal inspiration:

- Gen. 12:6: And Abram passed through the land, unto the place of Sichem, unto the plaine of Moreh. And the Canaanite *was* then in the land.¹⁵
- Gen. 14:14: And when Abram heard that his brother was taken captive, he armed his trained *servants* ... and pursued *them* [Chedorlaomer and Tidal] unto Dan.
- Gen. 36:31: And these *are* the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel.
- Numb. 12:3: (Now the man Moses was very meeke, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth.)
- Numb. 21:14: Wherefore it is said in the booke of the warres of the Lord, what he did in the Red sea, and in the brookes of Arnon.
- Deut. 34:6: And hee buried him [Moses] in a valley in the land of Moab, over against Beth-Peor: but no man knoweth of his Sepulchre unto this day.¹⁶

Mather's comments on these controversial passages are highly revealing; he wrestled with each of the underlying issues to rescue the scriptures out of

¹⁴ Spinoza introduced this significant distinction: The writers of the Bible rarely if ever mention any secondary causes, because the religious zeal and pious habit of the ancients attributed every action, blessing, inclination, or thought as coming from God. “Hence we must not suppose that everything is prophecy or revelation which is described in scripture as told by God to anyone, but only such things as are expressly announced as prophecy or revelation, or are plainly pointed to as such by the context” (*TTP* 15).

¹⁵ All biblical citations from and references to the King James Version of the Bible (KJV) are to the first edition (1611) of the Authorized Version. Though consulting several different translations of the Bible, Mather generally quoted from the KJV or furnished his own translation from one of the many Latin versions he owned.

¹⁶ This list is far from comprehensive. In the second half of the 17th century, questions about Moses's authorship of the Pentateuch were also raised about Gen. 20:7 (1 Sam. 9:9); 22:14; 35:21; 40:15, Exod. 6: 26–27; 16:35, 36; Deut. 1:1, 2:12, 3:11, 34:10. For a forceful defense of Moses's authorship of these passages, see esp. Richard Kidder's *Commentary on the Five Books of Moses: With a Dissertation Concerning the Author or Writer of the said Books* (Diss. xxi–lxxx).

the hands of their historicist detractors. The process of restoring harmony was not always easy. Over a period of thirty years, he excerpted, anthologized, and digested for his "Biblia Americana" hundreds of commentaries, reference works, theological monographs, polemical tracts, sermons, medical handbooks, geographies, and cosmographies he had inherited from his father and grandfathers, purchased from book dealers fresh upon arrival in Boston harbor, borrowed from colleagues, accessed at nearby Harvard across the Charles River, or received as personal gifts to add to his prized library.¹⁷ If nothing else, his passionate bibliolatriy is apparent most of all in his magnum opus, which amounts to a clearing house for all the ongoing controversies of his day. Such is the case of the vexed verse in Gen. 12:6, which Mather tried to wrest from of the clutches of the Hobbists and Spinozists and those who followed in their steps.

Anachronistic references to historical events, persons, and occurrences in the five books of Moses were particularly troubling to conservative interpreters to whom divine dictation and the infallibility of the Bible were religion. Anyone who questioned the integrity of the biblical texts was met with uniform condemnation and opposition. This resistance is not at all surprising; even the ancient rabbis of the Talmud bestowed their anathemas on those who cast doubt on the Torah's supernatural origin or its less-than-flawless preservation. The Babylonian Talmud warns the faithful that "HE WHO MAINTAINS THAT THE TORAH WAS NOT DIVINELY REVEALED ... hath despised the word of the Lord" and broken his Law. "[T]hat soul shall utterly be cut off" (Numb. 15:31). In fact, "even if he asserts that the whole Torah is from Heaven, excepting a particular verse, which [he maintains] was not uttered by God but by Moses himself, he is included in 'because he hath despised the word of the Lord.' And even if he admits that the whole Torah is from Heaven, excepting a single point, a particular ad majus deduction or a certain gezerah shawah, – he is still included in 'because he hath despised the word of the Lord'" (Sanhedrin 99a; see also Avodah Zarah 18a).¹⁸ The codifiers of *The Westminster Confession* (1647) and the *Declaration of the Faith and Order Owned and practised in the Congregational Churches in England* (1658) were not far behind the Talmudists'

¹⁷ The following resources list the works owned by and accessible to the Mathers in the first decades of the eighteenth century: "Catalogue of Dr. Cotton Mather's Library." J. H. Tuttle's list of extant books, in "The Libraries of the Mathers" (269–356), is far from complete. According to K. Arbour, AAS's former Head of Readers' Services, more than 500 titles were accidentally deleted from Tuttle's list during the alphabetizing process. For a substantially complete list of works accessible to Mather at Harvard, consult *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae* (1723) and *Supplementum* (1725), both listed in *Short-Title Evans* [2432 and 2641]. Significantly, a multitude of books Mather excerpts or refers to in his "Biblia Americana" are not listed in any of these collections. For book collections received as gifts or books borrowed from others, see *Diary* 1:368, 532; 2:2, 339; *Diary* 3:49, 111. See also H. J. Cadbury, "Harvard College Library" (20–48).

¹⁸ *The Babylonian Talmud* (Soncino). Brooklyn, NY: Judaica Press, Inc., 1973.

condemnation of the unfaithful – even if Calvinists did not spell out the punishment awaiting skeptics: “the authority of the holy Scripture, for which it ought to be believed and obeyed, dependeth not upon the Testimony of any man or Church; but wholly upon God (who is Truth it self) the Author thereof; and therefore it is to be received, because it is the Word of God.” Both the Old and New Testaments “being immediately inspired by God, and by his singular care and providence kept pure in all Ages, are therefore Authentical.”¹⁹ This orthodox position was not confined to the perimeter of the British Isles. Geneva’s own Francis Turretin (1623–87), magisterial expounder of Reformed theology and author of *Institutio Theologiae Elencticae* (Genevae, 1688–90), made it a point of orthodoxy that the Bible cannot, must not, contain textual blemishes of any kind either in the original manuscripts or any of their copies. “If God suffered either the sacred writers to err and to slip in memory, or incurable blemishes to creep into” the Holy Scriptures, Turretin contended, skepticism and mistrust would soon overwhelm all:

Unless unimpaired integrity characterize the Scriptures, they could not be regarded as the sole rule of Faith and practice, and the door would be thrown wide open to atheists, libertines, enthusiasts and other profane persons like them for destroying its authenticity (*authentican*) and overthrowing the foundation of salvation. For since nothing false can be an object of Faith, how could the Scriptures be held as authentic and reckoned divine if liable to contradictions and corruptions? Nor can it be said that these corruptions are only in smaller things which do not affect the foundation of Faith. For if once the authenticity (*authenticia*) of the Scriptures is taken away (which would result even from the incurable corruption of one passage), how could our Faith rest on what remains? And if corruption is admitted in those of lesser importance, why not in others of greater? Who could assure me that no error or blemish had crept into fundamental passages? (Turretin 2.5.6.1, 2.5.7.2)²⁰

The vehemence and urgency of Turretin’s queries are not exceptional. They underscore in not-so-subtle ways the fear, doubt, and suspicion with which the likes of Hobbes and Spinoza were received when they dared to question the Bible’s authenticity or trustworthiness. Far too much was at stake. But what were commentators to do with nagging problems that were too obvious and well known to be ignored?

Moses’s odd comment in Genesis that the Canaanites still inhabited their native soil when Abram prospected the Promised Land was particularly aggravating. When this Patriarch sojourned through Canaan – Moses recounted the ancient chronology – “the Canaanite was then in the land” (Gen. 12:6, *emphasis added*). The knotty Hebrew adverb *az* [‘az], i.e., “then,” quite obviously implies

19 W. Walker, *Creeds* (368, 369).

20 The Mathers owned a copy of Francis Turretin’s *Institutio Theologiae Elencticae* (1688–90), a conservative defense of Calvinist doctrine. My citation is from the G. M. Giber translation of Turretin’s *Institutes of Elenctic Theology* (1992).

that when Moses wrote the Pentateuch the Canaanites no longer occupied their homeland. But this temporal reference flatly contradicts the historical situation and context in which Moses wrote; the realm of the Canaanites was neither conquered nor the archenemy overthrown until several centuries after the Hebrew Lawgiver's death. Such radical anachronisms seemed grist for the mills of Hobbes' disciplines. The sage of Malmsbury firmly dismissed the Mosaic authorship of this passage (and for that matter, of most of the Pentateuch), because it "must needs bee the words of one that wrote when the *Canaanite* was not in the land; and consequently, not of *Moses*, who dyed before he came into it" (*Leviathan* 33.262).²¹ Following in his steps, the French Marrano Isaac La Peyrère – now best known for his Pre-Adamite thesis – was not to be eclipsed by his English contemporary and argued, "the difficulty is, to know what are the words of the Copier, and which are the real words of the Original" (*Theological Systeme*, lib. 4, cap. 2, p. 212). Spinoza was not far behind his predecessors and avowed – against Rabbi Ibn Ezra's explicit injunction to "remain silent" – "that this passage must have been written after the death of Moses, when the Canaanites had been driven out, and no longer possessed the land." For this reason, "it cannot be the work of Moses, in whose time the Canaanites still possessed those territories" (*TTP* 122).²² So, too, the Roman Catholic Richard Simon, whose *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (1678) – placed on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* and barely escaped complete destruction – was ostensibly written to refute Spinoza's radical *Tractatus*, insisted that "If *Moses* was the Authour of the *Pentateuch* ... this [verse] could not be writ but after they had been driven out." Like countless others, this passage corroborated the fact that many additions and changes had been introduced in the Torah throughout its long provenance and that the divine Lawgiver therefore "*cannot be the Authour of the Books which are attributed to him*" (*Critical History* 36–37).²³

21 Unless otherwise noted, all italicized passages appear in the original sources.

22 Perhaps to diminish the danger of novelty, Spinoza added an authoritative citation from Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra's *Commentary*: "It is possible that the Canaanites seized the land of Canaan from some other tribe at that time," Ibn Ezra (1089-c. 1164) speculated. "Should this interpretation be incorrect, then there is a secret meaning to the text. Let the one who understands it remain silent," in *Ibn Ezra's Commentary on the Pentateuch: Genesis*. (1:151). Quite obviously, Ibn Ezra was more audacious than his famous colleagues were prepared to be. Rabbi Solomon ben Jarchi (1040–1105), known by the acronym Rashi, and Rabbi Moses ben Nachman (1194–1270), also called Ramban, were much more circumspect than to allow for any tampering with the Torah; they both maintained the integrity of the Torah by interpreting the passage prophetically as divine assurance of God's promise to Abram, in *Mikraoth Gedoloth* (1:153–55), and in Nachmanides's *Commentary on the Torah* (1:170–71).

23 Simon was expelled from the Oratorian order and all copies (except for a few that escaped) were confiscated and destroyed. His English translator was all too conscious of the inflammatory nature of the work and prefaced his translation with the following caveat: "If notwithstanding what I have already said, there shall be any who, at the first sight, shall be scandaliz'd with this Authour's free way of handling the Holy Scriptures, I give this caution to all such persons, either to let it alone and not concern themselves with it, or else to read it

It is one of those ironies of exegetical history that Richard Simon's adversary in the Netherlands outstripped Simon's radical criticism by approaching textual problems from a different perspective. In his anonymously published *Sentimens de quelques théologiens de Hollande* (1685), Jean LeClerc insisted that anachronisms were only problematic because interpreters erroneously believed in verbal inspiration. They regarded every word in the scripture as divinely inspired, timeless, and preserved in its original state: "They believe, first, that the sacred Historians were inspir'd with the Things themselves: And next, that they were inspir'd also with the Terms in which they have express'd them. In a word, that the holy History was dictated word for word by the holy Spirit, and that the Authors, whose Names it bears, were no other than Secretaries of that Spirit, who writ exactly as it dictated" (*Five Letters* 30). This misconception gave rise to all sorts of textual anachronisms and exegetical puzzles that could be solved if the doctrine of the Bible's verbal inspiration were abandoned once and for all. The Holy Spirit, LeClerc postulated, only inspired his prophets with divine ideas, but left the choice of words, metaphors, and syntax to the dexterity of his amanuenses. Later interpolations therefore posed no challenge because they updated subsequent generations on the historical changes that had occurred since the Bible's first composition. Still feeling the sting of his vociferous critics nearly a decade later, LeClerc tried to offer a more conciliatory solution in his *Genesis, sive, Mosis Prophetæ liber primus* (Amsterdam, 1693). In this work he argued that the reference to the Canaanites' disappearance from the Holy Land (Gen. 12:6) might have been "added by a later hand, after the Expulsion of the *Canaanites*." In fact, this anachronism in the Mosaic text is, perhaps, "one of those superfluous Observations which frequently occur in the Sacred Volumes, which might have been omitted, without any Injury done to the History" (*Twelve Dissertations* 117–18).²⁴

Skepticism in the "Garden of Criticism"

In the late summer of 1693, when Mather began to work in earnest on his "Biblia Americana," the issue of biblical certainty was at the forefront of the controversy. He considered his Bible commentary "one of the greatest Works,

clear through, by which time I doubt not but they will be satisfy'd of their too nice scruples" ("To the Reader," in *Critical History* A2v). If that didn't fetch'em, I don't know my Arkansas! See also P. Gibert's recent French edition *Histoire Critique Du Vieux Testament suivi de Lettre sur l'inspiration* (2008). For the significance of Simon's of historical scholarship on the OT, see F. Stummer's *Bedeutung* (36–105), R. A. Muller's *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics* (3:119–48); and especially S. Müller's *Kritik und Theologie* (183–205).

²⁴ LeClerc's *Genesis, sive, Mosis prophetæ liber primus* (Amstelodami, 1693) was quickly translated into English and published as *Twelve Dissertations out of Monsieur Le Clerc's Genesis* (London, 1696). All references are to this translation.

that ever I undertook in my Life" (*Diary* 1:169–71). And rightly so. Whether the rise of historical criticism, the discoveries in the natural sciences, the insufficiency of up-to-date biblical commentaries, or his sincere devotion to defend Reformed theology – in short, whatever compelled him to launch this huge work is subject to debate. And Mather did as only Mather knew how: Careful reading of his commentary reveals he was thoroughly familiar with the historical and philological criticism which his European colleagues dredged out in the open. To exacerbate the matter, they were doing so in the vernacular (rather than in Latin), as if to ensure that the debate did not get buried in ponderous tomes of academic wrangling. Significantly, Mather rarely invokes the names of these radical critics, in part because his target audience would know who the bêtes noires were, or because he did not want to raise a memorial in their name and divert attention from the issues at hand. In fact, in his commentary on the Pentateuch, Mather mentions the names of Simon and LeClerc only six times, Spinoza's name only once, Hobbes' never:

Spinosa, and after him, the Author of the Five Letters, [One for Immoralities, a Monster of Mankind,] urge, That *Moses* could not bee the Author of the Book of *Genesis*, or, as *F. Simon* saies, of any more than Part of it. For the *Canaanite* was not in the Land when it was written, *The Canaanite was then in the Land*; It implying, that the *Canaanite* was driven out of the *Land*, when this Book was written. (*BA* 1:709)²⁵

Hoping to find a more elegant solution than relinquishing the Mosaic authorship, Mather lit upon a work by Walter Cross, M. A., an obscure London preacher, whose *The Thagmical Art: Or, The Art of Expounding Scripture By the Points* (1698) offered a system of reconfiguring the Hebrew accentuation points of the Tiberian Masorites that allowed him to harmonize anachronistic verses with the time-honored authorship of the Hebrew Lawgiver. "Scepticism hath grown up in the Garden of Criticism," Mather noted as he mulled over the exegetical dilemma of his age. But with Cross's demonstration, the controversial passage in Gen. 12:6 might yet be rescued and its authenticity preserved. It should really read, "For that *Canaanite* was then in the Land; And that *Moreh* was a *Man*, and not a *Place*. The Text only saies, That *Moreh*, even that *Canaanite*, was in the Land, in the Time of *Abraham*, & the Owner of it; but in *Jacobs* Time, *Sechem* the *Hivite* possessed it" (*BA* 1:491, 497; Cross 273–74). Decoding the phrase "that *Canaanite*" as an individual, rather than as an entire people, and "*Moreh*" and "*Sechem*" as names of individual persons, not of cities that were

²⁵ The anonymous "Author of the Five Letters" is no other than Jean LeClerc, whose *Sentimens de quelques Théologiens de Hollande* (1685) was translated into English and anonymously published as *Five Letters Concerning the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures Translated out of French* (1690). Mather's citations are from his commentary in manuscript "Biblia Americana." He does not paginate his commentary, but generally follows the divisions of the Bible into book, chapter, and verse. The citation appears in his commentary on Gen. 10:21 in the present edition.

founded only after the Israelite conquest centuries after Moses's death, Cross believed he had refuted the skeptics who argued for an anachronistic interpolation of this passage. This seemingly effortless solution was not entirely original to Cross either, for more than half a millennium earlier it had been offered by Rashi and Ibn Ezra and could be found in the marginalia of Daniel Bomberg's famous Venice edition of *Biblia Rabbinica* (1516–17).²⁶ Mather's satisfaction with this solution, however, seemed short-lived. Even before he digested Cross's *Thagmical Art* into a few choice paragraphs, he acknowledged his discomfort with retrenching such an important issue through a mere reconfiguration of the Masoretic vowel points (*BA* 1:709–10).²⁷ After all, Mather had learned his lesson from a youthful error in his 1681 Harvard master's thesis "*Puncta Hebraica sunt originis divinae*" (*Diary* 1:26). Here, he had joined the controversy by affirming the hypothesis of the two Buxtorfs against the two Cappels, that the Hebrew vowel points of the Masoretic texts were not only divinely inspired but original to Moses. Older and wiser, Mather ascended the scaffold of ignominy to take his shame upon himself: "I confess That when I took my Degree of *Master of Arts*," he owned up in "*Biblia Americana*," "I did publickly maintain the *Antiquity & Authority* of the *Points*, now used in our *Hebrew Bible*: and wholly went into the *Buxtorfian* Apprehension; But I now find myself, compelled unto the Sentiments of Dr. *Prideaux*, upon this Controversy" that the vowel points of the Masorah are interpretive keys invented and inserted by 6th–c. CE Tiberian Masorites. No, Mather was not afraid to admit error when necessary, neither did he rush in where angels fear to tread. The authority of the Bible and the certainty of its inspiration were not to be treated lightly.²⁸

26 *Biblia Rabbinica* (Lech Lecha, p. 20). All page references to Bomberg's *Biblia Rabbinica* are to the second edition (Venice, 1524–25). See also Rashi's commentary in *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* (1:153–55) and Ibn Ezra's in his *Commentary* (1:151).

27 Perhaps he also remembered with embarrassment his 1681 Harvard A. M. thesis "*Puncta Hebraica sunt Originis Divinae*," in which the young prodigy defended the divine origin of the Masoretic vowel points (*Diary* 1:26). In his juvenile excitement, Mather had followed Johannes Buxtorf, Jr., who defended the divine-origin thesis. The biblical scribe Ezra was inspired by the Holy Spirit, when he introduced the vowel points to render the Hebrew Scriptures intelligible to the post-exilic Jews who had forgotten the language of Moses during the Babylonian captivity. The controversy about the origin of the Hebrew vowel points is ably discussed in R. A. Muller's "The debate over the vowel points and the crisis in orthodox hermeneutics" (53–72).

28 *BA*, "Essay IV: *Ezra*; or, The Things done by *Ezra*, for the Restoring & Preserving of the SACRED SCRIPTURES" (37r). This confession is revealing in several ways. It shows that Mather had come a long way in embracing the historical critique of the Bible as text. Yet he did not need the approval of the Dean of Norwich, Dr. Humphrey Prideaux (1648–1724), to change his mind, either on the source of the Masoretic points or on textual interpolations. D. Levin has noted that Mather changed his mind, but takes his explanation from Samuel Mather's biography of his father, *The Life of the Very Reverend and Learned Cotton Mather* (5–6, second series of pagination). See Levin's *Cotton Mather* (83). For a subject listing of Harvard theses for the years 1655–1791, see *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 18 (1880–81): 140.

By the second decade of the eighteenth century, the novel and subversive critiques developed by Hobbes, Spinoza, Simon, and LeClerc had become, if not quite conventional, an open secret tacitly acknowledged by all but the staunchest defenders of biblical inerrancy. However, increased acceptance of historicist scholarship and secularization do not fully account for Mather's change of intellectual position. Certainly, his mature knowledge of philological criticism had rendered him less inclined to ascribe all manner of paradoxes to God's impenetrable mysteries. But his adaptation of the biblical criticism of Simon and LeClerc and of what they meant by the "divine inspiration" of the Bible had taken a decisive turn toward the rationalism of his peers. Mather's early annotations in his "Biblia Americana" exemplify how he struggled to balance the sacrosanct status of the Bible's inerrancy against the compelling evidence of invasive interpolations. Gen. 14:14 illustrates this case in point. Here, Abram is said to have pursued Lot's captors as far as the city of "Dan," a designation, however, it did not acquire until centuries after Moses' death. A later copyist ostensibly felt the need to update the name of the Canaanite city "Laish" (Judg.18:29) and gave it the name "Dan" by which the Danites now called this former Canaanite stronghold. "By which we may gather, that the Books of *Moses*, had here and there a Word inserted into them, after the *Israelites* were possessed of *Canaan*," Mather squarely conceded (*BA* 1:850).²⁹ Yet the baffling anachronism in Gen. 36:31, in which Moses enumerated "the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel," might somehow be defended as prophetic foreshadowing – even though Saul, first king of Israel, did not ascend his throne until roughly four hundred years after Moses's death. The passage was certainly not "too late for *Moses's* Time," – and here Mather contradicted Hobbes, Spinoza, Simon, and LeClerc – simply because Moses had previously recorded God's promise to Jacob that "*Kings should come out of his Loins*" (*BA* 1:1074).³⁰ But prophecy did not work as well in all cases of anachronism. For instance, the third-person narrator's parenthetical praise for the Hebrew Lawgiver in Numb. 12:3, "(Now the man Moses was very meeke, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth.)," did also raise eyebrows among those who defended the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. For if Moses did author this panegyric, his self-praise was anything but consistent with his avowed meekness. "I know no Damage that would ensue," Mather again conceded, "if wee should suppose the *Parenthesis* here, in Commendation of *Moses*, added by some other Prophet, in the Transcription." But before entirely relinquishing this passage to his opponents, Mather reminded his readers that the use of a third-person narrator and the accompanying self-praise was a rhe-

²⁹ On Gen. 12:1, see Spinoza's *TTP* (8.124), Simon's *Critical History* (37), and LeClerc's *Twelve Dissertations* (118–19).

³⁰ Mather quotes Gen. 35:11 but discusses this issue in his annotations on Gen. 36:31. See also Spinoza (*TTP* 8.124), Simon (37), and LeClerc, *Twelve Dissertations* (122–23).

torical device common enough among ancient (and modern) historians. Why not Moses? (*BA*, Numb. 12:3). Again we see how Mather positions himself as a rational mediator, who seeks after truth – no matter where his quest leads him. Although he was not beyond name-calling, he did not stoop so low as to admit defeat by bestowing anathemas on critics of the Bible.³¹

The Lost Books of the Bible

A related area of contention will help us gauge Mather's response to the Spinozist critique of the scriptures' textual coherence: the problem of the lost books of the Bible. For example, the Hebrew scriptures cite several books of which we have no surviving record: the Book of Jasher (Josh. 10:13, 2 Sam. 1:18), the Books of the Prophet Shemaiah and of Iddo the Seer (2 Chron. 12:15), the Book of Uzziah (Ozias) (2 Chron. 26:23), the Acts of Solomon (1 Kings 11:41), the Prophecies of Jonas (2 Kings 14:25), and the Book of the Wars of the Lord (Numb. 21:14) – to mention just a few.³² The writer of Numbers cites the latter book as a record of the acts of Moses at the Red Sea and the Brooks of Arnon. The apparent loss of this scroll (besides many other problems) convinced Hobbes that "the five Books of *Moses* were written after his time, though how long after it be not so manifest" (*Leviathan* 33.262). To La Peyrère, the compiler of the Pentateuch copied his material from a lost "Diarie" of Moses, "from which collections the books of the wars of the Lord might afterwards be taken; Which for that cause was neither the Original, nor the Original of the Original: but indeed a Copy from a Copy" (*Theological Systeme* 205–06). To Spinoza, such textual lacunae and adaptations revealed "clearer than the sun at noonday that the Pentateuch was not written by Moses, but by someone who lived long after Moses" (*TTP* 8.124, 125). Ironically, Richard Simon followed in Spinoza's steps when he countered that Moses – schooled in the wisdom of the Egyptians – only wrote "all that which belongs to the Laws and Ordinances," but employed "écrivains publics" ("public Writers") to interpret and record "the historical part of these Books."³³ Only in this sense, then, was it true that Moses wrote "the

31 See, for instance, Mather's outburst in his commentary on Deut. 8:15: "We shall have a Detestable *Toland* come, and make Nothing of the Great Works done by the Glorious GOD" (*BA*: Deut. 29r).

32 See Simon (*Critical History* 20–21, 27), Mather's commentary on 1 Chron. 1:1, and John Toland's *Amyntor* (18–80). Isaac La Peyrère (*Theological Systeme* 204) also mentions several other lost books of the Bible, which served later writers of the Pentateuch as source material.

33 Richard Simon's controversial "Public Scribes" hypothesis ostensibly intended to mitigate the radical conclusions of Hobbes and Spinoza to offer a rational explanation for the many passages that suggested an authorship of the Pentateuch much later than that of Moses. For his detailed explanation of his "public Writers" hypothesis, see Simon's *Critical History*, bk. I, chs. 1–3, pp. 1–28. Simon references Flavius Josephus's *Contra Apion* (1.7) and Eusebius

whole *Pentateuch*" because the scribes and chroniclers who collected it "did not do it but by his order." After Moses' death, "these Prophets or publick Writers, were not onely charg'd with the collection of the Acts [records], which fell out in their time, and the reducing them to Registeries, but they gave sometimes a new Form to the Acts themselves which had been collected by their Predecessors, by adding or diminishing according as they thought fit" (*Critical History* 3, 4; see also "Preface a1v-a3r). In short, when they compiled the Pentateuch and the other books of the Hebrew Scriptures, these appointed historians revised, abridged, updated, and otherwise recast the scriptures as needed, "fitting them to their own times and design; which is usual with those who abridge the Books of others." For these reasons, "what we have at present is but an abridgment of the ancient Records, which were much larger, and that those who made the abridgments had particular reasons which we cannot understand" (*Critical History* 27).³⁴ That is why the Bible refers to books no longer extant, mentions events anachronistically, and contains narrative repetitions, chronological errors, and textual disagreements without number between the Hebrew-Aramaic, Samaritan, Arabic, Syriac, Septuagint, and Vulgate versions – all the outcome of disparate redactions. These disparities became all the more detectable in such polyglot Bibles as Brian Walton's magisterial *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1653–57), perhaps better known as the *London Polyglot*. Unlike its predecessors such as Cardinal Ximenes's *Complutensian Polyglot* (1522), the *Antwerp Polyglot* (1569–72), and the *Paris*, or *La Jay's Polyglot* (1629–45), Walton's polyglot arranged the ancient versions not in sequential order, but side by side in parallel columns.³⁵ In this way, scholars could readily discover any and all textual deviations at one glance and consult the Chaldean Onkelos, the Jerusalem Targum, and Targum Ben Uzziel to adjudicate the matter. Those not at home in the ancient Oriental languages could make do with the Targums' parallel translations into Latin or with Richard Simon's *Critical Enquiries into the Various Editions of the Bible: Printed In Diverse Places and at several Times* (London, 1684) to keep abreast of the principal translations and how they measured up.

Rational explanations of textual variants like those offered by Hobbes, La Peyrère, Spinoza, Simon, and LeClerc, certainly appealed to theologians with a philological bent. As long as the authenticity of biblical books remained inviolable, they liked to believe, textual emendations and interpolations might

Pamphilus's *Praeparatio evangelica* (12.1) for evidence of "public writers" as official interpreters and record keepers of chronologies and genealogies.

³⁴ Like Simon, Hobbes (*Leviathan* 33.262), Spinoza (*TTP* 8.124, 125), and LeClerc (*Twelve Dissertations* 112–13) present a similar argument. Nehemiah Grew, one of Mather's sources for "Biblia Americana," further demonstrates how far the new criticism had proliferated among his contemporaries. Grew adopted Simon's "Publick Scribe" hypothesis in his *Cosmographia Sacra* (1701), bk. IV, ch. 3, pp. 166–68.

³⁵ See J. Pelikan's *The Reformation of the Bible* (109–13); and P.N. Miller's "'Antiquarianization' of Biblical Scholarship and the London Polyglot Bible" (463–82).

not jeopardize the Bible's trustworthiness. How did Cotton Mather respond to such alluringly rational explanations? Again he offered several solutions in his annotations on Numb. 21:14:

Q. Wee read here, concerning, *The Book of the Wars of the Lord*, mentioning what was done at the *Red-Sea*, & at the *Brooks of Arnon*. What *Book* was that? v. 14.

A. Why may it not bee, *The Book of Judges*? A *Book*, which recounts the *warly* Enterprizes, of those, whom the Spirit of the *Lord*, Raised & Moved thereunto.

Compare the Twenty sixth Verse of this Chapter, and then you'll say, that in Judg. 11.15, 16, 17. you find the very Passage, unto which this Text refers.

But how could this bee written then by *Moses*, who was Dead long before, this *Book of the Wars of the Lord*, was written? It may bee answered, That the *Pentateuch*, long after the Death of *Moses*, underwent Interpolations from the Pens of Inspired Persons. *Ezra*, Revising this Book, might add this, of what was done at the *Red-Sea*, & at the *Brooks of Arnon*.

Yea, In the Original it runs in the future Tense; *It shall bee said*. How if it should bee a Prophecy of *Moses*, that afterwards this Matter should bee commemorated among the People of God; and that when there should bee a Rehearsal of the Jewish Wars, this Matter should bee inserted in it? (*BA*, Numb. 21:14)

Mather speculated that "*The Book of the Wars of the Lord*" might not have been lost altogether, but the substance of it was incorporated into the book of Judges by inspired scribes who revised the books of the Bible long after Moses's death. Ironically, in cutting through this Gordian knot, Mather implicitly offered a version of Richard Simon's "publick Writers" hypothesis to accommodate his own conjecture. Mather, then, at least partially agrees that "Inspired Persons" collected the Acts of Moses in public annals and then extracted, rewrote, updated, and refitted sections from these no-longer-extant records to shape the Five Books of Moses and other OT books – all under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

However, still not happy with these explanations, Mather consulted his trusty handbook, *A Commentary upon the Historical Books of the Old Testament*, 10 vols. (1695–1710), by Dr. Simon Patrick (1625–1707), the celebrated Bishop of Ely. Patrick himself had paraphrased the deliberations of the two medieval scholars R. Abarbanel (1437–1508) and R. Nachmanides (1194–1270) as well as consulted *The Harmony, Chronicle and the Order of the Old Testament* (London, 1647) 72–73, by John Lightfoot (1602–75), the Rabbinic scholar of Cambridge, and *Pentateuchi auctor* (1625), by the Walloon Jesuit Jacques Bonfrère (1573–1642), professor of Hebrew at Douai.³⁶ Following Patrick's example,

³⁶ According to R. Nachmanides, this book was written by "wise men in those generations who used to write down the history of great wars, for such was [the custom] in all generations. These authors were called *moshlim* (they that speak in parables), because they wrote in them [their books] by means of proverbs and figures of speech, and when there were victories which they considered wonderful, they ascribed those to G-d, to Whom they are in truth [to be attributed]" (*Commentary on the Torah* 4:237). John Lightfoot is not far behind when he argues that the *Book of the War of the Lord* (Numb. 21:14) may have been "some Booke of remembrances and directions written by *Moses* for *Joshua's* private instructions in the managing of the wars

Mather concluded that *The Wars of the Lord* was really a collection of Amorite victory songs composed “by some of the Wise Men of those Nations,” who commemorated their triumphs over the Moabites in a poem and “inserted it in their *Annals*” (Numb. 21:14). Upon defeating the Amorites at the brook of Arnon and thus taking Heshbon (the Amorite capital formerly belonging to the Moabites), Moses then excerpted one of these Amorite epics, inserted useful portions into the Pentateuch (Numb. 21:27–30), and “justifies what he writes, concerning this Conquest, out of their own Books; which he quotes, as the Apostle does one of the Greek Poets.”³⁷ According to this ancient example of intertextuality, then, the divine Lawgiver was not above cribbing his material from the annals of his vanquished enemies whom he did the honor of incorporating their songs into the everlasting Pentateuch. Perhaps here was good precedent for St. Paul to paraphrase the aphorisms of the Greek poet Tyrtaeus (7th–c. BCE), whom the apostle thus immortalized in his First Epistle to the Corinthians (ch 13).

If this hypothesis is true, how much of the Pentateuch, then, did Moses actually write? Most of those whom orthodox theologians branded Spinozists agreed that tradition – no matter how time-honored – was insufficient proof of the Mosaic authorship.³⁸ The eponymous designation *The Five Books of Moses* verified his authorship as little as *The Odyssey* or *The Aeneid* vouched for Odysseus or Aeneas to be the authors of the epics whose name they bear. The titles were merely derived from the subjects of the books or from the protagonists whose actions are central to the stories. And the original Hebrew titles – Bereshith, Shemoth, Vayikra, Bamidbar, Devarim – did not help here either, because they were simply the beginning words of each of the five Hebrew books of the Torah, whose subdivisions or Parasha derived their titles from the opening words of the various scrolls. No matter what their original designation, strict rules of textual criticism suggested to Hobbes and Spinoza that Moses wrote only those portions of the Pentateuch he explicitly declared to be his. There was a vast disproportion between what he was believed to have written and what he actually did write. This is certainly true for the venerable tradition among the Jews who use the terms “Torah” and “the Law” interchangeably to signify all of the five books of Moses. Hobbes begged to differ. The designation “the Law”

after him; see *Exod.* 17.14, 16. It may be this Booke was also called *Sepher Iasher, liber rectus*, or a directory for *Joshua* from *Moses*, what to doe and what to expect in his wars; and in it, *Moses* directs the setting up of Archery, 2. *Sam* 1.18. and warrants him to command the Sunne, and to expect its obedience, *Josh* 10.13” (*Harmony* 72–73).

37 “Biblia Americana” on Numb. 21:14 (*BA* 76r–77v). Simon Patrick’s *Commentary* (1727) 1:652. R. Shlomo Yitzchaki (Rashi [1040–1105]) insisted that the Canaanite poet whose victory song Moses excerpted (Numb. 21:27–30) was Balaam, son of Beor, who cursed Heshbon – then the Amorite capital – before it fell into the hands of the Israelites.

38 Spinoza deplores the credulity of his contemporaries: “... the light of reason is not only despised, but by many even execrated as a source of impiety, that human commentaries are accepted as divine records, and that credulity is extolled as faith” (*TTP*, “The Preface” 8).

does not denote the whole Pentateuch, but merely a number of statutes that the divine Lawgiver commanded the Israelites to keep. Hobbes limited Moses's contribution to "the Volume of the Law, which is contained ... in the 11 of *Deuteronomie*, and the following Chapters to the 27, which was commanded to be written on stones" (Deut. 27:2–3, 31:9; Josh. 8:32), and further to the Law of the Covenant, which Moses commanded the Levites to place inside the Ark of the Covenant (Deut. 31:26). But the historical portions of the Pentateuch, most of the histories, and of the prophetic books were compiled in the form we have them by the scribe Ezra (2 Esdras 14:21–22) after the Babylonian Captivity, but before they were translated into Greek – a thousand years after Moses (*Leviathan* 33.262, 265). Spinoza's rationale was even more trenchant. Accepting no proof but that which could be clearly demonstrated, he drove his Cartesian principles to their inevitable conclusion: "We must make no assertions in such matters which we do not gather from scripture, or which do not flow as legitimate consequences from its fundamental principles." Consequently, "we have no proof that Moses wrote any book save this of the covenant" (Deut. 1:5, 29:14; 31:9). Spinoza, too, pointed toward the fifth-century BCE Ezra as the likely candidate by whom all the historical books were written (*TTP* 8.127–30), but he did so with far less certainty than Hobbes.

Did Moses write the whole Pentateuch?

Richard Simon, at that time the leading textual critic in the Roman Catholic Church, was not far behind his predecessors when he took exception to the orthodox tradition that Moses wrote the whole Chumash or Pentateuch. Evaluating the internal evidence on either side of the argument, Simon concluded that Moses only wrote "the Tables, the Law, the Ordinances and Commandments." And as far as "*all the words of this Law*" that Moses commanded them to "*write upon the Stones*" on the other side of the Jordan River, they were merely the twelve maledictions (Deut. 27:8, 15–26) to enforce conformity to his laws and ordinances. Though Ezra (Esdras) and his committee of "publick Writers" may have collected and loosely joined the surviving scrolls, the process of revising, abridging, and adding continued long after Esdras, who was "not the last composer of the sacred Scriptures" (Simon, *Critical History* 48, 49, 63). The loss of the originals and the many alterations introduced into the copies at "*the pleasure of the Transcribers*" therefore "*utterly destroy the Protestants and Socinians Principle*" of insisting on the Bible's sole authority in matters of religion. If this stab at the Reformation dogma of *Sola Scriptura* reminded his readers that to Roman Catholics like Simon the tradition of the Church Fathers was second only to the Bible (*Critical History*, "Preface" 1br-1bv), Jean LeClerc solved the conundrum of the Pentateuch's authenticity in a more underhanded fashion.

In his anonymously published *Sentimens de quelques Théologiens de Hollande sur L'Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament* (1685), LeClerc ruthlessly attacked the belief in "the divine inspiration" of the Holy Scriptures. He sidestepped the issue of individual biblical authorship but cast doubt on the prophets' trustworthiness and on the original communication of God's revelation in the first place. Eight years after the controversy over *Sentimens* had somewhat abated, LeClerc published under his name *Genesis sive Mosis prophetae* (1693), a more conventional commentary through which he tried to shore up the damage he had done to scriptural infallibility by assaulting Simon for discrediting the authority of the Bible. Obviously, Moses must have extracted the history of the Creation down to his own time from some ancient "Memoirs" transmitted by his forebears, LeClerc readily conceded in his commentary, but "the four last Books of the *Pentateuch*, at least, were written by *Moses*" (*Twelve Dissertations* 107–08, 113). To Simon the disordered state of the *Pentateuch* proved that the redactors were working independently from one another in abridging and emending the biblical manuscripts; to LeClerc, however, the same evidence signified the opposite: Moses's *Pentateuch* had survived in its original, unedited form as the Hebrew Lawgiver composed it during his journey of forty years through the Sinai Desert. If public writers had extracted the *Pentateuch* from the annals or "memoirs" of Moses as Richard Simon opined, they would certainly have smoothed out its rough spots and edited out the frequent repetitions and contradictions. Thus to LeClerc, Simon's evidence just did not add up. The idiosyncrasies noted by critics were to LeClerc the telltale signs not only of Moses's authorship but also of the original annals in their unedited form. Besides, the many laws and commandments enumerated especially in the "four last Books of the *Pentateuch*" made plain that none but Moses was the author: "for if he writ all the Laws, and the whole History of *Israel*, he is certainly the Author of these Books, wherein nothing else is contain'd; for who, after *Moses* had once written, would attempt to write and model them anew?" Altogether, there are only "eighteen places, which are commonly brought to prove the *Pentateuch* to be of a later date." The most efficient way to resolve these difficulties, LeClerc proposed, is therefore to own up and to admit that either Joshua or Esdras or some later scribes might have interpolated these anachronistic verses. But since we cannot know, "we can have no surer or safer Sanctuary here, than prudently to suspend our Judgments; by which conduct, if we do not discover the Truth, yet at least it is not excluded from the Mind" (*Twelve Dissertations* 112, 113, 128, 130).

Cotton Mather was evidently much pleased with LeClerc's solution, but was reluctant to praise him on other occasions. "I wish, *Leclerc* had never published any worse Thoughts, than those few, which I shall on this Occasion fetch from his *Criticisms*," Mather commented ambivalently. Nevertheless, he readily embraced the arguments of Simon and LeClerc that Moses left behind only an "Abridgment of the ancient History" and "a Naked Chronology of the

First Times” even as Mather defended Moses’s rationale for doing so (BA 1:410). His “Biblia Americana” then demonstrates like no other writing of Mather’s, published or unpublished, how far he had absorbed the critical debate among his European peers. He could pick and choose what seemed rational and what furthered his own goals; yet he could also rise to the challenge and denounce heterodoxy if the occasion required. A case in point is his commentary on the Chronicles (1 Chron. 29:29), where Mather used LeClerc to rebut Simon, and Simon to confute LeClerc. Mather scoffed at the views of Jean LeClerc and those who thought like him. Alluding to one critic only identified by the initials “M. N,” Mather jeered: “It is of late become a Quæstion among the Criticks, whether Moses was the Writer of the Pentateuch. And one of them ha’s proceeded unto such a Degree of learned Nonsense, as to make the Writer thereof to be one of the little *Samaritan Priests*, which came to teach the New Inhabitants of *Palæstine*, the Rites of worshipping the God of the Land, after the *Ten Tribes* were carried into [Babylonian] Captivity” (BA 72r; 1 Chron. 29:29). According to this fanciful conjecture, a Samaritan priest had cobbled together the Mosaic Law with some ancient memoirs and turned the whole thing into the Pentateuch. Little did Mather suspect that Jean LeClerc was the one who had sponsored this intriguing thesis in his anonymously published *Sentimens de quelque Théologiens* (lettre 6, pp. 129ff), a fictitious debate between several Dutch theologians ostensibly involved in refuting Simon’s “publick Writers” hypothesis. Richard Simon (under the nom de plume Prieur de Bolleville) was only too happy to sneer at LeClerc, in *Réponse au Livre intitulé Defense des Sentimens de quelques Théologiens de Hollande sur l’Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament par le Prieur de Boll[e]ville* (Rotterdam, 1687) 129.³⁹ Mather, too, loved a good fight, when he joined the spat by appropriating one disputant’s argument against that of the other:

But it is most certain, first, That the *Mosaic Lawes* were by *Moses* himself left behind him in Writing. [Josh. 1.7, 8.] Now those *Lawes* make no little Part of the *Pentateuch*; especially, the *Cæremonials*. It is most certain also, that there are several Chapters of Prophecy in the *Pentateuch*, whereof, *Moses* was the Writer. [Deut. 28. & 29. & 30. & 31.] And some of *History* [Exod. 17:14. with Psal. 78.5, 6, 7. And Num. 33.2.] It is likewise very certain, That these Matters were so founded in the *Covenant* which the Lord made with the *Israelites*; & with their Ancestors that the Relation thereof would be very lame, if that also were not Related. And a good Part of the Book of *Genesis* must therefore then be written. Yea, our Lord JESUS CHRIST Himself, expressly ascribes these Writings unto *Moses*. [Joh. 5.46, 47]. ... Yea, both *James* and *Paul*, declare *Moses* to be the Writer of the whole *Pentateuch*. [Act. 15.21. and 2. Cor. 3.14.]. (BA 71r; 1 Chron. 29:29)

The Pentateuch had to be authentic, Mather insisted, because both Christ Jesus and several of his apostles specifically refer to (and quote from) the writings of Moses to validate the truth of the Christian religion. Surely, the Messiah

³⁹ See S. Müller’s *Kritik und Theologie* (62).

and his disciples would not have cited Moses if his books were spurious!⁴⁰ This self-evident logic clinched the argument for many who were similarly engaged in defending the authenticity of the Pentateuch. Yet once all was said and done, the troubling textual issues just would not go away. "It is true," Mather was willing to negotiate,

there may be certain lesser Passages, or Sentences, added in later Ages to the *Pentateuch*, by some Inspired Hand. The last Chapter of *Deuteronomy* was evidently so. But of all the Instances, which *LeClerc*, and other bold Criticks have collected, there will be found but *Four* in the whole *Pentateuch*, about which there is any need of acknowledging a *Later Interpolation*; and this too so very small, & but on such manifest Occasion, that there is no Manner of Reason from thence, to Deny, that the Books were first written by *Moses*, to whom our Lord Himself, & His Apostles, have ascribed them. Yea, *LeClerc* himself at length comes to write a Dissertation, *De Scriptore Pentateuchi Mose*. (*BA* 73v; 1 Chron. 29:29)

Mather's triumph over these "bold Criticks," then, is based on LeClerc's introductory essay "*III. Dissertatio de Scriptore Pentateuchi Mose, ejusque in scribendo consilio*" (sign. e-e4v), with which LeClerc prefaces his commentary *Genesis sive Mosis prophetae* (1693). In pointing at the disagreements among textual critics, Mather employs LeClerc's retrenched position in *De Scriptore Pentateuchi* to rebut not only LeClerc's anonymously published *Sentimens de quelques Théologiens de Hollande*, but also Richard Simon's *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament*, in which Simon who had argued all along that in the centuries after Moses' death, "Publick Writers" had rewritten and updated the Pentateuch as needed. Mather's efforts thus illustrate his informed response to the crisis of certitude in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.⁴¹ This fundamental threat to the Bible's divine origin may well be one major reason why he

⁴⁰ The renowned William Whiston, whose works Mather greatly admired, tried to solve similar issues in his *Essay Towards Restoring the True Text of the Old Testament* (London, 1722). In this controversial treatise Whiston examines the frequent disparities between the apostles' Christological OT citations in the NT and their actual occurrence in the OT. Christ and his apostles are not likely to have misquoted the Hebrew Bible, Whiston hypothesized. Somebody must therefore have deliberately falsified those passages in the OT that relate to Jesus Christ as the NT Messiah. Whiston therefore postulated in Proposition XII, that "*The Jews, about the Beginning of the Second Century of the Gospel, greatly alter'd and corrupted their Hebrew and Greek Copies of the Old Testament; and that, in many Places, on purpose, out of Opposition to Christianity*" (220; see especially 220–87). Whiston's hypothesis resounds with the kind of anti-Semitic claims all too common in Christian apologetic discourse; he proposes to fix the alleged corruptions of the OT by offering an even more radical solution: to restore these NT citations to their original place in the OT and thus re-establish their authenticity (281–335). Whiston's Deist antagonist Anthony Collins was only too happy to counter in his *Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion* (London, 1724) that "*a bible restor'd, according to Mr. W's Theory, will be a mere WHISTONIAN BIBLE; a BIBLE confounding, and not containing the true text of the Old Testament*" (225). For context and background, see J. E. Force's *William Whiston* (77–89) and J. O'Higgins, S. J. Anthony Collins (155–99).

⁴¹ Useful historical background appears in R. H. Popkin's *Problem of Certainty* (13–48).

felt the need to lay the foundation for his “Biblia Americana” in 1693 (*Diary* 1: 169–71), the same year in which he began composing his *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702) and published his apologia of the Salem debacle *The Wonders of the Invisible World* (1693). Arriving at rational explanations was an ongoing process, and no reputable theologian on either side of the Atlantic could shroud himself in silence or brush aside with impunity the hermeneutical revolution that left the biblical scrolls in tatters and the clergy in need of reassurance.

These critical debates – though increasingly published in the vernacular – largely remained in the domain of the community of scholars. The common parishioners of the day generally did not have to face such issues, mainly because matters of historicist criticism were not integral to the clergy’s primary function of promoting salvation. Compositors of Bible commentaries for families on the whole stayed clear of controversies not intended for consumption by lay readers. This type of bowdlerization was all too common in Mather’s day (as indeed it is in ours). Thomas Pyle’s *Paraphrase with Short and Useful Notes on the Books of the Old Testament* (London, 1717) is a good case in point. One of Mather’s sources in “Biblia Americana” (BA 1:302–06), Pyle was determined to keep the Battle of the Books out of his commentary targeting uncritical readers: “I have had all just Regard to those Modern Discoveries, and vast Improvements in Philosophical Knowledge,” he confessed in the Preface, “yet have I endeavoured so to express every Circumstance, as not (directly and explicitly) to clash with any one particular Hypothesis or Opinion” (*Paraphrase* 1:A6v). A student of William Whiston and fellow Arian, Pyle (1674–1756) had particular reasons to be cautious before the Salters’ Hall Synod (1719) failed to enforce subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles, but his principles of selection clearly demonstrate how clergymen of all stripes were concerned with shielding the faithful from attacks on the inerrancy of the Bible even as they had enlisted under the banner of truth. To be sure, not all truths are fit to be told; for he who scandalizes the weak in faith, the Apostle Luke reminds us, “It were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his necke, and he cast into the Sea, then that he should offend one of these little ones” (Luke 17:2).

How did Cotton Mather solve this predicament? In his final segment of the “Biblia Americana,” with the title “An Essay for a further COMMENTARY on the Sacred Scriptures,” Mather added a series of thirteen essays that may well function as his key to the historical context and physical provenance of the scriptures. Once again he returned to the question of the Mosaic authorship and summed up his final position. He now willingly accepted the contention that many passages in the Hebrew Bible are of considerably later origin than most of his peers were willing to admit. He agreed with Hobbes and Spinoza that Ezra was the most likely redactor of the Pentateuch and much of the Hebrew Scriptures besides. Henceforth, he conceded that the last eight verses of Deuteronomy (34: 5–12) could not have been authored by the divine Lawgiver himself, because

Moses could not communicate from beyond the grave and record his own death, burial, and loss of his sepulcher “unto this day.” For such obvious reasons, “The Last Chapter of *Deuteronomy* might be his [Ezra’s],” Mather allowed, “and so might be several other Passages, which are Plain Interpolations.” Mather further granted that the reference in Gen. 12:6 (“the Canaanite was then in the land”) had to be a later insertion. Similarly, Mt. Moriah (Gen. 22:14) “was not called, *The Mount of the Lord*, until the Temple was built on it” nearly 900 years after Abraham’s arrival in the Promised Land. Its modern name must therefore have been a later addition. The reference to the kings of Edom long “before there reigned any king over the children of Israel” (Gen. 36:31) could not have been made by Moses either, simply because Israel did not have a king until more than 350 years after his death. In short, Mather did not brush aside such obvious textual interpolations nor did he muddle his way through by endowing each with prophetic significance to explain away these anachronisms. Instead, he allowed that the scribal prophet Ezra interpolated such passages after the return from Babylonian captivity to “render the Scriptures, as intelligible as possible unto the People” when the passage of time had made old place names, conditions, and customs incomprehensible to post-exilic Jews. Likewise, Mather argued, Ezra had to transcribe the ancient Hebrew texts “into the *Chaldee* Character” (Aramaic), by “dropping the old *Samaritan* Character, wherein *Moses* & the Prophets had recorded the Oracles of GOD,” because the Jews returning from Babylon no longer understood the ancient script. Such drastic alterations did not disturb Mather, because God’s timeless Word needed to be accommodated to the Israelites’ changing needs and therefore required periodic updating.⁴²

Cotton Mather addresses many more textual problems in “*Biblia Americana*” than the small sampling from his commentary on the Pentateuch demonstrates. The history books of the Hebrew Bible were particularly prone to scribal error, and Mather spent considerable time and effort to guide his readers through the philological maelstrom of textual criticism. The New Testament fared no better.⁴³ The vigor of his response varies as much as the nature of the problem and the ruthlessness of the bold critics he singles out for reproach. Two or three examples may suffice to illustrate his procedure. In his annotations on 1 Samuel (chs. 6 and 7) and on 1 Chronicles, Mather allows clear rational thinking to prevail against scribal error. In the first instance (1 Sam. 6:19), he takes exception to the literal reading of the Hebrew original and its rendition in the King James Version, because God’s disproportionate response to the Israelites’

⁴² Mather, “IV. *Ezra*, or, The Things done by *Ezra*, for the Restoring & Preserving of the SACRED SCRIPTURES” (77r–78v), appended to Mather’s commentary on *Revelation*, at the end of *BA*.

⁴³ For Mather’s endeavor to reconcile the discrepancies in the accounts of the four gospels, see his “Prolegomena to the Harmony of the Gospels” (*BA* 18r–28v, *Matth.*, ch. 1). This issue will be discussed in the introduction to Volume 7 of our edition.

offense of looking into the Ark of the Covenant bespeaks anything but divine justice:

Q. Can you imagine, That there were *fifty thousand & threescore & ten Men slain at Bethshemesh*, for looking into the Ark? v. 19.

A. No, Truly. But I read the Text so, *Hee smote of the People which were fifty thousand*, [I say, Hee smote] *threescore & ten Men*. So there were but Seventy Men kill'd in all. ... So small a Town as *Bethshemesh* could never loose Fifty thousand Men, and leave any Survivors to bewayl the Lost. ... (BA, 1 Sam. 6:19)

Mather's characteristic Q-&-A format allows him to settle the issue quickly and efficiently. The dialogue between a curious interlocutor and a rational interpreter permits him to simulate an objective distance between author, discussants, and subject. Through this rhetorical device, Mather tried to sway his target audience to receive him as a disinterested and trustworthy annotator whose commentary transcends partisan appeal. The rational basis for his judgment is all the more apparent in his subsequent explanation that Bethshemesh was too inconsiderable a settlement to forfeit so many of its inhabitants and leave survivors to bury its dead. However, this solution could not be put forward without additional proof. A quick glance at the Syriac and Arabic versions of 1 Samuel in Brian Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1:213) assures Mather that the number of lawbreakers given here was only about five thousand, not fifty thousand men in all. This number still seemed too large to justify God's wrath to man. A much more balanced reading, which Mather derives at second hand from Rashi's commentary (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Samuel* 1:54–55), seemed to offer the most elegant solution yet: "If any will further suppose, that the *Seventy Men*, who were slain, were for their Dignity & Quality æqual to *Fifty Thousand* of the Plebeian People; I shan't oppose; it may bee so" (BA 1 Sam. 6:19). Through a transposition of modifiers in verse 19, then, the syntactical problem in the Hebrew copy is solved, and Mather can offer a metaphoric explication, whose truth, perhaps, lies most of all in the power of its simplicity. But if some ultra-conservative literalist was still not satisfied with this solution, Mather enlists for support Josephus Flavius's *Antiquities* (6.1.4), Samuel Bochart's *Hieroicoicon Sive bipertitum opus De Animalibus Sacrae Scripturae* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 36, cols. 369–70), John Selden's *De Synedriis* (lib. 2, cap. 16, sec. 3, p. 664), and Johannes Wagenseil's *Sota* (Annot. on Gemara, cap. 7, sec. 15) – all mentioned in Simon Patrick's vademecum (2: 204–05), but derived in due course from Bochart.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Mather did not have to rely on Simon Patrick's *Commentary* (1695–1710) for this information. Mather owned copies of, or had access to, the several editions of Flavius Josephus, *The Works of Josephus* (London, 1699); to Samuel Bochart, *Hieroicoicon Sive bipertitum opus De Animalibus Sacrae Scripturae. Pars Prior. De Animalibus in genere. Et de Quadrupedibus viviparis et oviparis. Pars Posterior. De Avibus, Serpentibus, Insectis, Aquaticis, et Fabulosis Animalibus*, 2 vols. 1646 (London, 1663); to John Selden, *De Synedriis Praefecturis Juridicis Veterum Ebraeorum* (London, 1650); and to Johann Christoph Wagenseil, *Sota. Hoc est liber mischnicus de uxore*

Much more outspoken and vituperative was Mather's response to Spinoza's dismissive critique of the Old Testament's disordered state. Did not the author of the apocryphal 2 Esdras 14:21–48 report that when Nebuchadnezzar sacked the Temple and burnt all the books of the Law, Esdras summoned five scribes (v. 24) to help him write down the lost Torah scrolls and books from memory? Surely, the Holy Spirit assisted Esdras in recovering the lost books. After all, the Almighty was a God of order, and he would not suffer his soteriological directives to be compromised – let alone lost! Spinoza was not satisfied. He contended that the Pentateuch and the other OT books down to the destruction of Jerusalem are “set down promiscuously and without order, with no regard for dates.” The repetitive nature of the historical narratives in different and often contradictory versions demonstrates that “all the materials were promiscuously collected and heaped together, in order that they might at some subsequent time be more readily examined and reduced to order” (*TTP* 9.135). In this argument as in many others Spinoza probably leaned on Isaac La Peyrère's *Prae-Adamitae* (1655) where the latter argues that the Pentateuch was “not written by *Moses*, as is thought,” but consists of imperfect copies of abstracts and abridgments that are as reliable as they are defective: “Nor need any one wonder after this, when he reads many things confus'd and out of order, obscure, deficient, many things omitted and misplaced, when they shall consider with themselves that they are a heap of Copie confusedly taken” (*Theological Systeme* 208).⁴⁵ Mather was more than displeased with such a legerdemain denigration of the Bible by the likes of La Peyrère or a Spinoza. Mather's annotation on 1 Sam. 7:13 illustrates his impatience when vile enemies of God grasp at straws to cast aspersions on the Holy Scriptures. Mather lashes out against “That infamous Atheist *Spinosa*,” that “wicked and scoffing *Jew*,” who juxtaposes passages from different biblical books to highlight apparent contradictions. Spinoza's “Objections are but his own *profane Blunders*, and as *Heedless as Profane*,” as can be seen in his handling of Ezekiel's perplexing prophecy that King Zedekiah would not “see” Nebuchadnezzar's Babylon but die there (Ezek. 12:13; 17:16): “Would any man think now that this fine Caviller at the *Bible*, had *Read* the Bible?” Mather fumed at Spinoza's impudence. “If he had, he might, without going to *Josephus* [*Antiquities* 10.9], have known, That tho' *Zedekiah* was carried unto *Babylon*, as *Ezekiel* had foretold, [ch. 17.16] yett he *Saw* it not, because his Eyes were putt out before he came thither, [Jer. 52:11] according to the wonderful Prædiction of the same

adulterii suspecta (Altdorf, 1675). Unless otherwise noted, all references to Bochart's *Hierozaicon* are to the 1663 London edition.

⁴⁵ In his commentary on Genesis alone, Mather refers to the title of La Peyrère's *Prae-adamitae* (1655) or to his name several times in Gen. 3:24; 4:16; 11:9. The significance of La Peyrère's influence on his contemporaries is discussed in F. Stummer's *Bedeutung* (27–30), in K. Scholder's *Birth* (82–91), and especially in R. H. Popkin's *La Peyrère, 1596–1676* (chs. 3 and 9); and Popkin's *History of Scepticism* (1979) 214–28, and Popkin's revised version *History of Scepticism* (2003) 197–246; and T. L. Frampton's *Spinoza* (199–235).

Ezekiel. [ch. 12.13].”⁴⁶ Evidently, Mather was not above demanding an eye for an eye by citing a passage from Spinoza’s *Theological Political Tractate*, where the Dutch philosopher “finds himself at last compell’d” to eat his own words:

Totam Legem Divinam quam Scriptura docet, incorruptam ad nostras manus pervenisse: Adding, præter hæc, alia sunt, de quibus non possumus dubitare, quin bona Fide, nobis sint tradita; nempe, summa Historiarum Scripturæ; quia notissima omnibus fuerunt. (BA 1 Sam. 7:13)⁴⁷

Ironically, if Mather thought he had at last put Spinoza in his place, he erred. Mather here interprets Spinoza’s “*Totam Legem Divinam quam Scriptura docet*” in the broad sense to mean the Torah, the whole Pentateuch (as Jews generally do); Spinoza, however, only spoke of the Law in the narrow sense: the Decalogue and those mandates in Deuteronomy to attain salvation. The ancient Jews used “to chant the history of their nation in psalms” (*TTP* 173). The historical narrative, the plot, and songs – the main facts of scripture history – are therefore little more than the heroic trappings of the divine epic designed to ignite the auditors’ devotion.

Passionate outbursts aside, Mather was not opposed to philological-textual studies of the Bible; in fact, he welcomed appraisals that aimed at rectifying and harmonizing seeming contradictions in the Old or New Testament.⁴⁸ He was well aware of the large number of inconsistencies in the various genealogical registers, kings lists, their reign, their names and that of their many descendants, along with their acts, the narrative sequence of events, or their chronological order. No, the Bible was inspired – perhaps even dictated – by God, but the preservation, transmission, and order of the original manuscripts or its copies was another matter; it was not directly controlled by God but left in the hands of holy prophets, no doubt human and (alas) all too fallible. Several instances might here be mentioned to gauge Mather’s deft handling of textual problems beyond those discussed above. His disquisition on the inconsistencies of the Synoptic Gospels appears at great length in his “Prolegomena to the Harmony of the Gospels,” preceding his commentary on Matthew, but for our introductory purposes here, a brief illustration of Mather’s comparison of the pre- and post-exilic books of the OT must suffice.

⁴⁶ See Spinoza (*TTP* 10.148).

⁴⁷ R. H. W. Elwes’s translation reads, “The whole Divine law, as taught by Scripture, has come down to us uncorrupted. Besides this there are certain facts which we may be sure have been transmitted in good faith. For instance, the main facts of [Hebrew] scripture history, which were perfectly well known to everyone” (*TTP* 173).

⁴⁸ See, for instance, Mather’s endeavor to reconcile the difference in various OT books (BA 1 Chron. 1:1) and his lengthy discussion of the “Harmony of the Gospels,” preceding his commentary on Matthew (ch. 1). In both cases, Mather relies primarily on William Whiston’s research.

Again, his characteristic Q-&-A approach allows him to concentrate on the particular issues at hand without having to abide by the chronological and narrative sequence dictated by conventional commentaries. This dialogic method ideally suits his purpose, for he can add link upon link to his discursive chain of annotations without having to rewrite and edit his earlier comments. All he needs to do is to have his interlocutor pose a new question to send off his respondent on a new errand. The pre-exilic books of the Chronicles evince a particularly egregious number of textual variants especially when compared to post-exilic books such as Ezra, Nehemiah, or Ezekiel. Mather, however, does not silently bypass such conflicts in “Biblia Americana” as many lesser lights chose to do in their commentaries, but he attacks the problem head-on. A case in point is his long introductory commentary on the Chronicles:

Q. What shall be thought of the apparent Inconsistencies, in the Historical Books of the Old Testament written after the Captivity, with several Things in the Books written before? v. 1.

A. Suppose we should grant, That there are some circumstantial *Mistakes* in our *present Copies*. This would not at all affect, the Truth of our *Holy Religion*. For, first, the Mistakes lie in *Little things*, wherein the Articles of our Holy Religion are not at all involved. And Secondly, in *Other Parts* of the Sacred Volumns, we are furnished with sufficient Instructions and Remedies, to rectify these Materials. ... (BA 1 Chron. 1:1)

Mather is more than confident that the vital parts of God’s revelation to mankind – those necessary articles of the Judeo-Christian *ordo salutis* to be believed and practiced for salvation – are not impacted by any textual errors or problems of transmission, no matter how grave. These articles of salvation are woven into the fabric of the whole Bible and can therefore never be lost. “It is Rationally impossible, That the Great *Matters of Fact*, relating to *Moses*, and to JESUS, and the *Mysteries*, and *Commandments*, of Christianity, should be mis-recited” (BA 1 Chron. 1:1). In fact, the essential terms of our salvation are with us now just as much as they were on the day when God first revealed them to man. Does the Word become invalid simply because careless errors have crept into our copies? As the English physician Dr. Nehemiah Grew (1641–1721) put it in his oft-quoted *Cosmologia Sacra* (1701):

God may as well permitt *Errata* in the *Bible*, as in *Nature*. He is as much the Author of the One, as of the Other. Is it then impossible to Distinguish the Divineness of this Book, from that which is Humane? Is the Design or Model of a good Peece of Architecture, to be undervalued, because in the Work there is a Brick or two broken, by the Workmen, or misplaced? If God for sundry Reasons had made Nature capable of producing now and then a Monster, or of making some other Default, shall we disown the Divine Strokes apparent in every Beauty, yea, in every well-shaped Animal? [*italics inverted*] (BA 1r; 1 Chron. 1:1; Grew, *Cosmologia Sacra*, bk. 4, ch. 1, p. 143).

The case is plain. Almighty God is the author of the Book of Nature just as much as he is of the Book of Scripture, and rough drafts and occasional erasures or ellipses in either book diminish neither their grandeur nor do they challenge the belief in their divine origin. No, the Bible is divine “only so far forth, as the Contents hereof were given by God, or transacted in some extraordinary way,” Grew emphasized with LeClerc’s *Sentimens de quelque théologiens* in the back of his mind. “But as it [Bible] was written, and hath been copied, it is, and must be called Humane. So that instead of any ground we have to expect the Copies of a Divine Book, without *Errata*: it’s a great Wonder, there are no more in it, than those we find” (*Cosmologia* 143). Indeed, God permits such challenges to occupy philologists and physico-theologians alike to study the mysteries of scripture and nature more closely than ever before.

Thus reassured, Mather’s readers are prepared to face what comes next. What follows in his commentary on 1 Chronicles, ch. 1, are several leaves in double columns filled with detailed catalogues and tables of textual idiosyncrasies, genealogical errors in numbers, names, lifespan, and sequence of offspring (“begat”), enemies annihilated, fiefdoms conquered, and talents in gold and silver levied on the vanquished as tribute to the victors. He uncovered these problems by collating passages in Genesis with their parallels in the Chronicles, and Chronicles with Ezra, Nehemiah, and Ezekiel. In this process Mather weighs William Whiston (his principal source) against Matthew Poole, Nehemiah Grew, Richard Jenkin, Hugo Grotius, Pierre-Daniel Huet, and August Calmet.⁴⁹ Mather’s position with regard to these issues? “It is an unshaken Principle of our *Faith*, and *Reason* itself teaches us to *Beleeve* it” that God is the author of the Holy Scriptures, for it is here that we can read “his mind and will” in matters of salvation. However, “Tis not a Principle of æqual Assurance; That the Providence of God hath so watched over the Scriptures, as that the *Copies* are præserted, from lesser *Errors* of the Transcribers in Points which do not affect our Salvation, or the Great Articles of Religion; and facts especially, if the Errors are such, as we have means left us to correct, from other Scriptures, that are incontestable” (*BA* 1 Chron. ch. 1). Cotton Mather’s willingness to face facts, then, demonstrates the astounding ways Enlightenment criticism of the Bible had crossed the Atlantic and infiltrated New England’s pulpits long before Jonathan Edwards left his mark on American theology or gathered similar thoughts for his private use in his various “Miscellanies,” “Notes on Scripture,” or “The Blank Bible.”⁵⁰ Mather’s response is all the more remarkable because

⁴⁹ Among Mather’s principal sources here are Whiston’s *A Short View of the Chronology of the Old Testament, and of the Harmony of the Four Evangelists* (Cambridge, 1702), and *Commentaire littéral sur tous les livres de l’Ancien et du Nouveau Testament*. 8 vols (Paris: 1707–16), troisième édition (Paris, 1724–26), by the French Benedictine Dom Augustin Calmet (1672–1757).

⁵⁰ See J. W. Brown, *The Rise of Biblical Criticism in America* (1969); T. H. Olbricht, “Biblical Primitivism in American Biblical Scholarship” (81–98); Robert E. Brown, *Jonathan Edwards*

"Biblia Americana" was intended for publication as a Bible commentary, a digest of the best discoveries, learning, and hermeneutic challenges of his day not commonly found in works of this genre until well into the eighteenth century. To be sure, matters of biblical provenance, philology, and revelation mentioned above were fiercely debated in tracts, pamphlets, monographs, and the polemic literature of the day. However, these controversies had not yet reached the point at which theologians felt confident enough to address them in their vernacular commentaries on the Bible and thus to legitimize their open debate in the congregations and homes of their flocks.

Real or imagined, attacks on the inspiration and certainty of the Bible were deeply unsettling to believers of all stripes. How disquieting such challenges were can be gathered from a variety of contemporary responses. For instance, the philosopher John Locke (1632–1704) shared his alarm with Philipp van Limborch (1633–1712), professor of theology at Amsterdam, and go-between for many English and continental intellectuals. Locke agreed with van Limborch that Jean LeClerc's subversive attack on the Bible's inspiration posed a grave threat to people of faith: "I can readily believe what you say about the Critic's Critic [LeClerc's *Sentimens*]; the moment I came upon that passage in the eleventh letter I seemed to myself to hear cries of protest as if it meant the end of all religion." As Locke saw the epistemological problem, "If everything in holy writ is to be considered without distinction as equally inspired by God, then this surely provides philosophers with a great opportunity for casting doubt on our faith and sincerity. If, on the contrary, certain parts are to be considered as purely human writings, then where in the Scriptures will there be found the certainty of divine authority, without which the Christian religion will fall to the ground?"⁵¹ Richard Kidder (1633–1703), Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, knew only too well what was at stake when he rose in defense of the Pentateuch's Mosaic authorship in his *Commentary on the Five Books of Moses* (London, 1694): "

Mr. *Hobs* in his *Leviathan*, the Author [La Peyrère] of the Book called the *Præadamite*, and *Spinosa* in his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* [profess that] the Five Books, commonly believed to be his [Moses], were never written by him. This matter is of great moment, and that wherein our Common Religion is greatly concerned. It strikes at the very root of it, and calls its Antiquity in question, and leaves the pious Reader at a great loss. For whereas we all own that God spake by *Moses*, yet still

(88–128); John E. Smith, "Puritanism" (195–226); G. R. McDermott, *Jonathan Edwards Confronts the Gods* (17–51); S. J. Stein, "Edwards as Biblical Exegete" (181–95); S. J. Stein's fine editions of *Notes on Scripture* (vol. 15) and *The "Blank Bible"* (vol. 24), T. A. Schafer's edition of "*The Miscellanies*" a-500 (vol. 13), A. Chamberlain's *The "Miscellanies"* 500–832 (vol. 18), A. Plantinga's *The "Miscellanies"* 833–1152 (vol. 20), D. A. Sweeney's *The "Miscellanies"* 1153–1360 (vol. 23) – all part of *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, 26 vols.

⁵¹ Locke's missive to Phillip van Limborch (26 Sept. 1685, # 834), *The Correspondence of John Locke* (2:746–51); the quotation appears on 748–49. See also Locke's strong reservations about "Immediate Inspiration," in *John Locke: Writings on Religion* (37–41).

(if these Men be in the right) we shall be perfectly at a loss for the Author of these Books, and not know whether he were a Servant of God or not. Besides, when the Authors of the New Testament quote *Moses*, and our Saviour appeals to his Writings, we shall however be very uncertain where to find these Writings, if he be not allowed to be the Author of the *Pentateuch*, and so will the Christian Religion suffer at the same time. ("Dissertation," in *Commentary*, p. xxiv).

Far from being a slippery-slope argument to horrify his readers, or an excuse to justify the publication of yet another English commentary, Kidder engages this unholy trinity of critics full force. His balanced refutation is a model for its time.

Kidder's colleague Richard Bentley (1662–1742), master of Trinity College (Cambridge), was no less condemnatory in his commencement address on July 5, 1696. In this age of infidelity and Deist libertinism, Bentley knew first hand, "There are a sort of persons baptized indeed into the Christian Faith, and educated in the profession of it: but in secret ... they oppose it and blaspheme it, repudiating at once the whole authority of Revelation, and debasing the sacred Volumes to the rank of ordinary Books and Ethics."⁵² Philosophers, theologians, and Anglican bishops were not the only ones to express their alarm. Mather's much admired Sir Richard Blackmore, M.D. (1654–1729), member of the Royal College of Physicians and poet extraordinaire (*Diary* 2:105, 141), ably read the writing on the wall, when he lambasted "*Hobbs* and *Spinoza*" for spreading their "contagious Influence" throughout the land. Since the Restoration of the monarchy, Blackmore knew only too well, their "impious Maxims" spread far and wide into every "Coffee-house," where their atheistic principles are "the ordinary Subjects of Conversation." This perversion, Blackmore felt, was to be expected, given the "loose Court" (of Queen Anne) and the people's "Aversion to the former Fanatical Strictness" of the Puritan party during Cromwell's Interregnum.⁵³

Condemnations of this type are legion in the homiletic literature of the period, and much has been written about them. Whether or not they are merely the vociferous denunciations by ecclesiastics (or by an occasional physician-poet) of a real or imagined threat to the survival of religion, they demonstrate a widespread perception of Christianity under siege. Nothing short of the very foundation of the Judeo-Christian religion appeared to be crumbling away, for its superstructure had been reared on the dogma of the Bible as God's authentic revelation to man.⁵⁴ Thus while clergymen invoked divine wrath against the infi-

⁵² Richard Bentley, *Of Revelation and the Messiah* (London, 1696) 4.

⁵³ Richard Blackmore, *Creation. A Philosophical Poem* (London, 1712). "The Preface," xviii, xix, xxi; see also xlv–xlvii.

⁵⁴ Of the many fine studies that have addressed this topic in recent years, see Peter Harrison's *'Religion' and the Religions in the English Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990) 61–98; J.A.I. Champion's *Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken* (1992) and his *Republican Learning*

delity of the age and while the storm gathered polemic strength in the pamphlet warfare against a real or imagined Deist menace,⁵⁵ compilers of commentaries stood aloof as they stuck to their proven (albeit predictable) formulas in controversial matters: they ignored them. If that proved impossible, anachronisms were explained away as foreshadowing or prophecy; and if that did not accomplish the task, textual corruptions were presented as deliberate snags to test one's faith.

"Biblia Americana" and its Competitors

How then does Cotton Mather's American commentary on the Bible measure up to those of his European peers? A comparison of "Biblia Americana" with the most popular commentaries, published in the wake of Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651) to the end of Mather's life (in 1728), suggests that Mather did not exaggerate when he promoted his grand book with the teaser, "Men of *every Religion*, yea, and some of *no Religion* at all, have had *Spoils* taken from them, for the Enriching of this Work." In fact, "Biblia Americana" is indeed a storehouse of "some Hundreds of the *Latest* as well as the *Oldest Writers*" collected from scattered volumes and pamphlets and gathered into "a sort of a *Library*."⁵⁶ The following biblical commentaries (in order of appearance) are the most relevant for the purpose of gauging Mather's place in a distinguished group of commentators: (1) *Synopsis Criticorum Aliorumque S. Scripturae Interpretum* (London, 1669–76), by Matthew Poole (1624–79), an ejected nonconformist and biblical scholar; (2) Matthew Poole's *Annotations upon the Holy Bible* (London, 1683–85); (3) *The Holy Bible ... with Annotations and Parallel Scriptures* (London, 1690), by Samuel Clark (1626–1701), a Puritan clergyman and editor of Poole's *Annotations*; (4) *A Commentary on the First ... [and] Fifth Book of Moses* (London, 1695–1710), by Simon Patrick (1626–1707), Lord Bishop of Ely; (5) Jean LeClerc's *Genesis, sive Mosis Prophetarum liber primus* and *Mosis Prophetarum libri quatuor* (Amsterdam, 1693–96); (6) *A Commentary on the Five Books of Moses* (London, 1694), by Richard Kidder (1633–1703), bishop of Bath and Wells; (7) the deservedly popular *An Exposition of all the Books of the Old and New Testament* (London, 1708–10), by the Presbyterian clergyman Matthew Henry (1662–1714); (8) *Commentaire littéral sur tous les livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament* (1707–1716), by the French Dominican Priest Antoine Augustin Calmet (1672–1757); and finally, (9) *A Paraphrase with Short and Useful Notes on the Books of the Old Testament* (London, 1717), by Thomas

(69–116); J. I. Israel's *Radical Enlightenment* (2001) and its companion *Enlightenment Contested* (2006); and S. J. Barnett's *Enlightenment and Religion* (45–80).

⁵⁵ In *The Enlightenment and Religion* (11–44), Barnett argues convincingly that the deist menace was really a bugbear devised by clerics to rein in their aberrant colleagues.

⁵⁶ Mather, *A New Offer To the Lovers of Religion and Learning* (1714), 8, 4.

Pyle, lecturer at King's Lynn (Norfolk) and Arian disciple of William Whiston. Mather quotes from all of these works at one time or other.⁵⁷

The following table identifies the hermeneutic positions of Mather's colleagues on the philological interpolations in the Pentateuch discussed above (see table on page 146).

These nine most important Bible commentaries written in the wake of Hobbes and Spinoza but before Mather's death in 1728 demonstrate the extent to which Spinozist criticism of the Holy Scriptures as text had proliferated into the farthest corners of the British Empire and across Western Europe. In all fairness, there were other learned and popular (and often reprinted) Bible commentaries during Mather's lifetime such as *Pious Annotations Upon the Holy Bible* (1607; London, 1648; 4th ed. 1664), by the Italian Reformed theologian Giovanni Diodati (1576–1649) of Geneva; or *Annotations on the Pentateuch* (London, 1616–19, 1627, 1639), by Henry Ainsworth (1571–1622), an English Brownist scholar who died in his Dutch exile; or Theodore Haak's *The Dutch Annotations Upon the Old and New Testament* (1637; London, 1657), an English translation of the commentary approved by the Synod of Dort (1618) and first published in 1637; or, most important, *Annotationes in Vetus Testamentum* (1642), by the celebrated Dutch Jurist and theologian Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), who is considered one of the fathers of modern historical criticism of the Bible. Composed well before mid-century, they remain silent on the issues at hand. The nine-volume edition (folio) of the mighty *Critici Sacri, sive doctissimorum virorum in SS. Biblia annotationes, et tractus* (London, 1660), edited by John Pearson et al. and collected by an army of learned doctors of theology, must be mentioned here as well. However, Matthew Poole, whose *Synopsis Criticorum* distills this massive work and appeared almost simultaneously – at less than half the cost of *Critici Sacri* – can speak for both commentaries.⁵⁸ Mather had access to both of these massive collections at Harvard library (*Catalogus Librorum* [1723], pp. 8, 25).

The tabulation of these commentaries thus demonstrates that except for Poole's *Synopsis*, LeClerc's *Mosis*, Calmet's *Commentaire*, and Pyle's *Paraphrase*, virtually all others (re)published during Mather's lifetime either ignored the textual problems altogether, glossed them as prophetic foreshadowing of later events, resorted to supernatural agency, or outright denied later interpolations. Pearson's *Critici Sacri*, Poole's *Synopsis*, LeClerc's *Mosis*, and Calmet's *Com-*

57 Basil Hall's "Biblical Scholarship" (3:38–93) and "Appendix II to the Study of the Bible Commentaries" (3:531–35). Although dated by our standards, the entry on "Commentaries," in *Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature*, is still a very useful tool and is now easily accessible through Ages Software, Inc. www.ageslibrary.com (2000).

58 On the expense of printing Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum*, see S. A. Allibone's *Critical Dictionary* (2:1622). The Rev. Dr. Steven Dilday deserves tremendous praise for currently translating and publishing Poole's *Synopsis*, in *The Exegetical Labors of the Reverend Matthew Poole* (Culpeper, VA: Master Poole Publishing, 2007–).

	Poole, <i>Synopsis</i>	Poole, <i>Annotat.</i>	Clark, <i>Annotat.</i>	Patrick, <i>Comment.</i>	LeClerc, <i>Mosis</i>	Kidder, <i>Comment.</i>	M. Henry, <i>Exposition</i>	Calmet, <i>Comment.</i>	T. Pyle, <i>Paraphr.</i>
Genesis 12: 6	anticipat.	anticip.	anticip.	anticip. denies inter- polation	Anticip. or inter- polation	denies inter- polation	—	interpolated by Ezra.	interpolat- ion or prophecy
Genesis 14: 14	anticipat. or inter- polation	anticip.	—	denies interpolat- ion	interpolat- ion / true name	denies inter- polation	—	interpolated	inter- polation
Genesis 36: 31	prophecy	prophecy	prophecy	prophecy; denies interpolat.	inter- polation	denies inter- polation	—	expendable interpolation	inter- polation by Ezra
Numbers 12: 3	Self-praise or inter- polation	self-praise	self-praise	self-praise, denies interpolat.	inter- polation	denies inter- polation	—	Self-praise; rejects interpolation	—
Numbers 21: 14	Lost song, or diary of Moses	non- canonical poem or narrative	—	Moses quotes Amalekite Book	inter- polation	denies inter- polation	—	possible citation of Amalekite book	not lost, but inserted in history books
Deut. 34: 6	Prophetic; or insert by Josh-or Ezra	God hides sepulcher	Type of Christ; or hides tomb	angel hides tomb; or later inter- polation	inter- polation	denies inter- polation	—	possible interpolation	Mosaic proph- ecy or interpo- lation by Ezra

mentaire were virtually inaccessible to all but the learned (requiring Latin or French) or the well-heeled with personal copies of these multivolume folios or access to college libraries. Commentaries in English by Matthew Poole, Samuel Clark, Simon Patrick, Richard Kidder, Matthew Henry, and Thomas Pyle differ from their Latin and French companions in interesting ways. Unlike his *Synopsis Criticorum*, Poole's *Annotations* in English disallows interpolations – if he acknowledges them as such in the first place. Perhaps following Poole's example, Samuel Clark either ignores the problem altogether or resorts to supernatural agency. Simon Patrick's *Commentary*, perhaps the most scholarly of the English language commentaries of the period, denies the presence of interpolations except in the case of Moses's burial and lost tomb, which (so Patrick) was probably effected by angels to keep the Israelites from idolizing Moses's relics – if the episode was not a redactor's post-factum insertion in the first place. Only Jean LeClerc's commentary on *Genesis* was available in an English translation as a summary or excerpt, but *The Twelve Dissertations out of Monsieur Le Clerc's Genesis* (London, 1696) were all the more powerfully subversive. Significantly, LeClerc's *Genesis* is Mather's principal source for textual interpolations. Richard Kidder's *Commentary on the Five Books of Moses* (1694) denies outright any interpolations, in his annotations on the Pentateuch. Much to his credit, however, the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells prefaces his commentary with a full-scale refutation of the twenty-two most egregious textual problems raised by Hobbes, La Peyrère, Fisher, and Spinoza. Kidder does so ably and effectively with the least amount of invective or name-calling when compared to tracts and pamphlets that were devoted to the same task. Matthew Henry's all-time favorite *Exposition of all the Books of the Old and New Testament* (London, 1708–10) is exemplary for its warmth, detail, and lucid annotations, yet not for addressing historical-philological problems – let alone interpolations.⁵⁹ In all fairness to Henry as a thorough commentator, it must be acknowledged that he does briefly touch upon the subject in his introduction to Joshua and to 1 Samuel. In both places Henry appears to concede to Richard Simon that the historical books of the OT were probably “*Collections of the Authentick Records of the Nation*” put together by some unspecified prophets and by much later hands yet under divine guidance.⁶⁰ Dom Antoine August Calmet's *Commentaire littéral* (French: 1707–16; Latin, 1734) became the basis for his celebrated *Dictionnaire historique et critique de la Bible* (1730), but this magnificent compendium is known for its emphasis on the literal sense and its conservative approach to biblical criticism. Finally, Thomas Pyle's *Paraphrase* is an intriguing hybrid. An outspoken anti-

59 As H. O. Old acknowledges, “Critical concerns interested him [Matthew Henry] little. Problems of the historical reliability of Scripture, the harmony of the different documents and the authors to which they were to be attributed were beyond his scope of interest” (“Matthew Henry” 198).

60 Matthew Henry, *An Exposition Of the Historical Books of the OT* (London, 1708), sign. B.

trinitarian like William Whiston (Pyle's teacher), Pyle lists LeClerc as his source in all cases of interpolations, but does not follow him slavishly. Pyle supplies his readers with a paraphrase of the biblical text and succinct discussions of critical issues in footnotes. These commentaries, then, were the major competitors with which Mather's "Biblia Americana" had to contend in the publishing market of the time. As time progressed toward the middle of the eighteenth century, the historical-textual criticism sponsored by Hobbes, La Peyrère, and Spinoza became a more or less ordinary (if necessary) point of annotation in all but the most pious commentaries that emulated the example of Matthew Henry. Based on this fair sampling alone, it is safe to conclude that "Biblia Americana" not only kept abreast of the latest intellectual developments in Europe, but also adopted and adapted the avant-garde scholarship of the early Enlightenment whenever and wherever it had to be reconciled with his Reformed, but progressively interdenominational, position under the auspices of Halle Pietism.⁶¹ He clearly spurned the narrow partisanship of "the Mean, Little, Narrow Souls, that know no *Religion*, but that of a *Party*, and their *Secular Interest*" (*Manuductio* 129).⁶² More important issues were involved than could be solved by gazing at one's own navel.

Modern students of theology may smile at such pedestrian debates of a bygone era. Measured by what are now widely considered hermeneutic commonplaces culminating long ago in Johann Gottfried Eichorn's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1780–83), or in Julius Wellhausen's *Die Composition des Hexateuchs* (1876–78) and *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (1878), the historical-textual disputes about the Bible's inerrancy and verbal inspiration in the early Enlightenment seem little more than tempests in a teapot. But that is not the point. After all, we must guard against our Whiggish inclinations to judge the standards of the past by the hindsight afforded to a much later age. When umpired by the contemporaneous benchmark of its European competitors, "Biblia Americana" delivers much more than what Mather promised in his handbill *New Offer to the Lovers of Religion and Learning* (Boston, 1714). The revised advertisement appearing at the end of Samuel Mather's biography *The Life of the Very Reverend and Learned Cotton Mather* (Boston, 1729) reflects the significant changes Cotton had undertaken in the last fifteen years of his life.⁶³

61 See R. F. Lovelace, *American Pietism* (32–72); O. Scheiding's important corrective in his forthcoming essay "The World as Parish"; and W. Splitter's "Fact and Fiction" (102–22).

62 Mather's handbook for ministers *Manuductio ad Ministerium* (Boston, 1726) was a much prized and oft-reprinted resource for American clergymen until the early 19th century.

63 See my discussion in Section 1 of this introduction.

Were the Ancient Prophets Divinely Inspired?

Closely related to the debate on biblical authorship is the controversy about the nature and function of inspiration as they are described in the Bible. God's divine communication with man is central to all creeds founded on supernatural revelation. The Judeo-Christian religion is no exception. If God spoke to man through dreams, voices, visions, and angelic visitations, and if holy men and women were particularly apt to be the medium for such communications in moments of religious ecstasy, why were some prophets, seers, and soothsayers more prone than others to be conduits of God's revelation to man? Why did God's oracles speak more frequently and fully in ancient than in modern times? Did divine revelation suddenly cease in the third or fourth century of the Common Era because the Bible was now completed as is generally claimed, or does God still converse with man today?⁶⁴ Questions of this nature were particularly rife in mid-seventeenth-century England when the authority, inspiration, and interpretation of scripture prophecies seemed much on the minds of the faithful. Fifth Monarchists, Ranters, Quakers, Levelers, Muggletonians, the French Prophets – the whole lunatic fringe – seemed unleashed upon the Puritan Commonwealth in the turmoil of the 1640s and 50s. Many tried single-handedly to usher in the Second Coming through spiritual transformation, the conversion of the Jews, or an all-out war on the Roman Antichrist in Ireland, France, or Rome itself.⁶⁵

The decapitated corpse of Charles I was barely cold when royalist Thomas Hobbes thrust his *Leviathan, or The Matter, Forme, & Power of a Common-Wealth Ecclesiasticall and Civill* (London, 1651) into this hotbed of anarchy, when England was on the verge of plunging into the abyss. The only way out of this pandemonium was to return political and ecclesiastical power into the firm hands of the crown. As Hobbes saw it, chaos could only be averted if monarchy was restored to rule the commonwealth. After all it is through the king's power and authority that social order is safeguarded.⁶⁶ The alternative? A Christian commonwealth whose nature and rights "dependeth much upon Supernaturall Revelations of

⁶⁴ Mather does believe that divine revelation ceased in the 4th c. CE when the Bible was closed, in Mather's first essay "I. Vates. Or, Some Remarks upon the Spirit of Prophecy" (27), appended to *BA* (following Revelation).

⁶⁵ See such mainstays as L. R. Froom, *Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers* (1946–54); N. Cohn, *Pursuit of the Millennium* (1970); P. Toon, *Puritans, The Millennium and the Future of Israel* (1970); B. S. Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men* (1972); C. Hill, *The World Turned Upside down* (1975); J. F. Maclear, "New England and the Fifth Monarchy" (223–60); H. Schwartz, *The French Prophets* (1980); J. C. Davis, *Fear, Myth and History* (1986); J. Holstun, *A Rational Millennium* (1987); D. S. Katz and R. H. Popkin, *Messianic Revolution* (1999); R. Smolinski, "Apocalypticism in Colonial North America" (36–71).

⁶⁶ S. Mintz's *The Hunting of the Leviathan* (1962) is still eminently useful to gauge the reactions of Hobbes contemporaries. Unless otherwise noted, all references to Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651) are to Richard Tuck's edition (see note 13, above).

the Will of God," which in turn depends on the fallible interpretations of man (*Leviathan* 3.32.255). The best way to reestablish balance and reason, therefore, was to return miter and scepter into the hands of the king as God's representative on earth. Not at all surprisingly, then, Hobbes tried to accomplish the restoration of royal authority by casting aspersions on the integrity of the Bible, on the specific means through which God communicated his will to man. If problems of textual corruption and transmission were not enough to breach the walls of the Bible's mighty fortress, Hobbes cunningly set up his Trojan horse to pry the gates open from within. Frequently omitted from modern editions of *Leviathan*, parts 3 and 4 of this work are central to Hobbes's agenda to destabilize the Bible's claim to divine origin. "Why wee beleieve the Bible to be the Word of God, is much disputed," the sage of Malmsbury knowingly pointed at the core issue. Faith in the Bible is God's gift and affects each believer differently (*Leviathan* 3.43.405). It is likely that Hobbes had the *Westminster Confession* (1647), ch. 1, art. V, in mind when he pointed at the subjective nature of the Bible's authority. This consensus document between Presbyterians and Independents had made faith and assurance in the Bible's "infallible Truth and Divine Authority" a function of Grace: "the inward work of the holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the Word in our hearts" (Walker, *Creeds* 368). The scriptures therefore must be read with an inner eye of faith, which in itself is opened through saving Grace in the heart of God's elect. Grace, in turn, predisposes the chosen to read the Bible spiritually – not with cold calculating reason searching for contradictions! But the question is not "*Why we Beleeve*" in the scriptures' infallible truth, Hobbes continued to probe this issue, "but, *How we Know it*" to be the Word of God. We must not act "as if *Beleeving* and *Knowing* were all one" (*Leviathan* 3.43.405–06). This was the touchstone upon which all depended.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Hobbes was not alone in his efforts to dismantle the Bible's authority. For ends quite different from each other, he found himself in bed with Samuel Fisher (1605–66), an English Baptist turned radical Quaker, whose nine-hundred page *Rusticus Ad Academicos* (1660) was the most sophisticated work yet to identify and itemize problems with the Bible's authenticity, textual redaction, transmission, and canonicity; it has much in common with Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (1670) published a decade later. In his *Rusticus*, Fisher dismisses the Bible's textual authenticity on much the same grounds as Hobbes does: It is absurd to argue, as the *Westminster Confession* does (ch. 1, art. VIII), that "the *Letter* is immediately come to us from God without interveniency of any Medium obnoxious to fallibility, the *Text* is not capable to be altered, nor is altered in one Tittle so, but that its intirely the same that it was in every *Point*, *Syllable* and *Jota*." The Bible as we have it today is "a *Bulk of Heterogeneous* Writings, compiled together by men, taking what they could find of the several sorts of Writings, that are therein, and trussing them all up into one *Touch-stone*, crowding them into a *Canon*, or *Standard* for the trial of all *Spirits*, *Doctrines*, *Truths*, and by them alone" (*Rusticus*, "The Second Apologetical and Expository Exercitation," ch. 5, p. 143; "The Third Apologetical and Expostulatory Exercitation," ch. 2, p. 25 [separate pagination]); Fisher refers to the Westminster Confession (W. Walker, *Creeds* 369). For discussions of Fisher's contributions to the debate about the historical criticism of the Bible, see C. Hill, *World Turned Upside Down* (259–68); R. H. Popkin, "Spinoza and Samuel Fisher" (219–36); and N. McDowell, *The English Radical Imagination* (137–70).

The modes of God's communication with man as related in scriptures are well known, and few openly dared to question the certainty of his revelations before *Leviathan*. Hobbes's fresh discussion of faculty psychology and its epistemological connection with supra-rational occurrences is a milestone in the study of human perception (*Leviathan*, "Of Man"). How does man perceive his surroundings, construct his reality, and distinguish between internal and external stimuli – let alone their natural or supernatural origin? How do existential crises, creeds, and the malleable ideas of God's nature shape man's response to inexplicable phenomena in a world he believes to be populated with spirits, demons, angels, and powerful forces locked in combat for the heart and soul of man? To be sure, Hobbes did not question divine revelation as such, but distrusted man's ability to distinguish between external impulse and wishful thinking. Hobbes's misgivings are grounded in part in the Cartesian mechanism of corpuscular motion and the untrustworthiness of our senses. Paraphrasing René Descartes, Hobbes claims that external objects make impressions on our senses, and by pressing on the inward nerves and membranes leading to the brain and heart cause resistance, which motion we attribute to the innate qualities of external objects. These qualities, however, are nothing else but motions of matter pressing on our senses, producing counter-motions and appearing to our fancy as light, sound, odor, savor, or feeling. Moreover, since rubbing our eyes makes us imagine a light, and pressing our ears makes us fancy a din in the same manner as external objects do when they act upon our senses through unobserved motion, Hobbes found proof that the observer's imagination forms an image of the external object, like a reflection in a mirror or an echo of a sound. "Yet still the object is one thing, the image or fancy is another. So that Sense in all cases, is nothing els but originall fancy, caused ... by the pressure, that is, by the motion, of externall things upon our Eyes, Eares, and other organs thereunto ordained" (*Leviathan* 1.1.14). Hobbes used the terms *imagination* and *fancy* interchangeably. They denote to him the formation of mental images of something neither perceived as real nor present to the senses. Over time, he argues, these mental images are obscured by stronger or more recent sensory impressions, by the weakness of the imagination, or by the distempers of the body, and thus fade into memory. The faculty of memory is therefore but the storehouse of our decaying sensory impressions and degenerating images that are most untrustworthy when compounded in dreams and distorted by such passions as love, hate, fear, and desire. Properly considered, dreams and visions are but "a Fiction of the Mind" and "the reverse of our waking Imaginations" (*Leviathan* 1.1.16, 17–18).⁶⁸

With this epistemological matrix in place in the opening chapters of *Leviathan*, Hobbes sets out to critique God's communication with his prophets, seers, and holy men as related in the Bible:

⁶⁸ See also *Leviathan* (1.1.15–17 and 1.8.54).

To say he [God] hath spoken to him [the prophet] in a Dream, is no more then [sic] to say he hath dreamt that God spake to him; which is not of force to win beleef from any man, that knows dreams are for the most part naturall, and may proceed from former thoughts; and such dreams as that, from self conceit, and foolish arrogance, and false opinion of mans own godliness, or other vertue, by which he thinks he hath merited the favour of extraordinary Revelation. To say that he hath seen a Vision, or heard a Voice, is to say that he hath dreamed between sleeping and waking: for in such manner a man doth many times naturally take his dream for a vision, as not having well observed his own slumbering. To say he speaks by supernatural Inspiration, is to say he finds an ardent desire to speak, or some strong opinion of himself, for which he can alledge no naturall and sufficient reason. So that though God Almighty can speak to a man, by Dreams, Visions, Voice, and Inspiration; yet he obliges no man to beleieve he hath done to him that pretends it; who (being a man) may erre, and (which is more) may lie. (*Leviathan* 3.32.257)

This rationalist approach, so disarmingly logical and yet so frighteningly subversive, clearly indicates how Hobbes downgraded the means of God's revelation to a natural function of man's hyperactive imagination, delusion, or worse, conniving ambition. This is not to say that Hobbes questioned outright God's ability or will to communicate with man in dreams, visions, voices, or through supernatural inspiration. Rather, Hobbes emphasized the uncertainty and irrational nature of such occurrences, which, because rooted in man's sensory experience, are problematic and therefore inadmissible proof of "absolute knowledge of Fact, past, or to come," because "knowledge of Fact . . . is originally, Sense; and ever after, Memory" (*Leviathan* 1.7.47). For Hobbes, then, faith unless grounded on demonstrable evidence, on clear and certain knowledge that God had indeed communicated with his prophets, is too erratic to be trustworthy. Rather, for Hobbes, belief in the certainty of revelation is a function of *unverifiable* Grace, of subjective conviction, ecclesiastical dogma and tradition, and little more than dependence on the character and credibility of the prophet with whom God is to have spoken thousands of years ago. If we take for truth the utterances of a purported prophet whose character we deem trustworthy, we merely have "an opinion of the veracity of the man," of the honesty and piety of the speaker. But that in itself is neither empirical proof of fact, nor of the truth of the utterance, nor of its divine origin – let alone its epistemological signification. Absolute certainty therefore remains unattainable and indelibly linked with the credibility of the prophet who is the only one who truly knows if God did speak to him (*Leviathan* 1.7.48, 49). In this way, then, the authority of the Bible's inspiration and God's revelation to man are subject to man's fallible reason, his passions, worse to the whims of reputation.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ If anachronistic references be allowed in this context, Thomas Paine's subversive *The Age of Reason* (1794, 1796) illustrates the danger to which Hobbes's argument could lead: "Revelation, when applied to religion, means something communicated *immediately* from God to man. No one will deny or dispute the power of the Almighty to make such a communication, if he

The ancient prophets were apparently well aware of this inherent danger and therefore did *not* accept purported revelations on faith alone. So, too, the subjective nature of prophetic dreams and visions and the danger of mistaking them for divine revelations are all the more apparent, because the Bible requires would-be prophets to attest their illumination through external means such as conformity to the law of Moses as well as signs and miracles testifying to supernatural agency (Deut. 13:1–5).⁷⁰ Such empirical tests for establishing certainty, however, were not foolproof either as it turns out. The Hebrew and Christian Bibles abound with tales of false prophets performing miracles and of true prophets failing to carry out God's mission. The case of the prophet Micaiah is particularly telling. Micaiah was the only true prophet out of 400 whom the King of Israel consulted in the war against Ramoth Gilead (1 Kings 22). Yet on returning from his mission to prophesy against Jeroboam's bovine altar, Micaiah fell prey to the lies of an older prophet (1 Kings 13). "If one Prophet deceive another," chafed Hobbes, "what certainty is there of knowing the will of God, by [any] other way than that of Reason?" (*Leviathan* 3.32.257). Therefore, *believing* that the Bible is the Word of God and *knowing* that it is indeed so are two entirely different issues, especially when ecclesiastical dogma puts a premium on accepting its teachings on faith (*Leviathan* 3.43.405, 406). Caveats of this nature abound in *Leviathan* and had the potential of turning shaken believers into outright skeptics. Hobbes succeeded in dismantling biblical authority by subjecting it to the standard of human reason, and yet, ironically, he also rehabilitated the Bible by making its authority dependent on the decrees of the civil ruler. After all, he did not want to pour out the baby with the bathwater. If the king orders that the Bible be the Word of God, Hobbes declared, all subjects are bound to observe its strictures in accordance with the laws of the land. Hobbes's remarkable U-turn is perhaps not all that surprising if we remember that his *Leviathan* appeared just two years after the Puritan regicides seemed to have put an end to the English monarchy once and for all. Perhaps he simply tried to restore order by discrediting fanatics who justified their political agendas in terms of end-time visions and prophetic foreshadowing and abrogation – by violence, if necessary.

Benedict Spinoza, Hobbes's Dutch contemporary, was even more sweeping in his critique of the Bible, for Spinoza did not wrest biblical authority out of the hands of the Church only to deliver it into the hands of the civil ruler.

pleases. But admitting, for the sake of a case, that something has been revealed to a certain person, and not revealed to any other person, it is revelation to that person only. When he tells it to a second person, a second to a third, a third to a fourth, and so on, it ceases to be a revelation to all those persons. It is revelation to the first person only, and *hearsay* to every other person, and consequently they are not obliged to believe it." In P.S. Foner, *The Life and Major Writings of Thomas Paine* (465–66). For a useful discussion of Paine's views on religion, see E. H. Davidson and W. J. Scheick's *Paine, Scripture, and Authority* (1994).

70 See also *Leviathan* (3.36.298–302); Spinoza (*TTP* 2.29).

Rather, he reduced its venerable authority to a function of morality and personal choice. "What is prophecy?" Spinoza asked at the opening of his *Theological-Political Tractate*, and like Hobbes he immediately struck at the foundation of the Bible's claim to authority (*TTP*, "The Preface" 8). At home in classical Hebrew like few of his contemporaries and versed in the customs and superstitions of ancient Israel, Spinoza assailed the common misconception of his time that every "yod and tittle" in the Bible had been dictated by God. The ancient writers were not endowed with "superhuman minds." They were completely ignorant about secondary causes (*TTP* 1.14). In ascribing even the most natural phenomena to the mystery of God, they were doing no more than their pagan neighbors who were worshipping other gods. We must therefore not assume that everything in the Bible is a divine revelation merely because pious writers ignorantly refer all things to God. The hyperbolic language and tumid metaphors of the ancient prophets are indicative of their "unusually vivid imagination," not, however, of their "unusually perfect minds" (*TTP* 2.27). Quite to the contrary, Solomon, universally regarded as the wisest of men, had no special aptitude for prophecy. In fact, the more educated a person, the less likely he is given to prophesying. "Men of great imaginative power are less fitted for abstract reasoning." This proved the case because learned men "who excel in intellect and its use keep their imagination more restrained and controlled, holding it in subjection, so to speak, lest it should usurp the place of reason" (*TTP* 2.27). Spinoza suggested that education is actually detrimental to receiving divine revelation: Pious devotion, a hyperactive imagination, and a volatile temperament are the prophets' chief qualifications for their office. They neither possess rare insight into natural or spiritual phenomena, nor do they become more learned by supernatural inspiration, nor do they ever relinquish any of their former prejudices. "We are, therefore, not at all bound to trust them in matters of intellect" and should not turn to them for knowledge about natural causality, because their certitude "was not mathematical ... but only moral" (*TTP* 2.33, 38).

Far from validating the prophets' sacred office, Spinoza challenged his contemporaries' deep hankering for prophecies and revelations. To Spinoza, supernatural revelation is the least trustworthy of all forms of human knowledge. Even the Bible demands confirmation by signs. Yet these signs and wonders were not uniformly accepted either, Spinoza pointed out, because they varied greatly and depended on the opinions and capacity of each prophet and, except in the case of Moses, were witnessed only by a few individuals. Besides, whatever the ancients could not explain, they esteemed a prodigy and a miracle, when in truth such signs were little more than natural phenomena of which the secondary causes were not easily understood (*TTP* 2.28–29, 6.84). Even the tenor of divine revelation was subject to the prophet's personal disposition and temperament and varied according to his mood, cultivation of mind, and background: "If a prophet was cheerful, victories, peace, and events which make

men glad, were revealed to him; in that he was naturally more likely to imagine such things. If, on the contrary, he was more melancholy, wars, massacres, and calamities were revealed; and so according as the prophet was merciful, gentle, quick to anger, or severe, he was more fitted for one kind of revelation than another" (*TTP* 2.30). We must therefore not mistake the prophet's personal prejudices or mood for universal truths. His own bodily humors are responsible for the attributes of his visions; his choice of metaphors and images is shaped by his rusticity, and the style of his language (rude or refined, courtly or plebeian), is informed by his upbringing rather than divine dictation. Spinoza did not neglect any opportunity to explain away the mysteries of the Bible in terms of the peculiarity of ancient Jewish customs, personal idiosyncrasies, and historical context – rational modes of explication that he incorporated in his universal rules of interpreting scripture (*TTP* 2.31, 7.99–104). In demystifying scripture, he invested human reason with the kind of power that his contemporaries ascribed to God alone (*TTP* 15.190–99).

Counterattacks on the Hobbists and Spinozists of the day were not long in coming, but the pros and cons of the debate are well known and need not here be rehearsed in great detail.⁷¹ For our purposes, it is sufficient to illustrate briefly how the defenders of the Faith responded to this form of heterodoxy, especially when real or imagined sacrilege masqueraded in defense of true religion. These wolves in sheep's clothing – ostensibly opposed to the pandemic of irreligion – were now spreading the contagion wherever they could. Charles Blount's anonymously published *Miracles, No Violations of the Laws of Nature* (London, 1683) is a case in point. The title of this tract easily catches the unsuspecting reader off guard in more ways than one: It poses as an attack against Deism by promising evidence that miracles *can* be reconciled with the immutable laws of nature, but supplies the reader with little more than an anthology of translated excerpts from Thomas Burnet, Hobbes, and Spinoza – without the least hint that the reader is actually perusing extracts from known heretics. Thomas Brown's *Miracles Work's Above and Contrary to Nature* (London, 1683) and Matthias Earbery's *An Answer to a Book Intituled Tractatus Theologico Politicus* (London, 1697) pursue similar aims. Although a typical apologetic dialogue between an orthodox divine and a Spinozist, Earbery allows the latter more space to air his convictions than to the former whose predictable answers are lukewarm. Claude Groteste de La Mothe (1647–1713), Reformed minister and refugee in England after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), perhaps best summarizes the dilemma in his *Inspiration of the New Testament Asserted and Explain'd in Answer to some Modern Writers* (London, 1694): "I know no body that has more formally assail'd the Inspiration of the Sacred Books of the New Testament," he protested against the anonymous author of *Sentimens de quelques*

71 See S. Mintz, *Hunting*, and R. L. Colie, "Spinoza in England"

Théologiens de Hollande sur L'Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament (Amsterdam, 1685).⁷² “*Spinos*a led the way of the same Undertaking; but there was little heed given to that Author, because all Men knew he had no Religion. . . . But *M. N.* has given a more subtle and more dangerous Air to *Spinos*a's Notions and has digested them into a System” (La Mothe 9–10). The danger, as La Mothe saw it, lay in the systematic way in which this Monsieur “*N.*” went about his business. Jean LeClerc's anonymously published epistolary discourse – as mentioned above – posed as a repudiation of Richard Simon's heretical *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (1678), but did more damage than it proposed to repair. As is often the case in fictional dialogues between opponents, LeClerc furnished his ministerial colleague Monsieur *N.* with arguments more trenchant and volatile *against* the trustworthiness of biblical inspiration than LeClerc's own tepid and hollow response to his Dutch friend mustered in the Bible's defense. There were many who immediately recognized LeClerc's distinct hand in the matter and accused him of heresy, but he never admitted to any wrongdoing.⁷³ What is important to recognize here is that the critics of LeClerc's *Sentimens* were outraged by his cunning, yet in engaging his line of reasoning on his own grounds they did more to spread LeClerc's ideas than to curb them. As will be demonstrated below, Cotton Mather in faraway America condemned the anonymous *Sentimens* for its author's irreligion, but adapted and embedded many of LeClerc's thoughts in his own “*Biblia Americana*.” If nothing else, Mather's response illustrates that he moved away from rigid orthodoxy by embracing an ameliorated position on the crucial issue of verbal inspiration. But more of this later.

In *Sentimens*, Monsieur *N.* (who denies being a Deist) does not doubt that the biblical prophets dreamed dreams, saw visions, and heard voices, but argues that we cannot be sure if they wrote down (by dictation) exactly what they dreamed, heard, and saw; or if the prophets merely wrote down from memory and in their own idiom the sense or ideas of what they heard and saw or, indeed, if they only related their supernatural experience to their disciples

72 Many who watched from the sidelines were eager to join the fray. Most notable among them were the Anglican theologian William Lowth (1661–1732), whose *A Vindication of the Divine Authority and Inspiration of the Old and New Testament* (London, 1692, 1699) became the principal parapet against LeClerc's denigration of verbal inspiration; and Bishop John Williams (1626–1709) of Chichester delivered the prestigious Boyle lecture series for 1695–96 as a defense of the divine inspiration of the Holy Scripture. See his *Divine Authority of the Scriptures* (1695), *The Possibility, Expediency, and Necessity of Divine Revelation* (1695), *The Certainty of Divine Revelation* (1696), *The Characters of Divine Revelation* (1696). In this debate must be included Mather's oft-quoted Robert Jenkin's *Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion* (1698), *A Brief Confutation of the Pretences Against Natural & Revealed Religion* (1702), and John Lacy's *The General Delusion of Christians, Touching the Ways of God's revealing Himself, To, and By the Prophets* (1713). Justin A. I. Champion sheds much light on this controversy in his fine essay “‘Acceptance to inquisitive men’: Some Simonian Contexts for Newton's Biblical Criticism, 1680–1692” (77–96).

73 See F. Stummer, *Bedeutung* (69–85) and S. Müller, *Kritik und Theologie* (62–79).

who recorded their masters' own words upon recollection. How else are we to explain the stylistic diversity among the different prophets? "There is, for example, much difference between the Stiles of *Isaiah* and *Amos*." M. N. echoes Spinoza's identical argument (*TTP* 2:31). "*Isaiah's* manner of writing is high and lofty. On the contrary, that of *Amos* is low and vulgar; and we find in it diverse popular Expressions, and many Proverbs, which sufficiently testify that this Prophet, who was a Shepherd, expressed after his own way what God had said to him" (LeClerc, *Five Letters* 16). Surely, God would not speak to one of his prophets as a king does, and to another like an uncouth peasant? Lest this argument sounded blasphemous, or at least dangerously novel, M. N. cited St. Jerome and Dutch legal scholar Hugo Grotius in support of their similar claims.⁷⁴ According to this evidence, then, God only inspires prophets with his *general ideas* but allows his messengers to relay the information in their own native idiom. If this is true, exegetes must refrain from subjecting peculiar phrases and linguistic mannerisms to their hermeneutical spirals or fourfold method – literal, allegorical, tropological, anagogical. Even the much preferred literal or grammatical sense is then liable to happenstance if the signified is no longer rooted in the divine origin of the signifier.

Two Decalogues

Perhaps more puzzling than the differences in elevated and colloquial diction in Isaiah and Amos are the perplexing disagreement in the two versions of the Decalogue given in Exodus (20:8–11) and in Deuteronomy (5:12–15). Since God is identified as the speaker in both instances, should we not expect him to use the same phrases and the same rationale for giving his commandments? For instance, in Exod. 20:8, God decrees, "Remember the Sabbath day, to keepe it holy," but in Deut. 5:12, we are told to "Keepe the Sabbath day to sanctifie it, as the LORD thy God hath commanded thee." Likewise, Exod. 20:10 differs from the same commandment in Deut. 5:14 in that in the former none is allowed to do any work: neither "thou, nor thy sonne, nor thy daughter, thy man servant, nor thy mayd servant, nor thy cattell, nor thy stranger that *is* within thy gates." But in the latter book, the list is much different. Here it reads, none should work, neither "thou, nor thy sonne, nor thy daughter, nor thy man servant, nor thy maid servant, nor thine oxe, nor thine asse, nor any of thy cattell, nor thy stranger that *is* within thy gates, that thy man servant and thy maid servant may rest as well as thou." Most perplexing of all, we learn in Exodus that God

⁷⁴ See Jerome's *Commentariorum in Amos Prophetam Libri tres*, "Prologus" and Cap. 3:12, 13 [PL 025. 0990; 1020A-B]. Hugo Grotius, *Annotationes* (1642) on Matthew 1:22, in *Opera Omnia Theologica* (1679), tom. 2, vol. 1 p. 14. (lines 46–54).

instituted the Sabbath, because he created the world in six days and rested on the seventh (Exod. 20:11), but in Deuteronomy we are told to keep the Sabbath in remembrance of the Israelites' delivery from Egyptian slavery: "And remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the LORD thy God brought thee out thence, through a mightie hand, and by a stretched out arme: Therefore the LORD thy God commaunded thee to keepe the Sabbath day" (Deut. 5:15). In light of this discrepancy, M. N. opines (according to LeClerc) that "either *Moses* in *Deuteronomy*, or the Author of the Book of *Exodus*, did not tie themselves scrupulously to exact words, as the Jews now a-days do; altho both these Authors bring in God speaking personally" (*Five Letters* 17, 18). It therefore seems clearer than the sun at noonday that "the Holy Spirit never tied it self up to words, as many of our Divines do now a-days. He only promoted the Holy Pen-men to give us the true sense of the Words that God made use of to make the Prophets understand his Will; and it is only in respect to the sense, and to the things, that the Apostles [in the NT] assure us that they were inspired by God" (*Five Letters* 20). And if we add to these difficulties tangible proof that even the four Evangelists frequently disagree amongst themselves about what they saw and heard or what Christ meant (*Five Letters* 33–34), we cannot but conclude that their inspiration was neither habitual nor permanent, but merely occasional and temporary. From all of these many instances, M. N. argues, it is patently obvious that divine providence "has preserv'd inviolably nothing but the Sense" of the Holy Scriptures. Yet "it has suffer'd Men to put in Synonymous Words one for another; and not hinder'd the slipping in of a great many Varieties, little considerable as to the Sense, but remarkable as to the Words and Order." In Matthew, for instance, there are "more than a thousand diverse Readings in less than eleven hundred Verses; but whereof there is not perhaps fifty, that can make any changes in the Sense; and that change too is but in things of little importance to piety." Had God deemed it essential to dictate every word to the writers of the Holy Scriptures, "he would undoubtedly have taken more care to preserve them." Evidence of this nature therefore demonstrates that "neither the Words, nor the things, have been inspir'd into those who have given us the Sacred History; although in the main that History is very true in the principal Facts" (*Five Letters* 38–39). Quite obviously, Jean LeClerc was satisfied with nothing less than total demolition of the belief in verbal inspiration, a widespread superstition (his supporters argued) that caused untold quarrels and sectarian strife in the Christian Church.⁷⁵

This demolition, then, appears to be the principal aim of Jean LeClerc's anonymous *Sentimens*, which created considerable uproar among the faithful

⁷⁵ See note 67 above. The Irish clergyman William Carroll invokes the specter of Spinozism in his vitriolic attack on their Dutch colleague Jean LeClerc, in *Spinoza Reviv'd* (1709) and *Spinoza Reviv'd. Part the Second* (1711).

even before the work was abridged and translated into English and appeared as *Five Letters Concerning the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures* (1690). It may be compelling to fault human error, inept copyists, deficient transmission, or the wear and tear of time, for the many problems of textual variants and lacunae, yet it is quite another to impugn the Holy Spirit for caring little about the words, but only about the ideas. The debate about the epistemological certainty of revelation was sufficiently volatile to draw in more and more participants. In the American hemisphere, Cotton Mather adjusted to this crisis of confidence by working out the details of his response in his “Biblia Americana.” Even if he did not always acknowledge his sources, Mather extracted from friend and foe whatever seemed serviceable in defense of the Bible. He had internalized the different arguments on stylistic variations, syntactical disagreements, and diverging repetitions in parallel texts as developed by Richard Simon and Jean LeClerc. As to matters of the style and language of the divine original, Mather had no problems accommodating the ideas of his European peers. Robert Boyle, for one, defended the divine origin of the Bible in *Some Considerations Touching the Style of the Holy Scriptures* (London, 1661) by lambasting incompetent and literalist translators for the texts’ uneven style and loss of poetic elegance (7–16). Mather, however, followed LeClerc and did not blame the translators, but quite comfortably admitted that the Holy Spirit inspired the biblical writers only with the ideas, not with their choice of diction or manner of presentation. This reductionistic approach to matters of biblical inspiration seems to have caught on quickly even among conservative defenders of the Bible’s inerrancy. A case in point is *The Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion* (London, 1698), a huge apologetic work of more than a thousand pages in two volumes, which had gone through at least six editions by 1734. Mather thinks highly of its author, Robert Jenkin, D.D. (c. 1656–1727), a nonjuring controversialist and master of St. John’s College (Cambridge), whose work Mather synthesizes in “Biblia Americana.” In his “Essay, for a further Commentary, on the Sacred Scriptures” (BA, “Essay” 7r–8v), Mather grants (with Jenkin’s at his elbow) that God’s prophets were not merely passive conduits of the Holy Spirit engaged in automatic writing, but active participants; they relied on their own reason and sensory experience, on testimonials from eyewitnesses, and plain factual knowledge, sometimes even on quotations from other writers in composing the Bible: “In things which only fell under *Humane Prudence*, the Holy Spirit seems not immediately to have Dictated unto the Men of God; but only to have used a *Directive* or *Conductive* Power upon them; to supply them with suitable Apprehensions, & keep them in the Use of their own Rational Judgment, within the Bounds of Infallible Truth, & of Expediency for the present Occasion.” God only inspired his prophets and apostles with his divine “Doctrine,” but left “Indifferent Matters” entirely to their own discretion as long as they were useful “in the Propagation of the Gospel.” Indeed, God allowed his prophets the “Use

of their *own Words*, and of the *Style* that was most natural to them” because the Prophetic Spirit was “not Permanent or Habitual” but merely occasional as the need arose (*BA*, “Essay” 7r).⁷⁶ Inconsistency of style, word choice, and syntax did not necessarily signify to Mather textual corruption or editorial manipulation, but the prophets’ liberty to express supernaturally inspired precepts in their own words. The doctrine, not the letter of the text, is vouchsafed by the Holy Spirit. Of course, this is precisely the point that LeClerc’s propounded all along in his *Sentimens*, and Cotton Mather here seems perfectly happy to settle for this solution when he extracts his own material from Jenkin’s *Reasonableness* (London, 1698). Perhaps, the “contagion” was so subtle and pervasive that it ceased to be a threat to those most involved in studying its implications. Else would they have appropriated LeClerc’s thesis for their own task of surmounting sectarian hairsplitting rooted in verbal inspiration?⁷⁷

Be that as it may, “Biblia Americana” again illustrates the manner and extent to which the philosophic debates in the early Enlightenment quickly caught on even in Puritan New England. How does Mather respond to the conflicting versions of the two Decalogues, by which LeClerc supported his postulate? A glance at the principal commentaries published in Mather’s lifetime is indicative of the way he compares to his peers – if they acknowledged the issue in the first place. Matthew Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* identifies Hugo Grotius (the father of international law) as the linchpin in holding the two Decalogues together. If in the first version (Exod. 20:11) God instructs the faithful to keep his Sabbath because he rested on the seventh day upon completion of the world’s creation, but if in the second (Deut. 5:15) God commands the Israelites to consecrate the Sabbath in remembrance of their slavery in Egypt, then, says Grotius, “illud ad genus humanum pertinet, hoc ad Hebræos solos” (Grotius’s *Annotationes (Opera* 1:44), Poole’s *Synopsis* 1:405, on Exod. 20:8), “the former pertains unto the human race; the latter unto the Hebrews alone” (Poole, *Exegetical Labors* 5:50). There is no contradiction at all, so they argued. God did not institute a new law at all, but merely revived an antediluvian commandment that the Israelites had forgotten while they served their Egyptian masters (Matthew Henry, Simon Patrick, Samuel Clark, Richard Kidder, Thomas Pyle). God did not sanctify the Sabbath because he himself rested on the seventh day (Gen. 2:3), Matthew Poole objected in the English version of his *Annotations* (Exod. 20:11), but because that

⁷⁶ My references to Robert Jenkin’s *Reasonableness of the Christian Religion* are to the two-volume fifth edition (1721), vol. 2, book 2, ch. 2, “Of Inspiration” (2:22–40). Mather’s citation is from 2:36, 37.

⁷⁷ In his “A Note on the MANUDUCTIO AD MINISTERIUM,” Perry Miller registers his surprise about Mather’s open-mindedness toward new ideas: “Perhaps the most arresting moral underscored by the *Manuductio* is that Cotton Mather, the Old North conservative, the guardian of orthodoxy, the enemy of the Leveretts and the Brattles, was moving with his times and had come to share many insights of the ‘Age of Reason,’” in T.J. Holmes, *Cotton Mather* (2:631).

day was set aside for devotions and spiritual blessings after their return from Egypt. The law of the Sabbath was revived “not for the *quotum* of one day of seven” as was the case in Exod. 20:11, the renowned Joseph Mede (1586–1638) also insisted in his oft-cited *Works* (1664), but because (after the Israelites’ release from slavery) the seventh day was set aside to acknowledge that Jehovah is their Redeemer and that they serve no other god but God.⁷⁸ And here, Mede echoes *More Nebuchim* (part 2, ch. 31), where the great Maimonides supplies the same justification as a guide for the perplexed (*Guide* 2.31.218–19).⁷⁹

Cotton Mather’s commentary on Deut. 5:6 is exceptional for solving a semantic and philological dilemma that had vexed many of his contemporaries. Always eager to tell a good anecdote, he entertains his audience with the narrative of Ludovicus Carretus (fl. 1530s–50s), also known as Todros Cohen, a Jewish physician and native of France, whose conversion to Christianity in Genoa (Italy) is the subject of his spiritual autobiography *Mar’ot Elohim* (Paris, 1553). Whether Mather relied on the Florentine edition of Angelo Canini’s *Epistola Ludovici Carreti ad Judæos, Quæ Inscriptor Liber Visorum Divinorum* (Florentiæ, 1554), or on Hermann Germberg’s Latin translation appended to Johannes Buxtorf’s *Synagoga Judaica, Hoec est Schola Judæorum in Qua Nativitas* (Hanoviæ, 1604), or one of its many seventeenth-century reincarnations, is subject to debate but does not concern us here.⁸⁰ Either way, Carretus’s account supplies Mather with tangible evidence that reason and revelation still maintain a symbiotic relationship. What makes the narrative all the more attractive to Mather is his lifelong preoccupation with Jewish conversion, which until the last decade of his life was a pillar of his eschatology.⁸¹ His synopsis of Carretus’s conversion account occupies nearly two whole manuscript pages in “Biblia Americana” (BA, Deut. 5:6 [13r–14v]). Mather’s summary focuses on how Carretus’s spiritual peregrination was triggered by a visionary dream that led him to understand the difference between the two versions of the Decalogue and ultimately precipitated Carretus’s conversion – to Roman Catholicism no less.

The specific cabbalistic details of Carretus’s dream are less important to our purposes here than the didactic import that Mather draws from the narrative. The short of it is that the eminent Jewish physician encountered in his dream

⁷⁸ *The Works of the Pious and Profoundly-Learned Joseph Mede, B. D. sometime fellow of Christ’s College Cambridge* (1664), “Discourse XV. Ezekiel 20:20” (73–75); quotation is on p. 74.

⁷⁹ All citations and references are to *The Guide for the Perplexed*. By Moses Maimonides, translated from the original Arabic text by M. Friedländer.

⁸⁰ See “Carretus, Ludovicus,” by R. Gottheil and I. Broydé (3:593). See also Joanna Weinberg, “A Sixteenth-Century Hebraic Approach to the New Testament” (240–41).

⁸¹ See Mather’s *The Faith of the Fathers* (1699), a catechism of sorts through which Mather sought to convert Jews. By returning to the faith of their fathers from which modern Jews are to have strayed, Mather argued, they would inevitably embrace the religion of Jesus Christ. See also R. Smolinski’s “*Israel Redivivus*” (357–95) and R. Smolinski’s “Introduction,” *Threefold Paradise* (21–38).

several “Aged and Shining Persons” crowned with “Illustrious Diadems.” One of these angelic beings – perhaps following similar precedent in the Torah, Daniel, the Zohar, and countless others – offers to interpret the vision and invites the perplexed Carretus to come to his house the next morning. Bewildered about his dream of the preceding night, Carretus is horrified to discover the next day that a Florentine “Fortune-teller” (whose “Shape” is identical to that of the angelic creature in the dream vision) foretells Carretus’s conversion to Christianity. Carretus, however, flies into a rage at this all-too-common form for “Jew-bating,” leaves the man’s house, and turns to God in prayer: “That if these things did proceed from the Lord Himself, hee might have his *Eyes, Ears, Heart opened*, so as to understand, but, That if they were *Vain Things*, hee might not bee *led into Temptation*.” Shortly thereafter, Carretus turns for answers to the Pauline Epistles and the New Testament, which he compares with the Talmud and Rabbinic writings, and discovers to his amazement that his principal objections to Christianity – the Trinity, Christ’s divinity, the Messiah’s first and second coming, dietary laws, and circumcision – are all removed to his satisfaction, save that of the Sabbath, about which he is in great agony. But providence in the shape of “a little Child” accosting Carretus in the streets of Florence should change all that: “*My Father, my Father!*” cried a ragamuffin one day as he stopped the physician on his way home from a patient. “*I pray, Syr,*” the child inquired mysteriously, “*why are the Ten Commandments Twice Recited in the Bible, and Recited with so much Difference?*” “*Difference?*” Carretus wondered, puzzled by the child’s strange question. “*Pray, my Child, what is the Difference?*” But let’s hear Mather tell the rest of the story in his own words:

The Child returned; *Why, in one Place tis said, REMEMBER THE SABBATH-DAY, TO KEEP IT HOLY – FOR THE LORD RESTED THE SEVENTH DAY; In another Place, tis said, KEEP THE SABBATH-DAY TO SANCTIFY IT, – AND REMEMBER THAT THOU WAST A SERVANT IN EGYPT.* Our *Carret*, astonished, now cried out, *Out of the Mouths of Babes, and Sucklings, O Lord!* Hee now saw, hee sais, that *Moses* considered the two Things, in the *Sabbath*; A *Commemoration*, and an *Observation*. The *Commemoration*, referr’d unto the Creation of *the World*; the *Observation* referr’d unto the Deliverance from *Egypt*. The former is an *unalterable Duty*, the latter is *Altered* upon the Coming of our Lord. (*BA*, Deut. 5:6 [14v])⁸²

The uncanny turns and twists of Carretus’s conversion account are paradigmatic of their didactic intent. They are an integral part of the apologetic literature of the period and were particularly treasured by those whose

⁸² The Christological significance of the Israelites’ exodus from Egypt is by Irenaeus (*Against Heresies* 4.30.4) explained as follows: “For the whole exodus of the people out of Egypt, which took place under divine guidance, was a type and image of the exodus of the Church which should take place from among the Gentiles; and for this cause He leads it out at last from this world into His own inheritance, which Moses the servant of God did not [bestow], but which Jesus the Son of God shall give for an inheritance” (*ANF* 1:504).

eschatological expectations centered on the national conversion of the Jews and their return to the Holy Land just prior to the Second Coming of Christ.⁸³ No doubt, Mather's primary interest in Carretus's personal narrative, *Liber Visorum Divinorum* (1554), is borne out by Mather's expectations of this longed-for event to occur in his own lifetime – in 1697, 1716, or 1736 – as he variously conjectured in his “Problema Theologicum” (c. 1703) and especially in “Trip paradisu” (c. 1720), his last word on millennialism.⁸⁴ Perhaps more telling in the exegetical context of the Sabbath is that Mather insists on the fidelity of Carretus's motives and the verity of the story. Neither personal profit nor visionary delusions were responsible for his conversion, Mather assures us. The convert's dream merely served “to *Quicken* his Diligent Enquires, and Researches, into the *Word* of God.” The Florentine astrologer who prophesied his conversion (as well as the street urchin) was nothing but an instrument of God, who “made Use of him, as Hee did, of *Balaams* Ass; for the Man did not know what hee said, *Himself*” (*BA*, Deut. 5:6, [13r]). Mather's creative use of Carretus's narrative to explicate the contradictory justifications for observing the Sabbath reveals multiple strategies. It confirms his belief in the harmony of the Bible, that alleged incongruities are more apparent than real. It emphasizes his concern with the nature of evidence, the narrative's verifiable title, author's name, trustworthy character, historical context, eyewitness accounts, and apparent motives for publishing the account. It validates Christianity as the legitimate heir to Judaism and that Christ is Lord. Most of all, it leaves the reader with a sense of mystery and awe of God's inexplicable ways: reason can penetrate the motions of providence only so far, but once reason has ascertained that a dream or revelation is of divine origin, it has to step back, for the Spirit operates above the ken of man.

Given his ratiocinations on the various issues at hand, Mather, the guardian of the New England Way, is much more amenable to the bold ideas of Hobbes, Spinoza, Simon, and LeClerc than anyone has ever noticed or understood.

⁸³ See, for instance, Mather's interest in the popular conversion account of R. Samuel Marochitanus (fl. 11th c.), a Moroccan Jew of Fez, who allegedly converted to Christianity in Toledo (Spain). Originally composed in the 11th c. and characteristically anti-Semitic, *Veri Messiae Parastasin continens* (1536) and *Epistola contra Judaeorum errores* (1475) were translated from Arabic into Latin and subsequently into various European languages until the 18th c. *The Blessed Jew of Morocco, or, A Blackmoore made white being a demonstration of the true Messiah* (1648), translated by Thomas Calvert, includes Marochitanus's “A Demonstration of the True Messiah” (*Blessed Jew* 59–144). Mather also took much stock in the conversion account of three Jewish Children of Berlin, which he alluded to in his *An Advice, to the Churches of the Faithful* (1702), 4–6; in *Things to be More Thought Upon* (1713) 27; in *Menachem* (1716) 39–40, and in *Faith Encouraged* (1718) 16. A decade before his death, he abandoned his belief in the national conversion of European Jewry, in *Threefold Paradise* (1995) 295–318.

⁸⁴ See J. S. Mares, “Cotton Mather's ‘Problema Theologicum’” (333–440), and R. Smolinski, *Threefold Paradise* (319–49). His eschatological calculations are discussed in the “Introduction” to this work (60–78).

His agile mind is open to valid criticism of the Bible; he is prepared to test, absorb, synthesize, and internalize their critique as appropriate, and harmonize new philosophical models with his Reformed theology even as he relaxes the hermeneutical reins of his Puritan forebears to accommodate the needs of a new age. Mather's rationalist defense of God's method of communicating with man is another case in point. Both Hobbes and Spinoza had argued that only those to whom God had truly spoken could know if they received a divine revelation. Everyone else could only have recourse to the Bible for evidence of the prophets' trustworthiness. Mather responds to this charge with an intriguing set of empiricist inferences and inverse logic. First of all, he reminds his readers that, contrary to popular opinion, a prophet is not someone whose sole function is to predict the future, but rather "*One to whom God revealeth Secrets*," as Spinoza interprets the Hebrew term *Nabi* (BA, "I. Vates" 13r; BA 1 Chron. 29:29 [67–68vr]).⁸⁵ Prophets were principally interpreters of God's message, teachers of holy doctrine, and scourges to those who transgressed the Mosaic Laws; yet the signs of their divine possessions were anything but flattering and earned them frequent ridicule, scorn, even persecution and death (BA, "I. Vates" 13r; BA, 1 Chron. 29:29 [68v–69r]). The signs of their possessions are "so ridiculous, as [to] give a just Evidence, that there was a Supernatural Coercive *Power of the Spirit*, which forced the *Prophet*, against his natural Will, to submit unto them" (BA, "I. Vates" 13r). The cases of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel are particularly notorious. Isaiah was forced to "call his Two Sons by uncouth Names; and walk Naked, without so much as a *Shoe*, for Three Years together" when God wanted him to demonstrate the manner in which the Egyptian captives must be enslaved (BA, "I. Vates" 13r; 1 Chron. 29:29 [71v]). Isaiah's affliction with such symptoms of divine favor lasted nearly forty years and earned him anything but honor among his contemporaries. The signs of Jeremiah's divine possession were no less ludicrous, "when he hung half a dozen wooden *Yokes* about his Neck, & made an uneasy Compliment of them unto the foreign Embassadors" in token of their impending submission (BA, "I. Vates" 14v). Ezekiel's "Lying on his *Left Side Three hundred and Ninety Dayes*, and on his *Right Side Forty Dayes*; and his *baking his Barley-Cakes*, with *Dung that cometh out of Man*" (BA, 1 Chron. 29:29; [71r]) David's mad dancing before the Ark of the Covenant, leaping "*after the Manner of a Goat, or a Lamb*"; Saul's odd behavior "when that *Spirit leaped upon him*"; St. John's epileptic seizures, when overcome by the Holy Spirit – all these strange manifestations indicate that when a prophet is inebriated with the Holy Spirit, his "*Outward Actions* . . . were sometimes indeed like those of a *Madman*" (BA, "I. Vates" 14v; 2 Chron. 29:29 [70v]). Pretenders to divine revelation and false prophets striving after prestige and honor would

⁸⁵ See Mather's comments, in "I. Vates, Or, Some Remarks upon the Spirit of Prophecy." See also Spinoza's *TTP* (1.13).

not have adopted such ignominious tokens of sacred possession. “Certainly, no Deist could be impudent enough, to pretend a *Priest-craft* in such a Case” (BA, “I. Vates” 14v). Besides, the Mosaic Law was an efficient deterrent, for it demanded that false prophets be put to death. Mather’s empirical analysis of the signs of divine possession described in the Bible demonstrates that he was fully aware of the European debate. He was prepared to examine the only evidence available – even signs of holy madness – to assert that reason alone could not account for what was happening to the prophets.

The Assent of Reason

Mather’s English colleague, Edward Stillingfleet (1635–99), latitudinarian bishop of Worcester, may help us appreciate how threats to the authority of prophetic inspiration elicited a variety of responses to this epistemological dilemma. In his oft-reprinted *Origines Sacrae, Or a Rational Account of the Grounds of Christian Faith, as to the Truth and Divine Authority of the Scriptures* (1662), Stillingfleet tried to downplay the irrational qualities of divine possession by emphasizing the rational side of the prophets’ preparation for their sacred office. Prophets were no lunatics or madmen, as Hobbes and Spinoza made them out to be, but learned graduates of colleges and seminaries that existed all over the Holy Land in ancient times: “The most noted *Prophets* to the time of *David* were the *Presidents* of these *Colledges*” and God ordinarily selected from these “*Schools of Prophets*” those “*whom he did employ in the discharge of the propheticall office.*”⁸⁶ Stillingfleet’s emphasis on the prophets’ learning and preparation betrays his fear of irrationality and madness at a time when English elites had had their fill of mad Fifth Monarchists, Ranters, Quakers, counter-culturalism, and rampant claims to immediate inspiration. His insistence on reason and balance in the training and selection of the ancient prophets speaks as loudly to the aims of the Restoration (and his anxiety about the Bible’s loss of status) as does the ambivalent lament of the Rev. Thomas Sprat (1635–1713), in his *History of the Royal-Society* (London, 1667). Historian of the Royal Society of London, Sprat appears to regret the hankering of his age for “a *rational Religion*” even as he vindicates his colleagues for neglecting their duty to God:

If we compare the changes to which *Religion* has bin always subject, with the present face of things, we may safely conclude, that whatever vicissitude shall happen about

⁸⁶ My citations are from Stillingfleet’s *Origines Sacrae*, 3rd ed. (1666), bk. 2, ch. 4, pp. 156, 157. The teachers in these colleges for young prophets, Mather knowingly added (perhaps thinking of his father’s burdensome double-duties as Harvard’s president and teacher of the largest congregation in British North America), instructed their young charges every day of the week, but had no rest on holidays, because they bestowed public lectures on the common people (BA, 1 Chron. 29:29; [69v]).

it in our time it will probably neither be to the advantage of *implicit Faith*, nor of *Enthusiasm*, but of *Reason*. The fierceness of *violent Inspirations* is in good measure departed: the remains of it will be soon chac'd out of the World, by the remembrance of the terrible footsteps it has every where left behind it. ... [M]any *Modern Naturalists* have bin negligent in the *Worship of God*: yet perhaps they have bin driven on this prophaness by the late extravagant excesses of *Enthusiasm*. The infinit pretences to *Inspiration*, and *immediat Communion with God*, that have abounded in this *Age*, have carry'd several men of wit so far, as to reject the whole matter.⁸⁷

Whether or not Sprat's *History* is a true indication of why many ecclesiastics welcomed the Restoration for ushering in a new "Age of Reason," Cotton Mather on the other side of the Atlantic could afford to be ambidextrous about Reason and the Divine Afflatus appearing in God's chosen vessels. To Mather, the symptoms of the OT prophet's epileptic convulsions, mad ravings, and obscene actions were in themselves empirical proof that the prophet was indeed possessed by the Holy Spirit. No matter how irrational, these signs of possession indicated that Reason alone could not determine true possession or sit in judgment of divine revelation, which runs counter to all forms of empirical verification: "*Reason* is to Judge, whether the *Revelation* do indeed come from GOD," Mather insisted. "But this Point being once determined by *Reason*, it is now humbly to sitt down, & own its Inability to go any further, or to determine upon the Matter & the Manner of *Revelation*" (*BA*, "I. Vates" 10v).⁸⁸ Mather's seemingly half-hearted embrace of reason must not be misread as running counter to the pursuits of his age. Neither should his oft-cited homilies *Reasonable Religion* (Boston, 1700; 2nd ed. London, 1713), *Reason Satisfied* (Boston, 1712), and *A Man of Reason. A Brief Essay to demonstrate, That all MEN should hearken to Reason* (Boston, 1718) be misinterpreted as evidence that he had succumbed to Deist rationalism.⁸⁹ No matter how vital a human faculty, reason must never be idolized or placed above Revelation, Mather warned in his *Iconoclastes* (Boston, 1717). The faculty of reason is, indeed, an excellent instrument,

⁸⁷ Thomas Sprat, *The History of the Royal-Society* (1667), part 3, sec. 23, pp. 366, 367–68 [374, 375–76].

⁸⁸ Mather here appears to distill the essence of Justin Martyr's fragment *On the Resurrection* (ch. 1) [*ANF* 1:294].

⁸⁹ See, for instance, the oft-quoted passage from Mather's diary entry on Dec. 7, 1711: "There is a Thought which I have often had in my mind ... that the Light of *Reason*, is the Work of God; the Law of *Reason* is the Law of God, the Voice of *Reason* is the Voice of God; We never have to do with *Reason*, but at the same time we have to do with God; Our submission to the Rules of *Reason* is an Obedience of God. ... Lett me as often as I have evident *Reason* sett before me, think upon it; the great God now speaks unto me! And lett me from this Principle yeeld a present Compliance with it; always *hearken to Reason*, from this Consideration" (*Diary* 2:144). For much the same see his "Essay 32. Of Man," *The Christian Philosopher* (297). Before we mistake this confession as evidence for Mather's embrace of a Deist position on reason, we must temper the statements in light of his warning against idolizing our "miserably Wounded" faculty of reason, which we inherited through Adam's fall. See esp. *The Man of God furnished* (1708) 72, and *Iconoclastes* (1717) 15–19.

through which we compare the relation between competing interests, separate truth from falsehood, and establish right from wrong. It is the faculty that distinguishes man from beast, makes him prudent, inventive, wise, and strong (16). But when reason becomes our sole guide, when reason is set above revelation, when we reject divine revelation because we cannot penetrate its mysteries, then reason, “a Faculty miserably *Wounded* in us by our Fall from God” (*Man of God furnished* [1708] 72), becomes an idol that precipitates man’s fall: “*Reason is Idolized, When Men will set Reason above Revelation; When Men will Receive nothing that is Reveal’d from GOD, Except they can fathom it by Reason; When Man must Comprehend the Mysteries of Revealed Religion, or else they will Reject the Counsel of GOD. Such Free-Thinkers, are one Tribe of Idolaters. The Men that Writes, Christianity not Misterious, have set up an Idol, that proves a Stumbling-block of Iniquity unto them. ... Tho’ we do not Accept any Thing that is against Reason, we must Confess That there are many Things, Above Reason*” (*Icono-clastes* 18, 19). Mather’s stab at John Toland’s notorious *Christianity not Misterious* (London, 1691) is a case in point. Mather’s response to the disciples of Thomas Chubb, John Locke, Toland, Anthony Collins, demonstrates that he values the rationalist pursuits of his age and the use of empirical data in the natural science, in philosophy, yes, even in theology and its philological critique of the Bible – yet Mather vehemently resists when human reason takes center stage. When man presumes to penetrate the mystery of salvation, when he reduces justifying faith to a function of the mind’s rational assent to a proffered Good, when, in short, man confounds justifying faith with reason, Mather draws the line. He never allows his Reformed position to be compromised – not even by the great English philosopher John Locke, whose *The Reasonableness of Christianity, As delivered in the Scriptures* (London, 1695) was widely admired and imitated.

In Mather’s view, there is a vast gulf between his Augustinian position on man’s fallen reason and the insistent rationalism advocated by John Locke (1632–1704) and his erstwhile disciples John Toland (1670–1722) and Anthony Collins (1676–1729).⁹⁰ Broadly speaking, their disagreements on the nature of reason, revelation, and faith are intricately enmeshed with their disparate positions on what is popularly called the Five Points of Calvinism: total depravity (original sin), unconditional election, limited atonement, irresistible Grace, and perseverance of the saints (Westminster Confession). For our purposes, a brief summary of Locke’s rationalism must here suffice to pinpoint the principal differences between the Reformed theology of Mather on the nature and function

⁹⁰ See, for instance, Perry Miller’s useful chapters “The Uses of Reason,” in his *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (181–206); as well as his discussion of Reason, in *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (417–36); J. W. Yolton, *John Locke and the Way of Ideas* (1968); J. C. Weinsheimer, *Eighteenth-Century Hermeneutics* (1993); J. A. Herrick, *The Radical Rhetoric of English Deists* (1997); J. A. I. Champion, *Republican Learning* (2003).

of Grace and Faith, and Locke's position on these tenets. In his *Reasonableness of Christianity* Locke adamantly rejects the Augustinian Calvinist dogma of man's total depravity and imputation of Adam's sin as utterly inconsistent "with the Justice or Goodness of the Great and Infinite God." To be eternally doomed to torture in hell for the sins of one man, "whom Millions had never heard of, and no one had authorized to transact for him, or be his Representative," Locke felt, is incompatible with divine justice (*Reasonableness* 91).⁹¹ Adam's punishment in Paradise was the removal of the gift of immortality, which our protoplasts enjoyed only as long as they continued to obey the Creator. Adam's postlapsarian descendants, however, were neither proffered immortality as an intrinsic right, nor did they inherit Adam's sin that put them "under a necessity of sinning continually" (93), nor was their human nature corrupted from birth: "If by *Death* threatned to *Adam* were meant the Corruption of Humane Nature in his Posterity," Locke countered, "tis strange that the New Testament should not any where take notice of it, and tell us, that Corruption seized on all because of *Adam's* Transgression, as well as it tells us so of *Death*. But as I remember every one's sin is charged upon himself only" (93). Although "*all die in Adam*, yet none are truly *punished* but for their own deeds" (Rom. 2:6, 9; 2 Cor. 5:10; Matth. 16:27; John 5:29), for "here is no Condemnation of any one, for what his forefather *Adam* had done" (94). For Locke, then, Calvin's dogma of original and imputed sin is unscriptural. Man dies for his own sins – not those he inherited from his forebears.

But if Adam's progeny is *not* sullied from birth by their parents' transgression, how come their offspring is liable to violate God's Law and be condemned to die? (Rom. 3:23; Gal. 3:10, 21–22). In this point, Locke's answer to this reasonable question is in full accord with Reformed theology: "It was such a Law as the Purity of God's Nature required, and must be the Law of such a Creature as Man, unless God would have made him a Rational Creature, and not required him to have lived by the Law of Reason, but would have countenanced in him Irregularity and Disobedience to that Light which he [man] had; and that Rule, which was suitable to his Nature" (96). God's Law is "*holy, just, and good*," Locke invoked the Epistle to the Romans (7:12), "and such as it ought, and could not otherwise be" (96). But God's Law is so absolute (Jam. 2:10–11) that no one could live up to it with perfect obedience and attain righteousness through works: "So that by that Law [Works] a man cannot be Just, or justified without an exact performance of every tittle" (98). For this reason, God instituted another, the Law of Faith (Rom 3:27), that through faith in Christ's propitiatory sacrifice and atonement for man's sin, mankind can attain life eter-

⁹¹ My references are to the edition of Locke's *Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695), in *John Locke: Writings on Religion* (87–210). For Mather's interest in Locke's *A Discourse of Miracles*, in *Posthumous Works of John Locke* (217–29), see Mather's commentary on Matth. 4:25.

nal: “By the *Law of Faith*,” Locke argued, “Faith is allowed to supply the defect of full Obedience; and so the Believers are admitted to Life and Immortality as if they were Righteous.” Thus, through faith in Christ as the son of God and the Redeemer of mankind, “God Justifies a man for Believing” (100). Although Locke’s position on the Covenant of Grace here seemingly conforms to that in Mather’s Reformed theology, they would inevitably part company on how this redeeming faith is attained. Creed makers can devise whatever distinctions and systems they please; Locke objected to the prevailing Calvinist notions: “But I cannot allow to them, or to any man, an Authority to make a Religion for me, or to alter that which God hath revealed. And if they please to call the believing that which our Saviour and his Apostles preached and proposed alone to be believed, an *Historical Faith*; they have their liberty. But they must have a care how they deny it to be a Justifying or Saving Faith, when our Saviour and his Apostles have declared it so to be ... and whereby they should be made Believers unto Eternal Life. ... This was the only Gospel-Article of Faith which was preached to them” (166, 167). Significantly, Locke here conflates historical with justifying faith – that crucial hallmark of Calvin upon which the Synod of Dort (1618–19) and the Westminster Assembly (1643–49) dwelt at length to define their positions. While for Mather and his Calvinist peers the elect can only attain justifying faith through an infusion of Grace that by necessity enables God’s elect to attain saving faith (Walker, *Creeds* 377–82), Locke insists salvation was offered to all mankind: “God dealt so favorably with the Posterity of Adam, that if they would believe Jesus to be the *Messiah*, the promised King and Saviour; And perform what other Conditions [‘an hearty sorrow for our past misdeed’] are required of them by the Covenant of Grace; God would Justifie them, because of this Belief” (167, 169). No more, no less.

In essence, Locke’s Arminian-Universalism rejects the Reformed standards of the Westminster Confession (1647, 1658). The distinction between an historical faith (Jesus of Nazareth is mankind’s redeemer) and justifying faith (imputation of grace, remission of sins, active obedience) are for Locke little more than niceties of doctrinal hairsplitting not to be found in the gospels. For Locke, faith – even saving faith – is subject to man’s volition, a rational assent of the mind to a revealed promise whose certainty is as assured as the evidence is rationally verifiable. If, therefore, faith is based on evidence, it cannot be opposed to reason. Ah, there’s the rub. Locke’s position on the interconnectedness of faith, revelation, and reason is apparent in his *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (London, 1689) – the magna charta of the sensationalist philosophy of his time. God has endowed man with the power of the senses and the faculty of reason to test our ideas of a thing against the evidence of its conformity to those ideas. Clear evidence commands reason to assent. Knowledge thus acquired will always be more certain than divine revelation communicated to men in biblical times, because our rational agreement can be no firmer than the verifiable

evidence that the supernatural disclosure came indeed from God and that its meaning is accurately transmitted down to our times. However, if our evidence is corroborated by probable proofs only, Locke insists, our assurance can only be as strong as the probability of these proofs can give mathematical certainty:

For the knowledge we have that this revelation came at first from God, can never be so sure as the knowledge we have from the clear and distinct perception of the agreement or disagreement of our own ideas: v.g. if it were revealed some ages since, that the three angles of a triangle were equal to two right ones, I might assent to the truth of that proposition, upon the credit of the tradition, that it was revealed: but that would never amount to so great a certainty as the knowledge of it, upon the comparing and measuring my own ideas of two right angles, and the three angles of a triangle. The like holds in matter of fact knowable by our senses; v.g. the history of the deluges is conveyed to us by writings which had their original from revelation: and yet nobody, I think, will say he has as certain and clear a knowledge of the flood as Noah, that saw it; or that he himself would have had, had he then been alive and seen it. For he has no greater an assurance than that of his senses, that it is writ in the book supposed writ by Moses inspired: but he has not so great an assurance that Moses wrote that book as if he had seen Moses write it. So that the assurance of its being a revelation is less still than the assurance of his senses."⁹²

No matter his insistence on the absolute trustworthiness of divine revelation, Locke contends that rational proof and the experience of the five senses carries more weight than tradition, the authority of the Church, or blind faith in the authenticity of the biblical record ever amounts to.

In one way or the other, Cotton Mather appears to address these specific issues in his homily *The Everlasting Gospel* (1700) and elsewhere. Here he spends much time distinguishing between man's assent to mathematical proof and his assent to supernatural evidence. In the latter case, the allocation of evidence does not solely depend on human reason, Mather avows. The two are subject to different rules and different provinces of human inquiry. Reason alone can never penetrate the mystery of salvation: "Meer *Natural Reason*, without *Revelation*, both External, and Internal *Revelation*, would never *understand* the *Mystery* of a Sinners being made *Righteous*, by the *Righteousness* of the Lord Jesus Christ." Reason alone can never assent to the mystery of justifying faith, because "nothing will satisfy the Heart of a Sinner in it, until the *Spirit* of God, which *Dictated the Gospel*, assure him of it, with a *Supernatural* way upon him" (17, 18). A natural man may indeed comprehend that he can be made righteous by casting himself upon the Lord, Mather knew only too well. But when on his deathbed the sinner apprehends with horror of soul the gulf between his own wickedness and Christ's righteousness, natural reason alone will never convince his heart that God could pardon him for the sake of Christ's sacrifice. Multitudes

⁹² John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Humane Understanding* (London, 1690), bk. IV, ch. 18. My citations are from the edition by A. C. Fraser (2:418–19).

have gone to hell thinking that it is an easy thing to cast one's faith on Christ's righteousness and go to heaven. Little did they realize that

we are not made *Righteous* by the *Righteousness* of our Lord Jesus Christ, *before*, or *without*, but *upon* our *Faith* Apprehending of it. By *Faith* and on our part only by *Faith* we come to be made partakers of the *Righteousness*, which our Lord Jesus Christ hath provided for us. It is therefore called, *The Righteousness of faith*. Why, God never gives the *Righteousness* of the Lord Jesus Christ unto any man, without giving him *Faith* to *Take* the Gifts of *Righteousness*. The *Righteousness* is indeed got ready for us, without and before any Act of ours, but we are not actually Invested with a *Power* to claim the *Righteousness* of our Lord Jesus Christ for us, until with the *Heart man Believe unto Righteousness*. We are told in Rom . 4.24. *It shall be Imputed, if we Believe*. ... Rom. 5.1. *Being Justified by Faith*. (22–23)⁹³

Clearly, then, the building blocks of reason and faith occupy vastly different positions in the *ordo salutis* of Mather than in that of John Locke. Their fundamental difference on how to attain heaven is ultimately rooted in their disagreement on the nature and function of historical and justifying faith. Perhaps this is why Mather told his students preparing for the ministry that “for some Reasons, I would be excused from Recommending an *Essay of Humane Understanding*, which is much in Vogue” (*Manuductio* 36). Still, if Lockean epistemology allocated considerably more independence to the faculty of human reason than Mather was ever prepared to do, they both were deeply concerned with man's quest for salvation and how it could be accomplished. If Locke's road to the Celestial City had fewer stumbling blocks, pitfalls, or dead ends than the straight and narrow upon which Mather's Christian was sent on his errand, they each in their own way would insist that a merciful God would pardon most where he seems most to punish.

Mather was clearly sensitive to the changing winds of his time, and he knew that the best way to deal with a challenge was to face it head-on. As Richard Lovelace has shown, Mather always kept the larger picture and the ultimate goal in mind even as he was prepared to compromise on matters that were

⁹³ In his commentary on James 2:24, Mather also insists that justifying faith is not acquired by a man's autonomous volitional assent, but rather by an infusion of grace that enables the will to attain faith: “The Doctrine of *Paul* is, That a *Justifying Faith*, is a Receiving of, and Relying on the *Gift of Righteousness* from God, by the Lord Jesus Christ; or, the Consent of a Distressed Soul, to bee Justified by Gods graciously Imputing unto him, the Obedience, which the Lord Jesus Christ, as our *Surety*, yielded unto God, on the behalf of His Elect. This *Faith*, does justify a Sinner, not as it is a *Work*, but only Relatively, & Instrumentally; in asmuch as it is, the Instrument, by which a Man apprehends the Righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ, as freely tendred unto the Sinner in the Gospel; Tis only in this Regard, that Faith, and no Grace but This Faith, ha's the Honour to Justify us.

But every *Jewel* has a *Counterfeit*. And how shall a Man know, That his *Faith* in the Righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ, for his Justification, is not a Counterfeit?

To answer that Case, the Apostle *James* declares unto us, the *Marks of a Justifying Faith*, and those are the *Works*, which it perpetually disposes the Beleever unto” (*BA*, Jas. 2:24).

subject to debate. There's nothing worse than the hairsplitting of party men who refuse to look beyond the tips of their noses; Mather warned his young charges in his handbook for ministers (*Manuductio* 129).⁹⁴ His interest in world missions and his Pietist endeavor to overcome sectarian strife and narrow partisanship by uniting all Protestant denominations under the banner of his Three Maxims of Piety are well known aspects of Mather's Calling in the last decades of his life. Perhaps much less known is the degree to which he was willing to act on his faith in God and the teachings of the Bible. No matter what modern rationalists admitted as tangible proof, there was yet another way to ascertain the authority of the Bible and its salutary effects. It was experimental proof of a different sort (but empirical no less) and only required careful observation of how the promises of the Bible could be experienced on a daily basis. "We have call'd in the Help of all *Sciences*, and *Histories*, to Illustrate the *Oracles* of God," Mather concluded, admitting that the traditional tools of empirical inquiry alone could not accomplish the task: "If Prudent and Pious Men, would carefully *observe* what they meet withal in their own *Experience*, and *Record* what they *observe*, to *confirm* the Truth of the *Sacred Scriptures*, we should often see them *Expound* what they *Confirm*."⁹⁵ Turning to Matthew 17:27 ("Take up the Fish, that first cometh up, and when thou hast opened his Mouth, thou shalt find a Peece of Money"), Mather verified the truth of this scripture through his own experience. "This I have often taken notice of, in the Providence of God towards me. A Thing of a small Value hath been handed to me, by one unexpected Method and another; Yett it hath answered a *present Necessity*: At the next Pinch, another Method ha's been taken for my Supply; And in great Emergencies there hath been Suitable Provision." God looks after those who turn to him in Faith. Mather testified to his practical experience over and over again. God helps me "that I may be trained up to a *Life of Faith*; that I may glorify Him by Beleaving" (*BA*, "An Essay" 4v).⁹⁶ Admittedly, subjective experiences of this nature might not satisfy a Hobbes, Spinoza, or even a Locke, yet to Mather, inwardly committed to an objective uncertainty, such experiences were of supreme value. They confirmed the supernatural inspiration of the Bible, the truth of its teachings, and the practical value of committing oneself to God, even if natural philosophy in Mather's day began to reject phenomena that could not be verified in mathematical terms. The Promises of God "are meer *Fancies*, & *Whimseys*, unto the foolish

94 P. Miller's assessment of Mather's handbook for the ministry *Manuductio ad Ministerium* (1626) is still as perceptive as ever ("Note" 2:630–36). Unfortunately, Miller cannot help himself but to read whatever orthodoxy Mather defended or innovation he introduced as a means by which "the ministerial generations might regain their hegemony," which the winds of change had forced them to relinquish (*New England Mind: From Colony to Province* 417).

95 "An Essay, for a further Commentary on the Sacred Scriptures" (*BA*, "An Essay" 1r) is appended to Mather's commentary on Revelation.

96 Mather provides dozens of similar examples from his own experience and from that of his Presbyterian colleague in Boston, Thomas Bridge.

Unbeliever,” Mather lamented, “but the perpetual *Experience* of *Multitudes* who Beleeve them, ha’s demonstrated them to be *Faithful Sayings and worthy of all Acceptation*” (BA, “An Essay” 3). By developing a conceptual framework of experiential theology (tested on a daily basis and in hundreds of occurrences), Mather could attain “practical certainty” even if all confidence in the Bible’s philological soundness was shaken to its core. This conceptual framework is neither certain nor uncertain; it simply expresses a way of acting and perceiving that has proven supremely valuable to those who have internalized its principles. It hardly comprised a matter of calm theoretical certainty, nor was it an issue of mere intellectual assent to authority – of something like Blaise Pascal’s wager with its rational commitment to a practice of rituals for a chance at eternal life just in case God does exist and demand obeisance.⁹⁷ Rather, it was a “faith in the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen” (Heb. 11:1), a settled faith beyond doubt or hesitation about the benefit of believing in the revealed truth of the Bible. Mather’s practical certainty might be called, in the words of Keith Ward, “a matter of loyalty to a liberating disclosure, aimed at a great good.”⁹⁸ His commitment to experiencing a hoped-for, yet invisible, reality assured him of God’s love. It quieted his heart most serenely when Mather was most resigned unto providence even contrary to the rules of common prudence. It demanded of him a readiness to surrender to God’s inscrutable will no matter what the outcome of a hoped-for event. It presupposed an emptying of Self, a disinterested benevolence akin to the stage of humiliation in the Puritan *ordo salutis*, trusting all along that God knew best. Mather’s practical certainty, then, was a way of life that, in spite of the iconoclastic tendencies of the age, supplanted doubt with experimental Faith in the infallible promise of his God.

The seventeenth century witnessed the foundation of modern biblical scholarship, which began to separate natural philosophy from theology and the individual believer from the control of the Church. In rising to the defense of the Holy Scriptures, physico-theologians launched new methods of philological scholarship, historical-contextual exegesis, comparative religion, and experimental piety that contributed their share to the early Enlightenment of the late Stuart period. Cotton Mather’s “Biblia Americana” demonstrates that Puritan New England did not lag far behind the new modes of thinking that emerged in Europe. Far from remaining unaffected by the challenges to the authority of the Bible, New England’s leading intellectual accommodated this intellectual revolu-

⁹⁷ Blaise Pascal, *Les Pensées de M. Pascal sur la religion, et sur quelques autres sujets* (1670). Pascal’s “wager” is generally identified in modern editions as fragment 233. Ewald Wasmuth, *Über die Religion* (199–26). The first English translation was that of Joseph Walker, *Monsieur Pascall’s Thoughts* (London, 1688). What is now called “wager” appears in this edition in § VII: *That there is more advantageous to believe, than not believe what is taught by the Christian Religion*” (73–78). That Mather had read Pascal’s meditations is apparent from Mather’s long excerpt in his commentary on Psalms (BA, Ps. 2:12 [113r]).

⁹⁸ K. Ward, *Religion & Revelation* (26).

tion by synthesizing its ideas and popularizing them in his sermons. In doing so, he paved the way for the Enlightenment in America. Yet while embracing what he regarded as the more salutary aspects of Enlightenment thought, Mather drew sustenance from a mode of perceiving reality that by nature of its subjectivity ran counter to the quest for certainty through scientific verification. As if maintaining a double-consciousness, he could comfortably employ Newtonian Science to celebrate the perfection of Nature's Laws even as he tacitly submitted to the existence of an invisible, moral entity that accomplished its grand purpose through secondary causes.

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Section 4

Note on the Text and Editorial Principles

Cotton Mather's "Biblia Americana," an enormous holograph manuscript in six folio volumes, is owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. The manuscript's provenance is somewhat obscured by the fact that Mather did not leave behind an inventory of his library at his death on Feb. 13, 1728/29. Neither did his heirs establish an inventory, perhaps to protect this valuable family heirloom from falling into the hands of Mather's creditors. The Suffolk Probate Record contains no itemization of Mather's library. The best available evidence of how the "Biblia" came into the possession of the MHS is given in Julius H. Tuttle's "The Libraries of the Mathers" (1910). From Tuttle's article we learn that Cotton Mather's son, the Rev. Dr. Samuel Mather (1706–85), inherited the largest part of his father's library, even though Cotton's nephew, the Rev. Mather Byles (1706–88), pastor of the Hollis Street Church, may also have received a share of his uncle's library as indeed he did from his grandfather Increase Mather in 1723, who "bequeathed one-quarter of his library" to the promising young Byles. The inventory of the Byles estate (Aug. 2, 1790), though itemizing many personal possessions, does not list the titles of the nearly 2,800 volumes in the Byles library, which his daughters Louisa and Catherine inherited at their father's death in 1788 (Tuttle 297). It is doubtful whether the "Biblia" was part of the Byles Collection, which was apparently sold and dispersed in November 1790.

Cotton's son and principal heir was the most likely recipient of the Mather papers, including the "Biblia Americana" manuscript, which would have been more useful to Samuel, heir to his father's pulpit in Boston's North Church, than to anyone else in the family. Besides, Samuel advertised the "Bibla," which he hoped to publish through subscription (*The Life* 183–86), a fact which suggests that the bulky manuscript probably remained in his possession until his death in 1785. Although Samuel's inventory does not identify the "Biblia" manuscript by title, his will stipulated that his "Library should abide where it is now" until one of his descendents would become a minister of the gospel and then "have my Library given to him with all the Manuscripts and Appurtenances belonging to it" (Tuttle 299–300). Meanwhile, Samuel's daughters Elizabeth and Hannah were to be the custodians of the library and "receive the profits" in case the

library were sold. After Elizabeth's death (1788), Samuel Mather's daughter, Hannah Mather Crocker (1752–1829), an accomplished authoress in her own right, sold a large portion of the Mather library to the Worcester printer and antiquarian Isaiah Thomas, but the "Biblia" was not part of this sale. According to Julius Tuttle, Hannah Mather Crocker donated part of her father's and grandfather's libraries to the newly founded Massachusetts Historical Society, for which unspecified gift, the members of the MHS voted to give their thanks to Mrs. Crocker in 1794 and likewise for another gift in 1798 (Tuttle 300, 301). Whether or not the "Biblia" was part of Crocker's donation at that stage is hard to determine, because no itemized record of her bequest is extant.

According to Peter Drummey, Stephen T. Riley Librarian and guardian of manuscripts at the MHS, the records of the Society do not contain any information about the date when the set was acquired or about the identity of the donor. However, some physical evidence on the cardboard binder of the holograph manuscript may establish the approximate date of acquisition. Two small labels or bookplates on the inside of the grayish-brownish cardboard cover provide useful information. One of the bookplates, a rectangular label affixed to the inside cardboard cover of the "Biblia" (vol. 1) bears the following ornate imprint:

Given to the
Massachusetts
Historical Society
By
before Oct. 1809

The label bears the imprint D. KUSSETT in the lower right-hand frame of the bookplate and may refer to an as yet unidentified designer or printer of the label. The date – here given in cursive – is a handwritten notation written in pencil, most likely that of a former MHS librarian. The space for the donor's name is left blank. The vague reference "before Oct. 1809" may well indicate that neither the record of the transaction nor the donor's name was available when the bookplate was affixed. At that time, the MHS was located on Franklin Place, Boston, as a second sticker with an extract of the laws, regulating the library's lending practices, indicates. However, a watermark on two loose leaves, which originally served as a cover page and attached the cardboard covers of volume 1 to the spine of the bound manuscript, may yield an important clue about the approximate year when the manuscript was given to the Society and was rebound. The watermark on the loose leaves measuring 310 mm by 194 mm resembles the coat of arms of the state of Massachusetts. On the double-framed shield, a Native American holds a bow and arrow in his right and left hands (respectively) and faces the beholder. A small five-pointed star is visible near the right-hand side of his head. Outside the shield, above the head of the Indian, a human arm swings a scimitar. A capital M is visible below the shield's pointy

bottom. The loose leaf, originally attached to the inside of the back cover of the same volume, bears the following countersign

C BURBANK
1804

This countersign measures 115 mm by 34 mm. The watermark and countersign are identical with the ones reproduced in Thomas L. Gravell's *A Catalogue of American Watermarks 1690–1835* (48, items 122 and 123).¹ According to Gravel, the watermarks are those of Caleb Burbank, son of Abijah Burbank who had established a paper mill at Sutton, MA, Worcester County, in 1775. Caleb and his brother Elijah operated the Sutton mill of their father until 1836 (Gravell 165, item 30) and supplied Isaiah Thomas and many other New England printers with paper of high quality. The 1804 date on Caleb Burbank's watermark and the handwritten date "before Oct. 1809" on the bookplate are important in several respects. While these dates do not identify the precise year in which the MHS acquired the "Biblia," they limit the span of time during which the transaction probably occurred. It is likely that the newly established Society had the volumes bound sometime after the bequest was received. Furthermore, the dates (1804 and 1809) help us specify the approximate period when the fascicles of the six folio volumes were stitched together with coarse twine and bound up with a grey cardboard cover and back, each measuring 310 mm by 195 mm. The paper from the mill of C Burbank also covers the spine of the six bound volumes and is glued to the covers, front and back, to stabilize the manuscript. On the spine of each of the six volumes appears the following handwritten inscription in printed letters:

MATHER's/ Illustrations/ of the/ SCRIPTURES/M.S./ GENESIS – LEVIT./ I/; / NUMBERS – ESTHER/II/; / JOB – CANTICLES/III/; / ISAIAH – MALACHI/IV/; / MATTHEW – MARK/V/; / ROMANS – REVELATION/VI/

¹ Thomas L. Gravell and George Miller, *A Catalogue of American Watermarks, 1690–1835* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc. 1979). In addition to this volume by Gravell and Miller, I also consulted a second volume by the same authors, *A Catalogue of Foreign Watermarks Found on Paper used in America, 1700–1835* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc. 1983). Furthermore, William Algernon Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, and France, etc. in the XVII and XVIII centuries and their interconnection* (Amsterdam: M. Hertzberger, 1935; Rpt. Nieuwkoop: B. De Graff, 1990); C. M. Briquet, *Le Filigranes Dictionnaire Historique Des Marques Du Papier Des Leur Apparition vers 1282 Jus qu'en 1600*. 4 vols. Deuxième Edition (Rpt. New York: Hacker Art Books, 1966); and Edward Heawood, *Watermarks, mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries* (Hilversum: Paper Publications Society, 1981) provided useful insight into the variety of watermarks employed during Mather's lifetime. Of the five, the works by Gravell and Miller, and by Churchill were the most helpful in identifying and dating the paper Mather used for his commentary. Unfortunately, the wide variety of watermarks and countersigns used by North American and European paper mills – although they allow us to trace at least some of the paper manufacturers who exported their products to New England – tremendously burdens this identification process. Only a fraction of the sheets of paper Mather used can be clearly linked to identifiable paper mills.

Except for the volume-specific identification, the handwritten inscription on the spine is the same for all of the six volumes. The ornate title on the spine, "Mather's Illustrations of the Scriptures," does not appear to have been Cotton Mather's choice, because he always referred to his commentary as "Biblia Americana." The handwritten title which appears on the spine of the holograph manuscript evidently originated in Samuel Mather's biography *The Life of the Very Reverend and Learned Cotton Mather* (1729), in which Samuel refers to his father's commentary as "his *Illustrations of the sacred Scripture*" (73). This descriptive title may well have informed the penman's choice.

Each of the six bound volumes rests in a strong folderlike cardboard box of a greenish, clothbound vinyllike exterior, which completely enfolds each of the six manuscript gatherings. In turn, each boxed volume is protected by a handsome slipcase, made from the same sturdy cardboard (measuring 315 mm by 200 by 65 mm), and covered by the same clothbound vinyllike material. A leather-bound spine, grayish-brownish in color, gives the set a smart, booklike appearance, which is accentuated with the following inscription embossed in gilded letters:

COTTON MATHER
BIBLIA
AMERICANA
I

Each slipcase box carries the same inscription on the spine, except for the roman numerals I–VI, which identify the respective volumes.

Manuscript Condition

Of the six bound folios, the first, consisting of Mather's commentary on Genesis through Leviticus, is in the poorest state of preservation. This condition probably resulted from excessive handling by scholars and curious observers who were likely to turn to this volume first if they desired to inspect the holograph manuscript. The tightly sewn gatherings of the first volume consist of four fascicles that once formed a single, bound folio. The stitching of the bound fascicles has disintegrated by and large and now forms four separate fascicles. Unfortunate as this condition may be, it allows us to examine how the fascicles were sewn together. As I mentioned in section 1 of my introduction, Mather, or an amanuensis, stitched the contiguous leaves of his manuscripts into fascicles of coherent gatherings or bundles to safeguard their orderly arrangement. Holding the fascicles in place in this manner seemed reasonable because Mather expected to send them off to his London publisher shortly after 1706. This first stitching process was done rather haphazardly. As mentioned in Section

1 of my introduction, the fascicles and bundles were intended to stay in place only until the London typesetter would take them apart during the typesetting process. Remnants of the fine thread that held the sheets and fascicles in place and most stitching perforations are still visible in the gutter and manuscript spine. Unfortunately, a second (or rebinding) process – occurring in the early nineteenth century – obliterated many of the ordinal numbers in the gutter. The coarse twine and thick needle used during this second occasion perforated many figures and rendered many more indecipherable. This second stitching process of the fascicles very likely occurred after the holograph manuscript had been donated to the MHS, but before the fascicles were bound between the sturdy cardboard covers held in place with chain-lined paper made in the Sutton paper mill of Caleb Burbank – sometime between 1804 (see the countermark above) and 1836, when the mill ceased to operate.

The first of the four fascicles [1r–96v] includes the MS page of Mather's first and most heavily damaged leaf – "The OLD TESTAMENT, in the Order of the History" – and all conjugate leaves up to Gen. 1:31 "A Remark yett further to be made" (BA 1:213–401). Since several additional annotations on Gen. 1:31 appear in the second fascicle, the gatherings in this and the three other fascicles were, perhaps, arbitrarily governed by concerns of thickness (roughly 200 to 400 pages) and contiguity of leaves rather than the chapter division of Genesis. The same holds true for the second fascicle [97r–244v], which comprises Mather's commentary on Gen. 1:31 to Gen. 10:21 (BA 1:401–711). The leaves of this second fascicle are still tightly sown together with a thin thread from Mather's day, considerably finer than the coarse twine used for the rebinding in the early nineteenth century. The third fascicle [245r–398v], containing annotations on Gen. 10:32 to Gen. 30:11 (BA 1:711–1036), is considerably bulkier than the preceding two and is still held in place by a thickly applied translucent glue on the spine of the fascicle. The fourth and last fascicle of volume 1 comprises MS pages [399r–475v], which consists of the remainder of Gen. 30:11 to 50:25, all of Exodus [1r–188v], and all of Leviticus [1r–164v]. Consisting of approximately 430 MS pages, the fourth fascicle is the largest gathering and the most stable in terms of stitching and gluing of the fascicle's spine. The four individually sewn fascicles were bundled up as one unit and stitched together with thick twine, which held the four fascicles in place as a single volume. Its measurements are 313 mm by 195 mm by 60 mm.

Heavy foxing, stains from watermarks, bumping of the manuscript leaves at the top and bottom, loose conjugate (but smaller) leaves interpolated between the pages, paper cutouts pasted into the margin with red sealing wax (now extremely brittle and disintegrating upon touch) – these conditions describe the general state of the three-hundred-year-old manuscript. This state of disintegration is especially noticeable in the first folio volume (Genesis through Leviticus), most likely because it lionized the attention of readers examining the holograph

manuscript. In spite of the compromised condition of the grey cardboard cover and its fragile binding, the manuscript in itself is remarkably well preserved, even though some lines or words of text are either obscured through occasional heavy foxing or completely lost through wear and tear along the edges or sewn up in the MS's gutter. The majority of the folio pages in the first volume consists of conjugate leaves still connected, but the MS also holds many individual sheets interleaved during the long composition and revision process. Mather also tore out many MS leaves (their stubs generally remaining visible in the gutter of the binding) and inserted, pasted, or otherwise held in place hundreds of smaller MS quarto, octavo, or duodecimo leaves, paper cutouts as well as snippet of paper. These inserts generally range in size from 86 mm to 315 mm (length) by 63 mm to 185 mm (width), but also contain many clippings as small as 30 mm by 20 mm, pasted into the margins, bottom, or center with red sealing wax. Notwithstanding these insertions and alterations, Mather did not fill each column of his recto and verso pages with his commentary; in fact, he left blank many columns, half or quarter pages – even whole pages – to be filled with later additions or to allow for corrections as he went along.

Watermarks and Countersigns: Paper Use in the “Biblia” on Genesis

As previously mentioned, Mather spent more than 35 years gathering material for his Bible commentary. From its slender beginnings in the fall of 1693 to the huge bulk in the winter of 1727/28, the manuscript underwent considerable excisions and interpolations reflected in the table below.

Table of Paper Size and Watermarks²

[1r–38v]	[39r–42v]	[43r–54v]	[55r–58v]	[59r–60v]	[61r–62v]
H 310	H 310	H 310	H 287	H 310	H 298
W 190	W 180	W 190	W 178	W 190	W 187
G 45, 50	G 15, 10	G 22, 22	G 20, 17	G 10, 20	G 20, 20
WM: (A)	WM: (B)	WM: (ZA)	WM: (A)	WM: —	WM: (C)
CM: <i>EB</i>	CM: <i>HD</i>	CM: <i>C</i>	CM: —	CM: <i>M</i>	CM: —
[63r–64v]	[65r–66v]	[67r–68v]	[69r–76v]	[77r–88v]	[89r–96v]
H 305	H 310	H 303	H 313	H 300	H 310
W 191	W 190	W 185	W 190	W 185	W 198
G 16, 11	G 25, 18	G 20, 22	G 15, 15	G 20, 18	G 18, 30
WM: (D)	WM: (L)	WM: (F)	WM: (G,Gx)	WM: (F)	WM: (I)
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>B</i>	CM: <i>H</i>	CM: —

² [H] = height / length of the MS page; [W] = width / depth of the MS page; [G] = gutter; [WM:] = watermark; [CM:] countermark. All measurements are given in millimeters.

[97r–100v]	[101r–102v]	[103r–104v]	[105r–108v]	[109r–112v]	[113r–114v]
H 310	H 303	H 288	H 190	H 306	H 312
W 195	W 190	W 177	W 150	W 190	W 190
G 25, 25	G 18, 20	G 20, 19	G 15, 17	G 18, 20	G 22, 23
WM: (K)	WM: (L)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (F)	WM: —
CM: <i>PC</i>	CM: —	CM: <i>H</i>	CM: —	CM: <i>GG</i>	CM: —
[115r–116v]	[117r–124v]	[125r–126v]	[127r–128v]	[129r–130v]	[131r–132v]
H 165	H 305	H 200	H 185	H 231	H 198
W 108	W 192	W 157	W 156	W 170	W 143
G 13, —	G 25, 22	G —, —	G 18, 20	G 17, 18	G 18, 18
WM: —	WM: (L)	WM: (F)	WM: (A)	WM: (N)	WM: —
CM: —	CM: <i>GG</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[133r–142v]	*139r – *140v	[143r–144v]	[145r–146v]	[147r–148v]	[149r–152v]
H 300	H 188	H 288	H 305	H 190	H 304
W 200	W 153	W 187	W 197	W 153	W 194
G 25, 22	G 16, 15	G 20, 17	G 23, 23	G 20, 20	G 23, 23
WM: (A)	WM: (B)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (ZA)	WM: (L/Q)
CM: <i>CC</i>	CM: —	CM: <i>PD</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[Insert Ar]	[153r–154v]	[155r–160v]	[161r–164v]	[165r–166v]	[167r–198r]
H 152	H 188	H 304	H 289	H 188	H 308
W 80	W 155	W 185	W 175	W 155	W 190
G —	G 15, 17	G 15, 17	G 20, 20	G 18, 17	G 17, 19
WM: —	WM: —	WM: (F)	WM: (A)	WM: (A)	WM: (A)
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>PD</i>	CM: —	CM: ‡
*179r–*180v	[199r–200v]	[201r–204v]	[205r–206v]	[207r–208v]	[209r–216v]
H 165	H 305	H 312 (!)	H 307	H 190	H 308
W 105	W 195	W 195	W 194	W 150	W 196
G —	G 17, 17	G 20, 20	G 25, 22	G 10, 16	G 25, 25
WM: —	WM: —	WM: (A)	WM: L	WM: (F)	WM: (A)
CM: —	CM: —	CM: ‡	CM: —	CM: —	CM: ‡
[211r–212v]	[217r–228v]	[223r–224v]	[229r–230v]	[231r–232v]	[233r–236v]
H 199	H 313	H 157	H 313	H 308	H 310
W 20 (!)	W 193	W 102	W 193	W 195	W 195
G —	G 15, 20	G —, —	G 15, 20	G 25, 22	G 18, 20
WM: —	WM: (A)	WM: (B)	WM: (A)	WM: (Q)	WM: A
CM: <i>G</i>	CM: ‡	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: ‡
[237r–238v]	[239r–240v]	[241r–244v]	[245r–248v]	[249r–278v]	[279r–280v]
H 313	H 305	H 302	H 308	H 304	H 308
W 195	W 196	W 193	W 187	W 187	W 195
G 20, 20	G 25, 25	G 18, 19	G 17, 15	G 17, 16	G 27, 27
WM: —	WM: —	WM: (W)	WM: (L)	WM: (W)	WM: —
CM: Δ	CM: <i>G</i>	CM: <i>HD</i>	CM: <i>HD</i>	CM: <i>H</i>	CM: <i>G</i>
[281r–284v]	[285r–286v]	[287r–290v]	[291r–294v]	[295r–296v]	[297r–300v]
H 287	H 308	H 303	H 290	H 305	H 304
W 199	W 197	W 195	W 179	W 182	W 195
G 19, 20	G 20, 22	G 22, 22	G 20, 20	G 17, 16	G 20, 21
WM: (A)	WM: —	WM: (Z)	WM: (A)	WM: (ZA)	WM: (Z)
CM: <i>IV</i>	CM: —	CM: <i>G</i>	CM: <i>PD</i>	CM: —	CM: <i>GG</i>

[301r–312v]	[313r–314v]	[Attachment]	[315r–316v]	[317r–318v]	[319r–322v]
H 312	H 303	H 156	H 304	H 187	H 308
W 190	W 195	W 97	W 195	W 156	W 195
G 20, 18	G 26, 28	G —,—	G 21, 22	G 18, 20	G 18, 8
WM: A	WM: (QA)	WM: —	WM: (QA)	WM: (AA)	WM: (B)
CM: ‡	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[323r–326v]	[327r–330v]	[331r–332v]	[333r–334v]	[335r–336v]	[337r–338v]
H 304	H 300	H 308	H 310	H 303	H 198
W 190	W 180	W 198	W 195	W 195	W 156
G 20, 21	G 20, 20	G 17, 17	G 20, 19	G 30, 30	G 16, 14
WM: (A)	WM: (BA)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (QA)	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM <i>D/W</i>	CM: <i>D/W</i>	CM: —	CM: —
[339r–340v]	[341r–346v]	[347r–350v]	[351r–352v]	[353r–354v]	[355r–356v]
H 154	H 311	H 297	H 305	H 186	H 304
W 100	W 195	W 188	W 195	W 147	W 196
G —	G 20, 21	G 18, 17	G 24, 24	G 18, 17	G 25, 27
WM: —	WM: (Z)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (QA)
CM: —	CM: <i>CS</i>	CM: <i>CS</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[357r–358v]	[359r–360v]	[361r–370v]	[371r–372v]	[373r–374v]	[375r–376v]
H 188	H 303	H 310	H 162	H 300	H 303
W 153	W 195	W 192	W 108	W 190	W 194
G —	G 10, 11	G 22, 20	G 17, —	G 20, 22	G 22, 26
WM: (F)	WM: —	WM: (A)	WM: (BA)	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: ‡	CM: —	CM: <i>GG</i>	CM: —
[377r–378v]	[379r–380v]	[381r–384v]	[385r–386v]	[387r–388v]	[Insert]
H 306	H 300	H 305	H 187	H 303	H 158
W 192	W 190	W 195	W 149	W 187	W 87
G 18, 25	G 21, 22	G 29, 27	G 17, 17	G 19, 21	G —,—
WM: —	WM: —	WM: (QA)	WM: (AA)	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: <i>GG</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM <i>GG</i>	C: ‡
[389r–390v]	[391r–392v]	[393r–394v]	[391r–398v]	[399r–400v]	[401r–402v]
H 188	H 304	H 305	H 308	H 308	H 185
W 152	W 185	W 198	W 188	W 198	W 149
G 16, 16	G 20, 21	G 37, 30	G 22, 22	G 22, 10	G 16, 16
WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (A)	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: <i>HD</i>	CM: <i>TM</i>	CM: ‡	CM: #	CM: —
[403r–406v]	[407r–408v]	[409r–410v]	[411r–412v]	[413r–416v]	[417r–418v]
H 288	H 305	H 308	H 181	H 300	H 307
W 180	W 196	W 198	W 136	W 181	W 195
G 20, 22	G 28, 28	G 22, 22	G 19, —	G 19, 20	G 20, 20
WM: (A)	WM: (QA)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (A)	WM: —
CM: <i>IV</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>IV</i>	CM: —
[419r–420v]	[421r–424v]	[425r–426v]	[427r–428v]	[429r–432v]	[433r–434v]
H 306	H 304	H 198	H 180	H 306	H 193
W 194	W 192	W 152	W 192	W 195	W 152
G 25, 25	G 18, 21	G 15, 15	G 19, 20	G 25, 18	G 15, 15
WM: —	WM: (L)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (Z)
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>TM</i>	CM: —

[435r–436v]	[437r–438v]	[439r–440v]	[441r–442v]	[443r–444v]	[445v–446r]
H 303	H 181	H 153	H 306	H 303	H 197
W 195	W 153	W 95	W 192	W 197	W 153
G 23, 23	G 17, 17	G 16, —	G 23, —	G 26, 26	G 18, 14
WM: —	WM: (A)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (Z)
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>G</i>	CM: <i>CC</i>	CM: —
[447r–448v]	[449r–450v]	[451r–452v]	[453r–454v]	[Insert]	[455r–456v]
H 306	H 126	H 308	H 304	H 155	H 190
W 195	W 90	W 197	W 190	W 94	W 154
G 22, 22	G —, —	G 20, 25	G 15, 20	G 20	G 17, 17
WM: —	WM: —	WM (QA)	WM: —	WM: (G)	WM: (A)
CM: <i>CC</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>GG</i>	CM: —	CM: —
[457r–460v]	[461r–462v]	[463r–464v]	[465r–466v]	[467r–468v]	[469r–472v]
H 290	H 305	H 305	H 305	H 303	H 310
W 175	W 195	W 190	W 190	W 187	W 195
G 20, 20	G 18, 25	G 18, 17	G 18, 17	G 19, 19	G 20, 20
WM: (A)	WM: (QA)	WM: (A)	WM: —	WM: (X)	WM: 20, 20
CM: <i>PD</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: ‡	CM: —	CM: —

As can be gathered from the above table, Mather introduced a large number of changes in the “*Biblia*” – alterations which involved not only substantive changes of the text but also the removal of whole leaves and the interpolation of others. These changes are visible in the varying sizes of individual leaves [H] and [W] measured here, but also in the breadth of the [G] gutter (or margin) on the right and left-hand side of each page. The four stages of growth and the approximate dates for the revisions of the Genesis MS are discussed in Section 1 of my introduction. Mather rarely makes references to the date of composition of specific sections of his commentary. For this reason, circumstantial evidence such as the publication date of a digested work provides at least some clue about the approximate time period when an addition was made. The watermarks [WM:] and countermarks [CM:] on the manuscript paper constitute an additional source of information about this process.

For reasons of economy, I have identified the design of the WM with alphabetical letters in parentheses which are keyed to depictions of these WM in the standard catalogues listed in footnote 1 (above). With some notable exceptions, virtually all CMs represent the initials of the names of paper-mill owners – foreign or domestic – but are extremely difficult to identify because of the scarcity of information on the paper mills of the period. Even if the faded or broken design of the WMs or of the initials of the CMs can be reconstructed from the sheets of paper used in the “*Biblia*,” linking them to known paper manufacturers is often subject to guesswork. Virtually all of the paper used in Mather’s commentary on Genesis appears to have been imported from English and Dutch paper mills. However, the identification of their names and location is fraught with difficulty.

The watermark references listed in the Table (above) are given in the following alphabetical order: (A), (AA), (B), (BA), (C), (D), (F), (G), (I), (K), (L) (N), (Q), (QA), (W), (X), (Z), (ZA). Furthermore, countermarks (mostly consisting of initials) are given in italics. They all are keyed to designs reprinted in the catalogues mentioned in footnote 1.

(A), (AA), (Z) and (ZA): **London Coat-of-Arms**

The field of a double-framed, pointed shield is intersected by a triple-lined cross. A small dagger in the upper left or right-hand segment embellishes the design of this popular watermark. The top (or crown) of the shield is ornamented with a small fleur-de-lis or cloverleaf in the center, and crescent moons (or scythes) on both sides facing the flower ornament at the crown of the shield. A sharply pointed horn (or thorn) jutting outward at the upper right- and left-hand corners of the shield accentuates the shield's crown. This watermark appears to have been extremely popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries because it occurs in several sizes, with slight variations in the ornamentations at the top and pointed bottoms of the shield. W. A. Churchill identifies this watermark and several of its variants as belonging to the "London Coat-of-Arms" (76). It is closest in appearance to figure 243 in the center (Churchill CCXIV), except that its geometric design of the shield's lower part is identical with the lower part of figure 244. Churchill identifies design 243 as belonging to the Dutch paper maker Pieter van der Ley (with the date 1707), who made his paper for the English Market. Gravell's *Catalogue of Foreign Watermarks* (p. 38 item 55) lists a variant of this design. Reams of paper bearing this design originated in London and were sold in Boston in 1703.

(B) **Arms of England**

In the center of an elongated shield appear the bodies of three lions (one above the other) facing left. The shield is topped with an ornate double-lined crown with a fleur-de-lis in the center and cloverleaves on both sides of the flower. The countermark bears the initials HD. Churchill (75 and CLXXXVII, figure 212) dates this elaborate design to 1690. This watermark appears only four times in all of Mather's commentary on Genesis; its countermark HD – if it is identical with the one listed in Churchill (CLXXXVII) – also appears four times but only once in tandem with the Arms of England here described. The initials HD remain unidentified.

(BA) This watermark is as yet unidentified in part because it is partially lost in the gutter of Mather's manuscript and therefore difficult to reconstruct. It has the appearance of a shield with a rounded bottom and is divided in the middle with a horizontal band or belt, and three circular designs on its top or crown. Several faintly discernible garlands hang from the top on both sides of the shield and accentuate this design.

(C), (F), (W) **Lilies**

This group of watermarks also exists in several variants, some of which are depicted in Churchill (CCLXXXIX, figure 389; and CCXCI, figure 395). The three watermarks (C), (F), and (W) share the following design patterns: In the center of a shield (of differing sizes) is an elaborate fleur-de-lis with a counter-image of similar design giving the flower the appearance of a mirror image. The oblong, almost bell-shaped, petals of the fleur-de-lis has the appearance of a diamond-shaped design in

its mirror-image. Watermark (C) is the simplest version of this depiction, because it lacks the mirror- or counter-image. The crown of the shield in (C) is also relatively unornamented with a diamond-shaped design in the center, inward turning moon-shaped circular figures on both sides of the diamond, and horns on both corners. (F) and (W) are the two most elaborate versions of this design. They muster the fleur-de-lis design and mirror-image and are closest in appearance to figure 389 in Churchill's catalogue. The double-rimmed crown (like a bowl turned upside down) sits on top of the shield. The crown's flowery ornament is closest to that in figure 389, except for the cloverleaves that are absent in (F) but present in (W). The crown of watermark (W) also has the appearance of a whelmed down bowl (as in F), but its flowery ornamentation is virtually identical with that of figure 389.

(D) **Cross and Lions**

This design, which Churchill (90, CDXIV) identifies as Genoese in origin, appears only once in all of Mather's Genesis. A cross in the center of an oval is supported on both sides by what appear to be lions. The oval rests on two globes (one on top of the other) with the initials P in the first and I in the second globe. A crown with a diamond shaped design on its top garnishes the whole. This watermark is virtually identical with the depiction in Churchill (CDXIV), except for the initials in the two globes.

(G), (Gx). **Cornucopia**

This popular design occurs as a smaller element in many watermarks, but rarely as a larger, single ornament (50 mm by 20 mm) without any trimmings as in (G). This design and its more ornate version (Gx) appear in Mather's Genesis only twice. The name and origin of the paper maker remain unidentified.

(I) **Globes**

Three globes resting one upon the other are ornamented with the design of a potent cross on the topmost globe. This unidentified watermark appears only once in Mather's Genesis.

(K) **London Coat-of-Arms**

In the center of a shield is a large cross of a bladelike appearance. This bladelike design gives the cross a somewhat three-dimensional appearance because the left and lower sides of the crossing blades are darkened as if to accentuate a third dimension. The shield comes to rest on an upside-down bulbous fleur-de-lis; the shield is surrounded with curly garlands on the sides and top. This design is virtually identical with the one in Churchill (CCXIII), figure 240, except that the watermark in Mather's Genesis lacks the cross-shaped dagger and the other ornaments and initials given in Churchill's depiction. Churchill (76) identifies this design as that of Abraham Janssen (1635–1710) and of François Jardel, a factor at the Puymoyen mill at Angoulême (Churchill 23).

(L), (X) **Horn**

A horn attached to a strap in the shape of a crossing loop is in the center of this popular design. The highly stylized shield gives way at the top to an elevated unlike or diamond-shaped design resting like a crown on a heartlike shape (top, center) of the shield. The heartlike shape is embraced by crescent circles facing the centerpiece at the top. The countersign of this shield reads COMPANY and is framed in a

rectangle, measuring 57 by 10 mm. This design, which occurs in two variants in Mather's Genesis, is closest in appearance to figure 315 in Churchill's catalogue (CCXLIX). According to Churchill (79), this specific design can be found on paper made from 1623 to 1695. A close variant of this design, yet with the countermark initials HG, is listed in Gravell's *Catalogue of Foreign Watermarks* (106, figure 338) and associated with paper used in Kent County, Delaware, in 1693.

(N) **Horn**

The watermark here identified by (N) represents the bottom half of a shield, whose top is lost in the gutter of Mather's Genesis. The curved shape of the shield's lower part including its joined initials WR, pending below a design in the shape of the numeral 4, appears only once in Mather's Genesis. The design of this watermark is closest to the one in Churchill (CCL, figure 317). The initials WR identify the paper maker as Wendelin Riehel, whose design (including initials) "were imitated in several countries at least until 1770" (Churchill 79).

(Q), (QA) **Lilies**

As previously mentioned, the fleur-de-lis motif (representing the Trinity, as well as the House of Bourbon) was highly popular among Dutch and English paper makers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Very many variants of this design can be found. In the two variant versions in the paper used in Mather's Genesis, it appears nine times. It is closest in appearance to the design in Churchill (CCLXXXIX, figure 390), including its highly ornate crown. The top of the crown resting on the shield is ornamented with a centered lily and a diamond shape on an elevated point on both sides of the lily. The doubled rim of the crown is finished with a halved lily embracing the crown's center ornamentation.

Countersigns: CC, CS, EB, G, GG, GL, IV, H, HD, PC, PD, R, TM, VH, D/W, COMPANY, and ELLISTON & BASKET.

Most of these countersigns are the initials of generally unidentified paper makers and mill owners. The countersign here rendered D/W is arranged in such a fashion that the initial D rests on top of the initial W. The double-symbol ‡ in the Table here signifies the paper-makers' last names ELLISTON & BASKET rather than initials. Finally, the number sign # in the above Table signifies a rather unusual countersign. It has the appearance of the letter O to which a bootlike design is attached. This countersign measures 16 mm by 10 mm. Most of these countersigns appear as frequently in the paper used for Mather's Genesis as the watermarks described above, but rarely in combination with their corresponding watermark. Countersigns generally appear on opposite leaves. The initials CS – like most other initials measuring no more than 10 by 20 mm – are in Gravell's *Catalogue of Foreign Watermarks* (57, figure 136) associated with paper used in Dorchester, Massachusetts, in 1707 (*Catalogue* 7). The countersign ELLISTON & BASKET is by Edward Heawood (466–98) and A. H. Shorter associated with Dutch and French paper makers.³

3 Edward Heawood, "Papers used in England After 1600," *The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 10.4 (2009): 466–98. See also A. H. Shorter, *Paper Mills and Paper Makers in England, 1495–1800* (Hilversum: Paper Publications Society, 1957).

Editorial Principles

In establishing a critical edition of Mather’s magnum opus, I have followed G. Thomas Tanselle’s recommendations in *Textual Criticism and Scholarly Editing*. (Charlottesville and London: UP of Virginia, for the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1990). Subsequent editorial guidelines are informed by Tanselle’s perceptive criticism and have been rigorously enforced in the transcription and vetting processes.⁴ The typescript for Genesis (established by myself) has been collated six times: four times by collating the typescript and the microfilm copyflow with the help of several graduate students (including Merit Kaschig, Jan Saathoff, Florian Schwieger, Ellen Kubica, and Damien Schlarb), and twice by on-site collations of typescript and holograph manuscript at the MHS (summer 2001 and fall 2007).

The following guidelines, based on Tanselle’s recommendations, are adapted to suit the specific qualities of the “Biblia Americana” holograph manuscript and of Cotton Mather’s handwriting:

1. To facilitate a permanent pagination for the entire holograph manuscript, I have introduced in brackets a continuous foliation for each leaf and interpolated cutout (no matter its size); the recto and verso of each are indicated by r or v appended to the page number. Thus Mather’s commentary on the book of Genesis begins with [1r] and ends with [472v]. However, in those cases where Mather interpolates several layers of inserts within inserts, I have marked these layers as [Insert Ar] and [Insert Bv]. Furthermore, the triangular shapes ∇ $\triangle$ given in the margin of the edition respectively mark the beginning and end of a longer textual interpolation. Bracketed page numbers in the edition always signal the beginning of a new MS page.

2. I have inserted in the typescript in the location specified by Mather all of his marginal and interlinear interpolations, which he designates with single, double, or triple carets (^^), with pound signs (##) or other distinguishing marks (aa, oo, **, etc.). However, to establish a clean text unencumbered with literally thousands (!) of editorial symbols, cancellations, and intrusions, I have chosen to make the corrections in the text as Mather intended them for the press – without recording his symbols, false starts, or his corrected misspellings in a separate appendix. A footnote will draw attention to all ambiguous cases; the projected online edition will juxtapose transcription and holograph manuscript pages in parallel columns.

3. Since Mather incorporated new material or excised superseded entries over a period of more than three decades, he frequently ran out of space and was forced to add new chapter-and-verse annotations at the end of the chapter or

⁴ I wish to thank Professors Tanselle (Columbia) and Lisa Gordis (Barnard) for their trenchant review of these guidelines.

interpolate separate quarto, octavo, or duodecimo leaves and paste them in the gutter of a MS page with sealing wax. For these reasons, a number of verse annotations are out of sequence. For instance, a commentary on verse 17 may thus be followed by one on verses 4, 13, or 8, which he added during a later revision process. It seems obvious that Mather did not intend to present his annotations in this disordered fashion. If he had succeeded in interesting a London publisher in his huge folio commentary, Mather most likely would have engaged a copyist to establish a clean, orderly copy text for the typesetter. To avoid confusion, I have therefore elected to present Mather's verse annotations in the appropriate sequential order.

4. Mather cancels punctuation marks, letters, words, sentences, paragraphs, and entire pages for a number of reasons: to search for a more precise word during his rapid composing or copying process; to replace one quotation with another; to excise names, titles, places, dates, and figures about whose accuracy he is in doubt, or whose anonymity he decides to preserve, or whose hermeneutic relevance is superseded by new material; to correct spelling and capitalization; to cancel false starts; to revise punctuation and upper- and lower-casing of letters or words as necessitated by interpolations or cancellations; to emphasize or de-emphasize specific words; and to restore matter obliterated or otherwise obscured by ink spots, smudges, or unevenness of paper quality. All told, Mather's cancellations, emendations, and interlineal interpolations are so numerous that recording them in a genetic text would seriously impede readability and comprehension of Mather's argument. Similar reasons lead me to believe that little is to be gained by chronicling these emendations in a separate appendix. Such an appendix would unnecessarily bloat the size (and expense) of each volume. However, if Mather cancels existing matter because his hermeneutic or theological position changed, I have commented on his cancellations in discussion footnotes and recorded cancelled matter in Appendix A. For all other cancellations not reproduced in footnotes, readers should consult Mather's holograph MS at the Massachusetts Historical Society, turn to the readily available microfilm copies of the Mather Family Papers, or postpone their quest until the searchable online edition becomes available.

Generally, Mather cancels matter by drawing a thick wavy line through the passage or corrects his spelling or syntax by writing over (i.e., in the same place as) existing words. Deciphering and reconstructing these excisions or corrections proved fairly easy. But when he wants to be sure that a passage cannot be deciphered, he obliterates it by repeatedly drawing a wavy line through the excision, by erasing or even smudging it.

I have used the following symbols wherever words have been permanently lost through defacement, illegibility, or mutilation:

- [*], [**] to indicate the loss of, one or more words by Mather’s defacement.
 [* illeg.], [** illeg.] to indicate the loss of one or more words through illegibility of Mather’s paleography.
 [* torn], [** torn] to indicate the loss of one or more words by mutilation.

If a lost or missing word can be inferred with reasonable certainty, the inferred reconstruction is rendered in braces { }. If subject to conjecture, however, the reconstruction is followed by a question mark and rendered in braces { ? }.

5. Mather’s use of abbreviations and contractions provides no hardship for scholars of the period. Even general readers unfamiliar with the conventions of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries should experience few problems in that respect. But since Mather intended “Biblia Americana” for the press, I have silently expanded all those contractions and abbreviations that an early eighteenth-century typesetter would generally have spelled out. I have here reconstructed the principles used by Thomas Parkhurst, printer and publisher of Cotton Mather’s 1702 London edition of *Magnalia Christi Americana*, available in a facsimile imprint by Arno Press (1972) as well as through Chadwyck Healey’s Eighteenth-Century Collection Online (ECCO):

y ^t	= that	y ^e	= the	y ^m	= them
y ^r	= their	o ^r	= our	w th	= with
w ^{ch}	= which	wherew th	= wherewith	aforesd.	= aforesaid

However, all of Mather’s abbreviations that coincide with modern conventions such as *Cap^t* (Captain), *M^r* (Master / Mister), *M* (French: Monsieur), *D^r* (Doctor), *comēcing*, *&* (ampersand), *&c.* (etc.), and *tho’* (though), have been rendered *Capt.*, *Mr.*, *M.*, *Dr.*, *commencing*, or retained as *&*; *&c.* or *tho’* as evidenced in Parkhurst’s 1702 London imprint.

6. While Mather generally distinguishes between the minuscules *i* and *j* in his quotations from Latin sources (Latin not discriminating between *i* and *j*, *I* and *J*, and *u* and *v*), he did not do so for the majuscules *I* and *J*, which Mather renders *J* with very few exceptions. Since no misreading is really possible here, I have retained Mather’s archaic conventions wherever applicable. His long-tailed minuscule *f*, commonly rendered as a lowercase *s*, is somewhat more problematic, for Mather uses both *f* and *s* interchangeably. Thus both *should* and *should* or *possession* and *possession* can be found; I have silently adopted modern conventions and uniformly rendered the long-tailed *f* as lowercase *s* throughout the text.

7. Following homiletic tradition for oral delivery, Mather underscores an unusual number of words and phrases with single or double underlining to emphasize key terms and concepts, and to signal Latin quotations. Again, I have followed the conventions of Mather’s eighteenth-century publisher (still applicable today) and rendered a passage underscored by a single line in *italics* and that by a double line in SMALL CAPITALS.

8. Even though Mather's spelling is remarkably consistent and, by the standard of his peers, remarkably modern, occasional inconsistencies do occur when he copies from his primary sources. If his particular spelling does not give rise to any confusion, I have retained his variant. For instance, he renders *foretell* as either *foretel* or *fortell*, and consistently spells *carcass* as *carcase*, or *thoroughly* as *throughly*. Since no misunderstanding seems possible, I have retained Mather's exact spelling throughout. If, on the other hand, Mather adopts a variant spelling of the names of such authors as *Camden*, *Peutinger*, *White*, or *Clarke* by rendering them *Cambden*, *Pentinger*, *Wite*, or *Clark*, wrongful identification is possible. In such cases, I have corrected the variant spelling in the text and noted the correction in a footnote. Such obvious slips as *fthe heavens*, often the result of Mather's inaccurate copying from another source, of inaccurate cancellations of earlier passages, of interlineations of words and phrases, have been silently emended. His characteristic (though inconsistent) mixes of numerals such as *ii* for *11*, *i2* for *12*, or *3i* for *31*, have been silently modernized. However, in following Parkhurst's eighteenth-century conventions, I have retained Mather's use of such ligatures as *æ* and *Æ* and for *œ* and *Œ*. Hence "æqual" and "Ægypt," and "Phœnicians" and "Œconomy." These conventions generally reflect Mather's Latin sources.

9. Capitalization in "Biblia Americana" is rather problematic throughout. Anybody who has ever seen a sample of Mather's handwriting will be aware of the difficulty. His indiscriminate and indeterminate use of upper and lower cases of the letters *c*, *e*, *g*, *l*, *m*, *o*, *p*, *s*, *u*, *v*, *w*, *x*, *y*, and *z* is confusing to modern expectations, especially when the first letter of a name or the initial letter of a word following a period appears to be lowercased. Generally, a seemingly lowercased word at the beginning of a sentence is not problematic. But since there is no evidence to suggest that Mather intentionally uses minuscules after sentence-terminal marks, the initial letter of a word at the beginning of a new sentence, as well as of a proper name, is silently capitalized.

A final capitalization usage deserves brief attention. Mather commonly capitalizes word-initial letters of nouns or a sequence of nouns, of adjectives modifying nouns, of a sequence of predicate adjectives, or even of sequential adverbs and verbs to emphasize particular concepts or themes, or to signal to the orator a change of intonation to effect a different meaning. Hence we find "their Thoughts and their Pens," "Beloved City and Celestial Abode," "Considerable Alterations and Divine Offerings," "more Copiously and more Accurately." Such conventions are typical of the contemporary homiletic tradition for oral delivery, and Mather's practice requires no elucidating. It is more problematic, however, when his capitalization lacks any apparent rationale. His use of upper and lower cases in such passages as "GoD the Father, The son, and The Holy ghost" seemingly follows no recognizable logic – unless we remember Mather's interchangeable use of such upper and lowercase letters as *o*, *s*, *g*. Since prob-

lems of this nature are a distinctive feature of Mather's hand, I have elected to regularize his practice throughout: Thus, "GOD the Father, The Son, and The Holy Ghost." However, when Mather's intention could not be inferred from the context or prior evidence, I have silently capitalized nouns and gerunds if they began with the letters *c, e, g, l, m, o, p, s, u, v, w, x, y*, or *z*. Imposing consistency in these instances solved the problem of making literally thousands of individual and subjective judgments. Along the same lines, adjectival clusters preceding nouns and sequential adverbial modifiers have been silently rendered in upper or lower cases when the first letter of an adjective or adverb cluster in the sequence clearly indicate Mather's intention. Hence such phrases as "the **I**llustrious and **p**ious Master **c**artwright" or "he **B**arely touched yet **s**acrilegiously despoiled" are rendered "the *Illustrious* and *Pious* Master *Cartwright*" and "he *Barely* touched yet *Sacrilegiously* despoiled." Unfortunately, this system is not completely foolproof; in some cases arbitrary decisions were necessary when no precedent patterns were available. At any rate, I have taken pains to rule out any unintentional shift in meaning.

10. Punctuation marks in "*Biblia Americana*" are a frequent source of problems. Mather's innumerable excisions and interpolations necessitated frequent re-punctuation. Unfortunately, he does not always excise the existing punctuation mark when he inserts a new one. As a result, two different marks often exist side by side. But deciphering Mather's final choice proved relatively easy when I consulted the holograph manuscript at the MHS. The use of different types of ink (generally indistinguishable on the microfilm copy) clearly signals Mather's intention.

I have retained Mather's final choices in virtually all cases just as they occur in "*Biblia*." Only when his punctuation mark renders the meaning of his sentences ambiguous did I intrude into the text. Such intrusions, however rare, are indicated by brackets [] or identified in a footnote.

11. To allow for later additions, Mather leaves many blank spaces and blank pages in the holograph manuscript. Frequently, an entire MS page consists of only two or three brief paragraphs of commentary on different biblical verses, with blank spaces of varying lengths between them. In such cases, I have regularized the blank spaces between such paragraphs by uniformly introducing two blank lines between them.

Most of the time, Mather signals the beginning of new paragraphs with indentations of irregular lengths. Here I have used a standard indentation for each new paragraph unless Mather's pattern suggests otherwise. Any extra spaces between words or sentences, possibly serving Mather as reminders for later insertions, have been silently omitted. When Mather skips one or more lines between paragraphs to signal a new subdivision or to break up long passages into visually recognizable units, I have regularized his practice by dropping two lines. Similarly, when he uses one or more slashes // to indicate that a passage is to be

centered or to be blocked, I have carried out his intent but silently omitted his slash or slashes. However, since Mather uniformly sets off his Hebrew citations with slashes at the beginning and end, I have retained his practice. Thus, “The Terms, /נחש/ and /שרף/ are synonymous.”

12. Mather frequently uses dashes – of varying lengths. Such a dash often signifies the end of a quotation, an omission of words (especially in conflated quotations), or some other unspecified alteration to a quotation. However, dashes occur not only within quotations but also at the ends of lines, here generally indicating pauses. I have retained Mather’s practice in the text of the present edition but uniformly standardized their length.

13. Single, and infrequently double, quotation marks serve Mather to highlight lengthy citations from his contemporaries’ sources. These markers appear at the opening (but not at the closing) of each citation and in front of each word (along the left-hand margin) beginning a new line. Little seems to be gained, however, by retaining this archaic practice: (1) Mather’s line breaks (except for those in his poetry) are different from the line breaks in the present edition. (2) If these lines were run to the same measure as the surrounding copy, Mather’s quotation marks would appear midline. (3) And to move the quotation marks back to the left-hand margin would be to impose an archaic convention on this modern setting. For these reasons, modern conventions have been adopted here, and double quotation marks are placed only at the opening and closing of Mather’s citations.

14. I have retained Mather’s hyphenations of compound names, verbs, nouns, adjectives, and adverbs as they appear in the manuscript. Distinguishing compound hyphenation from end-of-the-line divisions proved easy enough, since the context clearly signals his intention. In those cases where an end-of-the-line division mark coincides with the hyphen of a hyphenated compound word, I have tried to rule out any misinterpretation. No separate record of Mather’s divisions of hyphenated compounds is therefore necessary, except in those cases when Mather’s hyphenated words coincide with the end-of-the-line word division in the printed text. These rare instances are explained in a footnote.

15. Mather’s Latin, Greek, and Hebrew citations are a constant source of problems because he virtually always quotes them at second, even third and fourth, hand depending on which authors and sources he is epitomizing. Modern readers must not forget that Mather and his contemporaries by and large did not have the benefit of our modern classical editions, whose philological reliability, textual accuracy, and variant orthography are a result of the philological research begun during the Renaissance and achieving prominence in Mather’s own time. In virtually all cases Mather reliably copies his sources and their classical citations. In cases where Mather makes mistakes, the error generally occurs in

Mather's source as well. Whenever such a problem occurs, I have commented on this issue in a footnote and corrected the error in the text.

His transcription of the Greek diacritical marks, however, seems sloppy at first glance. Mather frequently adds accent marks in his Latin citations even though they do not appear in his source. Significantly, in nearly every instance, he omits the accent or aspiration marks from his Greek and Hebrew citations – even if they are supplied in his source texts. In his *Manuductio ad Ministerium* (1726), Mather addressed the issue of Greek accent marks and his rationale for omitting them. Advising his candidates for the ministry, he argued,

I can't encourage you, to throw away much Time, upon an Accurate Skill in the *Greek Accents*: But rather wholly to drop them, when your Quill comes to convey any *Greek* into your Pages. For, as the Writing of *Greek* otherwise than in *Capitals*, was introduced in later Ages by the Monks of *Egypt*, who borrowed the smaller Letters now used from the *Coptic*; So, One shall hardly find any *Accents* on the *Greek*, in any Manuscripts written above Eight Ages ago: Nor was the Invention of the *Accents*, with which our *Greek* is now encumbered, of any other than a *Musical Intention*. And, *Vossius*, with *Henninius* after him, are not the only Gentlemen, who have declared earnestly against pronouncing the *Greek* according to the *Accents*: I pray, how would a Verse of *Homer* sound, if it were so pronounced? (*Manuductio* 29–30)

A similar intent seems to govern Mather's numerous, though brief, Hebrew citations, whether derived from secondary sources or from the Masoretic texts themselves. Some scholars faulted him for his imperfect knowledge of Hebrew (see L. H. Feldman 125, 152n15; and S. Goldman, *God's Sacred Tongue* 31–51). However cogent this critique may be, Mather sided in his 1681 Harvard M. A. thesis with Johann Buxtorf the Younger, who in 1648 attacked Louis Cappellus' *Arcanum punctationis revelatum* (1624) for rejecting the belief that the Hebrew vowel points were coterminous with the origin of the Hebrew language. Mather's academic endeavor was perhaps more indicative of his faith and wishful thinking than the state-of-the art knowledge of the Tiberian Masoretes (sixth c. CE), whose contribution to the Hebrew texts was not fully understood until Louis Cappellus published his refutation. In "Biblia Americana," Mather admits his error and, perhaps for this reason, elects to omit the Hebrew cantillation marks in virtually all instances.

Similar problems occur in Mather's copying of Greek phrases and sentence, which (as usual) are at second, third, even fourth, hand. What complicates matters is that Mather and his peers frequently employ shorthand abbreviations such as *os* for "os," the terminal "ς" (in opening or medial positions) for "στ," or *ta* for "tai," *o* for *o*, or *J* for *o*. In all cases I have elected to expand his abbreviations silently and follow modern conventions. However, I retain all accent marks in his Greek and Hebrew citations if they are supplied in the holograph manuscript.

Annotations

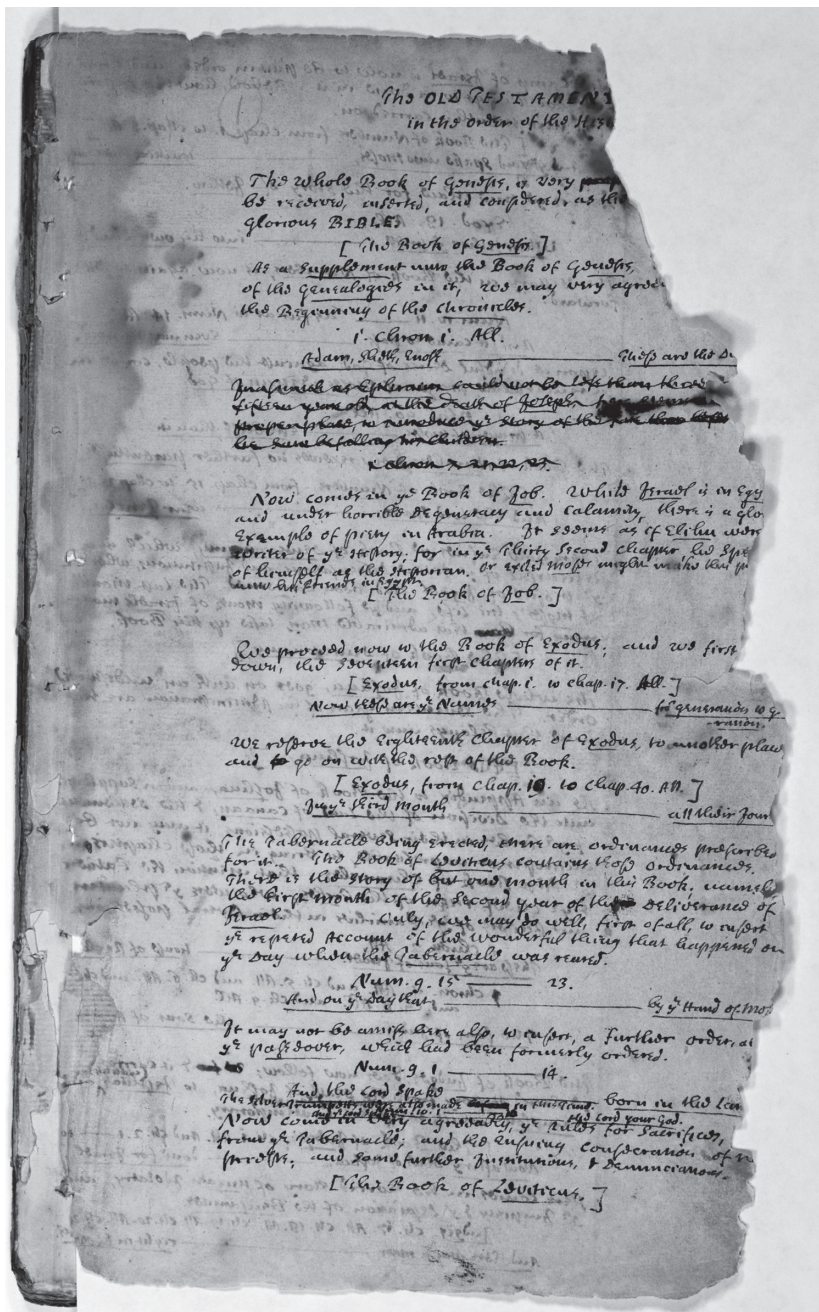
Cotton Mather's commentary "Biblia Americana" (in itself one gigantic sequence of annotations on biblical archaisms, doctrinal concepts, philological peculiarities, and scientific innovations) requires a running commentary on issues important to Mather and his Reformed peers. Among his target audience are theologians, preachers, informed laypersons, and fellow virtuosi, whose demand for answers to the burning scientific and philosophical questions of the age were frequently ignored by such conservative commentators as Henry Ainsworth, Matthew Henry, Matthew Poole, and Simon Patrick.

Modern readers unfamiliar with the philosophical debates of the period, with the radical changes in biblical hermeneutics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and with the tools of seventeenth-century exegesis (tools that Mather took for granted), might easily require three different sets of annotations to meet their own needs. To satisfy these demands would surely require volumes of running commentary and become an editorial odyssey that would founder on the Scylla and Charybdis of scholarly perfectionism and editorial exigencies. Careful examination of Mather's approach to and use of his sources leads me to believe that specific parameters have to be established in guiding readers (and fellow editors) through the maelstrom and quicksand of the "Mather bog":

- (1) A working knowledge of the Bible, its major figures, and main historical events is taken for granted. Any number of modern biblical dictionaries and encyclopedias will quickly yield answers not provided here.
- (2) Annotations are to clarify Mather's own exegetical positions in the context of his own time period, not to pass judgment on, or to provide a partisan defense of his denominational or ideological concerns.
- (3) Mather's sources are identified by author, place of publication, and first edition if known.
- (4) Biographical information of Mather's authors is kept to a minimum and provided only when crucial to the immediate context.
- (5) Biblical allusions and citation references not provided in Mather's text are supplied in footnotes and recorded in the Index of Biblical Passages.
- (6) Standard reference tools such as the *Patrologiae Latinae* (PL), *Graecae* (PG), and *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (www.tlg.uci.edu), or such indispensable online resources as www.perseus.tufts.edu/Texts/latin_TOC.html and "thelatinlibrary.com" are used throughout to identify the sources for Mather's citations. Furthermore, the standard editions of classical Greek and Roman literature, available in multiple modern reprints (Teubner, Loeb, Oxford), are used to identify book, chapter, section, or paragraph numbers – unless otherwise noted.
- (7) Translations of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, or German citations are furnished only if Mather does not do so himself or if his translations are seriously flawed.

PART 2

THE TEXT



Courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society

The OLD TESTAMEN{T,}

[1r]

in the Order of the Hist{ory}¹

The whole Book of *Genesis*, is very {***torn} be received, inserted, and considered, as the {**torn} Glorious BIBLE.

[The Book of *Genesis*.]

As a *Supplement* unto the Book of *Genesis*, {***torn} of the *Genealogies* in it, we may very agree{ably *torn}{start at} the Beginning of the *Chronicles*.

1. Chron. 1. All.

*Adam, Sheth, Enosh, – These are the Du{kes of Edom.}*²

Now comes in the Book of *Job*. While *Israel* is in *Egy{pt}* and under horrible Degeneracy and Calamity, there is a glor{iou}s Exemple of Piety in *Arabia*. It seems as if *Elihu* were {the} Writer of the History; for in the Thirty Second Chapter, he spe{aks} of himself as the Historian. Or exiled *Moses* might make this P{art?} unto his Friends in Egypt.

[The Book of *Job*.]

We proceed now to the Book of *Exodus*; and we first {*torn} down, the Seventeen first Chapters of it.

[*Exodus*, from chap. 1. to chap. 17. All.]

Now these are the Names – from Generation to Ge{ne}ration.

We reserve the Eighteenth Chapter of *Exodus*, to another Place {torn} and go on with the rest of the Book.

¹ In this first section of his “Biblia Americana” (hereafter “BA”), Cotton Mather outlines a unique chronology of the events mentioned in the OT and NT. Since the biblical authors frequently do not narrate the historical episodes in their chronological order, Mather hopes to furnish his readers with a basic key to the sequence of unfolding events, to recognize parallel events occurring during the same period yet related sequentially, and to supplement the incomplete detail given by one author with the fuller (or alternate) version given by another. Unlike James Ussher’s *Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (1650), Thomas Allen’s *A Chain of Scripture Chronology* (1659), William Howell’s *An Institution of General History* (1661), or Robert Cary’s *Palaeologia Chronica* (1676), Mather rearranges the sequence of books, chapters, and verses of the Bible in the order in which they address the chronology of biblical events.

² See Appendix A.

[*Exodus*, from chap. 19. to chap. 40. All.]

In the third Month – all their Journeys.

The Tabernacle being erected, there are Ordinances prescribed for it. The Book of *Leviticus* contains those Ordinances. There is the Story of but one Month in this Book; namely, the First Month of the Second Year of the Deliverance of *Israel*. Only, we may do well, first of all, to insert the repeated Account of the wonderful thing that happened on the Day when the *Tabernacle* was reared.

Num. 9.15–23.

And, on the Day that – by the Hand of Moses.

It may not be amiss here also, to insert, a further Order, about the *Passeeover*, which had been formerly ordered.

Num. 9.1–14.

And the Lord spake – born in the Land.

The Silver Trumpets were also made in this Time.

Num. 10.1–10.

And the Lord spake – the Lord your God.

Now come in very agreeably, the Rules for Sacrifices, [*torn] from the Tabernacle; and the ensuing Consecration of [the] Priests; and some further Institutions, & Denunciations.

[The Book of *Leviticus*.]

[2v] | [T]he Camp of *Israel* is now to be put in Order, and great and good Things to be done in it. Behold, how the History of the next Month is carried on.

[The Book of *Numbers*, from chap. 1. to chap. 8. All.]

And the Lord spake unto Moses, – touching their Charge.

Here is the true Place for the Story of *Jethro*.

Exod. 18. All.

When Jethro the Priest – into his own Land.

The History in the Book of *Numbers*, is now again to sett forward.

Num. 10.11 – as far as to Num. 14. All.

And it came to pass – even unto Hormah.

Upon the dreadful Decree of God, against the People, comes in a remarkable *Prayer of Moses, the Man of God*.

Psal. 90. All.

A Prayer of Moses, – establish thou it.

The Book of *Numbers*, now receives no further *Parentheses*.

[The Book of *Numbers*, – from chap. 15. to chap. 36. All.]

And the Lord spake – near Jericho.

There now ensues the Book of *Deuteronomy*; which is a Rehearsal of the Divine Dispensations and Institutions, wherein the People of *Israel* had been concerned. The last Month of *Moses*'s his Life, and the following Month of *Israel*'s Mourning for that admirable Man, take up this Book.

[The Book of *Deuteronomy*.]

The whole Book of *Joshua*, goes on with an undisturbed Order. The Seventeen Years of his Administration are the Time that belongs unto it.

[The Book of *Joshua*.]

As an Appendix to the Book of *Joshua*, and a Supplement unto the Division of the Land of *Canaan*, & the Settlement of the Tribes in their several Possessions, it may not be improper or unprofitable, to bring in those Chapters in the First Book of *Chronicles*, that mention the Fathers & the chief Men of the *Tribes*, who were the Planters and Raisers of the Families in their several Possessions.

1. Chron. 2. All.

These are the Sons of Israel. – house of Rechab.

1. Chron. 4. All. and ch. 5. All. and ch. 6. All. and ch. 7. All.

and, ch. 8. All. and ch. 9. All.

The Sons of Judah – the Sons of Azel.

The Book of *Judges*, does now follow; & it carries on the Sacred History, from the Death of *Joshua*, to *Jephthah* (with his Succession) and *Sampson*, which two (*Jephthah* and *Sampson*) were contemporary.

[The Book of *Judges*; ch. 1. All. And ch. 2.1–10.]

Now after the Death of Joshua, – done for Israel.

Here comes in the horrid Story of *Micahs* Idolatry, and the Impiety & the Desolation of the *Benjamites*.

Judges. ch. 17. All. Ch. 18. All. Ch. 19. All. Ch. 20. All. Ch. 21. {All.}

And there was a Man – right in his own.

| The History of the *Judges*, is now to proceed.

[3r]

Judg. 2.11–23. And, ch. 3. All.

And the Children of Israel, – delivered Israel.

Here seems to be the most agreeable Place to bring in the Book of *Ruth*. *Boaz's* Marriage to *Ruth*, seems to fall much about the Time of the Death of *Ehud*.

[The Book of *Ruth*.]

The History of the *Judges* is to have no further Interruption.

Judges, – from chap. 4. All. to chap. 16. All.

And the Children of Israel again, – Judged Israel twenty Years.

From hence we travel into the First Book of *Samuel*; which carries us, from the Death of *Sampson*, who died by his own hand gloriously, to the Death of *Saul*, who died by his own hand miserably.

1. Samuel. ch. 1. – as far as chap. 19. All.

Now there was a certain Man – Saul among the Prophets.

Here comes in the *Psalms*; which was composed on the Occasion of *Sauls* watching the House, to take and kill *David*.

Psal. 59. All.

To the chief Musician – God of my Mercy.

The History goes on.

1. Sam. ch. 20. All.

And David fled – into the City.

Here seems to be a proper Lodging, for the Seventeenth Psalm; the Enemies of *David* in the Court of *Saul*, are at Work, sufficiently to produce, all the Petitions in us.

[Psal. 17. All.]

A Prayer of David – with thy Likeness.

Another Psalm there is, that may come in here well enough.

[Psal. 140. All.]

To the chief Musician – dwell in thy Presence.

1. Sam. ch. 21. All.

Then came David – come into my House!

Here is the Place for the *Thirty fourth* Psalm, as the Title of it ha's determined it.

[Psal. 34. All.]

A Psalm of David, when – shall be desolate.

And while *David* was thus among the *Philistines*, he was *A Dumb One, under Oppression, among Men afar off*. Accordingly the Psalm, *Gnal Jonath-Elem rechokim*, is to be referr'd unto this Occurrence and Occasion.³

[Psal. 56. All.]

To the chief Musician – Light of the Living.

Resume now the History; as far as one short Clause ha's given it; a Peece of One Verse.

1. Sam. 22.1. –

David therefore departed thence, and escaped to the Cave of Adullam.

Here comes in the Hundred & forty second Psalm.

[Psal. 142. All.]

Maschil of David – bountifully with me.

The Lord hears his Prayer, and sends his Friends to surround & comfort him. Here lett the History proceed.

1. Sam. 22.1, 2.

And when his Brethren – four hundred Men.

1. Chron. 12.8–19.

And of the Gadites – Jeopardy of our Heads.

[4v] | Now again we are to pursue the History.

1. Sam. 22.3. – 23.

And David went thence – be in Safeguard.

The horrid Action of *Doeg*, and of *Saul* murdering the Priests on the Accusation of *Doeg*, produced, what we are now to attend unto.

³ The Hebrew phrase “Gnal Jonath-Elem rechokim” is an instruction to the “chief musician” to intone Ps. 56 “*after* (the melody): ‘the mute dove among strangers’” (Delitzsch and Keil 5:12).

[Psal. 52. All.]

To the chief Musician – good before thy Saints.

There is also another Psalm, that from diverse Passages in it, may seem calculated, for this Occasion.

[Psal. 12. All.]

To the chief Musician – vilest Men are exalted.

Wee return to the Holy History.

1. Sam. 23.1–23.

Then they told David – all the Thousands of Judah.

This Distress produced a Psalm, which is now to be considered.

[Psal. 54. All.]

To the chief Musician – upon mine Enemies.

Lett the History now proceed.

1. Sam. 23.24–29.

And they arose – Strongholds at Engedi.

Several and glorious Composures are by the Spirit of God produced about this time, in the Heart of His Afflicted Servant.

[Psal. 63. All.]

A Psalm of David, when – shall be stopped.

[Psal. 143. All.]

A Psalm of David. Hear – I am thy Servant.

We are now to entertain more of the Sacred History.

1. Sam. 24. All.

And it came to pass – gatt them up unto the Hold.

More of the Divine Psalms, do seem to claim a Right of being introduced here. Particularly; There is one called, *Altaschith*, or, *Destroy not*. Probably, in Commemoration of this, That tho' *David* was moved by his Followers, to *destroy Saul*, yett he would not.

[Psal. 57. All.]

To the chief Musician – above all the Earth.

[Psal. 141. All.]

A Psalm of David. Lord – I withal escape.⁴

The Process of the Sacred History, is now to be attended.

1. Sam. ch. 25. All.

And Samuel died – which was of Gallim.

At the History of *Nabal*, why should not the *Fifty Eighth* Psalm come in? Tis an, *Al-taschith*, or, *Destroy not*; perhaps it refers to *Dauids* not destroying of *Nabal*; altho' he had threatned it.

⁴ See Appendix A.

[Psal. 58. All.]

To the chief Musician. Altaschith – Judgeth in the Earth.

[5r] | About this Time, the Molestations of *David*, from *Saul* and his Courtiers, afford Opportunities, for several Psalms, to be brought in, for the Church of God.

[Psal. 26. All.]

A Psalm of David. Judge – bless the Lord.

[Psal. 64. All.]

To the chief Musician – upright in heart shall glory.

[Psal. 131. All.]

A Song of Degrees – from henceforth & forever.

The History again demands our Attention.

1. Sam. ch. 26. All.

And the Ziphites came – returned to his Place.

The Complaint which we have newly read, of *David*, hunted as a *Partridge in the Mountains*, invites us here to insert a Psalm, which may seem to have an Eye to that Passage.

[Psal. 11. All.]

To the chief Musician – behold the Upright.

The History is now to be minded.

1. Sam. 27.1.

And David said, – escape out of his Hand.

Why should not the *Thirteenth* Psalm appear very proper here?

[Psal. 13. All.]

To the chief Musician – bountifully with me.

The History returns.

1. Sam. 27.2–12.

And David arose – my Servant forever.

1. Chron. 12.1–7.

Now these are they that came – Jeroham of Gedor.

Why should not the Psalm that complains of *David's* banishment, come in at this Place?

[Psal. 120. All.]

A Song of Degrees – they are for War.

The History is to take place again.

1. Sam. ch. 28. All. And, ch. 29. All.

And it came to pass – went up to Jezreel.

1. Chron. 12.19–22.

And there fell some of Menasseh – like the Host of God.

1. Sam. ch. 30. All. Ch. 31. All.

And it came to pass, when David – fasted Seven dayes.

1. Chron. ch. 10. All.

Now the Philistines – unto David the Son of Jesse.

2. Sam. ch. 1. All. Ch. 2. All. Ch. 3. All. Ch. 4. All. Ch. 5. to v. 10. –

Now it came to pass – Lord God of Hosts was with him.

1. Chron. ch. 11. All.

Then all Israel – the Mesobaite.

1. Chron. 12.23–40.

*And these are the Numbers – Joy in Israel.*⁵

At this Time of *Davids* Accession to the Throne, there are several Psalms, to come in, and entertain the People of God.

[Psal. 75. All.]

To the chief Musician – Righteous shall be exalt{ed.}

| [Psal. 101. All.]

[6v]

A Psalm of David. I will sing – City of the Lord.

The Union of the Tribes, under the Government of *David*, thus happily accomplished, seems to have been the Occasion of another Psalm, or two.

[Psal. 133. All.]

A Song of Degrees of David. Behold – Life forevermore.

[Psal. 21. All.]

To the chief Musician – praise thy Power.

The History is again in Motion.

2. Sam. 5.11–25.

And Hiram, King of Tyre – come to Gazer.

1. Chron. ch. 14. All.

Now Hiram King of Tyre – upon all Nations.

Is there not a Psalm to come in at this Place? We scarce can find a fitter for it?

[Psal. 118. All.]

O give thanks unto the Lord – Mercy endureth forever.

What if the *First Edition* of the Eighteenth Psalm should be here?

[Psal. 18. All.]

To the chief Musician – his Seed forevermore.

Lett the acceptable History now return unto us.

1. Chron. 13.1–4.

And David consulted – Eyes of all the People.

2. Sam. 6.1–11.

Again David gathered together – all his Household.

1. Chron. 13.5–14.

So David gathered – all that he had.

The Removal of the *Ark*, leads us to the Psalm, which begins with the Words, to be used, when the *Ark* Removed.

⁵ See Appendix A.

[Psal. 68. All.]

To the chief Musician, A Psalm or Song – blessed be God.

We are again dismissed unto the proceeding History.

2. Sam. 6.12. the former Part of the Verse.

And it was told King David, saying, The Lord hath blessed the House of Obed-Edom, and all that pertaineth to him, because of the Ark of God.

1. Chron. 15.1–14.

And David made him Houses – Ark of the Lord God of Israel.

It should seem that the Hundred and thirty-second Psalm was now composed; in which there is a Prayer, that the Priests being sanctified and accepted, there may be no more such a Breach, as the late one upon *Uzzah*, made upon them.

[Psal. 132. All.]

A Song of Degrees. Lord – his Crown flourish.

The History is again in its Progress.

2. Sam. 6. – 12–19.

So David went and – every one to his house.

1. Chron. 15.15–29. And, ch. 16. All.

And the Children of the Levites – bless his House.

Several Psalms were provided, as it should seem, for this great Occasion.

[Psal. 67. All.]

To the chief Musician. – shall Fear Him.

[Psal. 105. All.]

O give Thanks unto the Lord. – Lawes. Praise yee the Lord.

[Psal. 106. All.]

Praise yee the Lord. O give thanks – Amen. Praise yee the Lord.

[Psal. 96. All.]

O sing unto the Lord – with His Truth.

[Psal. 24. All.]

A Psalm of David. – King of Glory. Selah.

[7r] | The History is now to flow on.

2. Sam. 6.20–23.

Then David returned – the Day of her Death.

It may not be amiss, hereabouts to enjoy the Melody of the Hundred & twenty second Psalm.

[Psal. 122. All.]

A Song of Degrees, of David. – I will seek thy Good.

The History is again in its Course.

2. Sam. ch. 7. All. Ch. 8. All.

And it came to pass – Sons were cheef Rulers.

1. Chron. ch. 17. All. Ch. 18. All.

Now it came to pass – chief about the King.

We are directed here to bring in Two of the Inspired Psalms.

[Psal. 60. All.]

To the chief Musician, upon Shushan Eduth – our Enemies.

[Psal. 108. All.]

A Song or Psalm of David – our Enemies.

A Third may be added.

[Psal. 98. All.]

A Psalm. O sing – People with Equity.

The History again addresses us.

2. Sam. ch. 9. All. And ch. 10. All.

And David said – Ammon any more.

May there not a Psalm demand a Station here?

[Psal. 20. All.]

To the chief Musician – hear us when we call.

Now to the History again.

1. Chron. ch. 19. All.

Now it came to pass – Ammon any more.

2. Sam. ch. 11. All. And ch. 12.1–14.

And it came to pass – shall surely Dy.

The Repentance of David is the next Entertainment for us.

[Psal. 51. All.]

To the chief Musician. – upon thine Altar.

[Psal. 32. All.]

A Psalm of David, Maschil. – upright in heart.

The History does again feed us.

2. Sam. 12.15–23.

And Nathan departed – not return to me.

2. Sam. 12.26–31.

And Joab fought – unto Jerusalem.

1. Chron. 20.1–3.

And it came to pass – to Jerusalem.

2. Sam. ch. 13. All.

And it came to pass – he was dead.

2. Sam. 12.24, 25.

And David comforted – because of the Lord.

2. Sam. ch. 14. All.

Now Joab, the Son of – kissed Absalom.

2. Sam. ch. 15. All.

And it came to pass – came into Jerusalem.

We have just now seen *David* worshipping of God on the Top of Mount *Olivet*. Behold, the Psalm, which expresses the Frame of his Heart at that wonderful time.

[Psal. 3. All.]

A Psalm of David, when – upon thy People. Selah.

[8v] | Lett us observe how the Distress of *David* from the Rebellion of *Absalom* goes on in the History.

2. Sam. ch. 16. All.

And when David – and with Absalom.

We have seen *Shimei* cursing of *David*. Probably *David* chuses to turn the Name of *Kish*, (of whose Family *Shimei* was, as well as *Saul*,) into *Cush*, because he look'd upon *Shimei*, for his black and base Conditions, as an *Ethiopian*. If so, behold, now a Psalm upon him.

[Psal. 7. All.]

Shiggajon, of David – Most High.

We again take up the History.

2. Samuel. chap. 17.

Moreover, Achitophel said – in the Wilderness.

David is now near the Banks of *Jordan*, and there he composes diverse most agreeable Psalms.

[Psal. 42. All.]

To the chief Musician, Maschil – and my God.

[Psal. 43. All.]

Judge me, O God, – and my God.

[Psal. 5. All.]

To the chief Musician, – as with a Shield.

And here, he shoots the Darts of his Prayers against *Achitophel*, & the rest of the Conspirators.

[Psal. 55. All.]

To the chief Musician – I will trust in thee.

At some Time, while the Distress from the Rebellion of *Absalom*, was yett upon him, several other Psalms will fall in. Particularly.

[Psal. 31. All.]

To the chief Musician – hope in the Lord.

[Psal. 35. All.]

A Psalm of David. Plead – all the day long.

[Psal. 71. All.]

In thee, O Lord, – that seek my Hurt.

The History is now waiting for us.

2. Sam. ch. 18. All. Ch. 19. All. Ch. 20. All.

And David numbred – chief Ruler about David.

We have seen *David* returning to his House. There was a Psalm on that Occasion.

[Psal. 30. All.]

A Psalm & Song – thanks unto thee forever.

We have seen *Sheba* rebelling. Here comes in a Psalm, checking the People, for hearkening and hankering after a Kingdome that was but *Vanity*.

[Psal. 4. All.]

To the chief Musician – dwell in Safety.

The History now expects our further Attention.

2. Sam. 21.1–14.

Then there was a Famine – for the Land.

There is a Psalm, that seems to belong unto this Occasion.

[Psal. 65. All.]

To the chief Musician – they also sing.⁶

| Three Years of a *Famine* had passed; there was horrible Danger of their being [9r] made *Seven*, by a new Miscarriage, which is now to be related.

2. Sam. ch. 24. All.

And again the Anger of the Lord – from Israel.

1. Chron. ch. 21. All.

And Satan stood up, – Angel of the Lord.

There seems to have been a Psalm written on this Occasion.

[Psal. 91. All.]

He that dwelleth – my Salvation.

The History is again to be laid before us.

2. Sam. 21.15–22.

Moreover the Philistines – hand of his Servants.

1. Chron. 20.4–8.

And it came to pass – of his Servants.

2. Sam. ch. 22. All. And, ch. 23. All.

And David spake – thirty & seven in all.

1. Chron. 22.1, – 5.

Then David said – before his Death.

1. King. ch. 1. All.

Now, King David – go to thine house.

1. Chron. 22.6–19. & ch. 23.1.

Then he called for Solomon – King over Israel.

David having emergent Occasion by *Adonijahs* Conspiracy, first had *Solomon* anointed more hastily & privately. But then he intends a more public Solemnity

⁶ See Appendix A.

of Coronation, and calls together the Heads of the People. And, as at the first framing of *Israel* into a Commonwealth, in the Wilderness, the *Levites* were numbred for the Divine Service; there is now done something like it. Wonder not, that at the first Uncion of *Solomon*, we have *David* Bedrid, but at the second we have him Standing on his feet among his Princes. *Davids* Infirmitie was not proper Sickness, to ly by; tho' his Couch was the most common and proper Place for him; he might come forth upon Occasion.

1. Chron. 23.2–32. And, ch. 24. All. Ch. 25. All. Ch. 26. All.

Ch. 27. All. Ch. 28. All. Ch. 29.1. – 25.

And he gathered together – before him in Israel.

Would not here be the Place for some of our Psalms?

[Psal. 127. All.]

A Song of Degrees for Solomon. – Enemies in the Gate.

[Psal. 72. All.]

A Psalm for Solomon. Give – are ended.

And now the History brings us, to the End of the wonderful Reign of one of the bravest Men that ever lived in the World.

1. King. 2.1–11.

Now the Dayes – reigned he in Jerusalem.

1. Chron. 29.26–30.

Thus David the Son of Jesse – of the Countreyes.

1. Chron. 3. All.

Now these were the Sons of David. – and Anani, Seven.

[10v] | We may not yett have done with the *Sweet Psalmist of Israel*. The *Psalms* written by that excellent Man, are some of the best Composures, that ever our dark World was irradiated withal. We have had Opportunity to insert many of the *Psalms*, at those Joints of the Sacred History, to which they most properly belonged. There are many more *Psalms*, of which we either certainly know, or at least have a very fair and strong Presumption, that they were composed by *David*. But the Occasion thereof is not so fully known; our Conjectures thereabout are more various and uncertain. Wherefore here seems the fittest Place to insert those Heavenly Raptures.

The First Psalm.

The Second Psalm.

The Sixth Psalm.

The Eighth Psalm.

The Ninth Psalm.

The Tenth Psalm.

The Fourteenth Psalm.

The Fifty third Psalm.

The Fifteenth Psalm.

The Sixteenth Psalm.

The Nineteenth Psalm.
The Twenty Second Psalm.
The Twenty Third Psalm.
The Twenty Fifth Psalm.
The Twenty Seventh Psalm.
The Twenty Eighth Psalm.
The Twenty Ninth Psalm.
The Thirty Third Psalm.
The Thirty Sixth Psalm.
The Thirty Seventh Psalm.
The Thirty Eighth Psalm.
The Thirty Ninth Psalm.
The Fortieth Psalm.
The Forty first Psalm.⁷
The Sixty first Psalm.
The Sixty Second Psalm.
The Sixty Ninth Psalm.
The Seventieth Psalm.
The Eighty Second Psalm.
The Eighty Fourth Psalm.
The Eighty Sixth Psalm.
The Ninety Second Psalm.
The Ninety Third Psalm.
The Ninety Fourth Psalm.
The Ninety Fifth Psalm.
The Ninety Seventh Psalm.
The Ninety Ninth Psalm.
The Hundredth Psalm.
The Hundred & third Psalm.
The Hundred & Fourth Psalm.
The Hundred & Ninth Psalm.
The Hundred & Tenth Psalm.
The Hundred & Eleventh Psalm.
The Hundred & Twelfth Psalm.
The Hundred & Nineteenth Psalm.
The Hundred & twenty first Psalm.
| The Hundred & twenty fourth Psalm.
The Hundred & twenty fifth Psalm.
The Hundred & thirty fourth Psalm.
The Hundred & thirty fifth Psalm.

[11r]

⁷ See Appendix A.

The Hundred & thirty Eighth Psalm.

The Hundred & thirty Ninth Psalm.

The Hundred & forty fourth Psalm.

The Hundred & forty fifth Psalm.

There are moreover, some other *Psalms*, whereof it is more uncertain, whether *David* were the Writer of them; yea, for some of them, tis rather certain, that he was not the Writer of them. The *Date* of them, is also unknown. And therefore this may seem the Place most adapted for them.

The Forty ninth Psalm.

The Fiftieth Psalm.

The Sixty Sixth Psalm.

The Seventy third Psalm.

The Seventy Seventh Psalm.

The Seventy Eighth Psalm.

The Eighty first Psalm.

The Eighty Seventh Psalm.

The Eighty Eighth Psalm.

The Hundred & Thirteenth Psalm.

The Hundred & Fourteenth Psalm.

The Hundred & Fifteenth Psalm.

The Hundred & Seventeenth Psalm.

The Hundred & Twenty Eighth Psalm.

The Hundred & Thirtieth Psalm.

The Hundred & Thirty Sixth Psalm.

The Hundred & Forty Eighth Psalm.

The Hundred & Forty Ninth Psalm.

The Hundred & Fiftieth Psalm.

Some other Psalms yett remain, to be introduced at the proper Seasons & Places of them.

So we go on with the History.

1. King. 2.12–38.

Then satt Solomon – many dayes.

2. Chron. 1.1–13.

And Solomon – reigned over Israel.

1. King. 3.3–28.

And Solomon loved – to do Judgment.

1. King. ch. 4. All. And, ch. 5. All.

So King Solomon was – build the House.

2. Chron. 1.14–17. And ch. 2. All.

And Solomon gathered – sett the People awork.

1. King. 2.39–46. And, ch. 3.1, 2.

And it came to pass, – until those dayes.

Is there not a Psalm, to come in here?

[Psal. 45. All.]

To the chief Musician – praise thee forever & ever.

We are again in the History.

1. King. ch. 6. All.

And it came to pass – in building it.

1. King. 7.13–51.

And King Solomon sent – house of the Lord.

2. Chron. ch. 3. All. And, ch. 4. All.

Then Solomon began – were of Gold.

1. King. ch. 8. All.

Then Solomon assembled – Israel, His People.

| 2. Chron. ch. 5. All. And, ch. 6. All. And ch. 7.1–10.

[12v]

Thus all the Work – Israel His People.

Was not the *forty seventh Psalm*, employ'd at the bringing of the *Ark* unto its Place in the *Holy of Holies*; which was one Part of the Solemnity, just now related?

[Psal. 47. All.]

To the chief – greatly exalted.

The Temple is now finished. What follows?

1. King. 7.1–12.

But Solomon was building – Porch of the House.

1. King. 9.1–9.

And it came to pass – all this Evil.

2. Chron. 7.11–22.

Thus Solomon finished – all this Evil upon them.

1. King. 9.10–28.

And it came to pass – to King Solomon.

2. Chron. ch. 8. All.

And it came to pass – to King Solomon.

1. King. ch. 10. All.

And when the Queen of Sheba – by their Means.

2. Chron. 9.1–28.

And when the Queen – out of all Lands.

1. King. 11.1–40.

But King Solomon loved – death of Solomon.

Before we arrive to the Death of *Solomon*, it is fitt we should Receive the Three excellent Books, more precious than all the Gold which he fetch'd from *Ophir*, which he brought into the Churches Treasury.

[The Book of *Proverbs*.]

[The *Song of Solomon*.]

[The Book of *Ecclesiastes*.]

We now go on, unto the Death of *Solomon*. But we observe, That the *Chronicles*, make no more mention of his Fall, than of his Father *Davids*.

1. King. 11.41–43.

And the rest of the Acts – reigned in his stead.

2. Chron. 9.29–31.

Now the rest of the acts – in his stead.

1. King. 12.1–24.

And Rehoboam went – Word of the Lord.

2. Chron. ch. 10. All. And, ch. 11.1–4.

And Rehoboam went – against Jeroboam.

The History of the Kingdome of *Judah*.

2. Chron. 11.5–23. And, ch. 12. All. And, ch. 13. All.

And Rehoboam dwelt – Prophet Iddo.

1. King. 14.21–31. And, ch. 15.1–8.

And Rehoboam the Son – in his stead.

The Lamentations upon the Confusions befalling the House of *David*, seem to belong unto this Place.

[Psal. 89. All.]

Maschil, of Ethan – Amen and Amen.

There is another Psalm, that some do bring in hereabouts.

[Psal. 80. All.]

To the chief Musician – we shall be saved.

The History of the Kingdome of *Israel*.

1. King. 12.25–33. And ch. 13. All.

And ch. 14.1–20.

Then Jeroboam built Shechem – reigned in his stead.

The Kingdome of *Judah*.

1. King. 15.9–24.

And in the Twentieth Year – reigned in his stead.

2. Chron. ch. 14. All. Ch. 15. All. Ch. 16. All.

So Abijah slept – burning for him.

[13r] | The Kingdome of *Israel*.

1. King. 15.25–34. And, ch. 16.1–28.

And Nadab the Son of – in his stead.

The Kingdome of *Judah*.

1. King. 22.41–49.

And Jehoshaphat the Son – Jehoshaphat would not.

2. Chron. ch. 17. All. Ch. 18. All. Ch. 19. All. Ch. 20. All.

And Jehoshaphat his Son – to go to Tarshish.

Here comes in a Psalm, that seems fitted for the Dayes of *Jehoshaphat*.

[Psal. 83. All.]

A Song, or Psalm – over all the Earth.

The Kingdome of *Israel*.

1. King. 16.29–34. And, ch. 17. All. And, ch. 18. All.

And, ch. 19. All. And, ch. 20. All. And ch. 21. All.

And, ch. 22.1–40.

And in the thirty & eighth Year – reigned in his stead.

1. King. 22.51–53. And, 2. King. ch. 1. All. And, ch. 2. All. And ch. 3. All.

And, ch. 4. All. And ch. 5. All. And, ch. 6. All. And ch. 7. All. And, ch. 8.1–15.

Ahaziah the Son of Ahab began – reigned in his stead.

The Kingdome of *Judah*.

2. King. 8.16–29.

And, in the fifth Year of Joram – he was sick.

2. Chron. ch. 21. All. And, ch. 22.1–9.

Now Jehoshaphat – keep still the Kingdome.

The Kingdome of *Israel*.

2. King. ch. 9. All. And, ch. 10. All.

And Elisha the Prophet – twenty & eight Years.

The Kingdome of *Judah*.

2. King. ch. 11. All. And, ch. 12. All.

And when Athaliah – reigned in his stead.

2. Chron. 22.10–12. And, ch. 23. All. And, ch. 24. All.

But when Athaliah – reigned in his stead.

The Kingdome of *Israel*.

2. King. ch. 13. All.

In the Three & twentieth Year – Cities of Israel.

The Kingdome of *Judah*.

2. King. 14.1–7.

In the second Year – unto this Day.

2. King. 14.17–20.

And Amaziah the Son – the City of David.

2. Chron. ch. 25. All.

Amaziah was twenty & five – City of Judah.

The Kingdome of *Israel*.

2. King. 14.8–16.

The{n} Amaziah sent Messengers – reigned in his stead.

2. King. 14.23–29.

In the Fifteenth Year – reigned in his stead.

The Kingdome of *Judah*.

2. King. 15.1–7.

In the twenty & seventh Year – reigned in his stead.

2. Chron. ch. 26. All.

Then all the People – reigned in his stead.

The Kingdome of *Israel*, after the Death of *Jeroboam* II. suffered an *Interregnum* of above Twenty Years; contemporary with *Uzziah*, or, *Azariah*. And then;

2. King. 15.8–26.

In the thirty & eighth Year – Kings of Israel.

[14v] | It is Time for us now to call in the Writings of the Prophets. About this Time, we shall find several of the Prophets appearing, whose wonderful Sermons have been præsaved for the Use of the Church in the following Ages.

Hosæa is the First of the Prophets; He does himself tell us, ch. 1.2. *The Lord spake first by Hosæa*. As under an *Hosæa* did *Israel* first enter into the Land of *Canaan*, and under an *Hosæa* they were carried out. So an *Hosæa* is the *first* of the Prophets raised up, to upbraid their Unthankfulness for the former, and foretell their Calamity in the latter. He began in the Dayes of *Uzziah*; & somewhat before *Joel* and *Amos*. His Two first Chapters were in the Beginning of his Preaching. In the *Fourth* he seems to be parallel with *Joel* and *Amos*, and, [v. 3.] to foretel the *Locusts* as well as they. The rest of the Book will come in afterwards. For he continued until *Hezekiah's* Time; he was a Preacher Seventy Years; he saw the Fulfilments of his Prophecies on captived *Israel*.

[The Four first Chapters of *Hosæa*.]

The Word of the Lord, – their Sacrifices.

Next *Joel* appears; who foretels a *Northern Army of Locusts*, which entred indeed, at the *North* Part of the Land & carried all before them. A Type of those in the *Apocalypse*. He foretels also the Destruction of the Army of *Sennacherib*; against which the Lord caused His *Mighty Ones* come down, even His *Angels*, to destroy them in the Valley of *Jehoshaphat*. [Compare, Hos. 1.7.]

[The Book of *Joel*.]

At the Time that *Joel* entertains *Judah*, *Amos* addresses *Israel*; neither a *Tutor*, nor a *Scholar*, in the Schools of the Prophets, but a Shepherd of *Tekoah*, rudely bred, like the Fishers of *Galilee*; and yett a glorious Teacher in the Congregation of *Israel*.

[The Book of *Amos*.]

Contemporary with these doubtless, was *Obadiah*. The malicious Carriage of the *Edomites* against the *Jewes* mentioned by him, was either when *Jerusalem* was insulted by *Shishak*: [1. King. 14.25.] or, by the *Philistines* and *Arabians*; [2. Chron. 21.16, 7.] or, by *Joash* King of *Israel*. [2. Chron. 25.21.]

[The Book of *Obadiah*.]

It was now seasonable, to send out *Jonah*, to fetch in the *Gentiles*. He lived in the Time of *Jeroboam* II. Knowing, that the Coming in of the *Gentiles* would be the Casting off of the *Jewes*, he was lothe to be the Instrument of it. At *Joppa* he diverts from his Errand. [Compare the Temper of *Simon Bar-Jona* there, at the Tenth Chapter of the *Acts*.]

[The Book of *Jonah*.]

In the Reign of *Uzziah* does *Isaiah* also begin to prophecy.

[The Six first Chapters of *Isaiah*.]

The Vision of Isaiah – the Substance thereof.

We may now go on, with the Annals of the Two Kingdomes.
The Kingdome of *Judah*.

2. Chron. ch. 27. All.

Jotham was twenty five – reigned in his stead.

| 2. King. 15.32–38.

[15r]

In the Second Year of – reigned in his stead.

The Kingdome of *Israel*.

2. King. 15.27–31.⁸

In the two and fiftieth Year – Kings of Israel.

About this Time appears the Prophet *Micah*; who begins his Prophecy, with the Words, wherewith *Micajah* concluded his; and uses also the very Words of *Isaiah*, his Contemporary.

[The Two first Chapters of *Micah*.]

The Word of the Lord – the Head of them.

The Kingdome of *Judah*.

2. King. ch. 16. All.

In the Seventeenth Year – reigned in his stead.

2. Chron. ch. 28. All.

Ahaz was twenty Years old – reigned in his stead.

The Kingdome of *Israel*.

2. King. 17.1, 2.

In the twelfth Year – were before him.

In the Time of *Ahaz*, are the Abortive Attempts of *Rezin* and *Pekah* against *Jerusalem*; and several other things, which produced some {of} *Isaiah*'s Prophecies.

Isaiah. ch. 7. All. Ch. 8. All. Ch. 9. All.

And it came to pass, – stretched out still.

Isaiah. ch. 17. All.

The Burden of Damascus, – that rob us.

⁸ See Appendix A.

Isaiah. ch. 28. All.

Wo to the Crown of Pride – excellent in working.

And some of *Hosæa's* Prophecies were inspired about the Time of this Reign.

Hosæa. ch. 5. All. Ch. 6. All.

Hear yee this – of my People.

The Vexation suffered by *Ahaz* from the hired *Assyrian*, brought forth more of *Isaiah's* Prophecies.

Isaiah. ch. 10. All. Ch. 11. All. Ch. 12. All. Ch. 13. All.

And, ch. 14.1–27.

Wo unto them that – who shall turn it back?

We return to the Annals.

The Kingdome of *Judah*.

2. King. 18.1–8.

Now it came to pass – the fenced City.

2. Chron. ch. 29. All. Ch. 30. All. Ch. 31. All.

Hezekiah began to reign – and prospered.

Ahaz died some time after *Hezekiah* was upon the Throne. And in that Year, we have one of *Isaiah's* famous Prophecies; about *Hezekiah's* being a greater Plague to the *Philistines* (who despised *Ahaz*) than ever *Uzziah* had been before him; and about the Answer that should be given to the Terrible *Messengers* of the *Assyrians*, who were to come against *Jerusalem*.

Isaiah. 14.28–32.

In the Year that – shall trust in it.

About this Time several Chapters of *Hosæa* were uttered; even, while the *Ten Tribes* were not yett captived; but after that King *Hosæa* had entertained Amity with *Egypt*; and after the Expedition of *Shalman* wherein *Betharbel* was destroy'd, but before the second Expedition, wherein *Bethel* was to be destroy'd.⁹

Hosæa. ch. 7. All. Ch. 8. All. Ch. 9. All. Ch. 10. All. Ch. 11. All.

Ch. 12. All. Ch. 13. All. Ch. 14. All.

When I would have Healed. – fall therein.

[16v] | We go on with the Annals.

The Kingdome of *Israel*.

2. King. 18.9–12.

And it came to pass – nor do them.

2. King. 17.3–41.

Against him came up – unto this day.

Thus we are come to the Period of that unhappy Kingdome. It is probable, that while we are yett in the first Thirteen Years of King *Hezekiah*, there were uttered

⁹ *Shalman* may either refer to the Assyrian kings Shalmaneser IV or V or to Shalmanu, a Moabite ruler, who invaded Gilead (late 8th c. BCE), and to whom Hosea alludes in Hos. 10:14 (HBD).

the Prophecies of *Isaiah* against *Moab*; to be accomplished within Three Years, it is likely, either by *Salmanassar*, or by *Sennacherib*.¹⁰

Isaiah. chap. 15. All. Ch. 16. All.

The Burden of Moab – small and feeble.

Now also come in these other Prophecies of that admirable Prophet.

Isaiah. ch. 18. All. Ch. 19. All. Ch. 20. All. Ch. 21. All. Ch. 22. All.

Wo to the Land – Lord hath spoken it.

Isaiah. ch. 24. All. Ch. 25. All. Ch. 26. All. Ch. 27. All.

Behold, the Lord maketh – at Jerusalem.

Isaiah. ch. 29. All. Ch. 30. All. Ch. 31. All. Ch. 32. All. Ch. 33. All.

Ch. 34. All. Ch. 35. All.

Wo to Ariel – shall flee away.

It was owned, by the Men of *Jeremiahs* time, that the last Verse in the Third of *Micah*, was uttered in *Hezekiahs* Time. And here may come in probably all the rest of his Prophecies; even before *Sennacheribs* besieging of *Jerusalem*.¹¹ As the Birth of Christ, of a *Virgin*, was the *Sign* in *Ahaz's* Time, the Birth of Christ at *Bethlehem* is the *Sign* in *Hezekiahs*.

Micah. ch. 3. All. Ch. 4. All. Ch. 5. All. Ch. 6. All. Ch. 7. All.

And I said, – dayes of old.

In these Dayes also was *Nahum*, one of the Comforters of *Jerusalem*.

[The Book of *Nahum*.]

Now comes the famous Invasion, about the Circumstances whereof, there had been so many Prædictions.

2. King. 18.13–37. And, ch. 19. All.

Now in the fourteenth Year – reigned in his stead.

2. Chron. 32.1–23.

After these things – from thenceforth.

Isaiah. ch. 36. All. And, ch. 37. All.

Now it came to pass – reigned in his stead.

There seem to have been Three Psalms, calculated for the wonderful Occasion, which we have thus had before us.

[Psal. 46. All.]

To the chief Musician. – our refuge. Selah.

¹⁰ Mather refers to Shalmaneser V, king of Assyria (727–722 BCE), who sent his troops to the Mediterranean (726–722 BCE) to squash the uprising of Israel, Phoenicia, and an Egyptian satrapy in the Nile Delta; the fate of the city of Samaria, however, was not sealed until Sargon II (722–705 BCE), Shalmaneser V's successor, vanquished Samaria in 720 BCE. King Sennacherib (705–681 BCE) succeeded his father to the throne of Assyria and sent his armies against Hezekiah, king of Judah (727–698 BCE), whose rebellion against his Assyrian overlord led to Hezekiah's surrender and heavy fine (2 Kings 18:14–16) (*HBD*).

¹¹ During Sennacherib's punitive campaign against King Hezekiah, the Assyrian troops besieged Jerusalem (c. 701–700 BCE), but did not raze the city because Hezekiah capitulated.

[Psal. 48. All.]

A Song and Psalm – even unto Death.

[Psal. 76. All.]

To the chief Musician – Kings of the Earth.

[17r] | The Sickness of *Hezekiah* seems to have been, in the Time of the Invasion of *Jerusalem*.

2. King. 20.1–11.

In those dayes – dial of Ahaz.

Isaiah. ch. 8. All.

In those Dayes – house of the Lord.

Merodach sends Embassadors to *Hezekiah*. *Eser-haddon*, who succeed{s} *Sennacherib*, is offended at *Merodachs* Intimacy with *Hezekiah*, and thereupon takes *Babel* out of his hands; which had been already tributary to the Crown of *Assyria*. [Consider, Isa. 23.13.]

But see what occurs on this Occasion.¹²

2. Chron. 32.24, 25, 26.

In those Dayes – dayes of Hezekiah.

2. King. 20.12–19.

At that time – in my dayes!

Isaiah. ch. 39. All.

At that time – in my dayes.

The Annals are to be proceeded in.

2. King. 20.20, 21.

And the rest – in his stead.

2. Chron. 32.27–33.

And Hezekiah had – in his stead.

Towards the End of *Hezekiahs* Time, falls in a Chapter of *Isaiah*; after the King of *Assyria* had taken *Babel*.¹³

Isaiah. ch. 23.

The Burden of Tyre – durable Clothing.

And here will succeed, (we know not where better!) all the rest of his Incomparable Prophecies.

¹² According to 2 Kings 20:12–19 and Isa. 39:1–8, King Merodach-baladan of Babylonia (721–710, 703 BCE) sent his ambassadors to King Hezekiah in an effort to coordinate their uprising against their Assyrian overlord. This embassy, however, is more likely to have taken place sometime between 714–713 or 705–701 BCE, during Hezekiah's insurgency against Sargon II, or against Sennacherib, rather than during the reign of King Esarhaddon (681–669 BCE), who succeeded to the throne of Assyria when his father Sennacherib was murdered by Sennacherib's two other sons.

¹³ Mather here refers to Sennacherib's ouster of King Merodach-baladan of Babylonia, who had briefly regained control over Babylon in 703 BCE (*HBD*).

Isaiah. ch. 40. And, all the rest, unto the End of the Book.

Comfort yee – unto all flesh.

The Annals must again be look'd upon.

2. King. ch. 21. All.

Manasseh was – reigned in his stead.

2. Chron. ch. 33. All.

Manasseh was – King in his stead.

In these wicked Times, did *Habakkuk* prophecy. [Compare, 2. King. 21.10 with Hab. 1.5.]

[The Book of *Habakkuk*.]

We again take up the Annals.

2. King. 22.1, 2.

Josiah was Eight – or to the Left.

2. Chron. 34.1–7.

Josiah was Eight – returned to Jerusalem.

Now *Jeremiah* began to prophesy; A young Priest, and Prophet, for a young King. He was, like *Moses*, a Prophet unto the Church, for *Forty Years*.

Jeremiah. ch. 1.

The Words of Jeremiah – to deliver thee.

The Annals again call for our Perusal.

2. King. 22.3–20. And, ch. 23.1–28.

And it came to pass – Kings of Judah.

2. Chron. 34.8–33. And, ch. 35.1–19.

Now in the Eighteenth – Passeeover kept.

Many Chapters of *Jeremiahs* Prophecies come in here.

Jeremiah. ch. 2. All. – And so on to the End of ch. 12.

Moreover, the Word – saith the Lord.

In the latter times of King *Josiah*, did *Zephaniah* also appear.

| [The Book of *Zephaniah*.]

[18v]

The Annals come on again.

2. King. 23.29, 30.

In his dayes – fathers stead.

2. Chron. 35.20–27.

After all this – and Judah.

2. King. 23.31–37.

Jehoahaz was – his Fathers had done.

2. Chron. 36.1–5.

Then the People of the Land – Lord his God.

To the Time of *Jehoiakims* Reign, and about the Beginning of it, are to be assigned, certain Chapters in the Prophecies of *Jeremiah*.

Jeremiah. ch. 13. All. Ch. 14. All. Ch. 15. All. Ch. 16. All.
Ch. 17. All. Ch. 18. All. Ch. 19. All. Ch. 20. All.

Thus saith the Lord unto me – consumed with shame.

Jeremiah. ch. 22.1–23.

Thus saith the Lord – a Woman in travail.

Jeremiah. ch. 26. All. And, ch. 27.1–11.

In the Beginning – dwell therein.

The Annals.

2. King. 24.1. – In his dayes – *three Years.*

2. Chron. 36.6, 7.

Against him came up – temple at Babylon.

Jehoiakim, is first Fettered, and then Restored, by the King of *Babylon*; and so, begins the Captivity.

Dan. 1.1–17.

In the third Year of – Visions & Dreams.

Here several Portions of *Jeremiah* fall in.

Jeremiah. ch. 25. All.

The Word that came – His fierce Anger.

Jeremiah. ch. 46. All.

The Word of the Lord which came – wholly unpunished.

Jeremiah. ch. 48. All. And, ch. 49.1–33.

Against Moab – Man dwell in it.

Jeremiah. ch. 36.1–8.

And it came to pass – Lords house.

Jeremiah. ch. 45. All.

The Word that Jeremiah – whither thou goest.

Jeremiah. ch. 36.9–32.

And it came to pass – many like Words.

The Annals.

2. King. 24.1–4.

– *Then he turned, & rebelled against him, – not pardon.*

Daniel. 1.18–21.

Now at the End – King Cyrus.

Now the Prophecies.

Jeremiah. ch. 35. All.

The Word which came to – before me forever.

The Annals.

2. King. 24.5–7.

Now the rest of the Acts – King of Egypt.

2. Chron. 36.8.

Now the rest – in his stead.

| 2. King. 24.8, 9.

[19r]

Jehojachin was – had done.

2. Chron. 36.9.

Jehojachin was – Sight of the Lord.

The Prophecies again.

Jeremiah. ch. 22.24–30. And, ch. 23. All.

As I live saith the Lord – not be forgotten.

The Annals.

2. King. 24.10–26.

At that time – King of Babylon.

2. Chron. 36.10, – 13.

And when the Year – God of Israel.

Jeremiah. 52.1–3.

Zedekiah was – King of Babylon.

The Prophecies.

Jeremiah. ch. 24. All.

The Lord shewed me – to their fathers.

Jeremiah. 27.12–22. And, ch. 28. All. Ch. 29. All.

Ch. 30. All. Ch. 31. All.

I spake also to Zedekiah – any more forever.

Jeremiah. ch. 49.34–39. And, ch. 50. All. Ch. 51. All.

The Word of the Lord – Words of Jeremiah.

In the Fifth Year of *Jehojachins* Captivity, the Lord raises up *Ezekiel*, to be a Prophet unto His People at *Babylon*, as *Jeremiah* was unto His People at *Jerusalem*. He dates his Prophesy, from the *Thirtieth Year*, probably of his own Age. He was a Priest, and at that Age the Priesthood entred on their function; and at the same Age the Spirit of Prophecy comes upon him. A Type of our Saviour. [See Luk. 3.21, 22, 23.]

[The Twenty three first Chapters of *Ezekiel*.]

Now it came to pass – I am the Lord God.

The Annals.¹⁴

2. King. 25.1, 2.

And it came to pass – King Zedekiah.

Jeremiah. 39.1 and, ch. 52.4, 5.

In the ninth Year – besieged it. – K Zedekiah.

The Prophecies; [for *Ezekiel* in *Chaldea*, is told of the thing by the Lord, on the very day when it happened.]

Ezekiel. ch. 24. All. And, ch. 25. All.

Again in the Ninth Year – Vengeance upon them.

¹⁴ See Appendix A.

Jeremiah. ch. 21. All.
The Word which came – round about it.
 Jeremiah. ch. 47. All.
The Word of the Lord – hath He appointed it.
 Jeremiah. ch. 37. All.
And King Zedekiah – Court of the Prison.
 Jeremiah. ch. 32. All. Ch. 33. All. Ch. 34. All.
The Word that came – without an Inhabitant.
 Ezekiel. ch. 29.1–16.
In the tenth Year – the Lord God.
 Ezekiel. ch. 26. All. Ch. 27. All. Ch. 28. All.
And it came to pass – the Lord their God.
 Ezekiel. ch. 30.20–26. And, ch. 31. All.
And it came to pass – saith the Lord God.
 Jeremiah. ch. 38. All.
Then Shephatiah – Jerusalem was taken.
 Jeremiah. 39.15–18.
Now the Word – saith the Lord.

[20v] | The Annals.

2. King. 25.3–21.
And on the ninth day – out of their Land.
 2. Chron. 36.14–21.
Moreover, all the Chief – threescore & ten Years.
 Jeremiah. 39.2–14.
And in the eleventh – among the People.
 Jeremiah. 52.6–30.
And in the fourth – six hundred.

Upon the Misery thus befalling of *Jerusalem*, a whole Book is to be introduced.

[The Book of Lamentations.]

But lett the History proceed.

Jeremiah. 40. All. And, ch. 41. All.
The Word which came – in the Land.
 2. King. 25.22–26.
And as for the People – afraid of the Chaldees.
 Jeremiah. ch. 42. All. And, ch. 43. All. And, ch. 44. All.
Then all the Captains – sought his Life.
 Ezekiel. ch. 33. All.
Again, the Word of the Lord – among them.
 Ezekiel. ch. 32. All.
And it came to pass – saith the Lord God.

Ezekiel. ch. 34. All. Ch. 35. All. Ch. 36. All. Ch. 37. All. Ch. 38. All.
 Ch. 39. All. Ch. 40. All. Ch. 41. All. Ch. 42. All. Ch. 43. All.
 Ch. 44. All. Ch. 45. All. Ch. 46. All. Ch. 47. All.
 Ch. 48. All.

And the Word of the Lord came to me – Lord is there.

Ezekiel. ch. 29.17–21. And, ch. 30.1–19.

And it came to pass – that I am the Lord.

Daniel. ch. 2. All. Ch. 3. All. Ch. 4. All.

And in the second Year – able to abase.

2. King. 25.27. – 30.

And it came to pass – all the dayes of his Life.

Jeremiah. 52.31–34.

And it came to pass – all the dayes of his Life.

E're we have done with the Prophecies of *Jeremiah*, it will not be amiss, to enter an Observation, which a Passage in the Gospel of *Matthew* [Matt. 27.9.] will more than a little countenance. It is extremely probable, That the Six last Chapters of *Zechariah*, were indeed written by *Jeremiah*. It is there foretold, That the *Pride of Assyria shall be brought down*, and the *Sceptre of Egypt depart*. This was fulfill'd before *Zechariah's* time. It was very proper for *Jeremiah* to foretell it; but *Zechariah* could not. What is foretold about the Cities of the *Philistines*, agrees mightily with *Jeremiah's* Prædictions; but they will not suit *Zechariah's* time; in *Gaza* and *Askalon* here spoken of, were cutt off before *Zechariah's* Time, not before *Jeremiah's*. Moreover, *Zechariah* speaks of the Earthquake in *Uzziah's* Time, as a Matter, which his Hearers might remember they heard their Fathers tell of. *Jeremiah* might do so; *Zechariah* could not.

Zechariah. ch. 9. All. Ch. 10. All. Ch. 11. All. Ch. 12. All. Ch. 13. All. Ch. 14.
 All.

The burden of the Word – Lord of Hosts.

| Lett *History* and *Prophecy* united, now proceed.

[21r]

Daniel. ch. 7. All.

In the first Year – in my Heart.

Daniel. ch. 5. All.

Belshazzar the King – Years old.

Daniel. ch. 8. All. And, ch. 9. All.

In the third Year – upon the desolate.

There did belong a Psalm unto this Period.

[Psal. 137. All.]

By the rivers of Babylon – against the Stones.

We are now arriving to the Return from the Captivity.

2. Chron. 36.22, 23.

Now in the first Year – Lett him go up.

Ezra. ch. 1. All. Ch. 2. All. Ch. 3. All. Ch. 4. All.

Now in the first Year – King of Persia.

While *Daniel* was mourning for the Hindrance of the Temple, he is visited, (like *John* afterwards in *Patmos*,) with wonderful Revelations from heaven.

Daniel. ch. 10. All. Ch. 11. All. Ch. 12. All.

*In the third Year of Cyrus – the End of the Dayes.*¹⁵

We return to *Ezra*.

Ezra. 5.1.

Then the Prophets – unto them.

Behold, New Prophets appearing.

Haggai. ch. 1. All. And, ch. 2.9.

In the second Year – Lord of Hosts.

Zechariah. 1.1–6.

In the eighth Month – dealt with us.

Haggai. 2.10–23.

In the four & twentieth – Lord of Hosts.

Zechariah. 1.7–21. And, ch. 2. All. Ch. 3. All.

Ch. 4. All. Ch. 5. All. Ch. 6. All.

Upon the four & twentieth – Lord your God.

Ezra. 5.2–17. And, ch. 6.1–13.

Then rose up Zerubbabel – did speedily.

Zechariah. ch. 7. All. Ch. 8. All.

And it came to pass – God is with you.

Ezra. ch. 6.14–22. Ch. 7. All. Ch. 8. All.

Ch. 9. All. Ch. 10. All.

And the Elders of the Jewes – they had Children.

[The Book of *Nehemiah*.]

[22v] | In the Time of the Captivity, or after the Return from it, there seems to be the Time for several of the *Psalms*, in our Psalter, which have not yett had their Places assign'd unto them. Some of them seem to be as late as the Persecution from *Antiochus*.¹⁶

The Fourty-fourth Psalm.

The Seventy fourth Psalm.

The Seventy ninth Psalm.

The Eighty fifth Psalm.

The Hundred & second Psalm.

The Hundred & seventh Psalm.

The Hundred & sixteenth Psalm.

The Hundred & twenty third Psalm.

¹⁵ See Appendix A.

¹⁶ Mather refers to the Maccabean revolt (167–164 BCE) against the Seleucid King Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 BCE), who tried to Hellenize Israel and set up Greek deities in the Temple of Jerusalem (*HBD*).

The Hundred & twenty sixth Psalm.

The Hundred & twenty ninth Psalm.

The Hundred & forty sixth Psalm.

The Hundred & forty seventh Psalm.

There does yett remain of the Old Testament, the Prophecy of *Malachi*; the Time whereof is a little uncertain; tho' it appears to have been a Time of Corruption; and of that Corruption whereof we read the beginning in the Book of *Nehemiah*.

[The Book of *Malachi*.]

It ha's been commonly thought, that *Malachi* was the last of the Writers, Inspired for composing the Books of our *Old Testament*. But there not being in his Prophecies, the least Remembrance of, or the least Reference to, the Illustrious Deliverance under Queen *Esther*, this renders it probable that it happened after his Time. We are now sure, That it happened in the Reign of *Artaxerxes* (who was the *Ahashuerus* mentioned in the Book of *Esther*;) and, the *Mordecai* concerned in it, was not (as it has been sometimes mistaken) one who bore a Part in *Jeconiah's* Captivity. *Epiphanius* and *Seder Olam*, and others therefore observe, that the Book of *Esther*, is the last canonical Book of the *Old Testament*. Yea, tis probable, the Book was written by a *Gentile* proselyted unto the Church of *Israel*; and in this regard, it is not at all the less agreeable Transition towards the *New Testament*.¹⁷

[The Book of *Esther*.]

¹⁷ The Book of Malachi is here dated to the period of Xerxes I, king of Persia (486–465 BCE), also referred to as Ahasuerus (Esth. 1:1; Ezra 4:6); Esther's uncle Mordecai is not the same as the one who returned with Zerubbabel to Jerusalem (Ezra 2:2; Neh. 7:7; 1 Esd. 5:8) upon their release by the Persian kings Cyrus II and his son Cambyses II, who ruled Babylonia from 539–530 BCE (2 Chron. 36:2; Ezra 1:1). Jeconiah, aka. Jehoiachin, king of Judah (597 BCE), was taken into Babylonian captivity when he surrendered to Nebuchadnezzar's forces (2 Kings 24:12; Jer. 22:24–30). The Book of Esther is now dated to the late Persian period (400–322 BCE) (*HBD*). In his *Panarion* (8.6.2–3), St. Epiphanius (c. 315–403), bishop of Salamis, lists the book of Esther as a canonical work, and so do Flavius Josephus (*Contra Apion* 1.8, *Antiquities* 11.6), Eusebius (*Historia ecclesiastica* 6.25.2, but cf. 4.26.14, in *NPNFii* 1:272, cf. 1:206), and the midrashic chronology *Seder Olam Rabbah* (part 3, ch. 29), the latter work being attributed to R. Yose ben Halafta (mid-2nd c. CE) of Sepphoris (*EJ*).

The NEW TESTAMENT,

in the true Order of
the History.

We begin with an Accurate *Harmony* of the *Gospels*.

A. M. I. *Lukes* Præface. The Angel foretels the Birth of *John Baptist*, unto
3999. his Father *Zacharias*; who is accordingly conceived.
September. Luk. 1.1–25.

Forasmuch – Reproach among Men.

January. II. The Angel *Gabriel* surprizes and satisfies the Virgin *Mary*, with
foretelling the Nativity of our Saviour.
Luk. 1.26–38.

And in the Sixth Month – Departed from her.

January. III. The Mother of our *Saviour* visits the Mother of the *Baptist*.
Hymns of Joy ensue. And *Mary* after Three Months Residence with
Elizabeth, returns to Nazareth.
Luk. 1.39–56.

And Mary arose, – Returned to her own House.

May. IV. The *Baptist* is born; His Father with a Restored Speech glorifies
God. The grown Baptist, continues in the Deserts.
Luk. 1.57–80.

Now Elizabeths full time, – shewing unto Israel.

V. The Genealogy of *Joseph*, the Husband of the Virgin *Mary*.
Matth. 1.1–17.

The Book of – fourteen Generations.

VI. Distressed *Joseph* Comforted and Advised, about the Approach
of the Birth of our *Immanuel*.

Matth. 1.18, – 24.

Now the Birth of Jesus, – took unto him his Wife.

A. M. VII. An *Enrolment* of the *Jewes*; which occasions the Birth of our
4001. Saviour at *Bethlehem*, in very mean Circumstances.
October. Matth. 1.25. *And knew – name Jesus.*

Luk. 2.1–7.

And it came to pass – in the Inn.

VIII. The *Shepherds* inform'd by the *Angels*, concerning the Nativity of our Saviour; who is quickly after circumcised.

Luk. 2.8–21.

And there was in the, – conceived in the Womb.

A. M. 4001. IX. *Wise Men* from the *East*, directed by a *Star*, find out *Jesus*, and *November*. Adore Him, and Return.

Matth. 2.1–12.

Now when Jesus, – another Way.

X. The Life of the Holy Child saved, by a Flight into *Egypt*; while *Herod* murders the Infants of *Bethlehem*. Recalled *Joseph*, then retires for *Galilee*.

Matth. 2.13–22.

And when they were departed, – Parts of Galilee.

A. M. 4001. XI. *Joseph* stops at the Temple on the Road; and there meets with *Simeon*, and *Anna*. But then he settles at *Nazareth*.

December.

Luk. 2.22, – 39.

And when the Dayes, – their own City, Nazareth.

Matth. 2.23.

And He came, – a Nazarene.

A. M. 4013. XII. Our Saviour, at twelve Years of Age, disputes with the Doctors, at the Temple, and Returns to *Nazareth*.

April.

Luk. 2.40–52.

And the Child grew – with God and Man.

| A. M. 4032. XIII. *John* the Baptist, begins to Preach and Baptize; and our Saviour soon after begins His more private Ministry. [24v]

October.

Matth. 3.1–12.

In those Dayes, – unquenchable Fire.

Mar. 1.1–8.

The Beginning of – Holy Ghost.

Luk. 3.1–20.

Now in the Fifteenth Year, – John in Prison.

XIV. The Genealogy of our Saviour, by the Virgin *Mary*.

Luk. 3.23–38.

And Jesus Himself, – Son of God.

XV. The Evangelist *John* describes the glorious *Person* of our Saviour.

Joh. 1.1–14.

In the Beginning, – Grace & Truth.

A. M. 4032. XVI. The Testimony of *John* the Baptist, unto our Saviour.

December.

Joh. 1.15. – 28.

John bare Witness, – was Baptizing.

XVII. Our Saviour comes to *Bethabara*, where *John* was Baptizing; and *John* seeing the Descent and Mansion of the Spirit on Him, does firmly attest *Him* now to be the *Messias*.

Joh. 1.29–34.

The next Day, – Son of God.

A. M. XVIII. *John* points two of his Disciples to our Saviour; who fol-
4032. low Jesus; *Peter* also is now brought unto Him; and *Philip* and
February. *Nathanael*.

Joh. 1.35–51.

Again the next Day, – Son of Man.

XIX. A Marriage-Feast, in *Cana* of *Galilee*; where our Saviour turns *Water* into *Wine*: After which our Lord abides a while, at *Capernaum*.

Joh. 2.1–12.

And the Third day, – many days.

A. M. XX. Our Saviour goes up to the *Passeover*; & works Miracles there.
4032. Joh. 2.13–25.

April. *And the Jewes Passeover, – what was in Man.*

XXI. *Nicodemus* instructed by our Saviour, and amazed.

Joh. 3.1, – 21.

There was a Man, – wrought in God.

XXII. Our Saviour goes into *Judea*, and there Baptizes by His Disciples, whereof *John* being informed, rejoices.

Joh. 3.22–36.

After these things, – abideth on him.

A. M. XXIII. Our Saviour leaves *Judea*, & passing thro' *Samaria*, dis-
4032. courses with a Woman there.

August. Joh. 4.1, – 27.

When therefore, – talkest thou with her.

XXIV. The Woman brings a Multitude from the City to our Saviour; who now staies two Dayes at *Sychar*.

Joh. 4.28–42.

The Woman then, – Saviour of the World.

A. M. XXV. Our Saviour now returns into *Galilee*; and He heals the Sick
4033. Son of a Nobleman at *Capernaum*.

October. Joh. 4.43–54.

Now after two Dayes, – into Galilee.

A. M. XXVI. Our Saviour is Baptized of *John* the Baptist.
4033. Matth. 3.13–17.

January. *Then cometh Jesus, – am well-pleased.*

Mar. 1.9–11.

And it came to pass, – am well-pleased.

Luk. 3.21, 22.

Now when all, – am well-pleased.

[XXVII. The Temptation of our Saviour in the Wilderness.

[25r]

Matth. 4.1–11.

Then was Jesus, – ministred unto Him.

Mar. 1.12, 13.

And immediately, – ministred unto Him.

Luk. 4.1–13.

And Jesus being – for a Season.

A. M. XXVIII. *John* being in Prison, our Saviour goes to the Passeeover,
4033. and heals the Creeple at the Pool of *Bethesda*; upon which, the Jewes
April. charging Him with Profaneness & Blasphemy, seek His Life.

Joh. 5.1–47.

After this, – beleeve my Words.

XXIX. Our Saviour hearing of *Johns* Imprisonment, goes into *Galilee*, & begins His public Ministry there: expounds in the Synagogue at *Nazareth*, & being expelled from thence, goes to *Capernaum*.

Matth. 4.12, – 17.

Now when Jesus, – is at hand.

Mar. 1.14, 15.

Now after that, – the Gospel.

Luk. 4.14–32.

And Jesus returned, – with Power.

XXX. Our Saviour walking by the Sea of *Galilee*, calls diverse Disciples to a present Attendance on Him.

Matth. 4.18–22.

And Jesus walking, – follow'd Him.

Mar. 1.16, – 20.

Now as He walked – went after Him.

XXXI. Our Saviour enters *Capernaum*; where He preaches, & works many Cures; And retires in the Morning into a Desert. After which He does the like through *Galilee*.

Matth. 8.14–17.

And when Jesus – Our Sicknesses.

Mar. 1.21, – 39.

And they went, – cast out Devils.

Luk. 4.33–44.

And in the Synagogue – of Galilee.

A. M. XXXII. Our Saviour attended by Crowds at the Lake of *Gennesareth*, goes aboard *Simons* Vessel, & preaches there; and now calls
4034. *Andrew*, *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, entirely to follow Him.

Luk. 5.1–11.

And it came to pass, – follow'd Him.

XXXIII. Our Saviour heals a Leper in a certain City, and retires to the Desert.

Matth. 8.2–4.

And behold, – testimony unto them.

Mar. 1.40–45.

And there came, – from every quarter.

Luk. 5.12–16.

And it came to pass – and prayed.

A. M. XXXIV. Our Saviour at Capernaum heals a *Paralytic*.

4034.

Matth. 9.2–8.

January.

And behold, – Power unto Men.

Mar. 2.1–12.

And again – on this fashion.

Luk. 5.17–26.

And it came to pass, – strange things to day.

XXXV. Our Saviour teaches by the Sea, & calls *Matthew*, who entertains Him.

Matth. 9.9–17.

And as Jesus passed – both are preserved.

Mar. 2.13–22.

And He went forth, – new bottles.

Luk. 5.27–39.

And after these things, – old is better.

[26v] | A. M.

XXXVI. Our Saviour walking thro' the standing Corn, on the first *Sabbath*, after the *Sheaf-offering* on the Second Day of the *Passeover*, vindicates His Disciples, who rubbed some *Ears* of it.

4034.

Matth. 12.1–8.

April.

At that time, – the Sabbath Day.

Mar. 2.23–28.

And it came to pass, – also of the Sabbath.

Luk. 6.1–5.

And it came to pass, – also of the Sabbath.

XXXVII. On another Sabbath, our Saviour heals a Creeple in the Synagogue; Defends Himself; Retires; Heals more, & fulfils the Prophecies.

Matth. 12.9–21.

And when he was departed, – Gentiles trust.

Matth. 4.23–25.

And Jesus went; – beyond Jordan.

Mar. 3.1–12.

And He entred again, – not make Him known.

Luk. 6.6–11.

And it came to pass, – do to Jesus.

A. M. XXXVIII. Our Saviour ascending the Mount, staves all night in a
4034. Chappel there. In the Morning He calls to Him several Disciples,
June. and chooses Twelve Apostles. He descends into the Plain, where
vast Multitudes waited for Him; to whom He dispenses His Healing
Miracles.

Matth. 5.1.

And seeing the Multitudes, – came unto Him.

Matth. 8.1.

When He was come down, – follow'd Him.

Mar. 3.13–19.

And he goeth, – betray'd Him.

Luk. 6.12–19.

And it came to pass, – healed them all.

XXXIX. The SERMON by the Mount.

Matth. 5.2–48.

and, 6. All.

and, 7. All.

And He opened His Mouth, – not as the Scribes.

Luk. 6.20–49.

And He lifted up His Eyes, – House was great.

XL. Our Saviour entring an House at *Capernaum*, heals the sick
Servant of a Centurion, whose Faith He wonders at.

Matth. 8.5–13.

And when Jesus was entred, – self-same hour.

Mar. 3. – 19–21.

And they went into – beside Himself.

Luk. 7.1–10.

Now when He had, – had been sick.

XLI. The next Day, at *Nain*, our Lord Raises the Dead Son of a
Widow on which His Fame increases mightily.

Luk. 7.11–17.

And it came to pass, – region round about.

A. M. XLII. *John* still in Prison, sends two Disciples to our Saviour, who
4034. does Miracles before them, and magnifies the Baptist.

Matth. 11.2–19.

Now when John, – of her Children.

Luk. 7.18–35.

And the Disciples of John – all her Children.

XLIII. Our Saviour makes Reflections on the Cities; where He had
wrought His Miracles.

August.

Matth. 11.20, – 30.

Then began He, – burden is light.

XLIV. *Simon* the Pharisee invites our Saviour to a treat; where a Woman who had been a Sinner, washes His Feet with her Tears.

Luk. 7.36–50.

And one of the Pharisees, – go in Peace.

A. M. XLV. Our Saviour preaches all about. He does cast out a Divil, and
4035. vindicates Himself against them, who accuse Him of doing it by
October. *Belzebub.*

Luk. 8.1–3.

And it came to pass, – their Substance.

Matth. 12.22–37.

Then was brought – be condemned.

Mar. 3.22–30.

And the Scribes, – an Unclean Spirit.

[27r] [XLVI. Our Lord answers them who desired, *A Sign.* His Mother and His Brethren, at the same Time are seeking to come at Him.

Matth. 12.38–50.

Then certain of the Scribes, – Sister & Mother.

Mar. 3.31–35.

There came then, – my Sister & Mother.

Luk. 8.19–21.

Then came to Him, – and do it.

A. M. XLVII. Our Saviour, preaches to Multitudes, from on board a
4035. Vessel, the Parable of the *Sower*; which He explains, & some other
November. Parables.

Matth. 13.1–35.

The same Day, – foundation of the World.

Mar. 4.1–34.

And He began, – to His Disciples.

Luk. 8.4–18.

And when much People, – seemeth to have.

XLVIII. Our Saviour now retires into an House; where He explains the Parable of the *Tares*; and adds diverse other Parables.

Matth. 13.36–53.

Then Jesus sent, – He departed thence.

XLIX. At the Evening, our Saviour takes a Vessel, to go over unto the other Side; and allayes an horrible Storm; at which the Passengers are amazed.

Matth. 8.18.

Now when, – other side.

Matth. 8.23, – 27.

And when He – obey Him.

Mar. 4.35–41.

And the same Day, – obey Him.

Luk. 8.22–25.

Now it came to pass, – obey Him.

L. Our Saviour arrives among the *Gadarens*; where He delivers two *Dæmoniacks*, from *Divels* which enter their Swine.

Matth. 8.28–34.

And when He was come, – out of their Coasts.

Mar. 5.1, – 20.

And they came over, – all Men did marvel.

Luk. 8.26. – 39.

And they arrived, – had done unto him.

LI. Our Saviour coming back to *Capernaum*, complains unto one who professed to follow Him, that He had not where to lay His Head; & He bids another to follow Him immediately.

Matth. 9.1.

And He entred, – His own City.

Matth. 8.19–22.

And a certain Scribe, – bury their Dead.

LII. Our Saviour is addressed by *Jairus*, for his dying Daughter. He heals a Woman by the Way, & Raises the Damsel from Death.

Matth. 9.18–26.

While He spake, – into all the Land.

Mar. 5.21–43.

And when Jesus, – given her to eat.

Luk. 8.40–56.

And it came to pass, – what was done.

LIII. Two Blind Men are healed, and a Divil is cast out, by our Saviour; which yett is by the Pharisees ascribed unto *Belzebub*.

Matth. 9.27–34.

And when Jesus departed, – Prince of the Divels.

A. M. LIV. Our Saviour comes again to *Nazareth*, where they wonder at
4035. His Ministry & His Miracles; yett they Despise Him, for His being
December. Related unto mean People among them.

Matth. 13.54–58.

And when He was come, – their Unbeleef.

Mar. 6.1–6.

And He went out, – their Unbeleef.

LV. Our Saviour preaching about the Countrey, bids His Disciples pray for Labourers in the Harvest of God; and then sends out His Apostles with their Instructions.

[28v]

- Matth. 9.35–38. Matth. 10. All. Matth. 11.1.
And Jesus went about, – preach in their Cities.
 Mar. 6.6–13.
And He went round, – healed them.
 | Luk. 9.1–6.
Then He called, – healing every where.
- A. M. LVI. The Disciples of *John*, tell our Saviour of their Masters Death,
 4035. which was not long before. And there follow various Conjectures
 March. in the Court of *Herod*, concerning our Saviour.
 Matth. 14.1–12.
At that time, – told Jesus.
 Mar. 6.14–29.
And King Herod, – in a Tomb.
 Luk. 9.7–9.
Now Herod – desired to see Him.
- A. M. LVII. The Twelve Apostles return, with an Account of their Suc-
 4035. cesses. They retire, with our Saviour by Sea, to the Desert of *Beth-*
 April. *saida*. The Multitudes follow Him, and He Releevs them.
 Matth. 14.13, 44.
When Jesus, – healed their Sick.
 Mar. 6.30–34.
And the Apostles, – teach them many things.
 Luk. 9.10, 11.
And the Apostles, – need of Healing.
- LVIII. Towards Night, our Saviour feeds 5000 with 5 Loaves and
 2 Fishes. The Multitude would make Him a King; but He sends
 His Disciples away, & retires to a Mountain, where He spends the
 Night in Devotions.
 Matth. 14.15–23.
And when it was Evening, – He was there alone.
 Mar. 6.35–46.
And when the Day, – a Mountain, to pray.
 Luk. 9.12–17.
And when the Day – twelve basketts.
 Joh. 6.1–16.
After these things, – down unto the Sea.
- LIX. The Disciples are taken in a Storm at Sea; when our Saviour
 comes unto them, walking on the Water.
 Matth. 14.24–36.
But the Ship was now – perfectly whole.
 Mar. 6.47–56.
And when Even was come, – made whole.

Joh. 6.17–21.

And they entred into a – whither they went.

LX. The next day, the Multitude find our Saviour; who discourses to them, of Eating His *Flesh*, and of Drinking His *Blood*, by Faith in Him. At this, many Disciples leave Him; tho' the Twelve stay, whereof yett one was a Divel.

Joh. 6.22–71.

The Day following, – one of the Twelve.

LXI. Scribes and Pharisees come down from *Jerusalem*, who accuse the Disciples, of breaking the Traditions of the Elders: but our Saviour severely Rebukes the Scribes and Pharisees, for their pernicious Traditions.

Matth. 15.1–20.

Then came to Jesus, – defileth not a Man.

Mar. 7.1–23.

Then came together – defile the Man.

A. M.
4035.
May.

LXII. Our Saviour comes privately to the borders of *Tyre & Sidon*; and there He helps the *Dæmoniac* Daughter of an importunate *Canaanitess*.

Matth. 15.21–28.

Then Jesus went thence, – that very Hour.

Mar. 7.24–30.

And from thence He arose, – upon the Bed.

A. M.
4035.
June.

LXIII. Our Saviour passes along the Coast of *Decapolis*, to the Coast of the Sea of *Galilee*; where He retires, unto a Mountain, & heals a deaf Person; and then Multitudes more.

Matth. 15.29–31.

And Jesus departed, – God of Israel.

Mar. 7.31–37.

And again, – dumb to speak.

LXIV. The Multitude continuing in the Desert with our Saviour. He miraculously feeds 4000 with 7 Loaves, & a few small Fish. Then sending them away, He arrives at the Parts of *Dalmanutha*.

| Matth. 15.32–39.

[29r]

Then Jesus called, – Coasts of Magdala.

Mar. 8.1–10.

In those Dayes – Parts of Dalmanutha.

LXV. The Pharisees and Sadducees, desiring a Sign from Heaven, our Saviour upbraids them; and by Sea departs to the other Side.

Matth. 16.1–12.

The Pharisees also – and of the Sadducees.

Mar. 8.11–21.

And the Pharisees – do not understand.

A.M. LXVI. Our Saviour coming to *Bethsaida*, cures a blind Man, en-
4035. joining upon him Secrecy.

August. Mar. 8.22–26.

And He cometh to Bethsaida, – any in the Town.

LXVII. Our Saviour going toward *Cesarea-Philippi*, discourses to His Disciples, on the various Opinions, that Men had of Him.

Matth. 16.13–28.

When Jesus came – in His Kingdome.

Mar. 8.27–38. and, 9.1.

And Jesus went out – come with Power.

Luk. 9.18–27.

And it came to pass – Kingdome of God.

A.M. LXVIII. About a Week after, our Saviour is Transfigured, in an
4035. High Mountain, before Three of His Disciples.

September. Matth. 17.1–13.

And after Six Dayes – John the Baptist.

Mar. 9.2–13.

And after Six Dayes – written of him.

Luk. 9.28–36.

And it came to pass – which they had seen.

LXIX. Our Saviour casting out a Divil, which the Disciples could not, He Reproves them & Instructs them; and then going privately thro' Galilee, He again foretells His own Death unto them.

Matth. 17.14–23.

And when they were come – exceeding sorry.

Mar. 9.14–32.

And when He came – afraid to ask Him.

Luk. 9.37–45.

And it came to pass, – ask Him of that Saying.

LXX. Our Saviour coming to *Capernaum*, He payes Tribute unto the Collectors.

Matth. 17.24–27.

And when they were come – for me & thee.

LXXI. The Disciples having disputed about Priority, our Saviour teaches them Humility; and He allowes others to work Miracles in His Name.

Matth. 18.1–9.

At the same time came – cast into Hell-fire.

Mar. 9.33–50.

And He came to Capernaum – one with another.

Luk. 9.46–50.

Then there arose – is for us.

LXXII. Our Lord gives various Instructions; and particularly, how to treat an offending Brother. Then He goes beyond *Jordan*.

Matth. 18.10–35. and 19.1, 2.

Take heed that yee – healed them there.

Mar. 10.1.

And He arose – taught them again.

A. M. LXXIII. Returning for *Galilee*, our Saviour staves there, for fear
4036. of the Jewes; And being urged by His Brethren to go up unto the
October. *Feast of Tabernacles*, He takes His own Time, and privately goes up
after them.

Joh. 7.1–10.

After these things – as it were in Secret.

LXXIV. The Year for the Death of the *Messias* being arrived, our Saviour is Resolved for *Jerusalem*; & Sends Messengers to præpare for Him; who being impatient at some *Samaritan* incivilities, He rebukes their Impatience.

Luk. 9.51–62.

And it came to pass – Kingdome of God.

| LXXV. While the Jewes are divided about our Saviour, He comes [30v]
to the *Temple*, in the Midst of the Feast, and preaches there. The Jewes in vain endeavour to lay Hands on Him.

Joh. 7.11–31.

Then the Jewes sought Him – this Man has done.

LXXVI. The Pharisees in vain send Messengers to apprehend our Saviour; who preaches on the last Day of the Feast, about the Effusion of the Spirit. Tho' He is pleaded for, yett the Jewes Reject Him, as a *Galilean*.

Joh. 7.32–53.

The Pharisees heard, – his own house.

LXXVII. Our Saviour going to the Mount of *Olives*, returns in the Morning to the Temple; where He considers the Case of the Woman taken in Adultery; and many Beleeve in Him.

Joh. 8.1–30.

Jesus went unto – beleeved on Him.

LXXIX. Our Saviour exhorts Beleevers to Perseverance, and rebukes the Jewes, till He narrowly escaped being stoned by them.

Joh. 8.31. – 59.

Then said Jesus – so passed by.

LXXX. Our Saviour on the Sabbath-Day heals a Man that was born Blind; on which followes a deal of Agitation, and the Man is excommunicated.

Joh. 9.1–34.

And as Jesus passed by – they cast him out.

LXXXI. Our Saviour chuses out Seventy Disciples, and sends them forth two by two, with many Instructions.

Luk. 10.1 – 16.

After these things – Him that sent me.

A. M. LXXXII. The Seventy return with Joy: our Saviour enlarges their
4036. Commission and Instructions.

November. Luk. 10.17–24.

And the Seventy returned – not heard them.

LXXXIII. A Lawyer enquiring the Way to Eternal Life, our Saviour answers him: & adds a Parable of a compassionate Samaritan.

Luk. 10.25–37.

And behold, a certain Lawyer, – do thou likewise.

LXXXIV. Our Saviour coming to *Bethany*, is entertained at *Martha's*

House; where *Maryes* Choice is præferred unto *Martha's*.

Luk. 10.38–42.

Now it came to pass, – away from her.

LXXXV. Our Saviour praying in a certain Place, is desired by His Disciples to teach them to pray; and He gives them again the *Platform of Prayer*, which He had formerly given them, and shoves them the Power of Importunate Prayer.

Luk. 11.1–13.

And it came to pass, – them that ask Him.

LXXXVI. Our Saviour dispossesses a Divil, and answers those who desire a Sign.

Luk. 11.14–36.

And He was casting out – doth give thee Light.

LXXXVII. Our Saviour on a just Occasion, denounces *Woes* unto the Pharisees.

Luk. 11.37–54.

And as He spake – might accuse Him.

LXXXVIII. Our Saviour bestowes various Instructions on His Hearers, about the Fear of Men; and Covetousness, and Watchfulness, and the Signs of the Times; & some other Subjects.

Luk. 12.1–59.

In the mean time – the very last Mite.

A. M. LXXXIX. On the Report of the *Galileans* murdered by *Pilate*, our
4036. Saviour presses Repentance; & He utters the Parable of the *Fig-tree*.

December. Luk. 13.1–9.

There were present – cutt it down.

XC. A crooked Woman is made strait on the Sabbath; upon which our Saviour Defends Himself, & Confounds His Adversaries. He utters diverse Parables, & repairs to *Jerusalem*.

Luk. 13.10–22.

And He was teaching, – towards Jerusalem.

| XCI. Our Saviour finds the Man whom He had cured of His Blindness, & instructs him, & censures the Blindness of the Pharisees. [31r]

Joh. 9.35–41.

Jesus heard, – Sin remaineth.

XCII. Our Saviour professing Himself the Good Shepherd, the Jewes are divided about Him.

Joh. 10.1–21.

Verily, verily, I say unto you, – Eyes of the Blind.

XCIII. Our Saviour at the Feast of Dedication, preaches in *Solomons Cloisters*. The Jewes attempt to stone Him. And He goes again beyond *Jordan*.

Joh. 10.22. – 40.

And it was at Jerusalem – there He abode.

XCIV. Our Saviour answers the Quæstion, whether few shall be saved? He is unconcerned at the Threatnings of *Herod*. Bewayls *Jerusalem*, – which is not to see Him, until He make His Triumphal Entry.

Luk. 13.23–35.

Then said one unto Him, – Name of the Lord.

A. M. XCV. Our Saviour eating with a Pharisee on a Sabbath-Day, heals
4036. one of a Dropsy; vindicates His Action, and utters diverse Parables.

Luk. 14.1–24.

January.

And it came to pass – taste of my Supper.

XCVI. A Multitude following our Saviour, He employes many Instructions upon them; especially about Taking up the Cross, and about Consideration.

Luk. 14.25–35.

And there went – Lett him hear.

XCVII. The Scribes and Pharisees murmuring because there were many Publicans and Sinners among the Auditors of our Saviour, Hee answers by Three Parables.

Luk. 15.1–32.

Then drew near unto Him – and is found.

A. M. XCVIII. Our Saviour employing unto Holy Purposes a Parable of
4036. an unjust Steward, is derided by the covetous Pharisees. He then
February. proceeds to discourses of Divorces.

Luk. 15.1–18.

And He said also – committeth Adultery.

XCIX. Our Saviour proceeds with the Parable of the Rich Man, and *Lazarus*.

Luk. 16.19–31.

There was a certain Rich Man – rose from the Dead.

C. Our Saviour discourses about Offences; and the Power of Faith; and our being in the Condition of Servants.

Luk. 17.1–10.

Then said He – our Duty to do.

CI. Many beyond *Jordan*, beleeve on our Saviour. But *Lazarus* of *Bethany* being sick, his Sisters send for our Saviour, who after a Delay till the Death of *Lazarus*, goes for *Bethany*.

Joh. 10.41, 42. Joh. 11.1–16.

And many resorted – die with Him.

CII. Our Saviour arrives at *Bethany*, & raises *Lazarus*, and many Spectators beleeve.

Joh. 11.17–45.

Then when Jesus came – beleeved on Him.

CIII. The *Sanedrim* now assemble, & fearing that all will beleeve on Him, they contrive the Death of our Saviour; who thereupon retires to *Ephraim*.

Joh. 11.46–54.

But some of them – with His Disciples.

A. M. CIV. Our Saviour begins His last Journey to *Jerusalem*; He passes
4036. thro' *Samaria* and *Galilee*, and heals Ten Lepers, whereof but one
March. gives Glory to God.

Luk. 17.11–19.

And it came to pass – made thee whole.

CV. The Pharisees enquire, when the Kingdome of God will come. Our Saviour discourses about it.

Luk. 17.20–37.

And when He was demanded – gathered together.

CVI. Our Saviour discourses about Prayer, and Importunity in it, and Humility.

Luk. 18.1–14.

And He spake a Parable – shall be exalted. –

[32v]

| CVII. Our Saviour, upon the Sollicitation of the Pharisees, discourses concerning Divorce.

Matth. 19.3–12.

The Pharisees also came – Lett him receive it.

Mar. 10.2–12.

And the Pharisees came – committeth Adultery.

CVIII. *Infants* are brought unto our Saviour; and a Rich young Man enquires the Way to Eternal Life.

Matth. 19.13–30.

Then were there brought – Last shall be first.

Mar. 10.13–31.

And they brought young Children, – Last, first.

Luk. 18.15–30.

And they brought unto Him – Life Everlasting.

CIX. Our Saviour gives a Parable, of Labourers in a Vineyard;

Matth. 20.1–16.

For the Kingdome, – few chosen.

CX. Our Saviour continues His Journey to *Jerusalem*; Discourses of His own Death and Resurrection; And the Mother of *James* and *John* asking for them a Præferment in His Kingdome, this occasions further Discourses.

Matth. 20.17–28.

And Jesus going up – ransom for many.

Mar. 10.32–45.

And they were in the Way – ransom for many.

Luk. 18.31–34.

Then He took – things which were spoken.

CXI. Our Saviour passing thro' Old *Jericho*, heals two Blind Men; where upon God is glorified.

Matth. 20.29–34.

And as they departed – they followed Him.

Mar. 10.46–52.

And they came to Jericho – in the Way.

Luk. 18.35–43.

And it came to pass – Praise unto God.

CXII. Our Saviour enters into, and passes thorough, New *Jericho*; where the Conversion of *Zachæus* occasions diverse Discourses.

Luk. 19.1–28.

And Jesus entred – up to Jerusalem.

CXIII. The Passeover is now at hand. Many go aforehand unto *Jerusalem*, to purify themselves; They doubt, whether Jesus will come: The *Sanedrin* give Orders unto all to discover Him.

Joh. 11.55–57.

And the Jewes Passeover – might take Him.

- A. M. CXIV. Our Saviour comes to *Bethany*; sups with *Lazarus*; has His
 March. 28. Feet anointed by *Mary* with *Spiknard*, whereat *Judas* murmurs. A
 Sabbath- Multitude come to see Him and *Lazarus*; and the Jewes contrive
 Day. to murder *Lazarus*.

Joh. 12.1–11.

Then Jesus, – beleeved on Jesus.

- March. 29. CXV. Our Saviour approaching the Suburbs of *Jerusalem*, sends two
 First-Day. Disciples, for an Ass and a Colt; Riding on which, the People cry
Hosannah to Him. He laments the City and enters it; He chases the
 Dealers, out of the *Jewes* Court of the Temple; & in the Evening
 returns to *Bethany*.

Matth. 21.1–17.

And when they drew nigh – lodged there.

Mar. 11.1–11.

And when they came – with the Twelve.

Luk. 19.29–46.

And it came to pass – Den of Theeves.

Joh. 12.12–19.

On the next day – gone after Him.

- March. 30. CXVI. Our Saviour in His Return to the City, does blast a Fig-tree.¹⁸
 Munday. He then chases the Traders out of the Court of the *Gentiles*, at the
 Temple. *Greeks* desire to see Him. A Voice from Heaven testifies
 for Him. The Jewes propose to murder Him. And He returns to
Bethany.

Matth. 21.18, 19.

Now in the Morning – withered away.

Mar. 11.12. – 19.

And on the Morrow – went out of the City.

[33r]

| Luk. 19.47, 48.

And He taught – to hear Him.

Joh. 12.20–50.

And there were certain Greeks – So I speak.

- March. 31. CXVII. Our Saviour comes again to the City; on the Sight of the
 Tuesday. withered *Figtree*, He speaks about the Power of Faith. He argues
 about *Johns* Baptism, and proceeds to some other Parables.

Matth. 21.20–46.

And when the Disciples saw it – for a Prophet.

Matth. 22.1–14.

And Jesus answered – few are chosen.

Mar. 11.20–33.

¹⁸ See Appendix A.

And in the Morning – do these things.

Mar. 12.1–12.

And He began to – went their Way.

Luk. 20.1–18.

And it came to pass – grind him to Powder.

Tuesday. CXVIII. Our Saviour confounds the *Pharisees*; and then the *Sad-ducees*; He answers one of the *Scribes*; distresses the *Pharisees*, about the Son of *David*; thunders *Woes* against them; and makes remarks on the *Widowes Two Mites*, & pronounces the *Doom of Jerusalem*.

Matth. 22.15–46.

Then went the Pharisees – any more Questions.

Matth. 23. All.

Then spake Jesus – Name of the Lord.

Mar. 12.13–44.

And they send unto Him, – all her Living.

Luk. 20.19–37.

And the chief Priests, – greater Damnation.

Luk. 21.1–4.

And He looked up – Living that she had.

Tuesday. CXIX. Our Saviour sitting on the *Mount of Olives*, foretels the *Ruin of Jerusalem*; the *Signs* of that, and of His *Coming to Judgment*. He utters the *Parable of the Virgins*, & of the *Talents*, and He describes the *Day of Judgment*.

Matth. 24. All.

And Jesus went out – gnashing of Teeth.

Matth. 25. All.

Then shall the Kingdome – Life Eternal.

Mar. 13. All.

And as He went out – Watch.

Luk. 21.5–38.

And as some spake – for to hear Him.

April. 1. CXX. The *Sanhedrin* consult how to sieze on our Saviour. *Judas* agrees with them about it. Our Saviour is entertained at *Bethany* by *Simon the Leper*.

Matth. 26.1–16.

And it came to pass – to betray Him.

Mar. 14.1–11.

After two Dayes – betray Him.

Luk. 22.1–6.

Now the Feast – the Multitude.

CXXI. Our Lord Rising from the Table, washes the Feet of His Disciples, and instructs them in Humility: Assures them, that one of them would betray Him; whereupon the Divil enters into *Judas*.

Joh. 13.1–30.

Now before the Feast – it was Night.

April. 2. CXXII. After *Judas* is gone, our Saviour discourses on His sudden
Thursday. Leaving of the World, & of Charity; & foretels *Peters* Denial of Him; and directs His Disciples, what to Think of Him, & how to Pray in His Name, & promises the *Paraclete* unto them.

Joh. 13.31–38.

Therefore when he was gone out – denied me thrice.

Joh. 14. All.

Lett not your heart be troubled – Lett us go hence.

[34v]

| CXXIII. Our Saviour passing thro' the Mount of *Olives*; discourses of the True Vine; Advises His Disciples to love one another, and look for the Hatred of the World; & præpare to be His Witnesses.

John. 15. All.

I am the True Vine – from the Beginning.

Joh. 16.1–16.

These Things have I spoken, – go to the Father.

April. 2. CXXIV. The First Day of unleavened Bread is come, and the Time
Thursday. for Killing of the Paschal-Lamb. Our Saviour sends two of His Disciples, who are led unto an Upper Chamber, where they make all things ready.

Matth. 26.17–19.

Now the first Day – the Passeover.

Mar. 14.12–16.

And the first Day – ready the Passeover.

Luk. 22.7–13.

Then came the Day – the Passeover.

CXXV. Our Saviour Comes with the Twelve, in the Evening; Celebrates the Passeover, Institutes the Eucharist; They sing the Hallel, and depart.

Matth. 26.20–30.

Now when the Even – Mount of Olives.

Mar. 14.17–26.

And in the Evening – Mount of Olives.

Luk. 22.14–23.

And when the Hour – do this thing.

CXXVI. The unseasonable Quarrels among the Disciples about Preheminence, are corrected by our Saviour; who again foretels to

Peter, his Denials of Him that Night, and warns them all of the Danger at hand.

Luk. 22.24–39.

And there was also a Strife – also follow'd Him.

Matth. 26.31–35.

Then saith Jesus – all the Disciples.

Mar. 14.27–31.

And Jesus saith unto them – said they all.

CXXVII. The Disciples wishing to be informed about the Meaning of something He had spoken, our Saviour prevents them. And He tells them, their Trouble would like a Travail, soon be over; and what they asked in His Name should be granted.

Joh. 16.17–33.

Then said some – overcome the World.

CXXVIII. Our Saviour, as our Great High-Priest, consecrates Himself, by an admirable Prayer; (as on the Great Day of Expiation.)

Joh. 17. All.

These Words spake Jesus – and I in them.

CXXIX. Passing over *Cedron*, into the Garden of *Gethsemane*, our Saviour takes Three Disciples with Him, & falls into an Agony, whereat, while they are asleep, an Angel strengthens Him.

Joh. 18.1.

When Jesus – His Disciples.

Matth. 26.36–46.

Then cometh Jesus – doth betray me.

Mar. 14.32–42.

And they came – is at hand.

Luk. 22.40–46.

And when He was – into Temptation.

CXXX. *Judas* brings a band of Souldiers, who sieze upon our Saviour; and after some Resistance of *Peter*, the Disciples all flee.

Matth. 26.47–56.

And while He yett spake – and fled.

Mar. 14.43–52.

And immediately – from them naked.

Luk. 22.47–53.

And while He yett spake – Power of Darkness.

Joh. 18.2–12.

And Judas also – bound Him.

- [35r] | April. 3. CXXXI. Our Saviour is led away to *Annas*; then to *Caiaphas*; is accused before the *Sanhedrin*; being adjured by them, He owns Himself the Christ; and is condemned by them; and Denied by *Peter*.
(just after Midnight.)

Matth. 26.57–75.

And they that had laid hold – wept bitterly.

Mar. 14.53–72.

And they led Jesus away – he wept.

Luk. 22.54–71.

Then took they Him, – own Mouth.

Joh. 18.13–27.

And they led Him away, – Cock crew.

CXXXII. Our Saviour is brought unto the *Prætorium*; which the *Sanhedrin* durst not enter, for fear of Pollution. They go home now, and eat the *Passeover*. Then they meet again at the Temple, where they confirm their Sentence of Condemnation. *Judas* brings back his Money, & goes away and hangs himself. Our Saviour now being accused before *Pilate*, answers not.

Matth. 27.1–14.

When the Morning was come – marvelled greatly.

Mar. 15.1–5.

And straightway – Pilate marvelled.

Luk. 23.1, 2.

And the whole Multitude – Christ a King.

Joh. 18.28–32.

Then led they, – He should die.

CXXXIII. Our Saviour appearing to be a *Galilean*, *Pilate* sends Him to *Herod*. The Jewes præfer *Barabbas* before Him. *Pilates* Lady urges him to dismiss Him. Yett they Scourge Him, and Abuse Him; & upon His affirming Himself to be the Son of God, *Pilate* is afraid.

Matth. 27.15–23.

Now at that Feast, – be crucified.

Mar. 15.6–14.

Now at that Feast – crucify Him.

Luk. 23.3–22.

And Pilate asked Him – Lett Him go.

Joh. 18.33–40.

Then Pilate entred – was a robber.

Joh. 19.1–15.

Then Pilate therefore – but Cæsar.

April. 3. CXXXIV. Our Saviour is Condemned by *Pilate*; & Abus'd by
Friday. the Souldiers. He is led out of the City to be crucified; comes to
(The whole *Golgotha*; Drinks the bitter Cup; is crucified between Two Thieves;
Forenoon.) prays for His Crucifiers; and has a Title affixed unto His Cross.

Matth. 27.24–38.

When Pilate saw – another on the left.

Mar. 15.15–28.

And so Pilate – with Transgressors.

Luk. 23.23–38.

And they were Instant – OF THE JEWS.

Joh. 19.16–22.

Then delivered he Him – I have written.

April. 3. CXXXV. Our suffering Saviour is abused by the Spectators; but one
Friday. of the Theeves is converted and pardoned. The Souldiers divide one
(Till three of His Garments, and cast Lotts for the other. Darkness continues
a clock in Three Hours, & our Saviour gives up the Ghost.

Matth. 27.39–50.

And they that passed by – yielded up the Ghost.

Mar. 15.29–37.

And they that passed by – gave up the Ghost.

Luk. 23.39–46.

And one of the Malefactors – gave up the Ghost.

Joh. 19.23–30.

Then the Souldiers – gave up the Ghost.

CXXXVI. The *Veil* of the Temple is rent; A great Earthquake ter-
rifies every body. The *Thieves* have their Legs broken. The Side of
our Saviour is pierced. *Joseph of Arimathea* begs His Body. He with
Nicodemus bury it in a New Sepulchre. A Stone is Roll'd and Seal'd,
and a Watch sett upon it.

| Matth. 27.51–66.

[36v]

And behold, the Veil of the Temple – setting a Watch.

Mar. 15.38–47.

And the Veil of the Temple – where He was laid.

Luk. 23.47–56.

Now when the Centurion – the Commandment.

Joh. 19.31–42.

The Jewes therefore – night at hand.

April. 5. CXXXVII. Certain Women sett forward unto the Sepulchre, very
Lords-Day. early. Our Lord Rises from the Dead. A great Earthquake accom-
panies it. An Angel rolls away the Stone from the Sepulchre, and
sitts upon it. The affrighted Watch flee away.

Matth. 28.1–4.

In the End of the Sabbath – I have told you.

Mar. 16.1–4.

And when the Sabbath – it was very great.

Luk. 24.1, 2.

Now upon the first Day – from the Sepulchre.

Joh. 20.1.

The first Day – from the Sepulchre.

CXXXVIII. The Women come to the Sepulchre about Sun-rise; & find that the Body is gone. *Mary Magdalene* runs to *Peter* and *John*; and the rest of the Women are by the Angel informed of the Resurrection.

Matth. 28.5–7.

And entering into the Sepulchre – I have told you.

Mar. 16.5–7.

And entering – He said unto you.

Luk. 24.3–7.

And they entred in – rise again.

Joh. 20.2.

Then she runneth – have laid Him.

CXXXIX. The Women depart with the Newes. *Peter* and *John* repair to the Sepulchre, and return. *Mary* returns, and sees our Saviour; who then appears to the rest of the Women. They worship Him, and carry the glad Report unto the Disciples. The Watch Report the Matter to the *Sanhedrin*, who instruct them to lye for the Occasion.

Matth. 28.8–15.

And they departed quickly – until this day.

Mar. 16.8–11.

And they went out quickly – beleaved not.

Luk. 24.8–12.

And they remembred – was come to pass.

Joh. 20.3–18.

Peter therefore – these things unto her.

CXL. Our Saviour appears to *Peter*; speaks and eats with two Disciples, travelling to *Emmaus*; Appears to the Ten Apostles, *Thomas* being absent, who remains incredulous.

Mar. 16.12, – 18.

After that, He appeared – shall recover.

Luk. 24.13–49.

And behold, Two of them, – from on High.

Joh. 20.19–25.

Then the same Day, – I will not beleieve.

April. 12. CXLI. Our Saviour appears to the Eleven Apostles; & conquers
Lords-Day. the Incredulity of *Thomas*. The Disciples then go into *Galilee*. Our
Saviour appears to Seven of them there, at the Sea of *Tiberias*;
Afterwards to all of them, and five hundred other Christians.

Joh. 20.26–31.

And after Eight Dayes – thro’ His Name.

Joh. 21. All.

After these things – be written. Amen.

Matth. 28.16–20.

Then the Eleven Disciples – End of the World. Amen.

May. 14. CXLII. Our Lord appears to the Eleven Apostles at *Bethany*; and
as He is Blessing of them, He is carried up from them into the
Heavens.

Luk. 24.50–53.

And He led them out – blessing God. Amen.

Mar. 16.19, 20.

So then, after the Lord – Signs following. Amen.

| The *Harmony of the Gospels* is finished.

[37r]

The History of the *New Testament*, is to be carried on, with the *Acts
of the Apostles*. And we have no Occasion to make any Stop, till we
come to the *Eleventh* Verse of the *Eighteenth* Chapter.

Act. 1.1 – as far as to, Act. 18.11.

THE FORMER TREATISE, – GOD AMONG THEM.

A.M. 4055. While the Apostle *Paul* was thus at *Corinth*, he writes his first

A.D. 52. Epistle to the *Thessalonians*.

[The first Epistle to the *Thessalonians*.]

Lett us now resume the History of the *New Testament*. We find the
Apostle here going on with his Ministry.

Act. 18.12–17.

And when Gallio – none of those things.

A.D. 53. The Apostle *Paul* having Opportunity to continue still a while
at *Corinth*, proceeds to address the *Thessalonians* with a Second
Epistle.

[The Second Epistle to the *Thessalonians*.]

Lett us go on with the History of the *New Testament*. The Apostle
goes away for *Ephesus*, and thence to *Jerusalem*, & so to *Antioch*; &
thence thro’ *Phrygia*, and *Galatia*, & so again to *Ephesus*.

Act. 18.18–28.

And Paul after this – Jesus was Christ.

Act. 19.1–20.

And it came to pass, – and prevailed.

- A. D. 57. Now comes in the Epistle to the *Galatians*, of whom the Apostle, since his departure from them, understood some things that were very uncomfortable.

[The Epistle to the *Galatians*.]

Here we again take up the History of the *New Testament*.

Act. 19.21, 22.

After these things – for a Season.

About this Time, arose a Schism in the Church of *Corinth*; which produced an excellent Epistle unto them.

[The First Epistle to the *Corinthians*.]

- A. D. 57. *Apollos* being at this time lothe to go unto *Corinth*, but choosing to go unto *Crete*, our Apostle takes this Opportunity, to write unto *Titus*.

[The Epistle to *Titus*.]

The History of the *New Testament* goes on. *Demetrius* makes a Disturbance at *Ephesus*.

Act. 19.23–41.

And the same time – dismissed the Assembly.

Act. 20.1.

And after – into Macedonia.

- A. D. 58. The Apostle now has Occasion and Opportunity, to write again unto the *Corinthians*, who wondred, that he had not yett come unto them.

[The Second Epistle to the *Corinthians*.]

The Apostle after this comes from *Macedonia*, into *Greece*, and there staves Three Months.

Act. 20.2, 3.

And when he had gone – thro' Macedonia.

- [38v] | A. D. 58. About this Time the Apostle writes his first Epistle to *Timothy*, who was then at *Ephesus*.

[The First Epistle to *Timothy*.]

- A. D. 58. The Apostle, in the Time of these three Months, visits *Athens* and *Corinth*. And from *Corinth* he writes his excellent Epistle to the *Romans*; where he had been by one thing or another, hindred from visiting, as he intended.

[The Epistle to the *Romans*.]

The History of the *New Testament* proceeds. The Apostle, in his Journey, for *Syria*, to carry the Alms of the *Gentiles* to the Christian *Jewes* in *Judea*, stops a while at *Troas*, and afterwards makes another Stop at *Miletus*; at last he comes to *Jerusalem*.

Act. 20.4–38.

And there accompanied him – unto the Ship.

Act. 21. All.
 Act. 22. All.
 Act. 23. All.
 Act. 24. All.
 Act. 25. All.
 Act. 26. All.
 Act. 27. All.
 Act. 28. All.

It is not unlikely, that about this Time, the Epistle of *James*,¹⁹ might be written. The High-Priesthood being by means of King *Agrippa*, brought into the hands of *Ananias*, a Sadducee; this New High Priest, before the Arrival of *Albinus*, whom *Nero* sent to succeed *Festus*, the *Roman* Procurator, caused our *James* to be martyred. And it is probable, that *James* wrote his Epistle, not long before his Martyrdome.²⁰

[The Epistle of *James*.]

A. D. 62. *Paul* is now a Prisoner at *Rome*, where he converts *Onesimus*, and sends by him an Epistle, to his Master *Philemon*, at *Colosse*.

[The Epistle to *Philemon*.]

Ephphroditus returning to the *Philippians*, who had sent by his hand unto *Paul* at *Rome*, some Effects of their Kindness, he now writes by him an Epistle to them.²¹

A. D. 62. [The Epistle to the *Philippians*.]

About the same time, the Apostle writes to the *Colossians*.

A. D. 62. [The Epistle to the *Colossians*.]

Near of the same Date, is the Admirable Epistle of our Apostle to the *Ephesians*.

[The Epistle to the *Ephesians*.]

A. D. 62. Much about the same time we may suppose written that Incomparable Epistle to the *Hebrewes*.

[The Epistle to the *Hebrewes*.]

¹⁹ See Appendix A.

²⁰ If Flavius Josephus (*Antiquities* 20.9) is reliable, King Herod Agrippa II (44–93 CE) was instrumental in installing Ananias (47–58 CE), son of Nedebaeus, as high priest of Jerusalem (*HBD*). According to Josephus (*Antiquities* 20.9) and Eusebius (*Historia ecclesiastica* 2.23.1–25, in *NPNFii* 1:125–28), James, brother of Jesus, was put to death by the priests of Jerusalem several years before Roman Emperor Nero (37–68 CE) sent Albinus to succeed Porcius Festus as Roman procurator of Judea (c. CE 62).

²¹ Ephphroditus (Epaphroditus), an early Christian, came to Paul with gifts from the Philippians (Phil. 2:25–30, 4:18, 23).

The Apostle *Peter* now being at *Babylon*, it seems to be about this Time, that he wrote his Two Epistles.

A. D. 65. [The First Epistle of *Peter*.]

[The Second Epistle of *Peter*.]

Not long after this, we may date the Epistle of *Jude*, which agrees very much with the Second Epistle of *Peter*.

[The Epistle of *Jude*.]

And soon after this time seems to have been the Second Epistle of *Paul* to *Timothy*; from *Rome*, to which he had made a second Visit, and was now in close Imprisonment here.²²

A. D. 67. [The Second Epistle of *Timothy*.]

The Epistolary Works of Paul, the Servant of Christ, are ended.

There now remain but Four Books of the Bible more.

A. D. 96. [The Three Epistles of *John*.]

[The *Revelation*.]

²² See Appendix A.

2369.

Q. In the *Introduction* of our *Illustrations*, there are several Points well worthy to be enquired after.

And first of all; The *Division* of the *Bible* into *Chapters* and *Verses*, *whence* was it, and *when*, and *what*?

A. First, for the *Old Testament*.

The *Pentateuch* in Hebrew, was Divided into Fifty Four Parts, called, *Parasha's*, or *Sections*, and, *Seders*, or *Orders*.²

¹ Mather's synoptic history [39r–42v] of the chapter-and-verse divisions of the Bible is cribbed from the Anglican divine Samuel Clark (1626–1701), rector of Grendon-Underwood, in the County of Bucks, and author of several works on biblical philology. Clark's *Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures* (1699) was highly esteemed, and Mather here excerpts discourse II, appearing under a separate title *An Exercitation concerning the Original of the Chapters and Verses in the Bible*, which also has a 1698 imprimatur and a separate pagination. A note of caution may here be in order lest we judge Mather's use of sources as intellectual dishonesty and plagiarism – conventions that were not as narrowly defined in his day as they are today. In his efforts to reconcile the flood of new, if not dangerous, discoveries in the natural sciences and philosophy, with conservative standards of interpretations, Mather is less concerned with the identity of the authors of his sources than with the significance of their discoveries: not *who*, but *what*. In this respect, Mather follows the centuries-old tradition of compiling catenae, florilegia, or anthologies of biblical commentaries much prized by the schoolmen throughout the ages. A good case in point is *Synopsis Criticorum Aliorumque S. Scriptura Interpretum*, 5 vols. (1669–76), a massive digest of biblical interpretations by the English nonconformist minister Matthew Poole (1624–79), whose commentary is as useful today as the print is taxing to the eyes. Like Poole and many others before him, Mather distills the essence of his sources, but identifies his authors or titles, if at all, in abbreviated form in marginal annotations. In a letter to his London Pietist friend Anthony William Boehm (Aug. 6, 1716), Mather freely confesses that “BA” represents the glory of other men's achievements but here made serviceable to the Church: “There being so little of my own in that Work [“Biblia Americana”], I may use the more Freedome, in giving you some Account of it. Yea, I may venture to say this: I can without Vanity assure you, that the Church of God, has never yet had so rich an Amassment of the most valuable Things together tendered unto it” (*Diary* 2:413). In his *Christian Philosopher* (1721/22), composed during the second decade of the 18th century, Mather also acknowledges his debt: “’Tis true, some Scores of other *Philosophers* have been consulted on this Occasion; but an *Industry* so applied, has in it very little to bespeak any *Praises* for him that has used it: He [Mather] earnestly renounces them, and sollicit, that not only *he*, but the *Greater Men*, who have been his *Teachers*, may disappear before the Glorious GOD, whom these *Essays* are all written to represent as *worthy to be praised*, and by whose *Grace we are what we are*; nor have we *any thing but what we have received* from Him Most certainly there can be very little Pretence to an I, or ME, for what is done in these *Essays*, ’*Tis done*, and entirely, *by the Help of God*: This is all that can be pretended to” (*Christian Philosopher*, “Introduction” 10). All citations from Mather's *Christian Philosopher* are from W. U. Solberg's excellent 1995 edition. See also Solberg's “Science and Religion.”

² This passage appears in Clark's *Divine Authority*, Discourse II, chapter ii, page 2, paragraph 2. Hereafter Clark II.ii.2.2. Samuel Mather, Cotton Mather's brother, says much the

One of these *Portions* was Read *Every Sabbath Day*, in their Synagogues. Thus they dispatch'd the Reading thereof, in a Year; for they twice joined, a Couple of the lesser Parts, in that Exercise. And when they had Read the *Last*, they began with the *First* again, that they might not seem to be glad, when they had ended it.³

Compare, Act. 15.21. and you will date this Custome, at least as high as the dayes of *Ezra*.⁴

But when *Antiochus* had committed his Barbarous Outrages, & Forbidden the Reading of the *Law*, either publicly or privately, on Pain of Death, here-upon they betook themselves, to Reading the *Prophets*; and they made Choice of such Portions from them, as had some kind of Affinity with, or Correspondence to, those of the *Law*, in the room of which they were substituted. E.g. Instead of that *Section* in the *Law*, concerning the *Creation of Heaven & Earth*, they chose, Isa. 42.5. which begins thus; *Thus saith the Lord God, Hee that created the Heavens*.⁵

These Portions of the *Prophets*, they called, *Haphtaroth*, or, *Dismissions*; because, when they were ended, the congregation was *Dismissed*. Now, when once they had begun thus to Read the *Prophets*, they continued the Exercise ever afterwards, together with the Reading of the *Law* tho' the Occasion ceased.⁶

None of these *Divisions* were distinguished by *Numbers* and *Figures*; but they were called by the Name of the first Word, or first Remarkable Word, in each Division. The first Section of *Genesis*, they called, *Parashah Bereschith*, the second, *Parashah Noach*. Thus *Kimchi*, on Joel. 3.19. *So did Isaiah*, saith hee, *in the Parashah Kirbu*; that is in the Section, which, (Isa. 24.1.) begins with *Kirbu*.⁷

same in his *Vindication of the Holy Bible* (1723), bk. 1, ch. 7, §§ 10–11. pp. 61–63, and may have relied on “BA” for many aspects of his own book.

3 Clark II.ii.2–3.2–3. See also Richard Simon, *Critical History of the Old Testament* (1682), bk. 1, ch. 26, p. 162.

4 Clark II.ii.3.2. Clark's own source is *Tiberias, sive, commentarius masorethicus triplex* (1618/19), a commentary on the Masorah, by Johannes Buxtorf, the elder (1564–1629), eminent professor of Hebrew at Basel. Ezra lived in the mid 5th–4th centuries BCE.

5 Clark II.ii.4.5. Antiochus IV (Epiphanes), brother of Seleucus and king of Syria (175–164 BCE) forbade Jewish customs in 167 BCE and tried to suppress Judaism by advocating Hellenist deities, culture, and language. (*EJ*)

6 Clark II.ii.5.5. The customs regarding the *Haphtaroth* or *dismissions* read among the Ashkenazic and Sephardic Jews differ in several places, yet are the same for Genesis. The Haphtarah Bereishis is Isa. 42:5–43:10; Haphtarah Noach, Isa. 54:1–55:5; Lech Lecha, Isa. 40:27–41:16; Vayeira, 2 Kings 4:1–37; Chayei Sarah, 1 Kings 1:1–31; Toldos, Mal. 1:1–2:7; Vayeitzei, Hosea 11:7; Vayishlach, Obad. 1:1–21; Vayeishev, Amos 2:6–3:8; Mikeitz, 1 Kings 3:15–4:1; Vayigash, Ezek. 37:15–28; Vayechi, 1 Kings 2:1–12.

7 Clark II.ii.5–6.6. The first section begins with Gen. 1:1–5:28; the second, Gen. 5:29–9:29. See also *EJ*: “Masorah” (1.2.1.2). Rabbi David Kimchi, also Kimhi (*Radak*) (c. 1160–c. 1235) was a renowned Hebrew grammarian and exegete of Narbonne, France. Clark refers to Kimchi's commentary on the later prophets, reprinted in the Rabbinic Bible, edited by Jacob ben-Chajim, in Venice (1525, 1548). Clark here relies on Johannes Buxtorf's famous edition *Biblia Hebraica* (1618–19). For Radak's commentary (Gen. 4:19, Isa 24:1), see *Mikraoth Ged-*

The Division of the Bible, into *Chapters*, is a late Invention, and not more than four or five hundred Years old. *Genebrard*, in his *Chronology*, saies, It was about the Year 1240. and it seems to bee the Invention of the *Schoolmen*, hee saies, *Qui cum Hugone Cardinali, concordantiarum fuere Authores*. And *Sixtus Senensis* agrees with him. Hee saies, *Till within these Five Hundred Years*, there was no Place of Scripture quoted by Number, but only the *Psalms*, which from the Infancy of the Church were so quoted, as appears by the *Acts* of the Apostles. The Numbers of *Chapters*, hee saies, which now appear, as well in the *Greek*, as in the *Hebrew* Copies, are taken out of our Latin Books. *Austin* saies, Hee wrote, from the Beginning of *Genesis*, to the Expulsion of our First Parents, out of Paradise. And *Gregory*, saies, Hee expounded, from the Beginning of the Book of *Kings*, to the Anointing of *David*, to be King. Instead of which, wee should thus express it; *On the three First Chapters of Genesis*; And, *On the Fifteen first Chapters of the First Book of Kings*.⁸

Now, tho' these Writers, do seem Ignorant of the *Author* of the Invention, *Bale* tells us, That *Stephen Langton*, A. B. C. was the Person, *Qui omnes Bibliorum Libros per capita distinxit, quibus adhuc Ecclesia utitur*. And the like is affirmed, by *Weever* in his *Funeral Monuments*. This *Langton* died, A. C. 1228. We shall elsewhere bring you another *Author*.⁹

oloth: Twelve Prophets (1:112–13) and *Isaiah* (1:190). There are twelve *Parashioth* or sections in *Genesis*: *Parashas Bereishis* begins at Gen. 1:1; *Parashas Noach* at Gen. 6:9; *Parashas Lech Lecha* at Gen. 12:1; *Parashas Vayeira* at Gen. 18:1; *Parashas Chayei Sarah* at Gen. 23:1; *Parashas Toldos* at Gen. 25:19; *Parashas Vayeitzei* at Gen. 28:10; *Parashas Vayishlach* at Gen. 32:4; *Parashas Vayeishev* at Gen. 37:1; *Parashas Mikeitz* at Gen. 41:1; *Parashas Vayigash* at Gen. 44:18; and *Parashas Vayechi* at Gen. 47:28.

⁸ This paragraph is a representative example of the classical and biblical scholarship of the period, in which layer upon layer of paraphrases and citations at second, third, even fourth hand are integrated into the biblical commentaries of the time. Mather's immediate source is Clark (II.iii.7–8). Next, Clark's primary source is Gilbert G  nebrard (1535–97), a French Benedictine exegete and Hebrew scholar at the Coll  ge Royal, later archbishop of Aix-en-Provence, whose *Chronologia Hebraeorum quae Seder Olam Rabba inscribitur* (1578), lib. 4, p. 644, Clark cites paraphrastically. On the next layer, G  nebrard refers to Philibert Hugonet (Hugo) (d. 1484), French Benedictine, Cardinal of Ma  on; and to Sixtus Senensis (1520–69), an Italian converso of Sienna, Franciscan, and later, Dominican preacher, Hebrew scholar, and exegete. Clark identifies in his margin book 3 of Sixtus Senensis's *Bibliotheca Sancta* (1566), a compendium to the Bible in 8 books. Clark's references to Austin and Gregory (via G  nebrard) are to St. Augustine of Hippo (354–430) and either to the Cappadocian Father St. Gregory of Nazianzus (329–89) or to the Cappadocian Bishop St. Gregory of Nyssa (c. 330–95). At any rate, Mather's point is to illustrate the Fathers' cumbersome method of identifying biblical references before the numerical chapter-and-verse-divisions of the Bible were established. Clark's Latin citation from G  nebrard's *Chronologia* (lib. 4, p. 644) is also translated by Clark: "those who, together with Hugo Cardinalis, were the Authors of the Concordance" (*Divine Authority* II.iii.8). However, Mather merely excerpts a single line, which he leaves untranslated. See also Johannes Leusden, *Philologus Hebraeus* (1657), Diss. 3,    4, pp. 20–21. For a similar account, see Richard Simon, *Critical History of the Old Testament* (London, 1682), bk. 1, ch. 28, p. 183.

⁹ Clark, *Divine Authority* (II.iii.8–9). John Bale (1495–1563), bishop of Ossory, credits Stephen Langton (d. 1228), archbishop of Canterbury, for having introduced the division of

From the *Chapters*, Lett us come to the *Verses*, of the Old Testament. Now, of these, the latest Original, that can be assigned, is, the Time and Work of the *Tiberiensian Masorites*, about 500 Years after our Saviour. The *Masoretical Notes*, at the End of every Book in the Bible, recite the *Numbers* of the *Verses* in every Book. Tho' indeed, they can be presently convicted of gross Mistakes in their Computations; yea, sometimes their *Total Summs*, are not such as their own *Particulars*, would produce, in the *Arithmetic* of Children. And the Mistakes cannot be in the Transcribers, or Copiers, because the Accounts are express'd, as well by Words at length, as by a *Siman*, [σημείον] or, Character. Tis plain the *Verses* were then in Use: yea, a Passage of the *Mishna*, written, A. D. 100, plainly mentions them. But indeed, the *Verses* of the *Old Testament*, are as old as the Testament itself, & of the same Date, with the Books themselves, that compose it.¹⁰

For, first, it is evident, that the *Accents* depend on the *Verses*; [for Instance, every one of them ending with a *Silluk*;) The *Accents* could not be before the *Verses*, nor the *Verses* before the *Accents*.¹¹

And wee may add, That certain Parts of the Scripture, do plainly distinguish themselves into *Verses*, if there were no *Accents* to do it; as, the most of the *Proverbs*, & the *Canticles*, and the most of the Book of *Job*, also, with other Characteristicks; And the *Alphabetical Parts* of Scripture, namely, Psal. 25, 34, 37, 111, 112, 119, 145. And Prov. 31.10–31. And all the Book of the *Lamentations*, except the last Chapter.¹²

biblical books into chapters and verses. The Latin citation from Bale's *Illustrium Maioris Britanniae Scriptorum* (1548) appears in the second section, "Centuria Secunda" (folio 102v). Clark's translation reads, "who distinguish all the Books of the Bible into Chapters, as they are now used in the Church" (Clark II.iii.9.). See also the anonymous work *Stephen Langt(h)on, Arch-bishop of Canterbury, who died in the reign of Henry III. Ann Dom. 1228. was the first that distinguisht the chapters of the Bible into that order and number as we now use them* (London, 1655). John Weever (1576–1632) confirms this statement in his *Ancient funerall monuments* (1631) 220. Samuel Mather says much the same in his *Vindication* (bk. 1, ch. 7, § 9, pp. 61–62).

¹⁰ Clark II.iv.10–16.1–4. Clark's primary source is Johannes Buxtorf's commentary on the Masorah, *Tiberias* (1618/19) and the Masoretic notes in "the last edition of Athias's Bible, printed A.D. 1667" (II.iv.15.4.), the famous Hebrew Bible *Biblia Sacra Hebraica correctata* (Amsterdam, 1661), printed by the Dutch printer Rabbi Joseph ben Abraham Athias (d. 1700). Clark refers to the second edition *Biblia Sacra Hebraica correctata* (Amsterdam, 1667), whose printing was supervised by the renowned Hebrew scholar Johannes Leusden. The Tiberian Masorites of the post-Talmudic period (6th c. CE) contain a system of vocalization and accentuation of the Hebrew language in the form of notations to facilitate pronunciation and meaning of Hebrew words (EJ: *Masorah*). See also Jacques Basnage's *History of the Jews* (1708), bk. 3, ch. 9, pp. 181–84. And the Mishnah, redacted by Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi (c. 135–c. 220), is a collection of rabbinic laws (Oral Torah) arranged in 66 tractates gathered in 6 divisions under the headings of agriculture, appointed times, women and marriage laws, injuries and damages, ritual laws, and purification.

¹¹ Clark II.vi.21.1. A "*silluk*" is a "period" or "pause." See also Richard Simon's *Critical History of the OT* (bk. 1, ch. 28, p. 175).

¹² Clark II.vi.26–27.6.

Secondly, The *Vowels*, depend on the *Accents*. The *Accents* make a Change in the *Vowels*, on Multitudes of Occasions. Every *Hebrew Grammar*, gives you the Rules of this *Permutation*.¹³

Yea, Thirdly; The *Consonants* depend on both the *Vowels*, and the *Accents*. On the *Vowels* they depend, both in Point of *Pronunciation*, & of *Signification*.¹⁴

| Now, the *Verses*, in all our Translations of the Bible, are exactly the same with those in the *Hebrew*. Only, the Titles of the *Psalms*, are counted *Verses* in some, & not in others. And all our *English Bibles*, (as well as the *French*, & the *Dutch*,) begin the Sixty fourth Chapter of *Isaiah*, in that which according to the *Hebrew*, is the Middle of the last *Verse* of the Sixty third Chapter. And our *English*, in I. Sam. 20.42. join those Words, [*And hee arose*, etc] unto the forty second *Verse*; whereas in all the *Hebrew Bibles*, they are a distinct *Verse* of themselves; & so they should be in our *English*.¹⁵ [40v]

The Number of the *Verses*, was not express'd in any *ancient Bibles*, any otherwise, than that every *Fifth Verse* had the *Hebrew Letter* standing for it. The first Bible printed with *Verses*, was that of *Pagnines*, printed at *Lions*, A. D. 1528. The *New Testament* was also then divided into *Verses*; but much longer ones, than those that are now used among us. E.g. The first of *Mark*, which according to our Division, ha's *Forty five Verses*, ha's there but *Fifteen*. The second of *Mark* there, had but *Nine*; whereas with us, it ha's *Twenty eight*.¹⁶

As for the *New Testament*, it was in the elder Times, divided with larger TITAOI, and lesser, κεφαλαια [tho' sometimes these Divisions were promiscuously called by that latter Name.] But the least of the Divisions then used, was that of στίχοι, i.e. *Rowes*; *Ranks*, or *Files*; which do seem to be no other than the *Lines* of the Writing; which contained commonly about Six Words, more or less.¹⁷

The *modern Division* of the *New Testament*, was made, as H. *Stephens*, in his Preface to his *Greek Concordance* tells us, by his Father, *Robert Stephens*; and that hee did it in a Journey, from *Paris* to *Lions*. Hee adds, That most People said, Hee was unadvised to bestow his Time & Pains about that which was altogether

13 Clark II.ix.30–31. Clark refers to the rules outlined in Johannes Buxtorf's *Thesaurus Grammaticus* (1603), lib. 1. c. 5. John Davis, headmaster, published *A Short Introduction to the Hebrew Tongue* (1656), a translation and epitome of Buxtorf's *Hebrew Grammar*. The best recent analysis of Buxtorf's contribution to Christian Hebraism is S. Burnett's *From Christian Hebraism* (1996).

14 Clark II.x.31.

15 Clark II.vii.27–29.1–2.

16 Clark II.vii.28.2. Sanctes Pagninus (1466–1541) was an Italian Dominican, a renowned Hebraist, and a professor of oriental literature at the Pontifical College in Rome. His *Veteris et novi Testamenti nova translatio* (1528) was the first Latin Bible printed that inserted numbers for chapters and verses in the text. See J. S. Penkower, "Verse Divisions."

17 Clark II.xiii.41–45.1–3. The Greek word TITAOI [titloi] signifies "titles" or "superscriptions"; i.e., large capital letters for headings. The Greek word κεφαλαια (kephalaia) signifies "capitals" or "heads"; i.e., small capital letters in this context.

useless, whereby hee should gett no Credit, but expose himself to Derision. *At, Ecce, contrā eorum Damnatricem instituti Patris mei opinionem, inventum illud, simul in lucem simul in omnium, gratiam venit: simulque in tantam auctoritatem, ut quasi exauctorarentur aliæ Testamenti Novi, sive Græcæ, sive Latine, sive Gallicæ, sive Germanicæ, sive in alia Vernaculâ Linguâ Editiones, quæ inventum illud secutæ non essent.* The *Invention* was entertained, it seems, with universal Approbation; and all Editions of the New Testament, that had it not, were laid aside, & out of request. It first appeared in an Edition, printed at *Paris*, A. D. 1551. in a large, 12°, containing the *Greek Text* in the Middle, the *Vulgar Version* on one side, and *Erasmus's* Translation on the other.¹⁸

T'was an useful Invention; but as the Honourable Mr. *Boyl* saies, *It will be no Slander to that industrious Promoter of heavenly Learning, to say, Hee hath sometimes severed Matters that should have been left united, and united others, that more conveniently hee might have severed; & that his lucky Attempt ought not to lay any Restraint upon other learned Men, from making Use of the same Liberty hee took, in altering the former Partitions of the New Testament, in altering his Alterations, to the best advantage of the sense or method.* [Style of Script: p. 60, 61.]¹⁹

These Remarks have Mr. *Clark* for their Author.

But in the Appendix to this *Opus Ecclesiæ*, we shall have a more perfect and exact Account of these Matters given unto us.²⁰

18 Robert Stephens (1503–59) is a notable French printer, classical scholar, and editor. His son Henry printed the NT in Paris (1551), in parallel columns, juxtaposing the Greek and Latin versions with a new Latin translation by the renowned Dutch humanist Desiderus Erasmus (1467–1536). Stephens's innovative edition was the first to divide the NT text into verses and verse numbers, thus facilitating the compilation of concordances. Clark's Latin citation is not from Stephens's 1551 original, but at second hand from Johann Leusden's *Philologus Hebræo-Græcus Generalis* (1670) 166. Clark translates Leusden's Latin citation from Stephens's 1551 preface, but Mather merely copies a fragment here: "But, behold, it fell out quite contrary to this their opinion of my Father's performance; for as soon as ever this Invention appear'd abroad publicly, it was entertain'd with universal Approbation and Applause; and came into so great request, that all Editions of the New Testament, whether in Greek, Latin, French, Dutch, or any other Vulgar Tongue which wanted this Division, were laid aside, and grew out of date and request" (Clark, *Divine Authority* II.xiii.43.3). See also Samuel Mather's *Vindication* (bk. 1, ch. 8, §§ 3–4, pp. 65–66).

19 Clark II.xiii.44–45.3. Clark's citation is from *Some Considerations Touching the Style of the Holy Scriptures* (1661) 60–61, by Robert Boyle (1627–91), the celebrated physico-theologian and founding member of the Royal Society in 1662. Even though he owned the 3^d edition (1668) of Boyle's work, Mather chose to transcribe this passage from Clark's text with minor alterations in spelling, punctuation, and capitalization. See J. H. Tuttle, "Libraries" (318).

20 Mather here acknowledges Samuel Clark as his source, but not the title of Clark's work, which is *The Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures*. This is the "*Opus Ecclesiæ*," or "ecclesiastical work," from which Mather here excerpts the two subsequent appendices on the number of the verses in the OT and NT. While Clark also lists the number of verses according to the Masoretic notes in Athias's 1667 edition of the *Biblia Sacra Hebraica correctæ*, Mather only copies the number of verses in the English Bible (KJV).

| The Number of the Verses
in the *Old Testament*;
According to the English Bible.

The Number of the Verses
in the *New Testament*.

[41r]

<i>Genesis</i> ,	1533.
<i>Exodus</i> ,	1213.
<i>Leviticus</i> ,	859.
<i>Numbers</i> ,	1288.
<i>Deuteronomy</i> ,	959.
<i>Joshua</i> ,	658.
<i>Judges</i> ,	618.
<i>Ruth</i> ,	85.
1. <i>Samuel</i> ,	811.
2. <i>Samuel</i> ,	695.
1. <i>Kings</i> ,	817.
2. <i>Kings</i> ,	719.
1. <i>Chronicles</i> ,	942.
2. <i>Chronicles</i> ,	822.
<i>Ezra</i> ,	280.
<i>Nehemiah</i> ,	406.
<i>Esther</i> ,	167.
<i>Job</i> ,	1070.
<i>Psalms</i> ,	2471.
<i>Proverbs</i> ,	915.
<i>Ecclesiastes</i> ,	222.
<i>Canticles</i> ,	117.
<i>Isaiah</i> ,	1292.
<i>Jeremiah</i> ,	1364.
<i>Lamentations</i> ,	154.
<i>Ezekiel</i> ,	1273.
<i>Daniel</i> ,	357.
<i>Hosæa</i> ,	197.
<i>Joel</i> ,	73.
<i>Amos</i> ,	146.
<i>Obadiah</i> ,	21.
<i>Jonah</i> ,	48.
<i>Micah</i> ,	105.
<i>Nahum</i> ,	47.
<i>Habbakkuk</i> ,	56.
<i>Zephaniah</i> ,	53.
<i>Haggai</i> ,	38.
<i>Zechariah</i> ,	211.
<i>Malachi</i> ,	55.
Summ total,	23205. ²¹

<i>Matthew</i> ,	1071.
<i>Mark</i> ,	678.
<i>Luke</i> ,	1152.
<i>John</i> ,	880.
<i>Acts</i> ,	1006.
<i>Romans</i> ,	433.
1. <i>Corinthians</i> ,	437.
2. <i>Corinthians</i> ,	256.
<i>Galatians</i> ,	149.
<i>Ephesians</i> ,	155.
<i>Philippians</i> ,	104.
<i>Colossians</i> ,	95.
1. <i>Thessalonians</i> ,	89.
2. <i>Thessalonians</i> ,	47.
1. <i>Timothy</i> ,	113.
2. <i>Timothy</i> ,	83.
<i>Titus</i> ,	46.
<i>Philemon</i> ,	25.
<i>Hebrewes</i> ,	303.
<i>James</i> ,	108.
1. <i>Peter</i> ,	105.
2. <i>Peter</i> ,	61.
1. <i>John</i> ,	105.
2. <i>John</i> ,	13.
3. <i>John</i> ,	14.
<i>Jude</i> ,	25.
<i>Revelation</i> ,	404.
Summ total,	7956.

²¹ The table for the OT appears in Clark (II.iv.17–18.5); for the NT (II.xiii.47.4).

In the whole Bible, there are Thirty one thousand, One Hundred, Sixty One, Verses.

31161.²²

[42v] [blank]

²² Clark II.xiii.47.4.

The Old Testament.

[43r]

4849.

Q. It may prove a Good Præparatory unto our Illustrations upon the Bible, to have the CHRONOLOGY of the *Old Testament*, briefly secured and explained, and exposed unto us?

A. To be admired and Adored, is that Providence, of God, that ha's præserted, such a *Chronology* for us. A learned Man, whose Name is Mr. *William Whiston*, ha's lately given us, *A short View of the Chronology of the Old Testament*; and, acknowledging the Favour of Heaven, in my being accommodated with such a Treasure of Good Thoughts, as there are in that Composure, I will endeavour in this Place, to produce many of them. How well had it been for him, & for the Church if no worse Thoughts, had since proceeded from the Author of these!²³

The *Mathematical Canon* composed by *Ptolomy*, the most learned Astronomer of all the Ancients, who ha's all along apply'd his Accounts unto the uncontested *Æra* of *Nabonassar*, and confirm'd them still from the *Eclipses* mention'd by the Ancient Astronomers before him; this is the surest Guide wee have, where the Sacred Historians are silent.²⁴ This *Canon* computes the Beginning of any

²³ Mather refers to *A Short View of the Chronology of the Old Testament, and of the Harmony of the Four Evangelists* (1702), by William Whiston (1669–1752), a controversial English clergyman, millenarian, and Sir Isaac Newton's successor to the Lucasian chair of mathematics at Cambridge. When Whiston published *Athanasius Convicted of Forgery* (1712), attacking the doctrine of the Trinity as a pious fraud perpetrated by St. Athanasius and his anti-Arian party, Mather composed in 1713 *Goliathus Detruncatus* (*Diary* 2:230), an epistolary refutation, but the manuscript sent off for publication was unhappily lost when his contact in London died (Samuel Mather, *Life of Cotton Mather* 73). Whiston's anti-Trinitarian Arianism rendered him obnoxious to Mather and his peers, even though Mather retained an unmitigated admiration for the philological, scientific, and hermeneutical works of his life-long friend and correspondent (*Diary* 2:106–07, 182, 186, 191). Mather excerpts Whiston's *Short View* at great length (as he had done previously with Samuel Clark's *Divine Authority*) and incorporates Whiston's harmony of the OT chronology in the subsequent manuscript pages of "BA" [43r–54v]. See also, K. Silverman's *Life and Times* (328–30), J. E. Force's *Whiston* (105–13), J. H. Tuttle's "William Whiston" (197–204), and M. F. Wiles's *Archetypal Heresy* (62–133).

²⁴ This compound sentence is a paraphrastic citation from Whiston's *Short View* 12 (prop. I). Whiston reprints Ptolemy's chronological table, "The Astronomical Canon of Ptolemy" (or "Kings Table") at the end of his *Short View* (544–45). The "*Mathematical Canon*" refers to *Ptolemy's Almagest* (CE 138–161), a highly influential astronomical work in thirteen books, in which the Alexandrian geographer and astronomer Claudius Ptolemaeus (c. 100–c. 175 CE) develops mathematical tables that locate the positions of the five major planets, the sun, and

of the Years of each Kings Reign, from the First Day of the First Month (called, *Thoth*,) of the *Nabonassarean* Year, which falls out in that Respective Year of his Reign. And tho' any King should Dy immediately after the First of *Thoth*, yett all the rest of that Year, till the next first of *Thoth*, is attributed unto his Reign in the Canon. And if any King, whose Reign was less than a Year, had never a first of *Thoth* within the Compass of his Reign, that King was omitted in the *Canon*, and his Reign added unto the Reign of his Predecessors. Now the *Nabonassarean* Year, was just 365 Dayes long, without the Intercalation of a Day every *Fourth* Year. So that after every *Four* Years, the first of *Thoth* would run back in the *Julian* Year, in such a Manner, as that 1461 *Nabonassarean* Years would be equal to 1460 *Julian* ones: The first of *Thoth* in that time coming to its old Place in the *Julian* Years.²⁵

This *Canon* begins a considerable While before the *Old Testament* ends, and it reaches beyond the Times of the New Testament. It contains an uninterrupted Chronology of the whole Interval, between the Histories of the Old and New Testament. It contains the Kings of those Four Monarchies, and no others, which are so famous in the Prophecies of the Sacred Scripture. By the Comparison of this *Canon*, with *Xenophon*, and with the Sacred Writers, we have an exact Account of the Space during the 70 Years Captivity of the Jewes in *Babylon*, and of the Time of its Solution under the Crown of *Persia*; which otherwise we had been but very imperfectly acquainted withal. This *Canon* does exactly agree in every thing with the *Chronology* of the *Old Testament*. It is an Authentic Record alwayes to be relied upon. And, as *Marshall* observes *Sanè canon iste multis compaginibus cum Sacro Textu aptissimè connectitur*.²⁶

the moon in his geocentric universe. By using the beginning of King Nabonassar's reign in Babylonia as his fixed date (year 1; i.e., c. 3980 in the Julian Calendar; i.e., c. 746 BCE in the Gregorian Calendar), Ptolemy provides a fixed point by which the position of the celestial bodies can be aligned with the astronomical dates of the reigns of Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman kings. Sir John Marshall (1602–85), the renowned English historian and chronologer, acknowledges that without Ptolemy's Mathematical Canon, historians would not be able to align the various calendars of ancient Babylon, Egypt, Greece, and Rome with that of the Hebrews. See Marshall's *Chronicus Canon Aegyptiacus Ebraicus Græcus* (1672), lib. 4, seculum XVII, pp. 473–76. See also *Ptolemy's Amalgest* (11). Very little is known about the era of the Babylonian King Nabonassar, whose reign dates from February 26, 747/46 BCE to February 23, 733/32 BCE according to the Gregorian Calendar (KP). For a very helpful discussion of how late Renaissance scholars tried to reconcile the chronologies of the Egyptians, Babylonians, Persians, and Greeks with that of the Bible, see A. T. Grafton's "Joseph Scaliger" as well as volume 2 of Grafton's daunting *Joseph Scaliger* (1993).

²⁵ Beginning with "This *Canon*" and ending with "*Julian* Year," Mather excerpts this paragraph from Whiston's *Short View*. Whiston's own source is a manuscript of "Mr. Allin, Fellow of *Sidney College* MS. Chronology" (Whiston 14, scholium).

²⁶ This paragraph is cribbed from Whiston, *Short View* (12–13). The *Four Monarchies* are those listed in Ptolemy's Canon or table but here prophetically combined into the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Greek, and Roman empires of Nebuchadnezzar's prophetic dream vision (Dan. 2:31–45). See also Mather's exegesis of this prophecy in *Threefold Paradise* (319–20). Xenophon (c. 430–c. 355 BCE), the Athenian historian and military leader, relates the semi-fictional life of the Persian King Cyrus the Great, in *Cyropaedia* (c. 362 BCE), whose troops occupied Babylon

It is not amiss to introduce this Observation, as early as might be; because of the Use, which we shall have Occasion to make of it, in the Discourses that are now coming on.

It is Remarkable, That the Intire Summ of Years, from the *Creation*, till the *Christian Æra*, is not concerned in the greatest Number of the chronological Difficulties of the Old Testament. Most of the Disputes about the Chronology of the Old Testament, arise from the Particulars of Three Famous Periods. I. From the Ingress to the *Exodus* out of *Egypt*; II. From the *Exodus* to the Foundation of the *Temple*. III. From the Foundation of the *Temple* to the *Captivity*. But it ha's pleased the Divine Providence, most happily to prevent the Ill Consequences of any Mistake, & to secure the entire Summs unto us, by Three express Texts of Scripture. The First Period, is punctually, 430 Years. [Exod. 12.40, 41.] The Second Period, is punctually, 480 Years. [1. King. 6.1.] The Third Period, is adjusted thus; From the Beginning of *Jeroboams* Idolatry, to the last Captivity of the Reliques of the Ten Tribes, in the 23^d Year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, is expressly, 390 Years. [Ezek. 4.4, 5.] These Three Remarkable Texts, are the great Measures and Standards of the Chronology of these Periods.²⁷

Another thing that appears very Remarkable is; That the *Chinese Chronology* when rightly understood, is exactly agreeable, to what we draw from the *Hebrew Text* of the Old Testament. *Fohi*, the founder of the *Chinese* Monarchy, was the same with *Noah*. The *Chinois* tell us, he had no Father; no doubt the Memory of his Father was lost in the Deluge. They tell us, his Mother | conceived him, as she was encompassed with a *Rain-bow*; which seems a cloudy Remembrance of the *Rain-bow* first appearing after the Flood. The *Character* of *Fohi* among the *Chinois*, agrees mighty well, with what the Scriptures relate of *Noah*. *Fohi* (they say) *carefully bred up seven sorts of Creatures, which he used to sacrifice, to the Supreme Spirit of Heaven & Earth. For this reason some called him, Paohi, that is, Oblation*. Compare, Gen. 7.2, 3, 9. and, 8.20.²⁸

[44v]

(539 BCE) and ushered in the return of the Jews from Babylonian captivity (c. 538 BCE). See Jer. 25:11–12, 29:10–14; Dan. 9:1–2; 2 Chron. 36:20, 32; Ezra 1:1–4. The dates for the beginning and end of the prophetic seventy-year captivity in Babylon vary considerably and range from 608–539 BCE, or even from 588–517 BCE, depending on whether Nebuchadnezzar's captivity of a first group of Jews is taken as the starting date or the destruction of the first temple. Whiston's Latin citation is extracted from Marsham's *Chronicus Canon* (seculum XVII, p. 475) and tries to reconcile the chronology of ancient Egypt with that of the OT. Mather shortens his second-hand quotation from Marsham (475), which is given at length in Whiston (13n), and translates, "Indeed, that canon is most aptly connected with the sacred text in many combinations." Helpful information on the views on astronomy at Harvard in the seventeenth century is provided in S. E. Morison's "Astronomy."

²⁷ Mather's excerpts render Whiston's argument much more certain than Whiston's many qualifiers intend to make it (*Short View* 30–31). See Appendix A.

²⁸ Whiston, *Short View* (60–61). Whiston's source is *Sinice Historia Decas Prima* (1659), cap. 1, pp. 12–13, by Martino Martini (1614–61), an Italian Jesuit missionary of Trent, who visited China. Martini argues that the Chinese chronology *disagrees* with that of the Europeans: "*Chronologia Sinica nova Europæorum repugnat*" (13). The mythical Fohi (Fu Hsi), who is to

The *Chinese Histories* affirm, that *Fohi* settled in the Province of *Xensi*; which is the most *North-West* Province of *China*, and very near to Mount *Caucasus*, upon which the *Ark* rested, & from which *Noah* must descend, to go thence into *China*. Indeed, the entire Series of the Annals of *China*, taken together as they stand at present, are false, & reach too high from our Times. They relate a Remarkable Conjunction of the *Five Planets*, in one of the Signs, the same Day that the Conjunction of the *Sun* and the *Moon* also happened, in the Reign of their Fifth Monarch, *Chuenhio*. Now this Astronomical Character ha's been examined by the famous *Cassini*, and found to have happened about 500 Years later, than the present Series of their Years does suppose. They relate, that in the Reign of their Seventh Monarch, *Yao*, the *Winter-Solstice* was observed to be about 50 Degrees distant from the Place where it is at present. This also, if the Observation were exact, must be 500 Years later than the Time which they have assigned for it. The Duration of the Reigns and Lives of the First Monarchs of *China*, likewise do not answer to the Standard of Humane Life in those Ages, to which the present Series of their Years do affix them. It is likely, That the Years of the First Family of their ancient Kings, were not *Successive*, but *Collateral*.²⁹ Other Nations as well as the *Chinese*, have carried their Antiquities too high, by erroneously setting ancient *Collateral* Families, in *Succession* one

have reigned for 115 years (c. 2952 BCE), is to have taught his people how to fish (Martini, *Sinica Historia*, cap. 1, pp. 21–24). The italicized passage in Mather's paragraph attributed to Fohi is cited from Louis LeCompte (LeCompte) (1655–1728), a French Jesuit missionary of Bordeaux, whose 2-volume *Nouveaux mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine* (1696) appeared in an English translation as *Memoirs and Observations* (1697) 313. Among many others, the London architect John Webb (1611–72) explores Chinese chronology, the Chinese version of the Flood, and the possibility that Chinese was the primitive language of Noah and his descendants, in his *Historical Essay* (1669) and *Antiquity of China* (1678). See R. Ramsey, "China." The German philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) was similarly engaged in reconciling Chinese chronology, creationism, and science with Western tradition, in his *Discourse on the Natural Theology of the Chinese* (1716), chs. 2 and 4. Finally, A. D. White (*History of Warfare* 1:249–65) and, more recently, P. Rossi (*Dark Abyss* 137–82) have ably reviewed the heated debates about biblical chronologies and the beginning of time.

²⁹ Whiston, *Short View* (61–62). Among Whiston's sources are Martini's *Sinica Historia*; Philippe Coupler's *Tabula Chronologica Monarchiae Sinicae* (1686), by the Flemish Jesuit missionary to China Father Philippe Couplet (1623–93); and *A New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam* (1693) 2:252–58, an English translation of *Du Royaume de Siam* (1691), by Simon de la Loubère (1642–1729), a French linguist, diplomat, historian, and poet. Whiston's table (65) aligns the lives and reigns of the ancient Chinese rulers with those of the OT patriarchs. Whiston's source for Giovanni Domenico Cassini (1625–1712), the renowned Italian mathematician and astronomer in the employ of the French King Louis XIV, is Loubère (2:252). Significantly, Cassini shortens the astronomical calendar of the Chinese by 500 years, ostensibly to align their chronology with that of the Hebrews. Sir Isaac Newton, Whiston's friend and supporter, did much the same when he abridges the chronology of the Greeks by several hundred years in his *Chronology of the Ancient Kingdoms Amended* (1728), pp. 86–95. See also F. E. Manuel (*Confronts the Gods*, ch. 3, pp. 93–102). Martini describes the Fifth Monarch *Chuenhio* (c. 2513 BCE), emperor for 78 years, in *Sinica Historia* (cap. 1, pp. 33–35). For Emperor Yao (c. 2357 BCE), who ruled for 90 years, see Martini (cap. 1, pp. 36–43).

to another. This made the Ancient *Egyptian* Chronology so extravagant, until Sir *John Marsham* found out the Mistake.³⁰ And *Martinius* himself allows it in the *Chinese* History. Suppose then, that *Noah*, 235 Years after the Deluge, A. P. J. 2601. descended from the *higher* Regions at *Caucasus*, to the *lower* of *China*, and governed such of his Posterity as he found planted there; and that he Transmitted the Government unto the Successors we find mention'd in the *Chinese* Annals; That a considerable while before the Period of the First Nine Emperours, Yu, the Founder of the First Great Family, began a Succession of Kings in a different Province; and that also about the Time that *Chim tam* the Head of the Second Great Family succeeded unto the First, *Vu Vam* the Head of the Third, began a Succession of Kings in a Different Province, which Third therefore, was not *Successive* to, but *Collateral with*, the Second; and accordingly, their several Founders were about the same Number of Descents from *Hoam ti*, as they appear to have been by their Respective Genealogies. But what is here chiefly Remarkable, is, That if the *Chinese Annals* be thus adjusted, the Length of the Reigns and the Lives of their Monarchs, will very exactly agree, with the Duration of the Lives of Men, in the same Ages recorded in the Sacred Scripture. You may at your Liesure compare the Tables. And this is a principal Character, whereby pretended Antiquities are distinguished from genuine.³¹

³⁰ John Marsham (*Chronicus Canon*) unraveled the mystery of the diverging chronologies when he came across *Aegyptiaca* (*Epitome*) by the Egyptian priest Manetho (3rd c. BCE), who wrote his invaluable history in Greek. In fragments that survive in Eusebius Pamphilus's *Chronici Canones* (bk. 1), in *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.13, 2.1, 3.3, 4.16, 10.13), and in George Syncellus's Byzantine *Chronica* (fl. c. 800), Manetho's chronology links the names of Egyptian gods and rulers with those of the Hebrew patriarchs and thereby harmonizes conflicting reports on chronological calendars, lengths of rulership, and longevity of Egyptian god-kings (Manetho, *Aegyptiaca: Epitome*, fragments 1–6).

³¹ Whiston, *Short View* (62–64). Modern accounts on the mythical Chinese rulers and their dynasties disagree widely. Whiston's attempt (here followed by Mather) to identify the mythical Fohi with Noah was widely accepted at the time as can be seen in *Chronologia Sacra* (1660) 3, by Archbishop James Ussher of Armagh (1581–1656). Ussher dates the First Day of Creation to 4004 BCE and Noah's Flood to 2348/2349 BCE or Anno Mundi (AM) 1656/57 (or APJ 2365 in the Julian Calendar). Whiston's date APJ 2601 (*Anno Periodi Julianae*) refers to the Julian Calendar, according to which Christ was born in the year 4714 (APJ). Martini has the founder of the Yu dynasty (c. 2207 BCE) rule only for 10 years (*Sinica Historia*, cap. 2, pp. 47–54). The first nine emperors are (1) Fohius (c. 2952 BCE), who ruled for 115 years; (2) Xinnungus (c. 2837 BCE), for 140 years; (3) Hoangtius (c. 2697 BCE), for 10 years; (4) Xaohauus (c. 2597 BCE), for 84 years; (5) Chuenhious (c. 2513 BCE), for 78 years; (6) Cous (c. 2435 BCE), for 70 years; (7) Yaus (c. 2357 BCE), for 90 years; (8) Xunus (c. 2258 BCE), for 33 years; and (9) Yuus (c. 2207 BCE), who ruled for 10 years. Emperor Chim Tam (probably Emperor Tangus), ruled for 13 years (c. 1766 BCE), and was head of the Xanga family (Martini, cap. 3, pp. 71–75); Vu Vam (or Faus), head of the third family of Cheva (c. 1122 BCE), ruled for only 7 years (cap. 4, pp. 101–03). Emperor Hoam ti (perhaps Hoaius) (c. 2040 BCE), reigned for 26 years (cap. 2, p. 62). By adjusting the Chinese calendar according to Ptolemy's system, Martini demonstrates that the lives of the Chinese patriarchs were comparable to those of the Hebrew Bible and that the Chinese chronology does not exceed that of our postdiluvian Noah. See also G. W. Trompf's "Newtonian History" (216–17).

We will now proceed with our *Chronological Canon*, and having stated *Six* Great Articles of it, we may proceed unto the Consideration of the several Difficulties, under each of those Articles.

	Years	Months	Days
I. From the Autumnal Equinox next after the Creation of <i>Adam</i> , to that at the End of the Deluge.	1656.	00.	00.

There are no considerable Difficulties in this Period.

	Years	Months	Days
II. From the Autumnal Equinox, at the End of the Deluge to the Departure of <i>Abraham</i> out of <i>Haran</i> .	426.	6.	00. ³²

It appears from the plain Words of *Moses*, [Gen. 11.32. with, 12.1–4.] confirmed by those of *Stephen*; [Act. 7.4.] That *Abraham* was born, when his Father *Terah* was 130 Years of Age. We read indeed; Gen. 11.26. *Terah lived Seventy Years, and begat Abraham, Nahor and Haran*. But the Priority of *Abraham's* Name, does not imply, that he was the *Eldest Son*; as it is plain, that *Shem* was not the *Eldest Son* of *Noah*, tho' he be First mentioned. *Haran* was undoubtedly here the *Eldest Son*. For he was the Father-in-Law of *Nahor*, | and probably of *Abraham* also. [45r] *Sarai* is taken to be the same with *Ischah*, the Daughter of *Haran*; else we cannot easily conceive, how she should be styled, *The Sister of Abraham, the Daughter* [or, Grand-daughter] *of his Father*. And yett *Sarai* was but Ten Years younger than her Husband. Besides, we find, that *Lot*, the Son of *Haran*, was very near as old as *Abraham*. About the Time that *Abraham* begat *Isaac*, at the Age of 100, (which was then but the Beginning of old Age,) the Daughters of *Lot* could say, *Our Father is old*. The Reason why *Abraham* is first mentioned, is not only, The Dignity of his Person, *The Friend of God*; but also the Continuation of the *Chronology* by him. There seems to be an Objection against this; That it is improbable *Terah* should have a Son so late as at 130 Years of Age; especially since in so small a Time afterwards as at the Promise of *Isaac*, it seems a mighty Surprize unto *Abraham*, to have Thoughts of Issue at 100 Years of Age. But since *Terah* lived 205 Years, it cannot be more unsuitable, to suppose that he begets a Son, at 130; than that now, Men who may reach 80, begett at 50. Besides, *Abraham* himself had Children by *Keturah*, long after *Isaac*. And the Lives of Men for many Generations after *Abraham*, were long enough, to admitt of their having Issue at 100 Years old. *Jacob* was 104 Years old, at the Birth of *Benjamin*. Several of the Progenitors of *David* appear to have had Children, some a little

³² Whiston, *Short View* (69–70), tables I and II. Mather and Whiston follow Ussher's Latin edition of *Chronologia Sacra* (cap. 2, p. 44; cap. 10, pp. 160–71) for this and all other calculation; they assign 1656 years to the antediluvian period (from Adam's creation to Noah's Flood) and 426 years to the postdiluvian period (from Noah's exiting the ark to Abraham's departure from Haran).

before, some a little after this Age; and at a much longer Distance from the Dayes of *Abraham*. But the Surprize of *Abraham* and *Sarah*, seems to have been This. *Abraham* had now been married unto *Sarah* a great while, without any Appearance of Issue. And *since it ceased to be with Sarah after the Manner of Women*, there was not left now the least Hope of Children by her.³³ Nay, it was Fourteen Years also, since the more Fruitful *Hagar* conceived by him. It is also probable, that his Change of his Countrey, and wandring & weary Way of Living in a strange Land, brought early Infirmities on his Constitution, which he observed; he found himself Decaying sooner than else he would have done; & his Body *Dead* as to Generation, especially with regard unto *Sarah*. And yett his Contemporaries might have Children at a greater Age; yea, he himself had so, upon the Restoration of his Health, and this no less than 40 Years afterward.³⁴

	Years.	Months.	Dayes
III. From the Departure of <i>Abraham</i> out of } <i>Haran</i> , to the <i>Exodus</i> out of <i>Egypt</i> . }	430.	00.	00. ³⁵

Indeed we read, Exod. 12.40. *The Sojourning of the Children of Israel, who sojourned in the Land of Egypt, was 430 Years*. But these 430 Years include all the *Sojourning* of the *Israelites*, and their Ancestors, in a *Strange Land*. The Translations of the *Samaritan* and of the *Septuagint*, are therefore so paraphrastical, as to read it thus. *The Sojourning of the Children of Israel, which they sojourned in the Land of Egypt, and in the Land of Canaan, they and their Fathers, was 430 Years*.³⁶ And the small Number of Generations, between the *Entrance* into *Egypt*, and the *Going* out of it, are a Demonstration of this Matter. *Jochebed* was the immediate Daughter of *Levi*, (who was 50 Years old at the Descent into *Egypt*,) and the immediate Mother of *Moses* (who was 80 Years old, at the Ascent out of *Egypt*.) *Hezron*, one of those who went down with *Jacob* into *Egypt*, had a Grandson *Jair*, an Active Man, about Forty Years after the Coming up out of *Egypt*, for he siezed on the *Villages and Countrey of Basan* at that time. *Sheerah* the Daughter,

³³ Gen. 18:11.

³⁴ Mather here agrees with Whiston and others who argue that the ability to procreate and to bear children at an advanced age was directly related to the long lifespan of the patriarchs and their spouses (Whiston, *Short View* 72).

³⁵ Whiston, *Short View* (69 and 71), here relies on Ussher's *Chronologia Sacra* (cap. 2, p. 44, and cap. 9, pp. 136–59).

³⁶ Though differing in nearly 6,000 places from the Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible, the Samaritan Bible is not a version of the Torah, but a text written in Samaritan characters, dating back to the fifth century BCE. The Samaritan text agrees in more than 1,600 places (of the 6,000) with the Septuagint (LXX), the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, dating back to the first half of the 3rd c. BCE. For the state-of-the-art debate of this issue in Mather's time, see Richard Simon's *Critical History of the Old Testament* (bk. 2, chs. 1–18). The Samaritan Bible was accessible in various seventeenth-century polyglots, especially in the "London Polyglot" of Brian Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1653–57), in 6 vols. See also P.N. Miller's "Antiquarianization."

or perhaps the grand daughter of *Ephraim*, was alive at the Division of the Land of *Canaan* by *Joshua*. *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, the Ringleaders of the Sedition against *Moses* in the Wilderness, were Grandsons to some of these Persons, who were among the Descendents into *Egypt*. And yett the general Period of Humane Life, was now no more than 140 Years of Age. Moreover, the Ancestors of *Moses*, whose particular Ages are mentioned, will further demonstrate it. *Levi*, his great Grandfather, was 50 Years old, at the Descent into *Egypt*, & lived but 137 Years in all. *Kohath*, his Grandfather, liv'd but 133 Years; and his Father *Amram* but 137 Years, and *Moses* himself was no more than 80 Years old at the Exodus. If we allow every succeeding Person to be born as late in the Fathers Life as the Time for Generation would permitt, yett there will want many Years of the 430 which belong to this Period. Finally; The Apostle *Paul* clears it up, when he reckons these 430 Years, from a solemn Promise of the *Messiah*, the *Seed of Abraham*, in whom *all the Families of the Earth* should be *Blessed*. [Gal. 3.17.] But we Read not of any such Promise, to *Jacob*, at his going into *Egypt*.

[46v] | Well; The 430 Years take their Date, from the Dayes of *Abraham*. We will now see, what Year in the Life of *Abraham*, will be that whereon we are to fix our *Epocha*. It falls exactly, when *Abraham* was 75 Years old, and at his Departure out of *Haran*. It ha's its Date, from the primary *Sojourning* of the Progenitors of the Children of *Israel* in a *Strange Land*. The Departure of *Terah* and *Abraham*, from *Ur* to *Haran* was not into a *Strange Land*. It was in the same Countrey of *Mesopotamia*, with *Ur* itself. It was the Habitation of his Brother *Nabor* and his Posterity. Yea, *Abraham* himself calls it, in so many Words; [Gen. 24.4.] *His own Countrey*. And all along in the Scripture, it is not *Mesopotamia*, but *Canaan*, that is called, *The Countrey of their Sojourning*; and, *A Strange Land*; and where *Abraham* and his Posterity, were for a long Time said to be *Strangers* and *Pilgrims*. And to render all, the more incontestable; The famous Promise of the *Messiah*, was made unto *Abraham*, at this his Departure out of *Haran*.³⁷

Wherefore, since *Isaac* was born 25 Years after *Abrahams* Departure out of *Haran*, and from thence, to the Deliverance out of *Egypt*, was at the utmost no more than 405 Years, tis no Wonder, if in a Place, where the *Chronology* is not so much concerned, that Space be stated only by the Round Number, 400 Years. Thus tis, in the Promise of a Son, unto *Abraham*. [Gen. 15.13.] Such a *Round Number* is very common with all Writers; & not to be wondred at, in the Sacred Ones.

The Subdivisions of this Period, are all found in express Texts of Scripture; except only the Interval of 64 Years, which falls between the Death of *Joseph*, and the Birth of *Moses*.³⁸

But in this Period, we meet with Two Remarkable Difficulties.

³⁷ Gen. 12:1–4.

³⁸ Whiston, *Short View* (71).

The First is, The Number of *Ten Children* assign'd unto *Benjamin*, the Youngest of the Patriarchs, at the Descent into *Egypt*.

The Second is, The Grandchildren of *Judah*, namely *Hezron* and *Hamul*, reckon'd among them who descended into *Egypt*, when, according to the Circumstances of the History, as usually understood, they could not be Born at this Time.³⁹

Now, first, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that when the Vigor of Mankind was much greater than it is at present, of which the great Length of their Lives is a sufficient Argument, the Ripeness for Procreation might commence earlier, than in our Times. 'Tis also plain from the Sacred History, that in those Times Men were extremely desirous of having Children; a Numerous Offspring, especially among the Posterity of *Abraham*, was counted the greatest of Blessings; they had Recourse to Polygamy, and Concubinage, and Incest itself, to supply the Want of it. And yett we may add; There is nothing in either of these Instances, but what might happen in *our Age*.⁴⁰

Benjamin might have his *Ten Children* by several *Wives*; yea, he might have them all by *one Wife*; since he was now, according to Dr. *Usher*, about 27 Years of Age.⁴¹

The Case of *Judah* calls for more Examination. 'Tis commonly taken, that at the Time of the Selling of *Joseph* to the *Midianites*, that is to say, 22 Years before the Descent into *Egypt*, he took *Shuah* to Wife; who successively bare him *Three Sons*, *Er*, and *Onan*, and *Shelah*. His eldest Son *Er*, is grown up; he marries *Tamar*; he Dies by a Divine Stroke. *Onan* then marries *Tamar*; and is killed by the Judgments of Heaven. *Tamar* is to stay, till *Shelah* come to Ripeness of Years. At this time, her Impatience of having Children putts her on a Method of Imprægnation by *Judah* her Father-in-Law. She bears him *Pharez* and *Zara*; and lastly, *Pharez* begetts *Hezron* and *Hamul*; and all this before the Descent into *Egypt*. Now it must be confess'd, if we can allow no more than 22 Years for these Occurrences, tis to no Purpose to seek for a Solution; and if the Time of the Selling of *Joseph*, be the same with the First Marriage of *Judah*, it is really inexplicable.⁴²

But we must Remember, That tho' the Words, *At that Time*, seem to refer unto the foregoing History of *Joseph*, yett the Expression is of a much larger Extent in the Language of the Scripture; and includes a great Space of Time. Some have observed, the Phrase used *Seventeen* times in the Bible, *Sine determinatâ*

39 Whiston, *Short View* (71–72).

40 Whiston, *Short View* (72). Whiston's source is *Reflexions Upon the Books of the Holy Scriptures* (1688), vol. 1, part 1, ch. 15, pp. 71–72, by Pierre Allix (1641–1717), a learned Huguenot divine, translator of the Bible into the French vernacular, and refugee in England after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

41 Whiston, *Short View* (73). James Ussher's *Chronologia Sacra* (cap. 10, pp. 160–62).

42 Whiston, *Short View* (73). Gen. 37:36; 38:1–30.

aliquâ temporis notatione. It seems to be little more than a Particle of Transition, or a common Way of introducing a New Branch of an History, like the English Particle, *Now*. I may add; It is enough, that a Part of the Occurrences in this History, (the latter Part of them,) fell out, after the Selling of *Joseph*, and while he was in *Egypt*.⁴³

[47r] Well; we will now connect *Judah's* Marriage, with *Jacobs* Return to | *Canaan*, after his 20 Years Service to *Laban*; which according to Dr. *Usher* was 33 Years before the Descent into *Egypt*. Now suppose *Judah* at 17 Years of Age, to have his First-born *Er*, at 18 *Onan*, at 19 *Shelah*. Then, when *Judah* was 32 Years of Age, *Er* and *Onan* successively take *Tamar* to Wife, & perish by the sudden Stroke of Heaven. When *Judah*, was 33, and *Shelah* at Years of Puberty, but not married unto *Tamar*, *Judah* stumbles into his Incest with her. The next Year, when he was 34, he ha's Twins by her, *Pharez* and *Zarah*; when he was 48, *Pharez* begets *Hezron*, and when he was 49, *Hamul*; who therefore are then reckoned among the rest of the Infants, who came out of *Jacobs* Loins, and descended with him into *Egypt*. Here is nothing, but what might have happened in our Age. As to *Judah* himself, his Inclinations appear, in that his Wife was no sooner Dead, but he must visit an Harlot. And for *Er* and *Onan*, the Words of *Judah* to *Tamar* seem to intimate, what they were: saies he, *Remain a Widow, till Shelah my Son be grown; for he said, lest peradventure he Dy also as his Brethren did*. q.d. "My Sons *Er* and *Onan*, seem to have been the Occasion of their own Ruine, by some indecent Behaviour, upon their over-hasty Marriages, while they were so young. I'l therefore send *Tamar*, to her Fathers House, till my remaining Son *Shelah*, arrive at a riper Age before he marries her." This appears to have been the Reason of *Judah's* Delaying the Marriage of *Shelah*, upon his First Arrival, at the Age of Puberty; which small Delay was yett born with such Impatience by *Tamar*, (who suspected perhaps, he was afraid of ever venturing his Son with her,) that she immediately procures herself to be with Child, by a wilful *Incest* with her Father-in-Law.⁴⁴

	Years.	Months	Days
IV. From the <i>Exodus</i> out of <i>Egypt</i> , to the } Foundation of <i>Solomons</i> Temple. }	480.	1.	00. ⁴⁵

The Book of *Judges* ha's occasion'd wonderful Difficulties in this Period, which were inexplicable, till Sir *John Marsham* cleared them. He does it, by stating,

⁴³ Whiston, *Short View* (73–74). The phrase *At that Time* appears in Gen. 38:1. The Latin citation translates "without any specific reference of time" and is taken from Ussher's *Chronologia Sacra* (cap. 9, p. 186).

⁴⁴ Whiston, *Short View* (74–75). *Judah's* speech to *Tamar* appears in Gen. 38:11. The passage in quotation marks is Whiston's own heuristic invention (75).

⁴⁵ Whiston, *Short View* (75) only assigns 479 years and 1 month to this period; his source is again Ussher's *Chronologia Sacra* (cap. 2, p. 44; cap. 12, pp. 189–202; cap. 13, pp. 203–13).

which Numbers are *Collateral*, and which are *Successive*. And so he finds Room for *Joshua's* Government to continue 25 Years after the Death of *Moses*; and 34 Years more for the Idolatrous Generation, before *Cushan*, the King of *Mesopotamia* Tyrannized over them.⁴⁶

We read upon the Death of *Eglon*, [Judg. 3.30.] *The Land had Rest 80 Years*. By *the Land*, understand the *Eastern* Part of it, (which had newly been discoursed of, & which had now shaken off the Yoke of *Moab*;) and not the whole *Land of Israel*. For IN THE MEAN TIME, not only the *Philistines*, invaded the Western Parts, and had a Repulse by *Shamgar*, but also, [Judg. 4.1.] *The Children of Israel again did Evil in the Sight of the Lord, when Ehud was dead, and the Lord sold them into the Hand of Jabin King of Canaan, that Reigned in Hazor*; [in the Tribe of *Naphthali*] for Twenty Years; tho' at the same Time there was Peace enjoy'd in the Eastern Regions. At length, the Northern *Israelites* beat *Sisera*, and the Peace thereby becomes universal; until 40 Years afterward, the *Midianites*, and their Allies from the *East*, conquer all before them. How long *Ehud* lived, is no where said; and it is not probable, that he lived 80 Years after the Death of *Eglon*. All that we certainly know, is, that the Servitude to the *Canaanites* did not commence, till after his Death. We may suppose, that *Jabin* enslaved *Israel*, when *Ehud* was Dead, about 20 Years after the Victory over the *Moabites*; for the Tyranny of *Jabin* lasted 20 Years, and the *Land had Rest* 40 Years afterward. By this Computation, we gain 60 intire Years; whereof 25 must be allow'd unto *Joshua*, (according to *Josephus*,) and the remaining 35, to the Idolatrous Generation that succeeded; much such a Space of Time, as was allotted unto the Generation in the Wilderness. In this Part of the Period it was, that *every one did what was Right in his own Eyes*. And here we are to place the Histories of *Micha*, and the *Danites*, and of the War against *Benjamin*. There are therefore 185 Years, from the *Exodus*, till *Jabins* Invasion; and 300 Years from the Death of *Moses*, to the Incursion of the *Ammonites*.⁴⁷

Now, that there should be Different *Judges* in Different Parts of the Land, and War in one Part, while there was *Peace* in another, was not a thing Inconsistent with the Civil State of the *Israelites* at this Time.⁴⁸

The hasty Distribution of the Land by *Lott*, before it was thoroughly subdued, scattered the People and weakened the Government. After this Division, there was no *General Assembly* of the whole Body. The *Aristocracy*, which was

⁴⁶ Whiston, *Short View* (75–77). Marsham's *Chronicus Canon* (95). Gen. 3:8–11.

⁴⁷ Whiston, *Short View* (78–79). This and all subsequent paragraphs to the end of Mather's section IV [47r–49r] are cited at second hand from Marsham's *Chronicus Canon* (29 ff.), in Whiston (78–83). The story of Sisera's decapitation at the hands of Jael is related in Judg. 4:17–11. The Jewish historian Josephus Flavius (CE c. 37–c. 100) argues that Joshua succeeded Moses and served as the commander of the Israelites for 25 years (*Antiquities* 5.1.29 and 5.5.4; Whiston's translation).

⁴⁸ Whiston, *Short View* (79).

the Security of the Nation was laid aside.⁴⁹ In *Extraordinary Cases*, there were Judges raised up. If *Prophecy* at any time were wanting, *Anarchy* succeeded. Scarce any of the *Judges* had Authority over the whole Body of the Nation; [48v] They | were the Leaders of such Tribes, as were willing to submit themselves, unto their Conduct, as they were disposed unto it by Dangers from their Neighbourhood. We have plain Instances of this, in the Armies of *Barak*, and of *Gideon*; and in the Double Invasion which happened afterwards, from the *Ammonites* on the one Quarter, and the *Philistines* on the other. The War with the *Ammonites* was managed entirely by *Jephtah* and his People, that is to say, the Tribes beyond *Jordan*. The War with the *Philistines* was managed wholly by the Tribe of *Judah*. When *Judah*, by Divine Appointment was *præferr'd before his Brethren*, (on which account, the Tribe obtained a larger Portion, & in a more secure Province,) Ambition and Jealousy & Emulation prevailed on both Sides. The Tribes never well united their Forces, or joined in *Confœderacies*, to Resist a common Enemy. Indeed, in the *Dayes of Saul*, an Army was levied out of the whole Nation; but even *then*, they were Two Bodies, *Israel* was one, and *Judah* another. Upon the Death of *Saul*, they ran into *Factions*; the one for *Ishbosheth*, the other for *David*; and this Division became fixed and incurable after the Death of *Solomon*. Very *Different Conditions* must thus befall the Tribes, while they had their *Separate Interests*.⁵⁰

Well; There yett remain 140 Years to be accounted for. Of these Years, the last 84 belong to Three of the Kings, just before the Foundation of the Temple. There are then 56 Years, left in the Period of the *Judges*. In that Space, we meet with a Double Servitude of the *Israelites*; the one to the *Ammonites*, the other to the *Philistines*. These two Servitudes were contemporary. They *commenced* at once, tho' they did not *conclude* so. The *Idolatries* of the *Israelites* multiplied; The Almighty Doubled their Punishment, and Sent Enemies upon them, both from the *East*, and from the *West*. [Judg. 10.6, 7.] The *Ammonites* Tyrannized indeed, but 18 Years; but the *Philistines* no less than 40. The Sacred Historian, first præmises a short Mention of both Invasions, because they began in the same Year; and then he proceeds to Relate them distinctly, beginning first with that which would be dispatched soonest. Thus, the Number of Years, which would else increase too much upon us, is brought within Compass, and the Chronology is cleared from all its Difficulties.⁵¹

⁴⁹ See Josephus, *Antiquities* (5.1.21–24).

⁵⁰ Whiston, *Short View* (79–80).

⁵¹ Whiston, *Short View* (80–81). The identity of “The Sacred Historian” mentioned in Marsham (Whiston’s source) is perhaps deliberately left unclear, for at least since Thomas Hobbes (1651) and Baruch Spinoza (1670) theologians could no longer attribute the authorship of the Pentateuch, of the Books of Joshua and Judges, and of most of the other OT books, to the purported authors whose name they generally bear. Both Hobbes and Spinoza argue that, based on the apocryphal 2 Esdras 14:20–47, the ancient scriptures and the law had been burned in the first Temple in 588 BCE. The fifth-century BCE Jewish priest, prophet, and leader Ezra dictated

On the one side, after the Eighteen Years Tyranny of {the} *Ammonites*, there are Four *Judges*, namely, *Jephtah*, and *Ibzan*, and *Elon*, and *Abdon*. All the Years ascribed unto them, (including the 18 Years of Servitude also) are no more than 49. That Part of the Land, with which these were concerned, was in Peace, after the Tyranny of *Ammon* was over. In the Times that succeeded, [1. Sam. 7.14.] *There was Peace between Israel and the Ammonites.*⁵²

In the mean time, (during this Rest of the *Eastern Parts*,) the Violence of the *Philistines* extended itself in the *West*, and continued 40 Years. Nor do we find any Mention of a Deliverer from it, before the Time of *Samuel*, who by gaining that famous Victory at *Ebenezer*, putt an End unto their Tyranny. [1. Sam. 7.13, 14.] *The Hand of the Lord was against the Philistines all the Dayes of Samuel.* Those *Dayes of Samuel*, are the Sixteen Years of his Government, before *Sauls* Inauguration. These were {the} only Years interposed, between the End of the *Philistines* 40, and the Beginning of the 84 of the *Kings*. But soon after *Sauls* Accession to the Crown, (the *Second Year of his Reign*,) the War began again with the *Philistines*, & held all the Dayes of *Saul*. Wherefore, *Samuel* began to Judge (in *Judah*, and the Parts adjacent,) in the last Year of *Elon*, of the Tribe of *Zebulon*; and was contemporary with *Abdon*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*.⁵³

We read of *Sampson*, [Judg. 15.20.] That he *Judged Israel Twenty Years in the Dayes of the Philistines*; that is to say, within the Space of those 40 Years, wherein they had the *Philistines* Rulers over them. However, he had not the supreme Power; nor did he deliver the *Israelites*, but was by his own People delivered into the hands of the *Philistines*.

Nor ought we to look on *Eli* as a Deliverer. He lost the *Ark*; and he died in the Twentieth Year of the Servitude unto the *Philistines*; Twenty Years before the Victory at *Ebenezer*. His Power of a *Judge*, was no other than that of an *High-Priest*; and like that of *Deborah*, when she *Judged Israel* under the Palm-tree; or like that of the Successors to *Gideon* and *Jephtah* in times of Peace; or, like that of the Sons of *Samuel*, whom he made *Judges over Israel*; or, lastly, like that of *Samuel* himself, after the anointing of *Saul*, who still *Judged Israel all the Dayes of his Life*; and *Josephus* tells us, that was Eighteen Years; but indeed it was many more.⁵⁴

We find among the *Tyrians*, That *Judges* were constituted over them, after the old City on the Continent, was destroy'd by *Nebuchadnezzar*. | They were confined unto an Island; and these *Judges* were successively their *Governours*. Among the *Carthaginians*, (a Colony of the *Tyrians*) the Order of *Judges* had

[49r]

from memory the ninety-four books of the Hebrew Bible that had been lost in Exile (Hobbes, *Leviathan*, bk. 3, ch. 33; Spinoza, *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, ch. 8–10, pp. 120–56). See G. Reedy, *Bible and Reason* (chs. 2–3).

⁵² Whiston, *Short View* (81).

⁵³ Whiston, *Short View* (81–82).

⁵⁴ Whiston, *Short View* (82). *Josephus*, *Antiquities* (6.5.4; 13.5; 14.9).

the Dominion, & chiefly præserv'd it in their own Hands, because they were *during Life*. These *Judges* are called *Suffetes*, by *Livy*; *Cum suffetes ad jus dicendum consedisent*. Thus our *Judges* are called, *Sophetim*, i.e. *Suffetes*. The Word signifies, one who *Avenges* the Cause of a People, or *Delivers* them out of the hand of their Enemies.⁵⁵

Hence, the Apostle *Paul*, [Act. 13.20.] mentioning 450 Years, for the Time of the *Judges*, only used a Number then commonly ascribed unto this Time among the *Jews*; (which we also find in *Josephus's* Account of this Period:) But he uses a Particle, *As it were*, or, *As it commonly seems*, which intimates, that an Accurate Chronology was not intended in this Account of it.⁵⁶

	Years	Months	Days
V. From the Foundation of <i>Solomons</i> Temple, } to the Conflagration. }	424.	3.	00. ⁵⁷

The Chronology of the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*, is abundantly established, by the famous Prophecies of *Ezekiel*, touching the utmost Extent of the Divine Patience to *Israel* and *Judah*. [Ezek. 4.4, 5, 6.] *Ezekiel* is to *bear the Iniquity of Israel*, lying on his *Left Side*, 390 Days; & *to bear the Iniquity of Judah*, lying on his *Right Side*, 40 Days; and the Lord saies, *I have appointed thee Each Day for a Year*. The plain Meaning is this; That the longest Time of the uninterrupted Idolatry of the *Israelites*, and of Gods Patience with them, from the First Idolatrous Feast of *Jeroboam*, till the Final Captivity of the *Ten Tribes* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, should be 390 Years. And that the longest Time of the uninterrupted Idolatry of *Judah*, and of Gods Patience with them; till the Final Captivity of the last Remains of the *Two Tribes*, by the same *Nebuchadnezzar*, should be 40 Years. All that can here be quæstion'd, is, whether the Captivity of the Remnant, which happened in the twenty third Year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, which we have here assign'd, as the Conclusion of the 390 Years of the House of *Israel*, was of the Remainder of the *Ten*, and not rather of the *Two Tribes*. If it belong to the *Ten Tribes*, we have what we desire. If it be only of the *Two*, we are at a mighty Loss. The Reason of the Doubt is; The Historian ha's call'd

⁵⁵ Whiston, *Short View* (82–83). The Tyrians were an ancient Phoenician people, whose stronghold was Tyre (near the modern Lebanese city Beirut), located on a promontory off the shore of the old city of Tyre. This city fell to the Babylonian Nebuchadnezzar (586–573 BCE) while judges ruled over Tyre (626–539 BCE). (*HBD*). Josephus relates the fall of Tyre in his book *Against Apion* (1.21), and the story of the judges governing the ancient N. African city of Carthage, in *Against Apion* (1.17–18). The Roman historian Livy (Titus Livius) (59 BCE–CE 17) calls the judges and chief magistrates “*suffetes*” in his famous *Ab urbe condita libri*, a history of Rome from its foundation to the year 9 BCE. Livy’s Latin quotation (34.61.15) translates, “when the chief magistrates (*suffetes*) took their seats to administer justice.” With this paragraph ends Whiston’s lengthy citation from Marsham, which Mather copies at second hand.

⁵⁶ Josephus reads, “for more than five hundred years” (*Antiquities* 11.4.8).

⁵⁷ Whiston, *Short View* (83). His source is Ussher’s *Chronologia Sacra* (cap. 2, p. 44 and cap. 13, pp. 203–13).

them *Jewes*; Jer. 52.30. *In the Twenty third Year of Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuzaradan Captain of the Guard, carried away captive of the Jewes, Seven hundred and forty five Persons.* But we must observe, that all the Remainders of the *Twelve Tribes*, have been styled *Jewes* in common, ever since the *Babylonish Captivity*, and are so styled at this Day. These *Jewes* were *Israelites*; remaining in those Parts of the Land, which belonged unto the *Ten Tribes*. They are styled Ezek. 33.24. *The Inhabitants of the Wasts of the Land of Israel.* And their Mountains are called, Vers. 28. *The Mountains of Israel.* This Captivity happened, at the Time that *Nebuchadnezzar* was besieging of *Tyrus*; now, t'was the Land of *Israel*, and not of *Judah*, that adjoined unto *Tyrus*, and so was the likeliest to afford him an Opportunity of carrying its Inhabitants into Captivity.⁵⁸ Yea, we are certain, that all the Reliques of the *Two Tribes*, were not now in the Land of *Judah*, but in the Land of *Egypt*, and so could not possibly be led into Captivity until the Conquest of *Egypt* afterwards. [Consider, Jer. 43.4, 5, 6, 7.]⁵⁹

We will proceed now to consider the Difficulties, which occur in the several Intervals of this Period.

1. From the Foundation of the Temple, to the Beginning of the Reign of *Rehoboam*, was, 36 Years, & 5 Months. How many *odd Months* are to be allow'd here, and in other parallel Cases, is not for the most Part expressly noted in the Sacred Scripture: But it is to be collected from the exact Adjustment and Connection of the Reigns of one King with another, & to be fetched from the Tables of their Reigns.⁶⁰ And indeed, it highly deserves, not only our Observation, but our Admiration, that those many Texts of the Scripture, where the Reigns of the Kings of one Kingdome are adjusted unto those of the other, and which have generally for Want of due Attention been look'd upon as the Causes of Abundance of *Difficulties*, in the Sacred Chronology, are in themselves really so far from being so, that they generally help us to state the Accounts of each Reign much more *accurately*, and that commonly even to a *Single Month*. The *Seeming Contradictions* of the Scripture-Accounts do at last appear, but so many Proofs of their *greater Accuracy*. In that which looks like a *Carelessness* in the *Chronology* of the Bible, there ly Helps to state it more Nicely and more *Accurately*, than the most Accurate Monuments of other Antiquity can enable us to do in any profane History whatsoever.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Nebuchadnezzar besieged Tyre for thirteen years (586–573 BCE). According to James Ussher's *Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (1650–54) 93, a third group of Jews was taken into Babylonian captivity in AM 3420, APJ 4130 (c. 584 BCE), the approximate date of the destruction of the first Temple.

⁵⁹ This paragraph is excerpted from Whiston, *Short View*, prop. XIV (52–54).

⁶⁰ The tables of the reigns of the Israelite and Judean kings are given by Whiston (*Short View* 85, 86, 88, 89, 94) and juxtapose the round figures given in the Bible with the exact number of years and months in Whiston's chronology.

⁶¹ Whiston, *Short View* (83, 84, 85).

2. From the Beginning of the Reign of *Rehoboam*, to the Beginning of the Reigns of *Athaliah* and *Jehu*, was 90 Years, and 6 Months.⁶²

[50v] There is a New *Hypothesis* to be considered, for the Reconciling of the Years of the Two Kingdoms, in this Interval. And that is | This. The Year used by the People of God, was either a True *Solar Year*, or a *Lunar* one so adjusted by proper Intercalations, as to be æquivalent unto it. The *Julian Year* is so near to it, as to leave little Difference. But when *Jeroboam* drew the *Ten Tribes* to Idolatry, he took the *Year*, which was used by all the *Idolatrous Nations* of the Neighbourhood; a Year, which was a Month shorter than that of *Judah*, and contained but *Eleven Months*. The Annals of the *Ten Tribes* were carried on by such a *vagrant Year*, until *Jehu's* Revolution. This one Observation being applied, will produce a most perfect Accord, between the *Annals* of *Judah*, and of *Israel*, for this Interval; which else will be clog'd with horrid Encumbrances.⁶³

We will pass on to certain particular Difficulties.

First; The Sacred Historian makes *Jehoshaphat* Reign 25 Years; But the same Historian assures us, That his Son *Jehoram* did begin to Reign during his Fathers Life-time; and we shall find, it was 3 Years before his Fathers Death. Accordingly, we reckon only 22 Years to *Jehoshaphat*, in our *Successive Chronology*.⁶⁴

⁶² Whiston, *Short View* (85).

⁶³ Mather condenses into a single paragraph the headings of Whiston's propositions II and III, as well as phrases from Whiston's elucidations (*Short View* 15, 16, 17). To establish an exact timeline in biblical chronology is notoriously difficult because the ancient Hebrews used both solar and lunar calendars for various secular and religious dates – the solar calendar generally being tied to agricultural seasons of the year, and the lunar to religious observances. Even though the lunar month consisted of 30 days, the actual duration was only about 29 ½ days per month. Over a period of a lunar year, the 354 ½ lunar days (365 in the solar calendar) necessitated an intercalation of the missing days. Hence every 3rd, 6th, 8th, 11th, 14th, 17th, and 19th year of a 19-year cycle, the Hebrews (adopting Chaldean precedent) added one full month to their calendar to correct the shortfall. Hence a second month of Adar was added to the year. Given this intercalation, the Hebrew lunar calendar nearly coincided with the Julian Calendar instituted by Julius Caesar (46/45 BCE), who intercalated 90 additional days to bring in line the calendar dates with the natural and seasonal events. From then on, each year was fixed at 365 days per year, one day being added (29th of February) every 4 years. However, since the Julian Calendar amounts to 365 days and 6 hours and exceeds the true solar year by 11 minutes and 14 seconds, an increasing disparity between the dates of the physical phenomenon and seasonal dates occurred over the centuries. To rectify this discrepancy and to establish a uniform date for Easter in the Christian churches, Pope Gregory XIII disbanded the Julian calendar on Feb. 24, 1582, by dropping 10 days from the calendar and thus restored the date for the vernal equinox to March 21. This Gregorian or New Style calendar was not adopted in Protestant Great Britain until 1752. Hence the dates used by Whiston and Mather are based on the Julian or Old Style calendar. For a helpful discussion, see Grafton, "Joseph Scaliger," pp. 181–85 ("Appendix").

Mather's reference to "*Jehu's* Revolution" (2 Kings, chs. 9–10) alludes to the war of *Jehu*, who became king of Israel (843–816 BCE) after killing *Jehoram*, king of Judah (849–843 BCE), and King *Ahaziah* of Israel (843 BCE), in *Jehu's* war on Baal worship in Israel. The daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, Queen *Athaliah* ruled over Judah for six years (c. 843–837 BCE) after her husband, King *Jehoram*, had been assassinated by *Jehu*.

⁶⁴ Whiston, *Short View* (86). 1 Kings 22:42, 2 Kings 8:16. The *Successive Chronology* men-

Secondly; *Ahaziah* King of *Judah*, in one Text, begins his Reign in the *Eleventh* Year of *Jehoram* King of *Israel*; in another Text, not until the *Twelfth*. Now consider the Circumstances of his Father a little before his Death, & you will see this *Epocha*, most highly agreeable to the History. We read; [2. Chron. 21.18, 19.] *The Lord smote him in his Bowels, with an Incureable Disease. And after, (or rather, about) the End of two Years, his Bowels fell out by reason of his Sickness; so he died of Sore Diseases.* From this *Incureable Disease* in his *Bowels*, there would naturally arise, the making of his Son a Partner in the Kingdome, & the committing of the public Administration unto him, some time before his Death. And the *Different Phrases* used on the *Different Beginnings* of the *Sons Reign*, lead us to acknowledge this Observation.⁶⁵

Thirdly; *Omri* King of *Israel*, in one Place, begins his Reign, in the 27th of *Asa*; in another Place, not until the 31st of *Asa*. And his Reign is 12 Years in all; but no more than 6 in *Tirzah*.⁶⁶ The Case was plainly thus. In the 27th of *Asa*, *Omri* is made King over *Israel*, upon the Conspiracy of *Zimri*; and being accompanied by the Body of the People, he besieges *Tirzah*, where *Zimri* then was; and in *Seven Dayes* takes the City, and putts an End unto *Zimris* Power and Life at once. Upon the Death of *Zimri*, the People of *Israel* were *Divided into Two Parts*; *Half of the People followed Tibni, to make him King, and Half of them followed Omri.* After a Four Years War for the Crown, *the People that follow'd Omri prevailed, and Tibni died, & Omri reigned* without Molestation.⁶⁷ So, tis no Wonder, we have a double *Epocha*, for the Reign of *Omri*, and of the Twelve Years he Reign'd in all, only Six were in *Tirzah*. Four were spent, before he gott the Royal City of *Tirzah*, from his Rival; Two were spent after his leaving *Tirzah*, and making *Samaria* the Royal Seat of his Kingdome. The *Thirty first Year* of *Asa*, was the Year of his taking *Tirzah*.⁶⁸

3. From the Beginning of the Reigns of *Athaliah* and *Jehu*, to the Captivity of the *Ten Tribes*, is, 163. Years, and, 2. Months.⁶⁹

We will address ourselves, to solve the chronological Difficulties of this Interval.

Tho' *Jehoahaz* of *Israel* died not until the 39th Year of *Joash* of *Judah*, yett the same Historian, makes the Successor, namely *Joash* of *Israel*, to begin his Reign at the 37th of *Joash* of *Judah*.⁷⁰ We must therefore suppose, that *Joash* began to Reign Two Years before the Death of his Father. But is there in the Sacred History, any Hint of this Matter? Yes. We read, [2. King. 13.3 &c] That *the Kings of*

tioned here refers to Whiston's tables of the reigns of the Israelite and Judean kings (85, 86, 88, 89, 94).

⁶⁵ Whiston, *Short View* (87). 2 Kings 8:25, 9:29.

⁶⁶ 1 Kings 16:8, 15–16, 23.

⁶⁷ 1 Kings 16:21–22.

⁶⁸ Whiston, *Short View* (87–88).

⁶⁹ Whiston, *Short View* (88).

⁷⁰ 2 Kings 13:10.

Syria oppressed Israel all the Dayes of Jehoahaz; And yett, we find, that upon his Petition for Deliverance, *God heard his Prayer*, and *gave Israel a Saviour*. This was *Joash*, the Son of *Jehoahaz*, a mighty and a valiant Man, who during his Fathers Life-time, recovered the Cities which his Father had lost, & restored Peace to the Nation. These Different Affirmations are best Reconciled, by supposing, That his Father, upon his constant Ill Success against the *Syrians*, resign'd Part of the Royal Authority to him, and made him the General of his Army. After which beginning of the Sons Administration, affayrs were altered, & those Enemies, who during the Fathers Government were alwayes Conquerors, were now conquered by the Son, and at last were driven out of the Land.⁷¹

[51r] Secondly. *Amaziah* King of *Judah*, is said, to Reign in the Second of *Joash*; that is, in the Seventeenth of *Jehoahaz*, of *Israel*. And yett his Father died not, until above a Year after the Death of *Jehoahaz*. In this Case again, we must suppose, that *Amaziah*, began to Reign, above a Year, before the Death of his Father. But we will admitt no such Supposition, without a Foundation for it, in some Expression of the Sacred Scripture. Behold, a notable one on this Occasion! What is the Importance of that Phrase, [2. King. 14.5.] of, *The Kingdomes being confirmed in his Hand*? But that, upon the Death of his Father, he was *again Inaugurated* into his Kingdom?⁷² He undertook the *Sole* Administration of Affairs, which he had before administred *Jointly* with his Father. The Phrase is of this Importance, in two other Instances. [Compare, 2. Chron. 1.1. and, 21.4.]⁷³

Thirdly. The Beginning of the Reign of *Uzziah*, (or *Azariah*) of *Judah*, must needs fall into the 16th Year of *Jeroboam* II. if his Reign be accounted from his Fathers Death; and yett it is said to begin in the 27th Year of *Jeroboam*. This drives us, to seek a Double *Epocha*, for the Reign of *Jeroboam*; and the Sacred History gives us a shrewd Intimation of such a Thing! Upon the Death of *Jehoahaz*, we find his Son *Joash*, paying a Visit unto the Prophet *Elisha*; and the Prophet then discoursing on the affairs of the War with *Syria*, wherein *Joash* had already been very successful, foretels, That he should be successful in but *Three Campaigns* more against them. Accordingly *Joash* governs alone, and prosecutes the War, for the *Three Years* ensuing. When those *Three Years* expired, because he could no longer expect Success himself, & because his Father had so done before him, he does entrust the Command of the Army and a Share in the Government, with his Son *Jeroboam*, who was doubtless a Prince of great Hopes, and proved afterwards the most potent and glorious of the Kings of *Israel*. Accordingly the *First Date* of his Reign, appears *Eleven* Years before the Death of his Father.⁷⁴

71 Whiston's tables (*Short View* 88, 89) juxtapose the scriptural years with the actual years of the kings' reigns. For Mather's excerpt, see Whiston (89–90).

72 2 Chron. 25:3.

73 Whiston, *Short View* (90, 91).

74 Whiston, *Short View* (91).

Fourthly. We suppose an *Interregnum*, in the Kingdome of *Israel*, after the Death of *Jeroboam* II. and another, after the Death of *Pekah*. Answering to 163 Years, and 2 Months, of the Kingdome of *Judah*, we find but 143 Years & some odd Months in the Kingdome of *Israel*.⁷⁵ It must therefore be observed, That *Hoshæa* began his First Imperfect Reign, upon his Murder of his Predecessor *Pekah*, Eight or Nine Years before his real Dominion, and the true Date of his Reign, in the Royal City, commenced. We read, 2. King. 15.30. *Hoshæa made a Conspiracy against Pekah, and Smote him, & Slew him, & Reign'd in his Stead, in the Twentieth Year of Jotham the Son of Uzziâh*. That is to say, In the Fourth of *Ahaz*. For *Jotham* himself Reign'd but *Sixteen Years* in all. But because there had yett no mention been made of *Ahaz's* Reign, therefore the old *Epocha* of his Predecessor *Jotham* is still made use of. But we also read, 2. King. 17.1. *In the Twelfth Year of Ahaz King of Judah, began Hoshæa to Reign in Samaria, over Israel, Nine Years*. Again; After the Death of *Jeroboam* II. we also find a Deficiency of several Years. And the two very short Reigns afterwards, which were over in *Seven Months*, and both the Kings came to untimely Deaths, are sufficient Indications of a very unsettled State of Affayrs. But that which renders an *Interregnum* here very little short of certain, is, the Divine Threatning in the Words of *Hosæa* the Prophet, who prophecied in the Reign of *Jeroboam* II. Hos. 10.3. *Now (or, e're long) they shall say, we have no King, because we feared not the Lord. What then should a King do unto us?* This propheticall Intimation of an *Interregnum*, is very observable!⁷⁶

Nevertheless, there are some Texts, which do not seem to favour the *Interregna* mentioned. We read, 2. King. 14.29. *Jeroboam slept with his Fathers, & Zachariah his Son Reign'd in his Stead*. And, 2. King. 15.30. *Hoshæa made a Conspiracy against Pekah, & Smote him & Slew him, and Reign'd in his Stead*. But it is no Wonder, that upon the Death of a King, he, who during the Interval fought for the Kingdome, and at last obtained it, is in some Sence said to *Reign in his Stead*, all that time; as Reigning over Part of the People; tho' his full Reign in the *Royal City* receive not its Date, until his peaceable Possession of the Crown, and his Dominion in the *Royal City* did commence afterwards. Tis enough, that during these Confusions, they had a greater Share of the Royal Authority, than any others; and when they obtained the *Royal City*, the Scripture takes notice of it, and the true Dates of their Reigns are derived from it.⁷⁷

In this Interval, we have an unusual Instance of *Early Ripeness*. | *Ahaz* is [52v] no more than *Twenty Years* old, when he began to Reign. He Reigns not quite *Fifteen Years* before his Son *Hezekiah* begins to Reign. Yett *Hezekiah* himself was then *Twenty Five Years* old. Whence it will follow, that *Hezekiah* was born,

⁷⁵ See Whiston's table, in *Short View* (89).

⁷⁶ Whiston, proposition XI, in *Short View* (47–48 and 91–92).

⁷⁷ Whiston, *Short View* (92).

when his Father was hardly *Eleven* Years old. This would be thought strange in our Age and Climate. And no doubt, it was an unusual Instance in *Judea* itself, seeing we have not in the whole Bible such another. Possibly the Inhabitants of those hotter Countreyes, come to Maturity sooner than in ours. Tis very certain, that *Mahomet*, in *Arabia*, a Region bordering on *Judea*, married one of his Wives, when she was but *Six* Years old, and bedded her in *Two* afterwards.⁷⁸ But there have not been wanting Exemples in the more Northern Regions, of as early Ability for Procreation, as that in *Ahaz*; which therefore ought not to seem Incredible. My Author will give me Leave to add, That the modern Travellers assure us, The People of *Java* at this day commonly marry & have Children at Nine or Ten Years of age; and generally leave Childbearing at or before Thirty.⁷⁹

It is also to be noted, That Chronology obliges us, to place the Reign of *Hezekiah*, a little before the Death of his Father *Ahaz*; But it was a very little while; so little an one as to afford very little Occasion for any Historical Relations. And this is the only Instance of a Double *Epocha* for a Reign, without some Intimation of it, in Sacred History.⁸⁰

4. From the Captivity of the *Ten* Tribes, to the Conflagration of the Temple, is, 134 Years &, 2 Months. This Account, will arise from the plain Summ of the Years of the Kings of *Judah*. And the 23 Years allow'd therein, from the 13th of *Josiah*, to the Great Captivity of the Jewes, in the 4th of *Jehojakim*, have in the Scripture, a very express Remark upon them. [See Jer. 25.1, 3.]⁸¹

But it is from that 4th of *Jehojakim*, and from the Beginning of the Reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, that we are to date the 70 Years of the Captivity of the Jewes.⁸² This was the *Main Captivity*; tis that, whereof we read, 2. King. 24.3. *This came upon Judah, to remove them out of the Sight of God*. Tho' the Number of the Captives, is no where declared in the Scripture, yett it is evident, the *Main Body* of the *Two Tribes*, were now captivated. The Number of the Captives under *Jehojachin* is recorded, and it is plainly no more than a *Remnant* of the whole People; no more than 10000, the Reliques of the ancient Inhabitants. The last Captivity under *Zedekiah*, when the Temple was burnt, was chiefly confined unto *Three Strong Holds*; as being the only Places of Note and of Strength, which

⁷⁸ Whiston's source is *The True Nature of Imposture Fully Displayed in the Life of Mahomet* (1697) 52, by Humphrey Prideaux, D.D. (1648–1724), a notable English theologian and historian, whose popular *Life of Mahomet* went through three editions in the first year. A useful discussion of British attitudes toward Muhammad and Islam in the 17th and 18th centuries appears in D.A. Pailin's *Attitudes* (81–104).

⁷⁹ Whiston, *Short View* (92–93). Mather's "Author" is, of course, Whiston. Any number of seventeenth-century travel accounts could have been the source for Mather's information about the Javanese. See for instance, Christoph Frick (b. 1659), *A Relation of Two Several Voyages made into the East-Indies* (1700).

⁸⁰ Whiston, *Short View* (93, scholium).

⁸¹ Whiston, *Short View* (93–94).

⁸² Ussher's *Annals of the World* (1658) 83, 102, dates the Babylonian Captivity from 606–536 BCE, when a first group of Jews was taken into captivity in AM 3398–AM 3468.

were then remaining; so that the Body of the Nation was already removed unto *Babylon*.⁸³ And it was also in this *Fourth Year of Jehojakim*, that the Prophet *Jeremiah*, received and uttered, the Prophecy of the *Seventy Years*. See Jer. 25.1, 11, 12. Moreover, The Subjection to the King of *Babylon for Seventy Years*, was not peculiar to the *Jewes* only, but common to them with all the other Nations about them, as the Prophecy of *Jeremiah* intimates. Now, tis evident from a known Fragment of *Berosus*, that the famous Expedition of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in which he conquered all these Nations, was before his Fathers Death, in the Beginning of his Reign; and not at either of the following Captivities. By *Ptolomies Canon*, compared with *Xenophon*, there are from this Captivity, to the Beginning of *Cyrus's* Monarchy, when the Solution of the Captivity happened, just 70 Years. And certainly all these things together, place the Matter beyond all Disputation. —⁸⁴

This hinders not, but that the other Captivities, may be *Epocha's*, from which those who then went into *Babylon*, or others, upon proper Occasions, might reckon. *Daniel* was carried away in the *First Captivity*, and he mentions no other. *Ezekiel* was carried away in the *Second*; (with *Jehojachin*;) and he reckons from that.⁸⁵

And this is no Prejudice to a like Number of 70 Years, from the Beginning of the Siege of *Jerusalem* under *Zedekias*, till the Second Year of *Darius*; [Zech. 1.7–13.] nor to the Duration of the Two famous Annual Fasts of the *Jewes*. [Zech. 7.1, 5.] These Periods, were not those intended in the Prophecy of *Jeremiah*; nor should they create us any Difficulties about it.⁸⁶

We may here also observe the Importance of the *Three Lesser Captivities* of the *Jewes*, mention'd by the Prophet *Jeremiah*, which have been by some unreasonably expounded of the *Three Greater*, under *Jehojakim*, and *Jehojachin*, and *Zedekiah*. The Words are these. [Jer. 52.27–30.] *This is the People whom Nebuchadnezzar carried captive. In the Seventh Year, 3023 Jewes. In the Eighteenth Year of Nebuchadnezzar, he carried away captive from Jerusalem 832 Persons. In the Twenty third Year of Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuzaradan Captain of the Guard, carried*

⁸³ The burning of the Temple, which Ussher dates to 588 BCE, resulted in the deportation of a third group of Jews (2 Kings 24:10–25:21).

⁸⁴ Whiston's proposition XIII, in *Short View* (48–50). Ptolemy's *Astronomical Canon* (Whiston 544–45) lists the number of years and periods of reigns of the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Greek, and Roman emperors according to the Julian Calendar. Nabopolassar (626–605 BCE) is considered to be the founder of the Babylonian dynasty (626–539 BCE), whose son, Nebuchadnezzar II, defeated the Egyptians before his father's death, destroyed the Temple of Jerusalem in 588 BCE, and captured the Tyrians in 586 BCE (*HBD*). The Medo-Persian King Cyrus the Great (c. 557–c. 530 BCE) conquered Babylon in c. 539 BCE. Xenophon relates Cyrus's conquest in his semi-fictional biography *Cyropedia* (c. 362 BCE). Whiston's source is Josephus (*Antiquities* 10.11.1), who excerpts a fragment of *Babylonika* (2), the famous history of Beros(s)us (fl. 290 BCE), a Babylonian scholar and historian of Egypt.

⁸⁵ Whiston, Corollary 1, in *Short View* (50). Dan. 1:1, 9:1–2; Ezek. 1:2, 8:1.

⁸⁶ Whiston, Corollary 3, in *Short View* (51).

[53r] away captive of the Jewes 745 Persons. All the Persons were 4600. Now the *Three Greater Captivities* were in the *First*, the *Eighth*, and the *Nineteenth* of *Nebuchadnezzar*; and therefore we may be sure, they were wholly | different from those which were in the *Seventh*, the *Eighteenth*, and the *Twenty Third*. The *Smalness* of the Numbers in the *Three Lesser Captivities* is also enough to distinguish them from the *Three Greater* ones. The *First* of these *Captivities*, in the *Seventh Year* of *Nebuchadnezzar*, was of 3023 Persons. It was *Three Years* after *Jehojakim*, by breaking the League he had made with him, had exposed himself unto his Fury, and Bands of *Chaldeans*, & *Syrians*, and *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, came upon him; and it was out of the whole Body of the *Jewes*, not confined unto the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*. The *Second*, which was of 832 Persons, was during the Siege of *Jerusalem*, which happened in the *Eighteenth Year* of *Nebuchadnezzar*; And this was made up of the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem* only, or of such as fell away to the *Chaldeans* according to the Counsel of God, and so had their Lives given unto them. The *Third* was of 745 *Jewes*; that is to say, of such Reliques of the *Ten Tribes*, as at this time remained in their own Land. These were carried away captive, by an Officer of *Nebuchadnezzar*, while he himself was besieging of *Tyre*, in their Neighbourhood.⁸⁷

	Years	Months	Dayes
VI. From the Conflagration of the <i>Temple</i> , } to the Beginning of the <i>Christian Æra</i> . }	587.	4.	00. ⁸⁸

Nebuchadnezzar began to Reign in his Fathers Life-time; near two Years and an half, before his First *Thoth* in the Canon of *Ptolomy*; And his Reign is Dated in the Scripture accordingly, That *Nebuchadnezzar* was made Partner in the Kingdome, with his Father *Nabopolassar*, upon his coming General of his Army into *Syria*, is justly collected from several Passages in *Berosus*, which are extant at this Day in our Hands. But the Bible ha's rendred it yett more unquæstionable.⁸⁹

The Two First Years ascribed unto *Cyrus* in the Canon of *Ptolomy*, are by the Scriptures ascribed unto *Darius the Mede*; and this agrees exactly with the Account given by *Xenophon*. It is well-known, from the Book of *Daniel*, that after the Conquest of *Belshazzar*, or *Nabonadius*, King of the *Chaldeans*, and the taking of *Babylon* by *Cyaxares*, or *Darius the Mede*, and *Cyrus the Persian*, this *Darius took the Kingdome* for some Time before his Death, and the Succession of *Cyrus*.⁹⁰ But the *Canon*, taking no Notice of *Darius*, ascribes all the Space after

⁸⁷ Whiston, Corollary 3, in *Short View* (51–52).

⁸⁸ Whiston. *Short View* (95). His source is Ussher, *Chronologia Sacra* (ch. 2, p. 44).

⁸⁹ Whiston, Lemma 1, *Short View* (55). The fragments of Berosus appear in Josephus's *Antiquities* (10.11.1) and *Against Apion* (1.19–20).

⁹⁰ The confusion of names occurs because the Greek mathematician Ptolemy assigns to the Medo-Persian ruler Cyrus II (the Great), who conquered Babylonia in 539/538 BCE, what the Bible ascribes to Darius the Mede, the son of Ahasuerus (Dan. 5:30–31, 9:1). According to the Greek historian Xenophon, Cyrus diverted the Euphrates, surprised the palace guards of King

the taking of *Babylon*, or the Death of *Nabonadius*, to the Monarchy of *Cyrus*, & accordingly gives him *Nine Years*.⁹¹ Nevertheless, *Xenophon* who was perfectly acquainted with the History of *Cyrus*, assigns but *Seven Years* unto his Monarchy. The Year therefore, when *Cyrus* made his Decree for the Return of the Jewes, was the *Third Year* of his Reign in the *Canon*; and its first *Thoth* was, Jan. 5. 4178.⁹²

Jehojakims Captivity happened near the Middle of A. M. 3398. which was the First of *Nebuchadnezzar*. *Jehojachins* Captivity happened near the Beginning of *July*; A. M. 3405. and towards the Conclusion of the Eighth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in the Scripture-Account.⁹³

Zedekiahs Captivity, and the Conflagration of the Temple, happened about *August*; A. M. 3416; at the End of the Nineteenth Year of *Nebuchadnezzar* in the Scripture-Account.⁹⁴

The Beginning of *Ezekiels* 390 Years of Gods Patience with the *Ten Tribes*, was at *Jeroboams* Idolatrous Feast, about the Middle of *November*, towards the Beginning of A. M. 3030. And so their Conclusion was towards the Beginning of A. M. 3420. Now that Captivity, of the Remnant of the *Israelites*, which putt a Period unto these 390 Years, was in the 23^d of *Nebuchadnezzar*.⁹⁵

The Beginning of *Ezekiels* 40 Years of Gods Patience with the *Two Tribes*, was at the Death of King *Josiah*, towards the latter Part of A. M. 3394. And so their Conclusion was towards the latter Part of A. M. 3434. Now it appears by the profane Chronology, that *Nebuchadnezzar* then conquered *Egypt*, and carried away with him, the Remnants of the *Two Tribes*, which had Retired thither.⁹⁶

Belshazzar (Nabonadius), and took Babylon in one night (*Cyropedia* 1.2.1 and 7.5.7–34). See also Josephus (*Against Apion* 1.20). Cyrus II set up Darius the Mede as ruler in Belshazzar's stead. Further confusion arises because the prophet Daniel is said to prosper during the reigns of Darius and of Cyrus the Persian (Dan. 6:28), as if to suggest that Darius preceded Cyrus. According to another tradition, Cyaxares II, son of Astyages and last king of Media, entrusted his son-in-law Cyrus II (ruler of Persia) with the government of Media (Xenophon, *Cyropedia* 1.5.2) and ordered him to conquer Babylon. However, Josephus's account differs from Xenophon's in that Josephus identifies Darius as the son of Astyages, who is "known to the Greeks by a different name" (Josephus, *Antiquities* 10.11.1, 4). Whiston (whose *Short View* Mather excerpts here) therefore identifies Cyaxares II with Darius the Mede (*CBTEL*, *OCD*, *HBD*).

91 See the Astronomical Canon of Ptolemy appended to Whiston (544).

92 Whiston, *Short View* (56). See Xenophon (*Cyropaedia* 8); Dan. 9.1, 24; 2 Chron. 36:22; Ezra 1:1–2. The year APJ 4178 corresponds to 536 BCE in the Gregorian calendar. The source for Whiston's date is given in Ussher's *Annals* (102).

93 Whiston, *Short View* (57). The years Anno Mundi 3398 and 3405 correspond to 606 BCE and 599 BCE in Ussher's *Annals* (82–84).

94 Whiston, *Short View* (58). AM 3416 corresponds to 588 BCE, in Ussher's chronology.

95 Whiston, *Short View* (58). Ezekiel's 390 years are given in Ezek 4:4–6. AM 3030 and 3420 correspond to 975/74 and 584 BCE respectively.

96 Whiston, *Short View* (58). Ezek. 4:6. AM 3394 and 3434 respectively correspond to 610 and 570 BCE, in Ussher's *Annals* (81, 85).

Nebuchadnezzar's Death, and the Succession of his Son, *Evil-Merodach*, or *Ilvarodamus*, happened about *March*; A. M. 3442.

The Solution of the Captivity, in the Beginning of *Cyrus's* Monarchy, happened 70 Years after the main Captivity; and near the Middle of A. M. 3468.⁹⁷

The Beginning of the 70 Years current, of *Gods Indignation against Jerusalem & the Cities of Judah*, was at the Return of the *Chaldeans* to besiege those Places, after the Flight of the *Egyptians*; About the End of *May*; A. M. 3415. And so their Conclusion must be between the same Time of the Year; A. M. 3484, and, 3485. Now the Time of the mention of these 70 Years, was towards the End of *February*, in the Second Year of *Darius Hystaspis* in the *Canon*.⁹⁸

[54v] | The Commencing of the 70 Years current Duration, of two *Jewish Annual Fasts*, for the Destruction of the Temple in the *Fifth* Month, and the Murder of *Gedaliah* in the *Seventh*, was at the Time of those Disasters; in the last Month but one, of A. M. 3416. and the First of A. M. 3417. And so their Conclusion, must be; for the one, between A. M. 3485; and 3486: For the other, between A. M. 3486, and 3487.⁹⁹

In the famous Astronomical *Canon* which upon all the Experiments imaginable, we find to be Incontestable, the Year of the Conflagration of the Temple, namely, A. M. 3416. answers to the Year of the *Julian Period*, 4126. To this add, 587 Years, and 4 Months, and we come to the End of A. P. I. 4713. And it is well known to all Chronologers, That this was the very Year præceding the *Christian Æra*.¹⁰⁰

This may suffice for a short View of, *The Chronology of the Old Testament*. – The learned Gentleman from whose Labours I have extracted it, has in this one short View, so established every thing, as to putt an End unto Thou-

⁹⁷ Whiston, *Short View* (59). AM 3468 corresponds to 536 BCE, the year to which Ussher (*Annals* 102) assigns Cyrus's edict to allow the Jewish captives to return to the Holy Land (2 Chron. 36:22–23; Ezra 1:1–2).

⁹⁸ Whiston, *Short View* (59). Zech. 1:7, 12. Jer. 25:3. AM 3415, 3484, and 3485 respectively correspond to 589, 520, and 519 BCE. See Ussher's *Annals* (90, 110, 111).

⁹⁹ Whiston, *Short View* (59–60). A Jewish governor of Judah, Gedaliah was appointed by Nebuchadnezzar after the fall of Jerusalem (1 Kings 25:22). Gedaliah was assassinated by militants who resented his collaboration with Babylon. The destruction of the Temple and the murder of Gedaliah, resulting in another train of captives to Babylon, was commemorated by the two fasts here mentioned (Zech. 7:1, 5) (*HBD*). AM 3416, the year of the Temple's destruction; and AM 3417, the year of Gedaliah's assassination, correspond to 588 and 587 BCE respectively. Whiston (and Mather) therefore date the beginning of the 70-year captivity from this period, ending either between AM 3485 and 3486 (519 and 518 BCE) or between AM 3486 and 3487 (518 and 517 BCE) according to Ussher's *Annals* (109–113).

¹⁰⁰ Whiston, *Short View* (60). According to Ptolemy's *Astronomical Canon* (Whiston 544–45), the fall of the Temple occurred in 4126 (Julian Calendar), which date corresponds to AM 3416 (588 BCE) in Ussher's *Annals*. The birth of the Messiah was to be expected in APJ 4714.

sands of Disputations, and to render many and bulky Volumns, on these Points, altogether superfluous. For my Part, I have done with 'em!¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ Mather's "learned Gentleman" is of course William Whiston, whose *Short View* Mather had here copied into his "BA" to reconcile the discrepancies between biblical chronology and the various calendars used in ancient history. In this manner, commentators tried to reassert biblical authority, which Hobbes and Spinoza had dared to dismiss by pointing at the many contradictions in biblical chronology.

102 Here begins Mather's commentary on Genesis, ch. 1 [55r–104v], which is his longest discussion of any single biblical chapter or issue in the entire "BA" manuscript. The length of this section does not come as a surprise: he recovers a cross-section of ancient cosmogony, early Enlightenment science, and philological and textual disputes about the authorship of the Pentateuch. In Mather's day, the Mosaic creation account underwent unprecedented scientific challenges, as Copernican heliocentrism replaced the ancient Ptolemaic geocentric cosmogony, Newtonian physics supplanted theological literalism, and the Peripatetics pitted their theory of the eternity of the universe against that of orthodox physico-theologians who sided with Moses that God had created the universe out of nothing. See Mather, *Christian Philosopher* (Essay I, pp. 18–19), A. D. White (vol. 1), I. B. Cohen, A. Rupert Hall, and P. Stearns (chs. 1, 5, 10), T. Hornberger, G. McColley, and R. Smolinski's "How to Go." Significantly, Mather is highly sensitized by the controversial debates of his time as he tries to reconcile both ancient and modern theories of creationism. He does not as yet see any contradiction between the two separate creation accounts (Gen. 1:1–2:3 and Gen. 2:4–25) or the many duplicate narratives in the OT as the next generation would do, because he writes more than twenty-five years before Jean Astruc (1684–1766), French physician and biblical philologist, posited in his *Conjectures sur les Mémoires originaux* (1753) that Genesis was compiled from two separate documentary traditions – the Elohist and the Yahwist traditions. Nevertheless, Mather does address some of the main philological issues raised by Maimonides, Hobbes, Spinoza, Richard Simon, and Jean LeClerc (See R. Smolinski, "Authority").

In a different hand than the remainder of the holograph manuscript of "BA," Mather's first excerpt [55r–57r] is from Thomas Pyle (1674–c. 1756), an Anglican clergyman and prebendary of Salisbury, whose 2-volume *Paraphrase with Short and Useful Notes* (1717) was accessible to Mather at Harvard (*Catalogus Librorum* [1725], supplement, p. 111). Pyle's paraphrase appeals to Mather because its distinctly Newtonian flavor never seriously compromises conservative exegesis of the Mosaic creation. In § (1.), which Mather excerpts from Pyle's commentary on Genesis in *Paraphrase* (1:1–2), Pyle rejects the ancient Peripatetic idea of the eternity of the universe (Aristotle, *De caelo* 1.10–12, 279b–283b20). Plato's argument about the cosmos created from the four elements of fire, air, water, and earth (*Timaeus* 28a–38b) posited an alternative theory, decidedly more in line with the Mosaic creation, but still open to speculation. It led not only Justin Martyr (*Apologia* 1.10, cf. *Hortatory Address to the Greeks* – all in *ANF* 1:165, 273–89), but also Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 5.14) to speculate about the creation of the universe from pre-existing, albeit formless, matter. Philo Judaeus, however, attacked this position as unscriptural (*De somniis* 1.13.76), because it conflicted with the concept of the creation out of nothing (2 Macc. 7:28; Genesis Rabbah 1.9). Similarly, Theophilus Antiochenus (*Apologia ad Autolyicum* 2.4, in *ANF* 2:95), Irenaeus (*Adversus haereses* 2.10.2–4, in *ANF* 1:370), Ambrose (*Hexameron* 1.1.1.1–2), and many others, eventually codified the dogma of *creatio ex nihilo*, the creation out of nothing. How hotly this issue was debated in the seventeenth century can be seen in Edward Stillingfleet's *Origines Sacrae* (bk. 3, ch. 2, pp. 421–69), John Milton's *De Doctrina Christiana* (1.7) and *Paradise Lost* (7.170–242), and in Joshua Sylvester's translation [1640] of Guillaume du Bartas's *Divine Weeks and Works* (1.1.219–97) – and even long before him in Moses Maimonides's *Guide for the Perplexed* (2.1–30) – who felt increasingly defensive about the tradition that God created the universe a little more than 5,600 years earlier. Mather, like Stillingfleet, rejected the Peripatetic heresy; frowned upon the Necessitarians such as Thales and Tully who conceded that an Efficient Cause had formed the universe out of preexisting, eternal matter (Material Cause), in Tully (*De natura deorum* 1.25); decried Epicureans (such as Lucretius and Democritus) who, though denying the eternity of the universe, insisted that it came about through blind chance and accidental coalescence of atoms (*De rerum natura*

Q. A Just Paraphrase on the First Chapter of *Genesis*, agreeable to the Modern Discoveries?

A. Take what Mr. *Pyles* has given us.

- (1.) The World did not exist from all Eternity, by Necessity of Nature, nor did it, or any Part of it, come into being by chance and Fortune, but all things whatever, whether Visible or Invisible, Material, or Immaterial were in the beginning created, by the Power of that infinitely Wise, Good, and Alsufficient being whom we call GOD.
- (2.) And being now by divine direction to give Such a Particular Account of the Creation of our Earth, and of those Parts, that have a Special Relation to it, as may be Sufficient toward our Religious Acknowledgment of the Great Creator; I observe in general, that its Materials were at first at the time when this Account begins, in a confus'd, and disorderly State, consisting of an Irregular Mixture of Solids and Fluids thrown together: and were reduced into the Beautifull order wherein we now behold them by the Powerfull Operation of the Divine Spirit in the following Manner, within the Space of Six Days.¹⁰³
- (3, 4, 5) Preparatory to which, the first thing done, was such a Separation of the gross and heavier, from the lighter, and more fine Parts of the Chaos, as might in a good measure prepare the Earth (as in like Manner the rest of the Planets) for the Reception of Light, from the Sun, and Stars, for the use and benefits of its inhabitants, and by its Warmth to nourish the Plants, and animals it was to be stored withal. And then by Means of regular, & proper Motions, to cause a Continual Succession of Light, and Darkness upon the Several Parts of the Earth. These Causes and Effects obey'd the Will of the Almighty Creator, who saw them most Perfectly to answer the Wise and Good Ends He designed them for: this was the Work of the first Day; and hence is dated the Beginning of our Day and Night.
- (6, 7, 8) Within the Space of one Natural Day more, this Separation was brought to Such a degree of Perfection that the Main bulk of the heavier Fluids were Sunk down toward a Center, while a Considerable Number of their lighter Parts remained Suspended above, at Some distance from the

1.146–249, 1008–52; Dionysius the Great [d. c. 264], bishop of Alexandria *Extant Fragments* 2.1–3, in *ANF* 6:84–88); and objected to the Cartesians who insisted that the universe came about through mere mechanical laws that determined the motion of matter. In his *Christian Philosopher* (Essay IV, p. 40), Mather argues that since the particles of light emanating from the sun diminish its volume (albeit ever so small), it is evident “that the Sun had a Beginning; it could not have been from *Eternity*; *Eternity* must have wasted it: It had long ere now been reduced unto less than the *Light of a Candle*.” Mather extracts this argument from George Cheyne, *Philosophical Principles of Natural Religion* (1705), ch. 1, pp. 95–98. A still useful discussion of the hexaemeral tradition among the Ante-Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers is F.E. Robbins’s *The Hexaemeral Literature* (1912).

103 This and subsequent paragraphs (§§ 1–31) are taken from Pyle’s *Paraphrase* (1:1–9).

Earth, in Clouds or Vapours kept up there, and continually Supplied by Exhalations from the Waters of the Earth; So that there appeared between these Clouds above, and the great Collections of Waters below, a free, lightsome, and open Space, Strech't, as it were over the whole Surface, and this is what we call, the Firmament, or Air, or Atmosphære, or Heaven.

- (9, 10) These lower Waters thus collected and Spred over the Surface of the Earth, were in the Next Place, to be gathered closer together, and thrown into their Proper Receptacles to uncover, and leave dry the rest of the Earth, and form the whole into a Terraqueous Globe fitted for the Maintenance of Such Plants, and Animals, wherewith its Several Parts of Land, and Waters were to be Provided. Accordingly these Waters were, by divine Power made to Subside in the Caverns, and Channels provided for them making the distinction we now See between Sea, and Land, wisely Proportioned, and Exactly adapted to the Good Ends they were designed for.¹⁰⁴
- (11. 12. 13.) For Now those Parts of the Globes, that were drained of their Waters, and Exposed to the kind Influences of Increasing Light, were in a Condition to Nourish that Great Variety of Grass, Herbs, trees, & Plants wherewith GOD had Stored them, giving to Each of these Vegetables its proper Seed for the Propagation of its Kind, and accordingly, they now began to Shoot and Grow up for the Sustenance and Gratification of the Animals Providence intended them for, and for the benefit whereof they were most wisely contrived, and these two things took up the Work of the Third Day.
- [56v] (14. 15.) The Sun, and Stars which at the first Separation of the Earths Materials, began (but imperfectly) to Shed their Light, and Influences, on it were, by the End of the Fourth | Day, (the Air, or Atmosphære being compleat and Clear) come to their full Lustre; and appeared those Perfectly luminous and Splendid Globes we now See them to be, and came in all respects, to Serve the wise Purposes the Creator intended them for, with Relation to this our Earth, and its Inhabitants, Particularly those of Making the distinctions between Day, and Night; with that Gratefull Variety of Seasons, Spring & Summer, Autumn, & Winter of which the Year Consists; all which they most regularly Produce by their Revolutions to or from us, as their Motions are with respect to the Earth, or those of the Earth with respect to them, thus Successively and constantly to consist to the End of the World.
- (16.) Among these Glorious Luminaries The Wise Creator appointed two that by their Proportionate apparent bigness, distance, and Situation, should

¹⁰⁴ Mather's immediate source is Pyle's *Paraphrase* (1:3–4), but Pyle's ideas are borrowed from *Astro-Theology* (bk. 5, ch. 4, pp. 105, 119, 128, 130), by William Derham (1657–1735), the influential Anglican clergyman, physicist, and member of the Royal Society of London. First published in 1715, Derham's *Astro-Theology* was extremely popular and went through many editions until 1777. Mather corresponded with Derham and quoted him at length in his *CP* and elsewhere.

be of Special use, and Benefit to this our Earth, viz. the Sun, by his Presence in the Daytime, to give his comfortable and full Light, by Suitable turns to the Inhabitants of its Several Parts, and to Nourish its Plants, and animals: and the Moon along with the other Stars of greater distance, and less apparent light, to Supply in Some Measure the Suns Absence, and to allay the Darkness of the Night.

- (17. 18. 19.) All these bodies GOD placed, & ranged at Such convenient Distances with respect of their bigness and the Powers they have on other Bodies about them, & ordered the Revolutions between them and this our Earth with Such Perfect Wisdom and Proportion as compleatly answered these, and all other Good Purposes His Providences foresaw, and graciously intended them for. And thus concluded the Work of the Fourth Day.¹⁰⁵
- (20. 21.) The Waters being now fitted to relieve and nourish Such Creatures as were by divine Wisdom intended to inhabit them, were upon the fifth Day Stored with all the Various Kinds of Such fish as dwell only in that Element; and of Such Fowl as Swim upon and feed in the Water, or fly about in open Air; At the Same time were produced those vast, & bulky Creatures, Such as the whale, the Crocodile and others of the large and Uncommon Size together with every Species of Water Animals; fish, or fowl some whereof live wholly in the Sea, or rivers, while others of an Amphibious Nature, can Subsist either by land or waters.¹⁰⁶
- (22. 23.) To all these GOD was pleased to give a Power and inclination to Propagate their kind, and in Such degrees to Increase, and multiply as might best Serve the wise Purposes they were Created for. Causing the fishes to Spawn in Such Abundance, as is Proportionable to the vast compass of waters inhabited by them and the Fowls tho' in less Numbers, yett Sufficient to replenish the Places they were to live in. All and Each of them is so perfect, and exact a Measure as was suitable to the Natures, and might best answer the uses, and necessities of Mankind.
- (24. 25.) In like Manner the Dry land being now furnished with Grass, Herbs, and Plants, and all provision for the Maintenance of land animals, the Creation of these was the Next Work of the Divine Workmanship. On the Sixth day therefore were Produced all the Several kinds of Beasts wild, and tame; with all the Innumerable train of Reptile Species, whether Such as creep on their Belly as worms & Serpents, or Such as by the Shortness of their leg seem to Creep, or Such as creep, and fly, as flies, bees, Wasps these were by the almighty Power all framed out of the *Earth*, as the *fish*,

¹⁰⁵ Pyle (*Paraphrase* 1:5) alludes to Derham's discussion of the celestial bodies, in *Astro-Theology* (chs. 3, 6, 7).

¹⁰⁶ Mather here skips the following passage from Pyle's *Paraphrase* (1:6): "The Word *Tanim* signifies any Creature of extraordinary Strength and Bulk, and is used sometimes of the whale, sometimes of the Crocodile, as [Samuel] Bochart and Job Ludolphus have very clearly proved."

[57r] *fowl*, and all *Water Animals* were out of the Preexisting Matter of the Water; brought out in their full, and perfect Growth; endowed with the faculty of propagating, preserving and continuing their Several Species by generation, in Such numbers, and Methods, as were most agreeable | to the wise Purposes of their existence.

(26, 27,) Thus was our Earth compleatly finished in both its Parts of Sea and land: all this fair and plentiful Provision being designed for the Use and Enjoyment of a Race of Creatures noble and excellent. This was mankind; the first Pair whereof were created upon the Conclusion of this Sixth Day; consisting indeed of a Body made out of the Earth, but by almighty Power, and Wisdom wrought into a most lovely, and exquisite Frame; and of a Soul united to it, of Immaterial Spiritual, and Immortal Substance, endowed with the admirable Faculties of understanding will, and freedom of Choice for the government of all his Actions and Passions, and his Continual Improvement in Purity Wisdom, and Happiness. Thus qualified to be the Lord of this Earth, and in these respects made the faint Image, and Resemblance of his Creator, to whose glory he was to enjoy all the Furniture, and to have Dominion over the Creatures of the lower world.

(28.) In them therefore in common with other Animals, the Almighty implanted the inclination, and Power of propagating by generation in order to replenish the World with Men, & Women; under whose Subjection he putt all the Several Species of Creatures; giving them the Priviledge of cultivating and improving the Earth into a Pleasant habitation for themselves by Subduing the more Wild, and unruly Kinds of Animals, and (afterwards) granting them free use of Such of them as were proper for their Food, and Nourishment.

(29, 30.) For in the Primitive and Pure Condition of mankind after his first Creation, and when the Earth continued in its original State of fertility, The Fruits Herbs Plants and Trees afforded nourishment most Pleasant and Sufficient for Man, as well as for all other Creatures; and were accordingly, now at first, appointed them for their food.

(31.) And thus with Creation of Man was this our World compleately finish'd at the End of the Sixth Day: and all its Parts appeared in the most Perfect Manner to answer the excellent Purposes of the all Powerfull, and Wise GOD, by whose Good Providence it is continually Supported, governed and preserved.¹⁰⁷

[58v] [blank]

¹⁰⁷ Here ends the excerpt from Pyle's *Paraphrase* (1:1–9).

293.

Q. Wee must grant that a Divine *Inspiration*, directed the Pen of *Moses*, to single out what should bee *True* and *Fitt* in his Writing of his *Genesis*; but wee may suppose also, an Use of credible *Tradition*, in handing down unto him those famous Memorables: I pray, what was there in the Circumstances of this *Tradition*, to render it the more credible unto all Gain-Sayers? v. 1.

A. You know the Father of *Moses*, was *Amram*, the Son of *Levi*. Now, *Levi* lived *Thirty Three Years* with *Isaac*; *Isaac* lived *Fifty Years* with *Shem*; *Shem* lived *an Hundred Years* with *Methusela*; *Methusela* lived *Two Hundred and Threescore Years* with *Adam*. So that from *Adam* to *Moses*, the Course of Tradition, in the Families of the Faithful, ran so easily & certainly along, as to render the Truth of it unquestionable, tho' the greater Assurance of *Inspiration* had not been thereunto superadded.¹⁰⁹

692.

Q. The Antiquitie of the *Mosaic* Writings, in Comparison of others, What is it? v. 1.

A. That the Writings of *Moses*, were most Ancient and Long before all others, is proved by several of our *Ancients*. You may Date his Books about A. M. 2460. which was more than 400 Years before the *Trojan War*; but before that War, wee hear not of any Writers whatsoever; yea, it was not until above a 1000 Years after it, that the oldest Historian appeared, except you'l take those Fabulous Ones, *Dares Phrygius*, and *Dictys Cretensis*, to bee otherwise than what they are.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ See Appendix A.

¹⁰⁹ The argument that the tradition of the creation was handed down from Adam to Moses without interruption was a popular one in Mather's time and beyond and can be found in many places, including Robert Jenkin's *Reasonableness and Certainty* (1700), bk. 2, ch. 1, pp. 49–56; and in Adam Clarke (c. 1760–1832), the distinguished antiquarian, Orientalist, and Wesleyan divine, whose *Commentary and Critical Notes* (1810–25) 1:26, is still consulted today. Mather here draws on *A Commentary upon the Historical Books of the Old Testament* (1727) 1:1, by Simon Patrick (1625–1707), bishop of Ely, whose *Commentary* on Genesis appeared as early as 1694. Patrick's work is one of Mather's principal (and frequently unacknowledged) sources for "BA."

¹¹⁰ In the seventeenth century, the antiquity of the Mosaic Pentateuch and the reliability of its chronology were questioned by many who pointed at the discrepancies between the Mosaic chronology and those of the Egyptian, Chaldean, and Greek historians. Edward Stillingfleet for one defended the Pentateuch by sneering at the fabulous origin of heathen histories and their notoriously exaggerated chronology (*Origines Sacrae*, bk. 1, chs. 1–6; bk. 2, chs. 1–2). Mather's defense in this and subsequent paragraphs [59r–61r] is extracted from John Edwards (1637–1716), a noted English Calvinist divine, minister of Trinity Church, and fellow of St.

There were some other Books of the Old Testament, which were also before the Writings of any Pagans whatsoever.¹¹¹ They¹¹² tell us, that *Zoroastres*, and *Mercurius Trismegistus*, flourished in the Dayes of *Moses*; but you'l find no less than four *Zoroastres*'s, unto which of whom, none can tell to ascribe the Composures that go under that Name: and about *Hermes Trismegistus*, there are so many Disputes, that wee can tell neither when hee lived, nor whether hee composed any Books at all.¹¹³

John's College, Cambridge, whose *Discourse Concerning the Authority, Stile, and Perfection of the Books of the Old and New Testament* (1693) 1:189–93, 269, 270, 271–73, supplies Mather with detailed information. Among the “Ancients” who “proved” that Moses (frequently associated with Taautus, Thoth, and Hermes) invented the art of writing are such early historians as the Phoenician Sanchoniathon, the Chaldean Berossus, the mythical Orpheus, and many others – if the enumerations in Eusebius's *Praeparatio evangelica* (1.9.31d–32a; 1.10.36a; 9.27b; 10.9–11) can be trusted. By and large, this pious notion is not supported by such of the ancients as Plato, Diodorus Siculus, Lucan, Cicero, or Tacitus, see Iversen's *Myth of Egypt* (41–48). Edwards adopts from Ussher's *Annals* (12–25) the approximate date A.M. 2460 (c. 1560 BCE) for the writing of the Pentateuch and for the Trojan War A.M. 2894–2884 (c. 1194–1184 BCE). The oldest Ionian prose historian – according to Herodotus (5.36, 125) – is Hecataeus of Miletus (c. 6th–5th c. BCE). The French Protestant divine Pierre Jurieu (among many others) disagrees with the pious claim of the Mosaic invention of the art of writing, in *A Critical History* (1705), bk. 1, ch. 4, pp. 30–32, for even the Greek historian Diodorus Siculus (1.9.2; 1.16.1; 1.68.5; 3.4.1–4), who bestows this honor on the Egyptians and Syrians, corrects himself by insisting that the Egyptians received this art from the hieroglyphics of the more ancient Ethiopians (3.4.1ff.). Mather dismisses both Dares Phrygius (Homer's *Iliad* 5.9) and Dictys Cretensis (*Scholia in Iliadem* [Erbse] 1.108–9b, scholion 11) as fabulous, because the former was believed to be a Trojan Priest of Hephaistos and the supposed author of a Phrygian *Iliad* (a Latin version of which survives as *Historia de excidio Troiae*) whereas the latter, a companion of Idomeneus and Meriones in the Trojan War, claimed to tell the true story of Troy, in his *Ephemeris Tou Troikon Polemon*. See also R. M. Frazer, Jr. (“Introduction” 3–15).

111 Perhaps Mather has in mind the *Book of the Wars of the Lord* (Num. 21:14–15) and the *Book of Jasher* (Josh. 10:13; 2 Sam. 1:18) – both mentioned in the Bible, but apparently lost.

112 “They” does not refer to these lost books, but to the “Writings of the Pagans.”

113 *Zoroastres* is the Greek name for *Zarathustra*, the ancient Persian founder of fire worship with the God Ahuramazda at its center (Xenophon, *Cyropedia* 8.3.11, 24; 8.7.3). In his *Natural History* (30.2.3), the Roman historian Pliny the Elder, aka. Gaius Plinius Secundus (CE 23/4–79), dates Zoroaster's book *Avesta* to 6,000 years before Plato, yet modern historians variously assign 1768 BCE, 630 BCE, or 599/98 BCE as dates for Zoroaster's writing (see P. Kriwaczek). In *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum* (1700), cap. 8, pp. 150–61, the distinguished Orientalist Thomas Hyde (1636–1703) insists that Zoroaster was a contemporary of the Persian ruler Darius Hystaspes I (6th–5th c. BCE). Because of the vastly diverging time periods assigned to Zoroaster's life, Mather speaks of four different prophets by that name. Mercurius Trismegistus, also called Hermes Trismegistus (Hermes the thrice great) is the Hellenized Hermes, associated with the Egyptian god Thoth, and is described in his various incarnations and as author of the *Corpus Hermeticum* in Cicero's *De natura deorum* (3.22), in Lactantius's *Divinarum institutionum* (1.6; 4.6; 7.18), in Eusebius's *Praeparatio evangelica* (1.9.31d–32a; 1.10.36a–d), and in St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* (8.23–26). Since this Mercurius or Hermes appeared in so many guises, periods, and religions, Mather's legerdemain dismissal of the 42 books, which Hermes Trismegistus is to have written on all aspects of Egyptian religion (see Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata* 6.4 and 6.15.132), becomes evident. Mather's reservations about Hermes's *Corpus Hermeticum* are further informed by the Renaissance debate about their

Manetho, or, *Manethos*, who writ the *Egyptian History*, lived but in the Time of *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*. The *Phœnician Antiquities*, written in their Tongue, by *Sanchoniathon*, turned into Greek by *Philo Biblius*, in the Dayes of *Adrian* (of which Version, *Eusebius* ha's præserv'd us a famous Fragment) tho' *Scaliger* go to prove them suppositional; *Bochart* ha's prov'd them Genuine. But still this Phœnician Author, for his Date, must come far short of *Moses*.¹¹⁴

| If the Friar *Annius*, ha's imposed on the World, under the Name of *Berosus*, the Chaldæan; yett there was an old *Berosus*, of whom *Josephus* and *Eusebius* have præserv'd Fragments. However, hee lived not so early as *Moses*; nor any earlier than *Manetho*.¹¹⁵ [60v]

trustworthiness, especially after Isaac Casaubon's *De rebus sacris et ecclesiasticis exercitationes XVI* (1614), Exerc. I, sec. 10, pp. 70–87, dismissed them as early Christian forgeries. The *Corpus Hermeticum* was accessible at Harvard in Marsilio Ficino's Greek and Latin edition *Mercurii Trismegisti Poemander* (1554); see *Catalogus Librorum* (1723) 51. Mather also owned a copy of Hermann Conringius's *Hermetis, Ægyptiorum* (1674). For the Renaissance debate about the authenticity and significance of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, see F. Yates's *Giordano Bruno* (1–46, 433–70), F. Purnell's "Francesco Patrizi," and B. P.openhaver's *Hermetica* ("Introduction" xiii–lix).

¹¹⁴ The Egyptian priest Manetho of Heliopolis authored *Aigyptiaka*, a history of Egypt in Greek, for Ptolemy II Philadelphus (282–229 BCE), ruler of Egypt. Manetho's work covers Egypt's mythical history to 342 BCE, in 30 dynasties, but survives only in fragments in *Praeparatio evangelica*, by Eusebius Pamphilus (c. 260–c. 340), bishop of Caesarea, and in Josephus Flavius's *Antiquities*. Sanchoniathon (Σαγχουνιάθων, Sanghuniathon, Sanchuniathon) was a Phœnician historian, whose treatise on Phœnician cosmogony and civilization recorded the teachings of the Priest Hierombalos. According to the Greek scholar Philon of Byblos (c. 70–c. 160 CE), Sanchoniathon lived before the Trojan War and taught at Beirut. In the days of Adrian, i.e., Roman Emperor Publius Aelius Hadrianus (117–28 CE), Philon of Byblos translated Sanchoniathon's work and integrated it in his own *Phœnician History* of which only fragments survive in Eusebius's *Praeparatio evangelica* (1.9–10; 4.16; 10.9). The learned French scholar Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), professor of belles lettres at Leiden (also Leyden), dismisses the antiquity of Sanchoniathon as a contemporary of Moses, in his *Notitiae in fragmenta Graecæ*, in *Opus de emendatione temporum* (1598) 140, and in his *Thesaurus temporum* (1608). But the erudite French Huguenot scholar Samuel Bochart (1599–1667), whose popular *Hieroicoicon* (1646, 1663) and *Geographia Sacra* (1646, 1674, 1707) were quoted by all scholars of the period, identifies Sanchoniathon as a contemporary of the biblical Gideon, who lived c. 200 years after Moses; asserts Sanchoniathon's work as a reliable source, in *Geographia Sacra* (pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 17, col. 771–90); quotes Manetho affirmatively, in *Hieroicoicon* (pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 9, col. 61; lib. 2, cap. 14, col. 198; lib. 2, cap. 57, col. 699; lib. 3, cap. 1, col. 715); and describes the transmission of Manetho's history in *Geographia Sacra* (pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 4, col. 357). Unless otherwise specified, all references to Bochart's *Geographia Sacra* are to the 1707 (4th) edition; all references to Bochart's *Hieroicoicon* are to the 1663 London edition. Edward Stillingfleet also dismisses Manetho's account as unreliable, in *Origines Sacrae* (bk. 1, ch. 2, pp. 25–39). Pierre Jurieu, whose work Mather puts to good use throughout "BA," tells much the same story in his *Critical History* (1705), vol. 2, part 3, ch. 4, pp. 50 ff. Given this contradictory evidence, Mather's hesitation is justified. Henry Dodwell's *Discourse Concerning Sanchoniathon's Phœnician History* (1681) also debates the credibility of the ancient Phœnician historian. For Scaliger's significant contribution to the study of ancient chronology, see Grafton, "Joseph Scaliger."

¹¹⁵ Mather's source for this and the subsequent paragraphs is, of course, John Edwards's *Discourse* (1:271, 272, 273). Ludovicus Vives (1492–1540), Raphael Volateranus (1455–1522),

Orpheus and *Musæus*, the oldest of the Greek Poets, pretend for the Days of *Gideon*; but still this was 200 Years after *Moses*. *Dares Phrygius*, and *Dictys Cretensis*, who write the *Trojan War*, pretend not until 200 Years after them; and an 100 Years after this, is the oldest Pretence of *Homer*, and 150 Years after *David*, the better Poet.¹¹⁶

The Greeks had no sooner gott Letters, but they fell to Writing of meer Fables: for which Cause, *Eusebius* complains, That there was nothing but Fables in their Histories, before the Beginning of the *Olympiads*, or the *Epoch* from the Instauration of those famous Games by *Iphitus*. But Men can't agree, when to commence this Epoch; whether in the Time of *Uzziah* K. of Judah. A. M. 3173.

and Melchior Canus (1509–60) – the latter in *De Locis Theologicis* (1563), lib. 11, cap. 6, pp. 360–82 – charged the Dominican Friar Joannes Annius, aka. Giovanni Nanni of Viterbo (1432–1502), with having forged the books of several ancient historians and published them in his *Antiquitatum variarum volumina XVII cum commentaria* (1498), esp. sections “Berosi Babylonici dignitate Chaldaei ad emendandos Antitutum errores” (lib. 1), pp. f–ii(v) – i–ii(r), and “Manethonis Historici quod post Chaldaeos historicos probator,” pp. i–ii(r) – i–iii(r). Annius of Viterbo claimed he had found the lost volumes of Berosus, the Chaldean priest of Belus (Babylon) and contemporary of Alexander the Great, and that these volumes should be part of Berosus’s fragmentary history *Babyloniaca libri tres* (c. 290 BCE). The extant fragments of Berosus’s genuine history complement Manetho’s *Aegyptiaca* and cover the history of antediluvian times from the creation to Nabonassar’s reign (747–734 BCE) and down to the period of Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE). Fragments of Berosus’s history survive in the Jewish historian Josephus Flavius, *Antiquities* (1.3.6, 9; 1.7.2; 10.1.4–5, 2.2, 11.1) and in *Against Apion* (1.19–20), as well as in Eusebius’s *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.11, 12, 16, etc.). An English translation of Noah’s travels to Italy – as imagined by Nanni – appeared in Richard Lynche’s excerpt *An Historical Treatise of the Travels of Noah into Europe* (1601). Aware of Annius’s forgery, but like many who found his material too compelling, Mather could not resist incorporating some of it in “BA” (on Gen. 6:22). The brilliant English Hebraist John Selden (1584–1654) derides Friar Annius’s forgery, in his *Jani Anglorum Facies Altera* (1610), lib. 1, pp. 1–10. Helpful studies of Annius’s forgery and its detection are E. N. Tigerstedt’s “Ioannes Annius” (2:293–310) and C. R. Ligota’s “Annius of Viterbo.”

116 Orpheus is the famed son of Apollo and Calliope, best known for his unhappy affair with Eurydice, commemorated in Virgil (*Georgics* 4.453–525) and in Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, bks. 10–11). The Orpheus myth has been dated to the seventh and sixth-century BCE, and Orpheus is generally considered the first poet and singer to whom much pseudepigraphic poetry in hexameter verse is ascribed – all collected in *Orphica*. Likewise Musaeus, purported author of *Hero and Leander*, is a mythical bard, who is closely associated with Orpheus. According to Plato (*Respublica* 2.364e), Musaeus and Orpheus are the offspring of “Selene and the Muses,” but Diodorus Siculus (4.25.1) identifies Musaeus as the son of Orpheus. Both Orpheus and Musaeus are associated with Moses in Hellenistic Jewish writing (see Stillingfleet’s *Origines Sacrae*, bk. 1, ch. 4, pp. 56–62; cf. Ralph Cudworth’s *True Intellectual System* [1678], bk. 1, ch. 4, sec. 17, pp. 294–308). For Homer and David, Mather seems to follow Ussher’s *Annals*, which assigns the date of death for the Israelite Judge Gideon to 1236 BCE (*Annals* 29), or roughly 200 years after Moses (1571–1451 BCE), in Ussher’s *Annals* (12, 28). As mentioned above, Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis (Homer, *Iliad* 5.9) were believed to have participated in the Trojan War (1194–1184 BCE), according to Ussher (*Annals* 29). Ussher places the Greek poet Homer roughly 200 years after the Trojan War and 150 years after King David (1085–1015 BCE), relegating the dates for the blind bard of Chios to the ninth century BCE (*Annals* 34, 38). For the Renaissance debate about Orpheus as a progenitor of the *prisca theologia*, see D. P. Walker’s *Ancient Theology* (22–41).

or A.M. 3189. Eight Years before the Birth of *Romulus & Remus*, & 407 Years after The Destruction of *Troy*, or, about A.M. 3228. or, A.M. 3256. about 750 Years before Christ. *Varro's* Division of Times, into *Unknown*, and *Fabulous*, and *Historical*, the last of which, hee begins at the *Olympiads*, does illustrate this Matter.¹¹⁷

The most ancient Greek Historians, *Archilochus*, *Aristaeas Proconnesius*, *Hecataeus Milesius*, &c have nothing of their Histories præserv'd. *Herodotus* is the oldest Greek Historian extant; & therefore called, *The Father of History*: But his Historical Relations, begin a little before the Histories of *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Daniel* make an End.

Briefly, consult *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and you'll see this Argument largely prosecuted.¹¹⁸

117 Mather's source for this paragraph is John Edwards (*Discourse* 1:272), but Edwards himself cribs his material from Ussher (*Annals* 56). Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 10.1–2, 7–8) complains about the fabulous nature of Greek mythical history and its whole-sale borrowings from Egypt and Chaldea. The foundation of the Olympic Games as religious rites are by Pindar (*Olympian Odes* 10.56–59) attributed to Heracles and took place in Olympia every four years; Pausanias (5.4.5; 5.9.4) relates that following a long interruption, King Iphitus of Elis, the son of Ephitos and contemporary of Lycurgus, the lawgiver, restored the festival at Olympia with some changes. James Ussher dates the first Olympiad to July 776 BCE (*Annals* 56). In Mather's time this date functioned as a fixed point in ancient historiography, allowing historians to establish a timeline for all other events. Mather's dates, which are borrowed from Ussher (yet at second hand from Edwards) are as follows:

Issue	AM	APJ	CE / BCE	Source: Ussher
Fall of Troy	2820	3530	1184 BCE	<i>Annals</i> (31 [29])
Uzziah's birth	3178	3888	826 BCE	<i>Annals</i> (52)
Uzziah, king of Judah	3194	3904	811 BCE	<i>Annals</i> (53)
First Olympiad	3228	3938	776 BCE	<i>Annals</i> (56)
Romulus & Remus	3256	3966	748 BCE	<i>Annals</i> (60)

The discrepancies in the dates given for King Uzziah (Azariah) of Judah occur in Edwards (*Discourse* 1:271–75), which Mather copies here. The Roman soldier, statesman, and voluminous writer Marcus Terentius Varro (116–27 BCE) is best known for his history of the Roman people, *De gente populi Romani* in four books. Here, Varro establishes a chronology, which allows him to calculate ancient Roman history from the foundation of Rome by the mythical Romulus and Remus (754/753), the Varronic era. In his *Antiquitates rerum humanorum* (41 books), Varro describes the history of the Roman people from mythical times to his day (books 1–25). His division into “*Unknown*, and *Fabulous*, and *Historical*” times – the latter beginning with the Olympiad (776 BCE) – proved to be an useful tool for aligning fixed dates in different calendars, and is emulated by Ussher (*Annals* 56), by the Italian historian, philosopher, and mathematician Giambattista Vico (1668–1744), in *Principles of a New Science* (1725) 2, and by the English mathematician Robert Hooke (1635–1703), in *Posthumous Works* (1705).

118 Excerpted from Edwards (*Discourse* 1:272–73), this paragraph refers to the Greek elegiac poet Archilochus of Paros (late 7th c. BCE); to Aristaeas of Proconnesius, a legendary character and compiler of the *Arimaspeia*, mentioned in Herodotus (4.13–16); and to Hecataeus of Miletus (fl. 500–494 BCE), an important Greek historian and geographer, whose works survive in many fragments in Diodorus Siculus (10.25.4) and elsewhere. Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 10.3–4, esp. 10.10.487d), with Julius Africanus's *Chronography* (bk. 3) at his elbow, similarly impugns Greek history as unreliable: “Until the beginning of the Olympiads no accurate history has been written by the Greeks, the earlier accounts being all confused and

Q. Does Pagan Antiquitie, take any Notice, of *Moses*, the first Penman of the Sacred Scripture? v. 1.

A. Yes. This was hee, that is by *Orpheus* called, Ὑδογενής, alluding to his Name of *Mosheh*, [Exod. 2.10.] which was given him on the Score of his being Drawn out of the Water.

Besides this, *Alexander Polyhistor*, *Philochorus*, *Thallus*, *Appion* (cited by *Justin Martyr*) *Manethon* and *Numenius* (quoted by *Origen* and *Eusebius*) *Lysimachus* and *Molon* (alleged by *Josephus*), *Chalcidius*, *Sanchoniathon*, *Justin*, & *Pliny* (in *Porphyrus*) do all celebrate him.¹¹⁹

in no point agreeing among themselves.” The Greek historian Herodotus of Halicarnassus (c. 484/480–c. 420 BCE) mentions Hecataeus of Miletus in his famous *History* (2.143), which was written before 425 BCE. Mather refers to the earliest events mentioned in Herodotus (the conflict between Greeks and Parthians) which Herodotus traces to the period of Croesus, king of Lydia (c. 560–546 BCE). This event precedes slightly in time the restoration of Israel under Cyrus, described by the OT Priest Ezra (6th–5th c. BCE) and by Nehemiah, governor of Judah (c. 445–433 BCE); and foretold by the Prophet Daniel who, in Mather’s time, was believed to have lived during the Babylonian Captivity (c. 606–c. 536 BCE) – according to Ussher’s *Annals*. Lastly, St. Clemens Alexandrinus (CE c. 150–c. 215), a theologian in Apostolic times, warns Christians not to trust Greek historians who mix actual with fabulous events (*Stromata* 1.21, 28).

119 This section to the end of [60v] is extracted from Edwards (*Discourse* 1:189–92), and Mather cites these authors to defend the pious notion that Moses was the most ancient historian of all antiquity. For this reason, Mather refers to Justin Martyr (CE c. 100–c. 165), one of the earliest Christian Apologists, who argues in his *Hortatory Address to the Greeks* (ch. 14), in *ANF* (1:279), that the ancient Greek mythic poet Orpheus acknowledged Moses as his teacher. Orpheus called him Ydogenes (water-born or Nile-born), in *Pseudo-Auctores Hellenistae* (Fragment, p. d, 76) and in Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 13.12.5, 36; 13.12.666a). Likewise, in his *Hortatory Address* (ch. 9), in *ANF* (1:277), Justin Martyr cites as evidence of Moses’s antiquity Alexander Polyhistor (c. 105–c. 40 BCE), a Greek grammarian, historian, and geographer, whose works survive only in fragments; Philochorus (c. 340–c. 260 BCE), an Athenian scholar-historian best known for his *Atthis* (17 bks.), a history of Greece; Thallus (2nd c. BCE), a Greek chronographer, whose history covers the period between the fall of Troy to the 167th Olympiad (c. 1184–c. 112/109 BCE); and Ap(p)ion (fl. 1st c. CE), a Greek grammarian, son of Poseidonius, and author of a book of wonders *Aigyptiaka*. Numenius of Apamea (fl. 2nd c. CE), a Platonist and Pythagorean, here cited by Origen of Alexandria (CE c. 185–c. 254), acknowledges Moses and Pythagoras as the source of all wisdom (*Contra Celsum* 4.51), in *ANF* (4:521). Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.6.411a; 9.8.411d; 9.6.13.415d) cites Numenius’s praise, “What is Plato, but Moses speaking in Attic Greek,” and Manetho’s alleged esteem of the Jewish Lawgiver. The Greek grammarian, mythographer, and author of *Nostoi*, Lysimachus (fl. 3rd c. BCE), not to be mistaken for Lysimachus of Pella; and Molon (2nd–1st c. BCE), also called Apollonius Molon, the Greek rhetorician, grammarian, and author of a tract *Against the Jews*, are both cited by the Jewish historian Josephus Flavius (CE c. 37–c. 100) and charged with misrepresenting Moses and Jewish Law (*Contra Apionem* 1.34, 2.15). Finally, Porphyry (CE 234–c. 305), the Neoplatonist philosopher, refers to the Hebrew Lawgiver, in *Vita Plotini* (secs. 20.48; 22.16, 20, 22); Sanchoniathon is the Phoenician historian mentioned before; and C(h)alcidius, a 4th–5th-century Christian commentator and translator of Plato, was greatly influenced by Numenius and Porphyry; Justin [Marcus Iunian(i)us Iustinus], the second, third, or fourth century CE Roman epitomizer of Pompeius Trogus’s *Historia Philippicae*, refers to Moses in Justin’s *Epitome T. Pompeius Trogus* (36.2); and Pliny (30.2.11), in discussing various forms of ancient magic, argues that “another branch of magic, derived from Moses, Jannes,

And *Moses*, is by *Diodorus* the Sicilian, placed in the front, of his famous Law-givers; only a little disguised under the Name of Μνευης; who, hee sais, received his Lawes of *Mercury*.¹²⁰

But why, of *Mercury*? Chronologers tell us, that the great *Mercurius*, called also *Trismegistus*, was contemporary with *Moses*.

But *Austin* tells us, in his famous Book, *De Civitate Dei*, that this *Mercurius* was Nephew to another *Mercurius*, whose Uncle was *Atlas*, the Renowned Astrologer; and belike, t'was hee that flourished in the Time of *Moses*.¹²¹

Very fitly then, did the Poets relate, how *Atlas* bore up the Heavens; when in the mean time, they only meant, our *Moses*; who, giving us the Records of the Worlds *Creation*, keeps up Heaven and Earth too, from sinking into a *Chaos*.¹²²

Lotapes ['Totape,' i.e. 'Yahweh'], and the Jews, but living many thousand years after Zoroaster." Finally, Porphyry mentions most of these authors in his *De abstinentia* (2.55–56). The English nonconformist divine Theophilus Gale (1628–78) maintains in his celebrated *Court of the Gentiles*, in 4 parts (1669–72) that the Egyptians, Chaldeans, Phoenicians, and Greeks stole their philosophy and philology from the Hebrew Scriptures. For a recent discussion, see S. Hutton's "Decline of *Moses Atticus*" (68–84).

120 Diodorus Siculus (fl. 1st c. BCE) of Agyrium (Sicily) is the author of *Bibliotheca historica*, a universal history in 40 books, and covers the period from the creation of the world to roughly 60 BCE. Although Mather claims that Diodorus Siculus (1.94.1–2) identifies "Mneves" with Moses, our Sicilian author clearly distinguishes between the Egyptian "Mneves" (a variant of the ancient king Menas) and the Judean "Mousen," the latter worshipping the god Ιαω; ("Iao" or "Jah") from whom he received his laws. Diodorus Siculus (1.94.1, see also 1.43.5–6, 1.45.1) praises Mneves as a great man and "the most public-spirited of all lawgivers," who received the laws from deified Hermes. (Compare with Strabo's *Geographica* 16.2.34–37). According to John Toland's *Origines Judaicae sive Strabonis de Moysae et Religione Judaica Historia* (1709), §§ 2–5, 24, pp. 103–16, 193–97, the Bishop of Avranches, Pierre-Daniel Huet (1630–1721) deliberately glosses over this distinction to uphold Moses's primacy, in Huet's apologia *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1679; 1690), Prop. IV, cap. 2, §§ 37–42, pp. 62–64. (All references to Huet's work are to the authorized and expanded third edition [Paris 1690]). Justifiably, Toland charges Huet with committing pious fraud, because Huet argues that the Egyptian Μνευης (Mneves), who received his laws from Mercury, the god of trade and the circulation of things, is no other than the Hebrew lawgiver, Moses. Since Mather and many of his peers assert that the Hebrew lawgiver also figured prominently in pagan cultures yet under a different name, Mather readily embraces the story of Hermes Trismegistus, who (according to Clemens Alexandrinus) authored 42 books on Egyptian religion, culture, and history – knowledge he received from the Egyptian Thoth (see *Corpus Hermeticum* XIII, in Coperhaver 49–54).

121 In his *De Civitate Dei* (18.39) [PL 41.598], St. Augustine of Hippo (350–430), the great Father of the Latin Church, relates that Mercury, called Trismegistus, taught philosophy long before the Hellenic sages, but long after the Patriarchs "and even after Moses himself." Indeed, the astronomer Atlas, Prometheus's brother and Mercury's grandson, was Moses's contemporary (*NPNFi* 2:384).

122 Edwards (*Discourse* 1:190). St. Augustine, who maintains the superiority of the Judeo-Christian pantheon, rejects the authority of his opponents in *Reply to Faustus the Manichaeae* (15.5–6; 20.9, 11, 12; 32.19). Among the poets who describe how Atlas bore up heaven and how his daughter Maia gave birth to Hermes (by Zeus) are the ancient Greek poet Hesiod (8th c. BCE), in *Theogonia* (519–21, 938–40) and the Roman poets Virgil (*Aeneid* 8.138) and Ovid (*Ibis* 214). St. Augustine (*De Civitate Dei* 18.39) seconds Clemens Alexandrinus's argu-

Why might not *Moses* be the true *Hermes Trismegistus*? I am sure, Both of the Names, in their Signification, agree well unto him. *Iamblichus*, from his Master *Plato*, tells us, that *Letters* were invented by *Hermes*; and *Moses*, being the first *Writer* that wee have, might therefore be accounted, the first Invention of Writing. *Diodorus* likewise tells us, That *Moses* was the first, who gave the *Egyptians* (which they commonly mistake, for *Jewes*) written Lawes; and that hee was, Ἀνὴς Τῇ Ψυχῇ Μεγας καὶ, τῷ βίῳ ἱκανώτατος, *A Man of a great Soul, and very powerful in his Life*: And, that hee excelled, in Wisdome & Valour.¹²³

ment (*Stromata* 1.21) that the Jewish institutions and laws are of far higher antiquity than the philosophy of Greece.

¹²³ Both Edwards and Mather (or the printer's devil) take some liberties with the original Greek text of Diodorus Siculus (1.94.1.7–8), which reads in the modern edition as follows: ἄνδρα καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ μέγαν καὶ τῷ βίῳ κοινότατον. Whereas Edwards condenses the original, but retains the diacritical marks, Mather, who copies Edwards (1:190 n), generally omits them because (Mather argues) they were of a much later invention (*Manuductio ad Ministerium* 29–30). In his *De mysteriis* (1.1–2; 8.1–6), the Neoplatonist Iamblichus of Chalcis (c. 245–c. 325 CE) refers to Plato's *Cratylus* (407e–408b) as his source for the tradition of Hermes's divine power and his invention of the art of rhetoric, writing, and hermeneutics. However, a generation or two after Iamblichus's death, St. Augustine (*De Civitate Dei* 18.39) insists that Hebrew as a spoken and written language was neither invented by Moses, nor by his ancestor Heber (Gen. 10:24, 11:14); Heber only preserved and transmitted the art of writing through the biblical patriarchs down to Moses (*NPNFi* 2:383–84). Mather's contemporaries did not necessarily agree either with Hermes being Moses or with Moses being the inventor of the art of writing. For instance, Pierre Jurieu (1637–1713), Huguenot professor of theology and Hebrew at Sedan, discusses this time-honored tradition, but “find[s] not the least probability why the first Invention of them [letters] should be ascribed to *Moses*” (*Critical History*, bk. 1, ch. 4, pp. 30–34; quote is on 31). The Swiss-Dutch Arminian theologian Jean LeClerc (1657–1736) presents a similar argument in his controversial *Twelve Dissertations* (1696), Diss. I, 1–50, but Theophilus Gale upholds the conservative position in his *Court of the Gentiles* (1672), part 1, bk. 1, chs. 10–12, pp. 51–85. For the historical debate about Hebrew as man's original language, see A. D. White's *History of the Warfare* (2:168–208). The debate about Moses Aegytiacus, his association with Hermes Trismegistus, and Egyptian polytheism occupied some of the leading scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The dispute involved the *Corpus Hermeticum*, which many Renaissance scholars believed was composed by the ancient Egyptian King Hermes Trismegistus and antedated the Mosaic Pentateuch by hundreds of years. The *Corpus Hermeticum*, they alleged, served as a source text when Moses wrote his own. In his *De Rebus Sacris et Ecclesiasticis* (1614), Exerc. 1, sec. 10, pp. 70–87, Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614), the Genevan classical scholar and church historian, debunked this threatening speculation by demonstrating that the *Corpus Hermeticum* originated in late antiquity and was most likely a pious forgery. Casaubon's counterargument, however, did not still the gnawing doubt. Athanasius Kircher for one vehemently defended their trustworthiness in his *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (1652–54), tomi secundi, pars altera, classis 12, cap. 3, pp. 506–10. In his *True Intellectual System* (1678), bk. 1, ch. 4, pp. 319–37, Ralph Cudworth (1617–88), the Cambridge Platonist, was not far behind in supporting his Jesuit colleague against Casaubon's wholesale rejection of the *Corpus Hermeticum* as a late forgery. The *Corpus* was frequently translated into the vernacular and reprinted in many editions. See for instance, *Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus, His Divine Pymander in Seventeen Books* (1657). The emerging debate shifted toward comparing the similarities between ancient Egyptian cultic rituals and those established by Moses. While the orthodox position upheld Moses's primacy in teaching true religion to the Egyptians, others, most notably the Cambridge Hebraist John Spencer (1630–93), master of Corpus Christi College, embarked on

Strabo, makes an Honourable Mention of this great Personage; yea, & of the Religion established by him. Hee Recites his Actions, and Sayings; and reports, that hee left *Egypt*, and came into *Syria*, because hee disliked the *Egyptians* for their Worshipping of corporeal Gods.

To conclude; *Philo* speaks truly, in the Life of *Moses*; “Tho’, (saith hee) some Pagan Historians speak of him, yett they say but little, and that not truly neither. Out of Envy, tis likely; or because of the great Disagreement between his, & the Lawes of other Law-givers, they vouchsafe not to Remember him.”¹²⁴

Wee may also gather, that the famous *Law-givers* among the *Græcians*, as *Lycurgus* and *Solon*, had many of their Politicks from the Lawes of *Moses*; whence afterwards the *Romans* took some of theirs. And in Imitation of *Moses*’s Receiving *his* Lawes immediately from God, the greatest Lawgivers did seem to have

a different direction. He posited that Moses (though an Israelite) was an Egyptian in culture and education. In his *Dissertatio de Urim & Thummim* (1669, 1670) and his massive *De Legibus Hebraeorum Ritualibus* (1685, 1727), Spencer contends that after four-hundred years of residence in Egypt, the Israelites were so thoroughly steeped in Egyptian culture, religion, and cultic practices that Moses could not have introduced his new religion without resistance from his people. (See, for example, the episode of Aaron’s Golden Calf as the Egyptian Apis Bull, in Exod. 32:4). To wean the illiterate masses from the heathen religious practices of the Egyptians, Moses instituted a monotheistic counter-religion and ritual laws as an inversion of their Egyptian original. The debate about such radical ideas took various forms and involved some of the greatest minds of the period: Gerard Joannes Vossius, *De Theologia Gentili* (1641), pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 10, 28, pp. 75, 206–12; John Selden, *De Diis Syris Syntagmata II* (1617) and *De Jure Naturali & Gentium* (1640); Athanasius Kircher, *Œdipus Ægyptiacus* (1652–54); John Marsham’s *Chronicon Canon Ægyptiacus* (1672) 231–37; Richard Simon, *Critical History of the Old Testament* (1682), bk. 1, ch. 2, pp. 17–22; Herman Witsius, *Ægyptiaca, et ΔΕΚΑΦΥΛΑΙΟΝ* (1683, 1739), lib. 2, cap. 14; lib. 2, cap. 5, sec. 6; lib. 3, cap. 1–12; Edward Stillingfleet, *Origines Sacrae* (1662), bk. 1, chs. 2–3, 5; bk. 2, chs. 1–21.i–ii); Ralph Cudworth, *True Intellectual System* (1678), esp. bk. 1, ch. 4, secs. 18–19, pp. 308–69; Isaac Vossius, *De Sibyllinis aliisque* (1679), cap. 7, pp. 39–40; John Edwards, *Πολυποικίλος Σοφία: A Compleat History ... of Religion* (1699), pp. 240–63; Pierre Jurieu, *Critical History of the Doctrines* (1705), esp. vol. 2; John Toland, *Letters to Serena* (1704), esp. Letters 1–3, and *Origines Judaicae*, in *Adeisidaemon* (1709), pars 2, pp. 99–199; Christoph Matthaeus Pfaff, “Dissertatio Praeliminaris”; and many others who joined one or the other side of the dispute. For a summary of the debate among the ancients and moderns, see Daniel Waterland’s *Charge Deliver’d to the Clergy* (1731) and John Woodward’s posthumous *Of the Wisdom of the Antient Egyptians* (1786). J. Assmann’s *Moses the Egyptian* (18–21, 35–38, 80–143) furnishes one of the best discussions of this historical debate. For a discussion of Isaac Casaubon’s debunking of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, see F. Yates’s *Giordano Bruno* (433–70), F. Purnell’s “Francesco Patrizi” and “Hermes,” and A. Grafton’s “Protestant” (78–93). For the emergence of comparative religion, see D. A. Pailin’s *Attitudes*, P. Harrison’s “Religion” and the *Religions* (99–172), H. Kippenberg’s *Discovering* (1–35), J. Gascoigne’s “Wisdom,” G. G. Stroumsa’s “John Spencer” (esp. 18–23), and Fausto Parente’s “Spencer.”

¹²⁴ The Graeco-Roman geographer Strabo of Amaseia (c. 64 BCE–c. CE 21) identifies Moses as an Egyptian priest who came to disown the Egyptian gods and led his followers to Jerusalem (*Geography* 16.2.35–36, 39), and the Jewish philosopher Philo Judaeus of Alexandria (c. 20 BCE–c. CE 50) defends Moses in his *De vita Mosis* (1.1.2–3). Mather’s second-hand quotation from Philo is a free translation and appears in Edwards (1:191).

Theirs from some Deity; As, *Numa*, from *Ægeria*; *Minos* from *Jupiter*; *Lycurgus* from *Apollo*; *Zaleucus* from *Minerva*.¹²⁵

[61r]

157.

Q. What is the Name, which the *Creator* of the World, chooses to wear, in the History of the Creation? v. 1.

A. The Jewes observe, That in the First of *Genesis*, throughout the whole Chapter, unto the Finishing of the six dayes Work, the Creator is called, אֱלֹהִים, *Elohim*, which is a Name that signifies, *Power*; and this, no less than Thirty Two Times over. An Intimation, That the *Power* of God, is eminently display'd, in the *Creation* of the World.¹²⁶

831.

Q. In the History of the Creation, wee find the *Great God who formed all Things*, Imposing of NAMES, upon, The *Day*, The *Night*, The *Heavens*, The *Earth*, The *Sea*; & several Parts of the *Creation*; But Hee Imposes no Name upon the *Whole Creation* itself; nor, ha's the Hebrew Language, that I remember, any *One Word*, by which the *Whole World* is expressed. What may bee the Intention of this Matter? v. 1.

A. I can at present give you none but a *Devout Answer* to this Quæstion. Wee should learn from hence, to distinguish well, between the *Heavens* & the *Earth*; Don't throw the whole *World* into one Conception; but lett Man who was made on the *Earth*, consider himself as made for the *Heavens*.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Edwards and Mather may have in mind Philo Judæus, who asserts that many Mosaic laws were adopted by the barbarian nations and by the Greeks (*De vita Mosis* 1.1.2–3). Theophilus Gale's *Court of the Gentiles* (1669–78) upholds Moses's primacy throughout his huge book in four parts. Lycurgus is the progenitor of Sparta's ancient laws (*eunomia*) and received his codex from Apollo's oracle at Delphi (Herodotus 1.65–66; Diodorus Siculus 1.94.1; Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 5.2–3, 6.1–5; *Numa* 4.7–8; *Comparatio Lycurgi et Numæ* 1.1–2). Likewise, Solon (c. 600–c. 560/69 BCE), an Athenian poet, reformer, and lawgiver, is greatly admired by Herodotus (1.29–30, 2.177) and by Plutarch (*Solon* 26.1), and is to have traveled to Egypt where he studied with the priests of Heliopolis and Saïs. According to the Roman orator and historian Livy (1.21.3), Numa (Pompilius Numa), mythical king of Rome (c. 715–673 BCE), received the laws for Rome's religion and institutions from Egeria (Aegeria), a water goddess and consort of Numa (Quintus Ennius, *Annals* 113–19). Minos, legendary king of Crete, is to have lived before the Trojan War and received with his brother Rhadamanthys divine laws from Zeus, i.e., Jupiter (Plato's *De legibus* 1.624a–625b, *Minos* 318d–321c; Homer's *Odyssey* 19.179; Diodorus Siculus 1.94.1). Finally, Zaleucus (misspelled as Zabeucus, in Edwards 1:192) is the mythical lawgiver of a town in Southern Italy and the earliest lawgiver of Greece (c. 650 BCE). He received his laws from Minerva (Athena), goddess of craftsmen (Diodorus Siculus 12.19.3–21). Here ends Mather's excerpt from Edwards (*Discourse* 1:189–92, 270, 271–73).

¹²⁶ See Edwards (1:224–28). For a similar discussion, see the Soncino *Zohar*, Prologue to Bereshith Rabba (sec. 1.1a).

¹²⁷ In his "Note Book of Authors and Texts Throughout the Bible" (1720), vol. 1, Mather identifies the following two authors as his immediate sources for his commentary on Gen.

Q. A Remark on the very *First Words* in the *Mosaic Account* of the *Creation?* v. 1.

A. The Words are capable of being translated; *The GODs had created in the Beginning*. This Conjunction of a *Plural Noun*, with a *Singular Verb*, which is a Breach upon the Construction of all Languages, Monsr. *Saurin* observes, could not be done without *some Design*. The Jewish Doctors did observe it, without being able to explain it. R. *Simeon Ben Jochai* in the Book *Zohar*, sais, *Come, See the Mystery of the Word ELOHIM: See, There are Three Degrees; Each degree apart, is One; and yett Three together are but One; They are united in One, and are not separated.*

Philo acknowledges a Mystery, in this Way of Speaking; but he adds, *GOD only knows it.*¹²⁸

1704.

Q. But look back again to, *The Beginning*. Is there no special Sense couched in that Passage, *In the Beginning God created*, beyond what is commonly observed? v. 1.

A. Wee must by no means exclude, the Received Sense of this Passage; That the Creation had a *Beginning of Time*.¹²⁹

1:1–3, 15: *Christologias Mosaicæ* (1649) 1, by Salomon Glassius (1593–1656), German Lutheran theologian, jurist, Hebraist at Jena; and of *The Knowledge of God the Father and His Son Jesus Christ* (bk. 3, ch. 1), in *Works* (1680–1704) 4:454–55, by the English Puritan divine Thomas Goodwin (1600–80), sometime president of Magdalen College, Oxford. Mather's pious answer alludes to Whiston's radical hypothesis that the Mosaic creation account (Gen. 1) does *not* refer to the whole universe, but merely to the creation of the sublunary world – man's terrestrial globe (Whiston, "A Discourse Concerning the Nature, Style, and Extent of the Mosaic History of the Creation," secs. 3–5, pp. 9–66).

¹²⁸ The preceding two paragraphs are extracted from Jacques Saurin (1677–1730), Huguenot theologian and preacher to a French church in London (1701) and later minister to a Walloon Church in The Hague. Mather refers to Saurin's *Dissertations, Historical, Critical, Theological and Moral* (1:7–8), a 1723 revised English translation of a two-volume French original (1720). Mather draws on Saurin to prop up the embattled doctrine of the Trinity, which William Whiston (and other Arians) had vociferously denounced as a fourth-century forgery, in *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd* (1711) and in *Athanasius Convicted of Forgery* (1717). On Whiston, see Force (105–11). Mather tries to counter Whiston's antitrinitarianism by citing evidence from R. Simeon Ben Jochai (also Yohai and Bar Jochas), a mid-second-century rabbinic teacher, whose *Midrash de Simeon ben Yohai*, better known as the book *Zohar* (*Splendor*), is a collection of rabbinic literature, commentaries, and expositions, in 5 books. The Hebrew word "Elohim" (אֱלֹהִים) generally signifies (pl.) "gods." A variant translation of Mather's citation from R. Simeon appears in *Soncino Zohar*, "Shemoth, Raya Mehemna" (43b). See *Zohar*, Shemoth (secs. 2, 26b), Bereshith (secs. 1, 2b, 15b). Philo Judaeus acknowledges this mystery in his *De opificio mundi* (24.72) and in his commentary on Gen. 3:22, in *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesin* (1.54).

¹²⁹ Mather's caveat is well taken because the age-old contention of the atomists that the world is eternal, without a beginning or end (Aristotle, *De coelo* 1.10–12; *De generatione et corruptione*), was hotly debated throughout the ages. Philo Judaeus (*De aeternitate mundi* 2.4–24.131; *De opificio mundi* 2.12–3.15ff) appears to side with the Stoics in his review of the

Nevertheless, I know no Damage in it, for us to entertain a further Advice as here offered unto us.

No less Persons than *Origen*, and *Basil*, and *Jerom*, and *Austin*, and *Bede*, and *Junilius*, look upon the Word /רֵאשִׁית/ here, which wee will translate, *The Beginning*, to bee a Name of the *Messiah*. Yea, the *Chaldee* Paraphrast had some such thing in his Eye, when hee renders it, /בְּרֵאשִׁית בְּרָא/. By *Wisdome*, *God* created. *Galatinus* well argues, That this must bee the *Messiah*, because *Wisdome* is called in Prov. 8.22. by the Name of /רֵאשִׁית/ *The Beginning*. And thus, our Lord Jesus Christ being asked, in Joh. 8.25. *Who art thou?* Answered, *The Beginning*. Compare Joh. 1.1. and Col. 1.16. Attentively. Thus our Lord is called, in Rev. 3.14. Ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως, *The Beginning of the Creation*.¹³⁰

philosophical debate, but ultimately rejects Aristotle's assertion of the world's eternity (uncreated and indestructible) because it violated the Mosaic creation account; Maimonides felt the need to refute it in his *Guide for the Perplexed* (2.1 and 30); and Mather and his peers returned to this ancient debate when Cartesian mechanism seemed to jeopardize biblical creationism. See also Simon Patrick, *Commentary* (1:1–2) on Gen. 1:1, and D. B. Sailor, "Moses and Atomism."

¹³⁰ The Hebrew word "rashith," as well as the Greek word "Ἀρχή" (arche), is translated as "the beginning" (Gen. 1:1), a concept suggesting substance, which Origen associates with the Divine Logos, or the Word become flesh (John 1:1), in *Homilies in Genesis* (Hom. 1, p. 47), *Commentarii in evangelium Joannis* (1.4.22; 1.5.29; 1.9.58; 1.12.79, 81; 1.21.125–126, etc.), and in *De principiis* (1.2.1–3; 2.6.2–3; 2.9.4), in *ANF* (4:245–51, 281–82, 290–91). Similarly, Basilus Caesariensis, better known as Basil the Great (c. 330–79), the Cappadocian Father, has much to say on "the beginning" and on Christ as God's "Co-operator" through whom the world was made (*Hexaemeron* Hom. 1.1–11, and esp. Hom. 9.6) and in "Letter VIII: To the Caesareans" (*Letters* 8:52–58, 105–7, 115–22). St. Jerome (c. 331/345–c. 419/20), one of the most renowned Fathers of the Western Church and translator of the LXX into Latin (Vulgate), adds his thoughts in *Epistola CVIII. Ad Eustochium virginem*, § 10 [PL 22. 884], and in *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesin*, lib. 1 (on Gen. 1:1) [PL 23. 937C]. In the latter work, however, Jerome specifically warns against those who think that the Hebrew original (Gen. 1:1) "contained *In the Son*, *God made heaven and earth*, which the facts of the matter itself prove to be mistaken," because neither the LXX, nor Symmachus, nor Theodotion, nor Aquila renders the Hebrew *bereshith* ("In the beginning") as "*In the Son*." That is why Jerome contends that this phrase pertains to Christ only in "its intention," but not in "its literal translation." Nevertheless, Christ "is proved to be founder of heaven and earth both at the very front of Genesis, which is the head of all the books, and also at the beginning of John the Evangelist's work" (*Hebrew Questions*, p. 30). St. Augustine, however, disagrees with St. Jerome's conclusion and argues for Christ as "the beginning," in Augustine's *Sermones de Scripturis* 1.5 [PL 38. 25], in *Two Books on Genesis against the Manichees* (1.2.3, p. 49), and *On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis: An Unfinished Book* (1.2, p. 145); the same is true for the Venerable Bede (c. 673–735), a renowned Father of the early English Church, who is best known for his famous history of the English Church and its people, *Historia ecclesiae* (c. 734); Junilius, bishop of Africa (6th c.), also associates the Divine Logos with the Hebrew concept "bereshith," in his *De partibus divinae legis* (2.22) [PL 68. 37], a dialogue between a master and his student. Significantly, in his *Commentaries on the First Book of Moses* (Gen. 1:1), John Calvin vehemently rejects as "frivolous" the venerable tradition of identifying Christ with "In the Beginning." Moses merely suggested, Calvin argues, that God's creation as we know it now was not yet finished (*Commentaries* 1.1:69–70). Neither Simon Patrick nor Mather, who uses Patrick as a source throughout, agrees with Calvin in this point. Patrick insists in his *Commentary* (1:2–3) on Gen. 1:2: "By the *Spirit of God* some of the ancient Jews have understood the *Spirit of the Messiah*, (as [Theodor] *Hackspan* observes in his

2013:

Q. I am sensible, that the Jewish Rabbis lett their Fancies please themselves, with much Gayetie, upon the *First Word* in the Bible. And I know not whether t'wil bee worth the while to mention all their pretty Notions, upon that Word. However lett us have One or Two of them? v. 1.

A. What think you of that? [in *Baal Turim*, and *Tanch.* on Gen. 1.1.] *The History of the Creation, begins with the Letter [ב] because Two Worlds were created, this World, and the World to come.*¹³¹

[*Exercitatio*] *Cabala* [sic] *Judaica* [1660], n. lxvi. out of *Baal Hatturim*, the *Hierusalem Targum*, &c.) which explains the Evangelist St. *John*, who in the beginning of his Gospel says, all things were made by the Eternal ΛΟΓΟΣ [Logos] or *WORD of God*, (the same with Νόϋς [Nous] of the ancient Philosophers) whose Almighty Spirit agitated the vast confused Mass of Matter, and put it into Form." (See also Plato, *Phaedo* 97c–98b). Mather's Hebrew citation from the Chaldee Paraphrast, or Targum (interpretation), is actually from the Targum Hierosolymitanum (Gen. 1:1), a commentary and glossary written in Aramaic, reprinted in Brian Walton (c. 1600–61), "Triplex Targum, sive verso Pentateuchi," *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1653–57) 4:2. Petrus Galatinus (1460–c. 1539), the Cistercian monk and confessor of Pope Leo X, authored the controversial *De arcanis catholicae veritatis* (1518). The Greek citation from Rev. 3:14 more literally reads "the head of the creation."

¹³¹ Traditional for his time and age, Mather's condescending and insulting remarks about rabbinic scholarship are found throughout "BA," as well as in much of Mather's body of published works. Given their preoccupation with literal and typological readings as a means to bracketing the potentially subversive nature of philological and textual challenges to the Bible, Renaissance and Reformation theologians until the early Enlightenment often felt threatened by Hebrew scholarship even while they were forced to come to terms with the wisdom of the Talmud, Midrash Rabbah, the Zohar, Mishnah, Cabbala, and many other collections of Jewish midrashim. The centuries-old traditions and allegorical interpretations of the Hebrew Scriptures became threatening for many reformed theologians precisely because the rise of Christian Hebraism since the late Renaissance proliferated printed editions and translations of Hebrew scholarship previously accessible only to a group of highly select scholars. (See H. Oberman, "Discovery"; L. Friedman, "Cotton Mather and the Jews"; I. Twersky and B. Septimus, *Jewish Thought*; S. Goldman, *Hebrew*; and P.T. van Rooden, *Theology*).

Mather's response is extracted at second hand from Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:3, on Gen. 1:2), whose own source is *Exercitatio de Cabbala Judaica* (1660), n. lxvi, a commentary by Theodor Hacksan (1607–59), an eminent Lutheran Orientalist and professor of theology at the University of Altdorf in Franconia (Germany). Mather's reference to "*Baal Turim*, and *Tanch.*" is to *Baal Hatturim* (*Baal HaTurim*), a commentary on the Pentateuch, by R. Yaakov ben Rabbeinu Asher ben R'Yechiel, aka. ROSH (c. 1269–c. 1349) of Cologne, Germany, first published in Constantinople in 1514; and to *Tanchuma* (*Tanhuma*), a homiletic midrash on the Torah generally attributed to R. Tanchuma bar Abba (c. 350 CE), a Palestinian scholar, whose commentary was first published in Constantinople in 1522. According to *Baal HaTurim* (Gen. 1:1); *Tanchuma* (Bereishis 5), in *Midrash Tanchuma* (1:25–26); and *Midrash Rabbah* (Gen. 1:10), the Hebrew letter ב [beth], which here has the numerical value 2 (Gematria), suggests that God created two worlds: this world and the one to come. *Baal HaTurim* adds that "the Torah begins with the letter ב, rather than with the letter א [aleph], because ב connotes ... blessing, while א connotes ... curse (*Baal HaTurim Chumash* 1:2). Mather and many of his peers take exception to such mystical interpretations, many of which appear in the above-mentioned commentaries. On the same issue of the two worlds suggested by the Hebrew letter beth, see also Jacques Basnage's *History of the Jews* (bk. 4, ch. 6, sec. 6, pp. 292–93).

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Q. The *Spirit of God moving on the Face of the Waters?* v. 2.

A. The Hebrew Word, as you will often find it observed, signifies, the Action of a *Bird*, hatching her Eggs, or moving herself over her young ones. Perhaps, it was from the Encouragement of this Word, that some of the best Philosophers compared the *Fire* and *Air*, to the *Shell & White*, the *Water* and *Earth* to the *Yolk*, of an *Egg*.¹³²

3385.

Q. Entertain us, if you please, with a Jewish Curiosity, upon that Passage, *Lett there be Light?* v. 3.

A. *Abarbinel* (upon the XL of *Exodus*) takes this to be the SHECHINAH, the most excellent of all created Things, called in the Holy Scriptures, *The Glory of the Lord*; which God, saith he, sealed up in His Treasures, after the *Luminaries* were created, for to serve Him on special Occasions; (as, for instance, to lead the *Israelites* in the Wilderness, by a *Cloudy Pillar of Fire*.) when He would make Himself appear extraordinarily present. And because of the Perfection of this *Light*, he thinks, it is, that *Moses* adds in the next Verse, That *God saw the Light* (repeating the Word, *Light*.) *that it was good*: whereas in all the rest of the Six Dayes Work, He only saies, He *saw it was good*; without Naming again, the thing He had made.¹³³

There may be Fancy enough, in this Notion; yett it is not altogether to be despised. There is a certain *Bright Cloud of Heaven*, of quite another Consist-

¹³² For this paragraph, Mather's source is again Patrick (*Commentary* 1:3, on Gen. 1:2–3), but the ancient idea of the primeval ovum hatched by a fowl was a popular metaphor throughout the Renaissance. Sir Walter Raleigh mentions the same trope in his *History of the World* (pt. 1, bk. 1, ch. 1, § vi, p. 5) and refers to the Latin annotations of Francis Junius, in *Biblia Sacra* (1593) 1, on Gen. 1:1–2. Long before Junius, however, the Greek comic playwright Aristophanes (c. 460–c. 386 BCE) tells the creation story of the Cosmic Egg (*Aves* 693–700, *Birds* 3:117), in which Chaos and Night brought forth a wind egg, from which came forth Love. And Love mingling again with Chaos engendered heaven, earth, all living things, and all the gods. For Aristotle's account, see his *Metaphysica* (1.3.983a, 24–1.8.990a, 32). For an earlier version of this ancient creation story, see the Greek bard Orpheus, whose famous egg alludes to the Egyptian god KNEPH, or Knuphis, out of whose mouth the world egg issued – see Porphyry *Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων* (sec. 10.1), Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 3.11.115a–c), Proclus's *In Platonis Parmenidem commentarii* (7.168), *In Platonis Timaeum commentarii* (1.138, 3.160); as well as *Recognitions of Clement* (10.17, 30) and *Clementine Homilies* (6.3–4) – the latter two are in *ANF* (8:197, 200, 263). For a similar discussion, see Edwards (*Discourse* 1:263–64); Ralph Cudworth's *True Intellectual System* (1678), bk. 1, ch. 3, secs. 17–18, pp. 120–23; Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:4); and E. A. Wallis Budge (*Legends*, ch. 2; and *Gods*, vol. 1, chs. 7–8).

¹³³ Mather cribs the entire paragraph from Patrick (*Commentary* 1:3, on Gen. 1:3). Patrick himself relies on the commentary on Exodus, ch. 40, by Isaac ben Judah Abarbanel (also Abrabanel, Abravanel), the learned Jewish philosopher and biblical exegete of Lisbon (1437–1508), whose *Commentary on the Pentateuch* (Venice, 1579; Hanau, 1710) is highly prized by Jewish and Christian exegetes.

ence than that which drops our ordinary Rain upon us; That *Cloud* filled with the *Light* and *Fire*, wherein the Son of God chose to lodge, as in His Covering, from the Beginning, that so He might therein exhibit Himself with an Agreeable *Majesty* unto His People: Tis the same that was called, The *Shechinah*; and it was of old seen by the People of God, on several great Occasions. The Great God ha's chosen, to dwell in this *Light*, which no Man can approach unto; and a special Remark, may be putt upon the *Goodness* of the *Light* in general, because unto the general Head of *Light* belongs that Illustrious & Coelestial Matter, on which the God of Heaven ha's putt this peculiar Dignity.¹³⁴

Q. May there be any Mysteries {in} that Expression, GOD SAID, so often occurring in the History of the Creation? v. 3.¹³⁵

A. Monsr. Saurin, in his *Dissertations*, thus expresses himself.

"Several Divines among the Ancient & Modern, whose Knowledge we reverence, & whose Opinions we do not reject, have thought that *Moses* did understand in this Place, the Co-operation of the SON of GOD, in the Construction of the Universe. From the Writings of the New Testament, they fetch their Comments on this Part of the Old.

"*Philo* himself, seems to have had this Notion: He sais, *That placed His Real Word, which is His Eldest Son, in the Government of the World*. But nothing is more worthy the Attention of the Learned, than the Manner, in which so many Heathen Authors have express'd themselves on this Subject. You may find a rich Collection, upon this Matter, in the learned Work entituled, *Plan Theologique du Pythagorisme*."¹³⁶

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¹³⁴ The "*Shechinah*" (also *Shekinah*) of God signifies "God's visible presence" or "dwelling," as in the light in the camp of the Israelites in the Sinai desert (Exod. 29:45–46), in the Shechinah glow of Moses's face after he descends with the Tablets of the Law from Mt. Horeb (Exod. 35:30–35), or in the cloudy pillar in Moses's tabernacle (Exod. 33:30–35). "Shechinah" does not appear in the Hebrew or Christian Bibles, but is used in the Septuagint (LXX), Chaldee Paraphrase, Targum Onkelos, and Targum of Jonathan (Exod. 25:8; 29:45–46; 1 Kings 8:12, 13, and elsewhere), in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*. Mather again relies on Patrick's *Commentary* (1:299, 331), which also bears the influence of Abarbanel, Maimonides, and Nachmanides.

¹³⁵ Maimonides (*Guide* 1.65.97–98) insists that the anthropomorphisms "God said" or "the breath of his mouth" (all too common in the Bible) are figures of speech denoting, "He wished," "desired," "willed," and must never be taken "in its literal meaning," for it denotes that all the creation "exists through His will and desire" (98). See also Patrick, on Gen. 1:3 (*Commentary* 1:3).

¹³⁶ Mather's source for the two cribbed paragraphs is Saurin (Diss. I, 1:6–7). The quotation from Philo Judaeus, in turn, appears to be a paraphrastic Christological interpretation of certain themes in *De opificio mundi* (24.72–76) and in *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim* (1.4, 8), which Saurin (1:7, note 22) excerpts from *Plan théologique du Pythagorisme* (1712) 1:149, one of the most significant works of Michel Mourgues (c. 1642–1713), a French Jesuit and professor of rhetoric and mathematics at the Royal Academy of Toulouse.

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Q. It may do well, if we begin betimes, in our Illustrations, to take notice of some *Jewish* Traditions, relating to the *Creation*, and some other Matters that ly every where throughout the Old Testament.

It is particularly Remarkable, That the *Scriptures*, and the *Ancients*, not only *Christian*, but *Jewish*, assert, that the *Logos* of God, (who is His CHRIST) made the World. Is there any thing in the *Mosaic* Writings, that looks this Way? v. 3.

A. We must consider, That the *Scriptures* contain more in them, than we commonly or easily suppose, who take our Measures from other Books, to which we are accustomed. We must not wonder at it, if the old *Jewes*, yea, our Saviour Himself, & His Apostles, interpret Scriptural Expressions, as referring much farther than we could have at first imagined; God had a *Latent Sense*, an *Hidden Scope* in them, which requires the greatest Attention of the Readers.¹³⁷

What shall we say, concerning the very first Word in the Book of *Genesis*? It is true, בְּרֵשִׁית / *Breshith*, most obviously signifies, *In the Beginning*; so as to denote some first *Epocha*, or Date of Time. And yett you shall find it also taken by famous Authors, for an *Agent*; an *Efficient* by whom any thing is made; as the Word Αρχη is likewise taken. *Hilary* on the Second Psalm, tells us, That *Breshith* was understood by the *Hebrewes*, not only for the *Beginning* of a thing, but also for the *Son of God*. Indeed, our Lord CHRIST is expressly called, Αρχη, which answers to the Hebrew רִשִׁית / *Reschith*. The *Jerusalem Targum* gives us the Meaning of this Word, to be *Wisdom*. Now, *Wisdom* is but another Name for the *Logos*. Hence the Christian Fathers, find our Glorious CHRIST in this Word. So *Tertullian*; *If by the Wisdom of God all things were made, then was Heaven & Earth made in that Beginning; that is to say in His own Wisdom, which is Christ*. Unto that Sense he interprets, the Eighth Chapter of the *Proverbs*, & the First

¹³⁷ In his "Note Book of Authors and Texts Throughout the Bible" (1720), vol. 1 (Gen. 1:3, 8, 9), Mather identifies as his source "Arndt. vol. 2. p. 317" and "vol. 2. p. '319'; i.e., *De Vero Christianismo* (London, 1708), a two-volume Latin translation of the illustrious *Wahres Christenthum* (1605), by the German Lutheran theologian and precursor of Pietism Johann Arndt (1555–1621). Arndt interprets the Light (Gen. 1:3–4, 14) as a spiritual representation of Sophia (Wisdom), i.e., the Logos as God's master-worker (Wisd. Sol. 7:26, Heb. 11:3), in *De Vero Christianismo* (tom. post., lib. 4, cap. 1, pp. 317–25). A copy of the 1708 Latin edition belonging to Increase Mather is listed in Tuttle ("Libraries" 315). Identifying Jesus of Nazareth as the Anointed of God was one of the principal endeavors of the early Church Fathers in their effort to link the Hebrew concept of "Bereshith" (the Beginning) with "Sophia" (Wisdom), and with the Greek concept of the Divine Logos (the "Word" itself having substance) (Gen. 1:1, Prov. 8:22, and John 1:1) – see for instance Origen's *De principiis* (1.2.1–3), in *ANF* (4:245–46); and *Homilies on Genesis* (Hom. 1, p. 47). Rabbinic tradition in Midrash Rabbah connects "bereshith" (Gen. 1:1) with Prov. 8:22–30 and identifies the speaker (Wisdom) as "amon" and "torah" ("nursling," "workman," or "working tool"), the divine agent who assisted God in the creation. Rashi's commentary (Gen. 1:1, Prov. 8:22) similarly associates the Divine Logos with the Torah and Wisdom, whereas Christian tradition identifies the Logos with Christ (John 1:1). For a more detailed discussion of this issue, see Jean Daniélou's "The Son of God" (ch. 5), in *Development of Christian Doctrine* (1:147–72).

Chapter of *John*. The Passages in *Tertullian*, and in *Origen*, and in *Theophilus Antiochenus*, this Way, insisting on CHRIST, as the Ἀρχή, of the Creation, are too many to be recited. And much more in *Clemens Alexandrinus*, in *Tatian*, in *Ambrose*, in *Basil*, in *Jerom*, in *Austin*, in *Cyprian*, and in the Fragments preserved by *Photius*.¹³⁸

There is one Mr. *Robert Fleming*, who on the Occasion of such Thoughts, [in his *Christology*] offers an Interpretation of that Passage; Psal. 40.7. *In the Volume of the Book, it is written of me*. Seeing it appears probable, That the very First Word in the Bible, denotes our Glorious CHRIST, why may it not be thought, that our Lord alludes to that Expression, as well as to other Passages in the *Volume* of the Old Testament, where mention is made of Him? And if the Reading of the LXX be considered, we may be further induced to think, that our Lord points at this very Thing. Τίς, ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου, *In capite libri*; In the *Head*, or the *Beginning*, of the Bible; In the very *Title* of the Book of the Law. [Yea, which brings the Matter a little closer still; In the *Reschith* that is there.] The Hebrewes called the Five Books of *Moses*, by the *Initial Words*. What the *Greeks*, and others from them call, *The Book of Genesis*, the Hebrewes called, *Sepher Breshith*, or, *The Book of the Beginning*; The Book that Begins with *Breschith*. If then the Word, *Breschith*, denote our Glorious CHRIST; as the *Logos* of God, He might well say, That He was mentioned and written of, in the very *Title* of the *Book of God*. The *Title* of the Book of *Genesis*, may justly be look'd {at} as the Title of indeed all

138 Hilarius Pictaviensis (c. 315–67), better known as St. Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, identifies Christ with the Ἀρχή [Arche] (“head,” or “beginning”) in his commentary on Psalm 2 [PL 9. 263A–263B]; see also St. Hilary’s *On the Trinity* (7.2–3), in *NPNFii* (9:118–19). The Jerusalem Targum (Gen. 1:1) associates “Bereshith” with “Sapientia” (“Wisdom”), in Walton (4:1); Tertullian, the African Church Father Quintus Septimus Florens Tertullianus (c. 160–c. 225), develops his argument in (among many other places) *Adversus Hermogenem* (20) [PL 2. 215A–216B], and in *ANF* (3:488–89). Origen affirms the hotly debated issue in *Homilies on Genesis* (Hom. 1, p. 47), *De principiis* (1.2.1–3; 2.6.2–3; 2.9.4), in *ANF* (4:245–51, 281–82, 290–91), and in his *Commentarii in evangelium Joannis* (1.4.22; 1.5.29; 1.9.58; 1.12.79, 81; 1.21.125–26); Theophilus Antiochenus (d. 412), Patriarch of Alexandria, calls this “Arche” (Christ) God’s “governing principle” (*Ad Autolycom* 2.10, in *ANF* 2:97–98); St. Clemens Alexandrinus, in his *Protrepticus* (1.6, 7, et al.) and in *Paedagogus* (1.6); the Syrian apologist Tatian (c. 160), in his *Oratio ad Graecos* (cap. 5), in *ANF* (2:67); Ambrosius Mediolanensis (c. 340–97), bishop of Milan, in his *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam* (3.23) [PL 15. 1598B, 1630A, 1823C]; St. Basil, in his *De spiritu sancto* 6.14 (*NPNFii* 8:8), *Homiliae in hexaemeron* (Hom. 1.1–2, 5–6; Hom. 2.8, et al.), and *Letters* (38.3–4, in *NPNFii* 8:137–39); St. Jerome, in his *Epistola LIII ad Paulinum* [PL 22. 543], in *Epistola CVIII ad Eustachium virginem* (§ 10) [PL 22. 884], and in *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim*, lib. 1 (on Gen. 1:1) [PL 23. 937C]; Austin, in his *Sermones de Scripturis* (1.5) [PL 38. 25]; St. Cyprianus Cartaginensis, bishop of Carthage (d. 258), in *Testimonia adversus Judaeos* (2.2.1–30) [PL 4. 696–698C, 708], “Treatise 12.2” (*ANF* 5:515–28); and finally, Photius (c. 810–c. 895), patriarch of Constantinople, in his *Bibliotheca* (Codex 9.4a; Codex 35.7a; et al.), and in *Fragmenta in epistolam ad Romanos* (513.23–25; 522.9–12; 542.16–21).

the Bible.¹³⁹ As the *Ethiopic* and *Arabic* Versions, which follow the LXX, render this Passage the same Way, so does *Jerom*, whose Version was from the *Hebrew*. Others of the Ancients, tho' they used not the same Greek Word, yett seem to have had the same Thought in their Minds. *Aquila* and *Symmachus* render it, ἐν εἰληματι τοῦ βιβλίου. This comes yett nearer to Mr. *Flemings* Notion. Εἰλημα is properly, *Involucrum*, *Integumentum*, The *Cover* or Binding of a *Book*, or that which is wrapt about it. According to this, The Name of CHRIST was written upon the very *Cover*. The Ancient Books were Parchments Coiled and Rolled round, as a Scrol, (called, *Volumns à Volvendo*;) And if we suppose either the *Pentateuch*, or the Book of *Genesis*, wrapt up all together, the *Title* of *Breschith*, was written on the *Cover* of the *Volumn*.¹⁴⁰

Of these things, Mr. *Fleming*, adds, He will only say, *Valeant quantum valere possunt*. And Modesty will allow no more. But then, he leaves it unto the Reader to Judge; whether our Saviour Himself does not insinuate something of this, when He saies, unto the Jewes, who enquired of Him, who He was; Joh. 8.25. τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ τι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν. which may be rendred, [not, *Even the same that I said unto you from the Beginning*; but] *I am the* Ἀρχή, *Beginning*, as *I tell you*. Thus, the *Vulgar Latin*, the *Ethiopic*, and *Arias Montanus* render it. Our

¹³⁹ This and the subsequent paragraph are extracted verbatim from the 1725 edition of *Christology. A Discourse Concerning Christ* (vol. 1, bk. 2, ch. 6, pp. 279–82), in 2 vols. (1705–8, 1725), by Robert Fleming (c. 1660–1716), a Presbyterian minister, sometime pastor of a Scottish church in Rotterdam, and advisor to William of Orange. The Greek passage is from the LXX (Ps. 39 [40]:7–8), but Mather omits the diacritical marks (ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου; i.e., “in the volume of the book”), which do appear in Fleming (vol. 1, bk. 2, ch. 6, p. 280). The Ethiopic and Arabic translations (c. 4th c. CE), whether based on the LXX or Syriac versions is still debated, were readily available in Mather’s time in Walton’s *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (the best edition at the time) and in the earlier Complutensian Polyglot *Biblia Polyglotta* (1514–17), edited by Cardinal Francisco Ximénez Cisneros (1436–1517). See J. Pelikan’s *The Reformation of the Bible* (esp. 17–20) and P.N. Miller’s “Antiquarianization.”

¹⁴⁰ Unlike the Old Latin Bible, a compilation of various Latin translations of the LXX, St. Jerome’s Vulgate translation (4th c.) brought coherence to the many Latin versions in use in the early Roman Catholic Church. Highly controversial at the time, Jerome largely used the Hebrew (rather than LXX) as his source-text for his Vulgate, which subsequently became the authorized version of the Bible for the Western Church. The Greek versions of Aquila and Symmachus, which survive in parallel columns in Origen’s famous *Hexapla* [PG 15–16 pt. 1–3], are frequently cited by Mather and his sources when Christological readings are at issue. Aquila of Sinope in Pontus (fl. CE 117–38) opted for a more literal translation in harmonizing the LXX with the official Hebrew text (c. 140) and thus became an invaluable reference source to later textual scholars. Likewise Symmachus of Samaria (fl. CE 150), a Jewish conversio, translated the Samaritan and Hebrew versions into stylistically sound Greek as an alternative to the Alexandrian LXX. The Greek citation from Ps. 39 (40):8 ἐν εἰληματι τοῦ βιβλίου [en eilemati tou bibliou], which means, “in the scroll of the book is written of me,” only appears in the column of Aquila, whereas Symmachus’s Greek translation renders it ἐν τῷ τεύχει τοῦ ὀρισμοῦ σου γέγραπται περὶ ἐμοῦ, which signifies “in the scroll of your law is written of me,” both appearing in Origen’s *Hexaplorum quae supersunt in librum Psalmorum monitum* [PG 16. Pt. 1. 760–761]. Mather’s “*Volumns à Volvendo*” are “rolled scrolls.” Nehemiah Grew makes much of the same argument in his *Cosmologia Sacra* (bk. 4, ch. 1, pp. 133–143).

Lord had a little before told them, That He was *not one that had His Original in this World*. A little after, He tells them, That *He had His Existence before Abraham*. It was proper for Him here to represent Himself as the *Reschith*, the Ἀρχή, the *Beginning* of all things.¹⁴¹

[64v]

Q. On that Passage, *The Evening & the Morning were the First Day*; and so, *the Second*, and, the rest? v. 5.

A. It is a Note of as much Ingenuity as Antiquity; That in all the *Six Days* of the Creation, there is an *Evening* and a *Morning*. There is a *Vicissitude* of Conditions. There is no *Morning* without an *Evening*. But when the *Seventh Day* arrives, we find not any of this *Vicissitude*. An Intimation, that when we come to the *Rest which remains for the People of GOD*, it will have no *Evening* in it; & No *Darkness* will belong unto it.¹⁴²

Q. We read concerning the *Plants*, That they have *their Seeds in themselves*? v. 11.

A. Our Inquisitive *Bradly* Observes & Reports.

“Every *Plant* contains in itself *Male* and *Female* Powers. *Plants* wanting local Motion, require this *Union of Sexes* in themselves. — There is in the *Plants*, a *Farina fecundans*, or *Male-Dust*, which has a *Magnetic* Virtue. This is what the *Bees* gather to make their *Wax* withal. But the Particles of this Powder, being to pass into the *Ovaries* of the *Plants*, and even into the several *Eggs* or *Seeds*, there contained, we may easily perceive, if we splitt the *Pistillum* of a *Flowre*, that Nature has provided a sufficient Passage for it, into the *Uterus*.

“A curious Person (*he says*) may by this Knowledge, produce rare kinds of *Plants*, which have not been heard of, by making Choice of Two *Plants*, that are near alike in their Parts. The *Farina* of the one will imprægnate the other; and the Seed so enlivened will produce a *Plant* differing from either. [Like *Mules*.]”¹⁴³

[65r]

Q. The Mosaic Distribution of *Plants*, what is to be thought of it? v. 11.

A. Tis accurate and admirable! Tis into *Tree* and *Herb*.

¹⁴¹ Mather shortens Fleming’s Latin comment, which translates “Let them go as far as they can” (*Christology*, bk. 1, ch. 2, sec. 6, p. 281). The Greek passage from John 8:25 lacks the diacritical marks and reads in the original τὴν ἀρχὴν ὃ τι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν· and translates more accurately “Altogether, what I also say to you.” The Spanish Benedictine Orientalist Arias Montanus of Estremadura (1527–98) is one of the editors of the Antwerp Polyglot *Biblia Sacra, Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, et Latine*, in 8 vols. (Antwerp, 1571).

¹⁴² See Appendix A.

¹⁴³ The two cited paragraphs are extracts from the 1717 edition of *New Improvements of Planting and Gardening* (ch. 2, pp. 11–12, 14–15, 23–24), by Richard Bradley (1688–1732), professor of botany at Cambridge and Fellow of the Royal Society. For Mather’s interest in plant hybridization, see C. Zirkle’s “Forgotten Records” and “More Records.”

In *Theophrastus* and the modern Herbalists, the Division of *Plants*, is into, *Arbor, Frutex, Suffrutex, & Herba*. But the learned *Cæsalpinus*, concludes, *Clarius agemus, si alterâ Divisione neglectâ, duo tantum Plantarum Genera substituamus, Arborem &c. et Herbam; conjungentes cum Arbore Frutices, et cum Herbâ Suffrutices; Frutices* being the *Lesser Trees*, and *Suffrutices* the *Harder Herbs*.

This Division of *Plants* into *Tree* and *Herb*, admirably suits the Natural Ground of the Division of *Perfect Plants*. For, *Plants* in their first Production, do send forth Two Leaves, adjoining to the *Seed*; and then afterwards, do either produce two other Leaves, & so successively, before any *Stalk*; and such go under the Name of *Ποα, Βοτάνη*, or, *Herb*; or else, after the first Leaves that succeed unto the *Seed-leaves*, they send forth a *Stalk*, or a Rudiment of a *Stalk*, before any other Leaves; and such fall under the Classis of *Δενδρον*, or, *Tree*. In this natural Division, there are but those two grand Differences; *Tree*, and *Herb*. The *Frutices*, and *Suffrutices* have their Way of Production accordingly. 'Tis from Sir *Tho: Browne*, that I have this Observation.¹⁴⁴

Q. On the Influences of the *Stars*? v. 16.

A. *Hartsoeker* very truly & justly observes.

¹⁴⁴ The preceding paragraphs are extracted (verbatim) from Sir Thomas Browne (1605–82), renowned English physicist and essayist, whose “Observations Upon several Plants mention’d in Scripture,” in *Certain Miscellany Tracts* (1684), Tract I, § 41 (*Works* [1907] 3:263–64), is the work in question. Browne makes a similar argument in his *Hydriotaphia and The Garden of Cyrus* (1658; 1668), ch. 5, p. 66, but his original source is the Greek philosopher Theophrastus of Eressos (c. 372–287 BCE), whose contributions to botany can be found in his *De causis plantarum* (6 bks.) and *De historia plantarum* (9 bks.). Following Aristotle’s classifications, Theophrastus categorizes plants into “trees,” “bushes,” “shrubs,” and “herbs” (*Historia Plantarum* 1.3.1). Browne’s reference to *De plantis* (1583), by the learned Italian physician, physiologist, and botanist Andreas Caesalpinus (1519–1603) demonstrates that Theophrastus’s Aristotelian categories of plants no longer satisfied Renaissance scientists, for Caesalpinus (Cesalpino) introduces the modern pre-Linnaean categorization of plants according to their fruits, and concludes, “We shall treat [of this] more clearly if we were to omit the second division and name only two kinds of plants, tree[s] and plant[s], grouping lesser trees with tree[s] and harder herbs with stalk[s]” (B. Melton’s translation). The Greek terms *Ποα Βοτάνη* [*Poa Botanē*] “herb” and *Δενδρον* [*Dendron*] “tree” are from Theophrastus (*Historia Plantarum* 1.3.1). Suffice it to add that Mather seems to ignore some of the hotly debated issues raised in the Mosaic creation account – although he does offer a typological reading at a later point [102v]. According to Gen. 1:11, God created on the third day “grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit” (KJV), *before* he creates sunlight on the fourth day (Gen. 1:14). Simon Patrick on Gen. 1:12 (*Commentary* 1:5) is more careful when he refers to Theophilus Antiochenus (*Ad Autolyicum* 2.13, in *ANF* 2:99–100), Porphyrius (*De abstinence* 2.5.12), and Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 11.23–24.545d, 547d, 548a–b), who insist that God’s power brought forth plants even without sunlight to make them grow because a supercelestial light shone before the sun was formed. Patrick solves this philosophical conundrum by insisting that God created all vegetation in their fully mature state carrying their seeds within them, thus no sunlight was necessary in their first state. However, all subsequent generations of plants grew from their seeds and therefore required sunlight.

“All the Heavenly Bodies, except the *Sun* and *Moon*, can do us neither *Good* nor *Hurt*, except to communicate unto us some weak *Rays of Light*. They have no more Share in any thing that passes here upon Earth, than *Candles* lighted up & scattered here & there in the Countrey, can have upon any thing that is done in a City, which they surround, but from whence they can scarce be seen.”

I add, Away with the Idle Whimseys of *Dog-days*.¹⁴⁵

Q. Why is the *Moon* called, One of the *Two Great Lights*; whereas we know, tis in Bulk so much smaller than the other Coelestial Bodies? v. 16.

A. Tho’ it be less in *Bulk*, yett it is to us greater in *Light*; greater as a *Light*, than the other Heavenly Bodies; – *velut inter ignes Luna minores*. And greater in *Use*; in very many Benefits.¹⁴⁶

Mendoza; a learned Portuguese, in his *Flores*, ha’s a Discourse on this Problem.

He will have the *Moon* to be called, *A Greater Light*, because next unto the *Sun*, it is of the greatest Use in the *Distinction of Times* unto us. It was unto the Hebrews yett more eminently so.

He concludes a little wittily. *Hæc de Luna satis, ne Lunæ laboranti succurrere videamur*.¹⁴⁷

3427.

Q. A Remark on that, *Lett the Waters bring forth ABUNDANTLY*? v. 20.

A. For the most Part, among the *Fishes*, the *Females* discharge their Spawn, and the *Males* their Melt, in the Water near one another; and the Seminal Maters being so entrusted unto the *Waters*, the Propagation is carried on.

Dr. *Nieuentyt* remarks, That the Procreation of *Birds* here is not ascribed unto the *Air*, as that of the *Fishes* is to the *Waters*. But then, what is more obvious here, is the prodigious Multiplication & Fæcundity of the *Fishes*, here

¹⁴⁵ Mather cites from Nicholas Hartsoecker (1656–1725), a Dutch naturalist and physician, whose *Essai de Dioptrique* (1684), *Principes de Physique* (1696), and *Conjectures Physiques* (1706) were highly regarded. The text in question is most likely an early edition of *Cours de Physique* (1730), which contains a discussion of the nature and property of fire and the rays of light (book 2). Mather rejects the ancient belief in the malignant influence of the dog-stars Procyon and Sirius (c. July 3–c. Aug. 15), during which hot Dog-days (*dies caniculares*) dogs (as well as bipeds) are likely to go mad. See also his essay “Of the Light” (*Christian Philosopher*, Essay I, pp. 18–26) and W. U. Solberg, “Science and Religion.”

¹⁴⁶ For a more detailed discussion, see Mather’s *Christian Philosopher* (Essay XI, pp. 56–60). The Latin passage reads, “as if the moon sat between smaller stars.”

¹⁴⁷ Mather may have in mind Francisco Mendoza’s *De Flores Philosophica*, mentioned in Alexander Ross’s *Arcana Microcosmi* (1652), part 2, bk. 2, ch. 7, p. 133, and ch. 8, p. 138. Or, perhaps, a florilegium of “Mendoza,” cited in Josephus Angles’s *Flores theologicarum quaestionum* (1580), listed in Isaiah Thomas’s purchase of Cotton Mather’s library, in “Catalogue of Dr. Cotton Mather’s Library” (AAS copy), p. F. At any rate, Mendoza’s Latin witticism translates, “Here [is] enough about the moon, lest we appear to support the toils of the moon.”

intimated in the Expression of *Bringing forth ABUNDANTLY*. They are, Psal. CIV.25. *Innumerable*.

And yett, as Dr. *Nieuentyt* observes, even the *Fishes* also feel the Force of the *Curse* upon the Sin of Man; In that their Multiplication meets with strange Obstructions, that render them very much less Fruitful, than from the Number of Eggs in their Spawn might have been looked for.¹⁴⁸

Q. What are the Creatures intended in the Original, where our Translation reads, *Great Whales?* v. 21.

A. *Job Ludolphus* ha's demonstrated, That the Name, *Tanim*, signifies, *Crocodiles*. (Compare Ezek. 29.3. and 32.2. where, tis certain, there can be meant nothing else.) And we know, that *Crocodiles* are elsewhere singled out, as a most astonishing Work of God.¹⁴⁹

There seems to have been a special Reason, to prevent some false Opinions, (& perhaps, to suggest a Mystery touched elsewhere, in our *Illustrations*.) That so noxious & so terrible an *Animal* as the *Crocodile*, should be particularly recognized, as created by the Lord.¹⁵⁰

Q. On that Word, God said, *Lett us make Man in our Image; after our Likeness?* v. 26.

A. Sometimes we find, *Image*, alone; and sometimes, *Likeness*, alone.

Rivet looks on it, as an *Hendyadys*, and notes, *Mos est Hebraeis duo substantiva ità conjungere, ut diversæ res esse videantur, cum tamen alterum Adjunctivi et Epitheti significationem habeat*.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ Mather evidently extracts the two paragraphs from *The Religious Philosopher* (1718–19), by the Dutch mathematician, physician, and anti-Cartesian Dr. Bernard Nieuwentyt (1654–1718). See Mather's commentary on Gen. 9:2 (below).

¹⁴⁹ Extracted from Simon Patrick's *Commentary* (1:7) on Gen. 1:21, Mather's passage refers to Hiob Ludolf [Leutholf] (1624–1704), a German polymath, jurist, Orientalist, and grammarian of the Ethiopian language (Amharic), whose *Iobi Ludolfi ... Ad suam Historiam Æthiopicam antehac editam Commentarius* (1691) demonstrates that the Hebrew word "tanim" (Ezek. 29:3, 32:2, etc.), generally translated as "whales," really signifies "crocodiles" (lib. 1, cap. 11, p. 86 n). Bochart also suggests multiple meanings of the term, in *Hierozoicon Sive bipertitum opus De Animalibus Sacrae Scripturae* (1663), pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 7, col. 45–52. Ludolf's *Historia Æthiopica* (1681 ed.) appeared in an English translation as *A New History of Ethiopia* (1682) and was of particular interest to Mather because it described the kingdom of Abyssinia, supposedly ruled by the legendary Prester John. For the legend of this fabled Christian priest, see J. Delumeau, *History of Paradise* (71–96).

¹⁵⁰ Nearly a century and a half after Mather's evasive comment here, Herman Melville has Queequeg agonize over the "horrible vultureism" [sic] of God's seemingly benign creation: "Queequeg no care what god made him shark ... wedder Fejee god or Nantucket god; but de god wat made shark must be one dam Ingin" (*Moby-Dick*, ch. 67, p. 396).

¹⁵¹ The River's "*Hendiadys*" ("one expressed by two") is a figure of speech expressing an idea by two nouns and a coordinating conjunction instead of a noun and an adjective). He suggests that "it is a custom of the Hebrews to join two nouns in such a way that they seem to be different things, when in fact the second signifies an adjective and epithet" (B. Melton's

But what I here most aim at, is an Elegancy of Dr. *Arrowsmiths*. “It is exceeding much for Mans Honour, that he is an Epitome of the World, an Abridgment of other Creatures; partaking with the Stones in Being, with the Stars in Motion, with the Plants in Growing, with the Beasts in Sense, and with Angels in Science. But his being made in *Gods Image* is far more. As great Men are wont; They often erect a stately Building; then cause their own Picture to be hung up in it, that Spectators may know who was the chief Founder of it, So when God had created the Fabric of this World, the last Thing He did, was the Setting up {of} His own Picture in it.”¹⁵²

[66v]

Q. What means the Repetition of the Terms, *Image*, and, *Likeness*? v. 26.

A. By these two Terms may be meant עֵינֵן אֶחָד, *Res Una*. It is as much as to say, *Imago Simillima*.¹⁵³ Thus we read, Rom. 1.23. About, *A Likeness of Image*. Hear *Austin*, speaking, *De Genesi ad Literam*.

*Omnis Imago similis est ei cuius est Imago; nec tamen omne quod simile est alicui, etiam Imago est ejus! Sicut in Speculo, vel Picturà, quia Imagines sunt, etiam similes sunt; tamen, si alter ex altero natus non est, nullus eorum Imago alterius dici potest. Imago enim tunc est, quum de alio exprimitur.*¹⁵⁴

1815:

Q. When God said, *Lett Us make Man, in Our Image, after Our Likeness*, what special Effect was there of it? v. 26.

translation). The Latin citation is quoted from *Andreae Riveti Theologicae & Scholasticae Exercitationes* (1633), Exerc. IV, p. 21, by André Rivet (1572–1651), Huguenot scholar, professor of theology at Leiden University, and rector of the College of Orange at Breda. Mather owned a copy of this work (AAS Mather Libraries # 0119). For the same interpretation, see also Simon Patrick’s *Commentary* (1:8) on Gen. 1:26. However, the original sources for all of them appear to be Tertullian (*Adversus Marcionem* 2.9.4), in *ANF* (3:304) and Gregory of Nyssa (*De Opificio Hominis* 16) [PG 44. 185.40–41].

152 The passage in quotation marks is not a verbatim citation but a pastiche of cited phrases cobbled together. Mather’s source is John Arrowsmith, D. D. (1602–59), professor of divinity, master of Trinity College, and member of the Westminster Assembly, whose ΘΕΑΝΘΡΩΠΙΟΣ [Theanthropos]; Or, *God-Man* (1660) 51 # 5 is the work in question. A copy of this work was part of the Mather libraries.

153 Mather’s Hebrew citation seems problematic (עֵינֵן אֶחָד), for the Hebrew word צֶלֶם [tselem] signifies “image” and “shadow,” whereas דְּמוּת [dmuwth] signifies “resemblance,” “similitude,” and “shape” [Strong’s # 6754 and 1823]. See also Patrick’s *Commentary* (1:8) on Gen. 1:26, 27.

154 In his *Liber imperfectus de genesi ad litteram* (16.57) [PL 34. 242], St. Augustine argues that “Every image is like that of which it is an image, but not everything which is like something is also an image. Thus, because in a mirror or in a picture there are images, they are also alike. But if the one does not have its origin from the other, it is not said to be the image of the other. For it is an image only if it is derived from the other thing” (*On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis*, p. 183).

A. Man is a Σῶον πολιτικὸν, a *Sociable Creature*. There is a Natural Disposition in Man, and Institution for Man, to unite with others, in *Society*.¹⁵⁵

And it seems a *Special Effect* of that Passage in his Creation; *Lett US make Man, in OUR Image, after OUR Likeness*. A *Plural Number* unites for the Making of Man, in some Agreeableness to His Maker. An *Union of Three in One*, is display'd, when Man comes to bee made. Hence tis, that Man, in the *Image* and *Likeness* of God, affects an *Union* with a *Plurality*.

Compare, Joh. 17.21, 22. till your Contemplations arise to some Astonishment.¹⁵⁶

2426:

Q. Give mee a notable Comment on that Place, *Lett us make Man?* v. 26.

A. *Philo* the Jew, is of Opinion, that the *Angels*, were Co-operators, in framing the Body of *Adam*, and this *Platonist* fetch'd this Notion, from his Master, who held, that Man was made by Inferiour and Created Gods, at the Command of the Supreme Deity.

But others deservedly explode this Opinion, and think, that these Words denote *God the Father*, conferring with the two other Persons in the Trinity, concerning the Making of Man. The Ancient Writers of the Church are generally of such a Sentiment, and usually alledge this Place, to prove the *Trinity*. But there were Cause enough to use this Manner of Speech, if it were only because Man is a Noble sort of Creature, and worthy to be consulted about. I will then, with a learned and worthy Author, offer you the Words of *Seneca*, for a notable Comment on this Place; *Scias non esse hominem tumultuarium et incogitatum opus*. [De Benef. L.6.] “Be it known to you, that *Man* is not a Work huddled over in Hast, and done without forethought; for Man is the most stupendous Work of God.”¹⁵⁷

155 Man is by nature a “political animal” or “social creature.” The Greek citation is from Aristotle’s *Politica* (3.6.1278b, 19).

156 The debate about God’s use of the personal pronoun (2nd person plural) is an ancient one, and Trinitarians like Mather use Gen. 1:26 and similar passages to support Christ’s existence before his incarnation (Prov. 8:22, John 1:1) and to reaffirm the embattled doctrine of the Trinity (John 10:30). Simon Patrick (Gen. 1:26) offers a well-known alternative by suggesting that instead of the Trinity, this verse may merely indicate that God spoke in “the manner of kings” (*Commentary* 1:7–8). For a review of the entire debate, see Matthew Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:11–12).

157 Mather is a bit unfair to Philo Judaeus, who expresses his uncertainty more so than his certainty about this issue and suggests that God took council with his angels, in *De opificio mundi* (24.72–76), *De confusione linguarum* (33.168–34.175), and *De fuga et inventione* (13.67–14.72). Maimonides similarly wrestles with this idea in his *Guide* (2.6–7.160–63) and resorts to the traditions of the *Bereshith Rabba* to argue that God took council with the Earth. Finally, John Calvin, in his commentary on Gen. 1:26, 3:22, argues that “Let us” and “one of us” refer to God’s own sublime council (not the Trinity) in contemplating the creation of Adam (*Commentaries* 1.1:91–93, 183). See also Patrick, *Commentary* (1:7–8). The worthy author who is Mather’s primary source is probably Dr. Nehemiah Grew (1641–1712), English physician,

Q. Those Words of the Deity, *Lett US make Man, in OUR Image, after OUR Likeness*; Do they clearly import a *Plurality* of Persons in the Godhead? v. 26.

A. Verily, They do! *Tertullian* therefore, and *Athanasius*, and *Cyril of Jerusalem*, and *Chrysostom*, and *Austin*, and others of the Ancients, understood these Words, concerning the *Trinity*.¹⁵⁸

The only thing that ever opposed such a Sentiment (setting aside the *Folly*, which they are to be *charged withal*, who bring in the *Angels* as here consulted with,) is an Imagination, That the Great GOD is here introduced as imitating the Style of *Princes*, who use to speak in the *Plural Number*. But there is much Ignorance and Vanity betray'd in this Imagination. For as there were no *Men* at all, and therefore no *Great Men*, when this Language was used about the Making of *Man*. So, tis very certain, there was no such Style among that Rank of Persons, for many Ages after *Moses*.

It was not until very late Ages, & in the *European* World, that when the Power of many Persons came into *One Mans* hand, this *One Man* had the Complement paid him, of being address'd in the *Plural Number*. Before the late Invention of this Complement, it was customary forever, *Tutoyer*, (as tis called by the French,) to, THOU, and, THEE, the Greatest of Men. And the Greatest of Men spoke still in the *First Person Singular*, as others address'd them in the *Second*. Before the Time of our King *John*, the Kings of *England* used the Singular Number. The King of *Spain* does it still.¹⁵⁹

[67r]

biologist, and FRS, on whose *Cosmologia Sacra* (1701) Mather relies throughout. The second-hand quotation from Lucius Annaeus Seneca, the Younger (c. BCE 4–65 CE), Roman statesman, historian, and philosopher, appears in *De beneficiis* (6.23.6) and suggests more accurately, “You will discover that man is not a hasty and purposeless creation.”

¹⁵⁸ Trinitarianism and the definition of its dogma are discussed by virtually all Church Fathers. Mather may have in mind Tertullian's *De anima* (cap. 21) [PL 2. 684A–B], in *ANF* (3:202), but more specifically *Against Praxeas* 11–13 (3:605–9); Athanasius (c. 296–373), bishop of Alexandria, who discusses and defends this dogma in *De sancta trinitate* (dialogi 1, 3, 5) [PG 28. 1228, 1232, 1241–42], *Quaestiones in scripturam sacram* [PG 28. 733], and *Orationes tres contra Arianos* [PG 26. 212, 272–73, 388, 452 etc.]; Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus (c. 315–87), bishop of Jerusalem, in *Catecheses ad illuminandos* (Catech. 10.6, 11.23, 12.5, 14.10) and *Catechetical Lectures* (NCPFi 7:58–59, 70, 73, 96); Cyrillus Alexandrinus (d. 444), patriarch of Alexandria, in *De sancta trinitate dialogi I–VII* (Aubert page 471, 516, 523), *Thesaurus de sancta consubstantiali trinitate* [PG 75. 25, 85, 89 etc.]; Joannes Chrysostom (c. 347–407), bishop of Constantinople, in *Genesim (homiliae 1–67)* [PG 53. 64–72, 84 etc.], *Homilies on Genesis* (8.3–8, 8.12, pp. 106–10, 112), *Adversus Judaeos* [PG 48. 919], *De sancta trinitate* [PG 48. 1087]; and St. Augustine's *De trinitate* (6.2–3, 7.6) [PL 42. 924, 943], *On the Trinity* (NPNFi 3:98–99, 111–14).

¹⁵⁹ Mather refers to John Lackland of the House of Plantagenet (c. 1167–1216), king of England (1199–1216), and signer of the Magna Charta. The Spanish kings during Mather's lifetime were Carlos II of Habsburg (who ruled from 1665–1700) and Philip V (who ruled Spain from 1700–46).

3241.

Q. The Sacred Oracles tell us, That *God made Man after His own Image*. May we not find that, and many other Passages of the Sacred Oracles, imitated in the Pagan Writers? v. 26.¹⁶⁰

A. Yes. *Phocylides* writes, πνεῦμα ἐστὶ θεοῦ εἰκὼν, *The Soul is the Image of God*. And the same *Phocylides* also writes, Μηδὲ τις ὄρνιθας καλῆς ἅμα πάντας ἐλεσθῶ, *Lett no Man destroy all the Birds of a Nest together*; which is the same that we read in *Moses*.¹⁶¹

Agur prays that God would give him neither *Poverty* nor *Riches*. *Horace*, (who it seems, had seen the Books of our *Psalms* and *Proverbs*,) writes, *Benè est, cui Deus obtulit parçà, quod satis est, manu*.¹⁶²

Solomon writes, That *no Man knowes what a Day may bring forth*. *Theognis* writes, That *no Man knowes*, ὃ τι νύξ καὶ ἡμέρα ἀνδρὶ τέλει. *What a Night & a Day, may bring to pass*.¹⁶³

Solomon writes, That *without Knowledge, the Mind is not good*. *Sophocles* writes, οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο νοῦς κακός, καλῶς φρονεῖν. *Wisdom is inconsistent with an ill Mind*.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰ The following MS pp. [67r–68v] are extracted from Nehemiah Grew’s *Cosmologia Sacra* (bk. 4, ch. 2, pp. 152–55, 158). More than a century before German Higher Criticism posited that pagan literatures and the Hebrew Bible draw on the same sources (Quellen), Mather – like Grew, John Selden, Edmund Dickinson, and Pierre Jurieu before him – tries to explain why many ancient histories and pagan literatures relate stories, beliefs, and codes quite similar to those found in the Hebrew Bible. Orthodox defenders of biblical verity frequently resorted to the pious belief that pagan historians and philosophers by necessity inherited their philosophy and beliefs from Noah (the father of all post-diluvians) or stole it from Moses, that the Mosaic Pentateuch presents the oldest and truest account, and that similarities between biblical and pagan teachings therefore point to the verity of the Old Testament. See also Gerard Vossius’s *De Theologia Gentili* (1641), Theophilus Gale’s *Court of the Gentiles* (1669–78), R. S. Westfall’s “Isaac Newton’s *Theologiae Gentilis*” (15–34), and R. H. Popkin’s “Polytheism.”

¹⁶¹ Grew, *Cosmologia Sacra* (bk. 4, ch. 2, p. 152). The Greek citations are from Pseudo-Phocylides, *Sententiae* (106 and 84), a poem in 230 hexameter lines, attributed to the Milesian Phocylides (c. 540 BCE), but most likely written by an Alexandrian Jew of the first to second centuries CE. For similarities between these maxims and the Bible, see Gen. 1:26 and Deut. 22:6.

¹⁶² The prayer of the Hebrew sage Agur, son of Jakeh, appears in Prov. 30:7. Mather here corrects Grew (152), who attributes this saying to the Levite Asaph, son of Berechiah, and supposed author of Ps. chs. 1, 73–83. Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus), the Roman poet and satirist of Apulia (c. 65–8 BCE), echoes the moral sayings of Agur, in *Carmina* (Ode 3.16.43–44), which here translate “All is well for the man to whom God with a frugal hand has given enough.”

¹⁶³ Mather here pairs Prov. 27:1 with *Elegiae* (1.160), a collection of nearly 1,400 verses by Theognis (c. 550 BCE), the elegiac poet of Megara.

¹⁶⁴ Solomon’s truism (Prov. 19:2) is paired with a line from *Oedipus tyrannus* (600), by the Athenian playwright Sophocles (c. 490–406 BCE), who has Creon reason that conspiring against Oedipus is illogical when Creon can have all the benefits of co-rulership without its burdens. Creon argues that conspiring “were sheer madness, and I am not mad.” Mather is generally careless about diacritical marks and frequently omits them altogether.

Solomon writes, *There is not a Just Man, that sinneth not.* One of the Minor Poets, writes,

Ἀνθρώπων δ' ἄψεκτος ἐπὶ χθονὶ γίγνεται οὐδείς·

*There is not a Man upon the Earth, that is undefiled.*¹⁶⁵

Solomon writes, *That God ha's made every thing beautiful in his Season.* Sophocles writes, πάντα καιρῷ καλὰ. *Every thing is good in its Season.* And in the Description of Old Age and of Death, Solomon writes, *The Dust shall Return to the Earth, as it was, and the Spirit shall return to God that gave it.* So Phocylides,

Σῶμα γὰρ ἐκ γαίης ἐχομεν, καὶ πάντες ἐκ αὐτῆς

Λυόμενοι κόνις ἐσμεν· ἀπὸ δ' ἀνα πνεῦμα δέδεκται·

*Our Bodies, which are made of the Dust of the Earth, shall be resolved into that again: But the Heavens receive the Spirit.*¹⁶⁶

Solomon praising his Queen, saies, *That upon her Temples, were Threescore Queens, & fourscore Concubines, and Virgins without Number.* Like to this, is the Strain of Musæus upon Hero;

Ὀφθαλμός γελοιῶν ἑκατὸν Χάριτεςσι τεθηλεῖ·

*That when he smiled, an hundred Graces were produced in one Eye.*¹⁶⁷

Jeremiah writes, *It is good for a Man, that he bear the Yoke in his Youth.* And Sophocles, τὸ φέρον ἐκ θεοῦ καλῶς χρὴ φερεῖν. *What God will have us to bear, Lett us bear it becomingly.*¹⁶⁸

But no Poet imitates the Scriptures more than Homer, who having been, as Pausanias tells us, an *Inquisitive Traveller into all Countreyes*, had no doubt, been among the Jewes.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁵ Solomon's sententious statement in Eccl. 7:20 is again paired with one from Theognis, *Elegiae* (1.799). Mather's Greek passage cribbed from Grew (152) is slightly inaccurate and should read Ἀνθρώπων δ' ἄψεκτος ἐπὶ χθονὶ γίγνεται οὐδείς.

¹⁶⁶ The preacher's proverb (Eccl. 3:11) is paired with the line from *Oedipus tyrannus* (1516): "Everything must have its day." Solomon's description of man's fate (Eccl. 12:7) is coupled with two lines from Pseudo-Phocylides, *Sententiae* (107–08). Again, Mather does not bother with diacritical marks even when supplied by his source (Grew 152). The passage differs slightly from that in Pseudo-Phocylides, which reads Σῶμα γὰρ ἐκ γαίης ἐχομεν καπεῖτα πρὸς αὐτὴν γῆν / λυόμενοι κόνις ἐσμεν· ἀπὸ δ' ἀνα πνεῦμα δέδεκται. "For we have a body out of earth, and when afterward we are resolved again into earth / we are but dust; and then the air has received our spirit" (*Pseudepigrapha* 2:578).

¹⁶⁷ Grew (bk. 4, ch. 2, p. 153). Solomon's celebration of his Shulamite (Cant. 6:8) is associated with a similar line of immortal love by Hero, priestess of Aphrodite at Sestus, for her beloved Leander of Abydos. The Greek citation from Musaeus's *Hero et Leander* (65) describes Hero's irresistible graces. The story of their tragic love survives in the version of the Christian Neoplatonist Musaeus Grammaticus (5th–6th c. CE) and in earlier versions, in Virgil's *Georgics* (3:258–63) and Ovid's *Heroides* (bks. 18–19). Mather omits the diacritical marks of his source text.

¹⁶⁸ Jeremiah's adage (Lam. 3:27) is compared to one from Sophocles's tragedy *Oedipus Coloneus* (1694), which survives in a variant form: τὸ φέρον καλῶς φερεῖν: "What Heaven brings ye needs must bear." Mather's version (Grew 153) is adapted to suit his Judeo-Christian tenor.

¹⁶⁹ The Greek writer Pausanias of Lydia (fl. c. 150–c. 180 CE) relates that unlike Hesiod, who was reluctant to travel, Homer had traveled "very far abroad" (*Graeciae descriptio* 1.2.3).

Ganymedes being taken into Heaven, is an Allusion to *Enoch's* Translation. In Allusion to the Story of *Balaam*, he will have *Xanthus*, the Horse of *Achilles*, upon his Carreer, to speak to him, and *Achilles* answer him. He makes an Interposal of the Gods, in almost every Part of the War, between the *Græcians*, and the *Trojans*. This highly imitates the Sacred Story. As he came after *David* (as *Herodotus* will have it, near two hundred Years, and near one hundred, according to *Philochorus*.) thus his Imitations of *David*, are Numberless.¹⁷⁰

Agamemnons Prayers, have many Strokes of the *Psalms* in them. *Homer* tells us, The Gods eat *Ambrosia*; *David* speaks of the *Manna*, which is *Angels Food*. From the Falling of *Manna* in the Wilderness, we have the *Ambrosia campi*. *David* saies, *Bread strengthens, & Wine makes glad the Heart of Man*. *Homer* saies, *Bread & Wine give Men both Strength & Heart*. The Psalmist saies, That God had given his People to be Meat for the Fowls of Heaven, & their Flesh to the Beasts of the Earth. The Poet makes *Achilles* tell *Hector*, Th[at] he should lye dead in the open fields, till Fowls & Dogs devoured him. The Psalmist saies, The Poor committeth himself to God, and, The Lord preserveth the Stranger. The Poet saies, That the Poor & the Stranger, are always in the Hands of God.¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰ *Ganymedes*, the handsome Trojan youth kidnapped by Zeus and taken to heaven in a whirlwind or by an eagle (*Homer*, *Iliad* 20.231–35 and *Hymnus Homericus* 4.202–17), is here associated with the biblical Enoch, who is similarly elevated (*Gen.* 5:24 and *Liber Ecclesiasticus* 44:16). *Xanthus*, the trusted horse of *Achilles*, breaks his silence (at *Juno's* instigation) and addresses his dying master (*Homer*, *Iliad* 19.400–15). The biblical story of *Balaam's* loquacious ass is told in *Num.* 22:22–30 and *2 Pet.* 2:15–16. The dates of *Homer* are uncertain, but most scholars now agree that the epic bard of Chios flourished in the eighth century (c. 750 BCE). Since King *David* (11th c. BCE) lived nearly three centuries before *Homer*, Mather assumes that the writings of the former are the source for the latter and turns for the dates of the Greek bard to *Herodotus*, who argues that *Homer* lived four hundred years before *Herodotus's* own time (2.53). The Greek historian *Philochorus* (c. 340–260 BCE), best known for his *Atthis*, provides slightly different dates than those of his more famous fellow historian *Diogenes Laertius* (*Vitae philosophorum* 2.43–44). Interestingly, Mather is less inclined to assign precise dates than is *Nehemiah Grew* (bk. 4, ch. 2, p. 153), who argues that according to *Herodotus*, *David* lived “about 188” before *Homer*, and according to *Philochorus*, “about 87.” *James Ussher's* dates for King *David's* reign are 1055–1015 BCE, and for *Homer*, the tenth-century BCE, in *Ussher* (*Annals* 34–35, 39).

¹⁷¹ The prayer of *Agamemnon*, the Danean hero fighting in the Trojan War, is uttered in *Homer* (*Iliad* 2:412–18). The Greek deities indulge in ambrosia (immortality) and cups filled with nectar, in *Homer* (*Iliad* 1.595–600) and in *Ovid* (*Epistulae ex Ponto* 1.10.11), but *Cicero* (*Tusculanae disputationes* 1.26.65) is skeptical. King *David* celebrates the raining down of celestial manna in *Ps.* 78:24–25, from which celebration (Mather argues via *Grew* 153), we have the “Ambrosian fields” or the “Gardens of the Hesperides.” *David's* disquisition on bread and wine (*Ps.* 104:15; *Ecl.* 9:7) inspired, perhaps, *Homer's* description of the feasting *Argives* in *Iliad* (9:89–94). The desolation of *Jerusalem* likened to beasts feeding on human corpses (*Ps.* 79:2) is compared to *Achilles's* curse of *Hector*, in *Homer* (*Iliad* 22:331–36). And, finally, the Psalmist's lamentation and benediction (*Ps.* 10:14; 146:9) is to have been the source of inspiration for *Homer's* faithful swineherd *Eumaios*, who reminds disguised *Odysseus* that the rites of hospitality are sacred to the gods (*Odyssey* 14:55–71).

I will, from Dr. *Grew*, mention only Two more of this Poets Imitations; and they are pretty Remarkable ones. One of them is This.¹⁷²

He transfers the Circumstances of the Transactions between the *Israelites* & the *Egyptians*, to that between *Penelope* and her Wooers. *Penelope* takes Presents of them, & this by the Advice of *Pallas*, before they were all Destroyed, even by *Ulysses*, who answers to *Moses*. Nor were the Presents made unto *Penelope*, before they were asked; which was the Case of the *Israelites*. And, as the sudden Destruction of the *Egyptians*, was in the Night, so when the Time for the Wooers to be destroy'd was come, the House wherein they were, became Dark. And as the *Israelites* were ordered then to Sprinkle their Door-Posts with Blood, So, the Beams of *Penelopes* House now seemed all Bloody. The other of them is This.¹⁷³ His *Twentieth Iliad* is wonderfully taken out of our *Eighteenth Psalm*. *David* makes a Triumphant sort of Descant upon his Deliverance from all his | Enemies, & from *Saul*. Much of this the Poet borrowes, to express *Æneas's* Præserva-tion from *Achilles*. The Psalmist saies, *God Thundred with fiery Lightnings in the Heavens*. The Poet saies, *Jove Thundred terribly above*. The Psalmist saies, *Then the Earth Shook & Trembled*. The Poet saies, *Neptune shook the Earth on every Side*. The Psalmist saies, *The Foundations of the Hills moved & were shaken*. The Poet saies, the like, of the *Plains beneath, & the Tops of Ida*. The Psalmist saies, *The Channels of the Waters were seen & the Foundations of the World were discovered*. And in the Poet, *Pluto* bids *Neptune* hold his Hand, lest his dismal Dwelling should be discovered. In the Psalmist, *Thunders* and *Lightnings* præcede the *Sea-Storm*. The Poet brings *Phæbus* opposing himself to *Neptune*. The Psalmist expresses his Deliverance, by saying, *The Lord sent from above; He took me, He drew me, out from many Waters*. Thus in the Poet, *Neptune* carries *Æneas* from *Achilles*, over the Heads of the *Trojan Army*. *David* speaks of his Enemy, as *too strong* for him; And *Neptune* asks, who betray'd *Æneas* to *Achilles*, *much the stronger?* *David* saies, That *God delighted in him*. And *Æneas* is represented by *Homer*, as *Beloved of the Gods*.¹⁷⁴

[68v]

172 The following three paragraphs are extracted from Grew (bk. 4, ch. 2, pp. 153–55).

173 Mather (and Grew) believes that the Israelites' pocketing the jewelry of their Egyptian neighbors (Exod. 12:35–36) during their hasty departure from Egypt is embedded in Homer (*Odyssey* 18.280–303). Here, Penelope, faithful wife of Odysseus (Ulysses), acts on the behest of Pallas Athena and accepts her suitors' gifts even though she has no intention of honoring their marriage proposals. Likewise, the sacrificial blood on the Israelites' lintels and the death of all firstborn among the Egyptians (Exod. 12:22–23, 29–30) is paralleled with Odysseus's bloody revenge on his wife's suitors and on his own disloyal servants (*Odyssey* 22.305–520).

174 David's thanksgiving and description of how Jehovah of Armies vanquished David's enemies (Ps. 18) is compared to Homer's celebration of victory in the combat between Aeneas and Achilles (*Iliad* 20.156ff). The divine display of thunder, lightning, and earthquakes of Jehovah (Ps. 18:7, 13) is compared to similar displays of awesome power of the Greek deities (*Iliad* 20.57–60); David's superlative metaphors of the waters and foundations of the world (Ps. 18:7, 15) are associated with those of Homer's Pluto (Hades, Aidoneus), god of the underworld, who cautions the earth-shaker Neptune (Poseidon) not to expose the chambers of the deep (*Iliad*

The like Imitations of our Sacred Scriptures, are observed in the best *Philosophers* of all Ages and Countreys. But none discovers a greater Acquaintance with the Books of *Moses*, than the famous *Plato*; for which Cause by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, after *Numenius*, he is called, Μωσῆς Ἀττικίζων. *Moses in an Athenian Dress*.¹⁷⁵

The Passages that might be quoted, would make a Volumn. I will supersede all quotations, with a notable Saying of old *Minutius Felix*. *Disputant philosophi eadem quæ dicimus; non quòd nos simus eorum vestigia secuti, sed quòd illi de divinis prædicationibus prophetarum, umbram interpolate veritatis imitati sunt*.¹⁷⁶

Before I wholly dismiss this Illustration, I will invite you to read the *Sixth Eclog* among *Virgil's* Pastorals. On which his Translator observes, That his Description of the *Creation* has in it, not one of the Terms peculiar to the *Epicurean* Hypothesis, (and indeed how could he well introduce a *GOD*, oddly denying the *Power* and *Providence* of the *Deity*, and singing an Hymn to the *Atoms*, & *Blind Chance*?) But it agrees very well with that of *Moses*; And *M. Dacier*, who is confident that *Horace* had perused the Sacred History, might with more of Reason have affirmed the same concerning *Virgil*.¹⁷⁷ For besides the famous

20.61–65); the thunderstorm at sea (Ps. 18:11–15) weighs against the quarrel between Phœbus (Apollo) and Neptune (*Iliad* 20.54–69); the deliverance of the Psalmist from the waters (Ps. 18:16) is linked with Neptune's rescue of Aeneas (*Iliad* 20.318–29); David's strong enemies (Ps. 18:17) are related to those in Neptune's query (*Iliad* 20.332–39); and finally, Jehovah's delight in David (Ps. 18:19) is equated with the love of the immortal gods for Aeneas (*Iliad* 20.347–48).

175 Grew (bk. 4, ch. 2, p. 155). Plato (c. 429–347 BCE), the great Athenian philosopher, is here prized for his cosmogony, cosmology, and ethics (esp. *Timæus*, *Philebus*, *Symposium*, and *Leges*), which exhibit striking similarities to those of the Hebrew lawgiver. Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 1.22.150.4.2), evidently following the example of the Syrian Neoplatonist Numenius of Apamea (fl. 2nd c. CE), dubs Plato “Moses Attikizon”; i.e., “Athenian Moses” – a designation that Clemens derived from Numenius's *De bono* II, which survives in *Fragmenta* (fragm. 8.4). Mather's likely source (via Grew) is Eusebius's (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.6.411a; 11.10.527a), where Numenius declares, “For what is Plato, but Moses speaking in Attic Greek?” See also *Heptaplus* (First Proem, p. 68), by the Italian Renaissance humanist Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–94), who argues that Plato's philosophy is largely derived from that of the Israelite Lawgiver. See D.P. Walker's *Ancient Theology* (10–14) and S. Hutton's “*Moses Atticus*” (68–84).

176 The second-hand Latin citation (via Grew, bk. 4, ch. 2, p. 154) is from the Christian apologist Marcus Minucius Felix (fl. 200–240 CE). The passage from his Socratic dialogue between a Christian and pagan appears in his *Octavius* (34) and translates as follows: “Philosophers dispute of the same things that we are saying, not that we are following upon their tracks, but that they, from the divine announcements of the prophets, imitated the shadow of the corrupted truth” (*ANF* 4:194). Mather is not completely faithful to the Latin quotation derived from Grew (154).

177 Turning to the pastoral eclogues by the Roman epic bard of Mantua Publius Vergilius Maro (70–19 BCE), Mather is delighted that Virgil (*Eclogue* VI) seemingly rejects the Epicurean speculation that the universe resulted from an accidental accretion of atoms that fortuitously combined and formed this world, which therefore has neither a beginning nor an end. André Dacier (1651–1722), a French editor and translator of classical works, published an edition of

Passage in the Sixth *Aeneid*, where the Word, *Principio*, is used in the Front both by *Moses* and *Virgil*, and the *Seas* are first mentioned, and the, *Spiritus intus alit*, which might not improbably allude unto the *Spirit moving on the face of the Waters*; – Omitting this parallel Place, the successive Formation of the World, is evidently described in these Words;

– *Rerum paulatim sumere Formas*.¹⁷⁸

And it is hardly possible to render more literally that Verse of *Moses*; *Lett the Waters be gathered into one Place, and Lett the Dry Land appear*, than in this of our *Virgil*;

Tum durare solum, et discludere Nerea Ponto.¹⁷⁹

After this, the Formation of the *Sun* is described (exactly in the Mosaical Order;) and next the Production of the first living Creatures, but in a small Number; (all in the same Order still.)

Rara per ignaros errent Animalia montis.

Here also *Virgil* keeps more close to the *Mosaick* System, than the Writer, who will by no means allow *Mountains* to be coæval with the World.¹⁸⁰

|

[69r]

136.

Q. It cannot bee deny'd, That the common Glosses, wherein the *Mosaic* Account of the *Creation*, is dressed out unto our Understanding, are full of Difficulties. For this Cause, you know, learned Men have of late used several *Essayes*, all not with *æqual Success*, to rescue the Inspired Writings of *Moses*, from

Quinti Horatii Flacci Opera (1694), the collected works of Horace (68–8 BCE), Roman poet and satirist of Apulia. For the revival of the atomist philosophy, see R. B. Lindsay's "Pierre Gassendi," G. B. Stones's "Atomic View," and M. Gorman's "Gassendi."

¹⁷⁸ The famous passage appears in Virgil's *Aeneid* (6.724–55) and celebrates the creation of the heavens and the earth. Mather is particularly attracted to this passage because like Gen. 1.1 in Jerome's Vulgate, Virgil's passage begins with "*Principio*" (6.724), "Beginning" or "First." Likewise, Mather is charmed by the similarity between Virgil's "*Spiritus intus alit*" ["a spirit within supports"] (*Aeneid* 6.726) and Gen. 1:2. Mather also sees a parallel in the six successive days of the Mosaic creation account (Gen. 1:1–31) and the Latin passage from Virgil's *Eclogue* (6.36), which can be rendered "gradually to assume the shape of things."

¹⁷⁹ The divine command to separate the dry land from the waters (Gen. 1:9) is echoed in Virgil's Latin passage, which reads in translation, "Then the ground began to harden, to shut up Nereus in the abyss" (*Eclogue* 6.35). Upon confining the old sea god Nereus (son of Pontus) to the deep, Mather turns to the next parallel.

¹⁸⁰ The creation of the sun on the fourth day (Gen. 1:14) and the sequential creation of all living beings on earth (Gen. 1:20–26), Mather believes, are alluded to in Virgil's *Eclogue* (6.40), which translates, "living beings roam over the mountains that do not know them." With such Virgilian evidence to confirm the existence of mountains from the beginning of the creation, Mather pokes fun at the Cartesian *Telluris Theoria Sacra* (1681, 1689), revised and translated as *The Sacred Theory of the Earth* (1684, 1691), by the English latitudinarian divine Thomas Burnet (c. 1635–1715), Master of the Charterhouse and member of the Royal Society, who argues that the antediluvian earth had neither mountains nor seas, for the surface of the earth was completely level and the waters were confined in subterranean caverns (bk. 1, chs. 5–11, pp. 53–118).

the *Hardships* that have been putt upon them. Favour mee, with communicating at least One or Two of those *Essayes*. v. 31.

A. If I *do*, you must not expect, that I declare myself, how far I concur, with every Point, that shall bee offered. And I will also leave *you*, to the same Liberty that I take *myself*.¹⁸¹

The *Sentiments*, which I will first offer you, have Mr. *William Whiston*, for the Author of them: who in a Book published, 1696. under this Title, *A New Theory of the Earth*, ha's the Substance of the ensuing Passages.¹⁸²

Hee first laies down this Position: "*That the Mosaic Creation is not a Nice and Philosophical Account of the Origin of All Things; but an Historical and True Repre'sentation of the Formation of our single Earth, out of a confused Chaos, and of the successive & visible Changes thereof, each day, till it became the Habitation of Mankind.*"¹⁸³

Hee saies, The very first Words of *Moses* plainly imply, that the Production of *the World out of nothing*, which wee usually style *Creation*, was precedaneous to the *Six dayes Works*, given account of, in the same Chapter. *In the Beginning God created the Heaven & the Earth*. q. d. "Tho' the History of the *Origin of the World*, which shall now bee given you, do not extend any farther than that *Earth* wee live upon, and the *Bodies* that belong unto it; yett, to obviate any Ill Effects of a perfect Silence touching these things, I am obliged, by the Divine Command, to assure you, That the Original of *all Beings* whatsoever, was primarily

181 Mather's diffidence openly to declare his position is amusing albeit understandable because William Whiston's theories significantly challenged some of the time-honored explanations of the Mosaic creation account. When Whiston made public his Arian beliefs (which his friend and mentor Isaac Newton wisely kept to himself) and accused St. Athanasius, the ancient bishop of Alexandria, of forgery, Mather's friendly epistolary correspondence with Whiston cooled considerably, and the New England cleric edited out of "BA" the more amicable attributes he had bestowed on Whiston even while Mather continued to excerpt Whiston's publications wholesale (Silverman, *Life* 328–30; Force, *Whiston* 105–13).

182 Whiston's *A New Theory of the Earth, From its Original, to the Consummation of all Things* (1696) originated as a refutation of Thomas Burnet's *Sacred Theory of the Earth* (1691). The significance of Whiston's popular work – it had gone through five editions by 1737 – earned him the respect of Isaac Newton, whom Whiston succeeded as Lucasian Professor of mathematics at Cambridge (Force, *Whiston* 40–54). My page references to Mather's lengthy excerpt [69r–76v] are to the first edition of Whiston's *New Theory* (1696).

183 Excerpted from Whiston's "A Discourse Concerning the Nature, Style, and Extent of the *Mosaick History of the Creation*" (separate pagination), in *New Theory* (pt. 1, p. 3), Whiston posits that the creation account (Gen. chs. 1–2) does *not* intend to be scientifically accurate, but merely describes to a philosophically untrained audience the sequence of what an eyewitness might have seen at the time of creation. By introducing this distinction, Whiston (and Mather) can at once continue to defend the divine inspiration of the Mosaic narrative *and* acknowledge its contradiction to the scientific discoveries of Whiston's time. Whiston's subsequent argument is all the more innovative (and threatening) because he theorizes that the Mosaic story does *not* apply to the creation of the whole universe (as is uniformly assumed), but merely to the sublunary planet earth. All other planets in our solar system, the sun, and the rest of the universe were created in an antecedent event *not* included in the Mosaic hexaemeron.

owing to the same God of *Israel*, whose Works I am going to Relate; and that, not only this *Earth*, and all its *Bodies*, but the *Vast Frame of Universal Nature*, was by him at first created out of *Nothing*, and disposed into the several Systems that are now extant.” – It is clear, That as soon as the Holy Writer, descends to the Description of the *Chaos*, and the Commencing of the Six dayes Creation, hee mentions not a Word, of any Production out of *Nothing*; which was before Supposed and Asserted to have been past and done, *In the Beginning*. – The Words here used, of, *Creating*, or, *Making*, or, *Framing* of things, in the Style of the Scripture, do frequently signify no more, than the Ordering, Disposing, Changing, or *new-modelling* those Creatures which existed already, into a different, & sometimes perhaps a Better, & more Useful State, than they were in before. In the very History of the *Creation* itself, you find it so. – Moreover, Those Phrases, *The World*, or, *The Heavens & the Earth*, under which, the Object of the *Six Dayes Creation* is comprehended in Scripture, do not alwayes denote the *whole System of Beings*; but are in the Sacred Style, frequently, if not mostly, to bee re{strained to} the Terraqueous Globe with its Dependences.¹⁸⁴

The only considerable Objection, is, That neither the *Light*, by whose Revolution *Night* and *Day* are distinguished, nor the *Sun*, *Moon*, and *Stars*, which are sett in *our Firmament*, belong to our *Atmosphere*, and yett both of them do belong to the *Mosaic Creation*, and are the *First* and *Fourth Dayes* Works therein.¹⁸⁵

To give Satisfaction in this Point; The Original of the *Light*, were without Difficulty to bee accounted for, if the other Point, the Making of the *Heavenly Bodies* were once settled. And that would bee no Harder, if the Translation of the Words of *Moses*, were but thus amended: *And God said, Lett there bee Lights in the Firmament of the Heaven, to Divide the Day from the Night: – And God had (before) made Two Great Lights, the Greater to rule the Day, & the Lesser to rule the Night; and Hee had (before) made the Stars also, and God sett them in the Firmament*. The Hebrew Tongue, having no *Plusquam Perfectum*, it must and does express the Sense of it, by the *Perfectum*; and the particular Circumstances of each Place, must alone determine, when thereby the Time *Present*, and when the already *Past* and *Gone*, is to bee understood. How many *knotts* in the Scripture, the Omission of *this Observation* hath left unsolved, & which being

¹⁸⁴ Whiston (pt. 1, sec. 1, pp. 4–5; sec. 2, pp. 7, 9; sec. 3, pp. 9–10). The passage in quotation marks appears in Whiston and paraphrases the position of Simon Patrick (1625–1707), bishop of Ely, whose *Commentary* on Genesis (1694) represented the orthodox Anglican position on the Mosaic creation account. Whiston therefore acknowledges his consent in his revised fifth edition of 1737: “This Sense of the Words is allow’d by our late Excellent Commentator, the Right Reverend the late Lord Bishop of *Ely*; whose Sentiments cannot but be justly valued by all who are conversant in his Expositions of the Holy Scriptures” (*New Theory*, 5th ed., pt. 1, sec. 1, p. 5; and *New Theory* [1696], pt. 2, ch. 3, p. 90). The passage in braces – lost through defacement of Mather’s holograph MS – is here restored from Whiston’s text.

¹⁸⁵ Whiston (*New Theory*, pt. 1, sec. 3, p. 13).

observed, would immediately bee untied, wee shall not here enumerate. Lett it bee particularly considered, in the History of the *Creation* itself. Gen. 2.1. *On the Seventh day God had ended His Work, which Hee had made.* v. 3. *Hee had Rested from all His Work.* v. 5, 6. *The Lord God had not caused it to Rain on the Earth; and there had not been a Man to Till the Ground.* So, v. 7, 8, 9, 19. —¹⁸⁶

In the Holy Scriptures, the *Heavenly Bodies*, are no otherwise considered, than with Relation to *our Earth*, and as Appurtenances of *our Atmosphere*. Tho' the *Heavenly Bodies* are *universally useful*, yett here those Great and Noble, Main and Glorious Parts of the Universe, are not considered as under the many wise, vast, & *Comprehensive Ends* designed by the Divine Providence; but they are placed in the *Firmament of Heaven* (a Phrase used in this History, for *our Atmosphere*) to *Divide our Day from Night*, to bee to us for *Signs & Seasons*, for *Dayes & Years*; to bee for *Lights in the Firmament of Heaven*, to give *Light upon the Earth*; to *Rule over our Day & Night*; to *Divide our Light from Darkness*. And the *Order* of their Introduction here, is not that of their proper *Dignity*, but that of their *Respective Appearances* and *Uses* here below. Thus, the *Sun* and *Moon*, as if they were two Globes of *Fire* and *Light*, pendulous in *our Air*, and *hanging* over certain Places, are order'd to *stand still*, the one upon *Gibeon*, the other in *the Valley of Ajalon*.¹⁸⁷

Wee will attempt to find out, the True *Origin* and *Source*, of such Notions and Expressions. God hath so Framed the *Eyes* of Men, that when the Distance of Bodies, and their proper Magnitude is very great, they shall both
 [70v] bee *Imperceptible* to us. There is every Way from our *Eye*, a *Spherical Distance*, | or *Superficies*, which terminates our distinct Perception of Objects, and beyond which, all Distances and Magnitudes absolutely considered, are not by us distinguishable.¹⁸⁸ Until Geometrick and Philosophick Principles Rectify Mens

¹⁸⁶ The Latin "*Perfectum*" and "*Plusquam Perfectum*" are the "past" and "past-perfect" verb tenses, respectively. Whiston (*New Theory*, pt. 1, sec. 3, pp. 14–15).

¹⁸⁷ Whiston (*New Theory*, pt. 1, sec. 3, pp. 18, 19). The italicized passages are citations from and references to Gen. 1:14–17, and Josh. 10:12 – the latter referring to Joshua's arrest of the sun and moon.

¹⁸⁸ Whiston (*New Theory*, pt. 1, sec. 3, p. 21). Whiston begins his argument with a significant caveat (which Mather tellingly omits) that the Mosaic account does not aim at being an accurate or scientific record of what happened during the creation process, because "the Capacities of the People could not bear any such things; that the Prophets and Holy Penmen themselves, unless over-rul'd by that Spirit which spake by them, being seldom or never Philosophers, were not capable of representing these things otherwise than they, with the Vulgar, understood them: That even, still, those who believe the true System of the World, are forc'd among the Vulgar, and in common Conversation to speak as they do, and accommodate their Expression to the Notions and Apprehensions of the generality of Mankind" (Whiston, *New Theory*, pt. 1, sec. 3, p. 20). This ingenious distinction allowed Whiston and his compeers to uphold the divine inspiration of the Bible while blaming its unscientific descriptions on the ignorance of God's ancient messengers or on the prophets' need to accommodate their illiterate audience. This ancient form of accommodationism was not unique to Whiston and goes back at least as far as St. Augustine (*Confessions* 12.4.4). The bishop of Hippo also struggles with the multivalent

Notions, all Bodies whatsoever beyond the Clouds, such as the *Cælestial* are, must needs bee esteemed at the same æquidistant *Superficies* with the *Clouds*, and appear among them. The *Heavenly Bodies* consequently, *as to us*, are with them placed in our *own Air*; when their visible Magnitude, Scituation, Motion, and Habitues, are all one *with respect to us*, as if they really were *fiery Bodies*, rowling upon, or among the *Clouds*.¹⁸⁹

The Production of these *Heavenly Bodies* out of *Nothing*, was præcedaneous to the *Six Dayes Work*; and on the *Fourth day* of the Creation here, they are wholly considered as belonging to *our Earth*, and placed in *our Air*: Their *Original Appearance*, or their *First becoming visible in our Air*, is the only thing then referred unto. *Light* is then said to *Bee*, when the *Superior Regions* of the *Chaos*, were become so far Clear & Defæcate,¹⁹⁰ that the *Rays* of the *Sun*, in some Degree could penetrate the same, enough to render a sensible Distinction between *Night* and *Day*, or that Space the *Sun* was *above*, & that it was *beneath*, the *Horizon*. And agreeably, the *Sun*, *Moon*, and *Stars*, are said first to *Bee*, or, to *bee made*, when afterwards the *Air*, was rendred so very Clear and Transparent, that these *Luminaries* became conspicuous, and their Bodies distinctly *visible*, as in a clear *Day* or *Night*, they now appear to us.¹⁹¹

The Including of these Distant Bodies, thus in the *Mosaic History* of the *Creation*, might very well bee, to take away the very Foundation of that *Idolatry*,

meanings of the conventional words used in the Mosaic hexaemeron: Moses explains the creation in terms that "it might be conveyed to those of duller mind." Even Thomas Burnet and Isaac Newton embrace accommodationism. In an extant letter to the younger Isaac Newton (13 January 1681), Thomas Burnet argues that Moses (Gen. 1:1–31) does not describe the creation in scientific terms, but "gives a short ideal draught of a Terraqueous Earth rising from a Chaos, not according to ye order of Nature & natural causes, but in yt order wch was most conceivable to ye people, & wherein they could easily imagine an Omnipotent power might forme it." Ultimately, Burnet insists that the Mosaic creation account is not literal at all, but ideal or "morall" at best, which is to say fictional. Isaac Newton, however, was not willing to go as far as that: "Moses here sets down their creation as if he had then lived & were now describing what he saw. Omit them he could not without rendering his description of ye creation imperfect in ye judgment of ye vulgar. To describe them distinctly as they were in them selves would have made ye narration tedious & confused, amused ye vulgar & become a Philosopher more then a Prophet. He mentions them therefore only so far as ye vulgar had a notion of them, that is as they were phænomena in our firmament, & describes their making only so far & at such a time as they were made such phænomena" (*Correspondence of Newton* 2:323, 333). Newton's type of accommodationism therefore steers midway between the Skylla and Charybdis of allegory and literalism, revealing Sir Isaac's intrinsic need to hold fast to the Bible's divine inspiration even as he was at the forefront of the scientific discoveries of his age. Burnet fleshes out his side of the argument in his *Archæologie Philosophicæ* (1692), lib. 2, cap. 8–9, pp. 297–329; and in its English translation (1736), chs. 2–3, pp. 27–66. For helpful discussions of accommodationism, see S. Mandelbrote, "Isaac Newton"; S. Benin, *Footprints*; P. Harrison, *Rise* (129–38); and R. Smolinski, "How."

¹⁸⁹ Whiston (*New Theory*, pt. 1, sec. 3, p. 22).

¹⁹⁰ "Defæcate" here signifies "purified from dregs, clarified, clear and pure" (*OED*).

¹⁹¹ Whiston (*New Theory*, pt. 1, sec. 3, p. 23).

with which the *Jewes* were prone to adore the *Host of Heaven*. Tis hereby asserted, That they were *Created*, and *Dependent* Beings, which could have no Influence of *their own*, but what they derived from *God*, and were subject unto *His Government*, who placed them in the *Firmament*, and subjected them to such *Motions*, *Rules*, and *Lawes*, as rendred them serviceable unto this *Lesser World*.¹⁹²

Moreover, the *Mosaic History* of the *Creation*, being, A *Journal* of the *Mutations* of the *Chaos*, & of the *Visible Works* of each Day, such an one as an *Honest Spectator* on the *Earth* would have made, and *Recorded*, nay, and *Beleeved*, as in all Cases the *Reality* of the Things themselves: it is evident, that both the Appearance of the *Light*, and of the *Bodies* themselves, the *Sun*, *Moon*, and *Stars*, must come, within this *Journal*, & make as *Remarkable Changes* in the World, unto such a Spectator, as any other within the *Six dayes*, could possibly do.¹⁹³

To prove, that the *Mosaic History*, extends not beyond the *Earth*, & its Appendages, will bee easy; because all Men grant, that the *Confused Mass*, which wee call, The *Chaos*, whence all the several Parts of the *Creation* here described, were derived, extended *no farther*. The Ancient *Chaos*, was doubtless the single Source, or *Promptuary* of the *Six Dayes* Productions. Now the *Chaos* mentioned by *Moses*, is by him expressly called, *The Earth*, in Contradistin{ction to *The Heavens*, or} the other *Systems* of the *Universe*. And the *Chaos* of *Moses*, could not include the *Sun* and Fixed *Stars*, because just before the Extraction of *Light* from it, as tis usually explain'd, it was *Dark* & Caliginous. The Text saies, *Darkness was upon the Face of it*. This, on such a Supposition were Impossible. A strange Darkness! where more than *Ninety Nine* Parts of an *Hundred*, appear to bee *Fiery Corpuscles*, and the very same, from whence the *Sun* itself was constituted. And the now undoubted Property of the *Universal Gravitation* of *Matter*, contradicts and overthrowes this Fancy, of the *Heavenly Bodies* having been originally extracted from the *Chaos* of *Moses*. On this *Hypothesis*, when once they were mingled with the Parts of the *Earth*, and are since, at Immense Distances from it, they must have fled off every Way from their former Place, and in a small Space of Time, have thrown themselves to those vastly *Remote Seats*, which they have ever since possessed. Now, if instead of the, *Vis Centripeta*, a *Vis Centrifuga*; instead of *Mutual Attraction*, a *Mutual Repulsion* or *Avoidance* were found to bee, the standing unchang'd Law of *Nature*, and Property of *Matter*, this might have look'd like possible. But, when the contrary Force of *Gravitation* obtains, and that, as far as wee have any Means of knowing, *Universally*, there is now no *Room* for such an Imagination. Tis by no means Impossible, that all the *Bodies* in the Universe, should Approach to one another, and at last Unite in the common Center of *Gravity*, of the entire System: Nay, from the *Universality* of the Law of *Gravitation*, and the *Finiteness of the World*, in Length of Time,

¹⁹² Whiston (*New Theory*, pt. 1, sec. 3. p. 28).

¹⁹³ Whiston (*New Theory*, pt. 1, sec. 3, pp. 30, 31).

without a Miraculous Power Interpos[ing], it must really happen. But by what Law of *Nature*, or Property of *Matter*, they, when once conjoin'd, should bee separated, its hard to conceive. And the Difficulty is increased, by the prodigious *Velocity* of their Motions: when, according to the vulgar *Hypothesis*, but a *few Hours* can bee allow'd the *Heavenly Bodies*, to waft them into those Immensely, yett variously *distant Seats*, which they were ever after to possess. In fine, This Fancy, that the *Heavenly Bodies* proceeded originally from the *Terrestrial Chaos*, and cast themselves off from it every Way, supposes the *Earth* to bee the *Center* of the World, or of all that *System* of Bodies, and them to bee placed in a kind of Circumference every Way about it. But this *Ptolemaic* System of the World, must not hope, at this Time of Day, to bee entertained with considerate Men.¹⁹⁴

Our Author, proceeds to argue, That the *Mosaic* Creation is confined unto our *Earth*, with its Appurtenances, because otherwise the *Time* of the Creation of each Body was so extreemly *disproportionate* unto the Work itself, as is perfectly Irreconcilable to the *Divine Wisdome* of its Creator, and the Accounts of the Works themselves, as they are sett down by *Moses*. Hee freely confesses, Tis not necessary in all Cases, that wee should comprehend the Reasons of the *Divine Actions*, before {we can be under an Obligation} | {to Beleeeve them. They [71r] may be hid from us on several Accounts, tho' the things themselves be plain in Scripture.}¹⁹⁵ Nevertheless, hee thinks, tis one thing to bee *Above* Reason, and another thing to bee *Against* it. And hee thinks, the *Clearness*, or *Obscurity*, of the *Revelation*, may bee very considerable, in leaving us Room for the Exercise of *Reason* about it. Hee saies, with due Allowance every where made, for that *Infinite Distance*, and *Different State* of the *Supream Governour* of the

194 Whiston (*New Theory*, pt. 1, sec. 4, pp. 32, 33, 35, 36–38). The passage in braces – lost in Mather's manuscript through defacement – is restored from Whiston (p. 33). Whiston's argument about an ever expanding universe is surprisingly modern, for it contains the essence of the so-called "Big Bang" theory. Whiston, however, was not the first to theorize about gravity. This honor belongs to Aristotle, whose *De Coelo* (4.1) explains the falling of objects according to their specific weight. More than half a millennium after Aristotle (384–322 BCE), Claudius Ptolemaeus (c. 100–c. 175 CE) postulated in his famous *Almagest* that a centripetal force pulled bodies toward the earth's center. More than fifteen centuries later, the German astronomer Johannes Kepler (1571–1630) posited in his *Astronomia Nova* (1609) that gravitation is a universal force, which reciprocally attracts, and is attracted by, falling objects. The English mathematician Robert Hooke (1635–1703) tried to measure the gravitational force of falling objects and published his inconclusive experiments in *An Attempt to prove the Motion of the Earth* (1674). His contemporaries Sir Matthew Hale (1609–76), Lord Chief Justice of England, published his experiments in *An Essay touching the Gravitation* (1673) and in *Observations touching the Principles* (1677); John Wallis (1616–1703), Puritan divine and founding member of the Royal Society, presented his *A Discourse of Gravity* (1675) to his fellow members; and finally, Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727) provided the mathematical proof of what his predecessors could only speculate about, in his *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica* (1687). For a discussion of Newton's views on gravity and its source in God, see Westfall (*Never at Rest* 505–11), J. Henry, "Pray do not," and more generally, S. E. Morison's "Harvard School."

195 The passages in braces are lost at the bottom of [70v] and top of [71r] "BA," but here restored from Whiston's *New Theory* (pt. 1, sec. 5, p. 42).

World, from those of all *finite Beings*, depending on Him, & subject to Him; wee collect our *Idea*'s of the Divine Attributes, by considering what is *good, great, valued, & esteemed lovely & venerable* among *Men*. 'Tis a Dishonourable Reflection on God, *hee saies*, to ascribe those Things to *Him*, which to the *Free Faculties of Mankind*, would among us, bee look'd on as Marks of *Unskilfulness, Foolishness, & Imprudence*, in parallel Cases; & for which *Meer Men*, could not escape the most severe and Indecorous Imputations.¹⁹⁶ Hee saies then, putt the Case, that an *Husbandman*, who had *Two Plotts* of Ground, the one of a *score Feet* in Circumference, not very promising or capable of Cultivation above others; the other, of a *thousand Acres* of good Land, & very fitt for Tillage, or Improvement; should spend *four or five Dayes* in a *Week*, about his *Little Spott* of Indifferent Ground, and allott no more than the remaining *One* or *Two* for the Management of the other spacious Field, or, suppose, one should light upon an *Historian*, who undertook to give a compleat & full Account, of some large and spacious *Countrey*, with the many *Noble Kingdoms*, Principalities, Lordships, & Governments therein contained; and upon Perusal, nothing was to bee found mentioned in any particular Manner, but a certain Little & Remote *Island*, so inconsiderable, that the Generality of the *Inhabitants* of the *Main Land*, never heard so much as its Name, which indeed was described carefully, and its several Circumstances diligently accounted for; but as to the rest, there appeared no more, than at the Conclusion of a *Chapter*, two or three Names of its *Principal Divisions*, & some *Advantages* which one or two of their *Maritime Towns* afforded this *Small Island*; & then all was concluded. Hee affirms, the common Glosses on the *Mosaic History* of the *Creation*, to afford us, as gross *Idea*'s as these; and Notions, which an *Humane Soul*, ha's too quick a Sense of the *Decency* of things, and withal too deep a Veneration for the Adorable *Majesty of God*, to bee *easy under*, tho' it may bee *overborn* with them. Hee complains, that according to the vulgar *Hypothesis*, not only the Length of the *Day*, usually assign'd the *Mosaic Creation*, is disproportionate unto the *Business* done upon it, but also, that when the *Works* of each of the other *Dayes*, are *Single, Distinct* & of a Sort, the *Third Day* ha's two quite different, nay, Incompatible Works assign'd unto it; and that the *Earth*, with its Furniture, how inconsiderable a Body soever it is, takes up *Four entire Dayes*, at least, of those *Six*, which were allotted unto the *Whole Creation*, when the *Sun, Moon, and Stars*, those vastly greater, and more considerable Bodies, are crowded into *One single Day* together.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁶ Whiston and his compeers had learned their lesson well, for pious men were more inclined to attribute natural phenomena to God's divine power than to use their own reason to discover his natural laws. Benedict Spinoza says as much in his demystification of biblical miracles, in *Theological Political Tractate* (ch. 6, pp. 82–83). The cessation of miracles in post-biblical times and their inadmissibility in Enlightenment England are aptly discussed in J. Shaw's *Miracles* (2006), chs. 2 and 7.

¹⁹⁷ Mather extracts the entire paragraph from Whiston's *New Theory* (pt. 1, sec. 5, pp. 41–42, 46–47, 50–51). Whiston was not the first physico-theologian to take issue with the uneven

Hee goes on with many other Complaints, of the *Irregular*, and *Unbecoming* Proceedure, in the vulgar Scheme of the *Creation*; which for some Reasons, I choose to omit; and so I hasten, to give you, the Authors own, *Idea* of the whole Matter, as most conformable to the *Mosaic* History, and gloriously vindicating it from the Cavils of the *Deists*, and those that would bee thought *Socinians*: not omitting by the way, this one Passage, which is very pleasing. “I perswade myself, *saiés hee*, if there were a Collection made of the *Ancient Knotts* in several Parts of the *Bible*, and how very many of them, as *Preludes* and *Pledges* of the *rest*, are now entirely clear’d, or might easily bee so, it would contribute more, to the Recovery of the Ancient *Honour*, and due *Esteem* of the *Sacred Scriptures*,

distribution of activity during the six creative days, which (to him) could not have been literal periods of twenty-four hours each. In fact, many of the ancient and medieval Church Fathers and sixteenth-century Reformers did not see eye-to-eye on this issue and posited either an instantaneous creation or a creation during six literal days. Among those who insisted on an instantaneous creation are Philo Judaeus (*De opificio mundi* 3.13–14); Origen (*Contra Celsum*, 6.60–61), in *ANF* (4:600–1); Athanasius (*Orationes tres contra Arianos* 2.48–49); St. Hilary (*De Trinitate* 12.40) [PL 10. 458, 459], in *NPNFii* (9:228), St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summa Theologica* 1:355–57, Q 74, A 1–2). St. Augustine’s views seemed to have been unsettled over his lifetime: In *De genesi contra Manichaeos* (1.10.16; 1.14.20–21), he appears to maintain a literal six-day creation (of twenty-four hours each), but in *De Genesi ad litteram* (4.33.52; 4.34.54; 5.3.6; 5.17.35) and in *Liber imperfectus de genesi ad litteram* (7.28; 9.31), drawing on the apocryphal Sirach 18:1, he affirms a simultaneous creation of all things at once. “Creation,” Augustine explained in *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, “did not take place slowly in order that a slow development be implanted in those things that are slow by nature; nor were the ages established at the plodding pace at which they now pass. Time brings about the development of these creatures according to the laws of their numbers, but there was no passage of time when they received these laws at creation” (4.33.52, 141–42). Besides, since all natural processes – growing roots, germinating seeds, hatching eggs, growing feathers, learning to fly – take considerably longer than a single day and are dependent each upon the other, the hexaemeral division must be seen as a mere structuring device: Thus “we might say that the creation of things took place all at once and also that there was a ‘before’ and ‘after,’ but it is more readily understood as happening all at once than in sequence” (*The Literal Meaning of Genesis* 4.34.54, 143). Another variant is presented by Irenaeus, who insists that the world was made in six days and will terminate (according to 2 Pet. 3:8) in as many thousand years (*Adversus haereses* 5.28.3), in *ANF* (1:557). The Protestant Reformers were given to greater literal-mindedness and insisted that God created the world in six literal days: Martin Luther, *Lectures on Genesis*, ch. 1, and Gen. 1:27 (*Luther’s Works* 1:5, 69); John Calvin (*Institutes* 1.14.2, 22), on Gen. 1:5, 2:1–3 (*Commentaries* 1:78, 100, 102–3, 105); and *The Westminster Confession of Faith* (1648) and *Savoy Declaration* (1658), ch. 4. Even the great Sir Isaac Newton struggled with this problem at least in his younger years. In an extant fragment dating back to 24 December 1680, Thomas Burnet objects to Newton’s argument that the duration of the six days was not a period of literal twenty-four hours each, but considerably longer because the earth’s diurnal revolution at that time could “have been very slow, soe yt ye first 6 revolutions or days might containe time enough for ye whole Creation” (*Correspondence of Newton* 2:319). For a historical survey of these exegetical issues, see White’s *History of the Warfare* (1:1–24). F. E. Robbins’s *Hexaemeral Literature* (chs. 1, 3) provides an eminently useful survey of these issues.

than all the most zealous & general *Harangues*, from some *Popular Topicks*, either for *them*, or against their *Contemners*.”¹⁹⁸

I shall pass by this Authors Conjectures about *Comets*, and the Relation which *They* might have to the several Mutations of this *Earth*.¹⁹⁹ The first Thing I shall Quote from him, is, A *Paradox*, which hee expects will appear a most *Extravagant Assertion* of all other, to not a Few of his Readers.

That tho’ the *Annual Motion* of the *Earth*, commenced at the Beginning of the *Mosaic Creation*; yett its *Diurnal Rotation* did not, until after the *Fall of Man*.²⁰⁰

Hee attempts to prove, in the first Place, That in the *Primitive State* of the World, *Dayes* and *Years* were all one. Hee shoves, That on this *Hypothesis*, the Letter of *Moses* is as exactly followed, as in the ordinary one. *Moses* calls by the Name of *Dayes*, the several Revolutions of the *Sun*, in which the *Creation* was perfected. A *Day*, is the Succession of Light and Darkness, *Once*: or, the Space *One Single* apparent Revolution of the *Sun*, from any certain *Semi-meridian*, above or below the *Horizon*, till its Return *thither* again: which is in the Case before us. And this *Hypothesis* gives a Rational Account of the *Scripture-Style*, wherein a *Day*, very frequently denotes a *Year*. Besides the Language of the *Genealogies* in the Fifth Chapter of *Genesis*, there are other Numberless Instances of that Style; especially in the *Prophetic Writings*. [Consider Deut. 14.28. with

198 The quoted passage is from Whiston’s *New Theory* (pt. 1, sec. 5, p. 62). Mather apparently dislikes Whiston’s dismissal of his contemporaries’ belief that the entire universe and its creatures were created for man as the crown and center of God’s creation. The disproportionate allotment of only *one* day to the creation of the entire universe (Gen. 1:3–5), but *five* days to the earth and all its creatures (Gen. 1:6–31), Whiston protested, reveals man’s ignorance: “Suppositions ten thousand times more disproportionate and unaccountable, when ascrib’d to God Almighty, are easily believ’d. So far can Ignorance, Prejudice, and a misunderstanding of the Sacred Volumes carry the Faith, nay, the Zeal of Men!” In fact, “The Vulgar Scheme of the *Mosaick* Creation, besides the disproportion as to time, represents all things from first to last so disorderly, confusedly, and unphilosophical, that ’tis intirely disagreeable to the Wisdom and Perfection of God (*New Theory*, pt. 1, sec. 5, pp. 56–57; sec. 6, p. 64). Such dangerous arguments are better left alone, Mather avers, for they would be grist for the mills of the Cartesians and Deists, who championed purely mechanical laws of the universe, and for Socinians, who espoused Unitarianism and rejected Christ’s divinity. Mather, then, cites Whiston in affirmation of the many dark passages of the Bible, which modern science has cleared up (*New Theory*, pt. 1, sec. 5, p. 62).

199 Mather is not happy either about Whiston’s conjecture that “a Comet, or more peculiarly the Atmosphere thereof, was the very Chaos from whence that World arose, whose Original is related in the *Mosaick History*” (*New Theory*, pt. 1, sec. 4, p. 33; pt. 2, bk. 2, Hypotheses, sec. 1, pp. 69–76, separate pagination). How recurring comets in their elliptical spheres retard or accelerate planetary revolutions Whiston details in his “Lemmata” (*New Theory*, pt. 2, bk. 1, sec. 42–82, pp. 36–67, separate pagination).

200 Whiston (*New Theory*, pt. 2, bk. 2, sec. 3, pp. 79–104). By postponing the diurnal rotation of the earth until after Adam’s Fall, Whiston (and Mather) ingeniously allows for a space of time before time began. In this manner, the six creative days in the Mosaic account amount to an indefinite period of time without being constraint by the limitations of a twenty-four-hour day.

Amos. 4.4. And consider, Num. 14.33, 34. Ezek. 4.4, 5, 6. and Dan. 8.13, 14. Chap. 12.11, 12, 13. and Rev. 11.3. and Chap. 12.6. and Dan. 9.24, 25, 26.] Why should a *Day*, and not rather an *Hour*, a *Week*, or *Month*, denote still a *Year*, in the Sacred Writings? The primitive *Years* of the World, once being *Dayes*, & call'd by *that Name* in the History of the *Creation*, the *Succeeding Style* of the Scripture, now appears, with much *Elegance*, to have been but a Continuation of the *Primitive*, & Fitted for to hint unto us, a Time wherein a *Day* and a *Year*, was really the same. Add hereto | That the *Six Dayes* of *Creation* and *Seventh* of *Rest*, [72v] were by Divine Command, in afterages to bee commemorated by *Years*, as well as by *Dayes*, and so in reason answered alike to both of these Denominations. The *Israelites* were *Six Years* to sow their Fields, & prune their Vines, and gather in the Fruits thereof; But in the *Seventh Year*, the Land was to keep a *Sabbath* unto the Lord. Finally, The Author argues from the Works done on some of the *Dayes*, that it is an Indecent Thing to Recurr unto *Pure Miracle*, for the *Acceleration* of them, into the Space of *Twenty Four Hours*, when the Lawes of *Motion*, were now already Stated and Fixed in the World. Especially, the Works of the *Sixth Day* appear too Numerous for so short a Space. e. g. The Production of the Terrestrial *Animals*. The Creation of *Adam*. The Donation of his *Dominion* over the Creatures. His *Exercise* of the Dominion in giving of *Names* unto them, which required some Consideration of the *Nature* of each *Species*. A *Deep Sleep* cast upon him, which probably must last more than a *Few Minutes* to deserve that Appellation. The Taking of his *Rib*, and Closing of the *Wound*, and Making of a *Woman*. The *Bringing* of the *Woman* to him, his *Owning* her, and *Naming* her, and *Receiving* the *Benediction* of God with her. The Appointing of a *Food* for them. And, in fine, according to the Tradition of the Jewes, The *Fall of Man*, on this Day. Now, tho' *God Almighty* can do all things in what Portions of *Time* Hee pleases, *Man* cannot. Hee must have *Time* allow'd him, in Proportion to the *Business*, that is to bee done. But behold here, Business enough allotted into the *Sixth Day*, to require no small Part of a *Year*, for the Dispatch of it!²⁰¹

Hence it followes, That in the *Primitive State* of the World, the *Sun* and *Planets*, Rose in the *West*, and Sett in the *East*, contrary to what they have done ever since. This may seem to have been the Foundation of that Story in *Herodotus*, who tells us, That the *Sun*, in the Space of 10340 Years, *four Times*, Inverted his Course, and *Rose in the West*. And *Plato* relating some very ancient Traditions, about the *Primitive State* of Things, and what a *Remarkable Change*

²⁰¹ Mather condenses Whiston's argument by extracting passages from *New Theory* (pt. 2, bk. 2, sec. 3, pp. 81, 82, 83–85, 86, 88, 89, 90; cf. pt. 2, bk. 4. ch. 1, pp. 227–30). That Adam and Eve needed more than a literal day of twenty-four hours to acquire all the knowledge of nature, name the animals, and accomplish their assigned tasks (Gen. 2:7–25) seemed all too obvious, even to Simon Patrick, bishop of Ely, whose acclaimed *Commentary* (1:16) argued that while nothing is impossible for God, man (no matter how perfect) needed more than a day to accomplish all that (see Patrick's introductory comments on Gen. chap. 3).

was effected by a certain mighty Alteration in the Heavenly Motions, hee ha's this Passage; *The Motion of the Universe sometimes Revolves the same Way, that it does Now, & sometimes the contrary Way*, [τοτὲ δ' ἐπὶ τὰναντία']²⁰²

Moreover, In the *Primitive State of Nature*, there was a perpetual *Equinox*, or æquality of *Day* and *Night* throughout the World. This *Phenomenon* is usually by the *Christian Fathers*, applied unto the *Paradisiacal State*; and by the *Ancient Heathens*; unto the *Golden Age*, or the Reign of *Saturn*. Hence *Anaxagoras* tells us, *That the Stars then Revolved* [θολοειδῶς] *in a Tholiform Manner, & the Pole appeared perpetually at the Vertex of the Earth*. It may bee supposed hee means, That the Motion of the Heavens, was originally about *one Center*, or *Axis*, that of the *Ecliptic*.²⁰³

In fine, To the *First Inhabitants* of the Earth, (dwelling at the *Intersection* of the Ancient *Ecliptic*, with the present Northern *Tropic*;) the *Poles* of the World, were neither Elevated nor Depressed, but at the *Horizon*. But some time after the Formation of Things, they suddenly chang'd their Scituation; the *Northern Pole* appear'd to bee Elevated above, and the *Southern* Depressed below the *Horizon*, or, in plain Words, there was a New *Diurnal Rotation* began, about the present *Axis* of the Earth. This Matter is much insisted on, by the Ancients. *Plutarch* hath a Chapter, περὶ ἐγκλίσεως γῆς, *Of the Inclination of the Earth*. To recite the Expressions of *Leucippus*, of *Democritus*, of *Empedocles*, and of *Anaxagoras*, to this Purpose, (namely, as the last mention'd ha's express'd it, Ὑστερον δὲ πόλον τὴν ἐγκλίσιν λαβεῖν, *Afterward the Pole received a Turn, or Inclination*.) would now take up too much of our Time. Tis enough to wind up all, in this Reflection; How should such surprizing *Paradoxes* run so universally thro' the *Eldest Antiquity*, if there were not *Some Foundation* in earnest for them?²⁰⁴

²⁰² The entire paragraph is from Whiston's *New Theory* (pt. 2, bk. 2, sec. 3, pp. 91–92). Whiston's own source is Thomas Burnet's *Archæologiae Philosophicae* (lib. 2, cap. 5, pp. 249–51). The change of the sun's movement is related in Herodotus (2.142) and in Plato's *Politicus* (270b, 8), the latter of which is also the source for the Greek passage “now contrariwise,” spoken by Socrates's interlocutor.

²⁰³ Mather's source is Whiston (*New Theory*, pt. 2, bk. 2, sec. 3, p. 93); Whiston again draws on Burnet's *Archæologiae* (lib. 2, cap. 5–6). The citation from *Testimonia* (fragm. 1.31), by the Athenian philosopher Anaxagoras of Clazomenae (c. 500–428 BCE), reads *tholoeidos* (tholiform, dome-shaped) and is taken at second hand from Diogenes Laertius (*Vitae Philosophorum* 2.9.1).

²⁰⁴ Whiston (*New Theory*, pt. 2, bk. 2, sec. 3, pp. 94, 95, 96) extracts his information again from Burnet's *Archæologiae* (lib. 2, cap. 6, pp. 260–62), including the reference to Plutarch's Greek title of ch. 12, in Pseudo-Plutarchus, *Placita philosophorum* (3.12.895a, sect. F, 1). Mather (via Whiston and Burnet) here refers to the atomistic theory of Leucippus (fl. 5th c. BCE), of Leucippus's disciple Democritus of Abdera (b. 460–457 BCE), and of the Greek philosopher Empedocles of Acragas, Sicily (c. 492–432 BCE) – all of whom are discussed in Pseudo-Plutarchus's *Placita philosophorum* (2.8 and 3.12). According to Aristotle (*Metaphysics* 1.4, 985a21–b3), Empedocles was the first to introduce the theory of cosmic cycles governed by the predominance of either love or strife – each initiating a new cycle of history. For Empedocles and Leucippus, see also Diogenes Laertius (*Vitae philosophorum* 8.77 and 9.33). The

If any object, that *Half a Year of Night*, would have been too disproportionate unto the Condition of *Mankind*, it may bee answered, That the State of *Mankind*, without Quæstion, and perhaps that of other *Animals*, was before the *Fall*, vastly different from the Present; And our Judging of *One Scheme* of Nature by another, is very Fallacious and Unreasonable. The Dayes in *Jupiter* are not *Ten Hours* long. Those in the *Moon*, are near Seventy Two Times as long as they, or, a *Month*. And yett wee may not conclude, That *no Creatures* do Inhabit them.²⁰⁵

Wee will proceed now, to some of the *Phænomena*, that occur, in our Authors Account of the *Creation*, inserting here and there, his Descants upon some of them.

I. All those particular small Bodies, of which our *Habitable Earth*, is now composed, were originally in a *Mixed, Confused, Fluid, & Uncertain Condition*; without any Order or Regularity. It was an *Earth without Form & Void*; It had *Darkness* spread over the Face of its *Abyss*; And in reality, it was what it hath been ever styled, *A Chaos*.²⁰⁶

II. The Formation of this *Earth*, or the Change of that *Chaos* into an *Habitable World*, was not a meer Result, from any Necessary Lawes of *Mechanism*, independently on the *Divine Power*; but it was the *Proper Effect* of the Influence and Interposition, and all along under the peculiar Care, & Providence of *God*.²⁰⁷ | Indeed, it is not very easy to determine, how far a supernatural or miraculous Interposition of the *Divine Power*, is concerned in such Things as these; and how far, the *Lawes of Nature*, or *Mechanical Powers*, ought to bee extended. It is now evident, That *Gravity*, the most *Mechanical Affection* of Bodies, & which seems most Natural, depends entirely, on the constant, and efficacious, and, if you will, the supernatural and miraculous Influence of Almighty *God*. There is more of *God*, in the Falling of a *Stone* to the *Earth*, than there would bee in that which, with greatest Surprize wee should call, *A Miracle*, its remaining *Pendulous* in the open *Air*: since to the former is required a more *Active Influence* of the *First Cause*. It is not unreasonable, that the most common Effects of *Nature*, or usual Accidents of *Humane Affairs*, bee ascribed unto the *Supream Being*. Tis from *Him* every Thing is ultimately derived. *Hee* conserves the Na-

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Greek passage from Anaxagoras's *Testimonia* (Fragm. 1.32) survives in Diogenes Laertius's *Vitæ philosophorum* (2.9.3) and is here translated by Whiston (*New Theory*, pt. 2, bk. 2, sec. 3, p. 95).
²⁰⁵ Whiston (*New Theory*, pt. 2, bk. 2, sec. 3, pp. 100, 101–02).
²⁰⁶ Whiston (*New Theory*, pt. 2, bk. 3, ch. 1, p. 157). In support of his argument, Whiston refers in the margin to *De Veritate Religionis Christianæ* (lib. 1, cap. 16, pp. 9–28), a highly popular missionary work by the Dutch jurist and theologian Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), and to Burnet's *Theory* (bk. 1, sec. 4; bk. 2, secs. 7–8) and *Archæologiae* (lib. 2, cap. 1).

²⁰⁷ Whiston (*New Theory*, pt. 2, bk. 3, ch. 1, pp. 157–58). Mather skips the next sixty pages of Whiston's work and continues his excerpt of *New Theory* (pt. 2, bk. 4, ch. 1).

tures, & continues the Powers of all Creatures. *Hee* not only at first *produced*, but perpetually *disposes*, and makes Use of the whole *Creation*, and every Part thereof, as the Instruments of His *Providence*. *Hee* foresaw, and fore-adapted the *Entire Frame*. *Hee* determined His *Co-operation*, or *Permission* to every *Action*. *Hee* so Ordered & Appointed the *whole System*, with every *Individual Branch* of it, as to Time Place, Proportion, & all other Circumstances, that nothing should happen any otherwise, than the *wise Intentions* of His *Providence* did require. Wherefore, wee need not fear, the most *mechanical*, and *philosophic*, Account of the *Creation*, as if thereby the *Holy Scripture* were superseded, or the *Divine Power* and *Providence* excluded. Nevertheless, a *Supernatural Efficiency* is more eminently to bee expected in the first *Origin* of Things; and the *Dayes* of the *Creation* are signally distinguished from those following, wherein tis said, *God Rested*, altho' His *Ordinary Concurrence*, & *Course of Nature*, was continued without Interruption. Wherefore, wee must allow, a *Peculiar Power* exercised, by the *Great Creator* of all, in the *first Formation* of our World; and particularly, in the Following Instances.²⁰⁸

First, The Creation of the *Matter* of the *Universe*, and particularly of that of the *Earth*, was originally the Alone and Immediate Work of *God Almighty*. Tho' our Imagination, a poor finite, Limited & Imperfect Faculty, bee unable to have a positive *Idea*, of the Manner of a Production of a *Real Being* at first, yett, seeing the *Infinite Absurdities* following the Eternity, and Self-subsistence of *Matter*, are so enormous, wee cannot but rest satisfied in this Assertion.

Secondly, The *Placing* of the *Earth*, in its primitive circular *Orbit*, at its proper Distance, therein to Revolve about the *Sun*, was either an Instance of the Immediate *Power*, or, at least, of the *Peculiar Providence* of God.²⁰⁹

Thirdly; The Formation of the *Seeds* of all *Animals* and *Vegetables*, was originally, {I suppose the immediate Workmanship} of God. As far as our *Micrometers* can help us to discern the Constitution of *Seeds*, those of *Plants* evidently, and by what hitherto appears, of *Animals* too, are no other than the *Entire Bodies* themselves *in parvo*, and contain every one of the same *Parts* and *Members* with the *Compleat Bodies* themselves, when grown to Maturity. When therefore, consequently, all *Generation*, is with us, nothing, as far as wee can find, but *Nutrition*, or *Augmentation of Parts*; and that agreeably thereto, no *Seed* hath been by any Creature produced since the *Beginning* of things; tis very philosophical to conclude them, to have been *Originally* every one created

²⁰⁸ Whiston (*New Theory*, pt. 2, bk. 4, ch. 1, pp. 218, 219, 221). For his discussion of gravity as proof of God's sustained, supernatural influence on nature, Whiston relies on *Confutation of Atheism from the Origin and Frame of the World* (1693), part II, lect. 7, Nov. 7, 1692 (pp. 26–40), by Richard Bentley, D. D. (1662–1742), English classical scholar and chaplain to Edward Stillingfleet, Lord Bishop of Worcester. Bentley was the first to deliver the distinguished Boylean Lectureship for 1692 and delivered eight separate lectures, which were published in 1692–1693. Mather puts the final two of Bentley's lectures to good use (below).

²⁰⁹ Whiston (*New Theory*, pt. 2, bk. 4, ch. 1, pp. 222–23, 223–24).

by God, either out of *Nothing* in the primary Existence of Things, or, out of the pre-existing *Matter*, in the *Mosaic Creation*. For indeed, the Origin of *Seeds* appears to bee hitherto unaccountable, by the mechanic Lawes of *Matter* and *Motion*.²¹⁰

Fourthly; The *Natures, Conditions, Rules & Quantities*, of those several *Motions* and *Powers*, according to which all *Bodies* (of the same general Nature in themselves,) are Specified, Distinguished, and fitted for their several Uses, were no otherwise determined, than by the Immediate *Fiat*, Command, Power, and Efficiency of *Almighty God*. The Power of mutual Attraction, or *Gravitation* of Bodies, appears to bee *constant*, & *universal*, nay, almost *essential* to *Matter*, in the present Constitution of the World; yett, the other *Lawes of Nature*, on which the particular Qualities of *Bodies* depend, seem not to bee so; but *changeable* in themselves, and actually *changed* according to the *Changes* in the *Figure, Bigness, Texture*, or other *Conditions* of the Bodies, in which they are contained. Thus, the *Cohesion* of the Parts of *Matter*, with more or less Firmness; the *Fermentation* of several *Heterogeneous Particles*, when mixed together; the *Magnetism* of the *Loadstone*; the *Elasticity* of certain *Fluids* and *Solids*; the obstinate *Inflexibility* of others; the Different *Density* of several Collections or Masses of *Fluids*, (while yett the greatest Part of their contained Space is *Vacuity*) not to bee considerably Increased or Diminished, without the Destruction of the *Species*. Now the Rules of *Matter*, and *Motion*, shown by such *Phenomena*, were Impress'd and Ordered at first, by the *Spirit of God moving on the Face of the Waters*; and by His *Concurrence* they are still preserved.²¹¹

Fifthly; The Ordering of all things so, that in the Space of Six successive *Solar Revolutions*, the whole *Creation* should bee finished, and each *distinct Dayes Work*, should bee confined to, and compleated in, its own distinct and proper Period, it is also to bee ascribed unto the particular Providence and Interposition of *God*.²¹²

Lastly, But principally; The Creation of our *First Parents*, is to bee esteemed, the *Peculiar Operation* of the Almighty; and that, whether wee consider the {Creation} of their *Bodies*, or {the Forepast Creation and After-Infusion} | of their *Souls*. Our *First Parents* were, on the very same Day in which they were made, in a State of *Maturity* and *Perfection*, and capable of all *Humane Actions*. As for the other *Animals*, their *Seeds* were here and there scattered by their Great

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²¹⁰ The passage in braces {} was lost through wear and tear of Mather's holograph manuscript, but are here restored from Whiston (*New Theory*, pt. 2, bk. 4, ch. 1, pp. 224–25, 228). For information on how the seeds of plants and animals contain miniscule replicas of each species' complete body Whiston draws on Bentley's fourth of eight Boylean lectures (June 6, 1692) *A Confutation of Atheism* (1693), part 2, pp. 3–36.

²¹¹ Whiston (*New Theory*, pt. 2, bk. 4, ch. 1, pp. 225–26). Whiston also draws attention to Sir Isaac Newton's discussion of gravity, elasticity, levity, force, and the resistance of fluids in the Latin preface (xvii–xviii) to Newton's *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica* (1687).

²¹² Whiston (*New Theory*, pt. 2, bk. 4, ch. 1, p. 227).

Creator, and their *Growth* might bee, with a more *Mechanical Proceedure*; but there is a signal Distinction, in the Sacred History between the *Formation* of all other *Animals*, and the *Creation* of *Man*. In the former Case, tis only said, *Lett the Waters bring forth the moving Creature, that hath Life, Lett the Earth bring forth the living Creature after his Kind*. But of the latter, the entire *Trinity* consult; *God said, Lett us make Man*.²¹³

III. At the Time Immediately preceding the *Six Dayes* Creation, the Face of the *Abyss*, or superior Regions of the *Chaos*, were Involved in a *Thick Darkness*. All things Beginning then to take their Places, according to the Law of *Gravity*, the Mass of *Dense Fluids*, being heavier than the Masses of *Earth, Water, and Air*, would sink *downwards*, with the greatest Force & Velocity; & *elevate* the Masses enclosed among them upwards. Those *Opake* and *Earthy* Corpuscles, which before did Rove about the vast Regions of the *Atmosphere*, were now crouded nearer together; and by Consequence excluded the Rayes of the *Sun*, from the *Central Solid*, in another guise Manner than before.²¹⁴

IV. The visible Part of the *First Dayes Work*, was the Production of *Light*, or its *Successive Appearance* to all the Parts of the *Earth*; with, the consequent Distinction of Darkness and Light, *Night* and *Day*, upon the face of it. The *Subsidence* of the *Earthy* and *Opake* Masses, that were before this, in the upper Regions of the *Chaos*, did in some Degree admitt the Rayes of the *Sun*. As the *Mass* of the upper *Chaos* was separated from the heavier *Abyss* beneath, so it again divided itself into *diverse Orbs*, which gave the *Light* some Access to our *Earth*.²¹⁵

V. The visible Part of the *Second Dayes Work*, was, The Elevation of the *Air*, with all its contained *Vapours*; the Spreading it for an *Expansum* above the *Earth*, and the Distinction thence arising of *Superior* and *Inferior* Waters: The former consisting of those *Vapours*, Rais'd and Sustain'd by the *Air*; the latter, of such as either were inclosed in the Pores, Interstices, and Bowels of the *Earth*, or lay upon the Surface thereof. The lower *Earthy Strata*, now would bee *settling* somewhat closer together; the Watry Parts would subside, and saturate their Inward Pores and Vacuities; and the *Atmosphere* would Free itself more and more from the *heaviest* and *opakest* Corpuscles, and thereby become in a greater Degree Tenuious, Pure and Clear than before. By that Time the first Half-Year of this Day was over, {and the Sun arose, The Light and Heat of that Luminary would} more deeply penetrate the *Atmosphere*: and the proper Effect of this

213 The passage in braces {} was lost through wear and tear, but is here restored from Whiston. The entire paragraph is extracted from *New Theory* (pt. 2, bk. 4, ch. 1, pp. 227, 229).

214 The first sentence in this paragraph is extracted from Whiston (*New Theory*, pt. 2, bk. 3, ch. 1, p. 158) and the remainder from pt. 2, bk. 4, ch. 1, pp. 232–33.

215 Whiston (*New Theory*, pt. 2, bk. 3, ch. 1, p. 158; bk. 4, ch. 1, p. 236).

would bee, that vast Quantities of *Vapours* would bee elevated into, and there sustained by, the now better *Purified Air*; while the *Earthy Corpuscles*, which were incapable of, *Rarefaction*, & with them, all such *Watry Particles* as were so near the Earth, that the *Suns* Power could not sufficiently reach them, were still *sinking downwards*, and increasing the Bulk of the *Solid Earth*, & of its *Included Waters*. The *Expansum*, or Firmament which was this day spread out above the *Earth*, was plainly the *Air*, now truly so call'd, as being Freed, from the most of its *Earthy Mixtures*. The *Superior Waters*, were all those, which in the form of a *Vapour*, an Half Years Heat of the *Sun*, with the continual Assistance of the *Central Heat*, could elevate, & the *Air* sustain. The *Inferior Waters*, were those which remain'd below, all that fell down with, were enclos'd in, were sunk into, or lay upon, the Orb of *Earth* beneath. The *Air*, which is the Means of such a Separation, (still somewhat continued, in the serviceable *Clouds*,) is here said, to make this *Division*.²¹⁶

VI. The visible Parts of the *Third Dayes Work* were Two: The Former, the Collection of the *Inferiour Waters*, or such as were now under the Heaven, into the *Sea's*, with the consequent Appearance of the *Dry Land*: The Latter, the Production of *Vegetables*, out of the Ground so lately become *Dry*. In the *Half Year* of *Night*, the *Vapours* must not only descend upon the *Earth*, but by Reason of the Inæquality of the *Surface*, and therewithal the Solidity of the *Earth*, [*Mountains* being the *Lighter Sort of Earth*, tis likely enough, that in the very Course of Nature, enow of these were produced in the Formation of our *Earth*,] have run down into Declivities, and Hollowes, into the Lowest *Valleyes*, and most Depressed Regions of all; and must in these Places have composed *Sea's* and *Lakes* every where, throughout the Surface of the *Earth*. And so, by that Time the *Light* appeared, and the *Suns* Rising began the latter Part of the *Half-Year*, the entire Face of the Globe, was distinguished into *Sea* and *Dry Land*. Now was, of all other, the most convenient Season, for the *Germination* of the Seeds of *Vegetables*, and the Growth of *Plants* out of the *Earth*. The Soyl, fatned by the foregoing *Half-Years* descent of *Vapours*, was now, like the ἰλλὺς, that Fruitful *Seminary* of the *Vegetable* and *Animal* Productions of Primitive Nature, so much celebrated by all Antiquity. However, Tho' the Influencing *Heat* of the *Sun*, was on this Day very great, yett his *Body* was not hitherto become visible. The *Earth* and lowest Regions of the *Air*, were very Full of *Moisture*; a *Thick Mist* must thence needs hinder the *Air* of its Transparency, But,²¹⁷

²¹⁶ The passage in braces {} is restored from Whiston's text (pt. 2, bk. 4, ch. 1, p. 241), and the entire paragraph is excerpted from *New Theory* (pt. 2, bk. 3, ch. 1, p. 159; bk. 4, ch. 1, pp. 241–42).

²¹⁷ Whiston (*New Theory*, pt. 2, bk. 3, ch. 1, p. 159; bk. 4, ch. 1, pp. 245, 246). The celebrated ἰλλὺς [Ilys] is the fruitful "mud" or "slime" so vital to ancient agriculture.

VII. The *Fourth Dayes Work*, was, the Placing of the Heavenly Bodies, the *Sun, Moon, & Stars*, in the *Expansum*, or Firma[ment, i.e. the rendring them
 [75r] visible} | and conspicuous on the *Face of the Earth*; Together with their several Assignations to their Respective Offices there. Tho' the *Light* of the *Sun* had, ever since the First Day, penetrated the *Atmosphere*, in some Sort, yett his *Body* must not bee supposed visible all this while. Wee see, how much & how long, a few *Clouds*, in our *Dayes*, will hinder our Prospect of the *Sun*. How much Time, then might it well take, to clear the *Atmosphere*, for a distinct View of the Body of the *Sun*, by a Spectator on the Surface of the *Earth*? But before the Morning of the *Fourth Day*, the *Air* might well bee left in the greatest Purenness, & Clearness imaginable; and first the *Moon*, then the *Stars*, and afterwards the *Sun* himself, might most plainly appear, unto our *Little World*? They now were so placed in the *Firmament of Heaven*, as to *give Light upon the Earth*; & begin to *Rule* plainly *over the Day & over the Night*, and to *Divide the Light from the Darkness*. Thus the *Inanimate World* is compleated; and there appears more Truth, than one thought, in the *Tradition* of the *Chineses*, who Inhabit *Formosa*; That the World, when first created, was without Form and Shape; but God in *Four Years* brought it unto its full Perfection.²¹⁸

VIII. The *Fifth Dayes Work*, was the Production of the *Fish* and *Fowl* out of the *Waters*; with the Benediction bestow'd on them, in order to their *Propagation*. The *Seeds*, or little Bodies of *Fish* and *Fowl*, contained in the Water, were now exposed unto the kindly *Warmth* of the *Sun*, and the constant Supply of a most gentle and equal *Heat* from beneath. The Agitations of the *Tide*, in the small Sea's, by the Absence of the *Diurnal Rotation*, were Imperceptibly Easy, Gentle, and Gradual. And the *Seeds*, being Invigorated with the Divine Benediction, became now prolifick; and in this *Fifth Dayes* Time, a Numerous Offspring, of the *Swimming* and *Flying* Sorts arose; whereby the Two Fluid Elements, *Water* and *Air*, became Replenished with those *First Pairs*, which, by the *Benediction* they straightway Received, were Enabled to become the *Original* of all of the same Kinds, which were ever to bee the Inhabitants of those Regions afterwards.²¹⁹

²¹⁸ The passage in braces is restored from Whiston (*New Theory*, pt. 2, bk. 3, ch. 1, p. 160) and the remainder of the paragraph is extracted from *New Theory* (pt. 2, bk. 4, ch. 1, pp. 248, 249, 250). For the tradition of the Flood among the Taiwanese (Formosa), Whiston draws on *Geologia: Or, A Discourse Concerning the Earth before the Deluge* (ch. 2, p. 58), by the learned Erasmus Warren (fl. 1680–1714), Rector of Worlington, Suffolk. Evidently, Warren himself relies on Arnoldus Montanus's *Atlas Chinensis* (1671) for this Taiwanese creation story of Pankun, the sixty-second demigod, who created the world in four years (pt. 2, p. 46).

²¹⁹ The opening sentence is from Whiston (*New Theory*, pt. 2, bk. 3, ch. 1, pp. 160–61) and the remainder of the paragraph from bk. 4, ch. 1, pp. 251–52.

IX. The *Sixth Dayes Work*, was the Production of all the *Terrestrial*, or *Dry-land Animals*; and that in a different Manner. For the *Brute Beasts*, were produced out of the *Earth*, as the *Fish* and *Fowl* had been before, out of the *Waters*; but after that, the Body of *Adam* was form'd of the *Dust of the Ground*, who, by the *Breath of Life*, breath'd into him in a peculiar Manner, became a *Living Soul*. Some time after which, on the same Day, hee was cast into a *Deep Sleep*, and *Eve* was form'd out of a *Rib*, taken from his Side. And several other Things were done on This Day. The *Earth* was now grown more Solid, Compact, and Dry; the *Air* was fully clear, and fitt for Respiration: the other Dispositions of *External Nature* were become *Subservient*. Now was a proper Season, for the Generation of the *Dry-land Animals*, and the Introduction of, *Man*, the Noblest of them all. But tho' the other Works mentioned by *Moses*, were brought to pass, with a *Mechanical Process*, yett an *Immediate* and *Miraculous Power*, was exercised in the Formation of the *Body*, and Infusion of the *Soul*, of *Man*. Our Author takes it, That the same Λόγος Θεάνθρωπος, our Blessed *Mediator*, who was afterward, very frequently conversant on *Earth*, and appear'd in an *Humane Form* to the Patriarchs, & gave the *Law* in a *visible Glory*, and with an *audible Voice* on Mount *Sinai*, and guided the *Israelites* personally in a *Pillar of Fire & Cloud*, thro' the Wilderness, and inhabited between the *Cherubins* in the *Holy of Holies*, & took the peculiar Style, Titles, Attributes, Adoration, and Incommunicable Name of the God of *Israel*, and at last, was *Incarnate*, *Lived* a True Man among us, *Died* for us, and *Ascended* into Heaven, and still makes *Intercession* for us with the Father, and will come to *Judge the World in Righteousness* at the Last Day: That this very same Divine Person, was Actually & Visibly in an *Humane Shape*, conversant on *Earth*, and was really employ'd in this *Creation* of the World, (& particularly, in this peculiar Formation of *Man*), so frequently ascribed unto him in the Holy Scriptures. *Man* was now made, in the *Likeness* of this Divine Person, and constituted His *Deputy* and *Vice-gerent*, among the Creatures here below; and there was a peculiar Interposition of *God*, for his Original. So, upon the *Sixth Period*, when every thing that could bee subservient unto him, and advance his Fælicity, was compleated; *hee*, who was to bee the *Lord of All*, and for whose sake the *Whole* was framed, was brought into the World.²²⁰

This is a short *Idæa*, of that Illustration, which this Author, ha's given to the History of the *Creation*, left us by the Inspired *Moses*. The Author, ha's very many other *Strokes*, upon the *State* of the Primitive World, & the *Changes* that *have* come, or *must* come, upon this World, which are not here to bee Repeted.

²²⁰ The entire paragraph is extracted from Whiston (*New Theory*, pt. 2, bks. 3, ch. 1, p. 161 and bk. 4, ch. 1, pp. 252, 253–54, 255). Whiston's Greek "ΛΟΓΟΣ ΘΕΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ" or "Logos God-Man" refers to the incarnation of God in Christ as described in the Gospel of John (1:1–5, 14, 18) and elsewhere.

All that I shall further Transcribe from him is, a *Mathematical and Incontestable Demonstration*, of one Point, relating to the *System* of the World, which hath hitherto been undetermined. You shall have it, in his own Words.

[76v] | 'Tis certain, *saith hee*, That the Annual Motion belongs to the *Earth* about the *Sun*, and not to the *Sun* about the *Earth*. For when, from the *Moons* Orbit, and the *Planets* Orbits, and periodical Times, tis certain, That the *Law* of *Gravitation*, towards the *Earth*, and towards the *Sun*, is the same; and by Consequence, all the periodical Times, of Bodies Revolving about each of them, in the same Proportion to one another, compared with their several Distances from each other. On which *Hypothesis*, the Proportion that suits the *Phænomena* of Nature, & the same must bee the True one, and to bee fully acquiesc'd in. Now, tis known, That on the *Hypothesis* of the *Earths* Annual Motion, her periodical Time, exactly suits, and is so between that of *Venus* and *Mars*, as the Proportion observ'd thro' the whole System, and demonstrable *à priori*, withal, exactly requires: but on the other *Hypothesis*, tis enormously different. For, when the *Moon*, undoubtedly, and on this *Hypothesis*, the *Sun* also, Revolves about the *Earth*, and when the Distance of the *Sun* is to that of the *Moon*, as about 10000 to 46; and the *Moons* periodical Time less than 28 dayes: the periodical Time of the *Sun*, is by the *Rule of Three* discoverable thus: As the Cube of the *Moons* Distance, 46 *equal* to 97336; to the Cube of the *Suns* 10000 *equal* to 1000000000000: (or almost as 1 to 100000000,) so must the Square of the *Moons* periodical Time, 28 dayes, *æqual* to 784, bee to the Square of the *Suns* periodical Time, 7840000000; whose Square Root, 88204, are dayes also, *æqual* to 242 Years. So that on the *Hypothesis* of the *Suns* Revolution about the *Earth*, its periodical Time, must undoubtedly bee 242 Years; which all Experience attests to bee but a single one. Thus at length, the Controversy between the *Ptolemaic* and *Pythagorean* Systems of the World, is to a Demonstration determined; and the *Earths* Annual Motion, forever unquæstionably established."²²¹

²²¹ The paragraph in citation marks is extracted from Whiston (*New Theory*, pt. 2, bk. 1, ch. 1, sec. 23, pp. 26–27). Although Mather, the “Christian Philosopher,” did not hesitate to accept the mathematical underpinnings of the Copernican heliocentric system (hotly debated at the time), Mather, the theologian, kept wrestling with the implications of this philosophic revolution as it impacted biblical interpretations. His commentary on Joshua 10:12–14, the controversial miracle of the sun’s arrest in the midst of heaven, is a good case in point. Although accepted in NE’s almanacs and at Harvard, the Copernican system was still far from uncontroversial when promoted in the pulpit. For instance, when Mather delivered his Thursday Lecture, in which he praised the new heliocentrism, his friend Samuel Sewall murmured [Dec. 23, 1714]: “I think it inconvenient to assert such Problems” (*Diary* 2:779). (I am grateful to Kenneth Minkema for drawing my attention to Sewall’s remonstrance.) Significantly, Mather must have thought better than to expose himself to the pious censure of parishioners when he published his lecture as *Pascentius* (1714), for the printed sermon contains no reference to Copernicus or any heliocentrism. For an assessment of the new astronomy at Harvard, see S.E. Morison, “Harvard School” and *Harvard College* (1:216–19); R. Lockwood, “Scientific Revolution”; R.P. Stearns, *Science* (160ff); D. Fleming, “Judgment” (2:160–75); W. U. Solberg, “Introduction” (xxxiii); Solberg, “Science and Religion.”

What our Author further observes, That the *Year* before the Flood, was *Ten Dayes, One Hour, & Thirty Minutes*, shorter than the present, is very curious. But, I have already produced as much from his *Theory*, as may serve our present Purpose, for the *Illustration* of the *Divine Oracles*.²²²

As for a *Judgment* upon this Description of the *Creation*, I will præsume to make *None*, at all; I leave it unto *Men of Judgment*; All that I will add of my own is, That if wee apprehend the more peculiar Prærogative of *our World*, or this Terraqueous Globe, with its Appendages, to bee, That the Sovereignty of Heaven, has pitch'd upon *This*, as the *Peculiar Field* for the Glorious Actions of the *Messiah*, which the Gospel of God ha's Reported unto us, and that from hence the *Son of God*, would with Sovereign Grace choose the Creature, that Hee would have to subsist forever in One Person with Himself, I beleeve, wee shall entertain a Right *Idæa* of it. This is, on some singular Accounts, the *Messiah's* World, tho' *all Worlds* are *His*, and were made by Him and for Him. And, before wee read any further, the Bible, which begins with the Creation of this World, Lett us take up this Thought: for to bee carried all along with us, in our Minds, *That our Bible is the Book of the Messiah*.

[77r]

3347.

Q. The *Theories* of the *Creation*, (particularly what I last offered you,) invented by our Modern Philosophers, do certainly make too bold with the *Mosaic*, and *Inspired* History thereof. It were a Noble, and a Worthy Work; to Illustrate that History, and rescue it from the præsumptuous Glosses, that many *Neotericks* have made upon it. v. 31.²²³

A. It is notably done, by the most ingenious Dr. *Dickinson* in his, *Physica Vetus et Vera*. That Gentleman who near Fifty Years ago, obliged the World with the Curiosities of his *Delphi Phœnicissantes*, ha's now in this present Year, 1702. presented us, with a curious Treatise of above three hundred Pages in *Quarto*, in which he proves, *In Historia Creationis, tum generationis universæ methodum*

²²² Whiston (*New Theory*, pt. 2, bk. 1, sec. 56, p. 46).

²²³ Mather's ambidextrous, if not ambivalent, approach to the theories of Whiston and his peers is indicative of his internal conflict between his fascination with Newtonian science and his conviction that the Mosaic creation account must be defended against any threats from Latitudinarians. For these reasons, Mather incorporates excerpts from more conservative physico-theologians to balance his lengthy extract from such "*Neotericks*" as Whiston and Burnet, who espouse novel ideas. Given that lesser lights frequently ignored challenges to the Bible altogether, Mather's mediation reveals how far he had progressed in embracing Enlightenment ideas. Mather's argument that the earth is the "*Messiah's*, tho' *all the Worlds* are *His*" may allude to the popular seventeenth-century idea of the plurality of worlds. See *The Discovery of a World in the Moone* (1638), by John Wilkins, Lord Bishop of Chester; and *A Discourse of the Plurality of Worlds* (1687), an English translation of Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle's popular *Entretiens sur la Pluralité des Mondes* (1686). M. J. Crowe examines this conjecture in *Extraterrestrial Life Debate*.

atque modum, tum veræ philosophiæ principia, strictim atque breviter à Mose tradi. To this Treatise I shall now be beholden, for the Illustration upon the *Mosaic Hexaemeron*, with which I am now going to entertain you. And upon this Entertainment perhaps we shall be more able than ever, to say with *Nazianzen*; *ὅταν τὴν ἑξαήμερον αὐτοῦ μεταχειρίζομαι κλ.* *As often as I take that Hexaemeron into my Hands, I am with my Creator immediately, and I see the Methods and Reasons of His Creation.*²²⁴

The main Design of *Moses*, being to inculcate Piety upon his Nation, & Mankind, it was wonderfully agreeable for him, to begin with a Display of the Divine Power, & Wisdome & Goodness, in the Creation of the World. It is, probable, That *Moses* wrote this History, while he was an Exile in the Land of *Midian*, and sent it unto his Brethren in *Egypt*, that he might comfort them under their Bondage, and confirm them in their Beleef & Worship of that one God, who is the Creator of all things. Tis not likely, that he wrote *Ænigmatically*; but the *Mosaic Philosophy* was well understood in those first Ages; and tho' afterwards vain Men, like *Celsus*, and *Simplicius*, have reflected on him, as if he wrote *ἀτέχως καὶ ἀθεωρῆτως*, *Inartificially & Inconsiderately*, tis only because the true Notions of the *Mosaic Philosophy* are lost, and Men, like *Harpaste* in *Seneca*, cry out upon the House as *Dark*, only because they themselves are *Blind*, or have used none but *Peripatetical Spectacles*.²²⁵

²²⁴ The following MS pp. [77r–87v] are highly condensed excerpts from *Physica Vetus & Vera* (1702), an arcane atomist defense of Genesis, chs. 1–2, authored by Edmund Dickinson, M.D. (1624–1707), an English alchemist and Physician in Ordinary to King Charles II and James II. Dickinson's earlier work to which Mather alludes is *Delphi Phoenicizantes* (1655). The Latin passage from the title page of *Physica Vetus & Vera* suggests that "in the history of creation, at one time the method and manner of every generation, at another time the principles of the true philosophy, are precisely and concisely taught by Moses" (B. Melton's translation). Mather adorns his commentary on the Mosaic hexaemeron with a Greek citation from *Funebris oratio in laudem Basilii Magni Caesarea in Cappadocia episcopi* (67.1.1–2), by the Cappadocian Father Gregorius Nazianzenus. Mather's translation is much longer than his Greek excerpt, which ends with *μεταχειρίζομαι* "I take into my Hands." A helpful summary discussion of Dickinson's atomist *Physica Vetus et Vera* appears in K. B. Collier's *Cosmogonies of our Fathers* (1934) 149–65. Useful discussions of the return of the atomist philosophy in the seventeenth century are provided by R. B. Lindsay, "Pierre Gassendi"; G. B. Stones, "Atomic View"; and M. Gorman, "Gassendi."

²²⁵ This paragraph is extracted from Dickinson (*Physica* 3) and agrees in its opening sentence with Spinoza's argument that miracle stories in the Pentateuch are not scientific accounts of what happened, but rhetorical devices to instill awe and wonder in the minds of an illiterate people. See Spinoza, *Theological-Political Treatise* (vi. 90–92) and Whiston, "Of the Mosaick Creation" (*New Theory*, pt. 1, p. 25). The Platonic philosopher Celsus (Kelsos) of Alexandria and author of *Ἀληθὴς λόγος* [Alethes logos], *The True Doctrine* (c. 175–181 CE), a defense of Hellenic philosophy against the incursions of Christianity, is now best remembered through Origen's apologia *Contra Celsum*, which provides summaries of Celsus's argument along with Origen's repudiations. Celsus disparages Moses for having derived his smattering of philosophy from Egypt (*On The True Doctrine*, ch. 2). Simplicius (6th c. CE), the Neoplatonist philosopher of Athens who settled in Harran (Carrhae) to escape persecution under the Christian Emperor Justinian, wrote commentaries on Aristotle, Epictetus, Hermogenes, and Iamblichus. Simpli-

Lett it not surprize you now, if I tell you, That the *Mosaic Philosophy*, was no other than the *Corpuscularian*.²²⁶ Aristotle himself, as great an Enemy as he was, unto the Doctrine of *Atoms*, yett confessed concerning *Democritus* a great Asserter of the *Atomic Philosophy*; *Omnia prævidisse, et principiâ supposuisse, quibus omnia possunt explicari*. Hippocrates that great Philosopher, called this *Democritus*, Ἀριστὸν φύσεως ἑρμενεύτην καὶ κόσμου, *The best Interpreter of Nature, & of the World*; and Seneca calls him, *The Tongue of Nature*. So far is this Philosophy, from the *Atheism*, which is ignorantly & injuriously charg'd upon it, that no Man more explicitly than this Corpuscularian *Democritus*, called all Things, Θεοῦ ἔργα, *The Works of God*. Could we enjoy those Books of his, which either Time, or the Envy of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, ha's destroy'd, we should no doubt, find them full of Praises to *God the Creator*, & see what a Perswasion he had of a *Future State in an Heavenly Countrey*; for which *Pliny* maliciously derides him, as a *Chymist* who boasted of a Medicine, by which he should *Rise from the Dead*.²²⁷ The *Jonians*, who were the principal Followers of the *Atomic Philosophy* in *Greece*, were the most honest Sect of them all; And *Empedocles*, a great Man among them, as *Plutarch* informs us, asserted an *Intellectual World*, as well as a *Sensible*, and a *Righteous, an Holy, an Happy, Life* in that World, with the *Immortal Dæmons*; from which World some of those *Dæmons* were banished, [τους θεηλάτους καὶ οὐρανοπετεδὺς δαίμονας. *A Deo depulso, atque à Cælo delapsos Dæmones*;] and pursued by the *Nemesis* of Heaven. *Anaxagoras* was another great Man among them; and with him, Νοῦς, or, *Mind*, was the *Creator of the World*; and he talk'd of *Returning after Death to Heaven as his own Countrey*. *Pythagoras* was another, (who putt the Name of *Monads*, upon *Atoms*,) but so fine a Man, that the Title of Θεόσοφος, ha's been thought proper for him. Indeed, we read of a famous Phœnician *Moschus*, or *Mochus*, who long before the *Trojan War*, did at *Sidon* maintain the *Atomic Philosophy*. But no smaller Men, than *Theodoret* of old, and *Selden* of late, assert this *Moschus* to be no other than our very *Moses*;

cuius critique of Moses appears in *In Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria* (10:1166–67). Mather (like Dickinson) likens the blindness of such Neoplatonists to that of Harpaste (servant maid of Seneca's wife), who mistook her dimming eyesight for the house being dark. The oft-repeated story is told in Lucius Annaeus Seneca (the Younger), *Epistulae* (50.2–3).

²²⁶ The entire paragraph (below) is a extracted from Dickinson's *Physica* (9, 10, 11, 13, 14–15). The "*Corpuscularian*" philosophy is an archaic designation for "atomism."

²²⁷ Aristotle analyzes the atomic philosophy of Democritus at great length in *De anima* (1.2.405a ff), *De Caelo* (303ff), *Fragments* (208 R). Aristotle's praise for Democritus reads that "he had foreseen all things and supposed principles by which all things can be explained" (B. Melton's translation). Hippocrates of Cos is the famous physician of classical times (5th c. BCE), who praises Democritus in *Epistulae* 20 (14–15). Mather's second-hand citation of Hippocrates appears in Dickinson (*Physica* 9). Seneca speaks highly of Democritus and discusses his theory of nature in *Naturales quaestiones* (4.9.15.2–4, 7.3.2) and elsewhere. Democritus's reverential view of nature as "The Works of God" appears in Hippocrates's *Epistulae* 17 (80). Whereas Mather's irritation is borne out by the fact that none but second-hand fragments survive of Democritus's philosophical writings, Pliny (7.55.189–90) derides Democritus for promising that the dead would come "to life again – who did not come to life again himself!"

who, tis not unlikely, might, while an Exile in *Midian*, take a short Journey into *Phœnicia*. It was from a vile Degeneracy and Corruption in Manners, that the Scholars of *Thales*, in *Greece*, came at length, to deny a *God*; tho' *Thales* himself owned Him, & called the World, *ποίημα Θεου*, *The Work of God*. *Anaximander* was the Wretch, who first run into the *Atomic Atheism*; *quia talem vitam degebat, ut suâ maximè interesse putaret, | nullam in universo providentiam existere*. The *Epicureans* are well-known.²²⁸

228 Among the Ionian “sect” to which Mather here wittily refers are the atomist disciples of the Milesian philosophers Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, and Xenophanes of Colophon (all 7th–6th c. BCE). Their works survive only in fragments in Aristotle and Simplicius. The Greek biographer and moralist Plutarch (c. 46–c. 120 CE) celebrates Empedocles, whom he cites in Plutarch’s *De vitando aere alieno* (*Moralia* 10.830, sec. F, 2–3). Mather’s second-hand Greek-Latin citations appear in their adapted form in Dickinson (*Physica* 10) and translate, “expelled by the gods and thrown out from heaven.” According to a fragment surviving in Simplicius (*In Aristotelis physicorum* 156.13–157.7), the Athenian philosopher Anaxagoras taught that an unlimited and independent “Mind” (Thought) caused and ordered everything in the universe (Diels-Kranz, *Fragmente* 59 B 12), but Plato (*Phaedo* 97c–98c) was disappointed to discover that Anaxagoras’s works only mentioned such conventional causes as “air and ether and water and many other strange things.” Likewise Aristotle (*De generatione et corruptione* 1.1.314a, 10ff) and Lucretius (*De rerum natura* 1.830–920) seem less pleased with Anaxagoras. Dickinson (*Physica* 11). The Greek philosopher Pythagoras of Samos (mid-6th c. BCE), here honored with the title *Theosophos* (theosopher), discusses his concept of the monads in *Fragmenta* (165.2; 186.8–11). The elusive Mo(s)chus [Moxos] of Sidon, the alleged originator of the atomistic theory, is to have lived before the Trojan War (c. 1194–1184 BCE), as Strabo tells us in his *Geography* (16.2.24). In Mochus’s theogony, the intelligible god (*ulom* or *noetos*) is hatched from the cosmic egg (visible universe), which arose from cosmic space (aether) and cosmic spirit (air); see *Recognitions of Clement* (10.17, 30) and *Clementine Homilies* (6.3–4). Iamblichus tells his version of the cosmic ovum in *De Vita Pythagorica* (3.14). Mather’s reference to “*Theodoret* of old” is a bit misleading, because not Theodoret (c. 393–c. 466), bishop of Cyrrhus, is here intended but Johannes Arcerius Theodoretus, the Elder (1538–1604), Fresian professor of Greek at Franeker and Douai, whose Greek and Latin edition of *Iamblichi Chalcidensis ex Syria coele de Vita Pythagorae et Protrepicae orationes* (1598) was published at Franeker. Arcerius Theodoretus was one of the first to identify Mochus with Moses in his annotations. Like Iamblichus (*De vita Pythagorica* 3.14.2), Posidonius (*Fragmenta* 57a, 11 ff, 57b, 3 ff) and Democritus (*Testimonia*, fragm. 55.1–7) identify Mochus as the inventor of the atomist philosophy. The English philosopher Ralph Cudworth (1617–88), prebendary of Gloucester, follows these authorities and identifies this Sidonian Mochus with the lawgiver Moses, in his *True Intellectual System of the Universe* (1678), bk. 1, ch. 1, secs. 9–10, pp. 12–13, as does John Selden (1584–1654), English Orientalist, antiquarian, and jurist, to whose *De Jure Naturali* (1640), lib. 1, cap. 2, pp. 22–23, Mather (via Dickinson) here refers. Although Thales of Miletus, held that the universe is made by the great First Cause (*Testimonia*, fragm. 1.128), Aristotle relates that according to Thales, water is the first principle or beginning of all things (*Metaphysica* 1.3.983b, 20–984a, 4). And Thales’s disciple Anaximander of Miletus (c. 610–c. 540 BCE) postulated in his natural history (*Peri phuseôs*) that the ungenerated, eternal, and infinite “apeiron” generated the cosmos through an eternal process of separating and ordering opposites such as the four elements. This process, however, is an ongoing one, and natural laws subject the cosmos to eternal cycles of generation and dissolution (*OCD*). For Mather, this theory smacked too much of the mechanistic universe of the latter-day Cartesian Deists turned Peripatetics, or faintly sounded like the teachings of Epicurus of Samos (341–270 BCE), who believed in an infinite universe formed of randomly colliding elements

But, *Stultè arrogat sibi, qui mentem et rationem in se putat in esse, in cælo mundoque non putat.* And lett the Doctrine of *Atoms* be supposed, what can more necessarily infer a GOD? Will any Man be so sottish, as to imagine, That *Solomons Temple*, was but a casual Jumble of the Materials that composed it? And what is the *World*, but the most beautiful *Temple of GOD*? We may as well imagine a Parcel of Blind Men, to stumble upon one another, and form themselves into a Regular Army without a Leader, and in well-ordered Regiments perform a great Action, as that the floating *Atoms* of the World, should come together in that Order, wherein we now see Heaven & Earth, and the Hosts thereof, but excluding, τὸν νοῦν διακοσμοῦντα, *mentem omnia digerentem ac dirigentem.*²²⁹

Adam was, no doubt, thoroughly instructed by his Maker, in the History of the Worlds, & his own Creation. And since *Methusela* was above two hundred & forty Years old before the Death of *Adam*, how easily might there be from him, received and preserved among the Antediluvian Patriarchs, who were ἐνφυεῖς καὶ μακρόβιοι, as *Ingenious* as *Long-lived*, the *Tradition* of that History? *Noah* was the Heir of those Patriarchs; and the Sons of *Noah*, reckoned this *Philosophy* of the *Creation*, to be no little Part of the *Religion*, wherein they instructed their Posterity; tho' for their Wickedness, God at length left them to be swallowed up in Ignorance. However, the Offspring of *Heber*, descended from *Shem*, seems longer to have retained that *Philosophy*, which acknowledged the True God, as the Creator of the World; whereof the *Philosophical Flights* in the Discourses between *Job* and his Friends, are a notable Instance. But especially favoured in this Matter, was the Family of *Abraham*; whom the Writings of the *Gentiles* themselves have cried up, as a great *Philosopher*; & whom God Himself commends for his *Teaching* of his Children. *Moses* had the Advantage of knowing all

of imperishable matter (atoms) that would eventually dissolve again into their components from which they arose only to regroup to form other objects yet again (Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 1.146–634; 2.333–581, 1023–1074; 5.91–770). Dickinson (*Physica* 13) casts aspersions on Anaximander, “because he [Anaximander] was leading such a life that (he thought) no providence existed in the universe that was especially concerned with him” (B. Melton’s translation). Dickinson’s source is the Latin original of Daniel Sennert’s *Thirteen Books of Natural Philosophy* (1659), “The Third Discourse. Of Atomes and Mixture” (ch. 1, pp. 455 [445]–454), translated by Peter Cole. The reference to the Phoenician Mochus (Moses) appears on p. 446. See also Cudworth’s *True Intellectual System* (1678), bk. 1, ch. 3, sec. 21, pp. 124–26). For the rise and fall of this Renaissance belief in Moses (Mochus) as the originator of the atomist theory, see D. B. Saylor, “Moses and Atomism.” For a fresh discussion of John Selden’s *De Jure Naturali*, see Rosenblatt’s *England’s Chief Rabbi* (esp. 135–58).

229 The entire paragraph is extracted from Dickinson (*Physica* 14–15), who declares (14) that “he is foolishly presumptuous who believes that understanding and reason is in him and does not believe it is in heaven and earth” (B. Melton’s translation). The Greek passage (which Dickinson expands in his Latin translation) signifies “the Mind who ordered and directs all things” and is probably adapted from St. Athanasius (*Contra Gentes* 45.3), in *NPNFii* (4:28).

that was thus handed down unto his Time, and had the Direction of a Divine Inspiration too, for his committing to Writing so much of it, as he did.²³⁰

Now, before we can well interpret the *Mosaic History* of the *Creation*, it is necessary, that we should a little apprehend the *Principles* of that *Philosophy*, which *Moses* had always in his Eye, while writing of it. And that we may come at the more clear & sure Apprehensions hereof, it is necessary that we should know what *Philosophy* prevailed in the First Ages; which was, in truth, no other than the *Corpuscularian*. But then the *Atoms*, whereof they supposed all *Bodies* to be compounded, must not be supposed Absolutely and Physically *Indivisible*, (whereof nothing ever could be produced,) only so very small, that it should be beyond our Power any further to *Divide* them. These *Atoms*, are the very *keyes* of Nature; and all the Philosophers in the World, whether *Egyptian*, or *Phœnician*, or *Arabian*, or *Hebrew*, or, *Syrian*, or *Indian*, or *Græcian*, repaired unto them, in their *Philosophising*, until the World was above *Three Thousand and Five Hundred Years* old.²³¹ However they did not all putt the same Name upon these *First Principles*; for what some called *Atoms*, others called, *Waters*, others called, *Sand*, others *Dust*, & others *Particles*. Our *Moses* particularly here, first calls that *First Matter*, by the Name of *Heaven & Earth*; presently, he calls it only *Earth*; Anon, he calls it, *The Deep*; and then, *The Waters*. The *Brachmans* of *India*, and the *Dru-ids* of *Europe*, held, *Aquas esse rerum principia*. And it may be, *Waters*, was used as the Name for *Atoms*, even before the *Dayes of Moses*; for there were Colledges of those Philosophers in *Germany*, as *Aventinus* tells us, in the *Dayes of Hermion*, which was, when *Isaac* was yett scarce forty Years old.²³² *Thales*, one of the most

230 Dickinson (*Physica* 17–18, 19–20). The proximity of Adam's death and Methuselah's birth is a mainstay in Mather's time, for his peers still believed that Adam's creation took place just 4004 years before Christ. Adam's death occurred Anno Mundi 930 and overlapped with the life of Methuselah (eighth generation after Adam) for about 243 years. The ancient patriarchs' longevity therefore allowed for an uninterrupted transmission of ancient wisdom from Adam to Moses (James Ussher, *Annals* 1–3). The Greek passage "eupheis kai makrobioi" signifies "well-grown and long-lived."

231 The entire paragraph is extracted from Dickinson (*Physica* 28–36, 42–49). Relying on Ussher's chronology, Dickinson here refers to the flowering of Greek philosophy in the fifth century (BCE).

232 For the Indian "Brachmans" (Brahmins) and the Celtic Druids who (according to Dickinson) held that "water is the principle element," see Strabo (*Geography* 15.1.59 and, respectively, 4.4.4); for the same belief among the Egyptians as well as among the Stoics, Philo Judæus (*De vita Mosis* 1.17.98.2–4) and *De aeternitate mundi* (5.18). The humanist and historian Johannes Thurmair (1477–1534), better known as Joannes Aventinus, composed his history of Bavaria *Annales ducum Boioariae*, in 1517–21, and published an expanded version as *Annalium Boiorum libri septem*, in Ingolstadt (1554). For "Hermion," see *Annalium* (1554), lib. 1, pp. 41–42. Whatever German schools of atomistic philosophy may have existed in the days of Hermione, daughter of mythical Menelaus and Helen (Homer, *Odyssey* 4.14), when Abraham's son Isaac was nearly forty and married Rebecca, Mather extracts his information from Dickinson (*Physica* 31) without verifying his dates. According to Ussher's *Annals* (6–7, 29), Isaac was nearly forty years old (Gen. 25:20) in c. 1856 BCE, whereas Hermione would have been born nearly seven-hundred years later, after the Trojan War (1194–1184 BCE).

ancient Fathers of the *Greek* Philosophers, held, That *Water* was the Origin of the World; by which *Water* was meant the same that was also called, *The Many*. And *Thales* was conversant not only among the *Egyptians*, and the *Phœnicians*, but also among the *Babylonians*, among whom the *Mosaic Writings* were in such Credit, that it is affirm'd, They were translated into the *Caldee* Tongue, long before the Translation of the *Septuagint*, about the *Fiftieth Olympiad*, which was the very Age of *Thales*.²³³ But the same that *Thales* called *Water*, *Pherecydes* the *Syrian*, his Contemporary called, *Earth*; following therein also the Authority of *Moses*; & putting the Name of *Χθονία*, upon that whereupon *Moses* putts, the Name of *Tohu*. Whereas *Pythagoras*, the Scholar of *Thales*, gave to the very same, the Name of, *Particles*, and of *Monads*. *Ecphantus* the *Pythagorean*, we find in *Sto-beus*, affirming, the *Monads* to be *Corporeal*; and *Aristotle* affirms the *Monads* to be *σωμάτια μικρά*, *minuta corpuscula*. At last *Anaximander* brought in the Name of *ὕλη*, *Hyle*; which *Aristotle* himself took up, tho' in another Signification.²³⁴ And what others had called by the Title of *τὰ πολλὰ*, *The Many*, the more Athe-

²³³ Aristotle reports in his *Metaphysica* (1.3.983b, 20 ff) that Thales of Miletus (c. 640–546 BCE) took water to be the principle source of all matter – so Cicero reports in *De natura deorum* (1.10.25). Since Thales's atomistic theory echoes the creation myths of Egypt (Manetho, *Epitome of Physical Doctrine*, fragm. 83) and of Babylonia (Berosus, *Babylonika*, fragm. 1, 52), and since the Mosaic Pentateuch had been translated into the Chaldaic language of Babylon during the Babylonian Captivity, which according to Ussher's dates took place in c. 606–c. 536 BCE about the year of the fiftieth Olympiad (c. 576 BCE), Dickinson argues that Thales could easily have had first-hand knowledge of the Mosaic creation account without knowing ancient Hebrew and long before the Alexandrian LXX (c. 280 BCE) became available in Greek. The substance of Dickinson's argument here is extracted from Cudworth's *True Intellectual System* (bk. 1, ch. 1, sec. 12, pp. 13), but echoes from Stillingfleet's *Origines Sacrae* (bk. 1, chs. 2–3; bk. 2, ch. 2; bk. 3, ch. 2), Richard Simon's *Critical History of the OT* (bk. 1, chs. 10–13), and Theophilus Gale's *Court* (1676), part 2, bk. 1, chs. 2–3, pp. 23–64, can be found throughout.

²³⁴ The Greek cosmographer Pherecydes of Syros (fl. 544 BCE), believed to be a rival of Thales, wrote *Ἑπτάμυχος* [Heptamychos], a cosmogony that only survives in fragments (Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.16.38; Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* 1.43). The Greek "Chthonia" or "Earth" survives in Damascius's *De principiis* (124b), in *Testimonia* (fragm. 8.2). Dickinson identifies "chthonia" with the Hebrew term *תהו* [tohu] "without form" (Gen. 1:2). Pythagoras's discussion of monads is extant in fragments by Iamblichus, *In Nicomachi arithmetica introductionem* (p. 10.12–20) and in Pseudo-Justinus Martyr's *Cohortatio ad gentiles* (5a 4–7, 18b 1–7, 18c 1–2). The Pythagorean Ecphantus of Syracuse (4th c. BCE) affirms his corporeal monads, in a fragment extant in Aëtius's *De placitis reliquiae* (1st c. CE), excerpted in *Anthologium* (1.10.16a, 2–3; and 1.25), an anthology of ancient writers by Joannes Stobaeus (5th c. CE). Aristotle describes monads as miniscule particles (atoms) in his *De anima* (1.4.409a, 8–16) and in *Metaphysica* (13.6.1080b, 20). Anaximander of Miletus uses the word "hyle" or "matter" to denote "atoms," in a fragment that survives in *De placitis reliquiae*, a work of comparative philosophy by Aëtius (1st c. CE), in Anaximander's *Testimonia* (fragm. 14.6–9, 11, 13; fragm. 30.13). Similarly, Aristotle's "hyle" denotes "matter," "material," "body," or "essence," in many places including *De anima* (1.1.403b, 1, 3, 7, 10, 12; 410b, 11; 412a, 7 etc.), but also the "chaos" of the four elements before the demiurge imposed order on the *prima materia* (*Timaieus* 30a, 52d–53b). For the substance of what appears here, Dickinson relies on Cudworth's *True Intellectual System* (1678), bk. 1, ch. 1, sec. 11–15, pp. 13–17.

istical *Anaximander* would have to be το Ἄπειρον, *The Infinite*. This *First Matter* had yett other Denominations among other Philosophers; *Heraclitus* called it, ψέγματα ἐλαχιστὰ, | *Ramenta Minutissima*; *Empedocles* called it, θραύσματα, *Fragmenta*; *Asclepiades* called it, ὄγκους, *Moleculars*; *Xenocrates* called it, Μεγαθὺ ἀδιαίρετὰ, *Magnitudines indivisibiles*; and others, mention'd by *Aristotle*, called it, Χήματα, *Figuras*. But it was *Leucippus*, and *Democritus* at last, who brought in the Name of *Atoms*. There is no need now of mentioning any other Term or Phrase, used for this *Matter* among the Ancients. Only one would not pass by, what *Plato* saies, That the Name of, τὰ Πολλὰ, *multa*, was used, à *vetustissimis ac optimis, Dijsque proximis philosophis*; And that the most ancient Wise Men, beleaved all things to be made at first, ἐξ ἑνος καὶ πολλῶν, of *one*, and, *many*; By *one*, they meant *God*; By *many*, they meant our *Atoms*, or, *immensam particularum multitudinem*. This was the very Name, that *Pythagoras* too putt upon that which *Moses* calls, *The Waters*.²³⁵ No doubt, the most ancient among the Sons of *Noah*, were the *Dijs proximi philosophi*, which according to the Concession of *Plato*, cultivated the *Corpuscularian Philosophy*. And the Jewes continued in it, until the *Peripatetic Philosophy* was introduced by *Aristotle*, who, as his Pupil *Clearchus* affirms, conversed with a Reverend Jew, that better Instructed him in *Divinity*, and others report, he was instructed at the Feet of *Simeon the Just*. But, if he received their *Divinity*, he made them a Return of his *Philosophy*; upon which they ran as mad, as *Maimonides* of later time did, and the true

²³⁵ Anaximander's definition of *atoms* as *the infinite* survives in fragments by Aëtius (*De placitis reliquiae* 1.3.3 ff), by Simplicius (*In Aristotelis de Physica commentarii* 24.13 ff), and by Aristotle (*Physica* 3.4.203a, 23–203b, 17) – most of which Dickinson extracts from Joannes Stobaeus (*Anthologium* 1.10.12.11–19, etc.) and from Cudworth (*True Intellectual System*, bk. 1, ch. 1, sec. 21–22, pp. 20–22). The phrase from Heraclitus of Ephesus (fl. 500 BCE), which translates “smallest fragments,” or “motes,” “dusty particles,” appears in Aristotle's *De anima* (1.2.404a, 1–2), but also in a longer version in Pseudo-Plutarch's *Placita philosophorum* (1.13.883b, 7). The same meaning is suggested in a composite passage in Heraclitus, the Platonist Xenocrates of Chalcedon (fl. 339–314 BCE), and in Empedocles's “thraysmata” (“fragments”) – all in Stobaeus (*Anthologium* 1.14.1k). The physician Asclepiades of Prusias, Bithynia (1st c. BCE), called his molecules “ogkous” or “lumps,” in Stobaeus (*Anthologium* 1.49.41–44) and in Sextus Empiricus (*Adversus mathematicos* 10.318.7–8). The phrase from Xenocrates should read Μεγέθη ἀδιαίρετα [Megethe adiaireta] or “indivisible in the highest degree,” and appears in Xenocrates (*Testimonia, doctrina et fragmenta*, fragm. 144.7, 10). Mather misspells Aristotle's σχήματα [skemata], which signifies “figures,” “shapes,” or “body” (*De sensu et sensibilibus* 4.442b, 10–12; *Metaphysica* 1.4.985b, 6–10; 6.2.1026a, 36, etc.); Aristotle here mentions Democritus as his principal source. Leucippus and his disciple Democritus (both 5th c. BCE) are generally credited with originating the atomistic theory (Aristotle, *Metaphysica* 1.4.985b, 4–20; Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* 9.30). Fragments of the works of Leucippus and Democritus survive in many sources including Leucippus (*Testimonia*, Fragm. 1, 6–7, 13–15) and Pseudo-Plutarchus (*Placita philosophorum* 2.8, 3.12). Plato says that the name of “the many” was used “from the oldest and the best, the philosophers nearest to the gods” and that the most ancient wise men believed all things to be made at first “out of one and many” (Philebus 17d), by which they meant our atoms, or “the immense multitude of particles.” See Galenus (*De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis* 9.5.15, 28). See also G. B. Stones, “Atomic View.”

Understanding of the *Mosaic Philosophy* was lost among them.²³⁶ Since therefore, the ancient Philosophy, was derived unto other Nations from the *Hebrewes*, it is proper to look for the Original of their *Philosophic Terms* among the *Hebrewes*. If we should particularly instance in, *Hyle*, as the *Egyptians* called it, or, *Ile*, as the *Phenicians*: Tis true, we don't plainly find the Original of it, in the Writings of *Moses*; but we must not imagine that the Sacred Writers have all the *Terms of Art* used among their Philosophers. And yett it is very probable, That *Hyle*, or *Ile*, may be found in the Hebrew חִיל / חִיל / *Hhiul*, which signifies, *The Sand*; And *Philo* countenances this Conjecture: which is confirmed by the *Hiule*, wherein *Hyle* is rendred in the *Arabic Tongue*, which is a Daughter of the Hebrew. How agreeably indeed, are *Atoms* called *Sands*, as well for their *Exility*, as for their *Fluidity*? And how agreeable is it, for the same to be called, *Waters*? The oldest of all the *Egyptian* Philosophers, namely *Taautus* (whom the *Greeks* called *Hermes*) affirmed all things to be formed, ἐκ τοῦ ἁμμοῦ, *out of Sand*, which was as much as to say, out of *minute Particles*. And the *Egyptian* Philosophers affirmed the same of *Water*; by which they meant, *Pusillissimarum commotarumque particularum multitudinem*.²³⁷ The Ancient *Hebrewes* applied also, the Name of *Dust*, unto this *First Matter*. A Fitt Name for any *Multitude*! Other Nations used that Name for, *A Multitude*, as early as the *Dayes of Moses*. [Compare, Num. 23.10.] And

²³⁶ Noah's three sons are here identified as "the philosophers closest to the gods." Aristotle's disciple Clearchus of Soli tells of Aristotle's philosophic discussions with Jews during his travels, in Josephus Flavius (*Against Apion* 1.22), in Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 1.15.70, *ANF* 2:316), and in Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.5–6.409b–410c). Dickinson (*Physica* 36) refers to Simeon the Just (Simeon ben Johanan), high priest in the times of Alexander the Great (Josephus, *Antiquities* 12.2.5). If this apocryphal story were true, Aristotle could have met with Simeon I (son of Onias I), but the story sounds too much like that of St. Paul, who was instructed at the feet of Gamaliel, son of Simeon, the president of the Sanhedrin in c. 13 CE (Acts 22:3). Arguably the greatest Jewish philosopher of the Middle Ages, Rabbi Moses ben Maimon (Maimonides), aka. Rambam (1135–1204), reconciled Jewish philosophy with Aristotelianism, and is best known for his huge commentary *Mishneh Torah* and his *Moreh Nebuchim* (*Guide for the Perplexed*). In Mather's time, Latin translations of individual tracts of *Mishneh Torah* and of *Rabbi Mosis Majemonidis Liber* מורה נבוכים *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), translated by Johannes Buxtorf, the younger (1599–1664), were accessible at Harvard library (*Catalogus* [1723], pp. 52, 53).

²³⁷ Dickinson, *Physica* (42–44). "Hyle" signifies "matter" (Anaximander's *Testimonia*, fragm. 14.6 ff, fragm. 30.13 ff) and "prima material" or "chaos," in Aristotle (*De anima* 1.1.403b, 410b, 412a; *Timaeus* 30a, 52d–53b). The Hebrew term חִיל [hhiul] or [chuwl] designates "sand" (as whirling particles) [Strong's # 2344]. Philo Judaeus affirms this conjecture in *De opificio mundi* (13.42.2; 47.136.8; 47.137.4), in *Legum Allegoriae* (3.72.203), and in *De somniis* (1.1.3; 1.18.175), but uses the Greek term *hyle* much more loosely to signify "earth," "clay," or "sand." Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 1.9.31d–32a) identifies the Egyptian Ταυτος [Taautus] with the Egyptian and Alexandrian Thoth, and with the Greek Hermes. The Greek passage, which translates "out of sand" may be the one in Athenaeus of Naucratis of Egypt (fl. c. 200 CE), *Deipnosophistae* (7.22.14; 7.77.20). For the ancient idea that all things are made from water, see Aristotle (*Metaphysica* 1.3.983b 19–33); the Egyptian philosophers meant by water "the multitude of the tiniest and unsteadiest particles" (B. Melton's translation).

that it was a Name for the *First Matter*, is intimated, where it is said, first of *Heaven*; Isa. 40.22. *He stretches out the Heaven as Dust*; The Term *Dok*, to which the Matter of Heaven is there compared, according to *Jerom* signifies, *Pulverem minutissimum, qui vento raptante sepius in oculos mittitur, et tam tenuis est, ut non videatur, etiamsi sentiatur*. And then of *Earth*; Prov. 8.26. *He made its Beginning, even the Dust of the World*; as much as to say, That the *Dust*, was the *Beginning*, or Principle of the *Habitable Earth*. Compare Eccl. 3.20. *All are of the Dust, and all turn to Dust again*. And, Job. 4.19. *whose Foundation, (or, Origin,) is in the Dust*. Tho' *Moses* do elegantly enough use the Name of *Haphar*, or *Dust*, for the *First Matter*, yett he rather chooses the Name of *Water*; because in his Time, *Water*, was an usual Phrase for an *Immense Multitude*. Yea, and it hath since been so: [Compare, Psal. 124.4.] And when *many People* are compared unto *Waters*, it seems originally to be a Comparison unto *Atoms*, for the *Multitude* of them. This was the *Philosophy*, derived from those whom *Aristotle* calls, *παμπάλαιους*, *The most ancient of all*; and whereof a Renowned Philosopher of *Idumæa*, saies, Job. 15.18, 19. *It is that which Wise Men have told from their Fathers, and have not hid it; unto whom alone the Earth was given*; By which he means, the *Patriarchs* that were the more immediate Sons of *Noah*.²³⁸

We will begin, with the *Amplitude* of the *Creation* described by *Moses*.

There are *Five Words* used by *Moses* in the Entrance of his History, upon the Knowledge whereof, depends the Knowledge of all.²³⁹

First, we have *Samajim* and *Aretz*, that is, *Heaven* and *Earth*. *Moses* uses these *Two Words* together, in one, the more significantly to express *Universal Matter*; and not *Heaven* and *Earth* as distinctly formed, but as Jumbled together in *one Unformed Mass*. *Hesiod*, instructed with Hebrew Traditions, uses the like Expression. *Moses* in the next Place, calls the same *Universal Matter* only [80v] *Aretz*, that is *Earth*. This was that so the *Corporeity* of it, may be | more plainly intimated. He proceeds then to call it, *Tohu* and *Bohu*, that is, *Formless*, and *Empty*. This is to Declare unto us, the *Void Spaces* every where interspersed in it.

²³⁸ Both the Geneva Version (1599) and King James Version (1611) render Dickinson's translation "dust" (Isa. 40:22) as "curtain" (*Physica* 44). The Hebrew term דֹּק [doq] or [dok] is commonly translated as "curtain," but also signifies "something crumbling," "to crumble," or "to make dust" [Strong's # 1852, 1854]. According to the Latin adaptation from Jerome's *Commentaria in Isaiam lib. XI* (on Is. 40:12) [PL 24. 407B], the term *dok* signifies "a very fine dust, which, when the wind carries it away, is rather often dispatched into the eyes, and it is so fine that it is not seen, even if it is felt" (B. Melton's translation). The Hebrew term הַפָּר [haphar] (Gen. 2:7) denotes "dust" or "powdered mud" [Strong's # 6083], and Dickinson uses it as a synonym for the creative concept of water (Gen. 1:2, 6–7) [Strong's # 4325]. Aristotle calls the ancients who lived long before his generation "pampalaious" (*Metaphysica* 1.3.983b, 28–29). And the renowned philosopher of Idumæa is none less than the biblical Job himself, who (so Dickinson, *Physica* 48–49) refers to Shem, Ham, and Japheth (Noah's sons), as heirs to the antediluvian knowledge handed down from Adam.

²³⁹ Mather extracts the subsequent paragraph from Dickinson (*Physica* 52–58).

The old Greek Philosophers called this *Universal Matter*, οὐδεν καὶ κενόν, *Nihil et Vacuum*: which *Theodotian* and *Aquila* will tell you, is the Translation of *Tohu* and *Bohu*; And others, for the *Turbid State* of it, called it, χθονίαν Meaning the *Chaotic Earth*, & not the *Habitable*.²⁴⁰ He passes to call it then *Tehom*, or, *The Deep*; to note the Immense Profundity of it. There is a Notable Hint unto this Purpose, in *Aretas* on the Tenth of the *Revelations*; Ἀβυσσων καλοῦσιν, τὸ πολὺβαθος τοῦ πρώτου στοιχείου, *Abyssum vocant immensam profunditatem primi principij*. But the Particles of this *Universal Matter*, so wonderfully Diffused and Confused, could avail nothing, until putt into regular *Motion*. Wherefore *Moses*, to point out the *Multitude* and the *Motion* thereof, comes in the fifth Place, to call them, *The Waters*. He does not mean, the Body which we now call *Waters*, for they were not yett produced; but such *Atomical* and *Chaotical* ones, as the *Brachmans* in *Strabo*, make to be Ἀρχὰς τῆς κοσμοποιΐας *The Principles of the World*. This is that *Universal Matter*, which the Greeks called, *Chaos*; a Name, not of such a Notation as *Philo Judeus* assigns for it, but coming from the Hebrew *Chauth*, which signifies, *Darkness*; in which Sense, *Orpheus* called it, νυκτὰ Σοφερὰν, *A Dark Night*; and the *Phœnicians*, as *Philo Biblius* made ἀέρα Σοφώδη, *A Dark Air*, to be the *Origin* of all things.²⁴¹

Now, inasmuch as all the *Ancient Philosophy*, which was the Daughter of the *Mosaic*, pretended unto an Account of nothing less, than the *whole Creation*, tis highly probable that *Moses* would give no less in his *Cosmology*. But being

²⁴⁰ Dickinson here may think of Leucippus and Democritus, who philosophize about the “void and nothing,” as Aristotle tells us in his *Metaphysica* (1.4.985b, 5–10). Hesiod (*Theogonia* 115–38) relates how Chaos and “wide-bosomed Earth” came to be. The Greek translation for the Hebrew “tohu” and “bohu” (Gen. 1:2) is rendered “chenon kai outhen” (“vacuum and nothing”), by Theodotian (2nd c. CE), and “chenoma kai outhen” (“empty and nothing”), by Aquila of Sinope (early 2nd c. CE), whose more literal Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible survive in Origen’s famous *Hexaplorum quae supersunt* [PG 15. 144, 146]. As mentioned above, the Greek noun “Chthonian” (“Earth”) appears in many places including in Damascius’s *De principiis* (1.321.4); Pausanias (2.35.4–5) for one relates that Chthonia, daughter of Colontas, received the goddess Demeter hospitably, for which kindness Demeter took her to Hermion to build Demeter’s temple. In a related version of the story, Chthonia is a goddess, whose festival the Hermionians celebrate every summer.

²⁴¹ Aret(h)as (c. 6th c. CE), bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, is to have written a commentary on Revelation, in which he collected different interpretations from different authors. Aretas’s “Notable Hint” reads, “The immense depth of the first origin is called abyss.” And Strabo describes the Indian Brahmin’s principles of the world in *Geography* (15.1.59). Dickinson may have in mind Philo Judeus’s *De opificio mundi* (6.24), which asserts the creation of the world in terms of God’s *Reason* being occupied in its creation, but see also his *De aeternitate mundi* (5.18–20). Mather’s Hebrew transliteration of חֹשֶׁק [choshek] “darkness” (Gen. 1:2, 5), derived from “withholding of light,” seems questionable (see Strong’s # 2821–2822), but the problem occurs in Mather’s source as well (Dickinson, *Physica* 58). The mythical poet Orpheus sings of the dark night νυκτος ζοφερήν [nuktos zopheren], in *Orphica* (*Hymni* 78:4), and the Phoenician grammarian and historian Philon of Byblos relates the Phoenician philosophy of the original chaos or dark air, in *Fragmenta* (F 3c, 790; F 2.5). See also Cudworth’s *True Intellectual System* (1678), lib. 1, ch. 4, sec. 17, pp. 299–300.

thus præpared, Lett us view the *Six Dayes* of the *Creation*, and what was done in each of them.

The First Day.

In the Beginning was *Universal Matter* by God first created of nothing; a wondrous *Congeries* of all sorts of *Particles*, unform'd, and unmov'd, and every where separated from one another with empty Spaces. This *Universal Matter* was putt into *Motion*, by the *Spirit of God*, and not left unto a fortuitous *Motion* and *Concure*. Thus was there given unto *Matter*, that *Force* which we call *Nature*; for, *Nature* is nothing but that *Motion* which the *Spirit of God* ha's imprinted upon *Matter*, and which He perpetually governs with His infinite Wisdome. The *Atoms* of this *Universal Matter*, must not be supposed *Absolutely Indivisible*; tis enough, that they were very *Minute Particles*. And the *Motion* at first given to the *Atoms* we may suppose to have been *Twofold*. The *first Motion*, may be called, *A Motion of Preparation*. This might be *Transverse*, or, *Across*; in which the various Meetings of the *Atoms* one with another, gave an Opportunity for such whose Figures were agreeable unto one another, to join, and stick together, in *Bodies*, that from this *First Concretion*, would soon grow into *Elements*. The *Second Motion* may be called, *A Motion of Separation*. This might be *circular*. And the first Essay of it, might be the Producing of *Fire* or *Light*. The *Atoms* are of diverse Figures; according to which they may be some of them called, *Pilulæ*, others, *Globuli*, others, *Bracteolæ*, and a Fourth sort, of a grosser Consistence, and of so many Forms, that it is not easy to assign a fitt Name for them.²⁴² It may be, the *Fire* is composed of the First Sort, the *Water* of the Second, the *Air* of the Third, and the *Earth*, of the Last. And there may be a *Fifth Sort*, smaller than any of these; broken off perhaps from the rest in their Circumgyration; and subservient especially to Matters in the *Firmament*. The *Motion* where into the *Universal Matter* was now putt, no doubt carried off the *Pilulæ*, into that vast Collection of them, which we call the *Empyraan Heaven*, (or the *Sphere*, whereof see Prov. 8.22, and Job. 22.14.) And this *Fire*, is implied in that *Light*, whereof we find it so early spoken, *Lett there be Light*; and whereof *Hippocrates* takes Notice, That the ancients called it, *Æther*. Had the Word, *Ur*, been so translated, some Scoffers at *Moses* had been silenced. But when *Fire* was produced, *Light* was also produced; which is no other than *Ignis Effluxio*. It was not amiss in *Empedocles*, to call this *Light*, ἥλιον ἀρχέτυπον, *Solem Originalem et Primigenium*.²⁴³ The *First Day* and *Night* were distinguished, by the Rotation of

²⁴² The entire paragraph on "The First Day" is extracted from Dickinson (*Physica* 65–80, esp. 76–77, 78, 79). The Latin terms "*pilulæ*," "*globuli*," and "*bracteolæ*" signify, respectively, "little balls," "globules," and "thin leaves of gold."

²⁴³ By "Empyraean Heaven," Dickinson means the hemisphere from which God and Sophia (Christ) created the universe. Hippocrates of Cos (5th c. BCE), the famous physician

that *Matter*, so elevated and congregated, and carryed about with such a Glare, that if there had then been a *Præ-adamite*, he might by the Shine of it, have seen the rest of the *Abyss*. The *Lucid Particles* of that *Matter*, may be the *Morning Stars*, that *sang together*, when the *Angels shouted for Joy*, at the Laying of *Foundations of the Earth*. But it must be remembred, that the *Motion* which thus carried off the *Pilule*, did carry off, & carry up, vast Numbers of the *Globuli* too: by which Means | we find Real and Natural *Waters*, as well as *Fire*, in the Highest *Heavens*: [81r] As in a Distillation we see, that in a Pound of *Spirit of Wine*, so inflammable a thing! there are carried over, several Ounces of *Water* with it. The very Name /שַׁמַיִם/ *Shamayim*, seems composed of /אֵשׁ/ *Fire*, and /מַיִם/ *Water*. This was the Philosophy of the Ancient *Hebrewes*. [Compare Psal. 148.4. and Psal. 104.3.] These *Waters* may be of unknown Uses, in those Heavens; To Temper the *Heat*, of the Heavenly Bodies; and Augment their *Light*, as Chrystals about them; and convey subtile Influences from thence to the *Inferior Orbs*.²⁴⁴

The Second Day.

The whirling Motion of the *Abyss*, or *Universal Matter* yett continuing, the *Atoms* of a more *Bracteal* Figure, now possessed themselves of that vast Space, which *Moses* calls, *The Firmament*. But probably, the Mixture of them, near the Surface of our Globe, was yett so thick and so dark, that the *Light* could hardly yett make its Passage hither; And this may be the Cause, why God would not call it, *Good*:²⁴⁵ The Figure of these *Atoms*, would not allow them so swift a Flight, towards the Selvidge of the World, as those which gott the Start of them. The *Atoms*, of the whole *Expanse*, and of the *Air*, may be the same; except, that near the Surface of our Globe, there are added such Vapours, as to distinguish that Region, which we call *Our Atmosphere*. The Name /רַקִּיעַ/ *Rakiah*, used by *Moses*, (*cui semper placuere compendia*) for this *Expanse*, is admirably suited, to express the Nature of the Particles that compose it; It signifying, both to *Expand*,

of antiquity, is associated with a body of writings on medicine that bears his name. The "*Ignis Effluxio*" is none other than the "out-flowing fire." "Aether" suggests the pure air and the abode of the gods in heaven. Dickinson (*Physica* 77) may probably have in mind Hippocrates's doctrines collected by Galenus (*De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis* 3.8.13; 7.5.48; 7.7.25). The Greek / Latin variant passage from Empedocles's *Fragmenta* (Fragm. 38.3) signifies, "the sun, the first principle [archetype] of all things" and survives in a corrupted fragment in Aëtius's *De placitis reliquiae*, in Joannes Stobaeus (*Anthologium* 1.25.3e, 3), and in Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 5.8.48.4, ANF 2:455).

²⁴⁴ Mather again omits the diacritical marks of the Masoretic שַׁמַיִם [shamayim] [Strong's # 8064], which signifies "aether" or "heavens," i.e., where the celestial bodies revolve. In the philosophy of the ancients, the elements "fire" אֵשׁ [aysh] [Strong's # 784] and "water" מַיִם [mayim] [Strong's # 4325] were two of the constituting parts of the aether. The pre-Socratic philosopher Heraclitus argued that everything consists of fire (Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 1.635–704).

²⁴⁵ Unlike the five other creative days recorded in Gen. ch. 1, God does *not* pronounce the second day "good."

and also to *Constringe*, or *Compress*. They spread themselves, and chase away all others from themselves, and at the same time, they do firmly as far {as} they can compel together, those that are within their Embraces. Tis by the Efficacy of these, that God, [Job. 26.7.] *hangs our Globe upon nothing*; and [Psal. 104.5.] He *layes Foundations*, not only for the *Earth*, but for the *Stars* too, that *shall not be removed forever*.²⁴⁶

The Third Day.

The *Conatus Dispansivus*, of those *Atoms*, to whom the Creator ha's assign'd so large a Province in His Creation, now accomplished, *That the Waters under the Heaven, were gathered together into one Place, and the Dry Land appeared*. It protruded the Particles of Grosser Matter, down toward the Center; where they need no other *Cement*, than their *Agreement in Figure*, to produce their firm *Cohærence*. But from their various Distribution, and perhaps from some other Varieties, arose the *Inæquality* of the Surface of the *Earth*. And a considerable Portion of the *Globular Atoms* being left here, behold, the *Waters*, whose Figure disposes them to run and fill all the Cavities provided for them. Nor is it amiss to repræsent all the *Seas*, as *one*, in this Collection of *Waters*, inasmuch as they have (like the *Caspian* with the *Mediterranean*,) their *Subterraneous* Communications with one another. And tho' the *Earth* have the Name of *Dry Land* given unto it, yett it is not so Dried, as to be left wholly destitute of that *Humour*, which must accompany all *Seeds*, to carry on the several Generations in the World. But the *Vapour* and *Humour* so sent forth continually, supposes a *Central Fire* in the Bowels of the *Earth*; which probably is a vast Congregation of *Pilular Atoms*, by the Wisdome of God, so placed at first in the Center of the *Abyss*, that being hedged about with such a Number of Gross Particles, when God gave to *Matter* its first *Motion*, they could not make their Way thorough, with their Companions, up unto the *Æther*; and they putt on the more *Fiery Appearance*, because they are cramm'd so close together. The *Mist* whereof we read, *That it watered the whole Face of the Earth, before God had caused it yett to Rain upon the Earth*, seems to have been a *Vapour* of *Watry Particles* boil'd forth, by that *Central Fire*. We may add, That the unæqual Descent of the *Terrestrial Particles*, at the first Settlement, produced not only the vast Basons, wherein the *Sea's* are lodged, but also the *Channels*, wherein the *Rivers* flow about the World, like the *Veins*

²⁴⁶ The entire paragraph is extracted from Dickinson (*Physica* 81–89). The Hebrew term רָקִיעַ [raqiya] [Strong's # 7549] used by Moses ("to whom the abbreviations always please") signifies "expanse" or "firmament" (Gen. 1:6). Put in another way, Mather (via Dickinson) argues that the language of the Mosaic creation account contains cryptic terminology (like the Egyptian hieroglyphics) that embodies philosophic concepts in abbreviated form, and it is incumbent upon physico-theologians of Mather's time to unlock these hermetic signifiers and to reconcile them with modern pre-Newtonian and Newtonian science.

and *Arteries*, in an Humane Body. But, that the *Central Fire*, may not be, thro' Length of Time, and long Evaporation, wasted, it seems, that Heaven affords it a Nourishment, in a continual Descent of *Sulphureous Particles*, which being absorb'd by the Sea, sink to the bottom, until they find their Way in proper Channels, to that awful Receptacle. By the warm Aspirations of the *Central Fire*, the Generation of *Plants*, on the *Third Day*, was forwarded; of *Seed* made by the Immediate Hand of God. There might be something peculiar in the Season, for a vigorous Effort of Nature, as well as a Display of the Divine Power & Energy, in the Acceleration of such a Generation. The *Succus Nutritius* requisite unto this Generation, is not *Water*, but a certain, special, *Viscous Matter*, which lies in *Water*, | and which cannot well permeate the Pores of the *Vegetables*, unless there be *Water* to attenuate it.²⁴⁷ [82v]

The Fourth Day.

A vast Multitude of *Igneous Particles* were left all this while scattered throughout the whole *Expanse*. The Great Creator of the World therefore, collected them into that one Globe, which we call, *The Sun*, & which *Empedocles* call'd, *πυρὸς ἄθροισμα μέγα*, *A Great Heap of Fire*.²⁴⁸ The *Solar Matter* thus collected, keeps continually whirling about, with great *Inæqualities* in the *Surface* of it; and is more *changeable* than the very *Moon* itself: which alone, might be enough to lead Reasonable Men, from the Worship of *That*, unto the Worship of that glorious *Father of Lights*, who is *without Variableness or Shadow of Turning*. The *Sun* being alwayes upon a vast Expanse of itself, God ha's both encompass'd it, with a Transparent Sort of a *Covering Shell*, or *Hedge*; and the *Atoms* of the *Expanse* are also of such a Figure, as to leave Channels, thro' which there is a continual Recourse of a Nourishment unto it, and unto that *Covering* from all Parts of the Creation. But yett such is the Contexture of that *Covering* upon the *Sun*, that sometimes tis thick enough, to check the Passage of the *Sun-beams*; from whence arise the *Maculae Solares*; yea, the Countenance of the *Sun* sometimes is paler than ordinary, for a whole Month together; and *Pliny* tells the Time, when the *Sun*, *Totius Anni ferè Spacio palluit*.²⁴⁹ Thus hath the Almighty sett *Bars* about the *Sun*, (as well as about the *Sea*) and said, *Here, shall thy Fiery Waves be*

²⁴⁷ Mather condenses into a single paragraph Dickinson's *Physica* (90–119). The "*Conatus Dispansivus*" of atoms is the "impulse to expand," and the "*Succus Nutritius*" is the "nutritious sap" necessary for the growth of plants.

²⁴⁸ The paragraph on the fourth creative day is extracted from Dickinson (*Physica* 120–43, esp. 121, 125, 126–27, 136, 141). Empedocles (*Testimonia*, Fragm. 1.186) calls the sun a "great mass of fire," in an extant fragment by Diogenes Laertius (*Vitae philosophorum* 8.77.1).

²⁴⁹ The "sun spots," according to Pliny, "palled [the sun] for the space of almost a year." Most likely, Dickinson has in mind Pliny (2.30.89–90), where the Roman historian reports that at Caesar's murder "and during the Antonine war," an eclipse of the sun "caused almost a whole year's continuous gloom."

staid! This Heavenly *Carbuncle*, thus formed by God, seems designed, not only to impart *Light* and *Heat* unto the rest of the Creation, but also to have in it the most subtil *Sulphur of Nature*, by the Steams whereof it produces most eximious Effects in the other Creatures, and particularly in the *Bodies*, (and by Consequence, in the *Spirits*,) of *Men*. That rich *Sulphur of Nature*, (which *Moses* may mean, by, *The precious Things putt forth by the Sun & Moon, the precious Things of the lasting Hills*,) may have certain fine Particles of the *Cælestial Waters*, as well as *Fires*, to constitute it. An agreeable *Motion* is therefore ordered for the *Sun*; which Motion, we find celebrated by *Abraham*, the most Renowned Astronomer of the Ancients, of whom the old Writer of the *Orphicks* thus expresses himself,

Οὐ γὰρ τις ἰδοί· κλ·

Nemo illum novit mortalia cuncta regentem

Unicus ille nisi Chaldaeo sanguine cretus;

Norat enim solis qua se astrum lege rotaret

et circum terram magnus se volveret orbis,

Æqualisque teresque, intus sita complectens.

So far from Unlikelihood, by the way, is the Tradition of *Abrahams* being an *Astronomer*, that it is likely, his Father *Terah* from the very Foresight of his being one, gave him the Name of *Abram*; wherein the *Heighths* of the *Heavens*, and the *Stars* of the *High Heavens*, to be *consydered* by him, are perhaps, referr'd unto.²⁵⁰ But then, that the scalding Influences of the *Sun* might be conveniently Tempered, God created, that other *Planet*, the *Moon*; of a wat'ry and moister Texture, to dispense unto the *Earth*, which cannot bear to be scorch'd, a certain

250 The apocryphal story that the Patriarch Abraham was a renowned Chaldean astronomer, who established the philosophic tradition of the creation of the universe out of nothing (*creatio ex nihilo*), is alluded to in Maimonides's *Guide* (2.13.171–72; 2.19.188). Medieval Jewish tradition also ascribes to the biblical patriarch *The Book of Creation* (Sefer Yezirah), popular among mystics of the period (*EJ*). Mather's claim that the name "Abram" or "Abraham" means "height" or "high heavens" is problematic, for on the one hand the root meaning of "Abram" is unknown, and on the other his name popularly signifies "high father" or "to be populous" (Gen. 17:3–5) [Strong's # 85, 87]. However, Clemens Alexandrinus similarly reports that Abraham was called "sublime father" because he studied the stars and the movement of the heavens (*Stromata* 5.1, *ANF* 2:446), a tradition which Clemens evidently derived from Philo Judæus (*De Abrahamo* 15.69–71, esp. 18.81–82). The "old Writer of the *Orphicks*" is the mythical singer Orpheus, Apollo's son, to whom many hymns, theogonies, and cosmogonies are attributed. The Greek passage is a variant of "Οὐ γὰρ κέν τις ἰδοί" and appears in Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 13.12.5.22; 13.12.665c). Similarly, a variant of the Latin passage appears in the same location and reads as follows: "The king in His power no mortal could behold, / Save one, a scion of Chaldean race; / For he was skilled to mark the sun's bright path, / And how in even circle round the earth / The starry sphere on its axis turns." But Dickinson's actual source (127) appears to be Clemens Alexandrinus's *Stromata* (5.14.123), where Orpheus says of Abraham, "But one a scion of Chaldean race; / For he the sun's path knew right well, / And how the motion of the sphere about / The earth proceeds, in circle moving / Equally around its axis" (*ANF* 2:472).

Fatt Liquor, which is wondrously agreeable to the *Humidum Radicale* of things generated on this *Terraqueous Globe*. I Judge it not worth while, to recite the Conjectures of my *Dickinson*, about the Production, and Consistence of the other *Planets*, or of the *Fixed Stars*; For, tho' the Lord ha's *call'd them all by their Names*, (whereof a few are instanced in the Book of *Job*.) until we know those *Names*, and the Signification of them, tis but little that can be conjectured concerning them. Tis possible, that if we understood those *Four*, namely, *Ghas*, and *Chimah*, and *Chesil*, and *Mazzaroth*, which are all that are Named in the Book of God, we might guess a little more about the rest; which perhaps may have their Varieties much comprized under *those Four*; but concerning these also, we are much in the *Dark*. All we will add, shall be, That probably the *Moon* shone before the *Sun*, on that *Hæmisphere* where *Moses* lived; and this may be a Reason for his putting the *Evening* before the *Morning*, in his History of the Creation. The *Expanse* was now *Good*; that is to say, *Perfect*; nor was it called *Good*, until it was thus admirably furnished.²⁵¹

The Fifth Day.

Moses proceeds now, to the *Animated Parts* of the Creation. The *Water* and the *Earth* were the *Elements*, (and the fittest ones,) to be employ'd in producing of them. And yett, all that they could pretend, was, to carry the *Seeds* thereof in their Bowels, and afford that warm and moist Matter unto them, which might be their Nourishment. God immediately creating the *Souls* of *Animals*, probably lodg'd them in a *Seminal Matter*, which carried the Figure of an *Egg*. For which Cause, the Ancient Philosophy, both *Egyptian* and *Græcian*, discoursed much of the *Egg*, at the Mouth of God, and the ὄν πρωτόγονον, *Ovum Primigenium*, from whence all things had their Original. In that *Egg*, with the *Souls* of the *Animals*, there were also the *Shapes* | of them, formed by the Finger of God; or the *Pores* of them so disposed, as to entertain the *Nutritious Juice*, which does increase their *Bodies*, into what at last they come to. For these *Corporeal Ideas*, our sacred Philosopher uses the Word, מין/ *Min*, which we render, *Their Kind*. God gave to the *Seeds* of *Animals*, the faculty of admitting from the circumambient Slime, a *Nutritious Juice*, into all the Parts of them; and so to dispose thereof, as to augment, & perfect, and specificate the *Animals*. The *Souls* of *Animals*, which God produced indeed from the *Earth*, (but no Doubt sublimed into a

[83r]

²⁵¹ Dickinson (135, 136, 139, 141) argues that to counterbalance the scorching heat of the sun, God endowed the earth with "*Humidum Radicale*" or "fundamental moisture." And the writer of Job (9:9, 38:32) mentions "Arcturus, Orion, and Pleiades, and the chambers of the south" and "Mazzaroth." Mather's transliteration of the Hebrew terms should read: Ash, Chimah, Chesil, and Teyman (Mazzoroth); i.e., the Great Bear (Hesperus), Orion, Pleiades, and the chambers of the South wind; and Job 38:32, Mazzaroth (also: Mazzoroth) signifies the 12 signs, or the Zodiac collectively. See Strong's # 5906 (5789), 3598, 3685, 8486 (4216).

very fine *Essence*, by His own Omnipotent Hand,) were of a most *Subtil*, and *Active* Nature; and the *Seeds*, whereto God united them, were admirably suited, for their *Animal*-Functions; and that *Fatt Clay*, wherein the Almighty *Potter*, putt them, yeelded *Liquors* very agreeable for their Concretion and Accretion; and the *Vapour* which ascended, before the Lord had caused it as yett to *Rain upon the Earth*, was doubtless a very *Digesting* sort of a Thing. Old *Archelaus* was not altogether ignorant of this Proceeding, when he said, γεν{ν}ᾶσθαι τὰ ζῶα ἐκ θερμῆς τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἰλὸν παραπλησίαν γάλακτι, οἷον τροφήν ἀνείσης; *Genita fuisse Animalia Terræ calore, limum lacti similem in alimentum liquante*. And the Generation of the *Aquatils*, was carried on like that of the *Terrestrials*. But after this Day, (such is the Order of God,) the Generation must be carried on, by a Conjunction of *Male* and *Female*; in the *Seed* whereof lies hid, that fine *Spirit*, much more fine than the *Æther* itself, which is the *Soul* of the *Animal*; and yett that *Soul* being but *Sublimed Earth*, is *Corporeal*, and at length returns to the *Earth*: but that fine *Spirit*, when enkindled, finds in the *Seed*, the *Idea* of an *Organic* Body, of a most wonderful Structure, which it manages accordingly.²⁵²

The Sixth Day.

At last, MAN, the Lord and King, of the other Creatures is introduced, into the Palace, thus Erected and Furnished for him. The *Soul* of Man is a most Noble Thing; and called, Gen. 2.7. *A Breath of Lives*, in the Plural Number; because by it a Man does not only *live* the present *Life*, which is Frail, and Earthly and Mortal, but also *breathe* after, & at length come to live, a *Life Eternal* in the Heavens, *equal to the Angels*. It is said to be *Breathed* by God *into his Nostrils*, (or Hebr. *Into his Face*,) because, God both made his *Body*, [see Job. 10.8. and Psal. 119.73. and Isa. 64.8.] and then so infused the *Soul*, that from the action of *Breathing* and other *Senses* appearing in the *Face*, it appear'd, that he was indeed *Alive*. The Lodging provided for this Noble Thing, the *Soul*, was not immediately made of the *Common Earth*, (tho' it had before been such *Dust*)

²⁵² The entire paragraph is a translated extract from Dickinson (*Physica* 144–58, esp. 145, 148, 149, 150–51). The story of the cosmic egg is told in Aristophanes (*Aves* 693–700). The “Oon protogonon” or “*ovum primigenium*” is the “Ur-egg” or “First Egg” at the mouth of the Egyptian god KNEPH (Knuphis) from which all else sprang (*CBTEL*). Dickinson may have in mind *De principiis* (1.286.15–17; 1.319.2–6), by the Neoplatonist philosopher Damascius (c. 458–533 CE), or rather Porphyry’s *Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων* (10.1) extant in Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 3.11.115a/c). The Hebrew word מִיִּין [miyn] [Strong’s # 4327] appears in Gen. 1:21 and signifies “their kind.” A student of Anaxagoras, the philosopher Archelaus (fl. 5th c. BCE) describes this generative process, in a fragment surviving in Diogenes Laertius (*Vita philosophorum* 2.17.4–6). Dickinson’s second-hand Greek citation (*Physica* 150) from Archelaus, here copied by Mather, addresses the ancient concept of spontaneous generation and explains that “the animals had been brought forth through the warmth of the earth, liquefying mud [serving] as a nourishment similar to milk” (B. Melton’s translation). Mather also rejects the ancient belief in spontaneous generation in his commentary on Exod. 16:33.

but of *Adamah*, a Red, Rich, Rosie, and *Shining* Sort of Earth, by an unknown Fermentation, advanced now into a Sort of a *Quintessence*; and, no doubt, the *Body* of *Adam*, did by his Fall, unhappily lose much of the *Primitive Glory*, wherein it shone like the *Ruby*.²⁵³ The *Body* of Man was perhaps, the most Illustrious Thing in the whole Visible Creation, and the most precious Treasures of the *Stars* themselves, not excepting the very *Sun*, were in the Composition of it. The fitter Habitation it was, for the Heavenly *Soul*, which *Moses* chooses to call by the Name of /נֶשְׁמָה/ *Neshamah*, wherein he alludes to the Word, /שָׁמַיִם/ *Shamajim*, for this Cause, because it came from thence. My *Dickinson*, adds, *Nec abhorret à fide nostrâ, doctissimorum virorum sententia, qui credunt Deum ad fingendum corpus primi hominis verè manus suas adhibuisse, assumptâ nimirum formâ Humanâ, in quâ postea apparuit Adamo facto, non secus ac posteris etiam sæculis visus est.* A *Seed*, formed by the exquisite Workmanship of Heaven, was now putt into the *Body* of Man, a fitt Instrument for the *Soul*, in carrying on the succeeding Generations. It is the *Soul*, that Begins and Perfects every *Generation*: and Excites the united *Seed* of the Parents, and cherishes that purer *Seed*, the *Bullula*, and digests that thicker *Seed*, in the *Χόριον*, and by its *æthereal* and *plastick* Warmth manages the whole affair, except the first Delineation of the Parts, which it finds lodged there by the peculiar Work of God. The *Seed* would be altogether Torpid, & and not bring anything to Effect, if it were not for the *Formative Power*, which God, the great *γενεσιουργος*, hath implanted in the *Soul*. *Harvey's* History of *Generation* makes it evident, that the *Soul* in the *Seed*, carries on all, without any Assistance from the Mother, for at least the First *Three Months*, in all which Time, the *Embryo* remains, not fastned unto the Mother, by any *Ligaments*.²⁵⁴ In what Part of the *Body* soever, the *Soul* may have its principal Seat, which is variously disputed, it is most certainly no other than a *Foreigner* and a *Sojourner* here, and placed by God in this earthly Tabernacle, for a certain *Term*; upon the Expiration | of which Term, it should [84v]

253 Dickinson (*Physica* 159–94, esp. 162, 164, 166, 168–71, 174–75, 192). Mather presents a similar argument about the color of Adam's prelapsarian body, in his *Threefold Paradise* (135–36) and *Diary* (2:113), where he describes Adam as wearing a luminous garment, or "*Vestis Onychia*," resembling the color of onyx.

254 The Mosaic נֶשְׁמָה [neshamah] [Strong's # 5397] suggests "a puff" (of wind), "vital breath," hence "breath of life" (Gen. 2:7); whereas שָׁמַיִם [shamayim] [Strong's # 8064] signifies "heavens" or "aether," the abode of the celestial bodies (Gen. 1:2). Mather's untranslated Latin quotation from Dickinson (*Physica* 166) reads, "Nor is the opinion of very learned men inconsistent with our faith that God truly used his hands in forming the body of the first men, since the human form had undoubtedly been borrowed, in which He [Christ] later appeared, after Adam had been made, not otherwise than He was seen in subsequent centuries" (B. Melton's translation). The nouns "*bullula*" (Aulus Cornelius Celsus's *De medicina* 2.5.3) and "*chorion*" respectively mean "watery vesicle" ("bubble") and "sac enclosing the fetus" (placenta). The great "*genesiorgos*" is none other than the great "maker" (Wisdom of Solomon 13:5, LXX Apocrypha). The English physician William Harvey (1578–1657), professor at the Royal College and discoverer of the body's blood circulation, describes mammalian generation and the stages of embryonic development in *Exercitationes de Generatione Animalium* (1651).

go back, to its *heavenly Countrey*; even the Countrey, which *Plato* acknowledged, when he called it, ὑπερουράνιον τόπον, *The Super-Cælestial Place*; and *Pythagoras*, when he called it, ἐλεύθερον αἰθέρα, *Liberum Æthera*, where he taught that the *Souls of Hero's*, after they left their *Bodies*, remained, ἀθανάτους καὶ ἀμβρότους, *Immortales et Incorruptibiles*. But since the *Souls* of Men come from Heaven, and are not generated by our Parents, it may justly be enquired, How it could be said unto Mankind, *Increase and Multiply*. 'Tis very sure, That the *Souls* of Men, are in our Sacred Bible, repræsentèd as, the *Sons of God*. And the ancient Philosophy of the Gentiles called them, *The Offspring of God*, and called God, *Their Father*. Whereas our *Bodies* are called, *Branches*; which intimates their Derivation from the *Seed* of our *First Parents*; wherein there is yett also, a very Divine Workmanship. The Wisdome of the Ancients, looks upon the *Humane Seed*, as of a very sublime Nature; and not only akin, τῷ τῶν ἄστρον στοιχείῳ, *To the Element of the Stars*, (as *Aristotle* expresses it,) but also peculiarly stamp'd with a very Divine Character. This little Portion of the *Humane Body*, whereby a thing of so vast Consequence, as the Propagation of Mankind, was to be carried on, was framed with a most astonishing Artifice, & made capable of being multiplied; but the True & Pure *Seed*, which is but a little Portion of that Mass, which we call so, is a most *refined Essence*, capable of an inexpressible *Mixture* (as one may call it,) with the very *Soul* itself, so that the Affections of the very *Soul* of the Parents, may by it, as by an agreeable Vehicle, be transferr'd unto their Children. *Placuit autem Deo, ut speciei multiplicatio, non masculi solius, aut Feminae, sed utriusque virtus existat. Nec dubitandum est, quin mulier eâ ratione præsertim facta sit adjutrix viro, ut ad multiplicandam speciem symbola sua mittat. Quod Moses honestâ quidem, modestâque locutione satis apertâ docet, quando ait Deum fecisse Evam ut Adamo fieret adjutorium* |כִּנְדָּה| *Chenegdo, tale nimirum, quale fiat ei coram, vel Anteriori parte conjuncta.*²⁵⁵

Briefly, The united *Seed* of the *Parents*, producing a sort of *Æthereal Flame*, and by a secret *Magnetism* drawing unknown Influences from the very *Æther*, itself, affords a most congruous Receptacle for a *Soul*, which the Great God

²⁵⁵ Plato's "uperouranion topon" (*Phaedrus* 247c) signifies "the place beyond heaven," which (Socrates instructs his interlocutor) has never been praised enough by the poets. And the influential Greek philosopher Pythagoras (fl. 6th c. BCE) called this heavenly country "eleutheron aithera," i.e., "unrestricted heavens," where the heroic souls remained "athanatous kai ambrotous," i.e., "immortal and incorruptible" (*Carmen aureum* 70, 71). Aristotle argues for a natural principle, or breath, in the soul of all living beings, akin "to the element of the stars" (*De generatione animalium* 2.3.737a, 1). The Latin passage from Dickinson (*Physica* 171) reads, "Moreover, it pleased God that the multiplying of the species arises as a capacity not of the masculine or the feminine, but of both. Nor should it be doubted that woman was made for that reason chiefly a helper to man that she contribute her share to the multiplication of the species. Moses indeed teaches this in a proper and restrained yet sufficiently frank speech, when he says that God made Eve in order that she become a helpmeet [chenegdo] to Adam, truly of such a kind as would be in his presence, even joined to the former by a member" (B. Melton's translation).

accordingly places in it; And hence the *Generation* is not improperly ascribed unto the *Parents*.

But after all, Such is the Mystery of the Divine Operations, in this, as well as in other Matters, that it becomes all Men humbly to confess, *That what they know, is the least Part of what they do not know*. If they are *Divines*, Lett them acknowledge with *Lactantius*, *Hominem in Generatione, præter materiam nascendi (nempe semen) nihil conferre; cætera omnia, nimirum, conceptionem, Inspirationem Animæ, corporis Formationem, partiumque virtutem et incolumitatem Dei esse*. If they are *Philosophers*, Lett them acknowledge with *Harvey*, *Ille rectè pièque rem reputavit, qui rerum omnium generationes ab eodem illo æterno atque omnipotente numine deducit; à cujus nutu rerum universitas dependet*. If they are *Physicians*, Lett them not incur the Rebuke of *Galen*, who saies, *Quo pacto hæc fiant, si scrutaberis, convinceris te non intellegere, neque tuam imbecillitatem; nec opificis tui potentiam*.²⁵⁶

Some fine Hints, my Author, now falls into, as the Effects of his own Experiments; That there is in Man, a certain Lucid and Igneous Nature, which ha's a strange Affinity with the Cœlestial *Sun*. A Tincture, fulgid like the *Sun*, may be by Art, fetched out of an Humane Body, which if the Rayes of the *Sun* fall upon, it will take *Fire* immediately. This *Essence* being lodg'd in a Glass, will Illuminate the Largest Room in the Darkest Night, beyond any *Carbuncle*. Tis the *Aurum Naturæ* in us; and there are no where so Rich Veins of it, as in the *Humane Body*; yea, the *Aurific Tincture* may there be mett withal. When *Moses* notes, That the *Luminaries* of Heaven, are to send, Gen. 1.17. אֲרָרָא/ Or, or, *Light*, and *Fire* upon the *Earth*, it is a most comprehensive Word, and also intends, whatever may here be called, *Aurum*, or *Gold*; and especially, That *Solar* and *Golden Essence*, which is in other things, but especially, in the Body of Man. But this is a Matter here to be no further prosecuted.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁶ The Latin passage here greatly condensed and extracted from Lactantius (*De opificio Dei* 19) [PL 7. 74A] insists that “during procreation, parents contribute nothing more than the material of birth (namely seed). Everything beyond this is the work of God, – namely, the conception itself, the breathing in of life, the moulding of the body, and the bringing forth in safety whatever afterwards contributes to the preservation of man” (*On the Workmanship of God*, ch. 19), in *ANF* (7:299). Natural philosophers should second William Harvey’s pious remark in his *Exercitationes de Generatione Animalium* (50) that “man considers the matter rightly and in a devout way who derives the begetting of all things from that same eternal and omnipotent divinity on whose will the universe of things depends” (B. Melton’s translation). Lastly, physicians should not incur the censure of the famous Greek physician Galen of Pergamum (129–c. 216 CE), who rebukes unbelievers in his *De usu partium corporis humani* (15.1): “If you will investigate in which way these things are made, you will be convinced that you grasp neither your own weakness nor the power of your maker” (B. Melton’s translation).

²⁵⁷ Mather here refers to Dickinson (*Physica* 192), whose experiments are, perhaps, too much like those Jonathan Swift would ridicule two decades later in *Gulliver’s Travels* (1726) 3.5–6. The “*Aurum Naturæ*” or “gold of nature” is perhaps as fine an essence as that which a worthy professor at Swift’s Academy of Lagado sought to extract from cucumbers (3.5.152–53). The

[85r] | Thus we see a most *Beautiful World*, produced; and the *First Matter*, (which was those *Atoms*, that the Apocryphal *Wisdom of Solomon* calls, *The Unseen Matter*, & that for the Smallness of them rendring them *Invisible*, the Apostle calls, Heb. 11.1. *μη φαινόμενα*, *Not Seen*,) formed into Shapes Innumerable. The old Jewes called that *First Matter* by the Name of אֵין *Ain*, that is, *Nothing*; because it consisted of so very *Small Bodies*, as could be no more seen, than if they were *Nothing*. It was most expressively done in *Moses*, to assign that *First Matter* those Two Names, of *Tohu*, and *Bohu*. The *Tohu*, was the *First Matter*, scattered throughout the Universe; but *Empty Space* was necessary, to putt that Matter into *Motion*; and that *Space*, as a *Principium sine quo non*, is called *Bohu*; as among the *Arabians* also, *Bahi*, signifies, a *Vacuum*.²⁵⁸ [These Names, tho' we sometimes find them together in the Prophets, Jer. 4.23. and Isa. 34.11. yett it is a Mistake in those Interpreters, who make them of but one Signification. Accordingly, we elsewhere have *Tohu* alone. Isa. 45.18. Psal. 107.40. Job. 12.24. Deut. 32.10.] Agreeably, the old Greek Philosophers, made these the two *Principles* of all things; τὸ πλῆρες, *Plenum*, and, τὸ κενόν, *Vacuum*. *Asclepiades* called those very *Principles*, ὄγκους, *Moles*, and, πόρους, *Meatus*. But, as for the *First Matter* itself, t'was a *Vain Philosophy*, which came at length, to assert it *eternal*; No, its *Beginning*, and *Creation* by God out of *Nothing*, is asserted in the very first Words of the Bible; on which the Gloss of the Blessed old *Austin*, was highly in the Right; *Informis illa materia, quam de nihilo fecit Deus, primò appellata est Cælum et Terra. Nam quem admodum, si semen Arboris considerantes, dicamus ibi esse Radices et Truncum et Ramos et Folia, atque Fructus, non quia jam sunt, sed quia indè futura sunt; sic in principio Deus fecit Cælum et Terram, quasi semen Cæli et Terræ; cùm in confuso adhuc erat Cæli et Terræ Natura*. The Way, by which this *First Matter* came into Shapes, was, by the *Spirit of God* moving it. This was that *Wind*, *κόλπια*, celebrated by the Ancients; not a proper *Wind*, but אֵין קוֹל פִּי יְהוָה *Kol-pi-jah*, or, *The Voice of the Mouth of God*. But the general Notion, that so many Thousands of Interpreters have run upon, That here is a Metaphor in the *Mosaic Word*, *Merechepeth*, taken from the Incubation of a *Bird*, is altogether mistaken, and it proceeds from their Ignorance of the Old & the True Philosophy.²⁵⁹

Hebrew word אוֹר [owr] (Gen. 1:17) suggests “to be luminous” and “luminary” [Strong’s # 215, 216].

²⁵⁸ The passage about the “*Beautiful World*” that is seen, but made from atoms or “*Unseen Matter*” (i.e., “matter without form”) evidently refers to Wisdom of Solomon 11:17; 13:1–7 (LXX Apocrypha). The Hebrew word אֵין [ayin] means “nothing, non-entity” [Strong’s # 369]. For the Arabic word for the Hebrew “*bohu*” (Gen: 1:2), suggesting “void,” see Walton’s *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1:3).

²⁵⁹ Mather extracts the entire paragraph from Dickinson (*Physica* 198, 200, 203, 206, 207). The ancient Greek philosophers who called these principles “to pleres” and “to kenon,” meaning, respectively, “body” and “space” (or “fullness” and “emptiness”), are Leucippus and Democritus (Aristotle’s *Metaphysica* 1.4.985b, 5–7). These principles are called by Asclepiades

In the *Creation* thus brought about, we find *Moses*, as a *Philosopher* mentioning only *Two Heavens*; the *Æthereal*, and the *Aëreal*; but as a *Divine*, he elsewhere mentions, *A Third Heaven*. [see Deut. 10.14. with 2. Cor. 12.2.] This is that *Light which no Man can approach unto*. The *Two Heavens* are certainly very *Fluid*, and *Various*. And for the *Motion* of the *Bodies* in them, the *Ptolomeans*, and the *Copernicans*, & the *Cartesians*, may save themselves the Labour of their several *Hypotheses*. 'Tis enough, that we are told, Job. 37.12. *It is turned about by the Counsels of God*; where the original Word, alludes to the *Counsels* of a *Pilot*. And inasmuch as we read, that the *Fingers of God*, have a special *Work* about the *Heavens*; But the *Angels of God*, are meant by His *Fingers*; And we read of *Angels* having particular Parts of the *Creation*, peculiarly committed unto their Charge: Behold a further Provision, for the Carrying on of things in the Government of the World, which we do not as yett fully understand! A Provision, whereof the ancient Philosophers among the *Gentiles* were not Ignorant; For, besides what *Aristotle* speaks about *Intelligences*, wee have *Hesiod*, near Three Thousand Years ago, acknowledging *Myriads of Angels*, as having the World under their Management.²⁶⁰

“ogkous” (i.e., “mass,” “lumps,” and “molecules”), whereas “porous” suggests “way” or “means” (of achieving something). See also Cudworth (*True Intellectual System*, bk. 1, ch. 1, sec. 6, pp. 8–10). The adapted citation from St. Augustine of Hippo’s gloss *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* (1.7.11) [PL 34, 178] tries to harmonize the seeming contradiction: “That unformed matter which God made from nothing was first called heaven and earth. [Not because it already was, but] because it could be. If we consider the seed of a tree, we say that the roots, trunk, branches, fruit and leaves are present there, not because they are already in the seed, but because they will come to be from it. In the same way [Scripture said], ‘In the beginning God made heaven and earth,’ the seed, so to speak, of heaven and earth, since the matter of heaven and earth was still in a confused state” (*On Genesis against the Manichees* 58–59). Dickinson’s holy wind קֹלֶפֶיָּה [kolpijah] appears as a Greek transliteration [Κολπία] in Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 1.10.7.3; 1.10.34b–c), where the bishop of Caesarea (citing Philon of Byblos) relates, “from the wind Colpias and his wife Baau (which he [Philo] translates ‘Night’) were born Aeon and Protogonus, mortal men.” The Hebrew word “kolpijah” does not appear in the Hebrew Scriptures, but seems to be a composite of 2 Chron. 35:22 (mouth of God) and Deut. 4:32 (voice of God). Dickinson’s source for *Physica* (206) is Bochart’s *Geographia* (pars 2, lib. 2. cap. 2, col. 706). See also Keil-Delitzsch (*Commentary* 1:24, note 1).

²⁶⁰ Mather extracts and translates this paragraph from Dickinson (*Physica* 229, 232, 236). The motion of the celestial bodies as debated between Ptolemy, Copernicus, and Descartes alludes to Galileo Galilei’s famous *Dialogue* (1632; 1638), in which Aristotle, Ptolemy, and Copernicus debate the structure of the universe and the motion of the celestial bodies (*Dialogue* 3); and to René Descartes’s *Principles of Philosophy* (1644), esp. part II and IV, who explains motion purely in terms of natural laws without the hand of God. (See also R. Blackwell’s *Galileo*, esp. chs. 2, 5, 7, and D. Stimson’s *Gradual Acceptance*, esp. chs. 2–5). For Mather and his peers, their arguments were either outdated or too mechanistic. Although Mather embraced Copernicus’s heliocentric universe, he shared the disdain of many of his contemporaries who felt threatened by the natural laws of a purely mechanistic (Cartesian) universe; in a purely mechanistic universe there was seemingly no room for God’s providential intervention. Much better than Isaac Newton’s *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica* (1686), which seemed to explain gravity and the motion of bodies in terms of the operations of God’s supreme power in the universe. For detail see A. R. Hall (*From Galileo* 37–77 ff), J. Henry (“Pray” 123–47),

This is the Scheme, & the Summ, of the *Philosophy*, which our *Dickinson* supposes constantly præserted among the *Patriarchs*, down unto the Dayes of *Moses*. Nor is it likely, that the *Israelites* were Strangers to this *Philosophy*, even while they were in *Egypt*. They were an Ingenious Nation, and probably the *Egyptians* themselves among whom they lived, were not in the Dayes of *Joseph*, sunk into that *Idolatry*, to which they afterwards degenerated; but worshipped the same True God, with the *Israelites*, and according to the Instructions of *Joseph*, who *taught their Senators Wisdome*. Yea, tis not improbable, That the *Israelites*, when they grew Numerous, built a *Temple*, (as well as lesser *Synagogues*) for the Worship of the True God: [whereof we have some Intimation, in 2. Sam. 7.6.] Indeed, Both *Egyptians* and *Israelites* afterwards fell into *Idolatry*; and God made those very *Egyptians*, in Conformity to whom they so corrupted themselves, to prove a sore Scourge unto them. Nevertheless, even then also, their

[86v] Servitude | was not so very hard, [see Num. 11.18. and Exod. 5.21.] as to leave them, without Men of Education, who still instructed them, in this *Religious Philosophy*. And how well instructed in it, their Neighbours and Kinsmen, the *Idumæans* were, the Book of *Job*, is enough to satisfy us; if the Prophets *Jeremiah* and *Obadiah*, had hinted nothing about it. But for *Moses* himself, the whole World could not show a Man, that was more Accomplished. His Education in the Court of *Egypt*; His Fellowship in the Colledge of *Diospolis*; His Expedition into *Æthiopia*; His Conversation with the wisest Men of *Arabia*, and *Idumæa*, and, perhaps *Phœnicia*, during his long Exile; But above all, His Intimate Communion with Heaven; All conspire to Invite our Expectations, of great Things from him. Among his other Excellencies, it seems likely that his *Chymistry* enabled him to do such things, as the Philosophers in our Age, are Strangers unto. That of Dissolving the *Golden Calf* into Powder, seems to be one of those things. A Work for none but an *Adeptist*! And it will be hard for us, to obtain satisfactory Thoughts, about, *The Holy Anointing Oil*, præpared by *Moses*, for the Use of all the ensuing Generations; or about, *The Perfume*, which might not be imitated; except we suppose *Moses*, a Master of the great *Philosophic Secrets*, by which the true and pure *Essences* of Things, and the finest *Magisteries* may be come at.²⁶¹

and E. McMullin (*Newton*). Although Cotton Mather's *Christian Philosopher* (1720/21) is justly celebrated for promoting Newtonian science in colonial North America, he felt equally at home in the ancient cosmology of his father's *Angelographia* (1696) in which myriads of angels and invisible messengers carried out God's eternal plan. Like their immortal counterparts in Hesiod's *Theogonia* (363–70), the ancient gods proliferated myriads of offspring, including three thousand nymphs with shapely ankles born to Oceanus and Tethys (see also Plato, *Timæus* 41a–42d).

²⁶¹ This translated paragraph is excerpted from Dickinson (*Physica* 298, 302). Since Moses was a member of the royal household, he is likely to have been initiated into the hermetic secrets of Egypt's priestly classes. Philo Judæus relates that philosophers from Chaldea, Babylonia, Greece, and Egypt were recruited to educate the young Moses, who was known by various other Egyptian names (*De vita Mosis* 1.5.20–25). Josephus describes Moses as an Egyptian general, who vanquished the Ethiopians and married Tharbis, daughter of the

Our *Dickinson* having mentioned the *Chymistry* of *Moses*, his Profession will be some Excuse for him, if he take Occasion to give a more ancient Instance of the most exquisite and exalted *Chymistry*, in one that lived long before the Dayes of *Moses*; and that is, *Noah* himself.

We read of, *A Window*, ordered for the *Ark*; [Gen. 6.16.] The Word, *Tsohar*, signifies, not, *A Window*, but, *A Splendor*; and for a proper *Window*, *Moses* uses the Word, *Chalon*, and one *Window* would hardly serve the Three Stories of the *Ark*. Some *Hebrew* Doctors, do therefore, by *Tsohar*, understand, the *Light* of certain precious Stones, hung up, in the several Stories there, like so many *Carbuncles*. But our Dr. *Dickinson*, apprehends, That it was the *Splendour*, of a certain Igneous, and Sulphureous *Liquor*, which *Noah* prepared with admirable Art, and hung up in *Chrystal Vessels* every where, so as to Illuminate the several Cells of the *Ark*; the subtil Steams whereof contributed not a little to the Sustaining, Refreshing, and Nourishing of all the Creatures there Imprisoned.²⁶²

But thus you have had sett before you, a *Key* to the Philosophy of that excellent *Moses*, of whom the very Pagans themselves knew not how to speak any thing, but what was magnificent; *Chalcidius* calls him, τὸν προφήτην, *The Prophet*; *Plato* calls him, Νόμοθέτην, *The Lawgiver*; but *Eupolemus* calls him, τὸν πρῶτον σοφόν, *The First Wise Man*; and *Numenius*, σοφώτατον, *The Wisest of Men*. Tho' in giving you this *Key*, I have taken the Liberty, to cloathe the Conceptions very much in my own Expressions, yett for these Conceptions, I have been very much beholden unto my Dr. *Dickinson*, whose Book of above Three hundred

Ethiopian king (*Antiquities* 2.9.6–7, 2.10.1–2; *Contra Apion* 1.31–32). That Moses was educated “in the Colledge of *Diospolis*” is not unlikely, for Diospolis Megale, better known as Thebes (Upper Egypt), was the Pharaonic capital (2nd millennium BCE), with the temples of Luxor and Karnak and the worship of Amun (the Invisible) at the center of the eleventh dynasty (KP). Moses’s dissolving of Aaron’s molten calf into powder (Exod. 32:4, 20) and of preparing the sweet-smelling ointment and incense “according to the work of the apothecary” (Exod. 37:29) are frequently cited as evidence of the occult knowledge of the Hebrew lawgiver. The history of the golden calf and its cultic significance are examined at length in John Selden’s *De Diis Syris Syntagmata* (1617), Synt. 1, lib. 1, cap. 4, pp. 46–64, and in Samuel Bochart’s *Hierozoicon* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 34, col. 330–60). For the use of perfume as a means of covering the odor of sacrificial animals, see Maimonides (*Guide* 3.45.358). Significantly, Mather’s seeming belief in the occult powers of Moses is not shared by Simon Patrick (on Exod. 32:4, 20), who argues that the wrathful lawgiver used nothing but a common file to reduce the calf to dust (*Commentary* 1:341–43, 346).

²⁶² Dickinson (*Physica* 324, 325, 326). The source for this legend on Gen. 6:16 is the Soncino Midrash Rabbah (Gen. XXXI:11). R. Abba ben Kahana relates that the word “Zohar” here signifies “a skylight,” but R. Levi opts for a “precious stone” or “polished gem,” which (according to R. Phineas) lit Noah’s Ark for an entire year, dimmed during the day, and shone at night. (See also Talmudic tractate Sanhedrin 108b.) Mather’s objection that the word צֹהָר [tsohar] (Gen. 6:16) means “splendor” is correct, but it is also used to denote “glistening light” and “window” [Strong’s # 6671, 6672]. However, the word חַלּוֹן [challown], suggesting “window” [Strong’s # 2474], also appears in Gen. 8:6. Mather returns to the same issue in his annotations on Gen. 6:16 (below).

Quarto Pages, I have here digested into an *Epitome*, which you see less than *Three Sheets* have contained. And I am verily perswaded, That if this Account of the *Creation*, be further examined and considered, you will find it an Incomparable *Key*, to very many other Passages, throughout the whole *Sacred Scriptures*.²⁶³

I will only add, That the Vain Witts of the Foolish and Profane Men in this Age, do take too much Liberty in the Diminutive Terms, with which they speak of the *Terraqueous Globe* whereon the Great God ha's placed us. It is not from a Religious Contempt of *this World*, but because the Spirit of Irreligion in them, too often, designs a Contempt of the Great God, & of His Works, that they so express themselves. This *Lower World* is a more Noble Part of the *Creation*, and more *highly* to be accounted of, than many are well aware. But of all its *Prerogatives*, whereof our *Dickinson* does enumerate several, I cannot break off, till I have in his own Words mention'd This;

Nihil potuit amplius, nihil elatius in ejus honorem proferri, quàm quòd FILIUS HOMINIS, qui Deus est, et Caelos atque Terram fecit, ipse ad Terram descendere, et sumptâ sibi carne ex eodem luto, ex quo omnes mortales effecti sunt, ibidem morari per plures Annos haud dedignatus est.

Allow me for once to be a *Translator*.

Nothing Further, Nothing Higher, can be spoken for the Honour of this Earth, than that the SON OF MAN, who is God as well as Man, & made both Heaven & Earth, would vouchsafe to descend unto the Earth, & assume Flesh of the same Clay, whereof all Mortals are formed, and sojourn here for many Years together.

[87r] | Having thus done with my Doctor *Dickinson*, I will add one Historical Remark for the Conclusion of all.

There have been Two great *Physicians*, who have betaken themselves unto *Scripture*, that they may understand the Secrets of *Nature*.

Sennertus, who finds much Fault with such as perverted the Text of *Moses*, and attempted an Exposition of him, out of Heathen Authors; *Ausu infelici et non tolerando*.

And, *Valesius*, who in his Proem to his, *Sacra Philosophia*, tells us, That whereas he had in the former Part of his Life commented upon *Aristotle*, and upon many Pieces of *Hippocrates* and *Galen*, he was resolved now to devote the

²⁶³ Dickinson (*Physica* 331). Chalcidius (4th c. CE), whose “ton propheten” signifies “the prophet,” is a Christian commentator and translator of Plato’s *Timaeus*. Plato uses the term “nomotheten” (*Cratylus* 389d, 5; 390a, 4, 7 etc.) to signify “rule-setters” (i.e. “lawgivers”) in general but does not refer to the Hebrew lawgiver at all. The Jewish historian Eupolemus (fl. c. 150 BCE) is quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus as calling Moses “the first wise man” (*Stromata* 1.23.153, *ANF* 2:335). Finally, Numenius of Apamea praises Moses as more eminent than Plato: “For what is Plato, but Moses speaking in Attic Greek?” (Eusebius’s *Praeparatio evangelica* 9.6.411a, and Clemens Alexandrinus’ *Stromata* 1.22.150.4.2). Dickinson’s book is 344 quarto pages long. For a summary of Dickinson’s main ideas, see K. B. Collier (*Cosmogonies* 149–65).

Remainder of his Dayes, to the Study of the *Holy Scriptures*, & seek his Philosophy out of them for the time to come. — *Quod Deus concesserit vitæ reliquum, statui in iis philosophari, cum quoniam nulla alia ratione censeo certi quippiam & Naturalibus haberi posse, tum quid nescio quo modo eorum lectio, etiam Historica aut Physica, animum pietate latenter imbuat.*²⁶⁴

[88v]

Q. We know, that in respect of God, it is alike, to create all things in an Instant, or to do it successively in a shorter or a longer Time. We may humbly enquire, after the *Reasons*, why the Almighty took a Period of *Six Dayes*, to finish the Works of Creation? v. 31.

A. It is, as Mr. *Robert Jenkins* observes, more suitable to the Capacities and Apprehensions of Men, that the Creation of the World should be delivered unto us, as finished in *Six Dayes*, rather than a shorter or longer Time; and therefore it was fitt, that it should be really so Performed and Finished, as to render the History more useful unto us. By such a Successive and Gradual Proceeding in the Production of things, the Glory of God is more manifested unto Men, than it would have been, if all had been done at once, or by more Tedious Methods. The Obligation to the Observation of a *Sabbath* hence arising, & this to commemorate the Works of Creation, is one Remarkable Instance.²⁶⁵

²⁶⁴ Daniel Sennert (1572–1637), a German physician and iatrochemist, professor of medicine at Wittenberg University, is best known for his *Tractatus de consensu et dissensu Galenicorum* (1619) and *Hypomnematum Physicorum* (1636), which were partly incorporated in Peter Cole's English translation of Sennert's *Thirteen Books of Natural Philosophy* (1659). Sennert rebukes those who pervert the Mosaic Pentateuch "by means of unfortunate and intolerable daring" (B. Melton's translation). In his third discourse "Of Atomes and Mixture," Sennert credits "one Mochus, a Phoenician, who is reputed to have flourished before the destruction of Troy," with having originated the atomistic theory long before Democritus, Empedocles, and other ancient Greeks (later followed by Aristotle) were given credit for inventing it (*Thirteen Books*, Discourse 3, ch. 1, p. 446). Dickinson, Cudworth, Selden, Theophilus Gale, More, Boyle, and others associate this Phoenician "Mochus" with the Israelite Lawgiver Moses. Increase Mather owned two of Sennert's medical works *Medicina practica* (1629), *Institutionum medicinae* (1645) — see Tuttle ("Libraries" 290); however, it is unclear which specific edition he owned. Cotton Mather also mentions Sennert as an authority on the gout, in *Angel of Bethesda* (1972), "Capsula XII" (67). Finally, the Spanish physician Franciscus Valesius, aka. Valles (1524–92), author of *Francisci Vallesii De Sacra Philosophia, sive De iis Quae Physice Scripta sunt in Libris Sacris* (1587, 1608), in his old age relinquished his former study of heathen authors and henceforth devoted himself to God's Word. Valesius confessed that "what remainder of life God has conceded to me, I have decided to pursue philosophy in these Scriptures, not only because I believe that by no other method can anything certain and in natural things be known, but also because I do not know at all how the study of those things, even history or physics, [might not] secretly imbue the mind with piety" (B. Melton's translation).

²⁶⁵ Mather refers to Robert Jenkin (1656–1727), chaplain to the earl of Exeter. Jenkin's *The Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion* (1698) was very popular and went through six editions in Mather's lifetime. Whether God created the universe in six literal days, years, millennia, or in an instant was a hotly debated issue in Mather's time. The Swiss Calvinist Francis Turretin (1623–87) identifies some of the most significant combatants and their respective arguments in Questions 5 and 6 of his *Institutes of Elenctic Theology* (1:444–52).

But lett us ascend a little Higher. It is *Austins* Opinion, That the *Six Dayes* of the Creation of the World, are distinguished, according to the Perception which the *Angels* had of the Creation; From whence was framed the Distinction of the Schoolmen, between *Cognitio Matutina*, and, *Cognitio Vespertina*. We will not altogether keep to that Notion. But this we will propose. The *Angels* were the Beginning of the Creation, and were created probably in the Morning of the First Day. We read, Job. XXXVIII.7. *The Morning Stars sang together, and all the Sons of God shouted for Joy; & glorified God, for His Creating of the World.* Now the *Angels*, tho' they are so very Blessed and Glorious, yett they are but *Finite*, and are unable to fathom the wonderful Works of God, *which things the Angels desire to look into*: And the more they Know of God and His Works, the more they Adore Him with their Praises. The whole Scene of the Creation seems to have been laid open in Order before them, according to the several Degrees and various Natures of things; whereby they must have had a fuller View, & a clearer Understanding of the Divine Power & Wisdome, than they could have had, if the World had been started forth in an Instant, and Jump't as it were into this beautiful Frame & Order. God was pleased by several Steps to declare His Glory before the *Angels*, and excite their Adoration, which was expressed in *Songs* and *Shouts of Joy*. His Glory, and their Happiness was this Way advanced, much beyond what it would have been, if all things had been Created, & Disposed into their Order, in a Moment. They look'd into the First Principles of Things; and every day presented them with New Wonders; and thus were their Voices Tuned and Raised unto those Praises, which are to be their Employment unto Eternity.²⁶⁶

But after all, as our *Jenkins* expresses it; *It were a strange Præsumption, to demand of Almighty God a Reason of all His Actions, and not Beleeve Him upon His Word.*

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1328.

Q. The *Wisdome* and *Goodness*, of the Great God, in the System of the *World*, is it not very sensible to all that will observe it? v. 31.

²⁶⁶ St. Augustine (*Liber imperfectus de genesi ad litteram* 3.7–8, *De Genesi ad Manichaeos* 1.2.3–4, and *De Genesi ad litteram* 4.24.41) tries to solve this dilemma by arguing that the reference to day and night (Gen. 1:1–5) before time was created must be understood from the point of view of the angels who had existence either before Chaos was formed into the heaven and earth of the first day (Gen. 1:1) or were part of the first-day's creation. One way to redress this problem is to read the Mosaic hexaemeron as an allegory of angelic cognition, because God presented "so many notions to the intellect of angels. Thus each angelic cognition may be called a day and may be said to have a morning [matutina] and evening [vespertina]," in Turretin, "Fifth Question," *Institutes* (1:444). This tradition dates back to Jewish Wisdom literature and non-canonical books such as the Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach, Jubilees, Secrets of Enoch, Enoch, and their emulators. See F. E. Robbins's *Hexaemeral Literature* (24–27).

A. The Order and Beauty of the Systematical Parts of the World, and the Discernible Ends thereof, wherein there still appears a τὸ βέλτιον, or a *Meliority* above what was necessary to bee, this is evidently such, as to make us conclude, That the present Constitution, proceeded not from any blind Causes of Necessary *Matter*, or Fortuitous *Atom*; wee must from hence conclude, That an Intelligent Being of Infinite *Wisdom*e and *Goodness*, formed this World, out of Choice, in this particular Way.²⁶⁷

For our Assistance in the Contemplation hereof, I will call in the Industrious and Ingenious Reflections, of Mr. *Bentley*, in his Discourse, at the Lecture, founded by Mr. *Boyl*, for the Defence of the *Christian Religion*.²⁶⁸

Come then; Laying aside the Prejudices of our Youth, Lett us consider;²⁶⁹

'Tis evident, that all the *Planets* Receive *Heat & Light*, from the Body of the *Sun*; without which, our own *Earth* particularly, would bee a Desolate Lump of Clay. It is *Good* therefore, that there should bee a *Sun*, to Impart these Influences. But how came the *Sun* to bee *Luminous*? It was not from the Necessity of Natural Causes, or from the Constitution of the Heavens. All the *Planets* might have moved about him in the same Orbs, & with the same Velocity, as they do now; and yett the *Sun* might have been a *Dark*, and a *Cold* Body, like any of them. For, as the six primary *Planets*, Revolve about the *Sun*, so there are secondary ones that Revolve about those *Planets*; as the *Moon* about the *Earth*, and the *Satellites* about *Saturn* and *Jupiter*. But then, in what horrible Desolation must the whole World have been overwhelmed! It had been utterly unfit for the *Animated Creatures*, that God intended for its Inhabitants. That the central *Sun*, should bee a lucid Body, and convey *Heat* and *Light* and Life unto the *Planets* round about him; This is a *Wise* and a *Good* Contrivance of Him, who *in His Wisdom*e made the *Heavens*.²⁷⁰

To proceed; The concentric Revolutions of the *Planets* about the *Sun*, proceed from a *Compound Motion*; a *Gravitation* towards the *Sun*, which is a constant Energy infused into Matter, by the Author of all Things; and a Projected, Transverse Impulse, in *Tangents* to their several *Orbs*, that was also Imprinted at first by the Divine Arm upon them, & will carry them around, until the End of all Things. Now, admitting, that *Gravity* may bee essential to Matter; and that a Transverse Impulse might likewise bee acquired by Natural

267 Mather's Greek "to beltion" suggests "amelioration" or "betterment."

268 The following MS pp. [89r–95r] are extracted from Richard Bentley's *Confutation of Atheism* (1693), eighth Boylean lecture (Dec. 5, 1692). J. H. Monk's *The Life of Richard Bentley* (1833) is still one of the best biographies on this early Newtonian. For the significance of the Boyle Lectureships and the spread of Newtonianism, see M. C. Jacob's *Newtonians* (ch. 5) and S. Mandelbrote's "Natural Theology."

269 Mather invites conservative readers to lay aside the Ptolemaic geocentric cosmogony and to embrace the Copernican heliocentric system. See also Blackwell, *Galileo* (chs. 5, 7); McCollery, "Rosse-Wilkins Debate"; and D. Fleming, "Judgment."

270 Bentley, *Confutation* (lect. 8, sec. 1, pp. 10, 11). Jer. 51:15.

Causes; yett, for all the Planets to move about the *Sun*, in *Circular Orbs*, there must bee given to each, a Determinate Impulse, & these present particular Degrees of Velocity, which they now have, in Proportion to their Distances from the Sun, & to the quantity of the Solar Matter. For, had the Velocities of the several Planets, been greater or smaller than they *are*, at the same Distances from the Sun, or, had their Distance from the Sun, or the quantity of the Sun's Matter, & consequently his Attractive Power, been greater or smaller than they *are*; now with the same Velocities; They would not have Revolved in Concentric Circles, as they do, but have moved in *Hyperbola's* or *Parabola's*, or in *Ellipses* very Eccentric. And what wee thus assert about the *Primary* Planets, may also bee applied unto the *Secondary*. Now, that all these Distances, and Motions, and Quantities of Matter, should bee so accurately & Harmoniously adjusted, in this great Variety of our System, it is above the Fortuitous Hitts, of meer, blind, material Causes; it must certainly flow, from the Disposals of that infinitely *Wise* and *Good* Being, who, as *Plato* saies, ἀεὶ γεωμετρῇ, *always acts geometrically*. If the Planets had moved in such Lines, as wee have described, sometimes they would have approached the Sun, as near as the Orb of *Mercury*, and sometimes have exorbitate[d] beyond the Distance of *Saturn*, & some of them, would have quite left the *Sun*, with[out] ever seeing him any more. Now, the very Constitution of a *Planet*, would have been Corrupted, & Ruined, by such a Change of Interval, between *It*, and the *Sun*; and no Animals could ever have endured such Excesses of Heat and Cold.²⁷¹

Furthermore, The *Æthereal* Spaces are perfect[ly] *Fluid*; they neither do assist, nor, do they retard, the Revolutions of the *Planets*, which rowl thro' those Regions, as unresisted, as if they moved in a *Vacuum*. They might, any of them have moved in Courses opposite unto the present, and in Planes crossing the Planes of the *Ecliptic*, in any kind of Angles. Now if the System had been fortuitously framed by the convening Matter of a *Chaos*, how should all the Planets, as well the primary as the secondary, move the *Same Way*, from the West to the East, & in the *Same Plane* too, without any considerable Variation? Here would bee Millions of Millions of Odds to an Unit, in such a Cast of a *Chance*; and therefore, tis to some Divine Conduct, that such a Regular Harmony must bee ascribed. Especially, if wee consid[er,] that the smallest Planets, are scituated nearest the *Sun*, & each other; whereas *Jupiter* and *Saturn*, that are vastly greater

271 Bentley, *Confutation* (lect. 8, sec. 2, pp. 11, 12, 13). Bentley here summarizes Isaac Newton's "System of the World" (esp. # 1–8), appended to Newton's *Principia* (1686). For the necessity of God's hand in maintaining the planetary orbits, see Robert Boyle's "About the Excellency and Grounds Of the Mechanical Hypothesis" (1674). Plato's "aei geometrei," suggesting "ever-geometrically" or "ever-proportionately," appears in Plutarch, *Moralia: Quaestiones convivales* (8.718 B, 8 and 8.718 C, 3), but is also an adaptation of Plato's *Gorgias* (508a, 6–8), where Socrates explains to his interlocutor Callicles the order of the world as evidence that the gods (and men) greatly favor proportion and harmony.

than the rest, & have many Satell{ites} about them, are happily placed at the extreme Regions of the System, and Immensely Distant. At so wide a Distance, they do in their *Conjunctions*, a little Disturb one another, by their Gravitating Powers; but if such huge Masses of Matter had been scituated much nearer to the Sun, or to one another, the Disturban{ce} in the World, must have been consider{able.}²⁷²

To pass on; Our *Ear{th}* par{ticularly}, is placed so conveniently, {that} the Creatures which inhabit it, live and {thrive} in their Habitation. The Distance fro{m} | {the *Sun* as it now turns, most likely is} *Better*, than any greater or smaller Distance would have been. Tis mathematically certain, That the *Heat* of the Sun, is, according to the Density of the *Sun-beams*, and is Reciprocally Proportional to the Square of the Distance, from the Body of the Sun. By this Calculation, if the *Earth* should now Revolve, suppose, in the Orbit of *Mercury*, the whole Ocean would boil with Extremity of Heat, & bee exhal'd into Vapours, and all that growes upon the Dry Land, would bee consumed as in a Fiery Furnace. But suppose the *Earth* should bee carried as far off as the Orbit of *Saturn*; There the whole Globe would bee one *Frigid Zone*, the deepest Seas under the very Equator, would bee frozen to the bottom, and there would bee nothing of Animation, or Germination in these forlorn Regions of the Universe. Place the *Earth* yett at any other Distance, and still you alter it for the worse, proportionally to the Alteration. Tis then in a Place, which an infinitely Intelligent, & Voluntary Agent hath assign'd unto it. But if any one think, How then can any thing live in *Mercury*, or in *Saturn*? Lett him also think, That the Matter of each *Planet*, may have a Texture very Different, which will dispose the same to bee acted on, by greater or smaller Degrees of *Heat*, according to their several Scituations, & that the Lawes of Life, and Vegetation & Propagation, are the Arbitrary Pleasure of God, and may vary in every *Planet*, as Hee pleases, to us Incomprehensibly. Tis enough, that the Texture of *Ours*, is inconsistent with any other Scituation: Wee could not wear Flesh and Blood, any where else.²⁷³ [90v]

Moreover; The *Earth* Revolves with a *Double Motion*: while tis carried round the Sun, in the *Orbis Magnus* once a Year, it perpetually wheels about its own *Axis*, once in a Day, in every twenty four Hours, turning all the Parts of the *Equinoctial* to the Rayes of the Sun. Conspicuous are the Uses of this Vertiginous Motion; this tis that successively gives Day and Night, over the Face of the whole Earth, and makes it all over Habitable; Without this *Diurnal Rota-*

²⁷² Bentley, *Confutation* (lect. 8, sec. 3, pp. 13, 14). Bentley's teleological argument seems modern, yet asserting his argument on the basis of how the solar system benefits mankind renders his proof more in line with medieval cosmogonies. The passages in braces {} – lost through defacement – are restored from Bentley's text.

²⁷³ Bentley, *Confutation* (lect. 8, sec. 4, pp. 14, 15, 16). The passages in braces {} are lost through wear and tear, but are here reconstructed from Bentley's first edition (1693).

tion, one Hæmisphære would ly Dead, in perpetual Darkness, Frost, and Cold, and the best Part of the other, wasted with a permanent Heat wherein it must ly basking without Intermission. The Vicissitudes made by the *Earths* Moving about its own Center, are better, than an Exposing of the same Side alwayes unto the *Sun*. But whence came these Vicissitudes? The *Earth* might *Annually* have compassed the *Sun*, without such a daily Turn; as wee see the *Moon* ever showes the same Face unto us. Indeed, *Shee* does in her menstrual Orb, turn all her Globe to the Sun, and enjoy *Dayes* and *Nights*, alternately Fourteen Times as long as ours. But should the *Earth* bee deprived of its *Diurnal Motion*, one half of it, must never see any *Dayes* at all. Behold, that Glory of Him, that made Things, as now they are.²⁷⁴

Besides; Compare the Diurnal and the An{n}ual Revolutions of the *Earth*, which have a {ve}ry Different Degree of Velocitie. In {ev}ery Natural Day, all Parts of the *Equator* {h}ave some thing more than Three of the *Earths* Diameters, which makes about Eleven Hundred in the Space of a Year. But within the same Space, the Center of the Earth is carried more than fifty times as far, once round the *Orbis Magnus*, whose Wideness wee now assume to bee Twenty Thousand Terrestrial Diameters. The Annual Motion therefore is more than Fifty Times swifter than the Diurnal. But it must bee acknowledged, That since the Earth Revolves not upon a Material, but a Geometrical Plane, their Proportions may bee varied in Innumerable Degrees, any of which might have happened as easily as the present. What was it then that præscribed this particular Proportion and Celerity to each Motion? Tis certain, That there is a Meliority in the present Constitution. Suppose the *Annual* Motion of the Earth, were now performed in *Six* Months rather than *Twelve*; The Seasons then, would bee Twice as short as they are, and the cold Winters would overtake us before any of our Fruits could bee Ripe. Were the Motion Retarded, the Mischief would on the other Side be as fatal; for most Countreyes would bee so parched & effæte, by the Draught of the Summers, that they could never have an Harvest of a Store sufficient for the Consumption of a Double Year. And then, for the *Diurnal* Motion of the Earth; suppose it made only Twelve Circuits in a Year; Then every Day & Night, would bee Thirty Times as long as they are Now, and not at all suited unto any Humane Affayrs. But on the other Hand, suppose it wheeled a Thousand Times about its own Center, while the Center describes one Circle about the Sun; Then an Equinoctial Day would bee but Four Hours; and such Hasty Returns of Evening would sadly confound, all our Labours, and our Journeyes, & our other Affayrs.²⁷⁵

²⁷⁴ Bentley, *Confutation* (lect. 8, sec. 5, pp. 16, 17, 18).

²⁷⁵ Bentley, *Confutation* (lect. 8, sec. 6, pp. 18–19, 20).

Yett further; Lett the *Mode* of the Earths *Diurnal Motion* bee considered. Conceive an Imaginary *Plane*, which passing thro' the Centers of the *Sun*, & of the *Earth*, extends itself on all Sides as far as the Firmament; This *Plane* is called, The *Ecliptic*; and in this, the Center of the Earth is carried without any Deviation. But then the *Axis* of the Earth, about which its Diurnal Rotation is made, is not erect, unto the *Plane* of this *Ecliptic*, but Inclines towards it, from the Perpendicularum, in an Angle of Twenty Three Degrees, and an Half. Now, why is the *Axis* of the Earth, in this *Particular Posture*, and not in any other? Was this, by *Chance*, or from *Choice*? Wee all know, that this *Inclined Position* of the *Axis*, which keeps alwayes the same Direction, and to construct Parallelism to itself, is the sole Cause of those grateful, and needful Vicissitudes, of the Four Seasons of the Year, and the Variation in the Length of Days. If wee take away the *Inclination*, it would absolutely undo our Northern Nations; the Sun would never come nearer us, than hee doth now, on the *Tenth* of *March*, or the *Twelfth* of *September*. But would wee rather part with the *Parallelism*? Suppose then, that the *Axis* of the *Earth*, keeps alwayes the same *Inclination* | towards the Body of the Sun. This would cause indeed a Varietie of Days, and Nights, and Seasons, on the Earth, but then every particular Countrey, would have alwayes the same Diversity of Day and Night, and the same Constitution of Season, without any Alternation; some would alwayes have *Long Nights* and *Short Dayes*: others again perpetually *Long Dayes* and *Short Nights*: one Climate would bee sweltered with everlasting *Dog-Dayes*, while an eternal *December* blasted another. But shall the *Axis* rather observe no constant Inclination to any thing, but vary and waver in all Manner of Uncertainty? Truly, there could bee no Health, no Life, no Subsistence in such an Irregular System: by the surprising Nods of the Pole, wee might bee tossed backward or forward, from *January* to *June*, yea, possibly from the *January* of *Greenland*, to the *June* of *Abyssinia*. Certainly, the present Constitution, is more Beneficial for us, than any other. Some have Imagined, that if the *Poles* had been erect unto the Plane of *Ecliptic*, all Mankind had enjoy'd a *Perpetual Spring*, & a very Paradise upon Earth, with all the Comforts, in the utmost Measures of *Longevity*. But this perpetual, and universal Spring, is a meer Poetical Fancy; & bating the Equalitie of Dayes and Nights, in all other Points tis an Impossible Imagination. To the People, who dwell near the Equator, the *Spring*, so much admired, would bee an *Insupportable Summer*: and as for the Countreyes nearer the Pole, tis not a *Spring* that would answer their Necessities; they must have nearer Approaches of the Sun, with longer Dayes, & a less Obliquity of his Rayes, a Summer, & an Harvest, for the Ripening of their Fruits, or else bid an eternal adieu to the very best of their Sustenance. An equal Distribution of the same yearly Heat, would no more bring our Fruits unto Maturity, than such a quantity of Fuel, gradually & successively lighted, would make Water to boil, which being all kindled at once, will do it immediately. A perpetual *Equinox* would render the best Parts of the

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Globe, no other than perpetually Desolate. And the Expectation of a *Constant Serenity*, from such a Position of the *Sphere*, this also, is but precarious: For the affections of the Atmosphere, do not proceed only from the Course of the *Sun*, but also from the Scituations and Exhalations of the *Earth*, & many other uncertain Causes. Nor are the *Equinoxes* of our Year, upon Experience found, more free from Tempestuous Exorbitances, than any of the other Seasons, which also dismisses the Fond Hopes of *Longevity*, from such a *Spring*, as these do talk of: *Longevity*, can't bee prov'd, the Effect of meer *Calm*; and the Inhabitants of the *Torrid Zone*, are generally, both shorter-lived than other People, & inferiour to them in Strength, Stature, & Courage, as well as Intellectual Capacities.²⁷⁶

And shall wee now come a little nearer, within our *Atmosphere*? The *Air*, is a Thin, Fluid Body, endued with Elasticity, and capable of Condensation and Rarefaction. If the *Air* should bee, much more expanded, or condensed, than it naturally is, no Animals could live and breathe in it; nor could those *Vapors*, bee exhaled, or supported, which are absolutely necessary to keep alive all that growes upon the Earth.²⁷⁷ Tis demonstrated, That the Air is always condensed, or expanded, according, proportionably to the Pressure of that Weight which is incumbent on it: so that if the *Atmosphere* had been much greater or smaller than it is, it would have had, in its lowest Region, on the Surface of the Earth, much more Density or Tenuity of Texture; & consequently have been unserviceable unto its most necessary Purposes. Who, but an Intelligent Being, did, or could so adapt it? The *Atmosphere* of the *Moon*, hath no *Clouds*; but if ours had been so, nothing that growes upon Earth, had been produced, or præsaved. If our *Air* had not been a springy Body, no Animal could have exercised the very Function of Respiration; and yett the Designs & Uses of Respiration, are not served by that Springiness, but by some other Quality: as is evident from the *Death* of things in the exhausted Receivers of Air-pumps where an Air is left, exhal'd from, it may bee Minerals, Flesh, Fruits, or Liquors.²⁷⁸

But, Lett us, make our Descent into the *Ocean*. The vast *Atlantic Ocean* is of more Worth unto the World, than if it were changed into a *Fifth Continent*.²⁷⁹ Before the *Dry Land* grow too little for its Inhabitants, there will arrive *New*

²⁷⁶ Bentley, *Confutation* (lect. 8, sec. 7, pp. 20–21, 22–23, 24, 25). Bentley here echoes Thomas Burnet's *Sacred Theory* (1684), bk. 2, chs. 3, 8, pp. 194–96, 268–69. On Burnet's explanation of the tilting of the earth's axis, see also F. Haber 78–79.

²⁷⁷ Bentley here refers to Robert Boyle's *General History of the Air* (1692) or rather one of its preceding incarnations such as *New Experiments Physico-Mechanicall, touching the Spring of the Air* (1660).

²⁷⁸ Bentley, *Confutation* (lect. 8, sec. 8, pp. 27, 28). Bentley extracts his information on Boyle's air pump from *A Continuation of New Experiments* (1680; 1682).

²⁷⁹ Bentley's reference to the Atlantic as a fifth continent suggests that even by the time of William Dampier's visit to the west coast of Australia in 1689 and 1699, European geographers still assumed that Australia was not a continent, but another island or extension of South-East Asia. The famous Captain James Cook corrected that misconception in 1768 and thereafter.

Heavens, and a *New Earth*. The mighty Stores of *Waters*, upon this *Globe*, are no more than what is Necessary for the present Constitution. The whole Substance of all *Vegetables*, and consequentl{y} of all *Animals* too, is but *Modified Water*. An Immense Quantity of it, is continually exhaled by the *Sun*, to fill the *Atmosphere* with Vapours, & feed the Plants, with Dewes and Showrs. If wee could but compute the prodigious Mass of it, that is daily thrown into the Channel of the Sea, from all the Rivers in the World, wee should then with Admiration know, how much is again, by Evaporation, cast upon the Continent, for the Supply of those Innumerable Streams. Behold, not only the *Use*, but the *Cause* also, of the Vastness of the *Ocean*; wee never heard of any Nation, compl{ai}ning of Rivers, too many, too broad, too deep; all nations {under-}stand better, how to value those In{esti}mable Gifts of Nature. But if {the Breadth} and Extent of *Rivers*, bee as now it {is,} the *Ocean* must needs bee no less than {it is.}} The Origin [92v] of our Fountains, is from Vapors, with Rain, & the Receptracle of Waters, into which the Rivers flowing from those Fountains must empty themselves, must have so spacious a Surface, that as much Water may bee continually fetch'd out by the *Sun*, and brush'd off by the *Wind*, as (besides, what falls again in Rain upon its own Surface) is brought into it, by all the Rivers; Now the Surface of the *Ocean*, is just so wide; for if more were evaporated than returns into it again, the Sea would become less; if less were evaporated, it would grow bigger: but since it ha's been, from Time Immemorial at a stand, without any considerable Variation, wee may bee sure, it is exactly proportioned.²⁸⁰

Finally; The Irregular Surface of the *Earth*, is displeasing to some: and, they say,

*Nequaquam nobis Divinitus esse creatam,
Naturam Rerum, tanta stat predicta culpa.*²⁸¹

They would have the vast Body of a Planet, as round as a factitious Globe represents it, and as plain, and smooth, & æquable every where as the *Elysian* Fields. If the Ocean were dried, what an horrible hollow! But, a very small skill in the Mathematicks, would instruct us, that before a Man could bee carried far enough off the Surface of the Earth, to take a full View, of any large Extent, all the Inæquality of the Surface would bee lost unto his View; all would appear as an even Plane, tho' every Rock were as high, as the *Pico of Teneriff*.²⁸² Besides, Is there any physical Deformity in the Fabric of an Humane Body, because our Imagination can strip it of its Muscles, and shew us the Scragged & Knotty

²⁸⁰ The passages in braces {} are lost through wear and tear, but are here reconstructed from Bentley, *Confutation* (lect. 8, sec. 9, pp. 29, 30, 31).

²⁸¹ Bentley, *Confutation* (lect. 8, sec. 10, p. 32). The Latin passage from Lucretius, *De rerum natura* (2.180–81; see also 5.199–200), signifies “the nature of the universe has by no means been made for us through divine power: so great are the faults it stands endowed with.”

²⁸² The third-largest volcano on earth, the Pico del Teide (12,185 ft; 3,718 m) is located on the island of Tenerife (Canary Islands), off the coast of West Africa, and widely visible to seafarers.

Back-bone, the gaping & ghastly Jawes, and all the *Skeleton* underneath? However, our Objectors would at least have the Seashores to have been uniform, without Creeks, and Bayes, and Angles; which would bee a fine Bargain! To part with our commodious Harbours, for the Imaginary Pleasure of an open Shoar, without any Retreat, or Shelter from the Winds. But what Apology can bee made, for the hideous Deformity, of Rocks, and Cliffs, and barren Mountains, even in the convenientest Latitudes for Habitation, if those Ruines could bee removed out of the Way? Truly, wee don't contend, for this Earth to bee our Paradise, or to make an Heaven of our Globe? Tis the Land of our *Peregrination*, and wee aspire after a *better Countrey*. And yett wee may further say, That these Irregularities, must necessarily come to pass, from {the} established Lawes of *Mechanism*, & {from} the ordinary Course of Nature. For, if there bee a *Sea*, the Banks must bee Torn by the *Waves* of it; and if there bee *Mountains*, the Gravel upon the Tops thereof, must bee swept off by *Tempests*, and their Naked Ribs bee exposed unto the Face of the Sun: and if the Seeds of Subterraneous Minerals must ferment, there must follow Earthquakes, that produce what looks like much Confusion. To murmur at these Things, is as unreasonable, as to complain, that wee are *Men*, placed in this *World* at all. Moreover, Lett it bee considered, That the Deformity objected, is but in the *Imaginations* of Men. For there is an *Universal Reason*, that a Figure, by us called *Regular*, with æqual Sides and Angles, is absolutely more beautiful than any Irregular one. All *Pulchritude* is Relative; and all Bodies, are beautiful in all possible Shapes, that are good in their Kind, and fitt for the proper Ends of their Natures.²⁸³ The Ranges of Barren Mountains, by condensing the Vapours, and producing of Rains, and Fountains, and Rivers, give the Plains & Valleyes themselves, that Fertility they boast of. And if there were no Inæqualities in the Surface of the Earth, wee should loose a considerable Share of the *Vegetable Kingdome*; for all Plants will not grow on an uniform Level. To deprive us of *Metals*, would render us meer *Salvages*; but wee are obliged unto our Hills for these. Who would part with all these Blessings, for a fantastical Pleasantness, of an uniform Convexity, and Rotundity, of a Globe? And yett this also, could never bee enjoy'd by any Man living; for the Inhabitants of such an Earth, could have only the short Prospect, of a little circular Plane, about three Miles around them, tho' there were neither Wood, nor Hedge, nor Artificial Bank to Intercept it; and this little too, would appear to have an Acclivity on all sides, from the Spectators; Every Man would fancy himself the Lowest, & as dwelling in a Bottom. But if a Man were lifted up a great Heighth in the Air, for the View of a spacious *Horizon*, hee would only

²⁸³ Bentley specifically targets Thomas Burnet, whose *Sacred Theory of the Earth* (1684) postulated that the antediluvian earth was uniformly level and without mountains, valleys, or craggy shorelines. For a discussion of the changing attitudes toward rugged mountains and nature's nature, see M. H. Nicolson's *Mountain Gloom* (esp. ch. 4) and M. H. Abrams's *Natural Supernaturalism* (esp. pt. 2, ch. 6).

see below him a great circular *Flat*, as level, as the face of the Moon. Whereas, the Poets themselves, cannot embellish the most blissful Seats, without Idæas, of Hills, and Vales.²⁸⁴

Thus have I driven into as little Room as I could, without Injury to them, the excellent Contemplations of a Christian, and Orthodox Philosophy, which make it evident, that it could bee no other than an Infinite God, who by *His Wisdome hath founded the Earth, & by His Understanding hath established the Heavens*.²⁸⁵

[93r]

1346.

Q. What have you to say, why the Formation of the World, was not from such a *Fortuitous Concurrence of Atoms*; as the silly Atheists, in several Ages have ascribed it unto? v. 31.

A. By *Fortuitous* wee suppose their Atheistical Hypothesis, to mean, *Mechanical*; for otherwise, the Word *Fortuitous*, will imply, that there was a *Præ-existent*, and Intelligent, Spectator, who expected something else from the Materials of the World, but some unknown Tendencies of Matter, produced a World at length quite beside his Expectation. This, they will by no means allow; and therefore *Fortune*, in this vile Hypothesis, must bee synonymous with *Mechanical*, and, *Necessary*; and it is Imagined, that Numberless Atoms according to the essential Properties of their Bulk, Figure, and Motion, did, not conscious of their own Operations, naturally shape the World as now it is.²⁸⁶

Now, Lett it bee considered, That the most considerable *Phænomenon*, belonging to Terrestrial Bodies, is the general Action of *Gravitation*, whereby all known Bodies in the Vicinity of the Earth, do tend & press, towards the Center of it; and even the comparatively lightest Bodies, yea, the very Elements themselves (as they call them) in their proper Places, thus do gravitate. But it is the constant Property of *Gravitation*, That the *Weight* of all Bodies around the *Earth*, is ever proportional to the Quantity of their *Matter*. E.g. A Pound Weight of all kinds of Bodies, tho' of the most different Forms, & Textures, does alwayes contain an equal quantity of solid Mass, or corporeal Substance. This Thing is by Mr. *Isaac Newton*, demonstrated now beyond all Controversy.²⁸⁷ Briefly, All

²⁸⁴ The entire paragraph is excerpted from Bentley, *Confutation* (lect. 8, sec. 10, pp. 32–40). Among the poet-historians whose concept of bliss is couched in terms of the beauty of nature, hills, and valleys, are Claudius Aelianus (*De Varia Historia* 3.1.123–29), Lucretius (*De rerum natura* 1.1–49), Virgil (*Aeneid* 6.676–79, 754), and John Milton (*Paradise Lost* 4.241–43, 6.640–41). See also J. Delumeau, *History of Paradise* (3–14, 97–116).

²⁸⁵ The italicized passage is from Prov. 3:19.

²⁸⁶ Mather here excerpts Bentley's *Confutation of Atheism* (1693). The question at the beginning of MS [93r] is derived from lecture 7, sec. 1, p. 4 and targets Cartesian mechanism.

²⁸⁷ Bentley refers to Newton's *Principia* (bk. 3, ch. 6, p. 411): "That all bodies gravitate towards every planet; and that the weights of bodies towards any one planet, at equal distances

Bodies weigh according to their Matter; provided only, that the compared Bodies bee at equal Distances from the Center, toward which they weigh. Indeed, the further they are Removed from the Center, the lighter they are; gradually and uniformly Decreasing in Weight, in a Duplicate Proportion, to the Increase of the Distance. Now, this Doctrine of *Gravity*, introduces a manifest Necessity of Admitting a *Vacuum*, for if there were every where an absolute *Plenitude*, then all Bodies of æqual Dimensions would contain an æqual Quantity of Matter, and Gold, Copper, Stone, Wood, and Feather, would all have the same Specific Weight: and if all Space were Full, the Air would bee as Heavy as They. If it bee said, That a pure, fine, ethereal Matter, which is in a perpetual Motion, may pervade the minutest *Cavities* of the closest *Bodies*, & adæquately fill every *Pore*, so Preventing Vacuity without Increasing the Weight; it must bee answered, That this rare subtil Matter itself, must bee of the same Substance and Nature, with all other Matter; & therefore It also must weigh proportionally to its Bulk; and as much of it, as is at any Time comprehended within the Pores of a particular Body, must jointly gravitate with that Body; so that if the Presence of this Matter, made an absolute Fulness, all Bodies of æqual Dimensions would still bee æqually heavy. In fine, simple *Extension*, or, that which wee call *Space*, is of a very different Nature, and Notion, from that of the Body which is Impenetrable Substance.²⁸⁸

Lett us proceed now, to make a Computation. It is upon many Trials manifest, That Refined *Gold*, the most ponderous of known Bodies, (tho' even this also must bee Porose, being Dissoluble in *Mercury*; and *Aqua Regis*, and other Chymical Liquors; and it being a thing Impossible, that the Figures and Sizes of its constituent Particles should bee so jointly adapted, as to touch one another, in every Point:) *Gold*, is in a Specific Weight unto common *Water*, as 19 to 1;

from the centre of the planet, are proportional to the quantities of matter which they severally contain" (Motte's 1729 translation).

²⁸⁸ Bentley's *Confutation* (lect. 7, sec. 2, pp. 7–10). Here, Bentley rejects the Cartesian notion that there is no vacuum in the universe because all space, no matter how infinitesimally small, is filled up with vortices of impenetrable particles. Following Newton, Bentley argues that if there was no vacuum to begin with, atoms (whose properties are extension, impenetrability, and inertia) would not have been able to combine into material substances that comprise our planetary system. In his *Opticks* (Query 28), esp. pp. 367–70, Newton asserts that because of the "*Vis inertiae*" of matter, the planets and comets would lose their motion (first given them by the finger of God) if the heavens (outer space) were without a vacuum: "A dense Fluid can be of no use for explaining the Phænomena of Nature, the Motions of the Planets and Comets being better explain'd without it. It serves only to disturb and retard the Motions of those great Bodies, and make the Frame of Nature languish . . . What is there in places almost empty of Matter, and whence is it that the Sun and Planets gravitate towards one another, without dense Matter between them? . . . Does it not appear from Phænomena that there is a Being incorporeal, living, intelligent, omnipresent, who in infinite Space, as it were in his Sensory, sees the things themselves intimately, and thoroughly perceives them, and comprehends them wholly by their immediate presence to himself"? (368, 369, 370). For a more general discussion, see J. E. Van De Wetering's "Puritan Dilemma" and R. Lockwood's "Scientific Revolution."

and *Water*, is unto common *Air*, as 850 to 1; so that *Gold* is to *Air*, as 16150 to 1. Whence it appears, that since *Matter* and *Gravity* are always commensurate, (altho' wee should allow the Texture of *Gold*, close, without any Vacuity,) the ordinary *Air*, in which wee Live and Breath{e}, is of so Thin a Composition, that 16149 Parts of its Dimensions, are meer *Emptiness*, and just *Nothing* at all; and the Remaining *One*, only Material, Corporeal, & Real Substance. But if *Gold* itself, bee admitted, as it must bee, for a *Porose Concrete*, the Proportion of meer *Void*, unto *Body*, in the Texture of common *Air*, will bee so much the greater.²⁸⁹ Thus it is in the Lowest, and the Densest Region of the *Air*, near the Surface of the *Earth*, where the whole Mass of *Air*, is under a violent Compression, & the Inferior constipated by the Incumbent. But since the *Air* is now certainly known to consist, of Elastic Particles, that have a continual Tendency to Expand and Display themselves, and the Dimensions to which they expand themselves, bee Reciprocally as the Compression, it followes, that the Higher you ascend in it, where it is less & less compress'd by the superiour *Air*, the more and more it is Rarified. At the Heighth of a few Miles, from the Surface of the *Earth*, it must, by Computation, have several *Million Parts* of empty Space in its Texture, for one of *Solid Matter*. And at the heighth of one Terrestrial *Semidiameter*, (not above 4000 Miles) the *Ether* is of that wonderful Tenuity, that by the Incomparable *Newtons* Calculation, if a small Sphære of common *Air*, of one Inch *Diameter* (which is already 16149 Parts *Nothing*) should bee further expanded unto the Thinness of the *Ether*, it would more than take up the vast Orb of *Saturn*, which is many Million Million Times bigger than the whole Globe of the *Earth*.²⁹⁰ And yett, {the} Higher you ascend above that Region, the *Rarefaction* still gradually Increases with{out} Limit; so that the whole Concave of the Firmament, except the Sun, & the Planets, {in} their Atmosphæres, may bee considered as a meer *Void*. Lett us allow then, that all the Matter of the System of our *Sun*, may bee 50000 times as much as the whole Mass of the *Earth*; and suppose, that the whole Globe of the *Earth* is entirely solid and compact, without any empty Interstices; both of which are more liberal Concessions, than there is any Need of making: Yett wee shall find, that the *Void Space* of our System is immensely bigger than all its corporeal Mass. If wee assume the Diameter {of} the *Orbis Magnus* (wherein the *Earth* {circles} about the *Sun*) to bee only 7000 times {as} big, as the Diameter of the *Earth*, (a[though] | the latest, & most accurate Observations make it Thrice 7000,) and, the Diameter of the Firmament to bee only 100000 {times} as long as the Diameter of the *Orbis Magnus*, (tho' it cannot possibly bee Less than That, but may bee unspeakably Bigger,) yett, after these Concessions, on that Side, and Abatements on ours, wee must pronounce,

[94v]

²⁸⁹ Bentley here draws on Robert Boyle's *Experiments and Considerations* (1684) and *Of a Degradation of Gold* (1678).

²⁹⁰ See Isaac Newton's *Principia* (bk. 3, ch. 13, pp. 420–22 etc.)

That the Sum of *Empty Spaces*, within the Concave of the Firmament, is 6860 Million, Million, Million times bigger, than all the Matter, contained in it.²⁹¹

But some Astronomers do suppose every *Fixed Star*, to bee of the same Nature with our *Sun*; whereof each may have *Planets* about them, tho' by reason of their Distance, they are Invisible unto us. Wherefore, Lett us assume, That the like Proportion, between *Void Space*, and *Matter*, which is found in our *Suns* Region, within the Sphære of the *Fixed Stars*, may competently well hold in the whole System of the Universe. In this Computation, wee must not assign the whole Capacity of that Sphære for the Region of our Sun, but allow half of its Diameter, for the Radij of the several Regions of the Fixed Stars themselves. Diminishing then, our former Number, as this last Consideration requires, it is from Demonstrated Principles affirmed, That the *Empty Spaces* of our Solar Region, (comprehending Half of the Diameter of the Firmament) are 8575 hundred thousand Million Million times more ample, than all the Corporeal Substance in it; and wee may fairly suppose, the like Proportion holding thro' the whole Extent of the Universe.²⁹²

Now our *Atomists*, must suppose *Matter*, in the general *Chaos*, to bee somewhat or well-nigh, *evenly* diffused thro' the Space of the World; which indeed is agreeable to the ancient Opinion, of the Worlds having (as *Diodorus Siculus* expresses it) *μίαν ιδέαν*; or (as *Apoll. Rhodius*) *μίαν μορφήν*, one Form, Texture, and Constitution.²⁹³ And *Matter* being in such a State of Diffusion; every single Particle, would have a *Sphære* of *Void Space* around it, 8575 hundred thousand Million Million Times bigger than the Dimensions of that Particle. Nay, every single Particle, would really bee surrounded with a *Void Space* Eight times as capacious as what wee have mentioned; the Diameter of it being compounded of the Diameter of the proper Sphære, and the Semidiameters of the contiguous Sphæres, of the Neighbouring Particles. Whence it appears, that every Particle, (supposing 'em globular or not very oblong) would bee above Nine Million Times their own Length, from any other Particle. Nor, in the whole Surface of this *Void Sphære*, can there bee more than only *Twelve* Particles *evenly* placed, or at æqual Distances, from the central one, and each other. Were than the *Matter* of the Universe æqually dispersed, the result would bee, not only that every *Atom*, would bee many Millions of Times, its own Length, Distant from any other, but if any one should bee moved *Mechanically* (without Attraction or Direction) to the Limit of this Distance, tis above an hundred Million, Millions,

²⁹¹ This paragraph is extracted from Bentley, *Confutation* (lect. 7, sec. 2, pp. 11–14).

²⁹² Bentley, *Confutation* (lect. 7, sec. 2, pp. 14–15).

²⁹³ The Greek phrases “mian idean” and “mian morphēn” signify, respectively, “one form” (i.e., “indistinguishable”) and “one texture.” Bentley here refers to Diodorus Siculus (1.7.1–2; 1.7.7.5) and to *Argonautica* (1.497; 3.1007, 1141), by the Greek poet Apollonius Rhodius of Alexandria (3rd c. BCE).

Odds, to an Unit, that it would not strike upon any other Atom, but glide thro' an *Empty* Interval, without any Contact.²⁹⁴

Indeed our Adversaries, will not grant the Particles of Matter, ever to have been at the absolute *Rest*, supposed in this even Diffusion. Wherefore what wee have said, serves only to Demonstrate the *Tenuity* of their Imaginary *Chaos*, & reduce it unto some Computation; which Computation, will yett hold with Exactness enough, tho' wee allow the Particles of the *Chaos* to bee variously moved, & to differ in Size, and Site, and Figure; If some are nearer to each other, from some other they would bee but the further off.²⁹⁵

Behold then the Condition of the *Chaos*! Now, to form a System, tis necessary, that the so squandered *Atoms*, convene and unite into *Compact Masses*, like the several Planets. Without such a Coalition, the Diffused *Chaos* must have Reigned unto all Eternity. But how could Particles, thus widely dispersed, combine into that Closeness of Texture? Suppose Two Ships, fitted with durable Timber and Rigging, but without any to steer it, placed in the vast *Atlantic Ocean*, as far asunder as may bee. How many thousands of Years might expire, before those Vessels happen to strike one against another? But lett us imagine, a Space yett more Ample, even the whole Face of the *Earth*, to bee covered with *Sea*, and the Two Ships to bee placed, in the opposite *Poles*: Might they not now move, long enough, without any Danger of clashing? And yett the Two nearest Atoms; in our Evenly Diffused *Chaos*, have ten thousand times less Proportion to the two void circular Planes around them, than our two *Ships*, would have to the whole Surface of the Deluge. But the Ships would move in one and the same Surface, & so they must encounter, when they advance towards one another in *Direct* Lines; or meet in the Intersection of *Cross* ones; whereas the Atoms may not only fly side-ways, but over likewise, and under each other; which makes it many Million times more Improbable, that they should interfere, than the *Ships* in our Supposition. And wee may add, That the Improbability of *Casual Hits* is never diminished, by the Repetition of Trials; They are as unlikely to fall out at the Thousandth, as at the First; so that the Conc{o}urse of our Atoms to produce a Regular World, is vainly expected, even in an endless Duration.²⁹⁶

Mr. Bentley, to whose *Confutation of Atheism, from the Origin & Frame of the World*, I have been much beholden, for these *Illustrations*, | does here upon, [95r]

²⁹⁴ Bentley, *Confutation* (lect. 7, sec. 2, pp. 15–17).

²⁹⁵ Bentley, *Confutation* (lect. 7, sec. 2, pp. 17–18). Bentley here specifically targets the followers of Lucretius and of the ancient Epicurean atomists who hypothesize that atoms possess different shapes, perpetually renew themselves through dissolution and new combinations, never diminish in quantity, and are self-propelled and constantly moving (Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 2.62–332). This sort of argument endows matter with immanent principles of activity that are necessarily self-existing and require no omnipotent agent to sustain them. See also G. B. Stones, "Atomic View."

²⁹⁶ Bentley, *Confutation* (lect. 7, sec. 2, pp. 18, 22, 23).

with Irrefragable Demonstration, prove, That by *Common Motion*, the *Matter* of the *Chaos*, could never convene into such *Masses*, as the *Planets* now are; or, that if they should, yett they could not acquire any of those *Revolutions*, about the *Sun*, which they are now carried withal; or if such *Revolutions* were Acquired, yett they could not bee *continued*. Hee proves, That *Gravitation* is not Essential, and Inhærent unto *Matter*; for, upon those Terms, the Epicureans cannot suppose, there was ever any *Chaos* at all; but the World must have been eternally *Attracted* into the Form, that now it is of: Nor indeed is it possible, that Inanimate Matter (without the Mediation of some Immaterial Being) should operate upon other Matter, without mutual Contact. Hee proves, lastly, That if Gravitation & Reciprocal Attraction, were innate unto *Matter*, yett the present System of the World, never could arise out of it; The *Atoms* would but from all Quarters descend, so as to make only one huge sphærical Mass, which would bee the only Body in the Universe. His Discourse, is too long to bee all *Transcribed* into these *Illustrations*; and it cannot bee *Abridged* without Injury. Wherefore I refer you to it.²⁹⁷

But having mentioned, that Power of *Gravity*; wee will, before wee break off, observe, That the Power of *Gravity* perpetually acting in the present Constitution of the System of the Universe, is an Invincible Argument for the Being of a *GOD*.

Lett these *Phænomena* of Nature be considered.

The *Sun*, *Moon*, and all the *Planets*, do Reciprocally gravitate one towards another.

The *gravitating Power* in each of these, is exactly proportional to their Matter, & arises from the several Gravitations or Attractions, of every Individual Particle that compose the whole Mass.

All Matter, near the Surface of the Earth, for Example, doth not only gravitate downwards, but upwards also, and side-ways, & toward all Imaginable Points; tho' the Tendency *Downwards* bee prædominant and alone Discernible, because of the Greatness, and Nearness, of the Attracting Body, the *Earth*.

Every Particle of the whole Universe, doth attract, and is attracted by, all the rest; All operating upon All.

This *Universal Attraction*, or Gravitation, is an Incessant, Regular, and Uniform Action, by certain, and established Lawes, according to the Quantity of Matter, & Longitude of Distance; and it cannot bee Destroyed, nor Impaired, nor Augmented, by any thing, neither by Motion, nor Rest, nor Scituation, nor Posture, nor Alteration of Form, nor Diversity of Medium.

²⁹⁷ Bentley, *Confutation* (lect. 7, sec. 2, pp. 20, 21). The reference to the Epicureans is to Lucretius's *De rerum natura* (2.216 ff). Although Bentley's eight Boylean lectures *A Confutation of Atheism* were published separately (sermons 1–6, in 1692, and 7–8, in 1693), collected and revised editions appeared in 1699, 1724, and 1735.

This is not a Magnetical Power, nor the Effect of a Vortical Motion.

All these things are fully Demonstrated by Sir *Isaac Newton*; and they can be ascribed unto none, but the *Great GOD, that formed all things*.²⁹⁸

Q. A Remark yett further to be made, on the *First Chapter of Genesis*? v. 31.

A. It shall be made in the Words of Monsr. *Saurin*.²⁹⁹

“It was absolutely indispensable, That *Moses* should make the *Newness of the World*, the Corner-stone, as one may call it, upon which he was to build, the whole *System of Religion*, which he was about to impart unto the Church.

“— One is amazed, to read the different Opinions of the Heathen Philosophers, about the *Beginning* of this World.

“— Lett a Man only consult the famous Work of *Cicero*, entituled, *De Natura Deorum*; and which ought rather to be look’d upon, as a List of extravagant Fancies, which he had formed about the *Divinity*, than as a Treatise upon the *Nature* thereof. Do but observe, the Manner in which Interlocutors of this *Dialogue* speak of the *Origin of the World*, and you will soon discover the Superiority of the System of *Moses*, over that of all Humane Authors.”

Wee will add the expressive Words of the Lord Chief Justice *Hale*, in his Book on, *The Origination of Mankind*; pronouncing a Sentence on the vain & various *Hypotheses* of the Philosophers, for the *Origination* of the World.³⁰⁰

“That which may illustrate my Meaning, (says he) in this Præference of the *Revealed Light* of the *Holy Scriptures*, touching this Matter above the Essays of a *Philosophical Imagination*, may be this. Suppose That *Greece* be unacquainted with the *Curiosity* of mechanical Engines, tho’ known in some remote Region of the World; and that an excellent *Artist* had secretly brought & deposited in some Field or Forest, some excellent Watch or Clock, which had been so formed, that the Original of its Motion were hidden, & involved in some closely contrived Piece of Mechanism, that this Watch was so framed, that the Motion thereof may have lasted a Year, or some such Time, and might give a Reasonable Period for their Philosophical Descanting upon it; and that the Plain Table then had

²⁹⁸ Mather’s sententious summary is extracted from Bentley, *Confutation* (lect. 7, sec. 2, pp. 29–31); Bentley himself relies on Newton’s “System of the World,” in *Principia* (bk. 3). Mather popularized Newtonian science in his *Christian Philosopher* (esp. Essays 1–10, 21).

²⁹⁹ Subsequent paragraphs in quotation marks are extracted from Jacques Saurin (Diss. I, 1:8).

³⁰⁰ The following extract from Sir Matthew Hale [95r–96v] is not in Mather’s own hand, but in what appears to be in the same that copied the passages from Thomas Pyle [55r–57r]. Mather’s conflict between the revolutionary advances of Newtonian science and his conservative faith in the Creator as the prime mover in the universe is particularly revealing in the following excerpt from an allegory that appeared in *The Primitive Origination of Mankind* (1677), by Sir Matthew Hale (1609–76), Lord Chief Justice of England, whose writings on witchcraft Mather cites in defense of the Salem witchcraft trials, in *Wonders of the Invisible World* (1693) 83–93.

the motion & place of the sun in the Edyptick, & inexplicable and unsatisfactory; you have
 and diverse other curious indications of Calistick, taken up certain precarious Hypotheses; &
 Motion; and the Scholars of the several Schools being well supplied with these Theories of
 of Epicurus, of Aristotle, of Plato, and the rest, you own Homer, & in love with them, right
 of the Philosophical Sects had equally in their hands, in wrong you form all your Conceptions of things
 found this Admirable Automaton, what kind according to their fancy & uncorrected Imagina-
 of work would there have been made by every china & eternal, if to use all the motions
 feet, in giving an Account of this Phenomenon, of it & inasmuch as a Circular Motion
 we should have had the Epicurean Sect have had no Beginning nor end, this Motion
 told the dry Standen, according to their presumption, that you see both in the Vehicle
 received Hypothesis, That this was nothing else but Indolence, & the successive Inundations of the
 Part on an accidental Conjunction of Atoms that happily, & that Motion of eternal & without any
 fallen together; had made up the Frame the Wheel of turning the Phenomena, without so much ado
 & the Balance; and that being happily fallen as you made about it.
 into this Picture, they were just into Error. And whilst all the Matter was thus concluding
 Then the Cartesian falls in with him, & to let the Solution of these Phenomena in the Hearing
 main of their Supposition; but tell him, that is the Artifice that made it; and when they
 he doth not sufficiently explicate how they Engine made all these Philosophizing upon it.
 put into Motion; and therefore to furnish the Philo- that made the Engine, & all the
 this Motion, there is a certain Material Babble, Gentlemen, while we turned to their Removable Frame, follow
 that parrot-like that Engine and the Moveable & eternally Generation, touching this Piece of
 Part, consisting of certain & certain Atoms, apt Work well as before you, but you are all
 for Motion, they are thereby, & the Motion, miserably Mistaken; for it was I that made the
 of the Globular Atoms put into Motion. Motion, & thought you better, & I will show you
 This finding Fault with the two former, & since I made the Frame I wrought the Spring & the
 because these Motions are so regular, & so agreeable, & placed them one to another, & placed them
 & various Phenomena of the Distribution of Matter to govern the Frame of the Day of the Figure
 Time & the Heavenly Motions; henceforth, I am various Motions that you see, & none I put it
 to him, that this Engine of Motion, so am together, & wound up the Spring, which he has
 logical to the Motion of the Heavens, was given all these Motions, that you see in this curi-
 wrought by some Admirable Conjunction of the four Seas of Work, and that you may be sure
 Heavenly Power, which formed this Instrument, I tell you, I will tell you the divine Order
 and its Motion, in such an Admirable Correspondence of work, the several Motions of it, the
 deny to its own Existence. At fourth distinct manner of forming & every individual Part of it
 the Supposition of these three former, tells the Frame long I was about it. This plan & way
 rest, that he hath a more plain & evident, & without any great Help of
 Solution of the Phenomenon, namely, the human & sensible, & sensible or logical Conjunction of
 several Soul of the World, or Part of Nature Rational, & sensible or logical Conjunction of
 that formed so many Sorts of Insects with so much of the same Nature, & that I had not
 many Organs, Faculties, and such Conjunction relation to the Formation of the World & that
 At their whole Conjunction, & such kind of relation, & without any great Help of
 various Motions, as we may observe in them, & I will tell you the divine Order
 also formed, & set into Motion this Admirable & wonderful, & it will tell you at the same moment
 Automaton, and regulated & directed it, with reason as a true & clear Discovery of the great
 these Conjunctions we see in it. Then steps in a new Mystery, & reveals all the Part of the Phenomenon
 an Aristotelian; & being disappointed with the former Solutions, & being disappointed
 the former Solution tells them Gentlemen, Frame & Imagination, & nothing else.
 you are all mistaken, your Solution are

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been not the Description & Indication of Hours, but the Configurations & Indication of the various Phases of the *Moon* | the motion & place of the Sun in the Ecliptick, and diverse other curious Indications of Coelestial Motions; and the Scholars of the Several Schools of *Epicurus*, of *Aristotle*, of *Plato*, and the rest of the Philosophical Sects had casually in their Walk found this Admirable *Automaton*; what kind of Work would there have been made by every Sect, in giving an Account of this Phænomenon? We should have had the *Epicurean* Sect have told the By-Standers, according to their preconceived Hypothesis, *That this was nothing else but an accidental Concretion of Atoms, that happily fallen together, had made up the Index, the Wheels & the Ballance; and that being happily fallen into this Posture, they were put into Motion.* Then the *Cartesian* falls in with him, as to the main of their Supposition; but tells him, *that he doth not sufficiently explicate how this Engine is put into Motion; and therefore to furnish this Motion, there is a certain Materia Subtilis, that pervades that Engine and the moveable Parts, consisting of certain globular Atoms apt for Motion; they are thereby, & by the Mobility of the globular Atoms put into Motion.* A Third finding Fault with the two former, because *those Motions are so regular, & do express the various Phenomena of the Distribution of Time & the Heavenly Motions;* therefore it seems to him, *that this Engine & Motion also, so analogical to the Motion of the Heavens, was wrought by some admirable Conjunction of the Heavenly Bodies, which formed this Instrument and its Motions, in such an admirable Correspondency to its own Existence.* A Fourth disliking the Suppositions of the three former, tells the rest, *That he hath a more plain & evident Solution of the Phenomenon, namely, the Universal Soul of the World, or Spirit of Nature, that formed so many Sorts of Insects with so many Organs, Faculties, and such Congruity of their whole Composition, & such curious & various Motions, as we may observe in them, hath formed and set into Motion this Admirable Automaton, and regulated & ordered it, with all these Congruities we see in it.* Then steps {in} an *Aristotelian*; & being dissatisfied with the former Solutions tells them, *Gentlemen, you are all mistaken, your Solutions are inexplicable and unsatisfactory; You have taken up certain precarious Hypotheses; & being prepossess'd with these Creatures of your own Fancies, & in love with them, right or wrong you form all your Conceptions of things according to those fancied & preconceived Imaginations. The Short of the Business is, this Machina is eternal, & so are all the Motions of it, & inasmuch as a Circular Motion hath no Beginning nor End, this Motion that you see both in the Wheels & Index, & the successive Indications of the Coelestial Motions is eternal and without Beginning. And this is a Ready & expedite Way of solving the Phenomena, without so much ado as you made about it.*³⁰¹

301 Hale, *Origination* (bk. 4, ch. 6, pp. 340–41). Hale here targets ancient and modern Epicureans who believe in an universe that came about through blind chance; Cartesians who seem to assert a mechanistic universe without a God; astrologers who assert fortuitous constellations of the zodiac as the cause of the solar system; Neoplatonists and Transcendentalists who

“And whilst all the Masters were thus contriving the Solution of the *Phænomenon* in the Hearing of the Artist that made it; and when they had all spent their Philosophizing upon it, the Artist that made the Engine, & all this while listned to their admirable Fancies, tells them *Gentlemen, you have discovered very much Excellency of Invention, touching this Piece of Work that is before you, but you are all miserably Mistaken; for it was I that made this Watch & brought it hither, & I will shew you how I made it. First, I wrought the Spring & the Fuse & the Wheels & the Balance, and the Case & Table; I fitted them one to another; & placed these several Axes, that are to direct the Motions, of the Index to discover the Hour of the Day, of the Figure that discovers the Phases of the Moon, & the other various Motions, that you see; and then I put it together, & wound up the Spring, which hath given all these Motions, that you see in this curious Peece of Work; and that you may be sure, I tell you true, I will tell you the whole Order and Progress of my making, disposing & ordering this Peece of Work; the Several Materials of it; the Manner of forming of every individual Part to it, & how long I was about it.* This plain & evident Discovery renders all these excogitated *Hypotheses* of those Philosophical *Enthusiasts* vain & ridiculous, without any great Help of Rhetorical Flourishes or Logical Confutations, & much of the same Nature is that Disparity of the *Hypotheses* of the Learned Philosophers, in relation to the Origination of the World & Man, after a great deal of Dust raised & fancied Explications, & unintelligible *Hypotheses*. The plain but Divine Narrative but the Hand of *Moses* full of Sence & Congruity, & Clearness & Reasonableness in itself, does at the same Moment give us a true & clear Discovery of this great Mystery, & renders all the Essays of the Generality of Heathen Philosophers to be vain, inevident, & indeed inexplicable Theories, the Creatures of Fancy & Imagination, & nothing else.”³⁰²

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2882.

Q. The *History* of the *Creation*, all good Men do and must Beleeve, in the *Literal* Sense. But may there not be a *Mystery* in the *History*? The *Mystical* Sense may be very Glorious. Perhaps, the *History* of the *Creation* of the *World*, may contain in the Bowels of it, also a *Prophecy* of the Proceedings of Divine *Providence* towards the *Church*, until the End of the *World*? v. 31.

believe in an impersonal World Soul; and, finally, the Aristotelians who assert the eternity of the universe without a beginning or end.

³⁰² Here ends the extract written in a different hand. Hale, *Origination* (bk. 4, ch. 6, pp. 341–42). The enlightened physico-theologian who remained a thorough-going creationist has the last laugh. Mather is not alone in appreciating Hale’s allegorical tale, for Robert St. Clair, MD, who attacked Thomas Burnet for plagiarizing parts of *Sacred Theory*, praised Hale’s clock-work story, in *The Abyssinian Philosophy Confuted* (1697), “Dedication” (a2–a3).

A. I have in my Hands, a short *Manuscript*, upon this very Head, written by Mr. *Robert Parker*, a New English Divine; but one well-known in *England* by some of his learned Works. I'll here Transcribe it.³⁰³

De Creatione Mysticâ, respectu Ecclesiæ Christianæ in genere.

*Ego sensum Literalem præsuppono, ut abundè et copiosè traditum a Doctissimis Interpretibus, in varijs ipsorum commentarijs. Sensum Mysticum hic tantum indagare et eruere, pro viribus decrevi, à nostris Doctoribus, quod sciam, hactenus omissum; licet à pontificijs subindè, et aliquà ex parte, et sæpè ex errore frustrà tentatum. Neque ego perfectionem in hoc opere promittere potero; sed conatum proferam. De Creatione autem Mysticâ agam primò respectu totius Ecclesiæ Christianæ in genere. Nam productio Ecclesiæ Christianæ est Nova Creatio, et Creatio Cœli Novi, ac Terræ Novæ. Esa. 65.17.*³⁰⁴

1. *Præcedebat quasi Vetus Cœlum, et Vetus Terra, ante Christi Domini Nativitatem; qualis fuit Ecclesiæ status indè ab Adamo, et specialiter in Ecclesiâ Judaica. Esa. 65:16, 17, 18. Status iste fuit instar Terræ, deformis, vacuus, et tenebrosus, propter Lapsum Adami, et propter priorum temporum tenebras: et*

³⁰³ Mather evidently confuses Thomas Parker (1595–1677), minister and teacher at Newbury (Mass.), with Parker's father Richard Parker (c. 1564–1614), an English millenarian, but not one of the NE divines. According to Leroy Froom (*Faith of the Fathers* 3:67–77), Thomas Parker wrote several volumes on the prophecies, but published only one. Samuel Sewall, whose father had migrated to New England with Thomas Parker in 1634, may have inherited the Latin manuscripts, and quotes a passage from Thomas Parker on Isa. 60, in Sewall's *Phaenomena quaedam Apocalyptica* (1697) 19–20. Cotton Mather probably looked at the same manuscript, since most of the passages here transcribed by him are an exposition of the prophet Isaiah. Mather published his biography of Thomas Parker in *Magnalia Christi Americana* (bk. 3, ch. 25, pp. 143–45). Here, Mather mentions that Parker was an avid student of the prophecies and “had written several Volumes, a great part of them in *Latin*; whereof no part was ever publish'd, but one upon *Daniel* which he wrote in *English*.” See Parker's *Visions and Prophecies* (1646). Mather evidently liked Parker's millenarian expositions so much that he calls him “the *Homer of New-England*” (*Magnalia*, bk. 3, ch. 25, p. 144, § 9). See also D. I. Davis, “Critical Editions” (1968) 208.

³⁰⁴ Mather's lengthy excerpt from Thomas Parker's Latin manuscript reads as follows [*italics* inverted]:

On the Mystical Creation with regard to the Nature of the Christian Church.

I take the *Literal* sense to be known, in the way it has been handed down to us in abundance and great detail by the most learned exegetes in their various commentaries. I decided to trace and open, according to my powers, only the *Mystical* sense here, which has so far been, as I know, *omitted* by our learned scholars; to be sure, it was soon put to the test by the priests, albeit with little success; they applied it only in parts and often erroneously. Nor can I promise to be perfect in this work; yet I will put forth an effort. I will examine the *Mystical Creation* primarily with regard to the nature of the entire *Christian Church*. For the *Coming forth* of the *Christian Church* is the *New Creation* of the *New Heavens and the New Earth*. Esa. 65.17.

*specialiter propter errores fundamentales in Judaicam Ecclesiam introductos, à Sadducæis et Pharisæis, Paulò ante Christi Domini Nativitatem.*³⁰⁵

2. *Tum dixit Dominus, Fiat lux, et facta est lux; per Christi Domini introductionem. Christus enim fuit Lux Mundi. Joh. 1.*

3. *Christo Domino tandem post passionem in cælum assumpto; secutum est opus quasi Diei Secundi. Tum factum est quasi Firmamentum, sive Cœlum Novum et Terra Nova, per Electorum è Judæis conversionem, ad Fidem Christianam: et divisæ fuerunt Aquæ Evangelicæ, tanquam Aquæ Superiores, ab Aquis, sive Doctrinis quasi Terrenis et Heterodoxis; et divisa fuit Ecclesia Evangelica ab Ecclesiâ Pharisæicâ.*

4. *Post Divisionem Judæorum Electorum à Reprobis et Apostaticis, in viâ conversionis ad Fidem Christianam, secuta fuit quasi Die Tertio Divisio Imperij Romani. Prodeunte enim Evangelio è Zione, status ejus Ethnicus, velut Aqua salsa et marina seorsim abscessit, et factum est quasi mare multorum populorum in viâ Ethnicismi à Christianis separatorum: et apparuit quasi Arida, sive Terra Christiana, ab Ethnicismo et ethnicis populis apertè distincta, per multorum ex Ethnicis ad Fidem Christianam conversionem.*

*Porrò, Terra ista, sive Ecclesia Christiana, fructum protulit Deo gratum, quasi herbas et arbores omnis generis, per verum Dei cultum, et mores Evangelicos, et bona opera; et per multorum conversionem, in dies singulos crescentem.*³⁰⁶

5. *Tandem à Temporibus Constantini Magni, facta est absoluta conversio populorum per totum Romanum Imperium: et Imperatores Christiani, velut Sol et Luna, et sub ijs Stellæ, sive Præfecti inferiores, tum Politici tum Ecclesiastici,*

³⁰⁵ 1. The *Old Heaven*, as it were, and the *Old Earth* preceded the birth of Christ, the Lord; such was the state of the Church from *Adam* onwards and especially in the *Jewish Church*. Esa. 65.16, 17, 18. That state was like the *Earth* itself. It was without shape, *empty, and dark*, because of the Fall of *Adam* and the darkness of earlier times; and in particular because of the fundamental errors introduced in the Jewish Church by the *Sadducees* and the *Pharisees* a short time before the Nativity of Christ, the Lord.

³⁰⁶ 2. Then the Lord said: *Let there be light, and there was light*; because of the introduction of Christ the Lord. For Christ was the *Light of the World*. Joh. 1.

3. Then Christ, the Lord, was received into heaven after his passion. The work of the *Second Day*, as it were, followed. What came about then was the *Firmament*, or the *New Heaven and the New Earth* by the conversion of the Elected Jews to the Christian Faith. And the Evangelical Waters were divided, like the *Waters above the Firmament from the Waters [under the Firmament]*, or Doctrines related to the Earth and to Heterodoxy, and the Evangelical Church was divided from the Church of the Pharisees.

4. After the Division of the Elected Jews from the Reprobates and Apostates by their conversion to the Christian Faith, the Division [like that] of the Roman Empire followed on the *Third Day*. For when the Gospel came forth from Zion, its pagan state receded like marine salt water, and a *Sea* of many peoples following Paganism was brought forth, separated from the Christians. And the *Dry Land* like the Christian Earth appeared, clearly distinguished from Paganism and the pagan peoples because of the conversion of many Pagans to the Christian Faith.

And see, that Land, being the Christian Church, by the Grace of God brought forth *fruit* such as herbs and trees of all kind, because of the true worship of God, the evangelical customs, and the good works; and because of the conversion of many, which grew day after day.

*per totum Imperium populis prælucebant; et in orbe Romano apertè Dominabantur, — usque ad Annum circiter Quadringentesimum.*³⁰⁷

6. *Posteà, indè ab Anno circiter Quatringentesimo, creati cæperunt quasi Die Quinto, Balænæ Maris ingentes, et devorantes, per Irruptiones et Inundationes, primò Barbarorum ab Aquilone; deindè per erectionem Antichristi; tertio per solutionem Saracenorum à meridie; quartò denique per laxationem Turcarum ab oriente. Hi successivè devorabant Ecclesiam in Apostasiam illabentem, instar Balenarum ingentium. Esa. 27.1. Jer. 1. Jon. 1. et 2. Reptilia etiam maris creabantur, sive emittebantur in Romanum orbem; nempè sub Ducibus et ductoribus, populi conformes, et unà conspirantes in perniciem ecclesiæ. Sancti verò his Temporibus emergebant, tanquam Volucres et Columbæ, solito altius ad Dominum evolantes, et cum eo quasi in Cælo, communionem seorsim exercentes. Status iste durasse videtur usque ad Tempora Wiclefi.*³⁰⁸

7. *Sexto quasi Die Terra protulit Pecora, Reptilia, et Bestias Agri. Mare proferebat Balénas antè descriptas Die Quinto. Et Mare Die Tertio separata fuit à Terrâ in viâ Ethnicismi. Terra verò veram Ecclesiam repræsentabat. Terrâ igitur Die Sexto, videbatur similiter repræsentare veram Ecclesiam, nempè Reformatam, erectam à Temporibus Wiclefi, post Antichristi, Leviathanis illius magni dominationem, Die quasi Quinto introductam. Esa. 27.1. Erectâ tam apertè Ecclesiâ Reformatâ, extiterunt quasi Pecora, Oves et Boves, et Capri, et Jumenta; nempè Animalia humano usin accommo{dare} {**** torn} | videntur significare Reformatos, et Evangelicos, Christo eiusque Legibus subordinatos, eiusque gubernatione subjectos: sed adhuc in statu imperfectiori et initiali, et adhuc tanquam Sacrificia persecutionibus identidem obnoxios. Apoc. 6.9, 10, 11. Belluæ verò significare videntur Antichristianos, Rapaces, Savos, et Persecutionibus subindè imminentes, quales hactenus Evangelicis indè à temporibus Wiclefi fuerunt oppositi. Reptilia significant etiam commixtos homines, Mundana Sapientes, et concupiscentijs indulgentes, atque etiam Antichristianos ordinis inferioris. Et talis quidem erit status Ecclesiæ Reformatæ, indè a Temporibus Wiclefi, usque ad Finem Annorum Antichristi, Reformatis sub Lege* [98v]

³⁰⁷ 5. Finally, in the Days of *Constantine the Great*, the conversion of the peoples living throughout the entire Roman Empire was complete. And the Christian Emperors were the guiding lights for the peoples all over the Empire like the *Sun* and *Moon* and the *Stars* beneath them, being the lower Prefects in both Political and Ecclesiastical terms; and they Ruled openly in the Roman world — to about the Year Four Hundred.

³⁰⁸ 6. Afterwards, from about the Year Four Hundred, on the *Fifth Day*, as it were, great Sea Whales were brought forth, and devoured through Earthquakes and Floods first by the Eagle of the Barbarians, second by the Rise of Antichrist, third by the release of the Saracens from the south, and fourth, finally, by the coming forth of the Turks from the east. Like great Whales, they were one after the other devouring the Church, which was then sliding into Apostasy. Esa. 27.1. Jon. 1. and 2. Sea reptiles were also created and sent out of the Roman world; for the peoples unified under Leaders and Kings conspired to ruin the Church. At this time, however, Saints emerged, flying higher than usually up to the Lord like *Birds* and *Doves* and celebrating the communion with Him alone in the Heavens. This state seems to have lasted until the Days of *Wyclif*.

Christo subordinatis, instar Ovium et Pecorum, licet in statu imperfecto, et interea Belluis Antichristianis identidem savientibus.

Finitis verò annis Antichristi, creabitur quasi Homo, ad Dei similitudinem; quoniam Evangelici tunc adducentes ad perfectum statum Reformationis, et in omnes quasi Belluas Antichristianas et oppositas, et in omnes etiam Terræ Incolas, in viâ Evangelij perfectè dominabuntur.

*Ad hunc modum operibus Dei finitis, sequetur Sabbathum æternum, et perfecta Requies in gloriâ Cœlesti.*³⁰⁹

2883.

Q. But can't you give us another, & perhaps a better, Scheme of this Matter?

A. Such Writers, as Monsr. Jurieu, have accommodated us.³¹⁰

309 7. On the *Sixth Day* the Earth brought forth Cattle, Reptiles, and Beasts of the Field. The Sea brought forth Whales as described above on the Fifth Day. And on the Third Day the Sea was separated from the Earth because of Paganism. But the Earth represented the true Church. So on the *Sixth Day* the Earth seemed to represent the true Church in a similar way, the Reformed Church, that is, which was established in the Days of *Wyclif*; after the reign Antichrist, the Great Leviathan, began as it were on the Fifth Day. Esa. 27.1. The Reformed Church being established visibly, Cattle such as Sheep, Oxen, Goats, and Beasts of Burden came about; for the Animals adjusted to being useful to humanity {**** torn} [98v] they seem to signify the Reformed and the Evangelicals, those subordinated to Christ and His Laws and subject to his governance: but still being in an imperfect and initial state, and, like the Sacrifice, constantly prey to persecutions. Apoc. 6.9, 10, 11. The Wild Beasts, however, seem to signify the Violent and Raging Antichristians who exert danger from their Persecutions, the likes of which have been opposed to the Evangelicals from the time of *Wyclif* up to now. The Reptiles signify another mix of people, the worldly wise, and those who indulge their lust, and also the Antichristians of the lower rank. And such will be the state of the Reformed Church from the Days of *Wyclif* until the End of the Period of Antichrist. During that period, the Reformed will be subject to the Law of Christ, like the Sheep and Cattle, albeit in an imperfect state, while in the meantime the Antichristian Beasts will go berserk again and again.

Once the years of Antichrist are up, however, *Man* will be created in the likeness of God. For the Evangelicals, who will then be brought to the perfect state of Reformation, will rule over all the opposing Antichristian Beasts and over all the inhabitants of the Earth in perfect harmony with the Gospel.

When the work of God is thus finished, the eternal *Sabbath* and perfect Peace in the glory of Heaven will follow. [*Italics inverted*].

310 The following paragraphs are borrowed from Pierre Jurieu (1637–1713), a prominent French Calvinist theologian, controversialist, millenarian, and minister to a Huguenot church in Rotterdam. As a fellow millennialist, Mather was especially fond of Jurieu's interpretation of the prophecies, which Mather also incorporated in his *Threefold Paradise* (327). Ever eager to derive prophetic mysteries from the Bible, Mather embraces Jurieu's typological reading of the Mosaic hexameron as a mystical foreshadowing of the history of the Church Universal. Mather had good precedent for such a reading, for his maternal grandfather John Cotton (1584–1652) had developed similar mystical readings of the Church, in *A Brief Exposition of the Whole Booke of Canticles* (1642), because Cotton read Solomon's Canticles as a "divine abridgement of the Acts and Monuments of the Church" (13). Jurieu's work, which Mather here excerpts, is *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies* (1687) pt. 2, chs. 20–22, pp. 332–56.

I'l croud the Matter into such *Laconisms*, that upon every Sentence, you must be at the Pains to lay the answerable Clauses in the *History* of the *Creation* before you; which, if you do, perhaps, you'l be surprised at the charming *Mystery*.

The forlorn *Mass* of Mankind, was horribly defaced and confounded by *Sin*.³¹¹

Of that Confusion, as *God* is not the *Author*, so *God* will not say, *It is Good*.

Yett the *Spirit* of *God* præsidèd over the *Waters*, or the *People*; and still præservèd somewhat of His Interest in them.³¹²

This World of Mankind, had *One Day* from *Adam* to *Abraham*; wherein Men had first an *Evening*, or Dimmer, and then a *Morning*, & brighter Notice of the *Messiah*, who is, *The Light of the World*.

The *Church* itself was this while an *unform'd*, and *unshap'd* thing, in Dispersed Families: But they had some *Light* of the *Messiah*, tho' He were not to come until some *Dayes*, or Ages after.

The *Light* of the *Church*, as glimmering as it might be, was distinguished by *God*, from the *Dark* of the *World*.³¹³

However, He *Blesses* not the *World* in their Separation from the *Church*.

The World had a *Second Day*, from *Abraham* to *Moses*.

God now began to sett apart His own *People*, from the rest of the *Waters*.

But the Separation was hitherto *Imperfect*; there were other Godly Persons yett left in many other Places.

He called a *People* up unto an Heavenly *Church-State*; but so small was the Number of the *People*, thus advanced, in the Houses of a few *Patriarchs*, that they were no more in Comparison with the rest, than the *Cloud's* are to the *Sea's*.

However, t'was fitt they should make some Figure in the Book of *God*; for from them have come down the *Rains* of the *Blessings* on us all.³¹⁴

The World had a *Third Day*, from *Moses* to *Jesus*.

The Separation of *God's People*, from the *Waters*, was now compleated in the *National Church* of *Israel*.

T'was ripe for a *Blessing*; yea, for a Repeated one.

The *People* of the Most High, now appear as a *Dry Land*; the *Church* is not like the *Sea* (as the *World* is,) barren, rugged, full of Monsters; and tho' the *Sea* be alwayes beating {the Superficies, the *Earth* is fruitfull.} | Yea, The *Fruits* of all [99r]

³¹¹ Mather here summarizes Jurieu's *Accomplishment* (pt. 2, ch. 21, pp. 334–36).

³¹² Jurieu's *Accomplishment* (pt. 2, ch. 21, p. 336).

³¹³ Jurieu's *Accomplishment* (pt. 2, ch. 21, pp. 337–39).

³¹⁴ Jurieu's *Accomplishment* (pt. 2, ch. 21, pp. 339–42).

Graces, Vertues, and Good Works, in an agreeable Diversity, are conspicuous on it: If *Weeds* appear, they are to be plucked up.³¹⁵

The World had a *Fourth Day*, from *Jesus*, to *Antichrist*.

Now does our Lord Christ, *The Sun of Righteousness*, exhibit Himself; and the Church becomes as a *Moon*, with her borrow'd, various, changeable Illuminations, (tho' not without her *Spotts*) depending on Him; and *Stars*, or Ministers, of several Magnitudes, among which, the *Apostles* were of, *The First*, are now shining in the Orbs of Heaven.³¹⁶

The World had a *Fifth Day*, from the *Rise* to the *Heighth* of *Antichrist*; or, from the *Fifth* Century to the *Eleventh*.

Birds and *Fishes* are the Emblems of the Men, that make the Stirrs in these Ages.

First, there were Men of Bold, Soaring, Daring Spirits, that would needs fly so high, as to raise Disputations upon the *Trinity*, the *Generation* of the Son, the *Procession* of the Holy Ghost.

In those times, tis known, how all Matters ran upon the Flights of the *Arian*, *Macedonian*, *Eutychian*; & such other Hæresies; The Flights were sometimes *Happy*, and often *Too far*.

Afterwards, there are spawn'd vast *Shoals* of other Creatures, that live upon Filth, and Mud, and upon Devouring one another; They had the *Multitude* on their Side, and they dwelt in the *Abyss* of Ignorance; and those great *Crocodiles*, the *Popes* of *Rome*, have had a very particular Consideration among them.³¹⁷

The World ha's a *Sixth Day*, from the *Heighth* to the *Fall* of *Antichrist*.

All sorts of *Beasts*, and *Insects*, and *Serpents*, have in these Ages been mett withal.

But in the Close, our Lord Jesus Christ, our *Second Adam*, sett's *Himself* to espouse *His Church*, now under the Notion of a *Woman*, unto Himself.

And what is then to follow, but a *Sabbath*, wherein our Lord will give His Church to see that *Rest*, which *remains for the People of God*.³¹⁸

315 Jurieu's *Accomplishment* (pt. 2, ch. 21, pp. 342–44). The passage in braces {} is lost through wear and tear, but here restored from Jurieu (343).

316 Jurieu's *Accomplishment* (pt. 2, ch. 22, pp. 345–47).

317 Jurieu's *Accomplishment* (pt. 2, ch. 22, pp. 347–51). The Arian, Macedonian, and Euty-chian heresies – all deal with one or the other aspect of Christ's divinity and the doctrine of the Trinity. The heresiarch Arius (c. 250–c. 336) maintained that Christ was a created, rather than an eternal, being, an instrument through whom the Father created the world. Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople (d. c. 362), has been called the founder of the Macedonian sect, which is to have denied the full Godhead of the Holy Spirit (pneumatomachi). Finally, Eutyches (c. 378–454) of Constantinople denied Christ's consubstantial manhood with ours (rendering redemption unattainable) and like the later Monophysites held Christ's double nature "before, but only one after, the Union" in the Savior's incarnation (ODCC).

318 Jurieu's *Accomplishment* (pt. 2, ch. 22, pp. 351–56).

The *Poet* shall unite with the *Prophet*. You know, who of the Ancients employ'd their *Poetry* on the *Creation*. I will here transcribe nothing from them. I will only give you six or seven Lines of Modern Poetry, which give the Order of the *Creation*.

*Terra et Abyssus Aquæ, Lux, Primâ Luce creavit.
Cælum, atque Undarum Divisio facta Secundâ.
Tertia secrevit Terram et Mare; protulit Herbas.
Quarta dedit nitido Stellarum Sydera Olympo.
Quinta tulit Pisces in Aquis, Cælique Volucres.
Sexta Feras, Hominesque Dei sub imagine, fecit.
Septenâ tandem Deus Quæsit Luce Quietem.*³¹⁹

Q. Will you allow me to ask, *At what Season of the Year, the World was created?*

A. No; The Quæstion is too *ungeographical* and unreasonable.

For, as *Calmet* observes; & indeed every body knows, *Tis impossible that Spring & Autumn should happen throughout the whole Earth at the same time.*³²⁰

³¹⁹ Aristotle reminds us that whereas a historian's task is to relate what *has happened*, the poet's is to utter what *might happen* (*Poetica* 9.1451a, 37–39). Among the ancients who celebrate the creation in their poetry are Hesiod (*Theogonia* 115–210), Lucretius (*De rerum natura*), and Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 1.1–87). The seven lines of Latin poetry by an as yet unidentified “modern” poet read as follows:

The Earth, the Abyss of Water, and the Light He created on the First Day.

The Sky and the Parting of the Waters were made on the Second Day.

The Third Day separated the Earth and the Sea, and brought forth the Plants.

The Fourth Day gave the shining Mount Olympus the Luminaries.

The Fifth Day brought forth the Fish in the Water, and the Birds in the Sky.

The Sixth Day made Wild Beasts and Human beings in the image of God.

On the Seventh Day God finally sought Rest.

In the last line of the Latin version, “*Quæsit*” reads “*Quasit*” in the MS.

³²⁰ The question and its answer – amusing as they may seem to modern readers – were hotly debated in the seventeenth century. If Virgil (*Georgics* 2.336–45) believed the world began in the spring, when all living beings appeared, if Ovid (*Metamorphosis* 1.107–10, 116–18) sang to the same tune, and if Thomas Burnet (*Telluris Theoria Sacra* [1681], bk. 2, cap. 2–3, pp. 156–181; *Theory of the Earth* [1684], bk. 2, ch. 1, p. 176–79, ch. 2, pp. 185–86, 189, ch. 3, pp. 195–97) insisted that the antediluvian earth maintained a perpetual spring (or equinox) because the axis of the earth did not tilt until after the Flood, none less than James Ussher, archbishop of Armagh and primate of Ireland, argued that time began “on the night preceding the twenty third day of *Octob.* in the year of the Julian Calendar, 710 (4004 BCE)” (*Annals* 1). And there were many who applauded his precision. The Swiss Calvinist Francis Turretin had the following to say: “When we say the world was created in autumn, this must not be understood of every part of the globe. It could not happen that everywhere (at one and the same time) it could be spring or autumn, summer or winter (because the seasons differ by reason of hemispheres and climates) . . . But it must be understood of that part of the world in which Adam was formed and (in our hemisphere) in which Moses wrote the history of the creation (since the sun ought to have begun his course from some of the twelve Zodiacal signs, either from the Ram [*Ariete*] in spring or from the Scales [*Libra*] in autumn)” *Institutes of Elenctic Theology* [Fifth Topic, Quest. 4, sec. 9] 1:443. The noted English Calvinist John Edwards surveys the various guesstimates of the precise year when God created the earth and speculates about the

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3325.

Q. It may be a Subject, productive of some *Curious Thoughts*, what special Design the great *Moses* might have, in taking such or such a way of Writing. Tho' the general Aim of his Writing, was to teach the *Israelites* the Worship of the True God, & give them the Lawes, which he had received from Him. Nevertheless, in the Abridgment of the ancient History, which he ha's left behind him, he might insert here and there a special Passage, with a particular Design, upon which, tis possible to form some Conjecture, that may be very entertaining? v. 31.

A. I wish, *Leclerc* had never published any worse Thoughts, than those few, which I shall on this Occasion fetch from his *Criticisms*.³²¹

It is plain, that *Moses* presenting us only with a Naked Chronology of the First Times, occasionally sprinkles diverse Things, which he imagined might more easily induce the *Israelites*, to observe the Law. Hence he so particularly does insist on the Lords Resting on the *Sabbath-day*; the Celebration of which Day, was no little Article in the Religion of the *Israelites*. Hence, when he mentions the several Uses of the *Suns* and *Moons* Motion, he observes by the by, that they shewed *Seasons*, or solemn Festivals. Hence, when he might have contracted the History of the *First Sin*, he chose to enlarge more copiously upon it, because it might be useful unto the *Jewes*, who had several Points of *Abstinence* imposed upon them, to know, that the *First Sin* proceeded from Intemperance. Moreover, It seems to have been the Design of *Moses*, to Reform the Manners of the *Israelites*, not only by Direct and *Open Præcepts*, but by a more *Oblique Way* of Instructing them with *Narrations*. It was a common Custome with the *Israelites*, to cast off their Wives at Pleasure; and now, tho' for the *Hardness of their Hearts*, he did not absolutely Forbid them, yett he sufficiently hints to them, *That it was not so from the Beginning*. Polygamy, too was in fashion among them; which if

terrestrial season on earth at that time, in his *Exercitations Critical* (1702), Part 1, Exerc. 1, pp. 16–25. The learned French Benedictine Dom Antoine Augustin Calmet (1672–1757), to whom Mather here refers, authored his famous *Dictionnaire Historique*. 2 vols. (1722), a 4-volume edition of which appeared in 1730. Here, however, Mather refers to Calmet's annotations on Gen. 1–2, in his multi-volume *Commentaire littéral sur tous les livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament* (vol. 1).

³²¹ Mather refers to Jean LeClerc (1657–1736), a Dutch Arminian controversialist born in Geneva, an outstanding biblical scholar and theologian, and a professor of philosophy and Church history at Amsterdam. Mather takes exception to his famous colleague's radical biblical criticism anonymously published as *Sentimens de quelques Théologiens de Hollande* (1685), in which LeClerc – though ostensibly reproaching the Oratorian Father Richard Simon for his “public scribes” hypothesis – follows in Spinoza's footsteps and subverts the belief in the divine inspiration of the Bible. Here, however, Mather is mollified by LeClerc's defense of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, in *Twelve Dissertations* (1696). The following paragraphs are excerpted from “Diss. III: Concerning *Moses*, the Writer of the Pentateuch, and the Design in writing” of LeClerc's *Twelve Dissertations* (105–41). For an introduction to this important theologian, see S.A. Golden (1972).

he had openly attack'd, he had alienated all the Hearts of the People from him; however, in the compendious History of the ante-diluvian Ages, he judg'd it agreeable to intimate, That the First Instance of *Polygamy*, was in the Generation of *Cain*, and that the First who assumed that Liberty, was one of a Fierce Disposition, and a Despiser of his Wives.³²²

Furthermore, *Moses* endeavours to raise in the *Israelites*, an aversion to the *Fables* of their Neighbours, and consequently to their *Fabulous Religion*. He not only tells, That the World was created, (which They also confessed,) but also he shewes, how many {*Generations* there were from the Beginning of the World} down to his Time; which was to oppose the vain Pretences of the *Egyptians*, who as *Herodotus*, about the Middle of the Fourth *Chiliad*, reports, pretended, That after the Gods had ceased to Reign in *Egypt*, there had ran to his Time, Three hundred & forty five Generations, which makes up 10473 Years. [*Compare* Ezek. 29.3.] Whereas, *Moses* now also shewes, That after the Flood, *Egypt* was peopled by the Posterity of *Cham*, who came thither out of *Babylon*. The *Egyptians* too Romanced intolerably, about the Generation of Men in their Countrey, & about the Flood, as we find in *Diodorus*; and they boasted, That they were the First Inventors of all Things. *Moses* by the Bye confutes 'em; and shewes, who were the true Authors of the most useful Inventions then known in the World.³²³

Again, By not only writing his Law, but also publishing it, and commanding that it should be Publickly Read every Seventh Year, *Moses* tacitly reprehended the Conduct of the *Egyptian* Priests, who had their Secret Rites, and Hidden Doctrines, which it was not lawful to discover unto the People.³²⁴

To proceed; Most of the Oriental Nations, not only boasted of their Antiquity, as *Diodorus Siculus* hath observed, but likewise extravagantly praised their Founders, and reckon'd them among their *Gods*, as *Herodotus*, and *Manetho*, and others have remarked. Now *Moses* tells how many of them, were descended from *Cham*, who was indeed so far from deserving a Place among the Divinities, that he could not be esteemed a good Man. And for a more particular Mortification of the *Canaanites*, he tells that they were descended from a Race which God had *Cursed*; You know also, how he mortifies the *Ammonites*, and *Moabites*. But, whereas the *Edomites* might boast their

322 LeClerc, *Twelve Dissertations* (Diss. III, pp. 134, 135, 136, 137).

323 LeClerc, *Twelve Dissertations* (Diss. III, pp. 137, 138). The passage in braces {} is lost through wear and tear of Mather's holograph manuscript, but here restored from LeClerc (137). LeClerc's source appears to be John Marsham's *Chronicus Canon Aegyptiacus Ebraicus Graecus* (1672). Herodotus (2.142–43) describes his encounter with Egyptian priests and their calendars, and Diodorus Siculus (1.2.1–4; 1.16.1–3; 1.8.1 ff) tells us that the art of making brass and iron was developed in Thebais and that the Egyptian Hermes invented music and the three-stringed harp ([Gen. 4:21] attributes this invention to Jubal, son of Lamech). See also Eusebius Pamphilus's *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.27).

324 See Deut. 31:10, Herodotus (1.123, 140; 2.35–98), Diodorus Siculus (1.94.2, 40.3.1–8).

Descent, from *Jacobs* elder Brother, he exposes it, how scandalously *Esau* sold his Birthright. Yea, tis remarkable to see, how many Occasions *Moses* takes, to observe, that several *First-begotten Sons*, either forfeited their Birthright, or were inferior to their younger Brothers in laudable Qualities. Probably, t'was to retund the Aspiring of the *Moabites*, the *Ammonites*, the *Ishmaelites*, and the *Edomites*, who because they were descended from eldest Sons, might claim a Right over the *Israelites*, when they should happen to be more powerful than They. Nay, *Moses* himself was a younger Brother, but præferr'd unto his elder Brother, *Non sine aliquâ Fratris Invidiâ*.³²⁵

But after all, We may elsewhere discover, some admirable and mysterious references to the affairs of the *Messiah*, couched in the *Mosaic* Writings, which from a Critic of such a *Genius* as *Leclerc*, are not to be expected.³²⁶

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842.

Q. I am very willing, to bee informed, What *Notions* the Ancient *Pagans* had, of the chief Matters mentioned in the *Scriptures*; which *Notions*, I suppose you conclude, they had originally from the *Scriptures*, and so those *Notions* will much help to confirm the Divinitie of these Glorious Writings?

Please to *Begin* at the *Beginning*; and lett mee have the History of *Creation*, as Received, and Confessed, by the Heathen. v. 31.

A. The very *Entrance of Gods Word*, gave *Light*, even unto *Them*, hereabout.

I will bee particularly beholden, unto the Pains, of our *Edwards*, for a Collection of Passages, to Illustrate this Matter.³²⁷

The general Opinion of the ancient Gentiles, was, That the World was made out of a *Chaos*, a disordered & Indigested Mass of Matter, *Without Form & Void*.

Sanconiathon, the Phœnician Historian, mentions this *Chaos*, as the Source of all things.³²⁸

³²⁵ LeClerc, *Twelve Dissertations* (Diss. 3, pp. 139, 140n). Diodorus Siculus (1.10.1–7 ff); Herodotus (2.142–46); Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* (Epitome), which includes an account of the deified founders of Egypt, survives in fragments, in Eusebius Pamphilus, Diodorus Siculus, Syncellus, and Sextus Julius Africanus. See especially Eusebius's *Praeparatio evangelica* (2.1–2.44d–60d) [PG 21. 93–104]. For the references to the cursed Canaanites, see Gen. 9:25–26; for Ammon and Moab, the incestuous offspring of Lot by his two daughters, see Gen. 19:30–38; for Esau's selling of his birthright to his younger brother Jacob, see Gen. 25:29–34; and for Moses's being preferred over his elder sibling, "without any envy of his brother [Aaron]," see Exod. 4:14.

³²⁶ Mather here appears to allude to LeClerc's acclaimed contributions to the Republic of Letters, as well as to LeClerc's *Harmonia Evangelica* (1699) – a harmony of the conflicting narratives in the Gospels.

³²⁷ The following MS page is extracted from John Edwards's *Discourse Concerning the Authority, Stile, and Perfection*, in 3 vols. (1693–95) 1:88–94.

³²⁸ Edwards (*Discourse* 1:88–89) refers to the Phœnician historian Σαγκουνιάθων [Sanghouniathon], variously Latinized as Sanchoniathon (Sanchuniathon), whose history of ancient

The old Poet *Orpheus*, held this *Chaos* to be the first Principle of all things! And *Hesiod* agrees with him,

Ἡ τοι μὲν πρωτίστα Χάος γένετο.

Ovid, with his,

Ante Mare et Terras, —

in forty or fifty Pair of smooth Verses, describes this Origine of all things, & makes the very *Chaos* Beautiful.³²⁹

This is the same with *Hyle*, the first Matter; the *Demogorgon* of the Poets.

The *Phœnicians* expressed it, by the Words, *Thoth* and *Bau*, which are but a small Variation from *Tohu* and *Bohu*, in the Hebrew Text.

Moses intimates, that a formless Heap of *Water* and *Earth*, together mingled, contained the first Elements of all Things.³³⁰

Hence the old Pagan Divines, that is, the Poets, made, the *Ocean*, to be the Original of all Generation.

Orpheus also call'd the *Ocean*, *The Parent of all things*.

Homer did the like, asserting the *Ocean*, to be the Ancientest of the Gods:

Ὠκεανὸν τε θεῶν γένεσιν.³³¹

Thus, as *Philo* tells us, the Stoicks held, the *Chaos* to be *Water*, and to have its Denomination, from *χυσίς*, a flowing or pouring out. The Scholiast upon *Pindar*, thinks that his, *Ἀριστον μὲν ὕδωρ*, alludes to this ancient Opinion.

Thales, the founder of the *Ionic* Philosophy, expressly mentained, that all things were produced of *Water*. *Aquā dixit esse initium Rerum, Deum autem eam*

Phoenicia preserved the teachings of the priest Hierombalos. If Philon of Byblos is to be trusted, then Sanchoniathon lived before the Trojan War (13th c. BCE) and taught in Tyre. Edwards here relies on fragments preserved in Eusebius's *Praeparatio evangelica* (1.9.30a–31d).
 329 The mythical bard *Orpheus* describes the primordial chaos in *Orphica* (*Hymni* 78.4 ff). *Hesiod*'s agreement (*Theogonia* 116) reads, "Verily at the first Chaos came to be." Mather again omits the Greek diacritical marks even though they appear in Edwards (*Discourse* 1:89). The line from the creation account in *Metamorphoses* (1.5), by the Roman poet Publius Ovidius Naso (43 BCE–c. 17 CE) translates, "Before the sea [was] and the lands." *Ovid* makes no effort to conceal his skepticism about the many creation stories he has come across. See also Aristotle (*Metaphysica* 1.4.984b, 24–30).

330 The "*Demogorgon* [demiurgus] of the Poets," the mysterious Maker of the World, perhaps here refers to Anaximander of Miletus, one of the Seven Sages (c. 610–c. 540 BCE), whose *Peri physēōs* (*On the Nature of Things*) describes how the "apeiron" or "infinite" constantly shapes and reshapes the cosmos (*Testimonia*, fragm. 14.6 ff; fragm. 30.13 ff). Mather here repeats much of the same material he had already excerpted [78v–81r] from John Dickinson's *Physica* (bk. 1, ch. 4, pp. 42–44). The Greek word "hyle" signifies "matter," "chaos," "elements," even "sand" or "dust" (Aristotle's *Metaphysica* 1.4.985b, 5–10 and *Timaeus* 30a, 52d–53b; Athenaeus of Naucratis 7.22.14); The Phoenician words "Thoth" and "Bau," variants of Hebrew-Chaldaic "Tohu" and "Bohu," signal "without form" and "void" (Gen. 1:2, 2:7) [Strong's # 8414, 922] and in a larger sense a "primeval mixture of elements" [Strong's # 2344, 4325, 6083].

331 Edwards (*Discourse* 1:90). For the Ocean as the father of myriads, see *Orphica* (*Hymni* 83.1 ff); *Homer* (*Iliad* 14.201, 302) sings "Oceanus, from whom the gods are sprung." Plato (*Cratylus* 402b–c) cites *Homer*'s passage to the same effect and enlists the ancient bards *Orpheus* and *Hesiod* (*Theogonia* 337–70); see also Aristotle (*Metaphysica* 1.3.983b, 30–32).

mentem quæ ex Aquâ cuncta fingeret; as Tully reports of him. [Behold, a Commentary upon Gen. 1.2.] Yea, the Indian *Brachmans*, according to *Strabo*, and the Egyptian Philosophers, according to *Philo*, thought so too.³³²

Wherefore *Helmont*, in our Days, holds that all Bodies are from one Element; are materially simple *Water* disguised into various Forms, by the *Plastic* Virtue of their Seeds. —³³³

To the *Chaos*, and *Water*, the Ancients added another concurrent Principle, namely, *Night*. That the World had its Beginning from *Night* (or, *Erebus*) and *Chaos*, was an Universal Tradition both of such Poets, as *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Hesiod*, *Homer*, and others, and such Philosophers as *Epicharmus*, *Thales*, *Plato*, and all the Græcians.³³⁴

³³² Edwards (*Discourse* 1:90–92). Philo Judæus tells his story about the Stoicks, in *De aeternitate mundi* (18.3). The Greek “kysis” (“chysis”) suggests “to pour.” The Scholiast upon the Greek lyric poet Pindar (c. 518–443 BCE) of Cynoscephalæ (Boetia) is an Alexandrian or medieval commentator on Pindar’s *Olympian Odes*. The Greek passage “Ariston men ydor,” literally signifying “Best is water” (*Olympian Odes* 1.1), appears in several commentaries, including *Scholia in Pindarum (scholia vetera)*, *Olympia*: Ode 1.1 (scholion 1a, 1–2; 1d, 1); and in *Scholia et glossæ in Olympia et Phythia* (Ode-treatise Olympia, Ode 1, scholion 1.10, 24). Aristotle tells us that the famous Thales of Miletus postulated that water is the first principle of all things (*arxe*), in *Metaphysica* (1.3.983b, 20–984a, 4); so does Seneca in *Naturales quaestiones* (3.13.1). The Roman orator and statesman Tully, aka. Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BCE), cites Thales, who “said that water was the first principle of things, but that god was the mind that formed all things out of water” (*De natura deorum* 1.10.25). According to the Greek geographer Strabo (*Geography* 15.1.59), the Indian Brachmans or Brahmins also believed that water is the principal element; Philo Judæus reports the same of the Egyptians, who honored water as the first principle of all creation (*De vita Mosis* 1.98.2–4).

³³³ The Flemish chemist and physician Jean Baptista van Helmont (c. 1577–1644) described the significance of water in his famous *Ortus Medicinæ* (1648), edited by his son Francisco Mercurio van Helmont. Perhaps because Cotton Mather considered becoming a physician before he overcame his speech impediment, he owned the Amsterdam, 1652 edition of *Ortus Medicinæ*, which Mather also put to good use in his own medical handbook *Angel of Bethesda* (1972). Van Helmont discusses the function of water in “Causa, & initia naturalem” (*Ortus Medicinæ*, cap. 29, # 23–24), in “Aqua” (cap. 46–49), and in “Natura contravivorum nescia” (cap. 25, pp. 139–40, # 38–39). The “*Plastic*” virtue of seeds is based on the Platonic concept of the *anima mundi*, according to which all living things, including all matter, are endowed with an intrinsic, albeit blind, vital force that shapes the function and purpose of each organism. As Sir Matthew Hale, Chief Justice of England, would put the issue in his *Primitive Origination of Mankind* (1677), God’s spirit from the beginning “impregnated” dead matter “with several kinds of vital influence, varied and diversified according to their several parts and uses [Thus] Activity and active Forms, Powers or Qualities were derived into Matter, namely, not from Matter it self, or such which is meerly unactive and passive; but from another Principle, namely, the vigorous influx of this Spirit that moved upon the face of the Water” (bk. 4, ch. 2, p. 293). For a discussion of the concept of “Plastic Nature,” see W. B. Hunter’s “Doctrine.”

³³⁴ For the ancient Phoenician theory, see the fragment of Philon of Byblos in Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 1.9–10.30d–42d) and *Fragmenta* (Jacoby # F 3c, 790, F fragment 2.6); for the primordial Chaos and Night, see Orpheus (*Orphica, Hymni* 78.4 ff), Hesiod (*Theogonia* 115–20, 123–25, 213–24), Homer (*Iliad* 14.255–62), and Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 1.5–20). Linus (perhaps the mythical Linos, son of Apollo and Samathe, or the son of Urania

Aristotle relates, that Persons who were skilled in the ancient Theology, beleaved, *all things were made of Night*.³³⁵

What is this, but a Testimony to that Passage, in Gen. 1.2. *Darkness was on the face of the Deep*? The *Deep* is their *Chaos*, and the *Darkness* is their *Night*, or *Erebus*. For the known Signification of Ερεβος, is, *Caligo*, Darkness. Or, perhaps it may bee borrowed, from [*Ereb*] the *Evening*, mentioned Gen. 1.5. as the first Beginning of Time, from the Creation. Whence, the old Notion, of *Æther*, and, *The Day*, begot by the *Night*.³³⁶

And, the *Mosaic History*, of Gods orderly *Dividing, Separating, and Digesting*, of this *Dark Mass*, the old Philosophers have likewise agreed unto. *Anaxagoras*, little deserved the Name of an *Atheist*; for *Plutarch* tells us, Hee was the first, who denyed *Fortune*, or *Fate*, to bee the Cause or Principle of the fair Order & Harmony of the Universe, and sett up a pure *Spirit*, or *Mind*, separating the Homogeneous Parts of the Universe from the whole confused Mixture.³³⁷

Diogenes Laertius gives us these, as his Words, *All Things were in an Heap & Jumble at first; afterwards came the Eternal Mind, and Disposed and Ordered them, in an Excellent Manner*.³³⁸

This did *Aristotle* mean, when hee said, *That in Infinite Matter, a Mind or Intelligence produced Motion, and separated the Parts*: Which *Mind* is by *Simplicius*, on the Place, called κοσμοποιος νους, the *World-making Mind*.

Thus, *Tully* afterwards asserts, That those Particles of infinite Matter, which were alike in themselves, but very minute, subtil, & confused, were afterwards, by the *Divine Mind*, brought into Order.

and Amphimarus) is probably the celebrated singer whom Apollo killed for "being his rival in singing" (Pausanias 9.29.6–9); see also Homer (*Iliad* 18.569). Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 10.4.469b–470b; 10.11.495b; 13.12.668a–b) maintains that Moses lived much before them all. For the Greek philosophers Epicharmus, the Sicilian playwright (5th c. BCE) to whom large numbers of philosophical writings are attributed, see Theocritus (*Epigrammata* 18) and Pseudepicharmea (*Fragmenta* 1.3); for Thales of Miletus, father of natural philosophy, see Aristotle (*Metaphysica* 1.3.983b, 20–984a, 4) and Diogenes Laertius (*Vita Philosophorum* 1.27); for Plato, see his (*Symposium* 178b; *Timaeus* 53b, et al.). One of the best discussions of ancient philosophical speculations about atomism remains Lucretius, *De rerum natura* (l.159ff, 2.62ff); for a modern introduction, see J. Barnes's *Early Greek Philosophy* (1987), R. B. Lindsay's "Pierre Gassendi," and G. B. Stones's "Atomic View."

³³⁵ Edwards (*Discourse* 1:92). Aristotle (*Metaphysica* 12.6.1071b, 26–27, and esp. 14.4.1091b, 5–12).

³³⁶ Edwards (*Discourse* 1:93). Gen. 1:4–7. "Erebus" and "Caligo" respectively suggest "the underworld," "darkness," "gloom," or "thick vapor" (see f. e., Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 5.649, 6.852). For the old concept of the aether (upper atmosphere, abode of the gods), born from Night, see Hesiod (*Theogonia* 123–25).

³³⁷ Plutarch vindicates the Greek atomist Anaxagoras in *Plutarch's Lives* 3:10–12 (*Pericles* 4.4.1–10).

³³⁸ Edwards (*Discourse* 1:93). The Greek biographer Diogenes Laertius (3rd c. BCE) wrote a valuable collection of biographies on the ancient philosophers and their teachings. The passage here is a comment on Anaxagoras's doctrine, in *Vita philosophorum* (2.6.1–10).

Now, these Principles of the Pagans, must needs bee *Traditional*; and the fountain of the Traditions must bee, the Description which *Moses* has given of the *Creation*.³³⁹

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Q. Lett us add a Devout Remark or two, on some Circumstances in the History of the *Creation*? v. 31.

A. This I will do from my dear Doctor *Arrowsmith*.³⁴⁰

It is to be Remark'd, That *Heaven*, a Place of Blessedness, was made before *Earth*, a Stage of Vanity. To teach us, that we should begin our Search, our Love, our Desire, where God first began His Work; At *Heaven*. It is a preposterous Course taken, to begin with *Earth*. We are so directed, Matth. VI.33. *Seek first the Kingdome of God*. Every Soul that is *Baptised with the Holy Spirit & with Fire*, ha's a *Fire* in it, that will carry it up towards *Heaven*.³⁴¹

Another Thing to be Remark'd, is, That God made some things, which now depend upon others, before the Things upon which they depend. The *Light* now depends upon the *Sun*. Yett God made the *Light* before any *Sun*. The Growth of *Plants* now depends upon the *Rain*. Yett God made the *Plants*, when *the Lord had not caused it to Rain upon the Earth*. To teach us, That tho' Creatures

339 Edwards (*Discourse* 1:94). The Neoplatonist Simplicius (6th c. CE) comments on Anaxagoras and Aristotle's concept of Mind producing motion, in *Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria* (10.1123.21–24). Mather (via Edwards) here translates a passage from Marcus Tully Cicero's *Academica priora* 2.37.118), which summarizes the atomistic theory of Anaxagoras. (See also Cicero's *De natura deorum* 1.26). The climax of Mather's excerpt from Edwards seems almost buried in the multiplicity of learned citations from the ancients. Notwithstanding the philological and philosophical challenges to the Mosaic hexaemeron, Edwards (*Discourse* 1:94) sums up his belief in *prisca theologia*, which most of his peers instinctively tried to uphold as well: "Now I ask, whence had they [ancient philosophers] this Notion concerning the Origine of the World? It is not a Principle in Philosophy; therefore they had it [from] somewhere else, which is the thing I am proving. Those Speculations and Theories concerning the Rise of the World, were not their own, but were Traditional Principles, *i.e.* they received them from the Antients, and these had them conveyed to them from the Bible. Their Philosophizing in this Matter was from that Divine Penman *Moses* . . . [T]hus the Writings of the first Heathen Philosophers, bear witness to the first and antientest Penman of the Old Testament" (*Discourse* 1:94). See esp. Theophilus Gale's *Court of the Gentiles* (1676), part II, bk. 1, chs. 1–4. For Edwards as for Mather, the etiological paradigm of true knowledge seems to remain constant in the best Renaissance tradition of *prisca theologia*: Moses is the oldest and most reliable source if properly decrypted. In one way or the other, pagan philosophers – Phoenician, Egyptian, Greek – all derived their religion and philosophy from the Hebrew Lawgiver, the prime conduit of divine metaphysics. Edwards devotes his huge *Πολυποικίλος Σοφία: A Compleat History . . . of Religion* (1699) to this subject, primarily to refute John Spencer's daring thesis (in *De Legibus Hebraeorum Ritualibus* [1685]) that Moses adapted many religious rites from his pagan neighbors. For modern discussions, see D. P. Walker's *Ancient Theology* (chs. 1, 5, 7), E. Iversen's *Myth of Egypt* (chs. 3–4), and J. Seznec's *Pagan Gods*.

340 The hortatory remarks in the following paragraphs are from ΘΕΑΝΘΡΩΠΙΟΣ [Theanthropos]; *Or, God-Man* (1660), by John Arrowsmith (1602–59), professor of divinity and master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

341 Arrowsmith, *God-Man* (49 # 1).

are subordinate unto one another, their chief Dependence is upon God. And when all Means fail, we may still depend upon God.³⁴²

A Third thing to be remarked is; That God, who was able to do all things in a Moment, nevertheless took *Six Dayes* to finish His Work of Creation. To teach us, the Necessity of Deliberation; of what Consequence it is, to *Take Time*, in Matters of Consequence.

Finally, Man was made, just before the *Sabbath*; and this that so the *First Work* he took in hand, might be the Worship of the God that made him. How Instructive this Remark!³⁴³

[103r]

Q. It will be some Accession to our Stores, if we take in Dr. *Ro. Hooks*, Explication of the *Creation*, & of the *Flood*, which in his *Posthumous Works*, published by the Ingenious Mr. *Ri. Waller*, we are entertain'd withal? v. 31.³⁴⁴

A. According to this Gentlemans Understanding of it, first, the *Central Earth* is in the *Mosaic* Account, represented as a *Vacuum*, and an *Abyss* enclosed with *Darkness*; That is, the *Water* followes next above it, which covered it all round on every side. Above this is the *Air*; and then the *Æther*, which is called by the Name of *Light*.

In the Fourth Verse, the Hebrew runs, *And God divided between the Light, and between the Darkness*. The LXX repeats the, *Ανα μεσον*. GOD caused a Twofold Separation; one in the Middle of the *Æther*; and another in the Middle

³⁴² Arrowsmith, *God-Man* (50–51 # 4).

³⁴³ Arrowsmith, *God-Man* (52–53 # 1, 5). Arrowsmith's comments on God's instantaneous (or protracted) creation are true to John Calvin's *Institutes* (1.14.2, 22) and *The Works of John Calvin* (1:78, 105) on Gen. 1:5, 2:3. Notwithstanding his allegorical reading, Arrowsmith is sensitive to the scientific debate about the sequence of the creative days in the Mosaic hexameron. Significantly, God created plants, herbs, and fruit-bearing trees on the Third Day (Gen. 1:11–12) *before* he created sun light (Gen. 1:14–19) on the Fourth Day and *before* "he had caused it to rain" (Gen. 2:5). Francis Turretin seems to sidestep the issue by concentrating on the instantaneous creation of fully grown plants and their seeds (Fifth Topic, Quest. 6, sec. 12–14), in *Institutes* (1:450–51). Simon Patrick quotes Rabbi Abravanel (Abarbanel) on Gen. 1:12, positing that while plants do "need the influence of the Sun, to make them sprout: But then [Third Day] they came forth by the Power of God, before there was any Sun, which was not formed till the next Day [Fourth Day]" (*Commentary* 1:5). Theophilus Antiochenus (*Ad Autolytus* 2.15) is, perhaps, the first to explain this scientific paradox as the Creator's deliberate attempt to thwart the vain philosophers of after ages who might exclude God by attributing all things to random chance and atomic elements: "In order, therefore, that the truth might be obvious, the plants and seeds were produced prior to the heavenly bodies, for what is posterior cannot produce that which is prior" (*ANF* 2:100). See also Porphyrius (*De abstinence* 2.5.12) and Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 1.9.28d) who argue that by necessity plants had to exist before animals.

³⁴⁴ Mather extracts his material from Richard Waller's "Lectures and Discourses of Earthquakes," in *The Posthumous Works of Robert Hooke* (1705) 413–15. Hooke (1635–1703), a renowned English physicist, experimental philosopher, and distinguished member of the Royal Society of London, was highly esteemed for his scientific and micrographic discoveries. His *Posthumous Works* were collected and edited by Richard Waller (c. 1660–1715), natural philosopher and secretary of the Royal Society.

of the *Darkness*, which covered the *Central Earth*; or the *Abyss*. This Covering of *Darkness* was the *Water*, which is often called, the *Abyss*. The former of these is afterwards and alwayes called, στερεώμα του ουρανού, *The Firmament of Heaven*; to distinguish it from the latter, which is called, στερεώμα εν μέσω του υδάτος, *The Firmament in the Middle of the Water*.³⁴⁵

The First Firmament, εν μέσω του υδάτος, seems to have been an hard, strong, solid, sphærical Shell, which encompassed the Ball of the *Central Earth*. This thick Shell was placed, in the Midst of the encompassing Water; as one would say, in the Midst of the White of the Egg: The circumferential half of it; being without the Shell; and the central half of it, within the Shell. At the First Creation, this was the Order. First, the Central Earth, was in the Middle; as the Yolk of the Egg. This was enclosed in Darkness, by the Water under the *Firmament*. By the hard Shell, there was a Separation made between half the Water that was under this *Firmament*, and half that was above it; which latter half was the Water upon which we read of the *Spirits Moving*. The whole *Globe* then was at this time covered with Water. – *Circumfluit humor ultima possedit, solidumque coeruit orbem*. This *Firmament* in the Middle of Waters, our *Hook* takes to be that which in many Places of the Bible, is called, *The Foundation of the Earth*. See, Psal. XXIV.2. Prov. III.19. Job. XXXVI.6.³⁴⁶

This *Firmament* or sphærical Shell, we may suppose was in many Places raised or forced outwards, and some other Parts were pressed Inwards, or Downwards, and sunk Lower; *When God commanded the Waters under the Heaven, to be gathered together into one Place, & the dry Land appear*. By depressing in of several Parts of the sphærical Shell, to make room for the Reception of the Waters, which before covered the Whole, other Parts must be thrust out, the Contents within being the same, & so requiring æqual Space or Extension. What went below the former sphærical Surface, must be æqualed by other Parts ascending without that Surface, and so the Quantities of the Waters, both those within it, and those without it, remained each the same, and still distinguished and separated by this *Firmament in the Middle of the Waters*, tho' altered from the *Spherical Figure* of it; And the Outward Surface of the Outward Water, as

345 Hooke, *Posthumous Works* (413). The Greek passages from the LXX “ana meson” (Gen. 1:6, 7) signifies “middle between” and “stereōma en mesō tou hudatos” translates “a firmament in the midst of the water” (Gen. 1:6–7). Even though Waller’s edition of Hooke’s *Works* supplies the diacritical marks, Mather elects to omit them in his excerpt.

346 Hooke, *Posthumous Works* (413). The metaphoric comparison of the earth enveloped in darkness under the firmament to the yolk and white of an egg is not entirely accidental because it alludes to the primordial cosmic egg of Orpheus. See Proclus’s *In Platonis Parmenidem commentarii* (7.168) and *In Platonis Timeum commentarii* (2.117), as well as *Clementine Homilies* (6.3–4) and *Recognitions of Clement* (10.17, 30). The Greek passage from the LXX “en mesō tou hudatos” reads “in the midst of the Water” (Gen. 1:6). The Latin passage from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (1.30–31) means “The streaming water took the last place of all, and held the solid land confined in its embrace.”

well as the Inward Surface of the Inward Water, must remain sphærical; because of the Power of Gravity.

In such a State the *Earth* continued until the *Flood*. And this was produced by the Opening of the *Two Firmaments*. As for the *Firmament*, εν μεσω του ουρανου, the Opening of that was in a *Rain* for Forty Dayes. As for that εν μεσω του υδατος, there was a Sinking of that Inwards, with an Opening of a Passage for the Waters within to flow out upon it, until it was gott in seventy five dayes more, to the Level wherein it was at the Creation. But then, by Degrees, there was | a Rising of other Parts by Degrees, as much above the Waters, as they had been below it. So that which had been the bottom of the Sea, became Dry Land, as what had been Dry Land, was now become the Bottom of the Sea.³⁴⁷ [104v]

³⁴⁷ Hooke, *Posthumous Works* (414, 415). The Greek passages from the LXX “en mesō tou ouranou” and “en mesō tou hudatos” signify respectively “in the midst of the Heaven” and “in the midst of the water” (Gen. 1:6, 8). Again, Mather omits the vocalization marks, though they do occur in his source.

Q. On the *Lords Resting* after the *Creation of Man*? v. 2.

A. It is a sweet Remark, made by my excellent Friend, Mr. *Boehm*, in his, *Enchiridion Precum*. – *Quem ad modum Tu Deus ac opifex noster omnipotens, in nulla creatura, præterquam in Homine quievisti; (nam hoc creato quievisti ab operibus tuis) ità nec Anima humana in ulla creatura Requiem invenit, nisi in TE solo creatore.*¹

3367.

Q. What is the Meaning of the Double Expression, *created and made*? v. 3.

A. In the Hebrew tis, *created to make*. For God *created* something at first out of which to *make* all the rest in the *Six Dayes Work*.²

3368.

Q. The Place & the Time, wherein the Creator of the World, who had hitherto been called, only, *God*, comes now to be called, *LORD God*, what is there observable in it? v. 4.

A. It is observed by *Tertullian*; *Exinde Dominus, qui retrò Deus tantum*, – From hence forward He is called, *LORD*, who hitherto was called only, *GOD*.

And it is the Observation of the Hebrew Doctors, That *Jehovah Elohim*, *LORD GOD*, is the *Full & Perfect Name of God*; and therefore fitly reserved until this Place, when the Works of God were *perfected*.³

1 Mather quotes from *Enchiridion Precum, Ad Promovendum Solidioris Pietatis* (1707) 62–63, a collection of sermons by the German Lutheran Pietist preacher Anton Wilhelm Böhme (Boehm, Boehme) of Halle (1673–1722), who represented the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) in London. Boehm's *Enchiridion Precum* went through three editions (1707, 1709, 1715), and Boehm here praises God's creation: "You, our Almighty God and workmaster, did not take rest in any creature but in man (for it was after the creation of man when You recovered from Your labors); likewise, the human Soul does not find Rest in any creature but in You, the sole creator." Evidently, Mather was fond of this work, for on Oct. 7, 1716, he pledged in his *Diary* (2:376) to read in Boehm's *Enchiridion precum* "every morning, before I rise" and to translate paragraphs for his consort into English. Likewise, he encouraged his son Samuel to "read unto me, into English, the *Adspirations*" in Boehm's work (*Diary* 2:379). Mather (*Diary* 2:332–33, 563) was on friendly terms with Boehm and through him forwarded to the German Pietist August Hermann Francke "some scores of American Treatises, besides a few small presents of Gold, unto the Orphanotropheum." See also *Diary* 2:348, 364, 406–07, 411–13, 582. For Mather's promotion of German Pietism and his relationship with Francke of Halle, see K. Francke, "Beginning" and R. Lovelace, *American Pietism* (1979), ch. 2.

2 Extracted from Simon Patrick, on Gen. 2:3 (*Commentary* 1:10).

3 Simon Patrick, on Gen. 2:4 (*Commentary* 1:10). In his *Adversus Hermogenes* (3.3), Tertullian argues, "from then on [i.e., Gen. 2:7, 8, 9 etc.] [He is called] Lord, who until then was only [called] God" (*ANF* 3.3.478). The Soncino Midrash Rabbah (Gen. XIII:3, n2) agrees, for it

[106v]

4199.

Q. Is there any special Remark, that the Hebrewes have upon the Hebrew Word used here; when it is said, *The Lord God FORMED Man?* v. 7.

A. 'Tis observed by them, and others, That the Word יָצַר has a Double *Jod* in it, whereas Regularly it should have been with a Single *Jod* and a Double *Tzere*; as it is written, when the Creation of the *Beasts* is mentioned. They suppose tis to intimate a double Work of Creation employ'd upon Man; *Terrenam, Corporis; et Caelestem, Animæ*. It is a Note of R. *Salomon. Duo Jodin duo notant sæcula, Præsens et Futurum. Homo autem conditus est ad utrumque sæculum: Bestiæ ad præsens solummodò.*⁴

3369.

Q. We find, The Lords *Putting of Man into Paradise* here mentioned; And anon, *Seven Verses* hence, we have it mentioned over again. May there be any Mystery in That? v. 8.

A. *Theophilus Antiochenus* thinks there is. He takes it for a mysterious Intimation, That after *Man* was cast out of one *Paradise*, he should still have a Right unto another; *By being well instructed in his Banishment, & prepared for a Restitution, at the General Resurrection, and New Creation.*⁵

[107r]

Q. The *Gold of Havilah?* v. 12.

confirms Mather's citation from Patrick that "Lord God" was the full name of God and was mentioned here (Gen. 2:7) for the first time because his creation was complete. R. Solomon Jarchi, aka. Shlomo Yitzchaki (1040–1105), better known by his acronym *Rashi*, adds another variant: "Elohim JHWH" signifies "Ruler and Judge over the entire world" (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:37). Rashi's mystical readings (Gen. 1:1) further suggest that "Lord God" signifies God's attributes of "Mercy," "Justice," and "Eternity." R. Maimonides (Rambam) adds "Faith" as a fourth principle (*Guide* 1.61.89–91).

⁴ Mather draws attention to the different spellings of יָצַר [yatsar] "to form, fashion, frame" [Strong's # 3335] in Gen. 2:7 and 2:19. In the former, where God forms man יָצַר [way-yitzer] "and formed" (Gen. 2:7), the phrase has two yods [י], but only one when God formed beasts (Gen. 2:19), יָצַרְתָּ. (Mather means "Double *Zadde*" (צ), not "*Tzere*.") The double creation of "the body from the dust [earth] and the soul from the spirit," one for this world, the other for the resurrection, is suggested by Rashi on Gen. 2:7. See also Tanchuma (Tazria 1), in Midrash Tanchuma (5:211–12). Typologically, "Two *Jods* denote two ages, present and future. Man, however, is made for one and the other age; animals only for the present" (see Midrash Rabbah, Gen. XIV:3, 5).

⁵ Mather's immediate source is Simon Patrick on Gen. 2:8 (*Commentary* 1:11). Theophilus Antiochenus (*Ad Autolyicum* 2.26) asserts God's "great kindness" in expelling Adam from paradise, because in his banishment, man could expiate sin "within an appointed time" and be returned at the resurrection: "When man had been formed in this world, it is mystically written in Genesis, as if he had been twice placed in Paradise; so that the one was fulfilled when he was placed there, and the second will be fulfilled after the resurrection and judgment" (*ANF* 2:104).

A. Tis, I think, hardly worth while, to offer a Thought of old Sir *John Pettus* upon it.

The *Gold* was *Good*, you must suppose, in the First Innocency of Times. However, we hear no more of *Gold*, in Holy Writt, until near Three Thousand Years after *Adam*; tho' it was counted, *The Golden Age*. It seems, tis something better than *Gold*, that makes a *Golden Age*.⁶

3092.

Q. What is the *Bdellium*, which is mention'd in the Description of *Paradise*? v. 12.

A. It hath been somewhat observed, That *Pearls* are so often mentioned in the *New Testament*, and so rarely mentioned in the *Old*. But the Incomparable *Bochart* ha's demonstrated, that it is oftner mention'd than ha's been imagin'd; and very particularly, That what we render *Bdellium*, is to be rendred, *Pearls*.⁷

The *Bdellium* in the Land of *Havilah*, is doubtless no other than *Pearl*. For that Land is a Part of *Arabia*, near *Catipha*, and *Bahara*, which is famous for the Fishing of *Pearl*. The River *Pishon* which washes that Land, is a Branch of *Euphrates*, which *Peter Teixeira* an Ey-witness, affirms to run into the *Persian Gulph*, at *Catipha* near *Bahara*. And there is that most celebrated *Pearl-fishery*, which is described by him, and others; especially by *Alkazuinius*, in his Chapter, *De Insulis Maris Persici*. Yea, that the Matter may be yett more incontestable, *Benjamin* writing of *Catipha*, describes the Manner of the *Fishing* for *Pearl* there; but for the *Pearl* he uses the very Name of *BEDOLACH*. And *Kalonymus*,

6 Sir John Pettus (1613–90), deputy governor of the royal mines of Wales, England, and Scotland, authored *Volatiles from the History of Adam and Eve* (1674). Sir Pettus offers a standard alchemical assessment of the gold, bdellium, and onyx mentioned in Genesis (2:12), but his empiricism leads him to dismiss the more wishful speculations about the Philosopher's Stone: "There are three eminent stones in the nature of minerals, which were known to *Adam*; the one is a stone that hath a virtue of transmutation of metals, and possibly this may be meant by gold; the other hath a virtue to discover the quality of all Sensibles and Vegetables, and this may be meant by *Bdellium*; and the third of a more transcending nature, by imparting to us all Angelical operations, and this may be meant by *Onyx*: But whether or no there were or are such stones by nature or art, the fruitless labours of others shall cease my further inquiry" (*Volatiles*, pt. I. p. 38, § 19). The perfections of the Golden Age in ancient times are celebrated in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1.89–112), but Mather is more interested in its literal accomplishment at the Second Coming than that of the ancients. See also Mather's discussion in *Threefold Paradise* (103–04).

7 Among Mather's immediate sources are Samuel Bochart's invaluable *Hierozoicon Sive bipertitum opus De Animalibus Sacrae Scripturae* (pars 2, lib. 5, cap. 5, col. 673–74) and Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:23) on Gen. 2:12. Mather had access to the Franeker 1675 edition of Bochart's *Hierozoicon* at Harvard (*Catalogus* 6) and perhaps prefers Bochart's translation of "*bdellium*" and "*bedolach*" as "pearls" because they seem to be much more valuable than the aromatic, white, and transparent resin exuded from the *Borassus flabelliformis* tree mostly growing in Arabia Petraea and Babylonia; other translators render "*bdellium*" as "crystal" or "amber" (Simon Patrick, *Commentary* 1:13).

another Hebrew Writer, *De Naturâ Animalium*, describes how the *Pearl* grows in the *Shell*; but uses the Name of BEDOLACH for it.⁸

Bochart having thus fish'd for *Pearl*, & found them in the *Shell* of the Name, which is in our Version, *Bdellium*, he gives | the Notation of the Name. [108v] He inclines to think, that the Final /ח/ *Cheth* is paragogical, and that /בדלח/ *Bedolach*, may come from the Verb, /בדל/ *To Segregate*, and *Separate*; and the Glory of the *Pearl* is therein agreeably intimated.⁹

If we should be content, That the *Bedolach* in the Land of *Havilah*, should be the *Bdellium*, yett the Resemblance of the *Manna* to it, (Num. 11.7.) altogether forbids that Apprehension. The *Bdellium* is commonly *Black*; nor shall you see it in *Round Grains*, but in ruder *Clotts* and *Lumps*. Whereas the *Manna* was *White*, and *Round*, and *Small*, and might admirably well be resembled unto *Pearl*. Nor is this a New Thought; For the *Talmudic Doctors* explaining this Place, (in *Joma*, c. 8. fol. 75. a.) say, The *Manna* was *Round*, like the *Coriander*, and *White* כמרגלית *As the Margarite*. The *Arabick Versions*, do countenance this Translation; for *Bedolach*, they have, *Allulu*, which is, *The Pearl*. And *Aben Ezra*, on *Genesis* ha's this Passage, *Dixit* (Saadiah) Gaon, voce BEDOLACH *Lapillos rotundos designari ex Aquis educi solitos, quibus, quia tenues sunt; Mannæ grana conferuntur*. And *Kimchi* saies, *Sunt qui dicunt lapidem esse Album, et Rotundum*,

⁸ The entire paragraph is extracted and translated from Bochart's *Hierozoicon* (pars 2, lib. 5, cap. 5, col. 674–79), who supplies the pertinent Arabic and Hebrew excerpts from the authors to which Mather here refers. Pierre-Daniel Huet (1630–1721), bishop of Avranches and classical scholar extraordinaire, provides a detailed discussion of this issue in his *Treatise of the Situation of Paradise* (1694), chs. 10–11, pp. 91–102. The Portuguese traveler Pedro Teixeira of Lisbon (c. 1570–c. 1640) published an account of his journey by land to India (c. 1600) as *Relaciones de Pedro Teixeira* (1610). An English translation appeared as *The History of Persia* (1710). Teixeira's reference appears in *The Travels of Pedro Teixeira* (ch. 3, pp. 25–26). For Bochart's reference to Teixeira see *Hierozoicon* (675). Bochart quotes from Alkazuinius (an Arabic writer) in the original tongue, but supplies a Latin translation and reference to the chapter “De Insulis Maris Persici,” in *De Naturae Mirabilis* (*Hierozoicon*, pars 2, lib. 5, cap. 5, col. 675, 678). The medieval Jewish traveler Benjamin (Rabbi Ben Jonah) of Tudela, Navarre, Spain (fl. 1150–1200) recounts his journey through Italy, Greece, the Ottoman Empire, Arabia, and all the way to India and beyond, in his famous *Sefer ha-Massa'ot* (Constantinople, 1543), the Latin edition of his *Itinerary* was printed in Ferrara (1556) and subsequently translated into virtually all other European languages. For his account of pearl-fishing at Catipha (El-Katif), near Bahrain, see his *Itinerary* (89). Kalonymus is probably Kalonymus ben Kalonymus or Ben Meir Ha-Nasi (c. 1286–1337), a notable Jewish scholar, who translated into Hebrew a number of Arabic works on medicine, philosophy, and astronomy (*EJ*). Kalonymus's *De Natura Animalium* is extracted out of Abulsapha, in *Libro Hebraeo manuscripto*.

⁹ The paragraph is extracted from the chapter summary of Bochart's *Hierozoicon* (pars 2, lib. 5, cap. 5, col. 674). The paragogical “heth” is a final letter or syllable added to a word to qualify its signification. And the Hebrew verb בָּדַל [badal] [Strong's # 914] suggests indeed “to divide,” “separate,” or “distinguish.”

*ex quo perforato, et cum alijs similibus consociato torquem efficiunt; which is in short, A Pearl-necklace.*¹⁰

Q. Tis said, *The Lord God Took the Man*. How did He *Take* him? v. 15.

A. Compare Psal. 78.70.

As a Prophet was sent from God, for the Anointing of *David*, when He *Took* him; so tis probable, as Dr. *Patrick* thinks, That God Himself appeared unto *Adam*, in a visible & glorious Majesty, which the Jewes call, The SHECHINAH, because it was a *Token of the Special Presence of God*, & by it *He dwelt among His People*. It seems to have been a very *Shining Flame*, or an amazing *Splendor of Light*, breaking out of a Thick *Cloud*. We often read of it, under the Name of, *The Glory of the Lord*. [see Exod. 3.2.] Probably, This Divine Majesty conducted *Adam* from the Place, where he was formed, into the Garden of *Eden*.

It is likely, That the Creatures were brought unto *Adam*, by the Ministry of *Angels*, who were perpetual Attendants upon the *Shechinah*.¹¹

[109r]

¹⁰ The entire paragraph (including the translated citation from the Talmudic tractate Yoma [Joma] and the Latin quotations from Aben Ezra, Saadiah Gaon, and Kimchi) is extracted from Bochart's *Hieroicoicon* (pars 2, lib. 5, cap. 5, col. 678–79). R. Ammi and R. Assi are the Talmudic doctors who disputed the shape and color of coriander (“gad”), the former insisting that manna was like coriander, the latter that “it was round like a seed [of coriander] and white like a pearl” (Soncino Talmudic tractate Yoma 75a). The Hebrew term כמרגלית [chamargalith] signifies “like margalith” (“margarite”), an Indian pearl. For the Arabic version of Gen. 2:12, Bochart (678) relies on La Jay's *Polyglot Bible* (Paris, 1629–45), which is considered to be less accurate than Brian Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1:9). Ironically, both the Syriac and Arabic versions in Walton's famous edition translate “bedolach” not as “pearl,” but as “crystal stone” (*Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 1:8–9). The famous Spanish Rabbi Abraham Ibn (Aben) Ezra (1089–1164) of Tudela, biblical commentator, philosopher, and physician quotes Gaon Saadiah ben Joseph (882–942), the leading scholar of the academy in the post-Talmudic period in Babylon. Ibn Ezra's commentary on the Pentateuch (*Sefer ha-Shem*) survives only in fragments (Genesis and Exodus). For Ibn Ezra, Gaon Saadiah, and David Kimchi, Bochart (678–79) most likely drew on Daniel Bomberg's famous *Biblia Rabbinica* (1516–17), which set the standard for reprinting the classical commentaries in the margins, or the widely available *Tiberias, sive Commentarius masorethicus triplex* (1618), by the German Hebraist Johann Buxtorf, the elder (1564–1629), who includes several medieval Jewish commentaries. (See Burnett's *Christian Hebraism* 203–39). Furthermore, Buxtorf's *Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum* (1621) would have been available as well as David Kimchi's famous Hebrew dictionary *Sefer ha-shorashim* (1546, 1564), edited and translated by the German Hebraist Sebastian Münster (1489–1552); see also B. Hall, “Biblical Scholarship” (3:52–54). At any rate, Ibn Ezra's Latinized quotation from Saadiah Gaon suggests, “Saadiah Gaon renders BEDOLACH” (bedellium) as follows: “This denotes round stones [pearls] usually extracted from water, with which, because they are fine, grains of manna are compared” (see Ibn Ezra's *Commentary* 1:56). And Bochart's Latin translation from David Kimchi's commentary on Gen. 2:12 reads, “Some say that the stone is the white, round one which is pierced, put with others like it, and made into a [pearl] necklace” (see *Hachut Hameshulash* 1:93).

¹¹ Extracted from Simon Patrick on Gen. 2:15, 19 (*Commentary* 1:13, 15).

3427.

Q. The Name of *Adam*, what Intimation, hitherto not much observed, may there bee given to us in it? v. 15.

A. The Import of the Hebrew Word, *Adam*, is not only, *Rubuit*, Hee was *Red*; (and so *Adam* is as much as *Edom*, which was the Name of *Esau*, for his *Ruddy* Complexion, Gen. 25.25.) but it is of a larger Signification, and is as much as to say, *Splenduit*, Hee *Shone*. Thus the Word, *Adamdameth* (Lev. 13.19.) is to be rendred, *Shining*, or *Glistering*. Sometimes *Adam* is as much as, *Formosus fuit*. Thus of the Healthy *Nazarites*, wee read, Lam. 4.7. *Nitidi fuere*. It is noted of *David*, That hee was *Admoni* (1. Sam. 16.12.) *Ruddy*, that is to say, *Beautiful*. Compare Cant. 5.10.

Bochart remarks, that *Adam* is in the *Arabic* Language, *Splendere*. And *Ludolphus*, that in the *Ethiopic* Language, tis, *Pulchrum esse*. Thus in the Latin Tongue, (as Mr. *Edwards*, who now helps mee, observes,) *Rutilare* is the same with, *Splendidum esse*; and *Purpureus* is the same with *Splendidus*.

Other *Animals* were formed out of, *Aretz*, the common Earth; but *Adam* was formed out of, *Adamah*, a more shining Earth: (*E meliore luto*;) yea, out of the *Dust* of this Ground, the finest, purest, & most agile Part of it. Behold, the true, *Terra sigillata*, Earth with the *Image* of God enstamped on it.

If I had not hoped, That from this Illustration, you would Raise very Rare Thoughts, concerning the *Body* of our *Lord-Messiah*, and the *Resurrection-Body*, as well as the *Body* of the *First-Adam*, you should not have had it.¹²

1888.

Q. In the Lords Threatning of Death to Man, upon his Eating of the *Forbidden Tree*, was there any Room left, for a *Surety* to undergo this *Death*? v. 17.

A. Doubtless.

¹² In his "Note Book of Authors and Texts Throughout the Bible" (1720), vol. 1 (Gen. 2:15), Mather identifies as one of his source *The Husbandmans Calling* (1668) 1 (i.e., § 1, pp. 1–5), by the English nonconformist divine Richard Steele (1629–92). However, Mather also draws on Hiob (Job) Ludolphus (1624–1704), a German polymath who authored one of the first lexicons (1661) and grammars of Amharic (1661), the language of Ethiopia. Bochart's etymology of the term "Adam" is discussed in *Geographia* (pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 2, col. 706–07); Ludolph's etymology appears in his *Historia Aethiopica* (1681), lib. 1, cap. 15, (English translation: 1682, bk. 1, ch. 15, p. 77), and in his *Commentarius* (1691) xv. See also Patrick's *Commentary* (1:14–15, on Gen. 2:19). Adam's appearance ("*Formosa fuit*") "was beautiful," and the healthy Nazarites ("*Nitidi fuere*") "have been shining." The Latin phrases "Splendere" and "Pulchrum esse" mean respectively, "to shine," "be bright" and "to be beautiful." Mather also consults John Edwards's *Discourse* (1693) 1:95–117; 2:219. "*Rutilare*" and "*Splendidum esse*" as well as "*Purpureus*" and "*Splendidus*" signify respectively, "to be reddish" or "to have a reddish glow" and "to be shining," "purple-colored," and "shining." Adam was formed out of "*Adamah*" ("*E meliore luto*"); i.e., "out of better" or "finer dust" or "clay." The true "*Terra sigillata*" literally signifies "earth adorned with a figure."

And there is a notable Confession of a Jew to this Purpose, in, *Midrasch Kobleth*; on Eccl. 7.14. R. Judah there introduces the Blessed God, as charging of *Adam*, to forbear meddling with the *Forbidden Tree*, and using this Argument among the rest. If you do eat of it, *Eris illi Justo occasio mortis*, you'll bee the Death of the *Just One*. But now, *The Just One*, is the Name of the *Messiah*.¹³

4205.

Q. The *Wife of Adam* is provided as an *Help*, to be *Before Him*; What may be the Import of that Expression? v. 18.

A. Hear what *Munster* saies; *Voluit Dominus, per id significare, quòd uxor semper et ubique debet esse coram marito; non sicut Brutalis Fœmina, quæ semel in Anno querit virum, et non perpetuò cohabitavit viro suo; sed uxor cohabitavit semper, tanquam caro una.*¹⁴

1515.

Q. What may wee observe upon the Lords *bringing* the Creatures unto *Adam*, *To See what hee would call them*? v. 19.

A. Tho' the Generality of Interpreters, carry it otherwise, yett wee will observe this; *To See*, refers not unto *God*, but unto *Adam*. The Creatures were brought unto *Adam*, that *hee* might first *See* them, & so *Name* them. The Almighty *Knew* sufficiently aforehand, what *Adam* would call them all. Now, tho' some of their *Names*, do signify no more than their external and visible Qualities, yett there was an Instance of Sagacity, thus at the *First View* to putt such *Names* upon them. Yea, tis probable, that some of the *Names* are now forgotten, or at least, the Original, Ancient, Primitive *Signification* of the *Names* may bee forgotten.¹⁵

¹³ In his "Note Book of Authors" (vol. 1), on Gen. 2:16,17, Mather identifies as his source "M. Exercise at Giles, p. 109"; i.e., *The Morning Exercise Methodized* (1660) 109, "Sermon 6: The Covenant of Works," preached by a "Mr. [William] Cooper"; a collection of twenty-eight sermons by several London ministers, edited by Thomas Case (c. 1598–1682), an ejected nonconformist minister at St. Giles-in-the-Fields, London (*ODNB*). Mather draws on the same collection in his commentary on Gen. 42:21 (below). The second work is *Discourse of the Two Covenants* (1678) 1, by William Strong (d. 1654), an Independent minister who gathered a congregation at Westminster, London. If these works served as his original inspiration, then Mather must have abandoned them during a later revision process and opted instead to quote R. Judah's comments in Midrash Koheleth, aka. Midrash Rabbah Ecclesiastes (Koheleth) 7:4 (not 7:14), although it occurs in a different context: R. Judah teaches that "if one repudiates an obligation of benevolence [respect for the dead], it is as though he repudiated the cardinal doctrine [of God's existence]."

¹⁴ In his commentary on Gen. ch. 3 (*Hebraica Biblia*, 2 vols. [1546] 1:7, annot. 9), Sebastian Münster states, "In order to demonstrate this, the Lord decreed that the wife should be at the side of her husband always and everywhere, unlike the female brute, which seeks its male mate once a year and does not stay with it perpetually; but the wife should always stay with her husband, as if they were one flesh."

¹⁵ A similar interpretation of Gen. 2:19 appears in Patrick (*Commentary* 1:14–15) and in Matthew Poole (*Synopsis Criticorum* 1:28).

Q. For the Formation of the *First Woman*, what may be the most probable Account of the Matter? v. 20.

A. Some sagacious Men have thus apprehended it. The Word, *Zelah*, which we translate, a *Rib*, is not in the Signification of it restrained unto any one *Bone* in the whole Humane Fabric. But the *Bone* that has the Best Claim to the Term, {is} in the *Backbone*; in which also is found the famous *Luz*, which the Hebrews talk of. The *Spina Dorsi* is the First Thing visible in an *Embryo*; and the *Carina* of the *Fœtus*; Anon the *Cerebrum* & *Cerebellum* appear, which are as Appendices to it; Then the *Salient Point* of the *Heart*; And so the *Thirty Pair* of *Nerves* that come out between the *Vertebres*, proceed with their Influences; and with them there goes forth from the Medullary Matter in the *Spina Dorsi*, which is the Foundation of our whole Corporeal Substance, that from whence the muscular and carneous Parts are propagated, & have their Nutriment. Now, to produce a Consort for *Adam*, our *First Father* (who was Father to our *First Mother* too) was, by the great *GOD who formeth all things*, thrown into a *Deep Sleep*, or, *Deliquium* and *Extasy*; wherein his whole Animal Oeconomy was thrown into a sort of *Digestion*, and had a Degree of *Resolution* brought upon it. From *Adam*, even from every Part of his *Body*, but originally from that *Bone*, and probably not without an *Image* of the whole Shape at the same time formed in his Mind, there was *extracted*, [How discharged, *GOD knows!*] the Matter, that was quickly wrought up into the *Body* of an *Help Meet* for him. The Proceeding of this Operation, might well be called, an *Opening* of a *Side*, and the Finishing of it called, a *Closing* of it. And thus, the *First Adam* had one that was *Bone of his Bone*, and *Flesh of his Flesh*, brought unto him.¹⁶

Compare now, Eph. v. 30, 31, 32.

¹⁶ For the same material, see Mather's *Threefold Paradise* (265) and *Christian Philosopher* (Essay XXXII, p. 284). The "Spina Dorsi" is the backbone; "Carina" is "a genus of Heteropodous Molluscs, having a delicate shell of glassy translucency which protects the heart and liver" (*OED*). The "Cerebrum" is the anterior part of the brain, whereas the "Cerebellum" is "the little or hinder brain, situated behind and below the cerebrum, and above the *medulla oblongata*" (*OED*). The "Salient Point" (*Punctum saliens*) is an archaic term for "the heart as it first appears in an embryo; hence the first beginning of life or motion" (*OED*). And the "Medullary Matter" is the spinal marrow, which was believed to provide the nutrients for the muscular and carneous parts of the body (*OED*). Mather's knowledge of human anatomy and diseases is well known; his *Angel of Bethesda* (publ. 1972) is one of the first medical handbooks in colonial America. Among the relevant sources for embryology – all quoted in *Angel of Bethesda* and in *Christian Philosopher* – are (1) *Joannis Fernelii Ambiani Universa Medicina*. Pars 1, Physiologiae, lib. 7 (1619), by Jean Fernel (1497–1558), French physiologist and physician to Henry II of France. Fernel was among the first to describe the functions of the heart and the spinal canal. Mather's relevant discussion appears in Fernel's *Universa Medicina* (Pars 1, lib. 1. cap. 2–3, pp. 2–11, esp. p. 4). (2) *Anthropologia Nova; Or, A New System of Anatomy*, 2 vols. (1707), by James Drake, MD (1667–1707), an English anatomist and Fellow of the College of Physicians of the Royal Society, whose pertinent discussion appears in Vol. 2 (lib. 3, cap. 5–8, pp. 493–524). And (3) *Historiarum Anatomicarum et Medicarum rariorum centuria I–VI*. 3 vols. (1654–61), by Thomas

3371.

{What} sort of a *Sleep* was that, which came upon *Adam*, when *Eve* was to be formed out of him? It has been long since, the Opinion of the Learned, That It was a *Sleep* accompanied with an *Ecstasy*, [so the LXX translate this Word; see also, Job. 4.13.] wherein was repræsented to his *Mind*, both what was done to him, & the *Mystery* of it.¹⁷

3372.

Indeed, What *Rib* of *Adam* is it likely afforded a Body to *Eve*; *Tho. Bartholinus*, a late famous Physician, thinks it probable that *Adam*, had XIII Ribs on each Side, and that the Great Creator took *One Pair*, with the Musculous Parts that adhære to them; and made *Eve* out of them. Commonly Men have no more than XII *Ribs*, tho' sometimes there have been found, (as *Galen*, and *Riolanus* upon him, testify) those who have had XIII; And very rarely some who have but XI.¹⁸

But we have already given a more likely Account of the Matter.

Bartholin (1616–80), a Danish anatomist and physiologist. Mather owned a copy of Bartholin's 1661 edition (AAS # 0722A BW; Tuttle, "Libraries" 316). For Mather's contributions to American medicine, see O. T. Beall, Jr., and R. H. Shryock, *Cotton Mather* (1954) and G. W. Jones, M. D., "Introduction" to Mather's *Angel of Bethesda* (1972).

17 The relative pronoun {What}, canceled in the holograph manuscript, is here restored even though Mather replaces the canceled pronoun with the ungrammatical phrase "As for the." Mather's immediate source seems to be Simon Patrick on Gen. 2:21 (*Commentary* 1:15). For the same material, see his *Threefold Paradise* (265), where Mather explains "the *Mystery*" as Christ's restoration of the "Changed Saints" whose human bodies are to be immortalized and who are to replenish the earth with their offspring during Christ's millennial reign. Mather's juxtaposition of Gen. 2:21 with Job 4:13 (LXX) is amusing, for while the former suggests ecstasy, the latter employs the term "phobos" ("terror"). The Hebrew term "tardemah" is employed in both instances and indeed suggests "trance" and "lethargy" [Strong's # 8639].

18 Mather's source is Patrick on Gen. 2:21 (*Commentary* 1:15). Thomas Bartholinus tells the story of a young man who, upon his dissection in 1656, evinced eleven ribs on one side and only a stub as the twelfth on the other (*Historiarium Anatomicarum ... centuria V*. Vol. 3, cap. I: "Historia I: Undecim costae in thorace," pp. 1–3). Truth to tell, the disagreement about the true number of human ribs started among the ancients. For instance, the famous Greek physician of Pergamum Claudius Galen (*De anatomicis* 2:652.16) mentions that some men have thirteen (!) ribs on one side, even though Aristotle (*Historia animalium* 1.15, 493b, 14–15) had allowed only eight – evidently not counting the five "imperfect" ribs. Jean Riolanus (1580–1657), French professor of medicine, anatomy, and botany at the Royal College of Paris, published several pertinent works on human anatomy: *Anthropographia* (1626), *Encheiridium Anatomicum* (1648), and *Opera Anatomica* (1649). In his *Sure Guide* (1657), bk. 6, ch. 16, p. 275, Riolanus distinguishes between seven "true" and five "bastard" ribs on each side, but also agrees with Aristotle that often enough an eighth rib has been found during dissections. Amusingly, in *De humani corporis Fabrica* (1543), lib. 1, cap. 19, Andreas Vesalius of Brussels (1514–64), professor of anatomy at Padua, ridicules the venerable tradition of the Church that men have one rib less than women on one side because God had taken it from Adam to form Eve (Gen. 2: 22): "Granted that perhaps Adam's bones ... might have lacked a rib on one side," Vesalius wisely conceded, but "it does not necessarily follow on that account that all men

2032.

Q. Why was not *Eve* also fetched & formed out of the *Earth*, as well as *Adam*; but from a *Rib* of *Adam*? v. 21.

A. *Athanasius* gives an agreeable Reason for it; *ἵνα μὴ ἐχέσιν ἀφορμὴν λέγειν, ὅτι ἄλλο τὸ χῶμα ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀδάμ, καὶ ἄλλο τῆς Εὐας*. That they might not have Occasion to say, That *Adam* was formed from one sort of *Dust*, and *Eve* was formed from another; and that the *Dust* of *Adam*, was more excellent than that of *Eve*; & that the Offspring accordingly took their Good Tempers from *Adam*, & their Ill from *Eve*.¹⁹

354.

Q. Give us, if you please, a little Touch by the by, upon this Passage about the Rib of *Adam*, relating to *Cheirurgery*? v. 21.

A. Dr. *Brown*, in his Treatise entituled, *The Garden of Cyrus*, ha's this little Touch upon it. *Cheirurgery* finds its whole Art, in that one Passage, concerning the Rib of *Adam*. For there are Three Things which that Art all turns upon; Διαίρεσις, which we see in the Opening of the Flesh; Ἐξάιρεσις, which we see in the Taking out the Rib; and, Σύνθεσις, which we see Closing up the Part again.²⁰

|

[111r]

641.

Q. What Pagan Traditions and Confessions, concerning the Production of our First Parents, agreeable to the *Scriptures*, can you find in any Monuments of Antiquitie? v. 25.

A. A Many.

From the Tradition of the *First Man's being made out of the Earth*, arose the Perswasion of many People, especially the *Græcians* (yea, and our *Britains* also)

are lacking a rib as well" (*On the Fabric of the Human Body*, bk. 1, ch. 19, p. 89 of the online edition). The Targum Jonathan ben Uziel, on Gen. 2:21 (Walton 4:5) explains that God took the thirteenth rib of Adam's right (dexter) side (Etheridge 2:163), but John Milton, though allowing a supernumerary rib as well, insists it was one from the left (sinister) side that he made the woman (*Paradise Lost* 8:465–66, 10:887–88). For background on this bone of contention, see A. D. White (*History* 2:49–55).

¹⁹ The citation from Athanasius of Alexandria, for which Mather provides a free translation in the following sentence, appears in *Quaestiones in Scripturam Sacram* [PG 28. 732–733, lines 55–56]. The Greek passage signifies, "That they will not have an occasion to say that this soil belongs to Adam and that to Eve." Again, Mather dispenses with the diacritical marks because they (like the Masoretic notations) were of a much later origin (*Manuductio* 29–30). Simon Patrick gives a much more benign explanation of this verse: "That God did not form *Eve* out of the Ground, as he had done *Adam*; but out of his Side: That as he might breed the greater Love between him and her, as Parts of the same Whole" (*Commentary* 1:15).

²⁰ Mather excerpts this paragraph from Sir Thomas Brown's *Garden of Cyrus* (1658; 1668), ch. 1, p. 33. The Greek words "Diairesis," "Exairesis," and "Synthesis" – all in Brown's marginal annotations – signify "a dividing," "a way of taking out," and "a putting together," in *Works* (3:148).

That they were *Αυτοχθονες*, or, *Born of the Earth* which they *Lived* upon: And in Memory of this, they wore golden *Grasshoppers*, being styled also, *Tettigophori*, which *Animal* was reckoned to have the same Original.²¹

The *Terrestrial Extraction* of the First Man, is often mentioned by *Plato*; and *Censorinus* tells us, It was held by *Empedocles*; *Laertius* tells us, It was held by *Zeno Eleates*.²²

It is a notable Passage, which *Tacitus* relates, of the *Germans*; *Celebrant Carminibus Antiquis*, (*quod unum apud illos Memoriae et Annalium genus est*) *Tui{s} tonem Deum, Terrâ Editum et Filium Mannum, originem gentis conditoresque. Tuit*, or *Thuit*, is the same with *Θεος*; *Mannus*, or *Man* (which is German, for *Vir*) is *Adam*, the *first Man*; who was the *Son of God*: And the reason is here given; Because hee was made by Him, out of the *Earth*: Hence, the ET here, seemes Transposed; it should be placed before, *Terrâ Editum*.²³

The *Greek Poets*, *Orpheus*, *Hesiod*, *Homer*, testify this Thing. From these, the *Latines* borrowed it. *Juvenal* thus describes the Original of the First People;

Compositique luto nullos habuere parentes.

But *Ovid* conforms to *Moses* exactly.

*Sanctius his Animâ, mentisque capacius altæ,
De erat adhuc, et quod dominari in cætera posset;
Natus Homo est.*²⁴

21 This and the subsequent paragraphs [111r–114v] are again extracted from John Edwards, *Discourse* (1:95 ff). The Greek “*Autochthones*” suggests “indigenous,” “native,” and “sprung from the land” and is used in this signification by Herodotus, Thucydides, and others. Aristophanes (*Equites* 1331; *Knights* 1:397) has his sausage seller poke fun at the Athenians who are given the epithet *Tettigophori* because they wear a golden grasshopper (or rather a cicada) on their clothing. For their mythic origin, see Clemens Alexandrinus (*Protrepticus* 1.1; *Exhortation to the Heathen*, ch. 1), in *ANF* (2:171).

22 Edwards, *Discourse* (1:96). Plato relates in *Critias* (109c–d) how Hephaestus and his sister Athena fashioned “good men” from the land they had received as their portion from their father Zeus. In his *De Die Natali Liber Ad Q. Caerelium* (4.7–8), the Roman grammarian Censorinus (3rd c. CE) alludes to the story of Deucalion and Pyrrha in the debate between Anaximander Milesius, Empedocles, and Lucretius, and affirms man’s origin from the dust of the earth. Empedocles’s *Fragmenta* (Fragm. B 21.3–12) says much the same about man’s origin, in an extant fragment in Simplicius’s commentary *In Aristotelis physicorum* (33.18ff, 159.13ff). Diogenes Laertius (*De Vitae philosophorum* 9.29) relates that the Greek philosopher Zeno of Elea (early 5th c. BCE) believed everything in nature arose from a mixture of warm and cold, dry and moist elements; mankind arose from earth, their soul being a balanced mixture of these elements, without one element attaining superiority over the other.

23 The Latin passage from the Roman historian Cornelius Tacitus (c. 56–c. 117 CE) appears in *De origine et situ Germanorum* (2.2) and reads “their ancient hymns – the only style of record or history which they possess – celebrate a god Tuisto, a scion of the soil, and his son Mannus as the beginning and founder of their race.” Mather argues that the Latin coordinating conjunction “ET” (“and”) should be placed before “offspring of the earth.”

24 Edwards, *Discourse* (1:96, 97). The mythical Orpheus (*Orphica: Hymn* 83.1–2), the ancient Hesiod (*Theogonia* 116–23, 561–612; *Opera et Dies* 60–82), and Homer (*Iliad* 14.193ff) – all attribute the origin of man to the earth or its agents. The Roman poet and satirist Decimus Junius Juvenalis (c. 60–c. 140 CE) relates that the first people were “shaped from mud and had no

De erat adhuc] answers to Gen. 2.5. *There was not a Man. Quod Dominari in caetera posset*] answers to Gen. 1.26, 27. Man was *made to have Dominion over the Fish, the Fowl, & every Living Thing*. It is here also acknowledged, That Man was made last of all. *Sanctius Animal*,] excellently expresses, that Man was made for Religion; Σωον το θεοσεβεστατον, as *Plato* calls him. Or, because hee was made after Gods Likeness, – which followes,

Finxit in effigiem moderantium cuncta Deorum.

Finxit] is the proper Version, of the Hebrew *Jitzer*, in Gen. 2.7. *The Lord God Formed Man. Deorum*] answers to *Elohim*; so, *Lett US make Man. In effigiem Deorum*] is the same with, *In the Image of Elohim*. Behold, another Truth, taken by the *Pagan*, from the *Sacred*, Writings.²⁵

Ovid ascribes the Formation of *Man*, to *Prometheus*; which is the Name of, *The Wise God*: προμηθευς, is *Providens*, *Sapiens*, *Sagax*. This *Prometheus* formed *Men of Clay*. How well agrees this, with the Inspired Writer! Hence, both *Tertullian* and *Lactantius*, think, that the *Poets* had their Notion of it, from our Inspired Oracles. And when *Ovid* adds, *That hee took Fire from Heaven, to animate this Clay*: What is it, but, *The Breath of Life*, mentioned in the Second Chapter of *Genesis*?²⁶

That Manner of Expression, in Gen. 7.22. *The Breath of the Spirit of Life*; afforded unto the Gentile Sages, a Notion of the Souls being; *Divinae particula Auræ*; [Hence, πνευμα ἢ πνειν: *Spiritus*, ἢ *Spirando*; *Animus*, ab {*Anima*}, Ἀνεμος, *Ventus*.] And that the *Rational Soul* is a *Part of God*; Or, an Emanation from Him: which *Plato* meant, when hee said, *The Soul* was Θειας κοινωνος φύσεως. The *Stoicks* more peculiarly, called the *Soul*, a *Part*, a *Piece*, an *Effluviū* of the

parents" (*Satura* 6.13); see also Virgil's *Aeneid* (8.314–15). Ovid's passage from *Metamorphoses* (1.76–78) signifies "A living creature of finer stuff than these, more capable of lofty thought / one who could have dominion over all the rest, was lacking. / Then man was born."

25 Edwards, *Discourse* (1693) 1:98. "De erat adhuc" means "There was still." "Quod Dominari in caetera posset" translates "who moreover could dominate." "Sanctius Animal" signifies "finer being." Plato (*Timaeus* 42a, 1) insists that man was made "the most god-fearing of living beings." And Ovid's "Finxit in effigiem moderantium cuncta deorum" (*Metamorphoses* 1.83) can be rendered "molded into the form of the all-controlling gods"; "Finxit" suggests "he formed" and agrees with the Hebrew "Jitzer" יָצַר "formed" [Strong's # 3336]. "Deorum" signifies "of the gods." The Hebrew "Elohim" denotes "gods" (plural).

26 Edwards, *Discourse* (1:98, 99). Ovid – though never mentioning Prometheus (Apollo) by name – relates how "the Creator" forms man, and how Deucalion and Pyrrha replenish the earth after the flood by throwing the bones (stones) of Mother Earth over their shoulders (*Metamorphoses* 1.76–88, 390–437). Mather's Greek "Prometheus" and Latin "Providens" ("seeing ahead," "providing"), "Sapiens" ("wise"), and "Sagax" ("sharp witted," "clever") – all reflect his interest in rereading the classical myths of Greece and Rome as corrupted offshoots of the Mosaic narrative. Mather's interpretation is not exceptional, for he follows the ancient tradition of the Church Fathers. Tertullian (*De Carne Christi* 1, 6), in *ANF* (3:521, 526–27) and Lactantius, in *Divinarum institutionum* (2.11) [PL 6. 313B], in *ANF* (7:58–60), used much of the same approach. How clay was animated by a mixture of fire, water, and earth is described in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1.421–37).

Godhead. Ar{r}ianus agrees hereto; telling us, *That our Souls are Particles of God, pluck't from Him.* So *Seneca*, in his, *Dei Pars*: So, *Cicero*, in his, *A Naturâ Divinâ haustos Animos, et Delibatos*, Yea, they carried it so far, that some Inferiour Animals, had *Souls* (because like unto *Mans*) *thus Parts of the Divinity.*

Esse Apibus partem divinæ mentis, you'll find in *Virgil*. Briefly, They carried on the *Mosaic* Account, of this Matter, unto Extravagancies.²⁷

Eve's being made out of *Adam*, is intimated by what *Plato* saies, That the First Man was Ἀνδρογυνης, a Mixture of both *Sexes*. T'was from a Jewish Tradition, That the first Man was an *Hermaphrodite*; that a Male & a Female Body, were joined in him, which the Creator afterward splitt into *Two*.

These were Mistakes, arising from the Misunderstanding of those two Scriptures, [Gen. 5.2.] *God called Their Name, Adam*: and [Gen. 2.21.] *God took one of the Mans Ribs, and out of it made Hee a Woman.*

Adams Dominion over the *Beasts*, accompanied with his *Calling* and *Naming* of them, was the Foundation, of what the Poets Talk about, *Orpheus* his Drawing & his Taming of them: if that Story did not rather come from *Noahs* Fetching of them into the Ark.²⁸

²⁷ Edwards, *Discourse* (1:99, 100, 101). The ancient sages believed the soul to be of a "divine, golden particle." Hence "pneuma a pnein" ("the breath from breathing," "living breath"); "spiritus à spirando" ("breath or spirit from breathing"); "Animus ab {Anima}" ("soul from breath"); Greek "Anemos" and Latin "Ventus" both denote "wind" and "spirit." Mather accidentally omitted copying the word {Anima} from his source in Edwards (1:99). The statement of the soul's being "theias koinonos physeos" ("partaking in divine nature") does not appear in Plato, but in *De trinitate* (2.8.1) [PG 39. 690, line 1], by the Alexandrian theologian Didymus Caecus (c. 313–98), "the Blind." Lucius Flavius Arrianus of Nicomedia (c. 86–c. 160 CE) was a distinguished writer, historian, and philosopher, who affirms this transcendental belief, in Epictetus Hierapolitanus (*Dissertationes ab Arriano digestae* 1.14.6). Seneca, commenting on Virgil's belief (*Aeneid* 5.363) that virtue is akin to godliness, raises the rhetorical question, "And why should [man] not believe that something of divinity exists in one who is [dei pars] a part of God?" (*Epistulae morales* 92.30). The Roman orator and statesman Marcus Tullius Cicero (*De divinatione* 1.110) argues that "our souls have been drawn and poured from divine nature." (Mather's citation from Cicero is abridged). And the last word on the divinity of nature and all its creatures is given by Virgil (*Georgics* 4.220), who argues that even "bees have a share of the divine Mind."

²⁸ Edwards, *Discourse* (1:101, 102). According to R. Jeremiah ben Leazar, God created Adam an "hermaphrodite," and R. Samuel ben Nahman explains that God created Adam "double-faced," then "split him and made him of two backs" (Midrash Rabbah: Gen. VIII: 1). To this argument R. Levi adds that man was created "with two body-fronts" and God "sawed him in two, so that two backs resulted" – one for each of the male and female (Midrash Rabbah: Lev. XVI:1). Plato (*Symposium* 189e–192c) relates how the gods divided the first human being, an "Androgynos" with male and female genitalia, into two separate beings – each yearning for the other half. The popular story of Orpheus's spell-binding wild animals, the gods, and the shades of the Underworld appears in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (10.1–52; 11.1–5) and was a popular motif in classical literature and art. The myth of Orpheus's taming wild animals and its association with Noah's calling of the animals into the ark (Gen. 7:5–9) is explored in Robert Eisler's

| However, *Plato*, in his *Cratylus*, denies the *Grecian* Language, to have been the original one; but hee saies, Εἰσι δὲ ἡμῶν ἀρχαιότεροι Βαρβάροι, The *Barbarians* (by which hee means the *Jewes*,) were elder than they; and that the Interpretation of *Names* was to bee fetch'd from them; which argues, his Knowledge of *Adams* giving significant *Names* unto the Creatures.²⁹ [112v]

The *Innocent State of Man* at the first, is admirably described by *Hesiod*; and *Plato* further illustrates it, in Telling us, how 'twas when the Θεὰ φύσις prevailed. Elsewhere, hee tells us, how *Then* Man gott his Living without Labour, and Nakedness was his Ornament. [According to Gen. 2.25.] *Diodorus Siculus*, reports from the old Writings of the *Egyptians*, that the first Men and Women went, *Naked*.³⁰

The Happiness of *Paradise* is described, by *Homer*, in his *Odysses*; and by *Virgil*, in his *Georgics* and his *Eneids*; and by *Ovid*, in the *Golden Age*, of his *Metamorphosis*.³¹

classic *Orpheus – The Fisher* (1921), esp. pp. 17–18 and 184–91. See also D. P. Walker's *Ancient Theology* (23–27).

29 Edwards, *Discourse* (1:103). Socrates, according to Plato (*Cratylus* 425e, 3), raises the question whether the Greeks got their letters “from foreigners [barbarians], who are more ancient than we are.” However, Socrates reminds his interlocutor Hermogenes that historians and poets really have no idea how names and languages originate and that they therefore attribute them to the gods or some other people. Mather and his peers are still trying to uphold the pious belief that Hebrew was spoken by Adam and passed down to Moses. Hence all languages – including those arising from the confusion of tongues at Babel (Gen. 11:7–8) – derive from ancient Hebrew. Seventeenth-century philological research and comparative linguistics began to cast doubt on this theological mainstay, and Mather's “BA” bears witness to the philological battle of his time. For instance, building on Isaac Vossius's *Dissertatio de vera aetate mundi* (1659) and on Martin Martinius's *Sinicae historiae* (1658), John Webb, Esq. (1611–72) point-blank argued in his *Historical Essay* (1669) and *Antiquity of China* (1678), that since the chronology of the LXX is longer by more than 1,400 years than that of the Hebrew and Vulgate versions, Noah (who moved to China after the Flood) must have spoken the oldest language of mankind: Chinese (!). See R. Ramsey, “China.” Lest that claim surprise us, the Flemish scholar Joannes Goropius Becanus demonstrated that Dutch (“Diets”) was the language of Paradise (*Origines Antwerpianae* 539). Not to be outdone, his Swedish colleague Andreas Kempe (1622–89) pleaded for Swedish as the language God spoke in Paradise; Adam spoke Danish, and the wily serpent French (!), in *Schwedische Standarte* (1683). For the history of this debate see A. D. White (*History* 2:168–208), D. C. Allen (“Some Theories”), P. Rossi (*Dark Abyss* 137–52), C. C. Elert (“Andreas Kempe”), and M. Olender (*Languages of Paradise* 1–3). For Mark Twain's humorous reflection on the state of the debate in the 19th century, see “Eve's Diary” and “The Autobiography of Eve,” in *The Bible according to Mark Twain* (1995) 23, 46.

30 Edwards, *Discourse* (1:103, 104). Hesiod (*Opera et Dies* 111–22) tells us what mankind was like during the Golden Age, and Plato (*Politicus* 271d–272b) discusses the belief in the original perfection of “Divine Nature” and man's happiness in the First Age. In his *Protagoras* (321c–322d), Plato describes the primitive state of man, when Prometheus stole the arts from the gods and bestowed them on man. Finally, Diodorus Siculus (1.8.5–6) pities the nakedness of the first men and women, their lack of housing, fire, and “cultivated food.”

31 Edwards, in *Discourse* (1:104–05), variously alludes to the pleasures of the Elysian fields

The *Elysian Fields*, (or, Gardens) of the Pagans, point at the *Paradisaic* Fælicitie; *Plato*, and *Virgil*, describe them. And these, are the same, with the *Fortunate Islands*, where, as the *Greeks* have said, none Inhabit, but the Vertuous. Or, if *Paradise* must bee more expressly parallel'd with a *Garden*, you have that of *Alcinous* in *Homer*; which the famous *Justin Martyr*, in his Oration against the Gentiles, affirms to have been taken from the Description of *Paradise*. Or, there was the *Garden of Adonis*, which carries *Eden* in the very Denomination of it; or, the *Garden of Jupiter*, celebrated in the *Symposiacks* of *Plato*, which *Origen* thinks, to refer enigmatically hereunto.³²

What were the *Orchards* of the *Hesperides*, in which the Trees bore Golden Apples? Tis very sure, that near the fountain of the River *Tigris*, the Seat of *Paradise*, wee read of a Place, which bears the Name of *Hesperetitis*, and *Hisperitis*.³³

The *Tree of Life*, in *Paradise*, gave Rise to the poetical *Nectar* and *Ambrosia*, the Repast of the earthly Gods. The *Nectar* made the *Drinkers*, ever *Youthful*, [q. νεοκταρ, το νεους ποιουν τους πινοντας] and would not suffer them to *Dye*; [Νεκταρ à νή ετ κτείνειν.] And the *Ambrosia* had the same Vertue. But these were the very Blessings of the *Tree of Life*!

described in *Homer's Odyssey* (7.112–32), in *Virgil's Georgics* (1.38 ff) and *Aeneid* (5.735, 6.637 ff, 6.743 ff), and in *Ovid's Metamorphoses* (1.89–112).

32 Again, *Plato* describes these gardens of unearthly delight, in *Critias* (109a–d, 113c–114a); *Hesiod*, in *Opera et Dies* (116–20); *Pindar*, in his *Olympian Odes* (2.68–78); *Virgil*, in *Aeneid* (5.733–35, 6.743–51); and *Homer* describes the garden of *Alcinous*, king of the *Phaiakians*, in his *Odyssey* (7.112–32), to which pleasure ground the Apostolic Father *Justin Martyr* refers by way of quotation, in his *Hortatory Address to the Greeks* (ch. 28), in *ANF* (1:284–85). For the garden and the rites of handsome *Adonis*, see *Ovid's Metamorphoses* (1.90–112, 10.519–59). And the parallel between what happened in *Plato's* garden of *Jupiter-Zeus* (*Symposium* 203b–c) and in that of *Adam and Eve* is drawn in *Origen's Contra Celsum* (4.39), in *ANF* (4:515). See also *Mather's Threefold Paradise* (106, 108). Whether the Mosaic paradise was to be understood as a literal place on earth, as an allegory, or both is discussed in *J. Delumeau's History of Paradise* (3–21).

33 *Edwards, Discourse* (1:105). *Edwards* here draws on *Edward Wells, An Historical Geography of the Old Testament* (1711–12), vol. 1, bk. 1, ch. 1, pp. 1–53; on *Bochart's Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 28, col. 142–43); and on *Pierre-Daniel Huet's Treatise of the Situation of Paradise* (1694), chs. 15–17, pp. 137–53. See also *Marmaduke Carver's Discourse of the Terrestrial Paradise* (1666). *Venus* tells *Adonis* the story of the golden apples, which grow on a golden tree in the field of *Tamasus* (Cyprus), and which *Hippomenes* drops on the road to halt the race of fleet footed *Atalanta* (*Ovid, Metamorphoses* 10.638–80). The Garden of the *Hesperides* is variously placed in the *Atlas* mountains near the Straits of *Gibraltar*, on the River *Oceanus* in *Hyperborea*, on the coast of *Cyrenaica* (Libya), or on the coast of the *Red Sea*, near *Berenice*. *Huet* (*Treatise* 1), *Bochart* (*Geographia Sacra*, “Dissertatio,” 9–28), and *Gerhard Mercator* (*Historia Mundi*) place *Eden* near the confluence of the *Tigris* River and the *Persian Gulf* – not at the fountain of the *Tigris* in *Armenia* major or the mythical *Hesperides* (see also *Mather's Threefold Paradise* 102, 109). The 17th-c. debate about the location of the prelapsarian *Paradise* is covered in *J. Delumeau's History of Paradise* (155–74).

Thus the Writings of the Heathen do confirm the Scriptures of the Church.³⁴

4206.

Q. The Marriage of *Adam* and *Eve*, leads us, to consider the Mystical Marriage, between the Lord and His People? v. 25.

A. The Apostle *Paul* instructs a *Man* to honour his *Wife*, because of that *Mystery*.

But there is a surprising Passage of *Munster*, which I judge worthy to be Recited on this *Occasion*.

*Sicut Semen Virile, à cerebro capitis descendit, per venulas quæ sese ramificant per Dorsum Hominis; et hinc in Hebraismo, concubitus ipse cognitio vocatur, quia Semen à loco cognitionis propagatur; ita DEUS est caput nostrum; à quo si in nos fluat Semen Gratia, nascimur Filij ejus. Hanc comparisonem apud Rabi Menahem invenies. Cujus Mysterij et Divus Paulus meminit, cum Christum caput ponit, et Homines membra.*³⁵

|

[113r]

613.

Q. That the Pagans did under other Names, mention in their Stories, many of the Persons mentioned in the Scriptures, is very likely; but is it not as likely, that the *Gods* worshipped by the Pagans, were but some of the *Hero's* in the Bible, disguised under other Denominations? v. 25.

A. Yes. The Book of *Genesis*, as *Edwards* truly observes, afforded unto the *Pagan World*, the greatest Part of their Ancient Gods and Goddesses.

Adam [or, *Noah*, with whom the Pagans ignorantly confounded him] seems to have been the *Saturn*, descended, as the Poets tell us, of his Father *Cælus*, and his Mother *Tellus*: under him, was the *Golden Age*, but hee was

³⁴ Edwards, *Discourse* (1:105–06). Mather's Greek passage – again without diacritical marks – describes the virtues of the elixir of the Hellenic gods, as defined in *Suda*, *Lexicon* (alphabetic letter *nu* entry 144, lines 1–2). Mather's first Greek citation reads, "Nectar, making those who drink from it younger"; the second citation, which reads in Edwards's footnote Α νή & κτείνεν is by Mather embellished and intended to signify, "Nectar, not allowing them to die" (*Discourse* 1:106).

³⁵ St. Paul's instructions appear in 1 Cor. 7: 1–40. Mather's lengthy citation from Münster's *Hebraica Biblia Latina planeq* (1:7, annot. *k*, on Gen. 3) points out that "the male seed descends from the brain and moves through the veins, which branch out across the human back; that is why they call coitus *cognition* in Hebrew, since the seed moves forth from the location of cognition. In the same way, God is head. From there, we are born as his sons, if the seed of grace flows within ourselves. You will find this comparison in Rabbi Menachem. The divine Paul reminds us of this mystery, too, when [he says that] the head gives birth to Christ, and the limbs give birth to man." No doubt, the ancient Greeks would have found little to object here, since according to an ancient myth (Pindar, *Olympian Odes* 7.35–38; Hesiod, *Theogonia* 924), Athena sprang from Zeus's head. Not to be outdone, John Milton (*Paradise Lost* 2.754–61) has Sin, fully grown, spring from Satan's head.

afterwards expelled from his Kingdome, & became the Author of *Agriculture*. This is *Adam* all over. Moreover, *Adam*, with whom was the Beginning of *Time*, is very fitly called *Xpovos*, or *Kpovos*, i.e. *Time*, which was the Name of *Saturn*. As for the Name of *Saturn*, it might bee given to *Adam*, from *Satar*, i.e. *Latere*; for hee *hid himself*. [Gen. 3.10.] *Saturnus* is therefore, as *Vossius* tells us, the same with *Latius*; and the Place which was once called *Saturnia*, was afterwards call'd, *Latium*, as *Virgil* testifies.³⁶

It is to bee wondered at, that so few of the Mythologists, do assign any Goddess-ship unto *Eve*, among the Pagan Divinities; nay, that *Vossius*, who thus advances *Naamah*, the obscure Wife of *Lamech*, should leave out our Mother *Eve*, the Empress of the World. Whereas, Doubtless, *Minerva*, the Goddess of Wisdome, was the very *Shee*, *Spinning*, and *Weaving*, and *Oyl* (that is, as wee may suppose, for the Ordering of the *Wool*) were the Three Staple Inventions of that Goddess; And *Eve*, who was endued by God, with singular Perfections, what Art better can bee ascribed unto her, than that of *Clothing*, which the Ancients called, *εργον Αθηναιης*, the very *Business of Minerva*. When the Poets also tell us, that *Minerva* (or, *Meminerva*, as *Arnobius*, & others Interpret it, for her *good Memory*;) was born, of *Jupiters* brain, without a Mother, they seem to refer unto the Sacred History, of *Eves* Original.³⁷

Cain, the eldest Son of *Adam*, seems to have been the oldest *Jupiter*; the Son of *Saturn*, to whom they ascribe, the first founding of Cities: and was

³⁶ Edwards, *Discourse* (1:204–05), here mostly relies on *De Theologia Gentili* (1641), by Gerard Joannes Vossius (1577–1649), a Dutch-German theologian, whose works are classic contributions to humanist learning. The passage is extracted from *De Theologia Gentili* (lib. 1, cap. 18, pp. 138–39) and associates the heroes of the OT patriarchy with the deities of Greece and Rome. For the theogony of Saturn as Adam, Abraham, and Noah, see Theophilus Gale's *Court* (1672), part 1, bk. 2, ch. 1, pp. 4–10, §§ 3–6. The Roman Saturn, son of Coelus and Tellus (Heaven and Earth Spirit), is the Latin equivalent to the Greek “Xronos” or “Kronos,” son of Uranus and Gaia (Heaven and Earth), and father of the Olympian gods. As ruler during the Golden Age (Hesiod, *Opera et Dies* 111 ff), Kronos is also associated with the passage of time (horology, chronology). Saturn's name is probably derived from *satus* (“sowing” or “planting of seed-corns”). *Satar* and *latere* suggest “hidden” and “unknown.” Vossius argues that Saturn is associated with Latius, the ancient territory of the Latini on the Tiber and Anio rivers in Western Italy, since Virgil tells the story of how Saturn fleeing from Olymp found refuge in Latium, where he gave his laws to the people of the Golden Age (*Aeneid* 8.319–29).

³⁷ Edwards, *Discourse* (1:205). Vossius links Lamech's wife Naamah (Gen. 4:22) with Minerva (Athena), Italian goddess of handicrafts (OCD) rather than with Eve (*De Theologia Gentili*, lib. 1, cap. 17, pp. 129–30). Among the ancients who called the domestic crafts of weaving, spinning, and carding “the work of Athena” (*ergon Athenaies*) are Homer (*Odyssey* 16.207), Callimachus (*In Dianam* 245), and Apollonius of Rhodius (*Argonautica* 1.551) – the latter describing Athena's craftiness in helping Jason. Minerva (Athena) is by the Roman rhetorician Arnobius (*Adversus nationes* 3.31), in *ANF* (6:472), praised for her power of memory and wisdom, and sprang from the head of her father Jupiter (Zeus) as we are told by Hesiod (*Theogonia* 924) and others. Her Platonic conception is therefore equated with that of Eve, who was made from Adam's rib.

therefore called Πολιευς, and Ερκειος, that is, a *Founder*, and a *Strengthner*, of *Cities*; and of whom, they also say, That hee married his own Sister, *Vesta*, the Daughter of *Saturn*, & the Goddess of (that which best fitted him) *Architecture*: and that hee Transmitted all unto the World, which in other Terms, is, *Cain* the *Vagabond*.³⁸

What was the old *Vulcan*, the Smith of the Gods, but only *Tubal-Cain*, by a common Aphæresis, and Permutation of Letters?

As for *Noah*, *Hee*, as well as *Adam*, was called *Saturn*; and indeed, the Persians call *Noah*, the Second *Adam*.³⁹

Saturn was the Husband of *Rhea*; i.e. of the *Earth*. And *Noah* wee find called, *Ish Haadamah*, [Gen. 9.20.] *Vir Terræ*; which the Pagans might Interpret, *The Husband of the Earth*. Or if here by bee meant, that hee was an Humble Man, & led a mean Life, then the *Saturnian Reign*, agrees with it, most Incomparably. Or, if you take it for, *An Husbandman*, still *Saturn* was employ'd about the *Earth*, and the Fruits of it. *Saturn* devoured his Children; which *Bochart* applies to that of *Noah*, [Heb. 11.7.] Hee *condemned the World*, to perish in the Flood. Or, it may bee apply'd unto this, that hee shutt up his Children in the *Ark*, among the Beasts, as if hee intended them to bee devoured. *Saturn* vomited up his Children again; as *Noah* restored his Children to the Earth, after they had been shutt up in the *Ark*. *Saturn* was driven out of his Kingdome, & this by his

38 Edwards, *Discourse* (1:208). Edwards equates Adam's son Cain with Jupiter (Zeus), son of Saturn (Uranus), the founder of cities, and spouse to his sister Vesta, because Edwards believes the Greek myth originated in the story of Cain, who moved to the Land of Nod, East of Eden, where he married his sister, became father of Enoch, and built a city (Gen. 4:16–22). Cain thus became the ancestor of Tubalcain, “instructor of every artificer in brass and iron” (Gen. 4:22). Remote parallels such as these lead Edwards and his euhemerist peers to develop early forms of comparative religion. However, since the Mosaic history was still believed to be the most reliable account of the origin of man, theologians constructed elaborate euhemerist studies to prove that the Pagan deities are derived from the primordial heroes of the Pentateuch. For alternative readings, see Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *De Religione Gentilium* (1663), esp. chs. 12–14. See also Dio Chrysostom (*Orationes* 1.39.1–2; 12.75.2–3), Plato (*Euthydemus* 302d, 2), and Suda (*Lexicon*, alphabetic letter *epsilon*, entry 3015, lines 1, 3).

39 Edwards, *Discourse* (1:208, 211). For the mythological derivation of Vulcan from Tubalcain, see Vossius's *De Theologia Gentili* (1641), pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 16, pp. 123–24; and Theophilus Gale's *Court* (1672), part 1, bk. 2, ch. 6, pp. 66–67. The Roman Vulcan or Volcanus (Hephaistos), god of destructive fire and the art of smithery, is here paralleled with Tubalcain (Gen. 4:22) to whom the biblical author attributes the invention of the same art (Gen. 4:22). Edwards argues that through the loss of sounds or letters (apheresis) of Tubalcain's name, the Latin name “Vulcan” came about. Because of the similarity of sound, modern classical scholars associate the name “Vulcan” with the Cretan “Felcanos,” a deity though with dissimilar functions (*OED*). According to Bochart, the ancient Persians associated both Adam and Noah (the Utnapishtim of the *Gilgamesh Epic*) with Saturn (*Geographia Sacra*, pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 1, col. 1–2). See also Vossius's *De Theologia Gentili* (1641), pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 18–19, pp. 136–49; and Theophilus Gale's *Court* (1672), part 1, bk. 2, ch. 1, pp. 6–7, 9–10, §§ 4, 6.

own Son, and this after hee had first cutt off his Fathers Genitals: which refers to *Cham*, the Son of *Noah*; who [Gen. 9.22.] *saw his Fathers Nakedness*, *וַיֵּרֶא* *Hee Told*, with Derision, *to his Brethren*. Tis possible, that the Word *וַיֵּרֶא* *Hee Told*, was by the Pagans read *וַיִּגְרַע* *Hee Told*. And that *Jupiter Hammon*, this unhappy Son of *Saturn*, was the same with *Ham*, the Son of *Noah*, may bee gathered from the Place, where *Ham* & his Posteritie were seated; which was in *Africa*. Here, in the Desarts of *Lybia*, was the famous Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon*; so called from the wicked Son of *Noah*, who, in this Place vented his *Blasphemies*, by some accounted *Oracles*, and thereby Debauched that Age exceedingly. And the Incomparable *Bochart* thinks, that as *Hammon*, was the same with *Ham*, the Son of *Noah*, whence *Egypt* is called, *The Land of Ham*; so, this African *Hammon* is mentioned, in those Texts, [Ezek. 30.15.] *I will cutt off the Multitude of No*, or, according to the Hebrew, *Hamon of No*; And [Jer. 46.25.] *Amon of No*; And [Nah. 3.8.] *No of Amon*.⁴⁰

Moreover, of *Saturn* they say, That hee had *Three Sons*, *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Pluto*; and that hee divided the World among them. This evidently refers to the *Three Sons of Noah*. [Gen. 9.19. and 10.32.] The Hot Countrey of *Africa*, was *Chams* Division; who might have his Name given him, from a Foresight of the *Torrid Zone*, where hee & his Race, were to inhabit; for *Cham* signifies {*Heat* and *Chum* signals *Black*. Therefore, *Cham's* name [implies] not only to become *Hot*, but also to become *Black*}. As for | the *Isles*, and the *Peninsulae*, they mostly fell to *Japhet*; who might therefore bee accounted *Neptune*.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Edwards, *Discourse* (1:211–13), extracts most of his information from Bochart (*Geographia*, pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 1, col. 1–5). And the story of Saturn (Uranus), devouring his offspring, vomiting them up again, and being castrated and banished by his son Kronos (Jupiter), appears in a variety of sources, the oldest of which is Hesiod (*Theogonia* 154–206). See also Bochart (*Geographia*, pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 1, col. 3–8). Kronos's castration of his father, Bochart feels, was inspired by the story of Ham's derision of Noah's nakedness. R. Rab and R. Samuel argue that Ham sexually molested or castrated his inebriated father (Soncino Talmudic tractate Sanhedrin 70a; and Midrash Rabbah, Gen. XXXVI.4–7). Jupiter Hammon (Ammon), evidently the Egyptian (Amana or Amun) who was revered in Thebes and later among the Greeks as Zeus-Ammon, is similarly cursed by his father Uranus for cutting off his genitals (Hesiod, *Theogonia* 207–10). Because of these semblances, Bochart and his disciples deem the biblical story of Noah's curse of Ham-Canaan (Gen. 9:22–27) as the original source for the ancient Greek myth. See also Theophilus Gale's *Court* (1672), part I, bk. 2, ch. 1, pp. 11–13, §§ 7–9. Since Ham was believed to be the progenitor of Black Africans, Christian tradition laboriously defended the enslavement of Africans on the basis of Noah's curse (see S. R. Haynes, *Noah's Curse* 3–40; and D. M. Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham* 141–82).

⁴¹ Edwards, *Discourse* (1:214). Interpolated from a different source than Edwards, Mather's lost passage at the bottom of [113r] is restored from Bochart: "Hebraeis *חם* *Cham* calidum, & *חם* *Chum* nigrum sonat. Itaque Chami nomen vel à calore vel à nigredine factum" (*Geographia*, pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 1, col. 203). Japheth's allotment is discussed in Bochart's *Geographia* (Pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 1, col. 9).

Tis also conceived, that *Noah* was *Bacchus*, who first planted Vines; The easy Change of One Letter, / into ʒ/ makes their Names, the very same. And from *Noahs* Experiment of the Grape-Juice, arose the Poets Tippling Deitie; who was

– *Genialis consitor uva.*

But for *Janus*, you'll find him to bee *Noah* all over; whereof you shall have a fuller Account, when wee have gott Nine or Ten Chapters further, in our *Illustrations*.⁴²

Again, What was the Egyptian *Apis*, or, *Serapis*, but *Joseph*, the celebrated Ruler of *Egypt*? An *Ox*, was erected unto his Memory; not only because hee obtained his Reputation, by Interpreting the Kings Dream, about Fat and Lean *Kine*, whereby that Sort of Creature, became Reverenced, as *Hieroglyphical*; but also, because that Animal is eminently used, in the Producing of *Corn*, whereby *Famine* is prevented.

Some think, the Holy Spirit refers to this, in Gen. 49.6. which Text, speaking of the Design in *Josephs* Brethren to kill him, calls him, *An Ox*, (or, *Bull*;) according to the LXX; and so according to the Hebrew, if you read it, *Shor*, and not, *Shur*. And *Joseph* is by *Moses*, in Deut. 33.17. compared unto an *Ox*, or, *Bullock*. Now *Shor*, signifies a *Prince* also, as well as an *Ox*, and *Captains* are, both by Sacred and Profane Writers called so; that Creature being of such Significancy among other Cattel. But *Joseph* was thus Resembled, for the Reason that was afterwards given by *Solomon*, [in Prov. 14.4.], *Much Increase* [Hebr. of Corn and Grain] *is by the Strength of the Oxe*. And with Allusion unto this Matter, it was said, in Jer. 46.20. *Egypt is like a fair Heifer*.⁴³

⁴² Edwards, *Discourse* (1:209, 210–11). Noah's drunkenness is here taken as the biblical original for the Greek Bacchus, god of wine and revelry. The philological speculation that the Hebrew letter "nun" might have been misread as "beth" because of their similar shape is here taken as further proof. Gerard Vossius, however, takes exception to this simplistic interpretation (*De Theologia Gentili*, lib. 1, cap. 19, pp. 144–49). The Latin passage from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (4.14) signifies "planter of the joy-giving vine." The Roman Janus, god of the doorways whose double-faced head looks into both directions, was linked with the beginnings and ends of campaigns (*OED*). Since Noah, too, figuratively looks both backward and forward to the period before and after the Flood, Edwards and Mather identify him as the biblical original for the Roman Janus.

⁴³ Edwards, *Discourse* (1:214–15). The Greco-Egyptian Osiris-Apis or Serapis is the deified representation of the Apis bull of Memphis (*Plutarch's Moralia* 3:70–73. *De Iside et Osiride* 29.362c–d). Revered as lord of the Underworld, Osirapis (Pluto) delivered his oracles and cures through dreams (Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protrepticus* 4.48). The association of Joseph as "Zaphnath-paaneah," meaning "the revealer of secrets" (Gen. 41:45); i.e., the interpreter of Pharaoh's dream of the seven fat and lean cows (Gen. 41:1–45), is here taken to be the biblical original for the Serapis cult. Because of this providential revelation, Joseph is supposed to have been revered among the Egyptians as the sacred Apis bull – if Gerard Vossius (*De Theologia Gentili*, lib. 1, cap. 29, pp. 213–20), Theophilus Gale (*Court* [1672], part 1, bk. 2, ch. 7, pp. 92–95), and their disciples can still be relied upon. Pierre Jurieu, however, begs to differ;

The Egyptian *Serapis*, was a true Hieroglyphic of *Joseph*; especially, when you consider, that *Ruffinus* tells us, a *Bushel* was placed on its Head; signifying, that *Joseph* was the Giver of *Corn*, and measured it with exact Proportions in his giving of it. Yea, tis probable, that *Serapis*, was originally *Sorapis*; a Compound of *Sor*, an Ox; and *Apis*, an Egyptian Word, perhaps of the same Importance.⁴⁴

And some have Imagined, That *Mercury*, was a Name given by the Pagans, unto this *Joseph*; hee being *Hermes*, an *Interpreter*. Hee was also called, *Zaphnath Paaneah*, an *Interpreter of Secrets*. Tho' my Judicious *Edwards* rather thinks, that *Jerom* ha's rendred the Words better; as hee saies, hee learnt from some that understood well the *Egyptian* Tongue; *Salvator Mundi*; referring them to *Josephs* Timely Saving that Part of the World from Death by the *Terrible Famine*.⁴⁵

That learned Frenchman, *Huet*, ha's thoroughly proved, that *Moses* was intended by *Mercury*. And *Vossius* ha's no less ingeniously proved, That *Liber* or *Bacchus*, was in many things, a disguised *Moses*. *Bacchus* was no sooner Born, but in a little *Ark* exposed unto the Waters. Hee was Βυβλάτωρ: [see Exod. 2.10.]

he traces the debate in his "Treatise of the Golden-Calf," but ultimately rejects as erroneous the figurative representation of the Patriarch Joseph as the Apis bull, in *A Critical History* (1705) 2:183–89. The LXX version (Gen. 49:6) has Joseph's father Jacob specifically mention a bull [ταῦρος] "tauros," as Jacob predicts the fate of his twelve sons. Significantly, the translators of the KJV rendered the applicable reference (Gen. 49:6) עֲקְרֵר שׁוֹר [shuwr iqqeru] "they hamstrung an ox" (Tanach and LXX) as "they digged down a wall" (KJV). Hence Edwards and Mather suggest that the KJV misread שׁוֹר [showr ~ shor], signifying "a bullock," as שׁוֹר [shuwr ~ shoor], signifying "a wall" [Strong's # 7794, 7791, 7792, 6131], an easy mistake if the Masoretic vowel points are disregarded. In this context, it is well worth remembering the seventeenth-century debate about the origin of the Hebrew vowel points. The controversy involved Louis Cappellus (1585–1658), professor of Hebrew and divinity at Saumur, and the two Johannes Buxtorfs (the Elder and the Younger). In his *Arcanum punctationis revelatur* (1624), Cappellus demonstrated that the vowel points were devised by the rabbis of Tiberias in the sixth century (CE), whereas Buxtorf maintained the diacritical marks dated back to the origin of the Hebrew language given to Adam and handed down to Moses. In his 1681 Harvard master's thesis "Puncta Hebraica sunt originis divinae," Mather adopted Buxtorf's position and argued for their divine inspiration and the contemporaneous occurrence of the vowel points; however, he later recanted and agreed with Cappellus. (See R. A. Muller's "vowel points," M. Olender's *Languages* 21–36, and S. Burnett's *Christian Hebraism*, ch. 7).

⁴⁴ Edwards, *Discourse* (1:216). The Roman monk and historian Rufinus Aquileiensis (c. 345–410) describes a statue of Serapis in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* (2.23) [PL 21. 532A–533B] and argues that King Apis fed the starving inhabitants of Alexandria from his own granaries. That is why – in the best tradition of Euhemerus – the Alexandrians deified this king and revered him in the shape of the sacred Apis bull, a bovine being universally useful to mankind. (See Pierre Jurieu's *Critical History* 2:183–87). For a helpful discussion of how the Fathers of the early and medieval Church wielded pagan euhemerism (the deification of ancient heroes) as a weapon against the belief in the ancient gods, see J. D. Cooke's "Euhemerism."

⁴⁵ Edwards, *Discourse* (1:217). The annotators of the KJV gloss Joseph's new title "Zaphnath-paaneah" as the Coptic signification of "the man to whom secrets are revealed" (Gen. 41:45). St. Jerome's Latin Vulgate translation renders Joseph's title "salvator mundi" or "savior of the world." For Moses's designation as Hermes, see Eusebius Pamphilus's *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.27).

And, Beautiful. [see Exod. 2.2.] As the Jewish Historian, *Joseph{us}*, saies of *Moses*, *Because hee was* Μορφή τε θειος, και φρονηματι γενναιος, *of a Divine Shape, & a generous Mind*, thus the Pagan Historian, *Justin*, saies of him, *Quem formæ pulchritudo commendabat*. Moreover, *Orpheus* calls *Bacchus*, Θεσμοφορον, which answers to *Moses's* being a *Legislator*; and hee attributes unto him, Διπλάκα θεσμον, because of the *Two Tables of the Law*. And *Bacchus* is called, by *Orpheus*, Ταυρομετωπος, and, Ταυροκερως, and Κερασφορος, and by *Euripides*, Ταυροκερος θεος; which might bee occasioned by a Mistake of those Words, Exod. 34.29. *Moses's Face shone*; which the Latin renders, *Cornuta erat facies sua*; mistaking the Hebrew *Karan*, whence κερας, *cornu*: and so, *Moses* is pictured with *Two Horns* unto this Day. Lastly, Tho' *Moses* did not, like *Bacchus*, find out *Wine*, yett hee led the People unto a Land flowing with *Wine*, as well as *Milk* and *Honey*; and by a mighty *Bunch of Grapes*, hee encouraged the fainthearted *Israelites*.⁴⁶

But Monsieur *Huet*, shewes, how *Moses* was also repræsented by *Apollo*, *Æsculapius*, *Pan*, *Priapus*, *Prometheus*, *Janus*, and by those Egyptian Deities, *Osiris*, *Apis*, *Serapis*, *Orus*, *Anubis*.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Edwards, *Discourse* (1:217–18) relies for his information on Vossius's *De Theologia Gentili* (lib. 1, cap. 19, 30). Mather quotes at second hand from the celebrated Pierre-Daniel Huet, who cites numerous ancient sources to assert that Moses is disguised in pagan histories with such names as the Egyptian Mercurius, Bacchus, Osiris, and various other ancient deities (*Demonstratio evangelica* [1690], Prop. IV, cap. 2, § 15, p. 58D; §§ 26–30, 36–38 pp. 60–61, 62–63; and esp. in cap. 4, pp. 73–88). This popular and often reprinted commentary incorporates Huet's many conversations with R. Manasseh ben Israel of Amsterdam, the teacher of Spinoza. Vossius's proof of Moses as the original for Zeus's son Bacchus (Dionysius), god of wine and revelry – mostly on the basis of some parallels in their legends – is derived from works by Orpheus, Josephus Flavius, Clemens Alexandria, and Diodorus Siculus, in Vossius (*De Theologia Gentili*, lib. 1, cap. 30, pp. 130–32). Bacchus is called “Bimator,” the meaning of which is unclear, but is by Mather associated with “ὑδατος” [udatos] “out of the water” (LXX, Exod. 2:10). For Josephus Flavius, see his *Antiquities* (2.9.7). The Roman historian Marcus Iunianius Iustinus (fl. 2nd, 3rd, or 4th c. CE) relates in his *Historiarum Philippicarum T. Pompei Trogi* (36.2.11) that Bacchus was one, “who endeared himself for the beauty of his shape.” Orpheus calls Bacchus “Thesmophoron” or “lawgiver,” an ancient name for Demeter (Ceres), in *Orphica Argonautica* (27). Orpheus attributes unto Moses “Diplaka thesmon,” the “two-fold table of the law” (Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* 13.12.5. line 37; 13.12.666a; *Pseudo-Auctores-Hellenistae, Fragmenta*, fragment d, line 74). Bacchus is called “Taurometopos,” “Taurokeros,” and “Kerasphoros,” i.e., “bull-horned” and “horned,” in *Orphica (Hymni* 45.1) and in Clemens Alexandrinus (*Protrepticus* 4.54.2, line 4). And the Greek comic playwright Euripides (c. 480–c. 406 BCE) calls him “Taurokeros theos” or “the god with the horns of a bull” (*Bacchae* 100). The Latin quotation from Jerome's Vulgate (Exod. 34:29) reads “his face was horned,” a humorous mistranslation of the Hebrew word קָרָן “karan” (rays, or horns), the Shechinah (glory of God) radiating on the face of Moses. Perhaps the most famous depiction of the horned Moses is Michelangelo's statue, the center-piece of the tomb of Pope Julius II, in the Vatican Museum. The Torah attributes the honor of discovering wine to Noah (Gen. 9:20–21), and Moses relates how his spies in Canaan brought back huge clusters of grapes, bespeaking the fertility of the land that flows with milk and honey (Num. 13:23, 27; 14:8).

⁴⁷ Pierre-Daniel Huet, in *Demonstratio evangelica* (1690), Prop. IV, cap. 3, § 3, pp. 70–71, argues that the Hebrew lawgiver was represented by the Greeks and Egyptians as Apollo (Greek god of prophecy, medicine, poetry, and purification); as Æsculapius, god of healing (Prop. IV,

How *Joshua* was intended by the Pagan *Apollo*, and *Hercules*, we may show in some other Illustration.

I'll here only add, That as *Sampson* and *Hercules* were contemporary, so one was t'other. And *Hercules* his Killing the *Nemean* Lion, was but *Sampsons* exploit paganized. *Hercules* did mortify the *Tyrants*, or *Monsters*, of his Time: *Hercules* was made a Captive to *Eurystheus*, & underwent sore Labours in his Captivitie; *Hercules* was of mighty *Strength*, but very effeminate; and in his Death at last spontaneous & voluntary. What is this, but *Sampson* all over?⁴⁸

I have chosen here, at the Beginning, to give you only a little Tast of these Things, fetch'd out of Mr. *Edwards* Discourse on the Authority of the *Scriptures*. But having thus whetted your Appetite, I promise you further Intimations of these Matters, in some further Illustrations.⁴⁹

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Q. Some Essay upon the Scituation of PARADISE? v. 25.

A. With how much Discouragement, must one essay any thing upon so problematical a Subject?

cap. 8, §§ 3, 6, pp. 105–08, 110–12); as Pan, god of shepherds (Prop. IV, cap. 8, § 4, p. 108–09); as Priapus, god of fertility, gardens, and herds (Prop. IV, cap. 8, § 5, pp. 109–10); as Prometheus, god of fire and maker of man from clay (Prop. IV, cap. 8, § 7, pp. 112–13); and as Janus, god of gateways and of the beginning and closing of military campaigns (Prop. IV, cap. 9, § 2, pp. 134–35). The Egyptian Osiris is the god of death and resurrection (Prop. IV, cap. 4, § 3, pp. 79–82); Apis and Serapis, the sacred bull of Memphis combining the attributes of Osiris and Apis (Prop. IV, cap. 4, §§ 4–5, pp. 82–83); Orus (Horus), god of light and pharaonic order (Prop. IV, cap. 4, § 6, p. 83); and finally, Anubis, the dog-faced guardian of the dead (Prop. IV, cap. 4, § 7, p. 83). In their effort to maintain the sacred origin of the Hebrew Bible as the most ancient account of the origin of mankind, Huet and his euhemerist compeers inevitably associate the deities of the Chaldean, Egyptian, and Graeco-Roman worlds with the OT heroes, who (they maintain) became the prototypes for the deified heroes in pagan religions. Vossius's *De Theologia Gentili* (1641) is perhaps the most significant if not the most comprehensive of this type of classical scholarship, but see also Herbert of Cherbury's *De Religione Gentilium* (1663) and Theophilus Gale's *The Court of the Gentiles* (1672). For John Toland's critique of his colleagues' endeavor to correlate pagan gods with the biblical Moses, see Toland's *Adeisidaemon et Origines Judaicae* (1709).

⁴⁸ Joshua's euhemeristic parallel with Apollo is asserted in Edmund Dickinson's *Delphi Phoenicizantes* (1655), cap. 3, pp. 20–35; and in Theophilus Gale's *Court* (1672), part 1, bk. 2, ch. 4, pp. 40–44, § 3. Edwards, *Discourse* (1:219–20), who draws on Vossius's *De Theologia Gentili* (lib. 1, cap. 22, p. 169), associates the OT judge Samson with the Greek hero Heracles (Hercules), for both heroes kill a lion with their bare hands. So, too, while Samson kills a thousand Philistines with the jawbone of an ass, Heracles (while still an infant) strangles the serpents (hydras) sent to him by Hera and later vanquishes the Centaurs; while Samson is captured by the Philistines and bound to the pillars of the Temple of Dagon, Heracles becomes a vassal to King Eurystheus of Argos and is required to perform his twelve tasks; and finally, while Samson succumbs to Delilah's seduction, so Hercules equally serves Omphale of Lydia (Judg. 14:5–6, 15:15, 16:4–31; Sophocles, *Trachiniae* 248–80; Ovid, *Heroides* 9.47–119). Although published after Mather's death, the widely scattered story of Hercules is related in an English translation of Antoine Banier's *The Mythology and Fables of the Ancients* (1739–40) 4:72–126.

⁴⁹ Here ends the lengthy excerpt from John Edwards's *Discourse* (vol. 1, chs. 3–4, 6), which Mather mines extensively throughout "BA."

Monsr. *Huet* has enumerated the Disagreements of Men upon the Problem, in such Terms as these.

"Paradise has been placed in the *Third Heaven*; in the *Fourth*; in the *Heaven* of the *Moon*; in the *Moon* itself; in the Middle Region of the *Air*; *Above* the Earth; *Under* the Earth; in a Place *Hidden & Remote* from the Knowledge of Men; It has been fixed under the *Arctic Pole*; in *Tartary*; in the Place filled at Present by the *Caspian Sea*: Others have sent it away to the extreme Parts of the South, in the *Terra del Fuego*: Several have placed it in the *Levant*; or, upon the Banks of the *Ganges*; or in the Island of *Ceylon*; even deriving the Name of the *Indies*, from that of *Eden*: It has been placed in *China*; or even beyond the *Levant* in some uninhabited Countrey; some will have it be in *Armenia*; others, in *Africa*, under the Equator: Others at the equinoctial Orient: Others under the *Mountains of the Moon*, from whence it was beleaved the *Nile* proceeded: But most, in *Asia*; some in *Armenia Major*; others in *Mesopotamia*; others in *Assyria*; or in *Persia*; or in *Babylonia*; or in *Arabia*; or in *Syria*; or in *Palestine*; There have even some such been found, that have honoured *Europe* with its Scituation."⁵⁰

The learned *Huet*, after all this List, proposes another Scituation. *Calmet* praises him, & yett refutes him, finding | the Scituation of it, in *Armenia*, between the Springs of the *Tigris*, the *Euphrates*, the *Phasis*, & the *Araxis*. And *Reland* comes with further Speculations.⁵¹

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⁵⁰ Mather's citation is from Pierre Daniel Huet's *Treatise of the Situation of Paradise* (1694), "Preface" (3–4), whose summary of the various theories about the primeval Garden and its location is based on Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World* (1614), bk. 1, ch. 3, pp. 33–39, §§ 4, 6–8. Christopher Columbus, largely inspired by Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly's *Tractatus de Imagine Mundi* (c. 1483), locates Paradise at the source of the Amazonas River, where the earth is in "the shape of the stalk of the pear" (*Four Voyages*, "Third Voyage" 2:30, 36, 38). Huet frowns on his pious colleagues who locate Paradise in Europe: "And which is beyond the greatest Impertinency, ... [they] placed it at *Hedin* a City in *Artois*, upon no other ground than the Affinity of that name with the word *Eden*. I do not despair, but some Adventurer, to have it nearer to us, will one day undertake to place it at *Houdan*" ("Preface" 4–5). J. Delumeau explores the medieval debate about the geographical location of Eden in his *History of Paradise* (39–70).

⁵¹ Huet proposes the traditional site of Paradise at one of the meandering canals of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, North of their confluence in the Persian Gulf, "near the place where was the ancient Town of *Erec*, or *Aracca*, according to the Position of *Ptolomy*" ("A Map of the Situation of the Terrestrial Paradise," in *Treatise* 1, and ch. 1, p. 25), and in Claudius Ptolemaeus (Ptolemy), *Geography* (6.3. tabula V Asia). Dom Augustin Calmet's refutation of Huet's Mesopotamian Paradise appears in Calmet's *Commentaire littéral* (vol. 1). See also Calmet's *Great Dictionary* (1812–17), "Paradise" (2: n.p.), and his commentary on Genesis (ch. 1), where Calmet generically locates Paradise in Armenia, "in a *temperate* region ... in a hilly country" (*Expository Index* 4:11–13). Adriaan Reland (1676–1718), the Dutch professor of Oriental languages and church history at Utrecht, outlines his speculations in "De situ Paradisi terrestris," in *Dissertationes miscellaneae* (1706–8) 1:58–75 and situates Paradise in Armenia, near the source of the Euphrates, Tigris, Phasis, and Araxes rivers. For Reland, however, the Pison River (Phasis) is in Colchis and empties itself into the Euxine Sea near Chabala (Chavilah); the Gihon is the Araxes and flows into the Caspian Sea; the Hiddekel is the Tigris, and the Phrat (Perath) is the Euphrates. The 17th-c. debate about Eden's precise locale is sketched in F. Motta's "Geographia Sacra" (esp. pp. 299–311).

I shall not so much as consult the admirable *Bochart*, on this Occasion. But being a Possessor of some very precious Treasures, that were never yett exposed, I will venture to offer them; and the rather because many Illustrations on other Passages of the Sacred Scriptures, will be offered in them.⁵²

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745.

OF PARADISE,⁵³

I find a notable Remembrance, and Resemblance, in a City of *Syria*, scituate, on the River, *Orontes*, which for the many Delights of it, is called *Paradisus*, by *Strabo*, *Ptolomy*, & *Pliny*, and by *Diodorus* call'd also *Tripardisus*; a City, not far from the *Goodly Mountains* of *Lebanon*; where the Scripture doth report the *House of Eden* [Amos. 1.5.] to have sway'd the Scepter of Government. In this *Valley of Eden* (which the Ancient Gentiles, do celebrate in their *Adonis* and *Adonius*) there stood the beautiful City of *Damascus*, a City Six Miles in Compass, and the rarest Prospect in the World. Here, besides a thousand other Delicacies, there grew, the *Pomegranat*, and the *Pistacho*. (*Jacobs* Present unto *Joseph*, Gen. 43.11.) and the rare Figs of the Emperour *Julian*. Here also were the choice Quarries of *Alabaster*, and the golden Sands of the River *Chrysorroas*, the supposed *Pharphar* mentioned in the Bible, not far from the River *Adonis*.⁵⁴

⁵² Bochart and Huet locate Paradise in the same general area of Mesopotamia-Armenia (Bochart, *Geographia*, pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 4, col. 21); see also Stephanus Morinus's "Dissertatio de paradiso terrestri," in Bochart's *Geographia* (col. 9–28); Huet, *Treatise* (1, map, and ch. 1, p. 25). Mather here inserts a condensed version of a lost manuscript by the Puritan divine Samuel Lee (1625–91) of Bristol, Rhode Island, the father of Lydia Lee George, Mather's third wife (1715). In his *Threefold Paradise* (94), Mather identifies his "very precious Treasures" as Lee's unpublished treatise "Of a Threefold Paradise," which Mather epitomized and included in his "BA" [117r–124v]. The same text (with slight variations) became the basis of Mather's "First Paradise" (*Threefold Paradise* 94–106), which he began sometime in 1712 (*Diary* 3:91). Significantly, the substance of what follows below is extracted from Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World* (1614), bk. 1, chs. 3–4, and can also be found in Huet (*Treatise*) and in *Historical Geography of the OT* (1711–12), vol. 1, bk. 1, ch. 1, pp. 1–53, by the English mathematician and geographer Edward Wells, D. D. (1667–1727), rector of Cotes, Leicestershire, whose geographical studies were highly regarded by his contemporaries. See Mather's recommendation in *Manuductio* (55, 148). The location and interpretative function of Paradise are examined in M. Engammare's "Portrait."

⁵³ See Appendix A.

⁵⁴ See Mather's *Threefold Paradise* (95–96) and Huet's *Treatise* (ch. 1, p. 21). The River Orontes (Typhon) and the town "Paradeisus" (in Laodicea, near Antioch, Syria) are mentioned by Strabo (16.2.19); by Ptolemy (*Geography* 5.14. tabula IV Asia); by Pliny (5.18.82, 5.22.93), who also mentions a river by that name; and by Diodorus Siculus (18.39.1, 3; 19.12.2). The Adonis River (near modern Byblus) is associated with the legend of Adonis, who was accidentally killed on Mt. Libanus and whose corybantic rites were widely celebrated in the Hellenic world (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.298–559, 708–39). For a description of the region, see Strabo (16.2.16–20), and for its location in Coele-Syria and Decapolis, Ptolemy (*Geography* 5.14, 15). The rare figs of Julian the Apostate, Roman Emperor Flavius Claudius Julianus (332–63) are probably those which Julian praises in his "Letter to the most illustrious Serapion." The local figs are renowned for their sweet virtue, Julian argues, and a gift of 100 figs is to be deemed a

In this Valley, some will have *Cain* to have kill'd his Brother; & so they derive the Name, of *Damascus*, from, *Dam-Shach*, the *Blood* of the *Boy*. However, In this Valley, is that *Eden*, wherein the Prophet *Ezekiel* [Ezek. 28.13, 14.] finds the Prince of *Tyrus* walking; & upon the *Holy Mountain of God*, that is, upon *Lebanon*. Moreover, when the Lord foretels [Amos. 1.5.], that Hee will send the Syrians of *Damascus* Captives to, *Kir*, that is, a Countrey in *Media*, upon the River *Cyrus*, now called *Kur*, Hee also fore-dooms the Cutting off the Inhabitant from *Aven*, that is, *Heliopolis* [*Balbek*, or, *Baal-beth*] the House of *Baal*, or the Sun; which stood in this very Valley; as also, to take the Scepter from the *House of Eden*, which was here scituated. In after-times, wee find these *Damascen* People, in a Captive-state [Isa. 37.12.] by the Name of, *The Children of Eden*; at *Telassar*, or, the *Tal-atha* of *Ptolomy*, near the River *Tigris* in *Assyria*.⁵⁵

But after all, wee shall seek, and find, the True *Paradise*, of our Father *Adam*, somewhere about the Rivers of *Mesopotamia*; where fell Serpents & fierce Dragons are now hissing among the *Thorns*, which the Primitive *Curse* ha's brought upon it.⁵⁶

Yea, perhaps, e're wee have done, wee shall have so described it, that an Ingenious Traveller may go directly to it; and carry from the farthest *America* some Informations to the *Armenian* and *Nestorian* Bishops, thereabouts Inhabiting, which they never had before.⁵⁷

regal present (*Works of Emperor Julian* 3:266–83 and Calmer's *Dictionary* 4:492–93). The word "Alab(l)aster" is derived from the Egyptian city Alabastro, famed for its quarries (Pliny 5.11.61; Ptolemy, *Geography* 4.5); Mather, however, refers to King David's quarries near Damascus (1 Chron. 29:2). The River Chrysorrhoeas (Strabo 16.2.16) is here associated with the River Pharp(h)ar (Ptolemy, *Geography* 5.14; see 2 Kings 5:12).

55 Mather's etymological derivation of Damascus (here copied out of Lee's lost manuscript) is based on the preclassical episteme that the signifier and the thing signified form a linguistic unit that directly relates to its original Hebrew signification current in Adam's time. All languages derived from Hebrew, Mather and his peers still believed; modern geographers could thus establish the locale of a biblical event (here: Cain's spilling of Abel's blood) by linking the place name with its purported Hebrew etymology. Samuel Bochart cultivated this technique into a fine art in his massive *Geographia Sacra* (1646) and *Hierozaicon* (1646) – standard reference works until the late 18th century (see F. Motte's "Geographia Sacra"). According to Strong's's # 1834, the name of the Syrian city Damascus is derived from דַּמְעֵסֶק "Dammeseq" [dam-meh'sek] or similar variants, but is of foreign origin and may signify "silent is the sackcloth weaver." Well, there it is. Hiram, prince of the Phoenician Tyre, supplied the building materials for Solomon's temple (1. Kings 5:1–10, 7:1–8; 2 Chron. 2:11–14). Ptolemy's Talatha on the Tigris River in Babylonia appears in his *Geography* (5.19. tabula IV Asia).

56 See Gen. 3:14, 18, 24; Herodotus (3.108–9).

57 The Nestorians were sectarian followers of the Syrian ecclesiastic Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople (d. c. 451), who held that the divine and human natures of Christ remained distinct. See Mather's *Threefold Paradise* (96) and *India Christiana* (1721).

Lett us first begin with the Text,

Gen. 2.8, 10.

The Lord God planted a Garden Eastward in Eden, – And a River went out of Eden, to water the Garden; and from thence it was parted, & became into four Heads,

The Hebrew Original more exactly tells us, It was, *a Garden in Eden from Kedem*: that is, on the East-side of *Kedemah*; or, in the Countrey of, *Eden*, towards the East of it. Wee'l thus paraphrase it; This Garden lay in the Countrey of *Eden*, East from *Kedemah*, a Territory in & near *Aram-naharaim*, or, *Syria* of the Rivers; that is, *Mesopotamia*, or, *Armenia*; nigh to the River *Uphrates*, where the *Children of the East*, or, *Kedemah*, so often mentioned by *Moses*, & other Sacred Writers, had their Ancient Residence.⁵⁸

The Region of *Kedemah*, in a fair Map, would Illustrate Scriptures not a few. Hence it was that the *Wise Men* came to worship our Lord; the King that [Num. 24.7.] is to bee *Higher than Agag* (or, *Gog*, as the Samaritan has it; that is, the *Turk*.) Tis the Countrey, which I suppose called, *Anatole*, or, *Oriens*, in the, *Themata* of *Constantine*; & so tis mentioned in the *Notices of the Empire*, exhibited by *Pancirollus*; and here t'was that *Zenobia*, the Queen fam'd in History, Ruled.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ The substance of the excerpt from Lee's lost manuscript also appears in Huet's *Treatise* (chs. 3–5, pp. 26–54). Locating the terrestrial Paradise in seventeenth-century geography was crucial to many who had begun to question the authority and inspiration of the Bible. The translator of Huet's French *Treatise* puts the issue squarely: "Our first Parents, READER, were turned out of Paradise for their Disobedience: Many of their Posterity endeavour by their Disbelief of *Moses's* Writings, to turn Paradise out of the World. To stop and correct this Humour, several Learned Books have been put in Print; and this [Huet's *Treatise*], the last of all" (*Treatise* A2). Thomas Burnet, for one dismissed such pious quests for Paradise, because the Noachide Flood completely reshaped the earth's surface and thus destroyed all traces of the antediluvian Eden (*Sacred Theory*, bk. 1, ch. 10–11; bk. 2, ch. 1). See also Simon Patrick on Gen. 2:10–14 (*Commentary* 1:12–13) and Marmaduke Carver's *Discourse of the Terrestrial Paradise* (1666).

⁵⁹ According to a 6th-century Eastern tradition, the three Wise Men or Magi (Matth. 2:1) are called Caspar, Melchior, and Balthasar (*Collectanea et Flores*, PL 94. 0541B–C). The Samaritan Pentateuch (Num. 24:7) identifies Agag with Gog, in Walton's *Polyglotta* (1:653). Generally, Gog of Magog (Ezek. chs. 38, 39) is identified with Gyges, king of Lydia (Asia Minor). Most millennialists in Mather's time identified Gog of Magog with the Turks, the powerful Ottoman Empire, which played a significant role in Anglo-American eschatology. See Joseph Mede, *Paraleipomena* (28) and Mather's "Where to find *Gog* and *Magog*," in *Threefold Paradise* (292–94). The Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (905–59) reports in *De Administrando Imperio* (50.96–100) that during the time of Leo, several garrisons of soldiers were transferred to "Anatolikoi" province (the plateau-region of W Turkey). The Italian lawyer, antiquarian, translator, and author, Guido Pancirolli (1523–99) excerpted this work in his *Notitia utraque dignitatum cum Orientis tum Occidentis ultra Arcadii* (1593), but he is now best remembered for his popular *History of Many Memorable Things Lost* (1715). Zenobia, or Bath Zabbai, famed queen of Palmyra (267–72), conquered much of Asia Minor, but surrendered to Aurelian when he besieged Palmyra.

Here then, Lett us first look out for the Land of *Kedemah*, which lay *West* unto the Countrey & Garden of *Eden*. It had its Denomination from *Kedem*, [Gen. 25.15.] one of the Sons of *Ishmael*; whose Children gave Names unto their Cities & Castles, whereof wee find Remnants in the Writings of the Ancient Pagans, & so may from thence, deduce their true Scituation.

It is recorded of *Ishmael*, [Gen. 16.12.] Hee was *to Dwell in the Presence of his Brethren*: *עַל פָּנֵי* or, before their Face; that is, on the East-side, of the Habitations of the Sons of *Sarah* & of *Keturah*: the Usage of Adoration towards the *East*, made *This* a Phrase for *That*. Accordingly, wee find *Abraham* disposing his Children by *Keturah* [Gen. 25.6.] into the Land of *Kedem*; a Land, it seems, known by that Name, when this Book was written: That so they might bee seated near to the Posterity of *Ishmael*: For which Cause, *Ishmaelites* and *Midianites*, are so Joined, as they sometimes are in the Sacred Story: [see Gen. 37.25. and Judg. 8.1, 24.]⁶⁰

You may now meet with the Children of *Keturah*; on the East-side of Mount *Gilead*, & *Hermon*, towards *Uphrates*; and more Southwardly towards *Edom*: Which may bee | Part of the Reason, why *Laban* went with *Jacob*, no farther than that Mountain; for it was the Limits between those Eastern People, and the *Amorites* in the Land of *Canaan*. [118v]

Zimran was the first of these. [Gen. 25.2.] Of him, the petty Kingdomes of *Zimri* [Jer. 25.25.] had their Appellation: called the *Zamareni* by *Pliny*, lying near the *Cennessari*, (now, *Quennessari*) in the Nubian Geographer: Twenty Miles west of *Haleb*, or *Aleppo*, by *Ptolomy* called *Chalybon*.⁶¹

Jokshan was the next; whose Offspring & Countrey, seems to bee *Casama*, in *Ptolomy*.

As *Medan*, the Third, seems to bee the adjacent *Odmana*, in that Author.⁶²

Midian, lay near Mount *Gilead* of old; but in their Migrations marched further towards the Red-Sea; where *Ptolomy* gives us *Modiana*, and *Madiana*.

⁶⁰ The Hebrew phrase *עַל פָּנֵי* [al-panee] signifies “before their face” or “in their presence.” After *Sarah*’s death, *Abraham* married *Keturah*, who bore him six sons: *Zimran*, *Jokshan*, *Medan*, *Midian*, *Ishback*, and *Shuah* – the progenitors of various N Arabian tribes in SE Palestine (Gen. 23:1–2, 24:67, 25:1–4).

⁶¹ See also Mather’s *Threefold Paradise* (97). *Pliny* (6.32.158) and *Ptolemy*, *Geography* (5.14). The title “Nubian Geographer” is a misnomer for *Idrisi* (*Edrisi*), the Arab historian and geographer *Abu Abdullah Mohammed Ibn al-Sharif al-Idrisi* (c. 1099–1166 or 1180) of Cordova (Spain), medieval traveler and advisor to King *Roger II*, Norman king of Sicily. An abridgement of *Idrisi*’s famous Arabic geography was translated into Latin by the Maronite scholars *Gabriel Sionita* and *Joannes Hezronita* and appeared as *Geographia Nubiensis* (1592, 1619), the title of which gave rise to the misunderstanding of the author’s origin. Mather’s reference appears in *Geographia Nubiensis* (1619), clim. 4, pars 5, pp. 194, 196.

⁶² *Odmana*, a town in *Palmurene*, is listed in *Ptolemy*, *Geography* (5.14. tabula IV Asia).

And in the *Peutinger Tables*, we have *Medeia*, or *Midian*, a City, about Forty Miles from *Elush*, or, *Alush*, & Eighty Miles from *Paran*, near the Red-Sea.⁶³

Ishbak, affords us; the *Scabiosa Laodicea*, upon the River *Orontes*; near *Emesa*, or *Emissa*; in *Ptolomy*, styled, *Cabiosa*.⁶⁴

Shuach, (whereof was *Bildad the Shuhite*, by *Procopius* on the *Kings*, called, *Sauchæorum Tyrannus*;) gives us the City *Sucta*, in *Ptolomy*, and in the *Peutinger Tables*, about Sixteen Miles from *Gadara*.⁶⁵

Of *Sheba*, the Grandson of *Abraham*, by *Jokshan*, we have *Sabe* in *Ptolomy*; Southwest of *Palmyra*, and north of *Aurana*, or *Hauran*: and hence are denominated, the *Arabes Scenitæ*, *Sabæi*, of *Pliny*; These were the *Sabeans* that infested *Job*; & here seems to have been the *Aram-zobah*, in Scripture; and *Asabajah*, in the *Notices* of the Eastern Empire.⁶⁶

Dedan, the brother of *Shebah*, dwelt not far off; – about four Miles from *Punon*; & hence do seem to be [Isa. 21.13.] the *Travelling Companies of Dedanim*. This *Punon* was the Place, where the *Brazen Serpent* was made, of the *Phennesia Metalla*, often mention'd by the Ancients, & called, *Metallofenum*, by *Jerom*; and *Phenustus*, by *Gul. Tyrius*; and, *Pinon* a Dukedome of *Edom*, [Gen. 36.41.] and *Diafenis* in the *Notices*.⁶⁷

⁶³ Modiana, a town on the Arabian Gulf, is mentioned in Ptolemy, *Geography* (6.7. tabula VI Asia). Mather's "Peutinger Tables" refers to the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (1598), segmentum (IX.4–5), a third- or fourth-century Roman road map, consisting of twelve sections on a long, narrow strip, which survives in the copy made by the German scholar, Orientalist, and antiquarian Konrad Peutinger (1465–1547) of Augsburg.

⁶⁴ The *Scabiosa Laodicea* (shabby Laodicea) on the River *Orontes* can be found in Strabo (6.2.9; 16.2.7). The city of *Emesa* (*Emisa*), in *Apamene*, is listed in Ptolemy's *Geography* (5.14, 16. tabula IV Asia).

⁶⁵ Shuah, the sixth son of *Keturah*, is believed to have been the ancestor of *Bildad* (Job 2:11). In the LXX (Job 2:11), *Bildad* is called Σαυχέων Τυράννος [*Saucheon Tyrannos*], or the Prince of the *Sauchaeans*. *Procopius Gazæus* (c. 475–c. 538), biblical exegete of *Gaza*, identifies *Shua(c)h* with *Sauchæorum Tyrannus* (Gen. 25:2), in his *Commentarii in Libros Regum et Paralipomenum* (1620). Ptolemy lists *Gadara*, a town in *Coele-Syria*, and *Decapolis*, in his *Geography* (5.14. tabula IV Asia), and Peutinger, *Tabula Peutingeriana* (segmentum X.1).

⁶⁶ Ptolemy identifies *Sabe* (*Saba*) as a town in the center of *Arabia Felix*, in his *Geography* (6.7); *Pliny* (5.21.87). For *Aram-zobah*, see Ps. 60:1, and for the *Notices*, see Pancirollus's edition of *Notitia utraque dignitatum* (1593, 1623).

⁶⁷ Made of copper, the brazen serpent of *Moses* (Num. 21:4–9; 1 Cor. 10:9) healed all faithful Israelites, whose lengthy peregrination is believed to have taken them to a campsite at *Punon* (Num. 33:41–43). The Latin Church Father *Jerome* (c. 340–420) mentions this "metallofenum," or rather "metallum aeris fanum," in his geography of Hebrew places, *De situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum* [PL 23. 855D; see also PL 23. 199]. *Guillelmus Tyrensis*, or *William of Tyre* (c. 1130–87), archbishop of *Tyre* (1175), wrote one of the most important medieval historiographies, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* (begun 1169) and mentions "*Phenustus*," a city in *Becerra* (*Arabia*) [PL 201. 209]. Both "*Phenustus*" and "*Diafenis*" (*Diaphenum*) are listed alphabetically in *Lexicon Universale* (1677, 1698), by *Johann Jacob Hofmann* (1635–1706), Swiss professor of Greek at the University of Basel. Mather revisits this topic at greater length in his annotations on *Numb. 21: 9* and explores the typological

As for *Ashur*, the Son of *Dedan*, as *Assyria* is by *Strabo* called *Atyria*, so, hee may well afford us, the *Atera* of *Ptolomy*, near *Casama*; lying somewhat North of Mount *Alsadamus*, or Mount *Hermon*, or *Syrion*, the South-Eastern Part of *Lebanon*.

Letush may bee imprinted on the *Latavi*, of the *Notices*, in Parts adjacent unto *Palmyra*.⁶⁸

Leum hath Affinitie with *Luma*, in *Ptolomy*, South-East of *Aurana*, or *Hauran*, of *Ezekiel* [chap. 47.16.] in the same Wilderness. *Hauran*, was a famous Place, built on a Mountain of Three Ridges, mentioned by *Niger*. And may not the *Emims*, remember this Name, with a /ʔ/ præfixed?⁶⁹

Ephab [whereof see Isa. 60.6.] is *Papha* with *Ptolomy*; and perhaps *Aphaca* in *Lebanon*, where stood the Temple of *Venus Aphacitis*, between *Heliopolis*, & *Byblus*.

Epher; or, *Geber*; *Gabara*, lying N. E. of *Aurana*, in *Ptolomy*.

Hanoch; *Anetha*, or, *Canacha*, in *Arabia Petraea*; lying East of *Cletharro*, which is a Name corrupted for *Beth-ar*, in *Moab*.⁷⁰

Abidah; In *Ptolomy*, *Eboda*, near *Maliattha*, or, *Amalek*. This may well bee the ὄβοδα, of *Stephanus*, by him call'd, Χωριον Ναβαταίων, a Region of *Nebajoth*.

Eldaah; possibly, the *Allata*, of *Ptolomy*; among *Rhaabeni*, in the South of *Arabia Deserta*.⁷¹

Behold, how much of Scripture-Geography, I have already Illustrated unto you! You may see, how long the Ancient Names of Places remained upon them, & laying of *Ptolomy* with *Moses* you see where to find them: especially mountainous Countreys, which were not so liable to bee subdued, by Strangers.

relationship between the brazen serpent of Moses and Christ in *Zalmonah: The Gospel of the Brasen Serpent in the Mosaic History* (1725).

⁶⁸ Aturia, in Strabo (16.1.1, 2, 3); Atera, a town in Palmurene, in Ptolemy, *Geography* (5.14. tabula IV Asia). Strabo (16.1.1) calls Mt. Alsadamus by the name of Mt. Zagrus. Latavi probably appears in Pancirollus's *Notitia dignitatum* (1623).

⁶⁹ Luma, an inland town in Arabia Deserta, is located in Ptolemy, *Geography* (5.18. tabula IV Asia). The Venetian Renaissance geographer Dominicus Marius Niger (fl. c. 1490–c. 1520) calls the mountain ridge “Luma” and identifies its location in *Geographiae Commentariorum libri XI* (1557), “Geographia Asiae,” comment. 4, p. 524. The Hebrew letter is “lamed.”

⁷⁰ For Papha (Paphara), a town in the district of Cyrrhastica (N Syria), see Ptolemy, *Geography* (5.14). The temple of Aphrodite at Aphaca was destroyed by Constantine the Great. Gabara (Gubba) and Cletharrho are located in the interior of Arabia Petraea or “Stony Arabia” (the region including the Sinai Peninsula and modern N Saudi Arabia) – all listed in Ptolemy, *Geography* (5.16, 18).

⁷¹ Ptolemy's Eboda, a town in the interior of Arabia Petrea (*Geography* 5.16. tabula IV Asia) is here identified with the Greek name “Oboda” and “Xorion Nabataion” (the Place of the Nabataeans), in Stephanus's *Ethnica* (482.15), a valuable study of ancient place names (60 books), by the Byzantine grammarian and lexicographer Stephanus (6th c. CE). See also Strabo (16.4.24). The Al(l)ata among the Rhaabeni in Arabia Deserta (Syrian Desert) appears in Ptolemy's *Geography* (5.18. tabula IV Asia).

Thus the Sons of *Abrahams* Concubines, were together placed in *Kedemah*, or the East Countrey; Eastward from *Canaan*, which was intended for *Isaac*.

But were not the *Ishmaelites* also seated hereabouts?

They took their general Name of *Hagarens*, from their Mother *Hagar*: or from a Name of that Sound, signifying *A Rock*. Their first Bounds were in the Wilderness of *Paran*, from *Havilah* to *Shur*, [Gen. 25.18.] that is, from *Eloth*, or *Elana*, by the Red-Sea, to *El-Toro*, on the same Strand. By some they are styled *Agareni*, and *Agrei*; & their chief City is by *Stephanus*, called Ἑγρᾶ: And, *Hagiar*, or, *El-hagiar*, by the *Arabians*. *Jerom* (*de locis*) tells us, That *Hagiar*, or, *Petra*, was Ten Miles North of *Eloth*, by the Red-Sea.⁷²

Lett us now take an orderly View of their Castles and Cities.

Nebajoth, the eldest Son of *Ishmael*: His Countrey is called, *Regio Nabathæa*, & his Dominions are, in *Ovid*, *Regna Nabathæa*; & the chief City thereof, *Pliny* calls, *Petra*. Hence came the *Fat Rams* of *Nebajoth*, [Isa. 60.7.] whose Tails were so broad & large, that they laid them upon Sleds to bee drawn after them, & were forty Pound in Weight. This is the City, from whence, tis thought, *Arabia Petraea*, derives its Name: compassed, as *Pliny* saies, *Montibus Inaccessis*. *Malchus* was King of this *Arabia*, in *Cæsars* Time; and *Aretas* [2. Cor. 11.32.] in the Apostle *Pauls*. In this Countrey, with *Stephanus* wee find *Saraka*, [119r] [possibly the same with *Masrekah*, Gen. 36.36.] whence the | *Saracens* had their Name. And several other Places & Peoples, which it will not much serve our present Purpose, to mention.⁷³

72 See also Mather's *Threefold Paradise* (98). The Ishmaelites are descendents of Abraham's son Ishmael by his secondary wife Hagar (Gen. 16:15). The chief city "Hegra" is listed in Stephanus (260.11). Jerome's "Concerning Places" refers to his *De situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum*, which lists "Hegra" (# 282) in [PL 23. 924B].

73 Nebajoth (1 Chron. 1:29) is to have settled *Regio Nabathæa*, or the Nabathean Regions, which Ovid calls Nabathæan Kingdoms (*Metamorphoses* 1.61), which Pliny calls Petra (5.21.87; 6.32.144). Mather's reference to the fat rams of Nebajoth (Isa. 60:7), whose weighty tails are of a kind with the cluster of grapes from the brook of Eshcol (Num. 13:23), typify the fruitfulness of the land. The source for these stupendous rams is Herodotus (3:113), who mutters something about two kinds of sheep – a long-tailed one, which drag their furry tails (4 ½ feet) behind them on carts to avoid injury; and a thick-tailed sheep, with a tail 1 ½-foot wide. In his *Geographical Historie of Africa* [1600], bk. 9, p. 341), the Islamic scholar of Granada Leo Africanus, aka. Hassan Ibn Muhammad Al Wazzan Al Fasi (c. 1485–c. 1554), knowingly relates of African rams near Cairo with tails weighing ten, even twenty pounds. Some of these Egyptian rams are so well fed, he reports, "untill their tailles growe so bigge that they cannot remooove themselves from place to place" and must pull their tails behind them on "little carts." Yet others had tails weighing "fower-score pounds," even "an hundred and fiftie pounds weight." See also Ludovicus Vartomannus (*Travels* 87). Pliny (6.32.144) relates that Stony Arabia is surrounded by "inaccessible mountains." King Malchus of Arabia Petraea was Caesar's ally during the Roman conquest of Egypt (c. 40 BCE); Aretas IV (BCE 9–39 CE) was an Arab ruler of Damascus at the time of St. Paul's escape from that city. Finally, Stephanus lists Saraka [Σάρακα] (*Ethnica* 556.3), supposedly the etymological original of the Saracens (Bedouin tribes along the Syrian frontier), whose name was later applied to the Muslim Empire before the Turkish conquests.

Kedar; from /קדר/ *obscurus fuit*; because living in a Dark Wilderness. [Compare Psal. 120.5. *Meshech* was *Kedars* Brother.] The Name of their City lies buried in *Ptolomies* Ἀδρα, in the South Part of *Arabia Petraea*, not far from *Petra*. They are called, *Cedrei*, by *Pliny*; and they are those Men of *Kedemah*, joined with *Hazor*, [Jer. 49.28.]⁷⁴

Abdeel; or, the *Adubeni*, or, *Augubeni*, in *Junius*.⁷⁵

Chisbam; the *Muasemones*, near Mount *Zamatha*, in *Arabia felix*.

Mishmah; where *Zagmais*, and the *Rhaabeni*, in *Ptolomy*, near to *Rabba*.

Dumah; *Dumetha*, among the *Rhaabeni*; and *Dumatha*, in *Stephanus*.

Massah; Μεσσην in *Stephanus*; the *Masani*, between *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, in *Ptolomy*; and the *Meshech* of the Psalmist. [Psal. 120.5.]⁷⁶

Hadar, or *Chadar*: the *Atharite* or *Athritæ*, in *Junius*. I take this to be the *Hazor* of *Jeremiah*, [Jer. 49.28.] where the petty Kingdoms of *Hazor*, are those of the *Nabathæans*: *Napata*, and *Adara*.⁷⁷

Tema, or, *Thema*; near the Mountains of *Arabia Felix*. The *Temanite* was here.

Jetur: The *Jturei* in *Trachonitis*, [Luc. 3.1.] a Part, of *Hermon*, in *Cælo-Syria*. Here were the Συρμαῖοι, or the *Hermonites*, in a Plain between the *Nomades* and the *Nabathæans*: and near them, the Σαλαμίοι, or such as Quartered about *Salmon*, [Psal. 68.14.] in *Stephanus*.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ The Hebrew name *Kedar* [kay-dawr] [Strong's # 6938], signifies "dark" or "to make dark" (Gen. 25:13). Mather here copies Lee's error and mistakes the name of Noah's grandson *Meshech* for the name of *Ishmael's* fifth son *Mishmah* (Gen. 10:2, 25:13–15; 1 Chron. 1:5, 29–31; Ps. 120:5). *Ptolemy* lists "Adra" in his *Geography* (5.14, 16. tabula IV Asia), and *Pliny* (5.12.65) mentions the Arabian *Cedrei* who live near the *Nabataeans*.

⁷⁵ Again, Mather errs and mistakes *Ishmael's* son *Adbeel* (Gen. 25:15) for *Abdeel* (Jer. 36:26). *Franciscus Junius*, or *François Du Jon* (1545–1602), is the learned *Huguenot* theologian, professor of theology at *Heidelberg* and *Leiden*, and translator (with *Tremellius*) of the Hebrew OT into Latin (1576–79). *Junius's* reference appears in his annotations on Gen. 25:15, in *Biblia Sacra* (1593) 1:28, note 15. See also *Ptolemy's Geography* (5.18. tabula IV Asia). Mather owned a copy of the second edition of *Biblia Sacra* (1593).

⁷⁶ *Chisbam* should be *Mibsam*, *Ishmael's* fourth son (Gen. 25:13), located in "Arabia the Happy," the ancient territory of *Yemen*, renowned for its fertile land and prosperous people, in *Junius, Biblia Sacra* (1:28, n 15). *Mishma*, the fifth son of *Ishmael*, is associated with *Rhaabeni*, in *Ptolemy, Geography* (5.18). *Stephanus* associates *Dumah*, *Ishmael's* sixth son (Gen. 25:13) with *Dumatha* (*Dumaïos*), in (*Ethnica* 54.15). Likewise, *Massah* (*Ishmael's* seventh son) is equated with Μεσσην "Messeneh" (*Stephanus* 89.10 and 447.14 ff) and with the *Masani*, in *Ptolemy (Geography* 5.18).

⁷⁷ *Ishmael's* eighth son *Hadar* is by *Junius* associated with *Athritæ* (*Biblia Sacra* 1:28, n 15). For *Adara*, see *Ptolemy's Geography* (5.18).

⁷⁸ For *T(h)ema*, *Jetur*, the *Ituraei* in *Trachonitis* (a volcanic region of the NE Transjordan, in High Syria), see *Junius (Biblia Sacra* 1:28, n 15). The "Surmaïoi" and "Salamïoi" can be found, respectively, in *Stephanus* (593.13, 14; and 550.12).

Naphish, or, *Nabis*: The *Nubei Arabes*, of *Junius*; in or near *Lebanon*. Possibly, *Noba* was here. [1. Chron. 15.19.]⁷⁹

Kedemah: – in the Land of the *Kadmonites*, giving denomination to the whole Country.

Here were the Posterity of *Hagar* mostly randevouzed.

Wee are still on the West-side of *Paradise*, in the Land of *Kedemah*: and I know not how to leave that Illustrious Land, until wee have entertained ourselves, with further Observations upon some of its Inhabitants, and Illustrations of the Texts that mention them.

That Land, hitherto undescribed by any, lay, South of *Aram*, or, *Syria*; East, of *Canaan*; North, of *Edom*, & *Arabia* the Happy: And West, of the Region of the Ancient *Eden*.

In this Country, wee find *Job*, with his Friends, inhabiting. And in the *Notices* of the Eastern Empire, and in the *Themata*, wee find here a peculiar Province, termed, *Oriens*, κατ' ἑξοχῇ, whereof, *Zenobia*, so often mentioned, was Queen: as I have already told you. *Job*, was the *Chief* [Job. 29.25.] in this Region. His Head-City was עֲרֵץ / *Gutz*; by the Arabian Geographers called, *Algutze*, or, *Algauta*. The People are called, *Autai*, by *Pliny*, and *Æsitæ*, by *Ptolomy*, and by *Niger*, his Explanator: The City itself, *Ciasa*, or *Cæasa*, and *Cæsa*, South-East of *Palmyra*.⁸⁰ The Country, Αυστις, by the LXX, and the City, *Auza*, somewhat North of *Teman*. This *Cæsa*, or, *Uz*, is by *Ptolomy* placed in the Latitude of 32.^{gr} 50.^{min}. The *Æsitæ*, which are by some thought so called, from אֵשׁ / *Ignis*; because they were Worshippers of the *Fire*, the *Sun*, & the *Stars*; and judg'd the same with the *Zabij*, celebrated in many Authors, who may bee so styled from worshipping *Zabaoth*, or the Hosts of Heaven: People of the same Complexion, with the Chaldeans of *Ur*, who, worshipped *Ur*, the great *Light* of the *Sun*, and were great Students in *Astronomy*.⁸¹ These extended their vain Superstitions thro'

⁷⁹ *Naphish*, Ishmael's eleventh son (Gen. 25:15) is by *Junius* associated with the Arabian Nubians (*Biblia Sacra* 1:28, n 15). *Noba(h)* is mentioned in Num. 32:42 – not in the Chronicles.

⁸⁰ See also Mather's *Threefold Paradise* (99). For the *Notices*, see Pancirollus, *Notitia utraque*. The *Themata* bestows on *Oriens*, the kingdom of Queen *Zenobia* (267–272 CE), the honorific “in accordance with its eminence.” See also Rufus Festus *Breviarium rerum gestarum populi Romani* (4th c. CE), cap. 24. The homeland of *Job* (Job 1:1) is commonly identified as *Uz*, or עֲרֵץ Uwtz [Strong's # 5780]. Among the Arabian geographers generally consulted at the time are Alfragan, i.e., Achmed Ibn Ketir al-Farghani [Alfergan, Alfragan] (c. 840), an astronomer who worked for Kalif Al-Mamun; and Abulfeda, i.e., Ismail Abu'l Fida (1273–1331), the historian and geographer of Damascus, whose *Geographia* [Thakwim el-Boldan: The True Position of the Countries] was translated into Latin and published as early as 1650 (Huet, *Treatise*, ch. 2, p. 24). *Pliny* (6.32.158) calls them *Autaci*, and *Ptolemy* calls them *Ascitæ* (*Geography* 6.7. tabula VI Asia), and *Dominicus Marius Niger*, “aesitæ populi,” in his *Geographiae Commentariorum* (1557), comment. 4, p. 524.

⁸¹ The Greek “Ausitis” (LXX, Job 1:1) is the name for *Job*'s homeland. *Ptolemy* lists *Caesa* (Gaesa), a town in Arabia Felix, in his *Geography* (6.7.); Mather's Hebrew term seems inaccurate and should read אֵשׁ “esh” (aysh) [Strong's # 784]; signifying “fire,” it is associated with Zoroaster (Zarathustra), a Persian prophet (7th–6th c. BCE), whose adoration of the supreme god

all these adjacent Regions; the *Superstitions* infinitely detested & condemned [Jer. 10.2.] in the Word of God. They dwelt all along the Banks of *Uphrates*, up as far as *Harar*, where dwelt *Laban*, one of those poor *Star-gazers*, who composed (as is judged) his *Talismanical* Gods of certain Metals, imprinted with a *Lion*, or *Scorpion*, or the like, when the Sun & Moon faced one another with benign Aspects, from the same Triplicitie, & in proper Houses, & Mansions of the Heavens; for the Designs of Divination: and therefore, by *Rachel*, his Daughter, stolen from him.⁸²

Teman, the City of *Eliphaz*, was well-known to the Romans; having long been a *Præsidium*, or *Garrison* of theirs, among the *Arabians*. *Jerom*, in his Book of *Hebrew Places*, putts it at five Miles distance off *Petra*; but it is fifteen, in the Greek Copy of *Eusebius*, which was *Jeroms* Original. The *Peutinger* Tables have it, One & Twenty Miles from the Temple, *Ad Dianam*; which I suppose, was the Idolatrous *Fanum* of the Romans, on, or near Mount *Horeb*.⁸³

Sue, the City of *Bildad*, had its Name from a Rock. It is called, *Socho*, *Sueth*, and *Sueta*, by the Romans *Capitolias*; & it is described at large by *Gulielmus Tyrius*. Its exact Position is in the *Peutinger* Tables: and this Prince of it is called, *Sauchæorum Tyrannus*, who are the *Saccæi* of *Ptolomy*, near the *Agrei*, or *Agarens*, in the same Vicinage of *Arabia Petræa*. *Capitolias*, is by *Peutinger* fixed Ten Miles from *Edrei*, and this, Twenty Four, from *Dozzals*; the same, it may bee, is, whats called, *Saveh*, or, *Kings-dale*, in *Genesis*. [Gen. 14.17.]⁸⁴

Ahura Mazda is connected with the worship of fire, the sun, and the stars (see Hyde, *Historia Religionis*, cap. 9, pp. 161–69). Zabaoth or Sabaoth (from “tsebaoth”), signifies “The Lord of Hosts” (Rom. 9:29). The city of Ur (near Bozra, S Iraq) is believed to be the birthplace of Abraham (Gen. 11:28). Mather discusses the “*Zabij*” (Zabians, Sabians, Sabaeans) – allegedly a Chaldean people – in his essay “V. Antiqua. Or, Our Sacred Scripture Illustrated with some Accounts of the *Sabians* and the *Magians*,” in “Appendix. Containing some General Store,” following Mather’s commentary on the Revelation. For the rise and fall of the Zabians as an “invention” of Maimonides, see J. Elukin, “Maimonides” and J. Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian* (57–72).

⁸² Laban’s teraphim (family gods) were stolen by Rachel (Gen. 31:30–35). For the origin and occult function of the teraphim as idols and as talismanic healing devices, see Gerard Vossius’s *De Theologia Gentili* (lib. 1, cap. 3, p. 20), Pierre Jurieu’s *Critical History* (2:77–109), and especially Jacques Gaffarel’s *Unheard-of Curiosities* (1650), part 2, chs. 6–7, pp. 141–246. See also Mather’s commentary on Gen. 31:19, in “BA” [401r–405r].

⁸³ See also Mather’s *Threefold Paradise* (99–100). Son of Eliphaz (Gen. 36:11, 15, 42; 1 Chron. 1:36, 53), the Edomite Teman also supplied the name for a region or city by that name. Jerome mentions it in his *De situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum* (“De Genesi” # 282) [PL 23. 924B], but relies on Eusebius Pamphilus’s *Commentaria in Isaiam* (1.80.37) for his source. *Peutinger’s Tabula Peutingeriana* lists T(h)eman in segm. IX.5. The Roman temple “To Diana” (Artemis) is dedicated to the protectress of women (Ptolemy, *Geography* 5.1. tabula I Asia). And the Roman god Faunus, protector of agriculture, is associated with the Arcadian Pan. One of Faunus’s temples stood near Mt. Horeb.

⁸⁴ Archbishop William of Tyre (Guillelmus Tyrius) describes the city Capitolias in his *Historia* [PL 201. 209]. *Peutinger* positions the city in *Tabula Peutingeriana* (segm. X.1–2), and

[120v] | *Naguamathi*, was the Seat of *Zophar*. It is corrupted into *Nazama*, in *Ptolomy*, and the Imperial *Notitiæ*. It signifies an *Ostrich*, which was a Creature frequent in those Wildernesses. It was near *Palmyra*: but if you would know the Position, with a more critical Exactness, I refer you to the Tables. All I am doing, at this Instant, is, to show you, with some general Hints, whereabouts you are, when you read the Scriptures.⁸⁵

In this Countrey of *Kedemah*, you'll find *Balaam* also. His Town, *Pethor*, was by the River *Uphrates*, and the Mountains of *Kedem*, on the East, by *Aram*; that is, *Aram Naharaim*, or, *Mesopotamia*. It seems to bee the *Betthara*, of *Ptolomy*, near the Mountains of *Aramenia*.⁸⁶

And in this Countrey you'll find *Jacob*, fled unto his Uncle, at *Harān*, & *Padan-aram*; for *Laban* probably had a great Interest in both of those Places. *Padan* I take to bee the *Aphadana*, of *Ptolomy*; and *Harān*, to bee the ancient *Carrae*, famous for the Overthrow of *Crassus*; and called *Charran*, by Holy *Stephen*. 'Tis not the same with *Hauran* mentioned by *Ezekiel*, [Ezek. 47.16.] which is the *Aurana*, of *Ptolomy*; standing in the *Peutinger*-Maps, Eighteen Miles East of *Adrianople*, or *Palmyra* of *Stephanus*, famous for *Palm-trees*, & answering the Name *Tamar*, or *Tadmor*, i.e. the *Palm-City*, a stronghold built by King *Solomon*, in this Wilderness.⁸⁷

Moreover, To pass by what wee read about this Land of *Kedemah*, in the Book of *Judges*: [Judg. 6.3. & 8.10. & 24.8, 11.] wee find it mention'd in the Story of Mens planting the World soon after the *Flood*.⁸⁸ [Gen. 11.2.] The Ark resting on Mount *Ararat*, in the Northern Parts of *Armenia*, they travelled thence first unto this *Kedemah*; the Countrey called, *East*, not in respect of *Ararat*, but of *Canaan*. As *Abraham* has it said of him, in another Place [Gen. 13.1.] *Hee went out of Egypt into the South*; altho' indeed it was *North* from *Egypt*: and the original Word should still bee kept here untranslated, *Negob*; *Hee went*

Bildad is the prince of the Sauchaeans (LXX, Job. 2:11); his city, Tyre, is listed in Ptolemy's *Geography* (5.14).

⁸⁵ See also Mather's *Threefold Paradise* (100). Zophar, the Naamathite, is one of Job's three comforters (Job. 2:11); Ptolemy lists Nazama as a city in Apamene (*Geography* 5.14). And finally, Peutinger lists Nazama in his *Tabula Peutingeriana* (segm. X.1–2).

⁸⁶ Betthara (possibly Bethauna) is listed in Ptolemy's *Geography* (5.17). However, a town called Bethar (7 miles SSW of Jerusalem), where Bar Kochba's final stand against the Romans was crushed, may also here be intended.

⁸⁷ Apphadana, a town in Mesopotamia near the Euphrates, and Carrae in the interior, are listed in Ptolemy (*Geography* 5.17. tabula IV Asia). Marcus Licinius Crassus Dives (c. 112–53 BCE), Roman senator and general in the Parthian campaign, was killed near Carr(h)ae. Charran (Acts 7:2, 4) is the location where St. Stephen, the first Christian martyr (Acts 7:57–60), gave a speech to the local council. Aurana, an inland town in Arabia Deserta, is mentioned in Ptolemy's *Geography* (5.18) and listed in Peutinger's *Tabula Peutingeriana* (segm. X.5–XI.1). Finally, Stephanus records Palmyra in *Ethnica* (498.7–8).

⁸⁸ There is no twenty-fourth chapter of Judges. The most likely scripture is Josh. 24:8, 11, which describe the Israelites' fight against the Amorites and the crossing over the Jordan River.

into *Negob*; that is, a Countrey in the South of *Canaan*, so called.⁸⁹ But the *Plain of Shinar*, whereto those first Companies came, is that which is called *Senagjar*, in *Golius*, and *Sinigarus*, in *Ptolomy*, which gave Name, as well to a *City*, as a *Plain*, on the South of the *Gordiean*, or, *Ararat* Mountains.⁹⁰ In this *Kedemah* wee likewise find [Gen. 10.30.] Mount *Sephar*, or, *Saphir*, that is, the Shining Mountain; where the Posteritie of *Shem* dwelt in the Parts adjacent unto *Mesha*, that is, Mount *Masius*. A Mount of this Name, *Shapher*, wee have in the Journeyes of *Israel*, thro' the Wilderness: [Num. 33.23.] it was in *Arabia Petraea*. And this might lead us, to Illustrate the Scituation of other Stages taken by *Israel* in those Journeyes, from the Tables of *Peutinger*, & *Ptolomy*: But I suspect, you begin to grow weary of tarrying thus long at *Kedemah*: and perhaps you wonder, where I design to carry you.⁹¹

To content you, I'll so far anticipate the Entertainment, which I have anon for you, as to tell you, That I hope, I shall anon determine the Countrey of *Paradise* to have been, the *Inter omnia*, or the principal Part, if not the whole, of *Mesopotamia*, between the two famous Rivers, of *Tigris*, & *Uphrates*: the same Countrey which the Arabians call *Algerive*.⁹²

But wee are not yett gott so far; Wee have hitherto been only surveying the *West-side* of *Eden*; the *Countrey* of *Eden*, is to bee sought in the East of *Kedemah*, and the *Garden* of *Eden*, in a particular Part of that Countrey, to bee e're long discovered.⁹³

Before wee come thither, Lett us a little view the *North Side* of *Eden*. Famous Rivers ran down the mountainous Craggs, in the *North* of *Assyria* and *Mesopotamia*, and imparted Innumerable Excellencies, to the Transcendent & Illustrious Countrey, which was of old called, *הַגִּבְרִי* / *Voluptas*, the *Countrey* of *Eden*, or, Delight: and by the Greeks, *Ἰδωνή* and *Adonis*. But, if you ask, which of those two Rivers, *Tigris*, or, *Euphrates*, did strike thro' the *Garden* of this *Eden*, before its Departure, into its four Branches, or *Divortia*, mentioned

⁸⁹ Negob (Negeb) is a desert area S of the mountains of Judah.

⁹⁰ Jacob Golius, aka. Gohl (1596–1667), is the Dutch Calvinist, professor of mathematics, and translator of Arabic manuscripts. Samuel Lee (Mather's immediate source) probably refers to Golius's *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* (1653). Ptolemy locates Sin(i)gara on the banks of the Tigris River (*Geography* 5.17).

⁹¹ The Masius Mountains in Mesopotamia are also mentioned in Ptolemy's *Geography* (5.17). Mather's self-conscious address to his readers is understandable, given that accurate maps of the region were largely unavailable and seventeenth-century geographers were forced to turn to the classical mainstays of Greek and Roman antiquity. Mather's effort to identify ancient Canaanite and Israelite place names with their Greek, Roman, or Arabic equivalent is borne out by his desire to uphold the accuracy of the Mosaic geography and the philological verity of the Bible as text.

⁹² See also Mather's *Threefold Paradise* (101). "Inter omnia" signifies "among all things."

⁹³ It is important to remember that Mather and most of his contemporaries distinguished between the Garden of Eden (Paradise) and the Country of Eden, a region in which the pleasure ground of Adam and Eve was situated. For a debate on this issue, see Huet (*Treatise*, ch. 2, pp. 15–25).

in the Second Chapter of *Genesis*; I must shortly show you, that it was *Tigris*: *Tigris*, that sprang from the Mountains of *Elwend*, or, *Ararat*, a long Ledge of *Taurus* and *Caucasus*, on the North of *Media* and *Armenia*. Near hereunto Rose the River *Phasis* of *Iberia*; and the City *Cholcis* was near the Head of *Tigris*, where the *Golden Fleece*, as the Poets remarkably tell us, was kept by a *Dragon*.⁹⁴

You shall now Travel with mee, to the *East-side* of *Eden*. *Moses* acquaints us, [Gen. 3.24.] There were *Cherubims* placed with *Flaming Swords*, to keep the *Way of the Tree of Life*; and these were on the *East Side of the Garden*. Some learned Men Judge these to bee the Sulphureous *Lakes* thereabouts, continually Flaming Day and Night; which were beheld long after, by *Alexander* the great, with great Admiration: a Notable *Emblem*, &c a Probable *Effect*, of *Angels*, who are called [121r] *Flames of Fire*. These Fiery, | Bituminous, and Stupendous *Lakes*, are found in *Plutarch's* Life of *Alexander*, near *Ecbatana*, the Head-City of *Media*, call'd *Acbatana*, by *Ptolomy*, and in Sacred Writ, [Ezr. 6.2.] *Achmetha*; His Words are, *Χάσμα πυρὸς ἐν Εκβατάνοις*.⁹⁵ Wee read also in *Pliny*, of a *Burning Mountain* among the *Bactrians*, and *Medians*: And wee read of a Field of *Babylon*, that Burns, as it were in a Fish-Pond of an Acre in Quantity; and the same is by *Tibullus* glanced at; *Ardet Aractæis aut unda per hospita campis*: The strange Lake that Burns in the Fields of *Aracta*; that is, of *Erech*, [Gen. 10.{10.}] not far from *Babylon*. These Conflagrations, worse than *Sodoms*, continued for many Ages; and, I suppose, do still continue, or are apt on the least Occasions, to enkindle.⁹⁶

Moreover, when *Cain* went out from the Worship of God, in his Fathers Family, tis said, Hee dwelt in the Land of *Nod*, on the East of *Eden*: [Gen. 4.16.] which is call'd *Naid*, by *Jerom*. And it is added, Hee built a City, & call'd it by the Name of his Son, *Enoch*. Here probably is the Land, which the *Nubian* Geographer, calls *Nodha*; where is the City *Kir*, which is the same with the

94 The Hebrew עֵדֶן "ay-den" [Strong's # 5731], or Eden, signifies "pleasure" as does the Latin "Voluptas" and the Greek "Hedone" and "Adonis." *Elwend* is a chain of mountains in N Media, formerly called Orontes. Jason and the Argonauts in their quest for the Golden Fleece of Hermes's winged ram, guarded by a sleepless dragon at Cholcis (Ptolemy, *Geography* 5.9), are celebrated by the Greek poets Pindar (*Pythian Odes* 4.179–246), Apollonius Rhodius (*Argonautica* 2.1143–47, 4.123–82), and the Roman poet Gaius Valerius Flaccus (*Argonautica* 7.510–8.139).

95 The burning pits of bitumen near Ecbatana – which the Macedonian conqueror Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE) saw during his Parthian campaign into Syria and Medo-Perisa – are described in Plutarch's *Alexander* (35.1–2), in *Plutarch's Lives* (7:328), which also locates the "Xasma puros en Ekbatanois" or the "Chasm of fire among the Ekbatanae." The ancient city of Acbatana (also Ecbatana), in the interior of Media, is listed in Ptolemy's *Geography* (6.2).

96 Pliny (2.110.236–37) mentions the flames of Mt. Etna, of Mt. Chimaera (Lycia), the "coil of flame" at the Bactrian Cophantium, and similar flammable regions in Media. The Latin passage from Albius Tibullus (c. 54–c. 19 BCE), a Roman elegiac poet, translates "Or the strange wave burns in the fields of Aracta," which may be an adaptation of "aret, Araccæis aut unda Oroatia campis," i.e., "or the waters of Oroatis in the plains of Aracca (*Panegyricus Messallae* 3.7.142). Sodom, supposedly located near the "slimepits" or lakes of burning bitumen (Gen. 14:10), was destroyed in a conflagration issuing from heaven (Gen. 19:24).

City *Cyrus*, or, *Cyropolis*, of *Ptolomy*; upon the River *Kur*, in *Media*; mentioned by the Ingenious *Olearius*: whither the People of *Syria* and *Damascus* were, as I have told you, carried captive.⁹⁷ [Amos. 1.5.] And as for the City, *Enoch*, tis embalmed by *Mela*, by *Solinus*, by *Pliny*, and by *Ptolomy*, among the *Eniochi*, or *Heniochi*, in the Land of *Enochia*. And in the *Nubian*, wee read of the Clime called, *Kir-cajan*, and another called *Abil*, near *Nodha*, and *Candaul*. Hee speaks also of other Places, called, *Tel-becain*, that is, *Tel-beth-cain*, or, The Mount of the House of *Cain*. So, the first Man, that built a *City*, was the first *Wicked Man* in the World.⁹⁸

But lett us now take our Course to the *South Side of Eden*. And, Remem-
bring our former distinction between the Countrey of *Eden*, and the Garden of *Eden*, wee may here observe, That the Land of *Eden*, is the same, that the *Ara-
bians* now call, *Gesire*, or, *Diarbeck*; that is, the Province lying between the Two
Rivers *Uphrates* and *Tigris*; & reaching to the South Sea, into which those Rivers
are Disembogued. Unto this Purpose, *Ethicus*, in his *Cosmography*, notes, that
the River *Armodius*, illustrates the Region of *Adonis* [i.e. *Eden*, or, *Gezre*] and
Mesopotamia; and is Received into the *Persian Gulf*. This *Armodius*, I suppose
to bee *Armodus*, or the River of *Ormuz*, that is, *Tigris*. This was the *Countrey*.
But now the *Garden*, of *Eden* lies on the East-side of this Land of *Adonis*; It is an
Island of *Tigris*; on the South Side whereof, the River *Tigris* issuing out of that
pleasant Spott, is by several Cutts lett into *Euphrates*; which, with its branches,
deciphers the *Four Rivers*, or Heads of Water, mentioned in the Second of
Genesis, to bee divided, on the South-side of the Garden.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ See also Mather's *Threefold Paradise* (101–102). St. Jerome's place name "Naid" (Gen. 4:16) appears in his commentary *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim* [PL 23. 945A–B], but does not signify the name of a country, but the quality of Cain's meandering hither than thither: "What the Septuagint translated as Naid is expressed in Hebrew as *Nod*, and is to be interpreted as *saleuomenos*, that is, unsteady, moving like the waves, and of an unfixed abode. The reference is not, therefore, to a land called Naid, as the mass of our people think; but God's decision is discharged in that he [Cain] wandered hither and thither as a wanderer and a fugitive" (*Hebrew Questions*, p. 35). The Arabic geographer Abu Abdullah Mohammad Ibn al-Sharif al-Idrisi (Edrisi) calls this region Nodha (Nodhair) in his *Geographia Nubiensis* (1619), clim. 3, pars 5, p. 110. Ptolemy lists the Median city Cyropolis in his *Geography* (6.2. tabula V Asia). And Olearius is the German philologist and ducal secretary Adam Oelschlaeger (1603–71), whose *Beschreibung der Newen Orientalischen Reisen* (1647) [second, expanded edition 1656] appeared in an English translation as *The Voyages & Travels of the Ambassadors* (1662), bk. 5, p. 197.

⁹⁸ See also Mather's *Threefold Paradise* (103). The city Enoch is mentioned by Roman geographer Pomponius Mela (fl. 40 CE) in his *De Chorographia* (1.99, 100, 110, 111), by his countryman Gaius Julius Solinus (fl. 200 CE) in *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium* (15.17, 16), by Pliny (6.4.12–14; 6.5.16), and by Ptolemy (*Geography* 5.8. tabula II Asia). Idrisi mentions Kir-cajan (Kelcaian), Abil, and Tel-becain in his *Geographia Nubiensis* (1619), clim. 2, pars 8, p. 65 and elsewhere.

⁹⁹ Mather refers to *Cosmographia* (84), a hopelessly corrupted work based on first-century maps by Julius Aethicus (Ethicus, Aethikos Ister), who flourished in the 5th c. CE.

I. The River *Pison*, or, the *Fish-ful* River.

Omitting what *Pliny* writes, of *Eels* Thirty foot long, to bee caught in this River: I shall only tell you, That this River is called, *Pasitigris*. *It compasses the Land of Havilah*; [Gen. 2.11.] the Land, by *Strabo* called, *Chalonites*; and by some, *Chaulan*; but by *Benjamin of Tudela*, *Haoula*. Its *Compassing* that Land, means not an *Encircling* of it, but a *Winding* in and out, upon its borders. Tis true, there was an Ancient *Havilah*, upon the Strand of the Red Sea: [Gen. 25.18. and 1. Sam. 15.7.] the same which *Alah*, or, *Eloth*, or, *Elanoh*, or *Hailat*, in *Magirus*, upon *Ptolomy*.¹⁰⁰ Here dwelt *Havilah*, the Son of *Cush*; the Ethiopian of *Arabia*. But near this Place, there is no notable River to detain us. There is another *Havilah*, which lay, in or near the East *Indies*, in the Golden *Chersonese*; where is the Island of *Ceilan*, or, *Chaulan*, that is, *Havilah*: and the Plantation of *Ophir*, couched in *Hiphouros*, or, *Hippurus*, is in the same Island, of *Zeilan*. But there was a Third *Havilah*, from *Havilah*, the Son of *Joktan*, who dwelt near his Brother *Ophir*, and the rest of *Shems* Issue, in the Golden Countrey of *Arabia*, and afterwards colonised into more Eastern Countreyes of *Asia*, where wee find, a New *Havilah*, and a New *Ophir*. This is the *Havilah* of the Text now before us. In the very Mouth of the *Persian* Sea, wee light upon the Diving-places, or Oister-banks, for *Pearl*; and anon, sais *Arrian*, in his *Periplus*, of the *Red-Sea*, you have the *Χώρα πασινου*, *Regio Pasini*, or, Countrey of *Pison*; called also, *Vallum Pasini*, near the united Falls of *Tigris* & *Uphrates* into the *Persian* Gulf.¹⁰¹ The

¹⁰⁰ For Huet's attempts to locate and identify the P(h)ison River in the Land of Havilah, see his *Treatise* (ch. 7–8, pp. 66–97). Samuel Bochart's description of the four rivers in *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 7–8, col. 30–35) is the ultimate source for much of what is described below. In Philemon Holland's translation of Pliny's *Naturall Historie* (1601), bk. 9, ch. 3, p. 235, "yeeles [eels] within the river Ganges of thirtie foot in length" are in our modern edition of Pliny (9.2.4) listed as "300 ft." (!) long – the River Ganges being frequently identified as the biblical Pison. Eels "Seven Foot" long with a "circumference Seven and Twenty Inches, the Weight Six and Thirty Pounds" were also caught at Maldon, Essex, if Samuel Dale's "Account," in *Philosophical Transactions* 20 (1698): 90–97, can be trusted. Strabo calls the region Chalonitis (11.14.8; 16.1.1). The Sephardic traveler and geographer of medieval Spain, Rabbi Benjamin (Ben Jonah) of Tudela (fl. 1150–1200), identified the Pison as the Egyptian Nile and consequently located Haoula or Havilah (Zawilah) in what is now modern Ghana (*Itinerary* 97). The commentator on Claudius Ptolemy's *Geography* and on the nine crystal spheres of the ancients in Ptolemy's *Almagest* is Johannes Magirus (? – 1596), professor of physics at the Lutheran University of Marburg (Germany). Magirus's popular Aristotelian Physics textbook *Physiologiae Peripateticae libri sex* (1597) was part of John Harvard's original bequest to Harvard and there used as a textbook. The *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Collegij Harvardini* (84 [86]) lists the 1619 Frankfurt edition of Magirus's work. See also Samuel Eliot Morison, *Founding of Harvard* (265) and *Harvard College* (1:226–27, 233), as well as his "Harvard School of Astronomy" (6–7).

¹⁰¹ Havilah, the second son of Cush (Gen. 10:7), and Havilah, the second son of Joktan (Gen. 10:29) – each is to have given rise to various place names: (1) Havilah in the land of Eden, through which the River Pison (Araxes) flowed, has been associated with Colchis, NE Asia Minor, near the Caspian Sea; (2) Havilah on the Island of Ceylon (modern Sri Lanka); and (3) Havilah associated with Kualan, in NW Yemen, Arabia, a region settled by the Ishmaelites. For

People of *Chelfa* there, affirm themselves to have their Habitation in *Eden*. The *Bedolach*, *Bdellium*, or true Oriental *Pearl*, is here found, abundantly, near the Isle of *Baharem*. As for the *Gold* of *Havilah*, wee know the best *Gold* is in that Part of *Arabia*; (ῥαίλα of *Ptolomy*, is near the *Homerites* of *Arabia*;) & in such Plenty, that they exchange it for æqual Quantities of *Coper* and *Iron*. Here, *Ophir* was at first planted, near *Chesem*, or the *Cassanite*; & the Place called *Auphar*, in *Arrian* and *Ptolomy*; but by Removes carried further into *Asia*. *Solomons Ophir*, lay in the Second Plantation of the Sons of *Joktan*; & not far from the Bay of *Persia*, where *Strabo* affirms, that *Gold*, & transparent Stones were to be met withal. There | is one Raritie more, by *Moses* assigned unto *Havilah*; and that is, the *Onyx*, which some take for the *Sardonix*: as indeed Metals & Jewels, use to ly together; for our precious Stones are but the Flowers, Ebullitions, or Exudations, of *Minerals*. The *Onyx* is here called, *Soham*; and the *Nubian* Geographer, saies, *Du-Sohaim* was in the Land of *Chaulan*, or, *Havilah*: The Upshott is, This Land lay in the Easterly Part of *Arabia*, environed by the River *Pison*, which was a Fish-ful Branch of *Tigris*, after the Conjunction of *Uphrates*, & its Running down toward the *Persian* Sea, at *Teredon*, now *Belsara*, where all these Waters Tumble into the *Erythrean* Ocean. The Prophet *Ezekiel*, you know, fetches *Pearl* & *Coral*, out of *Eden*; in the South Part of the aforesaid Countrey.¹⁰² [122v]

the seventeenth-century debate about locating Havilah, see Huet (*Treatise*, ch. 8, pp. 83–87) and Bochart (*Geographia*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 28, col. 142–43; lib. 4, cap. 11, col. 225). Ophir, the eleventh son of Joktan (Gen. 10:29), is today associated with a region or city in S Arabia on Solomon's trading route. In Mather's time Solomon's famed gold mine inspired a whole host of fanciful interpreters who located Solomon's Ophir as far away as the South American Peru. Sir Walter Raleigh, *The History of the World* (1614), located Ophir in the East-Indian Molucca Islands (bk. 1, ch. 8, sec. 5, pp. 148–49); Manasseh ben Israel likes Peru as the most likely site of Solomon's Ophir (*Hope of Israel*, sec. 38, pp. 43–44), and Joseph Hall, in his *The Discovery of a New World* (1609), perhaps inspired by the region's legendary wealth, points toward the West Indies (A4v); long before them, however, José Acosta derides such pious endeavors in his *Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies* (1604), bk. 1, ch. 8, pp. 41–44, and follows Josephus in placing Ophir (Aurea Chersonesus) in East India (*Antiquities* 8.6.5). Augustin Calmet places Ophir in Armenia ("Ophir," *Great Dictionary*). Edward Wells rehearses the entire debate in his *Historical Geography of the Old Testament* (vol. 1, bk. 1, ch. 1, pp. 9–13). Mather employs a different set of sources on the fabulous gold of Ophir in his commentary on 2 Chron. 8:18. For a helpful synopsis of the different views see CBTEL. The Greek citation from *Periplus maris Erythraei* (35.12), a work on circumnavigation attributed to the Greek historian and Roman consul Lucius Flavius Arrianus, signifies in its Latin interpretation "Country of Pasini," "Region of Pasini," and "Wall of Pasini."

¹⁰² See also Mather's *Threefold Paradise* (104). Just like Havilah, Pison, and Ophir, the terms "Bedolach" and "B(e)dellium" (Gen. 2:12) are notoriously difficult to identify. Mather's contemporaries either thought they designate an aromatic gum, a crystal, amber, or believed they signified pearls. Josephus (*Antiquities* 3.1.6); the Greek translators Aquila, Theodotian, and Symmachus keep the term "bdellium," but evidently intend a sweet-smelling gum, in Origen's *Hexaplorum quae supersunt in Genesim monitum* (on Gen. 2:12) [PG 15. 165]; the LXX translates "bdellium" as "carbuncle" (Gen. 2:10) and as "crystal" (Num. 11:7); finally, Samuel Bochart (*Hierozycon*, pars 2, lib. 5, cap. 5, col. 673–80) identifies bdellium as pearls. Huet discourses on the signification of "bdellium" in his *Treatise* (chs. 10–11, pp. 91–102), but

II. *Gihon*.

This River is the same that is called, *Gyndes*, by *Herodotus*, *Tibullus*, *Am-
mianus Marcellinus*, and *Orosius*. The Poet speaks of,

Rapidus Cyri Dementia Gyndes.¹⁰³

A Channel cutt out of *Tigris* by *Cyrus*, was called so. But the Ancient *Gihon*, gave Title, in the *Dayes of Moses* to another Branch of Waters, issuing out from *Tigris*. *It compassed the whole Land of Ethiopia*: [Gen. 2.13.] which wee must understand of the *Arabian Ethiopia*; or, the Eastern, mentioned by *Homer*, of old: From whence came *Zerah*, with his vast Army, against *Judah*. [2. Chron. 14.9.] The Land of *Midian*, was a Part of that *Ethiopia*; where *Moses* married his Wife. The Word *הַסֶּבֶב* / *Circuiens*, may bee rendred, *Alluens*, *Allambens*. This River, in its pleasant *Maanders*, ran down, on the Eastern Side, of the *Arabian* Desarts; at last, it spreads itself in great Circuits, into the Lakes of *Chaldea*; & joining with *Tigris* & *Uphrates* united, they fall together, with a Joyful Roar, from a vast Mouth, into the *Persian Gulf*. Tis the Flood, which *Ptolomy* calls *Maarsares*, or, *Naarsares*, or the *Regius Fluuius*, issuing out of *Uphrates*, at *Siphara*, near *Naarda*, the University of the Jewish Rabbins; it rowls up & down

like most of his contemporaries, they turned to Matthew Poole's trusty *Synopsis Criticorum* (1669–76) vol. 1, col. 23, where the various positions and interpreters are itemized (*Works* 1:150). Mather's "Baharem" is the modern Bahrain island in the Persian Gulf. Ptolemy locates "Huaila," near the Homerites, a people in Arabia Felix (*Geographia* 6.7.41, line 9, and tabula VI Asia). Flavius Arrianus mentions "Saphar" (not "Auphar") in *Periplus maris Erythraei* (23.1), and so does Ptolemy (*Geographia* 5.19.6, line 5) and the region of the Cassanitae (6.7.6, line 1). Strabo (16.4.20) uses the disclaimer "it is said" that the gold mines in the Persian Gulf also carry "emerald" and "beryl." Moses's onyx stone (Gen. 2:12) is in Aquila's Greek version rendered sardonyx, an onyx stone (chalcedony) with interspersed layers of sard, in Origen's *Hexaplorum quae supersunt in Genesim monitum* (164) [PG. 15. 164]. For Mather's discussion of minerals, their origin, and qualities, see his "Essay 25. Of Minerals" (*Christian Philosopher*, pp. 22–29). And the Arab historian and geographer Idrisi weighs in for the location of Du-Sohaim in the land of Chaulan (*Geographia Nubiensis*, clim. 2, pars 5, pp. 49–50). Teredon (Diridotis), a city near the channel of Pison (Ptolemy, *Geography* 5.19. tabula IV Asia), lay near the modern city Abadan, where the Tigris and Euphrates flow into the Persian Gulf, which is an arm of the Indian (Erythrean) Ocean. Finally, the prophet Ezekiel relates how the riches of this region were traded all the way to Syria (Ezek. 27:16).

103 For Huet's discussion of the Gihon River, see his *Treatise* (ch. 12, pp. 103–16); The Mosaic Gihon River (Gen. 2:13) is here identified with the Gyndes, mentioned by the Greek historian Herodotus (1.189–90, 202); by Roman poet Albius Tibullus (*Panegyricus Messallae* 3.7.141); by Roman historian of Antioch Ammianus Marcellinus (c. 330–90 CE), in his *Historia* (23.6.40); and by Paulus Orosius (fl. 385–20), a Spanish historian, presbyter, and disciple of Augustine, in *Historiarum contra gentis* 2.6. [PL 31. 757A, note 3]. The Latin citation, which translates "The rushing Gyndes which maddened Cyrus," appears in Tibullus (*Panegyricus Messallae* 3.7.141) and alludes to the diversion of the Gyndes into many channels, by Cyrus the Great (c. 557–c. 530 BCE), the founder of the Persian Empire and conqueror of the Nabonidean Babylon (c. 539 BCE).

in many voluminous Windings, West of *Babylon*, & thence to *Volgesia*, *Borsita*, *Bibla Beana*, *Didigna*; and falls into *Tigris* at *Apamia*.¹⁰⁴

III. *Hiddekel*.

The Name of this River, is from, *Dekel*, a *Dart*, for the Swiftness of it; & therefore called also, *Tigris*. The Springs of this Rapid River, tis true, are in the Northern Mountains of *Armenia*, & *Media*, about *Caucasus*. But our present Concern lies in that Part of it, where the main Single Stream, rowles out of *Paradise*, on the South Side of the Garden, & runs nimbly towards the East of *Assyria*. Of old, *Assyria* contained itself within the Bounds of these two Rivers; called since, *Mesopotamia*: hence *Lucan* calls, *Haran*, or *Carrae*, where *Crassus* came to his End, *An Assyrian City*.

Assyrias Latio maculavit sanguine Carras.

Nimrod (afterwards constellated into *Orion*.) at first passed into that Land of *Ashur*; [Gen. 10.4.] and there hee build *Ninive*, or, *Nini-nave*, i.e. the Habitation of *Nimrod*; and *Rehoboth*, *Calah* and *Resen*; that is, *Oroba*, *Calicala*, and *Rhesnea*, near *Ptolomies Ingine*, or *Engannim*, the Fountain of Gardens, or *Edens*, Eastward of *Chebar*, or, *Aboras*.¹⁰⁵

IV. *Euphrates*.

That is, *Huperath*, or *Phrat*, in English, *The Fruitful River*. This goodly Stream, ran thro' the Midst of *Babylon*; and it is afterward spent, partly in the Chaldæan Lakes, near *Urchoa*, and the *Orcheni*, or the *Ur* of *Abraham*; and partly recollects itself into *Tigris*, & then envelops itself in the Bosom of the *Persian* Sea, and so is lost in what *Solinus* & others call, the *Ethiopian Ocean*.

¹⁰⁴ See also Mather's *Threefold Paradise* (104–05). For the building of channels by Cyrus, see Tibullus (*Panegyricus Messallae* 3.7.140 ff). Homer mentions Ethiopia (E Arabia) in several places including *The Odyssey* (1.22–25, 4.84, 5.282–87). Zerah, the Cushite general, was defeated by King Asa (2 Chron. 14:1, 9–15). Mather's Hebrew passage “hassebeeb,” adapted from Gen. 2:13 הַסִּבֵּב “hassebeeb” [see Strong's # 5437], suggests “surrounds” and “encompasses.” The Latin rendition denotes “going around,” “washing,” and “licking at.” The “Royal River” is also called Palla Cottas Canalis, a canal (not a river), which Ammianus Marcellinus (*Historia* 23.6.25; 24.2.7; 24.6.1) attributes to Nebuchadnezzar. The Yeshiva near Naardia (Nehardea), which Bochart identifies as “*Naardensis Academiae Doctores ad Euphratem*” (*Hieroicoicon*, pars 2, lib. 6, cap. 5, col. 818), was founded in the third century CE. Finally, the names of places and rivers are almost all listed in Ptolemy's *Geography* (5.17).

¹⁰⁵ See also Mather's *Threefold Paradise* (105). The Roman poet-historian Marcus Annaeus Lucanus (39–65 CE) celebrates the strategies of Roman senator and general Marcus Licinius Crassus, who “stained Syrian Carrhae with Latin blood” (*De Bello Civili sive Pharsalia* 1.105). Crassus's death (53 BCE) in the battle near Carrhae, in Mesopotamia, is related by Pliny (5.21.86). Son of Cush (1 Chron. 1:10), Nimrod is believed to have been the founder of the cities of Babylon and Nineveh (Gen. 10:10, 12; 11:3–4). For the location of the various Mesopotamian towns, rivers, and regions here mentioned, see Ptolemy's *Geography* (5.17. tabula IV Asia). Strabo (16.1.27) locates the Aborras (near Anthemusia) as flowing “between the Euphrates and the Tigris.”

So Famous is this River, that it needs no Description; or, if you would have it, go to *Pliny* for it; But beware you do not so affront the Scripture, as to take the present *Bagdat*, upon *Tigris*, for *Babylon*; for the old *Babylon*, is, as the Scripture foretold, now in desolate Heaps; nothing of Building is in it, or near it, but *Felugea* of late, a little Warehouse, for Merchants.¹⁰⁶

Tis remarkable, to see how the Four *Monarchies*, have been accommodated unto these Rivers; The *Assyrian* to *Tigris*, the *Persian* to *Pison*, the *Græcian* to *Gihon*, and the *Roman* to *Euphrates*, the Old & New *Babylon*.¹⁰⁷

But passing That Curiositie, *tanquam canis ad Nilum*; The River that Runs thro' the Garden of *Eden*, must needs bee *Tigris*. Accordingly, wee shall find a very beautiful *Island*, in the Midst of the River *Tigris*, called, *Gesire*, or, The *Garden*, from גֶּזַר / *Secuit*. It were easy, but it would bee Tedious, now to produce, the Proofs of undoubted *Geography*, that such an *Island* there is, not far from the Place, where *Noah's* Ark rested, abundantly answering all the Scriptural Circumstances of *Paradise*. Wee might especially, insist on the Testimony of [123r] Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, taken out of *Masius*, reciting the Epistle | of the *Nestorian* Bishops, who live at & near the Place. Whereto wee may add, the Accounts of Travellers, in *Purchas*, who assert, that the true Ancient Garden of *Eden*, was in the Island *Gozoria*, Ten Miles in Circuit; a Matter of Twelve Miles North of *Mosul*, a City now on the West Side of *Tigris*, over against *Niniveh*. This *Mosul*, in Lat. 36. gr. 50. min. is a famous Place, at this Day, tho' *Ninive*, over the Water, on the East Side, bee, as was prophesied, a *Desolate Heap*.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ The modern Persian Gulf is by Solinus called Ethiopian Ocean (*Collectanea rerum memorabilium* 24, 30.3). For the ancient description of the Euphrates, see Pliny (5.20.83–85 and 6.30.117 ff.). Babylon's doom is foretold in Jer. 51:37. The modern Felujah (Felugea), an ancient castle about fifty miles N of Babylon, is situated near the river canal Flumen Regium.

¹⁰⁷ A mainstay in the eschatological hermeneutics of Mather's day, Daniel's Four Monarchies (Dan. 2:31–45) are identified with a succession of empires that would give way to Christ's Fifth Monarchy (Dan. 2:31–45). See Mather's *Threefold Paradise* (319–44) and his commentary on Daniel, ch. 2 ("BA").

¹⁰⁸ See Mather's *Threefold Paradise* (105–06). In Mather's time, the Latin phrase "Just like the dog near the Nile" seems to have been a well-known reference to Pliny (8.61.148–49) who describes how the Egyptian dogs "lap up water from the river [Nile] as they run" because they are afraid they might get snatched by crocodiles. This phrase is used metaphorically to express Mather's shying away from discussing a controversial topic lest he be devoured by critics. This popular metaphor appears for instance in *Arcana Microcosmi* (1652), a book on comparative anatomy by Alexander Ross (bk. 2, pp. 13, 21). The island in the midst of the Tigris is by Huet called "*Gezair*," an Arabic wording that signifies "*the Island*" of the Garden of Eden, which "lies immediately above the coming together of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*" (*Treatise*, ch. 17, pp. 147, 148). Mather's Hebrew citation "gazar" [Strong's # 1504] suggests "to cut down," "to exclude," "to decide," "to divide" – all of which are suggested by the Latin translation "secuit" or "it has divided." Sir Walter Raleigh (c. 1552–1618), Elizabethan soldier, mariner, and historian, gives his account of Paradise in his famous *History of the World* (1614), bk. 1, chs. 3–4, and draws on "De paradiso commentarius," in *Epistola populi Nestoriani* (1573), a collection of travelogues by the Flemish Orientalist Andreas Masius (1514–73). The reference to Masius, who translated the letters of Nestorius from Syriac into Latin, appears in Raleigh's *History* (bk. 1, ch. 3, pp. 44–46,

This *Island*, is called, *Zegira*, by *Ptolomy*; *Gizirra*, by *Farrarius*; *Zizira*, by *Jansonius*; *Jasirey*, by *Olearius*; and Mr. *Tavernier* mentions, *Gezire*, a little City, in an Island of *Tigris*. [The doubled / $\square$ / *Clausum*, in Gen. 2.8. may intimate, that *Paradise* was a, *Locus Circumseptus*, walled with Water.]¹⁰⁹

Thevet, in his *Cosmography*, sais, *Gesire*, in the Middle of *Tigris*, is the most fertile Soyl, of all *Asia*. [Compare Gen. 2.9.] And all *Mesopotamia*, is, by the *Arabians* hence called *Algezire*.¹¹⁰

This is the *Island*, whereto *Eliphaz* the *Temanite* alludes, who lived not far from it: [Job. 22.30.] *Hee shall deliver the Island of the Innocent*; and perhaps hee prophesies, that God will deliver this *Island* of the Innocent *Adam*, in the Lat{t}er *Dayes*, into some wonderful *Circumstances* of *Glory*, not yett comprehended.¹¹¹

Every Quarter of the World, ha's had its *Memorials*, of this glorious *Island*. *Asia* had sundry *Tempe's*; *Africa* its *Fortunate Islands* & *Hesperides*; *America*, its *Atlantis* of *Plato*; And *Europe*, the Island of Great *Britain*, by *Hesiod* called, *The Happy*: the *Elysian Fields*, & the *Gardens of Alcinous*.¹¹²

§ 10), as does the story of the Nestorian bishops, followers of Nestorius (d. c. 451), who espoused the heretical belief in two separate persons dwelling within Christ – human and divine. Of the many travelers who visited the region of Eden, John Cartwright describes the Garden and its presumed location on Gozoria in his 1603 “Voyage from Aleppo to Hispaan,” published in Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625). My reference is to the Glasgow edition (1905–07), vol. 8, ch. 4, § 4, pp. 519–20. The desolation of Ninive (Nineveh) was foretold in Nah. 3:7 and Zeph. 2:13. Simon Patrick uses many of the same sources for his *Commentary* (1:12), on Gen. 2:10.

109 See also Mather's *Threefold Paradise* (106). Ptolemy identifies “*Zegira*” or “*Zigira*” as a town or village in that region (*Geography* 6.1. tabula V Asia). Mather's *Farrarius* is Philippus Ferrarius (d. 1626), an Italian geographer, whose popular *Lexicon Geographicum* (1627) was reprinted in London, in 1657 and 1665. Ferrarius identifies Ptolemy as his source, but spells the island's name “Gisira” and locates it in the Mediterranean near the N African city “Ulizibram” (*Lexicon Geographicum* [1657], p. 164). Johannes Jansonius (Jan Jansson the Elder) (1588–1664) is a Dutch geographer and mapmaker, whose *Atlas Major, sive Cosmographia Universalis*, in 10 vols. (1657–75) was reprinted many times and translated into many languages. “*Jasirey*” (spelled: “*Tzisire*”) appears in Olearius's *Voyages and Travels* (1662), bk. 5, p. 200. Finally, the French Baron of Aubonne and traveler Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1605–89) identifies “*Gezire*” in his “Persian travels,” in *The Six Voyages of John Baptista Tavernier* (1678), bk. 3, ch. 4, p. 108. The doubled Hebrew “ $\square$ ” [mem], “*Clausum*” or “enclosure,” suggests to Samuel Lee (Mather's source) an “enclosed place” – the primordial Paradise closed off on all sides by the waters of the Tigris River.

110 André Thevet (1502–90), French traveler and cosmographer, mentions “*Gesire*” in his *Cosmographie de Levant* (1556), ch. 39, p. 147. Raleigh, too, comments at great length on the fertility of the soil thereabouts, in his *History* (bk. 1, ch. 3, pp. 48–49, § 12).

111 Eliphaz, the Temanite, is the chief of Job's three comforters (Job. 22:1).

112 Celebrated for its Sylvan beauty, Tempe is a valley gorge near Mt. Olympus in NE Thessaly. The Fortunate Islands (Canary Islands), like the Gardens of the Hesperides, were associated with the winterless abodes of the happy dead. The Hesperides (Bernicide) is a mountainous region on a N African promontory near Benghazi (Libya), whose fabled terraces are placed in Cyrenaica. The mythical Atlantis, in Plato's *Timaëus* (24e–25d) and *Critias* (108e–109a, 113c–114c), was believed to be an island located in the Atlantic beyond the Pillars

Here was the *Garden Enclosed* [Cant. 4.12.] the Pinacle of Terrestrial Delight & Glory, and the Palace, where *Adam* and *Eve* were together a Type of our Lord Jesus Christ, with His Church, in the Latter Dayes. This was the Place, *Watered*, & by God Himself Defended & *Watched, Night & Day*. Here all Creatures waited on the Harp of the True *Orpheus*, & presented themselves before the *High-priest of the Creation*.¹¹³

*Magna Viri merces, parat ultima Terra Triumphos,
Tigris et Euphrates, Sub Tua Jura fluunt.*

Propert. L. 3. p. 206.¹¹⁴

In these Remarks, which have so far determined the Scituation of the Primitive PARADISE, and at the same time illustrated the *Geography* of the Bible in very many other Instances; I have chiefly subsisted on some Communications in Manuscript, from a learned Friend, Mr. *Samuel Lee*. I will now add, That there is one *Dr. Wells*, who ha's published some things on the *Geography of the Old Testament*; and he does out of *Bochart* and *Huet* further insist on this Matter, with a Discourse, from which I shall not think it amiss to offer you a few Delibations.¹¹⁵

The Scituation of *Havilah*, in the Eastern Tract of *Arabia*, near and on the Bottom of the *Persian Gulf*, is no longer to be doubted of. Here we find a River, which *encompasses*, that is, with a winding Stream washes, *all one side* of such a Land, & hath a Communication with the Three other Rivers mentioned in the History, by one common Channel. This must needs be our *Pison*. To confirm this, *Huet* observes, it must be remembred, that *Moses* wrote his History in *Arabia Petraea*, or somewhere thereabouts. This River was therefore the

of Hercules (Straits of Gibraltar). The Greek poet-historian Hesiod locates the Elysian Fields and the Isles of the Blessed "at the world's end," where fortunate heroes are translated into life eternal (*Opera et Dies* 166–75). The paradisiacal orchards of King Alcinous, celebrated grandson of Poseidon and happy ruler of the Phaeacians on Scheria, in Homer's *Odyssey* (7.110–32), are well known. For the debates on the location of Paradise, see esp. J. Delumeau's *History of Paradise* (39–70, 97–116, 155–74).

113 In their prelapsarian condition, Adam and Eve are the OT types of the Second or Last Adam, Christ and his Bride (the Church) (Rom. 5:14; 1 Cor. 15:45). As the true savior, Christ is the Homeric counterpart to the false Orpheus, who failed to recover his Eurydice from Hades, even though he was able to charm the rulers of the Underworld (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.1–85).

114 The quotation from the Roman elegiac poet Sextus Propertius (b. c. 54/48–c. 2 BCE) translates "Great is the reward, O men [of Rome], the most distant of lands is preparing triumphs for you, / Tigris and Euphrates will flow under your dominion" (*Elegiae* 3.4.3–4). Mather's page reference is probably to one of at least four editions of Propertius's poetry published in England during Mather's lifetime. See Appendix A.

115 See also Mather's *Threefold Paradise* (106). Here ends Mather's extract from a now lost manuscript by his father-in-law Samuel Lee. Mather's subsequent account is largely gleaned from Edward Wells's *Historical Geography of the Old Testament and New Testament* (vol. 1, bk. 1, ch. 1, pp. 1–53), a prized work throughout the eighteenth-century, which incorporates much information from Huet's *Treatise of the Situation of Paradise* (1694) and from Samuel Bochart's *Geographia* (pars 1, lib 2, cap. 28, col. 142–43). For an analysis of Bochart's geographical location of Paradise, see F. Motto's "Geographia Sacra."

nearest unto him; and so it was very Natural and Proper for him, to Name it first. The Etymology of the Word, *Pison*, is also to be considered. Most of the Hebrew Grammarians agree, that it comes either, of /פִּשׁוֹן/ *To be Full*, or /פִּשְׁפֹּשׁ/ *To Spread*. Because the Tides are so high, so violent, so Boisterous, at the End of the *Persian* Gulf, that no Trenches can defend the Neighbouring Grounds from their Incursions. It is therefore observed by *Strabo*, that all the Coast is full of Lakes and Marishes. The Author of the Apocryphal *Ecclesiasticus*, makes an Allusion to this Etymology, where he saies of God, [c. XXIV.25.] *He fills all with Wisdome, like the Pison*.¹¹⁶

The Province washed by the *Gihon*, was formerly called, *Cush*. Now, the Countrey adjoining to the Easterly Mouth of *Euphrates*, and which by the *Greeks* and *Latins*, was called, *Susiana*, had formerly that Name of *Cush*; yea, tis at present called so. The Journals of all Travellers inform us, That *Susiana* is now called, *Chuzestan*; which carries plain Footsteps of *Chus*, or *Chuz*, as the Name of *Chush* uses to be written. *Benjamin* of *Navarre*, saies, the great Province of *Elam*, whereof *Susa* is the Metropolis, is called so. That Province is *Elymais*, which extends itself, as far as the *Persian* Gulf, at the East of the Mouth of the *Euphrates*. When the *Nubian* Geographer calls it, *Churestan*, it is | doubtless a Mistake of the Copiers, not well distinguishing the Letter R from Z of the Arabians. The Inhabitants of the Land call it absolutely, *Chus*, if you will beleieve *Marius Niger*. The same Region is called, *Cushab*, [2. King. XVII.24.] And it was partly from thence, that *Salmanassar*, transported a Colony into *Samaria*. This New Colony, afterwards known under the Name of, *Samaritans*, kept also the Name of its Origin, & was called, The *Cuthæans*. *Dion* has observed, That the Letter, S, is often changed into T, or, TH, by the *Chaldeans*. We find here also, the *Cosseans*, Neighbours to the *Uxians*, according to *Pliny*, *Ptolomy*, and *Arrian*; whose Name is doubtless from *Chus*. From hence likewise the Name of *Cissia*, and of the *Cissians*; a little Province of *Susiana*, and used sometimes, to denote all the *Susians*. The Poet *Æschylus*, takes Notice of a City of that Name, seated in the same Land, & remarkable for its Antiquity.¹¹⁷

[124v]

¹¹⁶ See also Mather's *Threefold Paradise* (107). The entire paragraph is a paraphrase of Huet, *Treatise* (ch. 7, pp. 75–77, 85–87) and of Wells, *Historical Geography* (vol. 1, bk. 1, ch. 1, 13–19). According to Huet, Moses wrote the Pentateuch in Arabia Petraea (*Treatise* 75). The Hebrew terms “poosh” [Strong's # 6335] and “pasah” [Strong's # 6581] signify respectively “to grow fat, full” and “to spread.” Strabo mentions the lakes and marshes, in *Geographia* (15.3.5); the citation from Jesus ben Sirach's *Liber Ecclesiasticus* (Wisdom of Sirach) 24:25 reads, “He filleth all things with his wisdome, as Physon, and as Tigris in the time of the new fruits” (*Ecclesiasticus* 24:25, KJV 1611).

¹¹⁷ Rabbi Benjamin of Navarre or rather, Rabbi Benjamin ben Jonah of Tudela in Navarre, as previously mentioned, is the most renowned Jewish traveler of the Middle Ages. Mather, via Huet (*Treatise*, ch. 13, pp. 119–21) and Wells (*Historical Geography*, vol. 1, bk. 1, ch. 1, pp. 16–17), refers to the rabbi's famous *Itinerarium*, which mentions “*Khuzistan*” and the ruins of Shushan (Susa), the former capital of King Ahasuerus (*Itinerary* 73). For Mather's “*Churistan*,” see Idrisi (Edrisi), *Geographia Nubiensis* (1619), clim. 3, pars 6, p. 124. The similarity

The Third River is Hiddekel. You must not be surprised, if you are now told, That the Name of *Hiddekel* here given by *Moses*; and that of *Diglath*, which they give it in the East; and that of *Tigris*, which the Europæans give it; are but one & the same, varied by diverse Nations. Take away the Aspiration from the Word, *Hiddekel*, and the Word, *Dekel*, remains; which the Syrians disguised into *Diklat*. *Josephus*, and the *Chaldean* Paraphrasts, the *Arabians* and the *Persians*, turned it into *Diglath*; other Modern Orientals into *Degil*, and *Degola*; *Pliny*, or those who informed him, into *Diglito*; And the Greeks, who gave to all strange Words, the Turn of their own Tongue, turned the *Diglis*, into *Tigris*; to which they might be the rather induced, because they were informed of an extreme Swiftmess in the River. From the Place where *Moses* was writing, this is the *Third River* that in our Travelling along, we must meet withal. It is here added, (for so it may rather be rendred,) *That is it, which goes before Assyria*. There was as yett no *Assyria*, but only the Province that was first so called, whereof *Niniveh* was the Capital City. Now from the Parts where *Moses* was writing, there was no going into that *Assyria*, without crossing the *Tigris*, as running along before it.¹¹⁸

The River, *Euphrates* is by this time, so well known, as to need no particular Marks for the distinguishing of it. The Greeks turned *Perath* into *Euphrates*; partly to suit the Genius of their own Language; and perhaps partly to allude unto the *Pleasantness* or *Fruitfulness* of the Countrey, washed with it. The Greek Word, *Ευφραϊνεν*, signifies, both, *To Rejoice*, and, *To make Fruitful*; agreeable

between the Arabic letters ر (rā) and ز (zāy), indeed, invites misreading. Dominicus Marius Niger mentions a city and region by the name of “Chus,” in *Geographiae Commentariorum* (1557), “*Geographia Asiae*” (comment. 5, pp. 534, 536); and likewise a place name in Africa, in “*Geographia Africae*” (comment. 3, p. 396). Salmanassar (Shalmaneser), Assyrian king during the times of Hoshea (c. 740 BCE), the last king of the N kingdom of Israel, transported the Israelites into Medo-Persian captivity (see esp. *Josephus*, *Antiquities* 9.14.3). The Greek monk Johannes of Xiphilinus, nephew of Xiphilinus, Patriarch of Constantinople (1071–78), epitomized books 61–80 of *Historia Romanae*, by the Greek senator and Roman historian Cassius Dio (c. 164–c. 229 CE). Mather (via Huet, *Treatise*, ch. 8, p. 120) refers to Xiphilinus’s epitome of Dio’s *Historia Romanae* (68.26.4, S238, lines 7–14; *Dio’s Roman History* 8:411). The Cossacans are mentioned by Pliny (6.31.134), in Ptolemy’s *Geography* (6.3. tabula V Asiae), in Lucius Flavius Arrianus’s *Alexandri Anabasis* (7.15.1–2, 7.23.1), and *Historia Indica* (8.40.6). Finally, the Greek dramatist Aeschylus Atheniensis (c. 525–c. 456 BCE) mentions Cissia’s “ancient ramparts” and the Cissians of Susiana, in *Persae* (16–17, 118–119) and *Choephoroe* (423), and so does Strabo in his *Geography* (15.3.2).

¹¹⁸ See also Mather’s *Threefold Paradise* (107–108). The principal source for this paragraph is Huet (*Treatise*, ch. 14, pp. 130–36). Hiddekel (Gen. 2:14) is called Diglath by *Josephus* (*Antiquities* 1.1.3), by the *Chaldean* Paraphrasts including the Targum Jonathan ben Uziel and the *Persian* Paraphrasts (Walton 4:4), yet the Syriac and Arabic Versions called Hiddekel respectively “*Declar*” and “*Degla*” (Walton 1:8–9) as do the “modern Orientals,” i.e., Middle-Eastern authors. Pliny (6.31.127) points out that “the sluggish part” of the *Tigris* is called “*Diglitus*”; the LXX and Vulgate, of course, have “*Tigris*” (Gen. 2:14). *Moses* wrote the Pentateuch in Arabia Petraea. See also Wells (*Historical Geography*, vol. 1, bk. 1, ch. 1, pp. 31–33).

to the Latin Expression, *Lætum facere*; – whence *Virgil*, *Quid lætas faciat segetes*. Compare, *Psal. LXV.12, 13*.¹¹⁹

The Words of *Moses*, imply, That in *Eden*, the River was but one; that is, it had but one single Channel; but *from thence*, or, out of *Eden*, it was parted, & became *Four Heads*, or Four principal Channels. The Place he assigns for *Paradise*, is the *Eastern Part of Eden*. And as *Dr. Wells* expresses it, It must be scituated on one of the Turnings of this River, that goes from West to East, & probably at the Easternly End of the Southernly Branch of the lowest great Turning, which *Ptolomy* takes notice of.¹²⁰

It is probable, That this *Garden of Eden*, was the Original of, those curious Gardens, with which the Princes of the East, were so curious to accommodate themselves; and by which they would represent the *Garden of Eden*. Such an one was that *Golden Garden*, valued at Five-hundred Talents, which *Aristobulus*, King of the Jews, presented unto *Pompey*; and which *Pompey* afterwards carried in Triumph, & consecrated unto *Jupiter* in the Capitol. The Garden was called, *τερπωλη*, and, *τερπνον*, which in Strictness of Speech, is, *Eden*, or, *Pleasure*. And the Conformity between the very Words, *Garden of Eden*, and, *Garden of Adon*, seems to shew, that unto the *Garden of Eden* was owing the Rise of those Gardens, consecrated unto *Adonis*, which the *Greeks*, *Egyptians* and *Assyrians*, planted in Earthen Vessels, and Silver Baskets, to adorn their Houses withal, & carried about in their Processions. And there is no doubt, that out of this Pattern, the Poets formed, their *Fortunate Islands*, the *Elysian Fields*, the *Meadows of Pluto*, the *Gardens of the Hesperides*, of *Plato*, & of *Alcinous*.¹²¹

119 See also Mather's *Threefold Paradise* (108). This and the following paragraph are again extracted from Huet (*Treatise*, ch. 16, pp. 140–43), but see also Wells (*Historical Geography* 1:35–57). The Greeks turned the Hebrew פֶּרֶה [Perath] into “Euphrainein,” which in Latin signifies “to make fertile.” Virgil's “What makes the crops fertile” appears in his *Georgics* (1.1).

120 Well's (*Historical Geography*: 37–39) and Ptolemy (*Geography* 6.2–3) describe the region and the meandering river.

121 According to Josephus (*Antiquities* 14.3.1), Aristobulus II (d. 49 BCE) bribed the Roman general Ganeus Pompeius Magnus (106–48 BCE) and seized the crown and office of high priest from his brother Hyrcanus (c. 58 BCE). Aristobulus lost in the ensuing fraternal war when Pompey favored the cause of Hyrcanus, took Jerusalem (63 BCE), and consecrated the spoils to Jupiter in the Capitol of Rome (*HJP* 1.1:312–25). Josephus relates that Aristobulus sent Pompey a present of “a golden vine, of the value of five hundred talents.” Strabo of Cappadocia values this present at 4,000 gold pieces and calls it “vine or a Garden” or “Terpole, the Delight” (Josephus, *Antiquities* 14.3.1). The Greek words “terpole” and “terpnon” signify “delight” and “delightful thing.” Pluto (giver of wealth), the ruler of the Underworld, presided over both good and evil. In this sense, the Meadows of Pluto and the Gardens of the Hesperides are linked with the resting place of the dead in the Fortunate Islands and the Elysian fields (Homer, *Odyssey* 11.13ff), with Plato's Hesperides (Cap Verde Islands or Atlantis), in *Timaeus* (25a–d), and with Homer's garden of the Phaeacians King Alcinous (*Odyssey* 7.110–33). For Mather's borrowings, again see Wells (*Historical Geography* 1:45–47) and Huet (*Treatise* xvii.145–46). See also J. Delumeau's *History of Paradise* (139–74).

We may add this one Curiosity. The *Land of Nod*, whereto *Cain* was banished, it is here said, *It lay before Eden*. This is to be understood, with respect unto the Place where *Moses* was now writing. Consequently it was on the *West of Eden*. One would therefore incline to the Opinion of *Grotius*; who supposes *Cain* doom'd of God, unto a Withdraw into the Desarts of *Arabia*, which does join to the *West of Eden*. Such a Place, (rather than a Pleasant & Fruitful *Susiana*) is most proper for a Banishment. And unto the Barrenness of this Part of *Arabia*, may pertain the Curse, Gen. IV.12. *When thou tillest the Ground, it shall not henceforth yeeld her Strength unto thee.*¹²²

After all these things, I cannot well forbear transcribing the Words of M. *Tournefort*, in his *Travels to the Levant*, which are these.¹²³

[125r]
 | “If we follow the Letter of that Passage, wherein *Moses* describes the Situation of the *Terrestrial Paradise*, nothing seems more Natural, than the Opinion of M. *Huetius*, the ancient Bishop of *Avranches*, one of the most learned Men of his Time. *Moses* assures us, That a River went out of that delightful Place, and divided itself into four Channels, the *Euphrates*, the *Tigris*, *Pison*, and *Gihon*. But no such River can be found in any Part of *Asia*, except this of *Arabia*; that is to say, the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* join'd together, and divided into four great Channels, which empty themselves into the Bay of *Persia*. *Huetius* therefore seems indeed, to have fully satisfied the Letter of the Text, in fixing Paradise in this Place.¹²⁴ But notwithstanding this, his Notion can not be maintained; it being so very manifest from the *Greek* and *Latin* Geographers & Historians, [Plin. L. 6. c. 26. Polyb. Hist. L. 5. Strabo, L. 16. Appian de Civ. Bel. L. 2. Arrian. de Exped. Alex. L. 7. Ptolom. Geogr. L. 5. c. 17. Ammian. Marcel. L. 24. c. 21. Zosim. L. 3. c. 24.] That the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, formerly ran in Separate Beds; and likewise that there was a Design to make a Canal of Communication between the Two Rivers; and that afterwards several Canals were actually made, by Commands of the Kings of *Babylon*, of *Alexander* the Great, and even of *Trajan* and *Severus*, for the facility of Commerce, & to render the Countrey more fruitful. There is

¹²² See also Mather's *Threefold Paradise* (108–109). Huet (*Treatise*, ch. 17, pp. 149–50) and Wells (*Historical Geography* 1:47–48). Mather takes his cue from Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), the great Dutch jurist, statesman, philologist, and theologian, whose *Annotiones ad Vetus Testamentum* (Gen. 4:16) identifies the land of Nod as Arabia Deserta (*Opera Omnia* 1:7). In his *Manuductio ad Ministerium* (1726), Mather recommended Grotius's works (though heterodox in many respects) to young candidates for the ministry (8, 46, 59, 64).

¹²³ See also Mather's *Threefold Paradise* (109). Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (1656–1708), French botanist, traveler, and physician, recorded his travel narrative in *Un Voyage du Levant* (1717), which appeared in an English translation in at least two subsequent London editions (1718, 1741). Mather's excerpt can be found in *A Voyage into the Levant* (1741), bk. 3, ch. 7, pp. 161–63.

¹²⁴ Tournefort refers to the Paris edition of Pierre-Daniel Huet, whose *Traité de la Situation du Paradis Terrestre* (1691) appeared in an English translation as *A Treatise of the Situation of Paradise* (1694), which Mather had excerpted for much of his discussion of the location of Paradise.

no reason therefore to doubt, but those Branches of this River of *Arabia*, were made by the Art of Man, & consequently were not in the *Terrestrial Paradise*.¹²⁵

[126v] “The Commentators upon *Genesis*, even those who are most confined unto the Letter, don’t think it necessary, in order to assign the Place of Paradise, to find a *River*, which divides itself into Four Branches; because of the very great Alterations, the Flood may have introduced: But think it enough to shew the Heads of the Rivers mentioned | by *Moses*; namely, the *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, *Pison* and *Gihon*. And thus, it cannot be doubted, but that Paradise must have been in the Way between *Erzeron* and *Teflis*; if it be allow’d, to take the *Phasis* for *Pison*, and *Araxes* for *Gihon*. And then, not to remove Paradise too far from the Heads of these Rivers, it must of necessity be placed in the beautiful Vales of *Georgia*, which furnish *Erzeron* with all sorts of Fruits. And, if we may suppose, the Terrestrial Paradise, to have been a Place of considerable Extent, & to have retained some of its Beauties, notwithstanding the Alterations made in the Earth at the Flood, and since that time, I don’t know a finer Spott, to which to assign this wonderful Place, than the Countrey of the Three Churches, about Twenty French Leagues distant, from the *Heads* of *Euphrates*, and *Araxes*; and near as many from the *Phasis*. The Extent of *Paradise*, must at least reach to the Heads of these Rivers; and so it will comprehend the ancient *Media*, and Part of *Armenia*, and *Iberia*. Or, if this be thought too large a Compass, it may be confined only to Part of *Iberia* and *Armenia*, that is, from *Erzeron* to *Teflis*. For it can’t be doubted, that the Plain of *Erzeron*, which is at the Head of *Euphrates* and *Araxis*, must be taken in.”¹²⁶

[127r] |

125 Tournefort probably relies on the French equivalent of Philemon Holland’s translation of Pliny’s *Natural History* (1601), bk. 6. ch. 26, pp. 135–37, which roughly corresponds to our modern editions of Pliny (6.29.114–31.135); moreover, Tournefort refers to the *Universal History* of the Greek historiographer Polybius (c. 205–c. 125 BCE), in *Historiae* (5.45.4–46.9, 5.48.16, 5.51.4); to Strabo’s *Geographia* (16.1.9, 13, 21, 27); to *De Bellis Civilis* (2.153) in *The Roman History*, by the Roman historian Appianus of Alexandria (c. 95–c. 165 CE); to Arrianus’s *Alexandri Anabasis* (7.7.3–5); to Ptolemy’s *Geography* (5.17. tabula IV Asia); to Ammianus Marcellinus’s *Historia* (24.6.1); and, lastly, to the Greek historian Zosimus (fl. 5th–6th c. CE), whose *Historia nova* (3.24.2) is the work in question. Nebuchadnezzar’s many building activities included numerous canals connecting the rivers of Mesopotamia, the most famous of which canals is perhaps Flumen Regium Pallas Cottas Canalis (“the Royal River”), mentioned in Ammianus Marcellinus (*Historia* 23.6.25; 24.2.7; 24.6.1). Roman emperor Marcus Ulpian Traianus (98–117 CE) invaded Armenia, Cappadocia, and Mesopotamia in 113–15 CE. Finally, Lucius Septimius Severus, Roman emperor (193–211 CE), was renowned for his successful campaigns in Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia.

126 See also Mather’s *Threefold Paradise* (109–110). Tournefort, *Voyage into the Levant* (bk. 3, ch. 7, pp. 162–63). Thomas Burnet, for one, dismisses any efforts to locate Eden in Mesopotamia or near the Springs of the four rivers, because he hypothesized that the antediluvian earth collapsing upon internal caverns erased any trace of the former garden (*Sacred Theory*, bk. 1, chs. 10–11; bk. 2, ch. 1). Twenty French Leagues are approximately 28 miles (45 km). The modern Tiflis (Tbilisi) is the capital of the Republic of Georgia, south of the Caucasus, and Erzeron is the capital in modern Armenia.

Q. The Discourse about the Seat of the *Terrestrial Paradise*, ha's carried so much Demonstration with it, that, methinks, we need no further Satisfaction. But having since litt upon the Thoughts of the excellent *Heidegger*, about that Subject, it may not be amiss to call them in, for our further Entertainment?¹²⁷

A. *Heidegger* is of Opinion, That the true Seat of *Paradise*, was in that Part of the *Holy Land*, which was called *Genesar*; and which comprehends the Sea of *Galilee*, the illustrious Field and Vale of *Jericho*, and the Countrey which the *Dead Sea* ha's now buried under Water.

The *River of Paradise*, he takes to be the *River of Jordan*. The Four famous Rivers of *Pison*, and *Gihon*, and *Hiddekel*, and *Euphrates*, he takes to hold such a subterraneous Communication with *Jordan*, which we know, ha's no Outlett above Ground, that *Jordan* may be justly esteem'd the Source of them all. He thinks, an Inspection of the Maps, would invite one to such Apprehensions. Both *Brocardus* and, *Villamontius*, do mutter something of such a Matter. Yea, the very Name of *Jordan*, seems originally to have been *אֶדֶן עַד* / *The River of Eden*.¹²⁸

Moreover, The Name of *Genesar* is as much as to say *גַּן שֶׁר* / *Hortus Princeps*, or, *Hortus Principis*; to wit, The *Garden of Adam*.

It is Remarkable, That in *Ecclesiasti{c}us*; ch. 24. v. 35, 36. Those *Five* are joined, as the Five Rivers of Divine Wisdome; *Pison*, *Tigris*, *Euphrates*, *Jordan* and *Gihon*.¹²⁹

The Word used for, the *Watering* of *Paradise* by its *River*, is the same that we find used for this very Countrey; Gen. 13.10. *The Plain of Jordan was well-watered every where*. Compare, Josh. 3.15.

It is probable, That *Paradise* was not far from the Place, where *Adam* was created. And it is probable that *Adam* was created in the Field of *Damascus*; which was not far from hence. We may gather from *Josephus*, that this was a very

¹²⁷ Subsequent paragraphs are extracted from Johann Heinrich Heidegger (1633–98), a Swiss Protestant theologian, professor of Hebrew and philosophy at Heidelberg and Zurich. Mather extensively mines Heidegger's *De Historia Sacra Patriarcharum*, 2 vols. (1667–81, 1729) for his "BA." All citations from Heidegger are from the 1729 Tiguri edition of his work.

¹²⁸ Mather's extract is from Heidegger's "Exercitatio IV: De Adamo et Eva," in *Historia Sacra Patriarcharum* (1:94–95, Exerc. IV, §§ 41–42). The subterraneous connection of the four rivers is also maintained by the German Dominican Brocardus, aka. Burchardus de Monte Sion (d. after 1285), a monastic geographer, whose popular *Descriptio terrae sanctae* (c. 1271–91), first published in Lübeck (1475), was often reprinted, translated, and bound with other geographical works by other authors (BBK). Jacques de Villamont (c. 1560–c. 1625), native of Anjou, and Knight of the Order of Jerusalem, published *Les Voyages du Seigneur de Villamont* (1596), a collection of his travels through Europe, the Middle-East, and Africa, which went through several editions. In Heidegger's etymology, the Hebrew *אֶדֶן* [*yeor*], signifying "canal," "river," or "stream" [Strong's # 2975]; and *עַד* [*ayden*], denoting "Eden" or "pleasure" [Strong's # 5731], are conflated into *עַדְדֵן* [*Yarden*], i.e., "Jordan" or "descender" [Strong's # 3383].

¹²⁹ The Hebrew *גַּן שֶׁר* [*gan sar*], signifying a "first or principal fenced garden" [Strong's # 8269, 1588], is also suggested by the Latin "First Garden" or "Original Garden." The reference to the apocryphal *Ecclesiasticus* 24 should be to verses 25, 26, not 35, 36.

ancient Tradition among the People of God. And *Adrichomius* magnifies the *Red Earth* of that Place; *Ager Damascenus habet Terram Rubram, et mirè tractabilem, quam Saraceni deferunt in Ægyptum, Judeam, Æthiopiam, caré vendentes*. Accordingly, *Basil* mentions an Ancient Tradition, ὡς πρώτη ἡ Ἰουδαία ἀνθρώπων εσχεν οικητοῦρα. *That the Land of Judea, was the first Land, that ever had a Man for its Inhabitant*. Yea, there is a well-known Tradition, | That *Adam* was buried in Mount *Calvary*.¹³⁰

The Admirable Fertility and Amœnity of this Region agrees well enough, to our Assignment of it, for the Seat of *Paradise*. If you consult such Witnesses as *Hegesippus* and *Brocardus*, they will tell you enough, to make you {fall} in Love with the Countrey.

We will not insist on the plentiful Growth of that Fruit there, which is to this Day commonly called, *The Apple of Paradise*.¹³¹

It is expressly said of this Place; Gen. 13.10. *It was well watered, as the Garden of the Lord*. The /ð/ which we render, *As*, may not be, συγκριτον, to make a Comparison, but, αιτιατικον, to mention the *Cause*, why it was *well-watered*; namely, *As being the Garden of the Lord!* Thus our *Heidegger*.¹³²

¹³⁰ Josephus Flavius translates the Hebrew word “Adam” as “one that is red,” but does not specify the location from which the Creator took this “red earth” to form his protoplast (*Antiquities* 1.1.2). The Dutch ecclesiastic Christian Adrichomius (van Adrichem) (1533–85) elaborates on Josephus’s description and argues in his *Theatrum Terrae Sanctae* (1590) 45 # 90 (Ager Damascenus), that Adam was created in the fields of Libanus, between the rivers Adonis and Zidon: “The field of Damascus contains red and wonderfully pliant soil which the Saracens carry to Egypt, Judea, Ethiopia, and sell it where it is not available.” Mather’s second-hand citation from Heidegger (1:95, Exerc. IV, § 42) is a variant of St. Basil of Caesaria’s ὡς ἄρα πρῶτον ἡ Ἰουδαία ἐσχεν οικητοῦρα τὸν Ἀδὰμ, *Enneratio in prophetam Isaiam* (5.141.2–3). The tradition that Adam was buried on Mt. Calvary (Golgotha) is as venerable as the one in the Zohar that had Adam and Eve buried in the cave of Machpelah, which Abraham (upon recognizing it as Adam’s burial site) purchased for Sarah and himself (Soncino Zohar, vol. 1, Bereshith, sec. 1, pp. 127a, 128a, see also 248b). This story evidently derives from the Talmud, where R. Isaac relates that four couples were buried in the cave of Machpelah: Adam and Eve, Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rachel, and Jacob and Leah (Soncino Talmud, tractates Sotah 13a and Baba Bathra 84a). However, if the apocryphal *Revelation of Moses* is to be trusted, then angels took Adam’s body, wrapped him in three layers of linen and silk, and buried him in the land of Eden, from where God had taken the dust of which Adam was made (*ANF* 8:569–70). Versions of the same myth appear in the apocryphal *Testament of Adam* (3:6) and *Jubilee* (4:29–31). Finally, Epiphanius Constantiensis (c. 315–403), bishop of Salamis, relates that Adam was buried in Golgotha (Mt. Calvary), in the very same spot where the Second Adam would be crucified millennia later (*Panarion* 46.5.1–3, in *Epiphanius* 2:208).

¹³¹ Hegesippus (2nd c. CE) wrote one of the earliest histories of the Church – fragments of which survive in Photius. Brocardus’s discussion appears in his *Descriptio Locorum Terrae Sanctae exactissima* (1554).

¹³² Heidegger (and Mather) here distinguishes between the use of the Hebrew “kaph” as a correlative conjunction and as an adverb. Hence not “sugkrit[e]on” (verbal adjective) “one must compare” should be used, but “aitiateon” (verbal adjective) “one must allege as the cause.” Here ends the first excerpt from Heidegger (1:94–95, Exerc. IV, §§ 41–42), but Mather returns to this work many times more before he is done with his commentary on Genesis.

I know not what Reception these Thoughts may find, with the learned World. However the *Geography* of my incomparable *Helvetian* is more defensible, than that of the old *Epiphanius*, who (to show us, no doubt, that the Fathers were as accurate in their *Geography*, as in their *Astronomy*,) tells us, That *Pison*, which was one of the *Four Rivers* that watered *Paradise*, mentioned by *Moses*, was the same that the Indians and Ethiopians called, *Ganges*, and the Greeks, *Indus*; which River passing at length thro' *Ethiopia*, dischargeth itself at length into the Ocean at *Cales*.¹³³

The mention of which invites me, to take Notice: That all the Fathers do by *Gihon*, another of the Rivers wherewith *Paradise* was washed, understand the River *Nilus*. And even so late a Modern as Cardinal *Perron*, was herein so deceived, that he delivered it as an express Text of the Scriptures. A Dream, which was built, as tis noted both by *Scaliger* & by *Petavius*, upon no Manner of Reason.¹³⁴

But what shall we say? The *Philosophy* of the *Fathers*, was no better than their *Geography*. *Tertullian* endues the *Plants*, with *Sense*, & with *Understanding* too. *Ambrose* ha's a wondrous Flight; *Frequenter solem videmus madidum atque rorantem, in quo evidens est indicium, quod alimentiam sibi Aquarum ad Temperiem sui sumpserit*. And how scornfully does *Justin Martyr* deride the *Spherical Figure* of the Heavens! *Lactantius* would not endure to hear that the Earth is round. And *Austin* treats those as Infidels, who beleeve *Antipodes*.¹³⁵

133 Mather's praise for Heidegger, his "incomparable Helvetian," does not come as a surprise because in his *Ancoratus* (58.2.1–7), St. Epiphanius repeats his contemporaries' confusion about the identity of the Mesopotamian *Pison*, which he variously identifies with the *Indus* River in W India (today's Pakistan) and the *Ganges* in E India (modern Bangladesh).

134 Among the ancients who identified the River *Gihon* (Gen. 2:13) with the Egyptian Nile are Josephus (*Antiquities* 1.1.3), St. Epiphanius (*Panarion* 66.1.11, in *Epiphanius* 3:16–17), and many others. See Huet, *Treatise* (ch. 12, pp. 103–10). The debate among the ancients and seventeenth-century moderns is best synopsized in Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (vol. 1, col. 24–25; *Works* 1:151–55). Jacques Davy Du Perron (1556–1618), eminently learned RC prelate, cardinal, and later archbishop of Sens, and author of *Les Diverses Oeuvres* (1620–22), was criticized by Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), the famous Dutch Lutheran Renaissance historian, philologist, and chronologer, in his *De Emendatione Temporum* (lib. 5), and by Dionysius Petavius (Denys Pétau) (1583–1652), the celebrated French Jesuit and chronologer, esteemed for his massive five-volume (though incomplete) *Dogmata Theologica* (1643–50), *Tabulae Chronologicae* (1628) and *De Doctrina Temporum* (1627). Petavius rejects the assumption that the River *Gihon* is the same as the Egyptian Nile, in his *Theologicorum Dogmatum* (1644), tomus tertius, "De Sex Primorum Mundi Opificio" (lib. 2, cap. 5, § 7, p. 317).

135 In opposing Aristotle's argument that plants have vitality but lack knowledge and understanding (*De Anima* 2.2–3.30.413b–414b), the African Church Father Tertullian of Carthage examines the behavior of ivy-plants, shrubs, and trees and insists that their adaptive behavior to adverse environmental conditions suggests "vital instincts," "knowledge," and "understanding" (*Treatise on the Soul* 19), in *ANF* (3:199–200). St. Ambrose's wondrous flight signifies, "We often see the sun covered in drops of water and dew, which is a clear sign that he has nourished himself with water in order to cool himself down," in *Hexaemeron* (2.3.13–14) [PL 14. 151D]. Pointing at how Plato and Aristotle contradict each other on god, matter, and form, Justin

[129r]

Q. The affair of the *Nakedness* of our First Parents, deserves to be considered? v. 25.

A. There was a *Luminous Garment*, which the Lord putt on our First Parents, as a Pledge of their Innocence, and Purity, & of their Protection under the *Shechinah* of the Son of God. When our First Parents Revolted from God, that *Luminous Garment* was taken from them, & they were left in a grievous Confusion, *Ashamed* to appear in their New *Nakedness* before the Son of God in the *Shechinah*.¹³⁶

Fleming, among others, ha's lately a little cultivated this Notion; with some Thoughts that are not unworthy of Attention.¹³⁷

That this was the Beleeif of the Ancient Jewes, appears from the *Targum* of *Jonathan Ben Uzziel*, on, Gen. 3.7. *And the Eyes of both of them were opened, for they found, that the Bright Garment, with which they had been created, was gone from them.* The Word, which we translate, *Bright*, signifies, the *Onyx*, or, *Alabaster*; and therefore the Latin Version ha's it, *Nudati erant à veste Onychina, in quâ creati erant.* This *Garment*, they tell us, was to the whole Body, that which the *Nails* are to the Fingers; but more *beautiful*, and more pliable.¹³⁸

Probably, from this Glorious Garment, our First Parents, had the Name of *Adam*. This *Garment* was their *Glory*; It was the Token of their *Favour* with God: It was their Defence against the Injuries of the *Weather*; & against Sickness, & all Uneasiness: It was their *Shelter* against *Satan* too, who could not now so well approach them, to hurt their *Bodies*; It was the *Ensign* and *Engine* of their

Martyr dismisses them as unreliable guides on earthly matters (*Hortatory Address to the Greeks*, chs. 2–6), in *ANF* (1:273–76). Lactantius of Bithynia took exception to the idea of antipodes and the spherical figure of the earth because the feet of the inhabitants at the South Pole would be higher than their heads (*Divine Institutes* 3.24), in *ANF* (7:94–95). Finally, St. Augustine rejected the idea of antipodes as an illogical and empirically unproven speculation (*City of God* 16.9), in *NPNFi* (2:315–16). Mather also mocked these unphilosophical Fathers of the Church, in *Magnalia Christi Americana* (bk. 1, ch. 1, p. 2, §§ 1–2), and “General Introduction” (§ 5). Increase Mather joined the merriment, in his *Dissertation Concerning the Future Conversion* (32), and Samuel Sewall, in *Phaenomena* (34, 42). Long before his American exponents, Samuel Purchas had the first laugh in his *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (1626), bk. 8, ch. 1, § 1, p. 792–93.

¹³⁶ Mather argued that this protective “*Luminous Garment*,” forfeited by Adam and Eve, would be restored to the Raised Saints at the Second Coming” (*Threefold Paradise* 255). Mather’s source for this argument is evidently the Latin commentary by Isidore Clarius (on Gen. 2:25), incorporated in the famous commentary *Critici Sacri, sive Doctissimorum Virorum* (1660), edited by John Pearson, which offers the same explanation (1:59).

¹³⁷ The commentary on Gen. 2:25 in the subsequent paragraphs is extracted from Robert Fleming’s *Christology. A Discourse Concerning Christ*, vol. 2 (bk. 3, ch. 3, pp. 247–51).

¹³⁸ Fleming’s source and Latin quotation from the Targum of Jonathan ben Uziel (Gen. 3:7) is Walton (4:5). Mather’s rendition of “*Bright Garments*” reads “*White Garments*,” in Fleming (*Christology*, vol. 2, bk. 3, ch. 3, p. 247). The Latin variant from Jonathan ben Uziel translates, “they were naked, divested of the purple robe [onyx-garment], in which they had been created” (Etheridge 1:165).

Authority over the Inferiour Creatures; And, the Book of *Wisdom*, [ch. II.23.] insinuates, It was the Instrument of their *Immortality*.¹³⁹

Tis true, we are told before the Fall, *They were both Naked, the Man & his Wife, & were not Ashamed*. But this must not be understood of an *absolute Nakedness*. Otherwise we shall have but an odd Idæa of their Ignorance; For we find, They did not know themselves to be *Naked*, until after the Fall. The Meaning must be, That they had no such Material, Substantial, Thick Sort of a *Garment*, as they had, when they came to have the Skins of Beasts clothed upon them. What they wanted of a more Dense Covering, was abundantly made up in that *Luminous Garment*, with which the Glorious One defended them, & adorned them.

This *Luminous Garment* being removed on their Fall, they now *have their Eyes Opened, & know that they are Naked*. Finding themselves thus miserably Altered, they hide themselves among the Trees, & make *Fig-leaves* their Covering; as being *Asham'd* of their Folly, & *Afraid* of appearing before the Son of God, with whom they had formerly conversed, as appearing in the *Luminous Garment* of the *Shechinah*; whereto theirs had some Resemblance. They could not without shameful Confusion, stand in the Presence of Him, whom they had before seen and heard with the greatest Satisfaction; for by their Sin, they had *Lost their Garments*.¹⁴⁰

[On this Occasion, with a New Key in your hand, consider, Rev. 16.15. *Blessed is he that watcheth, & keepeth his Garments; lest he walk naked, & they see his Shame.*]

When they hear the *Voice* of the Lord, walking in the Garden, they *hid themselves from the Shechinah of the Lord*, among the Trees of the Garden. This | very *Flight*, was a Discovery of their *Guilt*. Being fetch'd into the Presence of the Lord, they confess their *Shameful Folly*, in losing the *Luminous Garment*, which He had bestow'd upon them. The Rebuke of the Lord upon them, is not in two distinct Quæries, as rendred in our Version; but there are two Parts of the same Sentence; *who told thee that thou wast Naked? Is it not because thou hast Eaten of the Tree?* Is it not thy own Sin, that ha's brought this Change upon thee?

[130v]

Behold, a more Consistent and Rational Account of this Matter, than what we have in the common Commentators!¹⁴¹

139 The apocryphal Wisdom of Solomon – originally part of the 1611 edition of the KJV – argues that “God created man to bee immortall, and made him to be an image of his owne eternitie” (Wisdom 2:23). The marginal annotation refers to its parallel text in Gen. 1:26–27.

140 Fleming, *Christology* (vol. 2, bk. 3, ch. 3, p. 249), evidently takes his cue from the Targum of Jonathan ben Uziel (Walton 4:5), which describes Adam and Eve's nakedness as a loss of their glory.

141 Mather's scientific-rationalistic analysis reveals his desire to transcend purely moral interpretations. Neither Simon Patrick, nor Matthew Henry, nor Matthew Poole, nor Samuel Clark in the seventeenth, nor John Gill (*Exposition*, 1:21–22, 24) in the eighteenth centuries, attempt to explain their nakedness in any other than moral or allegorical terms. Even the magisterial

There is this to confirm it. Our Apostle *Paul*, evidently alludes to this Notion. [2. Cor. V.1, 2, 3. and, 1. Cor. XV.44, 45, 53, 54.]

He runs a Comparison, between our present *Bodies*, and those *Garments of Light*, which the *Spirits* of Good Men, putt on, when they leave their *Bodies*. But then, our *Bodies* at length coming to be Raised from their Graves, *This Corruptible Body must putt on Incorruption; and this Mortal Body must putt on Immortality*. Tis a plain Allusion to that *Luminous Garment*, with which our First Parents were clothed in their Primæval State, & which rendred them *Incorruptible* and *Immortal*; & the Withdraw whereof brought them into their feeble, & dying Circumstances. This *Heavenly Cloathing* first præserve unto the departed *Spirits* of the Faithful, some Capacity of Appearing as *Men*. And afterwards, being super-induced on the Raised *Bodies* of the Faithful, it will præserve them from all *Corruption* and *Mortality*. This Opinion is unjustly ascribed unto *Origen*, as the Author of it; For it was the Opinion of the Jewish Church; from whence *Pythagoras* and *Plato* borrowed it, but carried the Matter too far, in their Fancies of, *Transmigration*. In our *Illustrations* on the *Pauline* Passages, this Matter will be further spoken to.¹⁴²

Synopsis Criticorum (1669–76) and *Critici Sacri* (1660) – perhaps the two most prestigious collections of sixteenth and seventeenth-century commentaries – confine themselves to moral explanations.

142 Origin asserts the resurrection of physical, yet immortal bodies in his *De Principiis* (2.10), in *ANF* (4:293–94). Among the Hebrew sources asserting the physical resurrection of the body are the traditions collected in the Midrash Rabbah (Gen. XX.10), the Mishnah (Abot 4:22), and the Talmud (Sanhedrin 91b), where Raba explains, “The Holy One, blessed be He, said, What I slay, I resurrect [i.e., in the same state], and then, what I wound, I heal [after their revival].” Greek philosophy – as Mather and most of his contemporaries still believed – was derived from the writings of Moses either directly or indirectly through dissemination among the Egyptians and Chaldeans. The concept of metempsychosis is ascribed to Pythagoras by several ancient authors including Porphyry (*Vitæ Pythagoræ* 19), Herodotus (2.123.2–3), Diogenes Laertius (*Vitæ philosophorum* 8.4–5), Diodorus Siculus (10.6.1–3), and Plato in *Phædo* (70c–d, 81–82), *Phædrus* (248c–e), and *Timæus* (41d–42d, 90e–91d).

Q. On the affair of {the} *Serpent*, in the Temptation of our First *Parents*? v. 1.

A. The excellent *Joachimus Langius*, in his Noble Treatise which is entituled, *Causa DEI, et Religionis Judæis revelatæ*: delivers us, from abundance of Difficulty, & this Part of the *Mosaic History*, from abundance of Encumbrance and Exception; by maintaining, That there was nothing of a *Literal Snake* in the Matter, nor any thing but a *Devil* appearing as an *Angel of Light* unto our Mother, and procuring the Name of, *The Serpent*, by the Poison & Mischief he therein brought unto her, & hers.¹

This is his Theorem.

Serpens Protoplastorum Tentator, non fuit Serpens naturalis, à Satanà obsessus, sed solus et merus Cacodæmon, in Angelum Lucis transformatus, et Serpentis nomine tantum cum emphasi insignitus.

A proper *Serpent*, we know, is no *Speaker*. What passed from the Mouth of *Balaams Ass*, was a Miracle.²

The *Punishment* in the Sentence of GOD upon the *Serpent*, won't prove such for the *Natural Serpent*. There is no more *Enmity* between *Man* and a *Serpent*, than between *Man*, and many *other* Noxious Creatures. For a *Man* in *Walking* to *bruise* the *Head* of a *Natural Serpent*, & have his *Heel* bitt'n by

1 The German Lutheran Pietist Joachim Lange (1670–1744), professor of theology at the Frederician University of Halle (Saxony), was a close associate of the Pietist August Hermann Francke of Halle, with whom Mather corresponded and exchanged several of his works. See K. Francke (“Correspondence,” “Cotton Mather”), Benz (“Ecumenical Relations”), and Lovelace (*American Pietism*, ch. 2). Mather refers to Lange’s *Causa Dei et religionis Judæis revelatæ* (1726–27), a repudiation of the philosophers Benedict Spinoza and Christian Wolff.

2 Lange’s theorem states that “the serpent, the tempter of the first-created people, was not a natural serpent possessed by Satan, but merely and purely an evil demon, transformed into an Angel of Light, and emphatically distinguished by only the name of a serpent.” In Mather’s time, ancient and modern authorities were deeply divided on how to interpret the story of the serpent in Eden. Literalists insisted on Satan speaking through the serpent akin to the miraculous voice issuing from Balaam’s Ass (Num. 23:5) – an event all too common, it seems, considering that Hera endowed Achilles’s horse Xanthus with human speech predicting his master’s death (Homer, *Iliad* 19.404–17). Fellow literalists include Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 1.1.4) and Philo Judæus (*De Opificio Mundi* 56.156, 160). Aristotle for one argued that the entire species of serpents is “mean and treacherous” (*Historia animalium* 1.1.488b, 16–17); Gregory of Nyssa, however, thought that the serpent in Eden was a gentle creature, not winding on dust, but going upright upon its feet (*De Paradiso* 79.20–21), an idea also espoused by R. Hoshaya the Elder (Midrash Rabbah, Gen. XIX:1). Others such as Joseph Mede (*Works* I, Discourse XXXIII.277–86) and Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:16) provide standard interpretations. The debate is best summarized in Matthew Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:31–33, *Works* 1:175–82), on Gen. 3:1. Adam Clarke’s *Commentary* (1:47–49) lists interpreters who translated the Hebrew noun “nachash” (serpent) as whale, serpent, hippopotamus, sea-horse, crocodile, even as orangutan.

him, is a very, very Rare Contingency. And in it, the *Heel* of the *Man*, rather *Touches* than *Bruises* the *Head* of the *Serpent*. To *creep* on his *Belly*, & lick the *Dust*, – how many *Reptiles* are there, besides the *Natural Serpent* which this belongs unto. And must the whole *Kind* of *Serpents*, be punished for the Sake of something that occur'd in *One Individual*?

In Parallel Texts of Scripture, the Term *Serpent*, means nothing of the *Natural Serpent*, but the *Devil*. Consider, 2. Cor. XI.2. Rev. XII.9. XX.2. Compare, Matth. III.7. XII.34. XIII.33. Rom. III.13. XVI.20. Psal. XCI.13. Isa. XXVII.1. Our SAVIOR instead of, The *Serpent*, says, The *Devil*. Joh. VIII.44. Compare, Rev. XII.9. XX.2. –

Tis among the *Hermeneutic Rules*; *Talia esse subjecta, qualia permittuntur esse à fuit predicatis*.³

And whereas we read, *The Serpent was more subtil than any Beast of the Field*: he is here *Distinguished* from the *Beasts*. Tis not the Particle, /ב/ but the Particle /נ/ that is employ'd on this Occasion; which intimates a Comparison, but an exclusive one.

The Name of a *Serpent*, is very justly putt upon *Satan*; considering the *Mortal Venom*, as well as *Cunning* of the Animal, especially some Species of it. See Act. XXVIII.2. And so, *Herod* was called, *A Fox*. The *Hebrews*, when the [132v] metaphorical Name of, *A Serpent*, was used by *Moses*, on this Occasion | were so well acquainted with the *Fall* of *Man*, that they needed no Explication of it.⁴

Yea, Tis plain; The Terms, /נחש/ and /שרף/ are synonymous. [Plain from, Num. XXI.8, 9.] But the Word, *Seraph*, is a Name for an *Angel*: on the Score of the Splendor he appears in. And then, why may not the Word, *Nachash*, do for a *Devil*?

By this Interpretation, as my *Langius* observes; *Effugimus Difficultates alias non facile solubiles*.⁵

[133r] |
3038.

Q. Who was it, that first mention'd the Name of GOD, in this World, and on what Occasion was the first mention of it? v. 1.

A. *Athanasius*, for ought I know, was the first that made this odd Remark. It was the *Divel*, when he said unto *Eve*; *Hath God said?*

3 The hermeneutic rule reads, “that subjects are of such sorts as are allowed by predicates.”

4 The Hebrew particles are “beth” and “mem.” Mather’s reference to the viper fastening itself to Paul’s hand after his shipwreck on Malta appears in Acts 28:3–4 – not verse 2. Herod the Great (or his son Herod Antipas) is referred to as a “fox” in Luke 13:32.

5 The Hebrew terms נָחָשׁ [nachash] (Gen. 3:1) and שֶׂרָפִים [seraph] (Num. 21:8–9) both suggest “serpent,” “fiery (poisonous) serpent,” but also “seraph” and “seraphim” – orders of winged angelic beings [Strong’s # 5175, 8134]. No wonder that Joachim Lange observes in his *Causa Dei*, “We flee other difficulties that are not easily solvable.” Mather also explores the literal and typological significance of the serpent in his annotations on Numb. 21:9, on Psal. 58:5–6, and in his sermon *Zalmonah* (1725).

This may afford Matters of some sad Reflection.⁶

3373.

Q. The *Serpent* in which the *Divel* managed the Temptation of our *First Parents*, what may one think of it? v. 1.

A. I find some learned Men, of late, offering this Conjecture.⁷

There were, (and still are in the *Eastern & Southern* Parts of the World,) *Serpents* having *Wings*, and shining very brightly, like unto *Fire*. [See Isa. 14.29.] The *Fiery Serpents* are called *Seraphims*: [Num. 21.6, 8.] Not meerly from their *Venome*, which *inflamed* the Bodies which they stung, but also from their *Aspect*, which appeared like a *Flame* in their Flight.

Seraphim is a Name given to that Higher Sort of *Angels*, which are called, *Angels of the Presence*: [Isa. 6.2, 6] who exhibited themselves in some such Form, no doubt, with *Flaming Wings*. Probably the *Divel* used some such *Serpent*, (but of a more surpassing *Brightness*, than any now extant,) that he might resemble one of the most *Illustrious Angels*, as near as might be. *Eve* might the more easily hearken to the *Serpent*, when she took him, for one of the *Seraphim*; which herself had seen in such splendid Circumstances attending upon the Divine Majesty; for the *Angels* alwayes made a Part of the *Shechinah*. Was not this Matter so understood by *Tertullian*, when he said, *Istum fuisse Serpentem, cui Eva, ut Filio Dei crediderat*; and elsewhere he said, The *Serpent* was, *Divinae Imaginis Prædo*, An *Usurper of the Divine Image* from the Beginning.⁸

6 St. Athanasius points out this oddity in *Questiones in scripturam sacram* [PG 28. 744a]. In his "Notebook of Authors and Texts Throughout the Bible" (1720) [AAS Mather Family, Box 50], Mather identifies this reference as Athanasius's *Opera* (2:415), yet does not identify which Latin edition of the Greek original he refers to. Numerous Latin and Greek editions of Athanasius's works had been published by the end of Mather's lifetime.

7 Most of Mather's commentary on Gen. 3:1–5 (below) is copied (often verbatim) from Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:16–18).

8 Typical of much of the theological scholarship of the day, layers upon layers of citations at second, third, or fourth hand are submerged in this and other paragraphs. Mather's immediate source is Patrick (*Commentary* 1:16). The Latin citation from Tertullian's *Adversus omnes haereses* (cap. 2) signifies, "this was the Serpent, to whom *Eve* gave Credit, as to the Son of God" (see *ANF* 3:651). Tellingly, Mather cites Tertullian at second hand from Patrick's *Commentary*, but not Patrick's translation. Patrick erroneously identifies as his source Tertullian's *De praescriptionibus adversus haereticos* (cap. 47). The second citation is from Tertullian's *Adversus Valentianianos* (cap. 2) [PL 2. 544B], in *ANF* (3:504), but this time Mather does copy Patrick's translation (*Commentary* 1:16–17). Patrick's own acknowledged source, including the Latin translations, is *Of Idolatry* (1678), by Dr. Thomas Tenison (1636–1715), archbishop of Canterbury, who faithfully uses quotation marks to set off his own material from that of his own sources (ch. 24, pp. 355–56). Tenison's acknowledged source for "Saraph" is Johannes Buxtorf's *Lexicon Hebraicum and Chaldaicum* (1646): 437, 805, 813, 830. Increase Mather discussed the whole order of angels, their function, and purpose, in *Angelographia* (1696). For Mather's typological link between the brazen serpent of Moses and Christ as Savior, see his sermon *Zalmonah* (1725).

Epiphanius mentions those, who held, That the Woman listned unto the *Serpent*, και ἐπεισθη ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ, and was perswaded by him, as *the Son of God*. One knows not, what Notion R. *Bechai* might have, when he said, on the Fourteenth Verse of this Chapter, *This is a Mystery of the Holy Language, that a Serpent is called Saraph, as an Angel is called Saraph*; and adds, That the *Seraphim* in the Book of *Numbers*, were *The Offspring of this old Serpent*. He concludes, *understand this, as a Matter of great Concernment*.⁹

Q. The Woman represents God as putting that Clause into His Prohibition, *Neither shall yee touch it*. In Gen. 2.17. we don't find that Clause? v. 3.

A. *Lyra* thinks, that she added these Words, out of Dislike to the Præcept. One who dislikes a Præcept, adds unto it, to make it seem the more grievous.¹⁰

3374.

Q. It seems much, that *Eve* should so easily take up, with the Account, which the Diuel gave, of the *Forbidden Fruit*? v. 5.

A. Dr. *Patrick* saies, He can give no Account of it, but this; That when we are searching after the Reason of Things, (as *Eve* doubtless was, after the Reason of the Lords *Forbidding* that *Fruit*;) and cannot find it; if one be suggested unto us, which never came into our Mind before, tho' in itself most unlikely, we readily catch at it, & are pleased with it. When the Mind is weary with enquiring, it will take up with a *False Reason*, rather than with None at all. The Promise also of *Knowledge*, especially of such Knowledge, as would advance her to a more Noble Condition, was very Tempting. And it is likely, she thought an Heavenly Minister might understand the Meaning of God, better than herself.¹¹

Q. *Knowing Good and Evil*. What? v. 5.

A. It signifies as much as, To *know every thing*. Compare 2. Sam. XIV.14, 20. and, Deut. I.39. and Gen. XXXI.29.

⁹ Patrick, *Commentary* (1:17) on Gen. 3:1. In his *Panarion* (37.4.5), Epiphanius Constantiensis points his finger at the sect of the Ophites (snake worshipers) who held that Eve believed the serpent "as if he were God's son" (*Epiphanius* 2:56.9–10). Rabbi Bechai (c. 1260–1340), also known by his Hebrew name Rabbeinu Bachya ben Asher, is the Spanish biblical scholar from the same circle as R. Nachmanides (Ramban). The citation from R. Bechai's commentary on the Torah (Gen. 3:14, 15) appears in his *Beor al ha-torah: Bereshith* (*Torah Commentary* 1:118), a classical Hebrew commentary generally cited in every Rabbinic Bible (Mikraoth Gedoloth).

¹⁰ Nicholas of Lyra (c. 1270–c. 1340), a Franciscan theologian of Verneuil (Normandy), gives his explanation of this discrepancy (Gen. 2:17, 3:5) in his *Postilla Super Totam Bibliam* (1492): l.n.p. It is very likely that Mather quoted the passage at second hand, even though he had access to a Harvard copy of Lyra's *Lyrani Operâ Theologorum Duacens*. 7 vols. (Duaci, 1618), in *Catalogus* (1723), p. 4 (folio).

¹¹ Mather's verbatim extract is from Patrick's *Commentary* (1:17–18) on Gen. 3:5.

Q. What can you offer, to Illustrate the Largeness and Likelihood of the *Fig-leave* Aprons, used by our sinning and shamed First-Parents? v. 7.

A. If any Doubt, what *Fig-tree* could afford *Leaves* large enough, handsomely to accommodate any with a Garment, Lett him remember, that besides what *Athenæus* propounds out of *Theophrastus* concerning the Indian *Fig-tree*, as θαυμαστή οὐσα τῷ μεγέθει, there is a Passage in his L.4. *de plantis*, c. 5. that saith of this Tree, φύλλον οὐκ ἔλαττον ἔχει πέλτης, it is *as Large as a Shield*. *Pliny*, I will not quote you; for hee is an Author so Fabulous, that, A *Plinyism*, is justly become, a Phrase for a *Fable*: Yett, whether in that I shall do better or no, I'll quote you *Solinus*, who saith, of this Tree, *Foliorum latitudo, forme Amazonice peltæ comparatur, pomum eximie suavitatis*.¹²

The Paradaisaic *Figtree* probably, had *Leaves* of as large Dimensions, as any now in the *Indies*. But if now the Supply of Garments from this *Tree* rather than from another, with the Reported *Sweetness*, of its Fruit, shall incline you to think, that this very *Tree*, was it, by the Eating whereof, our first Parents came | to see their Want of those *Garments*, you will have the Consent of *Isidore Pelusiota*, to confirm you in that Opinion: for hee, giving the Reason why our Saviour cursed the *Figtree*, saith, L.1. ep. 51. ὅτι το ξύλον της παραβάσεως τουτο, – and this being the *Tree of Transgression*, saith hee, our Lord, out of Pitty & Mercy to Mankind Imprecated it, *ne posthac fructum peccati causam proferret*. However, I can't forgett the notable Cause assigned, by *Irenæus*, and by *Cedrenus*, why our First Parents chose *Fig-leaves* rather than any thing else to cover them; *Per succinctoria, in facto ostendit suam pænitentiam, tali Indutus tegumento, quod Delectationem quidem nullam præstat, mordet autem et pungit corpus*. A Consideration that carries much Admonition in it!¹³ [134v]

¹² Athenæus of Naucratis (3.13.7), citing Theophrastus (*De causis plantarum* 2.10.2), affirms that the Indian fig-tree “is of surprising height” (*Deipnosophists* 3.77f). Theophrastus argues in his *Historia plantarum* (4.4.4.16) that the leaves of the Indian fig-tree [*Ficus bengalensis*] are “almost as large as a shield.” Pliny (16.49.113) asserts that the Eastern fig-tree has the greatest and most shady leaf of all, but Gaius Iulius Solinus, who cribs his Latin sentence (and virtually everything else) from Pliny (12.11.22–12.12.24), claims that “the broad leaves [of the Indian fig-tree] are comparable to the shape of an Amazonian buckler, the fruit of extraordinary sweetness,” in Solinus’s *De mirabilibus mundi* (ch. 53 “India,” toward the end).

¹³ St. Isidore of Pelusium (d. c. 450) confirms in *Catena in Matthæum* (catena integra), in *Catenæ Græcorum partum in Novum Testamentum* (1:171.23), that “this being the tree of transgression,” the Lord cursed the tree “so that henceforth it may not bring forth fruit as the occasion for sin.” At least six editions of Isidore Pelusiota’s works (bk. 1, epist. 51) had been printed by the end of the seventeenth century. According to Irenæus (*Against Heresies* 3.23.5), our protoplast chose fig leaves as punishment because they irritated his body more than any other leaf (*ANF* 1:457). The Byzantine historian Georgius Cedrenus (fl. 11th–12th c.) opined in his *Compendium historiarum* (1:14.19–1:15.3) that “by their loincloths, he [Adam] shows his penitence by deed; clothed in such a garment that no pleasure is available, he bites and stings his body.”

Q. Tis said of our Parents, *They Sewed Figleaves together*. Where had they their *Needle & Threed?* v. 7.

A. There was no need of *Needle* or *Threed* in the business; for the original Word, signifies, not *Sowing*, but, *Wreathing* or *Twisting*. They took the *Boughs* with the *Leaves*, which they twisted into a figure suitable to their Occasion.

2752. We may make this Matter, yett a little more unexceptionable; because the foolish *Deists*, do so cavil at it.

The original Word here, *Tapar*, signifies no more than to *Adapt*, and *Apply*. And the Word, *gueleh*, which wee render, *Leaves*, also signifies *Branches* of Trees, the same whereof they made *Booths* or *Bowers*. Thus what wee render, To *sew Leaves together*, is only to twist or platt the Flexible Branches of the *Fig-tree*, round about their Wastes, in the Manner of a Roman Crown; the Broad Leaves of the Tree now hanging down, represented the fashion of a Pair of *green Breeches*. I will add, The *Sieur Luillier*, in his Voyage to the *East-Indies*, finds a *Fig tree*, the Leaves whereof are so long and so broad, that they can easily cover a Man all over. And hee conjectures this to be the same with *Adams* Fig tree.¹⁴

2732.

Q. What is meant by their *Knowing themselves to be Naked?*

A. Dr. *Patrick* summs up all the Senses of it, thus; A *cold Shivering* siezed on them; They perceived also that they were stript of their Intellectual Ornaments; (as *Athanasius* expounds it;) and blush'd also at their Bodily Nakedness.¹⁵

Q. Some Further Considerations on the *Figleaves?*

A. It is a little surprizing, to call to Mind, the several Considerations, which Antiquitie had of the *Fig tree*, with reference to the *Secret Parts*. They are by Sir *Tho. Brown* touch'd upon.

Fig-leaves are described by sundry Authors, to have some Resemblance unto the Genitals; and so they seem aptly formed, for a Contection of those Parts. In *Praxiteles's* famous Statue of *Alexander*, the Secret Parts were veil'd with *Fig-leaves*. This Tree was of old sacred unto *Priapus*. And it is well known, that the Diseases of the *Secret Parts* have derived their Names from *Figs*.

¹⁴ The prime root of the Hebrew word תָּפַר [taphar] suggests "to sew together" [Strong's # 8609], and the Hebrew עָלֶה [aleh] signifies "leaf" or "foliage" [Strong's # 5929]. Mather refers to the French traveler *Sieur Luillier-Lagaudiers* (fl. 17th c.), whose popular *Nouveau voyage du Sieur Luillier aux Grandes Indes* (1705) was excerpted in Capt. William Symson's *A New Voyage to the East Indies . . . With many excellent Remarks by the Sieur Luillier* (1715).

¹⁵ The paragraph is extracted from Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 3:7, in *Commentary* (1:18). Patrick's own annotations are derived from *Athanasius's Against the Heathen* (§ 3), in *NPNFii* (4:5). Like *Athanasius*, the Targum Hierosolymitanum on Gen. 2:25 here interprets "naked" as "wise" (Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* 1:30–31; *Works* 1:173).

It is a pretty odd Note of *Almeloveen*, in his *Opuscula*; That the Statues of *Priapus* in After-ages, were made of the *Fig tree*; in remembrance of the early Use, to which our First Parents putt the Leaves of it.¹⁶

3376.

Q. What was the *Presence of the Lord*, from whence our Fallen Parents hid themselves? v. 8.

A. The Son of God, now appeared in the very Glorious *Clouds*, or *Flames* of the *Shechinah*, with a most amazing Brightness. Probably, The *Shechinah* or the *Divine Majesty* appeared not now in so mild a Lustre, as when they were first acquainted with Him. No, but in a more terribly burning *Light*, which look'd as if it would consume them. So we know, He appeared, at the giving of the Law, upon Mount *Sinai*. [Exod. 19.18. and Deut. 4.11.]¹⁷

Q. On that Enquiry, *Adam, where art thou?* v. 8.

A. Old *Eucherius* would have this contained in it; *Quo recidisti?* whither art thou fallen? what art thou come to? Tis not meerly, *pro sciscitatione querentis*, but also, *cum Increpatione Interrogantis*.

He also says, it intimates, That *omnis ille qui peccat, per Delictum recedens à conspectu Dei, notitia eius efficiatur indignus*. A Sinner is not worthy, that GOD should look upon him, and see where he is.¹⁸

[▽Insert from 137r]¹⁹

[▽137r]

3377.

Q. Why is it not said unto our First Parents, *Thou art Cursed*, as well as unto the *Serpent*? v. 14.

¹⁶ Sir Thomas Browne discusses the parable of the fig tree, the medicinal qualities of figs and fig leaves, and the fig tree's sacredness as a symbol of fertility, in his *Certain Miscellany Tracts* (1684), Tract 1: "Observations upon several Plants mention'd in Scripture" (sect. 43), *Works* 3:265–72. "*Confection*" is an obsolete term for "covering up" (*OED*). The worship of the Greco-Roman god *Priapus*, the ithyphallic son of *Dionysius-Bacchus*, is by *Strabo* (13.1.12) associated with the city that bears the god's name. The famous statue of *Alexander the Great*, attributed to the Athenian sculptor *Praxiteles* (c. 375–330 BCE), is probably that of the *Satyr*, leaning on a tree stump. Only a Roman copy survives of *Praxiteles*'s original. The "pretty odd Note" of *Theodoor Jansson van Almeloveen* (1657–1712), Dutch professor of medicine at *Harderwijk University*, appears in his *Opuscula; sive, Antiquitatum e sacris profanarum specimen* (1686) 1–7.

¹⁷ See Appendix B.

¹⁸ *Mather* records this entire paragraph on a separate snippet of paper [verso blank] for sequential insertion at this point. Old St. *Eucherius Lugdunensis*, bishop of *Lyon* (d. c. 449), insists in his *Instructionem ad Salomonium libri Duo, in Genesi* (lib. 1, cap. 1) [PL 50. 776C] that the rebuke is not merely "for the curiosity of someone asking," but also done, "with the rebuke of an examiner." God's question intimates that "everyone who sins, receding from the sight of God by his transgressions, is made unworthy to know Him."

¹⁹ See Appendix B.

A. It is observed by *Tertullian*, That tho' God inflicted Punishments on *Adam* and *Eve*, yett He did not *Curse* them, as He did the *Serpent*, *Ut Restitutionis candidatos*; they standing fair for a *Restitution* to His Favour.²⁰

3378.

Q. Why should the literal *Serpent* be *cursed*, which was only an Instrument of the *Divel*? v. 14.

A. Why must an *Oxe* which killed a Man, be stoned? [Exod. 21.28.] It was to show, the great Value, that God sett upon the Life of Man. Thus, the *Serpent* was condemned, in Mercy to *Adam* and *Eve*; That they might be still minded of their foul Crime and Guilt, & excited unto Repentance, by seeing a Noble Creature (which was but the Instrument of their Fall) debased into so vile a Condition.

But I have elsewhere denied the literal *Serpent* any Share in the Matter.²¹

3379.

Q. What was the *Curse* of the *Divel*, involved in that of the *Serpent*? v. 14.

A. The *Curse* of the *Divel* in general, was, To be thrust down further than before, from his ancient Heavenly Habitation; and confined unto the lower, smoaky, wretched Region of the Air; where he hath lost all Relish of Cœlestial Enjoyments, & pleases himself only in his vile Endeavours (as Dr. *Patrick* expresses it) to make Mankind as wicked as himself.²²

3381.

Q. That Clause in the *Curse* upon the *Serpent*, *Dust shalt thou eat, all the Dayes of thy Life*: What Gloss did the Ancients putt upon it? v. 14.²³

A. I'll entertain you with a Gloss of the Blessed *Prosper* upon it; and tho' it may not please our *Judgment*, yett if it Help our *Practice*, t'wil be worth mentioning.

Saies he, *Terrenis Cupiditatibus inhiantes Animæ, Terræ similes comparantur*. Lett *Earthly-minded* Men look to it; for Satan makes a Prey of them. Such Persons, as *Prosper* proceeds, are meant, by *David*, when he saies, *The Wicked shall be as the Dust* [Chaff] *which the Wind drives to & fro*; And by *Jeremiah*, *They which*

²⁰ The Latin citation from Tertullian's *Adversus Marcionem* (2.25) [PL 2. 315A] is at second Hand from Patrick's *Commentary* (1:19) on Gen. 3:14 and reads "for [they were] candidates for restoration" (*ANF* 3:317). In his "Note Book of Authors and Texts Throughout the Bible" (1720), Mather also lists as his additional source Mede, *Works* (bk. 1, Disc. 38, pp. 287–94).

²¹ The passage is extracted from Simon Patrick's *Commentary* (1:19). Mather also discusses this issue in his commentary on Gen. 3:15 (below) and Gen. 3.1 (above).

²² Patrick's annotation on Gen. 3:14 (*Commentary* 1:19). Satan's ousting from heaven is described in Rev. 12:9.

²³ Erroneous v. 15 in MS changed to v. 14.

depart from thee, shall be written in the Earth; And by Job, The Earth is given into the Hand of the Wicked.²⁴

[△Insert ends]

[△]

Q. Why is our Saviour called, *The Seed of the Woman*? v. 15.

A. Elsewhere we give some Account of it.

All that I shall do here, is to recite a Passage, which I find in the first Volume of the, *Miscellanea Curiosa*.

Dr. George Garden, of Aberdeen in Pursuance of what had been observed by Dr. Lieuenhoeck, of an Infinite Number of *Animalcule in Semine Marium* of all kinds, proceeds to confirm these Three Observations. First; That all Animals are *Ex Animalculo*. Secondly; That these Animalcules are originally, *in Semine Marium et non in Feminis*. Thirdly; That they can never come forward, nor be formed into Animals of the Respective Kind, without the *Ova in Feminis*. It seems also most probable to him, that the *Stamina* of all the Plants and Animals that have been, or ever shall be in the World, have been formed, *ab Origine Mundi*, by the Almighty, within the First of each Respective Kind.

He adds, "This gives a New Light, as it were, to the First Prophecy concerning the *Messiah*, *That the Seed of the Woman shall bruise the Head of the Serpent*; All the rest of Mankind, being thus most properly & truly, the *Seed of the Man*."²⁵

[135r]

²⁴ St. Prosper of Aquitaine (c. 390–c. 463) argues in his *De promissionibus et praedictionibus Dei. A Nonnullis S. Prospero Attributus*, cap. 3, § 5. [PL 51. 736B] that "souls that covet earthly desires are treated as though they were earth." The biblical references are to Jer. 17:13 and Job 9:24. See also Mede's *Works* (bk. 1, Disc. 39, pp. 295–300).

²⁵ This extract is from Dr. George Garden (1649–1733), a physician of Aberdeen (Scotland), whose article "A Discourse concerning the Modern Theory of Generation" appeared in *Miscellanea Curiosa: Being A Collection of some of the Principal Phaenomena in Nature*, 3 vols. (1705–07) 1:143, 147, 148–49. Dr. Garden's microscopic experiments confirmed those of Anton van Leeuwenhoek (1632–1723), an accomplished Dutch scientist and discoverer of microorganisms. Leeuwenhoek postulated that the spermatozoa in the seminal fluids fertilized the ovum upon penetration of the egg. The debate centered on the question of procreation and its theological implications: Does a new creation (by God) take place every time an egg is fertilized, or does each microscopically small fetus exist in the seminal fluid (independent of the egg) and merely expands during the incubation process? The debate involved such noteworthy scientists as William Harvey, Marcello Malpighi, Jan Swammerdam, Anton van Leeuwenhoek, Claude Perrault, and many others. The Latin passages from George Garden's article read respectively "a tiny animal in the seminal fluids," "out of tiny living animals," "in the seminal fluids and not in the female," "the eggs in the female," and "from the beginning of the world." In this manner, physio-theologians like Garden saw no conflict between their microscopic research and their study of messianic prophecies (Gen. 3:15). Mather also put to good use the work of Garden and Leeuwenhoek in his anthology of scientific discoveries *The Christian Philosopher* (1721) and in his medical handbook *The Angel of Bethesda* (1972).

1648.

Q. Is there any singular Curiositie in the Letters of the first Promise to Fallen Man? v. 15.

A. It may bee, you'l reckon the Strain a little too fine, if I mention a Note of one; but I'll mention it.

Hee saies, That there occur Instances, wherein Times are to bee reckoned by *Letters* of the Bible; and that our Lord intimated this, when Hee styled Himself A, and Ω;

Hee adds, for an Instance, That the very Number in the Hebrew Letters of that *Curse* to the *Serpent*, or *Blessing* to our *First Parents*, in Gen. 3.15. [which is 4266] makes up the Years of the World, according unto *Scaliger*, & all that follow him, to *Constantines* breaking of *Maxentius* and *Licinius*, and the other Members of the *Dragon* in the *Revelation*; a Pledge of a greater Work that yett remains to bee done by our Lord Jesus Christ.²⁶

3380.

Q. What more particular Kindness, both unto *Adam*, and unto *Mankind*, was expressed by God, in His first Promise unto them? v. 15.

A. Mr. *Alix* hath observed, That *Adam* having been seduced by his Wife it might have produced a Breach between them, had not God mercifully prevented it, by a gracious Promise of a *Redeemer*, depending on his *Union* with his Wife, from whom one should issue, that would repair their Losses.

Again; The Time when this Promise was made, is Remarkable. It was long before any Distinction was made upon any Account among the Sons of *Adam*;

²⁶ Numerological studies (Gematria) of the Hebrew Bible were popular throughout the ages and served those who searched for its mystical significations as a means to decipher hidden meanings and prophetic foreshadowing. See Jacques Basnage's *History of the Jews* (bk. 3, ch. 11, pp. 189–90). Mather's material may have been based on John Foxe's popular martyrology, *Acts and Monuments* (1632) 1:129–30 (Ages Digital Library 1:898); Mather employs an almost identical passage in his *Threefold Paradise* (292–93). The Christological reading of Gen. 3:15 in connection with the termination of Satan's rule (Rev. 12:13–14; 13:5) is standard in Mather's day and is generally derived from Joseph Mede's "Discourses" 25, 29, 37, and "Discourse 39" on Gen. 3:15, in *Works* (1664 ed.), bk. 1, pp. 143, 184, 284–85, 295–300. (See Mather's "Note Book of Authors," on Gen. 3:15). Mather's Gematria result of 4266 years – when dated from the creation of Adam (4004 BCE) – should yield the year when Roman Emperor Constantine I vanquished Maxentius and Licinius; however, this tabulation of years, though agreeing with the timeline established by Joseph Justus Scaliger, in *De Emendatione Temporum* (1583), does not concur with the timeline established by James Ussher half a century later. In Christian martyrologies, Roman Emperors Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maxentius (306–12) and Publius Flavius Galerius Licinius (307–324) are mostly remembered for their cruel persecutions of early Christians. Constantine I, the Great (d. 337), Roman emperor of the East, killed Maxentius in 312 and Licinius in 324. See A. T. Grafton, "Joseph Scaliger."

to show that all the World might look upon the *Messiah*, as a Benefit *common* unto them all.²⁷

[▽Insert from 141r–142v]

[▽141r]

Q. A good Illustration upon that *Prot-Evangelium*, as we may well call it; *I will putt Enmity between thee and the Woman, and between thy Seed and her Seed; It shall bruise thy Head, & thou shalt bruise His Heel*. This would help us to understand the Religion of the *Patriarchs*; and it would open to us, the Text, upon which indeed the whole ensuing Bible is a Commentary? v. 15.

A. The Jewes themselves do acknowledge, That *Satan* is, in this famous Oracle to be understood under the Hieroglyphick of the *Serpent*. [Compare, Isa. 27.1. and Psal. 91.13.] The *Punishment* here denounced, is upon him who deceived *Eve*; It was not the *Serpent* but *Satan*, in it, who spoke to her. No Creature on Earth pretends to *Speech*, but *Man*. And therefore, as others call *Man*, λογικον ζων· the *Hebrewes* call him מְדַבֵּר / *The Speaking Creature*. What is called, Gen. 2.7. *A Living Soul*, is by *Onkelos* rendred, *A Speaking Spirit*. The *Syriac* and the *Arabic* Language, uses the like Term. The *Serpent* was possessed by *Satan*, or as the *Synagogue* tells, by *Samael*, the *Angel of Death*.²⁸

And now, behold, how the whole *Oeconomy* of *Grace*, in the great Matter of our Salvation, is here delivered unto us! We will summ up the Observations, of the great *Cocceius*, and of his Scholar *Heidegger*, upon it.²⁹

²⁷ The material of these two paragraphs is extracted from Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 3:15, in *Commentary* (1:20). But the true source for both Patrick and Mather is *Reflexions upon the Books of the Holy Scripture* (1688), vol. 1, ch. 9, p. 51, by the learned Huguenot divine Pierre Allix (1641–1717).

²⁸ Mather alludes to Ibn Ezra's commentary on Gen. 3:1 where the famous rabbi presents the opinions of various interpreters who either believed that the serpent was "Satan," that an angel spoke while the serpent mimicked speech, or that the serpent could speak and "walked in an upright position" (*Commentary on the Pentateuch: Genesis*, 1:64–65). Philo Judaeus presents a similar argument, in his *Questions and Answers on Genesis*, I (31–32), in *Works* (797–98), and he is among the many ancient commentators who called man "logikon zoön," or "reasoning being." Mather's Hebrew-Aramaic citation מְדַבֵּר / [memalla] appears in Onkelos (Gen. 2:7, silently corrected from Mather's erroneous verse Gen. 2:6) and is rendered "homini in spiritū loquentē." The Syriac and Arabic versions translated into Latin render the phrase "animam viventem" and "anima ratione" respectively. In all these cases (Gen. 2:7), Mather draws on Brian Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1:6, 7). Hebrew commentaries identify Samael as a wicked angel, hence the angel of death. See *Genesis Rabbah* (LVI:4), *Exodus Rabbah* (XVIII:5), and *Zohar* (Bereshith, sec. 1, p. 23b).

²⁹ Praising the Reformed theology of his German colleague Johannes Cocceius (1603–69), Reformed theologian and professor of Hebrew at Leiden University, Mather here tabulates Cocceius Christological interpretation of Gen. 3:15. Cocceius's *Lexicon et commentarius* (1669), *Summa doctrinae*, editio secunda (1654), and *Operum omnium* (1660) were within Mather's reach at Harvard Library (*Catalogus Librorum* 10, 73). The Zurich professor of theology Johann Heinrich Heidegger elaborates on some of these Christological concepts in his *De historia sacra patriarcharum* (1:100–05, Exerc. IV, §§ 57–69).

I. First, *I will putt Enmity*. Alas, then there is an *Amity*. Man ha's lost the Friendship & Image of God by Sin, & is become willing to do the Will of *Satan*. Our Natural *Misery*, & *Impotence* is here before us.

II. Man does not of his own Accord come to *Repentance*; does not of himself shake off the Service of *Satan*. It is *God*, who *putts the Enmity*. And He does it in a way of Sovereign *Grace*; a *Grace* which is not suspended on any thing done by us; who continue the Slaves of *Satan*, till that *Grace* do rescue us.

III. In the *Conversion* of a Sinner to God, what is he brought unto? An *Enmity* to *Satan*. So then, the converted Sinner does not persist in his Obedience to *Satan*. He is turned from *Satan*, and becomes obedient unto *God*.

IV. The *Woman* ha's a *Seed*, which is distinguished from the *Seed* of the *Serpent*. The *Woman* becomes the *Mother*, of, אִמַּת כָּל *Every Living One*;³⁰ all that Part of Mankind, which become so Quickened by the *Spirit of Holiness*, as to be the Heirs of *Everlasting Life*. All wicked People, are, *The Seed of the Serpent*. [Compare, Matth. 13.38. and, 1. Joh. 3.10. and Matth. 3.7.] But unto *Eve* there is promised, an *Holy Posterity* [compare, Isa. 6.13.] who after many Conflicts with *Satan*, come to Inherit *Life Eternal*.

V. How is the *Holy Seed* produced? The Children of God, are Made and Born so, from supernatural Influences of Heaven upon them. [Compare, Joh. 1.13. and, Rom. 9.8.] The Promise belonging to the *Seed of the Woman*, the Patriarchs might now gather, that it belonged not unto *all* the Children of Men. *Eve* seems to exclude *Cain* from any Share in it. [Gen. 4.25.]

VI. A Glorious CHRIST is now exhibited unto us. *Eve* is called, The *Mother of all the Living Seed*. Why was not she so called, before the *Promise*? Meer *Natural Life* is not all that is intended in it. It was from her apprehending of this *Promise*, that she obtained the Name. The *Living Seed* implies, both the, *Enlivening Seed*, and the *Enlivened Seed*; the *Sanctifying* and the *Sanctified*. [Compare, Heb. 2.11.] It is the *Messiah* that is the *Enlivening Seed*. None but He, whose Name is *Jehovah*, could *Bruise the Head* of *Satan*. [Compare, Zech. 3.2. and, Rom. 16.20.] And if a *Christ* were *promised* in this Word, we may conclude, that a *Christ* was also *perceived* by the *Patriarchs*, who had this Word convey'd unto them. *Si nullo modo percipere potuissent sensum genuinum, Spiritus S. ijs talia locutus non esset.*³¹

VII. Our Glorious CHRIST is the *Redeemer* of Men. *Sin* had made us obnoxious to *Death*; and *Satan* had the *Power of Death*. [Heb. 2.14.] The *Messiah* takes away this *Power* from him, in *Bruising* of his *Head*. By *bruising* of his *Head*, He rescues His Elect, out of the *Jawes* of the *Angel of Death*.

VIII. All the Faithful have a *Communion* with the Saviour, in His *Great Salvation*. For tho' our CHRIST underwent the *Wrath* of the *Winepress Alone*, and

³⁰ Gen. 3:20: אִמַּת כָּל אֲדָמָה [em kol-hay] "mother of all the living" [Strong's # 2416].

³¹ Mather's second-hand Latin citation – probably from Cocceius's *Lexicon* – reads, "If they had not been able to perceive the true meaning in any way, the Holy Spirit would not have spoken such things to them."

Alone *Bruised the Head of the Serpent*: yett this *Contrition* and *Victory* is ascribed unto *all the Seed*. We have an, admirable *Fellowship* with the *Messiah*, in His *Victory* over *Satan*.

IX. Stand Astonished at the *Justice* of God! The Sinner cannot be Delivered, except the *Heel* of the *Seed of the Woman* be *Bruised*. The *Death* of our CHRIST is meant, in that *Bruising of the Heel*. The *Law* had adjudged the Sinner to *Death*. *Satan* putts in his Memorial for the Execution of the *Law*. The *Law* must be satisfied, by the *Death* of the *Messiah* for us.

X. And might not the Fathers discern from the Prophecy, that the *Messiah* must be *God* and *Man*, in *one Person*, This being the *Seed of the Woman*, infers³² that He must be a *Man*. There must also be a Kindred | between Him, and the rest of the *Seed of the Woman*. But then, He that *breaks the Head of the Serpent* must be God; This is a Work for none but a *God*!

[▽142v]

XI. Whatsoever is *Born of a Woman* in an *ordinary Way*, is born under *Guilt* and *Curse*. The *Messiah* being to *break the Serpents Head*, and rescue Mankind from the *Curse*, the Patriarchs might infer³³ that He should not be born in the *ordinary Way* with the rest of Mankind. They might gather, that He must be the *Son of a Virgin*. His being also called, *The Seed of the Woman*, might intimate, that He should have a *Mother* without a *Father*.

XII. The *breaking of the Serpents Head*, is a Destruction that will involve the *Seed of the Serpent* in it. As on the one Side, the People of the *Messiah*, must expect Vexations from the Diuel, who does *bruise the Heel* of the *Seed of the Woman*; so on the other Side, the *Serpent* ha's a People, who must perish with *the Diuel & his Angels*. And thus, the *Last Judgment* also came into the *Faith of the Patriarchs*.

This is the Summ of the *Christian Religion*, wherein the Ancient Patriarchs were instructed of God. And this *Idea* of the *Patriarchal Religion*, ought to be carried in our Minds, as we go on in reading the rest of the Sacred Scriptures now before us.

One elegantly calls the rest of the Scriptures, *Commentaries upon that Evangelical Grain of Mustard-Seed, sown by the Hand of God in Paradise*.³⁴

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 137r–138v]³⁵

[▽137r]

³² Or rather, “implies” – a common error in Mather’s writing.

³³ I.e., “imply.”

³⁴ Mather probably has Cocceius in mind and the scriptures in Matt. 13:31 and Luke 13:19, in which the kingdom of heaven is likened to a small mustard seed that sprouts into a mighty tree.

³⁵ Mather inserts the following directions: “Here bring in from the Next Leaf, ye Two Illustrations, on v. 15. and 17.”

1693.

Q. The *Curse* denounced by the Blessed God, on the *Earth*, at and for the Fall of Man: when took it place? v. 17.

A. Lett us consider, with Dr. *Woodward*, the other Part of the *Curse*, which was *Death* upon Man himself; and wee shall find, that tho' the Dominion of *Death* over Man, commenced indeed, the same *Day* that the Sentence was passed, yea, the same *Hour* that by tasting the forbidden Fruit hee incurr'd the Sentence; yett it was a long while, that the full Execution was delay'd, by the Clemency of God; *Adam* was Reprieved for Eight or Nine Hundred Years.³⁶ Thus here, the *Sterility*, which the *Earth* was *cursed* unto, so far took place immediately that *Thorns* immediately manifested themselves on every Side: Nevertheless, tis thought by some, the *Fertility* of the *Earth*, suffered little Diminution, till the *Flood* overwhelmed it. The Vegetable Productions of the Antediluvian *Earth*, still preserved, have satisfied, such Industrious and Judicious Enquirers, as my Dr. *Woodward*, That the Luxuriance and Fecundity of that *Earth*, was wonderful. At the Time, when the *Deluge* came, the *Earth* was even over-loaded, with its own Productions, to such a Degree, that such an Expedient was wanting, to ease it of its Burden. That the *Deluge* was the special fulfilment of the *Curse* pronounced at the Fall, is evident from the Words of God, at *Noahs* coming out of the Ark, when the Deluge was over, Gen. 8.21. *I will not again curse the Ground any more*: which anon Hee calls, Gen. 9.11. *A Destroying of the Earth*. Nor is it strange, that the *Curse* had its Effect no sooner; for | you may see this Way of Proceeding, in other Instances. A *Curse* due to *Cham*, is denounced upon *Canaan*; *A Servant of Servants, hee shall bee to his Brethren*; to *Shem*, and *Japhet*. This was not inflicted so much as upon the Person of *Canaan*, but upon his Posterity; and this not until many Generations afterwards, when the *Israelites* did subjugate the *Canaanites*; T'was well onwards of a Thousand Years, before the *Curse* began to take Effect!

[▽138v]

Thus, it was as long after, as the *Flood*, that the *Curse* upon the Primitive *Earth* was executed. The *First Earth*, was then taken all to Peeces, & framed anew; *Our Earth*, was by the *Flood*, in just such a Posture, as the *First Earth* was, when it first Rose out of Nothing; and God used such a Method of Nature, in *Settling* it again, when Hee had broken it all to Shivers (by bursting the *Strata*

³⁶ According to James Ussher (*Annals* 2), Adam and Eve were punished by God for their transgression and expelled from Eden on the same day that he was first brought into the garden “upon the tenth day of the world,” which in the Julian calendar occurred on the “first day of *November*.” Adam died 930 years later, in 930 AM (Anno Mundi) or in the year 1640 (Julian Calendar), which is 3074 BCE (Gregorian Calendar). The following four paragraphs are a paraphrase of *An Essay toward a Natural History of the Earth* (1695), part 2, pp. 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104–05, by Mather’s correspondent John Woodward (1665–1728), professor of physics at Gresham College and leading member of the Royal Society of London. Woodward’s thesis of the Flood and its impact on the earth’s fertility was highly controversial at the time.

of it, & bringing out the central *Abyss* upon it,) as Hee did in first *Forming* of it: only Hee brought a Notable Change upon it, in regard of its *Fertility*.³⁷

The *Vegetable Matter*, which before lay on the Surface of the *Earth*, was now retrenched, & confounded, and much of it, Buried. Only so much of it was left near the Surface, as might just suffice the Wants of Mankind; and this not *pure*, but mixed with so much *Mineral Matter*, as that it requires much Labour, Tillage, and Manure, to fetch a competent Crop out of it. By this Means, a great Part of the *Time*, which the Inhabitants of the *First Earth* had to spare, (for tho' they *till'd* the Earth, yett a very little *Tillage* would serve!) and which they used unto very vicious and ungodly Purposes, even so as to fill the World, with such enormous Wickedness as might bee expected from the sinful Hearts of Men, when they are at Liesure to sin, This *Time* is now spent in *Digging*, in *Plowing*, in difficult Employments, which Restraine Men from such Miscarriages, as else they would soon abandon themselves unto.³⁸

Behold therefore, the *Curse* of the *Earth*, gloriously moderated with a *Blessing*, to the succeeding Generations of its Inhabitants. The Constitution of the *Earth*, as it is by the *Flood* fashioned afresh, is more nearly accommodated unto the Frailties of them that live upon it. Had the only Design of the *Deluge* been, to punish the People then living, & so to deter their Offspring from living like them, this Design might have been more compendiously brought about, than by thus unhinging the whole Frame of this Globe, all at once. God could have sent innumerable Disasters upon them, which might have carried them off by sholes, and have swept them all clear away. The Artillery of the Sky, which is in His Power, was enough to have Thunderstruck them all; Hee could have consumed them with Fire from Heaven. The Design lay deeper; It was to Remove the Temptations and Inducements of Sin, out of Mans Way, when hee had lost his Innocence. Had the *Earth* been emptied of Men, the next Sett of Men, would have gone on to sin, like their Predecessors, if they had not been Fettered, by the *Earths* being brought into such a Condition, as would require the most of their Thoughts and Cares, to contrive, not *Wickedness*, but a *Subsistence* upon it.

But upon the miserable Condition of the *Antediluvian Earth*, we may elsewhere offer some different Sentiments.

[△Insert ends]

[△]

3381.

Q. What Remark upon that, *Thou shalt eat the Herb of the Field?* v. 18.

A. Here the Rabbins cry out, *Mensura pro Mensurâ!* Behold, the Justice of God, who served Man in his Kind! He was not satisfied with the choice *Fruits* of the *Garden*, in which God putt him; and therefore He took them from him,

³⁷ See Woodward's *An Essay* (part 2, pp. 108, 97–98; part 3, pp. 117–18, 151).

³⁸ See Woodward's *An Essay* (part 2, pp. 108, 105–06).

& sent him to eat the ordinary Food of *Beasts*; and that not without hard Labour neither.³⁹

2417.

Q. What special Remark, is to be made upon the Sentence passed against us, *In the Sweat of thy Face, thou shalt eat Bread?* v. 19.

A. 'Tis the Remark of *Maimonides* upon it, That the *Punishment* answers the *Sin*. *Qui cibo peccaverat, cibo punitur*.⁴⁰

{..}46.

Q. *Adam* seems to call his Wife, *Eve*, not until after the Fall; why not until *Then?* v. 20.

A. Before the Fall, hee call'd her, (A *Woman*) *Ishah*. But now, upon the Fall, the Promise of the *Messiah* was made unto her; and hereupon hee call'd her *Eve*, because out of her should proceed *Hee*, that should give *Life*, unto all them that seek Him. In and by the *Messiah*, shee is the *Mother of all the Living*, who, brought into the World else none but Sinners, and such as without *Him*, are *Dead in Trespasses & Sins*. This Observation, I had from one *John Jacob*, an Ingenious *Jew Turn'd Christian*.

Mr. *Pyles* has this Note upon it. *Adam* under a Threatning of Death, expecting that the Threatning would be immediately executed, was transported when he heard of being saved from the present Execution of it, and express'd his Joy by calling his Wife, *Eve*, or one that should yett *Live*, and bear an Offspring that should also *Live* and be *Saved*.⁴¹

2825.

Q. We read, The Lord made for our fallen Parents, *Coats of Skins*, & clothed them: why, *Coats of Skins?* v. 21.

³⁹ Mather's erroneous identification of verse 18 as v. 19 is here emended. Mather's comments are again cribbed from Patrick's annotation on Gen. 3:18 (*Commentary* 1:21), but Patrick himself consults Maimonides. Adam's punishment for disobeying God was banishment from Paradise: "measure for measure," as suggested by Buxtorf's Latin translation of Maimonides's *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), pars 1, cap. 2, p. 6. (*Guide* 1.2.16).

⁴⁰ Alluding to Ps. 49:13, Maimonides (*Doctor Perplexorum*, pars 1, cap. 2, p. 6) argues that since Adam listened to a beast (the serpent), he was reduced to the level of a beast as well. According to Maimonides, Adam's punishment answered his sin because he "who had transgressed by food, will be punished by food" (see *Guide* 1.2.16).

⁴¹ See Patrick on Gen. 3:20 (*Commentary* 1:21). Mather's acknowledged source is [*Even Jero'sh pina*] *The Jew turned Christian; Or the Corner-Stone* (1678/9), by the purported converso John Jacob (fl. 17th c). See also Richard Mayo's *A Conference betwixt a Protestant and a Jew* (1678, 1687). The passage from Thomas Pyle is extracted verbatim from his *Paraphrase with Short and Useful Notes* (1717), vol. 1, ch. 3, p. 24, note 20 (Gen. 3:20).

A. Why not, that He might intimate unto them, the *Beastliness* into which they were fallen? I find some learned Man making this Gloss upon it.⁴²

My excellent *Langius* ha's another Gloss. *Eos de veste Justitiæ, quam CHRIS-TUS, Agnus ille Dei, aliquando immolandus, ipsis paraturus eras, simul admonuisse videtur.* God putt them in Mind of the *Garments of Righteousness*, which were to be provided for them, from a *Sacrificed Saviour*.⁴³

[Insert from 142v–144v]

[▽142v]

Q. Some Remarks upon the State of the Church before the Law, may be seasonably introduced here? v. 21.

A. They shall be Monsr. *Jurieu*'s. The Church did exist in *Families* dispersed thro' the World. If the *Families* lived near one another, they cultivated a good Correspondence, and for the most Part maintained something of an Union in their Worship.⁴⁴

These *Families* were Independent, & had no necessary Recourse to one another in Religious Matters.

Tho' if any Chief were known to enjoy extraordinary Illuminations from GOD, the other Families would in difficult Cases repair unto him. So *Job*, was the Oracle of the whole Countrey where he lived.

The Devotions performed in each of the Families, were according to Directions from the Head of it; The Father, was the Teacher, & the Ruler.

No Family pretended unto the Right of Quarrelling with another for the Declining from the Path of true Piety; every Family claim'd an entire Liberty of Conscience.

Yett the Families often invited one another, unto their Sacrifices & Entertainments; whereat he that gave the Invitation was the Master.

While the Children lived under the Tuition of their Parents, they were obliged unto the Religion of their Parents. But when they swarmed into Families of their own, they did as they pleased, in all Respects.

⁴² The learned man is the Anglican clergyman Thomas Gataker (1574–1654), whose *Londinatis Cinnus* (1651) 202, is the source in question. Matthew Poole offers much the same in his *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:48) on Gen. 3:21.

⁴³ Joachim Langius's gloss, most likely from his previously cited *Causa Dei et religionis* (1726–27), reads that the Lord "seems to have warned them at the same time about the robe of righteousness, which Christ, the Lamb of God, who would later be sacrificed, was to prepare for them."

⁴⁴ Pierre Jurieu here defends Congregational Independency against the Presbyterian polity advocated by Cocceius and Heidegger (1:46–77, Exerc. III: "De ecclesia et theologia patriarcharum"). Heidegger argues that in the times of the ancient patriarchs, ecclesiastical courts were already in existence to censure transgressions among the tribal families as a whole. The subsequent paragraphs are a synopsis of Jurieu's *Critical History*, vol. 1, part I, ch. xviii, pp. 182–83 (§§ 3–4, 6–9), and p. 184.

All these petty Churches, being in such Independency on one another, did not acknowledge any one for their Supream Head, so as to submitt unto his Decisions.

Indeed, it required a greater Presence of the *Prophetic Spirit*, for the Preserving of the Church, while so destitute of an exterior Form, that the Jews putt the Name of, *Tohu*, or *Chaos*, upon it.⁴⁵ But probably, the *Spirit* made more frequent Visits in those Days; and very many of the *Patriarchs*, were *Prophets* also.

Monsr. *Jurieu* from this View of the Ancient Church, argues, the Folly & Falsity of that Notion, that the Church cannot subsist without a Sovereign Court of Justice, or Judge to determine such Differences, as may arise from time to time. Sais he, *I am clearly of Opinion, that they lived as peaceably in the ancient Church, as we do nowadays, in ours; Neither do I find them ever to inveigh against Hæresy & Hereticks, unless under that Name you will comprehend Idolatry.*⁴⁶

[▽143r]

Q. Some Remarks on the Relation given by *Moses*, concerning the *Fall of our First Parents*? v. 21.

A. In a Discourse of Dr. *Sherlock* the Younger, concerning, *The Use and Intent of Prophecy*, you will find some Remarks to this Purpose.⁴⁷

The more and oftner the Case is considered in all its Circumstances, the more will the commonly received Interpretation prevail; which is evidently the True Ancient Interpretation of the Jewish Church; as appears, by the Allusions to the *History of the Fall*, to be mett withal in the Books of the *Old Testament*.

Unto some *Unbelievers*, the *History of the Fall*, would have been altogether as *Incredible*, tho' perhaps not quite so *Diverting*, had it been told in the *Simplest* and *Plainest* Language. — As to others, who are not Infidels with regard unto Religion in general, yett are shock'd with the Circumstances of this History; Lett *Them* consider, That the *Speculations* arising from the *History of the Fall*, and the Introduction of *Natural* and *Moral* Evil into the World, are of all others the most abstruse & obscure, & the most out of Reach unto us. This Difficulty led Men in the *Earliest Ages*, to imagine Two Independent Principles of *Good* and *Evil*: A Notion tending to destroy that *Sovereignty of GOD*, the Maintaining whereof is the principal Design of the *Mosaic History*. Had the *History of the Fall* plainly introduced an *Invisible Evil Being*, to confound the Works of *GOD*, and be the *Author of Iniquity*, it might have given great Countenance to this Error, of *Two Principles*; or, to prevent it, *Moses* must likewise have written, the *History of the Angels Fall*; which he had no Commission to do; nor were we very

⁴⁵ Gen. 1:2. See Soncino Talmudic tractate Mas. Chagigah (12a) and Sanhedrin (26b).

⁴⁶ *Jurieu, Critical History*, vol. 1, Part I, ch. xviii, p. 185 § 3.

⁴⁷ The following paragraphs are excerpted from *The Use and Intent of Prophecy*, sixth edition (1755), a collection of discourses delivered in 1724, by Thomas Sherlock, D.D. (1678–1761), bishop of London, whose conflict with Dr. Hoadly in the Bangorian Controversy is reflected here. Mather's verbatim extract is from "Discourse III," in Sherlock's *Use and Intent* (55–65).

capable Judges of such a Matter. The Difficulty is in a great Measure avoided, by his having recourse to the common Usage of the *Eastern Countreys*; which was, To cloathe *Histories* in *Parables*, and exhibit Things under the Conveyance & Advantage of *Similitudes*. The *Serpent* was remarkable for an *Insidious Cunning*; and therefore stood as a proper Emblem of a *Deceiver*: And yett being one of the *Lowest Creatures*, the Emblem gave no Suspicion of any Power concerned, that might pretend for to Rival the Almighty Creator. This Method has not so obscured the *History*, but that we may with great Certainty come to the Knowledge of all that it is necessary for us to know. Lett us consider the History of *Moses*, as we would any other Ancient History, of like Antiquity. Suppose, for Instance, that this Account of the Fall, had been præserted unto us out of *Sanchoniathons* Phœnician History;⁴⁸ we should in that Case be at a Loss perhaps to account for every *Manner* and *Figure* of *Representation*, and every *Expression* in the Story. But we should soon agree, that all this Difficulty was imputable, to the *Manner* & *Custom* of his *Age* and *Countrey*; and show more of Respect unto so venerable a Peece of *Antiquity*, than to charge it with Want of *Sense*, because we did not understand every minute Circumstance. We should likewise agree, that there were evidently *Four Persons* concerned in the Story. The *Man*, the *Woman*, the *Person* represented by the *Serpent*, and *GOD*: And about their several Parts, there could be no Disagreement. The *Serpent* is evidently the *Tempter*; The *Man* and the *Woman* are the *Offenders*; And *GOD* is the *Judge* of all the Three. The *Punishments* inflicted on the *Man* & the *Woman*, are all intelligible enough. And as to the *Sentence* on the *Serpent*, we should think it Reasonable to give such a Sense of it, as the whole Series of the Story requires. If the same Equity be allowed in the Interpreting of *Moses*, this *Plain Fact* undeniably appears in the History, “Man being Tempted unto Disobedience, did actually Disobey his Maker; and thereby forfeit all Title unto Happiness, and unto Life itself: And *GOD* thereupon Judged *him*, and the *Deceiver* likewise under the Form of a *Serpent*.”⁴⁹

That Great and First Prophecy, *I will putt Enmity between thee & the Woman, and between thy Seed and her Seed; It shall bruise thy Head, and thou shalt bruise His Heel*⁵⁰; This is Part of the *Sentence* passed on the *Deceiver*. Christian Writers apply this to our Blessed SAVIOUR; emphatically styled, *The Seed of the Woman*, who came in the Fullness of Time to *Bruise the Serpents Head*, by

48 Sanchoniathon's *Phœnician History* (c. 700–500 BCE?), extracts of which survive in Eusebius's *Preparatio evangelica* (1.9–10) and elsewhere, is by the Greek historian Philon of Byblos (70–c. 160 CE) dated to the period before the Trojan War (c. 1300 BCE). However, Sanchoniathon more likely lived during the reign of Alexander the Great in the 4th c. BCE. In Mather's time, Henry Dodwell discusses the trustworthiness of this Phœnician historian, in his *Discourse Concerning Sanchoniathon's Phœnician History* (1681).

49 The passage in quotation marks is a rhetorical reconstruction of Sanchoniathon's history and appears in Sherlock's *Use and Intent* (58).

50 Gen. 3:15.

[▽144v]

destroying the Works of the *Devil*, and restoring those to the Liberty of the Sons of GOD who were held under the Bondage of Sin. You will say, By what Rule do you find all these things intended here? Tis no Wonder to hear such Quæstions from those, who look no further than the *Third Chapter of Genesis*, to see the Ground of the Christian Application. But lett us first See, what might be discovered unto our *First Parents* at the *Time* when this Prophecy was | delivered; and what we may reasonably suppose they apprehended of it.

They were now in a State of *Sin*, standing before GOD, and waiting to receive Sentence for their Disobedience, and had Reason to expect a full Execution of the Penalty, *In the Day thou Eatest thereof thou shalt surely Dy.*⁵¹ But GOD came in *Mercy* as well as in *Judgment*, and purposed not only to *Punish* Man but also to *Restore* him. The Judgment is awful & severe; Terminating in This, *Dust thou art, and unto Dust thou shalt return.*⁵² Had they been left thus, they might have look'd on themselves as Rejected utterly of their Maker, delivered up to *Trouble* in This World, without Hope of any *Comfort* in another. Upon that Foot, there could not have been any Religion left in the World. If therefore GOD would præserve them as Objects of Mercy, it was necessary to communicate so much *Hope* unto them, as might afford a *Rational Foundation* for their future Endeavours to seek Reconciliation and yeeld Better Obedience. This Prophecy is excellently adapted unto this Purpose, and manifestly conveyed such Hopes unto our First Parents. Now they must necessarily understand the Prophecy, either according to the literal Meaning of the Words, or according to such a Meaning as the whole Circumstance of the Transaction whereof they are a Part, will require. If we suppose them to understand the Words Literally, the Passage must appear absolutely Ridiculous. Do but imagine, that you see GOD coming to *Judge* the Offenders; *Adam* and *Eve* before Him in the utmost Anguish of Distress; and GOD inflicting *Pains*, and *Griefs*, and *Miseries*, and even *Death* itself upon the First of Humane Race: And in the Midst of this Wo, and fearful Calamity, you hear the Great GOD foretelling with all *Solemnity*, a very *Trivial Accident* that should sometimes happen in the World; That *Serpents* would sometimes bite a Man by the *Heel*, and the Man would be ready to Revenge himself by striking them on the *Head*. I beseech you, what has this *Trifle* to do, with the *Loss of Mankind*, the *Corruption* of the *Natural* and *Moral* World, and the *Ruine* of all the *Glory* and *Happiness* of the Creation? A mighty Comfort this, to *Adam*, after telling him, that his *Life* would be short & sad & full of Misery, and he must have *no Hope in his Death*, to lett him know, that he should now & then knock a *Snake* on the *Head*; but not even that, without paying dear for his poor *Victory*; for the *Snake* would often give him a Bite by the *Heel*. *Adam* could never understand this Prophecy in such a Sense; tho' some of

⁵¹ Gen. 2:17.

⁵² Gen. 3:19.

his wretched Sons, would have it understood so. But then, what Meaning must the Circumstances of the Transaction unavoidably fix upon the Words of this Prophecy? *Adam* tempted by *Eve*, and She by the *Serpent*, had fallen from their Obedience to GOD, and were now in His Presence, expecting His Judgment. They knew full well, that their Fall was the *Victory* of the *Serpent*, whom they found by Experience to be an *Enemy* of GOD, whose Noble Work he had now defaced, and of *Man*, whom he had ruined by seducing him to sin. It could not therefore but be some Comfort unto them, to hear the *Serpent* first condemned, and see that however he had prevailed against *them*, he had gain'd no *Victory* over their *Maker*; who was able to assert His own Honour, and punish this Great Author of Iniquity. By this Method they were secured from thinking, that there was any *Evil Being* æqual to the Creator, in Dominion. Probably to this refers that Ancient Passage; Job. XII. 16. *With GOD is Strength & Wisdome; the Deceiver & the Deceived are His*; equally subject unto His Command. This Beleeif being thus præserted, (which was much lost in After-Ages,) it was necessary still to give them such an *Hope*, as might make them capable of Religion towards GOD. This *Hope* they could not but conceive, when they heard from the Mouth of GOD, that the *Serpents Victory* even over themselves, was not compleat; but they & their Posterity should be able to contest his Empire, & tho' they suffered much in the Struggle, yett they should finally prevail, & *Bruise the Serpents Head*, & be delivered from his Dominion over them. Now, what could this Conquest of the *Serpent* mean? But as the Enemy had by *Sin* subdued them, *he* should be subdued by a Return of *Righteousness*; And this must be followed with a Recovery of the Blessings which they had forfeited.⁵³

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[136v]

Q. How may those Words bee taken, *The Lord God said, Behold, the Man is become, as one of us?* v. 22.

A. What say you to this? May not these Words, bee a Censure of Almighty God, upon Fallen Man, of this Import; *Man is now as ONE FROM HIM*; that is, one from the *Divel*, thro' whose Temptation Man fell? This I am sure of, *בְּיָמָיו* denotes the *Third Person Singular*; and in one Verse [namely, Zech. 10.4.] tis rendred, FROM HIM, no less than Four Times over.⁵⁴

⁵³ Here ends Mather's verbatim excerpt from Sherlock's *Use and Intent* (55–65).

⁵⁴ Mather here adopts Martin Luther's reading (Gen. 3:22) and argues that the Hebrew *בְּיָמָיו* "of us" [1st person common plural] denotes that Adam "became like the devil" (*Lectures on Genesis*, in *Luther's Works* 1:222). John Calvin similarly rejects verse 22 ("one of us") as proof of the Trinity and suggests this verse signifies the following: "After this, Adam will be so like ME [God], that we shall become companions for each other" (*Commentaries* 1:183). Either way, Mather's standard reference source, Patrick's *Commentary* (1:21–22), rejects both Luther and Calvin, citing as authoritative proof *Disputationes de locutionibus sacris* (1648), Disp. IV (n. 15), by the German Lutheran Orientalist Theodor Hackspan (1607–59). Mather, however, is

607.

Q. Is there any Remarkable, about the Name of *Adam*, when the Lord said, *The Man is become as one of us?* v. 22.

A. The Jewes themselves confess, That *Adam* was, as *Menasseh Ben Israel* speaks, *Caput et Principium Humanæ Naturæ*. And it is a Note of, *Aben-Ezra*, which that Author mentions; *Nominibus proprijs in Sacrà Scripturà non præfigi*, He Demonstrativum; *Quod tamen, in voce Adam sit*, Gen. 3.22. *Ratio est, quia in Adamo notantur eius posterì, et universa species Humana designatur.*⁵⁵

667.

Q. The Condition of Man, after his Fall, coming to *know Good & Evil*, what means it? v. 22.

A. Mr. *Baxter* saies, *I have been as much Troubled to understand that Text, as any one almost in the Bible, being somewhat unsatisfied with some ordinary Expositions; and yett it is too hard for mee.*⁵⁶

Nevertheless, hee offers, a Notion to this Purpose, as the most probable Interpretation.

Adam, in his Innocency, was like a Child in his Fathers House; to know, and please, & obey his Father, was to bee his only Study. Hee was to take no Care for himself, for while hee was obedient, it was the Part of his Father, to præserve him from all *Evil* and supply him, with all *Good*; Tho' Man had then the *Facultie* of *Knowing*, beyond what hee hath *Now*, yett hee had no need of Troubling himself about the Matters of *Self*; or, what should happen, *Good* or *Evil* for him in the future Condition of his Life; those Matters belonged unto God; the Actual, and the Considering, *Knowledge* hereof, hee needed, no further, than to have a Religious *Hope*, for the *Good* of the *Promise*, and *Fear* of

correct in pointing to Zech 10:4 as evidence for the translation of the Hebrew phrase מִמֶּנּוּ as "from him" [Strong's # B5520].

⁵⁵ Mather here refers to *De creatione problemata XXX* (1635), by Manasseh Ben Israel (1604–57), the celebrated rabbinic scholar of Amsterdam, best known for his four-volume *Conciliator; sive de convenientia locorum S. Scripturæ* (1632–51). Ben Israel argues that Adam was "the Head and Beginning of Human Nature." Ben Israel cites a note of the medieval Jewish scholar Aben Ezra (Abraham Ibn Ezra), who insists that "the demonstrative He [הוא] is not prefixed to proper nouns in the Holy Scripture; however, it may be in the word *Adam* (Gen. 3:22). The reason is that in *Adam* his successors are denoted, and the whole of humankind is designated." See also "Questions 6, 7, 8, 9," in Ben Israel's *The Conciliator* (1:13–18). In his *Commentary on the Pentateuch: Genesis* (1:42–47, 75–76), Ibn Ezra discusses the confusion about the plural pronoun "us" and denies that it implies God's plurality.

⁵⁶ The citation is from *A Treatise of Self-Denial* (1659), reprinted in *The Practical Works of... Richard Baxter* (1707) 3:346, ch. 1, sec. 6, of Richard Baxter (1615–91), an influential English Nonconformist divine, friend and correspondent of the Mathers. Several of Baxter's works were owned by the Mathers (Tuttle, "Libraries" 284, 316) and as many more were accessible to Mather at Harvard library (*Catalogus* 4, 38, 68, 69, 71). For Mather's esteem for Baxter's works, esp. his *Christian Directory*, see *Diary* (1:412; 2:25, 315, 498, 518, 782); *Memorable Providences* (1691), "Preface"; and *Threefold Paradise* (22–23, 34, 270, 311).

the *Evil* in the *Threatning*; any further *Knowledge*, or, Concernment about those things, would have been Unnecessary, Tempting, and Vexing. [Eccl. 1.18. Heb. 2.15.] Indeed, in our *Fallen Estate*, there may bee more need, for some of this *Knowledge*; but in our *Upright Estate*, there need {be} only of our *Knowing* our Maker, and His Will, and Law; and His *Works* as the Glass, that Repræsented Him, and all Creatures, as Instruments for His Glory. Wee need have busied ourselves no further; as to the Disposing of *Events* that might bee *Good* or *Evil* for ourselves, wee should have left all unto the Lord. But, by the Temptation of *Satan*, it came to pass, that *Man* would bee past a *Child*; hee would no longer bee under his Fathers Care, but would Himself, *Know*, Discern, Order, what should bee *Good* or *Evil* for himself, in his Natural Circumstances. Now, hee studied the Creatures, no longer to Behold *God* in them; no, but that hee might Search after what should bee *Good* or *Evil*, for *himself* in them. Hee would no longer *Know* one God, and all things else only in and for God, but hee now minded *himself*; and all things as they were *Good* or *Evil* for *himself*. As a Patient, that shall bee dissatisfied, with the Care and Skill of his faithful Physician, but will needs himself *Know* all that shall bee *Good* or *Evil* for himself, that hee may no more trust his Helper; & hearkens therefore to a Seducer, who tells him, *The Physician does but keep thee in Ignorance, lest thou shouldest bee as wise as hee, and able to Help and Heal thyself; Hearken to mee, and I will teach thee, to know all things for thyself, and so thou mayst look after thyself*. Thus was Man withdrawn, from his Necessary Dependence on the God, that made him.⁵⁷

[137r–138v inserted into 134v–135r]

[▽137r]

[139r]

2333.

Q. The *Flaming Sword*, which turned every Way, to keep the Way of the Tree of Life; Your Thoughts upon it? v. 24.

A. That which is commonly rendred, *Flaming Sword*, is, as our Dr. *Nichols* notes, the *Flame of Cutting*, or, a *Dividing Flame*. Tho' the same Word signify, *Sword*, yett it also signifies *Division*. And the Writers of the New Testament, translate the same Word both Wayes. [Math. 10.34. with Luk. 12.51.] This *Dividing Flame*, or, *Fiery Division*, then, is but answerable to the *Wall of Fire*, which God promised by the Prophet *Zachary*, to make about *Jerusalem*. It was, as Dr. *Nichols* thinks, the Accension of some Inflammable Matter, round about the Garden, which excluded all Comers to it, until such Time as the Beauty of the Place was defaced.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Nota Bene: The sequence of Mather's MS pages is here adjusted to accommodate his later insertions.

⁵⁸ This and the next paragraph are a close paraphrase of a passage in *A Conference with a Theist* (1696), part I, pp. 246–47, by William Nicholls, D.D. (1664–1712), rector of Selsey, Sussex, and chaplain to Ralph, Earl of Montague (*ODNB*). The wall of fire is mentioned in Zech. 2:5.

Now wee know, that even to this Day; the Countreyes thereabouts, have abundance of *Naphtha* and *Bitumen*, according to the Relations of *Pliny*, *Plutarch*, *Strabo*, and *Curtius*; and there are Fields, which even yett at some Times of the Year, seem all on Fire.⁵⁹

But this Matter, was under Angelic Management.

[Compare our Discourse, on *Paradise*.]

Why should not we think, That the *Shechinah*, or Divine Majesty, appeared in a Terrible Manner, at the Passage into the Garden of *Eden*, as in after-times at the Door of the Tabernacle of the Congregation of *Israel*, to the great Astonishment of our First Parents, chasing them away from thence? And then, that one of the *Seraphim* (in *Moses*'s Age call'd *Cherubim*,) which alwayes attended the *Shechinah*, remained for a while there, darting out Flames on every Side of him, to terrify our First Parents from all Thoughts of being Re-admitted there?⁶⁰

3382.

Q. The Hindring of Man, from Taking of the *Tree of Life*, what Thoughts had the Ancients about it?

A. Many of the Ancient Fathers look upon it, as a merciful Dispensation, That Man might not be perpetuated in a State of Sin. So *Irenaeus*, L.3. c.37. And *Greg. Nazianzen*, Orat. 38. God thus ordered, Ἵνα μὴ ἀθάνατον ἦ τὸ κακόν· καὶ γίνεται φιλανθρωπία ἢ τιμωρία, *That Sin might not be Immortal, & the Punishment might be a Kindness*, which he Repeats, Orat. 45. Thus *Epiphanius*; *Hæres.* 37. n. 1. *When Man had spoiled himself, God unmade him, that He might make him better.* And thus, *Methodius* in him, *Hæres.* 44. where he proceeds so far, as to say, That Death was not sent upon Man, ἐπὶ κακῷ τινὶ *Out of any Evil Design to him*, but as a Mercy.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Nicholls, *Conference* (part I, pp. 246–47), but his own source seems to have been Hugo Grotius's *Annotationes ad Vetus Testamentum* (Gen. 3:23), in *Opera Omnia* (1:6). The bituminous lakes of liquid asphalt are described in Pliny (2.106.226; 5.15.71–72), in Plutarch's *Vitae parallelæ: Alexander* (35.1–8), in Strabo (16.1.4, 15, 24), and in *Historia Alexandri Magni* (5.1.16), by the Roman historian and rhetorician Quintus Curtius Rufus (1st–2nd c. CE).

⁶⁰ Mather's "Discourse, on *Paradise*" follows his commentary on Gen. 2:25 ("BA" 117r). See also his *Threefold Paradise* (101) and Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 3:24 (*Commentary* 1:22).

⁶¹ The passage is extracted from Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 2:17 and 3:22 (*Commentary* 1:14, 22). Mather here copies Patrick's erroneous reference to Irenaeus's *Adversus haereses* 3.37 (instead of 3.23). Irenaeus (3.23.6) argues that God barred Adam from the tree of life that the protoplast would not continue in his sinful state forever (*ANF*1:457). The Greek citations from Gregorius Nazianzenus's *Oration* (38.12), *In theophania* [PG 36. 324, lines 50–51]; and from *Oration* (45.8), *In sanctum pascha* [PG 36. 633, lines 15–16] confirm in both instances that God benefits man by making "death, and the cutting off of sin, in order that evil may not be immortal. Thus his punishment is changed into a mercy," in *On the Theophany, or Birthday of Christ* (*Oration* 38.12) and *The Second Oration on Easter* (*Oration* 45.8) – both in *NPNFii* (7:348, 415). Mather erroneously lists the repetition of the Nazianzen citation as "Orat. 42." Here silently corrected to "Orat. 45." The Greek passage ἐπὶ κακῷ τινὶ, here trans-

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[141r–144v inserted into 135r]

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[145r]

356.

Q. E're we wholly dismiss the History of *Adam*, t'wil be useful for us to consider, wherein *Adam*, was a *Type* of the Lord Jesus Christ. v. 24.

A. If *Names* bee among the Rules to determine *Types*, Behold the Name of our Lord, in 1. Cor. 15.45. *The Last Adam*. Indeed, they were both such *public* and *common* Persons, that the Scripture speaks, as if there were but those *Two Men* in all the World!⁶²

Adam, was a *Parent* of all the World. Wee read [1. Cor. 15.45.] Hee was *the First Man*; and, [Gen. 2.5.] when hee was first made, there was *No Man* else. *Præadamism* is by the Apostle condemned as *Heresy*.⁶³ Thus, our Lord Jesus Christ is the *Parent*, of all true Beleevers; they are [Isa. 53.10.] *His Seed*.

Adam was an *Agent* for all the World. The *Covenant* with him, was with all his Posterity, in him, as their Grand Repræsentative. When *hee* sinned [Rom. 5.12.] *All* sinned. When *hee* Dy'd [Gen. 3.19.] there t'was *Appointed unto all Men, once to Dy*. Thus our Lord Jesus Christ, is the *Agent* for all true Beleevers. Tis our *Union* with Him [2. Cor. 5.21.] that makes all that *Hee* had done, reckoned *Ours*.

Adam in *Loosing*, *Adam* in *Hurting*, is an Indigitation of what our Lord Jesus Christ, in *Gaining*, *Helping*, *Saving*. From *Adam* wee derive Sin; [Gen. 5.3.] but *Grace* [Joh. 1.16.] from our Lord Jesus Christ. From *Adam* wee derive *Death*; [Rom. 5.18.] but *Life* [Joh. 3.36.] from our Lord Jesus Christ. Yea, the Confusion which is brought upon the World by *Adam*, shall bee one Day, by our Lord Jesus Christ Repaired. [Consider, Rom. 8.20, 21.] It is said of our Lord, in Isa. 9.6, Hee is *the Father of the World to come*. Here is an *Old World*, full of

lated by Mather, appears in Epiphanius's *Panarion* 64.37.6 (*Epiphanius* 2:458, line 19), which the venerable bishop of Salamis excerpts from *De Resurrectione* (3.1.10), in *ANF* (6:370), by St. Methodius, bishop of Lycia (260–c. 311).

⁶² For his typological reading of the First and Second Adam, Mather may have drawn on his uncle's *The Figures or Types of the Old Testament* (1683) 65–90 (on Rom. 5:14), a comprehensive study of historical types (OT) and their antitypes (NT), by Samuel Mather, Congregational minister in Dublin, Ireland. New England's own poet-theologian Edward Taylor presents the now standard typological relationship between the First and Second Adam in his *Upon the Types of the OT* (1989) 1:35–45.

⁶³ The French Marrano theologian Isaac La Peyrère (c. 1594–1676) startled his contemporaries with his thesis that the account in Gen. 1:27 referred to the creation of the gentiles before Adam, whereas the account in Gen. 2:7 ff referred to the creation of Adam and Eve, the progenitors of the Hebrews, not of mankind in general. La Peyrère's *Prae-Adamitæ* (1655) appeared in an English translation as *A Theological Systeme upon that Presupposition, That Men were before Adam* (1655), esp. bk. 2, ch. 10, pp. 112–18; and bk. 3, ch. 1, p. 129–40. For the best discussion of the topic, see R. Popkin's *Isaac La Peyrère*, chs. 3 and 9.

Sinners, and *Briars* and *Thorns*; which is *Old Adams World*; But in the *World to come*, or the future State of the *New Heavens*, & the *New Earth*, our Second *Adam* will have a *World*, wherein all the Disorders of the *Old* shall bee rectify'd.

Adam, was a *Man*, formed out of the *Earth*: [Gen. 2.7.] And our Lord Jesus Christ also, was a *Man*, that had a Body of *Earth*; [Ps. 139.15.] But *Adam* had no *Man* for his Father; [Gen. 1.27.] Nor had our Lord Jesus Christ; and hence tis *Hee*, of whom tis said, [Luc. 3.38.] *Hee was the Son of God*. Oh! the Admirable *Suitableness* of this God-*Man*, to bee the *Saviour* of Mankind! *Adam* in one or two of the Eastern Languages, is the same with, *Beautiful*; I am sure, our Saviour, our *Immanuel*, is now *Altogether Lovely*.

It was the Prærogative of *Adam*, to have [Gen. 1.27.] *The Image of God*. Hee lost it; but in our Lord Jesus Christ, there is to bee found, with all Perfection, [Col. 1.15.] *The Image of the Invisible God*. If *Adam*, had much *Knowledge*; our Lord ha's more; [Col. 2.3.] If *Adam* had much *Vertue*; our Lord ha's more; [Heb. 7.26.] If *Adam* had a *Dominion* of this lower World; our Lord is now *Lord of all*; and shall at the *Restitution of all things* bee more sensibly so. [Psal. 8.6.]

The Marriage between *Adam* and *Eve* was a *Sacrament* [Eph. 5.32.] of the Entercourse between our Lord Jesus Christ, and His Church. There is a *Mystical Marriage* between our Lord & His People; the Song of *Solomon*, the *forty-fifth Psalm* [with 2. Cor. 11.2.] are lively descriptions of it. *Eve* was *taken* out of *Adam*; and our Lord with His Church, make but *One*. [Eph. 5.30.] *Adam* was *Asleep* when *Eve* was formed out of him; and our Lord was cast into a Deep, a Dead *Sleep*, for Three Dayes, by which Means Hee procured a Church unto Himself. [Tit. 2.14.] The Side of *Adam* was opened, that *Eve* might bee fetched out; and the Blood of our Lord, which purchased His Church for Him, came out of His *opened Side*. [Joh. 19.34.]

Was *Adam* the principal Officer, of the Church, which was in His Family for many Years? the Church, out of which *Cain* [Gen. 4.16.] was *excommunicated*? Our Lord Jesus Christ, is thus, over that Church, which is the Family of God. [Heb. 10.21.]

And the Church is the *Tillage* of our Lord Jesus Christ, as the *Garden* was of *Adam*. [Compare Gen. 2.15. with Cant. 4.16.]

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Finally, There was a wonderful Analogy, between the *Sinning of Adam*, & the *Suffering* of the Lord Jesus Christ. Wonder at the *Harmony*! For the *Place*; *Adam* sinned in a *Garden*, & our Lord suffered in a *Garden*. For the *Time*; *Adam* sinned about Noon on the *Sixth Day* of the Week, and our Lord suffered about Noon on the *Sixth Day* of the Week. For the *Seat*; *Adam* sinned with his *Heart*, & with his *Hand*, with his *Jaw*; our Lord was wounded in *Heart*, *Hand*, & *Jaw*. For the *Instrument*; *Adam* sinned at a *Tree*, and our Lord suffered on a *Tree*.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ See Appendix A.

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Q. A Review of the Affair in this Chapter? v. 24.

A. Our *First Parents*, when they first came into the World, were undoubtedly furnished with the strongest Powers of *Reason*, as well as the most Regular Dispositions of *Will* to be always led by the Dictates of *Reason*. Wherefore it should not appear at all odd or strange to us, that we do not upon their Formation, find any *Laws of Religion* præscribed unto them; They had those already in the *Laws of Reason*, which the *GOD that forms the Spirit of Man within him*, had imprinted on their Minds. There yett remained only Three or Four Points, wherein the Super-addition of a *Revelation* was necessary for them. One for the Determination of *Marriage*, in succeeding Generations. Another, for the Communication of their Sense to one another in a proper *Language*. A Third, for the Consecration of a special *Time* for Divine Worship. And a Fourth, for their *Food*, that they might understand, what should be *Holesome*, and what *Hurtful* for them. In every one of these, we find they were very particularly accommodated.

The *Revelation* which directed their Choice of *Proper Food*, particularly forbad their Tasting the Fruit of one *Tree*, called, *The Tree of Knowledge of Good & Evil*; which had a Venom in it, that was of *Deadly Tendency*, & in *the Day* they should eat of it, they would *surely Dy*, or, be *sure of Dying*.

Here, the *Devil*, who is called, *The Serpent*, envying the Happiness of Mankind, in the Enjoyment of Mankind, from which he himself had been banished, laid the Baits of Ruine for our *First Parents*, and of their Offspring. He address'd our Mother, with an Endeavour to perswade her, That there was no Danger in eating the *Forbidden Fruit*; And that they wanted nothing to make them sure of Everlasting Happiness, but only the Faculty always to discern certainly between *Good* and *Evil*, which Faculty this Fruit would give them. To satisfy her in this, he doubtless pretended the Character of a Messenger from GOD; and as bringing a *Second Revelation*, to assure them, that the *Fruit* was not of a Destructive Nature; but instead of Destroying them it would Exalt them, & make them like Himself in a Right Knowledge of *Good* and *Evil*. Says he, "As you are sensible, He made you to be Happy in a *Likeness* to Himself, & knows there is nothing wanting in your Circumstances, to assure you of being immortally so, but to be assur'd of a Right Knowledge of *Good* and *Evil*, so as never to be mistaken in your Choice, you cannot imagine, that He will continue to deny you this Fruit, which will in its Nature give you this Knowledge; or that He who desires you should be *Immortal*, will putt you to *Death* for doing that which will naturally make you *Immortal*. Now | such is the Nature of this Fruit. And as the Lord knows it to be so, so He ha's sent me to inform you of it; And tho' before, He thought fitt to forbid the Eating of it, under the Penalty of *Death*, you are *Now* commanded to eat of it, as a Necessary Means in the Nature of Things, to an

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Happy & Immortal Life.” This is the Paraphrase given of it by the Dr. *Tho. Burnett*, who is now, [1726.] the Rector of *Westkington*, in his *Boylean Lectures*.⁶⁵

To render it the more likely, that the *Tempter* now appeared as a *Messenger* from GOD, and perhaps very much in the Form of a *Seraph*, or, *Angel of Light*, the same Gentleman, does, with much Reason, insist on what our Apostle writes to the *Corinthians*: [Ep. II. ch. XI.] where he makes a Comparison between the People tempted by a False Apostle, and *Eve* beguiled by the *Serpent*. He also represents the Ministers of *Satan* as acting with the *Corinthians*, the Part that *Satan* had acted with *Eve*; which, he says, was that of *Satan transforming himself into an Angel of Light*. We know the Consequences.⁶⁶

That Passage, *They were Naked & Ashamed*, our Author so paraphrases: “They were *Ashamed* at their *Nakedness*, They saw such uncomely Motions & Disorders in their Bodies, as they had never seen before, & were ashamed at; & therefore thought it necessary to hide, by making themselves Coverings to conceal them with.”⁶⁷

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651.

Q. In *Pagan* Antiquitie, find you *any* Foot-Steps, of our First Parents Fall? v. 24.

A. *Many*.⁶⁸

The Apostasy of the *Angels*, which had its Influence on the Apostasy of our *Parents*, is plainly mentioned by the old Philosopher, *Empedocles*, as *Plutarch* tells us; These were the *Dæmons*, whom that Philosopher calls by the Name of *ουρανοπετεις*, or, *Heaven-fallen Creatures*.⁶⁹

Then, for the Fall itself; the Transgression of *Eve*, was represented by *Homer*, in his *Ate*; whom Incensed *Jupiter* thrust down from Heaven, threatening that shee should never bee Restored unto that Place again; which *Ate*, the Poets tell us, was the *First-born* Daughter of *Jupiter*, & the Woman who brought Mischief on the whole Race of Man.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ The preceding and following paragraphs are close paraphrase and citations from *The Demonstration of True Religion*, 2 vols. (1726), by Thomas Burnett, D. D. (d. 1750), prebendary of Sarum and rector of Westkington, Wiltshire, who delivered the prestigious Boyle lecture series for 1724–25. Mather’s extracts are from vol. 2, part 2, ch. 1, pp. 11–12, 19, 22, 27, 31–32.

⁶⁶ Burnett, *Demonstration*, vol. 2, part 2, ch. 1, pp. 33–34.

⁶⁷ Burnett, *Demonstration*, vol. 2, part 2, ch. 2, pp. 53–54.

⁶⁸ For the parallels between classical sources and the OT story of Adam’s Fall, Mather mines John Edwards’s *Discourse* (1693), vol. 1, ch. 3, sec. 3, pp. 106–07, 108–09, 110–14, 115–16.

⁶⁹ Edwards, *Discourse* (1:106–07). Plutarch cites Empedocles of Acragas, in his *Moralia: De vitando aere alieno* (830 F, line 3). The Greek passage more closely signifies “spirits ... expelled by the gods and thrown out from heaven” (*Plutarch’s Moralia* 10:332).

⁷⁰ Edwards, *Discourse* (1:107). Jupiter’s ouster of his daughter *Ate*, personification of *atē* (delusion as a tragic flaw of character leading to catastrophe), is described in Homer’s *Iliad* (19.90–94, 126–31).

Our Mother *Eve* was doubtless meant also by the *Pandora*, mentioned by *Hesiod*, & others of the Ancients; out of whose Deadly Box, that shee gave to *Epimetheus*, flew all Evil into the World; whereby shee became the Original of all the miserable Occurrences that happen to Mankind.

[Compare, Gen. 3.6, 13.]

Adam, too late aware of it, might well bee called, an *Epimetheus*.⁷¹

Original Sin, the Early, Corruption & Confusion, which was the Effect of the Fall, was observed by the Gentiles. Among whom, *Sopater* calls it, the Συμφύτον το αμαρτανειν ανθρωποις, the *Congenite Sin*; *Hierocles* calls it, οικειον κακον, the *Domestic Evil* of Mankind; *Aristotle* calls it, 'τι πεφυκος αντιβαινον τω λογω, the *Natural Repugnancy of Mans Temper to Reason*. The *Pythagoreans*, quoted by *Iamblicus*, do style it, Θνητον τι ζωης ειδος πολυκεφαλον θηριον, *A mortal Kind of Life*, and, *A Many-Headed Beast*. The Moralists, are full of such Notions; complain{in}g that our Nature is Vitiated, Propense to Evil, Averse to Good; & the Fountains all polluted. Both *Greek* & *Roman* Philosophers, are full of these Complaints; especially the *Stoicks* & the *Platonists*.

How frequently doth *Seneca* reflect with Sadness, on the Lapse of our Nature?⁷² *Porphyrus*, and *Simplicius*, & *Hierocles*, how passionately do they lament, the defect of a former Innocency, & the Departure of their Souls from God, & the strong Dispositions of our Nature to Ill, by a Detrusion into Terrestrial Bodies?

It was the Knowledge of Mans Fall, that caused *Plato* to disguise the Matter, with his Doctrine of, *The Pre-existence of Souls*.⁷³

⁷¹ Edwards, *Discourse* (1:107). *Hesiod* (*Opera et dies* 70–89) relates how Pandora (“All Gifts”), the first woman among humans, was given to Epimetheus (“Hindsight”), brother of Prometheus (“Foresight”). When she opened her box of gifts to man, all sorts of evils escaped, leaving behind only hope. In Mather’s analogy, God’s gift to Adam similarly precipitated man’s Fall. Like Epimetheus, Adam, too, is left with little more than “Hindsight.”

⁷² Edwards, *Discourse* (1:108). The Greek passage attributed to Sopater (4th c. CE), Greek rhetorician of Athens, appears in Johannes Stobaeus Anthologus (*Anthologium* 4.5.59, lines 3–4) and literally means “inborn failure of man.” Hence “*Congenite Sin*” suggests “congenital” or “connate” sin, which mankind inherits at birth. As usual, Mather does not transcribe the diacritical marks of his Greek citations (*Manuductio* 29–30). The Neoplatonist Hierocles of Alexandria (d. c. 432 CE), student of Plutarch of Athens, discusses “the *Domestic Evil* of Mankind” in his commentary on the golden poems of the Pythagoreans *In aureum carmen* (24.18.5). The Greek passage from Aristotle is adapted from his *Ethica Nicomachea* (1.13.1102b, lines 17–18, 23–24). The citation from the Neoplatonist philosopher Iamblichus (c. 245–c. 325 CE) appears in his *Protrepticus* (p. 14, lines 1–2). Seneca ponders the condition of man’s fallen nature in many places, including in his *Epistulae Morales* (50.4–9) and in his *Octavia* (377–436).

⁷³ Edwards, *Discourse* (1:108–09). The Greco-Roman philosopher Porphyrius (234–c. 305 CE) laments man’s corruption in his *De abstinentia*, and so do the Neoplatonist Simplicius (6th-c. CE) in his *Commentarius in Epicteti enchiridion* and Hierocles of Alexandria in his *In aureum carmen*. Plato holds forth on the pre-existence of the soul and its descent into a mortal body in his *Timaeus* (41a–42d, 69–71), in *Phaedo* (70a–73c), *Phaedrus* (245c–246a), *Symposium* (107a–208e), and elsewhere.

Mans *Fall* was by the *Divels* Means. Agreeably hereto, t'was the Tradition among the Pagans, that a sort of malignant & malicious *Dæmons* Envied the Happiness of Man, & Attempted the Destruction thereof. The *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists*, often speak of the Spirits, thus mischievous.

Hence arose the Notion of Two Principles; the One, Θεός, of *Good*, the other, Δαίμων, of *Evil*, as they were styled by the *Manichees*, whose Father *Manes*, was a Persian, & Received this Opinion from his Pagan Countreymen. That People called those two Principles, *Oromasdes*, and *Arimanius*; and as *Diogenes Laertius* & others assure us, they worshipped both of them. Yea, they were not only the *Magi* of *Persia*, who held this Opinion; but, *Plutarch* shows the *Antiquitie*, and almost *Universalitie* of it. Among the *Græcians*, these two Principles, were *Jupiter Olympius*, and *Hades*: The *Egyptians* called them, *Isis*, or, *Osiris*, and *Typho*; The *Chaldeans*, whose Gods were the *Planets*, did among the *Planets* look for them.⁷⁴

At the Fall of Man, the *Divel* appeared in the form of a *Serpent*. Now *Plato* sais (as quoted by *Eusebius*) That in *Saturns* dayes, folks were able to talk with *Beasts*, as well as *Men*; This was from *Eves* Colloquy with the *Serpent*. And, is not *Eve* disguised under the Fable of *Proserpina*, the Daughter of *Jupiter*, which *Pluto* Ravished, or, as others tell us, whom *Jupiter* knew, in the form of a *Serpent*?⁷⁵

Pherecydes gives us the Sense of the Heathen, about our first Parents being circumvented by the *Divel*, in the Shape of a *Serpent*, when Οφιόνευς, is in him, the Title of the great one, who opposed *Saturn*. *Origen* against *Celsus*, maintains *This* was taken from the Relation of *Moses* about the *Serpent* in Paradise, & not *Moses's* taken from *This*.⁷⁶ *Eusebius* thinks the same, & adds that *Pherecydes* was

74 Edwards, *Discourse* (1:110–11). Edwards here synthesizes the prologue to Diogenes Laertes's *Vitae philosophorum* (1.8). In their Manichean context, the Greek words "Theos" and "Daimon" suggest a dualistic principle of Good and Evil (light and darkness), whose intermingling of divine substance with matter in precosmic times can only be reversed through an ascetic lifestyle as taught by the Babylonian Mani (216–76 CE) in his catechism *Kephalaia*. Plutarch describes the pre-Manichean development of the belief in this dualism in his *Moralia: De superstitiōe* (167 D-F) and in *Moralia: De Iside et Osiride* (351D ff). Hesiod (*Theogonia* 820–34) has a hundred-headed snake grow from the shoulders of Typhoeus, offspring of Tartarus and Gaia. Finally, Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 2.1.43d–50c) describes the cultic positions of Isis, Osiris, and Typho among the Phoenicians and Egyptians and their relationship to the Greek pantheon.

75 In confirmation of the serpent's conversation with Eve (Gen. 3:1), Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 12.14.586d) enlists Plato's story (*Politicus* 272b–c) that in the Golden Age, man freely conversed with the gods and the animals. Proserpina (Persephone), daughter of Demeter and Zeus, was abducted by Pluto (Hades), brother of Zeus, and became queen of the underworld (*Hymnus Homericus ad venerem: Hymn to Demeter*). Proserpina would probably have agreed with Achilles that if she could choose, she'd rather be a servant of some poor man on earth than to be ruler of the dead in the underworld (*Odyssey* 11.488–91).

76 Edwards, *Discourse* (1:112–13). Pherecydes of Syros (fl. 544 BCE), Greek prose writer and historian relates in his *Testimonia* (fragm. 11) and *Fragmenta* (fragm. 4) how Kronos (Saturn) battled with 'Οφιόνευς [Ophioneus], the snake. In his debate with Celsus, Origen insists that the Mosaic story of the serpent in Eden is far older than the story of Kronos's battle with

conversant among the *Phœnicians*, who worshipp'd their God, under the figure of a *Serpent*. Indeed, the *Divel* ha's affected much to bee Adored in that Shape, which hee first Assumed. *Serpents* were among the sacred & secret Mysteries of the Gentiles; & so great was their Veneration for them, that some of their *Temples*, according to *Strabo*, were styled among them, *Draconian*.⁷⁷ The | *Ba-* [150v]
bylonians worshipped a *Dragon*, according to the *Apocrypha*; and the *Egyptians*, according to *Eusebius*, worshipped, *Ophioneus*; and in their *Hieroglyphicks* they show'd what Admirers they were of *Serpents*: *Horus* tells us, They encircled the *Heads* of their *Gods* with them; and with them, they sett the *Crowns* of their *Kings*. Yea, the *Egyptians*, as well as the *Phœnicians*, call'd them, *Good Demons*. Pass over to *Greece*, and there you'l see Images of *Serpents*, over the Gates of consecrated places; *Dragons* were generally painted there, as the *Genij* of them; the *Genij* thereof, they thought appeared in such a shape.

Pinge duos Angues, sacer est locus; extrà mei{i}te.⁷⁸

The *Apollo* of *Delphi*, what was hee, but *Pythius*? – and this of /יָפֶת/ a *Serpent*? *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, reports to us, That the Heathens, at the feast of *Bacchus* were crowned with *Serpents*, and would carry a *Serpent* in Procession, crying with a loud Voice, *Eva, Eva!* For, *Hevia*, or, *Hivia*, hee sais, in the Hebrew signifies a *Serpent*: tho' hee mistakes the Hebrew for the *Chaldee*. But it is more probable, that the Acclamation of *Eva*, was in Remembrance of our First Mother. And perhaps, the Word *Evàntes*, used by *Virgil*, for Madding Frolicks, was of this Original.⁷⁹

Ophioneus, as told by Heraclitus or even by Pherecydes (*Origen against Celsus* 6. 42–43), in *ANF* (4:591–93).

⁷⁷ Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 1.10.41d, 10.4.470b–d; 10.7.467b–c; 10.11.495a–496c; 10.12.500a), too, credits Moses as the most ancient source from which Pherecydes and all others took their distorted accounts at second or third hand. According to Strabo (14.1.19), the temple of Artemis, called Tauropolium, is located near the towns of Oenoë and Dracenum, on the island of Icaria. The goddess Artemis (daughter of Zeus) is frequently depicted with writhing serpents on her arms. Mather here likes Edwards's pun (1:113) on the serpent as dragon and its homonymic allusion to Draco (7th c. BCE), the Athenian lawgiver, known for the severity of his judgment.

⁷⁸ Edwards, *Discourse* (1:113). Citing Philon of Byblos for evidence, Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* (1.10.41d) relates that Pherecydes borrowed from the Phoenicians his theological ideas about the god Ophion and the Ophionidae (serpent worshippers), from whom the Egyptians derived Horus, the falcon-headed god. The Egyptians represented the world as a circle with “a hawk-shaped serpent stretched across the middle of it,” signifying “the good daemon.” Similar reports of the adoration of sacred serpents are given in *De natura animalium* (11.2, 17), by the Greek historians Claudius Aelianus of Palestrina (c. 165/70–c. 230/5 CE); and in *Historia* (2.58, 83, 137, 155–56), by Herodotus of Halicarnassus (5th c. BCE). The centered Latin quotation from the Roman satirist Aulus Persius Flaccus (*Satura* 1.113–14) translates, “Paint up two [holy] snakes [on the walls]; this place is off limits [sacred is this place]; piss outside.” Edwards's illustration from Persius asserts that depictions of serpents were used to designate temples and holy places in ancient Greece.

⁷⁹ Edwards, *Discourse* (1:113–14). The healer Apollo, son of Zeus, killed Gaia's Python that guarded the Oracle of Delphi and assumed its guardian position himself (see Plutarch, *De*

What a Worship, and Regard, our *American* Salvages, pay to *Serpents*, and, how often the *Divels* appear like and in *Serpents* unto them, is well-known unto us all.⁸⁰

But all this doubtless, ha's had a Reference, to what was in the Beginning of the World.

The *Place* of Mans Fall, was in the *Garden of Eden*. The *Golden Apples* of the *Hesperides*, among the Poets, were a Remembrance of the *Forbidden Fruit* in Paradise. These *Golden Apples* were watch'd by a *Dragon*; which is a Remembrance of the *Divel*, in the Serpent, watching about the *Tree*. The *Golden Apples* were *stolen* at last; and what was the Taking of the *Fruit* by our Parents, but a downright *Stealth*, of what was not their own? The Story is all out of *Genesis*.⁸¹

753.

Q. Is there any curious Remark, to bee made, on the *Speeches* uttered by the *Antediluvians*, in the Mosaic History?

A. To see how horribly Man was wounded in his *Head*, by his *Fall* from God! It ha's been Remark'd, (by Dr. *Brown*, in his Enquiry into *Vulgar Errors*), That in the Scriptural Relation, of what passed before the *Flood*, there is but one Speech delivered by Man, wherein there is not some *Error*, or some Conception very Injurious to *Truth*. The *Speeches* are *Six*.⁸²

That Speech of *Adam*, *I was Naked and Hid myself*; how does it infringe the Omniscience & Omnipresence of his Maker? or how could hee have imagined, that *one Tree* should have *concealed* his Nakedness from Gods Eye, as another had Revealed it unto his own?

Pythiae oraculis). "Pythius" is the masculine form of "Phythia," a priestess who communicated with the gods in her trances. The Hebrew noun פִּתְיָה [pe-then] suggests the twisting of an asp or adder [Strong's # 6620]. Clemens of Alexandria describes these Bacchanalian rites in his *Protrepticus* (ch. 2), in *ANF* (1:174–75). For Virgil's evantes (euhantis) see *Aeneid* (6.517).

⁸⁰ Accounts of Native American religious beliefs appeared early on in Thomas Harriet's *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (1590), part 3, pp. 24–25, and in Roger Williams's *Key into the Language of America* (1643), ch. 21, pp. 114–132. However, neither work mentions the worship of serpents. Nevertheless, Mather was well familiar with José Acosta's *The Naturall and Morall History of the Indies* (1604), which describes the Indian worship of the Mexican serpent-headed god Vitziliputzli (bk. 5, ch. 9, esp. pp. 350–52; see also bk. 7, chs. 4–5, pp. 504–09). See Mather's *Threefold Paradise* (285) and *Wonders of the Invisible World* (139–41).

⁸¹ Edwards, *Discourse* (1:115–16). In Greek mythology, the golden apples in the garden of the Hesperides (daughters of Night and Erebus) at the edge of the world are mentioned by Hesiod (*Theogonia* 213–16), Diodorus Siculus (4.26.2–4.27.1–2), and Apollonius Rhodius (*Argonautica* 4.1396–1435). As one of his Twelve Labors, Heracles (Hercules) took the golden fruit after killing the dragon Ladon. Because of its overt symbolism, this myth is associated with the story of the forbidden fruit in Eden (Gen. 3:1–6).

⁸² The following paragraphs are excerpted from Sir Thomas Browne's *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (bk. 1, ch. 2), *Works* (1658; 1907–12) 1:127–31.

That Speech of *Adam*, *The Woman whom thou gavest mee*; What an unsatisfactory Reply was it, attempting to render God the *Author of Sin*?

That Speech of *Eve*, *The Serpent beguiled mee*; what a feeble Excuse was this, offering that for an *Extenuation*, which was indeed an *Aggravation*, of her Fault?

That Speech of *Cain*, *I know not where my Brother is*! What an Impudence was this, & what a Præsumption to putt off the *Searcher of Hearts* with a Lye?

That Speech of *Cain*, *My Iniquitie greater than can bee forgiven*: what is there in this Desperate Assertion, but a false Opinion concerning the Mercy of God?

That Speech of *Lamech*, *If Cain bee Avenged Sevenfold, truly Lamech Seventy Sevenfold*: What seems it, but an erroneous Illation, from the Indulgence of God, unto *Cain*, concluding an Immunitie, & Impunitie, unto himself?⁸³

83 The various speeches (above) refer to Gen. 3:10, 3:12, 3:13, 4:9, 4:13, 4:24.

134.

Q. What is the true Sense of the Hebrew Particle (מֵן) which wee translate, *From* in the Speech of *Eve*, on the Birth of *Cain*, *I have gotten a Man from the Lord?* v. 1.

A. It is a Note of the Accusative Case by way of Apposition; and it should bee rendred, *I have gotten the Man, the Lord*. A little Philology, will give you to see this Apposition of Accusatives, in Multitudes of Instances; and the Particle here used, is never used, to express the *Help* of the Lord. It is probable, our *Mother* had her Thoughts now upon the *Messiah*. If shee now imagined *This* her Son, to bee that *Messiah*, shee was either Ignorant or Forgetful of Circumstances, that were to attend that Almighty *Serpent-killer*. But, I am rather pleased with the Opinion of *Schmidius*, in his Disputation, *De Fide Matris Evæ*; That *Eve* did not call her Son, *Cain*, as mistaking him, for the *Messiah*; but that while shee was bearing of *him*, her Mind ran much upon the future Birth of the *Messiah*, whereof the Birth of Children in her Family, might well confirm her Expectation. – Shee did by *Faith* already *possess*, that Promised Redeemer, & shee putt upon her Son, a *Name* which might bee a perpetual Testimony & Recordacon of her *Faith*. I now say of this Exposition, as *Pfeiffer* do's about *Calovius's*, upon this Place, *Sententiã istam, quæ mihi Thymo dulcior Hyblæ est, pro lectori in Timore Domini expendendam relinquimus*.⁸⁴

One M. *Gousset*, thus explains it. *Eve* had never yett seen any Man, but *Adam*, unto whom she was made Subject for her Sin. *Cain* being born, she said, she had then a *Man* that should have Dependence on her, & yeeld Obedience

⁸⁴ In his "Note Book of Authors" (on Gen. 4:1–2), Mather lists Johannes Glassius's *Christologia* (pp. 143, 154) as one of his sources. The Hebrew preposition מֵן [ayth] suggests a number of meanings, including "from" [Strong's # 854]. Mather is not alone in offering his alternative reading without preposition, a translation which is also favored by such famous Hebraists as Paulus Fagius (1504–49), Johannes Forster (1495–1556), Valentin Schindler (d. 1604), Martin Luther (1483–1546), Conrad Pellican (1478–1556), Johannes Cocceius (1603–69). Here, Mather more specifically refers to the Hebraist Sebastian Schmid(t) (1617–96), professor of theology at Strasburg, whose commentary on Genesis appeared in Strasbourg (1697). Mather owned his *Sabbathum Deuteroproton* (1686), but the reference is likely at second hand. Most accessible to Mather was Paulus Fagius's explication of this issue in *Critici Sacri* (1:98–99). Mather's neologism "Recordacon," suggesting "Recordation" or "Remembrance," cannot be found in any dictionary. August Pfeiffer (1640–98), Lutheran Hebraist and professor of theology at Leipzig, critiques the translation of Abraham Calovius (1612–86), Lutheran professor of theology at Königsberg and Wittenberg: "That opinion, which is to me sweeter than Thyme of Hybla, we leave for the reader to judge in the fear of the Lord." See Pfeiffer's *Hermeneutica Sacra* (1684) on Gen. 4.

to her, as being her Son. But fearing to appear too proud, or ungrateful to God, she adds *with the Lord*; she possessed him only in common with the Lord.⁸⁵

3383.

Q. Where did they use to bring their Offerings, at the Beginning of the World? v. 3.

A. I must again, & again advise you, to consider the Appearance of the *Shechinah*, as affording us a Key to very many of the most ancient affairs. The Place where the *Shechinah*, or the Son of God, in the *Divine Majesty* of the luminous Cloud, attended with *Angels*, did use to Appear, there t'was that Men brought their Offerings. Probably this was yett at the Entrance of *Paradise*, from whence Man was driven. When tis anon said, That *Cain went out from the Presence of the Lord*, it implies, That he never enjoy'd the Sight of the *Shechinah* any more. If *Cain* after this turn'd *Idolater*, it is likely, he introduced the Worship of the *Sun*, (which was the most ancient *Idolatri*) and of the *Fire*; the best Resemblance he could find of the *Shechinah*, or, *The Glory of the Lord*.⁸⁶

1928.

Q. How did *Abel* know, the Respect which God had unto His *Offering*? v. 4.

A. Why not, by *Fire* from Heaven falling upon it? or I should rather say, By a Stream of *Light* or *Flame* from the *Shechinah*, which burnt it up. Compare Gen. 15.17. and Lev. 9.24. and Judg. 6.21. and 1. Chron. 21.26. and 2. Chron. 17.13. and 1. King. 8.38. And now, Lett mee, with some Astonishment, at the Power which the *Divel* hath had sometimes to *Ape* the Almighty, Lett mee recite a Passage that *Solinus*, writes about his Pagan Gods, at *Agrigentum*. — *Collis Vulcanius, — in quo qui Divinae Rei operantur, lignea vitea super Aras struunt, nec apponitur Ignis super hanc congeriem, cum prosciscias intulerint. Si adest Deus, sacrorum probator, sarmenta, licet viridia, Ignem sponte concipiunt, et Nullo inflammante Halitu, à Numine fit Incendium. Ibi epulantibus alludit flamma, quæ fléxuosis excessibus vagabunda, quem contigerit, non adurit. Nec aliud est quàm Imago nuncia perfecti ritè voti.* We may add, That both *Homer* and *Virgil*, bring in *Jupiter* giving of good Signs by *Lightning*.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Mather refers to Jacques Gousset (1635–1705), French professor of Hebrew and theology at Groningen, and voluminous writer, whose *Commentarii linguae Ebraicae* (1702) is among his principal works.

⁸⁶ Extracted from Simon Patrick's annotations of Gen. 4:3, 16 (*Commentary* 1:23, 26).

⁸⁷ The slightly corrupted version of this passage from Caius Julius Solinus's *De mirabilibus mundi* (ch. 5, paragr. 3) tells of how the ancient gods at Agrigentum (SW Sicily) consumed the sacrifice with sacred fire: "The Hill of Vulcan on which those who devote themselves to divine service pile up vine-wood on the altars, and no fire is placed upon the heap, even though inquiries have been made. If God, the approver of sacrifices, is there, then the twigs, although green, catch fire of their own accord, and not by any inflaming breath; the fire arises by the divine power. The flame plays around with those who dine sumptuously; wandering around

3384.

Q. What might be the guilty Defect of *Cains* Offering? v. 5.

A. Many think, it lay in this, That he did not bring the *First* of his *Fruits*, as even the Heathens afterwards did, in their *Præmessum*, the First-fruits of their *Corn*, and their *Calpar* which was the richest of their *Wine*; For tis only said, *He brought of the Fruit of his Ground*.⁸⁸

The Baron *Puffendorf* observes, There does not any Reason appear, why it should please God from the Beginning to receive into His Worship such a Performance as that of *Sacrificing* Animals unless it was to represent the Sacrifice which the Saviour of the World was to exhibit in His own Body. And this might be the Reason why he despised the Sacrifice of *Cain*. It was not an Animal that represented the *Messiah*.⁸⁹

3246.

Q. What may bee the Intention of those Words, *If thou dost not well, Sin lieth at the Door*? v. 7.

A. I cannot think the Intention to bee, q.d. There is a sudden Judgment ready to devour thee. No, But the *Sin* here, is, A *Sin-Offering*, or, a *Sacrifice* for *Sin*. (Compare, Hos. 4.8. and 2. Cor. 5.21. and, *Leviticus* all along.) This Expression, *It lies at the Door*, is, q.d. It is ready provided for thee; *Moses* uses a Phrase, best known in his Time, when they laid the *Sacrifice* at the Door of the *Sanctuary*.⁹⁰

But I find it thus carried by the learned *Momma* of *Hamburgh*. *Sin lies at the Door*, as a Master, that will enter, and will soon take Possession of thee, & of all that belongs unto thee. But such is the *Deceitfulness of Sin*, that it appears not presently, *ut Hostis et postis*; No, it flatters the Sinner, & with Flatteries insinuates into him, *Ad te Accursatio ejus*; Concupiscence meets him, & offers to serve him. Yea, while the Sinner is a *Slave* to *Sin*, yett at the same time he *Rules* over

winding as it goes, it does not burn them when it touches them. And it is none other than the apparition which announces a votive offering correctly accomplished." Be that as it may, the ancient Sicilian priests have nothing on *Elijah* the prophet (1 Kings 18:33–38). Lightning as a sign of Jupiter's approval is mentioned, for instance, in Homer's *Iliad* (2.351–54) and in Virgil's *Aeneid* (2.689–94). See also Patrick's annotations on Gen. 4:4 (*Commentary* 1:24).

⁸⁸ This paragraph is again cribbed from Patrick on Gen. 4:4 (*Commentary* 1:24), but Patrick's own source is John Selden's *History of Tithes* (1618), ch. 1, sect. 3, p. 7. The Latin nouns "*Præmessum*," and "*Calpar*" respectively signify "the measuring out of the first fruits beforehand" and "the new wine to be sacrificed to the gods."

⁸⁹ Samuel Freiherr von Pufendorf (1632–94), German political philosopher, one of the fathers of the modern theory of natural law, discusses this issue in his *De habitu religionis Christianae ad vitam civilem* (1687), a plea for religious toleration to stem the massacre of French Huguenots after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). An English translation of this work appeared as *Of the Nature and Qualification of Religion in Reference to Civil Society* (1698); Mather here paraphrases passages from § 8, "Of the Nature of Revealed Religion" (pp. 17, 18).

⁹⁰ See Appendix A.

it; it serves him, as the *Tool* of his Intentions. *Momma* saies, *Hæc nobis videtur simplicissima huius loci Interpretaria.*⁹¹

3018.

Q. There not having been yett in the World, any one Exemple of Humane *Death*, how did *Cain* learn the Way of bringing *Death* upon his Brother? v. 8.

A. Wee have this *Question*, among the *Questiones ad Antiochum*, in the Works of *Athanasius*; and the Answer, that *Athanasius* gives to it is, ὁ διάβολος αὐτῷ κατ' ὄναρ ὑπέδειξεν. *The Diavel show'd him in a Dream, how to do it.*

By the way; Is not the Greek Word, *καίνω*, To *kill*; taken from the Name of *Cain*, the first Murderer?

But, *Cain* had seen the *Death* of *Sacrifices*. And it may be one End why the Glorious GOD instituted *Sacrifices*, might be, That our Parents who had no Notion of the *Death* which had been threatened, for their Sin, might have a lively Sense of it, so produc'd & præserv'd in them. Tho', The Grand End of the Institution was, to maintain the Faith of the Redeemer to come and save us by making Himself a *Sacrifice*.⁹²

895.

Q. *Cains* Murder of *Abel*, is repræsented, as a *Crying Sin*. Is there any special Remark upon *Crying Sins*, to bee made, from the Language of the Holy Spirit? v. 10.

A. All greater, & grosser Sins, are by the common People, called, *Crying Sins*. But the Language of the Holy Spirit ha's confined that Name, unto *Four Sins*, [Gen. 4.10. and Gen. 18.20. and Exod. 22.23. and Jam. 5.4.] And all of them, Sins against the *Second Table*; comprehended in this distich:

*Clamitat ad Cælum, Vox sanguinis, et Sodomorum,
Vox oppressorum, Merces detenta laborum.*⁹³

⁹¹ Mather refers to Wilhelm Momma (1642–77), Hamburg-born German Reformed theologian, professor of theology at Hamm and later at Middleburg (Holland). Momma's *Oeconomia temporum testamentaria triplex* (1673) and *Praelectiones theologicae* (1683) are among his most significant works. According to Momma sin is so deceitful that it does not appear "as the enemy and the doorpost." Sin insinuates itself with "I hurry to you." Momma says, "This seems to me the simplest interpretation of this passage."

⁹² St. Athanasius's answer appears in *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* [PG 28. 632, line 38]. Mather's derivation of the Greek word *καίνω* (*kaino*) is a bit too fortuitous, for *καίνος* (*kainos*) signifies "to make new, innovate" [Liddell and Scott's Greek English Lexicon]. However, in Mather's time, the homonymic similarity between the Greek and Hebrew words still testified to the pious belief that all languages derived from Hebrew.

⁹³ The Latin distich is derived from the Vulgate version (Gen. 4:10) and translates, "The voice of blood, and of the Sodomites, cries repeatedly unto Heaven, / The voice of the oppressed, the payment for their work is held back."

3386.

Q. But in the Hebrew it runs, *Thy Brothers Bloods*, in the Plural Number? v. 10.

A. And the Hebrew Doctors tell us, 'Tis because he had killed *Abel*, and all his Posterity, which were in his Loins. Thus we read, 2. King. 9.26. *I have seen the Blood of Naboth, & the Blood of his Sons*; tho' we read, of no body stoned, but *Naboth* himself.⁹⁴

[152v]

|

873.

Q. What was there peculiar, in the Death of the *First Man*, that ever Dyed? v. 11.

A. Tho' *Death* bee in general undesireable unto all Sorts of Men, yett there are especially Three Circumstances of *Death* which procure it, a peculiar Undesirableness. The first is, To Dy *Young*. The Second is, To Dy by external *Violence*. The Third is, To Dy without *Posterity*. Now in the Death of *Abel*, you find a Complication of all these doleful Circumstances.

2643.

Q. What special Mystery may there ly in the History of *Cain* and *Abel*? v. 12.

A. Good old *Prosper* finds the Mystery of those two People, the *Jewes* and *Gentiles*, and their Disposition towards Heaven & each other, & the Character, & Quality of their Sacrifices, in the History of *Cain* and *Abel*.

I beleeve, in this Notion of *Prosper*, you have an admirable Key to the First Epistle of *John*. Take Time to consider it, and you may fall into the View of many Elegancies.⁹⁵

It is a notable Passage of *Jacobus Naclantus*, in his Treatise entituled, *Scripturae Medulla*, printed at *Venice*, as long ago as the Year 1561. *In ijs Fratribus, duo adumbrati sunt populi; In Juniore Electi, et praesertim ex Gentibus; In Seniore Reprobi et maximè ex Israelitis. Nec modò, duo denotantur populi, sed et maximè eorum capita; propter quod et Abelus Typus est Christi, qui est Electorum Electus, et e diverso Cainus, Antichristi, qui Reproborum est Reprobus.*⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Mather extracts this annotation (Gen. 4:10) from Patrick's *Commentary* (1:25). That in killing Abel, Cain also killed all of Abel's potential offspring is suggested in the (Soncino) Talmudic Tractate Mas. Sanhedrin (37a). The Targum Onkelos (Gen. 4) has God say, "The voice of the blood of generations which were to come from thy brother complaineth before Me from the earth!" (Etheridge 1:43). Rashi and Ibn Ezra offer the same interpretation.

⁹⁵ Mather refers to St. Prosper Tiro of Aquitaine, whose *De promissionibus et praedictionibus Dei* (cap. 4, §§ 8–9) [PL 51. 737D–738C] is the work in question.

⁹⁶ *Scripturae Sacrae Medulla* (1561) was authored by the Italian prelate Jacobus Naclantus, aka. Giacomo Nacchlanti (d. 1596), bishop of Chiozzia. Mather owned a copy of the first edition of this work (1561) [AAS Library # 0667]. The Latin quotation appears in a longer version in Naclantus's *Scripturae sacrae medulla* (40) and translates, "In these brothers, two peoples are outlined. In the younger, the Elect, and particularly those from among the Gentiles; in the elder, the Condemned, and chiefly those from among the Israelites. And not only are two

[Insert Ar] **Q.** A Further Glance upon this Mystery in the History of *Cain* and *Abel*? v. 12.

A. Such Holy Writers of Experimental and Efficacious *Piety*, as the famous Dr. *John Arndt*, have much encouraged our Searches after the Administration of the Kingdome of God in the affairs of *Piety living to God*, as lying hid under the Covers of the Letter of the Scriptural Histories. And indeed, if we do not sinfully carry the Speculation so far as to *kill* the *Letter*, we may with vast Profit find the *Spirit* of Christian *Piety* covered under the Histories of the Bible.

Thus, the Words of the excellent *Arndt*, on the History now before us, deserve Consideration.

Exemplo Caini et Abelis; Quærum Naturam, Indolem, et proprietatis, si penitius inspexeris, facile deprehendes, eam Historiam, surrogatis modò in locum Caini et Abelis, Veteris et Novi Hominis nominibus, in te identidem agi et iterari. Quid enim est illa utriusque similtas, quæ illæ Caini Insidiæ, quæ Abelo struit? Quid, inquam, hæc aliud indigitant, quam assiduam luctam carnis ac spiritus? Quam Inimicitiam [Av] inter semen mulieris, et semen serpentis: In Cain and Abel, the Strife between the Flesh and the Spirit in us, is notably adumbrated. So, in reading of the Flood, our Arndt would have us think on the Flood of Heavenly Grace, which is to drown our Corruptions. And in reading the Life of Abraham, how many Allegories, instructive of what we have to do in the Christian Life!

He concludes; *Summus Deus Scripturam Sacram universam, ut Fide et Spiritu digeratur, consignavit, omniaque spiritualiter in te impleantur.*

Thus, the Wars of the *Israelites* against the Devoted Nations.

And the whole *Mosaic Pædagogy*.⁹⁷

people denoted, but also especially their heads, because Abel is a prototype of Christ, who is the Elect of the Elect, and conversely, Cain is a prototype of the Antichrist, who is the Condemned of the Condemned.”

⁹⁷ The works of the German Lutheran Pietist Johannes Arndt (1555–1621) were of great interest to Mather, whose own Pietism was shaped by Arndt, Spener, and the Halle Pietist August Herman Francke – all of whom Mather recommended as required reading to candidates for the ministry (*Manuductio* 28, 81, 130). See R. Lovelace’s *American Pietism* (ch. 2). Arndt’s most popular Pietist work, translated into many European languages, is *Wahres Christenthum* (1605). The Latin extracts are from Arndt’s *De Vero Christianismo* (1708), tom. 1, lib. 1, cap. 4, p. 32, § 2, and pp. 35, 36, §§ 6, 7, 8 (pastiche), and presents Cain and Abel as moral exemplars of the unregenerate and regenerate man: “By the example of Cain and Abel – if you examine closely their nature, innate character, and qualities – you will easily see that that story, with but the names of Old Man and New Man substituted in the place of Cain and Abel, is acted and repeated again and again in you. For what is that rivalry between each other, what are those traps of Cain’s, which he builds for Abel? What else, I ask, do they continually point to, but the unremitting struggle of body and spirit? What but the enmity between the woman’s seed and the serpent’s?” Arndt concludes, “God Almighty has authenticated the universal Holy Scripture, that it may be digested by faith and by spirit, and that everything in you may be spiritually satisfied.” Mather also cites Arndt on the title page of his homily *Renatus* (1725) and includes him into the list of books every young theology student should have in his library (*Manuductio* 151). For a useful summary of Arndt’s life and achievement, see J. Wallmann (21–37).

Q. On that, *My Punishment greater than I can bear?* v. 13.

A. 'Tis most probably an Interrogation. *Is my Sin too great to be forgiven?*⁹⁸
[Insert ends]

{.}123.

Q. What was the *Mark*, which the *Lord sett upon Cain?* v. 15.

A. You know how many Fancies the Jewes have concerning it. Some have thought it a Real *Brand*, made upon the Body of *Cain*; particularly That one of the Letters in the Name יהוה was imprinted on him. Others have thought it an *Horn* growing out of his Body; q.d. *Cornu ferit ille caveto*. And some, in *Aben Ezra*, have thought *Cains Mark*, to have been his *Dog*, which was clapt upon him, for a perpetual Companion. Others have thought a guilty, ghastly *Countenance* (& perhaps, as an *Arabian Author* adds, *A continual Trembling of his Body*) to have been the *Mark* of this wicked Fratricide. They that have been acquainted with the *Look* of Murderers, have seen *Cains Mark* expounded. And I should without any Hæitation espouse this Opinion, if I had not been, by some learned Men, after *Aben Ezra*, invited rather to think, the Meaning of this whole Business, to bee This, That the Great God (so great His *Long Suffering!*) wrought a certain *Miracle* before *Cain*, to assure him, that hee should have his Dayes prolonged in the World, notwithstanding his Desert; of the Contrary; & that hee should bee spared for the Propagation of a Posterity among whom there might bee some chosen ones. *Ponere signum alicui*, is not, *Insignire peculiari caractere*, but it is, *Miraculum edere, undè convincatur*. Compare Exod. 10.1, 2.⁹⁹

Except we shall rather say, That the *Face* of *Cain*, was Blasted with Lightning from the *Shechinah*.

⁹⁸ Nachmanides (*Commentary on the Torah* 93), Rashi (on Gen. 4:15), and the Midrash Rabbah (Gen. XXII:11) also put Cain's statement in form of a question, as does the Talmudic Tractate Sanhedrin (101b).

⁹⁹ Most of the information on this verse is extracted from Christian Noldius (1626–83), professor of theology at Copenhagen, who outlines the different positions in his *Concordantiae Particularum Ebreo Chaldaicarum* (1679) 303–04. According to one interpretation, one of the letters of the Tetragrammaton יהוה [HWHY] appeared as a mark on Cain's forehead. Abba Jose argues that God made a horn grow on Cain's head, but Rabbi Aba believes that God assigned to Cain a dog to defend himself against potential attackers (Midrash Rabbah, Gen. XXII:12). Mather's "*Arabian Author*" who relates Cain's trembling is the Arabic Christian historian Saidus Patricides (876–940), aka. Sa'id ibn Batriq, aka. Eutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria, who is cited affirmatively, in *Smegma Orientale* (1658), lib. 1, cap. 8, p. 223, by Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–67), Swiss Reformed theologian and professor of oriental languages at Heidelberg and Zurich. The positions of Aben Ezra appear in Ibn Ezra's *Commentary on The Pentateuch* (1:85–86). Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac Jarchi (RASHI) believes that Cain was punished with a continuous trembling (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:71a). See also Nachmanides (*Commentary on the Torah* 1:91–92). Noldius's *Concordantiae Particularum* (303, 304) convinces Mather that "to put a sign on somebody" is not "to distinguish him with a particular mark," but it is "to perform a miracle, by which he is conquered."

Or, why is it not enough to say, GOD secured *Cain* from being killed, as much as if He had sett a *Mark* upon his Face, for every one to know him. So our *Pyles*.¹⁰⁰

2335.

Q. The silly & profane Deist cavils, that here must needs bee *Prae-adamites*; because wee find *Cain*, so early retiring to a *Land of Nod*? v. 16.

A. The Word *Nod*, does not necessarily signify, a Countrey; it may signify, *A Fugitive*: so that the Sense may bee, *Hee lived a Fugitive or a Vagabond, in the Land*.¹⁰¹

And there might bee a considerable Number of Men then in the World. The Murder of *Abel* probably happened in the 129 Year of *Adam*. It is not likely, that *Adam* had no Children all this Time. According to the Proportion of *Israels* multiplying in *Egypt*, *Adam* now might have his Offspring multiplied into one hundred thousand.

A. M.	30	10
	60	100
	90	1 000
	120	10 000
	130	100 000.

The Author of the *Dissertations Historiques, Chronologiques, Geographiques, et Critiques, Sur La Bible*, printed lately in *Paris*, allowes *Cain* and *Abel* to marry in the 19th Year of the World. They might easily have had each 8 Children in the 25th, Males & Females; In the 50th Year 64 Persons might be in a Direct Line descended from them. In the Year, 74, they would come to 572. In 98, to 4096; In 122, to 32768. Add the other Children born to *Cain* & *Abel* in this time, & their Descendents, in 1122 Years there would be 421162 marriageable People.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Simon Patrick (Gen. 4:15) argues that the mark on Cain's face was nothing but a burn mark caused by a flash of lightning that issued from the Shechinah (*Commentary* 1:26). Finally, Mather quotes the least fanciful interpretation of them all from Thomas Pyle's *Paraphrase with Short and Useful Notes*, Part 1 (1:30).

¹⁰¹ For the belief in the existence of men before Adam (discussed earlier), see Isaac La Peyrère's *Theological Systeme* (1655). That "*Nod*" may indeed signify "*Fugitive*" or "*Vagabond*" is offered by Ibn Ezra on Gen. 4:12 (*Commentary on The Pentateuch* 1:84).

¹⁰² Mather's calculation (duplicated in his annotation on Gen. 4:25, below) is based on James Ussher's chronology, in *Annals of the World* (1658) 2. Like many of his predecessors, the French ecclesiastical historian Louis Ellies Du Pin (1657–1719), professor at the Sorbonne, developed elaborate calculations about human reproduction to refute La Peyrère's old argument that there had to be men before Adam if Cain was afraid of the people of Nod. Mather here extracts Du Pin's commentary from *Dissertationes Historiques, Chronologiques, Geographiques et Critiques Sur la Bible* (1711), vol. 1 (Diss. I, ch. 6, pp. 120–23). Similar calculations appear in Thomas Burnet's *Sacred Theory of the Earth* (bk. 1, ch. 3, p. 36) and in William Whiston's *New Theory of the Earth*, 5th ed. (pt. 2, bk. 3, ch. 3, p. 249).

[▽157r] [Insert from 157r]

Q. On what account, *Jabal*, the *Father of such as dwell in Tents*? v. 20.

A. The ingenious Mr. *Derham* well paraphrases it; “He was the Inventor of Tents, and pitching those moveable Houses in the Fields, for looking after, and depasturing their Cattel, in the Desarts, & uncultivated World.”¹⁰³

1514.

Q. *Jubal*, the Son of *Lamech*, who was the Inventor of Music; Is there any Commemoration of his Name, Remarkable? v. 21.

A. Yes. From his Name, some think, a *Jubilee* is called so; because it is proclaimed with *Music*.

Moreover, The Story of *Pythagoras*’s finding out *Musical Notes*, from the Strokes of the Hammers, upon the Smiths Anvil, arose from a Mistake of *Tubal*, for *Jubal*, (Sons of the same Father.)¹⁰⁴

[△] [△Insert ends]

33.

Q. What may bee the Sense of *Lamechs* Brag? v. 23, 24.

A. *Lamech* praesuming possibly, on the Strength of his Family, & priding himself in the Arts, invented by his Sons, especially by *Tubal-Cain*, who was an Artificer in Brass & Iron, & so tis likely made *Swords*, with other Instruments of War; hee thought himself able to Resist, & Conquer, any that should offend him. His Wives might bee afraid, lest his Boisterous Humours, might expose him unto Danger; wherefore in a Vaunting Fashion, hee thus addresses them, *Fear not concerning mee; for if a Man should Attempt to sett upon mee, I would slay that Man by my Wounding of him, & tho’ hee were a young Man that should do it, yett I would Dispatch him, by my Hurting him.* And if *Cain*, a Fratricide, shall bee avenged sevenfold, surely *Lamech*, that kills a Man in his own Defence, shall bee avenged Seventy times sevenfold.

For this Cause *Lamech* uses to bee called, *The Father of Duellers*.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ The citation appears in William Derham’s *Physico-Theology* (fourth edition, 1716), bk. 5, ch. 1, p. 268.

¹⁰⁴ Mather’s source is Simon Patrick’s annotation on this verse (*Commentary* 1:28), but Patrick’s own source is Samuel Bochart, who identifies Jubal (in the guise of King Cinyras of Cyprus) as the inventor of music (*Geographia*, pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 7, col. 728–29). Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 1.2.2) ascribes to Jubal the invention of “the psaltery and the harp.” The ancient Greeks bestowed the honor of developing musical notes on the Pythagorean Hippasos of Metapontum (mid-5th c. BCE), who by striking four bronze discs of the same diameter but of different thickness, discovered musical ratios. See *Scholias in Platonem* (Dialogue Phd, 108d, 3–10). Jabal and Jubal were both Lamech’s sons (Gen. 4:19–21).

¹⁰⁵ For greater detail on these verses, see Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:28). Samuel Bochart (*Geographia*, pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 12, col. 179–86), Gerard Vossius (*De Theologia Gentili*, pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 16, pp. 123–24), and Theophilus Gale (*Court* [1672], part 1, bk. 2, ch. 6, pp. 66–67) associate Tubalcain with Hephaistos (Vulcan), Greek (Roman) god of smithery.

But the learned *Pfeiffer* thinks rather, That *Moses* recounting here, the Families of the *Cainites*, and mentioning somewhat of their Studies & Manners, would give an Instance of that Antipathy & Persecution, with which they molested the True Church of God. That Instance was *this*; An Aged *Prophet*, with his Young *Son*, were murdered by *Lamech*, probably for some Reproofs which might bee given him from those Men of God. His *Wives* having an Inkling of it, might bee afraid of the *Vengeance* whereto their whole Houshold might bee thereby exposed. But hee profanely gloried in his Wickedness, and brag'd, That hee should himself alone sustain all the *Mischief* that would follow upon that Murder; which in truth, sais hee, will bee none at all; for if any Man go to kill mee, who have not slain a *Brother*, as *Cain* did, but my envious Adversaries, it will bee Revenged, more than you know the Killing of our Grandfather *Cain* himself.¹⁰⁶

[153r]

Q. The Marriage of *Cain*, with his own *Sister*, ha's been a Matter of some Torture on the Minds of Men, that have been Inquisitive, How far the *Light and Law of Nature* extends in such a Matter? v. 24.

A. I shall only take Notice of such things as *Heidegger* speaks upon it.¹⁰⁷

We will omitt the *Oriental Traditions*, mentioned by *Patricides*, not without some Intimations thereof also in *Epiphanius* and *Cedrenus*; That *Cain* and *Abel* had their *Twin-Sisters* born with them. The *Twin-Sister* of *Cain*, they say, was called *Azron*; The *Twin-Sister* of *Abel*, was called, *Awin*. And because Marriage must be made with as much Distance as may be, they suppose, that *Cain* married *Awin*, and *Abel* married *Azron*, the *Sister* that was not born with him.¹⁰⁸

The *Talmuds* on this Occasion, talk much about a *Special Indulgence* of GOD: And so they Read; Psal. 89.2. *Nam dixi, Indulgentia, seu, Benignitas,*

¹⁰⁶ Extracted from August Pfeiffer's commentary on Gen. 4:22, in *Hermeneutica Sacra* (1684). Patrick (*Commentary* 1:28) provides several variant interpretations of Lamech's boast.

¹⁰⁷ The entire commentary on Gen. 4:24 is extracted from Johann Heinrich Heidegger (1:130–32, Exerc. V, §§ 39–43).

¹⁰⁸ Heidegger (1:130, Exerc. V, § 39). The tradition of Cain and Abel's twin sisters is related by Patricides in his universal history *Nazm al-Gawahir* (*Chaplet of Pearls*), which appeared in Edward Pococke's Latin translation *Contextio Gemmarum, sive, Eutychie Patriarchae Alexandrini Annales* (1656) 1:15. See also John Selden's *De Jure Naturali & Gentium* (1640), lib. 3, cap. 2, pp. 277–78, and lib. 5, cap. 8, pp. 576–83. The same is told by Abulfarag (Abul-Pharagius), in Edward Pococke's *Historia compendiosa dynastiarum* (1663), pt. 1, p. 4. St. Epiphanius (*Panarion* 39.5.2–3; 39.6.1–4), dismissing the claim of the Sethians that their progenitor Seth married his sister Horaea, cites the book of *Jubilees* in affirmation that Seth married his sister Azura, and Cain his older sister Save. Thus Adam and Eve had a total of 12 sons and 2 daughters (*Epiphanius* 2:76–77.25–29). The Byzantine chronographer Georgius Cedrenus of Constantinople relates that Adam and Eve had 33 sons and 27 daughters, in *Cedrenus's Compendium historiarum* (1:15–16).

ædificavit sæculum. To this Purpose, they quote, Lev. 20.17. /חסד הוה/ *Indulgentia erat*. But these are Strains.¹⁰⁹

Austin writing, *De Civitate Dei*, saies; *cum non essent ulli homines, nisi qui ex illis duobus nati fuissent, viri sorores suas conjuges acceperunt: Quod profectò quantò est Antiquius, compellente necessitate, tantò postea factum est Damnabilius, Religione prohibente*. The Great GOD, who had the *Residue of the Spirit*, and could have made more Men or Women, did, by His Making of no more, make this Necessity.¹¹⁰

Before the Law of *Moses*, the Marriages of *Brothers and Sisters*, were, as *Plato* saies of them, μηδ'αμ'ως οσια και θεομιση· *Minimè Pia, sed Deo invisā*. And we are told by *Diodorus Siculus*, The Prohibition of them, was, κοινον εθος των ανθρωπων· *Communis mos hominum*.¹¹¹

The Opinion of *Maimonides*, is, That the Law forbidding this *Incest*, was given unto *Adam* at the first; but as a Law, that was not to take place, until Mankind should be a little multiplied.

When Mankind became so multiplied, that *Brothers and Sisters* might *live together* in the same House, and yett *live asunder*; or, they might converse together without *Hazard and Scandal*: Now their *Matrimonial Conjunction* was pronounced *Incestuous*, and *Criminal*. Until Families were so multiplied, [154v] that *Wives* could be fetched out of | *other Families*, they who lived in the *same Families*, were more obnoxious to one another.¹¹²

Briefly; On *Cains* Marriage, the Sentence of *Heidegger*, is; *Non fuit hæc Dispensatio à Lege Naturali, quia Jus Naturale non simpliciter damnat tales Nuptias, sed in certo tantum statu*. *Grotius* very well teaches us, That some Things are, *Juris Naturalis, non simpliciter, sed pro certo rerum statu*.¹¹³

109 Heidegger (1:131, Exerc. V, § 41). The story of Cain and Abel marrying each other's twin sisters with God's approval is discussed in Soncino Talmudic tractates Sanhedrin (58b) and Yevamoth (62a). The Latin passage derived from the Talmudic tractate Sanhedrin (58b) reads, "For I said, the world shall be built up by grace"; or closer to the Latin translation: "For I have said, indulgence, or mercy, shall be built up forever" (Ps. 89:2). Rashi on Lev. 20:17 glosses, "As it is said, 'the world is built on kindness.'"

110 Heidegger (1:132, Exerc. V, § 42). St. Augustine comments in his *De Civitate Dei* (15.16.1) [PL 41. 457–458], "as there were no human beings except those who had been born of these two, men took their sisters for wives, – an act which was as certainly dictated by necessity in these ancient days as afterwards it was condemned by the prohibitions of religion" (*NPNFi* 2:297).

111 Plato (*De Legibus* 8.838b, 10–11) considers such incest "an abomination in the sight of the gods" or, according to the Latinized rendition, "by no means holy, but hateful to god." Diodorus Siculus (1.27.1) argues that the prohibition to marry one's own siblings was "contrary to the general custom of mankind." As usual, Mather dispenses with the diacritical marks of the Greek originals.

112 Maimonides's views on incest are discussed in his *Guide* (3.49.376–77) and his *Mishneh Torah: Hilchot Issurei Bi'ah* (1:4–7). See also Soncino Genesis Rabbah (XVI:6) and *Ej*: "Incest."

113 Heidegger's sentence appears in his *Historia Sacra Patriarcharum* (1:132, Exerc. V, § 43) and reads as follows: "This was not a dispensation from Natural Law, because Natural Law

Before, I part with my *Heidegger*, I will mention a Remark of his, on the *Banishment*, which was the *Punishment of Cain*, after his Murder. *Cum Agricola fuerit, tantò gravior ipsi futura erat jactura agrorum, quos ante hac feliciter coluit*: His Loss of the *Fields* which he had cultivated, might be one sensible Stroke in his Calamities.

I will also mention his Remark on that; *Whosoever slayeth Cain, Vengeance shall be taken on him Seven-fold*. Why so? *Utpotè qui pœna Caino inflicta, non fuerit ab homicidio absterritus*: Because he took not Warning from the Judgment inflicted on *Cain* for his Wickedness.¹¹⁴

About the Scituation of the Land of *Nod*, our *Heidegger* sits down satisfied, with the Opinion of *Junius*. *Cum in illo tractu, qui subest Babyloniae, Gentes fere sint in Tigurijs, et mapalibus habitantes, tum in Arabia Desertâ, tum in extremâ Babyloniam ad sinum Persicum, tum in Susiane conterminâ, quæ Gentes Nomades appellantur; totum illum Tractum appellari Terram Nod, ex eo Judicaverim. Sed, quia latè patebat ille Tractus, quem Nomades coluerunt, propterea Distinctionis ergò circumstantia altera adjicitur; nempe Cainum se in eam Terram Nod recepisse, quæ ex adverso Hedenis, orientem versus sita est: ac proindè ex eo concludimus sedem Caini fuisse in unâ Susiane, ubi Characeni et Eulæi à Geographis dicuntur habitasse*. Look for the *Susiane*, where the Geographers have placed the *Characenes* and the *Eulæans*, and you find, The Land of *Nod*.¹¹⁵

does not condemn such marriages absolutely, but only in certain circumstances.” Similarly, the celebrated Dutch legal philosopher Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) cautions that some things are “allowed by the Law of Nature, not absolutely, but according to a certain State of Affairs” (*De Iure Belli et Pacis* [1625], lib. 1, cap. 1, art. 10, § 7; *Rights of War and Peace* 1:156).

114 The preceding two paragraphs appear in *Heidegger* (1:128–29, Exerc. V, §§ 25–26), and the Latin citations signify, “Since he [Cain] was a farmer, the loss of his fields, which before this he had happily tended, would be so much more burdensome to him”; and respectively, “Inasmuch as whosoever might inflict punishment on Cain would not have been deterred from murder.”

115 *Heidegger* (1:130, Exerc. V, § 39). *Heidegger* cites from Franciscus Junius’s annotation on Gen. 4:16, in *Opera Theologica* (1613), “Libri genesios Analysis” (vol. 1, p. 148, lines 20–31). Junius opines, “In that region, which is near Babylon, there are wild tribes among the Tigurii, and tribes who live in huts, sometimes in the Arabian Desert, at other times at the edge of Babylon by the Persian Gulf, and other times at the border of Susa; these tribes are called nomads. Given this, I would have concluded that this whole region is called the Land of Nod. However, because the region where the nomads dwell (nomads do not tend land) lay wide open, we must add a further detail arising from that distinction, which is that Cain was taken into the Land of Nod, which is situated towards the east on the opposite side of Eden. And so from this we conclude that the seat of Cain was in Susiana alone, where the Characeni and the Eulæi are reputed by geographers to live.” Susa, the capital of Susiana (Susis) is located in E Assyria. See also Pliny (6.31.135) and Ptolemy (*Geographia* 6.3. Tabula V. Asia, pp. 135–36). Pierre-Daniel Huet’s *Treatise of the Situation of Paradise*, which Mather consulted on the location of Paradise, gives greater detail (ch. 13, pp. 120–22).

[155r] |
3239.

Q. It won't be amiss to ask over again; Have the ancient Pagans no Traditions of the *Ante-diluvian* Matters, & other Biblical Affayrs, of great Antiquity? v. 24.

A. Very many.¹¹⁶ But there is a very particular Exactness, in what *Herodotus* relates, as having received it from the *Egyptian* Priests. He tells us, That of the *Gods*, there were *Three Orders*. Of the first Order were *Eight*. These no doubt were called, The *first*, because descended of *Cain*, the eldest Son of *Adam*. For *Adam*, with all his Line, by *Cain*, as *Moses* hath delivered it, make just the Number *Eight*. Only *Herodotus* misplaces *Pan*, for the first of the *Eight*, who is probably miswritten for *Kan*; The Greek Γ (as well as the Latin P) is in Figure, very like the Hebrew לך/ wherewith *Kain* is written.¹¹⁷

Of the Second Order of Gods, he saies, there were *Twelve*; who were so called, not because they were all Juniors to the *Dij Primi*, but because they were in the Line of *Seth*, the younger Son of *Adam*. And from *Seth*, inclusively to *Askenaz*, the last Named in the Line of *Japhet*, there are *Twelve* enumerated in the *Mosaic* Genealogy.

Those of the Third Order, *Herodotus* tells us, were born of the *Dij Secundi*.¹¹⁸

Josephus affirms, That all that have written the History of the Barbarous Nations, make mention of *Noah's* Flood and Ark. *Abydenus*, in his Commentaries, taken out of the *Median* and *Assyrian* Archives, gives an Account, of *Saturn's* prædicting the *Flood*, and sending *Birds* out of the *Ark*, after the stormy Rains were over, to see if the Waters were asswaged; and that they Returned, and were sent out again, and a Third Time; just according to the Sacred Story. And *Plato, de Legibus*. 3. saies, we must suppose, that there were some Reliques of Mankind, who saved themselves from the Flood, upon the Mountains.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ Mather's commentary on Gen. 4:24 [155r–156v] is extracted from Nehemiah Grew's *Cosmologia Sacra* (bk. 4, ch. 2, §§ 9–25, pp. 145–49).

¹¹⁷ Herodotus (2.145–46) describes the Egyptian deities in their relation to those of the Greeks. According to Herodotus, the Greek Pan is the Egyptian god Khem; however, unlike Khem who is ranked as the first of the eight oldest Egyptian deities, Pan is among the three youngest of the Greek gods (*KP*). Whereas Grew argues that the Greek letter “Gamma” and the Latin “P” are “in Sound” very much like the Hebrew “qoph” (145), Mather corrects Grew and argues that these letters are, instead, similar “in Figure.”

¹¹⁸ Grew, *Cosmologia Sacra* (bk. 4, ch. 2, §§ 10–11, pp. 145–46). Arguing (as most of his euhemerist contemporaries did) that the offspring of Adam and Eve in the Mosaic account became the deities in the pantheon of the Egyptians and Greeks, Grew associates the “*Dij Primi*” (first order of gods) and “*Dij Secundi*” (second order of gods) with the line of descent of Seth and of Japheth in the Mosaic genealogical account. Herodotus describes the third order of gods in *Historia* (2.145).

¹¹⁹ Grew, *Cosmologia Sacra* (bk. 4, ch. 2, § 12, p. 146). Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 1.3.6, 9) cites the Chaldean historian Berosus, the Egyptian Hieronymous (who authored a Phoenician history), the Greek geographer Mnaseas of Patara (Lycia), the Greek historian Nicolaus

The *Tower of Babel* is mentioned by so many Pagan Writers, that *Polyhistor* calls it, Ἰστοροῦμενον Πύργον, *The Tower that every Historian talk'd of*.

Diodorus, and *Strabo*, and *Pliny*, and *Tacitus*, and others mention the Burning of *Sodom* with Fire from Heaven, and the Effects of it. *Solinus* writes, *Longo ab Hierosolymis recessu tristis sinus panditur, quem de cælo tactum, testatur humus nigra, et in cinerem soluta*.¹²⁰

Of *Abraham* speaks *Berosus* in *Josephus*, and *Eupolemus* in *Eusebius*, affirming that he lived in the Tenth Generation after the Flood. *Melo*, cited by *Polyhistor*, tells of his Two Wives, whereof the one was his *Kinswoman*, the other an *Egyptian*. That by the former he had but one Son, whom the Greeks called Γέλωτα, or, *Laughter*; And that by the other, he had Twelve Sons, (meaning the Twelve Princes born of *Ishmael*.) *Cleodemus* also mentions his Children by *Ketura*, with the very Names of some of them; *Asurem*, and *Aferem*, that is, *Asshurim* and *Epher*.¹²¹ *Eupolemus* mentions his Victory over the *Armenian* Kings, and his Entertainment by *Melchizedek*. *Nicolaus Damascenus* and *Artapanus*, mention, his going in the Time of a Famine unto *Pharaoh* the King of *Egypt*, the Plaguing of that Kings Court for the Sake of *Sarah*, and his return to

of Damascus, and many others – all testifying to the story of the Noachic Flood. *Eusebius* (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.12.414d–415b) cites *Abydenus*, whose Chaldean history *Assyriaca et Babyloniaca* also relates a version of the Flood story, in which *Kronos* reveals to King *Sisithrus* the coming of “a great rain,” and commands him to store all records “at Heliopolis in the country of the Sippari.” When floodwaters carried *Sisithrus*’s ship to Armenia, the king released three sets of birds on the third day, after the rains had stopped, to discover if the flood had receded from the land. In after ages, *Sisithrus*’s ark “supplied the people of the country [Armenia] with wooden amulets as antidotes to poison” (*Eusebius*, *Preparation for the Gospel* 1:446). *Plato*, too, mentions that floods repeatedly wiped out the human race and that only a remnant survived on mountain tops (*De Legibus* 3.677a, 682b–c, 702a).

120 The Greek citation (“the tower renowned in history”) from the Greco-Roman polymath *Cornelius Alexander*, nicknamed *Polyhistor* (c. 105–c. 40 BCE), appears in *Eusebius*’s *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.17.3, line 1; 9.17.418c) and in *Cornelius Alexander*’s *Fragmenta* (fragm. 3.10). *Diodorus Siculus* (2.48.6–8; 19.98.1–99.3) describes the floating asphalt and noxious fumes of the Dead Sea, but does not mention *Sodom* or *Gomorra*h; however, *Strabo* (16.2.44), *Pliny* (2.109–110.235–38), and *Tacitus* (*Historiarum* 5.7) – all mention the rivers of fire in the Fertile Crescent. Whether these historians had in mind the biblical *Sodom* and *Gomorra*h is a different matter. Finally, *Solinus*’s *De mirabilibus mundi* (c. 36) relates that “from the long recess of Jerusalem, a woeful crater spreads out; black earth turned to ash testifies to its having been touched by heaven.”

121 *Grew*, *Cosmologia Sacra* (bk. 4, ch. 2, § 16, pp. 146–47). *Josephus* *Flavius* (*Antiquities* 1.7.2) cites *Berosus* as evidence for the historicity of the Patriarch *Abraham*, who lived in the tenth generation after the deluge. The same is mentioned by *Eupolemus* in a fragment of *Alexander Polyhistor*, surviving in *Eusebius*’s *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.17.418c–419c); *Alexander Polyhistor* (*Fragmenta*, fragm. 5.9–15), in an excerpt from a polemic *Against the Jews*, by the Greek rhetorician *Apollonios Molon* (*Melo*) of Rhodes, relates that *Abraham* had two wives, but “his lawful wife” bore him a son called “*Gelos*” (“*Laughter*”) – all in *Eusebius*’s *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.19.421a). The Hellenist historian *Cleodemus Malchus* (2nd c. BCE) acknowledges the offspring of *Keturah*, *Abraham*’s concubine (Gen. 25:1–4; 1 Chron. 1:32–33), in a fragment surviving in *Eusebius*’s *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.20.421b).

Syria upon his receiving of *Sarah* again. *Polyhistor* mentions Gods commanding him to offer up his Son, and his offering a Ram instead of a Son. They all agree, That he was a very wise Man, and well skill'd in *Astronomy*. Yea, *Hecataeus* wrote an entire Volumn, of his Life.¹²²

Of *Jacob*, tis reported by *Theodotus*, in *Eusebius*, (an excellent Poet,) That the City *Kikima*, (meaning, *Shechem*,) was by him taken in the Time of *Emmor*, or, *Hamor*; Thus ascribing to *Jacob*, what was done by his Two Sons: And, That before This, for fear of his Brother, he went and liv'd with *Laban* in *Syria*, & married his Two Daughters, & was cheated with the Eldest first; of whom, saies *Theodotus*, he begat Eleven Sons, and beautiful *Dina*. You see, how near he comes to the true Account! And *Artapanus* gives an Account of his going into *Egypt*, with all his Houshold, unto his Son *Joseph*; and his living there, 'Εν τῇ πόλει Καϊσαν, that is, in *Goshen*.¹²³

Aristaeas in his History of the *Jewes*, tells us, That *Job* was the Son of *Esau*, by his Wife *Bassura*; a most Just Man, & very Rich: That God, for his Trial, permitted his Estate and Children to be destroyed, & his Body to be smitten with a grievous *Ulcer*; That *Eliphaz*, King of the *Temanites*, *Bildad*, Tyrant of the *Saucheans*, and *Elihu* the Son of *Barechiel*, the *Tobite*, came to comfort him, tho' in vain: But that God afterwards exalted him.¹²⁴

[156v] *Artapanus* gives a large Account of *Joseph*; How his Brethren envying his Witt, & conspiring against him, sent him away by certain *Arabians* into *Egypt*, where he was made | Lieutenant of that Kingdome; How he caused the Lands to be Surveyed, and Divided, and Cultivated; whereby the Meanest of the People, before oppressed, had their Share: with much more well agreeing with the *Mosaic* History. *Philo*, among other *Poets*, recited by *Eusebius*, mentions his placing of *Jacob* in a fruitful Countrey, by the King allow'd unto him; and his Gift of Interpreting Dreams; and his being Lord of *Egypt*. Even our Schoolboyes

¹²² The information from Eupolemus, from the Greek peripatetic historian Nicolaus Damascus, from the Hellenist Jewish author Artapanus (2nd c. BCE), from Cornelius Alexander Polyhistor, and from the Ionian prose-writer Hecataeus of Miletus (6th–5th c. BCE) – all appear respectively in Eusebius's *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.17, 18, 19; 13.13.680d). See also S. E. Morison's "Harvard School of Astronomy."

¹²³ Grew, *Cosmologia Sacra* (bk. 4, ch. 2, § 17, p. 147). The Samaritan epic poet Theodotus (2nd c. BCE) relates his story of Jacob's conquests (both bellicose and matrimonial) in Eusebius's invaluable resource *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.22.425b–429b), and so does Artapanus about Joseph's chaste residence in Goshen (Heliopolis and Saïs). Both this story and the Greek citation "in the city Caesana" appear in *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.23.430a) and in Cornelius Alexander (Polyhistor), *Fragmenta* (fragm. 10.24).

¹²⁴ Grew, *Cosmologia Sacra* (bk. 4, ch. 2, § 18, p. 147). Aristaeas (2nd c. BCE), who authored *Historia Iudaeis*, lists Jobab (Job) as Esau's son by Bassara (Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* 9.25.430d). However, this affiliation – based on a postscript to the LXX translation of Job 42:17 – is erroneous and appears to be the result of confusion between Bassura (Bosorrha) in the LXX, Bozra in the Vulgate and KJV, and Basemath in the LXX (Gen. 36:13, 33; Job 43:17); see *EJ*: "Aristeas." The story of Job's exemplary faithfulness is well known and can be found in the book that bears his name.

can tell, what is by *Trogus Pompeius* reported of him; *Ejus excellens ingenium veriti fratres, clam interceptum peregrinis mercatoribus vendiderunt.* And, *Regi Egypti percharus fuit; nam et prodigiorum sagacissimus erat, et somniorum primus intelligentiam condidit; Nihilque divini Juris humanique ei incognitum videbatur, adeò ut sterilitatem agrorum, etiam ante multos annos, previderit; perijssetque omnis Egyptus Fame, nisi monitu ejus, Rex edicto servari per multos Annos Fruges jussisset. Tantaque ejus experimenta fuerunt, ut non ab Homine, sed à Deo, Responsa dari viderentur.*¹²⁵

Polyhistor, from *Artapanus*, and he, from the *Egyptian* Priests, relating the History of *Moses* at large, saies, That he was the Son of an Hebrew Woman, but Adopted by *Merrhin*, *Phalmanoth* the Egyptian Tyrants Daughter: That for his Skill in all kinds of Philosophy, and his great Wisdome, they gave him Divine Honour, and called him *Hermes*. But being envied, & his Life sought, killing the intended Assassine, by his Brother *Aarons* Advice, he fled into, *Arabia*, & there married the Daughter of *Raguel*, Prince of the Countrey. Where, in praying for his People, appear'd unto him, a *Fire*, burning without Fuel, with a Divine Voice, commanding him, to go, and rescue the Jewes from *Egypt*, and conduct them into their own Countrey. Then he relates the Transaction with the King of *Egypt*, the Miracles which he wrought, the Plagues which follow'd the Contempt of them; the Marching of the *Israelites* thro' the Red-Sea, and the Drowning of the *Egyptians* that followed them; their Wandering in the Wilderness (according to him) Thirty Years; and their being Fed there with *Corn from Heaven*, [see Ps. 78.24.] like *Panic*, (or *Indian Oatmeal*) white as the Snow.¹²⁶ *Ezekiel* the Tragic Poet, also tells the whole Story of *Moses* exactly. The Opposition, he had from *Jannes* and *Jambres* is related by *Numenius* the *Pythagorean*.

125 Grew, *Cosmologia Sacra* (bk. 4, ch. 2, § 19, p. 147). Artapanus's account of Joseph appears in Eusebius's *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.23.429c–430b) followed by six lines from the Greek epic poem *De Hierosolymis*, by Philo (the Elder), in *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.24.430c). The young charges of Ezekiel Cheever at Boston Latin School would have known what Pompeius Trogus (b. c. 41 BCE), Roman historian from Gaul, wrote about Joseph's accomplishments in Egypt, in his *Historiae Philippicae* (c. 9 CE), which survives in a Latin epitome of Marcus Junianus Justinus (2nd, 3rd, or 4th c. CE). Mather's excerpt from Pompeius Trogus (via Nehemiah Grew) appears with slight variations in Justinus's *Historiarum Philippicarum in Epitomen Redacti* (36.2.6–10), which John Selby Watson translates as follows: Joseph, "whom the brothers, fearing his extraordinary abilities, secretly made prisoner, and sold to some foreign merchants." And, "he found favor with the Egyptian king; he was eminently skilled in prodigies, and was the first to establish the science of interpreting dreams; and nothing, indeed of divine or human law, seems to have been unknown to him; so that he foretold the dearth in the land some years before it happened, and all Egypt would have perished by famine, had not the king by his advice ordered the corn to be laid up for several years; such being the proofs of his knowledge, that his admonitions seemed to proceed, not from a mortal, but a god" (adapted from J. S. Watson's translation of Justin's *Epitome* [36.2.6–10], pp. 245–46).

126 Grew, *Cosmologia Sacra* (bk. 4, ch. 2, § 20, pp. 147–48). Cornelius Alexander Polyhistor's story of Moses in Egypt (excerpted from Artapanus) survives in a lengthy fragment in Eusebius's *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.27), on which Grew relies all along.

Yea, *Herodotus*, and *Polemo*, and *Apion*, and *Ptolomæus* the *Mendesian* Priest, and *Hellanicus*, and *Philochorus*, all relate that *Moses* was Prince of the Jewes, & led them forth of *Egypt*, about the Time of *Amasis*, or perhaps *Armais*. *Josephus* recites what *Manetho* saies of it. *Moses* encourages the pursued *Israelites*, with telling them, [Exod. 14.14] That *the Lord would fight for them*. And *Strabo* reports the same of him, (Lib. 16.) ἀντὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν, τὰ ἱερὰ προυβάλλετο, καὶ το θεῖον, *Instead of Arms, he sett before them the Memorial of Gods Mercy to them in the Holy Passeeover, & the Divine Power*.¹²⁷

The Conquest of *Canaan* by *Joshua*, is largely related by *Procopius*; And *Eupolemus* calls him, *Jesus the Son of Nava*; saying, That he sett up a Sacred Tabernacle, ἐν Σηλόι. And that he dyed One hundred & Ten Years old. *Strabo* adds this Testimony, That the Successors of *Moses*, for some Time, observed the Lawes that he gave them, and were truly Religious. [Compare, Josh. 2.7.]

The Fertility of the Land of *Canaan* (tho' it be at this Day, a barren Land,) was admired by *Pliny*, and *Aristeas*.¹²⁸

Eupolemus tells us, That after *Joshua*, there succeeded *Samuel* the Prophet, and *Saul*, and then *David*; and that the *Idumeans*, and several other Nations

127 The Hellenistic Jewish playwright Ezekiel, the Poet, wrote *Exagoge* ("The Exodus"), a dramatization of Moses's life in Egypt, in iambic trimeter (*EJ*: "Ezekiel the Poet"). The third-hand fragment of the play, excerpted by Polyhistor, survives in Eusebius's *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.28–29). The story of Jannes and Jambres, the mysterious Egyptian magi who opposed Moses, appears in an excerpt of the Pythagorean Numenius of Apamea (2nd c. CE) and elsewhere, but is here extracted from Eusebius's *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.8). The life of Moses in Egypt is also alluded to in Herodotus (2.13), in a lost history by Polemon of Ilium (c. 202–181 BCE), in a diatribe of Apion (1st c. CE, Greek rhetorician of Alexandria), in a lost chronology of Ptolemy of Mende (an Egyptian priest), in a fragment of Hellancius (Helladius) of Antinoupolis (3rd c. CE), and in a fragment of Philochorus (c. 340–260 BCE). These ancient authors all mention Moses at the time of Amosis (Amasis). Attempts to identify this Amosis with the Pharaoh of the house of Tahpanhes (c. 569–525 BCE), mentioned in Jer. 43:9, seem misguided since the period in which this Amosis lived is far too late for the Hebrew Lawgiver (*CBTEL*). Modern historiography dates the Israelite Exodus to the Nineteenth Dynasty (c. 1304–1200 BCE), probably under Rameses II (c. 1290–1223 BCE). See *EJ*: "Egypt." Mather's source (via Grew) is the Christian writer Sextus Julius Africanus (c. 160–c. 240), whose *Chronographiae tertio* is excerpted in Eusebius's *Praeparatio evangelica* (10.10). Josephus Flavius (*Against Apion* 1.15) extracts from Manetho a lengthy chronology of the Egyptian rulers of the period. The Greek citation from Strabo (16.2.36) translates more accurately "instead of using arms, [Moses] put forward as defence his sacrifices and his Divine Being." Mather's diacritical marks in his Greek citation – by him generally omitted – do not reflect modern standards.

128 The biblical exegete Procopius Gazaetus (c. 475–c. 538 CE) describes Joshua's conquest in *Commentarii in Octateuchum* (in Josue) [PG 87.1. 992–1042]. In the Greek original of *De Eliae prophetia opere*, Eupolemus calls him Ἰησοῦν τὸν τοῦ Ναυῆ [Iesoun ton tou Naue], the Greek version of Joshua's Hebrew name (Yeshua / Yoshua), which in Latin is generally rendered Jesus. Moreover, Eupolemus relates that Joshua ("Jesus the son of Nave") set up the sacred tabernacle [en Zeloi] in Shilo (Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* 9.30.447a). Strabo's testimony appears in his *Geography* (16.2.37). The fertility of the region is celebrated in Pliny (5.15.70, 73; 13.9.44–45), and Aristeas briefly mentions that plenty of water was available in Jerusalem (Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* 9.38).

paid their Tribute unto *David*; and that he sent Ships for Gold, unto *Urphen*, an Island of the Red-Sea, then abounding with Gold-Mines; and that he Reigned Forty Years; and having been a Man of Blood, was commanded to leave the Building of the Temple to his Son; for which he received his Directions by an Angel, whose Name was *Διαναθάν*. (Doubtless, the Prophet *Nathan*; 2. Chron. 29.25.)¹²⁹

Theodotus, and *Hipsicrates*, and *Mochus*, who were *Phœnicians*, and *Menander* of *Pergamus*, mention the League between *Solomon*, and *Hiram*, who is by *Eupolemus* called, *Suron*; And the Supplies of Timber and Workmen, which he received from this King, and from *Vaphres*, King of *Egypt*. And the latter, gives as particular Account, partly true, partly false, of the Temple & its Utensels.

When we come down to the *Babylonian* Captivity, we have such an Army of Pagan Writers, consenting to what we have in our Sacred Oracles, that it were endless to cite them.

The Collection with which I have now entertained you, is fetched out of the most Ingenious Dr. N. Grewes, *Cosmologia Sacra*.¹³⁰

| [157r]
2418.

Q. *Lamech* is the first *Exemple of Polygamy*; what might be the first *Original of Polygamy*? v. 24.

A. It is thought by some, That the earnest Desire of seeing the *Blessed Seed*, which was promised unto *Eve*, might induce good Men in the former Ages, to take more Wives than one; hoping, that by multiplying their Posterity, some or other thereof, might be so happy as to produce that *Seed*.

This is a learned & a pious Account, of the *Original of Polygamy*; and behold, what a mitigating Circumstance it now appears withal! God, for the Sake

¹²⁹ Grew, *Cosmologia Sacra* (bk. 4, ch. 2, § 23, p. 149). See also Mather's commentary on 2 Chron. 8:18. Eupolemus relates the well-known story of succession, of David's ships sailing to Urphen (Ophir), and of the angel *Διαναθάν* [Dianathan] – all extant in Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.30.447d).

¹³⁰ Finally, Mather extracts his last two paragraphs from Grew's *Cosmologia Sacra* (bk. 4, ch. 2, §§ 24, 25, p. 149). Grew's source is Tatian's *Oratio adversus Graecos* (cap. 31, 36), in an extant fragment in Eusebius Pamphilus's *Praeparatio evangelica* (10.11.493b–d). The Greek historian Menander of Pergamon (1st c. BCE) mentions King Solomon of Jerusalem in an extant fragment of his history of the Greeks and the Barbarians (*Fragmenta* 1, line 21). Eupolemus details the constructive relationship between King Solomon, *Σούρων* [Suron], probably King Hiram of Tyre, and *Οὐαφρής* (Vaphres), king of Egypt, in Eusebius's *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.30–34.447c–452a). The German chronologist Seth Calvisius (1556–1615) argues that Vaphres was Pharaoh Sesostrius, whose daughter (1 Kings 3:1) was given to Solomon in marriage, in Calvisius's *Opus Chronologicum* (1685) 191–92. Because Sesostrius is to have lived before the Trojan War (Herodotus 2.102–10; Manetho, *Aegyptiaca* 2, fragm. 34), Solomon's father-in-law could have been a latter-day Senwosret, the cognomen of several Egyptian kings of the 12th Dynasty (*OCD*, *KP*).

of His glorious *Messiah*, pardoned the Error, whereinto so many of the Patriarchs fell, when it was Respect unto His *Messiah*, that led them into the Error.¹³¹

Q. A Remark upon the Numbers of People, in the most early Time of the World; which may explain several Passages in the History? v. 25.

A. It is probable enough that *Cain* was but one Year younger than his Father; Tho' *Adam* was 129 Years old, when *Seth* was born.

Suppose *Adam* had no more than 10 Children, in 30 Years, yett these & their Posterity might in 130 Years, multiply to, 100,000;

A. M.	Men.
30	10
60	100
90	1000
120	10,000
130	100,000.

Nay, *Cain* himself might be multiplied into as many as this amounts to. So that we need not wonder, if he built a City, after his Expulsion from his Fathers Family, where the *Shechinah* as yett was exhibited.

If we suppose that *Adam* had 50 Children of his own Body instead of 10 in 130 Years, (which is no unreasonable Supposition,) Mankind may have amounted unto several Millions, when *Seth* was born.

But *Seth* is he, whom God from the *Shechinah*, Elected & Appointed, for the Second *Patriarch*, or *Emperour* of the World; the Successor to *Adam* in the Government of the World.¹³²

1909.

Q. The Words of *Eve*, upon the Birth of *Seth*, *God hath appointed mee another Seed, instead of Abel*: May there bee any further signification, besides the obvious, in them? v. 25.

A. I'll offer you a Jewish Curiositie; and one that is the more curious, because of a great Point of the Christian Faith confessed in it.

In Bereschith Rabba minori, super Gen. 4.25. there is this Passage;

*R. Tanchuma; Illud scilicet semen, quod venit de loco alio. Et quod est istud? Istud est Rex Messias.*¹³³

¹³¹ Mather's annotation is extracted from Simon Patrick's *Commentary* (1:27–28), on Gen. 4:19. John Selden's explanation is more practical, arguing that men of wealth and power could afford more wives than one (*De Jure Naturali & Gentium*, lib. 5, cap. 6, pp. 561–64). See Appendix B.

¹³² The same multiplication table appears in Mather's commentary on Gen. 4:16. Since Mather kept adding annotations to his "BA" volumes for more than thirty years, such repetitions are not surprising.

¹³³ The commentary of the Palestinian scholar R. Tanchuma bar Abba appears in Midrash

513.

Q. Why did *Seth* call his Son, *Enosh*? v. 26.

A. *Enosh*, is as much as to say, *Sorrowful, Afflicted, Miserable*. And *Seth* would have his Son, so to account himself, on the Occasion which is here mentioned. Our Translation runs, *Then began Men to call upon the Name of the Lord*. But some very great Interpreters do choose thus to Translate it, *Then began Corruption in calling on the Name of the Lord*. So *Tremelius* among others, *Tum ceptum est profanari, in Invocando Nomine Jehovah*.¹³⁴

570. And some think, that, *Noah* [2. Pet. 2.5.] is called, *The Eighth*, in reference to these Times; Namely, *The Eighth*, in Succession from *Enosh*, in whose Times the World began to bee *profane*.¹³⁵

Tis very certain, that *Noah* comes in the *Eighth Generation*, from the Time when there was a Distinction made between the *Children of God*, and the *Children of Men*, in the corrupted World; quickly after which Distinction, there followed a Confusion which continued until the *Flood*.

The Patience of God, waited, after the Denunciation of the *Flood*, 120 Years, for the Reformation of the *World*; which was an *Eighth Part* of 960 Years, that had hitherto been, within a *Decad* of Years, the utmost Age of Man.¹³⁶

Rabbah (Gen. XXIII:5). The Latin citation reads, "That seed, of course, which would arise from another source. And who is that? That is the King Messiah."

134 Mather here enters the fray over conflicting translations of Gen. 4:26. Beginning with "Our Translation," he first offers the standard reading from the King James Version (1611), but mentions the disagreement among many interpreters of note. This disagreement is hinted at in the alternate translation in the margin of the KJV: "to call themselves by the Name of the Lord." In fact, the major Jewish interpreters read Gen. 4:26 as suggesting that widespread corruption or profanation of God's name through idolatry began in the days of Enosh (Targum Onkelos, Targum Jonathan, Rashi, Maimonides, Ibn Ezra). Mather says as much by offering this alternative reading in a Latin quotation from Immanuel Tremellius's annotation, which translates literally: "then was it begun to profane in calling the name of Jehovah"; i.e., "then was God's name profaned." Curiously, Mather's reference to Tremellius seems erroneous, because his own copy of Tremellius's *Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra* (1596) renders the phrase in v. 26 "tunc coeptum est invocari nomen Jehovah" ("then was it begun to call [on] the name of Jehovah"; i.e., "then men began to pray to God"). In his annotations to this verse, Tremellius first suggests several allegorical interpretations and then defends his own Latin rendition against the Jewish interpreters by enlisting both Martin Luther and Ibn Ezra; the former offering a Christological reading, the latter allowing for two alternatives: that men began to pray or that men began to profane God's name by introducing idolatry into the world. See Tremellius, on Gen. 4:26, in *Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra* (note 51); *Lectures on Genesis*, in *Luther's Works* (1:326); Ibn Ezra's *Commentary: Genesis* (1:89); Maimonides's *Avodat Kochavim* (1.1) in *Mishneh Torah* (3:14). The seventeenth-century debate about the rise of idolatry is superbly reviewed in F. Schmidt, "Polytheisms" (9–11).

135 Both Johann Heinrich Hottinger, in *Smegma Orientale* (lib. 1, cap. 8, pp. 251–52), and Henry Hammond, in *Paraphrase, and Annotations Upon all the Books of the New Testament* (815), are among those who explain this apparent contradiction (2 Pet. 2:5) by counting the line of succession from Enosh rather than Adam.

136 According to James Ussher, God allowed Noah 120 years to proclaim the coming of the

And when the Lord had staid thus, till *Eight Generations* had passed, Hee brought the Flood, from whence but *Eight Persons* escaped.

[158v] |
1972.

Q. Look back again, upon the Affayr of *Cain* and *Abel*, and see whether no happy Conjecture may bee made upon it, for the Illustration thereof? v. 26.

A. I am thinking, What if the *Sacrifices* of the Two Brethren, were for a *Special Trial*, which of them the Lord would choose, for the Man, in whose Family the *Blessed Line* should bee continued, and the *Blessed Seed* produced? [Compare, Num. 16.6, 7.]

Cains Complaint of being *Hid from the Face of the Lord*, which is the Name of the *Messiah*, seems to point out such a Thing unto us. And many other Passages in what occur'd on this Occasion, have a notable *Key* afforded 'em in this Conjecture.

The Apostle *John*, comparing the Rejected Jewes, persecuting the Faithful which were blessed with the Knowledge and Favour of the True *Messiah*, unto *Cain* persecuting of *Abel*, may bee curiously Illustrated from this Remark.¹³⁷

If you object, That *Abel* himself, did by his *Immature Death* lose the Priviledge, of having the *Messiah* of his Family; I answer, That the Words of *Eve*, upon the Birth of *Seth*, do intimate that hee coming in the Room of *Abel*, his Family was legally to bee reckoned *Abels*. You know, there was a Law in *Israel* afterward, that made the Next Brother, to be *legally the same*, with the Brother which died Issue-less.¹³⁸ That Law, was ordained with a special Eye to the *Line* of the *Messiah*. And methinks, it appears begun in the Surrogation of *Seth* to *Abel*.

655.

Q. A little more of the Traditions, that *Pagan* Antiquitie, gives us concerning the Ante-diluvian Times of the World? v. 26.

A. The Translation of *Enoch* (and afterwards, of *Elias*) gave Occasion to the Stories of their *Heroes* being Translated; and of *Astræa*, with others ascending alive in Heaven, where they were turned into Stars: Perhaps also, the *Apotheosis*, among the Gentiles may bee founded here.¹³⁹

Flood in A.M. 1536 or 2469 BCE. Jared (the sixth from Adam) and Methuselah (the eighth from Adam) died when they were respectively 962 and 969 years old (*Annals* 3).

¹³⁷ Mather alludes to 1 John 3:12.

¹³⁸ See Deut. 25:2, 6.

¹³⁹ This and the three subsequent paragraphs are excerpted from John Edwards's *Discourse* (1:117–18, ch. 3, § 4). Both Enoch and Elías (Elijah) were translated into heaven without incurring death (Gen. 5:24, 2 Kings 2:1, 11). The apotheoses of Greek heroes are well known and can be found in Hesiod's *Theogonia* and elsewhere. The goddess Astræa (Astraia), daughter of Astraios (Titan), was the last of the gods to leave the earth in the Age of Iron and ascended to the heavens where she became the constellation Virgo. When giants attacked the throne of

Moreover, *Josephus* tells us, *All that have committed unto Writing, the Antiquities, either of the Greeks or Barbarians, attest the Longævitie of the Men before the Flood.* Hee adds, “*Manetho the Egyptian Writer, Berosus the Chaldean, Mochus, Hestiaus, Jerom the Egyptian, who have treated of the Egyptian affayrs, agree with us, in this. Also Hesiod, with Hecataeus, Hellanicus, and Acusilaus, Ephorus and Nicolas, tell us, that those People of old, lived a thousand Years.*”¹⁴⁰

The Greek and Latin Poets likewise relate, that there were *Giants*, in the first Times of the World.

And from what is said, in Gen. 6.4. *The sons of God, came in unto the Daughters of Men*, arose the Fiction of *Orpheus, Hesiod, & other Greek Poets*, that their *Heroes* were partly the race of the Gods; and that the *Giants* were the Sons of Heaven & Earth.¹⁴¹

An Illustration, upon Gen. 4.26. See in our Illustration upon, 2. Pet. 2.5.¹⁴²

heaven, Saturn (Zeus) struck them down (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.149–76). See also Stephanus Byzantius (139.10–11ff).

¹⁴⁰ The excerpt from Josephus Flavius (*Antiquity* 1.3.9) appears in Edwards (*Discourse* 1:117, § 4). Nehemiah Grew relies on the same material, in *Cosmologia Sacra* (bk. 4, ch. 2, § 8, p. 145, and ch. 4, § 6, p. 185). According to Josephus, the antediluvians lived much longer lives because they were more virtuous, chronologically closer to Adam, and ate wholesome food. Moreover, God prolonged their lives because of “the good use they made of it in astronomical and geometrical discoveries” (*Antiquities* 1.3.9). Their longevity is also attested to in Manetho’s *Aegyptiaca* (Epitome), *Fragm. 3*; Berosus is not far behind his Egyptian colleague and lists the long lifespan of several ancient rulers (*Babylonika* 2, *Fragm. F3, F4a*). The Phoenician Mochus (who taught the creation of heaven and earth from a cosmic egg); Hestiaeus (Hestiaios) of Perinth, student of Plato; Jerome (Hieronymus the Egyptian), the author of *The Archaeology of Phoenicia* (Eusebius’s *Praeparatio evangelica* 9.11.414b–c; 9.13.415d) – all confirm the longevity of the antediluvians as related in the Hebrew Scriptures. Likewise Hesiod (*Opera et Dies* 109–201) euphemistically mentions the long lives of the ancients during the Golden and Silver Ages of man. Hecataeus of Miletus, Hellanicus of Mytilene (5th c. BCE), Acusilaus of Argos (5th c. BCE), Ephorus of Kyme (4th c. BCE), and finally, Nicolas (Nicolaus) Damascenus – all Greek historians or mythographers – point to the long duration of the lives of man in the first age. Like Josephus long before him, Mather points to the similarities between pagan and OT history to uphold the trustworthiness of the Mosaic account.

¹⁴¹ Orpheus (*Orphica, Hymni* 32.12; *Argonautica* 429, 516), Hesiod (*Theogonia* 50–52), Homer (*Odyssey* 9.526–31). Philo Judaeus devotes a whole tract to the subject (*De gigantibus*); Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.17.418c) cites an extant fragment of Eupolemus from Alexander Polyhistor’s *Of the Jews*, as evidence that Babel was founded by survivors of the Flood, “and that they were giants, and built the tower renowned in history.” Finally, the Abbé Antoine Banier (1673–1741) summarizes the ancient and modern debates about the fabled race of giants (dinosaur bones and all) in his *Mythology and Fables of the Ancients* (vol. 2, bk. 1, ch. 1, art. 3, pp. 192–209). For Mather’s belief in giants in America, see his commentary on “BA,” Gen. 6:4 (below), and D. Levin’s “Giants.”

¹⁴² Mather’s illustration upon 2 Pet. 2:5 (“BA”) reads as follows:

Q. Hee saved Noah the Eighth Person, a Preacher of Righteousness: Why is Noah called, *The Eighth Person*? v. 5.

A. Hee is not called so, but, *The Eighth Preacher*. Here is an Evidence contributed unto the Act of Divine Justice, in Drowning the *Old World*. Tho’ *Eight eminent Preachers of Righteousness*

had been employ'd in order to promote a Reformation among them, yet they neglected them all, and entertained their Advice with Derision. These *Eight* were *Enos, Cainan, Mahaleel, Jared, Enoch, Mathusalah, Lamech, Noah*.

Wee reckon *Enos* the first of these, because wee read, [for so wee may read it,] *Then Preaching began in the Name of the Lord*. [Gen. 4.26] The Word /קרא/ may very well admitt of this Interpretation. [See Jon. 3.2] It hath a plain Affinity, with the *Chaldee* /כרין/ from whence, κηρυξ, *A Preacher*, is derived. And it is in the LXX expressed by κηρυττειν. [Gen. 41.43, Exod. 32.5, Prov. 8.1.] Indeed, that which our Translation ascribes to Men in general, the Greek and Latin assigns to *Enos* only; *Then Enos began to preach in the Name of the Lord*; namely, concerning the Desolation that would come upon the World, except Repentance prevented it.

But if we understand, *The Eighth*, here to mean, *The Eighth Person*, it must mean, *The Eighth* of them that were saved from the Flood. So *Plutarch* saies of *Pelopidas*, That he came, εις οσκααν δωδεκατος, *Unto his House, The Twelfth*; that is with Eleven more. And *Polybius* of *Dionesidorus*, That, τριτος απενηξατο, *He swam out the Third*; that is, with Two more. This we know, The Hill where the *Ark* rested, is called, *The Hill of the Eight*, or, *Themanius: And the Village by it; bears the same Name*.

853.

Q. What is there observable, in the Condition of the *Three* first Patriarchs, that went out of the World? v. 1.

A. There are but *Three* Wayes, wherein the Lord will fetch out of the World, all that come into it. A *Death Violent*, a *Death Natural*, and, a *Translation*; And this *Last Way* is the *Last*, that is to bee common in the Condition of the Saints; It will bee so in the *Last Age*, which will bee the *Sabbatism* of the World. Now, tis Remarkable, that the *Three first* Patriarchs, who left the World, exemplified these *Three Wayes* of going away. The First, was *Abel*, who Dy'd a *Violent Death*; The Second was *Adam*, who Dy'd a *Natural Death*; The Third was *Enoch*, the *Seventh* Patriarch, who was *Translated*.¹

1809.

Q. Of *Seth* tis said, *Adam begat a Son in his own Likeness, after his Image*. Why is not this as well said of *Cain*, and of *Abel*? v. 3.

A. It was as *true* of *Cain*, as *true* of *Abel*: But *Abel* was to Dye without Issue, and *Cain's* Issue was all Drown'd in the Flood. All the race of Mankind, continued in the World, are the Children of *Seth*. Now, to mind *us*, of that *Evil Image*, which in *Original Sin* is come upon us, the *Image* of our Father *Seth* is particularly Declar'd unto us.²

399.

Q. The Years of the Antediluvian *Patriarchs*, were they *Solar* ones, or only *Lunar* ones? v. 3.

A. The gradual Decrease of Humane Age, till *Jacobs*, or *Davids* Time, ha's been observed, not only in Sacred Writings, but also in Profane Ones;³

That the Years of Mens Ages, mentioned in the Scriptures, were alwayes of the same Sort, is evident from the Impossibility of setting the *Period*, where the supposed Account should bee changed. Will you have *Moses* but Six Years old at his going to deliver *Israel*; and *Jacob* no more than Ten, when hee went into

¹ In his *Threefold Paradise* (272–73), Mather describes the successive translation of the Changed Saints. For Abel's violent death, see Gen. 4:8; for Adam's natural death, Gen. 5:5; for Enoch's translation, Gen. 5:24.

² In his "Note Book of Authors and Texts Throughout the Bible" (1720), Mather identifies his source as "Burgess of Original Sin, p. 110." Mather refers to *The Doctrine of Original Sin Asserted* (1659), pt. 2, ch. 8, pp. 110–11, by Anthony Burgess (d. 1664), a nonconformist divine, vicar of Sutton Coldfield (Warwickshire), and member of the Westminster Assembly (ODNB).

³ See Appendix A.

Egypt, with Seventy of his Offspring? So some of the Antediluvians, particularly *Mahaleel* and *Enoch*, must be little more than five Years old, when they Begat Sons & Daughters. Only, the true State of things in the *Antediluvian World*, ha's not been yett enough considered; for which Cause, I suspect, the Comparison between Ages Then, and Now, ha's not been exactly Instituted. Perhaps, you may shortly hear more of it. In the mean time, I'll tell you one pleasant Observation, I have seen made, on the Ages of the Patriarchs, That those *lived longest* who *married latest*; such as *Jared*, & *Methuselah*. This Observation, is indeed more pleasant than solid; For the *Patriarchs* might be married, long before they had Children; and besides, *Lamech* who begat *Noah* at an *hundred & eighty two*, dyed yett at *Seven hundred Seventy Seven*. It is also a Reflection made by some, That tho' *Methuselah* saw *most Years* of any among the Patriarchs, yett hee was not really the *Oldest Man* among them. For, granting that *Adam* was created at the full State of Manhood, which must be *Sixty* at least, you shall add this to his *Nine-hundred & thirty Years*, which hee actually lived, and hee was Twenty one Years older than *Methuselah*.⁴

3356:

Q. But ha's there nothing been offered in our Time, to confirm the great Age of the *Ante-diluvian Patriarchs*? v. 3.

A. *Josephus* entertains us, with the Testimonies of the ancient both *Græcian* and *Barbarian* Philosophers, concurring, *That Men lived anciently a Thousand Years*.

The Strength of their Constitution & their better Diet, & the Vigour of the Earth producing better Fruits, before the Flood; the better Temper of the Air,

⁴ The longevity of the biblical patriarchs created something of a headache to seventeenth-century biblical commentators and physico-theologians alike. Mather here upholds the letter of the Bible by insisting that the age of the patriarchs was measured in solar years of 365 days each and not in lunar years of 28 days. For if the ages of Mahalaleel, who fathered Jared at 165 (LXX Gen. 5:15), and of Enoch, who fathered Methuselah also at 165 (LXX Gen. 5:21), were measured in lunar years, then they both would have been barely six years of age at the time of their paternity. Significantly, Mather here elects to follow the chronology of the LXX, rather than that of the KJV, for the latter sets the age of their paternity at 65, not at 165 years. Mather had previously visited the issue of longevity in his commentary on Gen. 4:26 (above) and would again – reaching at times opposite conclusions – in his commentary on Gen. 5:32 (below) simply because his entries were made over a long period of time and frequently reflect the tenor of the specific sources he used for each entry at the time. Matthew Poole (*Works* 1:290–91) identifies some of the principal combatants on the issue of the patriarchs' longevity: the Flemish Jesuit Jacobus Bonfrerius (1573–1642), the Dutch RC professor of divinity at Douai Gulielmus Estius (1542–1631), the Flemish Jesuit Jacobus Tirinus (1580–1636), the Franciscan Nicholas de Lyra (c. 1270–1340), the learned Italian Jesuit Giovanni Steffano Menochius (1576–1655), and the Dutch Jesuit Professor of Hebrew at Louvain and Rome Cornelius à Lapide (1566–1637). They debated whether the patriarchs' lifespans are to be measured in months, or Egyptian years of thirty days, or Arabian years of six months each – most maintaining literal years of 365 days.

& the greater Temperance of the People; but above all, the Providence of God, which had special Designs in it; All contributed unto this Longævity.

In *Bacon*, and *Bartholin*, and others we find many Instances of a great Longævity, in Times nearer to ourselves, than those of *Pliny*, who also mentions diverse Instances. But there is hardly one more notable, than that which *Gassendus* relates, in the Life of *Peireskius*; That in the Year 1636. a Man then in *Persia*, known to several Persons worthy of Credit, was *Four Hundred Years* old; *Idque ipsis omninò esse exploratum, atque indubium.*⁵

[▽Insert from 160v]

[▽160v]

Q. Upon *Enoch's* begetting of *Methuselah*? v. 21.

A. Some have had a Note of this Importance; A *Short Life* spent in a *Walk with God*, will begett the *Longest Life*; even *Everlasting Life*.⁶

[△Insert ends]

[△]

5 The three paragraphs are extracted from Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 5:5 (*Commentary* 1:30). Flavius Josephus's testimony appears in *Antiquities* (1.3.9) and in Eusebius's *Præparatio evangelica* (9.13.415d), where Josephus explains that the longevity of the ancients was a result of better food, their greater virtue and perfection, and their knowledge of "astronomy and geometry," which they would not have been able to develop "had they not lived at least sixhundred years." In fact, none less than the Egyptian, Chaldean, and the Phœnician historians, followed by the ancient Greeks, assert, "that the ancients lived a thousand years." Be that as it may, Josephus cautioned, "let every one look upon them as he thinks fit" (*Antiquities* 1.3.9). Pliny (7.48–49.153–64), Josephus's Roman contemporary, also marvels at the longevity of many ancients and moderns. In his medical treatise *Historia vitæ et mortis* (1622–23), Sir Francis Bacon (1561–1626) goes beyond the standard explanation: the lifespan of the postdiluvians was not shortened because of God's punishment for their sins, but because of such other factors as a change in diet, declining air quality, and poorer living conditions that contributed to their loss of longevity. See especially Bacon's *Historie of Life and Death* (1638), art. 5–9, "The Length and Shortness of Mans Life" (73–130). The Swedish-Danish mathematician and anatomist Thomas Bartholinus (1616–80), best known for his analysis of the lymphatics and their function, mentions several cases of persons who were as old as 115 and 120 years, in his *Historiarum anatomicarum et medicarum* (1661), Centuria V, vol. 3, capito: historia xxviii, pp. 46–51. A copy of this edition is in Mather's library now at the AAS (Tuttle, "Libraries," 316). The French mathematician and philosopher Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655) tells the following apocryphal story in *The Mirrour of True Nobility & Gentility* (1657): Lord Peireskius (Nicolaus Claudius Fabricius), senator of Aix-en Provence, validates the tale that "having information from Alepo [sic], by the Letters of *Peter* and *John Constantine*, that there was a man in *Persia*, known to the *Capucines*, and other credible persons, who was now four hundred years old: of the verity whereof, they were undoubtedly satisfied" (bk. 5, pp. 139–40, "for 1636"). Simon Patrick, who also furnishes Mather with the Latin quotation, supplies his own translation, but here omitted by Mather: "And the Persons that wrote this, were fully assured of the undoubted Truth of it" (*Commentary* 1:30).

6 Verse 21 is silently substituted for Mather's erroneous "v. 25." Mather's punning annotation may suggest the following: According to Gen. 5:21–24, Enoch was 65 years old (165 in the LXX) when he fathered Methuselah and "walked with God" for 300 years before being translated into eternal life. At the same time, since his son Methuselah lived for 969 years, longer than any other biblical hero (Gen. 5:27), Enoch also begat "the *Longest Life*."

364.

Q. I suppose you reckon *Enoch*, a notable *Type* of our Lord Jesus Christ; Lett mee know *Wherefore?* and *Wherein* you so reckon Him? v. 24.

A. I have newly shown you *Adam*, as a *Type*; and [on Joh. 10.15.] *Abel*, as a *Type*, of our Lord. Hereafter, do you remember to ask, after the *Type*, whether it bee a *Personal Type*, or a *Real Type*, when the History of the Typical *Man*, or *Thing* occurs; *that* will bee the fittest Place for mee to display the *Mystery*.⁷

*Here then, for Enoch.*⁸

First, *Enoch* signifies, a *Dedicated*, a *Consecrated* Man. Such a *Man*, was that Man, who is *God* as well as Man. Hee is called, in Luc. 1.35. *That Holy thing. Holiness* properly lies in *Devotion to God*. [Consider, Isa. 49.5. spoken *by* our Lord; and Isa. 42.1. spoken *of* Him.]

Again; Of *Enoch*, tis testify'd, in Gen. 5.22. *Hee walked with God*; his Life was fill'd with Acts of Respect, & Homage to the Lord. *Langius* gives us a noble Paraphrase on it. It is, *Deum habere et agnoscere praesentissimum, eumque imitare, et cum eo familiariter, iubinè et Sancte versari*.⁹ Such was the whole *Walk* of our Lord Jesus *Christ*, in the World; Hee was *Thinking* on God, ever *Speaking* of God, always *Doing* for Him. [See Act. 10.38.]

Further; Tis said of *Enoch*, in Jude. 14. *Hee prophesied*. But it is our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the glorious *Prophet* of His Church. [Tis to bee confessed, as in Joh. 3.3.] Hee *Reveals* divine Objects to us. [Joh. 15.15.] And Hee *Instructs* and *Strengthens* us to *Discern* what Hee Reveals. [1. Joh. 5.20.]

[160v] | Yett more; What was the Prophe{c}y of *Enoch*? It was a Warning about the *Day of Judgment*. And, this was the Prophecy of *Jesus* too. There was hardly any one Article more Inculcated in the Sermons of our Lord.¹⁰

Moreover. The Years of *Enoch*, were as many as the Dayes, wherein the *Sun* performs its Annual Revolution; they are cast up, in Gen. 5.23. *Three hundred & sixty five Years*. His Son was the longest Liver, & himself the shortest Liver,

7 In his "Note Book of Authors" (Gen. 5:24), Mather identifies as his source "Franzius Interp. p. 228." This is probably *De Interpretatione de S. Scripturarum maxime legitima* (1619), by Wolfgang Franzius (1564–1628), professor of theology at the Lutheran University of Wittenberg. However, Samuel Mather's *Figures or Types of the Old Testament* (1683) seems to have assisted his Boston nephew as well. In his third sermon (Rom. 5:14), Samuel Mather distinguishes between *Personal Types* (Adam, Enoch, Noah) and *Real Types* (the Temple, Noah's ark, or sacrifices), but warns that no matter how holy, these men or things were but "partial Types" and "Shadows." Their analogical relationship is such that "the *Antitype* excels the *Type*" (81–82). See also Edward Taylor's *Upon the Types of the OT* (1689) 1:33–59, 341–74, 409–36; 2:627–48. Helpful analyses of Samuel Mather's *Figures or Types* and of Puritan typology in general are provided in Brumm (*American Thought*, ch. 4), Lowance (*Language*, ch. 4), and Korshin (*Typologies*).

8 See Samuel Mather's *Figures or Types* (86–87)

9 Joachim Langius's paraphrase, most likely from his previously cited *Causa Dei*, can be rendered, "To have and discern God very close by, and to imitate him, and to dwell with him in familiarity, prayer, and holiness."

10 According to Jude 1:14, Christ will "come with ten thousands of his saints."

in the Catalogue of the Antediluvian Patriarchs. But the Eternity of the Lord Jesus Christ had a Blessed Emblem in the Age of that worthy Man. What are the *Dayes of the Sun*? They are *Three hundred & sixty five*, over & over again; tis quæstionable whether the *Sun* shall not shine, with such successive Revolutions, throughout Eternal Ages; tho' some fear its Extinction in its *Maculæ*.¹¹ However, such are to bee the *Dayes* of our Lord Jesus Christ. Tis expressly enough declared; in Psal. 72.17. *His Name shall endure forever, His Name shall bee continued, as the Sun; & Men shall bee Blessed in Him*. Sooner shall wee bee without the *Sun* in the Firmament, than without that *Sun of Righteousness*.

Finally, consider the strange Account wee have of *Enoch*; [in Gen. 5.24. explained, in Heb. 11.5.] Some have made this Remark by the way; *Enoch* walked with God, & pleased Him, and it followes, *He was not*; A Man who walks in the Way of God, must resolve to be of *none Account* in an evil World. Such must be the Lords *Hidden Ones*. But there is more than this intended. Hee was a Minister much Noted & Famous, in the World; & one whom the Eyes of all Men, were much fixed upon. The *Angels* of God, at length took him away, *Spirit* and *Body*; and carried him into the Immediate Enjoyment of Cœlestial Glories. No doubt, there was much Enquiry made, *what was become of this admirable Man*? But the Lord gave them to see; That as the *Faith* of *Abel* had caused his Death, so the *Faith* of *Enoch* had conquered his Death. Thus hee became, as *Tertullian* speaks, *A Candidate of Eternity*.¹² In like Manner our Lord is *Translated & Ascended* into Heaven. Hee heard a *great Voice* from Heaven, say to Him, *Come up hither!* At last Hee took His Flight, from the Top of Mount *Olivet*, in the Sight of many People, guarded with Holy Angels. If a Jew now ask us, *Where is your crucify'd God?* wee may reply from Eph. 4.10. *Hee is Ascended up, far above all Heavens*.

3387.

Q. A further Touch, upon the Design & Manner of *Enoch's* Translation? v. 25.

A. The Design of Heaven seems, to support and comfort the Godly, in their State of Mortality, with the Hope of a better Life in another World: And this the

¹¹ The Italian mathematician and scientist Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) discovered that spots (*maculae*) frequently appear on the surface of the sun, blemishes that he attributed to the increasing or decreasing density of the sun's atmosphere. He published his findings in *Istoria e Dimostrazioni intorno alle Macchie Solari e loro accidenti* (1613); i.e., *History and Demonstrations Concerning Sunspots and Their Properties*. While this phenomenon – though well known throughout the ages – led the German mathematician Christoph Scheiner (1573–1650) to postulate that these sunspots are merely the shadows of the sun's own satellites, the English mathematician Robert Hooke followed Galileo's conclusion and argued that the sun's light (as well as that of the stars) diminishes over time as the surface matter burns itself out, in "Lectures on Light" (sec. 2), in *Posthumous Works* (89–95). Mather seems to favor Isaac Newton's conjecture that the sun conserves its own energy through re-absorption notwithstanding the "*Maculae Solares*" (*Opticks*, bk. 3, pt. 1, quest. 11, pp. 343–44). See Mather's discussion "Essay IV: Of the Sun," in *Christian Philosopher* (35–42).

¹² Or, "*Æternitatis candidatus*," in Tertullian's *An Answer to the Jews* (ch. 2), in *ANF* (3:153).

rather, in that *Adam* the Father of them all, had now been Dead, not threescore Years. (Observe, by the way, *Adam* had not the Consolation of seeing this.) And it is not improbable, That *Enoch* was Translated in some such visible Manner, as *Elijah* was afterwards, perhaps, with a glorious Appearance of the *Shechinah*, from whence were sent some Heavenly Ministers to fetch him up.¹³

265:

Q. Find you any other *Types* of our Lord, besides *Enoch*, among the Antediluvian Patriarchs? v. 25.

A. Yes; As *Enoch the Seventh from Adam*, was a Type of the *Second Adam*, so why not *Seth* likewise, the *Second from Adam*? The Name of *Seth*, signifies a *Foundation*; the Lord Jesus Christ, is the only *Foundation* for His Church, or our Souls; wee are to build upon this Rock. And what will you say of *Methuselah*? The Name signifies, *Hee sent his Death*; his Father thus prophesied the *Death*, which God would *send* upon the World, within a Year, after his Decease. In like Manner, if wee look upon our Lord Jesus Christ, wee may see & say; *God sent His Death*. *Death* was threatned unto sinful Man; Man with Comfort may now behold our Dying Lord, make this Reflection, *God hath sent His Death*; so wee may hope to escape it forever.¹⁴

Q. When *Lamech* saies of *Noah*, *This same shall give us Rest*, hee seems to have some Notions of the *Great Sabbatism* in his Mind; This makes mee Inquisitive after any Characters of *Sabbatism* to bee found peculiar in him? v. 29.

A. *Lamech* was all made up of *Septenaries*, or, the Number of *Sabbatism*. As *Enoch*, who was translated, was the Seventh from *Adam*, so *Lamech* was the Seventh, who left the World after *Enoch*, & the Seventh who dyed after *Adam*, having lived *Seven-hundred, & Seventy Seven Years*!¹⁵

Q. A Remark on *Lamechs* Expectation? v. 29.

¹³ Extracted (almost verbatim) from Simon Patrick's annotation on Gen. 5:24 (*Commentary* 1:31–32). The translation of the Prophet Elijah in a whirlwind is related in 2 Kings 2:1, 11.

¹⁴ The third son of Adam, "Seth" [שֵׁט] signifies "compensation" [Strong's # 8352] for the loss of Abel. However, R. Shemaiah argues that Seth was so called "because on him was founded (*bushtath*) the world" (Midrash Rabbah: Num. XIV:12). Likewise, since through Seth was to come the line of David leading to the Christ (Luke 3:23–38), Seth may also be a type of the messiah and his Church. See also Patrick's annotation on Gen. 5:21 (*Commentary* 1:31). According to Samuel Bochart's *Geographia Sacra* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 13, col. 88–89), the name "Methuselah" signifies as much as "he dies" and "the sending forth of Water" (Job. 5:10), hence "when he is dead, [then] shall ensue an emission or inundation of Waters" (Noah's Flood).

¹⁵ Verse 29 is substituted for Mather's erroneous "v. 28." The "*Great Sabbatism*" of God's rest after the six creative days, but also during Christ's millennial reign, is a major concern in Mather's later eschatology (*Threefold Paradise* 268–94). According to Gen. 5:31, Lamech was 777 years old when he died.

A. M. *Jurieu* observes, that it may rather be read, *Because of the Ground which the Lord shall curse*. And that he did not reflect so much on the first Malediction after the Fall, as on the Flood which the Earth was now going to be *cursed* withal.¹⁶

142.

Q. What was the Occasion, of *Lamechs* putting the Name of *Noah*, upon his Son, with such Expectation of *Consolation* from him? v. 29.

A. None of all the Reasons commonly assigned, for this *Onomathesie*, are to mee fully satisfactory. But at last, I acquiesce in this; That *Lamech* mistook his *Noah* for the promised *Messiah*, the only Comforter, Saviour and Redeemer of the World. For that Removal of the *Curse*, which was then, & still is expected, from the *Messias* alone, is here ascribed unto *Noah*.¹⁷

[161r]

Q. Some Remarks on the Expectation of *Lamech*, about his *Noah*; *This same shall comfort us concerning our Work & Toil of our hands, because of the Ground which the Lord hath cursed?* v. 29.

A. We will be beholden to Dr. *Thomas Sherlock*, for some of his Thoughts upon it.¹⁸

It is plain, that the *Curse upon the Ground* subsisted in its Rigour, to the Days of *Lamech*; and the *Work & the Toil* necessary to raise from the Ground a sufficient Support was a very Irksome & Grievous *Burden*.

It is plain, that there was among those who had not quite *forgotten* GOD, an Expectation of a Deliverance from the *Curse* of the Fall.

¹⁶ Mather's annotation is from Pierre Jurieu's *Critical History* (vol. 1, part 1, ch. 4, p. 34).

¹⁷ This cryptic comment refers to the following debate: According to Rabbi Johanan, the interpretation of Noah's name in Gen. 5:29 ("This same shall comfort us") neither agrees with its onomastical signification ("This same shall give us rest"), nor the onomastical signification with Noah's name (Midrash Rabbah: Gen. XXV:2). Although agreeing with R. Johanan, Rashi and Ibn Ezra (*Commentary* 1:92) reconcile the disagreement between meaning and linguistic form by suggesting that *Noah* signifies both "rest" and "comfort." As the inventor of agriculture, Noah introduced plowshares thus giving man "rest" and "comfort" from the toils of working the postlapsarian soil without adequate tools (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:80–81). In the seventeenth century, Hugo Grotius also points at the inadequacy of an etymological interpretation of Noah's name, but does not offer a solution in his famous *Annotationes ad Vetus Testamentum* on Gen. 5:29 (*Opera Omnia Theologica* 1:8). John Lightfoot's explanation that Noah's name signifies "comforter" because man was now allowed "to eat flesh," in *A Few, and New Observations* (1642) 8, would not have been to Mather's liking either. Giovanni Stefano Menochius, in his *Commentarii totius Sacrae Scripturae* (1755 ed.) 23, was evidently the first Christian exegete to offer the onomastical explication that "Noah" signifies "rest" and "comforter" because the messiah would be born through him. Matthew Poole synthesizes the whole debate in his invaluable *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:70–71) and in *Works* (1:297–98). Finally, see also Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 5:29 (*Commentary* 1:32) for many of the same issues.

¹⁸ The following material [161r–163r] is extracted from Dr. Thomas Sherlock's *Use and Intent* (Disc. IV, pp. 79–104).

It is plain, that the Expectation was not of a *Sudden Deliverance*, immediately to be accomplished; nor that it should be *all at once* from the whole *Curse* of the Fall. *Lamech* who so well remembred the *Curse* on the *Ground*, could not be unmindful of the *Greater Curse* upon *Man*; *To Dust thou shalt return*. And yett from this Part of the *Curse* he gives no Hope of Deliverance. *Noah* was not the Seed who should *bring Life & Immortality to Light*; He should only save them from *the Work & the Toil of their Hands*. The Hope of Deliverance from the *Greater Curse* he leaves to stand, as it had hitherto been, upon the Faith of the *First Prophecy*. This Notion of a *Gradual Deliverance* is countenanced by our Apostle, when he says, *The LAST ENEMY that shall be destroy'd is DEATH*.¹⁹

Accordingly, this Prophecy of *Lamech* ha's been verified in the Event; and the *Earth* ha's been very much restored from the *Curse* laid on it at the Fall, and enjoys the Effect of the *Blessing* which *Noah* received from the Lord. Men may fancy they see an Alteration for the Worse in every Age, and Nature may seem to them almost worn out, & less able now to provide for her Children than formerly. We meet with many Reflexions of this Kind, in grave Authors; and so, *Cyprian* particularly complains, that things were grown sensibly worse, within the Compass of his own Time, and the Seasons of the Year were not so Pleasant, & the Fruits of the Earth not so Delightful & Refreshing, as he remembred them.²⁰ This Prejudice has yett a further Support, from the Tradition of the *Golden Age*, wherein Peace & Plenty & Vertue reigned; which the old Writers that celebrate, be sure annex heavy Complaints of the *Iron Age*, in which they lived themselves. These Gentlemen lived at such a Distance from the Flood, that they might well call the Times that came soon after the Flood, by the Name of *Ancient Times*. They had no Pretence to know, how Men lived before. They might have some obscure Tradition of the *Paradisiacal State*; but if they had, they confounded it with their *Golden Age*. Now the Ages next the *Flood* afforded sufficient Ground for this Tradition, without supposing any such succeeding Alterations in the State of the *Earth*, as have been imagined. The *Earth* was in a poor Condition indeed after the Flood, if it could not afford enough to answer the *Conveniencies* as well as the *Necessities*, of its few Inhabitants. And what Occasion was there for People to use *Fraud* and *Violence*, and *Extortion*, upon one another, when every Man had more than enough! Anon indeed, upon the Increase of Mankind, the *Earth* was divided in *Property*, & the Case was altered. This First Happy State continued Even to the Time of *Abraham*; when he &

¹⁹ Sherlock, *Use and Intent* (Disc. IV, pp. 79–81).

²⁰ In his "Address to Demetrianus" (*Treatise* 5.3), St. Cyprian rejects the charge of Proconsul Demetri(a)nus of Africa (3rd c. CE) by arguing that wars, famines, and plagues are not caused by the spread of Christianity, but by the aging process of the world: the world has grown old and effete with less rain falling in winter, the sun giving less heat in summer, less fruit growing throughout the seasons, and the earth's minerals and precious stones being nearly exhausted (*ANF* 5:458).

Lot were Strangers in the Land of *Canaan*, and yett had great Flocks & Herds, & a Plenty of all things. And when their Servants quarrelled about some *Conveniencies* in feeding of the Cattel, how does *Abraham* offer *Lot* his Choice, as if he were *Lord of the Soyl*? Some small Parts of the *Earth*, which lay near Towns, were then possessed in *Property*, as we learn from the *Purchase* which he made of a *Burying-place*. But he was no *Proprietor* of the Countrey, where he fed his Cattel; And yett he mett with no Disturbance.²¹

The *Jewish* Interpreters generally agree, to expound the Words of *Lamech*, as importing a Deliverance to be granted from the excessive Labour of Tillage, occasioned by the *Curse* on the Ground; and some of them suppose the Words to have a Regard unto the *Restoration* of the World, thro' *Noah* and his Offspring. But lett us follow the Guidance of the *Scripture*. The Prædiction of *Lamech* is before us. When GOD informs *Noah*, of His Purpose to Destroy the World, He adds, *But with thee will I establish my Covenant*. *Lamech* expects from the Promise of GOD, a *Deliverance* from the *Curse* of the *Earth*; and foresees that something of this *Deliverance* would come from the Son that is now born unto him. | When GOD threatens to *Destroy the Earth*, and complete the *Curse* He had laid upon it, He Remembers His *Covenant*, and Promises to *Noah* the Benefit of it. This *Covenant* must be the very Promise that *Lamech* foresaw would be made good unto *Noah*, and which is now with a New Promise convey'd unto him. It must refer to {the} *Covenant* then subsisting, and not one to be made afterwards. The *Flood* being over, GOD then declares, *I will not again curse the Ground any more for the Sake of Man*. In Consequence of this Discharge from the *Curse*, a *New Blessing* is immediately pronounced upon the *Earth*: *While the Earth remaineth, Seed-time & Harvest, and Cold and Heat, and Summer and Winter, and Day & Night shall not cease*. This is called, *A Covenant between GOD, and the Earth*; And, *A Covenant with Noah* and his Offspring, and with *every Living Creature, of the Fowl, of the Cattel, & of every Beast of the Field*. And it is with Respect unto this *Covenant*, that the Psalmist breaks forth into the Admiration of the Divine Goodness; Psal. XXXVI.5, 6. *Thy Mercy, O Lord, is in the Heavens, and thy Faithfulness reacheth unto the Clouds; Thy Righteousness is like the Great Mountains, thy Judgments a Great Deep; O Lord, Thou præservest Man & Beast*.²²

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21 Sherlock, *Use and Intent* (Disc. IV, pp. 81, 83, 84, 85, 86). For the Golden Age and its descent all the way down to the Iron Age, see Hesiod (*Opera et dies* 109–201) and Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 1.89–150). Abraham's acquisition of the cave in the field of Machpelah (near Hebron) as a burial place for Sarah (Gen. 23:9, 17) is generally believed to be the first recorded instance of a real-estate purchase.

22 Sherlock, *Use and Intent* (Disc. IV, pp. 88, 89, 90). Among the Jewish commentators who interpret the name of *Lamech*'s son *Noah* as "rest" and "comfort" from excessive labor or as the restoration of the world through *Noah*'s offspring are Ibn Ezra on Gen. 5:29 (*Commentary* 1:91–92) and Rashi, who quotes Midrash Tanchuma (1:61), Bereishis 11 (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:80). See also the various rabbinic interpretations in Midrash Rabbah (Gen. XXV:2;

When *Adam* was first formed, and placed on the *Earth*, he had several *Blessings* by his GOD conferred upon him, which by his Fall he forfeited. What shall we say, if we see these very *Blessings* restored unto *Noah*, and his Posterity, after the Flood? Lett us make the Comparison. To *Adam* and *Eve*, GOD said, *Be Fruitful, & Multiply, & Replenish the Earth*. To *Noah* and his Three Sons, He said, *Be Fruitful, & Multiply, & Replenish the Earth*. To our First Parent, GOD said, *Have Dominion over the Fish of the Sea, & over the Fowl of the Air, and over every Living Thing that moveth on the Earth*. To our other *Patriarch*, now GOD says, *The Fear of you, and the Dread of you, shall be upon every Beast of the Earth, & upon every Fowl of the Air, and upon all the Fishes of the Sea; Into your hand they are delivered*. Our First Parent had for *Food* granted unto him, *every Herb, — & every Tree*. Our other *Patriarch* has a larger Charter; *Every moving thing that liveth shall be Meat for you, even as the Green Herb I have given you all Things*. The *Blessing* on the *Earth* at the Creation, was; *Lett the Earth bring forth Grass, & Herb yielding Seed, and the Fruit Tree yielding Fruit after his kind, whose Seed is in itself upon the Earth*. After the Flood, the *Blessing* is, *while the Earth remaineth Seed-time and Harvest shall not cease*. In the Beginning, *The Lights in the Firmament* were to *Divide the Day from the Night, & be for Seasons & for Days and Years*. Now tis, *Cold and Heat, & Summer & Winter, & Day & Night shall not cease*. Which of the *First Blessings* is wanting in the *Second*? You may think, perhaps, that we see but little Effect of this *New Blessing*, and that the *Life* of Man still is full of *Work*, and of *Toil*, and he eats his Bread still with *Grief & Care*, and in the *Sweat of his Brow*, and the *Earth* still abounds with its *Thorns* and *Thistles*. But certainly, there were *Thorns* and *Thistles* before the Fall. And Man was made for *Business*; particularly, to Dress and Keep the *Garden*, which must call for *Labour*. Indeed after the Fall there was an *Increase of Labour*. And the Promise of *Regular Seasons* after the Flood, seems to intimate much *Irregularity* and *Confusion* before upon them. We may gather how it was, from the *Curse* upon Disobedient *Israel*: Lev. XXVI.19, 20. *I will make your Heaven as Iron, & your Earth as Brass, and your Strength shall be spent in vain; Your Land, shall not yeeld her Increase, neither shall the Trees of the Land yeeld their Fruit*.²³

We meet with frequent Allusions to this *Covenant* with *Noah*, in After-Times, & later Books, of Scripture. See Jer. XXXIII.20, 21, 25. See Isa. LIV.9. The LXV Psalm seems to be a Comment on the *Covenant* of GOD with *Noah*. It seems also to be with some reference to this *Covenant*, that the Psalmist appeals to GODs *Faithfulness in the Clouds*, and His *Mercy established in the Heavens*, and the *Moon*, and the *Faithful Witness in Heaven*. During the Age of this *Cov-*

XXVI:2, 6). God's covenant with Noah and his offspring is mentioned in Gen. 6:18; 9:10–15, his promise not to curse the earth again in Gen. 8:21–22.

²³ Sherlock, *Use and Intent* (Disc. IV, pp. 90, 91, 92, 93, 94). Although Sherlock identifies each of the biblical citations in this paragraph, Mather omits the specific references. They are paired in order of appearance: Gen. 1:22, 28; 8:17; 9:2–3; Gen. 1:11; 8:22; Gen. 1:14; 8:22.

enant, how notably does the Glorious GOD Reveal Himself, and how notably is He applied unto, with a Relation to this *Covenant*, and the Blessings of it! Compare, Job. V.8, 9, 10. And, Psal. CXLVII.7, 8, 9. And, Jer. V.24. Consider also, | Act. XVI.17. Yea, our SAVIOUR extols the Goodness and Mercy of the Glorious GOD, in the Works of this *Covenant*: *He maketh His Sun to rise on the Evil & on the Good, & sendeth Rain on the Just & on the Unjust*. The Words are directly a Comment on the *Covenant* of *Noah*, for Fruitful Seasons; which were to continue without being interrupted again, *Tho' the Imagination of Mans Heart is Evil from his Youth*. With Respect unto this *Covenant* of *Temporal Blessings*, given to *Noah*, and unto the Second *Covenant* of a future Glory given to our SAVIOUR, we are to understand the Words of the Apostle *Paul*; *Godliness is profitable to all things, having the Promise, of the Life that now is, and of that which is to come*. An Exposition of the Words in any other View, will not be consistent with Experience, or with the Admonitions of the Gospel which warn the Righteous to look for Sufferings in This World. But it is very true, That for the Sake of *Godliness*, the *Promise of the Life that now is*, was confirmed with *Noah*; and for the Sake of *Godliness*, a *Promise of Better Hopes*, was confirmed with our SAVIOUR.²⁴ [163r]

And without supposing a *Restoration of the Earth* after the *Flood*, how shall we account for Passages, that celebrate the Fertility of the *Earth*, and its comfortable Circumstances? *This very Earth*, is represented as *flowing with Milk & Honey*; and abounding with *Oil & Wine*, and every thing useful and pleasant in Life.²⁵

Here appears a *Gradual Working* of Providence, towards the Redemption of the World from the *Curse* of the Fall. The *Temporal Blessings* were first Restored, as a Pledge of *Better Things* to follow. The Law of *Moses* was given in what we may call, *The Age of that Covenant*; and so was conformable to it, employing *Express Promises* of no more than *Temporal Happiness*, and *Express Threatenings* of no more than *Temporal Misery*. Yett it must not be imagined, that all who lived under this *Covenant*, were Strangers to Expectations of a farther Extent than so. The *Covenant* of *Temporal Blessings* given unto *Noah*, could not supersede the *Better Hopes*, which the *First Promise* might lead the Faithful to, but it would mightily strengthen them & confirm them. The Fathers expecting a Deliverance from the *Whole Curse* of the Fall, the *Actual Deliverance* from *One Part* of it, was a very good Pledge of a *Further Deliverance* to be *in due Time* looked for. *Man* himself was *Cursed* as well as the *Ground*, and must *Return to Dust*. *Fruitful Seasons* are but a small Releef under so great a *Curse*: But when *Fruitful Seasons*

²⁴ Sherlock, *Use and Intent* (Disc. IV, pp. 95, 96, 97, 98). The biblical citations in italics (not identified by Sherlock or Mather) are in order of appearance from Ps. 36:5. Matt. 5:45, Gen. 8:21, 1 Tim. 4:8, and Heb. 7:19.

²⁵ Sherlock, *Use and Intent* (Disc. IV, pp. 98, 99). The mellifluous metaphor of fertility first appears in Exod. 3:8, 9.

come, and one Part of the *Curse* is evidently abated, it gives great Assurance, that the other shall not last forever.²⁶

That *Noah* had such Expectations himself, & that he transmitted them to his Posterity, we may gather from a peculiar Stroke in his Blessing upon *Shem*: which is, *Blessed be the Lord GOD of Shem*. Why, the *GOD of Shem*, and not the *GOD of Japhet*? Their Merits from their Father were equal; And *Japhet*, being the Elder, might rather have challenged the Preheminence; The Præference of *Shem* could not be for the *Temporal Covenant*; For that had been before confirmed unto *All* the Sons of *Noah*. Nor could the *Blessing* be any thing that it was in the Power of his Father to bestow; for if it had, *Japhet* would have been served before him. Of what *Other Blessing*, tis not easy to imagine, that *Noah* had any other Notion; unless we seek for it among the *Hopes* he conceived of a *Further Deliverance* from the *Curse*, grounded on the Divine Promise, That *the Seed of the Woman* should finally prevail. The Right unto this Promise had been before the Flood convey'd unto him; *With thee will I establish my Covenant*. *Noah* had not only the *Covenant of Temporal Blessings* given to him, & his Offspring; But the Apostle tells us, *He was also an Heir of the Righteousness which is by Faith*. *Noah* then foresaw, that with the *Restoration of the Earth*, a greater Blessing still behind, even the *Covenant* that should *Restore Man* unto himself & unto his Maker, should be convey'd thro' the Offspring of *Shem*.²⁷

[▽160v] [▽Insert from 160v]

143.

Q. How are the Three Sons of *Noah*, to bee Ranked, in the true Order of their *Ages*? v. 32.

A. Tis clear, that *Japhet* was the *Eldest* of the Three. Hee is called in Gen. 10.21. *Japhet the Elder*. Tis also plain, that *Ham* was the *Youngest* of the Three. Hee is called in Gen. 9.24. *The younger Son*. It remains, That *Shem* was the *Middlemost* of the Three. And it may bee further thus evinced. *Noah* began to bee a Father, when hee was just *Five-hundred Years* old. Now if *Shem* had been the *First-born* of his Three Sons, then *Two Years* after the Flood, *Shem* had been an *Hundred & Two Years* old; when indeed, according to Gen. 11.10. hee then was no more than an *Hundred*. That *Shem* still is first mentioned, is an Honour putt upon him, in Part because the *Israel* of God Rose from his Loins, but chiefly because from him the *Messiah* was to descend.²⁸

[△] [△Insert ends]

²⁶ Sherlock, *Use and Intent* (Disc. IV, pp. 100, 101, 102).

²⁷ Sherlock, *Use and Intent* (Disc. IV, pp. 102, 103, 104). Mather's citation references to the Bible are given in the order of their appearance in the paragraph: Gen. 9:26, Gen. 3:15, Gen. 6:18, and Heb. 11:7. Here ends the extract from Sherlock.

²⁸ Mather here harmonizes the disagreement between Joseph Scaliger's argument that the Bible lists the offspring of the patriarchs according to their chronological age and St. Augus-

[blank]

[164v]

|

[165r]

Q. Is there any Remarkable Mystery, in the Genealogies of the Two *Antediluvian Families*, the *Cainites*, and the *Sethites*? v. 32.²⁹

A. *Austin* in his Fifteenth Book, *De Civitate Dei*, c. 1. observes, That there are Two Sorts of Men; *Unum, Eorum qui Secundum Hominem: Alterum, Eorum qui Secundum Deum, Vivunt*. He supposes them, to compose *Two Cities*; that is to say, Two *Societies*; whereof one is prædestinated to Reign with *God*, the other, to be punished with the *Divel*.³⁰

The Society of the *Wicked* have *Cain* for their Head. The Society of the *Godly*, are of the Race of *Abel*; who being murdered, we have *Seth* substituted in his room.

Among the Seed of *Cain*, we find several Things in the History, which are to be expected among the *Men of this World*.

First, There are *Cities* built; They propose *Fixed Habitations* in *this World*; They would have *this World*, their Home, & all their Happiness.

Secondly; The Biggest Part of them, have *Nothing* at all said of them. All that can be said of them, is, That *they were*. They did *nothing* worthy to be spoken of.

Thirdly; Yett there are *Arts* cultivated among them. Some of them are Notable *Artists*, and learned Men; and by their Learning obtain a *Name* for themselves.

Fourthly; In the Generation of the *Cainites*, we have *Women* mentioned; In that of the *Sethites* there is not once any mention of them. *Ubi* (saies *Austin*.) *elegantè significatum est, terrenam civitatem usque in finem sæculi, carnales habituram generationes, quæ marium feminarumque conjunctione proveniunt*.³¹

But now, among the Seed of *Seth*, it seems, as if they lived more like *Pilgrims* and *Strangers* in the World. We read of no *Cities*. They look for the

tine's position (*City of God* 16.11) – and that of Genesis Rabbah (XXVI:3) – that children are listed according to their significance (*NPNFi* 2:318). See also Patrick (*Commentary* 1:32).

²⁹ See Appendix B.

³⁰ For his subsequent commentary [165r–180v], Mather relies almost exclusively on Johann Heinrich Heidegger's *De Historia Sacra Patriarcharum* (1667), which Mather thoroughly mines and incorporates in his annotations on Genesis. The Latin citation from St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* (15.1.1) [PL 41. 437] translates "the one consisting of those who live according to man, the other of those who live according to God" (*NPNFi* 2:284). The passage from St. Augustine and the remainder of Mather's commentary on Gen. 5:32 appear in Heidegger (1:135, Exerc. VI, § 2). As in previous cases, all references to Heidegger's work are to the 1729 Tiguri edition.

³¹ In his *De Civitate Dei* (15.17) [PL 41. 461], St. Augustine infers from the genealogical list of Cain's female descendents that procreation will continue to the end: "Whereby it is elegantly signified that the earthly city shall to its termination have carnal generations proceeding from the intercourse of males and females" (*NPNFi* 2:299).

Heavenly City. All their *Inheritance* is in the *World to come*. What *Enoch* in that Race, Proposed and Received, was a fair intimation of that *Blessedness* in the *Heavenly Places*, where all the Hopes of the whole Race were laid up; and the Hopes of all that ever since belong unto it.³²

[166v]

Q. Have we no Ancient and Oriental *Traditions*, concerning, The *Separation* between the *Cainites* and the *Sethites*, in the *Antediluvian World*?

A. There are two famous Christian *Arabians*, namely, *Elmacinus*, and *Patricides*, who have entertained us with *Traditions* of a long and vast Antiquity, concerning this Matter; which, at least for their *Antiquity*, are well worthy to have a Place in these our *Memorials*.

The Words of *Elmacinus*, which I putt into this Translation, are these.³³

“The Second from *Adam*, and Successor to him, was *Seth*, the Son of *Adam*, of pious Memory. He dwelt in the *Holy Mountain*; He, and his Brethren, and their Children, with their Wives, according to the Dying Charge of their Father *Adam*. But *Cain*, with all his Offspring, dwelt in the *Valley*, where *Abel* was killed, below the Mountain. *Seth* was chief Ruler, over the People, who walked in the Way of Righteousness and Holiness, *praising of God*. And they overheard the Voices of the *Angels*, praising of God, and sanctifying of His Name, in *Paradise*, (for *Paradise* was not far off,) enjoying the Fruits of the Trees, which grew on the *Holy Mountain*. But *Cain*, and his Offspring, lived on the Fruits of the *Earth*, which they cultivated.”

The Words of *Patricides*, which I have also translated, are these.³⁴

“After the Death of *Adam*, the Family of *Seth* withdrew from the Family of the Accursed *Cain*. *Seth* now taking with him, his First-born Son *Enosh*, and *Kainan*, the Son of *Enosh*, and *Mahaleel* the Son of *Kainan*; together with their Wives and Children; he carried them up to the Top of the Mountain, where *Adam* was buried; But *Cain* and all his Offspring, staid below, in the Valley, where *Abel* was murdered. The Sons of *Seth*, in that Mountain, maintained much *Purity*, and *Sanctity*; and they heard the Voice of the *Angels*, who were at no great Distance from them; and they praised and magnified & glorified

³² Heidegger (1:135–36, Exerc. VI, § 2).

³³ This and the following paragraph are from Heidegger (1:138–39, Exerc. VI, § 6). Heidegger excerpts a passage from the Coptic Christian Georgius Elmacinus (c. 1223–c. 1274), aka. Ibn Al’Amid, excerpted in Hottinger’s *Smegma Orientale* (1658), lib. 1, cap. 8, p. 227; and from Saidus Patricides’s *Annales* (1656), lib. 1, pp. 19–20. The same excerpts appear in Hottinger’s *Smegma Orientale* (1658), lib. 1, cap. 8, pp. 226–28, but Mather’s English translation is based on Heidegger’s citation.

³⁴ Mather translates into English the words of Patricides from a Latin excerpt in Heidegger (1:139, Exerc. VI, § 6). Heidegger’s own source is Edward Pococke’s Latin translation of Saidus Patricides’s Arabic chronicle *Annales* (1656), lib. 1, pp. 19–20. For the same, see Hottinger’s *Smegma Orientale* (1658), lib. 1, cap. 8, pp. 227–28.

GOD with them; and they, with their *Wives*, and their *Offspring*, were called, *The Children of God*. There was no *Manufacture*, nor *Sowing* and *Reaping* among them. They were fed, by what the *Trees* yielded unto them; nor was there any Place, for Envy, and Injustice, and Falsehood among them. If they swore at any time, it was, *By the Blood of Abel*. Every Day, they ascended the Ridge of the Mountain, and prostrating themselves there, they praised God, – when the Death of *Seth* drew near, he adjured his Posterity, by the *Blood of Abel*, that none of them should go down from the Mountain, nor permit that any of their Children should go mix with the Posterity of the Accursed *Cain*.”

[167r]

Q. The History of the *Ante-diluvian World*, is but briefly given to us, in the ancient and glorious Writings of MOSES. And yett so *Expressive*, so *Important*, is the Brevity used in these Divine *Annals*, that we may fetch from thence, a more copious *History* than would be at first imagined.³⁵

Among other learned Men, who have bestow'd their Illustrations upon the Scriptures, which give us the Condition of things in the *Antediluvian World*, there is the excellent *Heidegger*, who, in his Work entituled, *Historia Sacra Patriarcharum*, ha's done excellently.³⁶ If we lay before us his *Exercitationes*, we may either there meet with, or they may lead us to think of, several Passages, not unworthy to be lodg'd among our Illustrations? v. 32.

A. Lett us then to our Work.

§ The First Thing that we shall observe, in the *Antediluvian Patriarchs* is their OECONOMY.³⁷

Tho' the Command of God, *Increase and Multiply*, did not on the one hand, impose on the *Patriarchs*, τας του αγαμου και οψιγαμου δικας, *Mulcts for a Neglect or a Delay of Marriage*, as *Pollux* tells us there were in some of the *Gracian* Commonwealths; or, like the *Lex Uxor*, which *Festus* tells us there was among the *Romans*: Nor was it in force only, as *Aquinas* and his Followers tell us on the other hand, in those Times when the World more wanted Inhabitants: Yett it encouraged the *Married State*, for the Production of what *Malachi* calls, *A Seed of God*, or a Faithful People to serve God in the World.³⁸

³⁵ See Appendix B.

³⁶ Johann Heinrich Heidegger, תַּרְגּוּם אֲשֶׁר לַדִּבְרֵי דֵּי הִיסְטוֹרְיָה סַאֲכָרָה פַּטְרִיָּאֲרַחֲרִי, *De Historia Sacra Patriarcharum Exercitationes Selectae*. Amstelodami, 2 vols. 1667–71. As in previous instances, my page references are to the Tiguri 1729 edition unless otherwise noted. See Appendix A.

³⁷ Most of the following extracts are from Heidegger (1:1–30, Exerc. I “De (E)conomia Patriarcharum”).

³⁸ Heidegger (1:26, Exerc. I, § 8). The Greek passage adapted from *Onomasticon* (3.48.6; 8.40.5), a rhetoric handbook by the Greek rhetorician and lexicographer Julius Pollux of Naucratis (2nd c. CE), translates more accurately, “mulctas sive ob caelibatum, sive ob nuptias dilatas imponendas,” or rather “Fines imposed for the unmarried state or for the delay of marriage.” (As usual, Mather omits the Greek diacritical marks in his transcription from most of his primary and secondary sources.) Plato's Athenian respondent to his interlocutor Clinias also mentions the requirement that men must marry between the ages of thirty to thirty-five or else

In this Married State, the *Patriarchs* must understand, every Conjunction to be unlawful, but that of *One Man* with *One Wife*, making but *One Flesh*; [Gen. 2.24.] Even the Light of Nature, would instruct, *νοῦν εὐ διακειμενον*, *Mentem rectè dispositam*; that *One Man* ought to have no more than *One Wife*.³⁹ It is a Mistake in *Ambrose*, to think, That *Adultery* was not unlawful, before the Giving of the *Mosaic Law*, and to say; *DEUS in Paradiso, licet Conjugium laudaverit, non Adulterium damnavit*. It was a Mistake in *Aquinas*, and in *Sixtus Senensis*, to introduce *Maimonides* as being of that Opinion. It was a Mistake in *Grotius*, and in *Selden*, to think, That *Polygamy* was Allow'd by God unto the *Patriarchs*; and in the *Jewes*, to say, that every Man might have *Two Wives*; one *Prolis Gratià*, and another, *Ad Concubitum*: To which latter the Husband gave the, *Poculum Sterilitatis*, as soon as he married her.⁴⁰ Indeed, *Maimonides* holds, That before the *Mosaic Law*, a Man might (as *Judah* did,) occasionally Hire and Use an *Harlott*; and that in those Dayes, as in *Terences*, *Non fuit Flagitium adolescentulum scortari*. The Schoolmen in like Manner hold, That *Fornicatio simplex non est peccatum contrà Jus Naturæ*. But the Apostle *Paul*, writing to the *Corinthians*, who had not been under the *Mosaic Law*; [1. Cor. 6.9, 10.] declares, That *Fornicators* were, *ἀδικοί Impij*, and as incapable of the *Kingdome of God* as *Idolaters*. And in the same Chapter, he charges a vile *Turpitude* upon *Fornication*; such an one, as ought to have been considered by the *Patriarchs*. Yea, the

be fined and disgraced (*De legibus* 4.721a–e). The Roman scholar Sextus Pompeius Festus (2nd c. CE) points at similar marriage laws and fines among his countrymen in his lexical work *De verborum significatione* (lib. 19: “Uxorium pependisse”). Finally, St. Thomas Aquinas has much to say on all aspects of marriage in *Summa Theologica* (5:2699–2813, Suppl. to pt. 3, Q41–68). However, he refers to St. Augustine (*De Genesi ad litteram* 3:12.20) to affirm that in marriage the “generation of children has a special relation to the number of the elect” (*Summa Theologica* 1:352, pt. 1: *Treatise on the Angels* [Q50–74], Q72: Reply Obj. 4).

³⁹ Heidegger (1:6–8, Exerc. I, §§ 9, 10, 11). The Greek passage, which Heidegger translates into Latin, signifies that the light of nature instructs “the mind with its appropriate order.”

⁴⁰ Ambrose Mediolanensis believed that adultery was not a crime before Moses received the Decalogue, arguing that “God in Paradise praised an approved union and did not condemn adultery” (*De Abraham Patriarcha*, lib. 1, cap. 4, § 23) [PL 14. 429]. Aquinas cites R. Moses Maimonides’s *Guide* (3.49) and *Mishneh Torah: Hilchot Ishut* (1.4), arguing that according to Maimonides “before the time of the Law fornication was not a sin; and he [Maimonides] proved his assertion from the fact that Juda had intercourse with Thamar” (*Summa Theologica* 5:2801, Suppl. to pt. 3: Q65, A5). Sixtus Senensis refers to the same chapter in Maimonides (*Guide* 3.49) as evidence of the mores before the Law was given (*Bibliotheca Sancta*, lib. 5, annot. 94). Hugo Grotius (*De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, lib. 2, cap. 5, art. 9, § 1; *Rights of War and Peace* 2:514–15) and John Selden (*Uxor Ebraica*, lib. 1, cap. 8, pp. 55–61; and *De Jure Naturali & Gentium*, lib. 5, cap. 6, pp. 561–67) argue that polygamy was universally practiced by the ancients who were subject to the Law of Nature and that the practice of polygamy among the biblical patriarchs was condoned by God. Selden cites the Latinized commentary on Gen. 4:19 and Job 24:21 by Solomon Jarchi (Rashi) as evidence that Jewish men were allowed to have two wives, one for the “love of offspring,” the other for “a lover” (*De Jure Naturali*, lib. 5, cap. 6, p. 564). Rashi relates that while the primary wife was kept for procreation, the concubine kept for pleasure was given a “poculum sterilitatis,” i.e., “a potion [of roots]” to render her “sterile” (Rashi on Gen. 4:19; Genesis Rabbah XXIII:2; Talmud Shabbath 110a and Yevamuth 65b).

Wise Men of the Gentiles, and their *Law givers*, who had but the *Law of Nature* to direct them, condemned *Fornication*, as an ἀκρημοσύνη, and punished it.⁴¹

It is also an Injurious Report, of the *Patriarchs*, given by the *Talmuds*, That *Marriage*, was among them no other than a *Bargain*, or a *Contract*, which they dissolved at Pleasure; as it was afterwards among the *Grecians* and the *Romans*, among whom, it was only for one to say to t'other, *ut res suas sibi habeat*, and there was an End. *Noachidis* (they tell us) *nec sunt Nuptiae, nec sunt Divortia*, (that is to say, solemn ones,) *sed, alteruter conjugum pro lubitu conjugium solvit*. Our Saviour ha's taught us otherwise; [Matth. 19.4, 5, 6.] and told us, That *from the Beginning it was not so*.⁴²

Incestuous Mixtures were in like Manner Forbidden to, and Avoided by the Holy *Patriarchs*. The *Eighteenth* Chapter of *Leviticus*, informs us, That such things were pronounced by God, *Abominations*, when they were done among the *Gentiles*. And the pious *Patriarchs* were as careful, not to marry with *Idolaters*.⁴³

They Religiously took also the Consent of their *Parents* in their *Marriages*. The Proceedings | in the Family of *Abraham*, will a little Declare and Explain, [168v] what we may suppose usual, among the Religious *Patriarchs* that went before

41 Maimonides does describe this practice, as in the case of Judah and Tamar (Gen. 38:2–26), arguing that before Moses, “intercourse with a harlot was as lawful as cohabitation of husband and wife since the Lawgiving; it was perfectly permitted, nobody considered it wrong” (*Guide* 3.49.374). The Latin citation is adapted from *Adelphoe* (1.2.21–22), the last play of the Roman playwright Publius Terentius Afer (fl. 2nd c BCE), which was commissioned (160 BCE) by Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus. Adapted from “non est flagitium, mihi crede, adulescentulum scortari,” Mather’s second-hand quotation from Terence (via Heidegger) reads “it is not a shameful deed to engage in whoring during adolescence.” Likewise, the scholastics argued that “simple fornication [between two unmarried persons] is not a sin against the Law of Nature.” The Apostle Paul writes to the Corinthian gentiles that fornicators were “sinful” or “unbelievers.” Finally, gentile lawgivers condemned fornication as an “ἀκρημοσύνη” [akremosyne] “a want of money,” “neediness,” or “indigence,” in Julius Pollux, *Onomasticon* (3.111.4; 6.197.4). Mather’s misspells “ἀκρημοσύνη” as “ἀκρημοσύνη,” an error he copies from Heidegger, but here silently corrected in the text.

42 Heidegger (1:9–10, Exerc. I, § 12). Marriage and divorce – like most other aspects of Jewish life – are governed by strict laws that determine the rights and obligations of all parties. The Talmudic tractate Mas. Kethuboth (51a, 88b–89b, and 100b) and Maimonides’s *Mishneh Torah: Hilchot Ishut* (1.2–3); *Hilchot Gerushin* (1.1 ff) provide some of the most significant stipulations governing bills of divorce (Get) and the return of the kethubah (dowry). A wife’s fidelity, ability to bear children, and domesticity were significant issues (see Maimonides, *Guide* 3.49.372–80; and *EJ*: “Marriage” and “Divorce”). Heidegger’s source for the Greek and Roman divorce practices is Joseph Justus Scaliger’s *Animadversiones ad Eusebiam Chronicon* (numero 2015), in *Thesaurus Temporum* (1606). The Latin formula of divorce translates “that he may have what belongs to him.” The “Noachidis,” a term designating children of Noah who are non-Jews as well as the children of the patriarchs before the giving of the Mosaic Law, “have neither a marriage ceremony nor a divorce, but either the husband or wife dissolves the marriage if he or she so desires.” See Midrash Rabbah (Gen. XVIII:5).

43 Heidegger (1:11–12, Exerc. I, § 13). For the proscription against incest, see Rashi’s commentary on Gen. 19:33, 26:5, 36:5, and Deut. 23:1.

him. They knew, That the *First Marriage* in the World, was made by the Direction of GOD. They knew, That (as was acknowledged in the After-Ages,) *φύσει αρχικον πατηρ υιων. Naturâ Pater imperat Filijs.* [Thus *Hermione* saies in *Euripides*,

Νυμφευματων μεν των εμων πατηρ {εμός}
 Μεριμνα{ν} ἐξει, κ'οὐκ εμον κρινειν τόδε.
Curam Parenti de meis ego Nuptijs
*Permitto, non est istud arbitrij mei.*⁴⁴

And *Hero* saies in *Museus*, Αμφαδον ου δυναμε{σ}θα γαμοις οσοιοσι πελασσαι ου γαρ εμοις τοκεεσσιν επεναδεν. *Lege maritali iungi non possumus ambo. Cum nolit pater, nolit mater.*] They knew, lastly, That it was neither Decent, nor Honest, for Children to introduce an *Heir* into the Estate of their *Grandparents* without their Leave. Accordingly, All Nations have damned, as even Invalid, the *Marriages*, that are made against the Consent of *Parents*; whereof you may Read, *Cujacius* in his *Observations*, and, *Cypræus de Sponsalibus*.⁴⁵

The *Ceremonies* used in the *Marriages* of the *Patriarchs*, were a *Solemn Benediction*; in Imitation of what the Lord bestow'd on our *First Parents*. And the Continuance of the *Bride* for a while in her Fathers House; and her appearing with a *Veil* upon her: [All which are exemplified in the Case of *Rebeckah*.] And a *Nuptial Feast*, which as *Jerom* notes, held usually a *Week* together; and was meant by *Laban*, when he would have *Jacob* to *Fulfil the Week* of his elder Daughter.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Heidegger (1:12–13, Exerc. I, § 14). In his *Ethica Nichomachea* (8.11.1161a, 18–19), Aristotle acknowledges that in after-ages, “by nature a father tends to rule over his sons” (Jonathan Barnes’s translation). In *Andromache* (987–88), a tragedy by the Athenian playwright Euripides, Hermione tells Orestes, “My father shall take care of my marriage: it is not for me to decide this.”

⁴⁵ Hero, priestess of Aphrodite at Sestus, tells her beloved Leander, who swam across the Hellespont at night to see her, “we cannot openly come into a righteous marriage, / For it was not my parents’ will” (*Hero et Leander* 179–80), a miniature hexameter epic by the Neoplatonist poet Musaeus. Mather’s second-hand quotation from Heidegger (1:12–13) is without its Greek diacritical marks. Jacques Cujas (Cujacius, De Cujas) (1522–90), renowned French jurist and professor of Roman Law at Bourges, delineates the legal role of parents in marriage contracts of their children, in “Observatione III.5” (*Corpus juris civilis* [1663], lib. I, titulum X, “De Nuptiis,” pp. 5–6). The best collection of Cujacius’s works is Fabroti’s 10-volume edition of *Opera Omnia in decem tomos distribute* (Paris 1658). Likewise, the Danish jurist and historian Paulus Cypræus (1536–1609) has much to say on these contractual issues, especially on parental consent in the marriage of their children, in his *De Sponsalibus*, the running title of Cypræus’s *De connubiorum iure tractatus a multis desideratus* (1605), cap. 6, §§ 1–12, 153–214.

⁴⁶ Heidegger (1:13–14, Exerc. I, § 15) draws on Rabbi Eliezer’s *Pirke*, ch. 16 (esp. pp. 108–12). The solemn benediction reminiscent of that bestowed on Adam and Eve (Gen. 1:28) is, “Be fruitful and multiply” (Gen. 1:28). Rebecca married Isaac by proxy (Isaac’s servant Eliezer) and was encouraged to stay in her father’s house for another ten days before her departure (Gen. 24:55). In his *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim* (Gen. 29:27) [PL 23. 981B], St. Jerome does not specifically mention that Laban’s wedding banquet for Jacob and Leah (Rachel’s elder sister) lasted seven days, but that Jacob “should complete seven days after his marriage to the elder sister,” before Laban would bestow the younger Rachel on Jacob as well: “He did not,

The Law for the *Leviratic Marriages* was in force among the *Patriarchs*; to preserve the *Right of Primogeniture*; not without an Eye to the Mystery of the *Messiah*, who was to be, *The First-born among many Brethren*.⁴⁷

Lett *Abraham* tell us, what the Care of the *Patriarchs* was, about the Education of their *Children*.⁴⁸

But then among the *Children*, there was one Remarkable Thing; The /הבכרה/ *Jus Primogenituræ*. The *First Born* had singular Prærogatives; In regard of whom, the Hebrewes call'd the other Sons, /בני פשוטים/ *Filios Vulgares*. It is evident, That the Fear of *Cain* was, lest he should lose his Power over his Brother *Abel*: To answer which, the Lord said, Gen. 4.7. *If thou doest well, thou shalt Rule over him*.⁴⁹ The *First-born* had more Honours paid him in the Family. And when he was out of it, the rest of the Children acknowledged in him, a Superiority and a Dominion over them. He had a *Double Portion* of the Patrimony. *Si tres fuerint Fratres, putentur ut Quatuor; et capiet ille duas partes*: As *Aben Ezra* explains the Rule.⁵⁰ And as he might expect a *Special Blessing* from his Father, so there was a *Right of Priesthood* belonging to him: which the Jewes tell us, was the Reason why *Jacob* so much desired the *Right of Primogeniture*. Before the Giving of the *Mosaic Law*, we read; [Exod. 19.22.] of *Priests* which were to sanctify themselves; and these *Priests* are anon called [Exod. 24.5.] *The young Men of Israel*. *Onkelos* calls them, *The First-born of Israel*.⁵¹ Indeed, the *Younger Brethren* do seem not excluded from the Office of *Sacrificing*; *Abel* had it; But it seems to have been, when they swarm'd into *other Families* of their own, and became the *Heads* of them. The *Eldest*, might *Sacrifice*, while his Father was yett living; And none but he might *Sacrifice*, while the rest of the Children continued yett in the same Family; And even then too, he was in Dignity before them all. The *Profaneness* of *Esau*, is in this Account, somewhat Illustrated. This *Right of*

then, as certain people wrongly suppose, receive Rachel as his wife after another seven years; but seven days after his marriage to his first wife" (*Hebrew Questions*, p. 64).

47 Heidegger (1:14, Exerc. I, § 16). As stipulated in Deut. 25:5–6, the brother of a deceased man (*levir*) is to marry his brother's widow when he died without offspring (*leviratic marriage*). See Mather's annotations on the Book of Ruth (1:17); Maimonides (*Guide* 3.49.374) and *EJ*: "Levirate marriage." Through the right of primogeniture, the firstborn son inherits his father's estate and title. In this sense, Jesus Christ is "the firstborn among many brethren" (Rom. 8:29).

48 Heidegger (1:14, Exerc. I, § 17). Patriarchs are to instruct their offspring to "keep the way of the Lord" and "to do justice and judgment" (Gen. 18:19).

49 Heidegger (1:15, Exerc. I, § 18). The remarkable thing is the "Right of the firstborn"; the other sons were called "common sons."

50 Heidegger (1:15–17, Exerc. I, § 19). Ibn Ezra's Latinized rule signifies, "If there are three brothers, then the estate is to be divided into fourths; and he will take two parts" (*Commentary of Abraham Ibn Ezra* 5:97, on Deut. 21:17). Rashi's commentary on the same verse is a bit more detailed in its directions: "The firstborn son does not take [a double share] from that which [the father's estate] is entitled to after the demise of the father, [e.g., from an uncollected debt,] as [he does] from what was in the father's actual possession."

51 The Targum Onkelos (Exod. 24:5) only calls them בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל or "primogenitos filiorum Israel" (Walton 1:329), rather than "young men of the children of Israel" (KJV).

Primogeniture, our Heidegger supposes, to belong only to the *First-born of the Father*. And as there was a *Civil Reason* for these Prerogatives of the *First-born*; the Order and Splendor of the Family: so, it was to exhibit the *Mystery* of our Dependence on the *Messiah*; who is often called, *The First-born*; and He also is our *High-Priest*; and thro' Him, we *obtain the Inheritance*. Yea, and the *First-born* in the Family, being *Holy* to the Lord, it signified, the *Sanctification of the Whole*; [Rom. 11.16.] So that the *Whole Family* now belong'd unto the Church of God, and might expect the Privileges of it: Yea, for the Infants thereof, dying in their Infancy, there might be expected a Portion in the Kingdome of God. And the *First-born* was in this also, a Type of our Saviour. [Heb. 2.11.]⁵²

But were there no *Servants* in the Families of the *Patriarchs*?

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Austin derives the Original of *Servitude* no higher, than the Malediction | of Noah upon Canaan; and adds, *Nomen itaque istud culpa meruit non Natura*. [De Civit. Dei. XIX.15.] And Chrysostom carries the Matter much this Way; That Men did not live so delicately, as to have *Servants* waiting on them, till Sin introduced it: *Peccatum autem, ubi intravit, Libertatem perdidit, et corruptit Dignitatem naturâ datam, Servitutemque introduxit*. [Homil. 29. in Genesim.] And Ambrose is yett more punctual; *Manebat antequam vinum inveniretur omnibus inconcussa libertas; Nemo sciebat è consorte naturæ suæ obsequia servitutis exigere. Non esset hodiè servitus, si ebrietas non esset*. [Serm. de Jejunijs.]⁵³ Indeed, we have no express mention of *Servants*, before the Flood. We are sure, There was then Sin enough. And there were *Giants* too; Men able and willing enough to bring other Men into *Servitude*. And, no doubt, there were those also, who answered the Character given by Posidonius the *Stoic*; who conscious of their own *Weakness*, voluntarily became *Servants*, ὅπως παρ' ἐκείνων Τυχχανοντες της εις αναγκαια επιμελειας αυτοι πάλιν αποδίδωσιν ἐκείνοις δι' αυτων απερ αν ωσιν υπηρετειν δυνατοι. *Ut Domini quidem ipsi providerent de Necessarijs, ipsi verò operam vicissim quam possint præstarent*.⁵⁴ There are more voluntary *Servants of Compact*, and there

⁵² Heidegger (1:18–19, Exerc. I, § 22).

⁵³ Heidegger (1:20–21, Exerc. I, § 25). St. Augustine's argument about the origin of servitude appears in his *De Civitate Dei* (19.15) [PL 41. 643] and explains, "It is a name, therefore, introduced by sin and not by nature" (*NPNFi* 2:411). Heidegger's free Latin translation from Joannes Chrysostom's Greek *Homiliae in Genesim* (*Homilia in Genesim* 29.23) [PG 53. 270] signifies, "When sin entered, however, he [man] lost freedom and corrupted the dignity that is the gift of nature, and introduced servitude" (see *Homilies on Genesis* 29.23, p. 214). Mather's MS erroneously lists "Homil. 19." St. Ambrose (c. 339–97), bishop of Milan (*De Elia et jejuniio* 1.5.11) [PL 14. 702], argues punctually, "Before wine was invented, liberty endured unshaken for everyone. Nobody knew by nature how to exact the obedience of a servant from his fellow man. Slavery would not exist today, if there were no drunkenness."

⁵⁴ Mather's translation of "Nephilim" (Gen. 6:4) as "giants" who tyrannize and press their fellow men into servitude deserves commenting. While Heidegger (Mather's source) and many other distinguished commentators argue that the "Nephilim" were "powerful tyrants," i.e., giants in political power, not in physical size (Matthew Poole, on Gen. 6:2–4, in *Synopsis Criticorum* 1:77–80), Mather rejects this allegorical interpretation of his colleagues and insists that "Nephilim" denotes literal "giants" (in size). The discovery of gigantic bones at Claverack,

are those that have been called, *Servi Paenæ*, such as are in a State of *Slavery*.⁵⁵ They that were taken in a *Just War*, usually underwent the *Latter Condition*. We read of *Abram* and *Lott*; that they carried into *Canaan* with them; Gen. 12.5. *The Souls which they had gotten in Charran*. Some, as *Aben Ezra* tells us, thereby understand, Their Proselytes, *Animas quas docuerunt veritatem, ut colerent verum Deum*. And so, *Jarchi*; *Animas quas congregarunt sub Alas Majestatis Dei*; *Abraham quidem proselytos fecit viros, Sara mulieres*. To the like Purpose, *Onkelos*. But it may rather mean, those which anon are called, Gen. 17.12. *Those which are Bought with Money*. The Justice of *Perpetual Servitude*, is thus expressed by my *Heidegger*; *Nec Servitus talis, quæ perpetuas operas præstat, pro Alimentis et alijs quæ vitæ exigit Necessitas, habet in se aliquid nimie Acerbitatis; quia perpetua illa obligatio compensatur perpetuâ Alimentorum certitudine, quam sæpè non habent, qui diurnas operas locant*. *Grotius* well urges this Reason; and *Selden* is not found a fitt Match, to answer him.⁵⁶ We have little Account, about the Circumstances of *Servitude* among the *Patriarchs*; Doubtless their *Servants* were, Ἀπρόσωποι.

near Albany, NY, in 1702, convinced him (and most of his fellow physico-theologians) that they were tangible evidence not only of Noah's global Flood, but also of literal giants, the offspring of fallen angels who cavorted with the daughters of man. Mather's subsequent commentary on Gen. 6:4 exemplifies the contemporaneous debate – a century before geologists began to postulate that these bones found all over the world were the remains of mastodons or dinosaurs, unknown species of animals, not mentioned in scriptures. (See also D. Stanford, "Giant Bones"; D. Levin's "Giants in the Earth"; R. Rappaport, *Geologists*, ch. 4; and P. Semonin, *American Monster* 15–40). The Stoic philosopher Posidonius of Apamea (c. 135–c. 51 BCE) established an academy in Rhodes, which became the center of Stoicism in the Greco-Roman Empire. Heidegger (1:21) cites a fragment from the Stoic Posidonius – extant in Athenaeus of Naucratis (6.84.5–7) – and argues that many weak and feeble-minded persons voluntarily enter servitude "in order that they may secure from them [their masters] provision for their daily needs, and in turn may themselves render to their patrons, through their own labours, whatever they are capable of in the way of service" (*Deipnosophists* 6.263c–d).

⁵⁵ Heidegger (1:21–22, Exerc. I, § 26). "*Servi Paenae*" are "perpetual slaves."

⁵⁶ Heidegger (1:22–23, Exerc. I, § 27). Actually, Ibn Ezra offers three different possibilities for Gen. 12:5: The "souls" gotten in Charran were either "servants born into their household," or servants that were "bought," or "the people to whom Abraham showed the truth, to worship God" (*Commentary on the Pentateuch: Genesis* 1:150). It is the latter interpretation, favored by Jarchi (Rashi) and the Genesis Rabbah (XXXIX:14), which suggests that they are "the souls who are gathered under the wings of the Majesty of God [Shechinah]; Abraham would convert the men, and Sarah [would convert] the women" (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:153). The Targum Onkelos (Gen. 12:5), in Walton (1:47) renders servitude less mercenary by calling his slaves "the souls whom they [Abram's family] had made subject to the law in Charan" (Etheridge 1:58). Heidegger (1:23, Exerc. I, § 27) defends the justice of perpetual servitude as follows: "And such servitude, which bestows upon us perpetual labors for the sake of food and other things which the necessity of life demands, does not have too much hardship in itself, because that constant obligation is compensated by the constant certainty of food, which those who contract others to perform their daily tasks often do not have." Hugo Grotius's explication in *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (lib. 2, cap. 5, art. 27, § 2; *Rights of War and Peace* 2:557–58) agrees with that of Heidegger. John Selden addresses the issue of servitude in *De Juri Naturali et Gentium* (lib. 1, cap. 4, pp. 50–60; lib. 2, cap. 3, pp. 152ff; and lib. 6, cap. 19, pp. 774–82), but falls short of Grotius's legalistic acumen.

Which are, *Qui personam propriam et liberam non habent, sed Domino subjacent*. And their *Masters* (like *Abraham*) instructed them in the True Religion.⁵⁷

The *Patriarchs* for the most Part seem to have affected the Life and Work of *Shepherds*; which afforded most of Liesure to them, for their Meditations on the Things of God.⁵⁸

As they multiplied, there arose *Trade* among them; Ἀλλαγή, or, *Permutation*; which we all know, without learning it from the Philosopher, it arises from this, τῷ τὰ μὲν πλείω, τὰ δὲ ἐλάττω των ἱκανῶν εἶχειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. *Quòd homines alia quidem plura, alia verò pauciora quàm satis sit, habeant*. In the most early times, *Trucking* of one Commodity for another, seems to have been the only Way of *Dealing*. But probably, *Necessity* brought forth the Invention of *Money*, before *Seventeen Ages* were expired; that for their τὰ χρήσιμα, their *Profitables*, Men had an Εὐμεταχειριστον, a *Portable*, some Tractable Medium of their Traffick.⁵⁹ It is very sure, we find *Money* used in the Dayes of *Abraham*. As the *Talent* then used, seems to have been Double to the *Attic Talent*, and by Consequence to have been an hundred and twenty Pounds: Thus the *Shekel*; which was a *Didrachma*, seems to have been æqual unto *Four Attic Drachms*, & to weigh half an *Ounce*: which helps to explain the Terms used by the LXX and *Josephus*, on this Occasion.⁶⁰ In Two Places; [Gen. 33.19. and, Job. 42.11.] we read of a Sort of *Money*, called, /קֶשֶׁתָּה/ *Kesitha*. To interpret it, of *Sheep*, or *Lambs*, does not seem defensible. For neither the *Hebrew*, nor *Chaldee*, nor *Syriac*, nor *Arabic*, do use this Word, when the Management of *Sheep* is ever spoken of: And *Stephen* expressly tells us, that *Silver* was intended. The *Root* of this Word may be lost; except we should say, It comes from /כֶּשֶׁת/ *Veritas*; and the *Targums* use the Word, when *True* and *Just Weights* are spoken of. It may signify, *True*, and *Just*,

57 Heidegger (1:23–24, Exerc. I, § 29). Servants among the patriarchs were “Ἀπρόσωποι” or “faceless people,” which are “persons who have no property and no liberty, but are subjected to their master.” According to Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and Genesis Rabbah, Abraham instructed his slaves in the true religion (see note 56 above).

58 Heidegger (1:24, Exerc. I, § 30).

59 Heidegger (1:26–27, Exerc. I, § 33). The Greek word Ἀλλαγή, which Mather (adopting Heidegger’s Latinization) here translates as “*Permutation*,” more properly suggests “exchange” and “barter” during any buying or selling activity as suggested in Plato. The Greek philosopher quoted subsequently is Aristotle (*Politica* 1.6.1257a, 16–17), who argues that the value of goods (rate of exchange) and trade in general are determined by the fact that “because men had more than enough of some things and less than enough of others.” The invention of money arose from the necessity of having for their “profitable things” a “portable medium” of exchange.

60 Heidegger (1:27, 28, Exerc. I, § 34). Heidegger supplies the value of exchange (measured as the weight of silver) of Talent, Shekel, Didrachma, Attic Drachms, and cites several contemporary and ancient sources in support of his calculation. In his appendix to “BA” (following his commentary on Revelation), Mather provides conversion tables: “III. Tables Of the Measures, Weights, and Coins, occurring in the Sacred Scriptures” (“Coronis”). These conversion tables help Mather to determine the value of coinage in the LXX and in Josephus Flavius’s *Antiquities* (3.8.2, 10). One of the primary sources for ancient numismatics as illustrated here and in Whiston’s translation of Josephus is Adriaan Reland’s *De nummis veterum hebraeorum* (1709) 138.

and *Honest Money*. If we will still have *Lambs* in the Signification of the Word lett there be supposed, the Stamp of a *Lamb* upon the *Money*. Famous Interpreters go this Way. And both *Pliny* and *Plutarch* tell us, That *Servius* employ'd the Stamp of | *Cattel*, on the old *Money* of the *Romans*; for which Cause, it was called, *Pecunia*. *Varro* and *A. Gellius* tell us, of a Coin, called, *Oves*, or, *Sheep*, from the Stamp of that Creature upon it. And thus among the *Grecians*, they had, *The Oxe*, and, *The Tortoise*; upon which the People sometimes employ'd their *Witticisms*. I confess, *Villalpandus* objects, That for the avoiding of Idolatry, the Jewes might not use *Money* with any *Image* stamp'd upon it. But, an *Image* of a meer Civil Importance, was not forbidden. And it were well, if the absence of an *Image* from their *Money*, could keep the Jewes from *Idolizing* of it.⁶¹ [170v]

Heidegger enquires, whether there were any *Merchants* among the *Patriarchs*. He thinks, No; He saies, *Longiùs à naturà recedit, ut homines quæstum faciant ex hominum solùm laboribus, non ex terræ fructibus aut animalibus*. He adds, *Generosissimi quique populi indecorum ex mercaturâ quæstum reputavere*. Thus *Livius* of the *Romans*; *Patribus visus est mercatorius hic Quæstus planè indecorus*. If the Gentlemen concerned in these harsh Passages, do vindicate their own Reputation, by an Universal *Justice*, and *Goodness*, in all their *Traffic*, I know not, why they should be so harshly spoken of. I am sure, I know those, who much much more than the *Merchants* of *Tyrus*, deserve to be considered as *Princes*.⁶²

61 *Heidegger* (1:28–29, Exerc. I, § 35). Contrary to Mather's claim, the unknown unit of money כֶּסֶף (Keseetaw) [Strong's # 7192] is associated with "sheep" in the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic languages (Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* on Gen. 33:19, Josh. 24:32, Job 42:11), but by the Protomartyr St. Stephen interpreted as ἀργύριον or "silver [money]" (Acts 7:16). Mather's etymological derivation of כֶּסֶף signifying "*Veritas*" (or in *Heidegger's* original, "*veram, probam, justam*"), however, is rendered in the Chaldean Targum of Onkelos "centum agnis" ("100 lambs") and both in the Targum Jonathan Ben Uziel and in the Targum Hierosolymitanum "centum margaritis" ("100 pearls"), in Walton 1:149 and 3:65). Both *Pliny* (18.3.12) and *Plutarch* (*Vitæ parallelæ: Publicola* 11.5–7) relate that *Servius Tullius*, sixth king of Rome (c. 578–535 BCE), embossed his earliest coins with effigies of cattle, oxen, or sheep. Similarly, in his *Noctes Atticæ* (2.21.8–9), the Roman author *Aulus Gellius* (b. c. 125 or 128 CE) cites *De lingua Latina* (7.4.74), by *Marcus Terentius Varro* (116–27 BCE), and *Fragmentum* (42), by *Lucius Aelius Seianus* (d. 31 CE), to confirm that imprints of "boves" (not "oves"), i. e., of "cattle" (not "sheep") could be seen on a Roman coin. These coins were therefore popularly nicknamed after the imprint they bore. (The error occurs in *Heidegger*, whom Mather copies here.) Likewise, the numismatic imprint of an ox or turtle can be found on some Peloponnesian coins (*Julius Pollux*, *Onomasticon* 9.74.3–5) – the witticism probably referring to the Greek and Roman military formation "the Turtle," in which a tightly compacted group of soldiers (phalanx) carried their shields above their heads to ward off any airborne enemy missiles such as arrows or spears. Finally, *Juan Bautista Villalpando* (1551–1608), the learned Spanish Jesuit of Cordoba celebrated for his imaginative depiction of Solomon's Temple, voices his stereotypical derogation in his *In Ezechielem explanationes et apparatus urbis ac templi Hierosolymitani* (1596–1605), vol. 2, pars 2, lib. 2, disput. 4, cap. 25.

62 *Heidegger* (1:30, Exerc. I, § 37). *Heidegger* thinks that "it is a distant withdrawal from nature that men should make a profit from the works of men alone, not from the fruits of the earth or from animals." He adds, "Each of the noblest tribes considers profit from trade to be shameful." The unidentified second-hand quotation from the Roman historian *Titus*

§ From the *Oeconomy* of the *Patriarchs*, we will now proceed unto their POLICY. When their *Families* multiplied, we may suppose them to combine into *Colonies*; where, as *Tully* in his Discourse *De Legibus*, will tell you; *Sine Imperio, nec Domus ulla, nec gens, nec hominum universum genus stare, nec rerum Natura omnis, nec ipse mundus potest.* And *Seneca*; *Imperium est vinculum, per quod Respublica coheret; ille spiritus vitalis, quem hæc tot millia trahunt; nihil ipsa per se futura, nisi onus et præda, si mans illa Imperij subtrahatur.* As there will always be, *The Upper House of Judgment*, in Heaven, so there must be, *The Lower House of Judgment*, on Earth. And we must not allow too much unto the Saying of, *Cedrenus*; προ του κατακλυσμου ουτε εθνος ουτε βασιλεια. *Ante Diluvium, nec Gens fuit, nec Regnum.*⁶³

After the Flood, we find several *Patriarchs*, to be themselves a Sort of *Kings*, and concerned with *Kings*. [1. Chron. 16.21, 22.] And hence, *Justin* out of *Trogus*, tells us; L.36. *Abraham, Moses, Israel Reges fuere.* And *Nicolaus Damascenus* writing of *Abraham*, uses the Term of, βασιλευσαι. *Regnasæ.*⁶⁴

After the *Flood*, no doubt, the chief Authority resided a long While with *Noah*. Nevertheless, it is to be feared, That the pious Children of *Shem* were ere long opposed, & kept under, by the Idolaters of *Chaldaea*: until a Call from Heaven, stirr'd up *Abraham*, & those that belong'd unto him, to assert their *Liberty*, and as *Freemen* accountable unto no Superiours, to remove unto another Countrey. The whole Condition and Conduct of *Abraham*, seems to carry such an Aspect with it; who made *Leagues* and *Wars*, like a *Sovereign Prince*. [And see, Gen. 23.6.] Probably then, before the Flood, the chief Authority resided with

Livius, best known for his history of Rome, *Ab urbe condita libri*, confirms that “the Fathers thought that this commercial profit was utterly shameful.” Finally, Mather’s praise for the noble “merchants of Tyre” (Isa. 23:8), perhaps could have served as a moral exemplum to Boston’s merchants, whose ignoble dealings Mather deplored in his *Lex Mercatoria* (1705), *Theopolis Americana* (1710), and *Fair Dealing between Debtor and Creditor* (1716).

63 The source for Mather’s sequence of extracts is from Heidegger’s *Historia Sacra Patriarcharum* (1:30–46, Exerc. II “Politia Patriarcharum”). Marcus Tullius Cicero (*De legibus tres* 3.1.3) explains to his friend Atticus the origin and necessity of civil laws: “Without government, existence is impossible for a household, a city, a nation, the human race, physical nature, and the universe itself.” Seneca weighs in with his caveat: “The empire is the bond by which the commonwealth is united, the breath of life which these many thousands draw, who in their own strength would be only a burden to themselves and the prey of others if the great mind of the empire should be withdrawn” (*De Clementia* 1.4.1–2), a disquisition on mercy. Mather dismisses Georgius Cedrenus’s saying, “Before the Flood, neither people nor government existed” (*Compendium historiarum* 1:21, line 10).

64 Heidegger (1:32–33, Exerc. II, § 3). Marcus Junianus Justinus, the epitomizer of Pompeius Trogus’s *Philippic Histories* (1st c. BCE), relates that “Abraham [and] Moses were kings of Israel” (*Historiarum Philippicarum in Epitomen* 36.2.3). And Nicolaus Damascenus (b. c. 64 BCE), Peripatetic historian and advisor to Herod the Great, is best remembered for his universal history *Historiai*, which survives in fragments only. Nicolaus refers to the Patriarch Abraham as “basileusai,” i.e., “he reigned” (*Fragmenta*, fragm. 66, line 232). Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.16.417c) cites Nicolaus Damascenus’s *Universal History* (bk. 4), which asserts that Abraham, coming from Chaldea with an army, became “king of Damascus.”

Adam, while he lived, and then with Seth, and so still, with the *Eldest Patriarch*. His Counsils, and Orders, regulated all things; especially among the *Sethites*, whom we may suppose a more orderly People; and no doubt, his Delegates and Officers, were such as were afterwards called, *The Elders of the People*. We find such a Government continued, among the *Israelites*, even while they were enslaved, in the Land of *Goshen*. *Aben Ezra* saies well, of the זקנים / *Seniores*; *In consilium adhiberi solent, per omnia sæcula*.⁶⁵

We will not enter into Dispute with *Maimonides*, upon his Assertion; *Non præst Judicijs eorum Fæmina*. Nor meddle with the universal Axiom of the Hebrewes; *Fæmina Judicijs exercendis inepta*. Nor contest the Matter with *Austin*; *Mulier, nec docere potest, neque Fidem dare, nec Judicare; quantò magis non potest Imperare?* The Happy Experience of the *English Nation*, has more than once with Satisfaction beheld a QUEEN on the Throne; whatever might be done among the *Patriarchs*.⁶⁶

What *Lawes* were administred among the *Antediluvian Patriarchs*, we are very little informed. There seems to have been a Law, *Ne matrimonium ineatur cum Infidelibus*. [Gen. 6.2. and Gen. 24.3.] The Law of *Tithes* does also seem to be very early. [Gen. 14.20.] The *Lawes* relating to *Marriage*, the Right of *Primogeniture*, the Form and Force of *Oathes*, the Rules of *Traffic*, and the like; we have some dark Intimations about them. And the Book of *Job*, will give us many Hints, of the *Lawes* in his Time, and what things were counted unlawful and criminal, in the early Ages. —⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Heidegger (1:33–37, Exerc. II, §§ 4–6). See also Hugo Grotius's *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (lib. 1, cap. 3, art. 6; *Rights of War and Peace* 1:257–59). The Hebrew citation זקנים [zekenim] “elders” and Heidegger's Latin translation from Ibn Ezra's annotation on Exod. 4:29 signify, “The elders generally counseled each generation” (*Commentary on the Pentateuch*: Exodus 2:112).

⁶⁶ Heidegger (1:37–38, Exerc. II, § 7). Mather's unambiguous displeasure with Maimonides's assertion that “a woman's judgment does not excel” (see *Mishneh Torah: Hilchot Melachim* 9.14 and *Hilchot Edut* 9:2), or with the misogynistic view that “a woman's judgment is ineptly exercised,” or with St. Augustine's “a woman can neither be taught, nor be trusted, nor make a decision; how much less can she rule?” (adapted from *Quæstiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, quaest. XLV [PL 35. 2244] – all reveal his enlightened view of women. England's “Happy Experience” with exemplary queens ruling the kingdom is evidently an allusion to Queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603), Queen Mary II (1662–94), joint ruler with William III, and, perhaps, to Queen Anne (1665–1714). During his composition process, however, Mather evidently had three specific English queens in mind, but second thoughts about Mary I (1516–1558), better known as “Bloody Mary,” may have led him to change his original phrase “Three Thrones” for the less specific “more than once.” For Mather's view of women see his *Ornaments of the Daughters of Zion* (1692), esp. pp. 35–38 of the third (1741) edition.

⁶⁷ Heidegger (1:38–40, Exerc. II, §§ 8, 9, 10). Among the Laws given to Adam are six: concerning (1) courts of justice (2) blasphemy (3) idolatry (4) homicide (5) gluttony and stealing (6) against obscenity and adultery; finally, laws against (7) the eating of limbs of live animals were given to Noah (see Soncino Talmud tractate Sanhedrin 56a, 56b, and Nachmanides on Gen. 34:13, *Commentary on the Torah* 1:417n). John Selden's *History of Tithes* (1618) has much

[171r] | In vain are *Lawes*, without *Penalties*. And therefore doubtless there were such, and *Capital* ones too, in use before the Flood. Immediately after the Flood, we find the *Sword*, with a *Power of Life and Death*, putt into the Hands of the Civil Magistrate. And before the Giving of the *Law to Moses*, we find, *Stoning* spoken of, as a Punishment which the *Israelites* were well acquainted withal: Exod. 19.13. *He shall surely be stoned, or shott through*. More exactly, *Lapidando lapidabitur, vel projiciendo projicietur*. There were two Ways of *Lapidation* used among the *Israelites*; whereof we read in their Treatise entituled, *Sanhedrin*. The One; For the Malefactor to be violently *thrown down* upon an *Heap of Stones*, from the *בית הסקילה* / *House of Lapidation*; the Heighth whereof was Twice the Stature of a Man. The other; For the Malefactor to be overwhelmed, with *Stones* hurled at him, from the People; the *Witnesses* being the first in the Action. Thus may we understand the Text in *Exodus*; There is nothing in it, of being *shott through*: But, *Aut Lapidibus petitus obruatur, aut ita præceps in Terram è sublimi loco detrudatur ac projiciatur, quò sic vita privetur*.⁶⁸

Grotius conceives, That from the Direction of Heaven, for the *Capital Execution of a Murderer*, the common Light of Reason, would lead Men on, to enact *Lawes*, that should severely punish some other *Crimes*. For there are some other Interests, which are as dear to Men as their *Lives*. And *Moses* ha's left those *Lawes* unmentioned in his *History*, because we were to find them anon revived in his *Commonwealth*.⁶⁹

In the *History* of the *Patriarchs*, we do find a Punishment, called, *The Cutting off of the Soul*; which deserves to be considered. The Hebrewes all agree, That it was a Punishment, *בִּיד שָׁמַיִם* / inflicted by none but, *The Hand of God*. R. *Elias ben Moses*, ha's express'd their Sense of it; *Omne Chereth in lege memoratum infligitur per manus Dei, in penam aut Corporis aut Animæ*. And yett they are divided about the more particular Sense of it. Some, with *Abarbanel*, understand it, of an *Immature Death*. *Abbreviatiò Dierum Peccatoris, et mors ante Terminum Naturalem, in hoc mundo, {quæ mors est} operà cæli illata*. The Term, they take to

to say on the origin of tithing. Finally, the book of Job, ch. 31, intimates many ancient rules of law governing social interactions.

⁶⁸ Heidegger (1:40, Exerc. II, § 11). Even though Ibn Ezra (*Commentary on Exodus*. 2:381) and the KJV (Exod. 19:13) render the punishment as “shot through” (with arrows), Mather, following Heidegger, prefers to render the passage as “He who must be stoned will be stoned, or he who must be cast out will be cast out.” The Gemarist mentions this form of execution in the Talmudic tractate Sanhedrin (45a and 45b). The severity of punishment for transgressions is represented in the different forms of execution by stoning, burning, strangulation, and decapitation (Sanhedrin 40b and 41a); the execution of a culprit in the house of lapidation or stoning (“twice a man’s height”) is described in Sanhedrin (45a). Finally, the text in Exod. 19:13 is to be interpreted as follows: “Either the victim will be covered by stones, or he will be pushed and thrown headlong to the ground from a high place, whereby he will be deprived of life.”

⁶⁹ Heidegger (1:40–41, Exerc. II, § 12). Grotius surmises that from the proscription against war and murder, man in time developed other laws regulating social interaction (*De Jure Bellis ac Pacis*, lib. 1, cap. 2, art. 5; *Rights of War and Peace* 1:190–94).

be, before *Fifty*, or, some say, *Sixty*. Whence *Buxtorf* tells us, Old Men at *Sixty*, made a *Thanksgiving Feast*, in which they returned Thanks to God, That their *Soul had not been cutt off from their People*.⁷⁰

Others, as *Jarchi*, understand it of *Sterility*: *Excidium in eo consistit, ut quis moriatur ατεκνος*. [They fetch it from, Lev. 20.20, 21.] Others, as *Maimonides*, understand it, of a *Total Extinction of Soul and Body*; *Peribit ut Bestia*. Lastly; Some understand it, with *Abarbanel*, of *Hell*; *Anima excindetur ab isto Fasciculo Vitæ supremo, neque splendorem Divinitatis obtinebit*. The *Christians* are as much divided as the *Jewes*. But our *Heidegger* so sums up, and clears up, the Matter. The Punishment was doubtless *θειλατον*. *Inflicted by the Hand of God*. It was never heard of, that any were punished by *Men*, for the neglect of Circumcision. But we know the Danger which *Moses* was in. *Excommunication* does not seem to be the Punishment; for before *Circumcision*, they did not look on any to be Members of the Church. The *Excision* threatned, was an *Exclusion* from the Blessedness of the Life to come, which was promised in the *Covenant of Abraham*. Nevertheless, there seems to be also an *Excision*, which was a *Forensic Punishment*: The *Excision* spoken of, when *Capital Crimes* are spoken of: And then the Sense of it, must be gathered from the special Sorts and Wayes of inflicting the *Punishment*, which those Crimes have in the Law assign'd unto them.⁷¹

70 Heidegger (1:41–43, Exerc. II, § 13). The meaning of the phrase “*The Cutting off of the Soul*” (Gen. 17:14) is disputed among Hebrew commentators, but all agree that it was done by “the hand of God.” Some argue it signifies that the uncircumcised child is cut off from the world to come, but Ibn Ezra clearly rejects this interpretation (*Commentary on the Pentateuch* 1:186). See also Talmud tractate Shabbath (132b, 133b). Heidegger’s second-hand quotation from the unidentified Rabbi Elias ben Moses is taken from a manuscript acknowledged by John Selden and signifies, “Every Chereth [punishment] mentioned in the law is inflicted by the hands of God, in a punishment either of the body or of the soul.” Abarbanel’s commentary on Num. 15:22 reads, “A shortening of the Days of the Sinner, and death before the natural end of his lifespan in this world {which is death}, is effected by an act of heaven.” The phrase in braces {}, which Mather omits, is here restored from Heidegger. Buxtorf’s explanation appears in his exposition of קָרַח [karath] (cut off, torn off) in his famous *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Thalmudicum* (1639), col. 1100–1101; much the same is in his *Lexicon Hebraicum et Caldaicum* (1646) 357. One of the best recent studies of Buxtorf’s lexicons appears in Stephen Burnett’s *Christian Hebraism* (103–33). For Rashi’s standard reading, see *Mikraoth Gedoloth* (Genesis 1:197). The best summary of the various positions are in Ibn Ezra’s *Commentary* (1:186).

71 Heidegger (1:42, 43–44, Exerc. II, §§ 13, 14). Rabbi Jarchi (Rashi) interprets the phrase “that soul will be cut off” (Gen. 17:14) as sterility: “In this stands ruin, that a man should die childless.” The Greek word ἀτεκνος [ateknos] (LXX Gen. 15:2) signifies “childless.” In this reading Rashi follows Talmudic precedent (Talmud tractate Yevamoth 55a and Mo’ed Katan 28a) – both in *Mikraoth Gedoloth* (Genesis 1:197). Maimonides argues for the total extinction of body and soul, in *Mishneh Torah: Hilchot Teshuvah* (8.1, 5). Abarbanel, however, reads the phrase more allegorically: “The soul will be destroyed by that supreme Scepter of Life, and will not obtain the splendor of godliness.” Circumcision as the visible sign of God’s covenant with Abraham and his descendants is mentioned in Gen. 17:9–10. Heidegger’s summary of the major Christian positions appears in § 13 (1:42–43). The Greek word *θειλατον* [theilaton]

We find the *Patriarchs* also entering into *Covenants* now and then; and that with *Idolaters*. *Necessity* compelled them to it: And they might say, with *Solomon*, in *Josephus*: *Ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων τὴν φύσιν ἐσμεν, οὐδ' ἀλλοτριῶς πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ἐχομεν*. *Non sumus inhumano ingenio, neque malè affecti ergò extraneos.*⁷²

§ From the *Policy* of the *Patriarchs*, Lett us pass on to their THEOLOGY. What Form and State of the *Church*, was observed among the *Patriarchs*, is not plainly declared unto us. It is a pleasant and popish Fancy, in *Sanders* and others, to sett up a fine Universal Ecclesiastical Monarchy among them. The confusion sent among the Builders of *Babel*, proclaimed the Displeasure of *Heaven* against such an Undertaking. And, by the way, why did not *Noah*, if he had been such a *Pope*, restrain *that* Evil Undertaking?⁷³

[172v] The *Teachers* of the Church, could then inculcate none but the Lawes of GOD, and what GOD had Reveled unto them. It looks, as if till the Dayes of *Moses*, those who were called, *The Elders*, were the *Pastors*, | and *Rulers* of the Churches. Possibly, they were not without their *Associations*; whereof each one, was called in the Writings of the After-ages, *Domus Judicij*; and *Maimonides* tells us of them, *Docebant homines ad morem concionatorum*. The Orientals have such a Notion among them. *Elmacinus* tells us, That *Mahalaleel* before he dyed, ordained *Jared*; of *Jared* he reports, *Et rexit populum suum Regimine pulchro.*⁷⁴

means “caused by a god.” Among the capital crimes here alluded to are the breaking of the Sabbath, adultery, incest, blasphemy, and idolatry.

72 Mather here summarizes Heidegger (1:44–45, Exerc. II, §§ 15, 16, 17, 18). Among the “idolaters” (non-Hebrews) with whom Abram covenanted are “the Amorite, brother of Eshcol, and brother of Aner” (Gen. 14:13), Abimelech (Gen. 21:27), and Laban (Gen. 31:44). Heidegger’s slightly diverging Greek citation from Josephus Flavius’s *Antiquities* is by William Whiston translated as follows: “we are not ourselves of an unsociable nature, nor behave ourselves like enemies to such as are not of our own people” (*Antiquities* 8.4.3 at the end). See also 1 Kings 8:43.

73 Heidegger (1:46–77, Exerc. III: “Ecclesia et Theologia Patriarcharum”). Mather’s excerpt is from § 3, pp. 48–49. Heidegger evidently had in mind *De visibili monarchia ecclesiae, libri octo* (1571), an exegetical work by Nicholas Sanders (c. 1530–81), a prominent English Roman Catholic exile during the reign of Elizabeth I, suspected of trying to depose her. Heidegger also mentions Johannes Cocceius, the Reformed theologian and professor of oriental languages at Leiden, whose argument about a spiritual dispensation of grace, distinct from Christ’s visible Universal Monarchy, smacked too much of what Protestant eschatologists believed was the endeavor of the papal Antichrist to become Universal Monarch (see Mather, *Threefold Paradise*, 237–38, 416 note 5). According to Gen. 11:4–7, God confounded the language of those engaged in building the Tower of Babel to ensure their dispersal over all the earth. Noah – progenitor of the entire postdiluvian population – knew better than to established himself Universal Monarch, Mather seems to argue, with Heidegger at his elbow, that the OT patriarch knew this office belonged to one greater than him.

74 Heidegger (1:50, Exerc. III, § 5). The elders or rulers of the church associated in the *bet-din* or “House of Justice” (of Eber); Maimonides relates that they “instructed men about the law of gathering them together / indoctrination” (*Liber Moreh Nebuchim* 2.39.302) [*Guide*, Part II, ch. 39, p. 231]. Finally, Georgius Elmacinus relates that according to an Eastern tradition

Aristotle, with other ancient Writers, does observe, That in those Heroic Times, He that was the *General* and *Governour*, was also, *Rerum Divinarum Moderator*. It is not improbable, that among the Patriarchs, the *Political* and *Ecclesiastical* Power, was lodged in the same Person; which, Conjunction of Power for the Slothfulness, & Luxury, and the too many Employments of the Princes, was afterwards abrogated by God. However, the *Power* exercised by the *Patriarchs*, in *Sacred* Matters, was not so absolute, as in *Civil*; No; as *Heidegger* saies, *In Ecclesiasticis, nulla Jurisdictio, Imperium nullum, locum habere potuit*. The Jewes after the Return out of *Babylon*, would fain (against the Mind of God,) have united this Power again. In the Christian Church, he that goes to unite them, does, as tis expressed by *Synesius*, κλωθειν τα ασυγκλωστα, *Conglomerare inconglomerabilia*.⁷⁵

We find, that there were *Preachers*, and *Prophets* among the *Patriarchs*. And they had something more than the Dictates of Mens Natural and Enfeebled *Light*, to preach upon. *Divine Revelation* was afforded unto them; for, according to the Golden Saying of my *Heidegger*, *Quicquid Deo Auctore non sit, impossibile est ut cum bonâ conscientia fieri possit*. *Cæstrial Apparitions* were very frequent among them. The Son of God, in the *Shechinah*, frequently made His Descent among them. He who is called, *The Speaker*; [Isa. 52.6.] tells us; Isa. 48.16. That He *spoke from the Beginning*. Our Saviour seems to apply those Words unto Himself; when He tells the Jewes; Joh. 8.25. *I am He that spoke unto you from the Beginning*.⁷⁶

The *Patriarchs* might be sure, That in these *Apparitions*, they were not by *Evil Angels* imposed on; First, By the Inimitable *Glory* of the *Shechinah*, wherein the Son of God appeared. And, Secondly, By the Tendency, the Sanctity, the Majesty of the Things that were *spoken*, when He appeared. For, as *Heidegger* well observes; *Veritatis et Sapientia ea vis est, ut non possit non splendere in Animo* εὐ διακειμενω, *rectè disposito*.⁷⁷

Mahalaleel, Cainan's son, ordained his own son Jared (Gen. 5:12–15), who “ruled his people with noble guidance,” in Hottinger (*Smegma Orientale*, lib. 1, cap. 8, p. 234).

⁷⁵ Heidegger (1:50–51, Exerc. III, § 6). In his *Politica* (3.14.1285b, 22–23), Aristotle argues that in the heroic ages, the ruler was “a general and a judge, and had the control of religion.” Among the other ancient writers (here alluded to) who point to the union of scepter and miter are Livy (2.2.1–2), Cicero (*De divinatione* 1.40.89), and Dionysius Halicarnassus (*Antiquitates Romanae* 5.1.1–4). The Latin citation from Heidegger reads, “In churches, jurisdiction and political power can have no common ground” (1:50, § 6). The Christian Neoplatonist Synesius of Cyrene (c. 370–413 CE), bishop of Ptolemais, argues that he who unites both secular and spiritual power “twists together that which must not be spun together” (*Epistulae adversus Andronicum* 57.271).

⁷⁶ Heidegger (1:51, 52, 53, Exerc. III, §§ 8, 10, 12). Heidegger's “Golden Saying” (§ 10, p. 52) declares, “Whatever does not have God as its originator cannot possibly come about with good conscience.”

⁷⁷ Heidegger (1:55, Exerc. III, § 17). He observes that “This is the power of truth and knowledge that it cannot fail to sparkle in a properly ordered mind.”

But the Foundation, and Epitome, of the whole Revelation granted unto the Patriarchs, was in that famous Promise, Gen. 3.15. *I will putt Enmity, between thee and the Woman, and between thy Seed and her Seed: It shall bruise thy Head, and thou shalt Bruise his Heel.* This *Protevangelium*, had the Marrow and Substance of all the Gospel in it.⁷⁸

Hence the Patriarchs came to such a *Creed* as this; *That* they were by Nature *Dead in Sin, Captives to Satan, and Cursed* of God. *That* nothing but the Sovereign and Powerful *Grace* of God, could bring them out of this Condition: *That* God will alwayes have a *Church* in the World; whereof the *Messiah* is to be the *Head*: *That* the *Messiah* had undertaken to be the *Redeemer* of His Church, from the *Miseries* which the *Fall* ha's brought upon us; *That* the *Messiah* should one Day be *Born of a Virgin*, & be *God and Man in One Person*, and accomplish what He had engaged: *That* the *Messiah* should therefore *Dy*, in the room of his Elect, and so make Expiation for their Offences; whereby the *Divel* should lose his Power, and *God* should without any Damage to His Justice, bestow Salvation on His People: *That* they who will approve themselves the People of the *Messiah*, must suffer Persecutions, until they enter into Everlasting Life: *That* the *Wicked* shall treasure up for themselves *Wrath against the Day of Wrath*, and be adjudged by the *Messiah* unto Eternal Perdition with the *Divel and his Angels*.

This Faith, illustrated with several and successive Revelations, the *Patriarchs* taught in their Assemblies. The *Names* of their *Sons*, carry in them a Confession of sundry Articles thereof.⁷⁹

In the Dayes of *Enosh*, the *Seed of the Serpent*, and the *Seed of the Woman*, came to a more visible *Separation*. About the *Faith* of the *Patriarchs* in these, and the following Times, we have notable Intimations, in the *Eleventh Chapter* to the *Hebrewes*. Unto which *Faith*, there is opposed, Heb. 10.39. ἡ υποστολή, *Subductio*: which means, A *Withdraw* from the true | *Messiah*, to some *other Hope* of Blessedness. The *Rock* on which the *Temple* stood, was in the Apostles Dayes, the Thing opposed unto this *Rock of our Salvation*.⁸⁰

The Difference between the *Church* of the *Patriarchs*, and the Church of the *Israelites*, is considered in the Sacred Scriptures. We read, Isa. 54.1. *More are*

⁷⁸ Heidegger (1:56–57, Exerc. III, § 24).

⁷⁹ Heidegger (1:57–58, 60, Exerc. III, §§ 26, 33). The wicked shall store up “wrath against the day of wrath” (Rom. 2:5). The names of some of the patriarchs’ sons suggest articles of faith: “Cain” signifies “possession,” “Abel” “breath,” “Seth” “compensation,” “Enoch” “dedication,” and “Mahalaleel” “praise of God.”

⁸⁰ Heidegger (1:62, Exerc. III, § 37). The notable intimations of the patriarchs’ faith appear in Heb. 11:9, 13, 17, 39. Unto faith is opposed “hypostole,” “a letting down, a shrinking back” [Strong’s # 5289]. Mather puns on the rock on which the Temple stood, Mt. Moriah, on which according to tradition Abraham offered up Isaac (Gen. 22:2, 2 Chron. 3:1); and the rock of our salvation (Christ, the savior, and Peter, on whom Christ’s Church would be built). Thus by implication, Mather argues the children of Abraham rejected Christ and his Church, the rock or corner stone of salvation (2 Sam. 22:3, 47; Ps. 18:2, 89:26, 95:1; Matt. 21:42; 1 Pet. 2:6–7).

the Children of the Desolate, than the Children of the Married Wife. My Heidegger takes the Church of the Patriarchs, to be the Desolate: It had not such Rulers, to be like Husbands lording over it, as the Church of the Israelites had; and it had no Offspring, while the Church of the Israelites was extant. But now the Children of this Desolate Church, are all the Faithful of the New Testament; who become the Children of God, only by Faith in the Promise made unto the Church of the Patriarchs; and not by Subjection to the Law, which the Church of the Israelites had as a Yoke upon it. Moreover, Sarah was a Type of the Church of the Patriarchs; and of the New Testament; as Hagar was of the Church of the Israelites; which is an Allegory, that our Apostle ha's elegantly prosecuted, in his Epistle to the Galatians.⁸¹

In the External Worship of the Patriarchs, we find Sacrifices, as early as just after the Fall; and a Distinction between Clean and Unclean Creatures for this Purpose before the Flood. The Patriarch and his First-born, were they, who offered the Sacrifices of their Families, & wore the Character of the Priesthood. An Imitation of such a Priesthood we find, in all the Antiquities of the Nations. But the Rite of Sacrificing, must needs originally have been a Matter of Divine Revelation and Institution. And, the εμπυρισμον, or, Inflammation from Heaven, was the usual Sign, that the Sacrifices found Acceptance. As the Sacrifices were accounted, the Food of Heaven, this Consumption was look'd upon, as its Eating the Food. This was a Type of the Holy Spirit falling on the Faithful, whereby we ourselves become Sacrifices unto God. And perhaps, in Allusion to this, are those Words, Matth. 3.11. Of being Baptised with the Holy Spirit & with Fire. [Compare, Act. 2.4.] And hence that Expression; 1. Thess. 5.19. Quench not the Spirit.⁸²

We read not of any Sacraments præscribed and practised among the Patriarchs before the Flood. Except the Weekly Sabbath should be look'd upon, as then observed; which for my own Part, I beleeve it was: but my Heidegger won't hear of That.⁸³

Quere, whether any such thing as Excommunication was used among them? Selden ha's proved, That there never were more than Two Sorts of Excommunication; The Niddui, and the Cherem. The Schamatha was but a Degree of the Niddui; a carrying on the Niddui a Month longer, if the Offendor did not within

⁸¹ Heidegger (1:66–67, Exerc. III, § 47). St. Paul's allegory of the two churches is explained in Gal. 4:22–27.

⁸² Heidegger (1:68–71, Exerc. III, §§ 51, 52, 53, 54). John Selden has much to say on the role of the patriarchal priesthood, feasts, and sacrifice among the ancients, both pagan and Israelite, in his *De Synedriis* (lib. 1, ch. 16, pp. esp. 642–56). See also Tibullus (*Elegiae* 2.1, 5), Marcus Porcius Cato, the Censor (*De agri cultura* 132–135, 140–42), and Philo Judæus (*De vita Mosis* 2.224). The Greek word “empyrismon” signifies “burning” (LXX, Num. 11:3, Lev. 10:6) as a sign that the burnt offering was accepted by God. For the same argument, see Rashi's commentary on Gen. 4:4 (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:65) and Ibn Ezra (*Commentary* 1:81).

⁸³ Heidegger (1:73–74, Exerc. III, § 58).

the First Month come unto Repentance.⁸⁴ The Offender was hereby separated from the Society of the Church, yea, and of his own Domesticks, that he might not come within *Four Cubits* of them. If in three Months he Repented not, then came the Thunder of the *Cherem*; which allow'd him, neither to *Teach* nor to *Learn*, and which forbad all People, to eat with him, or to have any Dealings with him; and laid him under direful *Curses*, fetch'd from the *Twenty Eighth* of *Deuteronomy*, and other Scriptures. But after all that *Selden*, and *Buxtorf*, and *Cocceius*; and *L'Empereur*, and others have written of this Matter, tis very clear, that such an *Excommunication* was unknown in the more early Ages; and that it was rather an *Humane Institution*, than a *Divine*, introduced after the *Israelites* fell under the Power of the *Chaldeans* and the *Persians*, and could not exercise their Jurisdiction as in their own free Commonwealth formerly they did use to do; and so by *Common Consent* they erected a *Church-Discipline*, by which they might keep their own People in an awful Obedience unto the Lawes of God.⁸⁵ This is *Grotius's* Opinion, and a very probable one. *Nam* (saies he) *in lege nulla earum poenarum mentio, neque in veteri Historiâ populi illius*. The Reasons brought by *Bertram*, for the use of such an *Excommunication* among the *Patriarchs*, are very little ones.⁸⁶ As for the *Maranatha*, or, an *Anathema* dispensed under such a Denomination; the *Hebrewes* are Strangers to it. Only *Nic. Flammel* tells of a *Chymical Book* written by one *Abraham*, a Jew, in *France*, to his own | Countreymen; to which there was prefixed, an horrid Heap of *Curses* against all that should look into the Book, except *Priests* and *Scribes*; and at every turn, the Word, *Maranatha*, repeated among the *Curses*.⁸⁷ My *Heidegger* thinks, That *Maranatha*, was no *Form of Imprecation* at all; but, *Symbolum omnium*

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⁸⁴ Heidegger (1:74–75, Exerc. III, § 59). Selden's discussion of excommunication and the severity and duration of punishment among the ancient Israelites appears in *De Jure Naturali* (lib. 4, c. 8, pp. 510–18) and in *De Synedriis* (lib. 1, cap. 7, esp. pp. 108–10, 116–21).

⁸⁵ For Selden, see note 84. Johannes Buxtorf's lexical explications of "Schamatha" (שָׁמַתָּה) and the various juridical applications of "Niddui" (separation, ban) and "Cherem" (anathema, excommunication) are given in his *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Thalmudicum* (1639), col. 2462–70. They regulate the degrees of punishment and forms of expulsion from the synagogue. Johannes Cocceius's explanations appear in his *Duo tituli Thalmudici Sanhedrin et Maccoth* (1629) 147. The Dutch Orientalist Constantinus L'Empereur (1591–1648), professor of Hebrew at Leiden, translated the Mishnah and Talmud into Latin. His discussion of excommunications appears in his *De legibus Ebraeorum* (1637) 156 and 269–71. See also Maimonides's *Mishneh Torah: Hilchot Talmud Torah* (7).

⁸⁶ Grotius's opinion is given in his commentary on Neh. 13:25 (*Annotationes* 1:197) and suggests, "For there is no mention of these punishments in the law, neither in the ancient history of that people." Mather dismisses the argument of his Swiss colleague Cornelius Bonaventura Bertramus (1531–94), professor of Hebrew at Geneva and Lausanne, who discusses the Hebrew practice of excommunication in his *De republica Hebraeorum* (1641), cap. 2, pp. 20–23.

⁸⁷ *Livre des Figures hiéroglyphiques*, allegedly copied by the Parisian alchemist Nicolas Flamel (1330–1418), was published in, *Trois Traitez de la Philosophie Naturelle* (1612), a collection of medieval and Renaissance alchemical works. Flamel refers to the pseudonymously written Rosicrucian work by Rabbi Abraham Eleazar's, whose *Chymical Book* sported the mysterious curse "maranatha" on its pages to warn off all but the most worthy initiates.

Christianorum, Adventum Domini confitentium; a Sort of *Symbol*, and *Signal*, by common Agreement used among all the Primitive Christians, to express their *Faith* in the *Coming* of our Saviour; and they express'd this *Faith*, usually when they denounced the *Curses* which they must expect, who denyed the Blessed JESUS, or proposed any other Saviour.⁸⁸

Lett us follow the *Patriarchs* to their *Graves*. It seems, that *Funerals* were solemnized with great Respect and Honour among them, and with much of Decency. We find this often Instanced, in the Ages after the *Flood*; and may well suppose it, *before*. And what became then of the *Souls* of them who *walked with God*, may be gathered, from the Nature of the World, unto which we may conclude *Enoch* was translated.⁸⁹

But so much for our present Entertainment. We shall have Opportunity to consult with our *Heidegger* again, I suppose, before we have done with the Book of *Genesis*.

Q. The *Successors* of *Seth*, in the Genealogy of the Antediluvian Patriarchs, are they all *Eldest Sons*? v. 32.

A. This is very uncertain, yea, very unlikely. The *Sons* mentioned, were those, whom God in the *Shechinah* chose, for the Emperours of the World, as well as the Ancestors of the Messiah. In this, He was far from obliging Himself to the *Primogeniture*.

And this gives us a clear *Idea*, of the Different Age, in which we find the Patriarchs having the Son of the Line born unto them. Some at little more than *Sixty*; Others at above *One hundred & Eighty*.⁹⁰

Q. But then, how comes *Noah*, to be 500 Years old, before he ha's his Three Sons? v. 32.

A. *Noah* was assured of the Coming of the Deluge; & was afflicted with the Wickedness of the World. He might be under a peculiar Direction from God therefore to act a different Part from his Predecessors. From these Considerations he might justly be induced not to marry so soon as others: And having Three Sons, to order his affaires, that they might not marry till the very time that the Flood came; that so, he & his Wife, & his Sons & their Wives, might

⁸⁸ Mather provides his own translation of the Latin citation from Heidegger (1:75, § 59).

⁸⁹ Heidegger (1:75–77, Exerc. III, §§ 60, 61). Ancient funeral rites are mentioned in Gen. 23:2–6. Enoch's translation is suggested in Gen. 5:24, and the state of the hereafter in Heb. 11:13–15. Josephus Flavius also describes Jacob's rite of mourning over the supposed death of Joseph (*Antiquities* 2.3.4).

⁹⁰ Heidegger (1:146–47, Exerc. VI: "De Cainitis et Sethitis," § 25; Exerc. XIV: "De Longaevitate Patriarcharum," § 8). Cainan's son Mahalaleel fathered his son Jared at age 60 (Gen. 5:5); Methuselah begat Lamech at age 187 (Gen. 5:25), and Lamech obliged his father with Noah at the age of 182 (Gen. 5:28).

not have the Incumbrance of young Children on them in the *Ark*, where they were to have so much other Work to mind.⁹¹

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Q. What may be the True Cause for the *Longevity* of the *Antediluvian Patriarchs*, and for & by what Cause has the *Life* of Man been since abbreviated? v. 32.

A. We will not enter into any Disquisition of the *Year*, which was used in the Computation of the *Patriarchs*. The Words of *Petavius* make some Impression upon me; *Quo Anni genere usi fuerint tum homines, nondum certò comperi. Credibile est, communes saldem adhibuisse Trecentorum et Sexaginta Dierum; quos identidem Intercalaribus auferent.* Or, I could be content with *Heideggers* Conjecture; That the *Months* of the *Patriarchs*, were *Lunar* ones; which was the most ancient and natural sort of Reckoning; And the *Years* were framed accordingly: but brought into a tolerable Correspondence with *Solar Years*, by seasonable *Intercalations*.⁹²

But we will not Forgive the *Chronology* in our present Copies of the LXX. Some licentious Transcribers of what was in the *Ptolomean Library*, imagining that the *Egyptians* would laugh at the Account which *Moses* gives, concerning the *Longevity* of the *Patriarchs*, would needs have the *Years* in the *Mosaic* Account, extend no further than a *Lunæ Senium*, and to be but so many *Months*; For that the *Egyptians* had such *Years* also. *Plutarch*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Pliny* have informed us.⁹³ They have therefore added a *Century*, unto the *Years*

91 Extracted from Heidegger (1:333, Exerc. XVII, § 21; 1:346–47, XVIII, § 5; and 1:410, XX, § 4). Mather here accepts Heidegger's position but rejects that of his vade mecum Simon Patrick, who argues that "Moses sets down only those Persons by whom the Line of *Noah* was drawn from *Seth*, and *Abraham's* Line from *Noah*, by their true Ancestors; whether they were the eldest of the Family or no *Noah*, we may be confident had [children] before he begat *Sem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*," even if Moses does not mention them (*Commentary* 1:30, on Gen. 5:6).

92 Heidegger (1:215, Exerc. XII: "De Anno Patriarcharum," §§ 12). See also Nehemiah Grew's *Cosmologia Sacra* (bk. 4, ch. 4, § 6, p. 185). Joseph Justus Scaliger's *De emendatione temporum* (1583), an outstanding attempt of the period to harmonize the calendars of the ancients, was surpassed by *Rationarum temporum* (1633), a study of ancient chronology, by the renowned French Jesuit Dionysius Petavius (1583–1652). This learned Jesuit impressed the Puritan Mather with the words, "I have not yet worked out what kind of year men used in those days. It is believable, at least, that years of three hundred and sixty days were universally employed, and that they expanded them repeatedly by adding intercalends" (*Rationarium Temporum*, lib. 2, cap. 1, § 11). The longevity of the ancient patriarchs posed a perennial problem for biblical commentators; attempts to interpret their incredible lifespan as lunar years (28 days) rather than solar years (365 days) were not universally accepted (Heidegger 1:216–17, Exerc. XII, esp. §§ 15–17). See note 4 (above).

93 Heidegger (1:224–25, Exerc. XIII: "De Ætate Patriarcharum Antediluvianorum," §§ 11, 13). The translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek (LXX) was ordered by Ptolemy Philadelphus for the library in Alexandria, Egypt (Draper, *History* 19–20). The "*Lunæ Senium*" is the "waning of the moon," i.e., lunar years of 28 days each (1:225–26, Exerc. XIII, § 13). Plutarch (*Vitae Parallelæ*: *Numa* 18–19) details the intercalation of days and months in the ancient Greek and Roman calendars; Pliny (7.48.155) comments on the different calendars and means

of Generation, in the First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Seventh Instances: Because else, the Number of Years assigned in the Bible for Generation in the Patriarchs, would not have brought them, unto an Age sufficient for it. But in the Sixth, and Eighth, and Ninth Instances, they have made no Immutation; because, at so many *Months*, as the Hebrew Annals here assign *Years*, the Lads might be capable of Generation. But this is a Computation that needs no Confutation. Accordingly, the Credit of the LXX is gone also beyond Recovery.⁹⁴ And tho' *Baronius* has gathered a *Cloud of Witnesses*, which emboldens him to say, *Catholicam Dei Ecclesiam in supputando Annorum numero Septuaginta Interpretes sequi consuevisse*; (In which by the way, he bears hard upon the *Vulgar Version*, which the Council of *Trent* made *Authentic*, tho' it follow not the LXX. and such famous Authors among the Papists, as *Pererius*, and *Bellarmino*, and *Torniellus*, and *Malvenda*, and *Petavius*, and others, who renounce the LXX:)⁹⁵

of measuring time in use among the ancients, which circumstance, he says, accounts for the incredible longevity among some of the ancients; and *Diodorus Siculus* (1.26.1–5) points out that the Egyptian priests used a calendar that measured the time between “the reign of Heliuss to the crossing of Alexander into Asia” (334 BCE) as 23,000 years. Egyptian legend reports that while the ancient gods ruled for more than 12,000 years, the more recent ones only for about 300 years (seasons). Some of the ancients therefore argue that before the movement of the sun was understood, years were counted by lunar cycles. By this reckoning, men could easily live for 1,200 lunar years. *Diodorus Siculus* adds that those of the Egyptians whose longevity was 300 years (seasons) thus only lived for 75 solar years of 4 seasons each – the year being “composed of the four months which comprise the seasons of each year.” For this reason, the Greeks called their years “horoi” (seasons), and their annals “horographs,” i.e., “records of seasons.”

94 Mather had visited this topic several times before (see his commentaries on Gen. 4:26 and on Gen. 5:3, above). The conflicting chronological data given in the LXX and in the KJV required some sort of explanation. For instance, while the LXX lists the age of paternity of Adam as 230, of Seth 205, of Enos 190, of Cainan of 170, of Mahalaleel 165, of Enoch 165, the KJV lowers their age of paternity by 100 years each (Gen. 5:3, 6, 9, 12, 15, 21). The only agreement between the LXX and KJV occurs in Gen. 5:18 where both versions give Jared's age as 162 years when he fathered Enoch. Furthermore, the ages of Methuselah and Lamech in the LXX are listed, respectively, as 167 and 188, whereas the KJV allows for 187 and 182 years (Gen. 5:25, 28). Following Heidegger's precedent, Mather argues that “They,” i.e., the copyists of the LXX who used lunar years of 28 days each, “added a *Century*, unto the Years of Generation” in those instances where the ages of the patriarchs would otherwise have been too young for procreation (Heidegger, 1:224–25, Exerc. XIII, § 11). Richard Simon (*Critical History of the OT*, bk. 2, chs. 1–10), Isaac Vossius (*Critical Enquiries*, chs. 16–18), and many others point at the hundreds of major and minor textual, stylistic, and substantive disagreements between the LXX, Vulgate, and Hebrew versions of the Bible; hence Mather's laconic reference to the Septuagint's irrevocable loss of credibility.

95 Cardinal Caesar Baronius (1538–1607), eminent scholar and librarian of the Vatican Library, gathered his “Cloud of Witnesses,” in his *Martyrologium Romanum ad novam Kalendarii* (1586). Mather's second-hand citation from this work translates, “The Catholic Church of God has been accustomed to following the Seventy Interpreters [Septuagint] in calculating the number of years” (Heidegger, 1:223, Exerc. XIII, § 5). The Council of Trent (1545–63) was convoked by Pope Paul III to consolidate RC strategies for the Counter-Reformation. The Latin Vulgate, whose revision was enjoined in 1546, did not acquire its final version until 1592 (ODC). Among Roman Catholic critics of the Vulgate and of the LXX versions of the OT are (1) the Spanish Jesuit Benito Pereira (Pererius) of Valencia (1535–1610), whose *Commentari in*

It is well-known, That *Austin*, and *Jerom*, the Two Learnedest of all the *Latin Fathers*, condemned the Greek Version, when they discussed that Quæstion; *An in dinumeratione Annorum, Hebræorum magis quàm Septuaginta Interpretum sequenda sit Auctoritas?*⁹⁶

We will proceed then to consider the *Long Life* of the *Patriarchs*. And in the Consideration of it, we will chiefly employ the Collections of *Heidegger* in his *Exercitation* on that Noble Subject.⁹⁷

If you will be at the Pains to consult the *Forty Eighth* Chapter, in the *Seventh* Book of *Pliny*, you will find a Notable Assembly of *Long-Livers*, whom that well-known Writer has gathered together. Many other Ancient Authors have Reported remarkable Instances of Aged Persons; and one *Phlegon* particularly ha's written, *περι μακροβίων*. Of later Times, every one ha's heard of the famous Englishman, *Parr*, who lived one hundred and fifty two Years. *Peireskios* was informed, as *Gassendus* informs us, in his *Life*, of a Man then in *Persia*, that was counted Four Hundred Years old. They affirm of *Johannes de Tempore*, who was an Officer of *Charlemaign*, that he arrived unto the Age of *Three Hundred*.⁹⁸

Genesim (1589–98), in 4 vols., and *Selectae disputationes* (1601–1610), in 5 vols. were frequently reprinted; (2) Cardinal Roberto Francesco Romolo Bellarmine (1542–1621), librarian of the Vatican Library, whose scholarship Mather respected highly; (3) Agostino Tornielli (1543–1622), learned Italian theologian and chronologer whose popular *Annales sacri et profane* (1611) went through several editions; (4) Thomas Malvenda (1566–1628), learned Spanish Dominican exegete and translator of the Hebrew OT into Latin, whose *Commentaria in sacram scripturam* (1650) was accessible at Harvard Library (*Catalogus* 23); and (5) the previously mentioned Jesuit Dionysius Petavius, whose *Rationarium temporum* (1633) is quoted above.

⁹⁶ Heidegger (1:223–24, Exerc. XIII, § 7). Mather here cites the Latin chapter title of Augustin's *De Civitate Dei* (15.13) [PL 41. 452], which translates, "Whether, in computing years, we ought to follow the Hebrew or the Septuagint" (*NPNFi* 2:293). In this chapter, St. Augustine addresses the conflicting chronological lifespans for some of the earliest patriarchs and insists that the authority of the LXX is not compromised, not because (as later polemicists claimed) Jews had deliberately tampered with the text, but because scribal errors occurred during the copying process. "When first their labors began to be transcribed from the copy in Ptolemy's library," St. Augustine argued in his *The City of God*, "some such misstatement might find its way into the first copy made, and from it might be disseminated far and wide; and that this might arise from no fraud, but from a mere copyist's error" (*NPNFi* 2:293). St. Jerome's preference for the Hebrew-Aramaic rather than LXX translation as the basis for his new Vulgate translation is generally taken as Jerome's condemnation of the LXX.

⁹⁷ Subsequent paragraphs are extracted from Heidegger (1:236 ff, Exerc. XIV: "De Longae-vitate Patriarcharum").

⁹⁸ Heidegger (1:236–37, Exerc. XIV, § 1). Pliny (7.48.153 ff) lists individuals by name whose longevity rivals that of some of the OT patriarchs. Publius Aelius Phlegon, aka. Phlegon of Tralleis (2nd c. CE), wrote a variety of works on Roman topics. His Book of Wonders *De mirabilibus [Peri Makrobion kai thaumasion]*, covering such issues as resurrection, longevity, hermaphrodites, and other wondrous tales, survives only in fragments. Thomas Parr (1483–1635), who is to have lived for 152 years and 9 months, lies buried in Westminster Abbey. The French philosopher Pierre Gassendi was not beyond credulity when he repeated the fourth-hand story of a Persian Methuselah, as related by Lord Peireskios (Nicolaus Claudius Fabricius), in Gassendi's *Mirroure of True Mobility* (1657), bk. 5, pp. 139–40. The same story is told by Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:30, on Gen. 5:5), but in the present case, Mather draws his information from

Joseph Scaliger, tells us, That in *Morocco*, & about Mount *Atlas*, they oftner see a Man of an *hundred & twenty Years* of age, than they see a Woman bear *Twins* in *Europe*. Vartomannus assures us, that in *Arabia*, he saw many surviving the hundred & twenty fifth Year of their Lives. The Inhabitants of *Hispaniola*, were commonly above One hundred & twenty Years of Age, when the *Spaniards* first came upon them. The *Hollanders* found at *Java*, a King that was One hundred & Fifty Years old, who at last lost his Life in a Fight. Scaliger himself saw a Person, called *Theobald*, who was an hundred & twenty Years old, and whose Father died at One hundred & thirty. He saies, That his Mothers Great Uncle passed | an hundred & twenty Years, without any Sickness. And elsewhere he tells of an old Man at *Paris*, who at One hundred and Forty was in Good Health, & had the Free Use of all his Limbs.⁹⁹ [176v]

But all these *Old Men*, were Children to the *Antediluvian Patriarchs*; of whose *Longevity* to many *Centuries*, as we have the Testimony of the *Sacred History*, so *Josephus* brings in an Army of Confessions from the ancient Pagan Writers; But the entire Text of *Josephus*, is given us more compleatly, and less corruptly by *Eusebius*, [*Præpar. Evang.* IX. c. 13.] than we have it in the modern Editions of that famous Author. Because it gives us, a little Summ of the Matter, I will Transcribe and Translate the whole Passage, as it lies in *Eusebius*.¹⁰⁰

Heidegger (1:236–37), not from Patrick as Mather had done for his annotations on Gen. 5:3 (above). Charlemagne (742–814), Holy Roman Emperor of the West, must have felt blessed to have such an aged officer as Johannes de Tempore in his service. The story is of the same caliber as that of the giant Suevian, who served in the emperor's army, as related in Joannes Aventinus's *Annalium Boiorum* (lib. 4, pp. 364–65, 420–21, 450).

⁹⁹ Heidegger's second-hand story about the longevity of some Moroccans is from Joseph Scaliger's *Elenchus primæ orationis chronologicae* (1607), §§ 65, 66. The Bolognese traveler Ludovicus Vartomannus (Luigi Varthema, also Barthema) (c. 1465–1517) gives his account in his popular *Ludovicus Vartomani Novum Itinerarium* (1511), lib. 2, cap. 8, which first appeared in Italian (1510), Latin (1511), English (1576–77), and in many other European languages. Vartomannus relates that in the city of Reame (Yerim), Arabia Felix, he talked to many "who were more than one hundred and twenty-five years old, and were still very healthy" (*Travels* 78). Heidegger's source for Native American longevity on Hispaniola (modern Haiti and the Dominican Republic) before the Spanish conquest is most likely Bartholomé de Las Casas, José Acosta, or Antonio de Herrera. These early historians continued the myth of American longevity first started by Antonio Pigafetta, who relates that some Brazilian natives "live a hundred years, or six score or seven score years, or more" (*Magellan's Voyage*, ch. 7, p. 43). Finally, the old man of Paris during the reign of Louis XI, turned 140 in 1584 and, no doubt, lived happily ever after.

¹⁰⁰ Heidegger (1:237–38, Exerc. XIV, § 3). Josephus Flavius, too, felt uneasy enough about the purported longevity of the Israelite patriarchs and referred to his more ancient Egyptian, Chaldean, and Phoenician fellow historians for credence (*Antiquities* 1.3.9). Legion are the editions and translations of Josephus Flavius's works before William Whiston's popular 1737 translation appeared in print. The first edition of Josephus's Greek manuscript was published by Frobenius and Episcopus (Basel, 1544) and was followed in quick succession by many reprints and translations on the continent. The first Latin translation – evidently by Cassiodorus – was printed by Johannes Schüssler (Augsburg, 1470), an incunabula testifying to the importance of Josephus's works to theologians (*Schaff-Herzog* 6.236). More than 100 editions and translations

“Lett no Man, upon a Comparison of the Ages of the Ancients, with our short Lives, imagine the things to be False, which have been written of them; or conjecture from the shorter Measures of our Lives, that the ancients could not have such a Stock of Time to spend upon. For they were dearer to God, and more near to the Immediate Workmanship of His own Hand. They used also a Diet, more likely to preserve their Strength and Vigour, & prolong their Lives for so many Years. There was likewise the Reward of their Vertue in it. And God indulged them a longer Life, that so by a long Experience, they might arrive unto a more certain and exact Knowledge of *Astrology* and *Geometry*, the Arts which themselves had invented: For, if they had not lived at least Six hundred Years, in which Time, *The Great Year*, is accomplished, they could have delivered nothing certain, of those Matters, to their Posterity. Of this, I have as many Witnesses, as there are Authors among the Greeks or Barbarians, that have left us any Monuments of Antiquity. *Manethus* who wrote the *Egyptian* History, and *Berosus* who wrote the *Chaldean*, and *Molus*, and *Hestiaeus*, and *Hieronymus Aegyptius*, who have handled the *Phœnician* Matters, all as one Man concur with me. Yea, and *Hesiod*, *Hecataeus*, *Hellanicus*, *Acusilaus*, *Ephorus* also, and *Nicolaus*, have delivered, That the Ancients lived a Thousand Years.”¹⁰¹

Austin laments it, that we have not left us, the same Demonstration of the *Ages* of the Patriarchs, that we have of their *Bodies*; *Non tamen ideò Fides Sacræ huic Historiæ deneganda est, cujus tanto impudentius (saith he) narrata non credimus, quantò impleri certiùs prænunciata conspiciamus.*¹⁰² And the Words of *Sabellius*, [Ennead. 1. L.1.] on this Occasion, are well worthy to be recited. *Non video, quid magis ineptum fieri possit, quàm cælum et omnia quæ cælo continentur, mira et ineffabili ratione, à Deo condita affirmare, Hominem, Animal nobilissimum, Rationis cœlestiumque rerum capax, quod summus ille universi Autor è*

of Josephus are listed in the *ESTC* alone. In Mather’s time, Eusebius’s *Praeparatio evangelica* (perhaps because of Joseph Justus Scaliger’s textual emendations) remained one of the most accessible anthologies of ancient authors and works now lost.

¹⁰¹ Mather translates Heidegger’s own Latin excerpt from Eusebius’s *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.13.415b–d) and uses much of the same material in his earlier commentary on Gen. 4:26 (above). The excerpted passage from Eusebius originates in Flavius Josephus’s *Antiquities* (1.3.9). Whereas Eusebius’s extract lists “Molus” (Apollonios Molon), the famed orator, grammarian, and teacher of Rhodes (2nd to 1st c. BCE), other editions – including Whiston’s 1737 translation of Josephus – here list “Mochus,” the ancient cosmogonist (*KP* 3:1399, 5:1363). Heidegger (1:237–38) comments on this confusion at some length, but Mather here omits this clarification altogether.

¹⁰² Heidegger (1:238–39, Exerc. XIV, § 4). St. Augustine laments in *De Civitate Dei* (15.9) [PL 41. 447] that his contemporaries are more inclined to believe the gigantic size of the antediluvians than their longevity, because huge bones and molars are frequently found like those of a man at Utica (Greece), whose remains are less certain proof of man’s longevity. (For Mather’s interest in petrified bones and other fossils, see his commentary on Gen. ch. 6, below). At any rate, Augustine cautions, “But we are not on this account to withhold our faith from the sacred history, whose statements of past fact we are the more inexcusable in discrediting, as we see the accuracy of its prediction of what was future” (*NPNFi* 2:291).

*terrâ suscitavit, non potuisse, aut si potuit, non debuisse, quàm diutissimè in vitâ retineri: præsertim mundo adhuc recenti, cùm in tantâ solitudine humano genere aucto imprimis opus esset.*¹⁰³

Abarbanel complains of those /חכמי נוצרים/ *Wise-Men among the Christians*, who have Invented various lesser Dimensions of Years, to abbreviate the *Lives* of the *Antediluvians*, and bring them to the modern Standard. Such there were in *Austins* time; whom he refutes, *Qui putant aliter annos illis Temporibus computatos; id est, tantæ brevitatis, ut unus Annus noster, decem illos habuisse credatur.* I know not, who they were, that so long ago started that Notion; but *Lactantius* taxes *Varro* among the *Gentiles*, for starting of it.¹⁰⁴

The Arguments to refute them, are too many and too obvious, to need any Recitation.

But, since the *Years* of the *Patriarchs*, were as they were, one would wonder that we find it so late, that so many *Years* pass, before they had their Offspring. *Austin* offers Two Reasons for it. One is, That they came later to *Maturity*. But that seems not sufficient. The other is, That they are not alwayes the *First-born Sons*, that are mentioned in the *Genealogy*; *Sed quos successionis ordo poscebat, ut perveniretur ad Noe.* And, with my *Heidegger*, I incline to this Opinion.¹⁰⁵

Maimonides and *Abarbanel* have a fond Imagination, That this *Longevity* was not a *General Thing*; But, *Longævitem hanc non fuisse nisi quorundam singularium commemoratorum in lege; reliquos illorum Sæculorum Annos attigisse non*

103 The second-hand citation from *Enneades sive Rhapsodia* (1504), vol. 1, bk. 1, a history of the world by the Venetian historian and editor Marcus Antonio Coccio Sabellicus (1436–1506), affirms God's power to prolong the patriarchs' lives as long he liked: "I do not see what could be more foolish than to assert that heaven and all that is contained in heaven, which was created by God with his wondrous and ineffable plan, could not (or if it could, must not) prolong the life of Man – the noblest of animals, capable of reason and of understanding heavenly matters, which the almighty Creator of the universe brought up from out of the earth – for as long as he liked; especially when the world was still new, when amidst such solitude the most pressing need was the increase of the human race." Mather's excerpt is much shorter than that in *Heidegger* (1:238).

104 *Heidegger* (1:238–39, Exerc. XIV, § 5). An abridgment of Don Isaac Abarbanel's commentary on the Bible and a dissertation on the patriarchs as giants (Genesis, ch. 5) was available in a Latin translation of Johannes Buxtorf's *Johannis Buxtorfi filii, Dissertationes philologico-theologicæ ... Accesserunt, R. Isaaci Abarbenelis* (1662). Wrestling with the problem of the patriarch's incredible longevity, St. Augustine exhorts his readers in his *De Civitate Dei* (15.12) [PL 41. 450] not to listen to those, "who suppose that in those times [before the Flood] years were differently reckoned, and were so short that one of our years may be supposed to be equal to ten of theirs" (*NPNFi* 2:292). Finally, the Christian apologist Lactantius (*Divinarum institutionum* 2.13) taxes his Roman colleague Marcus Terentius Varro with explaining away the longevity of the ancients: "For [Varro] says that among the Egyptians months are accounted as years: so that the circuit of the sun through the twelve signs of the zodiac does not make a year, but the moon, which traverses that sign-bearing circle in the space of thirty days" (*ANF* 7:62).

105 *Heidegger* (1:242, Exerc. XIV, § 10). St. Augustine's explanation in *De Civitate Dei* (15.15) [PL 41. 456] translates, "but those whose names were required to fill up the series until Noah was reached" (*NPNFi* 2:296).

[177r] *plures, quàm hodiè adhuc communiter fieri solet.* And some others of the Jewes, have thought | that they whose *Lives* were thus peculiarly prolonged by Miracle, were the same that *Moses* calls, *The Sons of God*. But *Nachmanides* earnestly opposes this Opinion. *Cur enim miraculum factum esset illis, qui neque Prophetae, neque Justī, neque Boni erant, ut continuīs aliquot sēculis miraculum ipsis fieret.* Indeed, the Opinion is too plainly False, to need any Confutation. The vast Age of the *Cainites*, as well as the *Sethites*, and the *Gradual Decrease* of Mans Age after the Flood, putts an End unto the Fancy, without any more ado.¹⁰⁶

Some have made their Observation, That we do not find any to have lived a *Thousand Years*. And *Ireneus* tells us of those in his Time, who looking on a *Thousand Years*, as *One Day with the Lord*, supposed the *Death* of every one before they had fill'd up their *Chiliad*, a fulfilment of the Threatning, *In the Day thou Eatest, thou shalt Dy*. My *Heidegger* seems a little more disdainful towards this Observation, than he needs to be; *Id planè dilutum et frivolum est*. But he saies, More probable is the Notion of those, who would have us instructed in the *Nothingness* of our Age, compared with the *Eternity* of GOD, with whom a *Thousand Years* is but as *One Day*. So *Cicero*, [I. Quæst. Tusc. c. 39.] mentioning the Creatures, whereof *Aristotle* reports, *That they live but One Day*, adds upon it; *confer nostram longissimam ætatem cum eternitate, in eadem propemodum ætate, quâ illæ Bestiolæ reperiemur*.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Heidegger (1:243–44, Exerc. XIV, §§ 12, 13). Maimonides (Rambam) disallows biblical hyperbole in the longevity of the patriarchs and offers a middle way: “Only the persons named lived so long, whilst other people enjoyed ordinary lengths of life. The men named were exceptions, either in consequence of different causes, as e.g., their food or mode of living, or by way of miracle” (*Guide* 2.47.248). Don Isaac Abarbanel concurs in his commentary on Genesis (ch. 5) that their longevity was caused by a miracle, because men were to multiply and increase their species and to attain perfect knowledge in the sciences, arts, and virtues, which can only be achieved through long experimentation (in Buxtorf, *Dissertationes philologico-theologicae* [1662]). The meaning of “the sons of God” (Gen. 6:2) was hotly debated among the ancient rabbis. Whereas the KJV suggests that they were fallen angels who procreated the fierce Nephilim (giants), R. Simeon ben Yohai called the “sons of God” (bene Elohim) “sons of nobles [princes and judges] and cursed all who called them “sons of God.” R. Hanina and Resh Lakish argued they were called “sons of God” simply “because they lived a long time without trouble or suffering.” However, R. Huna believed they lived so long “that men might understand [astronomical] cycles and calculations” (Genesis Rabbah XXVI:5). Rashi’s explanation that they were “messengers of the Omnipresent,” i.e., “angels,” is closest to that suggested in the KJV (Gen. 6:2, 4), which also accords with *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (ch. 22, pp. 160–61). Nachmanides (Ramban), however, argues that the phrase signifies “sons of judges,” who violated the sacred office of their fathers and preyed on the daughters of men. Finally, Ibn Ezra agrees with Ramban in that he also believes they were “sons of the judges, who performed God’s judgment on the earth” (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:81–82). Nachmanides vehemently contradicts Maimonides’s explanation (*Guide* 2.47.248) by asking, “Why should this miracle [longevity] have happened to them since they were neither prophets nor righteous, nor worthy that a miracle be done for them, especially for generation after generation?” (*Commentary on the Torah* 1:99).

¹⁰⁷ Heidegger (1:244–45, Exerc. XIV, § 14). Irenaeus mentions his contemporaries’ relative view of longevity (Ps. 90:4) in his *Adversus haereses* 5.23.2 (ANF 1:551–52). Heidegger’s disdain

But now, for the *Causes* of this wondrous *Longevity* in the *Patriarchs*, there are those, who with R. *Levi*, make it simply, *Opus Providentiæ, non Naturæ*. We may allow Both. But it is a Mistake in good old *Cyprian*, to ascribe the present *Brevity* of our *Lives*, unto a Sort of *Old Age* and *Decay* of *Nature*; tho' the Poets before him, had sufficiently flourished upon it. For, how comes *Nature* then to have been at such a *Stand*, for now some Thousands of Years together?¹⁰⁸

The *Causes* assigned by *Josephus*, will be found upon Examination, to have no Solidity in them. As for what he saies, of, *The Great Year*, it is proved by *Salmasius*; that among the *Egyptians*, it made no more than *Three hundred & Sixty five Years*. And that the ancients, made their *Greatest Year*, to be *Four Times* as large; in which Period, they imagined a *Revolution* of all the Heavenly Bodies.¹⁰⁹

The Hebrew Doctors, assign Three *Causes* of this Matter. The greater Strength of Humane Bodies, while they were yett nearer the Beginning of the World. The *Purity* of the *Air* in the Antediluvian World; And, The *Temperance* which Men then used in their *Diet*, which was also a very {w}holesome one. *Lyra* ha's adopted these *Causes*. But there is an Insufficiency in them. *Nature* is not spent, and tir'd, (in *Scaligers* Phrase) *ut Asinus ad Molam*. And the World was *cursed* before the *Flood*, as well as after. And our Saviour assures us, That before the *Flood* they liv'd *Intemperately*.¹¹⁰

translates, "this is plainly weak and frivolous" (1:244). Cicero alludes to the relative length of life of the ephemeron (mayfly), which lives but eight hours and "dies at sunset" (Aristotle, *Historia animalium* 5.19.552b, 18–24). "Contrast our longest lifetime with eternity," Cicero ponders in his *Tusculanae disputationes* (1.39.94); "we shall be found almost in the same category of short-lived beings as those tiny creatures."

108 Heidegger (1:245–46, Exerc. XIV, § 15). Maimonides attributes the longevity of the patriarchs to their exceptionality, but limits it only to those who are specifically mentioned in the Bible (*Guide* 2.47.248). The unidentified Rabbi Levi simply makes their longevity a work of providence, not of nature. St. Cyprian of Cathagena (*Treatises* 5.3–4) blames the present shortness of man's life on the decay of nature, which began with Adam's Fall and manifests itself in declining natural resources and the decreasing lifespan of man (*ANF* 5:458–59). The decline of nature is also a philosophical rationale in Hesiod (*Opera et dies* 90–201) and Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 1:89–150).

109 Heidegger (1:246–47, Exerc. XIV, § 16). Josephus Flavius argues that the patriarchs were blessed with longevity, because "they were beloved of God, and [lately] made by God himself; and because their food was then fitter for the prolongation of life." Moreover, "God afforded them a longer time of life on account of their virtue, and the good use they made of it in astronomical and geometrical discoveries, which would not have afforded the time of foretelling [the periods of the stars] unless they had lived six hundred years; for the Great Year is completed in that interval" (*Antiquities* 1.3.9). In his *Plinianae exercitationes* (1629) 552–53, Claudius Salmasius, aka. Claude de Saumaise (1588–1653), Huguenot philologist, classical scholar, and professor of Oriental languages at Leiden University, rejects Josephus's argument about the length of "the Great Year" (600 years), for the Egyptians only warranted 365 years.

110 Heidegger (1:247–48, Exerc. XIV, § 17). The three main causes, here summarized by Don Isaac Abarbanel (in Buxtorf, *Dissertationes*), are extracted from the explications of R. Maimonides (*Guide* 2.47.248) and of R. Nachmanides (*Commentary* 1:98–99) in *Mikraoth Gedoloth* (*Genesis* 1:77 on Gen. 5:4). Nicholas of Lyra, aka. Nicolaus Lyranus (c. 1270–c. 1340), the learned biblical exegete and professor at the Sorbonne, published the first printed commentary

The *Causes* that *Lyra* has added unto these, are also Insufficient. One is, The great Skill that *Adam* had in *Botanicks*, and in *Medicines*, *Quæ faciunt ad conservandam sanitatem, et vitam prolongandam*. But, certainly, the old Men suffered not their Skill, to dy with them. Another is, The good Aspect of the *Stars*, on the Countrey, where they lived. But, methinks, we should then at this day somewhere or other find out such a Countrey. His last is, The Disposition of Divine Providence, that Mankind might be *multiplied*. But the *Multiplication of Mankind*, ha's been marvellously carried on, where Men have lived no longer than they do now; The *Israelites* in *Egypt*, are a Testimony.¹¹¹

One would think, That when a *Physician* comes to handle this Noble Subject, we should see the *Nail hitt on the Head*. But, behold, The learned *Beverovicus*, in his *Thesaurus Sanitatis*, brings in *Peter Mexa* a Spaniard, assigning all the *Causes* of the Primitive *Longevity* already mentioned; and one more; Namely, The Use of *Raw Flesh* among the Antediluvians; For you must note, the Boiling or the Roasting of the *Flesh* for our Tables, consumes the most Nutritive Part of it; and so the *Vitæ Stamina* in us, are not strengthened by our Food. But, Syr; How do you know, that they liv'd upon *Raw Flesh* before the Flood? Or, do the *Animals* that feed on *Raw Flesh* live longer than they that feed on Plants? Or, Do we not by Experience find, that *Crudities* are hurtful and weakning to our *Bodies*? *Cardan* advanced this Notion of *Beverovicus*; but *Scaliger* ha's fallen upon him, with Arguments more efficacious, than if he had *beaten him with the Spitt*.¹¹²

on the Bible. In his *Postilla super bibliam* (1492), vol. 1, n.p., *Lyra* (on Gen. 5) offers the same causality as Abarbanel does for the decline of nature. Citing Joseph Scaliger's verdict that nature is not worn out "like the ass at the mill," Mather (via Heidegger) dismisses their reasoning: if "intemperance" of the postdiluvians is to be blamed for the shortness of our lives, their antediluvian progenitors were no less intemperate (Matt. 24:38, Luke 17:27).

111 Heidegger (1:249–50, Exerc. XIV, § 18). *Lyra* (*Postilla* 1, n.p., on Gen. 5) here seems to follow the thought of Josephus (*Antiquities* 1.3.9) and Nachmanides (*Commentary* 1:98–99) that patriarchal longevity was, in part, fostered by their scientific discoveries, the purity of the air, and God's providence: "They do this in order to preserve their health and prolong their lives." According to Gen. 46:26, the family of Jacob amounted to 76, when they joined Joseph in Egypt. At their escape from slavery 430 later, their descendants numbered 600,000 men, "beside children," women, and a mixed multitude (Exod. 12:37–38, 40). See also Mather's *Threefold Paradise* (275–76).

112 Heidegger (1:250–51, Excer. XIV, § 20). Johannes Beverovicus, aka. Jan van Beverwyck (1594–1647), was professor of medicine at Dordrecht. His medical works were excerpted and anthologized in much of the medical literature of the period. Mather, who owned at least three of Beverovicus's medical works, here refers to his *Thesaurus Sanitatis: Schat der gesontheyt* (2nd ed. 1638), which went through many editions and was translated into several European languages. In ch. 3, Beverovicus cites Peter Mexa, or rather Pedro Mexia (c. 1496–c. 1552), a Spanish historian and imperial biographer, whose *Silva de Varia Lección* (1540) appeared in an English translation as *The Forest or Collection of Historyes* (1576). Mexia explains the longevity of the patriarchs through natural rather than supernatural causation: "Our forefathers had not then *any the causes* whiche [sic] in us now ingender diverse maladyes and diseases, whence necessarily insue stouping age and death" (pt. I, ch. 1, p. 1v). Their healthy diet, moderate living,

Well; But what can our *Heidegger* tell us after all, of the *True Causes*, why such *Long Lives* were indulged unto the *Patriarchs*?

I will give you the Summ of what he saies; Tho' whether it will satisfy or no, *That* I must leave.

It is very sure, That if the *First Man* had continued in his *Rectitude*, his *Life* [178v] had been prolonged, without *Fear of Death*: The Lord would not have *Despised and Destroyed the Work of His Hands*. *Death* is threatned only to the *Sinner*. The *Sibyls* themselves in *Lactantius*, assign *Death*, unto the Seduction of Man by the *Serpent*. [Compare, Rom. 5.12.]¹¹³

The Θεοπρεπεια, and the Agreeableness of it, unto the *Righteousness* and *Holiness* of God, that *Sin* should be punished with *Death*, is not inconsistent, with the Exercise of His *Mercy*, in granting a *Long Life* unto *Sinful Man*. *Sinful Man* staid in *Paradise*, till the *Promise of a Saviour*, the *Blessed Seed of the Woman*, was made known unto him. And upon that *Promise of a Saviour*, there does entirely turn even the Prolongation of *Temporal Life* unto *Sinful Man*. Without this, *Adam* had not lived a *Moment*; and there had not been any Suc-

and close proximity in time to the perfection of the protoplast, accounts for their long lives. Moreover, their knowledge of medicinal herbs, the beneficial influence of stars, fewer eclipses, and the conjunctions of the planets – all these factors contributed to their longevity (Pt, 1, ch. 1, pp. 1r–2v). The “*Vitae Stamina*” is the “thread of life,” which is controlled by the Three Fates. The Italian physician and mathematician Girolamo Cardano (1501–76) lectured on medicine at Milan, Pavia, Bologna, and Rome. He published more than two hundred works on medicine, physics, astrology, and mathematics. The Italian philologist and physician Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484–1558) attacked Cardano on many issues in philology and the natural sciences. In his *Exotericarum exercitationum liber quintus decimus, de subtilitate, ad Hieronymum Cardanum* (1557), Scaliger took issue with his Italian colleague’s scientific and metaphysical explanations of nature, largely because the former defended Aristotelianism against Cardano’s popular *De subtilitate* (1551), a controversial system of cosmogony, which aroused great interest at the time. In “*Exercitationes XXII*,” Scaliger assails Cardano’s approval of Beverovicus’s theories.

113 Heidegger (1:251–52, Exerc. XIV, § 21). Job 10:3. Lactantius (*Divinarum Institutionum* 2.13) [PL 6. 325A] cites the Erythraean Sibyl (*Oracula Sibyllina* 8.260–61): “Death therefore followed man, according to the sentence of God, which even the Sibyl teaches in her verse, saying: ‘Man made by the very hands of God, whom the serpent treacherously beguiled that he might come to the fate of death, and receive the knowledge of good and evil.’” Thus the life of man became limited in duration” (ANF 7:62). The Sibylline Oracles are a collection of exclamatory statements delivering prophetic riddles in hexameter verse and circulated in Athens during the fifth century BCE. Tradition speaks of ten Sibyls – all are said to have gotten their name from the first Sibyl, believed to be the daughter of Dardanus and Neso. The most famous of them all is the Cumaean Sibyl, who is supposed to have sold the oracles to Tarquinius. Because of their strong messianic themes, they enjoyed widespread popularity. The authenticity of the Sibylline Oracles was hotly debated in William Whiston’s *A Vindication of the Sibylline Oracles* (1715) and in Edward Chandler’s *Defense of Christianity* (ch. 1, sec. 1, pp. 10–35). Even though Increase Mather had a low opinion of the Sibyls’ trustworthiness (*Dissertation Concerning the Future Conversion* 23), his son Cotton freely employed them as pagan confirmations of biblical prophecies (*Threefold Paradise* 194–98) and Mather’s essay “IX: Sibyllina,” appended to his commentary on “Revelation,” in “BA.”

cession of any *Posterity* unto him. We may truly say of Mankind; Isa. 6.13. *The Holy Seed is the Subsistence of it.*¹¹⁴

That the *Term of Life*, is Prolonged unto some, and Hastened upon others; this wholly depends on the *Will and Pleasure of God*. And the *Will of God* allows *Life* unto the *Sinner* mainly for this End; That so the Divine Patience and Forbearance may bring the Sinner to the Knowledge of CHRIST the *Mediator*, and such a *Repenting Faith* in Him, as will issue in Salvation; or else leave the Sinner wholly without Excuse. A very *Long Life* was granted unto the *First Patriarchs*, that so they might have Time, to come savingly to know the *Promise* made in *Paradise*, and by a long and accurate Contemplation of it, be able to inculcate it, and propagate it unto their Offspring, and vindicate it from the various Devices of *Satan* against it. The Revelation of this Mystery was more sparingly dispensed in those early Ages, than afterwards; but against that *Severity*; we may throw in this *Compassion* of Heaven; That Men lived a very great while, and had by their long Lives an Opportunity to acquaint themselves with this glorious Mystery. As the *Tradition* of the Mystery of CHRIST, grew more firm and clear, the Faith might be taught in a *Lesser Time*, and the *Life of Man*, was accordingly abbreviated. At last, it came to be committed unto the faithful Custody of *Written Volumes* by the Hand of *Moses*; and then the *Life of Man* was brought down unto the Measure at which it stands to this Day. A *Short Life* now is attended with less Damage to the Children of Men. The Comprehension and Conservation of the Mystery of CHRIST, is now more consistent with a *Short Life*, than it was in the Primitive Ages of the World.¹¹⁵

When the Patriarchs found their πολυημερία, their *Long Life*, beginning to fail, they complained of it, as a very great Calamity. This the Words of *Jacob* to *Pharaoh* intimate. The Reason was, The *Promise* of the *Messiah* held them in a very solicitous Expectation. [Consider, Matth. 13.17. and, Hebr. 11.39.]

As for us; We have a Promise of *Heavenly Blessedness*; and our *Conversation is in Heaven*, whither our Saviour is retired; and we have nothing assigned us on *Earth*, to be any *Pledge* thereof unto our *Faith*. And in a few Years, we may come to *Know* and *Have* more of CHRIST, than the Saints could, when *Longer Lives* were granted unto them; A *Child* now (according to the Prophecy) attains as much, as once a *Man of an hundred Years old*. Wherefore there is not now so much Occasion for the *Lives* of Men to be lengthened out unto the ancient Measures.¹¹⁶

114 Heidegger (1:252, Exerc. XIV, § 22). The Greek word “theoprepeia” signifies “being meet for a god.” The clause from Isa. 6:13 reads “substance” rather than “subsistence.”

115 Heidegger (1:252–53, Exerc. XIV, §§ 23, 24).

116 Heidegger (1:253–54, Exerc. XIV, § 25). The patriarchs’ “polymeria” is, indeed, “their many days.” The prophecy in Isa. 65:20 reads, “There shall be no more thence an infant of days, nor an old man that hath filled his days: for the child shall die an hundred years old; but the sinner being an hundred years old shall be accursed.” See also Mather’s *Threefold Paradise* (281–82).

As for the *Natural Medium*, used by God, in prolonging the *Lives* of the *Patriarchs*, our *Heidegger* flies to the Philosophers Discourse, *περί μακροβιοτητος και βραχυβιοτητος*. And he places *Life*, in a due Proportion of the *Calidum Innatum*, and the *Humidum Innatum*; That the *Radical Moisture*, neither *waste* too fast, nor *cool* too soon. By *Sin* the first Breach was made upon this *Regular Constitution* of Man. And God ha's ordered the Breach to go on, by the Limitations of His Glorious *Providence*, immediately exerted in the Matter.¹¹⁷

And this is the uttermost Account, which my *Heidegger* ha's given of it; wherewith I must content myself, till I can see a better.

I will only Transcribe some Words of Dr. *Cheyne*, upon this Matter; In his, *Essay of Health & Long Life*, his Words are these.

"Every Man had corrupted his Way, and GOD was forced to exterminate the whole Race, by an Universal Deluge, and was also obliged (that the Globe of the Earth might not, from the long Lives of its Inhabitants, become an *Hell*, and an *Habitation* for Incarnate *Devils*) to shorten their Lives from 900 or 1000 Years, to 70. He wisely foresaw, that *Animal Food*, and *Artificial Liquors*, would Naturally contribute towards *this End*; and indulged or permitted, the *Generation*, that was to plant the *Earth* again after the *Flood*, the Use of These for *Food*, knowing that tho' it would shorten the *Lives*, and plate a *Scourge* of *Thorns* for the Backs of the *Lazy* and *Voluptuous*, it would be cautiously avoided by those, who knew it was their *Duty*, and *Happiness* to keep their *Passions* Low, & their *Appetites* in Subjection."¹¹⁸

Appendix.

[179r]

There is an odd Passage in Dr. *Hooks* Posthumous *Discourse of Earthquakes*, which I will here transcribe, without making any Remarks upon it.

"We find that the Points of the Intersection of the *Equinoctial* and the *Ecliptic* vary; and possibly even the Motions of all may vary. A *Diurnal* Revolution of the Earth, may perhaps have been made in a much shorter Time than now. Possibly there may have been the same Alterations in the *Annual*; And

117 Heidegger (1:254–55, Exerc. XIV, § 26). Heidegger refers to the title of Aristotle's *On the Length and Shortness of Life* (464b, 1). The "*Calidum Innatum*" and the "*Humidum Innatum*" are the "innate warmth" and "innate moisture" of a body, which Heidegger (following Aristotle) identifies as the constituting factors that influence the duration of life. Mather offers an alternate explanation in his medical handbook *Angel of Bethesda*, "Capsula V: Nishmath-Chajim," arguing that Adam's sin impacted the nishmath-chajim, or breath of life, which constitutes "a *Middle Nature*, between the *Rational Soul*, and the *Corporeal Mass*" (*Angel* 28). Thus Adam's spiritual transgression effected man's physical deterioration. See also Mather's *Threefold Paradise* (122–26) and M. H. Warner, "Spiritualization of Medicine" (278–95).

118 Perhaps not fully satisfied with the philosophical and theological explanations of Heidegger, Mather, the man of science, turns to his fellow physico-theologian, physician, and mathematician Dr. George Cheyne (1673–1743), whose popular *An Essay of Health and Long Life* (1724) went through many editions. Mather's excerpt is from chapter 4, "Of Exercise and Quiet" (§ 2, pp. 92–93).

then, a Year or a Day, at the Beginning of the World, would not be of so long a Duration, as now when those Motions are grown slower. For, if the Motions of the Heavens be analogous to the Motion of a Wheel or a Top, as I think I can by very many Arguments make probable; then if the Earth were (as it were) at first sett up, or putt into a rapid circular Motion, like that of a Top, tis probable that the Fluid Medium in which it moves, may after a Thousand Revolutions, a little retard & slacken that Motion; and if so, then a longer Space of Time will pass while it makes its Revolution now, than it did at first. Hence possibly, the long Lives of the Posterity of *Adam* before the Flood, might be of no greater Duration, than Mens Lives are ordinarily *Now*: For tho' perhaps they might number more Revolutions of the Sun, or more Years than we can now, yett our few Years may comprehend as great a Space of Time."¹¹⁹

[180v] [blank]

¹¹⁹ Excerpted from Robert Hooke's "V: Discourses of Earthquakes," in *Collected Works of Robert Hooke* (322). Mather's deliberate silence and his refusal to comment on Hooke's fascinating attempt to reconcile biblical chronology with 17th-century scientific theories speaks loudly.

[▽Insert from 183r–184v]

[▽183r]

3291.

Q. The Behaviour of them that lived before the Flood, is thus described; *The Sons of God saw the Daughters of Men, that they were Fair, and they took them Wives of all which they chose.* You know the extravagant Opinion of the *Jewish Rabbins*, follow'd by the *Christian Fathers*; That the *Angels* coming down to the Earth, took Wives, whereof they begot a Generation of *Giants*? v. 2.

A. But *Elohim* often signifies no more, than Persons vested with *Authority*; and the *Daughters of Men*, may signify no more than *Daughters* of the *Inferior Sort*. And the Verb, translated here, *To Take*, signifies, *To take by Force*, or, to *Ravish*. And this Behaviour was that *Violence* [v. 11, 13.] which was among the Provocations to Heaven, that procured the *Deluge*. Such was the aggravated Wickedness of that Age! Those that were in Authority and should have been exemplary for their Vertue, were Examples of nothing but lustful *Violence*. It should be rendred, *Men in Authority, seeing that the Daughters of the inferior Sort were Fair, they forceably seized on them for Wives at their Pleasure.*¹²¹

372.

Q. In what Points do you consider *Noah*, as a Type of the Lord Jesus Christ? v. 2.

A. Compare 1. Pet. 3.20, 21. and 2. Pet. 2.5.¹²²

The Name of *Noah*, is as much as to say, *Rest*; [with what Expectation his Father called him so, see Gen. 5.29. and what hath been said upon it.] Now,

¹²⁰ See Appendix B.

¹²¹ Extracted from Simon Patrick's annotation on Gen. 6:2 (*Commentary* 1:32–33). Rabbinic commentators are more diverse in their explication of the Gen. 6:2, 4 than Patrick or Mather here suggest. See Midrash Rabbah (Gen. XXVI:5, 7); *Pirke Eliezer* (ch. 22), and *Mikraoth Gedoloth* (Genesis 1:81–83). The Greek LXX (Gen. 6:2, 4; Exod. 21:6, 22:28), which the early Church Fathers used, bears out Mather's argument. Maimonides (*Guide* 1.14.25), too, asserts that "the sons of the higher order (*Elohim*) saw the daughters of the lower order (*adam*)." John Selden argues that the "sons of god" who saw the "daughters of men" were none other than the children of Seth who broke their vow not to leave their mountain dwellings and to mingle with the children of Cain in the valleys. Nevertheless, the beauty of Cain's daughters and their joyous revelries were temptations too great for the sons of Seth to resist. Hence all manner of corruption and rapine ensued (*De Jure Naturali*, lib. 5, cap. 8, esp. pp. 577–83).

¹²² The following paragraphs lean on Samuel Mather's *Figures or Types* ("Sermon on Rom. 5:14," esp. pp. 91, 92 ff). See also Edward Taylor's *Upon the Types of the OT* (1989) 1:45–49.

this vast little Word, *Rest*, contains the Benefits, which wee have by our Lord Jesus Christ. [Consider Cant. 1.7. and Math. 11.28. and Rev. 14.13.] Eternal Inquietudes will distract our Souls, if estranged from this Lord.

Again, T'was *Noah's* Character, (in 2. Pet. 2.5.) to bee, *A Preacher of Righteousness*. And of our Lord Jesus Christ, it was prophesy'd, (in Dan. 9.24.) that Hee should *bring in Everlasting Righteousness*.

Further, Tho' *Noah* kept calling upon the World, for so many Years together, yett so *few* were thereby reclaimed from their Unbeleef, that it is said, (in 1. Pet. 2.20.) *A few, that is, Eight Souls were saved*; no doubt, the World generally despised what hee said. Such a deadly *Unsuccessfulness* has attended the Ministry of our Lord Jesus Christ: *His own Received Him not*; (see Prov. 1.24.) And what have been the Complaints of His Ministers in all Ages! [Isa. 53.1. Math. 11.17. Isa. 49.4.]

Moreover; For this was *Noah* admired; that tho' *all Flesh had corrupted his Way upon the Earth*, yett, Hee was a *just Man & perfect in his Generations*; [Gen. 6.9.] and, *Condemned the World*. [Heb. 11.7.] Such was the World-condemning Integrity of our Lord Jesus Christ. [See Heb. 7.26.]

Yett more, When God was going to Do a great thing in the World, Hee *Told Noah* of it. [Gen. 6.13.] Indeed, our God never *perform'd* any thing, yea, Hee never *purpos'd* any thing but Hee has *Told* it unto our Jesus. [Joh. 5.19.] Such is the *Similitudinary Omniscience* of our Lord, that Hee is acquainted, with all things, that the Most High gives a Being unto. All the *Decrees*, all the *Secrets*, of God are discovered unto this, *Wonderful Counsellour*. [Of Him lett our Faith say, as Dan. 2.22.]

Add; How came all the Children of *Noah* to bee Præserved, when the rest of Mankind were Destroyed? It was the Obedience of their *Father*, which had an Influence upon the Safety of them all. [Gen. 7.1.] And unto what is it, that wee all owe, the Salvation of our Souls? Truly, wee have been, like so many *Chams* before the Lord. But wee are beholden to the Obedience, of our *Saviour*, that wee perish not. [See, Rom. 5.19.]

To proceed; *They* for whom *Noah*, was concerned, were carried above the *Flood* which overwhelmed other Men. This will bee the Happiness of them that have an Interest with the Lord Jesus Christ. [1. Thess. 4.17.] When the World shall bee on a light Fire, the Lord Jesus Christ, will snatch Beleevers, as *Brands out of the Burning*. [Ponder, Psal. 32.6.]

Once more; What became of those that were Disobedient unto the *Spirit* of the Lord Jesus Christ, when once *the Long-suffering of God waited in the Dayes of Noah*? Wee are told of a *Flood* for their *Bodies*: (Job. 22.16.) and of a *Goal* for their *Spirits*. (1. Pet. 3.19.) This will bee the Case of them that are Disobedient unto the Lord Jesus Christ. It is judg'd by some, that the *Place* of Hell, is, *under the Waters*; because tis said of the Damned (in Job. 26.5.) They *Groan under the Waters*. But this is clear; the old Worlds going under the *Waters*, was a Figure

of Hell; for which Cause, *Hell* is called (in Prov. 21.16.) *The Congregation of the Giants*; that is, of such as the Deluge drowned.¹²³

To pass on; God made a *Covenant* with *Noah*, (in Gen. 9.11.) To *Drown the World no more*; & Hee made the *Rain-bow*, a Token of it. Such a *Covenant* ha's God made with our Lord Jesus Christ, about the Elect World: His *Covenant* is, *I will never destroy any of those Chosen Ones*; and of this *Covenant*, Hee saies, (in Isa. 54. 9.) *This is unto mee, as the Waters of Noah*. Hence our Lord now appears (in Ezek. 1.28.) with a *Rainbow*; with the *Bow that is in the Cloud, in the Day of Rain*, round about Him.

Finally. There was a *Curse* upon *Cham*, when hee beheld the *Nakedness* of his Father, without becoming lamentatious. (Gen. 9.22.) Our Lord Jesus Christ indeed had no | *Nakedness of Sin*, for Himself to bee Ashamed of; but Hee had a *Nakedness of Suffering*, which it becomes *us*, to bee affected with. Hee was *Naked*, when Hee was *Hanged* on the Cross. *Austin* speaks well, *Dormijt in passione sua, et ita nudabatur, carnis mortalis Infirmitas*. Wherefore, when wee look upon the Passion of our Lord, it should bee with a *Mournful Eye*, yea, with a *Sword entring into our Soul*.¹²⁴

[▽184v]

[△Insert ends]

[△]

2418.

Q. That Passage, *My Spirit shall not alwayes strive with Man*; how does *Grotius* take it? v. 3.

A. *My Spirit shall not long remain with Man*, as in a *Sheathe*, where it becomes as useless, as a *Sword* in a *Sheathe*. The Hebrew Word here used, is rendred elsewhere, (1. Chron. 21.27.) *A Sheathe*. And the *Body*, is by the Chaldee, (Dan. 7.15.) called so. In that *Sheathe* did the Children of Men, then retain, a *Soul*, or an Immortal *Spirit*, whereof *God* is the *Maker & Giver*. But they so Retain'd it, as to withhold it, from all those Glorious Uses, for which the *God* that *made* it, intended it, & adapted it; They were *Flesh*, they minded nothing but the *Flesh*, the feeding and pleasing of their *Flesh* was all they look'd after; The *Spirit* wherewith *God* had ennobled them, was chained up in *Flesh*, and neither Employ'd, nor indeed Regarded, as it ought to bee. From hence *Grotius* interprets, *The Spirit in Prison*, whereto *Peter* saies, (1. Pet. 3.19.) *Noah*, under the *Inspirations* of the *Spirit* of the *Messiah*, *went & preach'd*; Namely, the *Humane Spirits*, whereof

¹²³ According to Midrash Rabbah (Gen. XXXI:12), the giants in Noah's time tried to escape from drowning in the Flood by blocking the water from coming out of "the deep" and by boarding the Ark.

¹²⁴ Mather's Latin citation from St. Augustine's *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* (12.24) is adapted from "dormisset in passione sua, tamquam in ebrietate stultitiae, quae sapientior est hominibus; atque ita nudaretur mortalis carnis infirmitas per occultum Dei consilium, fortior hominibus," which translates "[Christ] had slept in His passion, as in the drunkenness of the folly which is wiser than men; and so, in the hidden counsel of God, the disclosure had been made of that infirmity of mortal flesh which is stronger than men" (NPNFi 4:191)

God complained, that Men kept them *Sheath'd* up, under the Restraints of Carnality.¹²⁵

146.

Q. Why is the Term of, *An hundred & Twenty Years*, pitch'd upon, as the Day of Patience for the old World, now ready for the Flood? v. 3.

A. *Scaliger* ha's an Ingenious Conjecture, in L.3. *Emend. Temp.* That the Antediluvians gathering up the odd Six Hours, which are above Three hundred & Sixty five Dayes in every Year, did at the End of every *Hundred & Twentyeth* Year, add an Intercalar Month of *Thirty* Dayes, which Intercalation did then sett their Times right, as our Twenty Ninth of *February* do's in the Leap-year, among ourselves. For this, Cause a Space of an *Hundred & Twenty* Years, went for a Sort of an *Age* among them; and so, the Lord now sais, Well, I'll allow them yett *One Age* more, & then I'll make an End of them. – Remember, by the way, that these 120 Years, commence not from the 500 but from the 480 Year of *Noahs* Life.¹²⁶

[▽185r] [▽Insert from 185r–190v]

*Huc quicunque Venis, Stupefactus ad Ossa Gigantum.*¹²⁷

Q. Concerning the *Dayes* before the *Flood*, the glorious Historian ha's told us; *There were GIANTS on the Earth, in those Dayes*. Could any undoubted Ruines and Remains of those GIANTS, be found under the *Earth*, among the other subterraneous Curiosities, in *our Dayes*, it would be an Illustrious Confirmation of the *Mosaic History*, and an Admirable Obturation on the Mouth of *Atheism*? v. 4.

¹²⁵ Mather's source is Hugo Grotius's *Annotationes ad Vetus Testamentum* (Gen. 6:3), in *Opera Omnia* (1:8). The "Chaldee" is the language of the Babylonians as reflected in the post-exilic Targum Onkelos.

¹²⁶ The paragraph is extracted from Joseph Justus Scaliger's *Opus De Emendatione Temporum* (1598), lib. 3, pp. 179–80. Following the end of his commentary on verse 3, Mather gives the following direction: "[o o o] See ye next Page." In the next line he adds, "[And here insert the Illustration of the Giants.]" In the first instance, Mather intends to insert his commentaries on Gen. 6:6, 7 in this location here; however, his six-page commentary on the Giants (Gen. 6:4), which he added to "BA" at a later stage, requires repositioning to maintain the verse sequence of his annotations. See Appendix B.

¹²⁷ The quotation is from a poem by Julius Pomponius Laetus (1425–97), the learned Italian humanist, classical scholar, and editor of numerous ancient Roman manuscripts. Most likely, the poem originally appeared in Pomponius Laetus's *Opera* (1521), but is here cited from an excerpt in Philipp Camerarius's *Operae Horarum Subcisivarum* (1602), cap. 82, p. 382, a chapter on the origin and meaning of giant fossils. The line from Pomponius Laetus's poem reads, "Whoever you are that comes here in awe of the giants' bones," and commemorates the giant fossils found in Puteoli (near Naples). Because they were believed to be those of the Egyptian god Typhon, they were moved north and reburied in the Etruscan soil of Tuscany (Italy).

A. Then lett the Inquisitive Part of Mankind, know that the *Bones* of those who were certainly¹²⁸ some of the Antediluvian GIANTS, have been *found under the Earth*, in these later Ages. Below the Strata of *Earth*, which the *Flood* left on the Surface of it, in the other Hæmisphere, such enormous *Bones* have been found, as all skill in Anatomy must pronounce to belong unto *Humane Bodies*, & could belong to none but *Giants*, in Comparison of whom, *Og*, and *Goliath*, and all the Sons of *Anak*, must be hardly so much as *Pygmies*. But that AMERICA too, as tis but agreeable, may throw in something, to the Treasures of the BIBLIA AMERICANA, I will surprize you, with telling you, That the *Men* who were able to have *Turned the World upside down, came hither also*; [How! No Man alive can tell!] And the *Bones*, probably¹²⁹ of the Antediluvian GIANTS, have here been mett withal.¹³⁰

128 See Appendix A.

129 See Appendix A.

130 Mather also incorporates the same commentary (Gen. 6:4) in his “Curiosa Americana,” his first letter (Nov. 17, 1712) to Dr. John Woodward of the Royal Society of London, abstracted in the *Philosophical Transactions* 29 (1714–16), sec. IV, 62–63. (See also D. Levin’s “Giants”). For Mather and his peers, the question of the biblical Nephilim is inextricably bound up with the interpretation of fossils and the debate about the universality of Noah’s Flood (*Threefold Paradise* 242–43). Since many of Mather’s leading contemporaries limited the extent of the deluge to a mere local occurrence, he thought the bones of a mastodon discovered near Claverack, NY (1705) – an animal species nowhere mentioned in scriptures – could be no other than the fossilized remains of the giant Nephilim, the fleshly offspring of fallen angels and the daughters of man (Gen. 6:4) who drowned in the Flood. Mather’s error is all too pardonable and all too common for his time; the conjectures of his confreres, published in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society of London, more than illustrate how much the physico-theologians of the day struggled to square the geological fossil record of extinct species, flora and fauna, with biblical chronology that set the date of the universe’s creation at little more than 4,000 years before the birth of Christ. For Mather and his peers, the venerable tradition of the Nephilim at once solved not only the mystery of giant prehistoric bones – unidentified until the early nineteenth century – but also provided geological proof of the universal Flood and the trustworthiness of the Mosaic narrative. For the contemporaneous debate on the origin of fossils, their transport, and their meaning, see N. Steno’s *Prodromus* (1669); J. Woodward, *An Essay towards a Natural History of the Earth*, 2nd ed. (1702) 1–113; J. Ray, *Three Physico-Theological Discourses*, 3rd ed. (1713), Disc. II, ch. 4, pp. 122–204; W. Derham, *Physico-Theology*, 4th ed. (1716), bk. 5, ch. 4, pp. 291–93, n. 3–4; M. Lister’s “A Letter” (PT 1671); T. Molyneux’s “Part of 2 Letters” (PT 1685); E. Lhwyd’s “Part of a Letter” (PT 1698); T. Molyneux’s “An Essay concerning Giants” (PT 1700); J. Luffkin’s “Part of a Letter” (PT 1700–1); J. Morton’s “A Letter” (PT 1706–7); T. Molyneux’s “Remarks” (PT 1714–16); H. Sloane, “An Account” and “Of Fossile Teeth” (PT 1727–28); J. P. Breynne, “A Letter” (PT 1737–38); and J. Simon and G. Berkeley, “A Letter” (PT 1746–47). The discovery of the purported Nephilim bones unearthed at Claverack was published in the *Boston News-Letter* (30 July 1705), and Mather sent his scientific improvements on the subject to John Woodward, secretary of the Royal Society, who published an extract in the *Philosophical Transactions* 29 (1714): 62–63. (For the full text of Mather’s letter, see Levin’s “Giants”). The size of the Claverack fossils, Mather believed, far outmatched those of the fabled Og, the Amorite king of Bashan (Num. 21:33), sole remnant of the race of the giant Rephaim. According to Deut. 3:11, Og’s iron bedstead measured nine cubits by four cubits, “after the cubit of a man” (c. 15 ½ feet by c. 7 feet); David’s Goliath (1 Sam. 17:4) only measured a mere 6 cubits (10 ½ feet). Like the giant “Sons of Anak” (Num. 13:33), they

I will not go to trouble you, with the Opinions of the *Ancients*, who suppose the Original of those *Giants*, to be, *The Sons of God coming in unto the Daughters of Men*; and that the *Sons of God*, were *Angels*, or *Divels*; to which the Name of, *Nephilim*, which may signify, *Fallen Ones*, agrees well enough: and which the LXX induced the Fathers, to imagine; and they had *Josephus* and *Philo* to countenance it; I do not think, that it was an Error in the learned *Henricus Vorstius*, to say, that the *Scripture* does not mention the *Original* of the *Giants*; it only declares the *Time*, when God punished the World with them. And our Saviour ha's abundantly taught us, how Disagreeable *Matrimonial Affairs* are, to the *Angelical Nature*: Nor is there any Strength in the Attempts of *Drusius* to defeat the Argument which is fetched from the Words of our Saviour, to confute the *Dream* of the *Old Men*, about this Matter.¹³¹

Tho' we meddle not with the Original of the *Men*, we may touch upon that of their *Name*. The Name נפילים / *Nephilim*, comes from נפל / *To Fall*. And, without expounding it, of *Men Fallen from an Heavenly to an Earthly Temper*; [a Frivolous Exposition that some have given; and which would fill the World with *Giants*.] why should not the Name intend as much, as, *Irruentes, Prosternentes, Dejectores*; Men who took a vast Liberty to *Fall upon* other Men, and make them

all were mere "*Pygmies*" when compared to the size suggested by the Claverack fossils. How Mather's giant survived Noah's Flood and came to America may have been suggested to him by the Talmudic tradition in Zevachim (113b) and Nidah (61a). According to this legend, the giant Og of Bashan (like the huge horned "re'em" [unicorn] that could not be accommodated inside Noah's ark), clung to the side of the huge vessel or waded alongside it, where the water was cool enough for him not to be scalded.

131 Here and in the subsequent paragraphs, Mather again relies heavily on Heidegger's *Historia Sacra Patriarcharum* (1:185, 186–88, Exerc. XI, §§ 2, 4, 5). Apart from Hesiod, whose Titans and their offspring are mentioned in *Theogonia*, many of the early Church Fathers agreed that the sons of God who ravished the daughters of man were fallen angels whose offspring were the giant Nephilim (Gen. 6:4). See Lanctantius (*Divine Institutes* 2.15, in *ANF* 7:64), Joannes Chrysostom (*Homily on Genesis* 22.6, 8–12, pp. 71–72, 73–78), and St. Augustine (*De Civitate Dei* 15.23). The great Bishop of Hippo comments on the ambiguous translations of the Hebrew designation "sons of God" or "sons of gods" and acknowledges that the Septuagint (Mather's "LXX") uses both phrases (*NPNFi* 2:304–5). Both Flavius Josephus (*Antiquities* 1.3.1) and Philo Judaeus (*De gigantibus* 2.6, 13.60) mention angels and demons – "souls hovering in the air" – who descend into bodies, but whose offspring are only giants for cruelty and carnality – not for their physical size. Guilielmus Henricus Vorstius (Wilhelm Heinrich van dem Voorst, d. 1652), son of the famous German Reformed theologian and Arminian Conrad Vorstius (1569–1622), translated various rabbinic treatises into Latin, among them רבי אליעזר פרקי *Capitula R. Elieser* (1644). Mather (via Heidegger 1:185) cites R. Tzodok's gloss on the giant Nephilim, which appears in *Capitula R. Elieser* (1644), cap. 22, p. 50; the English translation is in *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (ch. 22, pp. 160–61). According to Matt. 22:30 and Mark 12:25, the resurrected saints will be like the angels in heaven and neither marry nor given in marriage. Finally, Mather, via Heidegger (1:188) refers to *Ad loca difficiliora Pentateuchi* (1617), a commentary by the eminent Dutch Orientalist at Franeker, Joannes Drusius, aka. Jan van den Driesche (1550–1616), who discourages the dreams of old men once again to be young and married (Matt. 22:30), because their angelic bodies would be devoid of all carnal desires. See the synopsis of Drusius's commentary in *Critici Sacri* (1660), vol. 6, col. 655.

to *Fall*? If they were of such an horrid Magnitude, as the *Monster* I am anon to show you, the *Etymology* would be agreeable enough unto them. I doubt, they were a Sort of Men, as unlikely as any upon *Earth*, to deserve the Character, that *Bolducus*, in his Treatise, *De Ecclesiâ antè legem*, ha's provided for them; who saies, They were called, *Nephilim*, *Quòd ob veri Dei cultum à reliquis, in eo distinguerentur, quòd Deum prostrationibus adorarent, adeò ut illà ceremoniâ eos ab improbis secerneret*; Because they did use to *Fall down* prostrate upon the *Earth*, in their Adorations before the God of Heaven.¹³²

An Extremity of Incredulity, ha's led some to think, That the *Antediluvian Giants* were but *Metaphorical* Ones; That they were *Giants* for *Quality* only, and not for *Quantity*. We will not count the *Gigantomachia*, of *Goropius Becanus*, worth considering. *Temporarius* ha's endeavoured more elaborately to show, That the Name is of a *Scythian* Original, and means no more than, *A Man with long Hands*; which are no other than a World of Rapacious Mortals, {which we} are at this Day furnished withal. And indeed *Philo* the Jew, strips these *Giants* of all their *Procerity*, and makes them no more than, *ανθρωπους της γης*, *Homines Terræ*, or another sort of Men, than the *Men of Heaven*, & of God.¹³³

132 Extracted from Heidegger (1:197, Exerc. XI, § 16). According to Midrash Rabbah (Gen. XXVI:7), the Hebrew word נִפְּלִים [Nephilim] suggests נִפְּלוּ [they fell] and brought about [the fall of the world]. See also *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (ch. 22, pp. 160–61). In his commentary on Num. 13:33, Rashi (whose source is *Pirke Eliezer*, ch. 22), identifies the two giants who “fell from heaven” as Shamchazai and Azael (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:83). Mather objects to this exposition as “*Frivolous*” and offers instead the one by Aquila Ponticus, according to whose Greek translation of the OT, “Nephilim” signifies “irruentes” (invaders, or those who seize others) and “*Prosternentes*” (overthrowers), and “*Dejectores*” (conquerors) – all in Origen’s *Hexaplorum quae supersunt in Genesim monitum* (Gen. 6:4) [PG 15. 188]. While Symmachus translates “Nephilim” as “violent ones,” the Chaldaic Paraphrast suggests “fortes, robustos” (strong or robust ones); Calvin (*Commentaries on the Book of Genesis* (1:244–46) more or less agrees, as does Luther who calls them “tyrants” and usurpers of power in both church and state who “sin without the least restraint” (*Works* 2:32). Following Heidegger (1:197), Mather and many of his peers here prefer the LXX translation, suggesting “giants,” but do not rule out these other significations. In his *De Ecclesia ante legem* (1626), the Parisian Capucin theologian Jacobus Bolducus, aka. Jacques Bolduc (d. 1646), calls them “Nephilim, because for the sake of the worship of the true God, they could be distinguished from the rest by the fact that they honored God by falling down, to such a degree that this ceremony set them apart from the wicked.”

133 Heidegger (1:199, Exerc. XI, §§ 18–19). Mather takes exception to such interpreters as Robert Hooke (1635–1703), one of the leading natural philosophers of his time, and Thomas Gale (1635–1702), dean of York, who reduce the venerable tradition of the antediluvian giants to mere metaphor. In response to Thomas Gale’s manuscript essay concerning giants, Hooke argues that the translators of the LXX frequently rendered obscure Hebrew words not in their literal sense, but in line with prevailing beliefs and traditions among the Greeks of Alexandria; the translators were eager “to shew that the Bible was not unacquainted with the Greek Stories.” More to the point, Hooke agrees with Gale’s mythological interpretation of “the Gigantomachia” as nothing else but “an Earthquake, or perhaps several Earthquakes,” which the ancient poets combined into one (“A Discourse of Earthquakes,” in *Posthumous Works* 384). Mather, via Heidegger (1:199), also dismisses the discussion of giants “De Gigantomachia” (lib. 2), in *Origines Antwerpianae* (1569), esp. 207–12, by the Flemish physician and linguist Joannes

But the *Apocryphal Baruch* shall be a better Interpreter for us; who, [chap. 3.26.] expressly saies of these *Giants*; They were *εμμεγεθεις, επισταμενοι πολεμον· Ingenti corporis magnitudine præditi, reique bellica scientissimi*. The *Apocrypha* several times, calls them, *Giants*. And afterwards, *Chrysostom* calls them, *ηρωας ευμηκεις, very Tall Heroes*; and, *υψηλους, High Ones*. *Theodoret* calls them, *παμμεγεθους ανθρωπους· Prægrandes Homines*. And *Cyrillus*, tells us, they were those, *Quibus Corporum Deformitas et Magnitudo data sit, in penam effrenate | Libidinis Parentum*. But I have a greater Authority than all of this; namely, That of the *Giants* themselves; The Wretches *under the Earth*, are in some sort brought up from thence, before the *Resurrection*, when they are to *Bow the Knee unto the Name of JESUS*. The *Giants* that once *Groan'd under the Waters*, are now *Found under the Earth*, and their *Dead Bones* are *Lively Proofs* of the *Mosaic History*.¹³⁴

Of all those *Curiosities*, I know none, that exceeds, what ha's lately been found, in an *American* Plantation; adjoining to *New England*: And its being found in *America*, makes it yett the more curious, and marvellous: For, I beseech you, How did the *Giant* find the Way hither?¹³⁵

Goropius Becanus, aka. Jan Gerartsen van Gorp (1519–72). Mather evidently disliked Becanus's argument that the language of Paradise was unadulterated "Diets," i.e., Dutch (*Origines Antwerpianae* 539), just as much as he would have disliked Becanus's endeavor to decipher Egyptian hieroglyphics by tracing them to their Dutch [Cimmerian] roots, in *Hieroglyphica* (1580), 12–13. This reading seemed as preposterous as the account of a young man and woman who were 9 and 10 feet tall, respectively, and lived near Becanus's home in Flanders. The work by Joannes Temporalis, aka. Jean du Temps (b. c. 1535), French jurist, mathematician, and geographer, is probably his *Chronologicarum demonstrationum libri tres* (1596), in which the author traces the word "Nephilim" to Scythian origin. Philo Judaeus strips these giants of their tall stature and allegorizes them as "men ... born of the earth" – hedonists who hunt after carnal pleasure (*De gigantibus* 13.60). Mather's Dutch colleague, Jean LeClerc was similarly dismissive of his contemporaries' gigantomachia, in his *Twelve Dissertations* (1696), Diss. II, p. 78. See also Johann Christoph Becmann's *Historia Orbis Terrarum* (1698), cap. 9, sec. 2, § 13, pp. 362–64, for an encyclopedic discussion of giants.

¹³⁴ Heidegger (1:198, Exerc. XI, § 18). According to the *Apocryphal Baruch* (3:26), in the LXX, these giants "were [by nature] of so great stature, and so expert in war." As usual, Mather omits the Greek diacritics. The forms of the Greek "γῖγαντες" (literally "earth-born," but frequently rendered "giants," appear in the *Apocryphal Baruch* 3:26, *Sirach* 16:7, 47:4; *Wisdom* 14:6, and 1 *Maccabees* 3:3 (LXX). Mather's citation of *Chrysostom's Homily on Genesis* (22.12, p. 77) is here quoted at second hand from Heidegger (1:198). *Theodoret (Quæstiones in Octateuchum: Genesis*. Quest. 48, p. 47, line 25) calls them "rather large men." Mather erroneously writes "*Cyprian*," instead of "*Cyrillus*." *Cyrillus Alexandrinus's Glaphyra in Pentateuchum* (lib. 3) [PG 69. 56] argues they were those "to whom deformity and bulk of the body were given as a punishment for the unrestrained lust of their parents." Mather's reference to the "*Giants* that *Groan'd under the Waters*" alludes to the tradition that assigns hell a place under the waters (*Job* 26:5–6), but *Midrash Rabbah* (*Gen.* XXXI:12) offers a much more literal reading in that the giant *Nephilim* tried to board the Ark, but drowned. Be that as it may, Mather is eager to validate ancient traditions with empirical evidence as the subsequent paragraphs reveal.

¹³⁵ The following paragraphs are not gleaned from Heidegger, but from different sources. Mather's question about how the giant *Nephilim* found his way to America is a legitimate concern albeit amusing to modern readers. For if Noah's Ark saved from certain death pairs of clean and unclean animals by accommodating them in the ark, how did they get across the

The *Post-Diluvian Giants* mentioned, in the Sacred Scriptures, were *Puisny* Things; in Comparison of ONE, ABOVE SEVENTY FOOT HIGH; and yett we have here the undoubted Reliques of SUCH AN ONE.¹³⁶

What *Julius Capitolinus*, and others, report of the Tyrant *Maximin*, That he was *Eight Foot High*, and what Nicknames, *Herodian* tells us, were therefore putt upon this *Typhon*, and *Cyclops*, tis no longer worth the while to mention. And as little worth a mention, is the *Suevian* in the Army of *Charlemaign*, of whom *Aventinus* tells us, That he would mow down his Enemies, and spitt good Numbers of them like so many little Birds, on his huge *Spear*, which he would so carry in his Hand about the Camp. We shall hardly regard what *Mela* tells us, *Of Indians*, who were so tall, that *Elephants* were to them instead of *Horses*.¹³⁷ We shall as little regard, the *Americans*, near the Streights of *Magellan*, to whom they assign a Stature sufficiently enormous; and a Neck as long as a Mans Arm. We shall be far from Trembling before the *Giant* seen by *Pigafetta*, taller than other Men from the Girdle upwards. Lett us make room for *Greater Company*.

Grandiaque Effossis Miraberis Ossa Sepulchris.¹³⁸

Atlantic Ocean once they were released from their shelter? And how – in the first place – did the American species get into the Ark that was waiting for them in the Old World? Questions of this nature preoccupied many theologians of note and included the Flemish Jesuit scholar Jacobus Bonfrerius (1573–1642), *Pentateuchus Moysis commentario* (1625) 150–51 (on Gen. 7:8), who argued that the animals could have come to America via Greenland, Norway, Asia, if not by Angelic help. Similarly, the German Lutheran theologian, Johannes Gerhardus (1582–1637) holds forth on the origin of the nephilim in *Commentarius super Genesin* (1653) 175, 179–80; and the Roman Catholic scholar Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), *Physiologiae stoicorum*, in *Opera* (1637) 4:593–95, puzzled over the same questions. Mather cites these scholars throughout “BA” and agrees with Lipsius that a land bridge, now submerged, must have connected the Old with the New World at one time (See also Don C. Allen, *Legend* 130).

136 Among the post-diluvian giants are Og of Bashan, Goliath, and the giant race of the Emims, Anakims, Rephaims, and of Og (Gen. 6:4, Num. 13:33, Deut. 2:10–11; 3:11; Josh. 12:4). “*Puisny*” or “*puisne*” signifies “inferior in rank,” and “puny” (*OED*). See Appendix A.

137 The history of Roman Emperor Gaius Iulius Verus Maximinus, the Thracian (235–38 CE), is related in *Historia Augusta: Maximini Duo*, by Julius Capitolinus (3rd c. CE), one of the six *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*. Capitolinus (*Maximini Duo* 6.8; 8.5–6; 28.8) argues that Maximinus was “six inches over eight feet” tall and that some nicknamed him “Cyclops, some Busiris, and others Sciron, not a few Phalaris, and many Typhon or Gyges.” According to the Greek historian Herodian (early 3rd c. CE), Maximinus’s nicknames were Typhon (the hundred-headed Titan, son of Gaia and Tartarus) and Cyclops (Homer’s one-eyed giant); his size and cruelty are described in Herodian’s *History of the Empire after Marcus* (6.8.1, 7.1.1–5, 12). The story of the giant of Suevia (Germany), who served in the army of Roman Emperor Charlemagne, is related in Joannes Aventinus’s *Annalium Boiorum* (1554), lib. 4, pp. 364–65, 420–21, 450. Mather also cites Aventinus in *Threefold Paradise* (324). The Roman geographer Pomponius Mela (1st c. CE) relates the story of his tall natives of India in his *De chorographia libri tres* (3. 52–53).

138 The giant Americans near the Straits of Magellan in Terra Del Fuego (S tip of Chile) are the Tehuelche Indians of Patagonia. Italian traveler Antonio Francesco Pigafetta of Vincenza (c. 1498–1536), who accompanied the famous Portuguese explorer Ferdinand Magellan (1519) on his quest for the Spice Islands, relates in his famous log how they encountered several Patagonian giants among the Tehuelche Indians, in 1520. They were so tall that even the largest of

We will not be too urgent in demanding a Consideration for what *Pliny* relates; That *Lucius Flaccus* and *Metellus*, in the *Cretian* War, found the Bodies of some *Giants*, that were *Thirty Cubits* long; and the *Earth* opening in an Earthquake, another was cast up, which extended unto *Forty Cubits*. We may suspect a *Cretian Story*; And, I find, the Credit of *Pliny's* Relations, runs pretty low among the Learned in our Dayes. However, we may give some Credit unto this, inasmuch as we have in grave *Plutarch* much such another; Yea, a *Skeleton* amounting to Threescore Cubits.¹³⁹

But lett us go on; The *Egyptian* Traditions of the Gigantic *Emephimi*, related by *Franciscus Patritius*, were not altogether without some Foundation. *Reineccius*, in his *Monumenta Brandenburgica*, affirms, that in his Time, there were Dug up the *Bones* of Men, whose *Legs* reach'd up to the *Waste* of other Men. *Fazellus* as an Ey-witness, affirms, that in *Italy*, there were Dug up the *Bones* of Men, which were of a stupendous Magnitude. *Camerarius* in his *Opera Succisivæ*, is much affected, with the Huge Humane *Bones*, found at *Puteoli* in *Italy*; on which, a Poem of *Pomponius Lætus* concludes thus;

*Hinc bona posteritas immanici corpora servat,
Et tales mundo testificatur avos.*¹⁴⁰

Magellan's sailors only reached to somewhere between the giant's waist or shoulder. Pigafetta's chronicle *Le voyage et navigation* was first published in Paris, without date (c. 1526–36); Richard Eden published the first English translation of this popular account in 1555. A reference to Pigafetta's account of the giant Americans also appears in Samuel Purchas's *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (1626), bk. 9, ch. 6, § 2, pp. 922–23; Pigafetta's full account is in *Magellan's Voyage* (1994), ch. 8, p. 46. Mather's rhetorical strategy of building suspense for his American giant is here supported by a variant line from Virgil: "And you will marvel at the giant bones unearthed from the graves" (*Georgics* 1.497).

¹³⁹ Roman general Lucius Flaccus and Quintus Caecilius Metellus Creticus, Roman consul of Crete (69–c. 65 BCE), finally crushed the pirates who had fought the Romans during the long Cretan War (c. 106–66 BCE). According to Solinus (*De mirabilibus mundi*, cap. 1), floodwaters lay bare a gigantic skeleton measuring 33 cubits (c. 47 feet), which L. Flaccus and Metellus Creticus examined at some length. Pliny (7.16.73–74) does not refer to this particular fossilized monster, but mentions one 46 cubits tall (c. 65 feet), the supposed remains of either Orion or Otus. In his biography of the Roman general Quintus Sertorius (c. 126–73 BCE), Plutarch (*Vitæ parallelæ: Sertorius* 9.5–9) relates how Sertorius, upon taking the city of Tingis (Tangier) in c. 81 BCE, was shown the bones of Antaeus, the mythical giant slain by Heracles (*Plutarch's Lives* 8:25). Nearly 60 cubits tall (c. 85 feet), the remains of Antaeus were honored by Sertorius who reburied his bones. For a modern discussion of how the ancient Greeks and Romans interpreted giant fossil bones as the remnants of their mythical heroes, see A. Mayor's excellent *The First Fossil Hunters* (2000), esp. chs. 3 and 5.

¹⁴⁰ Mather refers to Franciscus Patritius, aka. Francesco Patrizzi (1529–97), Italian philosopher and scientist of Dalmatia, professor of philosophy at Ferrara. As a Christian Platonist and disciple of Marsilio Ficino, Patritius opposed the Aristotelians and those who offered miraculous explanations for natural phenomena. He even tried to persuade Pope Gregory XIV to replace the peripatetic and scholastic philosophy with that of the mysteries of Hermes Trismegistus (P. Rossi, *Dark Abyss* 123–24; F. Purnell, "Francesco Patrizi"). Among Patritius's most important works are *Discussionum peripateticorum* (1571) and *Nova de universes philosophia* (1591) – both of which influenced the great Athanasius Kircher a century later. The Egyptian

I find our P. Martyr, [in Jud. 1.10.] quoting it from *Philostratus*; That the Carcase of a *Giant*, was found, of no less than *Twelve Cubits* long; of another, no less than *Twenty Two Cubits*; and of another, no less than *Thirty*.¹⁴¹

traditions of the “*Emephimi*” probably refer to the race of colossal giants, whose hapless battle against Isis and Osiris is depicted on temple walls in Egypt. However, even Diodorus Siculus relates the disagreement among the ancients, for some believe these “giants” were men “born of the earth” at the very beginning, yet others believe they were no giants at all, but “only men of unusual physical strength who achieved many deeds” (Diodorus Siculus 1.26.6–7; cf. 3.71–72). The ancients admired their colossal bones in Nitriai (Wadi Natrun) – that is, if Publius Aelius Phlegon of Tralles (fl. c. 140 CE) and his marvels can be trusted (*De mirabilibus* 15). The German historian Reinerus Reineccius (1541–95) published several histories of German principalities. Mather refers to Reineccius’s *Origines illustriss stirpis Brandeburgicae* (1581), a Latin translation of *Chronica des Chur und fürstlichen Hauses der Marggrafen zu Brandenburg*, published in Wittenberg (1580). The Italian Renaissance historian and Dominican friar Tommaso Fazello, aka. Thomas Fazelli (1498–1579), composed *De Rebus Siculis Decades Duae* (1558), which went through several editions. Fazelli relates that he witnessed the excavation of giant bones, cadavers, molars, and sepulchers in fields near Mazarennum, Panormo, and Petralium (Sicily), in *De Rebus* (decad. prioris, lib. 1, cap. 7, pp. 23–28; see also decad. post., lib. 1, cap. 1, pp. 238–39). Philipp Camerarius (1537–1624), German scholar and counselor to the Free State of Nuremberg, published *Operae Horarum Subcisivarum* (1599), an English edition of which appeared as *The Walking Library* (1621). The Mathers owned a copy of a three-volume edition (1644–50) of Camerarius’s *Opera* (Tuttle, “Libraries” 320). Puteoli (modern Pozzuoli, Italy) was an ancient Roman city on the shore of Campania, in the N part of the Bay of Naples. Finally, the Latin citation from the previously cited poem by Julius Pomponius Laetus is excerpted in Camerarius’s *Operae Horarum Subcisivarum* (1602 ed.), Centuria prima, cap. 82, p. 382, and reads, “From henceforth good posterity preserves the immense bodies, and calls forward such great forefathers as witnesses to the world.” Robert Plot (1640–96), early comparative anatomist, keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, and professor of chemistry at Oxford, allocates ample proof from both ancients and moderns that the giant bones dug up in Oxfordshire and in a London cemetery are of human origin, in his *The Natural History of Oxford-shire* (1676), ch. 5, pp. 133–39, esp. §§. 160–74. When a large “*thigh-bone* (supposed to be of a *Woman*”) and several large molars were dug up in a London churchyard and elsewhere, he first surmised that these fossils might be the remains of an elephant brought to London in Roman times. Yet providence decreed that while he was composing his *Natural History*, he had the opportunity to compare his fossils’ anatomy with that of a young live elephant then on public display in Oxford. Much to his surprise, the elephant’s bones were “not only of a different shape, but also incomparably bigger than *ours* [fossils] If then they [fossils] are neither the bones of *Horses*, *Oxen*, nor *Elephants*, as I am strongly perswaded they are not, upon comparison, and from their like found in *Churches*: It remains, that (notwithstanding their extravagant magnitude) they must have been the bones of *Men* or *Women*” – like those of the “Sons of *Anak*,” or of the “*Titans*, and of high *Giants*” as those mentioned in the apocryphal “Judith 16.v. 7” and “Baruch 3.v. 26” (*Natural History* 135–36). See also K. Thomson’s *Before Darwin* (2005), ch. 7.

¹⁴¹ Mather refers to *In Librum Iudicum D. Petri Martyris Vermiglii commentarii* (1571), a Reformed commentary on the book of Judges, by Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499–1562), Italian Reformed theologian, friend of Bucer, variously professor of theology at Strasbourg, Oxford, and finally of Hebrew at Zurich. In his commentary on Judges 1:10, Martyr cites Sophist Flavius Philostratus (d. c. 244–49 CE) of Lemnius (the “Athenian”), whose *Heroicus* (7.9; 8.3–14) tells of ancient heroes “15 feet tall,” the skeleton of Troy’s Ajax “16 feet tall,” that of Orestes discovered in Tegea “10 feet tall,” that of Aryades on the Orontes River “45 feet tall.” Yet another skeleton at Sigeum “33 feet,” that of the island of Ikos “18 feet tall,” and lastly the remains of Hyllos (Phrygia) and of the Aloadae (Thessaly), whose bones were “54 feet long” in all.

One Way of Judging alwayes allow'd, ha's been, *Ex ungue leonem*; I know not, why we may not as well Judge, *Ex Dente Gigantem*. The *Teeth*, which are a very Durable Sort of *Bones*, found, below the Surface of the Earth, may serve, as well as any *Tongues*, to tell us, what *Men* there were once upon it.¹⁴²

Austin, in his famous Treatise, *De Civitate Dei*: [Lib. 15. Cap. 9.] complains of those, who would not Beleeve, that there had been *literal Giants*, of an unusual and stupendous Magnitude. He saies, That *Most Noble Poet Virgil*, did Beleeve it, when he brought in his Champion, snatching & throwing a *Stone*, whereof he sings;

*Vix illud lecti bis sex cervice subirent,
Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus.*¹⁴³

He carries them down, to confute them, into the *Sepulchres* opened of later Dayes, where they should find, *Incredibilis magnitudinis ossa mortuorum*. Yea, He affirms, that he himself, with several more, Saw with their own Eyes, the *Tooth* of a Man, which would æqual at least an *Hundred* of the *Teeth* of ordinary Men. *Vidi ipse non solus, sed aliquot mecum, in Uticensi litore molarem hominis Dentem, tam ingentem, ut si in nostrorum Dentium modulos minutatim concideretur, centum nobis videretur facere potuisse. Sed illum Gigantis alicujus fuisse crediderim.*¹⁴⁴

[▽187r]

To gett nearer home; *Cambden*, in his *Britannia*, when he comes as far as *Nesse-point*, in *Essex*; makes a Citation from *Ralph de Coggeshal*, (who wrote between Four and Five Hundred Years ago,) in these Terms. "In the Time of King *Richard*, on the Sea-shore, in a Village called *Edulfiness*, were found *Two Teeth* of a *Giant*, of such a prodigious Bigness, that *Two Hundred* of such Teeth, as Men ordinarily have now, might be cutt out of one of them. These I saw at *Cogshal*, and handled with great Admiration." *Cambden* adds; Another, I know not what

¹⁴² Empirical proof demands that those who would be natural philosophers must judge "a lion from his claw" and "a giant from his tooth."

¹⁴³ Here continues Mather's excerpt from Heidegger (1:198, Exerc. XI, § 18). In his *De Civitate Dei* (15.9) [PL 41. 448], St. Augustine complains about the skeptics of his day who do not believe that the antediluvians lived considerably longer and were considerably larger than the post-diluvians. He quotes Virgil in affirmation that a huge bolder (which served as a landmark) could easily be carried and hurled by the giant antediluvians, whereas now "Scarce twice six strong men of such frames as the earth now brings forth could lift it on their shoulders" (*Aeneid* 12.899–900), in *NPNFi* 2:291)

¹⁴⁴ St. Augustine asserts that those who dismiss as credulity the former existence of giants often become believers when they see "bones of the dead of incredibly large size" that are washed out of their terrestrial sepulchers by rain torrents or by the wear and tear of time. He clinches his argument by testifying (*De Civitate Dei* 15.9), "I myself, along with some others, saw on the shore at Utica a man's molar tooth of such a size, that if it were cut down into teeth such as we have, a hundred, I fancy, could have been made out of it. But that, I believe, belonged to some giant" (*NPNFi* 2:291). Legion is the number of theologians who wrote on the topic in the seventeenth century. One of the best sources of the day is Athanasius Kircher's *Arca Noë* (1675), lib. 1, sec. 1, cap. 3, pp. 8–11; and Matthew Poole's *Works* (1:321–24).

Gigantic Relique, was found near this Place, in the Beginning of Q. *Elizabeth*, by the Noble R. *Candish*.¹⁴⁵

And here were enough, to prevent any ones Quarrelling with *Fulgus*, for his Report, That the *Teeth* of *Giants*, which *Teeth* weigh'd each of them *Three Pound*, were found at *Drepanum* in *Sicily*.¹⁴⁶

But *America* too will come in to shelter the Reputation of these Historians. They may shield themselves, with the *Teeth*, lately Dug up at *Albany*. Had *Johannes Cassanione's* Book, *De Gigantibus* ever come over to *America*, I do not know but I might have had a fuller Entertainment for you. But what matters it, now we find the *Giants* themselves come over to *America*.¹⁴⁷

The First printed Account the Publick had of it, was from *New York*, July, 23. 1705. to this Purpose.

"There is a prodigious *Tooth* brought hither, supposed by the Shape of it, to be one of the Great Teeth of a MAN. It weighs *Four Pounds* and *Three Quarters*. The Top of it, is as sound and white as a *Tooth* can be: but the *Root* is much decay'd. Yett one of the Fangs of it, holds Half a Pint of Liquor. It was lately Dug up, a great Way under Ground; in the Side of a Bank, or Hill, Thirty or Forty Foot above it; at or near a Place called *Clavarack*, about Thirty Miles on this

¹⁴⁵ The English historian and antiquarian William Camden (1551–1623) is best remembered for his popular historical geography *Britannia; sive, Florentissimorum regnorum Anglicae* (1586), a massive history that was translated into English (1610) and appeared in many editions. The citation from Ralph de Coggeshal(l), also Coggeshale (fl. 1207–26), chronicler and abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Coggeshall, Essex, England, appears on p. 351 (1695 ed.), and is most likely from a manuscript of Coggeshall's *Chronicon Anglicanum* (ODNB). Since Camden refers to Ralph de Coggeshall as having lived "350 years ago" (or "Four and Five Hundred Years ago" from Mather's vantage point), King Richard must evidently be Richard I (1157–99), who ruled England during the last ten years of his life. John Bale's *Scriptorum Illustrum Maioris Britanniae* (1557–59), Centuria Tertia, p. 275, identifies four of Coggeshall's works written in the early 13th century. Richard Candish or Cavendish (c. 1530–1601) was an English courtier, soldier, author, and minor actor (ODNB) during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I (1558–1603).

¹⁴⁶ The Italian Renaissance humanist and antiquarian of Genoa, Baptista Fulgosus, aka. Battista Fregoso (1452–1504), mentions such giant teeth in his *Chronique de Baptista Fulgosus* (1494), lib. 1, c. 6, whose fossil remains were found in the Sicilian Drepanum (modern Drepano, the capital of Trapani province), located on the NW coast of Sicily. The same reference to Fulgosus's report appears in Raphael Holinshed's *First and second volumes of Chronicles* (1587), vol. 1, ch. 5, p. 10 (col. 2). Indeed, the entire chapter 5 (pp. 8–12) of Holinshed's famous repository contains many toothsome stories of giants and their gargantuan molars dug up from chronicles ancient and modern.

¹⁴⁷ Earlier accounts of American giants were given by Pigafetta (*Magellan's Voyage*, ch. 8, p. 46) and by Fernando Montesinos (*Memorias Antiguas*, ch. 9, pp. 40–41) – the latter echoing the discouraging report given by Moses's spies who returned from Canaan (Num. 13:32–33). Johannes Cassanione (Mather's misspells his name "*Cassion*") is the French Protestant antiquarian of Monistrol en Velay, Jean de Chassanion (1531–98), whose *De Gigantibus, eorumque reliquiis* (1580), esp. ch. 6, debates the *Gigantomachia* (1569) of the Flemish linguist Joannes Goropius Becanus, about the origin and size of fossils found in Sicily, Bordeaux (France), and Burgos (Spain). Chassanion takes issue with Goropius Becanus's giants, arguing that they were not giants of physical size, but merely of political power (tyrants).

Side *Albany*.¹⁴⁸ They also Dug up several *Bones*, which as they came to the Air crumbled away. One of them, which is thought to be a *Thigh-bone*, is Seventeen Foot long. There is since another *Tooth*, taken up in the same Place; which is a *Fore-Tooth*, broad and flat, and is as broad as a Mans Four Fingers. They dug up several *Trees* in the same Place, of great Bigness.¹⁴⁹

That I might be able, with a better Face of Authority, to assert unto the World, a Curiosity of so much Consequence; I addressed the GOVERNOUR of *New England*, with my Request, That he would give me under his Hand, what he had Seen, and Thought, of this Matter. He Readily obliged me, with the ensuing Letter.¹⁵⁰

July, 10. 1706.¹⁵¹

“Sir.

“I was surprised, a few Dayes since, with a Present laid before me, from *Albany*, by Two honest Dutchmen, Inhabitants of that City: which was a certain TOOTH, accompanied with some other Peeeces of *Bone*. These being but Fragments, without any Points, whereby they might be determined, to what *Animals* they did belong, I could make nothing of them. But the *Tooth*, was of the perfect Form of the *Ey-Tooth* of a MAN; with Four Prongs, or Roots, and Six distinct Faces, or Flatts, on the Top; a little worn, and all perfectly smoothed with Grinding. I suppose all the Cheirurgeons in Town have seen it. And I am perfectly of Opinion, it was an HUMANE TOOTH. I measured it, and as it stood upright, it was *Six Inches* high, lacking an *Eighth*; and Round, *Thirteen Inches*, lacking an *Eighth*. And (tho’ Part of it be broken off, & lost,) its Weight in the Scale, was *Two Pounds* and *Four Ounces*, Troy-weight. One of the same Growth, was last Year presented to my Lord *Cornbury*. And another of the same Figure exactly, was lately shown at *Hartford*, of near a Pound Weight more than this.¹⁵²

“Upon Examination of the Two Dutchmen, they tell me, The said *Teeth* and *Bones*, were taken up, under the Bank of *Hudsons* River, some Miles below

¹⁴⁸ I.e., Claverack (Columbia County), near Albany, NY.

¹⁴⁹ Mather excerpts his information from the *Boston News Letter*, July 30, 1705, which reprinted an earlier account that had appeared in New York, July 23, 1705. See also D. Stanford’s “Giant Bones” and P. Semonin’s *American Monster* (15–40).

¹⁵⁰ Perhaps because the Mathers had a falling out with Joseph Dudley (1647–1720), Queen Anne’s colonial governor of Massachusetts (1702–15), Mather cancels (with doubled strike-through) his panegyric on their former friend. (See Appendix A). Mather’s disgruntlement with Dudley came to a pitch in *A Memorial of the Present Deplorable State of New-England* (1707). The deteriorating relationship between the Mathers and Governor Joseph Dudley is discussed in Silverman’s *Life and Times* (202–21).

¹⁵¹ Dudley’s letter was written at Roxbury, his seat of government, near Boston. See Appendix A.

¹⁵² Thomas Dudley refers to Edward Hyde, Lord Cornbury, governor of New York (1702–08), who lately has become notorious for his alleged cross-dressing proclivities. See P. Bonomi’s *Lord Cornbury Scandal* (1998).

the City of *Albany*; about Fifty Leagues from the Sea, many Foot below the Surface of the Earth; in a Place where the Freshet, every Year does rake and waste the Bank: And that there is a plain Discoloration of the Ground, for *Seventy Five Foot* long at least; different from the Earth in Colour, and Substance: which is judged by every body that sees it, to be the Ruines and Dust of the *Body*, that bore those *Teeth* and *Bones*.

"I am altogether perswaded, That the *Tooth* will agree, only to an *Humane Body*; for whom the | FLOOD only could præpare a Funeral. And without doubt, he waded as long as he could, to keep his Head above the Clouds; but must at length be confounded with all other Creatures: And the *New Sediment* after the *Flood*, gave him the Depth we now find. [▽188v]

"I remember to have Read somewhere, a *Tradition* of the *Jewish Rabbins*; That the Issues of those *Unequal Matches*, between Heaven and Earth, at the Beginning, were such, whose Heads reached the *Clouds*; and therefore they were called, *Nephilim*. Their Issue were, *Geborim*; who shrunk away to, *Rephaim*; which were then found, not to be Invincible, but fell before less Men, the *Sons of the East*, in several Places besides *Canaan*.¹⁵³

"I am not presently satisfied, of what Rank, or Classis, this Fellow was; but I am sure, not of the last; for *Goliath*, was not half so many *Feet*, as this was *Ells* long.¹⁵⁴

"The Distance from the *Sea*, takes away all Pretension of its being a *Whale*, or Animal of the Sea, as well as the *Figure* of the *Tooth*. Nor can it be any Remains of an *Elephant*; the Shape of the *Tooth*, and the Admeasurement of the *Body* in the Ground, will not allow *That*.¹⁵⁵

"There is nothing left, but to repair unto those Antique Doctors, for his Origin; and let Dr. *Burnet*, and Mr. *Whiston* bury him at the Deluge. And, if

153 Dudley evidently confuses the different races of giants – Nephilim, Emim, Rephaim, Gibborim, Zamzumim, Anakim, Awim – with the interpretation provided by Nachmanides, that when the Nephilim procreated with the daughters of men, their children were inferior in size to those of their giant fathers, and so on. Compare Midrash Rabbah (Gen. XXVI:7) with Ramban on Gen. 6:4 (*Commentary* 1:103) and *Mikraoth Gedoloth* (*Genesis* 1:84). According to Midrash Rabbah (Deut. XI:10), Sihon and Og were the heathen giants "to whose ankles the waters of the flood did not reach because of their [great] stature."

154 Goliath's height was "six cubits and a span" (1 Sam. 17:4).

155 The question of how fossils – especially of marine animals – were transported into the interior, hundreds of miles away from the present shoreline was not solved until geologists in the late nineteenth century posited the theory of shifting tectonic plates. D. C. Allen (*Legend*, ch. 5) and R. Rappaport (*When Geologists*, chs. 4–5) remind us that Renaissance and seventeenth-century naturalists sought to answer the transport problem in several ways: Through the plastic nature of the earth, fossils were believed either to grow from "seeds" embedded in rocks, or to spring up through spontaneous generation, or were the sports of nature (*lusus naturae*), or were indeed the petrified remains of antediluvian life-forms carried to their respective locations by Noah's Flood. In his commentary on Exod. 16:33, Mather insists that animals (including insects) generate through procreation – never through spontaneous generation.

he were, what he shoves, he will be seen again, at or after the Conflagration, further to be examined.¹⁵⁶

I am,
Syr,
Your Humble Servant,”
{Joseph Dudley}¹⁵⁷

Soon after the Receipt of this Letter, the Writer of these *Illustrations*, had the Opportunity, himself, to see these enormous Reliques of *Gigantism*; & so is now to be considered as an *Ey-Witness* of what he writes. *Theutohocchus*, who was dug up, A. C. 1613. at his full Dimensions of twenty six foot, was a Pigmy to our *Albanian Memorandum*. Upon the Discovery of this horrible *Giant*, all the *Indians*, within an hundred Miles of the Place, agreed in a *Tradition*, which they said, they had among them, from Father to Son, for some hundreds of Years, concerning him; and that he lived upon the Fish of that River, (usually swallowing *Four Sturgeons* in a Morning for a Breakfast:) and that his Name was, *Maughkompos*. But there is very little in any *Tradition* of our Salvages, to be rely'd upon.¹⁵⁸

I was at a Loss, where I might find a Lady for this Gentleman, until *Olaus Magnus* advised me of one. *Reperta est puella in capite vulnerata, ac mortua, induta chlamyde purpurea, longitudinis cubitorum Quinque aginta, latitudinis intrà Humerijs Quatuor*. But it is Pitty, to have such Monsters propagated.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ Dudley seems to dismiss the causes of the Flood as explained by Thomas Burnet (*Sacred Theory* [1684]) and by William Whiston (*New Theory* [1696]) – the former arguing that the surface of the antediluvian earth collapsed upon the waters stored in subterranean caverns, the latter explaining that a passing comet inundated the earth with water.

¹⁵⁷ See Appendix A. Thomas Dudley's letter to Mather was first printed as "Letter from Governour Dudley to the Reverend Cotton Mather, D. D. Account of a fossil tooth, &c. 1706," in the *Collections of the MHS* (Second Series) 2 (1814): 263–64. A penciled reference to this effect (in another hand) appears in the upper right-hand margin of the "BA" manuscript. See also D. Levin's article "Giants."

¹⁵⁸ The description of "*Theutohocchus*" or "Teutonic heel" (the tarsal joint or ankle in the hind limb of a quadruped) is also mentioned in William Derham's *Physico-Theology*, 4th ed. (1716), bk. 5, ch. 4, p. 291 (note 3). With his height of a mere 26 feet, *Theutohocchus* is far inferior in size to the "*Maughkompos*" or "Maw-compos" ("endowed with an able jaw or stomach"), the American giant of 76 feet, found near Albany – Mather's "*Albanian Memorandum*" of the Noachic Deluge. New England's own metaphysical poet, the Rev. Edward Taylor (c. 1645–1729), Congregational minister of Westfield, Massachusetts, was equally fascinated with the giant bones of Claverack and their human origin. He recorded his thoughts in his diary and commemorated the significance of this discovery in a poem of nearly 200 lines (rpt., in Stanford, "Giant Bones," 52–61).

¹⁵⁹ Pausanias (6.20.7), too, reports that the bones of Hippodameia, wife of the giant hero Pelops, were carried from Midea (Argolis) to Olympia. Olaus Magnus (1490–1557), Swedish geographer, historian, and archbishop of Upsala, relates in his popular history of Scandinavia, *Historia de gentibus* (1555), lib. 5, cap. 2, that "A girl was also found in the lands of the West, wounded in the head and lifeless; she was attired in a purple cloak, was seventy-five feet long,

Upon this Occasion, it is not easy, to forbear some Essay, to investigate the *Original* of such an *Exorbitant Appearance* among the Sons of Men.

And the *First Thoughts*, which now visit the Mind of one, whom I must confess to be but very shallow in his *Philosophy*, are such as these.¹⁶⁰

We have heard from others, and our Faithful *Microscopes* also, which *our Fathers* knew not, *have told us, what wonderful Things the Great GOD* ha's done, in creating the *Seminal Part* of the World.¹⁶¹

Among the *Vegetables*, the *least Part* of that which we call, *The Seed*, is really so: The *True Seed* lies in so *little Room*, that it is not visible to the Naked Eye: The *Rest* serves, but as a *Lodging* for it, and for its most proper *Nourishment* and *Expansion*, at the First Opening of it. But in that *little Room*, there lies the *whole Plant*, in all the *True Parts* of it: which is afterwards evolved, and extended, and filled up, with its *Adventitious Nutriment*, until it be carried as far as the original *Stamina*, are capable: And *then*, the Growth stops. But perhaps, towards the *Period* of the Growth, so weak may be the *Stamina*, that according to the *Strength* of the Soyl that nourishes it, the *Growth* may be more or less, but a little varied.¹⁶²

And, why may not the *Seeds of Animals* have the like said of *Them*? Yea, The *Microscopical Inquisitions*, have made it more than probable; That the *True Seeds of Animals*, floating in their *Suitable Vehicle*, have, lying in a *Space* much less than the Naked Eye can discern, the whole *Bodies* of the *Animals*, even to all their *Nerves* and *Fibres*: which afterward *Grow* as aforesaid, until their original *Stamina* can be no further carried out.¹⁶³

And this, by the way, takes away the common Cavi, against the *Resurrection of the Dead*; That the *Bodies* of Men, have been devoured by *Others*, and become the *Parts* of them. For | according to this *Hypothesis*, there can be no such Thing, as a *Confusion of Humane Bodies*. They can, by being Devoured, lose no more, than their *Adventitious Nutriment*; And it is Remarkable, That

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and six from shoulder to shoulder" (*Description of the Northern Peoples* 1:234). The first English translation of Olaus Magnus's oft-reprinted work was published as *A Compendious History of the Goths, Swedes, & Vandals* (1658). See William Derham's *Physico-Theology* (1716), bk. 5, ch. 4, p. 291 (note 3) for the same Latin citation.

¹⁶⁰ Mather deprecates himself.

¹⁶¹ Although Hans and Zacharias Janssen seem to be the inventors of a rudimentary microscope (c. 1595), their Dutch colleague, Anton van Leeuwenhoek (1632–1723), improved their invention and thereby discovered bacteria under the microscope. However, the English physicist Robert Hooke (1635–1703), father of microscopy, was the first to publish his observations in *Micrographia* (1665).

¹⁶² Mather here summarizes the research of Nehemiah Grew, William Derham, John Ray, Marcello Malpighi, Anton van Leeuwenhoek and many others who wrote on the subject. Mather covers much of the same terrain in his *Christian Philosopher* ("Essay 26," pp. 131–37). See Appendix A.

¹⁶³ See also George Garden's *Miscellanea Curiosa* (1705–1707), vol. 1, pp. 143–49; and James Drake's *Anthropologia Nova* (1707), bk. 1, ch. 25, pp. 334–36 (misnumbered 352) – both of whom discuss contemporaneous theories of generation and hybridization.

the *Resurrection of the Dead*, is called, *The Filling of the Dead Bodies*. [Psal. 110.6. and, Eph. 2.1.]

Quare. What Provision in the Case of *Amputations*? Whether a *Seminal Principle* seated in a Part of this original *Animalcule* which is yett unknown to us, may not be furnished by our Glorious and Almighty Creator, with a *Plastic Virtue*, to *Renew* what may be lost of it? *Uterius Inquirendum, aut forsán Ignorandum!* However, I will here take Leave to transcribe some Words of Mr. *Leibniz*, whom one that was himself so, calls, *One of the greatest Witts of Europe*.¹⁶⁴

"The most excellent Observators of our Time, have made me beleieve, that Animals or any other organized Beings, do not begin to exist, when we think they do, and that their seeming Generation, is only an Unfolding, and a Kind of Augmentation. But the greatest Quæstion still remains; What becomes of those Souls or Forms, after the Death of the Animal, or the Destruction of the organized Being? The only Way, left is to say, That not only the Souls, but also the Animals themselves, and their organized Machines are, preserved, tho' the Destruction of the Gross Particles has reduced them to a Smallness, that is as imperceptible, as it was before they were born."¹⁶⁵ I will add, That some are of

¹⁶⁴ This paragraph perhaps evidences that Mather was familiar with the startling discovery that crayfish and other crustaceans are able to regenerate lost limbs. The noted French biologist and entomologist René-Antoine Ferchault de Réaumur (1683–1757) published this discovery in "Sur les diverses reproductions," *Mémoires* (1712): 223–45. For a modern discussion, see D. M. Skinner's "New Limbs." The Latin citation reads, "To be investigated further, or perhaps it must remain unknown." The German philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Freiherr von Leibniz (1646–1716) criticized Descartes's materialist position that excepting human beings, animals are *not* endowed with a soul but operate on purely mechanical principles like primitive machines. Descartes's provocative thesis was hotly debated at the time, and Leibniz countered his French colleague with his essay "Système nouveau de la Nature," in *Journal des Savants* (27 June–4 July, 1695): 446–50, 457, by asserting that all living beings, by virtue of having a soul, are endowed with physical sensation and perception. In his biographical essay on Hieronymus Rorarius, Pierre Bayle (1647–1706), a French rationalist philosopher, literary critic, historian, and Huguenot refugee in Holland, praised Leibniz as "one of the greatest genius's in Europe" and favorably cited Leibniz's argument that ameliorated the extreme positions of Descartes and Rorarius. Mather here paraphrases Pierre Bayle's commendation of Leibniz, which appears in Bayle's famous *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* (1696, 1701), which was first translated into English, in 1702, and subsequently appeared in multi-volume editions. Mather is likely to have been aware of the controversy over the invention of logarithms, in which mutual charges of plagiarism were traded between the disciples of Sir Isaac Newton and those of Leibniz (see F. E. Manuel, *Newton Historian* 30–33; R. Iliffe's *Newton* 120–25). Finally, at this or a later point in compiling his "BA," Mather may also have known of the famous Leibniz-Clarke correspondence (an epistolary debate between English Newtonians and Continental Leibnizians) on such epistemological concepts as God's voluntarism, mechanical laws, gravity, and space and time. Samuel Clarke (1675–1729), rector of St. James's, Westminster, published this exchange in his *Collection of Papers* (1717). For a discussion of the "*Plastic Vertue*" of the earth – a vitalist power of the earth much admired by the Cambridge Platonists – see W. B. Hunter, "Plastic Nature."

¹⁶⁵ Mather here excerpts (without using ellipses marks) Bayle's citation from Leibniz, in "Rorarius," *General Dictionary, Historical and Critical* (1734–40) 8:767, col. 1–2. A similar argument appears in Leibniz's later disquisition on the soul *Monadology* (1714, 1721), §§ 63–77.

the Opinion, that the Primitive Subject, unto which our Soul is united, goes out of our Body together with it, when we come to Die. Mr. *Poiret* thinks so; and beleeves that *Moses*, on the Day of our Saviours Transfiguration, appeared with the True Body which attended his Soul at his Departure from this Life: the *Dead Body* was but a *Rusty Cover*, he thinks, to that *Subtil One*, unto which the Soul was firstly united. I must confess myself, at a Loss about these things.¹⁶⁶

And, what should now hinder, but that GOD, having at first created Numbers of *Humane Bodies*, in these true *Seeds* of them, there may be some among them, whose original *Stamina*, may be much larger than others, and capable of being drawn forth, to the most *Gigantic Extension*? God, for the Punishment of a wicked World, might order some of these *Gigantean Stamina*, to enter the *Bodies* of the Children of Men, perhaps in their *Food*; and so ly ready to be brought forth, as the *Propagation of Mankind* proceeded. Or, what should hinder their being all at first, in the Body of the First Man according to the Conjecture we have mentioned, on Gen. III.15. The *Giants* thus brought forth, by Parents not exceeding the common Stature, were such a Plague unto the World, that if a *Flood* had not exterminated *Them*, they might in a while have exterminated all the rest, without a *Flood*; Unto *Them alone the Earth had been given, and no Stranger*, or common Man, *had passed among them*.¹⁶⁷ It was most agreeable, That this Plague should come upon the World, in the Way of Generation; (as another ha's done since:) and that when the Carnalities of the World were grown to a *Gigantic Enormity*, they should be chastised with a *Gigantic Posterity*. And that we now suffer no more of this Plague, as well as that it was once inflicted, is owing to that *Vigilant and Immediate PROVIDENCE* of GOD, which is employ'd about the *Propagation of Mankind*: And whereof, the *Proportion of SEXES*, the Difference of *FACES*, (to which I may, for a Third Instance add, what ha's rarely been mentioned, The Variety of *HANDS*, written by the many Hundreds, all of whom learn to *write* of the same *Tutors*;) are Instances that call for our Contemplation and Astonishment.

But I will proceed no further in the *Speculation*; That I do proceed so far, may need a *Pardon*.

Appendix.

After I had written the Foregoing *Illustration*, I found in my Reading, That the *Americans* in the Southern Regions, have Traditions of *Giants*, who were fought by a Man descended from Heaven, that flung upon them Torrents of Fire. A Spanish Captain, who heard them tell the Story, had the Curiosity to dig

¹⁶⁶ Mather's second-hand extract is from *Cogitationes Rationalis (de Deo, anima & malo)*, "Appendice," numero 1, (1685 ed.) 611, by Pierre Poiret (1646–1719), a learned French Protestant theologian; this extract also appears in Pierre Bayle's biographical essay "Rorarius," *General Dictionary* (1734–40) 8:767, col. 2.

¹⁶⁷ Job 15:19.

in the Place, where the *Battel* was fought, where he found *Bones* enough to make a *Skeleton*, the Teeth whereof were Four Inches Long, and Two Broad. *Acosta* relates, that another much larger was discovered at *Mexico*; for one of his *Grinders*, was as big as a Mans Fist, and the other Parts of the Body in Proportion. Lastly, other Bodies were found there, three times bigger than the ordinary *Indians*.

[See *Zarate Hist: of the Discovery of Peru*. L.1. c. 10. p. 18. *Acosta*. L.7. c. 10. *Laet de Orig. Gent. Amer.* p. 83.]¹⁶⁸

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But, oh! the palpable *Darkness*, under which we are languishing! After I have given you, so fair an *Hypothesis*, as at first I thought it, about the *Generations* carried on in the *Animal World*, I must now run the Hazard of destroying it all again. I find myself obliged, for to transcribe from the *Anthropologia nova* of Dr. *James Drake*, a Passage, which will render my *Hypothesis*, at best but very dubious.

“This *Hypothesis* won’t account fairly & fully, for *Mix’d Generation*. For besides the vast Variety of *Mongrel Dogs*, there have been abundance of Observations of Mixtures of Animals of more remote kinds. That of a *Bull* and a *Mare*; which ha’s been often enough observ’d, to procure a particular Name, and is call’d a *Gimar*.¹⁶⁹ But the most common of all these Animals, of mix’d Breeds, is the *Mule*, begotten by an *Ass*, upon a *Mare*. If this *Hypothesis* be true, the *Sperm* of an *Ass*, is full of *little Asses*, and the being nurs’d by a *Mare* should never make *Mules* of them; because the Species is prædetermined, and the Creature is not only form’d, but living. I might perhaps, as Reasonably object,

¹⁶⁸ Mather misspells Zárate as “Zaraet,” here silently corrected. Agostin de Zárate (1514–c. 1560), Spanish historian of Andalusia and imperial auditor to the Spanish crown in Peru, relates in his *Historia del descubrimiento y Conquista del Perú* (1555), lib. 1, cap. 5 (not 10), that giants lived among the ancient Peruvians. According to the remembrances of the Peruvian Indians, these cruel giants fed on vast quantities of fish, went naked, and were ultimately destroyed by flames of fire darted at them by a shining young man from heaven. The battle scars were still visible in the valley where the giants were vanquished. The Spanish Captain “Jhon [sic] de Holmos,” Lt. Governor of the port of Puerto Viejo, in 1543, visited the site and dug up great ribs, bones, a skull, and teeth, which were 3 fingers broad and 4 long. Mather extracts the story from the English translation of Zárate’s *Historia*, appearing as *The strange and delectable History of ... Peru* (1581), bk. 1, ch. 5, fol. pp. 6–7. The Carmelite Fray José de Acosta (1540–1600), whose famous *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* (Sevilla, 1590) was translated into English and appeared as *The Naturall & Morall History of the East and West Indies* (1604), gleans from Agostino Zárate the same story of the Spanish captain at Puerto Viejo (Engl. ed., bk. 1, ch. 19, pp. 62–63), which Mather here summarizes. Acosta’s story of the giant grinders discovered in Mexico is related in *Naturall & Morall History* (bk. 7, ch. 3 [not 10], pp. 501–02) and serves Mather as further evidence of the biblical Nephilim. Finally, Joannes de Laet (1593–1649), Dutch geographer of Antwerp, tells his story of the giants in the Amsterdam edition of *Notae ad dissertationem ... Hugonis Grotii, De origine gentium Americanarum* (1643) 83. See also Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrims* (1626), bk. 9, ch. 6, § 2, pp. 922–93. A. Mayor explores the discovery of giant bones among Native Americans of the Northeast, in her *Fossils Legends of the First Americans* (2005), ch. 1.

¹⁶⁹ “Gimar” or “gimmer” is an obsolete term for a one-year old ewe or “barren” mare (*OED*).

the Similitude that the Children of the same Parents bear to their Ancestors; Some to the Fathers line, and some to the Mothers. I know some Endeavour, to gett over this Objection, by fancying that the different *Matrix* may have so much Effect, as to alter the Figure of the Animal so far, as may account for these *Mixt Appearances*. But this is so poor, so unphilosophical a shift, that it is not worth an Answer; and they might with as good Authority perswade me, that an *Orange-tree* translated from *Sevil* to *England*, would bear *Apples*; and so *vice versâ*. It is a common Practice in Gardening, to graft one Fruit, upon another Stock: But the Fruit still follows the Species of the Graft, or Cyon; & bear like the Parent Tree; not the Stock it growes upon.

“However old and exploded, the Opinion of a *Plastick Power* be, I must however embrace it; even tho’ I know not exactly wherein it lies: at least, till I meet with some what more sufficient to Resolve my Doubts, than hitherto I have done.”¹⁷⁰

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 182v]

[▽182v]

4207.

Q. That Passage, *It Repented the Lord, that He had made Man on the Earth, and it Grieved Him at His Heart*: How may we understand it? v. 6.¹⁷¹

A. It is a notable Hint, which *Munster* ha’s; That it is to be understood concerning the *Spirit* of God, as exciting Regret and Sorrow in the *Hearts* of His Faithful People. Particularly, *Noah* who had the *Spirit* of God in him, seeing the Wickedness of the World, was by that *Spirit* stirred up to more than ordinary *Grief*. [Compare, Eph. 4.30.] *Noah dolet et optat hominem potius non esse quàm sic malum esse. Munster* proceeds, *Quòd si ista referas ad voluntatem substantiæ Divinæ, quòd Deus ab æterno hoc statuerit, Periculosa erit Disputatio de Prædestinatione, quæ suprà captum nostrum est. Tutius ergò est, ut consistamus in Humiliori*

170 James Drake, M. D. (1667–1707), fellow of the College of Physicians of the Royal Society, published *Anthropologia Nova* (1707), which (among other things) explored new theories of generation and hybridization. Mather’s quotation is from vol. 1, bk. 1, ch. 25, pp. 334–35, 335–36 [misnumbered 352]. The idea of the “*Plastick Power*” of nature is derived from Plato’s concept of *anima mundi* (*Timæus*), the theory that nature is endowed with a spiritual power that orders and shapes the size and growth of all biological life forms. Revived by the Cambridge Platonists to combat Cartesian materialism, the vitalist theory made a brief comeback, but was largely discredited by the end of the seventeenth century. In Mather’s time the English botanist John Ray (1628–1705) was one of its principal proponents in his popular *Wisdom of God Manifested in the Works of the Creation* (1691), esp. pp. 31–40; Mather employs Ray’s vitalist argument at some length in his *Christian Philosopher* (Essay 26). For a helpful review of the vitalist debate in the seventeenth century, see W. B. Hunter, “Plastic Nature.”

171 See Appendix B.

*loco, et sentiamus Noah, et alios patres summo Dolo affectos, postquam eis hanc Dei Iram Spiritus revelavit.*¹⁷²

866.

Q. When the Occasion of the *Flood* is mentioned, wee read, *It Repented the Lord, that Hee had made Man*. What Remarkable is there in that Expression? v. 6.

A. You know what the Expression intends. The Dispensations of God on this Occasion, were the Actions of one, who does *Repent*. But it is Remarkable, That *Repentance* is never ascribed unto God, but upon some Account of *Man*. As here, – & upon the Advancement of *Saul*; 1. Sam. 15.11. and upon the Destruction of *Ninive*. Jon. 3.10.

The Design hereof, is to preach *Repentance* unto *Man* himself. The Great God, ascribes unto Himself, that which ought to be in *Man*, that *Man*, who alone is capable of *Repentance*, may learn his Duty from it. Compare, Jer. 18. 8.

Q. That Expression *I will destroy Man, which I have created*? v. 7.

A. Our Translation will do better, to keep this Term in the Original; *I will blott out Man*; The LXX keeps it; ἀπαλειψω. The Metaphor is taken from Writing, or Graving, or Painting. It may have reference to the *Image of God* pourtray'd on Man, whom God had made after, His own Image. Because Man had by his wicked Imaginations depraved this Image, & instead of /יצר הטוב/ *The Good Image*, introduced /יצר הרע/ *The Evil Image*; the Lord threatens to *Blott out* all.¹⁷³

[△] [△Insert ends]

¹⁷² The paragraph is extracted from *Biblia Hebraica* (1546), by Sebastian Münster (1489–1552), the German Protestant reformer and professor of Hebrew and theology at Heidelberg and Basel. The Latin citation from vol. 1:16, annot. (e), translates, “Noah grieved and wished that mankind did not exist, which would be preferable to its being so evil.” Münster continues, “Because if you refer this to the will of the Divine substance, since God had established it since eternity, it will be dangerous to discuss predestination, which is out of our reach. Therefore, it is safer that we should take a more humble position and agree with Noah and the other fathers who were affected by utmost grief, after the Spirit revealed to them the wrath of God.” In his “Note Book of Authors” (Gen. 6:5), Mather lists as his source “v. 5. Charnock, vol. 2,” which is *The Works Of the late learned Divine Stephen Charnock, B. D.* (1684), vol. 2, “A Supplement”: “A Discourse of the Sinfulness and Cure of Thoughts” (on Gen. 6:5) 2:1–19 (second pagination series), by Stephen Charnock (1628–80), an English nonconformist minister in Dublin (Ireland) during Cromwell’s Interregnum and later practicing physician in London. For whatever reason, Mather excised Charnock’s excerpt altogether when he decided to drop his commentary on Gen. 6:5.

¹⁷³ The Greek “apaleipso” (LXX Gen. 6:8 and 4 Kings 21:13) signifies “shall expunge” or “wipe out.” See also Paulus Fagius’s *Targum, hoc est, Paraphrasis Onkeli* (1546), on Gen. 6, note 5 (at end).

3388.

Q. *These are the Generations of Noah?* v. 9.

A. P. Fagius (on Gen. 37.2.) expounds the Word, which we translate, *Generations*, to signify, *Events*. It may therefore be translated, *These are the Things which befel Noah & his Family*.

Philo remarks, That *Moses* instead of recounting the *Ancestors* of *Noah* here, does reckon his *Vertues*.¹⁷⁴

136.

Q. How far was the World peopled before the *Flood*? v. 12.

A. Ponder the Longævity of the Antediluvian Patriarchs, and you will not scruple to affirm it probable, *That more People perished in the Flood, than there are now alive in the World*. Lett us make a Computation, with as much Disadvantage, to our own Assertion, as can Reasonably bee desired. Wee'l abate Two or Three of the first *Centuries*, by which time, the World might bee supply'd with People not a few; & wee'l suppose a Man to have Children at *Sixty*, & in the Next *Forty* Years to have *Twenty* Children. Now single out the *Shortest Liver* of any mentioned (except *Enoch*;) before the *Flood*; and from that one Stock of *Seven Hundred* Years, multiplying still by *Twenty*, wee shall find the Produce to bee more than One Thousand, Three Hundred & forty Seven Millions: Thus that *One Family*, would long before the Flood, have afforded, it may bee more People, than are now living on the Earth. Moreover, If wee consider, that within a very few *Centuries* of Years after the *Flood*, Histories tell us of *One Army*, in which were *Thirteen Hundred thousand* Foot, *Five Hundred Thousand* Horse, *One Hundred Thousand* Chariots, & as many Camels; and *This Army*, encountered by a yett greater Force; it may facilitate our Beleef of the wonderful Populosity which might bee before. But indeed, I insist not upon this; for the Histories which tell us of *these Armies*, are not much to be relied upon.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ Mather's sources are Simon Patrick's annotation on Gen. 6:9 (*Commentary* 1:34) and *Thargum, hoc est, Paraphrasis Onkeli Chaldaica* (1546), a Latin translation with annotations of the Targum Onkelos by Paulus Fagius, aka. Paul Büchlein (1504–49), German Hebraist, professor of Hebrew at Strasbourg and Cambridge. Fagius's rendering of "generationes" as "eventa" (events) appears in his unpaginated commentary on Gen. 37 (note 1). Mather inserted his reference to Philo's *Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin I* (§ 97), in *Works* (812) at a later time.

¹⁷⁵ Mather's immediate source for this paragraph is unidentified. His delight in such calculations is also evident in his *Threefold Paradise* (275–76), but Mather is no exception. Sir William Petty (1623–87), in his popular *An Essay concerning the Multiplication of Mankind* (1682, 1686, 1698), has much to say on the same subject. Similar computations about antediluvian populations appear in Thomas Burnet's *Sacred Theory* (bk. 1, ch. 3, p. 36) and in William Whiston's *New Theory*, fifth ed. (pt. 2, bk. 3, ch. 3, p. 249). Mather's allusion to the epic combat between the two vast armies is to Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca historica* 2.5.4, 2.17.1–2). This Graeco-Roman historian relies on Ctesias Cnidius for these impossibly large troops, whose contradictory numbers are given in superlatives. Here we learn that the legendary Assyrian King Ninus led immense troops against his Bactrian foes. However, his spouse and heir Semiramis raised

[▽182v] [▽Insert from 182v]

3389.

Q. What Wood, was that *Gopher-Wood*, whereof the *Ark* was made? v. 14.

A. The learned *Nic. Fuller*, in his *Miscellanies*, hath observed, That it is no other, than that which the *Greeks* call, κυπαρισσος, *The Cypress Tree*. Taking away the Termination, *Cupar*, and *Gophar* differ very little in Sound. *Bochart* hath confirmed this Conjecture, by demonstrating, that no Countrey so abounds with this Wood; as that Part of *Assyria*, which was about *Babylon*; where *Arrianus* tells us, That *Alexander* built a Navy of these Trees; for, saies he, *There is great Plenty of these Trees alone, in the Countrey of Assyria, but of others fitt for making Ships, there is great Scarcity*. *Strabo* saies the same; From whence *Bochart* thinks it probable, that *Noah* and his Children lived in this Countrey before the Flood. Nor is it likely, that such a vast Bulk as the *Ark*, was carried far from the Place, where it was made. And the Mountains of *Ararat*, are upon the Borders of *Assyria* Northward; which Way the Wind blew (if there were any) in all Probability, the Rain coming from the South Sea.¹⁷⁶

[△] [△Insert ends]

13.

Q. What further *Light* can you give about, *The Window of the Ark*? v. 16.

even more: 1,300,000 foot-soldiers, 500,000 horses, and 100,000 chariots against her Indian enemy Stabrobates (Staurobates), who ultimately trumped her with yet larger forces. The story is put to similar use in Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World* (1614), bk. 1, ch. 12, § 4, pp. 215–16, and in Sir Thomas Browne's *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (1658), bk. 6, ch. 6 (*Works* 3:336). Significantly, Mather's numbers agree with those in Browne, but not with those given in Raleigh or in Diodorus Siculus – all of whom acknowledge the untrustworthiness of Ctesias Cnidius (late 5th c. BCE), the source for the Graeco-Roman historian of Sicily. Mather's disclaimer in the paragraph's last sentence was added at a later stage and suggests that he had second thoughts about using such flimsy evidence to prove his point.

176 First and foremost an editor and synthesizer of other scholars' ideas, Cotton Mather extracts this paragraph with little alteration from Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 6:24 (*Commentary* 1:34), but Patrick himself draws on a wealth of information from his predecessors to whom he merely alludes by name. Nicholas Fuller (c. 1557–1626) was a learned English theologian who was rector at Waltham, Hampshire, at his death (*ODNB*). His *Miscellanea Sacra* (1617), lib. 4, cap. 5, pp. 492–93, is the source in question. The Greek word "kyparissos" signifies "cypress tree." Samuel Bochart confirms the abundance of cypress trees in the area (*Geographia*, pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 4, col. 21–24), as do Arrianus (*Alexandri Anabasis* 7.19.4) and Strabo (16.1.11). Marcus Valerius Martialis (c. 38–c. 104 CE), the Spanish poet of Bilbilis, asserts that gopher wood (cypress) is incorruptible (*Epigrammaton* 6.49.5; 6.73.7). Thus Bochart believes Noah lived in the area where cypress trees abounded (*Geographia*, pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 3–4, col. 13–24). In his letter to John Woodward ("Curiosa Americana," first series, 1712), Mather conjectured that Noah's Ark was built of "*Shittim* Wood" or "black *Acacia*," also known as "the *Juniperus arbor tetragonophyllos*" common to the East-Indies," in "An Extract of several Letters from Cotton Mather, D. D." *Philosophical Transactions* 29 (1714–16) 63.

A. A learned Man, saies, The Hebrew Word, should bee Translated, rather, *A Splendor*, than, *A Window*. Whence hee infers, That God Ordered, or Directed *Noah*, to make some chymical Præparation, like the subterraneous Lamps known & used among the Ancients, to give Light unto the *Ark*. For the Air being then extremely darkened, with the Clouds of the excessive Rain, a *Window* could bee but little serviceable for the Transmission of the Light.¹⁷⁷

[182v–183r inserted into 181r]

[182v]

|

[184v]

4208.

Q. The Lord saies unto *Noah*; *With thee will I establish my Covenant*. What Covenant? v. 18.

A. *Munster* saies, Tis the *Covenant* made at the Beginning, about the *Promised Seed*, that was to break the old *Serpents Head*. This *Covenant* is now Renewed and Confirmed unto *Noah*, who now being assured, That the *Messiah* was to descend from him, he had an Assurance that God would have His Church continued among his Posterity.¹⁷⁸

653.

Q. What Footsteps of *Noah*, and of *his Flood*, can you find in Pagan Antiquitie? v. 22.

A. Innumerable. But *These* among the rest.¹⁷⁹

Berosus, the Chaldæan Priest, relates; how wicked the old World was, & how *Noah* warned them of their Wickedness & of the approaching *Flood*.

The fame of the *Flood*, & of the *Ark*, was every where, among the Pagans. Not only *Berosus*, quoted by *Josephus*; but *Nicolaus Damascenus*, by him also quoted, and *Abydenus* the Assyrian, quoted by *Eusebius*; *Alexander Polyhistor*,

177 Mather had addressed this issue before in his “The Introduction” to “BA.” The “learned Man” is Edmond Dickinson, M. D. (1624–1707), an English alchemist, whose *Physica Vetus et Vera* (ch. 20, §§ 7–9, pp. 324–26) Mather had mined before. The Hebrew word “tsohar” (Gen. 6:16) does signify “splendor” as well as “glistening light” and “window” [Strong’s # 6671, 6672]. According to *Genesis Rabbah XXXI:11* (Gen. 6:16), R. Levi and R. Phineas argue that the word “tsohar” denotes “precious stone” or “polished gem,” a crystal which illuminated the ark throughout the year, dimming at day, but radiating at night. Simon Patrick appears to eschew supernatural explanations by suggesting that instead of “one great Window . . . many little ones” might have supplied the ark with sufficient light (*Commentary* 1:34–35).

178 The source is Sebastian Münster’s annotation on Gen. 6:18, in *Hebraica Biblia* (1:18), annot. (a).

179 Even though Simon Patrick (on Gen. 6:17, in *Commentary* 1:35) and Nehemiah Grew (*Cosmologia Sacra*, bk. 4, ch. 2, § 12, p. 146) offer quite similar evidence from the ancients, Mather here extracts his entire commentary on Gen. 6:22 from John Edwards’s *Discourse* (1693) 1:118–24.

Melo, *Hieronymus Egyptius*, *Apollodorus*, and all the *Barbarian Historians*, as *Josephus* tells us, have mentioned it.¹⁸⁰

Some call in quæstion the Credit of these Writers; but, I am sure, they can't quæstion *Lucians Dea Syria*, where you'll find most of the Passages in the Sixth & Seventh Chapters of *Genesis*; which Things, hee saies, the Greeks relate, out of their *Archives* of the Flood. I refer you to the Book it self.¹⁸¹

Plutarch also, (who, like *Lucian*, disguises *Noah* under the Name of *Deucalion*) reports the Egress and Return of a *Dove*, to signify the Decrease of the Waters, from whence likewise an *Olive-branch*, was in all succeeding Ages, made a Symbol of, *Peace*, *Concord*, and *Friendship*. *Livy* tells us, t'was thus among the *Greeks* & the *Carthaginians*, and *Polybius*, with Instances of it, saies, *πᾶσι τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐστὶ συνθημα φιλίας*. In that History wee also have a Narrative of the *Raven*; and from the same Original that *Plutarch* fetch'd his Report, wee may conceive that *Eliau* had *his*; About *Apollo's* employing a *Raven*, to bring him some fresh Water; in which Errand, hee loitered on a certain Tree till the *Figs* grew Ripe. Tho' *Ovid*, saies it was, an *Apple-Tree*;

Immemor Imperij, sedisse sub arbore fertur,

*Dum fierent Tardâ dulcia poma morâ.*¹⁸²

¹⁸⁰ Edwards (*Discourse* 1:118). Edwards's own source for the Chaldean Berosus and for the peripatetic historian Nicolaus Damascenus is Josephus Flavius's *Against Apion* (1.19) and *Antiquities* (1.3.6; 1.7.2). The Assyrian historian Abydenus, on whom Berosus draws frequently, is here cited by Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.12). The Greek ethnographer Alexander Polyhistor; Melo, who authored a tract against the Jews; the Phoenician historian Hieronymus Egyptius; the Greek chronicler Apollodorus of Athens (*The Library* 1.7.2; 3.8.2; 3.14.5), and a whole host of ancient historians – all mentioned in Josephus Flavius's *Against Apion* I, or excerpted in Eusebius's *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.11–12, 18, 19) – are favorites among those who seek to allocate extra-biblical proof to verify the Noachic Flood by identifying Deucalion, son of Prometheus, with the biblical patriarch. Significantly, Seneca (*Naturales quaestiones* 3.27.1–3.30.8) believed that the Flood was not a past, but near, future event, and developed elaborate theories on how this deluge could come about through natural causation alone. If anything, Mather's contemporaries Thomas Burnet's *Sacred Theory* (1684) and William Whiston's *New Theory* (1696) don't have anything on Seneca in scientific sophistication of their explanations. In Mather's time, the most exhaustive examination of this sort was worked up by the Dutch scholar Joannes Lomeier, whose *De veterum gentilium* (1681) argues that the biblical story of the Flood was the original blueprint for all the "corrupted" versions proliferated by pagan historians.

¹⁸¹ Edwards (*Discourse* 1:119). Edwards refers to the Greek author Lucian of Samosota (b. c. 120 CE), whose story of Deucalion's flood (*De Syria dea* 12–13, *Works* 4:350–53) is generally read as a parallel account to that in the Bible.

¹⁸² Edwards (*Discourse* 1:119–20). Both Lucian (*De Syria dea* 12–13, *Works* 4:350–53) and Plutarch (*Moralia: De sollertia animalium* 968 F, line 4) call him Deucalion. This Greek Noah interpreted diluvial signs just like his biblical counterpart. When Deucalion "released a dove from the ark, as long as she returned, it was a certain sign that the storm was still raging; but as soon as she flew away, it was a harbinger of fair weather" (*Plutarch's Moralia* 12:377). The Roman historian Livy (29.16.6 and 30.36.4) and the Greek Polybius Megalopolitanus point to the olive branch as a symbol of friendship. This is suggested by Polybius (*Historiae* 3.52.3.4), who argues that "all the barbarians use it [the olive branch] as a covenant of friendship." Poly-

For which Neglect it is added, *Apollo* turn'd him into the *Blackabird*. And from hence probably tis, that *Servius* remarks it, as an Observation of the Ancients, That the *Crowes* are *forgetful Creatures*, forgetting sometimes to Return unto their *Nests*.

Briefly, Pagan Antiquitie, ha's confounded, *Ogyges* with *Deucalion*, and both with *Noah*.¹⁸³

And what *Ovid* relates, concerning *Deucalion*, with his Wife, betaking themselves unto their Devotions, after the Flood; it is but what *Moses* relates, of *Noahs* then erecting an *Altar*.¹⁸⁴

Kircher thinks, that *Nisroch* [2. King. 19.37. Isa. 37.38.] is as much as, *Numen Arcae*; & that it was the Image of *Noahs* Ark, worshipped among the *Assyrians*.

And, you know, *Janus's* Coin, with a *Ship* upon it.

I only add; *Quere*, whether *Prometheus* were not one of the Names given to Noah, by the Ancients?¹⁸⁵

bis narrates the story of the ominous raven, in *Historiae* (1.22, 23, 27, 28). Claudius Aelianus (*De natura animalium* 1.47–48) relates that the sluggish raven waited until a field of corn (not figs) was ripe. Finally, Ovid tells us in his *Fasti* (2.255–56) that “Unmindful of his orders he [the raven] perched under the tree / to wait until the fruit should sweeten lingeringly.”

¹⁸³ Edwards (*Discourse* 1:121). The Roman grammarian and commentator Maurus Servius Honoratus (fl. 4th c. CE) alludes to the forgetful crow perched on an oak tree, in his commentary on Virgil's *Aeneid* (12.246), in *Vergili carmina commentarii* (4.06). According to the *OCD*, the mythical King Ogygus, variously located in Boeotia (Pausanias 9.5.1), Lycia, Attica, and in Thebes (the latter city bearing the epithet Ogygian), is associated with a tremendous flood that inundated the region around Athens and Achaia, about the time of the OT Patriarch Abraham (A.M. 2140), in Edwards's reckoning. Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 10.9.486; 10.10.488d–489b) associates Ogygus with the primal Flood of Noah. In this respect, Ogyges reappears in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1.318–94) as Deucalion, ruler of Thessaly, who with his wife Pyrrha, were the sole survivors of a flood that inundated his kingdom. This popular association of Noah with Ogyges, Saturn, Deucalion, Prometheus, and Janus – heroes all in Greek and Roman mythology – can also be found in Mathias Prideaux's *Essay and Compendious Introduction* (1650) 5; in Edmund Dickinson's *Delphi Phoenicizantes* (4–25); Joannes Bomparsius's *Parallela sacra et profana* (1689) 44–58; and in Gerard Vossius's *De Theologia Gentili* (1641), lib. 1, c. 19, pp. 144–49.

¹⁸⁴ Edwards (*Discourse* 1:122). Both Deucalion and Pyrrha implore the oracle of Themis for help, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1.318–23); Noah appeases his God by offering animal sacrifices on an altar (Gen. 8:20).

¹⁸⁵ Edwards (*Discourse* 1:123). Edwards acknowledges as his source Athanasius Kircher (1601–80), renowned German Jesuit polymath, professor of mathematics, physics, and oriental languages at the Collegium Romanum, whose three-volume *Cædipus Ægyptiacus* (1652–54) attempts to decipher Egyptian hieroglyphics and the arcane symbolism of Egyptian temples. His discussion of Nisroch and Noah appears in this work, tomus 1, syntagma 4, cap. 21, pp. 376–84; Kircher also treats the story of Noah / Deucalion in his *Arca Noë* (1675), lib. 2, cap. 6, pp. 136–42, where Kircher replicates two coins of Roman Emperors Marcus Julius Philippus Augustus (244–49 CE) and of Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax (193–211 CE); the reverse sides of these coins depict an arklike box carrying Deucalion and Pyrrha, above whom are perched ravens or doves (*Arca Noë* 138). Numismatic evidence of this nature served as proof for Noah's Flood as represented in pagan mythology. Kircher's “Numen Arcae,” or “image of

A *Flood*, was, according to them, in the Time of *Prometheus*; & *Prometheus* was by them reckoned the Restorer of Mankind. If they call'd him, *The Son of Japetus*, this is but one of their ordinary Confusions.

Was *Prometheus* chained by *Jupiter*, to Mount *Caucasus*, with an *Eagle* or *Vulture*, feeding on his Entrails? This is but more like the rambling Poets. Mount *Caucasus*, is Mount *Ararat*, on which the *Ark* rested; and the *Raven*, was the *Eagle*, or *Vulture*, whose actions, gave no little Motion to his Mind. And, if *Prometheus* had his Name from his *Foresight*; this was *Noah* all over, who being *Warned of God*, & moved with *Fear & Faith*, prepared an *Ark*.¹⁸⁶

[185r] [185v–190r inserted into 181r]

[191r]

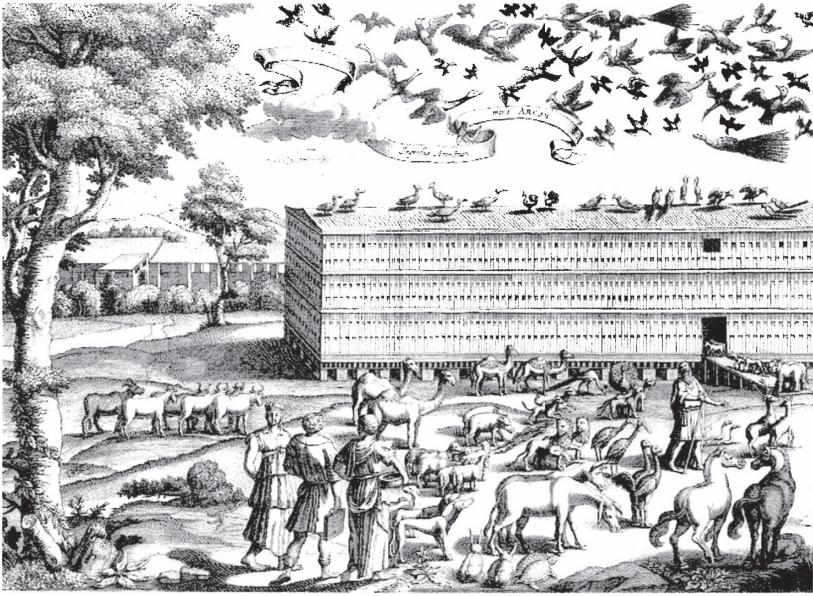
Q. Of that most famous Monument, The ARK, Lett us resume the Consideration; and assisted by an Exercitation of *Heidegger*, Lett us again consider many Circumstances, that relate unto it? v. 22.

A. A Noble and a Grateful Subject. Had it not been for the *Third* of *Genesis*, and the *Fifteenth*, a sinful World must have wholly perished by that time it arrived unto the *Sixth* of *Genesis*.

An ARK must be employ'd for the Præservaⁿtion, and Reparation of Mankind, when a FLOOD swept away a sinful World before it.

the ark,” is associated with the obscure Assyrian god Nisroch (shaped like a dove or eagle), in whose temple Sennacherib worshipped when his two sons assassinated him (2 King 19:37 and Isa. 37:38). For a recent study of Kircher’s significance, see P. Findlen’s *Athanasius Kircher* (2004). According to Rashi, the idol Nisroch was made from one of the boards of Noah’s ark (Rashi on Isa. 37:38 and Talmudic tractate Sanhedrin 96a). The two-faced Janus, Roman god of archways, is found on many ancient Roman coins, on whose reverse side an anchor or the prow of a ship are frequent motifs of Rome’s naval power. Prometheus, son of Japetus, taught man how to tame fire and grandfathered Deucalion, who built cities and temples, and was first to rule over men (Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 3.1086–87; and Pindar, *Olympian Odes* 9.41–66) and is thus associated with the biblical Noah.

186 Edwards (*Discourse* 1:124–25). Gerard Vossius (*De Theologia Gentili*, pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 18, pp. 141–42), Theophilus Gale (*Court* [1672], part 1, bk. 2, ch. 6, pp. 72–73, §§ 4–5), and Samuel Bochart (*Geographia Sacra* [1707], pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 2, col. 10–13) discuss the parallels between Prometheus and Noah, and between Prometheus and Noah’s son Japheth. According to Hesiod (*Theogonia* 506–616), Prometheus (signifying “foresight”), son of Klymene and Japetus, is by Zeus (Jupiter) chained to a pillar as punishment for trying to outsmart him. During the day, a long-winged eagle feasts on Prometheus’s deathless liver, which regrows every night. Biblical commentators who maintain the primacy of OT history frequently associate Japetus, Prometheus, and Deucalion with Noah, who (like Prometheus) is endowed with prophetic foresight. The similarity of the names of Japheth (one of Noah’s three sons) and Japetus (Deucalion’s grandfather) suggests to many Christian apologists of Mather’s time the confusion of the pagans who, like Hesiod, allegedly borrowed much of their mythology from the Mosaic account. Warned by God, Noah is moved by faith and fear to build an ark (Heb. 11:7). Here ends Mather’s excerpt from John Edwards’s *Discourse*. D. C. Allen’s classic *Legend of Noah* (1949, 1963) is still one of the most enlightening studies of how scholars debated the evidence of Noah’s Flood from the Renaissance to the early eighteenth century.



Athanasius Kircher's *Arca Noë* (1675)

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But why called, *An Ark*, and not *A Ship*? The Reason is assigned by *Aben Ezra*; *Quia non habuit formam Navis, neque in ea fuerunt Remi*.¹⁸⁷

Gopher, the Name of the *Wood*, whereof the *Ark* was composed, being one of the *απαξ λεγόμενα*, *Words but once occurring*, in the Bible, it ha's occasion'd much Disputation. But it is determined at length, for the *Cypress* tree; whereof *Pliny* tells us, That it is, *Adversus cariem Tineasque firmissima*: And *Martial* tells us, *Nec sæcula centie{n}s peracta, Nec longe cariem timet senectæ*. For which Cause the *Athenians*, as *Thucydides* tells us, buried those who dyed serving their Coun-

¹⁸⁷ Heidegger (1:320–340 [misnumbered 430], Exerc. XVII). The second-hand Latin citation from Ibn Ezra's gloss on Gen. 6:14 appears in Heidegger (1:321, § 2) and reads, "because it [the ark] did not have the shape of a ship nor did it have oars" (Ibn Ezra, *Commentary* 1:100). D.C. Allen's *Legend of Noah* (chs. 7–8) summarizes the Renaissance debate on the size and shape of Noah's Ark. In paintings and stone carvings of the period, the Ark generally appears as a "box or chest." Since Noah is the OT type for the second Adam, the Ark was frequently portrayed as "a gravechest, like a sarcophagus, the funeral box in which the body of Christ was laid" (*Legend* 156). The English Hebraist John Lightfoot rendered the Ark as a rectangular three-story house with a pitched roof, in "A Chronicle of the Times," *Works* (1684) 1:5. The most magnificent blueprint of Noah's vessel, its interior compartments, and accommodation of the animals appears in Athanasius Kircher's *Arca Noë* (1675), lib. 1, sec. 3, cap. 2, between pp. 46–47; cap. 9, between pp. 108–09; and cap. 11, between pp. 116–17.

treys, in Coffins of *Cypress*; δια το ασηπτον ειναι. *Quia expers est putredinis*.¹⁸⁸ Both *Arrian* and *Strabo* tell us, How plentifully that Wood grew in the Countrey where we may suppose the *Ark* to be built. And whereas *Pliny* informs us, That the *Cypress*-Tree was sacred unto *Pluto*, and employ'd at Houses of Mourning, about their *Funerals*; we will not accept the Causes for it, assigned by *Hadrianus Junius*, a Physician; but rather look on it, as an Inveterate Superstition of the Gentiles, in Commemoration of the *Ark*, which was a *Cypress*-Coffin, wherein Mankind lay buried, with unspeakable Sorrow and Horrour, for a Year together.¹⁸⁹

Of the *Pitch* employ'd about the *Ark*, *Aben Ezra* tells us, that some fly to an *Arabic* Interpretation. And of them who do so, *De Dieu*, and *Schindler*, take it to be the same that the *Arabians* call, *Caphura*, or, *Camphire*, which the Orientals use to preserve the Bodies of the *Dead*. So *Goli* likewise. But it seems not likely, that *Noah* could be supplied, with so vast a *Quantity*, as must be necessary for the *Ark*; of so costly a Material. But the *Pitch* employ'd about the little *Ark* of *Moses*, may lead us to the Nature of *That* which was employ'd about the Greater one of *Noah*.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ Heidegger (1:321–22, Exerc. XVII, § 3). Much of the same information appears in Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:34). The Greek phrase ἀπαξ λεγόμενα [apax legomena] suggests, “things once mentioned.” The signification of קִפָּר (gopher) appears only once in the Hebrew Bible (Gen. 6:14) and attracted many commentators, most of whom concur that the term suggests “wood from the cypress tree.” See Nicholas Fuller’s *Miscellanea* (1616), bk. 4, ch. 5, pp. 490–95 for the main argument and, of course, Matthew Poole’s indefatigable *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:82–83, *Works* 1:333–35) for a summary of the main combatants and their explanations: Jerome, Bochart, Buteo, Castalio, Drusius, Fuller, Junius and Tremellius, Menochius, Münster, Oleaster, Vatablus, and the Targums Onkelos and Jonathan vote for “gopher” to signify either “cedar,” or “pine,” “boxwood,” “fir,” “Juniper,” “Terebinth,” or “Cypress.” Indeed, the hermeneutical compass of these notable theologians points in many different directions. Pliny (16.81.223) relates that the wood of the pine and of cypress trees is “the strongest to resist rot and wood-worms.” Martial (6.49.5–6) agrees and claims that the cypress tree “fears not the passage of a hundred generations nor the decay of protracted age.” And the Greek historian Thucydides (c. 460/455–c. 395 BCE), best known for his account of the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BCE), relates in his *History* (2.34.3) that the Greeks buried their heroes in “coffins of cypress wood.” His Greek scholiast comments “διὰ τὸ ἀσηπτον εἶναι” (*Scholia in Thucydides* 2.34.3, line 1); Heidegger’s Latin translation reads, “Because it is immune to rotting.” Similar speculations are offered in Mather’s letter (Nov. 18, 1712) to John Woodward, secretary of the Royal Society, extracted in *Philosophical Transactions* 29 (1714–16) 63.

¹⁸⁹ Lucius Flavius Arrianus relates that Alexander the Great built his navy from these cypress trees (*Alexandri Anabasis* 7.19.4), and Strabo (16.1.11) mentions the relative scarcity of timber in Babylonia, except for “the cypress trees in the groves and the parks.” The sacredness of the cypress, its longevity, and its use in funerals are related in Pliny (16.60.139; 16.79.213–17) and Ovid (*Metamorphosis* 10.106–142). Both Heidegger and Mather reject the typological argument of Hadrianus Junius, aka. Adriaan DeJonghe (1511–75), Dutch physician, humanist, and educator, whose analogy between Noah’s ark, man’s mortality, and the longevity of cypress wood appears in his *Animadversorum libri sex* (1556), lib. 1, cap. 20, pp. 53–55.

¹⁹⁰ Heidegger (1:323–24, Exerc. XVII, § 6). Ibn Ezra (on Gen. 6:14) lists a variety of interpretations of קִפָּר [kaphar] “pitch” [Strong’s # 03722, 08804], but rejects on grammati-

The *Dimensions* of the *Ark*, were *Three Hundred Cubits* in Length; *Fifty* in Breadth; and *Thirty*, in Height. It was observed by the Ancients, that here was a notable Correspondence to the Proportions of an Humane *Body*. And *Austin*, in his Book, *De Civitate Dei*, flourishes upon it, with a Comparison between Christ and His Church. *Nam et Mensuræ ipsæ Longitudinis, Altitudinis, Latitudinisque ejus, significant corpus Humanum; in cujus veritate, ad Homines prænunciatus est venturus, et venit.*¹⁹¹

But there have been many *Cavils*, about the Measures of these *Cubits*. *Apelles* of old complained, That a Structure no bigger than this, would hardly have carried *Four Elephants*. *Origen* therefore, to defend the History, pretends the *Egyptian Geometry*, according whereto *Six Cubits*, would be called *One*. *Capellus*, indeed would *Mend* the Reading in *Origen*, and not *Blame* it: making him say, *There were Six Feet in a Cubit*. But *Austin*, approves and applauds the Proposal of *Origen*; *Moyses scilicet, Hominem Dei eruditum, sicut Scriptum est, in omni Sapientiâ Ægyptiorum, qui Geometricam dilexerunt, Geometrica Cubita significare potuisse, ubi unum quantum sex nostra valere asseverant.* But this is a meer κρησφύγετον. The *Ark*, in this way of *Measuring*, would have been a Thousand and Eight Hundred *Vulgar Cubits* long; Three Hundred Broad; One Hundred and Eighty, High. Had the *Ark* been of such an enormous Magnitude, we should have had at least a little more Intimation of it, in the Sacred Scriptures; Nor is there Proof, that ever such large Measures, were called, *Cubits*, among the Ancients. Others have gone more modestly to Work; and have distinguished, the *Sacred Cubit*, and the *Vulgar Cubit*; making the former as large again as the latter. The best Foundation of this Distinction, is not, in the Dimensions assigned unto *Solomons* *Brasen Sea*, in the *Chronicles*; but in the Prophecies of

cal grounds those who attribute the term to an Arabic homonym (*Commentary* 1:100). The Dutch Reformed theologian and Orientalist Ludovicus de Dieu, aka. Lodewijk de Dieu (1590–1642), explores the Arabic root of “kaphar,” in his *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamenti* (1648) 19–20; the German Lutheran Orientalist Valentin Schindler (d. 1604), discusses the linguistic roots of the term in his famous *Lexicon Pentaglotton, Hebraicum, Chaldaicum, Syriacum, Talmudico-Rabbinicum & Arabicum* (1612), a magnificent polyglot lexicon (the first of its kind). Camphire (*Lawsonia alba*), the “al-henna” of the Arabs, is a fragrant shrub with cream-colored, yellowish blossoms, from which is won the *Oleum Cyprineum*, a fragrant oil used for dyeing and embalming (*SBD*). Jacobus Golius, aka. Jacob Gohl (1596–1667), Dutch Orientalist, professor of mathematics and Oriental languages at Leiden, largely agrees with his peers on the linguistic origin and meaning of “Camphire” (Camphora), in his *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* (1653), col. 2048. This aromatic spice, Golius knowingly relates, has its fountain in paradise.

¹⁹¹ Heidegger (1:324, Exerc. XVII, § 7). D. C. Allen reviews the debate about the Ark’s size, in *Legend* (71–80). According to St. Augustine, whom Mather here quotes at second hand from Heidegger, the Ark mirrored the body of Christ in his human form: “For even its very dimensions, in length, breadth, and height, represent the human body in which He came, as it had been foretold” (*City of God* 15.26), in *NPNFi* (2:306). St. Ambrose develops this analogy at length in his *De Noë et arca*, cap. 6 [PL 14. 383–394].

Ezekiel: [ch. 40.5. and, 43.13.] where the *Vulgar Cubit*, is called, *A Cubit*; and the *Sacred Cubit*, is called, *A Cubit, & an Hands Breadth*.¹⁹²

Jerom rightly observes; The *Vulgar Cubit* contain'd, *Five Palms*, or Twenty Digits; The *Sacred Cubit*, contained *Six Palms*, or Twenty Four Digits. But it appears not that the *Sacred Cubit* was considered, before the Law, under which there were *Sacred Buildings* erected unto the Lord.¹⁹³

[192v] | We will not concern ourselves, with *Capellus* distinction of *Cubiti Majores*, and *Medij*, and *Minores*; The *Majores*, he makes to be *Three Foot*; but the Pretensions for it, are too feeble to be insisted on. We will suppose *Moses* to intend the *Common Cubit*; the same that he calls: [Deut. 3.11.] *The Cubit of a Man*. It is very probable, That from the Body of *Adam* himself, the Measure was introduced.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² Heidegger (1:324–25, Exerc. XVII, § 8). Apelles, the heretic and disciple of Marcion, questioned the capacity of Noah's Ark to accommodate pairs of all the animals of the earth; however, Origen defends the Ark's dimension given by Moses, arguing that the Jewish Lawgiver (trained in the geometry of the Egyptians) used the Egyptian cubit, which is six times larger than the one commonly used (*Homiliae in Genesim*, "Homilia 2.2") [PG 12. 161–67], and *Homilies in Genesis* (Hom. 2.2, pp. 75–77, n. 14, 16). Similarly, the Epicurean Celsus laughs at the story of Noah's Ark as a distorted version of Deucalion's flood. Thus challenged, Origen (*Contra Celsus* 4.41) embarks on a mystical multiplication of the Ark's size "nine myriads of cubits long in the base, and two thousand five hundred in breadth" (*ANF* 4:516). Mather here refers to Louis Cappellus's linguistic retrenchment of Origen's interpretation of the cubit, in Cappellus's *Commentarii et notae criticae in Vetus Testamentum* (1689) 369–72. St. Augustine, however, was inclined to agree with Origen's amplification of the cubit's size, arguing (*De Civitate Dei* 15.27.3) [PL 41. 474], "Moses the man of God, being, as it is written, 'learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians,' who delighted in geometry, may have meant geometrical cubits, of which they say that one is equal to six of our cubits" (*NPNFi* 2:307). For much the same see Augustine's *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* 1.4 [PL 34. 549] and the rabbinic commentary *Midrash Rabbah* (Genesis XXXI:10). The Greek word κρησφύγετον [*kresphygeton*] signifies a (linguistic) "retreat" or "retrenchment." In "An Essay for a Further Commentary, on the Sacred Scriptures," appended to the end of "BA," Mather measures the biblical cubit at 21.888 inches and the "hands-breadth" at 3.684 inches (Sec. III. "Tables"). These measurements, however, appear to disagree with those found in modern Bible dictionaries. According to *SBD*, Hebrew measures of length included the following units: one *digit* amounted to .7938 inches, one *palm* or *hand* to 3.1752 inches, a *span* to 5.5257 inches, and a *cubit* to 19.0515 inches. Mather repeats much of the same debate about the measurements of the cubit and the dimensions of Noah's Ark in his annotations on Gen. 7:18 (below).

¹⁹³ Heidegger (1:326, Exerc. XVII, § 10). St. Jerome on Ezek. 40:5, in *Commentaria in Ezechielem*, lib. 12 [PL 25. 375D–376D]

¹⁹⁴ Heidegger (1:326–27, Exerc. XVII, § 11). Athanasius Kircher (*Arca Noë*, lib. 1, sec. 2, cap. 8–9, pp. 28–35) and Louis Cappellus (*Commentarii et notae criticae* 369–72) debate the Mosaic dimensions of the cubit and the proportions of the Ark based on those of the human body. Exact determinations, however, are notoriously difficult, because during the period of the Hebrew monarchy three different cubits were in use: "(1.) The *cubit of a man* (Deut. 3:11), or the *common cubit* of Canaan (in contradistinction to the Mosaic cubit) of the Chaldean standard; (2.) The *old Mosaic* or *legal cubit*, a handbreadth larger than the first, and agreeing with the smaller Egyptian cubit; (3.) The *new cubit*, which was still larger, and agreed with the larger Egyptian cubit, of about 20.6 inches, used in the Nilometer: and, secondly, that the ordinary cubit of the Bible did not come up to the full length of the cubit of other countries" (*SBD*).

There ha's been much Variety of Thought, upon that Passage: *A Window shalt thou make to the Ark, and in a Cubit shalt thou finish it above.* We will not spend any Time, in reciting & refuting the various Glosses, upon it. We will only give you the Opinion of our *Heidegger*. Two things are here ordered for the Studies and Labours of *Noah*. The First Thing he was to do, was, To bring *Light* and *Air* into the *Ark*. The Word, /צָהָר/ signifies, *Light*. Various Contignations must therefore be formed; which must be such, that the *Light* might come in, and yett *Noah* not be able (as we know) to look out. The other Thing he was to do, was to make a *Covering* for the *Ark*, which about the Middle, should Rise with an *Obtuse Angle*, about a *Cubit* above the Sides.¹⁹⁵

The *Door* of the *Ark*, was probably made, not on the Side of the *Breadth*, as *Pererius* and *Abulensis* will have it, but on the Side of the *Length*, as *Arias* rather Judges; by which the Animals were more easily distributed unto their several Receptacles, on the Right and Left. And probably it was at least Five *Cubits* above the *Sink*, which the *Ark* had in the bottom of it.¹⁹⁶

About the *Several Stories* in the *Ark*, and the *Several Mansions* in them, there are especially two Authors; namely, *Buteo*, and *Temporarius*, who have with much Sagacity made their Disquisitions.¹⁹⁷

195 Heidegger (1:327–28, Exerc. XVII, §§ 12, 13) relies on the annotations of both Rashi on Gen. 6:16, in *Mikraoth Gedoloth* (1:98) and on Ibn Ezra (*Commentary* 1:101) – with Rashi pointing to the disagreement among the rabbis. The term צָהָר [tzohar] literally signifies “light,” but R. Abba ben Kahana specified a “skylight,” whereas R. Levi argued that “tzohar” signified a “precious stone” that dimmed during the day and shone during the night (Midrash Rabbah: Genesis XXXI:11).

196 Heidegger (1:330, Exerc. XVII, § 16). Benedictus Pererius, aka. Bento Pereira (1535–1610), a Spanish Jesuit of Valencia who worked in Rome, describes the dimensions of Noah’s Ark and its openings in his *Commentarius et disputationes in Genesis* (1607–10) 2:139–44. Abulensis, aka. Alonso Tostado (c. 1400–55), professor of theology at Salamanca and later bishop of Avila (hence Abulensis), wrote numerous theological and philosophical works. Mather refers to Tostado’s imaginative description of the Ark in *Commentaria in Genesim*, in *Opera Omnia* (1728) 1:125–52. And Benedictus Arias Montanus (1527–98), Spanish Orientalist, is famous for his contribution to the Antwerp Polyglot Bible *Biblia Sacra, Hebraice, Chaldaice*. 8 vols. (Antverpiae, 1571). Mather (via Heidegger) refers to Arias Montanus’s discussion of the Ark, in “Noah sive de arca fabrica et forma,” in *Antiquitates Judicarum* (1593) 71–79. Saidus Patricides (Eutychius) insists that the “*Eastern Side*,” in the middle of the Ark’s long side was the most logical choice for such an opening (*Annales* [1656], lib. 1, p. 36). See also Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:35). D. C. Allan, in his superb *Legend* (ch. 4), sketches much of the same debate.

197 Heidegger (1:330–31, Exerc. XVII, § 18). One of the most detailed and picturesque renditions of the Ark’s economy, its size, number of floors, compartments for the animals, storage, and living quarters for Noah’s family, appears in Athanasius Kircher’s famous *Arca Noë* (1675), lib. 1, sec. 2, cap. 9 through sec. 3, cap. 12, pp. 33–116 (tabula). Mather is certainly aware of Kircher’s acclaimed source, but here goes along with Heidegger’s excerpts from Buteo, because Heidegger’s *Historia Sacra Patriarcharum* (1667–71) appeared before Kircher’s work was published. For much of the Renaissance, Buteo’s *De arca Noe* (1554) was the standard work on the Ark, primarily because Buteo demonstrated mathematically that Noah’s vessel was spacious enough to accommodate pairs of all antediluvian land animals in need of saving. Buteo, aka. Jean Borrel (c. 1492–1572), famed French mathematician, philologist, and abbot

Buteo makes a *Fourth Story* of the *Ark*; namely, The *Sink*; which he supposes left unmentioned by *Moses*, because, it was no proper Habitation. And he thinks, a *Ballast* was necessary to be lodged here. In the *Story* above this, he places the *Quadrupeds*, and *Reptiles*, and assigns their several Quarters unto them. He allotts the *Story* above *That*, wholly unto Provisions, of Corn, and Hay, and Water, & what was needful to præserve the Lives of the *Animals* aboard. And here was the large *Door*, at which all the Creatures entred. Probably from the *Repositories* of the Provisions here, there were *Tubes*, by which the Food was conveniently convey'd down into the several *Apartments* of the *Animals*, below. The *Men* were with the *Birds*, in the *Upper Story* of all. On which the Covering, a little sloping, to the Value, that is, of a *Cubit*, was imposed.¹⁹⁸

According to *Temporarius*, there were in the *Lowest Part* of the *Ark*, certain *Dens* made, for every Species of *Quadrupeds* and *Reptiles*; with such *Alleyes* between them, that Men might walk to look after them; and such *Outlets*, that the Excrements might easily be swept away, into the common *Sink* among the *Ballast*. In the *Middle Part* of the *Ark*, he also lodges all sorts of Agreeable *Provisions*; with Spaces, that rendred the several *Granaries* (as we may call them) accessible. And he contrives diverse *Passages* and *Instruments*, by which the *Meat* and the *Drink* might be lett down unto the *Animals*. In the *Highest Part* of the *Ark*, he assigns Chambers for the *Men*, and for the *Women*; an *Hearth* for a *Coal Fire*, and all the *Necessaries* of a *Kitchen*. And all such *Tools*, as *Noah* foresaw could not presently be recovered for Humane Uses after the *Flood*, might here also be præsaved. I am sorry, we have no more of the *Books*, which here likewise might have their *Præservation*. But, why should I say so? The wise Dispensation of Heaven, would allow us no more, than what served as Materials for the *Mosaic History*. Above, he finds Nests for the *Birds*; even above the Floor, that was over *Noah's Head*; between *That*, and the sloping Top of the *Ark*. This ingenious Gentleman, proceeds with the whole Work of the *Ark*; and ingeniously directs a *Carpenter* how to frame & build one; he offers the whole Process of such an Edifice. But, because tho' his Contrivance be very good, yett the Conjecture that *Noah* went just this way to work, is very arbitrary; and because, we are assured

of St. Antoine, is remembered for his *Opera geometrica* (1554), a collection of fifteen essays on mathematical subjects. Mather (via Heidegger) here refers to Buteo's first essay, *De arca Noë, cuius formae, capacitatisque fuerit*, in *Opera Geometrica* (1554) 5–30. The French Jurist and mathematician Joannes Temporarius (Jean du Temps) wrote a universal history, *Chronologicarum demonstrationum libri tres* (1596); his disquisition on the *Ark's* compartments appears in lib. 1, pp. 32 ff.

¹⁹⁸ Buteo's exposition of the *Ark's* layout (*De arca Noe* 5–30) seems so much more detail-oriented than those of *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (ch. 23) and of Saidus Patricides (*Annales* [1656], lib. 1, pp. 35–40), which neglect to account for storage space for a year's provision and for the sewer. See also Simon Patrick on Gen. 6:16 (*Commentary* 1:35).

we shall never have the like Occasion, for the like Peece of *Architecture*, I will not be at the Pains to consider it.¹⁹⁹

It is quæstionable whether the *Ark* were built on that Side of *Caucasus*, which looks toward *India*, as *Temporarius* will have it; and as the *Mahometans* are of Opinion, one might rather suppose the *Ark* to be built near the *Gordiean* | Mountains, where we find it resting after the *Flood*; For, it was not a *Vessel* made for *Sailing*: And probably what Way it made, it made unto the *Northward*; For the *Ocean*, whose Irruption drown'd *Assyria* and *Armenia*, came rolling in from the *Southward*. It is most credible, That the *Ark* was built in *Chaldea*, near to *Babylon*; unto the *Northward* of which we find *Armenia*; and whither Men soon returned, after the *Flood*.²⁰⁰ [193r]

But if we have the *Place*, can we as easily come at the *Time*, which *Noah* took for building this admirable Structure? To pass by the *Seventy Eight Years* allotted for it, by the Fabulous *Berosus*, the common Opinion of the *Fathers* was, (and the *Arabians* fall in with them,) That *Noah* was *One Hundred Years* about it. They gather it from this; That upon the mention of *Noahs* being *Five Hundred Years* old, there follows the Command for Building of the *Ark*; and we know, at *Six Hundred Years* old, he entred it. *Heidegger* will not own any Solidity in the Argument. For, after the mention of *Noahs* being *Five Hundred Years* old, some things are mention'd, which occur'd long before. But then, it seems plain, That the Sons of *Noah* were married, when the Command for the Building of the *Ark* was given him. And yett the Sons of *Noah* were not born, when he was *Five Hundred Years* old. Yea, the Command for the Building of the *Ark*, seems to be given at the End of that *Hundred and Twenty Years*, which the merciful God allow'd, for the Probation of the World, whether they would Repent or no, after He had given a solemn Warning, of His Purpose to destroy the World for their

199 Heidegger (1:331–32, Exerc. XVII, § 19) here excerpts Temporarius's *Chronologicarum demonstrationum* (lib. 1, pp. 32 ff). Mather's misgivings about the loss of any antediluvian books in the Flood bespeaks his bibliolatriy as much as his angst over losing civilization's libraries in the Conflagration of Christ's Second Coming: "In the Midst of the *Desolations*," Mather lamented, "there has been scarce any thing, that some whom I know, would more beg to be spared, than the *Libraries*. Their most Pathetical Cry would be, *Oh! Spare the Libraries!*" (*Threefold Paradise* 241). Similarly, when his third wife's creditors tried to seize his prized possession, his private library of more than 3,000 volumes, Mather wailed, "My very *Library*, the Darling of my little Enjoyments, is demanded from me." Perhaps realizing his unseemly affections for worldly possessions, he quickly compensated for his error in judgment: "'Tis inexpressible, how much this Condition pleases me, gladdens me" (*Diary* 2:708; see also *Diary* 2:745, and *Paterna* 42).

200 Heidegger (1:332–33, Exerc. XVII, § 20). Temporarius has the *Ark* built on the E side of the Caucasus mountains in Armenia (*Chronologicarum demonstrationum*, lib. 1, pp. 32 ff). For the opinions of the "*Mahometans*," which Mather here summarizes at second hand, Heidegger (vol. 1, Exerc. IV, § 71, pp. 105–106) draws on John Selden's *De Synedriis* (1650), lib. 1, cap. 11, esp. pp. 450–54. The Gordian Mountains as the resting site of Noah's *Ark* are mentioned in Berosus's *Babylonika* (fragm. F4a), extant in Syncellus (*Ecloga Chronographica* 55), in G. Verbrugghe, *Berosos and Manetho* (50). Ptolemy (*Geographia* 5.12; tabula Asia III) locates them in Asia Minor, now SE Turkey, near the modern border between Syria and Iraq.

Wickedness, if they Repented not. Probably therefore, the *Ark* was dispatched in less Time, than has commonly been thought for. *Shem* was married before the *Ark* was begun; and his eldest Son was born Two Years after the *Flood*.²⁰¹

But *Eight Persons* were admitted into the *Ark*. *Berosus* will tell you, that the Name of *Noah's* Wife, was *Tytea*, and the Three Daughters in Law, were *Pandora*, and *Noella*, and *Noegla*. *Epiphanius* disputing against the *Gnosticks*, by whom the Wife of *Noah* was called *Noria*, saies her true Name was *Barthenon*. *Patricides*, from the *Oriental* Traditions tells us, That All *Noah's* Three Sons married the Daughters of *Methuselah*; *Shems* Wife was called, *Thalita*, or, *Thaliba*; *Chams* Wife was called *Nachilathah*, and *Japhets* was called, *Arlisia*. The *Erythraean Sibyl* brags, That she was *Noah's* Daughter-in-Law, & was with him in the *Ark*. But the Assertions and Oracles of that Lady, are not much to be relied upon. The *Mahometans* make Fourscore Persons in the *Ark*. And the Traditions of those Infidels are not much to be wondred at. But it is a little wonderful, that a *Christian Poet*, namely *Constantinus Manasses*, should add unto *Moses's* and *Peter's* Number in the *Ark*; and make *Daughters of Noah*, and *Sons-in-Law*, that should be their *Husbands*, there; θυγατερες, και νυμφιοι θυγατερων.²⁰²

201 Heidegger (1:333, Exerc. XVII, § 21). Mather's "Fabulous *Berosus*" is none other than the Renaissance forgery by the Dominican Friar Joannes Annius of Viterbo, aka. Giovanni Nanni (1432–1502), who published his spurious volumes of *Berosus's* fragmentary *Babylonika*, in his *Antiquitatum variorum volumina XVII cum commentaria* (1498), sec. "Berosi Babylonici dignitate Chaldei ad emendandos Antiquitatum errores," pp. f-ii(v) – i-ii(r). Richard Lynche translated an excerpt of Nanni's *Berosus*, in *An Historical Treatise of the Travels of Noah into Europe* (1601). See also E. N. Tigerstedt, "Ioannes Annius" (1964); W. E. Stephens, "Berosus Chaldaeus" (1979) and "Etruscans" (1984); and C. R. Ligota, "Annus." Calculations about how long it took Noah to build his Ark differ widely. R. Eliezer (*Pirke*, ch. 23, p. 165), citing Midrash Tanchuma, argues the Ark's construction took 52 years; Annius's "Berosus," in *Antiquitatum* (1498), pp. f-ii(v) – i-ii(r) makes a pitch for 78 years; Origen, in *Contra Celsus* 4.41 (*ANF* 4:516); Augustine, in *City of God* 15.27 (*NPNFi* 2:307); and the Arabic writer Georgius Elmacinus, excerpted in Hottinger's *Smegma Orientale* (1658), lib. 1, cap. 8, pp. 248–49 – all argue for 100 years.

202 Heidegger (1:334, Exerc. XVII, § 23). Even though Heidegger, Mather, and most of their peers roundly rejected Annius of Viterbo's spurious "Berosus," *Antiquitatum variarum volumina* (1498), pp. f-ii(v) – i-ii(r), Mather (via Heidegger) is too intrigued by Annius's details, which give the names of Noah's wife and daughters-in-law as "Tytea," "Pandora," "Noela," and "Noegla" (p. f-iii(r)). The names of the female occupants of Noah's Ark are also given in Richard Lynche's translation of Annius, in *An Historical Treatise* (1601), sign. B(r)-Bi(v). St. Epiphanius (*Panarion* 26.1.1–9) rejects the claim of the Gnostics that Noah's wife was called "Νωπία" (Noria) rather than "Βαρθενώς" (Barthenos) in his *Epiphanius* (1:276, lines 6–7). *Patricides*, better known as Eutychius (Patriarch of Alexandria), renders the name of Shem's wife "Salit," of Ham's wife "Nablat," and of Japheth's wife "Arisisah," in *Patricides, Annales* (1656), lib. 1, p. 35; see also Hottinger's *Smegma Orientale* (cap. 8, p. 245). The Erythraean Sibyl, the fifth of ten different Sibyls (prophetesses) who predicted the future in various times and places, denies she is the offspring of the goddess Circe and of Gnostos, but identifies herself as the daughter-in-law of Noah (*Oracula Sibyllina* 3.815–27). Controversial as the Sibylline Oracles were in Mather's time, William Whiston defended their authenticity in *Vindication of the Sibylline Oracles* (1715). Heidegger identifies as his source *Achmetidis Paraphrasi in Alcoranum*, which insists that besides Noah and his immediate family, their seventy-two servants also entered

There was a *Distinction* between the *Clean* and the *Unclean* Creatures, received into the *Ark*. The Jewes think, There is a *Prolepsis* in this *Distinction*; of a Matter not actually considered until the Law of *Moses*. Yea, they say, a great Part of that Law, was long before anticipated, in the Practice of the Faithful. It seems, That even in the Dayes of *Noah*, some *Animals* were thought *Clean*, and fitt for the *Altar*, (and from hence *Heidegger* gathers, for the *Table* also:) and others were thought *Unclean*, which even *Tacitus* calls, *Feda et Profana*: And it is likely that *Noah* was not without a Divine Direction for it.²⁰³

The *Clean* Creatures, were introduced, (as the Hebrew has it,) *Seven*, *Seven*; and of the *Unclean*, only, *Two*, *Two*. *Justin Martyr* hence concludes, There were *Seven Males*, and *Seven Females*, *Fourteen* of every *Clean* Sort. And *Origen* favours the Notion. But *Josephus* is of the Opinion for no more than *Seven* Individuals. And so is *Austin*, and *Ambrose*, and *Jerom*. A greater Number, would have encumbered the *Ark* too much. And this number might suffice, for *Sacrifices*; yea, and for some *Food* also; besides a sufficient Number left for the Conservation of the *Species*. *Theodoret* was in the right, for the *Odd* one, of the *Seven*; *Unum Animal reliquum ad sacrificandum*. *Heidegger* thinks, *one Pair*, was for Propagation; *another Pair*, was for the Nourishment of those that were in the *Ark*; a *third Pair* was for the Oblations that were to be offered, while they were yett in the *Ark*; and an *odd Seventh*, to be *Sacrificed*, at their coming out.²⁰⁴

the Ark. Finally, Mather abbreviates Heidegger's Greek citation from *Compendium chronicum* (427 and 428), a chronology of Byzantine emperors and patriarchs of Constantinople, by the Byzantine poet historian Constantinus Manasses (d. 1187). The citation signifies "daughters, and daughters' bridegrooms." According to Gen. 7:7 and 1 Peter 3:20, only eight members of Noah's family entered the Ark.

²⁰³ Heidegger (1:334–35, Exerc. XVII, § 24). The question of how Noah was able to distinguish clean from unclean animals – a distinction not established until the times of Moses – occupied many Hebrew commentators. According to Rashi, "*Noah studied the Torah*," which had been passed down from Adam via Seth and Enoch to Shem, Noah's son (*Mikraoth Gedoloth*: Genesis 1:102). A more miraculous explanation is offered by R. Hisda: Noah led the animals alongside the Ark, and "those which the Ark accepted were certainly clean; those which the Ark rejected were certainly unclean" (Talmudic tractate Zevachim 116a). A "*Prolepsis*" or "anticipation" of later events is also identified by Ibn Ezra on Gen. 6:18 (*Commentary* 1:103–04) and in *Mikraoth Gedoloth* (Genesis 1:100). The Roman historian Cornelius Tacitus distinguishes between "defiled and unholy" animals (*Historia* 4.60.2).

²⁰⁴ Heidegger (1:335, Exerc. XVII, § 25). The literal meaning of the Hebrew words שִׁבְעָה שִׁבְעָה (*shib'ah, shib'ah*) signifies "seven seven" [Strong's # 7651]. Rashi makes the same point (*Mikraoth Gedoloth*: Genesis 1:102). Mather (via Heidegger) refers to Pseudo-Justinus Martyr's *Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos* (p. 416, sec. C, 9–11; sec. D, 5–8). Origen implicitly agrees in his *Homilies on Genesis* (Hom. 2.2, pp. 75–76). Josephus Flavius seems a bit ambiguous on this point and argues that Noah took into the Ark "all sorts of living creatures, the male and his female, for the preservation of their kinds; and others of them by sevens" (*Antiquities* 1.3.2). St. Augustine (*De Civitate Dei* 15.27.4) [PL 41. 474–475] and *NPNFi* (2:307–8), Ambrosius Mediolanensis (*De Noë et arca*, lib. 1, cap. 12, §§ 39–40) [PL 14. 378], and St. Jerome (*Contra Jovinianum*, lib. 2) – all agree that only seven individuals (3 pairs of male and female, and 1 odd one for sacrifice) are meant here. Theodoret (*Quaestiones in Octateuchum*: Genesis. Quest. 50, p. 48, line 16) argues that "one animal [was] left over for

[194v] It may be wondred, how *Noah* could make his Collection of all these | *Animals*. The Fancy of *Hugo de S. Victore*, cited by *Buteo*, won't agree well with the Sacred History; *That as the Flood increased, the Distressed Creatures came flying and floating about the Ark, where Noah stood ready to take them in*. *Philo* thinks, that before this, they did, by a marvellous Providence of God, come to *Noah*, of his own Accord. And it is plain, They must *miraculously* many of them lay aside their *Ferocity*. Could some of the *Antediluvian Giants* have been hired by *Noah*, to hunt for him, they might have done much in a little Time, to assemble the *Animals*; But the Phrase used for this Matter, is remarkable; *They went in unto Noah*; It is not said, That he *Caught* them and *Brought* them. R. *Eliezer* saies, That the *Angel* who is by God placed over each of the *Species* of *Animals*, brought unto *Noah*, the *Species* that was under his Charge, and the Food that was to nourish them. But, what should hinder the *Spirit* of God, who works all in all, from adding this unto the *Instinct* of the several *Animals*, on this Occasion; That they should come of *their own Accord*, unto the *Place* of their Conservation. Hence R. *Solomon Jarchi*, upon the Text, *They went in unto Noah*, adds, *מאליהם / à Semet ipsis*.²⁰⁵

There was *Food* laid in for the *Animals*. But what *Food* for the *Carnivorous*? *κυνὶ δίδοναι ἄχαρα*; And yett, it would have been a wretched Ministry, for *Noah*, to have kept killing for the *Flesh-Eaters* a Year together; if there could have been *Flesh* enough laid in for the Devourers. *Austin* handles this Quæstion; and he saies upon it; *Quod potius credendum, præter carnes aliqua alimenta esse potuerunt,*

the sacrifice." According to *Mikraoth Gedoloth* (*Genesis* 1:102), R. Sifthei Chachamim offers the same explanation as Theodoret does, but *Genesis Rabbah* (XXXII:4) and Ibn Ezra, on *Gen.* 6:20 (*Commentary* 1:105) insist that God intended seven pairs of "seven males and seven females from every clean animal and fowl because they were needed for sacrifices." Heidegger's interpretation (1:335, Exerc. XVII, § 35) is within the safe parameters of Rabbinic and Patristic tradition.

²⁰⁵ Heidegger (1:336–37, Exerc. XVII, § 27). Joannes Buteo's *De arca Noë*, in *Opera geometrica* (1554) 27–28, refers to *De arcâ Noe morali et mysticâ* [PL 176. 6279], a work by Hugo of St. Victore (c. 1097–c. 1141), a German Augustinian monk, early mystic, and professor of theology in Paris. The best early edition of his collected works is *Opera Omnia, tomi tres* (1526). Hugo may have drawn on the same sources as Rashi (*Gen.* 7:9), in *Mikraoth Gedoloth* (*Genesis* 1:104), as Ibn Ezra (*Gen.* 6:20, 7:7), in his *Commentary* (1:105, 107), and as Ramban, in his *Commentary* (1:113, 116), since they all offer much of the same elucidation. In his *Adnotationes in Pentateuchon*, cap. 7 (on *Gen.* 4) [PL 175. 45A], Hugo of St. Victore further adds that before the Flood, even wild animals could be touched. Philo Judæus explains how the animals – domestic and wild – came to Noah voluntarily without harming each other (*De Vita Mosis* 2.12.61–62; *Works* 497). According to *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (ch. 23, p. 167), the giant Og, king of Bashan, survived the Flood by clinging to a rung of the ladder or to the gutter of the Ark; Noah fed him daily through a hole while the deluge inundated the earth. Mather may have had this giant in mind, or the angelic agency, mentioned by R. Eliezer (*Pirke*, ch. 23, p. 166), by which means the animals were hunted down and brought into the Ark. Finally, R. Solomon Jarchi, better known by his acronym Rashi, suggests in his commentary (*Gen.* 7:9) what many others have said before and after him: the animals came on their own, "by themselves" (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:104).

quæ omnibus convenirent. There may be found a *Food*, which the *Carnivorous* Creatures may subsist upon; when there cannot any *Flesh* be gotten for them. He saies, He ha's known them feed upon *Fruits*, especially *Figs* and *Chestnuts*. And probably *Noah* was instructed from Heaven, what *Fruits* would best suit the several *Animals*; and when *Hunger* compelled them, they would soon be Reconciled unto such Things, as they had not formerly been used unto. At least, the same Touch from Heaven upon them, that caused them on this wonderful Occasion to putt off their *Ferocity*, might as easily bring some Alteration upon their *Appetites*. *Philostratus* tells of *Lion* in *Egypt*, which would enter the *Temples*, and not so much as lick the Blood of the *Sacrifices* there, but live upon *Bread*, and *Sweet-meats*, and *Honey-cakes*.²⁰⁶

And *Sulpitius Severus*, visiting a Monk at *Thebes*, was horribly frightened at the Sight of a *Lion* upon a Tree, whither he was carried by his Friend; but came out of his Fright, when he saw the *Lion* feeding on *Apples*, which he took very tamely from the Hands of the People there, and then went his Way. *J. Phocas* tells of the *Lions* about *Jordan*, that would come like *Dogs*, to *Iberus* the *Anchorite*; and he *Fed* them, with, *Madefacta legumina, aut forte olyrites, aut panis hordeacei frusta*. And we have a shrewd Intimation, that the Creatures were fed after this Manner in the *Ark*; in those Words of the Prophet, which allude unto it; Isa. 11.6, 7. *The Lion shall eat Straw like the Oxe*.²⁰⁷

But after all; was the *Ark* of Capacity enough, to hold all the *Animals* for which it was provided? *Celsus* of old, cried out upon the *Absurdity* of the Supposition. And the Primitive Hereticks cavilled at it. But the *Absurdity* of their Cavils, is *eternally* confuted by the Demonstrations of *Temporarius*. We need not allow him, his Computations of the *Animals* provided for the Mawes of the *Carnivorous*; because we have more easily provided for them. Nevertheless, we

²⁰⁶ Heidegger (1:337, Exerc. XVII, § 28). Mather's second-hand Greek citation from Heidegger "κυνὶ διδόναι ἄχυρα" can be rendered, "the dogs feed on straw." Ibn Ezra (on Gen. 6:20) at first rejects questions of this nature as foolish, but then argues that "One who cannot find meat will eat grass or fruit when hungry" (*Commentary* 1:105). St. Augustine (*De Civitate Dei* 15.27.5) [PL 41. 476] argues that it "is more probable, there might be some food which was not flesh, and which yet suited all" (*NPNFi* 2:308). In his *Vita Apollonii* (5.42.1–2), Flavius Philostratus of Lemnius relates how Apollonius of Tyana encountered a domesticated lion in Alexandria (Egypt), who lived on cakes, bread, and fruit, dressed meat, and occasionally indulged in vino veritas without ill effect. When the sage Apollonius of Tyana revealed to the priests that the lion was none less than the reincarnated soul of King Amasis of Egypt, the animal wailed, burst into tears, and was subsequently consecrated to the temple of Leontopolis.

²⁰⁷ The Latin historian and Christian convert Sulpicius Severus of Aquitaine (c. 360–c. 420 CE) relates his story of the monkish lion of Thebes, in "*De Monacho Thebaidis*" (*Dialogi* 1.7), in *Opera Omnia quæ extant* (1656). For a similar tall tale of the monk and the lioness, see Sulpicius Severus's *Dialogues* (1.15), in *NPNFii* (11:31–32). The monastic pilgrim Joannes Phocas (fl. late 12th c), in his *Descriptio Terræ Sanctæ* (cap. 23 [PG 133. 927–962], gives a much prized description of Palestine. A dual Greek-Latin edition of his work appeared in Colonia, 1543. The unidentified Iberius the Anchorite fed his lions "either moistened vegetables, or perhaps rye, or crumbs of crust of barley loaf."

will go upon his Computation; because it will *Ex abundanti* demonstrate the Capacity of the *Ark*, to entertain all the Creatures it was intended for. He reduces all the *Greater Quadrupeds*, of the Tame Sort, in the *Ark*, to the Proportion of about 45 Pair of *Oxen*; but for a more fair Concession, we will suppose them æqual to 60 Pair of *Oxen*. He reduces the *Lesser Quadrupeds* of the Tame Sort, unto the Proportion, of about 40 Pair of *Sheep*. He reduces all the *Carnivorous Quadrupeds*, unto the Proportion of 32 Pair of *Wolves*. But suppose them 40. Allow one Sheep a Day for each of them; and a Years Allowance will be 3650 Sheep. Now for *Stables* for all of these in the *Lower Story* of the *Ark*. He finds, That *Sixty Stables*, each 5 Cubits Long, & 4 Broad, might stand on *One Side* of the *Ark*; suppose the *Side* over against the *Door*. Then, on the same Side with the *Door*, you may on the Right hand, have no less than *Forty Folds*, each 3 Cubits square. On the Left Hand you may have also *Forty Dens*; each between 4 and 5 Cubits Long, and 3 Broad. There are now left 6 Cubits of the Length of the *Ark*, for a Gang Way between the Right and Left Stabulations; by which there was a Passage to the *Stables* of the first Rank; which was to be separated from the second, by a Way Three Cubits Broad. There yett remain Forty Cubits, of the
 [195r] *Breadth* of the *Ark*, in which the *Sheep* for *Food*, might | most easily be disposed of. Lett there be allotted for these, a Third Order of *Stables*, adjoined unto the Second; unto which we leave a Passage, 5 Cubits broad, on the same side with the *Door* of the *Ark*, that so, for the whole Length of the *Ark*, there may be an easy Access to every one of the Receptacles. There now remain 35 Cubits of the *Breadth* of the *Ark*, which drawn into 294 Cubits of the *Length* of it, make 14290 Square Cubits; a Space much more than the 3650 Sheep would call for. For if you distribute no more than 10290 Cubits, among 3650 Sheep; they will each of them have near three Cubits a Peece to dwell upon. But what need such *Gregarious Animals* to be so separated? They might all be in Two *Sheep-folds* well enough disposed of. We have now abundance of *Spare Room* left in the *Lower Story*, besides what might be found over the Tops of the several *Cabins*; where an unknown Quantity of *Provisions*, might also be disposed of.²⁰⁸

208 Heidegger (1:338–40, Exerc. XVII, §§ 29, 30). Origen’s adversary Celsus, the 2nd-century philosopher, who derided the Mosaic Flood narrative as an absurd derivation from Deucalion’s deluge (Ἀληθὴς λόγος [True Discourse] 1.17–20; 4.11–21ff, and *On the True Doctrine* 55–56, 77), is targeted in Origen’s *Contra Celsum* (4.41–42), in *ANF* (4:516–17). Even more generous calculations of the *Ark*’s dimensions, capacity, and number of animals, are offered in Buteo’s *De arca Noë, cuius formae, capacitatisque*, in *Opera Geometrica* (1554) 17–18. Matthew Poole crunches the same numbers and tabulates the animals in *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:83–92, *Works* 1:336–65); and Athanasius Kircher catalogs all – down to the smallest insect that entered the *Ark*, in his magisterial *Arca Noë* (lib. 1, sec. 3, cap. 2–12, pp. 46–116). Heidegger (1:338) identifies such heretics as the Marcionites, Valentinians, and Gnostics who caviled at the story of Noah’s *Ark*. Mather (via Heidegger) synthesizes Johannes Temporarius’s detailed description of the *Ark*’s capacity, compartments for the animals, and storage facilities (*Chronologicarum demonstrationum*). The learned English Hebraist John Lightfoot is also preoccupied with the capacity of the *Ark* to sustain life, and estimates “450000. square cubits within the walls of it,”

But for *Provisions*, our *Temporarius* will have the entire *Middle Story*; and he is willing to leave as much Room as may be, in the *Lower Story*, that so the *Respirations*, and *Exhalations* of the *Animals* might not be too much incommoded. The *Carnivorous Animals*, are indeed below already *provided* for. But however, we must now provide *Food* for 3650 *Sheep*, that we lodged below. And the Number of the *Sheep* continually decreasing by *Slaughter*, we need consider them, according to the Rules of *Logistical Progression*, as being æqual to no more than the Number 1820 for all the Year about. Unto these 1820 you will join the 80 proposed as the Proportion, of all the *Lesser Quadrupeds* of the Tame Sort, to be preserved for Propagation. These will make 1900. Suppose the Aliment of *Seven Sheep*, to be equal unto that of *One Ox*. Thus 1900 *Sheep* will æqual 271½ *Oxen*. These added unto the 120 *Oxen* which we formerly proposed, as the Proportion for the *Larger Quadrupeds* of the Tame Sort, will amount unto 392. Grant them 400. And Feed them for a whole Year, with *Hay*; which will not ly in so little room, as *Grain*, and other Food ordinarily provided for them. *Oxen* that are not wrought, can easily Subsist on 20 Weight of Provender, *per Day*. But wee'l be liberal; wee'l allow them 40 Pound Weight; which is the largest Measure that *Columella* {allows} for them, in *March* and *April*, when the *Plough* is going all the day. This 480 Ounces. Now, a *Solid Cubit*, will contain 40 Pound of press'd *Hay*. Well; *Four Hundred Oxen*, will then in a Years Time consume 146000 *Cubes* of *Hay* each consisting of such a *Solid Cubit*. But the *Middle Story* of the *Ark*, 300 Cubits Long, 50 Broad, 12 High, (for so High, *Temporarius* will have it,) will contain 180000 of such *Cubes*. Behold then, 44000 such *Cubes* left empty for you.²⁰⁹

About the *Upper Story* of the *Ark*, there is no Shadow of a *Difficulty*. You will find there, 90000 *Solid Cubits*. The *Birds* might have room enough to *Nest*, yea, and to *Fly* also in so large a Space.

And so much for this Matter.

I will now no longer converse with my *Heidegger*, as I have done in most of the Thoughts, that I have hitherto given you.²¹⁰

I will proceed unto another Consideration of the ARK; and say with *Nazianzen*;

Ζητω Νωε κιβωτον οπως μορον αινον αλεξω.

in "A Chronicle of the Times," *Works* (1684) 1:5. Efforts of this nature reveal how much the theologians of the day felt pressured to prop up the Mosaic narrative with feasibility studies to redress the rising skepticism among the ancients and the moderns.

²⁰⁹ Heidegger (1:340, Exerc. XVII, § 30). Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella of Cadiz, Spain (fl. 20–60 CE), Latin author of a Roman handbook on agriculture, details the quantity and types of feed for oxen during the various seasons of the year in his *De re rustica* (11.2.98–101): chaff and vetch, chickpeas, hay, oak leaves, barley, poplar leaves, fig leaves, mast, and lupines – all in specified quantities and mixtures.

²¹⁰ Mather's "conversation" with Heidegger hardly ends here, for just a few manuscript pages later (Gen. 8:19) he resumes mining Heidegger's *Historia Sacra Patriarcharum*.

Quero Ratem Nohæ ut mortis discrimina Vitem.

I will now consider the ARK, as a *Type* of the CHURCH. I will sing;

Ecclesiam pro Nave gero; mihi Climata Mundi

*Sunt Mare; Scripture, Retia; Pisas, Homo.*²¹¹

It is prettily express'd by honest *Heidfeld*.

Quæ Navis Vetustissima, Capacissima, Sanctissima,

Ditissimaque omnium fuit?

R. *Ingens illa ARCA Noë, cui totius orbis Homines et opes inclusæ fuerunt. Nota hic TYPUM Universæ Ecclesiæ; – in quam nos aggregemus, ut tuti simus, à venturo Iræ Dei Diluvio. Nam Extrà Ecclesiam nulla salus.*²¹²

As the ARK, was doubtless the *biggest Ship* that ever was; A *Ship* to which the largest *Spanish Carrack*, that carries not above 1200 *German Lasts* is not to be compared; a *Ship* outvying that of *Archimedes*, which contained 12000 Tuns; or that of *Philopater*, which was 240 Holy Cubits in *Length*, with a *Breadth* & a *Depth* not unproportionable: So, it seems to be the *First* that ever floated.²¹³

We will gett aboard it, with our Meditations on the *Typical Importance* of it. For the Apostle tells us; 1. Pet. 3.21. *It was a Figure.* | We will behold the

²¹¹ The Mather's Greek citation from Gregorius Nazianzen's *Carmina de se ipso*, line 9 [PG 37. 1243], is corrupted and should read, "Ζητῶ Νῶε κιβωτὸν ὅπως μόρον αἰνὸν ἀλυξῶ": "I seek Noah's raft that I might ward off grim death." The Latin verse representing the Ark as a type of the Church suggests the following allegorical reading: "I will manage the church as a ship; for me, the climates of the world are the sea, the scriptures are nets, and the fish are mankind."

²¹² The Latin citation from Johann Heidfeld (1563–1629), German Reformed pastor and professor of theology at Herborn, is most likely from *Sphinx theologica-philosophica* (1600), a popular florilegium containing excerpts from the Bible, from ecclesiastical and profane authors, from Greek and Roman works, and from conventional proverbs. Mather also cited him many times in his *Magnalia Christi Americana* (see Murdock edition) and in his *Durable Riches* (1695), part 1, p. 33. Heidfeld asks, "What ship was the most ancient, most spacious, most holy, most wealthy of them all?" His response (here signified by "R.") is, "That ARK of Noah, in which the men and the riches of all the world were enclosed. Note here a TYPE of the Universal Church, in which we may be gathered together, that we may be safe from the coming Flood of God's Wrath. For Outside the Church there is no safety."

²¹³ A Spanish "*Carrack*" (carack) is "a large ship of burden, also fitted for warfare, such as those formerly used by the Portuguese in trading with the East Indies: a galleon" (*OED*). A "German last" is a unit of commercial measurement of "weight, capacity, or quantity, varying for different kinds of goods and different locations," and amounting to c. 2 tons or 4,000 pounds (*OED*). According to Plutarch (*Vitæ Parallelæ: Marcellus* 14.12–15), Archimedes (c. 287–212 BCE), the famous Greek mathematician of Sicily, is to have invented a machine made of levers and pulleys that allowed him to move King Hieron's huge ship that no one had been able to launch in the harbor of Syracuse (*Plutarch's Lives* 5:473). Ptolemy IV (Philopater), who ruled Egypt (221–205 BCE), is to have built the largest galley of classical antiquity. According to Athenaeus of Naucratis (5.37.1–32), this catamaran-like warship was equipped with 4,000 rowers, 400 to manage the sails, a capacity to carry 2,850 mariners, and was over 130 m (420 ft) long, 18 m (57 ft) wide, and 22 m (72 ft) tall to the gunwale (*Deipnosophists* 5.203e–204c).

CHURCH as the *Antitype*; and run the Parallel in several observable Instances.²¹⁴

As *Noah* built an *Ark*; so JESUS ha's built a CHURCH. But *Noah*: *According to all that God had commanded him, so did he*. Thus our JESUS, in Building a *Church*, ha's done all things most Exactly and Faithfully, *according to the Mind of God*. [Heb. 3.2.] And so should we, in what we do about the *Church*. [Matth. 15.9.] *Luther* judiciously reckoned this, for one of the Three Things, by which the *Church* would be fatally endangered: *Sapientia mundi quæ vult omnia redigere in ordinem, et impijs medijs Ecclesie Paci consulere*.²¹⁵

When the *Ark* was built, *Noah* the Builder of it, shipp'd himself upon it: If the *Ark* had perished, *Noah* himself must have perished with it. But it was secured by the Presence of *Noah* there: tho' it seems to have drawn above *Sixteen Foot of Water*, as may be gathered from its resting on an Hill, when the Waters were above it, at least *Eleven Cubits*. Thus our Lord Jesus Christ, having built the *Church*, He is now Himself aboard, & will be so, *To the End of the World*. [Isa. 43.3.] *Si nos ruimus, ruit et Christus*. Tho' the *Church* be *Tossed with Tempests*, yett it cannot be lost; It ha's a greater than *Cæsar* aboard.

Niteris incassum Christi submergere Navem;

Fluctuat, at nunquam mergitur illa Ratis.²¹⁶

The *Ark* was made of *Good Stuff*; the *Cypress Wood*, which would keep sound, and breed no *Worms*. The *Church-Mystical* will most certainly be so. And they that belong to the *Church-Visible* should be so. [Psal. 119.80.]²¹⁷

Many *Carpenters* no doubt wrought with *Noah* about the *Ark*; who yett were themselves *Drowned* after all, among those, whose *Foundation was overflowed with a Flood*. Even so, There are very many, whose *Talents* and *Labours* are employ'd about *Church-Work* all their *Dayes*; And yett these very Persons go down to the *Congregation* of them that *Roar under the Waters*. [1. Cor. 9.27. Matth. 7.23.]²¹⁸

214 Mather's typological explication of Noah's Ark appears to lean on his uncle's *Figures and Types of the Old Testament* (1683) 92–97, by Samuel Mather. See also Edward Taylor's *Upon the Types* (1989) 2:627–48. The fourfold method – literal, allegorical, tropological, anagogical – was still a common exegetical tool and can be found among Protestants of the period as much as among Roman Catholics. Athanasius Kircher offers his reading in *Arca Noë* (1675), lib. 2, cap. 9, pp. 149–54. See H. Caplan's "Four Senses," P.J. Korshin's *Typologies* (328–68), and M. I. Lowance, Jr.'s *Language* (160–77).

215 See Samuel Mather, *Figures* (93, § 1). Gen. 6:22. The Latin citation from Martin Luther, probably adapted from Adam Melchior's *Vitæ Germanorum Theologorum* (1620) 158, warns of "the wisdom of the world, which wants to put everything in order, and to look out for the Peace of the Church in the midst of the wicked."

216 See Samuel Mather, *Figures* (93, § 1). The ship of the Church cannot founder because piloted by Christ: "You will struggle in vain to sink the ship of Christ; / That vessel wavers, but it never goes down."

217 See Samuel Mather, *Figures* (94, § 3).

218 See Samuel Mather, *Figures* (93, § 2).

The *Ark* had a *Door*; And so ha's the *Church* too. Our Saviour saies, *I am the Door*. A CHRIST, must be Profess'd, Ador'd, Obey'd, by all that would be Admitted into the *Church*. They are not a *Church*, but as *Tertullian* expresses it, *A Wasps-nest*; who *hold not the Truth as it is in Jesus*.²¹⁹

The *Ark* had Passages for *Light* and *Air*, in the Upper-Story. No doubt, *Noah*, by *Cranes* and *Ropes* and proper Engines, pulling up, the vast Quantity of Excrements, in the *Lower Story* of the *Ark*, did here turn them out. *Light* as well as *Breath* was diffused, thro' agreeable *Port-Holes* of the *Ark*. The *Church* is likewise a Place of *Light*; and from a Glorious Christ, that *Sun of Righteousness*, it fetches all its *Light*. [Joh. 1.9. Psal. 119.105.]²²⁰

There were many *Mansions* and *Chambers* in the *Ark*; yett they all made but *One Ark*. Thus, the *One Catholick Church* ha's in it, many particular *Congregations* and *Societies*. And we should have some *Care* of all. [2. Cor. 11.28.]

There were *Three Stories* in the *Ark*. There are so in the *Church*; There is the *Visible Church*, and the *Mystical Church*, and the *Triumphant Church*: So many *Ascending Stories*. Our Blessed *Noah*, [JESUS] lodges in the uppermost.²²¹

There were all sorts of Creatures in the *Ark*; both *clean*, and *unclean*. And there are in the *Church* of God, Creatures of all Natures, both Good and Bad. But, It is credibly reported, That a sudden *Flood* in *Somersetshire* in *England*, produced a strange Agreement, between the most Quarrelsome Creatures, the *Dogs* and *Hares*, the *Catts* and *Ratts*, which were driven to the Top of the Hill together. The fiercest Creatures in the *Ark*, seem to have been under such a *Cicuration*. Certainly, They that visibly belong to the *Church*, ought to lay aside their *Evil Natures*.²²²

They that were in the *Ark* were Safe; and Safety was no where else to be mett withal. There satt *Noah*, – *medijs tranquillus in undis*. Our *Salvation* depends as much upon our getting into the *Church* of our Lord Jesus Christ. [Act. 2.47.]²²³

They use to compare *Apostates* unto the *Raven*, which, tis commonly understood, going out from the *Ark*, Returned not. *Ill Birds*, that go from the

219 See Samuel Mather, *Figures* (94, § 4). Tertullian (*Adversus Marcionem* 4.5) [PL 2. 367A] rejects the Marcionites: "Even wasps make combs; so also these Marcionites make churches" (*ANF* 3:350).

220 See Samuel Mather, *Figures* (94, § 5).

221 See Samuel Mather, *Figures* (94, §§ 6, 7).

222 See Samuel Mather, *Figures* (95, § 9). Mather may here refer to the 1607 flood in Somersetshire of which the anonymous pamphleteer reports that coneyes were sitting on the backs of floating sheep and cattle and other animals surviving side by side on the tops of hills, in *A true report of certaine wonderfull overflowings of waters* (1607), n.p. The fiercest creatures in Noah's Ark, as Mather assures us, were under a strange "*Cicuration*" or "taming" (*OED*).

223 See Samuel Mather, *Figures* (95, § 8). While the Flood raged, Noah sat "tranquil in the middle of the water."

Church, without Returning again unto it any more! Wither do they go? [Isa. 34.9, 10, 11.]²²⁴

| There seems to have been a *Sabbath* considered in the *Ark*: a Period of *Seven Dayes* observed by *Noah*. [Gen. 8.8, 10, 12.] There is so, and should be so, in the *Church* of our Lord. *Dominicum Servasti? Christianus sum; Intermittere non possum*.²²⁵ [197r]

As the *Water* buoy'd up the *Ark*, and carried it up towards *Heaven*; so the *Church* of God is Raised and Lifted up towards *Heaven*, by the *Baptism* which is used there. [1. Pet. 3.21.]²²⁶

When the *Ark* was made, a *Flood* then swept away a populous World before it. But there now remains a *Fiery Flood*, wherewith God will take Vengeance on a wicked World; The *Diluvium Ignis*, which we find celebrated in the Writings of the Ancients. The Poets tell us, of *Pyrrha*, (which Name carries *Fire* in it,) as the Wife of their *Deucalion*; and the Philosophers do frequently speak of an *ἐκπύρωσις*, *A Conflagration*, which is to come upon the World. *Jo{se}phus* would perswade us, That *Adam* himself left Prædictions of it. [2. Pet. 3.7.]²²⁷

To conclude; I will bring forth the *Eight Persons*, which were all that were in the *Ark*, to be unto us the *Preachers of Righteousness*, and of this awful Admonition;

There are but Few that shall be Saved.²²⁸

Q. You are not insensible, That some little, flashy, silly Pretenders to Witt, endeavour, to Ridicule the Account of *Noah's Ark*, as if it were a Fabulous Contrivance? v. 22.

A. One saies well; They betray their Ignorance in Naval Philosophy; That nothing improbable is asserted in the Scripture concerning the Capacity, or Manageableness of that *Ship*, ha's been confirmed, from an Experiment, which a celebrated Historian ha's recorded. Tis in *Hornius's Arca Noë*.²²⁹

²²⁴ See Samuel Mather, *Figures* (96, § 10).

²²⁵ The unidentified Latin citation asks, "Have you kept the Sabbath? I am a Christian; I cannot neglect it."

²²⁶ See Samuel Mather, *Figures* (97, § 3).

²²⁷ See Samuel Mather, *Figures* (97, § 2). For Mather's "*Diluvium Ignis*" or "Flood of Fire," see his collection of ancient prophecies foretelling the destruction of the earth by fire, in *Three-fold Paradise* (155–201). The story of Deucalion and Pyrrha (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1:350–437) is well known, and Mather and his peers generally read the ancient legend as a corrupted version of Noah's Flood. The Greek word "ἐκπύρωσις" [ekpyrosis], or "conflagration," appears many times among the ancient philosophers and early Church Fathers. Josephus Flavius, for instance, relates that the great protoplast inscribed his prophecies of the world's destruction by fire and water on two pillars, one of which survived "in the land of Siriad to this day" (*Antiquities* 1.2.3).

²²⁸ Luke 13:23, 1 Pet. 3:20.

²²⁹ Mather refers to the popular story of Peter Janslan (Jansen, also Hans), in *Georgi Horni Arca Noae* (1666), by the Dutch historian Georg Horn (1620–70). Janslan is to have constructed his ark in 1609. Dom Augustin Calmet relates the same story in his article "Ark," (*Calmet's Great Dictionary*, vol. 1, n.p. See also *JH* 149).

Peter Janslan ordered a Ship to be built, according to the Proportion of *Noahs Ark*. At first, the Contrivance was entertained with Laughter and Contempt, by the Seamen, who supposed it to be a ridiculous Business.

But afterwards it was found to be most convenient for a Merchant-man in Time of Peace, as being a swift Sailor, and managed with fewer Hands than other Ships. But the Inconvenience was, it did not carry great Guns; and in that Respect, it had a greater Resemblance to *Noah's Ark*, which was not intended for a *Man of War*.

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2469.

Q. You know, there have been many *Hypotheses* invented by Ingenious Men, to satisfy us, How the FLOOD was brought about. Can you think of a better Entertainment for us, than some of those *Hypotheses*? v. 6.

A. Never was the Distemper, sometimes called, *Hypothesimania*, more discovered, than in the *Hypotheses* invented on this great Occasion.¹

Dr. *Tho. Burnet*, endeavours to demonstrate, that the Earth before the Deluge, had another Form, than it now appears to have; that there were neither Seas, nor Isles, nor Mountains, nor Vallees, any where, but the whole Body of the Waters lodg'd in the *Caverns* of the Earth. Hee feigns This, that so he may find a *Storehouse*, from whence may be drawn a sufficient Quantity of Water, to cover the Earth. Hee thinks, the whole Body of the Earth, which was an oily Crust, spread over the *Abyss*, to have been cleav'd asunder, and great Pieces of it broke here & there, & swallowed up in the Great Gulf; & while those that stood in their former State, make a show of Islands, and Mountains, those which are covered by the Waters, make Sea's and Lakes. *Petrus Ramazzini*, an Italian, writing on the *Wonderful Springs of Modena*, reflecting on this *Hypothesis of Burnet*, saies, that whatever of Novelty be pretended for this Fancy, the Fiction is very Ancient. Hee shoves, That *Franciscus Patritius*, in a Book, *Of the Rhetoric of the Ancients*, written in *Italian*, & printed at *Venice*, Anno 1562. ha's a Dialogue, which gives us this *Hypothesis*, as coming originally from an *Abyssinian* Philosopher in *Spain*; who quoted the *Annals of Ethiopia* for it.²

¹ Many of Mather's neologisms have not made it into the *OED* (yet) or into any other dictionary for that matter. Here he combines "hypothesis" and "mania" to create "*Hypothesimania*."

² Thomas Burnet garnered tremendous opposition for his *Telluris Theoria Sacra* (1681) and for its English translation *The Theory of the Earth* (1684, 2nd ed. 1691), a Cartesian explanation of the Creation and of the Flood. Mather here refers to Burnet's discussion in *Telluris* (lib. 1, cap. 4–8, pp. 24–82) and in *Sacred Theory* (1684), bk. 1, chs. 5–9, pp. 51–127. The information on "*Petrus Ramazzini*" and the "*Abyssinian* Philosopher" is extracted from *The Abyssinian Philosophy Confuted* (1697), by Robert St. Clair, MD (n.d.), who translated *De Fontium Mutinensium* (1692), a tract on the springs of Modena, by Bernardo Ramazzini (1633–1714), Italian professor at Modena and Padua, father of industrial medicine. According to St. Clair (*Abyssinian* 88–89), Ramazzini's work illustrates that Burnet's theory is really a third-hand affair, derived from the Italian historian, poet, and literary critic Franciscus Patritius, aka. Francesco Patrizzi (1529–97), whose *Della retorica dieci dialoghi* [*Of the Rhetoric of the Ancients*] (1562) identifies Julius Strozza and Count Balthazar Castillon as the secondary and the "*Annals of Ethiopia*" as the original source. Mather's "*Abyssinian* Philosopher" (St. Clair 89) is a second-hand pun on Burnet's theory of the watery abyss in subterranean caverns. The German philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz offers much the same theory about the waters hidden in subterraneous caverns, in his *Protogaea* (wr. 1691–93, publ. 1749), sec. 4, 6, pp. 9–11, 15–19.

Many Ingenious Men, have bestow'd Confutations, & some of them, very severe Castigations upon this *Hypothesis*, as being altogether unscriptural. And some of those, who have overturn'd this *Hypothesis*, have gone to establish others more Agreeable.³

Among these, I will not mention unto you, the Opinion of Mr. *Whiston*, about the Influence, which a *Comet*, in its passing along, and pressing upon the *Earth*, might have in producing the Flood; because tho' the Fancy be very *Ingenious*, yett it is altogether *Arbitrary*; and, I suppose, many do not think it *Satisfactory*.⁴

But I will mention to you, the Opinion of Dr. *St. Clair*, because it seems founded much upon Experiment.⁵

The Doctor holds the Cause of an Effervescence between an *Acid* and an *Alkali*, to proceed from the sudden Exclusion of *Air*, out of the Pores of the Liquors, & the *Salts*, by the two Contraries, closely uniting into one Body. Now, saies hee, "I had a Glass-Pipe, blown into the shape of a round Ball at the End, that was Hermetically Sealed, and bended into a Syphon, whose Legs were Parallel, but Distant from one another Three Inches, so that the Leg on which the Ball stood, was Nine Inches long, but the other Two feet long. The shorter Leg, and the Intermedial Pipe, I fill'd quite with Water, to the lower End of the great Leg, so that there was no Air left in the Space: Then I putt into it some Filings of Steel, about a Drachm and an half: and after the Filings were laid along, in the Intermedial Pipe, I putt to it, Oyl of *Vitriol*, thirty or forty drops, which mixing with the Water (for otherwise strong Oil of *Vitriol*, does not work upon the Filings) did immediately corrode the Iron, and sent up to the Ball so great a Quantity of this generated Air, as to fill it, and half the shorter Leg, in a very little Space; in which it was remarkable, that applying my Hand warm to the Ball, it did expand itself in an Instant, so much as to drive out the Water, at the longer Pipe; but on withdrawing my Hand, it contracted itself into half the Ball, where it hath stood ever since."⁶

For useful studies of the Burnettian controversy, see K. B. Collier's *Cosmogonies* (68–91) and M. H. Nicholson's *Mountain Gloom* (184–270).

3 Among the major attacks on Burnet's theory are Erasmus Warren's *Geologia: Or a Discourse concerning the Earth before the Deluge* (1690), William Whiston's *New Theory of the Earth* (1696), and John Keill's *Examination of Dr. Burnet's Theory* (1698), triggering refutations and counter-refutations.

4 William Whiston argues that a passing comet precipitated Noah's Flood and would also bring about the conflagration of the earth at the Second Coming (*New Theory* [1696], pt. 2, bk. 4, chs. 4–5, pp. 300–82) and "An Appendix," in *New Theory*, 5th ed. (1737) 459–78.

5 Robert St. Clair, MD, *The Abyssinian Philosophy Confuted* (1697).

6 Mather's citation is from St. Clair's "To the Reader" (*Abyssinian* C5v–C5r). An ancient unit of measurement, "a Drachm and an half" amounts to c. 41.015 grains or 2.656 grams – a very small amount. "Oyl of Vitriol" is an archaic designation for "concentrated sulfuric acid." St. Clair's contraption is depicted in table 2 of his *Abyssinian Philosophy*.

On this Experiment, the Doctor ha's his Thoughts raised, to consider, That there once were & still are, great *Cavities* in the Bowels of the *Earth*, full of *Water*. These *Cavities*, were made from the Beginning, for noble and worthy Uses. This *Abyss* did communicate with the Ocean; and in these *Cavities*, were generated Minerals and Metals; and by the Colluctation of several contrary Salts in the *Abyss*, might be generated an Air, & sometimes so suddenly, as to make Explosions, and horrible shakings and risings of the *Earth*. There were *Mountains* also in the Beginning; which is evident from the Existence of *Rivers* then mentioned. Now suppose, that at the Time of the Deluge, there happened such a Conflict of contrary Salts, *Acid* and *Alcali*, in the bowels of the Earth: There would be an Air generated, which in many Places being penn'd up, might cause *Earth-quakes*; and at the same Time some of this Exhalation escaping into the open Air, from thence might proceed *Great Rains* for forty Dayes Continuance, accompanied with Terrible Thunder & Lightning, to strike the greater Terror into the Wicked, that in their Fright, they might not find their Way to the *Ark*, which they had formerly so much despised, & by the Showrs be further hindred, if they attempted it. By the Air enclosed in the Bowels of the Earth, we may imagine, That the Water of the *Abyss* was dislodged, and so came out to overflow the Earth; (by which wee may interpret, the *Opening of the Great Depths*;) and this at the Passages by which the *Abyss*, & the *Ocean* did communicate; which so swelled by Degrees, till the Top of the Highest Mountains were covered.⁷

We may further infer, That the Air now being infected with mineral Steams, & in a great Measure composed thereof, might occasion that shortning of Mans Life, which happen'd quickly | after the Deluge. This, tho' it might not so visibly affect the stronger Constitutions of *Noah* and his Sons, yett might lay such a Foundation of Infirmities in their Posterity, as might anon shorten their Life to seventy or eighty Years. Wee may suppose likewise, that when the Heat of the Effervescence, & Ebullition, in the Bowels of the Earth, was over, the Waters returned by Degrees into the Bowels of the Earth, and so the Ocean, into the Bounds that were sett unto it by God.⁸

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Q. We have not yett had before us, all the *Hypotheses* of the FLOOD, that are worthy to be considered? v. 6.

A. And therefore the Thoughts of that excellent Person, Mr. *John Ray*, shall be now employ'd, on this Occasion; that so our Apprehensions of that wonderful Revolution, may grow up into more of Consistency.⁹

⁷ This and the next paragraph are a close paraphrase of St. Clair's "To the Reader" (*Abyssinian* C6r-C7r, pts. 2, 3, 5), which in itself is an extract from Ramazzini's work (see note 2 above).

⁸ Here, St. Clair (via Ramazzini) tries to give a scientific explanation why the lifespan of the postdiluvians is drastically shorter than that of their antediluvian progenitors.

⁹ Next in line is John Ray (1628–1705), the celebrated English naturalist, fellow of the Royal Society (FRS), and author of many physico-theological and millenarian works, which

2. We have not yet had before us, all the symbolisms of the Flood, that are worthy to be considered: p. 6.

1. And therefore, if I thought of that excellent person, Mr John Ray, shall be employed, on this occasion, that so of ~~some~~ Apprehensions of that wonderful Revolution, may ~~be~~ grow up in our more affection.

Concerning the Deluge, famous are the Testimonies of the Ancient Writers among the pagans.

Belus the Chaldean, and Ptolemy of Damascus, and others, mentioned by Procopius, have acknowledged the truth of this matter.

Suppose adds two ~~Testimonies~~ Testimonies more, Ous of Mithras, and another of Herodotus, only they are not without some fabulous Adornments.

From Alexander Polyhistor there is a passage brought by Cyril, which speaks of the Deluge, but of the Deluge of Noah.

And Plutarch in his Book, De Solertia Animalium, has the Story of the Deluge but out of the Ark.

Kircher in his Arca Noe, calls Democritus, that the Deluge of Ovid, and of Lucan, was no other than of Noah.

And, the Tradition of a general Flood, was very current, for thousands of years among all people, especially in the Countries near to which the Ark rested, & Noah afterwards lived.

And, that the Egyptians, under Manetho, in honour of the Egyptian, Sepius, Seneb, and Philopater, having on the River of Egypt, on the Ark, with a man & a woman standing before it, and a man & a woman looking out of it: and two birds above it; one flying with a Branch of a Tree in its mouth, another resting upon it. This Figure of it, and a discourse on it, out of Pseudo-crisostomus may be seen in Kircher's Arca Noe.

These traditions were continued long after the Jewish times, and the Deluge of the Scriptures; and yet they were done by pagans, which is a proof that among the pagans too, the story of the Flood was received.

But yet causes of the Flood are yet things, which Mr Ray proposes to rest upon.

But, some hold, that the Flood was altogether miraculous; and that

Gen. 1. 1.

the mingling of waters on purpose for this tremendous occasion; which being dispatched, it again destroyed them. This is called the Knot.

And yet there is no such mingling of waters in supposing a miraculous Operation in this awful matter. There needed only a Transmutation of some other Body into Water. Why might not the dense power and providence, now being together such Natural Agents, as might change the Air into Water? If so Air, and all the Bodies composed with it, were changed into Water, they might make a Bulk of water, of equal Quantity with the Bulk of the Air, and so great a Perpetual condensation and Refraction. This Barred Illumination Kircher alleges, that the Deluge was the suspension of the Flood.

Seco, totum illud aëreum Spectrum, effudit ad supernam Regionem, præpositum dei Virtutis in Aquas, per inspicabilem nubium condensationem multitudinem, quæ repeditur, contraxitque, cupit ubi. has tamen fuit, ut non supernas cum inferiori in Oceanum committat, sed illius cupit in Oceanum committat, sed illius cupit in Oceanum committat, sed illius cupit in Oceanum committat.

But yet sacred Scripture mentions not the condensation of the Air into Water. Which for without further consideration of the cause of the Flood, which are there more expressly mentioned.

The opening of the Windows of Heaven, is assigned for one of the causes. This means, the causing of all the Water suspended in the Air, to descend in Rain upon the Earth. A Rain that continued forty days, night, perhaps and continued forty days, together.

And yet the opening of the Windows of Heaven, will afford us small Quantities of Water. In the History of the Creation, they are opposed with the Water here under command, as if they were

incommensurate, and almost equal. And experience tells us, that from the clouds, in an hour on wet ground, there will come down wonderful Floods. These things we call, water-spouts, will in a very little space make a great inundation for a wonderment. And yet reading of the Scriptures will tell you, that the Rain was such, as was of the Universal Deluge.

And breaking up of all the

Concerning the Deluge, famous are the Testimonies of the Ancient Writers among the *Pagans*.

Berosus the *Chaldean*, and *Nicolaus of Damascus*, and others, produced by *Josephus*, have acknowledged the Summ of the *Matter*.

Eusebius adds Two Acknowledgments more; one of *Melon*, and another of *Abydenus*; only they are not without some fabulous Adulterations.

From *Alexander Polyhistor*, there is a Passage brought by *Cyril*; which quotes Intimations of the *Flood*, from the *Timæus* of *Plato*.

And *Plutarch* in his Book, *De solertiâ Animalium*; has the Story of the *Dove* sent out of the *Ark*.

Kircher, in his *Arca Noë*, hath demonstrated, that the *Deucalion* of *Ovid*, and {of} the ancients, was no other than our *Noah*.¹⁰

Indeed, the Tradition of a General *Flood*, was every where current, for thousands of Years among all People; especially in the Countreyes near to which the *Ark* rested, & *Noah* afterwards lived. It is remarkable, That the *Apameans*, coined Moneyes, in honour of the Emperours, *Septimius Severus*, and, *Philippus Arabs*; having on the Reverse, the Figure of an *Ark*, with a Man & a Woman standing before it, and a Man & a Woman looking out of it; and Two *Doves* above it; one flying with a *Branch of a Tree* in its Mouth, another resting upon it. The Figure of it, and a Discourse on it, out of *Falconerius*, may be seen in

Mather also puts to good use in his *Christian Philosopher* and his *Threefold Paradise*. Mather here excerpts Ray's *Miscellaneous Discourses Concerning the Dissolution and Changes of the World* (1692) 56–101; Ray presents a fuller discussion of the same material in his popular *Three Physico-Theological Discourses*, third edition (1713), Discourse 2, chs. 1–2, pp. 62–120; John Edwards cites the same ancient sources as evidence of the Noachide Flood (*Discourse* 1:118).

¹⁰ Ray (*Miscellaneous* 56–60, 62; *Three Physico* [1713], 62–68) refers to the standard sources: the story of the Flood and the Ark in Armenia, by the Chaldean historian Berosus and by the Syrian Nicolaus of Damascus (friend of Herod the Great), as excerpted in Josephus Flavius's *Antiquities* (1.3.6) and in *Against Apion* (1.19). Eusebius's *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.11–13, 19) cites Melo (Apollonios Molon), the famous Greek rhetorician and grammarian of Rhodes (2nd–1st c. BCE), who authored a polemic *Against the Jews*; and the Assyrian historian Abydenus (2nd c. BCE), author of a multivolume history *Assyriaka kai Babyioniaka*. Bishop Cyril of Alexandria cites the Greek polymath Alexander Polyhistor of Miletus (born c. 105–c. 40 BCE), in *Contra Julianum* (1.6–10, 18), and Plato's *Timæus* (22a–c). These venerable Fathers of the Church felt called upon to defend the primacy of the Mosaic history (and of Christianity) against those of the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, whose chronicles related many similar stories to those in the Torah. For Cyril of Alexandria as for his fellow apologists, the teachings of Moses are far older than those of Pythagoras of Samos, of Thales of Miletus, of Solon, or even of Cadmus – all of whom inadvertently collected the wisdom of Moses in their sojourn through the Fertile Crescent, where (allegedly) distorted versions of the Pentateuch were taught as genuine revelations of the Egyptian, Phoenician, and Babylonian priests. Thus Plutarch – like the Israelite Lawgiver – has Deucalion send a dove out of the Ark, in *De Sollertia Animalium* (968 F), *Plutarch's Moralia* (12:377). In the same manner, the German polymath Athanasius Kircher asserts the identity of Ovid's Deucalion (*Metamorphoses* 1.315ff) with the biblical Noah (Gen 6–10), in his *Arca Noë, in tres libros digesta* (1675), lib. 2, c. 6, pp. 136–42, where Kircher cites all the standard sources of the ancients.

Kirchers Arca Noë. These Moneyes were coined indeed, long after our Saviours Time, and the Divulcation of the Scriptures; yett they were done by *Pagans*, which is a Proof that among the *Pagans* too, the Story of the *Flood* was received.¹¹

But the *Causes* of the *Flood* are the Things, which Mr. Ray proposes to insist upon.

First; Some hold, That the *Flood* was altogether *Miraculous*; and that the Almighty created *Waters* on Purpose for this tremendous Occasion; which being dispatch'd, He again destroyed them. This is to *cutt the Knott*. And yett there is no such mighty *Absurdity* in supposing a miraculous Operation in this awful Matter. There needed only a Transmutation of some other Body into *Water*. Why might not the Divine Power and Providence, now bring together such Natural Agents, as might change the *Air* into *Water*? If the *Air*, and all the Bodies commixed with it, were changed into *Water*, they must make a Bulk of *Water*, of æqual Quantity with themselves; unless we grant a Peripatetical Condensation and Rarefaction. The learned *Athanasius Kircher* alledges this, as the undoubted Instrument of the *Flood*. *Dico, totum illud aereum spacium usque ad supremam Regionem Aeris, præpotentis Dei Virtute, in Aquas, per inexplicabilem nubium coacervatarum multitudinem, quâ replebatur, conversum esse: cujus ubertas tanta fuit, ut Aer supremus cum inferiori in Oceanum commutatus videri potuerit, non Naturæ Viribus, sed illius cujus voluntati et imperio cuncta subsunt.*¹²

But the Sacred Scripture mentions not the *Conversion of the Air into Water*. Wherefore we will rather consider the *Causes of the Flood*, which are there more expressly mentioned.

11 Ray, *Miscellaneous* (62–62) and *Three Physico* (67–68). The “*Apamaeans*,” inhabitants of one of six cities by that name in Bithynia, Coele-Syria, and Mesopotamia (*KP*), coined money in honor of Roman Emperors Lucius Septimius Severus (193–211 CE) and of Marcus Julius Philippus (244–49 CE), an Arab from Shahbā, near Damascus (*OCD*). These ancient coins are reproduced in table 1 of Ray’s *Three Physico* (between pp. 68–69) and in Kircher’s *Arca Noë* (lib. 2, c. 6, p. 138) – both authors relying on Octavius Falconierius, aka. Ottávio Falconieri (1636/46–76), abbot of St. Girolamo de Fiesole, Italian archeologist, and man of letters, whose *Inscriptiones athleticæ nuper repertæ* (1668), depicts the Phrygian coins (sect. 5), which both Ray and Kircher reproduce in their own works.

12 Ray, *Miscellaneous* (65 ff, *Three Physico*, ch. 2), here recites (and then rejects on biblical grounds) the old Cartesian notion that God transmuted the element of air into water (and back again) to inundate the highest mountains on earth with water upwards of 15 cubits (Gen. 7:20). Ray’s colleagues Robert Boyle and Sir Isaac Newton were similarly debating whether the element air could be transmuted into water (see M. T. Walton, “Boyle and Newton” 11–18). Mather’s Latin citation from Kircher’s *Arca Noë* (lib. 2, c. 5, p. 132) is here taken at second hand from Ray, whose translation of Kircher’s Latin text Mather omits: “*I affirm, that all that Aëreal Space that reaches up to the supreme Region of the Air, was, by the Power of the Omnipotent GOD, and Instrumentality of an inexplicable Multitude of Clouds amassed together, wherewith it was filled, changed into Water, so that the upper and lower Air might seem to be transmuted into an Ocean, not by the Strength of Nature, but of Him to whose Will and Power all things are subject*” (*Miscellaneous* 65, and *Three Physico* 71–72).

The Opening of the Windowes of Heaven, is assigned for one of the Causes. This means, the Causing of all the *Water* suspended in the *Air*, to descend in *Rain* upon the *Earth*; A *Rain* that continued *Forty Dayes*, nay, perhaps *one hundred & fifty Dayes*, together. These *Treasures* of the *Air*, will afford no small Quantities of *Water*. In the History of the Creation, they are opposed unto the *Waters* here *under Firmament*, as if they were *ισορροπα*, and almost æqual. And Experience tells us, That from *Thunder-Clouds*, in an hour or two's Time, there will come down wonderful Floods. Those things we call, *Water-Spouts*, will in a very little Space, make Inundations to a Wonderment. And the Reading of the *Septuagint* will tell you, That the *Rains* were such, at the Time of the Universal Deluge.¹³

The Breaking up of all the | Fountains of the Great Deep, is assign'd for another of the Causes. By the *Great Deep*, our ingenious *Ray*, understands, the *Subterraneous Waters*, which communicate with the *Sea*. That they do so, we see from the *Caspian* and *Mediterranean* Sea's; which receive into themselves mighty *Rivers*, and yett have no visible *Out-lets*: Nay, the latter ha's also abundance of the *Ocean* poured into it, by the Streights of *Gibraltar*. People have said, (until Dr. *Halley* has demonstrated otherwise) They must needs discharge their *Waters*, into the *Abyss* of *Waters* under the Earth. By the *breaking up of the Fountains of the Great Deep*, we may understand, the Making of great Issues and Apertures, for the *Subterraneous Waters*, to rush out upon the World. [202v]

As for the *Sea* itself, it is no where above a *German Mile* deep; in most Places, not Half so much. We may take Half a Mile as a *middle Term*; or Two of our Miles; which bears little Proportion, to the whole Terraqueous Globe; the *Semi-diameter* whereof, is about Three Thousand Four hundred & forty *Italian* Miles. How the *Abyss* below may be circumstanced, is as yett unknown unto us.¹⁴

It is affirmed, That the River *Volga*, pours as much *Water* into the *Caspian* Sea, as in a Years Time, would make up a Mass of *Water*, æqual to the Globe of the Earth. And the Hourly Effusions of the River *Po* in *Italy*, are by *Ricciolus* computed to amount unto 18000000 cubical Paces of *Water*. Whence a learned Writer ha's inferred, That all the Rivers in the World together, do Daily discharge Half an *Ocean* of *Waters* into the *Sea*.¹⁵

¹³ Ray (*Miscellaneous* 66–69; *Three Physico* 72–75), Gen. 7:11, 8:2 (LXX).

¹⁴ Gen. 7:11, 8:2. Ray's *Miscellaneous* (69, 60, 72–73, 82) and *Three Physico* (75–76, 88). Dr. Edmond Halley (1656–1742) studied hydrological evaporation in the Mediterranean Sea and determined that the evaporation of sea water was more or less equal to the rainfall which feeds the rivers that flow back into the Mediterranean, in "An Estimate of the Quantity of Vapour Raised out of the Sea," *PT* 16 (1692): 366–70. A German mile amounts to 25,000 feet or 7,620 m, an Italian (or geometric) mile to 4,060 feet or 1,237 m.

¹⁵ Ray's discussion in *Miscellaneous* (82) and *Three Physico* (77–78) draws on the bulky *Almagestum novum* (1651) and on *Geographiae et hydrographiae reformatae* (1661), by the Italian

And yett Mr. *Edmund Halley*, offers Probabilities, That *Springs* and *Rivers*, every where, owe their Original, unto *Vapours* condensed on the Sides of the Mountains. And it is demonstrated, That the Magnitude of Rivers, or the Quantity of *Water* they evacuate, is proportionable to the Length and Heighth of the *Ridges* from whence they have their *Fountains*. But Mr. *Ray* will hardly allow, this to be all the Original of the *Rivers*, in the *Europæan* and more Temperate Countreyes; tho' in the Hott Regions, the *Vapours* are more considerable. He will have the *Rains* to come in, for a vast share in the Matter. Now ordinarily [*Communibus Annis*,] the *Rain* that falls in a whole Year, amounts not unto above one Quarters *Continual Rain*. And if this *Rain*, thus intermitting will suffice for a Daily Effusion of *Half an Ocean*, it is clear, that if it should *Rain* without any Intermission, in forty *Dayes* continual *Rain*, there would be distill'd upon the Earth, *Eighty Oceans of Water*.¹⁶

The *Water* falling upon the *Earth*, must have some Time to Run into the *Sea*; But in the Time of the *Flood*; it fell much faster than it could *Run*; & it had those that broke out of the *Fountains* of the *Abyss* to accompany it. In *Forty Dayes* there might be a prodigious Amassment of *Waters*. And yett Mr. *Ray*, concurs with Mr. *Warren*, that there is no necessity to Raise the Waters *Fifteen Cubits* above the *Tops* of the Highest Mountains. Nor does he think, That the Fall of the *Rains* for the *Flood*, is to be limited unto *Forty Dayes*. It was *Forty Dayes* before the *Ark* floated; but the *Rains* fell for *One hundred & Fifty Dayes*.¹⁷

But after all, our Ingenious *Ray*, comes to that, which he thinks the most probable of all the Causes, that ever he ha's heard assigned for the *Deluge*. This is; That the Glorious GOD, at this Time changed the *Center* of the *Earth*, and sett it nearer to the *Middle* of that Hæmisphære, which was then principally Inhabited. Hereupon the *Atlantic* and *Pacific* Oceans, must needs press upon the *Subterraneous Abyss*; By the Mediation thereof, they must force the Water upward, and compell it to run out at those *Wide Mouthes*, which were made by the Divine Power, *breaking up the Fountains of the Great Deep*. We may suppose this, a gradual Emotion. And the Waters thus poured out, from the Orifices of

Jesuit astronomer Giovanni Battista Riccioli (1598–1671), who tried to establish the ratio of water to land and the earth's radius.

16 Ray's *Miscellaneous* (82, 84, 85, 95) and *Three Physico* (97–98, 106–107, 111–13). "*Communibus Annis*" (*Miscellaneous* 95) is nothing else but the "annual rainfall in the region."

17 Ray, *Miscellaneous* (95–96), ultimately agrees with Erasmus Warren (fl. 1680–1714), Rector of Worlington, Suffolk, who posits in his *Geologia Sacra* (1690), chs. 15–16, that there was not enough water to inundate the highest mountains on earth, but only enough to cover the sides of the mountains about 15 cubits in most places (300–55), and in *A Defence of the Discourse* (1691) 165–69, 172–75, 190–197. Thus Ray agrees with both Burnet and Warren that the Noachide Flood involved neither a new creation of water, nor the transmutation of air into water, nor the falling of any supercelestial waters. For a helpful review of the debate, see K. B. Collier's *Cosmogonies* (ch. 8, pp. 81–91).

the *Fountains*, upon the Earth, the Declivity being changed by the Removal of the *Center*, could not flow down to the Sea again, but must necessarily stagnate upon the Earth, & overflow it: But afterwards, the Earth returning to its old Center, the *Waters* then returned unto their ancient Receptacles.¹⁸

Hitherto, we do not see *America* drowned. Mr. *Ray* thinks, it needed not, as being at this | time unpeopled. But we have notorious Proofs, in our *Subterraneous Occurrences*, that the *Flood* reached unto *America*. Wherefore, I see not, why the same Cause operating a little further, might not overwhelm *This*, as well as the *other Hæmisphere*. But Mr. *Ray* proposes another Solution. That is; That the Divine Power might at this Time, employ the Instrumentality of some Natural Agent, which is to us at present unknown, to *depress the Surface of the Ocean*, so as to force the *Waters* of the *Abyss*, thro' the forementioned Channels, and make the whole Surface of the *Earth* feel the Effects thereof.¹⁹ [203r]

An unusual Pressure upon the Superficies of the Ocean, would produce Tragical and Marvellous Things!

I will here add something from our Incomparable *Newton*;

The Universal *Flood*, he thinks, can no better Way be accounted for, than by supposing the *Center* of *Gravitation* removed for a Time, towards the Middle of the then Inhabited Parts of the World. And a Change of its Place, but the two Thousandth Part of the *Radius* of this *Globe*, were sufficient to bury the Tops of the Highest Hills under Water.²⁰

18 Ray (*Miscellaneous* 98–99; *Three Physico* 117–18). The theory that a sudden change in the center of the earth's gravity may have triggered the Flood was also offered in Robert Hooke's "Discourse of Earthquakes" (*Posthumous Works*, Discourse V, pp. 321–22, 349–50).

19 Ray excludes America from "drowning" in the Noachide Flood, "it being in all probability unpeopled at that time" (*Miscellaneous* 99–100). In the third edition of his *Three Physico-Theological Discourses* (1713) 118–19, he adds that even though José Acosta, Antonio de Herrera, Agostino Corata, and Lupus Gomora report similar flood narratives from Peru and Mexico, God, who operates through secondary causes, would have had to resort to miracles, "requiring twenty-two oceans of water" to inundate the entire globe "fifteen Cubits above the Tops of the heighest Mountains." Among the seventeenth-century physico-theologians who excluded America from Noah's Flood or rejected its universality are the great Gerhard Mercator (1512–94), in *Atlas, sive Cosmographicae Meditationes de Fabrica Mundi* (1595); Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrims* (1626), bk. 8, ch. 1, § 1, p. 791; Isaac de La Peyrère, in *Men Before Adam* (London, 1656), bk. 4, chs. 7–9, pp. 239–58; Isaac Vossius, in *Dissertatio de vera aetate mundi* (1659) 53; Georg C. Kirchmaier, *De diluvii universalitate dissertatio prolusoria* (1667) 3–60; Edward Stillingfleet, *Origines Sacrae* (8th ed.), in *Works* (1709), pt. 1, pp. 1–3, 337–39, pt. 2, p. 9; Erasmus Warren, in *Geologia* (1690) 300–55 and in *A Defence of the Discourse* (1691) 165–69, 172–75, 190–97, 209; and William Whiston, *New Theory of the Earth*, fifth edition (London, 1737), pt. 2, bk. 4, ch. 4, Corollary 2, p. 405. See also D. C. Allen's *Legend* (ch. 5) and N. Cohn's *Noah's Flood* (ch. 4).

20 Sir Isaac Newton – like his disciple William Whiston – believed that a comet (probably Halley's Comet) – was responsible for the Flood. Yet unlike Whiston, who subsequently lost his Lucasian Chair of Mathematics at Cambridge for his anti-Trinitarian Arianism, Newton was circumspect enough to withhold from the press anything that might contradict the verity

In the Midst of these *Philosophical* Contemplations, I was refresh'd with a *Poetical* One, which tho' perhaps too rudely apply'd by the Author, is excellently well express'd.

"Thus when the Great Creator of the Earth,
Would *Drown* that World, to which *He* first gave *Birth*;
Commission'd Storms of *Rain* rush down from High,
Thro' the wide Sluices of the clouded Sky;
But while without Effect those Waters fall,
And only *Wash* the Surface of the *Ball*,
Heav'n's mighty Voice, in dreadful Accents spoke,
The Vast Abyss loud Peals of Thunder broke;
Imprison'd Seas impetuous Passage found,
And roll'd a *Liquid Ruin* o'er the Ground;
The Roots of Mountains from their Seats are torn,
And floating Islands on high Billowes born;
Lightnings keen Flashes swiftly downward fly,
And rattling Thunder cracks the trembling Sky;
From frowning *Heaven*, each dreadful Plague is hurl'd,
And Nature groaning, quits the Delug'd World."²¹

[204v] | [blank]

[205r] |

Q. By what other *Hypothesis* ha's the *Flood* been explained? v. 11.

A. What if wee should suppose, that the *Earth* before the *Flood*, was nearer to the *Sun*, than it is Now?²²

And so, the Terrestrial Globe, & Aërial Mass made quicker *Gyrations*, than they do Now:

By Consequence, neither Dayes nor Years, were so long as Now; but the Air was more Pure, Fine, Ethereal! This helps us to conceive the *Longevity* of the Antediluvian Patriarchs.

of the Bible. See Newton's *A Treatise of the System of the World* (1728) 10–28; and Edmond Halley's "Theory of the Variation of the Magnetical Compass" and his "Account of the Cause of the Change of the Variation of the Magnetical Needle," both appearing in *Miscellanea Curiosa* (1705) 1:27–42, 43–60.

²¹ The choice of language, imagery, and doggerel rhythm – all point toward the poetry of Sir Richard Blackmore (1654–1729), physician to William and Mary, poet, and sometime school teacher. Among his best-known works are *Redemption*, a poem in six books; and *The Creation*, a philosophical poem in 7 books; *King Arthur*, a heroic poem on the Arthurian legend; and *A Paraphrase upon the Book of Job*. Cotton Mather seemed to like Blackmore's poetry sufficiently to mention him several times. See Mather's annotations on Job 1:1–3 ("BA"), *Diary* (2:105, 141), and *Threefold Paradise* (192).

²² See Thomas Burnet's *Sacred Theory of the Earth* (1684), bk. 2, ch. 3, pp. 194–96.

And so, the *Sins*, which provoked God to drown the Primitive Earth, might be such as had some Rise from too lively a Motion of the Blood.

The Vapours then could not Ascend far, or Hold up long, in so rarify'd an Air; hence there were no Tedious *Rains*, but Nightly *Dewes*; as the Sacred Pages intimate. And hence, No *Rainbow* before the Flood.

The Sins of Men being risen to an Extremity, what if the Almighty removed the *Earth*, to a further Distance from the *Sun*? Whence the Atmosphære of the *Air*, for a while Pressing unæqually on the *Globe*, the Ocean must needs come Tumbling in upon the Land; and the like Disorder of the Atmosphære, might also bring horrible Rains upon the World.²³

3390.

Q. Can we Illustrate the History of the *Flood*, with any *Hypothesis* of it, found in the Writings of the ancient *Pagans*? v. 11.

A. You will smile, if I tell you of such a Commentator, as *Seneca* upon *Genesis*. However, if you please, we will make him one!

Seneca treating of that *Fatal Day*, as he calls it, *when the Deluge shall come*, (for he fancied it still to come,) quæstions, How it may come to pass? [L.III. *Nat. Quest.* c. 27.] whether by the Force of the Ocean overflowing the Earth; or by the Swelling of Rivers, or by perpetual Rains without Intermission, or by the Swelling of Rivers, and the Opening of New Fountains; or, there shall not be one Cause alone of so great a Mischief, but all these things concur, *Uno agmine ad exitium humani generis*. This last Resolution, he thinks, is the Truth; and he has, in the last Chapter of that Book, these Remarkable Words.

“Where hath not Nature disposed Moisture, to attack us on all sides, when it pleases? There are huge Lakes which we do not see; much of the Sea, that lies hidden; many Rivers that slide in secret. So that there may be Causes of a *Deluge* on all Sides, when some Waters flow in under the Earth; Others flow round about, which being long pent up, overwhelm it; and Rivers join with Rivers, Pools with Pools: – And as our Bodies sometimes dissolve into Sweat, so the Earth shall melt, and without the help of other Causes, shall find in itself, what will drown it: – There being in a sudden, every where, openly, and secretly, from above, & from beneath, an Eruption of Waters.”

²³ The incredible longevity of the antediluvian patriarchs was a frequent topic of discussion among the physico-theologians of the day. Standard explanations such as those that linked man's declining longevity with Adam's lapsus and his offspring's moral decay were as common as those that sought to establish natural causality such as the change of climate, nutrition, and living conditions after the Flood. Robert Hooke's "Lectures and Discourses of Earthquakes," dating to the 1680s, provides one of the best summaries of the theories of the period, in *Posthumous Works* (Discourse 5, esp. pp. 322, 346–48), but his successors surpassed his achievements: Ray's *Three Physico* (Disc. 2, ch. 3, pp. 122–23), Burnet's *Theory of the Earth* (1691 ed.), bk. 2, chs. 2–5, pp. 140–74; Whiston's *New Theory* (1737 ed.), pt. 2, bk. 2, ch. 7, pp. 125–33; bk. 3, ch. 3, sec. 35–45, pp. 246–62.

These Words are, as Dr. *Patrick* saies of them, written as if he had been directed, to make a Commentary upon *Moses*.²⁴

[206v]

Q. Were there any *Mountains* before the FLOOD? v. 20.

A. It seems probable, *There were*. See Deut. 33.15. Psal. 90.1, 2. Prov. 8.22, 23, 25. Besides, *Tubalcain*, is said to have been an Instructor of every *Artificer in Brass & Iron*; there were then *Metals* before the Flood; which are scarce to be found, except at the Root of Mountains.²⁵

4362.

Q. Why must the *Sea*, and the *Fish*, be excused, from that Curse of the FLOOD? v. 21.

A. This Quæstion was moved unto *Austin* of old; and if there were more *Flourish* than *Judgment* in his Answer, yett lett the great Character of such a *Father*, procure some Reverence unto it.

*In peccato primi hominis, terra de quâ gustaverat, statim maledicitur. Quâ in renotandum, ipsa animalia, quæ maledictam terram manducaverunt expertia maledictionis esse non posse, præsertim quum terra cum suis animalibus, maledicta erat. Iterum ergò alia adhuc quæstio surgit: Quarè Deus etiam Aquis in Adæ maledicto non maledixit? Cui facilè imè respondetur, quòd non Aquam contrà interdictum Domini bibit, sed de Terræ Fructu homo comedit, exceptis quoque his Rationibus, Aquis à maledicto Adæ Deus pepercit, quoniam per Aquam diluere maledictionem illam paraverat, quod in Diluvio est factum, et nunc per Baptismum indulgetur: Nam in Aqua et Spiritu cuncta humana corporalia crimina simul et spiritualia purgantur. Aquatilia enim maledicto vindictæ non succumbunt, quia in maledictionis participatione non sunt. Ac per hoc Dominus, cum mortis humane maledictum Resurgendo deposuerat, non Terrestrialium sed Aquatiliu carnem Animalium comedebat, cum ad confirmationem Resurrectionis coràm Discipulis, piscis assi partem, et favum mellis manducavit.*²⁶

²⁴ The annotations on Gen. 7:11 are extracted verbatim from Simon Patrick's *Commentary* (1:36–37). Lucius Annaeus Seneca's *Naturales quaestiones* (3.27.1) speculates that several natural causes "in a united effort [will apply themselves] to the destruction of the human race." Mather's excerpt in quotation marks is Patrick's translation of a passage from Seneca's *Naturales quaestiones* (3.30.3–5).

²⁵ Thomas Burnet argues that the earth before the Flood was uniformly smooth, "without Mountains, and without a Sea," in *Sacred Theory* (1691 ed.), bk. 1, ch. 5–6, 11. Son of Lamech (Gen. 4:22), Tubalcain – like Hephaistos and Vulcan – was believed to be the inventor of the art of metal smelting. See Gerard Vossius's *De Theologia Gentili* (pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 16, pp. 123–29) and Samuel Bochart's *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 12, col. 182–83; lib. 4, cap. 1, col. 207).

²⁶ According to St. Augustine's *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae. lib. 1: De Moysi Pentateuche*, cap. 4. [PL 35. 2155], "in the sin of the first man, the earth which he had enjoyed was immediately cursed. In view of this, the animals themselves, which had eaten [from the fruit of] the cursed earth, could not be immune from the curse, especially when the earth had been cursed along with its animals. Again therefore another question arises: Why did God not also curse

After all, doubtless, the *Flood* threw the *Sea* into horrible Disorder, and many *Fish* were thereby destroy'd.²⁷

4200.

Q. What was the Employment of *Noah*, during the long Year, that he was in the *Ark*? v. 24.

A. I will Transcribe to you, the Words of *Strigelius*, in an Oration of his, *De Doctrinâ Physicâ*.

*Quas operas fecisse putandum est hunc senem, cum Menses Tredecim lunares inclusus Arcâ inter horribiles Aquarum sonitus veheretur? Sanè rem Rusticam exercere, aut Rempublicam consilio regere non potuit. Functus est igitur munere et officio tum Philosophi tum Concionatoris, et suos Auditores non modò de Deo, de venturo liberatore, de Vitâ aternâ docuit, sed etiam disseruit de Naturâ Rerum, et quàm multæ huic impressæ sint dulcissimæ imagines, sapienter monuit. Corvum ex Arcâ emissum, nec revertentem, quòd cadaveribus laniandis occupatus esset, comparavit Doctore πλεονεκτικῷ, qui utilitatem suam sic tuetur, ut quicquid agat, ad eam referat, oblitus commodorum Ecclesiæ. Columbam verò redeuntem cum oleæ ramo, boni ac salutaris Doctoris Imaginem esse dixit, qui magis de Ecclesiæ salute et conservatione angitur, quàm de Suâ et liberorum incolumitate. Neque verò dubium est, hunc præstantissimum Philosophum locorum rationem accuratè descripsisse, ut sciret egressus ex Arcâ, quâ in parte orbis Terrarum esset, et quantum à patriâ distaret. Collegit enim Historiam primæ Ecclesiæ, quæ ante Diluvium sapientiâ et virtute floruit, et Temporum seriem diligenter annotavit. Hic Scholasticis aperis, haud dubiè optimus senex damna Diluvij levavit.*²⁸

the waters by Adam's curse? To which it is very easily replied, because man did not drink water against the Lord's prohibition, but he ate from the fruit of the earth; and aside from these reasons, God spared the waters from Adam's curse because he had planned to wash away that curse with water, which was done in the flood, and which is now bestowed through baptism. For in water and the Spirit all the sins of mankind both bodily and spiritual are cleansed. Indeed, the aquatic animals did not suffer the curse of vengeance, because they did not share in the curse. And because of this the Lord, when he put aside the curse of human death by his resurrection, did not eat the flesh of land animals but of aquatic animals, when at the confirmation of his resurrection among the disciples, he ate roasted fish and honeycomb."

²⁷ Rabbinic tradition argues that the marine animals in the seas generally escaped because God cursed the dry land only (Talmudic tractate Kidushim 13a). However, R. Hisda believes that the floodwater was boiling hot and only Og of Bashan, who clung to the side of the Ark where the water was cool, escaped (Zevachim 113b and Nidah 61a).

²⁸ Mather's excerpt from *De Doctrina Physica*, by Victorinus Strigelius, aka. Victor Strigel (1524–69), German theologian, student of Melanchthon at Wittenberg, and professor of theology at Leipzig and Heidelberg, is most likely part of either *Oratio de Noha* (1565), *Oratio de Studiis Doctrinae Christianae* (1563), or *Orationes XXX*. (1583). At any rate, Strigelius asks, "What tasks should we suppose this old man carried out, when he was shut up in the Ark for thirteen lunar months, being carried among the horrible sounds of the waters? He certainly could not farm, or govern a republic with his counsel. He was therefore engaged in the office and duties of a philosopher and a preacher, and taught his listeners not only of God, of

But alas, the Feeding of the Creatures in the *Ark*, & the Cleansing it from their Excrements, was an Employment for *Noah*, and his Three Sons, enough to make a *Proverb* for the most employ'd People in the World.²⁹

[207r]

Q. When you meet with any agreeable System of the *Flood*, it may add unto our Treasures, if you'll communicate it? v. 24.

A. In the *Philosophical Transactions*, for the Year, 1700. N°. 266. there is a Letter of one Mr. *Abr. De la Pryme*; which ha's in it these Passages, worth Transcribing.³⁰ "From the petrified Shell-fish and all sorts of Creatures, found lodged in Rocks and Stones, and the Bowels of the Earth all over the World, it does most fully & sufficiently appear, that there was a Time, when that the Water overflowed all our Earth, which could be none but the *Noachian Deluge*.

"It appears also, that in that Deluge, the Earth suffered wonderful great Violence & Force; that Seas were raised into Mountains, and Mountains sunk into Seas, that Beds of Shells had sometimes such Weights of Earth, & Peeces of Mountains and Rocks flung upon them, that they were crushed in Peeces, and others squeezed Flat.

"Now the difficult thing is, how this Deluge happened, and how these Shells come thus to be found over the face of the whole Earth, & even deep in its Bowels. I know very well, the great Disputes and Contests, that are amongst the Learned, concerning these two Particulars, and what wonderful Systems and Theories they have formed, to solve the same; all which have a great deal more of *Art*, than of *Nature* in them."³¹

the coming liberator, and of eternal life, but he also explained the nature of the world, and wisely taught them how many charming imaginings are stamped upon it. He compared the raven – which, when sent out of the Ark, did not return, because it was occupied with tearing dead bodies to pieces – to a greedy teacher, who looks after his own interests such that whatever he does is to his own advantage, and forgets the well-being of the church. He said that the dove, however, which came back with an olive branch, is a picture of a good and useful teacher, who worries more about the prosperity and preservation of the church than his or his children's safety. And indeed there is no doubt that this outstanding philosopher had accurately written out an account of places, so that on his exit from the Ark he might know what part of the world he was in, and how far he was from his homeland. Indeed, he put together the history of the first church, which before the Flood flourished in wisdom and virtue, and he diligently recorded the sequence of the seasons. With these scholarly works, doubtlessly, this excellent old man lessened the damage done by the Flood."

29 Perhaps Mather alludes to the fifth labor of Hercules in the stables of King Augeas (Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.5.5).

30 The following paragraphs – excerpted from Letter VI, dated Sept. 14th, 1700, "A Letter of the Reverend Mr. *Abr. De la Pryme* to the Publisher," by the Yorkshire antiquary and minister at Hull, Abraham de la Pryme (1671–1704) – appear in *Philosophical Transactions* 22, no. 266 (Sept. / Oct. 1700): 683–85.

31 De la Pryme alludes to the dispute arising from Thomas Burnet's *Sacred Theory* (1684) and involved such combatants as Erasmus Warren (*Geologia* [1690] and *A Defense* [1691]), John Ray (*Miscellaneous Discourses* [1692] and *Three Physico-Theological Discourses* [1693]), John Beaumont (*Considerations On a Book* [1693]), John Woodward (*An Essay towards a Natural*

“My notion of the *Ante-diluvian World*, is, that it had an external *Sea*, as well as *Land*, and Mountains, Hills, Rivers, and Fruitful Fields and Plains; that it was about the Bigness that our Earth is at present of; and that when God had a Mind, for the Wickedness of the Inhabitants that dwelt thereon to destroy the same by Water, He broke the Foundations, and subterraneous Caverns and Pillars thereof, with most dreadful Earth-quakes, & caused the same to be, for the most Part, if not wholly, absorb’d and swallow’d up, and covered by the Sea’s that we now have, and that this Earth of ours rose then, out of the Bottom of the *Antediluvian Sea* in its room; just as many Islands are swallowed up, and others thrust up in their Stead.

“Neither is this at all contrary to the Scriptures, but the most concordant unto it, of all others. *Moses* saies, That the same Day, that *Noah* and his Family, and all the Creatures that should be saved, entred the Ark, then the Rains began to fall, and presently after, the Fountains of the Great Abyss were broken up. That is, It Rained very Hard; and the Foundations of the Earth being Dissolved, the Earth began to subside, sink down, and yield, and to press upon the great subterraneous Caverns of Water, which there upon all broke out, | and sprung up, and so overflowed, and by Degrees, drowned, this whole World. *And the Waters prevailed, continually*, saies *Moses*; That is, by reason of the Earths further sinking; for the more and deeper it sunk in, the higher did the Waters rise above it: So that at the Last, they covered the Tops of the Highest Mountains, that were in the *Ante-diluvian World*, fifteen Cubits, and upwards, and *every thing that moved on the face of the whole Earth, died*. And then, as this *Old Earth* sunk in, so our *New One*, was lifted up, to ballance the Sinking of the other; and as it ascended, the Waters rolled from off it continually, and in 150 Dayes, it became free of them, and the *Ark* rested itself upon, or rather against, the Hills, which were afterwards called, *Ararat*. [208v]

“Thus, in most Probability, was the Old World, drowned and destroyed, and thus had we that whereon we now dwell, in its Place, and that which *Plato* tells some 6 or 700 Years before Christs time, That in old Times, there was an huge Island, much bigger than *Asia* and *Africa* putt together, abounding with all the Delights of Nature, swallowed up in the *Atlantic* Ocean by dreadful Storms, and an huge Earthquake and Flood, I quæstion not at all, but that this was the *Antediluvian World*, that they meant, a very great Part of which was absorb’d and drown’d there, which account thereof they might have both by Books, and

History [1695]), William Whiston (*New Theory* [1696]), John Harris (*Remarks on some late Papers* [1697]), John Keill (*An Examination* [1698]), and a whole host of others. See also Karl A. von Zittel’s *Geschichte der Geologie*, 1.–4. Periode, and chs. 3, 7; K. B. Collier’s *Cosmogonies*, chs. 7–8; and M. H. Nicolson’s *Mountain Gloom*, chs. 5–6; and R. Rappaport’s *When Geologists*, chs. 4–5.

Traditions from their Fore-fathers, seeing that one of them that was in the very Ark, was the first that peopled *Egypt*.”³²

*Non placet.*³³

³² De la Pryme refers to the well-known tradition of Atlantis, in Plato's *Critias* (108e, 113c–121c) and *Timaeus* (24e–25d). The first of the Ark to people Egypt is Noah's son Ham.

³³ It does not please.

590.

Q. How much *Water*, do you Imagine, the *Ark* drew? v. 4.

A. Your Quæstion is a little curious. But some thus answer it.³⁴

The *Ark* drew Water *Eleven Cubits*; and that shall appear by this Collection. On the first Day of the Month *Ab*, the Mountain Tops, were first seen; and then the Waters had fallen *Fifteen Cubits*; which they had been Threescore Dayes adoring; namely from the first Day of *Sivan*; and so they had abated the Proportion of One Cubit, in four Dayes. By this Account, wee find, that on the Sixteenth Day of *Sivan*, they had abated but *Four Cubits*; and yett on the Next Day, the *Ark* resteth on an Hill, when the Waters yett lay *Eleven Cubits* above it. This is Dr. *Lightfoots* Computation.³⁵

3015.

Q. Some Observations, if you please, upon the *Dove*, that *Noah* sent out of his *Ark*? v. 8.

A. There are some, who think, that the *Threefold Emission* of the *Dove* out of the *Ark*, was Figurative of the *Threefold Banishment* from the Land of *Canaan*, at length inflicted on the *Israelites*; the first, when they served the *Egyptians*, the Second, when they served the *Babylonians*, the Third, when they serve (as they now do) the *Romans*; and as the *third Time*, the *Dove* returned no more, so of this *Third Stroke* there shall be no End, until the End of *this World*, and the *Second Coming* of our Lord.³⁶

Some compare the *Raven* to the *Law*, and the *Dove* to the *Gospel*: Tis only the *Gospel* that brings us Advice, that the Flood of Divine Wrath upon the World, is asswaged, and that God is Reconciled.³⁷

Others carry this Figure, to Points of Morality. The *Raven* is the worldly Man; (Such as *Demas*, 2. Tim. 4.10.) The *Dove* is the Christian that can find

³⁴ See Appendix A.

³⁵ Mather here excerpts John Lightfoot's annotations on Gen. 7, 8, 9, in *A Few, and New Observations* (1642) 9. The "Sixteenth Day of *Sivan*" correlates to June 23 in the Gregorian calendar.

³⁶ For this and the subsequent paragraphs on Gen. 8:8 (except for his interpolated quotation from August Hermann Francke), Mather draws on Samuel Bochart's *Hierozaicon* (pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 6, col. 33–34).

³⁷ Though originally from Bochart, this comparison also appears in Henry Ainsworth's *Annotations upon the Five Bookes of Moses* (1627) 37.

Rest no where but in the Church of God; whom the Lord accordingly receives, as *Noah* did the *Restless Bird*; (according to Psal. 73.2, 17, 26, 28.)³⁸

My dear Doctor *Franckius* obliges me, with a Flight upon the Wings of this *Dove* unto our Saviour. *Columba hæc quum non invenisset Quietem volæpedis sui* (*Infanti enim CHRISTO, ne in Diverserio quidem nec viro, quo reclinaret caput, erat locus*) *donec in cruce meretur, redire debebat ad eum à quo æmissa erat; intromittenda quippe in Arcam quam reliquerat.*³⁹

But, What if we should say? The *Dove* was a Figure of the *Holy Spirit*, which descended (you know) as a *Dove*, upon our Lord, at his Baptism. That *Spirit* brings with it, Fruits like those of an *Olive-branch*. (See Gal. 5.22.) And it resteth on the *Church* only; which is the Antitype of the *Ark*. And as the *Dove* returned unto *Noah*, on the *Seventh Day*, so does the *Spirit* mostly visit us, on our *Sabbath*. (Consider Joh. 20.19, 22. and, Act. 2.1. and Rev. 1.10.)⁴⁰

2033:

Q. Well, but the *Raven*? v. 8.

A. I have hitherto taken a Liberty to speak of the *Raven*, as not Returning to *Noah* in the *Ark* after its going forth. And indeed, I found in a Manner all the World, of this Opinion. The Greek is full for it; And so are every one of the Ancients, but only *Procopius*. *Austin* and *Cyril* proceed so far, as to say, That the *Raven* perished in the *Waters*. However, you must then suppose he left his Mate, hatching, or at least with *Egg*; And indeed, the Hebrewes have a Fable, That this was the Reason why *Noah* chose to send him out.⁴¹

But after all, I will now be no longer confident in that Opinion. For consulting the Original, I find it may very well be rendred, *It went forth, Going out*

³⁸ "Demas," probably a contraction of "Demarchus," was evidently a fellow prisoner with St. Paul in Rome (Philem. 24; Col. 4:14), but seems to have abandoned the apostle for the love the world (2 Tim. 4:10). (*SBD*). See Appendix A.

³⁹ Mather's Pietist correspondent August Hermann Francke (1663–1727) of Halle, Germany, relates that "This dove, since it could not find rest for its 'wing' (for there was no room for the infant CHRIST to rest his head, nor conversely when he was a man, until he earned it on the cross), had to return to the one by whom it had been sent out; it naturally had to be allowed in the Ark which it had left."

⁴⁰ Bochart, *Hieroicoicon* (pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 6, col. 33–36).

⁴¹ This and the following two paragraphs are extracted from Bochart's *Hieroicoicon* (pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 12, col. 209–14). According to R. Eliezer's *Pirke* (ch. 23, p. 168), the raven "found a carcass of a man cast upon the summit, and it settled thereon for its food, and it did not return." Bochart's sources (col. 210) are Procopius Gazaetus, *Commentarii in Octateuchum* [PG 87. Pt. 1.284–85]; St. Augustine, *Quæstiones in Heptateuchum* 1.13 [PL 34. 551], *In Ioannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV* (tract. 5.1.2, 5, 19) [PL 35. 1425, 1427, 1434], (*On the Gospel of John* 7:40, 41, 46); and Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Glaphyra in Pentateuchum*, lib. 2 [PG 69. 57, 69, 72, 73]. The sinister appearance of the dark-plumed raven seems to have fascinated the ancients a great deal. The Hebrew commentary *Sifthei Chachamim* suggests that Noah chose the raven because the unclean bird had not practiced sexual abstinence with its mate while in the Ark (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:113).

and Returning. There is nothing to Hinder, but much to Invite, our Thoughts, That the *Raven* often Returned unto the *Ark*; and, why may we not think, That *Noah* as often took him in?⁴²

I Judge it not worth the while, to entertain you with the Jewish Fagment, in *Agudda*, That the Reason why the *Raven* kept about the *Ark*, was *Quia de conjuge sua sollicitus erat; ne scilicet se absente ab alio iniretur*. Upon which the Filthy Writers add, I know not what other Impertinencies. Nor to Relate out of *Beresith Rabba*, How the *Raven* pleaded with *Noah*, why he rather than any other Creature should thus have his Life exposed? And *Noah* answered, That the World might well enough spare the *Raven* out of it. But the Almighty interposed, That He should one day have Occasion for the *Raven*, to feed His Prophet *Elias*.⁴³

[210v]

Q. A Discovery made, of the *Dove*, employ'd by our Father *Noah*? v. 8.

A. We are annually visited in our Countrey of *New England*, at the Beginning of Winter, with a *Water-Dove*, that stays for a little while on our Shore near the Sea, and then goes off again to the Sea, without Returning any more, till the Return of the Year. Tis one of the loveliest Birds that fly; and a *Dove* in every thing, except what qualifies it for the Element it is designed for. The *Cock* and *Hen* are paired, as our *Doves* use to be. They are of a deep Azure-Colour; spotted and streaked with White. The *Cock* has a fine Topple Crown, & feathers of a Deep Yellow under his Wings. The *Hen* is blue, & full of white Spotts all over her Body. Their Noise is a little superiour to that of our *Doves* on the Land. Their Cooings differ a little from these; about as much as the Voice of a Wild Goose from that of a Tame One. Their soft, yett sprightly Murmurs, are more like the gentle Cadence of Waters, than the melancholy Notes of our common Turtle. They differ from the *Doves* of the Land, in this; that their Bill is a little flatted: and they have the Membranes between their Toes, wherewith Water-fowl use to

⁴² This solution is also suggested by several other rabbinic commentators (*Mikraoth Gedoloth*: *Genesis* 1:112–13).

⁴³ Bochart, *Hierozaicon* (pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 12–13, col. 213–15). According to the Talmudic tractate Sanhedrin (108b), the raven complained that God and Noah hated him because – even though only one pair of ravens was allowed to enter the Ark – it was the raven that was sent on its dangerous mission. Rashi and others explain that the raven was loath to leave the Ark, because the bird of ill omen suspected Noah to have amorous designs on the raven's mate (!). *Be'er Basadeh* has it that Noah countered, "Of what use are you to the world? You can be used neither for food nor for sacrifice." Likewise, the *Levush* speculated that the raven was afraid Noah would crossbreed its mate with another species; Rashi and the Midrash Aggadah (Midrash Rabbah, Gen. XXXIII:5) explain that the raven could not be dispensed with because the fowl was appointed to supply the prophet Elijah with food in his own time (1 Kings 17:6), in *Mikraoth Gedoloth* (*Genesis* 1:111–13). Bochart's comment is informed by rabbinic tradition: "Because he [the raven] was worried about its wife, namely that, in his absence, someone else might have congress with her." Bochart's "*Agudda*" (209) refers to the Midrash Aggadah; and "*Beresith Rabba*" refers to the Midrash (Genesis) Rabbah (Gen. XXXIII:5).

- [211r] be accommo-|-dated. When they swim about our shores, they often come upon the Land and they are very frequently seen to have in their Bills, a Small-Branch of our long-lived Cedar, which is green with us all the Winter, & growes on our Beaches as well as on our Mountains. They are as delicate a Dish, as we can be Regaled withal; Sweet and Fatt; esteem'd a Royalty among our Natives. Our Indians call them *Coecoe-on-Sogelande*; which is as much as to say, *The Messenger at the Great Rain*. This is a little surprizing. And my Friend from whom I have this Communication, together with the agreeable Sight of the Bird, concludes with this Remark, *That be sure, they are one sort of Dove, that found a Shelter, in the Ark; and it is Rational to suppose, that so wise a Pilot as Admiral Noah might send forth a Fowl, that could Swim as well as Flie, on the great Occasion we have been apprised of.*

Upon the whole, I confess myself proselyted unto the Opinion, That *This was the Dove*. *This*, that I have now in my Study before me.⁴⁴

- [212v] |
3391.

Q. Upon that Expression, *Go forth out of the Ark, Thou and thy Wife*, What is there observable? v. 16.

A. Dr. *Patrick* saies, He does not think the Observation of some of the Jewes absurd; who by comparing this Verse, with ch. VII.13. make this Collection; That while they were in the *Ark*, the Men did not cohabit with their Wives; it being a Time of great Affliction: but they kept asunder, it seems, in separate Apartments. Thus R. *Elieser*, in his *Pirke*; where tis thus gathered by R. *Levita*. When they went into the *Ark*, it is said, *Noah and his Sons entred*; and then, *Noahs Wife, & his Sons Wives*. Behold, saies he, here the Men are putt together, & the Women together. But when they come out of the *Ark*, it is here said, *Go forth, Thou & thy Wife, and thy Sons, & thy Sons Wives*. Lo, here they are coupled, as before they were separated. Compare v. 18.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ John Winthrop (1681–1747) of Connecticut, son of Wait-Still Winthrop, supplied Mather with a specimen of this unidentified water-dove, which became the material basis for Mather's "Curiosa Americana" (1720, 1723), his scientific communication to the Royal Society of London (Holmes, *Bibliography* 1:202, item 35; 1:204, item 5). An earlier specimen that the younger Winthrop had promised his friend in Boston evidently fell prey to Winthrop's cat (K. Silverman, *Life* 246–47). Nearly one hundred years ago, George L. Kittredge tried to track down Mather's disquisition on "The Water Dove" in the "Biblia Americana," but could not locate it ("Scientific Communications" 46). Mather's scientific description of the American passenger pigeon (*Extopistes migratorius*) – now extinct – appears in his *Christian Philosopher* ("Essay 30," pp. 204–08). An earlier draft version of this essay intended for the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* is included in Mather's collection of "Curiosa Americana" (1713–1717), in the MF Edition of the Cotton Mather Papers (Reel 5, item 1 # 5).

⁴⁵ Mather's source is Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 8:16, in *Commentary* (1:40). Patrick's own source is Rabbi Levitas of Jamnia, who is cited in Guilielmus Henricus Vorstius's

131.

Q. I find, *Fowls*, *Beasts*, and *Reptiles*, of all Sorts coming forth at last out of the *Ark*; but before I lett them go, I must bee satisfied, first, How they were all *Stow'd*, and then, how they were all *Fed*, in that wonderful Vessel? v. 17.

A. You must Remember, That the *Ark* was Three-Hundred Cubits Long, Fifty Cubits Broad, & Thirty Cubits High; (the Proportion found in the *Exact Body* of a MAN!) and so it contained 450000 *Square Cubits* within the Walls of it, if wee don't abate what was taken away in the *Sloping* of the Roof. Suppose the *Cubits* to bee the *Holy*, which were *Seven* Hands Breadth, whereas the *Vulgar* was but *Six*; and you behold here a Vessel, which might carry more than *Forty two Thousand Tuns*, allowing *Two Thousand Weight* unto the Tun. You must also Remember, That the *Ark*, had *Three Stories* in it; each of them *Fifteen Foot* High a Piece; abating the *Sloping* of one foot & an half at the Top; and it may bee some Room for *Ballast* under the Floor at the Bottom. Well; Now Allow, the *Lowest Story* of the *Ark*, for *Beasts*; as for *Insects* and *Reptiles*, they needed no considerable Habitations; there were a thousand Corners for them. Again, Allow the *Highest Story* of the *Ark*, for *Birds*; and why might not *Noah* also, with his Family, bee Nested among them there? Lastly, Allow the *Middle Story* of the *Ark*, for the *Food*, needful to mentain these Creatures. Now, they that are well-studied in *Natural History*, will easily find *Stables* enough in the Lower Story, for all the *Beasts*; and *Cages* enough in the Higher Story, for all the *Birds*, yett known unto us; and a deal of Room to spare. But now for the *Food* for all these Creatures! For *That* wee allow'd the *Middle Story*, besides abundance of *Spare Room* wee may likewise have in the other Stories for the Purpose. For the *Birds*, none will bee scrupulous, where to supply *Them* with *Granaries*; the same Floor that held their *Coops*, would also hold more than enough to feed them all. But for the *Beasts*, the Way is to bring them unto a certain *Proportion*. I say then, All the *Beasts* in the *Ark*, that fed on *Grass* or *Hay*, would not require a greater Proportion than Ninety Two *Oxen*; All the *Beasts*, that fed on *Roots* or *Fruits*, would not require a greater Proportion than Twenty One *Sheep*; All the *Beasts*, which devour *Flesh*, exceeded not the Proportion of Twenty Seven *Wolves*; tho' it bee quæstion'd indeed, whether any Bruits before the *Flood*, or at least within the *Ark*, were at all carnivorous. Now you may lay in, at the rate of Forty Weight of Provender a day, for every *Ox* and a whole Sheep a day for every *Wolf*; besides a sufficient Quantity of Provision for all that fed on other Things; And, yett by Computation, you'l find the *Ark* affords Room enough & enough to hold far more, than thus would serve the Turn for the Three Hundred & Seventy five Dayes that they were under their Confinement.

translation of פירקין רבי אליעזר [Pirke Rabbi Elieser] *Capitula R. Elieser* (1644), cap. 23, p. 52; and in Friedlander's translation *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (ch. 23, p. 169).

This is according to *Buteo's* Computation.⁴⁶

I'll Resume it anon, and Speak to it more particularly.

I will only by the way take notice, That the *Dissertations Sur La Bible*, published lately at *Paris*, give us a particular Description of the *Ark*, and answer all Objections relating to its Dimensions. The Author alledges the *Ark*, (a Deduction being made for the Plank) to have been 1781377 Cubical Feet of Contents. If we compare this mighty Structure, with our Vessels, & measure it by the Tun, each Tun according to the Marine Settlement being 42 Cubical Feet, the *Ark* must have been 42413 Tun Burden; So that it was greater alone, than 40 Ships, of 1000 Tun each, and allowing 20 Hundred Weight for each Tun, it might have carried 84826 Pound Weight *French*. In that Space, he places all the Animals and their Provisions, in very good Method & Order.⁴⁷

But as I said, we will anon speak to it, a little more particularly.

[213r]

Q. We have lately conversed with an Exercitation of the learned *Heidegger*, about the *ARK*. It is not amiss for us, now to fall into some Conversation with him, about the *FLOOD*? v. 19.⁴⁸

A. It shall be endeavoured.

The Præservaⁿtion of the World, is owing, to a *Peculiar People*, which God will præserve in it, until He ha's præpar'd them for Heavenly and Eternal Glory. But when that People for whom the World stands, is become Degenerate, the very *Foundations are destroy'd*. And *what shall the Just One do*, on this deplorable Occasion? He can take Delight in the World no longer; no longer cherish a *Root*

⁴⁶ The entire paragraph on the *Ark's* measurements, capacity, and layout are extracted from Joannes Buteo's "*De arca Noë*," in *Opera Geometrica* (1554) 17–18. The subsections on the size of the Mosaic cubit and the *Ark's* capacity appear on pp. 11–12 and 17–18, respectively. Much of the same debate appears in Mather's previous annotations on Gen. 5:22 (above). The idea that the size of Noah's *Ark* is in the same proportion ("length, breadth, and height") as Christ's human body appears in St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* (15.26), in *NPNFi* (2:306), and in St. Ambrose' *De Noë et arca liber uno* (cap. 6) [PL 14. 368B–369A]. The great polymath Athanasius Kircher, leaning on Buteo, offers much the same in his *De Arca Noë* (lib. 1, cap. 9, pp. 33–35), and so does John Edwards in his *Demonstration of the Existence and Providence of God* (1696), pt. II, ch. 6, pp. 122–23. See also D. C. Allen's *Legend* (78–79).

⁴⁷ Mather supplements his extract from Buteo with a passage from *Dissertationes Historiques, Chronologiques, Geographiques et Critiques sur la Bible*, 2 vols. (1711), Diss. 2, ch. 2 (1:180–81), by Louis Ellies Du Pin (1657–1719), professor of church history and moral philosophy at the Sorbonne.

⁴⁸ Mather refers to his lengthy excerpt from Heidegger's *Historia Sacra Patriarcharum* (1:320–40, Exerc. XVII: "*De Arca Noë*") in Mather's annotations on Gen. ch. 6. His excerpts (below) are from "Exercitatio XVIII: *De Diluvio Noetico*" (Heidegger 1:340–79). In his "Note Book of Authors," Mather identifies as his sources William Perkins's *Works* (1631) 2:456, "A Treatise of the Imagination" (on Gen. 8:21); and Anthony Burgess's *The Doctrine of Original Sin* (part 3, ch. 9, p. 402), on Gen. 8:21, but ultimately dropped these references during a later revision process.

that bears nothing but *Gall* and *Wormwood*. The *Sethites* were now become like the *Cainites*; all overwhelm'd in an universal *Flood* of Corruption. And awful is the Observation of *Heidegger*; *Nunquam atrocius Dei in Mortales ira grassatur, quàm ubi Infidelium Mundus, et Ecclesia, sese simili impietate involvit.*⁴⁹

There were an *Hundred and Twenty* Years of Patience, yett allow'd unto a wicked World, after the Lord had intimated His Purpose, to destroy them for their Wickedness, if they Repented not. No Repentance then appearing, the Lord ordered *Noah*, to make ready an *Ark* as fast as he could; for a *FLOOD* should come and carry all before it. And whereas we read, *It Repented the Lord, that He had made Man upon the Earth*: concerning the Divine Condescension in such an Expression, the Words of *Austin* deserve to be considered: [*De Civitate Dei*, L.15. c. 25.] *Neque enim sicut Hominem, ità et Deum cujusquam facti sui pœnitet, cujus est de omnibus omninò rebus tam fixa sententia, quàm certa præscientia. Sed si non utatur Scriptura talibus Verbis, non se quodammodò familiaris insinuabit omni generi Hominum, quibus vult esse consultum, ut et perterreat Superbientes, et excitet Negligentes, et exerceat quærentes, et alat Intelligentes. Quod non faceret, si non se prius inclinaret, et quodammodò descenderet ad jacentes.*⁵⁰

As the *Year* then began at *Autumn*, so did the *Flood*; and on the *Seventeenth Day* of the *Second Month*.⁵¹

Then, Gen. 7.11. *The same Day were all the Fountains of the Great Deep broken up, and the Windowes of Heaven were opened.* The vast Quantities of *Water*, in the *Bowels* of the *Earth*, were brought up, and spread out, upon the *Face* of the *Earth*. The Root of the Name /תְהוֹם/ for, *The Deep*; is to be found in the *Arabic* Word, /تِهَام/ which signifies, *To be astonished*: It intends, a Space of such Dimensions, as would render the Spectators *astonished*. The Quantities of *Subterraneous Waters* lodged in this *Abyss*, are utterly unknown to us. By the *Windowes of Heaven*, we will not understand, those *Planets*, and *Constellations*, which the *Astrologers* call, *The Watry Ones*. *Mechlinius* indeed, in his Com-

⁴⁹ Heidegger (1:343, Exerc. XVIII, § 2). His observation warns, "Never does the wrath of God march more cruelly on mortals, than when the world of the unfaithful and the church wrap themselves in similar wickedness."

⁵⁰ Heidegger (1:348–49, Exerc. XVIII, § 7). Mather's second-hand Latin quotation from St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* (15.25) [PL 41. 472] signifies, "for He [God] does not, like man, repent of anything He has done, because in all matters His decision is as inflexible as His prescience is certain. But if Scripture were not to use such expressions as the above, it would not familiarly insinuate itself into the minds of all classes of men, whom it seeks access to for their good, that it may alarm the proud, arouse the careless, exercise the inquisitive, and satisfy the intelligent; and this it could not do, did it not first stoop, and in a manner descend, to them where they lie" (*NPNFi* 2:306).

⁵¹ Heidegger (1:350, Exerc. XVIII, § 9). Joseph Scaliger, in his *De emendatio temporum* (lib. 4, p. 371), rejects the commonly assigned year 1656/57 Anno Mundi for the occurrence of Noah's Flood, but Mather accepts (via Heidegger 1:350) the dates advanced in Archbishop James Ussher's *Annals of the World* (1658). According to Ussher's calculations, the Flood began on Sunday, December 7, Anno Mundi 1656, or 2365 (Julian Calendar), or 2349 BCE (*Annals* 3).

mentaries on *Albumasar*, pretends to find by his Astronomical Computations, That the *Flood* was preceded and prædicted, by a Conjunction of *Jupiter* and *Saturn*, in *Cancer*, over against the *Argolic Ship*, which, you must suppose, had *Noahs Ark* in the Signification of it. This Notion, defended by *Tiberius Calaber*, underwent a *Fiery Confutation* from *Hieronymus Armellinus*, a Dominican, as carrying *Heresy* in it. And indeed, it carries *Absurdity* enough. *Maresius* ha's well chastised, the *Absurdity* of those who would in our *Dayes* revive such Idle Opinions; particularly, *P. Serrarius*, who pretends a mighty *Flood* once foretold from a Conjunction of the *Planets* in *Pisces*. About the Descent of any *Supra-Cæstrial Waters*, on this Occasion, we shall find a Difficulty to conceive any thing. The *Windowes of Heaven*, are a very apt Metaphor for the *Clouds*. The *Opening* and *Shutting of Heaven*, are Expressions, by which the *Coming* or the *Failing of Rain* from the *Clouds*, is described. A great *Plenty* afforded from *Heaven*, is called, *An Opening of the Windowes of Heaven*. [2. King. 7.2. Mal. 3.18. Isa. 24.18.]⁵²

It is admirable to Read *Seneca* discoursing upon a *Flood*, which he supposed still to come; [Nat. Quæst. L.3. c. 30.] And saying, That, *à primo Die mundi, quando mergerentur Terrena Decretum est*. He considers the *Watery Condition* of the World; and he adds; *ubi non Humorem Natura disposuit, ut undique nos, cum voluisset, aggredi posset?* After our continual Encounter with *Waters* upon Digging, he proceeds, *Adjice nunc, quòd immanes sunt in abdito lacus, et multum* [214v] *Maris conditi, multum Fluminum per | operta labentium. Undique ergò erunt causæ Diluvio, cum aliæ aquæ subinfluant terras, alia circumfluant, quæ diù coercitæ Vincent, et omnes omnibus jungent, paludibus stagna. Omnia tunc ora Fontium*

52 Heidegger (1:350–52, Exerc. XVIII, §§ 10, 11, 12). The Hebrew word תְּהוֹמִים (tehowm) or תְּהוֹם (tehom) is commonly rendered “the deep” (Gen. 8:2) [Strong’s # 8415]. Mather here refers to Henry Mechlín, whom Heidegger identifies as a disciple of Albertus Magnus, editor of, and commentator on, astrological manuscripts by Albumasar (Abu Ma’shar), one of the greatest astrologers of Islam (d. 886). A Latin translation of Albumasar’s astrological studies appeared as *Introductorium in astronomiam Albumasaris Abalachi* (1489). The identity of Tiberius Calaber has so far escaped my notice, but Hieronymus Armellinus (Geronimo Armellini) was an Italian theologian, astronomer, and Dominican inquisitor of Mantua (d. 1530), in *DNSP* (42). Samuel Maresius (1599–1673), aka. Samuel des Marets, was a French Reformed theologian, professor at Sedan and Groningen, and prolific author. His popular textbook *Collegium theologicum* (1645) went through many editions; the 1673 edition identifies more than 100 of his publications. In a public disputation at the University of Groningen, Maresius attacked the millenarian speculations of his colleague Petrus Serrarius, aka. Pierre Serrurier (1600–69), a Dutch mystic and millenarian, whose *Brevis dissertatio de fatali et admiranda* (1663) and subsequent defense *Apologetica responsio ad Clarissimum Virum D. Samuelem Maresium super omnium planetarum in Sagittario* (1663) had elicited a lively disputation at Groningen, because Serrarius claimed that Noah’s Flood had come about through the alignment of planets in Sagittarius. Serrarius subsequently collected his views in *Vox Clamantis in Babylone* (1663) where he defended his earlier argument against Maresius’s refutation. An English translation of this work appeared as *An Awakening Warning to the Wofull World* (1663). The controversy is briefly covered in B. Glasius’ *Godgeleerd Nederland* (1856), pp. 344–45. On Serrarius, see E. G. E. van der Wall, “Petrus Serrarius” (1987). On astronomy in colonial New England, see S. E. Morison’s “Harvard School of Astronomy” and R. Lockwood’s “Scientific Revolution.”

implebit, et majore hiatu solvet. Quemadmodum corpora nostra ad egestum venter exhaurit; quemadmodum eunt in Sudorem Vires: ità Tellus liquefiet, et alijs causis quiescentibus, intrà se quo mergatur, inveniet; sic magna omnia coitura crediderim. Nec erit longa mora exitij. — Statim undique ex aperto, ex abdito, supernè, ab infimo aquarum fiet irruptio. Nihil est tam violentum, et incontinens suū, tam contumax infestumque retinentibus, quàm magna Vis undæ; utetur libertate permissa, et jubente Natura, quæ scindit, circuitque complebit. Ut ignis diversis locis ortus, citò miscet Incendium, flammis coire properantibus: Sic momento redundantia maria se committent. Nec ea semper licentia undis erit; sed peracto exitio generis Humani, extinctisque pariter Feris, in quarum homines ingenia transierant, iterum Aquas Terra sorbebit: Natura pelagus stare, aut intrà terminos suos furere coget; et rejectus è nostris sedibus, in sua secreta pelletur Oceanus; et antiquus ordo revocabitur. One can scarce read these Words of Seneca, without Astonishment. Heidegger saies of them; Oratio ità concepta est, ut de industriâ explicare voluisse Mosen videri posset. Philo was better acquainted with the History of a Matter, which was to Seneca still a Prophecy. Having declared, in his Discourse, De Abrahamo; How the Inundation of Wickedness in the World, called for an Inundation of Water, which overwhelmed the Creatures on the highest Mountains; He mentions, the Rising of the Ocean, and its breaking in upon the Earth; and a vast afflux of Rivers and Fountains in the Earth; as producing this horrible Flood; which Things were accompanied with fearful Showres, and Lightnings and Thunders from above; ὡς νομίσαι τὰ μέρη τοῦ παντός εἰς μιὰν φύσιν ὕδατος ἀναστοιχειούμενα σπευδεῖν. Ut videretur totus mundus abire in naturum Aquarum.⁵³

53 Heidegger (1:352–53, Exerc. XVIII, § 12). The long second-hand citation from Seneca's *Naturales quaestiones* (3.30.1, 3–7), which Mather puts to similar use several times over (see above and below), appeals to Mather because the ancient pagan author seems to confirm the verity of the Bible: And saying that “from the very first day of the universe, [nature] decreed when earthly things would be submerged.” Seneca adds, “Nature has put water everywhere so that she can attack us from all sides when she chooses.” He proceeds, “Add the fact that there are immense lakes hidden underground, a vast quantity of hidden sea there, and many rivers flowing through concealed channels. On all sides, then, there will exist causes for the deluge, since some waters flow beneath the lands, others flow around them. For a long time they have been restrained: but they will conquer, joining streams to streams, swamps to marshes. Then the sea will fill up the mouths of all the springs and expand them in wider openings. Just as the belly drains our bodies in voiding wastes, just as our strength goes off in sweat, so the earth will liquefy and, even though other causes are inoperative, the earth will find within itself the cause by which it is to be submerged. Still, I am more inclined to believe, all things will combine in the catastrophe. There will be no long delay in the destruction. — Immediately from all sides, from the open and the hidden, from above, from below, there will be an irruption of the waters. There is nothing so violent as the full force of water, nothing so uncontrollable, so unyielding, so destructive against any restraints. It will utilize any freedom permitted to it and, as its nature dictates, it will fill up whatever it has divided and surrounded. Just as fire starting in different separate areas will quickly unite its blaze with flames that hurry to meet each other, so in a moment the seas, overflowing at numerous places, will come together. But the water will not have this freedom for ever. When the destruction of the human race is completed and the wild animals, into whose savagery men will have passed, are equally extinct, again the earth

The Fiercer Fury of the *Flood*, in this horrid hurly-burly of Nature, kept growing for *Forty Dayes* together. It held on, tho' with a Lesser Fury, till an *hundred and fifty Dayes*, (which whether *Torniellus* and *Salianus* will, or no, must have the *Forty Dayes* aforesaid, for a Part of them:) were expired.⁵⁴

The *Water* gott up Fifteen Cubits, above the *Highest Mountains*. But whence could there be fetch'd such a Store of *Water*? Suppose the *Flood* might reach Five Miles in *Height*. *À Lapide* tells us, The Mathematicians at *Rome*, did by their Computations demonstrate this, to answer but unto the Two hundred & Eighth Part of the Terrestrial Globe. And *Water* is *Ten Times* as fine and rare as *Earth*; who can tell, (thinks our *Heidegger*) but God might rarify a considerable Part of the *Earth* into *Water*? And, *Partem bis millesimam trecentessimam octogesimam Terræ in vapores resolutæ, ad implendum spacium hoc quinque milliarium abunde fuisse*. The Two Thousand three hundred & Eightieth Part of the *Earth*, turn'd into *Water*, would answer the Intention.⁵⁵

All the *People*, as well as the other *Animals*, (except what were in the *Ark*), perished in this horrendous Desolation. The Hebrew Doctors, [in *Codice Sanhedrin*, c. 2.] tell us, They were all *Damn'd* as well as *Drown'd*; and, *Vita æternæ exortes*. And *Pererius* ha's a large Disputation, to maintain, *Omnes illos qui Diluvio perierunt, Inferno damnatos esse*. But our *Heidegger* uses more Moderation. He thinks, That after the *Flood* was begun, many might be brought unto a Serious and a Saving Repentance; And, *Nulla penitentia sera, quæ seria*. Yea, the Lord might bring on the *Flood* with more Liesure, which He might have brought on at once, to give an Opportunity for the Repentance of Some, whom He would then receive unto Mercy. And so, [1. Pet. 4.6.] Tho' they were *Judged in the Flesh*, yett their *Spirits live unto God*, and shall arrive to *Everlasting Life*. It

will absorb the waters. Nature will force the sea to stay in its place or to rage within its own boundaries, and the ocean will be ejected from our abode and driven back to its own secret dwelling place, and the ancient order of things will be re-established." Heidegger (1:352) glosses on Seneca's doomsday scenario that "the speech is written in such a way that one could see Moses as wishing to explain industriousness." Finally, Philo Judæus (*De Abrahamo* 8.43.4–5) is given the last word on this catastrophe: "so that one might have thought that all the parts of the universe were hastening to dissolve themselves into the one element of the nature of water" (*Works* 414). As usual, Mather omits the Greek diacritics, even though they do appear in Heidegger (1:353).

54 Heidegger (1:354, Exerc. XVIII, § 14 and previously in 1:214, Exerc. XII, § 11). Mather (via Heidegger) refers to *Annales sacri et profani* (1611), by the Italian Jesuit Augustine Torniellus (1543–1622), and to *Annales ecclesiastici Veteris Testamenti* (1620), sec. 3, by Jacobus Salianus, aka. Jacques Salian (1557–1640), French Jesuit and professor of theology at the Institute of Ignatius in Avignon.

55 Heidegger (1:355, Exerc. XVIII, § 16). Cornelius à Lapide, aka. Cornelis van den Steen (1567–1637), Flemish Jesuit, professor of Hebrew at Louvain and at Rome, discusses the Noachide Flood waters, in his *In Pentateuchum Mosis commentaria* (1637) 106–08 (on Gen. 7:11–24). Heidegger's wishful thinking (1:355) is only partially translated by Mather: "That the two-thousand-three-hundred-and-eightieth part of the earth, after the earth had been turned into vapor, was more than enough to fill this space of five miles."

was an Extreme on the other Hand, in *Jerom*, to think, That their *Souls* were *all Saved*, & that their *Temporal Punishment* made full Satisfaction for their Sins.⁵⁶

But why must the Brute and Mute *Animals*, which never sinned, bear a Part in this Destruction? *Ambrose* in his Treatise, *De Noe et Arcâ*, is prolix upon this Quæstion. He saies; *Man* had the *Dominion* over these Creatures, and the *Commander* falling in the Battel, the | Army might fairly look to perish with him. Yea, *Man* was their *Head*; and when the *Head* is cutt off, tis no Wonder if *Death* sieze upon all the Members. But there is more *Flourish* than *Reason*, in these Passages. *Ambrose* proceeds therefore to a *Third*, which ha's more of Prægnancy in it. *Quia Rationis expertia non propter se, sed propter Hominem, generata sunt Animalia: Hominis enim causa esse præcepta sunt, ut eorum subjectione humana præstaret conditio.* The Creatures were created for *Man*; and *Man* being destroy'd, they are justly destroy'd with him. The *Sin* of *Man* ha's brought the Creatures under *Vanity*; and *Man* is punished, when they are destroyed. [Consider, Gen. 8.21.] Besides, God had made no *Covenant* with the Creatures; and might without any wrong to them, exterminate them, for many wise Purposes, tho' they never *Sinned* against Him.⁵⁷ [215r]

The Insolent Attempts of *Peirerius*, and some others, to restrain the *Flood*, unto *Palæstine*, or to some few Countreyes thereabouts, are not worthy of any laborious Confutation. The Ruines and Reliques, every day found in the *Subterraneous World*, which could proceed from nothing but the *Flood*, abundantly confute the Impiety of those Men, and make it most evidently appear, that the *Flood* was *Universal*. Of the *Triflers*, who will now quæstion the *Universality* of the *Flood*, we must say, with the Apostle *Peter*, *They are willingly Ignorant*.⁵⁸

56 Heidegger (1:356, Exerc. XVIII, §§ 18, 19). The Mishnaic and Gemaraic commentators in the Talmudic tractate Sanhedrin 107b and 108a (not c. 2) assert the loss of eternal life of all those who perished in the Flood (Mishnah, tractate Sanhedrin IV.10:3a). Mather's second-hand citation from the Portuguese theologian Benedictus Pererius, aka. Benito Pereira (c. 1535–c. 1610), appears in *Commentariorum et disputatonum in Genesim* (1596–1602), tomus 2, lib. 9, Disput. 3. Pererius insists that “All those who perished in the Flood are damned in hell.” Heidegger's more hopeful position (1:356) that “None who seriously repent shall be [damned]” appears to be based on St. Jerome's *Questiones Hebraicum in Genesim* (on Gen. 6:3) [PL 23. 948]. Here, the great Latin Father emphasizes God's mercy rather than justice and gives those antediluvians another chance: God does “not preserve them for everlasting tortures, but ... pay[s] them here what they deserve” (*Hebrew Questions* 36).

57 Heidegger (1:357, Exerc. XVIII, § 20). St. Ambrose's *De Noë et Arca* (cap. 10, § 33) [PL 14. 375C] argues that “because the animals were created without reason not for themselves, but for Man: they were ordered to exist for man's sake, so that, by their subjection, the human covenant might be superior.”

58 Heidegger (1:357–58, Exerc. XVIII, § 21). Isaac La Peyrère's *Men before Adam* (1655) posits that the two Mosaic creation accounts (Gen. 1 and 2) suggest two separate creations of men – pre-Adamites (Gentiles) and Adam and Eve's children (Jews) – is controversial in yet another way: “*That the Flood of Noah was not upon the whole earth, but only upon the Land of the Jews. Not to destroy all men, but only the Jews*” (bk. 4, ch. 7, p. 239 [chapter heading]). La Peyrère had good precedent for limiting the Flood to a local event and enlisted Eusebius Pamphilus,

By this *Flood*, the *Earth* itself was considerably damnified in its *Fertility*. The Roll of the *Salt Water* over it, must needs bring the *Upper Lay* of the *Earth*, under unspeakable *Confusion*. Indeed *Chrysostom*, confines the *Destruction* only unto the *Animals* upon the *Earth*. But, In the Denunciation of the *Flood*, the Words run, *I will destroy them with the Earth*. Heidegger will not have the *Earth* to be *Destroy'd*; but yett it must be greatly *Impaired*. He will not have the Notion of *De Salas* the Spaniard, humoured; *Non eundem Orbem, quem Aquae cat{a}clysmi hauserunt, mortalibus esse redditum*.⁵⁹

When the *Wrath* of Heaven, was executed on the World, the *Ark* must have *Mercy remembered* unto it. – And then the Almighty,

Nubila disjecit, nimisque Aquilone remotis,

Et Caelo Terras ostendit, et aethera Terris.⁶⁰

By the powerful Influences of God, the *Waters* returned into their several *Receptacles*: and the Return began on the *Seventeenth Day* of the *Seventh Month*. Anon the *Ark* rested on the *Mountains of Ararat*; a Region, which is by *Josephus Ben Gorion*, understood for *Iberia*, and that Part of *Scythia*, which lies between *Armenia*, and the Passages of *Caucasus*, as far as *Tanaïs*, and the *Palus Mæotis*. *Temporarius* makes these Mountains, to be the same with the *Caucasæan*; from whence, he supposes the Sons of *Noah*, by slow Steps, to make their Descent, unto the Fields of *Babylon*. *Caucasus* according to *Ptolomy*, is between *Paropanisus* and *Imaus*; There it rises Highest; and as *Arrianus* tells us, It is *bald* there, as being alwayes covered with *Ice* and *Frost*. *Pliny* for this Cause, thinks it called, *Graucasus*, in the *Scythian* Language; *Quòd sit Nive candidior*. Heidegger falls in

Strabo, Scaliger, Servius, Solinus, and Salmasius as evidence (*Men before Adam*, bk. 4, ch. 9, pp. 248–58). Peter dismisses willful triflers in 2 Pet. 3:5.

⁵⁹ Heidegger (1:359–60, Exerc. XVIII, § 23). Heidegger's Greek citation from Joannes Chrysostom – which Mather omits – appears to be an erroneous attribution, for the claim that only the animals are destroyed by the Flood seems surprising in light of Chrysostom's argument to the contrary (*Homilies in Genesis* 22:17): When asked why the animals have to suffer death in Noah's Flood for sins committed by man, Chrysostom emphasizes the animals' complementary utility: "Everything was brought into existence for human beings, so once they [humans] were removed from the circle, what need would there be of the animals? Hence they also share the punishment so that you may learn the degree of God's anger" (81; see also *Homilies in Genesis* 24.9, 11; 25.20). Thus Chrysostom appears to agree with Ambrose' *De Noë et Arca* (cap. 10, § 33). Heidegger rejects the claims of the Spanish commentator Josephus Anthonius González de Salas, who argues in his *De duplici viventium terra dissertatio paradoxica* (1691 ed.) "that it was not the same world, which floods of water had drained, that was given back to the mortals." In his *Sacred Theory of the Earth* (1684), Thomas Burnet presented a similar argument. During Noah's Flood, Burnet postulated, the whole surface of the earth collapsed upon the waters stored in vast subterraneous caverns. During the subsequent dissolution of the earth, the heavy parts settled at the bottom and the lighter parts on top. Thus the postdiluvian earth was radically different from its predecessor.

⁶⁰ This and the subsequent paragraph are from Heidegger (1:360–62, Exerc. XVIII, §§ 24, 25). Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1.328–29) is here enlisted to validate Noah's Flood. The Almighty, "he rent the clouds asunder, and when these had been swept away by the North-wind he showed the land once more to the sky, and the heavens to the land."

with the common Opinion, which places, the *Mountains of Ararat*, in *Armenia*; as indeed the Text is actually read, in the *Vulgar*. Thus *Theodoret* saies Ἀραράτ την Ἀρμενιαν καλεῖ. And the *Armenian Mountains*, the Learned will have the Lott fall, on those that were distinguished, by the Name of *Gordean*; which Name is variously written in the Monuments of the Ancients. Yea, if we will depend upon R. *Benjamin*, we may design the Place, with yett more of Particularity; It was Four Miles from the Island of the Son of *Omar*; which you will find in the River *Tigris*, over against old *Ninive*, between *Mozales* and *Nisibis*.⁶¹

By the *First Day* of the *Tenth Month*, were the Tops of the Mountains, by the Decrease of the Waters, again become Visible. *Forty Dayes* after this, *Noah* sent forth a *Raven*, to learn something about the further Desiccation; for that *Bird*, would be likely to be drawn by the Scent of *Carcases*, unto some considerable Distance from the *Ark*, if the *Waters* had been considerably Dry'd from off the face of the Earth. The *Raven* was often *Sent out*, and as often *Return'd*; and at last probably remain'd with *Noah*, (as *Heidegger* thinks,) till the general Egress of all the Creatures. Indeed, the *Greek Version* expressly denies any *Return* of the *Raven*; and, as the *Syriac Version* followes it, so do all | the Fathers, but *Procopius*. [216v] The *Vulgar Latin* does the like; which gives *Paulus Burgensis*, the Trouble of many Enquiries. *Heidegger* sticks to the *Hebrew Text*; and ha's the most ancient Authorities to establish him. And that Clause in the Text confirms the Matter; *Going forth and Returning, until the Waters were dried up from off the Earth*. *Noah* having the Experiment of the *Ravens* often *Returning*, did often venture him out, in Expectation, that if he *Returned* no more, he might conclude, the *Waters* were then retired.⁶²

61 *Sefer Josippon*, which the anonymous author (10th c.) attributed to (Pseudo-) Joseph ben Gorion, a general in the war against the Romans (1st c. CE), has also been attributed to Joseph ben Gorion ha-Kohen (Josephus Flavius). This Hebrew narrative covers the period of the Second Temple to the Roman conquest of Masada and is largely extracted from Josephus Flavius's *Antiquities* and *Jewish Wars* (EJ). Josephus ben Gorion locates Mt. Ararat in the traditional region of Armenia (*Josippon* [1541], lib. 6, cap. 96); much the same appears in an English translation, published as *The Wonderful and Most Deplorable History of the Latter Times of the Jews* (1662), ch. 5, pp. 344–47. Joannes Temporarius, aka. Jean du Temps, locates Mt. Ararat in a mountainous chain of the Caucasus, in *Chronologicarum demonstrationum* (1596). And Ptolemy (*Geographia* 6.18, Tabula Asiae IX), Flavius Arrianus (*Alexandri Anabasis* 3.28.5–6; *Historia Indica* 8.2.10–11), Theodoret (*Interpretatio in Jeremiam*, p. 752, line 14) [PG 81. 752], Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela (*Itinerarium* [1633], p. 107), and Heidegger (1:361) – all agree to disagree. According to Pliny (6.19.50), the Scythians “call Mt. Caucasus Croucas, which means ‘white with snow’ [which is whiter than snow]” R. Benjamin locates the Ark's resting place in what is between the modern Nusaybin (SE Turkey) and modern Mosul (NW Iraq). For a summary of Ararat's traditional location, see *JH* (139).

62 Heidegger (1:363–65, Exerc. XVIII, § 28). According to the Septuagint (Gen. 8:7) and the Syriac Version (in Brian Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*, vol. 1), the raven did not return until the water on the earth was all dried up. Procopius disagrees, in his *Commentarii in Octateuchum*, on Gen. 8 [PG 87. Pt. 1.286]; and the Jewish converso Paulus Burgensis, aka. Paul of Burgos (c. 1351–1435), bishop of Carthage and Burgos, examines the issue in detail in his

The next Experiment he made, was upon a *Dove*; a *Docible* Bird, and *Sociable* to Man, flying long and far, & feeding on Seeds, lying on the Earth; & one that will Return to its *Nest*, when its Flight ha's been a wondrous Distance from it. He sends out the *Dove*, probably on the *Seventh Day* after the *Raven*. The *Dove* upon its first going forth, found a Necessity of Returning, without any good Intelligence. But after *Seven Dayes* more, the Experiment being Renewed, the *Dove* returned, with the happy Token of an *Olive-leaf* in her Mouth. Probably, all the other Trees had lost their *Leaves*; for the fancy of the Hebrew Masters, is not worth mentioning; *Quia dixerat Columba coram Sancto Benedicto; Domine omnium orbium, sint cibi mei amari tanquam oliva hæc, qui traduntur manu tuâ; non verò Dulces, qui dantur manu hominis*. Nor is there any Truth in the Fancy of R. *Levi*, & R. *Abba*, that the *Dove* gathered its *Olive-leaf*, on Mount *Olivet*, which (from Ezek. 22.24.) they say, the *Flood* reached not; Nor will we mind the Fancy of *Tostatus*, and other Papists, that the Gates of *Paradise* were opened, for the *Dove* there to pluck off its *Olive-leaf*. On the Southern Side of the *Gordyean* Mountains, to which both the *Wind* and the *Heat* might invite the *Dove*, there is the Land of *Assyria*, which was very Fertile in *Olive-trees*. The King of *Assyria* calls it, you know, *Terra Olive Olei*; i.e. *Olivæ ferentis oleum*. Was not here a good Place, for the *Dove* to be supplied at? And that the *Leaf* should remain *Green* under the *Waters*, will not be wondred at, by those who Read *Bocharts* Quotations on this Occasion; especially one from *Theophrastus*, in his *History of Plants*; which, to save the Labour of *Greek*, we will give you, as *Pliny* has contracted it; [L.13. c. 25.] *In mari rubro sylvas vivere; laurum nimirum et olivam ferentem baccas*.⁶³

Additio ad Postillam, generally bound with the Postilla of Nicholas of Lyra's *Biblia sacra cum glossis* ... *Nicolai Lyrani Postilla & moralitatibus, Burgensis Additionibus* (1545).

⁶³ Heidegger (1:365–66, Exerc. XVIII, §§ 30, 31). Heidegger cites Vortius's Latin translation of פרקי רבי אליעזר [Pirke Rabbi Eliezer] *Capitula R. Elieser* (1644), cap. 23, p. 52. Here Rabbi Eliezer relates, "The dove spoke before the Holy One; Lord of all worlds, Let my food be bitter like this olive, and let it be granted by Your hand, and let it not be sweet, and be given by the hand of man" (*Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, ch. 23, p. 168). Mather condenses Heidegger's citation slightly. R. Levi and R. Abba ben Cohana both agree that the dove plucked the olive branch from the Mt. of Olives in Eretz Israel, which was spared from being inundated by Noah's Flood, in the Midrash Rabbah (Gen. XXX:VI). Alfonso Tostado (1400–55), bishop of Avila, consulted the same source (Genesis Rabbah XXX:VI), where he quotes R. Berekiah to affirm that the gates of paradise were opened for the dove to fetch its olive branch, in *Commentaria in Genesim*, in *Opera omnia* (1728 ed.) 1:121–60. Among the "other Papists" that Mather does not mention are Bellarmine and Malvenda (Heidegger 1:366). The King of Assyria calls it the "Land of Olive Oil," or rather, "rich in Olive Oil." Samuel Bochart (*Hierozyicon*, pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 6, col. 29) quotes Theophrastus's *Historia plantarum* (4.7.1–2). Skipping the Greek citation from Theophrastus (which Bochart and Heidegger do supply), Mather adds a line from Pliny (13.25) that in our modern, revised editions (13.50.139) reads, "In the Red Sea, flourishing forests of bay and olive [berries] are found."

From the *Olive-leaf* might *Noah* gather, that even the κατώτερα μέρη· the *Lower Parts* of the Earth, began to partake in the Benefits of *Exiccation*; For as *Columella* tells us, *Modicos clivos amant oleæ*.⁶⁴

Noah tarried yett *Seven Dayes more*, and then once more, *sent forth the Dove*, which returned not unto him any more. Nor did he now presently come forth. He might apprehend the *Earth* still too plashy and muddy, to be trod upon: [which is the Reason assign'd by *Abenezra*.] But the chief Reason, was his most Resigned and Absolute Obedience unto the Great GOD. He would not *Stir*, till the Great GOD, whose Providence he had hitherto so wonderfully subsisted upon, should order him. At last, on the *Twenty seventh Day* of the *Second Month*, he receives the long desired Order; *Go forth of the Ark*; He goes forth; & expresses his Gratitude, with a *Sacrifice*.⁶⁵

It is a Matter well worthy of a Curious and Attentive Contemplation; That the Apostle *Peter*, [1. Pet. 3.19, 20.] makes *Baptism*, the *Antitype* of the *Flood*. Our *Heidegger* carries the Matter, much to this Effect. The *Old Man* in us, answers to the *Old World*, which was before the *Flood*. Both have a *Curse* belonging to them. The *Old World* was *Destroy'd*, and *Buried* by God in the *Waters*. We read of Evangelical *Waters*. The *Blood* of our Saviour, washing away the Guilt of our Sin; and the *Spirit* of our Saviour extinguishing the Life of Sin in us, are compared unto *Waters*; [Ezek. 36.26.] By these *Waters*, the *Old Man* comes to an End, in our Souls. The *Holy Seed*, in the Midst of the *Waters*, and raised by them, & on them, was preserved in the *Ark*. Our Saviour, the *Ark* of the Faithful, does thus præserve His Faithful People. The Efficacy of the *Blood* and *Spirit* of our Saviour, the Influences whereof are felt by all that enter into the *Kingdome* of God; [Joh. 3.5.] these do Drown the *Old Man* in us, and produce a *New Man*, which lives unto God.⁶⁶

But then, the *Ark* will prove a Type of our *Saviour*; out of whom, there is no *Salvation*.

And we may add, That *Noah*, while he lay *Coffin'd* up, as one Dead, in the *Ark*, yett had a strong Faith in God, for his being brought forth Alive: Even

⁶⁴ Heidegger (1:367, Exerc. XVIII, § 32). Even the κατώτερα μέρη “lower parts” of the earth benefited from the “drying up” of the soil after the Flood. And Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella of Cadiz assures us in his *De re rusticae* (5.8.5) that “olive trees prefer moderate slopes.” In this instance, Mather quotes from Bochart’s *Hierozaicon* (pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 6, col. 30), rather than from Heidegger.

⁶⁵ Heidegger (1:367, Exerc. XVIII, § 33). Aben Ezra (Ibn Ezra) says as much in his commentary on Gen. 8:13: “Only the surface of the earth dried; the soil itself was swampy and hence not yet firm enough to walk upon. The earth did not fully dry until later” (*Commentary* 1:117). Rashi pinpoints the same date for Noah’s exit from the Ark, in *Mikraoth Gedoloth* (*Genesis* 1:115).

⁶⁶ Heidegger (1:365–68, Exerc. XVIII, § 34).

so, when we are lock'd up, in the *Grave*, yett we may keep Alive, the Faith of a *Resurrection to Everlasting Life*.⁶⁷

[217r] | But the Comparison between the *Flood* and our *Baptism*, is to be well apprehended. The Meaning is, That our *Baptism* is a *Figure* as well as the *Flood*; and they are a *like Figure*; a *Figure* of the same Thing. Both of them, have the *same Spiritual Signification*. The *Waters* of both, are to represent the Abolition of our *Old Man*, our *Sin*; and our *Elevation* towards Heaven; unto an Heavenly Temper. But then, to come at these Benefits, there must be, *Interrogatio bonæ conscientiae ad Deum*; with a *Good Conscience*, we must, *Interrogare Deum de præmio, et rem promissam ab eo repetere, ac restipulari*. The *Covenant* of God, lies at the Bottom, of all.⁶⁸

Upon the *Flood* and the *Ark*, the Ancients, especially *Austin*, and *Ambrose*, and *Jerom*, and *Cyprian*, are very Fruitful and Witty in their Allegories. *Austin*, in his Treatise, *De Civitate Dei*, [L.15. c. 26.] compares the *Ark*, both to our *Saviour*, and also to the *Church*, (or City of God) suffering various Jactations in the World. The *Ark* was made of *Wood*; And the *Wood* of the Cross, ha's prov'd the Safety of the *Church*. The Dimensions of the *Ark*, answering to those of an *Humane Body*, lead us to think of our Saviour. The *Door* of the *Ark*, he makes to be answered, by the *Wound* in the *Pierced Side* of our Lord. The *Square Timbers* of the *Ark*, he sees answered, in the *Stability* of the Saints. He finds two Apartments here; for the Church of the *Jewes*, and the Church of the *Gentiles*. The *Three Stories* of the *Ark*, lead him to think on the *Three Sons of Noah*; by whom we have Mankind Præserved and Repaired. He supplies us with more *Allegories*, in his Treatise, against *Faustus* the *Manichee*, who denied, That in the Books of the *Hebrewes* there was any Prophecy of our Saviour. *Ambrose* compares the *Giants*, unto Carnal Men; who mind nothing but their Bodies, and worldly Grandeur. The *Drowning* of *Men* and *Bruits* together, he sees resembled in the Condition, whereinto the *Souls* of *Men*, are brought by their *Passions*. The *Opening* of the *Windowes* of *Heaven*, and the *Breaking up* of the *Fountains of the Great Deep*, he finds too much exemplified in the Minds of *Men*; *Magna naufragia, cum mentis pariter et corporis, sensuumque omnium Turbo et Procella miscentur*. The *High Mountains* overwhelmed with the *Flood*, he likens to our *Five Senses*. The *Grace* of our Saviour, he would have prevailing over them. The *Crow* sent out of the *Ark*, when the Earth began to dry, he compares to the Abdication of *Black* and *Unclean Lusts*, from a Mind wanting to be purified. Then succeeds a *Dove*; *Quia*

⁶⁷ Heidegger (1:368, Exerc. XVIII, § 34).

⁶⁸ Heidegger (1:369–70, Exerc. XVIII, § 35). Mather cites Heidegger (1:369), whose Latin phrase is a translation of 1 Pet. 3:21 (LXX) and suggests “an enquiry of good conscience toward God” (1 Pet. 3:21). Mather adapts Heidegger’s Latin gloss as follows: “With a *Good Conscience*, we must question God about the reward, and keep on asking and demanding from him what he has promised.”

malitiam simplicitas, et culpam virtus resolvit. The *Olive-branch* in the Mouth of the *Dove*, he compares to the *Speech* in the *Mouth* of *Wisdom* and *Vertue*.⁶⁹

Others of the Ancients flourish on the *Olive-leaf*. It was long afterwards a Symbol of *Peace*, among many Nations. *Livy*, and *Polybius*, will tell you enough of it. *Ovid* cannot forbear, a, *Pax ades*, upon the mention of it. The *Crown of Peace*, was made of an *Olive-branch*. *Columbus* found *Footsteps* of this Notion, among the very *Americans*.⁷⁰

Many more Mysteries, did the Ancients find, in the Emission of the *Raven* and the *Dove*. The *Threefold Emission* of the *Dove*, they found answerable to the Exile of *Israel* from the Land of Promise, in their *Threefold Captivity*; the *Egyptian*, the *Chaldean*, and now the *Roman*; upon which last, they do not Return any more, until the *Second Coming* of our Lord. Some of them compare the *Raven*, to the *Law*; the *Dove*, to the *Gospel*. The *Law* brought no Hope of our Peace with God, and our Deliverance from the Curse. The *Gospel* brings that *Olive-branch*.⁷¹

The *Traditions* about the *Flood*, which were found among the ancient Pagans, are given us, by our *Heidegger*. But I chuse rather to fetch them from some other Quarters; and you shall shortly have them under certain peculiar Advantages.⁷²

69 Heidegger (1:370–71, Exerc. XVIII, §§ 36, 37). St. Augustine's allegorical witticism appears in his *De Civitate Dei* (15.26 and 27) [PL 41. 472–473]; Ambrose's in *De Noë et Arca liber uno* (cap. 12, 14) [PL 14. 361], St. Jerome's in *Contra Iovinianum* (lib. 1, § 16) [PL 23. 236A], and St. Cyprian's in "Epistle 73.11: To Pompey" and "Epistle 74.15: Firmian to Cyprian" (*ANF* 5:389, 394). St. Augustine (*City of God* 15.26), in *NPNFI* (2:306), mentions this denial of Faustus, the Manichean, and comes up with a curious allegorical reading of the Ark's size and the preaching of the gospel, in *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* (12.14) [PL 42. 207], in *NPNFI* (4:188). St. Ambrose's comparison of the giants to carnal men is also given in his *De Noë et Arca* (cap. 14, § 49), as is Mather's Latin adaptation [PL 14. 384], which reads, "great shipwrecks [occur] when a whirlwind and a storm are stirred up, [and likewise] of the mind together with a body and [when] all the senses are stirred up." In St. Ambrose's allegorical interpretation, the dove left the Ark after the raven, "because honesty offsets malice, and virtue offsets blame" (*De Noë et Arca*, cap. 18, § 64) [PL 14. 391D].

70 Heidegger (1:371, Exerc. XVIII, § 38). *Livy* (29.16.6–7; 30.36.4) relates how the ten Locrian delegates carried olive branches as a symbol of peace, and Scipio carried such a branch to Hannibal in Carthage; *Polybius* tells as much in his narrative of Hannibal's Alpine crossing (*Historiae* 3.52.3 ff). *Ovid's* summons, "Come, Peace" appears in *Fasti* (1.712). And Christopher Columbus finds footsteps of the olive-branch, symbol of peace, among the Native Americans of Hispaniola. According to the "Libretto" manuscript, Columbus was welcomed by some of the naked Indian girls on San Domenica with "leaping and dancing" as each of them "gave the olive branch which they carried in their hands to the Captain" (J. B. Thacher, *Christopher Columbus* 2:502).

71 Heidegger (1:371–72, Exerc. XVIII, § 39). For the threefold emission of the dove and its signification, see Samuel Bochart's *Hieroicoicon* (pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 6, col. 33–34).

72 For an exhaustive listing of the ancient traditions, consult Heidegger (1:372–78, Exerc. XVIII, §§ 40–43).

All that we will here add, is this; That the *Americans* too, have such Traditions among them. *Josephus Acosta*, and *Antonius Herrera*, assure us, that they found the Memory of the *Flood*, preserved among the Indians of *Cuba*, and *Mechoacana*, and *Nicarag{u}a*. *Corata* tells us, of a Tradition among the *Peruvians*; *Terras eas omnes aquis mersas latuisse, perisse homines exceptis paucis, qui in ligneis vasa se receperunt*; and that they continued in their Vessel during this *Flood*, until the *Waters* were dried up; which they found out, by sending out their *Dogs* from time to time, that at last returned *Dry* unto them. *Gomara* tells us of a Tradition among the *Mexicans*; That of old, they had more *Suns* than one; whereof one perished in a *Flood*; *unàque cum eo homines, et quicquid in Terris esset*. *Martin Martinus* also tells us, That the *Chinese* have a Tradition of a *Flood*, in an History very agreeable to what we have in the Book of *Genesis*.⁷³

[218v]

Q. We attempt several Wayes to solve the *Phænomena* of the *Flood*; and provided our *Hypotheses* have no *unscriptural Extravagancies* in them, tis not amiss to produce them. It is possible, there may be something in each of the *Hypotheses*, near the Truth, and those things which we observe in separate Illustrations, might several of them *concur* in that wonderful *Revolution*. Lett us therefore entertain ourselves with another *Hypothesis*?

A. It shall be one of Mr. *Erasmus Warren*, who writes a *Geologia*, to confute the *Theory* of *Burnet*, and to declare the true Condition of the *Earth* before the *Deluge*.⁷⁴

73 Mather's source is Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 6:17 (*Commentary* 1:35). Joseph Acosta's popular *Naturall and Morall Historie* (1604), bk. 1, ch. 25, pp. 70–71, relates the tradition of the Flood among Native Americans. Another apocryphal story of the Flood is told by Montezuma's Indian subjects, in *Historia general de los hechos*, 8 vols. (1726–30), by the Spanish explorer and historian Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas (1559–1625); an English translation of Herrera's *History*, by Capt. John Stevens, was published in London as *The General History of the vast Continent and Islands of America* (1725). Here we learn that Mexican Indians believed that "the World had been twice destroy'd; once by Floods and once by Tempests, when the Earth had been turn'd topsy turvy, and that the Men who then liv'd were Giants, whose Bones were found in the Clefs" (2:292, vol. 2, decad. 2, bk. 4, ch. 5, p. 292). The unidentified Spaniard Augustine Corata perhaps relates the same story of the giant Nephilim, whose bones were found in Peru, in Agostino Zárate's *Historia del descubrimiento y Conquista del Perú* (1555), lib. 1, cap. 5. At any rate, Corata's tradition confirms the Noachide Flood: "That all those lands lay hidden, submerged under water, and that all men perished, except a few who retreated in a wooden vessel." The Spanish historian Francisco López de Gómara (1511–64) relates in his *Historia de Mexico* (1554) 297–98 that according to a Native American tradition of the Flood, there were five suns, "and one [perished] with as many humans as were on earth." Last but not least, the Italian Jesuit missionary Martino Martini (1614–61) relates the Chinese tradition of the Flood, in his oft-cited *Sinicae historiae decas prima* (1659), lib. 1, pp. 12–13.

74 Mather summarizes the main argument of Erasmus Warren's *Geologia* (1690), one of the several physico-theological cosmologies written in response to Thomas Burnet's *Sacred Theory* (1684).

In the first Place, he sounds the *Waters* of the *Flood*, with the *Plumbline*, which *Moses* ha's reach'd out unto us. He takes it for a Mistake, what ha's commonly been supposed; That the *Waters* were *Fifteen Cubits* higher than the Highest *Mountains*. They were indeed but *Fifteen Cubits* high in all, above the Surface of the Earth. Not, that they were no where Higher, than just *Fifteen Cubits*, above the Ground; they might in most Places, be Thirty, Forty, Fifty Cubits High, or more. For if all the Hills were gone, the Surface of the *Earth* would still be higher, the further it is from the Sea. Thus *Helvetia* is reckoned the Highest Countrey in *Europe*; and sends forth Four great Rivers into the Four several Quarters of the *European* World; the *Danube* Eastward, the *Rosne* Westward, the *Rhine* Northward, and the *Po* Southward. When the *Flood* ascended *Fifteen Cubits* {above} the *Earth*, where it is highest, (suppose the Hills pared off) much of the *Earth* might be Four or Five times as Deep under Water.⁷⁵

The Holy Text saies, That the *Waters prevailed Fifteen Cubits upwards*. But Mr. Warren thinks, This might be meant of the *Earth* only; and yett well deserve to be called, a *Great and Exceeding Prevalence*. Where it speaks of the *High Hills* and *Mountains*, it only saies of them, *They were covered*. And so indeed they were; and *Fifteen Cubits upwards* too; that is to say, on their *Sides*, not above their *Tops*: the Bottoms of them stood so deep in the Waters. The *Original* may bear this Interpretation; and the *Septuagint* seems not to disallow it. Thus when Q. Curtius would express a Sitting *about* a Table, he saies, They were, *Super Mensam*; and a Sitting *about* a Banquet; they were, *Super Vinum et Epulas*. And so here; *Super Montes*, may be, *About the Mountains*.⁷⁶

Mr. Warren thinks, he ha's a Demonstration, That the *Waters* of the *Flood*, never were *Fifteen Cubits* above the Tops of the *Highest Mountains*. For, we read; Gen. 8.4. *The Ark rested on the Mountains of Ararat*. And this was, on the *Seventeenth Day* of the *Seventh Month*: And yett then, you'l find the Deluge was at the Highest; the *Hundred and Fifty Dayes*, from the prevailing *Flood*, which began, on the *Seventeenth Day* of the *Second Month*, were just then expired. Well; But there are *Mountains* in the World, very much Higher than those of *Ararat*; which tis generally agreed, are the *Mountains of Armenia*. Sir Walter Rawleigh is very positive in it; That those *Mountains*, are *not of equal Stature to many other Mountains in the World*. He confirms his Assertion, from the best *Cosmographers*; and even from *Ey-Witnesses*; who affirm the *Mountains of Armenia*, to be *far Inferior & Undersett*, unto diverse *other Mountains*, both in that Part of the

75 Warren, *Geologia* (ch. 15, § 2, pp. 300–01). The “*Rosne*” river is an archaic name for the Rhône in SE France. Mather erroneously copies “ascended *Fifteen Cubits* of the *Earth*”, whereas Warren’s text (301) reads “above the *Earth*” (underscoring added). I have elected to restore Warren’s original idiom.

76 Warren, *Geologia* (ch. 16, § 3, pp. 325–26). Gen. 7:19–20 (Septuagint). Warren uses as his idiomatic proof text passages from Quintus Curtius Rufus (7.4.7–8; 8.4.30): “*Super Mensam*” and, respectively, “*Super Vinum et Epulas*” suggest that the banqueters were “at the table” or “amid wine and feasting.”

World, and elsewhere. *Castaldus* particularly, makes Mount *Athos* far superiour to any of them. *Solinus* will give a Superiority to Mount *Olympus*. *Herodotus* will advance the famous Mountains of *Atlas* above those {of} *Armenia*. Or, if he be too fabulous to be relied upon, *Varenius* will venture his Wager upon the *Head* of the *Pike* of *Tenariff*. And some will be for the *Andes* in *America*. But *Caucasus* alone might have done our Business; for *That* is a Part of *Taurus*, as the Mountains of *Ararat* also are; but it is known unto all, to be much Higher than they. Now the Mountains of *Ararat*, being much Lower than several others; and the *Ark* resting on them, when the *Flood* was at the Highest; if the *Waters* had risen *Fifteen Cubits*, above the Tops of the Highest Mountains, the *Ark* must have been plunged under Water, & have been wholly swallowed up.⁷⁷

[219r] If we should not allow, either a *Synecdoche*, or an *Hyperbole*, in the Words of *Moses*, that seem to intim{at}e the *Covering of the Highest Mountains*, (tho' those Figures are very frequent in the Sacred Scriptures, and in all the Languages of | the Orient:) we may know, That in the Holy Style, to *Cover*, does not alwayes mean, To *Surmount*, and, *Over-top*, and *Over-whelm*; Sometimes, it means, only to *Surround* the Object, or to be *About* it in great Abundance. Thus, the *Precious Stones*, were a *Covering* to the *Tyrians*; [Ezek. 28.13.] Thus, the *Jewes* were said to *Cover* the *Altar* of the Lord, with Tears: [Mal. 2.13.] Thus *Moses* himself, saies; *The Quails covered the Camp*: [Exod. 16.13.] which is explained; [Num. 11.13.] *They fell round about the Camp*.⁷⁸

Our *Warren* indeed, will hardly concede, That the *Flood* prevailed so far, as to carry up the *Ark*, unto the *Top* of the Mountains of *Ararat*. It might be said, very truly, to Rest *upon* them; tho' it were only *By* them; or not far from the *Foot* of them. The *Civil Story* about the *Ark* on the *Top* of those *Mountains*, is all along chargeable, either with *Uncertainty*, or with *Incongruity*. *Josephus* brings it in, with a, λεγεται. *So tis said*. And only with a, προς τω ορει, neither; or, *Near the Mountain*. The Story he brings out of *Nicolaus Damascenus*, of some saved

⁷⁷ Warren, *Geologia* (ch. 16, pp. 327–29). The popular *History of the World* (1614), by Sir Walter Rawleigh (Raleigh), was reprinted many times. The italicized quotation from Raleigh is from *History* (bk. 1, ch. 7, § 10, subsec. 10, p. 122). The Italian geographer and cartographer Jacobus Castaldus, aka. Giacomo Gastaldi (c. 1500–66), is best known for his elegant *Universale descrizione di tutta la terra conosciuta* (1562) – filled with detailed maps of the known world. The Roman historian Gaius Iulius Solinus (*Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, cap. 9 and 40) raises the height of the Macedonian Mt. Olympus, home of the Greek pantheon, above that of the Armenian Ararat – old rivalries never die. Herodotus, the father of historiography, relates that Mt. Atlas – according to eyewitnesses – is so tall that its summit can never be seen because it is always covered by clouds (*Historia* 4.184). The last word is given to the famous Dutch physician, geographer, and cosmographer Bernard Varenius (1622–50), whose *Geographia Generalis*, 2nd ed. (1681), is the best mathematical treatise on geography of his age. Though admitting a degree of subjectivity, Varenius reports that the volcanic Pico del Teide of Tenerife (11,645 feet or 3718 m), Canary Islands, is by some esteemed the highest mountain in the world. Ships can see the Pike at a distance of more than 60 miles (*Geographia Generalis*, lib. 1, cap. 10, prop. 3, pp. 69–70).

⁷⁸ Warren, *Geologia* (ch. 16, pp. 330–33).

at this time, upon the *Mountain Baris*, and yett the *Ark* floating up to the *Top* of the *Mountains* there, is inconsistent with itself. What *Benjamin* the Jew, reports, That one *Omar* built a *Mahometan Synagogue* of the Materials of the *Ark*, but that the Prince took it down, *è cacumine duorum montium*, from the *Top of Two Mountains*; is very unlikely. How came the *Ark* to be so divided? What *Eusebius*, and *Cyril*, and *Chrysostome*, and *Epiphanius*, and *Isidore*, tell us, of the, *λεψανα*, the *Reliques* of the *Ark*, to be seen on the *Tops* of these *Mountains*, in their Days; was doubtless an *Hear-say* imposed upon them.⁷⁹

Well; but, methinks, our *Warren* can hardly keep his Head above *Water*, when that Passage comes rolling over him; Gen. 8.5. *The Waters decreased continually, till the Tenth Month, and on the First Day of the Month, were the Tops of the Mountains seen.* I am in Pain to think, what he will Answer! – His Answer is; Parts of *Mountains*, that are far from the Highest, have been called, *The Tops of the Mountains*. Thus we read; [Amos. 1.2.] *The Top of Carmel shall wither.* By the *Top*, is meant, the *Sides*, yea, and principally, the *Lower Parts* of the *Sides*. We read; [Exod. 19.20.] *Moses went up to the Top of Mount Sinai.* And yett the very *Top*, was inaccessible, not only for the *Difficulty of Ascent*, as *Josephus* assures us, but now for the *Terrible Fire*, that was flaming there. He add; That here may be meant, the *Tops* of some *Lower Mountains*, which were quite covered with the *Waters*. But if this will not satisfy; He proposes, That the *Tops* of the *Mountains*, may be said to be *Seen*, at the Time aforesaid; on the account of their *Emergency out of Darkness, & not out of Water*. Doubtless, the *Flood* brought on a Time of *Horrible Darkness*; All the Vapours contained in the *Atmosphere*, turn'd apace into *Clouds* and *Rains*. And the *Darkness* which presently came on the World, as the Desolation by the *Flood* began, might be necessary to rescue the *Ark*, from the Rude Assaults of wicked Men, who in their Consternation, might have made a forcible Assault and Entry upon it. We read, *The Waters Returned from off the Earth continually.* The Word sometimes intends, a *Return* of a thing into its *first Principles*. The *Return* of the *Waters* into *Vapours*, might be one thing intended

79 Warren, *Geologia* (ch. 16, § 4, p. 333–37). Josephus Flavius introduces the story of the Ark with “It is said.” The Greek phrase πρὸς τῷ ὄρει suggests “at” or “near the mountain.” Josephus excerpts an ancient tradition from Nicolaus Damasceneus, that many escaped Noah’s Flood by climbing to the top of Mt. Baris (Armenia), and “one who was carried in an ark came on shore upon the top of it; and that the remains of the timber were a great while preserved” (*Antiquities* 1.3.6). The Spanish traveler R. Benjamin of Tudela relates in his *Itinerarium Benjamini Tudelensis* (1543, 1633) that Omar ben al Khataab dismantled Noah’s Ark, which rested between the tops of two mountains, and built a mosque from it in the City of Geziret ibn Omar (*Itinerary* [1633] 52). Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.11–12) cites Abydenus (*Assyrian History*), Berosus (*Babylonika*), Josephus (*Antiquities* 1.3.6), and others to assert that fragments of the Ark still survive in the Armenian mountains and that pieces of it are carried off by the devout for charms, souvenirs, or amulets. Cyrillus Alexandrinus (*Contra Julianum* 1.7.21), Joannes Chrysostom (*De perfecta caritate*) [PG 56. 288, lines 1–2], Epiphanius’s *Panarion* 18.3.3–4 (*Epiphanius* 1:217, lines 6–8), and Isidore Pelusiota – all relate rumors and hoary traditions of how pieces of the Ark can be found near Mt. Ararat.

here. While this was doing, the *Air* probably must continue in an hideous *Darkness*; & be mightily overcast, bemisted, and conspissated. The *Tops of the Mountains* became visible at length; not by the Sinking of the *Waters* below the *Tops*, whither they never ascended; but by the Clearing up of the *Sky*, & the Wearing off of the unusual *Fogginess*. And yett this *Visibility* thereof, might be ascribed unto the *Decrease of the Waters* too; for the *Tops of the Mountains* could not be seen, until the *Waters* were so diminished, that they could not afford *Vapours* enough, to *Darken* the *Air* any longer. Had not the *Atmosphere* been in such a *Turbid Condition*, by *Vapours*, a most vehement *Frost*, must have seized upon the *Waters* of the *Flood*; and this would not well have consisted with the other *Circumstances*, which were come, & coming on the *World*. The *Mountains* which were now seen, by the Return of the *Atmosphere* so far towards its old Consistency, probably could not yett be seen by *looking right on*; but rather by *looking upwards*: for the lower *Regions* of the *Air*, were very *Foggy* still. The Highest Parts of the *Mountains*, by thrusting up aloft, intercepted the *Light-someness* of the glimmering *Sky*, and by terminating the *Ey-sight*, they came to be discerned. And therefore indeed, we read of only the *Tops* of them, seen.⁸⁰

[220v] | That the *Earth* was fearfully *Benighted* in the Time of the *Flood*, seems intimated, from the Promise after the *Flood*, that there should after this, be no Intermission of *Day*, any more than of *Seed-time* and *Harvest*.

But our *Warren* ha's another Objection, to gett over; and that is, The Possibility of *Mens* escaping the *Flood*, by flying to the *Mountains*, if the *Waters* rose but *Fifteen Cubits* on their *Sides*, and the *Tops* of the *Spacious*, and *Aspiring Mountains* were bare, all the Time of the *Flood*.⁸¹

Before I give you, his Direct Reply to this Objection, I will go back, to his Explication of some Terms, that occur, in the Relation that *Moses* ha's given us, about the *Causes* of the *Flood*.

We read, *The Fountains of the Great Deep were broken up*. There were vast *Caverns* contained in the Antediluvian *Mountains*. These *Caverns* were burst open. *Waters* fetch'd from the *Caverns* in huge *Rocks*, are said to be, [Psal. 78.15.] *In Abyssis Magnis*; or, *In the Great Deeps*. These *Caverns*, tho' called, *Great Deeps*, were above the common Surface of the *Earth*, & the *Waters* issuing thence, came *Running down* upon it. Indeed, *Moses* uses the *Singular Number*; but as a *Plural Number* sometimes is putt for a *Singular*; (for instance, the *Ark* resting on the *Mountains* of *Ararat*;) so, a *Singular Number* sometimes is putt for a *Plural*: (for instance, the *Quail*; *Exod.* 16.13.) And tho' the *Great Deep*, is in the *Singular Number*, yett, the *Fountains* of it, are in the *Plural*; yea, and the Psalmist goes as far to meet *Moses*, as *Moses* to meet the Psalmist; for, [Psal. 78.15.] tho' in the Words of the Psalmist, the Substantive, *Deeps*, be in the *Plural Number*, the

⁸⁰ Warren, *Geologia* (ch. 16, § 5, pp. 337–43). Josephus (*Antiquities* 3.5.1).

⁸¹ Warren, *Geologia* (ch. 16, § 6, p. 344).

Adjective, *Great*, is in the Singular. Such *Caverns of Waters* in the *Mountains*, are inclosed in so very thick Walls, that we must not wonder at it, if they are not easily discovered in our *Dayes*. They were so closely immured before the *Flood*, that if the Almighty GOD, had not then broken them open, we might unto this Day, have remained ignorant of them. And when these mighty *Cisterns of Nature* were emptied, no Wonder that the Sides of many of them caved in, and most craggy Deformities, which look like the Ruines of a *Dissolved World*, were every where produced. The Crowns of several Mountains might sink down; others that were broached, & but not wholly drawn off, have stood gaping ever since, & been Receptacles of a vast Capacity both for Men & Beasts; like the *Cave* in *Engedi*. *Palestine*, as *Josephus* will inform you, was full of them; and *Strabo* will inform you, what are in *Arabia*.⁸²

But then, in Conjunction, with this wonderful Store of *Waters*, there were the vast *Rains* that fell for *Forty Dayes* together. And in this Way, we are supplied with *Waters* enough, without a Recourse, either to the *Burnettian Romance*; or, to a *New Creation of Waters*; or to *Super-Cælestial Waters*; or to a Change of the greatest Part of the *Mass of the Air* into *Water*; a Change, which it seems, is hardly yett justified by *Experiment*; tho' the Lord *Verulam* allowes of it; *Descartes* subscribes to it; and our Admirable *Boyl* himself, leaves it undetermined.⁸³

⁸² Warren, *Geologia* (ch. 15, § 4, p. 303, 306–08). The cave in Engedi (1 Sam. 24:3–7) is the location where David, upon finding Saul asleep, refused to take the life of the anointed king. Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 14.15.4; *Jewish Wars* 1.16.2–3) relates how vast numbers of caves in Judea and Galilee gave shelter to large gangs of robbers. Strabo (16.1.12) relates that long underground passages were created by subterranean rivers flowing from the lakes of Arabia all the way to Coele-Syria.

⁸³ Warren, *Geologia* (ch. 15, § 5, pp. 312–15). Trying to devise rational explanations of the Flood through secondary causes, Warren dismisses the “Burnettian Romance” of Thomas Burnet, who argued that the antediluvian earth had neither mountains nor oceans because all the waters of the Seven Seas were kept in deep caverns below the earth’s crust. When the subterranean waters washed out the pillars that propped up the earth’s surface, Burnet opined, the crust collapsed in upon the deep and inundated the entire globe (*Theory of the Earth* [1691 ed.], bk. 2, chs. 2–5, pp. 140–74) and Edward Stillingfleet (*Origines Sacrae* [1729 ed.], pt. 1, pp. 340–44). Warren also dismisses those who resort to miraculous explanations such as God’s new creation of water to submerge the earth. He also rejects the old notion of supercelestial waters most notably advocated earlier in the century by the French philosopher Marin Mersenne (1588–1648). According to Mersenne, who still upheld Ptolemy’s geocentric universe, vast quantities of waters – even to the edge of the universe – lay beyond the solid sphere of the firmament nearly 14,000 terrestrial semi-diameters distant from the earth (*Les preludes de l’harmonie universelle* [1634], 1–135, 210–228; *Quaestiones Celeberrimae in Genesim* [1623], pt. 1, col. 799–920, 1007, 1013, 1513–72, 1607–1712; pt. 2, col. 3). This ancient idea still enjoyed a certain degree of popularity – though updated – for even John Ray maintains that the watery vapors in the lower parts of the air amounted to eight oceans of water. A displacement of the earth’s center of gravity pressing on the subterranean caverns filled with water could have easily triggered the biblical Flood (*Three Physico* [1713], Disc. 2, ch. 2, pp. 114–18). Mather (via Warren) also brushes aside the old notion that the Flood was caused by the transmutation of one element into another, of air into water, as the ancients had believed: Aristotle, *De mundo* (1.392b, 5–12; 5.396b, 25–397a, 5); Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* (1.11.4–5);

The Apostle *Peter* seems to intimate, [2. Pet. 3.5, 6.] That in the *Flood*, the *Earth stood*, part *out of the Water*, and part *in the Water*. Had all the *Tops* of the *Mountains*, been *Covered* with the *Waters*, the *Slime* on the whole *Surface* of the *Earth* for many *Years* after the *Flood*, must have been such, as to have rendred all *Husbandry* unpracticable. *Attica* after a far less *Flood*, could not be peopled again for the *Space* of *Three Hundred Years*. But now, immediately upon their coming out of the *Ark*, the *Creatures* enter upon *Regions*, where they have an agreeable *Soyl* and *Sustenance* provided for them. And the *Scripture* intimates, that for a considerable while after the *Flood*, *Men* still chose *Mountains* for their *Habitation*.⁸⁴

It is time for us, now to hear our *Warren* more directly Replying to the Objection, which we saw running down upon him. He saies; For *People* to ascend these *High Mountains*, when the *Flood* was coming in, was no such easy *Matter*. The *Waters* came horribly pouring down, with an astonishing *Power* and *Plenty*, from the lofty *Mountains*. And the pitchy, swollen, loaden *Clouds*, hanging and bagging about them, emptied themselves there, like pressed *Spunges*, and ran down in furious and mighty *Torrents*. No doubt, there were *Water-Spouts*, like the *Ecnephia*, or *Exhydria*, which at the *Sea*, they sometimes meet withal; and the *Hills* were full of such prodigious *Cataracts*. The *Higher Sort* of *Mountains*, like the *Alps*, were covered with *Snow*. Immense *Quantities* of that *Snow* melted apace, and added unto the dreadful *Torrents*. And the *Waters* which herewithal gushed out from the *Caverns* of the *Great Deep*, so increased the fierce *Down-falls* of the *Waters* from the *Mountains*, that no *Mortals* could ascend them; And all attempts to ascend them, were like running into the *Sea*, to be saved

Plato, *Timaeus* (49c, 4–5); Philo Judaeus, *De Somniis* (1.20.4–5) and *De aeternitate mundi* (19.103.5–6); and Heraclitus, *Allegoriae* (ch. 40, secs. 12–13). In the late Renaissance, Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam (1561–1626), still maintained this ancient philosophical mainstay, that the element air can turn into water, as his experiments seemed to confirm several times over, in his oft-reprinted *Sylva Sylvarum: or A Naturall Historie in ten Centuries* (1627), Century 1, Experiments 27, 76–82, pp. 8, 24–26. The great René Descartes (1596–1650) agreed with his colleague across the English channel and affirmed that the particles of air can change into water, in his *Principia Philosophiae* (1644), pars 4, art. 48, pp. 218–19. Lastly the admirable Robert Boyle (1627–91) felt his experiments were inconclusive, in *Nova Experimenta Physico-Mechanica* (1661), Experimentum XXII, pp. 103–20, esp. 108–10.

⁸⁴ Warren, *Geologia* (ch. 15, pp. 319, 321, 322). The story of how Attica (Greece) was uninhabitable two-hundred years after Ogyges's flood (in mythical times) is mentioned by Warren (ch. 14, § 5, p. 292), who extracts his information from Walter Raleigh's *History* (1614), bk. 1, ch. 8, § 11, subsec. 5, p. 159. Raleigh himself acknowledges as his source "Pererius," referring evidently to the oft-reprinted *Commentarium et disputationum in Genesim* (1589–98), by Valentinus Benedictus Pererius, aka. Bento Pererius, the learned Spanish Jesuit scholar who taught in Rome. Much the same is related by Sextus Julius Africanus (*Chronographiae*, Fragm. 22, lines 36–137) about Ogyges's flood in Attica (*Extant Writings* 3.12, in *ANF* 6:132), and in various fragments extant in Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 10.9.486c; 10.10.488d–489b; 10.12.497c–d; 12.15.587c–588c). Such was the nature of allocating evidence until the Enlightenment demanded empirical proof.

from Drowning. And if any Houses | or Creatures, were now so High upon the Mountains, as to be above the Water-mark of the Flood, yett the Downfalls of the Waters, would have ruined them all. Which might be one main Reason, why God appointed Noah, to build an Ark, and not an House or a Towre on any High Mountain, to præserve himself, and what was to be præserted with him.⁸⁵ [221r]

If any Creatures had any Subterraneous Dwellings, these also must perish. If the Water soaked not in upon them, yett it so squeez'd the Earth upon them, or so stop'd the Pores of it, that they must needs be smothered.⁸⁶

We cannot easily find a Quantity of Waters, to exceed the Limits that have hitherto been proposed. According to Mersennus's Account, Forty Dayes Rain, might raise the Waters an hundred & fifty foot. But Osiander and others, make it sufficient for no more than to sett the Ark afloat. [see Gen. 7.17.]⁸⁷

The Return of the Raven (if he did Return,) was from some other Cause, than the Excess of the Waters, not suffering his Access to any of the Mountains. But Warren is positive, (and he ha's Bochart to friend,) that the Raven did not Return at all. Accordingly, Tis a Proverb among the Arabians; *He staires as long as Noahs Raven*. The Latin Proverb is near akin, *Corvus nuncius*, or, *Corvum misimus*. Indeed, the Dove, being a more nice, & tender Bird, and wanting a good Food & a warm Roost, gladly flew back to the Ark, where it had been so well accommodated. Therefore, the Second time of its going forth, it returned not until the Evening; the Coolness of the Evening, made it sensible, that it wanted a convenient Lodging. It might have returned the Third Time; only the pleasant Air, tempted it so far from the Ark, that perhaps it could not presently find the Way back again.

Finally; There was an Omnipotent, Immediate, Miraculous Hand of God, in the whole Affayr; and by this Hand, the Ark was preserved from staving and wrecking, in this general, and horrendous Desolation of the World.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Warren, *Geologia* (ch. 16, § 6, pp. 344–35). The Latinized Greek words “Ecnephiae” or “Exhydriae” are now better known as “hurricanes.”

⁸⁶ Warren, *Geologia* (ch. 16, § 7, p. 346).

⁸⁷ Warren, *Geologia* (ch. 16, § 8, pp. 348–49). Marin Mersenne's experiment that was to account for the quantity of water in Noah's Flood appears most notably in his *Quaestiones celeberrimae in Genesim* (1623) and in his *Les preludes de l'harmonie universelle* (1634). Warren probably refers to Johann Adam Osiander (1626–97), distinguished German Lutheran theologian, chancellor of the University of Tübingen, and descendant of a long line of famous Protestant Reformers – all bearing the name Osiander. J.A. Osiander's 5-vol. *Commentarius in Pentateuchum* (1676–78), considered for a long time one of the best commentaries on the Pentateuch, explores the question of whether Noah's Flood was universal, whether the mountains were covered, and whether America was populated before the Flood (1:186, 192–95, quaestio II, III–IV).

⁸⁸ Warren, *Geologia* (ch. 16, §§ 9–11, pp. 349–55). Samuel Bochart, too, argues that the raven did not return to the Ark (*Hieroicocon*, pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 12, 13, col. 210–13). See also *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (ch. 23, p. 168).

[222v]

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Q. Upon that, *The Lord said in his Heart, I will not again curse the Ground, any more for Mans sake, for the Imagination of Mans Heart is evil from his Youth?* v. 21.

A. It may be read, *The Lord spoke to his Heart*; that is, to *Noah's*; to wit, to comfort him. To *speak to ones Heart*, is to comfort him. Thus the Ancients understood it.

But then, Dr. *Gell* would by all means, have us change the Word of supply, in the thing here spoken; and instead of, *is*, read, *was*. It looks very strange here, to make that a Motive of *Mercy*, which was just before a Motive of *Wrath*. It looks very sad, thus to leave the Case of Mankind, as desperate. An *Atonement* is now made, & the Sacrifice which *Noah* presented, (with an Eye to that of our Glorious JESUS) is accepted; and the Lord now saies; *I will not again curse the Ground any more for Mans sake, as I have done, because the Imagination of Mans heart was evil from his Youth*.

But, Lett the Gloss of my incomparable Friend, the famous Dr. *Franckius*, be brought into Consideration. The *Lord said to His Heart*, that is, To His CHRIST. The Thought is admirable.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Mather excerpts *An Essay toward the Amendment of the last English-Translation of the Bible* (1659), Sermon II, esp. pp. 59–60, by Dr. Robert Gell (1595–1665), Anglican minister and rector of St. Mary Aldermary, London, and chaplain to the archbishop of Canterbury. I have as yet been unable to determine to which of August Hermann Francke's Pietist works Mather refers. Francke's homily *Faith in Christ* (1709) is still extant in the remains of the Mather libraries (Tuttle, "Libraries" 329). The *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Collegij Harvardini* (1723, 1725) does not list any of his works. For Francke's influence on Mather, see R. Lovelace's *American Pietism*.

Q. A Remark on That; *The Fear of you, and the Dread of you, shall be upon every Beast?* v. 2.

A. Dr. Nieuentyt, in his, *Religious Philosopher*, observes, That unto this Day, this ha's Place in the most Devouring & Pernicious Creatures.

For, besides that of their own Nature, they chuse to live in Wildernesses & uninhabited Countreys; We meet with a Remarkable Evidence, in the *German Ephemerides*, [ix & x Years] That a *Lion* will never assault a Man, unless compell'd thereto by Hunger, Self-defence, or the Discharge of a Gun against him. And in relation to *Tygers*, we read the Following Passage; *They are afraid of White and Naked Men, like ALL THE WILD BEASTS of Asia and Africa, and avoid | them, as it were with a Kind of Reverence; and it is without Exemple, that they have attack'd any such.*⁹⁰ [224v]

And in my own Countrey, when the *Bears* ever now & then appear in mighty Numbers, I could never hear of any *Man* assaulted, much less Devoured, by any of them.⁹¹

| [225r]

Q. Upon the Prohibition of *Blood?* v. 4.

A. It is Monsr. *Jurieu's* Remark, That the Command is to pour out the *Blood* of every Animal, before the *Flesh* of it be eaten; And that a *Sacrifice* is therein Proposed & Required. The Command of *Sacrificing* is here inculcated. The Interpretation of *Aben-Ezra*, and those who follow him, alledging that the Design of this Command, is to raise in Men an Aversion for Cruelty, is not so very probable. For certainly there is much Cruelty in eating the *Flesh* of an Animal, as in tasting the *Blood*.⁹²

⁹⁰ Mather here quotes from *The Religious Philosopher*, 3 vols. (1718–19), Contemplation XXII, secs. 2–3, vol. 2:630–31, by Dr. Bernard Nieuwentyt, or Nieuwentijdt (1654–1718), a Dutch physician, who acknowledges as his own source the “German Ephemerides,” or *Miscellanea curiosa medico-physica academiae naturae curiosorum, sive ephemeridum medico-physicarum Germanicarum curiosarum*, 30 vols. in 25 (1670–1706), the German equivalent to the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*. Mather, via Nieuwentyt, refers to *Miscellanea curiosa*, vol. 9 (1679), 9th and 10th year, p. 453.

⁹¹ Michael Wigglesworth (1631–1705), Puritan minister of Malden, Massachusetts, describes the peace and security during New England's Golden Age in superlative terms: “The Lord had made (such was his grace) / For us a Covenant / Both with the men, and with the beasts, / That in this desert haunt: / So that through places wilde and waste / A single man, disarmed, / Might journey many hundred miles / And not at all be harm'd,” in “God's Controversy with New-England” (1662), 101–08.

⁹² The excerpt is from Pierre Jurieu's *Critical History of the Doctrines and Worship* (1705), vol. 1, pt. 1, ch. 25, pp. 244–51. Mather errs in referring to “*Aben-Ezra*” (Ibn Ezra). Ibn Ezra's

Every Effusion of *Blood* was considered as a *Sacrifice*. Consider, 1. Chron. XI.19. And Lev. XVII.10.

This is a Thought highly worthy to be prosecuted.

2419.

Q. How shall one understand that Passage, *Your Blood of your Lives will I require, at the Hand of every Beast will I require it?* v. 5.

A. The Hebrew Interpreters thus understand it; *Puniam eos qui Homines Bestijs objecere*: The Cruelty of throwing *Men* to be devoured by *Beasts*, is herein especially referr'd unto.⁹³

2420.

Q. That Passage, *Whosoever sheds Mans Blood, by Man, shall his Blood be shed*, how may it be taken? v. 5.

A. According to *Grotius*, *Non male illud, Per Hominem, Sic interpreteris, ut morti devotus intelligatur, non is tantum, qui manu suâ perpetravit Homicidium, sed et is qui mandavit*.⁹⁴

Munster is of the Opinion, That in the *Antediluvian* World, no *Murderer* dy'd by the Hand of the *Magistrate*, (any more than *Cain*;) but that God Himself took the Judgment into His own Immediate Hands. After the Flood, the Lord communicate unto Man, Part of his Power over *Life* and *Death*, in the special Case of *Murder*. *Et hic est Fons, ex quo manat totum Jus Civile et Jus Gentium*. Here is the Institution of *Magistracy*; For, if God give the *Magistrate* a Power over the *Life* and *Death* of other Men, he ha's it much more, over their *Estates* and their lesser *Interests*.⁹⁵

commentary on Gen. 9:3–5 is concerned with the Noachide prohibition of eating slaughtered animals (wild or domestic) that are not properly bled; for “nefesh” or “life’s blood” belongs to God (*Commentary* 1:122). Jurieu (*Critical History* 1:244–45), Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:40–41), and John Selden (*De Jure Naturali*, lib. 7, cap. 1, pp. 783–91) identify Maimonides’s *More Nebuchim* (Part 3, ch. 48); i.e., *Guide* (3.48.370–72) as their principal source. Indeed, Maimonides provides a whole set of kashruth instructions on kosher meat, esp. in his *Schechita*. See also Rashi, Ramban, and Sanhedrin 59b, in *Mikraoth Gedoloth* on Gen. 9:4 (*Genesis* 1:119).

⁹³ Both Rashi and the Targum Jonathan ben Uziel are here specifically alluded to (*Mikraoth Gedoloth*: *Genesis* 1:120), but Mather’s source – including the Latin citation translated by himself – is Hugo Grotius’s commentary on Gen. 9:5, in *Annotationes ad Vetus Testamentum*, in *Opera Omnia Theologica* (1679) 1:10.

⁹⁴ According to Hugo Grotius’s juridical explanation in his *Annotationes* (on Gen. 9.6), in *Opera Omnia Theologica* (1:10), “This ‘by man’ is not wrong; you should interpret it this way: that the one who is understood to be condemned to death is not only the one who has committed murder by his own hand, but also the one who has ordered it.” See Appendix A.

⁹⁵ Sebastian Münster adds in his *Hebraica Biblia Latina* (1:22), annot. (b), “And here is the fount from which all Civil Law and the Law of the Nations flows.”

[▽Insert from 225r–226v]

[▽225r]

Q. The Use of the *Rain-bow* directed unto *Noah*, is there then any thing in Pagan Antiquitie to commemorate it? v. 9.

A. The Poets observing a Change of Weather, to bee intimated by the *Rain-bow*, make it, *The Messenger of the Gods*. But when wee read, that Passage in Gen. 9.9. That it is a *Token of the Covenant between God & Man*, one would incline to think, That the Pagans had so far known the Sacred Writings of *Moses*, & from hence in their fanciful Way, advanced this Meteor to bee, *Internuntia Deorum*, as they call it, and, Θεων Αγγελος, as *Homer* styles it; an, *Angel of that Covenant*, which assures the Præservation of the New World. This is their *Iris*, which is from Εἶρω i.e. Αγγελῶ, or perhaps from the Chaldee *Ir*, an *Angel*.

And on this Occasion wee may add, There are *Fiery Apparitions*, often mentioned in the Old Testament, as, the *Burning Bush*, and the *Flaming Chariots*: And wee read, that God appointed *Holy Fire* to bee kept alwayes on the Altar. Hence perhaps it was, that *Fire* was | *Mars*, a God, and worshipped by the *Chaldeans* and *Persians*, and it was in such Request, among the old *Romans*, that they ordered the *Vestal Virgins*, to keep it unextinguished.⁹⁶

[▽226v]

[△Insert ends]

[△]

3392.

Q. Was there any *Rainbow* before the *Flood*? v. 13.

A. There is nothing in *Scripture*, to make us think there was; nor indeed any thing in *Nature*, unless we will assert this manifest Untruth, That every Disposition of the *Air*, or every *Cloud*, is fitly disposed, for the Producing of a *Rainbow*. This is well argued by Dr. *Jackson*, who adds, That if other *Natural Causes* depend upon the *Final*, (as the Scripture-Philosophy teaches us,) they who acknowledge the Scripture, have no reason to think, that the *Air* had before the Flood, that peculiar Disposition, which is required unto the Production of the *Rain-bow*; when this wonderful Effect, had no such Use or End, as it hath had ever since. For it was appointed by God, as a Witness of His *Covenant* with the *New World*; a Messenger to secure Mankind from Destruction, by any Universal Deluge any more. If it had appeared before the Flood, the Appearing of it after the Flood, would have been but a poor Comfort unto *Noah*, & his Timorous Posterity.

⁹⁶ Thomas Jackson (*Works* vol. 1, bk. 1, ch. 16, § 7, p. 55) argues that Jupiter's calming the waters for the Argives' return from Troy (Homer's *Iliad* 15.258–61) is one such proof of pagan knowledge of the Mosaic writings. The "*Internuntia Deorum*" or the "messenger between the gods" [and man] also called "theon angelos" (*Scholia in Homerum: Scholia in Iliadem* 3.121, line 2 of scholion) is yet another – if Jackson and Mather are to be believed. The flaming chariot (the sun) of Apollo, the Pharsi or Zoroastrian fire worshippers, and the Roman vestal virgins stoking the flame on the altar – all are seen as having had their origin in the Mosaic scriptures. See especially Gerard Vossius's *De Theologia Gentili* (1641) lib. 2, cap. 12–13, pp. 365–74, Edmund Dickinson's *Delphi Phoenicizantes* (1655), below, and Thomas Hyde's *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum* (1700), cap. 8–9, pp. 150–69.

The ancient Poets, had a better Philosophy, when they feigned *Iris*, to be the Daughter, or (as we would now speak) the *Mother of Wonderment*; Θαύμαντος ἔκγονον. And the Messenger of *Jupiter* and *Juno*. *Homer* accordingly represents *Iris*, as being sent with a peremptory Command unto *Neptune*, That he should not aid the *Græcians*; by the Swelling, we may suppose, of the Waters.⁹⁷

The *Rain-bow* does, as it were, say, That God will not again Drown the Earth, altho' the Clouds have Thickned, as if they Threatned it. Indeed, the *Rainbow* is a Natural Sign, there will not be much *Rain* after it appears, but that the Clouds begin to disperse. The *Rain-bows* made by the Reflection of the Sun or the *Thinner Clouds*, become a Pledge that GOD would not suffer them to *Thicken* any more for a General Inundation. Yea, the admirable Form of this *Glorious Circle* (as tis called by the Son of *Syrach*, Eccles. XLIII.12.) *bent by the Hands of the Most High*, does naturally excite one, to look beyond the other Causes unto the *Final*. Finally, we see two things in the *Mixt Colours* of the *Rain-bow*; The Destruction of the *Old World* by *Water*, & of the present *World* by *Fire*.⁹⁸

3393:

Q. Why is it said, *Ham the Father of Canaan?* v. 22.

A. You may easily guess, at the Design of *Moses*, relating to the *Canaanites*.

But there are also some odd Circumstances, which make the Opinion of the Hebrew Doctors, not improbable, That *Canaan* first saw *Noah*, in his indecent Posture, & made Sport with it unto his Father; who did not Reprove him as he should have done, but also sported on it. He proclaimed it in the Street, publicly mocking of it; and this no doubt with some singular Degree of *Profaneness* as well as *Derision*. For tis probable, he laughed at the Promise of the *Messiah*, which he had often heard his Father speak of, but now thought him incapable to Begett.

⁹⁷ Mather's commentary on Gen. 9:13 and 9:9 is extracted from *The Eternal Truth of Scriptures*, in *A Collection of the Works of Thomas Jackson* (1653), vol. 1, bk. 1, ch. 16, §§ 6, 7, pp. 53–55, by Dr. Thomas Jackson (1579–1640), president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. For much of the same, see Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 9:13–14, in *Commentary* (1:42). Whether or not the rainbow existed before the Flood was also debated among the rabbis. Nachmanides's grammatical approach establishes that the rainbow was as old as the Creation itself (*Commentary* 1:137). The *Zohar* (1:71b) offers the same explanation, as does Saadiah Gaon, but Ibn Ezra (*Commentary* 1:125) rejects Saadiah Gaon's reference to the past tense of the clause and makes the rainbow a purely postdiluvian phenomenon (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:123). Among the ancient poets who celebrate *Iris*, the goddess of the rainbow and generally messenger of Zeus (*Jupiter*), is *Homer* (*Iliad* 15.157–73), but *Plato* calls *Iris* "Thaumas Ekgonon" the "child of *Thaumas*" (*Theaetetus* 155d, 5). The Roman god *Neptune* is, of course, the Greek *Poseidon*, the Earth-Shaker.

⁹⁸ The apocryphal *Liber Ecclesiasticus* (early 2nd c. BCE) is attributed to *Jesus, Son of Syrach* (*Ben Sira*). Though the rainbow may promise that the earth would never again be destroyed by water, yet 2 Peter 3:12 presumably foretells the destruction of the world by fire.

Whereas we read, *He knew what his younger Son had done*. Some fetch an Argument from hence, that *Canaan* first made himself Merry with his Grandfather; who is here called, his *Younger Son*, or his *Little Son*; but *Ham* was neither *Little* nor *Younger*, but his middlemost Son.⁹⁹

Q. What may be observable in the Different Style of *Noah*, when *Blessing* of *Shem*, and when *Cursing* of *Cham*? v. 25, 26.

A. The *Blessing* of *Shem* is begun with This; *Blessed be the Lord God of Shem*: it is directed unto God. The *Cursing* of *Cham*, (in *Canaan*) is more immediately directed unto himself; *Cursed be Canaan*. *Bochart* observes, That there is a notable Mystery in this *Enallage of Persons*. The Guilty Sinner is *cursed* in his own Person, because his own Sinfulness is from none but himself; *Mali fomes et scaturigo est in ipso Homine*. But the Patriarch delighting in the Piety of his other Son, chuses to *Bless God*, rather than the Son on that Occasion; An Acknowledgement of God, as being by His Grace, the Author of all that Piety. Consider, Phil. 2.13. and, 1. Cor. 15.10. and, Psal. 115.1. and Mat. 5.16.

And especially, if we have pious and worthy Children, we must ascribe unto God alone, all the Glory of it.¹⁰⁰

Q. A further Thought on this Form of Blessing; *Blessed be the Lord God of Shem*? v. 26.

A. The Words are, as Dr. *Gell* observes, according to the Idiom of the Hebrew Language, a *Metalepsis*; whereby we understand the Antecedent out of the Consequent; the Blessing of *Shem* out of the Blessing of *God*. q.d. “The Lord God so heap His Blessings both Temporal and Spiritual, upon *Shem*, that both he, and whoever shall see it, may say, *Blessed be the Lord God of Shem*, who by His Blessings on him, hath declared himself the God of *Shem*, in Covenant with him & his.”¹⁰¹

Q. What is, *The Dwelling of Japheth in the Tents of Shem*, which is promised in the Blessings of *Noah* upon his Children? v. 27.

A. I know of no such Matter promised, or so much as mentioned.

Indeed, I have heard this Matter touch’d upon, in a Thousand Prayers and Sermons. But our good Men have quite mistaken the Matter. The *Antecedent*,

⁹⁹ Mather’s immediate source is his old vademecum Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:43). According to *Pirke de R. Eliezer* (ch. 23, p. 170), Canaan castrated Noah by tying a string around Noah’s testicles and subsequently derided his grandfather in the market place. The *Zohar* (1:73b) says much the same. Rashi from the Talmud (Sanhedrin 70a) and the Midrash Rabbah (XXXVI:7) even speculates that Noah was sodomized (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:126).

¹⁰⁰ The extract is from Samuel Bochart’s *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 1, col. 2–10). Bochart (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 1, col. 66) adds that “the kindling and the spring of all evil is in Man himself.”

¹⁰¹ Mather’s citation appears in Robert Gell’s *An Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), Sermon III, p. 93.

unto that *Relative* [HEE] is not *Japheth*, but *GOD*. The Blessing of *Japheth* was to be *Enlarged*; his Posterity was to occupy the *Largest* Portion of the Habitable World. But the Blessing {of} *Shem* was, the *Dwelling of God in his Tents*: his Posterity was to enjoy the most notable and singular Tokens of the Divine Presence among them; Yea, when God Himself came to *Tabernacle*, or Pitch His Tent, in *Flesh*, [Joh. 1.14.] it was in that Posterity.¹⁰²

Q. A Note upon the Blessing of *Japhet*? v. 27.

A. The Jews take special Notice of it, that *Noah* in Blessing of *Japhet* uses only the Name of *אלהים* / *God*; a Name known among all Nations.

Joachimus Langius apprehends, That there is promised unto *Japhet*, a Dominion over the Inhabitants of *Canaan*. In the Fulfilment whereof, when the *Jews* becoming the Inhabitants of *Canaan*, came to imitate the Manners of those *Canaanites* who were their Predecessors, & so to deserve the Name of *Canaanites*, the *Romans* who were the Offspring of *Japhet*, should sieze upon their Land, & bring them into Servitude.¹⁰³

3597.

Q. The *Curse* upon *Cham*, does it not Justify our Enslaving the *Negro*'s, wherever we can find them? v. 27.

A. The whole Family of *Cham* was not concern'd in that *Curse*. None but *Canaan*, the youngest Son of *Cham*, is mentioned; and he is Thrice mentioned. The *Negroes* are not the Posterity of *Canaan*. The Imprecation of the *Patriarch*, seems to be little more than a Prophecy, of the *Canaanites* Overthrow & Reduction, under the Power of the *Israelites*, who were the Posterity of *Shem*. And, as one observes, the Recording hereof by *Moses*, doth seem especially to *Justify*, or a least *Encourage*, the *Israelites*, in Dispossessioning them.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Excerpted from Gell's *An Essay toward the Amendment*, Sermon IV (axiom 5), pp. 122–23.

¹⁰³ The Hebrew "Elohim" [Strong's # 430] suggests "God, gods," and various other titles of power and authority. According to Ibn Ezra (*Commentary* 1:129), God's proper name יהוה (the Tetragrammaton), or Yahweh, is invoked in Noah's blessing of Shem – the father of the Semites or Israelites; whereas "Elohim" is used for Japheth, the progenitor of the Gentiles, who was not equal to his brother Shem. Joachim Lange (1670–1744) was a German Lutheran Pietist theologian, close associate of August Hermann Francke, and professor of theology at Halle University. Mather's excerpt from Lange – whose Pietist works were accessible through Mather's connection with the Pietist agent William Boehme, in London – may well have been an earlier Latin edition of Lange's *Biblisches Licht and Recht*, 7 vols. (1730–36), a commentary on the OT and NT.

¹⁰⁴ Mather's comment seems uncharacteristic for his time, for it clearly demonstrates that he did not see African slavery justified on the grounds of Noah's curse – as many of his peers did before and after him. Significantly, Mather's reading is supported by the rabbis of the Midrash Rabbah (Gen.XXXVI:7), who point out that Noah cursed Canaan, Ham's son, "because God had already blessed Noah and his sons, and a curse cannot take effect where there is already a blessing" (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:127). Noah's imprecation of Canaan is also frequently seen as providing Moses and the returning Israelites with religious sanction to conquer the

3394.

Q. What Remarkable is there, in the Effects of *Noah's* Blessing and Cursing his Offspring? v. 27.

A. Mr. *Mede* hath an Observation, That there hath never yett been a Son of *Cham*, that hath shaken a Scepter over the Head of *Japhet*. *Shem* hath subdued *Japhet*, and *Japhet* hath subdued *Shem*; But *Cham* never subdued either. This made *Annibal*, a Child of *Canaan*, cry out with Amazement of Soul, *Agnosco fatum Carthaginis*; I acknowledge the Fate of *Carthàge*. [Livy. L. XXVII in fine.]¹⁰⁵

[226v inserted into 225r]

[227r]

Q. *Austin* thinks it enough to bespeak the Title of a *Prophet*, for the Patriarch *Noah*, that the *Ark* which he made, *Prophetia nostrorum temporum fuit*. But he may be further entituled unto it, from his marvellous *Prophecy*, about his *Posterity*; which now calls for some Illustration? v. 20–27.¹⁰⁶

A. We will again consult our learned *Heidegger*; and principally employ his Lucubrations, to furnish our Illustrations on this noble Subject.

We find the Patriarch overtaken with *Wine*, after his coming out of the *Ark*, into his *New World*. The *Hebrewes* and the *Fathers* do generally agree, That he was wholly a Stranger to the Nature of *Wine*, and that the *Inebriating Power* of it, was utterly unknown to him; or, that it was, as *Chrysostom* expresses the Matter, δια το μη ειδεναι της μεταληψεως τα μετρα εις μεθην εξεκυλισθη, *Quòd ignoraret modum hauriendi Vini, Ebrietati succubuisse*. But our *Heidegger* looks on this, as an uncertain and an ungrounded Opinion; and will not be persuaded, That the Use of *Wine* had been all this while unknown unto the World; when *Vines* were so common, & the *Long Lives* of the People gave them Opportunity enough to find out what Use they might be putt unto; And our Saviour makes *Drunkenness* one prevailing Sin among the *Antediluvians*. That Expression, *And Noah began to be an Husbandman*; will not imply, That there was no *Husbandry* before the Flood. It only implies, That *Noah* sett himself to restore the *Artes βιωτικαι* which had formerly been practised. Yea, and the Word ought rather to be rendred, as

Canaanites of the Holy Land, in Matthew Poole's commentary on Gen. 9:25–27 (*Synopsis Criticorum* 1:114–16). See S. R. Haynes, *Noah's Curse* (2002), chs. 2–3.

¹⁰⁵ Mather's extract from Joseph Mede is at second hand from Simon Patrick's *Commentary* (1:44). Mede's observation appears in *Works* (1664), bk. 1, Discourse XLVIII (on Gen. 10:5), p. 378. Mede points out that the Carthaginians fell because they were from the stock of Canaan (378, note) – not that Hannibal was aware of this nicety. The Latin quotation, whose translation Mather supplies from Mede (via Patrick), is adapted from Hannibal's contrite acknowledgement: "agnoscere se fortunam Carthaginis fertur dixisse" (Livy 27.51.12), that he "recognized the destiny of Carthage."

¹⁰⁶ St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* 18.38 [PL 41. 598] interprets Noah's Ark as "a prophecy of our times" (*NPNFi* 2:383), no doubt illustrating that times were bad enough in Roman Carthage.

Onkelos and Jonathan have done it; *Et permansit*. The Great Calvin at last leaves the Matter so; *Ego hoc in medio relinquens, potius ex ebrietate Noë descendum esse arbitror, quàm fœda et detestabilis sit ebrietas*.¹⁰⁷

The Conjectures and the Traditions of the *Jewish Expositors*, How Noah came to know, what had befallen him, relating to his *Denudation*, in his *Drunkenness*, are not worth a Recitation. Tis enough, that we say, with *Chrysostom*, He learn'd it by Enquiries of his Two Sons, of *Shem* and *Japhet*.¹⁰⁸

The Prophecy that followes, is *Tripartite*. The First Article, is, a *Malediction* upon *Cham*; who had been so horribly Abusive unto his Father. But it seems wonderful, that *Canaan* the Son of *Cham*, should be the Object mentioned; and a State of *Servitude* be assigned unto him. The *Hebrewes*, and *Theodoret*, and *Procopius Gazæus*, and *Lyranus*, and *Abulensis*, and others from them, tell us, That *Canaan* was the first who saw his exposed Grandfather, and impudently and petulantly play'd upon him; and that his Father *Cham*, was by his Informations call'd into the Mockery. But this is not a Thing *Declared* in the Scriptures; and therefore the Conjecture is as easily *Rejected*, as *Received*. *Chrysostom* therefore tells us, It was, δια τινα λογον εγκεκρυμμενον. *Ob Rationem occultam*. But the most solid Answer of all, is that given by *Austin*; [Quæst. 17. in *Genesin*.] *Queritur, Quarè cum Peccans Cham in Patris offensâ, non in se ipso, sed in Filio suo Canaan Maledicatur? Nisi prophetatum est, Terram Canaan, ejectis Canaaneis indè, et debellatis, accepturos esse filios Israel, qui venient de semine Shem. Theodoret* speaks to the like Purpose, and makes the Words of *Noah*, rather a *Prædiction*, than an *Imprecation*; a *Prophecy* that the Posterity of *Canaan* should one day be outed by the *Israelites*, who descend from *Shem*, & should possess themselves

¹⁰⁷ Heidegger (1:408, Exerc. XX, § 2). Even though Heidegger lists Maimonides and R. David Kimchi as sources for denying Noah's knowledge of wine and its effect (*Hachut Hameshulash* 1:237), Rabbi Ibn Ezra, Abarbanel, Ramban, Rashi, and others, tend to disagree. They more than hint that Noah was familiar with wine and its potency – even to the point of desiring inebriation (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:125–26). Joannes Chrysostom, *In Genesim (homiliae 1–67* [PG 53. 263, lines 33–34], maintains that apart from planting the first vineyard, Noah was also the first person to experience inebriation and “through ignorance of the proper amount to drink [wine] fell into a drunken stupor” (*Homilies in Genesis* 29.6, pp. 202–03). The sins of the antediluvians paralleling those of the present (i.e., Mather's time) are suggested in Matt. 24:38–39 and Luke 17:27. The Latin-Greek compound *Artes βιωτικαι* [biotikai] suggests “the arts pertaining to life”; i.e., *here*: “agriculture.” Both the Targums Onkelos and Jonathan Ben Uziel, in Walton (4:17) read, “and he devoted [himself],” or “And Noah began to be a man working on the earth” (Etheridge 1:53, 185). In his commentary on Gen. 9:20, John Calvin, too, acknowledges that Noah's supposed ignorance of cultivating vines is frequently used to excuse Noah's drunkenness, and concludes that “leaving this question undetermined, I [Calvin] rather suppose, that we are to learn from the drunkenness of Noah, what a filthy and detestable crime drunkenness is” (*Commentaries* 1.1:300).

¹⁰⁸ Heidegger (1:409, Exerc. XX, § 3). Mather here passes over the rabbinic conjecture (Ibn Ezra and Rashi) that Canaan or his father Ham either castrated Noah, who thus cursed Canaan for robbing him of the ability to conceive a fourth son, or that they sodomized Noah (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:126–27) and Midrash Rabbah (Gen. XXXVI:7). For Joannes Chrysostom, see his *Homilies in Genesis* (29.14–20, pp. 207–13).

of *Palæstine*; δεδιττομενος δε τους υστερον εσομενους μη πλημμελειν εις γενεας. *Deterrens autem posteros, ne peccent in parentes.* The unsearchable Judgments of God, visit the Sins of *Parents*, on the *Children*; but *Canaan* only is mentioned here, lest the Judgments threatned should seem to belong unto all the Children of *Cham*. And *Moses* would raise the Hopes of the *Israelites*, about the Success of the great Expedition, which was yett before them. The *Divine Sovereignty* is display'd in this Matter. And it is a Mistake in any to imagine, That the *Blackness* of the *Ethiopians* & other Children of *Cham*, arises from the Curse of *Noah* upon him. The True Cause of their *Blackness* may be this. They were made very *Brown*, by the *Hott Sun* striking upon them. They disliked this *Colour*. With proper *Juices* and *Unguents*, it was their Custome, to change their *Brown* into *Black*; and, *Versa est postea Ars in Naturam*: *Nature* itself by Degrees conform'd, unto what had been by *Art* a long while Introducing. *Vossius* observes, That the Figure of the *Noses*, among the *Moors*, and other Nations, | was by Degrees at length confirmed from *Artificial* into what is now *Natural* among them.¹⁰⁹ [228v]

The Blessing of *Shem*, is; *Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his Servant.* God must be acknowledged as the Author and Giver of all the Piety in *Shem*; and pious *Shem* would chuse to hear the *Lord God Blessed*, & Praised for it. The first Article of the Blessing is; That *JEHOVAH* would be the *God of Shem*. A *Fæderal* Speech; An *Excellent* Thing! Vast Glories are in it. God will not be the *God* of a *Sinner*, lest He appear *Like* unto him. God will therefore *Justify* the *Sinner*, to whom He becomes a *God*, that so He may hold Communion with him. He that is *Justified* ha's *Peace* with God, and Hope of *Everlasting Life*, both for Soul and Body. This brings us anon into the *Heavenly City*. The *Surety* of this *Covenant*, is the *Messiah*; whom *Noah* now foresees

109 Heidegger (1:410–12, Exerc. XX, §§ 5, 6). Theodoret (*Quæstiones in Octateuchum*, Quest. 58, p. 55, lines 1–5), Procopius Gazaecus (*Commentarii in Octateuchum*, on Gen. 9:18–22) [PG 87. Pt. 1. 302], Nicholaus de Lyra (annotations on Gen. 9, in *Postilla Super Totam Bibliam* [1492], vol. 1, n.p.), and Alfonso Tostado of Avila, aka. Abulensis (*Commentaria in Genesim*) – all put the onus on Canaan. Theodoret argues that because Ham had sinned as a son against his father, Noah punished Ham through his own son. Chrysostom (*In Genesim Homilia* 29.20) [PG 53. 269, line 21] seems to sidestep the issue of Canaan's culpability for his father's sin of disrespect, for Chrysostom argues that Noah cursed Canaan "for some hidden reason" (*Homily in Genesim* 29.20, p. 212). St. Augustine's rhetorical answer appears in his *Questiones in Genesim*, Quest. XVII, on Gen. 9:25 (*Questiones in Heptateuchum*, lib. 1) [PL 34. 551]: "It is asked, for what other reason is Ham, when sinning against his father, cursed not in himself, but in his son Canaan, other than because it was prophesied that the Canaanites would be subdued and cast out from the land of Canaan, and that the children of Israel, who would come from the seed of Shem, would take it." Theodoret adds that Noah's curse of Canaan is not only prophetic (*Quæstiones in Octateuchum*, Quest. p. 55, lines 10–11) "but [should also] deter future generations from sinning against their parents." Finally, the farsighted Isaac Vossius (1618–89), Dutch humanist, classical scholar, tutor of Queen Christina of Sweden, and subsequently canon of Windsor, attributes the Africans' Negroid features and skin color to nature and nurture – not Noah's curse, but adds in his *Observationes ad Pomponium Melam* (1658), notitiae, pp. 304–05, that by applying unguents, "art was afterwards turned into nature."

among the Offspring of *Shem*. He must be born in the *Tents of Shem*. [Compare, Gen. 17.7.] The other Article of the Blessing is; That *Canaan* should be subdued, and the Land of *Canaan* possessed, by the Offspring of *Shem*. [Compare again; Gen. 17.8.] This was to be a certain *Pledge* unto them, That the *Messiah* should be born there, and there purchase Life Eternal, for all that should Believe on Him. Well might our Patriarch have the Name of *Shem*; or, *A Man of Name*. His Prerogatives were famous; and, as the Son of *Syrach* saies, [ch. 49. v. ult.] εδοξαδι υπερ παν εν τη κτισει Αδαμ. *Gloriam adeptus est, Super omnia in creatione hominum*; i.e. *inter homines creatos*.¹¹⁰

The Blessing of *Japhet* is; *God shall enlarge Japhet, and he shall dwell in the Tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his Servant*. The First Article of the Blessing is, That in the Division of the Earth, the largest Portion by far should fall to the Posterity of *Japhet*. The Next Article of the Blessing, is, The Dwelling of *Japhet* in the *Tents of Shem*. Some refer this *Dwelling in the Tents of Shem*, not unto *Japhet*, but unto *God*, who had afterwards His *Tabernacle*, and His *Temple*, and His *People*, among the *Israelites*. Thus *Philo*, and *Onkelos*, and *Theodoret*, and *Lyranus*, and *Abulensis* and others; who to this Purpose bring that Passage; Psal. 132.13. *The Lord hath chosen Zion, He hath desired it for His Habitation*. N. Fuller largely prosecutes this Interpretation; and Interprets and Considers the Text, as pointing to the *Messiah*, who took among the Jewes, that Humanity, which He made His *Tabernacle*. Our *Heidegger* still argues for *Japhet*. He finds the Promise of the *Messiah*, in that of the *Lords* being the *God of Shem*; so he thinks, there was no need of Repeating it. And the next Clause, *Canaan shall be his Servant*; this doubtless refers to *Japhet*. The *Tents of Shem* then are the *Church* of God; which continued a long while among the *Sons of Shem*. There must be a Time, when the Posterity of *Japhet*, shall be brought into the Communion of the Church; and acknowledge the *God of Shem* for their God, renouncing all their *Idols*. The *Vocation of the Gentiles*, which was to follow upon the Death of our Saviour, was understood by the Ancients, by *Chrysostom*, and *Jerom*, and *Austin*, in this Prophecy. The last Article of the Blessing, is; That, as the Land of *Canaan* must once be conquered by the Children of *Shem*, so afterwards there should be a Conquest made of it, by the Children of *Japhet*. A shrowd Intimation of what the *Jewes* have suffered from the *Gentiles*, by the hand of God upon them, for their Unbeleef.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Heidegger (1:412, Exerc. XX, § 7). The Greek adaptation from the apocryphal *Liber Ecclesiasticus*, attributed to Jesus ben Sirach, reads [Shem] “is [held] in great honour among men, and so was Adam above every living thing in the creation” (49:16).

¹¹¹ Heidegger (1:413, Exerc. XX, § 8). For Philo Judaeus, see *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim* (2.76); for the Targum Onkelos, see Walton (3:296), on Ps. 132:13; for Theodoret, *Quaestiones in Octateuchum* (Quest. 58, p. 55, lines 11–22); for Nicholas de Lyra, his annotations on Gen. 9:20–27, in *Postilla* (1492), vol. 1, n.p.; and for Alfonso Tostado (Abulensis), in his *Commentaria in Genesim* (1728 ed.). Nicholas Fuller’s Christological explication appears in his *Miscellaneorum Theologicorum* (1616), lib. II, cap. 4, esp. p. 173. The vocation of the Gentiles

These few Words of *Noah*, deserve to be esteemed, as, *Canon prophetiæ, et omnium ferè subsequentium prophetiarum epitome*.¹¹²

All Christians do with Admiration behold the Accomplishment of this Prophecy.

In the Division of the World, *Shem* gets only a Part of *Asia Major*. *Cham* gets, with *Africa*, a very little Part of *Asia*. But *Japhet* shares all *Europe*; All *Asia Minor*; A very great Part of *Asia Major*; And probably, all *America* over and above.

The Church of God was for diverse Ages, remarkably maintained, and confined, among the *Sons of Shem*. A *Partition-wall* excluded the *Chamites* and the *Japhetites*.

The Land of *Canaan* was vanquished and possessed, by the *Sons of Shem*, under the Conduct of *Moses* and *Joshua*.

Here the *Messiah* was born, and came to *Tabernacle* among us.

Then the *Romans*, the *Sons of Cittim*, descended from *Japhet*, siezed upon the Land of *Canaan*.

The *Sons of Shem* are cast out of the *Tents of Shem*, and the *Sons of Japhet* are called in. All the Epistles of our Apostle *Paul*, except one, are directed unto the *Sons of Japhet*.

| But are we to have no *Sons of Cham* gathered into the Communion of the Church. *Egypt* and all *Africa*, ha's once had *Christianity* in it. And many who are called *Christians* are there still to be mett withal. There is now to be no Distinction. [see Col. 3.11.] The *Sons of Cham*, are not in the *Noetic Prophecy*, excluded from the *Tents of Shem*. And yett, inasmuch as they are not mentioned, we may suppose the *Japhetites* to have a peculiar Prerogative in the *Church* of the *Gentiles*. We have seen it surprizingly exemplified. The Church in *Africa*, is horribly buried in *Hæresy* and *Apostasy*; Betimes it became so. The Church in *Europe* ha's had more of *Evangelical Purity*; The Light of the Gospel hath shone there, much more gloriously. *Antichrist* indeed ha's appeared there. But still he has been Resisted and Opposed, by a Number of the Faithful. And anon, mighty Nations & Peoples, have shaken off their Obedience unto him. The Liberty & Purity of the Christian Religion, *Longè Latius et Lætius per Dei Gratiam, inter Japheti posteros emicat, quàm unquam inter Semi et Chami posteros effloruerit*. It has most flourished among the *Sons of Japhet*.¹¹³ [229r]

as prefigured in Japheth's posterity acknowledging the God of Shem is proposed by Joannes Chrysostom (*Homilies in Genesis* 29.26, p. 217); by St. Jerome on Gen. 9:27, in *Questiones Hebraicæ in Genesim* [PL 23. 950A] (*Hebrew Questions on Genesis* 38); and by St. Augustine, in *De Civitate Dei* (16.1–2) [PL 041. 475–478], in *NPNFi* (2:309–11).

112 Heidegger (1:414, Exerc. XX, § 9). The ominous words of Noah should be esteemed as “the canon of prophecy, and the epitome of almost all subsequent prophecies.”

113 The remainder of Mather's excerpt here is also from Heidegger (1:414–15, Exerc. XX, §, 10). The liberty and purity of the Christian religion, Mather cites Heidegger, “shines out much more widely and successfully, by the grace of God, among the descendents of Japheth,

[230v] | [blank]

[231r] |

468.

Q. What became of *Noah* after the Flood? What Habitations did hee seek? and what Remembrances ha's hee left? v. 28.

A. Coming out of the *Ark*, the first Habitation of *Noah*, was on the Mountains of *Ararat*, which the Latins call, the *Cordyaean*, or *Gordyaean* Mountains. The Village which hee there erected, hee called by the Name of *Themanin*, as *Euty chius* the Patriarch of *Alexandria* tells us in his *Arabian Annals*; which *Themanin* signifies *Eight*, and it was as much as to say, *Nos octo sumus*. Hee tarried not long here, but returned unto his own former Countrey, of *Ogyge*, or *Palestine*, from whence the *Ark*, had, by the Force of the *Flood* been fluctuated. When Mankind was increased, they swarmed into New Colonies; and tho' *Shem* remained in *Palestine*, yett *Cham* went into the Countrey of *Χημια*, which is now called *Egypt*; and *Noah*, with *Japhet*, his eldest Son, travelled into *Italy*; where they forthwith founded a City, which they called *Chethim*, or *Kittim*. The Words used in those *Antiquities* of *Hetruria*, found by *Inghiramius* are very notable, to this Purpose. And besides, you know how the *Romans* are called in the *Scriptures*. [Num. 24.24. Dan. 11.29, 30.] *Cedrenus* also, in his *Annals*, informs us, That they who of old were called *Cetij*, were by *Telephus*, who had the Syrnyme of *Latinus*, called, *Latini*.¹¹⁴

than it ever blossomed among the descendents of Shem and Ham." The inclusion of Ham's descendents among the Raised Saints is also part of Mather's eschatology (*Threefold Paradise* 312–13) and in *Terra Beata* (1726) 35.

114 Mather's primary source for his commentary on Gen. 9:28 is "*Diatriba de Noae in Italiam adventu*," appended to *Delphi phoenicizantes* (1655), by Dr. Edmund Dickinson (1624–1707), English alchemist, atomist, and physician to the royal household, now best remembered for his *Physica Vetus et Vera* (1702). Dickinson's association of Noah with pagan heroes is not unique and can also be found in Mathias Prideaux's *An Essay and Compendious Introduction* (1650) 5 ff, and in Edward Stillingfleet's *Origines Sacrae* (1709) 369–70. Dickinson ("*Diatriba*" 1–4; *Delphi* 75, 138) acknowledges as his textual source for parts of this paragraph *Contextio Gemmarum, sive Euty chii Patriarchae Alexandrini Annales* (1656) 1:40, 43, edited and translated by the great Orientalists John Selden and Edward Pococke, who made available in a dual-language edition the Arabic *Annales* (Nazâm al-jawhar), by the Christian physician and historian Euty chius of Alexandria (877–940). Euty chius's *Annales* went through many editions in the seventeenth century. The Latin phrase from Euty chius's *Annales* (43) reads, "We are eight." Dickinson (*Delphi* 75) identifies as his source for the "*Antiquities of Hetruria*" an Etruscan fragment *Hetruscarum Antiquitatum Fragmenta ab Inghiramio edita* (1636), lib. I, pp. 7–9, 14, and lib. II, pp. 132, 142, by Curzio Inghirami (1614–55), an impoverished Italian nobleman of Volterra, Tuscany, who forged a large number of supposed Etruscan documents. Neither Dickinson nor Mather is aware of Inghirami's forgery, which like that of Anniius of Viterbo (1432–1502), is among the more amusing hoaxes of the Renaissance (see I. Rowland, *Scarith* 2–44; E.N. Tiggerstedt, "Annius" 2: 293–310; and C.R. Lagota, "Annius"). Georgius Cedrenus (fl. 11th c.), a Byzantine monk who authored *Compendium historiarum* (1:245), informs Dickinson that Telephus Herculis Latinus (son of Hercules by Auge) called the "Cetij" by the name of

Noah, coming into *Italie*, ha's been Remembred by sundry Names, among his Posteritie. First, One of *Noahs* Names, was

JANUS.

At first, they pronounced it, *Janes*. But the Hebrew Word, *Jajin* יַיִן for *Wine*, was the true Original of it; and so you see, his famous *Vineyard* commemorated. The Greeks therefore call *Noah*, by the Name of Οἰνώτριος, or, *Vinifer*. And *Cato*, with others, do say, *Janus, primus invenit Far et Vinum, et ob id dictus fuit Priscus Oenotrius*. The Planters also, which *Noah* carried with him, were called, *Oenotrij*. *Antiochus Syracusanus*, a most ancient Writer, particularly mentions them; Οἰνώτρους πρώτους τῶν μνημονευομένων ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικήσαι. Moreover, the *Thuscians*, employ'd, a *Ship*, for the Memorial of *Janus*; in his *Coins*, there was hee on one Side, & a *Ship* on t'other; with an Eye to the *Ark* of *Noah*. They also drew *Janus* as a *Bifrons*; Whence *Ovid*,

Multa quidem didici; sed cur Navalis in ære,

*Altera Signata est, altera forma Biceps?*¹¹⁵

This was, but because *Noah* saw the Two Worlds; the Old & the New. Furthermore, After the Flood, the Lord established His *Covenant* with *Noah*; the Name, *Covenant*, is no less than Seven Times repeted, after his Egress: hence *Janus* was feigned the Præsident of all *Covenant* and *Concord*. Add, That *Janus* was called, by the Syrname, of *Pater*; and considered, as the *Father* of all the *Hero's* who have obtained a Place among the *Gods*. Hee was therefore denominated, *Consivius*; à *Conserendo*, i.e. a *Propagine generis Humani, quæ Jano Authore conseritur*. How well does all this agree to *Noah*! *Janus* was also called, *Chaos*, who imprægnating of *Terra*, begat us all. This *Terra* was but the Wife of *Noah*; and there was an Occasion for this Fancy fetched from the Text [Gen. 9.20.] where *Noah* is called, *Vir Terræ*. You know יָרֵא denotes an *Husband*, as well as a *Man*. And this Wife of *Noah*, is therefore styled among them, *Aretia*; which is but from the Hebrew Word אֶרֶץ for, *Earth*. Finally, tell mee why the *Mythical* Writers

“Latini” – no doubt, a common enough Euhemerist endeavor to identify the mythical origin of the Romans with the descendants of Noah.

115 Dickinson, “*Diatriba*” (4–7). The Hebrew word יַיִן (Yahyin) [Strong’s # 3196] does signify “wine.” The Greek Οἰνώτριος (Oinotrios), or “Wine-bringer” appears in its association with Italian vineyards in many Greek texts – here, for instance, in Dionysius Halicarnus (*Antiquitates Romanae* 1.12.1–2) and in the fragment by Antiochus of Syracuse (below). Perhaps because of such loose linguistic associations Sir Walter Raleigh vehemently objected to the “fiction, That the Italian Ianus was Noah” (*History of the World*, bk. 1, ch. 8, § 5). Dickinson identifies *De Originibus*, by the Roman orator and historian Marcus Porcius Cato, aka. Cato the Elder (234–149 BCE), as his source, but the citation does not appear in Cato’s text. At any rate, the Latin citation reads, “Janus first discovered grain and wine, and because of this he was called the Ancient Wine-bringer.” Dickinson’s Greek citation from a fragment by the ancient Greek historian Antiochus Syracusanus (fl. 5th c. BCE), appears in *Fragmenta* (Frag. 3, lines 4–5). The Thuscians (citizens of a N Italian province), depicted the double-faced (Lat. “*bifrons*”) Janus on their coins. Ovid (*Fasti* 1.229–30) describes this coin as follows: “I have learned much indeed; but why is the shape of a ship stamped / On one side of the copper coin, and a two-headed figure on the other?”

tell us, that in the Reign of *Janus*, all the Dwellings of Men, were well hedged with Religion and Sanctity; if the exact *Righteousness* of *Noah* [Gen. 6.9.] bee not therein referr'd unto. Hence *Janus* in their old Rituals, is called, *Cerus Manus*; which is as much as to say, *Sanctus, Bonus*: For *Cerus*, in the old Latin was the same with *Sanctus*; whence came, *Ceremonia*, the same with *Sanctimonia*: And *Manus*, or *Manuus*, was the same with *Bonus*; whence *Dij Manes*, are *Dij Boni*, so confessed, à *suppliciter eos venerantibus, propter metum mortis*; as *Immanes* are the Contrary. This by the way, explains a most obscure Passage in *Leander Albertus*, who sais, that in a most ancient Chronicle, hee found it written, *Post Universale Diluvium, ducentis viginti quinque annis, maxima multitudo Hominum, in hunc Tractum, nunc Italiam dictum, sub Ducibus BONO, TUBAL, CAMBISE* (perhaps it may bee read, *Camese*) *et alij adnavigavit*. *BONUS*, was *Noah*, whose Mystical Name, was *Manus*.¹¹⁶

Another of *Noahs* Names; was

VADIMON, and VERTUMNUS.

The *Thuscians*, after his Death, call'd him *Vadimon*. But *Vado* signified the same that *Verto*; and hence they called him likewise *Vertumnus*. Yea, *Xenophon* intimates that hee was the first, *Proteus*; which from the Egyptian *Proto*, was of the same Signification. *Janus* was thus denominated, because hee taught the Rules of *Astronomy*, & the Turns of the World; *et ob id illum existimârunt habere divinam Naturam, et movere atque Veitere Caelos, et elementa, et cuncta Vertibilia*. Whence hee was counted, *Vertentis Anni Dominus*. Or, because, being the first builder of Temples in *Italy*, and Institutor of Sacred Rites, after-ages worshipped him with such Rites, *ut rem Inchoatam benè verteret, ad finemque feliciter perduceret*.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Dickinson, "Diatriba" (7–10). The Roman senator and praetorian prefect Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius (fl. 400 CE) explains in his celebrated *Saturnalia* (1.9.16) that Janus is revered as "Consivius" (a derivation of "conserendo," i.e., "sowing"), because "from the propagation of the human race, which was sown by Janus as the author." Instead of "vir terrae" ("man of the earth"), the Vulgate calls Noah "vir agricola" ("farmer" or "husbandman") and the Hebrew text calls him עֵשָׂא (iysh), suggesting "man" and "husbandman" [Strong's # 0376]. The Hebrew noun עֵרֶט (erets) signifies "earth" [Strong's # 0776]. Mather's "Mythical Writers" include Macrobius's *Saturnalia* (1.9). The "*Dij Manes*" and "*Dij Boni*" were called "good souls" and "good spirits, by those who worshipped them humbly, out of the fear of death." The Latin citations are from Joseph Justus Scaliger's edition of *De verborum significatu* (1575), by the Roman lexicographer Sextus Pompeius Festus (fl. late 2nd CE). The "obscure Passage" is adapted from *Descriptio totius Italia* (1557), "Umbria Italiae Regio Tertia," p. 129, by the Italian Dominican historian and topographer Leander Albertus (1479–1552), and translates, "two-hundred and twenty-five years after the Great Flood, a very great multitude of people sailed into that region which is now called Italy, under the leadership of Bonus, Tubal, Cambyes and others."

¹¹⁷ Dickinson, "Diatriba" (10–11), draws on the infamous forgery, by Johannes Annius of Viterbo (Giovanni Nanni), whose *Antiquitatum variarum volumina XVII cum commentaria* (1498) incorporated supposedly rediscovered manuscripts by such ancient historians as the Babylonian Berosus, the Egyptian Manetho, the Persian Metasthenes, Q. Fabius Pictor, and others. Dickinson is not the only one who falls prey to Friar Annius's forgery; Johann Heinrich Alsted includes him in his famous *Scientiarum omnium encyclopaediae* (1649) 1:103; and Athanasius Kircher, in his *De arca Noë* (1675), lib. 3, pars 3, cap. 5–7, pp. 204–22. Mather was

A Third of *Noahs* Names, was

GALLUS.

Hear the Remarkable Words of *Xenophon*. *Ogyges plures fuere, Primus Atavus Nini* (that is, *Noah*) *quem Babylonij Gallum Cognominant. Quod in Inundatione etiam superstes, alios eripuerit, et genuerit. Hinc sagæ, apud quos navigio salvatus est, et ereptus, Ratem vocant Gallerim, quæ undis salvet.* The Thuscians therefore | called, *Ships*, by the Name of *Geleæ*. You must know, that גל / *Gal*, signifies, [232v] *Fluctum et Aquarum copiam*. So *Noah* was called *Gallus*, for the *Rains & Floods* wherein hee was concerned. And *Pliny* tells us, that the *Græcians* called the Ancient Italians, *Umbrios* (ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀμβρίου) *quod Inundatione Terrarum Imbribus superfuissent*. But *Solinus* tells us, that the *Umbri*, were the Offspring of the old *Galli*; and *Cato* tells us, that *Janus* came out of *Scythia*, *cum Gallis progenitoribus Umbrorum*. From his Grandfathers Name of *Gallus*, did *Gomer* also come to wear the same Name; whence came the Nations of the *Galli*, & the *Galatæ*, of whom *Josephus* reports, that they were once called, *Gomerites*. *Jerom* tells us, that the *Galatians* to whom the Apostle wrote, were a Colony of the ancient *Galli*; and *Livy* tells us, that they were the Posterity of the *Celtæ* who were the same; and it seems, in *Pauls* time, they spoke the same Language, that the *Gauls* or French, did, in *Triers*. *Ammianus Marcellinus* assures us, *Gallos Græcus Sermo Galatas appellat*. Probably, from גל / *Rain*; (whence the Welch Word, *Glau*,) as if they had been called, *Impluviati*, or, *Inundati*.¹¹⁸

aware of this forgery, but does not hesitate to excerpt the story of Noah's travels to Italy, from Dickinson, who himself had accepted as authoritative Curzio Inghirami's forgery *Ethruscarum Antiquitatum Fragmenta* (1636). See E. N. Tigerstedt, "Ioannes Annius and *Graecia Mendax*" (2:293–310), and W. E. Stephens, "Berosus Chaldaeus" and "Etruscans." The passage from Annius's forgery "*Xenophon de æquivocis*," in *Antiquitatum* (1498), pp. d–iii(r) – d–iiii(r), reads, "and because of this they considered him to have a divine nature, and to move and turn the Heavens, and the elements, and all that can be turned." Janus was counted "The Lord of the Turning Year" and he was worshipped in after-ages "that he might turn well what had begun and lead it happily through to its goal." (Dickinson attributes the Latin original of the latter passage to Donatus's "Epistle to Horace").

118 Dickinson, "*Diatriba*" (11–12, 13–14). Dickinson's quote from "*Xenophon de æquivocis*," in Annius's forged *Antiquitatum* (1498), pp. d–iii(r) – d–iii(v), translates, "there were several Ogyges; the first was Atavus Nini (the great-great-great-grandfather of Noah), whom the Babylonians call Gallus. Because, surviving even in the flood, he rescued others and reproduced. Hence those (along with whom he was saved and rescued by the vessel) rightly call the boat, which rescues people in the sea, *Gallerim*." The Hebrew word גל (gal) signifies "heap, wave, billow," "rolling waves" (Gen. 31:48) [Strong's # 1530]. The science of etymological and philological derivations was still in its infancy in the seventeenth century, and homonymic similarities between sounds of different languages were frequently taken as evidence of their linguistic kinship. The Latin explication of the Hebrew "*Gal*" signifies "fluctuation and copious water." The Latin adaptation (with Mather's Greek parenthesis from Dickinson) appears in Pliny (3.14.112) and reads, "The Umbrians (from the ombrou ["a storm of rain"]) for having survived the rains after the flood [inundation of the earth]." Solinus makes the Umbrians the offspring of the Galli, in his (*De mirabilibus mundi*, cap. 2). Marcus Porcius Cato (*De originibus* [proem]) argues that Janus came out of Scythia, "with the Umbrians the offspring of the Galli." Josephus

One more of *Noahs* Names, was,

XISUTHRUS.

Possibly the Greeks framed this Name, from the Hebrew *Zuz*, ingeminated; which signifies, *Postis*, *Porta*, *Limen*; and *Such*, you know, *Noah* was unto the World. *Alexander Polyhistor*, has told us, that in the Dayes of *Xisuthrus*, there was a great *Flood*; but that *Xisuthrus*, by being warned of it, escaped, with all *Birds*, *Reptiles*, and *Cattel*, in an *Ark*, whereto hee was directed. So much is by *Cyriel* quoted from him. And from the same Author, *Abydenus* adds, That hee sailed into *Armenia*, and that when the Storm, which made the Flood, was abated, hee sent forth certain *Birds*, to discover whether any Part of the *Earth* were yett above Water; but the poor Birds having no Dry Place to light upon, returned again unto him. The Greeks tell us, That hee who thus præmonished *Xisuthrus*, was Κρόνος, (or *Saturn*.) by whom they meant, the True God, the *Ancient of Dayes*. Hence, *Damascius* relates, that the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians*, called *Saturn*, by the Name of *EL*; or as ha's been learned out of *Sanchoniathon*, by the Name of *IL*: to whom also, tis added, the *Seventh Day* was consecrated. Whence tis, I suppose, that the Greeks report *Saturn*, to have been worshipped among the Jewes.¹¹⁹

There was a Fifth of *Noahs* Names; & that was

OENOTRIUS.

Flavius reports that "Gomer founded those [nations] whom the Greeks now call Galatians [Galls], but were then called Gomerites" (*Antiquities* 1.6.1). In his commentary on Gen. 10:2, St. Jerome insists that "Gomer actually refers to the Galatians" (*Hebrew Questions on Genesis* 39); see also Jerome's *Interpretatio Chronicae Eusebii Pamphili cui subjecta sunt* [PL 27. 511A]. Livy (5.34.1–2). The Germanic tribe of the Treveri on the Mosel River was conquered by Julius Caesar (58–50 BCE); the Roman city built on the Mosel was named Augusta Treverorum (Trier, SW Germany) in honor of Caesar Augustus. Ammianus Marcellinus (*Historia* 15.9.3) assures us that "the Greek language calls the Gauls *Galatians*." Finally, Dickinson's linguistic derivation of the Celtic ("*Cambro Britannica*") word "*Glau*" from the Hebrew "*galath*" is untrustworthy. The Latin words "*Impluviati*" and "*Inundati*" suggest "down-pouring" and "flooding."

119 Dickinson, "*Diatriba*" (14–15). From the Hebrew root "*Zuz*," suggesting to Dickinson (Lat.) "door post," "gate," and "threshold, entrance," Dickinson derives "*Zizus*," leading to "*Xisuthrus*" or "*Xisouthros*," tenth king of the Chaldeans, according to Berosus's Sumerian King-List. According to Berosus, King *Xisuthrus* (Noah) is awarded immortality after *Kronos* (Saturn) revealed to him in a dream the impending flood (*Babylonika* 2), in *Berosus and Manetho* (49). Dickinson's source is Cyrillus Alexandrinus (*Contra Julianum* 1.7.4–7), who excerpts a fragment from Cornelius Alexander Polyhistor (*Fragmenta* F4a # 273). Likewise, Cyril Alexandrinus (*Contra Julianum* 1.7–8), quoting from an excerpt of Abydenus (fl. 2nd–3rd c. CE), relates that *Xisuthrus* (Noah) sailed to Armenia and sent out birds from the Ark to test if the waters had subsided. The Neo-Platonist Damaskios (c. 458–c. 533 CE), last principal at the Athenian Academy, relates that the Phœnicians and Syrians call *Kronos* (Saturn) by the name "*EL*" and "*Bel*," as well as "*Bolathen*," in Photius (*Bibliotheca*, Codex 242, Bekker page 343b, 21). According to a fragment of (Herennius) Philon of Byblos (*Fragmenta* [Jacoby] F 3c, 790, F fragm. 2, line 99), the supposed pre-Trojan historian Sanchoniathon, relates that *Kronos* (Saturn) was called Ἰλὼν or "*IL*"; hence the seventh day, Saturday, being named after the Graeco-Roman god.

This was fetched from *Olvov*, as That is from /יין/ *Jajin*, which is *Wine*, in the English Word, from thence also derived. You know the Story herein referr'd unto. And hence *Tuscany*, yea, all *Italy*, was once called, *Oenotria*.¹²⁰

A Sixth of *Noahs* Names, was

OGYGES.

Hence, in the Epitaph of *Ninus*, his Great Grandfathers Grandfather, *Noah*, is distinguished, by the Name of *Celius*, *Phœnix*, *OGYGES*. And *Xenophon* reckons the First Great Flood, *Sub prisco Ogyge*; it was the *Ogygian Flood*. Now *Ogyges*, as *Bolducus* would have it, is a Word corrupted, of the Hebrew עֹגְסֵה *Oghose*, which signifies, *Sacrificator panis subcineritij*. Or, if you will, from *Ogy*, redoubled, which is the same, *Subcineritij panis*, in *sacros usus aptator*. This agrees well enough, to *Noah*, that Renowned, *Sacrificer*. Whence, in the Annals of *Eutychius Alexandrinus*, *Noah* dying, charged *Shem*, to advise *Melchisedec*, *Neque aliam ibi offerat oblationem, quàm Panem et Vinum, quæ Deo offerat*. And so *Janus* is hee, who, they say, first Invented and Applied *Corn*, for Sacred Uses.¹²¹

Among the rest of *Noahs* Names, was,

DEUCALION.

And this, not the *Thessalian*, but the *Scythian*, *Deucalion*. *Lucian* gives us a Narrative, That when all Mankind perished in a Flood for their daily Wickednesses, *Deucalion* alone was left, in *Secundam videlicet generationem, prudentiæ simul et pietatis gratiâ*. Hee sais, *Deucalion* went into a great *Ark*, with his Wife and Children; and at the same time, Two of all sorts of Creatures that live upon Earth, came unto him, without Hurting of him; and *Jupiter* producing an exact Concord among them, thus præserted them all. *Plutarch* also sais, *Deucalion* by sending forth a *Dove* out of his *Ark*, learn'd how the Weather was abroad.

And what ha's *Moses* himself written plainer of our *Noah*? Well might *Philo* then assure us, that the *Chaldeans* call him *Noah*, whom the *Greeks* call, *Deucalion*; ἐφ' οὗ τὸν μέγαν κατακλυσμὸν συνήβη γενέσθαι.¹²²

¹²⁰ Dickinson, "Diatriba" (15–16). In Dickinson's etymology, the Etruscan name "Oenotrius" (Noah) is derived from the Greek "Oinon" (or rather, *Olvos*; i.e., "wine." In this manner, then, Dickinson links "Oinon" (wine) with its Hebrew equivalent "yayin" ("wine") [Strong's # 3196]. Through this linguistic somersault Dickinson and his peers link the bibulous Noah in Italy with the name "Oenotria." Well, there it is.

¹²¹ Dickinson, "Diatriba" (16–18). For the "Epitaph of *Ninus*," Dickinson relies on Annii Viterbo's forgery of Xenophon's *De æquivocis*. Solinus also associates Ogyges with Deucalion (hence Noah), in his *De mirabilibus mundi* (ch. 11). So, too, Jacobus Bolducus, aka. Jacques Bolduc (d. 1646), French Capuchin theologian, in his *De Ecclesia ante legem* (1626), asserts that the name for the legendary King "Ogyges" is derived from the Hebrew word "Oghose," which signifies "sacrificer of bread baked under embers," or (better yet) "adaptor of bread baked under embers for holy use." Finally, Dickinson's citation from *Contextio Gemmarum, sive, Eutychii Patriarchæ Alexandrini Annales* (1656) 1:45, has the dying Noah charge his son Shem to advise Melchizedek, "neither to make any offering to God other than bread and wine."

¹²² Dickinson, "Diatriba" (18–20). Mather, via Dickinson, distinguishes between the Thessalian Deucalion, ruler of the Phthiotis, son of Prometheus and Klymene, and spouse of Pyrrha (Ovid, *Metamorphosis* 1.318–94; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.7.1–2; 3.8.1–2; 3.14.5) and

Furthermore, consulting *Diodorus Siculus*, you'll see among the Names of *Noah*,

S O L and C O E L U M.

The Father of the *Egyptian Pan*, that is, of *Cham*. This was, as *Macrobius* tells us, the Name of *Janus*; and hee was *Noah*. Hence *Ennius*, quoted by *Lactantius*, tells us, *Initiō primus in Terris Imperium Summum Caelus habuit*. *Noahs* teaching of Astronomy, and foretelling of Events, was the reason of his having this Name. Hence, hee was a *Bifrons*, yea, a *Quadrifrons*, unto them that call'd him, *Janus*; as being Lord, not only of the Rising and Setting Sun, every Day, or the *Diespiter*; but also of the Four Seasons in the Year. Moreover, also from *Heaven* and *Earth* all things proceed; so from *Noah*, & his Wife, *Titea*, that is, *Terra*; called also, *P̄α*, which is but the Anagram of "Ερα, the *Earth*.¹²³ But lastly,

S A T U R N,

must also come in, among the Names of our *Noah*. *Saturn*, I say, who was in the *Orphæan* Hymns παγγενέτωρ, and γενάρχη; the Husband of the Newly mentioned *Rhea*; the *Vir Terræ*. And unto him, did *Husbandry* use to bee ascribed, as you may see at large in *Plutarch*, and *Macrobius*. Yea, The *Vineyard*, and the *Drinking* of *Noah*, ha's made *Saturn* the Patron of such Matters, in the Ethnic Religions and you are not Ignorant, what were the Employments of the *Saturnalia*. Add, *Saturn*, and his Wife, were born *ex Oceano, et Thetide*: Why so, but because *Noah*, with his Family survived the Flood.

the Scythian Deucalion, by which Mather probably means the Chaldean Noah. Deucalion is to have lived in the region E of the Caucasus or Atlas mountains. The story of and distinction between the two Deucalions appears in Lucian's *De Syria dea* (12–13, *Works* 4:350–53) as does the Greek original, which Dickinson here translates into Latin: Deucalion alone was left "unto the second generation because of his wisdom as well as his pious works" (*De Syria dea* 12; *Works* 4:351). Plutarch tells his version in *Moralia: De sollertia animalium* (968 F, lines 3–6). Philo Judæus (*De praemiis et poenis* 4.23.6–7) assures us that "it was in his [Noah's] time that the great deluge took place" (*Works* 666).

¹²³ Dickinson, "*Diatriba*" (20–23) and *Delphi* (38–39). Diodorus Siculus (1.10.4; 1.12.6; 1.18.2) relates that the Egyptians were well familiar with the story of Deucalion's flood (Noah); that Helios (Sol) and Pan (Coelum) were among the first gods who established cities in Egypt; and that according to one Egyptian tradition, the inhabitants of the Thebaid region revered their god Pan and gave his name to one of their cities called "Chemmo," which signifies "City of Pan." Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.7.19–25; 1.9.1–18) relates that Janus and Cameses were co-rulers over Italy when the land was called Camesene, that Janus had two faces (forward and backward looking), and that he also minted coins, especially one with a ship on its reverse side, commemorating the arrival of Saturn, whom Janus made co-ruler and honored by instituting the Saturnalian rites. Lactantius (*Divinarum institutionum* 1.13) [PL 6. 189B], quoting the Roman poet and dramatist Quintus Ennius (239–169 BCE), points out that "In the beginning, Coelus first had the supreme power on the earth" (*ANF* 7:26). In Mather's interpretation, then, Noah is not only a "double-faced" but also a "four-faced" Janus or the "*Diespiter*" (*dies pater*, i.e., Father Day), which is another name for "Jupiter" (Varro, *De lingua Latina* 5.66; 9.75, 77). Thus Noah's wife (Deucalion's Pyrrha) is by Diodorus Siculus (3.57.1–2; 5.66.2) called "Titaia" (Titaea), whose name was changed to "Gê," and by Dickinson associated (via "Ges" or "Gaia") with "Terra" ("Earth"), also called "Rhea" from the anagram "Era" ("Earth").

[These, with many more such Curiosities, you'l have in the Ingenious Dickinsons *Delphi Phaenicissantes*.]¹²⁴

[233r]

Q. Upon the Coming of *Noah* out of the *Ark*, we have a *New World* begun. The *Restitution of the World*, will afford unto us, various and excellent Matters to be discoursed on? v. 29.

A. The Pagans, and especially the *Stoicks*, had their Traditions of a *Great Year*, that should bring a *Revolution* upon the World, wherein it should both ἐξυδατῶνται, and ἐξαυχμῶνται both, *Exaquescere*, and, *Exignesce*. But, there is little Occasion for us, to trouble ourselves, with the Stoical Notions about the, παλιγγενεσία of the World. It is enough to repeat what *Seneca* saies, [Nat. Quæst. L.III. c. 30.] *Rejectus è nostris sedibus in sua secreta pelletur Oceanus; et antiquus ordo revocabitur. Omne ex integro animal generabitur, dabiturque terris homo inscius scelerum, et melioribus auspicijs natus. Sed illis quoque innocentia non durabit, nisi dum novi sunt. Citò nequitia subrepat; virtus difficilis inventu est, rectorem ducemque desiderat. Etiam sine magistro vitia discuntur.*¹²⁵

124 Dickinson, "Diatriba" (24–26). In Orphica (*Hymni* 4.1; 13.8), Saturn or "Ouranous" (Uranus) is called "paggenetor" ("father of all") and "genarches," ("begetter"), hence husband of Rhea, the "husband of the Earth." Plutarch (*Aetia Romana et Graeca* 275 A–B), *Plutarch's Moralia* (4:73–74), and Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.7.25) ascribe the invention of husbandry to Saturn (Uranus). The Saturnalian rites – instituted by Janus – were celebrated among the Greeks and Romans (December 17–22) in honor of the God Saturn and involved rites similar to our modern Mardi Gras, along with exchanging gifts, eating, drinking, and related merriments. See for instance Lucian's *Saturnalia* (5, 13–19, 25–35; *Works* 6:94–95, 106–15, 122–35). According to Plato, Uranus (Saturn) and Ges (Gaia); i.e., heaven and earth, were born of the Ocean and of Tethys, and in their turn procreated Phorcys, Kronos, Rhea and the rest of the Titans (*Timaeus* 40e–41a). All these curiosities and more can be found in Edward Dickinson's *Delphi Phoenicizantes* and in its appendix "*Diatriba de Noae in Italiam adventu*" (1655). Much of the same material appears in *An Historical Treatise of the Travels of Noah into Europe* (1601), which Richard Lynche excerpted and translated from Annius of Viterbo's forgery *Antiquitatum variorum* (1498).

125 Here, Mather returns to mining Johann Heinrich Heidegger's *Historia Sacra Patriarcharum* (1:381–82, Exerc. XIX, § 1). According to Diogenes Laertius's biography of Zeno (*Vita Philosophorum* 7.141–42), the Stoics, the disciples of Zeno of Citium (335–263 BCE), maintained that the world as a living entity is mutable because its constituting parts are constantly changing, dissolving, and recombining; hence its elements can turn into water ("exydatoutai") or turn into fire ("exaychmoutai") or regenerate themselves ("palingenesia"). The Greek words appear in Diogenes Laertius (*Vita philosophorum* 7.141.9) and in Philo Judaeus (*De aeternitate mundi* 21.107.1, 7), suggesting "dissolution by water," "conflagration," and "regeneration" (*Works* 719); the Latin translations appear in Censorinus (*De die natali liber* 18.11). Seneca (*Naturales quaestiones* 3.30.7–8) is again put to good use here: "The Ocean will be ejected from our abode and driven back to its own secret dwelling-place, and the ancient order of things will be re-established. Every living creature will be created anew and the earth will be given men ignorant of sin, and born under better auspices. But their innocence, too, will not last, except as long as they are new. Vice quickly creeps in. Virtue is difficult to find; it needs a director and guide. Vices can be learned even without a teacher."

The *Renovation of the World* upon the Coming of *Noah* out of the *Ark*, is now to be considered. And it is Remarkable, That the *First Thing* done in this our World was, *An Action of Piety*; The Offering of a *Sacrifice* unto GOD; with an Eye to the promised SEED of the WOMAN, upon whose Account alone, the World is at all præserted. *Josephus* tells us, That the Fear of *another Flood* made *Noah* offer this, as a *Sacrifice* by way of *Deprecation*. But there is no Intimation of any such Matter in the History. Wherefore, as *Heidegger* saies, *Nihil hoc Josephi commento utimur*. However, the Pagans had some Tradition of this *Noetic Sacrifice*. Only they made it a *Peace-Offering*, whereof Part was burnt on the *Altar*, but Part was *Cutt-off*, (call'd, *Praecisium*, and, *Prosicium*,) to be eaten by the *Sacrificers*. They say, *Prometheus*, (the same with *Noah*,) was the Author of this Custome.¹²⁶

The first mention of an *Altar* occurs on this Occasion. Tho' that *Adam* also used an *Altar*, there is no Reason to make any Quæstion. The *Matter* and *Figure* of the *Altar* must remain unknown to us; But probably *Chrysostom* is in the right, when he calls it, *Θυσιαστηριον εσχεδιασμενον*, *Altare tumultuariâ operâ constructum*.¹²⁷

The *Reparation of the World*, is owing to the Antitype of that *Sacrifice* which *Noah* offered; the Object of *Noah's* Faith, when he offered.

There ensued a Promise, That the *Order of Nature* in the World should not fail. And, That an *Universal Flood* should no more drown the World. That Clause, that seems to assign the *Cause* of this Promise; *For the Imagination of Mans Heart is Evil from his Youth*; ha's tortured Interpreters. But in the Particle, [*For*] there is, *Remotio illius causæ, quæ maledictionem Terræ invexit*; It is as much as to say, *Notwithstanding*.¹²⁸

Among other famous Occurrences on this Occasion, There is the *Law of Slaughter*. It runs in these Terms; *Surely, Your Blood of your Lives will I require; At the Hand of every Beast will I require it; and at the hand of Man, at the hand of every Mans Brother will I require the Life of Man; whoso sheddeth Mans Blood, by Man shall his Blood be shed: for in the Image of GOD made He Man*. It will hardly be worth our while, to recite either the *Jewish*, or the *Grotian* Interpretation of this *Law*; or the Controversies which learned Men have managed with

¹²⁶ Heidegger (1:383–84, Exerc. XIX, §§ 3–4). The disquisition on Noah's fear appears in Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 1.3.7), but Heidegger dismisses the story, saying that "this comment of Josephus is of no use to us." That which the priest cut off was called the "*Praecisium*," which suggests "cutting," and the "*Prosicium*," the "cutting for the sacrifice." (Mather erroneously spells "*Procisium*" instead of "*Prosicium*.")

¹²⁷ Heidegger (1:385, Exerc. XIX, § 5). Joannes Chrysostom (*In Genesim homilias* 1–67) [PG 53. 242, line 23] explains that Noah is more concerned with a person's intent than the manner of execution; hence Noah was "building an altar from what lay at hand" (*Homilies in Genesis* 27.5, p. 166).

¹²⁸ Heidegger (1:385–87, Exerc. XIX, §§ 7, 8). Heidegger (1:387) asserts that the particle "for" entails "a removal of that cause which brought a curse upon the earth."

them thereupon. It shall be enough, to observe, with our *Heidegger*, That in this *Law*, we have Three Things to Countenance and Influence the Instauration of the World. First, That no Man may seek the *Life*, or shed the *Blood* of another Man. Secondly, That who ever shall shed the Blood of any Man, shall, whether it be Man or Beast, have the *Pena Talionis* executed on him. Thirdly, That the Executioner of this Punishment, shall be Man in Authority; or, if he fails, it may be expected, that GOD Himself will do it, by His own *immediate Hand*. Or, by some Hand and Plague of His Providing. The Observation of *Heidegger* upon it, is this; *Ejus Comminationis veritas, rebus ipsis et tot experimentis, quibus Deus, vel per Magistratum, vel per Singularia Judicia, homines ultus est, cognita est, ut prolixiori explicatione minimè indigeat.*¹²⁹

Thus ha's the Great GOD consulted the Tranquillity of *Humane Society*. And Men proceeding according to the Rules of *Reason*, may | transfer this Law, to some other Crimes, besides *Formal Murder*. For, as *Grotius* observes; *Sunt quædam quæ Vitæ equiparantur; ut, existimatio; pudor Virginalis, Fides Matrimonij, aut sine quibus vita tuta esse non potest, ut Imperij Societatem Continentis Reverentia; Adversum quæ qui faciunt, ij Homicidis meliores non videntur.*¹³⁰

[234v]

But the *Restauration of the Church* in the World, was the great Thing to be now considered. The Promise of the Blessed *Seed of the Woman*, that was to *break the Serpents Head*, was not yett accomplished. And almost all the *Seed of Eve*, was now destroy'd in the *Flood*. Wherefore, the Great GOD, now enters into a *Covenant* with *Noah*, That the *World should be destroy'd with a Flood no more*. The *Church* of God ha's a peculiar, a singular Concernment in this *Covenant*:

129 Heidegger (1:394–96, 400–01, Exerc. XIX, §§ 17, 18, 22). The italicized proscription against the shedding of blood appears in Gen. 9:5–6. The rabbinic commentary on these two verses is manifold. Rashi (from Midrash Rabbah, Gen. XXXIV.13) interprets the opening of Gen. 9:5 as a proscription against suicide; Ibn Ezra reads it as a prohibition against the murder of a fellow human being; Ramban distinguishes between the mere spilling of blood (through a wound) and the shedding of blood (murder) that represents the soul. Furthermore, Rashi and the Targum Jonathan (Etheridge 1:183–84) make intentional murder and accidental killing a capital crime to be avenged by the next of kin, especially if the person who commits involuntary manslaughter does not go into exile or ask pardon (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:119–20). R. Bechai (Bachya) ben Asher adds that even those who do not practice procreation also commit murder, for according to the Talmudic tractate Yevamot 63 (and R. Akiva), the person who abstains from procreation “is guilty of diminishing G’d’s image in the world” (*Midrash Rabbeinu Bachya*, 1:191). The renowned Dutch legal scholar Hugo Grotius addresses the “Law of Retaliation” or “Jus Talonis,” in his *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (1625), lib. 1, cap. 2, art. 5; lib. 2, cap. 20, art. 8; *Rights of War and Peace* (1:190–94, 2:966–71). Finally, Heidegger’s observation (1:401) translates, “The truth of this threat – since the very means by which God has punished men, either through a magistrate, or through singular justice, have been tried so many times – is known, such that a longer explanation is hardly necessary.”

130 Heidegger (1:401, Exerc. XIX, § 22). Grotius observes, “there are some Things which we prize equally with our Lives; as Reputation, Virgin-Chastity, conjugal Fidelity; and those Things without which our Lives cannot be safe, as Reverence for our Sovereigns; against which those who offend are to be accounted as bad as Murderers” (*De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, lib. 1, cap. 2, art. 5; *Rights of War and Peace* 1:193).

which the Prophet *Isaiah*, has not obscurely intimated. [See Isa. 54.9, 10.] The *Churches* coming to *Righteousness*, by the *Messiah*, and to the *Inheritance* of the *Righteous*, lies enwrapped in this *Covenant*. And that Passage, *Neither shall all Flesh be cutt off*, carries an Intimation, that God will become the God of *All Nations*, and bring some of *All Nations* into His Kingdome. [Compare, Heb. 11.7.] The *Præservation* of all the *Creatures*, is for the Sake of the *Church*, as that of the *Church* is for the Sake of a Glorious *Christ*. [Ponder, 1. Cor. 3.21, 22, 23.]¹³¹

And the *Rainbow* given as the *Sign* of this *Covenant*, leads us to think of the Saviour, whom we find appearing with a *Rainbow about His Head* [Rev. 10.1.] when the *Flood* of Antichristian Ignorance and Wickedness is going off the World. *Ambrose* gives us a Mystical Exposition of the *Bow in the Cloud*, which renders the Matter more obscure than it is. He will not have the *Rainbow* intended; but, *Virtus Invisibilis Dei*, A secret Efficacy of God, Extending sometimes, and sometimes Remitting, the Exercise of His Power, & Justice, and Mercy in the Government of the World. *Quam ideò in Nubibus dicit poni, quia tunc maximè opus est Divinæ auxilio prudentiæ, quandò agmina Nubium in Procellas Tempestatesque coguntur*. The Lord saies, *I will place my Bow* there, not, *my Arrow*. Hear *Ambrose* glossing upon it; *Ideò Dominus in Nubibus Arcum magis quàm sagittam ponit; id est, non illud quod Vulneret, sed quod habeat Terroris Indicium, Vulneris Effectum habere non soleat*.¹³²

We need not go to *Suidas*, for a Definition of a *Rainbow*; That it is, Νεφους υγροτης κατ' εμπτ ωσιν ηλιου πεποικιλμενου, οιον τον τοξον. *Iris est Nubis Humiditas variatæ ob Solis Incursum, Arcus instar*. Every body knowes the *Rainbow*, the *Figure*, and the *Colour* of it. The *Natural Signification* of the *Rainbow*, is thus delivered by *Seneca*; *Non easdem, undecunque apparuit, minas adfert. A meridie ortus, magnam vim Aquarum vehet. Vinci enim non potuerunt, nisi valentissimo sole: tamum est illis Virium. Si circà occasum refulsit, rorabit et leviter impluet. Si ab ortu circàve surrexerit, serena promittet*. By the Poets, it was called, νετομαντος, *Pluvius Vates*. But *Pliny* makes the Signification much more Dubious; *Nam ne pluvios quidem, aut serenos Dies, cum fide portendunt*. The *Supernatural Signification* of the *Rainbow*, is much more determined: Namely, That there shall not come another *Universal Flood* upon the World; but that God will preserve a *Church* in the World, and make it *Righteous*, and bring it to *Inherit the World*;

¹³¹ Heidegger (1:401–02, Exerc. XIX, §§ 24, 25). Gen. 3:15, 9:11.

¹³² Heidegger (1:402–03, Exerc. XIX, §§ 25, 26). Heidegger argues that “Therefore He said that this [the rainbow] was placed in the clouds, because then there is the greatest need for the help of divine wisdom, when armies of clouds are gathered into gales and tempests.” Ambrose’s gloss in *De Noë et Arca* (cap. 27, § 104) [PL 14. 408B] seconds this interpretation: “Therefore the Lord placed a bow in the clouds rather than an arrow; that is, not that which wounds, but that which has the sign of fear, and is not accustomed to have the effect of a wound.”

and all this for the Sake of the *Messiah*; whom we afterwards find appearing with a *Rainbow* about Him.¹³³

Some will have, the *Rainbow*, to be a *Sign*, (of the *Covenant* made with *Noah*.) of that Sort, which they call, at least, *Quodammodò Naturale*; inasmuch, as it is only seen, when the *Clouds* are so thin, as to give no Apprehension of *Showres* enough to make another *Flood*: *Qui enim possit* (as *Valesius* expresses it) *cum neque Cælum totum obductum nubibus sit, neque quæ adsunt, sunt valdè densæ*. Thus, *Thomas Aquinas*, and *Cajetan*, and *Javel*, and *Cardan*, and among the Hebrewes, *R. Levi Ben Gerson*, who is also followed by *Vossius*. But our *Heidegger* will not subscribe to this. For the *Flood* was accomplished, not by meer *Showres*, but by some *Supernatural Circumstances*.

The *Rainbow* was a *Sign*, purely by *Institution*: as *Water* is in *Baptism*; as *Bread* and *Wine*, in the *Eucharist*.¹³⁴

133 Heidegger (1:403–04, Exerc. XIX, §§ 27, 28). The quotation from the medieval lexicon *Suda* (Alphabetic letter iota entry 598, lines 1–2), along with its Latin translation, signifies, “a rainbow is the wetness of a multi-colored cloud against the sun’s onset, resembling a bow.” Seneca (*Naturales quaestiones* 1.8.8), commenting on Virgil (*Georgics* 1.380), does not deem the rainbow as an auspicious sign at all, for “it offers different threats depending on where it appears. When it rises in the south it will bring a great rainstorm; for the rains cannot be dispersed by the strongest sun, so great is their force. If it shines towards the west there will be dew and a light shower.” The Greek epic poet Euphron of Chalcis (b. 275 BCE), librarian of Antioch, called it “yetomantos,” a “nimbus” or “arc” (i.e., “rainbow”) associated with an “ominous rain shower” (*Fragmenta* 89, line 1). Pliny (2.60.150) is more hesitant to attach either a bad or good omen to rainbows, “for they do not reliably portend even rain or fine weather.”

134 Heidegger (1:404–05, Exerc. XIX, § 29). Some interpreters who do also acknowledge the covenantal signification of the rainbow call it “in a certain respect a natural” sign. Francisco Vallesio (fl. 16th century), Italian physician to Philip II of Spain, also discourages such doomsday scenarios in his *De Sacra Philosophia* (1608), cap. 9, p. 98, arguing, “For who can [think there could be another flood] since the whole sky is not covered over with clouds, and those that are there are not very thick?” Even though Mather quotes Vallesio (Valesius) at second hand from Heidegger (1:404), Mather evidently owned a copy of *Francisci Vallesii De Sacra Philosophia* (1608); this reprint in the Mather Family Libraries [AAS Library # 0646] bears the signatures of Thomas Shepard (1658), of Cotton Mather (no date), and of Samuel Mather (1726). Cotton Mather’s list of authors (here borrowed from Heidegger) does not provide further specifications. However, St. Thomas Aquinas sticks to a purely natural signification of the rainbow, in his *Treatise on Vices opposed to Religion* (Question 95), arguing that the rainbow sometimes presages fair weather only “in so far as its cause is the cause of fair weather” (*Summa Theologica* 3:1597–98, pt. 2.2, Q95, A5). Mather also refers to Chrysostom Javellus (1472–1538), an Italian commentator on Aristotle and Aquinas, in his *Meteorologica* (1527), lib. 7, cap. 3, ult.; to Cajetan, aka. Giacomo de Vio (1469–1534), an Italian cardinal, who wrote significant commentaries on Aquinas and Aristotle; to Hieronymus Cardanus (1501–76), the renowned Italian physician and mathematician, who published a commentary on, and Latin translation of, Ptolemy, *De astrorum judiciis, cum expositione Hieronymi Cardani Mediolanensis medici* (1658), lib. 2, cap. 2, textu 72; to Rabbi Levi ben Gers(h)on (1288–1344), French rabbi, philosopher, and biblical commentator, whose Hebrew *Commentarius in Pentateuchum* [*Peirush ha-Ralbag ‘al ha-Torah*] was first published in Mantua, Italy (c. 1476–79), and to Gerard Vossius, who acknowledges some of the same sources in his *De Theologia Gentili* (1641), lib. 3, cap. 13, pp. 788–89.

[235r] | And yett there is in the *Rainbow*, some Sort of *Analogy*, with the *Covenant*, whereof it is *Instituted* for a *Token*. The *Rainbow* is naturally a *Sign*, that the *Rains* will not be *Great* nor *Long*; and that *Fair Weather* is anon to be expected. The *Covenant* of God is accordingly, that the *World*, shall not be any more so Destructively as once it was, *Rained* upon; and especially, That the *Church* in the *World* shall be præserv'd. Tho' the *World*, and the *Church*, may be obnoxious to dreadful Judgments of God, and a *Flood* of Divine Wrath may prevail very far upon it, and rise as it were up to the Neck; yett the *Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it*, the *Fountains of the Deep*, shall not *break out*, and *prevail* so far, as utterly to overwhelm it. Our *Heidegger* carries on the Similitude; That the Three Colours of *Red*, and *Green* and *Blue*, in the *Rainbow*, intimate the Sweet Mixture of *Justice* and *Mercy*, accomplished by the *Blood* of the *Covenant*. The *Rainbow* never fills a *Circle*, nor makes more than a *Semi-Circle*. The Kingdome of our Lord, in His Church, is herein a little Represented; Part *on Earth*, Part *Above*. Our Saviour was on *Earth*, when He suffered for us, and began His Kingdome. He went up from *Earth* to *Heaven*; and will come down from *Heaven* to *Earth* again. The *Afflictions* attending the Kingdome of our Lord, in the *World*, & the *Enemies* not yett all wholly subdued, make the Condition of a *Semi Circle* too agreeable unto it. The *Circle* will not be filled up, till the *Kingdome* shall be *Delivered up unto the Father*, and God shall become *All in All*.¹³⁵

Was there any *Rainbow* before the *Flood*? *Aben Ezra* thinks, No; And so do many Christians. But our *Heidegger* saies, *Oppidò falluntur*. God speaks not of the *Rainbow*, as a *New Thing*. He seems to speak of it, as a Thing that had been already placed in the *Clouds*. He invites us to look on the *New Use* which He now assign'd unto it. As in all *Sacraments*, the *Things* employ'd, were existing before; The *Sacramental Importance* is afterwards enstamp'd upon them.¹³⁶

The *Pagans* had a mighty Opinion of the *Rainbow*. The *Poets* made a *Goddess* of it. *Plato* and *Plutarch*, and *Apollodorus*, make it the Daughter of *Thaumas*, because of the *Admiration* which Men agree to behold it withal. In their *Theogonie*, *Iris* was the *Messenger* of *Juno*. *Juno* signified, the *Air*; and the *Rainbow* indicates the Constitution of it. *Acosta* tells us, That he found the *Rainbow* worshipped, even among the *Peruvians* in *America*.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ Heidegger (1:405, Exerc. XIX, §§ 29–30).

¹³⁶ Heidegger (1:405–06, Exerc. XIX, § 31). Ibn Ezra rejects Saadiah Gaon's preterite argument that the rainbow existed before the Flood (*Commentary* 1:125). President Thomas Jackson of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, for one represents those interpreters who argue that if the rainbow existed before the Flood, it would lose its covenantal significance, in *The Eternal Truth of Scriptures* (1653), in *Works* (vol. 1, bk. 1, ch. 16, §§ 6, 7, pp. 53–55). Heidegger, disagreeing with those who deny the antediluvian existence of the rainbow, rejects their argument as "rather fallacious."

¹³⁷ Heidegger (1:406, Exerc. XIX, § 32). *Plato* (*Theaetetus* 155d, 4–5), *Plutarch* (*Placita philosophorum* 3.5, 894 B, line 4–5) and *Apollodorus* (*Bibliotheca* 1.2.6) make the rainbow ("Ourania") the daughter of *Thaumas*. According to *Hesiod* (*Theogonia* 780–81), *Iris*, daughter

Q. On the Conduct of Divine Providence, in the *Flood*, and following Occurrences? v. 29.

A. I will translate some notable Words of *Brentius*, which my incomparable *Franckius*, in one of his *Programmata*, does recite with a great Remark upon them.

“Initio quum homines multiplicarentur. – In the Beginning, when Men were multiplied, & gave themselves up to their Pleasures, *Neglexerunt concionem de Adventu Christi*; All preaching about the *Coming of CHRIST*, was neglected among them. *They Planted*, saies our Saviour, *they Sow’d, they Built, they Married Wives*. God therefore said, *My Spirit shall not remain in Man; for he is Flesh*; they care not for my Spirit, nor for what ha’s been preached about the *Coming of CHRIST*. Wherefore, that God might Restore *Preaching on the Coming of CHRIST*, He destroyed the whole World with a Flood; and præsaved a Few, by whom the Prophecies about the Coming of CHRIST were propagated. Afterwards *Abraham* and *Isaac* and *Jacob* were made Choice of, that CHRIST might come of their Posterity, and Progeny. Therefore God *permitted no Man to hurt them*; He *rebuked Kings for their sakes*. Anon, *Pharaoh* must perish, because it was his Purpose to destroy the *Israelites*, of whom CHRIST was to come. The *Canaanites* were likewise destroy’d, that so the Nation of Men, of whom CHRIST was to come, might have a Countrey, wherein He might sett up the *Preaching* about the *Coming of CHRIST*, and Sacred Rites for such a Purpose. The Nations were destroy’d, that so God might accomplish His *Oath* unto the Fathers. But the principal Thing in His Oath was, *The Seed in which all Nations were to be blessed*. Afterwards, when the *Babylonians* would not release the *Jews* from their Captivity, and there was danger lest the Race whereof CHRIST was to descend, might be lost, for the Præservaion of this Race, that most potent Monarchy must be destroy’d. So was it said of *Cyrus*; *I the Lord, which call thee by thy Name, am the God of Israel. For Jacob my Servants Sake, and Israel mine Elect, I have even called thee by thy Name*. In short, *Omnia Regna Terræ necesse habuerunt operam suam conferre, ut conservaretur Genus, e quo CHRISTUS erat Venturus. Et quod Regnum moliebatur huic Familiæ exitium, hoc internecone peribat*. It was necessary for all the Kingdomes of the Earth, to contribute unto the Præservaion of the Family, whereof CHRIST was to come. And whatever Kingdome attempted the Ruine of this Family, Death and Destruction was the Portion of it.”¹³⁸

of Thaumias, rarely serves as messenger, except when Zeus sends her to fetch the sacred water by which the gods are to swear an oath. Finally, the Spanish historian José Acosta relates that the Peruvian Indians venerate the rainbow, in *Naturall and Morall Historie* (1604), bk. 5, ch. 4, p. 336.

¹³⁸ The second-hand citation is extracted from *Programmata diversis temporibus* (1714), by the Halle Pietist August Hermann Francke, a copy of whose work was available at Harvard in

Having cited this Passage of *Brentius*, I will add the *Elogium* which *Glassius* bestows upon that Interpreter.

*Dignissima profecto sunt hujus Insignis Theologi Scripta exegetica, præsertim in Veteris Testamenti Libros, quæ diligenter evolvantur ab omnibus, qui Theologiæ et Philologiæ Sacræ studio addicti sunt: quippe Doctrinæ Cælestis omnigenæ, et observationum variarum ex Hebræo Textu plena.*¹³⁹

Mather's time (*Catalogus* 101). Francke paraphrases this passage from Joannes Brentius, aka. Johann Brenz (1499–1570), German Lutheran Reformer, whose *Operum reverendi et clarissimi theologi* (1576) 1:86–87 and 108–09 appears to be the source in question. See also Brenz's "Explicatio Epistolæ Pauli Ad Galatas" (cap. 3), in *Operum* (1588) 1:848. Brenz's jeremiad *Etzliche Buss Predigten aus den schrecklichen Historien von der Sündfluth* (1595) has much to offer on Mather's millennialist closure. At any rate, the passage from Brenz (via Francke's *Programmata*) relates that "all the kingdoms of the earth inevitably had as their task to unite, so that the race from which CHRIST was to come might be preserved. And the kingdom that was planning destruction for this tribe perished in a massacre."

¹³⁹ Mather's elogium, most likely from his own copy of *ΧΡΙΣΤΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ* [Christologias] *Mosaicae* (1649), by Salomon Glassius, aka. Glass (1593–1656), professor of theology at Jena (Thuringia), states that "The written interpretations of this outstanding theologian [Brentius] are certainly most worthy, especially those on the books of the Old Testament, which most diligently elucidate everything to which theologians and holy philosophers have devoted their studies. As you can see, they are full of heavenly teachings of every kind and of various observations from the Hebrew text." The copy of Glassius' work in the Mather Libraries at the AAS [# 0087] bears Samuel Mather's signature on the cover page, yet without date.

524.

Q. The Rise of the several Nations in the World, and of their Scatterings thro' the World, can bee well given from the Tenth Chapter of *Genesis*. But I am somewhat Inquisitive after the Rise of those Ancient and Famous *Oracles*, which were in so much Repute, among the Primitive Gentiles; especially, those of *Dodona*, and of *Delphos*.¹ Can you from that Chapter, fetch any Notable Remarks thereupon? v. 1.

A. Yes. To lay aside all the Fabulous, and *Egyptian*, or *Græcian* Shams of Antiquity, the true Story of these things, is this.²

Noah, finding his Posterity so increase{d}, that *Palæstine*, could not hold them, hee left *Shem* in *Syria*, hee sent *Cham* to *Egypt*, and went himself, with *Japhet*, into the Countrey that is now called *Italy*; where hee built a City, called *Chethim*, (afterwards *Volterra*) which proving the Metropolis of *Tuscany*, all *Italy* was afterwards from thence denominated. After some Years, applying himself only to *Religion* & *Husbandry*, hee left the Government of his *Posterity*, in that Place, to *Japhet*; who ordered *Javan*, to settle himself in those *Attic* Regions, which were called, *Ionian*. But *Chethim*, the Son of *Javan*, went over to Inhabit the Island, which after his own & his Countreyes Name, was called, *Chethima*; and hee either carried or ordered, further Colonies over to *Macedonia*; whence

1 In ancient times, consulting oracles was among the principal means of divining the will of the gods. Questions posed to the deities or their priestesses could range from the mundane and individual (marriage, conception, sowing, and harvesting) to the extraordinary and matters of state (warfare, political alliances, rulership). The oracle at Dodona, dedicated to Zeus Naïos in Epirus (NW Greece), is among the oldest Hellenic places of divination and centered on the sacred oak of Zeus, who would reveal his will to supplicants through rustling leaves or perched doves on its branches. Of much greater significance than the shrine at Dodona is Apollo's oracle at Delphos in the foothills of Mt. Parnassus near the Gulf of Corinth. From the sanctum sanctorum of Apollo's temple, the navel of the world, the prophetess (Pythia) revealed in a trance Apollo's frequently ambiguous decision (*OCD*). For the Egyptian oracles and their influence on those of Dodona and Delphos, see Herodotus (2.57–63).

2 Like his contemporaries, Mather here rejects the Greek, Egyptian, and Chinese chronologies, which assigned thousands of years more to the history of mankind than Judeo-Christian chronologies would allow for in the seventeenth century. Archbishop James Ussher for one spoke for most English Protestants when he dated the year of Adam's creation to 4004 BCE, in *Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (1650); those who followed Joseph Scaliger's *Opus de emendatione temporum* (1583) or Guilielmus Vorstius's *Chronologia sacra-profana a mundi conditu* (1644) argued for slightly earlier dates. William Whiston's *A Short View of the Chronology of the Old Testament* (1702) and Sir Isaac Newton's *Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended* (1728) are representative of those for whom the primacy of biblical chronology was imperative. See F. C. Haber's *Age of the World* (chs. 2–3), A. T. Grafton's "Historical Chronology," and P. Rossi's *Dark Abyss of Time* (chs. 20–22).

it was called, Γῆ Χετῖμ. *Dodanim*, another Son of *Javan*, pass'd over to *Epirus*, & built a City, which, with the whole Province, was call'd by the Name of *Dodona*. In this Place, *Dodanim* erected a *Temple*, wherein the People of {the} Neighbourhood, might Assemble, to Seek the Face of God, and Hear the Præcepts of their Father *Noah* preach'd upon. I hope t'wil bee no unwelcome Digression, if I Repeat unto you, the Matter of the Sermons preached in that Illustrious Temple, from the Fragments, of the *Tuscan* Antiquities, which have been præserv'd unto our Age. Wee are there told, That the great *Vandimon*, or *Noah*, thus express'd himself, unto his Offspring.³

My Sons and Grandsons, Hear my Words, and bee Attentive to the Speeches of your Father. Blessed be that God, before whom I have found Favour, and who rescuing mee out of the Waters, lest what Hee had made, should wholly perish, reserved mee, for the Reparation of Mankind, which ha's perished so far by the Showres of His Anger. Wherefore, being not ungrateful to the Most Great Æsar [that is, Creator] Fear Him alone, and Serve Him, with your Minds, because Hee is worthy of it, and Hee hath done many Good Things for you; in one Word, because Hee is God. If the Most Great Æsar bee alwayes your God, you will never want any Thing. Lett not His Altar bee polluted. Lett no Man do, as Cain did, seek his Brothers Blood. Lett there bee an Union among you, that shall never bee broken. You have now a City, which I have here built for you, in this Mountain; but you must multiply, and then do you Build more: And when this Mountain growes too strait for you, choose other wholesome Soyls, for your further Accommodation. So long as you keep from Dissensions, all things will prosper among you. As for him that shall not Fear God, but shall Dissent from His Brethren, cast him out from among you; because the Discord of Brethren, confounds all things. My Sons, Don't you offend God, by Fornication, by Injustice, by Wickedness: But Remember the God, that made you, and that sav'd you from the Waters, and that created all things for you, and subjected all things to you. God Exalts the Good, but Hee Destroys the Wicked; Love Him alone, and

3 This and the following paragraphs are extracted from Edmund Dickinson's *Delphi Phoenizantes* (1655), ch. 9, esp. pp. 75–91. Dickinson's main text and appendix incorporate an intriguing meta-history of Noah's meanderings through Asia Minor and Italy, documents that Mather had previously mined for his commentary on Gen. 9 (see above). The colony established by Noah's great-grandson Chittim or Kittim (Gen. 10:4–5) in Macedonia is called "Ghe Chetiim" or "the land of Chettim" (Dickinson, *Delphi* 75). See also Matthew Poole's *Works* (2:28–30) for the debate on locating the Chettim or Kittim anywhere from Cyprus to Italy. Mather acknowledges as his source (via Dickinson) the "*Tuscan Antiquities*," published as *Ethruscarum Antiquitatum Fragmenta* (1636), a collection of forged Etruscan manuscripts by Curzio Inghirami. Mather's identification of "*Chethim*" as "*Volterra*" in "*Tuscany*" (N Italy) illustrates how widely accepted Inghirami's pious fraud had become. The identification of "*Vandimon*" as "*Noah*" is discussed in Inghirami's *Ethruscarum* (lib. I, pp. 7, 19). Like many of his contemporaries, Dickinson did not appear to doubt the honesty of Inghirami or the authenticity of the startling Etruscan fragments, even though the documents seemed to suggest that the ancient Etruscans knew more about Noah and the Second Coming of Christ than Moses and the NT apostles combined (see I. D. Rowland, *Scarith*). For "*Vandimon*," Noah's supposed Etruscan name, see also Mather's commentary on Gen. 9 and Dickinson's "*Diatriba*" (10–11).

*Do all things in His Fear; so you shall bee Replenished with an Abundance of Corn and Wine and Oyl; the Sons of your Brethren shall become your Servants, and your Kingdome shall endure forever. The Sacred Rites, and all that I leave with you, do you keep alwayes, and Instruct your Children in them. God Bless you, and fill you with His Blessing, and quickly send you the King, that shall deliver you from the Power of another over you.*⁴

But it was not long before a fearful Degeneracy overtook the Posterity of those that had been thus Instructed; they soon left and lost the Religion of their Fathers, and the very Name of that *Jehovah* who was the God of their Fathers, came to bee changed among them. So that at last, in that very Place, where *Dodanim* had his Church, there succeeded the horrid Ceremonies & Superstitions, of the *Dodonæan* Oracles. Yea, all the Diabolical *Oracles* of Greece, were once the Schools of the True Religion. *Satagebat enim Nequissimus ille κακοδαίμων* [as my Author, *Dickinson*, expresses it] *Eâ imprimis loca, quæ Religione simul, ac Antiquitate Sacrata erant, occupare; atque in Impietatis et Imposturæ Domicilia convertere.*⁵

From *Dodona* there went some Notable Spark unto *Delphos*, or, *Pernassus*, who erected at that Place, the like Magical Instrument of Irreligion; which the Greeks relate, under the Figure of a *Dove*, coming from *Dodona* thither. Possibly, the same Name of, Πελειᾶς, which in the *Thessalian* Language, signifies, as well a *Dove*, as a *Prophetess*, may bee the Occasion of the Stories being disguised by such a Fable. When this *Hee* | or *Shee*, came to *Delphos*, they sett up μαντεῖον [238v] there; which quickly became so famous, that all the World made their Visits thereunto. The Hill where this oraculous *Delphos* now stood, was called, *Pernassus*; but originally, it was, *Larnassus*; from /הר/ *Har*, a Mountain, and /נחש/ *Nachash*, Divination; in which the Greeks, misunderstanding the Servile Præfix ל for a Radical, called it by the Name of Λαρνασσος, that is, *Mons Augurij*. But because the prophetic Spirit, there issued out from a certain Gap in the Ground,

⁴ *Dickinson, Delphi* (75–78). Noah's oration – extracted and translated from Inghirami's *Etruscarum Antiquitatum* (1636), lib. 3, p. 174 – does not appear to arouse Mather's suspicion. Like many scholars of the time, Mather was inclined to read any ancient pagan documents – Phoenician, Egyptian, Greek, Roman – as *prisca theologia* or *primitive theology* (derived from Moses as handed down by Noah) and studied them with an eye toward how they shed light on the biblical story of the Hebrews and the Coming of the Messiah. The reference to “the Most Great Æsar” in Noah's oration would have been read as evidence that Inghirami had discovered “genuine” Etruscan documents, because “Æsar” (Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 97) was one of the handful of Etruscan words known to the ancient Greeks and Romans (Rowland, *Scarith* 19).

⁵ *Dickinson, Delphi* (78–79). Dickinson argues that the oracles of Greece, once schools of true religion, had been usurped by demons: “For that most wicked evil demon busied himself,” Dickinson reasons, “chiefly with taking over those places that had been made sacred by both their religiosity and their antiquity, and converting them into dwellings of irreverence and deceit.” Both Cotton and Increase Mather knew much about “Kakodaimon” – demons or spirits that could imitate the shape and voice of living people. See Cotton Mather's *Memorable Providences* (1689), *Wonders* (1693) xiii–xvii, 10–11, 52–53, and *Threefold Paradise* (114–19, 220); and Increase Mather's *Illustrious Providences* (1684), esp. chs. 6–7, pp. 168–247. See Appendix A.

the Mountain might also be called, פֶּרַע נַחֵשׁ *Parai-nahas*, i.e. *Hiatus Divinationis*, and the Greeks then had a further Opportunitie to Turn the Name into Πάρνασσος; which in Process of Time, it came to wear. Here doubtless, the Sons of *Javan*, celebrated the Worship of the True God, in a Temple for Him alone; *Quæ in hoc monte* [to give you the notable Observation of my *Dickinson*, in his own Words] *Reor, haud impurè peragebatur, usque dum nescio quis Idololatra et Mystes è Dodonâ profectus, eò pervenerat; omnia sub Religionis specie corruperat; Novos Cultus Instituerat; Atque Oracula, Dæmone et Mysterio plenus, edidisset.* Here, the Usage was, for a certain Woman, sitting upon a *Tripes*, to receive the *Vapour*, or, if you will, the *Spirit*, of the Cave, over which, it was placed; the *Dæmon*, which the Scripture calls, *Ob*, entred into her. Shee was then immediately taken with an extraordinary *Trembling* of her whole Body; shee *Quaked*, and shee *Foamed* horribly; and so there issued from her, the *Prophecies*, which enchanted all the World into a Veneration of them.⁶

I'll Insist no further on this Matter; but only from the Passage last mentioned, putt you that Quæstion, *Whether you now think the QUAKERS, to BEE SO NEW A SECT, as they have commonly been accounted?*⁷

[239r]

|

115.

Q. Was there one *Mizraim*, the Son of *Cham*, the first King of *Egypt*? v. 6.

A. So wee read, *In Libro Juchasin*; but some Do not Beleeve the Story, They beleeve tis but a Story; they suppose, there never was a Man of that Name, in the World. The Text is, they say, to be thus understood; "*Cham* was the Father of

⁶ Dickinson, *Delphi* (80–83, 85, 90–91). The Greek word "Peleias" invokes not only the dark-colored, prophetic stock-doves congregating on Zeus's oak tree, but also the priestesses who interpreted the will of the deity (Herodotus 2.52–57). At Delphos, the priests set up a "pantheon" in the foothills of Mt. Parnassus, or "Larnassus" – a name Dickinson borrows from *Ethnica* (506.5–14), by the Byzantine grammarian Stephanus of Constantinople (fl. 520–70 CE). Mather's etymological derivations, borrowed from Dickinson, again reveal the implicit belief that all languages devolved from Hebrew, the original language spoken by Adam & Eve in paradise, and confounded at Babylon. The "*Hiatus Divinationis*" is the "aperture of prophesying," which – so Dickinson – the Greeks turned into "Parnassos." The Sons of Javan, Mather quotes Dickinson's *Delphi* (83) affirmatively, worshipped the true God on Parnassus: "Which, I think, was carried out on that mountain in no impure manner, up until some idolater and mystic coming from Dodona had arrived there; he had corrupted everything under the appearance of religion; he had instituted new forms of worship; and, being filled with a demon and with secret rites, he had given forth oracles." Plutarch and others describe how the priestess (Peleias) sat on her tripes, inhaled the vapors ascending from a subterranean cleft, trembled and foamed at her mouth, and uttered her oracular proclamations in a trance (see Plutarch, *De Phythiae oraculis* 397c–d, 406d, and *De defectu oraculorum* 414e, 435a).

⁷ Mather's hoary gibe at the Quakers – borrowed from Dickinson (91) – does indicate that religious tolerance was no virtue. See especially Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), bk. 7, ch. 4, pp. 21–29. Here ends Mather's excerpt from Dickinson's *Delphi Phoenicizantes* (ch. 9).

the Nation that afterwards went by the Name of *Mizraim*, that is, of the Nation by whom the Land of *Egypt* was afterwards Inhabited.” And, I doubt not, but several other *Names*, in this Chapter, are to bee understood, with such a sort of Application. As for מִצְרַיִם, or, *Mitzrajim*, tis the very Name of the Land of *Egypt*, from the Word מִצּוֹר, or, a *Fortification*; because no Land was by Nature so *Fortify’d* as *Egypt* was. But inasmuch as *Egypt* was divided, into the *Upper Egypt* & the *Lower Egypt*, a Name thus of the Dual Number, *Mitzrajim*, was putt upon it.⁸

2470.

Q. Wee read, *Cush begat Nimrod; and the Beginning of Nimrods Kingdome, was Babel*. But wee look for *Cush* in *Africa*? v. 8, 10.

A. It seems rather, that *Nimrod* gave the Name of his Father *Cush*, to his Plantation at *Babylon*, on *Euphrates*. And it is not improbable, That the *Chashdim*, or, *Chaldees*, whose Capital City was *Babylon*, might have their Name thence, by a Change of the U into an A, common enough to other Nations, and an Addition of the D at the End.

Q. That Expression of, *Nimrods being a mighty Hunter before the Lord*? v. 9.

A. *Becman* in his, *Analecta Historica*; published at *Francfort*, 1709, ha’s a Notion, which I know not whether every one will subscribe unto it. He concludes from this Expression, That *Nimrod* was a Good Man; Because the Passages of Scripture where we meet with this Expression, are all taken in a Good Sense; but one, [Gen. XIII. 13.] where the same Expression is modified by other Terms.⁹

1658.

[240v]

Q. *Moses* having mentioned the Four Cities, which were the Beginning of *Nimrods* Kingdome, adds, *Out of that Land* [of *Shinar*,] *went forth Asshur, & builded Niniveh*: How do you understand it? v. 11.

⁸ *Liber Iuchasin*, or *Sefer ha-Yuhasin* (c. 1510) was authored by Abraham ben Samuel Zacuto, aka. Diego Roderigo (1452–c. 1515), a renowned Jewish astronomer and historian of Spain and Portugal, who completed his book of genealogies in Tunis after the pogrom of 1492 (*EJ*). During Mather’s time at least 3 printed editions existed: Constantinople (1566), Krakow (1580), and Amsterdam (1717). Ham’s son מִצְרַיִם *Mitzraim* (Gen. 10:6) also signifies “Egypt” (Gen. 12:10) [Strong’s # 4714]; and מִצְוֶד (*matsuwd*) suggests “fortress” or “stronghold” (2 Sam. 22:2) [Strong’s # 4686]. Mather’s likely sources are William Howell’s *Institution of General History*, 2nd ed. (1680), bk. 1, ch. 1, § 23, pp. 8–9; for much of the same information, see Matthew Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:123–24) and Simon Patrick’s annotation on Gen. 10:6 (*Commentary* 1:47). See Appendix A.

⁹ Mather translates a passage from *Analecta Historica quibus res sacrae et profanae* (1709), by Johann Christoph Becmann (1641–1717), a German Lutheran theologian of Thuringia.

A. Some, according to this Translation, will have this *Assur*, to have been the Son of *Shem*, who, having built *Ninive*, & founded the *Assyrian* Kingdome, *Nimrod* dispossessed him, or his; or, some other Way obtaining it, joined it unto the *Babylonian*, as *Julius Africanus* hath delivered. But others contend, That this *Assur*, is the Name of the Countrey, and not of a Man; and that it is to bee read, *out of that Land hee* [that is, *Nimrod*,] *went forth into Assur*, (i.e. *Assyria*,) *and builded Niniveh*. Otherwise, it would bee out of the Way, for *Moses*, to mention the Son of *Shem* in this Place, where hee is in hand, with the Generation of *Cham*; neither could it bee peculiar unto him, to go out of this Land, and build *Niniveh*; seeing all Mankind almost, at the Division of the Earth, went out of it. The last Reading only, makes the Sense entire; for, how else could the Four Cities properly bee said, to bee the *Beginning of Nimrods* Kingdome, except hee added *More* unto it? Lastly, This seems very urgent; That, in Scripture, *Assyria* is called, [Mich. 5.6.] *The Land of Nimrod*. To this Purpose, *Howel*, in his Institution of History.¹⁰

3248.

Q. According to the *Mosaic* Account, We find all Nations of Men here descended from One Man; and the Account is unquæstionably True. Yett, you know, some have doubted, how tis possible for *Blacks*, and *Whites*, to be the Children of One Man. A little Philosophy upon it, may be serviceable? v. 20.

A. And you shall have Dr. *Grewes*:

Tis true, Living and Breeding within the *Torrid Zone*, or without it, is not enough alone, to produce this Difference. For the *Ethiopians*, and the *Malabars*, tho' in Part æqually distant from the Line, yett these are no more than *Duskish*, those are *Cole-black*. And it is said, That all over *America*, there are no Blacks, but only at *Quaveca*. Yett this hinders not, but that the Climate may co-operate with the *Native Causes*; which seem to be chiefly these *Three*. First, *The Distribution of the Capillary Arteries more numerously into the outer Part of the Skin*. Secondly, *A less Proportion of Capillary Veins, to return the Blood from thence*. Thirdly, *The extream Thinness of the Cuticle*. Hereby some smaller Part of the Blood becoming stagnant there, it, like any other Blood when it is Dry, or upon a Bruise, turneth *Black*. And therefore, even among the *Ethiopians*, there is a Sort of Breed, which is neither Black, nor White, nor Tawny; but, as tis likely from the Make of their Skin, of a *Pale*, and a *Dead*, Complexion. In *Blacks* themselves, the Palms of their *Hands*, and the Soles of their *Feet*, where the *Cuticle* is much Thicker, and

¹⁰ This paragraph is extracted from *An Institution of General History* (1680), bk. 1, ch. 2, § 3, p. 11, by Dr. William Howell (1631–83), fellow at Magdalen College, Cambridge. Howell's *Institution* went through five editions. Sextus Julius Africanus (c. 160–c. 240 CE) was the Christian writer, who had a leading hand in setting up a public library in Rome's Pantheon. His *Chronographia*, a history of the world to 217 CE, survives only in fragments (*ANF* 6:130–40). Mather (via Howell) refers to *Chronographia* (fragm. 12 and 22).

into which the Capillary Arteries do shoot more sparingly, are of a *Whitish Red*. Where these then, and it may be some other, Native Causes, meet with a suitable Climate, we may suppose they never fail to produce a Black Breed. So, in Part of the Province of *Quantung* in *China*, the People who are near the *Torrid Zone*, are Black; but in that of *Peking*, the most Northerly, they are *White*. And some Climates may be fitter to breed *Blacks*, than others; which, tho' of the same Latitude, yett may not be so Hott; or, the Heavens or the Earth, may be different on some other Accounts. Every *Florist* can tell, how great an Alteration, the Transplanting of some Flowers, only from the Field, into a Garden, will make in their Colours. And every good *Herbalist*, can tell, the Difference in Plants of the same Kind, growing in several Parts of the World, yea, tho' in the same Latitude. Nor is the *Woolly Hair* of the Blacks, any stranger, than for a Naked Dog, when brought from an Hott to a Cold Climate, to become Hairy. If we must have one *Adam* for *Whites*, and another for *Blacks*, must we not have a Third for *Tawnies*? If one for White, & another for Black *Skins*, why not one for White, and another for Black *Hair*? and another for *Red*? Properties, which in a Breed of Parents, alwayes in the same Climate, & both of the same Colour, would be as constant in the *Hair*, as in the *Skin*. And were it not as necessary to have original Standards of Dimensions, as well as of Colours? One for the gigantic Breed of *Asia*, and another for the Dwarfs of *Lapland*?

To this Purpose, our Dr. *Grew*, in his, *Cosmologia Sacra*.¹¹

[241r]

2315.

Q. Which Way shall wee determine, who was the *Eldest Son of Noah*, from the Words, *Unto Shem, the Brother of Japhet the Elder*? Should it bee rendred, *Frater Japheti majoris*, or, *Frater Japheti major*? v. 21.

A. On the Occasion of this Enquiry, here may bee Introduced for you, a copious Entertainment.¹²

11 Mather's source is *Cosmologia Sacra* (1701), bk. 4, ch. 4, § 10, pp. 186–87, by Dr. Nehemiah Grew (1641–1712), Fellow of the College of Physicians and plant anatomist. The identity of "*Quaveca*" – probably a homonymic spelling of a South or Central American place name – remains unidentified. Grew's knowledge of physiology and of the origin of the different human races has liberated him (and Mather) from his contemporaries' belief that Africans, as descendants of Ham, are dark-skinned because of Noah's curse (Gen. 9:20–27). In his soteriological and eschatological writings, Mather did not exclude Africans from eternal bliss. See Mather's *Negro Christianized* (1706) 2, 18–20, 23–25; and *Threefold Paradise* (312–13). See also S. Haynes's *Noah's Curse*, and M. Minardi, "Inoculation Controversy."

12 The Latin distinction between Shem "the elder Brother of Japheth" or Shem "the brother of Japheth the elder" has given rise to a lively debate between Joseph Justus Scaliger, Joannes Cocceius, and Franciscus Vatablus, and can be traced in the massive collection of commentaries *Critici Sacri* (1:164–68) and in Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:133–34). The following four manuscript pages of "BA" are extracted from *The Thagmical Art: or, the Art of Expounding Scripture By the Points* (1698), by Walter Cross (d. 1701), English nonconformist minister in

It is known, That the Oracles of God, in the Old Testament, are accommodated, with ACCENTS, to the Number of *Thirty*; that is to say, Three *Emperours*, Five *Kings*, Eight *Dukes*, Five *Lords*, and Nine *Ministers*. But the Right Use of these ACCENTS, hath not been known for these many Ages.¹³

Besides the many other Arguments to prove, the *Hebrew Accentuation* to be of *Divine Original*, and not the Invention of the *Tiberian Masorites*, there is this to render it finally Incontestable: By the Help of this *Hebrew Accentuation*, more than by any one thing, we recover the Oracles of the Old Testament, unto the Sense and Service of the *Christian Faith*, from the vile Glosses, wherewith such Rabbins as the Wretches of *Tiberias* have depraved them.¹⁴

Rope-maker's Alley, Moorfield (London), and itinerant preacher in Utrecht. A copy of this work was available at Harvard library during Mather's time, see *Catalogus Librorum* (1723) 75.

13 Cross, *Thagmical Art* (ch. 1, pp. 3–5). Mather borrows the distinction between the different types of Hebrew aspiration and cantillation marks from Cross, but the classification of the Masoretic punctuation signs as “Imperatores,” “Reges,” “Duces,” and “Comites” is derived from *Scrutinium sanctum scripturae ex accentibus* (1636) and from *Grammatica Hebraea* (1638), two popular Hebrew grammars composed by Samuel Bohlius (1611–39), professor of theology and Hebrew at the Lutheran University of Rostock, in NE Germany. Through these popular works, Bohlius introduced among Christian Hebraists the rabbinic tradition of dividing the Masoretic accentuation marks into two systems: (1) “*melakhim*” or “kings” and (2) “*meshartim*” or “servants, ministers” – the former governing the Masoretic cantillation marks for Job, Psalms, and Proverbs (“accents of the three books”) and the latter for the remaining OT books (“accents of the twenty-one books”). Walter Cross (p. 3) also alludes to Johannes Buxtorf's epitome of Hebrew grammar *Thesaurus Grammaticus Lingua Hebraicae* (1603), translated by John Davis, schoolmaster, and published as *A Short Introduction to the Hebrew Tongue* (1655). For Hebrew learning in seventeenth-century New England, see D. S. Pool's “Hebrew Learning,” I. S. Meyer's “Hebrew at Harvard,” and S. Goldman's *Hebrew and the Bible in America* (esp. parts 3 and 5), and Goldman's *God's Sacred Tongue* (ch. 2).

14 Cross summarizes the seventeenth-century debate about Hebrew accentuation in chs. 2–3. The Basel Hebraist Johannes Buxtorf, the Elder (1564–1629), published *Tiberias, sive, commentarius masorethicus* (1618–19), in which Buxtorf asserted the coterminous existence of the Hebrew vowel points and letters along with the authenticity of the Hebrew texts. However, the French Hebraist and professor of theology at Saumur, Louis Cappellus (1585–1658), rejected such pious claims. By comparing Hebrew parallel texts (Samaritan) with translations of the Hebrew text (f.e. LXX), Cappel demonstrated that Hebrew as a language and the texts of the Hebrew Bible had undergone tremendous changes over a long period of time: neither the verbal inspiration of the language along with its vowel points nor the accurate transmission of the ancient texts could be claimed any longer. Cappel presented his argument in *Arcanum punctuationis revelatum* (1624) and in his *Diatriba de veris et antiquis Ebraeorum litteris* (1645). Perhaps because of professional jealousy or because he wanted to defend the accomplishments of his famous father, Johannes Buxtorf, the Younger (1599–1664), responded with his *Dissertatio de litterarum hebraicum genuina antiquitate* (1643) and with *Tractatus de punctorum, vocalium atque accentuum in libris V.T. hebraicis origine* (1648) by asserting that both the Hebrew text and its vowel points were not only uncorrupted but divinely inspired and given to Moses or Ezra at the latest. Cappel replied with his *Diatriba* (1645) to which Buxtorf, the Younger, rejoined with *Tractatus* (1648) and his *Anticritica seu vindiciae veritatis hebraicae adversus Ludovicum Cappellum criticam* (1653). Cappellus answered yet again in his massive *Critica Sacra*, 6 vols. (1650); finally, after the death of both disputants, Cappellus's son Jacques laid the issue to rest by publishing his fathers *Vindiciae arcane punctuationis*, in *Commentarii et Notae Criticae in Vetus Testamentum* (1689). Walter Cross's *Thagmical Art* builds on their criticism; he accepts

Learned Men, have much bewailed, the *Loss* of this *Key of Knowledge*. R. *Jehuda Levita*, the Author of *Cosri*, who lived about Seven hundred Years ago, was the last, that wee find, had any skill in this affayr. And the Writers of late Comments on him, such as R. *Jehu Muscatus*, tell us, That the heaps of our Comments, arise from Ignorance of the *Accents*. *Arcavolti*, in his Grammar entituled, *Area Aromatica*, about an hundred Years ago, makes the same Lamentation. And all that any *Grammars* ordinarily show about the *Accents*, is the Change of some *Vowels*, by their Presence. R. *Calonymus*, above an hundred Years ago, saies, *The Use of them is lost, thro' the Frequent Exiles, Travels, Poverty, & Distresses of the Jewes; neither ha's any made it their business to Recover it, altho' it bee of so great Moment*. The famous *Buxtorf* in his *Thesaurus*, tells us, *The Accents are the best, & most necessary Help, for finding out the Sense of the Holy Scriptures; but neither wee, nor the Jewes, have any sure, & constant Rule about them*. And his learned Son, in his *Anticritica*, tells us, *No doubt, their Use is great, but the Jewes Confess and Bewayl the Loss of this Knowledge: and yett they doubt not, but that they have certain Rules and Methods*. *Hottinger*, in his *Erotemata*, saies the same; And it is well said by *Bohlius*, *The Certainty of the Explication of Scripture, cannot bee attain'd, while the Skill of the True Accentuation is neglected in our Academies*.¹⁵

Cappel's position, but claims that the vowel points of the Tiberian Masoretic texts – introduced by 6th-c. rabbis – distort the meaning of the Hebrew original, which Cross wants to liberate from centuries of distortions and mistranslations. Mather, of course, had participated in this debate with his 1681 Harvard M.A. thesis "Puncta Hebraica sunt originis divinae" (*Diary* 1:26) and first adopted Buxtorf's position, but later recanted and agreed with Cappellus (see Samuel Mather's *Life* 5–6). S. Burnett (*Christian Hebraism*, ch. 7) provides a helpful analysis of the debate between the two Buxtorfs and the Cappels.

15 Cross, *Thagmical Art* (ch. 3, pp. 74–75). R. Jehudah Levita, aka. Judah Ha-Levi (c. 1075–1141), renowned Spanish rabbi of Tudela, authored the rabbinic apologia *Liber Cosri* (c. 1140). Christian commentators principally turned to the Latin translation of this work by Johannes Buxtorf, the Younger, *Liber Cosri Continens Colloquium se Disputationem De Religione* (1660), a defense of Judaism against four competing doctrines: (1) the philosophy of Aristotle as expounded by the Arabic philosopher Avicenna (980–1037), (2) Karaism, the teachings of a Jewish sect that rejected rabbinic tradition and all OT books, but the Pentateuch, (3) Islam, and (4) Christianity. For the value of *Liber Cosri* in Mather's time, see Jacques Basnage's *History of the Jews* (1708), bk. 7, ch. 1, pp. 585–88. R. Jehuda Muscatus, whom Richard Simon identifies as a commentator on Judah ha-Levi's *Liber Cosri*, has not yet been further identified (*Critical History* [1682], bk. 1, ch. 29, p. 190). Arcavolti's Hebrew grammar, *Area Aromatica* (1602), is by Samuel ben Elcanan Jacob Arcavolti (Arkevolti, Arcolti), an Italian rabbi born in Padua, who flourished in Passau, Germany (1550s). Johannes Buxtorf (the Younger) cites him repeatedly in his *Liber Cosri* (*DUSE* 1:148). R. Kalonymus ben David, Italian rabbi and Hebrew grammarian, added a final chapter ("De Accentibus") to *Mikneh Avram: Peculium Abramae* (1523), a Hebrew grammar by the Italian physician, translator, and grammarian Abraham ben Meir de Balmes (1440–c. 1523), personal physician to Cardinal Dominico Grimani. De Balmes's grammar appeared in a dual language Hebrew-Latin edition and was published by Daniel Bomberg, the famous printer of the *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, in Venice (*EJ*). Mather (via Cross 75) refers to the popular reprint of Kalonymus's *De Accentibus* (1594), which appeared as an appendix to De Balmes's *Grammatica Hebraea* (1594), published in Hanover, Germany. Johannes Buxtorf, the Elder, published his famous *Thesaurus Grammaticus Lingua Hebraicae* (1603), and his learned

Now this *Bohlius*, a most Ingenious Man, began the *Discovery*, or, I may rather say, the *Recovery*, of this excellent Skill, publishing the First Rudiments of it, A. C. 1636. But being short-lived, hee Finished it not; *Wasmuth* proceeded further in it, about Thirty Years after. And since him, several have yett further Improved it; especially *Ledeburius*, in his *Catena*, which cost him Eight Years Study; and *Varenius*, and *Reinbeck*. But after all, one Mr. *Walter Cross*, ha's been very laborious to beat out this Matter, into more Perfection; and in a Book published 1698. hee hath so far found out the Rules of the *Hebrew Accentuation*, that if Ingenious Men will prosecute it, it will prove a vast Blessing to the Church of God, & the Sacred Oracles will bee better Interpreted, Illustrated, & Determined, than they have been for *many* Ages, yea, or in *any* Ages. This New Author, (newly alas, deceased) saies to his Reader, *I challenge thee, and I dare challenge any, to bring mee the Text, out of which I shall not make New Discoveries by it, that hee saw not before; Thou wilt bee a gainer in every Verse.*¹⁶

Wee must not, like the *Marcionites* and *Manichees* of old, nor like the *Munsterians* and *Mennonites* of late, nor like the *Socinians*, despise the *Old Testament*. It is not meerly a *Fellow*, but a *Father* to the *New*. Our Lord, and His Apostles, brought all their Arguments for the *Christian Faith* out of it. For the First Hundred Years of *Christianity*, it was the only *Canon* that was Universally Received. Nor do wee find any other Book, mentioned in all the *New Testament*, under the Name of *Scriptures*. The *New Testament* is indeed a Comment, & a Sermon on the *Old*. You may find more than Forty Texts of the *Old Testament*

son Johannes Buxtorf, the Younger, defended his father's belief in the divine inspiration of the Hebrew vowel points, in *Anticritica* (1653). Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–67), renowned Swiss theologian, Orientalist, and rector of the University of Heidelberg, published *Erotematum linguae sanctae* (1647), a popular epitome of Hebrew grammar used to prepare students at the Gymnasium for their entrance requirement at the university. Finally, Mather (via Cross 75, 78) refers to the commentary on Isaiah 12, by Samuel Bohlius, the short-lived Lutheran professor of theology and Hebrew at the University of Rostock, whose *Commentarius Biblico-Rabbinicus in Esaiae cap. VII & seqq.* (1636) is the work in question. The historical debate about the origin of the Hebrew accent marks is aptly reviewed in R. A. Muller's "Vowel Points" and in M. Olender's *Languages of Paradise* (21–36).

¹⁶ Cross, *Thagmical Art* (ch. 3, p. 78). After publishing *Scrutinium sanctum scripturae ex accentibus* (1636), which popularized the rabbinic system of dividing the Masoretic accentuation marks into two classes, Bohlius published several additional Hebrew grammars. Bohlius's disciple Matthias Wasmuth (1625–88), professor of theology and Oriental languages at the University of Kiel, continued Bohlius's efforts to systematize the Masoretic points and published *Institutio Methodica Accentuationis Hebraica* (1664), *Hebraismus Facilitati et Integritati sua Restitutus* (1664), and several other Hebrew grammars. Cross (26, 78) quotes at second hand Ledeburius's *Catena* and preface to שלשלת המורה (1647) from Cappellus's *Vindiciae arcani punctuationis* (1689) 906. Augustus Varenius (1620–84), Lutheran professor of theology at the University of Rostock, published many theological works, including his *Decades Mosaiscae* (1659). Likewise, Andreas Reinbeck (1641–1705), superintendent of the Lutheran churches of Brunswick, published two hefty volumes on the accentuation marks of the Masorah, *Doctrina de accentibus Hebraeorum* (1692). Walter Cross's challenge to his reader, here quoted by Mather, appears in *Thagmical Art* ("To the Reader," p. A7).

referred unto, before you have read Thirteen Chapters of the *New*. More than *Forty Psalms* are there quoted; some of them six or seven Times over. The *New Testament* would bee a very little Book without the *Old*. Now tis Impossible to render Thanks enough unto Heaven, for a *Key* that shall open to us, the Treasuries in those Heavenly Oracles. Our *Cross* ha's help'd us, not a little, in our coming at such a *Key*, as wee have in our *Hebrew Accentuation*. Hee calls it, THE TAGHMICAL ART; because the True *Sense* and *Savour*, /תעמ/ of the *Divine Oracles*, is hereby convey'd unto us.¹⁷

It hath been complained by some, That *Scepticism*, hath grown up in the Garden of *Criticism*. And it is *Thilo's Complaint*, *Some do by Accident promote this, when they propose the different Sentiments of the Learned, without Decision. In which Number* (saith hee) *the famous & most laborious Work of POOL, is to bee reckoned. For, what one builds, another destroyes, and the Opposition distracts the Mind, and leaves the Tender Conscience in Fluctuation, but fills the Cavillers Mouth | with Arguments. How few* (saies hee) *were the Arguments of the Papists, to prove the Scriptures not being a sufficient, perspicuous, & perfect Rule, until now* [242v]

17 Cross, *Thagmical Art* (ch. 3, pp. 63–64, and ch. 1, pp. 2–3). The followers of Marcion of Sinope, Pontus (d. c. 160 CE), and those of the Babylonian Mani of Seleucia (c. 216–76 CE), share the conviction that two different forces in the universe vie for supremacy: Marcion, for one, taught that the Creator God (Demiurge) and the God of Love (embodied in Jesus Christ) were antagonistic, with the latter overthrowing the former – just like Zeus had done with the Titans who brought him forth. For this reason, the OT God of the Hebrews – just like the OT – had been replaced by the God of the NT. Similarly, Mani argued that the cosmic forces of darkness and light were struggling for preeminence, the former being responsible for the mixture of good and evil existing in matter. Rooted in Persian Gnosticism, Manichaeism asserted that Buddha, Jesus, and all the other prophets were sent to assist in the task of liberating the light (held captive in the physical universe) from the forces of darkness. Both philosophies thus dismissed the OT cosmology as outmoded if not outright harmful. The Anabaptists of the Westphalian city of Münster (NW Germany) were an offshoot of radical Protestants during the early sixteenth century. They rejected infant baptism, preached Unitarianism, polygamy, and communitarianism – and all sorts of evils which the rancor of their enemies could invent. The Munsterians fell in 1535, when the imperial forces breached the city walls. The disciples of Simon Menno (c. 1498–1561), a Frisian preacher from the Low Countries, had much in common with the Anabaptists of Germany, with whom they were frequently equated. Like their radical brethren, the Mennonites rejected infant baptism, transubstantiation, and the doctrine of the Trinity; yet unlike them, the Mennonites were pacifists and practiced their creed with strict adherence to moral standards. Finally, the Socinians – disciples of Fausto Sozzini (1538–1604) in Italy and in Poland, and of John Biddle (c. 1650) in England – held that even though Jesus Christ was born by supernatural agency, he was merely a human (albeit perfect) being. If Christ were to be revered at all, then only as an exalted moral teacher, as a representative of God – not as God incarnate. Consequently, there was no propitiatory sacrifice of the Redeemer, no eternal punishment, no original sin: Adam and Eve would have died of natural causes anyway with or without sin, and their offspring can redeem themselves through sincere repentance and good works. Thus Mather (via Walter Cross) can lump together Marcionites, Manichaeans, Munsterians, Mennonites, and Socinians, for they all held one heretical principle or other that the Trinitarians such as the Calvinists, Lutherans, and Roman Catholics found objectionable. The Hebrew word תעמ (ta'am) [Strong's # 2940] suggests “taste, judgment, discretion.”

they see every Particle of Sacred Writt, dissolved into various Senses, by the Patronage of learned Critics? But now, our Industrious Cross, makes it evident, That wee have, in the well-understood Hebrew Accentuation, a great Medium, to keep the Mind like a Rock, stable against such Winds & Tides of Temptation; wee may fix ourselves, in the *Unmoveable Sense of the Scripture*. It may bee, These are the *Points*, which our Saviour said, should not bee utterly *lost*. However, the Commentators, that have taken Measures from them, such as *Geierus*, and *Cocceius*, but above all, *Varenius*, are much to bee relied upon. This *Accentuation*, ha's been well called, *The Queen of Criticism*. It is a Rare Jewel; and, *Reinbeck* truly saies, our laborious Translators, were like the *Old Marriners*, who *Coasted* it along by the Help of former Translations; but knew not the *Magnetic Vertue* in the *Points* of this Compass.¹⁸

For my own Part, I have not yett had the Time, to make any Progress, in the Skill of the *Tagmical Art*; and therefore I shall not attempt here to lay down the Rules of it. All I shall do, shall bee, to offer you some of Mr. *Crosses* Operations, upon several of the Sacred Oracles.

Wee'l begin with the Text, which introduced all this Discourse; *Shem, the Brother of Japhet the Elder*. There were but Three Sons of *Noah*, and learned Men have challenged for each of the Three, the Primogeniture. *Abravanel*, with many others, were for *Shem*. *Lydiat* is for *Ham*. *Aben-Ezra*, with the most, is for *Japhet*. And some will have them *Trines*, all Born at one Birth. But now the Accent *Merca*, being here putt under *Japhet*, shewes that *Japhet* and *Elder*, are construed together, as a *Substantive* and *Adjective*; *Japheti majoris*. And [ch. 9.24.] the Accent *Katon* joined unto *Ham* absolutely, shewes that *Ham* is younger than either of the Two.¹⁹

18 Cross, *Thagmical Art* (ch. 4, p. 92 and "To the Reader," p. A8). Mather probably refers to Valentin Thilo (1607–62), professor of rhetoric at the University of Königsberg, East Prussia, who published two handbooks of rhetoric (1635, 1647), but is now mostly remembered for his Lutheran hymnals. Thilo refers to the massive collection of biblical criticism in 9 vols. *Critici Sacri* (1660), edited by John Pearson et al., and to Matthew Poole (1624–79), who was renowned for gathering the most important critical studies of the Bible into his *Synopsis Criticorum* (1669–76). Martin Geierus (1614–80), professor of theology and Oriental languages at the University of Leipzig, published, among other things, *De Ebraeorum luctu lugentiumque* (1656). Johannes Cocceius (1603–69), Dutch Reformed professor of theology and Hebrew at Franeker, was one of the most distinguished theologians of his time. His pertinent work here is his *Lexicon et commentarius sermonis Hebraici et Chaldaici* (1669). Finally, August Varenius's *Decades Mosaicæ* (1659) and Andreas Reinbeck's *Doctrina de accentibus Hebraeorum* (1692) have both been cited above.

19 Cross, *Thagmical Art* (ch. 4, pp. 96–97). For much of the debate, see Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:133–34). R. Isaac ben Judah Abarbanel, also Abravanel (1437–1508), Portuguese statesman, philosopher and biblical exegete, was much revered by Christian Hebraists for his commentaries on the Pentateuch (Venice 1579) and on the major and minor prophets (see B. Netanyahu, *Abravanel* 251–53). Johannes Buxtorf, the Younger, translated Abarbanel's commentary on the Pentateuch into Latin: *Dissertationes philologico-theologicae ... Accesserunt, R. Isaaci Abarbenelis* (1662). The Anglican theologian, chronologist, and astronomer Thomas

Again, Gen. 3.15. *I will putt Enmity between Thee, & the Woman, & between thy Seed & her Seed.* There is upon, *Woman*, an Accent of that special Quality, that intimates the Quality of the *Enmity*; The *Enmity* between *Christ*, and *Satan*, with all his *Seed*, is infinitely more, than what is between the single Beleever, *Eve*, and *Satan*.²⁰

Wee will offer some further *Glosses*, assisted & maintained by our *Accents*. Wee read, in Deut. 6.4. *The Lord, our God, is One Lord.* But R. Simeon Bar Jochas, Author of the most ancient Book *Zohar*, in the Time of *Adrian*, about one hundred Years after our Saviour, observed, that the *Accents* made a Stop, between, *Jehovah*, and, *One*; and therefore hee thus rendered it, *The Lord, our God, the Lord; They are one.* Yea, the Book *Zohar* so renders it; *These Three are one:* and *John*; [1. Ep. 5.7.] seems to quote this Text. It is there added, *Weigh this Great Mystery of Faith, penetrate into this Secret, if thou study not this, it were better thou hadst never been born*; Hear, O Israel, That They, *Jehovah*, our Adorable One, *Jehovah*; They are in one Unity. And it is confirmed, from Deut. 4.35.²¹

Varenius, therein Justified by the *Accents*, thus reads, Psal. 49.15. *Like Sheep are they laid in the Grave, Death shall feed on them; And the Upright shall have Dominion over them in the Morning. Then shall their Rock come to Destroy Death; Hee shall come from His Habitation.* [i.e. from the Heavens.]

Again, Psal. 10.15. *Break thou the Arm of the Wicked Man, and the Evil; Seek out his Wickedness, till thou find None.* Here is an Intolerable Disorder in this Translation. Lett the *Accents* bee attended, & it will bee thus Translated, *Break thou the Arm of the Wicked*; and then, *as for the Evil Man, if thou seek for his*

Lydiat (1572–1646), who challenged the astronomical calculations of Kepler and Scaliger, argues for Ham's seniority in his *Emendatio Temporum* (1609) 4. Yet Ibn Ezra represents the majority of interpreters (including Ramban and Rashi), arguing for the seniority of Japheth (*Commentary* 1: 134–36). The Hebrew accent mark "*Merca*" [.] is placed below the letter ך (yud) of יָפֶֿתֿ (Japheth), but קָטוֹן (qaton) "*Katon*" (Gen. 9:24), signifies "younger" [son] and is *not* an accent mark as Mather erroneously implies in his manuscript, where he writes "the Accent *Katon* joined unto *Ham*," but an appositive referring to Ham, as Walter Cross's original explication asserts, "*Katon* being joined to *Ham*" (97).

²⁰ Cross, *Thagmical Art* (ch. 4, pp. 110–11).

²¹ Cross, *Thagmical Art* (ch. 2, pp. 31–32). The *Zohar* (*Book of Splendor*), also called *Midrash de Simeon ben Yohai*, is the principal text of cabbalistic literature and Jewish mysticism. It consists of a collection of midrashic precepts, homilies, and disquisitions on different topics, and was attributed to Simeon bar Yohai, pupil of R. Akiva (c. 150 CE), during the reign of Roman Emperor Hadrian (117–38 CE). However, modern scholars point to the Spanish cabbalist Moses ben Shem Tov de Leon (c. 1240–1305) as the author of most if not all of the *Zohar*. First printed in Mantua (1558–60) and in Cremona (1559–60), the *Zohar* went through many reprints and was partly translated into Latin by the Protestant mystic of Silesia Christian Knorr von Rosenroth (1636–89) and published as *Kabbala Denudata* (1677–84). Mather (via Cross, ch. 2, pp. 31–32) quotes from the *Zohar*, where JHVH Eloheinu JHVH are mystically perceived through "faith: in a vision of the Holy Spirit" (*Soncino Zohar*, Shemoth, Raya Mehemna, p. 43b). Mather's interpretation reflects his Trinitarian beliefs.

Iniquity, thou shalt not find it. q.d. They'l never leave *Iniquity*, while they have any Means to pursue it withal.

In Gen. 1.2. there is an *Accent* upon *Earth*, which intimates, that *Moses's* intent was now to discourse only upon *Earth*, & how the *Earth* was brought by several Degrees, to its Perfection, that it might bee Man's Habitation.²²

R. S. *Aben Tisben*, saies, *The Figure of Irony, is known by the Affixed Points*. But saw our Commentators any such *Points*, on Gen. 3.22. *Man is become as one of us?* To Imagine, that our Great *Messias*, at His first Enttring on His Office, of publishing the Gospel from the Bosome of His Father, should compleat His First *Sabbath*, with an *Irony* upon our Misery, wee shall not find another on His poor Church, in all His Ministry.²³

In that famous Text; Deut. 10.12. *And now, Israel, what doth the Lord Require of Thee?* – The Accents here, do excellently Illustrate the *Fear of God*. *What, O Israel, doth the Lord require of thee? Only Fear God, – and this too shall bee for thy Good.*²⁴

Wee read, in Isa. 9.3. *Thou hast multiplied the Nation, and not Increased the Joy*. Our Translation, followes the *Chetib*, לרֹב/ and not the *Keri*, לרַב/ whereas the Presence of *Tiphca* here, shoves, that *Not*, is not here; For a *Negative* should bee joined unto the *Verb*, in the Hebrew, by a *Minister*. Here being an Accent, that is usual to an *Acquisitive Dative Case*, it should thus bee rendred, *Thou hast multiplied the Nation, and to it increased Joy*. Thus, Isa. 49.5. *Tho' Israel bee not gathered*, should in Truth bee, *To Him Israel shall bee gathered.*²⁵

[243r] The Case of *Naaman*, worshipping in the House of *Rimmon*, hath been often canvassed. Especially in *Luthers* Time, on the Prince of *Saxony's* carrying the Sword before the Emperour to *Mass*, tho' not without a preceding Protestation; And now, in our Time, on | the French Tyrants becoming Master of *Strasburgh*. But the *Accents* now determine this Translation for the Words of *Naaman*. *In this Thing, the Lord pardon thy Servant. When my Master came into the House of Rimmon, hee lean'd on my Hand, and then I worshipped in the House of Rimmon. In that I did worship in the House of Rimmon, the Lord pardon thy Servant in this Thing.*²⁶

²² Cross, *Thagmical Art* (ch. 2, p. 45).

²³ Cross, *Thagmical Art* (ch. 3, p. 76). "*Tisben*" is a misprint of R. Samuel ben Judah Ibn Tibbon (c. 1160–c. 1230), son of the renowned Judah ben Saul ibn Tibbon (c. 1120–c. 1190), best known for his translations into Hebrew of Jewish commentaries written in Arabic. Mather (via Cross) refers to R. Samuel's *Commentary on Ecclesiastes (Kohleleth)*, which is excerpted in Johannes Buxtorf's four-volume *Biblia Hebraica cum Paraphrasi Chaldaica et commentarijs rabbinorum* (1618–19). See also Stephen Burnett's *Christian Hebraism* (ch. 6).

²⁴ Cross, *Thagmical Art* (ch. 3, pp. 77–78).

²⁵ Cross, *Thagmical Art* (ch. 4, pp. 88–89).

²⁶ Cross, *Thagmical Art* (ch. 4, pp. 93, 96). *Naaman*, the Syrian, was commander-in-chief of Benhadad, king of Syria, whom he supported in the temple of Rimmon (2 Kings 5:18). Prince Frederick III, the Wise (1465–1525), Elector of Saxony, though ceremonially carrying the sword of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1500–58) in a procession at the Diet of Worms

That Place, Isa. 16.1. *Send yee the Lamb, to the Ruler of the Land, from Sela to the Wilderness, unto the Mount of the Daughter of Zion.* The Stops here are all wrong. And the Sense is also damnified, by ordering the *Lamb* to bee sent unto two most opposite Places. But the *Accents* teach us thus to Read the Words; *Send yee the Ruler of the Lands Lamb, from the Rock of the Desart, to the Mountain of the Daughter of Zion.*²⁷

That Place, Eccl. 8.2. *I counsel thee to keep the Kings Commandment, and that in regard of the Oath of God;* may bee thus Translated, sufficiently to the Satisfaction of many. But if you consult the *Accents*, you'l thus Read it: *As to mee, keep the Kings Command; and as to the Most High, keep the Words, the Oath of God.*²⁸

In that Place, Judg. 6.24. *And Gideon built an Altar there, and called it, Jehovah Shalom;* this Version favours the *Photinians* and the *Socinians*, who, to invalidate the Argument of our Saviours Deity, fetch'd from the proper Name of God, *Jehova*, ascribed unto Him, now plead, it is ascribed unto other Things, as here, unto the *Altar*. But now observe the *Accents*! You'l here see *Tiphca* under *Jehovah*, which proves that *Jehovah* must not bee joined unto *Shalom*. Wherefore the True Version is, *The Lord called it Peace.*²⁹

The *Accents* will teach you thus to read a Text, which by such Criticks as *De Dieu*, ha's been wonderfully confounded; even that in Isa. 25.5. *As the Heat in a dry Place, thou shalt bring the Noise of Strangers: As the Heat by the Shadow of a Cloud: the Song of the Terrible shall bee brought low.*³⁰

That Passage, Eccl. 5.8. *The King himself is served by the Field;* the *Accents* determine to bee more truly thus; *The King is for the Land, who is served.*

(1521), hid Martin Luther in the Wartburg Castle, when the emperor placed Luther under the imperial ban. Walter Cross, like many of his Protestant peers, deplored the Treaty of Ryswick (1697), which officially consigned the Free (Protestant) City of Strasbourg, occupied by the Roman Catholic troops of Louis XIV since 1681, to France at the end of the War of the Grand Alliance (1688–97). For Mather's dismay at the "Infamous Peace" of Ryswick relating to his eschatological hopes, see *Threefold Paradise* (225–26) and *Diary* (1:213, 214, 256, 397–99).

27 Cross, *Thagmical Art* (ch. 4, pp. 97–98).

28 Cross, *Thagmical Art* (ch. 4, p. 99).

29 Cross, *Thagmical Art* (ch. 4, p. 101). Mather (via Cross) refers to Photius (c. 810–c. 895), patriarch of Constantinople, who over the period of his long life was variously deposed from and reappointed to the See of Constantinople by imperial and papal edicts in their conflict over authority in the E and W Roman Empire. In this respect, Mather links the Photians – those who depose men in authority – with the Socinians who, as Unitarians, "deposed" Christ from the triune Godship.

30 Cross, *Thagmical Art* (ch. 4, p. 101). Ludovicus de Dieu (1590–1642) was a Dutch Orientalist, pastor of a Leiden congregation, and regent of the Walloon College. His numerous exegetical and linguistic studies of the Bible were collected in his distinguished *Critica Sacra, sive animadversiones* (1693). His Hebrew grammars include *Compendium grammaticae Hebraicae* (1626) and *Grammatica trilinguis Hebraica, Syriaca, et Chaldaica* (1628). Mather here refers to De Dieu's *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamenti* (1648) 498, on Isa. 25:5.

Varenius, by the *Accents*, thus renders, Eccl. 3.18. *I said in my Heart, according to the State of the Sons of Men, there is need they choose a God, and that they see that they are Beasts, I say that they are Beasts to themselves.*

Thus, Eccl. 8.11. *Because the Decree is not executed, the Work of Wickedness goeth on with Speed; therefore the Heart of the Sons of Men is full in them to work Wickedness.*

Thus, Eccl. 9.1. *Man knoweth neither Love nor Hatred; but all those things are before Them; i.e. God, in the Plural Number.*³¹

Schmidt thus corrects, Judg. 5.15. *The Princes of Issachar were with Deborah. Issachar also was with Barak: In the Valley was the Enemy thrust under his Feet: In the Ranks of Reuben, there would have been the likes for they were great Men in the Thoughts of their Heart.* And again; Judg. 5.22. *The Hoofs of the Horses were Broken; from Tramlings were the Tramlings of the Mighty Ones; i.e. they trode down one another.*³²

Numberless, I say, Numberless other Texts, might bee cleared from a World of Confusion, by the Consideration of the *Accents*.

But among the other Services to bee done by the *Accents*, there is one very considerable in *This*; That as wee were saying, they Rescue many Texts, from the false Glosses, which the Modern Jewes, in Opposition to Christianity, do putt upon them.

Take an Instance or Two. Wee Christians beleeve the *Deity* of the *Messiah*, because tis said in Jer. 23.6. *Hee shall bee called, Jehovah our Righteousness.* The Jewes, and R. Saadiah for one, go to Rob us, of this Text, by thus Translating, *Jehovah shall call Him, Our Righteousness.* Whereas, (and Aben-Ezra himself acknowledges it,) there is a *Tiphca* on *Vajikra*, and a *Merca* on *Jehovah*; the one divides *call*, from, *Lord*, the other unites *Lord*, and *Righteousness*; Thus wee again recover it into our Hands, *Jehovah our Righteousness.*³³

Thus, after all the Fruitless Attempts of the Jewes, to make the Titles, in Isa. 9.6. all or most of them, the Titles of *God* the *Caller*, and not of the *Child* that is *Called*, the *Accents* will make us again the Owners of that famous Text. It should bee Translated, *There is a Child born to us, the Son who was given unto*

³¹ The three preceding paragraphs are from Cross, *Thagmical Art* (ch. 4, pp. 103, 105).

³² Cross, *Thagmical Art* (ch. 4, pp. 106–107). Sebastian Schmidt (1617–96), professor of theology at Strasbourg, published several commentaries on the Bible, including a commentary on the book of Kings, *In Libros Regum annotationes* (1697).

³³ Cross, *Thagmical Art* (ch. 3, p. 76; ch. 4, pp. 134–35). R. Saadiah ben Joseph Gaon (882–942), leader of the Babylonian Jews, was the most eminent scholar of the geonic period (*E*). His many linguistic and grammatical annotations on the Hebrew language of the Bible, along with Abraham ibn Ezra's *Commentary* and the Targums, were generally incorporated in the *Mikraoth Gedoloth* and in the Latin translations of Sebastian Münster and Johannes Buxtorf. Cross (76) identifies Buxtorf's *Biblia Hebraica* (fol. 501, # 19) as his immediate source.

us; And then, His Præ-Existence before His Birth, countenancing of it, the following Epithites are all given unto *Him*.³⁴

R. *Menasseh ben-Israel*, would fain so read the Prophecy, Gen. 49.10. *Nor a Law-giver from between his feet forever; for Shilo shall come*. Whereas mind the Accents. There is *Athnac* upon, *his Feet*; and *Itib*, is upon עַד, which is a *Minor* to the Accent on *Shilo*; all shoves that it must bee read in another Clause, thus; *Until Shilo shall come*.³⁵

It is now also become Incontestable, That Hab. 2.4. is to bee rendred, *The Righteous by Faith shall live*.

But I'll proceed no further, at this Time, & in this Place; Only I'll shutt up all, with One Illustration more, which Mr. *Cross* ha's upon, Gen. 12.6. which wee read, *Abraham passed thorough the Land, unto the Place of Sichem, unto the Plain of Moreh; And the Canaanite was then in the Land*. *Spinosa*, and after him, the Author of the Five Letters, [One for Immoralities, a Monster of Mankind,] urge, That *Moses* could not bee the Author of the Book of *Genesis*, or, as F. *Simon* saies, of any more than Part of it. For the *Canaanite* was not in the Land when it was written, *The Canaanite | was then in the Land*; It implying, that the *Canaanite* was now driven out of the *Land*, when this Book was written. But now, Mr. *Cross* demonstrates from the *Accents*, That the last Clause of the Verse is to bee read, *For that Canaanite was then in the Land*; And that *Moreh* was a *Man*, and not a *Place*. The Text only saies, That *Moreh*, even that *Canaanite*, was in the Land, in the Time of *Abraham*, & the Owner of it; but in *Jacobs* Time, *Sechem* the *Hivite* possessed it.³⁶

[244v]

Upon the whole, I am far from now being offended, as *Capellus* was, at *Ledeburius*, for saying, "That certainly the Sin must bee very Great, & the Divine Judgments on the account of that Sin very Severe, that God should suffer so precious & inæstimable a Treasure to lye hid in His Church undiscovered;" And yett I am not very confident of the Stress that he, & some others may lay upon it.³⁷

³⁴ Cross, *Thagmical Art* (ch. 4, pp. 136–37).

³⁵ Cross, *Thagmical Art* (ch. 2, p. 34). Mather here quotes from Gerard Vossius's Latin translation of *Conciliator, sive de convenientia locorum S. Scripturae* (1633), vol. 1, [(2000 ed.), Question 68, pp. 93–99], by the great R. Manasseh ben Israel (1604–57), Jewish printer, statesman, and teacher of Spinoza in Amsterdam.

³⁶ Mather concludes his excerpt from Walter Cross with a discussion of the controversial scripture in Gen. 12:6. Spinoza (*Theologico-Political Tractate*, ch. 8, pp. 121–22), LeClerc (*Five Letters Concerning Inspiration* [1690], esp. "The First Letter"), and Richard Simon (*Critical History of the OT*, esp. bk. 1, ch. 1, pp. 2–6; ch. 2, p. 19; ch. 5, 36–46) list Gen. 12:6 as one of the many places in the Pentateuch that rendered Moses's authorship of the Pentateuch unlikely. See Smolinski, "Authority and Interpretation."

³⁷ Cross, *Thagmical Art* (ch. 2, pp. 25–26). Mather (via Cross) refers to *Vindiciae arcani punctuationis*, in *Commentarii et notae criticae* (1689) 906, where Louis Cappellus takes exception to his fellow Hebraist Ledeburius. Between "undiscovered;" and "And yett ..." Mather cancels, "At that I join with him, and ask you to join with mee, introducing the Free Grace of

If it be as they think, I hope, some Ingenious and Judicious Men, will pursue the Discoveries thus begun, and open to us Glorious Treasures in the Oracles of God, with their *Illustrations* upon them. Doubtless, they will all have the same Experience with Mr. Cross, who saies, *I never was forced by Absurdness and Unreasonableness in Sense to forsake these Points; but often could find no Place for the Sole of my Foot, until I took them for my Guide.*

And, now, tho' I have done with Mr. Crosses Improvements of the *Taghmical Art*, yett I cannot but insert in this Place, however it may seem otherwise out of its Place, a further Curiosity, which I find among Mr. Crosses Improvements. While the *Accents* lead him to speak something of Sarah's Speech to Abraham, where hee discourses on the *Rhetorical Use* of the *Accents*, to describe the *Passions* in the Mind of a Speaker, hee is led into an Observation, of this Importance.³⁸

Abraham, the Father of the Faithful, Represented the Church, whereof Lot was a Backsliding Part, who falling in Love with the *Fatt Valleyes* of the Earth, brought *Leanness* into his Soul, and Ruine upon his Family. *Melchisedeck*, represented our Blessed Jesus Meeting & Blessing the Church, with His *Visible Presence*, as their King, after Hee hath by His *Invisible Power* assisted them to Triumph over all their Carnal Enemies. This will bee at the *Time of the End*, when One of the cheef Enemies conquered shall bee, the King of *Shinar*, which was the Countrey of *Babylon*. But that wee may go a little further in *Typification*; The Ten Years of *Abrahams* Pilgrimage (from *Charan*, thro' *Canaan*, to *Egypt*, and so back to *Mamre*, the Place of his Abode, and from thence to his Victory) did, by putting a Year for a Day, signify the Churches Pilgrimage in this World, until the Coming of *Melchisedek*; Ten Times 365 Years, that is, 3650 Years. Hee then paid his *Tenth* to *Melchisedec*, by which hee acknowledged, not only this Victory, but all his Riches, to bee from the *Blessing* of the *Lord of Hosts*, and particularly, all his Protections during his *Ten Years* Difficulties. It may bee, this High-Priest read a Lecture of this kind unto him, when hee *Blessed* him, which might more particularly occasion his Paying this *Tenth* unto him. Wee may then draw a *Line of Time*.³⁹

From <i>Abraham</i> to <i>Moses</i> ,	430.
From <i>Moses</i> to <i>Solomons</i> Temple,	480.
From <i>Solomons</i> Fourth, to his Death,	036.
From <i>Rehoboam</i> , to the Captivity,	372.
From the Captivity to the Restoration,	070.

God; who will Restore it, in this forsaken Age." In its stead, Mather interpolates in the margin of his manuscript the paragraph's final sentence. His excision and interpolation reveal Mather's increasingly ambivalent attitude toward interpreting problems of textual transmission and interpolation in the Bible as signs of cosmic displeasure.

³⁸ Cross, *Thagmical Art* ("Illustrations," sec. 1, p. 175).

³⁹ Cross, *Thagmical Art* ("Illustrations," sec. 1, pp. 175, 177).

From the Restoration to the Birth of Christ, 535.
 From the Birth of Christ, until Now, 1699.

Summ Total 3622.
 Or, Because the True Year now
 is 1701, make it, 3624.
 Well, Compare This now with 3650,

And you'll see that wee must bee within Five or Six and Twenty Years, of a wonderful *Revolution*.⁴⁰

This indeed marvellously Harmonizes with other Prophetical Periods. But wee must leave it unto Time, to confirm or confute the Expectation. In the mean Time, tis Mr. *Crosses* Opinion, That until the Second Coming of our Lord, wee owe our *Tythes* unto Him; and that they who neglect paying them, are guilty of *Sacriledge*, and *Robbers of God*.⁴¹

|
 1494.

[245r]

Q. The Division of the Earth, among the Three Sons of *Noah*, is admirably related in the *Mosaic* History. Will you bestow some Illustrations upon this choice Monument of *Antiquity*? v. 32.

A. Give your Attention.

JAPHET, the eldest Son of *Noah*, had Seven Sons, who peopled *Europe*, and Part of *Asia* the Less.⁴²

⁴⁰ Cross, *Thagmical Art* (177–78). Mather incorporated his extract from *Thagmical Art* into “BA” sometime in 1701 and hinted that the Second Coming might occur sometime in 1736. For Mather’s eschatological calculations, see Smolinski, “Introduction” (*Threefold Paradise* 60–78).

⁴¹ Lam. 5:4. Cross’s recommendation to pay one’s tithes to Melchizedek must have reverberated with Mather, since he was not beyond reminding his parishioners of their obligation to maintain their ministers. See his *Durable Riches* (1695), part 2, pp. 5–7; *Monitory Letter* (1700); *Bonifacius* (1710) 138; *Repeated Admonitions* (1725) 9–11, 16; and *Diary* (1:351). See Appendix A.

⁴² Until at least the end of the eighteenth century, virtually all biblical commentators relied for their study of Old Testament geography on *Geographia Sacra* (1646), by Samuel Bochart (1599–1667), eminent French Huguenot scholar, theologian, and Orientalist. Now mostly remembered for his massive work on biblical geography and for his *Hierozoicon* (1646), a study of biblical bestiary, Bochart was the foremost authority on these topics; his works went through several editions and reprints in the Netherlands, Britain, and Germany. He was certainly not the only one who traced the postdiluvian dispersion of Noah’s offspring throughout the world. Readers – less versed in Latin – might turn to the ever popular Dr. Edward Wells (1665–1727), rector of Cotesbach in Leicestershire, whose 3-volume *An Historical Geography of the Old Testament* (1711–12) was reprinted until the nineteenth century. Much of what Mather extracts from Bochart was also digested in Well’s *Historical Geography* (vol. 1). For Bochart’s discussion of Japheth and his offspring, see *Geographia* (1707), pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 1–15, col. 147–202. All references are to the fourth edition of Bochart’s *Geography* (1707) – unless otherwise specified.

1. *Gomer*. His Progeny seated themselves in the North-East Part of that Lesser *Asia*; which contains *Phrygia*, *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, and a great Part of *Galatia*. These were the Γομαρείς, according to *Josephus*; called by the Latins, *Galatæ*. Among these was the City *Comara*, according to *Pliny*; and *Mela* speaks of the *Comari*. The People of this Tract were, as *Herodotus*, & other ancient Historians testify, call'd, *Cimmerij*: who, according to the *Judgment* of Criticks, that least indulge *Fancy*, had their Name from *Gomer*; these tell us, that *Gomeri*, *Comeri*, *Cumeri*, *Cimbri*, and *Cimmerij*, are the same. The old *Germans*, are thought by them, to have been a Colony of these *Gomerians*; for *German* is but a Corruption of *Gomerian*. The old *Galls*, were another Colony of the *Gomerians*, who by the *Græcians* were called Γαλάται, or Καλάται, and contractedly Κέλται, *Celtæ*: For it appears, that the *Cimbri*, or *Cimmerij*, were the ancient Inhabitants of old *Gallia*. And our Ancestors, the *Britains*, were of the same Stock; our *Camden* proves, that they descended from the *Galls*, or *Celtæ*, who were the *Gomeri*, or *Cimbri*, of old: the Inhabitants of *Cumberland*, as hee thinks, retain the Name still; these were the true *Britains*, the *Cimbri*, or *Cumbri*, or, as they were afterwards called, the *Cambri*. But this latter Denomination was peculiarly carried away, by those that fled into the British *Cimmeria*, or *Cambria*, now called *Wales*, in the Time when the Saxons raged in the Southern Parts of *Britain*.⁴³

Gomer had Three Sons.

Ashkenaz, was hee, to whom there did belong *Troas*, or *Phrygia*, the Lesser; where is the River *Ascanius*, and a Countrey call'd *Ascania*, which probably took their Names from him. Hence the *Ascanian Port*, and the *Ascanian Isles*, in *Pliny*; and the Name *Ascanius*, tis observed, was much used in these Parts.

Riphat, had a Seat in *Pontus* & *Bithynia*, especially in *Paphlagonia*, whence (as the Jewish Historian remarks) the *Paphlagonians*, were called, *Riphatæ*, and afterwards, by Contraction, *Riphaei*; And in *Mela*, there is mention of *Riphaces*.

Togarmah, had *Phrygia* the Greater, and Part of *Galatia*. *Josephus* therefore saies, That the *Phrygians* were known by the Name of *Tygrammines*.⁴⁴

⁴³ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 8, col. 171–72). Josephus mentions the “Gomareis” (Gomerites) “whom the Greeks now call Galatians, [Galls,] but were then called Gomerites” (*Antiquities* 1.6.1). Mather possibly has in mind the Cappadocian town “Comana” (Pliny 6.3.8); Pomponius Mela speaks of the “Comari” in his *De Chorographia* (1.1 and 1.12). Herodotus (1.6, 16, 103) mentions the “Cimmerii.” The Greeks called these Galli “Galatai” or “Kalatai,” hence “Keltai” (Diodorus Siculus 25.13.1; Herodotus (2.33). Finally, the Elizabethan antiquarian and historian William Camden (1551–1623) presents his “phonetic” evidence in *Camden’s Britannia* (1695), “General Introduction,” pp. x–xi; and in his chapter on “Cumberland” (819). However, his Dutch colleague Ludovicus Cappellus (Louis Cappel) begs to differ and argues that the Comari and Chomeri are a Scythian – not Celtic – people of Bactriana, in *Chronologia Sacra* (1655) 109. For much the same, see Simon Patrick’s annotations on Gen. 10:2 (*Commentary* 1:44–45).

⁴⁴ The three preceding paragraphs are extracted from Bochart’s *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 9, col. 172–74; cap. 10, col. 174–75; cap. 11, col. 175–79). Pliny (4.12.71; 5.32.121; 5.38.138 etc.); for the Paphlagonians and the “Tygrammines” or rather “Thygrammines,” see Josephus

2. *Magog*. From him were the *Scythians*, who dwelt on the East, and North-East, of the *Euxine* Sea: for, *Pliny* saies, that *Scythopolis*, and *Hierapolis*, which the *Scythians* took, when they conquered *Syria*, were ever after called, *Magog*. And it is granted by *Ptolomy*, that the proper Name of that Place was *Magog*. *Josephus* confirms this, when hee saies, That the *Scythians* were called *Magogæ* by the *Græcians*, & thence infers, that the *Scythians* had their Original of *Magog*, the Son of *Japheth*.⁴⁵

3. *Madai*. From him descended the *Medes*; for *Madai*, is in the Bible, the Name for *Media*. Another Seat of his Offspring was *Macedonia*, anciently call'd *Æmathia*, or, *Æmadia*, which is the same with *Madia*; for tis usual, in changing a Name out of one Language into another, to præfix a Vowel or Dip[h]thong. And a People of this Place were called, Μῆδοι or Μαῖδοι.⁴⁶

4. *Javan*. Hee, tis likely, came first into *Greece*; and afterwards into the more Western Parts of *Europe*. From this *Javan* (whom the LXX call Ἰωάν) the *Jones*, or *Jaones* (as *Homer* and *Strabo* call them) the original Græcians, had their Original. *Josephus* is peremptory for it; Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰαυάνου Ἰωνία, καὶ πάντες Ἕλληνες γεγόνασι, from *Javan* came *Jonia*, and all the Greeks. *Gre{e}ce* also is in the Scripture called *Javan*. [Dan. 10.20. and 11.2.]⁴⁷

Javan had Four Sons.

Elisa, had for his Portion, *Achaia*, and Part of *Peloponnesus*, as ha's been inferred from This, that in this Countrey they meet with *Ellas*, and the *Elysian* Fields; and the City *Eleusis*, and *Elis* a City of *Peloponnesus*, all taking their Names from this *Elisas*. And some also make him the Parent of the *Æoles*, in *Greece*.⁴⁸

| *Tarshish*, was hee who inhabited the Countrey of *Tarsis*, on the Coast of the Mediterranean Sea; whence *Tarshish* is a Word signifying the Sea. Probably, [246v]

(*Antiquities* 1.6.1); and for the Riphacians, Pomponius Mela (*De Chorographia* 1.98, 104, 106, 109; 2.1; 3.31, 36).

⁴⁵ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 13, col. 186–93; pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 45, col. 690, lines 6–9). *Pliny* (5.19.81; 6.31.135) does not refer to the biblical “Magog,” but to the holy Syrian city “Bambyx,” by “the Syrians called Mabog”; and to the town of “Magoa” on the River “Karún” in the “territory of Susa.” For Claudius Ptolemy’s “Scythopolis,” see his *Geography* (5.14); for *Josephus*, *Antiquities* (1.6.1).

⁴⁶ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 14, col. 193–98). Greek: “Medoi” or “Maidoi.”

⁴⁷ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 3, col. 153–55). *Homer*’s *Iliad* (13.685) and *Strabo* (9.5.7) call them “Iaones” (Ionians). *Josephus* (*Antiquities* 1.6.1) makes the same point. The Greek passages from *Josephus*’s *Antiquitates Judaica* (1.124.3–4) are translated by Mather and read back into the LXX translation of Dan. 10:20 and 11:2, where the name Ἑλλήνων (Hellenon) or Hellenes, not Ἰωάν (Iouan) or *Javan*, appears. However, יָוָן (Yavan) does appear in the Hebrew version and is identified with Greece. For much the same, see Simon Patrick’s annotations on Gen. 10:2 (*Commentary* 1:45).

⁴⁸ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 4, col. 155–56).

hee seated himself in *Cilicia*, the chief City whereof was *Tarsus*; and the People whereof, were of old called, *The People of Tarsus*.⁴⁹

Chittim. His dwelling seems to have been *Lycia*, and Part of *Pamphylia*; for the Countrey *Cetis*, mentioned by *Ptolomy*, and the People *Cetij* mentioned by *Homer*, shew that the Sons of *Cittim*, or the *Cittaens* inhabited there. In the Book of the *Maccabees* the King of *Macedon* is called, the King of *Cittim*. And because there were several Colonies of them sent into *Cilicia*, this also bears the Name of, the *Land of Chittim*, and *Chittim*, [Isa. 23.1, 12.] from whence *Alexander* came to destroy *Tyrus*, which is there prædicted. *Ptolomy* tells us, That *Cetis* is a Region of *Cilicia*; *Cyteum* is in *Crete*, saith *Pliny*. There is a *Cittium* in *Cyprus*, according to *Strabo*. And *Josephus* relates, that *Cetios* was the Greek Name of *Cyprus* itself; and thence, hee saith, all the Greek Islands were called *Chittim*. *Italy* too was peopled by the *Chittians*, and is therefore to bee understood by this Name. The *Jerusalem-Targum* so Interprets the Word in Gen. 10.4. And when tis said, *The ships of Chittim shall come against thee*, [Dan. 11.30.] some understand it, of the *Romans*, by whom *Antiochus* was to bee disturbed.⁵⁰

Dodanim. Hee seated himself in *Epirus*, and Part of *Peloponnesus*. The Name is kept up, in the City *Dodona*, (which is in *Epirus*) near to which was *Jupiters Oracle*, who therefore had the Name of *Dodonæus*. This *Jupiter*, was our *Dodanim*, who was the *Græcian Saturn*.⁵¹

5. *Thubal*. Hee seems to have taken up his First Habitation, about the South-East, of the *Euxin Sea*, where dwelt the *Albani*, *Chalybes*, *Iberi*, who were called Antiently, *Thobeli*, saies the Jewish Antiquary, from this *Thubal*: For which Cause, *Ptolomy* also speaks, of a City here, that had the Name of *Thubilaca*. Some of the *Iberi*, were, from those Parts, translated into *Spain*, which was thence called *Iberia*; and so the *Spaniards* are to bee reckoned the Sons of *Tubal*.⁵²

6. *Meshech*. To him fell *Cappadocia*, the Inhabitants whereof were the *Meschini*, and *Moschi*, saies the Jewish Antiquary; and *Strabo*, *Mela*, and *Pliny*, also

⁴⁹ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 7, col. 165–71). See Patrick on Gen. 10:4 (*Commentary* 1:46).

⁵⁰ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 5, col. 157–61). Ptolemy (*Geography* 2.13, 14, 15); Homer (*Odyssey* 11.521) mentions the Ceteians; 1 Macc. 8:5; Pliny (5.35.130); Strabo (14.6.3); Josephus (*Antiquities* 1.6.1); Targum Hierosolymitanum (Gen. 10:4) also identifies Italy as part of Chittim, in Brian Walton (4:17). Mather evidently refers to Antiochus IV Epiphanes (c. 215–164 BCE), who became king of the Seleucid empire in 175 BCE. He was defeated by the Romans and forced to withdraw from Egypt and Cyprus in 170–168 BCE. See also Patrick on Gen. 10:4 (*Commentary* 1:46).

⁵¹ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 6, col. 161–65). The Oracle of Dodana (NW Greece) was famous for the adoration of Zeus Naïos of Epirus.

⁵² Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 12, col. 179–86). Josephus (*Antiquities* 1.6.1); Ptolemy (*Geography* 5.12)

mention them. Some of his Posterity were placed in *Scythia*, and the adjacent Regions; whence wee find *Meshech* and *Tubal* (which are commonly joined in Scripture) are Words expressive of *Scythia*; [Ezek. 32.26.] and *Magog* is likewise joined with them. [Ezek. 38.2, 3.] Moreover, tis probable, that the *Moscovites*, are of the Race of *Meshech*, or *Moshech*, (for the Word is pronounced either way, as *Melech*, and *Moloch*;) for the *Muscovites* were originally from *Scythia*. It is remarkable, That the LXX render *Meshech*, in Ezek. 38.2. Ῥῶς Μεσέχ where the Name *Rhos*, gives the Denomination of the *Russians*, which is another Name of the *Muscovites*.⁵³

7. *Tiras*. Hee was the Progenitor of the *Thracians*; *Thrax* ha's a near Cognation to *Thiras*.⁵⁴

It is said, By the aforesaid Sons of *Japheth*, the *Isles of the Gentiles were divided in their Lands*: The Hebrewes, by /צִיִּן/ understand, not only those Regions, which are encircled with the *Sea*, and are most properly & usually called *Islands*, but all Countreyes divided from them by the *Sea*, or such as they could not come to but by the *Sea*. This is plain from several Texts of Scripture, where this Word is used; and the Greek νῆσος is also taken sometimes in so large a Sense. Accordingly, since there is no Part of the World call'd *Christendome* at this day, but what was divided from the Jewes by *Sea*, wee may gather how *Large* the Allotment of *Japheth*, & his Posterity, was. *The Isles of the Gentiles*, include, not only all *Europe*, with all the Isles appertaining to it, but all the Regions that lie North and West of *Judea*: or, as Mr. *Mede* expresses it, All the Countries, that ly above the *Mediterranean*, from the Mountain *Amanus*, and the Hircane Sea, Westward.⁵⁵

So much for *Japhet*, who was not unknown by Name unto the Pagans; Hence in *Horace*, wee have *Japeti Genus*; and in *Lucian*, Ἰαπετοῦ ἀρχαιότερος, is a Proverb, for what is very Ancient.⁵⁶

| SHEM, the middle Son of *Noah*; in the Division of the Earth, had *Palestine*, and all the Eastern Part of *Asia*. Hee had Five Sons.⁵⁷ [247r]

⁵³ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 12, col. 179–86). Josephus (*Antiquities* 1.6.1); Strabo (11.2.14); Pomponious Mela (*De Chorographia* 1.12); Pliny (6.10.28). LXX Ezek. 38.2: Ῥῶς Μεσέχ (*Rhos Mesoch*). Patrick on Gen. 10:2 (*Commentary* 1:45).

⁵⁴ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 2, col. 151–53).

⁵⁵ Gen. 10:5. The Hebrew word “mi-iy” and the Greek “nesos” (LXX) suggest “isles” and “islands” [Strong’s # 0339]. Joseph Mede, “Discourse XLVIII. Genesis 10:5,” in *Works* (1664), lib. 1, p. 370.

⁵⁶ The Latin phrase from Horace, *Carmina* (Ode 1.3.27), reads “son of Japetus.” The Greek quotation from Lucian, *Dialogi deorum* (6.1, *Works* 7:263) can be rendered “much older than Japetus.”

⁵⁷ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 1, col. 66–70).

1. *Elam*. This was the Parent of the *Elamites* that is to say, the *Persians*; for this was the primitive Name of that People. [Isa. 21.2. & 22.6.] and because Part of *Media*, was a near Neighbour, *Elam* is the Word, for the Land of *Medes* also. [Ezek. 32.24.]⁵⁸

2. *Ashur*. From him was Peopled, & Named, *Assyria*. Prophane Writers call him *Ninus*.

3. *Arphaxad*. His Posterity occupied *Chaldea* and *Mesopotamia*; and of his Race was *Abraham*.

4. *Lud*. From him were the *Lydians* in *Asia* the Less. And *Bochart* hath prov'd, That by the *Ludim* are meant sometimes, the *Ethiopians*.⁵⁹

5. *Aram*. His Abode was *Aramea*, or, *Syria*: for so tis call'd by the Greeks. Wherefore *Strabo* tells us, that *Aram* was the old Word for *Syria*; and that those who are now call'd *Syrians*, were herefore known by the Name of *Arameans*. And it is likely, That *Armenia* had its Denomination from *Aram*; for his Race probably were Inhabitants of *Syria*, & of *Armenia* the Great, which is as much as *Aramenia*.⁶⁰

Uz, the Son of *Aram*, had the Land of *Uz*.

And some think, that the *Hebrewes* had their Name from *Heber*, the son of *Arphaxad*; but others dispute it.⁶¹

There are some Writers, who would perswade us, That among the Divisions of the several Regions of the World, *America*, or the *West-Indies*, fell to the share of some of the Stock of *Shem*. This Part of the Earth, say *Arias Montanus*, and *Vatablus*, was possessed by *Jobab*, and *Ophir*, two of the Sons of *Joctan*. To confirm this Opinion, *Brerewood* and others, aver, that *America* is joined unto the Continent of *Asia*; & so the Passage was easy, Men & Beasts might easily travel thither. *Genebrard* also, with others, declare it their Opinion, that *Ophir*, where *Solomon* had his Gold, had its Denomination, from the Son of *Joctan* so called; and that this Place was that which is now called, *Peru*: for which they urge, 2. Chron. 3.6. the Name of that Gold, *Zahab Peruajim*, which latter Word, is the Dual Number, they say, of *Peru*. *Vatablus* tells us, t'was *Hispaniola*, in the Western Ocean; but others tell us, t'was the Eastern *India*, even that which was possessed by *Shems* Posterity, *Ophir* and *Havilah*, the Sons of *Joctan*. So say *Ra-*

⁵⁸ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 2, col. 70–72).

⁵⁹ The explications of Ashur, Arphaxad, and Lud are extracted from Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 3, 4, 12, col. 72–74, 83–88).

⁶⁰ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 5, col. 74–75). Strabo (1.2.34) relates that the Syrians call themselves “Arimaeans and Arammaeans.”

⁶¹ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 8, 14, col. 80–81, 92–96).

banus Maurus, and *Lyranus*, and *Pererius*, and *Maffæus*, and *Tzeta*, and *Lipenius*, and how many more?⁶²

To these *Indies*, according to *Josephus*, did *Solomons* Navy make a Voyage; particularly, to a Region call'd heretofore *Sophyra*, now the *Golden Land*. With him agrees *Varrerius*, and adds, That this *Golden Chersonesse*, is the same, with the Place, that is at this Day called, *Malacca*, which is in the Kingdome of *Pegu*,

62 Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 46, col. 691–98) surveys some of the most important authors and their placement of Ophir, Solomon's fabled gold mines (1 Kings 9:28, 10:11; 2 Chron. 8:18). Benedictus Arias Montanus (1527–98), Spanish priest, Orientalist and antiquarian extraordinaire, published the final volume of the famous Antwerp Polyglot, *Biblia Sacra, Hebraice, Chaldaice, Greece, et Latine* (1571–72). His discussion of "Ophir" appears in Montanus's alphabetical *Apparatus* (complete with maps), appended to *Biblia Sacra*. Mather owned Montanus's *Biblia Hebraica* (1609). The French Orientalist Franciscus Vatablus, aka. François Vatable, or Waterbled (c. 1485–1547), was professor of theology and Hebrew at the Collège de France. His *Biblia; Hebraea, Chaldaea, Graeca & Latina* (1540) went through many editions. Both Montanus (annot. on the LXX 3 Kings 9:28, 10:11) and Vatablus (annot. on 1 Kings 9:28), in *Critici Sacri* (1:2513), locate Solomon's Ophir (Sophora) in the West Indian island of Hispaniola, which Christopher Columbus, invoking the riches of Solomon's gold-mines, had pinpointed as the most likely site for the fabled Ophir (*Four Voyages*, 2:6). Edward Brerewood (c. 1565–1613), professor of astronomy at Gresham College, argued that the Native Americans are descendants of the Tartars, who came over to the New World through an isthmus. In his *Enquiries Touching the Diversity of Languages* (1614), Brerewood asserted the contiguity of Asia and America, else Noah's descendants and the wild animals released from the Ark would not have been able to cross over into America: "Those parts of *Asia* and *America*, are continent [sic] one with the other, or at most, disjoyned but by some narrow channell of the Ocean, the ravenous and harmefull beasts, wherewith *America* is stored, as Beares, Lions, Tigers, Wolves, Foxes, etc. (which men as is likely, would never to their owne harme transporte out of the one continent to the other) may import" (ch. 13, p. 97). Gilbert Génébrard (1535–97), French Benedictine theologian and Orientalist, professor of Hebrew and exegesis at the Collège Royal, later archbishop of Aix, published *Chronographia in duos libros distincta*, 2 vols. (1567), an expanded volume in 4 books appearing as *Chronographiae libri quatuor* (1580). In vol. 1, he traces the dispersal of the postdiluvians and also points beyond Columbus's Hispaniola to the Andean Peru as the location of the Solomonian Ophir. Samuel Purchas, however, did not agree with this solution, because this Peruvian Ophir was out of reach of Solomon's fleet, in *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625), vol. 1, ch. 1, § 8, pp. 66–82. For the vast Eastern India as the location of the sought-after Ophir argued Rabanus Maurus (c. 784–856), archbishop of Mainz (Germany), whose oft-reprinted encyclopedia *De rerum naturis* (1627), lib. 12, cap. 4, locates "Ofyr" in India. So, too, does Nicolaus de Lyra, in his annotations on Gen. 10:32, in *Postilla super totam bibliam* (1492), vol. 1, n.p.; and Valentinius Benedictus Pererius, in his *Commentariorum et disputationum in Genesim* (1596–1602). In his *Historiarum Indicarum libri XVI* (1579), lib. 4, Giovanni Pietro Maffaeus (1536–1603), an Italian Jesuit historian, locates Solomon's Ophir in "Pegu" in Malacca (Malay Peninsula), near Sumatra, where the Peguaris, the descendants of those Jews who worked Solomon's mines, founded their kingdom. Tzeta is as yet unidentified; perhaps Mather had in mind Joannes Tzetzes (12th c. CE), the Byzantine poet scholar, best known for his history *Chilades*, a poem of 12,000 lines on historical and literary subjects. Finally, Martinus Lipenius (1630–92), Lutheran theologian and author of the alphabetical handbook *Bibliotheca realis theologica* (1685), wrote his University of Wittenberg dissertation on the location of Ophir: *Dissertatio geographica De Ophir* (1658). He places Ophir "beyond the *Ganges*, at *Malacca*, *Java*, *Sumatra*, *Siam*, *Bengal*, *Pegu*" (*Calmet's Great Dictionary* [1797], vol. 2, "Ophir"). See also Mather's commentary on 2 Chron. 8:18.

and borders on *Somatra*. But *Mercator* holds the Place to bee *Japan*. *Acosta*, would perswade us, tis, *Pegu*, *Siccus*, *Sumatra*. Thus wide is the Difference of Authors about *Ophir*; they are as far asunder as the East and West *Indies*. And yett it may bee, after all, *Ophir*, is not in either of them. *Volaterranus*, and *Ortelius*, will have it bee *Sophala*, in the *Ethiopic* Sea, which belongs to *Africa*. But why mayn't *Africa* itself, or the *African* Shore, bee thereby intended? This may seem confirmed, from 2. Chron. 9.21. & 20.36. compared with 1. King. 9.28. & 10.22. and 22.48. where *Ophir* is called also *Tarshish*. For tho' this Name, does belong to the *Cilician Port* properly, which is on the other side of *Africa*, yett in a large Acceptation, it comprehended all the *Mediterranean* Sea, and that Part especially which wash'd the *African* Shores. Hither tis probable, that *Solomons* Fleet sailed.⁶³

CHAM, the youngest Son of *Noah*, had *Africa*, from whence his Posterity made some Excursion into *Syria*, and *Arabia*.

⁶³ The Jewish historian Josephus Flavius has Solomon's navy set sail for India and there at Ophir, or Aurea Chersonesus, the Golden Land, load his ships with 400 talents of gold (*Antiquities* 8.6.4). Also called "Sophira" (LXX, 3 Kings 9:28), this place name is often identified with the Homerite "Saphar" (Arrianus, *Periplus mari Erythraei* 23.1), by Pliny (6.26.104) called "Sapphar," by Ptolemy (*Geographia* 6.7, 41; 8.22.16) "Sapphara," and by Stephanus (556.1) "Sapphirinam" – a city on the coast of Arabia in the Arabian Sea, where (the great Hugo Grotius believes) Solomon's fleet sojourned to pick up their precious cargo (*Annotationes*, 1:148, on the LXX, 3 Kings 9:28). Caspar Barreiros, aka. Gaspar Barreiros Lusitanus (d. 1574), a learned Portuguese cleric and philologist, makes common cause with Josephus's geography, but places Ophir, the Aurea Chersonesus, in the Far East, in Malacca (modern Malaysia), in his *Commentarius de Ophyra regione apud Divinam Scripturam commemorate* (1561), a prized and frequently republished commentary. The famous geographer and mapmaker Gerardus Mercator (1512–94), Flemish geographer and court cosmographer of Wilhelm of Cleve, published his *Atlas minor* (1571) as a correction of Ptolemy's ancient maps. Mercator's English translation of *Historia Mundi* (1635) locates Aurea Chersonesus in Japan: "this Island hath such store of gold, that as Marcus Paulus Venetus witnesseth, the Royall Palace was cover'd, with streets of Gold, as we cover Houses with Lead or Brasse" (*Historia Mundi* 880). Frere José Acosta, treasured for his first-hand insight into South and Central America, published *Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies* (1604). He has no patience with those who wish to pin Solomon's Ophir to a specific place or city in America. Acosta particularly rejects Vatablus's Ophir in Hispaniola and Gênebrard's in Peru. Instead, the OT reference to Ophir and Tharsis must be broadly understood, as a general reference to East India or Asia as a whole (bk. 1, chs. 13–14, pp. 41–47). The Italian humanist, historian, and theologian Urban Raphael Volaterranus, aka. Raffaele Maffei of Volterra (1451–1522), is best known for his *Commentariorum Urbanorum Raphaelis Volaterrani* (1506, 1530) in 38 books. Volaterranus covers biblical geography in books 1–12. Finally, the highly popular and often reprinted *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (1570, 1592), a geography of the world by Abraham Ortelius (1527–98), Flemish royal geographer at the court of Philip II of Spain, was frequently consulted by those interested in biblical geography. Ortelius (*Theatrum* [1606], "Geography of the Holy Writers," p. j), singles out the Egyptian shore of the Red Sea as the most likely site of Ophir. Mather had access to this volume at Harvard Library (*Catalogus* [1723], p. 25), but relied on second-hand information for his discussion of Ophir. Samuel Purchase (*Hakluytus Posthumus* [1625], part 1, bk. 1, ch. 1, pp. 1–48) details the age-old debate about the location of Solomon's Ophir; for Sophala, see esp. § 8, p. 28.

Egypt, the most considerable Part of *Africa*, is called, *The Land of Ham*; and *Plutarch* assures us, that *Chemia*, or *Chamia*, was the ancient Name of that Place. Monsieur *Bochart*, renders it probable, that his Posterity launch'd out into Part of *Arabia*, that bordered upon *Africa*. 1. But that *Cush*, the eldest Son of *Cham*, was the Father of the *Ethiopians*, cannot bee denied by any Man, that well observes the Use of the Name *Cushi*, or *Cushim*, in the Sacred Writings.⁶⁴

Havilah, a Son of *Cush*, gave name to *Havilah*, which is placed by *Strabo*, in the Confines of *Arabia*, and *Mesopotamia*.⁶⁵

Whether the *Arabian*, or *Ethiopian*, *Saba*, or *Seba*, bee denominated from *Sheba* the Son of *Cush*, or from another of that Name who was his Grandson, or from a Third of that Name, who was the Son of *Joctan*, shall not here bee disputed.⁶⁶

2. *Misraim*. Hee was the founder of *Egypt*; for that is the Name of *Egypt* in the Old Testament. | From *Josephus* wee learn, That the Metropolis of this Province, (by some called *Memphis*) had the Name of *Mezzara* given to it, by the Jewes in his Time. To this Day, *Egypt* is called *Mizraim*, with the Jewes & the Arabians.⁶⁷ [248v]

3. *Phut*. Most Writers reckon him to have peopled *Mauritania*, *Numidia*, *Lybia*. Hence *Pliny* mentions a River in *Mauritania*, called *Phut*: of which River *Jerom* also speaks, telling us, that there was in his Time, a Region in *Africa*, which had its Name therefrom. Why may not Part (if not all) of *Africa*, bee meant by *Phut*; in Nah. 3.9. And why should it bee counted an extravagant Conjecture, if wee guess, that *Fet*z, or, *Fez*, a Kingdome of *Mauritania*, is a Corruption of that Word?⁶⁸

4. *Canaan*. From him sprang the *Canaanites*, often mentioned in the Oracles of Heaven. All the Countrey of *Palestine* was Part of *Shems* Portion; but *Canaan* invaded it, & thence it bore his Name. The learned *Bochart* thinks, this was the Ancient & Primitive *Phœnicia*; call'd φοινικη by the LXX. (Exod. 16.35.)

⁶⁴ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 2, col. 210–16). *Plutarch* (*De Iside et Osiride* 364 C, line 5) relates that Egypt was called Χημῖαν [Chemian], because its black, fertile soil was “as the black portion of the eye, ‘Chemia’” (*Plutarch’s Moralia* 5:83). See also Simon Patrick’s annotations on Gen. 10:6 (*Commentary* 1:47).

⁶⁵ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 3, col. 216–17). *Strabo* (16.4.2) locates the Chaulotaeans – descendants of Havilah, according to Erasthostenes – between the Nabataeans and the Agraeans (Hagerens) in Arabia Felix in this area. See also Patrick’s annotations on Gen. 10:7 (*Commentary* 1:48).

⁶⁶ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 8, 9, col. 221–22).

⁶⁷ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 24, col. 258–62). *Josephus* calls the sons of Misraim “Mesraites” and Egypt “Mestre” (*Antiquities* 1.6.2).

⁶⁸ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 33, col. 294–99). *Ptolemy* (*Geography* 4.1); *Pliny* (5.1.10; 5.8.43) mentions the “Perorsi” and “Pharusii,” a people of Mauretania; and St. Jerome on Gen. 10:6 (*Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, p. 40) explains that while the Hebrews call Ethiopia “Chus,” Egypt “Mesraim,” and Libya “Phuth,” they call “the river of Mauretania ... Phut, and all the Libyan territory round about ... Phuthensis” to this day.

wherefore, shee that is called by *Matthew*, *A Woman of Canaan*, is called by *Mark*, *A Syro-Phœnician*. The *Phœnicians*, hee thinks, were originally *Canaanites*, & fled out of *Canaan*, when *Joshua* took Possession of that Countrey: they then scituated themselves on the Sea-Coast of *Palestine*, call'd by them afterwards *Phœnicia*; as the *Britains*, upon the Coming of the *Saxons*, betook themselves to that Part of the Countrey; which is now called *Wales*. This may bee confirmed, by a Remarkable Passage of *Austin*, in his Exposition of the Epistle to the *Romans*. Hee assures us, that the Peasants of *Hippo*, who were known to bee of the Race of the *Phœnicians*, when they were asked, who they were? would commonly answer, They were *Canaanites*. But indeed, *Phœnicia*, is a more extensive Term, than *Canaan*; for it seems to take in all the Countreyes that bordered on the *Red-Sea*. *Phœnicia* seems to have had its Denomination from $\phi\omicron\nu\nu\iota\varsigma$, the Name of *Esau*, or *Edom*, turn'd into Greek. *Esau* was called, *Erythras*, or *Erythraeus*, by Pagan Historians, which is the same with $\phi\omicron\nu\nu\iota\varsigma$, i.e. *Rufus*. Consequently, the *Phœnicians*, were all those People, that liv'd near the *Red-Sea*.⁶⁹

This was the Division of the World. *Shem* had the *East*; *Japhet* had the Northern & Western Parts; *Cham* lay between both.

Moses reckons up,

of <i>Japhets</i> Posterity	14.
of <i>Shems</i> ,	26.
of <i>Chams</i> ,	29.

In all, (with *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet* themselves,) 72.

Some think, there are just so many Languages (or, *Dialects*) & so, of Nations.⁷⁰

To this Purpose, our *Edwards*, writing on the *Excellency & Perfection of the Scriptures*.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 34, col. 299–302; and pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 1, col. 345–50). Although Bochart covers much of the same terrain, Mather here extracts his information from Hugo Grotius's *De veritate religionis* (lib. 1, sec. 16, annot. 62), in *Opera omnia* (3:21–22). The Greek name reads "Phoinike" (LXX Exod. 16:35). The "woman of Canaan" who asks Christ to cast out her daughter's demon is mentioned in Matt. 15:22, but she is called a Greek woman, "a Syrophenician by nation" (Mark 7:26). For St. Augustine, see his *Expositio inchoata epistolae ad Romanos* (lib. 1, c. 13) [PL 35, 2096]. The Greek appellation "phoinic," suggesting "purple-red" or "crimson," is Latinized as "*Rufus*"; i.e., "red-haired" and here fortuitously associated with Esau, who at his birth "came out red, all over like an hairy garment" (Gen. 25:25).

⁷⁰ The number of languages corresponds to the number of Noah's descendants. Ibn Ezra (*Commentary* 1:145, on Gen. 11:10) takes exception to the rabbinic tradition of 70 primary languages emerging from the confusion of tongues and points to the tradition of the *Seder Olam* that not just 70, but "thousands and ten thousands" were involved in building the Tower of Babel, implying that many more than 70 or 72 languages came about. See also Mather's commentary on the confusion of tongues below (Gen. 11:6).

⁷¹ Mather seems to run out of steam here and merely refers his readers to John Edwards's disquisition on the original language(s) spoken by our protoplast and by Noah's descendants after Babel (*Discourse* 3:47–59). See Appendix A.

2152.

Q. Here may occur by the way, a Quæstion of some Consideration; whether all the *Names* occurring in the Sacred Genealogies, are the *Names* of particular Persons?

A. With *Bochart*, I answer, No. But many of the *Names* in the Genealogies, are the *Names* of *Nations* and *Countreyes*. For instance, when any *Names* are of a plural Termination; as, *Cittim*, and *Rodanim*.

And the *Names* of the Sons of *Misraim*, and of *Canaan*, all but *Sidon* and *Heth*; All of them are evidently the *Names* of *Peoples*, and not of single *Persons*. Thus, *Hatsar-Maveth* (in English, *The Region of Death*,) mentioned as the Son of *Joctan*; and *Mesech*, (from a long Tract of Mountains,) and *Misraim*, or *Egypt*, (so called from *Straits*,) and *Put*, or *Africa*, (so called *quia sparsim habitatur*,) *Havila*, a Part of *Arabia* (so called, from the Sands,) *Lud* one the *Ethiopian*, the other the *Asiatic*, (so called from the *Mæanders* of their Rivers,) *Sidon*, (so called from its *Fishery*,) *Diklam*, (so called from its Abounding with *Palm-trees*,) *Ophir*, (so called from its Wealth,) *Jobab*, (so called from its vast Wilderness:) All these were not the *Names* of *Persons*, but of *Places*.⁷²

Thus elsewhere, (1. Chron. 2.51, 52.) we find, *Salma, the Father of Bethlehem*; *Hareph, the Father of Bethgader*, and *Shobal, the Father of Kirjath-jearim*. And we find, 1. Chron. 4.14. *Joab, the Father of the Valley of Craftsmen*. Tis, as *Bochart* saies, *Ut scias in Genealogijs etiam Loca et Populos, in Filiorum censum venire*.⁷³

This Hint may be serviceable to many good Purposes.

|

[249r]

We have been already entertained with a Summary Account, of the several *Peoples* in the World, and of their *Descents*. Nevertheless, the Incomparable *Bochart*, having, in his *Phaleg*, entertained us with many & charming Varieties on that Subject, & on the *Tenth* & *Eleventh* Chapters of *Genesis*, besides those, which we have already fetched out of him, it may be worth our while, to throw the Cheef of them, into *One Collection*; And it may be done under the ensuing Enquiries. v. 32.⁷⁴

⁷² *Bochart*, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 12, col. 85–87; lib. 3, cap. 6, col. 163–64; lib. 4, cap. 26, col. 264–65). *Bochart* argues that *Put* or *Africa* “was sparsely populated.” See also *Mather*’s sermon *Hatsar-Maveth* (1726).

⁷³ *Bochart*’s *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 6, col. 164) says, “so that you might know that places and peoples also come into the tallying of sons in the genealogies.”

⁷⁴ *Mather* here refers to part 1 of *Bochart*’s *Geographia Sacra: Phaleg De Dispersione gentium & terrarum divisione*, from which *Mather* extracted his information on the patronymic derivation of OT place names.

3159.

Q. Where did *Babel* stand?

A. *Bochart* abundantly demonstrates the Mistake of them, who make *Bagdad* for to be in the Place of the Ancient *Babylon*. *Seleucia* that succeeded in the *Wealth of Babylon*, succeeded also in the *Name*. And *Bagdad* is now in or near the Place of *Seleucia*; but the horrid Ruines of the old *Babylon*, are about Forty Miles off, as *Teixeira*, an Ey-Witness, ha's assured us. *Bagdad* is upon the Banks of *Tigris*, and even there, *Almansor* did about the Year of our Lord 1095. remove it from one Side of the River to the other, because of its having suffered so much by Inundations, as the Persian Historian *Emirchondus* informed us; but *Babylon* was upon the Banks of *Euphrates*. *Euphrates* in the Fields thereabouts, runs into diverse Channels, or Branches. One of them is the Navigable River *Tsartsar*, whereto adjoins a City of that Name, about Nine Miles from *Bagdad*. A Second is, The River *Almelic*, or the Kings River, about Six Miles from the former, near which stands *Alcatsar*. A Third goes toward *Sura*; and a Fourth to *Cusa*, which are, as *Benjamin* tells us, a Day-and-halves Journey, from one another. Both the Græcian and the Roman, ancient Writers agree pretty much to this Account; save that they say nothing of *Tsartsar*. The *Almelic* particularly, is the same that *Ptolomy* calls, βασιλειον ποταμόν, and *Polybius*, βασιλικὴν διώρυγα. *Abydenus* calls it, *An Horn of Euphrates*. And it was called, *Royal*, because it was Dug, by the Kings Care & Cost. And it is thought, That this is the very same, that is called, *Chebar*, diverse times in the Prophecies of *Ezekiel*; and that it was called thus, from one *Chebar*, the Overseer of the Work. Unto this Purpose there is a notable Passage in *Pliny*, *Sunt qui tradunt Euphratem, Chobaris Præfecti Operâ deductum, ubi eum diximus findi, ne præcipiti cursu Babylonem infestaret.*⁷⁵

⁷⁵ *Bochart*, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 8, col. 32–35). Mather, via *Bochart* (col. 32), quotes from *Relaciones de Pedro Teixeira d'el Origen* (1610), by Pedro Teixeira (d. c. 1640), Portuguese explorer of Lisbon, who traveled to the Far East, including India, Persia, the Philip-pines, and China. His travel narrative was translated into several European languages. Teixeira relates that according to the Persian historian *Emirchondus* [*Geographia Arabs* (i.e., *Idrisi's Geographia Nubiensis*), clim. 4, pars 6, p. 204], *Abujasar Almansor* (*Abu Jasar Mansur*), son of Muhammad, 21st Caliph, and second of the Abbaside dynasty, relocated Bagdad to the opposite side of the Euphrates (*Travels of Pedro Teixeira*, ch. 6, pp. 63, 69n, 70). Benjamin of Tudela describes the area in his *Itinerarium* (143) and *Itinerary* (69). Ptolemy calls the Almedic River “Basileion Potamon” or “King’s River” (*Geographia* 5.18.9) and Polybius “Basiliken dioruka” or “Royal Canal” (*Historia* 5.51.6, line 5). Abydenus calls the Armacales River “a branch of the Euphrates, and also of the Acracanus” (*Eusebius's Praeparatio evangelica* (9.41.457c). Both Ezekiel (1:3) and Benjamin of Tudela (*Itinerarium* 142) mention this river but not the origin of its name (*Itinerary* 66). The Chebar River is frequently identified as “the Habor, or river of Gozan” (*SBD*). The notable passage from *Pliny* (6.30.120) reads, “The Euphrates was diverted into an artificial channel by Governor Gobares (*Chobaris*) at the place where we have stated that it divides, in order to prevent the violence of its current from threatening damage to the district of Babylonia.”

Now, that Branch whereon *Babylon* stood, kept the Name of *Euphrates*, because it was no Artificial Derivation from it. Only in the Book of *Baruch* it is called, *Sud*; which instead of Σουδ, should indeed have been Σουρ, *Sur*. Now, *Sur*, or *Sura*, or *Sora*, is the most famous Name of the *Babylonian* City, (whereof see the *Nubian* Geographer,) the same that in *Benjamin* is called, *Mahasia*.⁷⁶

The Fourth Branch, which runs to *Cusa*, or *Kulpa*, ha's various Names, in the old Historians, which there is no need of mentioning; only that *Abydenus* calls it, Ἀκρακάνων, *Pliny* calls it, *Narraga*, and *Ptolomy* calls it *Baarsares*.

These were those famous (Psal. 137.1.) *Rivers of Babylon*, whose Banks were so full of *Willowes*, that *Babylon* is called, Isa. 15.7. *The Valley of Willowes*.⁷⁷

3160.

Q. What became of the *Tower of Babel*?

A. Some look upon the *City* and the *Tower of Babel*, by an *Hendiadys*, to signify *one* thing; but the Text evidently makes them *Two*: tho' tis also evident, that the *Tower* was a Part of the *City*. Both *Abydenus* and *Eupolemus* intimate this, as well as *Moses*.

They, two, and the *Sibyls*, add, That God by a violent Storm of Wind, blew down the Tower. And *Benjamin* saies, *In medio ejus cecidit Ignis è Caelis, qui diruit ipsos* (lateres) *usque ad fundamentum*; It perished by Thunder and Lightning. But the Scripture saies no such Matter. There is rather Cause to think, That it stood long after the Dispersion, and that it was the very Tower of *Bel*, so largely described in the First Book of *Herodotus*.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ The apocryphal *Baruch* (1:4) calls the Euphrates "the river Sud." The Greek words read "Soud" and "Sour." And the Nubian Geographer Abu Abdullah Mohammed Ibn al-Sharif al-Idrisi, aka. Idrisi or Edrisi (c. 1099–1154), an Arabic geographer, calls Babylon by the name of Sura (Zura), in his *Nuzhat al-Mushtaq* (c. 1151), translated into Latin as *Geographia Nubiensis* (1619), climatis 4, pars 6, pp. 197, 204. Benjamin of Tudela (*Itinerarium* 143) and (*Itinerary* 69) calls the mighty city "Mahasia," or rather "Mata Mehasia" – a suburb of Sura, the location of a famous Jewish academy (Talmudic tractate Berachoth 17b).

⁷⁷ Abydenus calls the fourth branch of the Euphrates "Acraeanus" (in Eusebius's *Praeparatio evangelica* 9.41.7, line 3; 9.41.457c), Pliny (6.30.123) calls it "Narraga," and Ptolemy "Baarsares," "Maarsara," or "Barsita" (*Geographia* 8.20.28). Finally, the Jewish exiles in Babylon hanged their harps upon the willows while remembering Zion on the banks of the Euphrates (Ps. 137:1–2).

⁷⁸ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 9, col. 35–37). The Greek "hendiadys" ("one expressed through two") is a rhetorical device in which two nouns joined by a coordinating conjunction express a single concept; hence "the city and the tower" (of Babylon, i.e., Confusion). Both Abydenus and Eupolemus (Eusebius's *Praeparatio evangelica* 9.14.416b; 9.17.418c) appear to agree with the Hebrew Lawgiver (Gen. 11:4–5), who makes the tower part of the city. The Sibylline Oracles (*Oracula Sibyllina* 3.101–04) report that when the unruly Assyrians built a tower to enter heaven, God compelled the winds to cast down the mighty edifice. The Latin citation from Benjamin of Tudela's (*Itinerarium* 135–36) translates, "There fell fire from heaven into the midst of the tower which split it to its very depths" (*Itinerary* 43). Herodotus (1.180–83) provides a lengthy description of the city, tower, and temple of Zeus Bel.

3161.

Q. *Who built the Tower of Babel, and when?*

A. It was about the Time of the Birth of *Peleg*, that the Dispersion happened; And *Peleg* was born in the Hundred & first Year after the Flood. We must not then take in all that are mention'd in the Tenth Chapter of *Genesis*, for Actors in this Business. *Noah* was the *Saturn*, who had hitherto, in this Golden Age, governed his Children more by *Love* than *Fear*. *Moses* in his Account, Gen. 11.5. That the *Children of Men*, built the *Tower*, seems to distinguish the Builders, from the Faithful, whom he had formerly mentioned under this Distinction, *The Children of God*.⁷⁹

Abraham, and those of the Holy Line, before *Abraham*, seem to have continued with *Noah*, and to have no share in the Dispersion, or in the Transgression that caused it. *Ur*, the Place of *Abrahams* Residence, was not far from *Corduena*, where the *Ark* had rested. *Ammianus*, a Pagan Writer, saies of the *Romans*, *Ad Ur Nomine Persicum venere Castellum*, near *Nisibis*, and not very far from *Corduena*.⁸⁰

[250v] Yea, a worse Man than *Abraham* is to be excused, from having any Hand in this Matter; and that is, *Nimrod*. For *Nimrod* was now either a Child, or perhaps the *Child unborn*. *Sinar* | had probably lain desolate for some Years; All Men were afraid of carrying on so fatal an Undertaking as what had been begun there: But *Nimrod* probably resum'd the Courage to undertake it; and make the Beginning & Metropolis of his Kingdome, to be that very Place, where Mankind had received such a Remarkable Rebuke from Heaven. The Charms of the Soyl thereabouts, were very Inviting.⁸¹

3162.

Q. *What was the Morter used in the Building of Babel?*

A. *Moses* tells us, It was *Bitumen*, which we render, *Slime*. It is abundantly proved by *Bochart*, that this is the true Translation, of the Hebrew חֶמָר / *Chemar*, whereof the Pitts full in the Valley of *Sodom*, (Gen. 14.10.) were very famous. The best Sort in *Judea*, was of a *Purple* Colour; tho' tis ordinarily *Black*.⁸²

⁷⁹ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 10, col. 37–38).

⁸⁰ The Latin citation from Ammianus Marcellinus (25.8.7) relates that the Roman military leaders Cassianus and Mauricius “came to a Persian stronghold called Ur.” Ammianus (25.7.9) reports that the rich Corduena province near Nisibis on the Tigris River took pride in its fifteen fortresses.

⁸¹ The ancient designation Sinar or Shinar (Babylonia) is the alluvial landmass in Mesopotamia (Gen. 11:2) through which the Tigris and Euphrates pass before uniting with the Persian Gulf (*SBD*). Mather believes the area was desolate because of the recent occurrence of Noah's Flood.

⁸² This and the following three paragraphs of Mather's *Answer* are extracted from Bochart's *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 11, col. 38–43). Gen. 11:3. The Hebrew noun חֶמָר (chemar) suggests “bitumen” or “asphalt” [Strong's # 2564].

Theodoret informs us, of his being assured by Travellers, that the Fountains in *Assyria*, did even in his Time, often boil up *Bitumen* with *Water*, and that they built their Walls with it. And other Authors there are, as namely, *Strabo*, and *Dion*, and *Suidas*, and *Xenophon*, who commend the *Babylonian Bitumen* for Buildings.⁸³

But that which is most entertaining, is, That almost all the Pagan Writers, who write about the Walls of *Babel*, give the very same Account with *Moses*. *Herodotus*, and *Ctesias*, and *Theocritus*, and *Dion*, and the Scholiast upon *Theocritus*, & the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*, & *Eustathius* upon *Dionysius*, and *Tzetzes*, All these *Græcian* Writers, agree upon *Bitumen*, to be used in the Walls of *Babylon*. *Trogus* and *Curtius*, and *Pliny*, and *Vitruvius*, and *Ammianus*, and *Servius* upon *Virgil*, All these *Roman* Writers herein agree with the *Græcian*. The Passages are too many to be recited.⁸⁴

And that the *Tower* was built with the same, *Arrian* will satisfy you, saying, That the *Temple of Belus* (which was but the old *Tower of Babel* repaired) in the Midst of the City of *Babylon*, of an Immense Magnitude, was, ἐκ πλίνθου ὀπτῆς ἐν ασφάλτῳ ἡρμοσμένης. *Ex cocto Latere structum, Bitumine ferruminatum*. And, in fine, *Diodorus* tells us, It was τῆς δ' ὅλης οἰκοδομίας ἐξ ἀσφάλτου καὶ πλίνθου πεφιλοτεχνημένης πολυτελεῶς, *Toto ædificio ex Bitumine et Latere summâ arte atque impensa extracto*.⁸⁵

3163.

Q. How Big was the *City of Babel*?

A. 'Tho' it were a *Great City*, [Dan. 4.17, 30.] yett we have no Reason to give any Beleef unto those Romantic Reporters who made *Aristotle* Beleeve, That it

⁸³ Theodoret's second-hand eyewitness accounts are summarized in his *Quæstiones in Octateuchum* (Quest. 59, p. 56, lines 1–10). Strabo (16.1.15), Cassius Dio (*Historiæ Romanæ* 68.27.1, *Dio's Roman History* 8:413), *Suda* (Lexicon alphabetic letter **alpha**, entry 470, lines 5–7), and Xenophon (*Anabasis* 2.4.12–13) – all praise the qualities of Babylon's bitumen or asphalt as building material.

⁸⁴ Herodotus (1.179.6–7), Ctesias of Cnidus (5th c. BCE), in *Fragmenta* (Jacoby #F 3c, 688, F fragm. 1b, 290–94), Theocritus (*Idylla* 16.100), *Scholia in Aristophanem* (*Aves*, argum.-scholion sch av, line 552). Eustathius Thessalonicensis (*Commentarium in Dionysii periegetæ orbis descriptionem* 1005.29–30), Joannes Tzetzes (*Chiliades*, Chiliads 9, history 275, lines 558–59) – all agree that bitumen was used in the walls of old Babylon. The Roman authors are not far behind: Pompeius Trogus (*Historiæ Philippicæ* 1.2), Quintus Curtius Rufus (5.1.16, 25), Pliny (35.51.181, 182), Vitruvius (*De architectura* 1.5.8, 8.3.8), Ammianus Marcellinus (23.6.23), and finally, the grammarian and commentator Maurus Servius Honoratus (4th c. CE) in his *In Vergilii carmina commentarii*, on Virgil's *Eclogues* (8).

⁸⁵ Bochart (pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 11, col. 48) translates his Greek citation from Flavius Arrianus (*Alexandri Anabasis* 7.17.2, lines 1) into Latin, suggesting that the walls of Babylon were “made of baked brick with bitumen for mortar.” Mather's second-hand citation from Diodorus Siculus (2.9.5) signifies, “the entire building was ingeniously constructed at great expense of bitumen and brick.”

was very near as big as the whole *Græcian Peloponnesus*. Indeed it must have been so, if what he saies were true, That after the City was taken, it was the *Third Day* before a Part of the City, became sensible of it. *Bochart* shewes, that there was an Error of the Scribe doubtless in this Matter; and that it should rather be read, That for a *Third Part of the Day*, a Part of the City continued Insensible of its being taken. It was taken before the Morning Light, and it was taken on a Festival-Day, when the People were *buried in Sleep & Wine*. And this is agreeable to *Herodotus's*, and *Xenophons* Account of it.⁸⁶

The Ancients generally make *Babylon* to be *Forty five Miles* in Compass. Especially *Ctesias* thus defines the City to be 360 furlongs in Circuit; and *Cleitarchus* makes it 365. Other Authors are Various and Inconstant in their Accounts; But these two, having lived at *Babylon*, & been Eye-Witnesses of its Magnitude, are to be relied upon.⁸⁷

For the *Heighth* of the Walls, we will therefore also not concern ourselves with *Strabo*, or *Diodorus*, or *Curtius*, or *Apollonius*. Wee will hear none but *Ctesias*, who saies, Their *Heighth* was πεντήκοντα ὀργυίων, *Fifty Orgya's*. Now every *Orgya*, had in it *Four Cubits*, or *Six Feet*.⁸⁸

The *Thickness* of them, if *Strabo*, and *Curtius*, make it *Thirty two Foot*, *Marcian* and *Pliny* make it *Fifty*, and so does *Herodotus*, and *Orosius*; but *Apollonius* no less than an Hundred. And *Curtius* tells us, That *Four Chariots*, (and *Ctesias* will tell you, no less than *Six*,) might meet there, without Jostling against one another.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 12, col. 43–44). Mather, via Bochart, does not do justice to Aristotle's discussion (*Politica* 3.3.1276a, 25–34), because the philosopher, trying to determine how the size of a given city or state may undermine its cohesion, presents a hypothetical argument. Speaking in terms of analogy, Aristotle argues that even if all of the Peloponnesus were surrounded by a gigantic wall, the structure would not constitute "a single city" or guarantee the unity of its inhabitants. So Babylon "and every city that has the compass of a nation rather than a city; Babylon, *they say*, had been taken for three days before some part of the inhabitants become aware of the fact" (italics added). Herodotus (1.191, 2.109) and Xenophon (*Cyropedia* 7.5.20, 26–33) relate the fall of Babylon.

⁸⁷ Ctesias of Cnidus gives the circumference of Babylon as 360 furlongs (45 miles) and Cleitarchus of Alexandria (fl. 4th–3rd c. BCE), historian of Alexander the Great, adds another 5 furlongs (0.6 miles) to Babylon's circumferences. Both authors are cited in Diodorus Siculus (2.7.3–5). Herodotus (1.178) makes the city's circumference 480 stades, Strabo (16.1.5) 385 stades, and Quintus Curtius (5.1.26) sets it at 365 stades – "each stadia was finished in a single day."

⁸⁸ The height of Babylon's walls similarly inspired the imagination of both ancients and moderns. Strabo (16.1.5) and Quintus Curtius Rufus (5.1.26) list their height as 50 cubits (75 feet); Diodorus Siculus (2.7.3–5) lists various estimates, but sets the wall's height at 200; Herodotus (1.178) at 200 "royal cubits" (c. 335 feet), but the Greek philosopher Apollonius Tyanensis (1st c. CE), *Epistulae* (59) makes the walls 100 cubits high. Ctesias (*Fragmenta* 3c, 688, F, fragm. 1b, lines 235, 262, 292), however, stays within what Mather believes are reasonable limits: 300 feet – the 200 royal cubits (335 feet) of Herodotus (1.178).

⁸⁹ Strabo (16.1.5) and Quintus Curtius Rufus (5.1.25) make it 32 feet thick. The Latin encyclopedist Martianus Capella (5th c. CE) of Carthage (*De arte rhetorica*, lib. 6) agrees with

3164.

Q. How High was the Tower of *Babel*?⁹⁰

A. According to *Herodotus*, it must be a *Mile* High; To a Fourth Part of which Height, no building in the World, ever yett arrived; And yett *Jerom* raises this Tower to Four Times the Height of *Herodotus*. Yea, and *Ado* in his *Chronicon* adds more than One Mile unto *Jeroms* Four; concluding, *Describunt et multa alia, quæ videntur incredibilia*; and lett us e'en conclude *This* to be so too. The rather, because in the Account of *Herodotus*, upon which the following Writers have built, what ha's been taken for the *Height*, was really the *Breadth* of it; for so *Ευρος* is to be rendred. Much less may we follow the *Jewes*, who in their Book, *Jalcut*, carry up the Tower to the Height of *Seven & Twenty* Miles.

The most that we can find in the Pagan Writers, (and particularly in *Abydenus*, who fetches what | he saies, out of the Chaldæan Monuments) is, that they did, *Τύρσιν ἡλίβατον ἀΐρειν*, *Erect an High Tower*; only that *Strabo* speaks of, *σταδία ρὸ ὕψος*. The Pagan Writers have several Relations about this *Tower*, which are evidently so many Disguises of the *Mosaic* History. Because *Nimrod*, who was esteemed one of the Builders, is called, *גִּבְרַ* they say, T'was built by *Giants*. Because of *Nimrod* we read, Gen. 10.11. *He went forth הָאָרֶץ הָרְחֹקָה / E Terrâ illâ*; they say, The *Giants* were *born of the Earth*. Because *Nimrod* is called, *An Hunter before the Lord*, which some read, *Bellator contrà Dominum*; they say, The *Giants* made *War against the Gods*. Because tis said, The *Top of the Tower* was *to reach unto Heaven*; they say, The *Giants* built the Tower, to ascend thereby into Heaven. Because tis said in the *Chaldaic History*, that the following Dissipation,

Pliny (6.30.121) and so do *Herodotus* (1.178) and the Spanish Presbyter *Paulus Orosius* (*Historiarum* 2.6) [PL 31. 758B], but *Apollonius Tyanensis* (*Epistolæ* 59) makes its thickness 100 feet. **Q.** *Curtius Rufus* (5.1.25) has “two four-horse chariots” (not four chariots) and *Ctesias* (*Fragmenta* 3c, 688, F fragm. 1b line 238) has six chariots pass each other on top of the walls of *Babylon* without hindrance.

90 The answer to this question is extracted from *Bochart's Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 13, col. 45–47). *Mather's* claim that *Herodotus* makes the tower a mile high is really based on *Bochart's* conjectures (col. 45), for *Herodotus* himself does not mention the tower's height at all, only that it is one stade (c. 607 feet) wide and long at the base, and has eight towers of decreasing size successively mounted on top of each other with a temple at its peak and stairs encircling the tower to the very summit (*Historia* 1.181). *St. Jerome*, in his commentary on *Isa.* 14:22–23 (*Commentaria in Isaiam*, lib. 5) [PL 24. 164A], and *St. Adon(is) Viennensis* (c. 800–875), archbishop of *Vienne*, France (*Chronicon in aetates sex divisum*, aetas secunda) [PL 123.(1785). 28C], multiply the tower's size yet again; *Mather* concludes, “they also describe many other things, which seem incredible.” The Greek noun “euros” suggests “in breadth.” In his *Yalkut Makhiri* (on Gen. ch. 11 and on Ps. 55, 145b), a midrashic anthology on the entire Hebrew Bible, by *Yalkut Shimoni*, aka. *R. Shimon HaDarshan* of *Frankfurt* (13th c.), the size of the tower is increased yet again. However, none seems as prolific as the first printed Hebrew edition of *פרקי רבי אליעזר Pirke Rabbi Eliezer* (Constantinople, 1514), which – a misprint no doubt – raised the tower's height to 70 “mils” (i.e., mille), or 140,000 cubits (221,666 feet). *Vorstius's* Latin translation, *Capitula Elieser* (1644), cap. 24, pp. 54–55, also retains this incredible size. See *Friedlander's* translation of *Pirke* (ch. 24, p. 176, n. 2 and 3).

was, *Per quatuor ventos caelorum*, which means no more than the Four Quarters of the World; they say, That the Dissipation was made by the Ministry of the Winds. And because the Word /פִּירָן/used by *Moses* here, signifies, not only to Scatter, but also to break in Peeces, and the Name for a *Thunderbolt* comes from it; they say, That the Tower was broken to Peeces; *Benjamin* adds, by *Lightning* too. The Greek Fable of the *Theomachous Giants*, attempting Heaven, by Mountains laid one upon another, was of this Original.⁹¹

3165.

Q. Into how many several *Tongues*, is the *Speech* of Mankind now Divided and Confounded?

A. *Tongues* are continually changing unto this very Day; and the Number of them is unknown. The Hebrew Tradition, of *Seventy*, or *Seventy two Tongues*, espoused so much by the Ancients, is altogether Fanciful; and we will not be at the Pains here to transcribe their Fancies.⁹²

Pacianus at length, an Author mentioned by *Jerom*, carried on the Number to *One hundred & twenty*; saying, *Hebraeis sua Lingua est secundum copiam Domini, quae eam in centum viginti ora modulatus est*. What Foundation he had for his Number, we know not. But what shall we say? In the one Kingdome of

⁹¹ The citation from Abydenus survives in a fragment by Syncellus, in Abydenus (*Fragmenta* 5, lines 3–4). Strabo speaks of “a stadium in height” (16.1.5). Nimrod is called גִּבּוֹר or גִּבְרָ (ghib-bore’) or (gibbor), “a mighty man” or “strong man” (Gen 10:8) [Strong’s # 1368]. Mather’s Hebrew citation, inaccurately copied at second hand from Bochart’s *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 13, col. 46), should read בֶּן־הָאָדָם הַדָּוֵד. Nimrod is called “A hunter before the Lord” (Gen. 10:9), which some read, “Warrior against the Lord,” in Bochart’s *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 13, col. 46; see also lib. 4, cap. 12). In linking Nimrod with the giants that made war against the gods, and the Tower of Babel with Pelion and Ossa, the mountains piled up to reach Jove’s throne in heaven (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.151–62), Bochart tries to demonstrate that the pagan sages borrowed their ideas (“*prisca theologia*”) from the Hebrew Scriptures. After the confusion of their tongue, the Babylonians are scattered “by the four winds of heaven.” The Hebrew word פָּרַץ [puwts] signifies “to dash in pieces” as well as “to disperse” [Strong’s # 6327]. Benjaminus Tudelensis relates that the Tower of Babel was destroyed by lightning (*Itinerarium* 135–36) and *Itinerary* (66). And the “*Theomachous Giants*,” or “God-struggling giants” attempting heaven, are described in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (1.151–62), *Fasti* (3.437–40 and 5.35–36), and in Virgil’s *Aeneid* (6.577–86).

⁹² Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 15, col. 53). The Hebrew tradition of seventy or seventy two languages (based on the number of Noah’s primary descendants forming a separate people) is recorded in many Talmudic tractates and Targums, including Shabbath (88b), Megilah (13b), Sanhedrin (17a). See also *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (ch. 24) 176; Midrash Rabbah (Exod. V:9, XXVIII: 6, Num. XIX:3); Targum Jonathan ben Uziel (Gen. 11:8), in Walton (4:19) and in Etheridge (1:190). However, there was no consensus among medieval rabbis. See for instance Ibn Ezra on Gen. 11:10 (*Commentary* 1:145) and Rashi’s annotations on Gen. 11:1. Epiphanes (*Panarion* 2.8–12, in *Epiphanius* 1:176, lines 4–13) relates that by the fifth generation after the Flood, Noah’s three sons had fathered 72 male offspring, who conspired to build the Tower of Babylon. God thwarting their plans, divided their common language into 72; Clemens Alexandrinus, quoting Euphorus (*Stromata* 1.21.142.1) mentions 75 (*The Stromata, or Miscellanies* 2:332).

Mithridates, which was not an hundredth Part of the World, there were Nations, of *Twenty Two* several Tongues. Yea, we read in *Timosthenes* about Three hundred several Nations, of so many Languages, making their Descent upon *Dioscurias* of *Colchis*. And *Pliny* speaks of the *Romans* using an hundred & thirty Interpreters, to dispatch their Businesses there.

All that we will add, is, That there are *Twenty* Languages, besides the Hebrew, mentioned in the Bible.

The *Chaldee*, the *Arabick*, the *Canaanitish* or *Phœnician*, the *Egyptian*, that of *Ashdod*, or the *Philistean*, the *Persian*, the *Greek*, the *Latin*, the *Lycaonian*, and the rest we find in the second Chapter of the *Acts*.⁹³

3166.

Q. Now for the Genealogies. Lett us begin with *Shem*, and his Offspring; who tho' he were younger than *Japhet*, yett was præferr'd before him in the Blessings of the Covenant. And here, first, Why may we not allow *Shem*, to be the same with *Melchisedech*?

A. By no means! The proud Jewes indeed, are very zealous to assert this Paradox: Their Pride cannot bear it, that a Stranger should in any regards be own'd a Superior to their *Abraham*. Whereas, tis expressly denied, That we have *Melchizedeks* Genealogy in the Bible; but *Shems* we have, as much as is possible; and he appears to us, no more *without Father & without Mother*, than without *Offspring*. Again, *Levi* was as much in the Loins of *Shem*, as of *Abraham*; and if *Shem* were *Melchizedek*, the Apostles whole Argument from thence, about a *Priesthood* of an Order above the *Levitical*, would fall to the Ground. Nor is it likely, that *Shem* should be Ruler in the Land of *Canaan*, a Spott of Ground that belonged unto his brother *Cham*. Nor would *Abraham* have been so much in the Circumstances of a *Stranger* in that Land, if his Great Grandfather had

⁹³ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 15, col. 56–61). St. Jerome relates the life of the 4th-c. Spanish prelate Pacianus Barcionensis (d. c. 390) in his *Vitae de viris illustribus* (cap. 106 and 132). In his *Epistolae tres ad Sympronianum Novatianum* (epist. 2, § 4) [PL 13. 1060A], Pacianus maintains, "To the Hebrews their language accords with the abundance of the Lord, who measured it into one hundred and twenty speeches [mouths]." Mather, via Bochart, evidently refers to Mithradates (1st c. BCE), the Iberian (not Pontic) king, mentioned by Tacitus (*Annales* 6.32–33). Timosthenes of Rhodes (fl. 270–240 BCE), admiral of Ptolemaeus II Philadelphus's navy (Strabo 2.1.40), wrote a geographical work *Peri Limenon* (*Of the Harbors*), in 10 books (*KP*). According to Pliny (6.5.15), Timosthenes reports that three hundred different tribes – each with its own language – inhabited Colchis (the modern area of the Caucasus between the Black Sea, the Caspian, and Aral) and that the Romans required "130 interpreters" to negotiate with the people of Dioscurias, a city in Colchis. Bochart (col. 57–61) enumerates the different languages in the Bible, including those given in Acts 2:7–11; 14:11, which Mather mentions here.

been the Ruler there. Nor can any likely Reason be assigned, why *Shem* should ly hid under the Disguised Name of *Melchizedek*.⁹⁴

3167.

Q. Well; The first Son of *Shem*, is *Elam*. Who are descended from him?

A. The *Elamites* of whom we read in the Second Chapter of the *Acts*. Concerning *Lukes* Enumeration, by the way, we may observe, That he begins *Eastward*, and proceeds *Westward* still, in the exact Order of the Lying of the People. These *Elamites* accordingly lay between the *Medes* and the *Mesopotamians*. From *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah*, and especially from *Ezekiel*, (ch. 32.24.) we learn, they were a very *Warlike* sort of a People. Agreeably hereto, *Strabo* and *Nearchus*, write, That they were a sort of a People who lived upon Spoil; & præsumed even to exact Tribute from the very Kings of *Persia*. They had Kings of their own, which as *Jeremiah* mentions, (ch. 25.25.) even so doth *Strabo* too. The Prophets mention their Arms: Isa. 22.6. *Elam bare the Quiver*; and, Jer. 49.35. *I will break the Bowe of Elam*. And *Strabo* accordingly Reports, about the Mountainous | Countrey of *Elymais*, *It bred Souldiers*, τοξότας τοὺς πλείστους, *which for the most Part were Archers*. *Elam* was taken sometimes more strictly, for only *Elymais*; but sometimes it also took in some of the Neighbouring Provinces, which extended as far as the River *Ulam*; and among the rest, *Susiana*, the *Metropolis* whereof, *Susan*, is mention'd by *Daniel*, (ch. 8.2.) and by *Benjamin* in his *Itinerary*, as belonging to *Elam*: Tho' the *Elamites* and the *Susians*, really were two Distinct People. [see *Ezr.* 4.9.]⁹⁵

3168.

Q. *Assur* is the next. Who from him?

⁹⁴ Both Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 1, col. 68–69) and Simon Patrick's annotation on Gen. 14:18 (*Commentary* 1:64) supply Mather with detail. For Melchizedek, see Targum Jonathan ben Uziel (Gen. 14:18) and Targum Hierosolymitanum (Gen. 14:17), in Walton (4:24) and Etheridge (1:199); so, too, the Midrash Aggadah and the Talmudic tractate Nedarim (32b) identify Melchizedek with Noah's son Shem (Gen. 14:18), as does Baal Haturim, which, in reversing the initial letters of the Hebrew designation מֶלֶךְ שָׁלֵם [melek shalem] "King of Salem" spells the name שֵׁם "Shem." Ergo, "this teaches that Malchizedek was Shem, the Son of Noah" (*Baal HaTurim Chumash* 1:114). If Melchizedek and Shem were one and the same person, Mather contends, then St. Paul's argument (Heb. 7:6) that the priestly Melchizedek was superior to the Levitical priests, would be fallacious. Mather and many others maintain that Melchizedek was none other than Christ himself. Pierre Jurieu's conjecture that Melchizedek was Noah's wicked son Ham would have seemed almost blasphemous (*Critical History* [1705], vol. 1, ch. 11, pp. 96–105).

⁹⁵ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 2, col. 70–72). Strabo (11.13.6) cites Nearchus (4th c. BCE), son of Androtimos of Crete and friend of young Alexander the Great, as referring to the Elamites (Elymaei) as a "predatory" people. Furthermore, Strabo (16.1.18) relates that the mountainous region of Elymais bred "mostly bowmen." Finally, Benjamin Tudelensis (*Itinerarium* 152; *Itinerary* 51), like the author of Dan. 8:2, assigns the old capital Shushan to Khuzistan (Elam).

A. The *Assyrians*; who were first (as *Eustathius* tells us) called, *Assyres*. This Name was indeed extended as far as the *Assyrian* Empire itself. Yea, *Media* and *Persia* itself came under it, as both *Suidas* and *Virgil* have intimated. The Ancients, very many of them, took the Name of *Syrians* and *Assyrians*, promiscuously. It is not worth our while, to quote the Authors, for this promiscuous Use of that Name. At last, Custome obtained, That the *Syrians* were distinguished from the *Assyrians*, by the River *Euphrates*; at least, by *Tigris*. *Assyria* then properly so called, was the Countrey about *Ninive*, which at length came to be called, *Adiabene*; and in the Hebrew Writers, *הַדִּיב* / *Hadiab*. Another Name used for that Countrey, in early Antiquity, was *Aturia*, or, *Atryia*. *Xiphilinus* notes this, out of *Dion*, and the Chaldee Paraphrase expresses it. From hence, *Thuras*, that ancient King of the *Assyrians*, The Son of *Zamis*, the Successor of *Ninus*, the famous Warrior, worshipped by the *Assyrians* for their *Mars*, and called, *Baal*, or *Belus*.⁹⁶

3169.

Q. Who from *Arphaxad*?

A. That Part of *Assyria*, which is in *Ptolomy* called *Arrapachitis*, was doubtless inhabited by his Posterity. It is a Mistake in *Josephus*, and others, That the *Chaldeans* were of old called, *Arphaxadeans*. They were called, *Chasdim*, from their Father *Chesed*, the Son of *Abrahams* Brother *Nachor*. Indeed we read of *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, before *Chesed* was born; but it is a *Prolepsis*. *Ur* signifies, *A Valley*; probably the City or Countrey so called, was in a *Valley*.⁹⁷

3170.

Q. Who from *Aram*?

⁹⁶ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 3, col. 72–73). Eustathius, 12th-c. Byzantine archbishop of Thessalonica, mentions that the Assyrians were first called “Assyres,” in his *Commentarium in Dionysii* (492.44). Both the *Suda* (*Lexicon*, alfab. letter **alpha**, entry 4289, lines 3–4) and Virgil (*Georgics* 4.285–94) intimate that Media and Persia were incorporated into the Assyrian Empire. Adiabene, the area near the two Zab Rivers in N Mesopotamia (Pliny 5.13.66; 6.17.44; Strabo 16.1.1, 18, 19) also became the name for Assyria, because politically it comprised the largest part of the territory of Assyria (*KP*). The Talmudic tractate Yevamoth (17a) identifies Hadyab (Adiabene) with Habor, and the Targum Jonathan ben Uziel on Gen. 10:12 calls it הַדִּיב [Hadiath] (Walton 4:18). Joannes Xiphilinus, in his epitome of Cassius Dio’s *Historiae Romanae* (68.26.4; *Dio’s Roman History* 8:411) mentions Aturia or Atryia as another name for Assyria, whereas Strabo (16.1.1–3) identifies Aturia as part of Assyria. For the early Assyrian god-king Thuras, son of Zamis and successor of Ninus (purported founder of the Assyrian empire), as well as for the Assyrian worship of Baal or Belus (Mars), Bochart (73) relies on *Suda* (*Lexicon*, alfab. letter **theta**, entry 417, lines 1–6) and on a fragment (*Fragm.* 5) by the Byzantine historian Joannes Antiochenus (7th c. CE).

⁹⁷ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 4, col. 73–74). For Arrapachitis, see Claudius Ptolemy’s *Geographia* (6.1.2, line 3); Josephus’s error occurs in his *Antiquities* (1.6.4).

A. There was a Junior *Aram*, descended from *Nahor*, whose Posterity, some of the Ancients took to be the *Syrians*. This might be true, concerning some certain Tribe of the *Syrians*; but the whole Nation of the *Syrians* doubtless owed their Original to *Aram Senior* the Son of *Shem*. *Jacob*, for his living in the Countrey of this People twenty Years, is called, [Deut. 26.5.] *A Syrian*. As our Lord is called, *Jesus of Nazareth*. The *Arameans* were not unknown unto the old Pagan Writers. *Homer*, and *Hesiod*, sing of them; and *Strabo* mentions them. The Name of an *Aramean* in Process of Time, grew so vile, as to signify, *An Idolater*. The Phrase was of a Chaldee Original; and we have it especially in the *Talmuds*. The Occasion might be, because the first *Idolatry* expressly mentioned in the Scripture, was that of *Thare*, *Nachor*, and *Laban*, who were by their Countrey *Arameans*; and the Jewes have a Tradition, of *Terahs* being the first *Image-Maker* that ever was in the World; and both *Epiphanius* and *Suidas* do countenance the Tradition.⁹⁸

In the Scripture, we find Six Places whereto the Name *Aram* is either a Præfix or a Suffix.⁹⁹

Aram-Naharajim, is as much as to say, *Syria* of the Two Rivers. It was the same with *Mesopotamia*, which lies between *Tigris* and *Euphrates*.¹⁰⁰

For *Padan-Aram*, the Arabic Tongue will inform us, That /פַּדְאן/ *Phaddan*, is the same with the Hebrew /שֶׁדֶה/ *Sede*; which signifies, *A Fruitful Field*. Yea, which *Bochart* wonders, that they who have gone to expound the Word *Padan* have never minded it, *Padan-Aram*, is by the Prophet *Hosea*, expressly called, [Hos. 12.12.] *Sede-Aram*. It was the Cultivated Part of *Mesopotamia*, which was opposed unto the Desart and Barren Part of it. You have this Distinction in *Strabo* himself; & both of them notably described in *Xenophon*; who saies, That in the Wilderness Part of *Mesopotamia*, there were Fields of *Wormwood*, sometimes, which might be compared unto *Oceans*. By the way, observe, That the Part of *Mesopotamia*, which lay next unto the *Assyrians*, was called, *The Countrey of the Chaldees*. This is intimated in the Speech of the Martyr *Stephen*. [Act. 7.2, 3, 4.] The *Ur of the Chaldees*, was the same whereof *Ptolomy* saies, The Countrey of *Auranitis* is adjacent unto *Euphrates*. Wonder not, that the Martyr *Stephen*

⁹⁸ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 5, col. 74–75). Bochart associates the Aramaeans with the “country of the Arimi” (Homer’s *Iliad* 2.783), and with the tribe of the “Arimoi” (Hesiod’s *Theogoniae* 304). Strabo mentions them in his *Geographica* (1.2.34 and 16.4.27). The Chaldean Paraphrast Onkelos on Lev. 25:47 points out their uncircumcised (hence idolatrous) origin (Walton 1:519). For the idolatry of Abraham’s father Terah (Thara, Tharra), Nachor, and Laban, see Josh. 24:2; Gen. 31:19. According to R. Hiyyah, Terah was the first maker of idols (*Genesis Rabbah* XXXVIII:13), a tradition which both Epiphanius Constantiensis (*Panarion* 3.4–5, in *Epiphanius* 1:177, lines 19–21) and *Suda* (*Lexicon* alphab. letter **sigma**, entry 254, lines 7–10) confirm.

⁹⁹ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 6, col. 76–80).

¹⁰⁰ Ps. 60:1.

extended *Mesopotamia* so far; for some of the Ancients (as *Pliny*) extend it as far as the *Persian Sea*, and so as to take in *Babylon* itself.¹⁰¹

Aram-Soba, tis plain, touched upon *Euphrates* itself. [Compare, 2. Sam. 8.3. and 1. Chron. 18.3.] Here was *Palmyra*; and here were the *Palmyrenae Solitudines*, mentioned by *Pliny*, and by *Ptolomy*. The *Sabe* and *Barathena*, mentioned by *Ptolomy* in *Arabia Deserta*, seem to be the *Soba*, and *Berothai*, mentioned in the Scripture. And it may be, an Error of the Scribe, ha's putt *Nubæi*, for *Sobæi*, in *Pliny*. Tho' they were so broken by the victorious Arms of *David*, that there is little mention of them any where, after the Dayes of *Solomon*.¹⁰²

Aram-Dammesek, or *Syria* of *Damascus*, lay between *Libanus*, and *Antilibanus*. That Illustrious Valley had many other Names, As, *Hoba*; The Valley of *Aven*; The House of *Eden*; and *Hadrac*, [Zech. 9.1.] The Inhabitants call it, *Algauta*.¹⁰³

Aram-Maacha, and, *Aram-beth-Rehob*, were Towns of the *Canaanites*, rather than of the *Syrians*.¹⁰⁴

|

[253r]

3171.

Q. We have done with the immediate Sons of *Shem*; Lett us now acquaint ourselves with his Grand Sons; [which yett 1. Chron. 1.17. are called, *His Sons*; in the same sense, no doubt, that *Laban* is called, *The Son of Nahor*, Gen. 29.5. And *Mephibosheth*, is called, *The Son of Saul*; 2. Sam. 19.25.] Now, the first of these is, *Uts*?

A. And the Ancients unanimously take him to have been the Builder of *Damascus*; for which Cause the Arabians at this Day call the Countrey thereabouts, by the Name of *Gaut*; *Tsade* being usually turned into *Teth*.

¹⁰¹ Padan-aram (Gen. 25:20 and elsewhere) is significant for early Israelite history because the Patriarch Abraham had settled there before entering the Promised Land. Strabo's distinction appears in *Geography* (16.1.24, 26) and in Xenophon's *Anabasis* (1.5.1). For Ptolemy's "Auxanitis" (rather than "Auranitis") see *Geographia* (5.20.3.1–2) and *Geography* (5.19, p. 131); Pliny (6.30.117).

¹⁰² Bochart (79). Palmyra (Tadmor) in the Syrian Desert is now best remembered for its famed Queen Zenobia. Pliny (5.21.87) mentions "*Palmyrenae Solitudines*" or "the desert of Palmyra," and Ptolemy in his *Geography* (5.14, p. 126). For Ptolemy's "Sabe" and "Barathena," see his *Geographia* (6.7.38, 8.22.15) and (5.19.5) respectively; and for "Soba" (Zoba) and Berothai, see 2. Sam. 10:6, 8 and 2. Sam. 8:8, respectively. For "*Nubæi*," see Pliny (6.32.142). David, sending Joab and Abishai, defeated the Ammonites and their Syrian allies (2 Sam. 10:6–19).

¹⁰³ Bochart (79). For "*Hobah*" and the "*Valley of Aven*," see Gen. 14:15 and Amos 1:5; for "*Algauta*," see the Arabic Paraphrast on Gen. 10:23, in Walton (1:41), and the Arab geographer Idrisi (*Geographia Nubiensis*, climatis 3, pars 5, pp. 116–17).

¹⁰⁴ According to 2 Sam. 10:8, Maacah and Rehob appear to be Syrian place names. Mather evidently distinguishes between Rehob, the Aramaean city-kingdom to the N of Damascus (2 Sam. 8:3, 12; Judg. 18:28), and Rehob, a settlement in the plain of Accho (Josh. 19:28) in the territory of the tribe of Asher (1 Chron. 6:75).

This our *Uts* of *Aram*, had a Couple of Namesakes. One, the Son of *Nahor*, [Gen. 22.21.] whose Countrey was called *Ausitis*, by the Greeks, [Job. 1.1.] and his Posterity, were the *Ausitæ*, found by *Ptolomy* in *Arabia the Desert*. Another, among the Offspring of *Edom*, [Gen. 36.28.] from whom *Idumæa* was called, [Lam. 4.21.] *The Land of Uz*; which was in *Arabia the Stony*. There were then Three *Lands of Uz*, denominated so from Three several Persons; which not being well distinguished, have caused some Confusion.¹⁰⁵

3172.

Q. The Next was *Hul*?

A. Yes; And this is hee, that in *Josephus* is called, *Otrus*, and placed in *Armenia*. *Bochart* suspects, that he wrote, *Otus*; with an Eye to *Otene*, a famous Region in *Armenia*, mention'd by *Pliny*, and *Quadratus*; and by *Ptolomy* miscalled, Μωτῆνη, and in the Tables, *Totene*.

Most probably, the Seat of *Hul*, or חול/ was *Cholobetene*, a Government in *Armenia*; which in the *Armenian* Language, was, חולבֿית *Cholbeth*, or, The *House of Hul*. *Ptolomy* tells of several Cities in *Armenia*, called, *Cholua*, *Choluata*, *Cholimma*, *Colsa*, *Colana*, all which Names may seem to refer unto our *Hul*.¹⁰⁶

3173.

Q. *Gether* the next?

A. But we cannot find any Place or People, that can pretend Relation to him. It is not worth while to animadvert on the Error of the learned *Mercer*, in deriving the *Acarnanes*, the *Cares*, and the *Bactrians*, from him. It may more probably be enquired, whether from our *Gether*, may not be derived the Name of the River between the *Carduchians* and the *Armenians*, which the Greeks call, *Centrites*, mentioned both by *Xenophon*, and by *Diodorus*. But in the *Arabian* Paraphrase, *Gether* is called, *Algerameka*, that is, *Giormok*, or *Algior mok*. And

¹⁰⁵ *Bochart*, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 8, col. 80–81). Mephibosheth is called “son of Saul” in 2 Sam. 19:24 (KJV), but in 19:25 (LXX). The Arabic Paraphrast on Gen. 10:23, in Walton (1:41), and the Arabic geographer Idrisi (*Geographia Nubiensis*, climatis 3, pars 5, p. 116–17) denominate the Valley of Damascus between the Libanus and Antilibanus mountains “Algauta,” “Gaut” or “Gauta” – the first Hebrew letter ע [ayin] of עֵיץ [Utz] being pronounced like the letter “G” as in עֵזָה [Gaza] or in עֵמֶרָה [Gomorrhah] and the final letter צ [tsadhe] being turned into a ט [teth]. The Hebrew “*Uts*” is rendered “*Ausitis*” (Job 1.1) in the LXX. *Ptolomy* (*Geography* 5.18, p. 130) locates the “*Aesitæ*” in *Arabia Deserta*.

¹⁰⁶ *Bochart*, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 9, col. 81–82). *Josephus* locates the city “*Ul*” (*Otrus*) in *Armenia* (*Antiquities* 1.6.4); *Pliny* (6.16.42) calls it “*Otene*.” The Greek historian Gaius Asinius Quadratus, probably the same as Asinius Protinus Quadratus (fl. c. 3rd c. CE), mentions “*Otene*” in a fragment of his Parthian history (*Fragmenta* 6.6 and 8.5), which survives in *Stephanus* (705.13 and 713.7). *Ptolomy*’s “*Otene*” (*Geographica* 5.13.9) is turned into “*Totene*” in his *Geography* (5.12, p. 124; tabula IV Asia). Again, *Ptolomy*’s list of *Armenian* cities appears in table IV of his *Geography* (5.12, pp. 124–25).

where that is, I leave you to the *Nubian*, for Satisfaction; or you may go look for it in *Tartary*.¹⁰⁷

3174.

Q. *Mas* was the last?

A. The same, is in the *Chronicles* called, *Mesech*. He seems to have occupied the Mountain *Masius* in *Mesopotamia*; from whence the River *Saocora* proceeding, is by *Xenophon* called, *Μασκὰ*. With *Stephanus*, the Inhabitants of this Place, are called, *Masiani*. The *Moscheni* of *Pliny*, about *Adiabene*, and *Armenia Major*, seem to be of this Original.¹⁰⁸

3175.

Q. Pass to the other Son of *Shem*, called *Lud*?

A. From him descended, as *Josephus* tells us, the *Lydians*, or, *Ludians*, which in *Eustathius* are also called, *Ludeans*. They being the same with the *Mæonians*, their having the Name of *Lydians*, from *Lydus* the Son of *Atys*, a Prince who Reigned long after *Mæon*, is a *Greek Romance*.¹⁰⁹

Lud is a Name that carries *Obliquity*, *Tortuosity*, *Crookedness*, in the Signification of it; being with a familiar Permutation of a Letter, which was usual between the *Syrians* & the *Phœnicians*, the same with *Luz*. The *Phœnicians* accordingly putt this Name upon two Places, that were famous for their *Winding Rivers*; There was the *Lydia*, where the Renowned *Mæander* had its winding Course, and there was the *Ethiopian Lydia*, where, as *Herodotus* expresses it, *Nilus* ran as winding as the *Mæander*. The Scituation of the former *Lydia*, is

¹⁰⁷ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 10, col. 82). Bochart's source is Idrisi (*Geographia Nubiensis*, climatis 4, pars 4). Joannes Mercerus, aka. Jean Mercier (d. 1570), Huguenot scholar extraordinaire, Orientalist, and professor of Hebrew at the Collège Royal of France, edited and translated into Latin the Chaldean Targums on the Hebrew scriptures. Mather (via Bochart) refers to Mercier's *Commentarii in Genesin Mosis librum* (1598). Both Xenophon (*Anabasis* 4.3.1) and Diodorus Siculus (14.27.7) mention the River "Kentriten" (Centrites) in this geographical location. The Arabian Paraphrast calls Noah's grandson Gether "Giarameca" (Walton 1:41) – the Latin transliterations of the Arabic version of the Pentateuch differing in the various polyglots: Complutensian (1514–17), Antwerp (1569–72), Paris (1629–45), and London (1654–57). As if getting tired of tracing the interminable number of places founded by the offspring of Noah's three sons, Mather refers his readers to Idrisi's *Geographia Nubiensis* (climatis 3, pars 5 and 9).

¹⁰⁸ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 11, col. 83). For Meshech, see 1 Chron. 1:5, 17. Xenophon mentions this mountain in his *Anabasis* (1.5.4); Stephanus (435.10) calls the inhabitants "Masenoi," and Pliny (6.10.28) derives from them the "Moscheni."

¹⁰⁹ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 12, col. 83–88). The descendants of "Laud" (Lud) are, according to Josephus Flavius, "Laudites," or "Lydians" (*Antiquities* 1.6.4), but Eustathius of Antioch calls them "Ludaicans" (*Commentarius in hexaemeron*) [PG 18. 757, line 14]. The story of Lydus, son of Atys and Callithea, king of Maconia, is related in Herodotus (7.74). According to Homer, Macon of Thebes, son of Haemon, was spared his life in his battle with Tydeus (*Iliad* 4.391–98).

abundantly discovered in the Writings of the Ancients; and *Pliny's* among the rest, where we read, *Lydia perfusa flexuosi amnis Mæandri recursibus*; as well as in *Maximus Tyrius*, *That Mæander flows into Lydia*.¹¹⁰

The Poets have sufficiently celebrated the *Mæander*, as the *Windingest* thing in the World:

– *liquidis Phrygius Mæander in undis*
Ludit, et ambiguo lapsu refluitque fluitque.

Until the Roman Orator, makes the Word, *Mæander*, a Proverb for, *Vafra et obliqua consilia*.¹¹¹

Bochart thinks, That *Moses* here putts the Name of *Lud*, on that Son of *Shem*, who was the Father of the People that received the Name of *Lydians* from the *Winding River* of the Countrey inhabited by them; and this only on the Score of his having a Posterity of such a Denomination. And he shoves, how the Name of *Mæon*, might be fetched from *Lud*.

That they were of old called, *Ludians*, rather than *Lydians*, is plain from the Roman Words, *Ludus*, *Ludo*, *Ludio*, deduced from thence; These *Lydians* being the great Inventers of *Playes*, as *Herodotus*, and *Hesychius*, and *Tertullian*, and *Isidore*, and *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*, have particularly observed unto us.¹¹²

[254v]

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3176.

Q. What Remarks have we to make, upon *Salah*, the Son of *Arphaxad*?

¹¹⁰ For the Lydian Maeander, see Xenophon (*Anabasis* 1.2.5); for the Ethiopian, see Herodotus (2.29). Pliny's declaration (5.30.110) that "Lydia [is] bathed by the ever-returning sinuosities of the river Maeander" is echoed by the Sophist Maximus Tyrius (fl. 2nd c. CE), teacher of Emperor Maximus Aurelius, in *Dialexeis* (2.8, sec. g).

¹¹¹ Ovid's celebrates the Maeander by comparing its windings with those of Daedalus's prison to which the Minotaur was confined: "the watery Maeander plays in the Phrygian fields, flows back and forth in doubtful course and, turning back on itself" (*Metamorphoses* 8.162–63). The Roman orator and celebrated commentator on Virgil, Marius Servius Honoratus (4th c. CE) coins the proverb (here shortened and rephrased by Bochart) "crafty and oblique deliberations," which signifies "in a meandering or winding manner frequently with the intention to deceive." Servius's commentary on Virgil's *Aeneid* 5.251 reads in the original "*maeandro dublici flexuoso. et hoc dicit: erat in chlamyde flexuosa et in se remeabilis purpura, in modum Maeandri, fluminis Cariae provinciae, qui sinuosissimus est*" (*In Vergilii carmina commentarii* 5.251).

¹¹² Bochart (84). Herodotus (1.94), the Greek lexicographer Hesychius Alexandrinus (c. 5th c. CE) in his *Lexicon A–Ω* (alphab. letter *lambda*, entry 1354, lines 1–2), Tertullian (*De spectaculis*, cap. 5) [PL 1. 636B–C] (*ANF* 3:81–82), Isidorus Hispalensis, bishop of Seville (c. 600–636), in his *Etymologiarum libri XX* (18.16.2), and finally, Dionysius Halicarnasseus (*Antiquitates Romanae* 2.71.4, lines 4–6), but see Livy (7.2.3–5) – all asserting that the Latin etymology for the noun "*Ludus*" (play) and its various adjectival, adverbial, and verb forms are derived from the name of the "*Lydians*" (Asia Minor), the supposed descendants of Shem's son Lud. Until the late 18th century, evidence derived from such accidental similarities in sound, spelling, or geographic associations were standard means of tracing the dispersion of Noah's descendants, and Mather's approach is perfectly consistent with those of his contemporaries.

A. *Salah* properly signifies, *An Emission*, to wit, of Waters. [Job. 5.10.] It is probable, That the pious *Arphaxad*, who was born Two Years after the *Flood*, for the Memory of that horrible Revolution among Posterity, called his Son, *Selah*. As that Illustrious Prophet *Enoch*, to prædict the Coming of the *Flood* upon the Death of his Son, putt upon him the Name of *Methuselah*. The ancient Pagans indeed in their Tradition, confounded the Story, by making *Enoch*, [their, *An-nacus*, or *Channacus*,] the same with *Methuselah*. They say, That *Annacus* lived above *Three Hundred Years*, and that the Oracle foretold, that upon his Death, all the People should also Dy; whereupon the *Phrygians* fell a mourning at such a rate, that, τὸ ἐπὶ Ἀννακοῦ κλαῦσιν, *To weep for Annacus*, was (according to *Stephanus*,) a Proverb for a very great Mourning.

From *Selah*, (according to *Eustathius Antiochenus*,) came the *Susians*; unto whom the *Cossæans* are enumerated by *Ptolomy* and *Eusebius*. That which confirms this Opinion is, That one of the principal Cities in *Susiana*, is called *Sela*. *Ammianus* mentions it, and so doth *Ptolomy*.¹¹³

3177.

Q. Well; but what shall we do with *Cainan*, the pretended Son of *Arphaxad*, who if he be admitted, makes but a Grandson of *Selah*?¹¹⁴

A. And hee'l make a deal of other Confusion too.

The Genealogy is Thrice Repeated in the *Old Testament*, and no *Cainan* so much as once found in it. *Philo* also, and *Josephus*, and the *Chaldee Paraphrasts*, and the *Persian Interpreter*, & both the *Arabick*, and the *Vulgar*, make *Selah* the Immediate Son of *Arphaxad*. Nor does *Cainan* appear in the Septuagint neither, [1. Chron. 1.] of the *Roman*, and *Parisian* Edition. In *Berosus* too, *Abraham*, δίκαιος ἀνὴρ, μέγας, καὶ τὰ οὐράνια ἔμπειρος, is in the *Tenth Generation* from the *Flood*; which he is not, if *Cainan* stand. And in 1. Chron. 1.24. the *Masorites* have a Marginal Observation, That every Name in the Verse, ha's a /ש/ *Schin*; which would have been false, if *Cainan* had stood between *Arphaxad*, & *Shela*. Nor can the Jewish Observation, of Two Thousand Years to *Abraham*, and then

¹¹³ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 13, col. 88–92). According to Stephanus (329.17–330.2), the ancient Phrygians modeled their Annacus after the antediluvian hero Enoch and fell to weeping for Annacus because Deucalion's flood (like that of Noah) was to wipe out mankind. Eustathius Antiochenus (*Commentarius in hexaemeron*, p. 757, lines 24–25) believes that Selah gave rise to the Susians, a people in the Persian Empire. According to Ptolemy (*Geographia* 6.3.3), the Cossæans were added to the Susians of Assyria. (Mather erroneously adds Eusebius to his list, but evidently slipped into the opposite column [col. 93] of Bochart's *Geographia*.) Both Ammianus Marcellinus (23.6.26) and Ptolemy (*Geographia* 6.3.5) identify Sele as a major city in Susiana.

¹¹⁴ Mather's response to this question is a continuation of his extract from Bochart's *Geographia* (pars 1, lib 2, cap. 13, col. 88–92).

Two Thousand more, to the *Messiah*, (*Duo Millia Tohu*, and, *Duo Millia Legis*,) be undisturbed, if *Cainan* come in.¹¹⁵

And tho' we find *Cainan*, in the present Copies of *Lukes Gospel*, doubtless he was not there neither *from the Beginning*. *Theophilus Antiochenus* reciting the Genealogy, omitts him. And *Irenaeus*, affirms, There are *Seventy Two Generations* in the Genealogy given by *Luke*; whereas if *Cainan* be there, you will find *Seventy Three*. *Julius Africanus*, and *Epiphanius*, do both of them confirm this Omission of *Cainan*; & both of them expressly say, *That Arphaxad begat Selah*. And so does *Jerom*. And *Beza* had an old Copy of the New Testament, which had no *Cainan* in it. *Bocharts* conjecture is probable enough, That there being a *Cainan*, the Son of *Enos*, mentioned in the *Thirty Seventh* Verse, the Carelessness of a Scribe, entred the Name out of its Place in the *Thirty Sixth* Verse. The Error at first, was not much heeded; and the false *Cainan* getting some footing there, some Transcribers of the *Septuagint*, gott him into their Version also.¹¹⁶

3178.

Q. And now, for *Heber*, and those that were descended from *Heber*; First, *Paleg*, and from him *Reu*, or *Ragau*, and from him *Serug*, and from him *Nahor*, and from him *Thare*, and from him, *Abraham*?¹¹⁷

115 Arphaxad's genealogy (Gen. 10:22, 24; 11:10–13; 1 Chron. 1:17–18, 24) includes Selah (Salah) – not Cainan – as Arphaxad's son. The conundrum arises because the New Testament author of Luke 3:36 makes Cainan – not Selah – the son of Arphaxad. Significantly, the LXX (Gen. 11:23) does list Arphaxad as the father of Cainan, and Cainan the father of Sala, but Philo Judaeus (*De mutatione nominum* 35.189) and Josephus (*Antiquities* 1.6.4) do not. Likewise, Cainan is not mentioned in Gen. 10:24 in the Vulgate, the Syriac, the Arabic, or in the Samaritan Version; the same is true for the Persian Version and the Chaldee Paraphrasts: Targum Onkelos and Targum Jonathan ben Uziel (Gen. 10:24) – all in Walton (1:40–41; 4:18). The Roman (Sixtine) LXX (1586) and Parisian (1629–1645) editions of the LXX (1 Chron. 1:17) do not mention Cainan either. Mather's citation from a fragment of Berossus's *Babylonika*, which survives in Josephus's *Antiquities* (1.7.2) and in Eusebius's *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.16.417b), calls Abraham "a man righteous and great, and skilful in the celestial science." Mather (via Bochart) here refers to Joseph Scaliger's edition of the *Masorites*. Tanna Eliyyahu mentions the ancient idea of "Two thousand (years) of desolation" and "two thousand (years) of the Law" (Talmudic tractate Sanhedrin 97a).

116 Luke 3:36–37. See also Theophilus Antiochenus's *Ad Autolyicum* (3.24), in *ANF* (2:118–19); Irenaeus's *Adversus haereses* (3.22.3), in *ANF* (1:455); Sextus Julius Africanus's *Chronographiae* (fragm. 9, lines 1–3), in *ANF* (6:131) and in Georgius Syncellus's *Ecloga chronographica* (96.14–18); Epiphanius (*Ancoratus* 59.4. 2–3) and *De mensuris et ponderibus* (671, 669 [Moutsoulas]); St. Jerome, on Gen. 10:24–25 (*Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, p. 42). Mather (via Bochart 91) refers to *Novum Testamentum. Interprete Theodori Bezae* (1565), a dual-language Greek-Latin edition and translation with annotations by Theodore Beza (1519–1605), the famed Swiss Reformer and Calvin's successor, whose annotations on the omission of "Kainan" can be found in the corresponding places.

117 Mather's "Answer" is extracted from Bochart's *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 14, col. 92–96).

A. The Name of *Hebrewes* came from *Heber*; and not from *Abraham*, as *Artapanus*, and *Charax*, imagined, unto which Opinion *Augustine* once inclined, but afterwards *Retracted* it: Nor from the Particle, *עבר* / *περα*, *Trans*, *Ultrà*, on the Score of *Abrahams* coming *over Euphrates*, as many of the Ancients have delivered. It is true, all the Sons of *Heber* were not called *Hebrewes*; They lost that Name, who neglecting by Degrees the *Hebrew Tongue*, accommodated themselves unto the Language of the Countreyes nearest unto them.¹¹⁸

None of *Abrahams* Ancestors wandred far from the Place of their First Habitation. *Phalga* was a Town upon *Euphrates*, perhaps in Remembrance of *Phaleg* here. In *Assyria* too was the Field of *Ragau*, whereof we read in the Book of *Judith*; the same doubtless with the *Nisæan Camp*, which is described by *Strabo*. It fed, according to *Arrianus*, One hundred & fifty thousand Horses; according to *Diodorus*, One Hundred & Sixty thousand.¹¹⁹

In Remembrance of *Serug*, there was the City *Sarug*, near to *Charan*, and not far from the Bridge, *Manbeg*.¹²⁰

Terah the Father of *Abraham*, was the Builder of *Charan*, a Town of *Mesopotamia*, in Remembrance of his Son of that Name, who dyed before him. The Town was famous, for the Battel & Ruine of *Crassus*; and among the *Arabians*, it holds its Name to this Day.¹²¹

3179.

Q. *Joktan* the Brother of *Peleg*, next calls to be considered?

A. *Joktan*, and his Thirteen Sons, have Countreyes particularly assigned by *Moses*, *Their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a Mount in the East*. It will be to little other Purpose therefore, than a needless Ostentation of Literature, to recite and refute, the many Mistakes of the Ancients, | about this [255r]

118 In an extant fragment of his *Jewish History*, Artapanus claims that “the Jews were called Ermiuth,” signifying in Greek “Judaeans” and “Hebrews from Abraham” (Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* 9.18.420a–b). Mather refers to a fragment of *Chronica*, by Charax of Pergamus, priest and historian of Greece and Rome (uncertain dates), in Stephanus (259.6–7). St. Augustine affirms his belief that the name of Heber, not that of Abraham, is the origin for the name of the Hebrews (*De Civitate Dei* 16.3), *NPNFi* (2:311–12), and *Retractiones* 2.16. [PL 32. 636]. Bochart (92–93) points out that according to Eusebius’s *Chronicon* and *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.18), Joannes Chrysostom, and Theodoret (*Quaestiones in Octateuchum: Genesis*. Quest. 62, pp. 57–58), the designation “Hebrew” was derived from Abraham, who came “over” the Euphrates into Canaan. Hence the particles *עבר* [eber], *περὰ* [pera], and *Trans*, *Ultrà* as applied to Abraham – all suggest the spatial adverb “over.”

119 *Judith* 1:6 (Vulgate). See also Epiphanius Constantiniensis (*Anacephalaeosis*, in *Epiphanius* 1:162, lines 11–15), *Strabo* (11.13.6–7), *Lucius Flavius Arrianus* (*Alexandri anabasis* 7.13.1), and *Diodorus Siculus* (17.110.6).

120 *Luke* 3:35. Idrisi (*Geographia Nubiensis*, climatis 4, pars 6, pp. 198, 203).

121 *Charan*, *Haran* (Carrhas). The Triumvir Marcus Licinius Crassus (115–53 BCE) died in his wars of conquest against the Parthians at the hands of Surenas near Carrhae (53 BCE). See *Dio Cassius* (*Historiae Romanae* 40.25–27; *Dio’s Roman History* 3:443–47) and *Plutarch* (*Vitae parallelae: Crassus* 29–33), *Plutarch’s Lives* (3:407–23).

Matter. We shall not find the *Joktanites*, either in *Aria*, (in *Josephus* corruptly writ, *Syria*,) where *Josephus* places them; or, in *India*, where they are placed by *Eustathius*, and *Eusebius*, and the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle*; but we shall find them in *Arabia Felix*. Tis the Tradition of the *Arabians*, that *Joktan*, (whom they call also *Cahtan*) was their Father. As descended from him, we find they are called *κατανῖται*, *Catanita*, in *Ptolomy*. And in the Territory of *Meccha*, at this very day, there is a populous Town called, *Baisath-Joktan*. *Theophanes* a famous Chronologer who lived about the Beginning of the Ninth Century, expressly derives the *Amanites*, (or, *Homerites*,) from the Tribe of *Joktan*; And *Euthymius* ha's the like, in his *Maomethica*. The *Amanites*, are the same with the *Jemanites*, (for so they were first called,) which is as much as to say, *The People of the South*.¹²²

3180.

Q. We will be more particular upon the Sons of *Joktan*; and begin with the Two first, *Almodad*, and *Sheleph*?

A. *Almodad* no doubt, gave Name to the *Almodeans*; a People by the Græcians called, *Allumæotans*. The Tables of *Ptolomy* show you 'em, in the Midst of *Arabia the Happy*, near the Springs of the River *Lar*. The Chaldee Paraphrase of *Jonathan*, makes *Almodad*, the first Inventer of *Geometry*; perhaps, because *Moded* is as much as to say, *A Measurer*.

Saleph seems to have been the Father of the *Salapeni*, whose Habitations were so remote, as at the very Neck of *Arabia*, near the Rise of the River *Betius*. The *Ptolomæan Tables*, do amiss to call them, *Alapeni*, for in the Text of *Ptolomy*, they are called *Σαλαπήνοι*.¹²³

¹²² Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 15, col. 96–99). According to Flavius Josephus, the descendants of Joktan “inhabited from Cophen, an Indian river, and in part of Asia adjoining it” (*Antiquities* 1.6.4). Eustathius Antiochenus (*Commentarius in hexaemeron*, p. 760, lines 12–19) [PG 18. 760], Eusebius Pamphilus (*Onomasticon*, p. 150, lines 14–18), and the unknown author of the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* (*Chronicon Paschale*, p. 54, lines 20–21; p. 56, lines 12–21) – all place the Joktanites in India. For “Cahtan,” see the Arabic Version (Gen. 10:29), in Walton (1:41). Ptolemy (*Geographia* 6.7.23). Theophanes Homologetes (c. 760–818), “the Confessor” (*Chronographia* p. 333, line 21), is the Byzantine monk and chronologer, whose *Chronographia* is a continuation of Georgius Syncellus’s *Ecloga chronographica*. Mather refers to Euthymius Zigabenus (d. post 1118), a Byzantine theologian and exegete of Constantinople. Euthymius’ Greek *Moamethica* appeared in a dual language edition by Friedrich Sylburg, as *Saracenica sive Moamethica* (1595), a Greek orthodox polemic against Islam.

¹²³ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 16, col. 99). For the Allumæotans, the River Lar, the River Betius, and the Alapenis or (S)alapenoi, see Ptolemy (*Geographica* 6.7.13; 6.7.23–24) and Targum Jonathan ben Uziel (Gen. 10:26), in Walton (4:18).

3181.

Q. The Next is *Hatsarmaveth*:¹²⁴

A. The Arabians pronounce it *Hadramauth*, or *Chadramauth*. And by the Greeks, because /π/ and /Σ/ are so ambiguously sounded, it is changed into a Thousand Forms. In the LXX, and the Fathers, we find, Ἀσαρμῶθ, and Σαρμῶθ, and, Ἀρμῶθ, and elsewhere, Ἀτερμῶθ. In *Regius Theophrastus*, tis Ἀδράμυτα. In *Dionysius Periegetes*, tis, *Chatramis*. In *Strabo*, tis, *Chatramitis*. The People belonging hereto, are by *Artemidorus* called, *Atramotitæ*; by *Eratosthenes* & *Pliny*, they are called, *Chatramotitæ*; by *Uranius*, they are called, *Chatramotæ*; by *Ptolomy*, *Chatrimmitæ*, and, *Chatrimmitæ*, and in the Tables, miscalled, *Chatramonitæ*. Nor are the *Atramitæ*, or, *Adramitæ*, mentioned by the three last Authors, diverse from these.¹²⁵ Now that these were in *Arabia*, was known to the Christian Fathers themselves. Hence in *Eustathius Antiochenus*, among the Sons of *Joctan*, is, Ἀσαρμῶθ ἀφ' οὗ Ἀραβες. And the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, and *Eusebius*, to the like Purpose. And according to *Epiphanius*, this Ἀσαρμῶθ, was the first Inventor of the *Arabic* Tongue; tho' *Gabriel Sionita*, with fuller Proof assign the Invention of it unto his Father. And the *Hadhramautic Dialect* of it, is at this Day, counted the most barbarous. *Hadramauth*, or, *Chatramitis*, was a Countrey famous for *Myrrhe*, and *Frankincense*, in *Ptolomy*. Its Metropolis is called, *Sabota* by *Pliny*, *Sabbatha* by *Arrianus*, *Saubatha* by *Ptolomy*; and by the *Arabian* Geographer *Sebam*. It was a Mediterranean City; very populous; having Sixty Temples within its Walls, and seated on an high Mountain. The *Sun* was here worshipped, under the Name of *Sabis*, which no doubt was originally, Σαμς, or /שמש/, the proper Name for the *Sun*. *Pliny* saies, They paid the *Tithe* of their *Frankincense* unto him.¹²⁶

124 Mather's response is extracted from Bochart's *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 17, col. 100–03).

125 For Chadramauth, see Ptolemy (*Geographica* 6.7.23–24). For Asarmoth, Zarmoth, and Armoth, see the LXX (Gen. 10:26), Eustathius (*Commentarius in hexaameron*, p. 760, line 13), *Chronicon Alexandrinum* (p. 55, line 2). “Adramuta” (Hadramyta), in the Arabian Peninsula, renowned for its frankincense and myrrh, appears in Theophrastus (*Historia plantarum* 9.4.2, line 3). Dionysius Periegetes (*Orbis descriptio* 957); Strabo (16.4.2, 4) calls them “Chatramotitæ” and their region “Chatromotitis.” The Greek historian Uranius Syrius (fl. 6 CE) mentions the Arabic Chatramotæ in *Fragmenta* (Fragm. 4, lines 1–5, and Fragg. 12, line 2). Ptolemy (*Geographia* 5.2.5; 6.7.25–26), Stephanus (689.8–12), Pliny (6.32.154, 161). The Greek geographer Artemidorus of Ephesus (fl. c. 100 BCE) is best known for his *Geography* (11 bks.), extant only in extracts by both Strabo and Pliny; the works of the Greek philologist and librarian of Alexandria, Eratosthenes Cyrenæus (c. 276–c. 194 BCE), survive only in fragments.

126 Eustathius Antiochenus (*Commentarius in hexaameron*, p. 760, line 13). *Chronicon Alexandrinum* (p. 55, line 2). Eusebius Pamphilus (*Demonstratio evangelica* 5.4.19). Epiphanius's *Panarion* (39.8.5–7), in *Epiphanius* (2:78, lines 7–15) lists Armot (not Asarmot) as the first speaker of Arabic after the confusion of the tongues at Babel. Bochart's learned Maronite friend Gabriel Sionita (1577–1648), professor of Oriental languages at Rome, of Arabic at the College of France (Paris), and principal contributor to the Paris Polyglot (1629–45), published many works of note, including *Grammatica Arabica Maronitarum* (1616). Ptolemy (*Geographia*

The Name of *Hatsar-maveth* signifies, in Hebrew, *The Entry of Death*; in Arabic, *The Countrey of Death*. How agreeable is this, with what we find in *Arrianus*? That it was a very *Unhealthy Place*; [ἐπίνοσοι δὲ δεινῶς οἱ τόποι.] *Contagious* to Passengers; and *Mortiferous* to the *Frankincense-Gatherers*. *Myrrhe*, and *Aloes*, and *Cassia*, and *Cinnamon* abounded there. And so did *Serpents* too (as *Agatharchides* tells us,) who use to abound in *Spicy Regions*; as if (saies our Author,) the *Commodities of those Lands were envied unto the Children of Men*. He tells of a yellow *Serpent* there, about a Span long, which if it sting a Man above the Loins, the Wound is incurable. It may be intended in Isa. 34.13. *Herodotus* reports, a winged Sort of *Serpents*, on the Trees that bore *Frankincense*. Behold, another Occasion, for the Name of *Hatsar-maveth*; besides what we have in an Arabic Book, about the *Properties of Things*, which they ascribe unto *Aristotle*, where tis expressly said, That *Hadramot* was a Place, *Ubi Ventus* (i.e. a pestilential Air) *multos homines interfecit*.¹²⁷

3182.

Q. Pass to *Jerach*, and see what Aspect he hath had upon the World?

A. *Jerach* is a Name, that ha's the *Moon* in the Signification of it. From him came the *Jerachites*; which are the very People that are called, Ἀλιταῖοι, in *Agatharchides*, and in *Diodorus*. The Reliques of them remain to this Day, near *Meccha*, called, The Sons of *Hilal*, (or of the Moon,) whereof there is mention in the *Nubian Geographer*. These People, mixed with the *Cassanites*, or the *Gasandrans*, or the *Casandrians*, (for they are the same,) occurring in many of the ancient Writers, were, as *Herodotus* tells us, great | Worshippers of the *Moon*, which was called, *Alila*, or, *Alilat*, (the same with *Urania*, as tis largely proved by *Scaliger*,) & is to this day called so. Such was the Respect of the *Arabians* to the *New Moon*, that after they turned *Mahometans* they have not laid it aside. *Euthymius*, and, *Constantinus Porphyrogenneta*, have a Form of Prayer, which they continue to direct unto it, notwithstanding their Enmity unto Idolatry in other Instances. And tho' they destroy all other *Images*, yett they reserve that of

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6.7.25), Pliny (6.32.155; 12.32.63; 12.35.68), Arrianus (*Periplus maris Erythraei* 27.10). Saubatha (Sabbatha), in Ptolemy (*Geographia* 4.7.8, 6.7.38, 8.22.14). Idrisi has "Scebam" and "Hadhrmut, in his *Geographia Nubiensis* (1619), clim. 2, pars 6, p. 51. For the worship of "*Sabis*" in his many temples and the use of frankincense, see Pliny (12.32.63) and his source in Theophrastus (*Historia plantarum* 9.4.5).

¹²⁷ Nearly the same discussion of "Hatsar Maveth" appears in Mather's *Zalmonah* (1725), pp. 49–50. Arrianus (*Periplus maris Erythraei* 29.11) relates that the royal slaves fetch incense from Libanotophoros, an inaccessible, craggy mountainous country, and that "the place is fearfully unhealthy." The Greek geographer and historian Agatharchides of Cnidus (c. 215–post 145 BCE) describes Arabia Felix with its spices and, alas, its fiery serpents, in his *De mari Erythraeo* (98.1–10). The "habitation of dragons and owls" (Isa. 34:13), according to Mather, alludes to the "tiny winged snakes" that guard the bushes from which frankincense is harvested (Herodotus 3.107; see also 2.75). The Latin citation from an Arabic fragment of Aristotle reads, "where a wind [or 'pestilential Air'] destroyed many people."

the *New Moon*, both in their *Flags*, & on their *Moschs*. The *Ornaments* upon the Ancient *Ishmaelites*, [Judg. 8.21.] were called, /שְׁהֲרִינִים/ *Little Moons*.¹²⁸

Our Sons of *Jerach*, (or of *Hilal*, as the *Arabians* at this day do call them,) removed from the *South*, to the *East*, of *Meccha*. We find in *Ptolomy*, over against the Shore of the *Cassanites*, an Island, called by him, Ἰεράκων νῆσος, which is his Mistake; for it should be Ἰεράχων νῆσος, *An Island of Jerachites*.¹²⁹

3183.

Q. Now for *Hadoram*?

A. *Bochart* places him in a Corner of the Eastern Part of *Arabia*, where were the *Drimati* mentioned by *Pliny*, near the *Persian Sea*; for he is careful to distinguish the Offspring of *Hadoram*, from that of *Hatsarmaveth*, or *Hadhramaut*; which he finds many Authors have confounded. We have there a Promontory, which is called κορόδαμος, *Corodamus*, no doubt, from the Name of our *Hadoram*.¹³⁰

3184.

Q. And for *Uzal*?

A. A Clause occasionally quoted by *Drusius* from the Book *Juchasin*, written by *Abraham Zachut*, a Jew of *Salamanca*, help'd *Bochart* at length to determine the Place of *Uzal*'s Posterity, about which, he saies, he had otherwise been utterly at a Loss. He now finds *Uzal*, to be the same that ha's been also called, *Sanaa*, the Metropolis of *Aljeman*, a Kingdome in the *Southern Parts* (as the Name *Aljeman* intimates,) of *Arabia Felix*; described as a very *Rich* City, by the *Nubian* Geographer, and as a very *Strong* one, by *Vartomanus*. The Place was by the *Arabians*, called, *Auzal*, which among the *Grecians* degenerated into Ἀυζαρα.

¹²⁸ This and the following paragraph are extracted from *Bochart, Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 19, col. 109–12). The “Alilatoi” (Alilaei) are mentioned by Agatharchides (*De mari Erythraeo* 96.1) and by Diodorus Siculus (3.45.6). Idrisi (*Geographia Nubiensis*, climatis 2, pars 5). Herodotus (3.8). Mather’s unspecified reference is, perhaps, to Joseph Justus Scaliger’s *Opus de emendatione temporum* (1583). Herodotus (1.105, 131) and Pausanias (1.14.7) relate that Ἀφροδίτης Οὐρανίας (Aphrodite Ourania) bore the secondary name “Urania,” as in “Heavenly Aphrodite” (KP). The prayer to the “New Moon” (Aphrodite) does not appear in Euthymius, but in Georgius Cedrenus (*Compendium historiarum* 1:744, lines 15–24), in Georgius Monachus (*Chronicon breve* 110:873, secs. 14–15), and in Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus (*De administrando imperio* 14.33–36). In the latter work, the Byzantine emperor charges his Muslim enemies with adoring the crescent moon, symbol of Aphrodite: “They pray, moreover, to the star of Aphrodite, which they call Koubar, and in their supplication cry out: ‘Alla wa Koubare,’ that is, ‘God and Aphrodite.’” The Hebrew noun הַשְּׁהֲרִינִים [hassaharonim] suggests (ornamental) “moons” or “crescents” [Strong’s # 7720]. See also Nicholas Fuller’s *Miscellaneorum theologicorum* (1616), lib. 1, ch. 13.

¹²⁹ Ptolemy (*Geographia* 3.3.8, line 8): “Ierakon nesos” (Hierakon Insula).

¹³⁰ *Bochart, Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 20, col. 112–14). *Pliny* (6.32.152) has “Drymatina”; Ptolemy (*Geographia* 6.7.11) has “Korodabon akron.”

Such a Place there was among the *Gebanites*, (according to *Pliny*.) who had *Ocila* for their Haven, which is the same that in *Ptolomy* is called, *Ocelis*. These *Gebanites*, were so called probably by the *Syrian Merchants*, from *גבא* *Gaba*, *Tributum Exigere*; because they were such cruel *Tax-gatherers*, or laid so severe Customs, on the *Myrrhe & Frankincense*, which was afforded by, or must be carried thro', their Countrey. They were also called, *Catabenes*, which is as much as to say, *Accountants*; from their exact Entry of all such Goods; and *Pliny* tells us, of a Share in the Goods, which therefore fell to these Rapacious Wretches.¹³¹

That Passage which we render, Ezek. 27.19. *Dan also, and Javan, going to & fro, occupied in thy Fairs*; *Bochart* thinks may be thus rendred, *Dan also, and Javan, from Uzal, occupied in thy Fairs*. q.d. All sorts of People were there; The *Danites*, which were the Near Neighbours of *Tyrus*; yea, and very Remote People too; even the *Javanites*, as far off as *Uzal*. For besides the *Javanians*, or *Jonians* of *Greece*, there were *Javanites* of *Javan*, a City of *Jeman*, in this Remote *Arabia*; *Giggeius* mentions it; And of this *Jeman*, was *Uzal* the Metropolis. The Prophet may say *Javan from Uzal*, διακριτικῶς, to intimate, that he did not mean *Javan of Græcia*. The Commodities mention'd by the Prophet are, *Iron*, *Cassia*, & *Calamus*. The *Iron* was imported by the *Danites*; the Spices by the *Javanians*, which therefore could not be those of *Græcia*, but those of *Arabia*, where *Agatharchides*, and *Strabo*, and *Diodorus*, and *Arrianus*, and an hundred more Authors, will supply you with those Commodities.¹³²

3185.

Q. The next is *Dikla*?

A. The *Chaldeans*, and the *Syrians*, tis well-known, call, *A Palm-tree*, by that Name; And it is the Name, that the *Syrians* putt upon that Part of *Arabia the Happy*, which most abounds with *Palms*. It ha's commonly been taken for that

¹³¹ This and the subsequent paragraph are extracted from *Bochart*, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 21, col. 114–17). *Joannes Drusius* quotes from the book of genealogies *Liber Iuchasin*, or *Sefer ha-Yuhasin* (c. 1510), (lib. 4, in the end) by *Abraham ben Samuel Zacuto* (1452–c. 1515), the famous Jewish astronomer and historian of *Salamanca*. *Drusius's* citation appears in his commentary on *Matt. 12:42*, in *John Pearson's Critici Sacri* (6:373). *Idrisi* (*Geographia Nubiensis*, climatis 1, pars 6). The Italian traveler *Ludovicus Vartomannus* relates in his *Novum Itinerarium* (1511), lib. 2, cap. 8 and 10, that the city *Sana* (*Sanāa*), the *Yemeni* capital, is located on a mountain top “and is extremely strong” (*Travels* 78–79). The Greek place name transliterates “*Auzara*.” *Pliny* (12.35.68–69). *Ptolemy* (*Geographia* 6.7.7, line 9). The Latin “*Tributum Exigere*” suggests “to extort tribute.” *Pliny* (6.32.153) mentions the “*Catapani*.”

¹³² *Bochart*, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 21, col. 116–17). The Italian Orientalist *Antonius Giggeius*, aka. *Antonio Giggei* (d. 1632), authored *Thesaurus linguae Arabicae* (1632). The Greek “*diakritikos*” signifies “separate” to distinguish between the descendants of *Javan* (the Greek *Ionians*) and those from *Uzal* (sixth son of *Joktan*). *Mather* refers to the Prophet *Ezekiel*, who mentions the importation of iron, cassia (a type of cinnamon), and calamus (a fragrant reed) as coming from *Asel* (*Uzal*), in *Ezek. 27:19* (LXX, KJV). *Agatharchides* of *Cnidus* (*De mari Erythraeo* 97.12, 101.13), *Strabo* (16.4.14, 18), *Diodorus Siculus* (3.45.6–46.5), *Arrianus* (*Alexandri anabasis* 7.20.2).

in the Way to the *Red-Sea*, described by *Diodorus* out of *Artemidorus*, as called, φοινίκων, for that Reason; and whereof *Strabo* saies, *Its Fertility in Palm-trees is wonderful*; and *Procopius* affirms, That nothing else does grow there: And *Agatharchides*, and *Ptolomy*, also do mention it. But *Bochart* shewes, the Sons of *Chus*, and not of *Joctan*, were the Inhabitants of that Countrey; from whom the *Saracens* were descended. We must therefore look further Southward in *Arabia*; and there among the *Mineans*, we shall have *Pliny* showing us, *Fertiles Agros Palmetis*. *Dikla* was the Name of the Countrey inhabited by the *Mineans*.¹³³

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3189.

Q. *Obal* is the next?

A. Who in the *Arabic*, would be called, *Aubal*. He seems to have gone from *Arabia the Happy*, & pass'd over the Water into *Arabia Troglodytica*, & given a Name to the Town, & the Bay, called, *Abalitis*, or *Avalitis*; for tis written both Wayes, as you may find in *Pliny*, in *Stephanus*, in *Ptolomy*, and in *Arrian*. Hence came the *Myrrha Troglodytica*, celebrated so much, in the Writings of the Ancients; especially of *Dioscorides* and *Aetius*. The *Avalites*, were that People, among whom, (according to *Ptolomy*) were found the *Nubæ*; which, Νόυβαι, or, Νῶβαι, (according to *Hesychius*) were the *Pygmies* of the Ancients; *Bochart* confirms this, with many Authorities; and, thinks the *Abyssinians* have some Affinity with them. It need not be wondred at, that the Posterity of *Joctan* found a Passage thus out of *Asia* into *Africa*. According to *Pliny*, the Mouth of the *Red-Sea* where they passed, is but *Four Miles* over; and *Strabo*, and *Arrian*, make it but *Seven and an half*. Yea, *Vartomanus*, an Eye Witness, makes it no more than *Three*. And the *Arabian* Geographer saies, People may see one another from one Side unto the other.¹³⁴

¹³³ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 22, col. 118–22). “Diklah” (Gen. 10:27; 1 Chron. 1:21) suggests “a palm grove,” but is also the name of a S Arabian tribe. Diodorus Siculus (3.11.2; 16.40.5) cites Artemidorus’s *Geography* (bk. 8) and refers to the “Phoinikon” (Phoenicians). Strabo (16.4.18). Procopius of Caesarea (c. 500–post 562), Greek historian and assistant to Belisarius in his various campaigns, mentions the infertility of the region in his *De bellis* (1.19.9) in *Procopius* (1:181), and so do Agatharchides Cnidus (*De mari Erythraeo*, sec. 87) and Ptolemy (*Geographia* 5.17.3; 6.7.21). Pliny (6.32.161) describes the land of the Minaeans as “fertile in palm groves.”

¹³⁴ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 23, col. 122–27). *Arabia Troglodytica* (Arabia of the Cave-dwellers) is a region on the W coast of the Red Sea. Pliny (6.32.157), Stephanus (144.17), Ptolemy (*Tetrabiblos* 2.3.71; *Geographia* 4.7.10), Arrianus (*Periplus mari Erythraei* 7.1, 25.3). The Greek physician Dioscorides Pedanius (1st c. CE), best know for his book on medicinal drugs, praises the superiority of the Troglodyte myrrh with its pale green transparency and biting scent (*De materia medica* 1.64.5–7). Aëtius of Amida (fl. c. 530–560), Greek physician in Alexandria and Constantinople, compiled his *Tetrabiblon*, an encyclopedia of medical knowledge in four sections. He mentions the myrrh of the Troglodytes in his *Iatricorum* (2.196.80–82; 3.113–117). Ptolemy (*Geographia* 4.8.27, 30). Hesychius mentions the “Nobai”

3190.

Q. Then *Abimael*?

A. This Name, if you putt it a little more *Arabically*, is, *Abimâl*; which is as much as to say, The Father of *Mal*, or, of the *Malites*. In Genealogies, tis common for *Parents* to be denominated from the *Children* begotten by them. Thus, 1. Chron. 2.49. we read of, *Abi-Madmenah*, and of *Abi-Guibha*; and, 1. Chron. 4.3. of, *Abi-Etam*.

Now *Mali* is in *Theophrastus*, one of the Four *Metropoles*, or, Provinces, of *Arabia the Spicy*. And the *Malites* are the same that *Eratosthenes* calls *Minæans*. You must know, that the *Malites*, with an usual Permutation, are by *Ptolomy* called *Manites*; and the *Manites* were one considerable Tribe of the *Minæans*.

And what if we should say, That *Mali* is contractly putt for *Abimalia*? Thus we read of, *Sittim*, for *Abel-Sittim*; of *Baal-meon*, for *Beth-baalmeon*; of *Hermon*, for *Baal-Hermon*; of *Tholad*, for *El-Tholad*; of *Asan*, for *Bor-asan* or, *Bechor-asan*; of *Nimrim*, for *Beth-nimrim*, or, *Beth-nimrah*; of *Ataroth*, for *Archi-ataroth*; and of *Seba*, for, *Beer-Seba*. What we read, Josh. 19.2. *Beer-sheba*, and *Sheba*; should be read, *Beer-sheba which is Sheba*; else the *Thirteen Cities*, (v. 6) will be *Fourteen*. Unto these, you may add, *Salem*, for *Jerusalem*.¹³⁵

3191.

Q. *Sheba* followes. Now there are no less than Four Sorts of People, whom we find of a *Sabæan* Original. For One of these, the Name begins with a /ð/ for the rest, with a /ʃ/. Two of these, were of *Chams* Posterity; Two of *Shems*. At present we are only concerned with the Offspring of *Joctan*?¹³⁶

A. *Agatharchides*, and after him, *Diodorus* and *Artemidorus*, and others, of the Ancients, do under the Name of these very *Sabæans*, comprise all those Four People, which inhabited the Foot of *Arabia*; the *Sabæans* properly so called, the *Mineans*, the *Catabanians*, and the *Chatramotians*. But we have only the proper *Sabæans* now before us. *Eratosthenes* is the first who distinguished these from the other Inhabitants of the *Spicy Arabia*, reporting their Metropolis to be *Mariaba*; which was near the *Red Sea*, between the *Mineans*, & the *Catabanians*. *Dionysius Periegetes* accordingly places them on the Shore of the *Red-Sea*; and so does *Pris-*

in his *Lexicon A–O* (alphab. letter **nu**, entry 759). Pliny (6.33.163–64; 6.34.170) variously describes the mouth of the Red Sea as 4, 7, 7 ½ or even 12 miles wide. Strabo (16.4.4) makes the straits at Deirê “sixty stadia” (c. 18 miles) wide, and so does Arrianus (*Periplus mari Erythraei* 25.5–6). See also Vartomannus (*Travels* 57–58) and the Arabian Geographer Idrisi (*Geographia Nubiensis*, climatis 1, pars 5).

¹³⁵ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 24, col. 127–28). Theophrastus (*Historia Plantarum* 9.4.2). Strabo (1.2.1) praises Eratosthenes of Cyrene, the Alexandrian scholar, philosopher, and geographer, but the pertinent passage appears in Strabo (16.4.2, 18). Ptolemy (*Geographia* 6.7.23, lines 6–7).

¹³⁶ This and the subsequent paragraphs are extracted from Bochart’s *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 25–26, col. 128–37). The two Hebrew characters are “samech” and “shin.”

cianus; & so *Festus Avienus*. And according to *Ptolomy*, they can't be far from the Bay of *Arabia*. Their Towns, *Murane*, and *Marme*, and *Corolia*, and *Sabatra*, does *Pliny* find bordering on the *Red-Sea* thereabouts. *Theodoret* & *Procopius* makes the *Red Sea*, to divide them from the *Auxumites*. Their Metropolis is called, *Sabo*, or *Sabas*, in the most ancient Writers; and in *Philostorgius* among the rest; the very same that others call *Mariaba*.¹³⁷

The Name of *Mariaba*, is interpreted by *Pliny*, to signify, *Lords of All*. The Verb /רַבָּא/ *Rabba*, signifies, we know, *To bear Rule*. And, according to the Arabic Way of making Words /מַרַב/ *Marab*, is as much as to say, *Sedes Dominantium*; which is æquivalent unto a, *Metropolis*. Whence there were several other *Mariaba*'s, in *Arabia*; *Pliny* mentions Three in the same Chapter. And *Ptolomy* mentions diverse, which the Scribes carelessly write, Μαριαμα.¹³⁸

The Name *Sheba*, or *Saba*, seems to carry *Eminency* in the Signification of it. *Agatharchides* tells us, The *Sabæans* were so for their very Stature, & their, τὰ σώματα ἀξιολογώτερα. Thus we read, Isa. 45.14. Of, *Sabæans Men of Stature*. The Arabian Geographer also saies of them, *Fastu, Jactantiâ et Superbiâ, reliquos populos superabant*. Their Dignity, Number, & Power likewise was eminent; *Strabo* speaks of them, as, Μέγιστον ἔθνους, and *Diodorus* calls them, *The most Numerous of the Arabian Nations*.¹³⁹

And here dwelt, the *Queen of Sheba*, | that came unto *Solomon*. The Authorities for this, are not few nor small; and it is much more likely, than the

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137 Bochart (130–32). Agatharchides (*De mari Erythraeo*, sec. 96, 97, 99); Diodorus Siculus (3.46.1); Artemidorus and Eratosthenes are the sources for Strabo's description of the Sabaeans, the "Catabenians," and the metropolis "Mariaba" (*Geography* 16.4.2, 19). Dionysius Periegetes (*Orbis descriptio* 958–59). Priscianus Caesariensis (5th–6th c. CE), Latin grammarian of Constantinople, authored several important Latin grammars including *Institutiones grammaticae* and *Institutio de nomine et pronomine et verbo* – both works markedly influencing the teaching of Latin in the Middle Ages. Bochart (130) cites the following lines from Priscianus: "*Minæique Maris prope Rubri littora vivunt, / Atque Sabae post hos, nec non habitam Catabeni*," which can be rendered, "And the Minaei live near the shores of the Red Sea, and the Sabaeans after them, and the Catabeni also dwell there." The Roman poet Rufius Festus Avienus (fl. c. 380 CE), a native of Volsinii (Etruria), in central Italy, translated Dionysius Periegetes's Greek poem *Orbis descriptio* into Latin and published it as *Periegesis seu Descriptio orbis terrarum*. Mather here refers to *Periegesis* (1126–1128). Ptolemy (*Geographia* 6.7.23). Pliny (6.32.154). Theodoret (*Quaestiones in libros Regnorum et Paralipomenon*) [PG 80. 697, lines 34 ff, 756, lines 3–4]. Procopius Gazaues (*Commentarii in Isaiam*) [PG 87.2. 2384, lines 9 ff]. The church historian Philostorgius (c. 368–c. 440) of Cappadocia continued Eusebius's *Church History* with his own *Historia ecclesiastica* (12 bks.), extant only in Photius's ninth-century epitome. Mather (via Bochart 130) here refers to Saba, the chief city of the Sabaeans (Homerites) in Arabia Felix, as related in Philostorgius's *Historia ecclesiastica fragmenta* (bk. 3, ch. 4, frag. 4, line 5).

138 Bochart (131). Pliny (6.32.159). For the three different Mariba and Mariaba, see Pliny (6.32.157, 159, 160). Ptolemy mentions "Mariama," in his *Geographia* (6.7.37, line 7).

139 Agatharchides (*De mari Erythraeo* 97.7) relates that the Sabaeans were endowed with "magnificent bodies." The Arabian geographer Idrisi (*Geographia Nubiensis*, climatis 2, pars 6) chimes in with, "They overcame the other peoples by arrogance, boastfulness and pride." Strabo (16.4.19) speaks of them as "a very large tribe." Diodorus Siculus (3.46.1).

Opinion of *Josephus*, That *Meroe* was her *Countray*. The Hebrew Doctors, do some of them tell us, That her *Countray* was, *Jeman*; which admirably agrees with our Saviours calling her, *The Queen of the South*.

We read in *Aben-Ezra*, concerning the *Sabeans*, That in his Time, *Women Ruled them*; and saies *Claudian*,

Levibus Sabæis

Imperat hic sexus, Reginarumque sub armis
*Barbarie pars magna jacet.*¹⁴⁰

When the *Sabeans* fell upon *Job*, the *Chaldee Paraphrase* tells us, That *Lilith* was their *Queen*, & the Head of that Action. When the *Saracens* were converted, under *Valentinian* the Emperour, they were under a *Queen*, whose Name was *Mauvia*, by whom the *Romans* were considerably wasted. An Anonymous Geographer, who wrote under *Constantius*, affirms, of the *Saracens* thereabouts, – *Mulieres his imperare dicuntur*. *Jemama* a *Countray* of *Arabia*, near the *Persian Sea*, had its Name from *Jemama*, a *Queen* that once ruled there.¹⁴¹

The *Sabeans*, much more properly than the *Meroites*, may have, *The Ends of the Earth*, assigned them, as in the Words of our Saviour. And the Presents, which the *Queen* made unto *Solomon*, are much more agreeable unto the *Sabæan* Soyl, than unto the *Ethiopian*.

Bochart learnedly proves, *Josephus's* Account of this *Queen*, to be Fabulous, yea, to have no less than Ten Fables in it.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 2.10.2). Josephus mentions that Sheba was queen of Egypt and Ethiopia (*Antiquities* 8.6.5–6), but William Whiston contradicts Josephus in a note, stating that she was “a queen of Sabaea in South Arabia.” Bochart (134) identifies his Hebrew sources as Abraham ben Samuel Zacuto’s *Liber Iuchasin* and Ibn Ezra’s *Commentary on Daniel* (Dan. 11:6). Claudius Claudianus of Alexandria (c. 370–c. 404), court poet under Emperor Honorius, sings in his invective *In Eutropium* (1.321–23), “among the swift Sabaeans, half Barbary is governed by martial queens.”

¹⁴¹ Lilith is identified as the queen of the Sabaeans by the *Chaldee Paraphrase* (Job 1:15), in Walton (3:5). Her name (let’s hope not her actions) alludes to the legend of the Sumerian and Israelite night demon Lilith mentioned in the Talmudic tractates Shabbath (151b), Eiruvin (100b), and Nidah (24b), Midrash Rabbah: Numbers XVI:25, Zohar (1:14b, 27b; 3:19a). Bochart relates (134) that the anonymous geography, written under Roman Emperor Flavius Valerius Constantinus (c. 272–337), was edited by Jacobus Gothofredus, aka. Jacques Godefroy (1587–1657). A famous French jurist and professor of law in Heidelberg and Geneva, Gothofredus drew on the vast library of his friend Claudius Salmasius (1588–1653), the French humanist and philologist, who succeeded Joseph Justus Scaliger at the University of Leiden. The Latin citation from Gothofredus’s *Vetus orbis descriptio* (1628) confirms that “women are said to have commanded them.” See also his edition of *Antiquae historiae* (1590–91). The identity of Queen Jemama of Arabia has as yet eluded my searches, but is most likely mentioned in Gothofredus’s *Vetus orbis*.

¹⁴² For “*The Ends of the Earth*,” see Deut. 33:17, Acts 13:47, Rom. 10:18. According to 1 Kings 10:10, the queen of Sheba gave to Solomon gold, spices, and precious stones. Bochart (135–37) raises not 10, but 12 objections to Josephus’s version of the queen of Sheba (*Antiquities* 8.6.5–6).

3192.

Q. We will discourse next upon *Ophir*?

A. That Name, in the *Arabic* Form, were *Auphar*; the Signification whereof is, *To abound in Riches*. *Uphre* accordingly, in the *Feminine* Gender, is as much as to say, *Very Rich*. And it is a wondrous Passage in *Eupolemus*, concerning *David*; That *he built Ships at Ælan a City of Arabia, and therein sent such as were employ'd about Metals, unto the Island Urphe, an Island in the Red-Sea, rich in Mines of Gold, who brought Gold from thence into Judæa*. For *Urphe*, read *Uphre*, and correct his Mistake, of *David* for *Solomon*.¹⁴³

There was a Land of *Ophir*, in *Arabia*, near the *Sabæans*. This was possessed by the *Cassinites*, of *Ptolomy* and *Stephanus*; the same that are called *Gasandes*, by *Diodorus*, and *Casandres*, by *Agatharchides*; All which Names carry *Stores*, *Treasures*, and *Riches* in them; even the Name of, *Gaza*, comes from them. Numberless Hints we have in the Writings of the Ancients, concerning the *Gold* of this Countrey; t'were endless to cite them. It is enough, that we find, the People knew no other Use of their *Gold*, but only to make Bracelets of it; for which Cause they exchanged it with their Neighbours, for other Metals, *Weight for Weight*, according to *Diodorus*; yea, according to *Agatharchides*, they gave *Thrice* the Weight of *Gold* for *Brass*, *Twice* for *Iron*, *Ten Times* for *Silver*.¹⁴⁴

Hence t'was, that the *Sabæans*, the Neighbours of these rude People, became so Rich; and we sometimes read of their *Gold* and *Wealth*, in the Scriptures: [Psal. 72.15. and Isa. 60.6. and Ezek. 27.22. and 1. King. 10.2, 10.] And *Aelius Gallus* in *Pliny*, cries them up, for the Plenty of *Gold* among them.¹⁴⁵

This *Gold* is called *Ophir*, from the Name of the Place that afforded it. [See Job. 22.24. and 28.16. and 1. Chron. 29.4.] Tis not probable, that Navigation was in *Jobs* Time so far improved, as to fetch *Gold* any farther than hence; or before the Days of *Solomon*.

¹⁴³ This and the subsequent paragraphs are extracted from Bochart's *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 27, col. 137–42). Mather translates the italicized passage from Eupolemus (fl. c. 150 BCE), a Jewish historian of Palestine, whose Greek history *On the Kings of Judæa* survives in fragments in Clemens Alexandrinus and in Eusebius Pamphilus. The translated citation is from Eusebius's *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.30.447d).

¹⁴⁴ Bochart (col. 138). Ptolemy (*Geographia* 6.7.6, line 1); Stephanus (365.14–18); Diodorus Siculus (3.45.6); Agatharchides (*De mari Erythraeo* 17.13, 96.1–2). Diodorus Siculus (3.45.8) argues that because of the “scarcity of copper and iron” the Alilaei and Gasandi Arabs trade their gold “for equal parts” of these inferior metals, but Agatharchides (*De mari Erythraeo* 96.17–20) argues they trade “one part of gold for three of copper or two of iron.”

¹⁴⁵ Bochart (140). Aelius Gallus (fl. 1st c. BCE), prefect of Egypt, misled by the legendary wealth of the Nabathaeans, made a disastrous expedition into Arabia (c. 26–c. 24 BCE). Pliny (6.32.160–61).

But then, there was another *Ophir* in *India*, whither the Ships of *Solomon* made their *Three-Years-Voyages*, & whence they brought *Ivory*, which these Parts of *Arabia* afforded not.¹⁴⁶

In what Part of *India* we shall find this *Ophir*, is yett unknown to us. The widest Conjecture that can be, is that which places it in *Peru*. Some seek it in *Pegu*. *Josephus* and most of the Ancients place it, in the *Aurea Chersonesus*, which is now called, *Malacca*. Others following the *Chaldee*, place it in *Africa*, & in *Sophala*, or (as *Origen* has it) *Sophr* there. *Bochart* is for having it in the Island of *Toprobana*, which he takes to be the same with the modern *Zeilan*. All the Characters of *Ophir*, mention'd in the Books, of the *Kings* and the *Chronicles*, he finds exactly agreeing to that Countrey. *Paz* also [Cant. 5.11.] and *Uphaz* [Dan. 10.5. and Jer. 10.9.] which is the Name of the Island of *Ophir*, we may find the Footsteps thereof, in *Pasi* a Bay, and *Phasi* a River of *Taprobane*, mentioned by *Ptolomy*. And *Parvajin*, may be a Name lying in *Taprobane*. *Taph* signifies *A Shore*; and *Taprobane*, may be no more than, *The Shore of Parvan*. The *Phœnician* Merchants, might carry the Name of *Ophir*, to another Countrey, besides that rich one in *Arabia*, inhabited by the *Sons of Joctan*. A Countrey æmulating that in its *Gold*, might very properly run away with its Name.¹⁴⁷

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3193.

Q. The Next that stands before us, is *Chavila*?

A. And his Countrey is called, *Chaulan*, to this very Day; the Metropolis whereof, is, *Chaulan-Du-Sohaim*. The *Chaulanites*, in the Land of *Tehamah* (which was a Part of *Arabia the Happy*) were Neighbours to the *Sabeans*, and the *Cassinites*; and the same with the *Carbi*, mention'd by *Agatharchides*, & others;

¹⁴⁶ Archbishop Rabanus Maurus locates Ophir ("Ofyr") in India, in his oft-reprinted *De rerum naturis* (1627), lib. 12, cap. 4. Nicolaus of Lyra also opts for the Indian Ophir in his annotation on Gen. 10:32, in his *Postilla super totam bibliam* (1492), vol. 1, n.p. All these and more were most likely guided by Josephus Flavius's Indian Ophir, in *Antiquities* (8.6.4).

¹⁴⁷ Bochart (140–41). Among those who identified Ophir with the Spanish goldmines in Peru, in S America, are Archbishop Gilbert Génébrard, in his *Chronographia* (1567), vol. 1; and Manasseh ben Israel, in his *Hope of Israel* (sec. 38: 43–44). However, both José Acosta (*Naturall and Morall History* bk. 1, ch. 13, pp. 41–44) and Samuel Purchas (*Hakluytus Posthumus* [1625], vol. 1, ch. 1, § 8, pp. 66–82) ridicule the idea of Solomon's American Ophir. For "Pegu" on the Malay Peninsula, or in the Molucca Islands (SE Asia) argue Valentinus Benedictus Pererius, in *Commentarium et disputationum in Genesim* (Gen. 10:32); Giovanni Maffæus, in *Historiarum Indicarum* (1579), lib. 4; and Sir Walter Raleigh, in *History of the World* (1614), I.viii.v. 148–49). For Ophir in Africa, i.e., the Egyptian shore of the Red Sea, see Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (1606), "Geography of the Holy Writers," p. j; and Samuel Purchase' *Hakluyt Posthumus* (1625), part 1, bk. 1, ch. 1, § 8, p. 82). Both authors are evidently informed by the *Chaldee Paraphrast* (1 Kings 10:11–12, 21–22), in Walton (2:458). For Sophala (Sophr, Saphara, see Hugo Grotius's *Annotationes* (1:148), on the LXX (3 Kings 9:28). Bochart himself (141) opts for "Toprobana," or "Zeilan" (Ceylon), in the Indian Ocean. Finally, Ptolemy variously mentions "Taprobane," in his various places of his *Geographia* (1.14.7; 7.C.4; 7.4.T; 7.4.1).

which *Carbi*, are by King *Juba* in *Pliny*, called, *Cerbani*, and by *Aelius Gallus* called, *Cembani*. They are described by the Ancients, as a *Warlike People*; perhaps therefore their Name comes from /כַּרְבִּי/ *Kerab*, which signifies, *War*.¹⁴⁸

3194.

Q. And so at length, we come to the last of the Sons of *Joctan*. His Name was *Jobab*?

A. He was doubtless the Father of the *Jobabites*, expressly mentioned by *Ptolomy*, as next neighbours to the *Sachalites*. *Jebab*, in Arabic, signifies, *a Desert*. And that Part of *Arabia*, which was held by the *Jobabites*, was little other. For which Cause the Ancients take little Notice of it. And of the Moderns, *Belleforestus*, makes it all a Wilderness, not affording one City, for Sixty Leagues together.¹⁴⁹

3195.

Q. What Light have we, to confirm this Account, about the Scituation of the *Joctanites*, from the Words of *Moses*; *Their Dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a Mount in the East*?¹⁵⁰

A. *Mesa*, or *Musa*, or *Muza*, was a famous Haven on the *Red-Sea*, whereto the *Egyptian* and *Ethiopic* Merchants commonly repaired; going from thence farther Eastward, unto the *Sapharites*, where they furnished themselves, with all the Spices of *Arabia*. Look into *Ptolomy*'s Tables, and you'll see the Scituation of it. Look into *Pliny*, and you'll see this Point of Geography further explained. But none speaks more expressly than *Arrianus*, who largely treats of *Muza*, as ἐμπόριον νόμιμον παραθαλασσίον. And of *Saphar*, as the *Metropolis* of the *Homerites*, Twelve dayes Journey distant from it. *Muza*, it seems, was one of the most famous Marts in the World; All Sorts of Traffick were there managed by all sorts of People. The mention of so noble a City, was enough to Indigitate the Habitation of the *Joctanites*. Near *Saphar* which lay Eastward of it, was the long Tract of Mountains, which were called Κλίμαξ, by the *Græcians*; but were called *Saphar*, from the Name of the adjoining *Metropolis*; As there are Numberless Instances in Antiquity, of Renowned *Cities*, and Neighbouring *Mountains*, that were

¹⁴⁸ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 28, col. 142–43). For “*Chaulan-Du-Sohaim*” and the “*Chaulanites*,” see Idrisi (*Geographia Nubiensis*, climatis 2, pars 5, pp. 49–50); Agatharchides (*De mari Erythraeo* 97.1–5). King Juba II of Numidia and Mauritania (c. BCE 50–c. 24 CE) became an honored captive of Caesar Augustus and wrote a history of Rome in Greek (*KP*); for “*Cerbani*,” see Pliny (6.32.154); Aelius Gallus strove for the wealth of Arabia and is celebrated in Pliny (6.32.160).

¹⁴⁹ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 29, col. 143). Ptolemy (*Geographia* 6.7.24, line 7). Mather refers to François de Belleforest (1530–83), French historian and cosmographer, whose *L'Histoire Universelle du Monde* (1570) is probably the work in question.

¹⁵⁰ Mather's answer to this question is extracted from Bochart's *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 30, col. 144–46). The italicized sentence is from Gen. 10:30.

Names-sakes. The Words of *Moses* therefore, were as much as to say, They dwelt in the *Spicy Arabia*, where those two Places, *Mesa*, & *Sephar* are well-known to the Trading Part of Mankind.¹⁵¹

Saphar was called in after-Ages, *Tapharon*; and *Philostorgius* particularly speaks of a Church gathered there by *Theophilus Indus*.

I will only add, That the Posterity of *Joctan*, would be thought the only *Genuine Arabians*. All other *Arabians*, they call *ערב מהערבה* / *Arabes factos*; As we read about *בְּהִיּוֹדִים* / *Judæi facti*; [Est. 8.17.] distinguished from true Natural Jewes, whereto may allude our Saviour, (Joh. 1.48. Rev. 2.9. & 3.9.) and His Apostle, (Rom. 2.29. and Gal. 2.15.)¹⁵²

3196.

Q. We have now done with *Shem*. Lett us converse for a while, with his elder Brother *Japhet*?

A. To the Share of *Japhet*, there falls no little Part of *Asia*, and all *Europe*, the most furnished, & most populous, & for many Ages, the most polite Part of the World.

The old *Gracians* own'd *Japhet* for their Father; & made the Name of *Japhet* therefore, a proverbial Nickname, for a Man that had a Doting old Age come upon him; whereof, you may read *Hesychius*.

The Sovereignty of Heaven præferr'd *Shem* the younger Brother, before *Japhet*, in the Blessing. And the Jewes note it, as a Matter somewhat Notable; That *Noah* in the Blessing of *Japhet*, mentions God only by the Name of *Elohim*; a Name known among the Gentiles; but uses the Name *Jehovah* in the Blessing of *Shem*, as intimating a Special Revelation of God, unto some of his Posterity.

In the Blessing of *Japhet*, *God shall enlarge Japhet*, every one sees an Allusion to his Name. The like Allusion is very frequent in the Scripture. God ha's remarkably fulfill'd it; in that unto *Japhet's* Portion pertains all *Europe*, (so full of People,) *Asia* the Less, and *Media*, and Part of *Armenia*, and *Iberia*, and *Albania*, and those vast Northern Regions, inhabited once by the *Scythians*, and now by the *Tartars*; | To say nothing, of *America*, which is likely, was much peopled by

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¹⁵¹ Ptolemy (*Geographia* 6.7.24; tabula VI Asia). Pliny (6.26.104). According to Arrianus (*Periplus maris Erythraei* 21.2–3), Muza (Mouza) is “an established mart beside the sea.” The Homerite capital “Saphar” lies a distance of twelve days from Mouza (*Periplus maris Erythraei* 22.1–23.1). For “Klimac,” see Ptolemy (*Geographia* 4.5.32, line 10).

¹⁵² Bochart (col. 145–46). Philostorgius mentions the church of Taphar, which Theophilus Indus (c. 350 CE), bishop of the Homerites (later of the Ethiopian Church), erected at Tapharon, Aden, and Hormuz, after converting the king of the Homerites to Christianity (*Historia ecclesiastica*, bk. 3, ch. 4, fragm. 4, line 45). All other Arabians are called “made Arabians”; i.e., “acculturated,” “converted,” or “interbred” Arabians; Esther 8:17 mentions those who “became Jews” (adopted Judaism) after Haman’s plot failed and King Ahasuerus elevated Mordecai to the vizierate.

Scythians. The Northern Countreyes, which fell to *Japhet*, an old Gothic Writer *Jornandes* well calls, *Officinas gentium, et velut vaginas nationum*.¹⁵³

3197.

Q. *Japhet* ha's, we find, Seven Sons; only two of them came into *Europe*, namely; *Thiras*, and *Javan*. The former took Possession of its more Northern Regions, the latter of its more Southern. Lett us begin with these!¹⁵⁴

A. *Thiras* and Θραξ, why may they not be the same? The rather, since in the Alphabet, which the Græcians received from the Phœnicians, the Letter ξ, is in the Place of *Samech*; And some of the Hebrew Writers, (as *Joseph Ben Gorion*) write /תִּרְאַסִּיָּה/ *Thrasia*. Yea, and in *Greek* too, a Woman coming out of *Thracia*, is called, Θραῦσσα and Θρηῖσση and Θρεῖσσα, which is not very unlike to *Thiras*!¹⁵⁵

It is very sure, that among the Ancients, we have *Josephus* and *Eusebius*, and *Eustathius Antiochenus*, and *Epiphanius*, and *Jerom*, and the Chaldee Paraphrasts, deriving the *Thracians*, from this our *Thiras*. And among the *Thracians* & their Neighbours, we have several Places, that have the Footsteps of his Name upon them. There was *Athyra*, a *Town*, a *Bay*, & a *River*, near *Byzantium*, whereof we read in *Pliny*, in *Mela*, and in *Ptolomy*. There was *Tyrastasis*, a City of *Thrace*; mentioned by *Pliny*, & by *Demosthenes*. There was *Thrasus*, a Tract of Land in *Thrace*, mention'd by *Procopius*. And there were the *Trausi*, a People of *Thrace*, near the Mount *Hæmus*, mention'd by *Herodotus*: According to *Stephanus*, the Greeks called them, Ἀγαθύρσους, which ha's the Name of *Thiras* in it. We have also *Tyras*, a City of *Mysia*, near a River namesake unto it; mention'd by *Hero-*

153 Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 1, col. 147–51). Hesychius Alexandrinus (*Lexicon A–O*, alphab. letter *iota* entry 65, line 1). R. Abraham Ibn Ezra's gloss on Gen. 9:26 explains that "The Tetragrammaton is invoked in connection with Shem to honor Shem [the progenitor of the faithful Israelites]. It is not employed with regard to Japheth because he was not his brother's equal" (*Commentary on Genesis* 1:129). See also Rashi and Ramban (on Gen. 9:26). The Spanish Father Gregorio Garcia was evidently the first scholar to postulate the Scythian origin of the Native Americans, in his *Origen de los indios de el nuevo mundo, e Indias occidentals* (1607) – a large tome that summarizes the contemporary debate (see L. E. Huddleston's *Origins of the American Indians* 60–80). Jornandes (Jordanes), a 6th-c. Gothic historian and bishop of Ravenna, is best remembered for his extracts from Cassiodorus Senator's history of the Goths. Often reprinted, Jordanes's *De origine actibusque Getarum Getica* contributed to the seventeenth-century debate about the origin of the Native Americans. Jordanes (*De origine*, cap. 3, § 4, line 1) calls the northern countries, "the workshops of the races, and the sheaths, as it were, of the nations."

154 The following paragraphs are extracted from Bochart's *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 2, col. 151–53).

155 Bochart refers to Joseph ben Gorion's *Sefer Josippon*, which survives in many different versions and translations. Bochart relies on the Latin Venice edition *Historiae Iudaicae libri 6* (1544), lib. 2, cap. 8; and on Abraham ben Samuel Zacuto's *Liber Iuchasin*. The Greek place names transliterate respectively "*Thrac*," "*Thrassa*," "*Thresse*," and "*Threissa*."

dotus, and *Strabo*, and others. To which *Tearus* a River of *Thrace*, famous for its wholesome Fountains, may be added.¹⁵⁶

Thus, among the most ancient Names in *Thrace*, there was, *Thuras*, one of the Names of their God *Mars*. There was also *Tereus*, the Son of *Mars*, the first King of *Thrace*, among the Poets mightily sung of. *Therops* also was a King of *Thrace*; And *Teres* the King of the *Odrysiens*.¹⁵⁷

From *Javan*, why should we not agree with *Josephus*, and almost all Ancient and Modern Writers, that the *Jonians* are descended? The *Græcians* themselves, tis true, tell another Story, about the Original of the Name, *Jonians*; but a very unlikely one, and such an one probably as their Historians invented out of Necessity, upon their Ignorance of an Higher Antiquity. The *Jaon* of *Homer*, differs very little from the *Javan* of *Moses*. And under the Name of *Jonians* are to be comprehended, not only the *Athenians*, & their Colonies, (as *Herodotus*, and *Heraclides*, and *Strabo*, and *Plutarch* would have it,) but we find in *Hesychius*, that the *Acheans* and *Bæotians* were to be comprehended under it; and in *Homers* Hymn, the *Delians*. Yea, and why not *Macedonia* too? We are sure, the Sea that washes that, & its Neighbour-Nations, is called, *The Jonian Sea*. The Chaldee Interpreters also for *Javan*, do read, *Macedonia*. Nor was it *Athens* alone, that afforded those Colonies of *Jonians*, which under *Androclus* made a Salley into the Lesser *Asia*, & built no less than Twelve Cities there, whereof one was *Ephesus*, and *Miletus* another; *Strabo* saies, They were *Thebans*: *Herodotus* tells us, They had no less than Four several γλώσσης χαρακτῆρας, *Idioms of Speech*, among them.¹⁵⁸ In short, well-nigh all the *Græcians* were called *Jonians*, as tis confessed

¹⁵⁶ Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 1.6.1); Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 5.22.214a–b); Eustathius Antiochenus (*Commentarius in hexaemeron*, p. 756, line 1) [PG 18. 756]. Epiphanius (*Panarion* 39.8.5 in *Epiphanius* 2:78, line 11) calls him “Theras,” progenitor of the Thracians and of their language; St. Jerome on Gen. 10:2 (*Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, p. 39); Targum Jonathan ben Uziel and Targum Hierosolymitanum (Gen. 10:2), in Walton (4:17). Pliny (4.11.47) calls Athyras Athidas; Pomponius Mela (*De chronographia* 2.21); Ptolemy (*Geographia* 3.11.4, line 3). Both Pliny (4.11.48) and Demosthenes (384–322 BCE), the Athenian orator (*Philippi Epistula* 3.2), locate “Tiristasis” on the Gallipoli Peninsula near Marmara. Procopius Caesariensis (*De aedificiis* 4.11.20, *Procopius* 7:308–09, 311) mentions “Thrasou” and “Thrasarichû,” fortresses in various parts of Thrace; Herodotus (5.4.3). According to Stephanus Byzantius (12.1, 2, 6, 7), the Greeks called them “*Agathyrsons*.” Finally, Herodotus (4.89.14; 4.90.1) and Strabo (7.3.15–16) mention the Mysian Tyras.

¹⁵⁷ Homer (*Iliad* 5.507) has much to say about the furious God of War “*Thouros Ares*.” Both Lucian (*Macrobii* 10, *Works* 1:231) and Thucydides (*Historiae* 2.29.2) mention “*Teres*,” founder of “the great kingdom of the Odrysians,” an ancient people of Thrace residing between Abdera and the River Ister (Danube).

¹⁵⁸ The preceding paragraph is an epitome of Bochart’s *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 3, col. 153–55). Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 1.6.1); Homer (*Iliad* 13.685); *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* (13.685a); Herodotus (5.69; 8.44); the Greek philosopher and student of Aristotle, Heraclides Ponticus (4th c. BCE), in *Fragmenta* (Fragm. 46b, lines 8–16); Strabo (9.5.7); Plutarch (*De Herodoti malignitate* 858 F), *Plutarch’s Moralia* (11:35); Hesychius (*Lexicon A–O*. Alphab. letter *iota*, entries 64, 1196); *Hymni Homerici (In Apollinem, fort. auctore Cynaetho Chio* 157). See Targum Jonathan ben Uziel and Targum Hierosolymitanum (on Gen. 10:2, 4), in

by the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*. Hence *Alexander* is called, Dan. 8.21. *The King of Javan*. And the Pillar erected by *Theseus* upon the *Isthmus*, declared *Jonian*, to be extended thither. We read of *Javan*, Ezek. 27.13. That they *traded the Persons of Men*, in the Markets of *Tyrus*. There is a Passage admirably agreeable to This, in *Heliodorus*; That the *Slaves*, much in Use, were τὸ μὲν γένος Ἰωνικά, *By Nation Ionians*. And in *Ælian*, we find the Wife of *Darius*, mightily desiring to be served by *Jonian Maids*; and we find the like in *Herodotus*. And, which is pretty well akin to this; we find in *Martial*, a Commendation of Servants under this Character, – *Argolicâ missus de gente minister*; whereto some other Poets (especially *Claudian*) make a Consort. The *Brass of Javan*, is also mention'd in the Words of the Prophet *Ezekiel*: might be the *Euboic Brass*, whereof *Strabo* saies, *They reckoned, there was the like no where else in the World*. The *Iron of Javan* mention'd by the Prophet, might be, the *Macedonian Iron*; whereof the old Anonymous Geographer, published by *Gothofredus* gives us an Account; and there is a Remembrance, in an Edict of *Paulus Æmylius*, recited by *Livy*. Thø we have also found, you know, another *Javan*, for these Metals, in *Arabia*.¹⁵⁹

[261r]

3198.

Q. Before we pass to the other Sons of *Japhet*, we may take notice of his Grandsons by *Javan*. One Son of *Javan*, was *Elisha*?

A. *Bochart* finds him, upon *Peloponnesus*; in which *Elis* was a most ancient and ample Region, Part whereof is in *Homer* called, *Alisium*. The Prophet *Ezekiel* speaks, Ezek. 27.7. of, *Purple from the Isles of Elisha*. There was great Fishing for the *Purple-fish*, on *Peloponnesus*, near the Mouth of *Eurota*. *Pliny*, and *Pausanias*, and *Horace*, & *Statius*, and others do celebrate it. It was also found in the Bay

Walton (4:17). According to Pausanias (7.2.8–9), Androclus, son of King Codrus of Athens, led an expedition to colonize Ionia and is to have founded Ephesus, Samos, Miletus, and other cities, which he captured from the Lydians (*KP*). Strabo (10.1.9); Herodotus (1.57.16).

159 *Scholia in Aristophanem. Scholia in Acharnenses* (Hypothesis-epigram-scholion sch ach verse 106). For the Pillar of Theseus and its inscription, see Plutarch's *Theseus* (25.3–4), *Plutarch's Lives* (1:54–56). Heliodorus (c. 4th c. CE) is the Greek novelist, whose *Aethiopica* (10 books) relates the story of Theagenes and the priestess Charicleia. Bochart's Greek citation is from *Aethiopica* (7.19.6, lines 1–3). Aelian (*De natura animalium* 11.27.1–5) recounts how Atossa, Darius's spouse, incited a war against the Greeks because she desired "Athenian women for her service." Herodotus (3.134.22–26). The Latin citation from Martial (4.66.9) refers to the availability of slaves in the market: "[No youthful page] sent from the Argive race stood by." Claudianus (*In Eutropium* 2.198–201) likewise extols the spoils of war, "won from an enemy, whose servants are fair captives of Argos or Thessaly, and who have won them slaves from Sparta." Ezek. 27:19. Strabo (10.1.9). Mather refers to Jacques Gothofredus's edition of the anonymous *Vetus orbis descriptio* (sub Constantio, cap. 34: de Macedonia), which mentions the softness of Macedonian iron and led. Livy (45.29) cites Roman consul Lucius Paullus Aemilus (d. 216 BCE), whose edict proscribed the use of such metals as gold and silver in Macedonia, but permitted the use of iron and brass. For Javan's brass ("bright iron") in Arabia Felix, see Ezek. 27:19.

of *Corinth*; and the *Inhabitants of Phocis* were generally such as catch'd it. Here likewise was *Hermione*, a Town famous for the *Purple-fish*; on which account we read of the, *Purpura Hermionica*, in *Plutarch*. And there were other Places hereabouts, famous for their *Purple*, which there is no need of particularizing. Only we may add, That they had here a particular Way of Dying *Silks* with *Purple*; and *Bochart* brings good Probabilities, that these admirable *Silks* may be especially intended, in that Passage of *Ezekiel*.¹⁶⁰

3199.

Q. *Chittim* was another of them?

A. *Josephus* will have the *Chittians*, to be the *Cyprians*; because on *Cyprus*, he finds the famous Town of *Citium*; and many of the Ancients follow him.¹⁶¹

Others have had other Conjectures, all which I omit, that I may make room for my *Bochart*'s; which is, That the *Chittim*, are the *Italians*. It is not like, they should be the *Macedonians*, as the first Book of the *Maccabees* intimates; for that would confound *Chittim* with *Javan*. But it is clear, That in the Eleventh Chapter of *Daniel*, The *Ships of Chittim*, are the *Ships of the Romans*, under *Cajus Popilius*, thro' the Dread whereof *Antiochus* returned from his *Egyptian Expedition*, *Re infectâ*. And in the Prophecy of *Balaam*, the Generality of Interpreters, by *Chittim* do understand the *Romans*. Yea, both the *Jerusalem*, and *Jonathans Targum*, do read it, *Lombardy*: which would argue, That those *Targums* are not near so ancient, as the *Jewes* take them to be; but that they were made after the *Longobards* possess'd *Italy*, & so after, the Year 570. What can you make of this?¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 4, col. 155–56). Homer (*Iliad* 11.757) mentions the “hill of Alesium.” Pliny (9.41.80; 9.60.125–9.63.137) discusses the variety of purple fish and their various uses; Pausanias (3.21.6); Horace's *Carmina* (Ode 2.18.7–8); Statius (*Silvae* 1.2.150–51); Plutarch's *Alexander* (36.2), *Plutarch's Lives* (7:332). Bochart links the purple silks of these ancients with Ezekiel 27:7, 16. See also Bochart's discussion in *Geographia* (pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 14, col. 414).

¹⁶¹ This and the following paragraphs are extracted from Bochart's *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 5, col. 157–61). Josephus (*Antiquities* 9.14.2).

¹⁶² Bochart (160). 1 Macc. 8:5. Dan. 11:30. Gaius Popilius Laenas (fl. 175–158 BCE), Roman praetor and later consul, was instrumental in forcing the Seleucid King Antiochus IV Epiphanes (c. 215–164 BCE) to pull his troops out of Egypt (168 BCE) and thus return home “*Re infectâ*”; i.e., “without accomplishing anything.” Balaam's prophecy (Num. 24:24) foretells that ships from Chittim will afflict Asher and Eber. Both Ibn Ezra (on Num. 24:24, Dan. 2:39) and Rashi (Dan. 11:30) identify Chittim with the Roman Empire, even though Ibn Ezra admits that “Kittim” may also signify Greece as the third beast (Dan. 2:39). See also Saadiah Gaon – all in *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Daniel*, and in Ibn Ezra's *Commentary: Numbers* (4:212). The Targum Hierosolymitanum (Num. 24:24) identifies “Kittim” as “Liburnicis,” whereas the Targum Jonathan Ben Uziel identifies it as “Lambarnia” (Walton 4:290). Since the Germanic tribe of the Longobards did not settle N Italy until the middle of the sixth century CE, Mather (via Bochart) here dates the composition of these Targums to the post-Diaspora period. For

The *Isles of Chittim*, Ezek. 27.6. the Chaldee renders, *The Province of Apulia*. The Vulgar Latin hath it, *The Isles of Italy*. The Prophet is there speaking of the *Tyrian Vessels*, the *Ivory Benches* whereof, were made with *Box-wood*, (so *Bochart* reads it,) brought from the *Islands of Italy*; where *Corsica* especially, as *Pliny* assures us, was an Island famous for *Box-wood*. And *Theophrastus*, and *Diodorus*, admire the *Box-trees* of that Island. Nothing was better to afford *Thwarts*, or *Seats*, for the *Tyrian Galleyes*; if it were only for the Breadth of the Plank. And the *Phœnicians* were once Commanders of this Island. The Text which we render, *The Company of Ashurites have made thy Benches of Ivory, brought out of the Isles of Chittim*; should be rendred, *They have wrought with Ivory thy Benches of Boxwood brought out of the Isles of Chittim*.¹⁶³

In *Latium* we particularly find the City *Κετία*, *Cetia*, mentioned by *Halicarnasseus*, one of the Cities taken by *Coriolanus*, which *Plutarch* tells us, were populous ones. And in *Stephanus* we find, *Εχέτια*, *Echetia*, a City of *Italy*, the same, as it should seem with *Echetia*, famous among the *Volscians*, mention'd by *Livy*, and others. And near *Cumæ*, we find the River *Cetus*, where *Aristotle* tells us, Plants were petrified; the same no doubt, that is called *Silarus*, in *Strabo*, & others.¹⁶⁴

Bochart also thinks, that *Cocinthus*, the last Promontory and Boundary of *Italy*, mention'd by *Polybius*; was as much as to say *חֹק כִּתִּים* / *Chok Citthim*, The Bounds of the *Chittæans*. Yea, some of the Ancients assert, That *Citians*, or, *Cetians* was the very Appellation of the old *Romans*. So *Eusebius*, so *Cedrenus*, so *Suidas*, and so the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*. Yea, what will you say, if we find the very Name of *Latines*, in *Chittim*. The Name of *Latine*, according to *Herodian*, and *Eutropius*, was, à *Latendo*; because that *Saturn*, (*Latuit*) lay Hid there.¹⁶⁵

Mather's rankings of the various Targums, see his Essay X: *Chaldæns. Or, some Account of the Jewish Targums*, in *Appendix* (following Revelation).

¹⁶³ *Bochart* (158–59). For the renditions of Ezek. 27:6 as “Apulia” and “Italy,” see the Targum Jonathan (Ezek. 27:6) and the Vulgate translation, in Walton (3:90); *Pliny* (16.28.71); *Theophrastus* (*Historia plantarum* 3.15.5, lines 6–7); *Diodorus Siculus* (5.14.3). Mather here recasts the “ivory benches” (Ezek. 27:6) in line with *Bochart*’s contextual explication.

¹⁶⁴ *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* (*Antiquitates Romanae* 8.36.2, line 9) relates how *Gnaeus Marcus Coriolanus* (c. 490 BCE), aristocratic leader of the *Volscians* against Rome, captured seven Latin cities in thirty days, including *Cetia* (“Ketia”) or rather “Eketia,” as the city is called by *Stephanus Byzantius* (292.5); *Plutarch*, in *Marcus Coriolanus* (28.2–3) in *Plutarch’s Lives* (4:28) speaks of “*Kirkaion*” (*Circeii*), “a city which was a colony of Rome.” *Livy* (3.4.2–3) relates that one of the consuls applied to “the *Ecetranean Volsci*” for military support against the *Romans*. *Aristotle*’s petrified plants near *Cumæ* are mentioned in his *Mirabilium auscultationes* (95.838a, 5–14), in *Strabo* (5.4.13), and in *Pliny* (3.5.61, lines 70–71).

¹⁶⁵ *Bochart* (159). *Polybius Megalopolitanus* (*Historiae* 2.14.5, lines 4–5). *Bochart* (or the printer’s devil) errs in listing “*Eusebius*” in this context. Not *Eusebius*, but the *Chronographer Georgius Syncellus* (*Ecloga chronographia*, p. 54, line 8) asserts that the *Kitians* were called *Latini*, who are the progenitors of the *Romans*. *Georgius Cedrenus* (*Compendium historiarum*, 1:245, lines 13–18), and more specifically the *Antiochian chronographer of Syria Joannes Malalas Antiochenus* (c. 480–c. 570), author of *Chronographia* (p. 162, lines 4–8), is the source

So saies *Ovid*;

Et dicta est Latium Terra Latente Deo.

So *Virgil*;

Latiumque vocari

Maluit, his quoniam latuisset tutus in oris.

This *Fable* we may lay aside; and now consider *Bocharts* Conjecture. The Sense of the Hebrew /כִּיִּים/ *Chittim*, is to be Illustrated from the *Arabic* Dialect, which is a Branch of the Hebrew Tongue; where, *Chezim*, signifies *Lying Hid*. That Place accordingly, in Jer. 2.22. should be rendred, *Thy Iniquity is lying Hid before me*.¹⁶⁶

[262v] But how comes that Passage, about the Destruction of *Tyrus*, by *Nebuchadnezzar*? Isa. 23.1. *From the Land of Chittim it is reveled to them*. Interpreters have rack'd their Wits upon that Subject. I will not so much as recite any of their Opinions, tho' some of them are witty enough. We will only observe, That *Solomon Jarchi* ha's given us a very probable Intimation, That not the *Chiteans*, but the *Chuteans* are here intended. The Double *Jod* here used, /כִּיִּים/ is enough to distinguish this *Chittijim*, from the *Chittim* whereof we have been all this while Discoursing. Now these *Chuteans*, were the same | with the *Cissij*, the Inhabitants of *Susiana*, at the East of *Babylon*. And now, tis no Wonder, that the Divine Oracle threatens them with Mischief out of that Quarter. Nor that it is foretold, they *should have no Rest*, after they should be *carried into the Land of the Chuteans*; for *God had sett it to be Ruined*; which was by *Cyrus* quickly accomplished.¹⁶⁷

There ha's been an old Puzzle, about the old Name of *Italy*, which was, *Camesene*. No Man ever yett gave a probable Account of it. *Bochart*, after all,

for Bochart's Greek excerpt to which Mather here alludes. *Chronicon Alexandrinum* (*Chronicon Pascale*, p. 47, lines 18–19); Suda (*Lexicon*, alphab. letter *lambda*, entry 144, lines 1–3). Herodianus (*Ab excessu divi Marci* 1.16.1, lines 8–9) relates the old tale how Zeus expelled his father Saturn (Kronos), who went into hiding in Latium (Italy), which designation is derived from the Greek "lathein," suggesting "to hide" (1.16.1–2). In his *Breviarium ab urbe condita* (1.2), the Roman historian Eutropius (fl. 4th c. CE) attributes the designation "Rome" to Romulus, its founder. However, no etymological origin is given for the name "*Latin*" or "*Saturn*." Perhaps Mather (via Bochart) was thinking of the anonymous *Origo Gentis Romanae* (1.1–5, 3.8), where "Saturn is thought to have come first to Italy"; the old "King Latinus" is to have ruled over the region when Virgil's Trojan warriors arrived in Italy.

166 Bochart (159). The Latin citation from Ovid (*Fasti* 1.238) reads "and the country was called Latium from the hiding of the God." Finally, Virgil (*Aeneid* 8.323) chimes in with "that the land be called Latium, since in these borders he had found a safe hiding-place."

167 Bochart (160–61). Solomon Jarchi (R' Shlomo Yitschaki), better known by his acronym RASHI, in his commentary on Isa. 23:1, 12, distinguishes between Cyprus and Babylon, but does not appear to comment on the significance between the double *jod* of כִּיִּים [Kittim] (Isa. 23:12) and the single *jod* of כִּיִּים [Kittim] (Isa. 23:1). See also Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 1.6.1). Cyrus, the Medo-Persian ruler, conquered Babylon (c. 538 BCE) and initiated the release of the Jews from their captivity (Ezra 1:1).

thinks, That /כַּמָּס/ *Camas*, being in the Hebrew, *To Hide*; (of the same Import, with *Chittim*;) *Camesene* too may be no more than *Latium*.¹⁶⁸

3200.

Q. *Dodanim* was another?

A. But *Bochart* saies, (and proves it from 1. Chron. 1.7.) That the ancient Reading was not with /דָּ/ but with /רָ/ *Rodanim*. The Greek Interpreters indeed, apprehend the *Rhodians*, inhabiting the Island *Rhodes*, to be of this Original. But *Bochart* shewes, That the Name of *Rhodes* belonging to that Island, was later than the Time of *Moses*; (and some old Writers tell us, t'was from the Multitude of *Roses* growing upon it:) That another Name, (Yea, Nine at least,) formerly belonged unto that Island: And that the Island itself was then hardly extant; For according to *Ammianus*, and *Pliny*, and *Heraclides* and *Pindar*, it was of old, wholly hidden under the Sea.¹⁶⁹

The *Rodanim*, or the *Rodanites* therefore, according to him, came into *France*, where the famous River, *Rhodanus*, or the *Rhosne*, still retains a Remembrance of them. And he sufficiently confutes the Conjecture of *Pliny*, and of *Jerom*, That the River took its Name, from a Colony of People retiring thither, from the Island of *Rhodes*.¹⁷⁰

Upon that River stood *Rhodanusia*, a City of the *Marseillians*, mentioned by *Marcianus Heracleota*, and by *Stephanus*, and by *Sidonius Apollinaris*. And the Countrey thereabouts was called, *Rhodanusia*, and the People, *Rhodanenses*, as you find in *Ireneus*. And what shall we think of the City *Roane*, at this day so considerable.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ Bochart (161). For his linguistic conjecture about “Camesene,” Bochart draws on Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.7.19), who relates that Janus was co-ruler with Cameses over the land of Italy, then called Camesene. Bochart hopes to identify the Camesene lands with Latium, the ancient terrain of the Latins.

¹⁶⁹ For the location and identity of *Dodanim* (Gen 10:4), Mather mines Bochart’s *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 6, col. 161–65). Ammianus Marcellinus (17.7.13); Pliny (2.89.202; 5.36.132–33); the historian Heraclides Lembus of Alexandria (2nd c. BCE) is best remembered for his epitomes of scholars of note. Bochart here refers to Heraclides’s *Excerpta politiarum* (65.1–3) to confirm that the island of Rhodes was once submerged in the Mediterranean. Pindar (*Olympian Odes* 7.54–58), too, validates Rhodes’s submersion.

¹⁷⁰ Bochart (col. 162–63). “*Rhosne*” is an archaic spelling of *Rhône*, a river in SE France. Pliny (3.4.33); St. Jerome (*Commentaria in Epistolam ad Galatas, Praefatio*, lib. 2) [PL 26. 354C].

¹⁷¹ Bochart (163). Bochart’s reference to the little-known Graeco-Roman geographer Marcianus Heracleota, aka. Heracleensis (fl. 3rd–4th c. CE) seems erroneous (KP). Bochart’s Greek citation (omitted by Mather) is now ascribed to the geographer Pseudo-Scymnus (*Ad Nicomedem regem*, vv. 1–980, lines 207–10), ostensibly Scymnus of Chios (2nd c. BCE), to whom fragments of a geographical treatise on Greek settlements on the Mediterranean coast have been attributed. Stephanus Byzantius (546.1–2); Sidonius Apollinaris, aka. Gaius Sollius Modestus Apollinaris Sidonius (c. 430–c. 490), bishop of Clermont (Gaul), mentions the Gallic settlement Rhodanusia, i.e., Lyon (*Epistolae*, lib. 1, ep. 5, sec. 2) [PL 58. 452–455B]. Ireneus

The Name *Rodanim* here is of a Plural Termination. And the Intention of *Moses* may be, that the *Rhodanians*, or the *Gauls*, were of the Posterity of *Javan*. *Bochart* thinks, That they were a *Red-Hair'd* People; and *Rodanim* carries *Red* in the Signification of it, as he proves out of the *Arabick*. Which agrees with what *Livy* saies, *Gallis promissæ et rutilatæ comæ*. And *Virgil*,

Aurea casaries ollis, atque aurea vestis.

And, *Lucan*,

— *pars flavos gerit altera crines.*

And *Silius*, and *Martial*, and *Claudian*, And *Diodorus*, and others. Yea, *Pliny* tells of a Sort of *Soap*, made of *Suet* and *Ashes*, invented among them, to tinge their *Hair* with a *Red Colour*, they so much affected it. And in the *Tactics* of *Urbicius*, The *Galls* are usually called, τὰ ξανθὰ ἔθνη, *The Yellow Nations*.¹⁷²

3201.

Q. *Tarsis* another?

A. To some of the Ancients, he appears the Original of the Cilician *Tarsus*, to some of *Carthage*. But *Eusebius* more pleases my *Bochart*, than any of the rest; who saies; Θαρσεῖς ἐξ οὗ Ἰβηρες. The *Iberians*, or *Spaniards* are from him.¹⁷³

This is very sure; The *Phœnicians*, in Ages not much later than that of *Moses*, did sail into *Spain*. Yea, Part of the Dispossess'd *Canaanites* fled thither, as Part of them did into *Bœotia*, Part into *Africa*. *Procopius* informs us of the Pillars to be seen about *Tangier*, declaring themselves to be erected, by those *that fled from the Face of Joshua the Robber*. And not far from hence was the Temple

(*Adversus haereses* 1.7.6, lines 1–2) and *Against Heresies* (1.13.7), in *ANF* (1:336). Roanne (rather than Roane) is a French provincial town to the NW of Lyon.

¹⁷² *Bochart* (164). *Livy* (38.17.3) admires the “Gauls’ long reddish hair”; *Virgil* (*Aeneid* 8.659) sings, “Golden are their locks and golden their raiment”; and *Lucanus* (10.129) chimes in with “others were so fair-headed.” Both poets are joined in their description of golden hair by *Tiberius Catius Asconius Silius Italicus* (c. 26–102 CE), the Roman epic poet, whose *Punica* commemorate the Second Punic War (218–201 BCE). *Bochart* refers to *Silius’s Punica* (3.608). The others who admire the golden-locked Gauls are *Martial* (5.37.8–9; 5.68.1–2); *Claudianus* (*In Rufinum* 2.110), who admires the “fierce Gauls with golden locks”; *Diodorus Siculus* (5.28.1–2), who endows the Gauls with “blond” hair, bleached with “lime-water”; and *Pliny* (28.51.191), who has the Gauls use “soap” that dyes “the hair red.” “*Tactics* of *Urbicius*,” i.e., *Urbicii Tactis* (edited by *Isaac Vossius*), is a military handbook attributed to the Byzantine writer *Urbicius Constantinopolitanus* (fl. 449–505). *Bochart’s* citation appears in the modern version of *Pseudo-Mauricius* (*Strategicon* 3.5.6, lines 5–6).

¹⁷³ *Bochart*, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 7, col. 165–71). Among those who argued for a “Cilician *Tarsus*” in Asia Minor are *Flavius Josephus*, the Chaldean Paraphrasts, and the Arabian Interpreters; those who voted for *Carthage* (N Africa) include the Latin interpreters *St. Jerome* and *Theodoretus*. According to *Bochart* (col. 170–71), *Eusebius* locates “*Tarsus*” further westward, in the Iberian peninsula of Spain; however, the Greek citation “*Tharsis* of the *Iberians*” (i.e., *Spaniards*), here supplied by *Mather*, does not appear in *Eusebius*, but in *Georgius Syncellus’s Ecloga chronographica* (p. 54, line 7) and in a variant in *Hippolytus Romanus’s Chronicon* (71.1).

at *Cadiz*, where *Hercules* was worshipped as *Appian*, and *Arrian*, and *Diodorus* tell us, after the *Phœnician* fashion.¹⁷⁴

In *Strabo* we have many things about the Opulency of *Spain*; especially near the *Straits*; whereof *Homer* having some Inkling, did there place his *Elysian* Fields, and the Isles of the Blessed. It is confessed by *Strabo*, that the principal Places hereabouts, were held by *Phœnicians*. And the Names of the principal Places there, *Bochart* with much Curiosity, finds to be of a *Phœnician* Original. Among the rest, I take notice of *Carthage*, (for such City there was in *Spain*.) which *Bochart* saies, in the *Phœnician* was, *Carthada*, which was as much as to say, *καὶνὴ πόλις*, or, *New-town*. *Solinus* accordingly saies, *Carthadam dixit, quod Phœnicum ore exprimit Novam Civitatem*; and *Eustathius* and *Stephanus* confirm the Etymology. *Spain* itself, had its Name from *שַׁפָּן* *Saphan*, A *Coney*: q.d. *Cuniculosa Regio*; the *Phœnicians* finding the Countrey quite over-run with that Creature; so that in *Augustus's* Time, the Souldiers were forced for to petition for Help against `em.¹⁷⁵

The Name *Iberia*, doubtless comes from the Hebrew, *עֵבֶר* *Eber*, or the Chaldee, *Ibra*, which signifies, *A Passing over to what is beyond*. It is of a *Phœnician* Extract. For That Phrase, *The Ends of the Earth*, the Syriac uses this very Word. The *Spaniards* were accounted then to live there. Here the Ancients found, according to *Strabo*, *τέρμονας τῆς οἰκουμένης*, *The Bounds of the Habitable World*.¹⁷⁶

| A World of Authors tell us, of the *Mines* then in *Spain*, with the Treasures [263r] whereof, the *Phœnicians* in their Travels thither enriched themselves. Of the *Silver*, & *Brass*, & matchless *Iron* there, we are told by *Strabo*; of the *Gold* and *Silver*, by *Stephanus*; & by *Diodorus*; of the *Tin* there, & the *Lead*, as well as the former Metals, by *Mela*, and *Pliny*. The cunning *Phœnicians* knew how to enrich

174 Procopius Caesariensis (*De bellis* 4.10.20–23, *Procopius* 2:289), Appianus (*Iberica* 1.2, 11.65, *Roman History* 1:143, 239), Flavius Arrianus (*Alexandri anabasis* 2.16.2–7), Diodorus Siculus (5.20.2).

175 Bochart (167). *Strabo* (3.2.13); *Homer* (*Odyssey* 4.562–65) places the immortals on “the Elysian plain” at “the ends of the earth” (i.e., Straits of Gibraltar). According to Bochart, “Kaine polis” (“New-town”), is derived from the Greek “Karxedon” and is by the Phœnicians called “Karthada”; for this information Bochart relies on Ptolemy (*Geographia* 4.5.72, line 5), with supporting evidence from Julius Solinus (*De mirabilibus mundi* 28, § 1), from Archbishop Eustathius of Thessalonica (*Commentarium in Dionysii periegetae* 195.47–50), and from Stephanus Byzantius (363.7–14). Solinus argues in his *De mirabilibus mundi* (28, § 1) that “he calls it Carthada, which the Phœnicians call New-town.” The etymological derivation of “Spain” (Hispania) from the Hebrew שַׁפָּן (shaphan) [Strong’s # 8227, 8226], signifying “to conceal” and “rock-rabbit” is not supported by Gerard Vossius (*De Theologia Gentili*, lib. 1, cap. 33, p. 252), who argues that “Hispania” may be derived from “Pana,” the name of an Iberian tribe. The story of the “*Cuniculosa Regio*,” or “a region rich in rabbits,” for which Spain and the Balearic islands were known, is related by Pliny (8.81.217–18). Pliny reports that the islands of Mallorca and Menorca were so overrun with coney burrowing underground that soldiers had to petition Augustus for help.

176 Bochart (168). *Strabo* (3.5.5, lines 6–7) and *Homer* (*Odyssey* 4.563).

themselves in such a Place, and they did it, until, as *Aristotle* affirms, Their *very Anchors were made of Silver*.¹⁷⁷

Well, In that Part of *Spain*, which was most frequented by the *Tyrians*, we find a *Tartessus*; which is called by the Name of *Tarsis*, in that Passage, *Ezek. 27.12. Tarshish was thy Merchant; with Silver, Iron, Tin, and Lead, they traded in thy Fairs*. A City of this Name, lay not far from *Cadiz*, if it were not *Itt*. In *Aristotle*, in *Strabo*, in *Pausanias*, and in *Avienus*, we find a Place having the Name of *Tartessus*, between the two Mouths of the River *Bætis*. And *Strabo* calls the Countrey thereabouts, *Tartessis*. The *Phœnicians* probably altered the Hebrew Name *Tarsis*, into *That*; which it was but Natural for them to do. Tho' indeed, *Polybius* would make one think, that the *Phœnicians* made no more of it, than *Ταρσηῖος*, which, you are sensible, how it becomes *Ταρσειώτης*.¹⁷⁸

The *Phœnicians* finding the same Commodities, at another Place, in the *East-Indies*, [2. Chron. 20.36, 37.] near to *Taprobana*, transferred the Name of *Tarsis* unto *that* also.¹⁷⁹

3202.

Q. *Gomer* another?

A. *Bochart* apprehends the Land of *Gomer* to be (not in *Africa*, as the *Chaldee* will have it, but) *Phrygia*; where he finds the, *Regio κατακεκαυμένη*, or, *The Burnt Countrey*, mention'd by *Hesychius*, and by *Diodorus*. It lies about the *Cayster* and the *Meander*, and the City *Philadelphia*, where we find, according to *Strabo*, the whole Soyl, *fragil & friable, & full of Salt, and easily sett on fire*. It seems as if burnt into Ashes and Coals, by Lightning from Heaven; and agrees therefore, with the Name of *Gomer*; for the Hebrew *גָּמַר* *Gamar*, is, *To consume with Fire*. And the Name *Phrygia*, is of the same Signification; for, *φρῦγεν*, is, *To Burn*. Hence, this was the Name of the Place, where *Hercules* was *Burnt*, as *Eustathius* & others intimate. *Josephus*'s making the *Gomerites*, to be the *Galatians*, agrees well enough, with this Conjecture.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ Strabo (3.2.8), Stephanus (326.1–2), Diodorus Siculus (5.35.1), Pomponius Mela (*De Chorographia* 2.78), Pliny (3.3.30), Aristotle (*Mirabilium auscultationes* 135.844a, 17–23).

¹⁷⁸ Bochart (169). For "*Tartessus*," see Aristotle (*Mirabilium auscultationes* 135.844a, 17); Strabo (3.2.11, 12); Pausanias (6.19.4) reports that Tartessus was the name of a river, or the ancient name of Carpia, a town in the land of the Iberians; for "*Tartesus*," see Rufius Festus Avienus (*Periegesis Descriptio orbis terrae*, 475 and 607); and for "*Tarseios*," see Polybius Megalopolitanus (*Historiae* 3.24.2 and 4).

¹⁷⁹ Bochart (169–71) thus identifies 3 cities by the name Tarshish, Tarsus, or Taprobana – the Iberian, Cilician, and the East-Indian (Ceylon and Sumatra). The latter location is here associated with Ophir, the legendary goldmines to which Solomon sent his fleet from Esion-Geber (1 Kings 9:28, 10:11, 22:48, 2 Chron. 8:18). For the Sumatran "*Taprobana*," see Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia Universalis* (1544).

¹⁸⁰ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 8, col. 171–72). Both the Targum Jonathan Ben Uziel and Targum Hierosolymitanum (Gen. 10:3) relegate "*Gomer*" to Africa, in Walton (4:17). Hesychius (*Lexicon*, alphab. letter *epsilon*, entry 968, lines 1–2), Diodorus Siculus (3.70.4),

3203.

Q. Well, but the Sons of *Gomer* must be spoke with, before we go any further. The first of these is *Ashkenaz*?

A. We will not puzzle ourselves, with the Remoter Conjectures of others. It shall be enough to us, that our *Bochart*, agrees with those many, who place *Askenaz*, in *Bithynia*, in which there is a famous Bay, and Lake and River, all bearing the Name of *Ascanius*; or, in the Lesser *Phrygia*, in which there is a Countrey, and a City, and an Island, all wearing the Name of *Ascania*. From the Greater *Phrygia*, a Colony was issued forth by *Askenaz*, into the Lesser, even as far as *Pontus*; where the Greeks turned the Name of *Askenaz*, into Ἀξένοος [*Inhospitable*,] which they changed at length, into Ἐυξένοος, of the Just Contrary Signification, to avoid the Scandal. You will find that in *Pindar*, and *Apollonius*, & the Scholiasts upon them, which will sufficiently confirm this Account of the Names. *Diodorus*, and, *Apollodorus*, and *Ovid*, and *Pliny*, & *Lucian*, all tell us, That the Region was called, *Axenus*, for the barbarous Inhospitability of the *Scythian* Inhabitants. And yett, *Homer*, and *Æschylus*, and *Cherilus*, and *Ephorus*, and *Strabo*, and others, do so abundantly vindicate the Inhabitants of *Pontus*, from that Character, that our Original for the Name of *Axenus*, is much more allowable.¹⁸¹

We read, Jer. 51.27. about, *The Kingdomes of Askenaz*. It is very sure, There were People of the Lesser *Phrygia*, accompanying *Cyrus*, in his Expedition against *Babylon*. *Xenophon* expressly mentions, the Sending of *Hystaspes*, with an Army, to *Phrygia* upon the *Hellespont*; and *Hystaspes* his carrying from thence, many *Phrygians* ἵππείας καὶ πελταστὰς, *Equites et Scutatos*, into the *Babylonian* Expedition.¹⁸²

Strabo (12.8.17–18), Eustathius (*Commentarium in Dionysii* 809.16–18), and Flavius Josephus (*Antiquities* 1.6.1).

181 Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 9, col. 171–74). Bochart here relies on Strabo (7.3.7). The Black Sea (Euxine Sea) was called “Inhospitable Sea” (Ἀξένοος), but also “Hospitable Sea” (Ἐυξένοος). Pindar (*Pythian Odes* 4.203–4); *Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium* (*Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* 174.6–8); Diodorus Siculus (4.40.4); Apollodorus Atheniensis (*Fragmenta* 159, lines 20–25) as extant in Strabo (7.3.6); Ovid (*Tristia* 3.13.27–28, 4.4.56); Pliny (6.1.1); Lucian (*Toxaris* 3.16; *Works* 5:106) – Ἀξένοος (“inhospitable”) and Ἐυξένοος (“hospitable”), in *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* (*Iliad* 9.360, scholion 4); Aeschylus Atheniensis (*Prometheus vincitus* 710–15; *Fragmenta*, fragm. 198, line 1). Bochart also enlists a passage (*Fragmenta epica*, fragm. 5, lines 1–3) from the Greek epic poet Choerilus Samius (late 5th c. BCE), best remembered for his *Persica*, and from the Greek historian Ephorus Cumaeus (c. 405–330 BCE), whose *Historia* (30 books) is extant only in fragments. Bochart’s reference to Ephorus is to *Fragmenta* (Jacoby #F 2a, 70, F, fragm. 42, lines 10–11); Strabo (7.3.6).

182 Bochart (174). Xenophon’s semi-historical *Cyropedia* (7.4.8–12) relates how Hystaspes, general of Cyrus the Great (fl. 557–539 BCE), led a mixed multitude of troops into Babylonia. According to *Cyropedia* (7.4.11, line 1), Hystaspes pressed many Phrygian “horsemen and peltasts [light infantry]” into his military expedition.

3204.

Q. Another Son of *Gomer*, was *Riphat*?

A. Here *Bochart* chooses to follow *Josephus*, who takes the *Paphlagonians* to be the Offspring of *Riphat*; a People of *Asia the Less*, bordering on the *Phrygians* of *Pontus*.

There is Cause to think, that the Name *Riphat*, was *Diphat*; for so tis written by *Ezra*, and the Two Letters, /ר/ and /ד/ are, we know, easily confounded. Now, agreeable hereto, *Ptolomy* gives us, *Tobata*, as a City in *Paphlagonia*; and *Strabo* finds the Name of *Tibius* there; and *Stephanus*, a Mountain, whose Name was *Tibion*.¹⁸³

[264v] But if we keep the Name of *Riphat*, we shall be accommodated not far off, | with *Rhebas*, a River of *Bithynia*, running into the *Pontus*, near *Paphlagonia*. It is mentioned by *Apollonius*, and by *Orpheus*, and by *Arrian*, and by *Pliny*, (who saies, That some called it, *Rhesus*,) and by *Dionysius*. Yea, *Stephanus* gives us a Countrey hereabouts, called *Rhebas*; & the People, *Rhebeans*, and *Rhebantians*. These were *Bithynians*, rather than *Paphlagonians*.¹⁸⁴

3205.

Q. *Togarmah* is the last?

A. It is clear, from the Prophecies of *Ezekiel*, [ch. 38.6. and 27.14.] that the Countrey of *Togarmah*, lay to the Northward of *Judea*; and that it afforded excellent *Horses* and *Mules*, unto the *Marketts* of *Tyre*. The *Chaldee*, and the *Talmud*, by *Togarmah*, understand *Germany*; and many Moderns, *Turcomania*, *Tartaria*, and *Scythia*. *Bochart* thinks them too Remote for the *Marketts* of *Tyre*; besides, that he proves, there are no *Mules* in the cold Climate of *Scythia*, as tis observed by *Strabo*, and *Ælian*, and *Herodotus*. He therefore falls in with an Hint, which the Greek *Scholiast* ha's upon the Thirty Eighth of *Ezekiel*; That *Cappadocia*, a Countrey that lies near *Phrygia*, the land of *Gomer*, was the Seat of *Togarmah*; a Countrey indeed famous for *Horses* and *Mules*; For *Horses*, according to *Solinus*, *Terra illa ante alias altrix Equorum*; and unto like Purpose, we are informed by *Isidore*, by *Dionysius Periegetes*, by *Oppian*, by *Claudian*, and by *Philostorgius* a most ancient *Cappadocian* Writer. For *Mules*, you find *Homer* fetching them, from *Heneta*, an eminent City of *Cappadocia*; and *Plutarch* and

¹⁸³ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 10, col. 174–75). Josephus (*Antiquities* 1.6.1). The two Hebrew letters are “resh” and “daleth.” Ptolemy (*Geographia* 5.4.5, line 8), Strabo (7.3.12), Stephanus Byzantius (622.12–13).

¹⁸⁴ Apollonius Rhodius (*Argonautica* 2.789–90), Orpheus (*Argonautica* 713), Flavius Arrianus (*Periplus ponti Euxini* 12.3, lines 1–2), Pliny (6.1.4), Dionysius Periegetes (*Orbis descriptio* 794–96), Stephanus Byzantius (544.10–11).

Pliny have Passages of the like Import, and Strabo saies, the *Cappadocians* annually paid unto the *Persians*, *Two Thousand Mules*.¹⁸⁵

Thogarma the Greeks write constantly Θόργαμα or Τόργαμα. Might not the Name of *Trogmians*, and of *Trocmians*, thence come to be putt upon those *Galatians*, who settled in *Cappadocia*? By that Name *Strabo* mentions them; and so does *Polybius*, and so does *Tully* (in his Book, *De Divinatione*,) and so does *Memnon*, an old Writer of the *Pontic* Affayrs, in *Photius*. In *Stephanus*, they have the Name of Τροκμήνοι. And in the Council of *Calcedon*, their Bishop is called, *The Bishop of the Trocmadians*.¹⁸⁶

3206.

Q. Lett us pass now to Two other sons of *Japheth*, namely, *Tubal* and *Mesech*, which not only *Moses* and *Ezra*, but also *Ezekiel* still joins together; and therefore we may do so too?

A. From these two *Bochart* supposes to proceed the *Moschi*, and the *Tibareni*; whom the Greek Writers also, (as *Herodotus*,) do still join together. The Greeks, tis well-known, turn *Mesech* into *Mosoch*; and their turning *Tubal*, into *Tibar*, (and *Eusebius* and *Strabo*, we know, mention the *Tibari*,) need not scandalize us, while we see them write Φιχώρ, for *Phicol*, and Σαρὰδ for *Saled*, and Βελιάρ, for *Belial*.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁵ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 11, col. 175–79). Both the Chaldee Targum Jonathan ben Uziel and the Targum Hierosolymitanum (Gen. 10:3) associate Togarmah with Germany, in Walton (4:17), and so does the Talmudic tractate Yoma (10a). Bochart (178), Strabo (7.3.18), and Herodotus (4.28.16–19) claim that Scythia is too cold for either mules or asses even though these beasts of burden can stand the cold in the rest of the world; however, no such references appear in Claudius Aelianus, except for the horned asses of Scythia, whose horns are the only vessels capable of carrying water from the River Styx (*De natura animalium* 10.40). Bochart's "Greek Scholiast" on Ezek. 38 so far has escaped my searches. According to Caius Julius Solinus (*De mirabilibus mundi*, cap. 46, § 2), "Mother Earth nurtured horses in former times." For the beauty of the Cappadocian horses, see Isidore Pelusiota (*Epistolae*), Dionysius Periegetis (*Orbis description* 973–74), Oppianus Apamensis (*Cynegetica* 1.197, 201), Claudius Claudianus (*In Rufinum* 2.30–31), Philostorgius (*Historia ecclesiastica*, bk. 3, ch. 4, fragm. 4, lines 29–33), Homer (*Iliad* 2.852), Pliny (8.69.173), and Strabo (11.13.8).

¹⁸⁶ Bochart (178). The Greek spellings of "Thorgama," even "Thergama," can be found in the LXX (Gen. 10:3; Ez. 27:14) and elsewhere. Strabo (12.5.2, lines 1–2); Polybius (*Historiae* 31.8.2); Marcus Tullius Cicero mentions the "Trocmian tetrarchy," in his *De divinatione* (2.37.79); the ancient Greek historian Memnon Heracleota (c. 1st c. BCE–c. 1st c. CE) mentions the "Trogmoi" in a fragment of his history *Heraclea* (c. 16 bks.) surviving in Photius (*Bibliotheca*, Codex 224, Bekker p. 222b, esp. p. 228a, lines 2–3); Stephanus Byzantius (639.12); finally, the bishop of the Troknadians (!) "Kuriakou episkopou Troknadon" is listed several times in the *Concilium universale Chalcedonense anno 451* (tome 2, vol. 1, part 2, p. 60, line 35, p. 78, line 25 and elsewhere).

¹⁸⁷ This and the following annotations on Gen. 10:2 are extracted from Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 12, col. 179–86). Herodotus (3.94.5); Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 1.4.11d) has the Tibareni engage in human sacrifice by throwing "their old kinsmen alive down a precipice"; Strabo (11.14.1; 12.1.3); the Greek name "Phikol" (rather than "Phikor") appears

The *Moschi*, are not the same with the *Mossynians*, or *Mossynæcians*, as was imagined by *Stuckius*. They Inhabited the *Moschian Mountains*, which divide *Iberia* from *Armenia*, and both from *Colchis*; as you may learn from *Strabo*, and *Mela*, and *Pliny*, and *Ptolomy*, if you lay them together. The *Tibareni* lay nearer to *Cotyorus*, a Place famous on the Coast of *Pontus*. And between the *Moschi*, and them, according to the ancient Writers, (especially *Xenophon*, who travelled those Countreys,) there lay Six or Seven fierce Nations of other People. Nevertheless, in *Xerxes's* Forces, they had not only the same *Arms*, but the same *Leaders* too. Wherefore, tis probable, that the Hebrew Names of *Mesech*, and of *Tubal*, took in likewise all the People, that lay between the *Moschians*, and the *Tibarenes*. There are several Passages, both in *Strabo* and in *Ptolomy*, to countenance this Conjecture.¹⁸⁸

Well; we read about the Market of *Tyre*, Ezek. 27.13. *Tubal & Meshech, they were thy Merchants; they traded the Persons of Men, and Vessels of Brass, in thy Markett.* The People in the Regions of *Pontus*, were – *ad Servitutem nati*. Both *Polybius* and *Philostratus* tell us, *That very great Numbers of Slaves, were continually exported from thence.* And *Cappadocia*, whereof *Tibarenia* was a Part, yeelded the greatest Numbers of them; as many Passages in *Cicero*, in *Horace*, and *Persius*, and *Martial*, intimate. *Lucullus* with his Romans, found them, there to be sold for *Four Drachms* apiece. Yea, *Strabo*, their Countreymen, saies, They deprecated *Liberty*, οὐ γὰρ δύνασθαι φέρειν αὐτὴν ἔφασαν, *For they said, they were not able to bear it.*¹⁸⁹ The *Mossynæcians* were Part of the *Tybarenes*; and their *Brass* is renowned in *Aristotle*. And the *Brass* of *Iberia*, which was inhabited by the *Moschians*, is renowned in *Chalcondylas*, as the best in the World. But lett it be remembred, That the Hebrew Word, which we render *Brass*, does also signify *Iron*. [See Jud. 16.21. and, Lam. 3.7. The Hebrewes thus render the Word, Lev. 26.19. and Job. 6.12. and Isa. 48.4.] Now, who knowes not, that the most cel-

in the LXX (Gen. 21:22), “Sarad” in the LXX (2 Kings 23:33), and “Beliar” in the Greek NT (2 Cor. 6:15).

¹⁸⁸ Bochart (185) refers to Johannes Wilhelmus Stuckius (1542–1607), Swiss Calvinist theologian, philologist, and professor of rhetoric in Zurich, who is mostly remembered for his *Antiquitatum Convivialium libri tres* (1582, 1597) and *Sacrorum et sacrificiorum gentilium* (1582), a history of the customs and rites of the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans, and other Mediterranean peoples. Increase Mather put Stuckius’s *Antiquitatum* (1597) to good use in his *A Testimony Against Several Prophane and Superstitious Customs* (1687). Bochart refers to Stuckius’s edition of *Arriani Flavii: Ponti Euxini et Maris Erythraei Periplus* (1577), Arrianus’s Greek history, which Stuckius edited and annotated. Strabo (11.14.1), Pomponius Mela (*De chorographia* 1.98), Pliny (6.4.11–13; 6.10.28; 6.11.29), Ptolemy (*Geographia* 5.13.1–2, 5). Xenophon (*Anabasis* 5.4.2–8, 15, 27–30; 5.5.1–3), Strabo (7.4.3, lines 28–31; 11.14.1; 12.3.18; 12.3.28), Ptolemy (*Geographia* 5.13.1–2, 5).

¹⁸⁹ The people of the Pontian region were “born to servitude.” Polybius (*Historiae* 4.38.4), Flavius Philostratus (*Apollonius of Tyana* 3.31.2; 8.7.37–38), Marcus Tullius Cicero (*Post reditum in senatu* 6.14), Horace (*Epistolae* 1.6.39), Persius (*Satura* 6.76–77), Martial (6.77.4; 10.76.3); Plutarch (*Lucullus* 14.1), *Plutarch’s Lives* (2:510); Mather’s translated Greek quotation appears in Strabo (12.2.11, lines 10–11).

ebreated Artists in all *Iron-Works*, were among the *Tibarenes*. There was a whole People there, known by the Name of *Chalybes*; (whence the Name | *Chalybs*, for Steel,) who were the great Inventors of *Smithery*, as *Ammian* and *Arrian* have observ'd unto us, and old *Callimachus* intimates it. *Xenophon* represents them therefore, as a very *Terrible People*; and our Prophet *Ezekiel* [ch. 32.26.] doth so too: And their Fierceness is *Terribly* sett out, by *Æschylus*, and *Eusebius*; & *Strabo* saies, They are Ἀγριοὶ τέλεως, *Plane feri*.¹⁹⁰ [265r]

Indeed the Psalmist seems to speak of *Meshech*, as being in or near the *Arabian Kedar*; [Psal. 120.5.] But *Bochart* shewes, That *Meshech* there, is not a Name of *Place*, but of *Time*; The Text should be rendred; *I sojourn along Time*; and so *Aquila* renders it, ἐν μακρισμῷ. The Word /מִשְׁך/ is, *To Protract*. Compare, Ezek. 12.25. and Prov. 13.12.¹⁹¹

3207.

Q. Another Son of *Japhet*, was *Magog*?¹⁹²

A. And *Bochart* agrees with *Josephus*, and *Eustathius*, and *Jerom*, and *Theodoret*, that he was the Father of the *Scythians*. Wee read, Ezek. 38.2. *Sett thy Face against Gog, the Land of Magog, the chief Prince of Meshech and Tubal*. The Chaldee, and *Aquila*, and *Jerom*, read it, *The Prince of the Head*, (or, Beginning) of *Meshech* and *Tubal*. This intimates, that *Gog*, the Inhabitant of *Magog*, did command in those Places, where the Land of *Meshech* & of *Tubal* began. It is well-known, That /מִשְׁך/ not only signifies, the *Top* of a Thing, but also the *Beginning* of it. Thus, 1. Chron. 14.15. it should not be, *In the Tops of the Mulberry Trees*, but, *At the Beginnings* of them. *Gilead* is called, *Caput Lebani*, because *Lebanon* Begins, where *Gilead* Ends. Thus here, where the Land of *Meshech* and *Tubal* ended, there *Magog* began; and, *vice versâ*, the Land of *Meshech* took it{s} beginning, where *Magog* ended; They joined.¹⁹³ Thus, *Magog*, the Land of *Gog*, was Part of

¹⁹⁰ Aristotle (*De mirabilium auscultationes* 62.835a, 10), Ammianus Marcellinus (22.8.21), Lucius Flavius Arrianus (*Bithynicorum fragmenta*, fragm. 52, lines 2–3); Callimachus (*Aetia*, fragm. 110, lines 48–50) mentions the Scythian Chalybes on the Thermodon River, known for their ironwork. Xenophon (*Anabasis* 4.7.15); Aeschylus (*Prometheus vinctus* 714–16); Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 1.4.7, lines 5–6). Strabo (12.3.18, line 13) relates that the Chalybes were “Agrioi teleos,” i.e., “utterly savage.”

¹⁹¹ Bochart (184–85). Bochart is mistaken in identifying Aquila, the translator of the LXX, as the source for the Greek “en makrismo” (“for an extended time”). The Greek passage appears in Joannes Chrysostom’s *Expositiones in Psalmos* [PG 55. 341, line 37]. The Hebrew verb “mashak” [Strong’s # 4900] suggests “to prolong,” or “to protract.”

¹⁹² Gen. 10:2. Subsequent annotations are extracted from Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 13, col. 186–93).

¹⁹³ Bochart (186–87); Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 1.6.1); Eustathius (*Commentarius in hexaemeron*) [PG 18. 753, lines 47–54]; St. Jerome on Gen. 10:2 (*Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, p. 39); Theodoretus (*Interpretatio in Ezechielem*) [PG 81. 1200, lines 28–32]; the Chaldee Paraphrase: Targum Jonathan (on Ezek. 38:2), in Walton (3:130); Aquila (on Ezek. 38:2), in Origen’s *Hexaplorum quae supersunt in Ezechielem* [PG 16, Pt. 3. 2624]. St. Jerome (*Commentaria in Ezechielem*, lib. 11, praefat.) [PL 25. 354B].

Scythia, about *Caucasus*, which the *Cholchians* and *Armenians*, whose Dialect was *Half-Chaldee*, called, /גִּגְ חֶסֶן/ *Gog-chasan*, the Fence, or Font; or Mound of *Gog*; whence the Greeks called it Καύκασος. And the same Greeks, kept the Name of *Gog*, in Γωγαρήνη, *Gogarene*, a Part of *Iberia*, beyond the River *Cyrus*, mention'd by *Strabo*. But then, the Septuagint, and *Symmachus* and *Theodotian*, read it, *The Prince of Rhos, Meshech, and Tubal*. Why may not *Rhos* more immediately be, the River *Araxis*, in *Armenia*, which the *Nubian* Geographer expressly calls *Rhos*? Now *Josephus Ben-Gorion* tells us, That a People call'd, *Rhossi*, lived hereabouts. The Paraphrase then on the Text before us, will be; "Sett thyself to prophesy with Courage, against the King of the *Scythians*, in the Land of *Magog*, or *Scythia* near *Caucasus*; the Prince, of *Armenia Araxena*, and of *Armenia Moschica*, and of *Armenia Tibarenia*, all under the *Scythian* Dominion." Both *Strabo*, and *Plutarch*, will show you, That their Dominion once extended so far. *Bochart* adds, That it is very like{ly}, the modern *Russians* and *Muscovites* are descended from the *Rhos* and *Meshech*, that were seated here; famous Nations of the *European Scythia*. It is very agreeable, That the Prophet here sett's the *Scythians* on *Horse-back*, and makes *Archers* of them. *Hippocrates* mentions the *Scythians*, as a *Gouty* People, etc. from their being alwayes on *Horse-back*. And their Name, with *Herodotus* and *Lucian*, was that of *Hippotoxotæ*, or, *Archers on Horseback*; to be which, they were exquisitely instructed from their Infancy. Yea, They were called, in their own Tongue, *Arimaspi*, or, *An One-Eyed People*, because of their continual keeping One Eye winking, to *take Aim*, with their *Arrowes*. Many other Passages, we find in Authors to this Purpose; too many & needless to be recited.¹⁹⁴

And whereas we find among them, [Ezek. 38.4.] *Horsemen, all of them cloathed with all sorts of Armour*; we find in *Lucian*, a mention of *Scythians*, whom *Toxaris* calls, ἱππέας αὐτοτελείς, *Equites ad plenum Instructos*. Tho' *Bochart* rather takes *Them*, to be, *Voluntiers*, who bore their own Charges.¹⁹⁵

3208.

Q. We are concerned with but one more, namely, *Madaï*; and then we have done with the Sons of *Japhet*?¹⁹⁶

194 Strabo (11.14.4, line 9; 11.14.5, line 11). LXX (Ezek. 38:2); Symmachus and Theodotian on Ezek. 38:2, in Origen's *Hexaplorum quae supersunt in Ezechielem* [PG 16. Pt. 3. 2625–26]; Idrisi (*Geographia Nubiensis*, climatis 5, pars 6, p. 242); Josephus ben Gorion's *Historiae Iudaicae libri* 6 (1544); Strabo (11.8.4); Plutarch (*Pompeius* 34.1), *Plutarch's Lives* (5:204); Hippocrates (*De aëre aquis et locis* 22.10–11); Herodotus (4.46.12); Lucianus (*Toxaris vel amicitia* 54.12; *Works* 5:192); for the one-eyed Arimaspi, see Eustathius (*Commentarium in Dionysii periegetae* 31.1–5).

195 Bochart (189); Lucianus (*Toxaris vel amicitia* 54.15–16; *Works* 5:191) describes the Scythians as "accomplished in horsemanship."

196 Gen. 10:2. The subsequent paragraphs are from Bochart's *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 14, col. 193–98).

A. All the World confesses, the famous Nation of the *Medes* to be descended from him; Here is no Difficulty. And the Scituation of the ancient *Media*, is well-known to all the World; tho' its Name is now swallow'd up, in such as it is not easy to come at.

Media, is by *Ezra*, (1. Chron. 5.26.) called, *Hara*. And *Media* was called *Aria* by the *Greeks*; the *Medes* were called, *Arians*; as you find in *Herodotus*, & in *Pausanias*. In *Xenophon* also we read of the *Thamnerians*; a Name composed of *Aria*, and of *Theman*, which signifies, *The South*; it meant, *The Medes of the South*. *Bochart* thinks, That *Hara*, more particularly meant that Part of *Media*, which the *Arabians* call *Al-Gebal*; Both Names agree in signifying, *A Mountainous Region*. The *Cadusians*, according to *Strabo*, were lodged here. And *Fuller* thinks, that these were *Israelites*, thus called, q. /קדשִׁים/ *Kedosim*, or, *The Holy People*.¹⁹⁷

| About the Excellencies of the Countrey of *Media*, none of the Ancients ha's written more excellently than *Polybius*. And about *Ecbatana*, the Capital City of *Media*, we have many great Things in the Writings of the Ancients. The Kings of *Persia*, lived there in the *Summer*, as they did at *Shushan* in the *Winter*. It is reported, That the Palace of *Ecbatana* was built by *Daniel*, the Prophet; and the Report is a little countenanced, in what *Josephus* relates, That even to his Time, a *Jewish Priest* alwayes had the Custody of it committed unto him. It is not unlikely, That the Emperour *Darius*, might make much Use of *Daniel*, in so Illustrious a Building; & of Gratitude unto *Daniel*, for his Performance in it, putt this Respect upon his Nation.¹⁹⁸ [266v]

3209.

Q. And now *Cham*, the Third Son of *Noah*, remains to be considered?

A. In the Division of the World, unto the Share of *Cham* there falls, *Egypt*, and all *Africa*, and great Part of *Syria*, and *Arabia*; to say nothing of *Babylon*, and *Susiana*, and *Assyria*, which *Nimrod* a Nephew of *Cham*, took from the Sons of *Shem*.¹⁹⁹

Egypt is by the Psalmist called, *The Land of Cham*; and in *Plutarch*, it is called, Χημία. and in *Stephanus* Ἐρμολύμιος. The Name of *Ammon* came from *Cham*; There was a City called *Ammonia*, famous for the Temple & Oracle of *Jupiter-Ammon*; Yea, *Al. Polyhistor* will satisfy you, that all *Africa* was called *Am-*

¹⁹⁷ Herodotus (7.62.2–4); Pausanias (2.3.8); Xenophon (*Hellenica* 2.1.13, line 3); Strabo (11.13.3); Nicholas Fuller, *Miscellaneorum Theologicorum* (1616), lib. 2, cap. 5, pp. 192–93. *Bochart* has קדשִׁים.

¹⁹⁸ Polybius (*Historiae* 5.44.1–4; 10.27.1–13, cap. IV Res Asiae); Daniel (8:2) relates that in his vision he was in the palace of Shushan. Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 10.11.7) posits that Daniel built a tower, “a most elegant building,” in Ecbatana (Persepolis), in which edifice the kings of Medo-Persia were buried; “a Jewish priest” was the custodian of this edifice “to this day.”

¹⁹⁹ Mather's source is *Bochart, Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 1, col. 203–09).

monia. And the *Egyptian Thebes*, which was called by the Greeks Διόσπολις, was by the Hebrew Prophets called, *Amon-No*, and, *No-Amon*; that is, *The Temple of Amon*. Yea, The whole Fable of *Saturn* and *Jupiter* is but the Story of *Noah* and *Cham*.²⁰⁰

In the Hebrew Language, /חם/ *Cham*, signifies, *Hott*; and /חום/ *Chum*, signifies, *Black*. An ominous Name! considering the Seat, and the Hue, of his Posterity.

It is doubtless a Mistake (first broached by a *Pseudo-Clemens*,) That *Cham* was the same with *Zoroaster* the *Magician*. Tho' *Cassianus*, and others, have carried on the Mistake, until they report *Cham* to have laid a Spell upon his Father, & made him Impotent; and to have written Magical Books, whereof one, (of *Necromancy*) is yett extant, under the Title of, *Scriptura Chami filij Noæ*. *Bochart* retells it, and also obliges us with the true Etymology, of the Name of *Zoroaster*; that it signifies, *A Contemplator of the Stars*. He detects also the Vanity of those Philosophers, who make their *Chemia*, and *Chymia*, and *Alchymia*, to come from *Cham*; to render their Profession venerable, for its Antiquity. For indeed, the first Author that ever mentioned *Alchymie*, was *Julius Firmicus* in the Days of *Constantine*. And the Name in the *Arabic* Tongue, (whereto it belongs) is not written with the same Letters, that the Name of *Cham* is; but it signifies no more than, *Ars Occulta*; than with a fitter Name could not be thought of, as the Titles of the Books written by the *Chymists*, are enough to testify; and those written by the famous *Lully* in particular.²⁰¹

²⁰⁰ Ps. 78:51; 105:23, 27; 106:22; Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride* 364 C, line 5) calls the land of Cham "Chemia" (*Plutarch's Moralia* 5:83), but Stephanus Byzantius (44.21–22) calls it "Hermochymios." Cornelius Alexander Polyhistor (*Fragmenta* 117–118, line 3); the Egyptian Thebes is called "Diospolis" by Stephanus Byzantius (*Ethnica*, p. 234, line 1); Eusebius Pamphilus (*Onomasticon*, p. 80, line 11); Ptolemy (*Geographia* 5.1.7, line 3). Ezekiel calls the Egyptian Thebes "No" ["Amon"] (Ez. 30:14, 16). In an effort to interpret the stories of pagan deities as corrupted versions of the heroic tales in the Hebrew Bible, Mather and his peers identify the Graeco-Roman Saturn as Noah, and Saturn's sons Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto (who divided the world amongst themselves) as Noah's sons Shem, Ham, and Japheth (who inherited the different parts of the terrestrial globe). See also Mather's commentary on Gen. 9:28 (above) and Gerard Vossius (*De Theologia Gentili*, lib. 2, cap. 11, pp. 360–63).

²⁰¹ Clemens Romanus et Clementina (*Homiliae* 9.3–5) asserts that Mestren, a descendant of Ham, was the progenitor of Nebrod (Nimrod), who "took up with magical practices." The Greeks called this Nebrod by the name Zoroaster (*ANF* 8:275–76). Joannes Cassianus (c. 360–c. 435) was a Christian monastic and founder of two monasteries near Marseilles. His *Collationes patrum Sceticorum* (lib. 8, cap. 21) [PL 49. 758C–759B] repeats the Talmudic tradition that Ham was responsible for Noah's impotence. Bochart lists among his many sources St. Augustine (*De Civitate Dei* 21.14), Sixtus Senensis's *Bibliotheca Sancta* (lib. 2), and *Historia Scholastica* (wr. 1169–73), a popular universal history of the OT and NT, by the French theologian and exegete Petrus Comestor, aka. Pierre le Mangeur (d. 1178). Comestor (*Historia Scholastica libri Genesis*, cap. 39) calls the book of magic "*The Scripture of Ham, Son of Noah*," a work that through its association of Ham with Zoroaster is attributed to the purported founder of alchemy [PL 198. 1053–1722]. Sir Thomas Browne makes the same argument in his *The Garden of Cyrus* (1658), ch. 1, in *Works* (3:149). The astrologer Julius Firmicus Maternus of

3210.

Q. The first Son of *Cham*, in the Catalogue of *Moses*, is *Cush*?

A. In *Eupolemus* we find him called, Χουμ, which *Bochart* thinks, was by a Mistake putt for Χυν, the Accusative Case of Χοῦς. *Eupolemus* adds, That the Greeks rendred it, Ἀσβολος, which indeed answers to *Chum*, and signifies, *Soot*.²⁰²

But now occurs the Quæstion, what and where is the *Land of Cush*, which we find so often mentioned in the Sacred Oracles? Almost all the Jewish and Græcian Writers, and others, have taken it for *Ethiopia*. Only, *Jonathan* in his Paraphrase, finds it in *Arabia*; and *Bochart* agrees with him.²⁰³

The Prophet, [Hab. 3.7.] mentions *Chusan* (which is the Diminutive of *Chus*,) and *Madian*, as being synonymous. *Moses's* Wife was a *Midianitess*, but yett called, A Woman of *Cush*. [Num. 12.1.] Now, tis well known, That *Midian*, was in *Arabia*, (as *Josephus*, and *Ptolomy*, and *Jerom* will tell you,) on the Shore of the Red-Sea.²⁰⁴

Again, The *Topaz*, [Job. 28.19.] is not, The *Topaz* of *Ethiopia*; none of the Ancients ever mentioned such a thing; but, The *Topaz* of *Arabia*: *Pliny* tells us, of *Chitis*, an Island of *Arabia*, famous for it; and so do *Agatharchides*, and *Strabo*, and *Diodorus*, and *Isidorus*, and others.²⁰⁵

Moreover, we have the Bounds of *Ethiopia*, expressly declared, Ezek. 29.10. *From the Tower of Syene, to the border of Chush*. Now, all know, that *Syene* bounded *Egypt* on the Side of *Ethiopia*; *Strabo*, and *Pliny*, and *Solinus*, are

Syracuse (4th c. CE), whose astrological work *Mathesis libri VIII* (CE 334–37) was written during the reign of Emperor Constantine I (the Great), discusses the art of alchemy in his *Mathesis* (lib. 3, cap. 15). Finally, Bochart (207) mentions the Catalanian mystic Raimundus Lullus, aka. Ramon Llull (1231–1315), whose alchemical works *De secretis naturae seu de quinta essentia libellus*, *De investigatione secreti occulti*, and *Secreta secretorum* were often reprinted. They can be found in Lully's *Opera omnia* (1721–42).

202 Gen. 10:6. This and the following paragraphs are extracted from Bochart's *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 2, col. 209–16). In his Greek history *On the Kings of Judaea*, the Jewish historian of Palestine Eupolemus (fl. c. 150 BCE) renders the Hebrew “Cham” and “Cush” in their various cases “Choum,” “Chun,” and “Chous,” as well as “Asbolos.” The Greek original from Eupolemus survives in an excerpt by Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.17.9, lines 1–5).

203 Among the Jewish and Greek authors who identify the Land of Cush with Ethiopia are Philo Judaeus, Josephus Flavius, Eusebius Pamphilus, Eustathius, as well as the anonymous author of the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*. Bochart (210), however, agrees with the Targum Jonathan ben Uziel (on Gen. 10:6) and locates the Land of Cush in Arabia, in Brian Walton (4:17).

204 Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 2.11.2); Ptolemy (*Geographia* 6.7.27, line 8); St. Jerome (*De situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum* [PL 23. 889A], and Eusebius Pamphilus (*Concerning the Place Names*, Genesis: “Madian”).

205 Bochart (211); Pliny (37.32.107); Agatharchides (*De mari Erythraeo* 82.6); Strabo (16.4.6); Diodorus Siculus (3.39.5); Isidorus of Seville, *De lapidus* (*Etymologiae* [Origines] 16.7) [PL 82. 570–571].

express for This. *Chus* then must be opposite unto *Syene*, and can be no other than *Arabia*.²⁰⁶

When we read, Ezek. 30.9. *Messengers shall go forth from me in Ships, to make the careless Æthiopians afraid*, it should be read, *Arabians*; to whom Ships continually came from *Egypt*, cross the Red-Sea; but by *Nilus* none could go to *Ethiopia*, because of the Falls near *Syene*.

[267r] | *Tirhaka*, who suddenly diverted *Sennacherib*, from the Siege of *Libna*, could not be *King of Ethiopia*; [2. King. 19.9.] for then he must have conquered *Egypt*, before he could have come at him. The same is to be said of *Zerah*. [2. Chron. 14.9.] Nor were there any *Arabians near the Ethiopians*, [2. Chron. 21.16.] but they were *Chuseans*, of *Arabia*. Consider, Isa. 20.4, 5. The Arabian *Chuseans*, might have helped the *Azotians* in *Palæstine*; the *Ethiopians* could not, because of *Egypt* lying between them. That Passage, in Isa. 18.1. *Bochart* thus renders, *Wo to the Land of the Kettledrum*; [*Cymbalum Orarum*, which is the Translation of the Hebrew there, notes, a *Marginated Cymbal*, or a *Sistrum*.] This intends *Egypt*; where that Instrument was famously used by the Priests of *Isis*. Now, it followes, *which is beyond the Rivers of Chus*. How could this be said, by *Isaiah* now in *Judea*, if *Chus* were *Ethiopia*? Whereas *Arabia Chusæa* lay between *Judea* & *Egypt*. Here now ran, the River *Besor*, emptying itself into the *Mediterranean*; and the River of *Rhinocolura*, emptying itself into the *Sirbonian Lake*, and the River *Trajanus*, emptying itself into the Red-Sea; and the River *Corys* mentioned by *Herodotus*.²⁰⁷

It followes, *That sends Embassadors by the Sea*. *Bochart* shewes, that what we read, *Embassadors*, is to be read, *Images*. How every Year, the Head of *Osiris* was thrown into the Sea, and what became of it, Read *Lucian* (an Ey-Witness,) or, if you please, read *Cyril*, and *Procopius on Isaiah*, and you'll see the Meaning of the Diabolical Usages, herein referr'd unto.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ Strabo (17.1.48); Pliny (5.10.59); Solinus (*De mirabilibus mundi*, cap. 33).

²⁰⁷ Mather (via Bochart 211) here addresses the disputed identity of King Tirhakah (Taharka), who is variously identified as ruler of Egypt in the "twenty-fifth" ("Ethiopian") dynasty" (c. 690–664 BCE) or as a mere commander of Egyptian troops. The confusion arises because 2 Kings 19:9 and Isa. 37:9 identify Tirhakah as an Ethiopian king who battled Sennacherib's Assyrian troops, which were besieging Libnah in the Judean lowlands (*HBD*). Mather's "Sirbonian Lake" is the lake of Serbonis (Egypt), a sandy bog (rather than a body of open water), in which whole armies disappeared (Milton, *Paradise Lost* 2.592–94). Herodotus mentions the River Korys in his *Historia* (3.9.8).

²⁰⁸ Isa. 18:2. Bochart (211–12). According to Lucianus (*De Syria dea* 7, *Works* 4:345), the Egyptian Osiris (killed by Typhon) lies buried near Byblos, where Isis discovered his coffin after it had drifted down the Nile across the Mediterranean (see also Herodotus 2.123, 144, 156; and esp. Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* 357A–365E, *Plutarch's Moralia* 5:39–91). Since then, reports Lucianus as an eyewitness, a head comes floating down the Nile every year and is driven by the winds to Byblos in seven days. Cyrillus Alexandrinus, on Isa. 18:2 (*Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam*) [PG 70. 460], and *Contra Julianum* (1.16, 2.30); Procopius Gazaeus (*Commentarii in Isaiam*) [PG 87.2. 2132].

Upon the whole; The *Chuseans* dwelt above *Egypt*, near the innermost Bay of the *Red-Sea*, in Part of *Arabia the Stony*, and, *Arabia the Happy*. They were therefore the same, with the ancient *Scenites*, and the modern *Saracens*. Of the former, you may be satisfied in *Pliny* and *Strabo*; Of the latter, in *Procopius*, and *Marcianus*. They were called *Scenites*, from their Dwelling in Tents; [compare, Hab. 3.7.] And, *Saracens* (not from, *Sarah*, as is by some fancied,) from their Thievish Inclinations; for, *Saraka*, is, *Latrocinari*. Their Part of *Arabia*, is, at this Day called, *Hegiaz*.²⁰⁹

They were once a very *Strong People*. [See, Nah. 3.9.] But alwayes, a *Vile People*. [See Amos. 9.7.]²¹⁰

The Conversion of this People is foretold in the Divine Oracles. [Psal. 68.31. and 87.4.] It was, in Part at least, fulfill'd, when *Mauvia*, the Queen of the *Saracens*, with her People, embraced the Christian Faith, in the Dayes of the Emperour *Valentinian*; and when their King *Alamundarus*, with his People, made further Progress in the Christian Faith, under the Emperour *Anastasius*. Tho' not long after, under *Heraclius*, follow'd the horrible Apostasy to *Mahometism*.²¹¹

To *Bochart*, might be opposed that of the Prophet, Jer. 13.23. *Can the Cusean* (which we render, *Ethiopian*) *change his skin*? which seems to agree with the old Proverbs, about *washing an Ethiopian*. But all that have seen the Face of a *Saracen*, do know him, to be so *Swarthy* a thing, that the Expression will

209 Pliny (5.12.65); Strabo (16.4.2) paraphrases Eratosthenes's description of Arabia Felix; Procopius Caesariensis (*De bellis* 1.17.47, 1.19.9–13; *Procopius* 1:159, 181); the Greek geographer Marcianus Heracleensis (fl. c. 250–c. 500 CE) is mostly remembered for his *Periplus maris exteri*, a description of the coasts of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. Mather refers to *Periplus maris exteri* (1.17.22–16). For “*Saraka*,” see Stephanus (556.3–4) and Ptolemy (*Geographia* 6.7.42, line 2), a term that signifies to Mather “*Latrocinari*” or “robbery” or “buccaneering.” “*Hegiaz*” (Hejaz) is a province in modern Saudi Arabia along the shore of the Red Sea, which includes the cities Mecca and Medina.

210 Bochart (212).

211 According to Rufinus (*Historia ecclesiastica* 11.6) and Sozomenos (*Historia ecclesiastica* 6.38), in *NPNFii* (2:374), Queen Mauvia (also: Mavia, Mania), ruler of the Saracens (c. 365–80), converted with her people to Christianity, when Valens (364–78), Roman emperor of the East, under the auspices of his older brother Valentinian I (364–75), sent to her the Egyptian hermit Moses, who became bishop of the Saracens (i.e. Arabs). King Alamundarus (Mundhir), ruler of the Saracens, supported the spread of Christianity during the reign of Anastasius, Eastern Roman emperor (491–518 CE). Following the reign of Roman emperor of Byzantium Heraclius (610–41), Muhammad's father-in-law, Caliph Abu-Bakr (632–34), and subsequently his deputy, Caliph Umar (634–44), conducted wars of conquest against the Byzantine Empire. Iraq was subjugated in 632–34 CE, Mesopotamia and Syria in 640 CE, Egypt in 642 CE, and much of the Persian Empire by 643 CE. Upon Umar's death, Caliph Uthman (644–56), an Umayyad, continued his predecessors' wars of conquest into Libya (N Africa) and into the eastern parts of the Persian Empire. Thus within a few decades after Muhammad's death (632), the Muslim empire included some of the wealthiest regions of the Middle East and of North Africa. See Georgius Elmacinus's *Historia Saracenica* (1625). For British views of Islam during the 17th and 18th centuries, see Pailin's *Attitudes* (81–104).

do for him well enough. *Vartomanus*, who lived at *Mecha*, saies, *Color est inter fulvum et nigrum*; and *Giggeius* also saies, *Mauri Arabes; quidam Arabes nigri*. The French Version may do well enough; *Le More changera – il sa peau*? For the Name of *Moors*, is putt upon the *Saracens*, by the Writers of their Affayrs; as, by *Lucas Tudensis* in particular.²¹²

3211.

Q. Well, but the Sons of *Cush*?

A. We find Six of them. Nevertheless we cannot concur with the Generality of the Ancients, to seat them in *Africa*. And it will be Loss of Time, to recite the wilde and wide Conjectures of some others about the Seats of those *Chushites*. *Bochart* ha's placed them all near the *Persian Sea*; except *Nimrod*, who went away for *Babylon*.²¹³

We will begin with *Sabthea*, the farthest off, and the least known of them. In *Arabia*, and the adjacent Countreyes, tis well-known, that B and M, are Letters, frequently changed one for t'other. The Instances of it are Numberless; like *Abana*, the River of *Damascus*, called also *Amana*. Accordingly, we have a City of *Sabthea*'s, [or, *Sabithece*'s] Name, called, Σαμδακῆ, *Samydake*, a City of *Carmania*, mentioned by *Stephanus*. And *Marcianus Heracleota* mentions a River, called *Samydacus*, not far from thence. Which Names are a little corrupted in *Ptolomy*. That Countrey of *Carmania*, is above all famous for its *Vines*, described by *Strabo*, and *Arrian*, and *Pliny*, as the Largest in the World; and perhaps it had its Name from thence; for כרמא/ *Carma*, in Chaldee & Syriac, signifies, *A Vine*.²¹⁴

We will pass on to *Regma*, or, *Raamah*. In *Ptolomies* Tables, a little above [268v] the Mouth of the *Persian Sea*, and the | Bay of the *Ichthyophagi*, you will find

²¹² Bochart (215–16). “Saracens” is a medieval European designation for Muslim Arabs, Moors, and Turks – hence Bochart’s denigratory application of Jer. 13:23 to the Arab peoples. In his *Novum Itinerarium* (1511), lib. 1, cap. 8, the Italian traveler Ludovicus Vartomannus relates that “The [skin] color [of the Arabs] ranges from brown to dark [or black]” (see *Travels* 17). Antonius Giggeius argues in his *Thesaurus linguae Arabicae* (1632) that “the Moorish Arabs, are the black Arabs.” Mather’s French version reads, “Can a Moor [i.e., un Éthiopien] change his skin?” (Jer. 13:23). Finally, Lucas Tudensis (fl. 1227–50), the Spanish bishop of Tuy, wrote a history of the world, *Chronicon mundi* (c. 1236–39) – excerpts of which survive in *Annales Ecclesiastici* (1593–1607), a massive church history in 12 vols., by Cardinal Caesar Baronius (1538–1607). Bochart refers to the chronological *Annales* for the years CE 257 (§ 10), 716 (§ 15), 770 (§ 32), and 807 (§ 4).

²¹³ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 3, col. 216–17).

²¹⁴ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 4, col. 217–18). Stephanus Byzantius (554.3) mentions the Carmanian city “Samydake”; Marcianus Heracleensis (*Periplus maris exteri* 1.28.16–20); Ptolemy (*Geographia* 6.8.7, 6, 11; 8.22.22, line 1); Strabo (15.2.14, lines 20–24); Flavius Arrianus (*Historia Indica* 8.32.5); Pliny (6.27.107).

a City of that very Name. You have it also mentioned in *Stephanus*. [Compare likewise, Ezek. 27.22.]²¹⁵

This *Regmah* has two Sons. One is *Dedan*. On the same shore, a little to the Eastward of *Regmah*, we find the City *Dedan*; which to this Day wears the Name of *Daden*. *Ortelius* will more exactly lead you, to the Place of it. The Countrey thereabouts also, ha's the same Name with the City, as *Barboza* assures us. There was indeed another *Dedan*, a City of *Idumæa*, [Jer. 25.23. & 49.8. and Isa. 21.13.] the builder whereof, was another *Dedan*, the Nephew of *Abraham*. [Gen. 25.3.] But *Ezekiel*, [ch. 27.15.] evidently refers to this our *Dedan* of *Regmah*, when he speaks of his *Islands*, and his Merchandize of *Ivory* and *Ebony*. And unto that other Idumæan *Dedan*, [v. 20.] when he speaks of no other Merchandise, than *Cloathes for Chariots*.²¹⁶

Rhegma had another Son, called *Sheba*, with a *Shin*. From him we may suppose descended the *Sabeans*, mentioned by *Pomponius*, upon *Arabia* the Happy, near the Mouth of the *Persian Sea*, and not far from the *Carmanians*. *Arrianus* mentions the great Mountains there, called, *Sabo*, by *Ptolomy* written *Asabo*. Probably crossing the Straits there, they went over, and built the City called by *Ptolomy*, *Sabis*. No doubt, these are the *Sabeans*, meant, when we find *Sheba* joined sometimes with *Seba*, in the Scriptures; [as, Psal. 72.10.] and when *Sheba* is joined with *Regmah*, or *Dedan*, or any other Sons of *Chus*; [as, Ezek. 27.22. and Ezek. 38.13. and Ezek. 27.23.]²¹⁷

But then, that *Sheba*, had an Uncle *Seba*, (with a *Samech*,) another Son of *Cush*. The *Jemamites*, who according to the Nubian Geographer, border upon the *Omanites*, that are seated on the River *Om*, called *Lar* by *Ptolomy*, these, as *Alcamus* tells us, refer their Original, to this our *Seba*. *Pliny* will show you a *Sabe* there.²¹⁸

215 Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 5, col. 218–19); Ptolemy (*Geographia* 6.7.14, lines 1–6) locates the city Regma among the “*Ichthyophagi*” (“fish-eaters”). Stephanus Byzantius (544.15, 16).

216 Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 6, col. 219–20). Gen. 10:7. Bochart here relies on Abraham Ortelius’s popular *Orbis Terrarum* [1606 edition], “China,” p. 106r, and his map “Turici imperii descriptio,” between pp. 110–11. Ortelius (106r) acknowledges as his source the *Itinerarium* (1588) of Odoardus Barboza (d. 1521), a Portuguese explorer, who perished with Ferdinand Magellan during the first circumnavigation of the globe. Mather (via Bochart, Ortelius, and Barboza) describes the region of Ormuz in the Persia Gulf.

217 Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 7, col. 220). Gen. 10:7. Bochart refers to the Cushite Sheba שֶׁבָּא not his uncle Seba שֶׁבַּח [Strong’s # 7614 and # 5434]. Pomponius Mela (*De situ orbis* 6.8); Arrianus, in his attributed work *Periplus maris Erythraei* (35.5), calls the mountains Asabo, and so does Ptolemy (*Geographia* 6.7.12, lines 9, 12; 6.7.20, line 13); for “*Sabis*,” see Ptolemy (*Geographia* 6.8.14, line 2).

218 Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 8, col. 221–22). Gen. 10:7. Bochart here distinguishes between the initial letters ש (shin) of Sheba and ס (samekh) of Seba – both being rendered “S” in their English transliteration. The Arabic geographer Idrisi lists the Jemamites and Omanites in his *Geographia Nubiensis* (climatis 1, pars 6, p. 26); Ptolemy’s river “*Lar*” remains unidentified. Bochart cites “*Alcamus*” at second hand from Antonius Giggeius’s *The-*

There was indeed another *Seba*, the Nephew of *Abraham*, descended from *Joktan*; whose Posterity dwelt about the Entrance of *Arabia the Happy*, not far from the *Nabataeans*; whom accordingly *Strabo* joins together, as often making *Excursions* from thence. And these were doubtless the *Sabaeans*, by whom *Job* was plundered. *Strabo's* Account of that People, πολλάκις κατέτρεχον, *Sæpe excurrebant*, shows them to be of such Inclinations, that there was no need for Satan to be at much Pains, as Tempting them, to such a Robbery.²¹⁹

Sabtha was another Son of *Cush*; called of old, *Sabatha*. He was probably seated at first, in *Arabia the Happy*, where the *Leanites* bordered upon the *Persian Sea*. And then he removed a little farther, into *Arabia the Desert*, where the City *Σάφθα*, is described by *Ptolomy*. But it is likely that some Colonies at least, of the *Sabateans*, crossing the Sea, went over into *Persia*, where *Ptolomy* gives us, first the Island *Σῶφθα*, *Sophtha*, called *Σωφᾶθ* by *Marcian*, which *Ortelius* takes to be the same that is called *Phara*, by *Ammian*. And then, the *Massabatheans*, from whom was the *Massabitica Regio*, which *Pliny* calls *Mesobatene*. And then the *Sabteans* about the Confines of *Carmania*, a little distance from the Sea; called also *Stabæans*.²²⁰

Chavilah was another of this *Cushæan* Fraternity. *Ptolomy* indeed mentions no Name, wherein we find any Footsteps of him. Nevertheless we find the *Chavileans* mentioned by *Eratosthenes*, under the Name of *Chaulotheans*, by *Dionysius*, under the Name of *Chablasians*, by *Festus Avienus*, under the Name of *Chaulasians*, and by *Priscian*, as *Chalbasians*. *Pliny* wrote their Name the best, *Chaveleans*, which the Ignorance of the Scribes changed into *Chancleans*. They were (it may be) seated with the *Nebateans* and the *Agræans* (or, *Hagarens*;) not far from the *Persian Sea*.²²¹

saurus linguae Arabicae (1632). *Alcamus* (*The Ocean*) is the title of an Arabic language dictionary, evidently composed by an anonymous Persian grammarian (c. 14th c.) of Firuzabad. This work is also mentioned in William Jones's translation, *The History of the Life of Nader Shah, King of Persia* (London, 1773), part 1, ch. 1, pp. iv–v. *Pliny* (6.32.151, 154). See Appendix A.

219 Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 9, col. 222). Gen. 25:3 lists "Sheba" as the son of Joktan. *Strabo* (*Geographica* 16.4.2, line 3) relates that the Nabataeans and Sabaens "often overran" their neighbors.

220 Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 10, col. 223–25); *Ptolemy* mentions "Saphtha" in *Geographia* (6.7.30, line 3); "Sophtha" in *Geographia* (6.4.8, line 3); Bochart evidently relies on an imperfect edition, for *Marcianus Heracleënsis* does renders the name of the Gulf Island *Σωφθα* "Sophtha" (*Periplus maris exteri* 1.24.4); *Ortelius* (*Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* [1606], pp. 109) lists *Ammianus Marcellinus* (23.6.47) as his source, who (however) calls this Arabian city *Taphra*; *Pliny* (6.31.134–35).

221 Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 11, col. 225–26); *Eratosthenes* as quoted in *Strabo* (16.4.2, line 11). Neither the reference to *Dionysius* nor to Latin grammarian *Priscianus Caesariensis* (*Institutiones grammaticae*) could be verified. *Rufius Festus Avienus* mentions the *Chaulasians* in his *Periegesis, seu Descriptio orbis terrae* (1124), and *Pliny* (5.12.65) speaks of the "Canchlei."

3212.

Q. Well, but one Son of *Cush* remains, more famous than the rest, who may call for a more particular Consideration; and that is, *Nimrod*?²²²

A. And with him, came in, as it should seem, the *Brasen Age*,
Savior ingenijs, et ad horrida promptior Arma.

It seems, he shook off the Government of *Noah*, and arrogated unto himself a Tyrannical Empire over his Neighbours. The very Name of *Nimrod* carries *Rebellion* in it. (מֶרֶד is, *To Rebel*.) 'Tis hee, to whom the Pagan Historians ascribe the Exploits of their *Ninus*, & *Semiramis*. And it is remarkable, what we have in *Diodorus*, That *Ninus* assisted with an Army of *Arabians*, conquered the *Babylonians*. *Nimrod* was a *Cusæan*, or *Arabian*; and upon his Neighbours, that raised him unto his Government, he bestowed the Countrey beyond *Tigris*, which from them was called, *Cush* by the Hebrewes, *Cuth* by the *Chaldees*, *Cissia* by the Græcians, & *Chuzestan* by the Persians.²²³

Moses reports him to be, a *Mighty Hunter before the Lord*. Which is as much as to say, He was *Truly* so; (Compare, Jon. 3.3. and Act. 7.20.) because the Lord knowes all things, and cannot be Deceived in His Judgment. | And it is in this Passage intimated, How he arrived unto his Empire. Under the Prætext of *Hunting*, he gathered an Army of Young Men, whom he accustomed unto such Exercises, as made them Able Warriors; which is the very thing reported by *Diodorus*, of his *Ninus*. *Hunting* hath in all Ages been esteemed, the *Militiæ Rudimentum et Præludium*. *Xenophon* saies, ἀληθεστάτη δοκεῖ αὐτῇ ἡ μελέτη τῶν πρὸς τον πόλεμον εἶναι, *Videtur hæc esse verissima rerum bellicarum meditatio*. And *Cicero* saies, *Exerceamur in venando ad similitudinem bellicæ disciplinæ*. And *Philo* saies, *He that would come to Empire, must use himself to Hunting*. And *Pliny*, *His Artibus futuri duces imbuebantur, certare cum fugacibus feris cursu, cum audacibus robore, cum callidis astu*. The Grammarians derive the Name of, *Bellum*, à *Belluis*; *quìa prima Bella fuerunt in Belluas*; And the *Bears*, *Tigres*, and *Lions*, & the like, which Noblemen wear in their *Coats of Arms*, were perhaps first in Memory of their Exploits against those fierce *Animals*. And no doubt, in the Age and Place

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²²² The answer to the implied question is extracted from Bochart's *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 7, col. 220).

²²³ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 12, col. 226–30). Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 1.126) characterizes the decline of the “Brazen Age” and its people as being “of sterner disposition, and more ready to fly to arms, savage [but not yet impious].” The Hebrew infinitive “marad” suggests “to rebel, revolt” [Strong's # 4774]. According to Diodorus Siculus (2.6.5–10; 2.7.1–11), legendary Queen Semiramis (Sammu-ramat), wife of King Ninos (Shamshi-Adad V) of Nineveh (824–811 BCE), overthrew Bactria and Babylonia (805 BCE), and subsequently established the city Babylonia (KP, OCD). Thus Ninus is here associated with the biblical Nimrod (Gen. 10:8–9), “the mighty hunter before the Lord.” Diodorus Siculus details Semiramis's conquest of Babylon and her massive construction projects (2.1.4–2.8.7ff).

where *Nimrod* lived, such a famous *Hunter* as he, must lay Mankind under more than ordinary Obligations.²²⁴

3213.

Q. Who was the true Builder of *Babylon*?

A. A thousand Authors ascribe the Glory of Building that City, to *Semiramis*. But *Herodotus*, who wrote before any of them, allows nothing to her, but the Making of those *Banks*, which regulated the Restagnations of *Euphrates*. And *Berosus*, in *Josephus*, cries Shame upon the Greek Writers, for their Fiction of *Semiramis*. But *Curtius* ingenuously confesses, That many rather owned *Belus*, for the Builder of *Babylon*. And *Dorotheus Sidonius*, a very old Poet, is quoted by *Julius Firmicus*, as good Authority for this; which *Abydenus* also is by *Eusebius*.²²⁵ Such Writers as *Ammianus* and *Orosius*, have gone to compound this Matter between *Belus* and *Semiramis*. But there is no need of any Pains about it; for the whole Weight of *Semiramis*'s Credit in the thing, lies upon the single Testimony of *Ctesias*; which is liable to no little Suspicion; at least, it ought to weigh noth-

²²⁴ Bochart (227); Gen. 10:9; Diodorus Siculus (2.1.4–5). Hunting has been esteemed “rudimentary and [a] prelude to military service.” The adaptation from Xenophon (*Cyropedia* 1.2.10, lines 4–5) suggests, “This seems to be the truest way to think about matters of warfare.” In his *De natura deorum* (2.64.161), Marcus Tullius Cicero recommends, “we should exercise ourselves in the hunt as in a kind of warlike discipline.” Philo Judaeus says much the same in Mather’s free translation from *De Josepho* (1.3); Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus, aka. Pliny the Younger (c. 61–c. 112 CE), nephew of his famous namesake, chimes in with, “these were the skills which formed the leaders of the future – to pit speed against an animal’s swift-footedness, and strength and dexterity against its courage and cunning” (*Panegyricus* 81.2). Finally, the grammarians associate Nimrod, the mythological founder of the Assyrian empire, with “‘Bellum’ [war] from ‘belluae’ [beasts], because the first wars were among the beasts” (Bochart 228).

²²⁵ The entire paragraph is extracted from Bochart’s *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 14, col. 232–34). Among the many authors who credit Queen Semiramis with the building of Babylon, Bochart mentions Ctesias, Theocritus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Dionysius Periegetes, Trogus, Mela, Ovid, Hyginus, Cephalaeon, Solinus, Cassiodorus, and Lucius Ampelius. Herodotus (1.184–87) relates that Queen Semiramis built embankments on the plain to regulate the flow of the Euphrates, but her successor, Queen Nitocris, carried out most of Babylon’s improvements. Nitocris dug canals north of the city, slowed down the flow of the water by building artificial lakes, cut stones for the city’s river banks, and built a bridge across the Euphrates to connect the two sections of Babylon. The Chaldean historian Berosus (*Babyloniaca*, lib. 3) rejects the Assyrian Semiramis as the founder of the city and bestows the honor instead on “Nabollassar” (Nabopolassar) and his son “Nabuchodonosor” (Josephus Flavius, *Against Apion* 1.19–20). However, Quintus Curtius Rufus (5.1.24) argues that “Semiramis had founded it,” but most historians attribute the city’s founding to the Babylonian god Belus. Ammianus Marcellinus (23.6.23) has Queen Semiramis build the city, Belus the citadel. The Greek poet-astrologer Dorotheus Sidonius (1st–2nd c. CE) also credits the god Belus (Baal) with the founding of Babylon, in a fragment (*Fragmenta e Hephaestionis*, 2a, sec. 5, line 2) quoted in *Mathesis*, an astrological treatise by the Greek writer Julius Firmicus Maternus of Syracuse (fl. 330–50 CE). The Chaldean historian Abydenus, whose *Assyriaca kai Babyloniaca* survives in fragments in Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.41), relates the ancient legend that the plain of Babylon was filled with water, but that the god Belus stopped the waters, assigned a region for both water and land, and surrounded Babylon with a wall (9.41.457b–c).

ing against *Berosus*, who was a very great Man, & a Priest of *Babylon*, or against *Abydenus*, who fetch'd his History from the best Chaldæan Monuments of Antiquity. Now *Belus* was the very same with our *Nimrod*; He that was first, a *Nimrod*, or a *Rebel*; now became, a *Belus*, or a *Lord*; (you know the Etymology:) the *Chaldees* counting it more honourable to retain the latter Name, with the Obliteration of the Former.²²⁶

Nebuchadnezzars Building of this *Great Babylon*, whereof he made his Boast, was but his *New-walling*, and *Enlarging* of it, or doing something for it, like what *Augustus* did for the City of *Rome*, when, he boasted, *Marmoream reliqui*.²²⁷

3214.

Q. And what is now become of *Babylon*?

A. *Babylon* could not imagine, that she should be any other than an *Eternal City*. [Isa. 49.9, 10.] But God hath wonderfully accomplished the Destruction, which He foretold unto *Babylon*, by His Holy Prophets. [Isa. 13.19. and Chap. 44. and 47. and Jer. 50. and 51.] And of that vast City, there is now nothing to be seen, but Rubbish and Ruines. *Eustathius* reports, it, ἐρημωθῆναι, *To be Desolate*. *Benjamin* reports, That in that particular Place, where stood the Palace of *Nebuchadnezzar*, Men are afraid of entring, because of the horrid *Serpents* and *Scorpions* that are lodged there. *Teixeira* reports, That but few footsteps of it appear, *nec in totâ regione locus ullus est minus frequens*. One thing that mightily contributed unto the Exhausting of *Babylon*, was the Neighbourhood of *Seleucia*, within Three hundred furlongs of it, as is noted by *Pliny* and *Strabo*.²²⁸

²²⁶ Ammianus Marcellinus (23.6.23) has Semiramis build Babylon's walls with bitumen, and old King Belus the citadel. Paulus Orosius (*Historiarum libri septem* 2.6) relates that Nimrod founded Babylon, but that King Ninus, or his wife Queen Semiramis, rebuilt and expanded it [PL 31. 758B–759A]. Ctesias Cnidus (late 5th c. BCE), Greek physician at Artaxerxes's court, authored *Persika* (23 bks.), a history consisting of oral traditions and largely unreliable and untrustworthy legends; Ctesias relates the building of Babylon by Semiramis and Ninus, in an extant fragment (*Fragmenta* F 3c, 688, F, fragm. 1b, lines 77–663). The Egyptian priest and scholar Berosus (fl. 290 BCE) is considered more reliable than Ctesias because Berosus's kings lists have been confirmed by other sources.

²²⁷ In a fragment extant in Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 10.11.1), Berosus (*Fragmenta* 14b, lines 31–33) relates that "Nabuchodonosor" rebuilt the old city of Babylon, constructed magnificent public buildings, and fortified the inner and outer city with three walls, each of burnt brick. According to Dan. 4:30, Nebuchadnezzar boasted about his grand city, but God punished his hubris with a seven-year period of insanity. Likewise, Augustus Caesar, first Roman emperor (63 BCE–14 CE), surrounded his capital city with a great wall and is to have boasted "*Lateritiam inveni, marmoream reliqui*": "I found it brick, but I left it marble." This phrase, used prominently in Matthew Henry's *An Exposition of All the Books of the OT and NT* (Dan. 4:30) is probably adapted from Suetonius's *Vita Divi Augusti* (cap. 28.5).

²²⁸ This and the subsequent paragraph are extracted from Bochart's *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 15, col. 234–35). Eustathius Thessalonicensis describes the desolation of Babylon in his *Commentarium in Dionysii* (988.31–33); Benjamin of Tudela relates his eyewitness account

As the Poet sings of *Megalopolis*,
 Ἐρημία μεγάλη ἐστὶν ἡ Μεγαλήπολις.
Est magna Solitudo nunc Megalopolis;

The Ancients observe, That the same is to be said of *Babylon*. And *Pausanias* among others laments, That the greatest City, that ever the Sun saw, hath now nothing left, but something of its Walls. In *Jeroms* Time, t'was come to this; (as he affirms,) *Venationes Regis esse in Babylone, et omnis generis Bestias murorum ejus tantum ambitu coerceri*. And, *Exceptis muris coctilibus, qui propter Bestias concludendas post annos plurimos instaurantur, omne in media spatium solitudo est*.²²⁹

3215.

Q. Another of the Cities, built by *Nimrod*, was *Erech*?

A. *Erech* is not the same with *Edessa*, as was thought by the Ancients; but it was a City of *Susiana*, upon *Tigris*, which is in *Ptolomy* called, *Arecca*, and in *Ammian* called, *Arecha*; whence, according to *Salmasius*, the *Areccæi Campi*, in *Tibullus*; and perhaps, t'was the same with *Arderica*, or *Anderica*, in *Herodotus*. From hence was brought the Colony of *Archevites*, unto *Samaria*. [Ezr. 4.9.]²³⁰

3216.

Q. Another of the Cities, was *Acchad*?

in *Itinerarium* (134) and *Itinerary* (65–66); Peter Teixeira gives his report in his *Travels* (ch. 5, p. 57), but Mather's second-hand quotation is from Bochart's Latin translation (col. 234) of Teixeira's Spanish original *Relaciones de Pedro Teixeira* (1610), ch. 5. Teixeira relates, "but this place in the whole region is hardly ever visited by anyone." Although there are thirteen cities by the name Seleucia (Syria), Mather probably refers to Seleucia (Veh-Ardrashir), on the left bank of the Tigris (NW of Babylon), founded by Seleucus I, who turned it into his royal capital (c. 305 BCE). (*OCD*). Pliny (6.30.122); Strabo (16.1.5).

²²⁹ Bochart (235). The Greek passage, which Strabo (8.8.1; 16.1.5) quotes from an anonymous Greek comic poet, whom Eustathius Thessalonicensis calls "Komikos" (*Commentarii ad Homerī Iliadem*, 1:468, line 9), appears in *Comica Adespota* (*Fragmenta incertorum poetarum*, fragm. 211, line 1) and elsewhere. This comic poet bewails Babylon's demise: "Now this great city is a vast wilderness." Pausanias (8.33.3) laments Babylon's utter loss, and St. Jerome affirms (*Commentaria in Isaiam*, on Isa. 13:30–33) [PL 24. 159C] that "the hunting-parks of the king are in Babylon, and that beasts of every kind are confined only by the circuit of its walls." Jerome adds in the same commentary (Isa. 14:22, 23) [PL 24. 164B] that "except for the brick walls, which are restored after many years in order to contain the wild animals, all the space in the middle of it is wilderness."

²³⁰ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 16, col. 235–37). The Armenian city Edessia (modern Urfa or Orfa) is an ancient Mesopotamian settlement (c. 80 miles SW of Diarbekir), which the Targums (on Gen. 10:10) identify with Erech, even with the "Ur of the Chaldees" (Gen. 11:28). Ptolemy (*Geographia* 6.3.4, line 5); Ammianus Marcellinus (23.6.26) has "Aracha"; Claudius Salmasius (*Pliniana exercitationes* [1629 ed.] 1:1194, and [1689 ed.], tomus 1, cap. 54, p. 840 b, F-G) and Albius Tibullus (*Elegiae* 3.141) have "Araccæis"; Herodotus (1.185.10–16; 6.119.9); variant spellings are frequently the result of transliterating names from one language into another.

A. The Greeks call it Ἀρχὰδ, in Conformity to the Chaldee; who, when *Dagesh* requires a Letter to be doubled, | resolve the *Dagesh*, into an R. As for *Dammeseke*, [270v] they have *Darmeseke*. Of the Name *Accad*, and *Arcad*, we have some Footstep, in *Argad*, a River of *Sittacene*, mentioned by *Ctesias*; which *River* doubtless had its Name, from a *City* of that Name, as it was usual, and as *Duris* in *Stephanus* particularly Notes, concerning the Rivers of *Sicily*. *Sitace* we find a *City* very populous, (according to *Strabo*) as one goes, between *Babylon* and *Susa*.²³¹

3217.

Q. Another was *Calne*?

A. Elsewhere tis written, (Isa. 10.9.) *Calno*; and, (Ezek. 27.23.) *Channe*. It is represented by the Prophet *Amos*, (ch. 6.2.) as a *Great City*. *Ezekiel* mentions it as a *City* lying towards *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, but using a Trade with *Tyrus*. *Bochart* agrees with the Chaldee Interpreters, and *Eusebius*, and *Jerom*, that *Calne*, is the same with *Ctesiphon*, a famous Town upon *Tigris*, where (according to *Strabo*.) the Kings of *Parthia*, still chose to winter; and (according to *Dion*, and *Pliny*.) the Palace of *Parthia* was there. The People of *Chalonitis* here, are celebrated in the Writings of *Dionysius Periegetes*, and others of the Ancients.²³²

3218.

Q. But how comes this Passage in; *Out of that Land went out Assur*?

A. *Bochart* thinks, that *Assur* here, is not the Name of a *Man*, but the Name of a *Place*; and by Arguments that seem to carry Demonstration with them, he maintains, that it should be read, *He went out of that Land, into Assur*; or, *Assyria*.

Of that Land, we have already given some Account. *Bochart* thinks, That the *Happiness* of the Land might give Name to it; For /אשור/ signifies, *Happy*. Compare, 2. King. 18.32.²³³

²³¹ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 17, col. 237–38). The Chaldean letter “dagesh” corresponds to the Hebrew ד “daleth” (d) whose similarity to ר “resh” (r) is the cause of frequent misreading. Aelianus (*De natura animalium* 16.42.5–7) cites Ctesias Cnidius (*Fragmenta* F 3c, 688, F fragm. 35, line 2), who mentions the Persian “Argades” (which Mather erroneously spells “Angad” – here silently corrected), near the town Sittace on the Tigris in the province of N Babylonia. For “*Duris*” (Douris) and “*Sitace*” (Psittake), see Stephanus Byzantius (62.10–14; 702.18). Strabo (15.3.12).

²³² Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 18, col. 238–40); for “Calneh” (Gen. 10:10), see Eusebius (*Onomasticon*, p. 170, lines 19–20); St. Jerome on Gen. 10:8, 10 (*Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, pp. 40–41) and on Amos 6:2 (*Commentaria in Amos*, lib. 3) [PL 25. 1059A]; the Assyrian Ctesiphon on the Tigris (to the E of Babylon) is the modern Elmodain. Strabo (16.1.16); Cassius Dio (*Historiae Romanae* 40.14.1, *Dio’s Roman History* 3:425); Pliny (6.30.122); Dionysius Periegetes (*Orbis descriptio* 1014–15) and others such as Ammianus Marcellinus (23.6.23) and Eustathius Thessalonicensis (*Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* 1:153, lines 4–7) celebrate the massive walls and towers of Chalonitis (Chalone, Chalane, Calneh).

²³³ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 19, col. 240–47). The Hebrew word אשור (Ash-

But here I will take Leave to transcribe a Passage from the Travels of Sir John Chardin, which is This.

“*Assyria*, is a Part of the Upper *Armenia*. The *Persians* affirm, that this Place was called *Azer-beyàn*, that is, *The Countrey of Fire*; by reason of the famous Temple of *Fire*, which was there erected, where was kept their *Fire*, which the *Fire-Worshippers* held to be a God. The *Guebres*, who are all that are left of the *Fire-Worshippers*, shew this Place, about two dayes Journey distant from *Shamaki*. —

“— *Az*, is the Article of the Genitive, *Er*, or *Ur*, in most of the Oriental Idioms, signifies *Fire*. I am apt to think, the Name of *Assur* comes from *Az*, *Ur*, that is, *Of Fire*. *Moses* speaking of *Nimrod*, that Idolatrous Prince, who introduced the Worship of *Fire*, & invaded *Chaldaea*, the Share & Patrimony of *Sem*, tells us, that the Sons of that Patriarch, retired thither, & that *Assur* was one. Now tis very probable, that this *Assur* was so called from his retiring thither, or from the Worship of *Fire*, or from, *Chaldaea*, which was then called, *The Countrey of Fire*. [Gen. 11.] And *Ptolomy* mentions a City in that Countrey, which is called, *Urcoa*, that is to say, *The Place of Fire*.”²³⁴

3219.

Q. What find we of the City *Ninive*?

A. Altho’ the Græcian and Roman Writers do generally call that City, *Ninus*; yett the Name of *Ninive* also was not unknown unto the Ancients; *Ptolomy*, and *Ammianus*, particularly mention it. Some think, it ha’s been called so, q. /נין-נאב/ Nin-nave, The Habitation of *Ninus*. An Illustrious Exemplification of that Vanity; Psal. 49.11. *They call their Lands after their Names*. *Ninus* was the Son of *Nimrod*, as *Enoch* was of *Cain*; and so we have a parallel Exemple; Gen. 4.17.²³⁵

Indeed, all *Assyria*, was called, [Mic. 5.6.] *The Land of Nimrod*; probably, by *Nimrod* himself. But the Ancient Inhabitants would rather keep up the Name of their own Father, & so would have it still called, *The Land of Assyria*.

This Renowned City is now so lost, that *Lucian* affirms, there is οὐδὲν ἔχον ἐτι λοιπὸν αὐτῆς *no Footstep left of it, neither can any Man living tell where it was*.

shuwr) [Strong’s # 804] is here linked with אַשּׁוּר (aw-share) [Strong’s # 033] “to prosper, to be happy.

²³⁴ Mather briefly discontinues his excerpt from Bochart and here cites two paragraphs from Sir John Chardin (1643–1713), French Protestant traveler, knighted by Charles II, and representative of the English East India Company. His famous *Travels of Sir John Chardin into Persia* (1686), from which Mather cites two paragraphs (349–50), was celebrated for its cultural insights and entertaining descriptions. For “*Urcoa*” or Ορχόη (Orkoe, Orchoe) in Babylonia, see Ptolemy (*Geographia* 5.20.7, line 8).

²³⁵ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 20, col. 247–55). Ptolemy (*Geographia* 8.21.3); Ammianus Marcellinus (18.7.1). Ps. 49:11 (silently emended from Mather’s erroneous Ps. 49:12).

The Desultory Levity of the Ancients, in directing us to the Place of it, indeed is to be wondred at. Yea, such Writers as *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, do with a wonderful Inconstancy contradict themselves, as well as one another.²³⁶

An Astonishing Fulfilment of the Prophecy; Nah. 1.8. *He will make an utter End of the Place thereof*; and, Nah. 3.17. *The Place is not known where they are*. Even the Incomparable *Bochart*, whose exquisite Researches must have discovered some Rubbish of this eminent City, if any Mans could have done it, after he ha's consulted a whole University of Authors about it, concludes, *Proindè puto doctos se fatigare frustrà in loco Ninives præcisè definiendo*.²³⁷

The *Bulk* of the City, is with a little more Certainty described unto us, than the *Place* of it. We read, [Jon. 3.3.] *Ninive was an exceeding Great City, of Three Dayes Journey*. That Word, /לֵאלֹהִים/ or, *To God*, which we well render, *Exceeding Great*, I don't know whether it may not be a Phrase of this Importance, *It was, God knows, a Great City*; q.d. It was most certainly so. The Dimensions of, *Three Dayes Journey*, assigned unto the City, do not refer unto the *Length* of it, but, as *Aben-Ezra*, and *Jerom*, and *Cyrl*, have interpreted it, unto the *Circuit*, & *Compass* of it: tho' *Theodore*t intimates, as if some understood it, of the Time requisite for the Prophets preaching thro' all the several Streets of the City.²³⁸ *Strabo*, who makes the Compass of *Babylon*, to be *Three hundred & Eighty five furlongs* affirms *Niniveh* to have been, πολὺν | μείζων τῆς Βαβυλῶνος, *Much larger than Babylon*. [271r] *Diodorus* reports, That the Purpose of the Builder was, to make it, not only the *Biggest City*, which then was in the World, but also the *Biggest City*, that ever should be in the World. Whereupon, he adds, That accordingly there never had yett been the like; and according to him, it was in length One hundred & fifty furlongs, in breadth Ninety; and the Compass of the Walls, was Four hundred & eighty furlongs, the Heighth whereof was One hundred foot, & the Breadth such as three Chariots might ride abreast; and the Towers upon the Walls, were fifteen Hundred; the Altitude of every one of them, two Hundred foot. *Cyrl* calls them, ἀρρηκτα τειχη. *Inexpugnable Walls*. And according to *Eustathius*, In building the City, there laboured for Eight Years together One hundred & forty Myriads of Men. So then, the City being *Sixty Miles* in Compass, at the rate of

²³⁶ Bochart (248); Mather shortens the second-hand Greek citation from Lucianus (*Charon sive contemplantes* 23.13–14; *Works* 2:443), which here translates, “there is not a trace left of it now.” Diodorus Siculus (2.3.2) erroneously locates Nineveh on the Euphrates, instead of “the east bank of the Tigris,” as Herodotus (1.193) does.

²³⁷ Bochart (248) summarizes the frustration of the learned: “Hence I think that the learned tire themselves pointlessly in trying to define the exact location of Nineveh.”

²³⁸ Bochart (248–49). The Hebrew phrase “l-elohiyim” suggests literally “a great city to God,” a magnification of a thing attained when juxtaposed with the name of God. Ibn Ezra's commentary on Jonah (3:3) suggests that “a walk of three days” can refer both to the circumference and to the diameter of the city (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Twelve Prophets* 1:190, 262). St. Jerome (*Commentari in Jonam: 4:11*) [PL 25. 1150C]; Cyrillus Alexandrinus (*Commentarius in xii prophetas minores* 1:586, lines 24–27); Theodoretus (*Interpretio in xii prophetas minores*) [PG 81. 1733, lines 23–27].

Twenty Miles a day, it was Three Dayes Journey. Not only the old Lawyers, but both Jewes and Greeks, define a *Dayes Journey* to be *Twenty Miles*; which by the Romans was called, *Mansio*, but even /מַסָּה/ by the Jewes, and σταθμός, by the Greeks; and it was the same with five *Parasangæ*.²³⁹

It need not then be wondred at, that there should be computed in the City, *Six-score thousand Persons that could not discern between the Right Hand and the Left*; suppose, Infants under two Years old. These usually make the *Fifth Part* of a City; And according to this Computation, there were about Six Hundred Thousand Inhabitants. In *Plinyes* Time, the Inhabitants of *Seleucia* made that Number. But an old Inscription, remembred by *Tacitus* in his *Annals*, asserts, That once at *Thebes* in *Egypt*, there were *Seven hundred Thousand* Inhabitants *atate militari*, of Age to bear Arms. No doubt *Rome* had as many, when it numbred, *Four hundred & twenty eight thousand, three hundred & forty two* Citizens; for doubtless the *Servants* and *Strangers* together, made as many as the *Citizens*. Yea, *Sybaris* a City of *Lucania*, (afterwards called *Thurium*) could bring out *Three hundred Thousand* armed Men, against the *Crotoniates*, as tis related by *Strabo*, and by *Diodorus*, none of the vainest Writers; who also tell us of Cities in *Libya*, that had *Seven hundred Thousand* Men in them! In *Jerusalem*, according to *Josephus*, there perished above *Eleven hundred thousand* People, at the Siege of it; but then we must remember, that a World of Strangers, were then come thither to the *Passeover*. *Austin* saies, That *Thirty Hundred Thousand* were sometimes then assembled at that City. And the Number of the *Paschal Lambs*, once taken under *Cestius*, confirms that Account. As to *Ninive*, probably the fame of it, might bring many Strangers to sojourn in it, and the Policy of *Ninus*, in granting the *Jus Civitatis* to them, added yett more unto its Populosity. [Consider, Nah. 3.15.] It was said, Nah. 2.8. *Ninive is like a Pool of Water*. It was very literally so, when (as we are informed by *Cyril*.) the Inhabitants dug mighty Ditches about it, & brought Rivers into those Ditches, a little before the Destruction of the City, that they might effectually keep off the Besiegers.²⁴⁰

²³⁹ Strabo (16.1.3, 5); Diodorus Siculus (2.3.1); Cyrillus Alexandrinus, on Nahum 2 (*Commentarius in xii prophetas minores* 2:47, lines 9–11). The Greek adaptation from Cyrillus Alexandrinus, on Nahum 3 (*Commentarius in xii prophetas minores* 2:60, line 23) reads in the original ἀπὸ ἡμέρας τριῶν. Eustathius Thessalonicensis (*Commentarium in Dionsysii periegetae*, sec. 1005). “*Mansio*” signifies “a day’s journey.” Likewise מַסָּה [mas-sah] signifies a “journey,” a “day’s march” or a “departure (from striking the tents)” [Strong’s # 4550]. And “stathmos” suggests “a day’s journey” of about 5 parasang (c. 15 miles).

²⁴⁰ Bochart (249–50). Jonah 4:11; Pliny (6.30.122) relates that Seleucia on the Tigris (NE of Babylon) was a vast, fortified city with 600,000 inhabitants, but Tacitus (*Annales* 2.60) points to the Egyptian Thebes with more than 700,000 “of military age.” Livy (9.19.1–2) puts Rome’s population at 250,000, in 319 BCE. At the height of its prosperity and power, Sybaris, the famous Lucanian city located at the mouth of the Sybaris River on the Bay of Tarentum (S. Italy), could command an army of more than 300,000 men from 25 neighboring towns under its control. Sybaris was razed (c. 510–508 BCE) when it was taken by the armies of Croton, a neighboring city with which Sybaris vied for supremacy. It was refounded with the help

Eusebius and *Herodotus*, make *Ninive* destroy'd by *Cyaxares*; but *Jerom*, & all the *Hebrew Writers*, by *Nebuchadnezzar*. *Drusius* proves out of the *Apocryphal Tobit*, that both of them are in the right; & that both Princes did it, with their united Forces.²⁴¹

Ninive being thus destroy'd by the *Medes* and *Chaldees*, long lay desolate. It is very quæstionable, whether the Restored *Ninive*, in the *Dayes of Ammian*, stood where the old had stood. And even this also was exhausted and emptied, by the *Vicinity of Mosal*, (as *Benjamin* tells us) on the other side of the *River*.²⁴²

3220.

Q. Lett us pass from *Ninive*, to *Rehoboth*, and *Calach*, and *Rhesen*?

A. They are all buried in the like Ruines with *Ninive*; we have little besides Conjectures to go upon.

Rehoboth notes (not the *Streets* of *Ninive*, as tis by some understood, tho' not without supposing an odd *Pleonasm* therein,) but a Town of that Name. Accordingly we do find a Town of that Name, upon *Euphrates*, [Gen. 36.37.] which is by the *Arabians* at this day called, *Rahabath-Melic*, that is to say, *Rehoboth-Regis*. It stands, according to the *Nubian Geographer*, a little below *Cercusium*, and the Mouth of the *River Chabor*. However, this could not well be the *Rehoboth* of *Nimrod*. But since the eminent *Streets*, from whence the Name

of Athens (c. 443 BCE) and renamed Thurium. Strabo (6.1.13) and Diodorus Siculus (12.9.5). Moreover, Strabo (17.3.15) mentions such populous cities in Libya during the third Punic War. According to Josephus Flavius (*Wars* 6.9.3), more than 1,100,000 Jews perished when Jerusalem fell during the Roman siege under Titus (69 CE). St. Augustine (*Sermones de tempore CCIV*) [PL 38. 1037–1039] mentions 1,300,000 – a figure corroborated in William Whiston's annotation on Josephus (*Wars* 6.9.3, note). In the same account, Josephus mentions Gaius Cestius Gallus, Roman legate of Syria (c. 63–67 CE), who estimated the number of Jews assembled in Jerusalem at more than two million, based on the number of 256,500 animals sacrificed for a Passover celebration (66 CE). Diodorus Siculus (2.3.1–4), citing Ctesias Cnidus's history *Persika*, relates that Ninus, the purported founder of Nineveh, granted the "Civil Law" to the city's subjects. Finally, Cyrillus Alexandrinus's commentary on Nahum, ch. 3 (*Commentarius in xii prophetas minores* 2:61, lines 14–20) describes how the Ninevites built canals to regulate the flow of the rivers.

²⁴¹ Bochart (254); Johannes Drusius (1550–1616), eminent Flemish Orientalist at Leiden and Franeker, in his commentary on Nahum, ch. 1, in *Veterum interpretum Graecorum* (1622), cites Eusebius Pamphilus, Herodotus (1.73, 103, 106–07), St. Jerome's *Commentaria in Naum* (on Nah. 2:11) [PL 25. 1251C], and the Hebrew chronicle *Seder Olam Rabbah* to debate the author of Nineveh's destruction. Drusius argues that Cyaxares, third king of Media (625–585 BCE), son of Phraortes, is the same as the biblical Nebuchadnezzar, who is to have destroyed Nineveh in c. 606 BCE (Tob. 14:15). The confusion arises primarily because Xenophon (*Cyropedia* 1.5.2) identifies Cyaraxes (Cyaxares), son of Phraortes and father of Astyages, with Darius the Mede (son of Astyages). In his commentary on Nahum (ch. 1), Matthew Poole (*Synopsis Criticorum* 3:1959) summarizes the debate skillfully.

²⁴² Ammianus Marcellinus (c. 330–95 CE) describes the remains of Nineveh in his *Historia* (18.7.1 23.6.22), as does the 12th-century Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela in his *Itinerarium* (109) and *Itinerary* (52–53).

of *Rehoboth* came to be putt upon the Town, are in the Chaldee called *בְּרִיָּהָ* / *Bochart* suspects, that *Rehoboth* might be the same with *Birtha*, a Town which *Ptolomy* places, west of *Tigris*, above the Mouth of the River *Lycus*; and which is called *Virta* in *Ammianus*.²⁴³

[272v] *Calach* was the Head of the Countrey *Calachene*, diverse times mentioned | by *Strabo*, near the Fountains of the River *Lycus*. In *Ptolomy* tis called *Calacine*, the People whereof are called *Classitæ*, by *Pliny*. When we read, that the King of *Assyria*, placed the Captive-Israelites, in *Calach*, [2. King. 17.6. and 18.11.] the Names being written with *Cheth*, and not with *Caph*, (which are often putt one for t'other) does not hinder its being this *Calachene*.²⁴⁴

Rhesen, cannot be either the *Ῥίσηνα* between *Edessa*, and Mount *Masius*, nor the *Ῥαισηνα* between the Rivers *Chabor* and *Saocora*; nor the *Resaina*, where the Emperour *Gordian* was buried. The Place of *Rhesen* we find so determined, that we can find nothing to answer it, but the *Ἀράρισσα* of *Xenophon*, a Deserted City, upon the River *Pigrete*, or *Tigris*. The Walls of that City, he saies, were twenty five foot broad, and an hundred foot high, and Eight Miles in Compass. But *Cyrus*, the King of *Persia* sack'd it. *Xenophon* might change the Name of *Rhesen* into *Laryssa*, to accommodate his own Greek Tongue, from the Occasion of a Likeness between the Names; for the Greeks had several Towns of that Name; And yett it is not likely, that there could be any Town of a Greek Name in *Assyria*, before the Dayes of *Alexander*. Nor is it unlikely, that the Greeks asking, *Whose Ruines those were*, the *Assyrians* might answer, *לֶרֶסֶן* / *Leresen*, and *Lamed* be no more than a Note of the *Genitive Case*.²⁴⁵

243 Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 21, col. 255–56). In the Targum Onkelos and the *Versio Arabica* (Gen. 36:37), Rehoboth (whose Hebrew root signifies “wide streets”) is called, respectively, “*Rooboth*” and “*Rahabat*,” in Brian Walton (1:161). For “*Cercustum*” and “*Chabor*,” see Ammianus Marcellinus (*Historia* 23.5.1, 4) and Ptolemy (*Geographia* 5.18.3, line 3; 5.18.6, line 3; 6.1.1, line 10). The OT identifies three several settlements by the name Rehoboth: the place where Isaac dug a well (Gen. 26:22); Rehoboth-on-the-River, the home of Shaul (Gen. 36:37; 1 Chron. 1:48); and Rehoboth-Ir (Gen. 10:11), which is probably no other than Nineveh in N Mesopotamia. Mather here refers to the one of the four cities built in Asshur by Nimrod (Gen. 10:11–12). The “Nubian Geographer” Idrisi lists Rehoboth, in his *Geographia Nubiensis* (climatis 3, pars 5, p. 119). Bochart (256) points to the city of “*Birtha*,” in Ptolemy (*Geographia* 5.18.9, line 8; 5.19.3, line 4), and “*Virta*,” in Ammianus Marcellinus (*Historia* 20.7.17).

244 Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 22, col. 256–67). Strabo (11.14.7, 12; 16.1.1); Ptolemy (*Geographia* 6.1.2, line 11); Pliny (6.3.8–10; 6.30.118). Mather here distinguishes between Calah *כֶּלַח* [kelach] (Gen. 10:11, 12) and Halah *חֶלַח* [chalach] (2 Kings 17:6; 18:11) – the former starting with the letter caph כ, the latter with a cheth ח.

245 Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 23, col. 257–58). For “*Rhisina*” and “*Rhaisena*” Bochart draws on Stephanus Byzantius (544.7–9). Ammianus Marcellinus (*Historia* 23.5.17) mentions Gordian III, Roman Emperor Marcus Antonius Gordianus, who defeated the Persian King Sapor, near the town Resaena (Rhaesena), in Mesopotamia (c. 243 BCE), but is to have been assassinated shortly thereafter by Praetor Julius Philippus (244 BCE), and entombed in Resaena. Xenophon (*Anabasis* 3.4.6, line 1–3.4.8, line 3) describes the Assyrian city “*Larissa*” on the Tigris (associated with Calah, in Gen. 10:11–12), its walls and dimensions, and its sacking by the Persian king.

3221.

Q. And what shall we now say to *Misrajim*, the Second Son of *Cham*?

A. My *Bochart*, from the Dual Form of the Name, will scarce allow *Misrajim* to be the Name of a single Man; but rather to mean; The Father of the People that Inhabit the Land of *Misrajim*, namely *Egypt*; the Metropolis of which, namely, *Alcairo*, the *Arabians* at this day call *Meser*; as among the *Egyptians* themselves also, the old Name of their First Month was *Mesori*.²⁴⁶

The Name of *Misrajim*, the Contraction of *Mesorajim*, is in the Singular Number, *Masor*. [See 2. King. 19.24. and Isa. 19.6. and Mic. 7.12.]²⁴⁷

Masor is as much as to say, *A Fortified Place*. *Egypt* is naturally so. *Diodorus* describing how well defended it is on every Side, concludes, Ἀγυπτὸς πανταχόθεν φυσικῶς ἀχόρωται. And elsewhere, he shewes, how tis on every Side *Inaccessible*. And *Strabo* tells us, of its, Τὸ δυσείσβολον τοῖς ἐξωθεν, *Exteris non obviis ingressus*. But *Egypt* might also have its Name of *Masor*, from its *Narrowness*, which that Name also signifies. It is a Countrey of *Small Breadth*, but of a very *Great Length*. Hence the *Egyptians* are called, (Isa. 18.2.) *An extended Nation*.²⁴⁸

Misrajim is of the Dual Number, because there is a *Double Ethiopia*, an Upper and a Lower. [See Tobit. 8.3.] In the Upper, *Nilus* runs in one Channel, in the Lower, tis divided into several.

The *Upper* contained *Thebais*, and *Heptanomus*. *Thebais* is in the Bible called *Pathros*.²⁴⁹

The *Lower* was called by the Greeks, *Delta*, for the Figure of it. But how the *Egyptians* and *Hebrewes* called it, no one ha's observ'd, until *Bochart* ha's helped us. *Ptolomyes* Tables, will show you, the City *Athribis*, in the very Middle of the *Delta*. And the Author of the *Magnum Etymologicum* will teach us, That *Athribis* is as much as to say, *The Heart of a Pear*. Now for a *Pear*, which was the Figure of this Countrey, *Rahab* is the Hebrew Name; which is the same with *Rib*. Accordingly in *Leo Africanus*, this Part of *Egypt* is called *Errif*, which is /אֶרֶץ־רִיב/ And so tis *Rahab*, in the Scripture. [Psal. 87.4. Psal. 89.11. and Isa. 51.9.] Yea, That Passage, Job. 26.12. *He divideth the Sea with His Power, and by His Understand-*

²⁴⁶ This and the subsequent paragraphs are extracted from *Bochart's Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 24, col. 258–62).

²⁴⁷ The Hebrew term מִצָּרִי [Matsowr], which the KJV (Isa. 19:6) renders “defence,” is an old name for Egypt [Strong's # 4693], as suggested by R. David Kimchi (Radak), in his commentary on Isaiah (19:6), in *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Isaiah* (2:156).

²⁴⁸ *Bochart* (260). *Diodorus Siculus* (1.31.6) admires “Egypt [which] is fortified on all sides by nature.” *Strabo* (17.1.53) mentions “the difficulty of invasion.” *Mather* erroneously spells δυσείσβολον, although the word is properly spelled in *Bochart*; the misspelling is silently corrected.

²⁴⁹ *Mather* (via *Bochart*) draws on *Julius Aethicus Ister's* description of Asia, in *Cosmographia* (5th–6th c. CE) and on *Paulus Orosius* (*Historiarum* 1.2). “*Pathros*,” the Hebrew name for “Thebais” (Isa. 11:11; Jer. 44:1, 15; Ezek. 29:14, 30:14), is the land of the Pathrusim, located in Upper (i.e. Southern) Egypt. “*Heptanomus*,” signifying “seven names” is a Roman administrative district in Upper Egypt that includes seven regions (*KP*).

ing He smiteth thro' Rahab; R. Solomon will have it understood, of the Egyptians being smitten by the Hand of God, when the Israelites came out of Egypt.²⁵⁰

Sesoosis or Sesostrys, divided Egypt into Thirty Six Provinces; every one of which had its own peculiar *Præfect*. They are called, *Præfectures*, by Pliny; but the Bible calls them, *Kingdomes*: (Isa. 19.2.) *Kingdome against Kingdome*, is by the LXX (& Cyril, and Epiphanius countenance it,) rendred, νομὸς ἐπὶ νομὸν, *Nomos* against *Nomos*.²⁵¹

3222.

Q. Well, but the Seven Sons of *Misrajim*, are now to be considered. We find *Ludim*, to be the first?²⁵²

A. And here we find the true *Ethiopians*. That Part of *Africa*, where *Nilus* is most *Crooked* and *Winding*, (which is the very Signification of their Name,) was inhabited by them; which *Turning* of that River to and fro, is described perhaps by none better than by *Eratosthenes*. The *Lydians* (or *Ludim*) are in the Scriptures described still as notable *Archers*; [Isa. 66.19. and Jer. 46.9.] Nothing does more belong to the Description of the *Ethiopians*; as you may be satisfied [273r] from *Strabo* and from *Heliodorus*; | Yea, an ancient Author in *Suidas* makes them shoot exquisitely on Horse-back; And their *Bowes*, according to *Agatharchides*, were of a vast Magnitude; of so vast, that as *Herodotus* tells us, a King of the *Ethiopians* of old sent his *Bowe* as a Present unto *Cambyses* the King of *Persia*, with a Challenge unto the *Persians* to give him Trouble, when they should be able to manage a *Bowe* of those Dimensions. *Xenophon* makes the *Persian* Bowes, to be but *Three Cubits*; *Diodorus* and others make the *Ethiopian* to be no less

250 Bochart (260). Ptolemy (*Geographia* 4.5.51, line 6). The Egyptian grammarian Orion of Thebes (5th c. CE) taught in Alexandria and later in Constantinople (KP). Mather refers to Orion's *Etymologicum magnum* (p. 25, lines 50–53). Leo Africanus (c. 1485–c. 1554) is the famous Spanish Islamic scholar who converted to Christianity while in Rome. Bochart refers to either the Latin (1559) or French (1556) translation of Leo's *Cosmographia dell'Africa*, first printed in Ramusio's Italian edition *Della descrizione dell'Africa et delle cose notabili che ivi sono* (1550), a popular Renaissance geography of Africa. In the greatly corrupted English edition by John Pory, Leo Africanus points out that the Muslim rulers divided Egypt into three regions and that "the region from Cairo to Rosetto is called the shore of Errif," whose inhabitants were more civil than others because of their proximity to the Mediterranean and their contact with European merchants (*Geographical Historie of Africa* [1600], bk. 8, p. 297). R. Solomon Jarchi, now better known by his acronym RASHI (R' Shlomo Yitschaki), argues that the designation "Rahab" (Job. 26:12), which the KJV renders "the proud," is an emblematic name of Egypt, in *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Job* (138).

251 Bochart (261). According to Herodotus (2.102–110) and Diodorus Siculus (1.53.5–6; 1.55.1–5), the mythical Egyptian King Sesoösis or Sesostris (Twelfth Dynasty), conquered significant parts of Africa and Asia. Pliny (5.9.49); the LXX (Isa. 19.2), Cyril Alexandrinus (*Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam*) [PG 70. 456, line 23–25], and Epiphanius (*Panarion* 23, in *Epiphanius* 1:256, lines 17–19) – all render the Greek passage "law against law" (Isa. 19:2).

252 The answer to this question is extracted from Bochart's *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 25–26, col. 262–74). For the seven sons of Misraim, see Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 1.6.2).

than *Four*. Tho' their Arrowes were but *Short*, and Headed with *Stone*, as we are told by *Herodotus* and others; and that *Stone* poison'd also, whence a Wound from it was alwayes mortal, as *Theophrastus* & others have related; and as *Lucian* adds, they carried them, not in *Quivers*, but stuck upon their *Caps*. *Heliodorus* writes, what *Clouds* the *Ethiopians* made with their Numerous *Arrowes*, and how *Exactly* they shott. *Cyril*, (on *Isaiah*,) saies of them, Εὐτεχνήστατα μὲν τὰς βέλων ἀφέσεις ποιεῖσθαι μεμελετήκασι, *Sagittis magna arte mittendis exercitati sunt*. *Solinus* ha's taught us, that the Fable of their having *Four Eyes*, arose from their being such excellent *Marksmen*. And when *Pliny* calls them *Nisicastes*, *Bochart* shewes, that *Pliny* was imposed upon; for their true Name was /מִשְׁכָּתִּים/ *Mesic-Casta*, which signifies, *One who drawes a Bowe*, and is the very Name used by the Prophet *Isaias*.²⁵³

Again, In the Text of *Isaias*, you find *Phul* and *Lud* joined, as not being far asunder. Now *Phul*, is the same with the *Phile* of the Greeks, a City upon the River *Nilus*, an hundred furlongs above *Syene*, in a little Island, whereof tis disputed, whether it belongs to the *Egyptians* or the *Ethiopians*. Tis mention'd by *Strabo*, by *Heliodorus*, by *Diodorus*, by *Seneca*, by *Lucan*, by *Ptolomy*, by *Antoninus*, by *Servius*, by *Procopius*, by *Isacius*, and I know not how many more. And it is called *Philia* by *Aristagoras*. It is a Name, that ha's an *Elephant* in the Signification of it; and *Strabo* affirms it, κατασκευασμένην ὥαωερ καὶ τὴν Ἐλεφαντίνην, καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἴσην. The *Chaldee* ha's the Name in the Plural Number, which agrees well with *Phile*.²⁵⁴

²⁵³ Bochart (cap. 26, col. 265–68). Eratosthenes of Cyrene (c. 276–194 BCE) was head librarian of Ptolemy III Euergetes's famous library of Alexandria. Mather here refers to an excerpt of Eratosthenes's *Geographica*, which survives in Strabo (17.1.2). Among the Ethiopians' weapons are "the bow and arrow and lances," in Strabo (16.4.17), Heliodorus (*Aethiopica* 9.20.6), Suda (*Lexicon*, alphab. letter *sigma*, entry 220, lines 25–26), Agatharchides (*De mari Erythraeo* 19.1–6). According to Herodotus (7.69), the span of the Ethiopian bows was no less than 4 cubits, and the Kings of Ethiopia (Herodotus 3.21.14–19) challenged Cambyses II, king of Persia (530–522 BCE) with the gift of the bow, thus playing Penelope to Leodes and his fellow suitors, in Homer's *Odyssey* (21.68–434). Xenophon (*Anabasis* 4.2.28, line 22); Diodorus Siculus (3.8.4). The short stone-headed arrows of the Ethiopians are described in Herodotus (7.69.2–4), and their poisoned arrows in Theophrastus (*Historia plantarum* 9.15.2) and Cyrillus Alexandrinus (*Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam*, lib. 2) [PG 70. 481, lines 30–34]. Lucianus (*De salutatione* 18.2–4; *Works* 5:231) comments on the unusual place where the Ethiopians kept their arrows. Heliodorus (*Aethiopica* 9.19.3) admires the precision of the Ethiopian archers and their volleys of flying arrows. Cyrillus Alexandrinus (*Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam*, lib. 2) [PG 70. 481, lines 29–31] argues that "they are well trained in the great art of firing arrows." Caius Julius Solinus (*De mirabilibus mundi* 3.31); Pliny (6.35.194) mentions the "Nisicathas" and the "Nisitas," signifying "men with three" or "with four eyes" because of their keen eyesight – designations that (according to Bochart, col. 302–03) were Pliny's misreading of his Syrian or Phoenician sources. The Prophet Isaiah (66:19) mentions the sign of those that "draw the bow" מִשְׁכָּתִּים (mashak qesheth) [Strong's # 7198 and 4900].

²⁵⁴ Bochart (269–70) associates Phul and Lud (Isa. 66:19) with the Greek "Philas" and "Philai," a settlement "a little above the cataract" of the Nile, occupied by both Ethiopians and Egyptians, as mentioned by Strabo (1.2.32; 17.1.49, 50), by Heliodorus (*Aethiopica* 8.1.2,

The Prophet there foretells the Conversion and Vocation of the *Gentiles*. *Bochart* thinks the Prophecy fulfill'd, when first the Treasurer of *Candace*, (the *Ethiopian* Queen, whom some take to be the very Lady meant by *Strabo*, when he paints out such a Queen, as ἀνδρική τις γυνή πεπηρωμένη τόν ἕτερον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, *Virilis mulier quaedam, et altero oculo capta*;) was converted by *Philip*, who thereupon preached the Gospel to the *Ethiopians*, with so much Success, that they are called *Christians* unto this very Day.²⁵⁵

When tis said, That *Misrajim* did begett *Ludim*, the Meaning seems to be, that the *Ethiopians* issued forth in Colonies from the *Egyptians*. And we know, *Diodorus* and others, have been at the Pains to recount the Resemblances that are between them. There were indeed great Contentions between them, about the Point of *Antiquity*; but *Moses*, we see, hath decided it.²⁵⁶

The *Jerusalem-Interpreter*, thus reads it; *Misrajim begat the Mareots*; which, according to *Bochart*, should be read, the *Meroites*; namely, the Inhabitants of *Meroe*, the famous Island of *Ethiopia*, standing in the Midst of *Nilus*, a thousand furlongs in Breadth, and Thrice as many in Length, and rich in a thousand Commodities.²⁵⁷

Moreover, in Ezek. 30.5. for *Lud*, some Copies of the Greek Version, expressly have, καὶ Αἰθίοπες. And in the Hebrew *Baal Aruch*, the *Ludæans* are a

lines 1–9), by *Diodorus Siculus* (1.22.3, 6), by *Seneca* (*Naturales quaestiones* 4.2.3), by *Lucanus* (10.234, 302–303, 312–313), by *Ptolemy* (*Geographia* 4.5.74, line 7), by *Antoninus Augustus* (*Itinerarium* [1512]) – a 3rd c. roadmap of the Roman Empire – by *Maurus Servius Honoratus* (*Commentarius in Vergilii Aeneidos librum sextum* 6.154), by *Procopius Caesariensis* (*De bellis* 1.19.34–36, *Procopius* 1:187, 189), and by *Isaac Tzetzes* (Isacius), a scholar of Constantinople (12th c.) and commentator (with his brother *Joannes*) on the Greek dramas *Alexandria* and *Cassandra*, by *Pseudo-Lycophron* (2nd–3rd c. BCE). The Greek historian *Aristagoras*, deputy tyrant of *Miletus* (c. 505–496 BCE), calls the settlement “*Phila*,” not “*Philia*” (*Fragmenta*, fragm. 11–13, line 2). *Strabo* (17.1.49) celebrates the settlement *Philae*, “which is built like *Elephantinè* and is equal to it in size.” The *Chaldee Paraphrast* or *Targum Jonathan* (on Isa. 66:19) renders *Phul* in the plural number, in *Walton* (3:176). The ruins of the magnificent *Isis* temple of *Philae*, an island in Upper Egypt, are now nearly lost in the Nile waters of the *Assuam Dam*.

255 *Bochart* (270–71). The prophet foretells the calling of the *Gentiles*, in Isa. 66:19. The treasurer of *Candace*, queen of *Ethiopia*, was converted to Christianity by *Philip* (Acts 8:26–27). However, since “*Candace*” was not a name, but the title of the Nubian queens during the Meroitic period (c. 4th c. BCE–c. 3rd c. CE), it is uncertain which specific queen is intended. See *Strabo* (17.1.54), *Dio Cassius* (*Historiae Romanae* 54.5.4, 6; *Dio’s Roman History* 6:293–95), and *Pliny* (6.25.186). The Greek citation from *Strabo* (17.1.54) suggests that Queen *Candace* was “a masculine sort of woman, and blind in one eye.”

256 *Bochart* (271). *Diodorus Siculus* (3.2.1–3.7) argues that the *Ethiopians* were the first of all mankind (“*autochthones*”), who had sprung from the soil of their land and colonized Egypt. Mather ends this fray by consulting *Moses* (Gen. 10:13), who makes *Mizraim* (Egypt) the father of *Ludim* (*Ethiopia*).

257 *Bochart* (271–72). Both the *Targum Hierosolymitanum* (Gen. 10:13) and the *Targum Jonathan ben Uziel* make *Mizraim* the father of the *Mareotae*, in *Walton* (4:18) – *Meroe* being the capital of *Nubia* (c. 300 BCE–350 CE) and was located on the upper Nile, at the confluence of the *White* and *Blue Nile* and the *Atbarah River*, in what is now *Sudan* (*KP*). See also *Herodotus* (2.29).

People, *qui comedunt filios Hominum*, who are *Man-eaters*. Now *Philostratus*, and *Pliny*, and *Ptolomy*, and *Solinus*, & *Marcian* and others, will find these *Anthrophagites* among the *Ethiopians*. And several other Probabilities does *Bochart* bring, from the *Hebrew Writers*, all which make it evident, That the *Ludim* can be no other than the *Ethiopians*.²⁵⁸

3223.

Q. *Ananim* the next?

A. *Anam* its like, signifies in the old *Egyptian* Tongue, *Sheep*, or *Cattel*; as the like Word also does in the *Arabick*. The *Ananim*, therefore *Bochart* thinks, were the *Nomades*, who dwelt about *Ammon*, and *Nasamonitis*. They lived, & fed & cloath'd themselves, as *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, and *Mela* tell us, upon their *Cattel*. The *Ammonians* (probably a Corruption of *Anamians*) worshipped their Idol *Ammon*, under the Figure of a *Ram*. And *Herodotus* expressly tells us, That they were a Colony of the *Egyptians* and the *Ethiopians*; and used the Language of both. Akin at least unto these, may be the *Amantes* of *Solinus*; and the *Hammanientes* of *Pliny*; and from them the *Garamantes*, which is as much as to say, The Stranger, (or, new-come) *Amantes*.²⁵⁹

3225.

Q. *Lehabim* the Third?

A. We find a particular sort of *Libyans*, which *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolomy* call by the Name of *Libyans-egyptians*, as bordering | on *Egypt*, unto the Westward [274v] of *Thebais*, in a Sandy and Sun-burnt Soyl. These *Bochart* supposes to be the *Lehabim*; for *Lehaba* signifies both *Flame* and *Heat*.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁸ Bochart (272–73). The Greek phrase signifies “and the Ethiopians” (Ezek. 30:5), but the LXX has “Persia.” Bochart refers to R. Nathan ben Jehiel (1035–c. 1110), an Italian lexicographer of Rome, whose *Baal Aruch* explains the meaning and etymology of words and concepts in the Talmud (*EJ*, *CBTEL*). First published in Rome (1469–c. 1472), it was reprinted many times: Pesaro (1517), Venice (1531, 1533), Basle (1599), Amsterdam (1655). According to *Baal Aruch*, the *Ludaeans* are a people “who eat the children of men.” Mather’s manuscript has “*filious*,” though Bochart (col. 272) has “*filios*.” Flavius Philostratus (*Vita Apolloni* 6.25.5–8); Pliny (6.35.195); Ptolemy (*Geographia* 4.8[9].3, lines 1–2); Solinus (*De mirabilibus mundi*, ch. 31); Marcianus (*Periplus maris exteri* 1.13.10–15). Finally, Bochart identifies as his sources Buxtorf’s *Lexicon Chaldaicum* (1629), the Talmudic tractate *Shabbath*, and Maimonides. See also Midrash Rabbah (Gen. XXXVII.2).

²⁵⁹ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 30, col. 284). Gen. 10:13; 1 Chron. 1:11. Herodotus (4.181–82); Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca historica* 3.49.3, lines 4–5); Pomponius Mela (*De chorographia* 1.36); Herodotus (2.42.15–17); Solinus (*De mirabilibus mundi*, ch. 29); Pliny (5.3.26; 5.5.36; 5.9.49).

²⁶⁰ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 28, col. 279). Gen. 10:13; 1 Chron. 1:11. Pomponius Mela (*De chorographia* 1.20); Pliny (5.8.43); Ptolemy (*Geographia* 4.5.26, line 1).

3226.

Q. *Naphtuhim* the Fourth?

A. Hence the People of *Nephthuah*. And what *Nephthuah* was to the *Egyptians*, we may be informed by *Plutarch*; who saies, They call *Nephthys*, the extreme borders of the Land, and the craggy Mountains which touch upon the Sea; or briefly, a mountainous Sea-Coast. Now such a Scituation does *Bochart* find for our *Naphtuchim*, in *Marmarica*, to the Westward of the *Egyptian Delta*, on the Mediterranean Sea-Coast. Here *Herodotus* placed his *Adyrmachidæ*, a People, which he saies, were very like the *Egyptians* in every thing but their Habit. Not far from hence, was the Ἀπτούχου ἱερόν, Temple of *Aptuchus*, mention'd by *Ptolomy*; in which the See retain'd some Footsteps of the Name *Naphtuchim*. Quære, whether the Name of *Neptune* were not of this Original?²⁶¹

3227.

Q. *Pathrusim* the Fifth?

A. The *Jerusalem-Interpreter* will here understand the *Pelusiotes*. This is doubtless a Mistake. For we often find *Pathros* and *Sin* distinguished. Now *Sin* was *Pelusium*. *Strabo* tells us, That *Pelusium* had its Name, of πηλός, *Dirt* or *Mud*. And /שִׁן/ *Sin*, signifies the very same in the *Syrian* Language. *Ezekiel* calls it, [Ezek. 30.15.] *The Strength of Egypt*; because *Egypt* was hardest there to be come at. We find in *Strabo*, in *Diodorus*, in *Suidas*, and in *Polyænus*, that *Egypt* was there peculiarly fortified. And here dwelt the *Sinim*: [Isa. 49.12.] *Saadiah*, in *Kimchi*, well expounds, *The Land of Sinim*, to be *Pelusium*; and it is putt for the *South*, to make up the Four Points of the Compass there mentioned.²⁶²

²⁶¹ *Bochart, Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 29, col. 279–84). Gen. 10:13; 1 Chron. 1:11. *Plutarch (De Isis et Osiride 366B-C; Plutarch's Moralia 5:92–95)* argues that “Nephthys” signals “Finality” (outermost regions), who was the wife of Typhon [Osiris]”; thus whenever the floodwaters of the Nile inundate the “outermost regions, they call this the union of Osiris and Nephthys.” *Herodotus* (4.168); *Ptolemy's Aptuchi Fanum (Geographia 4.4.4, line 7)* is located in Cyrenaica – now Langifarie (*LCD*). *Herodotus* (2.50) relates that the Greeks adopted Poseidon (*Neptune*) from the Libyans, who revered him from earliest times.

²⁶² *Mather* extracts this and the following paragraphs from *Bochart, Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, ch. 27, col. 274–79). Gen. 10:14; 1 Chron. 1:12. *Targum Jonathan ben Uziel* (Gen. 10:14), in *Walton* (4:18). *Bochart* here distinguishes between *Pathros* (Ezek. 30:14, Isa. 11:11), the region of the *Pathrusim* in Upper Egypt, and the Egyptian stronghold *Sin* (Eze. 30:15, 16), located at the most easterly mouth of the Nile. *Sin* is here associated with the Egyptian city *Pelusium* (*Vulgate*), a name derived from “pelos” (“mud”), the marshes in that area. *Strabo's* etymology appears in his *Geographia* (17.1.21), where he also describes the strategically fortified city. See also *Diodorus Siculus* (15.42.2); *Suda Lexicon* (alphab. letter *pi* entry 1516, lines 1–3); *Polyænus* (2nd c. CE), a rhetorician of Macedonia, informs the readers of his *Strategemata* of military life and of Greek and Roman martial strategies. *Mather* refers to *Polyænus's Strategemata* (7.9.1, lines 1–3). *R. Saadiah Gaon*, cited by *R. David Kimchi* (*Radak*), as well as *Rashi* and the *Targum Jonathan ben Uziel*, associate “the land of Sinim” (Isa. 49:12) with “the southland” (*Egypt*), where the *Sinim*, *Canaan's* descendants, dwell, in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*:

We must look for the *Pathrusim*, in the *Land of Pathros*; [Jer. 44.1. and Ezek. 29.14.] Not a Town, as *Brocardus*, & *Adrichomius*, & other Moderns, would have it. *Isaiah*, [ch. 11.11.] as well as *Jeremiah*, distinguishes it from *Egypt*. Tho' *Pathros* does in some Sort pertain to *Egypt*, as tis intimated by *Ezekiel*. [Ch. 29.14.] It is very likely therefore that *Pathros* might be *Thebais*; which *Cassian* and *Pliny* mention with some Distinction, when they speak of *Egypt*. They who make *Thebais* a Part of *Egypt*, make *Egypt* consist of Three Parts; whereas the Dual Form of *Misrajim* would allow *Egypt* no more than Two.²⁶³

When the Prophet *Ezekiel* speaks, of the captive *Egyptians* returning to *Pathros* [Ezek. 29.14.] it hitti well with our Interpretation; For the Fury of *Nebuchadnezzar*, fell chiefly upon *Thebais*, & carried most of its Inhabitants into Captivity. Compare, Nah. 3.8. *No-Amon*, [or, *Thebes*,] *went into Captivity*, – and all her Great Men were bound in Chains. These Great Men, where those Hundred, whereof *Pomponius* writes, *Thebæ utique (ut Homero dictum est) centum portas, sive (ut alij volunt) centum Aulas habent, totidem olim principum Domos, Solitasque singulas, ubi negotium exegerat, dena Armatorum milia effundere*. *Mela* was indeed mistaken in the Number of the Souldiers thus commanded by the Great Men; which according to his Account, make a Million. Where he saies a *Myriad*, *Homer* saies no more than, *Two Hundred*; It is in his first *Iliad*.²⁶⁴

The Scituation of *Pathros*, may be a little gathered from the Words of the Prophet *Jeremiah*, [ch. 44.1.] *All the Jewes, which dwell at Migdol, and at Tahpanhes, and at Noph, and in the Countrey of Pathros*. He begins with the Place that lay next unto *Judæa* and proceeds in Order. *Migdol*, is the same that *Herodotus*, and *Hecateus*, & the Greek Interpreters, call *Μάγδαλος*, and *Antonini* calls, *Magdulus*. It was at the Entrance of *Egypt*, and according to *Antoninus*, Twelve Miles off *Pelusium*. [see *Exod.* 14.2. and *Num.* 33.7, 8.] *Tahpanhes*, is in *Herodotus*, *Δάφνη πέλουσαι*, and in *Stephanus*, *Δάφνη*, near *Pelusium*; about Sixteen Miles from it. *Noph*, is elsewhere called *Moph*; and it is the same with *Memphis*; a City in the Upper *Egypt*, well-known to all the World. *Pathros* must now ly beyond these, and by Consequence be no other than *Thebais*. The Greek Interpreters,

Isaiah (2:398–99). For much of the same information on Sin and Pelusium, see John Lightfoot, *A Chorographical Decad* (1661), ch. 1, sec. 2, in *A Commentary on the New Testament* (1:203–04).

²⁶³ Bochart (276). Mather evidently refers to Brocardus's popular *Descriptio Locorum Terræ Sanctæ exactissima* (1554) and to Adrichomius's *Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ* (1590) 123 # 76 (Phatures), a biblical geography, by the Dutch Roman Catholic theologian Christian Adrichomius (1533–85). Joannes Cassianus of Marseilles (*Opera*, lib. 1, cap. 3) and Pliny (18.47.170).

²⁶⁴ Bochart (276–77). Mather probably refers to the capture of Thebais (No) by the Assyrians (c. 664 BCE), near the beginning of the 26th Saite dynasty, when Egypt was ruled by the Dodecarchy (CBTEL). Pomponius Mela (*De chorographia* 1.51) relates that "Thebes, which (as is stated by Homer) has one hundred gates, or (as others argue,) one hundred royal courts, the houses formerly of one hundred important leaders, each court generally sending ten thousand armed soldiers when the need arose." However, according to Homer (*Iliad* 9.381–84) no more than "two hundred warriors with horses and chariots" sally forth from Thebes of a hundred gates.

call it, Παθούρης or Φαθώρης, *Jerom* calls it, *Phetros*, *Patures*, and *Phatures*. And hence *Pliny* ha's his *Phaturites*, a Province of *Thebais*.²⁶⁵

The Destruction of that vast City *Thebes*, is foretold by diverse of our Prophets; which was exactly fulfill'd. Yett the Prophet *Jeremiah* saies, [ch. 46.26.] *Afterwards it shall be inhabited*; which also came to pass. But then again *Afterwards* a Treble Desolation came upon it. One by the *Carthaginians*; a Second, by *Cambyes* the Son of *Cyrus*; a Third, by *Cornelius Gallus*, under *Augustus*. *Ammianus Marcellinus* briefly mentions them all. *Tacitus* mentions in his Time, to be seen, *Veterum Thebarum magna vestigia*. And saies *Juvenal*, *Atque vetus Thebe centum jacet obruta portis*.²⁶⁶

[275r]

3228.

Q. But then, *Casluchim*, (the Sixth,) which *Moses* makes, the Offspring of the *Egyptians*, but the Father of the *Philistines*?

A. Tho' *Cholcis* be a vast Way, from either *Egypt* or *Palestine*, yett my *Bochart* will have the *Casluchim*, to be the *Cholcians*. It was a constant Beleeif among the Ancients, That the People of *Cholchis*, were a Colony of *Egyptians*, placed there by the well-known *Sesostrys*. Among the many Passages of the *Poets* to that Purpose, which I omitt, *that* of *Priscian* is very expressive & positive;

*Intima sed ponti, post fines Tyndaridarum,
Ægypto missi Cholchi tenuere Coloni.*²⁶⁷

²⁶⁵ Bochart (277–78). “Magdolos” is mentioned in Herodotus (2.159.6), in a fragment by the Greek mythographer Hecataeus of Miletus (6th–5th c. BCE), in Stephanus Byzantius (424.9–10), and in such Greek interpreters as Eusebius (*Onomasticon*, p. 124, line 25; p. 126, line 1), Origen (*Selecta in Ezechielem*) [PG 13. 825, lines 5 and 10], and Theodoretus (*Interpretatio in Ezechielem*) [PG 81. 1105, line 49]. According to the Antonius’s *Itinerarium* (1512), Magdolo (Migdol) is twelve Roman miles south of Pelusium, in NE Egypt (*SBD*). See also Lightfoot’s *Chorographical Decad* (cap. 1, sec. 3, p. 204), in *Commentary* (1:204). Herodotus (2.30.10) calls it “Pelusiace Daphne”; Stephanus Byzantius (222.8–9). Among the Greek interpreters who call the city “Pathoures” are Eusebius (*De vitis prophetarum*) [PG 22. 1269, line 3], Athanasius Alexandrinus (*Synopsis scripturae sacrae*) [PG 28. 364, line 54], and Theodoretus (*Interpretatio in Ezechielem*) [PG 81. 1108, line 28]. For “Phathores,” see Eusebius’s *Onomasticon* (p. 170, line 15); St. Jerome gives his versions of Pathros, in *Liber Jeremiae* (cap. 33:1) [PL 28. 913C] and in *Liber Isaiah* (cap. 11) [PL 28. 786B]. Pliny (5.9.49).

²⁶⁶ Bochart (278–79). Ammianus Marcellinus (*Historia* 17.4.2–5) relates that the Egyptian Thebes was destroyed by the Carthaginians (or rather by “Punic generals”), by Persian King Cambyses II (525 BCE), and by Roman Prefect Cornelius Gallus (30–29 BCE). Tacitus (*Annales* 2.60) speaks of “the large remnants of old Thebes”; and Juvenal (*Satura* 15.6) sings, “and ancient Thebes lies in ruins with its hundred gates.”

²⁶⁷ The entire paragraph is extracted from Bochart’s *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 31, col. 285–90). Gen. 10:14; 1 Chron. 1:12. Sesostris is the legendary king of Egypt who is to have lived several generations before the Trojan War, and whose conquests of the known world included Africa and Asia. The Egyptian origin of the Colchians (on the E coast of the Black Sea) is asserted by Herodotus (2.102–104), by Apollonius Rhodius (*Argonautica* 4.240–78), by the Scholiast in *Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (278.13–15), and by Diodorus Siculus (1.55.4–5). Mather only alludes to the other poets such as Dionysius Periegetes (*Orbis descrip-*

But a whole Army of *Historians*, do agree with the *Poets* in this Tradition, and in subscribing to *Herodotus*, who saies, *Tis apparent, That the Cholchians are Egyptians*. Only, tis a Mistake, that the *Cholchians* owe their Original to a Colony of *Sesostrys*. For *Sesostrys* being the same with *Shishak*, [1. King. 14.25.] the Expedition of the *Argonauts* to *Cholchis*, was long before his Time. And *Sesostrys* was, as *Pliny* assures us, conquered by the *Cholchians*, & was not in a Condition as a Conqueror, to impose a Colony upon them. The Similitude between the *Egyptians* and the *Cholchians* in every thing, (t'were too long to enumerate particulars,) did much confirm their *Egyptian* Original; tho' the Time of their Transmigration, were as early, as before the Dayes of *Abraham*. And yett they took up the Rite of *Circumcision* (one of the Articles in the Similitude,) long after, thro' their Commerce, & Converse, with their old Countreymen, the *Egyptians*. *Diodorus* ha's a notable Passage to this Purpose.²⁶⁸

3229.

Q. Possibly, *Caphtorim* (the Seventh,) may confirm the Conjecture?

A. Yes; The *Caphthorim*, were near Neighbours to the *Casluchim*, (and indeed became one with them;) And hence the *Philistim* are said, for to proceed from them also. [Jer. 47.4. and Amos. 9.7. Compare, Deut. 2.23.]

Now all that are skilled in Antiquity, will concur to confirm you, in this Opinion; That *Caphthor* is *Cappadocia*. The Three Chaldee Paraphrasts, most expressly call the *Caphthorim*, no other than *Cappadocians*. And *Strabo* is by *Josephus Ben-Gorion* called, *The Caphthorite*.

Only you must here understand only that Part of *Cappadocia*, which lay next unto *Cholchis*; namely, the Coast near unto *Trapezond*.²⁶⁹

tion 688–89) and Valerius Flaccus (*Argonautica* 5.416–24). The expressive lines from Priscianus Caesariensis's *Institutiones grammaticae* read, "But the inmost parts of the Black Sea, beyond the borders of the Tyndaridae, / are held by Cholchian colonists sent from Egypt."

²⁶⁸ Herodotus (2.104.1). Among the historians that agree with Herodotus (apart from those mentioned above) are Strabo (1.3.21; 11.2.17), Ammianus Marcellinus (*Historia* 22.8.24), and the Byzantine historian poet Agathias Scholasticus (c. 532–c. 580), in his *Historiae* (p. 64, line 17). Bochart here adopts the position of Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 8.10.2), who asserts that "Herodotus was mistaken" in attributing the actions of the Egyptian King Shishak, a contemporary of Solomon, to the legendary King Sesostris, who is to have lived centuries before the Trojan War (13th c. BCE). The famous expedition of Jason and the Argonauts for the Golden Fleece of Colchis is celebrated in Pindar's *Pythian Odes* (4.179–246), in Apollonius Rhodius's *Argonautica* (4.270–81), and in Apollodorus Atheniensis's *Bibliotheca* (1.9.16–28). Pliny (33.15.52); Diodorus Siculus (1.55.5) finds proof of the Egyptian origin of the Colchians in their practice of circumcision, "the custom continuing among the colonists sent out from Egypt as it also did in the case of the Jews."

²⁶⁹ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 32, col. 290–94). Gen. 10:14; 1 Chron. 1:12. The Targum Jonathan Ben Uziel and Targum Hierosolymitanum (Gen. 10:14), in Walton (4:18), identify the Caphthorim with the Cappadocians. Josephus Ben Gorion calls the Graeco-Roman Geographer "Strabo Caphthoraeus," in *Historiae Iudaicae* (1544), cap. 6. For Trapezond

The Fruit, which the Hebrewes call, *Caphthor*, the Greeks call, *Side*; from whence the Countrey of *Sidene* had its Name; a Countrey which *Strabo*, and *Prolomy*, and *Pliny*, will show you in this very Place. Many Reasons there might be for these Peoples Travelling so far from their own Countrey, which at so great a Distance of Time, it is not easy for us to guess at. But that given by *Strabo*, is as likely as any; *The Wealth of those Regions*; which, we also know, brought Expeditions of several other Nations, even of *Saracens*, and *Persians*, upon them. Albeit, I find that ingenious Gentleman, Sir *John Chardin*, in the curious Relation of his Travels thro' these woful Regions, (published, 1686.) letting fall this Passage; "I know not what is become of that *Gold-Gravel*, and *Golden-Sand*, which the People sponged out of the Water, with their Sheep-skins, according to the ancient Stories, & which gave Occasion to the Fable, of the *Golden-Fleece*. There is no such thing in *Colchis*, nor in the Mountains or Rivers adjoining. So that which Way so ever Yee go, there is no Possibility of Reconciling Antiquity with the present Times."²⁷⁰

However, after the People had settled in these Regions, either they found them not so Rich as was Reported, or the Climate was too cold for them, or their neighbours grew too Troublesome to them. Wherefore considerable Numbers thought of Returning to the Southward. A Party of them, in this Return, dispossessed the *Avites*, [Deut. 2.23.] and settled themselves in that Part of *Palestine*. There are some things in the old Greek Poets, that seem to relate unto this Expedition.²⁷¹

3230.

Q. We have done with *Misrajim*. Lett us pass to his Brother *Phut*?

A. These two Brothers, do seem in a Manner to have divided *Africa* between them. Unto *Misrajim*, fell *Egypt*, & that Part of *Africa*, which extended unto the Marsh *Tritonis*. Unto *Phut* fell the rest of *Africa*, even until you come to the *Atlantic* Ocean. Thus *Africa* was divided into two Portions, that were almost

(Trebizond, Trapezus), a Pontian harbor on the Black Sea, see Strabo (7.6.2; 11.2.14; 12.3.17), Flavius Arrianus (*Periplus ponti Euxini* 11.1.11–12), and Xenophon (*Anabasis* 4.8.23–24).

²⁷⁰ Bochart (290–91). The *Caphthor* fruit, or "Side," is the "malum punicum" or "pomegranate" (Pliny 6.3.11; 13.34.111), and by Strabo (1.3.7; 12.3.16) associated with Sidene, a region in Cappadocia, or rather Pharnacia, a region between Cerasus and Trapezus (Stephanus Byzantius 659.3–6); Ptolemy (*Geographia* 5.6.5); Strabo (1.2.39) celebrates "the wealth of the regions about Colchis, which is derived from the mines of gold, silver, iron, and copper." No wonder the legend of the Golden Fleece, which attracted Jason and his Argonauts to seek the treasure safeguarded by a dragon. Mather's embellishment cited from Sir John Chardin's *Travels* (1686) 91, does not appear in Bochart.

²⁷¹ Bochart mentions the Scythians, Moschians, and Tibarenians among the "troublesome" neighbors. The Avites or Avim (Deut. 2:23) were an ancient people on the coast of SW Palestine.

Equal. And *Herodotus* tells us, That the Manners of the People between whom it was Divided, were very much Alike.²⁷²

Some Footsteps of the Name *Phut*, we have in a City of *Africa*, called *Putea*, near from *Adrumetum*; and in a River called *Fut*, which runs thro' *Mauritania Tingitana* into the Ocean. *Ptolomy* mentions the City, *Pliny* the River, and so *Josephus* and *Eusebius*, and many of the Ancients.²⁷³

However, there is no necessity for us, to confine all the *Phuteans*, on that Side of *Tritonis*. We find some of them in a nearer Neighbourhood unto *Egypt*. [Jer. 46.9. and Ezek. 30.5. Nah. 3.9.] We find them in *Marmarica*; where was *Phthia Portus*, and *Pythis Extrema*. Yea, in *Egypt* | itself, where it joins with *Libya*, we find *Phthem Phuti*. *Jeremiah* describes our *Phuteans*, as notable for their *Shields*: [Jer. 46.9.] And *Xenophon* describes one sort of *Egyptians* accordingly, as carrying *Shields*, that covered them *from Head to Foot*. This might be a sort of *Shield*, which *Homer* calls, ἀσπίδα ἀμφιβρότην, *Clypeum ambivirum*; And *Maximus Tyrius* cries 'em up, as famous for their *Shields*; and *Heliodorus*, mentions their συνασπισμῳ, or, *making a Tortoise*, (as the Souldiers call'd it,) with them.²⁷⁴ [276v]

The Name *Phut*, according to *Bochart*, carries *Dispersion*, in the Signification of it. Accordingly, the *Phuteans*, for the Sterility of their Soyl, were the *Nomades* of *Africa*. According to *Mela*, *In familias passim, et sine Lege Dispersi, nihil in commune consultant*. *Strabo* has the like Passage concerning them; for which Cause *Africa* was compared unto the Skin of a *Panther*, for the Families of the Inhabitants, like *Scattered Spotts* here & there upon it.²⁷⁵

Another Name of *Africa*, that we find in the Scripture, was /לִיב/Lub, or *Libya*. Hence we read of the *Lubim*, [2. Chron. 12.3. and 16.8. and Dan. 11.43.

272 This and the subsequent paragraphs are extracted from *Bochart's Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 33, col. 294–99). “*Tritonis*” is both a marshy lake and river in *Libya* (N Africa), associated with *Pallas Athena* (*Minerva*), surnamed “*Tritonia*” (*Hesiod, Opera et Dies* 76; *Herodotus* 4.178–79, 188); *Herodotus* (4.186–88) describes the manners of these N African people.

273 *Bochart* (295). “*Putea*” is located near “*Adrumetum*” (*Adrume*, *Adrumes*, *Adrumetus*, now *Mahometta*), a town SE of *Carthage* on the Mediterranean; “*Mauritania Tingitana*” roughly occupies the present area of *Morocco* with *Tangier*, its major city, near the Straits of *Gibraltar*. *Ptolemy* (*Geographia* 4.1.3); *Pliny* (5.1.13); *Josephus Flavius* (*Antiquities* 1.6.2) and *Eusebius Pamphilus's Onomasticon*.

274 *Bochart* (295); “*Pythis*” is a promontory of *Marmarica* (*Lybia*), with “*Phthia Portus*” its maritime harbor, in *Ptolemy* (*Geographia* 5.4.2). *Xenophon* (*Cyropaedia* 6.2.10; 7.1.33); *Homer's* speaks of, “the strap of his sheltering shield” (*Iliad* 2.389) and *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* (2.389a scholion 1); *Maximus Tyrius* (*Dialexeis* 13.1, sec. a, lines 2–5); *Heliodorus* (*Aethiopica* 9.19.5, lines 1–3).

275 *Bochart* (296). *Herodotus* (4.185–86) describes the region as barren and waterless, without beasts, trees, or moisture, the inhabitants building their houses from salt blocks. According to *Pomponius Mela's De chorographia* (1.37), the *Phutaeans* are “scattered into families everywhere, and without law, they have no communications together.” *Strabo* (17.3.1) asserts that *Libya* is mostly desert and “dotted with settlements that are small, scattered, and mostly nomadic”; *Cnaeus Piso*, its one-time prefect, told *Strabo* that *Libya* was “like a leopard's skin; for it is dotted with inhabited places that are surrounded by waterless and desert land” (*Strabo* 2.5.33).

and Nah. 3.9.] The Name according to *Bochart*, signifies, *To languish for Thirst*. Whence *Lucan* very properly

— *Per calidas Libyæ sitientis Arenas.*

And very peculiarly it might belong to *Xerolibya*; of which *Virgil*,

*Hinc deserta siti regio.*²⁷⁶

We find the *Libyans*, represented, [2. Chron. 16.8.] *with many Chariots & Horsemen*. Accordingly, if you consult *Herodotus*, and *Xenophon*, and *Pausanias*, you will see, that they were a People mightily for *Chariots*; they chose even to fight their *Battels* in them; and they did it with much *Dexterity*. And hence *Neptune*, who was peculiarly the God, of *Libya*, was reputed the first, who taught the *Art of Riding*, and of *Joining Horses in Chariots*.²⁷⁷

3231.

Q. We have but one more Son of *Cham* to take notice of, and that was *Canaan*?

A. The *Mercury* of the Ancients.

The *Land of Canaan* ha's made him famous. The *Phœnicians* were his Posterity. The Name of *Canaanites* and *Phœnicians*, are used promiscuously; by the *Septuagint*. There is very little mention of them among the Greek Writers, under the Name of *Canaanites*. Not but that *Eupolemus* does expressly say, *Chanaan was the Father of the Phœnicians*. And *Philo Byblius*, a very ancient Writer, mentions one CHNA, *qui Phœnicis nomine insignis fuerit*; which CHNA is doubtless but a Decurtation of *Canaan*. But it is probable, as *Bochart* thinks, That the *Canaanites* were ashamed of their Name, and gott rid of it, because of the *Curse* that *Noah* denounced against their Father, especially, when they saw the *Curse* accomplished, and the *Sword* of the *Israelites* horribly destroying of them, on that score, that they were *Canaanites*. They chose rather therefore to be called, *Syrians*, *Assyrians*, *Sidonians*, *Phœnicians*, & *Syrophœnicians*.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁶ Bochart (297). Marcus Annaeus Lucanus (1.368) sings, "through the burning sands of thirsty Libya." And Virgil (*Aeneid* 4.32) chimes in with, "on that side lies a tract barren with drought."

²⁷⁷ Bochart (298–99). Herodotus (4.170, 189), Xenophon (*Cyropaedia* 6.1.27), Pausanias (6.12.7). Neptune (Poseidon), if the scholiast on Pindar can be trusted, taught the art of horseback riding to those who revered him (*Scholia in Pindarum, scholia vetera*, Ode P4, scholion 246b, lines 1–3). Neptune is generally depicted standing astride on a chariot drawn by horses.

²⁷⁸ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 34, col. 299–302). Mercury, messenger of the gods, and Roman protector of mercantilism, was revered by the Greeks as Hermes and by the Egyptians as Thoth (Cicero, *De natura deorum* 3.22.55–23.60). Mercury's association with Noah's grandson Canaan, fourth son of Ham (Gen. 10:6, 1 Chron. 1:8), progenitor of the various Canaanite peoples (Phœnicians), is probably a result of the significance of Phœnician merchants in the ancient Mediterranean world (Isa. 23:8, 11; Hos. 12:2; Zeph. 1:11). See also Gerard Vossius (*De Theologia Gentili*, lib. 2, cap. 32, pp. 468–77). The LXX employs the names indiscriminately (Gen. 46:10, Exod. 6:15, 16:35; Job 40:25, Prov. 31:24). Bochart's third-hand quotation is from Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.17.419d), whose excerpt of the

3232.

Q. But the Eleven Sons of *Canaan* must come under our Consideration; and then we have done.

A. *Sidon* is the first of them. *Trogus* is probably in the Right, when he thinks, the Name of *Sidon* to come, à *Piscium ubertate*; For, *Said* is *Fishery*. And the Sea about the City *Sidon*, was *Mare Piscosissimum*; abounding with *Fish*. So that the Intention of *Moses* is, That the first-born of *Canaan* whatever might be his Name, was the Builder of the City *Sidon*, and the Father of its Inhabitants. *Sidon* appears by this, to have been a very ancient City; and tho' *Tyrus* were called *Antiqua* by the Poets, and *Herodotus* as well as the Prophet *Isaiah* (ch. 23.7.) bring it in, boasting of its Antiquity, yett it must give *Sidon* the Preheminence. Yea, according to *Trogus*, the *Sidonians* after many Years, being driven out of their Seat by the *Ashcalonites*, then sailed over & built the City, *Tyrus*. This happened, according to *Josephus*, Two Hundred and Forty Year{s}, before the building of *Solomons* Temple. Wherefore, tho' we read of *Sidon* in the Books of *Moses*, & *Joshua*, & the *Judges*, we read nothing of *Tyrus*, until the Dayes of *David*. [Except, Josh. 19.29. should be, *Paletyrus*, or, the *Old Tyrus*.] Nor does *Homer* once mention *Tyrus*, tho' he often mention{s} *Sidon*; And *Strabo* notes, *The Poets do most celebrate Sidon*. In the Book of *Joshua*, (if it be there,) tis called, *A Strong City*. It was indeed the greatest that the *Phœnicians* had; and so *Diodorus* accordingly describes it, and adds, That it had more than an *Hundred Galleyes* belonging to it. Tho' *Tyrus*, according to *Curtius*, afterwards exceeded it. The Idolatrous Temples built in it, by *Hiram*, to *Jupiter*, and *Astarte*, and *Hercules*, were peculiarly magnificent, and their other Buildings more stately than those of *Rome*. There stood between *Tyrus* and *Sidon*, which according to *Strabo*, were two hundred Furlongs asunder, the Town of *Sarepta*; which had its Name from the Running of *Coper* and *Iron* there; Compare Deut. 33.25. And *Homer* intimates the abounding of these Metals hereabouts;

Ἐκ μὲν Σιδωνος πῶλυ χαλκοῦ εὐχομαι·

In Sidon I boast to be born, where's

*Brass in Abundance.*²⁷⁹

Græco-Jewish historian Eupolemus (fl. 150 BCE) is taken from the Greek polymath Alexander Polyhistor (b. c. 105 BCE). Bochart's citation from Philon of Byblos originates in Eusebius's *Praeparatio evangelica* (1.10.39d, but see also 1.10.34c and 9.17.419d). Philon Byblos mentions CHNA [Cana] "who had his name changed to Phoenix" (Bochart 301); the story of Noah's curse of Canaan appears in Gen. 9:25; the Israelites' conquest of Canaan took more than 200 years to accomplish after their Exodus from Egypt (Exod. 23:23, Numb 21:3).

²⁷⁹ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 35, col. 302–03). For Canaan's eleven sons, see Gen. 10:15–18. Pompeius Trogus (*Historiae Philippicae*) speculates that the place name Sidon is derived from the designation "rich in fish," in Marcus Iunianus Iustinus's *Historiarum Philippicarum in epitomen redacti* (18.3.4). The Mediterranean coast near the Phœnician city Sidon was the "sea most abundant with fish." According to Pompeius Trogus, the Ascalonians expelled the Sidonians, who subsequently founded Tyre a year before the fall of Troy (*Histori-*

[277r] | The People of *Tyrus* and *Sidon* were a sharp-witted People. *Arithmetic* and *Astronomy* went from them unto the *Græcians*. They had betimes, very acute *Philosophers* among them. At their *Mechanicks* they were notable; *Purple* and *Linen*, and *Glass-work*, were their Inventions. Even *Solomon* himself admired their *Carpenters*. [1. King. 5.6.] *Homer* calls them therefore, πολυδαιδάλους. And if he mention any curious Artifice, he makes it of a *Sidonian* Original.²⁸⁰

The *Hittites*, the Sons of *Heth*, dwelt about *Hebron* and *Beersheba*, in the Southern Part of the Land of *Canaan*. They were so *Terrible* to their Neighbours, that they seem to have had their Name from חֲתָה / *Hittha*, which signifies *Terror* and *Consternation*. [Compare, 2. King. 7.6.] *Arba*, and *Anak*, and the *Terrible Giants* descended from them, were of this Tribe.²⁸¹

The *Jebusites*, were Warriors, not inferior to them, and held *Jerusalem*, & the Tower of *Zion*, unto the very Days of *David*. And they then imagined themselves to be so strongly fortified, that they said unto *David*, *If thou come hither, the Blind & the Lame shall chase thee away*. [2. Sam. 5.8.] *David* provoked at this Insolence, then said, *Whosoever smites the Jebusites, shall be Chief & Captain*; and said again, *whosoever smites the Jebusites, Lett him cast down into the Channel* adjoining to the Wall, *the Blind & the Lame, as being under the Special Resentments of David*. *Bochart* makes this to be so plainly the Sense of the Words, that he wonders learned Men have so laboured about it. Near *Spain* there was a *Phœnician* Colony, upon an Island called, *Ebusum*, at this Day, *Ibissa*; which *Bochart* thinks might be of a *Jebusite*-Original.²⁸²

arum Philippicarum 18.3.5). Herodotus (2.44) mentions that Tyre had been settled more than 2,300 years before his own lifetime. Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 8.3.1). Josh. 19:29 mentions Tyre (*KJV*), but the Hebrew original reads “Tzor,” signifying “a rock” [Strong’s # 6865]. Johann Jakob Hofmann (1635–1706), Swiss professor of Greek and history at Basel, identifies “*Palætyrus*” as one of the designations of old Tyre, in his *Lexicon Universale* (1677), pars II, p. 85: “Tyrus.” Homer mentions the Sidonians in several places in the *Iliad* (6.290–91, 23.743) and in the *Odyssey* (4.84, 618; 13.285). Strabo (16.2.22) notes that “Homer does not even mention Tyre,” but that the poets sing “the praises of Tyre.” Mather questions whether the Hebrew place name צֹר (Josh 19:29), signifying “a rock” or “strong city,” is actually the same as King Hiram’s Tyre. Diodorus Siculus (16.44.6) relates that Tyre “had more than a hundred triremes and quinqueremes.” For much the same see Pomponius Mela (*De chorographia* 1.57). Quintus Curtius Rufus (4.2.1–4.4.19) describes Alexander’s sacking and spoiling of Tyre. According to Strabo (16.2.24), the city that lies between Tyrus and Sidon is the “City of Ornithes.” The Mediterranean Sarepta, or Zarephath (the modern Surafend), is located S of Sidon (1 Kin. 17:9–10). Deut. 33:25 prophesies, “Thy shoes shall be iron and brass.” Disguised Athena, Homer’s great tactician, tells Odysseus the following fib: “Out of Sidon, rich in bronze, I declare myself to be” (*Odyssey* 15.425).

²⁸⁰ Bochart (303). Homer calls the Sidonians “well skilled in handiwork” (*Iliad* 23.743).

²⁸¹ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 36, col. 303–08). For the Hittites, the children of Heth, see Gen. 15:20, 23:10. The noun חֲתָה (chittah) [Strong’s # 2847] signifies “terror” and “fear” (Gen. 35:5). Mather changes Bochart’s spelling of חֲתָה (col. 304) to חֲתָה. For Arba, the great man of the Anakim, see Josh 14:15, 15:13; 21:11.

²⁸² Bochart (304). For the Jebusite warriors, see Josh. 15:63. The boast of the Jebusites (in

The *Amorites* dwelt in the mountainous Parts of *Judea*; but they made a Salley over *Jordan*, to combat the *Moabites* & *Ammonites*, and possessed themselves of all the Land between the Rivers *Jabok*, and *Arnon*. In remembrance of that Victory, a certain *Canaanitish* Poet wrote an Ἐπινίκιον, which *Moses* condescends to insert in the Book of *Numbers*. [Ch. 21.27.] The Prophet *Amos* tells us, They were like *Cedars* for *Heighth*, & like *Oaks* for *Strength*. [Amos. 2.9.] It seems, there were *Giants* among them: *Og* was one of them.²⁸³

The *Gergasites*, had their dwelling about *Gergesa*, or *Gadara*, beyond *Jordan*; even to our Saviours Time. The *Argilla* of the Soyl, which is in Hebrew גֶּרְגֶּשׁ/*Garges*, may seem to have been the Original of the Name.²⁸⁴

The *Hivites* dwelt about Mount *Hermon*; which being in the Eastern Part of *Canaan*, (Psal. 89.13.) they were called *Cadmonites*, or *Orientalis*. (Gen. 15.19.) *Cadmus*, and his Wife *Harmonia*, seem to have had their Names from hence. The Fable saies, They were turned into *Serpents*; which is the very English of the Word, *Hivites*. The Jewes think they were called so, because they were a sort of *Troglodytes*, and like *Serpents*, dwelt in Caves and Holes of the Earth. The *Gibeonites*, and *Sichemites*, were Colonies of these *Hivites*.²⁸⁵

The *Arkites*, held *Arca*, or *Arce*, a Town in *Libanus*, mentioned by *Ptolomy*, and *Josephus* (out of *Menander*.) Here doubtless was the Temple of *Venus Architis*

Mather's italicized passages) is adapted from 2 Sam. 5:6, 8 and 1 Chron. 11:6. Strabo (3.4.7; 3.5.1) mentions the Phoenician colony on Ebusos (Ibiza).

283 Bochart (304). The Canaanite poet wrote an "Epinikion" or "victory song," which the famous Rashi attributes to Balaam, son of Beor – "they who speak in proverbs." The Amorite ode here begins with the words "Come into Heshbon" (Numb. 21:27), which Moses here copies from his vanquished enemies. (Mather erroneously cites in his manuscript verse 17 instead of 27). See also Midrash Rabbah (Num. XIX:30). Numb 13:28, 32–33 mentions the giant sons of Anak; and Deut. 3:11 brags about having vanquished King Og of Bashan, a remnant of those giants, whose iron bedstead was of legendary size. For a further discussion of Moses's borrowing from his enemy's annals and its significance to Mather's views on philological criticism of the Bible, see R. Smolinski, "Authority" (185–86).

284 The *Girgas(h)ites* (those "dwelling on a clayey soil") are the offspring of Canaan (Gen. 10:16; 1 Chron. 1:14), [Strong's # 1622]. Both Mark 5:1 and Luke 8:26 mention the Gadarenes across from Galilee.

285 Bochart (305). "Kadmonites" suggests "Easterners" [Strong's # 6935], a people of Canaan before Abraham's arrival. Cadmus, the mythical founder of Boiotian Thebes, and his wife Harmonia, daughter of Ares, are by Zeus turned into serpents and conducted to Elysium; see Hesiod (*Theogonia* 937–80), Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca* 3.5.4), Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 4.562–603); (KP 3:39). Mather's farfetched etymology derived from the mythological associations of the Cadmonites (near Mt. Hermon) with the metamorphosis of Cadmus and Harmonia into serpents is not sustained by the Hebrew name "Hivite" (Gen. 10:17), sixth generation of Canaan's descendants living near Mt. Hermon; for the word "Hivite" חִיטִי (chiwiy) is generally rendered "villagers" [Strong's # 2340], whereas נָחָשׁ (nachash) and פֶּתֶן (pethen) respectively signify "serpent, snake" and "asp" (Gen. 3:1, Isa. 11:8) [Strong's # 5175, 6620]. According to Pliny (2.71.178; 2.75.183; 5.5.34), the Troglodytes, named after an Ethiopian people, are cave dwellers along the shores of the Red Sea. For Cadmon's association with the Hivites and serpents, see especially Theophilus Gale's *Court of the Gentiles* (1672), Part 1, bk. 1, ch. 6, pp. 31–35.

(the same with *Apacites*,) worshipped with wonderful Devotion by the *Phenicians*, as we are informed by *Macrobius*.²⁸⁶

The *Sinites*, according to *Jerom*, were not far from the *Arkites*.

The *Arvadites*, or *Aradites*, occupied the Island of the *Arades*, on the *Phœnician* Coast, at the Mouth of the River *Eleutherus*; & Part of the neighbouring Continent, where we find *Antaradus*, and *Marathus*, and *Laodicea*. *Strabo* and others tell of notable Exploits done by them. *Eusebius*, reports that they burnt alive, *Curtius Thalassus*, with *Four Cohorts*, *Quod Tributa gravius exigeret*. We find in *Dion*, they did what they did in that Matter, out of Hatred unto *Antony*, who by his *Præfects*, vexed *Syria* with very cruel Taxes. The *Aradites* are commended by *Strabo*, for their *Φίλοπονία πρὸς τὴν θαλαττουργίαν*, *Stodium rei Navalis*. [Compare Ezek. 27.8.] The City *Tripolis*, did partly consist of these *Aradites*; As we are informed by *Scylax*, and by *Pliny*, & by *Diodorus*.²⁸⁷

The *Zemarites* (by some with Ignorance enough taken to be the same with the *Samaritans*,) why might not they be the Builders of *Semarajim*, a Town in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, or of *Simyra*, a Town on the Sea-Coast, near *Orthosia*? *Eusebius*, we know, derives the *Orthosites* from the *Zemarites*.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁶ Gen. 10:17. "Arca" is by Ptolemy (*Geographia* 5.15.5, line 6) called "Ptolemais" (near Tyrus and Sidon). Strabo (16.2.25) explains that in former times "Ptolemais" used to be called "Acê." Hence Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 1.6.2, 9.14.2) mentions "Ace" and cites Menander of Ephesus (c. 3rd c. BCE), author of a Greek history of the Phœnicians, which incorporates a translation of the Tyrian records. Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.21.1) has the Phœnicians and Assyrians adore Venus Architidis (Proserpina), queen of the underworld.

²⁸⁷ Bochart (305–06). The *Sinites* (Gen. 10:17; 1 Chron. 1:15), a Canaanite tribe that is to have lived in N Lebanon, is by St. Jerome on Gen. 10:15 associated with the city Sinus, i.e., the ruins of Sinum (Sini, Sinna), a mountain fortress, which only survives as a place name (*Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, p. 41). The *Arvadites* (Gen. 10:18), descendants of Canaan's son Arvad, are associated with the *Aradians*. Strabo (16.2.12, 13, 14) explains that the *Aradians* inhabited Aradus, an island off the mainland, between the *Aradian* "naval station and Marathus." Aligning themselves with the Syrian kings, the *Aradians* acquired large tracts on the mainland when they sided with Callinicus Seleucus (c. 265–225 BCE) against his younger brother Antiochus Hierax (c. 263–226 BCE) during the "Third Syrian War" (246–242 BCE) (*OCD*). According to Eusebius's *Chronicon*, translated into Latin by St. Jerome (*Hieronymi Chronicon*, p. 240), the Roman Prefect Curtius Publius Filius Salassus (Thalassus), "who had exacted a heavy tribute," was burnt alive along with four cohorts on the island of Aradus, in the 184th Olympiad (c. 44–41 BCE). Cassius Dio (*Historiae Romanae* 48.24.3; *Dio's Roman History* 5:269) describes the *Aradians'* hatred for Marcus Antonius (c. 83–30 BCE), Julius Caesar's military leader in Syria and Egypt, and later Roman triumvir, who committed suicide with Cleopatra. Strabo (16.2.14) praises their "prudence and industry in their maritime affairs." In *Periplus Scylax* (104.6–11), Scylax Caryandensis (c. 5th–4th c. BCE) explains that the Phœnician city of Tripolis was established partially by *Aradites*, *Sidonians*, and *Tyrians*. Pliny (5.17.78) and Diodorus Siculus (16.41.1) say much the same.

²⁸⁸ Bochart (306–07). Gen. 10:18. The chronographer Georgius Syncellus (not Eusebius) links the "Samareans" (descendants of Ham's son Canaan) with the "Orthosiates" (*Eclogia chronographia*, p. 52, line 7). See also Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 1.6.2). The Phœnician city Orthosias (1 Macc. 15:37), located toward the N of Tripolis but S of the Eleutheris River (Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 5.17.78), is also mentioned by Strabo (16.2.21, 22) and others.

The *Hamathites*, inhabited the Land of *Hamath*, which was the *Northern Border* to the Land of *Canaan*. [Num. 13.21. and 34.8.] Its *Metropolis*, was that *Antiochia*, which was called, *Epiphania*; who was the *Lesser*, opposed unto the *Greater* of the *Gracians*, which was called, *Hamath the Great*. [Amos. 6.2.]²⁸⁹

Unto which of these Eleven Tribes, the *Perizzites*, and those which are more especially called the *Canaanites* in *Moses's* Catalogue of the Nations devoted unto Destruction, may belong tis not easy to say. The Scripture is wholly silent. Only we find, That the *Perizzites*, dwelt mostly on the Hills, & in the Woods. They had none but Country-Villages. And the Name of *Perizzite*, is much as to say, *Villager*, or *Pagan*.

| The *Chanaanites* dwelt more by the Water Side; and the Name signifying [278v] *Merchants*, it may be, they were principally such.²⁹⁰

The *Kenites* and the *Kenizzites* are Numbred with them. [Gen. 15.19.] All we can find of them, is what *Eustathius* tells us; That they inhabited, *Libanus* and *Amarus*; he means, *Amanus*. Doubtless, their Names were lost, between the *Dayes of Abraham* and *Moses*.²⁹¹

It ha's been enquired, why the Curse upon *Cham*, fell principally upon *Canaan*? *Theodore*t saies, That he understood from a Jew, a Tradition, that *Canaan* was the first who saw his Grandfathers Nakedness, & show'd it unto his Father. And we have such a Passage in *Beresith Rabba*, a Book written before the *Dayes of Theodore*t.

But among the *Eleven Tribes* of *Canaan*, we find only *Seven* singled out by the Lord, for Extermination. And this wholly turns upon the Justice of a Sovereign God.²⁹²

²⁸⁹ Bochart (307). Gen. 10:18; 1 Chron. 1:16. St. Jerome's commentary on Gen. 10:18 identifies the Hamathites with the fortress Hamath on the Orontes, and with Antiochia and Epiphania (*De situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum*). See also Jerome's addition to "Aimath (Aemoth)," in Eusebius's *Concerning the Place Names* (on Joshua); Epiphania is here associated with the fortress Hamath, which is called "the Lesser," to distinguish it from the kingdom of Hamath, or "Hamath the Greater" (2 Chron. 8:3), the boundaries of which were nearly identical with those of the later Caele-Syria (*Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, pp. 41–42).

²⁹⁰ Bochart (307). Gen. 15:20. Moses's catalogue includes the Hittites, Amorites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites (Exod. 3:8, 17; 33:2; 34:11 etc.).

²⁹¹ Eustathius Antiochenus describes the Kenites and Kenizzites (Gen. 15:19), names of collective tribes in the mountainous regions of S Palestine and of the Sinai Peninsula, in his *Commentarius in Hexaemeron* [PG 18. 756, lines 53–54]. Bochart asserts their extinction, but John Lightfoot disagrees, in his *Chorographical Decad* (ch. 10, secs. 3–4) and in *Chorographical Inquiry* (ch. 3, secs. 2–3) – both in *Works* (2:329–30, 499–500).

²⁹² Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 37, col. 308–09). In his *Quaestiones in Octateuchum: Genesis*. (Quest. 58), Theodoretus asserts that Ham is punished through his son Canaan, because Ham had sinned as a son against his own father. According to the Midrash Rabbah (Gen. XXXVI: 7), R. Nehemiah argues that Noah cursed Canaan, Ham's son, because Canaan was the first to see his grandfather's nakedness. Bochart lists only six (not seven) Canaanite tribes that are vanquished: the Sidonians, Arkeans, Sineans, Aradians, Samareans, and Hamatheans.

Thus we have Digested, into as little Room as we could, the *Phaleg* of the Incomparable *Bochart*, not without some Leave now and then taken, to fetch in from some other Quarter a little Part of our Entertainment. If I am not mistaken, it will be grateful unto an Ingenious Reader, to find so many *Pagan Writers*, thus conspiring to confirm the *Mosaic Account*, How the Sons of *Noah* have been dispersed over the *Habitable Earth*. And you have now before you, not only an Illustration upon the *Tenth* and *Eleventh* Chapters of *Genesis*, with many intermixed Curiosities, but you have also found many Scores of other Texts in the Sacred Scriptures, by the way Illustrated, with such Hints as you shall not find in the common Annotations.

We have done this, as *Bochart* expresses it, *Ad Dei Gloriam omnia referentes, et Scriptura Illustrationem; cui non Arabes modò et Ebræos, sed et Romanos et Græcos Scriptores mirum in modum concinere toto opere passim docemus: Non quod talibus suffragijs Dei verbum in se fiat firmitus, sed ut infirmitati Hominum consulatur, et revincantur Athei.*²⁹³

If the *Phaleg* of *Bochart* ha's undergone some *Contraction* in this my poor Endeavour, I will on that Occasion transcribe the Lines, which I find written by the Pen of my learned Friend, Mr. *Samuel Lee*, in a blank Leaf, at the Beginning of the, *Geographia Sacra*, of *Bochart*, which from his Library comes into mine.

*Est Author eruditus sanè, sed non optimi judicij; et verbosus nimis in tricis minimè necessarijs; et lectionem ostentans sèpè, cum parum prodest opus prolixum quidem in decimam partem rejici poterit.*²⁹⁴

²⁹³ In the "Author's Preface" of *Geographia Sacra*, 4th ed. (1707), "Praefatio," p. 44, *Bochart* wants to give credit where credit is due: "referring everything to the glory of God, and the illustration of scripture; with which, as we point out, not only the Arabs and Hebrews, but also the Roman and Greek writers agree in an amazing way in every part of the work; not to make the word of God stronger in itself through such judgments, but to look to man's weakness and to defeat the atheists."

²⁹⁴ Mather's copy of *Bochart's Geographia Sacra. Cujus Pars Prior: Phaleg De Dispersione gentium* (1646, 1674) came from the library of the Rev. Samuel Lee (1625–91), father of Mather's third wife, Lydia Lee George, whom Mather married in 1715. By the time of Samuel Lee's death, two editions of *Bochart's Geographia* had appeared. It is uncertain which of the two editions Mather obtained. At any rate, Lee's encomium on *Bochart* is tempered by criticism: He "is certainly a learned author, but not one of the best judgment, and too verbose in the least necessary trifles. Also, he often shows off how much he has read, when it is hardly necessary. He could even have reduced his lengthy work to a tenth of the size." Well, there it is.

477.

Q. It is, in our Translation said, concerning the Builders of *Babel*, *They Journey'd from the East, and found a Plain, in the Land of Shinar*. Do you approve the Translation? v. 2.

A. No. The Mountains of *Ararat*, the *Gordyæan* Mountains, are not Eastward unto the Plain of *Shinar*; nor is the Countrey of *Armenia*. But a learned Man thinks, that *Kedem*, which wee translate, *The East*, is the proper Name for the Land of *Canaan*; or *Palestine*. To prove this, you need but consider that Place [Gen. 13.11, 12.] where tis said of *Lot*, *Hee Journeyed from the East*, when hee went from *Bethel*, to the Plains of *Jordan* and *Sodom*; whereas, *Bethel* is contrariwise to the *Eastward* of those Plains; but the Meaning is, Hee travelled from *Canaan*, or *Palestine*: And the Context [ver. 12.] will further clear it. You must know, that according to my learned Friend, this Countrey was of old Inhabited, by the most Ancient Patriarchs; & by *Noah*. It was called, *Kedem*, for its Antiquity: [from אֲנֶיִת / *Ante-ivit*.] and that famous *Phœnician*, who carried so many Hebrew Antiquities, with his Colonies; into *Grecia*, might bee called *Cadmus* because of the Countrey from whence hee came.¹

However, I do elsewhere give you further Intimations, about the Land of *Kedemah*, which may help to shape your Thoughts about this Matter.²

3154.

Q. What may be the Etymology of *Shinar*? v. 2.

A. *Bochart* thinks, it may be this. נָעַר / *Naar*, signifies, *To Shake out*. The Word is used, Job. 38.13. *That the Wicked might be Shaken out of the Earth*. The Inhabitants of this Land, were, by the Just Judgment of God, *Shaken out* of it, and scattered into all Parts of the World. It was therefore called, *The Land of Shinar*.

Pliny, and *Eutropius*, and *Ptolomy*, and *Ammianus*, and *Athanasius*, and the *Nubian* Geographer, mention *Singara*, a City of *Mesopotamia*. *Sextus Rufus* and

¹ *Bochart*, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 7, col. 30–32). The “learned Man” is Joannes Drusius, whose commentary on the Pentateuch, *Ad loca difficiliora Pentateuchi* (1617), excerpted in *Critici Sacri* (1:172), on (Gen. 11), has been cited several times before. See also Mather’s commentary on Gen. 2:8 (“BA”) and the same in *Threefold Paradise* (95–109). The Hebrew “Kedem,” which Mather here renders “Ante-(H)ivit” or “before the Hivite” (see Gen. 10:17) is here circumlocutiously associated with Cadmus, the mythical founder of the Boiotian Thebes, whom Mather links with the Cadmonites of Mt. Hermon (see Gen. 10 [277r] above). See also Theophilus Gale’s *Court of the Gentiles* (1672), part 1, bk. 1, chs. 6–7, pp. 31–39.

² Mather here refers to his commentary on Gen. 2:8 (above).

Pomponius Lætus mention a Countrey of that Name. And there is a Mountain of that Name in *Ptolomy*. The Name seems the same with our *Shinar*. And probably that Name, not only took in the Fields about *Babylon*, but also the whole Region on the Western Banks of *Tigris*, as far as the *Armenian Hills*.³

113.

Q. I pray, What is to bee Thought about, *The Confusion of Tongues*, at *Babel*? Is the Ancient & Vulgar Opinion that *Josephus* with the rest of Mankind ha's had of it, still to bee Received? v. 6, 7.⁴

A. There is a very learned Man, *Vitringa* by Name, who endeavours to prove, That the whole World is mistaken about that Business: tho' after all, I suspect, a great Part of the World will take *him* to be so. Hee examines, the original Text, which wee Translate, *They have all one Language*, and hee demonstrates, that it is not to bee understood, concerning an Agreement in *Dialects* of *Speech*, but an Agreement in *Sentiments* of *Mind*. Before Men attempted the Building of that unhappy *Tower*, there was a General & a Fraternal *Consent* among them; they were well united in *Temper*, in *Judgment*, in *Design*, & briefly, t'was a very loving World. But the Almighty God, being offended, at the *Design* which these People were now upon, (which *Design* of *Nimrod*, is, by the way, by *Josephus* well explained) so contrary to His Purpose of Replenishing the Earth with scattered Inhabitants, & Resolving to overthrow the *Foundation*, which they now laid for Idolatry, for Insatiable Tyranny, & for Illimitable Monarchy, Hee sent the Fire of *Dissension* among them. Hee divided their Counsels, & permitted the Dividing *Angels*, to distract them with very cross Apprehensions, & inflame them with mutual Animosities. And their Minds being now Incureably Alienated, they soon dispersed themselves, into the *Separations* of Regions and Climates, remote from one another. There are diverse things in the old Jewish Monuments, that

³ Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 5, col. 24–25). The Mesopotamian stronghold Singara is mentioned in Pliny (5.21.86), in Eutropius (*Breviarium ab urbe condita* 10.10), in Ptolemy (*Geographia* 5.18.9), in Ammianus Marcellinus (18.5.7; 18.9.3; 20.6.1, 9; 25.7.9), in Athanasius (*Historia Arianorum* 7.3.2), in Idrisi (*Geographia Nubiensis*, climatis 4, pars 6), in Sextus Rufus (*Breviarium de Victoriis et Provinciis*, cap. 29), and in *Opera Pomponii Laeti varia* (1521), which are the collected works of Pomponius Laetus (1425–97), the Italian humanist and editor of and commentator on Virgil. Ptolemy (*Geographia* 5.18.2) mentions the Singaras Mountains in Mesopotamia.

⁴ Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 1.4.3) provides the standard interpretation that God punished Nimrod's subjects for building the tower by causing "a tumult among them, by producing diverse languages; and causing that, through the multitude of those languages, they should not be able to understand one another." Significantly, Ibn Ezra (on Gen. 11:7) provides a more modern explication: God scattered the people first, and as a result the different languages slowly arose over a long period of time (*Commentary* 1:143). For a review of the exegetical debate, see Bochart's *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 15, col. 49–61); Johannes Buxtorf (the Younger), *Dissertationes philologico-theologicae* (1662), Diss. 1–3; Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:143–44); Jean LeClerc's *Twelve Dissertations* (Diss. VI, pp. 170–81), and Richard Simon's *Critical History of the OT* (bk. 1, chs. 14–15, pp. 97–107).

countenance this Interpretation; especially *That*, in Capitulis R. *Eliesaris. Cap. 24. Quid fecerunt? Accepit quisque gladium suum, et Depugnarunt inter se ad perditionem, ad eò ut media pars mundi illic gladio ceciderit.* And in the old Pagan Monuments also, there are sundry things of this Importance; especially in what *Hesiod* writes about the Fourth Age, in *Op. et Di.*: too long to bee Recited.⁵

To confirm this Notion, he saies,⁶ 'Tis easy to prove, That all the *Tongues* now in the World, have been derived, & altered, from the unchanged *Hebrew*, by a long Succession of Time; Yea, that the Posterity of *Cham*, kept the *Hebrew* much purer & longer, than the Children of *Japhet*; for this, wee have *Strabo's* Authority, besides a thousand other Evidences. And it is evident from *Job*, as well as other Monuments of Antiquity, That the Dispersed Oriental Nations, well understood, one another, with very little Difference of *Dialect*, many Ages after the Tower of *Babel*. Yea, you may Ask *Bochart*, & hee'l satisfy you, That the *Canaanites* themselves, five hundred Years after the Building of *Babel*, had the very same Language, wherein the Old Testament is written: it is called in Isa. 19.18. The Language of *Canaan*. | The *Names* of Men & Things, mentioned in the Book of *Genesis*, critically examined, will all evince this Assertion; and the Gradual Degeneration of Languages, among all People, by Traffic & Mixtures; whose primitive Words, especially such as wee can learn were in Use among them some thousands of Years ago, are plainly of an *Hebrew* Original, do's marvellously conspire to establish this *Hypothesis*. But the Essay would grow too long, if I should enlarge upon it. And it would, after all, seem liable to great *Exception's*. I do not acqui[sce] in *Vitringa's* Notion.⁷

[280v]

5 Mather here relies on Compegius Vitringa (1659–1722), the famous Dutch Hebraist, professor of Oriental languages and theology at Franeker. The work in question is probably Vitringa's *Observationum sacrarum libri septem* (1726), lib. 1, dissertatio prima, cap. 1–9, pp. 1–124, an oft-quoted collection examining controversial issues of exegesis (*SH* 12:229). Vitringa here challenges the orthodox interpretation that all mankind spoke one language (Gen. 11:1), arguing that “one language” is a figure of speech suggesting “unison” or “harmony.” This allegorization of the historical and grammatical sense is already contained in the Targum Hierosolymitanum (Gen. 11:1), in Walton (4:19), which suggests that “all the inhabitants of the earth were of one language, and of one speech, and of one counsel” (Etheridge 1:189). Vitringa thus implicitly rejects the miraculous explanation of the confusion of the languages at Babel and insists that the different tongues emerged through people's isolation and separation from one another. Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 1.4.3), Philo Judaeus (*De confusione linguarum* (5.15), and *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* (1:134–137b) – all affirm the miraculous confusion of the tongues. Mather's adaptation from Vorstius's Latin translation of רבי אליעזר פרקי *Capitula R. Elieser* (1644), cap. 24, p. 52 describes their confused reaction as follows: “What did they do? Every one took his sword, and they fought one another to destroy (each other), and half the world fell there by the sword” (*Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* 177). Hesiod (*Opera et Dies* 156–75) describes the fertility of the earth and the peace and tranquility of its inhabitants during the Fourth Age, before men of the Iron (or Fifth) Age sowed dissension.

6 Vitringa.

7 Among many others, St. Augustine (*De Civitate Dei* 16.11) argues that Hebrew was the first language of man, which was preserved by the descendents of Shem and Heber for a long time (*NPNFi* 2:317). For the same conservative assertion (Gen. 11:1), see Henry Ainsworth (*Annota-*

A Notion of *Becman*, in his, *Analecta Historica de Varijs Rebus, à condito mundo usque ad Tempora Constantini M.* deserves a little more Attention. He explains the *Confusion of Languages*, by supposing, That Men, by a Stroke from Heaven on their Minds, on a sudden forgott the Language which was common to all, & could not express themselves, till they were Divided into several Companies, & by Degrees framed a New Language, which was the Effect of an Invention purely Humane. So that there was nothing supernatural in the forming of New Languages; the *Miracle* was in their sudden forgetting of the old one. The Hebrew Word, for, *confounded* here, is to take in the *Shame* that seized Men, when they found they had forgott their Language.⁸ The Author of the *Dissertations Sur La Bible*, published lately at *Paris*, does expose the Opinion of *Gregory* of *Nysa*, according to whom, it was not the Confusion of *Tongues* that made the Nations to disperse, but it was rather their Dispersion that caused them to fall into a Diversity of Languages. Father *Simon*, and *Leclerc*, have embraced this Opinion,⁹ but our Author thinks,¹⁰ tis better to own the *Miracle*. God, who is

tiones 1:47), Matthew Poole (*Synopsis Criticorum* 1:139, 143), and Simon Patrick (1:57, 59–60). Whereas Ibn Ezra (*Commentary* 1: 143) asserts that God did not confound their language in an instant, but slowly and gradually through the dispersal of the people, R. Eliezer relates that God descended with seventy angels and confounded “their speech into seventy nations and seventy languages” (*Pirke*, ch. 24, pp. 176, 177). Simon Patrick (on Gen. 11:7) expresses the received interpretation of the day that God did not give the people new languages, but merely confused their memory of the “Original Language which they spake before, as made them speak it very differently: So that by the various Inflections, and Terminations, and Pronunciations of divers Dialects, they could no more understand one another, than they who understand *Latin*, *Italian*, or *Spanish*; tho these Languages arise out of it” (*Commentary* 1:59). Strabo (16.1.5) describes the ruins of Babylon and its mighty temple, but does not address the confusion of languages – as Mather seems to imply. See also Bochart, *Geographia* (1707), pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 15, col. 50–61. Vitringa rejects the miraculous confusion of tongues and opts for a linguistic evolution, the result of people’s regional isolation.

8 Johann Christoph Becmann (1641–1717), aka. Hubertus Mosanus, professor of Greek, history, theology, and rector of the Viadrina, at Frankfurt (Oder), published *Analecta historica de varijs rebus* (1709), pars 4, sec. 6, pp. 25–27, to which Mather here refers. Becmann is less inclined to attribute the profusion of languages to miracles in his *Historia Orbis Terrarum* (1698), cap. 9, sec. 3, “De Linguis,” pp. 375–94, where he explains the emergence and inter-relationship of some of the principal languages.

9 Louis Ellies Du Pin (1657–1719), the ecclesiastical historian and doctor at the Sorbonne, confounds Gregory of Nyssa’s daring assertion (*Answer to Eunomius’ Second Book*, in *NPNFii* 5:275–77), in Du Pin’s *Dissertationes Historiques, Chronologiques, Geographiques et Critiques sur la Bible* (1711), vol. 1, Diss. III, ch. 2, p. 240. The controversial Oratorian Richard Simon (*Critical History of the Old Testament*, bk. 1, ch. 15, pp. 101–07) adopts Gregory of Nyssa’s argument as does his Dutch colleague Jean LeClerc (*Twelve Dissertations*, Diss. VI, 170–81). In this dissertation titled “Concerning the Confusion of Languages,” LeClerc rejects as irrational the idea that the confusion of the (Hebrew) tongue of Nimrod’s Babel “was all transacted on the sudden.” Pointing to Ps. 55:10 as his proof text, LeClerc insists that “Discord and Dissention,” rather than the miraculous creation of new languages, are here meant, their disagreements leading to separation and isolation of the individual peoples and thus the development of their different languages (§ V, pp. 177–79).

10 Du Pin.

the Master of all His Creatures, might at once form New Tongues in the Brains of each Family, by which they applied certain Sounds to certain Objects, and at the same time rase out the ancient Traces, by which other Sounds were applied unto those Objects. If God, when He created *Adam* and *Eve*, did form in their Brains all the Traces necessary for so expressing themselves, that they may understand one another, where's the Difficulty to suppose the same thing after the Deluge?¹¹

2421.

But lett us hear *Grotius's* Opinion, about the *First Language*, which was in Use, before the Confusion at *Babel*?

Grotius thinks, That the *Primæval Tongue*, is now lost; but that *Every Tongue* hath now some Reliques of it. The *Proper Names* of *Adam* and *Eve* & the rest, that are evidently *Hebrew Names*, hee thinks translated by *Moses*, into that Language, for the Sake of them, to whom hee wrote. Thus *Curtius* tells us, that certain Souldiers, were by the *Persians* called, *Immortales*; and that the Passage into *Cilicia*, was by the Inhabitants called, *Pylæ*; and that the Commanders of *Regiments*, were by the *Persians* called, *Chiliarchi*; and many such things occur with all sorts of Historians. *Eusebius* {w}ell enough saies, that the *Phœnicians* call some, Ἀγαθὸς δαίμονας. *Herodian* as well saies, that the *Africans* called *Venus*, Ὀυρανίαν. *Diodorus* tells us, that the Names of *Pithecusa*, and *Ampelusius*, in *Africa*, are *Greek*, translated from the *Punic*. *Athenæus* tells us, That the *Celtæ*, carried about People to Eat and Drink with them, which they called, παρασίτους; that is to say, in a Gallic Word, that signified *Parasites*. The LXX Interpreters take this Liberty, in Translating of Names from the Hebrew into Greek; Hence wee find in them, Δρὺν ὑψηλὴν, The *High Oak*, Βάλανον πένθους, *Glaudem Luctus*; πόλιν γραμμάτων, *Urbem Literarum*, and the like.¹²

11 Significantly, Mather here implies that Adam and Eve did not acquire their language through a learning process but were endowed with a fully developed language from their inception. Thomas Hobbes was much less convinced than were the authors of Mather's sources. In his chapter "Of Speech," Hobbes does not question the belief in monogenesis, but dismissed the idea that God endowed Adam with a fully developed language with all its nuances of rhetorical refinement. Rather, Adam was only taught the basics of naming, which he could then augment as experience grew and his need to communicate with his many offspring increased over time (*Leviathan*, Part 1, ch. 4, pp. 24–25).

12 The entire paragraph is a translation of Hugo Grotius's commentary on Gen. 11:1 (*Annotationes* 1:10). Quintus Curtius Rufus (3.3.13, 3.4.11, 5.2.3) mentions the "Immortals" ("a body of 10,000 infantry"), "Pylæ" ("the Gates"), and the "Chiliarchas" ("a troupe of 1,000 men"). Eusebius (*Præparatio evangelica* 6.11.295d) dismisses the Phœnicians' belief in divine oracles to which each city laid claim: they are neither "gods" nor "good daemons," but "a class of jugglers, cheats, and deceivers." According to Herodianus (*Ab excessu divi Marci* 5.6.4, line 3), the Carthaginians called Venus "Ouranias" (Urania), a personification of the divine sky (*OCD*). Diodorus Siculus (20.58.3–4) mentions Pithecusa ("Ape-City"), but no Ampelusius – a promontory in Mauretania near modern Tangier mentioned by Pliny (5.1.2); see also *DGRG* (2:298); Athenæus Naucratis (*Deipnosophistae* 6.49.2–4) cites Posidonius of Apameia (*Fragm.*

3296:

Q. In what Sense is that Passage to be taken; *And now, nothing shall be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do?* We know, God immediately *did restrain them, from all that they imagined to do.* v. 6.

A. It is to be taken Interrogatively. The Text is to be translated, as it is, by the *Flemish Revisors*, and *Leusden*, thus; *Shall they not be restrained in all that they have imagined to do?*¹³

[281r]

Q. A more Thorough Determination, upon the *Confusion of Languages?* v. 9.

A. Accompanying Mr. *Chamberlayns* Exhibition of, THE LORDS PRAYER, in one hundred & fifty diverse Languages and Dialects, there is a Dissertation of Dr. *Wotton*, full of Incomparable Erudition, which will supply us with some agreeable Thoughts on this Occasion.¹⁴

There is Reason to take the History which *Moses* gives us of that great Occurrence, *The Confusion of Languages*, in the most literal Sense, & to beleeve that the Glorious GOD, who is the Maker & Giver of our *Speech*, did so strike the Minds of the Builders at Work upon their *Babel*, as to produce *miraculously* a Difference of *Languages* among them, which disabled them for understanding one another.

And the Opinion of *Leclerc* and others, that there was now produced no more than a bare Difference of *Opinions* among them, does not come up to the Truth, & the glorious *Miracle* of the Matter.¹⁵

172, lines 1–3) and relates that the Celts have these “parasites” serve as impromptu panegyrists for all occasions. The LXX mentions the “high oak” (Gen. 12:6), “The Oak of Mourning” (Gen. 35:8), and Dabir, “the City of Letters” (Josh. 15:15).

13 Long before the “Flemish Revisors” and the Dutch Orientalist Johannes Leusden (1624–99), professor of Hebrew and Greek at Utrecht, and editor (with Rabbi Joseph Athias) of *Biblia Sacra Hebraica correcta* (1667), interpreted the second part of Gen. 11:6 as an interrogative, the English Separatist theologian Henry Ainsworth (1571–1622) suggested as much in his *Annotations* (1627) 47.

14 Mather refers to John Chamberlayne’s *Oratio Dominica in diversas omnium fere gentium linguas* (1715), a collection of the Lord’s Prayer (Math. 6:9) in 150 different languages. Chamberlayne (c. 1666–c. 1723), member of the Royal Society of London and royal historiographer, is listed as the editor of this Amsterdam imprint, an expansion of Daniel Brown’s earlier London edition (1713) of the Lord’s Prayer in 100 different languages. *A Discourse Concerning the Confusion of Languages at Babel* (1730), by William Wotton, D. D. (c. 1666–1727), English philologist, prebendary of Salisbury, member of the Royal Society of London, and one of Jonathan Swift’s targets in *The Battle of the Books* (1710) and in *A Tale of the Tub* (1724), had previously appeared in John Chamberlayne’s Amsterdam (1715) collection of the Lord’s Prayer, but was reprinted in a separate London edition (1730) because of “the frequent Mistakes” (70) of the Chamberlayne imprint. My page references are to Wotton’s 1730 reprint.

15 The two paragraphs are a summary of Wotton’s *Discourse* (8–12). Wotton (11) singles out for reproach Jean LeClerc’s naturalist explanation “Concerning the Confusion of Languages,” in *Twelve Dissertations* (1696), Diss. VI, pp. 170–81, because LeClerc argues that the different languages developed from the dispersal and isolation of individual peoples and tribes, not from the supposed miraculous confusion of tongues in Babel. Since “the Occurrence of several

Tis true, A *Separation* of the Builders from one another, in Conjunction with other Accidents to which the affairs of the World are liable, would by degrees, bring on a mighty Change of *Dialects*. We see, how much the *Dialects* of the *Latin Tongue*, and of the *Teutonic*, have been changed in One Thousand Years; and how little, the People who have run into the various *Dialects* do understand one another.¹⁶

But then, it must be considered, That the various *Dialects* will be found plain Derivations and Deviations from *One Common Original*. Whereas we shall upon Examination find some *Originals*, to have certain distinct Forms, which run down into and thorough, all the *Subdivisions*, which are deduced from those *Originals*. And these *Originals* will be found produced at *Babel*, by that Glorious Hand, which first of all taught *Adam* and *Eve* to speak, & which dispensed the *Gift of Tongues* unto the Apostles on the Day of *Pentecost*. There is, that which we may call, the *Matter* of the *Languages*; This is in the Words, by which Men express the *Idea*'s of their Minds. But then, there is the *Form* of the *Languages*; For so we may call, the *Way*, wherein these Words are declined.¹⁷

The Hebrews use not various Terminations, of their *Nouns*, in the same Number; They only say /אִישׁ/ *A Man*, and /אִישִׁים/ *Men*. The Cases they vary, by Præpositions, which are so præfixed as to be incorporated into the Words themselves; as, /בְּ/ /לְ/ /הָ/. This way for Variation is found in all the Languages which have any Affinity with the *Hebrew*. But {it} is nowhere observed in any of the Languages derived from the *Latin* or the *Teutonic*.¹⁸

In declining of their *Verbs*, there is the like Difference found between the *Oriental* and the *Occidental* Tongues. A *Verb* in its Nature implies, a *Motion*, or a *Power to move*; a being *Moved*, or a being at *Rest*; And this is considered, as *past*, or *present*, or *to come*. Now, behold, how the Tongues differ from one another! The Nations of the *West*, in declining their *Verbs* Transitive, consider them only as *Active* and *Passive*; and the *Verbs* which are called *Substantives*, or *Deponents*, are formed in the like Manner. But now lett us go to the Nations of the *East*, that is to say, those whose Languages have some affinity with the Hebrew; and we shall find these go quite another Way to work. The *Hebrews* have Seven Conjugations, whereof Three are *Active*, Three are *Passive*, and One is *Reciprocal*. All these have the Preter Tense, the Future Tense, the Imperative, and the Infinitive Moods, and Participles; all distinguished by the Letters which they call *Servile*. The *Chaldee* & *Syriac* differ from the *Hebrew* only in this, that

Ages are related in a few lines" in the Mosaic account, interpreters mistakenly assume that the original language changed in an instant (*Twelve Dissertations* 178). See also D.C. Allen's "Some Theories."

¹⁶ Wotton (*Discourse* 12–13).

¹⁷ Wotton (*Discourse* 14–15). The gift of tongues was bestowed at Pentecost (Acts 2:3–4, 11).

¹⁸ Wotton (*Discourse* 16). The Hebrew noun אִישׁ [iysh] signifies "a man" (individual, male person) and its plural version אִישִׁים [iyshim] "men" (males) [Strong's # 376]. The Hebrew prefixes are /he/ lamed/ beth/.

[282v] they have but Six Conjugations; But the *Arabic* has no less than *Thirteen*. | There is another Distinction in which the Nations of the *East*, all differ from those of the *West*. They have no *Verbs* compounded with *Prepositions*, affixed unto them in all *Moods* and *Tenses*, to vary their Signification. All their Verbs are *Simple* ones. Tis vastly otherwise in the Languages of the Descendents from *Japhet*.¹⁹

We will observe one Distinction more. The Nations of the *East*, incorporate their *Possessive Pronouns* into the Nouns. Those of the *West*, make separate Words of them.

We will add another. The Nations of the *West*, have their *Degrees of Comparison*, Adjectives formed with their proper Terminations; which those of the *East* are Strangers to.²⁰

In fine, There are some *Fundamental Differences* from the other Languages, wherein all that are spoken by the Posterity of *Japhet*, agree one with another. Trace the Languages up as far as we can go, we shall find these *Essential Differences* between them, still retained under all the Mutations which thro' many Occasions, have in the following Ages come upon them.²¹

Indeed, (which is confessed by *Stiernhielm* himself, who in his Discourse, *De origine et progressu linguarum*, would reduce all the Languages of that Hæmisphære to one Original,) The *American* Languages, can as yett have but little Account given of them.²²

For the rest, it is plain, Their *Ways of Declining* their Wayes, have remained Invariable in the one Sort, and in the other Sort, for Thousands of Years; and they never have gone over to one another, nor never will.

19 Wotton (*Discourse* 17–18). Among the several Hebrew grammars in use in the seventeenth century was John Davis's *A Short Introduction to the Hebrew Tongue* (1656). The descendents of Noah's son Japheth were believed to have settled partly in Asia and in Europe – if Bochart (*Geographia*, pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 1. col. 147–51) and his peers are to be trusted.

20 Wotton (*Discourse* 18).

21 Wotton (*Discourse* 25).

22 Wotton (*Discourse* 27). The Swedish linguist and poet Georg Stiernhielm (1598–1672) authored *De linguarum origine praefatio*, which was prefixed to his *Evangelia ab Ulfila Gothorum in Moesia Episcopo* (1671). Stiernhielm maintained that Gothic (Old Norse), not Hebrew, was the first language of mankind, whose Adamic Eden was not in Assyria or Mesopotamia, but in Scandinavia (*Vagina gentium*). He was not the first (or last) enthusiast given to such extravagancies. (See Umberto Eco's lecture "The Dream of a Perfect Language"). The origin of the Native American languages gave rise to all sorts of speculations: R. Manasseh ben Israel and Antonio de Montezino for one argued that some of the Lost Tribes of Israel living in hiding in the Peruvian Andes spoke a corrupted form of Hebrew, in *Hope of Israel* (1650), esp. pp. 4–15; Thomas Thorowgood embellished this belief in *Iewes in America* (1650), ch. 5, pp. 14–16; John Eliot readily embraced Thorowgood's argument, but Cotton Mather dismissed the Hebrew origin of New England's Algonquin language (Smolinski, "Introduction," *Threefold Paradise* 24–25; Cogley, "Ancestry" and "Most Vile"); Thomas Jefferson, in *Notes on the State of Virginia* (ch. 11) proposed an East-Asian origin of the radically different languages and dialects spoken by Native Americans, but insisted that a thorough study be undertaken because his conjecture is based on the physical – not linguistic – similarities between Amerindians and East-Asians (93, 100–02).

But now, if we come to that Quæſtion, How many Languages are to be accounted *Originals*, or, may be ſuppoſed for to have been produced by the *Miraculous Touch* of God upon the Minds of Men at the Building of *Babel*; This is not *easy*, or perhaps *poſſible*, to be determined. But this may be ſaid; The *Dispersion* ſoon following the *Confuſion*, it is probable, that the Tribes which ſettled neareſt unto one another, did retain moſt of Affinity in their different Languages.²³

The Sons of *Japhet* moved, we know, to the *West* and *North*. *Junius* ha's proved that the *Gothic* and *Græcian* Languages, are Dialects growing upon one Root. And all the Learned confeſs the *Latin* to be a Daughter of the *Græcian*. But whether all the diſperſed Colonies of the *Japhetic Family*, had but One Tongue, is an Uncertainty.²⁴

But the *Finnic*, the *Sclavonic* and *Hungaric* Languages, look like Originals; not having any Affinity with the *Gothic* or the *Græcian*.

Whether the *Cantabrian* Tongue, (whereof the *Welch*, & the *Irish* & the *Armoric*, are Dialects,) be an Original, is not preſently to be decided.²⁵

But the *Miracle* is the ſame in forming of *Two Tongues*, as in the forming of *Seventy*. Dr. *Wotton* very juſtly complains, of thoſe learned Men, who will not allow *Miracles* to occur in ſome affairs of the Old Teſtament, where they cannot well be denied without a Præjudice unto Religion. And ſince *Prophecies* require a *Supernatural Knowledge* for the Opening of them, as *Miracles* require a *Supernatural Power* for the Working of them, the Industry wherewith many ſtudy to apply unto *other Matters*, the *Prophecies* relating to the *Messiah*, is in like Manner to be complained of.²⁶

Tho' *Miracles*, are as we ſay, *Non multiplicanda ſine neceſſitate*, yett thoſe Interpreters are to be blamed, who are worſe than the Magicians of *Egypt*, and will not acknowledge, *The Finger of GOD*, where it appears with conſpicuous Evidences.²⁷

Dr. *Wotton* thinks, That Heaven might ſee this Occaſion for the Working of this *Miracle*. The Fear of another *Flood* was now over. But Mankind muſt continue till the *Conflagration* which is now to be looked for. Now Mankind growing very wicked, a *Dispersion* | of the Nations, with a *Confuſion* of their [283r]

²³ Wotton (*Discourse* 28–33). Though conjectures differed widely, R. Johanan argued that God ſplit up “Every ſingle word ... into ſeventy languages” (Talmudic tractate Shabbath 88b). See alſo my annotation on Gen. 10 [MS 248v], note 70 (above).

²⁴ Wotton (*Discourse* 41–42). Francis Junius, fil. (1589–1677), German-born philologiſt and theologian, ſon of the illuſtrious Franciſcus Junius (François du Jon), ſtudied the ſurviving Saxon dialect in Frieſland and published fragments of the Anglo-Saxon goſpel and a gloſſary in his *Quatuor D. N. Jeſu Chriſti Evangeliorum verſiones per antiquæ duæ* (1655).

²⁵ Wotton (*Discourse* 42).

²⁶ Wotton (*Discourse* 43).

²⁷ Wotton (*Discourse* 44–45). The Latin phrase recommends that miracles ought “not to be multiplied without neceſſity,” when theologians explain the myſteries of God's providence.

Languages, ha's this Advantage in it. The People cannot so easily & so speedily infect one another with their Evil Principles & Practices. And from hence it was, that some Nations were for so many Ages, præserv'd from the *Idolatries*, which others were carried away withal.²⁸

As an Appendix to these Entertainments, I will transcribe some Words of Monsr. *Saurin*, in his *Dissertations Upon the Old Testament*, and leave them to Consideration.²⁹

"We cannot enter into the Opinion of those who think, that the *Hebrew* Language is the oldest in the World. It even seems to us, to have been fully proved, that it was not spoken by the First Descendents of *Heber*. They dwelt in *Chaldea*, and probably spoke the *Chaldean* Tongue; in which *Abraham*, having lived Seventy Years, went out of it by the Command of GOD, and dwelt in *Canaan*, where, doubtless, he retained, at least for a time, his Mother-Tongue. But the long Stay which he made, his Conversation with the People of the Countrey, the Possession he there acquired, the Alliances he there made, do all prove, that he learned the *Canaanitish* Language, and transmitted the same to his Posterity. Accordingly we see, that *Laban*, who had dwelt in *Chaldea*, spoke a Language different from that used in *Jacob's* Family, who dwelt in *Canaan*; From whence it proceeded, that *Laban* called the Heap of Stones, which was a *Witness of the Covenant* made with *Jacob*, *Jegar-Sahadutha*, which signified the same in the *Chaldee*, as *Galeed*, the Name given by *Jacob*, imported in the Language of *Canaan*, that is, *An Heap of Witnesses*.³⁰

"It is demonstrable, that in the following Ages, the Language of the Jews was different from that which their Ancestors spake in *Chaldea*; and that they did retain the Language of *Canaan*, which *Abraham* transmitted unto them.

"[See 1. King. XVIII.28. Dan. II.4.]³¹

"I conclude, That the *Chaldean*, *Syrian*, or *Aramean* Tongue, was that which *Heber* and his Descendents spoke; That *Abraham* learned the Language of *Canaan*, and transmitted the same to his Posterity; That this Language is the True *Hebrew*, which is called in Scripture, *The Language of Canaan*.

"But nothing proves, That the *Chaldean* Language spoken by *Hebers* Family, was that *only Tongue* spoken before the Building the Tower of *Babel*; perhaps that *only Tongue* was then confounded, and continued not since in any one Nation or Family."³²

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²⁸ Wotton (*Discourse* 47–48).

²⁹ The following paragraphs are cited from Jacques Saurin's *Dissertations* (Diss. X, 1:80–81).

³⁰ Saurin (1:80). For Laban's "Heap of Stones," see Gen. 31:47.

³¹ Saurin (1:80).

³² Saurin (1:81).

And as a Second Appendix, I will transfer a few Passages from Dr. *Tho. Burnett* [of *Westkington*] his *Demonstration of True Religion*.³³

He observes, That *Noah* & his Family, coming out of the *Ark*, the Face of Nature being strangely altered, therefore left from *That*, or from the *Dread* of such another Vengeance for the Future, they might, as tis Natural to suppose they might, be discouraged from a Necessary Industry, suspecting it might be all in vain, GOD gave them an Assurance of the Contrary.³⁴

And, as the World was now reduced unto but *Eight Persons*, it might be natural for them to Fear, that the Increase of other Creatures might overrun them & overwhelm them; This Fear was also particularly provided for.

And, because the Fruits of the Earth were now become useless, or were not capable of affording them such a nourishment as they did before; here was now another Sustenance provided, and a Liberty to eat *Flesh* indulged.³⁵

But that they might not feed upon *Raw Flesh*, which would not so well nourish them, & which might also have a tendency to infuse a Fierceness into them, who had been used unto a Milder Diet: yea, and the very Killing of the Beasts for Food, might also Tend unto the hardening of their Hearts & breed them up to Cruelty, and even Murder itself; Behold, a Prohibition upon the Eating of *Blood*, and upon *Murder*.

And, Lastly, Because Mankind might be affrighted at every Prospect of Rainy Weather, lest it should end in an Universal Devastation; GOD then made the Appearance of the *Rainbow* in the Clouds, a standing Memorial of His Promise, that another *Flood* should not come upon the World.³⁶

What is after this imputed unto *Ham*, upon seeing his Fathers Nakedness, is by the *Jews* generally understood, of something done, in Derision of the *First Promise*, arising from a Spirit of Infidelity in a Matter of the last Importance to Mankind.³⁷

The Building of the Tower of *Babel* that followed, seems to have been a Design of *Nimrod*, the Grandson of *Ham*, and the rest of that Branch of *Noahs* Family; probably in Opposition to the Judgment, which *Noah*, had prophetically denounced against them, That they should become Subject unto their Bretheren. To provide against this, they not only consult their own Security, but also contrive how to bring their Bretheren into an absolute Subjection to themselves.³⁸

³³ Rector of Westkington (Wiltshire) and prebendary of the cathedral of Sarum, Thomas Burnett, D.D. (d. 1750) delivered the distinguished Boyle Lecture for the years 1724–25 (sixteen sermons). Mather excerpts Burnett's *The Demonstration of True Religion* (1726), vol. 2, ch. 4, pp. 116–19; ch. 5, pp. 123, 126–30.

³⁴ Burnett, *Demonstration* 2:116, § 3.

³⁵ Burnett, *Demonstration* 2:117, §§ 4–5.

³⁶ Burnett, *Demonstration* 2:117–18, 119, §§ 6, 7.

³⁷ Burnett, *Demonstration* 2:123.

³⁸ Burnett, *Demonstration* 2:126–27.

For this Reason, tis probable, they began their *Tower*, not only for their own Defence, in Defiance of what Heaven had foretold & order'd, but also as the *Centre of Union* to their Family, and the Seat of that Universal Empire, which they might hope to make themselves Masters of.

To defeat their nefarious Enterprize, GOD inflicted a strange *Confusion of Tongues* upon them; which could not be brought about, but by absolutely forming their Minds anew, erasing all their former Idæas, and imprinting in an Instant others in the room of them, which nothing but a Divine Power could have accomplished.³⁹

By this, there was a Separation made of *Hams* wicked Family, from the rest of the World, that all Mankind might not be corrupted with their wicked Principles.⁴⁰

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654.

Q. Does *Pagan Antiquitie* mention any thing, of what followed quickly after the Flood; especially, the Tower of *Babel*? v. 9.⁴¹

A. Yes, Very much.

The Tower of *Babel*, is mentioned by *Berosus*, the Chaldæan; who saies, That it was built by *Giants*, which were *Terre Filij*, & waged War against the Gods, but were Dispersed, & had their Tower beaten down by a mighty Wind.⁴²

The Building of this Tower, is mentioned by *Hestiaeus*, and by one of the *Sibyls*, as *Josephus* affirms in his *Antiquities*; and by *Abydenus* and *Eupolemus*, as *Eusebius* asserts in his *Evangelical Preparation*. Probably, t'was the Tower of *Belus*, which is mentioned by *Herodotus*.⁴³

³⁹ Burnett, *Demonstration* 2:127–28.

⁴⁰ Burnett, *Demonstration* 2:129–30.

⁴¹ Mather's unacknowledged source for this entire section is John Edwards's *Discourse* (1:125–28). See also Heidegger (1:420, Exerc. XXI, § 12) and Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 9–12, col. 35–44).

⁴² The Babylonian priest Berosus (*Fragmenta*, fragm. 10a, lines 1–11) tells the old story about the giants (“the sons of the earth”) and their war against the gods, in a third-hand fragment surviving in Syncellus’s extract from Alexander Polyhistor. Eupolemus knowingly relates that the city Babylon was founded by survivors of the Flood who were “giants,” constructed the famous “tower,” but were overthrown and “dispersed over the whole earth” (Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* 9.17.418c–d).

⁴³ See Heidegger (1:420, 424–25, Exerc. XXI, §§ 13, 21). Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 1.4.3) cites both the Hellenic historian Hestiaeus (*Fragmenta*, fragm. 3.4–5) and the Sibylline Oracles (*Oracula Sibyllina* 3.98–109). Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.14, 15, 17) furnishes the same evidence from Abydenus, the Sibyls, and Eupolemus. Herodotus (1.181).

That this Tower was made of *Brick* and *Slime* (according to Gen. 11.3.) is intimated by what *Justin*, *Curtius*, *Vitruvius*, & others, do say, about the Walls of *Babylon*.⁴⁴

But, The Poets turn the History of the *Babel*-builders, into the Fable of the *Titans*, who heaped Mountain upon Mountain, to Scale the Heavens, & Fight the Gods; and these Poets, pick'd up the Name of *Japhet*, & clap'd it upon one of them.⁴⁵

The *Græcian* Fable, in *Homer*, concerning the *Theomachy* of the *Giants*, was doubtless derived, from what *Moses* relates, of *Nimrod*, attempting to *Build a City & a Tower, whose Top should reach up to Heaven*.⁴⁶

Indeed, they dream't not, of performing that thing Properly and Really. They knew the Height of the late Flood, fifteen Cubits above the highest Mountains, was yett short of Heaven; and they chose a *Plain* to bee the Seat of their Project. Nor is it likely, that a Refuge from *Another Flood*, was their Design; for God had newly promised, that there should never bee *Another*. Their Intent, briefly was, To keep together in One Body, and serve their Lusts upon one another, as long as they could; and afterwards, leave unto Posterity, a Monument of their Greatness. But the *Poets* interpreted their Words, in the grossest Manner, imaginable. However, they testify unto the Truth of the Sacred Story. And, as to that Part of their Intention, their, *Making them a Name*, the Poets transcribe it, into their Fiction, when they tell us, That after the *Giants*, who were begot of the *Earth*, had fought the Gods, their Mother *Earth*, incensed at the Defeat of her Sons, brought forth *Fame*.

This was the last Sister of the Giants;

*Illam Terra Parens, ira irritata Deorum, extremam (ut perhibent) Cao
Enceladoque sororem progeniuit.*

As to the Division of the Earth, among the Sons of *Noah*, the Division of the World, among the *Three Brethren*, the Sons of *Saturn*, was the poetical Account, from thence doubtless taken.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ See Heidegger (1:420, 421–22, Exerc. XXI, §§ 13, 15–16). Justinus, the epitomizer of Trogus Pompeius (*Historiarum Philippicarum* 1.2); Quintus Curtius Rufus (5.1.25–26, 29–32); and Vitruvius Pollio (*Architectura* 8.3.8) – all relate that the walls of Babylon were built with brick and bituminous matter.

⁴⁵ Hesiod (*Theogonia* 667–735) narrates Zeus's clash with the Titans, as do Virgil (*Georgics* 1.278–80; *Aeneid* 6.580–84), Ovid (*Fasti* 5.35–42, *Metamorphoses* 1.151–62), and many others. Hesiod mentions Iapetus, father of Atlas and Prometheus (*Theogonia* 18, 134, 507, 565), who is here associated with Noah's son Japheth (Gen. 5:32). See Gerard Vossius's *De Theologia Gentili* (lib. 1, cap. 18, p. 142).

⁴⁶ Homer (*Odyssey* 11.315–16) relates the fable of Iphimedeia, who (by Poseidon) had given birth to Otus and Ephialtes. By the age of nine, the two giants measured nine cubits wide and nine fathoms high, hoped to scale the heavens by piling "Ossa on Olympus, and Pelion" on Ossa, but were slain before they reached manhood. Gen. 11:4.

⁴⁷ Edwards (*Discourse* 1:128) footnotes Eustathius as his source. The reference is to Eustathius Thessalonicensis's annotation on *Iliad* 1.250, in *Commentarij ad Homerj Iliadem* (1:153, lines

[286v] |

2831.

Q. What special Reflection do the Jewes make upon the Builders of *Babel*? v. 9.

A. They tell us, The Sons of *Shem*, for joining with Rebellious *Nimrod* of *Cham*, (as it were, flouting their Fathers Blessing) to furnish up the Number of *Seventy*, made Brick for the Building of the Tower of *Babel*. *Seventy* of *Shems* Posterity, 600 Years after, were forced to go into the Land of *Cham*, and there forced to be Brick-makers, under *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt*, because they despised the Blessing of *Shem*, and remembred not the Story of the *Seventy* Families, that built the Tower of *Babel*.⁴⁸

3305.

Q. A further Touch, upon the Design, which the Builders of *Babel*, had in their Minds? v. 9.

A. One Part of their Design was, *To make them a Name*. Or, To leave a Monument of their great Actions behind them. Dr. *Tenison* also conjectures, That the Tower of *Babel* might be consecrated by the Builders of it, unto the *Sun*, as the Cause of drying up the Waters of the Deluge; (or, rather, which Dr. *Patrick* adds, as the most illustrious Resemblance of the *Shechinah*;) and that it was intended as an *Altar* whereon to sacrifice unto it. The Jewes do seem to have had some such Conjecture in their Minds, who by the Word, *Shem*, or, *Name*, understand, *God*; As if their Meaning were, *Lett us make us a God*, and Raise him a Temple.⁴⁹

1–2, 9). According to Gen. 7:20, the waters of Noah's Flood prevailed "fifteen cubits upward" above the mountains. Nimrod's Babel was built in the Plain of Shinar (Gen. 10:10). God made his rainbow covenant with Noah as a promise that the Ancient of Days would never again destroy the earth by a flood of water (Gen. 9:13–15). To avoid being scattered over the whole earth, the men of Babel built their city to make themselves a name (Gen. 11:4). Virgil recounts how Gaea gave birth to her daughter Fama, and of "Her [Fama], 'tis said, Mother Earth, provoked to anger against the gods, brought her forth last, as sister to Coeus and Enceladus" (*Aeneid* 4.178–80). In the best euhemerist tradition of *Prisca theologia*, the Early Church argued that the Hebrew Bible was the source for the classical myths. Thus the three sons of Noah (Shem, Ham, and Japheth), who divided the earth amongst themselves (Gen. 10:32), are linked with the sons of Saturn – Jupiter, Pluto, and Neptune (Hesiod's *Theogonia* 147–91; Cicero's *De natura deorum* 2.24.63–26.67).

⁴⁸ Mather may here have in mind R. Berekiah's explanation (*Genesis Rabbah* XXXVIII:8) and typologically links the seventy languages (arising from the confusion of the tongues at Babel) with the seventy sons of Jacob (via their ancestor Shem), who went to Egypt (Misrajim), one of the offspring of Ham, and were there enslaved to make bricks (Gen. 10:6, Exod. 1:5). See R. Eliezer (*Pirke* 24, pp. 176–77).

⁴⁹ Mather's primary source for this and the following two paragraphs is Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 11:4, in *Commentary* (1:59). Patrick himself here relies on *Of Idolatry: A Discourse* (1678), ch. 4, p. 42, by Thomas Tenison, D. D. (1636–1715), archbishop of Canterbury, who associates the building of the Tower of Babel with the worship of the sun, because this celestial body dried up the waters of Noah's Flood. For his annotations on "Let us make

Another Part of their Design was, *Lest they should be scattered abroad, upon the Face of the whole Earth*. It seems, that *Noah* having projected a Division of the Earth among his Posterity, these People had no mind to submit unto it; and therefore as Dr. *Usher* thinks, built this Fortress, to Defend themselves in their Purpose of not yeelding to it.⁵⁰

But, *The Fear of the Wicked shall come upon him*. The Dispersion which they feared, is brought upon themselves, by their own vain Attempt to avoid it. And the Names of those who conspired in the Attempt, are utterly buried in eternal Oblivion.⁵¹

3396.

Q. How did God *Confound their Language*? v. 9.

A. Some learned Men, would here have the Word, *Confound*, particularly marked. For God did not make them every one speak a New Different Language, but they had such a confused Remembrance of the Original Language, which they spake before, as made them speak it very differently. By various *Dialects*, and *Inflections*, and *Terminations* and *Pronunciations*, they could no more understand one another than they who understand *Latin*, can understand those who speak *French*, or *Italian*, or *Spanish*, tho' these Languages arise out of it.

Nor must it be imagined, that every Person had his peculiar *Dialect*; but that the same common *Dialect* was præserv'd by God, unto such Families, as He would have to make one Colony, in the ensuing Dispersion.⁵²

[▽Insert of 287r–294v]⁵³

[▽287r]

Q. That grand Affayr, of, *The Confusion of Languages*; Lett us again take it into Consideration? v. 9.

A. And we will principally employ an Exercitation of our learned *Heidegger*, on this great Subject; for the Supply of our Illustrations.⁵⁴

Heidegger inclines to the Opinion, That the *Sons of Shem*, were not concerned in the Attempt of building the *Tower of Babel*. The Builders of it are here called, בני האדם / *The Sons of Men*. A Phrase which the Scripture seems to use, for *Profane Men*, or those that are opposed unto the *Sons of God*. At least,

us a name [shem]" (Gen. 11:4), Patrick relies on Midrash Rabbah (Gen. XXXVIII:8), where Rabbi Ishmael and his school assert that "a name [shem]" here "means nought else but an idol."

⁵⁰ Mather's second-hand reference to James Ussher's *Annals* (1658) 3–4, appears in Patrick's annotation on Gen. 11:4 (*Commentary* 1:59).

⁵¹ Patrick (*Commentary* 1:59).

⁵² Both paragraphs are cribbed from Patrick's annotations on Gen. 11:7 (*Commentary* 1:59–60).

⁵³ See Appendix B.

⁵⁴ Mather's entire annotation on Gen. 11:9 [MS 287r–290v] is here excerpted and translated from Heidegger's *Historia Sacra Patriarcharum* (1:417, Exerc. XXI, § 5).

we may go as far as *Constantinus Manasses*, who in his *Annals*, thus expresses it; *Solus Heber ab eâ pænâ immunis evasit, quòd vana molientibus non assentiretur.*⁵⁵

There is a Difficulty of Geography, in that Passage; *They Journeyed from the East, & found a Plain in the Land of Shinar*. We all know, That the Oriental Parts of *Armenia*, where the *Ark* rested, were to the *Northward* of *Babylon*. *Capellus* will therefore have the *Kedem* here, which we render, *The East*, mean, *The Land*, which was afterwards called, *Kedem*. Whereas, *Bochart* flies to a Custome of the *Assyrians*, to call that Part of their Empire, which was on the other Side of *Tigris*, the *East*; and that which was on this Side, the *West*. But *Heidegger* goes another Way to Work. It is probable, That after the *Flood*, Men forsook as soon as they could, the mountainous Parts of *Armenia*; they were too cold for them; for, as *Haitho* the *Armenian* tells us, *The Mountains of Ararat, had alwayes vast Heaps of Snow upon them*. And probably they made their Descent into the next Parts of *Media*. For we find, they planted *Vineyards*; which we are informed by *Strabo*, could not be done in cold *Armenia*. So they crept along to the Fields of *Susiana*, and *Assyria*; which is to the *Eastward* of *Babylon*. The Difficulty of passing *Tigris* hereabouts, is of no Importance. For, who can say, that the *Art of Sailing* still continued a Mystery unto them. Or, if as *Dio* tells us, there were no Materials for *Shipping* in all those Parts, a little higher up, near the Fountains of *Tigris*, the River might be pass'd without Boats; Yea, and about *Ninus* and *Arbela*, where the River is the most rapid, we are told by *Diodorus*, and *Curtius*, and *Ar{r}ianus*, that *Alexander* found a Channel passable by all his Army.⁵⁶

The Land of *Shinar*, whereto they came, & which the Greek Version renders *Babylon*, the Arabic, *Bagdad*, the Chaldee, *Babel*; had not its Name, until after the *Confusion* happened there. It is as much as to say, The Land, (*que excutit*,) that *shakes out* and *scatters* its Inhabitants.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ The Hebrew phrase “bene ha adam” (Gen. 11:5) can also be rendered “children of men.” The Byzantine historian and poet Constantinus Manasses (d. 1187) argues in his *Compendium Chronicon* (464–66), “Only Heber avoided this punishment, because he did not agree with those who were attempting vanities.”

⁵⁶ Heidegger (1:418, Exerc. XXI, §§ 6, 7). Gen. 11:2; Ludovicus Cappellus’s annotations on Gen. 11:2 (*Critica Sacra* [1650], vol. 1). The debate is also synopsized in Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:139–40); Bochart (*Geographia*, lib. 1, cap. 7, col. 30–32; lib. 2, cap. 14, col. 92–96); Heidegger (1:418, § 6). Mather (via Heidegger, § 7) refers to the Armenian historian Antonius Haitho (d. c. 1308), a monk of Cyprus and thereafter of Poitiers (France), whose *De Tartaris sive liber historiarum partium Orientis* (1529) provides a detailed description of Asia. Strabo (11.14.4); Dio Cassius (*Historiae Romanae* 68.26, *Dio’s Roman History* 8:409). The story of Alexander’s crossing the Tigris (331/330 BCE) near the village of Arbella is told by Diodorus Siculus (17.53.4; 17.67.2–3), by Quintus Curtius Rufus (4.9.6; 5.3.1), and by Arrianus (*Alexandri anabasis* 3.15.4; 3.17.1).

⁵⁷ Heidegger (1:419, Exerc. XXI, § 8). For much of the same, see Bochart’s *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 8, col. 32–35). Mather’s excerpt from Heidegger is misleading because Heidegger does *not* refer to “Shinar” (Gen. 11:2), which the Greek, Arabic, and Chaldee versions render “Senaar” (LXX), “Sainur” (Arabic), and “Babylon” (Onkelos); but to Zech. 5:11 and Isa. 11:11, which are rendered “Babylon” (LXX and Chaldee Paraphrast) and “Babel,” *not* “Bagdad” (Ara-

But, what would they be at? *Lett us Build us a City & a Towre, whose Top may reach unto Heaven, and lett us make us a Name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the Face of the whole Earth.* We cannot, with *Abydenus*, imagine them so ridiculous, as to propose an Ascent into Heaven this Way. *Polyenus* indeed reports, That the *Thracians*, fancied *Cosinga*, the Priest of *Juno*, would by his Ladders, gett up thither, to accuse them unto his Mistress there. And *Martinius* tells us, That an Emperour of *China*, One *Hiavo*, was for erecting a Towre, as high as the *Moon*, that he might there meet with his deceased Lady, whom he thought retired thither. But our Gentlemen doubtless understood *Astronomy* a little better than so. *Josephus* pretends, that the Reason of their Undertaking, was their Defence & Safety from the Danger of another *Flood*. But, why would they then pitch upon a *Valley*, for their Edifice? And this also between Two Rivers, that had frequent Inundations? And why do they use *Brick*, which were less able to resist a *Flood*, than *Stone*? Our *Usher* thinks, that the Design of their Undertaking was, To prevent the *Dispersion*, which the Prophecy of their Father *Noah* had mentioned. But *Moses* tells us, their Design was, *To make them a Name*. Hereby our *Heidegger* will understand, A *Senate* of a vast Authority and Reputation, to reside in the City of *Babylon*, and præserved the *Traditions*, which their Father *Noah* had given unto them: Imagining, That eternal Concord must be præserved among the Children of Men, if it should become unlawful for any Man any where to speak any thing, but in the Name of, *The Senate of Babylon*. *Hujus enim futurum Sermones Antiquos custodire et tradere, ut sic retineatur Doctrina* πατροπαράδοτος.⁵⁸

| *Shinaar* was a Champaign Countrey, and abounded not with *Stones* fitt for the Purpose. Wherefore *Bricks* were employ'd on this Occasion: And had *Vitruvius* been there, he would have given this Direction unto them. So *Pliny* tells us of the *Græcians*; *Præterquam ubi è silice fieri potuit structura, parietes latericios protulère*. He tells us also, out of *Epigenes*, That *Brick-Walls* were in great Esteem among the *Babylonians*. *Benjamin* of *Tudela*, informs us, that this Tower of *Babel*, was built of *Bricks*, which are called *Lagour*; on which Word, *Bochart* notes, that *Lamed* is only a Particle, and the Word /אגור/ an Arabic Word, *Agour*, which signifies, *A Brick*. The *Mortar* here used about these *Bricks*, was *Bitumen*.

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bic) – all in Walton (1:40–41; 3:32–33, 118–19). Whatever the confusion, Mather's translation of "quae excutit" is correct.

58 Heidegger (1:419–20, Exerc. XXI, §§ 9, 10, 11). Gen. 11:4; Abydenus merely reports this lofty tradition but does not subscribe to it himself (Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* 9.14.416b). A native of Macedonia, Polyenus (Polyainos) was a Roman lawyer (fl. 160–180 CE), whose largely derivative *Strategemata* (7.22), dedicated to Emperor Marcus Aurelius, relates the story of Cosingas, the Thracian priest in Juno's temple. The Italian Jesuit missionary Martinus Martinius (Martini) tells his Chinese version of Babel and of Emperor Hiaouus (c. 140 BCE) in *Sinicae Historiae Decas Prima* (1659), lib. 8, cap. 6, pp. 356, 365; see also lib. 3, cap. 28, pp. 91–92. Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 1.4.2–3); James Ussher, *Annales* (1650), lib. 1, p. 5. Thus Heidegger (§ 11) imagines the Babylonian senate decreed "that it would protect and pass on the ancient languages in future, so that the learning handed down by the fathers might thus be retained."

For *Lime-Stones* as well as others, were wanting here; But *Strabo*, and *Justin*, tell us, That there was a vast Plenty of *Bitumen* hereabouts. And *Vitruvius* also celebrates the Liquid *Bitumen*, which this Countrey afforded, for the building of the Walls of *Babylon*.⁵⁹

How far they proceeded in building their *City* and their *Tower*, we have no certain Account. Probably not very far, in their *City*; tho' afterwards, that mett with several and successive Enlargements; Even as late as the Days of *Nebuchadnezzar*. *Moses* takes more Notice of the *Tower*, than of the *City*. But what *Jerom* relates, of its being *Four Miles High*, is as little to be regarded, as the Relation of *Herodotus*, which I do not reckon worthy to be recited; tho' more worthy, than that of the *Pirke Avoth*, which carries it up to the Heighth of *Seventy Miles*, to hold a Correspondence with their Figment of the *Seventy Angels* that surround the *Throne of Grace*; and the *Seventy Nations*, and the *Seventy Languages*, into which, they will tell you, the World is anon to be divided.⁶⁰

While they were thus engaged, the Great GOD saies, *Lett us go down, & confound their Language*. The Hebrew Doctors, tell us, that the *בֵּית דִּין* / *Domus Judicij*, is address'd in these Words. Old *Raymund* in his *Pugio Fidei* notes upon it; That it was not called, *The House of Judgment*, except *Three Judges* pass'd a Judgment. But the true *House of Judgment*, is the adorable *Trinity*, of, *The Father*, and the *Son*, and the *Holy Spirit*. And thus the Christian Ancients, especially *Cyrl*, expounded this Passage. *Heidegger* will by no means consent unto the Concession of *Aben-Ezra*, and of *Austin*, That the *Angels* may be intended. It is without Exemple, That the Great GOD, should Join Himself with the *Angels*, without any Distinction, in a Work so peculiar unto Himself. To turn *One*

⁵⁹ Heidegger (1:420–21, Exerc. XXI, § 14). Mather forgets to tell us what *Vitruvius*'s directions are. At any rate, in *De architectura* (1.5.8), *Vitruvius* recommends that wherever possible, builders should use "dimension stone [square stones], flint, rubble, burnt or unburnt brick, – use them as you find them." Likewise, *Pliny* (35.49.172) tells us that "The Greeks preferred brick walls except in places permitting of a stone structure." Citing *Epigenes* of Byzantium (2nd c. BCE), a Chaldean astrologer and priest, *Pliny* (7.56.193) explains "that the Babylonians had astronomical observations for 730,000 years inscribed on baked bricks." Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Babel's ruins during his travels in 1165–73, mentions that the bricks were called "Agur" (*Itinerarium* 77) and "Lagour" (*Itinerary* 65); *Bochart*, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 11, col. 38–43). *Strabo* (16.1.15); *Justinus* (*Historiarum Philippicarum in Epitomen* 1.2); *Vitruvius* (*De architectura* 8.3.8).

⁶⁰ Heidegger (1:422, Exerc. XXXI, § 17). Gen. 11:4–5; 35:21. St. Jerome, *Commentaria in Isaiam lib. 5* (Isa. 14:22–23) [PL 24. 164A]. Mather dismisses *Herodotus*'s claim (*Historia* 1.181) that the Tower of Babel consisted of eight stepped towers or ziggurats (one on top of the other), one square stade at the base, with a circular ascent to the top. Mather's reference to "*Pirke Avoth*" ("Sayings of the Fathers") is erroneous, since Heidegger only mentions "*Pirke* cap. xxiv." In *Pirke de R. Eliezer* (ch. 24, p. 176, n2), Gerald Friedlander points out that in the first printed edition of *Pirke de R. Eliezer*, the height of the Tower of Babel was listed as "seventy," in subsequent editions as "seven miles." The story of the seventy angels surrounding "the throne of His glory" and of the "seventy nations" and "seventy languages" appears in the same chapter 24, p. 176.

Tongue in a Moment into *Many*, is a Work, to be done by none but Him, to whom, to *Will* and to *Do*, is the same. Heidegger thinks it, a solid Argument, which our Divines fetch from hence, for a *Plurality of Persons* in the Godhead.⁶¹

The Almighty God could have stopt the Work of these People, with Thunderbolts. But He would make a *Confusion* of Tongues, the Punishment of an unlawful Attempt for *Unity*. And He would have the Glory of this *Miracle* to be perpetuated. But after what Manner was it accomplished? *Pererius* thinks, it begun with an *Oblivion* of their *former Tongue*; and then that the Faculty of running upon *other Tongues* was infused into their Minds. A Jew would have persuaded *Scaliger*, That they all still kept the *Hebrew Tongue*, but lost the Signification of the Terms used in it.⁶² But *Isaac Casaubon*, is of the Opinion, That a *Total Change of Tongue*, was not on a sudden at once brought upon the World. The Difficulty of their Understanding one another arose, from their being thrown upon many New *εγκλισεις και προσεγκλισεις*. *Formations* and *Declensions*, of the *Tongue*, which they had in common among them, when they began to build. It was by Degrees, that the *Dispersion* of these People was carried on; The *Assyrians* and the *Chaldeans*, must have been Instances of it, if a *Total Change of Tongue* had been at once introduced.⁶³ But we see otherwise; and we see, the nearer

61 Heidegger (1:422–23, Exerc. XXI, § 18). Gen. 11:7. Among Heidegger's Hebrew sources for the "bayith din," or "House of Judgment," "Court," or "host above" are Maimonides (*Doctor Perplexorum*, pars II, cap. VI, p. 201; *Guide* 2.6.161) and Midrash Rabbah (Gen. LI.2), where R. Leazar glosses, "Wherever 'And the Lord' occurs, it means, He and His heavenly Court." "Old *Raymund*" or Raimundus Martinus (c. 1220–c. 84), Dominican theologian and significant Medieval Orientalist of Catalonia (Spain), is now mostly remembered for his *Pugio Fidei Christianae adversus Mauros et Iudaeos* (wr. 1278), a Hebrew and Latin polemic against Judaism and Islam that draws on the Talmud, Midrash, and Cabbala (1651, 1687). Martinus's commentary on "domus Iudicii" appears in *Pugio Fidei* (1687), pars 3, dist. 1, cap. 3, § 4, pp. 487–88, and Heidegger relies on Joseph de Voisin's *Observationes* (pars 3, dist. 1, cap. 3), in Martinus's *Pugio Fidei* (1687) 488–90. Heidegger (1:423) supports the Trinitarian position of Cyril of Alexandria, in *Contra Julianum* (1.27, 32–33, 47–48) and in *Glaphyra in Penta-teuchum* [PG 69. 77, lines 53–55], where Cyril insists that Moses (Gen. 11:6–7) refers to the Trinity – not to the angels; however, both Ibn Ezra (*Commentary* 1:141–42) and St. Augustine (*De Civitate Dei* 16.6) disagree and contend that the phrase "Let us" here signifies that God speaks to the angels (*NPNFi* 2:313–14).

62 This portion is extracted and translated from Heidegger (1:423, Exerc. XXI, § 19). Heidegger enlists in the debate *Commentariorum et disputationum in Genesim* (tom. 2, lib. 16, disput. 9), by the Spanish Jesuit scholar Benedictus Pererius, a copy of whose work (1596–1602) is in the Mather libraries (AAS). Most likely Rashi's commentary on Gen. 11:7 (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:137b), which the great teacher extracts from Midrash Rabbah (Gen. XXXVIII:10), persuaded the Italian scholar Julius Caesar Scaliger (*Exotericarum Exercitationum*, Exerc. CCLIX, sec. 1) that the Hebrew language remained in use even after the confusion of the tongues, except that the same words signified different concepts to those affected by it. As Rashi has it, one worker at the Tower asks for a brick, yet his coworker gives him mortar instead. See also Simon Patrick's *Commentary* (1:59–60).

63 This portion is extracted from Heidegger (1:424, § 20). The Geneva-born Huguenot scholar Meric Casaubon (1599–1671) dismisses the instantaneous change of languages and argues for a gradual transformation over time through dispersion (*De quatuor linguis com-*

any People have kept unto the First Seats of Mankind after the Flood, the more sensible Footsteps do they keep of the *Primitive Hebrew* in their Language. Our *Heidegger* comes with his *Epicrisis*. He thinks, That the *Confusion* was at first so great, as to spoil their Understanding of one another; and so to stop the Progress of the Work they were upon. But for | the Manner of introducing the *Confusion*, it is not easy to give any certain and exact Account. The *Confusion of Tongues*, will not necessarily imply a total *Conversion into New Tongues*. And ingenious Men, as *Avenarius*, and *Cruciger*, and *Hottinger*, and many others, have given curious Demonstrations, That very much of the *Tongues* at this day spoken in the World, among the principal Nations of Mankind, are evidently derived from the ancient *Hebrew*; the Hebrew, is אֵם כָּל הַלְשֹׁנָה / *Matrix omnium linguarum*. And we see, a vast *Change of Tongue*, to grow upon People, by Conversation, and many other Circumstances. It is likely, That with *Some Change of Speech*, at this *Confusion of Babel*, the Immediate Hand of God inflicted a strange *Perturbation* on the Minds of the *Builders*, which more disposed them to *misapprehend* one another, and so fill'd them with Mistakes of one another, that they could not proceed in any comfortable Manner, with what they were upon.⁶⁴

The *Gentiles* look'd on this History of *Moses*, as a *Fable*. *Philo* confutes the *Gentiles*; but he so turns the *History* into an *Allegory*, *ut tantum non causam bonam* (saies my *Heidegger*), *vel desernisse, vel prostituisse, censeri debeat*.⁶⁵

mentationis, pars 1, esp. pp. 1–25). Heidegger's second-hand quotation is from *De linguarum confusione*, by Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614), whose work is here extracted at some length by his son Meric (*De quatuor linguis*, pars 1, p. 17).

⁶⁴ Heidegger (1:424–25, § 21). Mather's neologism "*Epicrisis*" reads "*epikrinesthai*" in Heidegger (1:424) and suggests "final decision" or "final judgment." Heidegger refers to *Liber radicum seu Lexicon Ebraicum* (1589), by Johannes Avenarius, aka. Johann Habermann (1516–90), a Lutheran professor of theology at Wittenberg, now best remembered for his still popular prayer book. Georgius Cruciger, D. D. (1575–1637), professor of theology and rector of Marburg University, represented the Duchy of Hessa at the Synod of Dort (1618). His *Disputatio metaphysica* was published in 1617. Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–67), Swiss philologist, professor of theology and Oriental languages at Zurich and Heidelberg, was a philologist of the first order. In classifying ancient Chaldean, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic languages on the basis of their etymological relation to Hebrew, Hottinger laid the foundation for subsequent philological demonstrations that Hebrew was *not* the origin of all languages as was generally believed. His *Etymologicum orientale* (1661) and his oft-cited *Smegma orientale* (1658) are among the works that Mather (via Heidegger) here alludes to. *Smegma* (lib. 1, cap. 4, pp. 59–67) contains Hottinger's essay "*De linguarum confusione*" (see also A. D. White, *History of Warfare* 2:189–90). Mather inverts the sequence of the Hebrew citation from Heidegger, which here signifies "mother of all languages."

⁶⁵ Heidegger (1:426, Exerc. XXI, § 23). Philo Judaeus's *De confusione Linguarum* (2.2–5.15) acknowledges the fabulous nature of Gen. 11:1–9 and its similarities to the Gigantomachia of Homer's Mt. Ossa and Mt. Pelion. In this story, the two mountains were to be piled upon Mt. Olympos to enable Poseidon's giant sons Otos and Ephialtes to make war on the gods in heaven (*Odyssey* 11.305–20; *Iliad* 5.385). In this context, Philo also dismisses the ancient fable of the animals speaking the same language, but defends the Mosaic version of man's common language at the Tower of Babel, by offering several allegorical, tropological, and anagogical readings. Heidegger argues that Philo allegorized the story of the confusion of man's common

In the *Apocalypse*, we find a *Great City*, called *Babylon*, which intoxicates the Nations of the Earth, with the *Cup of her Fornications*.⁶⁶

This Mystical *Babel*, is also a Society of People, combining to establish a certain Unity and Obedience, among the Nations of the World. It is easy to tell, where it is to be mett withal.⁶⁷

The *Dispersion of the Nations* after this Revolution, was gradually carried on.

How the World ha's been divided among the *Three Sons of Noah*, we have elsewhere considered. But being myself an *American*, and furnishing out a Work, which we entitle, *BIBLIA AMERICANA*; I am willing to allow a particular Consideration of what our *Heidegger* observes about *America*.⁶⁸

There are very learned Men, who allow *America* unto the Offspring of *Shem*; and particularly to the Descendents of *Jobab* and *Ophir*, the Sons of *Joctan*. This is the Sense of *Arias Montanus*, in his *Phaleg*; and *Vatablus* in his *Scholia* on the first Book of *Kings*.⁶⁹

Whether this be so, or no; we are well assured, Lett those two Fools *Paracelsus* and *Peyrerius* pretend what they will, that the *Americans*, are of the *Noetic Original*. There is a great Probability of what is affirmed by *Acosta* and *Brierwood*; That *Asia* and *America* are contiguous. Besides this, the *Phœnicians* were great Sailors, and sometimes took long Voyages, by which, and by

language at Babylon “only that he [Philo] might not need to be supposed to have abandoned or dishonored a good cause.”

66 Heidegger (1:427, Exerc. XXI, § 26). Rev. 14:8.

67 In *Tripuradisis*, Mather (*Threefold Paradise* 179, 233, 319) identifies “Mystical *Babel*” as the sequence of Four Empires in Nebuchadnezzar’s visionary statue (Dan. 2:31–45).

68 Heidegger (1:435, Exerc. XXII, § 15). Mather discussed the dispersion of Shem, Ham, and Japheth and the peopling of America in his commentary on Gen. 10:1ff (MS 237r, 245r, 257r–260v). Identifying himself as “an *American*” is not so much an effusion of Mather’s pride of hemispheric, let alone patriotic, origin as his tongue-in-cheek irony, for until at least the middle of the eighteenth century, the designation “American” signified “American Indian” rather than an “American of European descent.” (See also Mather’s “*Problema Theologicum*” (1703, 1994), MS pp. 68–69). Not even the up-to-date online *OED* (2nd edition, 1989) seems aware of this early usage, listing Benjamin Gale’s “Historical Memoirs, relating to the Practice of Inoculation for Small-Pox, in the British American Provinces,” *PT* 55 (1765): 198, as the first occurrence of the term in its Eurocentric designation.

69 The Spanish Orientalist Arias Montanus (1527–98) argues for the Semitic origin of the Native Americans in his *Phaleg: sive, De gentium sedibus primis, orbisque terrae situ liber* (1572). This work was included in the famous eight-volume polyglot Bible of King Philip II of Spain *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, et Latine* (1572). Franciscus Vatablus (c. 1485–1547), French Orientalist and professor of theology and Hebrew, offers much the same in his *Annotationes in Sacra Biblia, et Scholia* (1546), scholia (super 3 Regnum, cap. IX:28). Vatablus’s annotations and scholiae on the Bible were compiled by his students, whose lecture notes were published separately and integrated into many biblical commentaries. New England’s own Samuel Sewall (1652–1730) must be included in this list of authors. In his *Phaenomena quaedam Apocalyptica* (1697) 54–55, Sewall contradicts the exclusion of America from Christ’s millennial kingdom by claiming that America’s indigenous populations were descendants of Japheth and Shem. See R. Smolinski, “*Israel Redivivus*” (esp. 369–83).

various Accidents, People might be carried over the *Atlantic* into *America*. Yea; the *Divine Providence* ha's ordered, that the Countreyes which have *huge Sea's* between them, yett generally meet somewhere, with an *Isthmus*, or some small passable Distance of Water. An *Isthmus* unites *Asia* and *Africa*. The *Mexican* and *Peruvian* Divisions of *America*, are united by an *Isthmus*. There are but *Narrow Streights* between *Africa* and *Europe*; and *Europe* is very sufficiently joined unto *Asia*. If there be any Streights of *Anian*, between *Asia* and *America*, they may be produced in later Ages; possibly they were not from the Beginning. The most famous *Islands*, in the World, are so scituated, as to be easily accessible from the Continent. This Conjunction of Countreyes, *Non Sinè Numine facta est*.⁷⁰

Shemites might pass into *America* out of *Asia*; and so might *Japhetites* too, from *Tartary*. And why not *Europeans*? *Norway* is not far from *Iseland*; *Iseland* is but a little Way from *Groenland*; From *Groenland* we soon pass into the *Mexican America*.⁷¹

But how could the *Animals* gett thither? Even the most Noxious and Venemous *Animals*, are transported a great Way, by Men for *Pleasure*, or *Profit*? And why may not such a *Divine Instinct*, as brought the Creatures unto *Noah*,

70 Heidegger (1:436–38, Exerc. XXII, §§ 16, 17). The Swiss chemist and occultist Paracelsus, aka. Theophrastus Phillippus Aureolus Bombastus von Hohenheim (1493–1541), did not believe in monogenesis of the human race and argued that the Native Americans were not descended from Adam and Eve, but were the soulless offspring of a separate creation (See D. C. Allen, *Legend* 132–33; and L. E. Huddleston, *Origin* 9–12, 138). Although Paracelsus's book in which he discusses Native Americans is supposed to be lost, his *Ex libro de nymphis, sylphis, pygmaeis* (1566) argues for polygenesis and distinguishes between four kinds of spirit-men: "the water people, the mountain people, the fire people and the wind people" – all without human souls (*Four Treatises* IV, p. 226). Thus Isaac La Peyrère was not the first to advocate polygenesis, yet he was the most controversial in his *Prae-Adamitae* (1655). Mather, who owned an English translation of this work (1656), dismisses La Peyrère's theory of polygenesis and the argument that the Native Americans are *not* descendents of Noah (*A Theological Systeme*, lib. 3, cap. 13, pp. 276–81). In his *Naturall and Moral Historie* (1604), the Spanish Friar José Acosta argues that since Noah's Flood was universal, America was repopled either by navigation or by a land bridge. But since wild animals are not likely to have been carried over in ships, Asia and America must be contiguous (bk. 1, chs. 19–21, pp. 61–71; bk. 7, chs. 2–3, pp. 497–503). Mather's "*Brierwood*," or rather, Edward Brerewood (c. 1565–1613), professor of astronomy at Gresham College (London), makes the same argument in his oft-reprinted *Enquiries Touching the Diversity of Languages* (1614), ch. 13, p. 97. Brerewood here insists that "the Northeast part of *Asia* possessed by the *Tartars*, is if not continent with the West side of *America* ... it is at least disioyned by sea ... by some narrow channel of Ocean." This conjunction, Heidegger argues, "is made not without God's will."

71 Heidegger (1:437, Exerc. XXII, § 18). Even Hugo Grotius had argued that the Europeans, especially the Norwegians, might have easily passed from Scandinavia via Iceland and Greenland to North and Central America (*De origine gentium Americanarum* [1642]), but Joannes de Laet did not take long to deride this argument in his *Notae ad dissertationem Hugonis Grotii* (1643). Others soon followed suit. See also R. Cogley, "Ancestry" (308).

now carry them where they might find a Passage into vast Regions, where God had provided Habitations for them?⁷²

[blank]⁷³

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[▽291r]

Q. The Tower of *Babel*, how does it appear at this Day, in the Reliques and Ruines of it? v. 9.

A. An Inquisitive and Ingenious Traveller, whose Name is Mr. *John MacGregory*, ha's lately obliged us, with, *An Account of the Sepulchres of the Ancients*.⁷⁴

The *Brick* of the Ancients being more durable than *Stone*; and the *Bitumen* of the *Babylonians* more strong than any Cement or Mortar in the World; there still remains very much of that famous *Tower*, whereof this Gentleman ha's been a critical Eye-Witness, & has given us this Description.

He describes it, first, as it was carried on with relation to its first & original Design.

The Tower is exactly Square, that is, having Four Sides, and as many Angles, or Inclinations of the Sides, equal; in form of an Obelisk, or Pyramid; that is, a Figure, the Sides whereof are equal, and oblique, or in ascending from the Base to the Top, incline towards one another, so as to meet and end in a Point; and whose Angles, or Inclinations of the Sides, are Acute, and less than Ninety Degrees, or the Fourth Part of the Circumference of a Circle.⁷⁵

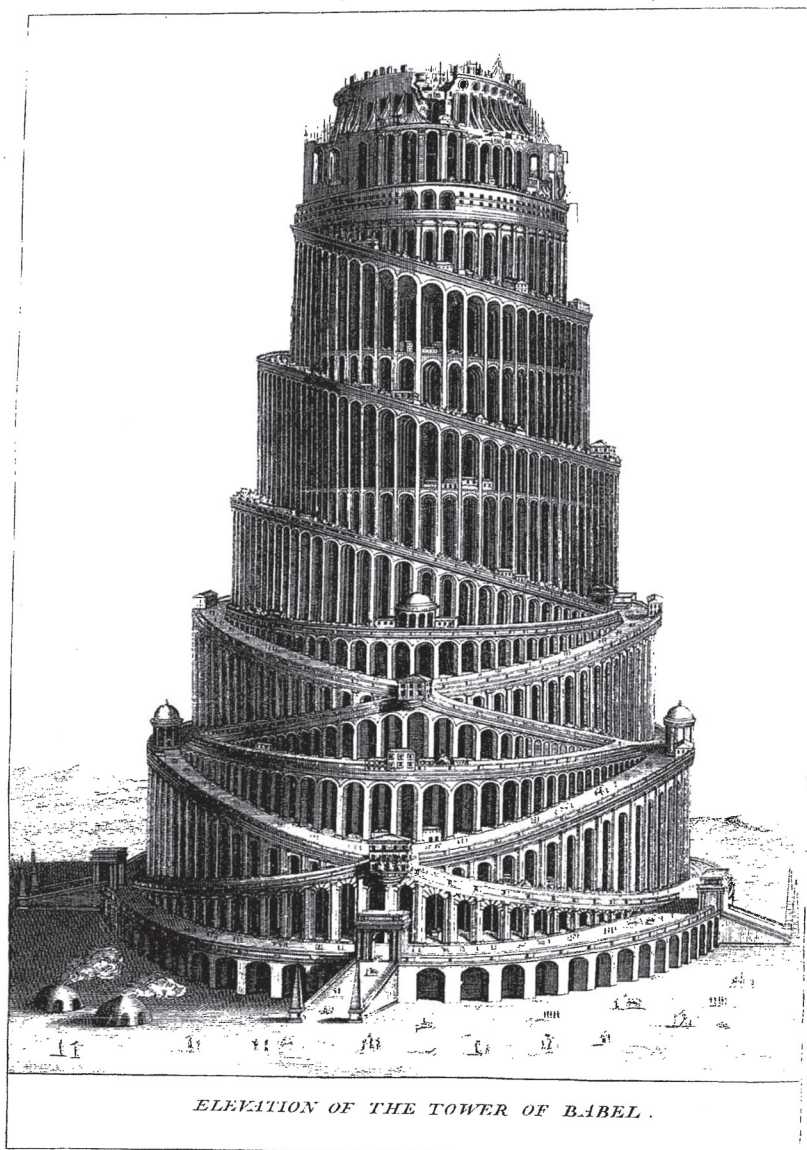
The Length of one of the Sides, is, Two hundred & fourty three foot; that is to say, of the Ancient *Babylonian* Foot, which is æqual to a *London* foot, and two Inches. This being multiplied by Four, makes the Circumference, Nine hundred and Seventy two Foot: or, a Thousand and Thirty four *London* foot; that is, Two

72 Heidegger (1:437–38, Exerc. XXII, §§ 19, 20). Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 2, vol. 1, cap. 37–38, col. 639–47). That the ancient Phoenicians or Carthaginians might have drifted off course and thus inadvertently peopled the New World was likely enough, but that their ships were laden with predatory animals whose progeny would subsequently inhabit America was not to be expected – at least if Acosta, de Laet, La Peyrère, or Georgius Hornius's point-by-point refutation *De originibus Americanis libri quatuor* (1652) could be trusted. Thus Mather wondered, why not a repetition of the miracle such as the one that led the animals into Noah's Ark? (Gen. 7:2–3, 8–9).

73 Mather's insert of four leaves (see note 54 above) ends here; however, to preserve the ordinal sequence of biblical verses, his remaining three annotations on Gen. 11:20, 22, 28, and 29 have been moved from [286v] to their new location between [294v] and [295r].

74 The entire section is extracted from *An Account of the Sepulchres of the Ancients* (1712) 35–43, by John Mack Gregory (fl. 1705–15), self-styled professor of geography and history who made a living through public lectures in Edinburgh and London. Mack Gregory's publication was valuable to those who in the Battle of the Books needed eyewitness accounts and modern standards of scientific inquiry to confirm the reliability of the ancients. With some very minor variations in spelling and punctuation, Mather's extract is from Mack Gregory's *Account* (35–43). For a brief background on this author, see C. W. J. Withers's "Towards a History of Geography" (8–9).

75 Mack Gregory (35).

*John Harris Sculp*

A Compleat Collection of the Genuine Works of Flavius Josephus (1736).
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hundred & twenty six Geometrical Paces, & four foot; which is more than the fifth Part of an English Mile.

The perpendicular Heighth is Two hundred & forty three foot; equal to the Root of the Square. The Heighth Oblique or Inclining, Two hundred & Seventy one foot and an half; The Angle, or Inclination of the Sides, at the Base, Sixty Degrees, or the Sixth Part of the Circumference of a Circle; and the Angle of the Heighth, or at the Top, Thirty Degrees, or the Twelfth Part of a Circle.

The whole is a Mass of Brick and Bitumen-Work, enclosing an Hill and a Rock: It amounts to Seven Million five hundred and ninety five thousand, an hundred and fifty four *London* Cube foot; upon Eighty Thousand, three hundred & seventy two Square.⁷⁶

Tis divided into Nine Parts, which are as it were so many Towers Square, in form of Parallelopipeds, or Flat Cubes; that is, Figures, whose Sides are equal, perpendicular, or straight, and parallel to, or equidistant from, one another; and whose Angles of the Sides are Right; that is, just Ninety Degrees, or the Fourth Part of the Circumference of a Circle; raised Obelisk-wise, or Pyramidically, one above another; the Root of the Square in the one above diminishing from That in the other below by an equal Number of Foot, which is Twenty Seven; so as to make a Corridor or Gallery, an Estrade, or Walk, betwixt the Two; upon the Top of the one below, and along the Sides of the other above, all around, Thirteen foot & an half broad; the Height of them all being æqual, Twenty Seven foot; the same with the Difference between the Roots of the Squares; and perpendicular, not oblique, and the Angles of the Sides Right, that is, Ninety Degrees, or the Fourth Part of a Circle. So that the first and lowest upon the Plain, is, Two hundred & forty three foot Square, and Twenty Seven high: The Second, Two hundred and sixteen foot Square, and High as before; The Third, a hundred and eighty nine foot Square; The Fourth, a hundred and Sixty two foot; The Fifth, a hundred and thirty five; The Sixth, a hundred & eight; The Seventh, Eighty one; The Eighth, Fifty four; The last & highest, Twenty Seven foot Square; and the Heighth being the same, it is an exact Cube, or figure having Six Sides, & Eight Angles, all equal. The whole, so many Masses of Brick and Bitumen-Work, enclosing an Hill and a Rock in their Solidities, Raised Pyramidically one above another; Beginning, in the Plain, with a Square of Two hundred & forty three foot; Ending in a Flatt, with One of Twenty Seven, the Ninth Part of the other; and the Difference of those between the Two, having Eight Corridors, or Estrades, Ranging, or Continuing all around, (besides the Plain at the Bottom, and | Flatt at the Top) each Thirteen foot & an half broad; Amounting to the Heighth likewise of Two hundred & forty three foot, or Nine times twenty seven, (there being so many of them, and That being the Heighth of each;) equal to the Root of the First Square; Built of Bricks, of Earth hardened with Fire;

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⁷⁶ Mack Gregory (35–36). See Appendix A.

each of which is Nine Inches Square, and Three thick; [The *Babylonian Inch*, which is æqual to the *London Inch*, & Two Lines; a Line being the Twelfth Part of an Inch;] These laid beside and above one another; and Bitumen mixed with Reeds or Straw, to the Thickness of sometimes Nine Lines, or Three Quarters of an Inch; and sometimes of Thirty Six Lines, or Three Inches; and each disposed as followes. First, there's a Bed of Bitumen, mixt with Reeds, to the Thickness of Three Inches; Then, a Row of so many Bricks as make up the Square, pos'd aside one another, likewise three Inches thick; Next, is another Bed of Bitumen, mix'd with Straw, to the Thickness of Three Quarters of an Inch; Then, a Row {of} Bricks, as before; Next, Bitumen again with Straw, as before; Then another Row of Bricks; which Bed of Bitumen with Straw, and Row of Bricks, are Alternately repeated, the one after the other, Six times more, so as to make up in all, from the Base, the Heighth of Three foot; Then, the whole, (that is, A Bed of Bitumen mixed with Reeds, and a Row of Bricks, as before, and Bitumen, with Straw and Bricks, Alternatively, so many times, as above) is repeated Consecutively or Immediately, Eight times more, so as to make up in all, from the Base, Twenty-Seven foot, which is just a Ninth Part of the perpendicular Heighth of the Tower.⁷⁷

This is a Description of its First and Original Design, with an Account of its Execution and Disposition, as t'was built by *Nimrod*; who dying before it was compleated, the further Proceedings upon it were then given over; when the Work was raised unto the Heighth of an hundred & sixty two Foot, and just Six Ninth Parts, or Two Thirds of the whole, were finished: so that it ended with a Square-Flatt of an hundred & eight Feet.⁷⁸

It continued so, till the latter Dayes of *Ninus Belus*; who, after having cutt out a Sepulchre, at the Bottom of the Tower, continued the Building of it, upon a Second and Different Design; whereof this is the Description.⁷⁹

Tis a Tower exactly round, in form of a Cone, or a Round Pyramid; The Diameter, or Thickness at the Base, being Eighty one Foot; the Circumference, or Way round, Two hundred and fifty four foot and an half; the Heighth perpendicular likewise Eighty one foot, equal to the Diameter; The Heighth oblique, Ninety foot and an half; and the Angles of the Sides æqual to those of the former Design. The whole, is likewise a Mass of Brick and Bitumen-Work; amounting to an hundred and fourty thousand, five hundred & eighty nine Cube Foot, upon Five thousand two hundred & seven Square.⁸⁰

The Execution of the Design is thus. Tis divided into Three Parts, which are so many Towers Round, or Cylinders, and Flatt, raised Pyramidically, one

⁷⁷ Mack Gregory (36–38).

⁷⁸ Mack Gregory (38–39).

⁷⁹ Ninus Belus, son of Belus (deified founder of Babylon), established the Kingdom of Assyria and Nineveh, its chief city, in the third millennium B. C.

⁸⁰ Mack Gregory (39).

above another; the Diameter of the one above diminishing from That of the other below, by Twenty Seven foot, so as to make a Corridor, or Estrade, betwixt the Two, all Around, Thirteen foot & an half broad, the Heighth of them all being likewise Twenty Seven foot, the same with the Difference between the Diameters, and Perpendicular, and the Angles of the Sides, as Those of the former. So that the First and Lowest, upon the Square Flatt of an hundred & eight foot, as above, is Eighty One foot Diameter, and Twenty Seven High; The Second, Fifty four foot Diameter, and High as before; The Last and Highest, Twenty Seven foot Diameter; and the Heighth being the same, tis a Cylinder, or a Round Tower, Cube. The whole, so many Masses, built of Brick and Bitumen, and Disposed each as before, with this Difference, That whereas the others, of both Designs, are all Solid, and entirely Massive, (except the First & Lowest Mass of the First Design, or of the whole, that ha's the *Sepulchre* contrived in its Solidity, after the Execution,) the Second of the Second, or the Eight of the First, or of the whole, ha's practised in its Solidity, along with the Execution, a *Temple*, which is likewise round, Twenty Seven foot Diameter, and the same in Heighth, having an Entry, or Door, on the Side towards *Babylon*, Nine foot square, and Thirteen foot, & an half long, and an Overture, or Opening, or, as it were, a Window, in the Top, round, Nine foot Diameter; The Floor both of the Temple and Entry, being | plain; the Sides perpendicular, & the Roof arched; the Arching practised in the uppermost Third Part of the Heighth; the whole of Brick and Bitumen, as before.⁸¹ [▽293r]

This is the Second Design of the Tower, as it was built by *Ninus Belus*; who likewise Dying before it was compleated, the further Execution of it was then again given over; when *Nimrod* and he together, had raised it unto the Heighth of Two hundred & sixteen foot; The First, unto that of an Hundred & Sixty Two; The Second, unto that of Fifty four more; And just Eight Ninth Parts of the Work, or the whole except One Ninth Part, the Last and Smallest of them all were finished; the Six Lower by *Nimrod*, the two Higher by *Ninus*; And the Compleating of it, tho' it wanted so little, was never afterwards thought on more by any of their Successors; so that being near, but not, compleated, it ended with a Round Flatt of Fifty four foot Diameter; having an Overture, or Hole, of Nine foot, being the Window of the Temple, as above, in the Middle; And so it continues to this Day.⁸²

As the *Tower*, so the *Temple*, is most certainly, the First and most Ancient Edifice in the World, of that Kind. The first, was according to *Moses*, the Design of *Nimrod*; The Second, was according to *Herodotus*, the Design of *Ninus Belus*; in honour of his Father; who having cutt out a Grott, at the Bottom of the Tower, to be his Burial-Place, after the Building of the lower Part of the Edifice,

⁸¹ Mack Gregory (39–40).

⁸² Mack Gregory (40–41).

practised a Temple, at the Top of it; that it might serve as a Place of Worship for him, along with the Building of the upper Part; Tho' both against the Nature of the Edifice, which was Designed only a Tower. So the Tower as well as the Temple, ha's ever since it was built, serv'd as a Model, or Pattern, of Edifices of that kind; for all the other People in the World to Imitate; Especially the *Temple*, which ha's constantly been followed by Those of all Religions, as well as of all Nations. They have all built their *Temples* the same Way, that is, Round, with an Ouverture at the Top; except the *Goths*, who loved rather to follow the Model of *Noahs Ark*; and the *Modern Christians*, who make a Mixture of both.⁸³

However, tis probable, that the Ouverture at the Top of the Temple of *Belus*, happened by Chance; namely, from the Buildings being left Incomplete. For there are Temples of the same Times, to be seen still near the Ruines of *Babylon*, which have no such Thing.⁸⁴

What Alterations have befallen it, since its Building, are chiefly owing to the Injuries of Time, Wind, Weather, & other Natural Accidents; which have something defaced it on all the Four Sides; especially on the *North* and *West*, where the Force of those Accidents is greatest; and where, for that Reason, the Mass of the Edifice is decay'd at the Corners & Edges of the Parts; & the Body of the Bricks wore away into a Channel, between the Bitumenures, or Beds of Bitumen, which with the Reeds & Straw embodied with them, continue Firm & Entire.⁸⁵

But then, the *Turks* have also been mischievous; who, wherever they find a Monument of Antiquity in a conquered Countrey, are sure to Ruine it, if they can, or to Deface it as far as they can. These have Broken the Bricks & the Bitumenures, as far as they could well go on all Sides.

Capricious People, have also dug into the Solidity of the Building in several Places, to cutt little Chambers for their own Retirement there.

But the main Damages have been done by a common sort of modern Antiquaries, who live at *Bagdad*, & other Towns hard by, & wound it for the Satisfaction of Travellers, on all Occasions.⁸⁶

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Q. You know, the Periods assign'd unto the Patriarchs, are much larger in the LXX, than they are in our Hebrew. The Calculation of the Greek, exceeds that of the Hebrew, near nine hundred Years. You know, that a certain Gentleman, who privately would intimate, that he beleev'd no *Divine Revelation* at all, at

⁸³ Mack Gregory (41). The Tower of Babel, only indirectly attributed to Nimrod (Gen. 9:8–10), is not really described in any detail in the biblical account (Gen. 11:3–4). Herodotus (1.181–83), Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 1.4.2–3), Strabo (16.1.2, 5), and many others of the ancients are more detailed here.

⁸⁴ Mack Gregory (41, 42).

⁸⁵ Mack Gregory (42–43).

⁸⁶ Mack Gregory (43).

the same time wrote a Book, to prove that the Version of the Septuagint was of *Divine Inspiration*. The Men of his Tribe, call in *Josephus*, to support their Assertion. But they chiefly insist on the Numbers of People, appearing in the World, at the Building of *Babel*, and anon, at the Battel of *Abraham*? v. 9.⁸⁷

A. If *Josephus*, who could not Read the Holy Scriptures in the Hebrew Original, (as there is Cause to think,) so contradict the Hebrew Original, he does also contradict the Septuagint, yea, and contradict himself too. The History of *Josephus* was not in any Esteem among the Jews; but the Christians valued it at an high rate, & used it at their Pleasure. They inserted what Passages they pleased into it; and they might as well insert the Calculation of the LXX, among the *Pious Frauds* too frequently then committed among them. Wherefore, dismissing the Authority of *Josephus*, as of no Validity, we will go on to consider the Cavils made about the *Numbers* of People, soon after the Flood. The Division of the World into *Seventy Two* Nations and Languages, at the building of *Babel*, is a Jewish Fiction. It is also a chimerical Notion, that the Age fitt for Procreation, came very much later on Men in those Elder, than in our Modern times. Tis probable, (as Monsr. *Jurieu* thinks) that it rather came earlier. *Nature* was then rather in greater Vigour. The *Design* of GOD was, to see the World *Increase & Multiply*.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ One of Mather's principal sources on the difference between the chronology of the Hebrew and LXX Bibles, is Pierre Jurieu's *Critical History of the Doctrines and Worship of the Church* (1705), vol. 1, ch. 26, pp. 252–53; chs. 27, pp. 261–72. Mather refers to the controversy between the Dutch theologian and philologist Isaac Vossius (1616–89) and the French Oratorian Priest Jean Morin (1591–1659) on the one side, and Father Richard Simon (1638–1712), also a French Oratorian, and Jean LeClerc (1657–1736) on the other. In his *Exercitationes ecclesiasticae* (1631) and especially in *Exercitationes biblicae* (1633), Jean Morin argued for the superiority of the Samaritan and LXX translations, which he preferred to the Hebrew and Vulgate, notwithstanding the vast number of textual variants and disagreements in their chronology. Likewise, in his *Dissertatio de vera aetate mundi* (1659), in *De Septuaginta interpretibus . . . & chronologia dissertationes* (1661), and in *Appendix ad librum De LXX* (1663), Isaac Vossius identified many textual variants and chronological disagreements between the LXX and the Hebrew Masoretic text, but defended the divine inspiration of the Greek Septuagint. Significantly, Vossius was a great skeptic in private with regard to divine revelation and the Bible (*CBTEL*). Richard Simon took Vossius and Morin to task in his famous *Critical History of the Old Testament* (1682), bk. 2, chs. 4–8, pp. 26–58 and in *Critical Enquiries into the Various Editions of the Bible* (1684), chs. 10, 15–18, pp. 71–81, 140–85. Jean LeClerc's *Sentimens de quelques Théologiens de Hollande* (1685) did much to cast doubt on the divine inspiration of the Bible by questioning the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. William Whiston's *A Short View of the Chronology of the Old Testament* (1702), which Mather had put to good use in his commentary on Gen. ch. 1 (above), tries to reconcile the disagreement between the Hebrew and Greek versions as does Joseph Justus Scaliger's *Opus de emendatione temporum* (1583) more than a hundred years before Whiston. Abraham's "Battel" refers to the patriarch's struggle with the Assyrians who had captured Lot (Gen. 14:12).

⁸⁸ Jurieu, *Critical History* (vol. 1, ch. 28, pp. 272, 274–75, 277–78). Jurieu rehearses the traditional claim that the textual disagreements between the Hebrew, Samaritan, and LXX texts resulted from deliberate forgeries and interpolations to mislead the gentiles. The chronology of the LXX differs from that of the Hebrew, Samaritan, and Vulgate in very many instances – the

Lett *Shem*, and *Ham*, and *Japhet*, sett themselves to multiply their Posterity. Lett GOD permitt more *Daughters* to be born than *Sons*. Lett few dy in their *Infancy*. Make them capable of *Marriage* at fifteen Years of Age; And each *Husband* allow himself the Liberties of *Polygamy*; Now at this rate, within an hundred Years, there might be born of these Three, no less than Two Millions of Souls. But, why may we not also take *Noah*, for a Fourth into the Number? However, there is no need of supposing so many Millions, to begin the Tower of *Babel*, and to people the several Parts of the Earth in their Dispersion.⁸⁹

What if in *Abrahams* time, we find *Kings* in many Parts of the World? Monsr. *Jurieu* undertakes to make it out, that if the Period betwixt *Noah* and *Abraham*, were no more than Three Hundred Years, yett in this Period, the Posterity of *Shem* and *Ham*, and *Japhet*, might be increased unto Four times the Number of People, that are now in the World. He supposes the Inhabitants of the Earth, at this day, to be no more than Four hundred Millions. Now suppose, that at the building of the Towre of *Babel*, there might be 20000 Persons; Lett these be turned into 10000 married Couples: Lett each of these Women, bring forth one Child every Year: Lett these Children arrive to the Age of Maturity; And so these 10000 Marriages producing 10000 Children every Year for 40 Years; will afford at the Expiration of these 40 Years, 400000 Persons. Of these 400000 lett at least 200000 come to a marriageable Age, and make 100000 Marriages; which in 40 Years more, will produce four Millions of Souls, which might be living 80 Years after the Building of *Babel*. Now, look back unto the 200000 Persons we left unmarried at the Expiration of the first 40 Years; not being of Age to marry. These brought into 100000 Marriages, for 40 Years, that is from the 50th to the 90th Year after the Towre, here will be four Millions more. Thus 90 Years after the Towre, there would be Eight Millions, besides Fathers and Grandfathers yett living. Observing still, the like Progression for these as for the former, at the End of the next 40 Years, there will be 160 Millions. Go on, and you'l be convinced, that before the Expiration of 200 Years from the Building of the Towre, there might be a vastly greater Number of People, than are now to be found in the World.⁹⁰

[△] [△Insert ends]

chronology of the LXX being 1,440 years longer than that of the Hebrew, Vulgate, and of the later King James Version (1611). *Jurieu* provides several tables to enumerate these disagreements in the ages of the patriarchs and their offspring. The division into “*Seventy Two Nations and Languages*” at Babel is an extra-biblical tradition that can be found in *Pirke de R. Eliezer* (ch. 24, pp. 176–77), in the Talmudic tractates Sanhedrin (17a) and Shabbath (88b), and in Targum Jonathan ben Uziel (Gen. 11:8), in Walton (4:19). The “Chimerical Notion” of the patriarchs’ reproductive age is closely linked with the problem of biblical chronology – since some of the patriarchs were either too young or too old for procreation depending on which of the different chronologies are employed; see *Jurieu* (1:272, 277–79).

⁸⁹ *Jurieu*, *Critical History* (1:278–80).

⁹⁰ *Jurieu*, *Critical History* (1:280–81).

3397.

Q. Upon *Serug* and *Nahor*, what remarkable Traditions of Antiquity? v. 20, 22.

A. If we may beleve *Suidas* in the Word, *Σερυχ*, and *Damascen*, and a long Roll of other Authors, mentioned by *Jacobus Geusius*, in his Treatise, *De Victimis Humanis*; This very *Serug* was the first who began to celebrate every Year the Memory of famous Men, after they were Dead, & commanded them to be honoured as Benefactors.

The same Authors tell us, That *Idolatry* increasing much in the Dayes of *Nahor*, there was a great *Earthquake* (the first that ever had been observed,) which overturned their Temples, and broke their Images in *Arabia*.⁹¹

4128.

Q. What Remark upon *Harans* dying before his Father *Terah*? v. 28.

A. *Epiphanius* notes, That there was no Exemple of a Son who dyed before his Father, (except *Abel*.) till *Terah* the Father of *Abram*, taught the People a False Religion, to make Images of Clay, and worship them. It was Impiety that hastened the slow Necessities of Death.⁹²

3395.

Q. Who was *Iscah*? v. 29.

A. *Sarah*. If *Iscah* be not *Sarah*, wee have no Account at all of *Sarahs* Descent; but that is not likely. Its no Wonder she should have Two Names; One perhaps before they came out of *Chaldaea*, & another after.⁹³

[287r–294v inserted into 286v]

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[295r]

Q. Concerning, *Ur of the Chaldees*? v. 31.

⁹¹ Both paragraphs are extracted from Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 11:20, 22 (*Commentary* 1:57). "Σερυχ," or rather "Σερούχ," is the Greek transliteration of *Serug*, son of *Regu*; *Serug* himself fathered *Nahor* (Gen. 11:20, 22). Σερουχ is mentioned in *Suda* (*Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter *sigma* entry 253, line 1; and entry 254, line 1) and by the eminent Greek theologian *Joannes Damascenus* (d. c. 754) in his *De haeresibus* (3.1). *Jacobus Geusius* (d. 1671) of *Leeuwarden* (Friesland) studied theology and medicine at *Groningen University* before moving to *Paris*, where he wrote several philological treatises and translated into Dutch *De recta curandorum vulnerum ratione* (Antwerp, 1574), a book on surgery, by the celebrated Spanish surgeon *Franciscus Arcaeus* (1493–1573). *Geusius's* most significant work is *Victimae Humanae ... complexa modos, ceremonias* (1675), a study of ancient religious ceremonies and rituals, including human sacrifice (*BBK*). *Mather* (via *Patrick*) here refers to *Victimae Humanae* (pars 1, cap. 2).

⁹² *Epiphanius* (*Panarion* 3.5–6, in *Epiphanius* 1:177, line 19 to 1:178, lines 5).

⁹³ This paragraph is extracted from Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 11:29 (*Commentary* 1:57). *Iscah* is the daughter of *Haran*, sister of *Lot* and *Milcah*, and niece of *Abram*. According to *R. Isaac*, *Iscah* is the same as *Sarai* (*Sarah's* Chaldean name); she was called *Iscah* "because she foresaw [the future] by holy inspiration" and because "all gazed at her beauty" (*Talmudic tractate Sanhedrin* 69b).

A. To take the Benefit of what has been collected by Dr. Wells on that Subject, I will remark to you; That by the Name of *Chaldaea* in After-ages, was denoted, the Countrey lying between *Mesopotamia* to the North, *Susiana* to the East, the *Persian Bay* to the South, and *Arabia deserta*, to the West. Its Capital City was called, *Babylonia*; Hence called in *Isaiah's* Prophecies, *The Beauty of the Chaldee's Excellency*. From this, the whole Countrey came also to be called, *Babylonia*. The Greeks formed this Name, tis plain, from the Hebrew, *Babel*; the Tower of that Name, standing hereabouts. The Rise of the Name *Chaldaea*, is not so clear. But since the *Chaldeans*, are in the Hebrew called, *Chasdim*, it is commonly thought, they took their Name, from *Chesed*, one of the Sons of *Nahor*, the Brother of *Abraham*. [Gen. XXII.22.] The Plural Number whereof, will afford, *Chasdim*. From this, instead of *Χασδαῖοι*, *Chasdai*, the Greeks formed the softer Word, *Χαλδαῖοι* *Chaldei*. This may do for the bare Etymology of the Word. But how the Son of *Nahor*, should come to give his Name unto the Nation and Countrey of the *Chaldeans*, is not so easily accounted for. We don't find, that *Chesed*, or any of his Descendents, ever came to be Masters of the Countrey, & impose their Name upon it. Some therefore suppose, that *Chesed*, or his Descendents, might be the Authors of some signal Benefit, unto the Inhabitants of this Countrey; and particularly, that they might first Instruct them in the Art of *Astronomy*, for which they are so famous in ancient History. Because of the extraordinary Esteem the Ancients had for that Science, the People of this Countrey might affect from Vainglory to go under this Name; or else might be so called by others, from a Distinguishing Respect unto them. It is observable, That when they are mentioned on the account of this Art, they are usually termed *Chaldeans*, rather than *Babylonians*. A *Chaldean* and an *Astronomer*, seem to have been Terms æquivalent. But then, if the Name were taken from *Chesed*, or his Descendents, it must in the Text now before us, be used proleptically; as the Lands of *Havilah*, and *Cush*, and *Assyria*, in the Description of *Paradise*; which Names yett were not given them, till after the Flood.⁹⁴

Chaldaea sometimes in the Sacred Writings, is taken in a larger Sense, & so as to take in the adjacent Parts of *Mesopotamia*, particularly lying along the *Tigris*. The Words of the Martyr *Stephen*, imply, that the Part of *Mesopotamia*, where *Abraham* was, before he dwelt in *Charran*, must be included in, *The Land of the Chaldees*. And this tends further to confirm the Opinion, that the Name of *Chaldaea*, was originally derived from *Chesed* the Son of *Nahor*. For, when *Terah*,

⁹⁴ Mather synthesizes *The Geography of the Old Testament* (1711–12), vol. 1, part 1, ch. 5, pp. 245–48, by Dr. Edward Wells (1667–1727), mathematician, Rector of Cotesbach (Leicestershire), now mostly remembered for his popular *Geography*. Isaiah's prophecy about "*The Beauty of the Chaldee's Excellency*" (Isa. 13:19) foretells Babylon's destruction, likening it to that of Sodom and Gomorrah. The names of "*Havilah*" (Gen. 2:11; 10:7) and "*Assyria*" (Gen. 2:14, 25:18) in the description of the antediluvian Eden (Gen. 2:8, 10, 15; 3:23, 24; 4:16) are designations given these locations through a prolepsis – after the Flood (Gen., ch. 7) – since these place names are derived from the names of Noah's sons and grandsons who settled these regions.

with his Son *Abraham*, left *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, the other Son of *Terah*, namely, *Nahor*, staid behind, in that Countrey. *Chesed* might instruct his Children in Astronomy; whence the *Chasdim*, tis probable, might become famous in those Parts. And hence, *Ur*, as being the dwelling-place of *Chesed* and his Family, might be called by way of Honour, *Ur of the Chaldees*; as if it were said, *Ur, where the Chasdim live, so famous for Astronomy*. And this Art being in great Vogue, & much studied by the Inhabitants of better fashion, in the adjoining Kingdome of *Babylonia*, hence the Name of *Chasdim*, the first Instructors in this Art, might spread itself over the Kingdome. What may further confirm this Opinion, is; That *Ur* signifies *Light*, and may be taken for the *Heavenly Luminaries*. It may be so called, because here they studied the Motions of those *Luminaries*. This *Ur* lay in the Eastern Part of *Mesopotamia*; which Scituation, as it agrees to the Words of our *Stephen*, so it is agreeable unto the Report of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who travelled this Countrey, and mentions a City of this Name lying there, between the *Tigris*, and the City of *Nisibis*.⁹⁵

It is Remarked, That the Age of Mankind, is a Second Time halfed, at the Building of *Babel*.

Peleg is the shortest Liver that had yett been since the Creation.

In all this Chapter, it is not said, *They died*, until it come to *Terah*. In the Fifth Chapter, the Expression is used, for to signify, that they were not swept away with the Flood.

You'll find *Heber* alive, after the Death of *Abraham*.⁹⁶

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⁹⁵ Wells, *Geography* (vol. 1, part 1, ch. 5, pp. 249–252). The Martyr Stephen mentions Mesopotamia in Acts 7:2; the location of the “Ur of the Chaldees” (Gen. 11:28, Neh. 9:7) is subject to much speculation. According to one of the dominant traditions of his time, Wells (following Bochart and Calmet) locates Ur in the NW part of Mesopotamia (modern Syria), near the stronghold Nisibis on the River Tigris, mentioned in Ammianus Marcellinus (25.7.9; 25.8.17; 25.9.8), but now largely discredited. Today, Abraham’s Ur is generally identified with the ruins of an ancient city and ziggurat near modern Basra (S Iraq). See also S. E. Morison’s “Harvard School of Astronomy.”

⁹⁶ According to Gen. 10:25, Eber named his son Peleg because “in his days was the earth divided.” Peleg was 239 years old when he died (Gen. 11:18–19). Terah, Abraham’s father, was 205 years old when he died in Haran (Gen. 11:32). Abraham’s burial is mentioned in Gen. 49:31.

Q. We are entring into the History of *Abraham*; and the Exercitations of *Heidegger* having afforded us very acceptable Illustrations on many Passages in that History, it may not be amiss here to lay *them* together, as an Introduction to many *others* that may be hereafter mentioned? v. 1.

A. It shall be done.

We will not concern ourselves with the Hebrew Curiosities, about the Name of ABRAHAM. *Jerom* indeed reports, That it is an Observation of the Ancient Hebrewes, That the Letter /ה/ *He*, which is the Letter most employ'd in the Name JEHOVAH, is added unto the Names of *Abraham* and *Sarah*; as an Intimation, that the Lord will not communicate, not only of His Blessings, but also of *Himself*, unto His People. Yea, Some have carried the Note thus far; That from *Abraham* and *Sarah* there should at length be born *He* who is *God*, as well as *Man*; and that it would be at the Beginning of that *Millenary*, whereof the Letter /ה/ *He*, gives us the Number; namely, the *Fifth Millenary*. *Capnio* and *Faber*, and others, fetch certain further Evangelical Mysteries from the Name of *Abraham*. The Three first Letters, lead us to consider, /אב/ *The Father*, /בן/ *The Son*, and /רוח/ *The Spirit*. The Fourth Letter, /ה/ may design the *Divine Essence*, common to all the *Three Persons*; it being the first and the last Letter of /יהי/ which is the *Root* of the *Four-Lettered Name*. And then, the Final /ם/ leads us to think of the *Messiah*, the Saviour of the World. *Nicolaus Abramus*, a learned Man, in his, *Pharos V.T.* ha's more of these Mysteries. But our *Heidegger* would *find* Mysteries in the Text, & not *fetch* them to it: and is content, that *Abram* signify, either, *The Father of Aram*, or the *Syrians*, as the Talmudists understand it; or, *πατήρ μετewρος*, *Pater Excelsus*, as *Philo* and *Austin* conjecture it. And the, /ה/ *He*, added unto it, is not from the *Tetragrammaton*, but from the Word, /הבון/ *A Multitude*; as the Text itself expoundeth it.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ Mather here returns to his trusty Johann Heinrich Heidegger, whose *Historia Sacra Patriarcharum* (2:50–51, Exerc. III, § 1) is among the principal sources for Mather's commentary on Genesis. St. Jerome (on Gen. 17:4–5) argues that “the Hebrews say that God added the letter *he* from His own Name which among themselves is written with four letters, to the names of Abraam and Sarah. For at first he was called Abram, which means ‘high father’; and afterwards he was called Abraam, which is translated as ‘father of many’” (*Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, p. 49). The letter ה “he” appearing twice in the Tetragrammaton יהוה (HVHY), Jehovah (Yahweh), is here mystically associated with Abraham and Sarah, to whose names ה (he) was added. According to the *Soncino Zohar* (Bereshith, sec. 1, pp. 91b, 96a), Abraham's name is anagrammatically read as “*b'he b'raam* (he created them with *He*).” Abraham and Sarah were not allowed to conceive Isaac (through whom the Messiah is to come) until Abraham “had been circumcised and called perfect and had been completed by the addition to his name of the letter *he*. To Sarah, too, a *he* had been given.” The letter ה (he) is the fifth letter in the Hebrew alphabet, which in cabbalistic fashion is here linked with the Fifth Monarchy of Daniel's dream vision (Dan. 2:44–

It is yett undetermined, who *Sarah* was. The Hebrewes, both ancient and modern, all agree, that she was [Gen. 11.29.] *Ischah*, the Daughter of *Haran*, the Brother of *Abraham*. And so she was the *Sister of Abraham*, in the same Sense that *Lot* was his *Brother*. It would fill a Page, to marshal the Army of *Christian* Writers also, both Ancient and Modern, from *Austin* to *Schickard*, who fall in with this Opinion. Others will have *Sarah*, to be the Genuine and the Natural Sister of *Abraham*; only by the *Fathers* Side, and not by the *Mothers*. The Words of *Abraham* himself do evidently imply thus much. [Gen. 20.12.] The Gloss of *Jarchi* therefore upon them, is this; *Filia Patris* [Soror, non uterina] *Jure conjungebatur Noachidi, quoniam inter gentes ratio consanguinitatis paternæ non habebatur*. And here the Authors, which from *Clemens* to *Piscator*, fall in with this Opinion, would make another Army. *Patricides*, the Arabic Writer, proceeds to tell us, that the Name of *Abrahams* Mother was *Jonah*, and the Name of *Sarah's* Mother, was *Tehevitha*. Take it one way or t'other, the Marriage of *Abraham* with *Sarah*, seems to have an *Incestuous* Blemish upon it. Which drave *Luther*, to think, that *Sarah* was the Daughter of *Abrahams* Father only by *Adoption*, or at most, by some *Affinity*. But for this Conjecture, there is little Foundation. Our *Heidegger* inclines to the Opinion, That *Sarah* was really the Daughter of *Abrahams* Father, but not of his Mother. If she had been the Neece of *Abraham*, he had no need for to have made such a Distinction, that she was a Neece by her *Fathers* Side, & not by her *Mothers*. As for the *Incest* in the Case, it must be Remembred, That *Abraham* wanted the *Written Law*; and so the *Law of Nature* by Degrees was too easily forgotten in some famous Instances. And the Zeal of the *Patriarchs* to avoid Marriages with Strangers, added unto the Occasions of

45), that kingdom during which the messiah would reign forever. “*Capnio*” (“little smoke”) is the Latinized pseudonym for the famous Christian Hebraist Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522), the German humanist, jurist, cabbalist, and professor of Oriental languages at Ingolstadt and Tübingen. Heidegger most likely refers to Reuchlin’s popular *De verbo mirifico* (1494) or to *De arte cabalistica, id est, De divinae revelationis* (1517) – Reuchlin’s principal cabbalistic studies. A copy of Reuchlin’s *Lexicon Hebraicum, & in Hebraeorum grammaticon commentarij* (1537), bearing Increase Mather’s signature, is in the Mather Libraries [AAS # F018]. Heidegger’s “*Faber*” is most likely Jacobus Faber (1455–1537), aka. Jacques Lefèvre d’Estables (Faber Stapulensis), the French humanist of the Reformation, biblical translator, and exegete, who translated the Vulgate into French (1530). Abraham’s Hebrew name אַבְרָהָם, or more specifically the Hebrew letters אב (ab; father), בן (ben; son), רוּחַ (ruach; spirit), is associated with the Hebrew root of Jehovah יהוה (yhvh); the terminal מ (m) of Abraham is linked with the initial מַשִּׁיחַ (mashiyach) “Messiah” (Dan. 9:25, 26). The French Jesuit theologian Nicolaus Abramus (1589–1655), professor of theology at the University of Pont-à-Mousson, published *Pharus Veteris Testamenti* (1648), lib. 7, to which book Heidegger here refers. Pierre Bayle reviews Abramus’s *Pharus* in his famous *General Dictionary* (1734) 1:34. Heidegger (2:50, § 1) here follows the Talmudic tractate Berachoth (13a), according to which Abraham first “became a father to Aram [Ab-Aram] only, but in the end he became a father to the whole world”; i.e., the father of a multitude of nations (Gen. 17:5). Philo Judaeus calls Abraham “pater meteoros”; i.e., “sublime” or “exalted father” (*De gigantibus* 16.62.6; *De Abrahamo* 18.82.2; *Legum allegoriarum* 3.27.83, line 6). St. Augustine (*De Civitate Dei* 16.28) [PL 41. 507] argues that the Hebrew letter “*he*” is derived from the first letter of הַמִּזְרַח (hamown); i.e., “many” nations (Gen. 17:4), in *NPNFi* (2:327).

their being Betray'd into Marriages, that were attended with some exceptionable Circumstances.⁹⁸

It is enquired; For what Reason *Abraham* was ordered to Remove out of *Chaldea*, into *Canaan*? *Bolducus* thinks, it was that he might by his Ministry recover this Countrey, out of their *Idolatries*, as he had already recovered his own; and that he might unite with *Melchisedek*, in the Conservation and the |

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⁹⁸ Heidegger (2:51–52, Exerc. III, §§ 3, 4). Heidegger is a bit misleading here. While the Midrash Rabbah (Gen. XXXVIII.14), Targum Jonathan ben Uziel (Walton 4:20), and *Baal Ha-Turim* (1:91) agree that Sarah and Ischah are one and the same, the most notable commentators disagree because that identity would make Sarah Abraham's literal sister. R. Isaac implies the consanguinity of Sarah and Abraham, but does not further comment on this issue (*Sanhedrin* 69b). Significantly, Ibn Ezra (Gen. 11:29; 20:12) explicitly denies that Ischah and Sarah are one and the same or that Sarah is Abraham's sister, arguing that commentators who refer to Gen. 20:12 as proof don't realize that Abraham used "a timely excuse" when he introduced Sarah to Abimelech as his sister (*Commentary* 1:146–47, 212–13). Similarly, Nachmanides denies that Sarah was Abraham's sister, but is puzzled by Ibn Ezra's explanation (*Commentary on Genesis* 1:263–64). R. Bachya ben Asher argues that Sarah was Abraham's niece (*Torah Commentary* 1:320); likewise, Rashi (drawing on *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, ch. 26 and 36) insists that Sarah was Terah's granddaughter, hence Abraham's niece (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:240); however, since grandchildren are accounted children of the grandfather, Abraham could be said to have married his "sister" (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:240). Finally, R. Manasseh ben Israel reconciles the seeming contradiction between Gen. 11:29 and 20:12, insisting that Sarah is Terah's granddaughter, hence Abraham's niece (*The Conciliator* 1:49–50, Question 39). For a summary of this debate including the names of some of the principal combatants on this issue, see Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:145, 181–82). St. Augustine (*De Civitate Dei* 16.19), too, insists that Sarah was Abraham's sister only "because she was near of blood" (*NPNFi* 2:322). The Lutheran theologian Wilhelm Schickhard (1592–1635), professor of Oriental languages and astronomy at Tübingen, and inventor of the first mechanical calculator, published his oft-reprinted Hebrew grammar *Horologium Hebraicum* (1623). A copy of the 1639 London edition of this work is in the Mather Libraries (AAS # 0662). Schickhard's Hebrew grammar was the first to be used at Harvard until Judah Monis published his own in 1734 (see I. S. Meyer, "Hebrew at Harvard"; R. Pfeiffer, "Teaching of Hebrew" 366, 369–70; and T. Olbricht, "American Biblical Scholarship" 83). Most likely, Mather refers to Schickhard's study of rabbinic commentaries on the Torah, *Bechinath Happeruschim Hoc est Examinis Commentationum Rabbinicarum in Mosen Prodromus* (1624). The second-hand Latin gloss of Jarchi (Rashi) translates, "The daughter of one's father [the sister, not from the same womb] is permitted to a Noachide (for marriage), for a gentile has no father (i.e., his lineage is not traced from his father)," in *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* (1:240). Both Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 2.23.138.1, lines 1–4), in *ANF* (2:377), and the German Reformed theologian Johannes Piscator (1546–1625), professor of Oriental languages at Herborn, argue that both Abraham and Sarah had the same father, but different mothers. Piscator's discussion appears in his *Commentarius in Genesin* (1601), pp. 342–43 (scholia in cap. XX, Genesis), and in his 4-vol. work *Commentarii in omnes libros Veteris Testamenti* (1643–46), on Gen. 20:12. Saidus Patricides (*Annales* [1656], lib. 1, p. 67) argues that the mothers of Abraham and Sarah were called "*Yunā*" and "*Tohwait*," respectively. See also Johann Heinrich Hottinger's discussion of "Thaerach" (Thera), in *Smegma Orientale* (lib. 1, cap. 8, pp. 280–87). In his *Lectures on Genesis* (Gen. 11:29–30), Martin Luther dismisses incest by insisting that Sarah was Terah's daughter by adoption only (*Works* 2:240; 3:352). Heidegger (2:52) agrees with the solution offered by Clemens Alexandrinus, Patricides, Piscator, and many others that Abraham und Sarah had different mothers. Mather tries to mitigate the patriarch's culpability because living centuries before Moses, Abraham could not have known of the Hebrew Lawgiver's proscription against incest (Lev. 18:9, 11; 20:17).

Propagation of the true Religion. Indeed, there is no doubt, that *Abraham* did make it his business, wherever he came, to discourage *Idolatry*. But the little Success he had this Way in *Palastine*, makes it evident, that this was not the *Principal Errand* on which the Lord sent him hither. We may allow, with *Chrysostom*, That *Abraham*, was *the Light and the Doctor of the Gentiles*. But yett his *Principal Errand* into *Palastine*, seems to be, to make Præparation for the Possession of that Land by his Posterity; and the Appearance of the *Messiah* there. And herein was also a Trial of his *Obedience*; wherein he proposed indeed unto himself, that *Heavenly Countrey*, whereof this *Earthly One* was but a Figure: [Heb. 11.8, 9, 10.] according to that of *Plotinus*, mentioned by *Austin* [De C. D. IX.17.] *Fugendum est ad clarissimam patriam; et ibi pater, et ibi omnia*.⁹⁹

There seems to be a Difficulty in one Article, of *Abrahams Removal*. We read, Gen. 11.31. *They went forth from Ur of the Chaldees, to go into the Land of Canaan*. But we read; Gen. 12.1. *The Lord said unto Abram, Gett thee unto a Land, that I will shew thee*. And we read; Heb. 11.8. *He went out, not knowing whither he went. If he went forth, to go into the Land of Canaan*, how could it be represented, as if he *went forth, not knowing whither he was to go*? *Laurentius Codomannus*, and, *Nicolaus Abramus*, will have this Particle, *UI*, imply, not so much the *Intent*, as the *Event*, of *Abrams Journey*. But this will not hold, for *Terah*, the Father of *Abraham*, who died before they reached *the Land of Canaan*. *Torniellus* therefore gives an Answer, more satisfactory to our *Heidegger*; *Abram* knew, that God would have him go as far as *Canaan*; but he did not yett know, that God would have him *Rest there*, and Go no further. He stopt a while at *Charan*; and when he went on to *Canaan*, it was with an Expectation, that God would there show him, whether he was to remove any further; But *here* the Lord said, *This is the Land, that I will give thee*.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Heidegger (2:55, 56, Exerc. III, §§ 7, 9). Heidegger refers to the discussion on Gen. 22:1 by the Capuchin Frere Jacobus Bolducus, aka. Jacques Boulduc (born in Paris, c. 1580), whose *De Ecclesia ante legem* (1626), lib. 3, cap. 2, is the work in question. Joannes Chrysostomus, *Homiliae in Genesim* [PG 53. 364; 54. 475], argues that Abraham and Sarah went to Egypt to teach the Egyptians the “true cultus” (see also *Homily in Genesis* [31.19], p. 250; 32.10, p. 262). In *De Civitate Dei* (9.17) [PL 41. 271], St. Augustine paraphrases *Enneadis* (1.6.8, lines 16–17), by Plotinus (204–70 CE), the last of the great Greek philosophers of antiquity. The paraphrase signifies, “We must fly to our beloved fatherland. There is the Father, there our all” (*NPNFi* 2:175). In his holograph manuscript, Mather identifies his source as “[De C. D. IX.16],” instead of “IX.17.” The error is Heidegger’s (or the printer’s devil), whom Mather extracts, but here silently corrected.

¹⁰⁰ Heidegger (2:57, Exerc. III, § 10). The contradiction between Gen. 11:31, Gen. 12:1, and Heb. 11:8 was the subject of much debate throughout the ages and was generally resolved by arguing that Abram received two distinct calls – first a general, then a specific one that included his separation from his kinsmen who remained in Haran. The debate is also summarized in Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:145–46). Mather here refers to *Quattuor libri chronologiae praemissos* (1581), lib. 1, cap. 3, by the Lutheran theologian Laurentius Codomannus, aka. Lorenz Codomann (1529–90), superintendent in Gernersheim and Bayreuth (Germany); and to *Pharus Veteris Testamenti* (1648), lib. 7, cap. 21, by the previously mentioned French Jesuit

How long did *Abram* tarry at *Charan*? It may be, not one Year. He had nothing but the *Sickness* and the *Dying* of his Aged *Father*, to detain him there. What *Abenezra*, reports, of *Terah*'s being smitten with the Pleasure of the Place, and perhaps returning to his former Idolatries, is but a Fiction. And the Arguments of *Petavius*, and *Bonfrerius*, and *Harvilleus*, for *Abrams* continuing a good while at *Haran*, are so answered by our *Heidegger*, that it seems not worth our while to mention them.¹⁰¹

The Story that *Josephus* ha's out of *Nicolaus Damascenus*, That *Abram* stopt at *Damascus*, and became a *King* there; which is also asserted by *Justin*, the Epitomizer of *Trogus Pompeius*; tho' *Bolducus* favour it, yett it is a very unlikely Story; and *Pererius* will answer him, That it would have been in *Abram* a Disobedience unto God, and hardly consistent, with his own and his Grandsons Declarations, That they had every where kept the Character of *Strangers*, after they had left the Countrey of their *Fathers*.¹⁰²

Abram arriving to *Sichem*, (which was destroy'd by *Abimelek*, and rebuilt by *Jeroboam*, and, as *Adrichomius*, and *Brocardus*, and *Benjamin* tell us, was afterwards called, *Neapolis*;) the Lord appeared a Second Time, unto him; and promised *This Land* unto him: which *Promise*, because it was not suspended on any Condition, our Apostle calls it, *A Testament*. The Faith of *Abraham*, and his, το φιλοθεον, as *Chrysostom*'s Phrase for it is, express'd on this Occasion, in building an *Altar*, to GOD, by way of Thankfulness for His appearing to him,

Nicolaus Abramus. The learned Italian theologian and chronologer Augustinus Torniellus (1543–1622) comments on this issue in his oft-reprinted *Annales Sacri et Profani* (1611), vol. 1, on the date of A. M. 2113 (numero 3).

101 Heidegger (2:58, Exerc. III, §§ 12, 13). Estimates of the duration of Abram's residence in Haran vary greatly. R. Eliezer relates that Abraham built a house "opposite to Haran" and there entertained anyone who entered or left the city and taught them about the true God (*Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, ch. 25, p. 184). Ibn Ezra (*Commentary* 1:148) on Gen. 11:29 only argues that Terah settled in Haran because "the place found favor in his eyes" – not that he returned to his former religious practices. Most likely, Heidegger refers to Denysius Petavius's oft-reprinted study of biblical chronology *Rationarium temporum* (1633) and to Jacobus Bonfrerius's *Pentateuchus Moysis commentario* (1625) 181 (on Gen. 11:31); "*Harvilleus*" is possibly Henricus Harvillaeus (Henri Harville de la Grange), a French historian and author of *Isagoge chronologica* (1624), a history of the world to 1620. The English translation of Petavius's *Rationarium temporum*, appearing as *The History of the World* (1659), relates that Abram spent "about five years" in Haran before moving into Canaan (bk. 1, ch. 2, p. 5).

102 Heidegger (2:58, 60, Exerc. III, §§ 13, 15). Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 1.7.2), citing Nicolaus Damascenus's *Historiai* (*Fragments* 30, lines 1–11), asserts that "Abram reigned at Damascus" and "after a long time" moved with his people to Canaan. Justin's epitome of Trogus Pompeius, *Historiarum Philippicarum* (36.2) confirms this story, relating that Abraham was one in a sequence of several kings of Damascus before "Israel," his successor, and Israel's populous offspring by his "ten" sons became rulers of the land. Jacobus Bolducus cites the same story favorably in his *De Ecclesiastica ante legem* (lib. 3, cap. 2), but Benedictus Pererius, in his *Commentarium et disputationum in Genesim* (1596) 3:40–41 (Gen. 12) rejects it as inconsistent with Abram's obedience to God's command.

is by that Father mightily celebrated: ορα φιλοθεου γνωμης τεκμηριον, saies he: *Vide piæ mentis specimen!*¹⁰³

It was not long before a *Famine* drove *Abram* into *Egypt*. And here, the Beauty of *Sarah*, moved *Abram* to consult his own *Safety*, by putting her, to dissemble her being any other than a *Sister* unto him. This Matter ha's produced some *Difficult Questions*.¹⁰⁴

First; *Sarah*, was now an *old Woman*, above Sixty Years of Age; and how can such a *Charming Beauty* be supposed in her. We will not insist upon the Causes that several Expositors have assigned for this Beauty of *Sarah*. It is enough, that with *Chrysostom*, we suppose an Extraordinary & Supernatural Gift of God, unto this Lady; who intended a Trial to the Faith of her Husband in it. But the chief Difficulty is; what is to be thought of this Action in the *Patriarch*, which seems to expose his Wife unto an *Adulterous Prostitution*? *Faustus* the *Manichee*, opens cruelly upon it. | *Quòd, Matrimonij sui infamissimus nundinator, avaritiæ ac ventris causâ, duobus Regibus, Abimelech et Pharaoni diversis temporibus Saram conjugem, Sororem mentitus, quòd erat pulcherrima, in concubitum venditârat.*¹⁰⁵ Yea, *Origen* falls very hard upon *Abram*, *Quòd per conniventiam maritalem, Saram contaminationibus exposuerit.* And *Jerom* talks of a, *Fæda Necessitas*, in the business. On the other Side; many of the Papists, not only *Excuse*, but even *Commend*, the Action. *N. Abramus*, would hence prove, *Quòd licitus sit quandoque mendaciorum usus.* *Lyra* pleads, That *Abram* had no way left but this, to save his Life, without a *Tempting* of God. *Paulus Burgensis*, pleads, that a *Prophetic Spirit* acted {upon} *Abram* in what he did. The Ancients also make a Trial of Skill, for the Defence of *Abram*. *Chrysostom* will have it a sort of *Dramatic Business* between *Abram* and *Sarah*, founded in a most certain Assurance that he had of her *Constancy*, & yett carried on with a sort of a Show of a Permission of her *Adultery*. *Austin* saies, *Tacuit aliquid Veri, non dixit aliquid Falsi, ne se exciso*

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¹⁰³ Heidegger (2:60–61, 62, Exerc. III, §§ 16, 18). Sichem (Shechem) was destroyed by Abimelek (Gen. 12:6; Judg. 9:45–50) and rebuilt by Jeroboam (1 Kings 12:25). Though modern historians and archaeologists disagree on the identity and exact location of Sichem, Josephus Flavius (*Wars* 4.8.1) identifies Sichem (Shechem) with Neapolis. Christian Adrichomius's *Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ* (1590) 28 # 71, follows suit. The Dominican Brocardus mentions the place-name in his popular *Descriptio Locorum de Terræ Sanctæ exactissima* (1554), and so does R. Benjamin of Tudela in his *Itinerarium* (66). Mather apparently refers to St. Paul's explication of God's promise to Abraham (Gal. 3:15–16). In *Homiliae in Genesim* (homilia 32) [PG 53. 295, line 64], Joannes Chrysostom praises Abraham's piety and exhorts his parishioners to "See the indication of his god-fearing attitude" (*Homilies in Genesis* 32.7, p. 259).

¹⁰⁴ Heidegger (2:97, Exerc. IV, § 3). Gen. 12:13, 19.

¹⁰⁵ This section and the remainder of Mather's paragraph are extracted from Heidegger (2:98–99, 101, 102–03, Exerc. IV, §§ 5, 7, 8, 9, 10). Chrysostom ascribes Sarah's beauty to supernatural intervention (*Homilies in Genesis* 32.15). St. Augustine's *Contra Faustum Manichæum* (22.5) [PL 42. 403] relates that Faustus charges Abram with the crime of prostituting his own wife: "that, in sacrilegious profanation of his marriage, he [Abram] on different occasions, from avarice and greed, sold his wife Sara for the gratification of the kings Abimelech and Pharas, telling them that she was his sister, because she was very fair" (*NPNFi* 4:273).

ab impijs captiva possideretur; certus de Deo suo, quòd nihil turpe ac flagitiosum eam perpeti sineret. He thinks, That *Abrams* leaving but one thing, (his *Wifes Chastity*) entirely to the Care of Heaven, carried less Temptation with it than if he had also cast his own Life there, without any Care in himself concerning it. *Heidegger* after all, seems worthy to be the Foreman of the *Jury* in this Case, when he brings in this Verdict; *Et temerarios Judices esse putamus, qui nimis inclementer insultant Patriarchæ, et molles nimis ac lenes, qui eum à culpâ penitus absolvunt.*¹⁰⁶ Here was no *Prostitution*. When *Abram* asserted himself the *Brother* of *Sarah*, he rendred necessary the Application of the *Egyptians* unto him, if they desired, any of them, to marry her. This would have given him Opportunity to have thought of many Wayes to *Divert* and *Delay* their Designs, which he could not have had, if under the apprehension of his being her *Husband*, which would have rendred them forever *desperate*, they had murdered him. Nevertheless, his *Faith* seems to have been in this Matter, not so strong as it was in some other Instances. It seems, as if it would have been better for him, to have *dealt plainly*, & have resigned the whole Matter unto the Conduct of the Faithful God, and himself unto the Divine Providence and Protection; knowing that the Promise of the *Blessed One* to descend from him, could not be defeated. There was no Reason, in the *Jesuites* reproaching of *Calvin*, (of whom our *Heidegger* saies, He is, *Gravissimus Theologus, et suetus ubique scapham scapham appellare*;) for saying upon this Quæstion; *Ergò si probè omnia expendimus, infidelitate peccavit, minus Dei Providentiæ quàm debebat, tribuens.*¹⁰⁷ Well; *Sarah* is taken into the House of *Pharaoh*. *Pharaoh*; a Name common to the Kings of *Egypt*; like *Cæsar*, to the

¹⁰⁶ Notwithstanding his allegorical justification of *Abram's* questionable action, *Origen* (*Homily on Genesis* 6.3, p. 126) ends his homily with the rhetorical indictment: "In what way" does the wife of so great a patriarch edify us "if she [Sara] is supposed to have been exposed to defilements through marital indulgence?" *St. Jerome* on *Gen. 12:15–16* (*Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, p. 44) calls it a "foul necessity," but then offers yet another excuse for *Abram's* action. *Nicolaus Abramus* argues in his *Pharus ... De veritate et mendacio* (1648), lib. 3, cap. 15, that "Because sometimes it is permissible to make use of lies." *Nicolas de Lyra* (*Postilla*, vol. 1, n.p.), on *Gen. 12:1*, is most forthcoming in exonerating *Abram*, and so is *Paulus Burgensis* (c. 1351–1435), aka. *Paulus de Sancta Maria*, the famous Jewish converso and bishop of *Burgos*, whose *Scrutinium scripturarum* (1469) and his *Additiones ad Postillam Nicolai de Lyra* (1483) – both reprinted numerous times – were extracted and included in *Lyra's Postilla*. See also *Joannes Chrysostom* (*Homilies in Genesis* 32.12, p. 263). *St. Augustine* (*Contra Faustum Manichæum* 22.33) [PL 42. 422] rises to the occasion and defends *Abram* as follows: "he [Abram] concealed part of the Truth, but said nothing False, lest he should fall into the hands of strangers; for he was assured by his God that He would not allow her [Sara] to suffer violence or disgrace" (*NPNFi* 4:285, 286). *Heidegger's* verdict on *Abram's* conduct (2:98–99, § 5) seems ambidextrous: "And we consider those Judges rash who revile the Patriarch too inclemently, and those who absolve him of all blame to be too soft and lenient."

¹⁰⁷ *Heidegger* (2:99, § 5) praises *John Calvin* as a "very serious theologian, and one who is accustomed everywhere to call a spade a spade." *Calvin's* Jesuit Nemesis is *Nicolaus Abramus* (*Pharus ... De mendacio ac veritate*, lib. 3, cap. 15), who reproaches the Genevan Reformer for saying, "therefore, if we judge everything rightly, he [Abraham] sinned by his infidelity, rendering less than he owed to God's providence" (*Commentaries* 1.1.360–61, on *Gen. 12:11*).

Roman Emperors, *Antiochus* to the Kings of *Syria*, *Abimelech* to the Kings of the *Philistines*, *Arasces* to the Kings of *Parthia*, *Ptolomy* to the Kings of *Egypt* after the Dayes of *Alexander*, and *Cleopatra*, to the Queens, *Candace* to the Queens of the *Ethiopians*, *Artaxerxes* to the Kings of *Persia*, *Cotys* to the Kings of *Thracia*, *Arincathes* to those of *Cappadocia*, *Phylemen*es to those of *Paphlagonia*, and *Patimbotheus* to those of *India*. – But here's enough of 'em! *Josephus* thinks, the Name *Pharaoh*, began with *Pharaoh Mineus*, the builder of *Memphis*, which was many Years before the Dayes of *Abraham*. In their Childhood, the Gentlemen had other Names; but when they entred upon their Government, they were called, *Pharaoh*, which, it seems, must signify, *A King*; and because they had now no other Names, *Herodotus* vouchsafes to give us a Catalogue of them. J. *Huldricus* in his *Onomatologia Sacra*, saies, that in the Arabic Language, פֶּרַע / *Pharon*, or, *Pharaon*, signifies, the *Top* of any thing, and particularly the *Head* of a Family.¹⁰⁸ Thus the High *Watch-tower* in *Egypt* was called a *Pharos*. This *Egyptian* Way of seizing upon Women, was very ancient; and it became a *Græcian* one. So the *Egyptians* violently stole away *Isis* from the *Græcians*; and the *Græcians* in like Manner stole away *Europa* from the *Phœnicians*. The Story of *Helena*, is known to our Lads under the *Ferula*. But *Great Plagues* came upon *Pharaoh* and his House, for what was now done this Way. *Pestilence* and *Sedition*, saies *Josephus*. *Philo* will have them to be such *Bodily* | *Torments*, as compelled *Pharaoh* to mind [300v] something else than his Amours. The Jewes, imagine a more particular *Ulcer*, that spoil'd the Adulterous Intentions of the Court. But we are left in the Dark, about the Nature of these *Plagues*. We know, they were such as præserv'd *Sarah* from Violation. But then, did *Pharaoh* deserve such *Plagues*, when he proposed nothing but an *Honest Marriage* with the Lady now in his Court? *Plagues* for the meer Prevention of Sin, are not unjustly inflicted by Heaven. [See *Psal.* 105.14.] But besides this; *Pharaoh*, with his Courtiers, pursued the Matter now before them, upon too libidinous Principles, & with too criminal a *Præcipation*, & used not all due Means to inform themselves about the Condition of *Sarah*, as they should have done.¹⁰⁹ But how did *Pharaoh* now come to understand, that

¹⁰⁸ Heidegger (2:99–100, § 6). The list of ancient regal titles is taken from Eusebius's *Chronicon* and Jerome's *Commentaria in Esajam* (on Isa. 30). According to Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 8.6.2), Herodotus (2.4, 99–100), and Diodorus Siculus (1.45.1; cf. 1.50.3, lines 1–3), Min (Menes, Menas) was the first king of Egypt and supposed builder of Memphis (c. 3400 BCE). James Ussher (*Annals* 4) and John Marsham (*Chronicon Canon*, bk. 1, pp. 17–23) add that this Egyptian monarch lived more than 400 years before the birth of Abraham. Herodotus (2.4, 99–100) corroborates that an Egyptian priest told him that Min was the first king of Egypt and founder of Memphis, but that 330 kings came after Min. Heidegger praises the learned Dr. Johannes Huldricus and his *Onomatologia Sacra Vetus Testamentum*, but neither the author nor his work has as yet been identified.

¹⁰⁹ Heidegger (2:101. §§ 7, 8). Herodotus (1.1–5, 2.41, 2.112–20) opens his invaluable history with the abduction of Io-Isis (daughter of Inachus of Argos), of Europa (daughter of the king of Tyre), and of Helena (wife of Menelaus of Sparta), and confesses that the Greek, Egyptian, Phœnician, and Persian incarnations of these ancient stories and their deified heroes

Sarah was the Controversy of Heaven with him? *Josephus* thinks, the *Egyptian Priests* informed him. *Oecolampadius* and others, think, That he was informed by *Sarah* herself. Our *Heidegger* is of Opinion, That the Information came from Divine Revelation. He ha's *Chrysostom* of the same Opinion with him; he brings in *Pharaoh* saying, ο της παρανομιας ταυτης εκδικος εκεινος μοι τουτο γνωριμον εποησε. *Deus Justus hujus peccati vindex, illud mihi notum fecit.*¹¹⁰ Finally; what befel *Sarah* in this Matter, was a *Type*, of those things which were afterwards to befall the *Israelitish* Nation, in their *Egyptian* Bondage. A *Famine* carried *Israel* into *Egypt*, as it had carried *Abraham*. *Abraham* was distressed in *Egypt*, and so was *Israel*. *Sarah* was here despoiled of her Liberty; and so was the *Israelitish* Nation. The Oppression upon *Sarah* brought *Great Plagues* from Heaven, upon the *Egyptians*; and so did that upon her *Israelitish* Offspring. *Abram* and *Sarah*, were sent out of *Egypt*, with Riches and Honours; and so at length were the *Israelites*. *Abram* was no sooner come out of *Egypt*, but he is engaged in *Wars*, with diverse Princes; and the *Israelites* rescued from their *Egyptian* slavery, had their *Wars* to manage with various Enemies. I will only add, That *Musculus* in his *Commentary* on this Place, makes *Pharaoh's* Violence in the siezing of *Sarah*, a *Type* of what *Antichrist* ha's done to the Church of our Lord Jesus Christ: And it may be a Point well worthy of your Consideration.¹¹¹

are legion. Mather's tongue-in-cheek reference to "our Lads under the *Ferula*" reveals how tutors at Boston's Latin School and at Harvard whipped their dunces when Hebrew roots and Greek grammar proved as formidable as the walls of Troy. According to Gen. 12:17, God plagued Pharaoh for courting Sarah. Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 1.8.1) and Philo Judaeus (*De Abrahamo* 19.96–97) embellish Pharaoh's punishment and its effects. The Midrash Rabbah has him struck with "Lupus" (Genesis Rabbah XLI:2), with "Leprosy" (LII:13), with "Plagues" (Midrash Rabbah, Num. III:1), even with "*ra'athan*," a "skin-disease" most "harmful to sexual intercourse" (Leviticus Rabbah XVI:1), whereas Abimelech's was (euphemistically) punished with "the closing up [of the orifices]" (Genesis Rabbah XLI:2, LII:13).

110 Heidegger (2:102, § 9). Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 1.8.1) and the Greek historian Eupolemus (c. 150 BCE) relate that Pharaoh was unable to consort with Sarah and thus returned her to her husband, in Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.17.419c). The German theologian Johannes Oecolampadius (1482–1531), aka. Heusegen (Husegen), was a friend of Luther, Melancthon, and Zwingli, and one of the principal Reformers in Switzerland. Among his numerous works is his *Annotationes in Genesin* (1553), a commentary which is likely to contain his thoughts on Pharaoh's dalliance with Sarah (Gen. 12:15–17). When asked who had informed him that Sarai was Abram's wife, Pharaoh confesses, "The avenger of such awful disorder, he [God] it was who brought this to my knowledge" (Joannes Chrysostom's *Homilies in Genesis* 32.20, p. 270; [PG 53. 302, lines 41–42]).

111 Heidegger (2:102–03, Exerc. IV, § 10). The German Reformed theologian Wolfgang Musculus (1497–1563), aka. Müsli or Mäusli ("little Mouse"), professor of theology at Bern, mediated between the Lutherans and Zwinglians on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. His voluminous commentaries on the OT and NT include Musculus's typological reading of Sarah's dilemma (Gen. 12), in *Genesim Mosis commentarii* (1554), which Mather here excerpts. See also *Manuductio ad Ministerium* (129).

After the Return of *Abraham* into *Canaan*, we find the Lord saying to him; Gen. 13.15. *All the Land which thou seest, unto thee will I give it.* *Austin* makes a Quæstion upon this; *Why did the Promise run only upon, All the Land which thou seest; when God intended him all the Land, and such as his Eye could not then reach unto?* And *Austin* makes the Answer; That it is not said, *Tantum Terræ tibi dabo, quantum vides*; but, *Tibi dabo Terram, quam vides.* And *Abraham* is directed unto a Perambulation thro' the Land, that he may have a *Sight* of it. *Heidegger* thinks, that the Lord might now also carry the Patriarch, unto the Top of some High Mountain, as He did *Moses* unto the Top of *Pisgah*, that he might have a fuller *Sight* of the Land. Perhaps also, there might be an *Extraordinary Representation* made unto his *Imagination*; whereof there was an Imitation, in what Satan did unto our Saviour.¹¹²

It was not long after this *Promise*, that the Lord gave unto His Faithful Servant, a notable Specimen of its Accomplishment. Four *Kinglings*, as I may call them, or to speak in the Language of my own Countrey, Four *Sachims*, had brought *Five*, with their People, into a Vassalage unto them. The *Five* shaking off their Vassa[la]ge, the *Four* make a War upon them; and in the War become victorious. We will not seek for the Seats of the *Four* Princes, in remote Regions, nor trouble ourselves with a tedious recitation of Geographical Arguments about them. They seem to have been partly of a *Babylonian* Original; & originally in Part of Provinces adjoining to *Babylon*, called *Ellasar*, and *Elymais*. But the Gentleman called, *King of Nations*, seems to have had the Government, as *Masius* thinks, of the *Galilee*, which was called, *Galilæa Gentium*; inasmuch as the Designs of *Merchandise* drew many People thither.¹¹³ The *Five* Princes that were Defendants in this Cause, had little more than single *Cities* under them; whereof we find more than *Thirty* within the Land of *Canaan*, in the *Dayes* of *Joshua*; and *Aristotle* and *Cicero* tell us, that in ancient times, every *City* had *One*.¹¹⁴ These *Four* Princes, did by the way perform a bloody Exploit, upon

112 Heidegger (2:67, Exerc. III, § 26). In his *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, lib. 1: *Questiones in Genesin* (Quaest. 28) [PL 34. 555], St. Augustine answers that it is not said "I will give you as much of the earth as you can see," but "I will give you the earth, which you see." Moses surveyed the Promised Land from the top of Mt. Pisgah, in Moab, on the NE shore of the Dead Sea (Num. 21:10, 23:14; Deut. 3:27, 4:49, 34:1). During Christ's fast in the wilderness, Satan took him to the top of a high mountain to tempt him with the glory of the world's kingdoms (Matt. 4:8–9; Luke 4:5–6).

113 Heidegger (2:112–13, Exerc. V, § 4). Mather likens the Canaanite tribal rulers (Gen. 14:9) to the "*Sachims*" (Sachems) or Indian chiefs among New England's Algonquian tribes. Tidal, king of nations (Gen. 14:9), is singled out and by the erudite Flemish Orientalist Andreas Masius (1514–73) located among the "Galilean people," in Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:1038), on Josh. 20:7.

114 Heidegger (2:113, § 5). According to Gen. 14:2, Bera, king of Sodom; Birsha, king of Gomorrah; Shinab, king of Admah; Shemeber, king of Zebolim; and Zoar, king of Bela, were attacked by four kings (Gen. 14:1). Mather may have in mind Aristotle's *Politica* (3.15.1286b 9–14) and Cicero's *De re publica*.

[301r] some Nations, before they came upon *Pentapolis*. The *Rephaim* in *Ashteroth Karnaim*, were some of those, whom they fell upon. These *Rephaim*, | did inhabit the Countrey of *Bashan*. [Josh. 12.4. and, 13.12.] It is thought, that they dwelt in the *Caves* of the *Mountains*, as the *Cyclopes* did in *Homer*; and for this Cause, the Prophet uses the Name, [Isa. 26.19.] for such as were lodg'd under the Earth. They had their Name, from *Rapha*, their Father. [1. Chron. 20.6.] *Ashteroth Karnaim*, their Place, was called so, because it was consecrated unto *Diana Bicornis*. Jarchi thinks it called so, because of its being scituated between *Two Mountains*, the Tops of which resembled *Horns*. The *Zuzim* and the *Emim*, which were the Companions of the *Rephaim* in this Desolation, and the rest, we know little that is Remarkable.¹¹⁵ But so much we know, that *Boldoucus* in his Treatise, *De Ecclesiâ ante Legem*, is excessively Ridiculous; pretending, That these *Rephaim*, and *Emim*, and *Zuzim*, were the *first Restorers* of the World, & of Piety in the World, after the *Flood*. The *Rephaim*, forsooth, [from /רפא/] were *Medici Animarum*, or, *Pastors*. The *Zuzim*, [from /זוהר/ *Splendor*,] were επιφανιοι, or, *Illustrious* Ones. The *Emim*, [or /אמ"ם/] were as much as to say, *The Reverend*. Upon these Fancies of the Monk, our *Heidegger* cries out, *Apagesis febrilis nugas, et sceleratum in rebus sacris nugandi cacoethes*.¹¹⁶

By this time, the *Pentapolitans* had no Way left them, to escape the Fury of the Tyrants. They were conquered in the Vale of *Siddim*; whereof *Moses* takes notice, that it had *Pitts of Bitumen* in it; because many of the Routed People, flying from the Enemy, desperately chose to throw themselves into the *Slime-Pitts*.¹¹⁷

One that escaped (probably belonging to the Family of *Lot*,) brings unto *Abram* an account, of the share which his Kinsman had in this common Calamity. *Abram* arms his Family, to pursue the Invaders; & he takes *Mamre*, and *Eshcol*, and *Aner*; for his Companions and Confederates, in the Expedition.

115 Heidegger (2:113–14, § 7). Chedorlaomer and his retainers strafed the Rephaims (in Ashteroth Karnaim) and their allies, the Zuzims and Emims, for rebelling against their overlord (Gen. 14:5). “*Pentapolis*,” a region in Palestine, includes the five cities of Gaza, Gath, Ashcalon, Azotus, and Ekron. The one-eyed Polyphemos, the most famous of Homer’s Cyclopes, lived in an inhospitable cave (*Odyssey* 9.105 ff). Diana (Artemis), the ancient moon goddess, best-known as the goddess of hunting, became the protectress of women (Propertius 2.32. 9–10; Cicero, *De natura deorum* 2.27.68–69). Although she appears under many different names and guises, Diana Bicornis (“the two-horned”) is probably so called from the crescent she wore on her forehead in Phoenician depictions. Jarchi (Rashi) mentions Ashteroth Karnaim (“the hard rocks of Karnaim”) in his commentary on Deut. 1:4 and elsewhere as the place where the giant Rephaim and Og were vanquished by Amraphel.

116 Heidegger (2:114, § 8). Bolducus (*De Ecclesia ante Legem*, lib. 1, cap. 10). “*Rephaim*” signifies “giants” and “invigoration” [Strong’s # 07495, 07497]; in this latter sense they were perhaps “healers of the soul,” or pastors. The signification of “*Zuzim*” and “*Emim*,” respectively, is doubtful, but can be rendered “roving creatures” and “terrors” [Strong’s # 2104 and 0368]. Mather’s translation of “epiphanioi” seems fitting. Finally, Heidegger cries out, “Away with these feverish trifles, this heinous tumor of nonsense on sacred things.”

117 Heidegger (2:116–17, Exerc. V, § 10). The Vale of Siddim and its (bituminous) slime pits are mentioned in Gen. 14:10.

Rivet thinks, that these Gentlemen were not *Infidels*, but that they were come to worship the same God with *Abram*; The mutual Respects which pass'd between them and *Abram* argued it; and their Willingness, to accompany him, in this Expedition, with so small an Army, and so great an Hazard. For we must not beleieve *Josephus*, That the *Three Hundred & Eighteen Trained Servants* of *Abram* (to whom the 318 Fathers in the Council of *Nice*, were long after compared,) were so many *Officers*, or *Commanders*, that had others under them; albeit we may allow, with *Barthius*, that there were others not so well Disciplined, who might be taken into the Expedition, tho' they are not mentioned.¹¹⁸ It is an explodible Figment of some Hebrew Writers, That these 318, were no more than the one *Eliezer*, in the Letters of whose Name /אֱלִיעֶזֶר/ they do by their *Gematrie* find the Number 318.¹¹⁹ That no *Porphyrie* or *Julian*, may reflect on the *Mosaic History* of *Abrams* having so many *Trained Servants*, as Incredible: Our *Heidegger* brings the Instances of *Tiberius Minutius*, a *Roman* knight, who, as *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, could arm *Four hundred* Servants; And, *Marcus Crassus*, who, as *Plutarch* tells us, kept no less than *Five Hundred* Domestic Servants; And, *Demetrius*, made a Freeman by *Pompey* the Great, who, as we are told by *Seneca*, had so many Servants, that the List of them, was every day brought unto him, as unto some considerable General. *Hermes*, the Præfect of the City, where he lived, and yett a *Martyr*, could number Twelve Hundred & Fifty Servants. *Ovinus Gallicanus*, who was also a *Martyr*, did manumitt no less than Five Thousand Servants. *Laurentius Pignorius*, in his Commentary, *De Servis*, will afford you more such Instances. And several, English Gentlemen on our *American* Islands, have such Numbers of *Servants* on their Plantations, as would give the History of *Abram* some Illustration.¹²⁰

118 Heidegger (2:117–19, Exerc. V, §§ 12, 14). André Rivet's thoughts on Abram's companions appear in Rivet's *Theologicae & Scholasticae* (1633), Exerc. LXXV, pp. 359–60. Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 1.10.1). Hillary of Poitiers sets the traditional number of fathers who attended the Council of Nicea (325 CE) at 318, Eusebius Pamphilus at 250, Eustathius of Antioch at 270, and Athanasius of Alexandria and Gelassius of Cyzicus at around 300. The German philologist and antiquarian Caspar Barthius (1587–1658), aka. Kaspar von Barth, was a student of Joseph Justus Scaliger and edited many Latin classics. Heidegger refers to Barthius's discussion of Abraham's 318 servants, in *Adversariorum commentariorum libri LX* (1624), lib. 48, cap. 15, pp. 2269–70, a work that went through several editions.

119 Mather is not the only one who takes exception to this numerological argument, which can be found in Midrash Rabbah (*Gen.* XLIII:2; XLIV:10; *Leviticus* XXVIII:4), where R. Simeon ben Lakish argues that Abraham was not accompanied by his 318 servants in pursuing Lot's captors (*Gen.* 14:14), but only by "Eliezer alone" (Eliezer of Damascus), Abraham's chief steward (*Gen.* 15:2). The numerical value (Gematria) of Eliezer's name amounts to 318 = אֱלִיעֶזֶר = א [1] ל [30] י [10] ע [70] ז [7] ר [200]. See also *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (ch. 27, pp. 194–95) and the Talmudic tractate Nedarim (32a). Jacques Saurin (Diss. XII, 1:105), like many of Mather's colleagues, objected to such numerological proof as "fanciful." See also Jacques Basnage's *History of the Jews* (bk. 3, ch. 11, pp. 189–90).

120 Both Porphyry (234–c. 305 CE), the Neoplatonist philosopher and disciple of Plotinus, and Julian the Apostate (332–63), Roman Emperor Flavius Claudius Julianus, were formidable

Abram did not want Authority for this Expedition; The *Hebronites* confess'd him, *A Prince of God*. And while his Kinsman *Lot*, was in the hands of the Enemy, he had a *Just Cause*, and a *Good Call*, for what he did. We need not quote *Ambrose* for it; *Fortitudo quæ defendit infirmos, est plena Justitia*.¹²¹

He pursued them, unto *Dan*. The Place, which in *Jeroms* time, was called, *Paneas*; & was the Northern Bound of the Province of *Judæa*; where also was one of the *Fountains of Jordan*. It was at first called, *Laish*. [Josh. 19.47.] By which we may gather, that the Books of *Moses*, had here and there a Word inserted into them, after the *Israelites* were possessed of *Canaan*. *Pliny* also calls it, *Paneas*; and, *Stephanus*, Πανιον. And *Philip*, the Brother of *Herod* called it, *Cæsarea Philippi*. [302v] *Josephus* makes it a *Five-dayes* Journey, | from *Elon Mamre* hither. And here, the Matter was managed by *Abram*, with an excellent Conduct; tho' his great Prudence was not all the Cause of his great Success; for, as *Chrysostom* well acknowledges, ἡ ἀνωθεν χεὶρ ἣν συνεφάπτομεν, καὶ συστρατηγούσα τοῖς γινόμενοις. *Divina Manus erat Conjuncta, et Concertans ijs quæ facta sunt*.¹²²

detractors of the early Church – the former publishing *Contra Christianos* (15 books) surviving only in fragments preserved by those who refute him, and the latter writing *Adversus Christianos*, its fragmentary remains surviving in Cyril of Alexandria's refutation *Contra Julianum*. To Mather and his peers, Porphyry and Julian typify the enemies of the Church who focus on contradictory or hyperbolic passages in the Bible to dismiss its credibility. Diodorus Siculus (36.2.2–4; 36.2a) relates how Tiberius Minucius (Titus Vettius), a wealthy Roman “infatuated” with a beautiful slave girl belonging to a neighbor, incited his own slaves (“four hundred in number”) to revolt, crown him king, and thus to acquire his beloved by force. Plutarch (*Crassus* 2.4–6; *Plutarch's Lives* 3:316–19) tells the story of Marcus Licinius Crassus Dives (115–53 BCE), Roman Consul and Triumvir, who acquired five hundred skilled masons and architects (slaves) to rebuild crumbling Roman neighborhoods. According to Lucius Annaeus Seneca (the Younger), Demetrius Pompeianus, after he was made a freeman by Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (106–48 BCE), owned innumerable slaves (*Ad serenum de tranquillitate animi* 1.8). Heidegger evidently refers to the obscure Roman Martyr Hermes (Hermas), whose feast is celebrated on August 18 (CE). St. Gallicanus, Roman Consul Ovinus Gallicanus (317 CE), bestowed large gifts on the church in the Roman maritime city of Ostia, but was martyred (363 CE) after his banishment to Egypt (CE). Mather's references to these men of fortune is extracted (via Heidegger 2:119, § 14) from *De Servis, et eorum apud veteris ministerijs* (1651), a history of slavery in antiquity, by Laurentius Pignorius, aka. Lorenzo Pignoria (1571–1631), an Italian philologist of Padua. According to E.K. Brathwaite (*Creole Society* 121–22), the numerical disparity between slaves and white (English) population on the sugar island of Jamaica was nearly 6 to 1 (40,000 slaves to 7,000 English) in 1700.

121 Heidegger (2:119, Exerc. V, § 15). Gen. 23.6. This condensed exhortation – its longer version appearing in Ambrosius Mediolanensis (*De officijs ministrorum* 1.28.129) [PL 16. 61B] – postulates that “Courage, which defends the weak, is full of justice” (*NPNFii* 10:22).

122 Heidegger (1:129, Exerc. V, § 16). St. Jerome on Gen. 14:14 (*Quæstiones Hebraicæ in Genesim*) [PL 23. 961] identifies Dan (Laish) as a Phoenician town “now called Paneas” (*Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, p. 47). For Mather's receptivity to textual criticism of the Bible, see R. Smolinski's “Authority and Interpretation” (175–203). “Paneas” (Panias) appears in Pliny (5.16.74); “Panion,” in Stephanus Byzantius (*Ethnica*, p. 500, line 10). Philip (BCE 4–34 CE), son of Herod the Great (c. 73–4 BCE), established Caesarea Philippi at Paneas “at the fountains of the Jordan” (Josephus Flavius, *Antiquities* 18.2.1; *Wars* 2.9.1). Joannes Chrysostom (*Homiliae in Genesim* 35) [PG 53. 327, lines 26–27] maintains that Abram's revenge on Lot's captors was

Abram is victorious, and in his Return, is mett by the King of *Sodom*, at the *Valley of Saveh*, which is the *Kings Dale*. On this Place, we will not recite the uncertain Conjectures of the Criticks; but conclude, with *Heidegger*, That it was called, *The Kings Dale*, from the *Kings* meeting *Abram* here, to congratulate his Victory.¹²³

The Action of *Abram* in presenting the *Tithes* of the *Spoils* unto *Melchisedek*, had a very early Imitation among the Ancients. We read in *Xenophon*, That the victorious Armies, in the First Place devoted a Portion of their *Spoils* unto their *Gods*, before ever they made any Division thereof among themselves. And *Romulus* himself, with his own hands, presented unto *Jupiter Feretrius*, the best of the *Spoils* taken from the *Veientes*.¹²⁴

The Generosity of *Abram*, in refusing to take any thing for himself, was founded in a *Principle*; which made it excell that of *Cato*, who as *Plutarch* tells us, professed, εἰς αὐτον των ἀλικομενων ουδεν ελθειν. *Ad se nihil pertinere, eorum quæ ceperat*. And that of *Timoleon*, (before *Cato*,) who, as the same Author tells us, ου το λαβειν εκ τοιoutων αι{σ}χρον, ἀλλὰ το μη λαβειν κρειττον. *Non equidem turpe esse aliquid ex præda recepta accipere, sed melius tamen nihil accipere*; or, that of *Pittacus Mitylenæus*, who, *cum recuperati Agri dimidia pars ei offerretur, avertit animum ab eo munere, deforme Judicans virtutis gloriam magnitudine prædæ minuere*. They tell the like of *Paulus Æmylius*, and of *Mummius*.¹²⁵

guided by “a hand from on high that joined in the attack and assisted in directing the battle” (*Homilies in Genesis* 35.15, p. 314).

123 Heidegger (2:121, Exerc. V, § 19). Gen. 14:17.

124 Heidegger (2:122, Exerc. V, § 21). Gen. 14:20. Xenophon describes this ancient sacrificial practice in *Cyropaedia* (4.5.51). Romulus, the mythical ancestor of the Romans, devoted a trophy to Jupiter Feretrius (the “Smiter” or “Thunderer”) for helping him vanquish Acron, king of the Cainientes. The Veientes are a people of Tuscany (Plutarch, *Romulus* 16.6–7; 25.1–2; *Plutarch’s Lives* 1:136–39, 166–69). Heidegger’s source is *Epitome de Tito Livio* (1.1.9–12), an extract of Livy’s *Ab urbe condita*, by the Roman historian Publius (Lucius) Annaeus Florus (c. 70–c. 140 CE).

125 Heidegger (2:124, Exerc. V, § 23). Abram refuses to take his rightful spoils in battle because he thereby wants to honor his God (Gen. 14:22–24). According to Plutarch (*Marcus Cato* 10.4.5; *Plutarch’s Lives* 2:331), the Roman statesman Marcus Cato Maior (234–149 BCE) professed “that no part of the booty fell to him.” And of the Corinthian Timoleon (5th–4th c. BCE), who defeated Carthage, Plutarch relates in a wider context that Timeleon “is [not] to be blamed for accepting a fine house and country estate, for acceptance under such circumstances is not disgraceful; but not to accept is better” (*Comparatio Aemilii Paulli et Timoleonis* 2.9; *Plutarch’s Lives* 6:463). Of the ancient Greek lawgiver Pittacus Mitylenæus (c. 650–570 BCE), the Roman author Valerius Maximus (1st c. BCE to early 1st c. CE) relates that Pittacus acted exemplarily: “When half of the regained field was offered to him, he turned his mind away from this gift, deciding that his reputation for virtue would be diminished by the disgustingly large spoils” (Valerius Maximus’s *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium*, lib. 6, cap. 5, ext. 1). Plutarch (*Families Paullus* 28.11; *Plutarch’s Lives* 6:431–32) praises the Roman censor Lucius Aemilius Paullus (fl. 192–160 BCE) for keeping nothing for himself of the spoils in the war with Perseus, king of Macedonia (179–168 BCE), but Perseus’s library. Roman praetor, proconsul, and censor Lucius Mummius (fl. 160–140 BCE) gave away to his friends, to the city of Rome, and to other

Upon the Return of *Abram* to his Habitation, at *Elon Mamre*, the Lord appears a *Fourth Time* unto him; Renewing His *Covenant* in these Terms, *I am thy Shield, thy Exceeding Great Reward*. The former Clause, defends him from the Dangers, to which he might apprehend himself on every Side exposed, after his late Expedition. The latter Clause, is by *Chrysostom* thus paraphrased; Ο μισθος σου κλ. “*Thy Reward shall be very Great*. Thou wouldst not Receive a *Reward* of thy Labours, which thou didst Sustain, in the *Dangers* to which thou didst lately Expose thyself. Thou didst both Despise it; and the *King* that offered it. I will give thee an otherghess *Reward*, than any that thou hast refused. A *very Great Reward*.” *Junius* argues, That if the Terms had run according to the vulgar Interpretation, *I am thy Exceeding Great Reward*; the pious Patriarch would not presently have added; *Lord, what wilt thou give me?* *Heidegger* therefore falls in with *Chrysostom*, and so do all the Eastern Interpreters.¹²⁶

It follows, *Abram* Beleeved in the Lord, and it was imputed unto him for *Righteousness*. The Meaning is not, That the *Faith* of the Patriarch was look’d on, as a Deserving, or an Excellent Action; which was the Sense of the *Arabic* Version; *Credidit Domino; et scripsit id illi in opus bonum*; and unto which Sense also *Jarchi* carried it. The *Papists* and *Socinians* concur with the old Hebrew *Self-Justiciaries*. But our *Heidegger* very well observes, the true Sense to be, That the *Faith* of *Abraham*, had for its Object, our Glorious CHRIST, the only Saviour; and his *Faith*, is by a *Metalepsis* here putt for the *Object* of his Faith; whose *Merit* thus beleeved on, was by the Grace of God imputed unto *Abraham*, and became his *Righteousness*. [Consider, Rom. 4.4.] *Faith* considered as our *Work*, or *Act*, cannot be the *Matter* of our *Justifying Righteousness*; but as it *Justifies*, it is opposed unto every *Work* of ours. The Word used by the Apostle on this Occasion, is, λογίζεσθαι. It is a Term taken from *Dealers*, who have their Accounts of *Debt* and *Credit*. The Great God is not without such Accounts. In His Books, He ha’s noted, what He ha’s given to us, and what we owe unto Him. In the Page of *Credit*, there could not be entred our *Obedience*; and our own personal Payment of our *Debt* unto Him. Wherefore He enters there, the *Obedience* and *Righteousness* of our Saviour, who became our *Surety*; and the *Faith* by which we become entitled unto it.¹²⁷

Italian communities the large cash of art he had taken from Corinth and other Greek cities after defeating the Achaean Confederacy (146/45 BCE) (*OCD*).

¹²⁶ Heidegger (2:69–70, Exerc. III, § 29). Gen. 15:1. Joannes Chrysostom’s abbreviated citation from Gen. 15:1 reads, “Your Reward, etc.” (*Homiliae in Genesim* 36.1, 9, 10.) [PG 53. 332, line 37n–38n; 337, lines, 34, 60]. Franciscus Junius’s commentary appears in his annotations on Gen. 15:1–2, in *Biblia Sacra, sive Libri Canonici* (1593) 18, annot. 1–4; and in Junius *Opera Theologica* (1613), “Libri geneseos Analysis” (p. 177, lines 53–79). Heidegger agrees with Chrysostom’s interpretation of Gen. 15:2 (*Homilies in Genesis* 36.11, p. 333) that in declining a gift from Melchizedek, Abram expected a reward from God.

¹²⁷ Heidegger (2:73–74, Exerc. III, §§ 34, 35). Gen. 15:6. The Latin interpretation of the Arabic Version (Gen. 15:6), which is here cited by Heidegger (2:73), appears in Walton (1:57)

For the Confirmation of the *Covenant* now Renew'd between *Heaven*, and *Abram*, a *Sacrifice* is provided, of those *Clean Animals*, which were afterwards (with the Addition of only a *Sparrow*) used for that Purpose, in the *Mosaic Pædagogy*. And the *Sacrifice* of the *Herd* and the *Flock*, being Divided, *Abram* kept waiting, & chasing away the | Rapacious Birds, that would have prey'd upon them, till in the Evening a *Deep Sleep* fell upon him. While *Abram* was in this *Deep Sleep*, the Lord assures him, That his Posterity should possess that Land, in the *Fourth Generation*, when the *Iniquity of the Amorite should be full*. There can be no doubt, that the *Amorites* were at this very Time wicked enough, to be worthy of Destruction from God. *Iniquity* therefore is here to be taken for the *Punishment of Iniquity*, or the *Time* decreed, assign'd, appointed, for the Infliction of that *Punishment*. The Delay turn'd not, upon the Measure of *Iniquity* among the *Amorites*, but upon the Sovereign *Wisdom* of Heaven, determining the *Time* to punish that *Iniquity*. A *Smoking Furnace*, and a *Burning Lamp*, then passed between the *Peeces* of the *Sacrifice*. The *Lamp* represented the Glorious Lord Himself; it noted, as *Chrysostom* saith, της του Θεου ενεργειας παρουσιαν. *Divine operationis presentiam*. The *Furnace* represented *Abram* and his Posterity. The Passing of these thro' the *Divided Parts* of the *Sacrifice*, was a *Fæderal Rite*; it confirmed the *Covenant*. Behold, the *Ancient Rite*, of making a *Covenant*! Compare, Jer. 34.18. Hence tis one of the *Jewish Prayers*, *Obsecro, Rex Misericors et Gratiose, Recordare et Respice, Fædus inter Segmenta initum*.¹²⁸ We find a Thousand Footsteps, of this Action in Antiquity. In this *Covenant*, the Land is promised unto the Posterity of *Abraham*, from the River of *Egypt*, unto the River *Euphrates*. By the former, the *Hebrewes* will have *Nilus* to be understood; tho' *Abenezra* & some few more, understand, *Sichor*, [Josh. 13.2, 3. Jer. 2.18.] near to *Rhinocolura*. But it is easy to Reconcile them; for *Sichor* is a

and translates, "He trusted in the Lord, and it was written down as a good deed for him." Jarchi (Rashi) agrees with this reading, saying that God "accounted it to Abram as a merit and as righteousness for the faith that he believed in Him (*Targum Jonathan*)." And Abram "did not ask Him for a sign but he said before Him, 'Let me know with what merit will they [my descendants] remain therein [in the Land]?' " And God responded, "With the merit of the sacrifices" (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:178). The Apostle Paul uses "logizethai" (Rom. 4:4) or "counted." Mather's Calvinist position on the efficacy of faith fully conforms to New England's *Congregational Confession of Faith* (1658): that God's elect are justified by faith, not works. At the same time, the elect's justification does not occur by faith as a meritorious act in itself, "but by imputing Christ's Active Obedience unto the whole Law, and Passive Obedience in his Sufferings and Death, for their whole and sole Righteousness" (*Magnalia Christi Americana* [1702], bk. 5, pt. 1, ch. 11 ["*Of Justification*"], p. 10). See also W. Walker, *Creeeds* (379).

¹²⁸ Heidegger (2:78–79, Exerc. III, § 40). Gen. 15:16–17. According to Chrysostom (*Homiliae in Genesim* 37) [PG 53. 347, line 10] the flames passing between the sacrificial portions signified "the presence of God's activity" (*Homilies on Genesis* 37.12, p. 349). The Jewish prayer, which Heidegger cites from "*In libro precum Judaicarum*," reads, "I pray you, merciful and gracious king, to remember and consider the agreement which you undertook between the divided parts" – a ritual prayer offered during animal sacrifices. See esp. Rashi's commentary on Gen. 15:9–10, 17, in *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* (1:179–181, 184–85).

Branch of *Nilus*. And indeed, the very Name, *Nahal*, carries, *Nilus* in it. *Sichor* also, which signifies, *Blackish*, was the Color of *Nilus*, which as *Plutarch* and *Eustathius* tell us, was called, *Μελας*, by the *Græcians*, and as *Festus* and *Servius* tell us, *Melos*, by the *Latines*. *Dionysius Afer* likewise assures us, That *Nilus* was called, *Siris*, by the *Ethiopians*; and *Scaliger* does well to derive *Siris*, from *Sichor*. And the most famous old Cosmographers, particularly *Strabo*, make a Branch of *Nilus*, not far from the great *Pelusiæ* Mouth of it, the bound of *Judea*. *Pliny* makes *Rhinocolura* the last City of *Judea*. The *Euphratean* Bound ha's as yett had no other Accomplishment, than in the Tributary Nations, which felt once the conquering Arms of the *Israelites*. All the *Hebrewes* agree, to find the Fate of the *Four Monarchies*, in the Divided *Sacrifice* now before us.¹²⁹ But the Matter seems rather to be restrained unto an *Hieroglyphic* of the *Egyptian Servitude*. *Theodoret* most pleases our *Heidegger*; That the *Four Animals* in the *Sacrifice*, intimate the *Four Generations*, which were to pass, before the Accomplishment of the *Covenant* and *Prophecy*: That the *Three Terrestrial Animals* in the *Sacrifice*, intimate the *Three Generations* of *Kohath*, and *Amram*, and *Moses*, which were to be actually in the *Egyptian* Peregrination: That the *Turtle-Dove* in the *Sacrifice*, intimates the *Flight*, which the *Mournful Israelites* were then to take into the Wilderness. The *Dissection* of the *Animals*, noted the Affliction of the Patriarchs; The *whole Condition* of the *Birds*, noted the Period of that Affliction. The *Birds of Prey* which would have siezed on the *Sacrifice*, painted out the Temper and Conduct of the Enemies, which would infest that People of God. *Wakeful Abraham* was a Picture of the watchful Providence of God, over His People. The *Horror of Darkness*, with a *Deep Sleep* coming upon *Abram*, livelily exhibits the State of his Posterity in *Egypt*. The *Smoking Furnace*; yett more livelily leads us, to their very *Employment* in their *Slavery*. The *Burning Lamp* showes us, the Presence of God with them, in the midst of all their Difficulties. Finally, The *Cutting asunder* of the *Sacrifice*, tells us, the Vengeance to be executed on the

129 Heidegger (2:79–80, Exerc. III, § 41). Such “Footsteps” of ritualistic animal sacrifices and their signification can be found in such authors as Pseudo-Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca* 1.9.12), in Cyril of Alexandria (*Contra Julianum* 1.10), Homer (*Iliad* 1.446–74; *Odyssey* 11.30–55), and Virgil (*Aeneid* 8.640–41), Livy (40.6.1–2). See also Grotius (*Annotationes* 1:13) and John Spencer (*De Legibus Hebraeorum Ritualibus*). Ibn Ezra (*Commentary on Genesis* 1:176) argues that “the river of Egypt” (Gen. 15:18) is “the Shibor, and not the Nile,” but Rashi (Gen. 2:11) insists it is the Nile; Josephus and Abarbanel, however, opt for the Indian “Ganges” (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:40–41). Mather’s “Rhinocolura” (misspelled “Rhinocorura” in its first occurrence) is a settlement on the borders between Palestine and Egypt, in Livy (45.11). See also Pseudo-Plutarchus (*De fluviis* 16.1); Eustathius Thessalonicensis (*Commentarium in Dionysii periegetae orbis descriptionem* 222.42–46); Joseph Justus Scaliger’s 1575 edition of Sextus Pompeius Festus’s *De verborum significatione*; Maurus Servius Honoratus; Dionysius Periegetes (*Orbis descriptio* 221–23); Strabo (1.2.25, 28; 16.2.24, 33–34; 17.1.21); Pliny (5.14.68). Heidegger’s source for much of the discussion of the Nile as “Sichor” is Selden’s *De Diis Syris* (1617), Syntagma 1, cap. 4, pp. 56–58. The typological reading of Abraham’s divided sacrifices, the four kings, and the four monarchies appears in Midrash Rabbah (Gen. XLII:2, 3).

People, when they should break the *Covenant* of God. Hence, tis remarkable, that our Lord prædicting the Wrath of Heaven upon the famous Breakers of His *Covenant*, and alluding to what befell the sinful *Israelites*, ha's an Expression fetch'd from this very Occasion; Matth. 24.51. *He shall cutt him asunder, and appoint him his Portion with the Hypocrites.*¹³⁰

After this, and when *Abram* was Eighty five Years old, *Sarah* perswades him, to seek Posterity, by a Conversation with *Hagar*: A Person whom *Abram* took into his Family, probably, in his late *Egyptian* Peregrination. *Jonathan* the Chaldee Paraphrast, ha's a very unlikely Tradition, of her being *Pharaohs* Daughter; & given by | *Pharaoh* to *Abram*, at the time when God plagued his Court on *Abrams* account. We will regard neither that, nor the other Story of R. *Abraham Zachuth*, of *Hagars* not being a Daughter of one of *Pharaohs* Concubines, but a Maid of Honour to *Churia*, the Wife of *Pharaoh*, & by her bestow'd upon *Sarah*. We will rather enquire, whether the Counsil of *Sarah*, to *Abram*, on this Occasion were Good and Right, or no? *Faustus* the Manichee, was very sharp upon *Abram*, as guilty of gross *Adultery*, and gross *Infidelity*, in this Matter. But *Austin* answers *Faustus*; and he moreover saies, in his, *De Civitate Dei*, L. 16.25. *Usus est Hagare, ad generandam prolem, non ad explendam libidinem; non insultans, sed potius obediens conjugii; quæ suæ sterilitati credidit esse solatium, si fœcundæ ancillæ uterum, quoniam natura non poterat, voluntate faceret suum. Nulla hic est cupiditas Lasciviæ, nulla Nequitie turpitudine; ab uxore causâ prolis; Ancilla marito traditur; à marito causâ prolis accipitur.*¹³¹ Tho' much may be said, for the Extenuation of *Abrams* wrong Step in this Matter; yett we may not come to *Philo's* Flight, who reckons this Counsil of *Sarah*, to have been, των αλλων σαφεστατην πιστιν. *Reliquarum ipsius laudum illustrissimum specimen*; and we cannot altogether

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130 Heidegger (2:81, Exerc. III, § 44). Theodoret (*Quæstiones in Octateuchum*, Quest. 67, p. 63, lines 5–18). According to Gen. 15:9–18, God covenanted with Abram, promising the patriarch that his offspring would inherit the Promised Land. In token of its fulfillment, Abram was commanded to sacrifice a heifer, a she-goat, a ram, a turtledove, and a pigeon – all of which prophetically typified the Israelites' migration to Egypt, their Exodus, and conquest of Canaan.

131 Heidegger (2:126, 127, Exer. VI, §§ 2, 4). Gen. 16:3. For Hagar's Egyptian origin as daughter of Pharaoh or as the Queen's handmaid, see Targum Jonathan ben Uziel on Gen. 16:3, 5 (Walton 4:27), R. Abraham ben Samuel Zachuth's *Liber Juchasin* (1580), *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (ch. 26, p. 190), Midrash Rabbah (Gen. XLV:1), and Rashi on Gen. 16:1 (*Mikraoth Gedoloth*: Genesis 1:186–87). The philosophy of Faustus the Manichean (fl. late 4th c. CE) of Numidia is principally related in St. Augustine's repudiation *Contra Faustum*. For Faustus's criticism of Abram's polygamous relationship with Hagar and Austin's vindication, see St. Augustine's *Contra Faustum Manichæum* (22.30–32), in *NPNFi* (4:284–85). St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* (16.25) [PL 41. 503] defends the patriarch by arguing that Abraham "made use of Hagar for the begetting of progeny, not for the gratification of lust; and not to insult, but rather to obey his wife, who supposed it would be a solace of her barrenness if she could make use of the fruitful womb of her handmaid to supply the defect of her own nature. Here there is no wanton lust, no filthy lewdness. The handmaid is delivered to the husband by the wife for the sake of progeny, and is received by the husband for the sake of progeny, each seeking not guilty excess, but natural fruit" (*NPNFi* 2:325).

excuse *Abram*, as *Theodoret*, and *Ambrose*, and *Austin*, and most of the Popish Commentators do. It is not agreeable to the *Law of Nature*, that the true *Wife*, should produce Children to herself, by the Conversation of her *Husband* with her *Handmaid*. There was too much *Unbeleef*, too much *Impatience*, too much *Carnality*, in the Matter.¹³² And the Tragical Outcries of such Men as *Bellarmino*, and *Fevardentius*, against our *Calvin*, for saying so much, ought to make no Impressions upon us. The Insolency of *Hagar* after her Conception, caused an heavy Complaint in *Sarah*; but not, as *Jarchi* commentates, any Upbraiding of *Abram*, for being mindful of himself only, & not of hers, in his Prayers to the Lord, about his own Sterility.¹³³ That Passage; Gen. 16.5. *My Wrong be upon thee*, only means, That it belong'd unto *Abram* to rectify this *Wrong*. It is the Manner of the *Hebrewes*, & of the *Arabians*, to express the Duty, Office, Obligation of another, by affixing a /על/ unto the Person concerned. Thus, Psal. 16.2. *My Good lies not upon thee*; that is, It no longer lies upon thee to perform it; It is already perform'd; there lies upon thee, no further Obligation. *Sarah* indeed express'd some Weakness on this Occasion; And so did *Abram*, in absolutely Resigning *Hagar* to the Pleasure of her Mistress; when a more middle, and moderate Way, might have been thought upon. But from *Sarah's* afflicting of *Hagar*, it was but a mean Inference of *Austin*, That *Catholicks* might do well to persecute *Hereticks*; and, *Vim adhibendam esse homini, ut ab erroris pernicië liberetur*. I don't wonder, that *Pererius* improves the Notion, to Justify all the Tyranny of *Antichrist*, over the *Consciences* of Men.¹³⁴

The *Angel* foretels unto *Hagar*, the Character of the Son to be born of her; That he would be a *Wild Man*; or, have much of the Temper and Carriage of the

132 Heidegger (2:128, Exerc. VI, § 5). Philo Judaeus (*De Abrahamo* 43.247.2) interprets Sarah's council as "the most manifest possible proof" of her consent (*Works* 432). Theodoret (*Quaestiones in Octateuchum*, Quest. 63 and 68); Ambrosius Mediolanensis (*De Abraham patriarcha libri duo* 1.2.6) [PL 14. 423]; St. Augustine (*De Civitate Dei* 16.25–26) [PL 41. 503–506], *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* (22.30–33), and *NPNFi* (4:284–85).

133 Heidegger (2:129, 130, Exerc. VI, §§ 7, 8). In his *Commentary on Genesis* (16:1–3), John Calvin took Sarah to task for offering Hagar to Abraham. Sarah thus "perverts the law of marriage, by defiling the conjugal bed, which was appointed only for two persons" (*Commentaries* 1.1:424). Calvin is criticized for his harsh judgment of Sarah in *De Sacramento Matrimonii* (lib. 1, cap. 2), in *Disputationes de controversiis* (1586–93), vol. 3, by Cardinal St. Robert Bellarmino (1542–1621); and in *Dialogi septem* (1594) and *Theomachia Calvinistica* (1604), pars 2, lib. XI, "De Purgatorio," p. 20, by the Parisian theologian Franciscus Fevardentius. The exegetical controversy is also explored in *Sarah and Hagar* (1649), Sermon 4, pp. 43–44, by Josias Shute (1588–1643), Rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, Lombard Street, London.

134 Heidegger (2:130–31, Exerc. VI, §§ 9, 10). Drawing on Midrash Rabbah (Gen. XLV:5), Rashi remarks (Gen. 16:5) that Sarah upbraided Abram for not including her in his prayers for progeny (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:188). In his letter "To Vincentius" (*Epistolae* XCIII, c. 2, §§ 5, 6) [PL 33. 324], St Augustine refers to Paul's violent conversion to refute Vincentius's belief "that no coercion is to be used with any man in order to his deliverance from the fatal consequences of error" (*NPNFi* 1:383). Valentinus Benedictus Pererius's comments on this issue (Gen. 16:5) appear in his *Commentariorum et disputationum in Genesim* (1596) 3:523–24.

Wild Ass, in him. It was Remarkably Fulfilled. Of *Ishmael* himself, we read, Gen. 21.20. *He dwelt in the Wilderness, & became an Archer*. And then, of the *Saracens* descended from him, hear *Ammianus Marcellinus*, [L.14. c.10.] *Nec eorum quicquam aliquandò stivam apprehendit, vel arborem colit, vel arva subigendo quæritat victum: Sed vagantur semper, errantque per spatia longè latèque distenta, sine lare, sine sedibus fixis, aut legibus, nec idem perferunt diutius Cælum, nec tractus unius soli illis unquam placet; Vita est illis semper in fugâ.*¹³⁵ That Passage; *He shall dwell in the Presence of all his Brethren*; had a Fulfilment as Remarkble. His Countrey was *Paran* and *Kedar*. Contiguous to him, on the *North*, he had the *Idumeans*; on the *South*, he had the *Medianites*; on the *East*, he had the *Amalekites*, the *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*; all of them, his *Brethren*. But the Word, /שָׂכַן/ is used on this Occasion; σκηνοῦν, is the Word that answers it. It most properly means, *To dwell in a Tent*. In the Scripture we read accordingly, about, *The Tents of Kedar*. And the *Arabians*, who are descended from *Ishmael*, were called, Σκηνίται, *Scenitæ*; In *Pliny*, you have a particular mention of them. The *Mahometans* retain a great Veneration for *Ishmael*; They call him, *A Prophet*. The *Alcoran* commonly joins him with *Abraham*, and *Isaac*, and *Jacob*. Yea, *Mahomet*, by an intolerable Mistake styles him, *Sacrificandum Deo*, confounding him with *Isaac*.¹³⁶

| In the Ninety-ninth Year of *Abrams* Age, the Lord appears a Fifth Time [305r] unto him, and Renewes His *Covenant* with him. In this Admirable Transaction, we take particular Notice, that the Lord begins with a Declaration of His own *Alsufficiency*; *I am the Alsufficient God*. This is, not only to intimate, that there is enough in Him to fulfill His *Covenant*, and bring us unto Blessedness; but also, that whereas among Men, a *Covenant* is proposed for *Mutual Benefits*, it is not so here; God ha's no need of us; we cannot be *Beneficial* unto Him. It may be enquired, How far the Seed of *Abraham*, (who on this Occasion has his Name

¹³⁵ Heidegger (2:132, Exerc. VI, § 13). Ammianus Marcellinus (14.4.3–4) describes the Saracens as follows: “Nor does any member of their tribes ever take plough in hand or cultivate a tree, or seek food by the tillage of the land; but they are perpetually wandering over various and extensive districts, having no home, no fixed abode or laws; nor can they endure to remain long in the same climate, no one district or country pleasing them for a continuance. Their life is one continued wandering.”

¹³⁶ Heidegger (2:133, 140, Exerc. VI, §§ 15, 30). Gen. 16.12. Mather links the descendents of Ishmael with the wandering Saracens. The Hebrew שָׂכַן (shakan) [Strong's # 07931] suggests “to settle down, abide, dwell” (Gen. 16:12). Mather equates this Hebrew infinitive with the Greek “skēnōn,” or rather, σκηνέω, from σκηνή (tent): “to dwell in a tent.” For “*The Tents of Kedar*,” see Ps. 120:5 and Cant. 1:5. Pliny (5.12.65, 6.30.125). Pliny's Latin commentator Claudius Salmasius discusses the Scenitæ (Arabs) at length in his *Plinianæ exercitationes* (1629) 483. In the Al-Quran, Ishmael (Abraham's son by Hagar) is honored as the legitimate heir of Abraham's primogeniture. It is also Ishmael – not Isaac – whom Abraham offers as a sacrifice to Allah (Sura 2:125, 37:99–111), hence Mather's vehement protest against Ishmael as “sacrificed to God.” Sieur André du Ryer's French translation *L'Alcoran de Mahomet* (1647) appeared in at least two English editions as *The Alcoran of Mahomet* (1649, 1688) during the seventeenth century. Adriaan Reland's *Four Treatises* (1712) reveals the contemporary mindset on Islam. See also Pailin's *Attitudes* (81–104).

changed in{to} *Abraham*) are concerned in this *Covenant*. For answer to this, our *Heidegger*, would have us to distinguish well, between the several *Promises*, and the several *Periods*, contained in the *Covenant*.¹³⁷ In the *Covenant*, there is a more *General Promise*, about the *Multiplication* of Children, to Inherit the Blessing; and to receive the Grace of *Regeneration* and *Adoption*: And there is a more *Special Promise*, about the Possession of the Land of *Canaan*, and the Birth of the *Messiah* in that Land.¹³⁸ One *Period* is to be reckoned, from *Abrahams* Time, to the Time of *Israels* Entrance into the Holy Land. In this *Period*, the *General Promise* belonged unto, all the Beleeving Posterity of *Abraham*, not only by *Sarah*, but by *Hagar* and *Keturah* too; who were therefore to be *Circumcised*. A Second *Period* is to be reckoned, from the Entrance into the Holy Land, unto the Incarnation of our Saviour. In this *Period*, the *General Promise*, and the *Special* also, pertained peculiarly to the *Israelites*. There was no other People of God then in the World. A Third *Period* is to be reckoned, from the Incarnation of our Saviour, unto the Day of Judgment. In this *Period*, the *General Promise* belongs to all the Faithful, without any Distinction of *Nations*; even to all, who follow the Faith of *Abraham*. The Summ of what is contained in that Grand Article of the *Covenant*, *I will be a God unto thee*; amounts to this much: That, *Abraham*, & the Seed of *Abraham*, should enjoy the Benefitts of Remission, and Adoption, and Eternal Blessedness, & be the People & *Heritage* of the Lord. If God be Theirs, They must be the Lords; They cannot be the Lords, nor have Communion with Him, except their Sin be pardoned. They cannot come at a Pardon, but by the Sacrifice of a Glorious CHRIST; Hence a *Christ* also, as a *Surety* and a *Saviour* is comprized in the *Covenant*. But now, they may Rejoice in God, as their Friend, their Father, their Portion; & the Author of Eternal Life unto them. Certainly, under the Type of the *Promised Land*, there must be intended a more Heavenly and Eternal Blessedness, in a better World. For the *Wicked* enjoy'd the Comforts of this Land, as well as the *Righteous*. Yea, and the best Patriarchs, to whom it was promised, yett never enjoy'd *this Land*. And the Blessings of the *Spirit* are to be expected from God, as well as those of the *Body*; the Promise of God could never terminate in meer Bodily Blessings.¹³⁹

On this Occasion, we find *Circumcision* appointed. It must be observed on the *Eighth Day*. *Valesius*, out of *Galen*, shoves, that the Safety of the *Infant*, is by this Day pretty well confirmed; and *Maimonides* assigns this, as the Cause why this Day is pitch'd upon for *Circumcision*. *Aristotle*, in his *History of Animals*, ha's a Remarkable Note, this way; That of *Infants*, Τα πλειστα αναιρειται προ της εβδομης. *Very many dy before the Seventh Day. And for this Cause, they took the*

¹³⁷ Heidegger (2:142–44, Exerc. VII, §§ 2, 4). Gen. 17:1 renders it, “I am the Almighty God” (El-Shaddai).

¹³⁸ Heidegger (2:147, Exerc. VII, § 9). Gen. 16:10; 17:2, 20. See Appendix A.

¹³⁹ Heidegger (2:147–48, Exerc. VII, §§ 11, 13). Gen. 17:7, 10, 12–14, 23–27; 21:4; Josh. 5:8; Heb. 7:22.

Seventh Day, to impose Names on their Infants; as now having a greater Expectation of their Continuance in the World. Other Causes assigned both by *Hebrewes* and *Christians*, and particularly the *Astrological* ones fetch'd from the Number of the *Planets*; tis not worth our while to mention them. All the Posterity of *Abraham*, keeping in his Faith, were obliged to observe this Institution. But unto whom did belong the Commination; *The uncircumcised Manchild, that Soul shall be cutt off?* It seems hard, That it should belong unto the *Infant*, who is Innocent in the Matter, tho' *Calvin*, and *Chamier*, as well as *Chrysostom*, carry it so.¹⁴⁰ Wherefore *Diodorus Tharsensis* thus carries it; *Quid, Infans incircumcisis peribit? Est enim parentum, ut octavo Die Circumsecetur. Codex igitur apud Syros habet; Quicumque non circumcidit peribit.* Thus also *Procopius Gazæus* argues. And *Pererius*, and *Lyranus*, and *Carthusianus*, and others, run this Way; and bring the Exemple of *Moses* for it. But our *Heidegger* will have the Object | of this Threatning, to be, The *Infant*, when come to be past his Infancy; and arriving to Years of Discretion, does remain uncircumcised, and approve and confirm, the profane Neglect of his *Parents*. It is well noted by *Junius*; That a *Breach of the Covenant*, cannot be charged on those that are yett in the Ignorance of *Infancy*. *Aben-Ezra* saies, The *Infant* must at least be, *Filius præcepti*, or Thirteen Years old, before this Threatning could belong unto him.¹⁴¹

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¹⁴⁰ Heidegger (2:148–49, Exerc. VII, § 14). Lev. 12:3. Mather refers to the Spaniard Francis Valesius, aka. Vallesio (1524–92), physician of Philip II of Spain, and author of *De Sacra Philosophia* (1608). Valesius' citation of Galen's recommendation on infants appears in *De Sacra Philosophia* (1608), cap. 18, pp. 123–24. Maimonides gives at least three reasons why circumcision should be performed on the eighth day (*Guide* 3.49.379), but lists exceptions in his *Mishneh Torah: Hilchot Milah* (1.16–18). Mather's abbreviated Greek citation (again without diacritics) appears in Aristotle's *De historia animalium* (7.12.588a, lines 7–9). See also Hippocrates's *De Carnibus* (cap. 15) and *De natura pueri* on the survival of infants at this tender age. The Hebrew judgment on the uncircumcised man child appears in Gen. 17:14. Commentators disagree on how to interpret what seems like a capricious punishment, their interpretations ranging from the death sentence, to infertility, and to utter extinction. In his commentary on Gen. 17:12–14, Calvin (*Commentaries* 1.1:454–59) argues that if an uncircumcised (or unbaptized) infant dies before the eighth day, God punishes neither infant nor parents for being unable to maintain God's covenant. Only in those cases where circumcision (or baptism) is deliberately neglected is the covenant broken, and the child ceases to be a member of the community. The orthodox French Calvinist divine Daniel Chamier Delphinatis (1565–1621), who tried to unite the Protestant denominations of Europe, opines that uncircumcised (unbaptized) children are damned because they are not exempt from original sin. See his 4-vol. *Panstratiæ catholicæ* (1627–29), tom. 1, lib. 9, cap. 8, § 7, p. 147 and tom. 4, lib. 5, cap. 10, § 39, p. 128. Like many of his peers, Joannes Chrysostomus (*Homilies in Genesis* 39.17) allegorizes circumcision, arguing that a child cannot be saved by this rite, because salvation of the soul can only be achieved by conscious choice. Chrysostom says much the same in *Homilies on the Gospel of St. John* (Homily 49), in *NPNFi* (14:179). The debate is summarized at length in John Selden's *De Jure naturali* (lib. 7, cap. 9, 12, pp. 827–31, 838–47) and in his *De Synedriis* (lib. 1, cap. 6, pp. 82–103).

¹⁴¹ Heidegger (2:152, Exerc. VII, § 19). Heidegger's sources are Selden's *De Synedriis* (lib. 1, cap. 6, pp. 85–86) and Gerard Vossius's *Historia Pelagiana* (1618), lib. 2, pars 1, cap. 43, § 2. The third-hand Latin-Greek citation from *Fragmenta ex catenis in Genesin* (Gen. 17:14), by

There ha's arisen a Quæstion, who was to be the *Administrator* of this Ordinance? When the Offices of the *Priest*, are enumerated, we do not find that of, *A Circumciser*, to be one of them. The Hebrewes tell us, and particularly, R. *Levi Barcelonita*; *Non debent mulieres circumcidere suos filios; sed pater, aut Domus Judicij, ubi pater non est*. It seems, it belong'd unto the Master of the Family; or unto him that was to supply his Place. *Maimonides* is blamed, for admitting every one, if he were not a *Gentile*, unto it. In later Times, the Task was wholly devolved, on a profess'd *Artist*; whom they called, מוֹדֵל / *The Circumciser*. And *Gomarus* thinks, from some Circumstances about the *Circumcision of John Baptist*, That this Officer was then also employ'd in this Administration.¹⁴²

The Instrument employ'd in it, seems to have been, A *Sharp Stone*. And the Comparison of our Saviour unto a *Stone*, makes our *Heidegger* the more inclined unto that Opinion. *Minutius Felix* mentions the Practice among the *Galls*; *Testâ sunt obscena demessa*. *Arnobius* has this Passage; *Atys testulâ sibi genitalia desecat*. And *Juvenal* this; *Mollia qui rapta secuit Genitalia Testa*. *Laurentius Ranciretus* ha's written much about this Matter; and shoves, how the Indians grind *Stones* unto so fine an Edge at this day, as to manage *Circumcision* with them. However, the *Jewes* at this Day, use any Tool for it, that will do the Office of a *Rasour*.

Bishop Diodorus T(h)arsensis (d. c. 390), reads, "What, shall the uncircumcised infant perish? For it is the parents' [responsibility] that they [children] should be circumcised on the eighth day. Therefore the Codex among the Syrians has, whoever does not circumcise shall perish" [PG 33. 1573C]. Heidegger quotes this passage at second hand from Selden's *De Synedriis* (86). Selden's own source is the 1572 edition of Diodorus Tarsensis, *Cathena seu explicatio locorum, qui in Pentateucho* (1572). Procopius Gazaeus on Gen. 17:14 (*Commentarii in Octateuchum*) [PG 87 Pt. 1. 356–357]; Valentinius Benedictus Pererius, in *Commentariorum et disputationum in Genesim* (1596), Genesim 17, quaest. 6; Lyranus on Gen. 17.10–14, in *Postilla* (1492), vol. 1, n.p. The Flemish scholastic and mystic Dionysius Carthusianus (c. 1402–71), aka. Denis (Denys) the Carthusian of the Abbey of Roermond (Belgium), wrote numerous volumes on theological issues. Heidegger probably refers to Dionysius's commentary on the Pentateuch *Enarrationes ... in quinque Mosaicae legis libros* (1534). Franciscus Junius, "Capitis XVII Analysis" (Gen. 17:14), in *Opera Theologica* (1613) 1:180–84, esp. p. 183, lines 15–59. Ibn Ezra (*Commentary on Genesis* 1:186) argues that "a male who reaches the age when he is obligated to observe the commandments of the Torah and does not circumcise himself is subject to the penalty of *karet* (being cut off)."

¹⁴² Heidegger (2:154, Exerc. VII, § 21). Heidegger probably cites from *Sefer ha-Hinnukh* (*Book of Education*), attributed to the Spanish rabbi and Talmudist Aaron ha-Levi of Barcelona (c. 1235–1300), who warns that "it is not women who must circumcise their sons, but the father, or the House of Justice, where there is no father." According to his *Mishneh Torah: Hilchot Milah* (2:1), Maimonides insists that in the absence of a male Jew, a Jewess is allowed to perform circumcision, but no gentile. If, however, a gentile does perform the circumcision, no repetition is required. The official performing this ritual is called a Mohel (circumciser). The distinguished Dutch Calvinist Franciscus Gomarus (1563–1641), variously professor of theology at Leiden, Saumur, and Groningen, vehemently opposed his colleague Jacobus Arminius at the Synod of Dort (1618). Gomarus's commentary on circumcision (baptism) of John Baptist and of Jesus (Luke 1:59, 2:21) appears in his *Operum pars tertia. Disputationes Theologicae: Disputatio* 32 ("De baptismo"), cap. 39, p. 130; and in Thesis 39, pp. 104–06, both in *Opera theologica omnia* (1664), pars tertia.

Thus *Maimonides* tells us; *Circumcisionem peragunt qualibet Re; etiam silice, vitro acuto, et omni re aliâ quæ scindit: Non tamen circumcidunt fragmento canne, propter periculum.*¹⁴³

The *Reasons* of this Institution [for the Jewes themselves do call it, במסורין/μυστήριον, A *Mystery*:] assigned by *Philo*, and *Josephus*, and *Maimonides*, & *R. Levi* of *Barcelona*, and others, are none of them worth our mentioning; except this one, That God would have His People distinguished from other People, by a *Character* on their *Bodies*: And therefore *Chrysostom*, and *Theodoret* and *Austin*, took up with *this*. But this comes not up to the *main Intention*. *Circumcision* was a *Seal* of the *Covenant*; and the *Benefits* contained in the *Covenant*, had in it, a very notable adumbration.¹⁴⁴ There is a famous Text, which tells us, That the Thing therein signified was, [Col. 2.11.] The *Circumcision made without Hands*; which is, *In putting off the Body of the Sins of the Flesh, by the Circumcision of Christ*; and, *In being Risen with Him thro' the Faith of the Operation of God*; and, *In being Quickened from a Death in Sin, & in the Uncircumcision of the Flesh*; and, *In the Forgiveness of all Trespasses, and the Blotting out of the Handwriting that was against us*. This *Pauline* Account of the Matter, is asserted by the Distinction, between, *The Circumcision of the Flesh*, and, *The Circumcision of the Heart*, which we find in the Writings of the Ancient Prophets. [Deut. 10.16. and, 30.6. and Jer. 4.4.] Now the *Heart* cannot be *circumcised*, except by *Regeneration* and *Justification*; *Benefits*, not obtained except thro' the *Merits* of our Great Redeemer. The

143 Heidegger (2:154–55, Exerc. VII, § 22). Heidegger alludes to Christ as the cornerstone (Ps. 188:22; Isa. 28:16; Matt. 21:42; Mark 12:10, etc.). Marcus Minucius Felix (*Octavius* 24.4) relates that among the Galls, “the shameful parts are cut off” (*ANF* 4:187). In this slightly modified citation from Arnobius’s *Adversus gentes* (5.7.2) handsome “Attis mutilates himself by cutting off his genitalia [with a shard]” and throws them at Accestis, his erstwhile lover (*ANF* 6:492). Juvenal (*Saturn* 6.514) reads, “he cut off his soft genitals.” Laurentius Ranciretus is still unidentified. *Maimonides* (*Hilcoth Milah* 2.1) tells us that “Any utensil may be used for circumcision, even a flint, glass, or any article that cuts. One should not circumcise with the sharpened side of a reed, because of the danger involved.”

144 Heidegger (2:155, Exerc. VII, § 24). *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (ch. 29, pp. 203–22) details the significance of circumcision. Philo Judaeus (*De specialibus legibus* 1.1.1–1.2.11) provides both medical reasons for circumcision as well as allegorical interpretations of the practice as an excision symbolic of all wanton pleasure; Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 1.10.5, 5.10.3, 8.10.3, 11.6.13 etc.) mentions a variety of reasons, including that circumcisions was instituted to keep Abraham’s “posterity unmixed”; *Maimonides* (*Guide* 3.49.378–79) stresses that circumcision renders the penis less sensitive to stimulation and allows males to control their libido. Rabbi Aaron ha-Levi of Barcelona (*Sefer ha-Hinnukh*). Chrysostom (*Homilies in Genesis* 39.19, pp. 387–88) spiritualizes the rite of circumcision by which Abraham’s descendents distinguish themselves from the gentiles, arguing that this ancient rite is now supplanted by baptism, which attains “a more precise distinction and a separation of the believers from those who are not such.” Both Theodoret and St. Augustine interpret circumcision as a sign of faith in anticipation of the Redeemer. See for instance, Theodoretus’s *Quaestiones in Octateuchum* (Genesis. Quest. 69, p. 65; Exodus. Quest. 3–4, pp. 274–76), *Quaestiones et responsiones* (105–06), *Dialogues* 2 (NPNFii 3:198), *Demonstrations by Syllogism* 2.4 (NPNFii 3:246); and St. Augustine, *Opusculum quartum, sive sermo in circumcisione domini* [PL 47. 1135C].

Circumcision of the Flesh, lively enough represents the *Abolition* of that which is called, *The Old Man*, in us, and the *Amputation* of carnal *Concupiscence*; and so, the *Renovation* and *Regeneration* of the Sinner. The *Death* of the Rejected *Foreskin*, expresses the *Mortification* of our Lusts. Yea, the *Casting of that away*, is a Shadow of what we meet withal at our *Death*. Our *Spirits* are then to *Putt off*, and *Cast away* our *Sinful Bodies*, and enter into a *New State of Glory*. The Effusion of *Blood* in *Circumcision*, (for which Cause, the *Circumcised Child* was by *Zipporah*, called, *Sponsus Sanguinis*;) might lead the Saints, to think on, that *Blood of the Covenant*, which was to be shed by the Blessed & Promis'd *Seed*, for the Sanctification of all the rest. Hence in the *Sacraments* of the *New Testament*, there is no *Shedding of Blood*; because the *Blood* of our Saviour ha's now been actually shed for us.¹⁴⁵ The *Circumcision* on the *Eighth Day*, leads us to the Day after the *Seventh*, or the Beginning of the *New Week*. The *Lords-Day*, may be esteemed such a Day. The *Resurrection* of our Lord Jesus Christ this Day, was, [Rom. 4:25] *for our Justification*.¹⁴⁶

[307r] How the Observation of *Circumcision* came to be practised and perpetuated in so many Nations, | the short Account is this; (for our *Heidegger* will give us a better than *Herodotus*;) *Abraham* was the First, that observed it: which is confessed by *Theodotus*, in his Verses, *Of the Jewes*, recited by *Eusebius*: From *Abraham*, thro' *Ishmael*, it was received by the *Arabians* and the *Æthiopians*; thro' the *Arabians* it was received by the *Egyptians*; and thro' the *Egyptians*, by the *Cholcians*: But thro' *Esau*, by the *Edomites*.¹⁴⁷ From the *Ishmaelites*, it is come to the *Saracens*; and from the *Saracens* to the *Turks*, who use it at this Day; tho' the *Mahometan* Writers, as *Pocock* observes, are very sparing, in what they write about it; only *Algazel* censures the Jewes for using it on Children, before they have Bred their *Teeth*: And *Ebnol Athir* tells us, The ancient Custome was, to *circumcise* between the *Tenth* and the *Fifteenth* Year of the Age; or, about the Age

145 Heidegger (2:156–57, Exerc. VII, § 25). Col. 2:11–14. The circumcision of the flesh (Col. 2:11) is here superseded by the circumcision of the heart (Rom. 2:29). Zipporah calls Moses a “bloody husband” because he neglected to circumcise his son (Exod. 4:25).

146 Heidegger (2:157, Exerc. VII, § 26). Lev. 12:3. Mather erroneously lists “[Gal. 5:25],” here silently corrected to “[Rom. 4:25].”

147 Heidegger (2:158, Exerc. VII, § 28). Herodotus (2.104) relates that the Colchians and Egyptians were the first people to practice circumcision. The practice spread from the Egyptians to such nations as the Phoenicians and the “Palestinian Syrians,” who are here not distinguished from the Jews. Mather does not like this argument because it contradicts the tradition that Abraham introduced circumcision (Gen. 17:24). See also Diodorus Siculus (1.28.2–4; 1.55.5; 3.32.4); Strabo (16.2.37; 16.4.5, 17; 17.2.5). Theodotus (silently corrected from Mather’s erroneous Theodorus). In a fragment preserved by Alexander Polyhistor, the 1st c. B. C. E. Hellenic Jewish poet Theodotus (*Carmines de Judaëis*, Fragmenta 759.1–15) states that Jacob would not give his daughter Dinah in marriage to Sychem (son of Emmor) until he and all the other male inhabitants of Shechem underwent circumcision (Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* 9.22.427d). See Appendix A.

of *Ishmael*; At which age, they made their Confession of *Islamism*; *Non est Deus nisi unus, et Muhammed ejus propheta*.¹⁴⁸

There was an *Impiety* committed sometimes, as a Token of *Apostasy*; called, *Επισπασμος*. They that were guilty of it, were called, *בשריכים* and *επισπαστικοί*. We read of some such *Apostates*, in the *Maccabees*, [1. Mac. 1.12, 16.] who Restored their *Foreskin*. And *Josephus*, tells of such a thing Attempted among some wicked People. *Epiphanius* likewise tells us, of such a Wickedness among certain *Samaritans*; managed with an Instrument, which they called, *Α Σπαθηρ-Internam membrorum cuticulam attrahentes, suturamque admittentes, et glutinatorijs circumdantes, præputium rursum superinducunt*. And *Celsus* the Physician, testifies, That the *Foreskin* may be Renewed and Restored. Unto this, the Apostle ha's a Reference; [1. Cor. 7.18.] which is very oddly by *Jerom* applied unto the Transition from *Calibacy*, to the *Married State*.¹⁴⁹

There ha's been some Difficulty about Reconciling the Practice of *Paul* in *Circumcising* of *Timothy*, to his Words, Gal. 5.2. *Behold, I Paul say unto you, If Yee be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing*. And *Patricides* tells us, That all the Christian Bishops at *Jerusalem* for an hundred Years together were *circumcised*; *Sulpicius Severus* tells us, They were so, to the Dayes of *Adrian*. The Distinction, about the State of *Circumcision*, given us by Divines, will a little help in this Matter. *Circumcision*, was in its *Vigour*, from *Abraham*, to our *Saviour*. A *Languor* came upon it, from the *Birth* of our *Saviour* to His *Death*. It saw its *Death*, when our *Saviour Dy'd*, and Rose from the *Dead*. It was not *Buried*, until the *Burial* of the *Jewish Synagogue*, at the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. The *Law* being extinct, this Obligation to the *Law*, was extinguish'd with it.¹⁵⁰

148 Mather's source (via Heidegger) is Edward Pococke (1604–91), Canon of Christ Church and Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, who cites the medieval Muslim philosopher Algazel (1058–1111) and Ebnol Athir (1149–1209), a medieval Muslim author, in Pococke's *Notae in quibus aliquam-multa quae ad Historiam Orientalium* (1648) appended to *Specimen historiae Arabum* (1650) 319–20. The confession reads, "There is no God but One, and Mohammad is his prophet."

149 Heidegger (2:159–60, Exerc. VII, § 30). The Greek nouns "epispasmos" and "epispastikoi" suggest "uncircumcised" and "the uncircumcised." Those who restored their foreskin were called "apostates," a frequent occurrence among young Hellenic Jews. Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 12.5.1) relates how Onias, one of the sons of High Priest Onias III, changed his name to Menelaus, erected a gymnasium, and abandoned Jewish rites by hiding his circumcision through an operation. St. Epiphanius of Salamis (*De mensuris et ponderibus* 437 [ed. Moutsoulas]) explains that among the Samaritans some restored their circumcised prepuce with a flat knife euphemistically called "σπαθηρὸς" ("what is called"). Epiphanius describes this surgical procedure as follows: "the inner skin of the organ having been cut loose and sewed together and bound in place by adhesive medicaments, they again complete foreskins for them" (*Weights and Measures* 16 [55d], p. 32). Aulus Cornelius Celsus (*De medicina* 7.25.1–2) gives much more authoritative detail about this ancient technique. St. Jerome's comments on 1 Cor. 7:18 appear in *Epistola Pauli ad Corinthios I* [PL 29. 750].

150 Heidegger (2:160–61, Exerc. VII, § 31). Saidus Patricides (*Annales* [1656], lib. 1, p. 359) and Sulpicius Severus (*Chronicorum* 2.31) [PL 20. 147A], in *Sacred History* (NPNFii 11:112) report that the Christian bishops of Jerusalem practiced circumcision up to the reign of Roman

We will not suppose any thing in the Story of the *Rabbins*, That it was on the *Third Day* after his painful *Circumcision*, & while he was yett very sore and pain'd with it, that *Abraham* received his wonderful Visit, from the *Angels* of the Lord. But it is very sure, he was visited by them, with advice concerning an horrible Destruction impending over *Sodom*, & its Neighbourhood.¹⁵¹

They found him an Exemple of generous *Hospitality*; waiting for an Opportunity to Releeve and Refresh weary Strangers, (tis *Basils* Comparison,) as an *Hunter* or a *Fowler* for his Game; or (as *Ambrose* expresses it; *Prætebat Excubias*) as it were *Standing Sentry*, & being on the Look-out, for Objects of his Bounty. In Imitation of this, the Inhabitants of *Tegesdelti* a Town in *Africa*; {gave} Order to the Porters at their Town-Gates, to enquire of all Strangers arriving there, whether they have any *Friend* in the Town, with whom they expect Entertainment? And if they have not, they carry him to a Place appointed on Purpose, where such are kindly entertained! You have it in *Curio's* Description of *Morocco*. Agreeable to *Abrahams* Conduct on this Occasion, was the Rule of *Homer*.

Χρη ξεινον παρεοντα φιλειν, εθελοντα δε πεμπειν.

*Hospitem oportet præsentem diligere, et deducere comiter abeuntem.*¹⁵²

The Reason assigned for the Lords proceeding unto that severe Punishment on *Sodom*, wherewith He now makes *Abraham* acquainted, is thus expressed, [Gen. 18.20.] *Because the Cry of Sodom and Gomorrah is great, and their Sin is grievous.* The *Cry of Sodom*, is by *Austin* interpreted, *Impudentia et Libertas Iniquitatis tanta, ut nec verecundiâ nec timore abscondatur.* And by *Gregory*; *Omnis Iniquitas apud Secreta Dei Judicia habet voces suas. Peccatum namque cum voce, est culpa in Actione; peccatum autem cum clamore est culpa cum libertate.* *Chrysostom* carries it on; That it means, τῶσαυτῇ τῆς κακίας φορᾶν. *Ejusmodi malitiæ Impetum, ut*

Emperor Publius Aelius Hadrianus (117–38 CE). Mather here does not refer to Jerusalem's destruction by Titus (69–70 CE), but to the Jewish Diaspora in 135 CE after the Bar Kokhba Revolt (132–35).

151 Heidegger (2:164, Exerc. VIII, § 1). Gen. 18:1–2. R. Jose relates that God visited Abraham “on the third day after his circumcision,” in Midrash Rabbah (Num. XI:2); see also the Talmudic tractate Baba Metzia (86b).

152 Heidegger (2:166, Exerc. VIII, § 6). Heidegger may have in mind St. Basil's *Homiliae in hexaemeron* (8.5), which illustrates the hospitality among birds, especially cranes, which like sentries watch over their sleeping members (*The Hexaemeron* 8:98). In his *De officiis ministrorum* (2.21.104), St. Ambrose praised hospitality to strangers in the example of Abraham, who “carefully kept a lookout” for strangers to shelter them in his tent (*NPNFii* 10:59). Mather refers to *Marochensis regni in Mauritania nobilissimi a Sarracenis conditi, descriptio*, by the Italian theologian and compiler Coelius Augustinus Curio, aka. Caelius Agostino Curio (1538–67), whose description of the Kingdom of Morocco is bound with the second and third editions of his *Sarracenicae historiae libri tres* (1568). The African town Tegesdelti is unidentified. Homer (*Odyssey* 15.74) recommends that “One should make welcome the present guest, and send off him that would go.”

*omnes ejus peste correpti et impleti fuerint, adeò ut correctionem nullam admiserint, eoque excidio plenario indigerint.*¹⁵³

| In the Supplication of *Abraham* unto the Lord, for *Sodom*, the Plea, which [308v] he does insist upon, is; *Wilt thou destroy the Righteous with the Wicked?* But where lies the Force of this Plea? Indeed, it is evidently Forcible, in the Case of *Eternal* Destruction. But for *Temporal*, we often find Good and Bad, involved in the same Calamity. It must be therefore observed, That God was præparing an *Extraordinary Punishment* for the *Sodomites*, and such an one as would fix a Note of *Eternal Ignominy* on the punished Wretches, yea, such an one as would be a Type of *Eternal Perdition* to them. This animated *Abraham* to plead as he did. And if we should grant, that in his Pleading, *Humanitus aliquid passum esse virum sanctum*, & there might be too near an approach unto a Limitation of the Divine *Sovereignty*, we should have the learned *Vogelsangius* with us in the Concession. In the mean time, from the Matter of *Abraham's* Plea, we may learn, That tho' God had honoured *Abraham* with a more peculiar Vocation, yett there were at this Time some Godly Men among the Nations, & some Reliques of true Godliness not yett overwhelmed in the general Depravation of the World.¹⁵⁴

The *Angels* come to *Sodom*, and are affronted there. But the Action of *Lot*, in Offering his Daughters to *Prostitution* for the Præservation, of these excellent Strangers, what shall be thought of it? *Ambrose* vindicates it; *Offerebat Sanctus Loth Filiarum Pudorem. Nam etsi illa quoque flagitiosa impuritas erat, tamen minus erat secundum Naturam Coirè, quàm adversus Naturam Delinquere. Præferebat Domus suæ verecundiæ Hospitalem Gratiam, etiam apud Barbaras Gentes inviolabilem.* Yea, *Chrysostom* goes higher, and highly applauds it; Ποση του δικαιου η αρετη; *Quanta fuit hæc Justi Virtus!* But *Austin* answers them, That we open a very dangerous Door to Sin, if we may come to this, *Ut committamus minora, ne alij majora committant.* We may rather fall in therefore with *Austins* Opinion; That *Lot* sinned in his Offer, but that the Sin was much extenuated

¹⁵³ Heidegger (2:167, Exerc. VIII, § 8). St. Augustine's gloss in *Locutiones in Heptateuchum* I. (*Locutiones de Genesi*, lib. 20) [PL 34. 491] reads, "the shamelessness and frankness of their sin is so great, that it cannot be hidden by modesty nor by fear." The citation from Pope St. Gregory I, the Great (c. 540–604), appears in *Regula pastoralis liber* (Pars prima), cap. 31, (55) Admonitio 32 [PL 77. 112], in *Book of Pastoral Rule* (NPNFii 12:63–64); and in *Expositio Veteris ac Novi Testamentum* (lib. 1, cap. 46) [PL 79. 702], and warns, "every sin has its voice heard in God's secret courts. For, indeed, a sin with the voice is an offense in deed, while a sin with a cry is an outspoken offense." Joannes Chrysostom (*Homiliae in Genesim* 42) [PG 54. 389, lines 5–8] deplores the sin of Sodom: "the frenzy of their wickedness was so powerful that all were infected with total defilement, and far from giving evidence any longer of good behavior they called for utter destruction. After all, their maladies had reached the incurable stage and were proof against treatment" (*Homilies on Genesis* 42.12, p. 424).

¹⁵⁴ Heidegger (2:169–70, Exerc. VIII, § 11). Gen. 18:23. Mather cites Heidegger's plea (2:169), "that the holy man endured some suffering in a human way." Reinerus Vogelsangius (c. 1610–79), pastor of Hertogenbosch (Netherlands), addresses this issue in his *Exercitationes Theologicae* (1665) 751–52.

by the *Perturbation of Judgment*, which his Concern for these eminent *Strangers* had brought upon him.¹⁵⁵

There ha's been a World of Disputation about that Passage, of, *The Lords Raining from the Lord*; whether it implies a *Plurality of Persons* in the *Godhead*, or no? The Christian *Fathers* are fervent in maintaining it, and one of their *Councils* does *Anathematize* them who deny it. Yea, {the} *Jerusalem-Paraphrase* favours it. But then, we can't find, that *Jerom*, *Austin*, *Chrysostom*, and *Eucherius*, were sensible of any thing here, asserting that *Mystery*; nor *Pelican*, *Mercer*, *Calvin*, *Drusius*, *Piscator*, *Amama*, *Paraeus*, & many others among the *Moderns*.¹⁵⁶ The *Jewes*, and particularly *Aben-Ezra*, observe That it is an *Hebraism*, and /לשון צחורה/ *Elegantia Linguae*, To Repeat the *Antecedent* instead of the *Relative*. [See Num. 10.29. Ps. 82.1. 1. King. 8.1.] The Second *Jehovah*, in this Passage, may be no more than what is express'd in the *Arabic* Translation; *A Se ipso*. And yett there may be also some *Intension of Signification*, in this *Repetition*; and perhaps, an *Intimation of a Supernatural and Miraculous Action*. Our *Heidegger* commends the *Modesty* of the learned *Hacspan* in this *Matter*. When *Hunnius* had used bitter *Invectives* against some of ours, & charged them with *Judaism*, & with *Turcism*, for not employing this *Text* more against the *Jewes*, it was answered by *Hacspan*. *Possumus hîc, imò debemus ferre alios Christianos, modestè*

155 Heidegger (2:171, Exerc. VIII, § 15). Gen. 19:8. St. Ambrose (*De Abrahamo* 1.6.52) [PL 14. 440] vindicates Lot's actions as follows: "Holy Lot offered up his daughters' honor. For although that impurity was also disgraceful, it was however less so to have sexual intercourse according to nature, than to commit an offense against nature. He gave preference to the hospitality of his own respectful house, which was inviolable even among barbaric tribes." St. Chrysostomus (*Homilae in Genesim* 43) [PG 54. 400, line 60] stands amazed at the extent of Lot's hospitality: "What marvelous virtue in the just man" (*Homilies on Genesis* 43.18, p. 445). St. Augustine (*Contra mendacium ad consentium* 1.9.20) [PL 40. 530] answers them that "we should commit lesser [sins], so that others might not commit greater ones."

156 The paragraph is extracted from Heidegger (2:174–75, Exerc. VIII, § 19). Gen. 19:24. The Chaldean Targum Hierosolymitanum (Walton 4:33) implies God's plurality. Heidegger's list of references from Jerome to Paraeus is extracted from *Anti-Barbarus Biblicus libro quarto* (1656), lib. 2, p. 263, by Sixtinus Amama (1593–1639), Frisian professor of Hebrew literature at Franeker. (A copy of this work, bearing the signatures of Increase Mather and Samuel Mather (1776), is in the Mather Libraries, AAS, # 0386). St. Eucherius Lugdunensis (d. c. 449), the Gallo-Roman bishop of Lyon, comments on Gen. 19:24 in his *Commentarii in Genesim et in libros Regum* [PL 50. 963A–D, 1008A–B]; Conradus Pellicanus, aka. Konrad Kürsner (c. 1478–1556), renowned German theologian of the Reformation, professor of Greek and Hebrew at Zurich, published many commentaries and editions of note, including his literalist *In Pentateuchum, sive quinque libros Mosis* (1582) and *Commentaria biblicorum et illa brevia quidem ac Catholica* (1532–39) in 7 vols. Piscator's discussion of Gen. 19:24 appears in his *Commentarius in Genesim* (1601) 330. David Paraeus, aka. David Wängler (1548–1622), German Reformed theologian and professor of theology at Heidelberg, was a voluminous author, whose *Operum Theologicorum Scripta Exegetica* (1628), edited by his son, interprets Gen. 19:24 as proof of the embattled doctrine of the Trinity (*Commentario in Genesim*, cap. 19:24, in *Operum* 1:271–72). A copy of this work is in the Mather Libraries (AAS # F060F). See also Paraeus's *In Genesim Mosis Commentarius* (1609), col. 1301–03. Much of the debate by its various contributors is synopsized in *Critici Sacri* (1:213–19).

vel ambigentes, vel dissentientes, neque Judaismus aut Turcismus in re adeò perplexâ, alijs objici debet, ceu queritur Paraeus. Abundet potius quilibet suo sensu. Vix in manifestis aliquid obtinemus contrà præfractos Judæos; quid fiet in re tam obscurâ, et ubi non sinè exemplis Hebraismum jactare possunt. But of the Fate of Sodom, we shall here take no further Notice; we shall refer ourselves to the Illustrations, we shall elsewhere bestow upon it.¹⁵⁷

Abraham after this, Removed unto the Southward; probably being discouraged from his present Habitation by the growing and grievous Wickedness of the Inhabitants in the Neighbourhood. Here at *Gerar*, the Philistæan *Sachim Abimelek* being smitten with the Beauty of *Sarah*, our Patriarch again dissembles, and as he had formerly done, pretends her to be but a *Sister* unto him. *Abimelek* proceeds in his Addresses to *Sarah*, but God visits him, & informs him, & threatens him; and saies, *I have withheld thee from Sinning against me.* But how could *Sin* have been charged upon *Abimelek*, while such a *Mistake of the Person* continued upon him? Tis probable, That in his Conversation with *Sarah*, he might receive those Admonitions | and Intimations, that might convince him of *Sin*, if he carried his Addresses any further. When *Abimelek* returned *Sarah* unto her Husband, he used these Words, *Behold, I have given thy Brother a thousand Peeces of Silver; Behold, he is to thee a Covering of the Eyes, unto all that are with thee, & with all other.* These Words have been pestered with an huge Variety of Interpretations. We will wave them all, and keep to our *Heidegger*'s. The *Covering of the Eyes*, here, doubtless refers to the *Veil*, which was of old worn by *Married Women*, to Testify their Subjection to their Husbands, and their Aversion to take Notice of any other Objects. We read of such a *Veil*, in both Testaments of the Bible. [Gen. 24.65. and, 1. Cor. 11.10.] Hence *Hymeneus*, the poetical *God of Weddings*, is represented by *Ovid*, as, *Croceo velatus amictu*. This *Veil*, was by the Ancients called, *Flammeum* or, *Flammeolum*; from the Colour of it. Whence *Lucan*;

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157 Ibn Ezra (*Commentary* 1:208) points out that this repetition suggests “a poetic [*tzachot*, i.e., “elegant”] way of saying from Himself.” The Arabic version of Gen. 19:24 in its Latin translation renders it “à se cælo” or “from himself out of heaven,” in Walton (1:77). Heidegger may have in mind the 3 vol. *Notarum philologico-theologicarum* (1664) or the earlier polyglot *Observationes Arabico-Syriacæ* (1639), by Theodoricus Hackspan (1607–59), German Lutheran professor of theology and Oriental languages at the Franconian University of Altdorf. Aegidius Hunnius (1550–1603), German Lutheran controversialist, professor of theology at Wittenberg, was a vociferous critic of Calvinism. Heidegger probably refers to Hunnius’s *Calvinus Iudaizans, hoc est: Iudaicæ glossæ et corruptelæ* (1593) or to his 2-vol. *Antipareus, hoc est invicta refutatio venenati scripti* (1598). At any rate, Theodor Hackspan’s rejoinder reads, “Here we can – nay, we must – tolerate other Christians, whether they restrainedly raise questions or dissent, and [accusations of] Judaism or Turcism should not be thrown at others in such a confused matter, in the way that Paraeus protests. Rather, let each man be enriched by his own thoughts. We can put forth hardly any solid assertions against the stubbornness of the Jews: what will happen with regard to a matter that is as obscure as this, and in which they cannot discuss Hebraism without examples?” Mather’s illustrations on Sodom’s fate appear in his commentary on Gen. 19 (below).

– *Leviter tectura pudorem*

*Lutea demissos velârat flammea vultus.*¹⁵⁸

Plutarch in his *Roman Questions*, tells us, That it was the Custome for Women, to wear a *Veil* upon their Heads, when they went abroad. *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that *C. Sulpitius Gallus* putt away his Wife, because of her appearing abroad without a *Veil*; For, said he; *Lex tibi tantum meos præfinit oculos, quibus et formam tuam approbes, et placere desideres.* *Homer* brings in *Venus*, as bestowing a *Veil* upon *Andromache*, against her *Wedding*. *Tertullian* writing, *De Velandis Virginibus*, reports of the Arabians; *Judicabunt vos Arabiae Feminae Ethnicae, quae non caput, sed Faciem ita quoque totam obtegunt, ut uno oculo liberato contentae sint dimidiâ frui Luce, quàm totam Faciem prostituere.* *Mahomet* also prescribed the *Veil*, to his Arabian Women. It is probable, that *Sarah*, in the Court of *Abimelek*, to represent herself as an *Unmarried Woman*, threw away her *Veil*. *Abimelek* now Rebukes her, for the Deceit that she had putt upon him, in appearing without her *Veil*; and counsels her to appear now so no more. The Paraphrase upon his Words is this; *Ecce mille Siclos dono dedi Abrahamo Fratri tuo. Is Frater tuus esto tibi pro velamine Faciei, ita ut ipsi soli non subsis tantum, sed etiam tum apud tuos, tum apud omnes, profiteri palàm, quòd ipsi soli tanquam, marite subsis, ne Dissimulatione tuâ imposterum etiam alij seducantur.* The Plague inflicted on the Court of *Abimelek*, was of such a Nature, as also to præserve *Sarah* from all Violations. It was one, *quâ et viri et mulieres ad concubitum essent penitus inhabiles.* We know, That there is a wonderful Imitation of it, in what the *Dæmons* can sometimes do upon married People, in the *Maleficium Ligaminis*; whereof you may in *Delrio* read notable Instances.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ Heidegger (2:103, 106–07, Exec. IV, §§ 11, 17). Gen. 20: 1–15, 16. Heidegger's interpretation, here preferred by Mather, agrees with that of Ibn Ezra's explication of Gen. 20:16 (*Commentary* 1:214), whereas Rashi reads Abimelech's payoff as a means of restoring Sarah's honor (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:242); see also *Pirke de R. Eliezer* (ch. 26, pp. 191–92) and Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:82–83). Hymenaeus (Hymen), son of Bacchus and Venus (Aphrodite), is the Greek god of marriage, who was traditionally invoked to preside over nuptials. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (10.1) has "[Hymen] clad in a saffron mantle." Metaphor for the hymen of virginity, this veil was called "the veil of the bride" or "little bride's veil." Thus Lucanus (2.360–61) informs us that a "saffron veil lightly screens [the bride's] blushes on her downcast face."

¹⁵⁹ Heidegger (2:106–07, 108–09, Exerc. IV, §§ 17, 19). *Plutarch* (*Aetia Romana et Graecae* 267 A–B), *Plutarch's Moralia* (4:24–27). In this adaptation from *Valerius Maximus* (*Factorum et dictorum* 6.3.10), *C. Sulpitius Gallus* put away his wife because, "the law prescribes only my eyes to be upon you; to them [my eyes] you make your appearance acceptable, and them you should desire to please." Golden Venus (Aphrodite) had bestowed a bright veil (headscarf) upon *Andromache* on the day she married *Hector* (*Homer, Iliad* 22.467–72). In his treatise *On the Veiling of Virgins*, *Tertullian* (*De virginibus velandis*, cap. 17) [PL 2. 912A–B] relates that "Arabia's heathen females will be your judges, who cover not only the head, but the face also, so entirely, that they are content, with one eye free, to enjoy rather half the light than to prostitute the entire face" (*ANF* 4:37). The Al-Quran – at least three English translations existed in Mather's time – was available in a Latin translation in *Machumetis Saracenorum principis* (1543). In Sura 24 ("The Light"), the Quran directs "believing women to lower their eyes, guard their private parts, and not display their charms except what is apparent outwardly, and cover their

The Design of Relating these two Dangers of *Sarah*, first in *Egypt*, & then at *Gerar*, seems to be, not only that we may see the *Trials* and *Sorrows* of *Abraham*, which were very great on these Occasions; but also that the Faithfulness of the Glorious God in His Promises might be Illustrated. God had promised once and again, That He would be a *God* unto the Seed of *Abraham*. *Abraham* after this, did in giving away his Wife, after some sort alienate the Promises of Heaven, & by his own Act had missed of the Fulfilment thereof, if God Himself had not in a way of *Sovereign Grace* delivered him.¹⁶⁰

When *Abraham* is an hundred Years old, *Sarah* brings his *Isaac* unto him. About this Time, he entred into a Covenant with *Abimelek*, at a Place therefore called *Beersheba*; or, *The Well of an Oath*. There appears a Difficulty, in Reconciling this, to a Passage, that seems to make *Isaac*, the Imposer and Occasion of the Name: Gen. 26.33. *And he called it, Shebah; Therefore the Name of the City is Beersheba, unto this Day*. *Abravanel* thinks, the Sense of the Words to be, That *Isaac* now called the Place, *Sheba*; which *על כן* / *For a like Cause*, was formerly in *Abrahams* Time, and still continues to be, called, *Beersheba*. Or, shall we say, That the Name which *Abraham* gave to this Place was by Degrees worn off, but now by *Isaac* restored.¹⁶¹

The *Grove* made by *Abraham* here, that he might therein with Tranquillity enjoy Communion with God, was not a sinful Matter. There was no *Certain Place* yett fixed for the publick Worship of God. And *Abraham*, was not fallen into the Superstition which afterwards possessed the | Gentiles, That such and such *Trees* were sacred unto such and such *Gods*, and perhaps a certain *Divinity* in them.¹⁶²

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bosoms with their veils and not to show their finery except to their husbands" or close family (24:31; see also Sura 33:59 Ahmed Ali translation). The paraphrase of Sarah's appearing to Abimelek without a veil defends Abimelek's action: "'Behold, I have given a thousand shekels as a gift to your brother Abraham. May this brother of yours be to you as a covering for your face' [Gen. 20:16], such that you are under his yoke and his alone [as the face is beneath the veil], and furthermore such that you openly profess to your own people, indeed to all people, that you are under his yoke alone as his wife; do this lest in the future others also be led astray by your dissembling." The plague inflicted on Abimelek's court was such "as to make both men and women thoroughly unfit for sexual intercourse." In Mather's medieval demonology, demons sometimes bewitch spouses with "maleficium ligaminis" and keep them from consummating their nuptials – just like Abimelek was unable to act on his amorous designs on Sarah (Gen. 20:3–6). Martin Anton Del Rio (1551–1608), Walloon Jesuit scholar of Antwerp, variously professor of philosophy and theology at Douai, Louvain, and Salamanca, published a three-volume treatise on magic to which Mather here refers: *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex* (1599–1600), tom 2, lib. 3, pars 1, quest. 4, sec. 8, pp. 64–69 ("De maleficio ligaminis") has much to say on this issue. Mather would have had access to the Venice 1611 edition of this work at Harvard (*Catalogus Librorum* [1723], p. 44).

160 Heidegger (2:109, Exerc. IV, § 20). Gen. 12:12–20, 20:1–4.

161 Heidegger (2:226–27, Exerc. XI, § 26). Gen. 21:5, 25–31; 26:33. R. Isaac Abravanel, *Commentarius in Pentateuchum Mosis* (1710), on Gen. 21:31–33, 26:33.

162 Gen. 21:33. The venerable Joseph Mede has much to say about the evolution of these groves as early places of worship, in "Discourse XVIII," on Josh. 24:26, in *Works* (1664) 85–91.

E're long we find the Lord appearing a *Sixth Time* unto *Abraham*, and calling him unto the hardest of all the Trials, he had ever yett mett withal. God made a wonderful *Experiment* of his Obedience, in commanding him, to travel as far as *Moriah*, and there with his own Hands make a *Sacrifice* of his *only Son*; who was now grown a Lad of such Age and Strength, as to carry the *Wood*, with which he was to be Incinerated; the Jewes do generally say, *Twenty Five Years* of Age. The Patriarch obey'd the Great God, as the Absolute Lord of our Lives, and of all His Creatures, and Beleev'd, That if *Isaac* must be kill'd, he would be also *Raised* from the Dead, yea, *Raised* out of his Ashes. There ha's been some Dispute about the Intention of *Abraham*, in those Words; *I and the Lad will go yonder and worship, and come again* (in the Plural Number) *unto you*. R. Jarchi will have it a *Prophecy*. M. Canus will have it a *Dissembling*; But the learned Rivet, rather looks on it, as an Instance of a thing Frequent in the Scriptures; *Ubi Tributur pluribus, quod in uno impletum, vel ab uno factum ex pluribus*. [Thus, Joh. 12.4. with Matth. 26.8. and, Luk. 23.39. with Matth. 27.44. And thus, 1. Cor. 15.5.] When they came to the Place, the *Altar* was probably soon dispatched, after a rude Manner with *Turf* and *Stones*. *Isaac* was now bound on the *Altar*; no doubt, after serious and suitable Discourses of his Father unto him, to dispose him unto such a Submission. The Jewes denominate this whole Affayr, from that Action, /עֲקִידַת יִצְחָק/ *Ligatio Isaaci*. In their *Prayers* at this Day, they make a mighty mention of the, *Constrictio unigeniti*.¹⁶³

There is no Part of the Sacred History, to which the Hebrewes have tack'd more of their Fabulous *Assumenta*, than this, of *Abraham sacrificing Isaac*. 'Tis not worth our while to Recite them. Far more worthy of a Recitation, are the Flourishes of the Ancients, admiring this Action, with everlasting Celebrations.

¹⁶³ Heidegger (2:191–92, 193, Exerc. IX, §§ 7, 10). Gen. 22:2, 5. The debate about Isaac's age at the time when Abraham bound him on the altar has generated a variety of responses: Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 1.13.2) and James Ussher (*Annals* 7) make Isaac twenty-five; The Targum Jonathan ben Uziel, on Gen. 22:1 (Walton 4:38), makes him thirty-six, but the Targum Hierosolymitanum, on Exod. 12:42 (Walton 4:124), and *Pirke de R. Eliezer* (ch. 31, p. 225) make him thirty-seven years old. Jarchi (Rashi) from *Avoth d'Rabbi Nathan* interprets Gen. 22:5 as a prophecy that both father and son would return (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:255). Heidegger refers to *De Locis Theologicis libri duodecim* (1563), lib. 2, cap. 4, pp. 12–13, by Melchior Canus (c. 1509–60), a Spanish Dominican theologian, professor of theology at Salamanca and bishop of Toledo. A copy of the 1574 edition of Canus's *De Locis* was accessible at Harvard (*Catalogus Librorum* 71). André Rivet's learned commentary, in *Theologicae & Scholasticae Exercitationes* ("Exercitatio CVI," p. 521), states that "where what is completed in one man, or what is done by one man out of many, is attributed to many." R. Judah explains that עֲקִידַת יִצְחָק (aqud Yitschak) signifies "the tying of [Isaac's] hand and foot together" (*Shabbath* 54a); or according to Rashi (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:257) and the Zohar (2:214a) "the binding of Isaac." Heidegger (2:193) refers to the prayer in *Sepher Thephileth* (113) and the "binding of the only-begotten."

These we shall also wave; and only transcribe the emphatical Words, of Zeno the Bishop of Verona, mentioned by Lipomannus in his *Catena*.¹⁶⁴

*Mira Patriarchæ Tentatio, quæ eum aut Sacrilegum faceret, si contemneret Deum; aut crudelem, si occideret Filium; nisi quâdam singulari et verè divinâ patientiâ inter Religionem pietatemque negotium temperasset, in spe non denegans Deo, quod contrâ spem acceperat à Deo. Ideò Isac sibi dulcissimum Filium, Deo victimam dulciorem, contemnit ut servet: destinat jugulare, ne jugulet: securus illo se non posse displicere facinore, quod Deo gerebatur authore. O Novum Spectaculum, ac verè Deo dignum! In quo definire difficile est, utrum sit patientior sacerdos an victima. Non percussoris, non percutiendi variat color: non membra tremore vibrantur; non demissi, non torvi sunt oculi. Nemo rogat, nemo trepidat, nemo se excusat, nemo turbatur. Ille erexit gladium, iste cervicem obtulit: uno Voto, unâ Devotione, ne quid profanum sit, diligenter ac patienter geritur, quod ab altero celebratur. Ille lignum quo exuratur sibi portat; iste Aram construit; sub tanto non dicam Humanitatis, sed ipsius Naturæ metu læti sunt. Soli cedit Affectus Pietati, Pietas Religioni favet, utrique Religio. Medius stupet gladius, nullo Impedimento suspensus, mactationi terribili gloriam se præstitisse, non crimen. Quid hoc est? Ecce Immunitas in Fidem, et Scelus transit in Sacramentum: Parricida redit Incruentus, et qui immolatus est, vivit. Ambo igitur Gloriæ Charitatis Exemplum: Ambo Dei cultus admirabile Sæculi Testimonium. Fælix orbis foret, si omnes sic parricidæ fèrent. Yett Philo complains, That there were those, who employ'd their venomous Detractions, on this Heroic Action, and compared it with the Humane Sacrifices among the Pagans: To whom he answers, with showing a mighty Difference between them; inasmuch as Abraham had no Considerations of any Custom, or Honour, or Terror, to lead him, as the Pagans had, into such an Action.*¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ Heidegger (2:194–95, Exerc. IX, § 12). Mather's pejorative "*Assumenta*" suggests "patches [of cloth]." Abraham Ibn Ezra's annotations on Gen. 22:1–4 (*Commentary* 1: 221–25) are as good as any to summarize the Jewish tradition: some objected that God did not really test Abraham's faith because such a test implied that God did not know Abraham's heart; others like Saadiah Gaon argue that God did test Abraham to demonstrate the patriarch's exemplary obedience. Yet others argue that Abraham misunderstood God's command, for "to bring him [Isaac] up the mountain" (the literal meaning of the Hebrew original "ve-ha'alehu") suggests that God was willing to take Abraham's intent for the act itself. Finally, *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (ch. 31, pp. 223–30) argues that Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac was the final (and most difficult) of Abraham's ten tests. Among the ancients, Ovid (*Epistulae ex Ponto* 3.2.65–80; *Metamorphoses* 12.24–38) relates the binding of the victim and Agamemnon's sacrifice of Iphigenia (his daughter) to appease Diana, who relents by having a deer function as a surrogate for Iphigenia. Finally, Virgil (*Aeneid* 2.199–227) reveals in the sacrifice of Laocoön's sons to the serpents the prevalence of such human sacrifices among the ancients. Aloysius Lippomannus, aka. Luigi Lippomani (1500–59), Venetian hagiographer, classicist, bishop, and cardinal, excerpts the words of St. Zeno (d. c. 375), bishop of Verona, in Lippomannus's *Catena in Genesim ex authoribus ecclesiasticis* (1546).

¹⁶⁵ Lippomannus's lengthy excerpt from St. Zeno's *Tractatus* (lib. 1, tract. VI: *De Patientia*, § 5) [PL II. 315C–316B], on Gen. 22, explores Abraham's conflict between obedience to God and love of his son Isaac: "What a wondrous trial for the Patriarch, that would either make him

The Issue is well-known. A *Stray-Ram*, which had now no earthly Owner, is providentially brought unto the *Spott*, and made a *Substitute* for *Isaac*. A Name was also putt upon the Place. In *Abrahams* Time, it was called, *The Lord will see*. In *Moses's* Time, a little Alteration was grown upon it, and it was called, *In the Mount of the Lord, it shall be seen*.¹⁶⁶

[311r] [The Traditions of this Matter among the Pagans, are famous; especially that of *Saturn* sacrificing his only Son *Jeond*, which he had by the Nymph *Anobret*. And the *Type* herein of our Glorious Christ becoming a Sacrifice for us, is well considered by the *Christian Ancients*. Particularly by *Austin*; [De C. D. XVI.32.] *Proinde addidit; pro hoc etiam eum et in similitudinem adduxit. Cujus similitudinem, nisi illius, de quo dicit idem Apostolus; Qui proprio Filio non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit illum? Propterea et Isac, sicut Dominus crucem suam, ita sibi ligna ad victimae locum, quibus fuerat imponendus, ipse portavit*.¹⁶⁷

a sacrilegious man, if he defied God, or a cruel man, if he killed his son; unless by some unique and truly divine patience he had tempered the quarrel between religion and paternal duty, in his hope not refusing to give to God that which he had, against all hope, received from God. Therefore, he refrained from keeping for himself his most delightful son Isaac, who was more delightful as a sacrifice to God. He determined to slay him, that He might not slay him: he was certain that he could not be doing wrong by that crime, because it was carried out on God's authority. What a novel spectacle, and one truly worthy of God! Herein it is difficult to define whether the priest or the victim suffered more. Neither one's color changed: the one striking, nor the one to be struck; their limbs did not quiver; their eyes were neither downcast nor wild. Nobody asked questions, nobody shuddered, nobody made excuses, nobody was agitated. The one raised his sword; the other presented his neck: the rite which Abraham was performing was diligently and patiently borne by Isaac with a single wish, a single prayer, that nothing might be unholy. One carries the wood upon which he himself is to be burned; the other builds the altar. Under such great fear – I should not say fear of human feeling, but of nature itself – they rejoiced. Affection gives way to duty alone, duty favors religion, and religion favors both. His ordinary sword, not held up by any hindrance, was amazed that for it to take part in the terrible slaughter was a glory, not a crime. What is this? Behold, immunity is transformed into faith, and a crime into a sacrament. The kin-murderer returns to being unstained with blood, and the one who has been sacrificed is alive. Therefore, both are an example of the glory of love: both an admirable testimony for the ages of the worship of God. The world would be happy if all kin-murderers came about like this." For Philo Judaeus's complaint, see his *De Abrahamo* (33.177–37.207).

¹⁶⁶ Heidegger (2:202, Exerc. IX, § 22). Gen. 22:13, 14.

¹⁶⁷ Heidegger (2:203, Exerc. IX, § 23). Heidegger's principal sources are Gerard Vossius's *De Theologia Gentili* (lib. 1, cap. 19, 35, pp. 144–49, 259–67) and Eusebius's *Praeparatio evangelica* (1.10.40c–d). Eusebius here preserves an excerpt from Porphyrius (*De abstinentia ab animalibus* 2.54–56), who tells the story of Saturn's sacrifice of his only-begotten son Iedud (by the nymph Anobret) on an altar. An earlier version of this well-known story appears in Hesiod's *Theogonia* (453–91), where Kronos swallows each of his children until tricked by Rhea and cast into the abyss by Zeus, his son. See also *Cicero* (*De natura deorum* 2.25.64). In these ancient stories early Christian interpreters found affirmed the original in Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, the OT type of Christ's crucifixion. St. Augustine (*De Civitate Dei* 16.32) [PL 41. 511], quoting Heb. 11:17–19, argues that "therefore he [St. Paul] added, 'from whence also he [God] received him [Isaac] in a similitude.' In whose similitude but His of whom the apostle says, 'He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all?' [Rom. 8:32]. And on this account Isaac

The Death of *Sarah* follows. The Hebrew and Eastern Traditions, That she dyed of Grief, upon the Tidings brought her by *Samael*, of her Son *Isaac* being sacrificed; are confuted, in that, she died not, until after *Abrahams* Removal from *Beersheba* unto *Hebron*. He buried her in the Cave of *Macpelah*; which *Benjamin* of *Tudela* tells us, he found having an *Iron Gate*; that lett him into several Apartments: In the First and the Second, he found nothing; but in the Third, he found the sepulchral Apartments, of Six Persons; *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*; and, *Sarah*, *Rebeckah*, *Leah*; with Letters cutt upon them, to tell whose they were.¹⁶⁸

After this, *Abraham* employ'd a Servant of his, to fetch *Isaac* a Wife, out of an agreeable Family. But that Servant of his, must first of all, take an *Oathe* to him, with the Rite of *Putting his Hand under his Thigh*. About the Intent of that Rite, there have been many Disquisitions of the Learned. The Hebrew Rabbins do generally suppose in it a Reverence to the Covenant of *Circumcision*. But our Christian Fathers, are mostly of *Austins* Opinion; *Fuisse magnam Prophetiam, quòd Christus Dominus Caeli ac Terræ in eà Carne venturus esset, quæ de illo Femore Propagata est*. In short, That it was as much as, *A Swearing by the Messiah*.¹⁶⁹

Abraham at length proceeds unto another Marriage; with *Keturah*; of whom the Genealogies in the *Chronicles*, may make one conclude, that the *Oriental*s are mistaken; who generally make her the same with *Hagar*. *Austin* makes *Keturah* & her Offspring, a Type of the Carnal Professors under the New Testament, as *Hagar* & her Offspring, was of those under the Old. It is observable, That *Keturah* wears both Names; that of a *Wife*, and that of a *Concubine*. [Gen. 25.1, 6. and, 1. Chron. 1.32.] The Reason may be; because a *Concubine* was a sort of a *Wife*, but one of lesser Dignity, than she that was most properly & legally so. *Abraham* has Children by *Keturah*; But how shall we Reconcile this,

also himself carried to the place of sacrifice the wood on which he was to be offered up, just as the Lord Himself carried His own cross" (*NPNFi* 2:329).

168 Heidegger, (2:87, Exerc. III, § 58). Gen. 23:2; 24:67. According to *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (ch. 32, p. 234), Sarah died of grief when Sammael (Satan) told her that Abraham had slain Isaac as a burnt sacrifice on the altar. *Genesis Rabbah* (LVIII.5), as well as Rashi on Gen. 23:2 (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 2:267), affirms the tradition that Sarah died of anguish upon the news of her son's death. After his return from Mt. Moriah, Abraham went to Beersheba (Gen. 22:19) and later buried Sarah in the cave of the field of Machpelah (Gen. 23:19). R. Benjamin Tudelensis confirms that he saw the graves of the three patriarchs and their wives, in *Itinerarium* (85–86) and *Itinerary* (41–42).

169 Heidegger (2:88, Exerc. III, § 60). Gen. 24:2, 9. Rashi, the Targum Hierosolymitanus, and the Talmud (Shebuot 38b) insist that Eliezer's rite of obedience involved touching Abraham's circumcised member (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 2:276), but Ibn Ezra on Gen. 24:2 objects to this explanation on the grounds that Abraham had Eliezer swear "by the Lord," not "by the covenant of circumcision." Likewise, Ibn Ezra insists that the custom of sitting on a servant's hand as a sign of obedience is still practiced in India (*Commentary* 1:233). However, St. Augustine (*Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, lib. 1, Quaest. in Genesim LXII) [PL 34. 564] asserts (Gen. 24:2) "to be a great prophecy, that Christ, the Lord of heaven and of the earth, was to come in the flesh, which was to be derived from that thigh." Much the same is asserted in *De Civitate Dei* 16.33 (*NPNFi* 2:330).

with what we read of him forty Years before; Rom. 4.19. *His Body now Dead.* Some, with *Pererius*, fly to the Youth of *Keturah*, which was not found in *Sarah*. *Austin* flies hither; *Ad aliquid enim emortuum Corpus intellegere debemus, non ad omnia.* Our *Heidegger* flies from *Nature* to *Grace*; and supposes, *Per Gratiam et Virtutem Divinam in Extremâ Senectâ Vires ei Aquilæ instar fuerunt restauratæ.* [Isa. 40.29, 30, 31.]¹⁷⁰

At last *Abraham* arrives to an *Euthanasie*; a quiet and easy *Death*, and in a *Good old Age*: An *old Age* like that celebrated by *Cicero*, [De Senectute.] *Poma ex Arboribus, si cruda sunt, vi evelluntur; si matura et cocta, decidunt: sic vitam adolescentibus vis aufert, senibus maturitas: Quæ mihi tam jucunda est, ut quò propius ad mortem accedam, quasi Terram videre videar, aliquandòque in portum ex longa navigatione esse venturus.* But then *Drusius* interprets this, *Good old Age*, to be one, *Quæ illis incommodis mininè obnoxia, quæ etati ei communiter adjuncta sunt.* And so, *Vatablus* interprets it; *Bona, id est, quæ aliena erat à malis, et incommodis Senectutis.*¹⁷¹

But so much may suffice for the Present, about this Renowned Patriarch.¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰ Heidegger (2:89–90, Exerc. III, § 62). Gen. 25:1–4; 1 Chron. 1:32–33. The opinions on the origin and identity differ greatly among the ancients (Mather's "*Orientalis*"). According to the Arab historian Gregorius Abul-Pharajius (*Historia Dynastiarum* 14), Keturah was the daughter of the "Regis Turcarum" or "king of the Turks." The Egyptian Coptic historian Georgius Elmacinus identifies Keturah as the daughter of King Rama (Hottinger, *Smegma Orientale*, lib. 1, cap. 8, § 2, pp. 308–09). Patricides makes her the offspring of Bactar, king of Rabba (*Annales* [1656], lib. 1, p. 76); the Targums Jonathan ben Uziel and Hierosolymitanum on Gen. 25:1 (Walton 4:45) render Keturah identical with Hagar. Rashi (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 2:294) agrees, citing *Genesis Rabbah* (LXI:4), but Ibn Ezra (*Commentary* 1:244) begs to differ. St. Augustine (*De Civitate Dei* 16.34) [PL 41. 512] furnishes a typological reading of Hagar and Ishmael under the old, and Keturah and her offspring under the new covenant (*NPNFi* 2:330). Valentinus Benedictus Pererius, in his *Commentariorum et Disputationum in Genesim* (1596) 3:745–47, 755–57 ("Disputatio Prima" and "Disputatio Tertia"), insists on Keturah's youthful vigor to resolve this contradiction. St. Augustine (*De Civitate Dei* 16.28) [PL 41. 507] asserts, "Of course we must understand that his body [Abraham's] was dead only to some purposes, not to all" (*NPNFi* 2:327), but Heidegger (2:90–92) makes Abraham's libido subject to grace, supposing, "By divine grace and power, in his extreme old age, strength like that of an eagle was restored to him."

¹⁷¹ Heidegger (2:92, Exerc. III, § 66). In *De senectute* (19.71), Marcus Tullius Cicero argues that "apples when they are green are with difficulty plucked from the tree, but when ripe and mellow fall of themselves, so, with the young, death comes as a result of force, while with the old it is the result of ripeness. To me the thought of this 'ripeness' for death is so pleasant, that the nearer I approach death the more I feel like one who is in sight of land at last and is about to anchor in his home port after a long voyage." But in their respective annotations on Gen. 25:8, Johannes Drusius defines a good old age as one "which is the least liable to those disadvantages which are generally characteristic of that age," whereas Franciscus Vatablus believes that senescence is "a good one, that is, one which is unconnected with the misfortunes and disadvantages of old age." Both Drusius and Vatablus's opinions on old age are excerpted in *Critici Sacri* (1:252, 256).

¹⁷² Here ends for now Mather's wholesale exploits from Johann Heinrich Heidegger's *Historia Sacra Patriarcharum* (vol. 2), but Mather takes up his Heidegger again just a few MS pages later.

Q. Some Remarks on the *Superstition* and *Idolatry*, from which *Abraham* was rescued, when he left *Ur* of the *Chaldees*?

A. They shall be in the Words of Monsr. *Saurin*. “The Posterity of this Patriarch preserved, during the Space of many Ages, a criminal Affection for that Superstitious & Idolatrous Worship, from which GOD had delivered their Fore-fathers. We find in the Kingdoms of *Judah* and *Israel*, Footsteps of that Religious Worship, which the{y} paid to the *Fire* and to the *Sun*, in *Chaldea*. It is said, [2. King. 23.11.] That *Josiah took away the Horses that the King of Judah had given to the Sun, & burnt the Chariots of the Sun with Fire*. Prophane History furnishes us with several Monuments, by which we see, that Horses were consecrated to the *Sun*; whether it was by being employed to draw its Images; or, whether it was that they were kept to be sacrificed to it; or, lastly, whether they served as Types or Hieroglyphicks of that Star. *Herodotus* relates, that *Cyrus*, when he went to make War against the *Babylonians*, was stop’d by the River *Guindez*; that one of the white Horses, which were consecrated, attempting to pass it, was carried away & swallowed up in a Whirlpool; that *Cyrus* being provoked by this Accident, threaten’d to render it so small, that Women might walk over it afoot, without wetting so high as their knees; that he putt off his Expedition to *Babylon* to another Season, in order to perform his Threats; that having divided his Forces into two Bodies, one of which was on this side, and the other beyond the River, he employ’d them in making an hundred & four-score Canals on each side of the River, by which Means he drew off the Waters; that he spent a whole Summer in this Work; and that after having thus chastised the said River, by dividing it into three hundred & sixty Branches, he pursued his first Design.

“The Prophet *Ezekiel* describes the Worship of the *Sun* in the Kingdome of *Judah*. Chap. VIII.15, 16.¹⁷³

“One of the most learned Men of the past Age, – *Selden*, – has discovered several Footsteps of the Superstitious Worship which the People of GOD, rendred to the *Fire* and the *Sun*. The *Chamanim*, of which mention is made, in several Places of the Old Testament, were the *Priests*, the *Temples*, or the *Images* of that Star, or of this Element. [Lev. XXVI.30. 2. Chron. XXXIV.4. Isa. XVII.8.

173 The two preceding paragraphs are extracted from Jacques Saurin (Diss. XI, 1:96–97). Saurin’s “Prophane History” refers to Gerard Vossius’s *De Theologia Gentili* (1641), lib. 2, cap. 9, pp. 353–54, who juxtaposes biblical with pagan heroes. Vossius here cites a number of the ancient historians, including Herodotus (1.131–33), who assert that the Persians revered the sun by offering sacrificial animals – including horses. Herodotus (1.189, 202) relates how Cyrus the Great, son of Cambyses I and king of Persia (c. 557–530 BCE) in his expedition against Babylon “punished” the Assyrian River Gyndes for drowning “one of his sacred white horses” by dividing the river into 360 canals, thus making the Gyndes fordable on foot. On the Persian rite of sacrificing horses to the Sun god (Mithras), see especially Theophilus Gale (*Court* [1672], part 1, bk. 2, ch. 8, pp. 115–16.

and, XXVII.9.] The Rabin *Jarchi* pretends, that the *Chamanim* were Idols placed upon Towers, and so called because they were exposed to the *Sun*. But the Rabin *Aben-Ezra* affirms, that this Word denotes the *Place*, where such Idolatry was practised, and not the *Images* which were the Object of it. They were, saies he, *Vaulted Houses made in Honour of the Sun, in form of a Chariot*. Upon which Words a modern Author, [the famous *Peter Jurieu*] gives the following Gloss; *The Jew has guessed right, and it is not to be question'd, if we examine the History of Josiah. In the Second Book of KINGS, it is said, that Josiah burnt the Chariots of the Sun with Fire; there is no mention of the Chamanim. On the Contrary, in the Second Book of CHRONICLES it is said, that Josiah demolished the Chamanim which were upon the Altars of Baal, but no mention is made of the Chariots of the Sun. Now it is not likely, neither that the Second Book of Kings should have forgott to speak of the Chamanim, which was so considerable; nor that the Second Book of Chronicles should have omitted the Chariots, a Circumstance so particular. From whence it plainly follows, that the Chamanim & the Chariots of the Sun, were the same thing.*¹⁷⁴

“Other Interpreters maintain, that they were little Tents, artificially contrived to receive the Rays of the *Sun*; or certain Burning Glasses, which by concentrating its Rays in their *Focus*, kindled that Fire worshipped by the Idolaters.¹⁷⁵

“Probably, The *Chemans*, or *Chemarim*, of which mention is made in several Parts of the Old Testament, [2. King. XXIII.5. Hos. X.5. Zeph. I.4.] were probably, the same thing as the *Chamanim*. One may derive it from a Word that signifies, to *Burn*, or to be *Black*.

“It is sufficient to support our Conjecture, to relate a Passage of *Eupolemus*, which *Eusebius* has preserved for us, in his, *Preparation of the Gospel*. *Camarine*, says that Historian, *is a City of Babylon, called by some Urie, which signifies, the City of the Chaldeans*. The *Greeks* called those *Chaldeans* by Excellence, that wore the Priests of the *Chaldeans*. Tis the Observation of *Gerhard Vossius*, upon this Passage of *Eupolemus*, that this City was probably the same from whence *Terah* went forth by the Commandment of GOD; It had Two different Names, both signifying the same thing, *Urie*, or *Camarine*; If the City where the *Fire*

¹⁷⁴ Saurin (Diss. XI, 1:97) here paraphrases *De Diis Syris Syntagmata* (1617), Synt. 2, cap. 7, esp. pp. 229–36; or cap. 8, pp. 247–50 – a history of idol worship as mentioned in the Bible and classical antiquity, by John Selden. Vossius (*De Theologia Gentili*, lib. 2, pp. 360–62, § 11) covers much the same on the “*Chamanim*” or “sun idols.” *Jarchi* (Rashi) mentions these idols in his commentary on Lev. 26:30 and 2 Kings 23:11–12 (*Mikraoth Gedoloth*: 2 Kings, pp. 417–18). Ibn Ezra (on Lev. 26:30) calls them “houses built for sun-worship” (*Commentary* 3:151). Mather’s second-hand citation (via Saurin 1:97) of Pierre Jurieu’s *Histoire des Dogmes et des Cultes* (1704) is from the English translation of Jurieu’s *A Critical History of the Doctrines and Worships* (1705), vol. 2, part 4, treatise 7, ch. 1, pp. 195–96.

¹⁷⁵ Saurin (1:97) identifies as his source the commentary upon Lev. 26:30 (fol. 82), by “Mr. *Martin*” – probably the Huguenot theologian David Martin (1639–1721), pastor at Utrecht and reviser of the Geneva Bible, whose *Histoire du Vieux et du Nouveau Testament* (1700) 1:82, seems to be the work in question.

was adored, was called, *Camarine*, that is to say, *Inflamed* or *Burnt*, it was natural that the Priests, the Images, or the Temples, which were consecrated to the *Fire*, or the *Sun*, should be called *Chemarim*.¹⁷⁶

“Here is however enough to make us understand, that this kind of *Idolatry*, which had its Rise in *Chaldea*, and from which GOD delivered the Patriarch *Abraham*, communicated itself in the Sequel of Ages, to his Posterity.”¹⁷⁷

[313r]

3399.

Q. After what Manner, did the Lord Reveal His Will unto *Abram*? v. 1.

A. We read, Act. 7.2. *The God of Glory appeared to him*. The *Shechinah*, even that Bright Cloud of Heaven, which was called, *The Glory of God*, attended with *Angels*, made a Descent unto him, with a visible Apparition. This visible Exhibition of the Glorious God, afterwards visited this Patriarch, and his Offspring. That Quæstion, which many have thought unanswerable, *How the Saints of old were satisfied, that they were not by any Diabolical Illusions imposed upon, when Extraordinary Visits from Heaven were made unto them*; is now easily answered. The *Shechinah* was an Object of so mighty and well-known a *Glory*, that all the Divels in Hell could never counterfeit it.¹⁷⁸

[Insert Ar]

Q. The Command unto *Abraham*, *Gett thee out of thy Countrey*, – v. 1.

A. What we render, *Gett thee*, is, *לך לך Vade Tibi*, or, *Ad Tē*. Here is, the Benefit of his Duty intimated; It shall be *for thee*, or *for thy Benefit*.

And they who consider a mystical Intention here, do further observe the Nature of it; An Introversion; For a Man to *turn into himself*.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ Saurin (1:98). Eupolemus has Abraham born in the Babylonian city “Camarina,” also known as Οὐρίην (Uria), ten generations after the confusion of tongues (Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* 9.17.418d). Gerard Vossius identifies this city of fiery light as Ur, Uroë, and Camarina (*De Theologia Gentili*, lib. 2, cap. 64, pp. 648–49). Terah, father of Abram, left the Chaldean Ur and moved to Haran in Syria (Gen. 11:31).

¹⁷⁷ Saurin (1:99).

¹⁷⁸ Among Mather’s likely sources are Franciscus Vatablus’s commentary, on Gen. 12:1, in *Critici Sacri* (1:177); Maimonides (*Guide* 1.21.30, 2.41.234–36), and Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:58). On the Mathers’ views on angels, see C. Mather’s *Diary* (1:155–57, 2:190) and Increase Mather’s *Angelographia* (1696); R. Lovelace’s *American Pietism* (188–97), D. Levin’s “When,” K. Silverman’s *Life* (122–37, 311–12), and E. Reis’s “Trouble.”

¹⁷⁹ Mather probably consulted Matthew Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:145–46) along with the commentaries of Rashi and Ramban on Gen. 12:1, cited in Poole. Rashi argues that the Hebrew expression “לך לך [lech lecha]” literally signifies “go to you,” because it shall be “for your benefit and for your good, and there I will make you into a great nation, but here [in Haran], you will not merit to have children. Moreover, I will make your character known in the World.” Ramban denies that “lech lecha” here suggests “for your benefit,” because the phrase is merely “an idiomatic expression in Hebrew meaning, ‘Go forth’” (*Mikraoth Gedoloth* 1:148a–b).

Dr. *Lightfoot* ha's a Remark here, That CHRIST was promised unto *Abraham* in a Town of the *Gentiles*; which Promise was in time to concern the *Gentiles*.¹⁸⁰

[Insert Av blank]

3401.

Q. How is that Promise fulfilled, *I will make thy Name Great?* v. 2.

A. It is remarkable, how famous *Abraham* is, throughout the whole World, even to this Day. All *Christians*, yea, and all *Mahometans* too, as well as *Jewes*, do celebrate the Fame of *Abraham*. It is observed by *Maimonides*, That all Mankind admires *Abraham*, as well as they that are descended from him.¹⁸¹

606.

Q. What is the true import of those Words, in the Blessing of *Abraham*, *I will curse him that curseth thee?* v. 3.

A. The *Blessing* here is to Many, *I will Bless THEM*; The *Curse* is principally to One, *I will curse HIM*. By this One, is meant *Satan*. There is no just Cause for the Variation of the Number, unless wee look on these Words, as a Pursuit of the *First Promise*; which was accompanied with a special Malediction upon *Satan*, who acts his Enmitie in all Obloquie, & Cursing, against the *Blessed Seed*, and those that are thereby *Blessed*.¹⁸²

3400.

Q. What might be the special Occasion of this Passage & Promise, *I will curse him that curses thee?*

A. *Maimonides* will have it, that the *Zabians* loaded *Abram* with all Manner of *Curses*, & Reproaches, & Calumnies, when he went out of their Countrey; which he bearing patiently, God turned it upon themselves.¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ Mather paraphrases John Lightfoot's commentary on Gen. 12 and 21, in *The Harmony, Chronicle and Order of the Old Testament* (1647) 21, 24, where God promises a great blessing to Abraham in Haran (or Ur), which subsequently is foreshadowed in Isaac's miraculous conception foreshadowing "the supernatural birth of Christ." See also Simon Patrick's annotation on Gen. 12:3 (*Commentary* 1:59).

¹⁸¹ Mather cribs this annotation from Simon Patrick's commentary on Gen. 12:2 (*Commentary* 1:58). Maimonides (*Guide* 3.29.315) argues that Abraham's name is so great that "most people ... agree in praising him, and being proud of him; so that even those who are not his descendants call themselves by his name."

¹⁸² Mather comments on the shift in number from "bless them" to "curse him" – a change that has generated various interpretations: the cursed one is identified as "Satan" (Luther, *Lectures on Genesis*, *Works* 2:59), as "Balaam" (Targum Jonathan ben Uziel, in Walton 4:21), as "any individual" who cursed Abram in Ur (Nachmanides, *Commentary* 1:168), "King Nimrod," and those who worshipped "Moloch" (R. Bachya, *Commentary* 1:220).

¹⁸³ Mather's verbatim excerpt is from Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:58). Maimonides (*Guide* 3.29.315–16) singles out the Sabaeans for reproach because Abraham's monotheism

140.

Q. There is a great Stir made, about the Chronology of *Abraham*. Tis here said, *Abraham was Seventy five Years old, when hee departed out of Haran*. But *Stephen* sais, in Act. 7.4. *It was, when his Father was Dead, that hee removed from thence*. Whereas wee find in Gen. 11.32. *The Dayes of Terah, were two hundred & five Years*. Now, tis affirmed in Gen. 11.26. *Terah lived Seventy Years, & begat Abram, Nahor, & Haran*. So then, if *Abraham* were born in the *Seventieth Year of Terah*, & went not out of *Haran* till his *Father* were *Dead*, hee must bee not *Seventy five*, but an *hundred & thirty five Years old*, at that going out. How will you adjust this business? *Jerom* sais, *The Knot is Indissoluble*; and *Scaliger* sais, *Wee must stay for the Coming of Elias to dissolve it*. v. 4.¹⁸⁴

A. I am not of *Jeroms* Mind, tho' I am also not *Elias*: This Matter may bee sett to rights, without any such desperate Reflections upon a Lapse in *Stephens* Memory, as have been made by some Interpreters. I say then, That *Abraham* was not born in the *Seventieth Year of Terah*, but in the *Hundred & Thirtieth*; and so, hee was not the *First-born*, but the *Third*, of the Sons of that Patriarch. Indeed, *Abraham*, is first mentioned, but that Order is, of their *Dignity*, not of their *Nativity*. If it bee objected, That if *Abraham* had a Father, who begat at an *Hundred & Thirty Years of Age*, it would not require any great Faith in him, to expect his own Begetting at an *Hundred*; It may bee Answered, If *Abraham* had any *Hesitation* about it, (which indeed is not a Supposition so clear, but that *wee* may *Hesitate* about *that* also; for the *Laughter*, in Gen. 17.17. may bee, *Non Dubitantis, sed Gratulantis*) it was not on the Score of his own being an *Hundred Years old*, but on the Score of *Sarahs* having been Barren until *Ninety*.¹⁸⁵

This Observation, of *Abrahams* being his Fathers youngest Son, invites mee to enter a solemn Consideration for all *Elder Brothers*; even that which you shall find among Old *Theodorets*, Quæstions upon *Genesis*. Ἐπισημαντέον ζ' κ.λ. *Animadvertendum est, passim primogenitis præferri Natu posteriores: Etenim Caino præpositus est Abel, et Japheto antepositus est Shem; et Ishmaeli prælatus est Isaac;*

clashed with their worship of the stars. See also Mather's "V. Antiqua," in *An Essay, for a further Commentary*, appended to Mather's commentary on Revelation ("BA"). How Maimonides's "invention" of the Zabians (Sabaeans) was received by Mather's contemporaries, see J. Assmann's "Mosaic Distinction," J. Elukin's "Maimonides," and G. Stroumsa, "John Spencer" (esp. 16–23).

¹⁸⁴ Mather's source again is Heidegger, *Historia Sacra Patriarcharum* (2:536–37, Exerc. XXIV, § 12). Stephen, the first Christian martyr and one of the seven deacons of Jerusalem, seems to contradict (Act. 7:4) the chronology in Genesis. St. Jerome on Gen. 12:4 is similarly puzzled and says that the question "cannot be answered" (*Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, pp. 43–44). Mather translates Heidegger's Latin citation (2:356) from Joseph Justus Scaliger's *Isagogicorum chronologiae canonum* (1656), lib. 3, p. 312.

¹⁸⁵ The Latin comments on Gen. 17:17, "not doubting, but rejoicing," are evidently based on Rashi's annotations (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:197). See also Simon Patrick on Gen. 17:17, 18:12 (*Commentary* 1:73, 75).

*et Esauo praelatus est Jacob: et Joseph antepositus est Reubeni et Judæ; et Ephraim Menassæ. Etc.*¹⁸⁶

2832.

Q. What Remark upon the Age of *Abraham*, when the Promise (given to *Adam* in Paradise, and *Shem* after the Flood,) is renewed unto him? v. 4.

A. Being *Seventy Five Years* old, he was as many Years old, as there be *Fathers* of our Lord-Messiah, from *Adam* to *Joseph*.

1654

Q. The Person of *Abraham*, are there any Acknowledgments of it, in any other Monuments of Antiquity, besides the Scriptures? v. 4.

A. When *Abram* is called, *The Hebrew*, some finding that the Word signifies, *One that cometh from beyond the Water*, or, *A Stranger*, think, that *Abram* is thus called, only because hee came from beyond *Euphrates*.

[314v] Now, besides the mistaken Opinion of *Artapanus*, and some other such Heathen Writers, That the *Israelites* were called *Hebrewes*, from *Abraham*, as corrupted of *Abrahæans*: [and *Augustin* was once Inclined unto this Opinion, but afterwards *Retracted* it:] *Berosus* the *Chaldean*, had some Knowledge of *Abraham*, tho' hee named him not; *Hecateus*, not only mentioned him occasionally, but also | wrote an History of him. *Nicolaus Damascenus*, in the Fourth Book of his Histories, related, That *Abraham*, a certain Stranger, did Reign, at *Damascus*; coming thither, from a Countrey about *Babylon*, said to bee that of the *Chaldeans*: That hee departed thence with his People, into the Land of *Canaan*, afterwards called *Judæa*, where his Posterity grew very Numerous. In *Josephus's* Time, the Name of *Abraham*, was famous in *Damascus*; where they show'd a certain Village, called, *Abrahams Dwelling*.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁶ Theodoret's *Quæstiones in Octateuchum* (Quest. 111, p. 91, lines 15–22) points out, “it is noteworthy that younger sons are everywhere preferred to elder ones. As a matter of fact, Abel was given preference above Cain, and Shem was preferred to Japheth; Isaac was given preference above Ishmael, and Jacob above Esau; Joseph too came after Reuben and Judah, and Ephraim after Manasseh.”

¹⁸⁷ Mather's source is Heidegger (2:94–95, Exerc. III, § 72). Gen. 14:13, 15:18. The Hellenized Jewish historian Artapanus (2nd c. BCE) calls the Jews “Ermiuth,” which in Greek signifies “Judeans,” but derives “Hebrews from Abraham” (Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* 9.18.420a). St. Augustine's assertion appears in *De Civitate Dei* 16.11 (NPNFi 2:316–17) and his reversal in his *Retractiones* (2.16) [PL 32. 636–637]. According to Josephus Flavius, Berosus (the Babylonian historian and priest of Belus) knew of Abraham without mentioning his name, but Hecataeus of Abdera allegedly knew him so well that he wrote a history of the patriarch. However, Hecataeus' references to Abraham survive only in fragments in his *Testimonia* and *Fragmenta* (Jacoby#-T 3a, 264, T fragm. 8b, line 2; Jacoby#-F 3a, 264, F fragm. 24, line 4). Likewise, Josephus mentions Nicolaus of Damascus (friend and teacher of Herod the Great), who tells Abraham's story in *History* (Fragment 30, lines 1–11) – all in Josephus (*Antiquities* 1.7.2) and in Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.16).

2371.

Q. In this Chapter, begin the Travels of *Abraham*: Will you run them all over? v. 5.

A. I will. But it shall be out of *Buntings* Itinerary. *Abraham* travelled, from his own Countrey of *Ur* in *Chaldaea*, to the City of *Haran* in *Mesopotamia*, which is, Miles. 376.
 From *Haran*, to *Sichem*, ... 400.
 From *Sichem*, to the Plain of *Mamre*. 28.
 From *Mamre*, to *Egypt*. 240.
 From *Egypt*, again to the Hill between *Bethel* & *Hai*. . . . 240.
 From thence, to the Plain near *Hebron*. 32.
 From that Plain, to *Dan*, the Place where hee overthrew the Four Kings. 124.
 From thence, pursuing the Enemy, to *Hobam*, on the left side of *Damascus*. 80.
 From thence, to *Sodom*, ... 160.
 From thence, again to the Plain of *Mamre*. 40.
 From thence, to *Gerar*, where *Isaac* {was} born. 6.
 From *Gerar* to *Bersheba*, ... 12.
 From *Bersheba*, to Mount *Moriah*, for the Offering of *Isaac*. 40.
 From Mount *Moriah*, again to *Bersheba*. 40.
 From *Bersheba*, to the Plain of *Mamre*, where hee died, & saw the End of all his Travels. 16.

Miles, In all, ... 1794.¹⁸⁸

3402.

Q. Whereabouts did *Abram* enter the Land of *Canaan*? v. 5.

A. He took his Journey, thro' the dangerous and hideous Desarts of *Palmyrena*; not having any thing but the Divine Promise, to support him. Relying on that Support, he climbed over an High Mountain, either of *Libanus*, *Hermion*, or *Gilead*, where, as Sir *Walter Raleigh* observes, he made his Entrance.¹⁸⁹

We read in *Pirke Elieser*, c. 25. That he took an House, while he was at *Charran*, which fronted the Town; where, according to the ancient Piety, he

¹⁸⁸ The table appears in *Itinerarium sacrae scripturae* (1581), by Heinrich Bünting (1545–1606), German cartographer and Lutheran professor of theology at Hanover. An English translation of this popular work appeared with the Latin title *Itinerarium totius sacrae scripturae* (1629); the table is on pp. 79–80 of this edition.

¹⁸⁹ This paragraph is a close paraphrase of Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 12:4 (*Commentary* 1:59); Patrick's own source is Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World* (1614), bk. 2, ch. 1, § 3, p. 220.

maintained great Hospitality; and inviting those that went in, or came out of the Town, to Refresh themselves, if they pleased, he sett meat & drink before them; saying, *There is but one God in the World*. No doubt, he now kept much of the same Stroke in *Canaan*.¹⁹⁰

3403.

Q. Who may be meant, by, *All the Souls they had gotten?* v. 5.

A. All the Slaves, born in their House, or bought with their Coin.

But the Chaldee *Paraphrast* interprets this, of the *Proselytes* they had won to God; for such only would *Abram* carry with him. Yea, Some of the Hebrew Doctors, are so punctual, as to tell us, That *Abram* instructed the Men, & *Sarai* the Women, in the True Religion; concerning which, *Maimonides* reports, (*De Idol.* c. 1.) he wrote a Book, & left it unto his Son *Isaac*.¹⁹¹

Q. The Two Altars built by *Abraham?* v. 7.

A. Dr. *Lightfoot*, comparing Deut. XXVII. and Josh. VIII. finds one of these Altars on *Gerizzim*, the other on *Ebal*.¹⁹²

523.{}

Q. What Remarkable was there, in the Lords *Plaguing of the Egyptians, with great Plagues, because of Sarai, Abrahams Wife?* v. 14.

A. It was ordered, as a *Type* of things to come upon *her* Posteritie, and upon the *Egyptians* for their Sake.¹⁹³

3904.

Q. What may be the true Etymology of the Name *Pharaoh?* v. 15.

A. Other Thoughts may be elsewhere offered; But here I incline to the Opinion of *Ludolphus*, who takes *Pharaoh*, to be a Compound Word, signifying as much as, *Father of the Countrey*: for that's the Meaning of, *Phar-ot*, in the *Ethiopic* Language; as *Phar-mut*, is, *Mother of the Countrey*.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁰ The entire paragraph is cribbed from Patrick's annotations on Gen. 12:5 (*Commentary* 1:59). Patrick's source is *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (ch. 25, p. 184) and Midrash Rabbah (Gen. LII.1).

¹⁹¹ Mather cribs his annotation from Simon Patrick's *Commentary* (1:59) on Gen. 12:5. Patrick draws on the Targum Onkelos (Gen. 12:5), in Walton (1:47). According to R. Hunia, "Abraham converted the men and Sarah the women" (*Genesis Rabbah* XXXIX:14 and LXXXIV:4). In his *De Idololatria Liber* (1641), cap. 1, § 9 p. 16, Rabbi Maimonides argues that Abram left a book of instructions to Isaac (*Mishneh Torah: Hilchot Avodat Kochavim* 1.3).

¹⁹² This paragraph is extracted from John Lightfoot's *A Few, and New Observations, upon the Booke of Genesis* (1642) 10; see also Lightfoot's *Harmony* (1647) 21.

¹⁹³ Lightfoot's *Harmony* (1647) 21.

¹⁹⁴ Mather's immediate source is again Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:60), and Patrick lists as his source the German Lutheran Orientalist Job Ludolphus (Hiob Ludolf). Ludolf devised

Q. On the Occasion of *Abrahams* retiring into *Egypt*? v. 20.

A. The *Trials* which a true *Faith* must undergo, before it be recompensed & accomplished!

The Lord gives a *Command* unto *Abraham*, to remove into a Land of Plenty, *flowing with Milk & Honey*, with a *Promise* that it should be *His*. He makes his Remove into that Land; & the First Thing he finds there, is a *Famine*; He is like to starve there, & is forced into *Egypt* for Bread.¹⁹⁵

So, anon, *Abraham* is told of a *Seed like the Stars of Heaven*. Yett the *Isaac* who is to bring it on, is not born till a long while after: must after grown to Manhood be a Sacrifice; marries, & for twenty Years together ha's no Issue!¹⁹⁶

the first-ever dictionary and grammar of the Ethiopian language Amharic, *Lexicon Æthiopico-Latinum* (1661). However, an examination of this work for the Latin equivalent of “pharaoh” proves inconclusive. In Ludolf’s discussion of Egyptian regal titles in *Historiam Æthiopicam antehac editam Commentarius* (1681, 1691) is more forthcoming, but the English translation of this work – *A New History of Ethiopia* (1682), bk. 2, ch. 1, p. 104 [irregular pagination] – merely points out that “the kings of *Ægypt* were call’d *Pharo’s*.” So Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 8.6.2), but Samuel Bochart, *Hieroicoicon* (pars 2, lib. 5, cap. 18, col. 795–96), focusing on the OT bestiary, argues that in the Arabic language “Pharao” signifies “*crocodilus*” (col. 795), a sacred animal (Sobek) in the Egyptian cults. Well, there it is.

¹⁹⁵ Gen. 12:1, 10; Exod. 3:8.

¹⁹⁶ Gen. 15:5; 21:1–3.

Q. A Remark on the Place, where *Lot* separated from *Abraham*? v. 5.

A. Dr. *Lightfoot* observes, It was at Mount *Ebal*, the Hill of *Cursing*.

He was punished with a Captivity for it, among the Sons of the cursed *Canaan*.¹⁹⁷

|
467.{?}

Q. Of the Patriarch *Abraham*, tis said, *Hee dwelt in the Plains of Mamre*; The Original runs, *In Quercubus vel Quercetis Mamre*. Can you tell of any notable Business in Antiquitie, which had its Original, in this Habitation of the Patriarch? v. 18.¹⁹⁸

A. *Britain* knowes nothing more famous, than their Ancient Sect of *Druids*; the Philosophers, whose Order was Instituted, they say, by one, *Samothés*, which is in English, as much as to say, *An Heavenly Man*. These *Druids* were the *Celtic* Priests; and the *Celtic* Name, *Deru*, for an *Oak*, was that from whence they received their Denomination; and at this very Day, the Welch call this Tree, *Derw*, and this Order of Men, *Derwyddon*. Instead of their having the Denomination of *Druids*, ἀπὸ τοῦ δρυὸς, the *Greeks* fetched their Term of δρυς, from the Celtic *Deru*.¹⁹⁹

Now, if you would know, whence this *Oaken Religion* was derived; It was from the *Oaks of Mamre*, where our Patriarch *Abraham*, had both a *Dwelling* and an *Altar*. *Here* hee lived, *Here* hee entertained God, and was entertained of Him. [Compare Gen. 18.1.] This *Oak-Plain*, and that eminent *Oak*, under which

¹⁹⁷ John Lightfoot (*Harmony* [1647], p. 21) argues that Abraham and Lot separated “in the valley of Achor.” See also Lightfoot’s *A Few, and New Observations* (1642) 11. In his “Note Book of Authors,” Mather lists as his source for Gen. 13:8 “Duntons Remains. p. 179”; i.e., John Dunton’s *Dunton’s Remains* (1684): “The Authors Farewell-Sermon” (179).

¹⁹⁸ “By the oak or oak-grove of Mamre.”

¹⁹⁹ See Heidegger (2:68–70, Exerc. III, §§ 27–29). Pliny (16.45.249). Samuel Bochart says much the same in *Geographia* (pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 42, col. 660–82), as do William Camden, in *Britannia* (1610) 12–14, and Raphael Holinshed, in *Chronicle* (1587), vol. 1, bk. 1, chs. 3 and 9, esp. pp. 3–4, 19–22. Furthermore, on the Druids, see Pliny (16.45.249). Samothés, purported offspring of Noah’s son Japheth, became Celtic ruler of Britain, then called “Samothéa” – if Anniius of Viterbo’s *Antiquitatum* (1498), sec. “Berosi Babylonici de Antiquitatibus Liber Quartus,” p. g–ii(r), (which is the source of Holinshed’s *Chronicle* [1587], vol. 1, bk. 1, ch. 3, p. 3; ch. 9, p. 19), can be trusted. The foremost Orientalist of his day, John Selden derides Anniius’s forgery of Berosus and Samothés, in his *Jani Anglorum Facies Anglorum* (1610), lib. 1, pp. 1–10, an English translation of which appeared as *The Reverse ... of the English Janus* (1682), chs. 1–5, pp. 1–8. The Greek phrase “by the oak” is taken from the LXX (Gen. 13:18). The etymological derivation of the Greek “drus” (oak) from the Celtic “Deru” is untrustworthy. See Appendix A.

Abraham lodged, was extant in the Dayes of *Constantine*, as *Isidore*, *Jerom*, and *Sozomen*, have assured us. And there are shrowd Probabilities, that *Noah* himself, had lived in this very *Oak-Plain* before him; for this very Spot, was called, 'Ογύγη, which was the Name of *Noah*; so called, *ab Oggijis Suis*, i.e. *subcineritij panis* (*qualem עֵינִי vocant Hebrei*) *sacrificijs*, from the *Oggian* Sacrifices, which hee did use to offer, in this Renowned *Grove*. It was from this Exemple, that the Ancients, and particularly, the *Druyds* of the Nations, chose *Oaken* Retirements, for their Devotions.²⁰⁰

On this Occasion, it may not bee amiss, to offer this Reflection; That *Oaks* are upon many Accounts Renowned, in the Scriptures of God. Particularly, Under an *Oak* it was, that the Lord appeared unto *Abraham*, & entred into *Covenant* with him: and there *Abraham* erected an *Altar* to the Lord. [Gen. 12.7.] This *Place* was from hence forward Holy unto God: it is mentioned in Josh. 24.26. where wee read, of, *An Oak that was by the Sanctuary of the Lord*: but if you'l say, The *Tabernacle* was here, still you do but render the *Oak* more Illustrious. Hence rose the Custome, not only of the *Jewes*, to sacrifice under *Oaks*, [Ezek. 6.13. and Hos. 4.13.] but also of the *Gentiles*, who *Arbores in Numinum Templa constituebant*, as *Pliny* has expressed it.²⁰¹

²⁰⁰ Gen. 13:8, 18:1 (LXX) renders the Hebrew word “elown” as “oaks” rather than “plain” (KJV). Isidore Pelusiota (*Epistolae*); St. Jerome, on Gen. 13:13 (*Hebrew Questiones on Genesis*, pp. 46–47); and Salaminius Hermias Sozomenos (*Historia ecclesiastica* 2.4.1, lines 1–3) and in *NPNFii* (2:261). The Greek designation “Ogyge” – ancient King of Thebes – is associated with Noah because a Flood greater than that of Deucalion occurred in Ogyge’s time. Anniius of Viterbo has much to say on this association in Berosus’s spurious history “Berosi Babylonici de Antiquitatibus,” in *Antiquitatibus* (1498), pp. f–ii(v) – i–ii(r). See Richard Lynche’s translated excerpt from this work, in *An Historical Treatise* (1601), p. Bii (v), where Noah’s Scythian name is supposed to be “*Ogyges Saga*” or, “Great Patriarke, soveraigne Priest, and mightie Sacrificer.” At any rate, Ogyges’ (i.e., Noah’s) name was derived “from his Oggian sacrifices, that is, bread baked under ashes (of the kind that the Hebrews call ‘uwg’ [goo])” [Strong’s # 5746]).

²⁰¹ The adaptation from Pliny (12.1.2) reads, “designated trees as the temples of the deities.”

Q. Some Remark on the Battel, whereof we are now entring into the History?
v. 1.

A. It is wonderful to see, how many learned Men, and how great Literators, have pleaded for the Antiquity & Authority of that Peece, which passes for, *The Epistle of BARNABAS*. The excellent, and critical Pen, of Mr. *Jeremiah Jones*, has bestow'd a just Castigation upon this Temerity. One Exemple which he produces of the Follies in that *Epistle*, is notorious. The Author of that Epistle gives a Masterly Stroke of his Allegorizing Talent; boasting, *He who has putt the infused Gift of his Doctrine in us, knows that I never taught any one a more genuine Doctrine*. And yett there was never any thing more trifling, more silly, more nauseous & ridiculous, than this *Genuine Doctrine*. He designs to prove, by the Number of Persons whom *Abraham* circumcised, that *Abraham* therein had Regard unto CHRIST, and that in the Number of the Persons who were circumcised, were tyfified, CHRIST and his *Cross*. Now see the Proof. *The Scripture* (says he) *tells us, That Abraham circumcised Three Hundred & Eighteen Men of his house. But what was the Knowledge [or, Mystery] shewn to him herein? Understand ye, That there are first Eighteen, and then Three Hundred [The Greek Letter, I, notes Ten; and the Greek Letter, H, notes Eight,] Therein Ye have the Name JESUS; [Because, I, and, H, are the Two First Letters of ΙΗΣΟΥΣ,] And because he was to have Grace, by the Cross, the Sign of which is the Letter, T, [which is the Greek Numeral for Three Hundred,] he therefore added Three Hundred.*²⁰²

Our *Jones* with Indignation makes his Appeal, unto the Assertors of this Epistle; whether an Epistle containing such Trumpery, is to be reckoned among the Sacred Books of the New Testament? Or, whether such Stuff could be written by the extraordinary Assistance of the Holy Spirit;²⁰³

²⁰² This and the following paragraphs are extracted from the three-volume edition of *A New and Full Method of Settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament* (1726–27; 1798), vol. 2, part 3, ch. 41, pp. 447–52; ch. 42, pp. 455–56, by Jeremiah Jones (1693–1724), dissenting minister at Forest Green, Gloucestershire. The canonicity of the Epistle of Barnabas (c. 70–100 CE) was hotly debated throughout the ages, but especially during the Reformation period (SH); Jones reviews the debate in his *New and Full Method* and ultimately dismisses the Epistle as a forgery. However, in his *The Apocryphal New Testament* (1820 ed.) 143 (“Preface”), Jones (or his fellow compilers) is more inclined to bestow the status of canonicity on the Epistle of Barnabas. Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 2.6–7) asserts the apostolic origin of the Epistle to St. Barnabas, a document by a Jewish Levite of Cyprus, who became an Apostle (Acts 4:36, 9:27, 11:22 ff). The numerical values of the Greek letters Iota, Hta (Eta), and Tau are respectively 10, 8, and 300. The Greek name ΙΗΣΟΥΣ transliterates as “Jesous.” Mather’s italicized citations (via Jones) are from the Epistle of Barnabas 8:11–14.

²⁰³ If Jones more or less rejected the Epistle of Barnabas in his *New and Full Method* (1798 ed.), vol. 2, part 3, ch. 41, p. 448, he argues in his edition of *The Apocryphal New Testament*

First, whereas we read, that *Abraham* circumcised every Male of his house, both those *who were born there, and those who were bought for Money*; And afterwards we read, of his *Arming Three hundred & Eighteen that were his Trained Servants*: The Blunderer concludes, That *Abraham* circumcised no more than *Three Hundred & Eighteen*. But certainly *Abraham* circumcised more than that Number. Were there no Children, & no Infirm, left at home, when the *Three hundred & Eighteen* went on this Expedition? Besides, he took now with him, only those that were *Born in his own House*; but he circumcised also some that were *Bought with his Money*. Moreover, There were near Twenty Years between *Abrahams* going forth to Battle, with the *Three | hundred & Eighteen*, and the Circumcision of his Family. But no doubt his Family was considerably increased in this time.²⁰⁴

[318v]

And then; can any one be so stupid, as to imagine, that *Abraham* understood *Greek*, and the Mystery hidden under the Letters, I, and, H, and, T? The Letters were not invented until many hundreds of Years after him; nor before *Cadmus*, who lived in the days of the *Judges*, about A. M. 2660.

Nor was the Punishment of the *Cross* known, till near Two Thousand Years after the Days of *Abraham*; It being originally a *Roman* Punishment.²⁰⁵

In fine; It looks as if this Epistle, were the Forgery of some such Fellow as corrupted the Books of the *Sibyls*, & written about the Middle of the Second Century.²⁰⁶

Only, because of its being so much akin to this Flight of *Barnabas*, I will add a Jewish Kabalism upon the *Three hundred & Eighteen* Servants of *Abraham*:

The Name of *Eliezer* the Steward of *Abraham*, amounts to that Number. א. 1. 7. 30. י. 10. 2. 70. 1. 7. 200.

(1820) that “this Epistle lays a greater claim to canonical authority than most others,” since many of the ancient Fathers – Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Eusebius Pamphilus, St. Jerome – either cited it affirmatively or “esteemed it genuine and canonical” (143).

²⁰⁴ Jones, *New and Full Method* (1798 ed.), vol. 2, part 3, ch. 41, pp. 448–49. Gen. 17:13 and 14:14.

²⁰⁵ Jones, *New and Full Method* (1798 ed.), vol. 2, part 3, ch. 41, p. 450. Cadmus, son of King Agenor of Phoenicia, is to have introduced the Phoenician letters into Greece, in the 15th c. BCE (*LCD*). Although Jones lists the date as Anno Mundi 2660, James Ussher’s *Annals* (21) has Cadmus appear more than a hundred years earlier, in AM 2549 (1455 BCE). Among Jones’s traditionary sources are Herodotus (5.58), Tacitus (*Annales* 11.14), Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 1.16), and Samuel Bochart (*Geographia*, pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 20, col. 448–54).

²⁰⁶ Jones, *New and Full Method* (vol. 2, part 3, ch. 41, p. 452). The Sibylline Oracles are prophetic utterances of a number of female Sibyls – the most famous being the Sibyls of Erythrae and of Cumae. Of the large number of ancient Sibylline prophecies, only two collections survive (5th and 7th c. CE). In spite of their reservations about them, both Increase and Cotton Mather did not object to consulting these Sibyls as needed. See Increase Mather’s *Future Conversion* (23), Cotton Mather’s *Threefold Paradise* (194–98) and “Essay IX: *Sibyllina*,” appended to “BA” (Revelation); Humphrey Prideaux’s *Old and New Testament Connected* (1716–18), vol. 2, bk. 9, pp. 397–406; and William Whiston’s *Vindication of the Sibylline Oracles* (1715).

Now, say the Jews, the Numerals of /אֵלִיעֶזֶר/ *Eliezer*, making just 318, the Number of Servants, which *Abraham* armed, we learn hence, that *Abraham* did the Business, & gott the Victory with *Eliezer* alone; who was equal to all of them; and that he left the rest at home, their Sins or Fears unfitting them to go with him.²⁰⁷

[319r]

Q. What Sort of *Kings*, were the Kings of *Shinar*, and of *Ellasar*, and of *Elam*, and of *Nations*, with whom *Abram* encountred? v. 1.

A. Certainly, it can't be meant, that *Amraphel* King of *Shinar*, was King of *Babylon*, as tis commonly understood. So potent a King, would not have needed Associates in a War against such petty Princes, as those of *Pentapolis*; nor would he have marched away with only Prisoners & Booty, not having taken so much as one of the Cities which he came against. Or, if *Chedorlaomer* King of *Elam*, had been King of *Persia*, whose Quarrel was now managing, he would not have needed these Associates, to help him in the Management of it: nor would he have passed thro' so great a Part of the World, as *Assyria*, and *Mesopotamia*, & Part of *Arabia*, only to conquer Five little Towns; as whose Riches would not have countervailed the Charge, if he had sent only one of his Lieutenants, with a small Force, to have subdued them. In short, we may look on these Kings, to be like those *Petty Kings*, whereof there were so many in *Canaan*, when *Joshua* conquered it. But we may rationally imagine them to have been Commanders of Colonies, which they had led out of *Assyria*, and *Persia*, and settling thereabout, endeavoured the Enlargement of their Plantations.²⁰⁸

As for *Tidal*, King of *Nations*, we know, That *Galilee*, inhabited by a mixt People of diverse Countreyes, was called, *Galilee of the Nations*. Sir *Walter Raleigh* observes, That there were several petty Countreyes adjoining to *Phœnicia*, namely, *Palmyrene*, *Batanea*, *Apamena*, *Laodicene*, which lay towards *Mesopotamia* on the North, and *Arabia* on the East, over which we may suppose *Tidal* to have Reigned. *Eupolemus*, an ancient *Greek* Writer, calls them *Armenians*.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁷ Jones, *New and Full Method* (vol. 2, part 3, ch. 42, pp. 455–56). The Gematria for Abraham's servant Eliezer amounts to 318. The source for this numerical value is Midrash Rabbah (Gen. XLIII:2).

²⁰⁸ Mather's unacknowledged source for this and the following paragraph is Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:62). Gen. 14:1. "Pentapolis" is the Latin designation for the region of the "five cities" Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zebolim, and Zoar (Gen. 14:2).

²⁰⁹ Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:62). Sir Walter Raleigh describes the region in his *History of the World* (1614), bk. 2, ch. 1, § 9, pp. 229–30. According to Alexander Polyhistor, Eupolemus calls them "Armenians" (Eusebius's *Praeparatio evangelica* 9.17.418d).

558.{?}

Q. Tis said, *They smote all the Countrey of the Amalekites*. You know, there were no *Amalekites*, then in the World; how then could they have a *Countrey* to be smitten? v. 7.

A. A *Prolepsis* is a very usual Figure, in the Scripture. Besides the Instance of it, now before us, I will give you a few more. Tis said, [Gen. 4.16.] *Cain went & dwelt in the Land of Nod*. It is probable, that this was not the Name of the Place, before his going thither, but that from his being there, it received its Name. [From, *Nud*, Vagari, Errare.] Thus, [Gen. 29.20.] That *Jacob served Seven Years for Rachel*, is proleptically spoken; hee married *Rachel* before the Seven Years were expired. Wee read [Gen. 35.19. and 48.7.] *Rachel* was buried in *Bethlehem*; and yett it is well-known, that this was not the Name of the Place, till after *Moses*. Thus *Hebron*, and some other Names of Cities, are mentioned in the *Pentateuch*; altho' the Names were not given, till after *Moses's* Death. Tis said, [Josh. 4.19.] the *Israelites encamped in Gilgal*; but it is called so, by Anticipation; it had not that Name, till [Josh. 5.9.] afterwards. There are other Exemples thereof, in the Book of *Joshua*; yea, there are in that Book the Names of Places, that are of a later Date than *Joshua*.²¹⁰

The Conjecture of the Jewes is very probable; That *Ezra*, after the Captivitie, when hee collected and marshalled, the several Parts of the Bible, hee altered the *Names* of many Places therein recited, and inserted the *Modern* ones in stead of the *Ancient*.²¹¹

Thus here, *The Countrey of the Amalekites*, is as much as to say, *The Countrey now known by that Appellation*.

²¹⁰ Since Amalek, son of Eliphaz and grandson of Esau (Gen. 36:12, 16; 1 Chron. 1:36), was not yet born until long after Abram's battle with the rulers of the five cities took place (Gen. 14:1–7), the designation "country of the Amalekites" (Gen. 14:7; Num 13:29; 1 Sam. 15:7, 27:8) suggests an interpolation of a place name that could not have existed until the Israelite conquest of Canaan – long after their Exodus from Egypt. First contact between the Israelites and Amalekites occurred at Rephidim (Exod. 17:13). This postfactum interpolation, which Mather and his peers call a "prolepsis" or "anticipation" is frequently rationalized as a prophecy (Midrash Rabbah, Gen. XLII:7, Rashi, Grotius, Poole), but Ramban is disinclined to accept Rashi's explanation by arguing that this region was not named after the descendants of Amalek, Esau's grandson, but after Amalek, the Horite ruler of the place, for whom Esau's grandson had been named (*Commentary* 1:185–86).

²¹¹ Mather is willing to go along with such explanations of biblical anachronisms, but he is also well aware of Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651), part 3, ch. 33, pp. 263–65), Spinoza's *Theologico-Political Treatise* (1670), ch. 8, pp. 129–32, Richard Simon's *Critical History of the OT* (1682), bk. 1, chs. 3–5, pp. 24–46, and others who argue that the celebrated scribe Ezra (fifth-c. BCE) updated Hebrew place names when he translated the Pentateuch into Chaldaic after the Jews' return from Babylonian exile. See Mather's essay in "Coronis" (IV), following his commentary on Revelation ("BA"); and R. Smolinski, "Authority" (183–86).

Q. A few Remarks on the Other Cities, that were smitten by *Chedorlaomer*, in his Expedition? v. 7.

A. *Ashteroth-Karnaim* was doubtless the *Ashteroth* in the Countrey of *Og*. [Josh. XIII.31.] The Word, *Karnaim*, signifies, *Two-horned*. And some therefore suppose the City to have been built upon *Two Hills*; or to resemble *Two Horns* upon some other Accounts. But it seems more probable, that as *Ashteroth* was an Idol much worshipped in those Parts, and by the same Name, the *Moon* was denoted, so the Name of *Carnaim* comes from their usual way of picturing the *Moon*, with *Two Horns*. The Place might have its Name from the Worship there paid unto this Idol. In the Books of the *Maccabees*, it is called simply, *Carnaim*, and *Carmon*. And *Jerom* tells us, it was in his time called *Carnea*, and was a considerable Town, lying Six Miles from *Adra*; and there they shew *Jobs* dwelling-place.²¹²

Ham, which the LXX & other old Versions render, *With them*: was probably the Capital City of the *Zuzims*; and the same, that was called, *Rabbah*, after it was possessed by the *Ammonites*; which according to the old Geographer *Stephanus*, was once called, *Ammana*, or *Amana*.²¹³

Shaveh-Kirjathaim, or, The Plain of *Kiriathaim*, is the same, that we find a City of *Reuben*. [Josh. XIII.19.]²¹⁴

The Descendents of *Lot* found it no Difficulty to settle in these Parts, after *Chedorlaomer* had so depopulated it. Only the *Rephaim*, notwithstanding that Overthrow by *Chedorlaomer*, seem to have revived, and stood their Ground, & had a King of their own, till the *Israelites*, did by the Divine Assistance conquer them, and putt an End unto their Kingdome.²¹⁵

Q. With what particular Thoughts might *Melchisedek* bring forth his *Bread* & *Wine*, unto victorious *Abraham*? v. 18.

²¹² See Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 14:5 (*Commentary* 1:63). "Ashteroth Karnaim" suggests Ashteroth "of the two horns" or "hills," a city in Bashan (kingdom of Og), where the Phoenician fertility goddess Ashtoreth (Ishtar, Astarte, Venus) was revered. See John Selden's elucidation of the cult of Ashtoreth in his *De Diis Syris* (1617), Syntagma 2, cap. 2, pp. 142–71. The apocryphal 2 Macc. 12:21, 26 mentions this place name. See also St. Jerome commentary on Gen. 14:5 (*Hieronymi Chronicon*), in Eusebius's *Concerning the Place Names* (sec. A [Genesis]: "Ashteroth Karnein" and "Astaroth"). Here Eusebius argues that "Ashteroth" was located "six miles from Adraa." In sec. K [Genesis], Eusebius points out that "Karnaëim," in his day, "is now a large village of Arabia (in a corner of Batanea) which is called Karnaia beyond the (River) Jordan. There according to tradition the house of Job is pointed out."

²¹³ Stephanus Byzantius (665.11). For "Rabbah" or "Rabbath," see Eusebius' *Onomasticon* (sec. R [Kings]). The "Zuzim," according to Rashi, "are the Zamzumim" (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:167b), that is, "the strong and mighty ones" (*Onkelos, Jonathan ben Uziel*, and LXX).

²¹⁴ Or "Valley of Shaveh." Rashi points out that the name designates "to the clear plain. It was clear of trees and of every obstacle" (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:171b).

²¹⁵ According to *SBD*, the Rephaim, or giants, were an aboriginal people who were vanquished by Chedorlaomer. They reemerged, however, in W Palestine (2 Sam. 21:18 ff; 1 Chron. 20:4).

A. *Noah*, in the Blessing of *Shem*, had made him, in a special Manner, the Lord of the Land of *Canaan*; *Chedorlaomer* an Heir of *Elam*, the Son of *Shem*, does bring, this Title from far, into *Canaan*, when the five Cities of the Plain Rebel; and into this War, hee takes Three younger Brothers of the House of *Shem*, to bee his | {Pri}soners. The Children of *Shem*, thus bandying together, in Vindication of their Claim to the Land against the Usurpation of the *Canaanites*, overrun the Countrey. When they were come to *Dan*, the North out-going of the Land, *Abraham* conquereth the Conquerors, and so hee hath a Double Title to the Land, both by Promise, & by Conquest. *Melchisedek* now saw, t'was hee, & his Posterity, for whom the Lord intended the Land, in the Prophetic Spirit of *Noah*, & therefore brought him out, the best Fruits of the Land, as *Livery* & *Seisin* of it. All fear of Claim, from any Sons of *Shem*, were now over, but only of *Aram*, the Youngest, who had no Children in the War. Of him descended *Eliezer*, who was *Abraham's* chief Servant; and hee was like to bee next Heir, if *Abraham* had no Child of his own. But when this Jealousy troubled *Abram*, God removed it.²¹⁶ [320v]

[▽Insert of 321r–322v]

[▽321r]

Q. Can we find any Pagan Tradition of *Melchizedek*? v. {1}8.

A. In the Divinity of the *Phœnicians*, or *Canaanites*, whereof we have a Fragment from *Sanctioniathon*, in the Works of *Eusebius*, there is frequent mention of one *Sidic*, or *Sedec*, which he interprets by the Word, *Just*. Monsr. *Jurieu* makes no Quæstion, but that he is the same with our *Melchizedek*.

But whereas he is made the Father of the Διοσκούροι, and of the *Carybes*, who were the Sons of *Jupiter*, and *Jupiter* was the same with *Ham*; our *Jurieu* laies hold hereon, to support a strange Paradox, of his; That *Ham* the Son of *Noah*, was the same that is now called, *Melchizedek*; A Paradox to which, I suppose, he will not gain many Proselytes.²¹⁷

216 In his “Note book of Authors,” Mather lists as one of his sources on Gen. 14:4 “Nowel’s Abraham in Arms,” i.e., to *Abraham in Arms; Or The first Religious General with his Army* (1678) 1–3, an artillery election sermon, by Samuel Nowell (1634–88). Nowell served as chaplain during New England’s King Philip’s War (1675–76) and was a selectman, treasurer, and supporter of the Old Charter. Heidegger (2:26–46, Exerc. II) details the whole debate about Melchizedek’s identity. According to Rashi, Melchizedek was none other than “Shem, the son of Noah,” and in offering bread and wine, Melchizedek “demonstrated that he bore no grudge against him [Abram] for slaying his sons” (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:172). Ramban adds that Melchizedek saw in Abram’s action that “the House of God will be there [Jerusalem], and there his [Abram’s] descendants will bring the tithe and the Heave-offering, and there they will bless the Eternal” (*Commentary* 1:189).

217 Mather’s primary source is Pierre Jurieu’s *Critical History* (1705), vol. 1, part I, ch. 12, p. 115. The third-hand information about “*Sidi* or *Sedec*” (via Jurieu 115) appears in an extract of Philon of Byblos, who calls him “Suduc, who is named the Just” (Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* 1.10.36a, 37d). Eusebius’s own genealogical derivation is based on Philon of Byblos’s extract from Sanctioniathon, the ancient Phoenician historian, who derives the origin of the “Dioscuri, or Cabeiri, or Corybantes, or Samothraces” from “Suduc” (Mather’s “*Sidic* or *Sedec*”), son of

3406.

Q. *Melchisedech* was King of *Salem*. Was not that *Salem*, the same with *Jerusalem*? v. 18.

A. *Bochart* observes, That *Salem* was in the *Way*, which led from the Valley of *Damascus* unto *Sodom*. *Jerom* saies, That he learn'd from the Jewes in his Time, its being seated on that Side of *Jordan*, which is in the very Text now before us intimated. It retained its Name in the Dayes of our Saviour, as appears by the Story of *Johns* Baptising near *Salim*. [Joh. 3.23.] Several of the Fathers, quoted by *Selden*, are of the same Opinion.

But perhaps, I may endeavour elsewhere, notwithstanding all this, to find *Salem*, in *Jerusalem*.²¹⁸

420.

Q. Who was *Melchisedec*, according to the plainest Intimations of the Scripture? v. 18.

A. The Silence of the *Scripture*, seems to rebuke that Enquiry. The *Scripture* ha's given us no Account of his *Birth*, or his *Death*, or his *Pedigree*. Hee might have those things in *Reality*, tho' Hee had them not in *History*. Why then should wee ask after them? It is clear, that *Melchisedec* was not an *Angel*; as ha's been by some conjectured; For wee are told, *Every High-Priest is taken from among MEN*. But might not *Melchisedec* bee the *Son of God* Himself? Some suppose, that our Lord, as a Blessed *Prælibation*, of His Future *Incarnation*, took on Him, the *Form of a Man*, and was this *Melchisedec*. I have this to object against it; It is said of *Melchisedec*, *Hee was made LIKE the Son of God*: Now, the *Like*, is not the *Same*. It is more doubtful, whether *Shem*, the Son of *Noah*, might not bee *Melchisedec*. Wee are certain, that *Shem* was alive, when *Melchisedec* & *Abraham*, had their famous Interview; and that hee was a Person of great Authority & Veneration

Amynos and Magus, and grandson of none less than Aletae and the Titans (*Praeparatio evangelica* 1.10.36a). In this fashion, Jurieu tries to reconcile the mystery of Melchizedek's genealogy with its pagan version in Sanchoniathon's Phoenician history. However, Mather rejects Jurieu's argument that Melchizedek, the typological antecedent of the NT Christ, descended from the cursed Ham; for according to the Midrash Rabbah (Gen. LVI:10) and rabbinic tradition in the Talmud, Noah's righteous son Shem, not Ham, was the father of Melchizedek (Nedarim 32b).
 218 Simon Patrick's annotation on Gen. 14:18 "*King of Salem*" (*Commentary* 1:65) is Mather's trusty source for the two paragraphs. Patrick's own vademecum is Samuel Bochart (*Geographia*, pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 38, col. 317–18, and esp. pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 4, col. 715–16), who cites St. Jerome's *Epistola* 126 (*Ad Evagrium*) in confirmation of the two distinct cities. St. Jerome's geographic information about "Salem" ("Salmuias") is more than indebted to Eusebius's *Onomasticon* (sec. S, [Genesis]: "Salem"). John Selden (*Historie of Tithes*, p. 452, "Review") cites the opinion of the Church Fathers (St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, Eucherius, and Primasius), who assert that Melchizedek's Salem and the later capital Jerusalem were *not* one and the same city. Mather's endeavor to link the two place names is informed by Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 1.10.2; *Wars* 6.10.1) and Eusebius's *Onomasticon* (see "Ierusalem" [Joshua]; and "Salem," [Genesis], sec. S).

in the World. Learned Men, are exceeding willing, to imagine that they were that *One Person*, under this *Diverse Name*. What hinders from consenting to it is, That wee know the Father of *Shem*; whereas, wee read of *Melchisedec*, [in Heb. VII.] that hee was, *without Genealogy*. In fine; the plainest Account is this. *Melchisedec* was a *Man*, an Holy & a Mighty Man, *probably* descended from *Japhet*, but *certainly* no *Canaanite*; a Man Immediately & Extraordinarily called by God, to bee a glorious *Priest* unto Him, in the Midst of the Sinful Nations that had Apostatized from His Wayes.²¹⁹

[▽322v]

423.

Q. In *Melchisedec*, what was there of our Lord Jesus Christ repræsented unto the World? v. 18.

A. First, It was the Character of *Melchisedec*, *Hee was Priest of the Most High God*. The Rite of *Sacrificing* was common to all Worshippers of old; But *Melchisedec* seems to bee the *First Priest*, whom God Appointed & Approved in the World; the Priest was a Great, a New, an Illustrious Office, conferr'd on this Man, by the *Most High that Ruleth over all*. Thus, there is a glorious *Priesthood*, belonging to the Lord Jesus Christ. There are but Three Scriptures, wherein *Melchisedec* is mentioned; & in one of them, wee find it said of our Lord, Psal. 110.4. *Thou art a Priest forever, after the Order of Melchisedec*. Poor, Fallen, Sinful Man, stands in Infinite Need of such a *Priest*; and admirably fitted by His Two *Natures*, in *One Person*, our Lord, is to do the Work of a *Priest* for us; effectually to make a *Compensation* to God for our *Fault*: [Isa. 53.11. Heb. 10.10. Act. 20.28.] and an *Intercession* with God, for our *Help*. [Heb. 8.1.]²²⁰

Again; *Melchisedec* was a *Priest*, who came not so to bee, by *Succession*, or, *Election* from other Men; it was a solemn *Designation* of God, that Invested him in that Sacred Function. Thus, the Lord Jesus Christ became a *Priest*, at the *Call*, & by the *Act*, of the Almighty God. For this Cause is Hee styled, *A Priest after [the Order] of Melchisedec*. [Heb. 5.4, 5, 6. Consider, Joh. 6.27. and Joh. 8.42.] Hee had the *Word* of God, yea, the *Oath* of God, encouraging Him, to undertake a *Priesthood* on our behalf.

²¹⁹ Heidegger (2:29–30, Exerc. II, §§ 5, 6), Bochart (*Geographia*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 1, col. 69), Henry Ainsworth's (*Annotations* [1627], 1:56), Rashi (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:172), the Chaldee Paraphrasts Targum Jonathan ben Uziel and Hierosolymitanum (Walton 4:24), *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (ch 8, p. 153; ch. 27, p. 195), and *Baal Hatturim* (1:114) – all agree that Melchizedek was Shem, but Mather is clearly not happy with this consensus, because he conjectures that Melchizedek was none other than Jesus Christ. Heb. 7:1–3 asserts that Melchizedek was without father, mother, and descent (genealogy). Josephus Flavius (*Jewish Wars* 6.10) identifies Melchizedek, “a potent man among the Canaanites,” as the founder of Jerusalem and builder of its first temple.

²²⁰ Heidegger (2:33, Exerc. II, § 10). Ps. 103:19. Matthew Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:154–55).

Further, It was the Honour of *Melchisedec* to bee both a *Priest* and a *King*: the God of Heaven made him a *King*, that hee might bee a more Noted, & a more Able *Priest*. Thus, There is a Blessed Conjunction of these two *Glories* in our Lord Jesus Christ. [Ps. 2.6.] It was long since observed, That tho' the other Tribes of *Israel* did not marry with one another, yett the Tribes of *Levi* & of *Judah* did; which a little intimated the Meeting of the *Priestly* and the *Kingly* Power, in our Lord. But what sort of a *King* is Hee? Hee is a, *Melchisedec*; which is, by some, rendred, *My Righteous King*; but by the Apostle, *The King of Righteousness*. That Name, was, no doubt, by divine Direction, putt upon *Melchisedec*; Hence, *Adonizedec*, a Name of a like Import, was used by the Princes, that came after him. Even such a *King*, is our Lord; There is a spotless *Righteousness*, to bee seen in that *King*. [Psal. 45.6, 7.] And there is a Perfect *Righteousness*, to bee had from that *King*. [Jer. 23.6.]²²¹

Furthermore, Tis said of *Melchisedec*, *Hee was King of Salem, which is King of Peace*. What *Salem* was it? I know, that generally, they will not have it be that *Salem*, a City near to *Sychem*, where, in the Dayes of *Jerom*, the pretended Ruines of *Melchisedecs* Palace were to bee seen. The Most suppose that, *Jerusalem* is intended by *Salem* here: *Jerusalem*, I say, which was once called *Salem*, and which lay in *Abrahams* Road, Inviting him there to pay a Visit unto *Melchisedec*. If it be so, This was not without a *Mystery*! Where our *Melchisedec* is, there *Salem* is; there *Jerusalem* is; there, a *Vision of Peace*. That vastly comprehensive Good, *Peace*, is to bee had with and from our Lord. At His Birth, it was the Song of the *Angels*, (taken out of the Eighty fifth Psalm) *Peace on Earth*! [See Mic. 5.5. Joh. 14.27. Isa. 9.6. Eph. 2.18.] But in what Order is this *Peace* to bee enjoy'd? First wee are to make sure of *Righteousness*. [See Isa. 32.17.]²²²

Moreover, There was this in the Carriage of *Melchisedec* to *Abraham*, *Hee Blessed him*; a *Sacerdotal*, & an *Authoritative* Blessing was herein dispensed. Thus our Lord Jesus Christ; Hee do's *Pronounce*, and *Convey*, the Good Things of God, unto all that belong unto Him. [Eph. 1.3.] This was His *Errand* when Hee came into the World. [Act. 3.26.] And His *Design* when Hee went out of it: [Luc. 24.51.]²²³

Add here unto, When *Abraham* had been subduing of the *Canaanites*, then *Melchisedec* brought out *Bread & Wine*, for the Entertainment of his Army. It was the Manner of the Countrey to show that Civility unto the *Forces* of their Neighbours, with which they were in Amity. It is a Foolish & a Popish Mistake, that there was any *Sacrifice* in this *Bread & Wine*. Yett it was an admirable Shadow of the *Supports* and *Comforts*, which our Lord hath, for those that are

221 Josh. 10:1. Adonizedek, king of Jerusalem, was slain by Joshua. "Adoni-zedek" suggests "my lord is righteous" [Strong's # 0139].

222 Heidegger (2:39–41, Exerc. II, §§ 20–21); Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 1, col. 69; pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 4, col. 714–16). See also note 221 (above).

223 Heidegger (2:45, Exerc. II, § 28).

engaged in the *Wars of God*. [Psal. 65.4.] Indeed, I cannot but suspect, that the *Four Monarchs* conquered by *Abraham*, were *Types* of the *Four Monarchies* in the World; the *Four Monarchies*, whereby successively, the Church of God in the World, ha's been Oppressed & Abused. When they shall bee all subdued before the *Church of God*, then comes the *Supper of the Lamb*, then the *Bread and Wine*, in the *New Jerusalem*. Yea, our *Melchisedec* often sett's *Bread* and *Wine* before us, in the Sacrament of the *Eucharist*; which the true Children of *Abraham* will bee lothe to turn their Backs upon. Our Title to that Ordinance, may bee tried by this; *Do wee Fight for God?*²²⁴

Finally; Wee read, *Abraham gave to Melchisedec, a Tenth Part of all*. This, the one Gave, in a way of *Duty*, the other Took, in a way of *Office*. Well; *Melchisedec* is yett alive; there is a *Tribute* and an *Homage*, due to our *Priest* on High. Our Lord Jesus Christ ha's His *Ministers* [consider, Gal. 6.6.] and His *Poor Members*; [consider, Prov. 28.27.] Wee can give no good Account of our *Talents*, if these are not considered; and a *Tenth Part* is due to our Lord.²²⁵

It might have been added; Wee find not, that *Melchisedec* had any *Father*, or any *Mother*. Thus our Lord, as *Man*, had no *Father*; as *God*, had no *Mother*. Besides, Neither *Birth*, nor *Death*, is related of *Melchisedec*. Thus, our Lord, in His *Divine Person*, Hee never *did* know any *Birth*; in His *Humane Nature*, Hee now never *shall* know any *Death*. But, *Manum dè Tabulâ*.²²⁶

[△Insert ends]

[△]

Q. Why do the Patriarchs, *Melchisedec* and *Abraham*, still call the Lord, *The Most High God, Possessor of Heaven & Earth*? v. 19, 22.

A. They call'd Him *The Most High God, Creator of Heaven & Earth*. And they did it, for the same Reason that they were to keep a *Sabbath*; even, to keep up the Memory of the *Creation*. The כִּבְּרָא *Cæli ac Terræ*, here, signifies not so much the, *Possessor*, as the, *Creator*, of *Heaven & Earth*. By the same Token, that the LXX, render it, ὃς ἐκτίσε, *qui creavit, condidit*. And *Maimonides*, proving that *Abraham* was well acquainted with the Doctrine of, *The Worlds Beginning*, sais, *Hinc est, quòd Invocavit Nomen Domini Dei Mundi: Huc etiam, respicite, dum*

²²⁴ Heidegger (2:41–42, Exerc. II, § 22). Mather typologically links the four vanquished kings (Gen. 14:1) with those in Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the Four Monarchies that would be succeeded by the Fifth Monarchy of Christ's millennium (Dan. 2:31–45).

²²⁵ For the parable of the talents, see Matt. 25:15–28.

²²⁶ Heidegger (2:29–32, Exerc. II, §§ 6–7). See also Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:154–55). For Mather's typological parallels between Melchizedek and Christ, see also Samuel Mather's *Figures and Types* (1683) 87–88, 99–102; New England's own poet-priest Edward Taylor (1642–1729), however, dismissed the identity of Melchizedek and Christ as a daydream. The most he allowed was a typological relationship between OT and NT type and antitype. For Taylor, Melchizedek probably was “a Godly, & Eminent man of God of Chams posterity” (*Upon the Types of the OT* [1989] 1:49). See also Dr. John Prideaux, *Viginti-Duae Lectiones* (1648), Oratio V, pp. 40–49 (second series of pagination). Mather's laconic ending reads, “[I withdraw my] hand from the writing tablet.”

ait, creatorem Cæli et Terræ. Such a Sense of this Phrase, is also more agreeable to the August Style wherein the Lord is elsewhere usually mentioned. Nor is it to be forgotten, that the LXX render the Word /קִנִּי/ [Prov. 8.22.] ἐκτισέ με; and the Chaldee renders it, /כִּבְרֵאֵי/ *Hee created mee.*²²⁷

668.

Q. Of *Abraham* paying *Tithes*, to the Priest of the Lord, what Foot-steps in *Pagan Antiquitie?* v. 20.

A. *Censorinus* proves, that it was a general Usage among the Pagan Worshipers, to offer their *First-fruits*, unto some of their Deities. And innumerable Histories make it evident, that their Usage of paying *Tithes*, was as Antient as General. *Plutarch* shewes, That a doing of this, not out of Compulsion, but out of Gratitude, was a considerable Part of the old *Roman* Religion. Hee particularly tells us, That *Camillus* faithfully rendred unto *Apollo*, the Tenth of his Booties; and that *Lucullus* grew Rich, because hee exactly practised the laudable Custome of rendring the Tenth to *Hercules*. That the Payment of *Tithes*, was usual among the *Greeks*, is notorious, from the Dictate of the Oracle.

Δεκατην εκπεμψατε Φοιβω:

and from the Delphic Inscription,

Οφρα θεω δεκατην ακροθινα τε κρεμασαιμεν.

From whence *Apollo* had the Name of Δεκατηφορος. And what *Herodotus* relates, of *Cyrus*, his paying *Tithes* to *Jupiter*, after a Victory; intimates what was usual among the *Persians* too. For other Nations, it was grown into an universal and unchangeable Custome, to offer the Tenth, unto some God, *Post*

²²⁷ In his "Note Book of Authors" on Gen. 14:18, 19, 20, Mather identifies as one of his sources "J. Prideaux ii Lectiones." This somewhat cryptic notation refers to a 1620 inaugural lecture given at Oxford, by Dr. John Prideaux (1578–1650), Rector of Exeter College, Oxford, Regius professor of divinity, and later bishop of Worcester. More specifically, Mather has in mind "Oratio V: *De Decimis*" (Gen. 14: 18, 19, 20) appended to *Viginti-duae Lectiones* (1648), Oratio V, pp. 41–49 (second series of pagination). Here, Prideaux examines the question of whether Melchizedek, prince of Salem, to whom Abraham paid his tithes was really a human being, or rather a manifestation of Jesus Christ long before his incarnation, an interpretation which Mather clearly favors. Evidently guided by Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 14:19 (*Commentary* 1:65), Mather also draws on *Legibus Hebraeorum Ritualibus* (1685), lib. 1, cap. 4, sec. 10, pp. 84–85, by John Spencer (1630–93), Dean of Corpus Christi, Cambridge, Hebraist, and founder of comparative religion. The Hebrew noun קָנָה (qanah) [Strong's # B8889] and the Latin phrase *Cæli ac Terræ* signify respectively "Creator" and "of Heaven and Earth." The Greek phrase "ὁς ἐκτίσῃ" (LXX, Gen. 14:19) suggests "who created" or "made." Mather's second-hand citation (via Spencer 84–85) from Johannes Buxtorf's Latin translation of Maimonides's *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), pars 2, cap. 13, p. 217, points out that the creation of the world "proclaimed, therefore [even] 'the name of the Lord God of the Universe.' [Gen. 21.33]; and he had [even] previously expressed this theory in the words, 'The Possessor of heaven and earth.' [Gen. 14, 22]" (*Guide* 2.13.172). The LXX (Prov. 8:22) renders the Hebrew קָנָה [qanahni] "possessed" or "created" and the Greek ἐκτίσεν με [ektisen me] "created me." For the Chaldee Paraphrast on Prov. 8:22, see Walton (3:336).

Rem benè gestam, as it is expressed by *Servius*; yea, so indispensable a Peece of Religion, it became, that *Suidas* observes, *Δεκατευειν*, was as much as *καθιερουν*, to *consecrate*.²²⁸

Now, tho' the Law of Nature, might putt Men, upon offering *some* of their Increase, unto Him, from whom they received the *whole*, yett this particular *Quota* there is no Law of Nature for. It is as Reasonable to give a *Ninth*, or a *Seventh*, as a *Tenth*. Wherefore tis plain, that the Pagans received this *Rite*, from the positive Law, observed among the Jewes. Contrary to the Opinion of the learned *Spencer*, the learned *Selden* demonstrates, that the *Phœnicians*, & *Egyptians*, and others, who were Neighbours to the Jewes, received this Rite from the Jewish Nation; and from these it was transmitted unto the other Gentiles farther off. And if it can bee proved, That some Heathen, before the Jewish Dispensation, offered their *Tithes*, wee may justly assert, that some of the *Patriarchs* before the Law, gave Occasion for their doing so. The most Ancient Instance, is that of *Abraham*.²²⁹

²²⁸ Among Mather's primary sources for this paragraph are John Selden's *Historie of Tithes* (1618), ch. 3, esp. pp. 27–33; and Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum Ritualibus* (1685), lib. 3, Diss. I, cap. 10, sec. 2, pp. 620–21. Censorinus (*De die natali* 4.5). Plutarch (*Camillus* 5.4–9; 7.6–8.8), *Plutarch's Lives* (2:106–09, 112–15), relates how the celebrated Roman general M. Furius Camillus dedicated the tenth part of his spoils of his conquest of Veii (396 BCE) to Apollo's shrine at Delphi. Lucullus Licinius Lucullus (117–56 BCE), Roman consul, was the richest man of Rome after Crassus (KP); Plutarch (*Lucullus* 39–42; *Plutarch's Lives* 2:598–605). The dictate of Apollo's Oracle, engraved on a tripod in Zeus's temple precinct, commands to "send a tithe to Phoebus," and variously appears in Dionysius Halicarnassensis (*Antiquitates Romanae* 1.19.3, line 8), Stephanus Byzantius (8.9), and *Anthologiae Graecae Appendix (Oracula*, epigr. 177.3). The Delphic inscription *ὄφρα θεῶν δεκάτην ἀκροθινιά τε κρεμάσαιμεν / σταθμῶν ἐκ ζαθέων καὶ κίονος ὑψηλοῖο*, which Mather extracts at second hand from Selden's *Historie of Tithes* (ch. 3, sec. 3, pp. 29–30), appears in Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 1.24.164, subsec. 3, line 3) and admonishes worshippers "That to the god first-fruits and tithes we may / On sacred pillars and on lofty columns hang" (*ANF* 2:337). According to Pausanias (1.42.5), Apollo Decatephorus was thus nicknamed "Bringer of Tithes." Herodotus (1.131–32; 4.152, 5.77, 9.81) describes the sacrificial ritual and instances several occasions where tithes were offered in thanksgiving to the gods "after a well-conducted business" (Servius's *In Vergilii carmina commentaria*). The *Suda* (*Lexicon*, alphabetic letter *delta*, entry 181, line 1; and entry 182, lines 1) defines "Dekateuein" as "tithing." "Kathieroun" or rather "kathieroi" suggests "to sacrifice" or "consecrate," in *Suda* (*Lexicon*, alphabetic letter *kappa*, entry 91, line 1). Mather extracts these second-hand Greek citations from Selden's *Historie of Tithes* (1618), ch. 3, p. 32.

²²⁹ Characteristic for his time, Mather and most of his peers argue that the ancient biblical patriarchs (as related by Moses) were the source for all religious rites and customs, which quickly deteriorated into idolatrous practice when they spread among the pagans. This time-honored view came under attack when John Spencer argued in *De Legibus Hebraeorum Ritualibus* (1685), lib. 3, Diss. I, cap. 9–10, pp. 607–26, and elsewhere, that many Hebrew rituals, as codified by Moses, were actually borrowed from the Israelites' pagan neighbors, especially from the much more ancient civilization of Egypt, in whose cults Moses had been reared. Mather thus contrasts Spencer's disturbing revelations with the conservative ones of John Selden (*Historie of Tithes*, ch. 3, pp. 24–34), for whom the Israelite rites are still ensconced in the framework of divine revelation. This issue was also debated by Dr. John Prideaux's 1616 address, "De Sapiientia Ægyptiorum" (Act. 7:22), appended to Prideaux's *Viginti-Duae*

[321r–322v inserted into 320v]

[323r]

Q. We may bring *Abrahams* War, & the affayr of *Melchizedek*, under a further Consideration? v. 24.

A. A late Writer, whose Name is *Fleming*, ha's employ'd some Thoughts on those notable Subjects. And some of those Thoughts, appear to me, not unworthy to be offered among our Illustrations.²³⁰

We find, *Melchizedek*, to be not only, a *Priest of the Most High God*, but also a King, at the *Salem* of the *Jebusities*. It is clear, from *Psal.* 76.2. That *Jerusalem* was once called *Salem*. And it is probable, That the Psalmist there alludes to the History of *Abraham* defeating the Four Kings, & being afterwards Mett and Blest by *Melchizedek*. He saies, *There brake He the Arrowes of the Bowe, the Shield, & the Sword, & the Battle. Thou art more glorious & excellent than Mountains of Prey.* There did God break the Power of the Insulting Kings, by the Hand of *Abraham*, who on that Occasion received the Patriarchal Blessing, from the King of *Salem*. And there it was, that *Abraham* gave this Testimony to the Honour of the Service of God, that He reckoned the Lord more glorious and excellent, than *Mountains*, or mountainous Heaps of *Prey*, which he took from those Kings; but whereof he would not receive to the Value of a *Shoe-latchet*, lest it should be said, that he grew rich any other Way than the Blessing of God.²³¹

That we may understand the History of *Melchizedek*, the War between the *Four Kings* and the *Five*, must be considered.

The King of *Sodom* & the neighbouring Princes, having Rebelled against *Chedorlaomer* the King of *Elam*, after they had been for Twelve Years Tributary to him: *Chedorlaomer*, with the assistance of Three confoederate Princes, endeavours again to subjugate them. They begin their Invasion, at the *North* End of the Land, without *Jordan*; and there defeating the King of *Sodom*, with his Associates, flusht with Success, he proposes an entire Conquest of the Land within *Jordan* also. He enters into the South Part of *Canaan*, and passes on victorious as far as *Hebron*, close by which *Abraham* then lived, in the Valley of *Mamre*. This he pass'd by, and penetrated unto the Borders of *Dan*, which was not far from *Salem*, or *Jerusalem*; tho' we hear nothing of his having any Design upon that Place neither. The Countrey being under a great Consternation, *Abraham*,

Lectiones (1648), Concio 1, pp. 1–10 (third series of pagination). For modern discussions, see P. Rossi's *Dark Abyss* (chs. 22–26), F. Schmidt's "Polytheisms" (9–60), J. Assmann's *Moses the Egyptian* (chs. 3–4), and F. Parente's "Spencer" (277–304).

²³⁰ Mather's commentary on Gen. 14:24 is extracted from *Loganthropos* (1707), in *Christology: A Discourse Concerning Christ* (1705–08), vol. 2, bk. 3, ch. 6, pp. 562–74, by Robert Fleming (1660–1716), Presbyterian divine, and son of the eminent Scottish clergyman by the same name. An ardent millennialist, Fleming studied at Leiden and Utrecht, succeeded his father as minister of a congregation at Rotterdam, but finally returned to London, where he ministered at Lothbury until his death.

²³¹ Fleming, *Christology* (2:562–63, bk. 3, ch. 6).

who was also more particularly concerned for his Kinsman *Lot*, now a Captive in the hands of the Enemy, with his Forces parts from *Hebron*, which was about Eighteen Miles from *Jerusalem*, to the South. From *Hebron* he bears away to the N. W. or, N. N. W. after the Enemy; & gives them a Defeat, near the Borders of *Dan*, & therefore not far from *Jerusalem*: (which is evident, in that the City of *Baalab*, or, *Kirjath-jearim*, was so in the Border of *Judah*, & of *Dan*, as be ascribed unto both: [Josh. 15.29. and, Josh. 19.24.] The City belonged unto *Judah*, & the Fields unto *Dan*; and that City, was, according to *Lightfoot*, about Six or Seven Miles from *Jerusalem*.) *Abraham* indeed pursued the Enemy some Dayes Journey Northward, after the Defeat; but then he Returned unto *Jerusalem* with all his Booty. And there it was, that he had his Interview with *Melchizedek*.²³²

The Place of the Interview, was, *The Vale of Shaveh*, or, *The Kings Dale*. This Place may be easily found. It was the very Place, where *Absalom* erected his Pillar; [2. Sam. 18.18.] the *Remains* whereof continue to this very Day, as we are informed, both by Jewes and Christians, who have Travelled thither. Now, this *Vale*, or *Dale*, which was anciently called *The Kings Dale*, because the Kings there diverted themselves in their Chariots, & in other Amusements, was but Two Furlongs without the Walls of *Jerusalem*. It lay just under the Temple, to the East, between that, & the Mount *Olivet*, the Brook of *Cedron* running thro' it; And it is supposed the same, that was afterwards called, The Valley of *Jehoshaphat*; unto the South of which lay the Valley of *Gehinnom*. From which it appears, that *Jerom* and his Followers, are mistaken, when they assign another *Salem*, for the Habitation of *Melchizedek*. | Hence he thinks it plain, that *Melchizedek* was a Man living at *Jerusalem*, so eminent, for his Righteousness, both as a *Prince* and as a *Priest*, that he came to be known by that Name alone, *The Righteous King*, or, *Melchizedek*. He was, the *Priest of the Most High God*; in Opposition to those who were *Priests* of the lesser Deities, which began by this time to be worshipped, as the *Tutelary Gods* of Tribes and Provinces. There is no Foundation for any Opinion, that he was an *Angel*; much less, that he was the *Logos* appearing as a *Man*.²³³ [324v]

As he goes under the Name of *Melchizedek* indeed, he ha's no *Father* nor *Mother*. And as he was a *Priest* & a *Prince* also, he was *without Descent*; he was not possess'd of those Offices in the ordinary Way of *Descent*, by the Right of *Primogeniture*. He had these by an Immediate Grant from God, as *Jacob* afterwards had the Blessing. In like Manner, he was without *Descent* and *End of Life*; because his *Priesthood* did not descend unto any Man after him, as that of *Aaron* did. So he *abides a Priest continually*, in the lasting Register of the Scriptures, which speaks of him, as containing all his *Species* in himself; none succeeding

²³² Fleming (2:563–64). Gen. 14:1–11. Mather (via Fleming 2:564) refers to John Lightfoot's commentary on John 3:23, in *Harmony of the Four Evangelists ... The Third Part* (1650) 51-[52], mispaginated [56].

²³³ Fleming (2:564–65). Gen. 14:18, John 3:23. (See also note 221, above).

him in his Patriarchate, until our Saviour came, & in an higher Sense, took it up.²³⁴

Fleming, like many others before him, will by all means have him, to be *Shem*; the Second Son of *Noah*; to whom the *First Blessing*, & the Right of Primogeniture, was transferred by God Inspiring of his Father to declare it.²³⁵

The Land of *Canaan*, and particularly *Jerusalem*, was marked out by God, for to be the great *Theatre*, where the most Remarkable Transactions were to be carried on, in a Gradation of several Scenes, down from *Shem* to the *Messiah*. And it is a thing worthy of Remark, That the Peculiarity, both of *Shems Blessing*, and of *Hams Curse*, is Relative to the Dominion and Possession of that Countrey. Therefore *Ham*, is in the Malediction mentioned, but as *the Father of Canaan*; and he is cursed but by the Name of *Canaan*, his youngest Son. The other Sons of *Ham*, namely, *Cush* and *Mizraim*, and *Phut*, are exempted from the *Curse*. 'Tis a *Vulgar Error*, that the *Curse* was upon all *Hams* Posterity. The *Curse* on *Canaan* was, that he should be a *Servant*, unto his Brethren; *first* unto *Shem*; and *afterwards* unto *Japhet*. All which, both *Literally*, and *Spiritually*, ha's been accomplished.²³⁶

Canaan took Possession of the Land which took its Name from him; & there he had a Numerous Posterity, whereof *Moses* reckons up *Eleven Tribes*; [Gen. 10.15, 16, 17, 18.] But then he adds, *And afterwards were the Families of the Canaanites spread abroad*. It seems, that afterward, some Grandson, or Great Grandson of *Canaan*, of his own Name, who erected a *New Tribe*, which made up the Number of *Twelve* in all. For, besides, that all those Tribes were sometimes called by the general Name of *Canaanites*, we find, that there was *one particular Tribe*, unto which that Name was peculiarly appropriated. [See particularly, Josh. 11.3.]²³⁷

This, by the way, affords a clear Comment, unto a dark Place of Scripture; Deut. 32.8, 9. *When the Most High divided to the Nations their Inheritance, when He separated the Sons of Adam, He sett the Bounds of the People, according to the Number of the Children of Israel*. The Most High *Divided* unto the *Several Nations* descending from *Noah*, their several Allotments of the World, which they were to Inherit and Inhabit. Afterwards He *Separated*, and Scattered Abroad those Sons of *Adam*, or Transgression, who, at *Babel* were confœderated, to oppose the Order of God by *Noah*, as to the Allotments that had been assign'd unto them. In both of these Times, God evidenced His Respect unto His People

²³⁴ Fleming (2:566).

²³⁵ Fleming (2:566).

²³⁶ Fleming (2:567). Mather rejects the common belief that Noah's curse is responsible for Ham's dark-skinned African offspring, or that the primordial curse excludes Africans from election and salvation. See Mather's *Negro Christianized* (2–25) and *Threefold Paradise* (312–13). See also S. R. Haynes (*Noah's Curse* 23–61).

²³⁷ Fleming (2:567–68). Gen. 10.18.

Israel, tho' they were not then Actually in being; by appointing the Land of *Canaan*, to be their Inheritance. And that even when the *Canaanites* usurped the Land, which was by God and *Noah* appropriated unto the Posterity of *Shem*, still he did so order Matters, that the *Bounds of their Habitation* were marked out for *Twelve Tribes*, according to the Number of the Tribes of *Israel*, which were to be the True & Lasting Possessors of that Countrey.

| These Children of *Canaan*, to fulfil the Curse, were either cutt off, or made Slaves, to *Israel*, the Posterity of *Shem*; And afterwards, both *Israelites*, & subjugated *Canaanites*, were enslaved by the *Romans*, the Posterity of *Japhet*.²³⁸ [325r]

Now, tho' *Canaan* had siezed upon this Countrey, contrary to the Order of *Noah*, yett *Shem* fixes his Seat in *Salem*; taking Possession thus of the Countrey, by Vertue of the Promise, as knowing, that his Posterity would Recover a Right unto it, & the *Canaanites* become *Servants* unto them.

Shem was alive, above an hundred & threescore Years, after the Battel of *Abraham* with the *Four Kings*. And he was now, *De Jure*, King and Priest of the whole World; for his Father *Noah* was Dead above fourscore Years before this famous Battel. Then, why should not he be *Melchizedek*? To make *Melchizedek* a *Canaanitish King*, (which we may well wonder to see, our great *Calvin* do!) is to make one of the *Accursed Seed*, not only greater than *Abraham*, but also to hand over, unto him, the *Blessing* that *Noah* gave to *Shem*. In short, who but the *First Patriarch*, might act as a Superior to *Abraham*, who was himself a *Patriarch*?²³⁹

By considering the Occasion of *Chedorlaomers* War, we shall gain further Light in the Matter.

Shem had *Four Sons*; namely, *Elam*, *Ashur*, *Arphaxad*, & *Aram*. No doubt, *Shem* acquainted them with *Noahs* Prophecy, and his own Claim to the *First Blessing* upon it; By Vertue whereof, he had a Right unto the Land of *Canaan*, tho' the Posterity of *Ham* had surprized it into their Possession. *Elam* therefore, as the eldest Son, did justly lay Claim to the Countrey of *Canaan*; tho' he found himself not able to conquer it, and so he removed further into the Heart of *Asia*; occupying the Countrey, which from him was called *Elam*, and afterwards, *Persia*. In the mean time, *Shems* youngest Son *Aram*, having probably a more Numerous Posterity than his elder Brethren, took an early Possession of Part of the Land of *Canaan*; from whom the *Syrians* descended. In Process of Time, the *Elamites*, did increase in their Number and Power; and in spite of *Nimrods* Attempts, they remain'd unconquered, & had their own Princes to govern them.²⁴⁰

²³⁸ Fleming (2:568–69). Act. 17:26.

²³⁹ Fleming (2:569–70). Fleming (and Mather) here follow the chronology of James Ussher's *Annals of the World* (1658); both Fleming and Mather take exception to John Calvin's position (*Commentaries* 1.1:345, 386–91) that Melchizedek, living in Canaan, is a descendant of Ham's cursed son, rather than of Shem.

²⁴⁰ Fleming (2:570–71). Gen. 10:22 includes Lud as one of Shem's five sons. Mic. 5:6.

Chedorlaomer, a Descendent from *Elam*, grew so considerable, that he conquered the Land of *Canaan*; & possessed it, for Twelve Years, and until the King of *Sodom* & his Associates, found themselves able to shake him off. Hereupon, *Chedorlaomer* again asserts his Title to his Countrey; as being the First Male-Branch of *Shems* Posterity. Tho' in this probably he acted, as an Headstrong Man; & consulted not with *Shem*, his great Ancestor, from whom his Right was Derivative, concerning it.²⁴¹

Shem, no doubt, was now well acquainted with *Abraham*, & his Vocation, & the Promise for the Land of *Canaan*, which God had given him. On which Account, he would hardly have patronized *Chedorlaomer*, in his present Expedition. It is rather probable, that he encouraged *Abraham* against him, as against a præsumptuous Invader, acting without his Advice or Consent. And it is not improbable, That *Chedorlaomer* might be advertized of *Abrahams* Claim to this Land; For his Removal thither, doubtless made a great Noise in those Dayes; & the *Elamites* could not but be Jealous of his Intentions.

Abraham, falls upon the Adventurous King & his Associates, as you know, & routs them; recovering all that they had carried away. This *Victory* was a Pledge of the Certainty of what God had promised; that his Posterity should possess that Countrey; And it confirm'd his Title to it.²⁴²

[326v] On the Fame hereof, good old *Shem*, whom all Men Reverenced as the *Righteous King*, and the *Priest* of the Supreme Lord of the World, comes forth from *Salem*; where he enjoyed & promoted an *Happy Peace* among Men; & he meets *Abraham*, & Blesses him; as now most clearly perceiving, in *what Branch* of his Posterity, God would accomplish the Prophecy of his Father *Noah*, That *Canaan should be his Servant*. He therefore hands over to *Abraham*, that Part of the *Blessing*, which *Noah* had given unto him; in Words, almost of the same Import with those, which | *Noah* had used, unto himself. Only he acted a prudent Part, in so wording himself, that he might not expose *Abraham*, unto the united Rage of the *Canaanites*; especially at this time, now they were his *Confederates*. He did not expressly say, *Canaan shall be his Servant*. But *Abraham* knew what he meant; even, That *the Most High God, Possessor of Heaven & Earth*, had now discovered, unto whom He was to *Dispose* that Part of the Habitable Earth.²⁴³

After *Shem*, there never was any other *Universal Patriarch* of the whole World. Our glorious *Messiah* ha's the only Claim unto it. The Dragon at *Rome*, who would claim it, is a vile Usurper.²⁴⁴

²⁴¹ Fleming (2:572).

²⁴² Fleming (2:572–73). Gen. 14:8–9, 13, 17.

²⁴³ Fleming (2:573–74). Gen. 14:18–24; Gen. 9:25–26.

²⁴⁴ Fleming (2:574–75). Mather's diatribe against the Roman Pontiff is perfectly consistent with the view of Protestant millennialists who identify the pope with Antichrist. See Mather's *Threefold Paradise* (71–76, 187, 291, 319–43).

One Objection that militates against *Shems* being *Melchizedek*, is; That *Shems* Genealogy is upon Record. But the Answer is; Tis so, as he is a *Shem*, & as a Man; Tis not so, as he is a *Melchizedek*, and as *King of Salem*.²⁴⁵

Q. Our finding of *Melchizedek* among the *Canaanites*, invites us to enquire after the Condition of Religion among the People of *Canaan*? v. 24.

A. Monsr. *Jurieu* thinks, That GOD had yett preserved a considerable People among them. Tho' from the Time of *Abraham*, GOD laid the Foundation of the Distinction, which He intended between the *Israelites*, and the Nations which He afterwards Rejected, yett the Rejection of them went on very gradually. *Job* and his Friends, were in all Probability Contemporaries with *Abraham*. The Church was then distinguished, not by *Nations*, but by Families: One Family in the same Nation worshipped the True GOD, while another adored Idols; For which Cause, the Jews call this Period of the Church, by the Name of *Tohu*; The Faithful now living in a very confused & chaotic Manner, intermixed with Idolaters; and every one acting as he thought fitt himself in Matters of Religion. Be sure, The *Canaanites* were not at this time universally corrupted. The Courtesy they expressed unto *Abraham* a professed Enemy to Idolatry, carries along with it, a great Character of Honesty. *Abimelek* the King of *Gerar*, is one whom GOD appears unto; otherwise than to *Pharaoh* the King of *Egypt*, which was then doubtless deeper plunged into Idolatry. The Words of *Abimelek* unto GOD, shew his Knowledge of Him. He also beleev'd the *Prophets* of the True GOD. And his Covenant with *Abraham* declares him no Worshipper of Idols. This *Abimelek*, or a Successor, treats *Isaac*, as a Man of Conscience, & as one that feared GOD. The *Shechemites*, act like People, not only of Good Morals, but having the Fear of GOD in them. The Words of *Abraham*, in his Intercession for *Sodom*, imply a Possibility of Meeting with *Fifty Righteous Men* in that vitious Town. Had the *Shechemites* been *Idolaters*, the Sons of *Jacob*, would have proposed *that*, as well as their being *uncircumcised*, for an Objection against coming into an Union with them. *Rebeckah* goes to *enquire of the Lord*. It seems by this, there was a true *Prophet* of GOD in the neighbourhood.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁵ Fleming (2:575). Although Fleming asserts that Shem and Melchizedek are one and the same person, Mather prefers a typological reading of the whole matter, that Melchizedek was an OT type of the NT Christ – perhaps even Christ in person who appeared to Abraham in OT times. For Mather's discussion of Shem's descendants, see his commentary on Gen. 10:32 (above).

²⁴⁶ Mather here excerpts Pierre Jurieu's *Critical History* (1705), vol. 1, part 1, ch. 10, pp. 92–93, 94, 95. For the period of the world's "Tohu" ("Chaos"), see the Talmudic tractate Chagigah (12a) and Midrash Rabbah (Gen. I:5, 9, II:2). "Tohu" and "Bohu" ("chaos" and "desolation"), a period of 2,000 years, is followed by 2,000 years of the Law, and finally, by 2,000 years of the Messiah. For God appearing to Abimelech, Abimelech's covenant with Abraham, and treatment of Isaac, see Gen. 20:3–4; 21:27; 26:8–16.

[327r]

Q. But lett us resume, that most vexed Quæstion; *Who and what was Melchizedek?* v. 24.

A. We might be satisfied, with some or other of the Accounts, which the Sons of Erudition have given of that wonderful Person.²⁴⁷

And among these, be sure we should much rather take up with Dr. *Willets* Notion, of his being *Shem*; which he attempts to demonstrate, as a Man that *can render a Reason*, yea, No less than *Seven* very probable *Reasons*; – much rather, than with Mr. *Jurieu*'s extravagant Fancy, of his being *Ham*: which one would think were a Fancy no Man could have started, without proposing to shew and strain his Witt, at advancing a Paradox.²⁴⁸

But we have seen a yett more likely Candidate for an ungenealogized *Melchizedek*, than either of these.

And yett, no System of Thoughts on this Head, ha's hitherto come up to the *Idea*, which our Apostle *Paul* gives us of *Melchizedek*; especially, when he makes the *Tithes* paid by *Abraham* to *Melchizedek*, an Homage which all the Priests of the Old Law, and all the Levitical Ministry, paid unto our SAVIOUR; And he proceeds to argue & extol the Superiority of *Melchizedek* above the *Levitical* Priests, inasmuch as they who took Tithes were but Mortal Men, and so did not on the Dignity of their Nature, which was but corruptible & perishable pretend unto them; whereas *Melchizedek* received them as due from the Eminence of his Perfection, and the Duration of his Existence; and as being one who *Liveth forever*.²⁴⁹

It is very unlikely, that the Apostle should employ the *Silence* of the Sacred History, to describe the Real Qualities of a Person: One might by that Rule go on, and exceedingly *Lessen* rather than *Greaten* the Character of our SAVIOUR. Particularly, From the *Silence* of the Scripture, about the Length of the Time wherein *Melchizedek* exercised His Priesthood, why may we not as well assign but a short Continuance to the *Priesthood* of our Blessed JESUS?²⁵⁰

There is no Parallel between the Intention & Emphasis of the Expressions used by our Apostle, on *Melchizedeks* being *Without Father & Without Mother*, and some Expressions used in profane Authors, like to these, of Persons

²⁴⁷ Jacques Saurin (Diss. XIII, 1:114–29) is Mather's source for the subsequent paragraphs and annotations on Gen. 14:24.

²⁴⁸ Saurin (Diss. XIII, 1:114–16). In support of Shem's candidacy for Melchizedek, Saurin cites seven arguments from *Hexapla in Genesin* (1608) 160–68 (on Gen. 14:18 ff), by the conservative English divine Dr. Andrew Willet (1562–1621), chaplain to Prince Henry. Mather sides with Saurin's rejection of Ham's candidacy (1:115–17), which the famous Pierre Jurieu sponsors in his *Critical History* (1:96–105).

²⁴⁹ Saurin (Diss. XIII, 1:111–12). Mather clearly favors Saurin's typological argument that St. Paul prophetically links David's "Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek" (Ps. 110:4) with its abrogation in Christ (Heb. 5:6, 10).

²⁵⁰ Saurin (Diss. XIII, 1:119–20).

whose *Parents*, were *unknown*. Or, if there were any thing equivocal, tis entirely removed by the Apostle himself; who brings the Testimony of *David*, that *Melchizedek* was *Alive* still, and a *Priest*, at the Time when he wrote the *Psalms*. [Compare, *Psal.* CX.4. with *Heb.* VII.8.]²⁵¹

Our Apostle also intimates, That the Word *Melchizedek* was not so much designed for to shew the *Name* of him that mett *Abraham*, as his *Qualities*: And hence, when one translates the Text of *Moses*, one ought either to keep these Two Hebrew Words, *Melchizedek*, and, *Melchisalem*; or expound both of them, and say, *The King of Righteousness, the King of Peace, came to meet Abraham*.²⁵²

It is also, not easy to conceive, that a *Canaanite*, a Man belonging unto a cursed People, should be advanced by Heaven to do such Acts of Superiority, as *Melchizedek* did over *Abraham*. Nay, as Monsr. *Saurin* [whose *Dissertation* I do now very much subsist upon,] observes; There was not in the whole World at the Time of *Abraham*, any Mortal superiour to that Patriarch. Tho' *Noah* himself should have come to meet *Abraham*, he might have received some Homage of him, on the account of *Age*; but no *Dignity* could have raised him above *That* of being, *The Father of the Faithful*. And the Apostle particularly gives us to understand, that the *Tenth* paid unto *Melchizedek*, was an Honour paid not unto the *Age*, but unto the *Dignity* & the eminent Perfections of the Person that received it.²⁵³

Besides; Our Apostle establishes it, That all the Descendents of *Abraham* did pay Tithes in the Person of that Patriarch, to a Greater Person. And what if this Objection should now be made against our Blessed JESUS, and His Priesthood? The Blessed JESUS, as well as *Levi*, is descended of *Abraham*, and paid the Tithes in him to *Melchizedek*; and therefore *Melchizedek* is greater than He.²⁵⁴

Now, to relieve all Difficulties, there is a System, which has been espoused by many, both Ancient and Modern Authors, and which maintains, That *Melchizedek* was no other than our SAVIOUR Himself, taking on Him, an *Humane Appearance*, and performing the *Acts*, and challenging the *Rights*, of His glorious *Priesthood* on this great Occasion.

The Names of, *King of Righteousness*, and, *King of Peace*, do belong more Justly to None than to Him: And He was from all Eternity Destined and Appointed for the most Illustrious Office of, *High-Priest* in the Temple of GOD.²⁵⁵

How agreeably were the Regards of the *Tithes* paid by our Patriarch, to the SON of GOD, who is the *Heir of all Things*? And who could so properly or so powerfully *Bless* the Patriarch, as He who is the *Spring of all Blessings*?

²⁵¹ Saurin (Diss. XIII, §§ 2, 3, 1:121).

²⁵² Saurin (Diss. XIII, § 4, 1:122).

²⁵³ Saurin (Diss. XIII, § 5, 1:122–23).

²⁵⁴ Saurin (Diss. XIII, § 6, 1:123–24).

²⁵⁵ Saurin (Diss. XIII, 1:125–26).

He may be truly called *Fatherless* and *Motherless*, and *without Descent*, who did not come into the World like the rest of Mankind; which even the Jewish Doctors do confess, that the *Messiah* must not.

[328v] *He was made like unto the Son of GOD*; for that he had the same | Features, both in the Literal and Mystical Sense, as were seen in the Son of *Mary*, when He came into the World.

When we read, *He Brought Bread & Wine to Abraham*, we may read it; He produced it. Probably He did it after such a Miraculous Manner, as He did such Things in the Days of His Incarnation and Humiliation many Ages afterward among us.

He was *Greater than Abraham*, inasmuch as tho' He was to proceed from him according to the Flesh, yett (as He told the Jews) He did actually exist before that Patriarch. And thus *David* who was among the Fore-fathers of the Messiah, called Him yett, *His Lord*.²⁵⁶

It is true; *Moses* does not seem to speak of *Melchizedek*, as being any other than a *Man*. But that Sacred Writer has diverse other, as *Concise Relations*: And our Apostle has in this, as in some other Instances, expounded what he has written, with expatiating on it. Here is also no mention of any surprize in *Abraham* on his Meeting with such an extraordinary Person. But there are many Instances wherein the Penmen of the Scripture suppress many Circumstances of the Events related by them. It may be well enough supposed, that *Abraham* was very much Affected, when he was Honoured with such an Apparition; yea, This may be the Meaning of what our SAVIOUR says, *Abraham rejoiced to see my Day, and he saw it, & was glad*.²⁵⁷

And what is there more singular in this Occurrence, than in the Wrestling of *Jacob*?

If it be enquired, unto what Use our SAVIOUR should putt the Tenth of the Spoils offered by *Abraham*? Very probable Supposals may be made about it; particularly, He might bestow it upon the Army.

The main Thing to be objected is; we read, *He was made like to the Son of GOD*. And according to the Maxim of *Epiphanius*; *No Body can be said properly to be made like himself*.²⁵⁸

But the Explanation we have already given, may fully satisfy this Objection. A Man may be compared unto himself in more Senses than one. And why may it not be said, A Glorious CHRIST appeared unto *Abraham*, with the same Aspects of *Countenance*, and the same Tokens of *Deity*, as were observed in Him after His Incarnation?

²⁵⁶ The preceding paragraphs are all from Saurin (Diss. XIII, 1:126).

²⁵⁷ Saurin (Diss. XIII, §§ 1, 2, 1:126–27). John 8:56. See Appendix A.

²⁵⁸ Saurin (Diss. XIII, §§ 4, 5, 1:127–28). Heb. 7:3. Mather (via Saurin 1:127) probably has in mind St. Epiphanius's commentary on Heb. 7:3 (*Panarion* 67.3.2–6, 67.7.3ff, in *Epiphanius* 3:135, lines 10 to 3:136, line 6; and 3:139, lines 5–14).

If this be now brought as a Difficulty, That according to this, our SAVIOUR descending from *Abraham* did pay Tithes unto *Himself*; They who bring it, involve themselves in a greater Difficulty; That *Melchizedek* a simple Man received the Tithes from Him. Whereas, there is (as Monsr. *Saurin* remarks) nothing in this Proposition, but what may be easily maintained; *JESUS CHRIST, as GOD, performed an act of Superiority over that Humane Nature, which He was one day to unite unto His Divinity.*²⁵⁹

It is finally demanded; what Sense can be putt upon these Words of the Prophecy, *Thou art a Priest forever, according to the Order of Melchizedek*? It may be answered; The Hebrew Words of the Text may be translated; *Thou art a Priest forever, as tis agreeable to a King of Righteousness*. But in the Version which our Apostle retains of it, there is found yett another good Meaning of the Expression; *Thou hast exactly that very Priesthood, whereof thou didst perform some Functions, when thou didst appear to Abraham, as a King of Righteousness.*²⁶⁰

I will add, What Monsr. *Saurin*, and the rest of the Gentlemen, have not thought upon. The Conquest of the *Four Kings* by *Abraham*, was a Type of what shall be done for his Children, even for all the Faithful, after the Extinction of the *Four Monarchies*, which are so considerable in the Histories & Prophecies of the Bible. And, as our SAVIOUR will Visibly Exhibit Himself unto the World, at & for the Destruction that is to come on the last of those *Four Monarchies*, it seems a Notable Prælibation & Præludium of it that our SAVIOUR Himself should *Visibly Appear* unto our Father, upon this Typical Victory.²⁶¹

After all that I have Read, and Wrote, about *Melchizedek*, I confess I most incline to This Opinion.

And yett I do it with so much Hæsitacion; that I must make Monsr. *Saurins* Modest Conclusion:

“After all, if there be any Occasion upon which we should desire of our Readers, the Privilege to suspend our Judgment, it is certainly This. Without affecting Humility or Modesty, we embrace that Party of the *Hebrews*, to whom St. *Paul* said, speaking of *Melchizedek*, *That when for the time ye ought to be Teachers, you have need that we teach you again, which be the First Principles of the Oracles of GOD*. We freely own, that after having used our utmost Endeavours to understand the Text of *Moses*, and St. *Pauls* Comment upon it, we have only discovered, how much we still want greater Lights, than those which Interpreters have given us, for Understanding both the one & the other.”²⁶²

I will take Leave to add | these Words also of that learned *Refugee*.

[329r]

²⁵⁹ Saurin (Diss. XIII, § 6, 1:128).

²⁶⁰ Saurin (Diss. XIII, § 7, 1:128).

²⁶¹ Mather refers to the Four Monarchies in Nebuchadnezzar’s dream vision (Dan. 2:31–44; 7:23).

²⁶² Saurin (Diss. XIII, 1:129).

“We are convinced, That we cannot entirely solve this Quæstion, without clearing up another, which is more general, and more abounding in Difficulties: Namely, *What Method the Apostles used, in quoting to the Jews the Prophecies of the Old Testament?* And whatever Pains the Learned have taken to unravel so intricate a Subject, it still leaves a vast Subject for their Inquiries.”²⁶³

[330v] [blank]

²⁶³ Saurin (Diss. XIII, 1:128). Saurin alludes to the many disagreements between the OT source texts and their citations in the NT. In Mather's time, William Whiston went so far as to argue in his *Essay Towards Restoring the True Text of the Old Testament* (1722) 164, 172, 220, that the Hebrew-Aramaic, Samaritan, and LXX versions of the OT were deliberately falsified in points where they prophesy the Messiah's First and Second Coming in the NT. The OT, Whiston argued, must therefore be emended in precisely those places by reinserting the apostolic citations into the OT. Anthony Collins (1676–1729), vociferous Deist that he was, was only too happy to ridicule Whiston's desperate undertaking. In his controversial *Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion* (1724), part II, ch. 9, p. 225, Collins charged that “a *Bible restor'd*, according to Mr. Whiston's *Theory*, will be a mere WHISTONIAN BIBLE; a BIBLE confounded, and not containing *the true Text of the Old Testament*.” See also J. O'Higgins's *Anthony Collins* (161–62) and J. E. Force's *Whiston* (80–85).

1760.

Q. What may bee the more special Design, of those Two Expressions, used by God unto *Abraham*; *Fear not, I am thy Shield, and thy Exceeding Great Reward?* v. 1.

A. Our Father *Abraham* had newly done two Actions, which were very Acceptable unto God. First, Hee had Rescued his Kinsman, unjustly detained a Prisoner, by the *Four Kings*, which had Invaded the Countrey, where hee lived. Hee might now bee *Afraid*, that the *Kings* whom hee had conquered, would rally their Forces, and return upon him, & bee too Hard for him: No, saies the Lord, *Fear not, I am thy Shield*. Secondly, Hee had Refused a Gratification for the Service which had been done by him; they whom hee had serv'd & sav'd, offer'd him a *Great Reward*; but hee refused the Reward, which they offered, lest the Name of God should suffer, as if hee had aimed at his own Profit, rather than the Just Releef of his Kinsman, in his Undertaking: *Vitandum erat Avaritiæ scandalum, nè bellan eo sibi prospexisse, non Agnato, videretur*. Well, in relation unto This, the Lord saies, *I am thy Exceeding Great Reward*.¹

Q. A Remark, on the *Stars?* v. 5.

A. The Tribes are *Stars*, in *Josephs* Dream. Gen. XXXVII.²

1517.

Q. What Reason (hitherto not ordinarily mentioned) is there to bee given, why the Lord bids *Abraham*, *Tell the Stars*, & elsewhere several Times, tells him; Hee would multiply his Posterity, *As the Stars?* v. 5.

A. The Jewish Antiquary, assures us, that *Abraham*, was not only well-skilled in *Astronomy*, but also a public Professor of that Science. Yea, The Kings of the East and West, came to learn this Art of him, if R. *Solomon*, may bee Beleaved. And the *Talmuds* assert him, to have had an extraordinary Skill in the *Stars*. Now, why might not this bee one Occasion, of the Lords choosing so often to

¹ Mather's commonplace interpretation is supported by Maimonides (*Guide* 3.50.381), who argues that Abraham refused to compromise his pure motives in rescuing his brother Lot by enriching himself with the spoils of war. In fact, Abraham's motives became the shield of divine protection. This reading also concurs with those of Rashi, Ramban, and Ibn Ezra (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:175). The unidentified Latin citation signifies, "He had to avoid the accusation of greed, lest he seem to have been looking out for spoils of war, and not for his kinsman."

² Mather links God's promise about Abraham's countless posterity with Joseph's dream (Gen. 38:9) in which the sun, moon, and eleven stars (his parents and eleven brothers) bowed down before Joseph. See also Henry Ainsworth's *Annotations on the Pentateuch* (1627) 59.

mention the *Stars* unto *Abraham*? They were the Objects of his frequent Contemplation. However, I mention this, only as a pleasant Conjecture, which will do neither you, nor *Abraham*, any Damage.

One of the Ancients thus paraphrases the Speech to *Abraham*. “Away with thy *Astrology*; according to the Principles whereof thou seest in the *Stars*, thou shalt {not reverence;} Beleeve in Him who made the Stars.”³

{...5}

Q. The Promise of God unto *Abraham*, was this; *Look toward Heaven; Tell the Stars, if thou canst Number them; SO shall thy Seed be.* Is nothing else here promised but the *Innumerable Multitude* of that Posterity? v. 5.

A. Yes; An Ingenious Jew informs mee, That the *Interminable Happiness* of this Posterity is here also promised. The Hebrew Word /כֹּה/ is a Note of, *Place*. As if the Lord had not only said, *Number the Stars, if thou canst; SO shall thy Seed be;* but also, *Look toward Heaven; THERE shall thy Seed be.* I since find, *Petrus Alfonsi*, in his *Collatio adversus Judeos*, making this Observation. —⁴

3 Heidegger, *Historia Sacra Patriarcharum* (2:63–64, Exerc. III, § 22). Mather’s “Jewish Antiquary” is Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 1.8.2). Josephus asserts Abraham’s knowledge of “arithmetic” and “the science of astronomy,” which the patriarch had brought with him from Chaldea and subsequently taught to the Egyptians, who “were unacquainted with those parts of learning.” Joannes Chrysostom (*Homilies on Genesis* 31.19), too, has Abraham become the teacher “to everyone in Palestine and shortly after to those in Egypt” (250). Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.16.418a–b; 9.17.418d, 419c; 9.18.420b–c) furnishes much the same evidence from Josephus Flavius, Alexander Polyhistor, and Artabanus on Abraham’s mastery of the science of stargazing. Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 5.1), in *ANF* (2:446) adds that Abraham abandons his knowledge of astrology for his faith in God. Not R. Solomon Jarchi (Rashi), but R. Eliezer (the Modiite) asserts that “Abraham possessed a power of reading the stars for which he was much sought after by the potentates of the East and West” (*Baba Bathra* 16b). The proscription against pagan astrology, as paraphrased by an unidentified commentator, is also given in Midrash Rabbah (Gen. XLIV:2).

4 Gen. 13:16, 28:14; Hos. 1:10. Mather may have in mind R. Manasseh ben Israel (*Conciliator*, Quest. 41, p. 53), who comments that the hyperbolic comparison of Abraham’s numerous offspring to the stars or to the dust (Gen. 13:16) refers “to their merits or demerits, because being good, the Lord promises that they shall be like the stars – high in excellence, and superior to the nations of the world; and on being wicked, they should be like the dust of the earth – trod upon, and lorded over.” R. Yaakov Baal HaTurim would have disagreed with Mather’s assertion that כֹּה [koh] (Gen. 15:5) refers to a location. The rabbi argues that the phrase “so shall your offspring be” foretells that Abraham would have offspring “in twenty-five years – corresponding to the Gematria of כֹּה” (*Baal HaTurim* 1:117). However, Mather may have in mind Gen. 22:5 where the same word כֹּה [Strong’s # 3541] is rendered “yonder” – a reference to location – one that Rashi (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:255) and Vayeira (23), in Midrash Tanchuma (1:309–10) seem to support. Mather’s citation from *Collatio adversus Judeos* is from *Petrus Alphonsi ex Judaeo Christiani Dialogi* (Titulus XI) [PL 157. 653], a collection of twelve dialogues between a Christian and a Jew (first published in Cologne, 1536), by Petrus Alphonsus (1062–1110), a Jewish converso and physician to King Alfonso I of Aragon.

1633.

Q. It is observable, That wee have no mention of *Abrahams* Faith and *Justification*, until *Now*, tho' hee were *effectually called*, near Twenty Years before? v. 6.

A. True; But God now promises him a *Son*, & a *Christ* with that Son. *Abraham* saw the *Day of Christ*, in the Promise of *Isaac*. Here t'was most proper to Record the Faith of *Abraham*, and his *Justification* by that Faith.

Q. The Lord reminds *Abraham*, That *Hee brought him out of Ur of the Chaldees*. [Compare Gen. 11.28.] But elsewhere, [Gen. 24.10.] wee shall see that *Mesopotamia*, was *Abrahams* Native Countrey; and [Josh. 24.2, 3.] that hee dwelt on the other Side of the Flood, namely *Euphrates*, which parted *Canaan* from *Mesopotamia*, in *Syria*. This is the River, which *Abraham* did pass over [Gen. 31.21.] when hee came into *Canaan*, out of his own Countrey; & from which passing over, many of the Learned, think that hee had his Name. Now, How are these two consistent, that *Abraham* was a *Chaldean*, and a *Mesopotamian*, or, *Syrian*; when *Chaldea*, and *Mesopotamia*, or *Syria*, are {three} Distinct Countreys? v. 7.⁵

A. The Answer, wherewith, both Jewish & Christian Expositors here puzzled, acquiesce, is; That *Mesopotamia* [called here, and in Judg. 3.8. *Aram Naharaim*, i.e. *Syria Fluviorum*, scituated between Two Rivers, *Euphrates* & *Tigris*, and called by the Latines *Mediamne*, which exactly answers the Greek Name] is taken in a Large {Sense, and comprehends *Chaldea*. So} the *Arabian* Geographers | refer *Chaldea*, to *Mesopotamia*; and they might well do so, for *Pliny* comprizes all *Assyria* under it. Thus, in our Dayes, all *New England* ha's been frequently called *Boston*; tho' *Boston* bee but the chief Town of one Colony in that Countrey.⁶ [332v]

But my *Edwards* ha's thought of a plainer solution, for this Difficultie. *Mesopotamia*, as distinct from *Chaldea*, was the Native Soyl of *Abraham*; and *Ur* was a City in that Region, (as *Ammianus* reckons it, & not in *Chaldea*) and in that City was the Birth-Place of *Abraham*. Now tis called, *Ur of the Chaldeans*, because it was possessed by the *Chaldeans* at this Time; as *Hebron* is called [Gen. 40.15.] *The Land of the Hebrews*: because the *Hebrewes* dwelt there. The Place was also defiled, with the *Idolatri* of the *Chaldeans*; & for that Reason likewise might it be called, *Ur of the Chaldeans*. Thus wee have a right Understanding of those Words, Act. 7.2. *The God of Glory appeared unto our Father Abraham, when hee was in Mesopotamia, and said unto him, Gett thee out of thy Countrey: — then came hee out of the Land of the Chaldeans*. *Mesopotamia* was then under the

⁵ Mather extracts the text for his rhetorical question from John Edwards's *Discourse* (2:371).

⁶ Edwards's *Discourse* (2:372). The passage in braces — lost through defacement — is reconstructed from Edwards (2:372). Much the same solution to Abraham's geographic conundrum is offered in Manasseh ben Israel's *Conciliator* (Quest. 43, pp. 56–60). Pliny (6.30.117).

Power of the *Chaldean Kings*. And so, there was no need of *Grotius's* miserable Way, to Reconcile the Text, by telling us, that *Lukes* Memory failed him, in the Designation of the Place.⁷

{..5}

Q. What Mystery do the Jewish Doctors find, in the *Four Sorts* of Creatures, directed for the *Sacrifices* of *Abram*? v. 9.

A. The Hebrew Doctors find therein, the Mystery of the *Four Monarchies*. But I leave it unto your further Contemplation at your Liesure, whether any Mystery of that importance, be here discoverable.

However, tis Remarkable, that these were the Creatures, and these alone, which were afterwards appointed by the Law of *Moses*, to be offered in Sacrifice to God. And this clears it unto us, that before the Law of *Moses*, the Creatures were considered as *clean*, or, *unclean*, with respect unto *Sacrifice*, tho' not with respect unto *Diet*.⁸

Q. How was that Prophecy accomplished; *In the Fourth Generation they shall come hither again*? v. 16.

A. It exactly came to pass, in the *Fourth Generation* after the Descent into *Egypt*. *Levi* went down into *Egypt*, in a middle Age. His Son *Kohath* makes a Second Generation: His Son *Amram*, a Third; His Children, *Moses* and *Aaron*, and *Miriam* a Fourth. *Reuben*, a Descendent into *Egypt*, had *Pallu* for the Second Generation, *Eliab* for the Third, and *Dathan* and *Abiram*, for the Fourth.⁹

1781{8}.

Q. What might bee intended by the *Burning Lamp*, in *Abrahams* Vision, that passed between the sacrificed Creatures? v. 17.

⁷ See Edwards (*Discourse* 2:371–74). Ammianus Marcellinus (25.8.7). Hugo Grotius, *Annotationes* (Acts 7:2, 3), in *Opera Omnia* (1679) 2:594.

⁸ Mather's commentary on Gen. 15:9 in the preceding two paragraphs is extracted from his *vademecum*, Simon Patrick's *Commentary* (1:67). Patrick's own source is Joseph Mede's *Works* (1664), bk. 2, ch. 7, p. 472. The midrashic commentary in Genesis Rabbah (XLIV:15) associates the four groups of animal sacrifice (Gen. 15:9) with four monarchies: the "heifer threefold" signifies "Babylon" and its "three kings, Nebuchadnezzar, Evil-Merodach, and Belshazzar"; the "she-goat threefold" refers to "Media" and its "three kings: Cyrus, Darius, Ahasuerus"; the "ram threefold" signifies "Greece," which according to R. Leazar and R. Johanan "conquered all parts [of the world] save the east." But the "turtle-dove" and "young pigeon" both stand for "Edom [Rome]." For much the same reading, see *Pirke de R. Eliezer* (ch. 28, pp. 198–201) and R. David Kimchi's commentary on Gen. 15:9, in *Hachut Hameshulash* (1:311–14). This political allegory is here associated with Daniel's vision of the four beasts and the ram and he-goat (Dan. chs. 7–8) and with Daniel's interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream vision of the statue in the Plain of Dura (Dan. 2: 31–45).

⁹ Mather's probable sources (though most likely at second hand) are R. Ibn Ezra (*Commentary* 1:174–75) and R. David Kimchi (*Hachut Hameshulash* 1:322).

A. It might intend, *Moses*, their Deliverer from those Birds of Prey, which in this Vision, are the Just *Hieroglyphic* of the *Egyptian* Oppresser. –

Moses, I say, a Fore-runner of our Lord Jesus Christ. A Fore-runner of our Lord, ha's this very Name; Joh. 5.35.

Quere; Whether the *Burning Lamp*, or, *Lamp of Fire*, were not the *Shechinah*? *Maimonides* expounds it so.¹⁰

3408.

Q. Then you think, the *Fowles* that came down upon the *Sacrifices*, may represent the *Egyptians*?

A. Why not? They fell upon the *Israelites*, as rapacious Birds do upon Carcases; endeavouring to hinder their Sacrificing unto God.¹¹

3409.

Q. What was, *The River of Egypt*? v. 18.

A. The *Nile* is commonly called so. But it is objected, The *Israelites* never enjoy'd all the Land of *Egypt*, on that Side of *Nile*. We may understand by it then, a little River, which came out of that Branch of *Nile*, called, *Peleusiaceum Brachium*; From hence a small River, not navigable, ran towards *Judea*, falling into the *Egyptian* or *Phœnician* Sea. This River was the Bound of *Palæstine*, mention'd by *Strabo*, and others. It is called, Amos. 6.14. *The River of the Wilderness*; because it run thro' the *Wilderness* which is between *Egypt* and *Palæstine*, {into the Sea.}¹²

|

[333r]

424.

Q. Falling into the History of *Abraham*, it invites mee to enquire, *Whether*, or *Wherein* you reckon that Patriarch, a *Type* of our Lord Jesus Christ? v. 21.

A. Indeed, In those Three Persons, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, & *Jacob*, the Glorious Mystery of the *Three Persons* in the Godhead, is a little adumbrated, as to the *Order* of their Subsistence, and the *Manner* of their Influence.¹³

In *Abraham* wee may see a little Shadow of God the *Father*. Both *Isaac* and *Jacob* came of *Abraham*; so, both the *Son*, & the *Spirit*, come of the *Father*, in God. In *Isaac* wee have a little Shadow of God the *Son*. *Isaac* was made a *Sacri-*

¹⁰ For much the same, see Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:68); Maimonides (*Guide* 1.21.30).

¹¹ Again, Mather's source is Patrick (*Commentary* 1:67).

¹² Simon Patrick's *Commentary* (1:69) supplies Mather with all he excerpts here. Patrick's own source is Vossius's *De Theologia Gentili* (1641), lib. 2, cap. 74, pp. 690–92. The Latin phrase from Vossius (692) signifies "*Pelusian branch*" of the Nile. Strabo (16.2.33) speaks of "the pits near Pelusium," which "are formed by side-flows from the Nile, the region being by nature hollow and marshy." The phrase in braces – lost through defacement of the holograph manuscript – is reconstructed from Simon Patrick's annotation (1:69).

¹³ See Heidegger (2:55–57, Exerc. III, §§ 8–9).

fice; and so was *Jesus* too. In *Jacob*, wee have a little Shadow of God the *Spirit*. *Jacob* was mighty in *Praying* to, & *Wrestling* with, the Lord; and this is the Work of the *Holy Ghost* in all true Beleevers. Behold, a Speculation that might suggest *Great Thoughts*, unto one that would spend some Time upon it!¹⁴

But I pass to make some Observations upon the Renowned *Abraham*.

First; The Lord upon a great Occasion, said unto *Abraham*, in Gen. 17.5. *Neither shall thy Name any more bee called Abram; but thy Name shall bee Abraham*. Tis remarkable, that this was the first *Change of Name* recorded in the Book of God; and it was made by the Lord, at the Institution of *Circumcision*. From hence arose the Custome of giving *Names* to Persons, when they were *Circumcised*, among the Jewes, and when they are *Baptised*, among ourselves. Well, our Lord *Jesus Christ* ha's had a *Change of Name* too: That is, In a *Change of State*. [Phil. 2.8, 9.] The *Divels* of Hell, and the *Serpents* of Earth, Nicknamed Him, in the Time of His *Humiliation*. But since His *Exaltation*, Hee is now saluted, by *Names* of Honour, whereof Hee suffered Himself to bee for a while deprived. [See Prov. 30.4. answered in Isa. 9.6. and 1. Tim. 3.16.]¹⁵

Again. What signifies the Name of *Abram*? It signifies, *An High Father*. But that Name was Increased into *Abraham*; & this is, in English, *The Father of a Multitude*. [Gen. 17.5.] Not only all the *Jewish*, but now also, all the *Christian* World, speak of *Abraham*, in that Style, *Our Father Abraham*. Such a *Father* is our Lord *Jesus Christ*. [Consider, Isa. 22.21. and Jer. 31.9. and Isa. 53.10.] Yea, Hee is an *High Father*; *High His Dignity*, *His Power*, and *His Love*. And Hee is the *Father of a Multitude*. All the Redeemed of the Lord, enjoy Him, as doing the Offices, & Kindnesses of such a Relation for them; and they are, an *Exceeding Great Multitude, whom no Man can Number*.¹⁶

Add; *Abraham*, at the Command of God, [Gen. 12.1, 4.] left his Countrey, and went a Journey from *Haran*, to *Sichem*, which is about *Four Hundred Miles*. Yea, and our Lord *Jesus Christ*, has left His *Countrey*, yea, and His *Palace* too; a long Journey came Hee, even from the *Bosome* of God, to the *Belly* of Hell; and this was because the Almighty gave Order for His doing so. [Ponder Joh. 16.28.] Lett us mourn for the Ill Usage, Hee has found in our Countrey.

Further; Never did any Man yeeld a more absolute Obedience unto God, than *Abraham* did. God said unto him, *Cutt thy own Flesh*; *Abraham* did it, not consulting *with Flesh & Blood*. God said unto him, *Turn one of thy Sons out of Doors*; *Abraham* do's it, tho' it were *Grievous* to him. God said unto him, *Kill another of thy Sons out of the World*; *Abraham* do's it, tho' all the Hope & Flowre

¹⁴ Mather echoes his uncle's typological reading in *Figures or Types* (1683) 103, by Samuel Mather. See also Edward Taylor's *Upon the Types* (1689) 1:60–112, for Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as types of Christ.

¹⁵ See Henry Ainsworth's commentary on Gen. 17:4–5, in *Annotations* (1627) 65–66.

¹⁶ See Henry Ainsworth's *Annotations* (1627) 66.

of his Family, were thereby thrown away. Yett Wee know a greater Instance of Obedience unto God, than *Abraham*; and that is our Lord Jesus Christ. [Weigh well, Joh. 6.38. and Phil. 2.8.]

Furthermore; The Land of *Canaan*, a *Land Flowing with Milk & Honey*, was promised unto *Abraham* for his Posterity. [Gen. 12.7. and 17.8.] Thus, there is the Promise of a *Canaan*, Yea, of a *Kingdome*, for all the Chosen of God. But unto whom? It is for us, made unto our Lord Jesus Christ. [Tit. 1.2.] Even, in the *Eternal Covenant of Redemption*.

Moreover, Wee find, in Gen. 18.17. *The Lord said, Shall I hide from Abraham, the thing which I do?* Much more, ha's our God said so, concerning our Lord Jesus Christ; The *Purposes* of God, are every one of them, understood by our Lord. [Joh. 1.18.]

Besides; T'was the *Character* and *Encomium* of *Abraham*; *Hee will command his Houshold after him, and they shall keep the Way of the Lord*. Why, our Lord Jesus Christ ha's an *Houshold* well-Instructed by Him. When Hee had a *Private Family*, Hee taught it. [Math. 5.1, 2.] And now Hee ha's a *Public Family*, His *Pains* and *Means* are not wanting, that they mayn't bee *destroy'd for Lack of Knowledge*. [Eph. 4.11.]

To proceed; When the *Sodomites* were to undergo the *Vengeance of Eternal Fire*, wee find, *Abraham* Interceding that the *Righteous* might not bee consumed in the *Lightnings* of the Lord; and thro' the Efficacy of this Interceding, *Lot* escaped the *Flames*. Even so, There is a glorious and a powerful *Intercession* of the Lord Jesus Christ, engaged for our Good. [Heb. 7.25.] And by the Vertue of this *Intercession* tis, that wee escape the *Horrible Tempest*, which God Rains upon the Wicked. —

To pass on; When there was a *Profane Mocker* in the House of *Abraham*, there was this Order quickly taken about him, *Cast him out!* Such is the *Discipline* in the House of our Lord Jesus Christ; No *Profane People* are to bee allowed there. [Psal. 1.5. and Psal. 101.7.]

Finally; The Differences and the Properties of the *Two Covenants*, are from *Abraham* exhibited unto us. [Gal. 4.24.]

In *Hagar*, wee see the *Covenant of Works*. *Hagar* was a *Bond-woman*; Thus, wee are entangled in *Bondage*, if wee are united unto the *First Covenant*. *Hagar* had a Child, by the *Strength of Nature*. Thus, wee are under the *Old Covenant*, if wee go to Repent, and Beleeve, & bring forth *Fruits* unto the Lord, by any *Strength of our own*. | *Hagar* had a Son, that was a *Persecutor*. Men, that know no other than the *Covenant of Works*, are of a *Persecuting Spirit*. *Hagar*, & her Seed must bee *cast out*; and the *Law*, as a *Covenant* must bee *cast off*. An *Abraham* indeed may Turn aside, unto *Hagar*, for once, or so; and thus a Beleever may have some Actings, as under the *Covenant of Works*. But hee dwells with *Sarah*.

The *Covenant of Grace*, wee see in her. This *Covenant* ha's the *Freedom of Sarah* in it: and it ha's in it, the *Divine Assistance & Influence*, that *Sarah* had.¹⁷

652.

Q. Doth *Pagan* Antiquitie, hand us down any *Memoirs*, concerning the *Patriarch Abraham*? v. 21.

A. Yes; More than a few.¹⁸

Abraham is mentioned by *Berosus*, *Hecataeus*, *Nicolaus Damascenus*, *Eupolemus*, *Alexander Polyhistor*.

The *Wise Men of Greece*, consulting their *Oracles*, *Whence the Knowledge of Arts came?* received this Answer. *From the Chaldean*;

Μονος ο δ'αρα χαλδαιος σοφος:

Where, by the *Chaldean*, learned Men think *Abraham* intended.¹⁹

The *Heathen* did their *Magical* Feats, in the Name of this great Man. *Origen* tells us, *The God of Abraham*, *the God of Isaac*, and *the God of Jacob*, were Words usually pronounced in their Charms, & Spells. Hee also saies, That Ο Θεος Αβρααμ, so frequently quoted in the *Old Testament*, gave Occasion unto them, to think, that *Abraham* was a *God*.²⁰

When God made a *Covenant* with *Abraham*, [Gen. 15.9.] Hee commanded him, to divide an *Heifer*, a *Goat*, & a *Ram*, into Pieces, & pass between them. This was a Ceremony afterwards used, in a *Covenant* between Man & Man; declaring a Wish to bee cutt asunder as the Beasts were, if they broke that Agreement. [See 1. Sam. 11.7. Jer. 34.18, 19.] Possibly, to this may belong what wee Read, [Gen. 21.27.] *Abraham took Sheep & Oxen, & gave them to Abimelek, & both of them made a Covenant*: The *Sheep* and *Oxen*, were to bee thus Dissected, and so Sacrificed, in the Making of that *Covenant*.²¹

This now, gave Rise to a like Practice among the *Pagans*, when any solemn *Covenants* were made among them. *Dictys Cretensis*, reports this Usage to have been between the *Græcians* & the *Trojans*, in the Time of the War between them.

¹⁷ Mather's typological reading of Sarah as foreshadowing the Covenant of Grace and of Hagar as the Covenant of Works appears to be based on Samuel Mather's *Figures or Types* (104).

¹⁸ Mather's subsequent annotations on Gen. 15:21 are extracted from John Edwards's *Discourse* (1:129, 130, 131, 132, 133).

¹⁹ Mather's immediate source is Edwards (*Discourse* 1:129). Edwards relies on Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 1.7.2) and Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.16–18) – the latter work contains the excerpts from the ancient historians cited here. Mather's second-hand Greek citation from Edwards (*Discourse* 1:129) can be rendered, "Only from the wisdom of the Chaldean."

²⁰ Edwards (*Discourse* 1:129–30). Edwards, citing Origen's *Contra Celsum* (1.22.8, 10; 4.33.19), argues that the phrase "The God of Abraham" (*ANF* 4:405, 511–12) and *Commentarii in evangelium Joannis* (6.4.18, line 4; 6.11.68, line 3) reads like a formulaic invocation of the Trinity when rendered "the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." Whereas Edwards supplies the Greek diacritical marks, Mather customarily omits them.

²¹ Edwards (*Discourse* 1:130). Mather's citation of Gen. 21:27 is here silently corrected from Edwards's erroneous listing of Gen. 21:28.

Livy and *Curtius* relate, that the People of *Macedon*, and *Baotia*, did in like Manner cutt a Dog to Pieces. *Lucian* informs us of the like among the *Scythians*; and *Suidas*, among the *Molossians*.²²

Abraham feasted the *Angels*. [Gen. 18.8.] From hence the *Poets* tell of the *Gods* being feasted by Mortals; and of a *Philemon* and *Baucis* particularly (that is, *Abraham* and *Sarah*) {Treating their Heavenly Guests} as entertaining of *Jupiter* and *Mercury*.²³

Indeed, The visible Appearances of *God & Angels*, unto other Saints, as well as *Abraham*, occasioned in the Pagans a Notion, that their Gods did sometimes descend in Humane Shape among them. [The Outcry among the People of *Lystra*, Act. 14.12. you know.] And with a poetic Libertie, they carried this Notion on to prodigious *Metamorphoses*.²⁴

The *Sacrificing* of Men, especially of *Sons*, mentioned in Pagan Stories, might have its Original from *Abraham*.

Porphyrius records, as *Eusebius* tells us, that *Saturnus*, an Ancient King in *Phœnicia*, to appease the Gods, did offer his *only Son* on an Altar. Behold, *Abraham* and *Isaac*, in this Tradition!²⁵

22 Edwards (*Discourse* 1:130). Dictys Cretensis (*Journal of the Trojan War* 67), the purported eyewitness of the famous Trojan war (13th c. BCE), relates how Agamemnon, eager to assuage the wrath of Achilles, cut the sacrificial animal in half and smeared the victim's blood on his sword as Agamemnon marched through the middle of the carcass. Edwards probably drew on Dictys Cretensis et Dares Phrygius's *De Bello Trojano* (1702), lib. 2, cap. 5 – one of several Latin editions of this fabulous history. Livy (40.6.1–2) relates how during the ceremonial lustrations of the Macedonian army, the carcass of a female dog was dismembered in the middle, and one half each was placed on opposite sides of the road on which the army, headed by King Philip and his court, passed through. Quintus Curtius Rufus (10.9.12–15) describes much the same sacrificial evisceration. Lucian (*Toxaris vel amicitia* 46; *Works* 5:177) details how a Scythian can revenge himself against a superior enemy by ritually sacrificing an ox, not a dog. Finally, Edwards perhaps refers to *Sudas* (*Lexicon* alphabetic letter *kappa*, entry 2078), a description of the Molossians, a people of Epirus on the Greek peninsula.

23 Edwards (*Discourse* 1:131). The passage in braces – lost through defacement – is restored from Edwards (1:131). Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 8.624–724) relates the story of Philemon and Baucis, an aged couple of Phrygia, who feasted Jupiter and Mercury as the gods were traveling through Lydia in disguise. In gratitude, the gods turned the couple's hovel into a magnificent temple, in which the two mortals became the officiating priests. At their death, Philemon and Baucis were transformed into trees that stood at the entrance of their temple.

24 Edwards (*Discourse* 1:131). When St. Paul healed the cripple of Lystra (Asia Minor) the people cried out, "The gods have come down to us in the likeness of men" (Acts 14:11). Mather copies Edwards's erroneous reference to Acts 14:12. Among the Gods' "prodigious *Metamorphoses*" are those of Apollo turning himself into a hawk, lion, and a shepherd; Neptune into a flying horse, steer, ram, and dolphin; Jupiter into a shower of gold, a bull, swan, an eagle, satyr, and a flame; finally, Saturn turned himself into a prancing steed for his beloved (Edwards 1:131–32).

25 Edwards (*Discourse* 1:132). Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 1.10.40d) cites Porphyry's story of King Kronos of Phoenicia (deified as Saturn), who sacrificed his son Ieoud (Iedud) to avert a war that threatened to destroy his country. Mather (via Edwards) links this ancient story with that of Abraham's intended sacrifice of Isaac (Gen. 22:6).

Plutarch informs us, that *Pelopidas* was bidden in a Vision to sacrifice a *Virgin*; but it so happened that a *Mare-colt*, came running thro' the Camp, while they were Disputing, whether the Vision should bee obeyed; and by the Advice of the *Augur*, the *Mare-colt* was then taken in stead of the *Virgin*. I beleeve, you now presently think, of what this was an Imitation.²⁶

²⁶ Edwards (*Discourse* 1:133). Plutarch (*Pelopidas* 21–22), *Plutarch's Lives* (5:390–95). The substitution of a mare colt for a virgin with chestnut hair, in the vision of Pelopidas, celebrated general of Thebes (fl. 382–364 BCE), parallels Abraham's substitution of a ram for Isaac (Gen. 22:13).

856.

Q. Flying *Hagar* is found in a *Wilderness*. Have you any Remark to make upon it? v. 7.

A. There is this Remark to be made.

The most notable *Periods, Affayrs, & Mysteries* of the Church, have still had their Commencement in a *Wilderness*.

The First Time, that wee read of *Angels* affording their familiar & visible Conversation, to the Children of Men, it was in a *Wilderness*, and unto a Woman there: T'was *Hagar*.²⁷

The First Time, that God spake to *Moses*, it was in a *Wilderness*; *There* was the *Burning Bush*.²⁸

The *Law* was given in a *Wilderness*; and in that *Wilderness* was the *Tabernacle* Built; and in that *Wilderness* were some of the most Illustrious Types of the *Messiah*.²⁹

The Three Miraculous *Fasts*, of *Moses*, of *Elias*, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, were all of them in a *Wilderness*.³⁰

In a *Wilderness* began the Preaching of the *Gospel*.³¹

Baptism, the first *Sacrament* of the New Testament, began in a *Wilderness*, and in a *Wilderness* our Lord Received it.³²

The *First* and the *Last* Books of the Bible, *Genesis*, and the *Apocalypse*, were penned in a *Wilderness*.³³

And thither, the Persecuted Church Retires.³⁴

An Intimation, that the Church is different from other Societies; & that the *Spirit of the World* is not agreeable thereunto.³⁵

3410.

Q. You take notice of the Emphasis, in the Speech of the Angel to *Hagar*; *Hagar, Sarai's Maid*: He takes notice of her being *Sarai's Maid*, rather than *Abrams Wife*, to putt her Mind of her Duty? v. 8.

²⁷ Gen. 16:7–8.

²⁸ Exod. 3:2–4.

²⁹ Exod. 24:12, 25:9.

³⁰ Matt. 17:1–5.

³¹ Matt. 3:1.

³² Matt. 3:4–7.

³³ Moses is to have written *Genesis* while sojourning in the Sinai desert; John of Patmos the book of *Revelation* in a remote island cave.

³⁴ Rev. 12:4.

³⁵ 1 Cor. 2:12.

A. Tis indeed very Notable!³⁶

3411.

Q. *Ishmael* is the First, that had his Name given, before he was born? v. 11.

A. And the Jewes observe the Honour done him herein.

They say, There are but Six who were thus distinguished; the two first whereof, were the Sons of *Abram*, namely *Ishmael* and *Isaac*; and the last was, The *Messias*.³⁷

[336v] |
517{?}.

Q. What fulfilment had that Prophecy, concerning *Ishmael*, *Hee shall dwell in the Presence of all His Brethren*? v. 12.

A. If the Import of that Prophecy were, q.d. “Hee shall not hide his head, as afraid of the Forces of his Neighbours, but hee shall bee able to defend & avouch his Possessions against all Pretenders”; This was many Wayes fulfilled.

But I rather look for the Accomplishment of this Prædiction, in the Bounds of the Lands which the Providence of God allotted unto the Posterity of *Ishmael*; the Borders of their Countrey abutted upon all the Kindred of *Ishmael*; *Edomites* & *Israelites*; *Moabites* & *Ammonites*; *Midianites* & *Egyptians*.³⁸

3418.

Q. *Ishmael* being a *Wild Man*, and *Dwelling in the Presence of his Brethren*, is it a Remarkable Prophecy? v. 12.

A. The *Nation* descended from him, dwelt near to all his Brethren, whether descended from *Isaac*, or from *Abrams* other Sons by *Keturah*; who, tho’ annoy’d by him, as Dr. *Patrick* observes, yett could never dispossess him.³⁹

So exact is the description here given of *Ishmaels* Posterity throughout all Generations, that as Dr. *Jackson* observes, none but a most Prophetic Spirit could have given it. As for *Wildness*, tis incorporated so into their Nature, that no Change of Times has Tamed them.⁴⁰

³⁶ See Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:70) and Heidegger (2:137, Exerc. VI, § 24).

³⁷ Mather’s source is Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:70). *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (ch. 32, p. 231) identifies the six as “Isaac, Ishmael, Moses, Solomon, Josiah, and King Messiah.”

³⁸ See Heidegger (2:138–39, Exerc. VI, §§ 25–27). R. David Kimchi suggests that “In spite of living in constant friction with his neighbours he [Ishmael] will not flee but will continue to dwell in their presence” (*Hachut Hameshulash* 1:334).

³⁹ Mather’s source is Simon Patrick’s annotations on Gen. 16:12 (*Commentary* 1:70).

⁴⁰ Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:70) cites Thomas Jackson, D. D. (1579–1640), president of Corpus Christ College (Oxford), who identifies the descendants of Ishmael with the Saracens. Their condition could have been foretold by none but the Holy Spirit (Jackson, *Collection of the Works* [1653], vol. 1, bk. 1, ch. 25, § 7, p. 105).

It is observed by Mr. Pyles, That here is a most exact Prophetic Account of the *Arabians*, as they continue to this very Day.⁴¹

Monsr. Saurin remarks upon it. What is foretold of *Ishmael*, That he should be like a Savage Creature, and *his hand would be against every Man*, was the Character not only of *Ishmael* himself, but also of, all his Posterity. The *Saracens* and *Arabians*, who boast of being descended from him, seem to form themselves exactly upon this Model. There can be nothing liker the Picture, which the Angel gives us of *Ishmael*, than that which *Ammianus Marcellinus* has given us, of his Posterity. [L. XIV. c. 4.]⁴²

4210.

Q. How may those Words of *Hagar* be understood; *Have I also here looked after Him that seeth me?* v. 13.

A. I will at present only give you a Collection of Hebrew Glosses (gathered by *Munster*,) among which you may make your Choice.⁴³

R. *Salomon* thus carries it; *I wonder that here in the Desert, I see the Angel of the Lord, whom I was used to see in the House of my Master Abraham*. Accordingly, *Post Videntem me*, is to be understood, *Postquam ego vidi*.⁴⁴

David Kimchi carries it thus; *Nunquid hic vidi, postquam fui videns*. q.d. “When he spoke with me, I did not know him to be an *Angel* of God; but as he suddenly vanished out of my Sight, I then knew, that he was an *Angel*. I saw him, what he was, and another than I before thought he was, after he was vanished.”⁴⁵

Aben Ezra carries it so: “Have not I seen an *Angel* of the Lord, after that the Lord hath seen my Affliction?”⁴⁶

⁴¹ Mather here draws on *A Paraphrase with short and useful Notes* (1717), vol. 1, ch. 16, p. 90 (note), by the Anglican divine Thomas Pyle (1674–c. 1756), prebendary of Salisbury, who acknowledges as his source Edward Pococke’s edition of *Historia Dynastiarum* (1663) of Gregorius “Abul-Pharajius.”

⁴² Mather’s extract is from Jacques Saurin’s *Dissertations* (Diss. XIX, 1:165). According to Ammianus Marcellinus (14.4.1–7), the Saracens (Ishmael’s descendents) are marauding tribesmen who plunder anything they can lay their hands on. They abide by no laws, have no fixed home, and marry only for a stipulated time. See also Mather’s previous discussion of this topic in “BA” (302v and 305r) above.

⁴³ Mather’s collection of Hebrew glosses on R. Salomon (Rashi), David Kimchi, and Aben Ezra (Ibn Ezra) appears in Sebastian Münster’s *Hebraica Biblia* (1546) 1:34, annot. (d).

⁴⁴ Mather translates into English Münster’s Latin rendition of R. Salomon Jarchi (Rashi); see also *Mikraoth Gedoloth* (Genesis 1:191–92).

⁴⁵ Mather’s translation of David Kimchi’s commentary on Gen. 16:13 (*Hachut Hameshulash* 1:334) is based on Münster’s Latin version.

⁴⁶ See also Ibn Ezra (*Commentary* 1:181).

Q. The Name of *El-Shaddai*; What may be the true Import of it? v. 1.

A. I will by no means disturb, the common Interpretation.

I will only observe to you, that the learned *Solomon Deyling* in his *Observationes Sacrae*, lately published, at *Leipsich*, ha's a Dissertation on the Name of, *El-Shaddai*; and he is for this Translation, *Deus Jaculator*, or, *God the Thunderer*.⁴⁷

Q. A Remark upon *Abrams* having a *New Name* given him, with the Command of *Circumcision*? v. 5.

A. Hence arose the Practice of giving Names to Children at their *Circumcision*. Luk. I.59. and, II.21. which we Christians do now at *Baptism*.⁴⁸

2422.

Q. What remarkable Fulfilment had that Prædiction, *Kings shall come out of thee*? v. 6.

A. Tis well observed by *Grotius*, *Ab omni avo nullus est, qui cum Abrahamo comparari possit, multiplici Regnum progenie*. Never was there such a Father of *Kings*. From *Abraham* descended, all the *Kings* of the *Twelve Tribes of Israel*; the *Kings* of the *Two Tribes*, & the *Kings* of the *Ten*. From *Abraham* descended the many *Kings* of *Idumaea*, and those of the *Herodian Line*. From *Abraham* descended the *Kings* in *Africa*, among the Posterity of *Keturah*. From *Abraham* descended the *Saracen Kings*, in *Arabia*, in *Babylon*, in *Egypt*, in other Parts of *Africa*, & in *Spain* itself. But above all, from *Abraham* descended the *Messias*, who is the *King of Kings*.⁴⁹

1878.

Q. What is there observable, in the Change of *Abrahams* Name? v. 5.

⁴⁷ The common interpretation of אֱלֹהִים (El-Shaddai) is "God Almighty" (*KJV*) or "All-sufficient" (*Rashi*) and in Ainsworth's *Annotations* (1627) 1:65. Mather refers to *Observationes Sacrae* (1705–15), a three-volume commentary on the OT and NT, by Salomon Deyling (1677–1755), Lutheran professor of philosophy and theology at Wittenberg and Leipzig. For more traditional explications, see Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (*Works* 2:199–200).

⁴⁸ In his "Note Book of Authors" on Gen. 17:2, Mather lists as one of his sources "Strong, of the Covenant. p. 113"; i.e., *Discourse of the Two Covenants* (1678), bk. 2, ch. 1, p. 113, by William Strong (d. 1654), a notable Independent minister during Cromwell's Interregnum. See also Ainsworth's commentary on Gen. 17:5, in *Annotations* (1627) 1:66.

⁴⁹ Hugo Grotius observes on Gen. 17:6 (*Annotationes* 1:13) that "from all of time, there is nobody who could be compared with Abraham with regard to his kingdom and his numerous progeny." The remainder of the paragraph is Mather's translation of Grotius's Latin commentary on the same verse (pp. 13–14).

A. Hee was the First Man in the World, whose *Name* was either given or changed by God. And it is noted, There never was any Man received a Name immediately from God, but hee was an eminent Person, & perhaps a Type of some Notable Matter.⁵⁰

3412.

Q. What {is} the True Etymology of the Name *Abraham*?

A. We would have it signify, *The Father of a Multitude*. But there seems no way of making out that Meaning, so plain as that of *Hottinger's*, who makes it a Composition, of, *Ab*, a *Father*, and the old Word, *Raham*, which in Arabick still signifies, *A Great Number*.⁵¹

3290.

Q. The *Ordinances* of the Old Testament, were Typical. Now *Circumcision* here occurs, among the *First* of those Ordinances? v. 12.⁵²

A. The Sovereignty of God appeared in Appointing *Circumcision*. The Part chosen for the Subject of it, might bee chosen, because those Members of the Body, are much abused unto Sin; and *usually the greatest Wrath of God* (as one saies) *to the Sons of Men, is expressed, by giving them up to Abuse those Parts of the Body*. God going to sanctify a Nation to Himself, & separate for Himself a Seed, *here* fixes the *Seal* of His doing so. And it served as a *Partition-Wall* between them, and the rest of the World.⁵³

The Kernel of this Institution, lay in the *Covenant of Grace*. In the *Covenant* with *Abraham*, sealed by *Circumcision*, God promised to bee a *God* unto Him; and to give him a *Seed*, as well {as} the *Seed of the Woman*, or the *Messiah*, as a *Beleeving Seed*, of his own Posterity, and an *Engrafted Seed*, of the poor Gentiles: And, finally, to provide an *Inheritance*, both for him & them; which *Inheritance* was not *Canaan*, so much as *Heaven*.⁵⁴

| *Circumcision* was the *Initiating Seal* of this *Covenant*. But at the same [338v] Time, it held forth the Sufferings of the Lord Jesus Christ, the *Principal Seed* in the *Covenant*. It was a *Bloody Sacrament*; and the *First Blood* that our Lord shed, was in *Circumcision*; and the Shedding of that *Blood* was Part of the Expiation, which Hee made for our Sins. There was also one special Blessing of

50 Ainsworth's *Annotationes* (1627) 1:66 (on Gen. 17:5).

51 Mather's immediate source is Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 17:5 (*Commentary* 1:71), but Patrick's own source is Hottinger's *Smegma orientale* (1658), lib. 1, cap. 8, pp. 287–89, § 19.

52 Mather extracts his typological interpretation from "The Gospel of Circumcision" (Acts 7:8), a series of sermons his uncle Samuel Mather preached in Ireland (Oct. 30, 1666) and subsequently published in *Figures or Types* (1683) 218–31. See also Edward Taylor's *Upon the Types* (1689) 2:765–88.

53 The italicized passages appear in Samuel Mather's *Figures* (220).

54 Mather here summarizes his uncle's *Figures* (224 § 2; 225 § 1; 226 § 4; 227 § 3).

the *Covenant*, namely, *Mortification*, or, the Cutting off our original *Corruption* and *Naughtiness*, herein pointed out. (Consider, Deut. 30.6. Act. 7.51. Col. 2.11.) By the way, tis to be observed, That the Member which is the Instrument of Generation, is peculiarly called by the Name of, *The Flesh*, in sundry Places of Scripture. (Lev. 15.2. Ezek. 16.26.) There is likewise the *Circumcision* of the *New Testament*, or, *Baptism*, which is a *Washing away our Filthiness*: And this is a sort of *Antitype*, or, at least, *Surrogate*, unto the old *Circumcision*. (Consider, Col. 2.12.)⁵⁵

Finally, Mens being Justified by *Faith*, in the *Righteousness*, of the promised *Seed of the Woman*, is the great Point shadowed out, by *Circumcision*. (Consider Rom. 4.)⁵⁶

3713:

Q. It is made a Quæstion by some *Learned* (I had almost said, *Profane*) Men, whether the *Hebrewes* did not first borrow *Circumcision* from the *Egyptians*? v. 12.⁵⁷

A. It is very sure, That not only the *Egyptians*, but several other Nations, did of old make Use of *Circumcision*. Whereupon, some say, it is improbable, that the *Egyptians*, who seem to have had it, the most early of all Nations, who did not spring from *Abraham*, should borrow this Custome, from the *Hebrewes*, whom they perfectly hated; & they take the Liberty thereupon to say, That the Lord enjoyned not now upon *Abraham* a New Thing, but only made an Old Rite, become a New Sign of His Covenant with him, which it was not with other Nations. But it is not the Assertion of a *Celsus*, or so, which will satisfy us, that *Circumcision* was in Use, before the Dayes of *Abraham*. It is much more likely, that the *Egyptians* borrowed Circumcision if not from the *Israelites*, yett from

⁵⁵ A summary of *Figures* (228 § 1; 229–230 §§ 2, 4, 5).

⁵⁶ *Figures* (229 § 3).

⁵⁷ Mather's "Answer" to his rhetorical "Question" is copied (almost verbatim) from Simon Patrick's annotation on Gen. 17:11 (*Commentary* 1:72). Patrick himself relies on Samuel Bochart's *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 31, col. 287) and on Jean LeClerc's "Dissertation VII" (*Twelve Dissertations* [1696] 181–90). The claim that Abraham had originated the rite of circumcision was hotly debated in Mather's generation. The Dutch Arminian theologian Jean LeClerc rekindled the old controversy when he pointed to Herodotus (2.104), who asserted an Egyptian and Ethiopian origin of this rite. Those who uphold the patriarchal origin of circumcision, LeClerc contends, are "destitute of the Authority of the Scripture, which no where affirms so much." Besides, "it will be a difficult matter to prove, that the most flourishing Nations in the World borrowed these Rites from the *Hebrews*, who were a despicable and unknown People, and neither for Magnificence or Antiquity to be compar'd with the *Ægyptians* and *Babylonians*" (*Twelve Dissertations* 189–90). Among Mather's contemporaries who weigh in on the debate are the English Hebraist John Spencer (1630–93) and the French Calvinist Pierre Jurieu (1637–1713): the enlightened Spencer balances all sides of the debate, in his *De Legibus Hebraeorum Ritualibus* (1685), lib. 1, cap. 4, sec. 2–6, pp. 40–59, but argues for the Egyptian origin of circumcision; Jurieu appears to uphold the orthodox view, in his *Critical History* (1705), vol. 1, part 2, ch. 18 (1: 523–25; as does Simon Patrick.

the Posterity of *Ishmael*, or other People descended from *Abraham*; who being highly beloved of God, as Dr. *Patrick* argues, it is not credible, that God would sett the Mark of *Hams* Race upon him, & his Posterity, & much less, make it the Token of the Covenant with them.⁵⁸ The only Authority on which the broachers of this Novelty rely, is *Herodotus*; who saies, *The People of Colchis & the Egyptians, were the only Nations that were circumcised ἀπ' ἀρχῆς from the Beginning; the Syrians & Phœnicians, who dwell in Palestine, acknowledging, they had this Rite from them.* L.2. c. 104. This is just such a Tale, as he tells in the Second Chapter of that Book; That the *Egyptians* were the first Inhabiters of the Earth, unless perhaps the *Phrygians*. It was a Vanity in them, which made 'em lothe to confess, that they received *Circumcision* from any other People. The *Philistines* came originally from the *Casluchim* (or *Colchians*;) as these had their Original from the *Egyptians*. [Gen. 10.14.] The *Philistines* were existing, (and had Kings too,) before the Dayes of *Abraham*. Now these *Philistines* were an *Uncircumcised* People; and therefore doubtless the *Cholcians* were so too: and by Consequence, the *Egyptians* were *uncircumcised*, when the *Casluchim* went out of *Egypt*; and *Herodotus* had a Cheat putt upon him.⁵⁹

Abraham was then the first *Circumcised* Person in the World; from him the *Ishmaelites* received *Circumcision*; from them the *Arabians*; as from these it was doubtless carried over to the *Egyptians*; and the later *Cholcians*, knowing themselves to be of an *Egyptian* Breed, chose to take it up, in imitation of their Fathers, the *Egyptians*.⁶⁰

[339r]

Q. Being upon the mention of *Circumcision*, it may not be improper here to introduce One or Two Curiosities concerning it? v. 12.

A. Upon the Abscission, of the *Foreskin*, they cast it into the *Sand*, in Memory of that Promise; *I will make thy Seed as the Sand of the Sea*; And of that Saying, *who can number the Dust of Jacob*? That is, His Posterity, whose *Foreskin* is cast into the *Dust*. By this Means they say that the Curse upon the *Serpent* is fulfilled; *Dust thou shalt eat*; That is, The *Foreskin* in the *Dust*. And so the *Serpent* can have no more Power over them.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:72). Gen. 46:34. Aulus Cornelius Celsus (*De medicina* 6.18.5; 7.25.1–2) describes the surgical practice of circumcision, how it can cure inflammation of the prepuce, and how the prepuce can be restored to those who wish to hide their ethnic origin. In Origen's *Contra Celsum* (5.41), Celsus argues that both the Egyptians and Colchians practiced circumcision long before the Jews adopted this rite as a key element of their identity formation (*ANF* 4:561).

⁵⁹ Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:72). Bochart (*Geographia*, pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 31, col. 287). Herodotus (2.104.11).

⁶⁰ Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:72).

⁶¹ This interpretation can be found in Johannes Buxtorf's oft-reprinted and translated *Synagoga Judaica* (1604), ch. 2, and in its English translation *The Jewish Synagogue* (1657),

Scotus reckons up the Different *Periods* of *Circumcision* in this Manner.

From the Institution of it, unto the Time that our SAVIOUR was Baptized, it was under the Præcept of the Law, and was Profitable & Necessary.

From the Baptism of our SAVIOUR, unto the Promulgation of the Gospel, it was Profitable, but not Necessary.

From the Promulgation of the Gospel to the Destruction of the Temple, it was Lawful, but not Profitable.

From the Destruction of the Temple to this Time, it is absolutely Unlawful. Tis *Concision*, and not *Circumcision*.

In the First Period, they only Circumcised.

In the Second Period, they Circumcised & Baptised.

In the Third Period, they Baptised and Circumcised; & regarded the former more than the latter.

In the Last Period, the Christians have only Baptised.⁶²

[340v]

I will add a Thought from Dr. *Tho. Burnett* of *Westkington* his *Demonstration of True Religion*.

Since God chose the *Israelites* from out of the World, for a *Separate People* unto Himself, and brought them into His *Covenant*, what greater Wisdome could there be, than this; to appoint such a *Sign & Seal* of His *Covenant* as must necessarily keep them *Separate*? And what could be contrived more effectual for this Purpose, than the Ceremony of *Circumcision*, which was what no other People would voluntarily conform unto?

And if it shall appear, that the *Promised Land* in this *Covenant* was to represent a Future State of *Happiness*, tis to be supposed, That *Circumcision* was to represent the *Holiness*, which is required of every Person that would be capable of that *Happiness*. As no *uncircumcised* Person was to be a Possessor of *Canaan*, so no one should be a Partaker of that everlasting *Happiness*, but such as *crucify the Flesh, with the Lusts & Affections of it, & cleanse themselves from all Filthiness of the Flesh & of the Spirit*.⁶³

ch. 2, p. 52. The italicized references to the Bible are to Exod. 4:25; Gen. 22:17, 32:12; Num. 23:10; Gen. 3:14. See also Mather's sermon *Zalmonah: The Gospel of the Brasen Serpent in the Mosaic History* (1725).

⁶² This allegorical interpretation by the English medieval philosopher John Duns Scotus (c. 1265–1308) probably leans on his discussion of circumcision in *Opera Omnia* (1891) 16: 195–98.

⁶³ Mather's citation (with slight variations) is from the two-volume *Demonstration of True Religion* (1726), vol. 2, ch. 9, pp. 170, 171, by Thomas Burnet(t), D.D. (d. 1750), rector of Westkington, Wiltshire, and prebendary of Sarum, who delivered his Boyle lectures in 1724 and 1725.

Q. The *Covenant* of God with *Abraham*; Lett us Resume the Consideration of it, and bestow upon it some *Evangelical Illustration*? v. 12.

A. A Gentleman sometimes *erroneous* enough, had in his Treatise on, *The Immortality of the Soul*, argued so well upon it, (and made such *Honourable Amends* for some *Errors*,) that I shall employ his Thoughts for an Illustration of this Illustrious Matter. [Tis Dr. W. *Sherlock*.]⁶⁴

This *Covenant*, we see, contains no express *Literal Promise* of *Another Life*; and yett if we expound it so as to be worthy of a *God*, and a Mark of His Peculiar Favour to *Abraham*, we must understand something more *Spiritual* in it, than what the meer *Letter* signifies. That the *Patriarchs* did so understand it, we have Apostolical Demonstration; Heb. 11.13, 14, 15, 16. *They seek a better Countrey, that is, an Heavenly*.⁶⁵

First; It seems very unaccountable, That God, out of great Grace and Favour should enter into *Covenant* with *Abraham*, and give him nothing but *Promises* which he should never live to see Accomplished. This indeed is to give him *Nothing*, when hee to whom the *Promises* are made, shall never see the Accomplishment. The Land of *Canaan* was no Inheritance to *him*; it was a meer *Land of Promise*; he was a *Stranger* and a *Pilgrim* in it. God gave him *Nothing*, while he *Lived*; and if there be no *Life* after this, could give him nothing after *Death*. It would now puzzle any Man, to say, wherein God was Favourable to him, above the rest of Mankind!⁶⁶

Secondly. It seems as unaccountable, That God should bless the *Posterity* of *Abraham* for *his Sake*, & in Remembrance of His *Covenant* with him, and yett suffer *Abraham* himself to perish, without the least Hope of any Reward. Indeed, we do Good unto the *Children* of those, whose Memory is dear unto us; but certainly we would much more have preserved those Beloved and Deserving Persons themselves from Death, if we could. Now, no Man doubts, but that God can make us *Immortal*, if He please. And then is it not Reasonable to Beleeve, that when God expresses that Kindness for any One, as to enter into *Covenant* with him, & with his *Posterity* for his Sake, He will preserve this Beloved Person

⁶⁴ The following lengthy extract ["BA," pp. 341r–346v] is a close paraphrase of, with citations from, *A Discourse Concerning the Happiness of Good Men* (1704), part 1, ch. 3, sec. 4, esp. pp. 242–94, by the Anglican controversialist William Sherlock, D.D. (1639/40–1707), dean of St. Paul's, master of the Temple, and (after his demotion), rector of Therfield, Hertfordshire. Mather's criticism of Sherlock alludes to the Trinitarian controversy during the 1690s, in which Sherlock's vociferous opposition to the Socinians led to charges of tritheism, a stark redefinition of the Trinity as the union of three separate, but mutually conscious, persons. See Appendix A.

⁶⁵ In Part 1 of his *Discourse*, Sherlock defends the embattled doctrine of the Soul's immortality, a topic dear to Mather's heart in his *Threefold Paradise* (121–54). Mather fetches the present paragraph from *Discourse*, Part 1, ch. 3, sec. 4, pp. 242, 243). Heb. 11:16.

⁶⁶ W. Sherlock (*Discourse* 243–44).

from falling into *nothing*. Certainly, He that Remembers His *Covenant* with *Abraham*, ha's not Forgott *Abraham* himself.⁶⁷

Thirdly. It will seem very strange, that God should enter into *Covenant* with *Abraham* upon meer *Temporal* Accounts. For such a short momentary Life, and the vanishing Joyes of it, are not worthy of so great a Concernment. A *Covenant* has in it something *Sacred* and *Solemn*, and it signifies a more *Peculiar Favour* than Creatures can challenge from a *Common Providence*: even such *Acts of Grace*, as no Creatures can have a Right unto, but only by *Promise*. Can meer *Temporal Blessings* be the proper Matter for such a *Covenant*? Or be the *Distinguishing Marks* of the Divine Favour, and the greatest things that God ha's to bestow on the Men, whom He delights to Bless and Honour? A little *Philosophy* taught, even the *Heathens* themselves, to despise this *Vanishing Scene*, tho' never so gloriously painted & adorned. And, what, the *Wiser* and *Better* Men are, the more they Despise, *That* surely, never can alone be a proper Object of peculiar *Covenanting-Grace*.⁶⁸

Fourthly. In the *meer Letter* of the *Covenant*, there is promised unto *Abraham*, nothing beyond what other Men enjoy'd, with whom God never entred into *Covenant*. It is no extraordinary Matter to have a *Son*, but a *Common Blessing* of Nature. Had he had a *Son* in his Youth, the *Miracle* had not been so great, but the *Blessing* had been greater. And then, a *Numerous Posterity*; if we consider this, as a meer *Temporal Blessing*, it is hard to say, wherein it may consist. It is at most, but an *Imaginary Happiness*, tho' we should live to *See* mighty Nations descended from our Loins. And yett *Abraham* never *Saw* this: he only saw him from whom this *Numerous Issue* was to proceed. But, what was this to *him*, if he must fall into *Nothing* himself, and lose *all Knowledge* of this, as well as of other things, as soon as *Death* had closed his Eyes. And yett, this was not peculiar unto *Abraham* neither. *Adam*, and *Noah*, and *Shem*, and *Ham*, and *Japhet*, each of them saw a mightier Posterity than *Abraham* did; and perhaps, little to their Satisfaction. Well; but God promised *Canaan* for an Inheritance unto his Posterity. And were there not *other Countreyes* in the World, as Pleasant and as Fruitful as *Canaan*, where Men liv'd in as much Plenty, and enjoy'd all the Conveniencies of Life, as much as there?⁶⁹

[342v] Fifthly; If we come to the Accomplishment of these *Promises*, we shall not find the *Israelites* upon meer *Temporal Accounts*, the most | Happy People in the World. There were greater and more Flourishing Princes in their Time, than *Abraham* and *Isaac* and *Jacob*. These mett with many and severe Trials. One of them saies, *Few and Evil, have been the Dayes of the Years of my Life*. Would any one have expected such a Confession from a *Man in Covenant with God*, if

⁶⁷ W. Sherlock (*Discourse* 244, 245).

⁶⁸ W. Sherlock (*Discourse* 245–46).

⁶⁹ W. Sherlock (*Discourse* 246–48).

meer *Temporal Prosperity* had been the *Matter* of the *Covenant*? If God intended nothing more for them, they ought to have been the *Happiest Men* in the World. And yett they mett with as many Troubles as any other Men; and supported themselves under all, by *Faith*, which is a very uncomfortable Principle to *live* by, if there be no *Future Life*. The *Israelites* in *Egypt*, after *Joseph* was Dead and Gone, were the most oppressed People in the World. And yett they were the *Heirs of the Promises*, and the *Peculiar People* of God. Four Hundred Years after the *Covenant* was made with *Abraham*, God show'd *Peculiar Favour* to this *Peculiar People*, in their Deliverance out of *Egypt*. And yett in the *Wilderness*, He visited them with terrible Severities; He terribly Destroy'd them. Come to the Wars of *Canaan*, and we find them owned with miraculous Victories; but then under their *Judges*, and their *Kings*, their Condition oftentimes was very miserable. They were frequently *oppress'd* by their Heathen Neighbours; engage'd in Doubtful and Bloody Wars; consumed with *Famine*, and *Pestilence*, and *Sword*. There were *Ten Tribes* quickly carried away into a Final Captivity. Anon the *City* and *Temple of Jerusalem* is burnt by the *Chaldeans*; and the Two Remaining Tribes made captive to *Babylon* for Seventy Years. Being Returned, they meet with New Troubles; are spoiled by the *Egyptians*, and *Assyrians*, and especially by *Antiochus*. The *Romans* made them Tributaries; they became a *Roman Province*; they had *Roman Governours* over them. By 'nd by their *City* and *Temple* is again laid in Ashes; and they are dispersed into all Parts of the World, and made the *Refuse* of the Nations. As to *meer External Prosperity*, no Man can pretend, that the *Israelites* were much Happier, than every other People. And as for *Particular Men*, there were alwayes Complaints among them, concerning the Prosperity of *Bad Men*, and the Afflictions and Sufferings of the *Righteous*.⁷⁰

Sixthly; Lett us look upon the more *General Promises* made unto *Abraham*: Certainly, they cannot be confined unto *This Life*, and unto *Meer Temporal Blessings*. What shall we say to that? Gen. 15.1. *I am thy Shield, & thy Exceeding Great Reward*. Would God have made such a Promise as this, to a Man that was near an hundred Years old, and ready to drop into the Grave, should he have perished there, and forever have been as incapable of any *Reward*, as that which is not? For God to be his *Shield*, signifies, To be his *Protector* and *Deliverer*; which can signify but very little, if it suffer him to fall into *nothing*. And, to be his *Exceeding Great Reward*, signifies that God would bestow *Exceeding Great Rewards* upon him. There are none such in this World. It is very certain, That *Abraham* received none such, while he lived. They must therefore be *Future* ones.

⁷⁰ W. Sherlock (*Discourse* 249–51, 252). Jacob is the one who reminds Pharaoh of the brevity of life (Gen. 47:9). Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 BCE), who introduced Greek gods and Hellenistic customs into Judaism, was strongly opposed during the Maccabaean uprising. The political clash between Hellenism and Judaism, between Seleucids and Hasmoneans, is recorded in the Book of the Maccabees, which covers the period of c. 180–132 BCE. Roman rule of Palestine began in 63 BCE.

Yea, God promises him, that *He Himself* would be his *Exceeding Great Reward*; that is, That He would *Exceedingly Reward* him, in the Enjoyment of *Himself*. But we know, the *Perfect Enjoyment* of GOD, is Reserved for another World; & it implies the Immediate Presence and Vision of GOD.⁷¹

Compare the *Sixteenth Psalm* for this.⁷²

Again; God having encouraged *Abrahams* Faith by His Almighty Power; [what? meerly for the Performance of some *Temporal Promises*!] proceeds to say, Gen. 17.7. *I will establish my Covenant, between me and thee, and thy Seed after thee, in their Generations, for an Everlasting Covenant, to be a God unto thee, & unto thy Seed after thee.* This, *To be a God*, signifies, To bestow all the Blessings on him, that *God* can bestow; And an *Everlasting Covenant* with *Abraham*, & his Posterity, *To be their God*, cannot meerly signify, that He will be *their God* in all successive Generations, as they come into this World, till they go out of it again. But it signifies, that He will *Everlastingly* | be a *God* unto all of them; and that they should *Everlastingly* be Happy in the Enjoyment of *Him*.⁷³

There is another Promise to *Abraham*, which putts the Matter out of all Doubt. God Promised unto him; and Renewed it with an Oath: [Gen. 22.18.] *In thy Seed, shall all the Nations of the Earth be Blessed.* This must necessarily signify, either, an *Universal Temporal Monarchy*, or the *Spiritual Blessings of the Messiah*. The first, the Jewes hop'd for, & miss'd of. But the true Promised Seed of *Abraham*, the Blessed JESUS, their Promised *Messiah*, hath *Blessed* all the World; and *all the Nations of the Earth* may be *Blessed* in Him. With what *Blessings*? With *Spiritual* Ones. This proves, that the Covenant with *Abraham*, was a *Spiritual Covenant*; the Promised *Seed*, & the Promised *Land*, were Types, of the *Messiah*, and the Heavenly Blessedness He ha's prepared for us.⁷⁴

Seventhly. God owns Himself to be the *God* of *Abraham*, and of *Isaac*, and of *Jacob*, after their Death. By this Argument, our Lord silenced the *Sadducees*. [Matth. 22.31, 32.] To be a *God* unto any Person, is to be his Benefactor, a *Shield* and an *Exceeding Great Reward* unto him. When a Man ceases to *Be*, God ceases to be *his God*; He is not *the God* of that which *is not*. The *Relation* begins and ends with the *Relative*. If those Good Men perished in the *Grave*, there was an End, be sure, of the *Covenant*. These *Patriarchs* were still *Alive* unto God. The Great God ha's their *Life* so *hid*, so lodg'd, with Him, that He will bring them actually to *Life* again, that so what He ha's laid up for them, in His Promises, may be accomplished. They *Live to God*; their *Life* is safe in the Hands of God; who will in His own Time certainly Restore their *Life* unto them. In the mean time, they shall be as Happy, as a *State of Separation* will allow of.⁷⁵

71 W. Sherlock (*Discourse* 252–53).

72 W. Sherlock (*Discourse* 254).

73 W. Sherlock (*Discourse* 255–56).

74 W. Sherlock (*Discourse* 256).

75 W. Sherlock (*Discourse* 257, 258, 259).

Eighthly, The *Promised Seed* also, did peculiarly signify, the *Messias*, and the Spiritual Blessings of His Kingdome. We are to distinguish, between the *Promised Son*, from whom the Numerous Posterity, like the *Stars* and *Sands*, were to descend; and the *Promised Seed*, in whom *all the Nations of the Earth were to be blessed*. We are also to distinguish, between *Abrahams* Carnal Posterity, and *Abrahams Children*, who are Heirs of the *Promises*.⁷⁶

The Apostle *Paul* is very express in the Observation of this Distinction. [see Gal. 3.16.]⁷⁷

The *Seed* in which all the Families of the *Earth are to be Blessed*, could not be *Isaac*, or *Jacob*; for the Promise of it is Renewed unto Them; And indeed, it is alwayes the *Finishing Clause* of the *Covenant*, with each of the *Three Patriarchs*. And the external and literal *Covenant*, was to give place unto that *New Covenant*, which this *Promised Seed* should make with Mankind, and thereby bring the Blessings of *Abraham* upon *all the Nations of the Earth*.⁷⁸

From this Time, the Prophets in their several Generations, made mention of this *Promised Seed* under different Characters. *Jacob* calls Him *Shiloh*; *Moses* calls Him, *The Prophet*. In *David's* time, He was, *The Son that was to sitt upon the Throne of David*. All the subsequent Prophets foretel His Glorious Government; and give such Characters of Him, as might serve to distinguish Him, when He should come into the World. Now if the Appearance of our Saviour, for the *Redemption* of Mankind, be the Final Accomplishment of the *Covenant* with *Abraham*, this is enough to prove, that it was a *Spiritual Covenant*, and principally did relate unto the *Spiritual Blessings* of the *Messiah*; which are therefore called; Gal. 3.14. *The Blessings of Abraham*. And accordingly, *Zachariah* makes the Birth of our Saviour, an Accomplishment of that *Covenant*, in his Hymn on that Occasion.⁷⁹

The *Jewes* themselves were also suspicious, that tho' *Canaan* were an Inheritance for the Carnal Posterity of *Abraham*, yett he had a *Spiritual Seed*, which were the True *Heirs of the Promises*. *Philo* wrote a Book wholly upon this Argument; *who is the Heir of Divine Blessings*; And he resolves it, for an *Heavenly Mind*, a Soul disentangled from worldly Cares and earthly Passions. *John* the *Baptist* began his Ministry, with this Distinction. [Matth. 3.9.] Our Saviour insisted on it. [Joh. 8.37, 39, 40, 44.] The Apostle *Paul* is very positive in it. [Rom. 2.28, 29.]⁸⁰

⁷⁶ W. Sherlock (*Discourse* 259–60).

⁷⁷ W. Sherlock (*Discourse* 260).

⁷⁸ W. Sherlock (*Discourse* 262, 263). Gen. 22:18.

⁷⁹ W. Sherlock (*Discourse* 263, 264). Gen. 49:10. 1 Kings 1:17. Zech. 6:13.

⁸⁰ W. Sherlock (*Discourse* 265–66, 267). The title of Philo Judaeus's work is *Quis rerum divinarum heres*.

The *Pauline* Account of the Matter deserves to be yett more particularly considered.⁸¹

[344v] When the *Jewes* were told, that notwithstanding they gloried so much in being *Abrahams* Posterity, to whom the Promises were made; yett God would *Re-ject* them from being His People; Destroy their City, their Temple, their Nation; Scatter them over the Face of the whole Earth, | for their Crucifying of their *Messias*, and Adhæring to the External Dispensation of the Law, in Opposition to the Faith of Him; and that He would now establish His *Covenant* only with the Beleeving *Jewes*, and the Beleeving *Gentiles*: They naturally enough objected, That this could not be; because it would annull that *Covenant*, that God had made with *Abraham*, and with his Seed forever. In answer to this, our Apostle tells them, They were mistaken in the True Notion of, *The Seed of Abraham*. He proves that the *Covenant* was not made, with all the Carnal Posterity of *Abraham*. He proves it, by the Exemples of *Isaac* and *Ishmael*; and of *Jacob* and *Esau*. [Rom. 9.6, 7, 8, 9.] *Ishmael* was as much the *Seed of Abraham*, as *Isaac* was. Who then are the *Seed of Abraham* unto whom the Promises are made{?} He tells them, *The Children of the Promise are counted for the Seed*; that is, All those who are born, as *Isaac* was, by *Faith* in the Promise of God. *Isaac* was not so much the Child of *Nature*, as of *Faith*. [Compare, Heb. 11.11, 12.] He tells us, This was the Meaning of that Promise; *In Isaac shall thy Seed be called*. Not that all the Children of *Isaac*, should be reckoned, *The Seed of Abraham*, and, the *Heirs of the Promises*: For the next Exemple, of *Jacob* and *Esau*, proves, that they were not so: But such Children as *Isaac* was, the Children of the *Promise*, the Children of *Faith*, they shall be accounted for *the Seed*. And this appropriates the *Covenant* unto the *Spiritual Seed of Abraham*. [Consider, Gal. 3.9, 26, 29.] Now, if the *Seed of Abraham*, to whom the Promises were made, are a *Spiritual Seed*, or his *Children by Faith*, it is plain, it was a *Spiritual Covenant*, and the *Blessings* of it are *Spiritual* and *Eternal* ones. This proves, That those may be the Children of *Abraham*, who are not his Children by *Natural Descent*; if they imitate the Faith of their Father *Abraham*. And therefore God might Reject the Unbeleeving *Jewes*, and own the Beleeving *Gentiles*, as His *Children*, and the Heirs of His Promises, without annulling His *Covenant* with *Abraham*, and with his *Seed*.⁸²

Again; *Isaac*, the Son of the Promise, had *Esau* and *Jacob*, at one Birth. A Figure of *Two Covenants* contained in the Promise which God made unto *Abraham*. *Esau*, the First-born, præfigured the Law of *Moses*, and a *Covenant of Works*, and a Carnal *Israel* who were under the Discipline of it. *Jacob*, the younger Brother, who took hold on *Esau's* Heel, and immediately follow'd him into the World, signified the *Gospel-Covenant*, that was to be published at the End of the *Mosaical* Dispensation; a *Covenant of Faith*, wherein the *Spiritual*

⁸¹ W. Sherlock (*Discourse* 269). The Pauline account is in Rom. 9 and Gal. 4.

⁸² W. Sherlock (*Discourse* 269–70, 271, 272–73).

Seed of Abraham, are declared the true Heirs of the Promises. Thus the *Younger* becomes the *Heir* and *Lord* of the Family. The Apostle proves, that this is the *Mystical Sense* of the Argument, because the *Birthright* was given to the Younger, before the Children were Born, or had *done either Good or Evil*. The Distinction did not so much concern their *Persons*, but as they were *Figures*, wherein the *Purpose of God according to Election* was declared. This *Purpose of God*, in chusing the *Seed of Abraham*, and Heirs of the Promise, did not regard their meer *Natural Descent* from *Abraham*; For God rejected, both *Ishmael* and *Esau*, tho' both descended from *Abraham*: Nor the Righteousness of Works; For *Esau*, a Type of that, was Rejected, and *Jacob* was Preferred.⁸³

Lastly; The Land of *Canaan*, was a Type of Heaven.⁸⁴

The First Essay of *Abrahams* Faith, was, To go *out of his own Countrey, & his Fathers House*, unto the Land which the Lord was to shew him: [Gen. 12.1. Heb. 11.8.] *His own Countrey & his Fathers House*, does not mean only that Place, where he was born, & where his Relations lived. This indeed is one Sense of it; and in *that Sense*, he did obey and go into *Canaan*. But why would the Lord call him to this, & not give him any immediate Possession of *Canaan*, but only a *Promise* of it; and this only for his Posterity, some Ages after? If this were to take him from *Ill Company*, it carried him to *Worse*. Nor is it any such mighty Trial, to Change the Air, and to Transplant ones self into a Better Countrey. *Isaac* and *Jacob*, who were Born here, were no *Strangers* here. Tho' they had no *Cities* there, yett they pitch'd their *Tents* where they pleased, and were owned as *Princes*, by the other Princes, of the Countrey, who courted their Alliance.⁸⁵

There is in it something more Mysterious; and the Apostle intimates what it is. To *Earthly Creatures*, this World is *their own Countrey, & their Fathers House*. Tho' there are many Places, which they know little of, yett in general, they know what the *World* is, and what its | Enjoyments are. Here they are *at Home*, & with their *Kindred*; with People disposed like themselves. *Heaven* is a Countrey more unknown to them, than *Canaan* was to *Abraham*. It is only God that can discover the Countrey to us, & the Way to it, as He led *Abraham* into *Canaan*. *Abrahams* Action, is in the Scripture, made a Figure of a Christians Life, in this World; who is but a *Pilgrim* and a *Stranger* here. Thus *David* expounds it, when he was King of *Israel*, and *Canaan* was become the Inheritance of *Israel*: Psal. 39.12. *I am a Stranger with thee, & a Sojourner, as all my Fathers were*. [Compare, Psal. 119.19. and, 1. Pet. 2.11.] Tho' the Patriarchs did certainly beleieve, that their Posterity should inherit the Earthly *Canaan*; yett they understood *Better Things* contained in this Promise, even an *Heavenly Countrey*, which they expected, as their Inheritance.⁸⁶

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⁸³ W. Sherlock (*Discourse* 275, 276, 277). Rom. 9:11, 11:5.

⁸⁴ W. Sherlock (*Discourse* 278).

⁸⁵ W. Sherlock (*Discourse* 279, 280).

⁸⁶ W. Sherlock (*Discourse* 281–82, 282–83).

We may therefore observe, That the Titles and Characters, which are given to *Canaan*, do in a strict Sense properly belong only to Heaven. It is every where called, *The Promised Land*, and, *The Land of Promise*. This in the strict Sense, must mean an Inheritance, to which there was no Right, but in Vertue of a *Promise*; not by Birthright, or by the Merit of Good-Works. Thus the Apostle opposes, *The Law*, and, *The Promise*. He saies, *If the Inheritance be by the Law, it is no more of Promise; but God gave it unto Abraham by Promise*. Nothing but Heaven can fully Answer this Notion, of, *The Promised Land*. It is above the Original Right of an Earthly Nature; and our *Merits* never can pretend unto a Reward, which is above our Nature. *Eternal Life* is the *Gift of God*; which we can have only by *Promise*. And indeed, it is the only *Inheritance*, whereto a *Right* can be *created no other way*. *Canaan* was also called, *An Inheritance*, and, *An Everlasting Inheritance*. In this World, so mutable a Scene! there is nothing that can deserve to be called so. Nor is *Canaan* itself any longer now an Inheritance. But Heaven, That is the *Inheritance of the Saints in Light*! And, *The Inheritance in the Kingdome of Christ and of God*. [See also, 1. Pet. 1.3.] And this last Passage, further confirms, what we are upon. For, the Kingdome of *Israel*, was, *The Kingdome of God, & of Christ*. God was their *King*; and He promised, That He would sett up *His King*, even *His Christ*, on the Throne of *David*. And yett, we are sure, That *the Kingdome of God, & of Christ*, extends to *another World*. The true *Canaan* therefore, is *there* also to be looked for.⁸⁷

Jacobs Vision of the *Ladder* gives us an express Proof of This. [Gen. 28.12, 13, 14.] It signified, A Communication between *Canaan* and Heaven; That the Promise of the Land of *Canaan* reaches from Earth to Heaven; That the *Foot* of this *Ladder* stood on the Earth, but the *Top* of it was in Heaven, where the God of *Abraham* and *Isaac* dwells. Lett us hear, how *Jacob* himself expounds the Vision: He said, *Surely, The Lord is in this Place, and I knew it not*. *Jacob* knew, That God is present in all Places. But he finds, That God was present here, in such a Manner, as He is not present in the rest of the World. The *Ladder from Earth to Heaven*, and the Attendance and Ministry of *Angels*, plainly shewed a peculiar Favour and Regard of God for *this Place*. He called the Name of the Place, *Bethel*, or, *The House of God*. God ha's but *one House*, which, like *Jacobs Ladder*, does reach from *Earth to Heaven*. *Heaven is His Throne, and the Earth is His Footstool*. But the *Footstool*, tho' the meanest Part, yett belongs to the *Throne*. Therefore, tis not *all* the *Earth* in general, which is called, *His Footstool*, but only *Canaan*; and in *Canaan* itself, such Places, where God manifested His more peculiar Presence. Thus, the *Ark* is called, The *Footstool* of God. [See, 1. Chron. 28.2. and, Psal. 95.5.] Our Saviour so applies it: Matth. 5.35. *Swear not by the Earth, for it is His Footstool*. That is, the Land of *Canaan*; For the Jewes never swore by any other *Earth*. Thus, the *Temple* was called, *The House of God*; and

⁸⁷ W. Sherlock (*Discourse* 283–84, 285, 286). Gal. 3:18; Col. 1:12.

the *Ark* was called, *His Presence*. *Jerusalem* was called, *The Holy Mount*, and, *The City of the Great King*. The Relation between *These* and *Heaven*, was that which produced these glorious Characters. Cutt off *Canaan* from *Heaven*; Take down the *Ladder*; Lett *Canaan* be no more than a Temporal Inheritance; and it is no longer the *Footstool of God*; the *House of God* | is no longer there; no more than [346v] *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, or *Egypt*, or any other Part of the Earth.⁸⁸

What *Jacob* adds, is yett more significant. *This is no other, but the Gate of Heaven*. Very near is this Relation to *Heaven*: To be the *Gate* of it! Such a *Gate* is of no other Value, but to give us Admission into *Heaven*. The Promise of that *Land*, which was the *Gate of Heaven*, must needs include a Promise of *Heaven* in it.⁸⁹

The True and Brief Repræsentation of the Case is this. God entred into *Covenant* with *Abraham*, to be *his God, and the God of his Seed*; and promised, That when the *Time Appointed* was come, He would give them the Possession of the Land of *Canaan* for an Inheritance; where, they should live separate from the rest of the World, as *His Peculiar People*, under His Immediate Care and Government; and enjoy the special Marks of His Favour and Presence, while they *Lived*; And when they *Dyed*, if their *Sins did not stop up the Way*, they should be Translated into a better World, and Exchange a Temporal for an Heavenly *Canaan*. This was a *Covenant* worthy of a GOD; This made *Canaan* indeed, *The House of God, and the Gate of Heaven*.⁹⁰

This gives us, an Account of *Esau's Profaneness* in *Despising his Birthright*: [Compare, Heb. 12.16. with Gen. 25.29. &c] It appears, That *Esau* understood no more, by the *Promised Land*, than a *Temporal Inheritance*, which would *do him no Good*, when he was *ready to Dy*. This was a *Profane* Contempt of Gods *Covenant* and *Promise*, & of his own Interest in it; and the Foundation of the *Profaneness* was, a gross Carnal Apprehension he had, of the *Covenant* itself: it was a great Impiety, to think thus meanly of it; as if God had with so much Solemnity made a *Covenant*, which was not worth having, even on the highest Terms imaginable.⁹¹

Moreover; It may be thought very unaccountable, why God, who had promised by *Covenant*, the Land of *Canaan*, for the Posterity of *Abraham*, should defer the Accomplishment of the Promise for so many Ages; even for *Four Hundred and Seventy Years*. Indeed, it may seem Reasonable to defer it,

⁸⁸ W. Sherlock (*Discourse* 286, 287, 288–89). Gen. 28:16; 1 Chron. 28:2. The Ark of the Covenant as God's footstool was a small box or chest-like structure upon which the two cherubim rested. YHWH was believed to sit between the outstretched wings of these polymorphous creatures resting his feet on the Ark. Portable arks serving as thrones for human and divine rulers can be found among the ancient Israelites as among the Egyptians, Hittites, and Canaanites (*ABD* 1:386–93). For archeological evidence, see T. Mettinger's *In Search of God* (128–30).

⁸⁹ W. Sherlock (*Discourse* 289–90). Gen. 28:17.

⁹⁰ W. Sherlock (*Discourse* 290). Gen. 28:17.

⁹¹ W. Sherlock (*Discourse* 291–92).

until the *Israelites* were become Numerous enough to people such a Countrey. But still, why would God in the mean time suffer such a Beloved People, to be Oppress'd in *Egypt* with such a cruel Bondage, and to be Destroy'd with so many Plagues in the *Wilderness*? The *Typical State* of the Church of *Israel*, is the best Thing, that it can be resolv'd into. They were a Figure of the miserable *Servitude* of Mankind, under the Dominion of Sin, and the Tyranny of Wicked Spirits; and of the *Redemption* of Sinners by Jesus Christ; and the various *Trials* of the Christian Life in this World; & the *Supports* which Heaven dispenses unto us; & the *Dangers* of *Infidelity* & of *Disobedience*. The Applications of these Things in the *New Testament*, are every where to be mett withal.⁹²

Thus have we in One *Illustration*, a Number of good and clear Thoughts, which have notably Illustrated Numberless Passages in the Sacred Scriptures, and given us a *Key* to a very considerable Part of our Bible.⁹³

[▽347r] [▽Insert of 347r–350v]⁹⁴

Many Years after, I live to see a Discourse made by the *Son* of the Gentleman, whose Meditations have thus obliged us; On the *Covenant* of *Abraham*. And the Sentiments of this Gentleman, [tis Dr. *Th. Sherlock*,] enable me to throw in some further Thoughts of this Importance upon that Noble Subject.⁹⁵

It is evident, that it was not the Intention of Providence in the Calling of *Abraham*, or in Giving the Law unto *Moses*, immediately to Restore true Religion among all the Nations of the World. There is propounded unto *Abraham*, a *Destroying*, rather than a *Reforming*, of the Idolatrous Nations in the Land of *Canaan*. And *Circumcision* was ordered unto the Offspring of *Abraham*, to separate them from the rest of Mankind. The Law of *Moses* was also established on many Rites, to be observed no where but in the Land of *Canaan*. [See also, Act. XIV.16. and XVII.30.] But yett we must consider these things, as a Method of Providence; working towards the *Great End* always in View, even the *General Restoration of Mankind from the Curse of the Fall*; and the Opening of that Scheme, of the Divine Proceedings, which was to bring a Blessing upon *All the Nations* of the Earth. Accordingly, when *Abraham* received the Promises, he had

⁹² W. Sherlock (*Discourse* 292, 293, 294, 295).

⁹³ Here ends Mather's long excerpt from William Sherlock's *Discourse* (1704), part 1, ch. 3, sec. 4, pp. 242–94).

⁹⁴ The following four MS pages [347r–350v] are inserted here according to Mather's directions.

⁹⁵ Mather's four-page insert is extracted from *The Use and Intent of Prophecy, in the several Ages of the World* (1725), a collection of six discourses, by Thomas Sherlock (1677–1761), William Sherlock's son, master of the Temple (after his father's resignation), dean of St. Paul's, and bishop of London. My citation references are to the sixth edition, corrected and enlarged (London, 1755).

Assurance given him, not only of *Peculiar Blessings* to *himself* & his *Offspring*; but also of a *General Blessing* to be convey'd thro' him to *All Mankind*.⁹⁶

Consider, Gen. XII.2, 3. and, XV.18. and XVII.4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Here are great Promises, but, in the *Temporal Sense* of them, except the particular Gift of the Land of *Canaan*, (and there were probably other Parts of the World, as good as *that*;) there was nothing in them, that was peculiar to *Abraham* & his Posterity. There have been many great, & flourishing & powerful Nations, of another Kindred. The Sons of *Japhet*, and *Ham*, & those descended by other Branches from *Shem*, have arrived unto great Prosperity, & left a Numerous Offspring, in Vertue of the *Common Blessing* on their Ancestors after the Flood. Thus far the Promise to *Abraham* was derived from the *Temporal Covenant* established with *Noah* & his Offspring, after the Flood, in which other Nations had a share as well as himself; and some of them in some Respects a much greater; as he must needs judge, who knows any thing of the ancient or present Empires of the Eastern & Western World. But if we look forward, we shall see the Distinction between the several Promises grow plain; when GOD Renews the Covenant, and Limits the *Peculiar Blessing* of *Abraham*, to the Son which he should have by *Sarah* his Wife. In the XVII Chapter of *Genesis*, we find mention of an *Everlasting Covenant*, wherein the Glorious GOD assumes the peculiar Character of being, *The GOD of Abraham & of his Offspring*. This Connexion seems to be the True Foundation of our SAVIOURs Argument, from this Expression, to prove the *Resurrection of the Dead*; as the Connexion of the Promise of the Land of *Canaan*, to the *Everlasting Covenant* seems to be the Reason of treating the Land of *Canaan*, as a Type or Sign of the *Better Countrey*, that is, an *Heavenly*.⁹⁷ Here is a plain Intimation of Two Distinct Covenants. Towards the Close of this Chapter *Abraham* receives a Promise, that he should have a Son by *Sarah* his Wife, within the Compass of a Year, and that the *Everlasting Covenant* should be established with *That Son*, & his Offspring after him; tho' he had at this time, a Son thirteen Years old, for whom there had been promised a *Numerous Posterity flourishing in the Earth*. So that this, tho' it be Part of the Promise to *Abraham*, yett it is no Part of the *Everlasting Covenant*, which is confirmed unto *Isaac*, exclusively to all the other Sons of *Abraham*. The Blessed GOD, in what it pleases Him to call, *MY Covenant*, when He answers the Petition of *Abraham* for *Ishmael*, evidently makes it of a very Different Kind, from the *Covenant* given to *Ishmael*: It must be a *Covenant* founded on *Better Hopes* than those of a meer *Temporal Prosperity*. This Distinction of *Two Covenants*, in the Case of *Ishmael*, and *Isaac*, made by GOD Himself, is the Foundation of the Apostle *Pauls* Argument unto the *Galatians*. *It is written* (says he) *that Abraham had two Sons; the one by a bond Maid, the other by a free Woman; But he who was of the bond*

⁹⁶ T. Sherlock (*Use and Intent*, "Discourse V," pp. 107, 108–9).

⁹⁷ T. Sherlock (*Use and Intent* 109, 110–111, 112).

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Woman, was born after the Flesh; but he of the Free Woman was by a Promise: which things are an Allegory: for these are the two Covenants.⁹⁸ And whoever is capable of considering | what is related concerning this Matter in the Book of *Genesis*, will evidently see that indeed these are *Two Covenants*, and such *Two Covenants* as fully justify the Apostles Reasoning thereupon. The *Everlasting Covenant* so limited unto *Isaac*, and afterwards unto *Jacob*, and afterwards unto *Judah*, and last of all unto *David*; what should be the *Subject* of it? If we look back, we shall find, that after enumerating the *Temporal Blessings*, which were to descend from *Abraham* to his *Posterity*, *One BLESSING* is added, in which *ALL THE WORLD* has an Interest; which was to be convey'd unto them, thro' *Abraham* & his Offspring: *In thee shall all the Families of the Earth be blessed.*⁹⁹ Whatever *Abraham* understood by this, he could never understand it, as at this Day his pretending Children do; who expect, in Virtue hereof, to be *Lords of the World*, & have Dominion over all People. A strange *Blessing* This, to *all Nations*! That they should fall from the *Liberty*, which they have a Natural Right unto, & become Subject unto the Dominion of One People, that should lord it over them. None but a *Jew* can see the Happiness of such a State; The *Nations of the Earth* would certainly refuse the Offer of such a *Blessing*! The *Covenant* with *Ishmael*, says nothing of, the *Blessing to all Nations*. The *Covenant* with *Isaac* expressly renews this Promise. [Gen. XXVI.4.] Afterwards, *Esau* received a *Temporal Blessing* from his Father as well as *Jacob*. The Apostle accounts it *Profaneness* in *Esau*, that he sold his *Birthright*. It must needs be, because he sold the *Blessing of Abraham*, in the *Everlasting Covenant*. It is not reckoned *Profaneness*, to sell mere *Temporal Rights*: Nor did the scandalous Bargain exclude him from the Benefit of the *Temporal Promises*. Compare the Blessings of *Esau* & of *Jacob*, and say, wherein is *Esau's* Condition inferiour unto *Jacobs*? But there is Reason to limit Part of the Blessing on *Jacob*, to the *Peculiar Blessing* of *Abraham*, and of *Isaac*. The Conveying of the *Birthright* in the Family of *Abraham*, was conveying the *Special Blessing* of *Abraham*, which always attended upon the *Birthright*. This *Birthright* was evidently made over to *Jacob*, when we find it said, *Be Lord over thy Brethren*. The *Special Blessing* was in time to be extended unto *All Nations*, as well as to the House of *Abraham*; For in *his Offspring All the Families of the Earth were to be Blessed*:¹⁰⁰ And therefore, in Consequence of the *Birthright*, it is now said unto *Jacob*; *Lett the People serve thee, & the Nations bow down unto thee*. It is plain, from the whole Story of the Matter, that the *Chief Blessing* bestowed by *Isaac*, fell upon *Jacob*; and it is as plain, there are no Words to limit this *Chief Blessing* to *Jacob*, except these that are now before us. *Isaac* himself understood, that he had pass'd away the Blessing of *Abraham* to *Jacob*

⁹⁸ T. Sherlock (*Use and Intent* 112–13, 114). Gal. 4:22–24.

⁹⁹ T. Sherlock (*Use and Intent* 114–15). Gen. 12:3, 28:14.

¹⁰⁰ T. Sherlock (*Use and Intent* 115, 116, 117, 118). Gen. 28:14.

in these Words; and therefore he tells *Esau*, that the *Blessing* was gone beyond Recovery. Indeed of *Corn* and *Wine*, and of *Temporal Power*, he gives *Esau* a full & equal Share. The only Limitation on the Blessing, is, *Thou shalt serve thy Brother*. Whatever was peculiarly given to *Jacob*, was contained in the Grant of his being *Lord over his Bretheren*. And what this *Peculiar Blessing* was, we may learn from *Isaac* himself; who, in the next Chapter by 'nd by Renews the Blessing on *Jacob*, and gives expressly to him & his Offspring; *The Blessing of Abraham*. In the same Chapter, the Blessing is Renewed & Confirmed by the Glorious GOD Himself; *In thee, & in thy Seed, shall all the Families of the Earth be blessed*. That the Regard of *All Nations* to the *Seed* in which they were *All to be Blessed*, should be expressed by their *Bowing down to Him*, is no hard Figure of Speech. And that even this Yoke, the *Superiority of Abrahams Family*, should one day be broken, as the Promise to *Esau* setteth forth, when *Jews* and *Gentiles* come to be on an æqual foot, and æqually the People of GOD, is no more than the *Original Covenant* contains; For the Day was to come, when all Nations were to be *Equally Blessed* in the promised Redemption. If we expound the *Blessing of Jacob*, for a *Temporal Dominion*, see how it falls! *Jacob* flies his Countrey for fear of *Esau*. When he meets *Esau*, he bows before him seven times, & calls him, *His Lord*. The Posterity of *Esau*, have a Dominion established, many Years before *Jacobs Family* have any certain Dwelling Place. When the Time was come for the House of | *Israel* to be established, the Family of *Esau* is by a particular Decree exempted from the Dominion of *Israel*. In the Time of *David* the *Edomites* were subjugated. But in the Time of *Jehoram* they recovered, and sett up a *King of their own*. In the Time of *Abaz* they revenged the Affront, and smiting the *Jews*, led away *many Captives*. If This were all that was intended in what was promised unto *Jacob*, That *his Mothers Children should bow down unto him*, *Isaac* needed not have been so scrupulous of præserving to *Jacob*, a *Peculiar Blessing*.¹⁰¹ But now, the *Blessing of Jacob* expressed in Words implying a *Rule over his Brethren*, was truly a Conveyance of a *Birthright* unto him in the Family of *Abraham*. And the *Birthright* in the Family of *Abraham*, respected the special *Blessing* and *Covenant* given by GOD unto *Abraham*. *Isaac* himself calls this Right of Primogeniture in his House, *The Blessing of Abraham*. GOD Himself, in Confirmation of *Jacobs Primogeniture*, assures him, *That in his Offspring all the Families of the Earth shall be Blessed*. This Promise being the only *Special Promise* made unto *Isaac* and *Jacob*, in Preference to their Brethren, it must be taken for the Subject Matter of the *Everlasting Covenant*. Yea, so peculiarly does this *Blessing* belong to that *Covenant*, that it is never mentioned with respect unto *any other Person whatsoever*, than such only, to whom the Right of this *Covenant*, and the Promise of the *Land of Canaan* descended. Some have imagined, that these Words require no higher Sense than this; That *all Nations* be-

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¹⁰¹ T. Sherlock (*Use and Intent* 119–120, 121, 122). 2 Chron. 28:17.

holding the Prosperity of *Abraham* and his Offspring, they should Bless themselves and others in some such Form as this; *GOD make thee as great as Abraham and his Offspring*. But can we imagine, that the *Everlasting Covenant* of GOD, as He Himself calls it, was given only to produce a proverbial Form of Speech in the World? That the Prerogative of *Isaac* above *Ishmael*, and of *Jacob* above *Esau*, lay in *this* only, that the Nations would use the Name of the one, in their mutual Good Wishes, & not of the other? Besides, when did the *Nations* ever thus Bless themselves; or, when was there Occasion for it? The Posterity of *Ishmael*, was established in Power much sooner, and were as notable in Successes for many Ages, as the *Jews*; and much larger Empires have sprung from them.¹⁰²

Abraham doubtless understood *This*, to be a Promise of *Restoring Mankind* and rescuing them from what remained of the *Curse of the Fall*. He knew, *Death* had entred by *Sin*, and he knew that GOD had promised Redemption and Victory to the *Seed of the Woman*. On the *Hope of this Promise* was founded the *Religion* of his Ancestors: And when GOD, from whom this *Blessing on All Men* was *expected*, expressly promised a *Blessing on All Men*, and in this *Promise* founded His *Everlasting Covenant*, what else could *Abraham* expect but the Completion in his Offspring, of that *ancient Promise* concerning the Victory to be obtained by *the Seed of the Woman*. The *Earth* was Restored, with a *Blessing*, after the *Flood*; which was the Foundation of the *Temporal Covenant* with *Noah*; a considerable Share whereof GOD expressly grants to *Abraham* and his Posterity particularly; Together with a *Promise*, through *Them* to bring a *Further Blessing* on the whole Race of Men. What less could be expected from this *New Promise* to *Abraham*, than a Deliverance from that Part of the *Curse* that still remained, on Man, *Dust thou art, & to Dust thou shalt return*? In Virtue of this Covenant, *Abraham* and his Posterity had reason to expect, That the Time would come, when Man should *be called from his Dust again*. For this Expectation, they had the Assurance of Him who gave the *Covenant*, That He *would be Their GOD* forever. Well might our SAVIOUR then tell the Sons of *Abraham*; That even *Moses* at the *Bush*, had the *Resurrection of the Dead* assured unto him, when the Lord was called, *The GOD of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob*.¹⁰³

To præserve this *Hope* in the World, *Abraham* was called from his own Countrey & Kindred, then tainted with Idolatry. He and his Posterity were made the Depositories of this *Hope*; and *unto them were committed the Oracles of God*.¹⁰⁴ The Law of *Moses* was built indeed on the *Temporal Covenant* and not on the *Promise* for *All the Nations*. The Promulgation of it was, *Hear, O Israel*. And many Rites of it are confined unto the Land of *Canaan*. Whereas, when the *Christian Law* was | to take place, every Countrey was to be a proper Place

[▽350v]

¹⁰² T. Sherlock (*Use and Intent* 122–23, 123–24).

¹⁰³ T. Sherlock (*Use and Intent* 124–25). Rev. 12:17; Gen. 3:19; Exod. 3:2–4; Matt. 22:31; Exod. 3:6.

¹⁰⁴ T. Sherlock (*Use and Intent* 125–26). Rom. 3:2

of Divine Worship. [Joh. IV.21.] The Promise of a *Blessing to all Nations*, did then subsist in its full Force, during the Continuance of the *Law of Moses*. For, as that *Promise* was not *completed* by the giving of the *Law*, in which *All Nations* were not concerned, so neither could so *General* a *Promise* be annull'd or sett aside, by a *Private Law*, given to *One People* only. And this is the true Sense & Scope of the Apostles Argument; Gal. III.17. *This I say; That the Covenant that was confirmed before of GOD in CHRIST, the Law which was four hundred & thirty Years after cannot disannul, that it should make the Promise of none Effect.* But then, it is highly probable, that all Parts of the *Jewish Dispensation*, were adapted, for to prepare the Way unto the *Better Promises*. On this Reasonable Supposition, we have a Foundation to enquire into the Meaning of the *Law*, not merely as it is a literal Command unto the *Jews*, but as containing the *Figure* and *Image* of *Good Things to come*. It can hardly be supposed, That GOD intending finally to Save the World by CHRIST, and the Preaching of the *Gospel*, should give an *Intermediate Law*, which had no Relation to the *Covenant*, which it was His Purpose to establish forever.¹⁰⁵

[△Insert ends]

[△]

Q. *Circumcision*, the *Seal of the Covenant* with *Abraham*, was to be on, *The Eighth Day*. We may take this Place, to enquire after the Mystery of, *The Eighth Day*, in this Matter? v. 12.

A. We must note, That the running of *Six whole Dayes*, made up the Space here directed.

It was here signified;

First, That the *Circumcision of our Hearts*, [Deut. 30.6.] is obtained by the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ; which was on the *Eighth Day*, or, the Day after the *Seventh*.

Secondly, That we ought to be Spiritually *Circumcised* and *Sanctified* be-times; even on the *First Day* of the Week; or, in our most *Early Youth*.

Thirdly, That after *Seven* remarkable Periods of the Church, the *Hearts* of the Children of God, shall be th{o}roughly *Circumcised*, and universal and admirable *Holiness* prevail over the World. To this Purpose *Reizius*.¹⁰⁶

Q. That Expression, *Circumcidendo circumcidetur*, may there be any Spiritual Mystery intimated in it? v. 13.

¹⁰⁵ T. Sherlock (*Use and Intent*, "Discourse VI," pp. 143–44, 144–45). Here ends Mather's insert of MS pages [347r–350v]. The two subsequent commentaries on v. 12 and 13 are the remainder of MS page [346v].

¹⁰⁶ Lev. 12:3. The Talmudic tractate Shabbath (135b) amply discusses the regulations when a boy is to be circumcised, as does Maimonides (*Guide* 3.49.379 and *Hilbot Milah*). Mather's reference to "Reizius" is perhaps to Johann Heinrich Reitz, aka. Reizius (1655–1722), a German Lutheran theologian, who added three of his Latin tracts to his edition of *Thomae Godwini Moses et Aaron, seu civiles et ecclesiastici ritus antiquorum Hebraeorum* (1690).

A. It leads us to the Thoughts of that *Circumcision of the Heart*, which the Spirit of God gives us Experience of. Our *Mortification*, tis long adoing.

This is an Hint of Dr. *Gells* upon it.¹⁰⁷

[347r–350v inserted into 346v]

¹⁰⁷ Mather cites from *An Essay toward the Amendment of the Last English-Translation of the Bible* (1659) 213(E), by the Anglican clergyman Robert Gell, D.D. (1595–1665), rector of St. Mary Aldermary (London). The Latin citation is translated by Gell as “*in circumcising he shall be circumcised*” (Gen. 17:13). In his “Note Book of Authors” on Gen. 17:14, Mather identifies as his source Wolfgang Franzius’s *De Interpretatione S. Scripturarum* (1619) 989 – a reference Mather later dropped when he excised his commentary on verse 14. Mather also owned a copy of Franzius’ *Tractatus Theologicus* (1619), in Tuttle’s “Libraries” 307. (Here ends the remainder of MS p. 346v.)

Q. The *Cakes upon the Hearth?* v. 6.

A. Honest Mr. *Terry*, in his *Travels* to the *East-Indies*, observed, that the People had a Grain, both Toothsome & {W}Holesome, which they made up in Broad *Cakes*, like our *Oaten Cakes*, & then baked it on small, round, iron *Hearths*, which they carry with them in their Journey's, & make Use of them in their *Tents*. He concludes this to be an ancient Custome in the East, from the *Cakes* that *Sarah* here made for the *Angels*.¹⁰⁸

1565.

Q. It seems a Matter of much Difficulty unto many, How the *Angels*, that appeared unto *Abraham*, should bee concerned in so needless an Action, as that of *Eating?* v. 7.

A. I'l Recite you, a Gloss of that great Man, *Peter du Moulin* upon it; but, because, I doubt, it will not satisfy, it shall not bee Translated.¹⁰⁹

Omnia erunt plana, si dicamus hos Tres Angelos, quorum unus Jehovah appellatur, in veris corporibus Humanis apparuisse, ut et Angelum, quocum Jacob luctatus est; veros Homines fuisse, qui à Spiritu Messiae, et à spiritibus Angelicis agebantur. Ideoque Homines vocantur à Mose. Hi Homines movebantur ab Angelis, et Spiritu Messiae, ad ea agenda, quae ipsi non intelligebant, phantasia eorum obsessà, et à consuetis cogitationibus abductà. Qui Homines, negotio peracto, ad quod fuerant à Deo adhibiti, discusso veteruo, et cessante ecstasi, ad consueta munera reversi sunt, immemores eorum, quae impulsore spiritu Divino, aut Angelico, egerant. His

¹⁰⁸ Mather's paraphrase is from *A Voyage to East-India* (1655), sec. 10, pp. 210, 211–12, by Edward Terry (1589/90–1660), travel writer, sometime chaplain to the East India Company, and rector at Greenford (Middlesex), who recorded his impressions of his trip to India (1616–19) in this popular narrative. Mather takes some liberty with his "evidence" from this source, for although Terry describes the custom of baking the "round broad and thick Cakes" among the poor of India, he nowhere establishes an analogy with Sarah's cakes offered to the angelic visitors (Gen. 18:6). Instead, this analogy appears in *Travels into the Eastern Countries*, an English translation of a German original (1588), by Dr. Leonhart Rauwolff (c. 1535–96), published in John Ray's *Collection Of Curious Travels & Voyages* (1693), part 2, ch. 9, pp. 201–02. Mather had evidently consulted Simon Patrick's annotation on Gen. 18:6 (*Commentary* 1:75), which mentions the travel narrative of "*Leon. Rauwolff*" [sic], but then decided to include a reference to Terry's *Voyage to East-India* instead. Mather finally does cite Rauwolff's *Travels* (via Patrick) at the end of his commentary on Gen. 18:33 (below).

¹⁰⁹ Mather probably has in mind Pierre Du Moulin, the Elder (1568–1658) – rather than his son by the same name – French Reformed theologian at Sedan and voluminous author. The Mathers owned several of Du Moulin's works (Tuttle, "Libraries"), and Cotton Mather cites Du Moulin's *Vates, seu de praecognitione futurorum* (1640), in *Threefold Paradise* (329).

*Hominibus lotio pedum, et cibus potuit esse utilis: nec quarendum, quem Fructum ex civo et lotione isti Homines ceperint.*¹¹⁰

1079.

Q. Wee find here, something of a *Calf Eaten*, by the *Three Angels* appearing unto *Abraham*. What of Curiositie in it? v. 8.

A. This is the *First Flesh*, that is mentioned, as eaten, in all the Scripture.¹¹¹

3414.

Q. What is to be noted about the *Butter*, in this Entertainment?

A. Tho' we read of *Cheese*, in *Homer*, *Euripides*, *Theocritus*, & others; yett they never mention *Butter*. Nor ha's *Aristotle*, (as *Bochart* observes) one Word of it, tho' he hath several Observations about *Cheese*. It seems *Butter* was not then known among the *Greeks*, (nor in *Plinyes* Time among the *Romans*;) tho' it was, we see, a very ancient Food, among the Eastern People.

Pliny says, It was *apud Barbaras gentes lautissimus cibus*.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Whether or not angels, disembodied souls in heaven, and demons are endowed with a digestive system and thus required nourishment is debated in a variety of seventeenth-century works including Thomas Goodwin's *World to Come* (1655) 33–34; Jacob de Vaux's *Thesaurus Disputationum* (1661), vol. 1, Disp. XXXVIII "Thesium Theologicarum De Angelis Bonis et Malis, Pars Prima," p. 145; William Sherlock's *Practical Discourse* (1689) 61–65; Samuel Sewall's *Diary* (2:747), and Mather's *Threefold Paradise* (273–75). Increase Mather devotes a lengthy treatise on the subject of angelology, in *Angelographia* (1696); and, of course, Joseph Glanvill's insights in his popular *Saducismus Triumphatus* (1681, 3rd ed. 1689) are not to be despised either, especially not those in Part 2 (1688), 267–320. Be that as it may, Pierre Du Moulin's gloss translates, "Everything will be clear if we say that these three angels, one of whom is called Jehovah, appeared in true human bodies, as also did the angel with whom Jacob wrestled; that they were true men, who were driven by the spirit of the Messiah, and the spirits of angels. It is for this reason that Moses calls them men. These men were moved by angels, and by the spirit of the Messiah, in order to do things which they themselves did not understand, their minds having been taken over, and led away from their usual reasoning. When these men had carried out the task for which they had been employed by God, their somnolence was shattered, their trance ceased, and they were returned to their usual duties, unable to remember what they had done at the instigation of a divine and angelic spirit. To these men, washing of the feet and food could have been useful: and it is not to be asked what enjoyment those men might have had from food and foot-washing liquid." Midrash Rabbah (Lev. XXXIV:8; Num. VII:4, X:5; Deut. XI:4) also comments with contradictory results on the problem of angels eating human food. *The Zohar* (1:102a) argues that the angels only "simulated eating" to honor Abraham's hospitality, while R. Eleazar insists that "They certainly did eat, in the sense of fire consuming fire invisibly" (see *Zohar* 1:156b). See also P. Almond's *Heaven & Hell* (105–10).

¹¹¹ See John Edwards's *Discourse* (3:117–18).

¹¹² Mather's primary source is Simon Patrick's annotation on Gen. 18:8 (*Commentary* 1:75). Patrick's own source is Bochart's *Hieroicoicon* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 45, col. 474), where all the ancient sources here mentioned are given. Homer mentions Polyphemos's crates of cheese in *The Odyssey* (9.219, 231), Euripides in *Cyclops* (233), Theocritus Syracusanus in *Idylla* (11.66 and 25.106), but Aristotle (*Historia animalium* 3.20.522a, 21–25) speaks of "clotted milk" that "resemble[s] oil." Mather's paraphrase of Pliny (28.35.133) translates that cheese was "among

657.

Q. Is there any thing, in *Pagan Antiquitie*, about the Destruction of *Sodom*? v. 16.

A. Yes: In *Abydenus*, in *Nic. Damascenus*; & in more Authentic Authors, as in *Diodorus Siculus*, in *Strabo*, in *Solinus*, in *Tacitus*, and in *Pliny*. All these Writers do say, That these Places were destroy'd by *Fire*; but *Solinus* and *Tacitus* do say, t'was particularly by *Thunder & Lightning*. And *Strabo* intimates, that they were swallow'd up with *Subterraneous Fires*, in an *Earth-quake*, then breaking forth. Probably, the Destruction was by *both*; and wee know, that the Lake *Asphaltites* was then made, which argues the Opening, and Sinking, of the Earth, in this horrible Desolation.¹¹³

This wee are sure of; Showres of *Liquid Sulphur*, came down upon these wicked Cities; – *From the Lord out of Heaven*. [Gen. 19.24.] And, by the way; *Sulphur* among the Ancients, was called, θεῖον, *quod a Deo sit*; or, because, it was *from the Lord out of Heaven*.¹¹⁴

And *Lots Wife*, being so struck, her *Body* became *hard*, as a Statue; as *Thunder* uses very strangely to stiffen the Bodies, that are struck with it. So, shee stands a *Pillar of Salt*, even, of Durable Remembrance; Yea, her Body, by the *Sulphureous Vapours* falling upon her, was calcined into *Real Salt*; which was the Opinion of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, of *Tertullian*, & of the two Christian Poets, *Prudentius* and *Sedulius*. But this was a thing so remarkable, that the Poets could not miss of it; and accordingly, they tell us, of *Niobe's* being turned into a Stone, for her Disobedience to the Command of a Goddess.¹¹⁵

barbarian tribes accounted the choicest food.” Bochart’s elucidation was also put to good use in John Edwards’s *Discourse* (3:116–17) – all demonstrating the free-flowing distribution of knowledge among the scholars of the period who felt little compunction in appropriating someone else’s scholarship without acknowledgment: not *Who*, but *What* was the guiding principle; all was done (it would seem) for the Glory of God.

113 This and the following paragraphs are extracted from John Edwards’s *Discourse* (1:133–35). Abydenus’s *Assyriaka et Babylonika*, extant only in fragments in Eusebius Pamphilus, Alexander Polyhistor, and Syncellus, does not really mention Sodom. However, since the settlement’s destruction is frequently associated with the bituminous matter floating on the Dead Sea, which the Greeks call “Asphaltic Lake,” Edwards may indeed read Abydenus’s reference to these burning regions as extra-biblical proof of the OT story. Much the same is the case for the surviving fragments of Nicolaus Damascenus. Diodorus Siculus (2.48.6–8; 19.98.1–99.2) describes the asphaltic matter floating on the Dead Sea; and so do Strabo (16.2.44), Solinus (*De mirabilibus mundi*, cap. 36), Tacitus (*Historiarum* 5.6–7), and Pliny (5.15.71–73). Pliny describes the region of the Dead Sea (“Lake Asphaltites”), but does not mention the biblical Sodom. Much the same is offered (though at greater length), in Jean LeClerc’s “Dissertation IX: Concerning the Subversion of Sodom” (*Twelve Dissertations* 199–238).

114 Edwards (*Discourse* 1:134). Thunderbolts from heaven, the ancients believed, were sulfurous like brimstone; hence they called it θεῖον (divine), because they came from the gods.

115 Edwards (*Discourse* 1:134–35). Gen. 29:26. Clemens Alexandrinus affirms that Lot’s wife was turned into a literal pillar of salt (*Stromata* 2.14.61.4). Tertullian intones the petrification of Lot’s wife in a poem of uncertain origin: *Carmen de Sodoma* (145–73), in *ANF* (4:131). The Christian poet of N Spain, M. Aurelius Clemens Prudentius (348–c. 413), in his *Carmina*

And will not the Fable of *Euridice*, the dear Wife of *Orpheus*, bee found at length, to bee of this Original?

To fetch her Back again to Life, they tell us, hee went unto *Hell*; & perswaded *Pluto* there to give him her again, upon this Condition, that hee should not look back to her, all the while shee was coming. But it seems, hee fondly gave her a Look, while shee was following of him; whereupon, unto *Hell* shee was remanded. You need no Help of mine, to accommodate the Story; or show you the *Change* of it.¹¹⁶

3328.

Q. Upon what you last mention, about *Lots* Wife, we will take Occasion so far to anticipate our Enquiry, as here to ask, what is really to be understood, by, her being *Turned into a Pillar of Salt*?

A. Then before we go any further, I'll mention you a few Strokes of *Leclerc's*, tho' he be a Gentleman, whose *Criticisms* do sometimes give me very little Satisfaction.¹¹⁷

He observes, That the Word, which we render, *Pillar*, signifies any thing that agrees with a *Pillar* or *Statue*, in being *Immoveable*. The Meaning of *Moses* might (according to him) only be, That *Lots* Wife grew stiff, and remained *motionless* like a *Pillar* or *Statue*. What we render *Salt*, he saies, is taken sometimes for a *Salt Soil*; and he proposes whether the Text here might not be read, *She remained as a Statue in that Salt Soil*. Or if it be taken, as it sometimes is, for a long Space of Time; *Salt* being a Symbol of Eternity; [Num. 17.19. 2. Chron. 13.5.] It may then import, that she was so benumb'd in the Countrey of *Sodom*, as never to have gott away, but continue there forever.¹¹⁸

He does not apprehend any thing of an unusual *Metamorphosis*, in this Case. He saies, The poor Woman was probably either stupefied with Fear, or

Hamartigenia (727–28, 740–45) [PL 59. 1062B–1064C]; and the Irish poet Coelius Sedulius (5th c. CE), in his *Carmen Paschale* (1.121–26) – both describe the salinification of Lot's wife. The story of Niobe's petrification (by Diana) as punishment for her pride is told in Clemens Alexandrinus's *Protrepticus* (10.103.4) and in *Exhortation to the Heathen* (10), in *ANF* (2:201), but with more savory detail in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (6.146–312).

¹¹⁶ Edwards (*Discourse* 1:135–36). Legion are the versions of Orpheus, the fabled singer, who with his lyre descends into the land of the shades to retrieve his Eurydice from Pluto (Hades), ruler of the Underworld; one of the more intriguing renditions is that of Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 10.1–85).

¹¹⁷ Although critical of Jean LeClerc's efforts to demystify the Bible, Mather here draws on LeClerc's daring *Twelve Dissertations* (Diss. X, 238–77). Here, as elsewhere, Mather is prepared (albeit grudgingly) to subject hoary traditions, no matter how venerable, to the same test as any other natural phenomenon – if traditions are to survive the onslaught of Enlightenment empiricism.

¹¹⁸ LeClerc (*Twelve Dissertations* 241, 242, 243). Echoing Spinoza's *Theological-Political Treatise* (ch. 6), LeClerc rejects the proclivity of the ancient Hebrews to attribute inexplicable phenomena to God, and insists on a linguistic retrenchment of the story consistent with the laws of nature.

suffocated with some Sulphureous or Bituminous Vapour. When she saw her Native Countrey destroyed by Fire from Heaven, & the Earth shaking so horribly under her Feet, it is no Wonder, if she expired thro' the Agony of it, or fainting away, with no one | being by, to assist her under her *Deliquium*, she died upon the Spott. *Plutarch* speaks of them, whom the Fright or Breath of *Thunder* ha's killed; and *Seneca* speaks of those that were perfectly besotted by the Consternation of an *Earth-quake*.¹¹⁹ [352v]

Yea, it appears to him, no absurd Conjecture, That *Lots* Wife, not only cast back her Eyes, towards her Native Countrey, but went back too far, after the Angels were gone, to behold the Burning of it, and was choak'd with a poisonous Vapour, as *Pliny* the Elder was, when his Curiosity led him too near the Mountain *Vesuvius*. This may seem implied in the Words of our Saviour; where after He had said, [Luk. 17.32.] *Lett no Man return back*, i.e. to *Jerusalem*, after he is once gone out of it; He adds, *Remember Lots Wife*; who seems to have gone back, with an Intention to see, whether t'was impossible to save any of her Household-stuff.¹²⁰

Thus *Cornelius Severus*, in his Poem of *Ætna*, saies,

Ardebant arvis segetes, et mollia cultu

Jugera cum Dominis, Sylva, Collesque virentes, &c

Cunctantes vorat Ignis, et undique torret avaros.

– namely, such as tarried behind to carry off their Wealth.¹²¹

Q. On that, *I know him, that he will command his Children?* v. 19.

A. It has been observed, and it is worth observing; That he to whom God first of all did the Honour, of entailing the *Seal of the Covenant* upon his *Offspring*, was eminent for this *Family-Religion*, the *Instruction* of his *Houshold*, in the *Way of the Lord*. Those who would have the Comfort of the *Covenant* of God with

119 LeClerc (*Twelve Dissertations* 262–63, 263–64). In *Plutarch's Quaestiones conviviales* (4.2.3, 665C), *Plutarch's Moralia* 8:324–25), Dorotheus maintains that the bodies of men killed by lightning do not decay. *Seneca (Naturalis quaestiones* 6.1.1, 3–4; see also 6.17.3) relates that earthquakes in Campania (“on the Nones of February”), in 62 CE, wiped out Pompei and Herculaneum, and struck people with bouts of insanity, making them wander about aimlessly.

120 LeClerc (*Twelve Dissertations* 265). In a letter to *Cornelius Tacitus*, *Pliny the Younger* (c. 61–c. 112 CE) describes the eruption of *Vesuvius* (79 CE) in which his uncle, *Pliny the Elder* (c. 23–79), fell prey to the poisonous vapors and the rain of pumice (*Epistularum* 6.16.4–20).

121 The adaptation from the poem *Ætna* (612–13, 623), attributed to the Roman epic poet *Cornelius Severus* (fl. 38 BCE) and others, is extracted at second hand from LeClerc (*Twelve Dissertations* 266). According to W. Richter (“Einleitung” 1), *Ætna* belongs to a smaller corpus of Latin poems frequently appended to *Virgil's* canonical works that were edited and published by *Joseph Scaliger* (1573) as an independent collection, called *Appendix Vergiliana* (1573). Whoever the true author of the poem, Mather's variant lines from *Ætna* (611–12, 622) can be rendered as follows: “The crops on the fields and acres tamed by cultivation burned / along with their owners; blooming forests and hills, etc. / fire devours them, and swallows the avaricious from all sides.” Mather's manuscript and his copy text erroneously read “millia culta” and “terret” – here silently corrected.

them & their Offspring, and would share in that *Blessing of Abraham* that *comes upon the Gentiles*, must herein follow the Exemple of the Faithful *Abraham*. As Mr. *Henry* expresses it in his, *Family-Religion*; The *Entail* of the *Covenant of Grace* is forfeited, & cutt off, if Care be not taken with it, to transmitt the *Means of Grace*.¹²²

Others have Remarked the notable Connexion here, between, HE WILL, and, THEY SHALL.¹²³

473.

Q. How do you take those Words of the Patriarch, in his Plea for *Sodom*, *Shall not the Judge of all the Earth do Right?* v. 25.

A. What if you should Read them so, *Will not the Judge of all the Earth, execute Judgment?* q.d. *Lord*, Thou dost intend hereafter to appear for the *Judgment* of the World, with such Fiery Thunders, as thou art now going to destroy this miserable Place withal; bee entreated therefore to spare these Towns, until that *Revolution* come.¹²⁴

1940.

Q. What special Intention may our Father *Abraham* have, when hee calls himself by the Name of, *Ashes?* v. 27.

A. Hee acknowledges, his Deserving to bee *Turned into Ashes*. The Fate now impending over *Sodom*, was, to bee *Turned into Ashes*; and *Abraham* going to Intercede for *Sodom*, confesses that, alas, if hee should Receive his desert, hee should bee so far from Saving others from that Fate, that it would rather come upon himself.¹²⁵

¹²² Mather leans on Matthew Henry (1662–1714), Presbyterian minister and biblical exegete, whose *Exposition of the Old and New Testaments* (1708–10) is still popular today. Mather's cites Henry's *A Church in the House* (1704) 19.

¹²³ Mather's somewhat cryptic remark suggests that God loves Abraham because He fore-knows that the patriarch will teach his children obedience to God. Or, as R. David Kimchi has it, Abraham will teach his children to love God, and "They will then experience the fulfillment of all the promises (conditional) which I, G'd, have made to him concerning his offspring" (*Hachut Hamesbulash* 2:374).

¹²⁴ Mather aims at an eschatological explication of the destruction of Sodom as an OT type of that which is to be abrogated at the Second Coming (2 Peter 3:7–12). None of the standard commentaries of his day contains a similar explication. See also Mather's *Threefold Paradise* (155–243).

¹²⁵ According to "Note Book of Authors" on Gen. 18:27, Mather's source is "M. Exercise at Cripplegate. p. 46"; i.e., *The Morning-Exercise at Cripplegate* (1664), a collections of twenty-eight casuist sermons edited by Samuel Annesley (c. 1620–96) 407. Mather evidently has in mind Sermon 17, "How may we have sutable [sic] conceptions of God in duty?" (a sermon on Gen. 18:27), by Thomas Mallory (d. 1689), an ejected minister occasionally preaching "at St. Michael, Crooked Lane, London" and "at St. James's, Duke's Place" (ODNB).

472.

Q. What particular Thought might bee in the Mind of our Father *Abraham*, to quicken his charitable Hopes on the Proposal of *Ten Righteous Persons, in Sodom?* v. 32.

A. 'Tis affirmed, that *Lot* had four Daughters, whereof *Two* perished in the flames of *Sodom*. Now R. *Bechai* ha's a Curiositie, which I cannot but offer you, make what you will of it. Hee saies, That *Lots* four Daughters, were all married; and that when *Abraham* deprecated the fate of *Sodom*, for the Sake of *Ten Righteous Ones*, the Patriarch had his charitable Hopes, that *Lot*, & his Wife, & his four Daughters, & his four Sons in Law, would have made up that Number.¹²⁶

|
3415.

[353r]

Q. Lett us, if you please, resume the Consideration, of the Visit from Heaven, made unto the Patriarch *Abraham?* v. 33.

A. Dr. *Patrick*, in his Commentary upon *Genesis*, will give some Assistance to our Thoughts upon this Illustrious Matter.¹²⁷

At the first Verse of the Chapter, *The Lord appeared unto Abraham; The Glory of the Lord*, or the Divine Majesty in the *Shechinah*, appear'd unto him, as it had lately done. This was to testify His Approbation, of *Abrahams* ready Obedience, unto so severe a Command, as that of *Circumcision*.¹²⁸

He *falls down on his Face*, to worship the Divine Majesty, as he had formerly done. But Rising again, and *Lifting up his Eyes*, as we read in the Second Verse; the *Shechinah* was withdrawn; but, *Lo, Three Men stood by him*: which *Three Men*, are by the Apostle [Heb. 13.2.] and *Two* of them are by *Moses* himself [Gen. 19.1.] called, *Angels*. These *Angels*, were Part of the Heavenly Retinue, waiting on the *Divine Majesty*, who had newly descended.¹²⁹

There is a Maxim among the Jewes, That *no Angel performs two Ministeries*, (or, is sent on two Messages.) Accordingly, when one of these *Angels* had delivered the Message that was to be delivered unto *Abraham*, there were only *Two*,

¹²⁶ Mather's source is R. Bachya ben Asher's annotation on Gen. 18:24, 32 (*Torah Commentary* 1:304) and in *Mikraoth Gedoloth* (1:224).

¹²⁷ Simon Patrick, bishop of Ely, published *A Commentary on the First Book of Moses, called Genesis* (1695) – the first of ten volumes of commentary on the Bible (Genesis to Canticles), published in 1695–1710. After Patrick's death in 1707, the English divine William Lowth, D.D. (1661–1739), prebendary of Winchester, continued this massive undertaking under his own auspices. Of all the commentaries in English available before Matthew Henry's magisterial *Exposition of the Old and New Testaments* (1708–10), Mather lionized Patrick's astute annotations and frequently copied his master's material wholesale.

¹²⁸ Patrick (*Commentary* 1:74) on Gen. 18.1.

¹²⁹ Patrick (*Commentary* 1:74) on Gen. 18.2.

that went unto *Sodom*; And of those *Two*, *Lot* speaks unto but *One*, as having a particular Care of him.¹³⁰

Some Christians of great Authority, have made a Quæstion, whether those were all created *Angels*; one of them, at least, seeming to be the Lord of all. Nay *Cyril*, in his first Book against *Julian*, thinks, that here was a Repræsentation of the Eternal *Trinity*; for *Abraham* speaks to them, ὡς εἰς ὄντες οἱ τρεῖς, *As if the Three were but One*. But *Hilaries* Opinion, and *Eusebius's*, is more likely; That the *Son of God* only appeared, with two *Angels* attending on Him; which many think, is evident from the *Twenty second*, and the *Twenty fifth* Verses of this Chapter.¹³¹

Yett another Account may be given of those *Verses*; And if we should make that an Argument, that one of them was the *Increated Lord*, another of them then must be so too; For He is called likewise by the Name of JEHOVAH. [Gen. 19.24.] *Austin* confutes this Opinion; [L.II. *de Trin.* cap. 11. and L.III. c. 11.]¹³²

[354v] Pass now to the Seventeenth Verse of the Chapter, where we find, the LORD, again speaking unto *Abraham*. It seems, | the *Three Angels* had now left *Abraham* alone; who returning towards his Tent, again saw the *Glory of the Lord*. The *Divine Majesty* in the *Shechinah*, now began to discourse again with *Abraham*, & this by Himself, without the Ministry of *Angels*. *Abraham* heard Him say, *Shall I hide from Abraham?* – which encouraged him to *approach* unto the LORD. As for the common Opinion, That only *two* of the *Angels* went away from *Abraham*, and the Third of them, was He with whom he had this Conversation, there is this to object against it; That in the Sixteenth Verse it seems plain, they *all Three* went away. Hereupon ensued *Abrahams* earnest Supplications for *Sodom*; wherein tis admirable to see, the Tender Mercy of our God. He would have Reprieved a whole Countrey from Ruine, for so small a Number, as *Ten Righteous* Persons in it, upon the Request of *Abraham*. Yea, His Mercy went even beyond *Abrahams* Desire; for He spared *One* of the *Five Cities*, for the Sake of *Three* or *Four*.¹³³

¹³⁰ Patrick (*Commentary* 1:74) on Gen. 18:2. The angelic division of labor is described in Maimonides (*Guide* 2.6.161), but originates in Midrash Rabbah (Gen. L:2) “One angel does not perform two missions, nor do two angels together perform one mission.”

¹³¹ Patrick (*Commentary* 1:74) on Gen. 18:2. Cyril of Alexandria (*Contra Julianum* 1.26.24). Both St. Hilary of Poitiers (c. 315–67), bishop of Poitiers (*De trinitate* 4.27), in *NPNFi* (9:79); and Eusebius Pamphilus (*Demonstratio evangelica* 5.9) acknowledge that of the three angels who visited Abraham (Gen. 18:2), the third was the Son of God, the Second Being in the Trinity.

¹³² Patrick (*Commentary* 1:74) on Gen. 18:2. St. Augustine (*De trinitate* 2.10–11 and 3.11) [PL 42. 881–883] in *NPNFi* (3:45–47, 65–68) objects that the Son of God (the Second Person of the Trinity) was not one of the three angels but that they represented the *essence* of the Trinity.

¹³³ Patrick (*Commentary* 1:76, 77) on Gen. 18:17, 32.

3416.

Q. Give us a Taste, of the *Cakes made upon the Hearth*, which were provided for the Guests of *Abraham*?

A. It is commonly interpreted, as if the *Cakes* were made upon the *Coals*, or, *Hott Embers*: [1. King. 19.6.] But *Bochart* thinks the Word, there and here, signifies, *Hott Stones*.¹³⁴

Others will have it, that they were laid upon the *Hearth*, and covered with *Hott Embers*. And so they præpare them at this Day; as *Leon. Rawwolff* tells us in his *Travels*. P.II.c.9. Hee saieth, That as he went thro' a Countrey, that lies between *Mesopotamia* and *Media*, a Woman presently made them *Cakes*, about a Finger Thick, & of the Bigness of a Trencher, which she first laid upon *Hott Stones*, and turned them often; & then threw Ashes & Embers over them; which, he saies, were very savoury.¹³⁵

¹³⁴ Patrick (*Commentary* 1:75) on Gen. 18:6. Samuel Bochart (*Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 33, col. 327, lines 49ff).

¹³⁵ Patrick (*Commentary* 1:75) on Gen. 18:6. This culinary dish of the ancients is also offered in Mather's annotations on Gen. 18:6 (above). Dr. Leonhart Rauwolff (c. 1535–96), German physician, herbalist, and traveler, published a description of his journey to the Near East (1573–76), in his *Eigentliche Beschreibung der Raiß inn die Morgenländerin* (1582), which also appeared in a Dutch translation. Patrick cites from the English translation *Travels into the Eastern Countries*, published in John Ray's *Collection of Curious Travels & Voyages* (1693), part 2, ch. 9, pp. 201–02.

Q. A Remark on the Hospitality of the Patriarchs? v. 2.

A. The Patriarchs we find *sitting at their Gates*, to see those who pass by, & entreat them to come into their Houses. The Nations of the Orient, seem to have had a peculiar Disposition to these Exercises of Humanity; which continues in a great Measure to this day. It is yett a frequent Peece of Charity, to erect *Caravanserahs*, or Inns for the Reception of Travellers.

In the Sixth *Iliad* of *Homer*, the Hospitable *Axylus*, kept House near a frequented High Way; and releevd all Travellers. There is abundance of that Spirit every where in the *Odyssees*.¹³⁶

Q. The whole affayr, of *Lot* and his Wife; how disguised in the Traditions of the Pagans? v. 3.

A. We have it in their Fable of *Baucis* and *Philemon*.

They are characterised as Religious and Hospitable, in a Debouched & Barbarous Neighbourhood. They entertained *Jupiter* and *Mercury*, and were conducted out of the wicked Place of their Abode, by those Two Gods, who destroyed that profligate People, and overspread that cursed Countrey with a sudden Deluge.¹³⁷

406.

Q. Is there any way to excuse *Lot*, from a Crime, in offering of his Daughters unto the Lusts of the filthy *Sodomites*? v. 8.

A. The Concern of the generous Patriarch for the Præservation of the Strangers now in his house, putt him upon an Action, hard enough to bee excused; tho' wee are willing to consider as much as may bee his present Exigency & Confusion, for his Excuse. But there is one, *Don Isaac*, who hath litt upon an Ingenious Contrivance, on the behalf of the Patriarch; which is this. *Lot* be-

¹³⁶ Mather here returns to his much admired Johann Heinrich Heidegger (2:167, Exerc. VIII, § 6). The rite of hospitality was sacred to Zeus; Homer's Axylus, son of Teuthras, though killed by Diomedes in the Trojan War, was beloved, "for he dwelt in a house by the highroad and was used to show hospitality to all" (*Iliad* 6.12–14); and Odysseus's loyal swineherd Eumaios received his disguised master with all rites of hospitality (14.48–82), because "all strangers and beggars are from Zeus."

¹³⁷ For much the same, see Mather's commentary on Gen. 15:21 (above). The story of the hospitable couple Baucis and Philemon, as told in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (8.611–724), parallels in many ways the story of Lot and his family escaping the destruction of Sodom. Throughout the ages, Judeo-Christian theologians, eager to assert the primacy of the OT over pagan histories, read Ovid's version as a corruption of its supposed OT original. See for instance, John Edwards's *Discourse* (1:131) and Jean LeClerc's *Twelve Dissertations* (1696), Diss. IX, pp. 232–34.

held, among the Crue that surrounded his House, the Two Sparks, which were Suitors, to his Two *Daughters*; and when hee proposed the Prostitution of his *Daughters* unto this abominable Herd, hee hoped that it would have raised the Mettle of his Intended Sons-in-Law to have Interposed for their Præservation: whereupon, hee thought, there would have ensued such a Quarrel among them, that by this Diversion of the Fury of the *Dogs*, upon one another, the Persons now sojourning with him, would have escaped their Violences.¹³⁸

3417.

Q. Had *Lot* any more *Daughters* than those two?

A. Some think he had; because of that Expression, *Take thy two Daughters, which are here*; as if he had more *Daughters* elsewhere. Hence R. *Jehuda* (in *Pirke Elieser*, c. 25.) mentions one of them expressly by Name, as married unto one of the great Men of *Sodom*, and calls her, *Pelothit*. But this rather seems to have been the Name of one of them who were saved by the *Angels*; and from thence called so: for it signifies, *Delivered*, or, *Snatch'd from Destruction*.¹³⁹

3326.

Q. *Lot* having proposed *Zoar*, as a safe Retreat, from the Desolation of *Sodom*, why did he so soon change his Mind, & go from *Zoar* to the Mountain?

A. *Jerom* ha's borrowed some Account of this from the *Jewes*, in his *Hebrew Traditions*. "It is frequently asked, [*saith he*,] why *Lot*, after he had first præfer'd *Segor*, to his Flight up the Mountain, that he desired it might escape, because he designed, to live there, should so soon alter his Mind, and depart from *Segor*, to the Mountain? We answer, That the Conjecture of the *Hebrewes*, concerning *Segor*, is agreeable to the Truth; namely, That it was frequently overthrown by *Earthquakes*, and was first called *Bale*, and afterward *Salissa*; and therefore *Lot* was afraid, and said unto himself, *If while other Cities were standing, this was often subverted, how can it expect now to escape, in the Common Ruine?*"¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ Heidegger (2:171–72, Exerc. VIII, § 15). *Lot's* action has generated a heated debate in which commentators either condemned him for his impious act or exonerated him for setting the laws of hospitality above his paternal love for his own daughters. The debate is synopsized in Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:176; *Works* 2:245–46) and elsewhere. Mather here draws (at second hand) on Don Isaac ben Judah Abravanel (1437–1508), the Jewish philosopher and biblical exegete of Lisbon, whose commentary on the Pentateuch is the most likely source for this interpretation.

¹³⁹ Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 19:12 (*Commentary* 1:78). R. *Jehuda*, in רבי אליעזר פריק *Capitula R. Elieser* (1644), cap. 25, p. 57 (*Pirke de R. Eliezer* 182–83), identifies one of *Lot's* daughters as *Pelethit* (*sic*), who is married to a wealthy man of *Sodom*. According to R. Hama ben Hanina (Genesis Rabbah L:9; see also XLIX:13), *Lot* had four daughters, two married, and two betrothed.

¹⁴⁰ See Heidegger (2:173–74, Exerc. VIII, § 18). The passage in quotation marks is Mather's translation of St. Jerome's Latin commentary on Gen. 19:30 (*Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim: in Genes. XIX:30*) [PL 23. 966B].

[356v] |
1679.

Q. Do wee find in Antiquity, any thing that may Resemble and Illustrate, the Destruction of *Sodom*?

A. Yes. A. C. 1348. there was, at *Constantinople*, an Earthquake, that endured for Forty Dayes; & it extended as far as *Hungary* and *Italy*. Twenty Six Cities were overthrown by it; Mountains torn up by the Roots; and several Men, Women, & Beasts, by that strange Exhalation, turned into *Statues of Salt*. Read *Aventinus*, and see his Account of this Passage.¹⁴¹

But a *Karaite* Commentator, whose Manuscript Works, are in the French Kings Library, lays down a General Maxim, That in the Translation of many Scriptures, the Word, AS, or, LIKE, is to be supplied. Thus, *Ishmael will be [LIKE] a Wild Man*. And thus, *Lots Wife*, – The Body being dried, & parched, & hardened, by the Heat of the Inflamed Air, did remain immoveable on the Place, *like a Pillar of Salt*.¹⁴²

Q. What is meant by, *Fire & Brimstone*? v. 24.

A. It signifies, *Brimstone inflamed*. And in the Hebrew Style, Inflamed Brimstone means *Lightening*.¹⁴³

145.

Q. How is it said, *The Lord Rained from the Lord*? Who is that *Lord*? v. 24.

A. The Destruction of the *Sodomites*, being an *Act of Judgment*, & a *Type* of the Last & Great *Judgment*, may very properly bee ascribed unto God the SON, by way of Eminency. Hence the *Targum Hieros*: thus renders this Place, *Verbum Domini demisit super illos, Sulphur et Ignem, à facie Jehovæ de Cælis*. All Christian Antiquity consents to this Exposition. I find no less than *Twice Seven* of the Fathers, mentaining it. But, that wee may not consent unto any other

¹⁴¹ Mather's primary source for this and the following paragraphs is Heidegger (2:177–78, Exerc. VIII, § 23). Heidegger cites at second hand *Annalium Boiorum* (1554), lib. 7, p. 791, by the Bavarian historian Johannes Aventinus (Thurmair), who describes at some length the earthquake of Feb. 8, 1348 and its devastations. Heidegger's second-hand quotation from Aventinus originates in *De historia medica mirabilis* (1613) 264, by the Italian physician Marcello Donati (1538–1602). The catastrophic earthquake of 1348, which occurred at the same time as the Black Death was spreading from the Mediterranean to N Europe, killed tens of thousands of people, and devastated cities in Cyprus, Turkey, Greece, Italy, and as far north as Austria, where triggering a landslide, the earthquake wiped out the town of Villach and its inhabitants.

¹⁴² Mather's unidentified Karaite commentator (Heidegger 2:178) subscribes to a literalist reading of the Hebrew Scriptures to the exclusion of the oral tradition of the rabbis (Mishnah and Talmud). Significantly, the Karaite commentator insists that the description of Lot's wife, who "became a pillar of salt" (Gen. 19:26), is a figure of speech and must be read as a simile, not a metaphor. In this modernist reading, the unidentified interpreter is joined by other rationalists, most notably Jean LeClerc (*Twelve Dissertations* [1696], Diss. X, pp. 238–77).

¹⁴³ Mather's figurative reading is up to par.

Interpretation, Wee have the Thunderbolts of a whole *Council* to keep us where wee are. It is an Article of the *Syrmian Council*, *Si quis id, quod Scriptum est, Pluit Dominus à Domino, non de Patre ac Filio Acceperit, sed ipsum Deum Patrem à Semet ipso pluuisse dixerit, Anathema sit. Pluit enim DEI Filius à DEO Patre.*¹⁴⁴

404.

Q. Are there any Modern Remains of the *Salt-Pillar*, whereinto *Lots* Wife was turned? v. 26.

A. One of the Jewish Rabbins, would perswade us, that wee have not aright understood that *History*. Hee tells us, the Nominative Case to, *Became*, is not, *Shee*, but, *It*; namely, *the Ground*, mentioned in the Clause præceding; *It became an Heap of Salt*. But his Notion is not received; any more than that of some other Jewish Rabbins, who inform us, That shee was turned into *Salt*, by a Retaliating Punishment, because that under the Pretence of going about the Town to borrow *Salt* for their Supper, shee discovered unto the Wretches of the Town, that Strangers were come to her House. The Modern Relations, of her Saline *Statue*, being still to bee seen, you must beleeve with Discretion. And, I beleeve you will find it hard enough to beleeve, *Irenæus*, in Prose, telling us, *Uxor remansit in Sodomis, jam non caro corruptibilis, sed statua salis semper manens, et per Naturalia ea, quæ sunt consuetudinis Hominis ostendens*. Or, *Tertullian* in Verse,

Ipsaque Imago sibi formam sine corpore servans
Durat adhuc. Etenim nudâ statione sub æthrâ,
Nec pluvijs dilapsa situ, nec diruta ventis.
 Quin etiam, si quis mutilaverit advena formam,
 Protinus ex sese suggestu vulnera complet.

¹⁴⁴ Heidegger (2:174–75, Exerc. VIII, § 19). The Latin citation is adapted from the Targum Onkelos – not from the Targum Hierosolymitanum (Gen. 19:24), in Walton (1:77, 4:33), as Heidegger erroneously claims. At any rate, the passage reads, “The Word of the Lord rained upon them [Sedom and Amorah], sulphur and fire from before Jehovah from the heavens” (Etheridge 1:72). Ironically, both the Targums Jonathan ben Uziel and Hierosolymitanum render this destructive rainfall as “showers of favour” (Etheridge 1:217). Among the many early Church Fathers who agree that it was God’s son (“The Word”) who rained judgment upon Sodom and Gomorrah are Tertullian (*Against Praxeas*, ch. 13), in *ANF* (3:608); St. Athanasius (*Four Discourses* 2.15.13), in *NPNFii* (4:355); Irenæus (*Against Heresies* 3.6.1), in *ANF* (1:418); and *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles* (5.3.20), in *ANF* (7:448). The Syrmian (Sirmian) Council, or rather the three Councils of Sirmium (347–59 CE), held in Sirmium, Pannonia (modern Sremska Mitrovica, in Serbia), convened to settle the dispute between the Arians and the Homoeousians. The former denied the divinity of Christ; the latter insisted that the Son of God is of the same substance as the Father (co-essentialism). The Confession of the Council of Sirmium – along with its various redefinitions – can be found in St. Athanasius (*De Synodis*, part II, §§ 27–32), in *NPNFii* (4:464–68). Mather (via Heidegger) cites from the Confession of Sirmium (*De Synodis*, part II, § 27, art. 17, p. 465), which anathematizes all dissenters as follows: “Whosoever shall explain, ‘The Lord rained fire from the Lord’ (Gen. xix.24), not of the Father and the Son, and says that He rained from Himself, be he anathema. For the Son, being Lord, rained from the Father Who is Lord.”

*Dicitur et vivens alio iam corpore sexus,
Munificos solito dispungere sanguine menses.*

Mr. Pyles gives us the Matter well, in his Paraphrase. “She was overtaken by the Storm, which wrapt her Body so thick, with Nitro-Sulphureous Matter, as to congeal & candy it, into a Substance as hard as a Stone, & left it like a Pillar of Rock-Salt.”¹⁴⁵

495.

Q. What thought the Daughters of *Lot*, when they said, *There is not a Man in the Earth, to come in unto us?* v. 31.

A. *Aben-Ezra* tells us, The silly Girls imagined, that the *Fire* had now made or was making as universal a Devastation of Mankind, as the *Flood* had a few Ages before. If so, their *Incest* is a Crime, for which there may be found some little Extenuation.¹⁴⁶

3327.

Q. We find, that beside *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*, there were two other Cities, namely *Adma* and *Seboim*, [Deut. 29.23. and Hos. 11.8.] destroy’d; why is the mention of these two, omitted in the History of *Genesis*?

¹⁴⁵ Heidegger (2:177, Exerc. VIII, § 23). R. Bachya ben Asher identifies R. Abraham Ibn Ezra, who claims that “the word וְהָיָה [wattehi] in our verse refers to the ‘earth.’ In other words, the earth beneath her turned into a pillar of salt, not she herself.” However, citing *Genesis Rabbah* (LI:5), R. Bachya ben Asher agrees with R. Isaac, who avers that Lot’s wife was punished by being turned into a pillar of salt because having quarreled with her husband over salt, she went to her neighbors “to alert them to the fact that her husband was entertaining guests, against the law of the town” (*Torah Commentary* 1:314). Much the same is offered on the punishment of Lot’s wife, by Rashi (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:234). Mather here seconds Jean LeClerc’s caveat that modern eye-witness accounts are as untrustworthy as those of the ancients (*Twelve Dissertations*, Diss. X, 238–77). LeClerc also agrees with those of his rabbinic colleagues who argue that the soil in the area of Sodom (Deut. 29:23), not Lot’s wife herself, was turned into salt (242–43). For a highly informative discussion of the Pillar of Salt in history, its miraculous longevity, disappearance, and occasional return throughout the ages, see A. D. White (*History of Warfare* 2:221–56). Mather’s second-hand Latin citation from Irenaeus’s *Adversus haereses* (4.31.3) translates, “the wife remained in Sodom, no longer corruptible flesh, but a pillar of salt which endures for ever; and by those natural processes which appertain to the human race” (*ANF* 1:505). The citation from *Carmen de Sodoma* (3.49–55) [PL 2. 1104B], a work attributed to Tertullian, loosely reads, Lot’s wife “changed into brittle salt, herself her tomb / She stood, herself an image of herself, / Keeping an incorporeal form: and still / In her unsheltered station ‘neath the heaven / [En]dures she, by rains unmelted, by decay / And winds unwasted; nay, if some strange hand / Deface her form, forthwith from her own store / Her wounds she doth repair. Still is she said / To live, and, ‘mid her corporal change, discharge / With wonted blood her sex’s monthly dues” (*A Strain of Sodom* 165–73), in *ANF* (4:131). Finally, Mather rounds out his commentary on Gen. 19:26 with a citation from Thomas Pyle’s *A Paraphrase with Short and Useful Notes* (1717) 1:109, § 26.

¹⁴⁶ Heidegger (2:179–80, Exerc. VIII, § 26). Ibn Ezra’s annotations on Gen. 19:31 (*Commentary* 1:210).

A. The Reason why those two Cities are omitted, seems to be, because the Kings of these Places, were Tributary to those of *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*.

Strabo indeed, in his Sixteenth Book, mentions, not only *Four Cities*, as having been here subverted by *Subterraneous Fire*, but *Thirteen*. Perhaps he was deceived in this Matter, as well as he was, in beleeving, that the *Lacus Serbonis*, was the same with the *Asphaltites*. Or, perhaps *Nine* other smaller Towns, which depended on these *Four*, may have been destroy'd with them. 'Tis very certain, That *Ezekiel* mentions, not only *Sodom*, but her *Daughters*. And it is likely, That *Strabo* a Man of a wonderful Diligence, & infinite Reading, might have an Account of the Number of these Cities, from some *Phœnician* Writer.¹⁴⁷

107.{}

Q. What further Curiositie, do you see, in the Time & Cause of *Sodom's* Destruction?

A. It is observable, How soon after the Institution of *Circumcision*, the Cities came to Destruction, which had hideously abused that Member, whereon the Institution had Imprinted the *Seal*, of the *Covenant* for the Land.¹⁴⁸

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[357r]

3418.

Q. What is there to confirm the Opinion, of an *Earthquake* accompanying the Overthrow of *Sodom*?

A. The Tradition of it, is very constant among the Heathen; that there was then a dreadful *Earthquake*, which made an irruption of those Bituminous Waters, whereby this Countrey was turned into the Lake *Asphaltites*. Consult *Strabo*. Nor doth it seem improbable, that the *Earth quaked*, while the *Heavens* did so terribly frown, & thunder & lighten. The Word καταστροφῇ, used by the Apostle *Peter* for this Matter, [2. Pet. 2.6.] may well seem to import some such Subversion.¹⁴⁹

4211.

Q. What Remark ha's been made, upon the Two Names, which the Two Daughters of *Lot*, putt upon their *Incestuous Offspring*?

A. *Munster* ha's a Note, That the Impudence of the *Elder* was greater than that of the *Younger*. For she does in the Name of her Child, [*Moab*] continue

¹⁴⁷ Heidegger (2:175–76, Exerc. VIII, §§ 20–21). *Strabo* (16.2.44).

¹⁴⁸ For a similar rationale about venereal disease, see Mather's "*Kibroth Hattaavah*. Or, Some Clean Thoughts, on, The *Foul Disease*," in *Angel of Bethesda* (1972), pp. 116–20.

¹⁴⁹ This paragraph is extracted from Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 19:24 (*Commentary* 1:79). The "Lake *Asphaltites*" (Asphaltic Lake) is the Dead Sea. *Strabo* (16.2.42–43). For the celestial fire consuming the region and turning it into a bituminous lake, see Tacitus (*Historiarum* 5.6–7). The Greek noun used by Peter is "catastrophe" (2 Peter 2:6).

the Name of her Fact. The Modesty of the *Younger* was greater than that of the *Elder*: As the Name of the Child, [*The Son of my People*,] intimates.¹⁵⁰

3419.

Q. And what sort of a *Sea*, is the *Dead-Sea*, which is now risen where *Sodom* stood?

A. The Countrey is become a *Pan* of such a strange Moisture, that it may be called, a *Liquid Pitch* rather than *Water*. So stiff it is, that no Wind will move it; nor will a Camel sink, if thrown into it; nor any Fish or Fowl subsist in it. *Salmasius* thinks, Tis called, *The Dead Sea*, because no Creature can live there, and because the Noisome Steams that come from it, blast all the Fruits of the Earth about it. Nor do the Rivers that run into it, at all alter it; but it infects all their Waters with the loathsome Qualities of those *Dregs of Gods Wrath*, which first settled in it, at the Overthrow of the wicked Cities.¹⁵¹

In the next Chapter, we find *Abraham* Travelling towards the South. Some think, T'was because the Stench of the Lake of *Sodom*, was offensive to him in *Mamre*.¹⁵²

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3420.

Q. One Touch more, if you please, upon the History of *Lots Wife* being turned into a *Pillar of Salt*?

A. The Jewes give her the Name of *Adith*, [in *Pirke Elieser*. c. 25.] because of her continuing a *Testimony* of the Displeasure of God. She standing still too long, some of the dreadful Shower before mentioned, overtook her; and falling upon her, it wrapt her Body in a *Sheet* of *Nitro-Sulphureous* Matter, which congealed into a Crust as hard as a *Stone*, and made her appear as a *Pillar of Salt*; her Body being, as it were candied in it. Thus Dr. *Patrick* expresses it; and I have not seen this Matter any where better expressed.

¹⁵⁰ Mather translates Sebastian Münster's annotation on Gen. ch. 19 (*Hebraica Biblia* 1:41, annot. [m].)

¹⁵¹ Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 19:25 (*Commentary* 1:79). Mather's second-hand reference is to *Salmasius's Pliniana exercitationes* (1629 ed.) 1:577, 614; (1689 ed.) cap. 35, 1:433, a B–D, where the great Huguenot scholar comments on the noxious exhalations arising from the bituminous waters of the Dead Sea as described in Pliny (5.15.71–72; 35.51.178–83).

¹⁵² Among those who comment on the deleterious fumes arising from the Dead Sea (*Lacus Asphaltites*) and its commercial use are Diodorus Siculus (19.98–99); Patrick on Gen. 19:25, 27 (*Commentary* 1:79, 80); and Thomas Jackson, D.D., in "The Eternal Truth of the Scriptures," *Works* (1673), vol. 1, cap. 15, p. 56.

It is probable, That the Fable of *Niobe* was derived from hence; who, as the Poets feign, was turned into a *Stone*, upon her excessive Passion, for the Death of her Children.¹⁵³

3421.

Q. A Word more upon the Fact of *Lots* Daughters?

A. This Fact was objected by *Celsus*, against our Holy Religion. But *Origen*, in answer, urges, (what we have already hinted,) That the Two Maids having learn'd something of the *Conflagration* of the World, & seeing their own Countrey consumed by such a *Conflagration*, they concluded, that Σώπυρον τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, *The Seminary of Mankind*, remained only in their Father and in them. *Irenæus* makes the same Excuse for them, and saies, *They did this Innocently, and in their Simplicity, beleeving that all Mankind was destroy'd.*¹⁵⁴

But then, Dr. *Patrick*, takes their Conjecture, to be highly probable, who conceive, that the eager Desire, which then possessed the Hearts of good People, to fulfil the Promise of the *Messiah*, was that which putt them upon this otherwise monstrous Crime. For, since they lived so chastly in the Midst of the Impurities of *Sodom*, one cannot think, that the unchast & unclean Spirit now entred into them. And their Joining together in such a thing, which Persons would have concealed from the nearest Friends in the World, argues that they were acted by Design & Counsel, & not by Brutish Lust. And their perpetuating the Memory of the Fact, in the Names of their Children, is a Demonstration of something extraordinary in it, which they were not much Ashamed of.

They thought, perhaps, that *Lot* might pretend unto the Fulfilment of the Promise, as well as *Abraham*; he being the Son of *Abraham's* elder Brother, & called out of *Sodom* by the Ministry of good *Angels*, as *Abraham* was out of *Chaldaea*.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ This paragraph is extracted from Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 19:26 (*Commentary* 1:79). R. Elieser (*Capitula R. Elieser* [1644], cap. 25, p. 59), calls Lot's wife "Adith"; Friedlander's annotation of *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (ch. 25, p. 186, note 5) variously lists her name as "Edith" and "Erith," even "Ado." That salt was involved in Edith's petrification is also emphasized by R. David Kimchi (*Hachut Hameshulash* 2:395–96). The fable of Niobe, proud daughter of Lydian King Tantalus, relates how Diana turned her into stone as punishment for disrespect. Often cited as a pagan version of the story of Lot's wife, the tale of Niobe can be found in Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 7.272–318) and elsewhere. (See also Mather's commentary on Gen. 19:16, above).

¹⁵⁴ Simon Patrick on Gen. 19:32 (*Commentary* 1:80). Origin's apology for the girls' incest is found in his *Contra Celsum* (4.45.35–36) and has been rendered euphemistically "rekindling of the flame of human life" (*ANF* 4:518), and more pragmatically, "the necessity of restoring the human race" (*Homilies on Genesis* 5.4, pp. 116–17). Irenaeus (*Adversus haereses* 4.31.2) delivers a similar apology for the girls' behavior (*ANF* 1:505). Drawing on Genesis Rabbah (LI:8), Rashi offers much the same justification (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:235–36).

¹⁵⁵ Simon Patrick (Gen. 19:32) does his best to weave a coverlet for this ignominious detail of OT history (*Commentary* 1:80).

[See more in the *Appendix*.]¹⁵⁶

3422.

Q. What the Signification of *Moab*?

A. Most will have it, *From my Father*. But I rather incline to *Drusius*, who, (on Deut. 2.8.) will have it, *Aqua Patris*.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ Here Mather refers to his Appendix following his commentary on the Book of Revelation, at the end of “BA.”

¹⁵⁷ Mather’s source is Simon Patrick’s annotation on Gen. 19:37 (*Commentary* 1:81). The Latin citation from the Dutch scholar Joannes Drusius (Driesche) translates euphemistically “the father’s water” and appears in *Critici Sacri* (1:1150).

Q. The Two Distresses of *Abraham* & *Sarah*, the one from *Pharaoh*, the other from *Abimelek*, resemble one another, almost as much as Two Drops of Water. Only there is this little Difference between the Two Narratives; *Moses* expressly saies, That *Abimelek* did not come near to *Sarah*; but he gives no such Account, whether *Pharaoh* did, or no? v. 4.

A. *Theodoret* beleeves, That the Sacred Historian uses this Præcaution here, with respect unto *Abimelek*, to stop the Mouth of Slander; Because that *Sarah* was brought to bed, the same Year, that this Occurrence happened.¹⁵⁸

Q. Why does *Abimelek* say, *Lord, wilt thou slay a Righteous Nation?* when only he himself was the *Person* concerned? v. 4.

A. Perhaps, he had a large *Family*, which might be called, a Sort of a *Nation*.

But *Luther* saies, The true Reason of this Expression is this. *Abimelek* was a good Man; and he knew, from what he had seen in the World, that *Subjects* are often punished for the Sins of their *Princes*. *Propter Regem impium. Sæpè totus populus plectitur; sicut etiam propter sanctum principem Deus toti Regno benedicit.*

There is a Verse in *Hesiod*, which intimates, that the Crimes of *One Man* may bring Plagues on a *whole City*. *Luther* quotes *Horace* for it; *Delirant Reges, plectuntur Achivi*. He adds another Observation;

*Nullam esse majorem calamitatem Regnorum, quàm cum boni et sanas principes decedunt.*¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ *Theodoret's* explication of this issue appears in his *Quaestiones in Octateuchum* (*Genesis*. Quest. 64, p. 59, lines 13–15). The rabbinic commentary on this issue is similarly revealing. *Rashi*, drawing on *Genesis Rabbah* (LIII:6), quotes the dispute between *Rabbi Yudan* and *Rabbi Chama* about *Sarah's* gestation period: *R. Yudan* argues (*Gen.* 21:2) that “This teaches us that he [*Isaac*] was born after nine months, so that it should not be said that he was [conceived] in *Abimelech's* household, and *Rabbi Chama* says: After seven months. –” However, to make sure that no suspicion would arise in aftertimes about *Abraham's* paternity, *Rashi* avers that *Isaac's* “facial features were like his [*Abraham's*]” (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:244).

¹⁵⁹ *Ibn Ezra's* commentary on *Gen.* 20:4 solves the apparent contradiction in this way: “The term *nation* includes *Abimelech*, his household and his kingdom” (*Commentary* 1:211). *Mather* cites from *Martin Luther's Lectures on Genesis chapters 15–20* (*Gen.* 20:4–5), “that an entire people is often punished because of an ungodly king, just as God also blesses an entire kingdom because of a saintly ruler” (*Luther's Works* 3:332). To confirm this truism, *Luther* also cites *Hesiod* (*Opera et Dies* 238) and *Horace* (*Epistolae* 1.2.14) – the latter translates, “[Whatever] folly the kings commit, the Achaeans pay the penalty” (*Luther's Works* 3:332). Furthermore, *Luther* observes that “there is no greater misfortune for kingdoms than the decease of pious and saintly rulers” (*Luther's Works* 3:332).

3424.

Q. How was *Abimelek withheld from Sinning?* v. 6.

A. Why not, by a Disease in the Secret Parts? Compare, v. 17.¹⁶⁰

3425.

Q. *He is a Prophet.* What Remark upon this Clause? v. 7.

A. This is the First Time, that we meet with the Word, NABI, a Prophet. And *Abraham* is the first that is honoured with this Name. It signifies, one familiar with God; who may come unto Him, to consult Him upon all Occasions; & have Authority to declare His Mind & Will unto others; Yea, and by his Prayers obtain a Blessing upon them.¹⁶¹

3426.

Q. That Passage, *I thought, Surely the Fear of God is not in this Place:* how may it be taken? v. 11.

A. The Word, *Rak*, which we translate, *Surely*, signifies, *Only*. And it may be thus well translated here; *This only I saw wanting in your Countrey, the Fear of God.* It seems, the People were not so good as their King.¹⁶²

3427.

Q. What was the real Kindred, between *Abraham* and *Sarah*? v. 12.

A. *She is the Daughter of my Father;* saies *Abraham*. That is to say, She was his Fathers *Grand-Daughter*; who are frequently in Scripture called, The Children of their Grandfathers.

She was Daughter to *Haran*, the elder Brother of *Abraham*. *Terah* had Two Wives; By one of them, he had *Haran*, the Father of *Lot* and *Sarah*; By the other he had *Abraham*. *Sarah* was Daughter to one who was his Brother by the *Fathers* Side, but not by the *Mothers*. With such a Niece they thought it not unlawful to marry. R. *Solomon Jarchi* thinks, there was no regard had unto Consanguinity by the *Fathers* Side, before the Law of *Moses*, but only by the *Mothers*.

By the way; *Said Batricides* (Patriarch of *Alexandria*, above seven Hundred Years ago,) in his *Arabic* History, tells us, The Name of *Terah*'s first Wife was *Jona*, and the Name of his Second, *Tevitha*, by whom he had *Sarah*. And the general Opinion of the Hebrew Doctors, is, That *Sarah* was the Daughter of *Terah*, & the Sister of *Abraham*, in such a way.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ Simon Patrick's annotation on Gen 20:6 (*Commentary* 1:81).

¹⁶¹ Patrick on Gen. 20:7 (*Commentary* 1:81).

¹⁶² Patrick on Gen. 20:11 (*Commentary* 1:82).

¹⁶³ Mather's primary source is again Simon Patrick on Gen. 20:12 (*Commentary* 1:12), but Patrick's own *vademecum* is John Selden (*De Jure Naturali & Gentium*, lib. 5, cap. 2, pp. 543–44). *Said Batricides* (also *Patricides*, Sa'id ibn Batriq), now better known by his Greek name Euty chius, Patriarch of Alexander, relates that Sarah and Abraham had the same father, but

Q. What means *Abimelech*, in his Words unto *Sarah*, about, *The Covering of her Eyes*? v. 16.

A. Interpreters have taken almost as great a Liberty, in the Expounding of this Passage, as *Abimelek* was going to do, in that which was the Occasion of it. The various Opinions of Expositors, are collected by *Pfeiffer*, who at length gives his own Decision, with which I choose to concur,

Donum mille Argenteorum Saræ oblatum, vocatur velamen oculorum, in publicum Testimonium illibatæ utrinque Fidei conjugalæ et pudicitie.

Abimelek is here studying to Reconcile himself unto *Abraham* & unto *Sarah*. Unto *Abraham* hee offered his Land; unto *Sarah*, hee said, “Here, *I have given a Thousand Peeces of Silver*, unto thy Husband, who ha’s prov’d himself to bee, what hee call’d himself, *Thy Brother*, as well as thy Husband: And it is for thy Sake, and thy Use, that I have given it. Behold, *IT shall bee to thee a Covering of the Eyes*; that is, it shall bee a *Public Testimony*, that thou hast not been a Prostitute Adulteress, but an Honest & a Worthy *Matron*, even such an one as uses to keep her *Face covered*. I do here make this Public Protestation, both before thy own *Domesticks*, & before *all other* People, that thou hast kept the *Covering of thine Eyes*, ever since thy abode in this Place; & the *unveiled Face* of them that have but a suspected Chastity belongs not unto thee.”

And accordingly, That Expression, *Thus shee was Reproved*, calls for quite another Translation, than what wee have given it. The Hebrew Word there employ’d נִכְחַת no where else carries that Signification. And *Sarah* did not so much now want a *Reproof*, when *Abraham* had already made her *Excuse*. Nor would *Abimelek* now go to Exacerbations, when hee was making Satisfaction on all hands. Yea, hee had already made it. I choose rather to read this Clause, either, *So thou shalt bee Innocent*; or, *Thus shee was found Innocent*.¹⁶⁴

4212.

Well, but at least One Intimation from another Interpreter, upon this Passage, may not be too much? v. 16.

Gerundensis ha’s this brief and good Gloss upon it. “Behold, The Present which I have made thee, shall be a *Covering of the Eyes* unto all that come near thee; they shall not after this dare to *open their Eyes*, that they may look upon

two different mothers: Jona (Yunà) and Tevitha (Tohwait, Tehevitha). See Edward Pococke’s translation *Contextio Gemmarum ... Annales* (1656), lib. 1, pp. 66–67. Heidegger (2:52, Exerc. III, § 3) offers much the same.

¹⁶⁴ The two paragraphs are extracted from August Pfeiffer’s *Hermeneutica Sacra* (1684), a synopsis of biblical interpretations by different theologians. Pfeiffer’s own opinion (on Gen. 20:16) is, “the gift of a thousand pieces of silver to Sara is called ‘a covering of the eyes,’ as public evidence of both her undiminished conjugal faith and her chastity.” The Hebrew expression וְנִכְחַת [wenokachat] suggests “completely vindicated” or “righted” (*NJB, JPS*).

thee; they shall say, King *Abimelek* was forced with a costly Present, to Redeem his own Life, when he went to meddle with such a Wife of a Prophet of God.”¹⁶⁵

Honest Mr. *George Swinnock* ha’s an agreeable Gloss upon it. “The Eye is the Tenderest Part of the Body. God ha’s provided a special *Cover* to fence it. When God would speak of His Infinite Respect unto His People, He sais, They are to Him as the *Apple of His Eye*. The Husbands ought to be as Tender of their Wives, as the *Apple of their Eyes*.”¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ Mather’s second-hand citation from Moses Gerundensis, now better known as R. Moshe ben Nachmanides (Ramban), essentially corresponds to the modern translation of Ramban’s *Commentary* (1:265).

¹⁶⁶ The citation is from *The Christian-Man’s Calling* (1668), ch. 27, p. 409, by George Swinnock (1627–73), an English nonconformist, vicar of Great Kymble (Buckinghamshire), who was ejected in 1662 during the Restoration. Mather, who owned the 1668 edition of this popular work, quotes from a chapter on how family religion ensures the happiness of all family members.

Q. Our learned *Heidegger* supplies us, with many rich *Illustrations* upon the Matters of the *Patriarchs*. To Translate or Transcribe the whole of his *Exercitationes*, would not answer the Design of the Work, we are upon; which is, To make a Collection of the *Finer Thoughts*, wherewith Men of Erudition, have Illustrated the Sacred Scriptures. And yett, rather than scatter them asunder, to be lodg'd at their several Texts, we would chuse to have the *Finer Thoughts* of our *Heidegger* as much together, as a *Particular Subject* will allow. Wherefore, what you find more observable in him, concerning the affairs of ISAAC, and his Two Sons; Lett us have all here together, if you please, in one Entertainment? v. 1.

A. It shall be so.¹⁶⁷

We won't concern ourselves, with the cabalistical Curiosities of the Jewes on the Name of *Isaac*; How *י'* as a Numeral, remembers the *Ten* Temptations of his Father: *י"ט* 90, remembers the Age of his Mother at his Nativity: *י"ח* 8, remembers the Day of his Circumcision; *י"ק* 100, remembers the Age of his Father.¹⁶⁸

He was miraculously born, of a *Mother*, become like a *Cistern*. [See Isa. 51.1, 2.] Her *Suckling* of him, was not only a lively Proof of her *Bearing* of him; but it also provokes *Ambrose* to say; *Provocantur eo exemplo Famine, ut meminerint Dignitatis suæ, et lactent ipsæ filios suos*. *Phavorinus* ha's a memorable Dissertation upon this Duty of *Giving Suck* in *A. Gellius*; L.XII. And *Aristotle* [Polit. VII.17.] and *Plutarch* [De Lib. Educ.] press it mightily.¹⁶⁹

Abraham celebrates a *Feast*, at the *Weaning* of *Isaac*. Why not at his *Nativity*, or *Circumcision*? *Austin* Answers the Quæstion; *Quod nisi ad aliquam spiritualem significationem referatur, nulla solutio questionis est. Tum scilicet esse debere magnum gaudium spirituale ætatis, quandò fuerit factus homo novus spiritualis, hoc est, non talis, qualibus dixit Apostolus, Lac vobis potum dedi, non escam; nondum enim poteratis, sed nec adhuc potestis*. To the like Purpose *Ambrose*. Our *Heidegger*

¹⁶⁷ Here follows a lengthy extract from Johann Heinrich Heidegger's *Historia Sacra Patriarcharum*, which Mather mines wholesale.

¹⁶⁸ Heidegger (2:215, Exerc. XI, § 1). Heidegger's own source for the Gematria of Isaac's name is again Vorstius's translation רבי אליעזר פרקי *Capitula R. Elieser* (1644), cap. 32, p. 75. See Friedlander's translation of *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (232).

¹⁶⁹ Heidegger (2:215). The adaptation from Ambrosius Mediolanensis (*De Abrahamo patriarcha*, lib. 1, cap. 7, § 63) [PL 14. 444] has Ambrose recommend that "by this example, women are called to remember their dignity and suckle their children themselves." Phavorinus, aka. Favorinus of Arelata (c. 80–150 CE) was a skeptic philosopher and rhetorician of Roman Gaul. His discourse on breast-feeding is excerpted in Aulus Gellius (*Noctes Atticæ* 12.1.1–24). Both Aristotle (*Politica* 7.17.1336a, 4–8) and Plutarch (*De liberis educandis* 3c) in *Plutarch's Moralia* (1:12–15) similarly praise the benefits of breast-feeding the newborn.

thinks, it might be the Custome of the Countrey. However, from *Abraham*, the *Israelites* took it up; as you find in the Story of *Samuel*. They did it, that they might express their *Thanks* to Heaven, for bringing on their Infant thus far; and their *Hopes* of its going & growing on to further Manhood; & that they might engage *Friends* unto their increasing Families. The *Rabbis* tell us, That *Isaac* was now Four and Twenty Months old.¹⁷⁰

The rest of the Life of *Isaac*, is considered by our *Heidegger*, with much Demonstration of Reading and Learning. But there do not occur in his Exercitation, any *Illustrations* of that finer Constitution, which we would chuse to single out, for the Work now upon our Hands.¹⁷¹

Of the Two Sons, *Esau* and *Jacob*, which were born unto *Isaac*, the former seems to have been præferr'd by the *Patriarch*, in his Fondness, & in his Blessing. It is a Quæstion, How this Conduct of *Isaac*, was consistent with his Knowledge and Regard of the Oracle, Gen. 25.23. *The Elder shall serve the Younger*. Some think, That *Isaac* had forgotten it. But our *Heidegger* inclines rather to think, That he understood not the Sense of it; he was not sensible, That the Prophecy about the *Struggles* between the People that should be the Offspring of these *Two Sons*, did at all concern the *Sons* themselves. And in the Providence of God, there fell out various Occasions, to engage differently the Affections of the Parents, to the Persons of these their *Sons*. *Esau*, was not only the *Elder*, but also more than ordinarily *officious* to his Father, and his *Officiousness* rather than his *Venison* procured a singular Fondness of his Father for him. But as *Chrysostom* notes, *Ἡ προρρησις κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς ἔργον ἐξηεῖ. Prædestinatio brevi in opus exibat.*¹⁷²

Jacob had Opportunity, to purchase from *Esau* his Birthright, by a *Pottage of Lentiles*, which hungry *Esau*, upon his Return from Hunting, found that he had præpared. [Gen. 25.29, 30, 34.] *Heidegger* upon the mention of this, commends the Frugality, in an House of so much Plenty. *Ælian* reports and applauds, the like Simplicity, with Frugality, in the Diet of the Ancients. The *Arcades*, he saies, fed much, upon *Acorns*; the *Argives* upon *Apples*; the *Athenians* upon *Figs*; the *Tyrinthians* upon *Wild-Pears*; the *Indians*, upon *Reeds*; the *Sauromates*, upon *Millet*; the *Carmans* upon *Dates*; and the *Persians*, upon *Cresses*.

¹⁷⁰ Heidegger (2:215). St. Augustine offers the following explanation in his *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* (lib. 1): *Quaestiones in Genesim* (cap. 50) [PL 34. 560]: "Unless this can be referred to some spiritual significance, there is no answer to the question. In that case, of course, this is that there must be great rejoicing of the spirit for the age when a spiritually renewed man would arise, not such an one as those to whom the Apostle [St. Paul, 1 Cor. 3:2] said, 'I gave you milk to drink, not solid food; for you were not yet ready, and indeed you are still not ready.'" See St. Ambrosius Mediolanensis (*De Abraham libri duo*, lib. 1, cap. 7) [PL 14. 444A–B].

¹⁷¹ Heidegger (2:215).

¹⁷² Heidegger (2:231–32, Exerc. XII, § 5). Isaac's preference for his firstborn notwithstanding, Jacob's acquisition of Esau's right of primogeniture was foreordained. Chrysostom (*Homiliae in Genesim* 50) [PG 54. 449, line 29] furnishes the standard explication: "the prophecy was gradually coming into effect" (*Homilies in Genesis* 50.6, p. 52). As usual, Mather does not supply the Greek diacritical marks even though Heidegger does provide them throughout.

Upon the *Lentiles* here desired by *Esau*, you shall have the Observation of *Austin*; *Lenticulam invenimus cibum esse Ægyptiorum; nam ibi abundat in Ægypto; unde magnificatur lenticula Alexandrina, et venit, usque in terras nostras, quasi hic non nascatur lenticula. Ergò desiderando Esau cibum Ægyptiacum | perdidit primatum.* [362v] We find, *Lentiles* [Φάκη] a Diet in request among the Philosophers; especially the *Grecian* ones. *Athenæus* tells us, That *Zeno* made much use of it; Yea, that it was a *Dogma* of the *Stoicks*; *Sapientem omnia rectè agere, et lentem diligenter condire.* It is a Figment of the *Jewes*, That the Patriarchs used it only when they had much Sorrow of Mind upon them; and that *Jacob* was now very sorrowful, either because of *Esau's* retaining still the *Birthright*, or for the Death of his Grandfather *Abraham*, which fell out about this Time. *Heidegger* saies upon it; *In quâ culinâ coqui hi id didicerint, viderint ipsi.* *Esau*, in his Hunger pressing for a Mess of this *Lentile-Pottage*, our *Jacob* takes the Occasion, to propose unto him, a Bargain about his *Birthright*. In the Family of *Isaac*, the *Birthright*, had his peculiar Prærogative annexed unto it, that the *Messiah* was to have His Descent from the Person, to whom it belonged. The *Profanity* of *Esau* now appears the more sensibly, on this Occasion.¹⁷³ But when *Esau* said, *Behold, I am at the Point to Dy; and what Profit shall this Birthright do to me?* it seems not easy to imagine, that in so well-provided a Family as *Isaac's*, the young Man must have perished, for Famine, if this *Lentile-Broth* had been denied unto him, or that his Brother would have been such a Brute as to have seen him rather perish, than releve his Necessity. But *Esau* seems to mean, That he led a Life exposed unto continual Danger of *Death*, in his *Hunting*; and that he was likely enough to *Dy* before his Father; And in *that Case*, of *what Profit would his Birthright* be unto him? So *Aben-Ezra* carries it; *Quia quotidie periculis se ipsum exponebat, sicut exivit ad venandum, forte Bestia ipsum occidissent, atque sic fieri poterat, ut moreretur antè patrem suum.* He spoke like an *Epicurean*, or a *Sybarite*; like one wholly Regardless of a *Life to come*; In the Language afterwards used by his true Offspring; [Isa.

173 Heidegger (2:232, Exerc. XII, § 6). Claudius Aelianus (*De varia historia* 3.39, *Historical Miscellany* 168–71) testifies to the preferences of the Mediterranean and Eastern peoples for figs, cereals, and fruits. In his *Enarrationes in Psalmos* (XLVII, § 6) [PL 36. 527], St. Augustine glosses on *Esau's* voracious appetite for *Jacob's* lentils: “Lentils we find to be the food of the Egyptians, for there it abounds in Egypt. Whence is so magnified the lentil of Alexandria, that it comes even to our country, as if here grew no lentil. Therefore by desiring Egyptian food he [*Esau*] lost his birthright” (*NPNFi* 8:162). Athenaeus Naucratis (4.47.1–4.48.25) satirizes the predilection of his Greek conferees for lentils, especially when prepared in the Zenonian style. He pokes fun at *Zeno* and the Stoic maxim that “the wise man will do all things rightly, even to the wise seasoning of lentil soup” (*Deipnosophists* 4.158a). *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (ch. 35, p. 262) documents that “Lentils are the food of mourning and sorrow.” See also the Talmudic tractate *Baba Bathra* (16b), but *Genesis Rabbah* (LXIII:14) relates that “As a lentil symbolises mourning, yet also joy, so here too there was mourning – because of *Abraham's* death, and joy – because *Jacob* received the birthright.” Finally, Heidegger (2:232) comments, “They will have seen for themselves in what sort of kitchen these men learned to cook it.” *Esau's* belly-aching exclamation appears in *Gen.* 25:32.

22.13.] *Lett us Eat & Drink, for to morrow we shall Dy.* The Jerusalem-Targum ha's a Just Reflection on this Action of Esau; *Contempsit Esau primogenituram, et floccipendit partem futuri sæculi, negavitque Resurrectionem mortuorum.*¹⁷⁴

There ha's appear'd a little Difficulty, in this; That we find, Gen. 33.16. *Esau returned on his Way to Seir*; as his home. And yett afterwards we find; Gen. 36.6, 7, 8. *Esau took all his Substance, which he had gott in the Land of Canaan, & went into the Countrey, from the face of his Brother Jacob; For their Riches were more than that they might dwell together. Thus dwelt Esau in Mount Seir.* Austin solves the Difficulty; He saies, That when Jacob return'd unto his Father at Hebron, Esau did so too; & there dwelt peaceably with his Brother, unto the Death of their Father; and then, to præserve the Peace between them, he went back unto Mount Seir again.¹⁷⁵

We find a considerable Number of *Dukes*, among the Sons of Esau. Jarchi takes these *Dukes* to be no more than /ראשׁ משפחות/ *The Heads of the Families*. But as the *Families* grew more Numerous, the *Dukes* anon swell'd into *Kings*. We have so large a Catalogue of them, that our Heidegger thinks, it must be fill'd up, after the Death of Moses, in after-times, by some Holy Writer. But then the New Sett of *Eleven Dukes*, which you have after the *Kings*, do not seem to have succeeded after the *Kings*, but to have governed under them, in their several *Dynasties*.¹⁷⁶

The Birth of Jacob had something extraordinary attending of it; *Quòd cùm Fœtus quisque suam habeat secundinam, quâ involutus prodeat, hic suam membranam rumpat Jacobus, ut manu exertâ Fratrem alterâ membranâ involutum apprehendat.* Aben-Ezra calls this, /פליאה גדולה/ *Miraculum Magnum*.¹⁷⁷

There ha's been a Quæstion moved by some; How the Character of a Plain, Honest, Upright Man, assigned unto Jacob, in the Scripture, is consistent with his Carriage towards his Brother Esau, in Purchasing his Birthright from him:

¹⁷⁴ Heidegger (2:234, Exerc. XII, § 9). The apology from Abraham Ibn Ezra's annotation on Gen. 25:32 (*Commentary* 1:253) has been rendered, "He was daily exposed to danger when he went out hunting, as an animal might kill him. Thus there was a possibility that he would predecease his father." Both the Epicureans and the Sybarites – hedonists all – denied the immortality of the soul. 1 Cor. 15:32. The "Just Reflection" of the Targum Hierosolymitanum (on Gen. 25:34), in Walton (4:47), charges that "Esau despised the birthright, and vilified the portion in the world that cometh, and denied the resurrection of the dead" (Etheridge 1:242).

¹⁷⁵ Heidegger (2:235, Exerc. XII, § 12). St. Augustine's solution appears in his *Quæstiones in Heptateuchum* (lib. 1): *Questiones in Genesim* (Quest. 119) [PL 34. 579].

¹⁷⁶ Heidegger (2:236, Exerc. XII, § 15). Jarchi (Rashi), on Gen. 36:15, classifies these "*Dukes*" or "chieftains" as "The heads of the clans" (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 2:448).

¹⁷⁷ Heidegger (2:243, Exerc. XIII, § 1). Jacob's birth is attended by an extraordinary occurrence: "Because each fetus also has its afterbirth, wrapped in which it comes out, here Jacob breaks his membrane, so that by stretching out his hand he might grab his brother, who is wrapped in another membrane. Aben Ezra calls this a great miracle." Abraham ibn Ezra comments (Gen. 25:25) that "This birth [of Jacob and Esau] was extremely wondrous. Every human being leaves the womb in a placenta which covers him. However, in this instance the two placentas opened simultaneously" (*Commentary* 1:251).

especially, when we consider, how severely the Apostle *Peter* animadverted on one, for Offering *Money* towards the Purchasing of Spiritual Blessings. The *Papists* and the *Hebrewes*, take much Pains, to clear *Jacob*, from all Fault in the Matter. *Bonfrerius* having answered all Objections, concludes with this *Επικρισις*, *Dico tamen Jacobum nullo modo peccasse. Menasseh Ben Israel* brings it off with this; *Eum impulit spiritualium Bonorum cupido, quibus præ minore primogenitus fruitur: hæc enim alteri quàm merenti obtingere iniquum est.* Our *Heidegger* thinks, That *Jacobs* Action in this Matter, was not without *Infirmary*; which may serve to sett off the *Free-Grace* of God, in ordering the glorious Issue of it. | We read of *Jacob*; Gen. 33.19. *He bought a Field, at the Hand of the Children of Hamor, Shechems Father.* But we read; Act. 7.16. *Abraham bought it.* We have elsewhere brought several Solutions of this Difficulty.¹⁷⁸ Our *Heidegger* offers another, that seems to him, as acceptable as any of them. 'Tis no rare thing for a *Son*, to be called by the Name of his *Father*, or *Grandfather*. When the *Israelites* would renounce a Part in *Rehoboam*, they said; 1. King. 12.16. *What Part have we in David?* We read of a perpetual War, 1. King. 15.6. between *Rehoboam*, and *Jeroboam* all their Dayes; whereas *Abijah* is also intended. The *Messiah* is called by the Name of *David*. If you look into profane Writers, *Æneas* is by *Virgil* styled *Dardanus*. *Æn.* 4. And *Stephen* might the more aptly putt upon *Jacob* the Name of *Abraham* here, because it was unto *Abraham*, that God had given the Promise, of bringing his Children, to a Portion in this Land. And why may, it not be said, That *Abraham* obtained this Field, as well as, that *Jacob* obtained the Cave of *Macpelah*? [Compare, Gen. 50.5, 13.]¹⁷⁹

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While *Jacob* sojourns at *Bethel*, and is upon his Journey out of *Mesopotamia* into *Canaan*; we read; Gen. 35.8. *Deborah, Rebeckahs Nurse died, and was buried there.* How came *Deborah* into *Jacobs* Family? When we read, [Gen. 24.59.] That she came with *Rebeckah*, out of *Mesopotamia*, into *Canaan*. The *Hebrewes* have a Tradition, That *Rebeckah* sent her to *Jacob* in *Mesopotamia*, with her Message unto him, to, Return; for she had said, [Gen. 27.45.] *I will send and fetch thee.* Others think, *Rebeckah* might now be Dead; and therefore *Deborah* betook herself to the Family of *Jacob*, as the best Retreat she could have. Perhaps, the Love of her Countrey, as well as of *Jacobs* Family, might have some Influence

¹⁷⁸ Heidegger (2:245, Exerc. XIII, § 5). In his *Pentateuchus Moysis, commentario illustratus* (1625) 236, the Belgian Jesuit Jacques Bonfrère (1573–1642), professor of Hebrew at Douai, comments on the quoted passage, “However, I say that Jacob did not sin in any way.” In this condensed citation from Manasseh ben Israel’s *The Conciliator* (Quest. 53, pp. 78–81), Spinoza’s teacher defends Jacob’s integrity (Gen. 25:27 and 25:31): “He was driven by a desire for the spiritual blessings which the firstborn enjoys before the younger, for it is unjust that these should fall to someone other than the one who deserves them.”

¹⁷⁹ Heidegger (2:247, Exerc. XIII, § 8). Virgil (*Aeneid* 4.163, 224, 365 etc.) calls Aeneas by the name of Dardanus (son of Jupiter and Electra). Heidegger points to “voce Δαιδαλου” (Stephanus Byzantius 216.10), a discussion of Daedalus and Icarus as interchangeable names since one implies the other.

upon her. Doubtless, the *Singular Piety* of the Matron, might be the Reason, why the *Death and Burial of Deborah*, is mentioned in the Scriptures, *Quæ* (as our Heidegger observes) *nisi graves ob causas, rationem mulierum non habet*.¹⁸⁰

The Place of *Rachels* Dying in Child-birth, is thus described; Gen. 35.16. *There was but a little Way to come to Ephrath*. There ha's been a great *Geographical Controversy* managed about this *little Way*. The LXX [at Gen. 48.7.] explains it, *κατὰ τον Ἰππόδρομον*. *About an Horse-race*. This was a Space of Ground well-known, among the *Egyptians*, to whom the LXX accommodated themselves. There was a famous one at *Alexandria*, mention'd by *Strabo*, by *Dion Chrysostom*, and by *Philostratus*: Yea, and in the Third Book of the *Maccabees*; and by *Josephus* called, An *Amphitheatre*. The Magnitude of That *Hippodrome* at *Alexandria*, is not remembred. But that at *Rome*, was according {to} *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, of Three Furlongs and an half; tho' *Pliny* makes it no more than Three Furlongs. A *Furlong* among the *Grecians*, was an *hundred Paces*; among the *Romans*, an *Hundred & twenty five*. But there were *Six Foot*, in a *Greek Pace*, and *Five* in a *Roman*; so their *Furlong* was the same. We will not suppose the *Alexandrian Hippodrome* so large; but rather allow it the Dimensions of the *Byzantine* one, mentioned by *Petrus Gillius*, in his History of *Constantinople*. Suppose it, Two Furlongs and an Half; This amounted unto a *Thousand Cubits*; and this was præcisely, *The little Way*, in the Text now before us. And R. *Benjamin of Tudela*, visiting the Sepulchre of *Rachel*, finds it at just such a Distance from *Bethlehem*.¹⁸¹

Heidegger interposes, before we go any further, an Exercitation, *De Testamento Isaci*.¹⁸² Here he observes, the Difference between *Isaacs* Blessing on *Jacob*, and his Blessing on *Esau*. Of *Esau*, he promised, That his *Dwelling* should be, where he should enjoy the *Fatness of the Earth*, and the *Dew of Heaven*. And that his Posterity, should live in frequent *Wars*, & fall under the *Dominion* of the *Israelites*; but at last shake off *their Yoke*, & have *Dominion* over them. The *Jerusalem Targum*, ha's this Paraphrase upon it; *Eritque quando filij Jacob operam*

¹⁸⁰ Heidegger (2:253, Exerc. XIII, § 18). Heidegger observes that Deborah was a strong woman “who – except for serious reasons – did not have a woman’s way of thinking.”

¹⁸¹ Heidegger (2:254–57, Exerc. XIII, § 21). The Greek citation is from the LXX (Gen. 48:7). Strabo (17.1.10), Dion Cocceianus Chrysostom (*Orationes* 20.10.2; see also 32.76.5; 52.1.5), Flavius Philostratus (*Vita Apollonii* 5.26.1–4), 3 Macc. 6:16, and Flavius Josephus (*Jewish Wars* 2.18.7) – all mention the Hippodrome of Alexandria. Dionysius Halicarnassus (*Antiquitates Romanae* 3.68.1) and Pliny (36.24.102–110) celebrate Tarquinius, whose Circus Maximus in Rome sported such innovations as covered seats. The Byzantine historian Petrus Gillius of Alby (1490–1555), in *P. Gyllii De Constantinopoleos topographia, lib. IV* (1632), lib. 1, cap. 7, pp. 47–50, describes the hippodrome of Constantinople, built by Emperor Severus, but borrows his data from the *Synopsis historica* (1.7), by Constantine Manasses (c. 1130–c. 1187), the Byzantine chronicler of Naupactus. Finally, Benjamin of Tudela (*Itinerarium* 85–86) argues that the distance from Bethlehem to the tomb of Rachel at Hebron is “six parasangs,” or c. 19.5 miles/33.6 km (*Itinerary* 40).

¹⁸² The following extract is from Heidegger (2:259–79, Exerc. XIV).

*dabunt legi, servabuntque præcepta, imponent Jugum servitutis super collum tuum. Cùm verò attriverint se Filij Jacob, ut non studeant legi, neque servaverint præcepta, ecce tunc excuties jugum servitutis à collo tuo.*¹⁸³ But the later Jewes, understand their falling under the *Idumean Yoke*, to be fulfilled in their present Condition under the *Roman Captivity*. *Idumæa* was, a very *Fertile Countrey*; tho' the Judgments of God, at length brought it into that Condition; Mal. 1.3. *I hated Esau, & laid his Mountains | & his Heritage waste, for the Dragons of the Wilderness.* [A Fulfilment of what had been threatned; Ezek. 25.12, 13.] It was done by the Kings of *Babylon*. But yett its Fertility came not near to that of the Land of *Israel*. Hence there was, *A Plenty of Corn & Wine*, in the Blessing of *Jacob*, [*Quere*, whether the Glorious Mercies, that are seal'd unto us, in the *Eucharist*, may not be mystically intended?] which was not in the Blessing of *Esau*. The *Edomites* were engaged in *Perpetual Wars*; *Josephus* will tell you, what a *Wary*, Boisterous, Troublesome Sort of People, they were. The *Edomites* became Inferiour to the *Israelites*; yea, subjugated by them. [See 2. Sam. 8.14. and, 2. King. 11.15. and, 1. Chron. 18.13.] And when they Rebelled, they were with great Slaughters brought under a New Subjugation. [See, 2. King. 14.7. and, 1. Maccab. 5.65.] At last, *Hircanus* the Son of *Simon*, totally subdued them, and compelled them to receive the Jewish Religion. Then was fulfilled, that Prophecy; Num. 24.18. *Edom shall be a Possession, Seir also shall be a Possession for his Enemies; and Israel shall do valiantly*: And that Prophecy; Amos. 9.12. *They shall possess the Remnant of Edom. Josephus* tells us, That from this Time, *Idumæi inter Judæos censeri cæperunt*. And yett, there were times, when the *Edomites* did shake off the *Yoke* of the *Israelites*; namely, (as the Hebrew Doctors well observe,) when the *Israelites* came to shake off the *Yoke* of God, and of His Law. Thus they did, upon *Solomons* Apostasy. [1. King. 11.14.] Or if they did not then make thorough Work of it, they did it more thoroughly afterwards, in the *Dayes of Joram*. [2. King. 8.20. and, 2. Chron. 21.8.] And they continued after this, in their As-serted Liberty, until the *Dayes of Hircanus*.¹⁸⁴ But when shall we find that Part of *Isaac's* Prophecy fulfilled; That the *Edomites* were to *have Dominion* over the *Israelites*? The *Vulgar*, the *LXX*, the *Chaldee*, & the *Targum* of *Onkelos*, will have

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¹⁸³ Heidegger (2:274, Exerc. XIV, § 21). Gen. 27:28, 39–40. The Targum Hierosolymitanum (on Gen. 27:40), in Walton (4:51), offers the following paraphrase: “And it shall be when the sons of Jakob labour in the law, and keep the commandments, they will set the yoke of subjection on thy neck; but when the sons of Jakob withdraw themselves and study not the law, nor keep the commandments, behold, then shalt thou break their yoke of subjection from off thy neck” (Etheridge 1:249).

¹⁸⁴ Heidegger (2:275–76, Exerc. XIV, § 22). Flavius Josephus describes the bellicose nature of the Edomites in his *Jewish Wars* (4.4.1–6.1). According to Josephus (*Antiquities* 13.9.1), from this time “the Idumæans are beginning to be counted among the Jews.” John Hyrcanus I, son of Simon Maccabæus, became high priest and ethnarch after the death of his father. During his rulership (135/34–104 BCE), Hyrcanus I subjugated the Idumæans and imposed the Mosaic Laws on them (*HBD*).

no more promised unto the *Edomites*, than this; That they should shake off the *Yoke* of the *Israelites*. The *Syriac* intimates, as if *Dominion* were also promised unto the *Edomites*, on the Condition of *Repentance*. But why may we not say, That it was fulfilled in *Herod* the Great; and his Posterity; who were *Edomites*; & by the help of the *Romans*, gott and held, a *Dominion* over the *Israelites*, for about an hundred Years together, until the final Destruction of *Jerusalem*. Lett *Scaliger* and *Casaubon* say what they will, we may beleeve *Josephus*, who expressly calls *Antipater* the Father of *Herod*; το γένος Ἰδουμαίων. *Genere Idumæum*. And *Eusebius*, & *Epiphanius*, and *Austin*, and most of the Ancients, will in this Beleef, bear us Company. We refer you to the, *Historia Idumæa*, of *Noldius*, if you want any further Satisfaction.¹⁸⁵

We pass to *Jacob*, in his *Mesopotamian* Affayrs.

Of the *Seven Years*, that *Jacob* served for *Rachel* there, we read, Gen. 29.20. *They seemed unto him, but a few Dayes*. Our *Heidegger* thinks, it alludes to the Direction, which *Rebeckah* had given unto *Jacob*; Gen. 27.44. *Tarry with him a few Dayes*. *Moses* would intimate, That his Love to *Rachel*, made him think the whole Term of his Continuance there, to be no more than the *Few Dayes* which his Mother had allow'd him for it.¹⁸⁶

How the *Fraud*, of imposing *Leah*, instead of *Rachel*, upon *Jacob*, was managed, Lett us hear our *Heidegger*.

*Ad Fraudis illius Intelligentiam, ritus prisci Nuptiales Græcorum, quos haud dubiè à Syris acceperunt, observandi sunt. Nam primum intempesta Nocte, in Thalamum deducebantur. Deindè sponsus prior intromittebatur. Post, adducebatur sponsa, cum luce quidem, ad Thalami usque aditum, sed ità velata, ut à nemine in os videri posset. Postremò intrudebatur sine luce in Thalamum, et tradebatur viro, ad pudoris muliebris, et honestatis significationem. Hinc factum est, ut apud Græcos ipsos, alioquin Honestatis et pudicitie malos custodes, posterus a nuptijs Dies Ἀνακαλυπτηριων diceretur; quia nimirum tum Nubes, aut Calyptia, qua obnubebatur sponsa, eximebatur, et revelata prodibat in virorum conspectum. Tales Ritus apud Aramæos in usu fuisse olim probabile est, quia aliàs commodè Jacobum Laban fallere non potuisset.*¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁵ Heidegger (2:275–76). For the LXX, the Chaldee Paraphrase, Targum Jonathan, and the Syriac Version on 2 Kings 8:20, see Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:550, 551). Joseph Justus Scaliger's *Animadversiones ad Eusebiam Chronicon* (1608) 148, 159, 259; Isaac Casaubon's *De rebus sacris et ecclesiasticis exercitationes XVI* (1614), Exerc. I, § 3, pp. 23–24, 28, 32–36. The Greek/Latin citation from Flavius Josephus (*Jewish Wars* 1.6.2) reads, “the Idumæan race.” Eusebius (*Church History* 1.6), in *NPNFii* (1:89); Epiphanius (*Panarion* 20.1.3), in *Epiphanius* (1:225); St. Augustine (*De Civitate Dei* 18.45.3) [PL 41. 607]. For Heidegger (as for Mather) the Swedish Lutheran theologian Christian Noldius (1626–83) has the last word in his *Historia Idumæa* (1660) 338. Noldius enlists Eusebius Pamphilus, Epiphanius, St. Augustine, and Photius in support of his argument.

¹⁸⁶ Heidegger (2:285, Exerc. XV, § 6).

¹⁸⁷ Heidegger (2:286–87, Exerc. XV, § 8). Heidegger offers the following explanation for Laban's fraud: “In order to understand this fraud, one must look at the ancient marriage rites

While *Jacob* sojourned with his Father-in-Law *Laban*, he had this Confession from him; Gen. 30.27. *The Lord hath blessed me for thy Sake*. Whereupon *Jacob* assumes to say, | *The Lord ha's blessed thee, since my Coming*: or, | לְרַגְלִי / *At my Foot*. The LXX renders it, ἐπι ποδῶν. Wherever *Jacob* sett his Foot, he carried a *Blessing* with him. Such were those, of whom *Austin* reports, That in the *Punic Tongue*, they were called, *Namphaniones*: Epist. 44. *Boni pedis Homines, quorum Adventus aliquid affert felicitatis; sicut solemus dicere, secundo pede introisse, cujus Introitum felicitas aliqua consecuta est*. He compares a Passage in *Virgil*; [365r]

*Et nos, et tua dextero adi pede sacra secundo.*¹⁸⁸

But *Austins* Word *Namphanio*, seems to be corrupted. Both *Petit* and *Bochart*, observe, That it should be written, *Namphamo*; which in the *Punic* and *Hebrew Language*, is as much as to say, | נֶעַם פֶּעַזוֹ / *Pulcher est pes ejus*. Even such a *Namphamo* was our *Jacob*; and under that Blessing, *whatsoever he doth, shall prosper*.¹⁸⁹

About the Success of *Jacobs* Action, in setting *Objects* before the *Cattel*, which made impression on the Complexion of the *Cattel*, it ha's been enquired, whether it were a Work of *meer Nature*, or whether there were not a *Supernatural* Interposition, of the Divine Power and Providence in it? The *Greek Fathers* refer it all to *Miracle*. So *Chrysostom*, so *Cyril*, so *Theodoret*. The *Latin Fathers*, incline another Way. So *Jerom* very particularly. So *Austin*; and so *Isidore*. Doubtless, there was much of *Nature*, in the Matter.¹⁹⁰ *Empedocles* in *Galen*, mentions

of the *Greeks*, which they doubtless got from the *Syrians*. For, firstly, they were brought into the marriage bedroom in the dead of night. Then the bridegroom was allowed to go in before her. Afterwards, the bride was brought to him, indeed with the dawn, up to the entrance of the bedroom, but veiled so that no one could see her face. Finally, she was pushed into the bedroom without light, and handed over to the man, as a sign of womanly decency and honor. From this it came about that even among the *Greeks*, who in other respects were bad guardians of chastity and honor, the day after a wedding was called the Unveiling; evidently because the veil by which the bride had been covered was removed, and she advanced into the sight of men. It is probable that such rites were once customary among the *Aramaeans*, because by any other rites *Laban* could not conveniently have fooled *Jacob*."

188 Heidegger (2:291, Exerc. XV, § 15). Gen. 30:30. The Hebrew phrase "leragli" and the Greek "epi podi mou" suggest "at my foot." St. Augustine (*Epistola ad Maximum Madaurensem* 17.2) [PL 33. 83–84] translates the Hebrew phrase as "*Namphoniones*," suggesting, "man of the good foot," i.e. whose coming brings with it some good fortune, as we are wont to say of one whose coming to us has been followed by some prosperous event" (*NPNFi* 1:234). In the same epistle St. Augustine's cites *Virgil*'s "and graciously with a favoring foot visit us and your rites" (*Aeneid* 8.302).

189 Heidegger (2:291) argues that St. Augustine's "*Namphanio*" should really be "*Namphamo*" (suggesting, "excellent is your foot"), a corrective asserted by the French jurist and philologist Samuel Petitus, aka. Petit (1594–1643), in his *Miscellaneorum libri novem* (1630), lib. 2, cap. 3; and by Samuel Bochart (*Geographia*, pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 16. col. 765–66).

190 Heidegger (2:296–97, Exerc. XV, § 20). Joannes Chrysostomus (*Homilies in Genesis* 57.7), Cyrillus Alexandrinus (*Glaphyra in Pentateuchum: Genesin*, lib. 5) [PG 69. 229, lines 1–48], Theodoretus (*Quaestiones in Octateuchum: Genesis*. Quest. 90, p. 79, lines 10–25), St. Jerome on Gen. 30:32–33, 41–42 (*Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, pp. 66–68), St. Augustine (*De Civitate Dei* 18.5), Isidorus Hispalensis (*Etymologiarum sive originum* 12.1.58–60) [PL 82. 433A–B].

great Instances of Impression on the *Offspring*, from the Imaginations and Contemplations of the *Mothers*. And *Galen* himself, in his Book, *De Theriacà*, tells of a Gentlewoman, who brought forth a very beautiful Infant, by having such an one before her. *Oppian* in his *Cynegeticon* speaks of the Efficacy, which this Method, ha's had in several sorts of Animals. And *Aristotle* saies, That the Propagation of *Similitude* this Way, is easier in *Bruites* than in *Men*. *Levinus Lemnius* will tell you, notable Things this Way. But *Petrus Messias* in his *Lectiones*; and *Delrio* in his *Disquisitiones*; and *Varius*, *De Fascino*; and, *Fienus*, *De Imaginatione*; will make the Collection very considerable. But tho' *Nature* did something in this Case, yett the little Success that other *Shepherds* find in the Trial, makes it evident, that the special *Power* and *Providence* of God, was exercised in it. And we are more particularly advised, [Gen. 31.11, 12, 13.] That as *Jacob* had an *Angelical Direction*, for what he did; so there was doubtless an *Angelical Agency*, contributing to the Success of it. *Rivet* makes this Conclusion; *Statuendum est, Deum peculiari suo concursu, ut benediceret Jacobo, et eum ditaret, applicasse phantasiam ovium ad hanc versicolorum virgarum Imaginationem, et ità causas secundas movisse, ut in effectu suo producendo nihil impediret, quò minus omnia procederent secundùm intentionem Jacobi.*¹⁹¹

191 Heidegger (2:297, Exerc. XV, § 21). In a fragment by Aëtius (*De placitis reliquiae* 5.12.2) – rather than by Galen – Empedocles is quoted as saying that the shape and looks of a fetus is often determined by what a woman imagines during conception (*Testimonia*, Fragm. A81). Thus children often resemble beautiful statues or paintings with which women had fallen in love during conception. Galen describes similar cases of a woman's impressionable imagination shaping the features of her offspring (*De theriaca ad Pisonem* 14:271, line 8). Oppian (*Cynegetica* lib. 1, lines 357–67). Aristotle (*De anima* 3.1.425b, 25; 429a, 5–8). Pliny (7.1.12). The Dutch Paracelsian physician Levinus Lemnius (1505–68) explores the secrets of nature in his *De occultis naturae miraculis* (1573), lib. 4, cap. 7. The learned Spanish historian, poet, and teacher Pietro Messia, aka. Pedro Mexia (c. 1496–c. 1552), published his *Silva de varia lección* (1542) and his *Los dialogos o Coloquias* (1547) – both highly popular moral lections often reprinted and translated into Italian, French, and English. Mather (via Heidegger) refers to the French version *Les diverses leçons de Pierre Messie* (1552), pars 2, cap. 2, but Latinizes Mexia's name and the title of his work. Two English translations from the French were published as *The Foreste or Collection of Histories* (1571, 1576). Mather refers to *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex, in tres tomos partiti* (1599–1600), tom. 2, lib. 3, pars 1, quest. 4, a book on magic and witchcraft, by the Jesuit Martin Anton Del Rio (Delrio) of Antwerp (1551–1608), successively professor of philosophy and theology at Douai, Louvain, and Salamanca. Leonardo Vairo, aka. Leonhardus Varius (1540–1603), a Spanish Benedictine, bishop of Pozzuli (Italy), warns especially of the impressionable imagination of pregnant women, in his *De Fascino libri tres*, 2nd ed. (1589), lib. 1, cap. 2, p. 9. Among other topics, this book discusses witchcraft, magic, and amulets – topics of great interest to Increase Mather, who purchased a copy of the second edition of this work in London, on Sept. 11, 1690, for 2s. 6d. [AAS 0606]. While negotiating New England's Second Charter (1691), Increase was evidently kept up to date about the specter of Salem and prepared to face the manifestations of witchcraft and possessions upon his return. Thomas Fienus, aka. Feyens (1567–1631), Flemish physician of Antwerp, professor of medicine in the Academy of Louvain, published *De Viribus Imaginationis Tractatus* (1657). Mather refers to Quaest. XX–XXI, pp. 292–304 of this work, where Fienus argues that the imagination of beasts is more easily influenced than that of men. The AAS [0738] copy bears the signatures

There ha's been an Enquiry, How *Jacob* could say of *Laban*, *That he had changed his Wages ten times*. *Jerom*, in his *Hebrew Questions*, tells us, it was, *Quòd per singulos fœtus, semper Laban conditionem mutaverit*. He *changed the Wages*, every time, that he saw what the Cattel brought forth. And that it might not seem incredible, for this to occur *Ten Times in Six Years*, he quotes *Virgil* for it, *Bis gravidæ pecudes*; their *Sheep*, it seems, brought forth *Twice in a Year*. And the *Mesopotamian Sheep*, were in this, like the *Italian*. *Austin* observes the like; *Bis pariebant in Anno*; and if it should be said, why then did not *Laban change the Wages twelve times*? he answers, In the first Year, the *Sheep* had brought forth once, before the Bargains of this Nature were entred upon. And the Sixth Year, they had also brought forth but once; for *Jacob* takes his Flight before the Second Bearing. But our *Heidegger* thinks, there is no need of this Accuracy; for, *Ten times*, is but as much as to say, *many times*. [Compare, Num. 14.22. and Job. 19.3.] Thus *Drusius*, and *Vatablus*, and long before them, *Eusebius*.¹⁹²

The Design of *Rachel*, in stealing away her Fathers *Teraphim*, our *Heidegger* thinks, might be, either to prevent his enquiring from them the State of *Jacob's* Journey; which is the Opinion of *Nachmanides*; *Ne patri suo proderent, si fortè, ut solebat, ea consuleret, aufugisse Jacobum*. Or, to draw *Laban* from his Idolatry, by taking away the Instruments of it; which is *R. Bechai's* Opinion; *Ad extirpandam Idololatriam è domo patris sui*; And *Jarchi's*; *Quò abduceret patrem ab Idolorum cultu, id fecit*.¹⁹³

of Cotton Mather and Joseph Pynchon. Much the same terrain on the impressionableness of pregnant women is covered in Gerard Vossius's *De Theologia Gentili* (lib. 3, cap. 22, esp. pp. 833–34). Finally, Mather's collection of sources is rounded out with a citation from André Rivet's *Theologicae & Scholasticae Exercitationes CXC in Genesim* (1633), Exerc. CXXXI, p. 645: "It must be decided that God, by his own peculiar coincidence, in order that he might bless and enrich Jacob, applied the superficial image of eggs to this imagined vision of multi-colored rods. Thus he invited the favorable conditions which ensured that as a result nothing prevented events from proceeding according to how Jacob intended them."

192 Heidegger (2:300, Exerc. XV, § 24). Gen. 31:7. In his commentary on Gen. 31:7–8 (*Quæstiones Hebraicae in Genesim*) [PL 23. 986B], St. Jerome argues that "Laban always changed the agreement in respect of individual offspring" (*Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, p. 69). Celebrating the fecundity of the land, Jerome cites Virgil (*Georgics* 2.150) to verify that "twice the cattle breed." St. Augustine (*Quæstiones in Heptateuchum, lib. 1. Quæst. XCV*) [PL 34. 573] chimes in with, "they give birth twice per year." Both Joannes Drusius (on Gen. 31:7) and Franciscus Vatablus (on Gen. 31:2) confirm this pre-Milonic imprecision, in *Critici Sacri* (1:294–95, 298); see also Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9:21.423a–d).

193 Heidegger (2:302–03, Exerc. XV, § 27). Drawing on Rashi, Nachmanides glosses (Gen. 31:19) that Rachel stole her father's teraphim "so that if by chance her father should consult them, as he was wont to do, they might not reveal to him that Jacob had fled" (see *Commentary* 1:383); R. Bechai (Bachya ben Asher), agreeing with Rashi, argues that Rachel stole the teraphim (Gen. 31:19) "to wean her father from the practice of idolatry" (*Commentary* 2:477) – or closer to the Latin, "to extirpate Idolatry from her father's house." Finally, Jarchi (Rashi), drawing on Genesis Rabbah (LXXIV:5) argues that by taking the images, Rachel "intended to separate her father from idolatry" (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 2:389).

It ha's been enquired, why *Jacob*, calling the Great God, *The God of Abraham*, calls him, *The Fear of Isaac*? *Junius* thinks, That *Jacob* refers to the astonishing *Fear* which came from God upon *Isaac* after the Blessing of *Jacob*, [366v] [Gen. 27.33.] and which | rendred *Isaac* afraid of Revoking it. *Rivet* approves not this Thought so much; because this was a Matter unknown to *Laban*. *Abarbanel* thinks, That it refers to the *Fear of God* which was upon *Isaac*, when he submitted to be bound by his Father on the Altar. *Ille nempe pavor, quo pavit tempore ligationis, cum videret cultrum in manu patris sui ad mactandum ipsum. Hæc ejus Justitia, seu Justitiæ ejus meritum, adstittit mihi.* *Aben-Ezra* writes to the like Purpose. Be sure, This Thought is better than what *Grotius* brings out of *Jarchi*; That God is not called, *The God*, of any one, while he is yett living in this World. For in the Instance of *Abraham*, that Observation is confuted.¹⁹⁴

When *Laban* comes to swear, he swears, *By the God of Abraham, and the God of Nahor, the God of their Father*. Unto *Heidegger* it seems most probable, That he swears by the *Strange Gods*, [Josh. 24.2.] which *Terah*, the *Father of Abraham* and of *Nahor*, and so *Abraham* and *Nahor* themselves, worship, while they were yett unconverted from their *Idolatry*.¹⁹⁵

It is another considerable Enquiry; with what Intention *Esau* came forth, to meet his Brother *Jacob*? The Messengers, who brought *Jacob* Word of the Matter, seem to apprehend an *Hostile Intention*. And *Jarchi* makes this Paraphrase on their Words; *Is de quo dixisti, Frater meus est, adhuc tecum agit, ut Esauus, permanens in odio suo.* But others, as *Pelican*, and *Junius*, and *Rivet*, suppose *Esau* to come with a *Benign Intention*, and with a Mind full of Brotherly Love, to embrace his Brother, going home from so long an Exile. When *Esau* was in his greatest *Rage*, he proposed no Mischief to *Jacob*, till the Death of his *Parents*. His *Rage* was now abated, and his *Parents* were yett living. And when he mett *Jacob*, we find him accordingly to treat him, with all the Kindness imaginable. However *Jacob* suspected the worst, and præpared accordingly.¹⁹⁶

194 Heidegger (2:307, Exerc. XV, § 31). Gen. 31:42. The eminent theologian Francis Junius (the elder) records his thoughts in his annotations on Gen. 31, in *Opera Theologica* (1613) 1:212–16. André Rivet's approval appears in his *Theologicae & Scholasticae* (1633), Exerc. CXXXIV, pp. 660–61. Abarbanel thinks that the phrase “the fear of Isaac” certainly refers to “that fear which he [Isaac] felt at the time of his binding, when he saw in his father's hand the knife for slaying him. This justice of his [God], or the deserts of his justice, has been a help to me” (*Commentarius in Pentateuchum Mosi* [1710]). Ibn Ezra has much the same: “Isaac's fear of the Lord aided me, for the merits of a father help his son” (*Commentary* 1:306). Hugo Grotius, *Annotationes in VT*, on Gen. 31:42 (*Opera Omnia* [1679] 1:20). Jarchi (Rashi) contends that “He [Jacob] did not wish to say, ‘the God of Isaac,’ because the Holy One, blessed be He, does not associate His name with the righteous while they are alive” (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 2:395).

195 Heidegger (2:311, Exerc. XV, § 35). Gen. 31:53.

196 Heidegger (2:314–15, Exerc. XV, § 38). Drawing on Genesis Rabbah (LXXV:9), Jarchi (Rashi) paraphrases the issue as follows: “Concerning whom you said, ‘He is my brother,’ but he still behaves toward you like the wicked Esau. He still has hatred” (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 2:408). Conradus Pellicanus, on Gen. 32:7, in *Commentaria Bibliorum. In Pentateuchum*

What may be meant by those Words of *Jacob* to *Esau*, at their Interview. *Receive my Present at thy hand, for I have seen thy Face, as tho' I had seen the Face of God.* Abarbanel ha's a notable Gloss upon it. Men bring their *Offerings* to God, when they appear before His *Face*, not because they imagine, that God wants any of their *Offerings*, or is capable of any Advantage from them; But that they may express *their Homage* to Him, and bespeak *His Favour* to them. Thus *Jacob*, in his Presents to *Esau*, had no Imagination that he wanted these things; but as one appearing before the *Face of God*, he would in this Way entreat a kind Reception with him. *Simile est munus meum, muneri hominis, quod is offert suae potius utilitatis gratiâ, quàm ut inde Dei sublevetur Necessitas. Ità munus illud quod tibi offerre, dispositum est ad meam potius, quam ad tuam utilitatem. Vidi enim faciem tuam, sicut faciem Dei.*¹⁹⁷

There is one Enquiry more, *Jacob* intimates, That he would come unto *Esau*, in *Seir*. [Gen. 33.14.] We never find, that he fulfilled his Promise. What is to be thought of it? *Austin* putts the Quæstion; *Utrum mendaciter promiserit Jacobus Fratri suo, quòd venturus ad eum esset Seir? cum tamen id, Scripturâ quidem indicè, non fecerit?* Both *Hebrew* and *Christian* Interpreters, give diverse Answers. *Rivet* thinks, That *Jacob* did go, and stay a little while at *Seir*; but so little a while, that the Scripture counts it not worth the while to mention it. Our *Heidegger* inclines to the Hint, which *Austin* adds upon it; *An fortè veraci animo promiserat, sed aliud postea cogitando delegit?* He really purposed such a Journey; but afterwards, upon second Thoughts, he altered his Purpose. *Lyra*, and *Mercer*, go this Way. *P. Martyr* adds, That probably *Jacob*, was admonished from Heaven, against undertaking that Journey; as the *Wise Men of the East* were, against Returning to *Jerusalem*. [Compare, 1. Cor. 4.19. and, 2. Cor. 2.1.]¹⁹⁸

In the Midst of *Jacobs* Travels, we find that notable Occurrence; His Vision of a *Ladder*, extending from Earth to Heaven, with *Angels* descending and ascending upon it. About the Mystical Sense of that *Ladder*, we shall not

(vol. 1); Francis Junius (*Opera Theologica* [1613] 1:216–18); and André Rivet (*Theologicae & Scholasticae* [1633], Exerc. CXXI, pp. 596–99) – all deem Esau's intention benign.

¹⁹⁷ Heidegger (2:317, Exerc. XV, § XL). Gen. 32:10. Abarbanel's gloss (*Commentarius* [1710], on Gen. 32:7) – here synopsized by Heidegger – reads, “My gift is similar to the gift of man, which he offers more for the sake of its usefulness, than so that an obligation to God should thereby be lifted. So that gift which I offer to you is appointed for its usefulness to me, rather than to you. For I have seen your face, just like the face of God.”

¹⁹⁸ Heidegger (2:318–19, Exerc. XV, § XLI). In *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* (lib. I: *quaest. in Genesim CVI*) [PL 34. 575], St. Augustine asks, “Did Jacob make a deceitful promise to his brother, that he would come to him at *Seir*? Even though, as the very Scripture shows, he did not do it?” André Rivet (*Theologicae & Scholasticae*: Exerc. CXXXVI, pp. 672–73). St. Augustine adds, “Or did he [Jacob] perhaps make the promise with a truthful mind, but on thinking about it afterwards chose differently?” Nicholas de Lyra, on Gen. 33:14 (*Postilla* [1492], vol. 1, n.p.), Joannes Mercerus (*Commentarii in Genesim Mosis librum* [1598]), and Peter Martyr Vermigli, most likely in his *In Primum librum Mosis* (1569) – all weigh in on Jacob's change of mind.

insist on the Interpretations of the Ancients. *Eustathius* would have this *Ladder* answered, in the *Cross* of our Lord. And thus *Austin* saies, *Dominus scale inamibens, est Christus in cruce pendens*. In the *Roman Martyrology*, those two Martyrs, *S. Perpetua*, and, *Felicitas*, (whose Vertues are celebrated by *Austin* on the forty-seventh *Psalm*,) had their Martyrdome foretold unto them, with a Vision of a *Ladder*. And our *Heidegger* concedes; *Crux est scala et cia per quam Christus, omnesque adeò Christiani, in cælum conscenderunt, et conscendunt indies*. *Diodorus* apprehends, That the Mystery of our Saviours *Incarnation* was adumbrated in this *Ladder*. And *Vatablus*, and *Rupertus*, do follow him.¹⁹⁹ The Rounds of the latter, were the several Descents, of the *Genealogy*, from *Adam*, the Son of God, unto the Blessed Virgin *Mary*. The Two Sides of the *Ladder*, are the *Mercy* and the *Faithfulness* of God, by which all is carried on. Our Lord in His *Two Natures*, both touched *Earth*, and reached *Heaven*. We will not add, the Notion of *Tertullian*; | *Scala hæc est Via, qua iusti Ascensiones suas in corde suo disponunt in Cælum*. Nor that of *Gregorius Magnus* and of *Aquinas*; who make the *Ascenders* on the *Ladder*, a Type of the *Contemplative Life*; and the *Descenders*, a Type of a *Life of Business*. But we will keep close to our *Heideggers* Interpretation. There was a Promise given to *Jacob*; Gen. 28.15. *Behold, I am with thee, & will keep thee in all Places whither thou goest, – for I will not leave thee, until I have done that which I have spoken to thee of*. The *Ladder* exhibited unto *Jacob*, was a Type of the Divine *Providence* and *Assistance*, thus promised unto him. Tho' there be such a Distance between *Heaven* and *Earth*, yett the God of Heaven does interest Himself in what is done upon the Earth; and, as even a Pagan acknowledged, *Medijs cogitationibus nostris intervenit*. But there are *Angels* on the *Ladder*; tis very much by the Ministry of *Angels*, that the Government of the World, is carried on. They *Descend* that they may do the Will of God; They *Ascend*, that they may give an Account of what they have done. They do [Matth. 18.10.] *Always behold the Face*

¹⁹⁹ Heidegger (2:327–29, Exerc. XVI, §§ 10–12). Gen. 28:12. Heidegger's principal source is Benedictus Pererius (*Commentarium et disputationum in Genesim* [1596–1602], vol. 4: Secunda disputatio, pp. 181–82; Disputatio quarta, pp. 195–97; Disputatio quinta, pp. 198–203). Eustathius Antiochenus (*In inscriptione titulorum*, fragm. 7, line 1–9). St. Augustine (*Sermones de Scripturis LXXXIX*, § 5) [PL 38. 557] maintains, "the Lord who supports the ladder is Christ hanging on the cross." St. Perpetua and her slave St. Felicitas (203 CE) – both catechumens in the early Christian church of Carthage (North Africa) – refused to renounce their faith when threatened with imprisonment and death. In a vision presaging her execution, St. Perpetua saw herself ascending a ladder to heaven similar to that in Jacob's vision (Gen. 28:12). St. Augustine celebrates the steadfastness of the two martyrs in his *Enarrationes in Psalmos* (Ps. XLVII / XLVIII) [PL 36. 532], *On the Psalms* (48.12), in *NPNFi* (8:168). For Tertullian's hagiography of Perpetua and Felicitas, see *ANF* (3:697–706). Heidegger concedes, "The cross is the ladder and the way by which Christ, and therefore all Christians, climbed up to Heaven, and do climb up daily." Diodorus Tharsensis (*Fragmenta ex catenis in Genesim* [PG 33. 1561–1580]). Diodorus's interpretation is confirmed by Franciscus Vatablus (*Adnotationes in Sacra Biblia* [1546], scholia, Gen. 28; and *Critici Sacri* 1:271); and by the Benedictine Abbot Rupertus Tuitiensis, aka. Rupert of Deutz (c. 1075–c. 1129), in his *In Cantica Canticorum de incarnatione domini commentariorum* [PL 168. 837–961].

of God; That is, As Officers waiting at hand alwayes, to execute the Pleasure of the Lord. A Vision of such a Matter, must needs be a vast Encouragement unto *Jacob*, in the Journey now before him.²⁰⁰

We have not yett said all. There was a Glorious CHRIST in the Matter. We are led unto this Consideration, by those Words of our Lord; Joh. 1.51. *Hereafter you shall see Heaven open, & the Angels of God Ascending & Descending upon the Son of Man.* Calvin very well expresses it: *Solus Christus est, qui cælum terræ conjungit; Hic Solus est Mediator, qui pertingit à Cælo, usque ad Terram. Ille idem, per quem omnium bonorum cælestium plenitudo deorsum ad nos fluit, nosque vicissim ad Deum conscendimus. Idem cum sit caput Angelorum, efficit ut membris suis terrenis ministrent.* He very appositely observes, That our Lord is the *Mediator*, by whom (as by a *Ladder*,) the good Offices of the *Angels*, and *Righteousness* and *Blessedness*, and all the Gifts of Grace come down unto us. And we, (*qui non tantum difixi eramus in Terrâ, sed in maledictionis Abyssu, inferisque ipsis demersi,*) do gett up unto God. But the Paraphrase of *Bullinger* on this Text, may be more particularly worthy of our Attention. “You have doubtless heard that *Jacobs Ladder* had in it some Figure of the *Messiah*. You shall see all fulfilled in *me*. You shall by my Instructions come to understand, that *Heaven*, which had been shutt by the Sin of Man, shall by my Dispensation be opened; and that God Reconciled unto the World by me, shall be united unto Men, in His Covenant. You shall understand, That I am the *Way*, which brings you to God; and I unite Heaven and Earth, and so the Ministry of the Holy *Angels* between Heaven & Earth is introduced.” *Hæc rectius intelligetis ex Doctrinâ meâ, ex signis sive miraculis, ex morte, Resurrectione item gloriosa, et magnifica in Cælos ascensione.*²⁰¹ Nor can there be any thing more apposite, than the Words of *Rivet*. *Visionem hanc referimus ad perpetuam Regni Christi administrationem in terris,*

²⁰⁰ Heidegger (2:327–29). Tertullian’s position in *De fuga in persecutione* (cap. 1) [PL 2. 103C] – here adapted by Heidegger, is that “This ladder is the way by which the righteous arrange their ascensions into Heaven within their hearts” (see ANF 4:116). For much the same, see also Tertullian (*Against Marcion* 3.25), in ANF (3:343); Pope St. Gregory the Great (*Moralium*, lib. 5, cap. 31, § 54) [PL 75. 708D–709B]. Aquinas (*Summa Theologica* 4:1936, pt. 2–2, Q181, A4, Reply Obj. 2). Finally, Mather’s “Pagan” is none other than Lucius Annaeus Seneca (the Younger), who acknowledges in his *Epistularum moralium* (83.1) that nothing remains hid from god, who “comes into the very midst of our thoughts.”

²⁰¹ Heidegger, *Historia Sacra Patriarcharum* (2:329, Exerc. XVI, § 11). Mather approves of John Calvin’s annotations on Gen. 28:12 (*Commentaries* 1.2:113): “It is Christ alone, who connects heaven and earth: he is the only mediator who reaches from heaven down to earth: he is the medium through which the fullness of all celestial blessings flows down to us, and through which we, in turn, ascend to God. He it is who, being the head over angels, causes them to minister to his earthly members.” And we (“who were not only fixed to the earth, but plunged into the depths of the curse, and into hell itself”) ascend to God. Heinrich Bullinger (1504–75), one of the most important Swiss Calvinist reformers and successor to Huldreich Zwingli in Zurich, glosses this text in his commentary on Gen. 28:12: “You will correctly understand these things from my teaching, or from miraculous signs, or from death; also from the glorious resurrection, and from the magnificent ascension into the Heavens.” Increase and

ut scala Christus sit, qui capite attingit cælum, quia æternus est cum Patre Deus, et in terrâ consistit, quia Humanam Naturam assumpsit. Continuitas scalæ ab Cælo ad Terram, ostendit sublatam esse separationem, et Christum quia Mediator est, conjungere Deum cum hominibus. Idcirco se præbet pater videndum quasi scalæ innixus; quia Deus erat in Christo, mundum Reconcilians, non imputando eis peccata eorum. Hanc ob causam cælum apertum dicitur apud Johannem; quod alioqui peccatoribus clausum est. Angeli ascendentes et descendentes, significant specialem Dei curam erga Ecclesiam, indicantque Angelos nobiscum eandem in societatem sub uno capite Christo convenisse, et accessisse nos ad montem Sion, et civitatem Hierusalem cælestem, et myriadas Angelorum, conventum et concionem primogenitorum. The same famous Rivet, thinks, That this Ladder of Jacob, so far as the Mystery of Providence was represented in it, hath certain Footsteps, in the Eighth Iliad of Homer; where Jupiter ha's a Chain reaching from Heaven to Earth, by which he can manage | all things here below, & fetch them up to himself at his Pleasure. Accordingly, Seneca also saies, *Ex eo suspensa sunt omnia, à quo sunt omnes cause causarum.* And Statius;

– *Grave et immutabile sanctis,*

Pondus adest verbis, et vocem fata sequuntur.

We will not recite the odd Fictions of the Hebrew Doctors, about the Stone that Jacob sett up in this Place, and poured Oyl upon it. The Christian Fathers, have given us the best Remarks upon it. Austin shall, as their Foreman, speak for them: *Hoc quod Jacob fecit, ad prophetiam pertinet. Neque enim more Idololatriæ lapidem perfudit oleo, quasi faciens eum Deum. Neque enim adoravit eum lapidem, neque ei sacrificavit. Sed quoniam Christi nomen a Chrismate, id est, ab unctione, profectò figuratum hinc est aliquid, quod ad magnum pertinet Sacramentum.*²⁰²

Cotton Mather owned at least two of Bullinger's works: *De origine erroris* (1539) and *Sermonum Decades Quinque* (1587) [Tuttle, "Libraries" 284, 306].

²⁰² Heidegger (2:329–31, 333, §§ 13, 14, 17). André Rivet (*Theologicae & Scholasticae*, Exerc. CXXIII, p. 608) weighs in with the following exposition: "We relate this vision to the eternal execution of Christ's reign on earth, such that the ladder is Christ, who reaches unto the sky with his head, because he is eternal God with his father, and he stands on the earth, because he has taken on human character. The continuity of the ladder from Heaven to Earth shows that the separation has been removed and that Christ, since he is the mediator, joins God with men. Therefore, the father offers himself to be seen as though he were leaning on a ladder, because God was in Christ, reconciling the world, by not reckoning the sins ascribed to them. For this reason it was said by John that Heaven is open, which otherwise was close to sinners. 'The angels going up and down' signifies God's special care for the Church and indicates that the angels have gathered into the same fellowship as us under one head, Christ, and that we have come near to Mount Sion, and the heavenly city of Jerusalem, and the myriads of angels, the gathering and assembly of the first-born." Rivet (609) envisions a link between Jacob's ladder and Jupiter's "chain of gold" hanging down from heaven, in Homer's *Iliad* (8.19–27). Seneca's disquisition on fate (*Naturales quaestiones* 2.45.2) – here adapted to Judeo-Christian uses – affirms that "on him [God] all things depend, from whom are the causes of causes." And Statius (*Thebaid* 1.212–13) avows that "The holy words are grave and immutable, / And Fate waits upon his words." Mather (via Heidegger 2:333, § 17) refers to *Pirke de R. Eliezer* (ch. 35,

There ha's been a Variety of Opinions, about the *Dudaim*, which *Reuben* brought unto his Mother. Our *Heidegger* ha's a particular *Exercitation* upon it. He rejects altogether, the Opinion of those, who translate it, *Mandrakes*. If there were a Truth, in what is affirmed by *Dioscorides*, about the Root of the *Mandrake*, ειναι φίλτρων ποιητικην. In *Amatorijs Efficacem esse*; yett it is not likely, that these vertuous Women, either knew that pretended Vertue in the *Plant*, or would have been fond of it, for the Sake thereof; Besides, *Filtrès* are Enemies to *Fertility*. And it is argued by *Deusingius*, That the *Narcotic* and *Stupifying* Quality of that Plant, renders it altogether useless on these Occasions. The notion, which the Hebrewes have, of a *Man* resembled in the Figure of a *Mandrake*, is altogether a Fancy and a Fiction; and the *Christians* who have taken up the Notion, find it no other than a *Dream of the Ivory Gate*. Our *Heidegger* does also decline the Opinion of *Georgius Venetus*; That the *Dudaim* were *white Lilies*; And the Opinion of that Gentleman, who ha's written a whole Treatise, to prove, That they were *Mushromes*; And the Opinion of *Deusingius*, who ha's written a Treatise, to prove, That they were a Sort of *Melons*. He subscribes to the Opinion of the learned *Ravius*; That by *Dudaim* are meant, *Little Boughs hung with Early Fruits*. We have the same Word, in Jer. 24.1, 2. which we, with the LXX, render, *Baskets*. But *Heidegger*, would have it here, to be rather, *Branches* than *Baskets*; because *Reuben* probably did not bring several *Baskets* unto his Mother. And *Ravius* is a little more particular, than our *Heidegger* would have him, in restraining the *Fruits* of these *Boughs*, unto *Figs*. *Junius* and *Tremelius* have done well to render it, *Amabiles Flores*.²⁰³

p. 266), to the Mishnaic commentary (Joma 53b), and to Midrash Rabbah (Leviticus XX:4). St. Augustine (*De Civitate Dei* 16.38.2) [PL 41. 517] remarks upon it, "That which Jacob did was prophetic. For Jacob did not pour oil on the stone in an idolatrous way, as if making it a god; neither did he adore that stone, or sacrifice to it. But since the name of Christ comes from the chrism or anointing, something pertaining to the great mystery was certainly represented in this" (*NPNFi* 2:333).

²⁰³ Heidegger (2:378, 380, 382–83, Exerc. XIX, §§ 9, 12, 14, 15). Gen. 30:14–16. According to Dioscorides Pedanius (*De material medica* 4.75.1, line 3), some esteem the mandrake "to be an effective aphrodisiac." If mandrakes were indeed such a stimulant, then Leah and Rachel's virtue was less than exemplary – or so post-Reformation scholars believed and did their best to develop alternative readings. Whatever their potency, Mather reminds us that love potions (or philters) are detrimental to procreation itself. The learned Flemish physician Anthonius Deusingius (1612–66) dismisses the supposed tonic qualities of mandrakes in his dissertation *De mandragora* (1661). Sir Thomas Browne, too, rejects the idea that Leah and Rachel were quarrelling over an aphrodisiac, in *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (1658), bk. 2, ch. 6; bk. 7, ch. 7; and in *Certain Miscellaneous Tract* (1683), Tract. 1, art. 16 (*Works* 1:285–89; 3:19–25, 230). And so does Georgius Venetus, aka. Francesco Giorgio Venetus (1460–1540), the learned Italian friar, who saves the day by insisting that the *Dudaim* (Gen. 30:14), or mandrakes, are nothing else but sweet-scented lilies (*In Scripturam Sacram Problemata* [1536], Problema CC). Deusingius draws on Christianus Ravius, aka. Christian Raue (1613–77), German Lutheran, professor of Oriental languages at Uppsala, now best remembered for his *A General Grammer* [sic] (1650), a prized grammar of Hebrew, Samaritan, Chaldaic, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic languages, also translated into English. Ravius's *De Dudaim Rubenis dissertatio philologica* (1655) on Cant.

We will now pass over to the *Ultima Jacobi*. As the Time of *Jacobs* Death drew near, he demands of *Joseph*, an *Oath*, to bury him, not in the Land of *Egypt*, but in the Land of *Canaan*; where *Abraham* and *Sarah*, *Isaac* and *Rebeckah*, with *Leah*, were sleeping in One *Sepulchre*. We will not mention, either the *Jewish*, or the *Popish* Figments, about the Reason of this Desire in the Patriarch. *Theodoret* gives a better; He desired it, Ὑπαγωγὼν το γένος καὶ διδασκων. *To Comfort and Instruct his Family, in the Faith of it, that God would one day bring them out of Egypt into Canaan, & bestow that Promised Land upon them.* And *Chrysostom* saies, It was, ἀπο τοῦ προοραν τὴν μέλλουσιν αὐτῶν εἶσεσθαι ἐπανοδον. *Quia praevidebat futurum eorum Reditum.* It was a *Profession of his Faith*; Yea, of his *Dying in the Faith*. And thus it came to pass, *Ut mortuus etiam quasi Tuba clangore vivos et superstites animaverit*; as *Calvin* expresses it, with his usual *Elegancy*. And so *Rupertus*; *Jacob Exemplum Vivis dedit mortuus, ut in Spe Patriae Cœlestis, Pignus amarent æternæ hæreditatis.* By such a *Symbol* also, our *Heidegger* thinks, *Jacob* would begett in the Minds of his Posterity, a Desire & Value for *Communion* with the *Church* of God.²⁰⁴

[369r] There ha's been great Enquiry among the Learned, How *Jacob* could say, concerning a *Portion of Land*, which he now gives unto *Joseph*, (and which afterwards fell to the Tribe of *Ephraim*;) Gen. 48.22. *I took it out of the Hand of the Amorite, with my Sword & with | my Bow.* There ha's been many an Exposition offered upon it, whereof we may say, as *Aben-Ezra* does of one that pleases him not; אֵין לִי טַעַם וְרִיחַ/ *Saporem et odorem caret.* *Masius* thinks, That after *Jacob* had Redeemed this Land of the *Sichemites*, he by degrees drove off the *Amorites*, who had ravished it by Arms from the *Sichemites*, and possessed themselves of

2:13, 7:13 identifies this plant as the branches of figs, whose sweet-smelling flowers are here meant. Finally, Franciscus Junius and Immanuel Tremellius settle for “*amabiles flores*” or “lovely flowers,” in their Latin translation of “*dudaim*” (Gen. 30:14), in *Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra* (1593) 33, annot. 14; and in their *Opera Theologica* (1613) 1:210–12, esp. 1:211, lines 20–30.

204 Heidegger (2:457, Exerc. XXII, § 4). Gen. 47:29–30. Mather’s “*Ultima Jacobi*” (“the end of Jacob”) is the chapter title of Heidegger’s “Exercitatio XXII: De Ultimis Iacobi,” (2:454–69), which Mather excerpts here. Among the “figments,” which Mather refuses to mention is Rashi’s explanation (extracted from Genesis Rabbah XCVI:5 and Kethuboth 111a) that Jacob did not want to be buried in Egypt “[Because] its soil is destined to become lice (which will crawl under my body), and because those who died outside the [Holy] Land will not be resurrected except with the pain of rolling through underground passages. [Also] so that the Egyptians will not deify me” (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 3:604). Additional reasons are given in the Zohar (vol. 1, Bereshith, sec. 1, pp. 222a–223a). Theodoretus (*Quaestiones in Octateuchum: Genesis*. Quest. 110, p. 90, lines 2–3). Joannes Chrysostom (*Homiliae in Genesim*, Hom. 66.2 lines 49–50) [PG 54. 566] opines, “because he [Jacob] foresaw their future return.” John Calvin’s annotation on Gen. 47:29 (*Commentaries* 1.2:416) translates, “that he, being dead, animated those who were alive and remained, as with the sound of a trumpet.” Rupertus Tuitiensis’s exemplary interpretation of Jacob – in *In Cantica Cantorum* – reads, “In death Jacob gives an example to the living, that in the hope of the heavenly father, they should love the assurance of their eternal heritage” [PL 168. 837–961]. Heidegger’s own source here is Benedictus Pererius’s annotations on Gen., ch. 49, in *Commentariorum et disputationum in Genesim* (1596–1602), Disputatio secunda (4:869).

it, while the true Owners, were in their Travels on the other side of *Jordan*. And of this Opinion is *Calixtus*. But our *Heidegger* inclines to look upon the Words of *Jacob*, as having a *Prolepsis* in them. *Jacob* speaks of himself as doing that, with *his Sword*, and with *his Bow*, which his *Posterity* were afterwards to do with *theirs*. *Aben-Ezra* goes this Way; and adds, *Meminit autem Amorrhæorum, quoniam nulla de septem gentibus illis Fortitudine erat æqualis*.²⁰⁵

In the Action of *Jacob*, to his Two Grandsons, *Ephraim* and *Menasseh*, occurs the first mention which we have in the Bible of that Rite, *The Imposition of Hands*. We find it Repeted, in the Action of *Moses* to *Joshua*; [Num. 27.18, 19, 23. Deut. 34.9.] This χειροθεσια, was by the *Jewes* called, /סמיכות ידיים/. From thence it grew customary among that People of God, in almost every *Ordination* to any *Office*, whether *Sacred*, or *Civil*, or to any *Dignity* whatsoever. All their *Senators*, passed under this Rite; and their *Doctors* even at this Day, are created with it. Every Promotion among them is called, /סמיכות ידיים/.²⁰⁶

And from this *Exemple*, of *Jacob*, tis an Observation among the *Jewes*; That when Persons are beleaved to excell in *Holiness*, they bring their *Children* unto them, to be *Blessed* with *Imposition of Hands*. Consider, what they did unto our Saviour. [Matth. 19.13.] *Grotius* thinks, That the Extension of the *Hand* in this Action, had an *Eye* to the Efficacy of the *Divine Power*. *Ideò, quia per preces Divina Potentia pro altero invocabatur, usitata erat cum precibus manuum Impositio*. *Sanctius* notes, That the Action is usually of a *Superiour*, consecrating an *Inferiour* to some *Office*, or wishing and praying for a *Blessing* upon him. As in the *Roman Language*, *Sub manu esse*, and, *In manum venire*, and, *manumitti*, are Phrases, that carry *Power*, in the Signification of them. *Heidegger* takes all these Accounts to be Insufficient; He saies, The Plainest is, That a *Blessing* was desired to come upon the *Head* of the Person, treated in this Action; and sometimes,

205 Heidegger (2:459, 461, Exerc. XXII, §§ 10, 12). Ibn Ezra suggests that the exposition is “without taste and scent.” In fact, Ibn Ezra (*Commentary* 1:417) argues that the prolepsis implied in Gen. 48:22 asserts that “Jacob’s statement, *Which I took*, presents no problems because the patriarchs considered the land as theirs from the moment that God verbally gave it to Abraham.” Heidegger refers to Andreas Masius’s *Annotationes, Quibus Editionis Græcae Historiae Joshuæ* (Josh. ch. 24), in Walton (6:120). Georgius Calixtus, aka. Georg Calixt (1586–1656), German Lutheran divine, controversialist, and professor of theology at Helmstedt, is now mostly remembered for his involvement in the Syncretic controversy among orthodox Lutherans. The likely work to which Heidegger refers is Calixt’s *Historia Iosephi, sive XIV postmorum cap. Geneseos et locorum* (1654), a literal exposition of contradictory passages in Genesis. Finally, Ibn Ezra’s annotation on Gen. 48:22 (*Commentary* 1:417) signifies that “Jacob singled out the Amorites because there were none among the seven Canaanite nations equal in strength to them.”

206 Heidegger (2:462–63, Exerc. XXII, § 16). The Greek “cheirothesia” and Hebrew [camik-taw yad-im] passages translate, “laying on of hands.” Heidegger here consults one of the many editions of Joannes Buxtorf’s *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum* (1639), col. 1496–1501, voce קמך [camak]; i.e., “to lay upon” and קמך ידיה χειροθεσια *manum impositio*; i.e., “the imposition of hands” or “promotion” (Buxtorf, col. 1498). Every promotion was therefore called סמיכות ידיים [camik-vetaw yad-im].

an *Office*, with a *Burden* was conferr'd on him, with *Prayers* for suitable *Graces*; and sometimes, a *Deliverance* from *Death* was therein also intended. Whosoever thus laid on Hands, *Deum precabatur; Qui Benedicebat, ut in puerum suae Bonitatis munera effunderet; Qui aegrotum curabat, ut fugato morbo vires ac valetudinem immitteret; Qui muneri praeficiebat, ut Dona ad id gerendum necessaria conferret; Qui victimam offerebat, ut mortem, quae in ejus caput statim erat incubitura, acceptam haberet; Qui denique Reum, vel suo Testimonio, vel suo ministerio ad mortem ducebat, ut quam commeritus erat pœnam, suo is capite lueret.*²⁰⁷

Compare Gen. 49.26.

We find our Patriarch at last *Embalmed*, by the *Physicians*. Because the *Physicians* prepared *Unguents* for Dead Bodies, those *Unguents* are called, *Medicata*, by *Pomponius Mela*; and, *θεραπευθεντα*, by *Diodorus Siculus*. The *Body* of *Jacob*, was to be carried a great Way, & thro' *Hott Countreyes*; and some *Embalming* of it, was therefore necessary. There was nothing more usual among the *Egyptians*. *Pliny* tells us, *Ægyptijs mos est cadavera asservare medicata*. *Tully* tells us, *Mortuos ab Ægyptijs condiri et domi servari*. *Plato* tells us, *Corpus arefactum et conditum, quemadmodum in Ægypto condiunt, diu incorruptum permanet*. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, tell us their Way of *Embalming*. By their *Art* they rendred the *Bodies* of the *Dead*, like *Brass*; which *Austin* tells us, in their Language, they called, *Gabaras*. *Joseph* had no *Egyptian* and superstitious Intention in this Matter; but only the more agreeable *Transportation* of his Fathers Body, into the Land of *Canaan*.

[370v] [blank]²⁰⁸

²⁰⁷ Heidegger (2:462–63, Exerc. XII, § 16). Mather's Latin citation from Hugo Grotius (via Heidegger) is a paraphrase of Grotius's commentary on Matt. 19:13 (*Annotationes in Quatuor Evangelia* 2:182) and reads, "Therefore, because divine power was invoked for another through prayer, the laying on of hands with prayers was common practice." Heidegger's somewhat cryptic reference to Sanctius – the Latinized version of Sánchez – is to Gaspar Sánchez (1544–1628), a Spanish Jesuit, member of the Collegio Complutensis, and significant biblical commentator. Heidegger here cites from Sanctius's annotation on Act. 8:17, in *Gasparis Sanctii Commentarii in actus apostolorum* (1617). The "Roman" phrases signify, "To be under [someone's] hand" and "To come into [someone's] hand," and "To be sent from the hand [i.e., to be set free]." Finally, Mather cites Heidegger (2:463) as follows: "Whoever was giving a blessing would implore God to pour out the gifts of His goodness upon the boy; whoever was curing an illness would ask Him to drive out the sickness and send strength and good health; whoever was put in charge of a duty would ask Him to bestow the necessary gifts to carry it out; whoever was offering a sacrifice would ask Him to accept the death that would straight away come down on the victim's head; and finally, whoever was consigning a defendant to death, either through his testimony or through his role [as executioner][would ask Him] that a man pay with his head the penalty which he had deserved."

²⁰⁸ Heidegger (2:466–67, § 25). *Pomponius Mela* (*De chorographia* 1.48). *Diodorus Siculus*'s "therapeuthenta" (4.51.6; 17.89.6) suggests, "receive the favor" (service; i.e., embalming). The adaptation from *Pliny* (11.70.184) tells us that "the Egyptians practice the custom of mummification." Or, as *Tully*, aka. *Marcus Tullius Cicero* has it in his *Tusculanae disputationes* (1.45.108), "The Egyptians embalm their dead and keep them in the house." *Plato* (*Phaedo* 80c, 7–9) tells us that "If the body is emaciated or embalmed, as in Egypt, it remains almost whole

[371r]

Q. The Conduct of *Abraham*, in the Case of *Sarah*, which unto us in these days appears liable to great Exceptions, may call for some Remarks upon it? v. 1.

A. Hear Monsr. *Saurin* upon it.²⁰⁹

“All we can gather, is, that the Plurality of Wives, was not forbid in the Age of the Patriarchs. Whatever Attempts have been made by some grave Divines, to prove that *Polygamy* was criminal before our SAVIOURS time, we cannot enter into that Opinion. It is hard to perswade ones Self, that the Conduct of the most Holy Men, a Conduct which does not only suppose a few fleeting Actions of such Persons, but a settled Way of Life; a Conduct, during which they had the most intimate Conversation & Familiarity with GOD; a Conduct, for which they had never been blamed, whilst GOD armed Heaven & Earth against them, for some particular Sin; a Conduct, whereof we can discover no Footsteps of Repentance; a Conduct, which had not only not been forbidden by GOD, but which in some Measure, was even Allow’d by Him; [Deut. XXI.15, 16.] I say, it is very hard, to perswade ones Self, that such a Conduct could have been hateful in the Sight of GOD.

“But, if it were Innocent *Then*, some will be apt to say, why not *Now*? By no means. – It is not more strange, That the Laws which bind *Christians*, were not imposed on the *Jews*, than it is, that the Saints in Glory, should be called to render a more pure Worship unto GOD, than what we | pay Him here on Earth; tho’ Both ly under that general Obligation, of, *Loving GOD with all their Heart*. Now we pretend, That JESUS CHRIST has taught us, what the *Jews* and Patriarchs knew not; That from the general Principles of Morality given alike to all of us, this particular Consequence is to be drawn, *That one Man ought to have but one Wife*.²¹⁰

[372v]

“If *Polygamy* and *Concubinage* were allowed in the Times of the Patriarchs, it is nevertheless a Supposition of a lower Degree of Perfection in those that gave themselves up thereto; and GOD, to wean them from those Ways, was pleas’d that there should proceed from the very Nature of such a State, and of all that was like it, such Inconveniences, as might serve for a Rampart against it. The Miseries of Mankind are so great, that their Society with one Person only, when it is to last as long as their Lives, is oftentimes a Source of Divisions: And how great may they be, when a Third Person is joined in the same Union, and

for a remarkable length of time.” Herodotus (2.86–88); Diodorus Siculus (1.91.2–7; 19.99.3). According to Heidegger (2:466, § 25), St. Augustine (*Sermones de diversis*, 120, cap. 22) argues that the Egyptians called the discoloration of the embalmed bodies “*Gabaras*” – a term and source yet unverified.

²⁰⁹ Mather quotes the following paragraphs with only slight alterations from Jacques Saurin’s *Dissertations* (Diss. XIX, 1:163–64, on. Gen. 21:9).

²¹⁰ Saurin (1:164).

brings an Increase of Passions, and a Diversity of Interests? This *Abraham* soon found.”²¹¹

Thus my Author. But what he means, by that Word, *we pretend*, I don’t understand. It is a Thing, we *Affirm*, we *Assert*, we are *Certain* of.

[373r]

Q. *Sarahs* Repeted Admiration, of her Enjoyment & Fruitfulness in old Age? v. 7.

A. I suspect, a Prophecy lying at the Bottom of it. When the Church of *Israel*, is grown old, even in the *Latter Days*, then will she enjoy glorious Things, and her Fruit will be wonderful!²¹²

3428.

Q. *That Sarah should give Children Suck*. Why is this Action so particularly mentioned? v. 7.

A. This *Giving Suck*, was a certain Proof, that she brought forth the Child of her own Womb; and that he was not a supposititious Child, as it is well observed by *Menochius*.²¹³

3429.

Q. How old was *Isaac*, when he was *weaned*? v. 8.

A. *Jerom* reports it, as a Tradition of the *Hebrewes*, That he was Five Years old. The Author of the, *Dissertations Sur La Bible*, lately published at *Paris*, observes from this Instance, That Children then sucked very long. The Mother of the *Maccabees* told one of her Sons, that she had suckled him Three Years. *Samuel* came to the Temple soon after he was weaned. The Rabbis tell us, The Mothers then suckled their Children Two Years at the least; and the *Alcoran* præscribes the same Time. We find in *Aristophanes*, that the *Greeks* observed the same Custome. *Jerom* indeed, in his *Hebrew Questions* takes notice of Two Opinions, concerning the Time for weaning Children in the Dayes of *Abraham*. Some say, *Five Years* of Age; but others carry it as far as *Twelve*.²¹⁴

²¹¹ Saurin (1:164).

²¹² Gen. 21:7.

²¹³ Simon Patrick, annotation on Gen. 21:7 (*Commentary* 1:81). Mather refers to Jacobus Menochius, aka. Giovanni Stefano Menochius, the Younger (1575/6–1655), an Italian Jesuit, professor of theology, and son of the famous Italian Jurist and namesake Menochius, the Elder (1532–1607). The younger Menochius published a popular biblical commentary, *Commentarij totius Sacrae Scripturae* (1755 ed.) that was frequently bound and reprinted with the Vulgate. His annotations on Gen. 21:8 appear on pp. 75–76 of this edition.

²¹⁴ This paragraph is extracted from Louis Ellies Du Pin’s *Dissertationes Historiques, Chronologiquae, Geographiquae et Critiquae sur la Bible*. 2 vols. (1711), vol. 1, Diss. IV, ch. 7, p. 362. St. Jerome (*Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim*, Gen. 21:14) [PL 3. 968A]. Drawing on Genesis Rabbah (LIII:10) and the Talmudic tractate Kethuboth (60a), Rashi insists that Isaac was

Q. Why did *Abraham* chuse to make the Day of the Childs Weaning, the Day of his Feasting? v. 8.

A. *Austin* concludes, as *Luther* observes, *Hujus Questionis nullam esse solutionem, nisi intelligatur spiritualiter illud gaudium, quod habetur ex nativitate Christi.*

Luther blames this Allegorizing. And he thinks, That *Abraham* took *this Day*, because he would not imitate the Manners of the *Gentiles*, who made the *Birth-Day*, a *Feast-Day*. The Day of *Circumcision* was a Day of so much *Affliction*, that he thinks, it was for that Cause not convenient.²¹⁵

1612.

Q. That Passage, *In Isaac shall thy Seed bee called*, What *Seed* is thereby intended? v. 12.

A. The Original, will declare the Intention. Tis not only, *Thy Seed*, but זרע לך / *A Seed for Thee*. q.d. *A Seed* for thy Benefit & Salvation. Behold, the *Messiah* pointed out!²¹⁶

Q. How came *Abraham*, so rich a Man, to send *Hagar*, & her Son away, with such a slender Provision? v. 14.

A. I will transcribe the Words of Monsr. *Saurin*. “To say, That *Abraham* acted with Præcipation, or, that he was in Haste, & intended to send quickly afterwards into the Desert, whatever should be necessary for these two miserable Creatures, is the same as to say, that the good old Man took his Measures very wrong, & proceeded with little Circumspection. It may therefore be safest, perhaps, to rank this Account among the obscure Circumstances of the Holy Scripture, into which we are not allow’d to fathom.”²¹⁷

| **Q.** A Remark on that; *GOD opened her Eyes*? v. 19.

A. It was a Principle, well known and received & beleaved among the Ancients; That *GOD* only can *open the Eyes of Men*, & enable them to see what they cannot well discover by their own Capacity. Thus *Hagar* here, so, Num. XXII.31. *The Lord opened the Eyes of Balaam*. From a Sense of this Truth, *Homer*

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weaned “at the end of twenty-four months” (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:246). Radak (*Hachut Hamesbulash* 2:419) adds that “This was the standard period that babies nursed at the breasts of their mother.” 2 Macc. 7:27. Sam. 1:22. The Alcoran prescribes two years (Sura 2:233). The Greek grammarian and lexicographer Aristophanes Byzantii (c. 257–c. 180 BCE) mentions this custom in his (*Fragmenta* 1, lines 3–8).

²¹⁵ Martin Luther’s quotation from St. Augustine’s *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* (1.50) translates, “there is no answer to this question unless that joy – the joy one feels because of the birth of Christ – is understood spiritually” (*Lectures on Genesis* 21:8), in *Luther’s Works* (4:13).

²¹⁶ See Simon Patrick on Gen. 21:12 (*Commentary* 1:83).

²¹⁷ Jacques Saurin (Diss. XIX, 1:166).

and *Virgil*, bring in a GOD, as purging the *Eyes* of their Heros, from the Mists of Mortality upon them.²¹⁸

3430.

Q. Of *Ishmael* tis said, *His Mother took him a Wife out of the Land of Egypt?* v. 21.

A. This was her own Countrey; where she was best Acquainted.²¹⁹

The Jewish Doctors tell us, of his having Two Wives, whose Names were *Aischah* and *Phatimah*. The first of these they report, entertained *Abraham* churlishly, when he honoured his Son with a Visit; And for this Cause, he putt her away, and he took the Second, who proved more civil, when this excellent old Man did them the Honour of a Second Visit.²²⁰

Tho' this Report may be somewhat Fabulous; yett it is not unlikely, that *Abraham* did go to see how his Son lived, and that *Ishmael* also did sometimes wait upon his Father. So tis affirmed, by the Author of *Schal-schal*. *Hakab.* and *Pirke Elieser*.

And accordingly we find *Ishmael* as well as *Isaac*, to be concerned in *Abrahams* Funeral.²²¹

After this, tis probable, that *Hagar* might have another Husband, which is the Account that *Aben Ezra* gives (upon *Psal.* 83.6.) of the People, called, The *Hagarenes*, who are mention'd as distinct from the *Ishmaelites*.²²²

..12[?].

Q. On the *Oath* between *Abimelek* & *Abraham?* v. 31.

²¹⁸ Perhaps Mather has in mind Odysseus's encounter with Athena in Homer (*Odyssey* 13.287–89, 311–13, 352–55).

²¹⁹ Mather's annotations on Gen. 21:21 are copied from Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:84).

²²⁰ According to *Capitula R. Elieser* (1644), cap. 30, p. 70 and *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (218–19), Ishmael selected "a wife from among the daughters of Moab, and [Hischa] Ayeshah was her name." When Abraham visited Ishmael, Ayeshah refused to entertain him hospitably. Yet [Phitoma] Fatimah, Ishmael's Egyptian wife, received Abraham hospitably during a second visit three years later. See Appendix A.

²²¹ Rabbi Gedaliah Ibn Yahya ben Joseph (1515–c. 87) of Imola (Italy) is reputed to have been a voluminous author, who finally settled in Alexandria (Egypt) after various pogroms in Italy and Spain forced Jewish residents to leave. His best-known book is *Sefer Shalsheth ha-Kabbalah*, aka. *Sefer Yahya* (1587), a compendious book on such subjects as Jewish genealogy, the stars, creation, the soul, magic, witchcraft, and other subjects (*TJE*). The putative author of *Capitula R. Elieser* (1644) aka. *Pirke Elieser*, or *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (i.e., *Chapters of Rabbi Eliezer*) is Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, the Great (c. late 1st to 2nd c. CE), but this haggadah is now assigned to the 8th c. CE (*EJ*). Both Isaac and Ishmael buried Abraham in the Cave of Machpelah (Gen. 25:9).

²²² Ibn Ezra (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Psalm*, 2:323). The "Hagarenes" or "Hagarites," believed to be descendants from Hagar, were a people in E Palestine, who frequently confederated against the Israelites (1 Chron. 5:19, 18–20; Ps. 83:6).

A. Some have remarked, That this is the First *Oath* among Men, that occurs in any History; And it was introduced by a Pagan.²²³

Q. What was *Abrahams* End, in planting a *Grove*, that hee might there *call on the Name of the Lord*? v. 33.

A. Dr. *Lightfoot* saies, *Abraham consecrated a Grove, that hee might have hal- lowed Wood for Sacrifices, as well as Holy Fire. Hee had had Fire from Heaven, at some Time, upon his Sacrifice, & hee preserved it.*²²⁴

Q. It is Remarkable, That the *Jews* themselves confess *Isaac* to be a Type of the *Messiah*. They say, (as *Patrick* has quoted the Words from *Abarbanel*; tho' I doubt, he mistakes the Name of his Author;) when GOD promised *Abraham*, That *all the Nations of the Earth should be Blessed in him, he would have him understand, that He would one day vouchsafe to make of His own Son, a Sacrifice like that, which the Patriarch was about to make of his.*²²⁵ Wherefore, Falling into the History of *Isaac*, I must ask, In what Regards you consider him, as a Type of the Lord Jesus Christ?²²⁶

A. First; The Name of *Isaac*, is as much as to say, *Mirth*, or *Joy*. [Gen. 21.3, 6.] I am sure, the Souls of Men, find Matter of wonderful *Gladness*, in the Son of God. [Luc. 2.10. Isa. 61.10. Hab. 3.18. Phil. 4.4.]

Again; *Isaac* is called [Gal. 4.28.] *The Child of the Promise*. And our Lord is, *The Christ of the Promise*. [Luc. 1.72.] Hee is the grand *Promise* of the New Covenant. And I think, that one Evangelist *Matthew*, particularly reckons up, about *Thirty Promises* or *Prophecies* in the Old Testament, relating to our Lord.²²⁷

²²³ See Simon Patrick's annotation on Gen. 21:31 (*Commentary* 1:85).

²²⁴ Mather cites Dr. John Lightfoot's comments on Gen. 21:33, in *The Harmony, Chronicle and Order of the Old Testament* (1647) 24.

²²⁵ Even though Mather refers to Simon Patrick's commentary on Gen. 22:16 (*Commentary* 1:88), where Patrick acknowledges R. Isaac ben Judah Abarbanel (Abravanel) as his source, Mather really cribs his annotation (along with his critique of Patrick) from Jacques Saurin's *Dissertations*. Here, Jacques Saurin mentions Patrick's error: "He [Patrick] ascribes these Words [the italicized citation] to *Abarbanel*; but I could not find them in this Author; wherefore the Bishop must needs be mistaken" (Saurin, Diss. XX, 1:176, note 27). Even though Patrick may have been mistaken in his attribution, Saurin (on the next page) does supply his readers with a citation of Abarbanel's commentary on Gen. 22:18, which is certainly less Christological than what Patrick may have made it out to be: "They [Jewish commentators] say, that *Isaac was a perfect Sacrifice; that God took Pleasure in him; that they were all offer'd up in his Person; that whenever they are afflicted, God remembers that Isaac was bound; that in Consequence of this Event, his Anger against them is appeased; that by his Sacrifice they become perfect; and that hereby God has defeated the Work of Satan*" (Saurin, Diss. XX, 1:177).

²²⁶ Mather's rhetorical question following the conjunctive adverb "Wherefore" constitutes the original opening sentence of the present paragraph to which he allocated the entry number 436.

²²⁷ See Samuel Mather (*Figures and Types* 106) and Edward Taylor (*Upon the Types* 1:78–96).

Add; Of an unlikely *Womb*, did *Isaac*, & of as unlikely a *Womb*, did *Jesus*, come into the World. [Compare, Rom. 4.19. with Isa. 7.14. and, Jer. 31.22.] A *Womb*, that never could have been Fruitful, without a *Miracle*.²²⁸

Proceed; An *Angel*, told the Mother of *Isaac*, that hee was to bee Born of her; and it is said, [Gen. 18.11.12.] *Sarah heard it, & laughed within herself*. Thus, an *Angel* brought unto the Mother of our Lord, the Incredible Newes, of His being to bee Born of her: and it is said [Luc. 1.34.] *Shee said, How shall this bee?* It was the very same *Angel*, that had been with *Daniel* about this thing, more than five hundred Years before!²²⁹

Pass on; It was a Noble *Promise* made unto *Abraham* [Gen. 22.18.] *In thy Seed, shall all the Nations of the Earth bee Blessed*. It was made Thrice over to *Abraham*; it was Once repeted unto *Isaac*; Once mention'd by *Peter*, & Once quoted by *Paul*. What *Seed* of *Abraham* was it, that proved such a *Blessing* to the World? There was indeed some Concernment of *Isaac* in it; but in *Jesus* is the true & main Fulfilment of it. Hence the Apostle saies, [Gal. 3.16.] That *Seed is Christ*. By Him, *All Nations* have the Day of Gods Patience lengthened out unto them; and, *All Nations* have some converted, & pardoned, and glorified among them, now every Day; and, *All Nations*, will at last bee made Partakers of *Blessedness*; [according to that, in Ps. 72.17.]²³⁰

Say still; *Isaac* was no sooner *Circumcised*, on the *Eighth Day* of his Age, but there was an *Ishmael* persecuting of him. [Gen. 21.9.] And our Lord was no sooner *Circumcised*, on the *Eighth Day* of His Age, but there was an *Herod*, that fell on Him with cruel Persecutions. [Math. 2.13.]

Further yett; Amazing the History, which wee have, of *Isaacs* Obedience! His *Father* saies, *My Son, you must bee a Burnt-Offering to the Lord*. Behold, without any Replying, without any Repining, hee submitts unto that strange Demand! This hee did, tho' hee were Twenty-five Years old at least. And yett, this was but a little Shadow of what our Lord *Jesus* did. His *Father* saies, *My Son, Become thou a Burnt-Offering, that my Justice may bee satisfied, & glorified forever*. Well, Hee complies, without any Resistance, without any Reluctance. His Answer was, *Lo! I come!* [Isa. 53.7. and Joh. 10.18.]²³¹

Go on; Tis noted of *Isaac*, that it was a famous *Hill*, namely, *Moriah*, on which hee was to Breathe his last. But it is also noted, that hee did himself carry the *Wood*, with which hee was to bee consumed. [Gen. 22.6.] Now Admire the very same Circumstances, in our Lord *Jesus Christ*! It was a famous *Hill*, namely, *Golgotha*, on which Hee was to expire. But wee are likewise informed, Hee *Bore His own Cross*; [Joh. 19.17.] Hee did Himself carry the *Wood*, on which, Hee was to bee offered there. The End of *Both* was, That there might bee no Delay at the

²²⁸ See Samuel Mather (*Figures and Types* 106).

²²⁹ See Samuel Mather (*Figures and Types* 106).

²³⁰ See Samuel Mather (*Figures and Types* 106).

²³¹ See Samuel Mather (*Figures and Types* 107).

Place of *Execution*. And this was observable, in *Both*; First, the *Wood* was laid on them, and then, They were laid on the *Wood*. Indeed, the *Father* carried the *Sword*, & the *Fire*. It was the *Fiery, Sword-like* Justice of God, which Devoured our Lord; but *Hee* it was that brought the Fuel for it.²³²

Once more: It was on the *Third Day*, that *Isaac* arrived, unto the Place of his Immolation. [Gen. 22.4.] T'was Forty Miles, from *Beersheba* to *Moriah*, & they Travelled on Foot all the Way: for which Cause, Two Dayes were little enough, to dispatch the dismal Journey. See something Analogous to this, in our Lord! Our Lord was *Three & Thirty* | Years old; His Age had *Three Tens*, and *Three Units* in it: There passed also *Three Years* of His public Preaching, when the Time of His Passion came. But this it not all; *Isaac* on the *Third Day*, had a Dismission from his *Death*. [Gen. 22.12.] All the while before, hee was *Dead* in the Account of *Abraham*; Now, hee *received him from the Dead*. And was not the *Resurrection* of our Lord, on the *Third Day*? [Hos. 6.2. and 1. Cor. 15.4.]²³³ [376v]

Finally; The *Church* of our Lord, is most elegantly adumbrated in the *Wife of Isaac*. *Isaac* was married; and so is our Lord. But unto whom? *Isaac* was married unto a *Kinswoman* of his own; and our Lord, unto a Spouse, that is of His *own Flesh*, & His *own Bone*. *Isaac* was married unto one, that wanted not Beautiful *Complexions*, and *Proportions*; and our Lord, unto a Church, *Comely*, of whom it is said, *The King shall greatly desire thy Beauty*. *Isaac* was married unto one, that left all *Relations*, all *Enjoyments*, for the Sake of him: Even so, our Lord, unto a Church that may say, *I have Forsaken all, & Followed thee*, & that hearkens to that Proposal, *O Daughter, Forgett thy own People, & thy Fathers House*. *Isaac* was married unto one, who Deck't and Trim'd herself to meet him, and yett covered her Face with a *Veil* after all: In like sort, our Lord, unto a Church that is adorn'd with many *Graces*, but yett after all, is Humble, owning herself, not worthy to bee *Seen* by Him, & much less, *Match't* to Him.²³⁴

Indeed, *Isaac* was guilty of a Mistake, where into *Jesus* will never fall; that is, The Dispensing of a *Blessing*, with a *Mistake of the Person*.²³⁵

But in these things, you see *Isaac*, a Picture of our *Jesus*.

²³² See Samuel Mather (*Figures and Types* 107).

²³³ See Samuel Mather (*Figures and Types* 108).

²³⁴ Ps. 45:10, 11.

²³⁵ Gen. 27:21–23.

3431.

Q. What was there, to satisfy *Abraham*, That the Command given him to sacrifice *Isaac*, was indeed from God, and not a Satanical Illusion? v. 1.

A. The Appearance of the *Shechinah*, which we have so often mentioned; & which could not be counterfeited.

So great was the paternal Power among the Ancient Romans, that they might putt their *Children* to Death, as they did their *Slaves*, without any Process before a Magistrate. Some have look'd on this as a *Natural Right*; and if *Abraham* were indeed aware of this *Inherent Power*, it might as little facilitate his Entertainment of the *Strange Command* now given to him.¹

3432.

Q. How old was *Isaac*, at the Time of his being offered? v. 1.

A. Some of the Jewes affirm him to be *Thirty Seven*; who are follow'd by the Christian *Arabic* Writers, *Patricides* and *Elmacinus*. *Aben-Ezra* more probably makes him *Thirty*. But we can have no Certainty; for we find in the *Gemara Sanhedrim* c.10.n.4. This fell out a little after he was weaned.

Josephus makes him *Twenty five* Years old; *Bochartus* makes him *Twenty Eight*. This is very sure, He was old enough, to carry such a Load of Wood, as would serve to make a Fire, for the Offering of him as a Burnt-Offering.²

2783.

Q. What Monuments, or Traditions of *Abraham* sacrificing his *Isaac*, have we in Antiquity?

A. We know some of the horrid Practices among the ancient Idolaters, to sacrifice their Children unto *Moloch*; And some learned Men are of Opinion,

¹ Mather's annotations are extracted from Heidegger's *Historia Sacra Patriarcharum* (2:192, Exerc. IX, § 8).

² See Saurin's *Dissertations* (Diss. XX, 1:170). *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (ch. 31, p. 225), based on Genesis Rabbah (LV:4, LVI:8), lists Isaac's age as thirty-seven when Abraham offered his son as a sacrifice. And so does the Arabic Christian writer Saidus Patricides, in *Contextio Gemmarum* (1656), lib. 1, p. 75; but Georgius Elmacinus, in Hottinger (*Smegma Orientale*, cap. 8, p. 330), argues that Isaac's age was either ten or twelve. Abraham Ibn Ezra reviews the debate about Isaac's age (Gen. 22:4) and finally settles on the age of thirteen – not thirty (*Commentary* 1:224–25). R. David Gans (*Tsemach David*) makes him twenty-six. The Talmudic tractate Sanhedrin (89b) argues that God tested Abraham's faith when Isaac was weaned. Flavius Josephus (*Antiquities* 1.13.2) makes Isaac twenty-five; Samuel Bochart does not appear to give Isaac's age, but does insist that human sacrifice – like that intended by Abraham's immolation of his son – was a widespread phenomenon in Canaan (*Geographia*, pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 2, col. 711–12).

That the Opinion of Mens pleasing God, by sacrificing their Children, sprang from *Abrahams* offering *Isaac*. R. *Solomon* countenanced this Conjecture, when he brought in the Great God, speaking about *Moloch* after this Manner; “I never commanded, that they should offer up their Sons as an Oblation, and I never spake it unto any of my Prophets: And when I spake to *Abraham*, to sacrifice his Son, it entred not into my Heart, that he should sacrifice him, but to make known my Righteousness.”³

There is also a notable Passage in *Porphyrie*, who treating of *Saturn*, (that seems to have been the same with *Moloch*) saies, That the *Phœnicians* call’d him *Israel*; and that he had by *Anobreth*, one only Son, called *Jeud* in the *Phœnician* Language; (no doubt from the Hebrew *Jehhid*, signifying an *Only Begotten*, and applied unto *Isaac*, Gen. 22.2.) which he offered upon an *Altar* purposely prepared.⁴

[Insert Ar]

Besides this *Phœnician* Story, Monsr. *Saurin*, assigns the same Origin to the Sacrifice of *Iphigenia*, as it is related by *Dictis* of *Crete*. All the necessary Præparations are made for the Immolation of the Victim; *Chalcas* is to be the Minister of the Execution; He lifts up his Arm to give the fatal Stroke; A supernatural Voice issues from the Midst of the Forest, crying out, That *Diana*, to whom this dreadful Homage was paid, approv’d not of it. *Iphigenia* is thus delivered. They deliberate upon the Choice of another Victim; And whilst they are seeking for one most acceptable to the Goddess, a Fawn of a wonderful Beauty comes forth of its own Accord unto the Altar, and is offered up in the Stead of the Daughter of *Agamemnon*.⁵

3 The citation from R. Solomon (most likely R. Solomon Yitzchaki, aka. Rashi) appears to be a paraphrase of Rashi’s commentary on Gen. 22:12: “When I said to you ‘Take,’ I was not altering the utterance of My lips. I did not say to you, ‘Slaughter him,’ but, ‘Bring him up.’ You have brought him up; [now] take him down” (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:258).

4 Heidegger (2:203, Exer. IX, §§ 22–23). See also Jacques Saurin (Diss. XX, 1:175). Eusebius (*Præparatio evangelica* 1.10.40d; 4.16.155b–156d), excerpting Philon of Byblos and Porphyrius, tells the story of Saturn who sacrificed on an altar his “only begotten son” Iedud (Ieoud), or Jeud (by the nymph Anobret). A variant of this well-known story appears in Hesiod’s *Theogonia* (453–91), where Kronos swallows each of his children until tricked by Rhea and cast into the abyss by Zeus, his son. See also *Cicero* (*De natura deorum* 2.25.64). In these ancient stories early Christian interpreters found affirmed the original in Abraham’s sacrifice of Isaac, the OT type of the crucifixion of Christ.

5 Jacques Saurin (Diss. XX, 1:175) appears to have relied on Samuel Bochart (*Hierozoicon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 49, col. 540–41), where several versions of Iphigenia’s story are excerpted, but quotes from Dictys Cretensis et Dares Phrygius, *De Bello Troiano* (1702), lib. 1, pp. 21–22. Iphigenia, daughter of Clytemnestra and Agamemnon, was to be sacrificed to curry favorable winds for the Argives’ invasion of Troy across the Aegean. When Diana, angered by Agamemnon’s sacrilegious killing of her sacred she-goat, destroyed thousands of warriors through a sudden plague, the seer Chalcas (or a Delphic Pythia) advised to offer Iphigenia in propitiation. The goddess, however, pitied Agamemnon’s daughter, accepted the sacrifice of a beautiful fawn in her stead, and entrusted the girl to the protection of the Scythian king – but her father to the wrath of Clytemnestra (Dictys Cretensis, *Trojan War* 33–36). In other versions of the story,

Plutarch relates a Case very like to This. The Plague raged in *Lacedemonia*: The Oracle tells them, that it would not cease, till they consented yearly to sacrifice a Maiden of Noble Birth. The Lot fell upon *Helena*; who was led unto the Temple, dressed for the Sacrifice; and just going to be offered up; when an Eagle suddenly descending upon her, & snatching away the Sword, with which her Bosom was to have been pierced, carried it unto the Place, where the Flocks were feeding, & there dropped it upon an Heifer.

[Insert Av blank]⁶

3433.

Q. *Abraham lift up his Eyes, & saw the Place afar off.* How did he know, that this was *the Place*? v. 4.

A. It is probable, God had given him a Sign, by which he should know *the Place*; and what can be more probable, than that the appearance of the *Shechinah*, determined *the Place*, where he was to make his Oblation.

This Conjecture is confirmed by some of the Jewish Writers; especially by R. *Elieser*, who saies, That when God bad{e} *Abraham* go to *the Place*, that He would *Tell him of*; he asked, How he should know *the Place*. The Answer was, *wheresoever thou seest my Glory, there I will stay and wait for thee*. And accordingly now he *beheld a Pillar of Fire which reached from Heaven to Earth*; by which he knew, this was *the Place*.

Moriah and *Calvary*, being but Parts of one and the same Mountain, tis not amiss to think, That *Isaac* was offered, in that very Place, where *Christ* was crucified.⁷

2473.

Q. *Abrahams Offering of Isaac*, is counted his *Tenth* remarkable Trial. What were the *Ten*? Enumerate 'em.

A. 1. His going out of his Countrey. 2. The Famine which drove him out of *Egypt*. 3. His having his Wife taken from him. 4. His Battel with the Four Kings. 5. His Despairing of Offspring, & Applying to *Hagar*. 6. His Circumcision. 7. His having his Wife again taken from him. 8. The Expulsion of *Hagar*,

Diana whisked Iphigenia away and made her priestess in Diana's temple among the Taurians (Gaius Julius Hyginus, *Fabulae* 69) and Euripides (*Iphigenia at Aulis* 1540–1614; *Iphigenia among the Taurians*).

⁶ Saurin (1:175). Helena, a young Spartan woman – not her famous namesake of Trojan renown – was to be sacrificed to atone for the plague in Lacedemonia. However, when an eagle pounced on the priest's knife and carried it off, human sacrifice was abolished after this sign from Olympus (*LCD*).

⁷ See Simon Patrick on Gen. 22:4 (*Commentary* 1:86). *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (ch. 31, p. 226) and Genesis Rabbah (LVI:1).

when she was become a Mother by him. 9. The Casting off of *Ishmael*. 10. The Sacrificing of *Isaac*.⁸

3434.

Q. We read, *The Angel of the Lord called unto Abraham*. What? Would the Voice of an *Angel* be enough to Release him, from going on with his Obedience to the Voice of the *Lord* Himself? v. 11.

A. *The Angel of the Lord*, is as much as to say, *The Lord by His Angel*.

It is Dr. *Patrick's* Observation; That whether it be said in these Holy Books, *The Lord said* any thing, or, *An Angel spoke* so & so, we are alwayes to understand both to have been present. For the *Angels* ever attend upon the *Divine Majesty*; & being *Ministers of His*, they do nothing but by His Order. When tis said, *He* speaks, tis *by* them; when tis said, *They* speak, tis *from* Him. *Austin* gives a Demonstration of this, from this very Place. [L.III. *de Trinit.* c.XI.] In the Beginning of this Chapter, we read, that *God tempted Abraham*, and bad{e} him go, & offer to Him his Son: But here | “the *Angel of the Lord* called unto him, & bad{e} him not to do it. What is the Meaning of This? Will they say, That *God* commanded *Isaac* to be slain, & *His Angel* forbad{e} it; and that *Abraham* obeyed the Angel, who bade him *spare* his Son, against the Command of *God*, who had bidden him to *slay* him. This Sence is ridiculous, & not to be endured. The plain Meaning is, That *God* spake both times; in the one Case, & in the other: But by an Angel, who was His Minister. That's the Reason, that *Angels* do speak sometimes, as if they were the Lord; because they speak in His Name. As when a publick *Crier* pronounces the Sentence of the *Judge*; *Non scribitur in gestis, Ille præco dixit, sed, Ille Judex.*” [378v]

We will here add an Observation of the Jewes, (whether worth observing or no,) That *God* is not in all this Story called by the Name of *Jehovah*, till now; which being, they say, *Nomen misericordiæ*, is most agreeable to this Part of the Story, as *Elohim* was to the former Part.⁹

222.

Q. What singular Mystery was there in the *Ram*, caught & kill'd by *Abraham*, for a Sacrifice? v. 13.

⁸ Jacques Saurin (Diss. XX, 1:168). *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (ch. 26, pp. 187, 188, 189; ch. 27, p. 193; ch. 28, p. 197; ch. 29, p. 203; ch. 30, p. 214; ch. 31, p. 223).

⁹ Mather here mines Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 22:11 (*Commentary* 1:87), including Patrick's translation from St. Augustine's *De trinitate* (3.11.25) [PL 42. 881–884] (*NPNFi* 3:66). The angel speaks on behalf of God as if the angel were God. Likewise, the crier pronounces the sentence in court on behalf of the judge as if the crier were the judge; however, “It is not written in the records that ‘The crier,’ but ‘The Judge’ [pronounced the sentence].” In *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (ch. 31, p. 228), R. Jehuda explains that in the story of the angel's preventing Abraham from sacrificing Isaac, the Lord is not called by his name *Jehovah* until that moment. His “name” here truly signifies “the merciful.”

A. In the Sacrifice offered by *Abraham*, wee must consider *Isaac*, and, *The Ram*, together. *Isaac* was only *Bound*; it was the *Ram* that felt the *Knife*. This admirably answers to the Two Natures of our Lord Jesus Christ; Both of which together contribute unto the *Sacrifice* of the New Covenant. The *Divine Nature* of our Lord, suspending the Expressions of His Power & His Glory, was the Mystery of *Isaac* Ty'd. The *Humane Nature* of our Lord, crucify'd, was the Mystery of the *Ram* slain. So Remarkable a Concurrence of Things, that it is ascribed entirely unto the Contrivance of Almighty God; *The Lord will provide!*¹⁰

I may here insert a Curiosity, from the Travels of Dr. *Friar*; who in his *New Account of East-India & Persia*, relates, That the *New Moon* before the New Year, which there commences at the *Vernal Equinox*, is an Holiday to the *Moors*; when the Governours go in Pomp to sacrifice a Ram or He-goat, in remembrance of that offered for *Isaac*, whom they call *Ishauh*; the like does every one in his own House – that is able to purchase one; & sprinkle the Blood on the Sides of the Doors.¹¹

Q. What further Sense may we putt upon, *Jehovah Jireh*, than, *In the Mount of the Lord it shall be seen?* v. 14.

A. It may bear another Sense; *In the Mount shall the Lord be seen.* *Isaac*, tis very sure, was offered *near Mount Calvary*, if not on it; That was one of the Mountains in the Land of *Moriah*. It is true, The Temple was built on Part of *Moriah*, where our Lord, the true *Jehovah*, often appeared. But Mount *Calvary* may be more particularly intended; and it was promised, That our Saviour should be *seen one day in that very Place*.

Some think, It was thus called, from the *Myrrh* /מִרְרָה/ growing there. And they think tis alluded unto; Cant. 4.6. *I will gett me to the Mountain of Myrrh*.

Be sure, *Moriah* was not a particular Mountain, but a Tract of Land, in which there were several Hills; whereof some were within that Space, upon which *Jerusalem* was built in the following Ages; and the rest, out of that Circle; as the Mount of *Olives*, that of *Golgotha*, and some others.¹²

174.

Q. The First Promise to *Abraham*, was in Gen. 12.3. *In Thee shall all the Families of the Earth, bee Blessed.* – But now this Promise is Renewed, it is thus expressed, in Gen. 22.18. *In thy Seed, shall all the Nations of the Earth bee Blessed.* What might bee the Reason of this Variety? v. 18.

¹⁰ See Patrick on Gen. 22:13 (*Commentary* 1:88).

¹¹ Mather cites from *A New Account of East-India and Persia, in Eight Letters* (1698), Letter 3, ch. 3, p. 108, by John Fryer, MD, FRS (c. 1650–1733), who traveled to India and Persia (1672–81) on behalf of the East India Company (DNB).

¹² Mather's annotation is extracted from Jacques Saurin (Diss. XX, 1:168–69).

A. The Reason of that Variety seems to bee This; When *Abraham* had the first Promise of the *Messias* made unto him, *Isaac* was not then Born. Whereas, now the Promise comes to bee Renewed, *Isaac* is not only Born, but also as it were New-Born, after the Remarkable Obedience of his Father, in *Offering* of him, wherein hee was a notable Type of the expected *Messias*. Note, *Thy Seed*, in v. 17. refers to all the Posterity of *Abraham*; whereas in v. 18. it refers in a more Special & Restrained Sense, to *Isaac*.

Nor is this all the Variety neither, in these Promises of the *Messias*; for in Gen. 12.3. tis said, *They shall bee Blessed*; but in Gen. 22.18. here, tis said, *They shall Bless themselves*. [Thus again, Gen. 26.4.] That is, They shall count themselves Blessed.

4213.

Q. Upon this last Clause, a little further?

A. It is said, *In thy Seed shall all the Nations of the Earth Bless themselves*. That is to say, They shall expect their *Blessedness* in and from Him, and no where else. As *Munster* paraphrases it; *In solo illo Semine Beatificandos se verissimè dicent*. [Act. 4.12.]¹³

A Man of Languages observes, that he never saw this Passage truly translated in any of them; except only by *Vatablus*, who renders it; *Benedictas dicent se in Semine tuo, omnes Gentes Orbis*. q.d. All Nations shall think themselves Blessed & Happy for thy Seed. *Castellio* reads to the like Purpose.¹⁴

¹³ Sebastian Münster's paraphrase in *Hebraica Biblia* (1:46) annot. (fj), reads, "In that seed alone will they most truly say that they are due to receive blessing." See also *Critici Sacri* (1:230).

¹⁴ Mather's "Man of Language" is one of the editors of *Critici Sacri*, which is compiled by John Pearson et al. (1660). This nine-volume commentary also excerpts Franciscus Vatablus *Adnotationes in Sacra Biblia* (1546); the applicable citation from Vatablus on Gen. 12:3 (*Critici Sacri* 1:177) translates, "All the nations of the world will call themselves blessed in your seed." The English Orientalist Edmund Castellio, aka. Castell, D.D. (1606–85), prebendary of Canterbury and professor of Arabic at Cambridge, is now best remembered for his massive *Lexicon Heptaglotton* (1669). He helped Brian Walton compile the invaluable London Polyglot, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1653–57) in 6 vols. See also B. Hall, "Biblical Scholarship" (3:71–72).

584.

Q. What Remarkable is there, in the Age of *Sarah*, mentioned by *Moses*? v. 1.

A. This; That shee is the only *Woman*, whose *Age* is recorded in the Scripture.

You may add, if you please; That shee was the *First Person*, whose Death wee find expressly Regretted, & Bewayled, in these Oracles: And the *First Person*, whose *Burial* is mentioned.¹⁵

Q. Is there any special Remark, to bee made upon *Abrahams* Purchase of the Cave of *Macpelah*?

A. Yes; *This*. The first Purchase of Land, that wee read of in the Scripture, was of a *burying-place*.¹⁶

1756.

Q. Dead *Sarah* is *Eight Times* in one Chapter here, called, *Abrahams* Dead. Why?

A. Some think, That the Hope of the *Resurrection* is therein acknowledged. And indeed, *Resurrectio mortuorum, Fiducia Christianorum*.

However, methinks this Lesson lies plain before us; That tho' *Death* ha's Dissolved our old Relation to our *Dead Friends*, yett it ha's not Released us, from all our Duty to them; They are still so farr *ours*, that wee owe something unto their Memory.¹⁷

Q. On that Expression, *Bury my Dead*? v. 4.

A. *My Dead*, is in the Masculine Gender, & not in the Fæminine. Upon this, tis pretty to see how Interpreters divide into Different Opinions. There are some, who maintain, that *My Dead*, means, *my Dead Wife*; and they quote the Authority of an *Austin* for it. Others pretend, that, *my Dead*, means, *my Dead Corps*; and they quote the Authority of a *Vatablus* for it. *Saurin* makes this Reflection upon it; "Such is the Spirit of Mankind, that they often consider so slightly those Great Truths of the Scriptures, upon which our whole Religion is founded;

¹⁵ See Simon Patrick's annotation on Gen. 23:1 (*Commentary* 1:89).

¹⁶ Gen. 23:9, 17; 49:30; 50:13.

¹⁷ The Latin maxim signifies, "the resurrection of the dead is the assurance of Christians." Mather's filio-pietist devotion to his forebears can be seen in his numerous biographies of New England's governors, ministers, and Harvard graduates, as indeed, in his conception of his *Magnalia*: "Whether *New England* may *Live* any where else or no, it must *Live* in our *History*!" (*Magnalia Christi Americana* [1702], "General Introduction," p. C2, § 4).

expatiating into Discussions upon Matters of no Relation, either to our Duty, or our Happiness.”¹⁸

Q. Upon *Abrahams* insisting to pay for the *Field*? v. 13.

A. It is well observed by the Author of a Treatise entituled, (as was one of *Tertullian*, that is now lost, *Spes Fidelium*,) *Abraham* was unwilling to receive *That*, as a Gift from the Hands of *Men*, which GOD promised for to give him. If GOD *promised* the *Inheritance* of the *Earth* unto him, and he actually did not receive it, while he was in his Pilgrimage here on *Earth*, it necessarily follows, that *he* with his *Offspring*, that is to say, with all those who *Fear God* and *Beleeve in His CHRIST*, should receive it at the *Resurrection of the Just*. His *Offspring* is, the *Church*, which receives the *Adoption of Children*, by our Lord; according to that of GOD from the *Stones raising up Children to Abraham*. Our Apostle says, [Gal. IV.28.] *Now we, Brethren, as Isaac was, are the Children of the Promise*. Compare what He says, in the *Third Chapter* of his Epistle to the *Galatians*; According to which, all the Faithful, are the *Children of Abraham*, and shall be *Blessed with Faithful Abraham*. Now, GOD promised the *Inheritance of the Earth* unto *Abraham*, & unto his *Offspring*. But neither *Abraham*, nor his *Offspring*, or those who are Justified by *Faith*, do now, in this *Present World*, receive an Inheritance in it. But they actually shall, at the *Resurrection of the Just*.

This is the Spirit of what good old *Irenæus* offers & argues upon it.¹⁹

Q. The Price? v. 15.

A. About Forty Six Pound Sterling.²⁰

¹⁸ The whole paragraph is extracted from Jacques Saurin (Diss. XXI, 1:180–81). Saurin synthesizes the debate between the two different camps of interpreters as outlined in Cornelius à Lapide’s annotations on Gen. 23:4, *In Pentateuchum Mosis commentaria* (1637), tom. 1, p. 191. St. Augustine, in *Locutiones in Heptateuchum, lib. duo* (13.13) [PL 34. 509]; and Franciscus Vatablus, in *Adnotationes in Sacra Biblia* (1546) – extracted in *Critici Sacri* (1:236) – take opposite sides in this debate. See Mather’s *Threefold Paradise* (265–66) for the same material.

¹⁹ This paragraph is a close paraphrase of *Spes Fidelium: Or, the Believer’s Hope* (1714), § 50, pp. 74–75, an eschatological tract by an anonymous “Presbyter of the Church of England” [title page]. A copy of this work is in the Mather Libraries (AAS # 0488). The title of the work refers to Tertullian’s *Spes Fidelium*, which is partially extant in Irenaeus’s *Against Heresies* (5.32–36), in *ANF* (1:561–67). Significantly, Mather also cites from this anonymous work (1714) in “Trip paradisus,” his definitive discussion of millennialism, composed during the years 1720–26. By that time his pre-millennialist eschatology had undergone major revision. During the last decade of his life, Mather distinguishes between the “Raised Saints” (Christ’s co-rulers in Heaven) and the “Changed Saints” (Christ’s co-rulers on Earth who would repopulate it during the millennium), in *Threefold Paradise* (272–76). This distinction, which Mather adopted in 1720, is not yet reflected in his excerpt from *Spes Fidelium* (1714) here copied into “BA.” See also R. Smolinski, “Introduction,” *Threefold Paradise* (33–34, 48–51).

²⁰ Calculations of this kind are notoriously difficult to establish since the conversion of 400 Shekels of silver (Gen. 23:15–16) into English Pound Sterling requires a constantly shifting conversion table that records the purchasing power of the *weight* of silver during the early to middle Bronze Age (c. 2500–2000 BCE) as compared to the value of 46£ Sterling in early

[380v]

Q. How does the Account here agree, with what *Stephen* says, *Abraham bought it for a Sum of Money of the Sons of Emmor* [the Father] *of Sychem?* v. 24.

A. *Turretine*, [Loc. Com. Tom. I. Loc. II. Quæst. V. Art. XXXII.] has carefully collected all that can be fairly answered upon this Difficulty. Thither I refer you.²¹

Be sure, we must not confound the Sepulchre that is here mentioned, with what *Stephen* speaks of. The first was bought by *Abraham*; the last by *Jacob*; The first sold by *Ephron* the *Hittite*; the last by the Sons of *Hamor*; The first at *Hebron*; the last at *Sychem*. In the first were buried, *Abraham*, *Sarah*, *Isaac*, *Rebeckah*, and *Leah*. In the last, *Joseph*, and the other Patriarchs, who doubtless, as well as *Joseph*, desired the Translation of their Bones thither, in the Faith of what GOD would there do for His People.²²

Now, what if we should suppose, that *Jacob* also bare the Name of *Abraham*? The learned *Bochart* [*Hieroz.* T. I. pars. 2. cap. 43.] has collected Instances of Children bearing the Names of their Fathers. T'was no uncommon Thing. In this Case, as Monsr. *Saurin* observes, the Words of *Luke* have no Difficulty in them.²³

eighteenth-century New England. Although Mather does furnish a monetary conversion table ("TABLE. IV: Weights and Coins") in an Appendix following his commentary on Revelation, such calculations are often misleading.

²¹ Mather here refers to *Institutio Theologiae Elencticae* (1688), Tom. 1, Pars Prima, Locus Secundus, Quaestio V, Art. XXXII, pp. 92–93, by François Turretin (1623–87), the famous French Calvinist professor of theology at the Geneva Academy, and explicator of Reformed Theology, whom Mather highly recommended to all candidates for the ministry (*Manuductio ad Ministerium* 129). Mather owned the 1688 edition of Turretin's four-volume *Institutio* [AAS # 0332]. See the English translation *Institutes of Elenctic Theology* (1992) 1:83.

²² Gen. 23:8–17; 33:19; Acts 7:16. Jacques Saurin (Diss. XXI, 1:183), whose source is Turretin (*Institutio* 1:92), reconciles the conflicting accounts here given by Mather.

²³ Saurin (1:183) references Samuel Bochart's 1663 London edition (*Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 2, col. 435–36).

2424.

Q. What was the Meaning of that Rite, *Putting the Hand under the Thigh*, in *Swearing*? v. 2.

A. *Grotius* takes the Meaning and the Language thereof to be, q.d. If I fail in my *Truth*, Lett me fall by thy *Sword*. For the *Thigh* was the Seat of the *Sword*. [Judg. 3.16, 21. Psal. 44.4.]²⁴

Others tell us; That laying the Hand on or near the *Circumcised Part*, was a Protestation by that solemn *Covenant* of GOD, whereof *Circumcision* was the *Badge* & *Sign*, in the *Abrahamic Family*.²⁵

Q. How is it said, *All the Goods of his Master were in his hand*? v. 10.

A. He was furnished with a Schedule, in which there was an *Inventory* of his Masters Estate; The Exhibition whereof might be of considerable Use to him on this Occasion.²⁶

115.

Q. What is the true Signification of the Name, *Rebeckah*? v. 15.

A. *Vitringa* conceives רבכה to bee, for the Sake of the ἐνφωλια, a Transposition of ברכה, which is in English, as much as to say, *A Blessing*, or, *A Blessed*, One; Many such *Metatheses* there are in the Hebrew Language; as when they putt כרוב instead of רכוב. I know that the common Signification of the Name *Rebeckah*, ha's been otherwise Received. But he præfers This; Remembring from Luc. 1.42. as well as other Places, that the Terms of *Benediction* were often used upon the Newborn Infants of *Israel*. And then, methinks, in the Discourses that passed upon the Arrival of the Servant of *Abraham*, at *Rebeckahs* Habitation, wee may find, I know not how many Designed Allusions, unto the Name of the young Gentlewoman for whom hee was there concerned. In v. 27. the Man said, *BLESSED bee the Lord God of my Master*. In v. 31. *Laban* said unto the Man,

²⁴ Jacques Saurin (Diss. XXII, 1:191), Heidegger (2:89, Exerc. III, § 60), and Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:91) – all cite Hugo Grotius's *Annotationes ad Vetus Testamentum*, on Gen. 24:2, in *Opera Omnia* (1679) 1:17.

²⁵ Of the several interpretations offered by Saurin (1:191–92), Mather selects the one that reads this ritualistic oath as a sign of God's covenant with Abraham (Gen. 17:11). Rashi (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 2:276) offers a similar interpretation.

²⁶ See Simon Patrick on Gen. 24:10 (*Commentary* 1:92). Rashi (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:279), out of Genesis Rabbah (LIX:11), cites Rabbi Helbo, who argues that Abraham “wrote a gift deed to Isaac for everything he owned, so that they would hasten to send him their daughter.”

Come in, thou BLESSED of the Lord. In v. 60. *They, BLESSED, Rebeckah.* And indeed *Isaac*, had a true *Rebeckah*; that is to say, a *Blessing* in her.

Only then here must be allow'd another Figure, besides a *Metathesis*; and a Change between *Caph* and *Kuph*.²⁷

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1520.

Q. *Isaac* seems to send his Mistress, but an *Half-present*, in sending her but one *Golden Ear-ring*? v. 22.

A. It was no *Ear-ring* at all. The Women had, of old, their Frontal Jewels, which were fastned on their *Forheads*, & hung down unto their *Noses*. Hence, in Isa. 3.21. called, *Nose-Jewels*. *Jerom* tells us, that the Women, had Jewels hanging from their *Forheads* dangling over their *Noses*. This *Forehead-pendant* was *Isaacs* Present, unto *Rebeckah*. And therefore, tis expressly said, in v. 47. It was *putt upon her Nose*. In Ezek. 16.12. the *Nezem gual Aph*, or, *Frontal Jewel*, (the same Word that is here) is distinguished from *Ear-ring in the Ears*. It is very properly, by *Symmachus* rendred, ἐπιρρίνιον.²⁸

Q. Mention is made of *Bethuel*, the Father of *Rebeckah*, but once in the whole Relation; *Laban*, her Brother seems to order every thing about her Marriage? v. 29.

A. I will transcribe the Words of *Saurin* on this Occasion.

"It is probable, their Father was at this time, of a very great Age. Indeed *Josephus* pretends, that he was already Dead; which is a flatt Contradiction to what follows in the History, where it is expressly said, *That Laban & Bethuel answered*, – But *Josephus* is one of the least Faithful Guides, that can be followed in the Study of the Holy Scriptures; He has altered a great Number of Circumstances in *Eleazars* Journey, for which we can guess at no Reason, unless it be,

²⁷ Mather appears to summarize a passage from *Observationes Sacrae libri septimum* (1726), lib. 1, cap. 2, sec. 7, p. 23, by Campegius Vitringa, the Elder (1659–1722), a student of Joannes Cocceius, and professor of Oriental languages and theology at the University of Leiden. Vitringa argues that the name רבקה (Rebecca) for the sake of the "euphonia," or harmony of sound, is a transposition of ברכה (Barakh). L. H. Feldman ("Influence" 152 n14) offers a corrective by arguing that Vitringa (and hence Mather) "incorrectly spells *Rivkhah* [Rebekah] rather than *Rivqah*, as a transposition of the word *berakhah*, 'blessing.'" From this and other instances Feldman demonstrates that Mather's Hebrew knowledge is "less than perfect" notwithstanding his son's claims to the contrary (Samuel Mather, *Life* 4).

²⁸ Mather's unacknowledged primary source is John Edwards's *Discourse* (3:241–43). R. Abraham Ibn Ezra (*Commentary* 1:238), whose interpretation is adopted by many of Mather's contemporaries, argues that the golden ring "can refer either to a nose ring or to an earring. The one worn on the nose is attached by a string which is tied around the forehead." See also St. Jerome on Gen. 24:22 (*Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, p. 57); Symmachus on Ezek. 16:12, in Origen's *Hexaplorum Quae supersunt in Ezechielem Monitus* [PG 16. Pt. 3. 2485] renders it "epirrinion," a "nose ornament" or "decoration."

that this Author is as subject to err, in certain Places, thro' *Ignorance*, as by a Spirit of *Partiality* in others."²⁹

Q. Why does the Agent use that Expression, *Before I had done Speaking in my Heart?* v. 45.

A. To take away all Suspicion of Collusion, and render it evident, that *Rebeckah's* answering all the Circumstances that he had wished for, did not proceed from her *Over-hearing* of his Wishes, and then treating them with so punctual a Complaisance; But that the pure Direction of Providence was to be ey'd & own'd in the Matter.

Q. *Rebeckah* going away, her *Nurse* is also sent with her? v. 59.

A. *Almeloveen*, in his, *Antiquitatum è Sacris Profanarum Specimen*, has Remarks upon this affair; shewing, That the *Gentiles* as well as the *Hebrews*, had a Custome, of having their Daughters kept under the Custody of a *Nurse*, till they were married; especially for a Guard upon their Virtue.³⁰

Q. Why does *Rebeckah* putt on her *Veil?* v. 65.

A. A Token of Regard unto *Isaac* as her espoused Husband.³¹

²⁹ Jacques Saurin (Diss. XXIII, 1:194). Flavius Josephus (*Antiquities* 1.16.2).

³⁰ Mather refers to *Opuscula; sive, Antiquitatum e sacris profanarum specimen* (1686) 65–68, by Theodoor Jansson van Almeloveen (1657–1712), a Dutch professor of medicine at Harderwijk University. Mather had access to a copy of this work at Harvard library and had evidently read a review of Almeloveen's *Inventa Nov-Antiqua* (1684) in Mather's own copy of *Acta Eruditorum Anno MDCLXXXIV* (1684). The review bears Mather's pencil markings throughout *Acta* (556–58) [AAS # 0939]. In his "Note Book of Authors" on Gen. 24:57, 58, Mather lists as one of his sources "Franzius Interp. p. 664"; i.e., *De Interpretatione S. Scripturarum maxima legitima* (1619) 664, by Wolfgang Franzius (1564–1628), a Lutheran professor of theology at Wittenberg (BBK). However, during a revision process, Mather appears to have excised his commentary on these two verses from "BA."

³¹ In his "Note Book of Authors" on Gen. 24:63, Mather lists "Calamy's Art of Meditation. p. 1" as his source. Edmund Calamy, the Elder (1600–66), ejected minister of Aldermanbury (London), preached a series of sermons on Gen. 24:63, which he published under the title of *The Art of Divine Meditation* (1680). See also Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:94) and John Selden's *De Jure Naturali* (lib. 5, cap. 5, p. 558).

3435.

Q. What might be the Circumstances of *Abraham*, disposing him to marry another Wife, after the Death of *Sarah*? v. 1.

A. *Sarah* being dead, and *Hagar* being sent away, and *Isaac* lately married, he wanted a Companion for his Old Age. As he had given up *Sarah's* Tent unto *Rebeckah*, so tis probable, he gave up his own to *Isaac*; and now dwelling in a Tent by himself, he found it necessary, to have a Wife, to look after his Family.³²

4214.

Q. *Abraham's* Death is called, *A Giving up the Ghost*? v. 8.

A. The Rabbi's tell us, That the Phrase used here, signifies, A sudden and easy Death; *Mortem, quæ homini accidit, absque ullo prævio Morbo et Dolo*. They say, Tis *Exitus spiritus de corpore momento uno absque Dolo*. It is called, *A Sleep*, in the Elect of God. *Munster* adds a good Hint, *Quanto Fides est major, tantò mors est Imbecillior Tolerabiliorque*.³³

2487.

Q. Tis a Quæstion putt by *Philo*, the learned Jew, since there were many before *Abraham*, who lived more than Treble the Age of *Abraham*, and none of them have their *old Age* celebrated in the Oracles of God, how comes *Abraham's* to bee so particularly Remark'd; *Abraham died in a good old Age, an old Man, and full of Years*? v. 8.

A. I have it not just now at hand; but, as I remember, *Philo's* Answer is to this Purpose, That the eminent Services and Actions of *Abraham* rendred him an *older Man*, than any of them.³⁴

³² The passage is extracted from Simon Patrick's annotation on Gen. 25:1 (*Commentary* 1:94).

³³ Sebastian Münster, *Hebraica Biblia* (1:54), annot. (b). R. David Kimchi's gloss on Gen. 25:8 reads, "an easy, painless kind of death not preceded by lengthy illness" (*Hachut Hame-shulash* 2:490); R. Abraham ibn Ezra adds, "*Expired* refers to a death wherein the soul leaves the body in a moment, without pain or delay" (*Commentary* 1:245). And Münster hints, "The greater faith is, the more feeble and bearable is death."

³⁴ Mather's aside, "I have it not just now at hand" is intriguing, for it suggests that he was citing *Philo* Judæus from memory. Be that as it may, Mather appears to paraphrase a passage from *Philo's De Abrahamo* (46.271), which argues, "The man who has been a lover of prudence, and wisdom, and faith in God, one may justly denominate an elder" (*Works* 434). Significantly, the LXX (Gen. 24:1) calls *Abraham* "πρεσβύτερος" (*presbyteros*) or "elder."

3436.

Q. Of *Abrahams* Posterity by *Keturah*, what Foot-steps in Antiquity? v. 10.

A. Very many.³⁵

From *Zimran* doubtless came the *Zamareni*, a People mention'd by *Pliny*, with their Towns in *Arabia Felix*.³⁶

Of *Jokshan*, we find This. *Theophanes* a Chronographer, in the Beginning of the Ninth Century, having treated of the *Ishmaelites* and *Madainites* (the latter whereof came from one of *Keturahs* Children) and the Parts of *Arabia*, where *Mahomet* was born; he immediately adds, That there were other People, ἐνδότεροι, more in the Bowels of *Arabia*, descended from *Jectan*, called, *Amanitæ*, that is, *Homeritæ*. Dr. *Patrick* thinks, it should be written *Jockshan*, and not *Jectan*; For *Philostorgius* expressly saies of the *Homerites*, Ἔστι δὲ τὸ ἔθνος τῶν ἐκ Χεττούρας. That they are one of the Nations descended from *Keturah*; and he relates, a famous Embassy of *Constantius* to win them unto Christianity, with the good Success of it. And it is a strong Proof of their Descent from some of *Abrahams* Family, that they retained the Rite of *Circumcision*, even when they were *Idolaters*: For the same *Philostorgius* affirms, That they were a *Circumcised Nation*, and κατὰ την ὀγδόην περιτεμνομένων ἡμέραν, *Circumcised also on the Eighth Day*. Tho' the other *Arabians*, as we are told by *Josephus* & *Eustathius*, do stay till they are Thirteen Years old, before they are circumcised.³⁷

Of *Medan*, the Countrey called *Madiana*, in the Southern Part of *Arabia Felix* doubtless had its Name.

And of *Midian*, the Countrey of *Midanitis* in *Arabia Petræa*.

Of *Ishbak*, the main Remembrances in Antiquity, are the *Bacascami*, which *Pliny* saies, was one of the Towns of the *Zamareni*. He tells us also, That there were a People hard by, called *Bachilitæ*.³⁸

³⁵ These "Foot-steps in Antiquity" can all be found in Mather's source, Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 25:2 (*Commentary* 1:94–95).

³⁶ Patrick (*Commentary* 1:94); Pliny (6.32.158) mentions "the Zamareni with the towns of Sagiatta and Canthace."

³⁷ Patrick (*Commentary* 1:94–95). Theophanes Confessor of Constantinople (*Chronographia*, p. 333, lines 19–21) mentions "Iektan" and his descendents, the "Amanitai" and the "Omeritai." Mather's third-hand Greek citation from Theophanes's *Chronographia* (p. 333, line 20) suggests "inmost." In an extant fragment from Photius, Philostorgius of Cappadocia (*Historia ecclesiastica*, lib. 3, cap. 4, fragm. 4, lines 2–3) asserts that the Homerites are "a tribe which is descended from [Abraham by] Keturah." In the same fragment from Photius, Philostorgius (7–8) relates that the Homerites "practice circumcision on the eighth day." Mather alludes to Roman Emperor Constantius (337–361), son of Constantine the Great, who sent Theophilus (a native of the island of Indos) to build a church in the Homerite capital of Taphron; moreover, Constantius instructed Aezianes, king of Axum (Abyssinia, including the Homerites of Yemen) to send an emissary to Alexandria with orders to receive the Arian doctrine [PG 25. 635] after the ouster of St. Athanasius (CE). Flavius Josephus (*Antiquities* 1.12.2) and Eustathius Antiochenus (*Commentarius in hexaemeron*) [PG 18. 764, lines 1–6] relate that the descendents of Ishmael in Arabia still circumcise their male children at age thirteen.

³⁸ Patrick (*Commentary* 1:95). Pliny (6.32.158).

Shuah perhaps had no Children, or so few, that they were mixed with some of their other Brethren, and left no Name unto Posterity. Yett *Pliny* mentions a Town called *Suasa*, in that Part of *Arabia*, that joins unto *Egypt*.³⁹

Sheba, the Son of *Jockshan*, was probably the Father of the *Sabæans*, that *Strabo* tells us, dwelt at the Entrance of *Arabia Felix*, and made frequent Excursions upon their Neighbours; whereof *Job* had some Experience.⁴⁰

Dedan, the Son of *Jockshan* hath left us a City of his Name, in the Countrey of *Idumæa*: [Jer. 25.23. and 49.8.] the Inhabitants whereof had the Denomination of *Dedanim*. [Isa. 21.13.]⁴¹

Ephah, the Son of *Midian*, had his Name continuing a long Time. [Isa. 60.6.] Not only *Josephus*, and *Eusebius*, and *Jerom*, but also the *Nubian* Geographer tells of a City called *Madian*, in the Shoar of the *Red-Sea*; near to which was *Ephah* in the Province of *Madian*. *Ephah*, or *Hipha* is the same with that Place, which the Greeks call Ἱππος, and *Ptolomy* mentions both a Mountain and a Village of this Name, on the same Shore, a little below *Madiane*, which is the *Madian* here mentioned.⁴²

[384v] *Epher*, the Son of *Midian*, probably left his Family among the *Homerites*, | whose Metropolis Ταφάρων, mention'd by several Authors, but by *Arrianus* called, Ἀφάρ, is a Memorial of him.⁴³

Hanoch seems to have left us the Trading Town called *Cane*, mention'd by *Ptolomy*, in *Arabia Felix*. *Pliny* mentions also a Countrey there, called, *Regio Canauna*, which may be of the same Original.⁴⁴

Abidah's Offspring may be the Διβηνοί who lived in the Island of Διδως, between *Arabia* and *India*. *Pliny* places the Island over against *Canauna*.⁴⁵

³⁹ Pliny (6.26.99; 6.31.133–34), “Susa” rather than “Suasa”; Patrick’s misspelling is here copied by Mather.

⁴⁰ Patrick (*Commentary* 1:95). Strabo (16.4.2, 19).

⁴¹ Patrick (*Commentary* 1:95). Samuel Bochart’s *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 6, col. 219–20).

⁴² See Patrick’s annotations on Gen. 25:4 (*Commentary* 1:95), Josephus’s *Antiquities* (1.15.1), Eusebius’ *Onomasticon* (Sec. M, Genesis), St. Jerome’s *Commentaria in Isaiam*, lib. 17 (Isa. 60:1, 6–7) [PL 24.0587C, 0590C–0591A], and Idrisi’s *Mare Rubris*, in *Geographia Nubiensis* (1619), clim. 1, pars 7. The Greek place name “Hippus,” in Modiana, is listed in Ptolemy (*Geographia* 6.7.2, lines 6–8). See also Samuel Bochart’s *Hierozaicon* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 3, col. 81–82).

⁴³ Patrick (*Commentary* 1:95). Philostorgius (*Historia ecclesiastica*, lib. 3, cap. 4, fragm. 4, line 45) mentions the Homerite metropolis Tapharon, to which Emperor Constantius had sent Theophilus to build a church. Arrianus (*Periplus maris Erythraei* 23.1) lists “Saphar,” not “Aphar,” as the name of the Homerite town. See also Stephanus Byzantius (25.8–9).

⁴⁴ Patrick (*Commentary* 1:95). Ptolemy (*Geographia* 6.7.10, line 7). For the district of Canauna, see Pliny (6.32.150).

⁴⁵ Patrick (*Commentary* 1:95). Philostorgius (*Historia ecclesiastica*, lib. 3, cap. 4, fragm. 4, lines 20–21) lists the “Dibenoi” (Divaeans) on the island of “Dibous” (Divus) rather than “Dious,” supposedly located in the Indian Ocean at the mouth of the Indus River. Pliny (6.32.150) calls the island “Devade” in the Canauna district.

Eldaah ha's left no Remains of his Name, that we know of, except it should be the City *Elana*, seated in the *Sinus Arabicus*; called by others Ἀιλάνης;⁴⁶

3438.

[Q. Where do we find the Offspring of *Ishmael* seated? v. 12.⁴⁷

A. *Nebajoth* was the first-born of *Ishmael*. And his Posterity gave the Denomination, to the whole Countrey of *Arabia Petraea*; which *Pliny*, and *Strabo*, and *Ptolomy* call *Nabataea*, as other Authors call it *Nabathis*; and the Inhabitants *Nabataei* are mentioned, not only by *Dionysius Periegetes*, in his Description of the World, but also by *Plutarch* in his Life of *Demetrius*. These are commonly called *Ishmaelites*, in the Scripture, as if they had been the sole Heirs of *Ishmael*. They dwelt near the *Midianites*, their Half-brethren. We sometimes find them Fellow-Travellers, and Parteners in Traffick. [Gen. 37.27, 28, 36.] The Countrey of *Moab* was near these *Nabataeans*; *Epiphanius* therefore mentions them together.⁴⁸

Kedar had for his Offspring the *Kedarenes*, who were also seated in *Arabia Petraea*. These likewise became so famous, that some Authors call the whole Countrey, *Kedar*. Holy *David* is one of those Authors. Not all the *Scenite*, or *Arabs* who dwelt in *Tents*, but those only who dwelt in *Arabia Petraea*, (for as we are taught by *Salmasius* upon *Pliny*, there were diverse Kinds of them,) were the People of *Kedar*. Some take them to be the same, that *Ptolomy* calls *Pharanite*; For what the Psalmist calls, *Dwelling in the Tents of Kedar*, is called, 1. Sam. 26.1. *Dwelling in the Wilderness of Paran*.⁴⁹

Dumah seems (by Isa. 21.11.) to have been seated near *Idumaea*.

Hadar some think the Father of the *Athrite* in *Arabia Felix*. In which likewise there was a City called *Tema*, from the next Son of *Ishmael*.

And *Jetur* the next unto him, was doubtless the Father of the *Iturei* in *Cælo-Syria*.

⁴⁶ Patrick (*Commentary* 1:95). Claudius Salmasius (*Plinianae exercitationes* [1629 ed.] 1:482; [1689 ed.], cap. 33, 1:342, b, E-F and 1:344, a, G) asserts that the name *Elana* (*Ælana*), hence the *Elanites*, is derived from “*Eldaah*.” The Greek place name “*Ailana*” is prominently mentioned by Stephanus Byzantius (25.9) and by Strabo (16.2.30; 16.4.4), both placing it on the “*Sinus Arabicus*” or *Erythraean Sea* (Red Sea).

⁴⁷ The opening bracket is Mather’s.

⁴⁸ Simon Patrick on Gen. 25:13 (*Commentary* 1:96). Pliny (5.12.65); Strabo (16.4.2; 18); Ptolemy spells it “*Nabathrai*” (*Geographia* 4.3.21, line 3; 4.6.20, line 5). Dionysius Periegetes (*Orbis descriptio* 955); Plutarch (*Demetrius* 7.1.2), *Plutarch’s Lives* (9:17). For the *Ishmaelites*, see Judg. 8:24 and Ps. 83:6. Epiphanius Constantiensis (*Panarion* 18.4ff, 19.1.2, 19.1.10, 30.18.1, 53.1.1 – all in *Epiphanius* 1:217, lines 21–22; 1:219, line 7; 1:357, line 14; 2:315). Mather’s misspelling “*Periergetes*” is silently corrected.

⁴⁹ Simon Patrick on Gen. 25:13 (*Commentary* 1:96). King David speaks of having dwelt “in the tents of *Kedar*” (Ps. 120:5). Claudius Salmasius (*Plinianae exercitationes* [1629] 1:484) on Pliny (5.12.65; 5.21.87). Ptolemy (*Geographia* 5.17.3, line 7).

Kedemah, the last of the Sons, dwelt near to *Kedar*. Hence we read, Jer. 49.28. *Go up to Kedar, and spoil the Men of Kedem.*⁵⁰

3439.

Q. What sort of things were the *Twelve Princes of Ishmael*? v. 16.

A. Twelve Heads of so many Houses, Tribes, or Clans, (as Dr. *Jackson* on the *Creed*, supposes;) which kind of Government continued among them, until Four hundred Years after our Saviour; & is better expressed by the Heathen Writers, than by the Christian Interpreters; when they call them (with *Strabo*) Φύλαρχοι Ἀράβων. *Rulers of their Tribes*. The Governours of the *Saracens* (who are the same) were called, *Phylarchi Saracenorum*, as may be seen in *Sextus Rufus*, and *Jornandes*.^{51]}

Q. How did *Rebeckah enquire of the Lord*? v. 22.

A. She had said, *If it be so, why am I thus?* i.e. If I cannot be delivered, why did I conceive? Now tis probable, there was a Place where the *Shechinah* of the Divine Majesty did use to appear; which was the settled Place of Worship. And probably, some divinely inspired Person attended the *Shechinah*, like *Melchisedek*; to whom, *Patricides* thinks, *Rebeckah* now repairs, that she might be Resolved in the Case now distressing of her.⁵²

3022.

Q. What Remarkable Character, is there to be considered upon *Esau* and *Jacob*? v. 24.

A. *Athanasius* ha's this among his *Questiones ad Antiochim*;

τις πρῶτος προετυπώσεν κλ.

Who in the Old Testament, were the First Types of those Two People, the Gentiles and the Jewes?

⁵⁰ Simon Patrick on Gen. 25:14, 15 (*Commentary* 1:97). Patrick's source appears to be Jacobus Cappellus's *Commentarii et notae criticae in Vetus Testamentum* (1689).

⁵¹ Simon Patrick on Gen. 25:16 (*Commentary* 1:97). His source is Dr. Thomas Jackson's *Collection of the Works* (1653), vol. 1, bk. 1, ch. 25, pp. 104–05, § 4. Strabo (16.2.11) calls them "Phylarchon Arabon" or "Arabian chieftains." Sextus Rufus (*Breviarium de Victoriis*, cap. 14); Jornandes (*De summa temporum*, sec. 230) calls them "Saracinorum filarchi." The closing bracket is Mather's.

⁵² Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 25:22 (*Commentary* 1:98). R. Maimonides insists that "Hagar, the Egyptian woman, was not a prophetess," but probably asked a prophet to consult the Divine Presence of God (*Shechinah*) about her situation (*Guide* 2.42.238). Patricides argues in his *Contextio Gemmarum* (1656), lib. 1, p. 76, that Hagar, like Rebecca after her, conferred with a holy person (like Melchizedek), who consulted the *Shechinah*.

And he answers, *Jacob* and *Esau*, the Two Sons of *Rebeckah*, των δυο λαων υπηρχον συμβολον. Pursue this Matter in your Meditations. T'wil afford you some Entertainment.⁵³

It is remarkable, They Quarrel before they are born. [*Frankford*.]⁵⁴

151.

Q. What think you, about the *Hairiness* of *Esau*; was it Ordinary or Extraordinary? v. 25.

A. T'was Extraordinary. T'was more than a Common & Humane *Pilosity*; t'was little short of the *Villosity*, that *Satyres* have sometimes ascribed unto them. *Rebeckah* his Mother, must use *Goat Skins* for the Imitation of it; and the Name of *Seir* was for this Cause putt upon him. Instances of such an *Hairiness* occur in many Approved Histories. *Scaliger* sais, hee saw a Spanish Boy, all overgrown with White *Hairs*; insomuch that the French call'd him, A *Barbet*, which is the Name of a Spaniel, or Shaggy *Dog*, among them. *Columbus* affirms, That hee saw a Man all Thick sett with Hairs, all over, except in Part of his Face & Hands. *Boscius* reports, That the French King bestow'd Education at *Paris*, upon a Man that was as Hairry as an Hound. *Peucerus* relates, that hee hath seen Children, *Toto Dorso, Ursinis obsitos Villis*. [Consult *Schenkius's* Observations.] And hence tis, that *Sperlingius* attributes a Sort of *Monstrosity*, to the Hairiness of *Esau*.

Esau signifies a Thing *made*, or *compleat*.⁵⁵

⁵³ St. Athanasius (*Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*, lines 18, 24) [PG 28. 633].

⁵⁴ The cryptic reference to "[*Frankford*]" appears to be to an as yet unidentified edition of Athanasius's works published in Frankfurt (Germany).

⁵⁵ Gen. 25:25; 27:16; 32:3. Mather mentions a number of scientific and medical works, which he would have known intimately because of his lifelong interest in medicine. His cancelled marginal annotations in "BA" refer to "Exercit. 114," in *Exotericarum Exercitationum liber quintus decimus, de liber subtilitate, ad Hieronymum Cardanum* (1557), Exercitatio 114, by the Italian polymath Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484–1558), a critique of Girolamo Cardan's *De subtilitate rerum* (1550), an early scientific discussion of natural phenomena; to "De Re Anat. L.13. c. 2," in *De re anatomica libri XV* (1559), lib. 13, cap. 2, by Renaldus Columbus, aka. Matteo Renaldo Colombo (c. 1516–59), professor of anatomy at Padua, whose anatomical handbook went through many editions; to "De Concord. Med. et Phys. Th. 41," in *Concordia medicorum et physicorum de humano conceptu* (1582), Thesis 41, by Ioannes Lonaeus Boscius, aka. Johann Lonaeus van den Bosch (c. 1514–85) of Brabant, professor of medicine and mathematics at Ingolstadt (Germany); to "L.1. c. de Prodig.," in *Commentarius de praecipuis divinationum generibus* (1553), lib. 1, cap. "De Prodigia," observations about prodigies, superstitions, and monstrous births (such as children whose "whole body [was] covered with bear-like hair"), by Gaspar Peucerus, aka. Caspar Peucer (1525–1602), German professor of mathematics and medicine at Wittenberg, son-in-law of Melanchthon; to Johannes Georgius Schenckius, aka. Johann-Georg Schenck von Grafenberg (1530–98), a German physician now best remembered for his book on monstrous births *Monstrorum historia memorabilis* (1609); to "Synopsis: Phys. L. 1. c. 9.," in *Synopsis physica. Editio sexta* (1658), lib. 1, cap. 9, by Johannes Sperlingius, aka. Sperling (1603–58), professor of physics and medicine at Wittenberg. For his own medical handbook, see Mather's *Angel of Bethesda* (1972).

Q. The Time of *Isaac*'s receiving the Blessing? v. 2.

A. Dr. *Lightfoot* has this Remark.

At *Abrahams* Death, when *Isaac* is now just *Seventy five* Years old (as *Jacob* was fifteen,) that Blessing is given to him, which was given to *Abraham*, when he was just *Seventy five*.

He adds, At the same Age probably *Jacob* gets the Blessing from his Father.⁵⁶

3440.

Q. Where might lye the special Emphasis of the Blessing on *Isaac*, That the Land sow'd by him that Year, yielded him an *Hundred fold*? v. 12.

A. The Specialty of it lay in this, That it was after there had newly been a terrible Dearth; & perhaps, the Soyl too, that afforded him so large a Crop, was none of the richest. Otherwise *Varro* saies (L.I. de re Rustica, c. 44.) that in *Syria*, about *Gadera*, they reaped an Hundred Bushels for one; (*Ex modio nasci centum*.) *Pliny* and *Solinus* do say the same of the Countrey *Byzacium*; in so much, that *Bochart* fancies the Metropolis | of that rich Countrey, namely, *Adrumetum*, had its Name from hence; for in the Phœnician Language, tis as much as to say, *The Region of an hundred fold*. Nay, there were Places in *Africa* so rich, that they yeelded no less than *Two Hundred*, and some, *Three Hundred* fold. Whence he thinks, *Africa* had its Name; signifying as much as *Ἐυσταχὺς γῆ*, *A Land of Ears of Corn*.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Mather paraphrases John Lightfoot's commentary on Gen. 25:7–10 (*Harmony* [1647] 27). In his "Note Book of Authors" (on Gen. 26:8), Mather identifies as his source Wolfgang Franzius's *De Interpretatione S. Scripturarum* (1619) 916. However, he evidently excised his citation from Franzius in a later revision when he dropped his commentary on 26:8.

⁵⁷ This extract is from Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 26:12 (*Commentary* 1:100). Varro (*Rerum rusticarum* 1.44.2) relates that the region near Sybaris (Italy) just as that near Gadara (Syria) is so fertile that "the normal yield is said to be even 'a hundred [measures] to one' [measure]" of planted seeds. Pliny (5.3.24) and Solinus (*De mirabilibus mundi* 28); Samuel Bochart mentions Adrumetum (an ancient seaport in Mysia, Asia Minor) and the Greek "Eustachus Ge," in his *Geographia* (pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 24, col. 469 and cap. 25, col. 488, 492). See Appendix A.

595.

Q. Wee find *Old Isaac*, now disposing of himself to *Dy*, by proceeding to settle the *Blessing* upon one of his Sons. How *Old* was hee? & what was it that caused him just *Now* so to Dispose himself? v. 1.

A. *Isaac*, was now come to that Age, at which his Brother *Ishmael* died, fourteen Years ago; namely, *An Hundred & thirty Seven*. This was it, which probably now above any other Time, awakened him to think of his own Death, at hand.⁵⁸

616.

Q. Why does *Isaac* send *Esau*, on Hunting for *Venison*, in order to his Receiving the *Blessing*? v. 3.

A. It was not because *Meat* or *Drink* would conduce to this Purpose; but *Isaac* putts *Esau*, upon the doing of This, that hee might know, *Whether* hee should *Bless* him, or no: For, his missing of *Hunted Venison* heretofore, had occasioned the Loss of his *Birthright*; and if *Esau* missed of it now, it would bee a Sign to *Isaac*, that God would have him to lose the *Blessing* also. *Rebeckah* easily understood this to bee his Mind; and accordingly made use of it, for the advantage of *Jacob*. And afterwards, *Isaac* did somewhat *Bless Esau*, when hee saw him to have sped of a Prey, according to the Sign that hee had proposed.

2644.

Q. Might there be any special Mystery, in the History of *Esau* and *Jacob*, contending for the *Blessing*?

A. You'l find, good old *Prosper*, with an agreeable Ingenuity and Amplification, discovering in *Esau* and *Jacob*, a Prædiction, of what afterwards befel the *Jewes*, and the *Gentiles*, in the Matter of obtaining a *Blessing* from God, thro' the Lord-Messiah, at His Coming.

Tis possible, if you pursue this Contemplation, you may find in it something very curious.⁵⁹

Q. *Savoury Meat*. How præpared? v. 4.

A. I will transcribe a Passage from honest Mr. *Terry's*, *Voyage to East-India*. He saies of the People, in *Indoustan*; "They stew all their Flesh, (as their Kid, and other Venison,) cutt into Sippets, or Slices, or little Parts, to which they putt

⁵⁸ See Patrick (*Commentary* 1:101); Gen. 25:16–17.

⁵⁹ St. Prosper Tiro of Aquitaine's amplification appears in his *De promissionibus et praedictionibus Dei* (cap. 20–23, §§ 27–32) [PL 51. 748–0752].

Onions, and Herbs and Roots and Ginger, which they take there green out of the Earth, and other Spices, with some Butter; which Ingredients, when they are well-proportioned, make a Food that is exceedingly pleasing to all Palates, at their first tasting thereof; Most *Savoury Meat*; happily that very Dish, that *Jacob* made for his Father *Isaac*, when he gott the Blessing.”⁶⁰

3441.

Q. What evil Design might *Esau* have in his Marriages? v. 8.

A. As it was a profane thing in *Esau* to marry the Daughters of *Heth*, (*Josephus* reports that *Beer* and *Elon*, whose Daughters *Esau* married, were *Dynastæ*, or powerful Men among the *Hittites*,) a People under the Curse of God; and probably he went against the Charge of his Father in it. So he seems to have had but an evil Design in marrying with a Daughter of *Ishmael*, for it looks as if he intended to sett up the Pretensions of that Family against *Isaac*’s.⁶¹

4215.

Q. In his Intending the *Blessing* for *Esau*, how could *Isaac* so much forgett what the Lord had promised unto *Rebeckah*, *That the Elder should serve the Younger*?

A. *Munster* gives us a Conjecture, That *Rebeckah* never acquainted her Husband with it.⁶²

1782.

Q. Why must it come to pass, in the Providence of God, that the Blessing must bee obtained by *Jacob*, with such various and grievous *Lying* about it? v. 19.

A. This *Good Account* ha’s been sometimes given of this *Ill Matter*. *Mendacij peccato Jacobum voluit implicari Deus, operibus ne tribueretur aut Electio, aut Benedictio*.

And the Surprize of *Isaac* in this affayr, served not only to show him the Irresistible Hand of God in it, but also to take away the Rage of *Esau* against his Father.⁶³

⁶⁰ Edward Terry (1589/90–1660), *A Voyage to East-India* (1655), sec. 10, pp. 206–07.

⁶¹ Simon Patrick on Gen. 26:34 and 27:8 (*Commentary* 1:101–102). Flavius Josephus (*Antiquities* 1.18.4) provides variant names: Esau “married Adah, daughter of Helon, and Aholibamah, the daughter of Esebeon (Zibeon), with variant spellings appearing in Gen. 36:2 (LXX).

⁶² Gen. 25:23. Sebastian Münster’s annotation on Gen. 27:4, in *Hebraica Biblia* (1546) 1:59 (annot. *b*).

⁶³ The “*Good Account*” translates, “God wanted Jacob to be implicated in the sin of lying, so that neither his selection nor his blessing might be attributed to deeds.” R. Bachya ben Asher (*Torah Commentary* 2:418–19) makes a somewhat different point: Since Jacob had purchased Esau’s birthright, Jacob “was therefore entitled to receive the blessing his father wanted to bestow at this time. He considered himself Esau’s representative in the matter, and we know

2834.

Q. But are we sure that *Jacob* is to be charged with such various & grievous *Lying*?

A. He that writes, *The General View of the Holy Scriptures*; writes to this charitable Purpose. “This Answer of *Jacobs*, if we expound it in the best Sense, is no *Lye*; it is no more, than a kind of Speech, called, | *Ironia*; a witty Speech, not meant as the Words do sound, but intimating a Truth, and having a Good and a Right Sense. The Speech of *Jacob* importeth, That he is the Party, to whom there now belonged, the *Blessing* which *Isaac* intended now to pronounce. *Esau* had putt it over to him; *Jacob* rightly appeared in *Esau*’s Place; He might very well now be called, *The First-born Son*. He had bought the *Birthright*; and God had also chosen him. Surely, we cannot condemn this Answer of *Jacob*, since God hath approved it, by giving him the *Blessing*, and continuing the same to his Posterity; and *Isaac* was resolute in the Confirmation of it.”⁶⁴ [388v]

It may be, these charitable *Spectacles*, may help you, to look upon *Jacobs* Action, with Kinder Constructions than formerly.

4055.

Yea, It may be, the Vindication of *Jacob*, can be carried on yett a little further? Saies *Jacob*, *I am Esau thy First-born*. The Word, *Esau*, signifies, *Made*. And now I’ll recite unto you, the Words of one Mr. *Lawson* upon it.⁶⁵

“It may be understood, as if he had said, *I am Made thy First-born*. The which Sense acquitteth *Jacob*, from Untruth. For as much as tho’ he were not the First-born of *Isaac* by Priority of *Birth*; yett he was now *Made* the First-born by a lawful Contract; for he bought the Birthright of *Esau*, whose it was. And that a Birthright may be made his, whose Descentively it was not, witness is *Joseph*, who obtained the Birthright from *Reuben*, his Elder-Brother. 1. Chron. 5.1.

“As for the Afflictions, wherewith *Jacobs* Life was much loaden, it seems not safe to impute them, (as some do,) unto this Speech of his, as the Cause. We find *Jacob* blessed, but no where taxed of God in Scripture; for a *Lye* in these Words, nor for his Manner of coming by the *Blessing*.”

Mr. *Lawson* thinks, It is lawful for one to take ambiguous or æquivocal Words; provided the Party to whom they be uttered, be not wronged, nor any

that legally speaking anyone who is the representative of the principal may act on behalf of that principal.” Matthew Poole synthesizes some of the principal interpreters who are dissatisfied with those who try to justify Jacob’s behavior (*Synopsis Criticorum* 1:209).

⁶⁴ Mather cites (with slight variations) from *The General View of the Holy Scriptures*, second ed. (1640) 95, 96, by Thomas Hayne (1581/82–1645), a London schoolmaster, grammarian, and usher at Christ Church Hospital School, now best remembered for his *Grammatices Latinae compendium* (1640) (ODNB).

⁶⁵ Mather extracts the following paragraphs from *Gleanings and Expositions* (1646) 2–3, by the obscure John Lawson (fl. 1640s).

other; & provided there be a Truth in the Words, tho' there be not the Truth in that Sense, wherein the Hearer conceiveth them. This may be done, he thinks, when the Hearer goes about, to bring some undeserved Mischief upon us; which is the Case here before us.

2931.

Q. How was it possible for *Isaac*, to be so easily deceived with *Kids Flesh*, for *Venison*? v. 25.

A. The same *old Age*, that had enfeebled the *Sight* of *Isaac*, had enfeebled his *Tast* also. Moreover, *Kids Flesh* differs very little from *Venison*, especially as the Dressing of them, with agreeable Sauces, may manage them. And *Bochart* for the Confirmation of this, tells us; *Memini me vidisse Viros, rei venatoriæ non imperitos, qui Bubulam in Artocrea pro cervinâ comederint*; Gentlemen used unto *Hunting*, yett were not able to Distinguish a *Beef-py*, from a *Venison-pasty*.⁶⁶

[Insert Ar]

Q. On the Blessing of *Jacob*; The *Dew of Heaven*, & the *Fatness of the Earth*? v. 28.

A. Allow me to translate the Words of *Irenæus*, Adv. Hær. L. V. c. 33. *Predicta Benedictio ad Tempora Regni sine contradictione pertinet*, – “The forementioned Blessing undoubtedly relates to the Times of that Kingdom, in which the Righteous shall reign after their Resurrection from the Dead; when the Creature being made New, & delivered from Bondage, shall produce prodigious Quantities of all sorts of Food, thro’ the Dews of Heaven, & the Fruitfulness of the Earth. Agreeable to which, the Elders, who saw *John* the Disciple of our Lord, have related, that they heard Him declare, what the Lord said concerning those Times.” –⁶⁷

[Then follows a Parabolical & Hyperbolical Representation of the Matter; which concludes with saying,]

“And also all Animals feeding upon these Foods, shall be peaceable, agreeing with one another, & in a most perfect Subjection to Men.”⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Mather cites Samuel Bochart’s *Hierozaicon* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 52, col. 634) as follows: “I remember having seen men, not inexperienced at hunting, who ate beef in their pies instead of venison.”

⁶⁷ Irenæus’s *Against Heresies* (5.33.3) declares, “The predicted blessing . . . belongs unquestionably to the times of the kingdom.” Mather’s own translation is from the same paragraph (*ANF* 1:562).

⁶⁸ Mather’s bracketed reference to the parabolic representation is to Irenæus’s prophetic hyperbole (*Against Heresies* 5.33.3) about the times of Christ’s kingdom: “The days will come, in which vines shall grow, each having ten thousand branches, and in each branch ten thousand twigs, and in each true twig ten thousand shoots, and in each one of the shoots ten thousand clusters, and on every one of the clusters ten thousand grapes, and every grape when pressed will give five and twenty metretres of wine” (*ANF* 1:563). Mather’s subsequent translation

[Insert Av blank]

Q. On that, *Even me also, O my Father?* v. 34.

A. It is not the *Accusative*, but the *Nominative*. *אֲנִי אֲנִי* / *It is I, It is I, O my Father*. So, v. 38. should be read, *Hast thou but That one Blessing?* The Relative, *That*, should not be left out.⁶⁹

3442.

Q. Where lay the Difference between the Blessing of *Jacob* and of *Esau*? v. 39.

A. It is here said unto *Esau*, *Behold, thy Dwelling shall be the Fatness of the Earth*. – Some have translated it, *Thy Dwelling shall be without the Fatness of the Earth, & the Dew from above; but by thy Sword shalt thou live*. A Prophecy, that he should inhabit a poor Countrey, but maintain himself plentifully by his Sword. Otherwise, they think, his Blessing would be the same with *Jacobs*. And yett there would be some Difference. For in *Esau's* Blessing there is no mention of Plenty of *Corn* and *Wine*; and there is no such *Dominion* given unto him, as there is unto *Jacob*. And whatsoever *Fatness* there was in the Soil of his Countrey, it is plain that it lasted not; for we find, Mal. 1.3. *The Heritage of Esau laid waste, for the Dragons of the Wilderness*.⁷⁰

Monsr. *Saurin* has a good Remark. “If we should stop at the literal Sense of the last Words of Dying *Jacob*, we should hardly be able to understand, wherein consisted that *Præ-eminence* and *Superiority*, which was promised unto *Jacob* over *Esau*; it is only by giving them a *Spiritual & Mystical Signification*, that we can discover in them a *Meaning* worthy of that *Infallible Spirit*, from which they are derived, and who vouchsafed himself to dictate them unto the Patriarch.”⁷¹

3441.

Q. *Esau* expects the Speedy Death of his Father. Did it happen according to his Expectation? v. 41.

A. No. His Father lived *Three and Forty Years* after this.

It seems, tho' *Esau* fear'd the Grieving of his Father, he had no Fear of Grieving his Mother; who had help'd *Jacob* to supplant him.⁷²

in quotation marks is from the same text, the last paragraph in the chapter (1:563). He also employs the same hyperbole in his *Threefold Paradise* (284).

⁶⁹ The Hebrew particles read, “gam-ani” (Gen. 27:38). In his “Note Book of Authors” (on Gen. 27), Mather identifies as his source *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine* (1650), bk. 4, ch. 2, p. 30, a geographic and historical description of Palestine, by Thomas Fuller (1607–61), an Anglican divine, who wrote several much regarded histories and biographies during the Puritan Interregnum (*ODNB*).

⁷⁰ This paragraph is cribbed from Simon Patrick's annotation on Gen. 27:39 (*Commentary* 1:103).

⁷¹ Jacques Saurin (Diss. XXVII, 1:214).

⁷² Mather closely paraphrases Simon Patrick's annotation on Gen. 27:41 (*Commentary* 1:103).

Q. *Jacob* was *Rebeckahs* Favourite, Heir of a powerful Family, whereof he was as it were the Head: Is it not strange for him to depart *alone*, with a *Staff* only, & not one *Servant* attending on him, to pass many Rivers, & pass thro' the Dangers of a Journey (according to *Ptolomies* Computation) of more than one hundred & fifty Leagues? v. 2.

A. We find here, that Jealous *Esau* was informed of all that related unto *Isaacs* Command, and *Jacobs* Design. Doubtless, the Fear that *Jacob* had of *Esau's* prosecuting his bloody Purpose, to kill him, caused him to depart secretly & suddenly.

Austin was here so full of Allegories, that he makes *Jacobs* taking a *Staff*, when he goes to seek a *Wife*, a Type of our Saviours Redeeming His Church with His Cross.⁷³

3260.

Q. That Blessing upon *Jacob*, *God Almighty, make thee fruitful, that thou mayst be a Multitude of People*: (which had been promised, unto his Father, and his Grandfather before him:) what Remarkable Demonstration have we, of its Accomplishment? v. 3.

A. Lett us first, a little consider the Number of the *Towns*, possessed by the Offspring of *Jacob*.⁷⁴

In *England* (and *Wales*,) are contained about 39000 Square Miles. In *Judea*, (which was 200 Miles long, & 70 broad,) there are but 14000: not much more than a Third of the former Number. Yett upon this little Spott of Ground, there stood about as many Towns, as are in *England*; reckoned about 8800. To the Tribes of *Judah* and *Simeon*, we find there belong'd at least 115 Cities, or walled Towns; (*Josh. 15.*) to each of which, if you allow Ten Villages, there were 1265, Towns belonging to those two Tribes. If we allow to each Pair, one Pair with another, the like Number, as to the Tribes of *Judah* and *Simeon*, they make together, 7590; very near the Number of Towns in *England*, a Territory almost Thrice as big. *Xiphilinus* also reports, from *Dion Cassius*, That when *Adrian* sent

⁷³ This extract is from Jacques Saurin (Diss. XXVIII, 1:216). Saurin arrives at the distance of 150 leagues by consulting Ptolemy's *Geography* 5.16–19 (tabula IV). St Augustine (*De Civitate Dei* 16.37) offers several allegorical interpretations of the conflict between Jacob and Esau (*NPNFi* 2:331–32), but the typological reading of Jacob's staff as Christ's cross – according to Saurin – appears in St. Augustine's *Opera Omnia* (1679–1700), tom. X, sermones de tempore LXXIX, p. 537.

⁷⁴ The comparison between England and ancient Judea in the following two paragraphs is extracted from Nehemiah Grew's *Cosmologia Sacra* (1701).

his Army, under *Julius Severus*, into *Judæa*; no fewer than 985 very noted Towns, κῶμαι ὀνομαστόταται, were by them destroyed; unto each of which, if we allow but Eight Villages, they make 8865, which exceeds the Number of Towns in *England*.⁷⁵

Lett us pass on to consider the Number of their *Militia*. The *Militia* consisted of those, who were able to go forth to War, from *Twenty* Years of Age, to *Fifty*; Lett us take the Muster, which was made by *Joab*, at the Appointment of *David*; which included all the military Tribes, but that of *Benjamin*; and consisted of 1300000. To these, we may add, 100000, for the Tribe of *Benjamin*; and 50000, for the Tribe of *Levi*. These make, 1450000, the number of Males for the | *Militia*. To these we may add a Fourth Part, which is the usual Proportion of *Males* not within the *Militia*-Age; and thus, Dr. *Grew* brings us to 3262500 *Males*. But then, the Proportion of *Males* to *Females*, is, (as Sir *William Petty* observes from the Bills of Mortality) as 13 to 12. The *Females* of *Israel* will now amount unto 3022500; which being added unto the Number of *Males*, makes in all, 6275000. – And according to the best Computation, the Number of Souls, in *England* (and *Wales*) is about 6440000. This Account of *Israel*, is the more credible, if we consider, what *Josephus* reports; That at the Return of the Captivity, there went out of *Babylon*, of the Tribes of *Judah*, and *Benjamin*, more than 4500000, that were above 12 Years old. *Calvisius* observes, from the same Historian, That some time before our Saviours Birth, the *Paschal Lambs*, being Numbred, were found 256500. Unto each of which, if only 12 Persons be allowed, they make 3000000, of those only which were able, and allow'd, to be at the *Passeover*. Herewith, we may compare the Sacrifice offered by *Solomon*, at the Dedication of the Temple; 22000 Oxen, and 120000 Sheep.⁷⁶

[390v]

[▽Insert from 392v]

[▽392v]

1174.

Q. *Jacob* ha's an Exhibition of *Angels, Ascending & Descending*. What comfortable Thing might bee therein signified unto him? v. 12.

⁷⁵ Grew (*Cosmologia Sacra*, bk. 4, ch. 6, § 34, p. 222). Xiphilinus's epitome from Cassius Dio's *Roman History* 69.14.1 (8:449, 451), in *Historiae Romanae (Xiphilini epitome)* S249, line 13, signifies "most important," and describes Hadrian's attempt to put down Simon bar Kochba's messianic revolt against the Roman overlord (131–36 CE). Hadrian's General Sextus Julius Severus (2nd c. CE) mercilessly crushed the insurgents and, according to Cassius Dio 69.14.1–2 (8:451), killed nearly six-hundred thousand Jews and razed more than a thousand Judean villages (135–36 CE).

⁷⁶ Grew (§ 35, pp. 222–23). Sir William Petty (1623–87), English physician, mathematician, and Oliver Cromwell's political economist, establishes in his *Observations upon the Dublin-Bills of Mortality* (1683) that for the cities of London and Dublin, the ratio of mortality between males and females is "as Twelve to Eleven" (§ 9, p. 4). Flavius Josephus (*Antiquities* 11.3.10). Seth Calvisius (1556–1615), German Lutheran Hebraist, astronomer, composer, and chronologer of Thuringia, cites some of the same numbers from Josephus, in Calvisius's *Opus Chronologicum* (1605). See Appendix A.

A. This; That God would send His *Angels*, both to *Go Out* with him, and also to *Come Home* with him. Accordingly, when *Jacob* was returning to the Land of *Canaan*, tis said, *The Angels of God mett him on his Way*; and, *There were Two Hosts of them*. [Gen. 32.1, 2.] It seems, there was one Host of Angels, that went with him, from *Mesopotamia*, to the Land of *Canaan*; & when hee came into his own Countrey, another Host mett him, to take him under their special Guardian-ship.⁷⁷

2425.

Q. What Observation ha's been made upon the fulfilment of that Promise, *Thy seed shall be as the Dust of the Earth?* v. 14.

A. Among others, *Hecataeus* observes, the Jewish Nation, to bee, πολυανθρωπότατον, *Hominem fecundissimam*.⁷⁸

1887.

Q. Is there any Notable Instruction, of a *Moral Importance*, to bee Raised, from the Ascending of the *Angels*, in the Vision of *Jacob*?

A. I think, there is in Dr. *Featly* somewhere a Note of this Importance.

What? *Angels* go by *Steps* into Heaven? One would think, that being *Spirits*, they might easily mount thither in an Instant. Surely, Tis not without a *Mystery*; shewing that *Magistrates*, and *Ministers*, who are in the Scripture styled *Angels*, are not Suddenly to *leap*, or Hastily to *climbe*, up to Places of *Preferment*, but Ascend by *Degrees*, when God sett's a Ladder for them.⁷⁹

2275.

Q. Was there nothing of a Type in *Jacobs Ladder*?

⁷⁷ See also John 1:51. Mather's immediate source appears to be Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:212; *Works* 3:117), on Gen. 28:12, but Poole lists as one of his principal sources Hugo Grotius's *Annotationes* (1:18). Grotius argues that angels were given a mandate to see him off and to welcome him back on his return. See also Thomas Gataker (1574–1654), Puritan divine, minister of Rotherhithe, Surrey, member of the Westminster Assembly (1643–49), and voluminous author. His sermon *Jacobs Thankfulness to God* (1624), in *Certaine Sermons, first preached* (1637) 252–302, has much to offer on this topic as well.

⁷⁸ This annotation is from Hugo Grotius on Gen. 28:14 (*Annotationes* 1:18). The Greek historian Hecataeus Abderita (*Fragmenta*, Jacoby # F3a, 264, F, fragm. 21, line 36) observes that the Jews are "a most fruitful people." See also Matthew Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:212; *Works* 3:118–19).

⁷⁹ Mather's excerpt from Daniel Featley, D.D. (1582–1645), controversial Anglican clergyman, royal chaplain, member of the Westminster Assembly, and voluminous author, is probably deeply buried in one of Featley's seventy sermons (in nine hundred pages) gathered in *Clavis Mystica* (1636). A copy of Featley's *House of Mourning* (1640), a collection of 47 sermons, was owned by Increase Mather ("Tuttle, "Libraries" 327).

A. Wee may call *Jacobs Ladder*, a *Typical Vision*, rather than a *Type*. And even of this also some have thought on a *Typical Accommodation*. For, as *Jacob* saw the *Ladder* but in a *Vision*, so wee see Christ, but *in a Glass darkly*. [1. Cor. 13.12.]⁸⁰

The Person, & the Office of the Lord Jesus Christ, is in *Jacobs Ladder* exhibited unto us. The *Foot* of the *Ladder* was on *Earth*, & the *Top*, in *Heaven*; *Heaven* and *Earth* here mett. Thus our Lord Jesus Christ, in regard of his *Humankind* touched the *Earth*, & in regard of His *Divinity* is the God of *Heaven*.

But as the *Top* and the *Foot* of *Jacobs Ladder*, made but *One Ladder*. Thus the *Two Natures* in our Lord Jesus Christ, make but *One Person*; and by the Union of these two *Natures*, Hee brings *Heaven* & *Earth* together.

Nor is there any *Ascending* to *Heaven* but by this *Ladder*; No *Salvation* from God, & no *Communion* with God, but only by the Lord Jesus Christ. Tho' Men should *Heap Mountain* upon *Mountain*, of their own *Duties*, they would yett fall short. [Act. 4.12.]

Upon this *Ladder*, the *Angels* Ascend and Descend. The *Ministration* of *Angels*, is a great *Privilege*, procured by the Lord Jesus Christ, for the *Children* of God. [Zech. 1.9, 10, 11.]

At the *Top* of this *Ladder*, the *Patriarch* sees God, *Renewing His Covenant* with him. It is thro' the Lord Jesus Christ, that God enters into *Covenant* with us. Hee would never have spoken *Words of Peace* to *Sinners*, but thro' His *Mediation*. [2. Cor. 1.20.]

Where was this *Ladder* to bee seen?

At *Bethel*, or, the *House of God*. It is in the *Church*, that the Lord Jesus Christ, is to bee seen. [Eph. 3.10.]

[△Insert ends]

[△]

3444.

Q. What meant *Jacob*, when he said, *This is the Gate of Heaven?* v. 17.

A. Here God, in the *Shechinah*, keeps His *Court*, attended by His Holy *Angels*. The *Presence of God* in one *Place* more than another, consists (as Dr. *Patrick* observes) in his *Train* or *Retinue*. A *King* is there, where his *Court* is. And God is *especially present*, where the *Angels* keep their *Station*. The *Gate of Heaven* here, is as much as the *Court of Heaven*; For the *Gate* was wont to be the *Judgment Hall*, and the *Place* where *Kings* and *Senators* did use to sitt, attended by their *Guards* & *Ministers*. I infer, That when we pray for the *Presence of God*, we pray that His good *Angels* may attend us, & befriend us, with their kindest *Offices*.⁸¹

⁸⁰ This and the following paragraphs are extracted from Samuel Mather's *Figures or Types* (1683) 165–67, §§ 1–5. See also Edward Taylor's *Upon the Types* (1989) 1:103.

⁸¹ Simon Patrick's annotation on Gen. 28:17 (*Commentary* 1:105) relies on Joseph Mede's explication of Eccl. 5:1, in *Works* (1664), bk. 2, sec. 2, pp. 436–37.

Q. The *Oil*, used here? v. 18.

A. The first mention, we ever have of *Oil*, & used in a Religious Consecration. It leads to our CHRIST.⁸²

3445.

Q. Why was *Bethel* of old, called *Luz*? v. 19.

A. *Luz* signifies, *An Almond*. Probably, there were many *Almond-Trees* growing there; among which tis also probable, that *Jacob* took up his Lodging, because they were a Kind of Covering to him. This *Luz* in the Tribe of *Benjamin*; and another among the *Hittites*, in the Tribe of *Ephraim*, (Judg. 1.26.) *Bochart* makes no doubt, had their Name from this Original.⁸³

[▽392v] | [Insert from 392v]

2601.

Q. Does not *Jacob* seem to make his Choice of God, a little too *Conditional*, when he saies, *If* the Lord will do so and so for him, *Then* the Lord shall be his God? v. 20.

A. Expositors have laboured about this Point. Certain it is, *Jacob* never made so profane a Bargain as this, that if the Lord would so & so Bless him, he would then own him for *his God*, otherwise have nothing to do with him. I conclude rather, with Mr. *Gataker*, That there is a Mistake of our Translators in settling the Connexion. It should be read thus, *If God will be with me, & will keep me, & will give me Food & Raiment, & I return in Safety to my Fathers House. And the Lord will be my God; Then this Stone*, etc. so that this, [*The Lord shall be my God*] is a Condition, that *Jacob* makes with the Lord; a Condition of his Vow; and not vow'd on any other Condition.⁸⁴

[△] [△Insert ends]

[391r] |

497.

Q. Will you not consider *Jacob*, as a Type of our Lord Jesus Christ? v. 22.

A. Yes; God Himself hath so considered him. And our Lord had never been called *Jacob*, [Isa. 49.3.] if *Jacob* had not shadow'd Him. Wherein?⁸⁵

⁸² See also Mather's annotation on Gen. 35:14 (below).

⁸³ Simon Patrick on Gen. 28:19 (*Commentary* 1:105). His own source is Samuel Bochart's *Geographia* (pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 35, col. 628–29).

⁸⁴ Thomas Gataker explicitly rejects Jacob's "conditional" worship of God, in *Londinatis Cinnus. Sive Adversaria Miscellanea* (1651), lib. 2, cap. 1, pp. 139–40. Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:213, *Works* 3:123) on Gen. 28:20 lists several other interpreters who arrive at a similar conclusion.

⁸⁵ Mather's typological interpretations of persons, occasions, and rituals – often inspired by his uncle's *The Figures or Types of the Old Testament* (1683) – are a subordinate heuristic device

First; The English of *Jacob* is, *A Supplanter*. [Gen. 27.36.] But a more Honest, & a more Happy *Supplanter* is our Lord Jesus Christ. Hee supplants the *Divel*, in all His Designs; [1. Joh. 3.8.] Yea, and this even in and by his own *Methods* too. – One of the Antients, reckons our Lord the Antitype of *Jacob*, inasmuch as tis said, in Rev. 6.2. *Hee went out conquering & to conquer*.

Again; It was the Case of our Patriarch, to bee *Jacob* and *Israel* too; hee had more Names than one belonging to him. This is the Honour, this the Glory of our Lord Jesus Christ. Hee is *Jesus*. [Math. 1.21.] But *Jacob* knew him, by the Name of *Shiloh*; *David*, by the Name of *Messiah*; *Isaiah*, by the Name of *Immanuel*; *Jeremiah*, by the Name of, *The Branch of Righteousness*. More you may see, in the Epistles to the Seven Churches.

Further; How did *Jacob* come to have the *Birthright*? It was with a thing styled [Gen. 26.30.] *Red Pottage*; a Broth, which I suppose, had *Lentiles*, or *Saffron*, infused into it. Why, There was a *Red Liquor*, by which our Lord Jesus Christ, ha's also purchased for us a *Birthright*; Hee ha's obtained an Heavenly and an Eternal Inheritance. His own *Blood*, was that *Red Liquor*. [Eph. 1.14.]

Moreover, when *Jacob* gott a *Blessing* of his *Father*, hee brought *Savoury Venison* with him, and hee had the *Clothes* of his *Elder Brother* on. [Gen. 27.14, 15.] In like Sort; The Lord Jesus Christ, Hee presented unto His *Father*, the *Flesh* of His own Obedience, in the *Garment* of our Nature. Hee borrow'd our *Clothes*, and therein Hee offered *Savoury Venison* unto the Lord. The *Hind of the Morning* was made a Dish, for the Entertainment of God: So the *Blessing* is gained for the House of *Israel*.⁸⁶

Once more; The Father of *Jacob* gave him that Charge, [Gen. 28.2.] *Arise, Go to Padan-aram*. And thither hee went, and became a *Servant*, and a *Shepherd* there. Such ha's been the *Condescension*, such the *Humiliation*, of our Lord Jesus Christ! Hee left His *Fathers* House. [Joh. 10.36.] And Hee became a *Servant* here. [Phil. 25.] His Condition here, was Low and Hard; & it is reported, that Hee wrought with His Mothers Husband, at the Calling of a *Carpenter*.

Furthermore; It is said [Hos. 12.12.]⁸⁷ *Israel served for a Wife, & for a Wife hee kept Sheep*. [At Gen. 29.15. you have the well-known Story.] Well; wee see what it was, that our Lord Jesus Christ, became a *Servant* for. Truly, It was for

in his "BA." His preoccupation with historical, scientific, and philological approaches reveals the shifting currents in biblical criticism in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries that crowded out the antiquated "proofs" of a bygone age. However, typology was alive and well in the sermons of Edward Taylor's *Upon the Types of the OT* (1989) 1:97–112.

⁸⁶ "The *Hind of the Morning*" (or more literally, "according to the doe of the dawn") is listed as an alternate title of Ps. 22 (KJV, 1611 ed., margin) and may either be the tune of a then well-known song to which Ps. 22 was to be sung, or a figure of speech that – like Homer's "rosy fingertips of Dawn" (*Odyssey* 4.305–06) – suggests the first rays of the rising sun. Alternatively, the phrase "hind of the morning" has also been read as a metaphor for the "suffering Messiah," for "a name of the *Shechina* and as a symbol of the dawning redemption" (KD 5:107, 193).

⁸⁷ Mather's manuscript erroneously reads "[Hos. 12.17.]," here silently corrected.

a *Wife*, it was for a *Church*, which is the *Lambs Wife*. [Tit. 2.14.] But *Jacob* ha's *Two Wives*. Even so, There are *Two Sisters*, which our Lord Jesus Christ ha's married unto Himself: the Church of the *Jewes*, and the Church of the *Gentiles*. [Consider the Contract between God the *Father*, and God the *Son*, hereabouts, in Isa. 49.3, 4, 5.] Oh! Lett us not Refuse an *Union* with this precious Lord, who ha's undergone more for us, far away, than ever *Jacob* did for those, whom hee espoused.

Besides; It is recorded of *Jacob* [Gen. 29.30.] *Hee loved Rachel more than Leah*. Thus, The Gentile Church, the *Younger Sister*, ha's most enjoy'd the *Love* of the Lord. Hee ha's now been Dwelling with her, for above Sixteen Hundred Years. But the Jewish Church, the *Elder Sister*, ha's been, after a Sort Neglected all this while. Shee was *Blear-Eyed*, shee could not *See* the Prophecies of the *Messiah* fulfilled in our Lord; shee could not *See* the *Things of her Peace*, in the *Day of her Peace*; Her *Husband* ha's now *Forsaken* her. But lett us, without an *Envious Jealousy* long for the Time, when the Mercies of the *Gentiles*, will bee granted unto the *Jewes* also. [See Rom. 11.25, 26. and Amos. 9.14, 15.]

Add hereunto; Wee find this a great Stroke, in the Character of *Jacob*; The Word of his *Father*, or his *Mother*, was a *Law* unto him. Thus our Lord His *Mother*, how careful was hee to provide for her, & comply with her, in all proper Things! And tho' her Husband, was but His *Father-in-Law*, yett Hee might say, *Many Years have I served thee, neither Transgressed I, at any Time, thy Commandment*. [Wee have an express Remark upon it, in Luc. 2.51.]

To proceed; Where did *Jacob* first find *Rachel*? Wee are told, [Gen. 29.2.] *Behold, there was a Well in the Field, and Lo, there it was*. But what of this? I Remember *Austin* made this Animadversion hereupon; *Jacob first saw Rachel at the Well; and at the Water of Baptism, Christ is to find the Church*. It was at a *Well*, that our Lord converted the Woman of *Samaria*. At a *Well*, by the *Water of Baptism*, it is, that our Lord, takes Possession of us, for Himself. *Baptism* is the Initiating Ordinance, with which, our Lord first of all takes hold of us. From the *Well* wee go to the *House*; and in the *Lords-Supper*, wee come to a Fuller Acquaintance with Him.

To pass on; When *Jacob* was Apprehensive, of being murdered, tis said, [Gen. 32.7.]⁸⁸ *Hee was greatly Afraid & Distressed*. And [v. 9.] *Hee said, Oh! Lord God, of my Father*. Accordingly, our Lord once had a Terrible *Death*, staring Him full in the face. This fill'd him {with} Horror, & threw Him into a Bloody *Agony*. There was an Army of *Edomites* now falling on Him. And wee find [Luc. 22.41.] *Hee withdrew, & kneeled down, & prayed*.

To conclude; Wee read concerning *Jacob*, [Gen. 46.3.] That by the Direction of God, hee was carried into *Egypt*, and that a *Joseph*, the Son of *Jacob*, supply'd him there. This was the very Condition of our Lord Jesus Christ.

⁸⁸ Mather's manuscript erroneously reads "[Gen. 37.7.]," here silently corrected.

[Math. 2.13.] By the Order of God, Hee was carried into *Egypt*; and a *Joseph* too, yea, & Hee the Son of another *Jacob* also, there look'd after Him.

Wee might likewise, in the *Bethel* of *Jacob*, see the Church of our Lord Jesus Christ; and wee might in the *Twelve Sons* of *Jacob*, see the *Twelve Apostles* of our Lord. But these things may suffice.

[392v inserted into 390v]

Q. The Substitution of *Leah*, in the Place of *Rachel*? v. 21.

A. *Saurin* observes, If the Marriage-ceremonies were performed among the *Syrians* after such a Manner as among the *Græcians*, and other Nations, the Cheat was easy enough. The Bridegroom went to Bed first; The Nuptial Chamber had Light in it little enough. The Bride was covered with a Veil, when she was brought unto the Bed-side: The true Construction of the Latin Word, *Nubers*, (which now signifies, *To Marry*,) was anciently, *To Cover one self with a Veil*. We have several Monuments of that Custome; upon which Mr. *Spon*, in his *Curious Enquires*, may be consulted.⁹⁰

Q. The Meaning of That, *My Days are fulfilled*? v. 21.

A. Dr. *Patrick*, understands it, not of, the *Seven Years Service*, but of the *Months Trial*, mentioned in the *Fourteenth* Verse.

Or else, it may signify no more, than, *Tis now high time for me to marry*, Being between Seventy and Eighty Years of Age.

But more of This, in the next Illustration.⁹¹

Q. What was the true Time of *Jacobs* Marriage? Whether at the End of his *first Seven Years Service*? or, whether in the *first Year* of that Service? v. 21.

A. I Incline to the latter Opinion. But the Text must bee first a little paraphrased.⁹²

Jacob, having at his first Coming treated with *Laban*, about *Rachel*, his Uncle first made a Months Trial of his Ability, Diligence, & Faithfulness. If hee had not now enjoy'd her, the seven following Years had seem'd a most wretched long while; for, *Amantibus omnis mora est longa et gravis*. But *Jacob* having well gone thorough his Month of Probation, saits to *Laban* here, *Give mee, I pray thee, my Designed Wife, for my Dayes of Probation are fulfilled*. So *Lydiat* understands, *The fulfilling of Dayes*, here mentioned. Compare v. 14: And thus, when *Jacob* saits

⁸⁹ Appendix A.

⁹⁰ Jacques Saurin (Diss. XXIX, 1:222). His source is *Recherches curieuses d'antiquité* (1673, 1683), Diss. V, p. 87, by Jacob Spon (1647–85), French physician, traveler, historian, and antiquarian of Lyon, who describes ancient nuptial rites in his fifth dissertation.

⁹¹ Mather summarizes Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 29:18–21 (*Commentary* 1:107).

⁹² The commentary on this verse is extracted from *The History of the Old Testament Methodiz'd* (1683), ch. 3, sec. 25, pp. 46–47, by Samuel Cradock (1620/21–1706), English nonconformist minister, ejected by the Act of Uniformity of 1662, congregational pastor at Stansted-Mountfitchet, Hertfordshire (ODNB).

in v. 25. *Did not I serve with thee, for Rachel?* the Meaning is, *Did not I Agree & Begin to serve thee?* For, *Verba completiva sunt Inchoative Intelligenda*.⁹³

If wee take the former Opinion, then *Jacob* had Twelve Children, in the last Seven Years Service. Now; *Leah*, after shee had born her Fourth Son, *Judah*, left off Childing for some time. Then giving her maid *Zilpah* to *Jacob*, shee successively bare him two Sons, *Gad* and *Asher*. Well, allow Two Years, or thereabouts, for *Leahs* resting from Child-bearing, how could shee at several Births have *Three Children* more, before Seven Years were out? Besides, before shee was with Child; *Issachar*, her Fifth Son, her eldest Son, *Reuben*, was old enough to fetch Mandrakes out of the field for her. And last of all, *Rachel* bore *Joseph*; all which according to this Opinion, must bee within the Space of one Seven Years. For my Part, I cannot comprehend it! Well, but allow *Jacob* to bee married, at the Beginning of the *first Seven Years*, & the Current of the History will run clear enough. Another Argument against that Opinion, may bee taken from *Judahs* Age, & the Birth of *Hezron* & *Hamul*, his Grandchildren, when *Jacob*, went down into *Egypt*. *Jacob* was at least Seventy Six Years old, when hee first went unto *Laban*; which appears thus. Hee was 130 Years old, when hee stood before *Pharaoh*; and then *Joseph* was 40 Years old. [When hee was advanced, hee was 30; after which passed 7 Years of Plenty, and 3 of Famine, e're *Jacob* came anear him.] Now, *Joseph* was born in the Fourteenth Year after *Jacobs* coming to *Laban*. Gen. 30.25. Take then the 14 Years before *Joseph* was Born, and the 40 Years of his Age, when his Father stood before *Pharaoh*, I say, take this out of his *Fathers* Age, 130; and it will bee clear, that *Jacob*, was at least 76 Years old, when hee came to *Laban*. This being so; then according to that Opinion which wee are now confuting, *Judah*, the fourth Son of *Leah*, | must needs bee but three or four Years older than *Joseph*; and so *Judah* must bee but 43 or 44 Years old at most, when *Hee*, & His Grandchildren, came with *Jacob* into *Egypt*. To compass this, they must now Reckon, that *Judah* married, when hee was 12 Years old, and had *Er* at 13; that *Er*, & after him, *Onan*, married at the same Age: *Tamar* then must remain a Widow, until *Shelah* growes; in the mean time *Judahs* Wife died, & so *Tamar* bears to *Judah*, *Pharez*, and all within the Compass of 3 Years; *Pharez* must also marry when 12 Years old, & begett *Hezron* & *Hamul*, (suppose 'em Twins) which at a Year old were carried into *Egypt*. Are not these *Reckonings* cruel Harsh? Whereas, the Addition of the former *Seven Years*, gives fair Way to the Birth of all the 12 Children; & allowes *Hezron* & *Hamul*, to be born in

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⁹³ Cradock (*History*, ch. 3, sec. 25, pp. 46). According to Cradock (46, note *n*) Jacob would have been most wretched because “for lovers, any delay is long and painful.” Cradock’s marginal note (46, note *n*) refers to *Canones Chronologici* (1675), by the Oxford astronomer and mathematician Thomas Lydiat (1572–1646). Cradock (46, note *o*) insists that “words of completion are to be understood in the sense of beginning.” This Latin phrase is also the subtitle of the five-volume *Philologia Sacra Scriptura* (1713), lib. 3, tract. 3, canon 3, sec. 1, col. 751–53, by the German Lutheran theologian Salomon Glassius (1593–1656), professor of Hebrew and Greek at Jena, whose massive tome first appeared in 1623–36.

the 50th Year of *Judah's* Age. It also permits *Judah*, to be Ten Years older than *Joseph*; and leaves Room for such Accounts as these; *Judah* at 16 Years old comes into *Canaan*; & speedily marries the Daughter of *Shuah*. In the next Year hath *Er*. *Er* marries *Tamar* at 14. After which, may 4 Years be spent in the Matters relating to *Onan*, *Er*, & *Shelah*; & until the Birth of *Pharez*. *Pharez* may marry at 13 Years old, and in two Years have *Hezron* and *Hamul*; & then *all* go down into *Egypt*, by that time *Judah* was *fifty* Years of age.

See Mr. *Cradocks* History of the O. T. Methodized.⁹⁴

Those who maintain the common Opinion, and are shock'd, at the præ-mature Marriages, which are supposed in it, relieve themselves with saying, 'Tis not proved, That the Years of Plenty in *Egypt*, began immediately upon *Joseph's* Advancement.

Q. Lett us consider the *Case of Conscience*; relating to the *Polygamy* in which the Patriarchs allow'd themselves? v. 28.

A. Monsr. *Jurieu*, would have it considered, with relation to Four Sorts of Persons.⁹⁵

First; There were wicked Men, descended from the Race of *Cain*, who from the Beginning trespassed against the Law of Marriage. These had an enormous Crime to be charged upon them.⁹⁶

Secondly; GOD seems to have dispensed with this Law, to the *Kings of Israel*, when we read, Deut. XVII.17. *He shall not multiply Wives*; It restrains him not unto one, any more than what it is enjoined, *He shall not multiply Horses*; But it rather allows him a *Plurality*, while it forbids a *Multiplicity*, & the fatal Error that *Solomon* fell into. Doubtless Holy *David* understood it so. It looks as if Heaven connived at *Polygamy* in the Kings of *Israel*, that they might not be in their Splendor, altogether inferiour to the other Kings in their Neighbourhood; a great Part of whose Magnificence lay in their *Seraglio's*.⁹⁷

But, thirdly; There were some {who} lived in a State of *Polygamy*, who were the *Chiefs* and *Heads* of Families, that were celebrated for their frequent conversing with GOD. Such were *Abraham*, and *Jacob*. And for them, there seems to have been a Dispensation of GOD, with regard unto a *Mystery*, that was to be represented in their Marriages. There needed not a Permission in express Terms; it being sufficient, that GOD, who kept a watchful Eye over the Transactions of these Patriarchs, did not check them, in any of these Ways of Revelation, or Inspiration, wherein He entertained so frequent a Correspondence with them.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Cradock's *History* (46–47, note [o]).

⁹⁵ This extract is from Pierre Jurieu's *A Critical History of the Doctrines and Worship* (1705), vol. 1, part 1, ch. 22, pp. 223, 224, 225, 227.

⁹⁶ Jurieu (*Critical History* 1:223).

⁹⁷ Jurieu (*Critical History* 1:224).

⁹⁸ Jurieu (*Critical History* 1:224–25).

Lastly; There was a *Vulgar Sort* of Private Persons, who thought they might follow the Example of the *Princes*, & the *Prophets*, whom GOD had so dispensed withal. A GOD bore with these; who thought Him not such a *Respecter of Persons*; as to allow that in some which He would not allow in others.⁹⁹

The Use of *Concubines* was, as Monsr. *Jurieu* observes, a sort of *Super-additional Polygamy*, among the Ancients. They were look'd upon as, *Demi-Wives*. The Hebrew Word, *Pillegesch*, signifies as much as, *Dimidiata Uxor*; whence doubtless, the Greek, *παλλακη*, and the Latin, *Pellex*. *Austin* ha's Remarked, That *Keturah* is called, The *Wife* of *Abraham*; tho' she was also called, his *Concubine*, as well as *Hagar*. *Jurieu* & others think he cohabited with her in *Sarah's* Lifetime; They argue from the Numbers & Ages of the Issue, when he sent *Isaac* from him. The *Talmuds* assign this Difference between *Wives* and *Concubines*. *Wives are taken under a previous Contract of a Dowry, and attended with the usual Nuptial Ceremonies: But Concubines without either of them*. However this Difference was not observed before the *Mosaic Law*. And yett, even then, *Wives* were married with more Solemnity than *Concubines*. *Concubines* also usually remained *Servants*, if they were so before.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ *Jurieu* (*Critical History* 1:225).

¹⁰⁰ *Jurieu* (*Critical History* 1:227). *Jurieu* argues that a concubine was a "*Dimidiata Uxor*" or "half wife" (i.e., "secondary wife"); the Greek "pallake" ("pallakis") and the Latin "pellex" signify "concubine" or "mistress." St. Augustine's remark appears in his *De Civitate Dei* (16.34), in *NPNFi* (2:330), and in *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, lib. 1 (Quaest. 70 in Genesin) [PL 34. 566]. *Jurieu* cites the Gemara from the Jerusalem Talmud (tractate Kiddushin 2a ff).

Q. Being fallen into the Chapter, which gives us the Birth of the *Patriarchs*; We may take Occasion to make some Remarks, upon Occurrence in the History of those *Twelve Patriarchs*; and offer some *Illustrations* thereupon which occur in the *Exercitations* of the learned *Heidegger*? v. 1.

A. Lett us do so.

There appear particularly some Difficulties, relating to the Marriage of *Judah*, and the Adult age of his Sons; How to make things fall in, without any Disturbance to *Chronology*. We will not recite, all that ha's been written of that Matter. We will only give you the Conjecture of our *Heidegger*. He saies, The Marriage of *Judah*, was the Year of the *Selling of Joseph*. *Eson* and *Hamul*, he thinks, were not born in the Land of *Canaan*, but in *Egypt*, after the Descent of *Jacob* thither. Which is also to be thought, concerning the Ten Sons of *Benjamin*; who was not much more than Twenty Three Years of Age, at the Descent into *Egypt*. With *Austin*, and others, we are to take the Time of *Jacobs* going down into *Egypt*, as including all the Time of *Jacob*'s living in *Egypt*; which was about Seventeen Years. *Judah*'s marrying the Daughter of a *Canaanite*, (tho' *Onkelos* will have him no more than a *Merchant*,) seems to derogate from the Dignity of the *Messiah*. But *Heidegger* notes, that the Impure Occurrences, among the ancestors of the *Messiah*, (*et in quibus respectu hominum admixtæ facies fuerunt*) lead us to acknowledge, the Evangelical Mysteries, of the *Messiahs* being a Saviour for all *Nations*, & for the Chief of *Sinners*. The Name of *Suah*, the Father-in-Law to *Judah*, may signify, *A Man of a Liberal Heart*. So *Abarbanel* observes; and adds, *Et fortasse, quia talis is erat Judas; eum elegit, quocum affinitatem contraheret, quia ei amplas facultates donaret.*¹⁰¹

When *Judah* pronounced upon his Daughter-in-Law, *Bring her forth & Lett her be Burnt*; it is enquired, whether he spoke as an *Accuser*, or as a *Judge*. The Opinion of *Junius* is, That both Qualities could not well meet in him; and the nearness of the Relation seems to render the *Judgment* of the Case not so proper for him. And yett the easy Change of the *Judgment*, upon the discovery of the Truth of the Case, looks as if he had some Authority residing with him. Another

¹⁰¹ Johann Heinrich Heidegger (2:358–59, 360, Exerc. XVIII, §§ 13, 15). Gen. 46:12. St. Augustine (*Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, vol. 1, Quaest. 122 and 152 in Genesim) [PL 34. 580–581, 589]. Targum Onkelos (on Gen. 38:2) has Judah marry the daughter of Shuva, an Adulamite merchant (Walton 1:167). Heidegger argues that the grievous sins committed by the ancestors of the Messiah (“and in whose regard the dregs of human society were mixed up”) lead us to acknowledge him to be the Savior of all mankind. According to Heidegger's Latin rendition of Abarbanel's Hebrew commentary on Gen. 38:12, the great rabbi adds, “and perhaps, because this Judah was such a man, he chose to enter into a relationship with him [Suah], because he [Suah] gave him ample opportunities to do so.”

Judge would hardly have so suddenly altered the *Sentence*, but rather have pronounced a severe *Sentence* upon *Judah* too. Our *Heidegger* therefore takes *Judah* to be a *Judge*. But the Difficulty is; How he came to be so? The Hebrew Doctors do generally assert him, to have been a *Ruler* in that Part of the Countrey, where he lived. But it is not probable that the *Canaanites* would permitt such a thing. And yett it is possible, That the Chief Magistrate of the Place, might delegate a Magistratical Power unto *Judah*. Or perhaps, it might be devolved unto him from his Father, the Patriarch *Jacob*. In some Nations, the *Husbands* have Power of *Life & Death*, over their *Adulterous Wives*. *Thamar* was *Accused* unto *Judah* by others and *Convicted* by the plain Signs of her present Condition. And the Law of *Israel* afterwards, allow'd a *Kinsman* to do the Part of a *Revenger*.¹⁰²

Lett her be Burnt! Certainly, the *Sentence* implied more than a meer *Branding* on the Forehead, as the *Hebrewes*, would some of them, (and particularly R. *Jehudah*, would) understand it. But was not the *Sentence* abundantly too *Severe*? *Thamars* Crime was worthy of *Death*. *Adultery* was made capital; not only by the Law of God: [Lev. 20.10.] but also by the Law of Nations. The *Lex Julia* made it so among the *Romans*. *Plato* in his Lib.IX. *De Legibus*, proposes it. The Barbarous Nations in *America* execute it. *Opilius Macrinus* the Lawgiver, assigned *Burning*, as the particular Punishment for *Adultery*. *Abarbanel* thinks, That the Punishment of that Crime, was entirely left unto the arbitrary Determination of the Injured Husband; And in that Right here, *Judah* pronounced the *Sentence* of *Burning* arbitrarily. *Jude licuit eam punire pro lubitu suo; potuit hoc ex Jure Leviratus*. But *Judah* was too hasty in the *Sentence*. He had not heard the Plea which *Thamar* might make to her Indictment. And he had not a due Regard unto the unborn Infant. *Quintilian* in his Declamation, entituled, *Prægnans Adultera*, shoves how all civilized Nations, have deferr'd the *Capital Punishment* of a Woman | in the State of *Pregnancy*. *Dio Cassius* reproaches *Claudius* for his Barbarity, in his not considering of such Circumstances.¹⁰³ [396v]

¹⁰² Heidegger (2:361, 366, Exerc. XVIII, §§ 18, 24). Gen. 38:24. Franciscus Junius (*Opera Theologica Francisci Iunii Biturigis* [1613], 1:225–28, esp. 1:227, lines 64–93 “Capitis XXXVIII Analysis”). R. Nachmanides (*Commentary* 1:476) argues that “Judah was a chief, an officer, and a ruler of the land.”

¹⁰³ Heidegger (2:366–67, Exerc. XVIII, § 25). Gen. 38:24. According to R. Yaakov Baal HaTurim, R. Yehudah HaChassid argues that Judah did not mean to burn her, but intended that “a mark be branded on her face, declaring her to be a harlot” (*Baal HaTurim* 1:359). In 17 BCE, Caesar Augustus expanded the *Lex Julia* – Roman laws established by the ancient patrician family of the Julians – to include the *Lex Julia de Adulteriis Coercendis*. This Julian Law decreed that adulterers and their partners in crime be banished, that fathers be allowed to execute daughters and their adulterous partners, and that husbands divorce their adulterous wives and be allowed to kill the partner in crime. Capital punishment for adultery was also decreed in Emperor Justinian’s *Institutes* (4.18.2–3) as late as the sixth century CE. Plato (*De legibus* 8.841d–842a), though insisting on marital fidelity, recommends that an adulterous man who fails to maintain secrecy should be excluded “by law from the award of state honors, on the grounds that he’s no better than an alien.” In his *Naturall and Morall Historie* (1604), bk. 6, ch 18, pp. 469–70; cf. bk. 5, ch. 27, pp. 408–09, José Acosta relates that adultery is

But how could *Judah* pronounce *Thamar* anon, to be *more Righteous than himself*. *Abarbanel* mentions two Accounts; The one, because *Thamar* proposed Obedience to the Divine Law, and the Præservaion of the *Jus Leviratus*; whereas *Judah*, was carried on by nothing but his libidinous Inclinations. The other, because, *Judah* had formerly charged upon *Thamar*, the præmature Death of his Two Sons, before she had conceived by them; whereas her having now conceived by another made it evident that not she, but the Sons themselves were in the fault. But our *Heidegger* observes, That neither of these Wayes will solve the Difficulty. And so the old pretty Distinction of, *Simpliciter*, and, *Secundum Quid*, must come in to help us with a Solution. *Judah* had this to blame in himself, That if *Thamar* did amiss, it was he that gave the Occasion. *Utrumque verum est, et Injustiorem fuisse Thamarem, si nimirum Genus Facti respexeris; et Injustiorem Judam, si causam et principium Facti.*¹⁰⁴

The Words of *Rachel*, *Give me Children or else I dy*, are capable of being understood; either, as if the Want of *Children* would be an Affliction as grievous as *Death*; or, as if the Want of *Children* brought her after some Sort into the Condition of the *Dead*; according to the Proverb of the Hebrewes; *Cui non sunt liberi, perinde est, ac si esset mortuus*. But how did she come to think of substituting her Maid *Bilhah*, in her Place? *Heidegger* thinks, That *Jacob* had informed her, what his Grandmother *Sarah* did, in substituting *Hagar*. She imitated the Exemple of *Sarah* in what she did.¹⁰⁵

It is intimated, Gen. 35.26. as if all the Twelve Patriarchs were born unto *Jacob*, in *Padan-aram*; whereas we know *Benjamin* was born pretty near to *Bethlehem*. *Aben Ezra* speaks well to this ἐναντιοφάνες. That, *Scriptura sæpè minoris numeri rationem non habet*; the Scripture often ha's no Regard unto a lesser Number. He instances in the Number of *Seventy*, said to descend into

deemed a capital crime among the Yucas Indians of S America, but is only grounds for divorce among Mexican Indians. According to Julius Capitolanus, Roman Emperor Marcus Opellius Macrinus (164–218 CE), Praetorian prefect under his predecessor Caracalla, punished adultery by burning the culprits “alive, fastening their bodies together” (*Scriptores Historiae Augustae: Opellius Macrinus* 12.10). R. Abarbanel insists that “Judah was allowed to punish her as he wished: he was able to do this by the law of Levirate marriage.” The Roman rhetorician Marcus Fabius Quintilianus (c. 35–95 CE) advises that the punishment for adultery of a pregnant woman should be deferred until she has given birth to her child (*Declamationes minores* 277, in *Lesser Declamations* 1:268–76). Finally, Cassius Dio’s summary of Roman Emperor Claudius’s excesses is given in *Historia Romanae* 61.29–34 (*Dio’s Roman History* 8:2–35).

¹⁰⁴ Heidegger (2:367–68, Exerc. XVIII, § 16). Abarbanel argues that *Thamar* justified her action with reference to the Divine Law and the Leviratic Law; yet Heidegger observes that in this difficult case the old distinction between “absolutely” and “immediately following what?” must be applied, i.e., the question of whether or not circumstances are taken into account. Looking at the circumstances, Heidegger thus faults both *Thamar* and *Judah*: “Each one is true: both that *Thamar* was more at fault, doubtlessly so if you look at the sort of deed done; and that *Judah* was more at fault, if you look at the reason and the origin of the deed.”

¹⁰⁵ Heidegger (2:370, Exerc. XVIII, § 30). Gen. 30:1. The Hebrew proverb warns, “For whoever does not have children, it is as if he were dead.”

Egypt; and yett *Joseph* and his Children are comprehended in the Number. [Such another Instance we have; 1. Cor. 15.5. *He was seen of the Twelve.*] This is a better Solution, that that which *Menasseh ben Israel* ascribes to R. *Hisquiach*, (or *Hiskuni*), That *Benjamin* is mentioned, as born in *Mesopotamia*, because *Rachel* by the Prayers made by her, while she was yett in that Countrey, obtained him of the Lord.¹⁰⁶

Aben-Ezra, & others, will have *Benjamin* to be called so, as being *בן ימין* / *Filius Dierum*; or, as *Drusius* expounds it, *Born* in the *old Age* of his Father. *Grotius* approves this Etymology. *Heidegger* keeping to the common Etymology, of, *A Son of the Right Hand*, thinks it may mean as much as, *A Beloved Son*; for, *Honoratior juxtà atque dilectior est manus Dextera quàm Sinistra.*¹⁰⁷

But unto the History of *Joseph*, the rest of our Illustrations will be now confined.

In *Joseph's* Dream, a *Moon* makes Obeisance to him. His *Mother* was Dead. Our *Heidegger* will have *Bilhah* to be understood. Or, such a Dignity was promised unto *Joseph*, as that the whole Family of *Jacob*, if they had all been living, would have paid Homage unto him.¹⁰⁸

His Brethren called him, *חלמונת בעל* / *Dominum Somniorum*. Some think, Because, *Per Somnia Dominium sibi promiserat*. But *Abarbanel* so carries it; *Qui facit somnia ex seipso, secundum voluntatem suam.*¹⁰⁹

106 Heidegger (2:372–73, Exerc. XVIII, § 36). Ibn Ezra solves this “contradiction,” arguing, “Scripture often has no regard for a smaller number.” However, in his commentary on Gen. 35:36, Ibn Ezra puts it more positively: “Scripture speaks of the majority of his sons” (*Commentary* 1:334). R. Manasseh ben Israel (*Conciliator*, Quest. 58, pp. 84–85) reconciles this numerical disagreement by noting that according to Ibn Ezra’s annotation of Exod. 28:4 and 34:6 (*Commentary* 2:589–90, 710) “the Holy Scriptures often make no note of the lesser numbers.” And according to “R. Hezekiah, the author of Hiskuni,” Benjamin was included among the number of the twelve even before his birth, because Rachel’s prayer for another son was answered even before they left Mesopotamia.

107 Heidegger (2:373, Exerc. XVIII, § 36). R. Abraham Ibn Ezra on Gen. 35:18 calls Benjamin “*Ben-oni*” from “*Onim*” suggesting “mourners” (*Commentary* 1:334). For much the same, see Rashi’s borrowings from Genesis Rabbah (LXXXII:9), in *Mikraoth Gedoloth* (1:442). Evidently following Rashi’s explication (*Mikraoth Gedoloth*: Genesis 1:443), Heidegger translates the Hebrew signification of “ben-iamim” as “the son of days” (of his old age) because Benjamin was born when Jacob was old. Joannes Drusius suggests as much in his annotation on Gen. 35:18, in *Critici Sacri* (1:322); Grotius approves of this etymology in his *Annotationes ad Genesis*, on Gen. 35:19 (*Opera Omnia* 1:21). Finally, Heidegger thinks that the expression “A Son of the Right Hand” may mean “A Beloved Son,” because “the right hand is more honored, and in equal fashion more beloved, than the left.”

108 Heidegger (2:388, Exerc. XX, sec. 1, § 5). Gen. 37:5–10.

109 Heidegger (2:389, Exerc. XX, sec. 1, § 6). Gen. 37:8. His brethren called Joseph “Lord of dreams” inasmuch as “by a dream dominion was promised him.” But Abarbanel (not “*Aben Ezra*” as Mather erroneously states in the holograph manuscript) contends that his brothers called him “Lord of Dreams, because he made the dreams out of his own self, according to his will.”

Unto the Distress of *Joseph* in the *Pitt*, there is an Allusion, in those Words; Zech. 9.11. *I have sent forth thy Prisoners out of the Pitt, wherein is no Water.*¹¹⁰

The Discourses of the Ancients, on the Chastity of *Joseph*, solicited by his Mistress, are very elegant and expressive. *Chrysostom* cries out, That the Miracle of the *Three Children* remaining untouch'd by the *Fire* in the Midst of their *Furnace*, was not so admirable. He adds, That this *Wonderful Young Man* escaped Naked, but most beautifully Defended and Adorned with the precious *Garments* of Continency; he escaped out of the *Burning*, & instead of being *Scorched*, ου μονον ου κατακαυθεντα, αλλα και λαμπροτερον και φαιδροτερον γεγενημενον· he look'd but the *Fairer* and *Brighter* for it. *Ambrosius* follows him with his Acclamations; and, *Magnus Vir*, is the least of the Titles, which he justly bestowes upon him. In *Ælian*, and in *Valerius Maximus*, we have many exotic Exemples of *Chastity*. But if they be *True*, yett our *Heidegger* well remarks, *Ea tamen omnia Josephi castitas multis post se parasangis relinquit*; *Josephs* exceeded | them all; especially in regard of the *Principles* upon which it was exercised. The Difference is well-celebrated by *David Chytraeus*, in his Comment on the Chapter, that relates the Story:¹¹¹

Chrysostom wonders at the Providence of God, which præserved *Joseph*, that his Master and Mistress did not murder him. However, it came to what the Psalmist Relates, (and our *Heidegger* translates;) Psal. 105.18. *Debilitarunt compede pedem ejus, in Ferrum venit Anima ejus.*¹¹²

In *Pharaohs* Dream, which was the Occasion of *Josephs* Præferment; The *Beeves* ascend out of *Nilus*. Very agreeably! It Rains but little in *Egypt*; the

¹¹⁰ Heidegger (2:391, Exerc. XX, sec. 1, § 10).

¹¹¹ Heidegger (2:403, Exerc. XX, sec. 2, § 5). Gen. 38:7–9. Joannes Chrysostom (*In Genesim homiliae* 1–67) [PG 54. 538, lines 49–50] admires Joseph's steadfastness in escaping from the furnace of venial desire: He emerged "not only not scorched by the flames but even more conspicuous and resplendent" (*Homilies in Genesis* 62.19, p. 208). As usual, Mather omits the diacritical marks. St. Ambrose praises Joseph's fortitude, in *De Joseph Patriarcha liber unus* (cap. 5, § 25) [PL 14. 652], and bestows the same title "Great Man" on his father Jacob, in *De Jacob, et vita beata libri duo* (lib. 2, cap. 5, § 21) [PL 14. 622]. Claudius Aelianus (*De varia historia* 10.2, *Historical Miscellany* 314–17) relates how Eubatas of Cyrene was forced to marry Lais, but refused to have intercourse with her to remain faithful to his legitimate wife to whom he was married as well. Valerius Maximus (*Factorum et dictorum memorabilium* 6.1.4–5) celebrates Publius Maenius and Fabius Maximus Servilianus for their exemplary constancy. Heidegger well remarks, "yet the chastity of Joseph leaves all these [pagan examples] many leagues behind it." In his *In Genesin enarratio* (1561), on Gen., ch. 39 and in *Opera Omnia* (1599), David Chytraeus, aka. Kochhaffe, (1531–1600), German Lutheran theologian (student of Melancthon at Wittenberg), professor of philosophy, history, and theology at Rostock University, distinguishes between Joseph's constancy and that celebrated among pagan writers (BBK). Mather recommended Chytraeus's works to his young candidates for the ministry (*Manuductio ad Ministerium* 28).

¹¹² Heidegger (2:404, Exerc. XX, sec. 2, § 7). Joannes Chrysostom (*Homilies in Genesis* 62.21, p. 209) marvels at God's providential protection of Joseph – divine intervention to which Heidegger discovers a reference in Ps. 105:18: "Whose feet they hurt with fetters: he was laid in iron."

Fertility of their Soyl, turns upon their *Nilus*. If *Nilus* rise no more than Twelve Cubits, a *Famine* followes, because the *Fields* are not watered. But the Rising of *Nilus* a few Cubits more, produces a wondrous Plenty. *Pliny* saies, *Quatuordecim Cubita hilaritatem afferunt, quindecim securitatem, sexdecim Delicias*. He saies, the Highest Rise known in that Age, was *Eighteen* Cubits, in the Dayes of *Claudius*. And the lowest was Five, in the Time of the *Pharsalian* War, *velut necem* (as he wittily saies) *magno prodigio quodam flumine aversante*. It is probable, that now the *Seven Years* of Plenty in *Egypt*, were Years in which *Nilus* made more than ordinary Inundations; and in the Years of *Scarcity*, those Inundations failed. But yett we must look for something *Supernatural* in the Case. *Joseph* saies, *Tis what God will do*. And *Pharaohs* Vision would lead one to such a Thought; For it is not according to Nature, that one *Beef* devour another.¹¹³

Justin, a Pagan Historian, asserts the Substance of the *Mosaic* History of *Joseph*; and concludes, *Perijssetque omnis Ægyptus fame, nisi monitu ejus Rex Edicto servari per multos Annos Fruges jussisset; tantaque Experimenta ejus fuerunt, ut non ab Homine, Sed à Deo dari Responsa viderentur*.

Some refer to this *Egyptian* Famine, that Passage of *Ovid*, in his Book, *De Arte*.

*Dicitur Ægyptus caruisse Juvantibus arva
Imbribus, atque Annis sicca fuisse novem.*¹¹⁴

Joseph arriving to his Advancement, one of the *Ornaments of State*, where-with he was invested, was this; Gen. 41.42. *Pharaoh took off his Ring from his hand, & putt it on Josephs hand*. The first and most ancient Use of a *Ring*, was to do the Part of a *Seal*. Before the Use of the *Ring* for that Purpose, the Custome was to *Seal* with Impressions from little Bitts of *Wood*, which had undergone some Corrosion; or, θριποβρωτω, that is to say, ξυλω υπο θριπων βεβρωμενω. *Ligno à vermibus corroso*, as you'l read in *Theophrastus*, and in *Isaac Tzetzes*. The *Annulus Signatorius* then came in Use; and it was chiefly employ'd for the Safe

113 Heidegger (2:412, Exerc. XX, sec. 2, § 25). Gen. 41:1–8, 15. Referring to the Nilometer on the island of Elephantine in Aswan, Pliny (5.10.58) knows that when the Nile rises “fourteen cubits [21 feet] it brings cheerfulness, fifteen [22 ½ feet] complete confidence, sixteen [24 feet] delight.” The higher the flood, the more bountiful was the harvest after the waters replenished the fields with fertile silt. In the days of Emperor Claudius (41–54 CE), the highest flood rose 18 cubits (27 feet), and the smallest five cubits (7 ½ feet) in the year of the Pharsalian war (48 BCE), “as if the river were attempting to avert [the murder of Pompey] by a great portent.” For much the same see Jacques Saurin (Diss. XXXVI, 1:272).

114 Heidegger (2:412–13, Exerc. XX, sec. 2, § 26). Marcus Junianus Justinus (*Historiarum Philippicarum in Epitomen* 36.2.9–10) concludes, “and all Egypt would have perished by famine, had not the king, by his [Joseph’s] advice, ordered the corn to be laid up for several years; such being the proofs of his knowledge, that his admonitions seemed to proceed, not from a mortal, but a god” (*Epitome of the Philippic History* [1853], p. 245). For the same material, see also Saurin (Diss. XXXVI, 1:273). Ovid (*Ars Amatoria* 1:647–48) relates that “Egypt is said to have lacked the rains that bless its fields and to have been parched for nine years.”

Custody of such Domestic Matters, as the Servants & others might not præsume to meddle withal. *Diogenes Laertius*, in his *Lacydes*, will inform you further about it. Afterwards, the *Ring* became, *Dignitatis eximie, et Jugennitatis Signum*. Whence that Passage of *Cicero*, *Sit Annulus tuus non minister alienæ Voluntatis, sed Testis tuæ*. And *Annibal* after the Battel of *Cannæ*, sent Three Bushels of Rings to *Carthage*, taken from the Hands of the slain *Romans*, as a Sign of a very signal Victory. *Josephs* Ring, was that of a *Lord-Chancellour*; and it was to *Seal* not only the *Letters*, but also the *Treasures* of the King. *Jarchi* tells us, *Datio Annuli Regij Signum erat, eum, cui is dabatur, secundum esse à Majestate Regis*.¹¹⁵

But what was the Signification of the Word, *ABRECH*, which was to be cried before *Joseph*? We will not here make a Collection of the several Senses, wherein the *Criticks* ancient and modern, have exhibited that Word unto us. For *Calvin* ha's undone them all; *Quia suspicor, Ægyptias potius Voces referri à Mose, tam hoc loco quàm paulò post, consulo lectoribus; nè frustrà torqueant*. And our *Heidegger* concurs, That it is an *Egyptian* Word, *Cujus genuinam significationem eruendi hodiè nulla suppetat copia*. Whence the *LXX* leave it, untranslated.¹¹⁶

The *LXX* also retain the *New Name* of *Joseph*, in the *Egyptian* Terms of it, *Υοντομφανήχ*. This, in the *Egyptian Language* signifies, *A Revealer of Secret and Future Things*. And the *Alexandrian Chronicle* tells us, That *Moses* also had the same Name Imposed on him. *Philo* tells us the like, and that it signifies, *Ονειροκριτην και κρυπτων ευρετην*. The *Targums* confirm this Exposition, as well

115 Heidegger (2:417, Exerc. XX, sec. 3, § 2). Mather (via Heidegger) refers to *Historia plantarum* (5.4.4) by Theophrastus of Eressos (c. 372–287 BCE), whose contributions to botany are well known. The Byzantian grammarians Isaac Tzetzes (d. 1138) and his brother Joannes Tzetzes (c. 1120–83) edited and annotated the poetic works of the Greek poet and grammarian Lycophron of Chalcis (285–247 BCE). The citation is from *Scholia in Lycophronem* (*Alexandra* 508.1 and 8; scholion 508.1 and 7) and signifies “worm-eaten wood.” The *Annulus Signatorius* is a *signet ring*. *Diogenes Laertius* (*Vitae philosophorum* 4.59) relates how Lacydes of Cyrene (fl. 241 BCE), leader of the Athenian Academy, sealed his larder with a signet ring and threw the ring through a hole inside to prevent his servants from stealing his supplies. When his servants discovered the trick, they broke the seal, took what they wanted, and replaced seal and signet ring just as they had seen their master do. The Latin passage from Cicero (*Epistolarum ad Quintum fratrem* 1.4.13) admonishes, “Let not your signet-ring be the servant of another’s will, but the witness of your own.” Mather refers to St. Augustine’s *De Civitate Dei* 3.19 (*NPNFi* 2:56), which relates the story of Hannibal’s bloody rings – “three bushels of gold rings” taken from Roman corpses in the Battle of Cannae (216 BCE), Second Punic War, and shipped to Carthage. Finally, in his commentary on Gen. 41:42, *Jarchi* (Rashi) tells us that “[The] giving [of] the king’s ring is a sign to the one to whom it is given [that he is] to be second to him in greatness [rank]” (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 3:522).

116 Heidegger (2:418–20, Exerc. XX, sec. 3, § 6). Gen. 41:40, 45; John Calvin (*Commentaries* 1.2:329) warns that “because I suppose that Egyptian terms are referred to by Moses, both in this place and shortly afterwards, I advise the readers not to distort them in vain.” And Heidegger concurs, arguing that “Abrech” is an Egyptian word, “whose true meaning no resources today are sufficient to explicate.” That’s why the *LXX* (Gen. 41:45) leaves the Greek *Υοντομφανήχ* (*Psonthomphanech*) untranslated. For much the same, see Saurin’s *Dissertations* (Diss. XXXVII, 1:275–76).

as *Josephus*; & the *Syriac* & *Arabic* Versions. And both *Kircher* and *Viccars* have made it evident, That the *Hebrewes* finding a Difficulty in the Pronunciation of the *Egyptian* Language, | have changed the Name from the true *Egyptian* Pronunciation, into *Zaphnâth Paaneah*. R. *Moses Aegyptius* (the Gentleman, whom we call, *Rambam*,) affirms, That he learnt this from the *Egyptians*. It is a Mistake of *Eugubinus*, That *Zaphnath Paaneah*, was the true *Egyptian* Pronunciation; It is most probable, That the LXX learnt from the Priests of *Egypt*, the true *Egyptian* Pronunciation, to be the *Psontomphanech*, which they have given us.¹¹⁷ [398v]

The Lady married by *Joseph*, is called, *A Daughter to the Priest of Heliopolis*. But *הַנָּזִיר* signifies, *A Prince*, as well as, *A Priest*. And *Onkelos* here does render it so. Yea, The Sons of *David* are expressly called so; [2. Sam. 8.18.] who yett were uncappable of the *Priesthood*.¹¹⁸

Joseph having bought of the *Egyptians*, their very *Lands* for *Corn*, we read; Gen. 47.21. *As for the People, he removed them to Cities, from one End of the Borders of Egypt, even to the other End thereof*. This was a politic Way, to produce a most effectual Sense of it, that *Pharaoh* was their *Landlord*. But from some other Passages in the History, especially that of the Peoples obtaining from *Joseph* the *Seed* for the Sowing of their *Land*, our *Heidegger* inclines to think,

¹¹⁷ Heidegger (2:420–21, Exerc. XX, sec. 3, § 8). Gen. 41.45. The *Alexandrian Chronicle*, aka. *Chronicon paschale* (p. 295, lines 9–12) mutters something about Moses as a revealer of secrets, but does not mention Joseph in the same context. The Greek citation (“Oneirokritēn kai krupton eurentēn”) does not appear in Philo Judaeus in this sequence; however, Philo (*De Josepho* 21.121.2; 22.125.4; 24.143.3) does mention that Pharaoh changed Joseph’s name as relating to “his interpretation of dreams” in the language of Egypt (*Works* 445, 447). In his *De mutatione nominum* (14.89.2; 15.91.3), Philo identifies that name as “Psonthomphanech” (*Works* 348, 349). The Targums Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uziel (Gen. 41:45), in Walton (1:185, 4:82), call him “The man to whom mysteries are revealed” and “The man who revealeth mysteries” (Etheridge 1:131, 304), but the Syriac and Persian Version retain Joseph’s Coptic name “Saphnath Paanah” and “Saphenath Phaaneah”; the Arabic Version has “revealer of concealed things” (*Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 1:184, 185; 4:82). Flavius Judaeus (*Antiquities* 2.6.1) renders the name “Psothom Panech.” The learned Egyptologist Athanasius Kircher, in the first ever Coptic grammar *Prodromus Coptus sive Aegyptiacus* (1636), cap. 5, pp. 124–31; and John Viccars (1604–c. 1660), an English Orientalist and sometime Laudian, in his *Decapla in Psalmos* (1639) 301–02, sec. 11 (on Ps. 105) – both argue that the Hebrews changed Joseph’s Coptic name to “Zaphnath Paaneah” (“Tsaphath Paaneac”). In support of his argument, Viccars (302), who is paraphrasing Kircher’s *Prodromus* (130–31), cites R. Moses Aegyptius, aka. Maimonides, whose acronym “*Rambam*” both Heidegger and Mather erroneously render “*Ramban*” (Nachmanides) – here silently corrected. If Mather (or, rather, his Heideggerian original) is correct, then Eugubinus, aka. Agostino Steuco of Gubbio (1496–1549), the learned Italian Hebraist, librarian of the Vatican Library, bishop of Kissamos (Crete), and member of the Council of Trent (1546), gravely errs in the pronunciation of Joseph’s Egyptian name. See Eugubinus’s commentary on Gen. 41:45 (“in 4. super Genesim”) in *Recognitio veteris Testamenti ad Hebraicam veritatem* (1529). Mather having the final word, it is time to put this tempest to rest.

¹¹⁸ Heidegger (2:421, Exerc. XX, sec. 3, § 9). The Targum Onkelos (Gen. 41:45) calls Joseph’s Egyptian wife “Asenath, the daughter of Poti Phera, prince of On” (*Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 1:185) and Etheridge (1:131). *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (ch. 38, p. 288) renders her name “Asenath, daughter of Potiphera, *priest* of On” [*italics added*].

That the People were not *Removed* from their several Farms and Fields; but the Meaning is, That *Joseph* obliged the Husbandmen to repair unto the *Cities*, that they might there, both to be supplied with Grain, from the Granaries which were kept in such Fenced Places; and also Sign there the Instruments, by which they acknowledged their Obligations unto *Pharaoh*, for supplying of them.¹¹⁹

Well; But why would one of *Josephs* Religion, be so solicitous to have the *Idolatrous Priests* of *Egypt* supported? Besides, what I have produced elsewhere, of a Probability, that these *Priests*, were not *Idolaters* in *Josephs* Time; or, at least, an Uncertainty, that they were; we must Remember, That these *Priests* were no other than the public Professors of the *Liberal Arts and Sciences* of the Age. A *Liesure* to prosecute their Studies, was necessary for them; as *Jerom* takes notice of the Matter. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, They were freed from all public Burdens. And *Aristotle* tells us, They were great Students in the *Mathematicks*. And, *Herodotus* tells us, They had their Maintainance from the publick Treasury. Whatever *Idolatry* might be among them, *Joseph* was but the Executor of the Kings Lawes, about their *Maintainance*; He could not by his own Authority abrogate them. *Calvin* speaks fully to it; *Quoniam nullâ illi lege injunctum erat, ut Fame conficeret Sacerdotes; Regij autem frumenti non prorsus ad suum arbitrium Dispensator foret; Si Rex gratis cibaria Sacerdotibus dari volebat, nihilo magis Liberum fuit illis, quàm Aulicis proceribus negare. Itaque tales Alumnos non libenter suscepit, sed cum Rex invito obtruderet, repellere non potuit, etsi indignos sciebat, qui vel fimo Boum vescerentur.*¹²⁰

But this is all that I see cause to Delibate, from *Heideggers* Exercitations on the *Twelve Patriarchs*, & on *Joseph*. He speaks to many other things; but we also have elsewhere spoken to them.¹²¹

[399r] |
3362.

Q. Upon the Birth of a Son by *Zilpah*, the Lady *Leah* said, *Gad cometh*. What may be meant by *Gad*? v. 11.

¹¹⁹ Heidegger (2:424–25, Exerc. XX, sec. 3, § 17).

¹²⁰ Heidegger (2:425, Exerc. XX, sec. 3, § 17). St. Jerome, *Contra Iovinianum* (lib. 2.13). [PL 23. 302C–303A]. *Diodorus Siculus* (1.73.1–5). *Aristotle* (*Metaphysica* 1(A).1.981b, 23–24). *Herodotus* (2.37). In his commentary on Gen. 47:22, John Calvin explains, “Since he [Joseph] was required by no law, to destroy the priests by hunger, and was not altogether allowed to dispense the king’s corn at his own pleasure; if the king wished that food should be gratuitously supplied to the priests, he [Joseph] was no more at liberty to deny it to them than to the nobles at court. Therefore, though he did not willingly take charge of such dependents, yet when the king imposed the duty upon him, he could not refuse it, though he knew them to be unworthy to be fed on the dirt of oxen” (*Commentaries* 1.2:413–14).

¹²¹ Here then we conclude (for now) Mather’s long excerpt from Johann Heinrich Heidegger’s *Historia Sacra Patriarcharum*.

A. We read of them, who Isa. 65.11. *Præpare a Table for Gad*. The same Deity that other Pagans called, *Fortune*, the *Syrians* call'd, *Gad*. *Jeroms* Version of that Place therefore is, *Qui ponitis Fortunæ Mensam*. It was, he tells us, the ancient Custome of the Idolaters, that on the *Last Day* of the Year, they spread a *Table* with all sorts of Dainties; and at no *Altar* but That, they poured out a Cup of Wine, *To the Good Fortune of the Year ensuing*. By Degrees, that *Fortunate Star*, *Jupiter*, which was also call'd כֹּכַב צֶדֶק *The Star of Righteousness*, gained the Name of *Gad*, as Idolatry grew more Astrological; or perhaps, as our *Selden* thinks, The whole *Host of Heaven*, which was look'd upon, as the *Dispenser of Good Fortune*, was thereby intended. Now, the *Hebrewes* do many of them, think, That, when *Leah* said, לֵבָא נָבָא / which they Resolve by לֵבָא טוֹב / *Ba mazal tob*, or; *Good Fortune comes*. And the *Chaldee Paraphrast* is of the same Opinion, and both *Ben-Uzziels* and the *Jerusalem Targum*, go this Way. The LXX, looking on לֵבָא / to be only a Servile Letter, do read it, ἐν τύχῃ, *In Good Luck!* And some old Latin Versions carry it, *Beata facta*, or, *Fœlix sum*. It is therefore much to be suspected, That *Leah*, being a *Syrian Lady*, retained a little of the old Superstition of her Countrey, & used this Expression (as *Hottinger* ha's it) *Si non crasso Syrorum Sensu, pravâ tamen consuetudine*. The learned *Selden* saies, That if this Conjecture take, we may take the Speech of *Leah*, in that Sense; *Quod fœlix faustumque sit genito*. For tho' the Words of *Jacob*, [Gen. 49.19.] have led most Interpreters, to look for a *Troop* in the Words of *Leah*, we know, such Elegancies and Allusions, are frequent in the Sacred Scriptures, when there are no real *Etymologies* pretended unto. I will only add a {Passage} in *Philastrius*; *Est Hæresis in Judeis, quæ Reginam, quin et Fortunam Coeli invocant; {quam} et Cœles{tem vocant} in Africa, eique Sacrificia offerre non dubitabant*.¹²²

122 Mather's primary source is John Selden's *De Diis Syris Syntagmata II* (1617), Synt. 1, cap. 1, pp. 2, 3–4, 14–15. St. Jerome's version in his *Commentaria in Isaiam* [C], on Gen. 65:11–12 [PL 24. 638C] reads, "whereby you set a table for Fortune." The Hebrew phrase for "Fortunate Star" reads "zedeq kowkeb." According to Selden (2), Leah's "bagad" ("Venit Gad" or "Gad comes") suggests "ba gad" ("venit Fortuna Bona" or "Good Fortune comes"). The Chaldee Paraphrast, aka. Targum Onkelos (Gen. 30:11) reads "Atha Gad"; i.e., "venit felicitas" or "There cometh prosperity [good fortune]," in Walton (1:129) and Etheridge (1:100). Much the same appears in the Targums Jonathan Ben Uziel and Hierosolymitanum (*Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 4:56). The LXX renders the Hebrew auxiliary "beth" as a preposition, as in "en tuche" or in "good luck." The Latin "*Beata facta*" and "*Fœlix Sum*" suggest "made blissful" and "I am happy." In his *Historia orientalis* (1660), lib. 1, cap. 3, p. 152, the Swiss Calvinist Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–67), professor of Oriental languages and Church history at Heidelberg and Zurich, insists that Leah's benediction, "Gad cometh" is uttered, "if not in the crass sense of the Syrians, then nevertheless out of bad habit." Selden (*De Diis Syris* 14–15) maintains that Leah bestows her superstitious benediction on Zilpah's son "so as to be lucky and auspicious for the child." Finally, Mather adapts a passage from *De Haeresibus: Catalogus eorum qui ante Adventum Christi Haereseos Arguuntur*, cap. 15 [PL 12. 1127A], by St. Philastrius Brixienensis, aka. Filastrius of Brescia (c. 330–c. 397), sixth bishop of Brescia (N Italy). Philastrius warns that "there is a heresy among the Jews, which in fact calls even Fortune the Queen of Heaven; in Africa, they also call her Heavenly, and do not hesitate to offer sacrifices to her."

{136.3}

Q. What were the *Mandrakes*, which were the Subject of Chaffering between the Two Wives of *Jacob*? v. 14.

A. At present I'll only offer you, the Words of *Job Ludolphus*, in his History of *Ethiopia*. "The Indian *Fig* (*saith hee*) which the *Arabians* call, *Muz*, or *Mauz*, growes plentifully here; a most excellent Fruit it is; and you shall have Fifty Figs, about the Bigness and Shape of a Cucumber, hanging upon one Stalk, of a most delicious Odour and Taste. They are Ripe in *June*, as I learnt from the Itinerary of Prince *Radzevile*, who had seen some of them near *Damascus*; where they are rare; for they require an hotter Climate. Which Circumstances make mee beleieve, that this same Fruit, may bee the *דודאים* / *Dudaim*, mentioned in *Genesis*, which occasioned so much Discontent between the Two Wives of *Jacob*. Soon after, I observed that many others, learned Men, lighted upon the same Conjecture, tho' they do not give their Reasons. For in my Opinion, it should bee some rare and pleasant Fruit, that should move the Boy to gather it; yett not so much a Boy neither, as to think it worth his while, to carry home a stinking *Mandrake*, which could bee a Fruit little worth contending for. Besides, *Rachel* might have sent her Servant, as well to have gathered *Amiable Flowers* (as some render the Word,) that is to say, *Lillies*, *Violets*, or the like. And besides, The Hebrew Word seems to confirm this Opinion; as being in the *Dual Number*, and seeming to infer a Relation of more than one Fruit, unto one & the same Stalk." Thus that learned Historian.¹²³

I think, That in my Illustrations, upon our Lords Genealogy, recited by the Evangelist *Matthew*, I may give you one Reason, why a Story so seemingly mean, as this, doth find a Room in the Sacred Pages.¹²⁴

¹²³ The learned historian is the German Lutheran Orientalist Job Ludolphus (1624–1704), diplomat to the Emperor Leopold of Austria. Mather quotes from Ludolph's *A New History of Ethiopia* (1682), bk. 1, ch. 9, p. 50. A drawing of this "Indian Fig" (*Dudaim*) – in appearance similar to a banana plant – appears on a fold-out inserted between pp. 48 and 49 of Ludolph's work. Ludolph (50) refers to *Hierosolymitana peregrinatio illustrissimi domini Nicolai Christophori Radzivili* (1601), a vivid travel account to Palestine, Syria, Egypt, and Greece, by the Polish-Lithuanian Prince Nicolaus Christoph Radziwiłł, aka. Mikołaj Krzysztof VIII Radziwiłł (1549–1616), voivode of Vilna.

¹²⁴ Mather refers to his annotations on Matt. 1:1 ("BA"), where he comments on how God's plan was carried out in spite of the patriarchs' inability to foresee the line of descent:

Q. I pray, go on with Your Curious Reflections, on this Genealogy?

A. It is very Remarkable to see, how the Line of the *Messiah*, was carried by the God of Heaven, quite beside the Intention of the *Patriarchs* concerned in that Line. *Isaac* did not imagine that *Jacob*, & not *Esau*, must bee a Father to the *Messiah*. *Jacob* did not imagine that *Leah*, and not *Rachel*, must bee a Mother to the *Messiah*. When *Judah* would have *Thamar* to bee burnt, hee did not imagine that a yett Unborn Ancestor of the *Messiah*, was therein condemned unto Death & Fire. And perhaps this may bee one Reason, why the Scripture does Recite so minute a Passage, as that of *Leahs* hiring of *Rachel*, her Husbands Company. *Leah* had already brought forth *Judah*, from whom the *Messiah* was to descend: Had shee known any Thing of This, doubtless it would have been such a Satisfaction unto her, that she had made no such

All that I will here further say, is, That *Leah* having brought forth, *Judah*, the Ancestor of the *Messiah*, then delicate *Fruits*, even, like those on the *Tree of Life*, are brought unto her. And if shee Impart of these *Fruits* unto *Rachel*, I, that look upon *Leah* and *Rachel*, as Types of the Two Churches, the *Jewish* & the *Gentile*, which our Lord ha's espoused unto Himself, am ready to conclude, that some great Thing, relating to the future Communion between those Two Churches, is herein Typically represented unto us.

Q. Mr. *Maundril*, in his Journey from *Aleppo* to *Jerusalem*, when he came to *Naplosa*, (which is the ancient *Sychem*) he visited the Chief Priest of the *Samaritans*. Among other things that he enquired of him, one was, what were the *Dudaim*, (which we translate | *Mandrakes*;) by *Leah* given to *Rachel*? v. 14. [400v]

A. The Answer he obtained from him, was, That they were Plants of a large Leaf, bearing a certain sort of Fruit, in Shape resembling an Apple, growing Ripe in Harvest, but of an Ill Savour, & not wholesome. But the Vertue of them was, to help Conception, being laid under the genial Bed. And the Women so apply it, at this Day, out of an Opinion of its prolific Vertue. Mr. *Maundril* adds, he saw several of these Plants, afterwards in the Way to *Jerusalem*; and if they were so common in *Mesopotamia*, as they saw them thereabouts, one must either conclude, they were not the true *Dudaim*, or else it would puzzle a good Critick to give a Reason, why *Rachel* should purchase such Vulgar things, at so Beloved & Contested a Price.¹²⁵

3446.

Q. Were they indeed Rods of *Hasel*, that *Jacob* employ'd? v. 37.

A. *Bochart*, proves at large, that the Hebrew Word, *Luz*, signifies, *An Almond*. *Jerom* therefore translates it, *Virgas Amygdalinas*. And the Hebrew Interpreters, who will have it signify, *An Hasel*, confess that herein they depart from the Opinion of those that went before them. So *Aben-Ezra*, and *Kimchi*, who both acknowledge, that the Ancient Doctors expound it, *Almond-Rods*.¹²⁶

Proposals unto *Rachel*. The Scripture would in this thing Remark unto us, how the Ignorance of the Patriarchs about the Good Purposes of God concerning them, in the *Messiah*, putt them upon Actions that would never have been done, but in & from such Ignorance.

¹²⁵ Mather cites from the oft-reprinted *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem* (1703), entry for Wednesday, March 24, 1697, pp. 60–61, by Henry Maundrell (1665–1701), Anglican clergyman, chaplain to the Levant Company's merchants at Aleppo (Turkey). Maundrell (59), while traveling overland to his new post in Turkey, visited Job Ludolphus in Frankfurt, whose *Historia Ethiopia* (1681) he greatly admired.

¹²⁶ Mather's source is Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 30:37 (*Commentary* 1:109), and Patrick's is Samuel Bochart's *Geographia* (pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 35, col. 628–29). St. Jerome renders Jacob's almond or hazel rods as "virgas amygdalinas" in the Vulgate translation (Gen. 30:37). Genesis Rabbah (LXXIII:10) identifies the rods as taken from "the almond and of the plane-tree." Both R. David Kimchi (*Hachut Hameshulash* 2:602) and R. Abraham Ibn Ezra,

3447.

Q. Why is *Laban* in the History now before us, called so often, *Laban the Syrian*? when there seems no further need of mentioning his Country, which was known sufficiently from the præceding Story? v. 1.

A. Some think, 'Tis to insinuate an observable Matter, That *Laban*, as cunning as he was, yett *Jacob* was too cunning for him. For the *Syrians* are observed in Ancient Authors, to have been a very cunning & subtil sort of a People.¹²⁷

3448.

Q. *Jacob* saies, *God hath taken away the Cattel of your Father*. He saies not a Word of his own Artifice about it? v. 9.

A. Without the Blessing of God, his Artifice would not have prospered. And it was a Part of Prudence in him, to conceal his own Artifice; He did it, perhaps, for fear lest they should any way divulge it, & bring him into Danger with *Laban*. Every body can't keep a Secret; and his whole Estate at present depending on it, he had no reason to expose it.

The Jewes make many Severe, & some Foolish Reflections upon *Women*, on this Occasion.¹²⁸

3449.

Q. What sort of Things might be *Labans Teraphim*? v. 19.

A. There have been many Derivations for the Name excogitated. But after all; why may not the Name come from the Hebrew *Rapha*, to *Cure* or *Heal*? As if they were the *Saviours* and *Præservers* of the People that had them.¹²⁹

It is generally agreed, They were a Sort of *Penates*. [Compare v. 30.] But it is a great Quæstion among the Hebrew Doctors, whether in these ancient

on Gen. 30:37 (*Commentary* 1:293–94) agree, but Ibn Ezra adds that according to R. Saadiah Gaon “*luz* means almond since that is its meaning in Arabic.”

¹²⁷ Simon Patrick on Gen. 31:20 (*Commentary* 1:112).

¹²⁸ Simon Patrick on Gen. 31:9 (*Commentary* 1:111). Although Patrick does not specify what these pejorative reflections on women are, he (and thus Mather) may perhaps have in mind the rabbinic commentary in *Baba Bathra* (123a) that Jacob and Rachel had agreed upon certain signs by which they could identify each other in the dark – fearing that Laban’s “sharp dealing” might trick them in the bridal chamber. However, since Rachel revealed these secret signs to her sister Leah, Laban was able to trick Jacob into believing that Leah was Rachel when they consummated their marriage vows.

¹²⁹ This and the following paragraphs are extracted from Simon Patrick’s annotation on Gen. 31:19 (*Commentary* 1:112).

Times, they worshipped them as *Gods*, or only used them as Instruments of Divination.¹³⁰

Several of them, take them to have been Figures of an Humane Shape, [1. Sam. 19.13.] made by *Astrologers*, to be capable of the Heavenly Influences. *Hottinger* hath many ingenious Arguments to prove, That they were the same with the Arabian *Talismans* | in after-times; which were Images made under such or such Constellations, to receive the Heavenly Influences, & serve either for *Phylacteries*, or *Oracles*.¹³¹ [402v]

But the Conjecture of L. *de Dieu* is most probable; That they were the Representations of some *Angelical Powers* (*Teraphim* and *Seraphim* very near akin!) who declared by them, what they took to be the Mind of God. In those Countreys, where the *Shechinah*, or Presence of the *Divine Majesty* did not appear, as it did in *Abrahams* Family, they had at least some Tradition of it, & of the *Angels* that were its Attendants. The Resemblance whereof they made, in hope they might by means thereof, have Communication with them, and gain Intelligence from Heaven. *Evil Spirits* made their Advantage of this; and abused Mankind by the lying Answers, which they gave to their Enquiries.¹³²

But now, what was *Rachels* Intention in stealing them? Dr. *Patrick* thinks, That *Jacob*, who loved her extreamly, had brought her off from the False Notions, and Bad Customes of her Countrey. And that she would now convince her Father of his blind Superstition, by letting him see, That his *Gods* (as he called them) could not præserve themselves, much less do any Service to him. Or, it may be, she Resolved for to sieze a Portion of his Goods, that she thought justly belonged unto her; and accordingly took these *Images*, which being made of *Silver*, were of some considerable Value.¹³³

¹³⁰ R. Shlomo ben Meir (Rashbam), Nachmanides (Ramban), and Da'ath Zekenim's collection of the Tosafists – all argue that Laban's Teraphim were instruments of divination (*Mikraoth Gedoloth*: Genesis 2:389). *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (ch. 36, pp. 273–74) relates the gruesome story of how the preserved head of a first-born boy is used for divination by placing a golden tablet (bearing the name of an unclean spirit) under his tongue. See also John Selden's *De Diis Syris* (1617), Syntagma 1, cap. 2, pp. 17–19.

¹³¹ For *Talisman*, see “Origine Tilsemarum,” in Heinrich Hottinger's *Historia orientalis* (1660), lib. 1, cap. 8, pp. 285–99, esp. p. 296.

¹³² Ludovicus De Dieu's conjecture appears in his *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamenti* (1648) 41–42 and is also synopsized in Matthew Poole's commentary on Gen. 31:19, in *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:224). According to Poole, De Dieu thinks that “teraphim” is of Arabic and Ethiopic origin and means “to render abundant and plentiful.” Thus the “*Teraphim* were gods which caused domestic property to abound” (Poole, *Works* 3:175). Much the same appears in John Selden's *De Diis Syris* (1617), Syntagma 1, cap. 2, pp. 36–37, and in Pierre Jurieu's *Critical History* (2:92–93).

¹³³ Simon Patrick on Gen. 31:19 (*Commentary* 1:112).

[▽403r] [▽Insert of 403r–405r]¹³⁴

Q. Being fallen on the mention of the *Teraphim*, a good Illustration of those *Images*, may prove a grateful & useful Entertainment, and sett in a True Light, many Passages of the Sacred Scriptures? v. 19.

A. Monsr. *Jurieu* in his, *Critical History of the Doctrines & Worships of the Church*, ha's cultivated this obscure Subject unto good Advantage. We will now mostly enrich ourselves with his Communications.¹³⁵

We may, with *Aben-Ezra*, well suppose, from the Story of *Michal*, her laying one of them in *David's* Bed, That the *Teraphim* were of an Humane Shape.¹³⁶

It is also evident, that the *Teraphim* were magical Instruments, whereby Men came to know Future and Hidden Matters. For the Prophet *Ezekiel* brings in the King of *Babylon*, as consulting of them. And the Prophet *Zechariah* saith of them, *They have spoken lies, & have delivered false Oracles*. This is also intimated in the famous Text of *Hosæa*, [ch.III.4.] on which we cannot ask a more clear Commentary, than that which *David Kimchi* ha's given us. *The Prophet*, saith he, *gives us a true Pourtraiture of the Time of the Captivity wherein we live. We are without a King; being subject unto the Government of the Kings & Princes of the Nations. We have no Sacrifices to offer unto the True GOD; neither any Statue, nor Idol, sett up in Honour of the suppositious Gods. We are without the Holy Ephod, to foretell us future Accidents by Urim & Thummim; as also without Teraphim, consecrated unto the Idols, who instruct those that confide in them, in what is likely to befall them. This is the State of our Captivity*. The History of *Micah* and his *Teraphim*, does also make it apparent, that the *Teraphim* were used in Divinations. In the Rebuke that *Samuel* came to *Saul*, Divinations are joined with *Teraphim*. And in *Josiah's* Reformation, the *Teraphim* are not mentioned so much among the Idols, as the Magical Instruments. He putt away the Wizards, & the *Teraphim*.¹³⁷

However, there is Reason to think, that the *Teraphim* were not originally such Magical Instruments. In their first Origin probably they were only such simple *Images*, which were treated like the other *Images* of the Pagans, as Emblems, and some Resemblances & Representations of the Invisible GOD. *Laban*

¹³⁴ See Appendix B.

¹³⁵ The following paragraphs on Gen. 31:19 are extracted from Pierre Jurieu's two-volume *Critical History* (vol. 2, part III, treatise II, chs. 3–4, pp. 89–109).

¹³⁶ Jurieu (*Critical History* 2:89). Ibn Ezra, on Gen. 31:19 (*Commentary* 1:300), finds "Proof that the teraphim are human forms," because Michal (Saul's daughter) placed them in David's bed and thus tricked "the guards into thinking that the teraphim were really David" (1 Sam. 19:13–17).

¹³⁷ Jurieu (*Critical History* 2:89–90, 91). Ezek. 21:22, 22:28. Ibn Ezra (*Commentary* 1:300–01), R. David Kimchi (*Hachut Hameshulash* 2:612), see also Abarbanel on Hos. 3:4 (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Twelve Prophets* 1:21). Mic. 1:7, 5:13; 2 Sam. 5:21; 1 Sam. 28:3; 1 Ki. 23:24.

calls them simply, *His Gods*; and no doubt, the Word, θεραπευειν, To Worship, was derived from the *Teraphim*.¹³⁸

Indeed, it is not so likely, that the *Teraphim* were the Images of the greater Gods; their *Baal*, their *Moloch*, their *Astarte*, and the like. These greater Gods, and the *Dij Naturales*, were not of a meer Humane Shape; Their Images had mystical Figures in them, and mixed ones, whereas the *Teraphim* were altogether of an *Humane Shape*. They were doubtless the *Images* of Men, who were adored as Gods. They were the *Lares*, the Domestic & the Tutelar Gods of the People that worshipped them. It is plain from the Story of *Laban*, that they were *Private Gods*. And their Name seems derived from the Second Person in the future Tense of the Conjugation *Pihel*, for the Word, רפא/ To Heal. The Word, רפאה/ *Terappeh*, is, *Thou wilt Heal*. A Kind of a Prayer offered unto these little Gods! *Teraphim* signifies, *Gods that can cure and keep*. The Greek Word, θεραπευειν, signifying the same thing, is a fresh Proof, that the *Teraphim*, were the *Dij Servatores et Sospitatores*, the Præservers of Prosperity in the Families that had them.¹³⁹

| As the *Lares* of the Romans, were for the Præservation of their Houses; and for that Cause they were, as *Alexander ab Alexandro* observes, placed at the Doors; Thus *Micah* (as well as *Laban*,) expects a Blessing on his House from the Presence of the *Teraphim*. The *Lares* were also considered as the Patrons of the *High Ways*; for which Cause, we are told by *Servius*, they were called, *Viales*, and *Compitales*. And *Ovid* saies of them, *Compita servant*. Which agrees very well, with what *Ezekiel* saies concerning the *Teraphim*, That the King of Babylon stood at the Parting of the Way, to consult them. They were placed in the Niches there. And perhaps, this Consideration might have some Influence on their being found among *Rachels* Furniture.¹⁴⁰

[▽404v]

138 Jurieu (*Critical History* 2:91). According to Jurieu, the Greek word “therapeuein” suggests “to serve and worship.” Jurieu’s etymological derivation of “therapeuein” from the Hebrew word “*Teraphim*” is based on the supposition of his contemporaries that all languages (including Greek) derive from a Hebrew original spoken before the confusion of tongues at Babel.

139 Jurieu (*Critical History* 2:91, 92, 93). The “*Dii Naturales*” are personal or family gods. The Hebrew words read “rapha” and “therappe.” Jurieu has רפא, which Mather miscopies.

140 Jurieu (*Critical History* 2:93); Jurieu puts it as follows: “*In foribus vero & Atriis domorum, Ara, focus & Lar familiaris errant*,” or, “In the doorways, truly, and in the entrance halls of their houses were the altar, the hearth, and the family household god.” Jurieu here quotes from *Genialium dierum libri sex* (1626), lib. 5, cap. 24, pp. 302–06, by the Neapolitan jurist Alexander ab Alexandro (1461–1523). The first edition of this work appeared in Paris (1532) and was reprinted many times; Mather owned a copy of the Frankfurt (1626) edition (AAS # 0236). Mather writes “*Michal*” (Saul’s daughter espoused to David) instead of “*Micah*” (Jurieu 2:93), the Ephraimite, whose mother consecrated a hoard of silver from which molten images were made (Judg. 17:3–5). Like many of the saints’ images and shrines on the roadsides of Roman Catholic Europe, the “*Dii Viales*” and “*Dii Compitales*” were highway or crossroad deities whom travelers implored for protection on their journeys. Maurus Servius Honoratus mentions these “*Viales*” in his commentary *In Vergilii carmina commentarii* 3.168, 302); Pliny (36.70.204) speaks of the “*Compitalia ludos Laribus*” or “the Festival of the Crossroads in honor of the gods who protect the community.” Ovid (*Fasti* 2.615) says that these *Lares* “guard the

Tis very sure, These *Teraphim* were Deified Men. The *Lares* were the Images of the most Illustrious among the Ancestors of a Family, which after a Consecration with a peculiar Service, were worshipped as Gods. And Monsr. *Jurieu*, conjectures, that the *Teraphim* of *Laban*, might be the Images of *Noah*, & of *Shem*; of *Noah*, as being the common Father of the World; & of *Shem*, as being the Patriarch of his Family. *Laban*, tis plain, had more than one of them; & *Rachel*, could not well conceal many more than Two. *Ovid* speaks of the *Lares*, as Two; tho' possibly they might in after-ages multiply the Number of the *Lares*, and in the *Lararium* worship all their more Illustrious Ancestors. But which *Two* could stand fairer for a Distinction with *Laban*, than those whom we have mentioned:¹⁴¹

It is now easy to conceive, how *Michal* the Wife of *David*, should have what she had for to lay on the Bed instead of him. The *Israelites*, tho' they had cast off the Worship of the *Teraphim*, wherein they had imitated their Idolatrous Neighbours, might yett retain some Images of their Ancestors in their Houses.

Or, the *Teraphim* in *David's* House, might be a Relique of the Time, when the *Israelites* defiled themselves with Idolatrous Worship; which had not been long before, as the Story of *Micah* intimates. It may be, *Saul* had not been over-exact in purging the Countrey from the Remnants of Idolatry, or supposing he had, an Idol might happen to be thrown by into a Corner of an House, where *Michal* might stumble upon it.¹⁴²

The Idolaters had not long worshipped the *Manes* of their Ancestors, before they proceeded unto the Consulting of them upon Future Events. The *Chaldeans*; among whom the *Teraphim* had their first Use, were the first who took up this *Necromancy*; an Art called in the Scripture /הַרְשָׁה הַמֵּתִים/ *An Enquiry of the Dead*.

When the Scripture speaks of *Teraphim*, it never mentions, the *Enquiring of the Dead*; and when it speaks about *Enquiring of the Dead*, it never mentions the *Teraphim*; which seems to be, for the avoiding of Tautologies; because they were one and the same Thing.¹⁴³

The Form of the *Teraphim* seems to be this.

The Orientals in a private Apartment of their Houses, præserv'd the Remnants of their Ancestors. But the Posterity becoming so Numerous, that every

cross-roads." Ezek. 21:21 relates that the king of Babylon at a crossroad consulted his images to discover which Rubicon he should cross. Rachel's "furniture" (Gen. 31:34) was her camel's saddle or seat on which she rode.

¹⁴¹ *Jurieu* (*Critical History* 2:94–95, 100). *Ovid* (*Fasti* 2.616) speaks of the *Lares Compitales* (guardians of the city, or house gods) in the plural number. They generally appeared in pairs and were revered during the annual *Compitalia* festival (*Ovid, Fasti* 2.616, note *d*). Hence the "*Lararium*" is a sacred place or shrine in which the guardian gods of a family, tribe, or city are kept.

¹⁴² *Jurieu* (*Critical History* 2:96). 1 Sam. 19:13; Judg. 17:3–5; Mic. 1:7, 5:13.

¹⁴³ *Jurieu* (*Critical History* 2:97). Deut. 8:11.

one could not have a Part of the Body, they erected (κενοταφια) *Empty Tombs*, of Stone, or Wood, or Earth, & the like. Upon these they sett the *Teraphim*, or the Images of their Ancestors, at the Two Extremities of the *Tombs*. And indeed, there was a little Resemblance to the *Cherubim* on the *Ark* of the *Israelites*.¹⁴⁴

This gives us the Reason, why the LXX translate the *Teraphim* | in the History of *Michal*, by the Term of κενοταφια. It also gives the Reason, why in the History of *Josiah*, unto θεραφιμ, they add, θελητας [where some Editions read στήλας, or, Statues, or Monuments belonging to Sepulchres;] which Term signifies, Those that make Evocations of Spirits by magical Ceremonies.¹⁴⁵ [▽405r]

And here likewise, we see why the *Ephod* and the *Teraphim*, are in the Prophecies of *Hosea* so putt on the Level. From the *Urim* and *Thummim* in the *Ephod*, were Oracles delivered, whereof there was an Imitation in the *Teraphim*.¹⁴⁶

The Opinion of *Moncaeus*, and *Gaffarel*, and *Spencer*, is by no means to be allow'd; That the *Cherubim* and the *Teraphim*, were the same. The *Cherubim* were a Mixed Figure, of no less than Four Animals; as they are described by *Ezekiel*: whereas the *Teraphim* were purely of an Humane Shape. And yett we may say, That the *Teraphim* were among the *Idolaters*, what the *Cherubim* were unto the *Israelites*. The Number *Two*, is one Instance of the Resemblance; *Two Images* for a Tomb were indeed enough.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ Jurieu (*Critical History* 2:98). For these “kenotaphia” (empty monuments, tombs, or images), see also Diodorus Siculus (3.40.8) and 1 Kings 19:13 (LXX). For a description and function of the Ark, see *ABD* (1:386–93).

¹⁴⁵ Jurieu (*Critical History* 2:98, 99). 1 Kings 19:13, 16; 4 Kings 23:14 (LXX). Unto the “theraphim” they add “thelentas” or “stelas,” which are “statues, pillars,” or “columns.”

¹⁴⁶ Jurieu (*Critical History* 2:99). Hos. 3:4.

¹⁴⁷ Jurieu (*Critical History* 2:99; see also 1:327–33, 339–40). Franciscus Moncaeus, aka. François de Monceaux (fl. late 16th c.), was an erudite French author of Arras. In his *Aaron purgatus sive De vitulo aureo* (1606), lib. 1, cap. 16, pp. 199–209, and in *Disquisitio de magia divinatrice & operatrice* (1683), Moncaeus posits that the golden calves in Jeroboam’s temples at Bethel and Dan (1 Kings 12:26–30) are really replicas of Aaron’s golden calf (Exod. 32:1–4) and of the golden Cherubim on the curtains of the Mosaic tabernacle and Mercy Seat of the Ark of the Covenant (Exod. 36:8, 37:6–7). In Ezekiel’s vision (Ezek. 1:6–10; 10:1, 14–22), these Cherubim are mixed creatures with four faces – man, lion, ox, and eagle – and thus explain the polymorphous Cherubim in Solomon’s temple (1 Kings 6:21–35, 7:25) and the presence of the twelve brazen oxen supporting the huge laver (“moulten Sea”). If Jeroboam’s golden calves had not been exact copies of those in Jerusalem’s Temple he tried to supplant, Moncaeus argued, the Israelites would not have accepted them and continued their thrice-annual pilgrimages to Jerusalem. The French mystic Jacques Gaffarel (1601–81), librarian to Cardinal Richelieu, and renowned astrologer, published *Curiositez inouyes sur la sculpture talismanique des Persans* (1629), for which he was censured by the theologians of the Sorbonne and forced to retract. This work was translated into English by Edmund Chilmead and appeared as *Unheard-of Curiosities: Concerning the Talismanical Sculpture of the Persians* (1650). Gaffarel takes Moncaeus’s argument one step further and equates the Cherubim with the teraphim (*Unheard-of Curiosities*, part I, ch. 1, §§ 6–9, pp. 17–31, and part II, ch. 3, §§ 4–, pp. 68–75). Images such as the Cherubim and teraphim, Gaffarel avers, were clearly employed in divinatory rites, even in Solomon’s Temple (!). The examination of OT iconography climaxes in John Spencer’s *Dissertatio de*

But, which was the most ancient? We have done with your *Marshams* and Company, who profanely bring in the Glorious GOD, as Imitating of the Divel. Tho' the *Teraphim* were more ancient than the *Cherubim*, yett they were not applied unto magical Operations from the Beginning. But it is very probable, that after the Blessed GOD had sett up the Oracle of the Ark, & of the *Cherubim*, the Divel took this Occasion soon after, to introduce the Oracle of the *Teraphim*, in Imitation of it, & made them serve as Instruments of Magick, & of Necromancy; making the Tombs to be the Seats of them, upon that Vile Intention. If there were any other more Ancient Resemblance, it happened by *Choice*; and not any *Aim* of the Lawgiver.¹⁴⁸

In the Story of *Micah*, we need suppose no more than Two *Teraphim*, which were not only *Molten*, but also *Graven Images*, placed at the Two Extremities of a *Sepulchre*. Composing such an Oracle, he made an *Ephod*, for the Son whom he made his Priest; an *Holy Vestment*, without which they never asked Counsel of GOD. But *Micah* consecrated his *Teraphim* to GOD; with a Purpose to consult the True GOD by these. A Thing too often done by the *Israelites*. They retained a Respect unto the True GOD; but intermixed cursed Superstitions with it. *Micah* would make his Oracle, as conformable as may be, to that of *Moses*.¹⁴⁹

The Ceremonies of consulting the *Teraphim*, & the Rites practiced in the Evocation of the Spirits, tis not now easily to be determined, what they were. And it is disputed, In what Manners the *Teraphim* delivered their Answers? *Bel-*

Urim & Thummim (1669) and in his more radical *De legibus Hebraeorum Ritualibus* (1685). A renowned English Hebraist, Spencer contends in his *Dissertatio* (cap. 4, sec. 9–10, pp. 147–86) that the images of the man-shaped teraphim were widely used in Egypt and Chaldea, and are the same as the Mosaic Urim and Thummim used in divinatory rituals and kept in a pocket of Aaron's breastplate (Exod. 28:30). As if this bold claim were not enough, Spencer asserts in his *De legibus* (lib. 3, Diss. 5, cap. 4, sec. 1–4, pp. 771–85) that the polymorphous Cherubim (human, leonine, bovine, and aquiline) were derived from the figures of Egyptian deities and by Moses adapted for pious use to accommodate the Israelites. For centuries, the Israelites had been accustomed to the visible idols of Egypt and were therefore completely unprepared to abandon their visible gods all of a sudden and to embrace Moses's new, invisible Deity and his proscription against idols and images (Exod. 20:3–5). Modern interpretations of the polymorphous Cherubim essentially agree with those of Jurieu and his predecessors (*ABD* 1:899–90).
 148 Jurieu (*Critical History* 2:100–01). Mather (via Jurieu) dismisses wholesale Sir John Marsham's comparative study of religion *Chronicus Canon Aegyptiacus Ebraicus Graecus* (1672), lib. 2, seculum IX, esp. pp. 149–50 ff, as too subversive. Like Moncaeus and Gaffarel before and Spencer after him, Marsham conjectured that Moses, a member of the pharaonic and priestly classes of Egypt, "was learned in the wisdom of the Egyptians" (Acts 7:22), borrowed many of his subsequent laws, sacrificial rites (and demonology), and calendars from the idolatrous Egyptians. In translating and adapting many aspects of Egypt's laws, philosophy, and customs (Marsham and Spencer argued), Moses established a counter-religion by turning their pagan originals on their head. See esp. Maimonides (*Guide* 3.29–31, 49, pp. 315–22, 372–80), Aquinas (*Summa Theologica*, vol. 2, Pt. 1–2, Quest. 101–102, pp. 1051–81), S. D. Benin's "Cunning of God," J. Assmann's "Mosaic Distinction," G. G. Stroumsa's "John Spencer," J. Elukin's "Maimonides," F. Parente's "Spencer," and F. Schmidt's "Polytheisms."

149 Jurieu (*Critical History* 2:101, 103, 104).

larmine affirms, That the Answers were delivered by an Articulate Voice coming from the Statues. And he gives Instances of Statues that have spoken; whereto many more might be added.¹⁵⁰

Tho' Monsr. *Jurieu* won't consent unto this; yett he concludes thus: "As thro' them they did call upon the *Manes* of the Deceased, tis probable the Divel spoke from the vast Abyss of the Earth, the Place commonly assigned for the Dead. Or perhaps the Imagination of the Person who consulted {the *Manes*}, might be moved in such a Manner, by the Evil Spirit, as to make him pronounce the Oracles dictated to him by the Divel."¹⁵¹

[△Insert ends]

[△]

Q. Why, *Laban the Syrian*? v. 20.

A. A modern Commentator makes this Remark on this Title given to *Laban*. The *Syrians* were more cunning than other Nations. The Design of *Moses* is to intimate, That how crafty soever the Father-in-Law was, the Son-in-Law was able by his Wisdome to over-reach him.¹⁵²

Q. Those Words of the Lord unto *Laban*, *Speak not to Jacob either Good or Bad*: How are they to be taken? {v. 24.}

A. The Hebrew runs, *From Good to Bad*. An Hebraism; q.d. Speak nothing but *Good*.

Aben Ezra so carries it; *Non loquarie ad eum Bonum, ut Reducas eum, neque malum, ut Noceas ei*.¹⁵³

[▽Insert of 406v]

[▽406v]

Q. A Remark on *Jacobs* Apology? v. 32.

A. *Saurin* Remarks upon it, that when we are to answer the unjust Reproaches of an Enemy stronger than ourselves, tis no good Maxim, to do it by making him sensible, that those Reproaches proceed from a Cause which has its Foundation in Unrighteousness. *Jacob* endeavours to excuse himself, without laying any Blame upon *Laban*: He had even the Skill to make his Court unto him, while

¹⁵⁰ *Jurieu* (*Critical History* 2:105). Bellarmine's affirmation appears in his *De Ecclesia triumphante*, lib. 2, cap. 13, sec. "quartum mendacium," in vol. 5 of his *Disputationes de Controversiis Christianae Fidei* (1586–89).

¹⁵¹ *Jurieu* (*Critical History* 2:109). The passage in braces is restored from *Jurieu's* text.

¹⁵² The modern commentator is Simon Patrick on Gen. 31:20 (*Commentary* 1:112). According to the Talmudic tractate *Baba Bathra* (123a), Rachel warned Jacob that her father *Laban* "is a sharper"; *Jacob*, however, was not deterred and responded, "I am his brother ... in sharp dealing."

¹⁵³ The Latin adaptation from *Abraham ibn Ezra* reads, "Do not speak to him either good, to bring him back, or bad, to harm him." However, the Strickman and Silver translation renders *Ibn Ezra's* commentary as follows: "Do not speak to *Jacob* about returning even if you think it is for his good" (*Commentary* 1:302).

he made his Apology; He defended himself by the just Apprehension he had, that the Tenderness of a good Father might hinder *Laban* from consenting that his Daughters should live in a Countrey so far from him.

Those Words of his upon the *Stolen Idols*, *With whom soever thou findest thy Gods, Lett him not live*; – The Jews, (particularly *Abarbanel* & *Jarchi*) say, That this Imprecation had its Effect, & was the Cause why *Rachel* died so soon after it.¹⁵⁴

[△] [△Insert ends]

2938.

Q. Why does *Jacob* say, *The God of Abraham, & the Fear of Isaac*? Why not, *The God of Isaac*? v. 42.

A. *Grotius* gives the Reason, Because *Isaac* was yett living; And adds a Notion, which if you can Maintain & Apply, t'wil be a glorious Key, to Multitudes of Passages all the Bible over; *Non cognominatur Deus à quoquam mortalem adhuc agente vitam.*

But *Grotius*, I doubt, forgott, Gen. 24.12. and Gen. 32.9.¹⁵⁵

3450.

Q. *Jacob* swears only, *By the Fear of Isaac*? v. 53.

A. He mentions this, rather than, *The God of Abraham*, to declare more plainly, & fully, & undoubtedly, by what God he sware. For *Abraham* had been an *Idolater*; which *Isaac* never was.¹⁵⁶

There have been diverse Glosses on, *The Fear of Isaac*; But the Chaldee Paraphrast well explains the Original, *The God who is the Object of the Fear of Isaac*. The Prophet *Isaiah* alludes to this Passage, & explains it. *Sanctify the Lord of Hosts Himself, & Lett him be your Fear, & Lett him be your Dread.*¹⁵⁷

[403r–406v inserted into 402v]

¹⁵⁴ Mather's source is Jacques Saurin (Diss. XXX, 1:237). Saurin refers to Johannes Buxtorf's Latin translation of the commentaries on Gen. 31:32, by Abarbanel (Abravanel) and Jarchi (Rashi), in Buxtorf's *Biblia Hebraica cum Paraphrasi Chaldaica et commentarijs rabbinorum* (Basileae, 1618–19), vol. 1. Grounding their interpretations on Genesis Rabbah (LXXIV:4), Abraham Ibn Ezra and Rashi say much the same in their commentaries reprinted in *Mikraoth Gedoloth* (Genesis 2:392).

¹⁵⁵ Hugo Grotius on Gen. 31:42 (*Annotationes* 1:20) comments, "He is not called God by any mortal while he is still living."

¹⁵⁶ Cribbed from Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:114).

¹⁵⁷ Targum Onkelos on Gen. 31:53 (Walton 1:141). In his "Note Book of Authors" (on Gen. 31:53), Mather identifies Wolfgang Franzius's *De Interpretatione S. Scripturarum* (1619), col. 1350, as his source. See also Matthew Poole's summary on Isa. 8:13, in *Synopsis Criticorum* (3:92).

3451.

Q. The Message that *Jacob* sends to his Brother is, *I have Oxen?* etc. v. 5.

A. The Hebrewes understand it, That *Jacob* would give *Esau*, an Account of his being thus well provided for, lest *Esau* should think, he came a Begging, & might prove a Burden to him.

It is also observed by *Maimonides*, That he mentions only *Oxen* and *Asses* and Flocks; (i.e. of Sheep and Goats,) because these were the common Possessions of all Men, and in all Countreyes that had any thing. But *Horses* and *Camels* were not common Possessions; they were the Possessions of none but a few great Men; and in some Countreyes only. *Jacob* indeed had *Camels*; but it is likely he had no great Breed of them.

There was no where more Plenty of *Men-Servants* and *Maid-Servants*, than in *Syria*, (whence *Jacob* came,) if it were then such a Countrey, as it was in after-times; when the Roman Writers tell us, they were *Servituti nati*, born to Slavery.¹⁵⁸

1531.

Q. When the Patriarch saies, *I am less than all the Mercies, which thou hast shewed unto thy Servant*, is there any further Lesson to bee learnt from that Passage, than what wee see in the first plain Translation of it? v. 10.

A. There is one Good Lesson of practical Christianitie, which may seem to ly, in the first Word of it.

קטנתי / q.d. *I am lessened*, in my own Eyes, before every Mercy. Every Mercy should make us more Humble; the least Mercy of God, should make us less in our Opinion of ourselves, than wee were before.¹⁵⁹

3452.

Q. A Remark or two, upon the Present made by *Jacob* to *Esau*.

¹⁵⁸ Simon Patrick on Gen. 32:5 (*Commentary* 1:115); *Maimonides* (*Guide* 3.39.340). One such Roman writer is Cicero (*De provinciis consularibus* 5.10), who points out that both Jews and Syrians are “nationes natae servituti” or “people born to be slaves.”

¹⁵⁹ Mather’s rendition “*I am less than all the Mercies ...*” appears to be based on the Targum Onkelos on Gen. 32:10 (Walton 1:143); *Nachmanides* (Gen. 32:11) takes exception to this rendition as well as to that of *Rashi* and argues that the Hebrew word קטנתי [qatonti] suggests “that he [*Jacob*] is too small to have been worthy of all the mercies which He had done for him” (*Commentary* 1:399). The KJV’s marginalia offers “less than all” (1611-KJVn) as an alternative reading.

A. We read, *He took of that which came to his Hand*; as if he took what he first litt upon, being still in a Fright. But in the Original, it is, *He took that which was in his Hand*; namely, what was in his Power to make a Present of; to witt such *Cattel* as are mention'd, for he had not *Jewels* nor *Garments*, to offer.

It appears, that having thus commended himself unto God, his Fear vanished; and he chose his Present, very considerably and proportionately.

Two Hundred She-Goats, & Twenty He-Goats, – etc. The *Males* bear the Proportion of One to Ten *Females*. *Varro* saies, This was the Proportion observed in his Countrey, at the Time of his writing. They that understand *Husbandry*, assure us, That *Jacob* observed the due Proportion of *Males & Females*.

Milch-Camels, which had lately foaled, were Part of the Present; for as *Bochart* observes out of *Aristotle* and *Pliny*, and many other Authors, there was nothing esteemed more Delicious in those Parts of the World, than *Camels Milk*.¹⁶⁰

3453:

Q. Give us Dr. *Patrick's* Apprehensions of, *Jacobs* wrestling? v. 24.

A. *Jacob* was Retired, that he might commend himself, and his Family to God, by earnest Prayer. [See Hos. 12.4.] He was then encountred by one, whom, tis probable, he took for one of *Esau's* Attendants, come to surprize him; for it was now so dark, he could not well see his Countenance. Many of the Ancients, take this Man to have been, the Eternal ΛΟΓΟΣ: But *Austin* opposes their Opinion; and it seems more probable, that this *Angel* was one of *Gods Host*, (mentioned in the Second Verse of the Chapter,) sent from the *Shechinah* or the *Divine Majesty*, by whose Order he made this Assault upon *Jacob*; Even one of those whom the *Jewes* call, *Angels of the Presence*, & that make alwayes a Part of the Retinue to the *Shechinah*. This *Angel* was ordered, for to lett *Jacob* have the better in the Struggle; until by a Touch, he made the *Thigh-bone* of *Jacob* slip out of the *Socket*, and cause the *Tendon* which fastened it there (together with the *Flesh* of the *Muscle* connected thereunto) to fail. *Jacob* then began to suspect him an *Angel*, and held him fast, with a Desire of a *Blessing* from him. The *Angel* then foretelling the Change of his Name, from *Jacob* to *Israel*, (which was eminently accomplished, in calling his Posterity, not *Jacobites*, but *Israelites*,) he intimates, the *End* of this Combate; which was to show him, That he having such *Power with God*, as to prevail over one of His Ministers, needed not fear his Brother *Esau*. *Jacob* insisted on it, that he might know the Name of the *Angel*, & so be more confirmed whether he were an *Angel*. The *Angel* does not gratify him; and *Rasi* thinks, that *Angels* changed their Names according to the Offices and

¹⁶⁰ Simon Patrick on Gen. 32:14 (*Commentary* 1:115–16). Patrick's primary source for Aristotle and Pliny is Samuel Bochart (*Hierozoicon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 2 and 43, pp. 79–80, 439), who cites Varro (*Rerum rusticarum* 2.3.10), Aristotle (*Historia animalium* 6.26.578a, 14–16), and Pliny (11.96.236; 28.33.123).

Functions, unto which they were assigned. However, the *Angel*, so pronounced a *Blessing* upon | *Jacob*, in the Name of the God from whom He came, & Renewed the Blessing promised unto *Abraham*, that *Jacob* was now fully satisfied, who he was. He considered this *Angel*, as Part of the *Shechinah*, and probably the *Shechinah* itself now also appeared, & approached near unto him. Whence he cried out, *I have seen God Face to Face*. [408v]

That Clause, [*And my Life is preserved,*] *Menochius* thinks, may be, q.d. *I now doubt not, I am safe; God will preserve me from Hurt by my Brother Esau*.¹⁶¹

1804.

Q. That wonderful Matter, *Jacobs* Colluctation with the *Angel*, Give us another Conjecture of what Nature it might be? v. 24.

A. In the German *Ephemerides*, for the Year 1682. the Seventy Sixth Observation, communicated by D. *Hanneman*, gives an Account of a Remarkable *Ecstasy*, of one in *Buxtehude*. Upon this, hee proceeds to discourse on the Nature of an *Ecstasy*, and the Communion, which the Souls of Men therein have, with the *Spirits* of the *Invisible World*, even such *Spirits* as their former Lives have rendred them agreeable unto. I'll now transcribe for you, some Notable Words, which that learned Man uses on this Occasion.

Sic Jacob Ecstasin passus, in visione, quâ scalas in Cælum erectas vidit, in quibus Angeli ascendebant et descendebant. Lucta, quâ obtinuit, ut Jacob Israel vocaretur, à Jehovâ, fuit in ecstasi, et ut tale quid contigisse, etiam Recordaretur, memoriale fuit illa luxatio, quâ postea laboravit. Quid autem illâ luxatione Deus significare voluerit, hic addere, non est hujus Fori; scilicet, posterorum Israel, in ultimis generationibus perpetuam Apostasiam.¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ Mather extracts both paragraphs from Simon Patrick on Gen. 32:24, 29, 30 (*Commentary* 1:116, 117). However, Mather erroneously renders ΛΟΓΟΣ (LOGOS) as ΛΟΓΟΣ – here silently corrected. St. Augustine addresses this issue in *De Trinitate* (2.10–11, 3.11), in *NPNFi* (3:45–47, 64–68); but see his *Ennarationes in Psalmos* CXLVII.28, where Augustine argues that “God Himself wrestled with” Jacob “under the guise of” and angel (*NPNFi* 8:672). See also Mather’s annotations on Gen. 18:33 (above). Rasi (or rather Rashi, on Gen. 32:30), from Genesis Rabbah (LXXVIII:4), argues that angels “have no permanent name. Our names change (all) according to the service we are commanded [to do] in the mission upon which we are sent” (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 2:419). Finally, Mather’s citation from Giovanni Steffano Menochius’s *Commentarij totius Sacrae Scripturae* (1755 ed.) 125, on Gen. 32:30, is derived from Patrick (*Commentary* 1:117), but Patrick’s own source for Menochius appears to be Matthew Poole’s trusty *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:231). Poole relates that Menochius offers two alternatives on the meaning of “Peniel” (Gen. 32:30): Either “*I am not dead*” or “*I am freed from the fear of my brother*, whence Hosea 12:4 has, *I was comforted*” (Poole, *Works* 3:209).

¹⁶² The German physician Daniel Johannes Ludovicus Hannemann (1640–1724) describes the ecstasies of the young German girl from Buxtehude (N Germany), in “Observatio LXXXVI: D. Joh. Ludovici Hanneman Puella Ecstatica” (pp. 180–83), which was published in vol. 11 (1682) of the “*German Ephemerides*,” aka. *Miscellanea Curiosa, Sive ephemeridum medico-physicarum Germanicarum academia* (1670–1706). Hannemann’s “Notable Words” appear in *Miscellanea Curiosa* (1683) 11:181 (scholium) and translate as follows: “Thus Jacob suffered a

Some Commentators have thought this Narration of *Moses*, has given an Occasion to the Fable related by *Lycophron*, That *Jupiter* took on him the Form of an *Athlete*, or a *Wrestler*, & so contended a whole Night with *Hercules*, who overcame the Father of the Gods.¹⁶³

1879.

Q. The Name of *Israel*? v. 28.

A. It was, as *Nazianzen* well saies, Μέγα κ{α}τὰ τίμιον ὄνομα, ἄθλον τῆς εὐσεβείας. *A Great and Honourable Name, given him for a Reward of his Piety.* With *Philo*, it signified, *Homo videns Deum*; with *Jerom*, *Rectus Dei*. But the True Interpretation is, given here, *princeps cum Deo*.¹⁶⁴

No Name in Scripture is more famous, than that of *Israel*: the Story of whose Life, is more fully related than any of the Patriarchs, because, as *Pererius* expresses it, hee was, *Totius et Solius populi Dei parens*.¹⁶⁵

It is observed, when the Infirmities of the Church are mentioned, shee is called, *Jacob*; but when her Glory and Courage is referr'd unto, shee is called, *Israel*.

One ha's this Note upon it; "When the *Thigh-bone* of *Jacob*, was putt out of Joint, then he was called, *Israel*. So that it is no Contradiction; 2. Cor. XII.10. *When I am weak, then I am strong*."¹⁶⁶

Q. On *Peniel*? v. 30.

trance, in the vision where he saw ladders raised up to heaven, on which angels were going up and down. The wrestling match, which took place so that Jacob might be called Israel by Jehovah, was in the trance, and so that he might also remember that something of this sort had happened, the dislocation of his joint from which he suffered afterwards was a reminder. However, it is not the place of this forum to add here what God wished to signify by that dislocation: namely, the continual apostasy of the children of Israel in the last generations."

¹⁶³ The story of Herakles's wrestling with the athletic Zeus at Olympia appears in *Scholia in Lycophronem* (scholia 41).

¹⁶⁴ See Heidegger (2:253–54, Exerc. XIII, § 19). The Greek passage, adapted from Gregory Nazianzen (*De theologia: oratione secunda* 18.17–19), translates, "A great and honourable name, which he received for a reward of his reverence," in *Second Theological Oration* (Oration 28.18), in *NPNFi* (7:295). With Philo Judaeus (*De mutatione nominum* 12.81) it signifies, "the man who sees God" (*Works* 348); with St. Jerome (*Traditionibus Hebraicis, in Genesim super*) on Gen. 32:28, it suggests, "right side of God." But the "True Interpretation," according to Mather, is a "prince with God" (St. Jerome, *Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, pp. 70–71). Yet in his commentary *Liber Bresith Qui Dicitur Genesis* [PL 28. 207B], Jerome's interpretation is consistent with that in the KJV: "for as prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed."

¹⁶⁵ According to Valentinius Benedictus Pererius's annotations on Gen. 32:28 ("Disputatio Quinta"), in *Commentariam et disputationum in Genesim* (1596–1602) 4:344–48, Jacob-Israel was "the sole parent of all the people of God."

¹⁶⁶ See Poole's commentary on Gen. 32:32 (*Works* 3:209).

A. *Strabo* [L. XVI.] has preserved the Memory of this Matter. He says, In his Time there was a Promontory of *Lebanon*, called, *The Face of GOD*.¹⁶⁷

1072.

Q. What appears Remarkable, in the Remembrance, that the *Israelites* kept of their Fathers *Lameness*? v. 32.

A. You see, *Distinction of Meats*, was the first Thing, which differenced the *Israelites*, from all other People. They would not eat the *Sinew*, which had *Shrank* in their Father; and hereby they præsaved an *Honourable Memory* of his Lameness. They did not Refrain to eat of the *Joint*, where that *Sinew* was; as a Leg of *Mutton*, or *Beef*; the *Legs* of the *Passeover* were to bee eaten. [Exod. 12.10.] But they spared the *Sinew*; and this, not in Abomination of it, but in Honour & Respect unto it, because it bare the Memorial of their first Naming *Israel*. The Portion of Meat, that *Elkanah* gave to his Beloved *Hannah*; the, *Portion of Representation*, may not unfitly bee understood of this Joint: And this Peece of Meat, *Samuel* did reserve out of special Civilitie for *Saul*: [1. Sam. 9.24.] *The Cook took up the Leg*.¹⁶⁸

2646.

Q. Might there be any special Mystery in *Jacobs Lameness*?

A. I remember, That old *Prosper*, makes it ominous and prædictive of the Fate of *Jacobs* Posterity, and especially in the Matter of *Religion*. He finds them afterwards *Halting*, and Rebuked for their *Halting*.

You may do well, at Liesure, to consider what may be in it.

The rather, because the Children of *Jacob*, are called, Exod. I.3. *Such as came out of his Thigh*.¹⁶⁹

Q. That Phrase, *The Children of Israel*, which first occurs here? v. 32.

A. Dr. *Gell* spends five Pages in Folio, to perswade us, that we would rather translate it, *Sons of Israel*.

Without this, how will the Translators make a Difference between *Children* and *Children*? See Exod. XII.37.

¹⁶⁷ Mather's source is Jacques Saurin (Diss. XXXI, 1:246. *Strabo* (16.2.15) calls it "Theuprosopon"; i.e., "Face-of-God."

¹⁶⁸ The traditional Christian Hebraist sources consulted on this issue are John Selden's *De Synedriis* (1650), lib. 2, cap. 13, p. 552; Guilielmus Henricus Vorstius's observations on פֶּרֶקֶי רַבִּי אֱלִיעֶזֶר *Capitula R. Elieser*, in *Chronologia sacra-profana a mundi . . . Auctore David R. Ganz* (1644) 221; and John Spencer's *De legibus Hebraeorum ritualibus* (1685), lib. 3, diss. II, cap. 2, sec. 1, pp. 656–58. The Talmudic tractates *Pesachim* (22a, 47b, 83a, b), *Beitzah* (12a), *Makkoth* (21b), *Chullin* (91a), and Maimonides's *Mishneh Torah: Hilchot Melachim* (9.1) list the dos and don'ts of the sciatic sinew.

¹⁶⁹ St. Prosper Tiro of Aquitaine, *De promissionibus et praedictionibus Dei* (cap. 24, § 33) [PL 51. 752B].

The *Sons of Israel* represent the *Church* of God. The Dignity, and the *Ability* of the Male, is to be præservèd in the Title of the Faithful.¹⁷⁰

Q. What was the proper Seat, of *Jacobs* Lameness? called, *The Hollow of his Thigh*, in v. 32.

A. *Josephus* calls it, not so exactly, τὸ νεῦρο{ν} τὸ πλατὺ, sive, *Latum Nervum*. More properly, As *Sulpicius Severus* has it, *Latitudo Femoris* Jacob *obtorpuit*. Now, the *Latitudo Femoris*, is the, *Caput ossis Femoris, quod suo sinu, seu Vasto coxendicis Acetabulo excidit*, sais *Bartholinus*; who gives an Exemple of a Person of Quality, which having suffered a Luxation there, limped all his Dayes, tho' the Bone had been with sufficient Skill Replaced. I wonder, *Tostatus* and *Junius* could imagine, that *Jacob* was within a Day or two, cured of his Lameness. *Hornius* in his Notes upon *Sulpicius*, (as well as *Mercer*) more probably conclude him lame all his Life after. A *Luxatio Coxendicum*, is pronounced Incurable, by *Galen*, L. 17. *de usu part.* c. 2. and hee sais, A Claudication must follow necessarily upon such a Disaster. *Celsus* L.8.c. 20. thinks it very hard, it should bee otherwise, because the strong *Nerves & Muscles* there, very hardly admitt a Reposition of the Thigh, if they keep their Strength; & if they have lost their Strength, they as hardly Retain the Thigh so Reposed. Such a Disaster frequently happens in *Colluctations*, like that wherein *Jacob* was engaged. Hence in the Roman Playes, there were *Medici, sive chirurgi, pro gladiatoribus lasis luxatisve*. *Lipsius*, L.1.1. Saturnal. c. 14. Finally, If *Israel* halt, Lett it bee remembred, what *Philo* sais, *Non est Rectipies Virtus, in corpore mortali*.¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰ Dr. Robert Gell's five-page persuasion appears in his *Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), "Sermon VII," pp. 287–92.

¹⁷¹ Flavius Josephus (*Antiquities* 1.20.2) calls it "near the broad sinew" such as "the sciatic nerve." Sulpicius Severus (*Chronicorum ... Historia Sacra* 1.9) [PL 20. 100C] opines that "the breadth of Jacob's thigh shrank" (*Sacred History* 1.9), in *NPNFii* (11:74). The renowned Swedish physician Thomas Bartholinus (*Acta Medica & Philosophica Hafniensia Anni 1673* (1675), vol. 2, cap. 37: *Luxatio femoris*," pp. 102–04, adapts his Latin citation from the royal physician Henricus à Moinichen (fl. 16th c.). The "Latitudo Femoris," Bartholinus explains, is "the top of the femur, which fell out of its curve, or ruined hip-joint." Mather owned two volumes of Bartholin's *Acta Medica* [AAS-Library # 817]. Most likely, Mather refers to *Commentaria in Genesim* (Gen. 32:32), by Alonso Tostatus Abulensis, aka. Alonso Tostado (c. 1400–55), learned bishop of Avila, in his twenty-eight-volume *Opera Omnia quotquot in Scripturae Sacrae expositionem* (1596), vol. 1: *Commentaria in Genesim*. The annotations on Jacob's lameness appear in *Biblia Sacra*, 2nd ed. (1593) by Franciscus Junius and Immanuel Tremellius (1:37, notes 25–26), on Gen. 32:25; and in *Opera Theologica* (1613), "Libri Geneseos Analysis" (1:216–18), esp. 1:217, lines 60–80. Mather refers to the notes on Sulpicius Severus by the Dutch professor of theology at Leiden, Georgius Hornius (1620–70), who edited *Sulpicii Severi presbyteri Opera Omnia* (1665), the third edition of which was accessible to Mather at Harvard. Joannes Mercerus (Jean Mercier) published an oft-reprinted *Commentarii in Genesin Mosis librum* (1598). Claudius Galenus (*De usu partium corporis humanis* 17.2), referring to Hippocrates (*De articulis* 60), insists that a "luxatio coxendicum," or "dislocation of the hip," is incurable, even when not ulcerated. (In the holograph MS, Mather erroneously lists book 18, instead of 17, of Galen's work. Here silently corrected). The Roman physician Aulus Cornelius Celsus (*De medicina*

Q. *Until I come unto my Lord, into Seir.* We do not find any where that *Jacob* ever went into *Idumæa*. v. 14.

A. The Commentators, as Monsr. *Saurin* observes, have taken a great deal of Pains to excuse him from Dissimulation. Some say, He had, and might have a secret Reservation; In Case he could not meet with a better Way.¹⁷²

Abarbanel would have the Words of the Text run so; *Lett my Lord, I pray thee, pass over before his Servant; and I will lead on softly, according as the Cattel, that goeth before me, and Children be able to endure, until I come unto my Lord; unto Seir.* This Jewish Doctor joins the last Words, *Unto Seir*, with those which precede, *Lett my Lord*, i.e. *Esau, pass before his Servant*. And by the Words, *until I come unto my Lord*, he understands that *Jacobs* Meaning was, to go unto his Father *Isaac*, whilst *Esau* should return to *Idumæa*.¹⁷³

Austin has handled the Quæstion, and thinks, that *Jacob* did at first speak as he meant; but Prudence obliged him afterwards to change his Design.¹⁷⁴

Others with *Calvin*, are of Opinion that *Jacob* did conceal his real Intentions.

But perhaps *Moses* may have omitted the Story of this Journey, as he did the Journey he made unto *Kirjath-arbah* to visit his Father. Compare Gen. XXXV.27.¹⁷⁵

8.20.2–8) describes the problems of a dislocated hipbone, its treatment, and effects on the patient, but also points to such weighty authorities as Hippocrates, Diocles, Phylotimus, Nileus, and Heraclides of Tarentum, who cured such cases successfully. Justus Lipsius, aka. Joost Lips (1547–1606), a Christian Stoic humanist and philologist of Brabant, relates in his *Saturnaliū sermonum libri duo* (1598), lib. 1, pars 1, cap. 14. p. 45, that in the Roman gladiatorial games, “doctors or surgeons” were available “for gladiators suffering from injuries or dislocations.” Mather’s Latin citation from this oft-reprinted work on ancient warfare is adapted from the summary in the margin (*Saturnaliū* 45).

172 Mather’s answer in this and the following paragraphs is extracted from Jacques Saurin (Diss. XXXII, 1:248). The strained efforts to account for Jacob’s purported journey to Seir is sufficiently covered in Jacques Bonfrere’s *Pentateuchus Moysis, commentario illustratus* (1625) 268 (on Gen. 33:14), but Matthew Poole again provides the best summary of the various interpreters and their positions (*Works* 3:218).

173 Mather copies the English translation of Abarbanel’s commentary from Saurin (Diss. XXXII, 1:248).

174 St. Augustine, *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* (lib. 1, *Quaest. in Genesim*, CVI) [PL 34. 575].

175 John Calvin, on Gen. 33:13 (*Commentaries* 1.2:211).

[410v] |
1197.

Q. It is here said, *Jacob came to Shalem, a City in Shechem*. Where was the exact Scituation of that *Salem*? v. 18.

A. Dr. *Lightfoot* thinks, it was no where at all. The Scripture, in all the Chorography of *Ephraim*, does never mention any *Salem* at all; wherefore, Lett us read the Text, as the Generality of the Jewes do read it. *Jacob came safe to the City of Shechem*; for till then, hee had no Miscarriage in his Family, as hee had afterwards.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ Extracted from John Lightfoot's *Harmony* (1647) 32.

Q. The *Epocha* of this affair? v. 1.

A. I will transcribe the Words of Monsr. *Saurin*.

“*Moses* relates it immediately after having mention’d *Jacobs* Departure for *Canaan*. It is demonstrable, That *Dinah* was but Eight Years old, when that Patriarch left *Mesopotamia*. It is not less certain, that *Simeon* and *Levi* were but twelve or thirteen. *Moses*’s Account has mightily embarassed the greatest Part of the Commentators. Some of them think, *Dinah* suffered in a very Tender Age that Violence, which implies a greater Number of Years; and that *Simeon* and *Levi* committed in their Childhood, an Action which does likewise suppose Age & Strength. Others pretend, that *Jacob* dwelt in *Canaan* at *Salem* Eight or Ten Years. Neither of these Opinions are maintainable. It is much better to suppose, that *Moses* relates immediately after the Departure of *Jacob* for *Canaan*, an Event which did not happen, till a great while after he had arrived there. It is said in the Account of the Selling of *Joseph*, That *his Brethren went to feed their Fathers Flocks in Shechem*, when *Jacob* was in *Canaan*. *Dinah* was with them perhaps at the same time. *Joseph* was then *Seventeen Years old*. His Sister was born before him. It is probable therefore, that this may be accounted the *Epocha* to the Slaughter committed by *Simeon* and *Levi* upon the *Shechemites*.”¹⁷⁷

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¹⁷⁷ The citation is from Jacques Saurin (Diss. XXXIII, 1:253–54).

Q. We have here the First Mention of *Idolatri*; except what we have a little before, of one in this Family *Stealing her Fathers Images*. And on this Occasion, some Discourse about the *Date of Idolatri*, may be not unseasonable? v. 2.

A. Dr. *Edwards* ha's given us a learned Entertainment, upon, *The Idolatri & Polytheism of the Gentile World*.¹⁷⁸

The Learned have differed in their Opinions, about the *Date of Idolatri*. *Josephus* introduces it long before the Flood. Some Rabbins will have *Cain* to be the first *Idolater*; and a Worshipper of the Host of Heaven; But most of the Rabbinical, begin *Idolatri* in the Dayes of *Enos*. Our *Selden* follows *Maimonides*, in making it an *Antediluvian Crime*.¹⁷⁹

All with Ground little enough; and very much upon a singular and uncertain Translation of Gen. IV.26. – taking the Word, *Beginning*, to mean, *Profaning*.¹⁸⁰

We do not find *Idolatri* charged by *Moses* on the Antediluvian World, as any Part of the Wickedness that brought the Flood upon them. The Apparitions of GOD seem also to have been more frequent in those Dayes. The Memory of the Creation was likewise fresh; And the long Lives of the Patriarchs, were accommodated for the Propagation & Security of Religion. For such Reasons, *Lactantius* tells us, *Errant qui deorum cultus ab exordio rerum fuisse contendunt*. [Instit. L.2. c. 14.] And *Ireneus*, *Justin Martyr*, *Epiphanius*, *Austin*, *Cyril of Alexandria*, and others, were of the same Opinion.¹⁸¹

Dr. *Edwards* thinks it probable, That *Idolatri* began first, with the Worshipping of *Bel*, or *Belus*, whom the Scripture calls *Nimrod*, the first King of *Assyria* after the Flood.

¹⁷⁸ Mather's lengthy excerpt appears to be a summary and extract from several of John Edwards works, including Edwards's *Discourse* (1:193–267), but especially [*Polypoikilos Sophia*.] *A Compleat History* (1699), vol. 1, ch. 8, pp. 240–63.

¹⁷⁹ Flavius Josephus (*Antiquities* 1.3.1) argues that idolatry began seven generations after Adam. Perhaps Mather alludes to R. David Kimchi's commentary on Gen. 4:26, which suggests "that idolatry was widespread in the days of Enosh" (*Hachut Hameshulash* 1:166); for much the same see Rashi's commentary on Gen. 4:26 (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 1:75). Maimonides (*Mishneh Torah: Hilchot Avodat Kochavim* 1.1) identifies Enosh and his contemporaries as practicing idolatry before the Flood. Maimonides and the Mishnah (*Avodah Zarah*) appear to inform John Selden's *De Diis Syris* (1617) and *De Jure Naturali* (lib. 2, cap. 1–2, pp. 130–37ff).

¹⁸⁰ Mather here relies on Dionysius Vossius's Latin translation of and commentary on *R. Mosi Maimonidae De Idololatria* (1641), lib. 1, cap. 1, pp. 1–2. (*Mishneh Torah: Hilchot Avodah Kochavim* 1.1). See also Targum Jonathan ben Uziel on Gen. 4:26 (Walton 4:9).

¹⁸¹ Lactantius (*Divinarum Institutionum* 2.14) [PL 328. 329A–B] points to Noah's descendants who began to adore the stars after settling Egypt: "They err who contend that the worship of the gods was from the beginning [of the world]" (*ANF* 7:63).

There are some Lines of *Hesiod*,

ΑΥΤΑΡ ΕΠΕΙ ΜΕΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΓΕΝΟΣ ΚΛ.

Which affirm, That when the Worthies of the First and Golden Age left this World, *Jupiter* made them *Dæmons*, & appointed them to be the Guardians of Mankind, & to do good Offices for Men upon Earth. These were called, *Animales Dij*; and *Servius* assigns the Reason of the Name, out of *Labeo*; That by certain Rites the *Animæ* of Men were turned into Gods. Thus *Lactantius* [*De Ira Dei*. c. 11.] tells us, *It omnes qui coluntur ut Dij, homines fuerunt, et ijdem primi ac maximi Reges*.¹⁸²

That a great Part of *Idolatry*, rose from the Divine Honour paid unto dead *Monarchs* and *Princes* may be gathered from the Primitive Names of Heathen Gods, and their Idols; particularly *Baal* & *Moloch*. *Baal* or *Bagual*, which is, *Dominus*, was the General Name of the *Gentile Gods*. The *Phœnicians* pronounced it *Bal*; and it was *Bel* among the *Assyrians* and *Chaldeans*. When great *Lords* died, they were *deified* by their People. And who was the first *Lord*, or *King*, so *deified*? *Nimrod*, the Son of *Cush*, and the Grandson of *Cham*, who flourished about A. M. 1716. is he who in profane Authors is called, *Belus*, or, *Jupiter Belus*. He was the first, *Bel*, or *King*, and by his People made a *God* when he died, and by the Heathen called, *Belus*. *Jerom*, in his Comment on *Ezekiel*, tells us, that *Ninus*, the Son of *Nimrod*, or *Belus*, erected Altars & a Temple, with Images to his Father, after he was Dead; and *this was the Beginning of Idolatry*. This Example was greedily followed; many Subjects flattered their Dead Kings with the Title of *Gods*, and honoured them with the Names of *Baal*, of *Bel*, & of *Baalim*; which were the general Term for the *Pagan Gods*. [Hos. II.8. Jer. L.2. 1. Sam. VII.4. Jer. II.23.]¹⁸³

Here it may be observed, That out of a special Veneration to the *Baal*, or *Bel*, who was the first King which was made a *God* among the Heathen, some great Men tack'd this Name to theirs. As, *Eth-bal* King of the *Sidonians*;

¹⁸² Mather's citation, adapted from Hesiod (*Opera et dies* 121–22, 140–41), merely alludes to the opening lines, “But after the earth had covered this generation,” which are followed by “they [the dead] are called pure spirits dwelling on earth,” and “they are called blessed spirit of the underworld.” The “*Animales Dii*” or “aerial gods” are related to the “*animæ*” or “souls” of men, according to the Roman grammarian Maurus Servius Honoratus (4th c. CE), who evidently cites the lost history of Roman and Etruscan mythology by Cornelius Labeo (c. 250–300 CE). Lactantius (*De Ira Dei* 11) [PL 7. 111A] affirms in Euhemerist fashion that “all those who are worshipped as gods were men, and were also the earliest and greatest kings” (*ANF* 7:268).

¹⁸³ Lev. 18:21 mentions the infamous Babylonian Moloch (or Molech) to whom children were sacrificed in ancient Babylonia and Palestine (2 King 23:10; Jer. 32:35). The date of Anno Mundi 1716 for Nimrod, son of Cush (Gen. 10:8), is within the parameters of James Ussher's chronology, in *Annals* (1658) 3–4. Herodotus (*Historia* 1.181–83) describes the temple precinct of the Chaldean Zeus (Jupiter) Belus (Marduk). St. Jerome relates the story of Ninus in his *Interpretatio Chronicae Eusebii Pamphili* XIII [PL 27. 76A], not in his *Commentaria in Ezechielem*. According to a fragment of Ctesias Cnidius's *History of the Persians* (5th–4th c. BCE), surviving in Diodorus Siculus (2.7.1–2), Ninus (son of Belus), founder of the Assyrian empire, was deified and worshiped in the temple that his wife Semiramis built over his tomb.

and *Jezebel*, who was that Kings Daughter. So, Some of King *Sauls* Courtiers, as *Esh-baal*, and *Merib-baal*. The last King of the Chaldaean Race was called, *Bel-shazzar*. And *Nebuchadnezzar* gave to *Daniel* this Name, a little altered, *Bel-teshazzar*; which was, *According to the Name of his God*. [Dan. IV.8.] Thus, *Asdrubal*, and *Hannibal*, and *Heliogabalus*, were Names that contain *Baal* in them. No doubt, from this *Bel* was *Bellinus*, the Name of a God among the old *Galls*, and *Germans*, and *Britons*; and thence the Names of the British Kings, *Cassibelin*, and *Cunobelin*.¹⁸⁴

Mithridates had his Name from the Persian God, *Mithras*, which is the same with, *Dominus*; And so the Hebrew, *Baal*, is answered in it.¹⁸⁵

[414v] The first *Baal*, or *Bel*, hath different *Epithets* annexed unto him, according to the different *Places* where he was worshipped; For he had Adoration paid him, not only in *Assyria* (his Native Countrey,) but also in some other Parts of the World. He had the Name of *Baal-Peor*, or *Bel-Phegor*; from a Mountain called *Peor*, in the Land of *Moab*; on the Top of which Mountain *Balak* desired Balaam to curse *Israel*; the Temple of his God being scituated there, & his Worship there paid unto him; and so it was hoped, that on his own Ground, he might signify something. | *Suidas* agrees to this; and so does our *Selden*, who thinks, he was called thus, as *Jupiter* was called *Olympus*, on the Score of his being worshipped on Mount *Olympus*. Tho' some say, *Baal-Peor* was a lewd King of that Countrey; famous for his Obscenities, & canonized after his Death by his Friends that were of the same Temper with himself.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ Father of Jezebel, Ethbaal was king of Sidon (1 King 16.31). Eshbaal is one of King Saul's sons; Meribaal, Saul's grandson by Jonathan (1 Chron. 8:33–34; 9:39–40). Asdrubal (Hasdrubal) was the name of several Carthaginian generals; noteworthy is Hasdrubal Barca (d. 207 BCE), brother of Hannibal (247–183 BCE), the celebrated Carthaginian statesman and general, who decisively defeated the Romans in the Second Punic War (218–203 BCE) (*KP*). *Heliogabalus*, aka. Elagabalus (El-Gabal), Roman Emperor (218–222 CE), reportedly derived his name from the Semitic deity “El.” See John Selden's *De Diis Syris* (1617), Syntagma 2, cap. 1, pp. 106, 127–33, 137. King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon (605–562 BCE) bestowed the title Bel-teshazzar on David (Dan. 1:7). Geoffrey of Monmouth (*Britannicae historiae*, “Catalogus” and lib. 3, 4, pp. 16–32) lists *Bellinus* as a Celtic god, and *Cassibelin* (Cassivelaunus) and *Cunobelin* (Cynobellinus, Cymbeline) as kings of Britain (A. M. 3908–3973). Moreover, Suetonius (*Vita Divi Augusti: Caligula* 44.2) and Dio Cassius (*Historia Romanae* 60.20, *Dio's Roman History* 7:417) mention Cunobelin, aka. Cynobellinus, Kymbelinus, Cassivellaunus (c. 20 BCE–c. 40 CE), as king of the Britons, or rather ruler of the Catuellani (Catuvellauni, Cassivellauni), whom Julius Caesar reputedly defeated in 54 BCE.

¹⁸⁵ Mithridates (Mithradates) is the name of several Parthian, Greek, and Iberian kings whose name is derived from *Mithra-Datt* (“one given by Mithra”), an Indo-Iranian sun-god worshipped by the Romans (*OCD*).

¹⁸⁶ John Selden, *De Diis Syris Syntagmata* (1617), Synt. 2, cap. 5, pp. 65–74, and Synt. 2, cap. 1–3 pp. 103–90. *Suda* (*Lexicon*, alphabetic letter *iota*, entry 171, lines 1–2; entry 222, lines 4–6, 9 etc.). See also John Spencer, *De legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 10, sec. 1, p. 315; for greater detail, see Pierre Jurieu's *Critical History* (vol. 2, part 4, treatise I, chs. 1–4, pp. 1–18). According to the Talmudic tractate Sanhedrin 64a, *Mishneh Torah* (Avodah Zarah 3), and Rashi on Num. 25:3, the rites of Baal-Peor reportedly involved such rites as exhibitionism,

It is likely that *Baal-Zephon* was *Baal* revered as a God at *Zephon*, a Place at which the *Israelites* lodged in their Journey from *Egypt*.

Unto this first *Bel*, namely *Nimrod* or *Ninus*, may be referred other Names of this God, which are mentioned in the Scriptures; as *Rimmon*, and *Nisroch*.¹⁸⁷

Of the former we read, 2. King. V.18. It may be as much as *Baal-Rimmon*; that is, *Baal* who was worshipped in a peculiar Manner at *Rimmon*, a Place often mentioned in the Bible. [Josh. XV.32. 1. Chron. IV.32. and VI.77. Zech. XIV.16.] The latter, was the God of the *Assyrians*, and his Temple was at *Ninive*. 2. King. XIX.32. Now, tis well-known, that *Baal*, or *Bel*, was the God of the *Assyrians*. *Jurieu* owns, that *Nisroch* was *Baal*, and embellishes it with a Notion; That *Nisroch* signifies an *Eagle*; which is a Bird of Prey and Chace; and so it agrees well with *Nimrod*'s being a *Mighty Hunter*; And that *Belus* was worshipped by the *Assyrians*, in the form of an *Eagle*.¹⁸⁸

Selden and other great Criticks have observed, That a *πολυωνομια*, or, *Multitude of Names*, was thought Acceptable to the Gods; wherefore we need not wonder if *Baal* had *Many Names* allow'd unto him.¹⁸⁹

That *Kings* and great Potentates, we{re} the first *Gods* on Earth, is to be gathered, from another Name well known in the World; even, that of *Molech*, or *Molock*, or *Malchum*, or *Milcom*; All which are no other than *Melech*, a *King*; and accordingly rendered, *Αρχων* and *Βασιλευς*, by the LXX. And no other are *Adrammelech*, and *Anamelech*, the Gods of *Sepharvaim*. [2. King. XVII.31.] There are eager Contentions among the Learned, what particular God may be meant by *Moloch*. *Selden*, and *Grotius*, and *Jurieu*, will have him to be *Moloch*. *Kircher* will have him to be *Mars*. *Arias Montanus* will have him to be *Mercury*. And with *Cyril* it shall be *Venus*. Our *Edwards* looks on all this as precarious; and will have him to be a *Dead King*, who was worshipped. And why not the same with *Baal*? He that in certain Places was called *Baal*, was called *Moloch* in others; especially among the *Ammonites*. *Moloch* was the God of the *Children of Ammon*. [1. King. XI.33.] The *High Places* of *Tophet*, where they burnt their Children, have certainly a Relation to *Moloch*. And yett they are called, Jer. XIX.5. *The High-places of Baal*. For this Cause, two Noted Criticks; *Petit*, and *Spencer*, come into the Acknowledgment, That *Baal* and *Moloch* were Names of the same God. The Pagan *Gods*, were first of all made of *Kings*; whose Mortality promoted them to Deities.¹⁹⁰

urinating, and defecating in front of the idol, but are most likely the denigratory tales of those who abominated idolatry.

¹⁸⁷ Selden, *De Diis Syris* (Synt. 1, cap. 3, p. 43); Num. 26:15; Josh. 15:32; 2 Kings 19:37.

¹⁸⁸ Jurieu, *Critical History* (2:139–40).

¹⁸⁹ Selden's Greek citation reads "polyonomia."

¹⁹⁰ Most of this paragraph is extracted from John Spencer, *De legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 10, sec. 1, pp. 314–16. For Malchum or Malcham, see Zeph. 1:5; the Greek "Archon" and "Basileus" suggest "ruler" and "king"; Selden, *De Diis Syris* (Synt. 1, cap. 6, pp. 80–83); Hugo Grotius on Lev. 18:21, Deut. 18:10, in *Annotationes* (1679) 1:67, 92; Jurieu, *Critical*

The first particular Notice of *Idolatry* in the Scriptures, is among the Kindred of *Abraham*; from whom we find *Rachel* stealing *Images*; [Gen. XXXI.19.] And hereto refers what we read; Josh. XXIV.2. *Your Fathers dwelt on the other Side of the Flood, in old time; and they served other Gods.* *Idolatry*, by this Account, ha's its first Original in *Chaldea*, & the Neighbour-Country's. And unto this, *Maimonides* and the other Jewish Doctors give their Suffrage, when they make the *Zabians*, the first *Idolaters*.¹⁹¹

The next *Idolatry* we read of, was in *Canaan*, whither *Abraham* was to remove, that he might *come out from among* the *Idolaters* of the East; For at *Bethel* there, [Gen. XXXV.2.] *Jacob* commanded *his Household*, to *putt away their Strange Gods*.¹⁹²

Next we find it in *Egypt*; where we read of, [Exod. XII.12.] The *Gods of Egypt*; And the *Israelites* themselves becoming *Idolaters*. Yea, They brought *Idolatry* with them from thence, into the Desarts of *Arabia*; where, by the way, the Sacrifices of their *Idolatry*, are called, [Psal. CVI.28.] *The Sacrifices of the Dead*; which lets us know, that the Gods, whom they worshipped, were *Dead Men*, whom the Nations deified. The *Israelites*, carried their *Idolatrous Disposition* unto *Canaan* with them. And nothing would cure them of it, but their Captivity in *Babylon*, the first Seat and Source of *Idolatry*; Returning from which, tis very strange, they were no more addicted unto it.

The *Græcians* borrowed their Gods from the *Egyptians*; and added many more unto them. The *Romans* improved these Deities; and raised up the Number of them to many Thousands. But still our *Edwards* will have the Adoring of *Dead Men*, especially of *Dead Kings*, to be the Beginning of all. And he doubts not, but the *Teraphim* of *Rachel*, (the first *Idols* mentioned in the Bible,) [415r] were in Imitation of the | *Images*, which represented some great *Assyrian Kings*, who were the first Gods, in the *Idolatry* of the Nations.¹⁹³

History (2:25); Athanasius Kircher, *Œdipus Ægyptiacus* (1652), tomus 1, synt. 4, cap. 15, pp. 328–37; Theophilus Gale, *Court of the Gentiles* (1672), part 1, bk. 2, ch. 7, pp. 78–85; Arias Montanus, *Biblia Sacra* (1569–73), on Amos 1, calls Moloch “Mercurius”; St. Cyrillus Alexandrinus (*Commentarius in xii prophetas minores* 1:476, lines 4–5), on Amos 5:25, associates Moloch with the Greek Aphrodite (Venus). Both Samuel Petit (*Variae Lectiones*, cap. 1) and John Spencer, *De legibus* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 10, sec. 1, pp. 315–16, associate Baal with Moloch. Much of the debate is synopsized in Matthew Poole's invaluable *Synopsis Criticorum* (3:1848–50).

191 See John Spencer, *De legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 1, cap. 9, p. 177; lib. 2, “præfatio,” p. 235. Maimonides (*Guide* 3.29.315–20). See also Mather's discussion of the Zabians (Sabians, Sabaeans) in “V. *Antiqua*. Or, Our Sacred Scriptures,” in “An Essay for a Further Commentary” (appended to Revelation). For the rise and fall of Maimonides's invention of the Sabians, see J. Elukin, “Maimonides”; R. Westfall, “Newton's *Theologiae Gentilis*”; G. Stroumsa, “John Spencer”; Jan Assmann, “Mosaic Distinction” as well as the longer version in *Moses the Egyptian* (ch. 3), F. Parente, “Spencer.”

192 See Spencer (*De legibus Hebraeorum*, lib. 3, diss. 3, cap. 2, sec. 1, p. 684; cap. 3, sec. 2, p. 699).

193 Gen. 31:34.

Tho' the oldest *Jupiter* might be *Cain*; the eldest Son of *Adam*; yett there was a later, who was the *King* of *Crete*, (yea, *Varro* saies, There were Three hundred of the Name,) and so loved or feared by the Inhabitants, that they honoured him as a *God*, when he was dead. *Pausanias* in his *Atticks*, reports, that *Cecrops* the first King of the Athenians, was the first who decreed this *Jupiter* to be called, *A God*.¹⁹⁴

The most ancient *Janus* might be *Noah*. But there was another *Janus*, among the Italians, made a Deity, by the People over whom he ruled; their First *King*, as is testified by *Festus*, by *Pliny*, by *Macrobius*, and *Arnobius*. Dr. *Edwards* inclines to derive his Name from the Eastern Word, *Jan*, or, *Chan*, which signifies, a *Prince*. A Wise King, who (having Two Faces) knew Things past, and Foreknew Things to come.¹⁹⁵

The *God Remphan*, [Act. VII.43.] was, according to Dr. *Edwards*, a King of *Egypt*. Mr. *Selden* utterly renounces all hope to find, who he was. But why may he not be, the same with the *Egyptian* King *Remphis*, mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus*? of whom *Capellus* treats in his Annotations on the Text that ha's been cited. The Prophet *Amos* calls him *Chiun*. But the Martyr *Stephen*, with the LXX uses the Word *Remphan*. For those Interpreters turned a *Persian* or *Arabic* Name, into an *Egyptian* one, for the same God. These Interpreters, were at *Alexandria*, & employ'd by an *Egyptian* King: And they might be willing to have seen, that an *Egyptian* King, one of his Predecessors, was here intended; who was made a *God* by the People & placed among the *Stars*. This also gives an Account of the *Star of the God Remphan*; They translated *Kings* into *Stars*, and then worshipped

194 Of the large number of works by Roman author Marcus Terrentius Varro only two are extant. Of the two, his *De lingua Latina* (5.19, 65–67; 7.6–20; 9.77) provides much relevant information on ancient religions and the history of the sky-god Jupiter (“Diespiter”), or “Father Day,” and on his wife Juno, representing “Earth.” Pausanias (8.2.2) mentions Cecrops, first king of Attica, whose half-human and half-serpentine shape emerged from the fertile earth. As the father of Greek civilization and founder of Athens, Cecrops was revered (with Poseidon) in the Erechtheion of the Acropolis, also known as the Cecropia (KP). In the version of Arnobius (*Adversus gentes* 6.6), Cecrops was buried in the temple of Minerva (ANF 6:508).

195 Mather's Janus-Noah refers to the apocryphal story dished up in Anniius of Viterbo's forgery, according to which Noah settled in Italy in the 860th year of his life and established Janiculum, in *An Historical Treatise of the Travels of Noah into Europe* (1601), pp. Bii(v), C(v)-Cii(v). In another – no doubt equally credible version – Janus was the most ancient king of Italy, who established a settlement on the Tiber, the Janiculum. In Roman mythology, this latter Janus is revered as the god of gates and doorways (Ianua), and his two faces (bifrons) suggest that he is connected to both the past and the future. Ovid (*Fasti* 1.65, 246) mentions “Iane biceps” (“two-headed Janus”) and the “Janiculum” (Janus temple); see also Sextus Pompeius Festus (*De verborum significatione* 104), Pliny (3.5.68, 36.4.28), Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.7.19, 23), and Arnobius (*Adversus gentes* 1.36.2, 3.6.2, 3.29.3–4), in ANF (6:422, 465, 471); John Edwards, *Discourse* (1:210–11).

them. *Salmasius* observes, That *Remphan*, or *Rephan*, is the *Egyptian* Word for the Planet *Saturn*.¹⁹⁶

Apis, or *Serapis*, or *Osiris*, (Three Names of one Person,) was an *Egyptian King*, dignified with a Deity. Dr. *Edwards* will have him to be no other than *Joseph*, the famous Vice-roy of *Egypt*. And he thinks, *Tammuz* to have been the same. The Practice mentioned by *Ezekiel*, There satt *Women weeping for Tammuz*, might be a Piece of Idolatry, borrowed by the *Jews*, from the *Egyptians*; who used yearly to lament the *Death* of *Apis* their King, who was called *Ammuz* by the *Egyptians*, as we are informed by *Herodotus* and *Plutarch*; and corruptly, *Tammuz*. A famous Prince, worshipped by the People after his *Death*; and an annual Mourning appointed for him in the Fourth Month, which among the *Jews* wore the Name of *Tammuz*.¹⁹⁷

But *Princes* were not the only Things, that had their *Apotheosis*. Others were taken into the Number of the Pagan Gods, δι' αρετης υπερβολην. as *Aristotle* saies; *For the Eminency of their Vertue*. Deities, whereof the Roman Orator saies, *Quos in Cælum merita vocarunt*.¹⁹⁸

Thus, the most celebrated Authors of Remarkable & Beneficial *Inventions*, were putt into the List of their Gods. Who but *Adam*, the First Man, could be their *Saturn*, the Son of *Cælus* and *Tellus*, under whom was the *Golden Age*, & the Introduction of *Husbandry*? Who but *Eve* could be the *Minerva*, that found out *Spinning* and *Weaving*, and was the Mistress of the Saduces? Who but she,

¹⁹⁶ John Selden, *De Diis Syris* (1617), Synt. 2, cap. 13, pp. 258–59. Diodorus Siculus (1.62.5–63.1) mentions Remphis, son of Proteus. Remphis (Rhampsinitus) is now better known as Ramses III (c. 1182–1151 BCE), second king of the 20th dynasty. Ludovicus Cappellus's annotation on Act. 7:43, in *Critica Sacra* (1650), vol. 6, is also excerpted in Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (4:1455). "Chiun" (Amos 5:26) is rendered "Reiphan" in the LXX; St. Stephen has Remphan (Act. 7:43). Claudius Salmasius's observation on "Remphan" (Rephan), signifying "Saturn" in the Arabic and Persian languages, appears in his massive *Plinianae exercitationes* (1689), cap. 36, 1:435, a-b, A-G. In this interpretation, Salmasius is confirmed by most commentators of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as by R. Abraham Ibn Ezra, on Amos 5:26, and by R. David Kimchi (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Twelve Prophets* 1:145).

¹⁹⁷ Edwards, *Discourse* (1:214–15). Herodotus (2.42, 123, 144, 153–154; 3.28–29); Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*); Pierre Jurieu traces the origin and history of these Egyptian deities in his magnificent *Critical History* (2:168–214). For Thamus, the Egyptian pilot, who announced the death of Pan, see Plutarch's *De defectu oraculorum* (419 B-D), *Plutarch's Moralia* (5:400–03), but this is not the Tammuz in question here. Tammuz (Ezek. 8:14) is by Calvin, Piscator, Junius, and many other Reformed theologians equated with the Egyptian Osiris. The death of Tammuz (like that of Osiris in the Egyptian legends) is commemorated in the Babylonian name for the fourth month (Tammuz) in the Hebrew calendar (July / August). John Marsham provides fascinating historical information on these issues in his *Chronicus Canon* (1672), Seculum IV, pp. 59–62; and Matthew Poole provides the best overview of the critical positions of his time in his *Synopsis Criticorum* (3:1098–99).

¹⁹⁸ Aristotle (*Ethica Nicomachea* 7.1.1145a, 23–24) refers to the great Hector (Homer, *Iliad* 24:258–60) and divines that "men become gods by excess of excellence." The Latin adaptation from the Roman orator Cicero (*De legibus* 2.8.19) is a response to his interlocutor Quintus and stipulates that men should worship "those whose merits have called them to heaven."

the *Ceres*, the Δημητηρ, and *Magna Mater*; the first finder out of *Bread*; the Goddess of the *Fruits of the Earth*? Was not *Noah*, the *Neptune* of the Ancients, who found out Navigation? And *Jubal*, their *Apollo*, the Inventor of Music? Their *Mercury* seems to be *Moses*; the First Man, as *Maimonides* notes, that had the Honour to be, *Sent of God*. GOD said of him, *I have made thee a GOD unto Pharaoh*; that is, I make thee my Ambassador, to deliver my Message in my Name unto him. *Justin Martyr* saies, The Name of, *Hermes*, and, *The Interpreter of the Gods*, was given to *Moses* by the *Egyptians*. Is it not Reasonable to think, That the *Caduceus* of *Mercury*, had reference to the *Rod of Moses*? And, that the *Serpents* about the one, refer to the others being turned into a *Serpent*? And may not *Mercuries* Care of *Shepherds* allude unto the pastoral Life led by *Moses* for forty Years together? And *Mercuries* Care to direct Passengers, be fetch'd from the Guidance that *Moses* gave to *Israel* travelling thro' the Wilderness?¹⁹⁹

199 See Edwards, *Discourse* (1:205). Saturn (Kronos), offspring of Heaven and Earth, presides over the pleasures of the Golden Age (Hesiod, *Opera et Dies* 109–20). The post-lapsarian Adam tills the soil to earn his bread and thus becomes the de-facto inventor of husbandry. Likewise Eve, who in questing for the wisdom of God, becomes the de-facto weaver of fig-leaves and other articles into clothing. She is the Roman Minerva (Athena of the Greeks), goddess of wisdom and of all the liberal arts. Minerva is especially revered by workers in wool and embroidery (Gen. 1:28, 3:18–21); Arnobius's *Adversus gentes* (5.45), in *ANF* (6:506). The motherless origin of goddess Minerva, the brainchild of her father Jupiter, has much in common with that of alma mater Eve, who sprang from Adam's rib (Gen. 2:21–22); Arnobius's *Adversus gentes* (2.70), in *ANF* (6:461). Loosing her immortal life, Eve becomes the "Mistress of the Sad[d]uc[e]es," the priestly party that in denying the resurrection forfeited their reward in the hereafter (Matt. 22:23, Act. 23:8). Ceres, the Greek "Demeter," giver of corn (Hesiod, *Opera et dies* 30–32), can thus be called the "Great Mother" who – like Eve – nourished mankind with cereals and bread (Arnobius's *Adversus gentes* 1.38, 5.45, but see also 3.32), in *ANF* (6:423, 506, 472). As the inventor of harps and pipes (Gen. 4:21), Lamech's son Jubal becomes the muse to Vulcan's son Horus (Jupiter's Apollo), whose invention of music and musical instruments earned him the eternal devotion of poets and musicians. Maimonides (see *De Idololatria*, cap. 1, § 11. p. 19) appears to associate Moses, God's envoy to Pharaoh (Exod. 7:1) with Mercury (Hermes), messenger of the gods and patron of travelers and shepherds. Mather's second-hand argument is informed by the Renaissance debate reopened in Marsilio Ficino's translation of the Hermetic works *Pimander* (1464) and in Ficino's *Theologia Platonica* (8.1) in *Opera omnia* (1:400), where the Italian humanist conjectured that Moses was none else but Hermes Trismegistus; however, Ficino was less certain of their identity in his *Argumentum* (*Opera omnia* 2:1836). In either case, Ficino's claims were not entirely fresh either. Long before him, the early Christian apologist Justin Martyr (c. 100–c. 165) similarly equated Mneves (Menas) with Moses and hence with Hermes, the revealer of divine knowledge, in *Hortatory Address to the Greeks* (ch. 9, note 4; chs. 10–12, 38), in *ANF* (1:277–78, 289). And so did Diodorus Siculus (1.94.1) as well as Artapanus, in Eusebius Pamphilus's *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.27), and later St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* (8.23–26). Inventing the seven-stringed lyre, Mercury gave his musical instrument to Apollo from whom he received the caduceus, the staff entwined by two serpents, each forming a semicircle. Mather thus connects Mercury's serpent staff (emblem of power and healing) with that of Moses, whose brazen caduceus devours Pharaoh's serpent (Exod. 7:9–15). Perhaps more to the point, the serpentine staff of Mercury – much like that of Aesculapius – evokes the Mosaic serpent of brass upon a pole that saved all penitent murmurers from the serpent's fiery venom in the Israelite camp (Num. 21:5–9). See also Virgil (*Aeneid* 4:242–46), Pliny (29.12.54), and Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.19.7–18). According to Macrobius (*Saturnalia*

Those also that were notable for their *Adventures* came into the Roll of the Deified. Among these, the *Hercules* of the Pagans, may be our *Joshua*, or *Sampson*. In short, *Prudentius* observes it,

Et tot Templâ Deûm Romæ quot in urbe Sepulchra
*Heroum numerare licet.*²⁰⁰

And thus, when *Men died*, they were made *Immortal Gods*. For which Reason, the *Gods* of the Pagans may be called, *Methim*; Psal. CVI.28. *The Dead*.

[416v] But anon they came to adore the *Living* too. The *Chaldean* and *Persian Kings*, would be adored as *Gods*, while | they were *Alive*. The *Roman Emperors* were infamous above all others for this Affectation. The first of them, had *Altars* by some of his Admirers consecrated unto him. The next, tho' he would not be called, *Lord*, was willing to be treated as a *God*; And the Title of Σεβαστος was given him. The vilest Monsters of them, went the furthest this Way; your *Caligula's* and your *Domitians*. *Tertullian* charges it on the People in general; *Majore formidine, et callidiore timiditate Cæsarem observatis, quam ipsum de Olympo Jovem*. Yea, *Justinian* himself, uses, *Numen nostrum*, and such like Titles, in his *Constitutions*. Others of an Inferiour Quality had this Honour before they died: *Paul* and *Barnabas*, were esteemed Gods, by the Men of *Lystra*. And, Dr. *Edwards*, notwithstanding the Use which the Criticks make, of the, *Semoni Deo Sango*, found on a Statue brought to Light in the last Age; yett gives many Reasons, to confirm the Truth of the Story, which the Fathers have given us, of the Statue erected for *Simon the Sorcerer*.²⁰¹

1.9.11–12), Janus, who is associated with Mercury, is by the Phoenicians portrayed as a coiled serpent swallowing its own tail. This iconic depiction represents the universe feeding upon itself, but always returning to itself again. This famous motif can be found on the Susanna Jayne headstone of 1776, in Marblehead, Massachusetts (see A. I. Ludwig, *Graven Images* 78). See also Mather's *Zalmonah: The Gospel of the Brasen Serpent* (1725). For the Renaissance debate about Moses as Hermes Trismegistus, see F. Yates's *Giordano Bruno* (1–46, 433–70) and F. Purnell's "Francesco Patrizi" and "Hermes."

²⁰⁰ The mighty Hercules, celebrated for performing his twelve labors, is here likened to Joshua, who lead the conquest of Canaan after the death of Moses; and to Sampson, whose superhuman strength killed more Philistines in Dagon's temple than he could kill with the jawbone of an ass (Judg. 15:15–17; 16:28–30). Prudentius (*Contra Symmachum* 1.190–91) observes, "and in the city of Rome one can count as many temples to the gods as tombs of heroes."

²⁰¹ The Greek title "Sebastos" suggests "august," hence Caesar Augustus (Plutarch, *Regnum et imperatorum* 206 F, line 3), *Plutarch's Moralia* (3:228–29). Roman Emperors Gaius Julius Caesar Germanicus (12–41 CE), nicknamed Caligula ("Little Boots"), and Titus Flavius Domitianus (51–96 CE) perhaps have been unfairly represented by tradition as human monsters engaging in all sorts of unspeakable atrocities. Mather deplores Caligula's self-deification and Domitian's devotion to pagan deities and persecution of Jews and Christians. Both Caligula and Domitian were assassinated while in office. Whatever their crimes, Mather deemed Domitian's persecutions a minor matter when compared to the depredations committed against Austrian, Polish, and French Calvinists by the Hapsburg and Bourbon dynasties: "O *Dioclesian*, Thy Bloody Doings have been out-done, by a *Leopold*, and a *Louis*. Thou *Nero*, Thou *Domitian*, Yee have been but *Pygmies* to these Two *Giants* in *Perfidy* and *Cruelty*" (*Threefold Paradise* 234). In his *Apologeticus adversus gentes* (cap. 28) [PL 1. 436A], Tertullian (*Apology*, ch. 28) charges, "You

But this *Idolatry*, the Worshipping of Men, my learned Friend supposes, to have been infused into our First Parents, when the Tempter said unto them, *Ye shall be as Gods*. This ha's inclined their Posterity, to worship some of their own kind; This ha's produced this vile Ambition in the Children of Men.²⁰²

Unto what a Variety of senseless Impiety, the *Idolatry* of the Nations, did proceed, is a melancholy Story. But a large Exhibition of it, not having any direct Subserviency to the Illustration of the Sacred Oracles, it shall be superseded.²⁰³

[417r]

Q. *Strange Gods*. Tis very *Strange* that there should be any such found in *Jacobs* Family? v. 2.

A. Tis possible that *Jacob* now may have discovered, that *Rachel* had gott & kept her Father *Labans* Idols.

Or, there might be Idols which the Sons of *Jacob* had gott among the Spoils of the *Shechemites*.²⁰⁴

3329.

Q. Of *Jacobs* Family, tis said, *They gave unto Jacob, all the Strange Gods which were in their hand, and all their Ear-rings which were in their Ears; and Jacob hid them* – What were those *Ear-rings*? v. 4.

A. There were Two Sorts of *Ear-rings*. One sort were chiefly worn by the Women, for Ornaments; which are not meant in this Place. Another sort were esteemed sacred, & Men wore them as an *Amulet* for to præserve them from

do homage with greater dread and intenser reverence to Caesar, than Olympian Jove himself" (*ANF* 3:41). Byzantine Emperor Justinian I (483–565 CE) collected and codified the Civil Laws of Rome in his *Institutiones Divi Caesaris Iustiniani Quibus Iuris Civilis* (c. 528–34 CE). Mather takes exception to such honorific titles as "Our Gods" because they are akin to blasphemy; but then he demurely refers to the citizens of Lystra (Lyconia), who deemed Paul and Barnabas gods and called them "Jupiter" and "Mercurius" (Acts 14:8–12) for making a cripple walk again (Acts 14:8–12). John Edwards (and Mather with him) prefers to interpret the Latin inscription "Semoni Sanco Deo" (found in 1574 on a marble fragment in the island of the River Tiber) as a confirmation of Justin Martyr's story about Simon Magus, the Samaritan magician (Acts 8:9–18), whom the Romans supposedly honored with just such a statue and inscription reading "Simoni Deo Sancto"; i.e., "To Simon the holy God." In Mather's time, the debate about the inscription's true identity centered on whether the marble fragment really referred to Simon Magus or only to the Sabine god Semo Sancus. All of this detail and more can be found in Justin Martyr's *First Apology of Justin* (ch. 26, note 4; ch. 56) and *Dialogue with Trypho* (ch. 120) – both in *ANF* (1:171, 182, 260).

²⁰² Gen. 3:5.

²⁰³ Gerard Vossius's *De Theologia Gentili* (1641), Herbert of Cherbury's *De Religione Gentilium* (1663), Theophilus Gale's *Court of the Gentiles* (1672, 1676), and Pierre Jurieu's *Critical History of the Doctrines and Worships* (1705) are among the standard apologetic works of the time on the origin and progress of idolatry.

²⁰⁴ For the critical debate, see Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:239) and *Works* (3:241–42).

Harm. It may be, some Figures were engraved upon them, under a certain Constellation, after the Manner of *Talismans*, which the Idolatrous People imagined, to have great Efficacy in them. Among the *Carthaginians*, not only the Freeman, but their very *Slaves*, had their *Ears* loaded with Rings. *Plautus* in *Penulo*, speaking of the *Punic* Slaves, introduces *Milphio* thus discoursing with *Agorastocles*. *I suppose, these Fellowes are troubled with no such things as Fingers?* AG. *Why so?* M. *Because they carry their Rings in their Ears.* These Rings hung down from the Top of the *Ear*, as appears from *Austin*, in whose time that *Superstition* still continued among some *African* Christians. His Words are these, Epist. 73. *Execranda autem superstitio ligaturarum, in quibus etiam in aures virorum in summis ex unâ parte auriculis Suspensæ deputantur, sed ad serviendum Dæmonibus adhibetur.* These Rings, in his *Questions* upon this Place, he calls, *The Phylacteries of Idols*. The Servants of *Jacob* seem here, to have carried such a Sort of Rings in their *Ears*, which he commanded them to lay aside, as consecrated unto *Strange Gods*.²⁰⁵

3454.

Q. *Deborah* went for to attend *Rebeckah*, when she was married unto *Isaac*. How did she come into *Jacobs* Family? v. 8.

A. It puzzles the Jewes, this Quæstion does. R. *Solomon* so solves it; That *Rebeckah* having promised *Jacob*, when he went away, to *send for him*, (Gen. 27.45.) she performed this Promise by *Deborah*, whom she sent unto *Padan-aram*, to invite him home; and in the Return, she died here.

But we may rather suppose, That *Jacob* had been at his Fathers House, before this Time; and *Rebeckah* being Dead (whether before or after, tis uncertain,) *Deborah* was desirous to live with his Wives, who were her Countrey Women; And that her Death is here mentioned, (tho' we read nothing of *Rebeckahs*), to give an Account, how the *Oak* here, in after times, came to be called, *Allon-Bacuth*.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁵ The Latin plays by the early comic playwright Titus Maccius Plautus (fl. c. 205–184 BCE) have survived intact. Mather quotes from Plautus (*Paenulo* 5.2.279–981). The abbreviations “AG” and “M” respectively stand for the two characters Agorastocles and Milphio. In his letter to Possidius, bishop of Calama (*Epistolæ* CCXLV, § 2 – rather than Epist. 73) [PL 33. 1060], St. Augustine maintains, “As for the accursed superstition of wearing amulets (among which the ear-rings worn by men at the top of the ear on one side are to be reckoned), it is practiced with the view not of pleasing men, but of doing homage to devils” (*Letters* 1:588). The Bishop of Hippo calls them “phylacteries of idols,” in his *Quæstiones in Heptateuchum*, lib. 1 (Quæst. in Genesim CXI) [PL 34. 576].

²⁰⁶ Mather’s primary source is Simon Patrick’s annotation on Gen. 36:8 (*Commentary* 1:121). The solution offered by R. Solomon Jarchi (Rashi) is amplified by Ramban and others, and approximates the same answer developed in Mather’s second paragraph (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 2:437–38). The Targum Onkelos (35:8) renders the phrase *Allon-Bacuth* as *Valley* or *Plain of Weeping* (Walton 1:155).

3455.

Q. How comes *Jacob* now to be called *Israel*? was he not so before? v. 10.

A. It was only an *Angel*, who had formerly foretold, that he should be called *Israel*. [Gen. 32.28.] But God reserved the Declaration of it, from His own Mouth, until this Time, when the *Shechinah* now appearing, ratified, & fulfilled what had been spoken, by the *Angel*.

Thus *Jerom* understood it. *Dudum nequaquam ei Nomen ab Angelo imponitur.* Sais he, *This Name was not imposed on him heretofore by the Angel; He only foretold that God would impose it on him. That therefore, which was there promised, that it should be, we are here taught, was fulfilled.*

The *Shechinah* now appeared, as it seems, with great Lustre, over his Head, while he lay prostrate on the Ground.²⁰⁷

661.

Q. The Pillar of Stone, called *Bethel*, by *Jacob*, when hee poured a *Drink-offering*, with *Oyl*, upon it; have you any Remembrances of it, in *Pagan Antiquitie*? v. 14.

A. 'Tis thought by some, That the Custome of erecting *Stones* and *Pillars*, among the Pagans, came from *Jacobs* doing that Action. [Gen. 28.18. and 35.14.] Yea, that the Βαetylοι and Βαetylια, *Lapides Bætulici*, in Use among them, had their Name, from the *Bethel* of *Jacob*. *Scaliger* shewes, how near the Resemblance was between them. Yea, *Arnobius*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, take a most particular Notice, how they did use to Anoint the *Stones* thus employ'd. It may bee Quæried, whether the Custome of *Anointing Stones*, for Land-marks, mentioned by *Herodotus* and others, were not of this Original?²⁰⁸

²⁰⁷ Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:121–22). The second-hand citation from St. Jerome is extracted from Patrick's annotation on Gen. 35:10 (*Commentary* 1:22).

²⁰⁸ Mather consulted (either directly or indirectly) Samuel Bochart's *Geographia* (pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 2, col. 707–08). Philo of Byblos relates out of Sanchoniathon's Phoenician history that Uranus married his sister Gé, who gave birth to four sons, including "Baituloi" (Baetylus); "the god Uranus devised the Baetylia [Baitulia], having contrived to put life into stones" (Eusebius's *Præparatio evangelica* 1.10.16, line 3 and 1.10.23, line 3; 1.10.36c, 37d). "*Lapides Bætulici*" suggests "anointed" or "unctuous stones" which, Sanchoniathon argues, were dedicated to Uranus and Kronos. In his *Animadversiones ad Eusebiam Chronicon* (*Thesaurus Temporum* [1606], p. 198), the great philologist Joseph Justus Scaliger points at the similarity between the unctuous stones of Uranus and Kronos and those that Jacob anointed as a holy place, or house of God (Bethel), upon which the lowest rung of Jacob's ladder (Gen. 28:18–19) seemed to rest. Arnobius (*Adversus gentes* 1.39), in *ANF* (6:423), tells us that he himself worshiped anointed stones before his conversion; and Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 1.24.164–65) points out similarities between Apollo's statue at Delphi as an anointed pillar or column on which the first fruits and tithes were hung, and the pillar of light in the camp of the Israelites. Finally, Herodotus (3.8) mentions that among the Arabians, men who enter into a compact with each other draw blood from their hands and with a piece of wool anoint seven stones as a witness of their pledge. Much helpful information on Jacob's anointing of stones and parallel rites among pagans is also furnished by John Marsham (*Chronicon Canon*, Seculum IV, pp. 55–56).

[418v] | I might, on this Occasion, mention several other Usages, that seem derived from the *Patriarchs*, to the *Pagans*.

The *Vailing of the Bride*. [Gen. 24.65.] This was imitated both by *Græcians*, & by *Romans*.

The Closing of a Dying Persons *Eyes*, by one that was most Beloved of him. [Gen. 46.4.] *Homer*, and other ancient Writers, mention this, as the last Office of the dearest Friendship.²⁰⁹

Yea, Whereas tis said, the Sons of *Jacob*, came *out of his Thigh*, [Gen. 46.26.] tis judged, by some learned Men, that this Oriental Manner of Speaking, not being understood by the Greeks, they therefore thence made the Fable of *Bacchus* being born of *Jupiters Thigh*.²¹⁰

Q. When the Midwife said unto *Rachel*, *Fear not, thou shalt have this Son also*; Unto what might she refer? v. 17.

A. She seems to comfort *Rachel*, with her own Prædiction. [Gen. 30.24.]²¹¹

Q. The *Pillar* on *Jacobs* Grave? v. 20.

A. This is the First Monument and Epitaph, in Memory of the Dead, that we read of, in the World.²¹²

3457.

Q. What Remark to be made, on the first Time of *Moses's* calling *Jacob* here, by the Name of *Israel*? v. 21.

A. Some of the Jewes will have it, That *Moses* here calls him *Israel*, because he bore the Death of his Beloved Wife, with admirable Patience and Submission.²¹³

But presently followes, *The Sons of Jacob were Twelve*. Their Number being now compleated, by the Birth of *Benjamin*, after which he had no more Children, *Moses* thought good here to enumerate them. And they being all,

²⁰⁹ Agamemnon's shade in Hades curses his wife Klytæmnestra for killing him and for violating the sacred funeral rites by not closing his eyes as his soul descended into the underworld (Homer, *Odyssey* 11:424–26).

²¹⁰ Bacchus (Bromius), offspring of Semele and Jupiter, was dashed half-formed from his mother's womb by a flash of lightning, sewn up in his father's thigh, and thus born a second time. See Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (3.310–15) and Arnobius's *Adversus gentes* (1.36, 4.22), in *ANF* (6:422, 483).

²¹¹ Mather cribs the whole paragraph from Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:122).

²¹² The rhetorical question (v. 20) is misleading, because it was Jacob who placed a pillar on Rachel's grave – not on his own. According to Benjamin of Tudela (*Itinerary*, sec. 25, p. 40), Rachel's pillar consists of "eleven [sic] stones, corresponding to the number of the sons of Jacob. Upon it is a cupola resting on four columns, and all the Jews that pass by carve their names upon the stones of the pillar."

²¹³ Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:122–23). The issue of the Pentateuch's interchangeable use of Jacob's two names is covered at some length in R. Manasseh ben Israel's *Conciliator*, Part 1, Question 57, pp. 82–84.

save *Benjamin*, born before he had the Name of *Israel*, tis well enough to call him *Jacob*.²¹⁴

²¹⁴ This paragraph is extracted from Simon Patrick's annotation on Gen. 35:22 (*Commentary* 1:123).

3455.

Q. Why are the Generations of *Esau*, so particularly noted? v. 1.

A. It might be, to show how effectual his Fathers Blessing was.

But *Maimonides* thinks, It was also to prevent the Destruction of any of the Family of *Esau*, but only those of *Amalek*, who descended from the First-born of *Esau*, by a Concubine, the Sister of *Lotan*, an *Horite*, one of the ancient Inhabitants of *Seir*. His Descendents were to be destroy'd, by an express Præcept, for a special Offence; [Exod. XVII.] But Heaven here takes Care of the rest, by distinguishing them thus exactly from him; that they might not perish under the Name of *Amalekites*.²¹⁵

3459.

Q. How comes *Bashemath*, the Wife of *Esau*, the Daughter of *Ishmael*, to have her Name changed? v. 3.

A. She had been called, *Mahalah*, [Gen. 28.9.] which signifies, *Infirm*, and, *Sickly*. But she is now called, *Bashemath*, which signifies, *Fragrant*. This Name was more pleasing to *Esau*, and it may be, he thought, it would be more pleasing to his Father. Or, she might grow more Healthy after Marriage; or, perhaps have Two Names given her at the First.²¹⁶

413.

Q. What were the *Mules*, which *Anah* found in the Wilderness, as hee fed the *Asses* of *Zibeon*, his Father? v. 24.

A. As very *Men*, as You and I, if I been't mistaken. I know very well, What Interpreters, Jewish as well as Christian, tell us, concerning this *Anahs* being the first, who either by Accident, or by Contrivance, litt upon that Mungril Creature, *A Mule*; I shall, but Abuse your *Patience* by repeating their Conjectures on this business, as much as I should your *Charity*, by Relating, what they Report, from *Anah* the Brother of *Zibeon* in one Verse, & *Anah* the Son of *Zibeon* in another, that *Zibeon* like a Wretch lay with his own Mother, & had *Anah* by that Incestuous & Unnatural Conjunction.²¹⁷

²¹⁵ Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:123). *Maimonides* (*Guide* 3.50.380–82). Exod. 17:13–14.

²¹⁶ Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:123).

²¹⁷ Mather's principal source appears to be Samuel Bochart's *Hierozaicon* (pars 1, lib, 2, cap. 21, col. 237–44). Midrash Rabbah (Gen. LXXXII:14) explains that the two *Anahs* (Gen. 36:20, 24) are really one and the same person and that Zebulon fathered *Anah* by his own mother – a story, which Rashi (as well as the principal medieval rabbis) also affirms out of the Talmudic tractate Pessachim 54a (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 2:449). Likewise, the same

But such Incomparable Writers as *Bochart*, will convince you, that the mountainous Parts of *Seir*, where our *Anah* dwelt, was a Countrey no wayes famous for *Mules*. Wherefore, I rather incline to the Opinion of *Bochartus*, and of *Saubertus*; who mentains, That the עֲמִי here, are the same that elsewhere are called /עֲמִי/ of which Variety in writing the same Name, the Scriptures have many Instances. Now these *Emim*, were the well-known Giants, which inhabiting the *Horrean* Regions in the Neighbourhood, struck *Terror*, as their Name signifies, into all the Neighbours, till the Posterity of *Esau* vanquish'd them. Many Passages in the Bible intimate this Matter. Well, our *Anah*, is here distinguished from another so called, by a notable Exploit which hee performed, for the Service of his Countrey. Hee *Found*, that is, Hee Surprised & Assaulted, the *Emims*, those Terrible Giants, with which the Neighbourhood were infested; By this Heroic Act, hee signalized himself, while the Prince, his Father, employ'd him, in managing and ordering his *Estate* in the *Wilderness*, which according to the Use of those Times, lay more in *Cattel*, than in any other Substance.²¹⁸

3460.

Q. Must we then acquiesce in this Account?

A. Dr. *Wagenseil*, a late learned Writer, (who yett would have inclined unto this Opinion, if one thing had not hindred him,) inclines now to another Opinion; which is, That the *Jemim* here may mean some *Herb*, or *Plant*, called, Ἰαμειν, which Word, the LXX retain, as not knowing how to translate it. And *Aben-Ezra* affirms, That many Interpreters have understood it so. Dr. *Patrick* looks on this to be the most probable Conjecture.²¹⁹

3461.

Q. That Passage, about, *Kings Reigning in the Land of Edom, before there Reigned any King over the Children of Israel*; is improved by some, to argue, that

Midrash passage argues that it was Anah who discovered how mules are the offspring of a horse and an ass. The same is affirmed in the Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel (Walton 4:70) and by Ibn Ezra out of Saadiah Gaon (*Commentary* 1:339–40).

²¹⁸ Samuel Bochart (*Hierozoicon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 21, col. 242–43); *Geographia* (pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 16, col. 764) draws on an etymological derivation from Targum Onkelos and the Samaritan Pentateuch (Walton 1:159) and argues that the term “Emin” signifies “powerful ones” or “giants.” The German Lutheran theologian and Orientalist Johannes Saubert, the Younger (1638–88) – like his father and namesake before him – published many relevant works, including *De sacrificiis veterum conlectanea historico-philologica et miscella critica* (1659).

²¹⁹ The primary source is Simon Patrick’s annotation on Gen. 36:24 (*Commentary* 1:124). Mather refers to the annotations in *Sota. Hoc est liber mischnicus de uxore adulterii suspecta* (1674) 217, 218ff, a Latin translation of the Talmudic tractate Sotah, by Johann Christoph Wagenseil, D.D. (1633–1705), Lutheran professor of Canon Law and Oriental languages at the University of Nuremberg-Altldorf. See also R. Abraham Ibn Ezra (*Commentary* 1:340).

Moses did not write this History; the Passage being too late for *Moses's* Time? v. 31.

A. Not at all. *Moses* had a little before this, [Gen. 35.11.] mentioned, the Promise of God unto *Jacob*, That *Kings should come out of his Loins*. He now observes it, as a remarkable Exercise for the Faith of the *Israelites*, That *Esau's* Posterity should have so many *Kings*, whereas, there had not been any King in *Israel*, when this Book was written, or indeed, of a long Time after.²²⁰

The *Dukes of Edom*, according to their Families, here enumerated, were the Heads of Different Families, & Lived in several Places, & it is probable, Reigned at the same time in several Parts of the Countrey; so that we need not here imagine, a long Succession, extending beyond the Days of *Moses*.

Dr. *Lightfoot* ha's a Remark; *Eight Kings* of *Edom* there were, before *Israel* had any; Answerably *Eight Kings* of *Israel*, kept the Kingdom of *Edom*.²²¹

²²⁰ This extract is from Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:124–25). Mather here adopts the traditional response to the listing of Israelite and Edomite kings, anachronisms that Hobbes, Spinoza, Richard Simon, LeClerc, and (later) Mather read as tell-tale signs of post-factum interpolations by later scribes. See also Mather's discussion of textual interpolations and convolutions in his commentary on 1 Chronicles (ch. 1) and his "Prolegomena on the Harmony of the Gospels" (preceding Matthew) and R. Smolinski, "Authority and Interpretation."

²²¹ This annotation appears neither in John Lightfoot's *A Few, and New Observations* (1642) 17–18, nor in its later incarnation *The Harmony, Chronicle, and Order of the Old Testament* (1647), but is probably buried somewhere in Lightfoot's voluminous *The Whole Works* (1822–25), in 13 volumes.

The Scripture having dispatch'd the Story of *Esau*, the Hater of his Brother, who lost his Birthright by his own Fault, now comes to *Joseph*, the Hated of his Brethren, who got his Birthright by the Fault of another.²²²

1674.

Q. What was the *Evil Report*, that *Joseph* carried unto his *Father* against his *Brethren*? v. 2.

A. *Joseph*, joins in Company, with the Sons of the Handmaids; for *Leah's* Children cared little for him or them. Among them, instead of Respect, hee found Hardship; for they made him, as their *Servant*. So may wee read the Text, *And hee was a Servant with the Sons of Bilhah & Zilpah*. This *Evil Report* of the *Usage* hee found from his Brethren, hee carried unto his Father. And the Badge of Respect wherewith his Father hereupon Invested him, did but procure him the greater Hatred of his Brethren. Only *Reuben* sought his *Welfare*, tho' hee had gott his *Birthright*. A Sign that *Reuben* was become a *Penitent*.²²³

3462.

Q. Why must *Joseph* be quartered with the Sons of *Bilhah*? v. 2.

A. *Bilhah* might be look'd upon as his Mother, now *Rachel*, upon whom she waited, was Dead. The Sons of *Zilpah*, were thought also to have less æmulation for him, than the Sons of *Leah*: And therefore, they are next mention'd.

But we may see, how Humane Prudence fails. *Reuben* and *Judah*, had more Kindness for *Joseph*, than any of the rest.²²⁴

725.

Q. For what, was *Joseph's* Party-coloured Coat? v. 3.

A. Some think, t'was given him by his Father, as a *Badge* of *Reuben's* Birthright now devolved on him.²²⁵

²²² Mather cribs his paragraph from John Lightfoot's commentary on Gen. 37, in *A Few, and New Observations* (1642) 18.

²²³ This paragraph is extracted from Lightfoot's *A Few, and New Observations* (1642) 18. Mather's reinterpretation of the specific nature of Joseph's "evil report" casts a much more benign light on what caused the tension between Joseph and his brothers. If Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:246–47) does justice to the speculations of Mather's peers, then Joseph's report included such charges as bestiality, sodomy, fornication, and violating the Noachide proscription against eating the flesh of live animals. See Genesis Rabbah (LXXXIV:7); *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (ch. 38, p. 291); Rashi, in *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* (3:462).

²²⁴ Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:125).

²²⁵ John Lightfoot (on Gen. 37), in *A Few, and New Observation* (1642) 18.

And, if you please you may remark the Difference between *Reuben* & *Joseph* in Point of *Chastitie*. *Reuben*, the first-born, sollicit his Fathers Wife, and *Joseph*, become the First-born, refuses his Masters.²²⁶

3463.

Q. But what Sort of *Coat* was it?

A. *Braunius*, (*De Vestib. Sacerd. Hebr.* L.1. c. 17.) hath proved, That the Hebrew Word, *Passim*, signifies, A long Garment down to the Heels or Ancles, & with long Sleeves down to the Wrists; which had a Border at the Bottom, and a Facing at the Hands, of another Colour, different from the Garment.²²⁷

3286.

Q. The Reason, why *Jacob* loved *Joseph* more than his Brethren, is it sufficiently express'd in our Version, when it is said, *Because he was the Son of his old Age?* v. 3.

A. If his Love had been only founded on this Reason, he must have loved *Zebulon* as well as *Joseph*, since he was of the same Age; and he must have loved *Benjamin* more, since he was born sixteen Years after him.

The late *Essay for a New Translation of the Bible*, observes; That the Hebrew Text only saies, *Because he was Son of the Elders or Senators*; that is, He was their Disciple, according to the Style of the *Hebrewes*. Wherefore the *Samaritan*, the *Persian*, the *Arabic* Versions, and the *Chaldee* Paraphrase, render it, *Because he was a wise & prudent Son*. And it seems, it might be yett better translated, *Because he was wise as a Senator*. *Wisdom* is a Quality, which makes Parents love their Children, & præfer them to their Brethren.²²⁸

²²⁶ Gen. 35:22; 39:7–8.

²²⁷ Mather extracts Simon Patrick on Gen. 37:3 (*Commentary* 1:125–26), whose acknowledged source is *Vestitus sacerdotum Hebraeorum* (1701), lib. 1, cap. 17, esp. pp. 326–27, a work on Hebrew vestments, by Johannes Braunius (1628–1708), Dutch professor of theology at Groningen. The same argument is offered in Genesis Rabbah (LXXXIV:8) and in St. Jerome's *Hebrew Questions on Genesis* (p. 75).

²²⁸ Charles Le Cène (c. 1647–1703), Huguenot refugee in England and Holland after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), published *Projet d'une nouvelle version française de la Bible* (1696). Part 1 of this work appeared in an imperfect English translation with the title *An Essay for a New Translation of the Bible* (1701) and went through at least three English editions (1702, 1707, 1727). An Arminian, Le Cène devoted himself to devising an accurate and reliable translation of the Bible into French and to redress the problems of the Geneva version (1560). He also published his father's complete notations in *Projet* along with his own French translation of the Bible, *La sainte Bible, nouvelle version française* (1741). However, the Walloon church synod censured the work a year later (*DNB*). Mather's commentary on this issue (Gen. 37:3) is extracted from Hugh Ross's defective translation of Le Cène's *Essay* (1701), part 2, ch. 10, pp. 200–01. For the Samaritan, Arabic, Chaldee (Onkelos), and Persian Versions, see Walton (1:163; 4:71).

751.

Q. The *Sun* and the *Moon*, making Obeisance to *Joseph*, in his Dream: was there any Fulfilment of it, besides that in Gen. 46.29? v. 9.

A. If you'll turn to Josh. 10.13. you'll see the *Sun* and the *Moon*, do Obeisance to a Son of *Joseph*.²²⁹

3464.

Q. But How could *Joseph's* Mother make Obeisance to him, when she was dead? v. 9.

A. *Bilhah* was his Mother.

Chrysostom carries it thus; Tho' his *Mother* were dead, yett *Jacob*, whom she had been *One* withal, did make Obeisance to him. *She* did it in what *he* did. They fetch hence an Admonition; That married People should be so united in *Love* and in *Will*, that what one does may be said to be done by the other.²³⁰

3465.

Q. What might be a special Design of, *Reuben*, in seeking to deliver *Joseph*? v. 22.

A. Perhaps, by this Peece of good Service, to Reconcile himself unto his Father, whom he had grievously offended by defiling his Bed.²³¹

3336.

Q. Is the Merchandise of the *Ishmaelites* rightly translated? v. 25.

A. The Word, *Necoth*, which we render, *Spicery*, signifies a particular sort of a Drug; *Bochart* proves, that *Aquila* had Reason to render it *Storax*. And *Seri*, he proves, cannot signify, *Balm*, as we render it; but *Rosin*, or *Turpentine*. And *J. H. Ursin* ha's proved, That the Hebrew Word, *Loth*, signifies, *Laudanum*.

And accordingly, Gen. 43.11. should be also corrected. And for *Honey*, read, *Dates*. [The Reason see, on 2. Chron. 31.5.]²³²

²²⁹ Mather sees in Joseph's dream an allegorical foreshadowing of the miraculous arrest of the sun and moon in Joshua's battle against the Amorites (Josh 10:12–14).

²³⁰ Mather alludes to a passage in Chrysostom's *Homilies in Genesis* (56.19–21) in which both Rachel and Leah consider their maidservants' children by Jacob as their own offspring. In this manner, conjugal bliss is preserved.

²³¹ The paragraph is extracted from Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:127).

²³² Mather's primary source is Samuel Bochart's *Hieroicoicon* (pars 2, lib. 4, cap. 12, col. 532–33); Aquila's paraphrase appears in Origen's *Hexaplorum quae supersunt in Genesim monitum* [PG 15. 284]. See also Bochart (*Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 51, col. 628–29). Mather also refers to Johannes Henricus Ursinus (1608–67), a learned German humanist, Orientalist, encyclopedist, and superintendent at Ratisbon (Regensburg). Mather owned a copy of Ursin's *Analectorum Sacrorum libri sex*, editio secunda (1668–69) [AAS # 0557].

[422v] 727.

Q. What Remarkable was there, in *Jacobs* having brought unto him, the Party-coloured Coat of *Joseph*, dipp'd in the Blood of a *Kid*? v. 32.

A. A Remarkable *Retaliation* of Providence. *Jacob* had once Deceived his Father, with the Flesh & Skin of a *Kid*; & the *Garments* of his Brother. And now, his Children Deceive him, with the Blood of a *Kid*, having dipp'd the *Garments* of their Brother in it.

It is also Remarkable, That as the Shewing of *Josephs* Coat, here caused his *Fathers* Sorrow, so the Showing of *his* Coat afterwards unto his Master caused *his own*.²³³

3466.

Q. Who are the *Midianites*, that sell *Joseph*, into *Egypt*? v. 36.

A. In the Hebrew, the Name is, *Medanim*, a Distinct Name, from those in the Twenty Eighth Verse. They were a People derived of *Medan*, one of the Sons of *Keturah*, and Brother of *Midian*, [Gen. 25.2.] They, and the *Midianites*, lived near together in *Arabia*; not far from the *Ishmaelites*: who all joined together in this Caravan, and made one Society of Merchants, consisting of *Medanites*, and *Midianites*, and *Ishmaelites*.²³⁴

635.

Q. Wee find *Joseph* sold, in one Place unto *Ishmaelites*, in another Place unto *Midianites*. How, to Both?

A. Very well. *Both* were of the same Company. Yea, one People might bee call'd by *Both* Names.

Near Neighbourhood, might make *Ishmaelites* and *Midianites*, to share in the same Appellation. [See, Judg. 8.24, 26.]

Thus in the Gospel, the *Gergesans*, and *Gadarens*, are counted one People, because of such a Neighbourhood.

The Inhabitants of *Arabia*, had several Names, according to the Regions, wherein they were seated.

And on this Occasion, t'wil not bee amiss to observe, That as the Inhabitants of *One Place* have *Several Names*, in Scripture, so *Several Places* have *One Name*.

Some Assert, a double *Ethiopia*, one in *Africa*, one in *Asia*: and the latter Sort of *Ethiopes* was *Moses's* Wife, who is also called, a *Midianites*.

Thus, there is a *Casarea*, in *Palestine*, and another in the Lesser *Asia*.

There is an *Antioch* in *Syria*, in *Pisidia*, and in *Caria*.

There is a *Babylon*, in *Chaldaea*, and in *Egypt*.

²³³ See Gen. 27:15–19; 37:31–32; 39:12–16.

²³⁴ Mather extracts Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:128).

(There is, a *Thebes*, in *Bæotia*, in *Egypt*, and in *Cilicia*; an *Heliopolis*, in *Egypt*, in *Cælosyria*, and in *Cilicia*.) Add hereto, that *One Place*, may have *Several Names*. And so, a Woman of *Canaan*, may well enough bee called, a *Syrophænician*, without our being driven to read the Text, *A Woman of* (the greater) *Cana*, which was a Town in *Phænicia*.

Thus one eminent Mountain, is called, *Zion*, and *Moriah*, and *Hermon*, and *Sirion*, (which last Name, was given it by *Sidonians*.) It was indeed, a long Ledge of Hills, going thro' *Palæstine*, & a good Part of *Arabia*. Where to *Gilead*, *Seir*, & *Lebanon* (the famous *Alps* of the Holy Land) may bee annumerated.

Mount *Sinai*, was also Mount *Horeb*. And Mount *Nebo* (the Arabian *Par-nassus*) had its two Tops, *Pisgah*, and *Hor*; and it was also Named Mount *Abarim*.

Thus, The *Salt-Sea*, the *Sea of the Desart*, & the *Sea of the Plain*; are all so many Names, for the one *Dead Sea*, of *Sodom*. The Sea (or Lake) of *Cinnereth*, of *Genesareth*, of *Tiberias*, & of *Galilee*, are but one Lake.

Thus, *Galilee*, and *Decapolis*; *Sichem*, & *Sychar*, *Egypt* and *Sihor*; differ no more, than *Sparta* and *Lacedæmon*, *Troy* and *Ilium*, *Thracia* and *Romania*.²³⁵

²³⁵ Whatever his ultimate source for his annotations here, Mather would have found much information on these issues in Samuel Bochart's oft-reprinted *Geographia Sacra* (1646, 1674, 1707) and in Edward Wells's three-volume *An Historical Geography of the Old Testament* (1711–12).

727.

Q. What Remarkable Providence of Heaven, do you see, in the Disasters befalling of *Judah's* family?

A. *Judah* had been unnatural to his Brother, and behold, Hee is now punished for it, in his own Children.

And *Josephs* not sinning with his Mistress, when *Judah* sinn'd with his Daughter-in-Law, do further sett off this Matter.²³⁶

3467.

Q. What may be the *Reason*, why *Moses* mentions; the Absence of *Judah* from home, when his Child was born? v. 5.

A. It is not easy to guess the Reason of it. Perhaps tis (as Dr. *Patrick* thinks) to show, why she gave the Name to this, and to her former Son (whereas he himself named the first;) Because he was not at home, when they were born.²³⁷

3468.

Q. What special Aggravation was there in the Sin of *Onan*? v. 10.

A. This made the Sin, the more heinous; He acted against the Divine Promise made unto *Abraham*, concerning the *Multipling of his Seed*; And especially against the Belee of the Promise of the *Messiah*, that *Seed*, for which all Good Men longed.²³⁸

Q. What was the *Bracelet*, which was demanded as a Pledge from *Judah*? v. 18.

A. The *Signet* & the *Staff* appertained unto the *Hand*. So probably, as Dr. *Gell* argues, the *Bracelet*. *Pagnin* renders the Word, *Frustum panni parvum*. Why may it not be rendred, *An Handkercher*? *Meursius*, in his *Glossarum Græco-barbarum*, interprets the Word, ὠραριον εκμαγειον του προστωπου and, χειρομακτρον· which *Isidore* turns *Manuale*, and that is, in English, *An Handkercher*.

Indeed, *Papias* understands it for to be a, *Stola Sacerdotalis*, or long Garment which sacred Persons wore as an Ensign of Dignity. And so, as in the Next Chapter, *Joseph* is famous, for leaving his Garment, that he might keep his

²³⁶ *Judah's* "unnatural" relationship refers to the selling of his brother *Joseph*; *Judah's* children *Er* and *Onan* were put to death for sundry transgressions before each could father any offspring. Gen. 38:1–10, 46:12; Num. 26:19; *Joseph* resisted the allure of *Potiphar's* wife (Gen. 39:10–20), whereas *Judah* fathered children with *Tamar*, his own daughter-in-law (Gen. 38:12–30).

²³⁷ Extracted from Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:128).

²³⁸ Extracted from Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:129).

Chastity, so in this Chapter, *Judah* is infamous for pauning his Garment, that he might serve his Impurity.²³⁹

[424v]

Q. A Remark on the Punishment of *Adultery* here called for? v. 25.

A. I am willing to transcribe the Words of Monsr. *Saurin*. “Our Age, of all others, has been most indulgent to the Crime of *Adultery*, as it has been most Fertile in the Exemples thereof. It looks, as if *Humane Laws* would make amends to Christians, for the Severity of the *Gospel*, upon that Article; and that, in Proportion, as the Divine Legislator condemned for Adulterers, even such as were guilty only in Thought, Humane Lawgivers affected to pardon, even those that really committed the said Crime. In old times, they had a different Notion of this Sin, & punished it with greater Rigour. The *Egyptians* cutt off the Noses of such as were guilty of it, after having given them a thousand Bastinado’s. The Legislator *Tenedius* commanded that their Bodies should be cutt in sunder. *Plato* and *Solon* condemn them to *Death*. *Augustus*, *Domitian*, *Severus*, *Aurelian*, & several Roman Emperors, were no less rigorous. The *Anglo-Saxons* while they were yett Heathen, were more severe upon this Head, than since their Conversion to Christianity; And those that follow the Laws of *Mahomet*, than they that profess to be the Disciples of *Jesus Christ*.”²⁴⁰

²³⁹ Both paragraphs are excerpted from *An Essay toward an Amendment of the Last English-Translation of the Bible* (1659) 176–77, by Robert Gell, D. D. (1595–1665), Anglican divine and minister of the parish of St. Mary Aldermary (London). Gell’s Latin citation signifies “a little piece of cloth” (or “cloak”) and originates in *Biblia Hebraica; eorumdem Latina interpretatio* (1584), on Gen. 38:18, by Sanctes Pagninus (c. 1466–1541), an Italian Dominican, renowned Hebraist, and professor of Oriental literature at the Pontifical College in Rome. Gell cites *Ioannis Meursi glossarium Graecobarbarum* (1610) 795, by Johannes Meursius, aka. Jan van Meurs (1579–1639), Dutch classical scholar and professor of Greek and history at Leiden. The Greek citation is from Meursius’s *Glossarium* (795). Mather’s second-hand reference to “Isidore” is either to St. Isidore of Seville (c. 560–636), archbishop of Seville, or to St. Isidore of Pelusium (d. c. 450). However, neither of these two authors use the term “keiromaktron” or “manuale” (handkerchief). According to the Chaldean translation of Genesis in the Complutensian Polyglot, Judah’s pledge to Tamar was indeed a “handkerchief” (Poole, *Works* 3:309). The Apostolic Father Papias (c. 60–130), bishop of Hierapolis (Asia Minor), calls Judah’s פְּתִיל [pathiyl], which the KJV renders “bracelets,” a “priestly gown.” But this supposed rendering is nowhere to be found in the surviving fragments of Papias. Whatever Gell’s source, Rashi’s interpretation comes close to that offered by Papias and renders the Hebrew original as “cloak, with which you cover yourself” (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 3:484); Ramban, however, objects that Judah would not have relinquished his outer garment, nor his fringed Tzitzith; *pathiyl* should therefore signify “a string” or “a small scarf . . . wound around part of the head” (*Commentary* 1:474).

²⁴⁰ The passage in quotation marks is – with minor variations in spelling and punctuation – from Jacques Saurin (Diss. XXXV, 1:265–66). Diodorus Siculus (1.60.2–5, 1.78.4–5) reports that the Ethiopian King Actisanes, who overthrew the Egyptian ruler Amasis (c. 526 BCE), punished a variety of crimes by cutting off the culprits’ nose and by banishing them to Rhinocolura (“Nose-clipped”), a settlement on the edge of the desert. Furthermore, men who raped a “free married woman” were emasculated; those who committed adultery with a female’s consent received “a thousand blows with the rod,” whereas his partner in crime had

3469:

Q. What might be the *Burning*, proposed by *Judah*, for *Thamar*? v. 25.

A. If it were, *Burning at a Stake*, it was a Punishment that was not then commonly used; but inflicted, as our *Selden* speaks, *more seu lege aliquâ singulari*.

But there are those, who think, That by *Burning* here, is meant no more, but *Branding her in the Forehead*, and so marking her for a Whore.²⁴¹

Q. *Judah*; Did he espouse *Thamar*? v. 26.

A. Several Christian Authors are of the Opinion, that he did. *Selden* cites a Passage from one Father *Paul*, who says, “It was necessary in this mystical Action, that *Judah* should of his own Accord Correct and Banish that Irregular Instinct of Concupiscence, by another more honourable Motion, even that of Marriage;

her nose cut off to deprive her of her “comeliness.” Saurin refers to *Ludovici Caelii Rhodigini lectionum Antiquarum* (1516, 1620), lib. 10, cap. 2, an often reprinted history of Egyptian and Chaldaic mysteries, by the Italian philosopher Ludovicus Coelius Rhodiginus, aka. Ludovico Recherius, Ricchieri de Rovigo (1450–1520). In this work (500), Rhodiginus reproduces the image of a medal that commemorates the beheading of Tenedius’s own son for adultery; the identity of Tenedius, however, remains unclear. Plato (*De legibus* 8.841d–e) is much more benign than Mather makes him out to be; the philosopher merely proposes that an adulterer should be excluded from public honors. Saurin (1:266, note 2) argues that in the margin of his annotated copy of Plato, there is a reference to “the law which condemns them to die.” According to Plutarch (*Solon* 23.1), *Plutarch’s Lives* (1:467), Solon “permitted an adulterer caught in the act to be killed; but if a man committed rape upon a free woman, he was merely to be fined a hundred drachmas” – twenty for enticement. In 17 BCE, Caesar Augustus decreed (*Lex Julia de Adulteriis Coercendis*) that adultery be punished with banishment and confiscation of property. Fathers were allowed to kill their daughters along with their partners; and husbands were required to divorce their adulterous wives and could kill their spouses’ partners in crime (See also Tacitus, *Annales* 3.24 and *Lex Iulia de adulteriis* 2.50). Saurin’s source for Roman Emperor Domitianus’s procedure in the cases of adultery is the Byzantine historian and grammarian of Constantinople, Joannes Zonaras (11th–12th c.), in *Epitome historiarum*, lib. 11 (3:58, lines 10–13). One of the six “Scriptores Historiae Augustae,” the Roman historian Spartianus compiled the life of Roman Emperor Marcus Julius Gessius Alexianus, aka. Alexander Severus (208–35 CE), in the problematic *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*. At any rate, Saurin here draws on John Selden’s *Uxor Ebraica* (1646), lib. 3, cap. 12, pp. 382 (esp. notes *a* and *c*). For Roman Emperor Lucius Dominius Aurelianus (214–75 CE), Saurin references Rhodiginus’s *Lectionum Antiquarum* (1620), lib. 10, cap. 5, p. 509. For information on the Anglo-Saxon administration of justice in cases of adultery, Saurin again lists as his source Selden’s *Uxor Ebraica* (1646), lib. 3, cap. 11, pp. 374–75. Selden relied on Bede’s *Historiae ecclesiasticae gentis Anglorum* (1643), lib. 5, cap. 20, pp. 438–50; on Sixtus Senensis (*Bibliotheca sancta* [1566], lib. 1, cap. 22); and on several other works. Finally, Saurin’s source for the Islamic Sharia is *Alcorani textus universus* (1698), part 4, p. 148, a Latin translation with annotations and refutations by the Italian priest and Oriental scholar Ludovicus Maraccius, aka. Marracci (1612–1700), professor of Arabic at the Collegia della Sapienza, Rome (CBTEL). The *Al-Qur’ân* (sura 24:2) stipulates that “The adulteress and adulterer should be flogged a hundred lashes each” in the presence of “a body of believers.”

²⁴¹ Mather’s source is Simon Patrick’s annotations on Gen. 38:24 (*Commentary* 1:131). The Latin passage from John Selden’s *Uxor Ebraica* (1646), lib. 3, cap. 12, p. 379, is translated by Patrick and reads, “By some singular Custom or Law” (1:131). See also John Selden’s *De Jure Naturali* (1640), lib. 7, cap. 5.

That *Thamar* the Daughter-in-Law of *Judah*, might be honoured with the legal Title of Mother, to comfort her in her Affliction.” And anon he adds; “I am fully of the Opinion, that *Judah* married *Thamar* at the time she appeared before the Tribunal; and that GOD inspired him with these thoughts, by a Forcible Check of Conscience, to make Reparation for the Fault he had committed.”

Interpreters are generally of another Opinion; because it is here said, *He knew her again no more*. But, some of the Jews take those Words in a quite opposite Sense, *He did not cease to know her*. The Word, *Jasaph*, may signify, *To cease*. Thus we render that of the Prophets; Num. XI.25. *They did not cease*. They among the Jews, who interpret it, *He knew her again no more*, say, he did marry her, but yett he thought fitt no more to ly with her. R. *Bechai* ha’s what looks this way, Monsr. *Jurieu* seems to think, That GOD would not suffer *Thamar*, from whose Race the *Messiah* was to come forth, to continue in a State of Infamy, and therefore would have legitimated by a State of Matrimony. *Judah* might learn by way of Revelation, that GOD had a singular hand in the Matter; and that there was a Mystery in the Will of Heaven, to have the *Messiah* proceed from a Race, that had so strange a Copulation in it. He married her, to make the Mother of the *Messiah*, a lawful Wife; But *he knew her again no more*, because of the Respect he bore unto the Impenetrable Conduct of Heaven. Judging it improper, that what had been brought about once, by the mysterious Providence of GOD, should be continued out of a Motive of Incontinency. Tis in reference to this, that the Jewish Tradition tells us, That both *Judah* and *Thamar* heard this Voice from Heaven, *You are both pure in the Judgment of GOD; This is the Work of the Lord*.²⁴²

3470.

Q. What may be the Meaning of the *Midwives* Words, upon the Birth of *Pharez*? v. 29.

²⁴² Mather extracts both paragraphs from Pierre Jurieu’s *Critical History* (1:202–03). The second-hand citation from, and translation of, “Father Paul, General of the Order of *Camaldules*” (via Jurieu 1:202) appears in its Latin original in John Selden’s *De Jure Naturali* (lib. 5, cap. 9, p. 585). Selden cites Paulus de Abbatia Pollicinii Calmaldulensis, a leading member of the monastic Order of Calmadules, N Italy. R. Bachya ben Asher (R. Bechai), in *Torah Commentary* (1:575), argues that “Having fulfilled the commandment of ensuring that the souls of Er and Onan would be reincarnated in Tamar’s children, Yehudah [Judah] refrained from treating her as his wife, even though technically, i.e. from a halachic point of view he could have had marital relations with her.” That the rabbinic commentators are greatly divided on this issue can be seen in *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* (2:489–489a). Be that as it may, Mather refers to the Jewish tradition, according to which R. Samuel (Talmudic tractate Sotah 10b) – here cited by R. Bachya (*Torah Commentary* 1:575) – argues that Judah continued to have sexual relations with Tamar, because their union “had been approved by heaven” and thus “there was no point in discontinuing his marital relations with her.” This fortuitous interpretation is supported by the affirmation of a celestial voice (bath-coll) as recorded in the Targums ben Uziel and Hierosolymitanum (Gen. 38:25–26, in Walton (4:75).

A. *How hast thou broke forth?* She speaks as one astonished at this Eruption. It was without Exemple: The Novelty of it, made her *break forth* into this Exclamation.

Tho' a learned Anatomist affirms, That where *Twins* are of the same Sex, they are enwrapped in the very same *Secundines*; whereas those that are of a Different Sex, are separated by distinct Inclosures, [*Fernelius* to this Purpose. *Physiol.* L.VII. c. 12.]

Here accordingly, the stronger Son of the Two, more easily forces his Way thorough, before the other.²⁴³

That Expression, *This Breach be upon thee*, is q.d. Take thy Name from this *Breach*; be thou ever called *Eruption*, or, *Breach*.²⁴⁴

²⁴³ Mather closely paraphrases Simon Patrick's annotation (*Commentary* 1:131) and copies the reference to Ioannis Fernelius, aka. Jean Fernel (1497–1558), the renowned French physiologist, whose *Universa Medicina* (1619), pars 1: *Physiologiae* (lib. 7, cap. 12, pp. 238–40), is the work in question.

²⁴⁴ Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:131). Patrick's own source is Samuel Bochart's *Hierozaicon* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 30, col. 295).

Q. We read, *Joseph found Grace in the Sight of his Master, and he served him*. We find before this, *Potiphar* bought him; yea, Twice before this *Potiphar* is called, His *Master*. Why is it now said, *He served him*? v. 4.

A. One observes, that our Translators have not nicely distinguished between /שרה/ and /עבד/ By the latter Word, *Joseph* served his Master abroad in the Field, or in some Inferiour Employments. But his Master took him nearer to him, & would have him to serve him in a more Liberal & Generous Way. It may be rendred, *He waited on him*, or, *He ministred unto him*. Thus, the Souldiers who served the King in his Wars, have the Word, *Guabad*, for that. [1. Chron. XIX.19.] But their Life-guards, and Captains, have the Word, *Sharath*, for their Service. [1. Chron. XXVII.1.]

The *Levites*, from twenty five to fifty, being in a Warfare, have the former Word, used for their *Service*. And when their *Jubilee* discharged them from their *Warfare*, then they had a Ministry still continued, which the latter Word is used for.²⁴⁵

2647.

Q. May there be any special Mystery & Prophecy, in the Sollicitations of *Josephs* Mistress, for him to be unchast with her, & in what followed thereupon? v. 12.

A. I find One of the Ancients, (*Prosper* by Name,) descanting upon *Joseph*, as a notable Type of our Lord Jesus Christ, in many Instances. The very first Words, of the twenty sixth Chapter, in his Book, *De Promissionibus & Predicationibus Dei*, methinks have something of a Charm in them. Saies he, *Mittitur Joseph à patre ad visitandos Fratres suos et Oves; Dicit et noster Joseph, Christus Dominus, Non sum missus, nisi ad Oves, quæ periere, domus Israel*. But this Business of *Josephs* Mistress, our *Prosper* manages, with a little further Curiosity. He makes *Idolatry*, to be the Antitype of this *Egyptian Lady*; and behold, how he prosecutes it. *Immisit et hæc oculos in Joseph nostrum; vidit speciosum formâ præ filijs hominum; eumque ad illicitum consensum, à vestimentis suis attraxit. Quæ sunt vestimenta nostri Joseph Christi, nisi Sancti Martyres?* And he mentions the *Martyrs* of our Lord, as the *Garments* of our *Joseph*, under the Countenance of several Scriptures: particularly that, Gen. 49.11. *He washed his Clothes in the Blood of Grapes*. Accordingly, he saies, That when the Christians were dragg'd

²⁴⁵ Mather's source remains unidentified. The Hebrew words שָׂרָה (sharath) and עָבַד (abad) [Strong's # 8334 and 5647] respectively suggest "to minister, serve, wait upon" and "to work, serve, labor."

away to the Sacrifices of *Idolatry*, then our Lord is by the *Egyptian Lady* drag'd by the Garments unto the Abhorr'd Unchastity. *Prisons, Tortures*, all Sorts of Punishments follow on the Refusal. But our Lord *left His Garments* (quoth *Prosper*) when He said unto His Disciples, *Fear not them that kill the Body*; and they say, *For thy Sake we are killed all the Day long*.²⁴⁶

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²⁴⁶ In his *De promissionibus et praedictionibus Dei* (cap. 26, § 36; cap. 27, §§ 38–39) [PL 51. 753B, 0755A], St. Prosper Tiro of Aquitaine argues that “Joseph was sent to his brothers and his sheep; and our Joseph, Christ the Lord, said, ‘I am sent to none other than my sheep, the House of Israel, who are lost.’” St. Prosper makes Potiphar’s wife the prototype of idolatry, arguing, “she too has set her eyes on our Joseph; she has seen that he is handsome in appearance above the sons of men, and she has attracted him to a forbidden union with her garments. What are the garments of our Joseph, the Christ, but the holy martyrs?” Matt. 10:28, Luke 12:4; Ps. 44:22, Rom. 8:36.

Q. The *Captain of the Guard?* v. 4.

A. Mr. *Pyles* observes, That the Lieutenant of this Royal Prison, being *Potiphar*, the very Master who had made *Joseph* a Prisoner, was by this time so well informed of *Josephs* Case, as to be convinced of his Innocency, as to the Crime he laid him in for; Tho' to conceal the Dishonour of his Wife, he thought it proper still to confine him there. And yett. —²⁴⁷

3417.

Q. What might incline *Joseph*, in his Interpretation of the *Butlers Dream*, to say, *The Three Branches are Three Dayes*, and not, *Three Weeks*, or *Months*, or *Years?* v. 12.

A. Because the *Sudden Budding*, *Blossoming*, and *Knitting & Ripening* of the *Grapes*. Compare, v. 10.²⁴⁸

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589.

[428v]

Q. It was said unto the Butler, *Pharaoh shall lift up thy Head, and Restore thee, to thy Place*. What is the Meaning of that Expression, *To lift up the Head?* v. 13.

A. To *Lift up the Head*, was as much as, *To Account*, or, *To Reckon*. Their Manner was, to cast up Accounts with *Pins*, or *Nails*, that were stuck in a Table with Holes; and these *Pins* were called, *Heads*; by the *Lifting up* whereof, & removing them from one Hole to another, they performed their *Arithmetic*. Thus, *Pharaoh lifted up the Head of the Butler, & of the Baker*, that is, Hee Reckoned with them, & then differently dealt with them, according to their Deserts. The same Phrase, occurs in Exod. 30.12. and Num. 1.2. To which answers, the Greek, *Ανακεφαλαιουν*, and the Latin, *Recapitulare*.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁷ This paragraph is excerpted from Thomas Pyle's *A Paraphrase with Short and Useful Notes* (1717), part 1, vol. 1, ch. 40, p. 231. After the *dash*, Mather skips the following passage from Pyle: "[Potiphar] having now the same or still greater Opinion of his Virtue and Prudence, committed the Management of the whole Prison-Office to him [Joseph]; and deliver'd the two foremention'd Prisoners to his Custody and Inspection."

²⁴⁸ Cribbed from Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:133).

²⁴⁹ Mather's source appears to be Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:259) and *Works* (3:330). "Anakephalaioyn" and "Recapitulare" respectively signify "to sum up" and "to punish, demote." In his "Note Book of Authors" (on Gen. 40:15), Mather identifies as his source Thomas Fuller's *Pisgah-Sight of Palestine* (1650), bk. 2, ch. 9, p. 200. Whatever passage Mather had excerpted from Fuller's geographical history, he evidently excised it during a later revision process.

2326.

Q. *Pharaohs* Baker, is the First, that ever wee read was executed; and what kind of Death did hee suffer at his Execution? v. 19.

A. *Fernandius*, I remember, finds him to bee *crucified*. I'l give you his own Words.

*Specialiter assignatur mortis genus, scilicet crucis, quod hinc colligitur quàm sit Antiquum, imò omnium primum videtur in sontes propositum tormenti genus, et hic primus legitur morte damnatus reus. Aves quoque (carnivoras utique; nam ideò Septuaginta et Chaldæus, comedent carnes tuas, quasi dicat, Dilaniando impactis unguibus,) convolantes in canistrum, crucis supplicium indicant: etsi enim apud Hebræos eo ipso Die deponerentur suspensi, tamen apud alias gentes expressè Iubeantur relinqui, usque ad putrefactionem, et lacerationem avium, ad majorem supplicij Horrorem.*²⁵⁰

²⁵⁰ Mather cites *Commentarii in visiones veteris Testamenti* (1617), visio quarta, sec. 3, col. 123–24, by Antonius Fernandius, aka. Antonio Fernández (c. 1558–1628), Portuguese Jesuit, professor of theology at Coimbra and Evora. Mather had access to this edition at Harvard (*Catalogus* [1723], p. 13) and also cites Fernandius's *Commentary in Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), bk. 1, cap. 6, § 1, p. 24; see also K. B. Murdock's annotation in his edition of *Magnalia* (1977) 166 n5 and 417–18. At any rate, Fernandius comments on the execution of Pharaoh's baker: "He was specifically allotted a sort of death, namely that of the cross, and from this source one can deduce how ancient this kind of torment proposed for the guilty is – nay, how it seems to be the very first sort – and it is here that we read of the first defendant condemned to death. The birds, too (carnivores certainly, for this is why the Chaldean and the Septuagint, too, may almost say, 'they will eat your flesh,' by tearing it apart with thrusting talons), flocking to his wicker basket, indicate the punishment of the cross. For although among the Hebrews those who were hung up were taken down on the same day, among other tribes they were expressly ordered to be left until they rotted, and were torn apart by birds, that the horror of the punishment should be greater."

Q. A Remark on the Advancement of *Joseph*? v. 14.

A. Here is a Remarkable Passage, extracted from *Justin* the Epitomizer of *Trogus Pompeius*. “*Joseph* the youngest of his Brethren, had a Superiority of Genius, which made them to fear him, & which induced them to sell him unto foreign Merchants: who carried him into *Egypt*, where he practised the Magic Art, which rendred him very dear to the King. He had a great Sagacity in the Explanation of Prodigies and Dreams; There was nothing so Abstruse, either in Divine or Humane Things, to which he did not attain; so far, that he foretold a great Barrenness several Years before it happened. *Egypt* had perished by Famine, if *Joseph* had not advised the King to publish a Decree, whereby the People were ordered to make Provision for diverse Years. His Knowledge was so great, that the *Egyptians* hearkened to the Prophecies coming from his Mouth, as if they did not proceed from Man, but from God Himself.”

I agree with Monsr. *Saurin*, That tho’ an Historian inspired from GOD, needs not the Testimony of Authors guided by nothing but Humane Prudence, yett it is not altogether unprofitable to see those Places of Profane History, which agree with the Sacred Writings.¹

3472.

Q. What Remark may one make upon that Passage of the *Lean Kine* in *Pharaohs* Dream; *when they had eaten them up, it could not be known, that they had eaten them?* v. 21.

A. It was a curious *Emblem*, of a Grievous *Famine*; wherein the *Barren* Years consume the Growth of the *Fertile*: but this is not all; For herein is further also repræsented what happens in a *Famine*; That men Eat Greedily, but are not Satisfied; Because God *breaks the Staff of Bread*: [Lev. 26.26.] that is, (as *Bochart* expounds it,) He takes away its Nourishing Vertue.²

3473.

Q. To what Cause did *Joseph* direct *Pharaoh*, as the Cause of the *Plenty* and the *Famine*, in *Egypt*? v. 28.

¹ Both paragraphs are from Jacques Saurin’s *Dissertations* (Diss. XXXVI, 1:273). The passage in citation marks is Saurin’s translation from Marcus Iunianus Iustinus’s *Historiarum Philippicarum in Epitomen* (36.2.6–9), by Trogus Pompeius. For much the same see Heidegger’s *Historia Sacra Patriarcharum* (2:412, Exerc. XX, sec. 2, § 26).

² Simon Patrick’s annotations on Gen. 41:21 (*Commentary* 1:136). Patrick’s own source is Samuel Bochart’s *Hieroicoicon* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 41, col. 403–06).

A. If you mind his Discourse, you'l see, how frequently he leads his Royal Hearer unto *God*, as the *First Cause* of all.

It is observed by *Pliny*, [L. V. c. 9.] That when the *Nile* rose only *Twelve* Cubits, a *Famine* followed; when *Thirteen*, a great *Scarcity*; when *Fourteen*, they had a *Good Year*; when *Fifteen* a *very Good*; And if it rose to *Sixteen*, it made *Delicias*, a luxuriant *Plenty*; and the greatest *Increase* they ever knew, was to *Eighteen* Cubits. Now that this River should overflow so largely for *Seven Years* together, as to make a vast *Plenty*; and then, for the next *Seven Years*, not to overflow its Banks at all, or very little & so make a sore & long *Famine*, this (as Dr. *Patrick* notes) could be ascribed unto nothing but an extraordinary *Hand* of *God*; It was out of the *Course* of *Nature*; as much as it is unnatural for *Oxen* to devour one another.³

[430v]

Q. *Pharaohs* giving a *New Name* to *Joseph*? v. 45.

A. It is a *Passage* which honest Mr. *Terry* ha's in his, *Voyage to East-India*.

"The *Mogol* never advanceth any, but he gives him a *New Name*, and this of some pretty *Signification*; as *Pharaoh* did unto *Joseph*, when he made him great in his Court. One he called, *Asaph Chan*, the *Gathering Lord*, (or the *Rich one*.) Another was called *Mahobet Chan*, The *Beloved Lord*. Another, *Chan-Jahan*, The *Lord of my Heart*. He called his Chief Physician, *Mocrob-Chan*, The *Lord of my Health*."⁴

On this *Occasion* I will mention an *Observation* of *Thévenot's*; which is, That all the fine *Pieces* of *Antiquity* remaining in *Egypt* at this *Day*, are attributed unto *Joseph*; And all that is *Odious* or *Infamous*, is attributed unto *Pharaoh*. But by this *Pharaoh*, you must understand him that oppressed the *Israelites*, & was drowned in the *Red-Sea*.⁵

1668.

Q. What was the *Name* of the *Egyptian King*, that Advanced *Joseph*? v. 45.

³ Patrick's annotation on Gen. 41:32 (*Commentary* 1:136). Patrick's book-and-chapter reference to Pliny [L. V. c. 9.] follows that of the 1601 London edition, translated by Philemon Holland, which Patrick paraphrases here. Pliny (5.10.58); Strabo (17.1.3) appears to be Pliny's source; Mather employs the same Pliny passage in his commentary on Gen. 30:1. See also Saurin (*Diss.* XXXVI, 1:272).

⁴ The citation is from *A Voyage to East-India* (1655), ch. 26, pp. 415, 416, by Edward Terry. His *Voyage* was expanded and reprinted several times and translated into French and Dutch (*ODNB*).

⁵ Mather here summarizes passages from *Travels of Monsieur de Thévenot in the Levant* (1687), part 1, ch. 5, p. 133, and ch. 9, p. 141, by Jean de Thévenot (1633–67), a French traveler and aristocrat, whose three journeys to Palestine, Egypt, Persia, and India took up several years. Translated into English by A. Lovell from the French original in three parts (1655, 1674, 1684), this popular account was reprinted several times. For a helpful assessment of Thévenot's importance, see also G. Sundeen, "Thévenot" (1–19).

A. Thro' the Unfaithfulness of the *Priests*, who had it committed unto their Charge, to Record the Memorables of their Countrey, the ancient History of *Egypt*, is confounded with abundance of Uncertainties.

According to *Cappellus*, the Eighteenth *Dynastie* of the *Egyptian* Kings, begins Nine Years, before *Eusebius's* Date for it; namely in the 107th Year of the Patriarch *Jacob*. The first in Order of it, was *Amos*, or *Amosis*; To his Reign are given 25 Years; according to this account, it was hee, by whom *Joseph* was advanced. Hee Dyed in the second Year of the Famine: To him succeeded *Chebros*, who Reigned 13 Years: To him, *Amenophis*, who Reigned 21; and under him, *Jacob* died. Unto him succeeded *Mephres*, according to *Eusebius*; But *Manethon* places after him, his Sister *Amesses*, or *Amerses*; to which hee gives 21 Years, & 9 Months. After this Reigned *Methres*, 12 Years. *Mephramuthosis*, 26; *Thuthmosis*, (or *Thomsis*) 9; Then followed, *Amenophis*, (otherwise called, *Palmanothis*, and *Phamenophis*) who Reigned 31 Years, & by some is accounted that *Memnon*, whose Image of Stone, at *Thebes* in *Egypt*; sounded like an Harp, when the Sun-beams, first in a Morning beat upon it, which is witnessed by many Authors of good Credit. After him came *Orus*, or, *Horus*, who Reigned 38 Years; and then *Acenchres*, who Reigned 12. *Manetho* maketh *Acenchres*, the Daughter of *Orus*, & giveth her 12 Years, and a Month. After her, hee brings in *Rathotis*, her Brother; to whom hee giveth 9 Years. But after *Acenchres*, *Eusebius* placeth *Achoris*, & gives to him 7 Years. To him succeeded *Cenchris*, the Twelfth King; who, oppressed the *Israelites* grievously, and continued 18 Years in his Tyranny, till an End was putt unto it, in the *Red-Sea*.⁶

3453.

Q. When *Joseph* gathered up all the Food, how did he proceed in it? v. 48.

A. He Bought the Fifth Part of all; which he might then do at a small Price, when there was an unusual Plenty.

It is also very probable, That he laid it up, as it was gathered, unthrash'd; That so there might be Food for the Cattel also. Thus the Vulgar, *In manipulos reductæ segetes congregatæ sunt in horrea*.

⁶ Most likely, Mather here draws on *Commentarii et notae criticae in Vetus Testamentum* (1689) by Ludovicus and Jacobus Cappellus, the famous French Hebraists, who extract their chronology of the Egyptian pharaohs from a fragment of Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* (*Fragmenta*, fragm. 50a, lines 1–25) surviving in Flavius Josephus's *Against Apion* (1.15). "Eusebius's Date" is that in Jerome's *Hieronymi Chronicon*, a Latin translation of Eusebius's *Chronicon*, which lists the names and reigns of the Egyptian rulers cited here: Pharaoh Amosis (c. 1724–c. 1699 BCE), the first ruler of the Diospolites of "the 18th dynasty" is followed by Chebros or "Chebron" (c. 1699–c. 1686 BCE). Next in succession is Amenophis (c. 1686–c. 1665 BCE), then Mephres (c. 1665–c. 1653 BCE) and so forth until the reign of "Chenchres" (c. 1527–c. 1512 BCE), during whose rule the Israelites' Exodus from Egypt is to have occurred (*Chronicon* 42–63). The dates and page references here given are those in the R. Pearce edition.

And what was laid up in the First Year of the *Plenty*, tis reasonable to think, was dispensed in the First Year of the *Famine*; and so on.⁷

⁷ Mather cribs his annotation from Simon Patrick on Gen. 41:48 (*Commentary* 1:138). The Latin passage from Jerome's Vulgate (Gen. 41:47) reads "crops are gathered by handfuls into granaries."

3425.

Q. What might be the Conduct of *Joseph*, relating to the Selling of *Corn* in *Egypt*, which necessitated the Appearance of his Brethren before him? v. 6.

A. *Joseph* appointed, at what rates *Corn* should be sold, in every Part of the Countrey, and his Deputies observed his Orders.

He particularly ordered, That all Foreigners, should come to him, in the Royal City, where he resided; or, at least, he would have their Names all returned unto him, that he might speak with such as he thought fitt of them. He thought thereby, to gett the better Intelligence of their several Countreys; & be sure, to gett the Sight of his Brethren, who, he knew, must be constrained, for to come unto him.⁸

3330.

Q. The pretended Suspicion of *Joseph*, *Yee are Spies; to see the Nakedness of the Land you are come*: what might there be to render it plausible? v. 9.

A. T'was very plausible in that the Brethren of *Joseph* came from those Parts, by which alone *Egypt* is accessible on the Side of *Asia*. Saies *Herodotus*, L.3. c. 5. *This is the only Place, where Egypt can be openly entred*; where he relates at large, how *Cambyzes* invaded it, and marched with his Army this Way. It was on every Side secured from the Hostile Incursions of the *Africans*, if we may beleeve *Diodorus Siculus*, by large unpassable Desarts. The Sea, which lies open to the Northwards of it, is very shallow, & without Harbours; wherefore *Egypt* feared not an Invasion from that Quarter. Only on the Eastern Frontier, it lay open, and unguarded. For this reason, *Sesostrys*, to secure this Pass against the Irruptions of the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, fortified it with a Wall, fifteen Hundred furlongs in Length, reaching from *Pelusium* to *Heliopolis*. And upon the same Account perhaps, *Neco* the Son of *Psammetichus*, King of *Egypt*, drew a Trench from the *Pelusiatic* Arm of the *Nile*, to the Gulf of *Arabia*, endeavouring to Join the *Mediterranean* unto the *Southern Sea*.⁹

⁸ This paragraph is cribbed from Simon Patrick on Gen. 42:6 (*Commentary* 1:139).

⁹ Mather copies this paragraph from Jean LeClerc's *Twelve Dissertations* (1696), Diss. XII, pp. 309–10. Herodotus (3.5). Herodotus (3.1) relates how Cyrus's son Cambyzes II, ruler of Persia (530–c. 522 BCE), invaded Egypt to punish Amosis, king of Egypt, for the insult of sending him Nitetis, daughter of King Apries, as a bride instead of Amosis's own daughter. Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca historica* 1.30–31) describes the lay of the land and how Egypt's natural defenses protect her from foreign invasion. According to Herodotus (2.102–110), legendary Sesostris (possibly Rameses II of the Nineteenth Dynasty, 14th c. BCE) secured Egypt's military superiority through a number of strategic construction projects that included navigable canals, earthen mounds, and fortifications, including a wall that – according to Diodorus Sicu-

150.

Q. Many a Reflection ha's been made upon *Joseph*, as if hee had learn'd to *Swear* after the ungodly Mode of *Egypt* by being in *Pharaohs* Court. What think you; Did hee *swear profanely*, when hee spoke those Words, which wee translate, *By the Life of Pharaoh, surely yee are Spies?* v. 16.

A. If *Joseph* had sworn *by the Life of Pharaoh*, it had indeed been *profanely* enough. The express Commands and Cautions of our Blessed *Jesus*, are enough to stop the Mouths of all vain *Swearers*, tho' they might have had the Exemple of *Joseph* to have countenanced them. Whereas indeed the Exemple of *Joseph* will also fail them. I concur with the Decision of the learned *Pfeiffer*, *Verba Josephi; Vivit Pharaoh: non continent Juramentum Religiosum, sed Obtestationem, sive Asseverationem Politicam, eamque Licitam.*¹⁰

[432v] The Words of *Joseph* are but *comparative*; with an Expression of his good Affection unto *Pharaoh*; who was nearly, & mainly concern'd in the Business. The Sense of them was, q.d. "As sure | as I am, that *Pharaoh* lives, and that I desire his *Life*, so sure you must allow mee to bee, that you are but a Crue of *Spies*; or at least, that you will hereafter approve yourselves no better."

Accordingly, even some of the Primitive Christians, who would not swear, *Per genium Caesaris*, yett would not scruple any Asseveration, of that Importance, *Ità nobis salvus sit Caesar.*¹¹

3476.

But What thought the Ancients of it?

Hear what *Basil* Thought. He will not have *Josephs* Phrase to be an Oath, but a solemn Asseveration to perswade Beleef. For, saies he, [*Hom. in Psal. XV.*] "Εἰσι τινες λόγοι {σ}χήματα μὲν ὀρκῶν ἔχοντες οὐχ ὀρκοὶ δὲ ὄντες. There are certain

lus (1.57.3–5) – "extended through the desert from Pelusium to Heliopolis," or "some fifteen hundred stades." Likewise, Herodotus (2.158–59) and Diodorus Siculus (1.33.9–10) relate that the Egyptian King Necos (609–593 BCE), son of Psammetichus (664–610 BCE), dug a massive canal to connect the Nile with the Red Sea and the Mediterranean.

¹⁰ Most likely, Mather refers to the German Lutheran Hebraist at Wittenberg August Pfeiffer (1640–98), whose *Hermeneutica Sacra* (1684) was well received. Pfeiffer argues that "Joseph's words, 'by the life of Pharaoh,' do not contain a religious oath, but an entreaty or a political assertion, and a permitted one." Mather appears to prefer Pfeiffer's interpretation of Gen. 42:15, because this Lutheran colleague insists that Joseph did not utter an impious oath, but merely expressed a benediction on pharaoh's life ("may pharaoh live") or, at the most, an asseveration that as surely as pharaoh's life is dear to Joseph, so Joseph's brothers would not be allowed to return to their father unless they brought Benjamin, their youngest sibling, to Egypt. Mather would also have found much support for this interpretation in Henry Ainsworth's *Annotations* (1627) 147, in John Lightfoot's *A Few, and New Observations* (1642) 19, as well as in the annotations to the second edition of Junius and Tremellius's *Biblia Sacra* (1593) 47, note 12. For the main positions on this issue, see Poole (*Works* 3:370).

¹¹ The Primitive Christians would not swear "by the House of Caesar," but had no scruples to asseverate, "So may Caesar be unharmed by us." For a similar argument, see Saurin (*Diss. XXXVIII*, 1:279). See Appendix A.

Speeches which have the *fashion of Oathes*, & yett are *not Oathes*; but *θεραπεία πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούοντας*, *They serve only to perswade the Auditors*. He takes This to be such; and such he takes to be, that of *Paul*, *Νῆ τὴν ὑμετέραν καύχησιν*, *By our Rejoicing*. [1. Cor. 15.31.] where, saies he, the Apostle was not unmindful of the Evangelical Commandment, *Not to Swear*; But by a Speech in form of an Oath, he would have them to Beleeve, That his glorying in them (or rather, in Christ,) was dearer to him, than any thing else.

The Truth is, (as Dr. *Patrick* hath it), *Judah* seems to have taken these Words, only for a solemn Protestation [Gen. 43.3.] wherein he exposed the Life of *Pharaoh*, (which was most dear unto him) unto Execration, if he was not as good as his Word. So G. *Calixtus* understands it.¹²

1057.

Q. When *Josephs* Brethren were brought into *Distress*, they thought of the *Distress*, which they had caused unto *Joseph* their Brother, many Years before. Does the Scripture mention any more such *Retaliations* of Providence, in the Judgment of God? v. 21.

A. The Scripture does abound with Exemples of a *Tautopatheia*, or, the Paying of Sinners, in their own Coin, by the Judgments of God. It will bee a Sacred *Curiositie*, to observe those Exemples. Besides those, which may occur elsewhere, in our *Illustrations*, Lett us here mention a few. The *Egyptians* destroy'd the *Infants* of *Israel*; and their own *First-born* are destroy'd. They drowned the *Infants* of *Israel*, in the River; and they are themselves drowned in the Sea. *Adonibezek* barbarously cutt off the *Thumbs*, of his Captives; with his own cutt off, at last, hee cried out, *God ha's Requited mee!* The *Tyrians* & *Sidonians* did sell the *Jewes* unto the *Græcians*, that they might Remove them, far from their Borders: Now see, Joel. 3.8. *I will sell your Sons & your Daughters into the Hand of Judah, & they shall sell them unto the Sabæans, to a People far off; for the Lord hath spoken it.* Wee read of *Jehoram*, That hee murdered all the Sons of his Father, save one; and the *Philistines* murdered all the Sons of *Jehoram*, save one. *Joash* conspired, with his Servants, to kill a Prophet; at last, the Servants of *Joash* conspire to kill himself. *Jehojakim*, did not only murder *Urijah*, but would not suffer him to have an Honorable Burial: Anon, *Jehojakim* is buried with the Burial of an Ass.¹³

¹² The preceding two paragraphs are extracted (almost verbatim) from Simon Patrick's annotation on Gen. 42:15 (*Commentary* 1:140). The Greek citations, translated by Patrick, are from St. Basil's *Homiliae super Psalmos XV*, lines 21–22, 26 [PG 29. 261]. Georgius Calixtus (1586–1656), Lutheran divine and professor of theology at Helmstedt, seems to agree with this explication (on Gen. 42:15, 43:3) in his *Historia Iosephi* (1654), which went through several editions.

¹³ In his "Note Book of Authors" (on Gen. 42:21, 22), Mather identifies as one of his sources *Morning Exercise Methodized* (1660), a collection of twenty-eight sermons edited by Thomas Case, which Mather had previously put to good use in his commentary on Gen. 2:17 (above). Mather frequently takes delight in the symmetry of divine justice, especially for crimes of mur-

Yea, when wicked Men, have only *Designed* a Mischief, that Passage, in Psal. 7.14, 15, 16. is often fulfilled upon them. The Flame of the *Fiery Furnace*, killed those Men, that cast the Three Worthies into that *Furnace*. They by whose Means, *Daniel* was thrown unto the *Lions*, were themselves devoured by the *Lions*. *Haman* is hanged upon his own Gallows.¹⁴

4217.

Q. Who was *Josephs Interpreters*? v. 23.

A. Who is the Interpreter that can tell? But the Hebrewes have a Tradition, That it was, *Josephs* own Son *Menasseh*.¹⁵

Q. The Binding of *Simeon*? v. 24.

A. *Theodoret* thinks, That *Joseph* made Choice of him above them all, to use with more Severity, because he was a violent Man, and had more of what was to be mortified in his Temper, than the rest. The affair of the *Shechemites*, for That!¹⁶

der: The cruelty of the Egyptians, described in Exod. 2:16, 22, is avenged in the Exod. 11:4–6, 29; 14:27–28. According to Judg. 1:4–7, the Canaanite King Adonibezek (Adonisedek) had his thumbs and big toes cut off when his campaign against Judah and Simeon failed. Thus his captors bestowed the same punishment on him that he had imposed on 70 kings he had previously subdued. According to 2 Chron. 21, Jehoram (son of Jehoshaphat), King of Judah (c. 849–842 BCE) – not to be mistaken for his namesake and brother-in-law of Jehoram, King of Israel (c. 849–842 BCE) – killed his six brothers when he acceded to his father's throne. Under his reign, the Philistines invaded Judah and took Libnah (2 Chron. 21:16–17; 2 Kings 8:22). Jehoram's son Ahaziah (c. 842 BCE) was assassinated by Jehu, king of Israel (2 Kings 9:27–28) (*HBD*). King Joash of Judah (835–c. 796 BCE), the youngest offspring of Ahaziah of Judah, was the only progeny to escape his own mother's murder of her children by Ahaziah (2 Kings 11:2–3; 2 Chron. 22:11–12, 23:1–15). When the Prophet Zechariah (son Jehoiaada) denounced King Joash for lapsing into paganism, Joash had him killed, but was himself slain by two of his servants (2 Chron. 24:15–27) (*HBD*). Finally, King Jehojakim of Judah (c. 609–598 BCE) – incensed by Urijah's prophecy of doom – had the prophet killed and buried in a commoner's grave (Jer. 26:20–23), but suffered the same dishonorable burial at his own death (Jer. 22: 17–19) – unless we take 2 Kings 24:6 to mean that Jehojakim was buried in a royal tomb (*HBD*).

14 The fiery punishment designed for Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego in the Plain of Dura ultimately fell upon those men that were to cast them into the furnace (Dan. 3:20–24). Though Daniel was thrown into the lions' den, his accusers were punished with the same death they had designed for Daniel (Dan. 6:23–24). Evil Haman who had plotted against the Jews of Medo-Persia is hanged on his own gallows when King Ahasuerus learns the truth from Esther and Mordecai (Esth. chs. 6–7).

15 Rashi, drawing on Genesis Rabbah (XCI: 8), argues that Joseph's son Manasseh served as interpreter (*Mikraoth Gedoloth*, Genesis 3:537a); the same assertion is offered in the Targums Jonathan ben Uziel and Hierosolymitanum on Gen. 42:23 (Walton 4:84).

16 Mather's source – like that of his contemporaries – appears to be Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:268). Mather may have in mind Theodoret's *Quaestiones in Octateuchum* (Genesis. Quest. 105, p. 87, lines 12–18), where the bishop of Cyrus argues that Simeon refused to support Reuben in his effort to save Joseph when his brothers tried to kill him. Simeon was deemed particularly culpable in selling Joseph into slavery and in taking revenge on the Shechemites, who after submitting to circumcision, were slain by Simeon and Levi for the rape of their sister

Q. Why does *Jacob* direct the taking of *Double Money*? v. 12.

A. Not for the Repayment of the Money brought back in their Sacks; That is mentioned in the Next Words. But as tis observed in the Notes collected by *Howel*; This *Double Money* is ordered by *Jacob*, in Consideration, that as the Famine increased, the Price of Provisions would likewise be advanced; and it was necessary to take more Money, that they might not be disappointed.¹⁷

3477.

Q. What might be the Original, of the Abhorrence in the *Egyptians*, to eat Bread with the *Hebrewes*? v. 32.

A. They were in general, Peoples of different Manners; very particularly, at their *Meals*, in the Way of *Dressing* their Meat, or of *Eating* it. We know, some of the *Jewes* afterwards, would not eat with such as had unwashed Hands; and several Nations avoided Familiarity with others, meerly on the Account of their different Customes. The *Egyptians* were exceedingly tenacious of theirs, as *Herodotus* informs us; especially in their Eating. He concludes his Discourse about their Feasts, with this Observation, πατριοισι δὲ χρεώμενοι νόμοισι, ἄλλον οὐδένα ἐπικτέεινται. *Using their own Countrey Customes, they receive no other.* Nay, one Part of *Egypt*, extremely differed from another. For, in the *Theban* Province, they abstained from *Sheep*, and sacrificed *Goats*; but in the *Mendesian* quite contrary, they abstained from *Goats*, and sacrificed *Sheep*. And the Wisest of them were so nicely superstitious, That some of them thought it unlawful to eat the *Head* of any living Creature. Others the *Shoulder-blade*, others the *Feet*, and others, I know not what. *Sextus Empiricus* will tell you more of it. Wherefore, Dr. *Patrick* intimates, t'was not much if such whimsical People, would refuse to eat with one another.¹⁸

Dinah. See Gen. 34:24–27; 37:18–27; 49:5; Rashi, *Mikraoth Gedoloth* (3:537b, 621); Ramban, on Gen. 42:21, 49:5 (*Commentary* 1:516, 583); and Saurin (Diss. XXXVIII, 1:279).

¹⁷ The reference is to the popular three-volume *Compleat History of the Holy Bible* (1716) 1:113 (note *k*), by Laurence Howell (c. 1664–1720), a nonjuring Anglican clergyman, Jacobite, and voluminous author, who died in Newgate prison (*ODNB*).

¹⁸ Mather's primary source is Simon Patrick's *Commentary* (1:143). Herodotus (2.79.1) comments on their eating habits: "They follow their fathers' customs and take no others to themselves at all." Mather miscopies ἐπικτέεινται from Patrick, which should read ἐπικτώνται. The ancient prejudices among the Thebans and Mendesians against another people's eating habits or prohibitions against certain holy animals are further described in Herodotus (2.41–42). Sextus Empiricus (*Pyrrhonia hypotyposes* 3.223.5ff) relates how the Egyptians customarily abstain from eating the head and feet of any animal. See also Saurin (Diss. XXXVIII, 1:281).

[434v] | There is a Passage in *Herodotus*, that should be quoted on this Occasion. He says, “The *Egyptians* paid a Religious Honour to *Kine*; This was the Reason, why the *Egyptians*, neither Men nor Women, would kiss the Mouth of a *Græcian*; nor would Use their Knives, Dishes, or Spitts.”¹⁹

3478.

Q. *Joseph* sending of *Messes* unto his Brethren; according to what Custome was it? v. 34.

A. It was the ancient Custome, for great Men, to honour such as were in their Favour, by sending Dishes to them, which were first served up unto themselves; From whence they were called, *MISSA*, or, *Things that were sent*. The ancient Way of *Eating* also is to be observed; which was not like ours. *Plutarch* disputes therefore, which was the better Custome. To eat out of one common Dish or, every one to have a Dish unto himself, as the Manner was in old Time. Here, *Benjamin* had, it seems *Five Dishes*, for *One* sent unto any of his Brethren.²⁰

Q. Why *Benjamins Mess*, five times as much as the rest? v. 34.

A. With an Intent probably to try the Temper of the other Ten; and see whether they would look upon *Benjamin*, with the same envious Eye, as they had formerly done upon himself. But it past off without any such Effect upon them, For –

¹⁹ The second-hand citation via Patrick (1:143) is from Herodotus (2.41). Patrick's own sources are Samuel Bochart's *Hieroicoicon* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 53, col. 641–42) and John Spencer's *De Legibus* (lib. 1, cap. 5, sec. 5, pp. 122–25). For much the same see Saurin (Diss. XXXVIII, 1:281–82).

²⁰ The paragraph is extracted from Simon Patrick on Gen. 43:34 (*Commentary* 1:143). Plutarch (*Quaestiones convivales* 2.10, 642F–644D), in *Plutarch's Moralia* (8:182–95).

3479.

Q. What might be the special Intention of *Joseph*, in ordering his *Cup*, to be putt into the *Sack of Benjamin*? v. 2.

A. This *Gabiah*, or embossed Cup, (as the Hebrew Word signifies,) or Goblet, *Joseph* orders to be putt into the Sack of *Benjamin*, that so he might make a Trial of his Brethrens Concern for him, & their Kindness both to him, and to their Father; and whether they would express any Envy to *Benjamin*, because of his extraordinary Kindness to him.²¹

152.

Q. What was the *Divination by a Cup*, used by *Joseph*, with regard whereto, the Steward said about the *Cup* found with *Benjamin*, *Is not this it, in which my Lord drinketh? and whereby indeed hee Divineth?* v. 5.

A. None at all. Many Conjectures have been made about the *Culicomancy* whereto *Joseph*, they think, after the *Egyptian* Manner now pretended. They had *Cups*, whereinto the *Sortes Consultoriae* being thrown, their Quæstions were thereby determined. They had *Cups* also, whereupon *Mystical Characters* that were engraved, were serviceable to direct them in their Difficulties. But some that will excuse *Joseph* here, from the having of such a *Cup*, yett suppose that *Joseph* by the Free Use of his *Cup*, sometimes discovered the secret Counsels of such as came to the Court of *Egypt*: which, you know, is *Court-Fashion*. Whereas indeed, all these, and many more such Interpretations, must evaporate at once, into this Decision; The Steward of *Joseph* never *meant* or *said*, That his Master did use to *Divine BY* this *Cup* of his; hee only declar'd, that his Master would soon *Divine OF* the *Cup*; or Guess and Know, which Way t'was gone. The Particle כּ here in the Word יִכּ should not bee taken Ὀργανικῶς but *Objective*: thus read the whole, *Is not this the Cup, in which my Lord uses to Drink? And would not hee soon conjecture* (think you) *concerning it*; which Way tis gone; that it is not his own *Servants*, but you *Strangers*, have taken it away?²²

²¹ Simon Patrick on Gen. 44:2 (*Commentary* 1:144).

²² “*Culicomancy*” is a form of divination by examining “the movement of water” that is “poured into a cup” (*SH* 3:450). Moreover, the Egyptians used *Sortes Consultoriae*, cups into which “oracular lots” were cast. Mather argues that the Hebrew particles “b” in “bo,” here suggesting “by” or “through,” should not be taken as an *instrumental*, but as an *objective*; hence “in which.” At any rate, much ink has been spilled by the ancients and moderns alike to clear Joseph from any suspicion of practicing the Egyptian art of divining by cups (Gen. 44:5). The arguments of the principal contestants are summarized in Franciscus Vatablus’s *Adnotationes in Sacra Biblia* (1546), in Hugo Grotius’s *Annotationes ad Genesisin* (*Opera Omnia* 1:24), in

4259:

It may not be amiss, however, to annex Dr. *Tenisons* Conjecture of, *The Cup*?

He thinks, It was probably an Instrument used in some Sacrifice, some Drink-offering; and in the Use of which, God vouchsafed *Joseph* a *Spirit of Prophecy*, with relation to the affayrs of *Egypt*. Now, if the *Egyptians* (adds he) afterwards made Use of this *Cup*, or any other in form of it, without any Præcept or Promise from Almighty God, and trusted in it as the Cause of *Divination*, they then were *Idolaters*, tho' *Joseph* were not so, in the Original, from whence they took the Occasion. This one would think, was the *Egyptian* Practice, who reads *Lucian*, in his Book of *Sacrifices*, and observes him there deriding the *Egyptians*, because they made, ποτηριον, a Drinking Pott, their God. And such a *Cup*, that may be thought, which is described in the Hand of *Isis*, in her mystical Table; as likewise that mentioned by *Arnobius* in the Right Hand of *Bacchus*.

*In Liberi dext{e}ra pendens potorius cantharus.*²³

Thus I find some others render that Passage; *The Cup with which he receiveth Præsages*. It was the Cup wherein *Joseph* still drank, at the *Sacrifices*, by which he prepared himself to receive *Præsages* from God. A little Book entituled, *Three Ministers communicating their notions*, does give us this Illustration.²⁴

The *Targum* of *Onkelos* translates it, *Is not this the Cup out of which my Lord drinketh, & which he seeketh with great Care*? The *Arabic* version offers, what Mr. *Saurin* thinks a Meaning yett more Natural; *Is not this the Cup out of which my Lord drinketh, & by which he has tried you*?²⁵

They who desire to see the old Magical Ways of *Divining of the Cup*, will find enough to intoxicate them, in the *Dæmonomania* of *Bodinus*, and in *Weierus de Magis Infamibus*, and in *Godelmannus de Magicis*; and in *Cornelius Agrippa*.²⁶

Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:272–73 and *Works* 3:394–96), and in *Saurin* (Diss. XXXVIII, 1:283–86).

23 The entire paragraph – including the references to the Greek and Latin authors – is copied from Dr. Thomas Tenison's *Of Idolatry* (1678), ch. 2, pp. 17–18. Tenison's acknowledged source is an unspecified edition of Laurentius Pignori's *Mensa Isiaca* (1669), but points out (p. 18, note *a*) that the Greek *poterion* ("an earthen cup or dish") does not appear in Lucian's *De sacrificiis* (1; *Works* 3:154), but in his *Juppiter tragoedus* (42.18; *Works* 2:155). The second-hand Latin citation from Arnobius's *Adversus gentes* (16. 25.1) translates, "the drinking cup swinging in Liber's right hand" (*Against the Heathens* 6.25), in *ANF* (6:517).

24 The paragraph is extracted from *Three Ministers Communicating* (1675), "The sixth Meeting" (26), by Clement Barksdale (1609–87), an Anglican clergyman, sometime schoolmaster at Hawling (Cotswolds), rector of Naunton and Stow (Gloucestershire), and translator of some of the most significant works of Hugo Grotius (*ODNB*).

25 Jacques Saurin (Diss. XXXVIII, 1:283); Saurin refers to the Targum Onkelos and the Arabic Version (Gen. 44:5), both in Walton (1:197).

26 The paragraph is extracted from Saurin (Diss. XXXVIII, 1:284). Saurin's sources include *De la Démonomanie des Sorciers* (1580), lib. 2, cap. 1, p. 56, by Joannes Bodinus, aka. Jean Bodin (1529–96), a French Catholic jurist and historian of Angier. His popular work on witchcraft was translated into Latin and several other languages and went through many editions. The

Read also *Saurins* Dissertations if you please. For my Part, I am lothe to defile any Paper with 'em. Yett I'l transcribe some Words of Mr. *Saurin*. "As we can't forbear acknowledging, that this Patriarch used with his Brethren a Dissimulation worthy of Blame, so it will not be easy to reject absolutely the Notions of those Persons, who think, that he carried the same Dissimulation so far, as to feign a Skill in Magick."²⁷

[436v]

Q. The *Famine* continues; How did they præserve their *Corn* so long in *Egypt*?

A. It seems hard unto us in the Northern and Moister Climates, except we consider the many Ways of Præservaⁿtion practiced by Antiquity; and also take in that Handsome Account of *Pliny*, What *Corn* soever is laid up in the Ear, it takes no Harm, keep it as long as you will: Tho' the most assured Way to keep *Corn*, is in *Caves* and *Vaults* under Ground, according to the Practise of *Capadocia* and *Thracia*.²⁸

Sir *Tho: Brown* tells us, That in *Egypt* and *Mauritania*; they do above all things look to this; That their *Granaries* do stand on High Ground; and how Dry soever their Floor be, they lay a Course of Chaff, betwixt it and the Ground. Besides, they putt up their Corn in *Granaries* and *Binns*, together with the *Ear*. And *Varro* assures us, That *Wheat* laid up in that Manner, will last Fifty Years; *Millet*, an Hundred; And *Beans* thus conserved in a Cave of *Ambracia* were known to last an Hundred and Twenty Years; that is, from the Time of King *Pyrrhus*, unto the Pyratⁱc War, under the Conduct of *Pompey*.²⁹

More strange it may seem, how after Seven Years, the *Grains* preserved should be Fruitful for a *New Production*; For it is said, *Joseph delivered Seed unto*

Dutch physician and demonologist Joannes Weierus, aka. Johann Weyer, also Wier, Wierus (1515–88) – like many of his peers – was a disciple of the famous Renaissance occultist Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, but spoke out against the delusions of witchcraft and magic in his own *De magis infamibus* (cap. 12, art. 8), which appears in his oft-reprinted *De præstigiis daemonum* (1563). The German jurist and professor at Rostock, Johann Georg Godelmannus (1559–1611) published *Tractatus de magis, veneficis et lamiis* (1591), a 3-volume tome on how to detect and punish witchcraft and magic. Saurin refers to lib. 1, cap. 5 of this work. The last work in the list is *De occulta philosophia, libri tres* (1533), by Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486–1535), German Counselor to Emperor Charles V, and most important Renaissance scholar on esoterica. Saurin refers to lib. 1, cap. 57, of this Latin edition. An English translation of this work appeared as *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (1650).

²⁷ Saurin (Diss. XXXVIII, 1:286).

²⁸ This and the following three paragraphs, including the Latin and Greek citations from Theophrastus, are extracted, nearly verbatim, from Sir Thomas Browne's *Certain Miscellany Tracts* (1684), Tract 1: "Observations upon several Plants mention'd in Scripture" (sec. 31), in *Works* (1907–12) 3:247–49. Pliny's "Handsome Account" is probably that in his *Natural History* (18.73.304–6).

²⁹ Browne (*Works* 3:248). Varro (*Rerum rusticarum* 1.57.2–3). King Pyrrhus of Epirus (312–272 BCE) is known for his devastating wars against the Romans. The Roman military leader Cnaeus Pompeius Magnus (106–48 BCE) waged a crushing three-month campaign against the pirates who controlled the Mediterranean (67–66 BCE) – Mather's "Pyratⁱc War."

the Egyptians, to sow their Land for the Eighth Year. According to Theophrastus, *Ad Sementem, Semen anniculum optimum putatur, Binum deterius, et Trinum ultra sterile fermé est, quanquam ad usum cibarium idoneum*. And yett, according to the Places and Methods of Conservation, why may not the *Fructifying Power* of the Corn, last in a Proportion to the Corn itself? The same Theophrastus ha's left us a notable Exemple, from *Cappadocia*; where Corn might be kept Sixty Years, and remain Fertile at Forty; according to his Expression, thus translated; *In Cappadocia loco quodam, Petra dicto, Triticum ad Quadraginta Annos fecundum est, et ad sementem percommodum durare proditum est, sexagenos aut septuagenos ad usum cibarium servari posse idoneum*. The Scituation of that Conservatory, was, as he tells us; υψηλον, ευπνοον, εναυρον. *High, Airy, Exposed unto several favourable Winds*. And upon such Consideration of Winds and Ventilation, some conceive the *Egyptian* Granaries were made open, the Countrey being Free from Rain. But this Contrivance could not be without Hazard; for by the great Mists and Dewes of the Countrey, the Corn might so be exposed unto Corruption.³⁰

More plain is their Mistake, who from some *Analogy* of the Name, (as *Pyramid* were derived of πυρον, *Triticum*,) conceive the *Egyptian* Pyramids to have been built for *Granaries*; or look for any settled Monuments about the Desarts erected for that Intention: Since their *Store-houses* were made in the great Towns; we read, *He laid up the Food in the Cities; the Food of the Field, which was round about every City, laid he up in the same*.³¹

Q. *Judah's Oration?* v. 34.

A. You may read a Notable Paraphrase upon it, in *Philo's* Book, whereof, *Joseph*, is the Title. Tis the finest Peece in all the Book.³²

³⁰ Browne (*Works* 3:248–49). Theophrastus's *Historia plantarum* (8.11.5 and 8.11.6) informs farmers that “for sowing, seed is best at one year old, inferior at two, and at more than three it is almost sterile, although suitable for use as food.” And yett, Theophrastus raves that “In Cappadocia at a place called Petra they say that seed remains even for forty years fertile and fit for sowing, while as food it is available for sixty or seventy years”; and “elevated, exposed to fair winds.”

³¹ Browne (*Works* 3:249). The Greek “Puron” and Latin “Triticum” suggest “wheat.” Gen. 41:48.

³² See Simon Patrick on Gen. 44:34 (*Commentary* 1:145). Philo Judaeus, in *De Josepho* (4.17–21) relates how Judah bewails the death of Joseph, but when he learns that Joseph was sold into slavery instead, Judah laments his brothers' heinous act. He closes his expression of grief with “to do wrong is a more terrible evil than to suffer wrong, for the one has for an alleviation two consolations of the greatest influence, hope and pity; but the other is destitute of both these mitigations” (*Works* 436–37).

Q. The Land of *Goshen*, where? v. 10.

A. The Name, *Ægypt*, is no where found in the Old Testament. Passing by the Invention of *Stephanus* and *Eustathius*, about a King of that Name, it seems to be of a Greek Original. *Perizonius* in his *Origines Ægypticæ*, fetches it from the *Blackness* of the *Soyl*. The *Hebrew* Name for this Countrey, is, *Mizrajim*. And, *Goshen*, which both the *LXX*, and, *Jerom*, write, *Gesem*, and which signifies, *Plenty of Water*, or a *well-watered Land*, was a notable Part of it. But, where it lay, tis a very Difficult Quæstion; because no other Authors have mentioned it. I will employ a Gentleman Blind from his Nativity, to be my Guide unto it. The admirable Mr. *Jameson*, observes, That (they who go under the Name of) the *Seventy* old Gentlemen, who in *Egypt* made a Version of the Pentateuch, and knew how the Land lay, translate the Name Γεσεμ 'Αραβίας. By which, tis plain that the Countrey bordered on *Arabia*, and on *Palæstine*. They also, Gen. XLVI.28. mention the, Ἡρώων πόλιν there. Now *Strabo* places that *Urbs Heroum*, near a Bay of the *Red-Sea*. *Josephus* places the *Israelites* in *Heliopolis*, and *Sais*. Now *Pliny* places these near together; and both of them in the Parts of *Egypt*, that lay nearest unto *Arabia*.³³

33 Among Mather's principal sources for this paragraph are *Spicilegia antiquitatum Ægypti* (1720), cap. 1, pp. 1–17, §§ 1–7, by William Jameson (fl. 1689–1720), a Presbyterian controversialist and Latin teacher at Glasgow, blind from birth (see also Mather's *Manuductio ad Ministerium* 102); and *Ægyptiarum originum et temporum antiquissimorum investigatio* (1711, 1736), vol. 1, cap. 1, pp. 12–16, by Jacobus Perizonius (1651–1715), Dutch professor of classical history at Franeker and Leiden. Mather greatly admired “our Eagle-Eyed *Jameson*, (a miraculous Literator, Stark Blind from his Nativity!)” for his erudition and piety (*Threefold Paradise* 177). On May 5, 1713, Mather recorded in his diary (*D* 2:205) that he asked Jameson to compose a refutation of William Whiston's *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd* (1711) – a massive 4-volume defense of the *Apostolical Constitutions* that confirmed Whiston's Arian and anti-Trinitarian convictions (Force, *Whiston* 19–20). The Mather libraries included Jameson's *Cyprianus Isotimus* (1705), *Roma Racoviana* (1702), and *Nazianzeni Querela* (1697) – three Presbyterian polemics against Congregationalism and the Roman Catholic Church (Tuttle, “Libraries” 303, 307, 333; Silverman, *Selected Letters* 179). Jameson (cap. 1, p. 1–2, § 1) refers to Stephanus Byzantius's *Ethnica* (44.12–23) and Eustathius Thessalonicensis's *Commentarium in Dionysii periegetæ* (222.44, 239.1–14), who argue that the name *Egypt* may be derived from the name of the ancient King Ægyptus, the son of the African King Belus (*LCD*), or that the name *Egypt* (suggesting “dark earth”) may even be derived from the name for the River Nile (signifying “fluvium nigros”). However, Perizonius (*Ægyptiarum*, vol. 1, cap. 1, p. 16) specifically rejects this conjectured derivation along with those offered by Jameson. Both the *LXX* (Gen. 45:10) and St. Jerome (*Quæstiones Hebraicæ in Genesim*) [PL 23. 1000] call the region in which Joseph's brothers settled “Gesem of Arabia” and “Gesen,” respectively. Jerome objects that the addition “of Arabia” in the *LXX* does not appear in the Hebrew original and has led many interpreters to look for Gesen in Arabia. “Besides, if as it stands in our codices [LXX] it is written as *gesem* with a final M (which does not seem at all good to me), it means a *land which has been rained on*. For

We find here Two Cities that were Seats of the *Egyptian* Cruelties; *Pithom*, and *Raamses*; which are called by a Term, which we render, *Treasure-Cities*. *Pithom* is in *Herodotus* called, *Patumon*: and such a Boundary between *Egypt* & *Arabia*, that by a Mistake it is ascribed unto *Arabia*. *Ptolomy* gives that Name also to a Mouth of *Nilus*. *Raamses* is mention'd by no profane Writers.³⁴

[438v]

Q. Why did *Joseph* so long defer to make himself known unto his Brethren and Family? Is it not strange, that he had no Correspondence with the Land of *Canaan*, during the Years of his Captivity? Wee'l allow, Posts were not then settled: And all that he could have made known, would only have raised unhappy Divisions in the Family. But now, He had been at least Nine Years in his High Station, why did he delay communicating to *Jacob*, the Tidings of his Exaltation? How could he præpare New Afflictions for him, instead of giving him so great a Pleasure? How did it come to pass, that when he foresaw the Famine coming on the Land of *Canaan*, hee did not provide for the Subsistence of his Family? He that præsidèd over all *Egypt*, and could even dispose of a whole Province, without *Pharaohs* knowledge, could he apprehend any Ill Consequences of his Discovering his Family? And if he had feared any, should he not bravely have discharged his Duty, and left the Event unto Providence? v. 15.

A. Take Monsr. *Saurins* Answer. "It is doubtless very difficult to solve these Objections, and not to think hard of *Joseph*, or to suspect that he was a little infected with the Disease too common among Men, that have been raised unto high Stations; which is, that they do not care to look down upon their former Condition, or to make it known unto others. All that we can say most advantageous to the Memory of the Patriarch, is, partly to suspend our Judgment upon all those Articles; to suppose that he could satisfy his Conduct by some good Reasons not known to us; And to give all the Weight we can to such as may in some Measure, if not entirely, excuse him.

– "After all, we must acknowledge ingenuously that the Regards we had for a Man so greatly favoured by Heaven, has rendred us a little partial to those

gesem is to be translated as *shower of rain*" (*Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, p. 79). Significantly, the LXX (Gen. 46.28) renders the Land of Goshen as "Heroon polin" or "City of Heroes" (Heroönpolis, aka. Heliopolis), which many identify either with the City of Rameses (LXX: Exod. 1:11, 12:37; Num. 33:3, 5) or with the Land of Goshen as a whole (Gen. 47:11). Strabo (16.1.30, 16.4.2, 4, 5; 17.1.18, 23) locates "the City of Heroes," aka. Heröonpolis (Heliopolis) and Sais in the Nile Delta (Lower Egypt), as does Flavius Josephus (*Antiquities* 2.7.6), who places the two settlements in the Nile Delta. Pliny (5.12.65) locates it on the Red Sea at the modern Gulf of Suez. See "Pithom" and "Rameses" (CBTEL).

³⁴ Herodotus (2.158) identifies the city as Patoumus; Ptolemy (*Geographia* 4.5.10–11, 39; 8.15.11) calls it Pelusium (Lower Egypt), at the Mouth of the NE Nile Delta. Given these oscillations of the compass, both the ancients and moderns disagree on the location and identity of Pithom and Raamses, aka. Rameses (Exod. 1:11).

Arguments, which do not appear to us altogether conclusive in his Favour. If it had been the Case of a Common Man, we should without any Scruple have condemned his Cowardise and Policy, that seem'd to prevail over the Sentiments of Nature and Religion."³⁵

[439r]

Q. We read of *Joseph*, *To all his Brethren, he gave each Man Changes of Raiment; But to Benjamin he gave Five Changes of Raiment?* v. 22.

A. I will on this Occasion transcribe the Words of Mr. *Aaron Hill*, in his Account of, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*.

"The *Giving Vests*, ha's been a very ancient Eastern Ceremony, as was practised formerly, as now it is *among the Turks*, to give a Proof of the Respect they bore the Person they so honoured. All *Ambassadors*, residing in the Turkish Court, may judge of the Esteem the *Sultan* bears the Prince they repræsent, by the receiving more or fewer than is usual, of these Formal Garments. *Giving Vests* among the Ancients, may be proved in many Places, by the Indisputable Authority of the Holy Writ."³⁶

I will add the Words of Monsr. *Saurin* in his Dissertation, *on Josephs Presents*. "T'was therein that one Part of the Riches of the Ancients consisted. We see it, Jud. XIV.13. and, 2. King. V.5.

"In the time of the First Roman Emperours this kind of Vanity was so greatly increased, that the Prætor *Lucullus* had two hundred Changes of Raiment, as *Plutarch* relates it. And if we may beleeve *Horace*, [L.1. Epist. VI. v. 44.] they carried the Number as far as to five thousand. Without doubt to this Custom alludes, Jam. V.1, 2."³⁷

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[440v]

³⁵ Both paragraphs are extracted from Jacques Saurin's *Dissertations* (Diss. XL, 1:291).

³⁶ Mather cites from *A Full and Just Account of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1709), ch. 19, p. 154, by Aaron Hill (1685–1750), an English writer and traveler whose visit to Constantinople (c. 1700–1704) became the basis for this account.

³⁷ The citation appears in Saurin (Diss. XL, 1:290). Plutarch (*Lucullus* 39.4–5), *Plutarch's Lives* (2:599). Horace (*Epistola* 1.6.43–44).

3480.

Q. *Israel* having recommended himself, and his Family to the Protection of God, God saies to him, *Jacob, Jacob, Fear not to go down into Egypt*. What Remark upon it? v. 1, 2, 3.

A. The Lord calls him *Jacob*, rather than *Israel*, to remember him, what he was originally; & that by His Favour he was made *Israel*.

Now, *Jacob* seems to have been afraid, that when *Joseph* should be dead, his Family should be made Slaves. And he had reason for his Fear, from what had been said unto *Abraham* in such a Vision as this. [Gen. 15.13.] God renews to him now therefore, the Promise then made unto *Abraham*; *I will make of thee a great Nation*; thou shalt have a Numerous Posterity.³⁸

Q. On that, *Joseph shall putt his hand upon thine Eyes*? v. 4.

A. This was an Action used among the Ancients, as a Token of Love, to Dying Persons. *Penelope* in *Homer*, speaking, of *Telemachus* to *Ulysses*, prays, that this their Son may close both their Eyes. [*Heroides* 1.102] *Ovid*, in his Infamous Book, unworthy to be quoted, paraphrases the Greek Poet, *Ille meos Oculos comprimat, ille Tuos*.³⁹

3029.

Q. But a very little while ago, *Benjamin* is called, *A Little One*: [Gen. 44.20.] And yett here we find him a *Father of Ten Sons*? v. 21.

A. You know something of *Jacobs* Fondness for his Beloved *Rachel*, and her Offspring. He was therefore more than ordinarily solicitous, that *Benjamin*, whom he look'd on, as the only surviving Son of *Rachel*, might have an Offspring. He married him therefore as early as was possible. And a singular Blessing of God upon his Marriage multiplied Sons apace unto him; wherein

³⁸ Adapted from Simon Patrick on Gen. 46:2, 3 (*Commentary* 1:147).

³⁹ The paragraph is cribbed from Saurin (Diss. XL, 1:292). Mather's second-hand reference to Homer reads "[*Iliad*. X. v. 252]" in the holograph MS. and is copied from Saurin (note 4). However, this interpolated note is incorrect. It is Ovid in *Heroides* (1.102) – Mather's "Infamous Book" – who has Penelope pray with Ulysses that their son Telemachus "be the one to close my eyes, the one that closes yours." Here, Ovid probably paraphrases Homer's *Odyssey* (23.281–87), where Odysseus tells Penelope that Teiresias (ruler of Hades) had promised Odysseus he would die an easy death in old age. Whereupon Penelope responds that she hopes the gods' promise will come true and that they will die peacefully when their time comes. See also Virgil (*Aeneid* 9.487). Saurin's own source may have been John Selden's *De Synedriis* (lib. 2, cap. 7, sec. 12, esp. pp. 356–58).

appeared the Mercy of God also, to comfort *Jacob*, under the Loss of his darling *Joseph*. These are the Remarks of *Luther* upon the Matter!⁴⁰

348f.

But we may think, of some further Solution for the Difficulty.

I will grant, That *Benjamin*, (and *Pharez* too, who hath two sons assigned unto him, at the Descent into *Egypt*;) might beget Children very early. *Jul. Scaliger*, a Man of unquæstionable Credit, affirms, That in his Memory, there was a Boy short of *Twelve Years* old, who had a Daughter by a Cousin of his, that was yett short of *Ten*. *Rem notam narro* (saies he) *et cujus memoria adhuc recens est in Aquitaniâ*.

But yett, in my Opinion, the great *Austin*, ha's given us the best Key, to come at a right Notion of this whole Matter; Namely; That *Jacobs* Descent into *Egypt*, comprehends all the Seventeen Years, which he afterwards lived in *Egypt*. And so, both the Sons of *Pharez*, and of *Benjamin*, tis enough, that they were born in *Egypt*, before the Death of *Benjamin*.⁴¹

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[442v]

..6[?].

Q. It is said, *Every Shepherd was an Abomination unto the Egyptians*; What was the Original of that *Abomination*? v. 34.

A. Tis true, That the *Egyptian* Manners, were very contrary to *Pastoral* Humours & Customes: but here was not all the Malice. *Egypt* was a Receptacle & Colluvies of many Nations; but among others that contributed unto the Peopling of that Countrey, the *Phœnician* Shepherds made a considerable Figure. Those unlucky *Shepherds*, at last grew into such a Powerful Multitude, that they made themselves the Masters of *Memphis*, & became the Rulers of *Egypt*. This most ancient Revolution is reported by *Manethon*, in these Terms Ἦσαν δὲ Φοίνικες ἕξνοι, βασιλεῖς ἕξ, οἱ Μέμφιν εἶλον. i. e. *There were Six Kings, Phœnician Strangers, who took Memphis*; which that Author makes the fifteenth *Dynasty* of the Kings of *Egypt*; & affirms them all to bee *Shepherds*. You may find the whole Story in *Africanus*; recited by the Incomparable *Bochart*, in his Treatise of the *Phœnician Colonies*; who also fetches the Hatred of *Egypt* unto *Shepherds*, from the things that passed in this old Revolution.⁴²

⁴⁰ Martin Luther's remarks appear in his *Lectures upon Genesis* 44:20 (*Works* 7:372).

⁴¹ The preceding two paragraphs are close adaptations of Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 46:12 (*Commentary* 1:147–48). Julius Scaliger reminisces, "I narrate a well-known thing, and one of which there is still a recent memory in Aquitania." St. Augustine's key can be found in his *Quæstiones in Heptateuchum* (lib. 1, quæst. clii in *Genesim*) [PL 34. 589].

⁴² Mather extracts the entire paragraph from Samuel Bochart's *Geographia* (pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 4, col. 357–58). The citation from Manetho (*Fragmenta* 43, lines 3–4) is extant in a frag-

To prosecute this Matter a little further. It is very sure, That *Every Shepherds being an Abomination to the Egyptians*, must not be understood universally and without Limitation; but of every *Foreign Shepherd*. For it is evident from *Diodorus Siculus* that a considerable Part of the *Egyptians* were *Shepherds*, and of great Service and Esteem among their Countreymen. Yea, tis evident from this very Book of *Genesis*, That the *Egyptians* had *Sheep* and *Oxen*, as well as *Horses* and *Asses*, which they sold unto *Joseph*, in the Famine; and *Pharaoh* spoke unto *Joseph*, to make his Brethren *Rulers over his Flocks*. Or, if this Passage must be understood of *All Shepherds*, then by *Egyptians*, we must not understand all *Egyptians*, but only the Courtiers and the Grandees of *Egypt*, who, tis likely, (as *Rupertus Tutiensis* long ago expounded this Passage,) despised People of so inferiour a Quality.⁴³

But, for the Original of this Aversion for *Shepherds*, Dr. *Patrick* thinks, That the most probable Conjecture is that of *Gaulmin*, (in his Notes upon, *The Life of Moses*): That it arose from their being generally addicted, in those Parts, unto *Robbery*; which Way of Living made them *Abominable*. This Conjecture he justifies out of *Heliodorus* and *Achilles Tatius*, who describe the Seat of these Βούκοι and Ποιμένες, (which the *Egyptians* called, *Hysch*) and the Manner of their Life. *Bochart* himself inclined unto this Opinion before he died; & confirms it in his *Hieroicoicon*, with many Proofs, That *Shepherds* were anciently *Furax hominum genus*, a Thievish sort of People; which made them so odious. Particularly, those in *Palestine*, from whence our *Jacob* came, one would guess [from 1. Chron. 7.21, 22.] were then much given to *Robbery*. The Men of *Gath* slew several of the Sons of *Ephraim*, (while he was yett living,) *for they came down to take their Cattel*, saies the Holy Writer; that is, to gett what Plunder they could in *Goshen*; where the *Ephraimites* defending their Cattel, were some of them kill'd by the *Philistines*, to the great Grief of their Father. It is also by *Strabo*, noted of the *Ethiopians*, that they lived for the most Part, Νομαδικῶς και ἀπόρως, after a poor, sharking, roving Manner, by feeding of *Cattel*, where they could find Food for them; and he adds immediately, τοῖς δ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἅπαντα τὰναντία συμβέβηκε. *That all things were quite contrary among the Egyptians, who were a more civil Sort*

ment of Sextus Julius Africanus's *Chronographiae* (fragm. 11, dyn. 15, line 1), which survives in Georgius Syncellus's *Ecloga chronographica* (p. 67, line 26). For a similar analysis see Benedictus Pererius, *Commentariorum et Disputationum in Genesim* (1596–1602) 4:724–26, “Secunda Disputationum” (on Gen. 46:34).

⁴³ Mather's extracts are from Samuel Bochart's *Hieroicoicon* (pars 2, lib. 4, cap. 16, col. 560) and from Simon Patrick's *Commentary* (1:148–49), on Gen. 46:34. Diodorus Siculus (1.74.1–4; 1.87.2) speaks of several classes of free citizens – one of which being herdsmen, who are highly respected. They hold sheep and cows sacred because of their utility to man. The learned medieval abbot Rupertus Tutiensis relates in his *In Cantica Canticorum de incarnatione domini commentariorum* [PL 168. 837–961] how much the nobility and priestly classes despised the shepherds and those below them. For much the same, see Pererius (*Commentariorum et disputationum* 4:726).

of People, dwelling in certain, & well-known Places. This Difference of Manners, bred an Hatred; and *Plutarch* therefore saies, The *Egyptians* avoided the Conversation of the *Ethiopians*; and For some such reason, he saies, They avoided all *Mariners* of other Nations; as *Moses* here saies, they did the *Shepherds*.⁴⁴

However, *Joseph* hoped, his Brethren would soon distinguish themselves, from the *Shepherds*, of so Ill a Character. Or, if they did not gett the Love of the *Egyptians*, they would be the more secured in the Love of God, & against learning their Evil Manners.

I do not think the Words of *Cunæus*, [De Rep. Heb. L.1.c.4.] improper to be transcribed. “A Third Part of the People lived at a Distance, in the Plains of *Egypt*, & the Marishes. These were the *Shepherds*, Active and Able Men; but execrable to all the *Egyptians*; because they would not suffer them to be secure in their Idle Course of Life. These often made great Commotions, and sometimes created Kings for themselves. Wherefore the *Romans*, in after-times, when they easily held the rest of *Egypt* in Obedience, placed a strong Garrison in all these Parts. When you have taken the most exact View in all things, you will find, *This* was the Reason that made the *Egyptians* from the very first, so ill affected unto *Shepherds*; because those sedentary Men, and Opificers, could not endure their fierce & active Spirits. – [Ponder, Exod. I.10.] – Nor can I assent to them, that impute the Cause of this public Hatred, to their Superstition, as if the *Hebrew* Keepers of Flocks and Herds, could not be suffered by that Nation, – being perswaded there was in them something of Divinity; – For, what will they answer, when they shall either learn out of the Pentateuch, that *Pharaoh* had innumerable Flocks of Sheep; or, when they shall see so many Monuments of Histories to be produced, making it evident, that a considerable Part of the *Egyptians*, lived in Pastures, & among *Cattle*?”⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Again, Simon Patrick’s annotations on Gen. 46:34 (*Commentary* 1:149–50) furnish Mather with his principal material. Here, he refers (via Patrick) to the notes of Gilbert Gaulmin (1585–1665), French philologist, poet, and statesman, who edited a Latin and Hebrew edition of *De vita et morte Mosis* (1629) 267, by Michael Psellus (1018–c. 1078), a Byzantian scholar and statesman, best remembered for his *Chronographia* (976–1077). Gaulmin justifies his argument with references to Heliodorus’s *Aethiopica* (lib. 1, cap. 5–6), a third or forth-century (cē) Greek novelist, and to Achilles Tatius’s *Leucippe et Clitophon* (lib. 2, cap. 2; lib. 3, cap. 9), a Greek novelist of Alexandria (2nd c. cē). The Greek nouns *Boukoloi* and *Poimenes* signify *cattle-herdsmen* and *shepherds*. The Egyptian “hysch” suggests “hyksos” or “shepherd kings” (CBTEL). The Latin citation from Samuel Bochart (*Hierozaicon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 44, col. 448) signifies “a thievish kind of people.” Strabo (17.1.3) points out that the Ethiopians lead “a nomadic and resourceless life” and adds “with the Aegyptians the contrary is the case.” Plutarch’s discussion of the Egyptians’ dislike of the dark-complexioned Ethiopians remains unidentified.

⁴⁵ Finally, Mather cites from the oft-reprinted *De Republica Hebraeorum* (1617, 1631), by Petrus Cunaeus (1586–1638), a Dutch Christian Hebraist, professor of law at Leiden. Tellingly, Mather does not reveal that his translation of the Latin original is from Cunaeus’s *Of the Commonwealth of the Hebrewes* (1653), ch. 5 (not 4!), pp. 36–37, 37–38, translated by “C.B.”

4218.

Q. We read, *Joseph took some of his Brethren, & presented them unto Pharaoh.* Whom? v. 2.

A. The Hebrew runs, *De Extremitate Fratrum Suorum*; That is, He took such as were the *Least* in Person and Stature, and of the most diminutive Aspect; lest if he had sett the stouter Men before *Pharaoh* he might have been under a Temptation to make *Souldiers* of them.⁴⁶

3483.

Q. What was the advantage of *Goshen* above *Canaan*, to afford *Pasture unto Flocks*, the *Famine being sore in the Land*? v. 4.

A. *Canaan* was an higher Countrey than *Egypt*; and the *Grass* there sooner burnt up.

Austin ha's a further Observation, from those who knew the Countrey; That there was more *Grass* in the Marishes and Fenny Parts of *Egypt*, when the *Nile* did not overflow enough, to make Plenty of Corn.⁴⁷

290.

Q. *Jacob* was already, an Hundred & Thirty Years old, & was not yett come to the End of his Dayes; Hee lived Seventeen Years after this, which made an Hundred & Forty Seven. The Difference now between *his* Dayes, & the Dayes of his Fathers, was not so enormously *Great*! *Isaac* dy'd at an Hundred & Four-score: *Abraham* dy'd at an Hundred & Sixty Five: And after *Jacob*, they lived not so long as *hee*. Whence then this Complaint of the Patriarch, *Few & Evil have been the Dayes of the Years of my Life; and I have not attained unto the Dayes of the Years of the Life of my Fathers*? v. 9.

A. The, *Few*, is explained by the, *Evil*. His Dayes were *Winter-Dayes*: and spent in *Darkness* of sore Affliction. *Winter Dayes*, you know, are Twenty four Hours long, as well as other Dayes; [Yea, *Longer*, as if you mathematically consider the *Equation* of Time, you'll see:] Yett we count them, the *Shorter Dayes*. *Jacob*, had enjoy'd less of the Joy of his *Life*, in the Time of his *Life*. The Anguishes, which

⁴⁶ Mather here follows Bochart's translation of מִקְצֵה [mikzeh] (*Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 34, col. 356–57), but Bochart's source appears to be Rashi's commentary on Gen. 47:2, which is based on Genesis Rabbah XCV:4 (*Mikraoth Gedoloth*: Genesis 3:587). See also Patrick (*Commentary* 1:150).

⁴⁷ The excerpt is from Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 47:4 (*Commentary* 1:150), among whose listed sources is St. Augustine (*Quaestiones in Heptateuchum libri septem*, lib. 1, quest. clx in Genesim) [PL 34. 591–592].

hee underwent from *Esau*, from *Laban*, from *Dina*, from the *Murder* of the *Shechemites*, the *Incest* of *Reuben*, the *Absence* of *Joseph*, the *Bondage* of *Simeon*, & the *Departure* of *Benjamin*; There were not such Things in the *Dayes* of the *Years* of the *Life* of his *Fathers*; Hee had less of the *Peace* of *Life*, in his *Dayes*, than they.⁴⁸

[444v]

3484.

Q. *Joseph's* not buying the Lands of the *Priests*, Whence was it? v. 22.

A. The *Priests* were not under any Necessity to sell their Lands, because they had their Diet continually from the King. The *Priests* had anciently publick Lands allow'd unto them, for the Support of their Dignity. Both *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* tell us, They had a publick Maintenance. The *Priesthood* was confined unto certain Families, (as it was in *Israel*, to that of *Aaron*;) and held in such Veneration, that they were not only ἀτελείς, *Tax-free*, and δευτερεύοντες μετὰ τὸν βασιλέα, *Next unto the King* in Honour and Power: but they also received a *Third* out of the Royal Revenues; out of which they maintained the publick Sacrifices, and their Servants, and, τὰς ἰδίας χρείας ἐχορήγου. *Provided for their own Necessities*. Thus *Diodorus Siculus*.⁴⁹

Constantine M. in Part, imitated this Constitution, in that *Law* of his, which made, even all the Professors of Learning free from all publick Charges of any sort, besides the Salary he allow'd them; that they might the more cheerfully follow their several Studies. Thus *Dr. Patrick*.⁵⁰

I will add; That it is possible the True God was worshipped in *Egypt*, while *Joseph* lived; tho' with many Superstitions. The *Priests* also by *Joseph* provided for, were all the Professors of the Liberal Sciences.

[▽Insert of 445v–446r]

[▽445v]

Q. What is to be thought of *Joseph's* Conduct, in enslaving the *Egyptians*? v. 23.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Echoes of Jacques Saurin (Diss. XLII, 1:347–48) abound. In his “Note Book of Authors” (Gen. 47), Mather lists as his source Wolfgang Franzius’s *De Interpretatione S. Scripturarum* (1619) 910.

⁴⁹ This and the following two paragraphs are extracted from Simon Patrick on Gen. 47:22 (*Commentary* 1:151). Patrick’s own source is Gerard Vossius’s *De Theologia Gentili* (1641), lib. 1, cap. 29, pp. 216–17; and Jacques Cappellus’s *Historia Sacra et Exotica* (1613) ad A. M. 2294. Herodotus (2.37) relates how the Egyptian priests were cared for at public expense. The Greek citations from Diodorus Siculus (1.73.5) read “pay no taxes” and “second after the king”; and, respectively, “minister to their own needs” (1.73.3).

⁵⁰ Roman Emperor Constantinus Magnus, aka. Constantine the Great (c. 280–337) decreed that all public servants be freed from paying taxes. See Codex Iustiniani (CJ.1.3.35, 8.16.7).

⁵¹ The following commentary is on verse 23 rather than 26 – here silently corrected.

A. Some *Eleutherians* are afraid, it will be found an evil Conduct, & impossible to be vindicated. When the singular & surprizing Providence of God, had advanced this *Hero*, unto an uncommon Dignity, & given him astonishing Opportunities to Do Good unto Mankind, (say they) how Generous, how Ingenuous a Part, would it have been in him, to have heaped all sorts of Benefits on a miserable Nation; & have won them unto the Exercise of his own Religion, the Worship of the God of *Israel*, and the Faith of the *Messiah*? Had he hearkened unto the Spirit of that Glorious Messiah, or governed himself by such Maxims as that Spirit would have dictated, he would certainly have done so. But instead of this, he seems to have *destroy'd the Freedom of the Nation*, & to have committed an horrid Rape on their Liberties and Properties; and this, upon a sinful Intention & Policy, to ingratiate himself with his Monarch, and secure his own Grandeur and Interest, by putting it out of the Power both of the *Nobility & Commonalty of Egypt*, ever to recover their Ancient Priviledges. That action of removing the People from their Lands & Livings, *from one End of the Borders of Egypt, even to the other End thereof*, was the Finishing Stroke in *enslaving a Free People*. And his gratifying the *Priests* with peculiar Immunities, looks as if it were to fasten their everlasting Chains upon them. He that considers, the *Way of Governing* in the præceding Histories of the Bible, and how much of a *Republican Strain* there appears in it, would suspect, that *Joseph's* Attempt upon *Egypt*, was one of the First Specimens of Tyranny and Slavery given to the World; and that other Princes in other Nations learnt the Way of it, from this very scandalous Exemple.⁵²

When I observe the Faults which the great *Hero's*, in the Bible all along, have been left unto, & black'ned withal, methinks, I feel the Force of the Exhortation, To *look off all these unto JESUS*; and to admire, and adore the *altogether Lovely One*, who is the *Only One that ha's done Good & never Sinned*.

It was a sad Instance of Humane Frailty, which we have in *David's* Miscarriage, after that the Glorious God had done so great Things for him. To some there is a sadder, in the ungrateful, & oppressive Carriage of *Joseph*, after that God had raised him unto such advantages of being a *Benefactor* to the World.

⁵² Mather's source is probably Wolfgang Franzius's *De Interpretatione S. Scripturarum* (1619) 734 (see "Note Book of Authors" on Gen. 47:28). The strong Eleutherian sentiments of freedom are more indicative of Mather's own time than of that of the ancient patriarchs. For when the First Charter of Massachusetts (1630) was revoked in 1684, and Royal Governor Sir Edmund Andros stripped rebellious New Englanders of their land titles granted them by their former Massachusetts government, young Cotton Mather, with *The Declaration, Of Gentlemen, Merchants, and Inhabitants of Boston* (1689) in hand, led his Bostonians in revolt against the Andros government (Silverman, *Life and Times* 62–72). Be that as it may, in its Mosaic context, Mather reads Joseph's policy to trade food for land, livestock, and liberty as the first introduction of slavery. By and large, Mather's condemnation of Joseph's action is *not* seconded by Jewish or Christian commentators, who generally argue that Joseph did not enslave the people, but merely made them subject to paying taxes or tithes to pharaoh, amounting to one-fifths of their revenue (Gen. 47:13–26).

Some think, The Holy God seems to have punished this evil Conduct. For, first, *Joseph* | was the last of the *Patriarchs* who enjoy'd all the Rights of the *First-born*, united. Our Great Saviour, the Son of God, is that grand *First-born*, who is the *Heir of all things*, & the *Lord of all*. It is by the strange Providence of God ordered, that the Rights of the *First-born*, were still in the Families of the Bible, transferred over to such Persons, as were to be the Direct Ancestors of our Saviour, in the Holy Line. And for that Cause, the *Younger Brothers*, very frequently had them, & this often by a Concurrence of strange Circumstances, to bring it about. It is very probable, that most, if not all, the *Patriarchs* mentioned in the *Fifth* Chapter of *Genesis*, were *Younger Brothers*. These *Rights*, had a Complication of *Blessings* in them; Estate, Power, Honour, and Priesthood. And they were usually transferred with much Ceremony & Solemnity, and all that belonged unto a *Patriarchal Benediction*. It was done to *Joseph*, by his dying Father; and it was long before designed, whereof the *Peculiar Garment* putt upon him, was a Token. But God stript *Joseph* of his *Garment*. For, tho' in his *Two Tribes*, he had a *Double Portion* of the Promised Land, yett the Regal Authority was given away to *Judah*.⁵³ [▽446r]

But then, there was another thing very observable. The *Israelites* doubtless approved the evil Conduct of *Joseph*. And God quickly Revenged it, with bringing them under an absolute Slavery to the *Egyptians*!

To this Purpose have some Friends of *Liberty*, reflected on the Conduct of *Joseph*. Indeed I cannot approve the Acrimony wherewith I have seen the Memory of so great and so good a Man, and one who concluded his Life with such glorious Piety, insulted in some Reflections. And the Silence of the Sacred Oracles, as to any Insinuations of Dislike upon his Conduct, would make one very modest in Reflections upon it; and somewhat suspicious, whether *Joseph* did not find the *Egyptians* in as bad Circumstances of Slavery, as he left them. Nevertheless, I cannot altogether avoid coming into the opinion, that his Conduct was not managed by the Rules of Goodness; and that *Joseph* did really strip the *Egyptians* of those *Rights*, which all the Innocent Part of Mankind have a Natural Claim to; and of which if he did not find them invested, at his coming to the Government, yett he ought to have improved his Interest with *Pharaoh*, the best that he could, for the Restoration thereof unto them. However, I desire that nothing here may be considered, as my own particular sense upon the Matter.

I will only annex the Words of Monsr. *Saurin* in his *Dissertations*.

"*Joseph*, tho' a good Man, enslaved a *Free-born People*, and introduced Arbitrary Power into *Egypt*, with all its terrible Consequences; whereby after his Death, the *Israelites* came under cruel Bondage."

[△Insert ends]

[△]

⁵³ Heb. 1:2; Gen. 37:23; Deut. 21:7.

⁵⁴ *Saurin* (Diss. XLI, 1:302–44).

3485.

Q. *Israels bowing himself upon his Beds Head*, what might be the Import of it? v. 31.

A. The Chaldee Paraphrast thinks, The *Divine Glory* now appeared, which thereupon *Jacob* devoutly worshipped. It seems to have been however, in Way of Thankfulness to God, for the Assurance he had received of his being buried with his pious Fathers.

If the Apostle *Paul* had not understood this *Bowing*, to be an Act of Worship, we might have listen'd unto those Modern Writers, who thus translate the Words, *He laid himself down upon his Pillow*; as weak Men use to do, after they have satt up a while. The Hebrew Word, will well enough allow of such a Translation.

And yett, it seems not evident unto Dr. *Patrick*, That the Apostle [Heb. XI.21.] does translate this Passage: For the Apostle is there speaking of another thing, and not of what *Jacob* did *now*: Not of what *Jacob* did when *Joseph* swore to him, but what he did, *After these things*, when he blessed his Sons. The Apostle saies, *He worshipped upon the Top of his Staff*; which are not a Translation of *Moses's* Words in this Place, but are Words of his own, to explain the following Story, & express how strong his Faith was, when his Body was so weak, that he could not worship without the Help of a Staff.

This clearly removes all the Difficulty, (and a Deal there hath been) about Reconciling the Words of *Moses*, to the Words of the Apostle.⁵⁵

[445v–446r inserted into 444v]

⁵⁵ Extracted from Simon Patrick on Gen. 47:31 (*Commentary* 1:152). According to the Targum Jonathan ben Uziel 47:31 (Walton 4:95), the Shechinah of the Lord was present at the head of Jacob's bed. See also Talmudic tractate Shabbath 12b and *Mikraoth Gedoloth* (*Genesis* 3:605a).

735.

Q. Is there any thing observable, in the Time, that *Joseph* nourished his Father, & his Fathers Family, in *Egypt*?

A. Seventeen Years was the Time; which was just as long, as his Father had nourished him, before his being sold into *Egypt*.⁵⁶

Q. The Patriarchs mentioning the Death of *Rachel*? v. 7.

A. *Saurin* observes; The Sacred Historian putts here into the Mouth of *Jacob* some Expressions, of which we do not easily discover the Connexion. *As for me – Rachel died by me in the Land of Canaan.* But they express the Motives which induced this Patriarch to exalt the Sons of *Joseph* unto so eminent a Dignity; namely, because they were the Grandchildren of that *Rachel*, whose Memory was yett so dear to him, and whose Death had been so bitter & grievous.⁵⁷

3457.

Q. When *Jacob* speaks of, *The Angel which Redeemed him from all Evil*, whom does he intend? v. 16.

A. Many of the Fathers, as *Athanasius*, and *Procopius*, understand hereby the Son of God Himself.

But hear the Words of that famous Divine *Georg. Calixtus*:

“The Discourse is not concerning the Sending the Son of God, in our Flesh, to *Redeem Mankind*, but only concerning the Præservation and Prosperity of *One Man*; and therefore I do not know, whether it be safe to call him an *Angel*, i.e. Minister or Messenger, but a principal Cause, together with the Father.”

Calixtus herein follows *Chrysostom*, who takes this *Angel*, to be one properly so called; and thence proves the *Angelical* Care over the People of God. And *Basil* does the like, in Three Several Places of his Works. But yett it entred not into their Thoughts, that *Jacob* here pray'd unto an *Angel*; He only wish'd, that the Children might have the *Angelical* Protection by the special Favour of God *Blessing* of them. When *David* saies, (Psal. 35.6.) *Lett the Angel of the Lord persecute them*; No body will say, He prayes to an *Angel*; tho' his Words are exactly like these of *Jacob*.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ See Gen. 37:2.

⁵⁷ *Saurin* (Diss. XLI, 1:302).

⁵⁸ Mather's primary source is Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 48:16 (*Commentary* 1:154). Patrick enlists *Athanasius* (*Orationes contra Arianos* 3.25.12), in *Four Discourses* (NPN-Fii 4:400–01], *Epistulae quattuor ad Serapionem* 1.14 [PG 26. 565, lines 8ff], and *Procopius*

[448v] |

3388.

Q. *In thee shall Israel Bless.* How is it to be understood, & how ha's it been fulfilled? v. 20.

A. It is, q.d. "when my Posterity would wish all Happiness to others; they shall use this Form of Speech, *God make you like Ephraim and Menasseh.*" And it is remarkable, That this Form of Speech, continues among the Jewes unto this Day.⁵⁹

257.

Q. Give mee a just & full Paraphrase upon that Clause in *Jacobs Will*, *Moreover, I have given to thee [Joseph] one Portion above thy Brethren, which I took out of the Hand of the Amorite, with my Sword and with my Bow?* v. 22.

A. *Jacob*, after his Blessing upon *Ephraim* & *Menasseh*, speaks after this Manner unto *Joseph*; "Behold, *I Dy*, and am ready to bee gone; but God will assuredly bee with *You*, and bring your Posterity into the Land promised unto their Fathers. Now, as a *Token* that I do firmly Beleeve *This*, I do *Give* and *Bequeath* unto thee, (and therein, I *prefer* thee above thy Brethren) that *Peece of Land*, nigh unto *Shechem*, which I bought of the Children of *Hamor*, the Father of *Shechem*; [See Gen. 33.19.] Which tho' *Little* in itself, yett was *All* I had by *Purchase*, in the Land of *Canaan*; and therefore I *Give* and *Bequeath* it unto thee as my *Heir*. This *Peece of Land* was indeed siezed, among the rest, by the Neighbouring *Amorites*, after the Slaughter of the *Shechemites*, and they would not by fair Means Restore it unto mee; so that I was forced to Recover it, by the Assistance of my Sons and Servants, out of their Hands, by Force of Arms; therefore I do still count it *my own*, and I certainly know, that hereafter it shall become the Inheritance of the *Ephraimites*."⁶⁰

Memorandum. This very Portion of Land afterwards *did* become the Portion of the *Ephraimites*. [Consult *Josh.* 16.1. & 20.7.] And the Bones of *Joseph* also were buried afterwards, in this very Portion of Land. [Consult *Josh.* 24.1. & 25.32.]

It is also to bee noted, That the *Hivites*, (concerned in this business) and the *Amorites*, were so mingled, as to make but one Nation.

Gazeaus (*Commentarii in Octateuchum*) [PG 87. Pt. 1. 485–86]. George Calixtus, *Historia Josephi* (1641, 1654) is here quoted at second hand. Calixtus apparently agrees with St. Chrysostom's comments on Gen. 48:16 (*Homilies in Genesis* 66.10, p. 261) and, perhaps, with St. Basil's in *Homiliae super Psalmos* (PG 29. 244, lines 47–48 ff), arguing that Jacob did not pray to an angel inasmuch as his words expressed gratitude and devotion to God.

⁵⁹ Simon Patrick on Gen. 48:20 (*Commentary* 1:154).

⁶⁰ For dramatic effect, Mather recasts Jacob's dying speech into a prophetic oration. In his "Note Book of Authors" (on Gen. 48:22), Mather lists as his source Thomas Fuller's *Pisgah-Sight of Palestine* (1650) 168.

Yea, *Amorites* may seem to have been the general Name of all the *Seven Nations*; They being the Chief: Just as the People of the Seven United Provinces, are now called, *Hollanders*, who are the most potent of them all.⁶¹

3483{?}.

Q. But then, how do some of the Ancients here understand, *Sword and Bow*?

A. *Jerom*, and some others by, *Sword and Bow*, understand no other than his *Money*. He may call, they say, his *Money*, by those warlike Names, to signify, that this was the only Instrument used by him, to acquire any thing. Just as the *Romans*, when they would signify, they had gott any thing, without any other Help, save their own Industry, say they obtained it, *Proprio Marte*, a military Similitude.⁶²

The *Chaldee* Paraphrase carries it, *By Prayer & Supplication*.⁶³

⁶¹ The final two paragraphs in this annotation are from Simon Patrick on Gen. 48:22 (*Commentary* 1:155).

⁶² Simon Patrick on Gen. 48:22 (*Commentary* 1:155). St. Jerome's interpretation appears in his *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim* [PL 23. 1007] and literally signifies "acquired by war," or more euphemistically, "purchased by bravery" (*Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, p. 82).

⁶³ Targum Onkelos (48:22), in Walton (1:219).

Q. On that, *my First-born, my Might, and the Beginning of my Strength the Excellency of Dignity, & the Excellency of Power?* v. 3.

A. Mr. Pyles observes, That from these eminent Characters & Priviledges of *Eldership*, we may learn the Import of that Phrase, *First-born*, [πρωτοτοκος,] as used in the N. T. & applied unto our SAVIOUR.

The LXX render these Words, *The Beginning of my Strength*, by, Αρχη τεκνων μου. *The Head*, or Lord, *of my Family*. Accordingly, CHRIST who upon the Account of His *Creating* and *Governing* all things, is called, πρωτοτοκος πασης κτισεως. *The First-born of every Creature*, [Col. I.15, 16, 17.] is there also called, κεφαλη and Αρχη, *The Head*, & the *Lord*; which latter Words our Translators wrongly render, *The Beginning*. And so, that | Expression, *The First-begotten*, or *First-born*, of, or from *the Dead*; are explained, Rom. XIV.9. by His being *Lord both of the Dead & of the Living*.⁶⁴

[450v]

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Q. Dying *Jacob* expresses his Displeasure against *Reuben*: Dying *Moses* leaves a Blessing on *Reuben*? v. 4.

A. An Ancient Father, one *Diodorus*, gives this Reason of the Difference; *Non poterat Jacob non maledicere Intemperanti Filio ad posterios-deterrendos. Debut autem Moyse illum criminis culpâ liberate; quia Fratri Joseph semper nepercerat*.⁶⁵

3440.

Q. That Stroke upon *Reuben*, *Thou shalt not excell*: How was it accomplished? v. 4.

A. We do never find any great Thing done by this Tribe, in all the Scripture. And they were not so numerous (to which the *Vulgar Latin* refers this) by more than a Third Part, as the Tribe of *Judah* (to whom God gave Part of *Reubens* Prærogative,) when *Moses* took the Summ of the Congregation.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Extracted from a footnote of Thomas Pyle's *Paraphrase with Short and Useful Notes* (1717), vol. 1, part 1, ch. 49, p. 289. Christ is identified as the firstborn in Matt. 1:25, Luke 2:7, and elsewhere. The reference to the LXX is to Gen. 49:3. As usual, Mather omits the diacritical marks supplied in his source.

⁶⁵ Mather has probably in mind Diodorus Tarsensis (d. c. 390), bishop of Tarsus and representative of the Eastern Church at the Council of Constantinople (381). Only fragments of his many writings are extant. Bishop Diodorus explains that "Jacob was unable not to curse his headstrong son in order to deter the younger ones. But Moses had to free him from the blame of this crime, because Joseph had always spared his brother." See also Poole (*Works* 3:470–77).

⁶⁶ Extracted from Simon Patrick on Gen. 49:4 (*Commentary* 1:156). Num. 1:21, 27.

Gründl.
p. Syng Jacob expositur in Myddachun
againt Reuben: Syng Moses Gauru a
Biliffing on Reuben. p. 4.

2. In tantum ratione, cum dicitur, quod
huius rationis est huius differentia. Ad hunc finem
habet non male dicitur huius differentia. Ad hunc
finem dicitur, dicitur autem huius differentia
cum dicitur, quia dicitur huius differentia.

2. That Shook upon Remond, Thou shalt not
Excell: how was it accomplished? p4.

A 340. I do not find any Great thing done
by this tribe, in all ye scriptures. And
they were not so numerous (as which the
Vulgar Latin report this) by more than
a third part, yet tribe of Judah (so
where God gave part of Reuben (pre-
rogative,) where Moses took ye summer
of his Conquest.

2. instruments of cruelty are in their habitations! p. 6.

6. The word, misericordia, was in translation, Italian-
-tation, of words in 19th century. 2. Sc. Sc.
-translation, and Sc. Sc. and Sc. Sc. and
-translation, Sc. Sc. and Sc. Sc. and
-translation, Sc. Sc. and Sc. Sc. and

Q. What would Jacob by His Honour, when
he said, Come not into their secret, O my soul;
into their Assembly, mine Honour be not
united; &c.

A. H. P. P. To this purpose, compare
psal. 10. 9. and psal. 30. 12. and Jam. 3. 9.
The meaning of, that God never saith, either
with heart or tongue, I favour y^e Eutymio's
here complained of.

This will may be made, by
changing not, A change of parts,
which nothing will give other followers.

##

2. ~~There~~ ^{might} ~~be~~ ^{to} ~~no~~ ^{any} King of a People
in this passage upon Simon and Levi,
even David born in Jacob & scattered
in Israel? p. 7.

[illegible]

2. What means Jacob in that passage
about Simon and Levi, They dug down
a well? p. 6.

A. There was nothing at all of a Wall
in the business. We have reason
to think that the Town assaulted by
these monstrous Sparks, was not walled
at all: much so, that they would
~~be~~ give themselves a labour.

Besides, a Wall is now
716 But 716 in yr Hebrew lan-
 guage. I say then, What
 what w^d translate, A Wall, is to
 be translated

one translation, An ox. And now
there are especially two opinions,
above yr self, that stand fair for
yr Sup of yr place as accounts
into his translation. One is
that of yr French Visitor, who
do not like clauso. One enlows
Doct pair but plain, or, there
carried away by ~~exaggeration~~. And
his agrees with his report in
Jan. 4. 28. Then look how these

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Chap. 49.
and floor Oxon, Kt^{ys} Sir Aff^{ys}, & all

their wealth. Another
is that of yr ingenious & diffid-
ent who say, that by a 2d horse mon-
toured at Ham-stringed, is meant
Mitchem, y^e son of Hudson &
Rumor of Ainala. He is known

Clay refers to y^r Draft of y^r Father
- Presides as a Man; So y^r latter ~~draft~~
clasp may well refer to y^r Draft
of y^r Son. And Bulfinch was in
y^r Service some time called by

4. Name of Oxen. Widen
 2xx sandwicht translat
 7777 7888 7999 8000 And
 7777 7888 7999 8000
 7777 7888 7999 8000

R. *Epikoston principis*,
 # # *Herz rußw. 28. 8. 1861*

2. Put a further point upon that promise
about the Priests of Simsbury, with divide

A. The Julianians, which by Lott fill up
the Prob. of London, did remarkably
fulfil this prophecy. A Bur-bone was
a further fulfillment, as it should seem,
in a close of the divine providence.

in one effect of the Divine providence. For, as ye instructors of India, among ye Graduates, were of the Tribe of Levi, scattered all over the land; so the instructors of children, were of the Tribe of Simeon. There were a

sort of serico, that went to school -
masters of the Nation, generally seen
kind all over the Nation; and those
 told us, were mostly of the Tribe
 of Simon.

of Simon.

2. And what Remarkable Reflection
may our minds on the scattering of
Scindon and 1801? &c.

in a Government of the world; then
the who associate on Wednesday, are pun-
-ished with deparations, and Altruism
from one another, ~~there~~ brought
about most unaccountably.

2. *Demargatella fulvicincta* sp. nov.

A. A. Jensen Bonfochai, hat blii glo,
apron it; Non dett homo, ego sum
Baukanta, wal ego sum Simonsen;
et ego sum Judens All et Bonfochai

800 eggs from Judas, which all the
of Judas, carried them, which all the
which took them from him;
they were 8 an, all called Judas.

al Society

3491.

Q. Instruments of Cruelty are in their Habitations? v. 6.

A. The Word, *Mecheroth*, which we translate, *Habitations*, is no where else in the Bible. *L. De Dieu*, translate{s} it, *Counsels*; and *Job Ludolphus* approves of the Translation; *Consilia eorum nihil sunt, nisi Vis et Arma*.⁶⁷

1784.

Q. What means *Jacob*, by, *His Honour*, when hee saies, *Come not into their Secret, O my Soul; unto their Assembly, Mine Honour, bee not thou united?* v. 6.

A. His *Tongue*. To this Purpose, compare Psal. 16.9. and Psal. 30.12. and Jam. 3.9. The Meaning is, That hee never did, either with *Heart* or *Tongue*, favour the Enterprise here complained of.

This Verse may be rendred, *My Soul came not*. – A Change of Tense, whereof *Noldius* will give other Instances.⁶⁸

171.

Q. What means *Jacob*, in that Passage about *Simeon* and *Levi*, They dug down a wall? v. 6.

A. There was nothing at all of a *Wall* in the business. Wee have reason to think, that the Town assaulted by these mettlesome Sparks, was not *walled* at all; much less, that they would give themselves the Labour, the Liesure, & so the Hazard of demolishing a *Wall*. Besides, a *Wall* is not שׂוֹר but שׂוֹר in the Hebrew Language. I say then, That what wee translate, *A Wall*, is to bee translated, *An Ox*. And now there are especially two Opinions, above the rest, that stand fair for the Sense of the Place, as accommodated unto this Translation. One is that of the French Version, who so read this Clause, *Ont enlevé les Bœufs pour leur plaisir*; or, *They carried away the Oxen*. And this agrees with the Report, in Gen. 34.28. *They took their Sheep, and their Oxen, & their Asses, & all their Wealth*. Another is that of the ingenious *Pfeiffer*, who saies, That by the *Oxe* here mentioned as *Ham-stringed*, is meant *Shechem*, the Son of *Hemor*, the Raptor of *Dinah*. As the former Clause refers to the Death of the *Father* – *They slew a Man*; so the latter Clause may well refer to the Death of the *Son*. And *Rulers* are in the Scripture sometimes called by the Name of *Oxen*. Whence the LXX sometimes translate

⁶⁷ Mather's primary source is Simon Patrick on Gen. 49:5 (*Commentary* 1:156), whose own sources include Ludovicus De Dieu's *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamenti* (1648) 52–53 (on Gen. 49:5), and Job Ludolphus's *Historia Æthiopica* (1681), *Iobi Ludolfi alias Leutholf dicti Ad suam Historiam Æthiopiam antehac editam Commentarius* (1691), lib. 1, cap. 15 (note 106). Ludolph approves of De Dieu's translation, adding, "Their Counsels are nothing, but Force and Arms" (Patrick, *Commentary* 1:156). Ibn Ezra on Gen. 49:5 reviews the debate in his *Commentary* (1:422–23), but offers much the same interpretation.

⁶⁸ Mather appears to rely on Christianus Noldius's *Concordantiae particularum Ebraeo-Chaldaicarum* (1679).

שְׁרָיִם τους Ἀρχοντας. And there is a *Paranomasie*, between שְׁרָיִם and שָׂרִים. Yea, R. Eliezer sais, That שָׂרִי is *Epitheton Principis*.⁶⁹

1785.

Q. Might there be any thing of a Blessing, in this Passage, upon *Simeon* and *Levi*, *I will Divide them in Jacob, & Scatter them in Israel?* v. 7.⁷⁰

A. Yes; For the Tribe of *Simeon*, having their Inheritance, [Josh. 19.1.] *within the Inheritance of the Children of Judah*, they were in a great Measure præserv'd, from the Schism of the *Ten Tribes*.

And, the Tribe of *Levi*, having Forty Eight Cities, granted them, all over the Land of *Canaan*, they, in the Execution of their Office there, prov'd an Advantage to *all the Tribes*.⁷¹

2770.

Q. But a further Touch upon that Prophecy, about the Tribe of *Simeon*, *I will divide them, & scatter them?* v. 7.

⁶⁹ According to his “Note Book of Authors” (on Gen. 49:5, 6, 7), Mather’s sources include “Taylors Brethren in Evil” and “T. Fullers Snare broken”: the former remains as yet unidentified; the latter refers to *The Snare Broken* (1656), bound with *The Best Name on Earth* (1657), a collection of sermons by Thomas Fuller (c. 1607–61), Anglican clergyman and author of the still prized Fuller’s *Worthies* (1662). Much of what Mather covers here can also be found in Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:292); Bochart’s *Hierozaicon* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 11, col. 179–80); Henry Ainsworth’s *Annotations* (1627) 165 (n), and before them in Piscator’s *Commentarius in Genesin* (1601), on Gen. 49:6; in Junius and Tremellius’s annotations to *Biblia Sacra* (1593) 53 (note 13 b), and, of course, in Rashi (*Mikraoth Gedoloth* 3:623). The ambiguity arises when the words שָׂרִי [showr], *ox*, *bull* (Gen. 49:6) and שְׁרָיִם [shuwr], *wall* (Gen. 49:22) [Strong’s # 7794, 7791] are read with or without the vowel points of the Tiberian Masorah. It is unclear which French translation Mather has in mind. Perhaps he refers to the previously mentioned translation by the Huguenot Charles Le Cène (see note 228 on Gen. 37:3 above). The French theologian Jacques Lefèvre d’Étaples (c. 1450–1536) published his translation of the OT (Vulgate) and NT (Greek) in Antwerp, in 1530. However, Mather may more likely refer to René Benoist’s 1566 dual Latin and French translation (at the time controversial for its Calvinist flavor) or even to the highly esteemed dual language edition (Latin and French) *La Sainte Bible en Français* (Paris and Reims, 1709–17), by the French Oratorian Louis de Carrières (1662–1717). August Pfeiffer’s *Hermeneutica Sacra* (1684) elucidates this issue for Mather. The LXX (Hos. 12:12) renders the Hebrew noun שְׁרָיִם [shewarim], *bullock*, *ox* as ἀρχοντες [arkontes], *ruler*, *authority*, etc. Hence the *paranomasia*, or play on words, involves the similarity in sound between שְׁרָיִם [shewarim], *oxen*, and שָׂרִים [sharim], *singers* – perhaps punning on the idea of the hamstrung oxen and the freshly circumcised Shechemites, whose suffering enervated them in their self-defense against Simeon and Levi’s revenge for violating their sister. Mather appears to refer to R. Jacob ben Eleazer, in *Ben Melech* (on Josh. 11:6, 2 Sam 8:4), who argues that the noun שָׂרִי is an “*epithet of a prince*” and metaphorically refers to the princes or rulers (Hamor and Shechem) who were felled by Simeon and Levi (see John Gill’s *Exposition* [2006], 1:302).

⁷⁰ Mather’s commentary on verse 7 is here inserted according to his instructions: “# # Here insert the Illustration on v. 7.”

⁷¹ Adapted from Patrick on Gen. 49:7 (*Commentary* 1:156–57), but also see Thomas Fuller’s *Pisgah-Sight of Palestine* (1650), bk. 2, ch. 2, p. 227 (“Note Book of Authors,” on Gen. 49:7).

A. The Inheritance, which by *Lott* fell unto the Tribe of *Simeon*, did remarkably fulfil this Prophecy. *Simeons* Posterity had a Portion only in the Midst of the Tribe of *Judah*; (Josh. 19.1, 9.) And we find them Assisting one another, to enlarge their Border. (Jud. 1.3, 17.) In after-times, when their Portion became too strait for them, they acquired Possessions, where they could, far from the rest of their Brethren. Five Hundred of them, went & settled, on Mount *Seir*. [1. Chron. 4.39, 42.] But there was a further Fulfilment, as it should seem, in one Effect of the Divine Providence. For, as the Instructors of *Men*, among the *Israelites*, were of the Tribe of *Levi*, scattered all over the Land; so the Instructors of *Children*, were of the Tribe of *Simeon*. There were a Sort of *Scribes*, that were the *Schole-masters* of the Nation, generally *Scattered* all over the Nation; and these, they tell us, were mostly of the Tribe of *Simeon*.⁷²

3492.

Q. And what Remarkable Reflection may one make on the *Scattering* of *Simeon* and *Levi*? v. 7.

A. There is a surprising thing, which the Providence of God, often brings to pass in the Government of the World; That they who *Associate* in Wickedness, are punished with *Separations*, and *Alienations* from one another, brought about most unaccountably.

Q. A Remarkable Fulfilment of that Passage, in the Blessing of *Judah*. *Thou art he, whom thy Brethren shall praise?* v. 8.

A. R. *Simeon ben Jochai*, ha's this Gloss upon it; *Non dicit homo, ego sum Reubenita, vel ego sum Simeonita; sed ego sum Judeus*. All the Brethren of *Judah*, own'd him, when all the Tribes took their Names from him; They were & are, all called *Jewes*.⁷³

[452v] |

4355.

Q. Wee are now approaching to the most famous Prophecy of *Shiloh*. Begin with giving us a New Account of that Name? v. 10.

A. *Leclerc* will needs have the Name signify, *The End*. He will have *Jacob* only say, That the Empire should remain in the Tribe of *Judah*, until the Commonwealth of *Israel* should come to its *End*. There is one M. *Gousset*, who in his,

⁷² Extracted from Patrick on Gen. 49:7 (*Commentary* 1:156–57). See also Saurin (Diss. XLI, 1:307). Tertullian reads Jacob's malediction against Simeon and Levi as a type of Christ's confrontation with "the scribes and Pharisees; for from them is derived their origin" (*An Answer to the Jews* 10; and *Contra Marcionem* 3.18), both in *ANF* (3:165, 336).

⁷³ Mather quotes at second hand R. Simeon ben Jochai (Yohai), purported author of the *Zohar*, whose gloss appears in Midrash Rabbah (Gen. XCVIII:6) and translates, "A man does not say, I am a Reubenite, or a Simeonite, but I am a *Jehudi* [Jew]."

Commentarij Linguae Hebraicae, refutes *Leclerc*, and also shows the Unsatisfactoriness of some other Expositions. He advances one of his own; He saies, The Word is composed of the Letter, /w/ which in Composition is as much as the Pronoun Relative, *He that*: And of the future of the Verb, *Lahah*, which signifies, *To be Fatigued*, or, *Wearied*. So that the Word, *Shiloh*, signifies, *He that ought to be exposed unto many Fatigues*; which every one knowes, to agree admirably well with our Saviour.⁷⁴

3493.

Q. What may be meant, by the *Scepter*, and the *Lawgiver*, promised unto *Judah*? v. 10.

A. *Selden*, observes, That the Word *Scepter* was of old, more used than *Crown*, or *Diadem*, (which are more used of later Times) to signify, *Kingly Power*. Accordingly, Amos. 1.5. *He that holds the Scepter*, is no other than a *King*. And the *Kingly Power* began in the Tribe of *Judah*, when *David* was King over all *Israel*: and his Posterity held it, until the Captivity of *Babylon*.⁷⁵

But then the *Law-giver* follows. This intimates a Diminution of the Dignity, before the Finishing of the Prophecy. For the *Mechokekim*, were not of æqual Power with the *Kings*; we translate the Word, *Governours*; [Jud. 5.9, 14.] who were not endued with the highest Power, but had their Dependence on the Power of another. R. *Solomon Jarchi*, expressly saies, That *Schebet* signifies the Highest Authority, and *Mechokek*, signifies a lesser Magistrate; such an one as the Kings of *Persia* sett over the *Jewes*, after their Coming out of *Babylon*. *Zorobabel* was then made their *Mechokek*; and when they were afterwards invaded by the *Seleucidae*, they recovered this Authority, & maintained it, and præserted it, by the *Maccabees*; until they were deprived of it by the *Romans*, about the time of our Saviours Coming. *Chr. Wagenseil*, who hath weigh'd this famous Text with much Exactness, thus carries it, *There shall be either Kings or Governours among the Jewes, till Christ come*. And it was most literally accomplished.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Mather's primary sources are Saurin (Diss. XLI, 1:313–14); Jean LeClerc's *Twelve Dissertations* (1696), ch. 11, pp. 282–83; Jacques Gousset's *Commentarii Linguae Ebraicae* (1702) 424 (*Laaah*); Joseph Mede's *Works* (1664), bk. 1, Discourse 8, pp. 45–48; and Thomas Fuller's *Pisgah Sight of Palestine* (1650), bk. 2, ch. 13, p. 268 (for the latter, see "Note Book of Authors" on Gen. 49:10). For a helpful discussion of *Shiloh*, see Pierre-Daniel Huet's *Demonstratio evangelica* (1690), Prop. 9, cap. 4, §§ 21–23, pp. 422–23; the most detailed summary of the various positions on *Shiloh* up to the middle of the 17th century can be found in Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:294–304) and *Works* (3:490–514).

⁷⁵ This and the following five paragraphs closely follow in wording and argument Simon Patrick's annotations on Gen. 49:10 (*Commentary* 1:157–58). Patrick's source is the third edition of John Selden's *Titles of Honor* (1672), part 1, ch. 8, pp. 136–37. See also the first edition of Selden's work (1614), part 1, ch. 7, pp. 135–37.

⁷⁶ See R. Solomon Jarchi (Rashi) on the Talmudic tractate Sanhedrin 5a (*Mikraoth Gedoloth*: Genesis 3:626). Mather (via Patrick 1:158) refers to *Tela Ignea Satanae* (1681), a collection of Jewish polemical writings against Christianity and a Christian apologia and refutation through

Yea, tis Remarkable, That the whole Time, from the Beginning to the Period of *Judahs* Authority, was well nigh æqually divided between *Kings* and *Governours*. According to *Josephus*, they lived under *Kings*, from *Dauids* Time to the Captivity, *Five hundred Thirty two Years*. And under the *Governours*, after the Captivity, they lived much about the same Number of Years. For, there being 588 Years from the Captivity, to the Birth of our Saviour, if 70 Years be deducted (which was the Time of the Captivity) and so be added (in which, after the Birth of our Saviour, *Herod* and his Son *Archelaus* reigned in *Judæa*, and it was not yett reduced into a meer Province,) there were just 528 Years. This renders the Prophecy of *Jacob*, to be yett the more astonishing!⁷⁷

The Letter *Vau*, before the Word which we translate *Lawgiver*, is here a *Disjunctive*, & not a *Copulative*.⁷⁸

If it be objected, That the *Maccabees* were of the Tribe of *Levi*, the Prophecy does not say, The Rulers were to be of the Tribe of *Judah*, but the Tribe should have a Government of their own. And by *Judah* are meant, all that should be called *Jewes*; which comprehends the Tribes of *Benjamin* and *Levi*, that were incorporated with that of *Judah*; & were called *Judah*, in Opposition to *Israel*. *Mordecai*, who was of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, is expressly called, (Est. 2.5.) *A Jew*. And so the *Maccabees* were *Jewes*.⁷⁹

From between his Feet,] is by *Wagenseil* translated, *Even to the last End of that State*. For, the People *at the Feet*, signifies, [Exod. 11.8. 2. King. 3.9.] those that bring up the Rear. Some of the ancient Interpreters in the *Talmud*, accordingly expound it, of the *Last Posterity of Judah*, & the Times when their Commonwealth should be coming to a Conclusion.⁸⁰

lengthy annotations, by Johann Christoph Wagenseil (1633–1705), professor of history and Oriental languages at the Franconian university of Altdorf (SE Germany). Mather refers to Wagenseil's separately paginated *Confutatio Carmen Memorialis Libri Nizzachon. R. Lipmanni*, pp. 293 ff, 373. See also Wagenseil's *De loco classico Gen. XLIX.10 dissertatio* (1676). For a modern discussion of Wagenseil as a Christian Hebraist, see P. Blastenbrei (2004).

⁷⁷ Patrick (1:158). Flavius Josephus (*Antiquities*. 11.4.8). Herod the Great, king of the Jews (37–4 BCE), governed the Roman territories of Syria-Judea until his death when his territories were divided among his three sons; Archelaus (4 BCE–6 CE) became ethnarch of Judea, Samaria, and Idumea, until he was replaced by a Roman governor (*ODCC*). See also James Ussher's *Annals* (1658) 795–805.

⁷⁸ Patrick (1:158). See for example Exod. 20:14–18, where each sententious statement is preceded by the Hebrew letter ו (vau, waw).

⁷⁹ Patrick (1:158).

⁸⁰ Patrick (1:158). See Wagenseil's *Tela Ignea Satanae, Confutatio* (269), Rashi on *Sanhedrin* 5a (*Mikraoth Gedoloth* 3:626–27), and R. Safra and R. Hiyya, in Talmudic tractate Horayoth (11b).

727.

Q. The famous Prophecy of Dying *Jacob*, about *Shiloh*; I pray, give us a few further Strictures upon it; and vindicate from the present Cavils, of the Tribe to whom it was made? v. 10.

A. 'Tis evident, all along, that the *Patriarch* here foretels unto his Children, what should befall them in their *Posteritie*.

Now, wee must, first, affirm, That the *Shiloh* here promised, is none other than the *Messiah*.

Lett the Name signify, *His Son*, or, *The Person that was to bee sent*, or, *The Person for whom it was Reserved*, or, *The Peace-giving One*, still the *Messiah* layes claim unto it.

They tell us, 'T'was *Moses*. But how was hee the Son of *Judah*? or how had the Tribe of *Judah*, the Power of the *Scepter* & *Law-giver*, until hee came?

They tell us, It might be *Saul*, who was anointed King, at *Shiloh*. But his Coronation was at *Mispeh*; And how was the *Gathering of the People* unto Him? Nor did *Judah* come to its Empire, till some time after his Decease.

Much less will *Jeroboam*, fitt this Prophecy; for hee took not away the *Scepter* from *Judah*.

David was indeed, a Son of *Judah*; but at his coming sure, the *Scepter* departed not.

But what ridiculous Banter is it then, to apply this Oracle unto *Nebuchadnezzar*? Sure, hee was not a Son of *Judah*! And how could such a *Vengeance* as *hee*, bee promised as a *Blessing*, to the People of God? Besides; During the *Babylonish* Captivitie, the Jewes were governed by their own proper *Judges*, who had Power of Life and Death. And when they came out of that Captivitie, they were under *Zerubbabel*, who was not only one of their own, but also one of the Blood Royal. Briefly, The *Tribe* was kept still entire, under a *Government*, by *Lawes* of its own.⁸¹

The Jewish Rabbins, to bee further obstreperous, besides abundance of grammatical Criticisms, do try to make this Evasion from the Force of this Prophecy; That the Sense is, *The Scepter & Law-giver shall not Depart from Judah, AFTER the Coming of Shiloh*. But how forced, how strained, a Version is this? Their Fore-fathers never gave it. Nor can it bee Received as True; for *Daniel* assures us, That after the Coming of the *Messiah*, the Jewish City & the Sanctuary should bee destroy'd; and I pray, what then becomes of the *Scepter*?⁸²

⁸¹ The preceding paragraphs are extracted from Jacques Saurin's *Dissertations* (Diss. XLI, secs. 3–4, 1:341–42).

⁸² Saurin (Diss. XLI, sec. 7, 1:343–44).

They go on, that, *Shebet*, which wee translate, *The Scepter*, is, *The Rod*; namely, The *Rod* of Affliction, & Punishment, which was to bee continually inflicted, it seems, till *Shiloh* come. Well, But how will that agree with the Following Words; *Nor the Law-giver from between his Feet*? These Words are evidently an Allusion unto the Custome; That the Supreme Magistrate had his Place, upon a Kind of Seat or Throne, erected higher than the rest of the Assembly; and hee had a Secretary sitting at his Feet, There to write down the Dictates of his Will, or the *Lawes*, & so to deliver them unto the People; for which reason, hee is here termed, *A Law-giver*. Besides, What *Rod* of Affliction, or Punishment, lay upon the Tribe of *Judah*, in the Dayes of *Solomon*?⁸³

1713.

Q. The most effectual Way to Illustrate and Vindicate, the Illustrious Prophecy of *Shiloh*, will bee, to make the Jewish *Rabbis* themselves to do it? v. 10.

A. It shall bee done.

Only I will first observe unto you, a Curiositie. R. *Kimchi*, for one, tells us, That *Shiloh*, which, hee saies, here intends, the *Messiah*, is derived from that Word, which denotes, the *Secundine* Attending the Birth of an *Infant*. Now, *Macer*, the Poet, who wrote before the Coming of our Saviour, observes, that this is, entirely,

— *Matris de semine facta*,

and his Observation is True. Some learned Men, have therefore thought, that the Name of *Shiloh*, intimates our Lords being Born of a *Mother*, without a *Father*.⁸⁴

Wee will now take notice;

That the *Targum* of *Onkelos*, expressly expounds, the *Scepter*, to bee the Exercise of *Dominion*, or *Government*; and *Shiloh*, to bee the *Messiah*.⁸⁵

That in *Bereschith Rabba*, the *Scepter* & the *Lawgiver*, here mentioned, is expounded of, the *Consistory*, and *Sanhedrin*, meeting in the *Polish'd Chamber*, which was in the Tribe of *Judah*: And so tis likewise expounded in *Bereschith Keizara*.⁸⁶

⁸³ See Saurin (1:337), and sec. 2 (1:340–41); Patrick (1:158); and Manasseh ben Israel (*Conciliator*, Quest. 68, sec. 8, p. 97), who points to R. Joel ben Soeb, who reads *Shebet* as “the rod of chastisement”; and to R. Isaac Abarbanel’s commentary on Samuel, who agrees with R. Joel, yet with the modification that God’s people “will not forget the Law” in spite of their continued punishment.

⁸⁴ R. David Kimchi (on Gen. 49:10), in *Hachut Hameshulash* (3:867). See also *Mikraoth Gedoloth* (3:627). Most likely, Mather refers to Aemilius Macer (d. 16 BCE), the Roman didactic poet of Verona, author of *Ornithogonia* and *Theriaca* (two poems on birds and serpents), and friend of Tibullus and Ovid. Macer observes that the placenta (“secundine”) is entirely “made from the seed of the mother.”

⁸⁵ *Targum Onkelos* (Gen. 49:10–12) in Walton (1:221) and Etheridge (1:151).

⁸⁶ *Genesis Rabbah* (XCVIII:8).

That in the Book, *Aboda Zara*, and in the Book, *Sanhedrin*, tis acknowledged, that the Power of Judging, in that Consistory, was utterly taken away from them, *Forty Years*, before the Destruction of the Temple. *Ecce, per* | [454v]
Quadraginta Annos ante Destructionem Domus cassata sunt, Judicia Animarum. And it is there also acknowledged, That a little after this, the *Wicked Kingdome* (namely, that of the *Romans*,) utterly destroy'd the Consistory itself, and made it *Capital*, for any to bee *ordained* into it: One of the great *Ordainers* particularly, the *Romans* kill'd, by shooting Three Hundred Arrowes into him, *et fecerunt eum ut Cribrum*.⁸⁷

Now lett us Address our Jew; *Ex ore Tuo, serve nequàm*. Wee will proceed upon your own Confessions, and prove the *Messiah* to bee come.⁸⁸

2336.

Q. If the Prophecy of *Shiloh*, bee such a Prophecy of our Lord Jesus Christ, why did our Lord Himself never mention it, nor any of His Apostles? v. 10.

A. *Pererius* gives this Reason; Because this Prophecy only proved the Time, when the *Messias* should come, and not that our Lord was the *Messias*. But, if the Evangelists had quoted every Text belonging to the *Messias*, they must have transcribed almost all the *Law & the Prophets*.

Yea, more than so; If our Saviour had alledged this Text, in Proof of His being the *Messias*, and said, *The Scepter was now departing from Judah*, this would have Raised Jealousies in the Heads of the Jewish Government, and been many Wayes Inconvenient. Nor could the Apostles have insisted on it, as a convincing Argument for the Proof of Christianity, until *Jerusalem* was destroyed, & the People dispersed; which was after the Writing of the Gospels.⁸⁹

[▽Insert Ar–Bv]

[▽Ar]

But this Matter must not go over so.

It is promised, *That the Scepter should not depart from Judah, until the Obedience of the People were to the Messiah*; or until the Spreading of His Kingdome

⁸⁷ Talmudic tractate Avodah Zarah (8b): “Forty years before the Temple was destroyed did the Sanhedrin abandon [the Temple] and held its sittings in Hanuth”; i.e., “a place on the Temple Mount outside the hewn chamber” (Sanhedrin 41a, and note 43). Mather’s extract from a Latin translation of the Talmudic tractate Sanhedrin (41a) reads, “Behold, forty years before the destruction of the temple, their judgments of souls were annulled.” Roman arrows penetrated one of the members of the Sanhedrin, “and they made him like a sieve.”

⁸⁸ Mather’s latent anti-Semitism, borne out of his millenarian expectations that Christ’s Second Coming is impeded by Jewish resistance to Christian conversion efforts, here comes to the fore as he elbows the unconverted into reading rabbinic commentaries that point to the Christian Messiah: “From your own mouth, wicked slave.” See Mather’s Christian catechism for Jews *Faith of the Fathers* (1699), his *Threefold Paradise* (295–318), and my discussion of this topic, in “Introduction,” *Threefold Paradise* (21–37).

⁸⁹ Mather’s extract is from Valentinus Benedictus Pererius’s *Commentarium et disputationum in Genesim* (1596–1602) 4:796–800.

into the Gentile World. Now, tis observed,⁹⁰ there is one Remarkable Expression of our Saviours concerning this Matter, so direct unto this Purpose, that one can hardly think any other, but that He had this very Prophecy in His Eye, when He uttered it. We chuse to offer the Observation in the Words of Mr. *Mede*; in his Discourse on this Prophecy.⁹¹

“Our Saviours Prophecy of the Destruction of the Jewish State, in the Gospel of St. *Matthew*. There, after He had named some other Signs to precede it, he adds this for the Last Sign; *And this Gospel of the Kingdome shall be preached in all the World, for a Witness unto all Nations, & then shall the End come*. That is, The End of the *Jewish* State. When the *Gentiles* by the Preaching of the Apostles, should be gathered unto Christ, then should the *Jewish* Church & Commonwealth be utterly dissolved; which, till then had continued united under some Polity & Form of Government, from its first Beginning. For so it pleased the Wisdome of Almighty God, when He [Bv] would reject the Jewes, not to dissolve their State, till He had erected Him a New One among the *Gentiles*.”⁹²

[△] [△Insert ends]

3494.

Q. What means, *The Gathering of the People*, that must be, to *Shiloh*?

A. *Abarbinel* himself shall expound the Words; *The People of the Nations shall be gathered to worship the Messiah*. See *L'Empereur in Jacchiad*. And, *Codex Middoth*. Or, if we render it, *The Obedience of the People*; as *Wagenseil* would have it, according {to} *Onkelos*, & the *Jerusalem*, and *Kimchi*; [and in Prov. 30.17. the only Place besides this, where this Word *Jikkah* is found, it seems to signify, *Obedience*] it comes to the same issue.⁹³

⁹⁰ Mather here cancels “by our Whiston,” but may have intended Whiston’s *An Essay on the Revelation of St. John* (1706), “A Collection of Scripture-Prophecies,” III, pp. 350–51.

⁹¹ Mather’s primary source here is Saurin (Diss. XLI, 1:337–38), but the citation (below) is directly from Joseph Mede’s *Works* (1664), bk. 1, Discourse 8, p. 45.

⁹² Mede’s *Works* (1664), bk. 1, Discourse 8, p. 45. Matt. 24:14.

⁹³ Extracted from Simon Patrick’s annotations on Gen. 49:10 (*Commentary* 1:159). Among Patrick’s own sources are Johann Christoph Wagenseil’s *Tela Ignea Satanae* (1680) 295; an earlier edition of Isaac ben Judah Abarbanel’s *Commentarius in Pentateuchum Mosis* (1710) on Gen. 49:10; Constantine L’Empereur’s Hebrew-Latin edition with annotations, *Paraphrasis Danielis Iosephi Iachiadae in Danielum* (1633) 164, by R. Joseph ben David ibn Yahya, aka. Jachja (1494–1534), an exegete of Florence (Italy); and L’Empereur’s dual-language edition of *Hoc est. Talmudis Babylonici Codex Middoth* (1630) 106–07; Targums Onkelos and Hierosolymitanum, in Walton (1:221, 4:98); R. David Kimchi follows the Targums Onkelos and Jerusalem and renders the noun יְקִיָּהָת [Jqqahat] as “obedience”; Kimchi also refers to Prov. 30:17, which he glosses, “and disdains to relate with *obedience* to his mother” (*Hachut Hameshulash* 3:867); and Ibn Ezra (*Commentary* 1:431–32). With Kimchi and Ibn Ezra agree some of the most significant 16th and 17th-centuries Reformed theologians, including Junius and Tremellius, in *Biblia Sacra* (1593) 54 (note 24); Piscator, in *Commentarius in Genesin* (1601); Ainsworth, in *Annotations* (1627) 166. Last but not least, Manasseh ben Israel provides one of

2658.

Q. Some will object, that there yett remain Difficulties, in the Promise of the *Scepter* to the Tribe of *Judah*, until *Shilo* comes; Inasmuch as, not only *Nebuchadnezzar* possess'd himself of the whole Kingdome of *Judæa*, but also *Antiochus* the King of *Syria*, subdued the *Jewes*; and they submitted unto *Alexander* the Great; *Ptolemy* likewise conquer'd them; and the *Romans* at length sett *Herod*, an *Idumæan*, over them?

A. One *John Pontas* hath lately [In 1698] published at *Paris*, a Book, entituled, *Sacra Scriptura ubique sibi constans*. In that Book, he attempts the Solving of all these Difficulties; and his Way to do it, is This.⁹⁴

He saies, That *Judah*, is a term used by the Spirit of Prophecy, in the last Words of *Jacob*, for *Judæa*, or the Jewish Nation. And accordingly, *Jacob* saies no more, but that the *Jewes*, should alwayes have a Prince of their Nation, till the Coming of the *Messiah*. The Posterity of *Israel*, had lost the Name of *Israelites*, and were called only from the Name *Judah*, at the Time, when this Prophecy was accomplished. Now, there will be found, an uninterrupted Succession of Princes, of the Posterity of *Jacob*, from *David*, to *Herod*, in whose Reign the *Messias* was born. *Jechonias*, who was carried captive into *Babylon* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, was re-established by the Son of that *Nebuchadnezzar*. And after him, *Zorobabel* governed the *Jewes*, and those People, had alwayes Governours of their own Nation, till the Time of the *Maccabees*, who were also *Jewes*, and whose Posterity governed in *Judæa*, until the Time of *Herod* the Great. The *Maccabees*, tis true, were of the Tribe of *Levi*; and this mightily encumbers those, who maintain, that the *Scepter* continued actually in the Family of *Judah*. But *Pontas*'s Exposition of *Judah*, to mean *Judæa*, abundantly helps the Matter.

|
3069.

[455r]

Q. Some further Thoughts, if you please, upon the Illustrious Name of *Shiloh*? v. 10.

A. And those chiefly, Mr. *Edwards*'s, who is a late Writer upon it.⁹⁵

Shiloh, (he thinks) is derived from the Verb *Shalah*; and so the Name ha's all the Three *Radicals* in it. A *Jod* is frequently inserted in Derivatives; and I

the best summaries of the various rabbinic positions on Gen. 49:10, in his *Conciliator* (Quest. 68, pp. 93–99).

⁹⁴ Mather's extract is from *Sacra Scriptura ubique sibi constans* (1698), by Jean Pontas (1638–1728), the celebrated French casuist of Avranches, best remembered for his exhaustive *Dictionarium casuum conscientiae* (1731–32), in 3 vols.

⁹⁵ The following paragraphs are extracted from John Edwards's *A Farther Enquiry into Several Remarkable Texts of the Old and New Testament* (1692), "The first Text Enquired into" (Gen. 49:10), pp. 14–31.

will take the Liberty to add, that it may be inserted in this Name not without a Mystery; as being the first Letter of *Jah*, or *Jehovah*.⁹⁶

Now none of those Writers, who have proposed this Root for the Name *Shiloh*, (as *Vatablus*, and *Fagius*, and *Castalio*, and *Schindler*, and *Avenarius*, and *Hottinger*,) have observed the wonderful Contrivance of this Word, and its Agreeableness to express unto us the Glories of our Lord-Redeemer. It remains then to be demonstrated, That there is no Name Imaginable, so Agreeably applied unto the Redeemer of the World.⁹⁷

There are three Significations of *Shalah*;

One is, *Salvavit*, or *Salvus fuit*. Either to *Save*, or to be *Safe*. [Job. 3.26.] Hence the Etymologists, derive the Latin Word, *Salvare*, from this Hebrew, *Shalah*.

Another is, *Quiavit*, or *Quietus fuit*. Either to *Give Peace*, or to *Have Peace*. Εἰρηγενειν, in the LXX. [Psal. 122.6.] *Shiloh* is the same with *Peaceable*.

The Third is, *Felix fuit*. With the LXX. ευθηνειν. To be *Prosperous*. [Psal. 30.6.] *Shiloh* is as much as to say, *The Prosperer*.⁹⁸

Lett us now ponder the Weight & Worth of this *Marvellous Name*.

First; *Shiloh*, contains in it, that Ravishing Name of JESUS, which was by an *Angel* from Heaven directed for our Lord. He is called therefore, [Act. 13.23.] *A Saviour, Jesus*. The Word Σωτηρ used there, is of so vast an Importance, that we are told by *Tully*; *Hoc quantum est? Ità magnum ut Latino uno verbo exprimi non possit*. It is very sure, *Servator* (a Word then in Use,) came short of it; and therefore, *Salvator* was used by the Latin Fathers, as a Fuller Word. And by *Tertullian*, the Word, *Salutificator*, is used as yett more significant. But *Grotius* comes after all, & corrects *Tully*, & out-does the Orator in his own Tongue, and avers that the single Word, *Sospitator*, is of the same Sense with Σωτηρ, and altogether as Full. It signifies, not only a *Præserving* from Destruction, but also a *Restoring* to lost Happiness, and a *Conferring* of a positive Benefit. Our

⁹⁶ Edwards (*Farther Enquiry* 14).

⁹⁷ Edwards (*Father Enquiry* 14) enumerates the names of these significant Reformed theologians in the margin. The interpretations of “Shiloh,” by Franciscus Vatablus, aka. Vatable, Waterbled (c. 1485–1547), an important French Hebraist at the Collège de France in Paris; by Paulus Fagius, aka. Büchlein (1504–49), German Hebraist at Strasbourg and Cambridge; and by Sebastian Castallion (1515–63), French Calvinist refugee in Geneva, later professor of Greek at Basel – are all excerpted in John Pearson’s compendium *Critici Sacri* 1:403–07 (Fagius), 410–11 (Vatablus), and 414–15 (Castalio). Valentin Schindler (d. 1604), German Hebraist, professor of Oriental languages at Wittenberg, is renowned for his often-reprinted *Lexicon Pentaglotton, Hebraicum, Chaldaicum, Syriacum, Talmudico-Rabbinicum, & Arabicum* (1612); Johannes Avenarius, aka. Habermann (1516–90), German Lutheran professor of theology and Oriental languages at Jena and Wittenberg, published in addition to a Hebrew grammar his Hebrew lexicon *ספר היסודים Liber radicum seu Lexicon Ebraicum* (1568, 1589); and finally, Heinrich Hottinger discusses the identity of *Shiloh* (Schilo), in *Thesaurus Philologicus* (1649), Quaestio IV, Appendix vindicia locrum V.T. quos corruptos volunt Pontificii, pp. 161–64.

⁹⁸ Mather closely paraphrases Edwards (*Farther Enquiry* 15–16). As usual, Mather omits the diacritical marks that are supplied in his source.

Shiloh merits this Name, all the Wayes that can be imagined. Indeed the Jewes, instead of *ישיעו* do style Him only *ישי* and by that Curtailing of the Name, they lett us understand, That they do not own Him, for a *Saviour*. But we have all the Reason that is possible, to adore Him, as a compleat and perfect *Saviour*. *Joseph* had this Title once by *Pharaoh* given unto him, *Zaphnath Paaneah*. *Jerom* who had been in *Egypt*, and probably had learn't there the Interpretation of that *Egyptian* Title, interprets it, *A Saviour of the World*. He *Saved* not only *Egypt*, | [456v] but other Countreyes, from Ruine by Famine. But it is our *Shiloh* alone, who is, [Joh. 4.42.] *The Saviour of the World*. The *Samaritans*, who used that Expression, probably learnt it, from this very Expression in the *Pentateuch*.⁹⁹

But we have *Peace* also in & from our *Shiloh*. It is He that *makes Reconciliation for Iniquity*. The *Counsil of that Peace*, and *Reconciliation*, was from all Eternity, between *the Lord*, and *the Branch*. And in the fulness of Time, He *made Peace thro' the Blood of His Cross*. [See Rom. 5.8 – and Eph. 2.14 –] The *Shiloh* is as much as to say, the *Mediator*, and *Reconciler*. The Principles of Christianitie, do also most effectually conduce to the Promoting of *Peace* among *Men*. Yea, our *Peaceable Messias* will One Day as *a greater than Solomon*, fill the World with *Peace*. [See Isa. 2.4. and Isa. 9.6.] And it was indeed a Time of *Universal Peace*, when the *Messias* came first into the World. After Five Civil Wars, and infinite Slaughter and Bloodshed, the Gates of *Janus's* Temple were shutt, that *Peace* might be as it were shutt up therein; A thing, whereof, as *Plutarch* notes, until this Time, there had very rarely been any Exemple.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Edwards (*Farther Enquiry* 17, 18, 19, 20, 21). The Greek noun Σωτήρ (*Soter*) suggests “a savior, deliverer, preserver.” Edwards affirmatively cites Marcus Tullius Cicero’s *Actionis in C. Verrem secundae* (2.63.154): “What a great expression is this! So great that it cannot be expressed by any single Latin word.” Tertullian (*De Resurrectione carnis*, cap. 47) [PL 2. 863A] uses his neologism *Salutificator* to signify *healer, deliverer, savior*. See his *On the Flesh of Christ* (ch. 14) and *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* (ch. 47) – both in *ANF* (3:533–34, 580). Hugo Grotius (on Matt. 1:21) employs the term in his *Annotationes* (2:10–11). Edwards’s Hebrew references *ישיעו* and *ישי* appear to be based on the etymological dictionary *Sefer Tishbi* (1541), with Yiddish and German translations of each Hebrew radical, by Elias Levita (1468–1548), the famous Jewish grammarian and Masorite, who collaborated with Paulus Fagius in establishing a Hebrew printing press in Isny (Germany). Fagius’s explication appears in his *Exegetica sive expositio dictionum hebraicarum* (1642). In his *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim* on Gen. 41:45) [PL 23. 1007], St. Jerome argues that “by the Egyptian word Saphaneth Phanee or, as the LXX wished to transcribe it Psonthom-Phanech, is meant *the saviour of the world*, because he [Joseph] had rescued the world from impending destruction by famine” (*Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, p. 78). The Samaritan woman called Jesus “Saviour of the world” (John 4:42, see also 1 John 4:14), but Edwards here has in mind the Seleucid ruler Antiochus Epiphanes IV (c. 214–164 BCE), whom the Samaritans called “Soter” (Savior), according to Josephus (*Antiquities* 12.4.10). For the rabbinic view of Shiloh as the Messiah, see *Mikraoth Gedoloth* (Genesis 3:626–28).

¹⁰⁰ Edwards (*Farther Enquiry* 22, 24, 25, 26). Dan. 9:24; Col. 1:20. Plutarch (*Numae* 20.1–3; *Comparatio Lycurgi et Numae* 4.6), *Plutarch's Lives* 1:373, 399) relates that the double doors (“Gates of War”) of the Janus Temple on the Janiculum (Rome) flew wide open when Numa’s

Finally; *Prosperity* belongs to our *Shiloh*. [Jer. 23.5. Luk. 1.32, 33.] It follows here, *To Him shall the Gathering of the People be*. Onkelos's Targum renders it, *The People shall be obedient unto Him*. And the Jerusalem-Paraphrase hath it, *All the Kings of the Earth shall be subject unto Him*. When the People mett Him with *Palm-branches*, it was to call Him, *The Shiloh*, the *Prosperous*, the *Triumphant*.¹⁰¹

Briefly; The *Seventy Second Psalm*, is an Admirable Paraphrase upon the Name of *Shiloh*. And so is the *Fifty third Chapter of Isaiah*.¹⁰²

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Q. Tho' we have had so many Entertainments, upon the Blessing of *Judah*, and particularly upon *SHILOH*, the Subject is not yett exhausted, but there is Room for more? v. 10.

A. And we shall be assisted and supplied from Dr. *Tho. Sherlock* for them.¹⁰³

There is a notable Hint in the Apocryphal *Ecclesiasticus*; That the several *Blessings* given to the several Tribes, are but *Parts* or *Portions* of the Blessing, which *Jacob* received from *Isaac*; *Isaac* from *Abraham*; and *Abraham* immediately from *GOD*. When *Jacob* comes to *Bless* his Children, he transmitts to his Posterity, the *Blessing* which he had himself received. And when he entitles the Two Sons of *Joseph*, to a Share with their Uncles in the Land of *Canaan*, he founds his Right of Granting it unto them, upon *GODs* Grant of that Land unto himself. Now the *Blessing* of *Abraham*, derived unto his *Chosen Offspring*, consisted of Two Parts: The Promise of the Land of *Canaan*, and the Promise of the *Son in whom all the Nations of the Earth were to be blessed*. These two Promises from the Beginning went Inseparably together, and they continued in some Degree to do so unto the End. There never was any Doubt among the *Jews*, Ancient or Modern, but that the Promise of the *Messiah*, was limited unto the Tribe of *Judah*, in the *Blessing* here pronounced upon him. Nor is it Reasonable to imagine, that *Jacob* in dividing his Blessing among his Posterity, should forgett the chief and principal Part, which had been with so much Solemnity conveyed from *Abraham*, thro' *Isaac*, to himself. And indeed, the Expression here used, *Thou art he whom thy Brethren shall praise*, is æquivalent unto that, unto *Abraham*, *Thou shalt be a Blessing*; and that, *Blessed be he that blesses thee*.¹⁰⁴

laws had ceased after five-hundred years. As if war had been pent up in Janus's temple, so we learn, it rushed forth and filled all Italy with war, slaughter, and bloodshed.

¹⁰¹ Edwards (*Farther Enquiry* 26, 30). Targums Onkelos and Hierosolymitanus (Walton 1:22; 4:98). John. 12:13.

¹⁰² Edwards (*Farther Enquiry* 30, 31, 32).

¹⁰³ The following paragraphs are extracted from Dr. Thomas Sherlock's "Dissertation III: The Blessings of Judah, Gen. 49," in Sherlock's *Use and Intent* (6th ed. 1755) 307–59.

¹⁰⁴ Sherlock (*Use and Intent* 309, 312, 314–15). Liber Ecclesiasticus (44:21); Gen. 18:18, 22:18.

The Promise of the *Blessed Seed* could not be divided; a *Son* can be born but of one *Father*; So this *Blessing* went entire to the Tribe of *Judah*. All the other Tribes had their *Blessing* assigned them from the *Promised Land*; and Interpreters need not be concerned, as they sometimes are, to find wherein the *Peculiar Blessing* on some of the Sons, to or of whom there is little said, may consist: For the Making of them to be *Heads of Tribes*, conveyed unto them a Right unto a Share in the Land of *Canaan*; and their *Blessing* did consist in *That*; By *That* they received a Portion of the Blessing of their Father.¹⁰⁵

All the Promises of Power and Plenty, in the Blessing of *Judah*, are Part of the Promise which GOD gave unto *Abraham* & his Posterity, of a *Land flowing with milk & honey*.

But now comes the Promise; of, *The Sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor the Lawgiver from between his Feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall be the gathering of the People*.¹⁰⁶

The Promise to *Abraham* was, *That he should be the Father of many Nations*; and of *Sarah*, *That she should be a Mother of Nations*. To *Jacob* it had been said; *GOD will multiply thee, that thou mayst be a Multitude of People*. The Succession in the House of *Abraham* was præserv'd in single Persons, until the Time of *Jacob*. He is the First, who had a Numerous Issue, and all of them entitled unto the *Promises* made unto their Fore-fathers. The Sons of *Jacob* lived with him, as Children of his Family only, till his going down into *Egypt*. And in all the Seventeen Years of his Life there, there is no Appearance of any Authority in any *Heads of Tribes*. When *Jacob* drew near his End, he summoned all his Family, in order to appoint the *Form of Government*, which he would have to take place after his Death, and continue as long as his Posterity should hold the Land of *Canaan* in their Possession. The XLVIII and XLIX Chapters of *Genesis*, may truly be called, *The Settlement of Israels Government*, by their Father *Jacob*. Accordingly, in the first place, *Jacob* gives to *Joseph* the *Birthright* as to the Temporal Inheritance; by giving him a *Double Portion*, and raising *Two Heads of Tribes* in his Family. Here, the Promise to *Abraham*, That he should be a *Father of many Nations*, and of *Sarah*, *That Kings of People should be of her*, began to take Effect. For, from this Time forward, the People of *Israel* are still reckoned by their TRIBES; which were so many Distinct *People*, or (in the Language of the Book of *Genesis*) we may say, so many *Nations*; Independent of each other, and subsisting under *Judges* and *Rulers* of their own; but | confœderated for mutual Defence, and the Maintenance of one Law given æqually to all. What kind of Power *Jacob* settled on these *Heads of Tribes*, may appear from what he himself says concerning one of them, *He shall Judge his People, as one of the Tribes of Israel*. Every Prince, or

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¹⁰⁵ Sherlock (*Use and Intent* 315–16); Gen. 49:8; 27:29.

¹⁰⁶ Sherlock (*Use and Intent* 316, 317); Exod. 3:8; Gen. 49:10.

Head of a *Tribe*, did *Judge* his own People. And so, every *Tribe* had a *Sceptre*, and a *Lawgiver*, as well as *Judah*.¹⁰⁷

After the Death of *Jacob*, accordingly we soon find, Applications made, not unto the *People*, but unto the *Elders of Israel*. [See Exod. III.16. XII.1. XIX.3, 7. XXXIV.31, 32.] Their Government was not *Monarchical*, but *Aristocratical*; and no one *Tribe* had a Superiority over another. [See Exod. VI.14. Num. XXXIV.18. Josh. XXII.14. Judg. I.1. V.9, 10.]¹⁰⁸

Jacob having settled the *Twelve Princes*, or the *Rulers of People*, in his House, then summons them together, to hear in that Quality, what was to befall their People in future times. And now, what can we understand, by the *Sceptre*, in what relates to *Judah*, but that very *Power*, and *Right of Government*, which he now settled in the House of *Judah*, & in all the *other Tribes*, but whereof he saw the *Departure* from the *other Tribes* long before the Coming of *Shiloh*, whereas it should remain with *Judah*, till *Shiloh* come. The *Sceptre* is not peculiar to *Judah*: Tis not promised unto him, that he should *Have a Sceptre*, which none of his Brethren were to have; but that the *Sceptre*, which he had, would continue longer with *him*, than *Theirs* would with *Them*. The *Sceptre* here, is an Emblem of *Authority* in and over no more than *one Tribe*: and can by no means denote an *Authority* over *all the Tribes of Israel*. Indeed the same Word in the Original [*Schebet*] signifies a *Tribe* & a *Sceptre*; perhaps because a *Tribe* is a Collection of People under the Government of *one Sceptre*, or *Authority*.¹⁰⁹

The Import of the Word, *Lawgiver*, here, cannot be determined, but by reference to the Constitution intended in it. And here, it must be governed by the Sense of the Word *Sceptre*. If the Word, *Sceptre*, signify the Authority over a *Tribe* only, the Word, *Lawgiver*, joined with it, must be so confined, as to mean only such *Lawgivers* as the single *Tribes* had within themselves. If now we read it, *A Lawgiver from between his Feet, shall not depart from Judah*, the Meaning is, *That the Lawgivers of Judah should be of his own Descendents*. And so we know they were. If we read it, *A Lawgiver shall not depart from between the Feet of Judah*, the Meaning is, *That the Tribe of Judah should have Lawgivers of their own, to the very Last Times*. Thus *Onkelos* carries it; and thus *Wagenseil*. The Tribe of *Judah* never had a *Legislative Authority* over all the *Tribes*; No, not even in the Days of *David* and *Solomon*. *Moses*, who was the only *Lawgiver* to all *Israel*, excluded all Kings from this Power. They were to have a *Copy of the Law*, and never to *turn aside from the Commandment*. The *Ordinances* made by *David*, relating to the Service of the Temple, were established by the Authority of the *Princes* and *Rulers of the Tribes* consenting to them. [Ezr. VIII.20.] The single *Tribes* did make such Rules as we call *By-Laws*; But the *Law of Moses* was

¹⁰⁷ Sherlock (*Use and Intent* 317–19, 319–20, 321, 322, 323); Gen. 17:4, 16; 28:3; Deut. 21:17; Gen. 49:16.

¹⁰⁸ Sherlock (*Use and Intent* 323).

¹⁰⁹ Sherlock (*Use and Intent* 325, 326, 327, 328, 329); Gen. 25:16

the unalterable Rule, both for Civil & for Ecclesiastical affairs. The Word here we would rather therefore take for, *Judge*, than, *Lawgiver*.¹¹⁰

As to the Term *Shiloh*, abundance has been written on it, which needs not now be repeted. In all Views, it still terminates in CHRIST. And a *Continuance* of the Power now settled in the House of *Judah*, is promised, *until the Messiah come*.¹¹¹

Lett us consider the Context. *Judah* is the only one, who receives *Two Blessings* from his Father; The Promise of the *Blessed Seed*; And, a Portion in the Land of *Canaan*, for the Maintenance of which, a *Government* was established in his Family. This Prophecy promises a longer Continuance of the Government in the House of *Judah*, than other Tribes were to expect, and fixes a Term for the Duration of the *Sceptre* with him. Taking both his Blessings together, is it not Natural to think, that the Continuance of his Temporal Dominion and Inheritance is assured unto him, to last until the Com-| mencement of his Better Promise. This is according to the Analogy of all the Promises from *Abrahams* Time; in all which, the Land of *Canaan* is inseparably annexed unto the Promise of the *Blessed Seed*. *Ishmael*, and *Esau*, are therefore sent out from thence, to plant other Countreys. Upon the Settlement made by *Jacob*, in his Family, the Land of *Canaan* is divided; But that Part of it, which attended upon the Promise of the *Blessed Seed*, was (as formerly) so united & annexed unto that Promise, that it could not be entirely lost, until the *Blessed Seed* should come. And this is the Reason, why the Land of *Judah*, in distinction from the Land possessed by the other Tribes, is called, *The Land of Immanuel*. [Isa. VIII.8.]¹¹² [459r]

It follows here, *Unto him shalt be the Gathering of the People*. They who understand this Passage, as relating to the *Messiah*, have great Reason on their Side, and the Authority of the most ancient Interpreters. Yett some learned Men think, that these Words are by a Natural Construction to be referr'd unto *Judah*. The Difference is nothing, Lett us take which way we will. But in the latter of these Two Interpretations, the Prophecy most exactly describes, the State of *Judah*, during the Continuance of the *Sceptre* with him, after the *Departure* of the *Sceptres* from the *other Tribes* of *Israel*. Tis admirable to see the Accomplishment! The Remnant of all the Tribes, after the *Assyrian* Captivity, were indeed *Gathered* unto *Judah*, and fell under the *Obedience* of that *one Tribe*; and the whole Nation from their being styled, The People of *Israel*, were hence forward styled, The People of *Judah*, or *Jews*. Toward such a Sense, the Prophecy began to operate immediately upon the Division of the *Two Kingdomes*; GOD then

¹¹⁰ Sherlock (*Use and Intent* 330, 332–33, 333–34); Gen. 49:10; Deut. 17:20. Targum Onkelos (Gen. 49:10), in Walton (1:221). Sherlock refers to Wagenseil's *Tela Ignea Satanae* ... *R. Lipman Carmen* (1681) 293. Mather's erroneous reference to "[Ezra VIII.10.]" is here silently corrected.

¹¹¹ Sherlock (*Use and Intent* 334, 335).

¹¹² Sherlock (*Use and Intent* 336, 337).

promising to *Solomon*, *One Tribe for the Sake of David*. There were in truth *Two Tribes*, *Benjamin* as well as *Judah*; together with Part of the Tribe of *Simeon*, and many Families of the *Levites*, & of the other Tribes, who dwelt within the Borders of *Judah*, remained under the *Obedience of Judah*. The only Reason why this Body of People can be called, *one Tribe*, is, That the Tribe of *Judah* alone maintaining its Authority and Constitution, the rest were all *Gathered* unto this *Tribe*, and sunk in it. [See 1. King. XII.17, 20, 21, 23.] The Term of *Jews* was introduced now, to signify the Tribe {of} *Judah*, and all the rest of the People united with it. All that came from the *other Tribes* were considered but as an *Additional Strength* to *Judah*. [See, 2. Chron. XI.13, 16, 17. XV.9.] From the Time of the *Assyrian* Captivity, the Case was yett more plain. They who escaped, as, no doubt, many did, the general Confusion, fell under the Dominion of *Judah*. And accordingly, *Josiah's* Reformation extended unto them. [See 2. Chron. XXXIV. 6, 33.] After the Return from the *Babylonish* Captivity, we hear of little else but *Jews*; tho' *Benjamites* were joined with them. And albeit many Families of the other Tribes returned, upon the Decree of *Cyrus*, yett these were but gathered unto *Judah*, and became One People with him.¹¹³

The *Seventy Years* of the *Babylonish* Captivity are a Period of Time, which carries the most face of Difficulty on the Scheme we have before us. But lett it be considered, The *Jews* were not carried into *Babylon* to be *Slaves*, but were transplanted as a *Colony*, to people the mighty City of *Babylon*.¹¹⁴ They are commanded by the Prophet therefore, to *Build Houses*, and *Plant Gardens*, and *Seek the Peace of the City*. Yea, many of them were so well settled, that upon the Expiration of the *Seventy Years*, they would not return to their own Countrey any more. They also lived in *Babylon*, as a Distinct People, and were governed in their own Affairs, by their own *Rulers & Elders*, appointed *Fasts* and *Feasts*, and ordered their other Matters within themselves. Thus it appears, that the *Power & Sceptre* of *Judah*, relative to the Subsistence of the *Tribe*, was not removed in this Captivity. The *Tribe* had its Constitution, while it was in Bondage under the Kings of *Egypt*. It began in *Egypt*. And it was not lost in *Babylon*. They returned into *Judea*, as a *People & a Nation* governed by their own Laws; as is evident

[460v] from | the Complaint sent against them, unto the *Persian* Emperour. Tis true, they were never more so *Free* a People as they had been before: But still, they lived as a *Distinct People*, governed by a Law of their own. And the Authority of others over them, destroyed not the Authority of *Judah*, but subsisted with it: And the *Romans* made, *A Covenant with the People of the Jews*. In our SAVIOURS Time, tho' they had not forgotten their Captivity in *Babylon*, and were sensible enough of the *Roman Yoke* now upon them, yett they say, *We never were*

¹¹³ Sherlock (*Use and Intent* 337–38, 339, 340, 341). Mather's "learned Men" includes (via Sherlock, p. 338) Jean LeClerc's *Twelve Dissertations* (1696), Diss. XI, pp. 278–84.

¹¹⁴ Sherlock (*Use and Intent* 345) here refers to Humphrey Prideaux's *The Old and New Testament Connected in the History of the Jews* (1718), vol. 1, part 1, bk. 2, p. 97.

in Bondage to any Man. They counted themselves *Free*; And they were so: For they lived by their own Law, & executed Judgment among themselves. [See, Joh. VIII.5. Matth. X.17. Joh. XIX.6. XVIII.31.]¹¹⁵

It is now most evident, That the *Sceptre* placed in the hand of *Judah*, by his Father *Jacob*, continued in his Posterity, till the Death of our SAVIOUR. From That Time, all things began to work towards the Destruction of the *Jewish* Polity; and within a few Years, their Temple, City, Government, were utterly ruined. The *Jews* were not carried into a soft & short Captivity, to enjoy their Law, and live as a Distinct People, in a foreign Countrey, but they were sold like Beasts in a Market, and from that Day have nothing like a *Prince* or *Lawgiver* among them.¹¹⁶

The Blessing of *Moses* on the *Tribe of Judah*, well considered, will very much confirm, what has been offered.

Our *Scheme* is not very different from what has been offered by *Junius* and *Tremelius*, and by our *Aynsworth*; And Monsr. *Joncourt* has lately revived it & improved it.¹¹⁷

[Remainder of 454v]

[▽454v]

2799.

Q. Who is it that *is to bind his fole unto the Vine, & his Asses Colt unto the Choice Vine?* v. 11.

A. Not, *Judah*, but, *Shiloh*. It seems to be a Prophecy that when *Shiloh*, (or the *Messiah*,) shall arrive unto *Judah* (or *Jerusalem*,) his being accommodated with an *Ass*, & with the *Colt of an Ass*, will be one Remarkable Circumstance attending of it.

The Prophecy is the same, that we have more plainly delivered, in Zech. 9.9.

Out of those Three Verses, *Bochart* thinks, the whole Story of *Silenus* was forged by the Poets.¹¹⁸

[▽Insert from 456v]

[▽456v]

¹¹⁵ Sherlock (*Use and Intent* 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350). Ezra 4:1–18, 1 Macc. 8:29, John 8:33. The Persian emperor is Artaxerxes. Sherlock's source (350) is Wagenseil's *Tela Ignea Satanae* ... R. Lipman Carmen (1681) 299–301.

¹¹⁶ Sherlock (*Use and Intent* 350, 351).

¹¹⁷ Sherlock (*Use and Intent* 359). The list of authors supporting Mather's "*Scheme*" is cribbed from Jacques Saurin's *Dissertations* (Diss. XLI, 1:333), which lists Junius and Tremellius's annotations on Gen. 49:10, in *Biblia Sacra* (1593) 53–54 (annot. 19–24); Henry Ainsworth's *Annotations* (1627) 166; and Pierre de Joncourt (c. 1650–1725), French Protestant pastor at Middleburg and later at The Hague, who explicates Jacob's prophecy about "Shiloh" and Judah's "Scepter," in his *Quatre lettres sur les jeux de hazard* (1713), Lettre II, pp. 136, 158, 192.

¹¹⁸ See Simon Patrick on Gen. 49:12 (*Commentary* 1:160); Samuel Bochart (*Geographia*, pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 18, col. 443–44) dismisses the story of jolly old Silenus (Priapus), a Buddha-like demigod and companion of Bacchus, riding on an ass and wearing a floral crown – Ovid (*Fasti* 1.391–402); *Orphica* (Hymn 54). Obviously, the similarity between this story and that of the

3495.

Q. Why is it said of *Judah*, *His Eyes shall be Red with Wine, and his Teeth White with Milk?* v. 12.

A. Dr. *Castel* finds fault with the Translation; because it should be said of none but a *Drunkard*, *His Eyes are Red with Wine*. He would have it so translated; *His Eyes* (or, His Countenance) *shall be brighter than Wine*. But there is no Need of being so critical. For, as Dr. *Patrick* notes, there is no Reason to think, he means, they should make their *Eyes Red* with *Drinking Wine*, any more than that they should *wash their Cloathes* in it. It may only express, the great *Abundance of Wine*, that they should have among them.

What followes is, *Teeth white with Milk*. *Milk* doth not make the *Teeth white*, but it gives an excellent nourishment; they who feed on it are healthy and hearty; and their *Teeth* do not *Rott* so soon as theirs, who feed upon other Dainties. It means, That they should have Rich Pastures in their Countrey, that should yeeld abundance of *Milk*.¹¹⁹

[△] [△Insert ends]
[461r] |

3496.

Q. How could it be said of *Zebulon*, *His Border shall be unto Zidon?* v. 13.

A. He don't mean the City of, *Zidon*; for the Tribe of *Zebulon* did not extend themselves beyond Mount *Carmel*, which is Forty Miles at least from thence. But he means the Countrey of *Zidon*, or *Phœnicia*, which the *Zebulonites* touched upon. For the *Phœnicians* were called *Zidonians*; as *Hesychius* ha's informed us. Whence the LXX read *Phœnicians* for *Sidonians*.

It is, by the way, an astonishing thing, that *Jacob* should foretel so many Years aforehand, the Scituation of his Posterity in the Land of *Canaan*; when their several Portions afterwards fell by *Lott*, & not by *Choice*, unto them.

It is remarkable, also, that *Zebulon* is mention'd before *Issachar*, who was his elder Brother; for no Reason, that we can think of, but because the Lott of *Zebulon* was to come up before *Issachar*'s, in the *Division of the Land*. [See Josh. 19.10, 15.]¹²⁰

Savior King “riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass” (Zech. 9:9; Matth. 21:5) is here seen as subverting the NT Christ.

¹¹⁹ Both paragraphs are extracted from Simon Patrick on Gen. 49:12 (*Commentary* 1:160). Patrick's source is *Oratio in Scholis Theologicis* (1667) 32–33, and *Lexicon Heptaglotton* (1669), by Dr. Edmund Castell, aka. Castello (1606–85), prebendary of Canterbury and professor of Oriental languages at Cambridge, who collaborated with Brian Walton in establishing the famous London Polyglot, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1653–57).

¹²⁰ Mather's source is Simon Patrick on Gen. 49:13 (*Commentary* 1:160). Hesychius's *Lexicon* (Π–Ω), alphab. letter *sigma*, entry 600. For much the same see Samuel Bochart's *Geographia* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 34, col. 301–02).

3497.

Q. What is meant, by *Dans Judging of his People?* v. 16.¹²¹

A. *Jacobs* Meaning is, That tho' he were the Son of a *Concubine*, yett his Posterity should be governed by an Head of their own Tribe, as the other Tribes of *Israel* were. So he took away all Distinction between the Sons of the *Concubines* (of whom *Dan* was the first,) and those which he had by *Leah* and *Rachel*.¹²²

Q. How do you understand that Passage of Jacob, in the Blessing of *Dan*, I have waited for thy Salvation, Ô Lord? v. 18.

A. What can bee better, than the Paraphrase of *Jerom*, upon this Passage? – *Nunc videns in Spiritu* – “i.e. I foreseeing in the Spirit, *Sampson* the Nazarite, nourishing his Hair, & Triumphing over his slaughtered Enemies; that like a *Serpent* & *Adder* in the Way, hee suffered none to pass thro' the Land of *Israel*; and if any were so hardy, confiding in the Swiftnes of an Horse, as to adventure like a Robber to spoil it, hee should not bee able to escape, – I foreseeing this *Nazarite* so valiant, & that hee Dyed for the Sake of an Harlot, & dying destroy'd our Enemies; I almost thought, Ô God, that hee was the *Christ*, thy Son. But because hee Dy'd, & Rose not again, and *Israel* was afterwards carried away captive, I must expect another Saviour of the World, & of my Posterity; That *Shilo* should come, to whom shall bee the *Gathering of the People*.”¹²³

1610.

But I pray, Lett us consider that Passage over again, and the Notable Occasion of Introducing it?

That the *Messiah* is here intended, wee have some of the Jewish Rabbins themselves confessing. How runs the *Targum* of *Ben Uzziel*? *When Jacob foresaw Gideon and Sampson, to bee the Deliverers of his Posterity, hee saith, I do not so much expect the Salvation by Gideon, or the Deliverance by Sampson, which are Temporal and Created Salvations, but I expect that Redemption which thou hast promised in thy Word to come unto Israel, that Salvation that shall bee forever.*¹²⁴

But the Occasion of *Jacobs* breaking forth into such a sudden and sacred *Ejaculation* is Remarkable. Hee had just been speaking of a *Serpent*, and the *Subtilty* of that *Serpent*. This presently Reminded him of what had been done to our *First Parents*, by the *Serpent*, that was the *Subtilest of all the Beasts of the Field*: and so hee breaks forth into an high Expression of his Faith, for the *Salvation* which God had promised against that *Serpent*. Hee had kept the Promise of the

¹²¹ See Appendix B.

¹²² The paragraph is extracted from Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:161).

¹²³ Mather's translation of St. Jerome's *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim* (Gen. 49:16–18) [PL 23. 1007] follows the Latin original more or less faithfully. See also Jerome's *Hebrew Questions on Genesis* (p. 85).

¹²⁴ *Targum* Jonathan ben Uzziel (Gen. 49:18), in Walton (4:99) and Etheridge (1:332).

Seed of the Woman, and of Salvation by Him, as a *Depositum*, in his Heart; and having brought it out once, in the mention of *Shiloh*, the Occurring of a *Serpent* here putts him upon another mention of it.¹²⁵

Q. How did a *Troop overcome Gad*? v. 19.

A. *Gad* lived in a Frontier Countrey; very much exposed unto the Incursions of the *Ammonites*, and *Moabites*, and the envious Neighbours, which dwelt near *Arabia*. [See Jer. 49.1. and Amos. 1.13.]

But how *Gad overcame*, consult, Judg. 11.33. and, 1. Chron. 5.22.¹²⁶

1184.

Q. What singular Instance can you give, of *Ashers* yeelding *Royal Dainties*? v. 20. –

A. The Scripture speaks of a Town call'd *Cana*, and indeed, of a Double *Cana*: one in the Tribe of *Asher*, (Josh. 19.28.) the other in the Tribe of *Ephraim*. (Josh. 16.8.) The *Cana* in the Tribe of *Asher* indeed is mentioned, with great *Sidon*; and this, not because of *Cana's* nearness to *Sidon*, (which ha's made a *Cana Sidoniorum*, distinct from *Cana of Galilee*, by a Mistake of Interpreters, generally following, *Jerom*, in *Locis Hebraicis*;) but because *Ashers* Coast, went up toward *Sidon*, for of that, and not *Cana's* being near *Sidon*, is the Text in *Joshua*, to bee understood. Now this *Cana* must needs bee in *Galilee*, for *Asher* was in *Galilee*; nor is any other *Cana* in *Galilee*, I suppose, to bee mett withal. And this *Cana*, you find *Yeelding Royal Dainties* indeed, when our Lord Jesus Christ, there Turned *Water into Wine*. That Miracle of our Lord, was a *Yeelding Royal Dainties* in *Asher*.¹²⁷

[462v] |

1229.

Q. *Naphthali's* giving *Goodly Words*, How & When was it? v. 21.

A. I confess myself to find a particular Satisfaction, in seeing the Scriptures, as much Illustrated, with Discoveries of the *Messiah* in them, as may bee. Thus, *Naphthali*, (the *Galilean*) *giving of Goodly Words*; and what *Moses* foretels, of *Zabulon*, and *Issachar*, (*Galileans*) *calling the People unto the Mountain of the*

¹²⁵ Gen. 3:1; Ruth 4:12; Rev. 12:17. In his "Note Book of Authors" (on Gen. 49:18), Mather lists as his source Anthony Tuckney's *Forty Sermons upon Several Occasions* (1676), "Sermon 34" (p. 588). In his *Zalmonah: The Gospel of the Brasen Serpent* (1725), Mather further amplifies the typological significance of Moses's brazen serpent, which is abrogated in Christ.

¹²⁶ From Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:161).

¹²⁷ St. Jerome, *De situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum* (Eusebius Pamphilus's *Onomasticon*, sec. K, Joshua: Kana, "near Sidon the Great"); John 2:11, 4:46. The Galilean Cana is located approximately 5 m (8 km) NW of Nazareth.

Lords House, to offer Sacrifices of Righteousness: [Deut. 33.19.] Are not these glorious Prædictions, of the *Gospel* being first preached in those Places?

Monsr. *Saurin* finds, the Song of *Deborah* foretold here.¹²⁸

2225.

Q. The Prophecy of *Josephs* being, *A Fruitful Bough, by a Well*; How was it accomplished? v. 22.

A. There was a famous *Well*, wee know, which was called, *Jacobs Well*. [See Joh. 4.6.] It is remarkable, That *Josephs* Offspring, increased unto a Kingdome, in *Jeroboam*, & that in *Sichem*, hard-by *Jacobs Well*.

It followes, *His Daughters went over the Wall*. Wee may do well, rather to render, the Hebrew Word, שׂוֹרֵר / *The Enemy*; (as it is in Psal. 92.11. and perhaps, Psal. 18.29.) for it is from the Chaldee only, that it signifies, *A Wall*. The Words may then bee Interpreted, as a Notable Prophecy, concerning those *Daughters* of *Joseph* at *Shiloh*; who passing over to the *Enemy*, restored the Hostile Tribe of *Benjamin*, that otherwise were like to have been extinct for the Want of Issue. [Judg. 21.9.] Wee will then render the Words, *The Daughters go over to the Enemy*. Thus are foretold here, two very signal Events, that rendred the Offspring of *Joseph* Illustrious. One, That hard by that *Well*, it should increase into a Kingdome. Another, That the *Daughters* of this Tribe, should Restore & Rebuild a Tribe, that had almost perish'd in its Hostility against them.¹²⁹

4219.

Q. How do you take that Passage; *From thence is the Shepherd and the Stone of Israel?* v. 24.

A. Supply, *Factus est*, so *Munster*. *From thence* (that is, from his Afflictions, and his Patience & Constancy under them,) *he became the Shepherd & the Stone of Israel*; and arrived unto that Advancement, which enabled him to Nourish and Support that chosen Family.¹³⁰

Q. On that, *The Blessings of thy Father have prevailed above the Blessings of thy Progenitors?* v. 26.

¹²⁸ Jacques Saurin (Diss. XLI, 1:309 n.).

¹²⁹ Here Mather follows John Lightfoot's *A Few, and New Observations* (1642) 20, where the great English Hebraist insists that the Hebrew word שׂוֹרֵר *Shur* (Ps. 92:11) should be read "an Enemy" because only in the Chaldaic language does this word signify "a wall." See also Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 1:162) and Rashi on Gen. 49:22 (*Mikraoth Gedoloth* 3:636–37a) for variant interpretations.

¹³⁰ The Latin citation from Sebastian Münster's *Hebraica Biblia* (1546) 1:109, annot. (*m*) signifies, "from this."

A. *Saurins* Paraphrase, is “My Ancestors never made so fervent, or so magnificent Vows in my Favour.”¹³¹

Q. What are, *The Blessings unto the utmost Bounds, of the Everlasting Hills?* v. 26.

A. *Blessings* to last as long as the World shall last. Perpetuity is thus expressed. [Isa. 54.10.] So *Kimchi*, So R. *Solomon*.¹³²

Here seems an Allusion to the Noble *Mountains*, which fell to be the Portion of *Josephs* Children; *Bashan*, and Mount *Ephraim*.

Others think, Here is not Respect had unto the *Duration* of the *Mountains*, but the *Fruitfulness* of them. They translate the Hebrew, *Tavath*, not, *Bounds*, but, *Desires*, as the Vulgar Latin doth. And then the Sense is, *Unto all that is most desirable in those Everlasting Hills*. Compare, Deut. 33.15.¹³³

Mr. *Pyles* observes, This Clause may not only mean, *Blessings high & lasting as the Rocks & Hills*; But also here may be some Respect unto the *Mountains of Ephraim*, and *Samaria* and *Bashan*: where the Lott of *Ephraim* and *Menasseh* lay; called *Ancient* and *Original Hills*, remaining ever since the Deluge, & not cast up newly by Art.¹³⁴

3499[?].

Q. What means *Benjamins Ravining as a Wolf?* v. 27.

A. The Warlike Temper of the Tribe. A *Wolf* is both an Undaunted and a Rapacious Creature. It was dedicated unto *Mars*. *Wolves* are called *Martij*, and *Martiales*, in *Virgil* and *Horace*. *Warlike Men*, are called by the Greeks *λυκόφρονες*, *Wolf-like Men*. History Justifies this Character of the *Benjamites*. They fought and beat the other Tribes, when they had Sixteen to One against them.¹³⁵

[463r]

Q. Tho’ we have employ’d many *Authors*, and *Matters*, for the Illustration of the *Benediction*, which the Dying Patriarch bestow’d upon his Children; yett

¹³¹ Jacques Saurin (Diss. XLI, 1:305).

¹³² From Münster’s *Hebraica Biblia* (1546) 1:109–110, annot. (m). R. David Kimchi (on Gen. 49:26), in *Hachut Hameshulash* (3:893–94); and R. Solomon (Rashi), in *Mikraoth Gedoloth* (3:639a).

¹³³ Simon Patrick on Gen. 49:26 (*Commentary* 1:163).

¹³⁴ Cited from Thomas Pyle’s *Paraphrase* (1717) 1:296 (n). See Appendix A.

¹³⁵ Mather’s primary source is Simon Patrick on Gen. 49:27 (*Commentary* 1:163), but Patrick’s own source for the classical references is Samuel Bochart’s *Hieroicoicon* (pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 10, col. 827–28). In his “Note Book of Authors” (Gen. 49:27), Mather also lists as his source Thomas Fuller’s *Pisgah-Sight of Palestine* (1650) 262. “Martij” and “Martiales” suggest “belonging to Mars” (god of war), hence “warlike.” The designations appear in Virgil’s *Aeneid* (9.566) and in Horace’s *Carmina* (Ode 1.17.9). The Greek poet-grammarian Johannes Tzetzes, among others, speaks of the “lukophrones” or “wolf-like” (rapacious) men in his *Chiliades* 8, history 204 (471, 473).

we may pay that Regard unto our learned *Heidegger*, as to fetch a few Gleanings out of his *Exercitations* upon it? v. 28.

A. It shall be done.¹³⁶

And, first; *Ambrose* and *Ruffinus*, and *Theodoret*, seem to quarrel at our Calling of these *Prophecies*, by the Name of *Benedictions*; whereas, as in the Instance of *Reuben* particularly; they seem sometimes *Reprehensions* rather than *Benedictions*. But *Moses* expressly calls them [Gen. 49.28.] *Benedictions*. And, besides the Rule of taking a *Denomination* from the *Principal*, our *Heidegger* observes, That *Reprehensions*, and *Admonitions*, and *Castigations*, which have a Tendency to bring Sinners unto Repentance, have Real *Blessings* in them.¹³⁷

The Prophecy of *Reuben*, which we render, *Thou shalt not excell*, is by the *Targum* of *Onkelos*, well rendred, *Portionem superexcrecentem non accipies*. The Prophecy here all along, foretels the fate of the *Posterity*, more than of the *Persons* of the *Patriarchs*. The *Double Portion* of *Land*, was lost by *Reuben*, & fell to *Joseph*; the *Double Portion* of *Power*, fell to *Judah*; And the Prærogative of the *Priesthood* fell to *Levi*.¹³⁸

The Action of *Simeon* and *Levi*, which we render, *They digg'd down a Wall*, is by the LXX well rendred, ἐνευροκοπησαν ταυρον. *They hamstring'd a Beef*. Some take it metaphorically, for, a *Prince*. The *Jerusalem-Interpreter* understands it of *Joseph*; and so does *Jarchi*, and *Grotius*. [Compare, Deut. 33.17.] *Artemidorus* tells us, ταυρος τον τυχοντα σημαινει. And *Macarius* tells us the Reason; Because a *Beef* is the King of all the Tame Animals. *Clarius* takes it for a Prophecy of what the *Levites*, and the *Scribes*, did unto our Saviour. But our *Heidegger* chuses to take it of the proper *Beeves* belonging to the *Sichemites*; for we expressly read; Gen. 34.28. *They took their Sheep and their Oxen*. It was the ancient Custome to *Hamstring* such *Creatures*, that they might for the present be incapable of *Running* away; but afterwards be cur'd, and made capable of being serviceable. [See Josh. 11.6, 9. and, 2. Sam. 8.4. and 1. Chron. 18.4.] This /העקירות/ or *Subnervation*, is thus described by *Kimchi*; *Incisio pedum lument à Genu ad infrà, quo facto non moritur, sed incedere non valet, et in illà parte vulnus non est insanabile*.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ The following paragraphs of Mather's annotation on Gen. 49:28 are all extracted from Johann Heinrich Heidegger (2:469–529, Exerc. XXIII, secs. 1–11).

¹³⁷ Heidegger (2:470–71, sec. 1, § 4). Ambrosius Mediolanensis's *De Benedictionibus Patriarcharum* (lib. 1, cap. 2, §§ 6–9) [PL 14. 675]; Rufinus Aquileiensis's *De Benedictionibus Patriarcharum ad Paulinum* (lib. 2) [PL 21. 313ff]; and Theodoretus's *Quaestiones in Octateuchum* (*Genesis*. Quest. 112, p. 92ff).

¹³⁸ Heidegger (2:476, sec. 2, § 5). The Latin citation from Targum Onkelos (Gen. 49:3–4), in Walton (1:219) translates, "thou wilt not prosper, 'neither wilt thou receive the excellent portion'" (Etheridge 1:151).

¹³⁹ Heidegger (2:481–82, sec. 3, § 5). Mather again omits the diacritical marks from the LXX (Gen. 49:6) even though they are supplied in Heidegger. Talmud Hierosolymitanum (49:6), in Walton (4:97). R. Jarchi (Rashi), in *Mikraoth Gedoloth* (3:623); and Hugo Grotius (*Annotationes ad Genesin*, 1:26). The Greco-Roman author Artemidorus Daldianus (2nd c. CE) tells us in his *Onirocriticon* (2.12.66), a book on dream interpretation, that "[Draught]-

On the Prophecy of *Shiloh*, we shall fetch nothing from our *Heidegger*, because we have elsewhere more fully considered it. And on the Blessing of *Judah*, we shall only take notice of that Passage in our Author; He is not willing to have this Translation stand; *His Eyes shall be Red with Wine*: [Because of Prov. 23.29.] But, *His Eyes shall be Brighter than Wine, and his Teeth Whiter than Milk*. And that Passage on what goes before it. The Patriarch foretells the Conversion of the *Gentiles* unto the *Messiah*; *To Him shall be the Obedience of the People*. Proceeding with that Argument, he compares them unto a foolish and stupid *Colt of an Ass*, bound unto a *Vine*. *Shiloh* is the *Vine*. [Compare, Joh. 15.1.] The *Ass* may be the Church of *Israel*, which had born the Burdens of the *Mosaic* Pædagoggy. This is to be done, when *Shiloh* shall *wash His Garments in Wine, and His Clothes in the Blood of Grapes*. That is to say, In His own *Blood*; whereof He Himself Instituted *Wine* to be a *Type*. [Compare, Isa. 63.1, 2.] His *People* also are His *Garments*. The *Redness* then ascribed unto *Shiloh*, may note, His *Power* and *Anger* against His Enemies; The *Whiteness*, His *Purity* in all His Dispensations. Tis what is intimated in the Vision; Rev. 1.14. *His Head white like Wool, white as Snow; And His Eyes as a Flame of Fire*.¹⁴⁰

To the Tribe of *Zebulon*, tis promised; *His Border shall be unto Zidon*. And yett they reached not beyond *Carmel*, which was Forty Miles distant from *Zidon*. *Masius* therefore will have the Meaning to be, that the *Zabulonites* living by the Sea-side, very much Traded with *Zidon*, a City famous for its *Merchandise*. Our *Heidegger* chuses rather by *Zidon* to understand, not the City, but the whole *Sea-coast*, on the *Phœnician* Shore; for the Sake whereof all the *Phœnicians* were called *Sidonians*, as well as *Tyrians*. The LXX, (as well as *Hesychius*,) will satisfy you of this. [Deut. 3.9.] And the *Zebulonites* reached hither.¹⁴¹

[464v] | But seemeth it not a *Light Matter*, to have no more of a *Blessing* mention'd, than just the *Border* of a Peoples Territory? Verily, It was a *Great Matter*! In this Prophecy we see God reaching forth His Hand, from Heaven, to Distribute Habitations unto His People. Two hundred Years before any *Lott* was proposed for it, the Inheritance which then fell by *Lott* unto the People of God, is here

oxen indicate good luck." Macarius Aegyptius (c. 300–90 CE), aka. Macarius the Great, an Egyptian monastic, furnishes his interpretation in Pseudo-Macarius's *Sermones* 64 (*Homily* 9, ch. 1, sec. 4) and in *Homiliae Spirituales* 50 (*Homily* 1, lines 53–54). Heidegger's reference to Clarius is perhaps to Clarius of Sens (fl. 12th c. CE), a monk of the Abbey St. Pierre le Vif, at Sens (France). Clarius is now best remembered for his *Chronicon Sancti Petri Vivi Senonensis*. (c. 1120). Finally, R. David Kimchi relates how a beast of burden can be hamstrung to keep it from running away: "An incision of the feet [is made] below the knee, as a result of which it does not die, but it is not strong enough to walk, and a wound in that area is not incurable." See Appendix A.

140 Extracted from Heidegger (2:499, 502, sec. 4, §§ 27, 32).

141 Heidegger (2:506–07, sec. 5, § 3). Most likely, Heidegger refers to Andreas Masius's dictionary *Syrorum Peculium* (1571) for clarification. LXX (Gen. 49:13; Deut. 3:9); Hesychius's *Lexicon* (ΓΙ-Ω), alphab. letter *sigma*, entry 600: "Sidonios, Phœnices."

declared. All the *Tribes* of *Israel*, have a wonderful *Earnest* of their Inheritance given them, in assigning this one particular *Instance* of it.¹⁴²

Why must *Issachar* be compared unto an *Ass*? The ancient *Hebrewes*, and especially the *Cabalists*, tells, That an *Ass* was an *Hieroglyphic* of *Wisdom*; and therefore content with a *Spare Diet*, as the Students of *Wisdom* ought to be. Be sure, an *Ass* deserves to be an *Hieroglyphic* of *Labour* and of *Patience*. Our *Heidegger* inclines, to think, that *Jacob* refers to these *Good Qualities* of the *Ass*, rather than to the *Stupidity* of the *Animal*; The Tribe was noted for an affectation of *Queer Industry*, in the affairs of *Husbandry*. A *Stupid Sloth* we no where find exemplified in the *Tribe*; No; but what is highly contrary to it. [See *Judg.* 5.16. and, 1. *Chron.* 12.32.]¹⁴³

The Words of the Patriarch upon *Dan*, That *he shall Judge his People*, only intimate, That altho' he were born of a *Servant*, yett his Tribe should be of æqual *Authority* and *Significancy*, with the rest; as capable of yeelding an *Head of a Tribe*, as any of the rest.¹⁴⁴

The *Serpent* whereto the Tribe is compared, is doubtless the *Cerastes*. In the *Situation* of the Tribe there was the Accomplishment of it. They dwelt in the *Borders* of the Land, & were under a Necessity to use many *Serpentine Methods*, as well to Defend themselves, as to Offend the Enemies whereto they were very obnoxious. [See *Jud.* 18.27.] There is no need of going with the *Jerusalem Paraphrase*, to make the Actions of that one Man, *Samson*, a Fulfilment of this Prophecy. And yett in the *Serpentine Methods* of that one Man, the Genius of the whole Tribe was a little exemplified.¹⁴⁵

The Thing foretold of *Gad*, is, That the *Tribe* dwelling in the Extremity of the Land, should be vexed with many Infestations from their Adversaries; but being used unto those Vexations, they should at length grow so Expert and Active, as to be Victorious over them.¹⁴⁶

The Fertility of the Soyl that fell unto *Asher*, explains the Prophecy {**** torn} concerning him.¹⁴⁷

Naphthali, is called, (for so it should be read;) *An Hinde lett loose*, even *His who giveth goodly Words*. The *Galileans* were the *Naphthalites*; particularly, the *Capernaïtes*. In running unto the Ministry of our Saviour, when He appeared

¹⁴² Heidegger (2:506, sec. 6, § 5).

¹⁴³ Heidegger (2:509–10, sec. 6, §§ 6, 7, 8). Among Heidegger's sources is *Hieroglyphica, sive de sacris Aegyptiorum* (1567), lib. 12, cap. 1, by Joannes Pierius (1477–1558), aka. Giovanni Pietro Fosse Valerianus, a learned Italian humanist and poet, best remembered for his study of Egyptian hieroglyphs.

¹⁴⁴ Heidegger (2:512, sec. 7, § 2). *Gen.* 49:16.

¹⁴⁵ Heidegger (2:512–13, sec. 7, § 4, 5). "*Cerastes*" (*Carastes*) is a nimble serpent with horns, often likened to a viper. The Targum Hierosolymitanum (*Gen.* 49:16–17), in Walton (4:98), sees Jacob's prophetic benediction of Dan abrogated in Samson.

¹⁴⁶ Heidegger (2:516–17, sec. 8, §§ 1–3).

¹⁴⁷ Heidegger (2:517–18, sec. 9, §§ 1–2).

among Men, they were as an *Hinde lett loose*. Our Saviour preaching the Gospel, was He who *gave goodly Words*. [Compare, Psal. 45.3.] This Tribe did remarkably follow the Ministry of our Saviour. An *Hinde lett loose*, has no Keeper. Our Saviour looking on this Tribe, which *thirsted* after His *Goodly Words*, expressly compared them, unto *Sheep Scattered without a Shepherd*. [Matth. 9.36.] *Jerom* was the first who started this Exposition. A modern Divine has notably improved it. And our *Heidegger* is mightily taken with it; saies he, *Dum hæc scribo, non sine Numine ad manus pervenit*.¹⁴⁸

Why is *Joseph* called, *One Separated from his Brethren*? Indeed, he was on all accounts all along so, in the Course of his Life. But it may be rendred, *The Principal of his Brethren*. [Compare, Psal. 80.2. and, 81.5.]¹⁴⁹

On the Prophecy of *Benjamin*, the excellent *Cocceius* thinks, That the Time of the *Israelitish* Nation under its Lawgivers, is here distinguished into *Two Periods*; the *Morning* and the *Evening* of it. In both of these Periods, the *Tribe of Benjamin* was considerable, for a notable *Benjamite* appearing in the World. In the *Morning* appeared *Saul* the King; In the *Evening* appeared *Saul*, the Apostle. The *Courage* of the Tribe, is the thing intended, when a *Wolf* is used for the Comparison. The *Wolves* are by the Poets called, *Martij*, and, *Martiales*; And, λυκοθαρσης, is, *Audax, et magnanimus*. And, a, *Lupinus Ululates* (in *Suidas* called, λυκηθμος,) was used by some Nations, as an Animating sort of Cry, to begin their Battels withal. The most *Valiant Men* in the World, have derived their Names from this *Animal*; and *Hercules* is by *Lycophron* celebrated as a *Cruel Wolf*.¹⁵⁰

But thus we have done with our *Heidegger*.

[465r]

But I will take Leave here to insert a good Passage, which I find, in one *John Smith*, writing a Book entituled, *Christian Religions Appeal*.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ Heidegger (2:521–22, sec. 10, § 8). St. Jerome, *Traditionibus Hebraicis in Genesim* [PL 28]. In his *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim* (Gen. 30:8), Jerome defers to Aquila's translation and renders "Nephthalim" (Naphtali) as "a turning around" or "a bringing together" (Gen. 49:21). According to the LXX, "Naphtali" signifies "a watered field, yielding eloquence of beauty," but according to the Hebrew text "a hart sent forth" (*Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, pp. 65, 86). Heidegger is so taken with his colleague's improvement of Jerome's exposition that Heidegger believes providence has led him to this exposition: "While I write these things, it [his colleague's improvement] comes to my hand not without divine power."

¹⁴⁹ Heidegger (2:526, sec. 11, § 8). Deut. 33:16.

¹⁵⁰ Heidegger (2:528, sec. 12, §§ 3, 4). Johannes Cocceius's *Lexicon et commentarius sermonis Hebraici et Chaldaici Veteris Testamenti* (1669). Horace's *Carmina* (Ode 1.17.9), Virgil (*Aeneid* 9.566). Wolves are by poets frequently dubbed "belonging to Mars" and "sacred to Mars." The Greek word "lukotharses" (here translated as "*Audax, et magnanimus*") appears in *Anthologia Graeca* (bk. 7, epigram 703, line 5) and signifies "courageous and magnanimous." The Latin "wolf's howl" is in *Sudas* (*Lexicon*, alphab. letter *lambda*, entry 804) called "lukethmos." Finally, the Greek poet Lycophron (*Alexandra* 871) calls Hercules "a ravenous wolf."

¹⁵¹ The following paragraphs are extracted from *Christian Religion's Appeal* (1675), bk. 2, ch. 9, § 4, pp. 109–10, by John Smith (fl. 1675–1711), rector of St. Maries in Colchester.

He observes, That the *Departure of the Scepter from Judah*, which was to be the Signal of *Shilohs* Coming, imports, not only the Removal of the *Thearchy* from the *Jewes*, but such a *Removal* as was accompanied with a Translation of it unto the *Gentiles*.

The Prophecy implies a gradual Withdraw of their external Polities, Liberties, and Priviledges thereon depending; as the Sun setting, the Light thereof departs by Degrees, till it wholly disappear. Tho' we can make no Demonstration of it, while it is in Motion, the Steps thereof are so insensible; much less convince a captious Adversary, that the *Sun* is really sett, (if it be not seen at its going down,) till the Light be gone to a Degree, beyond that of any Cloud or Eclipse; yett then we arrive anon to a palpable Evidence, that the *Sun* is departed our *Horizon*. Whatever Loss of Light the *Scepter* sustained, before the *Gentiles* flock'd in to the Standard of our Saviour, yett until then, it was not *σωματικως* departed. There had been from *David* unto our Saviour, no greater Diminutions of its Light, than had been from *Jacob* to *David*. If those Down-castings of the Crown, to the Ground, which it suffered, by the Apostasy of the *Ten Tribes*, by the *Babylonish* Captivity, by the Persecution of *Antiochus*, by the Dictatorship of the *Maccabees*, or what else occurs in the History of that Interval, speaks the *Departure of the Scepter*, much more must it be departed in the Interval before *David*, in the *Egyptian* Bondage, or under the *Judges*, of which time the Scriptures affirm, *There was no King in Israel*.

But the *Herculean* Argument, is, That until our Saviours Time, there was no Concourse of any *New People* unto *Israels* God; nothing that would justify Him from the Imputation of making a losing Bargain, should He have cast off His old more numerous People.

Indeed, the great Access of *Proselytes* in *Solomons* Reign, said to be an hundred & fifty three thousand, [See *Lightfoot*] might occasion the *Jewes* to think it was the *Gentiles* Gathering to *Shiloh*, and boded the *Departure of the Scepter* in the falling away of the *Ten Tribes*. But yett it is evident, that the *Scepter* departed *not*, in the Sense of the Prophecy, till the Coming of our Saviour.¹⁵²

| [blank]

[466v]

¹⁵² Smith (110). Smith refers to John Lightfoot's "Parergon. Concerning the Fall of Jerusalem," ch. 12, in *Harmony* (1655) 194.

3500.

Q. What might be the Intention of *Kissing* the Dead? v. 1.

A. You have Instances of it in *Ovid*; and *Corippus* represents *Justin* the Younger, falling upon *Justinian*, and Kissing him with Tears, just like our *Joseph* here.

*Ut prius ingrediens corpus venerabile vidit;
Incubuit lacrymans, atque oscula frigida carpsit
Divini patris.*

Dionysius Areop. (c. 7. *Eccl. Hier.*) describing the Funerals of the Christians, he saies, The Bishop did pray over the Corpse, when it was brought into the Church, and after Prayer, Ἀυτος ἀσπάζεται τον κεκοιμημέ{ν}ον. *Both he himself kissed the Dead Person, and after him, all that were present did the same.* It seems to have been their solemn taking Leave of the Dead, until they mett in another World.¹⁵³

2791.

Q. The *Egyptian Physicians embalmed Israel*. What was the *Egyptian Way of Embalming*? v. 2.

A. Will you accept the old Pagan *Herodotus*, as an Expositor upon *Genesis*? He, in his *Euterpe*, thus describes it.

“They took out the *Bowels* of the Dead; they cleansed them, & washed them with the Wine of *Dates*; and after that again with *Odors*: Then filled they the Bowels with Pure *Myrrhe* beaten, and *Cassia*, and other *Odors*, (except *Frankincense*) and sewed them up. After this, they seasoned the Corps, hidden in *Nitre*, Seventy Dayes: Not longer: After Seventy Dayes, they washed the Corps, and wrapped it in fine Linnen Cloth gummed, which *Gum* the *Egyptians* often used instead of *Glew*.”¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ Mather’s source is Simon Patrick on Gen. 50:1 (*Commentary* 1:164). According to Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 6.146–312; *Heroides* 11.119–28), proud Niobe, daughter of King Tantalus of Lydia, kissed her dead sons whom Apollo had slain. Likewise, the Roman epic poet Flavius Cresconius Corippus (6th c. CE) depicts Emperor Justin II (565–78) as kissing the dead Justinian, Roman emperor of the East (527–65 CE). In *laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris* (3.28–30), Corippus renders the scene as follows: “When the pious ruler entered and saw the venerable body / he bent over it in tears and plucked cold kisses from the lips / of his sacred father.” The Greek citation from *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* (ch. 7, p. 129, line 12), by Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita (5th–6th c. CE), a Syrian Christian, is given in Patrick’s expanded translation.

¹⁵⁴ See Patrick on Gen. 50:2 (*Commentary* 1:164). Mather translates several lines from Herodotus (2.86).

3501.

Q. *Forty Dayes were fulfilled for him.*] On what Account? v. 3.

A. For the *Embalming*. *Diodorus* tells us of several Officers, who were employ'd about it, one after another; and he saies expressly, They spent more than *Thirty Dayes* in it. It may be, in *Diodorus's* Age, they attained unto a greater Perfection in the Art of *Embalming*, and made their Spices penetrate in somewhat less than *Forty Dayes*. Nor does *Herodotus* contradict this, when he saies, that the *Body* being stuffed with Spices, was pickled in *Nitre*, where it lay *Seventy Dayes*; For it means, only *Thirty Dayes* more, or till the *Forty* were made up *Seventy*.

Lett none upbraid *Joseph*, as too ceremonious, on this Occasion. For besides the Respect we owe to the Decent Customes of the Places where we live, the *Dead Bodies* of the Faithful, are to be treated (*Austin* tells us) as the *Organs of the Holy Ghost*; which the Ancients (he thinks) did well, to carry unto their Funerals, *Officiosâ pietate*.¹⁵⁵

3502.

Q. The *Mourning Seventy Dayes*, might it not be too long? v. 3.

A. Both *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* tell us of precisely the same Term, observed in the *Mourning* among 'em. However of the Rites mentioned by those Authors, we will suppose, only, *Abstinence* from *Wine*, and *Bathing*, and all *Delicate Food*, and *Fine Clothes*, to be used in *Joseph's* Time, or Court; and nothing of besmearing themselves with Mud. But for the Term of *Seventy Dayes*, it is proposed by *Jacobus Capellus*, that *Joseph* being the next unto the King, the *Egyptians* would Honour his Father, with something of a Royal Funeral, and a Mourning for *Seventy Dayes*, which he thinks, is a round Summ for *Seventy two*; for *Diodorus* makes that the Term of *Mourning* for their King. It seem'd Reasonable unto them, that as they gave the *Fifth Part* of the increase of their Land, unto their King, while he was alive, they should bestow the *Fifth Part* of the Year upon him, in *Mourning* for him, when he was Dead: which was just *Seventy two*; not reckoning the Five odd Dayes, which came not into their Account.¹⁵⁶

3503.

Q. The *Seventy Dayes* being over, why did *Joseph* ask the Grandees of the Court, for to speak unto *Pharaoh* for him, and not speak himself? v. 4.

¹⁵⁵ The paragraph is extracted from Simon Patrick on Gen. 50:3 (*Commentary* 1:164–65). *Diodorus Siculus* (1.91.1–7) describes the Egyptian embalming and funerary rites in some detail. *Herodotus* (2.86). St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* (1.13), in *NPNFi* (2:10) relates that the ancients rendered such "pious offices" because they were pleasing to God.

¹⁵⁶ Extracted from Simon Patrick on Gen. 50:3 (*Commentary* 1:165). *Herodotus* (2.85–87), *Diodorus Siculus* (1.72.2); Mather here refers to *Historia Sacra et Exotica* (1613), ad A. M. 2310, by *Jacobus Cappellus* (1570–1624), French Orientalist and professor of theology at Sedan.

A. *Strict Mourners* did not, and might not, appear in Publick. At least, one might not appear at Court, in the Habit of a *Mourner*. Compare, Est. 4.1, 2.¹⁵⁷

[468v] |
1180.

Q. Do you observe any special Emphasis, in the Words used by *Josephs* Brethren, when they ask his Pardon & Favour? v. 17.

A. They say, *Wee pray thee, forgive the Trespass of the Servants of the God of thy Father*. Upon which I have seen this Remark made; That there is no greater Argument for Mens mutual Compliance with one another in their Desires, than *Unity of Religion*.¹⁵⁸

3504.

Q. *Am I in the Place of God?* What is the special *Emphasis* of those Words? v. 19.

A. They were the very Words, that his Father had once used unto his Mother; (Gen. 30.2.) to perswade her Submission unto the Divine Providence.

It is, q.d. “Shall I præsume, to oppose myself unto what is come to pass? or punish you for that which God hath turned so much to all our Advantage?”

Tho’ the Words may be simply rendred, *I am in the Place of God*. q.d. “I have nourished you, & sustained you all this while, and can you think, I will now do you Hurt?”¹⁵⁹

1877.

Q. What was the Reason, of the Patriarchs being so solicitous, to have their *Bones* Carried & Buried in the Land of *Canaan*? v. 25.

A. *Lyra* thinks it was, because the Spirit of Prophecy in them foresaw, that in that Countrey, there would bee a Resurrection of many Saints, with the *Messiah*, when Hee should Rise from the Dead, & they hoping to bee of that Number, would therefore be there interr’d.

But see Heb. 11.22. – it seems rather to bee, the Faith of their Offsprings going into *Canaan*.¹⁶⁰

Q. *Joseph* lived Eighty Years after his Advancement. *Moses* mentions not what *Kings* might this while succeed in *Egypt*?

A. According to *Eusebius*, the King whose Dream *Joseph* interpreted, was *Amos*. After he had Reigned XXV Years, he left the Kingdome to *Chebro*s, who reigned XIII Years. Next him was *Amenophis* (as much as to say, A Servant of

¹⁵⁷ From Simon Patrick on Gen. 50:4 (*Commentary* 1:165).

¹⁵⁸ Adapted from Simon Patrick on Gen. 50:17 (*Commentary* 1:167).

¹⁵⁹ Extracted from Simon Patrick on Gen. 50:19 (*Commentary* 1:167).

¹⁶⁰ Nicholas of Lyra on Gen. 50:25, in *Postilla Super Totam Bibliam* (1492), vol. 1, n.p.

Noph, or *Memphis*,) who Reigned XXI Years; And left the Kingdome to *Mephres*, who held it, XII Years. To him, *Josephus* out of *Manetho*, substitutes *Amersis*, and saies, he reigned XXII Years. Then succeeded *Mephramuthosis*, who reigned XXVI Years. In the Beginning of his Time *Joseph* died.¹⁶¹

Q. In the Book of *Genesis*, wee have the mention of diverse *Oracles* given from Heaven; How many, and unto whom? v. 25.

A. It ha's been observed, That *Forty Five* oraculous Revelations, are mentioned in this Book; or *Forty Five* Communications from the *Spirits* of the Invisible World.

One indeed was from *Satan*. Gen. 3.1. The Rest were, from God, and His good Angels.

Of these there were Thirty Seven, to Pious Persons.

To <i>Adam</i> ,	4.
To <i>Noah</i> ,	4.
To <i>Abraham</i> ,	10.
To <i>Lot</i> ,	1.
To <i>Eliezer</i> ,	1.
To <i>Isaac</i> ,	2.
To <i>Jacob</i> ,	10.
To <i>Joseph</i> ,	4.

And there were Eight unto Persons, of whose Piety, wee are not so well assured.

To <i>Hagar</i> ,	2.
To <i>Abimelek</i> ,	1.
To <i>Laban</i> ,	1.
To <i>Pharaohs</i> Butler,	1.
To his Baker,	1.
To <i>Pharaoh</i> himself,	2.

[469r]

Q. Lett us now look back on the History of our *Joseph*, and see wherein he was a *Type* of our Blessed *JESUS*?

¹⁶¹ From Simon Patrick on Gen. 50:26 (*Commentary* 1:168). Mather's reference to Eusebius (via Patrick) is at third hand from Jacques Cappellus's *Historia Sacra et Exotica* (1613), who insists that the name of the pharaoh who elevated Joseph was Amos(is), "first king of the 18th Dynasty." However, the names of the Egyptian pharaohs and the years of their reign are from Manetho, the Egyptian historian, whose history survives in extracts in Flavius Josephus's *Contra Apion* (1.15). Significantly, Josephus does not mention the Egyptian ruler who appointed Joseph second in command, but Tethmosis, the pharaoh "who drove them [Israelites] out." Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 10.11.493d, 10.12.497a–b), out of Tatian's *Address to the Greeks* (ch. 36) and out of Clement Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 1.21; *ANF* 2:324), calls this Egyptian pharaoh Amosis, the one against whom Moses rebelled.

A. And an Admirable one he was! Calvin had just Cause to say, *Josephus multis modis Figuram Christi gestavit, vel potius viva fuit ejus Imago*. I think, I could reckon more than Fifty notable *Parallels*. I will touch upon the Chief of them, in the ensuing Reflections.¹⁶²

I. On Afflicted *Joseph*.¹⁶³

It is noted of *Joseph*; [Gen. 37.3.] *Israel loved Joseph, more than all his Children*. Thus, the God of *Israel*; the God of Heaven. *Angels* are by Creation, *Sons* unto Him; *Christians* are by Adoption *Sons* unto Him; And He *Loves* them all. Yea, but He ha's *One Son*, by *Eternal Generation*; the Son of His Age, of His *Eternity*. A Son *Loved* above all the rest. Of Him the Great GOD saies [Matth. 3.17.] *This is my Beloved Son*. The *Eldest Son* of the Beloved *Rachel*; the *Eldest Son* of the Beloved *Mary*; were both *Beloved* of their Father.

Joseph was a great *Sufferer*. But *Jesus* was a greater; And both the *Hand* from which, and the *Ground* on which, they suffered, had some Resemblance. *From whom* did *Joseph* suffer? We read; [Gen. 37.4.] *His Brethren hated him*. From such did our Lord suffer too. We read; [Joh. 1.11.] *His own received Him not*. As the *Brethren* of *Joseph* delivered him up to the *Ishmaelites*; thus the *Brethren* of *Jesus*, delivered Him up to the *Romans*. It was one of the *Twelve*, in our Lords own Family, that Betray'd Him: [You mind, by the way, the *Number* of the *Family*!] They were the People of our Lords own *Blood*, by whom His *Blood* was thirsted after. *For what* did *Joseph* suffer? We read, [Act. 7.9.] *The Patriarchs moved with Envy, sold Joseph*. For this did our Lord suffer too. We read, [Matth. 27.18.] *For Envy they delivered Him*. They could not bear to *Think* of Him, that the *Son of the Carpenter* should be the *Son of God*. They could not bear to *See* in Him; That all *Creatures* were at His Command. They could not bear to *Hear* from Him, That *their Deeds were Evil*. They said; *If we lett Him alone, all Men will go after Him*; therefore they did what they could, that they might gett Him out of the Way.

Joseph is employ'd on an Errand; [Gen. 37.14.] *Go, I pray thee; See, whether it be well with thy Brethren*. All we, were like *Josephs* Brethren. They were in *Dothan*. *Dothan* signifies *Defection*. We were in our *Dothan*, our Defection, our Apostasy. Our Father said unto our JESUS, *Go look after them; Carry meat & drink unto them; See what their Calamities, and what their Temptations are*. And He gave {** Mankind else **** torn} He went cheerfully, He went presently, at the Bidding of His Father.

¹⁶² The Latin citation adapted from John Calvin's commentary on Gen. 37:6, 19 can be rendered, "Joseph carried in many ways the figure of Christ, or rather he was of Him a lively image" (*Commentaries* 1.2:261).

¹⁶³ Mather's list of typological parallels between the OT Joseph and the NT Christ appears to be gleaned from Calvin's *Commentary on Genesis* (chs. 37–50). However, many echoes of the same typological proof appear in Samuel Mather's discussion of Joseph as a personal type of Christ, in *Figures or Types* (1683) 109–15; and in Edward Taylor's *Upon the Types* (1689) 1:113–32.

When *Joseph* was looking and seeking after his Brethren, and upon a *Travel* for their Advantage; *Then* it was, that [Gen. 37.18.] *when they saw him afar off, they conspired against him, to slay him.* Thus, the Murderers of our Lord contrived *Mischief* to Him, when He was contriving *Mercy* to them. *They said*, [Matth. 21.38.] *Come, Lett us Kill the Heir.* But when was it, that *They said it?* They said it, when our Lord had left the Glory of His *Father* for *their Sakes*, as [He] was bringing the most precious *Meat* and *Drink* in the World unto them.

It is reported of *Joseph*; [Gen. 37.28.] *They Sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites, for Twenty Peeces of Silver.* Suppose it of the *Common Sicle*; and so, the Price was about Five and Twenty Shillings of English Money. By this means was *Joseph*, (like *Jesus* too) carried into *Egypt*, in his Childhood. Thus was our Saviour also *Sold*. And it is remarkable; There was a *Judas*, the very *Name-sake* of him that propounded the Selling of *Joseph*: of this *Judas* we read; [Matth. 26.15.] He betray'd our Lord, for *Thirty Peeces of Silver*; perhaps of the *Sacred Sicle*: and so, the Price was about Three Pounds fifteen Shillings Sterling.

'Tis recorded of *Joseph*; [Gen. 37.31.] *They took Josephs Coat, and dipped the Coat in Blood.* Thus abusively was our Lord stript of His *Garments*, by His Enemies. There was fulfilled that Prophecy; [Psal. 22.18.] *They part my Garments among them.* They would not lett Him leave His own *Wearing Cloathes* to any of His Kindred; tho' they were all the Estate He had in the World. He was crucified *Naked*, that He might purchase for us, the *Robes* of *Everlasting Righteousness*.

The Haters of *Joseph*, having Disposed of him, triumphed at that rate; [Gen. 37.20.] *Now shall we see, what will become of his Dreams.* But this was the *very Way*, that brought his *Dreams* to become *Realities*. The *Jewes* thought, that all the Pretensions and Prædictions of our Lord, were no more than so many *Dreams*; and when they brought Him to His *Cross* and His *Grave*, they thought, that they had *Frustrated*, all that He had *Prophesied*. But, Poor Fools! They were mistaken. This was the *very Way*, which did *Effect* all that He did *Foretel*. And so tis, in the *Slaughter of His Witnesses*!

A *False Accusation*, and a *False Condemnation*. And a *False Imprisonment* | [470v]
were the Calamities of *Joseph*. And so they were, every one of them, the Calamities of our Blessed JESUS.

When *Joseph* was in *Prison*, we find, there were *Two* more with him there. [Gen. 40.3.] As *Joseph* was *Imprisoned*, so *Jesus* was *Crucified*. But [Joh. 19.18.] there were *Two* joined with Him in it; and those, most notorious Malefactors. Our Lord by those *With whom* He died, show'd *For whom* He died.

One of *Josephs* Two Fellow Prisoners was *Restored*, and *Præferred*; but there was a *Sadder Doom* for the *other* of them. *One* of those that were crucified with our Lord, was Pardoned and *Præferred*; but the *other* Perished in his Impænitent Infidelity.

Very Different were the *Ends*, of *God*, and of *Man*, in the Sufferings of *Joseph*. [Gen. 50.20.] As Different, in the Sufferings of *Jesus*. [Act. 4.28.] The

End of *Man*, was to *Murder*, and *Malice*, and *Cruelty*; But the End of *God* was, *To Save much People alive*; And that very People too, who were the murderous and malicious Authors of this *Cruelty*.

Joseph was Tempted unto *Carnal Adultery*; But how Holily did that chaste young Man refuse it! [Gen. 39.9.] Our *Jesus* was Tempted unto *Spiritual Adultery*; that is, unto *Idolatry*: But He was *more than a Conqueror*.

We shall pass on, to Reflect,

II. On Advanced *Joseph*.

Here you shall see; *Joseph* is first a *Malefactor*, then a *Magistrate*; First a *Prisoner*, then a *Prince*; First a *Bond-slave*, then a *Lord*. Thus, our JESUS, must be, First *Humbled*, then *Exalted*. [Phil. 2.8, 9.] The Blind *Jewes* themselves, are so sensible, that this is to be the Condition of the *Messiah*, that being at their Witts-End about it, they say, there shall be *Two Messiahs*; a Suffering *Messiah*, the Son of *Joseph*, and a Glorified *Messiah*, the Son of *David*. So lively the Shadowes of the *Messiah* in *Joseph*!

When *Joseph* was a *Prisoner*, yett even *Then*, he was a *Governour*; namely, of the Prison. [Gen. 39.22.] Thus our Lord; at the *Lowest* of His *Low Estate* had still a Glorious Command over *Death* and *Hell*. They that were in the *Prison* of the *Grave*, came forth at His Call: And they that were in the *Prison* of the *Air*, confessed themselves to be at His Disposal.¹⁶⁴

There was given unto *Joseph*, that Honourable Title of, *Zaphnath Paaneah*, or, A *Reveler of Secrets*. But the *Secret Things of God*, are most wonderfully understood and expounded by our Lord Jesus Christ. *There is none so discreet and wise, as thou art, O Lord*. [Isa. 9.6. Dan. 8.13. Col. 2.3.]

This was the *Præferment* that *Joseph* arose unto; [Gen. 41.40.] *Pharaoh* said unto him, *Thou shalt be over my House, and according to thy Word shall all my People be Ruled; only in the Throne I will be greater than thou*. Thus ha's the God of Heaven said unto our Lord; *Thou shalt be the Ruler over the World; and according to thy Word, shall every Creature move*. Indeed, the whole *World* was *Made* for Him; to be *Rul'd* by Him. [Ezek. 1.26.] But still, the *Father* saies to the *Mediator*, *I will be Greater than thou!* Our Lord subordinates all His Dispensations, to the Glory of God. [Isa. 42.1.]

Tis related of *Joseph*; [Gen. 41.42.] *They cried before him, Bow the Knee*; or, as tis by some rendred, *A Tender Father*. Our *Jesus* has His *Heralds* too; which are to proclame all of this, concerning Him: His *Ministers*, who are to *Lift up their Voice like a Trumpet*; and Publish His *Goodness*, and Invite our *Homage*.

How *old* was *Joseph*, when he entred upon his public Service? We read; [Gen. 41.46.] *Joseph was Thirty Years old, when he stood before Pharaoh*. It is very

¹⁶⁴ Mather here distinguishes between those, like Lazarus (whom Christ revived from the prison of the grave) and those, like evil spirits and fallen angels (who are barred from heaven and confined to the prison of the air). See Mather's *Threefold Paradise* (220–21).

surprizing to consider, That just at the very *Same Age*, our Lord came into public Action. [Luk. 2.23.]

We read; [Gen. 41.55.] *When the People cried unto Pharaoh for Bread, Pharaoh said, Go to Joseph.* Thus, when we cry for *Mercy and Comfort*, the Great God sends us unto our Lord Jesus Christ, for the Supply of all our Wants. [Col. 1.19.]

Tis in the Narrative of *Joseph*: [Gen. 41.56, 57.] *Joseph opened the Storehouses, and all the Countreyes came unto Joseph, to buy Corn.* Thus our *Jesus*; has blessed *Storehouses* for the Releef of Needy Souls. *All Countreyes* may come unto Him; and find that He can *Fill the Hungry with good Things*. [1. Cor. 1.30.] His *Blood*, His *Grace*, His *Word*.

Those very Men, that once could not bear to think, of *Bowing* before *Joseph*, but would rather *Murder* him than *Honour* him; yett at last, [Gen. 42.6.] *They came and bowed down themselves before Joseph, with their Faces to the Earth.* Even so; All the *Enemies* of our Lord, and they who now *Despise* Him, and *Oppose* Him, yett must one Day *Stoup* unto Him. [Isa. 45.23.]

We find; [Gen. 42.7.] *Joseph* at first, *made himself strange unto | his Brethren,* [471r] *& spake roughly to them*; he threw them into a dismal Distress. But afterwards he comfortably express'd Himself unto them, saying, *I am Joseph your Brother.* Thus, when the *Elect* are first brought Home unto our Lord Jesus Christ, *first* He *Terrifies* them, He *Amazes* them, He *Setts their Sins in Order before them.* Then tis, that He clears up His Love unto them, and saies unto them, *I am Jesus, your Saviour.* [Rom. 8.15. Isa. 61.3.]

Joseph discovered himself unto his *Brethren* first, and *then* to the *Egyptians*. Thus, the *Jewes* had the *first Offer* of our *Saviour*; and *after* that, *Lo, He turned unto the Gentiles.*

But *Joseph* discovered not himself unto his *Brethren*, till the *Second Time* of his Meeting with them. Thus, the *Jewes* did not know the *Messiah*, when they *First Mett* with Him here. When they *See Him Again*, and have an Interview with Him the *Second Time*, *Then* they shall Know Him, Love Him, Serve Him forever.

When *Joseph* had furnished his Brethren, with all Necessary and Convenient things, then, [Gen. 45.24.] he said unto them, *See that yee fall not out by the Way.* Our Lord ha's fill'd our *Sacks*; our Souls: And we pay not for it; it is, *Without Money & Without Price.* He causes us, to be *Wash'd* by His *Baptism* and *Spirit*; and causes us to be *Fed* at His *Table* with *Royal Dainties*. He affords us His *Ordinances*, as the *Chariots* of Salvation, to bring us unto Himself. But upon all, it is His Charge unto us; *Fall not out among yourselves.* [John. 13.35.]

Marvellous *Tidings* did *Joseph* send unto his Friends, in *Canaan*: [Gen. 45.26.] *Joseph* is yett *Alive*, and he is *Governour* over all the *Land of Egypt*. Such wonderful *Tidings* ha's our Lord Jesus Christ refreshed His People withal. [See Rev. 1.18.] Shall we, like *Jacob*, long to go unto Him?

When it was rumoured in the Royal Palace of *Egypt*, that *Josephs* Brethren were come; we read, [Gen. 45.16.] *Pharaoh & his Servants were well-pleased at it*. Thus, when Sinners are brought home unto the Lord Jesus Christ, there is Inexpressible *Rejoicing in Heaven* thereupon. [Luk. 15.7.]

Joseph made an Address [Gen. 46.31–34.] unto the *King*, on the behalf of his *Brethren*; and he likewise instructed them, how to Express and Behave themselves before His Majesty. Thus our Lord Jesus Christ *Intercedes* with God for us. [Heb. 7.25.] And, He shoves us also, how to spread our own Cause before the Lord.

In *Joseph*, we may see an Image of *Jesus*, Forgiving the vilest and the greatest Injuries.

In *Joseph*, we may see *Jesus*, carrying His *Children* to His *Father*, for a Blessing.

Finally; *Joseph* had said unto his Brethren, who had greatly wronged him, *I am at Peace with you*. And yett, after this, how *Suspicious* were they? [Gen. 50.15.] Thus, many a Justified Beleever, is under Doubts and Fears; *I am still unpardoned*.

But we will now gather no more from this *Fruitful Bough*.¹⁶⁵

[472v] [blank]

¹⁶⁵ The “*Fruitful Bough*” is most likely Heidegger’s 2 vol. *De Historia Sacra Patriarcharum* (1667–71).

Appendix A

As discussed in my Editorial Principles (# 4), the holograph MS reveals literally thousands of cancellations and emendations of one sort or another. Appendix A only records those cancellations and excisions that substantively impact Mather's commentary. The vast majority of Mather's textual emendations in the holograph MS consists of false starts or light stylistic revisions of phrases of one sort or another. For a complete record, readers should consult the readily accessible microfilm copies or the holograph MS at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Chronol. 1r–38v

213 2. Mather cancels the following passages: "Inasmuch as Ephraim could not be less than three score and fifteen Years old, at the death of Joseph, here seems to be the proper Place, to introduce the Story of the fate that he fes he saw befalling his Children. 1 Chron. 7.21, 22, 23."

217 4. Cancelled: [Psal. 7. All.]
Shiggajon of David, ——— the Lord most High.

219 5. Cancelled: 1. Chron. ch. 3.1 ——— 4.
And David consulted ——— in the Eyes of all the People.
2. Sam. 5.11 ——— 25.

223 6. Cancelled: [Psal. 67. All.]
To the Chief Musician ——— shall fear Him.
The History of is again to be laid before us.
2 Sam. 21.15 ——— 22.
Moreover the Philistines ——— hand of his Servants.
1. Chron. 20.4 ——— 8.
And it came to pass ——— of his Servants.
2. Sam. 20.22. All.
And David spake ——— seed forever more.
2. Sam.

225 7. Cancelled: The Fifty Eighth Psalm.

231 8. Cancelled: In the thirty & Eighth Year ———

232 9. Cancelled: “Mordecai, who had been captived with Jeconiah Seventy Years ago, a had been at Jerusalem in the Return from the Captivity; but when the Work of the Temple was come to a Stand, he goes to Persia, with an Intention to do his People what Good he could, in the Court there. And while he was there, the famous As Matter in the Book of Esther happened.

[The Book of Esther.]”

237 14. Cancelled: 2. Chron. 36.

258 18. Cancelled: “He then chases the Traders, out of the Court of the *Gentiles*, at the Temple. He Discourses on *Johns* Baptism, and offers diverse Parables.”

267 19. Cancelled: “ye Son of *Alpheus*,”

268 22. Cancelled: “who had been imprisoned with Paul at Rome; but was now at Liberty, & probably at Ephesus. There The Epistles appear concluded.”

Gen. 1 39r–92v

279 27. Mather cancels: “But there need no more Peculiarities. Mos”

307 108. Mather cancels “The Books of Moses.” and reinscribes the page as “Genesis, Chap. 1.”

325 142. Mather cancels: “Q. Why is the *Moon* called one of the *Two Great Lights*.”

Gen. 2.105r–130v

444 53. Mather cancels the following passage at the beginning of [117r]:

“Q. The Situation, and some other Circumstances, & Remarkables, *Of* PARADISE, if you’l Attempt some Account thereof, You’l have an Opportunitie to not only Gratifie a learned Curiositie, but also to Illustrate a Thousand similar Passages of Sacred Scripture at once. Please then, to tell us, what you find concerned here abouts, in Monuments of Antiquitie? v. 5. A.”

464 114. Mather cancels the following paragraph: “Thus; [furnished from ye Lucubrations of ye my Learned Friend, Mr Samuel Lee] I have given you ye true Scituation Geography of Paradise, and have at the same Time Illustrated more than a little of ye Scripture Geography. Vole, et Fuere.”

Gen. 3.131r–158v

502 64. Mather cancels the following manuscript annotation on Gen. 3:15: “1927.

Q. That Argument of the Apostle, If thro’ the Offence of one, many bee dead, much more the Grace of God, and the Gifts by Grace, which is by one Man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many. Can it bee Exemplified, and Illustrated, from any of the Jewish Writings? v. 15.

A. There is a Remarkable Passage, in Libro Siphre, to this Purpose. Rabbi Jose of Galilee, said; Go forth, and learn ye Merit of ye Messias, and ye Reward of ye Righteous. The old Adam, who had but one Prohibition given him, & who Transgressed it, see, how many Deaths are Decreed, for him, and for his Generations, and for Generations of Generations, to the End of all Generations. Now, what Measure is multiplied; the Measure of Mercy, or the Measure of Vengeance? Answer thou, The Measure of Mercy is multiplied, the Measure of Vengeance is diminished. [Which is as much as to say, wee are punished below our Deserts, and Rewarded, above them.] The King Messias, is Afflicted, and Abased, with Fasting, and broken with Punishments, as it is written, Isa. 53.5. Hee was wounded for our Faults, Hee was bruised for our Sins. How much more shall Hee Justify all Generations; all and every one? For this is what is said. v. 6. The Lord hath laid on Him, the Iniquity of us all.” Wonderful Words to fall from ye Pen of a Jew, and here advantageously Introduced!”

512 90. Mather cancels: “Q. What might be ye special Guilt of Cain?”

Gen. 5.159r–198v

533 3. Following “Profane Ones;” Mather cancels a line from Juvenal: Terra malos Homines, nunc educat atque pusillos” (*Satura* 15.70), which translates, “Nowadays the earth produces humans who are nasty and puny.”

547 36. Following “If,” Mather cancels the following: “we select a few such Passages out of his Exercitations”

53 128. The adverb “certainly” replaced the canceled “unquaestionably,” suggesting Mather’s growing sense of uncertainty.

583 129. Again, Mather tones down his authoritative stance by replacing “unquaestionable” in front of “*Bones*” with “probably.”

587 136. Between the words “in” and “Comparison,” Mather cancels the following: “The Sons of Anak, and Og, and Goliah and ye rest of them, were Pygmies.”

592 150. The original paragraph reads as follows: “That I might be able, with a better Face of Authority, to assert unto the World, a Curiosity of so much Consequence; I addressed the ~~present~~ GOVERNOUR of New England, [~~Colonel Dudley~~] with my Request, That he (~~what a Person of as Great Learning as Honour~~) would give me under his Honourable Hand, what he had Seen, and Thought, of this Matter. He ~~most~~ Readily ~~and Courteously~~ obliged me, with the ensuing Letter.”

592 151. Mather cancels the place name “Roxbury,” preceding the date.

592 157. Mather cancels his transcription of the governor’s signature “Joseph Dudley.”

595 162. Mather cancels the following paragraph, which contains much of the same information as his commentary on Exodus 16:33 does: “It is probable, That all the Seeds of the Vegetable World, may have been created, at the Beginning of the World, and scattered here and there, in their Numberless Millions, about the Surface of the Earth, to be brought forth in After-Ages, by the usual Ways of Accident, and of Husbandry.”

610 192. After “*asserverant*,” Mather cancels “quis non videat.” Between “The” and “Ark, in” Mather cancels “others going more modestly to work,”

Gen. 7.199r–236v.

641 34. Between the words “But” and “some,” Mather cancels the following: “I think I can Answer that it, and this, with something more than Imagination, even with Demonstration.”

642 38. After “the Christian” Mather cancels the following: “of Man some Temper towards Heathens.”

668 94. Mather cancels the beginning of a new paragraph after “*mandavit*”:
 “Q. What say Some others upon it?
 A.”

Gen. 10.237r–278v

695 5. After “*Diabolical Oracles*” Mather cancels, “whereof (as I may call them).”

697 8. After “*Juchasin*; but” Mather cancels, “I beleeeve it is a Story y w.”

Following the last paragraph on this MS page, Mather cancels “I have now Opportunity.”

711 71. Between “Purpose,” and “*Edwards*,” Mather cancels “Mr. Jonathan” and replaces the phrase with “our [*Edwards*].” At first glance, Mather may have had his fellow New Englander “Mr. Jonathan Edwards” (1703–58) in mind, but the reference to “Excellency & Perfection of the Scriptures” clearly identifies a work by the English divine John Edwards (1637–1716), whose previously cited *Discourse Concerning the Authority, Stile, and Perfection of the Books of the Old and New Testament* (1695), vol. 3, bears the subtitle, “Treating of the *Excellency and Perfection* of the Holy Scriptures.”

775 218. In his manuscript, Mather cancels the following extract from Bochart: “These are y^e Sabæans, of whom Agatharchides relates, They have τὰ σώματά αἰσιολογώτερά Corpora Spectabiliara. Agreeably, the Prophet Isaiah, calls them, [Isa. 45.14.] Men of Stature.”

Gen. 11.279r–330v

829 76. Mather cancels the last line of the paragraph: “Upon some more than an Acre as.”

858 138. After “*Multiplication* of Children,” Mather cancels, “both Natural and Mystical.”

After “the Philosphers,” Mather cancels, “and Religionists.”

884 257. After “*ē was glad*” Mather cancels, the beginning of a new paragraph: “Some enquire, To what Use”

Gen. 15.331r–376v

927 64. Preceding “A Gentleman,” Mather cancels, “Dr. Sherlock,” ostensibly to hide his identity. At the end of the paragraph, however, Mather adds Sherlock’s name in brackets. Both ink and handwriting indicate that Mather changed his mind and made the correction during a separate sitting.

988 220. After “Son with a Visit;” Mather cancels, “which is very likely that he did:”

Gen. 22.377r–428v

1010 57. Mather cancels the following entry:

“Q. The *Oath* between *Abimelek* & *Isaac*? v. 28.

A. Some have Remark’d, That this is the first *Oath* among Men, we read of in the World; and it was introduced by an Heathen.”

1017 76. After “*Militia*-Age;” Mather cancels, “Accordingly, 360 500, added, makes 1 812 500.”

1024 89. Mather cancels the earlier chapter number “~~30.30.~~” twice and replaces it with “29.”

Gen. 41.429r–482v

1094 11. In the left-hand margin of this paragraph in the MS, Mather cancels, “Daughter Anal. p. 72.”

1137 115. Preceding “*Roman Yoke*,” Mather cancels, “Golden Yo[lk].”

1142 134. Following “by Art.” Mather cancels, “See, Deut.XXXII.15.”

1143 139. Mather replaces his source reference, “Clarius thinks,” with the more general reference, “Some take it.”

Appendix B: Silent MS Deletions

Gen. 3.131r–158v

483 17. Beginning a new paragraph on the next line, Mather inserts the following note in his manuscript, “Here bring in from the Next Leaf but one, ~~in v. 14~~, three Illustrations, on v. 14.”

483 19. Mather inserts the following directions: “Here bring in from ye Next Leaf but ~~one II. v. 14~~, three Illustrations on v. 14.”

527 131. I have abided by Mather’s direction to “Insert, after v. 16” and moved his commentary on Gen. 4:20, 21 to its intended location.

Gen. 5.159r–198v

545 29. Mather’s running title at the top of [165r] reads “Genesis. Chap. 4. and, 5.” Here silently deleted.

547 35. Running title “Genesis. Chap. 5.” at the top of [167r] silently deleted.

579 120. Mather records the following direction at the beginning of chapter 6: “[Here insert ye Two First Illustrations in the Next Leaf.] [a a a].” Here silently deleted.

582 126. Mather’s directions “[o o o] See ye next Page.—” and “[And here insert ye Illustration of ye Giants.]” are silently deleted.

599 171. Mather inserts the following direction: “To be inserted in ye foregoing Page [ooo].” He draws a long vertical squiggly line in the right-hand margin of [182v] to indicate that his three entries on verses 6 and 7 are to be inserted in the foregoing page.

Gen. 11.279r–330v

819 53. Mather leaves the following instructions in his manuscript: “Here insert the Four next Leaves. [o o o].” The applicable manuscript pages are inserted as directed.

Gen. 22.377r–428v

1042 134. Here Mather marks the placement for his insert of two leaves with [ooo].

Gen. 41.429r–482v

1139 121. Mather places a wavy line before and after v. 16. His direction “(a a) Here Insert the Illustration on v. 16.” which he positions after his commentary on v. 13, is here carried out.

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